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Alexander Ilin-Tomich

Egyptian Name Scarabs from the 12th to the 15th Dynasty

Geography and Chronology of Production



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Cover illustration: Scarab of Mentuuser. Mid- to late 13th Dynasty. Found in the 18th Dynasty tomb of Neferkhaut in Asasif. Metropolitan Museum of Art 35.3.47. Public domain photograph from https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/560176 (accessed on 14.02.2023).

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Editor's foreword

This book is the result of meticulous, systematic, and painstaking analysis of Egyptian Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period private and royal name scarabs, in a way which has never been done before. It is a period in which many things remain in the dark, a time in which it is most difficult to write history. As a result, additional sources like scarabs with names and titles are most valuable. The problem is that most of the scarabs come from the antiquities trade. However, due to extensive fieldwork activity in recent decades, the number of objects in controlled contexts has increased. Nevertheless, additional problems must be addressed, such as the reuse of scarabs as seals and amulets in much later contexts. Whenever possible, the author has taken pains to autopsy the seals or, at least, to secure drawings and photographs of the back. And, because of his refined methodology and rigorous typology, he was able to discard premature interpretations of seal contexts. On the other hand, he presents us with riddles that are yet to be solved. In short, it is the most up-to-date analysis of scarab-shaped seals and their impressions from one of Egypt's most disputed periods. As historical source material, they are indispensable. Nobody working in this period should overlook this volume as a source book.

For the editorial board
Manfred Bietak

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Preface and acknowledgements

Absurdly numerous, indistinguishable from one another, hard to keep account of, and devoid of any obvious aesthetical and historical value, Egyptian scarabs hardly rank high on the list of most museum curators' favourite object types. Yet, when studied systematically, private-name scarabs can provide a vital link between historical reconstructions based on written sources and those based on the material culture.

Inscribed scarabs captivated earlier scholars and collectors, who built up large collections of mostly unprovenanced scarabs stemming from the antiquities market and originally from undocumented, and to a large extent illicit, excavations. Yet, since the 1970s, the focus of scarab studies has shifted towards design scarabs from recorded archaeological contexts, and largely those excavated in the Levant. This book aims to leverage the approaches developed by scholars of Levantine and other excavated scarabs to reinvestigate the regional and chronological distribution of features among the name scarabs of the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period.

One motivation to write this book was the question of whether Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period inscribed scarabs were manufactured centrally at the royal residence, as often suggested in the literature. For one thing, this hypothesis, which serves as basis for reasoning in recent research, lacks solid ground. For the other, the centralised production of scarabs contrasts with the practice of the localised production of private stelae and other monuments, revealed in my previous research. To address the issue, I had to examine first-hand a representative selection of private-name scarabs kept in various museums, since most private-name scarabs remain unpublished, but for the inscribed base.

This travel-intense undertaking became possible as part of a project funded by the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation at the Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz. The Humboldt Foundation kindly provided financial support for the publication of this book. I undertook additional research trips and wrote much of the book alongside my research on Middle Kingdom personal names and on Egyptian titles, funded by the Fritz Thyssen Foundation, which covered some of the travel and proof-reading expenses. To both foundations I express my deep gratitude as well as to the Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz, which provided a grant to cover the substantial part of proof-reading expenses. I am grateful to the editors of the Contributions to the Archaeology of Egypt, Nubia, and the Levant for making it possible to publish this book in the series.

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My thanks are also due to Chiara Reali and Joseph Wegner for sharing photographs, to Nadine Moeller, Daphna Ben-Tor, Vanessa Boschloos, and Gianluca Miniaci for sharing their unpublished papers and to María del Carmen Pérez Díe for sharing a copy of her work. I am obliged to James Weinstein for valuable corrections. I would like to thank Andrea Kilian for her photos from the National Museum of Beirut. I thank Fred Vink for a useful reference. I am indebted to Wael Sherbiny and Mohammed Abdel Rahman for their invaluable support. Many thanks are due to Khaled Hassan for his precious help. I am grateful to Stephen Quirke for his encouragement and insightful discussions.

Some theses of this book were presented as lectures and conference papers in recent years, and I am utmost grateful to the organisers and audiences of events in Leipzig, Vienna, Moscow, Münster, and again in Vienna for their feedback. I very much appreciate the suggestions and criticisms provided by the two anonymous reviewers of this book.

My family bravely withstood my new obsession with scarabs, and my son Alexander Jr. has repeatedly assisted me in processing digital photographs of scarabs and making scarab replicas in modelling clay throughout his primary school years.

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Introduction

In terms of numbers, scarabs make up a significant fraction of Egyptian antiquities in most modern museum collections. Scarabs studied in this book (also called scarab seals to distinguish them from other scarab-shaped artefacts) are small, wearable objects crafted in the form of scarab beetles (family *Scarabaeidae* in biology) that have a flat base, often decorated or inscribed, and a hole bored through the length. This hole allowed wearing the scarabs by attaching them to a thread or a metal fixture. Scarabs were most commonly made of glazed steatite, various semi-precious stones, or glazed composition (Egyptian faience). Occasionally, wood or glass and other vitreous materials were used.

Scarabs as a distinct object type emerged in Egypt in the First Intermediate Period and were manufactured through to the Ptolemaic period. This study focuses on the apex of private-name scarabs, the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period. The work follows the convention, by which the period from the reign of Senusret III to the end of the 13th Dynasty is named "Late Middle Kingdom", and the period when the foreign 14th–15th Dynasty reigned in the north of Egypt and the 16th–17th Dynasty in Thebes is termed "Second Intermediate Period". While it is possible that, at some point, rulers of the 13th Dynasty reigned concurrently with the foreign kings in the north and (or) the Theban kings in the south,[1] this is not relevant for the present study, because the last kings of the 13th Dynasty ruling after *Mr-nfr-rˁ* Ay are not attested on scarabs (unless one assumes a much longer overlap between the 13th Dynasty and concurrent dynasties – this possibility favoured by several scholars is discussed in Chapter 3). Early Middle Kingdom is subdivided into 11th Dynasty, early 12th Dynasty (Amenemhat I and Senusret I) and mid-12th Dynasty (Amenemhat II and Senusret II). Late Middle Kingdom is subdivided in four periods: late 12th Dynasty (Senusret III to Neferusobek), early 13th Dynasty (up to the reign of *Sḫm-rˁ Swȝḏ-tȝwj* Sobekhotep III), mid-13th Dynasty (*Ḥˁ-sḫm-rˁ* Neferhotep I to *Ḥˁ-nfr-rˁ* Sobekhotep IV), and late 13th Dynasty (after *Ḥˁ-nfr-rˁ* Sobekhotep IV). The internal chronology of the Second Intermediate Period in the north of Egypt in terms of kings and dynasties remains unclear.

In the Middle Bronze Age, Egyptian scarabs already influenced the production of similar-shaped artefacts in the East Mediterranean – in Crete[2] and in the Levant.[3] The precondition for this development was the high value attached to Egyptian scarabs by the neighbouring cultures, evidenced by numerous finds of Middle Kingdom scarabs abroad.

The primary function of scarabs in Egypt during the Middle Kingdom remains a matter of debate. Most often assumed are uses as seals, funerary amulets, non-funerary amulets or talismans, and personal ornaments. Proponents of the view that the primary function of scarabs was amuletic or talismanic refer to the semantics of visual motives and formulas used in scarab decoration as well as to the form of the scarab itself and its significance.[4] Another argument, put forward at the early stages of this discussion, was that scarabs emerge in the archaeological record prior to scarab impressions, which were deemed to appear only in the Late Middle Kingdom. This would imply that historically the original function of scarabs was not sealing.[5] However, as excavations of First Intermediate Period and 11th Dynasty settlements provide a growing number of scarab impressions from these early periods, this argument does not hold true.[6] Adherents of the primarily administrative use of scarabs highlight the fact that seemingly funerary motives occur on seal impressions from non-funerary contexts, testifying to the administrative use of scarabs regardless of the significance of the formulae and that the distribution of sealings naming different agents and institutions is consistent with the functions of the settlement zones where the sealings are found.[7] As well as epithets deemed related to the afterlife, also complete offering formulae occur on sealings from non-funerary contexts. An eloquent example cited by Joseph Wegner is a sealing of Ib (Fig. 1) from the mayoral residence in Wahsut (Building A) featuring a complete offering formula.[8] This scarab impression closely matches a scarab, now in the British Museum (BM EA30529, Fig. 2). Were it not for the impression found in an administrative building, the scarab could have been interpreted as unrelated to administrative practices due to its text.

On the balance of the available evidence, it is impossible to say whether scarabs were originally conceived as seals; nevertheless, one can safely assume that many scarabs were used as seals throughout the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period and that some were primarily worn as personal ornaments. That the significance of scarabs extended beyond the purely administrative and ornamental uses is apparent, although it appears counterproductive to disjoin benefits and blessings signified by the formulae

1 Ilin-Tomich 2014b; 2016.
2 Phillips 2008, 108–139.
3 Keel 2004; Ben-Tor 2007a.
4 See, most recently, Ben-Tor 2018a, 289–290.
5 Ben-Tor 1995, 82.
6 Shubert 1998, von Pilgrim 2001, Adams 2005, 443; Ben-Tor 2007a, 5.
7 Wegner 2018, 252–253; Smith 2001, 2004; Wegner 2001.
8 Wegner 2018, 252 fig. 13.14.

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Fig. 1 Scarab impression of Ib, Wah Sut SA.20803, published in Wegner 2018, 252 fig. 13.14. Photo provided by Joseph Wegner.

and images on scarabs from the administrative and decorative uses in attempts to pinpoint the primary function of these artefacts. It is likely that the antithesis between the amuletic and the administrative functions was non-existent in ancient Egypt.

In terms of decoration on the base, Middle Kingdom scarabs can be divided into three categories: so-called design scarabs, royal-name scarabs, and private-name scarabs. Design scarabs generally lack hieroglyphic inscriptions on the base. This category also includes scarabs with formulae, such as *rdj-r*ᶜ and anra-scarabs,[9] and those with meaninglessly arranged hieroglyphs, including debased royal names. Royal-name scarabs and private-name scarabs bear names of kings and non-royal persons, respectively, accompanied by titles and epithets. In literature, there remains uncertainty about the scarabs of the royal family members. Geoffrey Martin included in his catalogue of private-name scarabs those that belong to the sons and fathers of kings, but not those of their daughters, wives, and mothers.[10] In this book, I group all these scarabs under private-name scarabs as they are not comparable to royal-name scarabs in terms of titles and epithets. On the contrary, they may feature epithets of the type *k3, nfr, w3ḥ* (discussed in Chapter 1), which are characteristic of private-name scarabs. As will be addressed in Chapter 6, scarabs featuring female members of royal families under the 13th Dynasty exhibit a side-type (d8 in terms of the classification devised by Tufnell and Ward) that does not occur on contemporary royal-name scarabs but is common on private-name scarabs.

As a side note, heart scarabs, used exclusively as funerary equipment, also appear in the Late Middle Kingdom, even though only a few examples are known from this epoch;[11] yet heart scarabs, which mostly lack a hole bored through the length, do not belong to scarab seals and therefore fall outside the scope of this book.

Scarabs of each category could be used in different ways. Design scarabs prevail both among scarabs found in burials and among those used to create impressions found in late Middle Kingdom contexts of non-funerary nature. According to Brigitte Gratien, impressions of design scarabs make up ca. 92% of sealings on the Elephantine and ca. 88% in Mirgissa.[12] A similar distribution is observable at Lahun, where design scarab impressions comprise 88% of the corpus examined by Olga Tufnell, whereas royal-name and private-name scarab impressions account for 4% and 7%, respectively.[13]

Private-name scarabs are a distinctive object group of the Middle Kingdom. Most known private-name scarabs and their impressions date from late Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period. In the latter epoch, almost all known examples can be associated with the rulers of the northern part of Egypt. While still attested during the 18th Dynasty, private-name scarabs give way to other kinds of seals with names in the New Kingdom.[14] Middle Kingdom private-name scarabs were used for sealing, as evidenced by numerous impressions from Mirgissa, Wahsut, Lisht, Uronarti, Elephantine, Lahun, and other sites, and they are also attested in funerary contexts. There is little evidence to confirm the hypothesis that the private-name scarabs found in Middle Kingdom burials were deposited along with the person whose name is inscribed on the scarab, for almost no private-name scarabs were found together with other inscribed objects bearing the same name. One unique case is Lisht North tomb 453,[15] where a jasper scarab and a golden scarab plate,[16] both bearing the name of the chamber-keeper (*jtj-*ᶜ*t*) Ameny (*Jmnjj*), were found along with a shabti[17] bearing the

9 For the former, see Keel 1995, 240–241 and Ben-Tor 2007a, 20–21 and pl. 12 (1–4); for the latter, Richards 2001 and Ben-Tor 2007a, 83–85, 133–134, 165–166, pl. 35 (25–38), 55–56, 82–84.

10 Martin 1971.

11 Quirke 2001/2002; Miniaci, Haynes, and Lacovara 2018.

12 Gratien 2004b, 75.

13 Based on the data presented in Tufnell 1975.

14 Smith 2018.

15 Bourriau 1991, 17.

16 MMA 15.3.135a and 15.3.135b (Martin 195–196; museum website). A list of museum websites referred to in this work, is given at the end of the book, after the References. As distinct from museum websites, museum databases referred to in the work are internal museum databases, not accessible online.

17 Cairo JE 44954, Schneider 1977, I, 182; Figs. 3, 6.

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Fig. 2 Scarab of Ib, BM EA30529.
Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum. 18×12×8 mm.

same name and title.[18] Yet, in many cases, scarabs were deposited much later than the original owner's[19] lifetime. One inscribed scarab-plate is known that was fitted to a scarab bearing a different name, apparently in an attempt to appropriate a valuable scarab by attaching a new name to it without re-cutting the scarab (plate Field 239003-2 and scarab Field 239003-1[20]). It is also not clear whether only the persons named on scarabs used the scarabs with their names for sealing. There is textual evidence from late Middle Kingdom of people using their own seals to seal private deeds or to confirm transactions. Judging from the archaeological evidence, these seals were most likely scarabs as prevailing kind of seals used in the Late Middle Kingdom. For instance, there is a passage in the 13th Dynasty papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446, verso text B, lines 29-31:[21]

jw jsṯ rdj.n=j n [ḥmt=j] ȝwt jr m ntt ḥr rdjt n ḫȝ n wḥmw n [njwt rsj m] ḫtmt ḥr ḫtm=j ḥnʿ ḫtm n ḥmt=j Snb.tj=sj

And I gave [my wife] a gift, made according to that what is in (the document) given to the bureau of the reporter [of the Southern City as] a sealed document, (sealed) with my seal and the seal of my wife Senebtisi.[22]

Similarly, in a letter from Lahun, UC 32216:[23]

(a list of goods)
… m šd ḥr ḫtm n bȝk jm
... as a withdrawal (sealed) with the seal of the humble servant.

It is, however, hardly imaginable that scarabs bearing the names of Egypt's top officials, which are found in large numbers, could all be simultaneously held by the person named on them. More likely, they would have been distributed to a variety of people or offices. Best attested are scarabs of treasurers, both from the 13th and the 14th–15th Dynasty.[24] The series of scarabs with the names of 13th Dynasty treasurers Senebsumai, Senbi, and Nebersehui include 39, 11, and 9 scarabs, respectively; 14th–15th Dynasty treasurers Har and Peremhesut are known from 144 and 38 scarabs, respectively. Whether or not all people who held such seals with the names of the highest officials were entitled to use them for sealing, remains unclear. Yet, impressions of scarabs belonging to these series are also known. Sealings of Senebsumai were found in Wahsut[25] and Mirgissa.[26] Sealings of Senbi are known from Wahsut[27] and Ashkelon.[28]

A closely related issue is the use of royal-name scarabs. Such scarabs can be found in private burials, mostly in those of a date significantly later than the reigns of the respective kings. Royal-name scarabs were also used for sealing, and their specific role in the administration and the temporal framework of their usage remain unclear: who used them for sealing and when. Much controversy arises around the finds of sealings with the names of kings who are not thought to be contemporary in the same contexts, as discussed in Chapter 3 below.

18 Another notable exception is the decorative silver scarab MMA 40.3.12 (Martin 390; museum website) found on the body of Wah (name recorded on coffin MMA 20.3.202, which contained the body), located beneath the portico of the early Middle Kingdom tomb of Meketre in Asasif (Roehrig 2002, 14–23 and Roehrig 2003); the scarab bears the names of both Wah and Meketre on the back. The material and the inscription on the back make the scarab of Wah a very special case.

19 As it is never known who actually owned a scarab, I use the term "owner" to designate the person whose name is inscribed on a scarab regardless of who actually possessed the artefact.

20 Museum website.

21 Hayes 1955, pl. XIV, 116; Eyre 2013, 262.

22 It remains a matter of speculation whether one of the two known scarabs with the female name *Snb.tj=sj*, Cairo JE 75055 (Martin 1608) and MMA 10.130.296 (Martin 1609) belonged to the woman referred to in this text.

23 Collier and Quirke 2002, 152–153.

24 For an overview, see: Grajetzki 2001, 10–11, 18–20, 30, 35–36.

25 Wegner 2007, fig. 154 (16–17).

26 Gratien 2019, no. 3-66, 3-67, 3-90.

27 Wegner 2007, fig. 154 (23).

28 Ben-Tor and Bell 2018, no. 17a-b.

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Whereas scarabs of different categories were used in a similar way, private-name scarabs have more to offer to a researcher than design and royal-name scarabs. They bear names, and often titles and/or epithets. This textual data can be analysed in connection with external textual sources from a wide spectrum. Orthography, lexicography, anthroponymy, and prosopography can provide a context for private-name scarabs. When re-contextualised through the textual evidence, private-name scarabs can serve as valuable comparative material for studying scarabs of other categories – primarily design scarabs, which are the most common type in archaeological record and are thus relevant for dating their archaeological contexts. Design scarabs can be compared to private-name scarabs in terms of sculptural features and designs. Thereby, private-name scarabs can provide a link between the reconstructions based on written sources and those based on material evidence. When it comes to the geography of scarab production and use, private-name scarabs can be assigned to specific regions based on titles, anthroponymic and prosopographical data, unlike other categories of scarabs. These possibilities remain underexploited in previous research. Since the fundamental study by Geoffrey Martin,[29] private-name scarabs have been receiving less scholarly attention than other types of scarabs of the same period, particularly design scarabs from archaeological contexts in Egypt and the Levant.[30] Scholars developed advanced approaches for classifying and studying royal-name and design scarabs, based on the analyses of single sculptural features (sides, head, elytra, plates, suture; see Fig. 3 for the depiction of the principal parts of scarabs) and of the combinations of features (the workshop approach[31]). The focus on uninscribed scarabs, which is also seen by some as a welcome reversal of decades of scholarly interest being focused exclusively on name scarabs,[32] has greatly advanced the methods of studying scarabs and the understanding of their history. In this study, I attempt to take the best of both worlds by combining the rich data from textual sources, to which name scarabs can be anchored through inscriptions, and the methods of analysing scarab features elaborated by scholars of design scarabs. I leverage the established data concerning Middle Kingdom administration, prosopography, and anthroponymy to assign private-name scarabs to specific sub-periods and regions, analyse their sculptural features based on photographs and first-hand examinations in order to better understand the timeline and the geography of production of private-name scarabs and thus elaborate and refine criteria for establishing the date and origin of scarabs from their features. These criteria should be applicable to both name and design scarabs. Scarabs, other than those with private names, are studied alongside as comparative material, for royal-name scarabs provide the benchmark for dating scarabs, and design scarabs with recorded find spots enrich the evidence on the geographical spread of scarabs.

Re-examination of scarabs in museums

Martin laid the foundation for modern private-name scarab research by publishing a catalogue of non-royal inscribed scarabs, comprising 1670 scarabs beside several hundred seal impressions and seals of other types.[33] The catalogue included drawings of bases of almost all scarabs; other facets are not reproduced. Instead, Martin introduced classifications of sides and backs, ascribing each scarab he examined to a particular side and back class. As with all classifications, this system covers only a limited set of features; moreover, it can only partially be translated into the classes defined by Tufnell and Ward, which are used for royal-name and design scarabs. Ultimately, ascribing scarabs to types is always fallible; hence, the classifications not supported by published photos are drawings provide a poor basis for research. Therefore, wherever possible, this study avoids relying on class-codes determined by other scholars, favouring first-hand observations and reliable reproductions.

For all these reasons, the scarabs had to be documented anew for the present study based on published – preferably photographic – reproductions of sides and backs and on the examination of unpublished scarabs in museums and archives. I was able to examine personally, completely or in part, the private-name scarab collections at Aberdeen University Museums, the Egyptian Museum and Papyrus Collection (Berlin), the Egyptian Museum (Cairo), the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (Cambridge), the Oriental Institute Museum (Chicago), Museum August Kestner (Hannover), Roemer and Pelizaeus Museum (Hildesheim), the British Museum (London), the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology (London), the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts (Moscow), the Brooklyn Museum (New York), the Ashmolean Museum (Oxford), the Egyptian Museum (Turin), as well as the only private-name scarab stored in in the Oriental Museum (Durham). I did not get a chance to access the rich collections of the Metropolitan Museum of Art and some smaller collections; hence, the selection is inevitably narrower than that in the

29 Martin 1971.

30 Tufnell 1984; Ward and Dever 1994; Keel 1995; Mlinar 2001b; Mlinar 2004b; Ben-Tor 2007a.

31 In scarab studies, the approach was pioneered by Keel 1989a; 1994, 207–212 and Mlinar 2001b; 2004b; see a review in Boonstra 2020.

32 Richards 2001, 8–10.

33 Martin 1971.

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MMA 22.1.315 Scarabaeus sacer Source: Wikipedia MMA 22.1.315

Fig. 3 Principal parts of living scarabs and scarab-shaped artefacts.
1. Plate, 2. Clypeus, 3. Head, 4. Horn, 5. Pronotum, 6. Suture, 7. Elytron, 8. Front leg, 9. Middle leg, 10. Hind leg. Photo of a natural scarab by Sarefo from https://commons.wikimedia. org/wiki/File:Scarabaeus.sacer.jpg, licensed under Creative Commons CC-BY-SA-2.5; scarab MMA 22.1.315 (Lisht; public domain photo from https:// www.metmuseum.org/art/ collection/search/545214, credit line: Rogers Fund and Edward S. Harkness Gift, 1922)

catalogue by Martin. A total of 1444 scarabs were observed and studied in the museums, including 1004 private-name scarabs of the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period. I also used published and unpublished photographs and drawings of scarabs. Most importantly, the photographic album of scarabs from the King Fuad I collection, now in Cairo, is accessible among the papers of Étienne Drioton in the National and University Library in Strasbourg. A further 695 private-name scarabs were available for the study through reproductions of bases and backs (the reproduction of the base, sides, and back were available in only 410 cases). In terms of scarab bases, 1988 private-name scarabs of the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period were available for study, including 458 scarabs that are not figuring in Martin's catalogue, partly because he classified them as royal (royal daughters, wives, mothers)[34] and partly because they were not known at the time when this catalogue was published.

Scarab classifications

The classification of scarabs according to their features constitutes the backbone of comparative scarab studies. Whereas early researchers operated with composite scarab types, these types were decomposed in later research, and modern approaches rely on independent classifications of scarab heads, backs, sides, and bases and their different combinations (see Fig. 3 for the depiction of the principal parts of scarabs). In earlier publications, classifications played a double role. They not only served as an analytical tool, but also as means to spare the reproduction of the backs and sides of the published scarabs. Instead of drawing the features of each individual scarab or producing costly photographs, scholars indicated the type to which a scarab belonged by using a notation, usually employing letters and numbers. This practice has obvious drawbacks as classifications do not cover all features that may be relevant to scarab scholars and because, when matching features to classes, scholars cannot avoid a certain degree of subjectivity (which makes such attributions unsupported by drawings or ideally photographs unusable for subsequent scholars). The last major scholarly catalogue of Middle Kingdom scarabs devoid of reproductions of backs and sides was that by Martin[35], which regrettably remains the best available publication of most private-name scarabs.

34 On the other hand, Martin's catalogue included numerous scarabs, which are classified in the present work as royal-name scarabs, including 13th Dynasty scarabs with filiation formulae and 14th–15th Dynasty scarabs with the title *ḥqꜣ ḫꜣswt*.

35 Martin 1971.

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Chronologically the earliest classification of scarabs to be discussed is that by Henry Reginald Hall, primarily based on scarab profiles and styles, defined in such terms as "naturalistic," "conventionalised," "elaborate."[36] Hall classified most late Middle Kingdom scarabs as type B ("Conventionalised"). With the types defined too broadly, Hall's system does not offer means to study the diversity of scarabs in details.

In an unconventional approach, W. M. Flinders Petrie attempted to derive a typology of stone scarabs from an entomological classification of beetles, mapping his scarab types to biological genera and species.[37] The apparent downside was that this classification did not permit a reliable distinction of scarabs from different periods, for scarabs resembling particular kinds of beetles were produced continuously throughout Egyptian history. To make the system work, Petrie attempted to link his types to the geographical rather than the temporal diversity on one hand and introduced further subdivisions for a finer classification of artefacts on the other. However, the resulting classification was still of little use and was therefore abandoned by subsequent researchers. One of the fundamental problems was that the scarabs could not be classified unambiguously. For example, although scarabs UC 11207 and UC 11446 are similar, Petrie attributed the first to type M 88,[38] and the second to type J 97[39]; the framework provided no means to measure their similarity or dissimilarity.

Different from Hall and Petrie, Alan Rowe classified heads and clypeuses (HC) separately from elytra and prothoraxes (EP) and sides, and assigned each scarab to a HC type, an EP type and a side type.[40] With 79 head and clypeus types, 128 elytra and prothorax types and 67 side types, the system was very flexible. In this respect, Rowe paved the way to modern scarab classifications. However, each type was only defined by a sample picture without any textual description and, more importantly, little attempt was made to define the degree of proximity between the large number of distinct types. Othmar Keel pointed out that 75% of the elytra and prothorax types were represented by only one scarab in Rowe's publication, whereas 38% of all scarabs in the catalogue belonged to one and the same type.[41]

The next step for classifying scarabs was the introduction of major classes subdivided into minor classes. A nested organisation was more meaningful and combined the advantages of broad categories like those used by Hall and tiny categories like those used by Rowe. Scarabs that are distantly similar but differ in detail should belong to the same major class in such classifications, whereas the multiplicity of minor classes allows describing scarabs in precise details.

Martin developed classifications of backs, profiles, and bases, comprising only 7–11 classes each, subdivided into minor subclasses. He also provided an accurate textual description of each type along with a drawing, making clear, which features belong to the class definition. Yet, unlike Rowe, Martin did not pay much attention to the heads. His classification of scarab backs[42] was more akin to the typology by Hall[43] with definitions referring to the overall appearance of the clypeus, plates, head, pronotum, and elytra, described in somewhat vague terms (like "partly naturalistic," "stylised," "naturalistic"), and subtypes defined only in terms of the number of lines dividing the pronotum from the elytra, marking the suture and the base of the elytra.

David O'Connor in a rare attempt to develop a chronological timeline of scarab development based on finds from archaeological contexts in Egypt, first used composite back types and later adopted Martin's classes and a self-developed classification of designs.[44]

In contrast to the approach practiced by Martin and O'Connor, the system developed by Olga Tufnell and William Ward over a number of years and presented in several subsequent publications[45] places much emphasis on the classification of heads as one of the four principal elements, along with detailed classifications of sides and designs and a basic classification of backs (behind the head). Clypeuses remain outside this system. Like Martin, Tufnell and Ward arrange head, side, and design classifications as a series of major classes, subdivided into minor classes. Furthermore, minor types are arranged in a meaningful way based on observations on the development of scarabs so that, for example, head types D7, D8, and D9 resemble each other and emerge in the same period. Tufnell and Ward system is adopted with minor modifications in most modern studies on Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period scarabs, including the catalogue of Levantine scarabs by Othmar Keel,[46] studies by Daphna Ben-Tor,[47] Christa Mlinar,[48] and Vanessa Boschloos.[49] Baruch Brandl uses it alongside with Rowe's system.[50] It is, however, often pointed out that the classification is complicated and difficult to use by non-specialists.[51]

36 Hall 1913.
37 Petrie 1917, 5–6.
38 Petrie 1917, no. 10.Y.
39 Petrie 1917, no. 13.AF.
40 Rowe 1936.
41 Keel 1995, 40.
42 Followed by O'Connor 1985.
43 Hall 1913, XXIX–XXXV.
44 O'Connor 1974, 31–33 and O'Connor 1985.
45 Ward 1978; Tufnell 1984; Ward and Dever 1993. I use Tufnell 1984 as the primary reference.
46 Keel 1995, 1997, 2010a, 2010b, 2013, 2017.
47 Ben-Tor 2007a.
48 Mlinar 2001b.
49 Boschloos 2012 and other publications.
50 Brandl 2007; 2019.
51 Höflmayer 2007, 108.

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The corpus of private-name seals, studied and published by Martin, remains only described in terms of his classification. One can almost unambiguously convert Martin's profile types into Tufnell and Ward side types. Martin's back types can be translated into Tufnell and Ward's back types, but provide no information on the heads. One cannot map Tufnell and Ward's side and back types to Martin's types, because Martin's classification comprises more side types and by far more back types than that of Tufnell and Ward; the classification of backs adopted by Tufnell and Ward essentially accounts only for the number of suture lines and ignores the lines dividing the pronotum from the elytra and those at the back of the elytra. Accordingly, the two classifications are not interconvertible.

The present study combines elements of the two most common classifications. Scarab bases are classified according to Martin's classification of bases,[52] as this approach is most suitable for name scarabs, whereas the design classification by Tufnell and Ward is aimed at design scarabs and is less detailed when it comes to the borders of inscribed scarabs. For heads, backs, and sides, the classification of Tufnell and Ward is followed.[53] This system not only allows a comparison with the body of royal-name scarabs published by Ward, it also is a finer analytical device for studying scarab development and groups of scarabs that share common features.

As any scholar adopting the system, I had to adjust it in several respects to the material studied. The most significant modification concerns a head type common in the mid- to late 13th Dynasty. Tufnell and Ward proposed a type for oblong rectangular heads C7, originally defined as "double side lines, sometimes with horn, eyes unmarked"[54] but also understood as "squared oblong shape, eyes marked by single line, sometimes with horn."[55] However, no special type exists for similar low-profile heads (mostly with double sidelines) that are trapezoid in form. As a result, Tufnell and Ward classify such heads either as C7 (despite them being trapezoid[56]), D5 (despite them having an extra sideline,[57] or at least an oblong shape as opposed to proper D5-heads[58]), or as D6 (despite having sidelines of equal length instead of small dots for eyes[59]). This ambiguity was pointed out by Christa Mlinar,[60] who proposed to use the siglum C/D for such scarabs. To highlight the relation of this head type to C7-type rectangular low-profile heads, I designate oblong trapezoid heads with double (or rarely single) sidelines in this work as C7/D.

Another problem concerns head types B7 and B8. Tufnell and Ward originally defined B8 as "closed outline, depressed baseline, merging into D heads," making it an exceptional closed head within the "open head" class B; B7 was defined as "open outline, combined with trapezoid and horn," which contradicted the second of the two provided sketches, showing a closed outline with a depressed base.[61] Later, Ward attempted to resolve this contradiction between the depiction and the text by defining B7 as "eyes not shown, depressed base, with trapezoid and horn" and B8 as "eyes shown by single line, depressed base, sometimes with horn,"[62] implying that closed-form heads with a depressed base and single sidelines should belong to B7 (as depicted already in the 1984 work), and similar heads with extra sidelines, representing the eyes, belong to B8. This makes both B7 and B8 essentially depressed-base variants of D5 and D6, having strictly speaking no place in the open head class B. In this work, I chose to adopt the definition of B7 and B8 as depicted in the 1984 book by Tufnell and as defined in the 1994 book by Ward and Dever, accepting the false placement of these closed head types in class B. The key to the correct application of this definition are the depressed baselines of head types B7 and B8 as opposed to D5 and D6, which have straight baselines. However, Tufnell and Ward did not always consistently distinguish between the heads with depressed and straight baselines on a practical level. It was common for them to classify heads with depressed baselines as D5 and D6.[63] I attempt to correct that in this study and to classify all heads with depressed baselines as B7/8-type heads and only heads with straight baselines as D5/6-type heads. I also rephrase the descriptions of B7 and B8 to make it evident that these are closed forms.

The same applies to head types A6 and A7, which per definition have a depressed baseline in contrast to A3–A5, having a straight baseline.[64] The drawing of A6 in the 1984 work by Tufnell,[65] and its description by Ward in the 1994 study[66] imply that it has an oblong "sausage" shape, although the description in the 1984 book does not formally exclude other shapes. However, there are many heads with depressed baselines, which have a lunate form. Hence, I divide this head class into

52 Martin 1971.
53 As defined in Tufnell 1984; the minor revisions brought forward by Ward and Dever 1994, 161, Keel 1995, 39–63, Eggler and Keel 2006, do not significantly alter the classification of Middle Kingdom name scarabs.
54 Tufnell 1984, 31.
55 Ward and Dever 1994, 162.
56 Example: Tufnell 1984, no. 3168.
57 Example: Tufnell 1984, no. 3167.
58 Example: Tufnell 1984, no. 3134.
59 Example: Tufnell 1984, no. 3186.
60 Mlinar 2001b, II, 56.
61 Tufnell 1984, 34, 32.
62 Ward and Dever 1984, 162.
63 Ben-Tor 2007a, 106.
64 Tufnell 1984, 32 has three variants of A5 depicted, including one with a depressed baseline. The depressed baseline does not figure in the textual definition of the type A5 and this third drawing was later removed by Ward in Ward and Dever 1994, 163. Hence, I choose to consider A5 as having strictly a straight baseline.
65 Tufnell 1984, 32.
66 Ward and Dever 1994, 162.

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two: A6a (sausage shape as per illustrations by Tufnell and Ward) and A6b (lunate form). A6b-type heads resemble A3 and A5-type heads but differ from them by having depressed bases.

The definition of A4-type heads by Tufnell and Ward does not include eyes. The key characteristics of A4-type heads (as per definitions and drawings by Tufnell and Ward[67]), are the straight base (differing A4 from A6), rounded angles (differing A-type heads from C- and D-type heads), the horn, and occasionally the depressed frontline (differing A4 from all other head types except A6, B7, and B8, which all have the depressed baseline as well as the depressed frontline). If one accepts that only A4, A6, B7, and B8 can have a depressed frontline, one has to classify under A4 also the "saddle-like" heads with the straight base, converging sides, and depressed frontline, which have eyes (Fig. 39). Alternatively, one could classify such heads as D2, but I choose to consider the difference between the straight and the depressed frontline to be of more importance for the classification than the absence or presence of eyes. Despite converging sides, such heads have mostly rounded angles. To distinguish A4-type heads having converging sides and occasionally the depressed frontline from those with a more oblong form, I designate the former as A4a and the latter as A4b.

Additionally, I amend the head types C2/C5 (asymmetrical, combining features of C2 and C5) and D3a (six-sided rather than trapezoid heads with side lines incurved) and side type d16 (fore and mid legs bending down).

Other than heads, the classification of sides allows fewer ambiguities. Some scholars have a difficulty in distinguishing between the chip carved sides with mid-legs fringed (class d14) and the scored sides with mid-legs fringed (e6).[68] Baruch Brandl has recently showcased the importance of this distinction.[69]

As concerns Martin's classification of bases, I added subclasses 6c/2, 6c/3, and 6c/4+ to differentiate between the borders of opposed hieroglyphs having two, three, and at least four hieroglyphs, respectively. This was inspired by Ryholt's work on the typology of Second Intermediate Period scarabs,[70] for in his discussion of royal-name and private-name scarabs, Ryholt distinguished between panel-side bases with two and three pairs of signs on the sides. New base type 1g1 is added to describe scarabs with transverse oblong scrolls (both hooked and joined). New base type 1s1 applies to scarabs having a double dividing line apart from the features of 1s. Another addition is type 10, a border of double concentric circles, corresponding to Tufnell and Ward design class 4D2. Although Martin's catalogue does not include any scarabs with this design, a subsequently published scarab of the prince *Owppn*, with a border of concentric circles,[71] would have been classified by Martin as a private-name scarab and would need to be ascribed to a base class. Besides, this design occurs frequently on royal-name scarabs of the Second Intermediate Period. To describe royal-name scarabs in terms of Martin's base classification, three further types were added: 3f "no line" without any border; 11 "quadripartite arrangement of design elements and the name"; 12 "three-partite longitudinal arrangement" with two symmetrical elements on both sides of the name in longitudinal orientation (the latter type is also attested on MMA 10.130.407, which can be regarded as a private-name scarab,[72] but not necessarily as suggested by scarab MMA 22.1.1279[73] with a similar base decoration and a legend also derived from the divine name Ptah, but not readable as a private name).

For the ease of using this book, I provide below the definitions and drawings of base, head, back, and side types as used in this publication. These are based on the respective works by Martin, Tufnell, and Ward.

However handy the classifications may be for sorting out scarabs, they do not suffice for a comprehensive analysis of sculptural features. On the one hand, there are sculptural elements that are not taken into account. Regine Schulz[74] has pointed out that a detailed program of scarab description should not be limited to heads, backs, sides, and bases, but should also draw attention to different forms of eyes, clypeus, and plates. On the other hand, individual peculiarities distinguishing small groups of scarabs (including elements of what Schulz defines as scarab style[75]) often remain outside of conventional classifications, which aim to define larger groups of scarabs. Hence, it is necessary to study actual scarabs, not just mechanically analyse standard classes encoded with sigla.

67 Tufnell 1984, 32–33, Ward and Dever 1994, 162–163.
68 Mlinar 2004b, 135–138.
69 Brandl 2019.
70 Ryholt 2018.
71 Giveon, Tel Aviv 3, no. 5 (see Table 49 for references).
72 Martin 529; museum website.
73 Museum website.
74 Schulz 2007, 5–9.
75 Schulz 2007, 7–8.

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Base types of inscribed scarabs

Martin's classification[76] is used with additions detailed above and minor alterations specified below. The drawings are based on photographs of actual scarabs with the few exceptions noted.

1 Scroll border (Tufnell and Ward design class 7)

1a continuous, round, hooked (Tufnell and Ward design class 7A1a)
1b continuous, round, hooked, lotus bloom in interstices
1c continuous, round, hooked, centre panel
1d continuous, round, joined (Tufnell and Ward 7A1b)
1e continuous, round, joined, lotus bloom in interstices[77]
1f continuous, round, hooked,[78] lotus bloom and hieroglyphs in interstices
1g continuous, oblong, hooked (Tufnell and Ward 7A2a)
1h continuous, oblong, hooked and joined
1i continuous, oblong, transverse,[79] hooked and joined, lotus bloom in interstices
1i1 continuous, oblong,transverse, hooked and joined or just joined
1j continuous, oblong, joined (Tufnell and Ward 7A2b)
1k paired, 1 pair (top and bottom), oblong, hooked (Tufnell and Ward 7B1(ii)a)
1l paired, 1 pair (top and bottom), oblong, joined (Tufnell and Ward 7B1(ii)b)
1m paired, 2 pairs (top and bottom), round, hooked (Tufnell and Ward 7B2(i)a)
1n paired, 2 pairs (top and bottom), round, joined (Tufnell and Ward 7B2(i)b)
1o paired, 3 pairs, round, hooked (Tufnell and Ward 7B3(i)a)
1p paired, 3 pairs, oblong,[80] hooked, hieroglyphs in interstices
1q paired, 3 pairs, round, joined (Tufnell and Ward 7B3(i)b)
1r paired, 3 pairs, round, joined and hooked,[81] top open, bottom looped, lotus bloom in interstices
1s paired, 4 pairs, round, hooked (Tufnell and Ward 7B4(i)a)
1s1 paired, 4 pairs, round, hooked, double dividing line
1t paired, 4 pairs, round, hooked and joined,[82] lotus bloom in interstices
1u paired, 4 pairs, round, joined (Tufnell and Ward 7B4(i)b)
1u1 paired, 4 pairs, round, hooked and joined,[83] top and bottom open (Tufnell and Ward 7C4(i)b)
1v removed[84]
1w paired, multiple pairs, round, hooked (Tufnell and Ward 7B4(i)a)
1x paired, multiple pairs, round, hooked, top and bottom open (Tufnell and Ward 7C4(i)b)
1y paired, 2 pairs, oblong, hooked (Tufnell and Ward 7B2(ii)a)
1z paired, 2 pairs, oblong, hooked, top looped, bottom open (Tufnell and Ward 7C2(ii)a)
1aa paired, 2 pairs, oblong, hooked, top open, bottom looped (Tufnell and Ward 7C2(ii)a)
1ab paired, 2 pairs, oblong, hooked, top and bottom open (Tufnell and Ward 7C2(ii)a)
1ac paired, 2 pairs, oblong, hooked, top and bottom open, lotus bud finials (Tufnell and Ward 7C2(ii)a)[85]
1ad paired, 3 pairs, oblong, hooked (Tufnell and Ward 7B3(ii)a)
1ae1 removed[86]
1ae2 paired, 3 pairs, oblong, hooked, top looped, bottom open, lotus bud finials (Tufnell and Ward 7C3(ii)a)
1af paired, 3 pairs, oblong, hooked, top open, bottom looped (Tufnell and Ward 7C3(ii)a)
1ag paired, 3 pairs, oblong, hooked, top open, bottom looped, lotus bud finials
1ah paired, 3 pairs, oblong, hooked, top open, bottom looped, centre panel
1ai paired, 3 pairs, oblong, hooked, top and bottom open (Tufnell and Ward 7C3(ii)a)
1aj paired, 3 pairs, oblong, hooked and joined
1aj1 paired, 2 pairs, oblong, joined (Tufnell and Ward 7B2(ii)b)

76 Martin 1971, 149–150.
77 Not illustrated, because all examples with photographs available should be reclassified as 1b.
78 Martin defined this border type as joined, but a closer look at the only example (Cairo CG 36061, Martin 764a) shows that scrolls are hooked.
79 "Transverse" is added to Martin's definition based on the only known example of this type (UC 11347, Martin 1543).
80 Martin defined the scrolls as round, but the study of the only example (Cairo JE 75177, Martin 1736) shows that they are oblong.
81 Martin defined the scrolls as joined, but both examples Aberdeen ABDUA:81005 (Martin 1709) and Ukma 56/2 have joined and hooked scrolls.
82 Martin defined the scrolls as hooked, but the only example (BM EA66727, Martin 525) has one join.
83 Martin defined the scrolls as joined, but the only example (Berlin 32411, Martin 48a) has only one join.
84 Defined by Martin as "paired, 4 pairs, round, joined, lotus bloom in interstices," but in fact both examples of 1v (Basel Cat. 509 [Martin 303] and Berlin 32510 [Martin 645a]) feature hooks as well as joins, and thus this type is indistinguishable from 1t.
85 Redrawn from Martin 1971.
86 Martin defined the base class 1ae1 as "paired, 3 pairs, oblong, hooked, top looped, bottom open." However, elsewhere Martin classifies base decorations where the sidelines adjoin the inner ring as "top open" rather than "top looped" (as in class 1ab). And both examples of the base class 1ae1 (UC 11393 [Martin 1112]; UC 11405 [Martin 1007]) have exactly this arrangement; hence, they are better classified as 1ai (top and bottom open).

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1ak paired, 3 pairs, oblong, joined (Tufnell and Ward 7B3(ii)b)
1al1 paired, 3 pairs, oblong, hooked and joined,[87] top looped, bottom open (Tufnell and Ward 7C3(ii)b)
1al2 paired, 3 pairs, oblong, joined, top and bottom open (Tufnell and Ward 7C3(ii)b)
1al3 paired, 3 pairs, oblong, joined, top open, uraeus finials, bottom looped or open[88]
1am paired, 3 pairs, oblong, joined or hooked and joined,[89] top looped, bottom open, lotus bud finials
1an paired, 4 pairs, oblong, joined, centre panel (Tufnell and Ward 7B4 (ii)b)[90]
1ao1 paired, multiple pairs, round and oblong, hooked and joined
1ao2 paired, multiple pairs, round and oblong, hooked and joined, top looped, bottom open
1ap paired, multiple pairs, oblong, joined (Tufnell and Ward 7B4 (ii)b)
1aq looped
1ar looped, centre panel

2 Cable border
2a continuous (Tufnell and Ward 8C)
2b paired, top and bottom open

3 Plain border
3a single line
3b single line, central dividing line
3c1 single line, double dividing line
3c2 removed[91]
3d double line
3e double line, spiral (top and bottom)
3f no line

4 Rope border
4a single strand (Tufnell and Ward 8A or 8B)
4b single strand, inner scroll border (paired, 1 pair (top and bottom), oblong, hooked) (Tufnell and Ward 7B1(ii)a+8A)
4c single strand, inner scroll border (continuous, oblong, hooked) (Tufnell and Ward 7A2a+8A)
4d single strand, inner scroll border (paired, 3 pairs, oblong, joined) (Tufnell and Ward 7B3(ii) b+8A)
4e single strand, inner border of opposed hieroglyphs
4f double strand (Tufnell and Ward 8AA or 8BB)
4g double strand, inner scroll border (paired, 3 pairs, oblong, hooked) (Tufnell and Ward 7B3(ii) a+8AA)

5 Border of entwined lotus blooms. Paired, 2 pairs

6 Border of opposed hieroglyphs
6a continuous
6b continuous, centre panel
6c in side panels
6c/2 two hieroglyphs in each side panel (Tufnell and Ward 3E2 or 3E3)
6c/3 three hieroglyphs in each side panel (Tufnell and Ward 3E1)
6c/4+ four or more hieroglyphs in each side panel (Tufnell and Ward 3E1)
6d in side panels, uraeus finials

7 Border of debased hieroglyphs or crosshatching
7a debased hieroglyphs (Tufnell and Ward 3E6)
7b cross-hatching (Tufnell and Ward 3E4)

8 Border of opposed wings

9 Human figure (Tufnell and Ward 10A1)

10 Border of double concentric circles (Tufnell and Ward 4D2)

11 Quadripartite arrangement of design elements and the name

12 Tripartite longitudinal arrangement

87 Martin defined the scrolls as joined, but two examples Berlin 32578 (Martin 1104) and Berlin 32661 (Martin 1695a) have joined and hooked scrolls; Durham EG3630 (Martin 591) shows bud finials and belongs to type 1am.

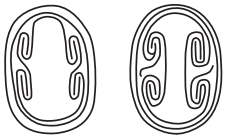
88 Martin has "bottom looped," but the only scarab attributed by him to this class has an open bottom (Berlin 32620, Martin 1417). Yet, other scarabs with uraeus finials exhibit looped bottoms (Berlin 32704, BM EA66159).

89 Marin has "joined," but the only scarab he cites (UC 11370 [Martin 1473]) has hooked and joined loops. Yet another scarab has joined loops (Berlin 32599 [Martin 1253]).

90 Is not attested in the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period. The only example cited by Martin, BM EA32276 (Martin 855) belongs to one of the early 18th Dynasty governors of Elkab Reneny or Reny (for these persons, see: Auenmüller 2015, 917–918).

91 The only example, MMA 05.3.458 (Martin 812) is not a scarab but a golden scarab plate.

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Continuous and paired scroll borders				
	round hooked, hooked and joined	round joined	oblong hooked, hooked and joined	oblong joined
continuous	1a 	1d 	1g 	1j 
	1b 	1e* 	1h 	
	1c 		1i 	
	1f 		1i1 	
1 pair			1k 	1l 
2 pairs	1m 	1n 	1y 	1aj1 
			1z 	
			1aa 	
			1ab 	
			1ac 	

* Based on a drawing in Firth 1927, pl. 35 (87).

Table 1 Typology of scarab bases.

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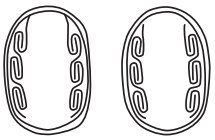
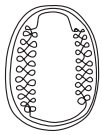
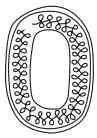
Continuous and paired scroll borders				
	round hooked, hooked and joined	round joined	oblong hooked, hooked and joined	oblong joined
3 pairs	1o 	1q 	1ad 	1ak 
	1r 		1ae2 	1al2 
			1af 	1al3 
			1ag 	1am 
			1ah 	1am 
			1ai 	
			1aj 	
			1al1 	
			1p 	

Table 1 Typology of scarab bases. (continuation)

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Continuous and paired scroll borders				
	round hooked, hooked and joined	round joined	oblong hooked, hooked and joined	oblong joined
4 pairs	1s 	1u 		
	1s1 			
	1t 			
	1u1 			
multiple pairs	1w 		1ao1 	1ap 
	1x 		1ao2 	

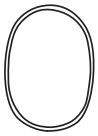
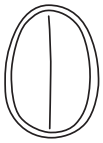
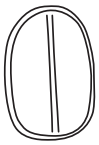
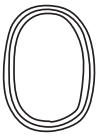
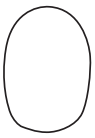
Looped scroll border				
	1aq 	1ar* 		

* Drawing based on Martin's sketch.

Table 1 Typology of scarab bases. (continuation)

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Cable border				
	2a 	2b 		

Plain border			
	3a 	3b 	3c1 
	3d 	3e 	3f 

Rope border				
4a 	4b 	4c 	4d 	4e 
4f 	4g 			

Border of entwined lotus blooms		
	5 	

Table 1 Typology of scarab bases. (continuation)

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Border of opposed hieroglyphs			
6a 	6b 		
6c/2 	6c/3 	6c/4 	
6d 			

Border of debased hieroglyphs or crosshatching		
7a 	7b 	

Other types				
8 	9 	10 	11 	12 

Table 1 Typology of scarab bases. (continuation)

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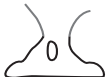
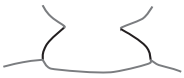
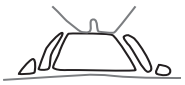
A	B	C	D
A1 			D1 
A2 	B2 	C2 	
		C2/C5 	
A3 	B3 	C3 	D3 
			D3a 
A4a 	B4 		D4 
A4b 			
A5 	B5 	C5 	D5 
A6a 	B6 	C6 	D6 
A6b 	B7 	C7 	D7 
A7 	B8 	C7/D 	D8 
			D9 

Table 2 Typology of scarab heads.

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Head types
The classification by Tufnell and Ward is used[92] with alterations, the most important of which are detailed above. The list is limited to head types occurring in this book.

A Lunate head
A1 plain (rarely with vertical strokes)
A2 baseline incomplete or omitted
A3 eyes shown by single lines, baseline not depressed
A4a plain (often rounded) with horn, with and without eyes, baseline not depressed, converging sides, occasionally depressed frontline ("saddle-like")
A4b plain (often rounded) with horn, with and without eyes, baseline not depressed, rounded sides ("sausage-shape")
A5 eyes shown by double lines, baseline not depressed
A6a sausage-shape, depressed baseline, with and without eyes and horn
A6b lunate, depressed baseline, eyes shown by single or double lines
A7 as A6a but rounded or squared[93]

B Open head, probably combining head with clypeus (becoming closed in the Middle Kingdom)
B2 single or double "hour-glass" outline, horn sometimes shown
B3 "hour-glass" outline, eyes indicated at base, horn sometimes marked
B4 "hour-glass" outline, rounded eyes extending outwards
B5 open outline at top, rounded and depressed at base
B6 open outline at top, rounded and depressed at base, with horn
B7 closed outline, depressed baseline, with horn
B8 closed outline, depressed baseline, with horn and double sidelines

C Square head
C2 plain square, horn marked, combined with B outlines
C2/C5 asymmetrical head with features of C2 on one side and of C5 on the other
C3 gabled with horn at apex, within B-type outlines, with eyes marked on exterior
C5 double sidelines, horn and eyes marked on exterior outline
C6 inner square within stepped outline, sometimes with horn
C7 double sidelines, oblong shape, sometimes with horn
C7/D double sidelines, oblong shape, sometimes with horn, merging in D heads

D Trapezoidal heads
D1 plain trapezoid, eyes extended outwards
D3 plain, with B outlines, sometimes with horn[94]
D3a plain, with broken sidelines (six-sided, gabled), with horn
D4 plain trapezoid without additional markings
D5 double sidelines, with or without horn
D6 double sidelines, with horn, eyes marked on exterior outline
D7 double sidelines forming inner triangle, eyes indicated at base
D8 triangle, with and without horn, pointed clypeus notches the tip of the head, no eyes
D9 triangle with double sidelines, pointed clypeus notches the tip of the head, with or without eyes

face Human face

Clypei
There is no established classification for clypei. The features of scarab clypei in previous studies are mostly indirectly defined by specifying the head type or the "style" of a scarab (naturalistic, stylised, elaborate, etc.). To enable the objective analysis of variations between different clypei, it is proposed to describe clypei in the following terms (partly based on descriptions formulated by Schulz[95]).

The forms of the clypeus in relation to the plates and the head on Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period scarabs can be divided into three basic types:

- **deeply set** the clypeus is set lower than the head, on the same level as the plates (Figs. 28, 32)
- **raised at base, deeply set at front** the base of the clypeus (the part closest to the head) is raised; the clypeus sinks towards the front; front of the clypeus is set on the same level as the plates (Fig. 29)
- **raised** the clypeus is raised above the plates (Fig. 34)

The clypeus can be unseparated from the plates or separated from them by single or double partition lines.

The front of the clypeus can be with or without serrations (plain), in most cases four (conforming to the biology of scarab beetles). It can also have a straight or a zig-zag-shaped border line incised on the top face.

92 Tufnell 1984, 31–34.
93 Definition from Ward and Dever 1994, 162, replacing the incomprehensible "depressed head, late versions (rare)."
94 Definition from Ward and Dever 1994, 162.
95 Schulz 2007.

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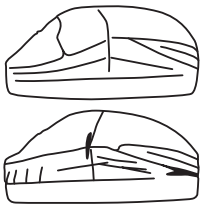
c		**d**		**e**	
c		d4			
		d5		e5	
		d6		e6b	
				e6b	
				e6c	
		d7		e7	
		d8		e8	
		d9		e9	
				e10	
				e11	
		d14			
		d16			

Table 3 Typology of scarab sides.

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Back types

Classification by Tufnell and Ward[96] is adopted with additions.

O	no lines
I	one line dividing the elytra
II	two lines dividing the elytra
III	three lines dividing the elytra
IIII	four lines dividing the elytra
H	two lines diving the elytra with crossbars or "ladder" between the elytra and/or between elytra and pronotum
7b	back decorated with a pattern of tiny stylised scarabaei[97]

Side types

Classification by Tufnell and Ward[98] is used with alterations, the most important of which are detailed above. The list is limited to side types occurring in this book.

c	chip carved, pierced (hollowed)
d	chip carved, squared profile, legs meet where pronotum and elytra join
d4	hind legs notched
d5	legs plain, squared base
d6	fore, mid, and hind legs notched
d7	fore and mid legs notched
d8	fore and hind legs notched
d9	fore legs notched
d14	fore and hind legs notched, mid legs fringed
d16	fore and mid legs bend down and extend to the base
e	scored, squared profile, base grooved, legs shown by grooving, notching, or fringing
e5	groove incomplete, hind legs diagonal
e6a/	fore and hind legs notched, mid leg fringed
e6b	(the two types are not clearly distinguished)
e6c	fore and mid legs fringed, hind leg notched, without plain surface as in e6a and e6b
e7	scored as e6, but surface plain
e8	hind legs diagonal, all legs notched
e9	hind legs diagonal, fore and/or mid legs notched
e10	complete groove, notches on fore and hind legs
e11	complete groove, no markings

96 Tufnell 1984, 34–35.
97 Siglum and definition from Martin 1971, 153.
98 Tufnell 1984, 36–38.

Scarab collections and collectors

Most private-name scarabs known to date do not come from properly documented excavations but originate from the antiquities market. Most major scarab collections were originally built by private collectors and eventually landed in museums. The period of British rule in Egypt (1882–1922) was the height of scarab collecting. Major European museum collections established before this era include relatively few scarabs compared to the number of other Egyptian artefacts (like the Egyptian Museum in Turin and the Louvre), but collections that emerged around this period (such as the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, or the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow) or older museums acquiring sizeable private collections from this era (the British Museum, the Museum of Egyptian Antiquities in Cairo, and eventually the Egyptian Museum in Berlin) often have myriads of scarabs, sometimes accounting for almost all Egyptian objects held by a museum (Marischal Museum in Aberdeen or Portland Art Museum).

During the last third of the 19th century, the British Empire was increasingly dominating Egypt economically and politically for a variety of reasons until Egypt was eventually occupied in 1882.[99] Scarabs became a favourite collectible for some of the British officers, medics, engineers, but also British and American entrepreneurs, missionaries,[100] and scholars who visited Egypt or settled in the country. Apart from the growing British presence in Egypt, another factor contributing to scarab trade was the increasing flow of tourists after the introduction of the steamboat service on the Nile by the British company Thomas Cook & Son in 1870.[101] During this era, most tourists in Egypt were British and Americans.[102]

The retired British entrepreneur John Ward captured the disposition of amateur scarab collectors and their relations with professional Egyptologists at the turn of the 20th century: "I have found scarab-hunting by the Nile a most enjoyable pastime, especially, as has often been my good fortune, when I had, at no very great distance, my friends Dr. Petrie or Professor Sayce to supply an identification or clear up the doubtful reading of some new 'find.' The friendly sympathy of such experts is encouraging to one who does not possess such ripe knowledge himself and deserves the deepest gratitude."[103]

Collectors such as John Ward amassed hundreds and thousands of scarabs, and the antiquities dealers met the growing demands, no doubt encouraging

99 Reid 1998.
100 According to Sharkey (2008), the British occupation was beneficial for American Presbyterian missionary activity in Egypt.
101 Hunter 2004.
102 Reid 2002, 64–92, 299–302.
103 Ward 1902, ix.

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clandestine excavations of Egyptian necropolises to procure the needed number of collectibles. American Egyptologist Charles Wilbour preserved evidence on the wholesale trade in scarabs active as early as 1881. In one of his letters, he reports about meeting the son of a Luxor antiquities dealer in Cairo: "Ahmed, son of Mustapha Aga of Luxor came to see me yesterday afternoon and we talked till too late for the Kings of the Museum. ... He told me all about the people up there and says they have a lot of new things this year to sell. Saturday I heard Mustapha was buying scarabees to take to Luxor."[104] Luxor was one key point, where numerous Western tourists visiting Egypt were buying antiquities, and local antiquity dealers had to buy scarabs from Cairo to resell them in Luxor at a higher price. Another place popular with tourists and sellers of antiquities were the pyramids of Giza. Scarab collector John Loftie described the scarab trade there in 1879: "The Arabs of the Pyramids do a great trade in genuine scarabs, which they import from other places, and sell on the spot."[105] This practice of the wholesale trade in scarabs should be kept in mind when inferring the probable provenance of an object from the purchase place. All scarabs purchased from dealers anywhere in Egypt could have been brought from elsewhere to supply the demand at touristic hotspots. Scarabs reported to have been purchased at an archaeological site from local residents may be considered more reliable evidence of origin, as these individuals are less likely to have been involved in wholesale trade.

The interest of collectors aligned with the interest of scholars, who primarily explored inscribed scarabs. As John Ward put it, scarabs were "regarded as of first-rate importance in helping to establish the chronological periods of Egyptian history,"[106] and the value of scarabs for the collectors was conditional on whether they served this goal. According to Loftie, the price of scarabs was largely dependent on the inscription, "One franc is a sufficient price for an ordinary example uninscribed, or only bearing the name of Amen-Ra or Thothmes III., but for well-coloured specimens and for old kings' names, a higher price is asked, even a napoleon, or £1, being sometimes demanded, and not unfrequently paid by enthusiastic collectors."[107] Artistic quality, in case of scarabs rather understood as preservation ("well-coloured specimens", that is scarabs with intact glazing, as opposed to the majority of scarabs with worn off or discoloured glazing), the choice of materials, and elaboration, common criteria for the value of any kind of collectibles, were obviously also taken into consideration. In evaluating the Timins collection, Newberry highlighted both aspects: "Captain Timins has always kept in view the historic, as well as the artistic side of the glyptic art. Many specimens are the finest examples of glazed steatite known, and from an historic point of view several specimens are unique."[108]

This preference for inscribed scarabs had a bearing on the preservation of scarabs of different categories. Major scarab collections evidently have a much higher proportion of name scarabs than was originally the case in the corpus of Middle Kingdom scarabs, as attested by scarab impressions.

The largest collections of scarabs now known emerged during 1880s–1910s. The personalities of the collectors are diverse. The British archaeologist Flinders Petrie, working in Egypt since 1880, was buying scarabs throughout his excavations in Egypt, and his personal collection is now in the Petrie Museum in London, complementing the collection bequeathed by Amelia Edwards and the finds from Petrie's archaeological work that were left to the excavator after the division of finds. Royal-name and private-name scarabs in this collection alone amount to over 2000.[109] The other major scarab scholar of that time, Percy E. Newberry, also built up his own collection although on a smaller scale than Petrie. It is now in the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in Cambridge. Newberry was in close touch with most dealers and collectors of scarabs in the early 20th century. His records, now in Oxford, provide a valuable source for tracing the trajectories of scarabs, for he copied scarab inscriptions and noted the owner at that time.

British engineer George Fraser[110] was participating in excavations of the Egypt Exploration Fund since 1889. His collection of scarabs, acquired by the Egyptologist von Bissing in 1906, eventually landed in the Antikenmuseum Basel.[111]

American Presbyterian missionary Chauncey Murch lived in Luxor since 1883. He turned collecting Egyptian antiquities into a business, reportedly out of need.[112] He assembled several lots of scarabs, which he successfully sold to the British Museum and the Art Institute of Chicago. Later, Helen Miller Gould Shepard purchased his replenished collection of antiquities, mostly scarabs, reportedly to support his missionary work, and donated it to the Metropolitan Museum of Arts.[113]

Scottish physician James Grant was living in Egypt in 1880s and 1890s. His scarab collection is now in Aberdeen. Like other prolific British collectors of

104 Wilbour 1936, 73.
105 Loftie 1879, 146–147.
106 Ward 1902, ix.
107 Loftie 1879, 147.
108 Newberry 1907b, 3.
109 Petrie 1917, 34.
110 Here and henceforth, the basic biographical information on collectors stems from the respective entries in Bierbrier 2019.
111 Hornung and Staehelin 1976, 7.
112 Wilson 1964, 78–79. For a general account of the American mission in Luxor, see: Sharkey 2008.
113 Mace 1911; Peck 2016, 398.

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the time, he was in touch with Petrie, who frequently visited Grant in Cairo. With the help of his scholarly acquaintances, Grant arranged his collection according to the scholarly knowledge of the era (the collection is still stored in drawers with the original labels).

British captain C.S. Timins or Timmins[114] had his collection of ca. 580 scarabs published by Newberry.[115] A decade later he was disenchanted in Egypt, and hastily sold his collection.[116] Lord Carnarvon acquired his scarabs, and they eventually ended up in the Metropolitan Museum of Art with Carnarvon's own collection, which also included pieces from his own excavations.

Major Robert Grenville Gayer-Anderson was a British military officer serving in Egypt and later a senior official serving the Egyptian government under British domination. A collection of scarabs he assembled between 1907 and 1917 is now in the Portland Art Museum (Oregon).[117] Some other scarabs from his collection are now in Stockholm, purchased in 1930.[118]

American businessman Theodore M. Davis was visiting Egypt and collecting antiquities since 1880s; occasionally he also organised excavations, carried out by Newberry.[119] He bequeathed his collection to the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Some of his scarabs stem from Murch,[120] and some he purchased from Mohammed Mohassib in Luxor.[121]

British politician Henry Algernon George Percy was fascinated with the Orient and brought a significant collection of scarabs from his travels in Egypt. After his death in 1909, the collection remained in the family castle of Northumberland, eventually being sold off on Sotheby's and dispersed in 1975.[122] Significant parts of the collection are now in Hannover (Museum August Kestner) and Berlin (Verein zur Förderung des Ägyptischen Museums in Berlin); some still remain in private hands.[123]

Another member of British nobility amassing a sizeable scarab collection was Edward George Spencer-Churchill. Most inscribed scarabs from his collection entered the British Museum after his death in 1964, but the collection was made up at much earlier date, as evidenced by a brief catalogue published by Petrie in 1926, which already includes almost all items relevant for this study.[124]

Other British collectors active in the same period were Joseph John Acworth (his scarabs are now in the British Museum), George Denis Nash (also in the British Museum). Among non-English speaking collectors, a notable collection of scarabs was formed by Vladimir Golenischeff during the same period (1880s until his financial collapse in late 1900s). It is now at the Pushkin Museum in Moscow.[125]

A collection of almost 4000 scarabs was amassed by London collector Kurt Stern between the late 1940s and early 1970s[126], and bequeathed to the Israel Museum in Jerusalem in 1976. The collection includes two scarabs from Garstang excavations in Abydos (Jerusalem IM 76.31.4528 from findspot 416 A'07) and Esna (Jerusalem IM 76.31.4516 from findspot 198E). Hence, presumably one of subscribers to Garstang excavations was among the sources for Stern's collection.

Ralph H. Blanchard and the provenance of purchased scarabs

Ralph H. Blanchard came to Egypt in 1905 and soon established himself as a dealer in antiquities in Cairo. He actively traded scarabs; scarabs with labels and certificates issued by Blanchard remain on the market until these days. As scarabs were a common stock in his shop, Blanchard ordered cardboard scarab-holders printed with the line "This scarab is guaranteed genuine. (Signature) Cairo, Egypt" to facilitate sales. At the same time, he also retained a huge collection of scarabs that he evidently deemed valuable, while selling the less interesting items to tourists. During his lifetime, he showed his collection to Percy E. Newberry.[127] After his death, the two major parts of his scarab collection were acquired by Fouad Matouk and George Michailides. Later, Michailides showed his part of the former Blanchard collection to Bernhard Grdseloff, who copied private-name scarabs,[128] and to Peter Kaplony, who produced impressions in modelling clay to prepare a catalogue of the collection.[129] The two parts of the collection ended up the Bibel+Orient Museum in Fribourg (6124 scarabs from the Matouk collection, which is not limited to Blanchard's former possessions) and the Berlin Egyptian Museum (ca. 1800 scarabs from the Michailides collection).

What distinguishes Blanchard from many other collectors is that he recorded modern Egyptian locations on many scarabs in his collection. Allegedly, these could be places of purchase. The geography of place names coming up on Blanchard scarabs

114 On the name, see: Jaeger 1982, 384.
115 Newberry 1907b.
116 Hagen and Ryholt 2016, 130.
117 Sarr 2004.
118 Martin 1978.
119 Adams 2013.
120 Mace 1921, 36.
121 Adams 2013, 171.
122 Sotheby 1975; private-name scarabs catalogued by Martin 1979.
123 Grimm-Stadelmann 2012; Fay 2003.
124 Petrie 1926.
125 Hodjash 1999.
126 David 2019, 61; on Stern, see also: Israeli in Ben-Tor 1989, 7.
127 Numerous entries in Newberry MSS.
128 Grdseloff MSS 3.24.
129 Materials of this unfinished work were published posthumously in Kaplony 2016.

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Fig. 4 Scarab of Saneferet, MMA 30.8.657. Reproduced from Martin 1971, pl. 2 (2). 25 mm.

extends far beyond the geography of Middle Kingdom settlements and cemeteries known to modern archaeologists. Supposedly, many of the sites were only ever explored by clandestine diggers. The sites in Lower Egypt figuring on Blanchard's labels[130] are Banha, Bilbeis, Qantir, Shibin el-Qanatir, Tell el-Yahudiya, Tell Basta, Tell Mukdam, Tukh el-Qaramus, Zagazig. In the Memphite area – Abusir, Lahun, Lisht, Mit Rahina, Saqqara. In Upper Egypt – Akhmim, Asyut, Aswan, Dendera, Edfu, Qau el-Kebir, Qena. The high number of Delta toponyms conforms with Newberry's remark that most scarabs in the Timins collection come from either Eastern Delta or from Upper Egypt[131] and with Petrie's assertion that "the great bulk of scarabs that flow in to the Cairo dealers come from towns in the Delta."[132] Supposedly, trips to the Delta were a common way to come across valuable scarabs, which could be purchased from local people and enlarge one's collection or be resold at a higher price. In some but not all cases, the inscription on the scarab corroborates the information provided by Blanchard labels.

One of the scarabs for which Blanchard supposedly recorded the place of purchase, Berlin 32525 ("L Chebin Qanatir") was seen by Newberry in Cairo in the possession of the previous owner, Cairo antiquities dealer Abemayor.[133] Thus, Blanchard did not purchase the scarab directly from a local dealer at Chebin Qanatir, but rather from Abemayor. As the reliability of Blanchard's labels is not established, I decided to disregard them in this book until further study.

130 On Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period name scarabs in Berlin.

131 Newberry 1907b, 3.

132 Petrie 1925, 9.

133 Newberry MSS, Newberry_PEN_G_VI_E_D_unnumbered_02.

Kings Fuad I and Farouk I

A particular case of scarab-collecting on a large scale is provided by the scarabs amassed by the two kings of Egypt, Fuad I, reining as Sultan since 1917 and as King of Egypt since 1922 until his death in 1936, and his son Farouk I, ruling from 1936 until the 1952 revolution.

The collection of the Egyptian king Fuad included approximately ten thousand scarabs when he donated it to the Egyptian Museum shortly before his death.[134]

Some scarabs that later entered the King Fuad I collection were seen by Newberry in the possession of an unnamed Cairo merchant in 1914.[135] Evidently, the king purchased these items after 1914. Among Newberry papers in the Griffith Institute, one finds several copies of other scarabs that later became part of the Fuad I collection with the note "Nahman," referring to the well-known antiquities dealer Maurice Nahman, who had a shop in Cairo. These are Cairo JE 75044, Cairo JE 75104, Cairo JE 75038.[136] Yet another scarab, which ended up in the King Fuad I collection (Cairo JE 75065), was seen by Newberry at a different Cairo dealer, André Bircher in 1908–1909.[137] It is possible that one of these dealers was the Cairo merchant referred to by Newberry in his 1914 paper; however, it is as likely that the future king sourced his scarabs from other dealers in Cairo as well.

Fuad's successor, king Farouk I was also an avid scarab collector. His collection of ca. 1800 scarabs and seals was confiscated after the 1952 revolution and is stored in the Egyptian Museum separately from the museum's holdings. Only a part of this collection has been published so far.[138]

Forgeries

Forgeries are inherent to the scarab trade, and modern scarabs range from unassuming souvenirs aimed at inexperienced tourists to carefully executed forgeries disguised as scarabs of significant historical importance.[139] Accordingly, almost all modern collections of scarabs include fakes. The phenomenon was much discussed in scholarly literature. One may particularly refer to the evidence provided by Budge[140] and a study by Hornung and Staehelin.[141] Yet, it would be reasonable to briefly discuss forgeries of private-name scarabs. Recently, Kim Ryholt drew attention to a modern hard-stone scarab in the British Museum,

134 Steindorff 1936; Engelbach 1942.

135 Newberry 1914, pl. X (a) = Cairo JE 74963; pl. X (b) = Cairo JE 74974; pl. X (d) = Cairo JE 72816; pl. X (g) = Cairo JE 72863; pl. X (m) = Cairo JE 75103.

136 Newberry MSS, Newberry_PEN_G_VI_E_D_019 (Griffith Institute, Oxford).

137 Newberry MSS, Newberry_PEN_G_VII_N_A_110 (Griffith Institute, Oxford).

138 Ragab 2018, 3–4.

139 Fiechter 2005, 75–79, 253–260.

140 Budge 1920, 324–326.

141 Hornung and Staehelin 1976, 30–31.

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Fig. 5 A modern copy of the scarab of Saneferet, BM EA64855.
Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum. 20×12×9 mm.



Fig. 6 A modern copy of the scarab of Saneferet, Hannover 1976.91. Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich.
37×24×17 mm.

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Fig. 7 Scarab of Rehuankh, Berlin 32545.
Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. This image is copyright. Reproduced by permission of Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. 22×15×9 mm.



Fig. 8 A modern copy of the scarab of Rehuankh, UC 11504.
Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. 20×14×8 mm.

BM EA69842 being a copy of a 12th Dynasty steatite name-scarab, now also in the British Museum, BM EA67811.[142] Ryholt pointed out that the inscription on the hard-stone is a slavish copy of the signs on the steatite piece, including a meaningless scratch on the original. The carving misrepresents the features of hieroglyphic signs that are crucial for their differentiation (thus the *m* sign does not have a proper head, making it look like *w*, which does not occur in authentic inscriptions, regardless of the quality). Telling is also the contrast between the unsteady carving and the choice of material (hard stone was generally only used for high-quality scarabs in Egypt).

The scarab discussed by Ryholt is just one of several hard-stone scarabs made in modern times by copying an inscription from an authentic steatite scarab. Other examples I was able to detect are BM EA64855 (Fig. 5; green jasper)[143] and Hannover 1976.91 (Fig. 6; green jasper),[144] both inauthentic and likely to be copies of the steatite scarab MMA 30.8.657 (Fig. 4).[145] The cues pinpointed by Ryholt also occur on these two scarabs: clumsy inscription with signs of the original misrepresented. The most striking feature of these two forgeries is the rendering of the sign *wḥm* (Gardiner

142 Ryholt 2016.

143 Martin 1304; examined first-hand.

144 Martin 1979, no. 2; Beste 1979, 132–133; examined first-hand.

145 Martin 1305.

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Fig. 9 Forged scarab of Saamun, Brooklyn 37.512E.
Photo by the Brooklyn Museum, taken by A.Ilin-Tomich, available under the CC BY license on https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/117156. 18×13×8 mm.

sign F25) in *wḥm-ʿnḫ* "repeating life", resembling the vertical *ḥwt*-sign (Gardiner sign O6), and the elongated sign used for *jpt*. Another green jasper scarab, UC 11196[146] is a copy of a scarab that was on sale in Mohammed Mohassib's shop in 1884.[147] Its carving is again schematic, and its back features the humeral callosities, otherwise unattested on scarab seals before late Second Intermediate Period.[148] Likewise, Jerusalem IM 76.31.2512 (red jasper)[149] appears to be a copy of the scarab Petrie, Historical Scarabs, 274 (steatite),[150] said to come from Thebes (likely just purchased in Luxor or seen at a dealer there). Here again, the original scarab has a 4a-type rope-border base, and the hard-stone copy features a simpler 3a border and a clumsily carved inscription with a deformed *w*-sign (Gardiner sign G43).

Inscribed hard-stone scarabs are rare and expensive, and the forgers evidently intended to gain maximum profits by copying inscriptions from original steatite scarabs onto hard-stone pieces (the question remains open whether genuine uninscribed hard-stone scarabs were carved with a modern inscription in any of such cases to increase the market value).

Even more common are forgeries made in steatite. These can be recognised by impossible combinations of features. Thus, scarab UC 11464[151] shows the same inscription as a large group of 13th Dynasty scarabs (Martin 575-588), yet the carving is flimsy, and the head has an otherwise unattested form, broadening at the front. Scarab UC 11504[152] (Fig. 8) has sandwich-like e11-type sides, unattested before the Second Intermediate Period (see below) and the roughly carved back with an otherwise unattested form of the clypeus (massive, raised, with a broad base and straight sides). The inscription is a generally accurate copy of Berlin 32545 (Fig. 7),[153] yet the *tjw*-bird is misrepresented as *w*, and most notably, the heavily worn-out Berlin scarab, which has almost none of its 3a-type borders remaining, was copied one-to-one on a scarab with no significant attrition on the sides, so that the resulting base decoration has no border at all, but the scarab looks like new.

Authentic scarabs used as a source for making copies cannot always be found in modern collections. Thus Brooklyn 37.512E (Fig. 9)[154] features an impossible combination of humeral callosities and a typically Middle Kingdom title string *ḫtmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḫnrt*. The seal sign (Gardiner sign S19 or S20) in *ḫtmw* is misrepresented by the head sign (Gardiner sign D1). Besides, the scarab is carved from ivory, a material next to non-existent in the corpus of private-name scarabs. No other scarab with the same name and title

146 Martin 565; examined first-hand.
147 Wilbour Notebooks 2F, 30. Wilbour's drawing shows the rope-border 4a, unlike the UC piece with a simple 3a border.
148 Keel 1995, 50–51; note however that on heart-scarabs (which are not dealt with in the present study), humeral callosities appear already under the 13th Dynasty: Leiden L.II.6 (Quirke 2001/2002, pl. 1; Lorand 2008, 23–29) and BM EA64378 (Andrews 1994, fig. 44 [bottom right]; Miniaci 2011, 133 fig. 139), both from the reign of Sobekhotep IV; see also BM EA15516 (Quirke in Oppenheim et al. 2015, 245), datable to the late 12th–13th Dynasty.
149 Ben-Tor 1989, 78 (5); museum website.
150 Martin 1562.
151 Martin 577; examined first-hand.
152 Martin 857; examined first-hand.
153 Martin 858, examined first-hand.
154 Martin 1277, examined first-hand.

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Fig. 10 Scarab of Iyib, supposedly modern, Walters 42.42.
Photo from https://art.thewalters.org/detail/6449/, licensed under Creative Commons Zero: No Rights Reserved.
26×19×13 mm.

is known, yet it is possible that the forger copied the inscription from an authentic source, now lost. Scarab BM EA65646 (steatite)[155] features several signs reduced to basic geometric forms and is thus almost certainly a fake. The person named in the inscription is known from a 13th Dynasty stela,[156] thus the inscription on the scarab must have been copied from an authentic original, now lost.

The same is true for a large series of modern scarabs with the name of *nbt-pr Jj-jb*, earlier discussed by Stephen Quirke.[157] Hardly any of these scarabs can be deemed authentic. I was able to examine four of them[158] and two others are well published[159] (Fig. 10–11). All these scarabs except UC 11383 have no proper head and a very simplified clypeus with proportions differing from any other group of scarabs. UC 11383 has an imitation of a C5-type head with asymmetrical clypeus and plates (it also has reversed signs *nb* and *t*). Yet it is possible that these scarabs had an authentic prototype because the title and the name are attested in the Middle Kingdom.

An even more obscure series of modern pseudo private-name scarabs is not represented in catalogues of private-name scarabs, because the inscription cannot be read (Fig. 12). Scarabs of this group are found in different collections around the world.[160] Like the scarabs of *nbt-pr Jj-jb,* these are executed in different kinds of unglazed stone and obviously follow the same pattern. They feature baffling heads, falling outside of modern classifications, and rough clypei.

Distinguished from modern forgeries should be ancient imitations of Egyptian name-scarabs from the Levant.[161]

It is not a complete list of private-name scarabs deemed fake. I have tried to exclude other likely forgeries from the source material used in this study; however, some of the scarabs discussed in this book are unavoidably yet unidentified modern forgeries.

155 Martin 1459, examined first-hand.
156 Franke 1984, dossier 598.
157 Quirke 2004, 185.
158 Berlin VÄGM 1984/062 (Martin 1979, no. 65); BM EA65957 (Martin 35); UC 11383 (Martin 36); UC 11384 (Martin 37).
159 Walters 42.42 (Schulz 2007, no. 41; museum website); NFA Scarabs 36 (NFA 1991, no. 36).
160 Berkeley 6-19658 (purchased by Reisner in Dendera, museum website); BM EA37698; BM EA39431 (both BM scarabs were examined first-hand); Cairo JE 75187 (Drioton MSS 5381, seen in the museum); Cairo JE 75178 (Drioton MSS 5381); UC 11395, UC 11396, UC 11397, UC 11398, UC 11399, UC 11400 (all UC scarabs were examined first-hand).
161 Keel 2004.

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Fig. 11 Scarab of Iyib, supposedly modern, UC 11383.
Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. 25×18×12 mm.



Fig. 12 Pseudo-private-name scarab, supposedly modern, UC 11397.
Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. 16×11 mm.

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1. Name scarabs of the 12th–13th Dynasty: the chronology of production

The aim of this chapter is to fill the knowledge gaps in the chronology of the production of name scarabs in the Middle Kingdom and to refine the existing dating criteria. It is well established that private-name scarabs of the Second Intermediate Period (14th–15th Dynasty) differ strikingly from those of late Middle Kingdom (late 12th–13th Dynasty), and this difference is well-defined in terms of sculptural features and base decorations,[162] but the timeline of scarab production under the 12th and the 13th Dynasty is less well studied. Is it possible to discern distinct stages of scarab production during the Middle Kingdom? No widely recognised criteria exist for fine-dating private-name scarabs of the Middle Kingdom. This chapter is to review the available evidence and to evaluate the criteria proposed in earlier literature and to bring forward new ones.

The timelines of production of the three categories of Middle Kingdom scarabs – design scarabs (including scarabs with formulae), private-name scarabs, and royal-name scarabs – do not completely overlap. Thus, no royal-name scarabs are known to have been produced before Senusret III,[163] although multiple design scarabs and several private-name scarabs (discussed below) are known from the earlier period.

In the Late Middle Kingdom, when both royal-name and private-name scarabs were produced, two approaches are available for studying the chronology of private-name scarabs. On the one hand, one can study the few private-name scarabs that can be dated either from textual and prosopographical data or from the archaeological contexts. On the other hand, one can use contemporary royal-name scarabs, which are securely datable, as a benchmark and reconstruct the chronology of private-name scarabs by comparison. To begin with, it seems appropriate to check whether the two approaches can produce coherent results. To this end, I compare the variation of features among the scarabs bearing the names of mid-13th Dynasty kings to the variation among the private-name scarabs datable to the same timeframe through prosopography. Since Martin's study,[164] relying on a limited set of scarab features, no detailed comparisons between royal-name and private-name scarabs were performed. Ward has studied developments of royal-name scarabs in the course the 13th Dynasty on a reign-to-reign basis,[165] but no similar work has been done for private-name scarabs. Instead, the two corpora are compared as a whole without discerning the internal developments. Consequently, the dating of 13th Dynasty private-name scarabs has not advanced much since Auguste Mariette, who was one of the first scholars to notice that many private-name scarabs display the same features as the scarabs of Neferhotep I and Sobekhotep IV.[166] Martin's analysis reinforced the view that 13th Dynasty private and royal-name scarabs constitute a homogeneous group, without noticeable internal developments.[167] Julien Siesse follows Martin's conclusions on the chronology of private-name scarabs based on Martin's classification of back-types.[168] Most recently, Ben-Tor juxtaposed[169] 13th Dynasty private-name scarabs and royal-name scarabs, designated in literature as the "Sobekhotep group",[170] in order to challenge the earlier claims by Ward[171] that 13th Dynasty royal-name scarabs are out of a general line of scarab development from the 12th to the 15th Dynasty, but again the inner evolution of 13th Dynasty scarabs was not analysed.

The first question to be answered is which scarabs with royal names are contemporary, and which should be disregarded as later reissues. Earlier research was misled by a variety of posthumous royal-name scarabs[172] and, with time, more and more of these are exposed and picked out by comparative research. On the balance of different arguments brought forward in literature, it is assumed that although the production of royal-name scarabs is evidenced since the reign of Senusret III, most known steatite scarabs with the names of 12th Dynasty kings were produced posthumously,[173] and it is only from Amenemhat IV onward that one may safely assume most royal-name scarabs to be contemporary to the kings whose names appear on them.[174] One notable exception is a large series of post-Second Intermediate Period scarabs with the name of *Ḥꜥ-nfr-rꜥ* Sobekhotep IV,[175] distinguished by hollowed-out hieroglyphic signs as contrasted to linear incision on Middle Kingdom name scarabs.[176] Apart from these recognisable posthumous

162 Quirke 2004, 179–182; Ben-Tor 2007a, 112–113.
163 Ben-Tor 2004a.
164 Martin 1971, 1–6.
165 In Tufnell 1984, 151–192.
166 Mariette 1880, 541.
167 Martin 1971, 6.
168 Siesse 2019, 49–55.
169 Ben-Tor 2007a, 39–40.
170 Ward in Tufnell 1984, 156–159.
171 Ward 1987, 512.
172 As in Petrie 1889, where a timeline of royal-name scarabs includes all sorts of late issues.
173 Ben-Tor 2003, 240–243. For the apparently posthumous scarabs of Amenemhat III, see Chapter 3 below.
174 Ben-Tor 2007a, 36–38.
175 Ryholt 1997, 352.
176 All name scarabs of the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period use linear engraving. Hollowed-out engraving emerges on design scarabs under the 14th–15th Dynasty; for a discussion of its emergence in the Southern Levant, see: Keel 1995, 130–131; Mlinar 2001a, 246.

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scarabs and modern forgeries, all 13th Dynasty royal-name scarabs can be assumed to be contemporary to the named kings.

Kim Ryholt proposed to disregard the scarabs with the name *Ḫʿ-ḥtp-rʿ* written within a cartouche flanked by uraei[177] as non-royal scarabs primarily due to the non-standard longitudinal layout.[178] However, their dismissal seems unfounded; first, because these scarabs exhibit the same head and side types as other contemporary royal-name scarabs[179] and second, because the inscription on these scarabs matches exactly the spelling of the royal name *Ḫʿ-ḥtp-rʿ* on scarabs having a traditional latitudinal design and featuring the royal name *Sbk-ḥtp*.[180] Hence, such scarabs are regarded as genuine scarabs of *Ḫʿ-ḥtp-rʿ* Sobekhotep VI in the present study.

Accordingly, the re-examination of the correspondence between the royal and non-royal-name scarabs relies on a selection of steatite scarabs with the names of kings from Amenemhat IV to *Mr-nfr-rʿ* Ay that were available for study. Since comparisons between scarabs made of different materials are problematic (technological differences greatly affect scarab features), scarabs made of hard stones, glazed composition (Egyptian faience) and other vitreous materials are excluded from the analysis, and only steatite scarabs are taken into consideration.

Overall, the study group comprises 196 royal-name scarabs (Table 34), 86 of which were studied in museums and 110 are known from photos. All scarabs are made of steatite. Excluded are scarabs that were only available for study through drawings and descriptions by Ward,[181] because these drawings and descriptions are not verifiable and several of them are known to be inaccurate (as is the case with almost all drawings of Oriental Institute scarabs), and also because of the ambiguity with C7/D-type heads in the work by Tufnell and Ward, discussed above.

The second reference group is comprised of private-name scarabs datable from prosopographical data or other direct and indirect evidence. The prosopographical identifications collected by Detlef Franke and Wolfram Grajetzki and Danijela Stefanović[182] were taken as the basis and expanded with additional identifications from further research. Dating scarabs through datable objects on which the same person is named faces a fundamental problem: how reliable is the identification of the person named on a scarab with a person named in another written source. Ultimately, data present on a typical name scarab – a title and a name – is insufficient to reliably identify the person with a person known from another source, because any such identification only relies on the matching name and title, and numerous namesakes are known in the Middle Kingdom that bear one and the same title, but are still definitely not one and the same person (for example because their mothers have different names). A secure identification of two persons requires a third common element beside the name and the title, be it a maternal filiation, a name of another relative, or a double name. Hence, the majority of prosopographical identifications held in this work are plausible, but not reliable, and one must account for unavoidable inaccuracies in the results obtained when analysing this reference group. In several cases, the person named on the scarab could be identified with several distinct persons with the same set of name and title; in these cases, neither identification was accepted. Also rejected were possible identifications of persons with a very common name and a very common title, for the margin of error is too high when the name and the title are common. With these precautions, the input of prosopographical data was used to date scarabs. Other evidence taken into account includes datable archaeological contexts, providing a terminus *post quem non* for the scarab, and names and titles that disappear from the epigraphic record at a certain time.

Dates of 278 private-name scarabs and impressions from the Middle Kingdom could be established by these means (Table 35). Of 228 scarabs, 104 were studied in museums, for 96 photos and drawings are available, and for 28 only reproductions of the base; to this add 50 scarab impressions. The reasons for dating every object with references to other monuments and relevant publications are offered in column "Date" of Table 35. These datable scarabs and sealings can be divided into following groups: those of the 12th Dynasty, of the late 12th to the early 13th Dynasty, those belonging to the treasurer Senebsumai (early to mid-13th Dynasty), those belonging to contemporaries

177 Examples: Tufnell 1984, nos. 3162, 3164–3166.

178 Ryholt 1997, 63.

179 Ryholt particularly argues that the A6-type head figuring on scarab UC 11569 is not attested during this period (Ryholt 1997, 63) and favours a later date of these scarabs; one may, however, cite other 13th Dynasty scarabs with similar heads (such as Cairo JE 75058 and Cairo JE 75079); besides, the head of the scarab in question, UC 11569 (examined first-hand), can rather be classified as C7.

180 Scarabs Basel Cat. 118; Cairo JE 2524; Keel 26; Louvre E.6348; OIM 18449; Torino Cat. 5428 (see Table 34 for references); and a scarab impression from Wahsut (Wegner 2007, fig. 144 [7]; Smith 2010, 368 fig. 176).

181 In Tufnell 1984.

182 Franke 1984; Grajetzki and Stefanović 2012.

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of Senebsumai (early to mid- 13th Dynasty[183]), those belonging to contemporaries of the vizier Ankhu (ca. the time of the king Khendjer, early 13th Dynasty),[184] those belonging to the treasurer Senbi (mid-13th Dynasty), those belonging to the contemporaries of Senbi (mid-13th Dynasty), those belonging to the family members of Neferhotep I and Sobekhotep IV (mid-13th Dynasty), those datable to the reign of Sobekhotep IV (mid-13th Dynasty), those datable to the time after Sobekhotep IV (late 13th Dynasty), those datable to the 13th Dynasty (without more a precise date available), and those datable to the late 13th Dynasty and the Second Intermediate Period in Upper Egypt.

Development from Sobekhotep III to Ay

The so-called "Sobekhotep group"[185] is the best-known and most widely discussed type of name scarabs from the Late Middle Kingdom, which is why it is reasonable to start the discussion of Middle Kingdom name scarabs with this group, and not with the chronologically earliest name scarabs.

It is commonly acknowledged that largest series of contemporarily produced royal-name scarabs in the Middle Kingdom belonged to kings from Sobekhotep III to Ay.[186] Only singular steatite scarabs of earlier kings are preserved, whereas names of Sobekhotep III, Neferhotep I, Sobekhotep IV, and Ay are attested on dozens of pieces each. The distribution of heads and sides on royal-name series from Sobekhotep III to Ay is summarised in Tables 4 and 5.

Fashions for heads and sides changed with time. Thus, among Sobekhotep III scarabs the most common head type is C5, among Neferhotep I scarabs – C2, and from Sobekhotep IV onward – C7/D. As for the sides, d9 is the most common side under Sobekhotep III, Neferhotep I, and Sobekhotep IV, but starting from Sobekhotep V, e9 becomes the most popular. It is notable that e9 sides are almost unattested before Sobekhotep IV, and d9 sides virtually disappear after Sobekhotep IV. These observations are generally in line with the statistical tables by Ward.[187]

These data may be juxtaposed those of private-name scarabs. The two largest series of private-name scarabs bear the names of the treasurers Senebsumai (*Snb-sw-m-ꜥ=j*) and Senbi (*Snbj*). Their dossiers, including various kinds of inscriptions, were comprehensively studied by Wolfram Grajetzki,[188] and it appears to be certain that these were two directly or indirectly successive treasurers holding offices in the mid-13th Dynasty. It is established that Senbi was in office after Senebsumai[189] and was a contemporary of Neferhotep I and Sobekhotep IV, as his name appears in a rock inscription of the Sehel island,[190] mentioning the members of the family of both kings and also the *rḫ-nsw* "king's acquaintance" Nebankh (*Nb-ꜥnḫ*), who is attested (also as *jmj-rꜣ pr wr* "high steward") under Sobekhotep IV[191] and on stela Louvre C 13[192] from the later part of the 13th Dynasty. There is little direct evidence on the date of Senebsumai. One of the stelae mentioning him belongs to a workshop associated with the vizier Ankhu, who was in office under king Khendjer and some time before and/or after him; another stela mentioning Senebsumai belongs to a workshop possibly datable under Amenemhat Sonbef, which suggests that Senebsumai's tenure lasted for quite a long time in the first half of the 13th Dynasty until at latest the reign of Neferhotep I, when Senbi took over.[193] It is as well possible that other treasurers occupied the office in between.

Tables 6 and 7 summarise the distribution of head and side types among the datable private-name scarabs in the reference group. If one compares the treasurers' scarabs with the royal, one finds certain matches. The prevalent head type in the series of Senebsumai scarabs is C5 (Fig. 14), which corresponds to the earliest large royal series of Sobekhotep III. Among the scarabs of Senbi, the most common type is C7/D (Fig. 17), followed by C2 (Fig. 16) and C5 (Fig. 15), corresponding to the distribution of head types among the scarabs of Sobekhotep IV. As for the sides, Senebsumai scarabs display primarily d9-

183 Here also belong scarabs of the queen Sonbhenas, who was likely the wife of Sobekhotep III, known from a portrayal of the royal family at Wadi el-Hôl, Macadam 1951, pl. VI. Ryholt (1997, 221), suggests that some of attestations on scarabs may rather refer to the wife the earlier 13th Dynasty king Khendjer, whose name is known to begin with *Snb-* (Jéquier 1933, 28 fig. 1). Although the conclusion that Khendjer's wife also held the name Sonbhenas is speculative, I for now accept the ambiguity defended by Ryholt and propose that the scarabs of Sonbhenas, datable either to the reign of Khendjer or to the reign of Sobekhotep III, belong to the same timeframe as the scarabs of Senebsumai, although the two persons are never attested on the same monument. A further discussion of the issue follows in Chapter 6.

184 See: Ilin-Tomich 2021.

185 Tufnell 1984, 156–159; Ward and Dever 1994, 18–20, 128–129; Ryholt 1997, 34-37 (without using the term); Ben-Tor 2007a, 38–40; the term "Sobekhotep group" roughly corresponds to back type 6 and back type 8 scarabs referred to by scholars adopting Martin's classification of backs, see: Martin 1971, 5–6; O'Connor 1985, 9; Quirke 2004; Siesse 2019, 41–55.

186 Ryholt 1997, 34; Ben-Tor 2007a, 38.

187 In Tufnell 1984, 184–187.

188 Grajetzki 2001.

189 Grajetzki 2001, 21.

190 Gasse and Rondot 2007, no. SEH 162; Grajetzki 2001, 30.

191 Sadek 1980, no. 25.

192 Spalinger 1980.

193 Ilin-Tomich 2017a, XVII.

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	A4b	A5	B4	C2	C5	C6	C7	C7/D	D3	D5
Before Sobekhotep III	4 (50 %)	1 (12 %)		1 (12 %)	1 (12 %)	1 (12 %)			1 (12 %)	
Sobekhotep III	1 (6 %)			1 (6 %)	10 (62 %)		1 (6 %)	2 (12 %)		
Neferhotep I				22 (51 %)	7 (16 %)		1 (2 %)	10 (23 %)	2 (5 %)	
Sobekhotep IV		1 (2 %)	1 (2 %)	7 (11 %)	5 (8 %)		1 (2 %)	41 (67 %)	3 (5 %)	1 (2 %)
Sobekhotep V–Ibia					1 (6 %)	1 (6 %)	3 (18 %)	12 (71 %)		
Ay			2 (4 %)				5 (10 %)	40 (78 %)	2 (4 %)	

Table 4 The occurrence of head types on Middle Kingdom royal-name scarabs.

	c	d5	d6	d7	d8	d9	d11	d13	d14	e5	e8	e9	e10
Before Sobekhotep III	4 (50 %)					1 (12 %)	1 (12 %)		2 (25 %)				
Sobekhotep III	1 (6 %)	1 (6 %)			1 (6 %)	11 (69 %)							
Neferhotep I				1 (2 %)	1 (2 %)	37 (86 %)						1 (2 %)	
Sobekhotep IV			1 (2 %)		1 (2 %)	33 (63 %)						15 (29 %)	
Sobekhotep V–Ibia					1 (6 %)	1 (6 %)						13 (76 %)	1 (6 %)
Ay			1 (2 %)					1 (2 %)		1 (2 %)	1 (2 %)	35 (78 %)	4 (9 %)

Table 5 The occurrence of side types on Middle Kingdom royal-name scarabs.

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	A1	A2	A3	A4a	A4b	A5	A6a	A6b	A7	B2	B4	B5	C2	C2/C5	C4	C5	C6	C7	C7/D	D2	D3	D6	face
12th Dyn.	3 (11 %)		2 (7 %)			3 (11 %)	3 (11 %)		2 (7 %)	2 (7 %)		1 (4 %)	2 (7 %)			1 (4 %)						8 (30 %)	
late 12th Dyn. – early 13th Dyn.		1 (7 %)			1 (7 %)							1 (7 %)		1 (7 %)		5 (36 %)					1 (7 %)	2 (14 %)	1 (7 %)
Senebsumai			1 (3 %)		9 (29 %)	1 (3 %)										14 (45 %)	1 (3 %)		1 (3 %)	1 (3 %)	1 (3 %)	2 (6 %)	
Contemporaries of Senebsumai										1 (5 %)			4 (19 %)			11 (52 %)			3 (14 %)		1 (5 %)	1 (5 %)	
Ankhu and contemporaries							1 (14 %)									5 (71 %)	1 (14 %)						
Senbi													3 (27 %)			3 (27 %)			4 (36 %)			1 (9 %)	
Contemporaries of Senbi								1 (11 %)					1 (11 %)	3 (33 %)		2 (22 %)			2 (22 %)				
Family of Neferhotep I																3 (100 %)							
Family of Neferhotep I and Sobekhotep IV													1 (100 %)										
Family of Sobekhotep IV													2 (25 %)	3 (38 %)			1 (12 %)		1 (12 %)		1 (12 %)		
Late 13th Dyn.				1 (25 %)							1 (25 %)					1 (25 %)	1 (25 %)						
13th Dyn. (no exact date)	1 (2 %)				2 (5 %)	2 (5 %)	2 (5 %)					2 (5 %)	4 (9 %)	4 (9 %)	1 (2 %)	17 (40 %)	1 (2 %)	1 (2 %)	1 (2 %)		1 (2 %)	4 (9 %)	
Second Intermediate Period (Upper Egypt)										1 (12 %)			1 (12 %)			2 (25 %)	1 (12 %)		2 (25 %)		1 (12 %)		

Table 6 The occurrence of head types on datable Middle Kingdom private-name scarabs.

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	d4	d5	d6	d7	d8	d9	d14	d16	e6b	e6c	e7	e9
12th Dyn.		4 (16 %)	1 (4 %)		1 (4 %)	3 (12 %)	5 (20 %)	1 (4 %)	3 (12 %)	3 (12 %)	3 (12 %)	
late 12th Dyn. – early 13th Dyn.		4 (31 %)			2 (15 %)	1 (8 %)	1 (8 %)		2 (15 %)	1 (8 %)	1 (8 %)	
Senebsumai Contemporaries of Senebsumai	1 (3 %)	3 (10 %)	1 (3 %)	1 (3 %)		16 (53 %)	2 (7 %)	2 (7 %)	1 (3 %)			
Contemporaries of Senebsumai					12 (55 %)	6 (27 %)	1 (5 %)		1 (5 %)			
Ankhu and contemporaries					1 (12 %)	2 (25 %)	3 (38 %)				1 (12 %)	
Senbi					4 (57 %)	3 (43 %)						
Contemporaries of Senbi		1 (11 %)	1 (11 %)		5 (56 %)							2 (22 %)
Family of Neferhotep I					2 (67 %)		1 (33 %)					
Family of Neferhotep I and Sobekhotep IV												1 (100 %)
Family of Sobekhotep IV					5 (71 %)	1 (14 %)						1 (14 %)
Late 13th Dyn.			1 (25 %)				1 (25 %)					1 (25 %)
13th Dyn. (no exact date)		5 (12 %)	2 (5 %)		12 (29 %)	10 (24 %)	3 (7 %)	3 (7 %)	1 (2 %)		1 (2 %)	
Second Intermediate Period (Upper Egypt)		1 (20 %)			2 (40 %)		1 (20 %)					1 (20 %)

Table 7 The occurrence of side types on datable Middle Kingdom private-name scarabs.

type sides, which were common for all royal series from Sobekhotep III to Sobekhotep IV. However, among the scarabs of Senbi, the most popular side type is d8, which is not at all common among royal-name scarabs, and d9 sides appear as the second choice. If one takes a broader view and considers other, less securely datable scarabs, it becomes evident that C5 heads are prevalent on the scarabs owned by the contemporaries of the vizier Ankhu (Fig. 18) and those of Senebsumai. This finding is in line with the notion that both officials were roughly contemporaries. C2 heads, common for the scarabs of Neferhotep I, are best attested on scarabs related to Senebsumai and the royal family of Neferhotep I and Sobekhotep IV. C7/D heads do not occur on private-name scarabs before Senebsumai. A4b and A6a-type heads, best attested on pre-Sobekhotep III royal-name scarabs, almost completely disappear from private-name scarabs after Senebsumai and Ankhu. As for the sides, it is noticeable that e9-type sides first emerge on the scarabs owned by contemporaries of Senbi (Fig. 19) – just like they emerge under Neferhotep I and spread under Sobekhotep IV among the royal-name scarabs.

As for scarab backs, it can be observed from Table 35 that plain scarab backs (type O) are relatively common among the scarabs of Senebsumai and do not occur afterwards.

Thus, one may posit that the features of private-name and royal-name scarabs develop along the same lines from the reign of Sobekhotep III onward. Yet, the occurrence of some traits cannot be explained by the influence of royal-name scarabs. If one compares the distribution of d8 and d9-type sides, the former

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Fig. 13 Scarabs of Senebsumai: The presumably early type (A4-O-d5), Berlin 32631. Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. This image is copyright. Reproduced by permission of Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. 21×14×9 mm.



Fig. 14 Scarabs of Senebsumai: The most common type (C5-II-d9), UC 11484 from Lahun. Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. 23×17×11 mm.



Fig. 15 Scarabs of Senbi: A presumably earlier type (C5-II-d9), Aberdeen ABDUA:81106. Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. Courtesy of the University of Aberdeen, Scotland. 27×17×12 mm.

are almost completely absent from royal-name scarabs and the scarabs of the treasurer Senebsumai; however, they prevail among the scarabs owned by lower officials of the same period. By contrast, d9-type sides dominate the royal-name series under Sobekhotep III, Neferhotep I, and Sobekhotep IV and the series of Senebsumai. The absence of d8-type sides on royal-name scarabs in the same period, when they occur on scarabs of lower officials, is difficult to explain. There is either an underlying conscious reason for avoiding this particular side type on scarabs naming kings and the royal treasurer,

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Fig. 16 Scarabs of Senbi: Another presumably earlier type (C2-I-d8), BM EA24108. Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum. 23×16×11 mm.



Fig. 17 Scarabs of Senbi: The most common and presumably late type (C7/D-I-d9), Berlin 32638. Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. This image is copyright. Reproduced by permission of Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. 24×17×10 mm.



Fig. 18 Scarabs of contemporaries of Ankhu (C5-II-d9), BM 104925 (Gezer; reproduced from Keel 2013, 408 (563), © Academic Press Fribourg, Fribourg, Switzerland; Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen). 25×17×10 mm.

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Fig. 19 Scarab of a contemporary of Senbi: The late 13th Dynasty type (C7/D-I-e9), UC 11481. Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. 21×14×9 mm.

or this difference is the result of the organisation of scarab production when a single production unit was responsible for royal-name scarabs, whereas the majority of contemporary private-name scarabs were produced elsewhere. It should be noted that scarabs naming female members of the royal family (royal wives, mothers, and daughters) regularly feature side type d8, which shows that they are closer to private-name scarabs than to royal-name scarabs in this respect (for king's wives, see also Chapter 6).

Pre-Sobekhotep III name scarabs

A small group of steatite royal-name scarabs spanning from Amenemhat IV to *Sḏf3-k3-rˁ* Amenemhat VII (the Amenemhat IV–VII group) can serve as a starting point for an inquiry into the scarab production prior to Sobekhotep III. These scarabs feature open top scroll-borders with snake head (or lotus bud) finials, A4b-type heads, clypei with 4 serrations, plain or almost plain (with the suture indicated by a very thin line) backs and pierced legs (c3-class sides). The group comprises the scarabs of Amenemhat IV (Louvre E.3396), Neferusobek (BM EA66159), Amenemhat Sonbef (Hannover 1976.102, Fig. 20) and *Sḏf3-k3-rˁ* Amenemhat VII (MMA 26.7.85, Fig. 21). These are the last two kings of the 12th Dynasty and two of the first 14 kings of the 13th Dynasty. The timespan between the reigns of Amenemhat IV and Amenemhat VII is estimated at about 30 years,[194] which makes it possible that these scarabs belonged to the same production unit.[195] One of Sobekhotep III scarabs, Cairo JE 72812, comes close to this group, differing only in base design (plain border). No later kings have comparable scarabs.

The open top scroll-borders go back to semi-precious stone royal-name scarabs from the reign of Senusret III (Cairo JE 30870[196] from Dahshur, amethyst) and Amenemhat III (MMA 16.1.22[197] from Lahun, lapis lazuli) as well as two scarabs with the name of Amenemhat II, which Ben-Tor[198] considers to be posthumous and to date from Senusret III (Cairo JE 98778A and Cairo JE 98778B from Dahshur, amethyst). More direct antecedents may include steatite scarab MMA 26.7.64[199] with the name of Amenemhat III, which features open-top scroll border and pierced c3-type sides. Royal-name scarabs of the subsequent 13th Dynasty kings, from Sobekhotep III onwards, never feature scroll borders, which remain prerogative of private-name scarabs.

The use of pierced c-type sides[200] on royal-name scarabs may be further linked to a series of openwork scarabs featuring the name of Amenemhat III and sharing identical animal motifs on the back.[201] They resemble scarabs with c-type sides of the Amenemhat IV–VII group scarabs, although the latter feature a solid rather than openwork back. This series, in part briefly discussed by Jaeger[202] and Romano,[203] includes scarabs in gold[204] and steatite[205] (Fig. 22). It remains an open question whether all the scarabs in this peculiar series are genuine.

One can cite at least one close parallel to the

194 Ryholt 1997, 197.

195 As suggested by Ward in Ward and Dever 1994, 129; see also Siesse 2019, 41, 44.

196 Tufnell 1984, no. 3065.

197 Museum website.

198 Ben-Tor 2004a.

199 Tufnell 1984, no. 3086.

200 Previously discussed by Ward 1978, 65–68.

201 For which see: Quirke 2016, 332–333.

202 Jaeger 1982, 220.

203 Romano 1989, 60–66.

204 BM EA64190 (seen in the museum documentation); MMA 42.2.4 (museum website); NFA Scarabs, no. 9 (NFA 1991, no. 9).

205 Chicago AI 1894.1546 (museum website); MMA 26.2.1 (museum website).

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Fig. 20 Scarab of Amenemhat Sonbef (A4-O-C3), Hannover 1976.102.
Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. 21×14×9 mm.



Fig. 21 Scarab of *Sḏf3-k3-rˁ* Amenemhat VII (A4-O-C3), MMA 26.7.85.
Public domain photo from https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/556327,
credit line: Purchase, Edward S. Harkness Gift, 1926. 22×14×10 mm.



Fig. 22 Steatite scarab with the name of Amenemhat III on the back, MMA 26.2.1.
Public domain photo from https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/545721,
credit line: Rogers Fund, 1926. 16 mm.

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Amenemhat IV–VII group among design scarabs of known find-place (MMA 22.1.334[206] from Lisht), but there are none with c-type sides and open top scroll-borders among private-name scarabs.[207] However, when one looks for less exact matches, one may pinpoint private-name scarabs that feature A4b-type heads (the sausage-like form), serrated clypei, and plain or almost plain (with a suture indicated by a very thin line) backs. Among these are several scarabs of Senebsumai (Fig. 13), and one may hypothesise that these A4b-head scarabs with serrated clypei and plain backs[208] belong to the earlier part of Senebsumai's long tenure,[209] whereas those with suture lines, C5-type heads and plain clypei (Fig. 14) date from his later years, ca. in the reign of Sobekhotep III, when such heads were at the peak of their popularity on royal-name scarabs. This hypothesis is corroborated by the fact that the only scarab identifying Senebsumai as the high steward (*jmj-r3 pr wr*) rather than the treasurer (*jmj-r3 ḫtmt*), Berlin 32631 (Fig. 13), features an A4b-type head. Grajetzki supposes that Senebsumai was a high steward early in his career before he became a treasurer.[210] It is also plausible since a block from Senebsumai's tomb, which should reflect the final stage in his career, attests the title "treasurer"; hence, unless Senebsumai held both titles simultaneously he must have held the office of the high steward before he became a treasurer. The same logic applies for the high steward and treasurer Saaset of the late 12th Dynasty: he is named high steward on monuments that were produced before his tomb with the title "treasurer" was built.[211] Likewise, one may hypothesise that Senbi scarabs with C5 and C2 heads (Figs. 15–16) could date from the earlier part of his tenure, under Neferhotep I, whereas those with C7/D heads (Fig. 17) could date from the reign of Sobekhotep IV, when such heads become widespread.

206 Museum website.

207 The closest parallel known to me is Berlin 13818 (Martin 417; examined first-hand) with an A4b-type head and a c-type side (it has, however, a conventional closed top scroll border).

208 Berlin 32631; Cairo JE 75058; Cairo JE 75079; Giveon, Tel Aviv 7, no. 1; Jerusalem IM 2010.65.1715.

209 As noted above Senebsumai could have entered the office as early as in the time of Amenemhat Sonbef, who owned the A4b-O-c3-type scarab Hannover 1976.102; this hypothesis is favoured by the fact that the only known scarab attesting the great steward (*jmj-r3 pr-wr*) Senebsumai, Berlin 32631, exhibits the same features, and Grajetzki (2000, 59) considers that the "great steward" was the title borne by Senebsumai before he became treasurer.

210 Grajetzki 2001, 21.

211 Grajetzki 2000, 51.

Scarabs of the king Sehetepibre

A particular problem is posed by the chronological position of the king *Sw3ḏ-n-rˁ* Sehetepibre. There is a group of 20 scarabs and scarab impressions with a large cartouche of *Sw3ḏ-n-rˁ*.[212] Most of scarabs are made of glazed composition (Egyptian faience), but one is made of glazed steatite.[213] They were attributed to *Sw3ḏ-n-rˁ* Nebirirau of the Theban 16th Dynasty in scholarly literature,[214] but the scarabs' geographical distribution, including finds from Lisht and Mirgissa, seems to contradict their 16th Dynasty date, for the power of this dynasty was limited to southern Upper Egypt. Daphna Ben-Tor pointed out the similarity between the scarabs of *Sw3ḏ-n-rˁ* and two scarabs with the royal name Sehetepibre (*Sḥtp-jb-rˁ*) found in Lisht, suggesting that the latter were contemporary to those of *Sw3ḏ-n-rˁ*.[215] Subsequently, Marcel Marée reunited a stela fragment in a private-collection bearing the name *Sw3ḏ-n-rˁ* with a lower part, found in Gebel Zeit, featuring the royal nomen Sehetepibre, and thus proved the existence of a king *Sw3ḏ-n-rˁ* Sehetepibre[216] (further confirmed by a bowl fragment of a king *Sw3ḏ-n-rˁ* [...]re, also from Gebel Zeit[217]). Since the reign of Amenemhat I, *Sḥtp-jb-rˁ* became a common name for non-royal persons; hence, it should not be surprising that this name, originally a praenomen, was used by a later king as a nomen. As suggested by Marée, the king can be identified with one of the two *Sḥtp-jb-rˁ* kings from the early 13th Dynasty, appearing in lines 8 and 12 of column 7 in the Turin King-list (which would, however, mean that the King-list identified this king by his nomen, whereas other kings of the period are identified by praenomina). Julien Siesse further proposed to

212 Scarabs of recorded find place: BM EA51273 from Faras (Griffith 1921, pl. XVIII.2; Karkowski 1981, 92 [13]); Cairo JE 98092 from Gebel Zeit (Régen and Soukiassian 2008, 175 [124]); two scarabs from grave 119 in Ginari cemetery 58 (Reisner 1909, 12–13 fig. 1 [17]; one of them reproduced in Firth 1912, pl. 42b [38]); a scarab from Koptos (Petrie 1896, pl. XV [57]); MMA 22.1.314 and MMA 22.1.335 from Lisht (museum database; Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 49 [3–4]); a scarab from Mirgissa (Vercoutter 1975, 125-126, fig. 43 [17a] and Vercoutter 1976, 276 fig. 6 [20]). Scarab impression from Wahsut (Wegner 1998, 40 fig. 20 [6]). Unprovenanced scarabs: Berlin 32727 (examined personally); BM EA24137 (examined personally); Cairo JE 72949 (Drioton MSS 5380); ex Sayce coll. (Petrie 1889, no. 334); Jerusalem IM 76.31.3881 (Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 49 [2]; museum website); Louvre N 548 (museum website); UC 11608, UC 11609, UC 11610, UC 11611, UC 11612 (all examined personally).

213 Jerusalem IM 76.31.3881.

214 Ryholt 1997, 389–390; Ben-Tor 2007a, 111.

215 Ben-Tor 2007a, 48, and Ben-Tor's communication cited in Quirke 2004, 176–178. To these, one can also add a scarab impression from Mirgissa (Gratien 2019, pl. 6, 35 [1-85]).

216 Marée 2009, 152–153.

217 Marée 2009, 154.

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Fig. 23 Scarab of *Sw3ḏ-n-rˁ* Sehetepibre from Faras, BM EA51273.
Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum. 22×16×10 mm.



Fig. 24 Scarab of *Sw3ḏ-n-rˁ* Sehetepibre from Lisht, MMA 09.180.1204.
Public domain photo from https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/557022,
credit line: Rogers Fund, 1909. 24×17×11 mm.

identify king *Sw3ḏ-n-rˁ* Sehetepibre with the *Sḫtp-jb-rˁ* king from line 12.[218]

Siesse suggested that the origins of the mid-13th Dynasty scarab tradition, dominated by C- and D-type heads and d- and e-type sides, could go back to the scarabs of *Sw3ḏ-n-rˁ* Sehetepibre.[219] This assertion, which may at first sound plausible, turns out to be unsubstantiated when the scarabs of *Sw3ḏ-n-rˁ* Sehetepibre are scrutinised. All but one scarabs of *Sw3ḏ-n-rˁ* Sehetepibre are made of glazed composition (faience), a material otherwise barely utilised for royal-name scarabs. Direct typological comparisons between scarabs made from different materials are problematic. And the series of *Sw3ḏ-n-rˁ* Sehetepibre only confirms it: as Siesse notes, the steatite scarab in the series,[220] featuring a large B3-type head with a serrated clypeus and d6-type sides, does not belong to the same type as glazed composition scarabs of Sehetepibre. The glazed composition scarabs available for study feature elongated heads without a horn, clearly detached from the elytra, unattested on any steatite scarabs, simplified clypei, and e1-type sides, occasionally simplified in e11 (Fig. 23, 24).[221] While the elongated heads of these scarabs may sometimes resemble C7-type rectangular heads, they are clearly distinct from them, and e1-type sides are not attested on any of 13th Dynasty royal-name

218 Siesse 2019, 43.
219 Siesse 2019, 42–43.
220 Jerusalem IM 76.31.3881 (Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 49 [2]; museum website).
221 See Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 49 (3–6).

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scarabs. Nor are there any close parallels found among private-name scarabs of glazed composition.[222]

The Jerusalem steatite scarab as a singular piece of evidence does not suffice for conclusions on the place of Sehetepibre scarabs in the sequence of late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period scarabs.

Hence, the chronological position of *Sw3ḏ-n-rˁ* Sehetepibre proposed by Marée and Siesse cannot be corroborated by his scarabs due to the lack of comparative material. The scarabs of *Sw3ḏ-n-rˁ* Sehetepibre are not taken into account in this book, as the majority of them are made of glazed composition.

Spellings of the word *bjtj* with the sign "red crown" (S3)

One notable orthographic development evident on 13th Dynasty scarabs is the use of the sign "red crown"  (Gardiner sign S3) instead of the "bee"  (Gardiner sign L2) for the word *bjtj* in the rank title *ḫtmw-bjtj* "treasurer of the *bjtj*-king." Wolfram Grajetzki pointed out that the new spelling first emerged on a statue of the early 13th Dynasty governor of Elephantine Khakaureseneb and is further attested on monuments from the early 13th Dynasty in connection with the vizier Ankhu and papyrus Boulaq 18 and to the treasurer Senebsumai, whereas it is absent from inscriptions datable to the late 12th Dynasty.[223] Based on the series of scarabs with the names of the treasurers Senebsumai and Senbi, Grajetzki further argued that the new spelling emerged on scarabs later than in monumental inscriptions, only after Sobekhotep IV.[224] One may, however, cite the counter-evidence of several scarabs owned by contemporaries of Senebsumai – the high stewards *Tjtj*[225] and *Jmnjj*[226] – featuring the sign S3. Hard to prove is the assumption that the old spelling with the sign L2 completely disappeared from scarabs after Sobekhotep IV. It is true that all the three seals with the title *ḫtmw-bjtj* datable in the late 13th Dynasty after Sobekhotep IV use the sign S3: the scarab and sealing of the high steward *Rs*[227] and the scarab of the overseer of sealers *Nb-swmnw*,[228] but the paucity of scarabs datable to this period does not allow sound conclusions. On other monuments, the spellings with S3 prevail among the attestations of the title *ḫtmw-bjtj* that postdate Sobekhotep IV, yet there are isolated exceptions such as a Second Intermediate Period stela from Edfu.[229]

Despite these reservations, it is indisputable that the sign S3 does not appear as the spelling of *bjtj* before the vizier Ankhu and the treasurer Senebsumai (which is true for both the monumental and sigillographic evidence) and becomes widespread thereafter. Hence, the features that are common on scarabs with the sign L2 and do not occur on scarabs with the sign S3 can be considered distinctive traits of scarabs produced not later than the époque of the vizier Ankhu and the treasurer Senebsumai.

Table 36 lists the scarabs available for the study of head and side types and clypei with either the sign L2 (totalling 123) or S3 (totalling 87) used for *bjtj* (excluding the material from the 14th–15th Dynasty, discussed in Chapter 3).

The head types that do not appear on scarabs with the sign S3 are oblong rounded heads A4b (Fig. 13, 27), which occur 13 times on scarabs with L2 and do not occur on scarabs with S3. The trapezoid head type D6 (Fig. 45) occurs 9 times on scarabs with the sign L2 as compared to only one attestation on a S3 scarab. A head type that is albeit attested on scarabs with the sign S3, but much rarer than on the scarabs with the sign L2 is C5 (Fig. 14–15). Even if one leaves out the 14 C5-type head scarabs of Senebsumai, contributing to the popularity of C5 heads combined with the sign L2, one still has 30 attestations of C5 heads among scarabs with the sign L2 against 9 attestations among the scarabs featuring the sign S3. This observation is in line with the evidence that the popularity of C5 heads reached its peak during the time of Sobekhotep III, when the spelling S3 just emerged on scarabs but was by no means prevalent.

The head types that are significantly better attested on scarabs with the sign S3 than on those with L2 are C7/D (Fig. 25) (38 attestations with S3 against 19 with L2), C7 (Fig. 26) (5 attestations with S3 against 1 with L2), and C6 (Fig. 58) (9 attestations with S3 against 3 with L2). This coincides with observations above that C7 and C7/D-type heads become widespread relatively late, since the age of Sobekhotep IV, whereas there is otherwise no strong evidence on the C6-type head.

Serrated clypei of steatite scarabs are another feature strongly associated with L2 scarabs. Only three steatite scarabs with the sign S3 feature serrated clypei.[230] By contrast, 22 scarabs with the sign L2 have serrations (Figs. 16, 27, 30). This distribution aligns well with the absence of serrated clypeus fronts on scarabs postdating Senebsumai and Ankhu. Only two serrated clypei are found among datable scarabs from the later part of the 13th Dynasty, as referenced

222 On similar grounds Ben-Tor 2007a, 49 n. 183 argued against a possible identification of the king *Sḥtp-jb-rˁ* named on Lisht scarabs with the king known from line 12 of the Turin King-list.

223 Grajetzki 1995.

224 Grajetzki 1995, 10.

225 Scarab Cairo JE 75205. For the dating, see Grajetzki 2001, 23.

226 Scarabs Cairo JE 75087 and Walters 42.21. For the dating, see Grajetzki and Stefanović 2012, no. 38.

227 BM EA30551, Wegner, Temple, fig. 154 (22).

228 Cairo JE 75082.

229 Alliot 1935, pl. XVI.3 (right).

230 Berlin 32554; Berlin 32584; BM EA40728 (Fig. 26).

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Fig. 25 Scarab with C7/D-type head, e9-type sides and the word *bjtj* spelled with the red crown (Gardiner sign S3) from Lisht, MMA 15.3.21. Public domain photo from https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/557320, credit line: Rogers Fund, 1915. 23×16×11 mm.

in Table 35.[231] Among the scarabs datable through prosopography, serrated clypei dominate the series of Senebsumai and are absent on scarabs of Senbi.

Clypei that are raised at base and deeply set in the front also disappear with the sign L2. There are 28 attestations of such clypei on scarabs with the sign L2 (Fig. 27) and only 3 on the scarabs with the sign S3 (Fig. 29).[232]

There is a clear decline in the use of plain scarab backs (back type O) associated with the onset of the sign S3. Only one Middle Kingdom scarab with the sign S3 has plain backs (Berlin 32606), as opposed to 11 scarabs with the sign L2 (Fig. 13, 27). This corresponds well to the disappearance of the plain backs on datable scarabs after Senebsumai.

Among side types, those associated exclusively with the L2 sign are d16, which occurs on four L2 scarabs and on none of the S3 scarabs, and the two side types with scored profiles and fringed mid-legs e6b (Fig. 30) and e6c (Fig. 31), attested on a total of five steatite scarabs with the old spelling of *bjtj*, but not on scarabs with the sign S3.[233] This is entirely in line with the data presented elsewhere in this study, suggesting that e6b/c-type sides disappear by the mid-13th Dynasty. The other side type with mid legs fringed – d14 – is more popular among the scarabs with the sign S3, 6 attestations are known with L2 and 16 attestations with S3 (Fig. 58).

Another side type that is significantly better attested on scarabs with S3 than on those with L2 is e9 – 6 attestations with L2 and 14 attestations with S3 (Fig. 25). This aligns with the observation that this side type emerges under Neferhotep I and becomes widespread under Sobekhotep IV, as discussed above.

Thus, the analysis of scarabs featuring different spellings of the title *ḥtmw-bjtj* can contribute to establishing the changes in the sculptural features of scarabs over time. These findings are mostly corroborated by the reference group of scarabs datable through prosopography. In the cases where the number of prosopographically datable scarabs is not sufficient for conclusions, scarabs with different spellings of *bjtj* can provide more conclusive evidence.

12th Dynasty private-name scarabs

From private-name scarabs datable to the 13th Dynasty through prosopographical data and their numerous counterparts among the royal-name scarabs, one may now turn to private-name scarabs of the 12th Dynasty, for which no comparative royal-name material is available, because royal-name scarabs were not produced under the 12th Dynasty on the same scale as from Sobekhotep III onward. The earliest reliable evidence for the production of royal-name scarabs dates from Senusret III. Scholars assess the date when private-name scarabs were introduced differently. Whereas Martin and Ben-Tor dated the emergence of private-name scarabs to the onset of late Middle Kingdom (that is about the reign of Senusret III),[234] Ward maintained that private-name (and royal-name) scarabs were produced since the relocation of the residence from Thebes to Itjtawy under

231 OIM 18561 with 4 serrations and a zigzag-shaped border line from the time of the treasurer Senbi and MMA 10.130.291 with 4 serrations from the late 13th or the 16th Dynasty.

232 Cairo JE 75087 from the time of Senebsumai; Moscow I, 1a 2138; Berlin 32606.

233 The attestations are Berlin 32486, Berlin 32677, Brooklyn 44.123.98, and UC 11452 (datable to the late 12th–early 13th Dynasty) as well as one scarab of Senebsumai (Berlin 32636).

234 Martin 1971, 3; Ben-Tor 2004a, 27.

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Fig. 26 Scarab with C7-type head, d9-type sides and the word *bjtj* spelled with the red crown (Gardiner sign S3), BM EA40728. Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum. 21×14×8 mm.



Fig. 27 Scarab with A4-type head, d5-type sides and the word *bjtj* spelled with the bee-sign (Gardiner sign L2), Berlin 32527. Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. This image is copyright. Reproduced by permission of Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. 17×12×7 mm.



Fig. 28 Scarab with a phonetic spelling of *jmj-rꜣ* and a deeply set clypeus without serration (A3-II-d5), UC 11450 from Lahun. Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. 16×12×7 mm.

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Fig. 29 Scarab with a clypeus raised at base, deeply set at front,
The Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow I, 1a 2138. Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. 25×17×10 mm.



Fig. 30 Scarab with D3-type head, e6b-type sides and the word *bjtj* spelled with the bee-sign (Gardiner sign L2), Berlin 32486. Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. This image is copyright. Reproduced by permission of Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. 20×14×9 mm.



Fig. 31 Scarab with A4-type head, e6c-type sides and the word *bjtj* spelled with the bee-sign (Gardiner sign L2), Brooklyn 44.123.98. Photo by the Brooklyn Museum. 18×12×8 mm.

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Amenemhat I.[235] However, Ward's position relies primarily on royal-name scarabs that he believed to be contemporary to the kings named on them, despite the absence of evidence (these data have since been invalidated). Due to the scarcity of the comparable royal-name scarabs and lack of clear archaeological data, Daphna Ben-Tor and other scholars considered it impossible to clearly distinguish between late 12th Dynasty and 13th Dynasty scarabs.[236] In this section, I aim to address these problems by proceeding primarily from textual and prosopographical data.

Only 58 private-name scarabs in Table 35 are dated to the 12th Dynasty, mostly to the late 12th Dynasty, compared to 190 private-name scarabs from the 13th Dynasty. However, three additional formal dating criteria to be discussed in this section allow compiling a more comprehensive set of 12th Dynasty scarabs.

The spelling of *jmj-r3* "overseer" with the phonetic signs *m* and *r*

As Wolfgang Schenkel posited in 1962, the spelling of the ubiquitous element of administrative titles *jmj-r3* "overseer" with the tongue sign  (Gardiner sign F20) instead of the traditional phonetic spelling with *m* and *r*  (Gardiner signs G17 and D21) emerged in the hieroglyphic inscriptions during the early 12th Dynasty[237] (the change did not affect hieratic texts). The new spelling quickly gained popularity, eventually becoming standard; however, the older spelling did not suddenly disappear completely, but remained in use for some time. Establishing the date of its eventual disappearance from hieroglyphic inscriptions could provide a useful dating criterion.

On late Middle Kingdom private monuments, the number of spellings of *jmj-r3* with the phonetic signs *m* and *r* is negligible. Among Late 12th Dynasty and 13th Dynasty monuments with *jmj-r3* titles that appear in the list of monuments in Ilin-Tomich 2017a, the spellings with phonetic signs are attested on 16 monuments (that is 4% of 430 monuments), including 11 dating from the late 12th Dynasty (that is 6% of 186 monuments[238]) and 5 from the 13th Dynasty (that is 2% of 245 monuments[239]). In contrast, among the products of ten workshops dating from Amenemhat I to Amenemhat II defined by Rita Freed,[240] 67 stelae feature *jmj-r3* titles, and 39 of these (58%) feature the spelling with the phonetic signs.[241] Hence, during the early to mid-12th Dynasty, the spellings of *jmj-r3* with the phonetic signs *m* and *r* were commonplace, and under the late 12th and 13th Dynasty, they were used only in exceptional cases. Hence, one may consider the phonetic spelling of *jmj-r3* with *m* and *r* as a dating criterion favouring a date before Senusret III. In cases of phonetic spellings incontrovertibly belonging to the Late Middle Kingdom, one should favour a late 12th Dynasty date over a 13th Dynasty date.

Let us assume that the temporal distribution of spellings established for epigraphic monuments is also valid for scarabs. One may cite 24 scarabs and 10 sealings that feature the spelling in question (Table 37). The spelling suggests that they all date most likely from the early Middle Kingdom, or the late 12th Dynasty at the latest. In some cases, other evidence corroborates an early 12th Dynasty date implied by the phonetic spelling of *jmj-r3*. That is the case of scarabs MMA 22.1.273 and Cairo JE 87417, discussed below, and also of the silver scarab of Wah (MMA 40.3.12), which was found in the tomb adjacent to that of Meketre and dates to the early Middle Kingdom.[242] On the other hand, some specimens date from the late 12th Dynasty at earliest. This includes a sealing from the mortuary town of Senusret III (Wegner, Temple, fig. 159 (77)); sealings Manchester 6176 and Los Angeles County M.80.202.861, datable to the late 12th Dynasty after Cairo CG 23027 (DAE 135); sealing Askut A14, discovered in the fortress of Askut, founded under Senusret III; scarab UC 11450, coming from Lahun, which implies a date not earlier than Senusret II; sealing Pilgrim, Elephantine, Siegeltyp 274, belonging to the group of sealings SVK 15 from Phase Bauschicht 13, which also include the sealings of the governor Khakaureseneb and other indicators of dates in the late 12th or the early 13th Dynasty.[243] However, based on archaeological context or prosopographical data, there are no scarabs in this group that demonstrably postdate the 12th Dynasty. Based on this evidence, one may conclude that the production of private-name scarabs with the phonetic spellings of *jmj-r3* spanned from

235 Ward 1978, 83; Ward and Dever 1994, 128.

236 Ben-Tor 2007a, 6.

237 Schenkel 1962, 35–36. However, exceptional earlier attestations are also known, as discussed by Legros 2010.

238 BM EA129; Cairo CG 1486; Cairo CG 20117; Cairo CG 20538; Cairo JE 35145; Cairo JE 91243; el-Bersha tomb 2; Leiden AP 20; Louvre D 24; Louvre E.11053; MMA 65.120.1. For references, see: Ilin-Tomich 2017a.

239 Cairo CG 20631; Cairo CG 20716; Fitzwilliam E.1.1840; Mariette, Karnak, pl. 8p; UC 14487.

240 Freed 1996.

241 Workshop 3: Moscow I.1.a.5601 (4159); Workshop 3: Berlin 26/66; Workshop 5: BM EA152; Workshop 6: BM EA587, Cairo CG 20473; Workshop 7: Berlin 1192; Workshop 8: Cairo CG 20026; Workshop 9: Boston 1980.173; Workshop 10: Berlin 1183, Berlin 1200, BM EA162, BM EA241, BM EA576.

242 Arnold 1991, 34.

243 Ben-Tor 2007a, 6–7. For Khakaureseneb, see: Franke 1994, 43. Bauschicht 13 is considered to be contemporary to Bauschicht XIII, from which a sealing of the earlier late 12th Dynasty governor Amenyseneb (Franke 1994, 42) stems (Siegeltyp 1, SVK 53a, von Pilgrim 1996, 308, 242 fig. 98). On the other side, Bauschicht 13 is associated with most private-name seal impressions, many dating to the 13th Dynasty through the use of the epithet *wḥm-ʿnḫ* (Ilin-Tomich 2014b, 150).

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Fig. 32 Scarab with a phonetic spelling of *jrj*, epithets *k3 nfr*, and a deeply set clypeus with multiple serrations (D6-III-d6), Berlin 32652. Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. This image is copyright. Reproduced by permission of Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. 21×15×9 mm.

the early to the late 12th Dynasty. Several peculiarities of these scarabs are noticeable. With three exceptions, the bases have plain borders (Martin base types 3a and 3d). Nine seals feature epithets[244] *k3* and *nfr* in different combinations, and two scarabs feature only *nfr*. Of the 24 scarabs, only 10 are of steatite, the other 14 are of different hard stones or precious materials, most often feldspar and amethyst. Square heads (Tufnell and Ward C types) and side types d8 and d9, which are typical of 13th Dynasty scarabs, are only attested on a single scarab MMA 30.8.652 with a C5-type head and d9-type sides. These observations confirm the assumption that these scarabs as a group antedate the 13th Dynasty. A-type and D-type heads (A2, A3 [Fig. 28]), A4a, A4b, A5, D3, D6) and sides with middle legs fringed (Tufnell and Ward side types d14, e6c, e6b) prevail among steatite scarabs. Of these, only A4b-type heads and d14-type sides regularly occur on 13th Dynasty scarabs from Table 35.

This first foray into 12th Dynasty scarabs shows that they are distinct from those of the 13th Dynasty in many respects.

The spelling of *jrj* "keeper" with the phonetic signs *j* and *r*

Another common element of titles attested on scarabs is *jrj* "keeper". The usual spelling of this element was with the sign A47  or similar signs representing a sitting man. However, occasionally, the word is spelled phonetically with *j* and *r*:  as in *jrj-ꜥt* "chamber-keeper". Such phonetic spellings occur in hieroglyphic inscriptions on private monuments as well as on scarabs. The study of private monuments featuring phonetic spellings of *jrj* shows that the phonetic spellings are almost non-existent after the end of the 12th Dynasty. Among late 12th Dynasty monuments, mostly stelae, referred to in the list of cited monuments in Ilin-Tomich 2017a, the spellings with *j* and *r* occur on 17 (26%)[245] out of a total of 65 monuments featuring the titles with the element *jrj* (excluding the title *jrj(t)-pꜥt*, which is always spelled as ). (Besides, four further late 12th Dynasty stelae feature *jrj* spelled phonetically simply as *j*  ,[246] and two 12th Dynasty stelae feature *jrj* spelled as *r* .[247] Neither of the two spellings occurs on later monuments). One out of a total of 7 monuments of the late 12th Dynasty or the early 13th Dynasty with *jrj*-titles has a phonetic spelling.[248] By contrast, only two attestations of phonetic spellings of *jrj* date from the 13th to the 17th Dynasty[249] comprising less than 2% of the 119 monuments from this period with *jrj*-titles. This evidence suggests that undated inscriptions featuring phonetic spellings of the element *jrj* in titles (with *j* and *r*) are much more likely to date from the 12th than from the 13th Dynasty. Besides, the titles with the element *jrj* rarely occur before the mid-12th Dynasty, because the most common of these titles – *jrj-ꜥt* –

244 In designating such words appearing on scarabs as "epithets," I follow the word usage by Martin (1971, 187). I do not mean that these words are actually all epithets.

245 Amherst 554; BM EA831; Cairo CG 20095; Cairo CG 20140; Cairo CG 20235; Cairo CG 20296; Cairo CG 20338; Cairo CG 20549; Cairo JE 51979; Frankfort, JEA 14, no. 6; Louvre C 5; Louvre C 25; Louvre C 33; Lyon H 2295; MMA 24.1.72; Torino 1613; Wien ÄS 109.

246 Cairo CG 20065; Cairo CG 20310; Haag 46/92; Torino 1628.

247 BM EA258; BM EA805.

248 Cairo CG 20595.

249 Gauthier-Laurent, RdE 1, 75–80; Leiden AP 35.

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Fig. 33 Scarab with a phonetic spelling of jrj, epithets *k3 nfr ḏt*, and a raised clypeus (D3-II-e6b), Berlin 32610. Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. This image is copyright. Reproduced by permission of Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. 18×12×8 mm.

emerges only in the mid-12th Dynasty.[250] Hence, the objects with *jrj* spelled with *j* and *r* are most likely to date from the mid- to late 12th Dynasty.

Let us assume that this conclusion, drawn from the study of the monumental evidence, is valid also for scarabs. Altogether 10 scarabs and 7 sealings (Table 38) feature the phonetic spelling of *jrj* with *j* and *r*, whereas 161 Middle Kingdom seals feature the spellings with the sign A47 or similar signs, and one scarab features an incomplete phonetic spelling *r*.[251]

Most seals with the phonetic spelling of *jrj* have plain borders (Martin base type 3a), and two have scroll borders (Martin base types 1g and 1ak). Five scarabs in the group feature the epithets *k3* and *nfr*, one sports the combination *nfr w3ḥ*, and three have only *nfr*, sometimes in combination with *nb jm3ḫ* and *m3ʿ ḫrw*.

Unlike the group of scarabs with the title *jmj-r3* spelled phonetically, which includes some early 12th Dynasty scarabs and features many hard-stone scarabs, all 10 scarabs with phonetic spellings of *jrj* are made of steatite. In comparison to the previous group, A-type heads are also attested, but not A3. The most common head type is D6 (Fig. 32, 44), not attested in the earlier group. The most common side type is d6 with all legs notched (Fig. 32), followed by sides with middle legs fringed (e6b [Fig. 33] and d14 [Fig. 44]). Notable is the absence of characteristic 13th Dynasty head types C2, C5, and C7 and the side types d8 and d9, which is in line with the assumption that these scarabs antedate the 13th Dynasty.

250 Berlev 1978, 235.
251 Martin 1979, no. 69.

The epithets *k3*, *nfr*, *w3ḥ*

As established in the previous sections, almost half of 12th Dynasty scarabs featuring phonetic spellings of *jmj-r3* or *jrj* display combinations of two or more epithets[252] like *k3*, *nfr*, *w3ḥ*, and *ʿnḫ* or just *k3* or *w3ḥ*. The occurrence of these words on private-name scarabs was discussed by Alice Grenfell.[253] Flinders Petrie noted that many of the scarabs featuring the combination *k3 nfr w3ḥ* are made of hard stones;[254] he dated the scarabs featuring such combinations of epithets among the earliest private-name scarabs (the 9th–11th Dynasty in his terms). William Ward contested Petrie's opinion and claimed, based on finds datable through their contexts that these phrases occurred throughout the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period up to the 18th Dynasty and thus do not constitute a dating criterion.[255] In support of this claim, Ward cites scarabs that are, on the one hand, design scarabs featuring the sings *k3*, *nfr*, and *w3ḥ*, but not private names, and on the other hand, stem from datable Second Intermediate Period contexts in the Levant, not in Egypt. The only late example from Egypt he cites is a round design seal from Sedment tomb 1373, datable to the 18th Dynasty. Since the publication of Ward's study, it has been demonstrated that it is methodologically incorrect to use Egyptian Middle Kingdom scarabs deposited in the Levant as well as scarabs produced in the Levant for establishing the chronologies of Egyptian scarabs, for imported Egyptian scarabs were deposited much later than they were originally produced, and locally produced

252 The term "epithet" is used by convention. The exact function of these words remains unclear.
253 Grenfell 1915.
254 Petrie 1917, 13 and pl. XI.
255 Ward 1978, 81.

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scarabs followed independent lines of development.[256] The find from Sedment could also have been an heirloom. Hence the evidence provided by Ward seems insufficient to prove the production of private-name scarabs with these epithets later than the 12th Dynasty.

The combinations of these words are almost unknown in the reference groups of private-name scarabs datable to the 13th Dynasty through prosopographical data (Table 35) as well as on scarabs featuring the title *bjtj* spelled with S3 (Table 36) or characteristic post-12th Dynasty administrative titles. Only the single epithet *nfr* and the combination *nfr-ḥ* are attested under the 13th Dynasty, albeit rarely. This epithet *nfr* occurs thrice under the 13th Dynasty[257] and the combination *nfr ḥ* occurs twice.[258] The other five scarabs datable by prosopographical and other evidence that feature the epithets under consideration belong to the 12th Dynasty.[259] Given the abundance of attestations among the scarabs featuring the phonetic spellings of *jmj-r* and *jrj* and their absence among the scarabs datable to the 13th Dynasty, the use of any combination of these epithets (except *nfr ḥ*) or of the sole epithets *k* or *wḥ* can be considered a sound indicator of 12th Dynasty scarabs. The use of the epithet *nfr* and the combinations *nfr-ḥ* may also favour a 12th Dynasty date, but with less certainty; hence, to be on a safe side, these three variants are not used for dating scarabs in the subsequent analyses.

One can pinpoint 75 private-name seals meeting this criterion (66 scarabs and 9 sealings). Of the 62 scarabs with a known material, only 23 are made of steatite, the other 39 are made of a variety of stones, the most common being green jasper, amethyst, and feldspar.

Early and mid-12th Dynasty scarabs

As mentioned above, several scholars consider that the production of private-name scarabs began roughly under Senusret III. It is thus necessary to discuss the evidence on private-name scarabs produced before that date. This will also clarify whether the three distinctive features of 12th Dynasty scarabs, discussed above, necessarily imply a late 12th Dynasty date or allow an early to mid-12th Dynasty date as well.

There are several private-name scarabs listed in Table 35 that can be ascribed to the early Middle Kingdom, more specifically to the early to mid-12th Dynasty (Amenemhat I to Senusret II), based on textual and archaeological evidence.

Unquestionable is the early Middle Kingdom date of the silver scarab of Wah, MMA 40.3.12, found in a well dated burial in Thebes, but the large (39 mm long) silver scarab with an inscription on the back is usually considered an outlier, not connected to other private-name scarabs.[260] Hence, it will not be taken into consideration in the following discussion.

Amethyst scarab Martin 564 belonged to god's father (*jtj-nṯr*) *Jmn-m-ḥ*. A person with the same name and the same title, spelled in the same way as on the scarab, appears on early 12th Dynasty stela Chicago AI 1920.262.[261] Even if the identification, based on the coinciding name and title, is not solid, the spelling of the title *jtj-nṯr* as  favours an early Middle Kingdom date for the scarab. Elke Blumenthal has already established that this spelling disappears after the 12th Dynasty,[262] but a re-examination of the available evidence allows establishing an even more precise date. In the Middle Kingdom, the spelling  occurs on monuments of the treasurer *Ḫtjj* from the reign of Mentuhotep II,[263] in the tomb of the vizier *Dgj*[264] from the same period, in the White Chapel of Senusret I,[265] on a stela of the treasurer *Mnṯw-ḥtp* from the reign of Senusret I,[266] on the stela and coffin of *Jtjj* from the same reign,[267] in the Meir tomb of *Wḫ-ḥtp* (B4)[268] and on a of the high steward *Ḫpr-k-r*,

256 Ben-Tor 1994; Ben-Tor 2007a.

257 A sealing of the vizier Ankhu, Mirgissa 3-3; scarab Ukma 131/13 with the title *sb r-nḫn*, pointing to a 13th Dynasty date; scarab NFA Scarabs, no. 105 with the word *bjtj* spelled with the sign S3.

258 Cairo JE 22014, belonging to the same group as some scarabs of Senebsumai (see below), and Hannover 1976.88, having the with the word *bjtj* spelled with the sign S3.

259 Cairo JE 87417 and Berkeley 6-12786 datable to the early Middle Kingdom from dates of the respective necropolises, Sydney NM03.19 datable to the 12th Dynasty from the archaeological context, UC 11206A likely datable to the reign of Senusret I from prosopographical data, and BM EA59014 datable to the mid- to late 12th Dynasty from prosopographical data.

260 Ben-Tor in Oppenheim et al. 2015, 138.

261 For this stela and the family of its owner, see: Ilin-Tomich 2014a, 142 (2–3).

262 Blumenthal 1987, 31–32.

263 Relief in Shatt er-Rigal, offering table Cairo JE 67858 and statue Leiden AEBB [Leiden 40]. For the person and references, see: Grajetzki 2000, 44–45; Blumenthal 1987, 16–22.

264 Davies 1913, pl. XXXVIII. For the date, see: Grajetzki 2000, 10–11.

265 Lacau and Chevrier 1956/1969, pl. 18, 41.

266 Cairo CG 20539.

267 Stela BM EA586 (Budge 1909, pl. VI) dates from year 14 of Senusret I; coffin Cairo TN 19.11.27.4 in the form of a funerary bed (Willems 1997, 358–359), belonging to the same person, was seen on display in the Cairo Museum (Ilin-Tomich 2022).

268 Blackman 1915, pl. XIX.

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both dating from the reign of Amenemhat II,[269] and on a statue of the high steward *Ḫntj-ḫtjj-wr* from the reign of Senusret II.[270] Besides, the aforementioned stela, Chicago AI 1920.262 dates from the reign of Amenemhat I or Senusret I; the block of *Ḥr-nḫt* from Matariya is most likely of an early Middle Kingdom date;[271] the Kom el-Hisn tomb of *Ḫsw*, also featuring this spelling, likely dates from the early Middle Kingdom.[272] This makes 11 attestations of the spelling  from the early Middle Kingdom. One attestation that should be no earlier than the reign of Senusret III is the altar naming a "great ka-priest of the god's father Senusret true of voice" (*ḥm-kꜣ ḥꜣ n jtj-nṯr S-n-wsrt mꜣʿ-ḫrw*) called *Nḫj*. Whereas the altar likely dates from the late Middle Kingdom, as indicated by the title *nbt pr* "lady of the house," the god's father, whose ka-priest is mentioned on the monument, was the father of the founder of the 12th Dynasty, as pointed out by Berlev.[273] Hence, the original spelling of the title in the early 12th Dynasty documents could have influenced its spelling on this monument. The same goes for a further attestation of the same title in a Theban graffito of uncertain date.[274] Unclear is the spelling (and the presence) of the title on a stela of Wegaf (early 13th Dynasty).[275] To my knowledge, all other attestations of the title *jtj-nṯr* dating from the late 12th,[276] the 13th Dynasty, and the Second Intermediate Period, both on scarabs and in monumental inscriptions, feature different spellings of the title:  , , or their graphical variants.[277] Hence, the spelling , featured on scarab Martin 564 (a unique spelling among Middle Kingdom name scarabs), can be considered a strong indicator of an early Middle Kingdom date.

The high steward *Ḫntj-ḫtjj-wr* from the reign of Senusret II, whose statue also features the spelling , is likely identical with the person named in scarab impression Martin 421 from Lahun.[278] The scarab impression is incomplete and reads *jmj-rꜣ pr-wr* "high steward" *Ḫntj-*[…]. The office of the high steward was one of the three top offices in the central administration, and the holders are relatively well documented.[279] Hence, since no other high steward with a matching name is known, it is most likely that the scarab impression belonged to the office holder from the reign of Senusret II (when Lahun emerged as a town associated with the pyramid and the funerary temple of this king).

Green jasper scarab UC 11206A belongs to a *Jmnjj*, son of *Mnṯw-ḥtp*. Although no title is given, and the names of both the father and the son are common, it is likely that the owner is identical with a well-known official from the reign of Senusret I, the reporter *Jmnjj*, son of *Mnṯw-ḥtp*, known from several inscriptions from that reign.[280] Otherwise, both other *Jmnjj*, sons of *Mnṯw-ḥtp*, known to me also date from the early Middle Kingdom.[281]

The owner of steatite scarab UC 26120, *jmj-rꜣ ʿḥʿw* "overseer of ships" *Snfrw*, can be tentatively identified with a person bearing the same title and name in an inscription found at Serabit el-Khadim on Sinai.[282] The Sinai inscription bears the name of Amenemhat II. The inscription on the scarab after the name of *Snfrw* is damaged and not comprehensible.

Martin pointed out that the green feldspar scarab MMA 22.1.273 was found in a burial within the pyramid enclosure of Amenemhat I (tomb 954, chamber E) and should be contemporary to the pyramid complex.[283] Apart from the location of the tomb, which may but must not necessarily suggest an early 12th Dynasty date, the associated finds also appear to confirm it. The tomb has a communal shaft with 18 burial niches on three levels; two upper levels were occupied. The blocking of niches was intact and the burials were undisturbed.[284] Eight of the thirteen buried persons were female and three male, whereas the sex of other

269 Leiden AP 64 (Leiden 6). For the reference and the date, see: Grajetzki 2000, 84.

270 Barracco 11. For the reference and the date, see: Grajetzki 2000, 86.

271 Cairo JE 66641. Published by Raphael 1937. An attribution to Amenemhat II (Altenmüller 1992) is arbitrary; the filiation *ms.n*+mother's name favours a date under early 12th Dynasty or under 13th Dynasty; however, if block Cairo JE 66640 comes from the same tomb, as suggested by the publisher (Raphael 1938), the offering formula on it favours a 12th Dynasty date (and hence an early 12th Dynasty date) over a possible 13th Dynasty date.

272 Silverman 1988, 103 fig. 89. For the date, see: Silverman 1996, 137.

273 Berlev and Hodjash 1998, 40; Franke 2003, 82 n. 268.

274 Spiegelberg 1921, no. 937α, β; Winlock 1941, pl. VI (81).

275 Cairo JE 37510 (Legrain 1907, 249–250).

276 Attestations of the title datable to the late 12th Dynasty and late 12th–early 13th Dynasty: Boston 1971.403 (Grajetzki 2009, 87 fig. 38) and Langres SP 247-78 (110) (Gauthier-Laurent 1930, pl. I).

277 The reading of the inscription RIK 17/FSN 405/ Khartoum 34355, which should not be earlier than the reign of Senusret III, when the fortress of Kumma was founded, is unclear. Although Dunham and Janssen (1960, 142) only read , Hintze and Reineke (1989, 111, pl. 146) point out that an additional sign of uncertain reading stands after this group.

278 So, Franke 1984, dossier 468; Grajetzki's (2000, 102, 85–86) decision to disassociate the sealing from the rest of the dossier (followed by Siesse 2019, 247) is evidently based on the assumption that the use of private-name scarabs only started in the late Middle Kingdom.

279 Grajetzki 2000, 79–115; Grajetzki 2009, 69–80.

280 Franke 1984, dossier 105; Farout 1994; to the dossier one should also add rock inscription Hintze and Reineke 1989, no. 9.

281 Rock inscription Sadek 1980, no. 94 and pReisner I, C 1.020 (Simpson 1963).

282 BM EA497, for the identification see: Franke 1984, dossier 678.

283 Martin 1971, 4.

284 Di. Arnold 2008, 82–83.

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buried persons could not be determined.[285] Janine Bourriau dated one of the burials in this communal tomb shaft to the early 12th Dynasty, supposedly based on pottery (although Dieter Arnold is reluctant to accept this date, since there are no parallels to the star-shaped layout of the tomb from this period).[286] Earlier, Christine Lilliquist favoured an early 12th Dynasty for the entire complex based on pottery and jewellery.[287] Despite the lack of the analyses specifically concerning chamber E, the evidence appears to support the early 12th Dynasty date of the burial complex, proposed by Martin.

Amethyst private-name scarab Cairo JE 87417 comes from the cemetery of Kom el-Hisn, and although the exact context of the find is not studied, the wider context of the cemetery suggests an early Middle Kingdom date.[288] A date not later than the early Middle Kingdom was proposed for a scarab impression reading *Sḥtp-*[*jb*]*-rˁ-*[…] from Kom el-Hisn,[289] which may be a private-name scarab impression; it is unclear whether another inscribed sealing[290] was made by a scarab or a larger seal.

On similar grounds, hard stone scarab Berkeley 6-12786, found in tomb 220 at Naga ed-Deir, can be dated to the early Middle Kingdom. Based on the sample studied by Kroenke, dates of tombs in cemetery N.100-400 (also known as cemetery 100) range from Late Old Kingdom to Early Middle Kingdom.[291] However, it should be kept in mind that many burials in Naga ed-Deir were disturbed and some tombs were reused in later times.[292] The inscription on the scarab is not clear, but it is likely to be a private-name scarab, featuring the epithets *kꜣ nfr wꜣḥ*, probably, naming a wab-priest (*wˁb*) *Sꜣ-ḫwt-ḥr*.

The evidence presented in this section is not equally persuasive. Whereas early Middle Kingdom dates of Martin 564 and MMA 22.1.273 are conclusively demonstrated, the arguments behind other proposed dates are rather probabilistic. Still, taken together this evidence indicates that private-name scarabs already existed in the early Middle Kingdom.

Some steatite private-name scarabs datable to the 12th Dynasty exhibit the sculptural features comparable to early Middle Kingdom design scarabs. Ward showed that A1, A2, A3, and B2-type heads and c, e4, e5, and e6-type sides dominate the corpus of early Middle Kingdom design scarabs.[293] This is further confirmed by design scarabs from Ezbet Rushdi,[294] datable to the early to mid-12th Dynasty based on stratigraphy(stratae/2 and e/1 in the sector R/I[295]). This group of steatite design scarabs includes A2 (TD 8570, 8566), and A3-type (TD 8567) heads; d5 (TD 8570, 8572), c (TD 8567), and e5-type (TD 8496, 8566) sides, which are all attested among private-name scarabs datable to the 12th Dynasty (Tables 35 and 39), and also the head type A1 (TD 8496, 8572), seemingly unattested on Middle Kingdom private-name scarabs made of steatite. This shows that some private-name scarabs fit typologically into the early to mid-12th Dynasty. This study, however, does not deal with the typology of hard-stone scarabs, which should have been more common among early to mid-12th private-name scarabs based on available evidence.

Hence, one cannot outright exclude an early to mid-12th Dynasty date also for private-name scarabs that cannot be dated with more precision. This is the reason why the following section is devoted to "12th Dynasty scarabs" and not to "late 12th Dynasty scarabs". The lack of evidence does not allow establishing consistent differences between early Middle Kingdom scarabs and late 12th Dynasty name scarabs.

285 Brunton 1935, 215.
286 Di. Arnold 2008, 82–83.
287 Lilyquist 1979, 17.
288 Brunton 1947; Orel 2000, 44;
289 Kom el-Hisn, 137 fig. 4.1 (i), discussion: Kroeper 2016, 136.
290 Kroeper 2016, 136–137 fig. 4.1 (k).
291 Kroenke 2010, 81–84, 94–95.
292 Kroenke 2010, 75; Brovarski 2018, 3.
293 Ward 1978, 27–30.
294 Czerny 2015, I 383–387; II, 156–157.
295 An earlier date is not excluded, because of a possible hiatus between strata e and d (Czerny 2015, I 22). The reigns of Senusret II and Senusret III are proposed as a terminus ante quem for strata e/1–4 because the date for the overlaying temple is suggested by stela Sharkeya H 1539 (year 5 of Senusret III, Bakr, Brandl, and Kalloniatis 2014, no. 71) found in the sanctuary of the temple and statue München ÄS 5361 + ÄS 7211 (Senusret II, Fischer-Elfert and Grimm 2003) naming the temple. It is considered that the temple was posthumously dedicated to Amenemhat I (Czerny 2015, I 15–19). Höflmayer 2015 (282–284) doubts this interpretation considers an inscribed relief fragment and two private statues from the temple featuring the name of Amenemhat I to favour the creation of the temple under Amenemhat I. The part of this argument that concerns with the statues is invalid. The name of Amenemhat I occurs on both statues (statue of Horankh, Adam 1959, 213, pl. VIb [right], VIIA, B and statue of Ameny, Czerny 2015, I 429-430, II 233–234) in the formula *jmꜣḫ ḥr Sḥtp-jb-rˁ* "provided for by Sehetepibre (Amenemhat I)" and in the offering formula on the place of a god. The royal name appearing in these positions on a private monument does not indicate the creation date of a monument and refers to the post-mortem worship of deified kings, as exemplified by numerous attestations (Ilin-Tomich 2017a, 1–2). Furthermore, whereas the statue of Horankh cannot be dated with more precision than the 12th Dynasty (Connor 2020, 381 [Tell el-Dabʿa 12]), the statue Ameny dates from late 12th Dynasty. Verbovsek (2004, 351–352) and Connor (2020, 381 [Tell el-Dabʿa 14]) favour a 13th Dynasty date based on stylistic parallels; however, the use of the filiation formula *jr.n*+mother's name favours a date in the mid- to late 12th Dynasty, proposed by Czerny (2015, I 430), and excludes at any rate a date under Amenemhat I (Ilin-Tomich 2017a, 24–25), implied by Höflmayer.

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Period	Back type 3	Back type 4	Back type 5	Back type 6	Back type 7	Back type 8	Back type 10
Private 12th Dyn.	2 (4 %)	6 (11 %)	5 (9 %)	31 (55 %)	7 (12 %)	2 (4 %)	3 (5 %)
Private Late 12th – early 13th Dyn.				11 (100 %)			
Private 13th Dyn.	2 (1 %)	2 (1 %)	3 (2 %)	123 (90 %)	2 (1 %)		5 (4 %)

Table 8 Scarab backs in terms of Martin's typology on 12th and 13th Dynasty private-name steatite scarab.

Comparison of 12th and 13th Dynasty scarabs

Taken together, the scarabs featuring the phonetic spellings of *jmj-rꜣ* or *jrj* and the scarabs featuring two or more epithets of the *kꜣ*, *nfr*, *wꜣḥ*, *ʿnḫ* series or just *kꜣ* or *wꜣḥ* make up a reference group of scarabs and scarab impressions datable to the 12th Dynasty through formal criteria. This group comprises 103 seals, listed in Table 39, which include 20 sealings and 83 scarabs: 35 of steatite, 5 scarabs of an unknown material, 43 hard-stone scarabs. It complements 58 scarabs and sealings of a 12th Dynasty date in the reference group selected based on prosopographical data and direct evidence (in Table 35). With this dataset, one may essay to pinpoint the features that set 12th Dynasty scarabs off from the scarabs datable to the 13th Dynasty based prosopographical data (in Table 35).

Currently the most widely used criterion for dating private-name scarabs are back types established by Martin and assigned to distinct periods by juxtaposing them with royal-name and datable excavated scarabs. Most recently, Julien Siesse postulated that most scarabs with what Martin classified as a type 6 back belong to the period from Khendjer to Sobekhotep *Mr-ḥtp-rʿ* or Ini *Mr-ḥtp-rʿ*.[296] Table 8 demonstrates that Martin's "type 6" steatite scarabs occur under the 12th as well as the 13th Dynasty.

Whereas most hard-stone private-name scarabs of the 12th Dynasty in Tables 35 and 39 have back types that Martin attributed to the 12th Dynasty or to the beginning of the 13th (Martin's back types 3, 2, 4[297]), among the steatite scarabs of the 12th Dynasty in Tables 35 and 39, the prevailing back types in terms of Martin's classification are 6 (the overwhelming majority, ca. 55%) and 7, which both were claimed to correspond to the 13th Dynasty.[298] Eight 12th Dynasty scarabs have back types 5 and 10, assigned by Martin to the Second Intermediate Period. Only 15% (six attestations) of 12th Dynasty steatite scarabs exhibit back types 3 and 4, which are believed to be characteristic of the 12th Dynasty.

Hence, this classification is insufficient to distinguish between 12th Dynasty and 13th Dynasty scarabs. The difference between type 6 and 7 scarabs, on the one side, and type 3, 2, and 4 scarabs, on the other side, is the difference between steatite scarabs and hard-stone scarabs, which does not reflect the development of steatite scarabs from the 12th to the 13th Dynasty. It is necessary to revisit formal criteria for distinguishing 12th Dynasty private-name scarabs, which can give a better foundation for dating than Martin's back types. For this end, I will compare 12th Dynasty scarabs gathered in Tables 35 and 39 with 13th Dynasty scarabs in Table 35. Distribution of inscriptions and base types is studied regardless of the scarab material; all analyses of sculptural features refer only to steatite scarabs.

Of the base types, private-name scarabs of the 12th Dynasty use mainly plain borders (Martin's base 3a with 76 attestations on steatite scarabs and 53 attestations on hard stone scarabs). Borders with paired oblong and round scrolls are less common under the 12th Dynasty than on 13th Dynasty scarabs. By contrast, borders of continuous oblong scrolls (Martin's base types 1g, 1h, 1i, 1i1, 1j, 4c) appear to be characteristic of 12th Dynasty seals. A total of 10 examples of such scrolls are datable to the 12th Dynasty (of which two pairs of sealings belong together, effectively making 8 attestations), as compared to 1 attestation on 13th Dynasty scarabs.[299]

Most private-name scarabs do not feature classifiers (determinatives) after personal names, most likely for considerations of space. However, it is noteworthy that classifiers after names occur significantly more

296 Siesse 2019, 50; it should be noted that Siesse relies on Martin's scarab classification and that in his view Sobekhotep *Mr-ḥtp-rʿ* and Ini *Mr-ḥtp-rʿ* were one and the same king.

297 For the proposed dates, see: Martin 1971, 3–4.

298 Martin 1971, 3–4.

299 The attestations from the 12th Dynasty are: Berlin 32619; Berlin VÄGM 1984/066; BM EA28241; BM EA30550; Elephantine Siegeltyp 285 + Mirgissa 2-264; Martin 1832; Martin, MDAIK 35, no. 18; Wadi Gawasis S06/5 + Wadi Gawasis S06/10. The single 13th Dynasty attestation is BM 32268 from the time of Senebsumai.

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Fig. 34 Scarab with a raised clypeus, Berlin 32547.
Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. This image is copyright. Reproduced by permission of Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. 26×18×11 mm.

often among 12th Dynasty scarabs than among 13th Dynasty scarabs. All three 13th Dynasty attestations of the male person classifier A1 are scarabs of the treasurer Senbi[300]; the generic Z1 classifier occurs but once on 13th Dynasty scarabs.[301] Of 12th Dynasty scarabs and impressions in Tables 35 and 39, twenty-three have classifiers. Among these 10 scarabs have the male person classifier A1.[302] Another 7 scarabs and scarab impressions from the 12th Dynasty have the female person classifier B1.[303] Finally, 5 scarabs have the generic Z1 classifier,[304] and one has the classifier B56.[305]

Concerning the epithets other than *kꜣ, nfr, wꜣḥ*, it is notable that the epithet *wḥm-ꜥnḫ* "repeating life," which is known to emerge on private inscribed monuments in the reign of Amenemhat IV, the very end of the 12th Dynasty,[306] indeed appears on scarabs around the turn of the 13th Dynasty.[307] Three attestations of the epithet are known in the reference group from the 12th Dynasty, none of which have the formal criteria pinpointing 12th Dynasty scarabs.[308] In contrast, 14 attestations of *wḥm-ꜥnḫ* are found in the 13th Dynasty group.[309] Hence, the epithet *wḥm-ꜥnḫ* "repeating life" can be considered a valid criterion for distinguishing the scarabs likely not antedating the reign of Amenemhat IV. Other epithets – *nb(t) jmꜣḫ* and *mꜣꜥ ḫrw* – are commonplace on 12th Dynasty scarabs as on those from the 13th Dynasty.

When it comes to the clypeus, 13th Dynasty steatite scarabs demonstrate almost invariably either a non-serrated clypeus raised above the plates (Fig. 34) or a clypeus with four serrations raised above the plates. There are but few attestations of deeply set clypei, level with the plates that are datable to the 13th Dynasty. These clypei are separated from the plates by single or double partition lines or have no partition lines at all. Only five known attestations are securely datable to the 13th Dynasty[310] plus one outside the reference group.[311] In contrast, level clypei are fairly common among 12th Dynasty scarabs (Fig. 28, 32). Ten attestations can

300 Aberdeen ABDUA:81106, Cairo JE 75091, Cairo JE 75092.
301 MMA 10.130.291.
302 Berlin 32483; BM EA37700; Cairo JE 75095; Grenfell, RecTrav 37, pl. I (10A); Jerusalem IM 76.31.2662; Martin 1343; Martin 1562; Sydney NM03.19; UC 11199; UC 26120.
303 Berlin 32481; Cairo CG 37404; Cairo JE 30913; Leiden LA 43; UC 11198; UC 11204; Uronarti 46.
304 Berlin 9747; BM EA48920; Bonhams 2001, no. 391 (1); MMA 26.7.300; UC 11208.
305 Cairo JE 30916.
306 Hodjash and Berlev 1975, 13; Berlev 1978, 180; Rosati 1980, 277; Franke 1994, 44; Ilin-Tomich 2017a, 31.
307 As already implied by Ben-Tor 2007a, 40.
308 Cairo CG 36050, dated by a formula on a statue of the same person; Wegner, Temple, fig. 154 (24), dated by a personal name; Cairo CG 36070, dated by identification with a person from the reign of Senusret III.
309 Basel Cat. 527; BM EA66088; Cairo CG 36069; Cairo JE 74964; CNG auction 381, lot 610; Elephantine Siegeltyp 207; Louvre AF 6755; Mirgissa 32-1-132; MMA 10.130.285; MMA 26.7.315; MMA 30.8.644; OIM 18580; Tübingen 555; Wegner, Temple, fig. 155 (28[b]).
310 OIM 18561 (double lines) and Tübingen 555 (single lines), evidently from the same workshop; Moscow I, 1a 2305 (no lines); Berlin VÄGM 1986/084 (single lines) and van Nijl Tot Schelde, no. 96 (single lines), both belonging to Senebsumai.
311 Jerusalem IM 76.31.4034, belonging to the royal wife *Jnj*. For her other scarabs, see Ryholt 1997, 38.

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Fig. 35 Scarab with a phonetic spelling of *jrj*, epithets *kꜣ nfr*, and a deeply set clypeus with without serrations (A2-II-e5), Berlin 32619. Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. This image is copyright. Reproduced by permission of Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. 23×16×9 mm.

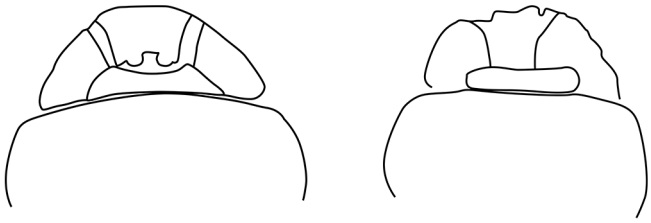


Fig. 36 A4a head on 12th Dynasty scarabs (drawn by the author after UC 11449) and A4b head on 13th Dynasty scarabs (drawn by the author after Berlin 32631).



Fig. 37 Scarab with a phonetic spelling of *jmj-rꜣ*, epithets *kꜣ nfr wꜣḥ mr*, and a D6 head (D6-I-e6b), Berlin 32581. Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. This image is copyright. Reproduced by permission of Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. 22×15×9 mm.

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Period	A2	A3	A4a	A4b	A5	A6a	A6b	A7	B2	B4	C2	C2/C5	C4	C5	C6	C7	C7/D	D2	D3	D5	D6
Private 12th Dyn.	3 (6 %)	1 (2 %)	5 (9 %)	1 (2 %)	5 (9 %)	2 (4 %)	1 (2 %)	3 (6 %)	3 (6 %)	1 (2 %)	2 (4 %)			6 (11 %)	1 (2 %)				3 (6 %)		16 (30 %)
Private Late 12th–early 13th Dyn.	1 (10 %)											1 (10 %)		5 (50 %)					1 (10 %)		2 (20 %)
Private 13th Dyn		1 (1 %)	1 (1 %)	10 (8 %)	3 (2 %)	2 (2 %)	1 (1 %)		1 (1 %)	1 (1 %)	15 (11 %)	10 (8 %)	1 (1 %)	56 (42 %)	5 (4 %)	1 (1 %)	12 (9 %)	1 (1 %)	4 (3 %)		8 (6 %)
Royal 13th Dyn.				1 (1 %)	1 (1 %)				1 (1 %)	4 (2 %)	31 (16 %)			24 (13 %)	1 (1 %)	12 (6 %)	106 (56 %)		7 (4 %)	2 (1 %)	

Table 9 Head types of 12th and 13th Dynasty scarabs.

Period	c	d4	d5	d6	d7	d8	d9	d13	d14	d16	e5	e6b	e6c	e8	e9	e10	e11
Private 12th Dyn.			7 (14 %)	7 (14 %)		2 (4 %)	6 (12 %)		14 (27 %)	1 (2 %)	2 (4 %)	8 (16 %)	4 (8 %)				
Private Late 12th–early 13th Dyn.			3 (27 %)			2 (18 %)	2 (18 %)		1 (9 %)			2 (18 %)	1 (9 %)				
Private 13th Dyn		1 (1 %)	9 (7 %)	5 (4 %)	1 (1 %)	42 (34 %)	42 (34 %)		12 (10 %)	4 (3 %)		2 (2 %)			6 (5 %)		
Royal 13th Dyn.	1 (1 %)		2 (1 %)	3 (2 %)	1 (1 %)	4 (2 %)	86 (50 %)	1 (1 %)			1 (1 %)			1 (1 %)	66 (38 %)	5 (3 %)	1 (1 %)

Table 10 Side types of 12th and 13th Dynasty scarabs.

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be found among steatite 12th Dynasty scarabs in Table 35 and Table 39, as well as deeply set clypei appear on 25 hard-stone scarabs from the 12th Dynasty. It was noted above that clypei raised at base and deeply set at front disappeared with the advent of the sign S3 in the spelling of the word *bjtj* in the middle of the 13th Dynasty and that such clypei are common among the scarabs of Senebsumai. The material from the 12th Dynasty shows that such clypei were already common in the 12th Dynasty: 15 steatite scarabs in Tables 35 and 39 have such semi-raised clypei. In general, among steatite scarabs with preserved clypei, fully raised clypei amount to 50% in the 12th Dynasty and 71% in the 13th Dynasty.

Clypei with more than four serrations are absent among the scarabs datable to the 13th Dynasty. Six 12th Dynasty steatite examples are known,[312] however, caution is advised when dating scarabs with clypei diverging from the 13th Dynasty standard to the 12th Dynasty, for deeply set clypei and clypei with over 4 serrations also occur in the Second Intermediate Period (see Chapter 3 below) and the New Kingdom.

Table 9 juxtaposes the head types of the 12th Dynasty steatite scarabs with those of 13th Dynasty scarabs (added are also 13th Dynasty royal-name scarabs and scarabs datable to the late 12th – the early 13th Dynasty). The head type that occurs on steatite private scarabs from the 12th Dynasty, but not on those from the 13th Dynasty, is the lunate head type A2 (Fig. 35).[313] A4-type heads, common during the 12th Dynasty, remained in use until the time of Senebsumai and disappeared thereafter (see above).[314] One may note that the form of the A4a head on these early scarabs, typically saddle-like (Fig. 36), differs from more sausage-like A4b-type heads attested on the scarabs of Senebsumai (Fig. 36). Of the common 13th Dynasty head types, C7/D-type heads do not occur on 12th Dynasty scarabs. C2-type heads occur only on two 12th Dynasty scarabs[315] as compared to 15 attestations from the 13th Dynasty. One 12th Dynasty scarab displays a head that can be classified as C6.[316]

Trapezoid heads with eyes (D3 [Fig. 33] and D6 [Fig. 37]) occur among 12th Dynasty scarabs in higher numbers than the square C-type heads, which contradicts the opinion that D-type heads emerged later than C-type heads.[317]

Table 10 juxtaposes side types of 12th Dynasty scarabs with those of 13th Dynasty scarabs. The side types d8 and d9, which appear on two thirds of 13th Dynasty private-name scarabs, account for only 16% of scarabs datable to the 12th Dynasty. Only two attestations of d8-type sides can be cited.[318] Sides of the type d9 appear somewhat more often under the 12th Dynasty (six attestations),[319] but still much less frequently than under the 13th Dynasty. The most common sides among steatite scarabs of the 12th Dynasty are those with middle legs fringed (d14, e6b [Fig. 38], and e6c), which appear on slightly more than 50% of all 12th Dynasty steatite scarabs. Other common side types are those with all legs plain (d5 [Fig. 28], and e5 [Fig. 35]) or all legs notched (d6 [Fig. 32]). Of these side types, e6b and e6c seem to disappear completely after the vizier Ankhu and the treasurer Senebsumai (early 13th Dynasty) until the onset of the Second Intermediate Period, as confirmed by both scarabs datable through prosopography and scarabs with different spellings of the title *ḫtmw-bjtj*. The latest attestation of e6b, and the only one likely to date from the mid- to late 13th Dynasty is the scarab of queen *Nḥjjt* found in Tell el-Dabʿa;[320] its date is suggested by the other known scarab of the same queen,[321] featuring a C7/D-type head, widely used since mid-13th Dynasty. Other late attestations of e6b are two late 12th – early 13th Dynasty scarabs[322] and two scarabs with the epithet *wḥm-ʿnḫ*,[323] occurring from the reign of Amenemhat IV onward (see above). If not for the smaller number of total attestations, the evidence would be stronger for e6c-type sides, which are not attested on scarabs datable to the 13th Dynasty and only appear once on a scarab with the epithet *wḥm-ʿnḫ*.[324] The side types e5,

312 Berlin 32481 (multiple tiny notches), Berlin 32652 (Fig. 32, multiple tiny notches), BM EA37701 (7 serrations), Cairo CG 36070 (multiple incisions), Cairo JE 75050 (6 serrations), Martin, MDAIK 35, no. 7 (6 serrations). Also noticeable is the early 12th Dynasty amethyst scarab Cairo JE 87417 with 6 serrations.

313 Three 12th Dynasty attestations on steatite scarabs are Berlin 32619, BM EA37700, Cairo JE 75208. A further example dates from the late 12th to the early 13th Dynasty (MMA 10.130.278).

314 The 12th Dynasty attestations of steatite scarabs with A4a heads are Berlin 15367; BM EA66731; Cairo JE 75050; UC 11449. UC 11207 has an A4b-type head.

315 Praha P 336; MMA 26.7.299.

316 BM EA37701 (dated based on the phonetic spelling of *jrj*).

317 Phillips 2008, 115.

318 Beirut B.13.264 (from Byblos; probably a local imitation of a scarab with the epithets *nfr kꜣ*, because of the awkward palaeography; hence, could be of a later date; side type recorded by Martin [his side type 6c] and not verified) and Praha P 336.

319 MMA 30.8.652, UC 11338, Dongola Reach SF 3127, BM EA64856, Philadelphia E.10742, MMA 26.7.299.

320 TD 8622, Mlinar 2001a, no. 7; Forstner-Müller 2008, 323; see also: Ben-Tor 2018c, 87.

321 Berlin 32715 (examined first-hand). Ryholt (1997, 38–40) has also argued that the layout of the inscription features on both TD 8622 and Berlin 32715 does not occur before Sobekhotep III.

322 Cairo JE 75067A and UC 11452 (for references, see Table 35).

323 Basel Cat. 527 (Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 527); Genève 27524 (Bonnet 1990, 151 [19]; museum website).

324 Philadelphia E.10116 (museum website; Wegner 2018, 241, fig. 13.5).

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e6b and e6c can be regarded as a distinctive feature of 12th Dynasty and early 13th Dynasty scarabs; the other side types occur from time to time throughout the 13th Dynasty.

Daphna Ben-Tor pinpointed a group of Egyptian Middle Kingdom design scarabs displaying features distinctly different from those of 13th Dynasty royal-name scarabs ("Sobekhotep Group"). She designated this group as "other design scarabs bearing late Middle Kingdom designs."[325] The group is only vaguely defined and heterogeneous. Without going into further detail, however, it can be said that many of the scarabs are related to the 12th Dynasty private-name scarabs discussed above because of the prevalence of e6b and e6c type sides and of D6 and A2 type heads in this group. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that many of these design scarabs can be dated to the (late) 12th or the early 13th Dynasty[326] and represent an earlier stage of development than the design scarabs that exhibit the features of mid- to late 13th Dynasty royal-name scarabs, while other scarabs in Ben-Tor's selection date from the 13th Dynasty or the Second Intermediate Period.

Materials used for private-name scarabs in the Middle Kingdom

One of extensively discussed issues in scarab research is the extent to which the material of a scarab can indicate its date. The problem is that the scarab chronology is largely based on royal-name scarabs, which were produced of steatite and thus cannot be used as comparative material for non-steatite scarabs, and the archaeological record in general is too scarce and inconclusive to allow conclusions about the temporal framework of using hard-stone scarabs.

One theory is that semi-precious hard stones were not used for the production of scarabs in the Middle Kingdom after the 12th Dynasty (until the New Kingdom). This idea emerged from the original analyses by Petrie,[327] and the notion was revived in more recent literature. Martin claimed[328] that semi-precious stones were rarely used for scarab production after the 12th Dynasty. Ward explicated the same conclusion based on the analysis of Martin's catalogue and further postulated that hard-stone scarabs are not attested before the 12th Dynasty, considering hard stone private-name scarabs to be mostly of a 12th Dynasty date.[329] Christine Lilyquist regarded the matter as one of the unsolved problems of the late Middle Kingdom material culture, because she believed that the position upheld by Martin and Ward lacked substantiating evidence.[330]

Some scholars have opposed this view. Most recently, Siesse argued against the use of Martin back types 1, 2, and 3 which are inherent to hard-stone scarabs, to date scarabs to the 12th Dynasty.[331] Siesse cited cases when owners of back type 1, 2, and 3 scarabs are also attested on type 6 steatite scarabs supposedly from the mid-13th Dynasty, to demonstrate that many type 3 scarabs date from the 13th Dynasty.[332] However, many of the cited examples are dubious. It should be remembered – as mentioned above – that several hard-stone scarabs imitating the decoration and inscription of steatite scarabs are modern fakes. Scarab BM EA30521 (Martin 1514), which Siesse cited as a type 3 scarab of the treasurer Senebsumai, is likely a fake (the ends of the bored hole do not meet; serrations on the clypeus are rather typical for the scarabs of the treasurer Har). Scarab BM EA65957 (Martin 35) is also a fake, as are other scarabs of *Jj-jb*. BM EA64855 (Martin 1304) cited by Siesse, as demonstrated above in the Introduction. Furthermore, as far as one can judge from the published drawings, this could also be the case with MMA 26.7.292 (Martin 1771; green jasper; note the malformed sign for *ḏr*, Gardiner sign M36) and MMA 26.7.316 (Martin 872; obsidian; note the malformed signs for *ꜥ* and *ḥḏ*, Gardiner signs D36 and T3). What remains of Siesse's examples are two steatite scarabs belonging to the few steatite scarabs classified by Martin as back type 3 (BM EA64854 [Martin 774] and BM EA30520 [Martin 575]), the obsidian scarabs BM EA67082 [Martin 122] and Chicago AI 1894.1569 [Martin 358] as well as the feldspar scarab Cairo CG 36044 [Martin 1217], all three are probably datable to the 13th Dynasty. The examples that should be added to Siesse's list are Moscow I, 1a 2441 (Martin back type 2, green jasper) owned by the same person as the steatite scarab MMA 26.7.273; Louvre E.25437 (Martin 1270, back type 2c, obsidian), owned by the same person as MMA 22.1.320 (Martin 1269) from the mid- to late 13th Dynasty (side type e9); Cairo JE 75176 (Martin 55, back type 3a, obsidian), owned by the same person as the 13th Dynasty steatite scarab Moscow I, 1a 2139 (scarab group C6 head with side chips; see Chapter 2 below). However, these examples are too rare to completely overturn the prevailing view. Analysing the reference groups compiled in this study, it appears that the view held by Petrie, Martin, and Ward regarding private-name scarabs can be more readily justified, but with significant corrections.

The analysis of scarabs datable to the 12th Dynasty has shown that a significant number of these scarabs

325 Ben-Tor 2007a, 41 §IB.5, pl. 27–29.

326 Most likely 12th or early 13th Dynasty scarabs in the group: Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 27 (8, 11, 12, 13, 15, 17, 18), pl. 28 (2, 3, 6, 8, 9, 14, 15, 16), pl. 29 (2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 14, 15).

327 Petrie 1917, 8.

328 Martin 1998, 112; also implied in Martin 1971, 5–6, and expressed in a personal communication cited by Lilyquist 1993, 46.

329 Ward 1978, 79–80.

330 Lilyquist 1993, 46.

331 Siesse 2019, 51–55.

332 Siesse 2019, 51, n. 152, 157, 158, 168, 169.

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were made of various kinds of hard stone: jasper, amethyst, feldspar, lapis lazuli, and rock crystal are most common. Scarabs in glazed composition (Egyptian faience) are unattested among 12th Dynasty private-name scarabs (although common among early Middle Kingdom design scarabs[333]); one example is made of glass (BM EA28241, Amenemhat IV).

In the 13th Dynasty reference group, scarabs made of hard stone become rare. There are isolated examples of 13th Dynasty scarabs made of jasper (UC 11366) and feldspar (Cairo CG 36044) in Table 35. Yet another scarab is made of obsidian (UC 11386). Absent from the corpus of 13th Dynasty private-name scarabs, as represented in Table 35, are those made of amethyst, which was among the most common materials used during the 12th Dynasty, and also those of rarer stones such as agate, cornelian, lapis lazuli, quartzite, rock crystal, and turquoise.

Karin Kopetzky dated an amethyst scarab from Byblos tomb I to the 13th Dynasty,[334] because this plain (?) scarab is fitted with a golden plate with the name of the princess (*s3t-nsw*) *Nbw-m-jwnt*, known from two steatite scarabs, Basel Cat. 550[335] and Berlin 32702.[336] Kopetzky believed that the back and legs of the Basel scarab are typical of the 13th Dynasty. While this is true of the d8-type side, the D6-type head would be rather untypical of the 13th Dynasty. The Berlin scarab has the same sides but displays a head that can be classified as either C5 or C3, with a protruding horn and the front side slightly bent. Based on this evidence, the two steatite scarabs may date from around the reign of Sobekhotep III (C5-type head) or from the early 13th Dynasty (D6-type head), but as far as the dating of the Byblos scarab is concerned, there is also the possibility that an earlier empty amethyst scarab was subsequently fitted with a gold plate. The same is true for an amethyst scarab with a golden plate inscribed with the name of Sobekhotep IV.[337] As mentioned above, there is at least one case of a golden plate with a name fitted to a scarab originally bearing a different name, hence arguably only hard-stone scarabs with the inscription incised in stone should be taken into account.

Typologically hard-stone scarabs can be divided into two groups: those with A- and B-type heads and those with schematic heads. (C- and D-type heads are never used for hard-stone scarabs.) Recently, Arlette David assembled evidence for uninscribed amethyst scarabs with schematic heads from Second Intermediate Period sites in the Nile Delta and from Israel.[338] Arguably, one inscribed late 13th Dynasty feldspar scarab Cairo CG 36044,[339] which can be classified in terms of Davis's classification as having a "triangular head and V-shaped prothorax line," also belongs to this group. This scarab suggests that the production of hard-stone scarabs with simplified heads was not limited to the Levant, but also occurred in Egypt. It also highlights the need to further specify the thesis on the timeframe of using hard-stone scarabs to support that it applies only to scarabs with elaborate heads (as are almost all inscribed hard-stone scarabs).

The overwhelming majority of 13th Dynasty scarabs in Table 35 are made of steatite. The only other material used more than twice is glazed composition (Egyptian faience) attested five times.[340] Related are other early vitreous materials, such as glass (no secure 13th Dynasty attestations) and glassy composition,[341] attested twice.[342]

If one analyses scarabs with the word *bjtj* spelled with the red crown sign S3 (Table 36), one comes to the same conclusion that hard stones were with few exceptions not used for private-name scarabs under the 13th Dynasty. Almost all scarabs with the sign S3 are made of steatite. The only feldspar scarab is the one already known from the reference group of 13th Dynasty scarabs (Cairo CG 36044), which has a simplified head. Yet another scarab is made of obsidian, Basel Cat. 509. To obtain more external evidence on the use of materials from private-name scarabs under the 13th Dynasty, it is also reasonable to analyse scarabs featuring the epithet *wḥm-ʿnḫ*, which was far more common under the 13th than under the 12th Dynasty, as demonstrated above. Among the scarabs with the epithet *wḥm-ʿnḫ*, 86 are made of steatite, 4 of glazed composition (Egyptian faience) and glassy composition (glassy faience), 4 of jasper, 4 of obsidian, and 1 of an unidentified hard stone (Table 40). Whereas the dating of these pieces is less secure, and some of them may date from the reign of Amenemhat IV, when the epithet *wḥm-ʿnḫ* first emerged, it seems to corroborate the evidence from the groups analysed above, suggesting that obsidian was still used for private-name scarabs under the 13th Dynasty, whereas amethyst, feldspar, lapis lazuli, and rock crystal were not. Scarabs made of jasper are only found among scarabs with the epithet *wḥm-ʿnḫ*, but not among those dated from prosopographical evidence or featuring the sign S3. Hence, the question whether such scarabs could have been produced during the 13th Dynasty remains open. The study of hard-stone scarabs datable based

333 Ward 1978, 34–35.

334 Beirut 16249, Kopetzky 2018, 310, 311 fig. 1, 314 fig. 1-2; Montet 1928/1929, 171, pl. XCVI (640).

335 Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 550.

336 Kaplony 2016, no. 1122; examined first-hand.

337 Billen, Derriks, and Konrad 2012, 178.

338 David 2019.

339 Seen on display.

340 BM EA32268 (the time of Senebsumai), Edinburgh A.1965.200 (Senebsumai), Martin 863 (late 13th Dynasty), MMA 26.7.326 (the time of Senebsumai), UC 11382A.

341 Termed "glassy faience" in Lilyquist, Brill, and Wypyski 1993, 6.

342 Liverpool GM E.1074, late 12th – early 13th Dynasty; Moscow I, 1a 2170, 13th Dynasty.

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	12th Dynasty	early 13th Dynasty up to Neferhotep I and the treasurer Senebsumai	mid- to late 13th Dynasty starting from Neferhotep I – Sobekhotep IV and the treasurer Senbi
Distinctive traits of 12th Dynasty scarabs			
private-name scarabs made of amethyst, feldspar, lapis lazuli, rock crystal, carnelian, serpentinite, turquoise and other hard stones except obsidian and jasper	+	-	-
A2 heads	+	-	-
saddle-like A4a heads	+	-	-
deeply set clypei	+	sporadic	-
clypei with more than four serrations	+	-	-
continuous oblong scroll borders (1g, 1h, 1i, 1i1, 1j, 4c)	+	sporadic	-
phonetic spellings of *jmj-rꜣ* and *jrj*	+	-	-
epithets *kꜣ, nfr, wꜣḥ, ꜥnḫ* and their combinations (except the single epithet *nfr*)	+	sporadic	-
classifiers after personal names	+	-	sporadic
Distinctive traits of 12th Dynasty – early 13th Dynasty scarabs			
A4b and A6a heads	+	+	-
D6 heads	+	+	-
serrated clypei	+	+	sporadic
clypei raised at base and deeply set at front	+	+	sporadic
e6 sides	+	+	-
plain backs (O)	+	+	-
Distinctive traits of 13th Dynasty scarabs			
d8 sides	sporadic	+	+
the epithet *wḥm ꜥnḫ*	sporadic	+	+
Distinctive traits of mid- to late 13th Dynasty scarabs			
C7/D heads	-	sporadic since Sobekhotep III	+
e9 sides	-	-	+
e10 sides	-	-	late 13th Dynasty, Sobekhotep VI and Ay

Table 11 Features of Middle Kingdom steatite private-name scarabs useable for dating.

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on spellings, epithets, and prosopographical data rehabilitates the thesis that almost all private-name scarabs made of semi-precious stones were produced prior to the 13th Dynasty. Only steatite, vitreous materials (glazed composition, glassy composition, glass), obsidian, and possibly jasper are attested as materials for name scarabs during the 13th Dynasty. This does not apply to scarabs with simplified heads. Hence, it is likely that Middle Kingdom private-name scarabs made of amethyst, feldspar, lapis lazuli, rock crystal, carnelian, serpentinite, turquoise, and other rocks, except obsidian and jasper, were almost all produced under the 12th Dynasty.

Results: how precisely can one date scarabs?

It is often assumed that scarabs in each period were produced in one particular type or style. A brief examination of the scarabs datable based on type-independent information, which are assembled in Tables 34, 35, and 39, is sufficient to discover that scarabs of different types were produced concurrently. There was never one type of scarabs exclusively produced during a certain period, but scarabs of different types coexisted, which were sometimes more, sometimes less similar to one another. It is also evident that private-name scarabs and design scarabs demonstrate a greater typological variation than royal-name scarabs, which may be due to a more centralised production of royal-name scarabs.

Hence, one must reject the notion that all private-name scarabs must strictly hail from the reigns of the kings with whom they bear resemblance and that no other types of privatename scarabs were produced during these reigns. The latest attempt to apply this logic was made by Siesse, asserting in his review during these reigns. The latest attempt to apply this of private-name scarabs from the Middle Kingdom that only scarabs similar to royal-name scarabs of the earlier 13th Dynasty can date from the earlier 13th Dynasty.[343] A reliable dating of scarabs can only be based on finer dating criteria tested against all available evidence and not merely the parallels among royal-name scarabs. The following section is an attempt to summarise the criteria for fine-dating Middle Kingdom private-name scarabs established in the preceding sections of this study.

Dating criteria for private-name scarabs based on available evidence

Three sub-periods can be distinguished based on the evidence of royal-name and datable private-name scarabs discussed above: the 12th Dynasty, the early 13th Dynasty (including the era of Ankhu and Senebsumai, up to the reign of Sobekhotep III), and the mid- to late 13th Dynasty (starting from the era of the treasurer Senbi and the brother kings Neferhotep I and Sobekhotep IV). Dating criteria that allow the distinction between these sub-periods are summarised in Table 11. All criteria that rely on sculptural features of scarabs (heads, clypei, and sides) are only applicable to steatite scarabs. It should be noted that, due to the lack of private-name scarabs reliably datable to the late 13th Dynasty, the characteristic traits of scarabs from this period are largely established based on the royal-name corpus, given that these findings do not contradict the evidence of private-name scarabs dating in the earlier periods.

343 Siesse 2019, 49–55.

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2. Late Middle Kingdom private-name scarabs: the geography of production

The prevailing view in modern literature is that Middle Kingdom private scarabs were produced centrally at the royal residence. Stephen Quirke[344] brought forward this idea as a suggestion. Daphna Ben-Tor shared the same view, arguing that the end of production of private-name scarabs coincided with the abandonment of Itjtawy at the end of the 13th Dynasty[345] and explaining the fluctuations in scarab style by the transfer of residence from Thebes to Itjtawy under Amenemhat I and later the revival of scarab-production at Thebes at the turn of the 18th Dynasty.[346]

The idea of the centralised production of private-name scarabs in the Middle Kingdom fits well into the view of the late Middle Kingdom Egypt as dominated by a highly centralised administration. The theory is supported by broad historical arguments rather than specific evidence on the production of private-name scarabs.

Finds of unfinished scarabs could have been a powerful argument in the discussion of production places, but in the absence of attested unfinished Middle Kingdom scarabs from Egypt,[347] the distribution of certain features on scarabs of officials from different regions can be examined to clarify the question. The idea of such a study goes back to W.M. Flinders Petrie, who tried to pinpoint the differences in features between the scarabs that he attributed to Lower and to Upper Egypt.[348] However, the criteria he used for identifying the origin of the scarabs, such as the private names with the element *Sbk* considered an indicator of Upper Egyptian origin, are invalid in light of today's knowledge. Subsequent scholars considered Petrie's attempt to establish regional differences in the production of scarabs in Egypt unsuccessful.[349] Nevertheless, a new attempt can be made by using better substantiated criteria for assigning the studied specimens to regions.

The aim of the present study is to verify whether scarabs indeed stem from a single production centre by studying private-name scarabs and seals belonging to persons of identifiable origin.

To study the regional distribution of scarab features, one needs a reference group comprising scarabs and sealings that either have a known provenance or belong to a person attributable to a particular region through textual evidence: names, titles, and prosopographical connections. One should distinguish between the find places of the scarabs and seals, the places from which their owners seemed to originate, and the places where they were active. Both people and objects were mobile. Hence, care should be taken to select the information that is likely to be more relevant to determine where the owner of a scarab was active and to disregard the data that is more likely to be misleading.

The region-specific names defined earlier[350] were used to pinpoint the scarabs whose owners can arbitrarily be identified as dwellers of either southern Upper Egypt (SUE), comprising Upper Egyptian nomes 1–9, or northern Upper Egypt and Lower Egypt (NUELE), comprising Upper Egypt to the north of nome 9 and Lower Egypt, including the Memphis-Fayum region (MFR). The procedure established for private inscribed monuments[351] requires that an epigraphic source have at least two personal names characteristic of a specific region in order to consider the persons named in the epigraphic source as residents of this region, as the probability of claims increases to a solid confidence level when independent evidence is combined. This procedure is obviously not applicable to scarabs because, with few exceptions, they contain only one personal name. Hence, all name-based attributions of scarab-owners to particular regions in this book have a higher degree of uncertainty than assertions about the origin of stela-owners.[352] All assertions about the origin of single scarabs in this chapter should be understood as likely but in no way certain. To arrive at plausible conclusions about scarab production based on this probabilistic evidence, multiple objects with the same geographical attributions should align to compensate for the uncertainty of each single case.

Apart from names, titles characteristic of southern Upper Egyptian and particularly Theban administration established in an earlier study[353] were also used to pinpoint scarabs likely owned by southern Upper Egyptian officials: (*jmj-ḫt*) *sꜣ-prw* "security official estate guard", *jrj-pḏt* "bowman", *ḥrj n tm* "master of the *tm*", *ḫrp wsḫt* "director of the broad court", (*sꜣb*) *rꜣ-nḫn* "(dignitary), mouth of Hierakonpolis", *smsw hꜣjjt* "elder of the portal",

344 Quirke 2004, 182.
345 Ben-Tor 2007b, 11.
346 Ben-Tor 2007b, 7; 2015, 141–142.
347 Quirke 2004, 182. Exceptions known to me are an unfinished cornelian scarab found in Memphis (Giddy 2016, 23, pl. 2) and two unfinished scarabs from Tell el-Dabʿa (Mlinar 2001b, no. 1046 [TD 5518] and 1050 [TD 6427]). For a discussion of unfinished scarabs from Egypt and the Levant with a focus on Byblos, see Boschloos 2015, 305–310.
348 Petrie 1917, 6.
349 von Bissing 1938, 207.
350 Ilin-Tomich 2017a, 39–69.
351 Ilin-Tomich 2017a, 58–60.
352 Made in Ilin-Tomich 2017a.
353 Ilin-Tomich 2015.

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sš n ḫnrt wr "scribe of the great enclosure" spelled with the sign U31  . Also, the female titles *ḫkrt-nsw* "king's ornament", *bꜣkt nt ḥqꜣ* "female servant of the ruler", *ʿnḫt nt tpt nsw* "the lively one of the king's first one" were considered indicators of southern Upper Egyptian origin in line with the findings in a study of these titles.[354] The titles with the elements *jpt nsw* "private rooms of the king," *kꜣp* "inner palace," *ʿrrjjt* "palace-approach" (except *šmsw ʿrrjjt*), *ḫntj* "outer palace," *ʿḥ* "palace," and *pr-ʿꜣ* "great house" as well as *ḫtmw kfꜣ-jb* "trustworthy sealer" and *ḫtmw ḫrj-ʿ n ḫfr-ḥr* "sealer and assistant of the presence" were considered characteristic of officials from the Memphis-Faiyum region.[355] Another title that judging from private monuments is only attested in northern Upper Egypt and Lower Egypt is *jmj-rꜣ tꜣ-mḥw* "overseer of Lower Egypt" (to be discussed elsewhere). In addition to these titles, also the titles explicitly referring to particular places or local cults, such as Sobek of Shedet and Khenty-Khety were considered indicators of origin. Likewise, local cults mentioned in sacrificial formulae were also figured in.

The find place was also considered as a possible indicator of origin for scarabs, however with several reservations, based on preliminary research. Generally speaking, the find place is an unreliable indicator of the place where the scarab owner lived, because scarabs could be moved in the owner's lifetime or in posterity, when scarab heirlooms could be traded across Egypt and beyond. The aim of the limitations expounded below is to cover the most common and explainable cases of the geographical redistribution of scarabs, so that the remaining evidence pertains to objects that were plausibly found in the same region where the original owner lived. Unavoidably, these plausible cases are not bulletproof, so as with all other probabilistic evidence employed in this book, large numbers of scarabs are needed to arrive at sound conclusions from imperfect data. The evidence of find places is only to be used as supplementary to other kinds of evidence in this study.

The selection excludes the scarabs found in unrecorded or non-burial contexts in the necropolises of Abydos, as such scarabs could have been deposited in association with memorial monuments set up by officials from other regions of Egypt (examples of non-Abydene persons named on scarabs found at Abydos: Cairo CG 36045 owned by a *ꜣṯw n wḥꜣt* "commander of the oasis;" Cairo JE 20428 owned by the treasurer *Jmn-ḥtp*, known from a tomb in Dahshur[356]). The places of purchase indicated in the ink inscriptions on the scarabs from the former Ralph Blanchard collection, later owned by George Michaelides and Fouad Matouk and now in the Berlin and Fribourg museums, are not taken into consideration for reasons outlined in the Introduction.

Also disregarded are find places of scarabs owned by treasurers (*jmj-rꜣ ḫtmt*) and high stewards (*jmj-rꜣ pr-wr*), two of the highest officials of the central administration, as their scarabs and seal impressions were produced in great numbers and spread throughout Egypt. Specifically, the seals of the treasurers Senebsumai and Senbi are found in seven different locations in Egypt and beyond:[357] scarabs in Lisht (MMA 15.3.77), Lahun (UC 11484), Tell el-ʿAjjul (New York Jewish Museum 12-73.466); sealings in Mirgissa,[358] Wahsut.[359] As for the high stewards, the scarabs of *ʿkw* are found at Lisht (MMA 09.180.1212) and on the Sai island[360] with a further sealing from Naqada (UC 26333); scarabs of *Rn=f-m-jb* are associated with Lisht (MMA 09.180.1225) and Aswan (alleged place of purchase of Berlin 32542) with a sealing from Wahsut;[361] scarabs of *ʿkf* were found in Semna (Boston 24.1514) and Tell el-Dabʿa (Cairo JE 91207); *Jjj* is known from a scarab in Naqada (UC 11407) and a sealing in Tell el-Dabʿa (TD 5696); *Rdj.n-pṯḥ* is attested on a scarab from Lisht (MMA 22.1.344) and a sealing from Edfu;[362] finally, the name of the high steward *Rs* is featured on a scarab allegedly purchased in Athribis (Berlin 32546) and on a sealing from Wahsut.[363] Naturally, the seals of lesser officials could also be dispersed over various parts of Egypt, but still on a smaller scale than those of the highest officials, as the geographical scope of their activity was smaller and because their scarabs were produced in lesser numbers and were supposedly not given to others during their lifetime.

Find places of sealings are altogether ignored because scarab impressions were purposefully attached to letters and goods transported to distant regions in the Nile valley and beyond.

Taking into consideration prosopographical data, evidence of names, titles, offering formulae, and find places, it was possible to compile a reference group of scarabs tentatively attributable to particular regions, presented in Table 41.

All in all, the reference group comprises 653 seals: 517 scarabs, 134 sealings, and two golden plates. I examined 258 scarabs first-hand in museums, the rest are known from published and unpublished reproductions. The owners of 312 items can be associated with southern Upper Egypt (SUE), 331 with northern Upper Egypt and Lower Egypt (NUELE, mostly the Memphis-Faiyum region), and 10 with Middle Egypt (that is the southern part of northern Upper Egypt). The columns "Provenance" and "Origin" of Table 41 offer the reasoning for attributing every object to a particular

354 Ilin-Tomich 2018.
355 Ilin-Tomich 2015, 131.
356 Franke 1984, dossier 87A.
357 Compare the map of finds referring to Senebsumai in Grajetzki 2009, 62 fig. 27.
358 Gratien 1991b, 165.
359 Wegner 2007, fig. 154 (16, 17, 23).
360 Gratien 1985, 104 (6).
361 Wegner 2007, fig. 154 (19).
362 Moeller and Marouard 2018, fig. 9.
363 Wegner 2007, fig. 154 (22).

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region, whereby the textual evidence of the origin of the owner ("Origin") supersedes the evidence of the find place ("Provenance").

The reference group allows studying the distribution of traits between the two macroregions, southern Upper Egypt (southern part of Egypt from Abydos to the Elephantine) and northern Upper Egypt and Lower Egypt (northern part of Egypt, to the north of the 9th Upper Egyptian nome). If most private-name scarabs were produced at the royal residence in line with the common notion (see above), one would expect that the occurrence rates of common traits in both macroregions are similar. However, fact is that certain traits occur in significantly greater numbers on scarabs owned by dwellers of one part of Egypt than on those owned by dwellers of the other. Moreover, one may define certain groups of scarabs set off by their distinctive combinations of features and owned by dwellers of a certain region. This evidence is presented in the subsequent sections.

Traits better attested on scarabs of northerners

Continuous scroll borders (1a-1j, 4c bases) and the start of private-name scarab use in southern Upper Egypt

The occurrence of continuous scroll borders, including continuous round scrolls (Martin base types 1a-1f) and continuous oblong scrolls (Martin base types 1g, 1i, 1i1, 1j and 4c), on private-name scarabs is limited both in terms of chronology and geography. As discussed above, most datable attestations belong to the 12th Dynasty, and the data presented in Table 41 shows that far more owners stem from the Memphis-Faiyum region and Northern Egypt in general than from Southern Upper Egypt. Persons likely to come from the North account for 19 attestations in the reference group, 1 scarab belongs to a person of supposed Middle Egypt origin, and only 3 belong to persons thought to have been active in southern Upper Egypt.[364] All three exceptions feature continuous round scrolls. All 13 scarabs with continuous oblong scrolls in Table 41 stem from northern Upper Egypt and Lower Egypt or Middle Egypt.

It is possible that this observation relates to the late start of the use of private-name scarabs in southern Upper Egypt, at a time when continuous scroll borders were no longer in fashion. This suggestion is corroborated by comparing the occurrence of other indicators of 12th Dynasty scarabs in the reference group. Deeply set clypei with single or double partition lines occur on 12 steatite scarabs from the northern group and on 3 steatite scarabs from the southern part of Egypt. Epithets *k3*, *nfr*, *w3ḥ*, *ʿnḫ*, and their combinations (except the single epithet *nfr*) occur on 9 scarabs from the north and 2 scarabs from the south. Finally, a direct comparison shows that there are 32 scarabs dating from the 12th Dynasty as per Tables 35 and 39 among scarabs attributable to the northerners and 4 among the scarabs attributable to the southerners.

From this combined evidence, it appears that few of the scarabs attributable to patrons from southern Upper Egypt antedate the 13th Dynasty. Hence, features characteristic of 12th Dynasty scarabs should not be considered elements of local artistic traditions.

d5-type sides

Another trait better attested on scarabs of the Memphites than on those of the Thebans is the chip-carved side with all plain legs (Tufnell and Ward side type d5). Of the 31 attestations of d5 sides on steatite scarabs of persons attributable to any particular region (Table 42), 26 can be associated with the Memphis-Faiyum region and 5 with southern Upper Egypt. This disparity can also be explained chronologically, for d5-type sides are more common on scarabs antedating the 13th Dynasty (Table 10).

Double strand rope borders (4f bases)

One trait that occurs in higher numbers on scarabs owned by officials from the Memphis-Faiyum region is the double strand rope border known as Martin's base type 4f. Its attestations bearing names of officials who can be attributed to any particular region are listed in Table 43. Of the total of 19 seals, 16 are likely to belong to persons from northern Upper Egypt or Lower Egypt and only 3 to those from southern Upper Egypt. One also finds this border (which can be classified as a subtype of Tufnell and Ward design class 8A[365]) on design scarabs from Lisht.[366] The significantly higher occurrence rate of this base type in the north of Egypt cannot be explained chronologically, as this feature is not associated with 12th Dynasty scarabs.

By contrast, single strand rope borders (Martin base type 4a) are equally well represented among the scarabs belonging to the northerners (22 attestations) and the southerners (28 attestations).

Preliminary results

Even a simple comparison of the occurrence of individual features among scarabs attributable to the northerners and the southerners reveals at least one trait (double strand rope borders) that is significantly more common in the north of Egypt, which could be explained by localised scarab production. However, more conclusive evidence can be procured by studying sets of scarab features or scarab groups.

364 Mirgissa 3-148 with a 1a-type base; UC 11337 with a 1b-type base; Semna South F-4 with a 1f-type base.

365 See Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 18.

366 MMA 09.180.1178; MMA 22.1.359.

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Fig. 38 The group with A4a heads, UC 11446. Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. 17×12×8 mm.

Memphis-Faiyum groups of scarabs

It is striking that certain scarab features tend to occur together. Groups of scarabs that can be defined in terms of sets of sculptural features and base decorations deserve special attention, because it is tempting to explain the co-occurrence of features either by the organisation of production (same artisan or a group of artisans sharing a predisposition to certain sets of features), by deliberate copying of the scarab types that the producers considered worthy of copying at some time, or by an interplay of both phenomena. The independent evidence provided by names, titles, formulae, and prosopographical data can help decide in each case whether a set of features is associated with a particular region or is spread evenly among scarabs owned by patrons from different parts of Egypt.

Whereas many sets of features, particularly those closely resembling contemporary royal-name scarabs, cannot be traced back to a particular region, there are some that can. Presented below are sets of features that predominantly occur on scarabs owned by people, who were likely to have dwelled in the northern part of Egypt. These sets of features define the groups of scarabs that could have been produced at the royal residence of Itjtawy and (or) in Memphis, deemed to be major centre(s) of scarab production.[367] All scarabs in the sets are made of steatite; hence, the column "Material" is omitted in Tables 12–15.

367 Quirke 2004, 182; Ben-Tor 2015, 141.

The group with saddle-like A4a heads, e6c/d14 sides and serrated clypei (Figs. 38–41)
Date: late 12th Dynasty
Origin of owners: principally, Memphis-Faiyum region, also Abydos, Thebes

It was mentioned above that several scarabs attributable to the 12th Dynasty feature a particular saddle-like form of the A4a head with the depressed frontline, with or without eyes (Fig. 36). As I already discussed in the definition of head types, heads with converging sides and the depressed frontline can also be classified as D2 or D4-type heads, but I chose to prioritise the form of the frontline over the form of sidelines and the presence of eyes in this study. Many private-name scarabs featuring this head-type have other traits in common: raised clypei with 4 serrations and sides with mid legs fringed (e6c or d14-type sides) and can be considered a coherent group. Altogether 13 scarabs are attributable to this group (Table 12). Four scarabs belong to dwellers of the Memphis-Faiyum region.[368] Two design scarabs were excavated in the Memphis-Faiyum region.[369] Conversely, two name scarabs were excavated in the south. One comes from Wahsut (Wahsut 15876) and belonged to a local official (*jmj-rꜣ šnˁw S-n-wsrt* "overseer of provisioning-area of Senusret" Heku) serving at the mortuary town of Senusret III[370]. Another scarab was found in Asasif (MMA 26.7.752). This mixed evidence makes the attribution of the group to the Memphite area less certain. The origin of 5 scarabs could not be determined.

Four scarabs show evidence of dating to the 12th Dynasty, and the Wahsut scarab cannot be dated before Senusret III (Wahsut being the town of his funerary temple), therefore, the late 12th Dynasty is a likely date for the entire group.

368 Berlin 32594, Louvre AF 6749, Sidon S/3223/1070, UC 11446.
369 Manchester 170.a from Lahun; MMA 22.1.371 from Lisht.
370 Interpretation by Wegner 2007, 287–288.

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Fig. 39 The group with A4a heads, UC 11449. Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. 23×16×10 mm.



Fig. 40 The group with A4a heads, Berlin 15367.
Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. This image is copyright. Reproduced by permission of Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. 20×14×9 mm.

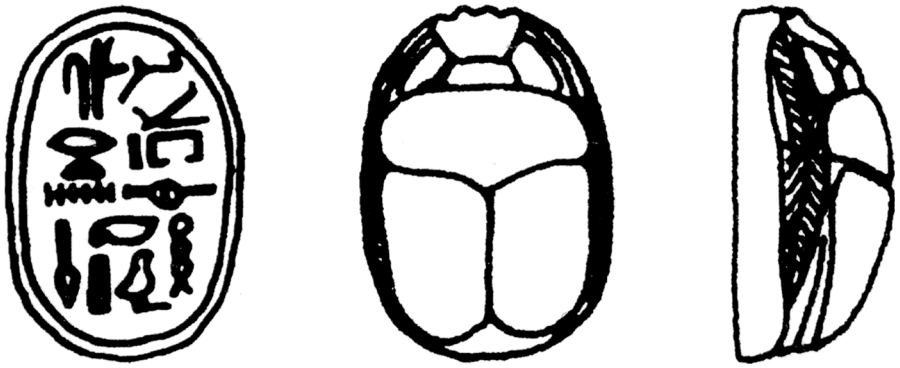


Fig. 41 The group with A4a heads, Wahsut 15876.
Reproduced from Wegner 2000, fig. 10 (9) with permission of the author. 19 mm.

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Scarab	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Provenance	Origin	Date	Epithets
Berlin 15367	1641	all sides, examined personally	3a	A4a	III	d14	raised	4 serrations			12th Dyn. (*jrj: j-r*)	
Berlin 32594	1219	all sides, examined personally	1ak	A4a	II	d6	raised	serrated		MFR (the name *Ḫntj-m-ḥ3t*)		
Louvre AF 6749	1242	all sides, museum website [p]	3a	A6a	O	d6	raised			MFR (the name *Ḫtjj -ḥtp*)	12th Dyn. (the name *Ḫtjj-ḥtp*, unattested after the 12th Dyn.)	
Manchester 170.a		base and back, museum database [p]; Kemp and Merrillees 1980, 100 [d]		A4a	III		raised	serrated	Lahun			
MMA 22.1.371		all sides, museum website [p]		A4a	I	e6c	raised	serrated	Lisht			
MMA 26.7.752	804	all sides, Lilyquist 2020 [p]	3d	A4a	III	e6c	raised	serrated	Asasif			*m3ᶜ ḫrw*
OIM 18565	1280	all sides, museum website [p]	3a	A4a	O	e6c	raised	not serrated				*nfr*
Sidon S/3223/1070		all sides, Loffet 2012, no. 2 [p]	1ak	A4a	II	d14	raised	serrated	Sidon	MFR (the name *Jw-nfr*)		
UC 11207	560	all sides, examined personally; Ward 1978, 78 fig. 17 (Y) [s]	3a	A4b	II	e6c	raised at base, deeply set at front	4 serrations			12th Dyn. (*jmj-r3: m-r*)	*k3 nfr w3ḥ*
UC 11446	1467	all sides, examined personally	3a	A4a	II	e6c	raised at base, deeply set at front	4 serrations		Lahun (the title *sḏtj nsw ᶜnḫ-s-n-wsrt*)		
UC 11449	522	all sides, examined personally	3a	A4a	II	d14	raised	4 serrations			12th Dyn. (*jmj-r3: m-r*)	
Wahsut 15876		all sides, Wegner 2000, fig. 10 (9) [s]; Smith 2010, 337 [s]	3a	A4a	I	e6c	raised	4 serrations	Abydos	Abydos (the title *jmj-r3 šnᶜw S-n-wsrt*)		*m3ᶜ ḫrw*
Wien 2123	548	all sides, unpublished museum photos [p]	1h	A4a	II	d14	raised	serrated				*m3ᶜ ḫrw; nfr*

Table 12 The group with saddle-like A4a-type heads, e6c/d14-type sides and serrated clypei.

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Fig. 42 The group with trapezoid heads, eyes set apart, and e6/d14 sides, Berlin 34413. Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. This image is copyright. Reproduced by permission of Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. 17×12×8 mm.



Fig. 43 The group with trapezoid heads, eyes set apart, and e6/d14 sides, BM EA30538. Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. Base view edited by Marcel Maree. Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum. 17×12×8 mm.

Two groups with trapezoid heads, eyes set apart, and e6b/d14 sides (Figs. 42–44)
Date: late 12th Dynasty
Origin of owners: Memphis-Faiyum region

The scarabs of another group are characterised not only by a set of sculptural features, but also by a distinctive style in the rendition of inscriptions. The most evident sculptural feature is the large trapezoid head (D6) with round eyes visually detached from the pronotum, be it by a physical gap (Fig. 42) or a deepening filled by darker glazing (Fig. 43). The degree of convergence of the head sides can be different. Some heads are strongly trapezoid (Fig. 42, 44), one scarab has a rectangular C5-type head, some other heads have slightly converging sides, only minutely distinguishable from rectangular heads (Fig. 43). Most scarabs of the group have sides with mid legs fringed (d14 and e6b). It is a noteworthy difference from the previous group: scarabs of the group in question predominantly use e6b-type sides rather than e6c-type sides, preferred in the previous group. Most bases have single (3a) or double (3d) plain borders. The inscriptions are carved in deep and wide lines; on well-preserved specimens, the incision is amply filled with dark glazing. The large signs are freely arranged and when the inscription does not fit into one column, there is no visible border between the two columns; instead, the signs of both columns are densely packed into the available space. This group comprises 26 scarabs (see Table 13). Of these, 4 belonged to dwellers of the Memphis-Faiyum region,[371] and 1 scarab comes from Lahun.[372] One scarab belongs to a person attributable to Abydos based on the name *Jn-ḥrt-nḫt*.[373] Yet another scarab was found by Garstang in Abydos in burial[374] 416 A'07;[375] Kemp and Merrillees discussed

371 Basel Cat. 537; BM EA59014; UC 11208; UC 11452.
372 UC 11441.
373 Berlin VÄGM 1983/024.
374 That this was a burial and not a memorial chapel can be implied from the find of inlaid eyes from a plaster mask.
375 Jerusalem IM 76.31.4528.

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Scarab	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Provenance	Origin	Date	Epithets
Basel Cat. 518	278	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 518 [p]	3a	D6		e6b	chipped off	chipped off				*nb jm3ḫ; nfr*
Basel Cat. 537	1224	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 537 [p]	3a	D6	III	d14	raised	chipped off		MFR (the name *Ḫntj-ḥtp*)		*nb jm3ḫ*
Berlin 13618	1374	all sides, examined personally	3d	D6	I	e6b	raised	4 serrations				*nb jm3ḫ*
Berlin 34413		all sides, examined personally; Martin 1979, no. 21 [s]	3a	D6	O	e6b	raised	4 serrations				*m3ʿ ḫrw*
Berlin VÄGM 1983/024		all sides, examined personally; Martin 1979, no. 82 [s]	3a	D6	O	e6b	raised	not serrated		Abydos (the name *Jn-ḥrt-nḫt*)		
BM EA30538	1411	all sides, examined personally	3d	D6	O	e6b	raised	not serrated				*nb jm3ḫ*
BM EA30543	1596	all sides, examined personally	1g	D6	III	d14	raised	4 serrations				
BM EA40734	1328	all sides, examined personally	1ak	D6	III	e6b	raised	not serrated				*m3ʿ ḫrw*
BM EA59014	1466	all sides, examined personally	3a	D6	II	e6b	raised	4 serrations		MFR (the title *ḫtmw kf3-jb*)	mid- to late 12th Dyn. (after Leiden F.1926/8.2 (PD 601))	*nfr*
BM EA66092	300	all sides, examined personally	3a	D6	II	e6b	raised	chipped off				*nb jm3ḫ*
Bruxelles E.5030	1697	all sides, museum website [p]	3a	D6	II	e6b	raised	not serrated				*nfr*
Cairo CG 36058	54	base and back, seen on display	3a	D6		e6b	raised	4 serrations				
CNG auction 381, lot 611		base and back, https://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=319573 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	1ad	D6	O	e6b	raised	not serrated				

Table 13 The group with trapezoid heads with eyes set apart and e6/d14-type sides and deeply carved inscriptions.

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Scarab	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Provenance	Origin	Date	Epithets
Farouk 185		all sides, Ragab 2018, no. 65 [s]	3a	D6	II	e6b	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated			Senusret III - Amenemhat III (after Cairo JE 30873, found in subsidiary burial in the Senusret III pyramid complex)	*nb jm3ḫ*
Jerusalem IM 76.31.4528	1278	all sides, Ben-Tor 1988, pl. II (12) [p]	3a	D6	O	e6b	raised	not serrated	Abydos			
Jerusalem IM 2010.65.1687		base and back, Ben-Tor 2016, 35, no. 5b [p]	3a	D6	I	d14	raised	chipped off		Byblos (a hatia of Byblos)		*nḏm ʿnḫ*
Louvre AF 6754	333	all sides, museum database [p, s]	3d	D6	O	e6c	raised	not serrated				
OIM 18573	1090	all sides, examined personally	3a	D6	O	e6b	raised	not serrated				*nb jm3ḫ*
Tel Aviv University 21252/70		all sides, Giveon 1988, no. 37, pl. 3, 37 [p]; Keel 1997, 82 (15) [p]	3a	D6	II	d9	raised	not serrated	Tel Afek			
Torino Cat. 5369	437	all sides, examined personally	3a	D6	O	e6c	deeply set, single partition line	chipped off				*nfr ʿnḫ*
UC 11208	844	all sides, examined personally; Ward 1978, 78 fig. 17 (Z) [s]	3a	D6	I	d14	raised	not serrated		NUELE (the name *Rn=f-ʿnḫ*)	12th Dyn. (*jrj: j-r*)	*k3 nfr w3ḥ*
UC 11350	513	all sides, examined personally	1g	D6	II	e6c	raised	4 serrations				*nb jm3ḫ*
UC 11441	638	all sides, examined personally	3a	C5	II	e6b	raised	not serrated	Lahun			
UC 11452	339	all sides, examined personally	3a	D6	I	e6b	raised	not serrated		MFR (after Boston 1971.403 + Christie's London, 30.04 – 01.05.1974, lot 354)	late 12th Dyn.–early 13th Dyn. (after Boston 1971.403 + Christie's London, 30.04 – 01.05.1974, lot 354)	
UC 26124	1607	all sides, examined personally	3a	D6	II	d14	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated				
UC 26213	1310	all sides, examined personally	3a	D6		d14	raised	not serrated				*nb jm3ḫ*

Table 13 The group with trapezoid heads with eyes set apart and e6/d14-type sides and deeply carved inscriptions. (continuation)

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Scarab	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Provenance	Origin	Date	Epithets
Ashmolean AN1931.476	220	all sides, examined personally	4a	D6	III	d14	raised	4 serrations				
Basel Cat. 529	175	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 529 [p]	1ad	D6	O	e6b	raised	4 serrations				
Berlin 32470	444a	all sides, examined personally	1j	D6	II	d14	raised	not serrated				*nfr*
Berlin 32644	1610	all sides, examined personally	3a	D6	II	d14	raised	4 serrations, straight-line border		SUE (a title referring to Asfun)		
Berlin 32677	1816	all sides, examined personally	3a	D6	I	e6b	raised	chipped off	Bilbeis (Blanchard)			
BM EA30549	743	all sides, examined personally	1ak	D6	III	d14	raised at base, deeply set at front	4 serrations, straight-line border				
BM EA30550	234	all sides, examined personally	1j	D6	III	d14	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated		Zawyet el-Amwat (after Cairo CG 20181 (DAE 58))	Sen. I or III (after Cairo CG 20181 (DAE 58))	
BM EA54683		all sides, examined personally		D6	O	e6b	raised	not serrated	Abydos			
Brooklyn 44.123.103	1154	all sides, examined personally	4g	D6	II	d14	raised	not serrated		NUELE (the name *Ḥtp*)		
Cairo JE 67371	236	all sides, examined personally	4e	D6	II	d14	raised	not serrated	Armant	Thebes (the title *ḫrj tm n njwt rsj*; the name *Jb*(=*j*)*-j*ʿ)		
Cairo JE 75179	444	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	1ad	D6	II		raised	not serrated				
Cairo JE 75189	462a	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	1b	D6	II	e6b	raised	worn off				
Cairo JE 75190	57	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]		D6	II	e6b	raised	not serrated				
Glasgow Hunterian D.1921.35		all sides, museum website [p]		D6	O	e6b	raised	chipped off	Gurob			
Jerusalem IM 76.31.92		all sides, Ben-Tor 1989, 60 (4) [p]; Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 24 (8) [s]	4f	D6	I	e6b	raised	not serrated, straight-line border				

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Scarab	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Provenance	Origin	Date	Epithets
Jerusalem IM 76.31.4519		all sides, Ben-Tor 1989, 61 (14) [p]; Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 24 (16) [s]	1g	D6	II	d14	raised	not serrated				
Louvre AF 6747	659	base and back, museum database [p]; seen on display	3a	C5	II	d14	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated			13th Dyn. (after Petrie, Season, no. 267–268)	
Louvre E 3689	202	base and back, museum website [p]	4a	D6	I	d14	raised	not serrated				*nfr*
MMA 09.180.1209	1196	all sides, museum website [p]; Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 23 (2) [s]; Oppenheim et al. 2015, 139 (71D) [p]	1ak	D6	III	d14	raised	not serrated	Lisht	MFR (the name *Ḫpr-k3*)		
MMA 20.1.24		all sides, museum website [p]; Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 25 (11) [s]	1g	D6	II	d14	raised	not serrated	Lisht			
Philadelphia E.9193		all sides, photo from the museum [p]	1g	D6	O	e6b	raised	not serrated	Abydos		late 12th Dyn. (found together with Philadelphia E.9192; not inscribed)	
UC 11149		all sides, examined personally		D3	O	e6b	raised	not serrated	Lahun			
UC 11447	1198	all sides (head lost), examined personally	3a	C5	O	e6b	raised	not serrated		MFR (the name *Ḫpr-k3*)		
UC 27907		all sides, examined personally		D6	II	e6b	raised	not serrated	Lahun			
UC 27923		all sides, examined personally		D6	II	e6b	raised	not serrated	Lahun			

Table 14 Scarabs with trapezoid heads with eyes set apart and e6/d14-type sides with inscriptions carved in other styles.

this assemblage in detail,[376] and this scarab was then considered lost;[377] however, it has now resurfaced in the Jerusalem collection. One may wonder whether the scarab was contemporary to the tomb or represented an heirloom. Since the material analysed by Kemp and Merrillees generally confirms a Middle Kingdom date of the burial, it seems possible that the scarab was a contemporary one; one cannot exclude that it was found in the burial of its original owner. Besides, one scarab with the features under consideration bears the name of an otherwise unattested "governor" of Byblos *Jjj* (Jerusalem IM 2010.65.1687). It is possible that the three scarabs linked to Abydos and Byblos were produced for their eventual owners in the Memphis-Faiyum region (at the royal residence). The origin of 17 scarabs could not be determined.

With respect to the date of the scarabs, most notable is scarab Farouk 185, naming the same

376 Kemp and Merrillees 1980, 105–175.
377 Kemp and Merrillees 1980, 157–158.

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Fig. 44 The group with trapezoid heads, eyes set apart, and e6/d14 sides, UC 11208. Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. 19×14×9 mm.



Fig. 45 One of the scarabs with similar features, but a different inscription style, BM EA30550. Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum. 24×17×11 mm.

princess Sathathor, who is known from scarab Cairo JE 30873, found in subsidiary burial in the Senusret III pyramid complex in Dahshur and can be safely datable to the time of Senusret III and Amenemhat III;[378] a Memphite origin can also safely be attributed to the scarab of a 12th Dynasty princess. Two scarabs are datable through prosopographical data; one belongs to mid- to late 12th Dynasty (BM EA59014) and another to the late 12th or early 13th Dynasty (UC 11452). One other scarab should not postdate the 12th Dynasty judging from the phonetic spellings of *jrj* (UC 11208). Based on this evidence, a late 12th Dynasty date appears most plausible for the entire group.

One may further consider scarabs with similar sculptural features, but lacking the distinctive inscription style. One can cite 25 scarabs meeting this description (Table 14). These scarabs tend to have more complex borders than scarabs of the former group, most common are continuous scroll borders, followed by strand rope borders and borders with 3 pairs of oblong scrolls.

Among scarabs of this type, BM EA30550 (Fig. 45) dates from the reign of Senusret I or rather Senusret III; the design scarab Philadelphia E.9193 dates from the late 12th Dynasty (judging from the prosopographically datable scarab Philadelphia E.9192, which was found together with E.9193).

As for the origin, four private-name scarabs are attributable to officials from the northern part of Egypt[379] and two to those from southern Upper Egypt.[380] Incidentally, several design scarabs displaying the

378 Newberry 1907a, pl. XVIII; de Morgan 1895, 62 (20) fig. 133; Arnold 2002, 73; for an Amenemhat III date of the pottery found in the same tomb (but not in the same pit), see: Allen 1998, 40–42.

379 BM EA30550; Brooklyn 44.123.103; MMA 09.180.1209; UC 11447.

380 Berlin 32644; Cairo JE 67371.

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Fig. 46 The group with bordered clypeus and plate edges, Berlin 32634.
Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. This image is copyright. Reproduced by permission of Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. 20×14×9 mm.



Fig. 47 The group with bordered clypeus and plate edges, BM EA69522.
Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum. 23×17×11 mm.



Fig. 48 The group with bordered clypeus and plate edges (a design scarab), MMA 22.1.313 (Lisht). Public domain photo from https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/557054, credit line: Rogers Fund and Edward S. Harkness Gift, 1922. 21×15×9 mm.

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Scarab	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Provenance	Origin	Date	Epithets
Berkeley 6-19079		all sides, museum website [p]	3d	C5	III	d9	raised	not serrated, straight-line border		SUE (the title *s3-prw*)		
Berlin 32629	1507	all sides, examined personally	1ak	C5	II	d9	chipped off	chipped off				
Berlin 32630	1510	all sides, examined personally	1ak	C5	III	d14	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated, straight-line border			Neferhotep I (a servant of the wife of Neferhotep I)	
Berlin 32632	1537	all sides, examined personally	3a	C5	II	d9	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated, straight-line border	Tell el-Dabʿa (Blanchard)		13th Dyn., Senebsumai	
Berlin 32634	1539	all sides, examined personally	3a	C5	II	d9	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated, straight-line border			13th Dyn., Senebsumai	
BM EA30526	1515	all sides, examined personally	3a	C5	II	d9	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated, straight-line border			13th Dyn., Senebsumai	
BM EA69522		all sides, examined personally; Malek 1999, 205 fig. 118–119 [p]	1ak	C5	II	d9	raised at base, deeply set at front	4 serrations, straight-line border			13th Dyn., Senebsumai	
Bruxelles E.5022	73	all sides, museum website [p]	1ak	C5	II	d9	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated, straight-line border				
Cairo JE 22014	1575	all sides, seen on display; museum database [p]	4a	C5	II	d9	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated, straight-line border	Abydos			*mꜣʿ ḫrw; nfr ʿnḫ*
Giveon, RdE 30, 163, pl. 6–7 (6)		all sides, Giveon 1978, pl. 6–7 (6) [p]	3a	C5	II	d9	chipped off	chipped off				
Jerusalem IM 76.31.89		all sides, Ben-Tor 1988, pl. III (18) [p]; Ben-Tor 1989, 60 (6) [p]; Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 24 (6) [p]	1ak	C5	III	d8	raised	not serrated, straight-line border		MFR (the name *Kms*)		
Jerusalem IM 76.31.90		all sides, Ben-Tor 1988, pl. I (1) [p]; Ben-Tor 1989, 60 (10) [p]; Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 24 (7) [s]	1ak	C5	II	d14	raised at base, deeply set at front	4 serrations, straight-line borde				
Liverpool WM 1977. 112.262		base and back, museum website [p]		C5	II	d9	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated, straight-line border	Abydos (Garstang 486 A‘08)			
Louvre AF 6751	1142	base and back, museum website [p]	3a	C5	II	d9	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated, straight-line border				

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Scarab	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Provenance	Origin	Date	Epithets
MMA 30.8.660	1297	all sides, seen on display	1ak	C5	II	d8				MFR (the title *ỉ3w jpt-nsw*)		
TimeLine Auctions, 27-30.05.2015, lot 80		base and back, https://www.timeli-neauctions.com/lot/hieroglyphic-scarab-with-military-title/48371/ (accessed on 04.08.2017) [p]	4f	C5	II		raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated, straight-line border				*nb jm3ḫ*
UC 11349	13	all sides, examined personally	1j	C5	II	d8	raised	not serrated, straight-line border				

Table 15 The group with bordered clypeus and plate edges.

same features come from Lahun,[381] Gurob,[382] and Lisht.[383] Two scarabs were found in Abydos[384] but, as mentioned above, scarabs found at Abydos in non-burial contexts could belong to establishments made by officials from different parts of Egypt, all the more so that the chapel Garstang E.108 also contained a scarab of a high official of the central administration, the treasurer *Ḥr*.[385] The origin of 11 scarabs could not be determined.

Based on the available evidence, one may suggest that both groups of scarabs with these D6-type heads, eyes detached from the pronotum, and middle legs fringed, with and without deeply cut inscriptions were produced in the timeframe from Senusret III to the very beginning of the 13th Dynasty and mostly date from the late 12th Dynasty.

Scarabs of both groups predominantly belong to persons, who were likely to be dwellers of the Memphis-Faiyum region.

The group with bordered clypeus and plate edges
(Figs. 46–48)
Date: Senebsumai, Neferhotep I
Origin of owners: Memphis-Faiyum region

Another scarab group is defined by the edges of the clypeus and the plates bordered with a straight incised line and by C5-type heads with the horn indicated by two square protrusions at the base of the clypeus rather than by a usual notch. The clypei, raised at base, are mostly deeply set in front. Two or three suture lines divide the elytra (back types II and III). The most common side type among these scarabs is d9. This group comprises 17 scarabs (Table 15). It is notable that three of them belong to the treasurer Senebsumai,[386] one of the Egypt's top officials who was active at the royal residence. Two scarabs are connected to royal wives. Berlin 32630 belonged to a servant of the wife of Neferhotep I, *jmj-r3 š n ḥmt-nsw ḥnmt nfrt ḥḏt Snb=s-n=j* "overseer of the *š* of the king's wife, princess Senebseni",[387] named *Jmnjj*. Scarab Giveon, RdE 30, 163, pl. 6–7 (6) names royal wife Sa(t)sobek, who is only known from scarabs. Apart from these, two scarabs are attributable to the Memphis-Faiyum region through a title and a name.[388] One may also cite a design scarab from Lisht exhibiting the same features.[389] One design scarab[390] and one name scarab[391] come from Abydos but as discussed above, this does not provide a clue to the origin of the owner. Only one scarab attributable to this group can be linked with southern Upper Egypt, Berkeley 6-19079, which mentions the title *s3-prw*. The origin of 6 scarabs could not be determined.

The evidence is scarce, but one may suggest that the entire group can be associated with the royal residence and the late years of Senebsumai's tenure and the reign of Neferhotep I.

381 UC 11149; UC 27907; UC 27923.
382 Glasgow Hunterian D.1921.35.
383 MMA 20.1.24.
384 BM EA54683 from Garstang 375 A'07 and Philadelphia E.9193 from Garstang E 108.
385 Philadelphia E.9192.
386 Berlin 32632, Berlin 32634, BM EA69522.
387 For other attestations of this king's wife, see Ryholt 1997, 226–228.
388 MMA 30.8.670 and Jerusalem IM 76.31.89, respectively.
389 MMA 22.1.313.
390 Liverpool WM 1977.112.262 from find group Garstang 486 A'08.
391 Cairo JE 22014.

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Traits better attested on scarabs of southern Upper Egyptians

Certain scarab features occur more often on scarabs belonging to people from the southern part of Egypt than on those belonging to Memphite officials. The aim of this section is not to pinpoint distinctive traits of southern scarabs, but to evaluate the evidence for irregularities in the distribution of scarab features across different parts of Egypt. If these irregularities are valid, they undermine the hypothesis that all private-name scarabs were produced centrally.

Inevitably, only a small fraction of scarabs can be attributed to persons from a particular region. The overwhelming majority of scarabs with each discussed feature cannot be ascribed to any particular region based on the available knowledge, because the person named is not known from other sources and their name and title can occur in the southern as well as the northern part of Egypt. Hence, I primarily compare the numbers of scarabs attributable either to the southern or the northern part of Egypt, without taking into consideration the scarabs that are not attributable. Since the total numbers of scarabs from the north and the south in the reference group (Table 41) are close, the ratio of southern to northern attestation is also roughly equal to the ratio of the occurrence rates of the feature in question in each of these two parts of Egypt. Assumingly, the scarabs that could be attributed to a certain region are representative of those that could not be attributed; hence, one should primarily consider the ratio of the number of scarabs from one region to the number of scarabs from the other region rather than the ratio of the number of scarab from a certain region to the total number of scarabs that display a certain trait or a set of traits. All traits discussed below occur only on steatite scarabs; hence, the column "Material" is omitted in Tables 44–47.

The hybrid asymmetrical C2/C5 head

Most heads occurring on private-name scarabs can be classified within the classificatory framework established by Tufnell and Ward. However, some scarabs exhibit transitional forms that cannot be assigned to a particular type. One of such transitional forms is the asymmetrical head displaying the features of a C2 head (the sideline connected with the clypeus form an hourglass-like B-type outline) on one side (left or right) and of a C5 head (the sideline detached from the clypeus) on the other side (right or left; see illustration in Table 2; Fig. 49). These heads are designated as C2/C5 in the present study. I use the designation "C2" for the side of the head that is connected to the clypeus, because only two C-type heads have B-type outlines, of which C3 has a gabled front, and C2 a straight front; hence, C2 best matches the described particularity. It may well be that some of asymmetrical heads are merely production defects. Yet, if one considers that the geographical distribution of scarabs having asymmetrical types is not random, as the owners of scarabs with C2/C5-type heads tend to originate from southern Upper Egypt, one comes to the conclusion that the use of this head type was not always accidental.

Out of a total of 41 scarabs featuring this head type (Table 44), 3 can be attributed to a persons from the Memphis-Faiyum region,[392] and the owners of 19 can be attributed to southern Upper Egypt; in particular, 3 to Thebes,[393] 1 to Dendera,[394] and 14 indiscriminately to southern Upper Egypt; moreover, one scarab is said to come from Sheikh Abd el-Qurna.[395] This evidence suggests that the feature was associated with the production of scarabs in southern Upper Egypt, possibly at Thebes; however, the origin of 20 scarabs could not be determined.

All datable scarabs belong to the 13th Dynasty (early 13th Dynasty to Sobekhotep IV).

Bases with 4 pairs of round scrolls

Among the owners of scarabs with 4 round scrolls on each side of the base, either hooked or joined (Martin base types 1s, 1s1, 1t, 1u, 1u1; Tufnell and Ward design class 7B4(i)), many officials bear the titles characteristic of southern Upper Egyptian and particularly Theban administration.[396] These titles are *jrj-pḏt*,[397] *ḥrj tm*,[398] *sꜣb rꜣ-nḫn*,[399] *smsw hꜣjjt*,[400] and *sš n ḫnrt wr*.[401] Altogether 79 late Middle Kingdom private-name seals featuring borders with 4 pairs of round scrolls are known (Table 45). Among these, 20 belong to dwellers of southern Upper Egypt.[402]

By contrast, 10 scarabs belong to persons from the Memphis-Faiyum region.[403] The origin of 49 scarabs could not be conclusively determined.

Four of the scarabs with 4 round scrolls feature the hybrid C2/C5 head, better attested on scarabs owned by dwellers of southern Upper Egypt than on those belonging to the northerners.[404]

392 Berlin 32511, Berlin 32440, and BM EA30523.
393 Cairo JE 75131; OIM 18580; UC 11337.
394 BM EA41564.
395 Cairo JE 3349.
396 As identified in Ilin-Tomich 2015.
397 Berlin 32601; Uronarti 12.
398 Berlin 32576.
399 BM EA69224; Brooklyn 44.123.97; Mirgissa 3-182.
400 Berlin 32659; BM EA4316; Kerma no. 9; Martin, MDAIK 35, no. 27.
401 Berlin 32612; BM EA17251; UC 11343; UC 11357.
402 Berlin 32576; Berlin 32601; Berlin 32612; Berlin 32659; BM EA4316; BM EA17251; BM EA24094; BM EA69224; Brooklyn 44.123.97; Kerma no. 9; Martin 1426; Martin, MDAIK 35, no. 27; Mirgissa 3-182; MMA 10.130.288; Moeller, Marouard, Khyan. fig. 13; Moscow I, 1a 2139; UC 11343; UC 11345; Uronarti 12; Wegner, Temple, fig. 157 (49).
403 Berlin 32511; BM EA14902; Cairo JE 75139; Fadrus 185/545:22; Martin 8; Mirgissa 3-46; Moscow I, 1a 2137; OIM 18561; Philadelphia E.10742; UC 26123.
404 Berlin 32511; Berlin 32576; BM EA4316; BM EA30551.

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This difference between the number of scarabs owned by people from the northern and the southern part of Egypt is not distinctive enough as to declare bases with 4 pairs of round scrolls a characteristic feature of southern Upper Egyptian scarabs.

Bordered elytra

Many late Middle Kingdom scarabs have border lines on the back, typically found on both elytra and the pronotum. However, some scarabs have borders only on the elytra, but not on the pronotum (Fig. 49). Table 46 lists 60 scarabs of this type. Of these, 19 are inscribed for people attributable to southern Upper Egypt[405] and 7 for those attributable to northern Upper Egypt and Lower Egypt.[406] The origin of 33 scarab owners is unclear.

One may also notice that, in some cases, bordered elytra are combined with one of the other peculiarities better attested among the scarabs owned by southern Upper Egyptians: bases with 4 round scrolls or the hybrid asymmetrical head C2/C5. A total of 13 scarabs with bordered elytra have the hybrid asymmetrical head C2/C5[407] and a further 6 scarabs feature 1s-type borders with 4 round scrolls,[408] to which one could add one more scarab with bordered elytra, Berlin 32621, as its owner, god's father *Sbk-ḥtp*, is also named on scarab UC 11344 with 4 round scrolls. Hence, 20 of 58 scarabs with bordered elytra attest or are connected to features better attested on southern scarabs, including 9 scarabs owned by persons from southern Upper Egypt, one attributable to a Memphite official, and 10 scarabs that are otherwise not attributable to any particular region.

The geographical distribution of owners is too vague to consider this feature a distinctive trait of southern Upper Egyptian scarabs, but clear enough to consider it an argument against the centralised production of private-name scarabs.

Concave head-sides

Another prominent feature associated with southern Upper Egypt and not discernible in terms of established scarab classifications is the concave form of C- and D-type heads, likely an influence of A5-type heads, which were used under the 12th Dynasty. From a total of 44 attestations (Table 47), 14 belong to dwellers of southern Upper Egypt (5 particularly of Thebes[409] and 9 of southern Upper Egypt[410]). Only two scarabs[411] can be associated with the Memphis-Faiyum region; whereby the first features 4 pairs of round scrolls, a base type more common among scarabs owned by people from southern Upper Egypt. The origin of 28 scarabs could not be determined.

Concave head-sides are often associated with bases featuring 4 pairs of round scrolls (discussed below).

Accordingly, scarabs with concave head-sides tend to belong to persons from southern Upper Egypt rather than to those from the north of Egypt (it does not mean thought that straight head sides are any less common in southern Upper Egypt than they are in the north).

Southern Upper Egyptian groups of scarabs

As in the section on patrons from the Memphite area, several groups of scarabs defined in terms of common sculptural features can be pinpointed that bear names of people from southern Upper Egypt more often than the names of the northerners. Some of these groups display features discussed above combined with further traits, which make these groups distinctive.

The group with concave head-sides, 1s bases, and d14 legs (Figs. 50–52)

Date: mid- to late 13th Dynasty

Origin of owners: Thebes, southern Upper Egypt

In connection with concave heads, defined above as a southern Upper Egyptian feature, a narrower group of scarabs can be outlined, which combines concave head-sides of C2, C3, C5, or D6-type heads, with 1s-type bases, featuring 4 pairs of round scrolls and the sides with mid legs fringed (d14). The group comprises 13 steatite scarabs (Table 16).[412] It was discussed above, both concave head-sides and 1s-type bases are more common among scarabs owned by people coming from southern Upper Egypt and, in case of concave heads, particularly from Thebes. The combination of these two features makes the southern origin even more likely. To some extent, this is corroborated by the evidence of single scarabs.

405 Basel Cat. 520; Basel Cat. 551; Berlin 18162; Berlin 32404 (Fig. 49); Berlin 32612; Berlin 32656; Berlin VÄGM 1984/067; BM EA24262; BM EA28225; BM EA76767; Bruxelles E.5020; Bruxelles E.5024; Cairo JE 75164; Cairo JE 75203; Giveon, Tel Aviv 7, no. 3; Hannover 1976.96; Jerusalem IM 76.31.4516; MMA 10.130.288; Philadelphia 61-14-977.

406 BM EA66738; Cairo JE 75167; Martin, MDAIK 35, no. 18; MMA 10.130.285; Moscow I, 1a 2137; OIM 18590; UC 11362.

407 Berlin 32404; Berlin 32533; BM EA24262; BM EA28225; BM EA37685; BM EA67023; BM EA76767; Bruxelles E.5024; Cairo JE 75040; Cairo JE 75203; CNG auction 381, lot 609; Magnarini, Catalogo ragionato, no. 12.40; Philadelphia 61-14-977.

408 Berlin 32612; Berlin 34417; MMA 10.130.288; MMA 10.130.292; MMA 10.130.388; Moscow I, 1a 2137.

409 Berlin 32410, BM EA17251, BM EA76768, MMA 10.130.288, Walters 42.18.

410 Berkeley 6-19079, Berlin 32601, Berlin 32659, BM EA24094, Cairo JE 75099, Durham EG3630, Moscow I, 1a 2174, UC 11374, UC 11375.

411 Fadrus 185/545:22 and Heracleópolis Magna 87-30.

412 Scarab Basel Cat. 530 does not feature 4 pairs of round scrolls, but it has concave head-sides, d14-type scarab sides and belongs to the same person as OIM 18585, which does display all the features of this group.

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Scarab	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Epithets
Ashmolean AN1892.50	1626	all sides, examined personally	1s	C5	II	d14	raised	not serrated	steatite				*mȝʿ ḫrw*
Basel Cat. 530	67	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 530 [p]	1aq	C5	IIII	d14	raised	not serrated	steatite				
Berlin 32505	628	all sides, examined personally	1s	C3	II	d14	raised	not serrated	steatite				
Berlin 32601	1267	all sides, examined personally	1s	C5	O	d14	raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the title *jrỉ-pḏt*)		
Berlin 32659	1694	all sides, examined personally	1s	C2	O	d14	raised	4 serrations	steatite		SUE (the title *smsw ḥȝjỉt*)		
BM EA17251	1671	all sides, examined personally	1s	C2	III	d14	raised	worn off	steatite	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	Thebes (the title *sš n ḫnrt wr* with the sign U31)		*nfr*
BM EA30551	862	all sides, examined personally	1s	C2/C5	II	d14	raised	worn off	steatite			13th Dyn. (after Rio de Janeiro 630 [2422] (PD 395))	*mȝʿ ḫrw*
BM EA32279	870	all sides, examined personally	1s	C3	II	d14	raised	not serrated	steatite				
Fadrus 185/545:2	299a	base and back, Säve-Söderbergh and Troy 1991, 95, pl. 17 (185/545:2) [p]	1s	D6	II	d14	raised	worn off	steatite	Dibeira East	MFR (the title *jmj-rȝ ʿḥmwtj n kȝp*)		*mȝʿ ḫrw*
MMA 10.130.292	1664	all sides, examined personally	1s	C5	III	d14			steatite				
MMA 10.130.388	861	all sides, examined personally	1s	C6	III	d14			steatite				
OIM 18585	66	all sides, examined personally	1s	C6	II	d14	raised	not serrated	steatite				
UC 11341A	1349	all sides, examined personally	1s	C5	II	d14	raised	chipped off	steatite				

Table 16 The group with concave head-sides, 1s-type bases, and d14-type legs.

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Fig. 49 Scarab with the hybrid asymmetrical C2/C5 head and bordered elytra, Berlin 32404. Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. This image is copyright. Reproduced by permission of Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. 25×17×11 mm.



Fig. 50 The group with concave head-sides, 1s bases, and d14 legs, BM EA17251 from Sheikh Abd el-Qurna. Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum. 24×17×10 mm.

BM EA17251 is said to come from Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, with the Theban origin of the owner further indicated by the spelling of the title *sš n ḫnrt wr* with the sign U31. Two further scarabs Berlin 32601 and Berlin 32659 are attributable to southern Upper Egypt through titles. BM EA30551 belongs to the high steward *Rs*. Although the title of the high steward is thought to belong to the central administration, one other monument of the high steward *Rs* can be attributed to a 13th Dynasty Theban workshop,[413] which makes it possible that this official was active in Thebes. One scarab, supposedly belonging to a person from the Memphis-Faiyum region is Fadrus 185/545:22, featuring the title *jmj-rꜣ ḥnwtj n kꜣp*. The owners of 8 scarabs could not be attributed to any particular region.

A date not earlier than the tenures of Ankhu and Senebsumai is implied by the use of the sign S3 for *bjtj* on BM EA32279 and BM EA30551; the mention of the high steward *Rs* on BM EA30551 equally favours a date in the second half of the 13th Dynasty.

413 Stela Cairo CG 20735, Ilin-Tomich 2017a, 108.

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Fig. 51 The group with concave head-sides, 1s bases, and d14 legs, BM EA32279.
Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum. 25×18×11 mm.



Fig. 52 The group with concave head-sides, 1s bases, and d14 legs, OIM 18585.
Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. 23×16×9 mm.

The group with concave head-sides and quadruple suture lines (Figs. 53–55)
Date:13th Dynasty
Origin of owners: Thebes, southern Upper Egypt

A somewhat related group is distinguished by concave head-sides combined with a curious layout on the back. The double line dividing the pronotum from the elytra does not cross the suture line, as is common on most 13th Dynasty scarabs, but rather bends towards the back of the scarab forming a quadruple suture line (Fig. 57.B). This feature is unique to this small group among steatite private-name scarabs of the 13th Dynasty. Somewhat comparable layouts occur on 12th Dynasty scarabs, but none of these has a quadruple suture line.[414] These scarabs have d6 or d14-type sides, whereby d6-type sides have notches on the upper surface of legs rather than on their sides.

Six steatite scarabs can be attributed to this group (Table 17). Concave head-sides indicate the Theban origin of the group, which is further corroborated from the title "great wab-priest of Khonsu" on Walters 42.18, for the cult of Khonsu is only attested in Thebes during the Middle Kingdom.

414 Attestations from the 12th Dynasty: Basel Cat. 547; Berlin 15367; Martin, MDAIK 35, no. 7 (references in Table 35 and Table 39). Also likely from the 12th Dynasty are scarabs Brooklyn 44.123.98 (museum website) and BM EA30529 (first-hand examination), featuring e6c-type sides.

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Scarab	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date
Cairo JE 75149	687	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	1s	D6	IIII	d14	raised	not serrated	steatite			
Cairo JE 75162	832	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	1s	D6	IIII		raised	not serrated	steatite			
Hannover 1976.84		all sides, examined personally; Beste 1979, 115–117 [p]; Martin 1979, no. 19 [s; incorrect drawing of the back]	1aj	D6	IIII	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite			
Hannover 1976.90		all sides, examined personally; Beste 1979, 130–131 [p]; Martin 1979, no. 20 [s]	1o	C6	IIII	d14		not serrated	steatite			
MMA 26.7.285	1420	all sides, museum website [p]	1s	C5	IIII	d6	raised	not serrated				
Walters 42.18	1302	all sides, museum website [p]; Schulz 2007, no. 77 [p]	1m	D6	IIII	d6	raised	not serrated			Thebes (the title *wʿb ʿ3 n Ḫnsw*)	

Table 17 The group with concave head-sides and quadruple suture lines.



Fig. 53 The group with concave head-sides and quadruple suture lines, Walters 42.18. Photo from https://art.thewalters.org/detail/22996, licensed under Creative Commons Zero: No Rights Reserved. 23×16×10 mm.

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Fig. 54 The group with concave head-sides and quadruple suture lines, MMA 26.7.285. Public domain photo from https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/545198, credit line: Edward S. Harkness Gift, 1926. 26×18×11 mm.



Fig. 55 The group with concave head-sides and quadruple suture lines, Hannover 1976.84. Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich., 27×19×11 mm.

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The group with C6 heads and V-shaped lines between pronotum and elytra (Figs. 58–60)
Date: mid- to late 13th Dynasty
Origin of owners: Thebes, southern Upper Egypt; Heliopolis (?)

Another peculiar head type that appears to be limited to scarabs owned by dwellers of southern Upper Egypt is a C6-type or a comparable trapezoid head with the wide front side having two chips on the inside in most cases (Fig. 56). The scarabs featuring such heads have single lines dividing the pronotum from the elytra that form a V-shape with angles (Fig. 57.C) as opposed to the more common layout with a continuous line (Fig. 57.A), arched or almost straight, and differing also from the previous group with the V-shape formed by bending but not broken lines (Fig. 57.B). V-shaped lines dividing the elytra from the pronotum are rare on steatite scarabs outside the group in question. They are even rarer on 13th Dynasty scarabs with most attestations outside the group in question datable to the 12th Dynasty.[415] The scarabs also have d14-type sides and non-serrated clypei.

These traits — C6-type heads with or without side-chips, V-shaped dividing lines between the pronotum and the elytra, d14-type sides and plain clypei — occur on 14 steatite scarabs (Table 18). Among them 6 are attributable to dwellers of southern Upper Egypt. The owners of 4 scarabs can be identified as Thebans,[416] and the owners of another 2 scarabs can be attributed to the wider southern Upper Egypt.[417] However, a further scarab belonging to this group is owned by a *wr m3w*

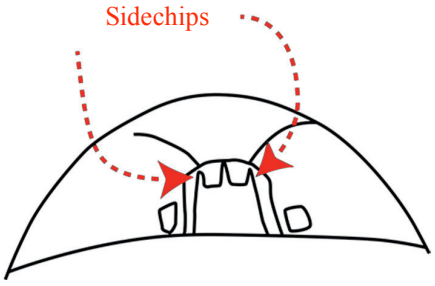


Fig. 56 A C6 head having side chips.

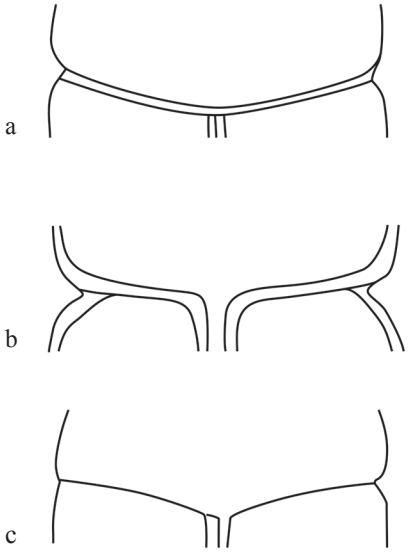


Fig. 57 Different arrangements of the line dividing the pronotum from the elytra. a. Standard, b. Merging into the suture lines, c. V-shaped.

"greatest of seers," a priest of Heliopolis,[418] which makes the univocal localisation of this group problematic.[419] The owners of 7 other scarabs could not be attributed to any particular region.

Scarabs of this group use the sign S3 for the word *bjtj*, suggesting a date not earlier than the mid-13th Dynasty. Two high officials holding the rank title *ḫtmw bjtj* have two scarabs each in this group: overseer of fields (*jmj-r3 3ḫwt*)/overseer of marshland-dwellers (*jmj-r3 sḫtjw*) *Rdj-n(=j)-ptḥ*[420] and overseer of army (*jmj-r3 mšʿ*) *Sbk-nḫt*.[421] UC 11345 dates from the time of the vizier Ankhu. Based on this evidence, the group can be dated to ca. the reign of Khendjer to Neferhotep I.

415 Steatite scarabs datable to the 12th or early 13th Dynasty: Berlin 18163 (Martin 1726; examined first-hand; B8-II-d6); Berlin 32426 (Martin 182; examined first-hand; A4a-II-d14); Berlin 32428 (Martin 197; examined first-hand; D6-III-d6); Berlin 32483 (Table 35); Berlin 32594 (Table 12); Berlin 32610 (Table 39); Berlin 32644 (Table 14); BM EA30546 (Martin 1368; examined first-hand; A5-III-d14); BM EA40731 (Martin 290; examined first-hand; D6-II-e6c); BM EA59014 (Table 13); BM EA66092 (Table 13); Brooklyn 44.123.98 (Martin 89; museum web-site; A4b-III-e6c); Giveon, Tel Aviv 3, no. 7 (Giveon 1976, no. 7; D5-II-?); Lille L 863 (http://www.globalegyptianmuseum.org/record.aspx?id=7189 [accessed on 06.07.2020]; A4a[?]-III-e6c); MMA 26.7.752 (see Table 12); Moscow I, 1a 6758 (Hodjash 1999, no. 444; examined first-hand; A4b-III-e6c); Philadelphia E.10116 (Martin 547; museum website; D6-II-e6c); Sidon S/5330/6056/SQ (Loffet 2012, no. 3; C5-III-d9); UC 11446 (Table 12); UC 11364 (Martin 432; examined first-hand; A4b-I-e6b); UC 11448 (Martin 1197; examined first-hand; A4b-II-e6c); UC 11449 (Table 12); UC 26124 (Table 13).
Attestations among 13th Dynasty steatite scarabs: Basel Cat. 527 (Table 35); Berlin 32648 (C7/D-I-d8); Berlin 32669 (Martin 1749; examined first-hand; C5-II-d14; sign S3 for *bjtj*); Eton College, Myers Museum 1850 (Grajetzki 2009, pl. 6; d8-type sides).

416 Cairo JE 75132; MMA 26.7.313; Moscow I, 1a 2139; UC 11345.

417 BM EA42746; Hannover 1976.96.

418 Jerusalem RM 38.619.

419 One may still suggest that a Theban workshop produced a scarab for a patron from the north while he was travelling upstream; for the evidence on another Heliopolitan priest attending the cataract region, see Gasse and Rondot 2007, no. SEH 201.

420 UC 11342 and Wozencroft, GM 213, 101–104.

421 Jerusalem IM 76.31.4595 and MMA 30.8.669.

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Scarab	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Epithets
BM EA32273	1375	all sides, examined personally	1s	C6	III	d14	raised	worn off	steatite				
BM EA42746	759	all sides, examined personally	4a	C6	I	d14	raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the title *bȝkt nt ḥqȝ*)		*mȝʿ ḫrw*
Cairo CG 36055	1285	all sides, museum database [p]; seen on display	1ad	C6	II	d14	raised	not serrated	steatite	Abydos			
Cairo JE 20428	189	all sides, museum database [p]; seen on display	1ak	C6	II	d14	raised	not serrated	steatite	Abydos			*wḥm-ʿnḫ*
Cairo JE 75132	718	all sides, examined personally; Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	1ad	C6	III	d14	raised	not serrated	steatite		Thebes (the title *ḥm-nṯr n Jmn*; the name *Nfr-ḥtp*)		*mȝʿ ḫrw*
Hannover 1976.96		all sides, examined personally; Beste 1979, 145–146 [p]	9	C6	III	d14	raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the title *bȝkt nt ḥqȝ*)		
Jerusalem IM 76.31.4595		all sides, Ben-Tor 1989, 60 (3) [p]; Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 25 (3) [s]	1s	C6	I	d14	raised	not serrated	steatite				*mȝʿ ḫrw*
Jerusalem RM 38.619	811	all sides, Keel 1997, 454–455 (1030) [p]; Ben-Tor 2016, 36 (6) [p]	1ak	C6	I	d14	raised	not serrated	steatite	Tell el-ʿAjjul	Heliopolis (the title *wr mȝw*)		*wḥm-ʿnḫ*; *mȝʿ ḫrw*
MMA 26.7.313	1218	all sides, museum website [p]	3d	C6	III	d14	raised	chipped off	steatite		Thebes (the name *Ḥnsw*)	late 13th - 16th Dyn. (after Liverpool WM 16.11.06.13 and MMA 21.2.69 (PD 464))	*mȝʿ ḫrw*
MMA 30.8.669	1412	base and back, museum website [p]; Oppenheim et al. 2015, 139 (71B) [p]	1ak	C6	I	d14	raised	not serrated	steatite				*mȝʿ ḫrw*
Moscow I, 1a 2139		all sides, examined personally; Hodjash 1999, no. 446 [p]	1s	C6	II	d14	raised	not serrated	steatite		Thebes (the title *ḥm-nṯr Mnṯw*)		
UC 11342	897	all sides, examined personally	1u	C6	III	d14	raised	not serrated	steatite				*mȝʿ ḫrw*
UC 11345	187	all sides, examined personally	1s	C6	II	d14	raised	not serrated	steatite		Thebes (the name *Jmn-ḥtp*; after Cairo CG 20724 (DAE 55))	13th Dyn., Ankhu (after Cairo CG 20724 (DAE 55))	
Wozencroft, GM 213, 101-104		all sides, Wozencroft 2007 [p]	1u	C6	III	d14	raised	not serrated	steatite				

Table 18 The group with C6-type heads having side chips.

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Fig. 58 The group with C6 heads having side chips, UC 11342. Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. 24×18×11 mm.



Fig. 59 The group with C6 heads having side chips, The Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow I, 1a 2139. Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. 29×21×13 mm.



Fig. 60 The group with C6 heads having side chips, Hannover 1976.96. Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. 25×18×12 mm.

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The group with decorated backs or a finely detailed human figure the base (Figs. 61–64)
Date: 13th Dynasty
Origin of owners: southern Upper Egypt

This group consists of three separate subgroups joined by two scarabs featuring the traits characteristic of two subgroups each. The first subgroup is defined by the elytra decorated with symmetrical figures (falcons, caprids, Hathor-heads, or hippopotamus-lion creatures with knives[422]). Martin classified these as back types 6j, 6m, 6n, 6o, 6q, 11a. They also tend to have flowers or Hathor-heads and curled lines on the pronotum (Fig. 61–62). Olga Tufnell discussed these scarabs in detail as the work of a single workman or workshop.[423] The second subgroup is defined by the depictions of a female human figure on the base with an incised horizontal line pattern on the dress on the hips[424] (Fig. 61–62; classified by Martin as base type 9; Keel further discussed these female figures on scarabs[425]). The third subgroup is defined by male figures with a diagonal pattern on the kilt, showing the pleats. It is tempting to compare the horizontal lines in the hip-area of the female figures with diagonal lines in the hip-area of the male figures.

Scarabs with male and female figures were classified by Martin as having base type 9. However, Martin's base type 9 is wider than the proposed group, because it also includes human figures executed in other styles without diagonal and horizontal patterns. The following discussion does not deal with scarabs having human figures in other styles.

Scarab Aberdeen ABDUA:81121 (Fig. 61) features both the decorated back and the female figure with the horizontal line pattern, whereas scarab Jerusalem IM 2016.61.819 (Fig. 64) features both the decorated back and the male figure with the diagonal line patterns. These two key scarabs allow considering the three groups together as one coherent group.

Seven of the 15 steatite scarabs in this group (Table 19) belong to women. All but three of the scarabs have d8-type sides. Most of them feature square heads (C2, C3, or C5) or a human face instead of a scarab head.[426] There is no serration on the clypei, and the plates are plain. All have double lines marking the suture.

One scarab was excavated at Qau el-Kebir, and a design scarab attributable to this group comes from Mirgissa. Two scarabs feature concave head-sides,[427] characteristic of the scarabs owned by southern Upper Egyptians; nine belonged to persons attributable to southern Upper Egypt.[428] The owners of 3 private-name scarabs could not be attributed to any particular region. This evidence makes the connection of this group with southern Upper Egypt unquestionable.

The female titles *ḥkrt-nsw*[429] and *bꜣkt nt ḥqꜣ*[430], the former of which is attested but once before the 13th Dynasty and the latter only emerged under the 13th Dynasty,[431] imply a date not earlier than the 13th Dynasty for the whole group. The decorative inscription on scarab UC 11541 (examined first-hand), also belonging to this group, seems to be inspired by the royal name *Ḥꜥ-sḫm-rꜥ* (Neferhotep I).[432] While this interpretation of the scarab is not unquestionable, sculptural features of this and other scarabs do not contradict a Neferhotep I date for the group.

422 For the latter iconographic motive in the Middle Kingdom, see Quirke 2016, 327–334; Keel 1989b, 282–286.

423 Tufnell 1970. It should be noted that the Tufnell's proposed date of the group is partly based on the false identification of the king's son Sahathor named on Cairo JE 48238 with the brother of Neferhotep I and Sobekhotep IV. As the mother of those kings was named *Kmj*, the king's son Sahathor born to *Skt* cannot be their brother.

424 This line pattern distinguished the scarabs of this group from other private-name scarabs occasionally featuring male or female figures.

425 Keel 1996, 122–123.

426 Jerusalem IM 2016.61.819; MMA 30.8.672.

427 BM EA24094 and Moscow I, 1a 2174.

428 Berlin 18162; BM EA24094; Cairo JE 48238; Cairo JE 75045; Cairo JE 75193; MMA 30.8.672; Moscow I, 1a 2174; Torino Cat. 5053; UC 16594.

429 Cairo JE 48238; Cairo JE 75193.

430 Moscow I, 1a 2174.

431 Ilin-Tomich 2018.

432 As proposed by Petrie (1917, pl. xviii [13.21.3]) and Tufnell (1970, no. 3).

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Scarab	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Epithets
Aberdeen ABDUA:81121	616	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1970, no. 7 [s]	9	C2	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite				
Berlin 18162	56	all sides, examined personally	9	C5	II	d9	worn off	worn off	steatite		SUE (the name *ʃᶜ-jb*)		*wḥm-ʿnḫ; nb jmɜḫ*
BM EA24094	735	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1970, no. 8 [s]	1s	C3	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the name *Nfrw*)		*mɜᶜ ḫrw*
BM EA37703	752	all sides, examined personally	9	C3	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite				*nb jmɜḫ*
Cairo JE 48238	1314	base and back, Brunton 1930, pl. XIX (1) [s]; Tufnell 1970, no. 1 [s]; museum database [p]	3a	C2	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite	Qau el-Kebir	SUE (the title *ḥkrt-nsw*)		
Cairo JE 75045	1108	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]; seen in the museum	9	C5	II	d8	worn off	worn off	steatite		SUE (the title *jrj-pḏt*)	13th Dyn. (after BM 221)	*mɜᶜ ḫrw*
Cairo JE 75193	809	all sides, Tufnell 1970, no. 5 [s]; Drioton MSS 5381 [p]; seen in the museum	1aq	C5	II	d8	raised	chipped off	steatite		SUE (the name *Ḥtp-nbw*; the title *ḥkrt-nsw*)		
Jerusalem IM 2016.61.819		all sides, unpublished museum photo [p]	9	face	II	d14			steatite				
Mirgissa grave 124		base and back, Vercoutter 1975, 178 fig 71 (1) [p]	3a	C5	II	d8	raised		steatite	Mirgissa			
MMA 30.8.672	1119	all sides, museum website [p]	1ad	face	II	d8			steatite		SUE (the title *ḫrj tm*)		
Moscow I, 1a 2174	1807	all sides, examined personally; Hodjash 1999, no. 452 [p]	1ak	C3	II	d14	raised	chipped off	steatite		SUE (the title *bɜkt nt ḥq3*)		
OIM 18574	1356	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1970, no. 9 [s]	4a	C2	II	d8	chipped off	chipped off	steatite				*nb jmɜḫ*
Torino Cat. 5053	698	all sides, examined personally	9	D3	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the name *Nbw-m-sȝ=s*)		
UC 11541		all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1970, no. 2 [s]	3a	C5	II	d8	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite			possibly, Neferhotep I (design inspired by royal name)	
UC 16594	317b	all sides, examined personally	9	C5	II	d8	raised	4 serrations	steatite		SUE (the title *ḫrj n tm*)		

Table 19 The group with decorated backs or a human figure with fine details on the base.

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Fig. 61 The group with decorated backs or a female human figure on the base, Aberdeen ABDUA:81121. Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. Courtesy of the University of Aberdeen, Scotland. 21×15×9 mm.



Fig. 62 The group with decorated backs or a female human figure on the base, Torino Cat. 5053. Back and base: photo by Nicola Dell'Aquila and Federico Taverni/Museo Egizi; side view: photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. 25×18×11 mm.



Fig. 63 The group with decorated backs or a female human figure on the base, The Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow I, 1a 2174. Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. 24×17×10 mm.

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Fig. 64 The group with decorated backs or a female human figure on the base, Jerusalem IM 2016.61.819. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. 23×15×9 mm.

Obsidian scarabs with large eyes and thick incision lines (Figs. 65–66)

It was established above that unlike most other kinds of hard stone, obsidian remained in use for the production of scarabs during the 13th Dynasty. Several obsidian scarabs from this period are attributable to dwellers of the southern part of Egypt. It is therefore likely that obsidian scarabs were produced locally in the south of Egypt.

These scarabs have large round or rectangular eyes, but not almond-shaped. The inscriptions and decorations are incised in wide lines, unlike the fine engraving of obsidian scarabs from other places or periods, such as Hannover 1976.83 (12th Dynasty) or BM EA67082 (the Memphis-Faiyum region). Besides, they have clypei with 4 serrations, e7-types sides and mostly single suture lines (back type I), but these features are not specific for scarabs of this group, occurring on other obsidian scarabs as well. All scarabs in question have 1ad-type borders. The group comprises 11 scarabs (Table 20). One scarab was found at the Ramesseum,[433] three others probably belonged to Theban officials,[434] one to a priest from Elkab,[435] and the origin of two further scarabs cannot be defined narrower than southern Upper Egypt.[436] This renders a total of 7 scarabs attributable to southern Upper Egypt. By contrast, one scarab[437] could possibly belong to a person from the Memphis-Faiyum region, because another scarab attributable to the same person was found at Lisht (which, however, points only tentatively to origin of the owner).[438] Besides, a comparable design scarab of obsidian[439] was also found in Lisht. The origin of 3 scarabs could not be determined.

One scarab can be dated to the tenure of the vizier Ankhu;[440] other scarabs feature titles that are uncommon before the 13th Dynasty.[441]

Based on this evidence, it is likely that these obsidian scarabs were produced at Thebes during the 13th Dynasty. Several obsidian scarabs of other types can also be attributed to southern Upper Egypt, as substantiated in Table 41,[442] which probably implies a longer tradition of producing obsidian scarabs in the south.

Results: centralised and local production of scarabs in the Middle Kingdom

The evidence presented above contradicts the idea of a single production centre, responsible for all private-name scarabs of the Late Middle Kingdom, which is in line with current research literature. Whereas the use of private-name scarabs in the reign of the 12th Dynasty appears to be primarily linked to the Memphis-Faiyum region, at least two centres of scarab production were active under the 13th Dynasty. Although general traits are common for scarabs of this period (C-type heads, d-type sides, lined backs, steatite as almost the only material), certain minute sculptural features occur significantly more frequently on scarabs owned by officials from one part of Egypt than on those owned

433 UC 11389.
434 Cairo JE 75169, Cairo JE 75176, UC 11386.
435 Cairo JE 75210.
436 Cairo JE 75211; Farouk 102.
437 Louvre E.25437.
438 MMA 22.1.320.
439 MMA 22.1.430, museum website.
440 UC 11386.
441 *smsw ḥ3jjt* on Farouk 102; *wr mḏw šmʿw* on Louvre E.25437; *s3b r3-nḥn* on UC 11389. For the timeframe of the occurrence of these titles, see: Vernus 1974, 112–114.
442 Archaeological Center 23.04.2019, lot 66; Boston 24.1531; Brooklyn 13.1028; Cairo JE 75168; UC 26118.

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Scarab	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Epithets
Cairo JE 75169	1151	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	1ad	B8	I	e7	raised	4 serrations	obsidian		Thebes (the title *sš n ḫnrt wr* with the sign U31)		
Cairo JE 75176	55	all sides, examined personally; Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	1ad	A7	I	e7	raised	4 serrations	obsidian		Thebes (the title *ḥm-nṯr n Mnṯw*)		
Cairo JE 75210	538	all sides, examined personally; Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	1ad	A7	I	e7	raised at base, deeply set at front	4 serrations	obsidian		Elkab (the title [...] *n Nḫb*)		
Cairo JE 75211	52	all sides, examined personally; Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	1ad	A7	I	e7	raised	serrated	obsidian		SUE (the title *jrj-pḏt*)		
Farouk 102		all sides, Ragab 2018, no. 102 [p]	1ad	A7	I	e7	raised	4 serrations	obsidian		SUE (the title *smsw ḥ3jjt*)		
Farouk 104		all sides, Ragab 2018, no. 104 [p]	1ad		I	e7		4 serrations	obsidian				
Louvre E 25437	1270	all sides, museum website [p]	1ad	B8	I	e7	raised	serrated	obsidian		MFR (after MMA 22.1.320)		
UC 11386	1567	all sides, examined personally	1ad	A6a	I	e7	raised	4 serrations	obsidian		Thebes (after pBoulaq 18 vs IX.10 (Allam 2019); the title *jrj-pḏt*)	13th Dyn., Ankhu (after pBoulaq 18, larger manuscript vs IX.10 (Allam 2019))	*mꜣʿ ḫrw*
UC 11388		all sides, examined personally	1ad	A7	I	e7		4 serrations	obsidian				
UC 11389	1123	all sides, examined personally	1ad	B4	I	e7	raised	4 serrations	obsidian	Ramesseum	Thebes (the title *sꜣb; rꜣ-nḫn*)		
UC 11392	850	all sides (head lost), examined personally	1ad		I	e7		chipped off	obsidian				

Table 20 Obsidian scarabs with large eyes and thick incision lines.

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Fig. 65 Obsidian scarabs with large eyes and thick incision lines, UC 11386.
Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. 23×15×10 mm.



Fig. 66 Obsidian scarabs with large eyes and thick incision lines, UC 11389.
Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. 26×18×12 mm.

by persons from the other part.[443] It is reasonable to suggest that groups of scarabs owned by officials of the Memphis-Faiyum region stem from the royal residence, and the groups owned by the Thebans and southern Upper Egyptians were produced at Thebes. The beginning of the large-scale production of private-name scarabs at Thebes at the onset of the 13th Dynasty can be linked to the growing weight of the local administration. In the tenure of the vizier Ankhu during the early part of the 13th Dynasty, the Theban administration, responsible for all of southern Upper Egypt, manifests itself through numerous monuments installed at Abydos and displays structural differences from the administration of the northern part of the country.[444] Arguably, the localised production of scarabs was one of the facets of the shift of power to Thebes.

The production of scarabs for officials and their families in Thebes may correlate with the growing autonomy of the Theban administration visible both in terms of administrative structures[445] and in terms of the artistic production, for several stela workshops that catered to local officials can be identified throughout the late Middle Kingdom.[446] Ben-Tor links the lack of evidence for scarab production in the Theban kingdom of the 17th Dynasty with the termination of the

443 For a more detailed discussion of the difference between minor and major features, see Chapter 5 below.

444 Ilin-Tomich 2015; Ilin-Tomich 2014b.
445 Ilin-Tomich 2014b; 2015.
446 Ilin-Tomich 2017a, 93–111.

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tradition centred at the northern residence at Itjtawy in the late reign of the 13th Dynasty,[447] but new evidence suggests that other reasons must have been at play, as scarabs were produced locally at Thebes long before the end of the 13th Dynasty. It should also be noted that the hypothesis of the transfer of the capital from Itjtawy to Thebes under the late 13th Dynasty, upon which Ben-Tor's interpretation builds,[448] is not the only possibility; alternatively, one can assume that the Theban kingdom emerged independently before the end of the 13th Dynasty.[449] However, the solution to this problem is of little relevance for the scarab timeline.

The question remains whether smaller scale production units operated in minor administrative centres where officials also owned inscribed scarabs. It cannot be resolved by now due to the paucity of available material. But one may put forward some evidence that suggests that at least some regional officials were getting scarabs from the residence.

Thus, a scarab of an overseer of provisioning-area from Wahsut, Wahsut 15876 (Fig. 41), was shown to belong to a group of scarabs possibly produced at the royal residence, as the other scarabs of this group were owned by Memphite officials (the group with A4a heads). Among the scarabs belonging to the group featuring trapezoid heads with eyes set apart and e6c/d14 sides, one comes from a Middle Kingdom burial at Abydos, and another belonged to a "governor" of Byblos; otherwise, the scarabs in this group bear the names of Memphite officials. Hence, the phenomenon of local officials receiving centrally produced scarabs finds some support, but appears to be less common than previously thought (see also Chapter 6 for the discussion of the governors' scarabs).

447 Ben-Tor 2007b, 11, 187; 2015, 141–142.
448 Ben-Tor 2007b, 187.
449 Ilin-Tomich 2014b.

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3. Name scarabs of the 14th–15th Dynasty: the chronology of production

The Second Intermediate Period is the home of scarab research. Most sophisticated research efforts were undertaken to solve the puzzle of scarab evidence from this epoch. Modern knowledge of Egyptian history in the period relies on the scarabs to a greater extent than in any other era. Abundant scarabs from the Second Intermediate Period attest to significantly more names of presumed Lower Egyptian kings of foreign origin (some or all of these kings are often referred to as the Hyksos in scholarly literature) than other written sources. Scarabs play an important role in synchronising the written history with the stages of material culture. Unsurprisingly, there are conflicting views of the period based on scarabs. Only a few rulers occur both in scarabs and in other contemporary sources and only singular names from contemporary sources also occur in the Turin King-list, a 19th Dynasty papyrus serving as a reference for the chronology of the late Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period. Textual sources provide little evidence to reconstruct the order of kings ruling in the Delta. Hence, numerous attempts were made to turn a seriation of royal-name scarabs into a chronology of the Second Intermediate Period. In 1906, Petrie tabulated base designs occurring on scarabs of different 14th–15th Dynasty kings, arriving at a chronological order from this single criterion.[450] With time, scholars took more and more scarab features into account. Among the recent studies are those by Ward,[451] Ryholt,[452] Krauss,[453] and Ben-Tor.[454]

Scholars are far from a consensus on the order of kings attested on scarabs and their appurtenance to dynasties; hence, the problem should be critically revisited. To this end, I assembled and compared the scarabs with the names of the kings thought to belong to Second Intermediate Period dynasties ruling in the north of Egypt. I relied primarily on the descriptions and drawings collected by Tufnell and Ward[455], supplemented by my own observations made on scarabs in Aberdeen, Berlin, Cambridge, and selected scarabs in Leipzig, the British Museum, the Ashmolean Museum, and the Petrie Museum, photos of scarabs from the King Fuad collection, now in Cairo, as well as scarabs available through printed publications and online catalogues. The scarabs used for this study are listed in Table 48 in the alphabetic order of kings named on scarabs (821 objects, including 785 scarabs, 24 impressions and 12 cowroids; 191 scarabs were examined first-hand in museums, 401 scarabs and cowroids were studied based on photos and drawings; for 208 only reproductions of the base are available).

The attribution of the kings ruling in this period in the north of Egypt to the 14th–15th Dynasty follows the now widely accepted chronological scheme. The division of foreign kings of the period into the so-called 14th Dynasty and 15th Dynasty was proposed by Kim Ryholt[456] based on the Turin King-list. In contrast, earlier researchers often used the designations 15th Dynasty and 16th Dynasty,[457] derived from an attempt to untangle the contradictory versions of Manetho, preserved in the works of his epitomisers. Regardless of whether the dynasties are designated as the 14th and the 15th or the 15th and the 16th, scholars generally tend to believe that kings of the period can be divided in at least two dynasties, for the number of royal names known from scarabs is far greater than six kings of the 15th Dynasty — the number on which Africanus, epitomising Manetho and the Turin King-list agree. Accordingly, the discussion of royal-name scarabs largely revolves around attributing kings to distinct dynasties. Sources other than scarabs deliver little evidence on the chronological positions of single kings attested by scarabs. As is well known, the historical texts of Kamose and Ahmose testify that *ꜥȝ-wsr-rꜥ* Apep ruled at the very end of the period of foreign rule in northern Egypt. Papyrus Rhind attests *ꜥȝ-wsr-rꜥ* Apep's 33rd regnal year, testifying to a long reign, matching the long reign of the penultimate ruler of the 15th Dynasty according to the Turin King-list. His name is also persuasively identified with the Aphobis or Aphophis of the Manethonian tradition, attributed to the 15th Dynasty by Africanus; hence, the placement of this king at the end of any chronological sequence does not raise doubts. Otherwise, the external evidence for dating kings attested on scarabs is highly disputable.[458] The Turin King-list mentions a king Nehsy as belonging to the 14th Dynasty, yet the identification of this king with the king's son Nehsy, attested on numerous scarabs, is questionable.[459] The few scarabs attesting king

450 Petrie 1906, 67–71, pl. LI.

451 Ward in Tufnell 1984, 151–192, pl. LI–LXIV and in Ward and Dever 1994, 125–131, 147–198.

452 Ryholt 1997, Ryholt 2010, and Ryholt 2018.

453 Krauss 1998.

454 Ben-Tor 2007a, 103–112 and Ben-Tor 2010.

455 Tufnell 1984, pl. LI–LXIV. Excluding the scarabs in OIM Chicago, for their sketches in Tufnell 1984 proved to be highly inaccurate.

456 Ryholt 1997.

457 Beckerath 1965.

458 Ilin-Tomich 2016.

459 Ben-Tor 2007a, 110.

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Nehsy[460] are dissimilar from those of the king's son. King Khyan is attested on sealings from Edfu that were found in the same context as some impressions of Sobekhotep IV scarabs and 13th Dynasty private-name scarabs.[461] It remains open whether these impressions are contemporary to the scarabs or were executed long after the initial production of scarabs, or whether the sealings could have been discarded long after they were initially made.[462] This also applies to the find of a scarab impression of Maaibre in the same context as stamp-seal impressions with names of early 13th Dynasty kings in Uronarti[463] and to the find of scarab impressions of Khyan in the same context as the scarab impressions with the names of Sobekhotep III and Neferhotep I in Tell el-Dabʿa.[464] A similar find from Tell el-Dabʿa includes impressions with the name of the 14th–15th Dynasty king Yaqubhar in New Kingdom contexts.[465] No scholarly discussion as to whether the king Yaqubhar was a contemporary of the Egyptian 18th Dynasty arose in this latter case, yet all cases of 13th Dynasty seal impressions found together with those of the 14th–15th Dynasty ignited chronological disputes.[466]

Additional uncertainty is added by the fact that almost all royal-name scarabs of the 14th–15th Dynasty attest either the nomen or the praenomen of the king, and matching these names remains uncertain in many cases. Pairs of the nomen and the praenomen are attested only for four kings who owned scarabs: *Mr-wsr-rˁ* Yaqubhar,[467] *Swsr-n-rˁ* Khyan, *Nb-ḫpš-rˁ* Apep, *ʿ3-wsr-rˁ* Apep.[468] Other pairs of names, including the common identification of Maaibre with Sheshi, are based solely on the resemblance of their scarab series. Also, the common identification of *Nb-ḫpš-rˁ* Apep, *ʿ3-wsr-rˁ* Apep, and *ʿ3-qn-rˁ* Apep as one king is arbitrary. To be on the safe side, these identifications are disregarded in the following study.

Previous attempts have shown that one can basically distinguish four groups of royal-name scarabs from the 14th–15th Dynasty: 1) the scarabs of Khyan and Yaqubhar; 2) the scarabs of Maaibre (and) Sheshi; 3) the scarabs of Sekhaenre, Yakbim, Aahetepre, Amu, Khauserre, Nebuuserre, and several less frequently attested kings, and 4) the scarabs of *ʿ3-wsr-rˁ* Apep. All scholars agree upon this grouping[469] or at least implicitly place scarabs of the kings belonging to these groups in direct succession,[470] and the debate in the last decades revolves around the chronological order of these four groups. The scarabs of Maaibre and Sheshi include scarabs typical of the groups 1 and 3. The scarabs of Apep stand out from the rest. Researchers have provided different chronological reconstructions based on this material, yet none of these can be considered convincing considering the lack of independent evidence. So far, only Apep's chronological position is certain from the sources pertaining to the end of the foreign rule in Egypt. Hence, effectively any attempt at arranging royal-name scarabs chronologically boils down to establishing the lines of development fitting the Apep scarab series in the end. Ward considered 13th Dynasty scarabs as a reference point for finding the earliest scarabs in the 14th–15th Dynasty series,[471] but subsequent scholars abandoned the idea of establishing an uninterrupted line of development from the late 13th Dynasty to *ʿ3-wsr-rˁ* Apep. Ben-Tor considered scarabs of her "early Palestinian series" featuring the design class 3E1 (base types 6c/3 and 6c/4+) to be immediate precursors to the earliest royal-name series, whence royal-name scarabs with these designs — those of Khyan and Yaqubhar — should be the earliest.[472] This argument also implies the existence of a single uninterrupted line of development of the royal-name scarabs.

Scarabs of *ʿ3-wsr-rˁ* Apep

Since *ʿ3-wsr-rˁ* Apep is the only reliably datable king with a large series of scarabs among the rulers of the 14th–15th Dynasty, it is necessary to begin the study of the chronology of scarab production with revising the scarabs attributed to this king.

One of the foundations of the seriation of Second Intermediate Period royal-name scarabs established by Kim Ryholt is his decision to disregard most scarabs with the legend *ʿ3-wsr-rˁ* as non-royal scarabs. In Ryholt's opinion, most scarabs with this legend do not belong to the base classes commonly seen among Second Intermediate Period royal-name scarabs. Many of them have no cartouche or feature merely an oval ring (Tufnell design class 3D1) instead of a true cartouche. Hence, Ryholt decided to consider only scarabs that "contain the proper royal titles and the attributes of which conform to those otherwise attested for the Second Intermediate

460 UC 11589, featuring e6b-type sides, OIM 18450 and Berlin 32298, the latter two with peculiar heads, resembling the type A4a with eyes.

461 Moeller, Marouard, and Ayers 2011; Moeller and Marouard 2018.

462 Ilin-Tomich 2014b; Ben-Tor 2018c.

463 Ryholt 2010; Ben-Tor 2007a, 47–48, 104–105.

464 Sartori 2009; Ilin-Tomich 2014b, 151.

465 Bietak 2004.

466 Note also the contents of shaft Z 3 in the Lower Dedufa in Kerma, including the sealings of 14th–15th Dynasty kings Sheshi, Sekhaenre, and Yaqubhar and a scarab impression of a 13th Dynasty queen Iny (Reisner 1923a, 28; Ryholt 1997, 113–114).

467 Scarab Aberdeen ABDUA:81204.

468 Ryholt 1997.

469 Ward in Tufnell 1984, 166–167; Ben-Tor 2007a, 106; Krauss 1998, 41.

470 Ryholt 1997, 50; Ryholt 2018, 243–247.

471 Ward in Tufnell 1984, 164–167.

472 Ben-Tor 2007a, 109.

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Period" as royal-name scarabs of Apep.[473] The decision to exclude scarabs differing from the rest of Second Intermediate Period royal-name scarabs is likely to have had an effect on Ryholt's conclusion that Apep scarabs are generally comparable to those of Khyan. Thus, one of the parameters measured by Ryholt[474] is the occurrence rate of cartouches and royal epithets on scarabs. His group for Apep has the highest occurrence rate of cartouches and one of the highest rates for epithets, leading Ryholt to the conclusion that the scarabs of Apep stand close to those of Khyan and Yaqubhar in this respect and should thus be contemporary.[475] However, the high occurrence rate of cartouches and epithets among Apep scarabs is a result of Ryholt's presupposed exclusion of scarabs lacking cartouches and epithets. If one takes into account all plain scarabs of *ꜥ3-wsr-rꜥ*, the seeming proximity of his scarabs to those of Khyan and Yaqubhar in this context disappears.

It is also noteworthy that Ryholt does not exclude scarabs lacking royal title, epithets, and cartouches from other royal series. For example, the series of Sekhaenre, which Ryholt places furthest from that of Apep and which features least epithets and cartouches, includes at least seven scarabs without proper royal titles or epithets[476] (all are included in Ryholt's list of attestations[477] and evidently contribute to his subsequent analyses[478]). Numerous *ꜥ3-wsr-rꜥ* scarabs dismissed by Ryholt feature oval rings without a straight line at the end rather than true royal cartouches. Such oval rings, however, also frequently occur among scarabs of other 14th–15th Dynasty kings that Ryholt includes in his lists of attestations. Oval rings are best attested among the scarabs with the names Sheshi[479] and Maaibre.[480] A single attestation can be cited among the scarabs of Yaqubhar.[481]

It is necessary to devise a methodologically correct approach to the scarabs bearing the name *ꜥ3-wsr-rꜥ* and to those bearing the name Apep rather than to outright exclude certain categories of scarabs, significantly distorting subsequent analyses of this material. To begin with, one should outline all principal groups of scarabs that can potentially belong to the king *ꜥ3-wsr-rꜥ* Apep.[482]

Scarabs with the full name *ꜥ3-wsr-rꜥ* Apep or explicit royal titles

The first group consists of scarabs that contain either both the praenomen and the nomen of *ꜥ3-wsr-rꜥ* Apep or the royal titles with the praenomen *ꜥ3-wsr-rꜥ* and thus raise no doubts as to whether a king is named on the scarab. Scarabs that can be reliably interpreted as royal-name scarabs of Apep are few and those available for study are even fewer. Yet, they allow making some observations.

Scarab Berlin 32722 (Fig. 67), featuring the inscription *nsw bjtj Jppj ꜥ3-wsr-rꜥ dj ꜥnḫ ḏt* with two cartouches, is a good point of departure. It has a peculiar trapezoid head slightly pointed to the front, designated as a D3a-type head in this book. The e6b-type scored sides have mid legs fringed. This side type does not occur on scarabs of other 14th-15th Dynasty kings, and only in exceptional cases under mid- to late 13th Dynasty. As established above, e6b-sides were characteristic of 12th Dynasty and early 13th Dynasty scarabs. On the base, the scarab features the title *nsw-bjtj* spelled awkwardly as  . Ryholt has brought attention to the fact that, unlike the rest of 14th–15th Dynasty scarabs, those of Apep feature the title *nsw-bjtj* or simply *bjtj* (Fig. 68) instead of the common *nṯr nfr*.[483] This feature finds parallels on scarabs from the early 13th Dynasty and is absent on later 13th Dynasty scarabs. The early 13th Dynasty attestations of *nsw-bjtj* are the scarabs of *Sḏf3-k3-rꜥ* Amenemhat VII MMA 26.7.85,[484] and of *Wsr-k3-rꜥ* Khendjer Basel Cat. 103.[485] As noted by Ryholt,[486] the same royal title *nsw-bjtj* features on a scarab of Apep's Theban contemporary king Ahmose (BM EA64076, spelled as  , in the same way as on Apep scarabs Berlin 32730 and BM EA37663). The sole royal title *bjtj* occurs only in rare instances before the royal names throughout Egyptian history.[487] Given that the title

473 Ryholt 1997, 64; see also Ryholt 2018, 239. Ben-Tor, Allen, and Allen (1999) challenged Ryholt's idea based on archaeological evidence and common sense, but without going into scarab typology.

474 Ryholt 2018.

475 Ryholt 2018, 269.

476 Aberdeen ABDUA:81069; Aberdeen ABDUA:81073; Berlin 32750; Cairo JE 72924; UC 11799; UC 11800; UC 11801.

477 Ryholt 1997.

478 Ryholt 2018.

479 Aberdeen ABDUA:81038; Aberdeen ABDUA:81041; Aberdeen ABDUA:81045; Aberdeen ABDUA:81050; Aberdeen ABDUA:81053; Ashmolean AN1892.323; Ashmolean AN1892.398; Basel Cat. 163; Bet-Shemesh IAA 57-213; BM EA16407; Cairo JE 72870; Cairo JE 72874; Cairo JE 72877; Cairo JE 72879; Fribourg ÄS 1983.127; Louvre N 528; MMA 26.7.111; UC 11699; UC 61288; UC 61289.

480 Berlin 31329; Berlin 31330; Berlin 32735; Cairo JE 72903; Cambridge 2005.200; Jerusalem RM J.518; SCF II, 77 (378); UC 11689.

481 MMA 26.7.112.

482 Partly following the typology of *ꜥ3-wsr-rꜥ* Apep scarab bases proposed by Raymond Weill (1953, 125–127).

483 Ryholt 1997, 45–46.

484 From the Timins collection, likely identical with a scarab seen by Newberry in Cairo (Newberry 1906, pl. XLIV.9).

485 From the Fraser collection, likely identical with a scarab seen by Chassinat at an antiquities trader in Cairo in 1899 (Chassinat 1912, 162 [4]).

486 Ryholt 2018, 252.

487 Berlev 1999a (see also Berlev 1999b, 600–601), cites examples from the reigns of Djoser and likely of Ramesses II.

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Fig. 67 Scarab of ʿ3-*wsr*-*r*ʿ Apep, Berlin 32722. Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. This image is copyright. Reproduced by permission of Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. 14×10×6 mm.



Fig. 68 Scarab of ʿ3-*wsr*-*r*ʿ (Apep), BM EA24113. Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum. 14×10×6 mm.



Fig. 69 Scarab of ʿ3-*wsr*-*r*ʿ (Apep), BM EA37663. Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum. 15×10×7 mm.

nsw bjtj was rendered as the "great king of the upper and lower land" in the Greek version of the Rosetta stone[488] (and in a comparable context already in the Lahun hymn to Senusret III[489]), it is tempting to ask whether Apep used the title consciously, because he mainly ruled over Lower Egypt.

Another scarab with two names is UC 11658 which, apart from the legend ʿ3-*wsr*-*r*ʿ, also features the signs *jp*, likely forming the name Apep. It has a complex pattern of round interlocking spirals on the base (Tufnell's design type 2B2), a D3a-type head, a plain back (O), and e6b-type sides. Thus, in terms of sculptural features it belongs to the same type as Berlin 32722.

BM EA24113 (Fig. 68) and BM EA37663 (Fig. 69) have the titles *bjtj* and *nsw bjtj* both spelled with the red-crown sign S3, a royal praenomen in a true cartouche and the epithet *dj* ʿ*nḫ*. These scarabs feature A6a-type heads, characteristic of 12th Dynasty and early 13th Dynasty scarabs. Both scarabs have e6b-type sides.

Scarab MMA 15.171 (Fig. 70), set in an ancient golden ring[490] and carrying the royal title *nsw nfr*, the epithet *dj* ʿ*nḫ* and the true royal cartouche, stands in several respects apart from the rest of the scarabs in this group, for it has a human face instead of a scarab head and a clypeus, and it also has humeral callosities, a feature otherwise attested since the onset of the 18th Dynasty. Yet, like several other scarabs in this group, it also features e6b-type sides.

This small selection of scarabs shows first a general trend for reviving scarab features that are otherwise attested on scarabs of the 12th and the early 13th Dynasty, and second, several specific features that can be pinpointed: e6b-types sides, D3a and A6a-type heads.

Scarabs with the name Apep without praenomen

Similar features appear on scarabs bearing the personal name name Apep without the praenomen ʿ3-*wsr*-*r*ʿ. Since no scarabs can be reliably attributed to *Nb*-*ḫpš*-*r*ʿ Apep[491] and ʿ3-*qnn*-*r*ʿ Apep (should one consider them as separate kings), it is likely that Apep-named royal scarabs also belong to ʿ3-*wsr*-*r*ʿ Apep. Of these, Berlin 31033 (Fig. 71), featuring the title *s3*-*r*ʿ and the epithet *dj* ʿ*nḫ*, exhibits a D3a-type head similar to Berlin 32722 and e6b-type sides, comparable to all ʿ3-*wsr*-

488 Urk. II, 170.4.

489 Otto 1960, 144.

490 For the modern history of the piece, see: Adams 2013, 311.

491 Whether UC 11826 and UC 11827 are royal-name scarabs is an open question, for they feature neither titles, nor epithets, or a cartouche. In terms of sculptural features, they are not comparable to any of the Apep scarabs.

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Fig. 70 Scarab of *ʿ3-wsr-rʿ* (Apep), MMA 15.171.
Public domain photo from https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/545722 credit line: Gift of Mrs. Emma B. Andrews, 1915. 18×13 mm.

rʿ Apep scarabs discussed above. The same features appear on Berlin 32771 with the name Apepi in a cartouche without titles or epithets and on scarabs without a cartouche featuring a complex design on the base. Fribourg ÄS 1983.132 (Fig. 72) with the title *s3-rʿ* and the epithet *dj ʿnḫ* has a saddle-like A4a-type head and e6b-type sides; Jerusalem IM 76.31.2231, with the same title and epithets, has an A7-type head and an open-work back. Berlin 32729 has only the title *s3-rʿ* and a combination of a B4-type head with e6b-types sides. However, given that its back is heavily worn out, it is likely, that the head was originally of the type D3. Berlin 32730 is heavily damaged, but it features the title *nsw bjtj*, attested on *ʿ3-wsr-rʿ* scarabs.[492] Unlike the rest of the scarabs in this group, UC 11657 has a longitudinal orientation of the decoration on the base with a royal name in the oval ring instead of a true cartouche.

However scant this material may be, it is evident that scarabs with the legend Apep are coherent with the scarabs attributable to the king *ʿ3-wsr-rʿ* Apep, and most likely belong to the same group. Taken together, these scarabs demonstrate trends towards the peculiar D3a-type head and the long outdated e6b-type sides, A4a and A6a-type heads.

Scarabs of *ʿ3-wsr-rʿ* without royal titles and epithets

When one considers scarabs with the legend *ʿ3-wsr-rʿ* not acknowledged by Ryholt as royal-name scarabs, these can clearly be divided into several groups based on their decoration. The most common types are scarabs with simple designs (no decoration apart from the name, base types 3a, 3f, 4a), with quadripartite arrangement (base type 11) and with longitudinal arrangement (base type 12).

The first group ("simple designs", Fig. 73) is formed by scarabs that have no other decoration except the legend *ʿ3-wsr-rʿ* on the base, occasionally surrounded by a plain border (base type 3a) or a rope border (base type 4a), but often featuring no border at all (base type 3f) in contrast to the whole tradition of Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period name scarabs (Table 21). These scarabs have plain d5-type or e11-type sides. Heads are diverse, encompassing types A3, A4a, A5, B2, B3, D5, D7, and D8. Four of these scarabs come from excavations in the Levant[493] and three from Egypt.[494]

The second group ("quadripartite arrangement") consists of scarabs that have several design elements on the base beside the legend *ʿ3-wsr-rʿ*, which is often enclosed in an oval (designated as base type 11). Each scarab has at least one element aside

492 Also occurring on Apep scarab Newberry, PSBA 35, pl. XXX (6), of which only the base is available for study.

493 IoA UCL E.XII 85/3, Manchester 9045, New York Jewish Museum 12-73.405B from Tell el-ʿAjjul; Pella 56 from Shamir.

494 Cairo JE 98093 from Gebel Zeit, TD 8963 from Tell el-Dabʿa, and UC 11666 from Tell el-Yahudiya.

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Scarab	No	Availability and bibliography	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Base	Cartouche	Material	Provenance
Basel Cat. 138		all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 138 [p]	D3	O	e5		not serrated	3d	without cartouche	steatite	
Cairo JE 72859		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D3	O			not serrated	3f	without cartouche		
Cairo JE 72860		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D7	O			not serrated	3f	without cartouche	steatite	
Cairo JE 98093		all sides, Régen and Soukiassian 2008, 158 (72) [p]		I	e11	chipped off	chipped off	3f	without cartouche	glazed composition	Gebel Zeit
Fribourg ÄS 1983.144		all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=2522 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	B3	O	e11		not serrated	3f	without cartouche	glazed composition	
Fribourg ÄS 1983.145		all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=2523 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	D7	I	e11		chipped off	3f	without cartouche	glazed composition	
Fribourg ÄS 1983.146		all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=2524 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	D5	I	e11		not serrated	3a	without cartouche	steatite	
Fribourg ÄS 1983.147		all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=2525 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	D7	II	e11		chipped off	3a	without cartouche	steatite	
IoA UCL E.XII 85/3	Tufnell 3434	all sides, Keel 1997, 196–197 (280) [p, s]; Tufnell 1984, no. 3434 [d]	A3	O	e11	deeply set, single partition line	not serrated	3a	without cartouche	steatite	Tell el-Ajjul
Jerusalem RM J. 363		base and back, Rowe 1936, no. 210 [p]	D7	O	e11		not serrated	3f	without cartouche	steatite	
Jerusalem RM J. 380		base and back, Rowe 1936, no. 211 [p, s]	B2	O	e11		not serrated	3f	without cartouche	glazed composition	
Manchester 9045	Tufnell 3436	all sides, Keel 1997, 150–151 (137) [p, s]	D7	O	e11	deeply set, no partition line	not serrated	3f	without cartouche	glazed composition	Tell el-Ajjul

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Scarab	No	Availability and bibliography	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Base	Cartouche	Material	Provenance
New York Jewish Museum 12-73.405B	Tufnell 2881	all sides, Keel 1997, 118–119 (40) [p, s]	D8	O	e11		not serrated	3a	without cartouche	steatite	Tell el-Ajjul
Pella 56		all sides, Richards 1992, 11–12 fig. 1, pl. XIII (56) [s]	B2	I	d5		not serrated	3d	without cartouche	steatite	Shamir
TD 8963		all sides (head lost), Zeger 2009, 66–67 [s]; Bietak, Czerny, Prell 2016, 93 fig. 9 [s]		O	e11		chipped off	3f	without cartouche	steatite	Tell el-Dabʿa (HVI – w/17, L 4605, Str. d)
UC 11661	Tufnell 3462	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3462 [s]; Petrie 1917, pl. XXI (15.5.5) [p], pl. LXVII (M 74) [s]	A4a	O	e11	raised	not serrated	4a	without cartouche	steatite	
UC 11666	Tufnell 3452	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3452 [s]; Petrie 1906, pl. IX (144) [s]; Petrie 1917, pl. XXI (15.5.10) [p], pl. LXVI (L 9) [s]	A5	I	d5	deeply set, double partition line	not serrated	4a	in cartouche	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya
UC 11670		all sides, examined personally; museum website [p]	D7	O	e11	raised	not serrated	3f	without cartouche	glazed composition	
UC 11671		all sides (head lost), examined personally; museum website [p]		O	e11	worn off	worn off	3a	without cartouche	glazed composition	
UC 11672		all sides, examined personally; museum website [p]	D7	O	e11	worn off	not serrated	3a	without cartouche	glazed composition	
UC 11673		all sides, examined personally; museum website [p]		O	e11		not serrated	3a	without cartouche	steatite	
UC 11674	Tufnell 3435	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3435 [s]	B2	O	e11		not serrated	3a	without cartouche	glazed composition	
UC 11675		all sides, examined personally; museum website [p]		O	d5		not serrated	3a	without cartouche	steatite	

Table 21 Scarabs of *ʿ3-wsr-rʿ* with simple designs.

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Fig. 71 Scarab of (ʿ3-*wsr*-*r*ʿ) Apep, Berlin 31033.
Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. This image is copyright. Reproduced by permission of Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. 25×18×10 mm.



Fig. 72 Scarab of (ʿ3-*wsr*-*r*ʿ) Apep, Fribourg ÄS 1983.132. © Foundation BIBLE+ORIENT, Fribourg Switzerland. 13×9×5 mm.



Fig. 73 Scarab of ʿ3-*wsr*-*r*ʿ (Apep) with a simple design from Gebel Zeit, Cairo JE 98093. Reproduced from Régen and Soukiassian 2008, 158 (72). © Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Le Caire. 13×9×6 mm.

and one atop the inscription.[495] Occasionally, there are further design elements at the other side and at the bottom. This kind of decoration is not attested among other recognised royal-name and private-name scarabs of the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period. These scarabs are listed in the upper part of Table 22.

The top elements of this design can be a flower with a spiral stem (Fig. 74);[496] a lotus-flower without a stem,[497] the winged sun disk,[498] the hieroglyphic sign *ḫ*ʿ (Gardiner sign N28; Fig. 75),[499] the sign *nbw* "gold" (Gardiner sign S12),[500] or a complex composition with scrolls (Fig. 76).[501] The side element can be a twisted cable loop,[502] a pair of round scrolls,[503] a pair of red-crowns flanking the name (Fig. 76),[504] or a uraeus

495 For this group of Apep's scarabs, see: Ben-Tor 2007a, 108.
496 BM EA66167; TD 7552.
497 Cairo JE 72858; Trieste 30841.
498 IoA UCL E.XII 84/1; Jerusalem IM 76.31.3882.
499 Ashmolean AN1893.9; BM EA32331; Fribourg ÄS 1983.141; Fribourg ÄS 1983.153; NFA Scarabs, no. 30; Tufnell II 3438.
500 UC 11660; UC 11662; UC 11663.
501 Fribourg ÄS 1983.140.
502 NFA Scarabs, no. 30; TD 7552; UC 11660; two loops on either side of the name ring on Cairo JE 72858.
503 Ashmolean AN1893.9; Fribourg ÄS 1983.141; Fribourg ÄS 1983.153.
504 Fribourg ÄS 1983.140.

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Seal	Type	No	Availability and bibliography	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Base	Title	Cartouche	Epithet	Material	Provenance	King
Ashmolean AN1893.9	scarab	Tufnell 3439	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3439 [s]	D3a	O	e6b		not serrated	11		in oval ring		steatite		Aauserre Apep
BM EA32331	scarab	Tufnell 3443	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3443 [s]	D3a	O	e5	raised	not serrated	11		in oval ring		steatite		Aauserre Apep
BM EA66167	scarab		all sides, examined personally; Hein 1994, no. 110 [p]	D7	O	e5	raised	not serrated	11		in oval ring		steatite		Aauserre Apep
Cairo JE 72858	scarab	Tufnell 3450	base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D3a	O	e6b	raised	not serrated	11		in oval ring		steatite		Aauserre Apep
Fribourg ÄS 1983.140	scarab	Tufnell 3449	all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=2516 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	D3a	O	e6b	raised	chipped off	11		in cartouche		steatite		Aauserre Apep
Fribourg ÄS 1983.141	scarab	Tufnell 3440	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3440 [s]; Matouk 1971, 206 (104) [p]; Keel and Uehlinger 1990, 70 fig. 86d [p]	D3a	O	e5		chipped off	11		in oval ring		steatite		Aauserre Apep
Fribourg ÄS 1983.153	scarab	Tufnell 3441	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3441 [s]; Matouk 1971, 206 (105) [p]	D3a	O	e6b		not serrated	11		in oval ring		steatite		Aauserre Apep
IoA UCL E.XII 84/1	scarab	Tufnell 3437	base and back, Keel 1997, 106–107 (2) [p, s]	D7	I	e11	raised	not serrated	11		without cartouche		steatite	Tell el-ʿAjjul	Aauserre Apep
Jerusalem IM 76.31.3882	scarab		base and back, museum website [p]	D7	O		raised	not serrated	11		in oval ring		steatite		Aauserre Apep
NFA Scarabs, no. 30	scarab		base and back, NFA 1991, no. 30 [p]	A6a	O		raised	not serrated	11		in oval ring		steatite		Aauserre Apep
TD 7552	scarab		all sides, Mlinar 2001b, no. 1074 [s]; Hein 1994, no. 115 [p]; Bietak, Czerny, Prell 2016, 93 fig. 9 [s]	A5	I	d5	deeply set, double partition line	not serrated	11		in oval ring		steatite	Tell el-Dabʿa (secondary context)	Aauserre Apep
Trieste 30841	scarab		base and back, Crevatin and Vidulli Torlo 2013, 183 (7.22) [p]	D3a	O		chipped off	chipped off	11		in oval ring		steatite		Aauserre Apep
Tufnell II 3438	scarab	Tufnell 3438	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3438 [s]	A6a	O	e8		not serrated	11		in oval ring		steatite		Aauserre Apep

Table 22 Scarabs of *ʿ3-wsr-rʿ* with complex designs.

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Seal	Type	No	Availability and bibliography	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Base	Title	Cartouche	Epithet	Material	Provenance	King
UC 11660	scarab	Tufnell 3445	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3445 [s]	B4	O	e5		not serrated	11		in oval ring		steatite		Aauserre Apep
UC 11662	scarab	Tufnell 3442	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3442 [s]; Petrie 1917, pl. XXI (15.5.6) [s], pl. LXIX (T 55) [p]	B4	O	e5	raised	worn off	11		without cartouche		steatite		Aauserre Apep
UC 11663	scarab	Tufnell 3446	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3446 [s]	D5	O	d5		not serrated	11		without cartouche		steatite		Aauserre Apep
Basel Cat. 152	scarab		all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 152 [p]	D3a	O	d5	raised	not serrated	11		in oval ring		steatite		Nikare
BM EA32305	scarab	Tufnell 3494	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3494 [s]	D3a	O	d5	raised	not serrated	11		in oval ring		steatite		Nikare
BM EA38569	scarab	Tufnell 3495	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3495 [s]	D7	O	d5	raised	not serrated	11		in oval ring		steatite		Nikare
Malloy 1972 I, lot 21 (a)	scarab		only base, Malloy 1972, lot 21 (a) [p]						11		in oval ring		steatite		Nikare
Basel Cat. 144	cowroid		only base, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 144 [p]						12		in oval ring		steatite		Aauserre Apep
BM EA17780	cowroid		only base, Hall 1913, no. 300 [p]						12		in oval ring		steatite		Aauserre Apep
Fribourg ÄS 1983.142	cowroid		all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=2518 (accessed on 20.03.2019) [p]						12		in oval ring		steatite		Aauserre Apep
Fribourg ÄS 1983.143	cowroid		all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=2520 (accessed on 20.03.2019) [p]						12		in oval ring		steatite		Aauserre Apep
Louvre E 6333	cowroid		only base, museum website [p]						12		in oval ring		steatite		Aauserre Apep

Table 22 Scarabs of *ʿȝ-wsr-rʿ* with complex designs. (continuation)

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Seal	Type	No	Availability and bibliography	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Base	Title	Cartouche	Epithet	Material	Provenance	King
MMA 26.7.267	cowroid		base and back, museum website [p]						12		in oval ring		steatite		Aauserre Apep
UC 11657	scarab		all sides (head lost), examined personally; museum website [p]		openwork	c	raised	not serrated	12		in oval ring		steatite		Aauserre Apep
UC 11659	scarab	Tufnell 3448	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3448 [s]; Petrie 1917, pl. XXI (15.5.3) [p], pl. LIX (D 90) [s]	D7	O	e6b	deeply set, no partition line	deeply set, no partition line	12		in oval ring		steatite		Aauserre Apep
UC 11665	scarab	Tufnell 3444	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3444 [s]	D7	O	d5	raised	worn off	12		in oval ring		steatite		Aauserre Apep
UC 11668	cowroid		all sides, examined personally; museum website [p]						12		in oval ring		steatite		Aauserre Apep
UC 11669	cowroid	Tufnell 3523	all sides, examined personally; museum website [p]						12		in oval ring		steatite		Aauserre Apep
Basel Cat. 153	cowroid		all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 153 [p]						12		in oval ring		steatite		Nikare
BM EA17211	cowroid	Tufnell 3522	all sides, museum website [p]; Tufnell 1984, no. 3522 [s]						12		in oval ring		steatite		Nikare
BM EA45457	cowroid	Tufnell 3521	only base, Hall 1913, no. 291 [p]; Tufnell 1984, no. 3521 [s]						12		in cartouche		steatite		Nikare
Louvre AF 9197	cowroid		only base, Hein 1994, no. 118 [p]						12		in oval ring		steatite		Nikare
Louvre E 3606	scarab		only base, Petrie 1889, no. 105 [s]						12		in oval ring				Nikare

Table 22 Scarabs of *ꜣ-wsr-rꜥ* with complex designs. (continuation)

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(Fig. 75).[505] The side element on scarab Tufnell II 3438 is hard to identify. The bottom element is invariably the *nb*-basket .[506]

Of these scarabs one was found in Tell el-Dabʿa[507] and one in Tell el-ʿAjjul.[508]

Apart from Aauserre scarabs, the same designs occur among scarabs with the name or phrase *Nj-kȝ-rʿ* Nikare and with the phrase *Rʿ-(ʿȝ/mn)-m-nṯr-nb* "Re is (great/enduring) in every god," as noted by several scholars.[509] Nikare scarabs display same top elements: a flower with a spiral stem,[510] a lotus-flower without a stem,[511] the hieroglyphic sign *ḫʿ*  ,[512] the sign *nbw* "gold"  .[513] An element not attested among Aauserre scarabs is a lotus-flower with a spiralled stem. Nikare scarabs also feature the same side elements: a twisted cable loop (Fig. 77)[514] and a uraeus.[515] Like on Aauserre scarabs, the *nb*-basket is used as the bottom element.[516] A *Rʿ-(ʿȝ/mn)-m-nṯr-nb* scarab has a lotus-flower without a stem as the top element and the sign *nbw* "gold"  as the side element; the bottom element is missing.[517]

The same decoration of the base also occurs on some design scarabs, including two from Esna and Matmar.[518]

Before discussing the sculptural peculiarities of the scarabs with the quadripartite arrangement of elements on the base, one should introduce the third group featuring longitudinal tripartite designs with ornaments flanking the royal name (base type 12). The scarabs and cowroids are listed in the lower part of Table 22. Although this type of decoration is attested on earlier scarabs (most commonly among the scarabs of Sobekhotep VI), some of Aauserre seals share unique design elements with the quadripartite group (twisted cable loops flanking the name ring[519]). Besides, one scarab with the name Apep[520] features a similar arrangement. Scarabs and cowroids with the longitudinal arrangement of the base and with the same designs are also attested for Nikare (Table 22) and among the scarabs with the phrase *Rʿ-(ʿȝ/mn)-m-nṯr-nb*.[521] Other 14th–15th Dynasty royal-name scarabs do not feature longitudinal designs. Aauserre and Nikare seals with the longitudinal tripartite designs feature the same oval rings instead of true cartouches as the scarabs with the quadripartite design. Hence, scarabs with quadripartite designs and scarabs with longitudinal arrangement will further be treated as one group of Aauserre scarabs without royal titles having complex designs.

Aauserre scarabs with the quadripartite design and with longitudinal designs feature diverse head types (Table 22). Most common head types are D3a (Fig. 75–76) and D7 (Fig. 74). D7-type heads are typical of Second Intermediate Period royal-name scarabs (common on scarabs of Yakbim, Amu, Khauserre, Sekhaenre, Maaibre, Aahetepre, Sheshi),[522] but those on Aauserre scarabs are generally smaller, more compact triangles. Also well attested in other royal series is the D5-type head, occurring on one Aauserre scarab.[523] By contrast, D3a-type heads are specific for Apep scarabs; among the scarabs of the two design-groups in question, they occur on 6 scarabs.[524] Other head types are also generally uncommon in other royal-name series: A6a,[525] B4,[526] and A5[527] heads.

The occurrence of D3a-type heads clearly brings the scarabs of the complex design group close to Apep scarabs that are doubtlessly recognised as royal-name scarabs, as discussed above.

A similar distribution of head types is attested on scarabs with the name or phrase Nikare and the same designs: D3a-type heads occur on three scarabs (Fig. 77);[528] a D7-type head occurs one.[529]

505 BM EA32331; BM EA66167; IoA UCL E.XII 84/1; Jerusalem IM 76.31.3882; Trieste 30841; UC 11662; UC 11663.

506 Ashmolean AN1893.9; BM EA32331 (Fig. 75); BM EA66167 (Fig. 74); Cairo JE 72858; Fribourg ÄS 1983.140; Fribourg ÄS 1983.141; Fribourg ÄS 1983.153; IoA UCL E.XII 84/1; Jerusalem IM 76.31.3882; NFA Scarabs, no. 30; Trieste 30841; Tufnell II 3438; UC 11660; UC 11662; UC 11663. TD 7552 exceptionally has no bottom element.

507 TD 7552.

508 IoA UCL E.XII 84/1.

509 Nikare: Hall 1913, 33; Stock 1942, 22; Ward in Tufnell 1984, 170; *Rʿ-(ʿȝ/mn)-m-nṯr-nb*: Ryholt 1997, 64; Ben-Tor 2004b, 34–37 fig. 7; Ben-Tor 2007a, 67, 76–77, pl. 33.

510 BM EA38569.

511 Basel Cat. 152.

512 Malloy 1972 I, lot 21 (a).

513 BM EA32305.

514 Basel Cat. 152.

515 BM EA32305; BM EA38569; Malloy 1972 I, lot 21 (a).

516 Basel Cat. 152; BM EA32305; BM EA38569; Malloy 1972 I, lot 21 (a).

517 Basel Cat. 171 (Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 171).

518 Downes 1974, 61 (198.3); Brunton 1948, pl. XLIII (34), featuring the characteristic D3a-type head. Ben-Tor 2007a, 74, pl. 32 (32), cites a further example from Tell el-ʿAjjul.

519 Louvre E.3606 and UC 11659.

520 UC 11657.

521 Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 33 (20–24, 31).

522 Among Aauserre scarabs they occur on BM EA66167 (Fig. 74); IoA UCL E.XII 84/1; Jerusalem IM 76.31.3882; UC 11659; UC 11665.

523 UC 11663.

524 Ashmolean AN1893.9; BM EA32331 (Fig. 75); Cairo JE 72858; Fribourg ÄS 1983.140; Fribourg ÄS 1983.141; Fribourg ÄS 1983.153.

525 NFA Scarabs, no. 30; Tufnell II 3438.

526 UC 11660, UC 11662.

527 TD 7552.

528 Basel Cat. 151; Basel Cat. 152; BM EA32305.

529 BM EA38569.

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Fig. 74 Scarab of *ʿ3-wsr-rʿ* (Apep) with a quadripartite arrangement, BM EA66167. Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum. 16×12×7 mm.



Fig. 75 Scarab of *ʿ3-wsr-rʿ* (Apep) with a quadripartite arrangement, BM EA32331. Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum. 18×13×7 mm.



Fig. 76 Scarab of *ʿ3-wsr-rʿ* (Apep) with a quadripartite arrangement, Fribourg ÄS 1983.140. © Foundation BIBLE+ORIENT, Fribourg Switzerland. 12×8×5 mm.



Fig. 77 Scarab of Nikare with a quadripartite arrangement, Basel Cat. 152. Reproduced from Hornung and Staehelin 1976, pl. 14, no. 152. © Ägyptologisches Seminar der Universität Basel. 17×12×7 mm.

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In terms of the sides, five scarabs feature the sides with mid legs fringed (e6b).[530] Other scarabs display plain d5,[531] e11,[532] and e5-type[533] sides. One scarab attests a rare e8 side,[534] if the available drawing is reliable, and another features open-work c-type sides.[535] The occurrence of e6b-type sides with mid legs fringed on the complex design scarabs with the legend *ꜥ3-wsr-rꜥ* brings them close to the recognised groups of Apep scarabs — those with both praenomen and the nomen and those with only the nomen or the prenomen but having explicit royal titles or a true cartouche.

Nikare scarabs with quadripartite and longitudinal designs that were available for the study show d5 and e5-type sides.[536]

Apart from these major groups of Aauserre scarabs without royal titles and epithets, further smaller groups can be defined. Scarabs with complex designs, including a tiny cartouche with the royal name *ꜥ3-wsr-rꜥ* without titles, belong to the same type as an *ꜥ3-wsr-rꜥ* Apep scarab with a similar design.[537] These scarabs are Leiden EG-ZM2170, Louvre E.3282 (Fig. 110), and UC 11667. Leiden EG-ZM2170 and Louvre E.3282 feature D3a type heads and e6b-type sides, a combination typical of Apep scarabs. UC 11667 has a B8 head, e6b-type sides and a back with double lined dividing the elytra (type II) and between the pronotum and the elytra. Fringed mid legs, characteristic of the Apep series, suggest that all three scarabs are in fact Apep scarabs; otherwise, the Leiden and the Louvre scarabs fit well into the Apep scarab series, whereas UC 11667 stands out among the known royal-name scarabs.

Three scarabs of Aauserre show a cartouche flanked by a pair of hieroglyphs and flowers at the top. Of them, two scarabs have a *k3*-sign  (Gardiner sign D28) instead of a royal title,[538] and one has the sign V7  .[539] All three scarabs have plain d5-type sides; the heads are not clearly definable from available drawings. A similar arrangement occurs on one scarab of Nikare[540] having the *w3ḏ*-sign  (Gardiner sign M13) instead of the royal title;[541] one *Rꜥ-(ꜥ3/mn)-m-nṯr-nb* scarab has both the *k3* -sign and the *w3ḏ*-sign in a similar arrangement at the opposite ends of the scarab.[542]

ꜥ3-wsr-rꜥ Apep scarabs as a coherent group

The survey of different groups of scarabs with the name Aauserre and/or the name Apep shows that the coherence of most of these groups can be demonstrated based on similar design elements or sculptural features.

It was demonstrated that scarabs with the nomen *Jpp* share the same head (D3a, A4/A6) and side (e6b) types as the scarabs with the praenomen *ꜥ3-wsr-rꜥ* with explicit royal titles. Further, the same features are shared by many scarabs having complex scarab designs without proper royal titles and epithets, making these scarabs a part of a large coherent scarab corpus of *ꜥ3-wsr-rꜥ* Apep.

The simple design group is least similar to the rest of Aauserre scarabs in terms of sculptural features. Their simplistic designs are complemented by simplified side types d5 and e11 and show demonstrably no consistency in the choice of head types. Yet, among the Aauserre scarabs with complex designs, one can easily pinpoint several that feature head and side types attested in the simple-design group and rare among the rest of 14th–15th Dynasty royal-name scarabs.[543] Thus, despite the limited evidence, it seems likely that the Aauserre scarabs with simple designs can be linked to the rest of the Aauserre scarab complex.

Based on this evidence, it appears that there are no sufficient grounds to disregard any of the *ꜥ3-wsr-rꜥ* scarabs as royal-name scarabs, attesting the king *ꜥ3-wsr-rꜥ* Apep. The difference, which could have testified to some meaningful rift (be it in terms of a chronological distance, geographical focus, or cultural traditions) between the scarabs of Apep and the rest of Second Intermediate Period royal-name scarabs, was interpreted as the evidence that the scarabs are simply to be excluded from the royal-name corpus. The new

530 Ashmolean AN1893.9; Cairo JE 72858; Fribourg ÄS 1983.140; Fribourg ÄS 1983.153; UC 11659.

531 TD 7552; UC 11663; UC 11665; Basel Cat. 152; BM EA32305; BM EA38569.

532 IoA UCL E.XII 84/1.

533 BM EA32331 (Fig. 75); BM EA66167 (Fig. 74); Fribourg ÄS 1983.141; UC 11660; UC 11662.

534 Tufnell II 3438.

535 UC 11657.

536 Basel Cat. 152; BM EA32305; BM EA38569.

537 Berlin 32771.

538 Pella 1; Tufnell II 3451. This feature also occurs on one scarab with the name of Amenemhat III (Louvre N 541, museum website), at least two scarabs with pseudo-royal-names in cartouches, BM EA17265 (Hall 1913, no. 209; legend: *Ḥꜥ-sbk-rꜥ*) and Cairo JE 72780 (Drioton MSS 5381; legend: *Ḥpr-ḫꜥ-rꜥ*), and a scarab with the hieroglyphic sequence anra in the cartouche (Keel 2017, 288–289 [22], type B8-O-e6b without ring, for which see Chapter 4 below).

539 UC 11664.

540 Basel Cat. 151.

541 The *w3ḏ*-sign also occurs on at least two scarabs with the name of Amenemhat III, one in Cairo (Mariette 1872, pl. 36 [bottom 6]) and one formerly in the Clarke collection (Rowe 1936, no. 14; Tufnell 1984, no. 3081).

542 Louvre AF 6453 (Hein 1994, no. 112; Petrie 1889, no. 720).

543 TD 7552 (head A5, side d5); BM EA66167 (Fig. 74), UC 11664, and UC 11665 (triangular head D7, side d5); IoA UCL E.XII 84/1 (triangular head D7, side e11). Their counterparts among the Aauserre scarabs with simple designs would be UC 11666 (head A5, side d5); Cairo JE 72860 (triangular head D7); Fribourg ÄS 1983.145, Fribourg ÄS 1983.147, and Manchester 9045 (triangular head D7, side e11).

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analysis shows that all scarabs of *ꜣ-wsr-rꜥ* and Apep should be regarded as one group.

Likewise, *Nj-kꜣ-rꜥ* scarabs and *Rꜥ-(ꜣ/mn)-m-nṯr-nb* scabs are to be considered roughly contemporary with those of Apep. The similarity of designs and the grammatical form, which is akin to other royal names, could suggest that Nikare was indeed royal name, as Ward was the last to accept[544] and contra the rejection by Ryholt.[545] The phrase *Rꜥ-(ꜣ/mn)-m-nṯr-nb*, which does not look like a royal name and was shown to have ties to a formula attested on Ben-Tor's "early Palestine" scarabs,[546] is also at least twice written in a true cartouche.[547] But so is occasionally the hieroglyphic sequence *anra*;[548] hence, it should rather not be taken for the indication of its royal-name status.

ꜣ-wsr-rꜥ Apep scarabs in comparison with other royal-name and private-name scarabs

Several unique features set off the scarabs of Apep from the rest of royal-name series of the Second Intermediate Period. Quadripartite and longitudinal designs discussed above occur only on scarabs of Apep (and Nikare). Only Apep has seals in form of cowroids, otherwise also attested with the name or phrase Nikare and the phrase *Rꜥ-(ꜣ/mn)-m-nṯr-nb*.[549]

Only Apep bears the title *nsw bjtj* or simply *bjtj* on the scarabs, instead of the common title *nṯr nfr*. Ryholt cites a single scarab of Apep that may bear the title *nṯr nfr* — Cairo JE 72861, which was unavailable for him. The consultation with the photos[550] shows that the scarab indeed has this title, but can hardly be attributed to Apep, which is important for solving the question of the proximity of Apep scarabs with those of Khyan and Yaqubhar, purported by Ryholt. Cairo JE 72861 belongs to the scarab type B8-O-d6 with rings around the hole ends, typical of the scarabs of Yaqubhar and Khyan, which is discussed in Chapter 4 below. Engelbach[551] read the name on the scarab as *ꜣ-wsr-rꜥ*, attributing it to Apep. However, the legend on the scarab rather prohibits this reading.



It can be read as *Ḥr-wsr-rꜥ;* even if one reads the bird sign as *ꜣ*, reading the name as *ꜣ-wsr-rꜥ* would still be impossible in spite of the orthographical variability of the Second Intermediate Period and would have no parallels among other Apep scarabs. Hence, the scarab, in all respects dissimilar from the scarabs of Apep, should be attributed to an otherwise unattested king Horuserre.

As established above, sculptural features distinguishing Apep scarabs from the rest of 14th–15th Dynasty royal-name scarabs are the head types D3a and A4/A6 and the side type e6b.

D3a-type heads rarely occur among Second Intermediate Period inscribed scarabs apart from the scarabs of *ꜣ-wsr-rꜥ* Apep (and Nikare and *Rꜥ-(ꜣ/mn)-m-nṯr-nb* scarabs). Few exceptions are the scarabs of the treasurer *Ḥꜣr*,[552] the king Sheshi,[553] the king Maaibre,[554] the treasurer *Rdj-ḥꜣ*,[555] and the king's sons Ipeq[556] and Seket.[557] All these attestations can be considered sporadic, as these are only singular attestations in large series of scarabs belonging to each of the kings and persons; none of them is associated with any other feature of Apep scarabs.

Sides of the type e6b are almost unattested in the corpus of Second Intermediate Period royal-name scarabs with only a handful of exceptions,[558] none of which feature the head types (D3a and A4a/A6a) characteristic of the *ꜣ-wsr-rꜥ* Apep scarabs.

A4a and A6a-type heads do not occur on other 14th–15th Dynasty royal-name scarabs.[559]

Yet, several private-name scarabs combine a D3a head with e6b-type sides, which makes them a better match to Apepi scarabs than those cited above. One is UC 11379[560] belonging to *jrj-ḫtm* "keeper of the seal" *ꜥpr-bꜥꜣ*. The title *jrj-ḫtm* is otherwise barely attested, and one assumes that this could be the same person as the *jmj-rꜣ ḫtmt* "treasurer" *ꜥpr-[bꜥꜣr]*, mentioned on the altar of *ꜣ-wsr-rꜥ* Apep Berlin 22487, and also likely on a jamb from Tell Hebua.[561] If the identification is correct, it would explain perfectly, why the person, *ꜣ-wsr-rꜥ* Apep's treasurer, had a scarab with the same set of features as the royal-name scarabs of Apep.

544 In Tufnell 1984, 172.
545 Ryholt 1997, 324 n. 1116.
546 Quirke 2004, 174–175; Ben-Tor 2007a, 76–77, 126–127.
547 BM EA40740 (Hall 1913, no. 2573; Ben-Tor 2004b, 37 fig. 7 [9]; Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 33 [29]) and München ÄS 2360 (unpublished photograph provided by the museum).
548 Some examples those cited by Richards 2001, 72–76.
549 See Hein 1994, 147. Attestations for Nikare: Basel Cat. 153, BM EA17211, BM EA45457, Louvre AF 9197; for *Rꜥ-(ꜣ/mn)-m-nṯr-nb*: Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 33 (20–24).
550 Drioton MSS 5380.
551 Engelbach 1941, 223, followed by Martin 1971, 6 and Ward in Tufnell 1984, 382.
552 Berlin 32565; BM EA28124; TD 6161.
553 Cairo JE 72880; Jerusalem IM 76.31.3980.
554 Jerusalem IM 76.31.4036.
555 Berlin 32556.
556 Abydos Garstang 646 A'08 (2).
557 UC 11601.
558 Berlin 32589 and Cairo JE 30458 with the name of Khyan; Cairo JE 33995 with the name of Yaqubhar; Berlin 32528 with the name of the royal son Nehsy.
559 With a possible exception of MMA 10.130.36, belonging to Khyan, No photo available; head type determined in Tufnell 1984.
560 Martin 319; examined first-hand.
561 Grajetzki and Stefanović 2012, dossier 7.

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Another scarab is Cairo JE 75173 (Fig. 78)[562], belonging to a *smsw h3jjt* "elder of the portal" *Jjpṯ-hr*. The scarab has a D3a-type head, e6b-type sides, and a peculiar clypeus with numerous serrations. Although the title of the official is otherwise attested in the south of Egypt, his non-Egyptian name, featuring the element *-hr*, typical of Semitic names[563] makes it plausible that the man indeed served under Apep.

Among royal-name scarabs, BM EA3931, featuring the praenomen of Amenemhat III, is a notable parallel to Apep scarabs. It features a D3a-type head, e6b-type sides, and a design with the royal name without titles and epithets flanked by hieroglyphs. Given the lack of parallels among late 12th Dynasty scarabs, this piece can likely be interpreted as an Amenemhat III scarab issued in the reign of Aauserre Apep as yet another sign of this king's interest in 12th Dynasty royal-name scarabs: apparently, the scarab-makers of the epoch not only borrowed certain head types and sides from late 12th Dynasty and early 13th Dynasty scarabs, but also issued new scarabs with the names of 12th Dynasty kings.

Scarabs of the king Hotepibre

Three scarabs are known naming a king *Ḥtp-jb-rˁ* (Hotepibre). Berlin 32766 (Fig. 79) is of unknown origin (Blanchard collection, examined in the museum). Giveon, RdE 30, 163, pl. 6-7 (1)[564] was purchased in Jerusalem and was thus likely excavated in the Levant. Jerusalem RM 33.1256[565] stems from tomb 30 at Jericho, excavated by John Garstang, with the initial burial thought to be contemporary to Kenyon's Groups II–III (early or early to mid-MB IIB) and a reused phase contemporary to Kenyon's Groups IV–V (late MB IIB).[566]

These scarabs have common sculptural features, which set them off from the rest of the royal-name scarabs. All three have B6-type heads and numerous serrations on the clypeus (more than four). Berlin 32766 and Jerusalem RM 33.1256 have deeply carved plain legs (side type d5); Giveon, RdE 30, 163, pl. 6-7 (1) has e6b-type sides.

Scholarly opinions on these scarabs depend on whether one accepts the identity of the king Hotepibre named on the scarabs with other mentions of this royal name.

A statue with the name of the king *Ḥtp-jb-rˁ sꜣ rˁ n ḫt=f mrjj=f sꜣ Qmꜣw Ḥr-nḏ-ḥr-jtj=f* "Hotepibre, son of Re of his flesh, his beloved Qemau's son Hornedjheritef"[567] was found in Khatana, close to Tell el-Dabʿa, and a relief block with the same names was discovered in el-Atawla, in the region of Assiut.[568] The filiation "son of Qemau" indicates that the king was the son of the early 13th Dynasty king Qemau and is likely to be identified with a king *Sḥtp-jb-rˁ*, named in the Turin King-list (7.08).[569]

The identification of the king Hotepibre named on scarabs with the king *Ḥtp-jb-rˁ* Hornedjheritef is next to impossible, if one considers the typological features of the scarabs and the format of the inscriptions, unattested on Middle Kingdom name scarabs. Yet, some scholars still adhere to the identification of Hotepibre from scarabs with the early 13th Dynasty king Hornedjheritef, building on the fact that one of Hornedjheritef's inscriptions was found in Tell el-Dabʿa.[570] As Ryholt[571] pointed out, the inscriptions on the statue strongly suggest that it originally stood in the Memphite area; hence, it should have been secondarily relocated to Tell el-Dabʿa, and the fact that it was found in Khatana should not be taken into consideration when discussing the king and his reign.

An inlaid mace with the name Hotepibre was found in Ebla.[572] It is debatable whether the inscription is original or represents an attempt to repair an original inscription, possibly originally fitted to another object, which could also have featured the name *Sḥtp-jb-rˁ*.[573] At any rate, the inscription itself does not give a definite clue as to whether the object belonged to the Hotepibre of the scarabs, or the Hotepibre of the early 13th Dynasty, or contains a refitted name of another king.

Ryholt[574] dismissed the identity of the king from scarabs with the 13th Dynasty king and proposed to identify the Hotepibre of scarabs with the king Khamudi, attested only in the Turin King-list where he is named as the last ruler of the 15th Dynasty (and the only 15th Dynasty king whose name is preserved). This proposition is highly speculative and the only substantial argument, the alleged occurrence of B6-type heads on the scarabs of Khyan can be refuted upon re-examining Khyan scarabs.

Ben-Tor suggested that the three scarabs could be Levantine products, based on a number of parallels among design scarabs excavated in the Levant.[575] This appears to be the most plausible solution; B5/6-O-d5 is a relatively common type among scarabs of Ben-Tor's "early Palestinian Series."[576] If one only takes Jericho as a site with better studied dates of

562 Drioton MSS 5381; Martin 304; examined first-hand.
563 Schneider 1998a, 41–43.
564 Giveon 1978, fig. 1.
565 Keel 2017, 76–77 (104).
566 Nigro 2018, 441–442.
567 Habachi 1952, pl. VI, IX; Habachi 2001, no. 17, pl. 14b.
568 Cairo TN 25.4.22.3, Habachi 1952, pl. X.
569 Siesse 2019, 60.
570 Nigro 2018.
571 Ryholt 1998b.
572 Matthiae 1997, 398 fig. 14.16a–b; Nigro 2018, 446 fig. 1.
573 Ryholt 1998b.
574 Ryholt 1997, 52.
575 Ben-Tor in Ben-Tor, Allen, and Allen 1999.
576 Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 72 (9, 12, 13. 14, 15).

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Fig. 78 Scarab of the elder of the portal *Jjpṯ-ḥr* of the type D3a-O-e6b Cairo JE 75173. Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. 23×14×11 mm.



Fig. 79 Scarab with the legend Hotepibre in a royal cartouche, Berlin 32766. Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. This image is copyright. Reproduced by permission of Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. 19×13×9 mm.

burials, the scarab type B5/6-O-d5 occurs from Kenyon's Group II (early MB IIB) to Group IV (late MB IIB), becoming much rarer in the subsequent Group V (late MB IIB).[577]

In contrast, according to the available data, the type of two Hotepibre scarabs (B5/6-O-d5 with over four serrations on the clypeus) is not attested among steatite name scarabs. The only example I could find is a scarab from the southern Levant[578] with a set of signs, which can at will be read *jmj-rꜣ pr Ḥḥ* "steward Heh,"[579] but which rather represents a meaningless sign combination. Neither is this scarab type common for steatite design scarabs excavated in Tell el-Dabʿa, Tell Yahudiya, or elsewhere in Egypt. A single exception I could find is Manchester 3452 from Tell el-Yahudiya (uncertain, because of the quality of available reproductions).

It appears most probable that Hotepibre scarabs are indeed products of Levantine workshop(s). It remains open whether the scarabs are to be categorised as imitations of Egyptian royal-name scarabs (of which there is no deficit in the Canaanite scarabs). In any case, the scarabs of Hotepibre can be excluded from the repertoire of Egyptian royal-name scarabs of the 14th–15th Dynasty.

577 The attestations of the scarab type in burials from different groups are as follows. Group II: Keel 2017, 100–258, no. 184, 193, 216, 221, 227, 228. Group III: Keel 2017, 100–258, no. 278, 281, 285, 297, 298, 303, 319, 330, 344, 548. Group IV: Keel 2017, 100–258, no.382, 392, 398, 413, 416, 428, 429, 430, 436, 478. Group V: Keel 2017, 100–258, no. 464, 468, 469.

578 Giveon 1976, no. 10.

579 So Giveon 1976, 131.

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Features of 14th–15th Dynasty scarabs

Although this has been done before,[580] it is necessary to analyse single royal-name series and the corpus of 14th–15th Dynasty royal-name scarabs as a whole to pinpoint the features, which distinguish these scarabs from name scarabs of the Middle Kingdom and which distinguish single series and clusters of series from one another. One facet that has not been brought into this comparison before is private-name scarabs of the Middle Kingdom, filling the gaps left when only royal-name scarabs of the period are taken into consideration.

The features characterising the scarabs of the 14th–15th Dynasty are well-defined in terms of the head and side classifications by Tufnell and Ward, because drawing the distinction between the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period was one of the aims of their classification.

Table 23 summarises the occurrence of head types among the royal-name scarabs of the 14th-15th Dynasty in comparison with Middle Kingdom steatite royal-name and private-name scarabs. As established by Ward,[581] head types B7, B8 (heads with concave base), D7, D8, and D9 (triangular heads) distinguish 14th–15th Dynasty royal-name scarabs from those of the Middle Kingdom. This is in line with the observations on Middle Kingdom private-name scarabs. None of the private-name scarabs datable to the late Middle Kingdom through prosopographical evidence contradict these conclusions.

To these distinctive head types, one should also add the head type B3. This head type does not appear on Middle Kingdom private-name scarabs; hence, the presumable 12th Dynasty examples cited by Ward are Second Intermediate Period scarabs with the names of 12th Dynasty kings; none of them are found in a context suggesting a 12th Dynasty date. Also, the head type D3a, characteristic of Apep scarabs, does not appear on Middle Kingdom scarabs.

On the contrary, C-type heads, popular under the 13th Dynasty, and A2 heads, used in the 12th Dynasty, do not appear among Second Intermediate Period scarabs.

As concerns the differences among royal-name series, B7 and B8-type heads appear almost exclusively on scarabs of Khyan, Yaqubhar, Sheshi, Maaibre, Wazad, and Sheneh. Head type D9 appears on scarabs of Aahetepre, Amu, Khauserre, Maaibre, Sheshi, Nebuuserre, Sekhaenre, Yaʿammu, and Yakbim. All major royal-name series except those of Yaqubhar and Khyan include D8-type heads; all series except Yaqubhar, Khyan, and Nebuuserre include D7-type heads; Amu, Khauserre, Maaibre, Nebuuserre, Sekhaenre, Yaʿammu, Sheshi, and Yakbim have D6; Amu, Apep, Khyan, Maaibre, Nebuuserre, Qareh, Sekhaenre, Sheshi have D5-type heads, and all major series except Nebuuserre and Yaqubhar include D3-type heads.

The occurrence of side types on royal-name scarabs of the 14th–15th Dynasty in comparison with Middle Kingdom data (limited to steatite scarabs) is presented in Table 24. It holds true that, as Ward demonstrated,[582] e11-type sides (sandwich-type side without notches) occur on scarabs with names of the kings ruling in the Delta during the Second Intermediate Period, but not on those of 13th Dynasty kings. None of the private-name scarabs datable to the Middle Kingdom contradicts this conclusion. Two side types, d5 and d6, are common in the 12th Dynasty according to private-name scarabs and on scarabs from the 14th–15th Dynasty, but are barely attested on mid- to late 13th Dynasty scarabs. The same is true for e6-type sides, which only occur on scarabs of Apep, Nikare, Khyan, and Yaqubhar in the Second Intermediate Period and bloom under the 12th Dynasty. Singular scarabs of Khyan and Yaqubhar feature openwork sides (type c), attested on some late 12th to early 13th Dynasty scarabs. In contrast, common 13th Dynasty side types d8, d9, and d14 are almost non-existent in the 14th–15th Dynasty corpus.

The most ubiquitous side type of the Second Intermediate Period is the chip-carved side with plain legs d5. It occurs in all major scarab series except those of Khyan, Nebuuserre, and Yaqubhar. Chip-carved sides with all legs notched — d6 — are attested for the same kings as the B7/B8-type heads: Khyan, Yaqubhar, Sheshi, Maaibre, Wazad, and Sheneh. These two features are often combined, as will be discussed in detail in the next chapter. Scored sides with mid legs fringed of the type e6b are specific for Apep (singular attestations among scarabs of Nehsy, Khyan, and Yaqubhar). Scored sandwich-type sides with notches of the type e10, which is also attested on late 13th Dynasty scarabs, occur in the series of Maaibre, Sekhaenre, and Sheshi with singular attestations on scarabs of Aahetepre, Khyan, Khauserre, Yaʿammu, and Yakbim. The same royal series feature scored sides with diagonal hind legs of the type e9, also shared with the late 13th Dynasty, — Yakbim, Maaibre, Sheshi, and Sekhaenre.

Plain sandwich-type scored sides (e11) are well attested for Aahetepre, Apep, Nebuuserre, Sekhaenre, and Sheshi. Curiously, they are but once attested on scarabs of Maaibre (UC 11825) as contrasted with 31 attestations on Sheshi scarabs. This discrepancy puts into question the commonly accepted identity of Sheshi and Maaibre.

The classification of scarab backs established by Martin is not sufficient to distinguish Second Intermediate Period scarabs from those of the Middle Kingdom, as already pointed out by Stephen

580 Ward in Tufnell 1984, 164–170; Ben-Tor 2007a, 106–109; Ryholt 2018.

581 Tufnell 1984, 175; Ward and Dever 1994, 190–191.

582 Ward in Tufnell 1984, 176; Ward and Dever 1994, 194–195.

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12th Dyn. private		3	1	6	1	5		2	1	3	3		1					2			6	1			3				16				
13th Dyn. private			1	1	10	3		2	1		1		1					15	10	1	56	5	1	12	1	4			8				
13th Dyn. royal					5	2							3					31			24	1	11	105		8		1					
Aahetepre			1																							8				2	5	7	
Aauserre Apep			1	1	1	2		4		1	1		3													2	14	2	1	9	1		1
Amu												1														4		1	3	3		7	
Anathar										1				1																			
Horuserre																	1																
Hotepibre															3																		
Khamu(re)																																1	
Khauserre																										4			4	2	1	3	
Khyan										2				1		5	6									2		2					1
Maaibre										1		3				4	15									16	1	3	20	9	2	37	
Nebkhepeshre Apep											1																			1			
Nebuuserre																												1	2		7	6	
Nehsy				2																						1							
Nikare																											3			1			
Qareh																										3		1			3	1	
Samuqenu									1																								
Sekhaenre	1					1					1	1									5	7	10	14	25								
Sekheperenre																	1																
Sheneh																1	1						1										
Shenshek																										1							
Sheshi	1			1		1						3	2			10	23									47	2	2	15	14	9	52	
Wazad																1	2														1		
Ya ʿammu																													1		3	3	
Yakbim																1										1		3	5	1	1	10	
Yakereb																															1	1	
Yaqubhar										4				1		1	12				1												
Ykh / Khy																																1	

Table 23 Head types of Middle Kingdom and 14th–15th Dynasty scarabs.

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Series	c	d4	d5	d6	d7	d8	d9	d11	d13	d14	d16	e5	e6b	e6c	e8	e9	e10	e11
12th Dyn. private			7	7		2	6			14	1	2	8	5				
13th Dyn. private		1	9	5	1	42	42			12	4		2			6		
13th Dyn. royal	5		1	2	1	4	83	1	1	2		1			1	64	5	
Aahetepre		1	7														1	11
Aauserre Apep	2		9									6	17		1			9
Amu			17															1
Anathar				2														
Aper-Anati										1								
Horuserre				1														
Hotepibre			2										1					
Khamu(re)			1															
Khauserre			11														1	
Khyan	3		1	10				1					2				1	
Maaibre			58	19												3	9	1
Nebkhepeshre Apep			1									1						
Nebuuserre																		15
Nehsy			2										1					
Nikare			3										1					
Qareh			5															3
Samuqenu				1														
Sekhaenre			30													1	5	28
Sekheperenre				1														
Sheneh				2													1	
Shenshek			1															
Sheshi		1	66	34	1							1				3	10	33
Wazad				3														1
Yaʿammu			3														1	3
Yakbim			13													3	1	2
Yakereb			1															1
Yaqubhar	2			16									2					
Ykh / Khy																		1

Table 24 Side types of Middle Kingdom and 14th–15th Dynasty scarabs.

Quirke.[583] As shown in Table 25, it still holds true that, most scarabs of the 14th–15th Dynasty have plain backs (Tufnell's back type O; Martin's back types 5 and 10), whereas the majority of Middle Kingdom scarabs, especially those of the 13th Dynasty, have the suture marked (Tufnell's back types I, II, III). However, Martin's back types 10 and 5 occur on many 12th and early 13th Dynasty scarabs, because plain backs tend to disappear around mid-13th Dynasty and are absent on mid- to late 13th Dynasty scarabs (apart from those termed

583 Quirke 2004, 185.

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Series	Back types I, II, III, IIII (L)	Back type O	H	Openwork back	Sprays (branches) on the back
12th Dyn. private	46	12	1		
13th Dyn. private	129	11			
13th Dyn. royal	184	6			
Aahetepre	2	22			
Aauserre Apep	8	39		2	
Amu	1	18			
Anathar	2				
Aper-Anati	1				
Horuserre		1			
Hotepibre		3			
Khamu(re)			1		
Khauserre		14			
Khyan	3	14			3
Maaibre	2	110			2
Nebkhepeshre Apep	1	1			
Nebuuserre		17			
Nehsy	1	2			
Nikare		4			
Qareh		8			
Samuqenu	1				
Sekhaenre	2	83			
Sekheperenre		1			
Sheneh	1	2			
Shenshek		1			
Sheshi	1	183			3
Wazad		2			2
Yaʿammu		7			
Yakbim	1	20			
Yakereb		2			
Yaqubhar		13			5
Ykh / Khy		2			

Table 25 Back types of Middle Kingdom and 14th–15th Dynasty scarabs.

as Mlinar Type III, for which see Chapter 6) as it was shown in Chapter 1. Some of Second Intermediate Period scarabs have the suture marked, most royal-name series include at least one scarab with a lined back; they are most common among Khyan scarabs with four attestations.

Sprays (branches)[584] on the back appear on the scarabs of the series that also feature B7/B8-type heads and d6-type sides: Khyan, Maaibre, Sheshi,

584 For this type of back decoration, see: Tufnell 1984, 34; Keel 1995, 49.

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Wazad, and Yaqubhar. This feature is but once attested on Middle Kingdom scarabs[585].

The overwhelming majority of clypei on scarabs of 14th–15th Dynasty kings are raised and not serrated. Only scarab series that feature B7/B8-type heads and d6-type sides typically have clypei with 4 serrations: Khyan, Maaibre, Sheshi, Wazad, Yaqubhar. Several royal-name scarabs of the Second Intermediate Period attest clypei that do not occur in the Middle Kingdom, namely clypei with 3 serrations (Maaibre and Sekhaenre) and with 5 serrations (Anathar, Khyan, Sheshi, Yaqubhar). Scarabs of two obscure rulers bearing the title *ḥqꜣ ḫꜣswt* "ruler of foreign lands,"[586] several scarabs of Apep,[587] and single scarabs of Sheshi,[588] Maaibre,[589] Aahetepre,[590] Sekhaenre[591] have deeply set clypei divided from plates by double partition lines.

There are also base designs that only occur on name scarabs of the Second Intermediate Period, but not on those of the Late Middle Kingdom. In this respect, private-name and royal-name scarabs of the Second Intermediate Period are perfectly comparable. Royal-name scarabs of the 14th–15th Dynasty reflect almost the entire repertoire of base types attested for private-name scarabs of the period. (Exception: type 3b, common on the scarabs of the treasurer Har). This is in contrast to the situation in the 13th Dynasty, when the royal-name scarabs demonstrated only a very limited range of designs. Basically, all mid- to late 13th Dynasty royal-name scarabs display simple borders (Martin's base type 3a); the only exception is BM EA66721 owned by Ay, and a series of scarabs with the name of Sobekhotep VI, which have a longitudinal orientation (discussed above). Only in the late 12th and the very early 13th Dynasty (Amenemhat IV, Neferusobek, Amenemhat Sonbef, Amenemhat VII), royal-name scarabs do show diverse base decorations.

To pinpoint private-name scarabs of the Second Intermediate Period, Stephen Quirke adopted the criteria proposed by Daphna Ben-Tor based on Martin's classification of scarab bases: spiral border designs with open top ends (1aa, 1ab, 1ac,[592] 1af, 1ag, 1ah,[593] and variations of 1ai with loose top ends) and panel borders (base types 6c, 6d, 7a, 7b, and 8).[594] To these one may add borders of double concentric circles (new type 10). As shown in Table 26, all these bases occur on royal-name scarabs of the 14th–15th Dynasty and do not occur on any name scarabs that can be associated with the Middle Kingdom. One possible exception is the seal impression with the name of *sꜣb rꜣ-nḫn* […] *-jmn* from Kerma,[595] exhibiting base type 6c. The titles point to the Theban origin of the person, which seems to exclude the association with the 14th–15th Dynasty.

Some 13th Dynasty base types are no longer attested on 14th–15th Dynasty scarabs. This is true for with paired round scrolls (types 1m, 1n, 1o, 1q, 1r, s, 1s1, 1t, 1u, 1u1, 1w, 1x). Also unattested among royal-name scarabs of the 14th–15th Dynasty are bases with continuous scrolls, both round and oblong (types 1a, 1b, 1c, 1d, 1e, 1f, 1g, 1h, 1i, 1i1, 1j, 4c), which were common especially on 12th Dynasty and early 13th Dynasty scarabs; however, they occur on scarabs with the names of 12th Dynasty kings, issued under the 14th–15th Dynasty. Rare on 14th–15th Dynasty royal-name scarabs are borders with pairs of joined scrolls (1ak, 1al3), as compared to pairs of hooked scrolls (1ad, 1ae, 1af, 1ag, 1ai) and to the Middle Kingdom corpus. The only five seals with joined scrolls bear the names of Khyan,[596] Yaqubhar,[597] and Apep.[598]

Some scarab designs are characteristic of particular royal-name series. Bases with two oblong scrolls on either side of the name (types 1y, 1aa, 1ab, 1a) are best attested for Maaibre and Sheshi with singular attestations on scarabs of Amu (1aa[599]) and Yaqubhar (1ab[600]). Likewise, scarabs with two hieroglyphs on either side of the name (6c/2) are best attested for Maaibre, Sheshi, Amu, Khauserre, Sekhaenre, and Yakbim. Scarabs with three or more hieroglyphs on each side (6c/3, 6c/4+) are best attested for Khyan, Yaqubhar, Sheshi, and Maaibre. Scarabs with side-panels without hieroglyphs (base types 7a, 7b) are attested for Aahetepre, Amu, Khamu(re), Khauserre, Maaibre, Nebuuserre, Qareh, Sekhaenre, Shenshek, Sheshi, Yaʿammu, Yakbim, and Ykh. Scarabs with concentric circles (type 10) only occur in the series of Maaibre and Sheshi and scarabs with base types 11 and 12 are only attested for Apep and Nikare.

These data help distinguish non-royal scarabs of the 14th–15th Dynasty from those of the Middle Kingdom. Any of the following features is sufficient to date a private-name scarab to the 14th–15th Dynasty: head types B3, B7, B8, D7, D8, D9; side type e11; sprays (branches) on the back; base types 1aa, 1ab, 1ac, 1af, 1ag, 1ah, 6c, 6d, 7a, 7b, and 8, and variations of 1ai with loose ends. Side types d5 and d6 and plain backs (O) occur before the mid-13th Dynasty and under the 14th–15th Dynasty; hence, the occurrence of a d5 or d6-type side or a plain back (O) on a scarab with the sign S3 used for *bjtj* most likely dates it to the 14th–15th Dynasty.

585 Grdseloff MSS 3.24.43b from the late 12th — early 13th Dynasty. For references, see Table 35.
586 Anathar, Basel Cat. 165; Samuqenu, Basel Cat. 166.
587 IoA UCL E.XII 85/3; Manchester 9045; TD 7552; UC 11659; UC 11666.
588 Boston 1979.589; UC 11704.
589 Louvre AF 6456.
590 Berlin 32739.
591 UC 11802; UC 11804.
592 Not attested on royal-name scarabs, but obviously a variation of 1ab.
593 Not attested on royal-name scarabs, but obviously a variation of 1af.
594 Quirke 2004, 185.
595 Gratien 1991a, fig. 1 (3).
596 TD 9373 M.
597 Berlin VÄGM 1983/022; Reisner, Kerma IV-V, fig. 168 (56).
598 BM EA37663; MMA 15.171.
599 Berlin 32299; 1ab, IoA UCL E.XII.66/2.
600 Cairo JE 72863.

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Series	1a	1b	1c	1d	1e	1g	1h	1j	1m	1n	1s	1u	1w	1x	1y	1aa	1ab	1ad	1ae	1af	1ag	1ai	1aj	1ak	1all	1al2	1al3	1ao1	1aq	2a	3a	3d	3f	4a	4f	5	6a	6c/2	6c/3	6c/4+	6d	7a	7b	8	9	10	11	12
12th Dyn. private	1	1	1			4	1	4		1		1						5				1		3	1	1	1			2	64	4		2	1		2										
13th Dyn. private		1			1				1		6		1	1				23					1	19				1	1	1	105	12		4		1	1							2			
13th Dyn. royal				1						1											4									184															5	
Aahetepre																		1												7				2								2	18	2				
Aauserre Apep																		5	1					2						8	2	4	3			5					1				16	12
Amu																1	1													3						3	17					2	5				
Anathar																														2																
Aper-Anati																																							1								
Horuserre																																								1							
Hotepibre																		2																						1						
Khamu(re)																															1															
Khauserre																						1															2	7				5	2	1			
Khyan																		13			3	1				1				1							1		15		6						
Maaibre																7	50	1		2		3								1							12	57	14	3			3	1	2			
Nebkhepeshre Apep																								2						2																	
Nebuserre																														2							3	14									
Nehsy																1				1										1																	
Nikare																																				1								4	5	
Qareh																														3						2						3					
Samuqenu																		1																													
Sekhaenre																																				1	4	1			16	76					
Sekheperenre																						1																									
Sheneh																														2				1												
Shenshek																																									1						
Sheshi																1	10	62	2		6									15						15	12	1		3	39	1	7			
Wazad																				1		1								1						1		1								
Ya'ammu																																									4	5				
Yakbim																														1							3		1			5	15				
Yakereb																														2																
Yaquhbar																		1	8	8		5		2						1								1	2				2			
Ykh / Khy																																													2	

Table 26 Base types of Middle Kingdom and 14th–15th Dynasty scarabs.

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Private-name scarab series

It has long been noted that distinctive features of 14th–15th Dynasty royal-name scarabs also occur on private-name scarabs, which should thus belong to officials serving under rulers of foreign origin in the Second Intermediate Period and members of royal families.[601] Single distinctive features, distinctive combinations of features, and prosopographical data can be used to pinpoint private-name scarabs of the 14th–15th Dynasty.[602] Almost all private-name scarabs of this epoch belong to one of the few large series of scarabs featuring the names of high officials and royal relatives.

The largest series of private-name scarabs from the 14th–15th Dynasty are those of the treasurers *Ḥ3r*, *Pr-m-ḥst* and king's sons *Jpq*, *Qwppn*, *Nḥsj*, *Skt*. These major groups were discussed by Quirke.[603] He further identified a number of officials attested on single scarabs datable to the 14th–15th Dynasty through characteristic base types.[604] (Of these Jerusalem RM 35.3773[605] is to be excluded, as it was most likely produced outside Egypt, for the scarab shares palaeographical features with several other name scarabs (including NFA Scarabs, no. 35), of which another one was also found in Palestine,[606] and hence the entire group supposedly originated from there. Fribourg ÄS 1983.1630[607] cited by Quirke as having a spiral border design with an open top is heavily worn; hence, the base type cannot be securely determined).

Scarabs in the large series as well those of the treasurers *Rdj-ḥ3* and *Jbt* generally display the same features as contemporary royal-name scarabs, as most recently discussed by Ryholt.[608] The largest series comprises scarabs of the treasurer *Ḥ3r*. Of the totally 143 scarabs with this name, 114 are available for the study of back and (in many cases) side features. Altogether 283 private-name scarabs of the Second Intermediate Period are available for the study, whereby 177 were studied in museums, others are available as photos and drawings. They are listed in Table 49 in the alphabetic order of persons named on scarabs.

One feature that distinguishes private-name scarabs of the 14th–15th Dynasty from those of the 13th Dynasty and brings them closer to the private-name scarabs of the 12th Dynasty, is the use of classifiers (determinatives) after by personal names (Table 27). In total, 105 out of 114 treasurer *Ḥ3r* scarabs use the classifier A1  or A2  after the personal name. The same is true for 9 out of 21 *Nḥsj* scarabs, both scarabs of *S3-ḥwt-ḥr* and *Mrrjj*, 6 out of 9 scarabs of *Skt*, 1 out of 2 scarabs of *Smtr* and *Jppj*. This is, however, not true for all private-name series of the 14th–15th Dynasty. By contrast, only one out of 26 scarabs of *Pr-m-ḥst* uses classifiers and none in the series of *Jpq*, *Qwppn*, *Rdj-ḥ3*, *S3-mrjjt*, *Jbt*, *Jjkbm*.

Series	No classifier	Classifier A1	Classifier A2
Ḥ3r	9	68	37
Jbt	3		
Jjkbm	2		
Jppj	2	1	
Jpq	41		
Mrrjj		2	
Nḥsj	13	9	
Pr-m-ḥst	25	1	
Qwppn	9		
Rdj-ḥ3	7		
S3-ḥwt-ḥr		2	
S3mj (*?*)	2		
S3-mrjjt	3		
Skt	3	6	
Smtr-hr/*Smrtj*	1	1	
T-tj	7		

Table 27 Classifiers after names on 14th–15th Dynasty private-name scarabs.

All private-name scarabs are made of glazed steatite. The occurrence of head types on private-name scarabs in the major series from the Second Intermediate Period is summarised in Table 28. The occurrence of side types on private-name scarabs in the major series from the Second Intermediate Period is summarised in Table 29. Almost all scarabs have plain backs (back type O). Serrated clypei occur on scarabs with B7/B8-type heads and d6-types sides; otherwise, clypei are not serrated.

The most common combinations of features among the private-name scarabs of the 14th–15th Dynasty are a D3-type head with a plain back (O) and d5-type sides (42 attestations, Fig. 80); B7/B8-type head with a plain back (O) and d6-type sides (40 attestations, Fig. 92); D9, D6, and D7-type heads with a plain back (O) and d5-type sides (31, 17, and 13 attestations respectively, Fig. 81–83); D8 and D9-type heads with plain backs (O) and e11-type sides (12 attestations each, Fig. 84, 85). It is notable that, with few exceptions, d6-sides are

601 Newberry 1906, 152–153.
602 For scarab-based evaluations of the 14th-15th Dynasty administration, see: Quirke 2004; Quirke 2007; Shirley 2013, 524–546.
603 Quirke 2004, 179.
604 Quirke 2004, 185.
605 Martin 1665.
606 Giveon 1978, pl. 6–7 (5).
607 Martin 682.
608 Ryholt 2018, 256–263.

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Series	A1	A4a	A7	B3	B7	B8	C2	C7	D3	D3A	D5	D6	D7	D8	D9
Ḥ3r			3	1	5	22			21	3		12	7	5	33
Jbt			2		1										
Jjkbm															2
Jppj								1				1			1
Jpq	1				2	3	1		20	1		3	2	1	6
Mrrjj											1			1	
Nḥsj		1		1					4		1		1	9	5
Pr-m-ḥst				2					4			6	5		9
Qwppn					4	5									
Rdj-ḥ3									2	1			1	1	2
S3-ḫwt-ḥr						1			1						
S3mj (?)									1				1		
S3-mrjjt					1	2									
Skt									3	1		2			3
Smtr-ḥr/Smrtj									1			1			
T-tj						1			1			1	1		3

Table 28 Head types on 14th–15th Dynasty private-name scarabs.

Series	c	d5	d6	d14	e5	e6b	e10	e11
Ḥ3r	1	63	28		2		4	
Jbt			3					
Jjkbm								1
Jppj		2		1				
Jpq		21	6				5	3
Mrrjj								2
Nḥsj		6	2			1		13
Pr-m-ḥst		14	1		1			6
Qwppn		1	6					
Rdj-ḥ3		4					2	
S3-ḫwt-ḥr			1			1		
S3mj (?)		1						1
S3-mrjjt		2	1					
Skt		7					2	
Smtr-ḥr/Smrtj		2						
T-tj		2	1				1	2

Table 29 Side types on 14th–15th Dynasty private-name scarabs.

only combined with A5, B7, and B8-heads, whereas all other head types can be combined with d5 (fig. 86), e10, and e11 sides, but not with d6.

The most common combinations among the treasurer *Ḥ3r* scarabs are D9-O-d5 (21 attestations); B8-O-d6 (19 attestations); D3-O-d5 (14 attestations). Among the scarabs of the king's son *Jpq*, the most common type is D3-O-d5 (16 scarabs); among those of the king's son *Nḥsj* prevail the types D8-O-e11 and D9-O-e11 (8 and 5 scarabs); among the scarabs of the treasurer *Pr-m-ḥst*, the commonest types are D9-O-d5 and D6-O-d5 (5 and 4 scarabs).

As already observed in royal-name scarabs, C2, C5, C7/D-type heads, d8, d9, and e6c-sides disappear almost completely after the 13th Dynasty.

Two combinations B7-O-d6 and B8-O-d6, attested on royal-name scarabs of Sheshi, Khyan, and Yaqubhar Khyan, Yaqubhar, Sheshi, Maaibre, Wazad, and Sheneh, appear among the scarabs of the treasurer *Ḥ3r*, the king's son *Qwppn*, and the king's son *Jpq*. However, the series of the treasurer *Ḥ3r* and the king's son *Jpq* also include other prominent types, not attested among the scarabs of Khyan, Yaqubhar, Wazad, and Sheneh: D9-O-d5 among treasurer *Ḥ3r* scarabs, D3-O-d5, D9-O-e10, and D7-O-d5 among the king's son *Jpq* scarabs. Hence, their scarab series best match those of Sheshi and Maaibre, whereas the scarab series of *Qwppn*, essentially limited to the B7/8-O-d6 type, matches the royal-name series of Khyan and Yaqubhar. Besides, the bases with two oblong scrolls

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Fig. 80 Private-name scarab of the type D3-O-d5, Cambridge 2003.50.
Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. This image is copyright. Reproduced by permission of University of Cambridge Museum of Archaeology & Anthropology (2003.50). 19×13×7 mm.



Fig. 81 Private-name scarab of the type D9-O-d5, Ashmolean AN1892.210.
Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. 21×16×9 mm.



Fig. 82 Private-name scarab of the type D6-O-d5, OIM 18593.
Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.
Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. 20×14×7 mm.

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Fig. 83 Private-name scarab of the type D7-O-d5, UC 11507. Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. 20×14×8 mm.



Fig. 84 Private-name scarab of the type D8-O-e11, Fribourg ÄS 1983.1624.
© Foundation BIBLE+ORIENT, Fribourg Switzerland. 15×10×6 mm.



Fig. 85 Private-name scarab of the type D9-O-e11, Berlin 32476.
Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. This image is copyright. Reproduced by permission of Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. 19×14×8 mm.

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Fig. 86 Private-name scarab of the type D8-O-d5, Fribourg ÄS 1983.1632.
© Foundation BIBLE+ORIENT, Fribourg Switzerland. 17×12×7 mm.

on either side of the name (types 1y, 1aa, 1ab, 1a), which are best attested for Maaibre and Sheshi, occur on scarabs of *Ḥ3r*, strengthening his association with Maaibre and Sheshi.[609] These base types also occur on a scarab of the king's acquaintance (*rḫ-nsw*) *S3-ḥwt-ḥr* (features: B8-O-d6),[610] king's son *Jppj* (features: C7 (?)-O-d5),[611] and two scarabs of the king's son Seket,[612] suggesting that they were all contemporaries of Maaibre (and) Sheshi.

Other officials attributable to the reigns of the kings Khyan and Yaqubhar or Maaibre and Sheshi include the treasurer *Jbt*,[613] the official (*sr*) *ꜥpr-b3ꜥ šrj*,[614] the overseer of marshland-dwellers (*jmj-r3 sḫtjw*) *Mr-ꜥ-jtj*.[615]

The scarabs of the king's son Nehsy display mostly D8 and D9-type heads combined with e11-type sides (occasionally also d5). This matches the series of such kings as Aahetepre and Nebuuserre, dominated by D8 and D9-type heads and e11-type sides. Ryholt's association of the king's son Nehsy with the king Maaibre Sheshi[616] is based on the few exceptional scarabs of Nehsy rather than on the general composition of his scarab corpus; however, it must be considered that Ryholt's conclusion cannot be decisively contradicted, since the vast series of scarabs with the names Maaibre and Sheshi also include the types dominant among the scarabs of Nehsy. Likewise problematic is the association of the treasurer *Pr-m-ḥst* with a particular king, for the dominant combinations of features occur in most large royal series except Yaqubhar, Khyan, and Apep; his dominant base type 7b occurs on royal-name scarabs of Aahetepre, Amu, Khauserre, Nebuuserre, Qareh, Sekhaenre, Sheshi, Maaibre, Yaʿammu, and Yakbim. However, the combinations of D9 or D6-type heads with d5-type sides and 7b-type bases are most common in the series of Sekhaenre (9 attestations) and Yakbim (6 attestations), making it likely that the treasurer *Pr-m-ḥst* was a contemporary of these kings or this king. Ryholt links *Pr-m-ḥst* to Sheshi based again on a single exceptional scarab rather than on the general outlook of his scarab series.[617]

Can a seriation of royal-name scarabs solve the chronological conundrum?

Is it possible to use the enlarged series of royal-name scarabs attributable to *ꜥ3-wsr-rꜥ* Apep in order to establish a chronological sequence of other royal-name scarab series of the 14th–15th Dynasty? A review of previous attempts by Ward, Krauss, Ryholt, and Ben-Tor shows that scholars agree upon the general method of producing a seriation of scarabs, and the principal difference between the approaches lies in attributing more or less weight to different features taken into consideration. Thus, Krauss plays down the importance of scarab sides and of back decorations.[618] Ryholt lends more weight to titles and epithets than to head types.[619] Ben-Tor lays more emphasis on side types and downplays the difference in epithets.[620] These individual preferences, which affect the resulting chronologies, are largely subjective. The external evidence drawn to substantiate a sequence of royal-name scarabs is also inconclusive.

In order to check whether a seriation of royal-name scarabs can produce meaningful results, I would propose a middle way: use base, head, back, and side types of royal-name scarabs (the codes for back types were simplified, with "L" standing for all lined back types I, II, III, and IIII) and apply a computer seriation based on the correspondence analysis. To this end, I

609 So already Ryholt 2018.
610 Ben-Tor, Scarab, 61 (20).
611 Ashmolean AN1890.165.
612 BM EA37668 and Martin, MDAIK 35, no. 83.
613 Cairo JE 75183.
614 Berlin 32443.
615 Berkeley 6-17256.
616 Ryholt 2018, 259.
617 Ryholt 2018, 262.
618 Krauss 1998.
619 Ryholt 1997, Ryholt 2018.
620 Ben-Tor 2007a, 106–109.

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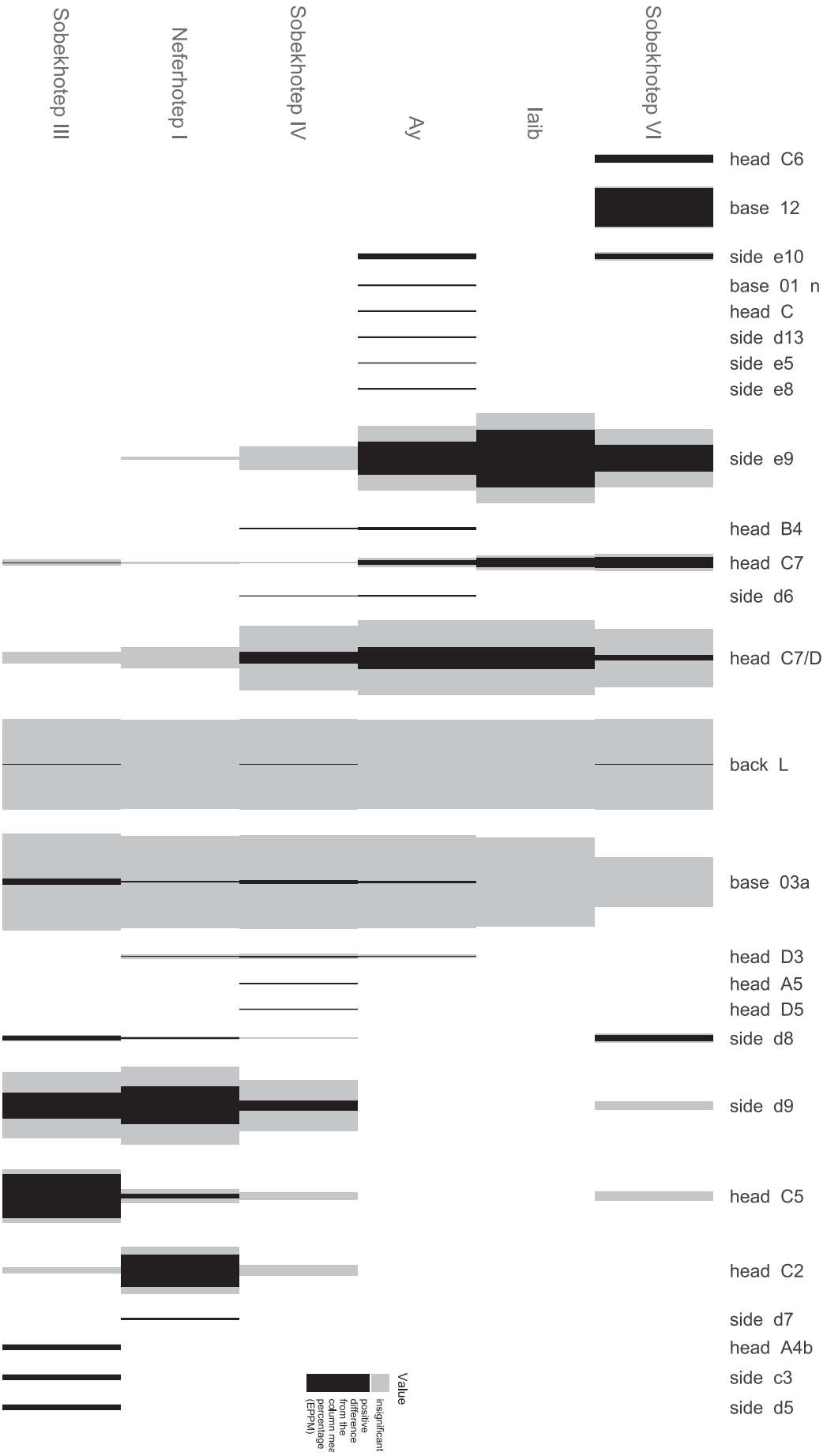


Fig. 87 A CA-based computer seriation of 13th Dynasty royal-name scarabs.

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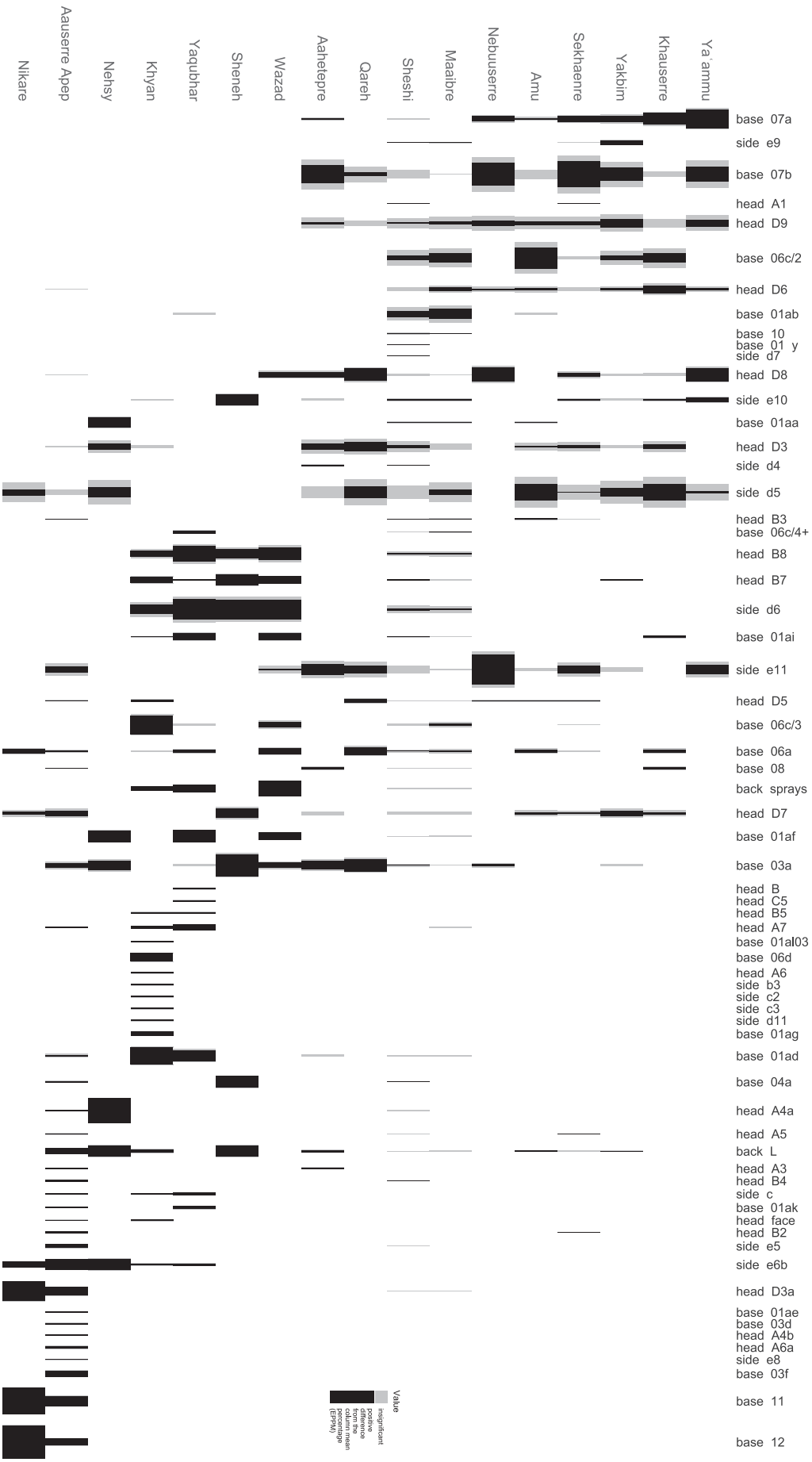


Fig. 88 A CA-based computer seriation of 14th–15th Dynasty royal-name scarabs.

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use the package Tabula for R by Nicolas Frerebeau,[621] designed for analysing archaeological data.

To test the validity of this approach, I first applied it to the royal-name scarabs with names of mid- to late 13th Dynasty kings, whose chronological sequence is known from textual sources. This resulting seriation (Fig. 87) purports the following chronological order of the kings: Sobehotep III, Neferhotep I, Sobekhotep IV, Ay, Iaib, *Ḫˁ-ḥtp-rˁ* Sobekhotep VI, which resembles the true historical order Sobekhotep III, Neferhotep I, Sobekhotep IV, *Ḫˁ-ḥtp-rˁ* Sobekhotep VI, Iaib, Ay, although the kings in the cluster "*Ḫˁ-ḥtp-rˁ* Sobekhotep VI — Iaib — Ay" are mixed up. The graph (Fig. 87) displays an unbroken development of scarab features and shows no discontinuities (each royal-name scarab series shares some significant peculiarities with the scarabs of the previous king and the subsequent king).

If one applies the same method to royal-name scarabs of the 14th–15th Dynasty, the outlook of the graph (Fig. 88) is very different: one sees clear breaks between the clusters "Apep — Nikare" and "Wazad — Sheneh — Yaqubhar — Khyan" as well as (to a lesser extent) between the latter cluster and the cluster made up by Maaibre and Sheshi. It follows that the method of seriation is not applicable to royal-name scarabs of the 14th–15th Dynasty, because the basic assumption of a continuous line of development is not met.

Excavated scarabs from Tell el-Dabᶜa and royal-name scarabs

Tell el-Dabᶜa, commonly identified with the city Avaris — the capital of the Hyksos according to Classical sources — has been excavated since 1966, and the excavations produced numerous scarabs, many of which come from datable contexts. It is the largest corpus of archaeologically datable scarab finds from the Second Intermediate Period in Egypt. It is tempting to use these finds to establish the place of certain royal-name series within the scarab sequence from Tell el-Dabᶜa as a way to reconstruct the relative chronological position of the respective kings. The corpus of Tell el-Dabᶜa scarabs from datable contexts could provide a benchmark for the chronology of scarab production in the late Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period. Almost all scarabs found at Tell el-Dabᶜa are design scarabs. Until recent decades, scarab finds from Tell el-Dabᶜa were not complemented by sealings, which led one to assume that the sealing practices were uncommon in Avaris. Lately however, sealings are increasingly coming to light, owing to a change in excavation techniques.[622]

It is well known that unlike objects with a short lifespan, such as pottery, scarabs remained in circulation for decades, sometimes for centuries after their production time. Scarabs of the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period were not produced intentionally for funerary purposes (unlike funerary scarabs of the New Kingdom, which were deposited immediately after production). A scarab was considered a valuable object, readily reused by whoever came into its possession.

Basically, when a scarab of a known date is found in a certain context, one can only say that the context is not earlier than the production date of the scarab. When, on the contrary, a scarab of an unknown date is found in a datable context, one can only posit that the scarab was produced not later than the date of the context: the scarab can happen to originate from the same period as the rest of the finds and it can as well antedate its context by a century or more. Thus, single scarab finds are of limited use for chronological reconstruction. The advantage of a large corpus of stratified scarab finds such as the one at Tell el-Dabᶜa is that substantial numbers allow for conclusions, which are impossible based on single finds. When scarabs of a certain type come in large numbers and only starting from a certain point in the chronology of the site, this suggests that either scarabs of this type indeed emerged at this chronological point or there is some systemic cause preventing their appearance at an earlier date. Hence, a large corpus of excavated scarabs can be used to establish the points when certain features first appear on scarabs within the relative chronology of the site. Archaeologists working at Tell el-Dabᶜa since 1966 have established a relative chronology of material culture of the site divided in a series of phases or strata, and local stratigraphies of different excavation areas are mapped to these general phases. The scarab material from excavations is available through the unpublished dissertation by Christa Mlinar,[623] subsequent publications by Mlinar[624] and by other researchers,[625] as well as the magister thesis by Ullrike Zeger.[626] To test whether the differences between scarabs from different Tell el-Dabᶜa phases can be chronologically aligned in a meaningful way, I applied computer seriation based on the correspondence analysis, as described above. The resulting graph (Fig. 89) suggests that despite a possibly large share of heirlooms, the changes of scarab features from one phase to another reflect some underlying general trend of changes in scarab classification at the site. Although some phases are misplaced, the automatic computer seriation could roughly reconstruct the general sequence of Tell el-Dabᶜa phases based on scarab features alone (heads, sides, and backs). Hence, the distribution of scarabs from different epochs across Tell el-Dabᶜa phases is not altogether random,

621 Version 1.5.1, https://cran.r-project.org/web/packages/tabula/index.html (accessed on 02.06.2020).

622 Reali 2014, 67–68; Sartori 2009, 283.

623 Mlinar 2001b.

624 Mlinar 2001a, 2004a, 2004b, 2006.

625 Czerny 1999; 2015; Forstner-Müller 2008.

626 Zeger 2009.

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but to a large extent reflects changes occurring in the sculptural features of scarabs deposited at the site with the course of time. This further confirms the principal results of the chronological analysis of Tell el-Dabʿa scarabs by Mlinar.[627]

When do features characteristic of different groups of inscribed scarabs appear in the corpus of excavated design scarabs from Tell el-Dabʿa?

Scarab sides of the type d8, a distinctive trait of 13th Dynasty scarabs, first appear on scarab TD 7183[628] from Phase G/4. The find of scarab-impression TD 5696,[629] naming the high steward (*jmj-rꜣ pr wr*) *Jjj* comes from the same phase. This official is known from scarabs Moscow I, 1a 2394[630] and UC 11407,[631] which feature C5-type heads, lined backs, and d9-type sides; the title *ḫtmw-bjtj* is spelled with the bee-sign L2. Summed up, these features point to a date in the early 13th Dynasty through the reign of Sobekhotep III (as detailed in the Chapter 1). Supposedly, impression TD 5696 should be produced in the same period or later. Accordingly, Phase G/4 cannot be earlier than the time of Ankhu, Senebsumai and Sobekhotep III in Egypt.

Distinctive traits of mid- to late 13th Dynasty scarabs — C7/D-type heads and e9-type sides — first appear on scarabs from Phase G/1–3. C7/D-type heads appear on scarabs TD 4726[632] (G/1–3) and TD 4740[633] (G–F). Concurrently, e9-type sides appear on TD 2546[634] (G/1–3); TD 2547[635] (G/1–3); TD 2548[636] (G/1–3); TD 4101[637] (G/1–3); TD 4567[638] (G/1–3), mostly in conjunction with B4-type heads as a feature of Mlinar's type III, discussed below in relation to the scarabs of rulers of Byblos. As discussed in the first chapter, C7/D-type heads emerge under Sobekhotep III and are widely used since Neferhotep I, and e9-type sides emerge under Neferhotep I and are widely used since Sobekhotep IV. Hence, Phase G/1–3, to which the scarabs in question belong, cannot be earlier than the reign of Sobekhotep IV. This is more or less in line with the generally held view that G/4 corresponds to the earlier 13th Dynasty in Egypt (based on the find of a late 12th–13th Dynasty statuette in a G/4 context[639]), and that G/1–3 corresponds to the mid-13 Dynasty.[640]

From the evidence of scarabs and scarab impressions, it is thus clear that the changes in the outlook of scarabs occurring in the middle of the 13th Dynasty, around the reigns of Neferhotep I and Sobekhotep IV, which were discussed in the first chapter, correspond to the transition from Phase G/4 to G/1–3 in terms of the archaeological sequence of Tell el-Dabʿa.

Manning et al. and Höflmayer are revising the chronology of Tell el-Dabʿa to bring it in accordance with the radiocarbon dates, whereby they attempt to dismantle the limited archaeological evidence directly linking the Tell el-Dabʿa sequence to Egyptian written records criticising the underlying assumptions and interpretations as unconvincing.[641] This has far-fetching consequences for the synchronisation of the Egyptian material culture with those of the neighbouring regions.[642] However, the evidence provided by scarabs from Tell el-Dabʿa was not addressed in this revision. Based on radiocarbon data, Höflmayer proposed to equate mid-13th Dynasty with the transition from Phase E/1 to D/3 and set the date of the transition from Phase G/1–3 to F in the late 12th Dynasty.[643] The calibrated radiocarbon dates established for seeds of ryegrass, wheat, and barley from Tell el-Dabʿa Phase G/1–3 and for Egyptian papyri from Lahun mentioning Senusret III are likely to fall in in the same period in the first half of the 19th century calBC.[644] The scarab evidence, however, shows that it is impossible to assume that Tell el-Dabʿa Phase G/1–3 was synchronous with the reign of Senusret III. A representative group of datable name scarabs was used in Chapter 1 to evaluate and elaborate the timeline of scarab traits in the Middle Kingdom. Scarab traits that according to these findings only emerge in mid- to late 13th Dynasty occur on scarabs from Phase G/1–3, and a scarab impression of an early to mid-13th Dynasty official comes from the preceding Phase G/4. These finds indicate that Phases G/4 and G/1–3 definitely cannot be contemporary to the 12th Dynasty. Hence, the evidence of scarabs substantiates a low chronology rather than the high chronology based on a straightforward interpretation of radiocarbon dates from Tell el-Dabʿa as advocated by Manning and Höflmayer. Further research is needed to explain the disagreement[645] of calibrated radiocarbon dates from Tell el-Dabʿa from the historical chronology and from radiocarbon dates elsewhere in Egypt.

Now one can turn to features of 14th–15th Dynasty royal-name scarabs.

Head types B7 and B8, characteristic of the scarabs of Khyan, Yaqubhar, Sheshi, Maaibre, Wazad, and Sheneh, first appear on steatite scarabs from Phase

627 Mlinar 2004b; 2001b; Bietak, Fortner-Müller, and Mlinar, 2001.
628 Mlinar 2001b, no. 21.
629 Schiestl 2009, 194–195, pl. XV (d).
630 Martin 5; Hodjash 1999, no. 427; examined first-hand.
631 Martin 4; examined first-hand.
632 Mlinar 2001b, no. 14.
633 Mlinar 2001b, no. 107.
634 Mlinar 2001b, no. 2.
635 Mlinar 2001b, no. 3.
636 Mlinar 2001b, no. 4.
637 Mlinar 2001b, no. 12.
638 Mlinar 2001b, no. 8.
639 Bietak 2002, 32; for the date of the statuette, see now Connor 2020, 381 (Tell el-Dabʿa 08).
640 Kutschera et al. 2012, 410.
641 Manning et al. 2014, 1174–1175; Höflmayer 2015; Höflmayer 2017.
642 Höflmayer 2019.
643 Höflmayer 2015, 272; Höflmayer 2017, 26.
644 Compare Kutschera et al. 2012, 417 fig. 6b and Dee 2013, 179 fig. 14.2.
645 Kutschera et al. 2012.

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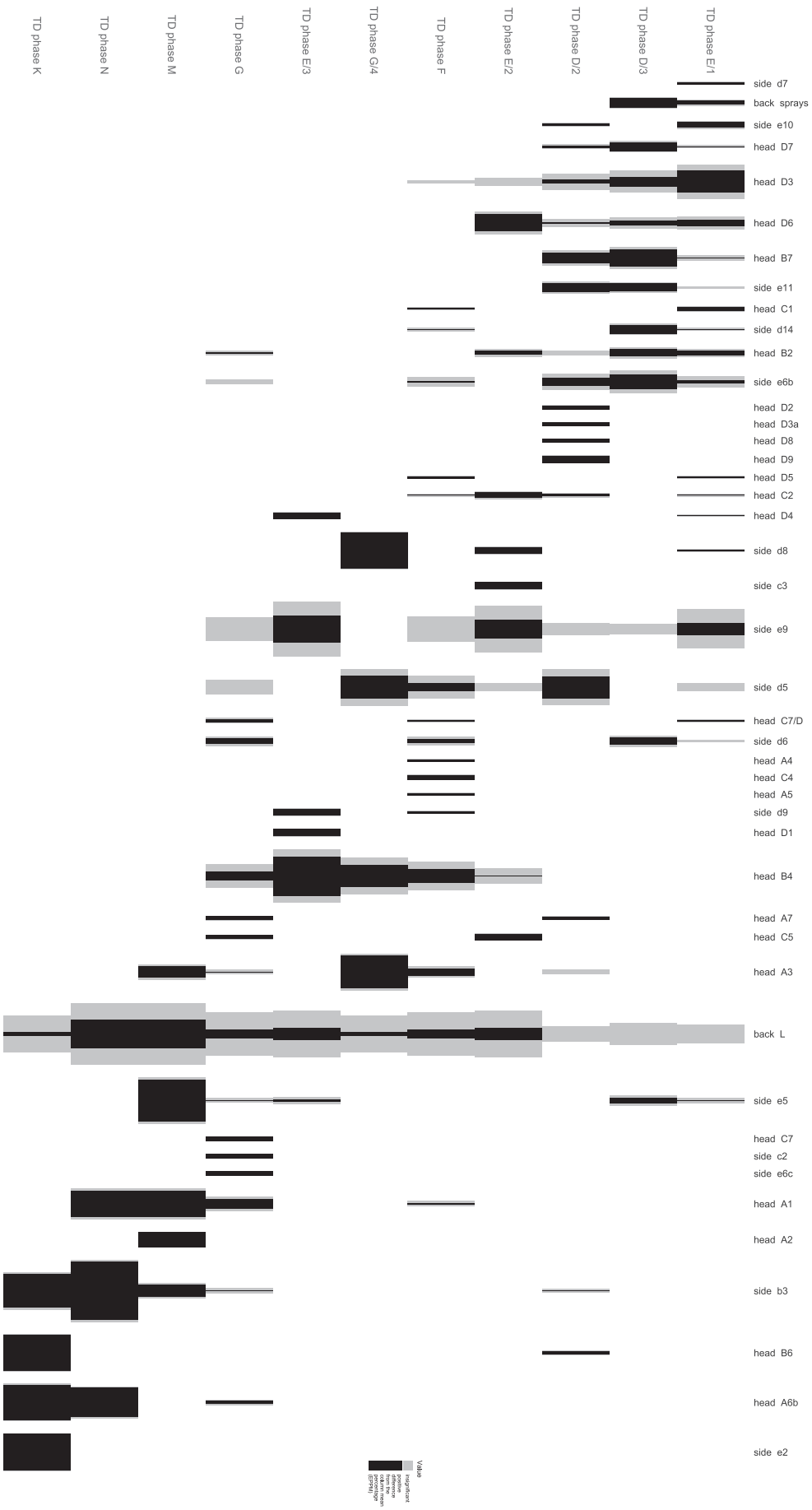


Fig. 89 A CA-based computer seriation of scarabs from Tell el-Dabʿa.

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E/1. Early examples are: TD 199[646] (E/1); TD 2191[647] (E/1–D/3), TD 8935[648] (D/3). The only example of head type B3 comes from a secondary context (TD 7212[649]).

Of the three triangular head types D7–D9, characteristic of 14th–15th Dynasty scarabs, D7 first appears on a scarab from Phases E/1–D/3 (TD 347[650]); D8 appears on a glazed composition scarab from E/1–D/3 (TD 376[651]) and on a steatite scarab from D/2 (TD 4028[652]); D9 appears on TD 4099[653] from D/3–D/2 and on TD 8632[654] from D/2.

The earliest attestation of sprays (branches) on the back, characteristic of the scarabs of Khyan, Maaibre, Sheshi, Wazad, and Yaqubhar, are on scarabs from Phase E/1 — TD 206[655] and TD 551.[656]

Sandwich-type sides e11, well attested for Aahetepre, Apep, Nebuuserre, Sekhaenre, and Sheshi, first appear in Tell el-Dabʿa on a scarab from Phase E/1 (TD 2208[657]). The same is true for the similar-looking side type e10 (best attested for Maaibre, Sekhaenre, and Sheshi); first attestations in the corpus from Tell el-Dabʿa are TD 116A[658] (E/1), TD 206[659] (E/1); TD 1735[660] (E/1).

Sides of the type e6b, characteristic of Apep scarabs (but also appearing on scarabs of Khyan, Yaqubhar and Nehsy), first appear on scarabs from Phase E/1 (TD 199,[661] TD 2918,[662] TD 2919[663]) and E/1-D/3 (TD 463[664]) — apart from the Middle Kingdom private-name scarab of deputy treasurer Aam TD 809,[665] which was found in a Phase-F context and is obviously a 12th Dynasty heirloom, and other Egyptian Middle Kingdom scarabs.

The evidence is summarised in Table 30.

All traits characteristic of 14th–15th Dynasty royal-name scarabs emerge in the Tell el-Dabʿa corpus of design scarabs almost simultaneously, in Phase E/1; only the triangular heads of types D7, D8, D9 emerge on scarabs datable to E/1–D/3 and thus potentially slightly later than E/1. The late emergence of these traits in the chronology of the site confirms Ben-Tor's conclusion that none of the royal-name scarabs date earlier than the 15th Dynasty[666] (by which she means a certain phase in the chronology of the Second Intermediate Period, not a dynasty in the literal sense). The simultaneous emergence of different traits in Phase E/1 also means that excavated scarabs from Tell el-Dabʿa provide no additional information to establish the sequence of royal-name scarab series. The evidence does in no way support the hypothesis dividing 14th–15th Dynasty kings into two dynasties, both producing scarabs and both reigning in Tell el-Dabʿa.

There is however important evidence provided by recent finds of seal impressions of Khyan in stratified contexts. Sealing TD 9465 with the name of Khyan stems from relative stratum g in the area R/III.[667] According to a recent study, this stratum corresponds to the late Phase E/1 or the transition from E/1 to D/3 in the general stratigraphy of the site;[668] however, Forstner-Müller and Reali favour a slightly earlier date for the context of this sealing, namely E/1 or early E/1.[669] Likewise sealings of Khyan from the area F/II in Tell el-Dabʿa[670] are from a context (locus L81) datable to Phases E/1 to D/3 or to D/2.[671] These finds provide a *terminus post quem non* for the reign of Khyan in terms of Tell el-Dabʿa stratigraphy (E/1 or E/1–D/3).

During the period prior to the emergence of 14th–15th Dynasty scarab traits, many scarabs from Phases F, E/3, and E/2 show features of Mlinar's Type III (see Chapter 6), corresponding to a late 13th Dynasty type of Egyptian scarabs. Four scarabs from Phases E/3 and E/2 have features and designs corresponding to Ben-Tor's "early Palestinian series"[672] and "late Palestinian series"[673] in the Levant.[674] This evidence aligns with the idea that early scarabs from the Southern Levant antedated and — to a certain extent — inspired

646 Mlinar 2001b, no. 507.
647 Mlinar 2001b, no. 618.
648 Bietak, Dorner and Jánosi 2001, 48 fig. 11 (top).
649 Mlinar 2001b, no. 1063.
650 Mlinar 2001b, no. 601.
651 Mlinar 2001b, no. 606.
652 Mlinar 2001b, no. 905.
653 Mlinar 2001b, no. 804.
654 Mlinar 2001a, no. 13.
655 Mlinar 2001b, no. 508.
656 Mlinar 2001b, no. 524.
657 Mlinar 2001b, no. 525.
658 Mlinar 2001b, no. 502.
659 Mlinar 2001b, no. 508.
660 Mlinar 2001b, no. 514.
661 Mlinar 2001b, no. 507.
662 Mlinar 2001b, no. 518.
663 Mlinar 2001b, no. 519.
664 Mlinar 2001b, no. 611.
665 Mlinar 2001b, no. 205.
666 Ben-Tor 2007a, 109.
667 Reali 2014, 70.
668 Michel 2016, 38–39.
669 Forstner-Müller and Reali 2018, 95, 99, 117, 118.
670 Sartori 2009.
671 Aston 2012, 160–162; Forstner-Müller and Reali 2018, 99, 107 n. 127, 117; Höflmayer 2018, 146.
672 TD 3441 from Phase E/3 (Mlinar 2001b, no. 306), compare Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 59 (design), 64–67 (sculptural features)); TD 7657 from Phase E/2 (Mlinar 2004b, 124 fig. 10 [10]; Mlinar 2006, no. 3), compare Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 57 (4, 12) (design) and pl. 67–70 (features).
673 TD 880 (Mlinar 2004b, 126 fig. 11a [1]; Reali in Forstner-Müller and Reali 2018, 116, points out that this piece rather dates from transition between E/2 to E/1 or Phase E/1) and TD 7656 (Mlinar 2004b, 127 fig. 11b [16]; Mlinar 2006, no. 1) from Phase E/2, belonging to Mlinar's Type IV "Palestinian Group."
674 The emergence of these scarabs, which however turned out to be likely south Levantine imports, was regarded as one of the signs of the beginning of the "Hyksos period" in Phase E/2. See: Bietak, Fortner-Müller, and Mlinar 2001, 176–179.

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Phase	Date according to Bietak* (and a corresponding period as referred to in the present work)	Date according to the radiocarbon-based high chronology**	First appearance of scarab features in Tell el-Dabʿa	Comparable name scarabs
N	Late 11th Dyn. and Amenemhat I (early 12th Dyn.)			
M (L)***	Amenemhat II (mid-12th Dyn.)		A2 and A3-type heads, d5, c and e5-type sides	12th Dynasty private-name scarabs
K (K & L)	Senusret III (late 12th Dyn.)			
I	Amenemhat III (late 12th Dyn.)			
H	Amenemhat III–IV–Neferusebek (late 12th Dyn.)			
G/4	13th Dyn.		First appearance of d8-type sides	13th Dyn. private-name scarabs (early 13th Dyn. onward)
			Scarab impression of high steward *Jjj*	Early 13th Dyn. through Sobekhotep III
G (G/1–3)	13th Dyn.	Transition to F in mid- to late 12th Dynasty	C7/D-type heads and e9-type sides	Mid- to late 13th Dyn. name scarabs (heads common from Neferhotep I onward; sides common from
			Mlinar Type III scarabs	Royal-name scarabs of Sobekhotep IV and Ay and corresponding private-name scarabs
			d9-type sides	13th Dyn. private-name scarabs (early 13th Dyn. onward)
F	13th Dyn. and Nehesi (14th Dyn.)			
E/3	13th Dyn. and Kingdom of Avaris (14th Dyn.)		A scarab corresponding to Ben-Tor's "early Palestinian series"	
E/2	15th Dyn., Hyksos		A scarab corresponding to Ben-Tor's "late Palestinian series"	
E/1	15th Dyn., Hyksos	Transition to D/3 in mid-13th Dynasty	B7 and B8, D7, and D8-type heads, e6b and e11-type heads, sprays (branches) on the back	Royal-name scarabs of 14th–15th Dynasty and corresponding private-name scarabs
			Scarab impressions of Khyan	
D/3	15th Dyn., Hyksos		D9-type heads	
D/2	Ahmose (early 18th Dyn.) and 15th Dyn., Hyksos			
D/1	Ahmose – Amenhotep I (early 18th Dyn.)	Transition to C/2–3 in mid- to late 15th Dynasty		

* Bietak in Czerny 2015, 23 and Bietak in Kutschera et al. 2012, 410.
** Höflmayer 2017.
*** Local strata e/1–2 in Ezbet Rushdi. There is a discrepancy between Bietak in Czerny 2015, 23 and Bietak in Kutschera et al. 2012, 410, as to whether the local strata e/1–4 in Ezbet Rushdi correspond to Phase M (former publication) or Phase L (latter publication) in the general stratigraphy of Tell el-Dabʿa.

Table 30 Tell el-Dabʿa phases and scarab timeline.

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Egyptian scarabs of the Second Intermediate Period.[675]

Other Second Intermediate Period sites in Egypt can add little to the evidence of Tell el-Dabʿa, because the contexts of scarab finds are mostly not sufficiently studied. Two exceptions are Tell el-Retaba and Kom el-Rabiʿa (Memphis). At Tell el-Retaba, tomb 16, dated by Anna Wodzińska to Tell el-Dabʿa Phase E/1,[676] included scarab Tell el-Retaba 656[677] with distinctive features of 14th–15th Dynasty royal name scarabs, a D9-type head and e11-type sides. However, there are no scarabs antedating Tell el-Dabʿa Phase E/1 found in Tell el-Retaba, judging from the available publications, hence, this earliest attestation of distinctive 14th–15th Dynasty features at the site is of little value for establishing their emergence date. At Kom el-Rabiʿa (Memphis), scarab EES 3317 with a D8-type head was found in level VIc,[678] corresponding to Phase E/1 in Tell el-Dabʿa.[679] Earlier, in a transition phase from level VII to level VI, corresponding to Phases G/1–3 and F in Tell el-Dabʿa, scarab EES 3306 was found,[680] which is datable through a combination of a C7/D-type head and d9-type sides to the reigns of Neferhotep I and Sobekhotep IV. This combination of features is best attested on scarabs of Sobekhotep IV, Neferhotep I, and the contemporary treasurer Senbi, occasionally occurring on scarabs of Sobekhotep III and Sobekhotep V. Generally, d9-type sides tend to disappear after Sobekhotep IV, and C7/D-type heads become widespread under Neferhotep I (as established in the first chapter). Hence the transition from level VII to VI in Kom el-Rabiʿa cannot be earlier than the reign of Neferhotep I.

Further, two scarab impressions EES 3734 and EES 3634 with Tufnell design classes 3E5 and 3E1 having the so-called anra-sequence in the panels, the latter equivalent to the base type 6c/4+ of name scarabs, were found in level VIe in Kom el-Rabiʿa,[681] corresponding to Phases F and E/3 in Tell el-Dabʿa. Giddy rightfully compared this design with the anra-sequence in the panels to the scarab of the king Aperanati (UC 11655) and of the scarab of *Jjmnj3* (Berlin 32439, Fig. 98).[682] A comparable design scarab was also found in Tell el-Dabʿa in a secondary context (TD 7209).[683] Ben-Tor maintains that both Kom el-Rabiʿa sealings were made by Levantine scarabs from Ben-Tor's "early Palestinian series,"[684] but Giddy doubts it, pointing at the high quality of the scarab used to make the sealings,[685] (which is not a very sound argument). However scanty the studied evidence from sites other than Tell el-Dabʿa, it seems to confirm the results of analysing the Tell el-Dabʿa evidence. Neferhotep I and Sobekhotep cannot postdate the transition between Tell el-Dabʿa Phases G/1–3 and F based on a find in Kom el-Rabiʿa. No scarabs with distinctive features of 14th–15th Dynasty scarabs are evidenced prior to Tell el-Dabʿa Phase E/1 based on the finds from Kom el-Rabiʿa and Tell el-Retaba, as in Tell el-Dabʿa. Sealings comparable to scarabs of Ben-Tor's "early Palestinian series" date as early as Tell el-Dabʿa Phases F and E/3 in Kom el-Rabiʿa (compared to the earliest find from Phase E/3 in Tell el-Dabʿa[686]).

Many scholars adopt schemes dividing the kings attested on Second Intermediate Period scarabs in the north of Egypt into two dynasties, currently designated as the 14th and the 15th Dynasty. According to Ryholt's theory, all kings who bear the title *ḥqȝ ḫȝswt* "ruler of foreign lands" belong to the 15th Dynasty, whereas the other kings form the 14th Dynasty. In terms of royal-name scarab series, Ryholt's theory implies that Khyan and Apep (as well as poorly attested rulers Samuqenu and Aper-Anati) belong to the 15th Dynasty, whereas Aahetepre, Amu, Khauserre, Maaibre, Nebuuserre, Sekhaenre, Sheshi, Yakbim, and Yaqubhar belong to the preceding 14th Dynasty. According to Ryholt's reconstruction, the rule of the 14th Dynasty overlapped chronologically with the 13th Dynasty and began as early as the start of the 13th Dynasty,[687] which would correspond to Phase G/4 in the relative chronology of Tell el-Dabʿa. Manfred Bietak assumes a shorter overlap between the 14th and the 13th Dynasty, placing the start of the 14th Dynasty in Phase F of the general stratigraphy of Tell el-Dabʿa,[688] based mainly on the find of door-jambs with the name of the king Nehsy in the precinct of a temple dating from Phase F or E/3.[689] The dynastic position of Nehsy is known from the Turin King-list, yet the jambs were not found in a safe context. Recently, Moeller, Marouard, and Ayers and Höflmayer embraced the idea of an overlap between the 13th Dynasty and the 15th Dynasty based on the context of Khyan's sealings in Edfu and radiocarbon dates.[690]

However, if one assumes that the 14th Dynasty included kings known from royal-name scarabs and that Tell el-Dabʿa was the centre of their power, then based on the scarab evidence, it appears that this first dynasty of foreign kings cannot be earlier than Phase E/1. To Phase E/1 belong the earliest attestations of scarab features that distinguish the scarabs of 14th–15th

675 Ben-Tor 2007a, 102, 105.
676 Nour el-Din et al. 2016, 106.
677 Nour el-Din et al. 2016, pl. VII.
678 Giddy 2016, 28–29, pl. 2.
679 Bader 2009.
680 Giddy 2016, 27–28, pl. 2; Bader 2018, 251, discusses parallels to the design of this scarab.
681 Giddy 2016, 171, 186–187, 192–193, pl. 32–33.
682 Giddy 2016, 187.
683 Mlinar 2001b, no. 1061.
684 Ben-Tor 2007a, 46, 70.
685 Giddy 2016, 187, 193.
686 TD 3441, Mlinar 2001b, no. 306.
687 Ryholt 2018, 273.
688 Kutschera et. al. 2012.
689 Bietak 1984.
690 Moeller, Marouard, and Ayers, 2011; Moeller and Marouard 2018; Höflmayer 2018.

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Dynasty kings from those of the Middle Kingdom and it is hard to explain the absence of these features on scarabs from earlier Phases by the chance of preservation, given the large number of design scarabs known from the site. Earlier developments in the scarab layout are well reflected in the Tell el-Dabʿa corpus (scarabs from Phase G/4 can be linked to the era of the vizier Ankhu and the treasurer Senebsumai, changes occurring on name scarabs around the reigns of Neferhotep I and Sobekhotep IV can be observed on scarabs from Phase G/1–3), and one can expect that major novelties associated with the royal-name scarabs of the Second Intermediate Period would be mirrored in Tell el-Dabʿa design scarabs as well.

Hence, three options (or combinations thereof) are possible: a) the 14th Dynasty ruling at Tell el-Dabʿa before Phase E/1 did not include any of the kings attested by larger scarab series, instead it was composed of kings, mentioned in the Turin King-list, of whom virtually no contemporary evidence survives; b) Tell el-Dabʿa was not the power centre of the earlier kings of the 14th–15th Dynasty and the local scarab repertoire of Tell el-Dabʿa does not reflect that of the alleged 14th Dynasty, ruling and producing scarabs elsewhere, or c) there was no overlap between the 13th and the 14th–15th Dynasty, and foreign rulers of Tell el-Dabʿa only assumed Egyptian royal titles in Phase E/1. Judging from the available evidence, it is difficult to decide, which of these hypothetical scenarios is closer to the historical truth, but the scarabs show clearly that the currently accepted view placing a 14th Dynasty consisting of scarab-producing kings in Tell el-Dabʿa Phase F or E/3 (or even earlier) cannot be upheld.

The evaluation of the evidence provided by finds of Khyan's sealings in Phase E/1–D/3 contexts in Tell el-Dabʿa also depends on the adopted explanation of the late appearance of scarabs comparable to royal-name scarabs of the 14th–15th Dynasty. If the scarab corpus of Tell el-Dabʿa is representative of the royal-name scarabs, and the production of royal-name scarabs only began in the time of Phase E/1 (options a and c), Khyan should be placed relatively early in the sequence of kings attested on scarabs.[691] If, however, earlier kings ruled and produced scarabs elsewhere (option b), the relative date of Khyan's sealings is open to diverse interpretations. The lengths of reigns and the durations of archaeological phases are not known, and it is theoretically possible than among the kings attested on scarabs and reigning outside of Tell el-Dabʿa there were some that reigned prior to Khyan.

691 A view advocated by Ben-Tor, who sees Khyan's and Yaqubhar's scarabs as the earliest among royal-name series and the ones that are closest to the preceding "early Palestinian series" (Ben-Tor 2007a, 109).

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4. Name scarabs of the Second Intermediate Period: the geography of production

As discussed above, any attempt at performing a seriation analysis of royal-name scarabs relies on assuming continuous production at a single centre. Thus, Ryholt acknowledges that the scarabs bearing royal names need to have been produced centrally for a seriation to be valid. Ryholt considers that the relative uniformity of royal-name scarabs from the period is an indication of the centralised production in itself, which he thus takes for granted[692] and does not attempt to check the hypothesis of centralised production against any independent evidence. Yet, the analyses of 14th–15th Dynasty chronology in Chapter 3 show that this hypothesis still has to be verified. One reason for the lack of continuity observed when running a seriation analysis of royal-name scarabs could be that these scarabs were produced at different locations.

Scarabs from Tell el-Dabʿa

Whereas no scarabs datable to the 14th–15th Dynasty have any textual indication of origin, and few scarabs are known from most sites except Tell el-Dabʿa, a possible way to check the centralised production hypothesis is to study whether all common types of 14th–15th Dynasty scarabs are represented in the Tell el-Dabʿa corpus. It is well known that among scarabs found at Tell el-Dabʿa, there are almost no royal- and private-name scarabs. Yet most scholars assume that Tell el-Dabʿa as the royal residence of the 14th–15th Dynasty was the place where name scarabs were produced.[693] Ben-Tor further surmised that the absence of name-scarabs among finds from Tell el-Dabʿa is due to plundering in later times,[694] for name scarabs are of much higher value for modern collectors (see above) and, following this idea some plunderers could have allegedly taken out the name scarabs, leaving the design scarabs on the site.[695]

In the absence of textual indicators of origin on Second Intermediate Period scarabs, I shall compare common types of inscribed scarabs of the 14th–15th Dynasty with the corpus of design scarabs found at Tell el-Dabʿa in order to test the commonly held assumption that all name scarabs were produced at Tell el-Dabʿa. It is assumed that name scarabs and design scarabs from the same period and the same production centre share the same features, as is known from other periods. And even if there are almost no name-scarabs left in Tell el-Dabʿa, one would expect to find design scarabs of the same types.

The principal types of royal-name and private-name scarabs attributable to the 14th–15th Dynasty were outlined in terms of head, back, and side types above. Christa Mlinar has defined the principal types of scarabs found at Tell el-Dabʿa,[696] and her conclusions are verifiable through the material presented in her unpublished dissertation[697] and subsequent publications, cited in note 624 above.

Many combinations of head, back, and base types most common among name scarabs of the 14th–15th Dynasty are also attested in the corpus of Tell el-Dabʿa scarabs. Among these are the combination D8-O-e11 (Fig. 84; six attestations in Tell el-Dabʿa), which is best attested for the scarabs with royal names Sekhaenre and Nebuuserre and with the name of the king's son Nehsy; the combination D6-O-d5 (Fig. 82; five attestations in Tell el-Dabʿa), best attested for scarabs with the royal names Maaibre, Sheshi, Amu and with the names of the treasurers Har and Peremhesut; the combination D9-O-e11 (Fig. 85; four attestations in Tell el-Dabʿa), which is best attested for scarabs with the royal names Sheshi, Sekhaenre, Nebuuserre, and Aahetepre and the names of the king's son Nehsy and the treasurer Peremhesut; D8-O-d5 (Fig. 86, three attestations in Tell el-Dabʿa), which is best attested among the scarabs with the royal names Sheshi, Sekhaenre, Maaibre, Yakbim, Aahetepre, and with the name of the treasurer Har. Several of the most common combinations of features appear but once or twice in Tell el-Dabʿa, but they do not differ substantially from similar scarab types occurring more often in the Tell el-Dabʿa corpus. These include the type D3-O-d5 (Fig. 80; Sheshi, Maaibre, Sekhaenre; king's son Ipeq, treasurer Har)[698] and the type D7-O-d5 (Fig. 83; Sekhaenre, Sheshi, Maaibre, treasurer Har, king's son Ipeq).[699]

This evidence shows that scarab series of the king Nebuuserre and the king's son Nehsy are well covered by parallels in the corpus of design scarabs from Tell el-Dabʿa.

Yet, there are several scarab types that are very common among most royal-name and private-name scarabs and are still underrepresented in the corpus of Tell el-Dabʿa scarabs as compared to other sites.

692 Ryholt 2018, 263, 269.

693 Ben-Tor 2007a, 68–70; 113; Ryholt 2018, 263.

694 Ben-Tor 2007a, 70.

695 One name scarab from the Blanchard collection is said to come from Tell el-Dabʿa, Berlin 32632 (treasurer Senebsumai), but otherwise there is no evidence for the targeted pillage of name-scarabs from the site.

696 Mlinar 2004b.

697 Mlinar 2001b.

698 Attested on Tell el-Dabʿa scarabs TD 551 (Phase E/1; Mlinar 2001b, no. 524) and TD 6160 (Phase D/2-3, a royal-name scarab; Mlinar 2001b, no. 711; Mlinar 2004a, no. 4).

699 Attested on Tell el-Dabʿa scarab TD 6421 (Phase D/2; Mlinar 2001b, no. 911), which is however similar to the better attested type D6-O-d5.

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Fig. 90 Scarabs of the type D9-O-d5, scarab of the treasurer *Pr-m-ḥst*, BM EA66733. Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum. 20×14×7 mm.

Scarab type D9-O-d5 (Figs. 90–91)

One of the most common scarab types in the royal-name and private-name series of the 14th–15th Dynasty is the combination of a D9-type head with a plain back (O) and plain chip-carved legs (d5). Twenty-one scarabs of the treasurer *Ḥ3r* (over 20% of the total amount of his scarabs with completely recorded features) and 5 scarabs of the treasurer *Pr-m-ḥst* (over 20% of the total amount) belong to this type. It is also common among the scarabs of kings Yakbim, Sekhaenre, Maaibre, Sheshi, Amu, and Yaʿammu (comprising 10 to 20% of scarabs in each of the series).

If all scarabs of these officials and kings were produced in Tell el-Dabʿa, one would expect that this type is well represented among design scarabs found in Tell el-Dabʿa. However, this is not the case, for only two scarabs found in Tell el-Dabʿa have this combination of features: TD 7201 (secondary context[700]) and TD 7551 (secondary context[701]). The type is better represented among the by far less numerous finds from the contemporary site Tell el-Yahudiya in southern Lower Egypt with six attestations.[702]

Few examples of this scarab type were found in the Southern Levant. Most of the ones that I was able to identify[703] (17 out of 22 scarabs found in the Southern Levant) come from sites close to the Mediterranean coast (Acre, Tel Afek, Azor, Tell el-ʿAjjul) and in the northern Negev (Tell el-Farah (South)). Sites located on the Mediterranean coast and in its immediate hinterland provided 12 examples.[704] Five examples come from Tell el-Farah (South) on the Besor stream in the northern Negev.[705] Sites in the Judaean Mountains and their foothills provide 1 example.[706] One example comes from Wadi Ara (Nahal ʿIron).[707] Sites in the Jordan valley provide 2 examples.[708] One example comes from the foothills of the Golan Heights.[709]

The scarcity and the distribution of finds in the Levant strongly suggest that the majority of scarabs of the type D9-O-d5 were produced in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period, likely at a centre, where 14th–15th Dynasty royal-name and private-name scarabs were produced. Tell el-ʿAjjul, where numerous D9-O-d5-type scarabs were found, is otherwise known as a site with most royal-name scarabs of the 14th–15th

700 Mlinar 2001b, no. 1054.

701 Mlinar 2001b, no. 1073.

702 Ashmolean EE.634, Ashmolean EE.638 (Tufnell 1978, fig. 2 [26, 28]); Basel Cat. 130, Philadelphia E.2826 (Tufnell 1978, fig. 2 [16]), UC 61219, UC 61223.

703 I rely primarily on the published volumes of Keel's Corpus (Keel 1997, 2007, 2010a, 2010b, 2017; Eggler and Keel 2006) and on the third volume of Mlinar 2001b.

704 Jerusalem IAA 73-163 (treasurer Har, Keel 1997, 538–539 [23]) from Acre; Keel, Corpus 1, Afek 36 from Tel Afek; Ashmolean AN1949.111 (Keel 1997, 490–491 [1137]); BM 135607 (Keel 1997, 374–375 [793]); BM L.987 (Keel 1997, 276–277 [511]); BM L.1074 (Keel 1997, 260–261 [464]) and BM L.1075 (Keel 1997, 258–259 [459]); Bolton 5.38.3/17 (Keel 1997, 334–335 [680]); IoA UCL E.XII.82/1 (private name; Keel 1997, 118–119 [41]; Martin 306); Jerusalem RM 32.2080 (Keel 1997, 222–223 [358]), Manchester 9184 (Keel 1997, 220–221 [347]) from Tell el-ʿAjjul; Jerusalem IAA 58-233 (Keel 1997, 748–749 [4]) from Azor.

705 BM L.670 (king Sekhaenre; Keel 2010b, 257–258 [537]) IoA UCL EV.1/17 (Keel 2010b, 36–37 [21]; i the same tomb were found a Maaibre scarab and a B8-O-d6 scarab); IoA UCL EV.11/11 (treasurer Har; Keel 2010b, 60–61 [78]); IoA UCL EV.19/12 (Keel 2010b, 28–29 [3]); Keel, Corpus 3, Tell el-Farʿa Süd 84 (Keel 2010b, 62–63 [84]).

706 Jerusalem RM J. 254 (Keel 2013, 196–197 [66] from Gezer).

707 Loud, Megiddo, no. 206 (Loud 1948, pl. 152, 159 [206]).

708 Philadelphia 32-15-398 (Keel 2010a, 170–171 [163]) from Beit Sheʾan; Liverpool GM J.56.23 (Keel 2017, 224–225 [472]) from Jericho.

709 Hebrew Union College IAA 68-1371 (Keel 2010a, 380–381 [3]) from Dan.

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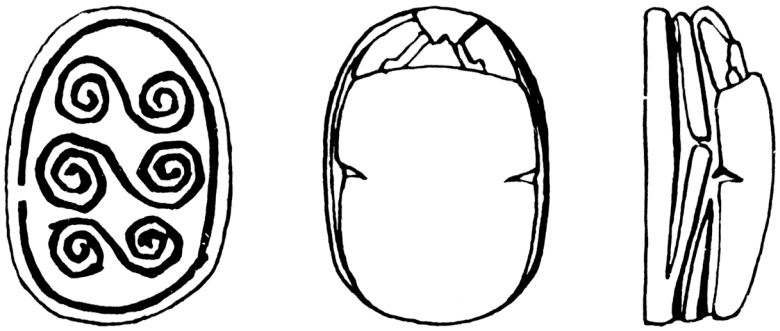


Fig. 91 Scarabs of the type D9-O-d5, design scarab from Tell el-Yahudiya Ashmolean AN EE.638. Reproduced from Tufnell 1978, 80 fig. 2 (28). 17 mm.

Dynasty and with most scarabs featuring Egyptian designs from this period.[710]

The evidence of design scarabs from Tell el-Dabʿa strongly indicates that Tell el-Dabʿa was not the place where such scarabs were produced. Whether it was in the vicinity of Tell el-Yahudiya or elsewhere remains open, but Tell el-Yahudiya remains the site with the most finds of scarabs of this type at the present state of knowledge.

Scarab type B7/8-O-d6 with rings
(Figs. 92–94)

The type of scarabs with rings around the holes at the ends was defined by Newberry, who provided a sketch outlining their principal features and particularly noted rings carved around the ends of the threading hole.[711] The ring-hole-thickening or ring-thickening was but briefly mentioned in the subsequent work by Tufnell, who noted that the feature occurs on the scarabs of Khyan, Yaqubhar, and Sheshi.[712] Schulz describes the same feature as "framed drill-holes."[713] Keel as "Verdickungen an den Bohrlochenden."[714] Most name scarabs with rings around the hole ends have other common features that allow them to be considered as a coherent group. The head has a depressed baseline regardless of whether it has sidelines indicating the eyes (Tufnell head type B8 with the eyes or B7 without the eyes; in rare cases also the type A7 with naturalistic round rather than stylised line-shaped eyes of the type B8, but also with a depressed baseline). As discussed in the Introduction, previous scholars often classified some of these heads as belonging to types D5 and D6, but the depressed baselines are a clear sign of B7/8-type heads as opposed to D-type heads, which have straight baselines. The back is plain (back type O). The legs are chip carved and are all notched (side type d6). The clypeus is serrated, mostly 4 times. Scarabs with this set of features are common among name scarabs of the 14th–15th Dynasty. I studied 236 scarabs, including name scarabs and selected excavated design scarabs; of these, 67 were examined in the museums (Table 50). All scarabs are made of steatite.

As noted by Tufnell and Ward,[715] the features in question among the royal-name scarabs are common for Khyan (Fig. 94), Yaqubhar, Maaibre, and Sheshi (Fig. 107), as well as in the smaller scarab series with the names of Wazad, Sekheperenre, Horuserre, Sheneh.

In order to reconstruct the chronology of the period, it may be important that the singular scarab of Sekheperenre (Fig. 95) belongs to this type, for Sekheperenre is attested in the Turin King-list as the 16th king of the 14th Dynasty. Whence, one could hypothesise on this basis that other rulers with similar scarabs (Khyan, Yaqubhar) could belong to the earlier part of the Second Intermediate Period, corresponding to the King-list's 14th Dynasty. I would, however, abstain from jumping to conclusions based on a single object.

Apart from royal-name scarabs of the 14th–15th Dynasty, this scarab type was used for scarabs with names of 12th Dynasty kings, apparently issued in the Second Intermediate Period, private-name scarabs, and design scarabs. Royal names from the 12th Dynasty are those of Senusret I, Senusret II and variations thereof.[716] Scarabs with the legend "Djeserkheperre"

710 Ben-Tor 2007a, 193.
711 Newberry 1906, 73 fig. 68.
712 Tufnell 1984, 38.
713 Schulz 2007, 17.
714 Keel 2013, 2.
715 Tufnell 1984, 38.
716 Fitzwilliam E.82.1920, Fribourg ÄS 1983.29, Leiden DA 1267; OIM 5199, UC 11231 (Senusret I), BM EA64005, Damascus O.1357 (Senusret II); further similar scarabs have combinations of hieroglyphs inspired by 12th Dynasty royal names, such as Bruxelles E.2563; Manchester 3379; Tell Basta B 148 (a).

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Fig. 92 Scarabs of the type B7/8-O-d6 with a ring, scarab of the treasurer *Ḥ3r* from Tell el-Yahudiya Ashmolean AN1888.282.
Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. 23×16×10 mm.

Ḏsr-ḫpr-rᶜ,[717] supposedly a graphical variation of the name *Ḥᶜ-ḫpr-rᶜ* (Senusret II), are also like to belong to this group.[718]

One scarab of this type features a sequence of signs, which could be read as the name of Nebukheperre Intef of the Theban 17th Dynasty; however, for the lack of the royal titles, epithets or the cartouche it could rather be a design scarab as well.[719]

Private-name scarabs are those of the royal acquaintance *Ḥ3*,[720] the royal acquaintance *S3-ḥwt-ḥr*,[721] the treasurer *Ḥ3r*,[722] the treasurer *Jbt*,[723] the scribe *Jj-n-ḥb*,[724] the overseer of marshland-dwellers *Mr-ᶜ-jtj*,[725] the king's scribe of the presence *Qprḥwqpḥ*,[726] the official *ᶜpr-bᶜ3*,[727] the steward *S3-mrjjt*;[728] and the overseer of *gs-pr Sbk-nb-k3* (?).[729] The same type is attested for royal sons *Jpq*,[730] *Qwppn*.[731]

Designs with symmetrical hieroglyphic signs (Tufnell's design class 3) dominate among verified design scarabs of this type, but designs with depictions of standing persons (design class 10A, most commonly holding a palm or a flower — design classes 10A2a and 10A2b), lions (design class 9E), and crocodiles (design class 9D) are also prominent. Notably, neither design classes 9D and 9E nor examples of the design class 10A similar in iconography to the B7/8-O-d6-type scarabs appear in the Levant before the mid-MB IIB,[732].

Design scarabs of this type often feature hollowed-out engraving.

Verified scarabs of the type in question are well represented among finds from diverse sites in the Delta. One scarab is known from Saft el-Henna,[733] two from Tell Basta,[734] at least two from Tell el-Retaba,[735] fifteen from Tell el-Yahudiya.[736] Among other sites in Egypt and Nubia where scarabs of

717 Considered to be royal-name scarabs in Tufnell 1984, no. 3503–3513; dismissed as non-name scarabs in Ryholt 1997, 65 (who also argued that the sign read as *ḏsr* is rather a moon crescent).

718 BM 105133; Fribourg ÄS 1983.2918; Fribourg ÄS 1983.2919; Fribourg ÄS 1983.2920; Tufnell II 3507; UC 13091.

719 TD 8920 from Tell el-Dabᶜa (secondary context).

720 Cairo JE 75158.

721 Ben-Tor, Scarab, 61 (20).

722 Ashmolean 1888.282; Ashmolean 1892.235; Ashmolean 1892.319; Basel Cat. 523; Berlin 32562; Berlin 32571; Berlin 32572; Berlin 32573; Berlin VÄGM 1983/031; BM EA24109; BM EA24110; BM EA37689; BM EA40735; BM EA64841; BM EA64842; Boston 1979.590; Brunton, Qau III, pl. XIX (19); Cairo JE 75115; Cairo JE 75155; Cairo JE 75158; Cairo JE 75188; Edinburgh A.1965.145; Jerusalem IM 76.31.4506; Leiden AS-1; Loffet, AHL 42-43, 116 no. 2; MMA 05.3.269; Torino Cat. 4824; UC 11405; UC 11488; UC 11493; UC 64849 (3).

723 Berlin 32417; BM EA66077; Cairo JE 75183.

724 Seal Collector 9a.

725 Berkeley 6-17256.

726 Berlin 32666.

727 Berlin 32443.

728 Giveon, Tel Aviv 7, no. 6.

729 UC 11483.

730 Basel Cat. 136; BM EA37669; Fribourg ÄS 1983.1625; Hornung, ZÄS 92, 100, Abb. 1-3; UC 26276.

731 Ben-Tor, Scarab, 63 (16); Berlin 32657; BM EA65963; Cairo JE 74966; Giveon, Tel Aviv 3, no. 5; Louvre E.6345; UC 11599; UC 11600.

732 Ben-Tor 2007a, 177, pl. 63.

733 Liverpool WM 28.8.06.7.

734 Tell Basta B 148 (a), Tell Basta B 148 (d).

735 Tell el-Retaba 683; Tell el-Retaba 684.

736 Ashmolean AN1888.282; Basel Cat. 141; Basel Cat. 143; Basel Cat. 167; BM EA20823; Boston 88.1050; Boston 88.1053; Bruxelles E.2563; Bruxelles E.2567; Manchester 3379; Manchester 3449; Manchester 3453; Petrie, Hyksos, pl. IX (124); Philadelphia E.2827; UC 61197.

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Fig. 93 Scarabs of the type B7/8-O-d6 with a ring, design scarab from Tell el-Yahudiya UC 61197.
Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. 20 mm.



Fig. 94 Scarabs of the type B7/8-O-d6 with a ring, scarab of Khyan from Abusir el-Meleq Berlin 18653.
Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. This image is copyright. Reproduced by permission of Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. 19×13×8 mm.



Fig. 95 Scarab of the king Sekheperenre (14th Dynasty according to the Turin King-list),
type B7/8-O-d6 with a ring, Ashmolean AN1935.100a.
Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. 19×14×9 mm.

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this type occur are Lahun,[737] Sedment,[738] Abusir el-Meleq,[739] Zawyet el-Amwat,[740] Deir Rifa,[741] Qau el-Kebir,[742] Hu,[743]Asasif,[744] Aniba,[745] Dibeira East,[746] and Kerma.[747]

Numerous scarabs of this type come from the Southern Levant. Sites on the Mediterranean coast and in its immediate hinterland provide 23 scarabs.[748] Eight scarabs come from the northern Negev.[749] Seven scarabs were found in the Judaean Mountains and their foothills.[750] One scarab comes from Samaria.[751] Nine come from the Jordan valley.[752] Sites in Wadi Ara (Nahal ʿIron) produced six scarabs of this type.[753] Finally, two were found in the Transjordan region.[754] Some of these scarabs found in the Southern Levant may represent local imitations of the type (as suggested by the increased rate of clypei with 5 or 6 serrations, whereas inscribed scarabs with few exceptions have 4 serrations). It is also notable that scarabs of this type were replicated long after their emergence during the Late Bronze Age, as exemplified by a scarab from Tell el-Farah (South), featuring a characteristic New Kingdom formula on the base,[755] and another from Gat Karmel with the name of Ramses II.[756] It is thus probable that scarabs of this group in the Levant include both imports from Egypt and local imitations.

Four design scarabs of this type come from Tell el-Dabʿa[757] and one scarab of Khyan from the nearby site Ezbet Rushdi.[758]

This type has clear prototypes in the corpus of Middle Kingdom scarabs, but the head types with depressed bases (B7/B8) are an invention of the Second Intermediate Period; comparable Middle Kingdom scarabs instead have A7-type heads[759] or D6-type heads.[760]

It is noteworthy that this type of scarabs, one of the most common among 14th–15th Dynasty scarabs and the dominant type among the scarabs of Khyan and Yaqubhar, is rare in Tell el-Dabʿa. Should the scarabs of Khyan and Yaqubhar, of Sheshi, Maaibre, *Qwppn* and *Ḥ3r* have been produced at Tell el-Dabʿa, one would expect many more design scarabs of the same type to be found at the site.

Scarab type B7/8-O-e6b/d14 without rings (Mlinar Type V) (Fig. 96–98)

In the paucity of scarabs of the type B7/8-O-d6 with ring around the hole ends, the corpus of scarabs from Tell el-Dabʿa prominently features a somewhat similar yet distinct scarab type,[761] defined by Mlinar as Type V "the fanciful group"[762]. These scarabs feature the same head types (B7/B8 with a depressed baseline) yet have no rings at the ends of the threading hole and feature sides with mid legs fringed (e6b or in rare cases d14) instead of the sides with all legs notched. Scarabs have either a plain clypeus or a serrated one with 5 or more serrations, but not 4 serrations, featured on almost all name scarabs in the group discussed above. There are no sprays (branches) or flowers on the backs of these scarabs, which also sets them off from those of the B7/8-O-d6 type, often featuring decorations on the pronotum and the elytra.

Seven scarabs of this type are known in the Tell el-Dabʿa corpus (Phases E/1 to D/2 and secondary contexts) and further 41 scarabs belonging to this type can be cited beyond Tell el-Dabʿa (name scarabs and

737 UC 11157.
738 Sedment I, pl. XLIII (15); UC 18856.
739 Berlin 18653.
740 Basel Cat. 146.
741 UC 64849 (3).
742 Brunton, Qau III, pl. XIX (19); UC 26015; UC 26031; UC 26276.
743 OIM 5199; Philadelphia E.4680.
744 Cairo JE 45689A.
745 Abou Bakr, Fouilles en Nubie (1959-1961), 118, pl. VI (A, top left).
746 Dibeira East 185/545:11.
747 Boston 20.1766.
748 Ashmolean AN1949.104; Bet-Shemesh IAA 57-213; Bet-Shemesh IAA 1999.1300; Bet-Shemesh IAA 1999.1305 (this and the preceding one were found in tomb Kabri 498); BM L.911; BM L.914; BM L.1063; Glasgow D.1938.15/17; IoA UCL E.XII 57/1; IoA UCL E.XII 85/1; IoA UCL E.XII 85/4 (this and the preceding one were found together with an Apep scarab in tomb Tell el-ʿAjjul 1165); Jerusalem IAA 58-237; Jerusalem IAA 1981-1191 (Yaqubhar); Jerusalem IAA 96-1954; Jerusalem IAA 96-1956; Jerusalem IAA 96-1958; Jerusalem IAA 96-1960 (This and three preceding scarabs stem from the same tomb in Atlit [Mazar and Ilan 2014]); Jerusalem RM 35.3968; Jerusalem RM 38.558; Keel, Corpus 1, Afek 51; Keel, Corpus 5, Kabri 37; Manchester 9555; Sydney NM50.355.
749 Bet-Shemesh IAA 1987.1284; BM L.784; IoA UCL EV.1/16; IoA UCL EV.8/20; IoA UCL EVI.8/3; IoA UCL EV.35/6; Jerusalem RM I.4412; Jerusalem RM J. 995.
750 Ashmolean AN1955.503.1; BM 104927; BM 105133; Keel, Corpus 5, Jerusalem 135; Niccacci, Scarabs, no. 86; Tufnell, Lachish, 71; Tufnell, Lachish, 130.
751 Brandl, Shiloh, no. 3.
752 Amman J.3978; Amman J.11140; Birmingham A.362-58; Keel, Corpus 5, Jericho 401; Liverpool GM J.55.69; Louvre AO 17148; Sydney NM52.641 (reg. 50); Sydney NM69.07; Sydney NM69.08 (this and the preceding scarab stem from the same tomb Jericho B 47).
753 Bet-Shemesh IAA 2008.480; Loud, Megiddo, no. 3; Loud, Megiddo, no. 14; Loud, Megiddo, no. 17; Loud, Megiddo, no. 117; Megiddo M 2127.
754 Leiden DA 1267; Eggler and Keel, Corpus, Dschabal al-Hawayah 1.
755 Keel 2010b, 88–89 (144).
756 Keel 2013, 126–127 (6).
757 TD 7402 (Phase D/2), TD 8920, TD 8935 (Phase D/3); TD 9027.
758 Adam, ASAE 56, pl. X (b).
759 München ÄS 3439.
760 Jerusalem IM 76.31.72.
761 The two types were erroneously equated in Ilin-Tomich 2014b, 151.
762 Mlinar 2004b, 128–129.

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Fig. 96 B7/8-O-e6b/d14 without a ring, design scarab from Tell el-Dabʿa, TD 8621.
Reproduced from Mlinar 2001a, pl. 1 (1). 17×11×7 mm.



Fig. 97 B7/8-O-e6b/d14 without a ring, design scarab from Lahun, UC 11164.
Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. 16×12×8 mm.



Fig. 98 B7/8-O-e6b/d14 without a ring, scarab of *Jjmnj3*, with the anra-formula Berlin 32439.
Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. This image is copyright. Reproduced by permission of Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. 25×17×11 mm.

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provenanced scarabs). Given that the overall number of known scarabs of this type is several times less than those with d6-type sides and rings, the higher number of finds from Tell el-Dabʿa is significant. The scarabs are listed in Table 51. All are made of steatite.

Apart from design scarabs excavated at Tell el-Dabʿa, one scarab of Yaqubhar in Boston clearly belongs to this type.[763] Another scarab of Yaqubhar, Cairo JE 33995, found in Hu, exhibits somewhat similar features: an A7-type head with a depressed baseline, plain back, e6b-sides and multiple serrations on the clypeus, but I did not include it in Table 51, because A7-type heads are otherwise not attested in the group. The same applies to one of Apep scarabs, featuring a lined back and no serrations on the clypeus. Several scarabs with names of 12th Dynasty kings also belong to this type, including Senusret I,[764] Senusret III,[765] and Amenemhat III.[766] The Louvre scarab of Senusret III and the Boston scarab of Yaqubhar feature the royal title *bjtj* (without *nsw*), otherwise attested for the scarabs of Apep. The NFA scarab of Amenemhat III features a design with a small royal cartouche depicted as a part of a complex composition, also resembling that of Apep scarabs (including the typologically close UC 11667). Given that the e6b-type sides are generally characteristic of Apep scarabs, it is tempting to link this scarab type with this king, yet it is difficult to determine whether scarabs of this type are chronologically close to Apep scarabs or only in terms of the place of production (allegedly, Tell el-Dabʿa).

Private-name scarabs of this type are few. One belonged to the assistant of the chamber of linen *Jjmnj3* (Fig. 98)[767] and another to the estate overseer of the granary *Ḏḥwtj-ptḥ*.[768] These two scarabs have typical 14th–15th Dynasty base types (6c/4+ and 6d), and undoubtedly date from the Second Intermediate Period. They both feature titles inherited from the Middle Kingdom and Berlin 32439 features a non-Egyptian name.[769]

Design scarabs of the type B7/8-O-e6b/d14 almost always feature hieroglyphic signs or the motif *sm3 t3wj* as the principal motif (Tufnell design class 3), enclosed in 1ad-type, 3a-type or similar borders, with the exception of two scarabs, which feature 2B-class scrolls as the principal decoration.[770]

Notably none of the design scarabs of this type use the hollowed-out engraving in stark contrast to the scarabs, which feature d6-type sides and rings around the holes. All scarabs available to me are executed in linear engraving.

Some decorative elements are particularly characteristic of this scarab type. Five scarabs feature the signs resembling the name of the god Ptah (design class 3B8, defined by Ben-Tor[771]). Many scarabs within and outside of this group feature the royal titles *nsw-bjtj* (without a royal name), designated by Tufnell as design class 3B2. A characteristic element on these scarabs is the isolated bee-sign as in the royal title *bjtj* (which also occurs on royal-name scarabs of this type but was rarely used alone beyond this group of scarabs). This decoration has not been considered a separate design class; however, as its prominence among scarabs of the type B7/8-O-e6b/d14 is evident, I designated the isolated bee with the new siglum 3B2a. With eleven attestations, scarabs of the type B7/8-O-e6b represent little more than a half of Second Intermediate Period scarabs with the isolated bee that I was able to find, and B7/8-O-e6b is by far the most common type of scarabs with this design. Among scarabs with the isolated bee-sign that demonstrate a different set of features is scarab Bet-Shemesh IAA 81-2015,[772] having plain d5-type legs and coming from the same tomb 510 at Tell Beit Mirsim as scarab Bet-Shemesh IAA 81-2017, which exhibits all features of the type B7/8-O-e6b/d14 as well as a bee. Similarly, at Tell el-Dabʿa, scarab TD 198 with a single bee of the type D6-O-d5 comes from the same grave (A/II – I/12 grave 1) as TD 199, a typical B7/8-O-e6b/d14 scarab, which also has an isolated bee.

Two of the design scarabs and one Senusret I scarab with these features come from Tell el-Yahudiya,[773] and another one from Lahun.[774] Thirty-two similar scarabs come from different sites in the Southern Levant. Among them, 11 come from sites lying on the Mediterranean coast and in its immediate hinterland,[775] one from the northern Negev,[776] eight from the Judaean mountains and their foothills,[777] eight from the Jordan

763 Boston 66.1028.
764 TD 2191.
765 Louvre AF 6452.
766 NFA Scarabs, no. 10.
767 Berlin 32439.
768 BM EA30535.
769 Schneider 2003, 135–136.
770 UC 11164 (Fig. 97) from Lahun and Bruxelles O.1162 from Jericho.
771 Ben-Tor 2007a, 132–133; prior discussion in Keel 2002.
772 Keel 2010a, 80–81 (84).
773 BM EA20820, Bristol H 3728, UC 61192.
774 UC 11164 (Fig. 97).
775 Bet-Shemesh IAA 1963-2791; BM L. 915; Jerusalem RM 32.1912; Jerusalem RM 35.3874; Jerusalem RM 35.4027; Jerusalem IAA 96-1955; Jerusalem IAA 96-1966 (this and the previous scarab were found in the same tomb in Atlit, where several scarabs of the type B7/8-O-d6 were also found, Mazar and Ilan 2014); Keel, Corpus 1, Afek 32; Keel, Corpus 1, Afek 36; Keel, Corpus 1, Tell el-ʿAǧul 375; Manchester 9015.
776 IoA UCL EV.9/21.
777 Bet-Shemesh IAA 81-2017; Jerusalem RM 33.1955; Jerusalem RM 34.2960; Jerusalem RM 34.2990; Jerusalem RM 34.2996 (from the same tomb Tel Lachish 157 as the previous scarab); Jerusalem RM J. 315; Niccacci, Scarabs, no. 131; Tufnell, Lachish, 3.

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valley,[778] four from Wadi Ara (Nahal ʿIron).[779] Some of these scarabs can be local products.

Three of these scarabs found in the Levant date from the early MB IIB. Two scarabs come from tomb Jericho P 1, attributed to Kenyon's Group 2,[780] and Manchester 9015 comes from stratum III in Tell el-ʿAjjul field C. Based on the corpus of scarabs from Jericho and the analysis of scarabs with designs characteristic of Ben-Tor's late MB IIB "late Palestinian series", Baruch Brandl posited that scarabs with e6b-type sides in the Levant should have been produced in the early to middle MB IIB, corresponding to Kenyon's Groups 2 and 3 of tombs at Jericho,[781] and commonly believed to roughly correspond to Phases E/3–E/2 in Tell el-Dabʿa.[782] Among the examples he cites are two Jericho scarabs of the type in question. At Tell el-Dabʿa the earliest finds of this type of scarabs belong to Phase E/1.[783]

The archaeological record shows that scarabs of this type are better represented in Tell el-Dabʿa than in the rest of Egypt and the Levant. Ben-Tor maintains the view that Type V scarabs in Tell el-Dabʿa include Egyptian scarabs, imports from the Levant and an Egyptian heirloom.[784] On the one hand, Tell el-Dabʿa has more attestations of scarabs of this type than any single site in the Levant, and the presence of private-name scarabs among objects of this group rather speaks in favour of the production in Egypt. However, the finds of scarabs of this type in early MB IIB contexts in the Levant can possibly suggest that the earliest attestations of this scarab type in the Levant antedate those from Tell el-Dabʿa. Hence, it is difficult to evaluate which of Type V scarabs could have been produced at Tell el-Dabʿa rather than imported.

In contrast, scarabs of the type B7/8-O-d6 with rings around the hole ends (Fig. 92–94, discussed in the previous section) are less well represented in Tell el-Dabʿa than in other sites in the Delta. Thus, it appears that one of the common types of Second Intermediate Period scarabs, to which belong numerous inscribed scarabs and which is the dominant type for the scarabs of Khyan and Yaqubhar, is scantily attested in Tell el-Dabʿa, whereas it is significantly better attested in Tell el-Yahudiya (including royal-name, private-name, and design scarabs). On the contrary, the corpus of scarabs from Tell el-Dabʿa contains many examples of Mlinar Type V, rarely attested elsewhere. It thus appears likely that scarabs of the type B7/8-O-d6 with rings around the hole ends (including royal-name and private-name scarabs) were not produced in Tell el-Dabʿa, but rather elsewhere. Scarabs of Mlinar Type V are common in Tell el-Dabʿa, where they could have been produced or partially imported from the Levant.

Scarabs from Tell el-Yahudiya

Olga Tufnell surveyed scarabs from Tell el-Yahudiya and published those from documented graves, which are now stored in Manchester, Ashmolean Museum, Penn Museum, and Brussels.[785] Additionally, scarabs from the British excavations, now in Boston and Bristol, are available on the museum websites, and I was able to study selected scarabs collected at Tell el-Yahudiya (lacking an exact provenance) in the Petrie Museum, the British Museum, and the Ashmolean Museum. Altogether 83 Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period scarabs made of steatite or glazed composition (Egyptian faience) from Tell el-Yahudiya are available for study (among them, 22 were examined in museums; other scarabs are available through photographs and drawings), as presented in Table 52. More scarabs are awaiting examination; hence, the analysis below is preliminary.

Unlike Tell el-Dabʿa, most scarabs of Tell el-Yahudiya cannot be linked to datable contexts based on the available publications and documentation. Many scarabs were purchased by archaeologists and collectors at the site, making the provenance of the pieces less certain. The other side of this is the substantial number of 14th–15th Dynasty royal-name scarabs that stem from Tell el-Yahudiya in contrast to Tell el-Dabʿa, where next to no royal-name scarabs were found. The high proportion of inscribed scarabs is explained by the preferences of scarab collectors and excavators purchasing objects at the site. Royal-name scarabs from Tell el-Yahudiya belong to those purchased rather than excavated.

James Grant told Francis Llewellyn Griffith that he purchased a scarab with the name of Senusret I at Tell el-Yahudiya in 1878.[786] Griffith himself purchased about fifty scarabs from local people at the site in 1887–1888, which he published in his excavation report.[787] Petrie purchased scarabs at the site during the 1905–1906 season. Among the purchases were scarabs Cairo JE 53663 (Sekhaenre); Petrie, Hyksos, pl. IX (124) (Khyan); UC 11666 (Apep). Petrie wrote in his journal: "We have obtained scarabs of three Hyksos kings here Apepa, Khyan, & S.kha.n.ra".[788] In the published report, he specified that the objects were newly found in the

778 Atlanta 56.82; Atlanta 56.84 (from the same tomb as the previous scarab); Brandl, in Beth-Shean II, no. 10; Bruxelles O.1162; Keel, Corpus 5, Jericho 437; Louvre AO 17141; Philadelphia 29-104-5; Sydney NM53.269.

779 Loud, Megiddo, no. 20; Loud, Megiddo, no. 129; Megiddo x487; Megiddo x490 (from the same tomb as the previous scarab).

780 Tufnell 1984, 63–64.

781 Brandl 2019.

782 Bietak in Kutschera et al. 2012, 410.

783 TD 199 and TD 2191.

784 Ben-Tor 2007a, 183 n. 859.

785 Tufnell 1978.

786 Griffith 1890, 39.

787 Griffith 1890, 39.

788 Petrie MSS 1.24, 36, http://archive.griffith.ox.ac.uk/index.php/petrie-1-24 (accessed on 16.05.2020).

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fields when he purchased them: "124 is of the great king Khyan, whose scarabs are nearly always of fine work, and several are mounted in gold like this; it was found along with a strip of gold in the camp. ... 144 is of Apepa I, and ruder than most of his; I bought it from men who had just found it in the fields north of the camp." George Fraser also recorded purchasing a number of scarabs at Tell el-Yahudiya. Several royal-name scarabs from the Fraser collection are said to come from the site.[789]

As for the sculptural features, the most common scarab types at Tell el-Yahudiya are B7/8-O-d6, D9-O-d5, D8-O-e11, A5-II-e11, D6-O-d5. This clearly shows the difference between the scarab corpora of Tell el-Dabʿa and Tell el-Yahudiya. The types B7/8-O-d6 and D9-O-d5, which are underrepresented at Tell el-Dabʿa as discussed above, are the two most common at Tell el-Yahudiya.

Scarabs with D3 and D6-type heads and e9-type sides, identified by Mlinar as imports from the Southern Levant,[790] are very common in Tell el-Dabʿa (23 examples, starting from Phase E/2) and rare in Tell el-Yahudiya (2 examples can be cited[791]). Such scarabs are very scarcely attested among name-scarabs,[792] which confirms their likely identification as mainly non-Egyptian imports.

Likewise, rare compared to Tell el-Dabʿa are scarabs with design class 9B, depicting caprids, which Ben-Tor[793] associated primarily with scarabs imported from the Levant. In Tell el-Dabʿa, 9B is the best represented design class of all animal design classes. In Tell el-Yahudiya, the number of 9B caprid scarabs (three) is smaller than of those with 9D crocodiles (five) and 9E lions (six). By contrast, lions are completely absent at Tell el-Dabʿa, and crocodiles occur on only four scarabs,[794] twice as rare as caprids. Ben-Tor explains the absence of lions in Tell el-Dabʿa as an accident of survival.[795] However, if one considers the prevalence of crocodiles and lions on scarabs of the type B7/8-O-d6 (see above), and the prevalence of this type in the Tell el-Yahudiya corpus as compared to its rarity in Tell el-Dabʿa, one can see that the absence of lions in Tell el-Dabʿa is not accidental. Accordingly, two attestations of design classes 9D and 9E from Tell el-Yahudiya are on scarabs of the type B7/8-O-d6.[796] Lions and crocodiles occur in Tell el-Yahudiya on scarabs with other sculptural features as well.[797] Not only in Tell el-Yahudiya, but also across the corpus of design scarabs from Egypt and Southern Levant, caprids (design class 9B) are generally absent from scarabs of the type B7/8-O-d6.

If one compares scarabs with human depictions from Tell el-Dabʿa and Tell el-Yahudiya, differences are also distinguishable. The most common type of human depictions on scarabs from Tell el-Dabʿa is a standing "mythical"-headed figure holding a cobra (design class 10A2c), which Ben-Tor associated with south Levantine production.[798] This design class does not appear among the scarabs from Tell el-Yahudiya, and it is but twice attested on scarabs of the type B7/8-O-d6.[799] On the contrary, scarabs from Tell el-Yahudiya and scarabs of the type B7/8-O-d6 attest human figures holding palms and flowers (design classes 10A1a, 10A1b, 10A2a, 10A2b), which always have long petals or stems. Mlinar interprets two scarabs from Tell el-Dabʿa as depicting human figures holding a palm (TD 4733[800]) or a flower (TD 487[801]), but both cases are dubious for the lack of long stems. On TD 4733 a figure in a red crown holds a mace in one hand and likely another weapon rather than a palm in the other. On TD 487, there are imitations of Egyptian hieroglyphs before a standing person; Mlinar interprets one of them as a flower, but it is likely just another pseudo-hieroglyphic sign (for the lack of the stem). Tell el-Yahudiya examples of human figures holding palms and flowers (design classes 10A1a, 10A1b, 10A2a, 10A2b) include a scarab of the type B7/8-O-d6 (Manchester 3453), scarabs of other types (D5-O-d5: UC 61219; D8-O-e11: UC 61220) as well as scarabs with sculptural features unclassifiable[802] or inaccessible for the study.[803] Scarabs of the type 7/8-O-d6 found beyond Tell el-Yahudiya also feature design classes 10A1a, 10A1b, 10A2a, 10A2b.[804]

One of the sealings found in Edfu in the same context as the sealings of Khyan features the depiction of a man holding a flower with a long stem (design class 10A1b), which is interpreted as an example of the Ben-Tor's "late

789 Basel Cat. 141 (Khyan); Basel Cat. 143 (Yaqubhar); Basel Cat. 145 (Maaibre); Basel Cat. 160 (Sheshi); Basel Cat. 166 (Samuqenu); Basel Cat. 167 (Yaqubhar) all were purchased at Tell el-Yahudiya according to Fraser. Fraser 1899, pl. I. In this 1899 paper, Fraser gives more details on the provenance of scarabs than in his subsequent catalogue (Fraser 1900); hence the provenances given by Fraser in Fraser 1899 are omitted in subsequent publications, whence Höflmayer's (2018, 145) trouble retracing this information.

790 Mlinar 2004b, type IVb and IVc; so also, Ben-Tor 2007a, 69.

791 Bristol H 3732 and UC 61188.

792 One scarab of Sheshi, UC 11682, and one private-name scarab of a steward *Ptjj*, Berlin 32482 (Martin 516).

793 Ben-Tor 2007a, 95.

794 TD 791, TD 6163, TD 7211, TD 8632; also, TD 8892 not included in Mlinar 2001b.

795 Ben-Tor 2007a, 97.

796 BM EA20823; Boston 88.1050.

797 D9-O-d5 (UC 61223), D9-O-e11 (UC 61222), D3-O-e11 (Bristol H 3733); D3-O-? (Adam, ASAE 55, pl. XX.3); D6-O-d5 (Ashmolean AN EE.637); D3-III-? (Boston 88.742).

798 Ben-Tor 2007a, 69 n. 341; also, Mlinar 2001b, 413.

799 Liverpool WM 28.8.06.7 from Saft el-Henna and Dibeira East 185/545:11.

800 Mlinar 2001b, no. 1036.

801 Mlinar 2001b, no. 1014.

802 UC 61221.

803 Griffith 1890, pl. X (5); Petrie 1906, pl. VIII (45); Petrie 1906, pl. IX (163).

804 IoA UCL EV.35/6; IoA UCL E.XII 85/1; Tufnell, Lachish, 130.

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Palestinian series."[805] However, the popularity of such designs on scarabs of the type B7/8-O-d6 and on scarabs from Tell el-Yahudiya suggests that the scarab used for making this sealing was rather an Egyptian Second Intermediate Period scarab, all the more so because Khyan scarabs also belong to the type B7/8-O-d6 and are attested in Tell el-Yahudiya. Hence, both this Second Intermediate Period design scarab and the Khyan scarab that were used to make the sealings found in Edfu could stem from a production centre in Egypt other than Tell el-Dabʿa, but not from the Levant. The depiction of the flower on the Edfu sealing (which according to excavators was made by a scarab of "extremely good quality"),[806] is to some extent paralleled on scarab MMA 10.130.398 (unknown provenance), belonging to the type B7/8-O-d6.[807]

Results: regional diversity in the Second Intermediate Period

The evidence of excavated scarabs from the Second Intermediate Period is scarce, and there are no textual indicators suggesting the origin of scarabs and their owners. Thus, one is on thin ice if one wants to compare the excavated corpora of scarabs from Tell el-Dabʿa and Tell el-Yahudiya with name scarabs. Yet, however fragmentary the preserved evidence may be, it allows drawing some preliminary conclusions.

There are certain types of scarabs, defined in terms of sculptural features, which commonly occur among royal-name scarabs and among design scarabs from Tell el-Yahudiya, but are very rare at Tell el-Dabʿa. As for one of these types (B7/8-O-d6), scarabs from Tell el-Yahudiya exhibit a high degree of coherence with scarabs of this type found elsewhere: design classes characteristic of B7/8-O-d6-type scarabs are common in Tell el-Yahudiya and occur there on scarabs with other sculptural features as well; the same designs are rare to non-existent in the corpus of scarabs from Tell el-Dabʿa. On the contrary, some scarab designs and scarab classes common in Tell el-Dabʿa are rare in the corpus of Tell el-Yahudiya. This combined evidence suggests that the differences between the two corpora are not due to the accident of preservation.

On the basis of this evidence, it appears likely that scarabs of the types B7/8-O-d6 and D9-O-d5, including most royal-name scarabs of Khyan and Yaqubhar and some royal-name scarabs of Yakbim, Sekhaenre, Maaibre, Sheshi, Amu, and Yaʿammu, as well as most scarabs of the treasurer *Ḥ3r* and some scarabs of the treasurer *Pr-m-ḥst*, were not produced at Tell el-Dabʿa. Instead, they were produced at the same centre(s) as scarabs found in Tell el-Yahudiya. Whereas Tell el-Yahudiya is a major find-place for scarabs of these types, it must not necessarily be the production place. The workshop(s) could have been located elsewhere in the Lower Egypt or even in the Memphite area.

Tell el-Dabʿa may be responsible for the scarab group B7/8-O-e6b/d14, designated as Type V "the fanciful group" by Mlinar. This scarab series includes scarabs with the names of Senusret I, Senusret III, Amenemhat III, but no actual 14th–15th Dynasty royal-name scarabs with exception of Yaqubhar and possibly Apep. Scarabs of this type are better represented at Tell el-Dabʿa than elsewhere in Egypt or the Levant.

In the view of these findings, the traditional notion of the royal workshops of Avaris as the place where all major series of royal-name and private-name scarabs of the 14th–15th Dynasty were allegedly produced is problematic. The available evidence of design scarabs contradicts the theory of the centralised scarab production at Tell el-Dabʿa and suggests that royal-name scarabs were rather created at several distinct centres. This would also be an explanation of why it is impossible to establish an orderly seriation of royal-name scarabs to arrange the rulers chronologically. If the scarabs did not belong to one continuous tradition but were produced at different centres with little standardisation efforts on the part of the makers, it would be impossible to arrange them chronologically based on the typology.

Based mainly on the Tell el-Dabʿa corpus, flooded with south Levantine imports, Ben-Tor concluded that the production of scarabs in Egypt of the Second Intermediate Period was largely reduced to name scarabs with most design scarabs being imported from the Levant.[808] The corpus of Tell el-Yahudiya provides solid evidence for a large-scale production of design scarabs in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period. First, scarabs of the type D9-O-d5 can be shown to be of Egyptian origin (and the few that were found in the Levant can be shown to be likely Egyptian imports, as their distribution follows the pattern common for Egyptian imports). Second, many or rather most scarabs of the type B7/8-O-d6 with ring must be produced in Egypt, as they include royal-name and private-name scarabs. Third, specific designs, characteristic of B7/8-O-d6-type scarabs and attested on D9-O-d5-type scarabs also occur on design scarabs with other sculptural features in Tell el-Yahudiya, and consequently, these should also be Egyptian products.

805 Moeller, Marouard, and Ayers 2011, 102 fig. 12 (2654.s.1), 110. The appurtenance of this motif to the Ben-Tor's "late Palestinian series" is further discussed by Reali in Forstner-Müller and Reali 2018, 116.

806 Moeller, Marouard, and Ayers 2011, 110 (2654.s.1).

807 Museum website.

808 Ben-Tor 2007a, 185–186.

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5. Scarabs as seen by their producers

Few texts survive from Egypt that show how products of Egyptian craftsmen and architects were perceived in ancient times,[809] and to my knowledge none of them offer a glimpse into Egyptian attitudes towards scarabs. Hence, indirect evidence is the only way to obtain a better understanding of what people in ancient Egypt saw in scarabs, to reconstruct a culture-internal – emic – perspective on these objects. Two kinds of actions connected to scarabs can be explored. On the one hand, the use of scarabs can be studied by examining the evidence of their distribution in archaeological record and physical traces of use on them. On the other hand, their production can be brought into focus by examining what the people who designed and produced these objects regarded as important. Pursuing the first approach is a matter of a separate study. This chapter aims to explore the aspects of scarab production that can be indicative of the attitudes towards these objects.

Modern researchers observe scarabs through the lens of the existing classifications and studies. Equipped with tables showing the different types of heads, sides, backs, and designs and with the knowledge of vast museum collections that preserve scarabs of different types from different ages and cultures, scholars aim to pin down the position of each scarab on an imaginary typological map of scarabs and to record its coordinates using the codes established for different scarab features. If a scarab scholar were to carve a scarab, chances are high that they would conceive the work in terms of classes and types – they would aim to carve, for example a "C5-type head and d9-type side" scarab or a scarab with a "Shesha-type" back.

Do we know in what terms Egyptian scarab-makers conceived their work and did they deliberately intend to produce scarabs with certain features? This is not a futile question, because modern approaches to studying scarabs rely on certain implicit presumptions about the production process, which have never been verified.

Egyptologist and art historian Whitney Davis elaborated a distinction between "pure styles" unrecognised by producers and intentional application of styles observed by producers, which he calls "stylisticality."[810] In Davis's idea, the recursion of these two mechanisms creates stylistic successions; unravelling these entangled successions[811] requires a fine analysis and is not always possible. In relation to the analytical approaches that only analyse "pure styles" and do not take into account any degree of "stylisticality", Davis suggested that in many cases, styles identified by archaeologists with modern analytical methods and laying the groundwork for typologies and seriations were generally not perceivable for the people who produced those artefacts without the use of the same analytical methods.[812] At least the archaeologists implicitly assumed that the ancient people did not perceive and reflect on these styles. As a prime example of this approach, Davis cites Petrie's typology of Egyptian Pre- and Early Dynastic pottery (sequence dates).

Whereas Davis's remarks on archaeological methods deal with Pre- and Early Dynastic material in Egypt, they may still serve as a point of departure for discussing scarab features. For the scholars dealing with the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period scarabs generally proceed from the same assumption as Petrie, namely that scarab producers did not reflect on scarab features. Whereas conscious replications are a phenomenon long known in later Egyptian and Near Eastern scarabs,[813] this option has not been duly considered in the study of Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period scarabs. Tufnell and Ward reconstructed the history of scarabs in this epoch based on the notion that scarab features "sometimes evolved quite naturally"[814] in gradual "progressions."[815] Subsequent scholars also presumed a "gradual and consistent development"[816] of scarab features. These assumptions play a major role in the reconstruction of the Second Intermediate Period chronology, as it is often taken for granted that the scarabs can be arranged chronologically, using these gradual progressions as a guide.

Two trends can, however, be observed in the corpus of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period scarabs that challenge the predominant view of the natural evolution of scarabs, free from conscious attempts to imitate certain styles, – the standardisation of scarabs across regions under the 13th Dynasty and the imitation of 12th Dynasty royal-names scarabs during the Second Intermediate Period.

809 The best known are mostly stereotypical Egyptian evaluations of architecture and sculpture in building inscriptions, biographies, and visitors' dipinti and graffiti (Nyord 2020, 43–47 with references to further literature).

810 Davis 2011, 75–119.

811 Davis 2011, 98.

812 Davis 2011, 84; 349 n. 5.

813 Boschloos 2017.

814 Tufnell 1984, 28.

815 Tufnell 1984, 193.

816 Ryholt 2018, 239.

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Perceived and unperceived scarab traits and the standardisation of scarabs under the 13th Dynasty

Chapters 1 and 2 show that the classifications of head, side, and base types as established in the works by Martin, Tufnell, and Ward are best suited for dating the scarabs, whereas the regional differences manifest themselves in subtler details, which are not codified within the established classifications for Middle Kingdom scarabs. Eyes set apart, bordered clypei, hybrid C2/C5-type heads, bordered elytra, concave head-sides, chips in the corners of C6-type heads, line patterns on the garments of human figures – all these minor features, which are essential for singling out the local scarab groups discussed in Chapter 2, are absent from the existing scarab classifications.

One possible explanation for the absence of minor features in classifications is that these classifications were devised for dating as the principal objective of scarab research, and they were particularly meant to allow comparison with royal-name scarabs, which provide a framework for dating the rest of Middle Kingdom scarabs. The minor features do not occur on royal-name scarabs; hence, they are of little use for establishing correspondences between royal-name and private-name scarabs.

For decades, scarab scholars use easily recognisable traits such as head and side classes as the basis for the typologies, binding together the chronologies of royal and non-royal scarabs, and Chapter 1 has confirmed the validity of this approach for the 13th Dynasty material, based on a re-examination of the textual and prosopographical evidence. Chapter 2 presents evidence for the simultaneous production of scarabs in at least two different centres under the 13th Dynasty (presumably, the royal residence in the north and Thebes in the South). That a clearly visible chronological line of succession of scarab traits existed despite the decentralised production of scarabs with discernible traits of local production, suggests that the intentional standardisation was responsible for maintaining a common style of scarabs across Egypt. In other words, scarab makers working outside the royal residence supposedly aimed to make their scarabs look like those produced in the residence.[817] (An alternative explanation could be that scarab makers were trained in the residence and then moved to work elsewhere. But this scenario cannot explain the idiosyncrasies distinguishing the scarabs made in the south from those made in the north. Hence, the resemblance through training is a less likely explanation than resemblance through intentional imitation.)

The fact that head and side types can be instrumental in determining the dates of scarabs regardless of the place of production and that the established dates are generally reliable and often corroborated from the independent evidence of prosopography, suggests that during the 13th Dynasty these features were recognised by craftsmen as elements of the style of contemporary royal-name scarabs, as "stylistical"[818] traits, which craftsmen tried to imitate one way or another. Through this, head and side types easily spread from one region (the royal residence) to another (Thebes), as new fashions emerged in the course of time. It is due to this spread of knowledge or standardisation that modern dating criteria work for 13th Dynasty scarabs.

Subtler details, such as the position of eyes in regard to the pronotum, the form of the sides of a rectangular scarab head, the border lines on the clypeus, which are less noticeable for scholars and which spill through the sieve of the modern classifications, were arguably perceived by Egyptians as features of lower order, not worth strictly copying. In other words, these were not elements of style to Egyptian scarab-makers just like they are not elements of classification to modern scholars. Hence, traits of this kind can be observed in smaller localised groups, as these features of lower order did not spread beyond these groups. Such traits were presumably not adopted or abandoned by craftsmen on purpose and can be pragmatically used as betrayals of regional traditions, regardless of the kind of actual societal structures (individual craftsmen, schools, workshops, etc.[819]) behind the scarab production. I consider it possible to reconstruct the geography and chronology of scarab production by analysing groups of scarabs that can be defined in terms of subtle sculptural and decorative features (under consideration of all external non-stylistic evidence on the origin of scarabs, provided by inscriptions on name scarabs).

As a side note, I would like to formulate a practical conclusion from these observations: publications of scarabs from excavations and museum collections should become more detailed than is still common, for any minor scarab feature, the elytra, the clypeus, or the plates, can be of use to define geographical and chronological position of the scarab and of other comparable scarabs. These details are often indistinguishable on small photos, let alone line art drawings, best suitable to convey the idea of the types recognised by a scholar in a scarab. It is thus vital to publish quality photos of at least three scarab sides to enable studying the minor features, which may play a major role in re-contextualising scarabs.

Summing up, the study of 13th Dynasty name scarabs informed by independent textual evidence suggests that both unreflective and reflective uses of styles were at play in the production of scarabs as early as the late Middle Kingdom, underlie the occurrence of features on scarabs, and should be taken into account when analysing this material.

817 It hard to suppose that the relation was reversed, but that would not change much in the nature of this process.

818 Davis 2011, 349 n. 5.

819 See Davis 1996, 185; Davis 2011, 76, on the impossibility of defining the historical form of a production system based on common style alone.

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Dwelling on the past: 12th Dynasty royal-name scarabs in the Second Intermediate Period

The observations made in Chapter 3 suggest that many phenomena in the development of Egyptian name scarabs of the 14th–15th Dynasty and MB IIB south Levantine scarabs can be traced back to royal-name scarabs from the 12th Dynasty. Posthumous scarabs with names of 12th Dynasty kings were widely produced in the Second Intermediate Period[820] and the production of posthumous royal-name scarabs was arguably only a part of the phenomenon, which also included emulating designs and sculptural features of original 12th Dynasty scarabs[821] on 14th–15th Dynasty name scarabs.

To begin with, many base designs used on 14th–15th Dynasty scarabs are absent or rare in the 13th Dynasty and can be found on 12th Dynasty scarabs.

It is acknowledged that tripartite scarab designs with the sides often separated by lines (panel designs) belong to the most characteristic traits of MB IIB south Levantine scarabs and 14th–15th Dynasty name and design scarabs.[822] Different versions of these designs go back to the 12th Dynasty and are barely used under the 13th Dynasty.

Tripartite base layouts with borders made of pairs of hieroglyphic signs (Martin base types 6a without panels and 6c with panels) are common among 14th–15th Dynasty royal-name scarabs and design scarabs with the so-called formulae. Although, the panels (Tufnell design class 3E1, 3E2, 3E3, 3E4) do not occur before the Second Intermediate Period and are believed to emerge in Ben-Tor's "early Palestinian series,"[823] the similar 6a-class bases[824] with side decoration of hieroglyphic signs without panels occur on royal-name scarabs of the 12th Dynasty. Scarab impressions from Wahsut, where apparently no scarab impressions postdating the Middle Kingdom were found, (Fig. 99)[825] and from Mirgissa (Fig. 100)[826], attest the existence of seals with the names of Amenemhat III and Senusret III flanked by pairs of hieroglyphic signs *ꜥnḫ* and *ḏd* or *ꜥnḫ* and *nfr* already in the Middle Kingdom. Beside these royal-name scarab impressions, pairs of signs *ꜥnḫ* and *ḏd* in 6a-type hieroglyphic borders are known from 12th Dynasty private-name scarabs.[827] This design does not occur on 13th Dynasty royal-name scarabs or scarab impressions, although it occasionally features on private-name 13th Dynasty scarabs.[828] Hence, the tripartite layouts without panels (Martin's base type 6a and the Richards's design "tripartite without lines")



Fig. 99 A scarab impression from Wahsut with the name of Amenemhat III bordered by pairs of hieroglyphic signs. Reproduced from Wegner 2007, fig. 144 (2) with permission of the author. 16 mm.



Fig. 100 A scarab impression from Mirgissa with the name of Amenemhat III bordered by pairs of hieroglyphic signs Mirgissa 1-97. Reproduced from Gratien 2019, pl. 6 (1-97). © Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Le Caire. 14 mm.

820 Keel 1995, 230–232.

821 Or late Middle Kingdom scarabs with 12th Dynasty royal names, which were likely deemed original 12th Dynasty scarabs by the time of the Second Intermediate Period.

822 Tufnell 1984, 123–124; Richards 2001, 56–71; Ben-Tor 2007a, 83–87, 133–135.

823 Ben-Tor 2007a, 86–87.

824 "Tripartite without lines" in terms of Richards 2001, 56–61.

825 Wegner 2007, 314 fig. 144 (2).

826 Gratien 2019, pl. 6 (1-97); pl. 6 (1-81).

827 Cairo JE 75208 and Martin, MDAIK 35, no. 7, referred to in Table 39.

828 Mirgissa 3-180 (see Table 35) from the time of the treasurer Senbi; scarab from Tel Dor (http://www.ynet.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-4795525,00.html accessed on 06.07.2020), featuring the word *bjtj* spelled with the sign S3, suggesting a date not earlier than the time of Senebsumai; similar scarabs of the king's son *Sbk-ḥtp* (Portland 29.16.992, museum website) and the king's daughter *Rn-snb* (BM EA28126, Hall 1913, 208; examined first-hand), both featuring C5-type heads, lined backs, and d8-type sides.

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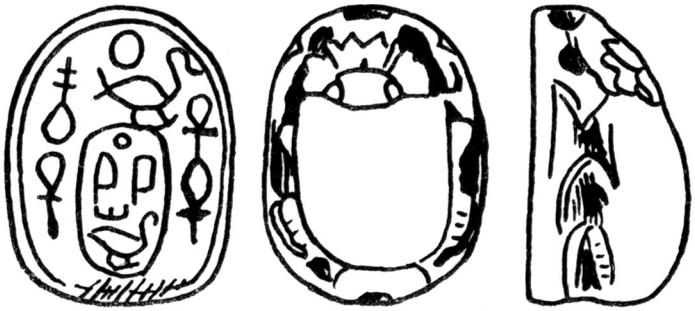


Fig. 101 A scarab of Khyan with the name bordered by pairs of hieroglyphic signs, MMA 26.7.104. Reproduced from Tufnell 1984, no. 3207. 16×11×8 mm.



Fig. 102 A scarab of Amenemhat IV, UC 11332. Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. 26×17×12 mm.

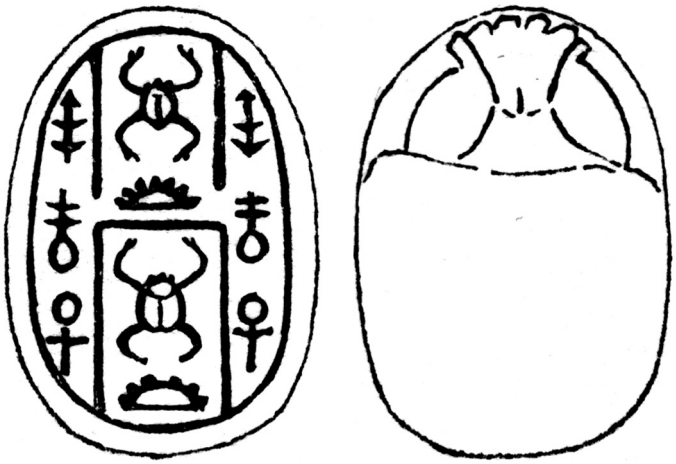


Fig. 103 A design scarab from tomb B 35 in Jericho (Group III). Reproduced from Kirkbride 1965, 621 fig. 292 (8). This image is copyright. Reproduced by permission of University of Cambridge Museum of Archaeology & Anthropology (BR6/3/1/8). 18×13 mm.

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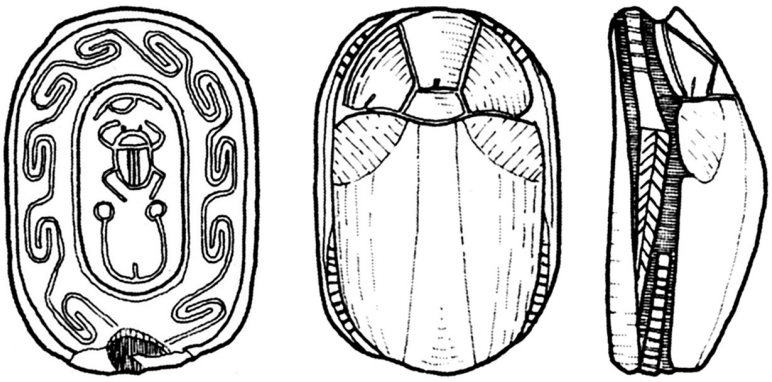


Fig. 105 An imitation of a Middle Kingdom royal-name scarab from Tell el-Dabʿa with features of the Second Intermediate Period Egyptian or Levantine production (B7-O-d14), TD 2191.
Reproduced from Mlinar 2004b, 129 fig. 12 (2). 15×10×6 mm.

on MB IIB design scarabs and 14th–15th Dynasty royal-name scarabs, attested for Amu, Aauserre Apep, Khauserre, Khyan (Fig. 101), Maaibre, Nikare, Qareh, Sheshi, Wazad, and Yaqubhar, may be an imitation of 12th Dynasty models. Ward already considered Middle Kingdom scarabs with hieroglyphic borders as precursors to the later panels, but the available data suggest that it was not a "long history going back to the 12th Dynasty," as Ward assumed,[829] but rather MB IIB and 14th–15th Dynasty scarab makers were taking direct inspiration from 12th Dynasty models, because these designs occur only rarely under the 13th Dynasty (and never on royal-name scarabs).

A similar design class 3E5, designated by Tufnell as "the shrine" and occurring on design scarabs in the Southern Levant from early MB IIB onward (Fig. 103),[830] possibly goes back to Egyptian royal-name scarabs with the royal name in the rectangular serekh-sign, attested for Amenemhat IV (Fig. 102).[831] The serekh does not appear on Egyptian royal-name scarabs after the reign of Amenemhat Sonbef.[832] Tufnell acknowledged the connection of this design with the Egyptian serekh,[833] but not with the specific representations of the serekh on scarabs, although it is the most likely suggestion that a scarab design was inspired by the representations on other scarabs. Although this design class likely originated in the Levant, as Ben-Tor asserts,[834] it imitates Egyptian late 12th or early 13th Dynasty royal-name scarabs.

Many MB IIB and 14th–15th Dynasty scarabs that imitate Egyptian royal-name scarabs by placing meaningless hieroglyphic sequences in an oblong ring (design class 3D1) feature borders of continuous round and oblong scrolls (Martin base types 1a, 1g, Tufnell and Ward design class 7A). Same borders appear on scarabs produced in the same period that feature true names of 12th Dynasty kings, most often *Ḫpr-kȝ-rʿ* (Senusret I) (Fig. 105). Were these scarab designs an invention of the Second Intermediate Period? On the one hand, continuous oblong scroll borders are well attested on private-name scarabs from the 12th Dynasty, disappearing in the early part of the 13th Dynasty (see above), which could favour the origin of this design in the 12th Dynasty. On the other hand, the production of royal-name scarabs is not safely attested for the time of Senusret I, and among the known royal-name scarabs with continuous scroll borders, there are none that can be securely dated to the Middle Kingdom. The missing evidence is provided by scarab impressions. On the Elephantine, sealings designated by the publisher as Siegeltyp 110 and 111[835] feature borders of continuous oblong and round scrolls combined with royal names



Fig. 104 Impression of a Middle Kingdom royal-name scarab with the name of Senusret I from Bauschicht 13 on the Elephantine, featuring continuous scroll borders.
Reproduced from von Pilgrim 1996, 242 fig. 98 (111) with permission of the author. 18×12 mm.

829 Ward 1985, 524.
830 Keel 1995, 181; Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 58.
831 Louvre E.3394; UC 11332.
832 Hannover 1976.102.
833 Tufnell 1984, 83, 123.
834 Ben-Tor 2007a, 87, 135.
835 von Pilgrim 1996, 242 fig. 98.

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Fig. 106 A 12th Dynasty scarab from Dahshur with the name of Senusret III in a 1y-type border (two pairs of oblong scrolls) on a golden plate, MMA 26.7.756.
Public domain photo from https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/546139, credit line: Purchase, Edward S. Harkness Gift, 1926. 13 mm.



Fig. 107 A scarab of Sheshi with the name in a 1y-type border (two pairs of oblong scrolls), Aberdeen ABDUA 81052. Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. Courtesy of the University of Aberdeen, Scotland. 21×15×10 mm.

in oblong rings. Sealing 111 features the name of Senusret I (Fig. 104); the royal name on sealing 110 is unreadable. These sealings were found in contexts (SVK 17a, SVK 21) belonging to Bauschicht 13 in the stratigraphy of the site, and thus datable to the late 12th– first half of the 13th Dynasty.[836] The same likely applies to scarab impression Uronarti 16,[837] featuring the name of Senusret II in a border of continuous round scrolls. As the fort of Uronarti was founded in the 16th regnal year of Senusret III, it is unlikely that the scarab used for sealing is contemporary with the reign of Senusret II, as Ward surmised.[838] The sealing was found together with a large set of late Middle Kingdom scarab impressions[839] and thus, both the impression and the scarab it was made with probably date from the Late Middle Kingdom. One scarab impression with the name of Amenemhat III from Lahun has a border of continuous oblong scrolls.[840] Since no Second Intermediate Period scarab impressions are known from Lahun, one can assume a late Middle Kingdom date for this sealing. The Mirgissa sealings corpus also attests frequent use of scarabs with the names of Senusret I, Senusret II, and Senusret III in the Late Middle Kingdom,[841] although sealings with continuous scroll borders are absent in the corpus. Based on this evidence, one can assume that the production of posthumous 12th Dynasty royal-name scarabs began as early as the late 12th–early 13th Dynasty. Some of these posthumous scarabs featured borders with continuous round scrolls, which are also common for private-name scarabs from the same period, and oval rings instead of cartouches. Presumably at the time of the

836 See note 240 above.
837 Dunham 1967, 65 (13).
838 Ward and Dever 1994, 16.
839 Uronarti 28-12-112, Dunham 1967, 45.
840 Petrie, Brunton and Murray 1923, pl. LXIV (216); Tufnell 1975, fig. 12 (439).
841 Gratien 2019, pl. 6.

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Fig. 108 A scarab of Khyan from Tell el-Yahudiya with a 1ag-type border with snake heads or bud finials. Reproduced from Petrie 1906, pl. IX (124). 18 mm.



Fig. 109 An impression of a Middle Kingdom scarab of Amenemhat III with a complex design. Reproduced from Petrie, Brunton and Murray 1923, pl. LXIV (215). 15mm.



Fig. 110 A scarab of Aauserre (Apep) with a complex design, Louvre E 3282. © 1994 Musée du Louvre / Christian Larrieu, reproduced from https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010030186. 15×10×6 mm.

14th–15th Dynasty, these early posthumous scarabs with 12th Dynasty royal names should have been taken for genuine early to mid-12th Dynasty objects and served as models for imitations.

Another variety of a scroll border that distinguishes 14th–15th Dynasty royal-name scarabs from those of the 13th Dynasty are borders with two pairs of oblong scrolls (Martin's types 1y, 1z, 1aa, 1ab, 1ac; Fig. 107). As discussed in Chapter 3 above, these borders are particularly characteristic of scarabs with the names Maaibre and Sheshi. One scarab of Senusret III found at Dahshur (and thus securely datable to the 12th Dynasty[842]) features a golden plate with a 1y-type design (Fig. 106).[843] This design type could also originate in the 12th Dynasty, although the evidence is scarce. Supposedly, scarab producers of the Second Intermediate Period had access to a wider range of original 12th Dynasty scarabs than we have now.

Borders with three pairs of scrolls, ending in snake heads or buds, which occur on scarabs of Khyan (1ag, 1al3; Fig. 108), have parallels on hard stone scarabs of Amenemhat II and Senusret III from 12th Dynasty contexts in Dahshur,[844] as well as on steatite scarabs of Amenemhat IV,[845] Neferusobek,[846] Amenemhat Sonbef,[847] Amenemhat Sedjefakare (Fig. 21),[848] but not on mid- to late 13th Dynasty scarabs. Given that these designs only occur under the 12th and early 13th Dynasty, there cannot be a direct continuity from the use of this design in the Middle Kingdom and its use on the scarabs of Khyan. It is thus hard to

842 So also, Ben-Tor 2007a, 37.

843 MMA 26.7.756 (Ben-Tor 2004a, 22 fig. 17–18; museum website).

844 Cairo JE 98778A and Cairo JE 98778B (Ben-Tor 2004a; Yoshimura 2015, no. 65–66); Cairo JE 30870 (Tufnell 1984, no. 3065).

845 Louvre E.3396.

846 BM EA66159.

847 Hannover 1976.102.

848 MMA 26.7.85.

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follow Ben-Tor in considering the use of this design as an argument favouring an early date for Khyan.[849] Producers of Khyan scarabs probably copied this design (which also occurs on several 14th-15th Dynasty private-name scarabs) from 12th Dynasty scarabs known to them, which were already "heirlooms" by that time, regardless of whether we place Khyan early or late in the sequence of 14th–15th Dynasty kings attested on scarabs.

Complex designs with numerous 3B-class "symmetrical patterns" or with the 3A1-class "sign of the union," which occur on scarabs of Apep (Fig. 110),[850] may go back to the scarabs of Amenemhat III, as suggested by a sealing in Lahun with 3B symmetrical patterns (Fig. 109).[851] In Ward's view, this indicated that all scarabs of Amenemhat III with a similar design must be contemporary with the reign of this king.[852] However, since the imitations of this design with the name of Apep are well attested, it is likely that at least some of the scarabs with the name of Amenemhat III were imitations of 12th Dynasty scarabs produced around the reign of Apep. It was discussed in Chapter 3 that one of Amenemhat III scarabs with this design features a head type characteristic of Apep scarabs,[853] and another one exhibits features of Mlinar Type V (B7/8-O-e6b) scarabs attested and likely to be produced at Tell el-Dabʿa in the Second Intermediate Period (Chapter 4).[854] Hence, these are unlikely to be genuine 12th Dynasty scarabs but rather late imitations, reproducing the designs of the original Amenemhat III scarabs. Besides, the same design also occurs on scarab Louvre E 3299,[855] which apparently features the name of Amenhotep I; if the reading of the name is correct, it would add to the evidence on early 18th Dynasty scarab producers relying on the same authoritative sources as the scarab producers catering to the foreign-origin kings of the Second Intermediate Period.

The evidence of scarab designs is most eloquent because MB IIB and 14th–15th Dynasty scarabs revive the distinctive base decorations of the 12th Dynasty, which disappeared during the 13th Dynasty. Yet backs and sides generally show comparable trends. As for the sides, d5, d6, and e6b-type sides are common both on 14th–15th Dynasty and 12th Dynasty scarabs, but not on those of the mid- to late 13th Dynasty. Trapezoid D6-type heads, plain backs (Tufnell type O), serrated clypei, and deeply set clypei occur frequently on 12th Dynasty and early 13th Dynasty scarabs and recur on 14th–15th Dynasty scarabs. Whereas not all these features are attested on surviving 12th Dynasty royal-name scarabs, one can imply from the evidence of 12th Dynasty private-name scarabs that royal-name scarabs – those which did not survive but were probably available to scarab producers of 14th–15th Dynasty – also had these features.

Compared to the obvious abandonment of the most distinctive elements of the 13th Dynasty scarab tradition (C-type heads, d8/d9-type sides), the adoption of features figuring on 12th Dynasty private-name scarabs – and hence on 12th Dynasty royal-name scarabs – appears to be a very pronounced trend in the MB IIB Levant and the 14th–15th Dynasty Egypt. As highlighted in the discussion of Apep scarabs in Chapter 3, the adoption of 12th Dynasty scarab features recurred throughout the Second Intermediate Period with 12th Dynasty traits repeatedly given preference over the elements of the nascent new style.

The posthumous production of scarabs with names of 12th Dynasty rulers is already attested in the Middle Kingdom. The Elephantine evidence for the use of Senusret I scarabs in the late 12th or the early 13th Dynasty has just been discussed. Later in the reign of the 13th Dynasty, numerous scarabs sharing features with those of Mlinar Type III were produced with the names of Senusret III and Amenemhat III, as discussed below in Chapter 6 in connection with the scarabs of the rulers of Byblos. As is shown there, this scarab type originated in Egypt around the reign of Sobekhotep IV, being later acquired at Tell el-Dabʿa and probably elsewhere. However, scarab producers of the Second Intermediate Period went further than their 13th Dynasty predecessors in reproducing not just the name, but also features and designs of 12th Dynasty royal names scarabs. The phenomenon can be remotely related to the well-evidenced reuse of Egyptian 12th Dynasty royal monuments by the kings of the 14th–15th Dynasty. Nehsy, Khyan, and Apep relocated and re-inscribed a number of monuments previously inscribed with names of mainly 12th Dynasty kings.[856] It is accepted that this practice should not be seen as the attempt to efface the name of the original owners but rather to equate the re-user with the original owner or establish some other kind of connection between them.[857] Hence, the reuse of original Middle Kingdom statues and the issue of scarabs in the style of 12th Dynasty royal-name scarabs under the kings of foreign origin in Lower Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period should be seen not as contradictory but as mutually complementary acts.

It was suggested that the redistribution of 12th Dynasty statues and other valuable objects across the Eastern Mediterranean in the Second Intermediate

849 Ben-Tor 2007a, 106.

850 Berlin 32771; Louvre E.3282; UC 11667.

851 Petrie, Brunton and Murray 1923, pl. LXIV (215); Tufnell 1975, fig. 12 (441).

852 Ward and Dever 1994, 16.

853 BM EA3931.

854 NFA Scarabs, no. 10.

855 Museum website.

856 Statues: Connor 2020, 139, 144–145, 322–323, 327–328, 332, 341–342, 380; also offering stand Berlin 22487 originally from Thebes or Medamud and dedicated by Senusret I (Krauss 1993, 27 fig. 2).

857 Eaton-Krauss 2015, 101–103 with references to previous works on the subject.

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Period may have been due to the plundering of the necropolises in the Memphite area.[858] Hypothetically, 12th Dynasty scarabs could have become available for trade and copying under similar circumstances. Two 12th Dynasty undisturbed caches of small objects, including scarabs, were found in Dahshur by de Morgan[859] and it is quite possible that some similar groups of objects were discovered in the Second Intermediate Period. It can be surmised that the rare 12th Dynasty royal-name scarabs repeatedly served as inspirational models for scarab makers.

Curiously, some features were limited to Second Intermediate Period reissues of 12th Dynasty scarabs and do not occur on genuine scarabs of Second Intermediate Period kings and officials. This is true for continuous scroll borders, which should obviously give a touch of authenticity to reissues of 12th Dynasty royal-name scarabs and which never occur on royal-name scarabs of the 14th–15th Dynasty. Other features were generally adopted in the scarab production of the period and developed into new traits within this tradition. However, recurrent attempts to reinstate the "true" 12th Dynasty scarab features should be responsible for the renewed emergence of "novel" features derived from 12th Dynasty scarabs, which did not appear on scarabs of previous rulers during the 14th–15th Dynasty. A distinct wave of such 12th Dynasty revivals is best attested for Apep, who reigned in the end of the Second Intermediate Period and thus after other Lower Egyptian kings attested on scarabs. His scarabs reintroduce e6b-type sides, designs from the reign of Amenemhat III and further 12th Dynasty features, which are unattested in other 14th–15th Dynasty royal-name series.

Surely the recourses to the past[860] in the Egyptian material culture are not limited to scarabs. Different kinds of Egyptian artefacts tend to occasionally revive models from the non-immediate past. Egyptian sculpture, relief, painting, and architecture are the principal domains where reminiscences from the distant past are observed and studied.[861] Among prime examples are 12th Dynasty reliefs from Lisht replicating Old Kingdom reliefs, which were intentionally gathered at different sites across the Memphite necropolises,[862] royal statues and reliefs of the Thutmoside era drawing upon late 11th and 12th Dynasty models,[863] and, above all, the artistic production of the late Third Intermediate Period and the 26th Dynasty, relying on copies of monuments from diverse past epochs.[864]

Yet, beyond these acclaimed examples, there are other groups of objects in Egypt that occasionally replicate features of artefacts from the (not-immediate) past.[865] Susan Allen has demonstrated that Middle Kingdom funerary pottery reverts to Old Kingdom forms.[866] This distinguishes the funerary pottery from the domestic pottery where, to my knowledge, no such trends are observable. Ellen Morris suggested that Middle Kingdom hand clappers and other ivory objects were influenced by Early Dynastic objects.[867] Gianluca Miniaci advanced the hypothesis that the Middle Kingdom animal figurines of Egyptian faience may have been inspired by Early Dynastic figurines, displaying a similar range of forms.[868] The early ivories and figurines may have been rediscovered during the Middle Kingdom in the course of activities such as the renovations in the Early Dynastic tombs of Umm el-Qaab, for which there is solid evidence.[869]

Were ancient scarabs copied because they were considered superior in terms of quality (the materials used, the craftsmanship, or the beauty) or because of their connection to esteemed historical figures or epochs? There is no explicit evidence, but it is known that both considerations could play a role in the appreciation of other works of craftsmanship in Egypt. It was noted that New Kingdom visitors' inscriptions in tombs expound not only the enchantment by the visual aspects of the monuments but also, perhaps even more importantly, the admiration for their historical importance; one striking aspect of these inscriptions is that some visitors attempted to link private tombs to the reigns of prominent kings of the past (sometimes erroneously).[870] One may expect that the value of scarabs was perceived along similar lines, and that the historical value (ancienty and glory of kings) played a major role in choosing the scarabs to emulate.

In Chapters 3 and 4, I pointed out that the history of royal-name scarabs in the period has visible discontinuities, and one of the factors behind it was the regional diversity. The recurring emulations of 12th Dynasty royal-name scarabs were another factor. These two reasons explain why it is impossible to reconstruct the chronology of 14th–15th Dynasty name scarabs using the seriation methods alone (whereas the external evidence is lacking) and highlight the need to change the general approach to the scarabs of the Middle Bronze Age, taking into consideration how the producers of scarabs treated them.

858 Ahrens 2011.
859 de Morgan 1895, 60–72; Grajetzki 2014, 83–93.
860 Baines 1994, 88 (2007, 334–336).
861 Kahl 2010, 2.
862 Goedicke 1971, 5–7; Do. Arnold 2008.
863 Laboury 2013.
864 Assmann 1996, 371–403; Morkot 2003; Morkot 2014.
865 Or in other words, objects that may possess authority for later generations, for the term, see: Summers 2003, 65–66.
866 S. J. Allen 2009.
867 Morris 2017, 323-330.
868 Miniaci forthc.
869 Müller 2004.
870 Den Doncker 2012, 26–27; see also: Wildung 1969, 171–173. The visitors could also erroneously attribute monuments of lesser kings the greater and better-known kings: Berlev 1980.

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Results: ancient production and modern methodology

It is widely acknowledged that from the Ramesside period on and during the First Millennium BC, scarab producers intentionally imitated features and layouts of much earlier scarabs.[871] Among such emulations are the groups labelled in the scholarly literature as Neo-Hyksos and Pseudo-Hyksos scarabs.[872] Recently, the appearance of traits of early Middle Kingdom on early 18th Dynasty scarabs has been brought into context of the widespread emulation of 11th and 12th Dynasty styles in the sculpture and relief of the early 18th Dynasty,[873] which suggests that the phenomenon is older than the Ramesside Period.

Second Intermediate Period and earlier scarabs are still studied in a different vein. Scarabs of the Middle Bronze age are usually analysed as archaeological small finds along with other artefacts commonly attested in archaeological record. Scarabs are supposed to evolve over time in the same manner as domestic pottery, metal implements, and other common object groups,[874] as if their features and layouts changed without conscious attempts to follow a certain style. Yet, the makers of scarabs did consciously emulate authoritative styles in at least two different ways — either reviving past models or following authoritative contemporary fashions. The recourses to the non-immediate past clearly differentiate scarabs from most other artefacts often occurring in archaeological record. The trend towards standardisation should also be considered: while standardisation can be observed across a wide range of objects and can have different causes, in scarabs of the 13th Dynasty, it was due to the intentional imitation of more authoritative contemporary styles.

The evidence presented in the preceding sections shows that typological studies of scarabs, implying their non-reflected, nearly "organic" development, and the iconographic studies of depictions on scarab bases, are not sufficient to analyse the variability of scarab features and designs. Ancient makers treated scarabs differently from domestic pottery and metal implements; hence, modern researchers also have to treat scarabs differently from objects of everyday use. The objects prone to replicating models from the past require a more nuanced approach than easy-to-type artefacts devoid of such replications. Certain kinds of scarabs were deliberately replicated in certain periods, such as the 12th Dynasty scarabs, replicated under the 14th-15th and early 18th Dynasty, or the Egyptian and Levantine scarabs of the Seconds Intermediate Period, replicated in several distinct traditions of the late 2nd and 1st Millennium BC. That is the reason why purely typological approaches to scarabs are not universally applicable, but only work for some periods of the scarab history. One should try to reconstruct the creative process and to distinguish the elements of the replicated style as perceived by the makers of scarabs from the occasional minor traits that were left not reflected and that may sometimes betray the difference from the originals. This applies to both cross-regional replications of style discussed in the first section of the present chapter and to cross-temporal replications discussed in its second section.

871 Keel 1995, 248 ("archaisierende Tendenzen").
872 Boschloos 2016; Ben-Tor 2017.
873 Ben-Tor 2015, 140–141; Boonstra 2019, 211.
874 Cf. for example typological tables in Bietak, Fortner-Müller, and Mlinar 2001, juxtaposing the typological development of scarabs, bronze finds, Yahudiya-juglets, other pottery, or in O'Connor 1974, representing the development of pottery and scarab decorations.

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6. People named on scarabs

The first chapters of the book explored the timeline and the geographical frames of scarab production employing the independent evidence on the date and origin of scarabs, mainly provided by inscriptions. The current chapter, by contrast, contains several observations on the date of certain people and names appearing on scarabs datable through the dating criteria discussed above.

Scarabs of the rulers of Byblos

Byblos was a major seaport in the northern Levant. The earliest evidence on the Egypt-Byblos relations goes back to the Early Dynastic period. Byblos was known in the Egyptian culture as the source of coniferous wood (cedar). As such it appears in two works of Egyptian literature, the Admonitions of Ipuwer and the Story of Wenamun. However, the annals of Amenemhat II from Memphis show that the range of goods brought to Egypt from Lebanon was much wider, including silver, lead, and white lead, various aromatic plants and workforce.[875] Abundant Egyptian textual evidence relating to Byblos survives from the time of the Middle Kingdom. However, most sources are just records of names and titles. The only detailed report from the Egyptian side is the highly fragmentary biographical inscription from the tomb of Khnumhotep III in Dahshur, restored by James Allen.[876] While many restorations remain hypothetical, it is clear that the text reports of an Egyptian expedition that reached Byblos; Khnumhotep interacted with the ruler of Byblos (*ḥqꜣ n Kbnj*) and apparently witnessed a conflict between Byblos and Ullaza. Other objects represent the rulers of Byblos and their officials. Karin Kopetzki recently surveyed this material in an attempt to establish a chronology of the rulers of Byblos.[877] Among these objects are scarabs naming the *ḥꜣtj-ʿ* "*hatia*, governor" of Byblos. These scarabs long have long raised substantial scholarly interest; the most recent survey is by Daphna Ben-Tor,[878] who was able to significantly enlarge the list of attestations.

The list of scarabs that name the *hatia* of Byblos along with their typological features is presented in Table 31. Also included is a scarab of a treasurer of Byblos (*ḫtmw n Kbnj*), a scarab impression with the name of a *ḥꜣtj-ʿ Jb(?)-šmw* on vessel TD 4537, found in Tell el-Dabʿa, but produced in the Northern Levant.[879] The name *Jb-šmw* and its variants are only attested for Byblos rulers.

875 Altenmüller 2015, 82–85.
876 J.P. Allen 2009.
877 Kopetzki 2016.
878 Ben-Tor 2007c; Ben-Tor forthc.
879 Forstner-Müller 2008, 306–307; Bietak 1996, pl. 25 (25B).

Scarabs of the type B4-O/I-e8/e9 (Mlinar Type III)

In her study of scarabs from Tell el-Dabʿa, Christa Mlinar defined a group of peculiar scarabs without a visible division between the hourglass-shaped head (head type B4) and the pronotum as Type III.[880] After Mlinar's publication, Keel defined a separate head type B10 as a variant of head types B3 and B4, which include scarabs classified by Mlinar as Type IIIa; Keel's head type B10 is also used for comparable scarab heads from other epochs.[881] Yet, I shall follow the head classification elaborated by Tufnell and Ward and not refer to Mlinar Type III heads as B10. Type III scarabs have e9-type (or similar e8-type) sides (Mlinar also included single scarabs with e5, e6ba, and d13-type sides in the group). The type is further subdivided depending on the presence of the suture line on the back. Thus, according to Mlinar, B4-O-e9-type scarabs form Type IIIa, and B4-I-e9-type scarabs form Type IIIb.[882] Another possible subdivision of these scarabs is that with oblique notches and with straight notches on the legs. Type III scarabs occur at Tell el-Dabʿa in Phases G/1–3 to E/1; thus, their emergence corresponds with the mid- to late 13th Dynasty in Egypt (see Table 30 above). Mlinar noted the lack of Egyptian parallels for this scarab type, concluding that such scarabs should have been produced locally at Tell el-Dabʿa.[883]

A few years after Mlinar's study of Tell el-Dabʿa workshops was published, Ben-Tor pointed out that several scarabs of this type occur among the scarabs of the *hatia* of Byblos. The scarabs of Byblos rulers that share the same features as Type III scarabs from Tell el-Dabʿa are BM EA57383 (owner: *Jntn*), BM EA67024 [Fig. 111] (owner: *Rjjntjj*) and Ben-Tor, BES 20 (owner: *Rjjn*), newly added to the corpus. Since Ben-Tor maintained the thesis that such scarabs are unattested in Egypt outside Tell el-Dabʿa, she deducted that these scarabs of Byblos rulers were produced at Tell el-Dabʿa.[884] This idea can have far-reaching consequences for understanding the relations between Tell el-Dabʿa and the Levant. Some of the possibilities were explored by Roxana Flammini,[885] and there is still space for further development of thought in this direction, if one accepts the basic conclusion.

880 Mlinar 2004b, 116–122.
881 Eggler and Keel 2006, XVI.
882 Mlinar 2004b, 116–122.
883 Mlinar 2004b, 133.
884 Ben-Tor 2007c. Before Type III scarabs from Tell el-Dabʿa came to light, Ryholt 1997, 89, concluded that because no parallels for the scarabs of Byblos rulers are known in Egypt, they could have been produced locally in Byblos.
885 Flammini 2010, 155–156.

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Titel	Name
Ashmolean AN1924.64	scarab	262	all sides, Newberry 1928, 109 [s]	1ad	B2	III	d8	raised	not serrated			*ḥ3tj-ʿ n Kbnj*	*Jntn*
Ben-Tor, BES 20	scarab		all sides, Ben-Tor forthc., fig. 1–3 [p]	3a	B4	O	e9	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥ3tj-ʿ n Kbnj*	*Rjjn*
Berlin 32415	scarab	105	all sides, examined personally; Newberry 1933, pl. X (2–5) [p]	3a	face	open-work	c			steatite		*ḥ3tj-ʿ n Kbnj*	*Jb-šmw*
BM EA57383	scarab	261	all sides, Ben-Tor 2007c, pl. XXIII.3 [p]; Kopetzky 2016, fig. 6 [p]	3a	B4	I	e9	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥ3tj-ʿ n Kbnj*	*Jntn*
BM EA67024	scarab	810	all sides, examined personally; Ben-Tor 2007c, pl. XXIII (4) [p]	3a	B4	O	e8	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥ3tj-ʿ n Kbnj*	*Rjjntj*
Dunand, Byblos II, pl. CC (7637)	scarab	813	only base, Dunand 1950, pl. CC (7637) [p]	lad						steatite	Byblos	*ḫtmw* (*?*) *n Kbnj*	*R*(*jj*)*n*
Hermitage 5945	scarab	1689	all sides, Martin 1996 [s]; Hodjash 1999, no. 455 [p]; Ben-Tor 2007c, pl. XXIII (2) [p]	3a	C5	II	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥ3tj-ʿ n Kbnj*	*Jn*(*tn*)
Jerusalem IM 2010.65.1687	scarab		base and back, Ben-Tor 2016, 35, no. 5b [p]	3a	D6	I	d14	raised	chipped off	steatite		*ḥ3tj-ʿ* (*n*) *Kbnj*	*Jjj*
Keel 31	scarab		all sides, Ben-Tor 2007c, pl. XXIII.3 [p]; Ben-Tor 2016, 35, no. 5a [p]; Keel 2020, no. 31 [p]	3a	C5	O	d8	raised	chipped off	steatite		*ḥ3tj-ʿ n Kbnj*	*Jntn*
Martin 263	scarab	263	Ehrich and Forrer 1939, 120–121 [d]							ivory (?)	Latakia	*ḥ3tj-ʿ n Kbnj*	*Jntn*
TD 4537	scarab impression		Forstner-Müller 2008, 306–307 [s]	3a							Tell el-Dabʿa	*ḥ3tj-ʿ*	*Jb-šmw*

Table 31 Scarabs of Byblos potentates.

The problem with the theory that the scarabs of Byblos rulers stem from Tell el-Dabʿa workshops lies in the underlying assumption that no similar scarabs are attested in Egypt proper outside Tell el-Dabʿa. This is, however, not the case. Scarabs that could be classified as Mlinar Type III with e8/e9-type sides are found among private-name scarabs, royal-name scarabs, and design scarabs excavated in Egypt and Nubia. Table 32 lists design scarabs that were found in Egypt and Nubia outside Tell el-Dabʿa and name scarabs of the Middle Kingdom belonging to Type III, totalling 39 scarabs that are unlikely to have been made in Tell el-Dabʿa due to the content (Middle Kingdom inscription) or findspot. Eight scarabs of this type are Egyptian private-name scarabs (apart from three scarabs of rulers of Byblos). Among these private-name scarabs, some feature inscriptions suggesting a SUE origin.[886] Another private-name scarab comes from excavations at Abydos,[887] which is an uncertain indication of origin. Yet another name scarab comes from Lisht and belongs to a person bearing a Memphite title.[888]

886 Basel Cat. 552, Berlin 32673 (Fig. 113), Berlin 34414.
887 Cairo JE 45371 (a).
888 MMA 22.1.347.

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Fig. 111 Scarabs of the type B4-O/I-e8/e9, BM EA67024.
Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum. 19×14×8 mm.



Fig. 112 Scarabs of the type B4-O/I-e8/e9, Berlin 32718.
Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. This image is copyright. Reproduced by permission of Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. 17×12×7 mm.

Royal-name scarabs belong to Sobekhotep IV[889] and Ay.[890] This aligns well with the observations that similar scarabs occur in Tell el-Dabʿa starting from Phase G/1–3. Apart from these, there are several scarabs with mid- to late 12th Dynasty royal names: Senusret II,[891] Senusret III,[892] Amenemhat III.[893] According to the consensus in scholarly literature, these should be reissues.

Among provenanced design scarabs beyond the Tell el-Dabʿa corpus, there are examples from Sai,[894] Ukma,[895] Hu,[896] Abydos,[897] Gurob,[898] Lisht,[899] and Tell el-Retaba.[900] Further examples were found in the Levant,[901] but these are not taken into account in this review.

Also common in Egypt are scarabs with similar heads and e6b-type sides; totally 12 scarabs can be cited that either feature Egyptian private or royal names or were found at sites in Egypt and Nubia (Table 33); in Tell el-Dabʿa this type is attested thrice, starting from Phase G-F[902]. Two of these scarabs feature private names. Three scarabs bear names of late 12th Dynasty kings Senusret III[903] and Amenemhat III.[904] Scarabs of the type B4-O/I-e6b come from a variety of sites in Egypt

889 Jerusalem IM 76.31.2202; Tufnell II 3131.
890 Berlin 32718 (Fig. 112); Moscow I, 1a 2224.
891 BM EA28746; Tufnell, Lachish, 63.
892 MMA 30.8.448; MMA 30.8.449; Tufnell II 3049.
893 Loffet, AHL 42-43, 118 no. 4; Ukma 170/4.
894 Sai 1-46-10; Sai 1-46-18.
895 Ukma 170/4.
896 Bristol H 1141.3.
897 Abydos Garstang 559 A'08; Cairo JE 45371 (a).
898 Glasgow Hunterian D.1921.43.
899 MMA 09.180.1061; 09.180.1078; 20.1.34; 20.1.35; 20.1.106; 22.1.347; 22.1.348; 22.1.353; 22.1.384; 22.1.404; 22.1.408; 22.1.1279.
900 Tell el-Retaba S3302.
901 See: Ben-Tor 2007a, 69 and n. 340. The anonymous reviewer of the book has kindly indicated that a substantial number of scarabs of this type from the Levant are currently awaiting publication. James Weinstein has kindly informed me that about two dozen scarabs of this type are known from the southern Levant (email on 3 September 2021).
902 TD 5574, Mlinar 2001b, no. 105.
903 BM EA37652; Tufnell II 3056.
904 BM EA54682.

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Fig. 113 Scarabs of the type B4-O/I-e8/e9, Berlin 32673.
Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. This image is copyright. Reproduced by permission of Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. 19×13×9 mm.



Fig. 114 Scarabs of the type B4-O/I-e8/e9, Cairo JE 75202.
Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. 21×14×9 mm.

and Sudan: Kerma,[905] Semna,[906] Buhen,[907] Abydos,[908] Lisht,[909] and Lahun.[910] As discussed above, e6b-type sides generally tend to disappear from name scarabs by mid-13th Dynasty, whereas e9-type sides emerge in the mid-13th Dynasty. Hence, the question arises whether the scarabs of the type B4-O/I-e6b sides are earlier than their e9-type counterparts.

The amount of evidence rules out the possibility that scarabs of this type were only produced in Tell el-Dabʿa. The royal-name scarabs from the second half of the 13th Dynasty and the finds from Lisht and Gurob testify to the production of scarabs at the northern residence. Yet, it seems possible from the number of southern examples that similar scarabs were produced in the south as well. Hence, the production was not limited to Tell el-Dabʿa. Due to the small overall number of attestations, it is impossible to ascertain whether there are constant discrepancies between scarabs of this general type coming from different parts of Egypt.

Accordingly, the interpretation of Byblos scarabs as products from Tell el-Dabʿa, proposed by Ben-Tor, becomes doubtful when one considers the evidence testifying to the production of such scarabs in Egypt proper and the fact that none of Type III scarabs from Tell el-Dabʿa are inscribed. Byblos scarabs could easily have been produced at the royal residence in Itjtawy or elsewhere. Likewise, the interpretation of Mlinar Type III scarabs from Tel Burga (Southern Levant) as the evidence for relations with Tell el-Dabʿa, which relies on the same assertion,[911] should be questioned; these scarabs are found in a MB II A context,

905 Genève 27524.
906 Boston 24.1515.
907 Buhen 1782.
908 BM EA54682.
909 MMA 20.1.126, 22.1.359, 22.1.387.
910 Manchester 170.f; UC 27925; UC 27908.

911 Ben-Tor in Golani 2011, 95.

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Scarab	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Tufnell Base	Head	Back	Elytra	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Name or king
Abydos Garstang 559 A'08		base and back, Garstang neg. A568, A572 [p, s]			B4	O		e10	raised	not serrated	steatite	Abydos			
Basel Cat. 552	1751	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 552 [p]	3a		B4	O		e9	raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the name *Ddw-mwt*)		*nbt pr Ddw-mwt*
Ben-Tor, BES 20		all sides, Ben-Tor forthc., fig. 1–3 [p]	3a		B4	O		e9	raised	not serrated	steatite		Byblos (a hatia of Byblos)		*ḥ3tj-ʿ n Kbnj Rjjn*
Berlin 32673	1766c	all sides, examined personally	3a		B4	O		e8	raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the title *ḥrj n tm*)		*ḥrj n tm Djf*
Berlin 32718		all sides, examined personally	3a		B4	II		e9	raised	not serrated	steatite				Ay
Berlin 34414		all sides, examined personally	3a		B4	O		e9	raised	not serrated	steatite		Thebes (after Cairo CG 20322)	late 13th Dyn. (after Cairo CG 20322)	*ʒ ỉw n tỉ ḥq3 Mntw-m-ḥ3t*
Berlin VÄGM 1983/036		all sides, examined personally	4a	8A	B4	O		e9	raised	not serrated	steatite				*nbt pr Jbw*
BM EA28746		all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3033 [s]; Hall 1913, no. 108 [p]	3a		B4	O		e10	raised	not serrated	steatite				Senusret II
BM EA57383	261	all sides, Ben-Tor 2007c, pl. XXIII.3 [p]; Kopetzky 2016, fig. 6 [p]	3a		B4	I		e9	raised	not serrated	steatite		Byblos (a hatia of Byblos)		*ḥ3tj-ʿ n Kbnj Jntn*
BM EA67024	810	all sides, examined personally; Ben-Tor 2007c, pl. XXIII (4) [p]	3a		B4	O		e8	raised	not serrated	steatite		Byblos (a hatia of Byblos)		*ḥ3tj-ʿ n Kbnj Rjjntj*
Bristol H 1141.3		all sides, museum website [p]		2B	B4	O		e9	raised	not serrated	steatite	Hu (grave W38)			
Cairo JE 45371 (a)	1458	all sides, examined personally; museum database [p]; seen on display	4a	8A	B4	O		e9	raised	not serrated	steatite	Abydos			*jrj-sšrw Sn(=j)-ʿnḫ*

Table 32 Scarabs of the type B4-O/I-e8/e9.

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Scarab	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Tufnell Base	Head	Back	Elytra	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Name or king
Cairo JE 75202	1707	all sides, examined personally; Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	4f	8AA	B4	O		e9	raised	not serrated	steatite				*kt Rn-snb*
Glasgow Hunterian D.1921.43		all sides, museum website [p]			B4	O		e9	raised	not serrated	steatite	Gurob			
Jerusalem IM 76.31.2202		all sides, museum website [p]; Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 22 (4) [s]	3a		B4	I		e9	raised	not serrated	steatite				Sobekhotep IV
Loffet, AHL 42-43, 118 no. 4		all sides, Loffet 2015, 118 no. 4 [p]	3d		B4	I		e9	raised	not serrated	steatite				Amenemhat III
MMA 09.180.1061		all sides, museum website [p]		2B	B4			e9	raised	not serrated	steatite	Lisht			
MMA 09.180.1078		all sides, museum website [p]			B4	O		e9	raised	chipped off	steatite	Lisht			
MMA 20.1.34		all sides, museum website [p]		3C	B4	O		e9	raised	not serrated	steatite	Lisht			
MMA 20.1.35		all sides, museum website [p]			B2	I		e9	raised	not serrated	steatite	Lisht			
MMA 20.1.106		all sides, museum website [p]			B4	I		e9	raised	not serrated	steatite	Lisht			
MMA 22.1.347	622	all sides, museum website [p]	3a		B4	II		e9	raised	not serrated	steatite	Lisht	MFR (the title *jmj-r³ ḥwwtj n k³p*)		*jmj-r³ ḥwwtj n k³p Ms.nw*
MMA 22.1.348		all sides, museum website [p]		6B1	B4	I		e9	raised	not serrated	steatite	Lisht			
MMA 22.1.353		all sides, museum website [p]		2B	B4	O		e9	raised	not serrated	steatite	Lisht			
MMA 22.1.384		all sides, museum website [p]		9	B4	I		e9	raised	not serrated	steatite	Lisht			
MMA 22.1.404		all sides, museum website [p]		3B3	B4	I		e9	raised	not serrated	steatite	Lisht			
MMA 22.1.408		all sides, museum website [p]		10D2	B4	I		e9	raised	not serrated	steatite	Lisht			
MMA 22.1.1279		base and back, museum website [p]	12	3B8	B4	I		e9	raised	not serrated	steatite	Lisht			

Table 32 Scarabs of the type B4-O/I-e8/e9. (continuation)

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Scarab	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Tufnell Base	Head	Back	Elytra	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Name or king
MMA 30.8.448		all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3052 [s]	3a		B4	O		e8	raised	not serrated	steatite				Senusret III
MMA 30.8.449		all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3051 [s]	3a		B4	O		e9	raised	not serrated	steatite				Senusret III
Moscow I, 1a 2224		all sides, examined personally; Hodjash 1999, no. 32 [p]	3a		B4	I		e9	raised	chipped off	steatite				Ay
Sai 1-46-10		all sides, Gratien 1986a, fig. 180, 286 [p, s]		3B8	B4	O		e9	raised	not serrated	steatite	Sai			
Sai 1-46-18		all sides, Gratien 1986a, fig. 180, 286 [p, s]		9	B4	I		e9	raised	not serrated	steatite	Sai			
Tell el-Retaba S3302		all sides, Hudec et al. 2018, 99 fig. 3 [p]; Hudec et al. 2019, 25 fig. 17 [s]		3B3b	B4	I		e9	raised	chipped off	steatite	Tell el-Retaba			
Tufnell II 3049		all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3049 [s]	3a		B4	O		e8	raised	not serrated	steatite	Taanach			Senusret III
Tufnell II 3131		all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3131 [s]	3a		B4	I		e9	raised	not serrated	steatite				Sobekhotep IV
Tufnell, Lachish, 63		all sides, Tufnell 1958, pl. 30–31 (63) [s]	6a		B4	O		e10				Tel Lachish			Senusret II
UC 11476	646	all sides, examined personally	3a		B4	I		e9	raised	not serrated	steatite				*jmj-r³ šnṯ Nb-jw-(n)-šȝ*
Ukma 170/4		base and back, Andreu 1987, 41 [p]	3a		B4	I		e9	raised	not serrated	steatite	Ukma			Amenemhat III

Table 32 Scarabs of the type B4-O/I-e8/e9. (continuation)

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Scarab	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Tufnell Base	Head	Back	Elytra	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Prove-nance	Origin	Date	Name or king
BM EA37652		all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3057 [s]	6a		B4	O		e6b	raised	not serrated	steatite				Senusret III
BM EA54682		all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3073 [s]	3a		B4	O		e6b	raised	not serrated	steatite	Abydos			Amenemhat III
Boston 24.1515	392	all sides, museum website [p]; Dunham and Janssen 1960, fig. 67 (24-3-1002) [s]	3d		B4	O		e6b	raised	not serrated	steatite	Semma			*nbt pr W3ḏ-k3*
Buhen 1782		all sides, Smith 1976, 24, pl. IX [s]			B4	O		e6b	raised	not serrated	steatite	Buhen			
Genève 27524		all sides, Bonnet 1990, 151 (19) [p]; museum website [p]	3a		B4	O		e6b	raised	not serrated	steatite	Kerma			*šmsw n rmn tpj Sbk-ḥ3*
Manchester 170.f		all sides, museum website [p]; Kemp and Merrillees 1980, 100 fig. 19 [s]			B4	O		e6b	raised	not serrated	steatite	Lahun			
MMA 20.1.126		all sides, museum website [p]			B4	O		e6b	raised	not serrated	steatite	Lisht			
MMA 22.1.359		all sides, museum website [p]	4f	8AA	B4	O		e6b	raised	not serrated	steatite	Lisht			
MMA 22.1.387		all sides, museum website [p]			B4	O		e6b	raised	not serrated	steatite	Lisht			
Tufnell II 3056		all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3056 [s]	3a		B4	O		e6b	raised	not serrated	steatite				Senusret III
UC 27908		all sides, examined personally			B4	O		e6c	raised	not serrated	steatite	Lahun			
UC 27925		all sides, examined personally			B4	O		e7	raised	not serrated	steatite	Lahun			

Table 33 Scarabs of the type B4-O/I-e6b.

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contemporary to the Egyptian late Middle Kingdom, and could have been produced in Egypt proper.

As to the date of the scarabs, the conclusion by Mlinar and Ben-Tor,[912] upheld by Kopetzki[913] that scarabs of the types B4-O-e9 and B4-I-e9 date from the middle of the 13th Dynasty onwards can only be further corroborated with the additional evidence that comes to light. First, there are royal-name scarabs of Sobekhotep IV and Ay; second, scarab Berlin 34414 can be dated to the late 13th Dynasty, as its owner occurs on stela Cairo CG 20322 attributable to 13th Dynasty Theban Workshop 6.[914] The Abydos find Cairo JE 45371 (a) comes from the area excavated by John Garstang in 1907, with most finds dating to the 13th Dynasty and the Second Intermediate Period.[915] At Tell el-Dabʿa, type III scarabs are common from Phase G/1–3 up to Phase E/1, when they are replaced with imported south Levantine scarabs and scarabs comparable to some of royal-name groups of the 14th–15th Dynasty.

The dates of scarabs naming Byblos rulers

Other scarabs with the names of the Byblos rulers also fall into categories known from the study of Egyptian private-name scarabs.

Scarab Jerusalem IM 2010.65.1687 (owner: *Jjj*) belongs to the group of scarabs with trapezoid heads, eyes set apart, and e6b/d14-sides. As was discussed above, these scarabs appear to date from the late 12th Dynasty and stem from the royal residence. It is thus tempting to date also the scarab of *Jjj* to the same period and to suggest that it comes from the Egyptian royal residence.

Two other scarabs, Hermitage 5945 (owner: *Jn*) and Keel 31 (owner: *Jntn*) exhibit C5-type heads combined with d9-type sides. As discussed above, this combination of features is characteristic of the scarabs belonging to Senebsumai and his contemporaries, Sobekhotep III and Neferhotep I. While singular examples date as early as the 12th Dynasty[916] or as late as the reign of Sobekhotep IV,[917] almost all other datable examples fall in the timeframe from Senebsumai to Neferhotep I. Hence, there is high probability that the two scarabs of *Jn* and *Jntn* also date from this period. Kopetzki already noted the similarities between scarab Keel 31 and the scarabs of Neferhotep I,[918] and this observation can only be reinforced with new data.

The dates established for the scarabs of Byblos rulers based on datable parallels among Egyptian royal-name and private-name scarabs can be summarised as follows. The scarab of *Jjj*[919] is datable to the late 12th to early 13th Dynasty. The scarabs of *Jn* and *Jntn*[920] (these can be different spellings of the same name) are datable to the time of Senebsumai, Sobekhotep III, and Neferhotep I. The scarabs of *Jntn*,[921] *Rjjntj*,[922] *Rjjn*[923] date from the mid- to late 13th Dynasty (starting with Sobekhotep IV onwards, for they belong to Mlinar Type III). One can juxtapose these data with the scarce evidence of other written sources.

The Albright synchronism and the status of Byblos rulers

A stone block from Byblos, now in the National Museum of Beirut, represents the *hatia* of Byblos *Jntn*, the son of *Rjntj*, sitting before the cartouche of Neferhotep I, possibly a caption to a royal figure, now lost.[924] Albright identified this *Jntn* with the king of Byblos Yantinhammu (or Yantinʿammu), named in a document from the Near Eastern city Mari.[925] In his late 9th and early 10th regnal year, the king of Mari Zimrilim made a journey to the west, returning with several luxury items, which he received on his voyage and duly catalogued. The preserved parts of this catalogue of gifts includes a golden bowl that Zimrilim received during his stay in Ugarit and that was given by the king of Byblos Yantinhammu.[926] This name is an Akkadian notation of an originally Northwest-Semitic name. Although Northwest-Semitic languages including the one spoken in Byblos had no writing at that time, numerous personal names preserved mostly in Akkadian records of the Old-Babylonian period and the comparisons with the languages spoken in the region in later period allow reconstructing the language to some extent. The first part of the name Yantinhammu is thought to represent a verbal predicate and should be translated as "has given." The second part should be the subject, and different interpretations of it exist in scholarly literature, including Hammu "god Hammu" and ʿammu "parental uncle."[927] Albright effectively proposed to treat the Egyptian *Jntn* as an abbreviated form of the name Yantinhammu. Accordingly, he proposed a synchronism between the king Neferhotep I of Egypt, the king Yantin(hammu) of Byblos, the king Zimrilim of Mari, and eventually the king Hammurabi of Babylon, who was a contemporary

912 Mlinar 2004b; Ben-Tor 2007c.
913 Kopetzki 2016.
914 Ilin-Tomich 2017a, 107–108.
915 Ilin-Tomich 2017a, 137.
916 UC 11338.
917 BM EA37657.
918 Kopetzki 2016, 144, 149 fig. 7.
919 Jerusalem IM 2010.65.1687.
920 Hermitage 5945 and Keel 31.
921 BM EA57383.
922 BM EA67024.
923 Ben-Tor, BES 20.
924 Montet 1928, fig. 8–9; Dunand 1937, pl. XXX (3065).
925 Albright 1940, 27; Albright 1945, 9–18.
926 Guichard 2005, 458–463.
927 Streck 2000, 197.

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of Zimrilim.[928] Naturally, this synchronism aligns with only few of the proposed chronologies of Egypt and the ancient Near East and contradicts the other. According to most reconstructions, the reign of Neferhotep I should date in the second part of the 18th century BC, whereas the most commonly accepted middle chronology places Hammurabi in the first part of the same century, and the long chronology puts him at the end of the 19th century BC. A proponent of the long chronology, Benno Landsberger put forward an argument against Albright's synchronism, which is accepted in some Egyptological works. He pointed out that the short version Yantin of the numerous Northwest-Semitic names beginning with Yantin- is not attested in the Mari archive and further posited that such shortened forms should have come into being much later than the epoch of Zimrilim.[929] This argument was adopted by Christian Eder,[930] also a proponent of the long chronology. The validity of Eder's critique of Albright's synchronism was in turn acknowledged by Thomas Schneider.[931] However, new texts from Mari have been published, and one letter includes the very name Yantin, which Landsberger and his followers believed to be absent in the time of the Mari archive. Jean-Robert Kupper interpreted the name Yantin as a shortened form of a Northwest-Semitic name beginning with Yantin.[932] Hence, the counterargument originally put forward by Landsberger is no longer valid.

Another reason to doubt the validity of Albright's synchronism is that the rulers of Byblos could have had hereditary names repeating over generations. Ben-Tor already expressed doubts about possible namesakes when discussing the scarabs of Byblos rulers,[933] Siesse further supposed that there were two rulers named Yantin, one a contemporary of Neferhotep I, and the other a contemporary of the late 13th Dynasty.[934] The doubt can be further reinforced by the observation that the only known scarab of the ruler *Rjntj*[935] dates in the second part of the 13th Dynasty (Mlinar Type III) and he thus cannot be the father of Yantin, mentioned on the relief from Byblos, who was a contemporary of Neferhotep. Even if one is willing to accept an exceptionally long rule of Yantin, allowing him to receive scarabs in the early and the late 13th Dynasty of Egypt, there must have been at least two rulers with the name Rinti. And this increases the probability that Byblos rulers had names inheritable over several generations. Hence, one should arguably assume that Albright's synchronism applies to the whole dynasty of Byblos rulers, of which possibly two different rulers were named Yantin, one contemporary of Neferhotep I and another a contemporary of Zimrilim and Hammurabi. An immediate synchronism between Neferhotep I and Hammurabi thus cannot be established, for it cannot be excluded that one or several generations of similarly named Byblos rulers separate them.

A feature of Byblos scarabs that is often discussed in scholarly literature is the use of the Egyptian title *ḥ3tj-ʿ n Kbnj* "*hatia*, governor of Byblos", replacing the title *ḥq3 n Kbnj* "ruler of Byblos" used in other periods and based on the term *ḥq3* "ruler" commonly used to designate other foreign leaders. Rendering *ḥ3tj-ʿ* generically as "prince," as done by Albright and Kitchen,[936] does not conform to the Egyptian use of the term. Whereas *ḥ3tj-ʿ* could be used as a generic rank title designating high officials as well as a specific title used by governors, generic rank titles are not used as sole titles in the Middle Kingdom, but as part of longer strings of titles.[937] It was proposed to distinguish the titles of the type *ḥ3tj-ʿ n* + TOWN as "mayors" from the titles of the type *ḥ3tj-ʿ; jmj-r3 ḥmw-nṯr* and *ḥ3tj-ʿ; jmj-r3 ḥwt-nṯr* as "governors,"[938] which would make rulers of Byblos appear as mayors rather than governors. Yet the evidence for a consistent distinction of the two terms is lacking, and they rather could have been used interchangeably.[939]

Notably, the document from Mari discussed above uses the Akkadian word šarru "king" to designate the ruler of Byblos. It thus appears that whereas the rulers of Byblos are designated as kings in Akkadian sources, the scarabs use the title "*hatia*," implying a role similar to that of the rulers of Egyptian provinces. The straightforward interpretation that Byblos was under Egyptian control at the period or literally an Egyptian province can hardly be reconciled with the evidence from Mari.[940] Flammini favours the opposite solution that the rulers of Byblos voluntarily assumed the title *hatia* for considerations of prestige.[941] To make this claim she has to downplay Ben-Tor's conclusion that many of the scarabs attesting the title were produced at the Egyptian royal residence. Flammini literally proposes to ignore Ben-Tor's conclusions ("I prefer to await the appearance of contextualised evidence in support of Ben-Tor's hypothesis"[942]). The evidence presented in this book further confirms the production at the royal residence at least of scarab Jerusalem IM 2010.65.1687 and potentially of other

928 Albright 1940, 27; Albright 1945, 9–18.
929 Landsberger 1954, 116 n. 236.
930 Eder 1995, 13.
931 Schneider 1998b, 184–188; Schneider 2006, 180 n. 57.
932 Kupper 1998, 115–116 (80).
933 Ben-Tor 2007c, 181.
934 Siesse 2019, 125.
935 BM EA67024, possibly also scarab Ben-Tor, BES 20, where the name is spelled as *Rjjn*.
936 Albright 1940; Albright 1945; Kitchen 1967.
937 Grajetzki 2000, 223.
938 Willems 2013, 360–381.
939 Ilin-Tomich 2017/2018.
940 Ryholt 1997, 88–89.
941 Flammini 2010.
942 Flammini 2010, 156.

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Fig. 115 Scarab of the official Aperbaal the younger, Berlin 32443.
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scarabs including those that Ben-Tor originally considered to be products of Tell el-Dabʿa. This weakens the straightforward interpretation proposed by Flammini: from the evidence of scarabs, it appears that the title *hatia* was bestowed upon the rulers of Byblos by the Egyptian royal administration, and that it more likely reflected the Egyptian view of the status of Byblos rulers than the ambitions of the native rulers themselves. On some objects found in Byblos and likely produced there, the title *ḥ3tj-ʿ n Kbnj* could be written inside a cartouche, but that does not occur on scarabs, which in decoration match other Egyptian private-name scarabs.

High officials of Western Asian origin in Egypt

Evidence of scarabs

The new study of Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period scarabs in this book confirms 14th–15th Dynasty dates for almost all known scarabs bearing Egyptian titles and non-Egyptian names[943] of the alleged Western Asian origin (apart from the rulers of Byblos, who only formally held Egyptian titles, as discussed above). Only two of the scarabs appearing in Thomas Schneider's catalogue of non-Egyptian names in Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period sources[944] antedate the Second Intermediate Period: scarab Keel, Studien 4, 244 Abb. 19[945] (*jmj-r3 pr* "steward" *Jbš,* C5-O-d9) and Cairo JE 48238[946] (*ḫkrt-nsw* "king's ornament" *Skt*, mother of king's son *S3-ḥwt-ḥr,* C2-II-d8). However, in the case of *Skt,* Schneider doubts whether it is a non-Egyptian name, for it is spelled with a classifier unlike the attestations of the name *Skt* on the scarabs of 14th–15th Dynasty;[947] there are different ways to interpret the name as an Egyptian name. It is also noticeable that *Skt* on Cairo JE 48238 is a female name, which would be expected for an Egyptian name ending in *-t*, whereas the attestations of the name on scarabs of the 14th–15th Dynasty are all male. As for the scarab of *Jbš*, it remains open whether it is necessarily a Western Asian name, for the attestation in Edfu, also cited by Schneider,[948] and the resemblance to a number of Nubian toponyms[949] suggest that it could equally be a name of Nubian origin. Otherwise, it would be the only pre-14th–15th Dynasty scarab featuring a name of Western Asian origin. Schneider also cites another attestation of the name *Jbš*[950] on scarab Martin 100 that cannot be dated, because its sculptural features are unknown; however, this scarab, originally seen by Newberry in the Abeymayor collection in 1928,[951] later owned by Ralph Blanchard, was recently sold on an online auction,[952] and the photo of its base favours the reading *Jbj*:  . Hence, it should likely be removed from the list of sources with non-Egyptian names.

943 At this place, it should be noted that names are not always a reliable indicator of identity, see: Roberts 2013, 287. However, the discussion in this chapter concerns with names for want of better indicators of identity on scarabs and in keeping in line with the previous contributions on this subject.

944 Schneider 2003, 112–176.

945 Keel 1994, 244 fig. 19, pl. 19 (1).

946 Brunton 1930, pl. XIX (1).

947 Schneider 1998a, 138–139; Schneider 2003, 162.

948 Schneider 2003, 129–130.

949 El-Sayed 2004, 359.

950 Schneider 2003, 130.

951 Newberry MSS notice dated 24.12.1928.

952 https://www.invaluable.com/auction-lot/a-lot-of-4-scarabs-from-the-r.-h.-blanchard-collen-g9fmpioccn# (lower left; last accessed on 04.05.2021).

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Other scarabs with non-Egyptian names may appear as 13th Dynasty scarabs based on Martin's back types,[953] but a first-hand examination or the study of photographs shows that they all belong to the reign of the 14th–15th Dynasty.

It is well established that the large series of the treasurers *Ḥɜr*,[954] *Rdj-ḥɜ*[955] and the king's sons *Jpq*[956] and *Qwppn*[957] are contemporary to the bulk of 14th–15th Dynasty royal-name scarabs. The scarab of the king's son *Jmrmrk*[958] Basel Cat 132 (D3-O-d5) is comparable to scarabs of Sheshi, Maaibre, Sekhaenre, Qareh. The scarabs of *Jjpṯ-ḥr*[959] Cairo JE 75173 (Fig. 78) and *ꜥpr-bɜꜥ*[960] UC 11379 were shown above to resemble the scarabs of the king Apep. A scarab of another *ꜥpr-bꜥl*, Berlin 32443 (Fig. 115),[961] has the features of the scarab type B7/8-O-d6 with ring, which puts it close to scarabs of Khyan, Yaqubhar, Maaibre, Sheshi and several minor kings. Included in this type are scarabs of the king's scribe of the presence *Qprḥwqpḥ* Berlin 32666, the overseer of marshland-dwellers *Mrꜥjtj* Berkeley 6-17256, and the treasurer *Jbt* BM EA66077, Cairo JE 75183, and Berlin 32417. All three names, omitted by Schneider, are not Egyptian.

The scarab of *Jjmnjɜ*[962] Berlin 32439 (Fig. 98) belongs to the type of scarabs with the features B7/8-O-e6b/d14 without rings around the hole ends (Mlinar Type V), which are attested in Tell el-Dabʿa in Phases E/1 to D/2 (see Chapter 4).

The scarab of the treasurer *Dj-šw* (possible readings: *ꜥšw* or *Mjšw*) Ukma 56/2 has a B7-type head, not attested before the 14th–15th Dynasty, but its type cannot be determined with certainty, for the sides are not published. This name does not appear in Schneider's study, but it can hardly be Egyptian.

The scarab of *Jsjnn*[963] IoA UCL E.XII.82/1 is said to feature a D9-type head and d5-type sides,[964] which would place it in the group of D9-O-d5-type scarabs common among the scarabs of Maaibre, Sheshi, Sekhaenre, Yakbim, and Amu, and also well attested among design scarabs found at Tell el-Yahudiya. As was discussed above, scarabs of this type were produced in Egypt; hence, also this scarab, found at Tell el-ʿAjjul, should have been imported from Egypt.

Of the two scarabs of the treasurer *Sɜmj*,[965] one – Cairo JE 75059 – exhibits the features D7-O-e11, bringing it near the scarabs of Sheshi, Sekhaenre, and Aahetepre. Another one – Ward, OLP 6/7, fig. 1 – seems to belong to the same type D3-O-d5 as the scarab of *Jmrmrk*.

The scarab of the overseer of marshland-dwellers *Smtr-ḥr*[966] Fitzwilliam E.Sc.39 has the type D6-O-d5, well attested for Maaibre, Sheshi, and Amu. Another scarab of his, not mentioned by Schneider, has the same type D3-O-d5 as the scarab of *Jmrmrk*.

The evidence of scarabs thus clearly shows that officials with non-Egyptian names are only known from the time of the 14th–15th Dynasty.

Non-scarab evidence

How does the evidence of scarab compare to the evidence of other sources?

In recent years, the view has gained popularity that people of Western Asian origin were among high-ranking officials of Egyptian administration already in the Middle Kingdom. Schneider has given an account of foreigners in different branches of the Egyptian administration in the Middle Kingdom (ranging from officials he considered to be foreigners to officials who had a foreign servant in their household).[967] Anna-Latifa Mourad has revised the material putting an emphasis on officials who, in her view, could be demonstrated to be of Western Asian origin in her study on Egypt's relations with the Levant.[968] The assertion that people of Western Asian origin could possess high offices in the Middle Kingdom administration features in works by Dominique Valbelle and Charles Bonnet,[969] Elisa Priglinger.[970]

Does the evidence put forward by Schneider and Mourad contradict that of the scarabs? One must look carefully into the arguments to verify the presence of people of Western Asian origin in Egyptian administration above the level of top household servants (such as *ḥrj-pr* "domestic servant," *wdpw* "cupbearer," *jrj-ꜥt* "chamber-keeper," or ordinary servants of the cult – *wꜥb* "wab-priest"[971] or *ḥnwtj n ḥtp-nṯr* "server of god's offerings"[972]).

High officials holding non-Egyptian names are non-existent in the Middle Kingdom documentation. Mourad cites but one holder of a high office with a

953 Quirke 2004, 186; Mourad 2015, 44 n. 442.
954 Schneider 2003, 153.
955 Schneider 2003, 150.
956 Schneider 2003, 130.
957 Schneider 2003, 164.
958 Schneider 2003, 131.
959 Schneider 2003, 135.
960 Schneider 2003, 142.
961 Schneider 2003, 142.
962 Schneider 2003, 135–136.
963 Schneider 2003, 136.
964 Keel 1997, 118–119 (41).
965 Schneider 2003, 159–160.
966 Schneider 2003, 160–161.
967 Schneider 2003, 201–290.
968 Mourad 2015. At this place, I must acknowledge that I have misrepresented the position of Mourad in my earlier publication (Ilin-Tomich 2016). Mourad's book does not identify "the Near Eastern population in the eastern Delta with captives and servants of Semitic origin widely attested throughout Egypt during the Late Middle Kingdom."
969 Valbelle and Bonnet 1996, 34.
970 Priglinger 2019, 337.
971 Attested in pBerlin 10004, according to Schneider 2003, 161, 268.
972 Attested on Rio de Janeiro 643 [2433] with a Semitic name, according to Schneider 2003, 142.

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non-Egyptian name from the Middle Kingdom, and this sole inscription is a block from Tell Heboua,[973] naming the treasurer Aperbaal, generally identified with the treasurer from the time of Apep, named on Berlin 22487.[974] Mourad however proposes to date the monument in the 13th Dynasty, as she dismisses the identification of the person with the treasurer of Apep,[975] pointing out that the name on the offering table Berlin 22487 from the time of Apep is incomplete. Now that scarab UC 11379 with the full spelling of the name and datable to the reign of Apep is added to the dossier, this argument is less compelling. Other inscriptions from Tell Heboua date from the 14th–15th Dynasty. Furthermore, as Abd el-Maksoud and Valbelle pointed out, the block from Tell Heboua features the epithet *mrj*+(divine name), which is not attested for private persons in the Middle Kingdom – but appears on a monument of a ruler of Byblos[976] – and thus favours a 14th–15th Dynasty date.

Schneider and Mourad cite one inscription where a high priest is supposedly called *ꜥ3m* "man of western Asian descent" – Sinai 123B.[977] However, the reading *ḫrj-ḥb ḥrj-tp; ḥm-nṯr; sš; ꜥ3m* "master lector, god's servant, scribe, person of western Asian descent", based on the published handwritten copy of the inscription[978] is most certainly erroneous. Henry George Fischer studied the parallels where the title *ḫrj-ḥb ḥrj-tp* is followed by *sš mḏ3t nṯr* and pointed out[979] that the titles in Sinai 123B should also be read this way. The vertical sign read as *ḥm*  (U36) is then rather a book-roll  (Y2). If one further compares the title string on stela Cairo CG 20359,[980] where a similar chain of titles *ḫrj-ḥb ḥrj-tp; sš mḏ3t nṯr; sm* appears, it becomes clear that the titles on Sinai 123B are to be read as *ḫrj-ḥb ḥrj-tp; sš mḏ3t nṯr; sm* "master lector, scribe of god's books, sem-priest." That is the vertical sign interpreted as a reversed sign T14  (the orientation of the sign does not match that of the inscription, if one follows the now common reading) is to be read as the *s*  , and the word that was earlier read as *ꜥ3mw* is to be read as  "sem-priest".

Mourad identifies officials on further two monuments as persons of Western Asian descent, based on iconography. Mourad asserts that officials depicted in the tomb Khnumhotep II in Beni Hasan with a light-coloured skin, resembling that of the people in the famous procession of Asians in the same tomb and that of foreign soldiers in the neighbouring tomb of Amenemhat, could also be foreigners.[981] Mourad alleges that the lack of other visual features pointing at their non-Egyptian identity reflects the artist's intention to show the degree of their assimilation. It is hard to consider this argument compelling, given that Egyptian artists are known to depict officials with yellowish skin for other reasons than to manifest their ethnicity.[982] Mourad identifies one official depicted in inscription Sinai 95 as a person of Western Asian descent, based on his pointed beard.[983] Mourad relies on a hand-copy of the scene;[984] however, a photograph of the same object shows that the beard is not pointed, but rather it is a long thin beard,[985] customary in the Egyptian iconography. Besides, the personage has an Egyptian hairstyle unlike depictions of persons from Western Asia at the same site.

A further kind of evidence that Schneider and Mourad use extensively to identify Egyptian officials as people of Western Asian origin is the personal name *ꜥ3m*/*ꜥ3mt* "man/woman of Western Asian descent." Whether ethnonyms used as personal names should be considered indicators of origin in the Middle Kingdom is a long-debated matter. Georges Posener raised doubts about the use of these names as an indicator of ethnicity pointing out that the name could be used to show that the person resembled a foreigner in her or his physical type.[986] Pascal Vernus further developed this train of thought placing the names derived from ethnonyms alongside with names indicating physical qualities and with names derived from professions and animals.[987] If someone has the name *ꜥ3mt* "woman of Western Asian descent" or *ꜥ3m* "man of Western Asian descent," she or he is no more a person from Western Asia than some called *Jmj-r3 mšꜥ* "general" is a military general or someone called *Pnw* "mouse" is a mouse. Many attestations of these names in the Middle Kingdom display the unlikeliness of their interpretation as an indicator of origin. Take for example the stela from Saqqara, published by Leclant.[988] There is a woman named *ꜥ3mt* in the lower register, and she was the daughter of an *Jmnjj-w3ḥ-jb* and a grand-daughter of *Ḥq3-jtj=f* and *ꜥnḫ-n=s-pjpj*. Why would only one of granddaughters receive the name *ꜥ3mt* after two generations of bearing Egyptian names, if the entire family was of Western Asian descent? Many cases cited by Schneider and Mourad are not dissimilar.

Schneider acknowledges that the name *ꜥ3m*/*ꜥ3mt* must not indicate the Western Asian origin of the person, whereas he leaves room for the possibility to read it as a title accompanying the name or replacing

973 Block 270/1990, Abd El-Maksoud 1998, 271, pl. I.
974 Grajetzki and Stefanović, 2012, no. 7.
975 Mourad 2015, 44–45.
976 Abd el-Maksoud and Valbelle 2005, 8 n. 14, 11 n. 35.
977 Schneider 2003, 76, 217, 266; Mourad 2015, 307.
978 Gardiner and Peet 1952, pl. XLVI (123B, l. 2).
979 Fischer 1997, 75.
980 Lange and Schäfer 1902, 366–367.
981 Mourad 2015, 89–90.
982 Fischer 1963, 17–22.
983 Mourad 2015, 135.
984 Gardiner and Peet 1952, pl. XXX (95).
985 Valbelle and Bonnet 1996, 131 fig. 154.
986 Posener 1957, 155–156.
987 Vernus 1986, 126 n. 162.
988 Leclant 1974, 184–185.

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it, rather than as a name, and still includes all cases in his catalogue of societal roles played by foreigners.[989] Mourad does not discuss the use of names as indicators of origin and includes bearers of these names and their relatives in the catalogue of officials of Western Asian origin by default.

If one dismisses the officials identified as foreigners based on the arguments critically discussed above, Mourad's list of individuals of Levantine ancestry in Egypt retains no officials holding titles higher than household servants datable to the Middle Kingdom.[990]

Yet, further evidence appearing only in Schneider's study should also be considered.

On stela Cairo CG 20559, Schneider reads a foreign name *Msqtnw*[991] instead of the title *jmj-(r3) sqdw* (the same title that the owner of the stela bears) and the common Egyptian name *Nw*. The interpretation of the name *J3nj* on stela BM EA215 as a non-Egyptian name, proposed by Schneider,[992] is weakened by the fact that the name has the sign of the sitting man which, since no other name of the stela features a classifier, should be the first-person suffix-pronoun *=j*. More likely the name is to be read *J3-n=j* and belongs to the same type as the name *Ḥ3-n=j*,[993] composed of an interjection, the preposition *n* and the suffix pronoun *=j*. Schneider further interprets the name of the *sš* "scribe" *Jbw* on stela Abydos II, pl. XXXI (top left)[994] as a foreign name, because of the sign resembling the classifier T14 ⏌ in the only available hand-copy of the inscription.[995] However, the monument features traits of the artistic tradition of Antaeopolis,[996] and *Jbw* is one of the most common Antaeopolite names;[997] hence, it is almost impossible that the name on Abydos II, pl. XXXI (top left) is not Egyptian; the sign T14 in the reproduction is most likely erroneous. Two further documents cited by Schneider as Middle Kingdom attestations of foreigners date from the New Kingdom.[998]

There remains limited evidence on women with allegedly non-Egyptian names married to holders of titles higher than top household servants or to their relatives, which Schneider includes in the catalogue: a likely wife of a *ṯ3w n ḫft-ḥr* "bearer for (the scribe of documents of the king of) the presence" on Cairo CG 20233,[999] a sister-in-law of a *jmj-r3 ḥmww* "overseer of craftsmen" on Cairo CG 20300,[1000] a wife of a *sš n sp3t* "scribe of the district" on Louvre C 173.[1001]

This review shows that the widespread theory of the presence of foreigners in the top tier of the Middle Kingdom administration lacks substantial evidence. Unless further clues come forward, the theory should rather be abandoned in favour of the traditional view that the role of foreigners in the Middle Kingdom society was limited to menial work, including various professions, military activities, and lowest tiers of labour management.[1002] It was under the 14th–15th Dynasty that the participation of people of Western Asian origin in the top level of the administration becomes visible, as attested by scarabs.

Queens

Under the 13th Dynasty, several queens – women holding the title *ḥmt nsw* "king's wife" or *ḥmt nsw wrt* "great king's wife" – are attested on scarabs, and some of queens' scarab series are quite sizeable, the largest being that of the queen Ini. The issue and use of queens' name scarabs can be connected to the economic importance of queens' estates. A few officials of these estates are known from the 13th Dynasty.[1003] These include stewards of the estate of the king's wife (*jmj-r3 pr n pr n ḥmt-nsw; jmj-r3 pr n ḥmt-nsw*),[1004] a keeper of the seal of the king's wife (*jrj ḏbʿw n ḥmt-nsw*),[1005] an overseer of the *š* of the king's wife (*jmj-r3 š n ḥmt-nsw*).[1006] In later times, queens' estates are well attested under the 17th[1007] and the 18th Dynasties.

Having surveyed the scarabs naming 13th Dynasty queens, Kim Ryholt proposed to divide them into two groups based on the layout of the inscription on the scarab base. According to this classification, scarabs with a closed scroll border (base type 1ad), with the name written in a single column without the title *ḫnmt-nfr-ḥḏt* belong to Type A and antedate scarabs of Type B, which have plain borders (base types 3a

989 Schneider 2003, 15–18.
990 Mourad 2015, 206–211.
991 Schneider 2003, 147, 253.
992 Schneider 2003, 123–124.
993 Ranke 1935, 232 (4).
994 Petrie 1903, pl. XXXI (top left).
995 Schneider 2003, 126.
996 Ilin-Tomich 2017a, 151.
997 Ilin-Tomich 2017a, 148.
998 BM EA469 and Semna 24-4-90 (Schneider 2003, 90, 242, 266 and 146, 284).
999 Schneider 2003, 210.
1000 Schneider 2003, 256.
1001 Schneider 2003, 243–244, 273, 274, 282.
1002 Saretta 2016, 109–188; Darnell et al. 2005, 89.
1003 Prior evidence dates from the 11th Dynasty (Grajetzki 2006, 16), whereas seemingly none are known from the 12th Dynasty apart from the servants of the queens' funerary cult: servant of the queen's ka (*ḥm-k3 n ḥmt-nsw*) in papyrus Berlin P. 10233b (Luft 1986, 146 fig. 19) and wab-priest of the queen (*wʿb n ḥmt-nsw*) on statue Moscow I.1.a.1937 (Hodjash and Berlev 1982, no. 37), both attestations from the late 12th Dynasty.
1004 pBoulaq 18, rt XI.18 (Allam 2019, pl. 11–11a); stela Leiden V. L. D. J. 3, naming the wife of Sobekhotep III (Boeser 1909, no. 17, pl. XVI).
1005 Scarab Cairo JE 47021, mid- to late 13th Dyn. judging from the features C7/D-I-e9 (Martin 1157; seen on display).
1006 Scarab Berlin 32630, naming the wife of Neferhotep I (Martin 1157; examined first-hand).
1007 Headrest BM EA23068 (Newberry 1902, 288–289).

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Fig. 116 Scarab of the queen Sonbhenas belonging to Ryholt's type A, Berlin 10977.
Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. This image is copyright. Reproduced by permission of Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. 20×14×8 mm.



Fig. 117 Scarab of the queen Sonbhenas belonging to Ryholt's type B, BM EA40700.
Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum. 21×15×9 mm.

or 3d) and a two-column layout of the inscription with the title *ḥnmt-nfr-ḥḏt* placed side by side with the queen's name and the title *ḥmt nsw* located in the centre above both.[1008] This classification has led Ryholt to assume the existence of two queens named Nubhotepti (*Nbw-ḥtp.tj*) and two queens named Sonbhenas (*Snb-ḥnʿ=s*), each time one of the alleged namesakes is attested on Type A scarabs and the other on Type B scarabs. No other sources support splitting these queens' dossiers.[1009]

Julien Siesse recently pointed out that Ryholt's classification of queens' scarabs is problematic because it does not take into account the sculptural features, which can be rather similar on scarabs of both types. On these grounds, Siesse rejected splitting the dossiers of Nubhotepti and Sonbhenas.[1010] This argument appears to be convincing. Indeed, among the scarabs of Sonbhenas, the one belonging to Ryholt's type B (Fig. 117)[1011] exhibits the same features (C5-type head, even though slightly more trapezoid, II-type back, and d9-type sides) than the scarabs belonging to Ryholt's type A (Fig. 116).[1012] Also among the scarabs naming Nubhotepti, the ones of Ryholt's type A, naming the (king's wife) and

1008 Ryholt 1997, 38–40.

1009 Ryholt (1997, 221) cites a fragmentary canopic jar of a queen *Snb-*[…] from the pyramid complex of the king Khendjer (Jéquier 1933, 28 fig. 1), apparently his wife was thus clearly distinct from *Snb-ḥnʿ=s*, known as the wife of Sobekhotep III (Macadam 1951, pl. VI), but the name on the jar is incomplete, hence the identification of this queen with *Snb-ḥnʿ=s* known from several Type A scarabs remains highly hypothetic.

1010 Siesse 2019, 47–48.

1011 BM EA40700 (examined first-hand).

1012 Berlin 9518 (photos provided by the museum); Berlin 10977 (examined first-hand).

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Fig. 118 Scarab of the queen Nebuhetepti belonging to Ryholt's type A, MMA 26.7.70. Public domain photo from https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/544394, credit line: Purchase, Edward S. Harkness Gift, 1926. 24×17×10 mm.

king's mother Nubhotepti (Fig. 118),[1013] and those of Ryholt's type B, naming the great king's wife and *ḥnmt nfr ḥdt* Nebuhetepti (Fig. 119),[1014] share the same features: C2 and C5-type heads, II-type backs and d8-type sides. Hence, the idea put forward by Siesse that there was only one queen Nubhotepti and one queen Sonbhenas is credible.

Siesse further proposed other dating criteria, partly overlapping with Ryholt's proposal. Thus, he considers the use of the title *ḥmt nsw wrt* "great king's wife" and of a cartouche around the queen's name to point to a date after Sobekhotep IV;[1015] these criteria he however established based on the scarabs of Nubhotepti, which he could only vaguely date based on their similarity with the royal-name scarabs of the so-called Sobekhotep group.[1016]

Queen and king's mother Nubhotepti and her son

Queen Nubhotepti is named on several scarabs[1017], among them are two genealogical scarabs of a king named Sobekhotep, who is only referenced by the nomen and thus cannot be reliably identified with any of the known 13th Dynasty kings named Sobekhotep.

Siesse considered that the scarabs of Nubhotepti could not antedate Sobekhotep IV, because of the cartouches and the use of the title *ḥmt nsw wrt* "great king's wife" (the emergence date of these features Siesse established through circular reasoning based on the scarabs of Nubhotepti) and eventually, the similarity with the "Sobekhotep group" of royal scarabs, spanning from Sobekhotep III to Ay. On this basis, Siesse concluded that Sobekhotep *Ḫʿ-ʿnḫ-rʿ* and Sobekhotep VI *Ḫʿ-ḥtp-rʿ* are the most likely candidates to be identified with the royal son of the queen Nubhotepti.[1018] It is, however, apparent that scarabs of the queen Nubhotepti differ considerably from those of Sobekhotep VI or any other post-Sobekhotep IV king. Nubhotepti scarabs feature C5 and C2-type heads (occasionally D6), and d8-type sides. By contrast, post-Sobekhotep IV scarabs tend to display C7/D-type heads and e9-type sides, which are not attested on the scarabs of Nubhotepti available for study. Hence, Nubhotepti should date in an earlier period and, whereas she cannot be the mother of Sobekhotep III or Sobekhotep IV, as their mothers' names are well-known, she must be the mother of another king named Sobekhotep ruling in the mid-13th Dynasty. Siesse's reconstruction of 13th Dynasty chronology[1019] contains no candidates for this role, for he supposes that there were only two Sobekhotep kings ruling prior to Sobekhotep *Ḫʿ-nfr-rʿ* born to *Kmj*, traditionally designated as Sobekhotep IV –

1013 Basel Cat. 128, head: C5 (Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 128); BM EA40699, head: C2 (examined first-hand); BM EA66155, head: C2 (examined first-hand); BM EA67071, head: C5, somewhat trapezoid (examined first-hand) MMA 26.7.70, head: C5 (museum website).

1014 BM EA65964, head: C2 (examined first-hand); MMA 30.8.642, head: C5, somewhat trapezoid (museum website); UC 11517, head: rather D6 than C5 (examined first-hand).

1015 Siesse 2019, 148.

1016 Siesse 2019, 48.

1017 The present book was already in production when I found out that a statue base sold at Drouot-Richelieu in 1998 should be added to the queen's dossier (Coutau-Bégarie, O. Archéologie, art islamique, Drouot-Richelieu, 10 novembre 1998. Paris 1998, lot 152).

1018 Siesse 2019, 148.

1019 Siesse 2019, 99.

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Fig. 119 Scarab of the queen Nebuhetepti belonging to Ryholt's type B, MMA 30.8.642. Public domain photo from https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/556299, credit line: Theodore M. Davis Collection, Bequest of Theodore M. Davis, 1915. 28 mm.

Amenemhat-Sobekhotep, the first king of the dynasty, who thus ruled too early to be the Sobekhotep king born to Nubhotepti, and Sobekhotep *Sḫm-rˁ Swʒḏ-tʒwj*, born to *Jwḥt-jbw* and designated as Sobekhotep III. Scarabs suggest the existence of a third Sobekhotep, ruling either before or after Sobekhotep III *Sḫm-rˁ Swʒḏ-tʒwj*.

Queen Ini

The scarab dossier of the queen Ini is problematic because of the high diversity of scarab features. Most of her scarabs display typical features of scarabs from the mid- to late 13th Dynasty: C7/D-type heads, d8, d9, and e9-type sides. Based on the number of scarabs and their features, Ryholt proposed to consider queen Ini as the wife of the king Ay, who is also attested on many scarabs. While this is possible, the features alone allow suggesting a mid- to late 13th Dynasty date (from the reign of Sobekhotep IV onwards), for C7/D-type heads and e9-type sides become common in this period. The decision to link Ini with Ay and not with any other specific king of this period, whose wife is not known from other sources, remains speculative. Apart from the bulk of Ini's scarabs, some exhibit strikingly different features: A4b-type heads,[1020] A5-type heads,[1021] D3-type heads,[1022] d5-type heads,[1023] d6-type sides,[1024] which are seemingly almost unattested in the mid- to late 13th Dynasty and would favour an earlier date. It is moreover noteworthy that three of Ini's scarabs exhibit head type C5,[1025] characteristic of direct predecessors of Sobekhotep IV, and none shows head type C2. Hence, the evidence is not consistent with the suggestion that the scarabs of Ini span over a long period of time from the earlier 13th Dynasty to the reign of Sobekhotep IV and beyond, but rather suggests that the makers of these scarabs – likely to date from the later part of the 13th Dynasty – experimented with head-types otherwise little attested in this period. Admittedly, both solutions are hypothetical.

Governors

A number of scarabs from the late Middle Kingdom attest governors (*ḥʒtj-ˁ jmj-rʒ ḥmw nṯr; ḥʒtj-ˁ jmj-rʒ ḥwt-nṯr; ḥʒtj* [of a town]), mostly without naming the territory they governed, and this evidence is in itself important, because governors are generally worse attested in the late Middle Kingdom material as compared to the early- to mid-12th Dynasty.[1026] Some of these deserve a brief discussion.

A governor (*ḥʒtj-ˁ; ḫrp-nstj; jmj-rʒ ḥmw-nṯr*) *Ḏḥwtj-nḫt* is attested on a scarab from the Amherst collection (Fig. 120).[1027] Governors of that name are

1020 Berlin 32712; Boston 1979.600.
1021 Jerusalem IM 76.31.4034.
1022 BM EA32311.
1023 Jerusalem IM 76.31.4034.
1024 Berlin 32712.
1025 Keel 28; Louvre E.3454; Moscow I, 1a 2171.
1026 Ilin-Tomich 2017b; Siesse 2019, 259–261.
1027 MMA 26.7.321, see Table 37.

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Fig. 120 Scarab of the governor *Ḏḥwtj-nḫt*, MMA 26.7.321.
Public domain photo from https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/556435, credit line: Purchase, Edward S. Harkness Gift, 1926. 22×14×10 mm.

known from the necropolis of el-Bersha, but none of them postdates the reign of Amenemhat III. Julien Siesse dated the scarab to the 13th Dynasty based on "typology" (without further arguments) and thus attributed it to an otherwise unattested governor.[1028] However, the phonetic spelling of the title *jmj-r3* and the O-type back clearly date the scarab to the 12th Dynasty. The sides with mid-legs fringed (d14) do not contradict that date. The head is missing. Hence, its owner can be identical with the original owner of el-Bersha coffin Cairo CG 28099 (B14C), datable to Amenemhat II–Amenemhat III,[1029] or the even earlier governor Djehutinakht VI, known from coffins Cairo CG 28123 and 28125. It should be further noted that the identification of the original owner of coffin Cairo CG 28099, later re-inscribed for a woman named Ankhu, with the owner of el-Bersha tomb 6, Djehutinakht, born to Ankhu, put forward by Edward Brovarski[1030] is impossible if one dates the coffin to the mid- to late 12th Dynasty, because the filiation *ms.n*+mother's name on the block presumably belonging to the tomb[1031] clearly dates the tomb either to the early 12th or the 13th Dynasty.

Another governor's scarab likely dating from the 12th Dynasty attests the governor of Memphis (*ḥ3tj-ʿ Mn-nfr; jmj-r3 ḥmw-nṯr*) *Jmn-m-ḥ3t-snb*.[1032] The saddle-like A4a head suggests a date under the 12th Dynasty and the lined back (II) and fringed legs (d14) do not contradict this date.

A governor (*ḥ3tj-ʿ; jmj-r3 ḥmw-nṯr*) *Jjj*, named on a scarab in Moscow[1033] can be identical with the namesake governor of the Hare nome[1034] or the governor of Meir *Ḥʿ-ḫpr-rʿ-snb/Jjj*, known from a canopic box and two coffins, datable to the late 12th or early 13th Dynasty.[1035] The features (C2-I-d8) would favour a date in the mid-13th Dynasty, around the reign of Neferhotep I, for the scarab.

The governor of Antaeopolis (*ḥ3tj-ʿ n Ṯbw*) *Ḥtp* occurs on a scarab, now in Chicago (Fig. 121).[1036] The scarab features a relatively rare base design 1m and its head resembles C7/D-type heads but has a depressed baseline and should thus rather be classified as A6a. The scarab has a lined back and all legs notched (d6). In the corpus of Middle Kingdom name scarabs, there are three other scarabs with similar features: 1m-type base, A6a-type head and d6 or d14-type sides (Fig. 122). All the three scarabs name persons attributable to the Memphis-Faiyum region.[1037] It is thus tempting to suggest that the scarab of the Antaeopolite governor and the scarabs of Memphite officials all come from the same production centre. A6a-type heads and d6-type sides suggest a date in the 12th or the early 13th Dynasty.

Another governor of the Antaeopolite nome (*ḥ3tj-ʿ; jmj-r3 ḥmw-nṯr W3ḏjjt*) *Ḥtpwj* (Fig. 123) occurs on a scarab from the king Fuad collection, with features most typical of the era of the treasurer Senebsumai and Sobekhotep III (C5-II-d8).[1038] As discussed elsewhere,

1028 Siesse 2019, 285.
1029 Willems 1988, 79.
1030 Brovarski 1981, 25.
1031 Griffith and Newberry 1895, 36.
1032 Berlin 32426 (Martin 182, examined first-hand).
1033 Moscow I, 1a 2240 (Martin 27, examined first-hand).
1034 Statue Berlin 34407 (PM 801-411-000; Connor 2020, 275).
1035 Rigault 2015.
1036 OIM 18577 (Martin 1159, museum website, examined first-hand).
1037 Berlin 32457, Berlin 32487, UC 11415, see Table 41 for references and reasons for geographical attribution.
1038 Cairo JE 75048 (Martin 1163, Drioton MSS 5381, examined first-hand).

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Fig. 121 Scarab of the governor of Antaeopolis *Ḥtp*, OIM 18577.
Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. 21×14×8 mm.



Fig. 122 A comparable scarab of a Memphite official, Berlin 32457.
Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. This image is copyright. Reproduced by permission of Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. 24×17×10 mm.

the scarab contributes to the evidence on the office of the governor of Antaeopolis under the 13th Dynasty.[1039]

A governor (*ḥ3tj-ʿ; jmj-r3 ḫwt-nṯr*) named *Ttj* occurs on a scarab from Lisht (Fig. 124) having similar features to the one just discussed (C5-II-d8).[1040] Franke proposed[1041] to identify the person with the namesake temple overseer (*jmj-r3 ḫwt-nṯr*) named in a letter from Lahun.[1042] The identification is plausible despite the shortened version of the title appearing in the papyrus, and while the letter is often dated to the 12th Dynasty,[1043] there is no evidence that prevents its dating to the earlier part of the 13th Dynasty, in accordance to the scarab's features, most typical of the era of the treasurer Senebsumai and Sobekhotep III. All the more so that Lot I of Lahun papyri, shown to be interconnected with Lot II, to which the letter belongs, includes a papyrus dated to year 3 of the early 13th Dynasty king Sekhemkare.[1044]

In conclusion, it should be noted that while these and other scarabs attest a number of governors from the

1039 Ilin-Tomich 2017/2018; Siesse 2019, 289; Grajetzki 2020, 186.
1040 MMA 09.180.1206 (Martin 1730; Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 22 [15]; museum website).
1041 Franke 1984, dossier 736.
1042 UC 32199 (lot II.2), Collier, Quirke 2002, 96-99.
1043 Philip-Stéphan 2008, 265 (63).
1044 Collier 2009, 220.

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Fig. 123 Scarab of the governor of the Antaeopolite nome *Ḥtpwj*, Cairo JE 75048.
Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. 23×17×11 mm.



Fig. 124 Scarab of the governor *Ttj*, MMA 09.180.1206 from Lisht.
Public domain photo from https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/557049, credit line:
Rogers Fund, 1909. 24×17×9 mm.



Fig. 125 Scarab of the overseer of treasurers Aki, Berlin 32455.
Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. This image is copyright. Reproduced by permission of Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. 24×16×10 mm.

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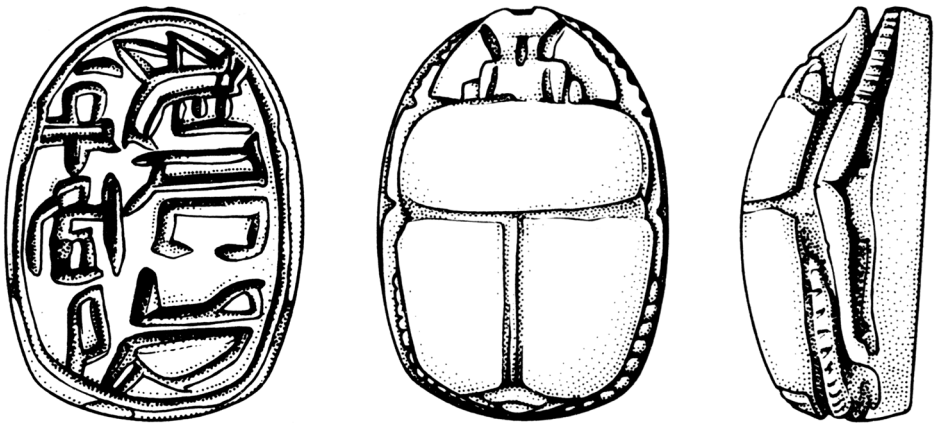


Fig. 126 Scarab of the overseer of treasurers Aki, Fitzwilliam E.Sc.41.
Drawing from Bourriau and Quirke, Pharaohs and Mortals: Egyptian Art in the Middle Kingdom, 159 fig. 182 (c).
© Cambridge University Press 1988. Reproduced with permission of The Licensor through PLSclear. 22 mm.



Fig. 127 Scarab of the commander of the crew of the ruler Sobekhotep, Ashmolean AN1892.271.
Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. 22×16×11 mm.

early to mid-13th Dynasty, there is but one governors' scarabs reliably datable to the mid- to late 13th Dynasty from the reign of Sobekhotep IV onwards.[1045] Hence, the visibility of governors in the written records continues to decrease during the 13th Dynasty.

Evaluation of two earlier proposed prosopographical identifications

A number of hypotheses on the identity of persons named on scarabs remain questionable, partly because inscriptions on scarabs are very short and offer little details to disambiguate the persons named on them. At the end of this chapter, I present two cases where a detailed examination of scarab features allows throwing new light on identifications proposed without regarding the scarab features, though they still cannot be considered securely proven.

The high steward Aki

Detlef Franke suggested that the high steward (*jmj-r3 pr wr*) Aki (*ʿkj*), known only from scarabs, might be the same person as the overseer of treasurers (*jmj-r3 ḫtmtjw*) Aki, known from two 13th Dynasty

1045 Moscow I, 1a 2097 (features: C7/D-I-e9; Martin 1470; Hodjash 1999, no. 433; examined first-hand). Also note scarab Martin, MDAIK 35, no. 39 (features: C7/D-I-d8; Grimm-Stadelmann 2012, 28 [R-084]) belonging to the same governor *Nmtj-m-wsḫt* as BM EA66086 (C5-II-d9; Martin 352; examined first-hand), and thus on the balance of evidence provided by these two scarabs likely dating from the mid-13th Dynasty. The connection with Antaeopolis, implied by Siesse 2019, 289, is not substantiated, for the names with the element *Nmtj* are well attested elsewhere.

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stelae and a scarab.[1046] This identification, suggested by the rare name and the high titles of the official, is reinforced by the fact that the scarab of the overseer of treasurers Aki (Fig. 125)[1047] has the similar features (C5 II d9) with some of the scarabs of the high steward (C5 II d8, Fig. 126),[1048] which generally favour a date around the time of the treasurer Senebsumai and Sobekhotep III. Other scarabs of the high steward Aki feature C2-type heads[1049] and C7/D type heads[1050] suggesting a date not earlier than the reign of Neferhotep I and thus giving some credibility to the hypothesis that Aki was first an overseer of treasurers and later became a high steward.[1051]

Sobekhotep, the son of Mentuhotep

A large series of scarabs from the 13th Dynasty features the inscription  .[1052] Given the stroke after  , it should be read as "commander of the crew of the ruler Sobekhotep, the son of the commander of the crew of the ruler Mentuhotep" rather than "commander of the crew of the ruler Sobekhotep's son, commander of the crew of the ruler Mentuhotep" (as read by Martin).[1053] Kim Ryholt suggested that this Sobekhotep, the son of Mentuhotep, was the same person as the later king Sobekhotep III, the son of divine father (*jtj nṯr*) Mentuhotep.[1054] The very title "divine father" indicates that the king's father himself was not a king, and it is further argued that the size of Sobekhotep's scarab series indicates the extreme importance of this person, which would by far exceed that of other commanders of the crew of the ruler.[1055] All scarabs of the commander of the crew of the ruler Sobekhotep available for the study exhibit C5-type heads, lined backs (I and II) and d8- and d9-type sides (Fig. 127), which perfectly match the Sobekhotep III's royal series (Tables 4–5), adding to the probability of this hypothesis.

1046 Franke 1984, dossier 192.

1047 Berlin 32455 (Martin 379, examined first-hand).

1048 Basel Cat. 511 (Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 511) and Fitzwilliam E.Sc.41 (Bourriau and Quirke 1988, no. 182 [c]; museum website).

1049 Berlin 20767 (Martin 375; examined first-hand); Berlin 32454 (Martin 378; examined first-hand).

1050 Berlin 32453 (Martin 377; examined first-hand); BM EA30527 (Martin 371; examined first-hand); MMA 09.180.1212 (Martin 373; museum website). The drawing of a scarab from Sai does not allow reliably determining scarab features (Gratien 1985, 104 [6]).

1051 Grajetzki 2002, 98 (III.37); Grajetzki 2009, 80; Franke 2013, 41–42; Siesse 2019, 224.

1052 Series represented in Martin 1971, nos. 577–588, to which add scarabs Athens 186 (seen in the museum); Jerusalem IM 76.31.4521 (Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 24 [17]); Martin 1979, no. 38; Portland Art Museum 29.16.984 (Sarr 2004, 62; museum website); Sotheby's 11.07.1977, no. 5 (1); seal impressions Wegner 2007, fig. 158 (61); Mirgissa 3-23 (Gratien 2019, pl. 15).

1053 Berlev 1962.

1054 Ryholt 1997, 222.

1055 Ryholt 1997, 222; Siesse 2019, 135–139.

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Conclusion

Studying objects that possess authority

The study of name scarabs from the 12th to the 15th Dynasty has in some respects redefined the framework of scarab production in the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period. Name scarabs produced in Egypt at any given time within that period were not uniform but display a variety of types and styles. This diversity can in part be ascribed to the multiplicity of production centres — it can be established for the 13th Dynasty and for the Second Intermediate Period. Where different production centres were active, a complex interplay of standardising tendencies and local particularities, imitation and innovation defined the variability of scarab features. And it is not until this tangle is unravelled that single features can be used to contextualise scarabs. Some scholars doubt that unravelling such knots is possible in Egyptology.[1056] Yet, name scarabs provide plenty of style-independent evidence that can be derived from names and titles of officials and kings attested on them and enables contextualising the objects and puzzling out the stylistic intentions of their producers.

Egyptian Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period scarabs should not be viewed as an object class naturally evolving over time. The choice of their designs and features was motivated by the desire to replicate known models, which in turn contributed to the symbolic value of scarabs. Not only inscriptions and images on a scarab were significant, but also its style. Already at this early phase of the scarab production, long before the emergence of such recognised imitative phenomena as neo-Hyksos scarabs of the Iron Age, scarab producers were consciously imitating different stylistic models.

Reproducing what was perceived as elements of authoritative style was innate to scarab production in the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period, the difference between the epochs lies in what was emulated and how. Under the 13th Dynasty, private-name scarabs appear to have been modelled after the contemporary royal-name scarabs and these latter appear to have evolved without visible attempts to strictly imitate other scarab styles. (The resulting copies mirror the way craftsman perceived scarab features: they only copied what was deemed to be distinctive features of scarabs.) On the contrary, in the Second Intermediate Period, the highest valued scarabs of the past, those of the 12th Dynasty, served as the primary models for scarab producers. This resulted in numerous reissues of 12th Dynasty royal-name scarabs and the production of 14th–15th Dynasty royal-name, private-name, and design scarabs with elements partly derived from 12th Dynasty models.

Imitations of scarabs do and long will misguide scholars. Some imitations can be detected through minor traits, which artisans deemed of little importance when copying the models and which betray the difference from the model. Such are the features that allow distinguishing 13th Dynasty private-name scarabs produced in Thebes from those of the Memphis-Faiyum region and the traits that distinguish 14th–15th Dynasty scarabs from the original 12th Dynasty scarabs. To work with such minor traits, one must study scarabs based on first-hand observations or quality photographs, not from hand-drawn sketches, which have long served as basis for the comparative research in scarab studies.

Despite the small size and the ubiquity in archaeological record, scarabs should be regarded as products made by reflective and knowledgeable artisans. One should assume that artisans had access to some stock of scarabs and could distinguish between scarabs of different periods (which render royal-name scarabs ideal models for imitation in this reconstruction, because their date was apparent from the names). Hence, all approaches to scarabs based on the assumption of a non-voluntary and seamless evolution of scarab layouts and designs — as if it was a nature-like process — are ultimately doomed to failure even if they may bring coherent results on some smaller subsets of data. The specifics of scarabs as objects of high significance for those who made and used them and the purposeful choice of decorative motifs and sculptural features by scarab makers should factored into the methodology of scarab-related studies.

Timeline of name scarabs in the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period

As early as during the 12th Dynasty, private-name scarabs were produced on a large scale. Few name scarabs can be attributed to the early to mid-12th Dynasty, and it is likely that name scarabs became more increasingly popular towards the end of the dynasty, although the exact chronological position of most 12th Dynasty name scarabs cannot be established. These scarabs include those made of semi-precious stones, which researchers have long suspected to predominantly date from the 12th Dynasty, but also numerous steatite scarabs, which could be first identified as dating from the 12th Dynasty based on new criteria proposed in this study. During this period, the production and use of private-name scarabs were largely restricted to the Memphis-Faiyum region. Little evidence survives on royal-name scarabs of the 12th Dynasty, which were

1056 Widmaier 2017.

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likely produced in low numbers. However, private-name scarabs and scarab impressions can to some extent give an idea of what sculptural features and designs could have been current on contemporary royal-name scarabs.

The use of amethyst, feldspar, lapis lazuli, rock crystal, carnelian, serpentinite, and turquoise receded for name scarabs after the 12th Dynasty. Steatite became the principal material for name scarabs with much fewer items produced of glazed composition (Egyptian faience), obsidian, and possibly jasper.

With the onset of the 13th Dynasty, the geography of scarab use and production changed. As the administration of southern Upper Egypt, centred at Thebes, gained significance, which is most evident from the time of the vizier Ankhu, so did the production of private-name scarabs at Thebes. Several groups of scarabs owned predominantly by southern Upper Egyptian officials are identifiable in this period. They attest to the local production of scarabs made of steatite and obsidian. Likewise, several coherent scarab groups are attributable to officials from the north of Egypt.

The reign of the 13th Dynasty became the height of royal-name scarabs. Starting from Sobekhotep III, large series of scarabs with the names of reigning kings were produced, and the changes in the features of royal-name scarabs that occurred around the reigns of Neferhotep I and Sobekhotep IV provide useful clues for dating private-name scarabs.

While scarabs of 13th Dynasty kings were attractive for their contemporaries, they were disregarded by producers of scarabs active in the MB IIB Southern Levant and in 14th–15th Dynasty Egypt. Most distinctive features of 13th Dynasty scarabs were abandoned, so that many features and designs common in the Second Intermediate Period may go back to 12th Dynasty royal-name scarabs, which were apparently collected and imitated in this time. The imitation of 12th Dynasty styles both on newly produced scarabs bearing the names of old kings and on scarabs with names of contemporary kings and officials following the same venerable style can compared to the reuse of 12th Dynasty statues and other monuments by 14th–15th Dynasty kings.

Kings of foreign origin, who reigned in the Delta in the Second Intermediate Period and their officials are known from hundreds of inscribed scarabs. The study has shown that they were not produced at a single centre, which many scholars believed to be Tell el-Dabʿa — the ancient Avaris, known as the capital of the Hyksos from classical sources and as the capital of the king Apep in the texts of Kamose. Apparently, alongside with Tell el-Dabʿa, at least one other city in the northern part of Egypt played a major role as the production place of royal-name scarabs and thus potentially as a seat of royal power. It remains unclear whether it was Tell el-Yahudiya or another centre in the southern part of the Delta, or in the Memphis-Faiyum region; however, Tell el-Yahudiya provides the best evidence for this alternative scarab tradition. Whereas the Second Intermediate Period corpus of design scarabs from Tell el-Dabʿa is dominated by design scarabs imported from the Palestine, this second production centre in northern Egypt was also responsible for a large-scale manufacture of design scarabs with features comparable to the royal-name scarabs of the 14th–15th Dynasty. The affinity of name scarabs and design scarabs found in Tell el-Yahudiya prompts the revision of the idea that most design scarabs in Second Intermediate Period Egypt were imported from the Levant.

Despite local differences, the tendency to standardise scarab features across the regions was very pronounced in the Middle Kingdom. By contrast, in the Second Intermediate Period, regional variations are more prominent, and it can be one of the factors that prevent us from establishing a reliable sequence of kings from the alleged seriations of scarab features. Another possible obstacle is that scarab producers repeatedly reintroduced features of 12th Dynasty scarabs breaking the continuity of scarab production. This is best demonstrable for the king Apep, whose scarabs differ from the rest of 14th–15th Dynasty royal-name series.

Historical observations

Dealing with the production of scarabs, one inevitably touches historical problems that are being solved based on the scarab evidence. The re-examination of name scarabs calls for the revision of several points in the history of 13th –15th Dynasty Egypt and its relations to the Near East.

The hypothesis that some scarabs of Byblos rulers belong to a scarab workshop in Tell el-Dabʿa relies on the false assumption that similar scarabs are absent in Egypt. Neither does the earlier idea hold true that the scarabs of some Byblos rulers have no parallels in Egypt and should have been produced locally. The newly presented evidence rather shows that these scarabs could stem from the Egyptian royal residence. What was thought to testify to the special relations of Byblos with Tell el-Dabʿa can as well be evidence for the intense relations between Byblos and the Egyptian royal residence continuing at least up to the reign of Sobekhotep IV.

Although some of the scarabs naming governors of Egyptian regions should be reassigned to the 12th Dynasty, most of them date from the early to mid-13th Dynasty.

The now current view that foreigners of Western Asian origin could attain high posts as early as in the Middle Kingdom relies on inconclusive, erroneous or methodologically flawed arguments. Scarabs show that people with non-Egyptian names got hold of high offices in the Egyptian administration only under the 14th–15th Dynasty.

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The recent chronological hypothesis implying the contemporaneity of the foreign 14th–15th Dynasty king Khyan and the Egyptian mid-13th Dynasty king Sobekhotep IV contradicts the evidence of scarabs found in datable contexts in Tell el-Dabʿa. The reign of Sobekhotep IV is datable based on scarabs to the transition from Phase G/4 to Phase G/1–3 in the general stratigraphy of Tell el-Dabʿa. The earliest sealings of Khyan belong to Phase E/1, but more importantly, only in Phase E/1 design scarabs from Tell el-Dabʿa begin to demonstrate distinctive scarab features of any of 14th–15th Dynasty royal-name scarabs. Hence, the two kings can hardly be contemporaries.

Judging from the evidence from Tell el-Dabʿa, the production of royal-name scarabs started relatively late in the history of the Second Intermediate Period, at the time coinciding with Tell el-Dabʿa Phase E/1. Scarabs do not provide clues for dividing the 14th–15th Dynasty kings attested on scarabs into two dynasties. There is no scarab evidence for a 14th Dynasty, which could have reigned at Tell el-Dabʿa prior to Phase E/1 — as early as Phase F — as suggested in previous research. It is, however, possible that royal-name scarabs were produced outside Tell el-Dabʿa before Phase E/1. The study established the existence of a scarab producing centre in Second Intermediate Period northern Egypt other than Tell el-Dabʿa, which leads to the suggestion that this could also have been an alternative royal residence, a seat of kings of foreign origins beyond Avaris. Yet, so far, there is no evidence of the production of 14th–15th Dynasty royal-name scarabs outside Tell el-Dabʿa before Phase E/1.

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Tables

Seal	Type	Availability and bibliography	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Base	Material	Provenance	King
Jerusalem RM 33.1740	scarab	all sides, Keel 1997, 266 (484) [p]; Tufnell 1984, no. 3093 [s]	C5	O	d14	raised	chipped off	1d	steatite	Tell el-ʿAjjul	Amenemhat IV
Louvre E 3394	scarab	all sides, museum database [p]; Tufnell 1984, no. 3092 [s]	D3	II	d14	chipped off	chipped off	3a	steatite		Amenemhat IV
Louvre E 3396	scarab	all sides, museum database [p]; Tufnell 1984, no. 3094 [s]	A4b	I	c3	raised	4 serrations	1al3	steatite		Amenemhat IV
UC 11332	scarab	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3091 [s]	A5	II	d11	deeply set, double partition line	not serrated, zigzag border	3a	steatite		Amenemhat IV
BM EA66159	scarab	all sides, museum photo archive [p]; Tufnell 1984, no. 3095 [s]	A4b	O	c3	raised	4 serrations	1al3	steatite		Neferusobek
Hannover 1976.102	scarab	all sides, examined personally; Beste 1979, 158–160 [p]; Sotheby 1975, no. 27 [p]	A4b	O	c3	raised	4 serrations	1al3	steatite		Amenemhat Sonbef
MMA 26.7.85	scarab	all sides, museum website [p]	A4b	O	c3	raised at base, deeply set at front	4 serrations	1al3	steatite		Sedjefakare Amenemhat VII
Basel Cat. 103	scarab	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 103 [p]	C2	II	d9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Khendjer
Berlin 32489	scarab	all sides, examined personally	C5	I	d9	raised	worn off	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep III
BM EA30506	scarab	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3108 [s]	C5	II	d9	raised	worn off	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep III
Cairo CG 36011	scarab	base and back, museum database [p]	C5	II	d9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite	Abydos	Sobekhotep III
Cairo JE 5038	scarab	base and back, museum database [p]; Newberry 1907a, no. 36012 [s]	C5	I		raised	chipped off	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep III
Cairo JE 72812	scarab	base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]; Tufnell 1984, no. 3107 [d]; museum database [p]	A4b	O	c3	raised	4 serrations	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep III
Cairo JE 72813	scarab	base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]; Tufnell 1984, no. 3103 [d]	C2	I	d5	raised	worn off	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep III
Fribourg ÄS 1983.6037	scarab	all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=28680 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]; Matouk 1971, 207 (156, C.III.1) [p]	C5	I	d9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep III
Hannover 1976.101	scarab	all sides, examined personally; Beste 1979, 155–157 [p]	C7/D	I	d9	raised	chipped off	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep III

Table 34 The reference group of Middle Kingdom royal-name scarabs.

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Seal	Type	Availability and bibliography	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Base	Material	Prove-nance	King
Louvre E 3395	scarab	all sides, museum website [p]; Tufnell 1984, no. 3102 [s]	C5	II	d9	chipped off	chipped off	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep III
MMA 20.1.2	scarab	all sides, Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 21 (14) [s]	C5	I	d9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite	Lisht	Sobekhotep III
MMA 22.1.413	scarab	all sides, museum website [p]; Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 21 (18) [s]; Tufnell 1984, no. 3105 [d]	C5	I	d9	raised	worn off	3a	steatite	Lisht	Sobekhotep III
MMA 26.7.81	scarab	all sides, museum website [p]		II	d	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep III
MMA 26.7.93	scarab	all sides, museum website [p]	C5	I	d8	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep III
Moscow I, 1a 2079	scarab	all sides, examined personally; Hodjash 1999, no. 26 [p]; Hodjash 1973, no. 1 [p]; Tufnell 1984, 3101 [s]	C7/D	I	d9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep III
OIM 18445	scarab	all sides, museum website [p]; Tufnell 1984, no. 3104 [s, incorrect]	C5	I	d9	raised	chipped off	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep III
UC 11536	scarab	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3100 [s]	C7	I	d9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite	Koptos	Sobekhotep III
Ashmolean AN1933.93. vii	scarab	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3124 [s]	C2	II	d9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Neferhotep I
Basel Cat. 106	scarab	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 106 [p]	C2	I	d9	raised	worn off	3a	steatite	Abydos	Neferhotep I
Basel Cat. 107	scarab	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 107 [p]	C7/D	II	d9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Neferhotep I
Basel Cat. 108	scarab	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 108 [p]	C7/D	I	d9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya	Neferhotep I
Ben-Tor, Scarab, 63 (11)	scarab	base and back, Ben-Tor 1989, 63 (11) [p]	C5	I		raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Neferhotep I
Berlin 31020	scarab	all sides, examined personally; Settgast 1962, pl. XXXVI (1) [p]; Tufnell 1984, no. 3115 [s]	C2	I	d9	worn off	worn off	3a	steatite		Neferhotep I
Berlin 31349	scarab	all sides, examined personally	C7/D	I	d9	raised	worn off	3a	steatite		Neferhotep I
Berlin 32558	scarab	all sides, examined personally	C7/D	I	e9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Neferhotep I
Berlin 32709	scarab	all sides, examined personally	C2	II	d9	chipped off	chipped off	3a	steatite		Neferhotep I
Bet-Shemesh IAA 01-2894	scarab	all sides, Keel 2010b, 428–429 (1) [s]; http://www.antiquities.org.il/t/item_en.aspx?CurrentPageKey=1&q=2001-2894 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	C2	I	d9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite	Fassuta	Neferhotep I

Table 34 The reference group of Middle Kingdom royal-name scarabs. (continuation)

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Seal	Type	Availability and bibliography	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Base	Material	Prove-nance	King
BM EA3932	scarab	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3125 [d]	C2	I	d9	chipped off	chipped off	3a	steatite		Neferhotep I
BM EA3933	scarab	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3127 [s]	C2	I	d9	raised	chipped off	3a	steatite		Neferhotep I
BM EA24133	scarab	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3130 [d]	C7/D	I	d9	raised	chipped off	3a	steatite		Neferhotep I
BM EA37660	scarab	all sides, examined personally	C2	II	d9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Neferhotep I
BM EA63822	scarab	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3123 [d]	C7	I	d9	raised	worn off	3a	steatite		Neferhotep I
BM EA65374	scarab	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3126 [d]	C2	I	d9	raised	worn off	3a	steatite		Neferhotep I
Brandl, in Beth-Shean II, no. 5	scarab	all sides, Brandl 2007, 587–589, fig. 8.5 [p]; Keel 2010a, 190 (214) [p]	C5	I	d7	raised	worn off	3a	steatite	Beit She'an	Neferhotep I
Brooklyn 37.505E	scarab	all sides, examined personally	C2	I	d9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Neferhotep I
Bruxelles E.5003	scarab	all sides, museum website [p]; Tufnell 1984, no. 3121 [s]	C2	II	d8	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Neferhotep I
Cairo CG 36013	scarab	base and back, museum database [p]	C2	I	d9	raised	worn off	3a	steatite		Neferhotep I
Cairo JE 72814	scarab	base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]; Tufnell 1984, no. 3128 [d]	C2	I	d9	raised	worn off	3a	steatite		Neferhotep I
Cairo JE 72815	scarab	base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]; Tufnell 1984, no. 3114 [d]	C7/D	I	d9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Neferhotep I
Cairo JE 72816	scarab	base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]; Tufnell 1984, no. 3120 [d]	D3	II	d9	raised	worn off	3a	steatite		Neferhotep I
Cambridge 2003.37	scarab	all sides, examined personally	C7/D	I	d9	raised	worn off	3a	steatite		Neferhotep I
Fitzwilliam E.GA. 607.1943	scarab	all sides, Bourriau and Quirke 1988, no. 181 (a) [s]	C2	II	d9	raised	chipped off	3a	steatite		Neferhotep I
Fribourg ÄS 1983.77	scarab	all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=721 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	C2	I	d9	chipped off	chipped off	3a	steatite		Neferhotep I
Fribourg ÄS 1983.78	scarab	all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=722 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	C2	II	d9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Neferhotep I
Giveon, RdE 30, 163, pl. 6–7 (3)	scarab	all sides, Giveon 1978, pl. 6–7 (3) [p]	C5	I	d9	raised	worn off	3a	steatite		Neferhotep I

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Seal	Type	Availability and bibliography	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Base	Material	Provenance	King
Jerusalem RM 33.1733	scarab	all sides, Keel 1997, 232–233 (386) [p]; Tufnell 1984, no. 3112 [d]	C2	II		raised	worn off	3a	steatite	Tell el-ʿAjjul	Neferhotep I
Leiden AED 39	scarab	all sides, museum website [p]	D3	II	d9	raised	chipped off	3a	steatite		Neferhotep I
Leiden F 2015/9.517	scarab	base and back, museum website [p]	C5	II	d9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Neferhotep I
Louvre E 7728	scarab	all sides, museum database [p]; Tufnell 1984, no. 3122 [s]	C7/D	II	d9	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	3a	steatite		Neferhotep I
Louvre N 543	scarab	all sides, museum database [p]; museum website [p]	C2	I	d9	raised	worn off	3a	steatite		Neferhotep I
Moscow I, 1a 2223	scarab	all sides, examined personally; Hodjash 1999, no. 29 [p]	C2	I	d9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Neferhotep I
Moscow I, 1a 2328	scarab	all sides, examined personally; Hodjash 1999, no. 27 [p]; Tufnell 1984, no. 3129 [d]	C5	I	d9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Neferhotep I
Moscow I, 1a 2368	scarab	all sides, examined personally; Hodjash 1999, no. 28 [p]	C2	I	d9	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	3a	steatite		Neferhotep I
OIM 16886	scarab	all sides, museum website [p]; Tufnell 1984, no. 3110 [s] (inaccurate)	C2	I	d9	raised	chipped off	3a	steatite		Neferhotep I
OIM 18446	scarab	all sides, museum website [p]; Tufnell 1984, no. 3119 [s] (inaccurate)	C5	I	d9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Neferhotep I
UC 11539	scarab	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3117 [d]	C2	I	d9	chipped off	chipped off	3a	steatite	Lahun	Neferhotep I
UC 11542	scarab	all sides, examined personally	C5	II	d9	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	3a	steatite		Neferhotep I
UC 11543	scarab	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3118 [s]	C7/D	I	d9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Neferhotep I
UC 11544	scarab	all sides (head lost), examined personally			d9	chipped off	chipped off	3a	steatite		Neferhotep I
Vink, Ancient Egypt, 99, 12, bottom, 1	scarab	base and back, Vink 2016/2017, 12, bottom, 1 [p]	C7/D	II		raised	worn off	3a	steatite		Neferhotep I
Aberdeen ABDUA: 81108	scarab	all sides, examined personally	C7/D	II	d9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep IV
Aberdeen ABDUA: 81114	scarab	all sides, examined personally	A5	II	d8	deeply set, double partition line	not serrated		steatite		Sobekhotep IV

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Seal	Type	Availability and bibliography	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Base	Material	Prove-nance	King
Basel Cat. 104	scarab	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 104 [p]	C7/D	I	d9	raised	chipped off	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep IV
Basel Cat. 105	scarab	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 105 [p]	C7/D	I	d9	raised	worn off	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep IV
Basel Cat. 112	scarab	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 112 [p]	C7/D	II	d9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep IV
Basel Cat. 113	scarab	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 113 [p]	C7/D	II	d9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep IV
Berlin 1895	scarab	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3139 [s]	C7/D	I	d9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep IV
Berlin 17944	scarab	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3140 [s]	C7	I	d9	raised	chipped off	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep IV
Berlin 31348	scarab	all sides, examined personally	C7/D	I	e9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep IV
Berlin 32295	scarab	all sides, examined personally	C7/D	I	e9	raised	worn off	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep IV
Berlin 32707	scarab	all sides, examined personally	C7/D	II	d9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep IV
Berlin 32708	scarab	all sides, examined personally	C7/D	I	d9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep IV
BM EA3934	scarab	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3134 [s]	C7/D	I	d9	raised	worn off	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep IV
BM EA29992	scarab	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3146 [d]	C5			chipped off	chipped off	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep IV
BM EA30507	scarab	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3159 [d]	C2	I	d9	raised	worn off	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep IV
BM EA30508	scarab	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3136 [s]	C7/D	I	e9	raised	worn off	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep IV
BM EA32313	scarab	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3138 [d]	C2	II	d9	raised	chipped off	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep IV
BM EA37656	scarab	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3147 [d]	C7/D	I	e9	raised	chipped off	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep IV
BM EA37657	scarab	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3143 [d]	C5	II	d9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep IV
BM EA40696	scarab	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3156 [s]	C7/D	II	d9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep IV
BM EA40697	scarab	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3149 [d]	D3	I	d9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep IV
BM EA48687	scarab	all sides (head lost), examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3155 [d]		II	e9	chipped off	chipped off	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep IV

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Seal	Type	Availability and bibliography	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Base	Material	Provenance	King
BM EA52973	scarab	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3148 [d]	C7/D	I	d9	chipped off	chipped off	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep IV
BM EA68688	scarab	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3137 [d]	C7/D	II	e9	raised	worn off	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep IV
Brooklyn 44.123.89	scarab	all sides, museum website [p]; Tufnell 1984, no. 3161 [s]	C7/D	II	d9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep IV
Cairo CG 36017	scarab	base and back, Tufnell 1984, no. 3153 [d]; museum database [p]	C5	II	d6	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep IV
Cairo JE 28361	scarab	base and back, museum database [p]; Newberry 1907a, no. 36019 [s]	C7/D	I		raised	not serrated	3a	steatite	Faiyum	Sobekhotep IV
Cairo JE 31373	scarab	base and back, museum database [p]	C7/D		e9	raised	chipped off	3a	steatite	Lisht	Sobekhotep IV
Cairo JE 72840	scarab	base and back, Driton MSS 5380 [p]	D3	O		raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep IV
Cairo JE 72841	scarab	base and back, Driton MSS 5380 [p]	C7/D	I		raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep IV
Cairo JE 72842	scarab	base and back, Driton MSS 5380 [p]	C5	II	d9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep IV
Cairo JE 72843	scarab	base and back, Driton MSS 5380 [p]	C2	II		raised	worn off	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep IV
Cairo JE 72844	scarab	base and back, Driton MSS 5380 [p]	C7/D	I	d9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep IV
Cairo JE 72846	scarab	base and back, Driton MSS 5380 [p]	C7/D	I		raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep IV
Cairo JE 72847	scarab	base and back, Driton MSS 5380 [p]	C7/D	I	e9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep IV
Cairo JE 72848	scarab	base and back, Driton MSS 5380 [p]	C7/D	II		raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep IV
Cambridge 2003.35	scarab	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3142 [d]	C7/D	II	e9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep IV
Cambridge 2003.54	scarab	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3145 [d]	D3	II	d9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep IV
Fribourg ÄS 1983.83	scarab	all sides, unpublished museum photos [p]; Matouk 1971, 207 (158) [p]	C2	I	d9	raised	chipped off	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep IV
Fribourg ÄS 1983.84	scarab	all sides, unpublished museum photos [p]; Tufnell 1984, no. 3151 [d]; Matouk 1971, 207 (157) [p]	D5	I	d9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep IV
Holladay, Maskhuta, pl. XLV	scarab	base and back, Holladay 1982, 45, 50, pl. XLV [p]; Ben-Tor 2007a, Appendix, pl. 1 (11) [s]	C7/D	I		raised	not serrated	3a	steatite	Maskhuta	Sobekhotep IV
Jerusalem IM 76.31.2202	scarab	all sides, museum website [p]; Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 22 (4) [s]	B4	I	e9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep IV

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Seal	Type	Availability and bibliography	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Base	Material	Prove-nance	King
Jerusalem IM 76.31.3988	scarab	all sides, museum website [p]; Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 22 (2) [s]	C7/D	I	d9	raised	worn off	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep IV
Leiden EG-ZM1646	scarab	all sides, Schneider 1995, 39 (4) [p]; Tufnell 1984, no. 3157 [s]; museum website [p]	C7/D	I	d9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep IV
Louvre AF 6459	scarab	base and back, Tufnell 1984, no. 3135 [d]; museum website [p]	C7/D	I	d9	raised	chipped off	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep IV
Louvre N 544	scarab	base and back, museum website [p]	C7/D	I	d9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep IV
Malloy 1974, no. 41a	scarab	base and back, Malloy 1974, no. 41a [p]	C7/D	II		raised	worn off	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep IV
MMA 10.130.23	scarab	all sides, museum website [p]; Tufnell 1984, no. 3132 [d]	C7/D	II	e9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep IV
MMA 10.130.25	scarab	all sides, museum website [p]	C2	II	d9	raised	worn off	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep IV
MMA 22.1.316	scarab	all sides, museum website [p]; Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 21 (16) [s]	C7/D	I	d9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite	Lisht	Sobekhotep IV
MMA 22.1.423	scarab	all sides, museum website [p]; Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 22 (1) [s]	C7/D	I	e9	raised	chipped off	3a	steatite	Lisht	Sobekhotep IV
Moscow I, 1a 2089	scarab	all sides, examined personally; Hodjash 1999, no. 30 [p]	C7/D	I		raised	chipped off	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep IV
OIM 16885	scarab	base and back, museum website [p]	C7/D	II		raised	worn off	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep IV
OIM 18447	scarab	all sides, museum website [p]; Tufnell 1984, no. 3158 [s]	C7/D	I	d9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep IV
UC 11545	scarab	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3154 [d]	C2	I	d9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep IV
UC 11546	scarab	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3152 [s]	C7/D	I	d9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite	Naqada	Sobekhotep IV
UC 11547	scarab	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3133 [s]	C7/D	II	e9	raised	chipped off	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep IV
UC 11548	scarab	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3150 [s]	C2	II	d9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep IV
UC 11594	scarab	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3141 [s]	C7/D	I	d9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep IV
Wien ÄS 2023	scarab	all sides, unpublished museum photos [p]	C5	II	e9	chipped off	chipped off	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep IV
Wien ÄS 4970	scarab	all sides, unpublished museum photos [p]	C7/D	II	e9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep IV

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Seal	Type	Availability and bibliography	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Base	Material	Prove-nance	King
Basel Cat. 118	scarab	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 118 [p]	C7/D	I	e9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep VI
Berlin 31021	scarab	all sides, examined personally; Settgast 1962, pl. XXXVI (2) [p]; Tufnell 1984, no. 3166 [s]	C7/D	II	e9	raised	not serrated	12	steatite		Sobekhotep VI
Berlin 32719	scarab	all sides, examined personally	C7	I	e9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep VI
Berlin 32726	scarab	all sides, examined personally	C7/D	II	d9	raised	not serrated	12	steatite		Sobekhotep VI
Cairo JE 2524	scarab	base and back, museum database [p]; Newberry 1907a, no. 36020 [s]	C5	I		raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep VI
Keel 26	scarab	all sides, Keel 2020, no. 26 [p]	C6	II	d8	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep VI
Louvre E 6348	scarab	all sides, museum database [p, s]; Tufnell 1984, no. 3163 [s]	C7/D	I	e9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep VI
MMA 22.1.357	scarab	all sides, museum website [p]	C7/D	II	e9	chipped off	chipped off	12	steatite	Lisht	Sobekhotep VI
OIM 18449	scarab	all sides, museum website [p]; Tufnell 1984, no. 3167 [s]	C7/D	II	e9	raised	chipped off	3a	steatite		Sobekhotep VI
Sydney NM53.277	scarab	all sides, Keel 2017, 170–171 (337) [p, s]	C7/D	II	e10	raised	not serrated	12	steatite	Jericho	Sobekhotep VI
UC 11569	scarab	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3164 [s]	C7	I	e9	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	12	steatite		Sobekhotep VI
Berlin 32720	scarab	all sides, examined personally	C7/D	I	e9	chipped off	not serrated	3a	steatite		Iaib
BM EA66157	scarab	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3168 [s]	C7/D	I	e9	raised	chipped off	3a	steatite		Iaib
BM EA66158	scarab	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3170 [s]	C7/D	II	e9	raised	worn off	3a	steatite		Iaib
Keel 27	scarab	all sides, NFA 1991, no. 11 [p]; Keel 2020, no. 27 [p]	C7	I	e9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Iaib
UC 11572	scarab	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3171 [s]	C7/D	I	e9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Iaib
UC 11584	scarab	all sides, examined personally	C7/D	I	e9	raised	worn off	3a	steatite		Iaib
Aberdeen ABDUA: 81157	scarab	all sides, examined personally	C7/D	I	e9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Ay
Aberdeen ABDUA: 81159	scarab	all sides, examined personally	C7/D	I	e9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Ay
Ashmolean AN1892.366	scarab	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3183 [s]	C7/D	I	e9	raised	worn off	3a	steatite		Ay

Table 34 The reference group of Middle Kingdom royal-name scarabs. (continuation)

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Seal	Type	Availability and bibliography	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Base	Material	Provenance	King
Basel Cat. 125	scarab	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 125 [p]	C7	I	e9	chipped off	chipped off	3a	steatite		Ay
Basel Cat. 126	scarab	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 126 [p]	C7/D	II	e9	raised	chipped off	3a	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya	Ay
Berlin 10190	scarab	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3197 [s]	C7	I	e9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Ay
Berlin 31031	scarab	all sides, examined personally	C7/D	I	e9	chipped off	chipped off	3a	steatite		Ay
Berlin 31032	scarab	all sides (head lost), examined personally			e9	chipped off	chipped off	3a	steatite		Ay
Berlin 32718	scarab	all sides, examined personally	B4	II	e9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Ay
BM EA16567	scarab	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3200 [d]	C7/D	I	e9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Ay
BM EA29229	scarab	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3190 [s]	C7/D	I	e9	raised	worn off	3a	steatite		Ay
BM EA37659	scarab	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3180 [d]	C7/D	II	e9	chipped off	chipped off	3a	steatite		Ay
BM EA40698	scarab	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3189 [d]	C7/D	I	e9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Ay
BM EA48945	scarab	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3178 [d]	C7/D	I	e9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Ay
BM EA54764	scarab	all sides, examined personally	C7/D	II	e9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Ay
BM EA59602	scarab	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3193 [s]	C7/D	I	e9	raised	worn off	3a	steatite		Ay
BM EA65375	scarab	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3194 [d]	C7/D	I	e9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Ay
BM EA66721	scarab	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3201 [s]	D3	II	d13	raised	not serrated	1n	steatite		Ay
Boston 67.1133	scarab	all sides, museum website [p]	C7/D	I	e9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Ay
Cairo JE 5020	scarab	base and back, Tufnell 1984, no. 3199 [d]; museum database [p]	D3	II	d6	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Ay
Cairo JE 31374	scarab	base and back, Tufnell 1984, no. 3172 [d]; museum database [p]	C7/D	I		raised	not serrated	3a	steatite	Lisht	Ay
Cairo JE 31375	scarab	base and back, Tufnell 1984, no. 3176 [d]; museum database [p]	C7/D	I		raised	worn off	3a	steatite	Lisht	Ay
Cairo JE 35094	scarab	base and back, Tufnell 1984, no. 3173 [d]; museum database [p]	C7/D	I		raised	not serrated	3a	steatite	Bubastis	Ay

Table 34 The reference group of Middle Kingdom royal-name scarabs. (continuation)

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Seal	Type	Availability and bibliography	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Base	Material	Prove-nance	King
Cairo JE 72849	scarab	base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]; Tufnell 1984, no. 3186 [d]	C7/D	I		raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Ay
Cairo JE 72850	scarab	base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]; Tufnell 1984, no. 3174 [d]	C7/D	I	e10	chipped off	chipped off	3a	steatite		Ay
Cairo JE 72851	scarab	base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]; Tufnell 1984, no. 3177 [d]	C7/D	II	e10	raised	chipped off	3a	steatite		Ay
Cairo JE 72852	scarab	base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]; Tufnell 1984, no. 3179 [d]	C7	I	e10	raised	worn off	3a	steatite		Ay
Cairo JE 72853	scarab	base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]; Tufnell 1984, no. 3175 [d]	C7/D	I		raised	chipped off	3a	steatite		Ay
Fitzwilliam E.16.1920	scarab	all sides, Bourriau and Quirke 1988, no. 181 (b) [s]; Tufnell 1984, no. 3185 [s]	C7/D	I	e9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Ay
Fribourg ÄS 1983.102	scarab	all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=2437 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	C7/D	I	e9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Ay
Fribourg ÄS 1983.103	scarab	all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=2438 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	C7/D	I	e9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Ay
Fribourg ÄS 1983.104	scarab	all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=2448 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	C7/D	I	e9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Ay
Fribourg ÄS 1983.105	scarab	all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=2450 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	C7/D	I	e9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Ay
Fribourg ÄS 1983.106	scarab	all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=2451 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	C7/D	II	e9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Ay
Jerusalem IM 76.31.4048	scarab	all sides, museum website [p]; Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 22 (3) [s]	C7	II	e9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Ay
Jerusalem IM 76.31.4057	scarab	base and back, museum website [p]	C7/D	II		raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Ay
Leiden CI 332app-77	scarab	all sides, museum website [p]; Tufnell 1984, no. 3181 [s]	C7/D	I	e9	raised	worn off	3a	steatite		Ay

Table 34 The reference group of Middle Kingdom royal-name scarabs. (continuation)

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Seal	Type	Availability and bibliography	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Base	Material	Provenance	King
Leiden CI 332app-78	scarab	all sides, museum website [p]	C7/D		e9	raised	worn off	3a	steatite		Ay
Louvre AF 435	scarab	all sides, museum website [p]; Tufnell 1984, no. 3195 [d]	C7/D	II	e8	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Ay
Louvre E 6324	scarab	all sides, museum website [p, s]	C7/D	I	e5	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Ay
MMA 20.1.1	scarab	all sides, museum website [p]; Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 21 (13) [s]; Tufnell 1984, no. 3191 [d]	C7/D	I	e9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite	Lisht	Ay
MMA 22.1.325	scarab	all sides, museum website [p]; Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 21 (17) [s]; Tufnell 1984, no. 3192 [d]	C7/D	I	e9	raised	chipped off	3a	steatite	Lisht	Ay
Moscow I, 1a 2224	scarab	all sides, examined personally; Hodjash 1999, no. 32 [p]	B4	I	e9	raised	chipped off	3a	steatite		Ay
NFA Scarabs, no. 12	scarab	base and back, NFA 1991, no. 12 [p]	C7/D	I		raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Ay
TD 9044	scarab	all sides, Tell el-Dabʿa archive [p]	C7/D	I	e9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite	Tell el-Dabʿa (secondary context)	Ay
UC 11573	scarab	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3182 [s]	C7	II	e9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Ay
UC 11574	scarab	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3188 [s]	C		e10	chipped off	chipped off	3a	steatite		Ay
UC 11575	scarab	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3187 [s]	C7/D	I	e9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Ay
UC 11576	scarab	all sides (head lost), examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3184 [s]	C7/D	I		raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Ay
UC 11585	scarab	all sides, examined personally	C7/D	II	e9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite		Ay
Wahsut 9076	scarab	all sides, Wegner 1998, 40 fig. 20 (8) [s]	C7/D	II	e9	raised	not serrated	3a	steatite	Abydos	Ay

Table 34 The reference group of Middle Kingdom royal-name scarabs. (continuation)

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Martin back type	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Epithets	Period
Ashmolean AN1892.178	scarab	1585	only base	3a									MFR (the title *jmj-rꜣ tꜣ-mḥw*)	Am. III–IV (after Cairo CG 20135 (dating: Ilin-Tomich 2017a))		12th Dyn.
Askut Aa24	scarab impression		Penacho 2015, fig. IV.16 (A) [s]	4a								Askut	MFR (the name *Ḥtjj*)	12th Dyn. (the name *Ḥtjj* (not attested after the 12th Dyn.))	*ꜥnḫ*	12th Dyn.
Berkeley 6-12786	scarab		all sides, museum website [p]	3a	A1	O		e7	deeply set, single partition line	4 serrations	a hard stone	Naga ed-Deir (Cemetery 100-400)		12th Dyn. (found in a tomb in Naga ed-Deir Cemetery 100-400 with most tombs ranging from Late Old Kingdom to Early Middle Kingdom (extrapolating from the sample studied by Kroeneke 2010, 81–84))	*kꜣ nfr-wꜣḥ*	12th Dyn.
Berlin 32483	scarab	519	all sides, examined personally	3d	A5	III	6k	e6c	raised at base, deeply set at front	4 serrations	steatite			Amenemhat III (after Sinai 54 (to add to PD 242))		12th Dyn.
Berlin 32519	scarab	740	all sides, examined personally	3a	A5	II	4as	d16	raised	4 serrations	steatite		MFR (Khentikhety in the offering formula)	12th Dyn. (filiation *jr.n*+mother's name)	*mjˁ ḫrw*; *nb jmꜣḫ*	12th Dyn.
Berlin 32640	scarab	1565	all sides, examined personally	1ak	C5	III	6	d14	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Zagazig (Blanchard)	Mendes (the title *jmj-rꜣ pr n ḥtpw-nṯr n Sbk Ḏdwt*; after Mendes 2M14 (PD 645))	late 12th Dyn. (after Mendes 2M14 (PD 645; dating: Ilin-Tomich 2017a))		12th Dyn.
Berlin 32661	scarab	1695a	all sides, examined personally	1a1	D6	II	6k	d14	raised	not serrated	steatite		MFR (the name *Kns*; the title *wḥmw ꜥrjjt*)	12th Dyn. (the title *wḥmw ꜥrjjt*, not attested after the 12th Dyn.)		12th Dyn.
BM EA28241	scarab	1191	all sides, examined personally	4c	A6a	O	5d	d5	raised	chipped off	glass		MFR (the title *jrj-ꜥt n jpt-nswt*)	ca. Amenemhat IV (after Cairo CG 20418 (PD 452; dating: filiation *jr.n*+M; the phrase *nb ꜥnḫ tꜣwj*))		12th Dyn.
BM EA30550	scarab	234	all sides, examined personally	1j	D6	III	6s	d14	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite		Zawyet el-Amwat (after Cairo CG 20181 (DAE 58))	Sen. I or III (after Cairo CG 20181 (DAE 58))		12th Dyn.

Table 35 The reference group of datable Middle Kingdom private-name scarabs and scarab impressions.

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Martin back type	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Epithets	Period
BM EA59014	scarab	1466	all sides, examined personally	3a	D6	II	6k	e6b	raised	4 serrations	steatite		MFR (the title *ḥtmw kfȝ-ỉb*)	mid- to late 12th Dyn. (after Leiden F.1926/8.2 (PD 601))	*nfr*	12th Dyn.
BM EA64856	scarab	714	all sides, examined personally	1ad	D6	II	6c	d9	raised	4 serrations	steatite		MFR (the title *jmj-rȝ ỉȝ-mḏw*)	Am. III (after Sinai 94 (PD 311))		12th Dyn.
Bonhams 2001, no. 391 (1)	scarab		only base, Bonhams 2001, no. 391 (1) [p]	1b							steatite			late 12th Dyn. (after Hermitage 1073 (PD 425, Grajetzki 2000, § VII.5; dating: Ilin-Tomich 2017a))		12th Dyn.
Boston 72.3763	scarab	1566	base and back, museum website [p]	1ad	D6	III	6g	d5	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite			mid- to late 12th Dyn. (filiation *jr.n*+mother's name)		12th Dyn.
Cairo CG 36050	scarab	345	base and back, seen on display	3a	A6a	I	6		raised	worn off	steatite			late 12th Dyn. (after Cairo CG 403 (DAE 5))	*wḥm-ʿnḫ*	12th Dyn.
Cairo CG 36070	scarab	296	all sides, museum database [p]; seen on display	4f	A6b	III	4	d6	deeply set, double partition line	numerous serrations, incised	steatite		MFR (after Manchester 3306)	Sen. III (after Manchester 3306)	*wḥm-ʿnḫ*	12th Dyn.
Cairo CG 37404	scarab		base and back, Newberry 1907a, pl. XVIII [s]	3a	B	O	5		raised	serrated	steatite	Dahshur		Sen. III–Am. III (subsidiary burial in the Senusret III pyramid complex)		12th Dyn.
Cairo CG 37405	scarab		base and back, Newberry 1907a, pl. XVIII [s]	3a	A4a	O	5			4 serrations	steatite	Dahshur		Sen. III–Am. III (subsidiary burial in the Senusret III pyramid complex)		12th Dyn.
Cairo CG 37407	scarab		base and back, Newberry 1907a, pl. XVIII [s]	3a	B	I					lapis lazuli	Dahshur		Sen. III–Am. III (subsidiary burial in the Senusret III pyramid complex)	*nb jm3ḫ*	12th Dyn.
Cairo CG 37408	scarab		base and back, Newberry 1907a, pl. XVIII [s]	3a	B2	I	3a			worn off	steatite	Dahshur		Sen. III–Am. III (subsidiary burial in the Senusret III pyramid complex)	*nb jm3ḫ*	12th Dyn.
Cairo CG 37412	scarab		all sides, DE Morgan 1895, 70 (49) ?, pl. XX (48b) [p]; Newberry 1907a, pl. XVIII (37412) [s]	3a		I					lapis lazuli	Dahshur		Sen. III–Am. III (subsidiary burial in the Senusret III pyramid complex)		12th Dyn.

Table 35 The reference group of datable Middle Kingdom private-name scarabs and scarab impressions. (continuation)

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Martin back type	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Epithets	Period
Cairo JE 30873	scarab		base and back, Newberry 1907a, pl. XVIII [s]			I	4x		deeply set, no partition line	not serrated	steatite	Dahshur		Sen. III–Am. III (subsidiary burial in the Senusret III pyramid complex)	*nb jmꜣḫ*	12th Dyn.
Cairo JE 30904	scarab		base and back, Newberry 1907a, pl. XVIII [s]	3a	B2	O	5			not serrated	steatite			Sen. III–Am. III (subsidiary burial in the Senusret III pyramid complex)	*ꜥnḫ dt*	12th Dyn.
Cairo JE 30907	scarab		base and back, de Morgan 1895, 70 (47) ?, pl. XX (52) [p]; Newberry 1907a, pl. XVIII (37416) [s]	3a							turquoise	Dahshur		Sen. III–Am. III (subsidiary burial in the Senusret III pyramid complex)		12th Dyn.
Cairo JE 30913	scarab		base and back, Newberry 1907a, pl. XVIII (37406) [s]	3a		III					lapis lazuli	Dahshur		Sen. III–Am. III (subsidiary burial in the Senusret III pyramid complex)	*ꜥnḫ*	12th Dyn.
Cairo JE 30916	scarab		base and back, de Morgan 1895, 69 (36) ?, pl. XIX (37) [p]; Newberry 1907a, pl. XVIII (37410) [s]	3a		I					lapis lazuli	Dahshur		Sen. III–Am. III (subsidiary burial in the Senusret III pyramid complex)		12th Dyn.
Cairo JE 87417	scarab	805a	base and back, Hamada and Farid 1947, 199, pl. LX (2) [s]; museum database [p]	3a	A3	II	4		deeply set, no partition line	6 serrations	amethyst	Kom el-Hisn		early Middle Kingdom (from archaeological context (Brunton 1947; Orel 2000, 44))	*kꜣ nfr wꜣḥ*	12th Dyn.
Elephantine Siegeltyp 55	scarab impression		von Pilgrim 1996, 243 fig. 99 (55) [s]	3a								Elephantine (BS 12)	Elephantine (a governor of Elephantine)	late 12th Dyn. (Elephantine governor Amenyseneb (Franke 1994, 41–42))		12th Dyn.
Elephantine Siegeltyp 285	scarab impression		von Pilgrim 1996, 242 fig. 98 (285) [s]	1j								Elephantine		not later than the 12th Dyn. (from Elephantine level BS XV (early Middle Kingdom))		12th Dyn.
Elephantine Siegeltyp 342	scarab impression		von Pilgrim 1996, 243 fig. 99 (342) [s]	3a								Elephantine		not later than the 12th Dyn. (from Elephantine level BS XIV (12th Dyn.))		12th Dyn.

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Martin back type	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Epithets	Period
Elephantine Siegeltyp 360	scarab impression		von Pilgrim 1996, 242 fig. 98 (360) [s]	1ad								Elephantine		not later than the 12th Dyn. (from Elephantine level BS XV (early Middle Kingdom))		12th Dyn.
Farouk 185	scarab		all sides, Ragab 2018, no. 65 [s]	3a	D6	I1	6e	e6b	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite			Sen. III–Am. III (after Cairo JE 30873 found in subsidiary burial in the Senusret III pyramid complex)	*nb jm3ḫ*	12th Dyn.
Giveon, Tel Aviv 3, no. 11	scarab		all sides, Giveon 1976, no. 11 [p]	3a	A1	I1	3h	e7	deeply set, single partition line	4 serrations	a hard stone		NUELE (the name *Ḥtjj*)	12th Dyn. (the name *Ḥtjj*, not attested after the 12th Dyn.)		12th Dyn.
Giveon, Tel Aviv 7, no. 9	scarab		all sides, Giveon 1980, no. 9 [s]; Keel 2010a, 576 (6) [s]	1ad	D6	I1	6k	d5		not serrated	steatite	Ain Samiya	NUELE (after Cairo CG 20441 (origin: Ilin-Tomich 2017a))	late 12th Dyn. (after Cairo CG 20441 (dating: Ilin-Tomich 2017a))	*nb jm3ḫ*	12th Dyn.
Hannover 1935.200.377	scarab impression	1226		3a								Lahun	MFR (the name *Ḥntj-ḥtjj-wr*; the title *whmw ʿrrjjt*)	late 12th Dyn. (after pUC 32114C (DAE 156) and the title *whmw ʿrrjjt*, not attested after the 12th Dyn.)	*nb jm3ḫ*	12th Dyn.
Kom el-Hisn, 137 fig. 4.1 (i)	scarab impression		Kroeper 2016, 137 fig. 4.1 (i) [s]	3a								Kom el-Hisn		early Middle Kingdom (from the date of the cemetery)		12th Dyn.
Los Angeles County M.80.202.861	scarab impression	854a	museum website [p]	3a							clay			late 12th Dyn. (after Cairo CG 23027 (DAE 135))	*mꜣʿ ḫrw*; *nb jm3ḫ*	12th Dyn.
Louvre AF 6749	scarab	1242	all sides, museum website [p]	3a	A6a	O	5	d6	raised		steatite		MFR (the name *Ḥtjj-ḥtp*)	12th Dyn. (the name *Ḥtjj-ḥtp*, unattested after the 12th Dyn.)		12th Dyn.
Manchester 6176	scarab impression		Morfoisse and Andreu-Lanoë 2014, 277 (58) [p]									Lahun		late 12th Dyn. (after Cairo CG 23027 (DAE 135))		12th Dyn.
Martin 347	scarab	347	only base	3a										late 12th Dyn. (after Cairo CG 403 (DAE 5))		12th Dyn.

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Martin back type	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Epithets	Period
Martin 421	scarab impression	421		1ak								Lahun		ca. Sen. II (after PD 468 and Gra-jetzki 2000, § III.10)		12th Dyn.
Martin 564	scarab	564	only base, Dunand 1964, 32, pl. III (2) [p]	3a			3a				amethyst	Byblos	Thebes (after Chicago AI 1920.262; for this family, see: Lin-Tomich 2014a, 142 (2–3))	early 12th Dyn. (after Chicago AI 1920.262; for this family, see: Lin-Tomich 2014a, 142 (2–3))		12th Dyn.
Martin 1562	scarab	1562	only base	4a									MFR (after Firenze 2506 (PD 635); the title *jrj-ʿn kȝp*)	Am. III (after Firenze 2506 (PD 635))		12th Dyn.
Martin, MDAIK 35, no. 18	scarab		all sides, Fay 2003, no. 15 [p]; Sotheby 1975, no. 118 [p]; Martin 1979, no. 18 [s]	1j	A7	O		e6b	raised	4 serrations	steatite		MFR (the name *Kmȝ* and after Cairo CG 20748 (PD 353=PD 721))	Sen. III–Am. III (after Cairo CG 20748 (PD 353=PD 721, dating: Lin-Tomich 2017a))		12th Dyn.
Mirgissa 3-142 +32-1-143	scarab impression	604	Gratien 2019, pl. 20 [s]; Dunham 1967, 165, 171 fig. 10 [s]	1ad								Mirgissa	Thebes (after Cairo CG 20733 (PD 257))	Sen. III (after Cairo CG 20733 (PD 257))		12th Dyn.
MMA 10.130.295	scarab	1207	only base	1ad			3a				green jasper		MFR (the name *Ḥmnsw*)	Am. III (after Sinai 23 and Sinai 83 (PD 462))		12th Dyn.
MMA 26.7.299	scarab	346	all sides, museum website [p]	3a	C2	II	6e	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite			late 12th Dyn. (after Cairo CG 403 (DAE 5))	*nb jmȝḫ*	12th Dyn.
MMA 40.3.12	scarab	390	all sides, museum website [p]; Ward 1978, no. 272 [s]		A1	H	1a	d14	deeply set, double partition line	not serrated	silver	Asasif		early 12th Dyn. (Arnold 1991, 34)		12th Dyn.
Philadelphia E.9192	scarab	1111	base and back, museum website [p]	3a	A5	I	3a	e7	raised	4 serrations	lapis lazuli	Abydos		late 12th Dyn. (after Hermitage 1073 (PD 425, Grajetzki 2000, § VII.5; dating: Lin-Tomich 2017a))		12th Dyn.
Philadelphia E.10742	scarab	517	base and back, Wegner 2018, 240 fig. 13.5 [p, s]	1u	B2	O	7a	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite	Buhen	MFR (after Brooklyn 37.1345E)	late 12th Dyn. (after Brooklyn 37.1345E)	*mȝʿ ḫrw*	12th Dyn.

Table 35 The reference group of datable Middle Kingdom private-name scarabs and scarab impressions. (continuation)

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Martin back type	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Epithets	Period
Praha P 336	scarab		all sides, unpublished museum photos [p]	3a	C2	II	6c	d8	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite		NUELE (the name *Htij*)	12th Dyn. (the name *Htij*, not attested after the 12th Dyn.)		12th Dyn.
Sydney NM03.19	scarab		all sides, Richards 2006, 234–235, fig. 7, pl. 62 (d, f, h) [p, s]	3a	A3	II		e6c	raised	not serrated	carnelian	Abydos		12th Dyn. (from archaeological context (Richards 2006, 237–238))	*k3 nfr*	12th Dyn.
UC 6713	scarab impression	1132		3a								Lahun		late 12th Dyn. (after pUC 32214 (PD 421))	*mỉr ḫrw; nb jm3ḫ*	12th Dyn.
UC 11206A	scarab	217	all sides, examined personally; Ward 1978, 78 fig. 17 (V) [s]	3a	B5	I	2b	e6c	deeply set, single partition line	4 serrations	green jasper			Sen. I (likely belongs to the dossier PD 105; Farout 1994)	*k3 nfr w3ḥ sn3*	12th Dyn.
UC 11336	scarab	1324	all sides, examined personally	1c	A7	O	5d	d14	raised at base, deeply set at front	4 serrations, zigzag border	steatite		MFR (after Cairo CG 20242; however, the name *S3-ḥnsw* may point to a Theban origin)	mid- to late 12th Dyn. (after Cairo CG 20242 (dating: Lin-Tomich 2017a))		12th Dyn.
UC 26120	scarab	1615	all sides, examined personally	1al2	D6	II	7a	d5	raised	worn off	steatite		MFR (the name *Snfrw*)	Amenemhat II (after BM EA497 (PD 678))		12th Dyn.
Wadi Gawasis S06/5	scarab impression		Manzo and Pirelli 2007, fig. 97e [p]; Manzo and Pirelli 2016, 103–104 (10/63) [p, s]	1g								Wadi Gawasis		Am. IV (after a box with the same name from the same site (DAE 236))		12th Dyn.
Wadi Gawasis S06/10	scarab impression		Manzo and Pirelli 2007, fig 97d [p]; Manzo and Pirelli 2016, 98–99 (5/41) [p, s]									Wadi Gawasis		Am. IV (after a box with the same name from the same site (DAE 236))		12th Dyn.
Wegner, Temple, fig. 154 (24)	scarab impression		Wegner 2007, fig. 154 (24) [p, s]	3d								Abydos	MFR (the name *Htij*)	12th Dyn. (the name *Htij* (not attested after the 12th Dyn.))	wHm-anx	12th Dyn.
Aberdeen ABDUA: 81202	scarab	675	all sides, examined personally	5	D6	II	6c	d9	raised	worn off	steatite		MFR (after Louvre E 20002 (DAE 102))	late 12th Dyn.–early 13th Dyn. (after Louvre E 20002 (DAE 102; dating: Lin-Tomich 2017a))		late 12th Dyn.–early 13th Dyn.

Table 35 The reference group of datable Middle Kingdom private-name scarabs and scarab impressions. (continuation)

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Martin back type	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Epithets	Period
Berlin 31026	scarab		all sides, examined personally	1ad	C5	II	6c	d8	raised at base, deeply set at front	chipped off	steatite			Ameny Qemau (likely, the king's daughter)		late 12th Dyn.–early 13th Dyn.
Berlin 34420	scarab		all sides, examined personally; Sotheby 1976, lot 197 [p]		C5	III	6s	d14	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite			Khendjer (after Arnold, Control Notes, Kh 1, Kh 7 (DAE 217))		late 12th Dyn.–early 13th Dyn.
BM EA41564	scarab	831	all sides, examined personally	1ad	C2/C5	II	6e	d8	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite		Dendera (the title *wʿb n Ḥwt-ḥr nbt Jwnt*; however the connection with MMA 69.30 (DAE 131) points to Thebes)	Am. IV–early 13th Dyn. (after MMA 69.30 (DAE 131))		late 12th Dyn.–early 13th Dyn.
Boston 29.1175	scarab impression	1464		3a								Semna	MFR (Khentikhety in the offering formula)	late 12th Dyn.–early 13th Dyn. (after Toulouse 49.274 (PD 600, dating: Ilin-Tomich 2017a))		late 12th Dyn.–early 13th Dyn.
Cairo JE 75067A	scarab	1476	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	D3	II	6	e6b	raised	not serrated	steatite		MFR (after Louvre E 20002 (PD 606))	late 12th Dyn.–early 13th Dyn. (after Louvre E 20002 (PD 606; dating: Ilin-Tomich 2017a))		late 12th Dyn.–early 13th Dyn.
Cairo JE 75170	scarab	78	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	1ak	C5	II	6		raised	worn off	steatite		MFR (after Cairo CG 20720 and Genève D 48 (PD 37))	late 12th Dyn.–early 13th Dyn. (after Cairo CG 20720 and Genève D 48 (PD 37))		late 12th Dyn.–early 13th Dyn.
Elephantine Siegeltyp 2	scarab impression		von Pilgrim 1996, 242 fig. 98 (2) [s]	3a								Elephantine (BS XIII and BS 13)	Elephantine (a governor of Elephantine)	late 12th Dyn.–early 13th Dyn. (Elephantine governor Khakaureseneb (Franke 1994, 43))	*mꜣʿ ḫrw*	late 12th Dyn.–early 13th Dyn.
Elephantine Siegeltyp 3	scarab impression		von Pilgrim 1996, 242 fig. 98 (3) [s]	3a								Elephantine (BS XIII)	Elephantine (a governor of Elephantine)	late 12th Dyn.–early 13th Dyn. (Elephantine governor Khakaureseneb (Franke 1994, 43))		late 12th Dyn.–early 13th Dyn.

Table 35 The reference group of datable Middle Kingdom private-name scarabs and scarab impressions. (continuation)

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Martin back type	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Epithets	Period
Elephantine Siegeltyp 53	scarab impression		VON PILGRIM 1996, 242 fig. 98 (53) [s]	1ak								Elephantine (BS XIII)	Elephantine (a governor of Elephantine)	late 12th Dyn.–early 13th Dyn. (Elephantine governor Khakaureseneb (FRANKE 1994, 43))		late 12th Dyn.–early 13th Dyn.
Elephantine Siegeltyp 264	scarab impression		VON PILGRIM 1996, 242 fig. 98 (264) [s]	1ad								Elephantine (BS XIII)	MFR (after Toulouse 49.274 (PD 600))	late 12th Dyn.–early 13th Dyn. (after Toulouse 49.274 (PD 600, dating: LIN-TOMICH 2017a))		late 12th Dyn.–early 13th Dyn.
Grdseloff MSS 3.24.43b	scarab	1462a	base and back, GRDSELOFF MSS 3.24.43b [s]	3a	face	II	11g						MFR (after Toulouse 49.274 (PD 600))	late 12th Dyn.–early 13th Dyn. (after Toulouse 49.274 (PD 600, dating: LIN-TOMICH 2017a))	*ms*ᶜ *ḫrw*	late 12th Dyn.–early 13th Dyn.
Jerusalem IM 76.31.84	scarab		all sides, BEN-TOR 1988, pl. I (6) [p]; BEN-TOR2007a, pl. 24 (5) [s]	3a	C5	II	6c	d5	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite		MFR (after Louvre E 20002 (DAE 102))	late 12th Dyn.–early 13th Dyn. (after Louvre E 20002 (DAE 102; dating: LIN-TOMICH 2017a))		late 12th Dyn.–early 13th Dyn.
Leiden F 2015/9.515	scarab		base and back, museum website [p]	1ak		III		e6c	raised	not serrated	steatite			early 13th Dyn. (the father of the vizier Ankhu)		late 12th Dyn.–early 13th Dyn.
Liverpool GM E.1074	scarab		all sides, WATSON 1979, pl. II [s]	1ak	B5	O		d5		serrated	glassy composition			late 12th Dyn. - early 13th Dyn. (after Cairo CG 20563 (PD 407))		late 12th Dyn.–early 13th Dyn.
MMA 10.130.278	scarab	1462	all sides, seen on display	3a	A2	II	6c	d5	deeply set, single partition line	not serrated	steatite		MFR (after Toulouse 49.274 (PD 600))	late 12th Dyn.–early 13th Dyn. (after Toulouse 49.274 (PD 600, dating: LIN-TOMICH 2017a))	*ms*ᶜ *ḫrw*	late 12th Dyn.–early 13th Dyn.
MMA 26.7.277	scarab	1460	all sides, museum website [p]	3a	C5	III	6g	d5	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite			late 12th Dyn.–early 13th Dyn. (after Torino 1628 and Toulouse 49.274 (PD 599; dating: LIN-TOMICH 2017a))	*wḥm-ʿnḫ*	late 12th Dyn.–early 13th Dyn.

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Martin back type	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Epithets	Period
MMA 26.7.326	scarab	1702	all sides, museum website [p]	1ak	A4b	I	3a	e7	raised at base, deeply set at front	4 serrations	glazed composition		MFR (the name *Kmɜ*)	13th Dyn., Amenemhat Sonbef and Senebsumai (after Louvre C 29 (PD 723; dating: Lin-Tomich 2017a))	*whm-ʿnḫ*	late 12th Dyn.–early 13th Dyn.
MMA 30.8.664	scarab	79	only base	1ak		II	6k	d9			steatite		MFR (after Cairo CG 20720 and Genève D 48 (PD 37))	late 12th Dyn.–early 13th Dyn. (after Cairo CG 20720 and Genève D 48 (PD 37))		late 12th Dyn.–early 13th Dyn.
UC 6712	scarab impression	1463	museum website [p]	3a								Lahun	MFR (after Toulouse 49.274 (PD 600))	late 12th Dyn.–early 13th Dyn. (after Toulouse 49.274 (PD 600, dating: Lin-Tomich 2017a))		late 12th Dyn.–early 13th Dyn.
UC 11452	scarab	339	all sides, examined personally	3a	D6	I	6a	e6b	raised	not serrated	steatite		MFR (after Boston 1971.403+Christie's London, 30.04–01.05.1974, lot 354)	late 12th Dyn.–early 13th Dyn. (after Boston 1971.403+Christie's London, 30.04–01.05.1974, lot 354)		late 12th Dyn.–early 13th Dyn.
Wahsut 35358.2	scarab impression		Smith 2010, 326 fig. 151 [s]	3a								Abydos	Thebes (after pBrooklyn 35.1446 recto 64–80 f (DAE 49))	late 12th Dyn. - early 13th Dyn. (after pBrooklyn 35.1446 recto 64–80 f (DAE 49))		late 12th Dyn.–early 13th Dyn.
Aberdeen ABDUA: 81130	scarab	1531	all sides, examined personally	3a	D6	II	6e	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite			13th Dyn., Senebsumai		Senebsumai
Berlin 32631	scarab	1512	all sides, examined personally	3a	A4b	O	10b	d5	raised at base, deeply set at front	4 serrations	steatite			13th Dyn., Senebsumai		Senebsumai
Berlin 32632	scarab	1537	all sides, examined personally	3a	C5	II	6c	d9	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated, straight-line border	steatite	Tell el-Dabʿa (Blanchard)		13th Dyn., Senebsumai		Senebsumai
Berlin 32633	scarab	1538	all sides, examined personally	3a	A4b	II	6c	d16	raised	4 serrations	steatite			13th Dyn., Senebsumai		Senebsumai
Berlin 32634	scarab	1539	all sides, examined personally	3a	C5	II	6c	d9	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated, straight-line border	steatite			13th Dyn., Senebsumai		Senebsumai

Table 35 The reference group of datable Middle Kingdom private-name scarabs and scarab impressions. (continuation)

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Martin back type	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Epithets	Period
Berlin 32635	scarab	1540	all sides, examined personally	3a	D3	O	10b	d14	raised	chipped off	steatite			13th Dyn., Senebsumai		Senebsumai
Berlin 32636	scarab	1541	all sides, examined personally	3a	D6	II	6c	e6b	raised at base, deeply set at front	4 serrations	steatite			13th Dyn., Senebsumai		Senebsumai
Berlin 32637	scarab	1541a	all sides, examined personally	3a	A4b	I	6a	d14	raised at base, deeply set at front	4 serrations	steatite			13th Dyn., Senebsumai		Senebsumai
Berlin VÄGM 1986/084	scarab		all sides, examined personally	3a	A3	II	6d	d6	deeply set, single partition line	not serrated	steatite			13th Dyn., Senebsumai		Senebsumai
BM EA30526	scarab	1515	all sides, examined personally	3a	C5	II	6c	d9	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated, straight-line border	steatite			13th Dyn., Senebsumai		Senebsumai
BM EA40730	scarab	1516	all sides, examined personally	3d	C6	II	6k	d9	raised at base, deeply set at front	4 serrations	steatite			13th Dyn., Senebsumai		Senebsumai
BM EA69522	scarab		all sides, examined personally; Malek 1999, 205 fig. 118–119 [p]	1ak	C5	II	6c	d9	raised at base, deeply set at front	4 serrations, straight-line border	steatite			13th Dyn., Senebsumai		Senebsumai
Brooklyn 44.123.92	scarab	1528	all sides, examined personally	3a	D2	II	6c	d9	raised	worn off	steatite			13th Dyn., Senebsumai		Senebsumai
Cairo CG 36060	scarab	1519	all sides, museum database [p]; seen on display	3a	C5	II	6	d9		not serrated	steatite			13th Dyn., Senebsumai		Senebsumai
Cairo JE 75058	scarab	534	base and back, examined personally; Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	A4b	O	7a		raised	serrated	steatite			13th Dyn., Senebsumai		Senebsumai
Cairo JE 75062	scarab	1520	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	C5	III	6g	d9	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite			13th Dyn., Senebsumai		Senebsumai
Cairo JE 75063	scarab	1521	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	C5	II	6c	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite			13th Dyn., Senebsumai		Senebsumai
Cairo JE 75079	scarab	1522	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	A4b	O	7a		raised	4 serrations	steatite			13th Dyn., Senebsumai		Senebsumai

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Martin back type	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Epithets	Period
Cairo JE 75098	scarab	1523	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	C5	II	6c		raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite			13th Dyn., Senebsumai		Senebsumai
Edinburgh A.1965.200	scarab	1513	all sides, museum website [p]; photo from the museum [p]	1ak	A4b	O	5d	d5	raised at base, deeply set at front	4 serrations	glazed composition			13th Dyn., Senebsumai		Senebsumai
Fitzwilliam E.94.1920	scarab	1530	all sides, Bourriau and Quirke 1988, no. 182 (a) [s]	3a	C5	II	6e	d9	raised	chipped off	steatite			13th Dyn., Senebsumai		Senebsumai
Genève 19886	scarab	1533	all sides, Voddoz 1979, no. 90 [p]; museum website [p]	3a	A4b	II	6c	d7	raised	not serrated	steatite			13th Dyn., Senebsumai		Senebsumai
Giveon, Tel Aviv 7, no. 1	scarab		all sides, Giveon 1980, no. 1 [p]	3a	A4b	O	5	d4	raised	4 serrations	steatite			13th Dyn., Senebsumai		Senebsumai
Giveon, Tel Aviv 7, no. 2	scarab		all sides, Giveon 1980, no. 2 [p]	3a	C5	III	6r	d9	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite			13th Dyn., Senebsumai		Senebsumai
Jerusalem IM 2010.65.1715	scarab		all sides, unpublished museum photo [p]	3a	A4b	O	5	d9	raised	serrated	steatite			13th Dyn., Senebsumai		Senebsumai
Martin 1532	scarab	1532	only base	3a										13th Dyn., Senebsumai		Senebsumai
Martin 1534	scarab	1534	only base	3a										13th Dyn., Senebsumai		Senebsumai
Martin 1535	scarab	1535	only base	3d										13th Dyn., Senebsumai		Senebsumai
Martin 1536	scarab	1536	only base	3a										13th Dyn., Senebsumai		Senebsumai
Millon, 08.06.2015, no. 146	scarab		only base, https://www.millon.com/lot/23452/5103511 (accessed on 30.03.2020) [p]	3a							steatite			13th Dyn., Senebsumai		Senebsumai
Mirgissa 3-66	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 17, 137 [p. s]	3a								Mirgissa		13th Dyn., Senebsumai		Senebsumai
Mirgissa 3-67	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 17 [s]	3a								Mirgissa		13th Dyn., Senebsumai		Senebsumai
MMA 10.130.269	scarab	1524	only base	3a		II	6c	d9			steatite			13th Dyn., Senebsumai		Senebsumai

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Martin back type	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Epithets	Period
MMA 10.130.270	scarab	1525	all sides, seen on display	3a	C5	II	6e	d9	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite			13th Dyn., Senebsumai		Senebsumai
MMA 15.3.77	scarab	1526	all sides, museum website [p]; Ben-Tor2007a, pl. 23 (8) [s]	3a	C7/D	II	4k	d16	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Lisht		13th Dyn., Senebsumai		Senebsumai
MMA 17.190.1980	scarab	1527	only base	3a		I	6a	d5			steatite			13th Dyn., Senebsumai		Senebsumai
MMA 26.7.325	scarab	535	only base	3a		II	6e	d9			steatite			13th Dyn., Senebsumai		Senebsumai
Philadelphia E.3040	scarab	1529	all sides, photo from the museum [p]	3a	C5	II	6c	d5	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite			13th Dyn., Senebsumai		Senebsumai
UC 11484	scarab	1517	all sides, examined personally	3a	C5	II	6c	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite	Lahun		13th Dyn., Senebsumai		Senebsumai
UC 11485	scarab	1518	all sides, examined personally	3a	C5	I	6	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite			13th Dyn., Senebsumai		Senebsumai
van Nijl Tot Schelde, no. 96	scarab		base and back, Gübel 1991, no. 96 [p]	3a	A5	II	6e		deeply set, single partition line	chipped off	steatite			13th Dyn., Senebsumai		Senebsumai
Wegner, Temple, fig. 154 (16)	scarab impression		Wegner 2007, fig. 154 (16) [p, s]	3d								Abydos		13th Dyn., Senebsumai		Senebsumai
Wegner, Temple, fig. 154 (17)	scarab impression		Wegner 2007, fig. 154 (17) [p, s]	3a								Abydos		13th Dyn., Senebsumai		Senebsumai
Basel Cat. 512	scarab	1724	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 512 [p]	3a	C7/D	III	6s	d8	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite			13th Dyn., Senebsumai (after Fitzwilliam E.1.1840 (PD 732; Grajetzki 2000, § III.18))		contemporaries of Senebsumai
Basel Cat. 527	scarab	1204	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 527 [p]	1ad	B2	I	3a	e6b	raised at base, deeply set at front	4 serrations	steatite			13th Dyn., Senebsumai (after Roccati, Gs Berlev, no. 1 (DAE 152))	*whm-ʿnḫ*	contemporaries of Senebsumai
Basel Cat. 534	scarab	260	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 534 [p]	1al2	D3	II	6k	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the title *imj-ḫt sꜣ-prw*)	13th Dyn., Senebsumai (after Roccati, Gs Berlev, no. 1 (DAE 64))		contemporaries of Senebsumai

Table 35 The reference group of datable Middle Kingdom private-name scarabs and scarab impressions. (continuation)

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Martin back type	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Epithets	Period
Berlin 9518	scarab		all sides, unpublished photo from the museum [p]	1ad	C5	II	6e	d9	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite			Khendjer-Sobekhotep III (wife of Sobekhotep III, known from Laming Macadam, JEA 37, pl. VI, or alternatively as Ryholt 1997, 221 suggests wife of Khendjer, known from Cairo JE 54498)		contemporaries of Senebsumai
Berlin 10977	scarab		all sides, examined personally	1ad	C5	II	6e	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite			same as previous		contemporaries of Senebsumai
Berlin 32412	scarab	64	all sides, examined personally	3a	C2	II	6e	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite			13th Dyn., Senebsumai (after BM 252 (PD 768))		contemporaries of Senebsumai
Berlin 32414	scarab	102	all sides, examined personally	1ad	D6	III	6r	d14	raised	not serrated	steatite		MFR (the title *ḫrj-pr n pr-ꜥ3*)	13th Dyn., Senebsumai (after Marseille 223 (dating: Grajetzki 2001, 24))		contemporaries of Senebsumai
Berlin 32501	scarab	620	all sides, examined personally	1ak	C5	III	6s	d8	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite		MFR (the title *jmj-rꜣ ḫꜣ-mḥw*)	13th Dyn., Senebsumai (after Cairo CG 20562 (PD 279; dating: DAE 38))	*mꜣꜥ ḫrw*	contemporaries of Senebsumai
Berlin 32665	scarab	1719	all sides, examined personally	1ak	C2	II	6c	d8	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite		MFR (the title *jmj-rꜣ ꜥḥmwtj n kꜣp*)	13th Dyn., Senebsumai (after Fitzwilliam E.1.1840 (PD 732; Grajetzki 2000, § III.18))		contemporaries of Senebsumai
Berlin VÄGM 1983/030	scarab		all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	I	6a	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite			13th Dyn., Senebsumai (after Fitzwilliam E.1.1840 (PD 732; Grajetzki 2000, § III.18))		contemporaries of Senebsumai
BM EA32268	scarab	1489	all sides, examined personally	1j	C7/D	II	4q	d8	raised	chipped off	glazed composition		MFR (after Cairo CG 20562 (PD 629); the title *jḫms n ꜥꜣ kꜣp*)	13th Dyn., Senebsumai (after Cairo CG 20562 (PD 629), dated after Roccati, Gs Berlev, no. 1 (DAE 38))		contemporaries of Senebsumai

Table 35 The reference group of datable Middle Kingdom private-name scarabs and scarab impressions. (continuation)

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Martin back type	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Epithets	Period
BM EA40700	scarab		all sides, examined personally	3d	C5	II	6e	d9		worn off	steatite			same as Berlin 9518 above		contemporaries of Senebsumai
BM EA66075	scarab	1721	all sides, examined personally	3a	C5	II	6c	d9	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite			13th Dyn., Senebsumai (after Fitzwilliam E.1.1840 (PD 732; Grajetzki 2000, § III.18))		contemporaries of Senebsumai
BM EA66090	scarab	1564	all sides (head lost), examined personally	1x	C5		6	d8	raised	chipped off	steatite		MFR (the title *jmj-rꜣ ḥꜣ-mḥw*; after BM 238, Cairo CG 20054, Torino 1627 (to add to PD 648))	13th Dyn., Senebsumai and Senbi (after BM 238 (PD 648; dating: Grajetzki 2001, 23))		contemporaries of Senebsumai
Cairo JE 75087	scarab	213	all sides, examined personally; Droton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	C5	II	6e	d8	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite			13th Dyn., Senebsumai (after Roccati, Gs Berlev, no. 1 (DAE 38))		contemporaries of Senebsumai
Cairo JE 75144	scarab	835	base and back, Droton MSS 5381 [p]	1ad	C5	II	6e		raised	not serrated	steatite		MFR (after Fitzwilliam E.1.1840 (PD 364))	13th Dyn., Senebsumai (after Fitzwilliam E.1.1840 and Cairo CG 20160 (PD 364))		contemporaries of Senebsumai
Cairo JE 75205	scarab	1722	all sides, examined personally; Droton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	C2	II	6c	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite			13th Dyn., Senebsumai (after Fitzwilliam E.1.1840 (PD 732; Grajetzki 2000, § III.18))	*jm3ḫ*	contemporaries of Senebsumai
Jerusalem IM 76.31.4517	scarab		all sides, Ben-Tor 1989, 60 (2) [p]; Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 24 (15) [s]	3a	C5	II	6e	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite			13th Dyn., Senebsumai (after Fitzwilliam E.1.1840 (PD 732; Grajetzki 2000, § III.18))		contemporaries of Senebsumai
Mirgissa 3-89	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 18 [s]	3a								Mirgissa		13th Dyn., Senebsumai (after Fitzwilliam E.1.1840 (PD 732; Grajetzki 2000, § III.18))		contemporaries of Senebsumai

Table 35 The reference group of datable Middle Kingdom private-name scarabs and scarab impressions. (continuation)

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Martin back type	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Epithets	Period
MMA 30.8.661	scarab	1723	only base	3a		II	6c	d8			steatite			13th Dyn., Senebsumai (after Fitzwilliam E.1.1840 (PD 732; Grajetzki 2000, § III.18))		contemporaries of Senebsumai
MMA 30.8.665	scarab	328	only base	1aj		II	6k	d9			steatite		MFR (the title *jmj-rꜣ tꜣ-mḥw*)	13th Dyn., Senebsumai (after Cairo CG 20562 (PD 279))	*ʿnḫ*	contemporaries of Senebsumai
Moscow I, 1a 2399	scarab	1258	all sides, examined personally; Hodjash 1999, no. 428 [p]	1ak	C5	III		d8	raised at base, deeply set at front	4 serrations	steatite			13th Dyn., ca. Senebsumai (after Ortiz 33 (PD 491; GHB § III.16), belonging together with a statuette of Senebsumai (Ortiz 34))		contemporaries of Senebsumai
OIM 18590	scarab	1511	all sides, examined personally	1ad	C2	II	6e	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite		MFR (the title *ḫrd n ḫ.f*)	13th Dyn., Senebsumai (after Wien ÄS 142 (PD 663; dating: Grajetzki 2001, 25))		contemporaries of Senebsumai
Petrie, Scarabs and Cylinders with Names, pl. XVIII (Senb Henos, 1)	scarab		only base, Petrie 1917, pl. XVIII (Senb Henos, 1) [s]	1ad										same as Berlin 9518 above		contemporaries of Senebsumai
Walters 42.21	scarab	214	all sides, museum website [p]	3a	C5	III	6h	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite			13th Dyn., Senebsumai (after Roccati, Gs Berlev, no. 1 (DAE 38))		contemporaries of Senebsumai
Berlin 32410	scarab	45	all sides, examined personally	4a	C5	II	6i	d8	raised	chipped off	steatite		Thebes (after Würzburg H 35 (PD 23))	13th Dyn., Ankhu (after Würzburg H 35 (PD 23))	*mꜣʿ ḫrw*	Ankhu and contemporaries
BM 104925	scarab	209	all sides, Keel 2013, 408–409 (563) [p]; museum website [P]; Giveon 1985, 110–111 (2) [s]	3d	C5	II	6k	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite	Gezer	Thebes (after Rio de Janeiro 646 [2436] (to add to PD 118))	13th Dyn., Ankhu (after Rio de Janeiro 646 [2436] (to add to PD 118) from Dyn. XIII Theban workshop 2)	*nb jmꜣḫ*	Ankhu and contemporaries
BM EA40729	scarab	677	all sides, examined personally	1ad	C5	II	6k	d14	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite		Thebes (after Vaticano 22784, Hermitage 1078 (PD 303))	13th Dyn., Ankhu (after Vaticano 22784, Hermitage 1078 (PD 303))		Ankhu and contemporaries

Table 35 The reference group of datable Middle Kingdom private-name scarabs and scarab impressions. (continuation)

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Martin back type	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Epithets	Period
BM EA66088	scarab	1492	all sides, examined personally	1ak	C5	III	6u	d14	raised	no serrated	steatite		Thebes (after pBoulaq 18 (PD 615))	13th Dyn., Ankhu (after pBoulaq 18 (PD 615))	*wḥm-ʿnḫ; mśʿ ḫrw*	Ankhu and contemporaries
Elephantine Siegeltyp 207	scarab impression		von Pilgrim 1996, 242 fig. 98 (207) [s]	1m								Elephantine (BS 13)	Thebes (after Würzburg H 35 (PD 23))	13th Dyn., Ankhu (after Würzburg H 35 (dating: Lin-Tomich 2017a))	*wḥm-ʿnḫ*	Ankhu and contemporaries
Giveon, Tel Aviv 7, no. 3	scarab		all sides, Giveon 1980, no. 3 [s]	1ad	C5	III	6s	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the title *smsw ḥsjt*)	13th Dyn., Ankhu (after pBoulaq 18, larger manuscript, vs II.1.22 (Allam 2019))	*mśʿ ḫrw*	Ankhu and contemporaries
Mirgissa 3-3	scarab impression		Gratien 2004a, 169 fig. 4 [s]; Gratien 2019, pl. 14, 136 [p, s]	1aq								Mirgissa		13th Dyn., Ankhu (a sealing of the vizier Ankhu)	*nfr*	Ankhu and contemporaries
Mirgissa 3-4	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 14, 136 [p, s]; Morfoisse and Andreu Lanoë 2014, 160 [p]	1ad								Mirgissa		13th Dyn., Ankhu (after pBoulaq 18, larger manuscript rt III.2.18; smaller manuscript B rt (2) 2.15 (Allam 2019))		Ankhu and contemporaries
Mirgissa 3-7	scarab impression		Gratien 2004a, 169 fig. 4 [p]; Gratien 2019, pl. 14, 137 [p, s]	4a								Mirgissa	Thebes (the title *wḥmw n njwt-rsj*)	13th Dyn., Ankhu (after pBoulaq 18 (PD 356))	*mśʿ ḫrw*	Ankhu and contemporaries
Mirgissa 3-182	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 22 [s]	1s								Mirgissa	SUE (the title *sʒb; rʒ-nḥw*; after Louvre C 12)	13th Dyn., Ankhu (after Louvre C 12)		Ankhu and contemporaries
Mirgissa 32-1-132	scarab impression	1202		3a								Mirgissa		13th Dyn., Ankhu (after pBoulaq 18, larger manuscript rt III.2.11; vs XVI.2.12; vs XI.10; vs II.1.13 (Allam 2019))	*wḥm-ʿnḫ*	Ankhu and contemporaries
MMA 26.7.315	scarab	834	only base, Carnarvon and Carter 1912, pl. LXXII [p]	1ak		II	6e	d14			steatite	Asasif	Thebes (after Mirgissa 3-7)	13th Dyn., Ankhu (after pBoulaq 18 (PD 356))	*wḥm-ʿnḫ*	Ankhu and contemporaries

Table 35 The reference group of datable Middle Kingdom private-name scarabs and scarab impressions. (continuation)

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Martin back type	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Epithets	Period
UC 11345	scarab	187	all sides, examined personally	1s	C6	II	6k	d14	raised	not serrated	steatite		Thebes (the name *Jmn-ḥtp*; after Cairo CG 20724 (DAE 55))	13th Dyn., Ankhu (after Cairo CG 20724 (DAE 55))		Ankhu and contemporaries
UC 11386	scarab	1567	all sides, examined personally	1ad	A6a	I	3a	e7	raised	4 serrations	obsidian		Thebes (after pBoulaq 18 vs IX.10 (Allam 2019); the title *jrj-pḏt*)	13th Dyn., Ankhu (after pBoulaq 18, larger manuscript vs IX.10 (Allam 2019))	*mꜣʿ ḫrw*	Ankhu and contemporaries
UC 11456 +26343	scarab impression	1578		3a								Naqada	SUE (the title *sš n ḥmrt wr* with the sign U31)	13th Dyn., Ankhu (after pBoulaq 18, larger manuscript, rt IV.2.15; vs IX.18; vs II.2.16 (Allam 2019))	*mꜣʿ ḫrw*	Ankhu and contemporaries
Aberdeen ABDUA:81106	scarab	1552	all sides, examined personally	3a	C5	II	6c	d	raised	not serrated	steatite			13th Dyn., Senbi		Senbi
Ben-Tor, Bell, Ashkelon, no. 17a-b	scarab impression		Ben-Tor and Bell 2018, no. 17a-b [s]	3a								Ashkelon		13th Dyn., Senbi		Senbi
Berlin 31347	scarab	1553	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	II	6e	d8	raised	worn off	steatite			13th Dyn., Senbi		Senbi
Berlin 32638	scarab	1555	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	I	6a	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite			13th Dyn., Senbi		Senbi
Berlin 32639	scarab	1556	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	II	6c	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite	Qena (Blanchard)		13th Dyn., Senbi		Senbi
BM EA24108	scarab	1547	all sides, examined personally	3a	C2	I	6b	d8	raised	worn off	steatite			13th Dyn., Senbi		Senbi
BM EA41910	scarab	1548	all sides, examined personally	3a	C2	II	6c	d8	raised	worn off	steatite			13th Dyn., Senbi		Senbi
BM EA66080	scarab	1549	all sides, examined personally	3a	D6	II	6i	d8	raised	worn off	steatite			13th Dyn., Senbi		Senbi
Cairo JE 75091	scarab	1550	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	C2	I	6a		chipped off	chipped off	steatite			13th Dyn., Senbi		Senbi
Cairo JE 75092	scarab	1551	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	C5	II	6e		raised	chipped off	steatite			13th Dyn., Senbi		Senbi
Genève 24707	scarab		all sides, unpublished museum photos [p]	3a	C5	II	6c	d	raised	not serrated	steatite			13th Dyn., Senbi		Senbi
New York Jewish Museum 12-73.466	scarab	1554	all sides, Keel 1997, 112 (22) [p]	3a	C7/D	II		d9	raised	chipped off	steatite	Tell el-ʿAjjul		13th Dyn., Senbi		Senbi

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Martin back type	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Epithets	Period
Wegner, Temple, fig. 154 (23)	scarab impression		Wegner 2007, fig. 154 (23) [p, s]	1ak								Abydos		13th Dyn., Senbi		Senbi
Berkeley 6-17224	scarab		all sides, museum website [p]	1ad	C5	II	6k	d8	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite	Koptos (purchased)	MFR (the title *jmj-rꜣ ḫmwtj n kꜣp*)	13th Dyn., Senbi (after Cairo CG 20614, Wien ÄS 140 (to add to DAE 198))		contemporaries of Senbi
Berlin 32536	scarab	829	all sides, examined personally	3d	C2/C5	II	6c	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite	Shibin el-Qanatir (Blanchard)	SUE (the title *jrj-pḏt*)	13th Dyn., Senbi (after Louvre C 39 (PD 355))		contemporaries of Senbi
Berlin 32538	scarab	837	all sides, examined personally	1ak	C2	II		d5	chipped off	chipped off	steatite		MFR (after Cairo CG 20631 (PD 367))	13th Dyn., ca. Senbi (after Cairo CG 20631 (PD 367; dating: Ilin-Tomich 2017a))		contemporaries of Senbi
BM EA66081	scarab	551	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	I	6a	e9	raised	chipped off	steatite		Thebes (after Hermitage 1086 (PD 252))	13th Dyn., Senbi (after Hermitage 1086 (PD 252; dating: Ilin-Tomich 2017a))		contemporaries of Senbi
Cairo JE 75131	scarab	1579	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	1ak	C2/C5	II	6e	d8	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite		Thebes (after Edinburgh A.1951.344)	13th Dyn., Senbi (after Edinburgh A.1951.344 (dating: Ilin-Tomich 2017a))		contemporaries of Senbi
Cambridge 2003.39	scarab	1505	all sides, examined personally	1ad	C2/C5	II	6k	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite			13th Dyn., Senbi (after SEH 163 (PD 657))		contemporaries of Senbi
Mirgissa 3-69	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 17 [s]	3a								Mirgissa		13th Dyn., Senbi (after Guimet C 8)	*nb jmꜣḫ*	contemporaries of Senbi
Mirgissa 3-180	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 22, 137 [p]	6a								Mirgissa	MFR (after Cairo CG 20614)	13th Dyn., Senbi (after after Cairo CG 20614)		contemporaries of Senbi
MMA 10.130.285	scarab	550	all sides, museum website [p]	1ad	C5	II	6e	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite		MFR (after Leiden V. L. D. J. 2 (PD 250))	13th Dyn., Senbi (after Leiden V. L. D. J. 2 (PD 250))	*wḥm-ʿnḫ*	contemporaries of Senbi
OIM 18561	scarab	1162	all sides, examined personally	1s	A6b	II	6d	d6	deeply set, double partition line	4 serrations, zigzag border	steatite		MFR (after Louvre C 45 and Berlin 7286 (PD 446))	13th Dyn., Senbi (after Louvre C 45 (PD 446))		contemporaries of Senbi
UC 11481	scarab	1592	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	II	6c	e9	raised	not serrated	steatite		MFR (after Louvre C 39 (PD 671))	13th Dyn., Senbi (after Louvre C 39 (PD 671))		contemporaries of Senbi

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Wegner, Temple, fig. 157 (48)	scarab impression		Wegner 2007, fig. 157 (48) [p, s]	1ak								Abydos	MFR (the title *jmj-rꜣ ḥmw-nṯr n Sbk šdfj*)	13th Dyn., Senbi (after Leiden V. L. D. J. 2 (PD 250))	*mꜣᶜ ḫrw*	contem-poraries of Senbi
Wegner, Temple, fig. 158 (67)	scarab impression		Wegner 2007, fig. 158 (67) [s]	1ak								Abydos		13th Dyn., Senbi (after Habachi, Heqaib, no. 47 (PD 611, dating: Ilin-Tomich 2017a))		contem-poraries of Senbi
Berlin 32630	scarab	1510	all sides, examined personally	1ak	C5	III	6s	d14	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated, straight-line border	steatite			Neferhotep I (a servant of the wife of Neferho-tep I)		family of Neferho-tep I
Berlin 32703	scarab		all sides, examined personally	1ad	C5	II	6k	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite			Neferhotep I (the daughter of Neferhotep I)		family of Neferho-tep I
UC 11538	scarab		all sides, examined personally	3d	C5	II	6c	d8	raised	worn off	steatite			Neferhotep I (the daughter of Neferhotep I)		family of Neferho-tep I
Qila el-Dabba QDK I/2/b	scarab		only base, Posener-Krieger 1987, pl. LVIII [p]	3a							steatite	Qila el-Dabba		Neferhotep I–Sobekhotep IV (both kings' father)		family of Neferho-tep I and Sobekho-tep IV
UC 11537	scarab	979	all sides, examined personally	3a	C2	II	6e	e9	raised	not serrated	steatite			Neferhotep I–Sobekhotep IV (both kings' father)		family of Neferho-tep I and Sobekho-tep IV
Berlin 32559	scarab	981	all sides, examined personally	1ad	C2	II	6k	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite	Bilbeis (Blanchard)		Sob. IV (after Debono, ASAE 51, pl. XV (Ryholt 1997, 229 n. 213))		family of Sobekho-tep IV
Berlin VÄGM 1986/081	scarab		all sides, exam-ined personally	3a	C6	I	6a	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite			Sob. IV (after Wadi el-Hudi 25 (PD 294))		family of Sobekho-tep IV
BM EA37684	scarab	653	all sides, exam-ined personally	3a	C2	II	6c	d8	raised	chipped off	steatite			Sob. IV (after Wadi el-Hudi 25 (PD 294))		family of Sobekho-tep IV
BM EA66083	scarab	982	all sides, exam-ined personally	3a	C7/D	I	6a	e9	raised	chipped off	steatite			Sob. IV (after Debono, ASAE 51, pl. XV (Ryholt 1997, 229 n. 213))		family of Sobekho-tep IV

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Cairo JE 74964	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	C2/C5	I	6a		raised	worn off	steatite			Sob. IV (the wife of Sobekhotep IV (Siesse 2016))	*whm-ʿnḫ*	family of Sobekhotep IV
Cairo JE 74973	scarab	980	base and back (head lost), Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	C7/D	II	6k		raised	worn off	steatite			Sob. IV (after Debono, ASAE 51, pl. XV (Ryholt 1997, 229 n. 213))		family of Sobekhotep IV
Cairo JE 86263	scarab impression	71		3a								Quban	MFR (the name *Jw-nfr*)	Sob. IV (after Wadi el-Hudi 23 (PD 30))	*mꜣʿ ḫrw*	family of Sobekhotep IV
Louvre AF 6755	scarab		all sides, Siesse 2016 [p]; museum website [p]	3a	D3	I	6a	d8	raised	chipped off	steatite			Sob. IV (the wife of Sobekhotep IV (Siesse 2016))	*whm-ʿnḫ*	family of Sobekhotep IV
Martin 1480	scarab	1480	only base, Firth 1927, 90, pl. 35 (87) [s]	1e								Quban	MFR (the title *jmj-rꜣ ʾḫnwtj n kꜣp*)	Sob. IV (after Wadi el-Hudi 24 (PD 628))		family of Sobekhotep IV
OIM 18580	scarab	1740	all sides, examined personally	3d	C2/C5	II	6k	d9	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite		Thebes (after Cairo JE 43461 (PD 738))	Sob. IV (after Cairo JE 43461 (PD 738; dating: Ilin-Tomich 2017a))	*whm-ʿnḫ; nb jmꜣḫ*	family of Sobekhotep IV
UC 11337	scarab	1339	all sides, examined personally	1b	C2/C5	II	6k	d8	raised	chipped off	steatite		Thebes (after Wadi el-Hudi 23 (PD 548); the title *sš n ḫnrt wr* with the sign U31)	Sob. IV (after Wadi el-Hudi 23 (PD 548))		family of Sobekhotep IV
Berlin 34414	scarab		all sides, examined personally	3a	B4	O	10e	e9	raised	not serrated	steatite		Thebes (after Cairo CG 20322)	late 13th Dyn. (after Cairo CG 20322 (dating: Ilin-Tomich 2017a))	*mꜣʿ ḫrw*	late 13th Dyn.
Cairo CG 36044	scarab	1217	base and back, museum database [p]	3d	A7	I	2c	e7	deeply set, single partition line	not serrated	feldspar		Thebes (the name *Ḥnsw*)	late 13th-16th Dyn. (after Liverpool WM 16.11.06.13 and MMA 21.2.69 (PD 464))		late 13th Dyn.
Cairo JE 75082	scarab	1118	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	C5	I	6a		raised	not serrated	steatite			late 13th Dyn. (after Madrid 1999/99/4 (DAE 101))		late 13th Dyn.
MMA 10.130.291	scarab	90	all sides, seen on display	3a	A4a	II	6c	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		Thebes (the name *Jwjj*)	late 13th Dyn.–16th Dyn. (after rishi-coffin r'123MMA (PD 46; dating: Miniaci 2011, 117))		late 13th Dyn.

Table 35 The reference group of datable Middle Kingdom private-name scarabs and scarab impressions. (continuation)

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Martin back type	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Epithets	Period
MMA 26.7.313	scarab	1218	all sides, museum website [p]	3d	C6	III	6g	d14	raised	chipped off	steatite		Thebes (the name *Hnsw*)	late 13th–16th Dyn. (after Liverpool WM 16.11.06.13 and MMA 21.2.69 (PD 464))	*mꜣʿ ḫrw*	late 13th Dyn.
Amman J.5851	scarab	354	all sides, Kirkbride 1965, fig. 293 (12) [s]; Keel 2017, 178–179 (357) [p]	3a	D6	II	6	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite	Jericho		13th Dyn. (after Cairo CG 20087, Cairo CG 20100 (PD 326))		13th Dyn. (no exact date)
Basel Cat. 514	scarab	779	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 514 [p]	3a	C5	II	6e	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite			13th Dyn. (after Tôd T 2301 (Siesse 2019, 239 fig. 36))		13th Dyn. (no exact date)
Ben-Tor, Scarab, 60 (5)	scarab		base and back, Ben-Tor 1989, 60 (5) [p]	3a	C2	I	6a		raised	chipped off	steatite			13th Dyn. (after Sotheby Sale Cat. Dec. 12, 1988, lot. 85)	*nb jmꜣḫ*	13th Dyn. (no exact date)
Ben-Tor, Scarab, 63 (14)	scarab		base and back, Ben-Tor 1989, 63 (14) [p]	3a	C5	II	6e	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite			13th Dyn. (after Tôd T 2301 (Siesse 2019, 239 fig. 36))		13th Dyn. (no exact date)
Berlin 32404	scarab	7	all sides, examined personally	4a	C2/C5	II	6e	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite	Zagazig (Blanchard)	SUE (the title *jmj-ḫt sꜣ-prw*)	13th Dyn. (after Bologna 1921 (PD 13))	*mꜣʿ ḫrw*	13th Dyn. (no exact date)
Berlin 32448	scarab	356	all sides, examined personally	3a	D6		6	d8	raised	chipped off	steatite			13th Dyn. (after Cairo CG 20087, Cairo CG 20100 (PD 326))		13th Dyn. (no exact date)
Berlin 32455	scarab	379	all sides, examined personally	3a	C5	II	6b	d9	raised	chipped off	steatite			13th Dyn. (after Cairo CG 20087 and BM 210 (PD 192; DAE 8))		13th Dyn. (no exact date)
Berlin 32527	scarab	777	all sides, examined personally	3a	A4b	O	10b	d5	raised at base, deeply set at front	4 serrations	steatite			13th Dyn. (after Tôd T 2301 (Siesse 2019, 239 fig. 36))		13th Dyn. (no exact date)
Berlin 32546	scarab	859	all sides, examined personally	1ad	D6	II	6c	d9	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite	Athribis (Blanchard)		13th Dyn. (after Rio de Janeiro 630 [2422] (PD 395))		13th Dyn. (no exact date)
Berlin 32613	scarab	1348	all sides, examined personally	1ad	C5	II	6k	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite		Thebes (after Firenze 2553 (PD 552))	13th Dyn. (after Firenze 2553 (PD 552))		13th Dyn. (no exact date)

Table 35 The reference group of datable Middle Kingdom private-name scarabs and scarab impressions. (continuation)

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Martin back type	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Epithets	Period
Berlin 32646	scarab	1630	all sides, examined personally	1ak	C5	II	6c	d9	raised	chipped off	steatite		MFR (the title *jmj-r³ t³-mḥw*)	13th Dyn. (after Cologny 8 (PD 689))		13th Dyn. (no exact date)
Berlin VÄGM 1984/067	scarab		all sides, examined personally; Martin 1979, no. 29 [s]	1ad	C5	II	6e	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite		Thebes (after Durham EG580 (DAE 203))	13th Dyn. (after Durham EG580 (DAE 203))		13th Dyn. (no exact date)
Berlin VÄGM 1988/100	scarab	434	all sides, examined personally; Ransom Williams 1918, 172, pl. XXVII (9) [p]	1ak	C5	II	6k	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite		MFR (the title *jrj-ʿ r n ʿḥ*)	13th Dyn., not earlier than Khendjer (the name *Wsr-kȝ-rʿ-ʿnḫ* (venerating Khendjer))		13th Dyn. (no exact date)
BM EA30551	scarab	862	all sides, examined personally	1s	C2/C5	II	6k	d14	raised	worn off	steatite			13th Dyn. (after Rio de Janeiro 630 [2422] (PD 395))	*mȝʿ ḫrw*	13th Dyn. (no exact date)
BM EA37685	scarab	1499	all sides, examined personally	3a	C2/C5	II	6c	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite			13th Dyn. (after Sotheby Sale Cat. Dec. 12, 1988, lot. 85)		13th Dyn. (no exact date)
BM EA37694	scarab	453	all sides, examined personally	3a	C2	I	6a	d5	raised	worn off	steatite		Rizeikat (after Cairo CG 20406 and Cairo CG 20583 (PD 221))	13th Dyn. (after Cairo CG 20406 and Cairo CG 20583 (PD 221))		13th Dyn. (no exact date)
BM EA42278	scarab	30	all sides, examined personally	1ad	C2	II	6i	d8	raised	chipped off	steatite		MFR (after Bolton 1920.10:11 and Cairo JE 39069 (PD 17))	13th Dyn. (after Bolton 1920.10:11 and Cairo JE 39069 (PD 17))	*mȝʿ ḫrw*	13th Dyn. (no exact date)
BM EA64854	scarab	774	all sides, examined personally	3a	A4b	II	3e	d16	raised	4 serrations	steatite			13th Dyn. (after Tôd T 2301 (Siesse 2019, 239 fig. 36))		13th Dyn. (no exact date)
Cairo CG 36069	scarab	1335	base and back, seen on display; museum database [p]	3a	A6a	O	5d	d5	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Abydos		13th Dyn. (after Cairo CG 405, MCA 632 (PD 547))	*wḥm-ʿnḫ; nb jmȝḫ*	13th Dyn. (no exact date)
Cairo JE 30456	scarab	770	base and back, seen on display	3a	C2/C5	I	6b	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite			13th Dyn. (filiation formula *ms.n*)	*mȝʿ ḫrw*	13th Dyn. (no exact date)
Cairo JE 75045	scarab	1108	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]; seen in the museum	9	C5	II	6e	d8	worn off	worn off	steatite		SUE (the title *jrj-pḏt*)	13th Dyn. (after BM 221)	mAa xrw	13th Dyn. (no exact date)
Cairo JE 75072	scarab	353	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	C5	I	6a		raised	chipped off	steatite			13th Dyn. (after Cairo CG 20087, Cairo CG 20100 (PD 326))		13th Dyn. (no exact date)

Table 35 The reference group of datable Middle Kingdom private-name scarabs and scarab impressions. (continuation)

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Martin back type	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Epithets	Period
Cairo JE 75137	scarab	1115	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	1ad	C5	II	6k		raised	not serrated	steatite		MFR (after Cairo CG 20742)	13th Dyn. (after Cairo CG 20742)		13th Dyn. (no exact date)
Cairo JE 75139	scarab	1133	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	1s	C2	O	6		raised	worn off	steatite		MFR (after Cairo CG 20742)	13th Dyn. (after Cairo CG 20742)		13th Dyn. (no exact date)
Cairo JE 86262	scarab	2	only base	1ad			6a				steatite	Quban		13th Dyn. (after Cairo JE 65842 (PD 9))		13th Dyn. (no exact date)
CNG auction 381, lot 610	scarab	605a	base and back, https://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=319572 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	1ak	C5	II	6c		raised	not serrated	steatite			13th Dyn. (after Wien ÄS 172 (PD 274))	*whm-ʿnḫ*	13th Dyn. (no exact date)
Edinburgh A.1921.1071	scarab	1213	all sides, photo from the museum [p]	2a	C5	II	6c	d9	raised	4 serrations	steatite		MFR (the name *Ḥnmsw*; after SEH 201)	13th Dyn. (after SEH 201)		13th Dyn. (no exact date)
Elephantine Siegeltyp 274	scarab impression		von Pilgrim 1996, 242 fig. 98 (275) [s]	5								Elephantine (BS 13)	MFR (after BM 905)	13th Dyn. (after BM 905 and the title *jmj-rꜣ ʿḥnwtj*)		13th Dyn. (no exact date)
Fitzwilliam E.96.1920	scarab	775	all sides, museum website [p]	3a	C7/D	II	6e	d8	raised	4 serrations	steatite			13th. Dyn. (after Tôd T 2301 (Siesse 2019, 239 fig. 36))		13th Dyn. (no exact date)
Louvre AF 6747	scarab	659	base and back, museum database [p]; seen on display	3a	C5	II	6e	d14	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite			13th Dyn. (after Petrie, Season, no. 267-268)		13th Dyn. (no exact date)
Louvre AF 6750	scarab	355	base and back, museum database [p]	3a	C5	I	6a	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite			13th Dyn. (after Cairo CG 20087, Cairo CG 20100 (PD 326))		13th Dyn. (no exact date)
Louvre N 540	scarab	1183	base and back, museum database [p, s]	3d	C5	II	6c	d9	raised	chipped off	steatite			Sob. III (king's brother (PD 448))	*mꜣʿ ḫrw*	13th Dyn. (no exact date)
Martin 356a	scarab	356a	only base	3a		II	6e				steatite			13th Dyn. (after Cairo CG 20087, Cairo CG 20100 (PD 326))		13th Dyn. (no exact date)
Martin 419	scarab	419	only base	3a									MFR (after Berlin 7286 (PD 215))	13th Dyn. (after Berlin 7286 (PD 215))		13th Dyn. (no exact date)

Table 35 The reference group of datable Middle Kingdom private-name scarabs and scarab impressions. (continuation)

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Martin back type	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Epithets	Period
Martin 863	scarab	863	all sides, Fragments of Time 2001, lot 7 [p]	3a		O		d8	raised		glazed composition			13th Dyn. (after Rio de Janeiro 630 [2422] (PD 395))	*mȝʿ ḫrw*	13th Dyn. (no exact date)
Martin, MDAIK 35, no. 42	scarab		base and back, Martin 1979, no. 42 [s]; Grimm-Stadelmann 2012, 27 (R-080) [p]	3a	C6	II	6k	d6			steatite			13th Dyn. (after UC 14727 (DAE 98), featuring filiation *ms.n*+M)		13th Dyn. (no exact date)
Martin, MDAIK 35, no. 56	scarab		only base, Martin 1979, no. 56 [s]	3a		I	6a	e9			steatite		Thebes (the title *sš n ḥwrt wr* with the sign U31)	13th Dyn. (after Cairo CG 20570)		13th Dyn. (no exact date)
Mirgissa 3-93	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 18 [s]	3a								Mirgissa		13th Dyn. (after Tôd T 2301 (Siesse 2019, 239 fig. 36))		13th Dyn. (no exact date)
Mirgissa 32-1-194	scarab impression	207	Dunham 1967, 166, 171 fig. 10 [s]	3a								Mirgissa	MFR (the title *ḥrd n kȝp n* [...])	13th Dyn. (filiation formula *ms.n*)		13th Dyn. (no exact date)
MMA 10.130.276	scarab	830	all sides (head lost), museum website [p]	3a					raised	worn off	steatite		Rizeikat (after Berkeley 5-348)	13th Dyn. (after Berkeley 5-348)	*mȝʿ ḫrw*	13th Dyn. (no exact date)
MMA 26.7.274	scarab	778	only base	3a			6e	d9			steatite			13th Dyn. (after Tôd T 2301 (Siesse 2019, 239 fig. 36))		13th Dyn. (no exact date)
MMA 30.8.644	scarab	1336	only base	1ak		II	6k	d8			steatite		MFR (the title *ḥrd n kȝp*)	13th Dyn. (after Cairo CG 20640)	*wḥm-ʿnḫ*	13th Dyn. (no exact date)
Moscow I, 1a 2137	scarab	1229	all sides, examined personally; Hodjash 1999, no. 438 [p]	1s	D3	II		d8	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite		MFR (the name *Ḥnty-ḫtjt-m-ḥȝt*)	13th Dyn. (after BM 243 and Oxford QC 1109 (PD 470))		13th Dyn. (no exact date)
Moscow I, 1a 2170	scarab	605	all sides, examined personally; Hodjash 1999, no. 439 [p]	3a	B5	I		e6b	raised	4 serrations	glassy composition			13th Dyn. (after Wien ÄS 172 (PD 724))	*jmȝḫ*	13th Dyn. (no exact date)
Moscow I, 1a 2305	scarab	776	all sides, examined personally; Hodjash 1999, no. 426 [p]	3a	C4	I		d5	deeply set, no partition line	chipped off	steatite			13th Dyn. (after Tôd T 2301 (Siesse 2019, 239 fig. 36))		13th Dyn. (no exact date)
Moscow I, 1a 2400	scarab	1432	all sides, examined personally; Hodjash 1999, no. 420 [p]	3a	D6	II		d8	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite			13th Dyn. (filiation formula *jr.n*+father's name)		13th Dyn. (no exact date)

Table 35 The reference group of datable Middle Kingdom private-name scarabs and scarab impressions. (continuation)

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Martin back type	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Epithets	Period
Tel Aviv University 440	scarab		all sides, Keel 2010a, 574 (1) [p, s]	3d	C7	II	6c	d16	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Ain Samiya		13th Dyn. (after Tôd T 2301 (Siesse 2019, 239 fig. 36))		13th Dyn. (no exact date)
Tübingen 555	scarab	1201	all sides, Brunner-Traut and Brunner 1981, 179, pl. 104 [p]	9	A5	III		d6	deeply set, single partition line	4 serrations	steatite		MFR (the title *jmj-rꜣ tꜣ-mḥw*)	13th Dyn. (after Cairo CG 20280)	*wḥm-ʿnḫ; mꜣʿ ḫrw*	13th Dyn. (no exact date)
UC 11356	scarab	1477	all sides, examined personally	1w	C5	III	6s	d14	raised at base, deeply set at front	4 serrations	steatite		Edfu (after Cairo JE 38998 (PD 605))	13th Dyn. (after Cairo JE 38998 (PD 605))		13th Dyn. (no exact date)
UC 11366	scarab	549	all sides, examined personally	1ak	A1	I	3a	e7	deeply set, no partition line	serrated	jasper		Thebes (after Ny Carlsberg ÆIN 964 (PD 249))	late 13th Dyn. (after Ny Carlsberg ÆIN 964 (PD 249))		13th Dyn. (no exact date)
UC 11382A	scarab	315	all sides, examined per sonally	1ad	B5	O	7a	d16	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	glazed composition			13th Dyn. (filiation formula *ms.n*)	*mꜣʿ ḫrw*	13th Dyn. (no exact date)
UC 11431	scarab	1353	all sides, examined personally	4a	C5	II	6k	d9	raised	chipped off	steatite	Koptos		13th Dyn. (filiation formula *ms.n*)		13th Dyn. (no exact date)
UC 11445	scarab	1286	all sides, examined personally	3a	A6a	O	10b	d5	raised	worn off	steatite			13th Dyn. (after Rio de Janeiro 647 [2437])		13th Dyn. (no exact date)
Ukma 203/7	scarab		base and back, Andreu 1987, no. 203/7 [p]	3d	A5	I	4		raised	4 serrations	steatite	Ukma		13th Dyn. (after Cairo CG 405, MCA 632 (PD 547))	*nb jmꜣḫ*	13th Dyn. (no exact date)
Wahsut 31776.1	scarab impression		Smith 2010, 324 fig. 150 (2) [s]	3a								Abydos	SUE (after Cairo CG 20690)	13th Dyn. (after Cairo CG 20690)		13th Dyn. (no exact date)
Wegner, Temple, fig. 154 (22)	scarab impression		Wegner 2007, fig. 154 (22) [p, s]	1ak								Abydos		13th Dyn. (after Rio de Janeiro 630 [2422] (PD 395))		13th Dyn. (no exact date)
Wegner, Temple, fig. 155 (28[a])	scarab impression		Wegner 2007, fig. 155 (28) [s]	1ak								Abydos		13th Dyn. (after Cairo CG 20100, Manchester 2963 (PD 350))		13th Dyn. (no exact date)
Wegner, Temple, fig. 155 (28[b])	scarab impression		Wegner 2007, fig. 155 (28) [s]	1ad								Abydos		13th Dyn. (after Cairo CG 20100, Manchester 2963 (PD 350))	*wḥm-ʿnḫ*	13th Dyn. (no exact date)

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Martin back type	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Epithets	Period
Wegner, Temple, fig. 158 (59)	scarab impression		Wegner 2007, fig. 158 (58) [p, s]	1ad								Abydos	MFR (after Bolton 1920.10.11 and Cairo JE 39069 (to add to PD 17))	13th Dyn. (after Bolton 1920.10.11 and Cairo JE 39069 (to add to PD 17))		13th Dyn. (no exact date)
Wegner, Temple, fig. 159 (72)	scarab impression		Wegner 2007, fig. 159 (72) [s]	1ak								Abydos		13th Dyn. (after Cairo CG 20100)		13th Dyn. (no exact date)
Berlin 32462	scarab	402	all sides, examined personally	1aj	C5	I	6b	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite	Mit Rahina (Blanchard)		SIP (after Ballerini, Bessarione 7, 235–236 (DAE 69))	*mꜣʿ ḫrw*	SIP (Upper Egypt)
Berlin 34418	scarab		all sides, examined personally	1ak	D3	III	6s	d14	raised	not serrated	steatite			SIP (after Khartoum 31 and Leipzig 3616 (PD 561))		SIP (Upper Egypt)
BM EA66078	scarab	335	all sides, examined personally	4f	C5	III	6s	d8	raised at base, deeply set at front	chipped off	steatite			SIP (after Cairo CG 20143 (PD 176; dating: Lin-Tomich 2017a))	*wḥm-ʿnḫ*	SIP (Upper Egypt)
BM EA66084	scarab	716	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	I	6a	e9	raised	chipped off	steatite		SUE (the name *Nfr-ḥtp*)	late 13th - 16th Dyn. (after Bruxelles E.480 (PD 312), dating: Marée 2010)		SIP (Upper Egypt)
Cairo JE 75085	scarab	1572	base and back, examined personally; Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3f	B2	O			deeply set, no partition line	worn off	unspecified rock			SIP (after Cairo CG 20198 (PD 642; dating: Lin-Tomich 2017a))	*mꜣʿ ḫrw*	SIP (Upper Egypt)
Cairo JE 75197	scarab	58	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	2b	C2	II	6k		raised	not serrated	steatite			late 13th–17th Dyn. (the name *Jʿḥ-ms* (almost unattested before the SIP))		SIP (Upper Egypt)
UC 11438	scarab	715	all sides, examined personally	3d	C7/D	II	6e	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the name *Nfr-ḥtp*; the title *ʿnḫt nt nsw tpt*)	SIP (after Bolton 1920.10.12 (Stefanović 2016, 153))		SIP (Upper Egypt)
Ukma 16/8	scarab		base and back, Andreu 1987, no. 16/8 [p]	4a	C6	I	6		raised	not serrated	steatite	Ukma	Abydos (the title *jtj-nṯr n Jn-ḥrt*)	SIP (after Burnley Eg. 100 (Franke 2001, 200; dating: Lin-Tomich 2017a))		SIP (Upper Egypt)

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Epithets	Date	The spelling of *bjtj*
Aberdeen ABDUA: 81106	scarab	1552	all sides, examined personally	3a	C5	II	d	raised	not serrated	steatite				13th Dyn., Senbi	L2 for *bjtj*
Aberdeen ABDUA: 81130	scarab	1531	all sides, examined personally	3a	D6	II	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite				13th Dyn., Senebsumai	L2 for *bjtj*
Amman J.5851	scarab	354	all sides, Kirkbride 1965, fig. 293 (12) [s]; Keel 2017, 178–179 (357) [p]	3a	D6	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite	Jericho			13th Dyn. (after Cairo CG 20087, Cairo CG 20100 (PD 326))	L2 for *bjtj*
Basel Cat. 510	scarab	227	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 510 [p]	3a	C7/D	II	d8	raised at base, deeply set at front	4 serrations	steatite					L2 for *bjtj*
Basel Cat. 511	scarab	376	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 511 [p]	3a	C5	II	d8	raised	chipped off	steatite					L2 for *bjtj*
Basel Cat. 512	scarab	1724	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 512 [p]	3a	C7/D	III	d8	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite				13th Dyn., Senebsumai (after Fitzwilliam E.1.1840 (PD 732; Grajetzki 2000, § III.18))	L2 for *bjtj*
Basel Cat. 513	scarab	80	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 513 [p]	3a	C6	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite					L2 for *bjtj*
Basel Cat. 514	scarab	779	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 514 [p]	3a	C5	II	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite				13th Dyn. (after Tôd T 2301 (Siesse 2019, 239 fig. 36))	L2 for *bjtj*
Ben-Tor, Scarab, 60 (5)	scarab		base and back, Ben-Tor 1989, 60 (5) [p]	3a	C2	I		raised	chipped off	steatite			*nb jmȝḫ*	13th Dyn. (after Sotheby Sale Cat. Dec. 12, 1988, lot. 85)	L2 for *bjtj*
Ben-Tor, Scarab, 63 (14)	scarab		base and back, Ben-Tor 1989, 63 (14) [p]	3a	C5	II	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite				13th Dyn. (after Tôd T 2301 (Siesse 2019, 239 fig. 36))	L2 for *bjtj*
Berlin 3667	scarab	1668	all sides, examined personally	1ad	C5	II	d9	raised	worn off	steatite					L2 for *bjtj*
Berlin 20767	scarab	375	all sides, examined personally	3a	C2	II	d	raised	not serrated	steatite					L2 for *bjtj*
Berlin 31347	scarab	1553	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	II	d8	raised	worn off	steatite				13th Dyn., Senbi	L2 for *bjtj*
Berlin 32410	scarab	45	all sides, examined personally	4a	C5	II	d8	raised	chipped off	steatite		Thebes (after Würzburg H 35 (PD 23))	*mꜣʿ ḫrw*	13th Dyn., Ankhu (after Würzburg H 35 (PD 23))	L2 for *bjtj*
Berlin 32448	scarab	356	all sides, examined personally	3a	D6		d8	raised	chipped off	steatite				13th Dyn. (after Cairo CG 20087, Cairo CG 20100 (PD 326))	L2 for *bjtj*

Table 36 Scarabs with the word *bjtj* spelled with the sign L2 (above) or S3 (below).

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Epithets	Date	The spelling of *bjtj*
Berlin 32451	scarab	366	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	I	e9	raised	worn off	steatite					L2 for *bjtj*
Berlin 32452	scarab	369	all sides, examined personally	3a	C5	II	d8	raised	worn off	steatite	Mit Rahina (Blanchard)				L2 for *bjtj*
Berlin 32453	scarab	377	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	I	e9	raised	chipped off	steatite					L2 for *bjtj*
Berlin 32454	scarab	378	all sides, examined personally	3a	C2	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite					L2 for *bjtj*
Berlin 32455	scarab	379	all sides, examined personally	3a	C5	II	d9	raised	chipped off	steatite				13th Dyn. (after Cairo CG 20087 and BM 210 (PD 192; DAE 8))	L2 for *bjtj*
Berlin 32471	scarab	449	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite					L2 for *bjtj*
Berlin 32485	scarab	528	all sides, examined personally	3a	C2	I	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite					L2 for *bjtj*
Berlin 32486	scarab	537	all sides, examined personally	3d	D3	O	e6b	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Shibin el-Qanatir (Blanchard)	Heliopolis (the title *wr mỉw*)			L2 for *bjtj*
Berlin 32497	scarab	596	all sides, examined personally	3a	C2	I	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite					L2 for *bjtj*
Berlin 32527	scarab	777	all sides, examined personally	3a	A4b	O	d5	raised at base, deeply set at front	4 serrations	steatite				13th Dyn. (after Tôd T 2301 (Stesse 2019, 239 fig. 36))	L2 for *bjtj*
Berlin 32542	scarab	847	all sides (head lost), examined personally	3a	C5		d9	raised	not serrated	steatite	Aswan (Blanchard)				L2 for *bjtj*
Berlin 32545	scarab	858	all sides (head lost), examined personally	3a	A4b	II	d8	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite	Saqqara (Blanchard)				L2 for *bjtj*
Berlin 32548	scarab	871	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	II	d8	raised	chipped off	steatite	Shibin el-Qanatir (Blanchard)				L2 for *bjtj*
Berlin 32549	scarab	874	all sides, examined personally	6a	D3	II	d9	raised	worn off	steatite		Thebes (the title *ḥm-nṯr Jmn*)			L2 for *bjtj*
Berlin 32585	scarab	1143	all sides, examined personally	3a	A4b	II	d9	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Zagazig (Blanchard)				L2 for *bjtj*
Berlin 32616	scarab	1373	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	II	d8	raised	worn off	steatite	Qantir (Blanchard)				L2 for *bjtj*
Berlin 32631	scarab	1512	all sides, examined personally	3a	A4b	O	d5	raised at base, deeply set at front	4 serrations	steatite				13th Dyn., Senebsumai	L2 for *bjtj*
Berlin 32632	scarab	1537	all sides, examined personally	3a	C5	II	d9	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated, straight-line border	steatite	Tell el-Dab'a (Blanchard)			13th Dyn., Senebsumai	L2 for *bjtj*

Table 36 Scarabs with the word *bjtj* spelled with the sign L2 (above) or S3 (below). (continuation)

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Epithets	Date	The spelling of *bjtj*
Berlin 32633	scarab	1538	all sides, examined personally	3a	A4b	II	d16	raised	4 serrations	steatite				13th Dyn., Senebsumai	L2 for *bjtj*
Berlin 32634	scarab	1539	all sides, examined personally	3a	C5	II	d9	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated, straight-line border	steatite				13th Dyn., Senebsumai	L2 for *bjtj*
Berlin 32635	scarab	1540	all sides, examined personally	3a	D3	O	d14	raised	chipped off	steatite				13th Dyn., Senebsumai	L2 for *bjtj*
Berlin 32636	scarab	1541	all sides, examined personally	3a	D6	II	e6b	raised at base, deeply set at front	4 serrations	steatite				13th Dyn., Senebsumai	L2 for *bjtj*
Berlin 32637	scarab	1541a	all sides, examined personally	3a	A4b	I	d14	raised at base, deeply set at front	4 serrations	steatite				13th Dyn., Senebsumai	L2 for *bjtj*
Berlin 32638	scarab	1555	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	I	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite				13th Dyn., Senbi	L2 for *bjtj*
Berlin 32639	scarab	1556	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	II	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite	Qena (Blanchard)			13th Dyn., Senbi	L2 for *bjtj*
Berlin 32645	scarab	1628	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	II	e9	raised	not serrated	steatite					L2 for *bjtj*
Berlin 32663	scarab	1706	all sides, examined personally	1ak	C5	II	d14	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite		MFR (the name *Kkj*)			L2 for *bjtj*
Berlin 32677	scarab	1816	all sides, examined personally	3a	D6	I	e6b	raised	chipped off	steatite	Bilbeis (Blanchard)				L2 for *bjtj*
Berlin VÄGM 1983/023	scarab		all sides, examined personally; Martin 1979, no. 57 [s]	3d	C2	II	d8	raised	worn off	steatite		NUELE (the name *Snbj*)			L2 for *bjtj*
Berlin VÄGM 1983/030	scarab		all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	I	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite				13th Dyn., Senebsumai (after Fitzwilliam E.1.1840 (PD 732; Grajetzki 2000, § III.18))	L2 for *bjtj*
Berlin VÄGM 1983/047	scarab		all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	II	e9	raised	not serrated	steatite					L2 for *bjtj*
Berlin VÄGM 1986/081	scarab		all sides, examined personally	3a	C6	I	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite				Sob. IV (after Wadi el-Hudi 25 (PD 294))	L2 for *bjtj*
Berlin VÄGM 1986/084	scarab		all sides, examined personally	3a	A3	II	d6	deeply set, single partition line	not serrated	steatite				13th Dyn., Senebsumai	L2 for *bjtj*
BM EA24108	scarab	1547	all sides, examined personally	3a	C2	I	d8	raised	worn off	steatite				13th Dyn., Senbi	L2 for *bjtj*
BM EA30526	scarab	1515	all sides, examined personally	3a	C5	II	d9	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated, straight-line border	steatite				13th Dyn., Senebsumai	L2 for *bjtj*

Table 36 Scarabs with the word *bjtj* spelled with the sign L2 (above) or S3 (below). (continuation)

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Epithets	Date	The spelling of *bjtj*
BM EA30527	scarab	371	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	II	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite					L2 for *bjtj*
BM EA30549	scarab	743	all sides, examined personally	1ak	D6	III	d14	raised at base, deeply set at front	4 serrations, straight-line border	steatite					L2 for *bjtj*
BM EA30550	scarab	234	all sides, examined personally	1j	D6	III	d14	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite		Zawyet el-Amwat (after Cairo CG 20181 (DAE 58))		Sen. I or III (after Cairo CG 20181 (DAE 58))	L2 for *bjtj*
BM EA32295	scarab	1385	all sides, examined personally	3a	C5	II	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite					L2 for *bjtj*
BM EA37684	scarab	653	all sides, examined personally	3a	C2	II	d8	raised	chipped off	steatite				Sob. IV (after Wadi el-Hudi 25 (PD 294))	L2 for *bjtj*
BM EA37685	scarab	1499	all sides, examined personally	3a	C2/C5	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite				13th Dyn. (after Sotheby Sale Cat. Dec. 12, 1988, lot. 85)	L2 for *bjtj*
BM EA37686	scarab	439	all sides, examined personally	3a	D3	I	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite					L2 for *bjtj*
BM EA40730	scarab	1516	all sides, examined personally	3d	C6	II	d9	raised at base, deeply set at front	4 serrations	steatite				13th Dyn., Senebsumai	L2 for *bjtj*
BM EA41567	scarab	1433	all sides, examined personally	1ak	B3	O	e6b	raised at base, deeply set at front	4 serrations	glazed composition			*mꜣʿ ḫrw*		L2 for *bjtj*
BM EA41910	scarab	1548	all sides, examined personally	3a	C2	II	d8	raised	worn off	steatite				13th Dyn., Senbi	L2 for *bjtj*
BM EA59015	scarab	388	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	II	d8	raised	chipped off	steatite					L2 for *bjtj*
BM EA64850	scarab	1603	all sides, examined personally	3a	C5	II	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite			*wḥm-ʿnḫ*		L2 for *bjtj*
BM EA64854	scarab	774	all sides, examined personally	3a	A4b	II	d16	raised	4 serrations	steatite				13th Dyn. (after Tôd T 2301 (Siesse 2019, 239 fig. 36))	L2 for *bjtj*
BM EA66075	scarab	1721	all sides, examined personally	3a	C5	II	d9	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite				13th Dyn., Senebsumai (after Fitzwilliam E.1.1840 (PD 732; Grajetzki 2000, § III.18))	L2 for *bjtj*
BM EA66080	scarab	1549	all sides, examined personally	3a	D6	II	d8	raised	worn off	steatite				13th Dyn., Senbi	L2 for *bjtj*
BM EA69522	scarab		all sides, examined personally; Malek 1999, 205 fig. 118–119 [p]	1ak	C5	II	d9	raised at base, deeply set at front	4 serrations, straight-line border	steatite				13th Dyn., Senebsumai	L2 for *bjtj*

Table 36 Scarabs with the word *bjtj* spelled with the sign L2 (above) or S3 (below). (continuation)

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Epithets	Date	The spelling of *bjtj*
Boston 24.1514	scarab	384	all sides, museum website [p]	3d	C5	II	d9	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite	Semna		*mȝʿ ḫrw*		L2 for *bjtj*
Brooklyn 44.123.92	scarab	1528	all sides, examined personally	3a	D2	II	d9	raised	worn off	steatite				13th Dyn., Senebsumai	L2 for *bjtj*
Brooklyn 44.123.98	scarab	89	all sides, museum website [p]	3a	A4b	III	e6c	raised at base, deeply set at front	4 serrations	steatite					L2 for *bjtj*
Bruxelles E.2704	scarab	6	all sides, museum website [p]	3a	C5	II	d9	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite	Abydos				L2 for *bjtj*
Cairo CG 36050	scarab	345	base and back, seen on display	3a	A6a	I		raised	worn off	steatite			*wḥm-ʿnḫ*	late 12th Dyn. (after Cairo CG 403 (DAE 5), introducing the recipient with *n kȝ n jmȝḫj*)	L2 for *bjtj*
Cairo CG 36060	scarab	1519	all sides, museum database [p]; seen on display	3a	C5	II	d9		not serrated	steatite				13th Dyn., Senebsumai	L2 for bjtj
Cairo JE 39247	scarab	1294	base and back, museum database [p]	3a	D5?	III	d14		not serrated	steatite	Saqqara		*nb jmȝḫ*		L2 for *bjtj*
Cairo JE 75058	scarab	534	base and back, examined personally; Dreyton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	A4b	O		raised	serrated	steatite				13th Dyn., Senebsumai	L2 for *bjtj*
Cairo JE 75062	scarab	1520	base and back, Dreyton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	C5	III	d9	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite				13th Dyn., Senebsumai	L2 for *bjtj*
Cairo JE 75063	scarab	1521	base and back, Dreyton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	C5	II	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite				13th Dyn., Senebsumai	L2 for *bjtj*
Cairo JE 75072	scarab	353	base and back, Dreyton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	C5	I		raised	chipped off	steatite				13th Dyn. (after Cairo CG 20087, Cairo CG 20100 (PD 326))	L2 for *bjtj*
Cairo JE 75079	scarab	1522	base and back, Dreyton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	A4b	O		raised	4 serrations	steatite				13th Dyn., Senebsumai	L2 for *bjtj*
Cairo JE 75091	scarab	1550	base and back, Dreyton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	C2	I		chipped off	chipped off	steatite				13th Dyn., Senbi	L2 for *bjtj*
Cairo JE 75092	scarab	1551	base and back, Dreyton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	C5	II		raised	chipped off	steatite				13th Dyn., Senbi	L2 for *bjtj*
Cairo JE 75098	scarab	1523	base and back, Dreyton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	C5	II		raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite				13th Dyn., Senebsumai	L2 for *bjtj*
Cairo JE 75103	scarab	368	base and back, Dreyton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	C2/C5	II		raised	not serrated	steatite					L2 for *bjtj*

Table 36 Scarabs with the word *bjtj* spelled with the sign L2 (above) or S3 (below). (continuation)

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Epithets	Date	The spelling of *bjtj*
Cairo JE 75153	scarab	1604	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	1aj	C5	II		raised	not serrated	steatite					L2 for *bjtj*
Cairo JE 91207	scarab	384a	all sides, Milnar 2001b, 532 (1002) [s]	3d	D1	II	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite	Tell el-Dab'a (secondary context)		*mꜣʿ ḫrw*		L2 for *bjtj*
Edinburgh A.1965.200	scarab	1513	all sides, museum website [p]; photo from the museum [p]	1ak	A4b	O	d5	raised at base, deeply set at front	4 serrations	glazed composition				13th Dyn., Senebsumai	L2 for *bjtj*
Farouk 123	scarab		all sides, Ragab 2018, no. 68 [p]	3a	A6a	O	d5	raised	4 serrations	steatite			*mꜣʿ ḫrw*		L2 for *bjtj*
Fitzwilliam E.94.1920	scarab	1530	all sides, Bourriau and Quirke 1988, no. 182 (a) [s]	3a	C5	II	d9	raised	chipped off	steatite				13th Dyn., Senebsumai	L2 for *bjtj*
Fitzwilliam E.95.1920	scarab	215	all sides, museum website [p]	3a	C5	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite					L2 for *bjtj*
Fitzwilliam E.96.1920	scarab	775	all sides, museum website [p]	3a	C7/D	II	d8	raised	4 serrations	steatite				13th Dyn. (after Töd T 2301 (Siesse 2019, 239 fig. 36))	L2 for *bjtj*
Fitzwilliam E.Sc.41	scarab	374	all sides, museum website [p]; Bourriau and Quirke 1988, no. 182 (e) [s]	3a	C5	II	d8	raised at base, deeply set at front	chipped off	steatite					L2 for *bjtj*
Genève 19886	scarab	1533	all sides, Vodoz 1979, no. 90 [p]; museum website [p]	3a	A4b	II	d7	raised	not serrated	steatite				13th Dyn., Senebsumai	L2 for *bjtj*
Genève 24707	scarab		all sides, unpublished museum photos [p]	3a	C5	II	d	raised	not serrated	steatite				13th Dyn., Senbi	L2 for *bjtj*
Giveon, Tel Aviv 7, no. 1	scarab		all sides, Giveon 1980, no. 1 [p]	3a	A4b	O	d4	raised	4 serrations	steatite				13th Dyn., Senebsumai	L2 for *bjtj*
Giveon, Tel Aviv 7, no. 2	scarab		all sides, Giveon 1980, no. 2 [p]	3a	C5	III	d9	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite				13th Dyn., Senebsumai	L2 for *bjtj*
Jerusalem IM 76.31.4517	scarab		all sides, Ben-Tor 1989, 60 (2) [p]; Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 24 (15) [s]	3a	C5	II	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite				13th Dyn., Senebsumai (after Fitzwilliam E.1.1840 (PD 732; Grajetzki 2000, § III.18))	L2 for *bjtj*
Jerusalem IM 2010.65.1715	scarab		all sides, unpublished museum photo [p]	3a	A4b	O	d9	raised	serrated	steatite				13th Dyn., Senebsumai	L2 for *bjtj*
Louvre AF 6750	scarab	355	base and back, museum database [p]	3a	C5	I	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite				13th Dyn. (after Cairo CG 20087, Cairo CG 20100 (PD 326))	L2 for *bjtj*

Table 36 Scarabs with the word *bjtj* spelled with the sign L2 (above) or S3 (below). (continuation)

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Epithets	Date	The spelling of *bjtj*
Louvre AF 6751	scarab	1142	base and back, museum website [p]	3a	C5	II	d9	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated, straight-line border	steatite					L2 for *bjtj*
Martin 863	scarab	863	all sides, Fragments of Time 2001, lot 7 [p]	3a		O	d8	raised		glazed composition			*mỉ˓ ḫrw*	13th Dyn. (after Rio de Janeiro 630 [2422] (PD 395))	L2 for *bjtj*
MMA 09.180.1212	scarab	373	all sides, museum website [p]; Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 23 (4) [s]	3a	C7/D	II	d8	raised	worn off	steatite	Lisht				L2 for *bjtj*
MMA 10.130.270	scarab	1525	all sides, seen on display	3a	C5	II	d9	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite				13th Dyn., Senebsumai	L2 for *bjtj*
MMA 15.3.77	scarab	1526	all sides, museum website [p]; Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 23 (8) [s]	3a	C7/D	II	d16	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Lisht			13th Dyn., Senebsumai	L2 for *bjtj*
MMA 26.7.299	scarab	346	all sides, museum website [p]	3a	C2	II	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite			*nb jm3ḫ*	late 12th Dyn. (after Cairo CG 403 (DAE 5), introducing the recipient with *n kȝ n jm3ḫjj*)	L2 for *bjtj*
MMA 30.8.673	scarab	780	base and back, seen on display	3a	C5	II	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite			*nb jm3ḫ*		L2 for *bjtj*
Moscow I, 1a 2255	scarab		all sides, examined personally; Hodjash 1999, no. 429 [p]; Hodjash 1973, no. 24 [p]	3a	A4a	III	e6c	raised at base, deeply set at front	4 serrations	agate		Heliopolis (the title *ḥq3-ḫwt wrt Jwnw*)		12th Dyn. (*jmj-rȝ˒ mˁ-rˁ*)	L2 for *bjtj*
Moscow I, 1a 2305	scarab	776	all sides, examined personally; Hodjash 1999, no. 426 [p]	3a	C4	I	d5	deeply set, no partition line	chipped off	steatite				13th Dyn. (after Tôd T 2301 (Siesse 2019, 239 fig. 36))	L2 for *bjtj*
Moscow I, 1a 2394	scarab	5	all sides, examined personally; Hodjash 1999, no. 427 [p]	1al2	C5	I	d9	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite					L2 for *bjtj*
Moscow I, 1a 2399	scarab	1258	all sides, examined personally; Hodjash 1999, no. 428 [p]	1ak	C5	III	d8	raised at base, deeply set at front	4 serrations	steatite				13th Dyn., ca. Senebsumai (after Ortiz 33 (PD 491; GHB § III.16) belonging together with a statuette of Senebsumai (Ortiz 34))	L2 for *bjtj*
New York Jewish Museum 12-73.466	scarab	1554	all sides, Keel 1997, 112 (22) [p]	3a	C7/D	II	d9	raised	chipped off	steatite	Tell el-ʿAjjul			13th Dyn., Senbi	L2 for *bjtj*

Table 36 Scarabs with the word *bjtj* spelled with the sign L2 (above) or S3 (below). (continuation)

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Epithets	Date	The spelling of *bjtj*
Philadelphia E.3040	scarab	1529	all sides, photo from the museum [p]	3a	C5	II	d5	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite				13th Dyn., Senebsumai	L2 for *bjtj*
Philadelphia E.9192	scarab	1111	base and back, museum website [p]	3a	A5	I	e7	raised	4 serrations	lapis lazuli	Abydos			late 12th Dyn. (after Hermitage 1073 (PD 425, Grajetzki 2000, § VII.5; dating: Ilin-Tomich 2017a))	L2 for *bjtj*
Sai 4-46-2	scarab		all sides, Gratien 1985, 104 (6) [s]	3a	D1	II	d5	raised	chipped off	steatite	Sai				L2 for *bjtj*
Tel Aviv University 440	scarab		all sides, Keel 2010a, 574 (1) [p, s]	3d	C7	II	d16	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Ain Samiya			13th Dyn. (after Tôd T 2301 (Siesse 2019, 239 fig. 36))	L2 for *bjtj*
UC 11393	scarab	1112	all sides (head lost), examined personally	1ai		O	d6	chipped off	chipped off	steatite			*mꜣʿ ḫrw*		L2 for *bjtj*
UC 11407	scarab	4	all sides, examined personally	3d	C5	II	d9	raised	chipped off	steatite	Naqada				L2 for *bjtj*
UC 11452	scarab	339	all sides, examined personally	3a	D6	I	e6b	raised	not serrated	steatite		MFR (after Boston 1971.403+Christie's London, 30.04–01.05.1974, lot 354)		late 12th Dyn.–early 13th Dyn. (after Boston 1971.403+Christie's London, 30.04–01.05.1974, lot 354 (mixed filiation *jr.n*+M and *ms.n*+M))	L2 for *bjtj*
UC 11470	scarab	1301	all sides, examined personally	3d	C5	II	e9	raised	chipped off	steatite					L2 for *bjtj*
UC 11484	scarab	1517	all sides, examined personally	3a	C5	II	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite	Lahun			13th Dyn., Senebsumai	L2 for *bjtj*
UC 11485	scarab	1518	all sides, examined personally	3a	C5	I	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite				13th Dyn., Senebsumai	L2 for *bjtj*
UC 11498	scarab	367	all sides, examined personally	3a	C5	II	d8	raised	chipped off	steatite					L2 for *bjtj*
UC 11503	scarab	1606	all sides, examined personally	3a		O		worn off	worn off	steatite					L2 for *bjtj*
UC 11537	scarab	979	all sides, examined personally	3a	C2	II	e9	raised	not serrated	steatite				Neferhotep I–Sobekhotep IV (both kings' father)	L2 for *bjtj*
van Nijl Tot Schelde, no. 96	scarab		base and back, Gubel 1991, no. 96 [p]	3a	A5	II		deeply set, single partition line	chipped off	steatite				13th Dyn., Senebsumai	L2 for *bjtj*
Ashmolean AN1892.62	scarab	1136	all sides, examined personally	3a	A6a		d	raised	worn off	steatite					S3 for *bjtj*

Table 36 Scarabs with the word *bjtj* spelled with the sign L2 (above) or S3 (below). (continuation)

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Epithets	Date	The spelling of *bjtj*
Basel Cat. 509	scarab	303	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 509 [p]	1t	A3	H	c	raised at base, deeply set at front	4 serrations	obsidian					S3 for *bjtj*
Basel Cat. 515	scarab	669	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 515 [p]	3a	C7/D	II	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite					S3 for *bjtj*
Basel Cat. 543	scarab	191	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 543 [p]	3a	C7/D	II	d9	raised	chipped off	steatite					S3 for *bjtj*
Basel Cat. 544	scarab	192	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 544 [p]	3a	C7/D	II	e9	raised	not serrated	steatite					S3 for *bjtj*
Berlin 32411	scarab	48a	all sides, examined personally	1u1	C2	II	d14	raised	not serrated	steatite					S3 for *bjtj*
Berlin 32413	scarab	82	all sides, examined personally	3a	C	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite			*mꜣʿ ḫrw*		S3 for *bjtj*
Berlin 32431	scarab	244	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	I	d9	raised	chipped off	steatite					S3 for *bjtj*
Berlin 32432	scarab	245	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	II	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite					S3 for *bjtj*
Berlin 32433	scarab	246	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite					S3 for *bjtj*
Berlin 32434	scarab	275	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7	II	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite	Mit Rahina (Blanchard)				S3 for *bjtj*
Berlin 32435	scarab	276	all sides (head lost), examined personally	3a		II	e9	chipped off	not serrated	steatite					S3 for *bjtj*
Berlin 32444	scarab	325	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	II	e9	raised	not serrated	steatite	Saqqara (Blanchard)				S3 for *bjtj*
Berlin 32484	scarab	527	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	II	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite					S3 for *bjtj*
Berlin 32496	scarab	595	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	I	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite					S3 for *bjtj*
Berlin 32515	scarab	724	all sides (head lost), examined personally	3a			d9	chipped off	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the name *Nfr-ḥtp*)			S3 for *bjtj*
Berlin 32521	scarab	753	all sides, examined personally	1s	C2	II	d8	raised	chipped off	steatite	Shibin el-Qanatir (Blanchard)				S3 for *bjtj*
Berlin 32554	scarab	895	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	II	d5	raised	4 serrations	steatite					S3 for *bjtj*
Berlin 32555	scarab	902	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	II	d6	raised	not serrated	steatite	Bilbeis (Blanchard)				S3 for *bjtj*
Berlin 32583	scarab	1137	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7	II	e9	raised	not serrated	steatite	Shibin el-Qanatir (Blanchard)		*mꜣʿ ḫrw*		S3 for *bjtj*

Table 36 Scarabs with the word *bjtj* spelled with the sign L2 (above) or S3 (below). (continuation)

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Epithets	Date	The spelling of *bjtj*
Berlin 32584	scarab	1137a	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	II	d9	raised	4 serrations	steatite			*mꜣʿ ḫrw*		S3 for *bjtj*
Berlin 32606	scarab	1295	all sides, examined personally	1ad	C2	O	d14	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite					S3 for *bjtj*
Berlin 32607	scarab	1296	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	I	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite			*mꜣʿ ḫrw*		S3 for *bjtj*
Berlin 32617	scarab	1397	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	II	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite			*mꜣʿ ḫrw*		S3 for *bjtj*
Berlin 32623	scarab	1442	all sides, examined personally	1ad	C5	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite					S3 for *bjtj*
Berlin 32669	scarab	1749	all sides, examined personally	1ad	C5	II	d14	raised	not serrated	steatite					S3 for *bjtj*
BM EA17230	scarab	898	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite					S3 for *bjtj*
BM EA28226	scarab	846	all sides, examined personally	3a	C5	II	d8	raised	worn off	steatite					S3 for *bjtj*
BM EA30551	scarab	862	all sides, examined personally	1s	C2/C5	II	d14	raised	worn off	steatite			*mꜣʿ ḫrw*	13th Dyn. (after Rio de Janeiro 630 [2422] (PD 395))	S3 for *bjtj*
BM EA32279	scarab	870	all sides, examined personally	1s	C3	II	d14	raised	not serrated	steatite					S3 for *bjtj*
BM EA37687	scarab	663	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	II	d9	raised	worn off	steatite			*mꜣʿ ḫrw*		S3 for *bjtj*
BM EA40670	scarab	890	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	II	d5	raised	worn off	steatite					S3 for *bjtj*
BM EA40728	scarab	723	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7	II	d9	raised	4 serrations	steatite		SUE (the name *Nfr-ḥtp*)			S3 for *bjtj*
BM EA45448	scarab	635	all sides, examined personally	3d	C7/D	II	d9	raised	worn off	steatite					S3 for *bjtj*
BM EA66072	scarab	1437	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	II	e9	raised	not serrated	steatite					S3 for *bjtj*
BM EA66094	scarab	1134	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	I	e9	raised	not serrated	steatite					S3 for *bjtj*
BM EA66095	scarab	1135	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	II	e9	raised	not serrated	steatite					S3 for *bjtj*
BM EA66099	scarab	899	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	I	d9	raised	chipped off	steatite					S3 for *bjtj*
BM EA67405	scarab	1272	all sides, examined personally	3a	C2	I	e9	raised	not serrated	steatite					S3 for *bjtj*
Cairo CG 36044	scarab	1217	base and back, museum database [p]	3d	A7	I	e7	deeply set, single partition line	not serrated	feldspar		Thebes (the name *Hnsw*)		late 13th–16th Dyn. (after Liverpool WM 16.11.06.13 and MMA 21.2.69 (PD 464))	S3 for *bjtj*

Table 36 Scarabs with the word *bjtj* spelled with the sign L2 (above) or S3 (below). (continuation)

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Epithets	Date	The spelling of *bjtj*
Cairo CG 36055	scarab	1285	all sides, museum database [p]; seen on display	1ad	C6	II	d14	raised	not serrated	steatite	Abydos				S3 for *bjtj*
Cairo JE 20428	scarab	189	base and back, museum database [p]; seen on display	1ak	C6	II	d14	raised	not serrated	steatite	Abydos		*wḥm-ʿnḫ*		S3 for *bjtj*
Cairo JE 75054	scarab	242	base and back (head lost), Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a		I		raised	chipped off	steatite					S3 for *bjtj*
Cairo JE 75061	scarab	892	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	C7	II		raised	not serrated	steatite					S3 for *bjtj*
Cairo JE 75064	scarab	253	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	C7/D	II		raised	not serrated	steatite					S3 for *bjtj*
Cairo JE 75065	scarab	1439	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	C7/D			raised	not serrated	steatite					S3 for *bjtj*
Cairo JE 75082	scarab	1118	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	C5	I		raised	not serrated	steatite				late 13th Dyn. (after Madrid 1999/99/4 (DAE 101))	S3 for *bjtj*
Cairo JE 75084	scarab	428	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	C7/D	II		raised	not serrated	steatite			*mꜣʿ ḫrw*		S3 for *bjtj*
Cairo JE 75087	scarab	213	all sides, examined personally; Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	C5	II	d8	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite				13th Dyn., Senebsumai (after Roccati, Gs Berlev, no. 1 (DAE 38))	S3 for *bjtj*
Cairo JE 75088	scarab	562	all sides, examined personally; Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	C7/D	II	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite					S3 for *bjtj*
Cairo JE 75099	scarab	61	all sides, examined personally; Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	C5	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the title *ḥrj m*; the name *Jwjf(j)*)			S3 for *bjtj*
Cairo JE 75107	scarab	891	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	C7/D	II		raised	not serrated	steatite					S3 for *bjtj*
Cairo JE 75147A	scarab	256	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	1ak	D6	II		raised	not serrated	steatite					S3 for *bjtj*
Cairo JE 75167	scarab	18	all sides, examined personally; Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	1ak	C2	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite		MFR (the title *jmj-rꜣ jpt-nsw*)			S3 for *bjtj*
Cairo JE 75205	scarab	1722	all sides, examined personally; Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	C2	II	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite			*jmꜣḫ*	13th Dyn., Senebsumai (after Fitzwilliam E.1.1840 (PD 732; Grajetzki 2000, § III.18))	S3 for *bjtj*

Table 36 Scarabs with the word *bjtj* spelled with the sign L2 (above) or S3 (below). (continuation)

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Epithets	Date	The spelling of *bjtj*
Fitzwilliam E.Sc.170	scarab	667	all sides, museum website [p]; Bourriau and Quirke 1988, no. 182 (b) [s]	3a	C7/D	II	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite			*mꜣʿ ḫrw*		S3 for *bjtj*
Fribourg ÄS 1983.1629	scarab	243	all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=7617 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	3a	A6a	I	d5	raised	chipped off	steatite					S3 for *bjtj*
Fribourg ÄS 1983.1630	scarab	682	all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=7618 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	1ak	D4	II	d14	raised	not serrated	steatite					S3 for *bjtj*
Fribourg ÄS 1983.1635	scarab		all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=7623 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	1ad	D3	I	d5	raised	worn off	steatite					S3 for *bjtj*
Hannover 1976.88	scarab		all sides, examined personally; Beste 1979, 125–127 [p]	1u	C2		d14	raised	worn off	steatite			*nfr ʿnḫ*		S3 for *bjtj*
Hannover 1976.97	scarab		all sides, examined personally; Beste 1979, 146–148 [p]; Martin 1979, no. 71 [s]	9/4a	A5	III	d8	deeply set, single partition line	not serrated, zigzag border	steatite					S3 for *bjtj*
Jerusalem IM 76.31.4524	scarab		all sides, Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 25 (2) [s]	3a	C7/D	I	e9	raised	not serrated	steatite					S3 for *bjtj*
Jerusalem IM 76.31.4595	scarab		all sides, Ben-Tor 1989, 60 (3) [p]; Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 25 (3) [s]	1s	C6	I	d14	raised	not serrated	steatite			*mꜣʿ ḫrw*		S3 for *bjtj*
Jerusalem RM 38.619	scarab	811	all sides, Keel 1997, 454–455 (1030) [p]; Ben-Tor 2016, 36 (6) [p]	1ak	C6	I	d14	raised	not serrated	steatite	Tell el-ʿAjjul	Heliopolis (the title *wr mȝw*)	*wḥm-ʿnḫ; mꜣʿ ḫrw*		S3 for *bjtj*
Louvre E 6288	scarab	668	base and back, museum database [p, s]	3a	C7/D	II	e9	raised	not serrated	steatite			*mꜣʿ ḫrw*		S3 for *bjtj*
MMA 09.180.932	scarab	665	all sides (head lost), museum website [p]	3a		II	e9	chipped off	chipped off	steatite	Lisht		*mꜣʿ ḫrw*		S3 for *bjtj*

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Epithets	Date	The spelling of *bjtj*
MMA 15.3.21	scarab	241	all sides, museum website [p]; Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 23 (7) [s]	3a	C7/D	II	e9	raised	not serrated	steatite	Lisht				S3 for *bjtj*
MMA 20.1.13	scarab	1396	all sides, museum website [p]; Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 23 (9) [s]	3a	C7/D	II	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite	Lisht		*mꜣʿ ḫrw*		S3 for *bjtj*
MMA 22.1.245	scarab	360	all sides, museum website [p]; Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 23 (11) [s]	3a	C7/D	I	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite	Lisht				S3 for *bjtj*
MMA 22.1.344	scarab	893	all sides (head lost), museum website [p]	3a		II	d9	chipped off	chipped off	steatite	Lisht				S3 for *bjtj*
MMA 22.1.419	scarab	563	all sides, museum website [p]	3a	C7/D	I	d9	raised	chipped off	steatite	Lisht				S3 for *bjtj*
MMA 26.7.313	scarab	1218	all sides, museum website [p]	3d	C6	III	d14	raised	chipped off	steatite		Thebes (the name *Ḥnsw*)	*mꜣʿ ḫrw*	late 13th–16th Dyn. (after Liverpool WM 16.11.06.13 and MMA 21.2.69 (PD 464))	S3 for *bjtj*
MMA 30.8.669	scarab	1412	base and back, museum website [p]; Oppenheim et al. 2015, 139 (71B) [p]	1ak	C6	I	d14	raised	not serrated	steatite			*mꜣʿ ḫrw*		S3 for *bjtj*
Moscow I, 1a 2138	scarab	1160	all sides, examined personally; Hodjash 1999, no. 447 [p]	1aj	C5	II	d9	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite			*wḥm-ʿnḫ*		S3 for *bjtj*
NFA Scarabs, no. 105	scarab		all sides, NFA 1991, no. 105 [p]	4a	C6	7b	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite			*nfr*		S3 for *bjtj*
Tel Dor 2016	scarab		base and back, http://www.ynet.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-4795525,00.html (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	4e	C2	I		raised	not serrated	steatite	Tel Dor		*mꜣʿ ḫrw*		S3 for *bjtj*
TimeLine Auctions, 27-30.05.2015, lot 78	scarab		base and back, http://www.timelineauctions.com/lot/royal-sealer-of-the-king-of-lower-egypt-and-chief-overseer-scarab/48346/ (accessed on 25.08.2017) [p]	1b	C5	II	d14	raised	not serrated	steatite					S3 for *bjtj*
UC 11342	scarab	897	all sides, examined personally	1u	C6	III	d14	raised	not serrated	steatite			*mꜣʿ ḫrw*		S3 for *bjtj*
UC 11410	scarab	1623	all sides, examined personally	1ad	C2/C5	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite					S3 for *bjtj*

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UC 11460	scarab	526	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	II	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite					S3 for *bjtj*
UC 11472	scarab	664	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	II	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite					S3 for *bjtj*
UC 11500	scarab	900	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	II	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite					S3 for *bjtj*
UC 11502	scarab	297	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	I	e9	raised	worn off	steatite					S3 for *bjtj*
UC 11505	scarab	190	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	I	e9	raised	not serrated	steatite					S3 for *bjtj*
Walters 42.21	scarab	214	all sides, museum website [p]	3a	C5	III	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite				13th Dyn., Senebsumai (after Roccati, Gs Berlev, no. 1 (DAE 38))	S3 for *bjtj*
Washington 209122	scarab	409	base and back, museum website [p]	1ak	A1	III	d5	deeply set, single partition line	not serrated				*mꜣʿ ḫrw*		S3 for *bjtj*
Wozencroft, GM 213, 101-104	scarab		all sides, Wozencroft 2007 [p]	1u	C6	III	d14	raised	not serrated	steatite					S3 for *bjtj*

Table 36 Scarabs with the word *bjtj* spelled with the sign L2 (above) or S3 (below). (continuation)

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Epithets
Askut A14	scarab impression		Penacho 2015, fig. IV.10 (A) [p]; Smith 1990, pl. XL (a, A14) [s]	3a							Askut			*k3 nfr*
Basel Cat. 547	scarab	1404	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 547 [p]	3a	A5	III	e6c	raised	not serrated	steatite				*w3ḥ*
Basel Cat. 548	scarab	322	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 548 [p]	3a	D3	I	d14	raised	not serrated	steatite				
Berlin 32581	scarab	1127	all sides, examined personally	3a	D6	I	e6b	deeply set, single partition line	not serrated	steatite				*k3 nfr w3ḥ mrt*
BM EA30532	scarab	802	all sides, examined personally	3a	A1	O	e7	deeply set, no partition line	not serrated	feldspar				*k3 nfr w3ḥ*
BM EA37700	scarab	521	all sides, examined personally	3a	A2	I	e5	deeply set, no partition line	not serrated	steatite				*nfr*
Cairo JE 49110	scarab	1249	base and back, museum database [p]	11	A3	O		deeply set, no partition line	4 serrations	feldspar	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna			*mꜣʿ ḫrw*
Cairo JE 75051	scarab	178	base and back, Droton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	D3	I		raised	not serrated	feldspar				
Cairo JE 75095	scarab	1168	base and back, Droton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	A1	O		deeply set, no partition line	chipped off	feldspar				
Cairo JE 75208	scarab	427	all sides, examined personally; Droton MSS 5381 [p]	6a	A2	II	d14	raised at base, deeply set at front	worn off	steatite				
Cairo JE 87417	scarab	805a	base and back, Hamada and Farid 1947, 199, pl. LX (2) [s]; museum database [p]	3a	A3	II		deeply set, no partition line	6 serrations	amethyst	Kom el-Hisn		early Middle Kingdom (from archaeological context (Brunton 1947; Orel 2000, 44))	*k3 nfr w3ḥ*
Elephantine Siegeltyp 274	scarab impression		von Pilgrim 1996, 243 fig. 99 (274) [s]	3a							Elephantine (BS 13)			
Los Angeles County M.80.202.861	scarab impression	854a	museum website [p]	3a						clay			late 12th Dyn. (after Cairo CG 23027 (DAE 135))	*mꜣʿ ḫrw; nb jmꜣḫ*
Louvre AF 2474	scarab	1107a	only base, museum website [p]	3a		II	e6c			amethyst				*k3 nfr w3ḥ*

Table 37 Scarabs and scarab impressions with the title element *jmj-r3* spelled phonetically.

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Epithets
Manchester 6176	scarab impression		Morfoisse and Andreu-Lanoë 2014, 277 (58) [p]								Lahun		late 12th Dyn. (after Cairo CG 23027 (DAE 135))	
Millet, Dossiers d'Archéologie hors-série 27, 61	scarab impression		Millet 2014, 61 [p]	3d							Karnak			
Mirgissa 3-155	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 21, 137 [p, s]	1ai							Mirgissa			
Mirgissa 3-156	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 21 [s]	3a							Mirgissa			
MMA 22.1.273	scarab	1619	all sides, museum website [p]	3a	A6a	III	e6c	deeply set, single partition line	4 serrations	feldspar	Lisht	MFR (the name *Snfrw-ḥtp*)		*k3 nfr w3ḥ*
MMA 26.7.300	scarab	1247	only base	3a		I	e6c			a hard stone				
MMA 26.7.305	scarab	1746	all sides, museum website [p]	3a	A1	O	e6c	deeply set, no partition line	4 serrations	amethyst				*nb jm3ḫ*
MMA 26.7.321	scarab	1773	all sides (head lost), museum website [p]	3a		O	d14	chipped off	chipped off	steatite		el-Bersha (a govemor named *Ḏḥwtj-nḫt*)		
MMA 30.8.652	scarab	1692	all sides, museum website [p]	3d	C5	II	d9	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite				*nb jm3ḫ*
MMA 32.1.158	scarab impression	1144	museum website [p]	3a							Lisht			*mꜥ ḫrw*
MMA 32.1.165	scarab impression	916	museum website [p]	3a							Lisht			*k3 nfr w3ḥ*
MMA 40.3.12	scarab	390	all sides, museum website [p]; Ward 1978, no. 272 [s]		A1	H	d14	deeply set, double partition line	not serrated	silver	Asasif		early 12th Dyn. (Arnold 1991, 34)	
Moscow I, 1a 2255	scarab		all sides, examined personally; Hodjash 1999, no. 429 [p]; Hodjash 1973, no. 24 [p]	3a	A4a	III	e6c	raised at base, deeply set at front	4 serrations	agate		Heliopolis (the title *ḫq3-ḫwt wrt Jwnw*)		
UC 11195	scarab	229	all sides, examined personally; Ward 1978, 78 fig. 17 (L) [s]	3a	B5	II	e6c	raised	4 serrations	feldspar				*nfr*

Table 37 Scarabs and scarab impressions with the title element *jmj-r3* spelled phonetically. (continuation)

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Epithets
UC 11201	scarab	1830	all sides, examined personally; Ward 1978, 78 fig. 17 (R) [s]	3a	A1	I	e7	deeply set, no partition line	4 serrations	feldspar				*k3 nfr w3ḥ*
UC 11207	scarab	560	all sides, examined personally; Ward 1978, 78 fig. 17 (Y) [s]	3a	A4b	II	e6c	raised at base, deeply set at front	4 serrations	steatite				*k3 nfr w3ḥ*
UC 11449	scarab	522	all sides, examined personally	3a	A4a	II	d14	raised	4 serrations	steatite				
UC 11450	scarab	264	all sides, examined personally	3a	A3	II	d5	deeply set, single partition line	not serrated	steatite	Lahun			
Wegner, Temple, fig. 159 (77)	scarab impression		Wegner 2007, fig. 158 (77) [s]	3a							Abydos	MFR (the name *Ḫnty-ḫtjj-ḥrp*)		
Zagreb 133	scarab		all sides, unpublished museum photos [p]	3a	A4a	I	e6c							

Table 37 Scarabs and scarab impressions with the title element *jmj-r3* spelled phonetically. (continuation)

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Epithets
Berlin 15367	scarab	1641	all sides, examined personally	3a	A4a	III	d14	raised	4 serrations	steatite			
Berlin 32530	scarab	803	all sides, examined personally	3a	D6	II	d14	raised at base, deeply set at front	chipped off	steatite	Qena (Blanchard)		*nb jmỉḫ; nfr*
Berlin 32610	scarab	1327	all sides, examined personally	3a	D3	II	e6b	raised	not serrated	steatite			*k3 nfr ḏt*
Berlin 32619	scarab	1408	all sides, examined personally	1g	A2	II	e5	deeply set, single partition line	not serrated	steatite			*k3 nfr*
Berlin 32652	scarab	1655	all sides, examined personally	3a	D6	III	d6	deeply set, single partition line	numerous serrations	steatite			*k3 nfr*
BM EA37701	scarab	1124	all sides, examined personally	3a	C6	II	d6	deeply set, single partition line	7 serrations	steatite		MFR (the name *Ḥnỉj-ḥỉỉj-m-s3*)	*mỉ˓ ỉrw; nfr*
BM EA66731	scarab	1311	all sides, examined personally	3a	A4a	II	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite			*nfr*
Mirgissa 3-121	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 19 [s]	3a							Mirgissa		*nb jmỉḫ*
Mirgissa 3-132	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 20 [s]	3a							Mirgissa		
Mirgissa 3-133	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 20 [s]	3a							Mirgissa		
MMA 22.1.1844	scarab impression		museum website [p]	1ak							Lisht		
MMA 32.1.162	scarab impression	1798	museum website [p]	3a							Lisht		
OIM 18562	scarab	1246	base and back, museum website [p]	3a	D6	II	d5	deeply set, single partition line	not serrated	steatite			*nfr wỉḫ*
Semna South K4-8	scarab impression		Žabkar and Žabkar 1982, 38 [s]	3a							Semna South		*nb jmỉḫ*
UC 11208	scarab	844	all sides, examined personally; Ward 1978, 78 fig. 17 (Z) [s]	3a	D6	I	d14	raised	not serrated	steatite		NUELE (the name *Rn=f-˓nḫ*)	*k3 nfr wỉḫ*
UC 26125	scarab	1245	all sides, examined personally	3a	D6	II	d6	raised	not serrated	steatite			*k3 nfr wỉḫ*
Uronarti 44	scarab impression	726	Dunham 1967, 67 (44) [s]	3a							Uronarti		*mỉ˓ ỉrw; nfr*

Table 38 Scarabs and scarab impressions with the title element *jrj* spelled phonetically.

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Martin back type	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Epithets
Askut A14	scarab impression		Penacho 2015, fig. IV.10 (A) [p]; Smith 1990, pl. XL (a, A14) [s]	3a								Askut		12th Dyn. (*jmj-r3: m-r*)	*k3 nfr*
Askut A28	scarab impression		Penacho 2015, fig. IV.12 (A) [p]	3a								Askut		12th Dyn. (epithet(s))	*k3 nfr*
Basel Cat. 547	scarab	1404	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 547 [p]	3a	A5	III	6	e6c	raised	not serrated	steatite			12th Dyn. (*jmj-r3: m-r*)	*w3ḥ*
Basel Cat. 548	scarab	322	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 548 [p]	3a	D3	I	6a	d14	raised	not serrated	steatite			12th Dyn. (*jmj-r3: m-r*)	
Beirut B.13.264	scarab	1259	only base, Dunand 1950, pl. CXXXIV (16746) [p]	3a		O	10b	d8			steatite	Byblos		12th Dyn. (epithet(s))	*mȝꜥ ḫrw; nfr k3*
Berlin 3618	scarab	643	all sides, examined personally	3a	A4a	III	3l	e6c	raised	4 serrations	amethyst			12th Dyn. (epithet(s))	*k3 nfr wȝḥ mrt*
Berlin 9747	scarab	249	all sides, examined personally	3a	A4b	II	3j	e6c	raised	4 serrations	a hard stone			12th Dyn. (epithet(s))	*k3 nfr*
Berlin 15367	scarab	1641	all sides, examined personally	3a	A4a	III	4r	d14	raised	4 serrations	steatite			12th Dyn. (*jrj: j-r*)	
Berlin 32430	scarab	231	all sides, examined personally	3a	A1	O	3a	e6c	deeply set, single partition line	4 serrations	green jasper			12th Dyn. (epithet(s))	*k3 nfr wȝḥ*
Berlin 32442	scarab	317a	all sides, examined personally	3a	A5	I	6a	d5	raised at base, deeply set at front	chipped off	steatite			12th Dyn. (epithet(s))	*k3 nfr wȝḥ mrt*
Berlin 32481	scarab	515	all sides, examined personally	3a	A5	II	4ak	d6	deeply set, single partition line	numerous serrations	steatite		NUELE (the name *Ḥtp*)	12th Dyn. (epithet(s))	*k3 nfr wȝḥ*
Berlin 32530	scarab	803	all sides, examined personally	3a	D6	II	6e	d14	raised at base, deeply set at front	chipped off	steatite	Qena (Blanchard)		12th Dyn. (*jrj: j-r*)	*nb jmȝḫ; nfr*
Berlin 32531	scarab	805	all sides, examined personally	3a	A1	II	2h	e7	deeply set, no partition line	not serrated	feldspar			12th Dyn. (epithet(s))	*k3 nfr wȝḥ*
Berlin 32581	scarab	1127	all sides, examined personally	3a	D6	I	10a	e6b	deeply set, single partition line	not serrated	steatite			12th Dyn. (*jmj-r3: m-r*)	*k3 nfr wȝḥ mrt*
Berlin 32590	scarab	1182a	all sides, examined personally	3a	A3	I	3a	e6c	deeply set, single partition line	4 serrations	green jasper			12th Dyn. (epithet(s))	*k3 nfr*

Table 39 Scarabs and scarab impressions attributable to the 12th Dynasty based on formal criteria.

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Martin back type	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Epithets
Berlin 32591	scarab	1184a	all sides, examined personally	3a	A1	O	2b	e7	deeply set, single partition line	4 serrations	lapis lazuli	Hihya (Blanchard)		12th Dyn. (epithet(s))	*k3 nfr w3ḥ*
Berlin 32610	scarab	1327	all sides, examined personally	3a	D3	II	6e	e6b	raised	not serrated	steatite			12th Dyn. (*jrj: j-r*)	*k3 nfr dt*
Berlin 32619	scarab	1408	all sides, examined personally	1g	A2	II	10a	e5	deeply set, single partition line	not serrated	steatite			12th Dyn. (*jrj: j-r; epithet*(s))	*k3 nfr*
Berlin 32620	scarab	1417	all sides, examined personally	1a|3	D3	III	6r	e6b	raised	worn off	steatite			12th Dyn. (epithet(s))	*k3 w3ḥ mrj*
Berlin 32652	scarab	1655	all sides, examined personally	3a	D6	III	6r1	d6	deeply set, single partition line	numerous serrations	steatite			12th Dyn. (*jrj: j-r*)	*k3 nfr*
Berlin VÄGM 1983/050	scarab		all sides, examined personally; Martin 1979, no. 6 [s]	3a	B4	O	7a	e6b	raised at base, deeply set at front	4 serrations	steatite			12th Dyn. (epithet(s))	*k3 nfr w3ḥ mrt nb*
Berlin VÄGM 1984/066	scarab		all sides, examined personally; Martin 1979, no. 69 [s]	1g	C5	II	6c	e6b	raised	4 serrations	steatite		MFR (the name *Jppt(j)*)	12th Dyn. (*jrj: r*)	
BM E58095	scarab		all sides, Giveon 1985, 134–135 (4) [p, s]; museum website [p]	3a	B5	II		e6c	raised	4 serrations	red jasper	Byblos		12th Dyn. (epithet(s))	*k3 nfr w3ḥ*
BM EA17544	scarab	1095	all sides, examined personally	3a	B5	O	5d	e6c	deeply set, single partition line	4 serrations	jasper			12th Dyn. (epithet(s))	*k3 nfr w3ḥ*
BM EA30532	scarab	802	all sides, examined personally	3a	A1	O	2f	e7	deeply set, no partition line	not serrated	feldspar			12th Dyn. (*jmj-r3: m-r*)	*k3 nfr w3ḥ*
BM EA30533	scarab	423	all sides, examined personally	3a	A3	I	3a	e6c	deeply set, single partition line	4 serrations	green jasper			12th Dyn. (epithet(s))	*nfr; k3 nfr w3ḥ*
BM EA37700	scarab	521	all sides, examined personally	3a	A2	I	8b	e5	deeply set, no partition line	not serrated	steatite			12th Dyn. (*jmj-r3: m-r*)	*nfr*
BM EA37701	scarab	1124	all sides, examined personally	3a	C6	II	6k	d6	deeply set, single partition line	7 serrations	steatite		MFR (the name *Ḥntj-ḫtjj-m-sȝ*)	12th Dyn. (*jrj: j-r*)	*mȝʿ ḫrw; nfr*
BM EA48920	scarab	1715	all sides, examined personally	3a	A1	O	2f	e6c	deeply set, no partition line	not serrated	rock crystal			12th Dyn. (epithet(s))	*k3 nfr w3ḥ*
BM EA66731	scarab	1311	all sides, examined personally	3a	A4a	II	3a	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite			12th Dyn. (*jrj: j-r*)	*nfr*

Table 39 Scarabs and scarab impressions attributable to the 12th Dynasty based on formal criteria. (continuation)

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Martin back type	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Epithets
BM EA67084	scarab	598	all sides, examined personally	3a	A7	I	3a	e6c	raised	4 serrations	green jasper			12th Dyn. (epithet(s))	*k3 nfr*
BM EA67086	scarab	208	all sides, examined personally	3a	B5	O	3	e6b	raised at base, deeply set at front	4 serrations	green jasper			12th Dyn. (epithet(s))	*k3 nfr w3ḥ ʿnḫ*
BM EA67088	scarab	326	all sides, examined personally	3a	A4b	II	3g1	e6c	raised	4 serrations	amethyst		MFR (the name *ʿnḫ-pjpj*)	12th Dyn. (epithet(s))	*k3 nfr w3ḥ wꜥs*
BM EA67089	scarab	1698	all sides, examined personally	3a	A4b	III	3f	e6c	raised at base, deeply set at front	4 serrations	amethyst			12th Dyn. (epithet(s))	*k3 nfr w3ḥ*
Cairo JE 21918	scarab		only base, Grenfell 1915, pl. 1 (7) [s]; Dewachter 1985, 126 (36**) [d]	3a							steatite	Abydos		12th Dyn. (epithet(s))	*k3 nfr w3ḥ ʿnḫ*
Cairo JE 49110	scarab	1249	base and back, museum database [p]	11	A3	O	2		deeply set, no partition line	4 serrations	feldspar	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna		12th Dyn. (*jmj-rꜣ: m-r*)	*mꜣꜥ ḫrw*
Cairo JE 58834	scarab impression	1299a		3a								Lisht		12th Dyn. (epithet(s); title *rḫ-nsw mꜣꜥ* (Grajetzki 2000, 225))	*nb jmɜḫ; k3 nfr mrt*
Cairo JE 74960	scarab	1265	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	A7	II	3		raised at base, deeply set at front	4 serrations	amethyst			12th Dyn. (epithet(s))	*k3 nfr*
Cairo JE 75039	scarab	1409	base and back, examined personally; Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	D6	I	6a		raised	not serrated	steatite			12th Dyn. (epithet(s))	*nfr ʿnḫ ḍd nfr*
Cairo JE 75050	scarab	602	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	A4a	H	4a1	e6c	raised	numerous serrations, incised	steatite			12th Dyn. (epithet(s))	*k3 nfr*
Cairo JE 75051	scarab	178	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	D3	I			raised	not serrated	feldspar			12th Dyn. (*jmj-rꜣ: m-r*)	
Cairo JE 75078	scarab	730	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	B5	I	3		raised	4 serrations	amethyst			12th Dyn. (epithet(s))	*k3 nfr w3ḥ wr*
Cairo JE 75095	scarab	1168	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	A1	O			deeply set, no partition line	chipped off	feldspar			12th Dyn. (*jmj-rꜣ: m-r*)	

Table 39 Scarabs and scarab impressions attributable to the 12th Dynasty based on formal criteria. (continuation)

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Martin back type	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Epithets
Cairo JE 75172	scarab	1542	all sides, examined personally; Driot-on MSS 5381 [p]	1ao1	C5	II	6c	d14	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite		MFR (the name *Ḥ^{c}-ḫpr-r^{c}-snb*)	12th Dyn. (epithet(s))	*k3*
Cairo JE 75208	scarab	427	all sides, examined personally; Driot-on MSS 5381 [p]	6a	A2	II	6	d14	raised at base, deeply set at front	worn off	steatite			12th Dyn. (*ỉmỉ-rꜣ: mn-r*)	
Cambridge 2005.204	scarab	1640	all sides, examined personally	3a	D6	O	7a	d5	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite			12th Dyn. (epithet(s))	*k3 nfr nfrwỉ*
Dongola Reach SF 3127	scarab		all sides, Andrews 2001, 436 (4) [s]	1ak		II	6s	d9		not serrated	steatite	Dongola		12th Dyn. (epithet(s))	*wꜣḥ*
Elephantine Siegeltyp 62	scarab impression		von Pilgrim 1996, 242 fig. 98 (62) [s]	3a								Elephantine (BS 13)		12th Dyn. (epithet(s))	*k3 nfr wꜣḥ*
Elephantine Siegeltyp 274	scarab impression		von Pilgrim 1996, 243 fig. 99 (274) [s]	3a								Elephantine (BS 13)		12th Dyn. (*ỉmỉ-rꜣ: mn-r*)	
Farouk 133	scarab		all sides, Ragab 2018, no. 82 [p]	3a	A7	I		e6c	deeply set, no partition line	serrated	rock crystal		NUELE (the name *Ḥtp*)	12th Dyn. (epithet(s))	*k3 nfr wꜣḥ mrr*
Grenfell, RecTrav 37, pl. I (10A)	scarab		only base, Grenfell 1915, pl. I (10A) [s]	3a										12th Dyn. (epithet(s))	*wꜣḥ*
Hannover 1976.83	scarab		all sides, examined personally; Beste 1979, 113–114 [p]	3a	A1	O	2b	e7	deeply set, no partition line	not serrated	obsidian			12th Dyn. (epithet(s))	*k3 nfr*
Hannover 1976.85	scarab		all sides, examined personally; Beste 1979, 118–119 [p]	1ak	B5	O		e6c	raised	4 serrations	turquoise			12th Dyn. (epithet(s))	*wꜣḥ*
Hannover 1976.92	scarab		all sides, examined personally; Beste 1979, 134–136 [p]	3a	B5	O		e6c	raised at base, deeply set at front	4 serrations, zigzag border	a hard stone		SUE (the name *Ỉn-ḥrt*)	12th Dyn. (epithet(s); title *rḫ-nsw mꜣ^{c}* (Grajetzki 2000, 225))	*k3 nfr wꜣḥ ʿnḫ*
Jerusalem IM 76.31.2662	scarab		all sides, Ben-Tor 1988, no. 13 [p]; Ben-Tor 1989, 61 (16) [p]; museum website	3a		O	5a	e6c		4 serrations, zigzag border	green jasper			12th Dyn. (title *rḫ-nsw: mꜣ^{c}* (Grajetzki 2000, 225))	
Leiden LA 43	scarab	1364	base and back, Schneider 1995, 38–39 (12, 6) [p]	3a	B5	O	5d	e6c	raised	4 serrations	amethyst			12th Dyn. (epithet(s))	*wꜣḥ*

Table 39 Scarabs and scarab impressions attributable to the 12th Dynasty based on formal criteria. (continuation)

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Martin back type	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Epithets
Louvre AF 2474	scarab	1107a	only base, museum website [p]	3a		II	3f	e6c			amethyst			12th Dyn. (*jmj-rꜣ: m-r*)	*kꜣ nfr wꜣḥ*
Louvre E 25729	scarab	174a	all sides, museum database [p]	3a	A7	III	4aq	e6c	deeply set, single partition line	4 serrations	amethyst	Byblos (purchased at Byblos, said to come from Tomb 4)		12th Dyn. (epithet(s))	*kꜣ nfr wꜣḥ wr*
Martin 1165	scarab	1165	only base	3a									NUELE (the name *Ḥtpt*)	12th Dyn. (epithet(s))	*kꜣ nfr*
Martin 1343	scarab	1343	only base	1n									MFR (the name *S3-spdw*)	12th Dyn. (epithet(s))	*kꜣ nfr wꜣḥ ʿnḫ*
Martin 1407	scarab	1407	only base	3a							green jasper			12th Dyn. (epithet(s))	*kꜣ nfr*
Martin 1413	scarab	1413	only base	3a										12th Dyn. (epithet(s))	*kꜣ nfr wꜣḥ*
Martin 1832	scarab impression	1832		1j								Abydos		12th Dyn. (epithet(s))	*wꜣḥ*
Martin, MDAIK 35, no. 5	scarab		base and back, Martin 1979, no. 5 [s]; Grimm-Stadelmann 2012, 29 (R-088) [p]	3a	A7	O	7a	d14			steatite			12th Dyn. (epithet(s))	*kꜣ wꜣḥ wꜣḏ mrj*
Martin, MDAIK 35, no. 7	scarab		all sides, Fay 2003, no. 16 [p]: Sotheby 1975, no. 123 [p]	6a	C5	II		d14	raised at base, deeply set at front	6 serrations	steatite			12th Dyn. (epithet(s))	*wꜣḏ kꜣ*
Millet, Dossiers d'Archéologie hors-série 27, 61	scarab impression		Millet 2014, 61 [p]	3d								Kamak		12th Dyn. (*jmj-rꜣ: m-r*)	
Mirgissa 2-264	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 25, 138 [p]	1h								Mirgissa		12th Dyn. (after Elephantine Siegeltyp 285)	*nfr*
Mirgissa 3-85	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 18 [s]	3a								Mirgissa		12th Dyn. (epithet(s))	*kꜣ nfr*
Mirgissa 3-121	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 19 [s]	3a								Mirgissa		12th Dyn. (*jrj: j-r*)	*nb jmꜣḫ*

Table 39 Scarabs and scarab impressions attributable to the 12th Dynasty based on formal criteria. (continuation)

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Martin back type	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Epithets
Mirgissa 3-155	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 21, 137 [p, s]	1ai								Mirgissa		12th Dyn. (*jmj-rꜣ: m-r*)	
Mirgissa 3-156	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 21 [s]	3a								Mirgissa		12th Dyn. (*jmj-rꜣ: m-r*)	
Mirgissa 3-357	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 28 [s]	3a								Mirgissa		12th Dyn. (epithet(s))	*kꜣ nfr ḥr*
MMA 22.1.273	scarab	1619	all sides, museum website [p]	3a	A6a	III	3a	e6c	deeply set, single partition line	4 serrations	feldspar	Lisht	MFR (the name *Snfrw-ḥtp*)	12th Dyn. (*jmj-rꜣ: m-r*)	*kꜣ nfr wꜣḥ*
MMA 26.7.270	scarab	1456	only base	3a		I	2a	e7			feldspar			12th Dyn. (epithet(s))	*nb jmꜣḫ; kꜣ nfr wꜣḥ*
MMA 26.7.300	scarab	1247	only base	3a		I	3a	e6c			a hard stone			12th Dyn. (*jmj-rꜣ: m-r*)	
MMA 26.7.305	scarab	1746	all sides, museum website [p]	3a	A1	O	2f	e6c	deeply set, no partition line	4 serrations	amethyst			12th Dyn. (*jmj-rꜣ: m-r*)	*nb jmꜣḫ*
MMA 26.7.321	scarab	1773	all sides (head lost), museum website [p]	3a		O	7a	d14	chipped off	chipped off	steatite		el-Bersha (a governor named *Ḏḥwtj-nḫt*)	12th Dyn. (*jmj-rꜣ: m-r*)	
MMA 30.8.647	scarab	1228	only base	3a		II	3f	e6c			green jasper		MFR (the name *Ḥntj-ḥtjj-wsr*)	12th Dyn. (epithet(s))	*kꜣ nfr wꜣḥ*
MMA 30.8.652	scarab	1692	all sides, museum website [p]	3d	C5	II	6c	d9	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite			12th Dyn. (*jmj-rꜣ: m-r*)	*nb jmꜣḫ*
MMA 32.1.158	scarab impression	1144	museum website [p]	3a								Lisht		12th Dyn. (*jmj-rꜣ: m-r*)	*mꜣᶜ ḫrw*
MMA 32.1.162	scarab impression	1798	museum website [p]	3a								Lisht		12th Dyn. (*jrj: j-r*)	
MMA 32.1.165	scarab impression	916	museum website [p]	3a								Lisht		12th Dyn. (*jmj-rꜣ: m-r*)	*kꜣ nfr wꜣḥ*
Moscow I, 1a 2255	scarab		all sides, examined personally; Hodjash 1999, no. 429 [p]; Hodjash 1973, no. 24 [p]	3a	A4a	III		e6c	raised at base, deeply set at front	4 serrations	agate		Heliopolis (the title *Ḥqꜣ-ḫwt wrt jwnw*)	12th Dyn. (*jmj-rꜣ: m-r*)	
OIM 18562	scarab	1246	base and back, museum website [p]	3a	D6	II	7a	d5	deeply set, single partition line	not serrated	steatite			12th Dyn. (*jrj: j-r*)	*nfr wꜣḥ*

Table 39 Scarabs and scarab impressions attributable to the 12th Dynasty based on formal criteria. (continuation)

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Martin back type	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Epithets
Semna South K4-8	scarab impression		Žabkar and Žabkar 1982, 38 [s]	3a								Semna South		12th Dyn. (*jrj*: [*j*] *r*)	*nb jm3ḫ*
UC 11195	scarab	229	all sides, examined personally; Ward 1978, 78 fig. 17 (L) [s]	3a	B5	II	4ag	e6c	raised	4 serrations	feldspar			12th Dyn. (*jmj-r3*: *m-r*)	*nfr*
UC 11198	scarab	1717	all sides, examined personally; Ward 1978, 78 fig. 17 (O) [s]	3a	A1	O	2f	e7	deeply set, single partition line	4 serrations	green jasper			12th Dyn. (epithet(s))	*k3 nfr w3ḥ*
UC 11199	scarab	1346	all sides, examined personally; Ward 1978, 78 fig. 17 (P) [s]	3a	B4	II	4aa	e6c	raised at base, deeply set at front	4 serrations	green jasper			12th Dyn. (epithet(s))	*k3 nfr w3ḥ*
UC 11200	scarab	1782	all sides, examined personally; Ward 1978, 78 fig. 17 (Q) [s]	3a	B5	O	5h	e7	deeply set, single partition line	not serrated	green jasper			12th Dyn. (epithet(s))	*k3 nfr*
UC 11201	scarab	1830	all sides, examined personally; Ward 1978, 78 fig. 17 (R) [s]	3a	A1	I	2b	e7	deeply set, no partition line	4 serrations	feldspar			12th Dyn. (*jmj-r3*: *m-r*)	*k3 nfr w3ḥ*
UC 11202	scarab	452	all sides, examined personally; Ward 1978, 78 fig. 17 (S) [s]	3a	B5	II	4ag	e6c	deeply set, single partition line	4 serrations	jasper			12th Dyn. (epithet(s))	*k3 nfr w3ḥ*
UC 11203	scarab	692	all sides, examined personally; Ward 1978, 78 fig. 17 (T) [s]	3a	A4b	III	4af	e6c	deeply set, single partition line	4 serrations	amethyst			12th Dyn. (epithet(s))	*k3 nfr w3ḥ mrt*
UC 11204	scarab	248	all sides, examined personally; Ward 1978, 78 fig. 17 (U) [s]	3a	B4	III	4af	e6c	raised at base, deeply set at front	chipped off	amethyst			12th Dyn. (epithet(s))	*nb jm3ḫ*; *k3 nfr w3ḥ*
UC 11207	scarab	560	all sides, examined personally; Ward 1978, 78 fig. 17 (Y) [s]	3a	A4b	II	6i	e6c	raised at base, deeply set at front	4 serrations	steatite			12th Dyn. (*jmj-r3*: *m-r*)	*k3 nfr w3ḥ*
UC 11208	scarab	844	all sides, examined personally; Ward 1978, 78 fig. 17 (Z) [s]	3a	D6	I	6a	d14	raised	not serrated	steatite		NUELE (the name *Rn=f-ʿnḫ*)	12th Dyn. (jrj: j-r)	*k3 nfr w3ḥ*

Table 39 Scarabs and scarab impressions attributable to the 12th Dynasty based on formal criteria. (continuation)

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Martin back type	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Epithets
UC 11338	scarab	206	all sides, examined personally	1a	C5	I	6a	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite			12th Dyn. (epithet(s))	*mꜣꜥ ḫrw*; *k3 nfr*
UC 11449	scarab	522	all sides, examined personally	3a	A4a	II	6e	d14	raised	4 serrations	steatite			12th Dyn. (*jmj-rꜣ*: *m-r*)	
UC 11450	scarab	264	all sides, examined personally	3a	A3	II	8i	d5	deeply set, single partition line	not serrated	steatite	Lahun		12th Dyn. (*jmj-rꜣ*: *m-r*)	
UC 26125	scarab	1245	all sides, examined personally	3a	D6	II	6t	d6	raised	not serrated	steatite			12th Dyn. (*jrj*: *j-r*)	*k3 nfr wꜣḥ*
Uronarti 44	scarab impression	726	Dunham 1967, 67 (44) [s]	3a								Uronarti		12th Dyn. (*jrj*: *j-r*)	*mꜣꜥ ḫrw*; *nfr*
Uronarti 46	scarab impression	279	Dunham 1967, 67 (46) [s]	3a								Uronarti		12th Dyn. (epithet(s))	*k3 wꜣḥ*
Wegner, Temple, fig. 159 (77)	scarab impression		Wegner 2007, fig. 158 (77) [s]	3a								Abydos	MFR (the name *Ḥntj-ḥtjj-ḥtp*)	12th Dyn. (*jmj-rꜣ*: *m-r*)	
Zagreb 133	scarab		all sides, unpublished museum photos [p]	3a	A4a	I	6	e6c						12th Dyn. (*jmj-rꜣ*: *m-r*)	

Table 39 Scarabs and scarab impressions attributable to the 12th Dynasty based on formal criteria. (continuation)

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Epithets
Berlin 3622	scarab	1728	all sides, examined personally	1ad	A7	I	e7	raised	4 serrations	green jasper				*wḥm-ˁnḫ*
BM EA17872	scarab	1498	all sides, examined personally	1ak	A7	H	e7	raised	4 serrations, zigzag border	green jasper		SUE (the title *smsw ḥzjt*)		*wḥm-ˁnḫ*
BM EA50013	scarab	1362	all sides, examined personally	3a	B5	O	e9	raised	4 serrations	glazed composition				*wḥm-ˁnḫ; nb jmȝḫ*
BM EA64852	scarab	866	all sides, examined personally	1ak	C6	O	e7	raised	serrated	glassy composition				*wḥm-ˁnḫ*
BM EA67082	scarab	122	all sides, examined personally	1w	A6a	III	e7	raised	4 serrations	obsidian		MFR (the name *Ỉppỉ*)		*wḥm-ˁnḫ*
Brandl, Sass, ZDPV 101, 111, no. 1	scarab		only base, Brandl and Sass 1985, 111–112 (1) [s]; Keel 2017, 282–283 (8) [s]	3a			e7	raised	serrated	a hard stone				*wḥm-ˁnḫ*
Cairo JE 75148	scarab	46	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	1ak	D5	O		raised	4 serrations	glazed composition		SUE (the title *smsw ḥzjt*)		*wḥm-ˁnḫ*
Cairo JE 75175	scarab	1334	all sides (head lost), Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	1ak		H	d5	chipped off	chipped off	obsidian				*wḥm-ˁnḫ*
Jerusalem IM 76.31.4499	scarab		all sides, Ben-Tor 1988, no. 8 [p], museum website [p]	1ak		I	e7	raised at base, deeply set at front	4 serrations	green jasper				*wḥm-ˁnḫ*
Mirgissa II, 196 fig. 82 (a)	scarab		base and back, Vercoutter 1975, 198, 196 fig. 82 (1) [p]	3a						green jasper	Mirgissa			*wḥm-ˁnḫ*
MMA 15.3.65	scarab	619	base and back, museum website [p]	3a	A4b	II	e7	raised	serrated	obsidian	Lisht			*wḥm-ˁnḫ*
MMA 26.7.295	scarab	1733	only base	1ad						obsidian				*wḥm-ˁnḫ*
MMA 26.7.326	scarab	1702	all sides, museum website [p]	1ak	A4b	I	e7	raised at base, deeply set at front	4 serrations	glazed composition		MFR (the name *Kmȝ*)	13th Dyn., Amenemhat Sonbef and Senebsumai (after Louvre C 29 (PD 723; dating: Lin-Tomich 2017a))	*wḥm-ˁnḫ*

Table 40 Materials other than steatite used for scarabs with the epithet *wḥm-ˁnḫ*.

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Region
BM EA30550	scarab	234	all sides, examined personally	1j	D6	III	d14	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite		Zawyet el-Amwat (after Cairo CG 20181 (DAE 58))	Sen. I or III (after Cairo CG 20181 (DAE 58))	Middle Egypt
Cairo JE 75048	scarab	1163	all sides, examined personally; Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	C5	III	d8	chipped off	chipped off	steatite		Antaeopolis (a governor of the Antaeopolite nome)		Middle Egypt
Jerusalem RM 38.57	scarab	1769a	all sides, Tufnell 1958, pl. 37 (251), 38 (251), 41 (4) [s]	3a	C2	O	d14			steatite	Tel Lachish	Asyut (the name *Df3-ḥ(r)pj*)		Middle Egypt
Martin 88	scarab	88	only base	3a								Hebenu (the title *ỉmn-nṯr (n) Ḥr nb Ḥbnw*)		Middle Egypt
Martin 294	scarab	294	only base	4a							Deir Rifa			Middle Egypt
Martin 394	scarab	394	only base	3a								Antaeopolis (a governor of the Antaeopolite nome)		Middle Egypt
MMA 26.7.321	scarab	1773	all sides (head lost), museum website [p]	3a		O	d14	chipped off	chipped off	steatite		el-Bersha (a governor named *Ḏḥwtj-nḫt*)	12th Dyn. (*jmj-rʒ: m-r*)	Middle Egypt
MMA 28.2.3	scarab	1589	base and back, museum website [p]; Oppenheim et al. 2015, 139 (71C) [p]	1ad	C5	III	d9	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Meir	Meir (the title *jmj-rʒ pr n Qjs*)		Middle Egypt
OIM 18577	scarab	1159	all sides, examined personally	1m	A6a	II	d6	raised	chipped off	steatite		Antaeopolis (a governor of Antaeopolis)		Middle Egypt
OIM 18647	scarab	406		3a	B6	III	e7		5 serrations	a hard stone		el-Bersha (a governor of the 15th Upper Egyptian nome)		Middle Egypt
Aberdeen ABDUA:81138	scarab	334	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	II	e9	raised	not serrated	steatite		MFR (the title *jmj-rʒ ʿ3wtj n kȝp*)		NUELE
Aberdeen ABDUA:81202	scarab	675	all sides, examined personally	5	D6	II	d9	raised	worn off	steatite		MFR (after Louvre E 20002 (DAE 102))	late 12th Dyn.–early 13th Dyn. (after Louvre E 20002 (DAE 102; dating: Ilin-Tomich 2017a))	NUELE
Ashmolean AN1892.178	scarab	1585	only base	3a								MFR (the title *jmj-rʒ ȝ-mḥw*)	Am. III–IV (after Cairo CG 20135 (dating: Ilin-Tomich 2017a))	NUELE

Table 41 The reference group of Middle Kingdom private-name scarabs attributable to any particular region.

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Region
Ashmolean AN1892.295	scarab	113	all sides, examined personally	1ak	C5	II	d14	raised	worn off	steatite		MFR (the name *Jnj*)		NUELE
Ashmolean AN1892.322	scarab	1638	all sides, examined personally	2a	C5	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite		MFR (the title *ḫw jpt-nsw*)		NUELE
Ashmolean AN1922.230	scarab	295	all sides, examined personally	4f	C5	II	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite		Memphis (the title *sš n qnbỉj n w n Ḫwt k3-ptḥ*))		NUELE
Askut Aa24	scarab impression		Penacho 2015, fig. IV.16 (A) [s]	4a							Askut	MFR (the name *Ḥỉỉj*)	12th Dyn. (the name *Ḥỉỉj* (not attested after the 12th Dyn.))	NUELE
Askut Aa26	scarab impression		Penacho 2015, fig. IV.16 (B) [s]	3a							Askut	NUELE (the name *S-n-wsrt-ʿnḫ*)		NUELE
Athens 199	scarab		all sides, seen on display	1ad	C5	II	d9	raised	serrated	steatite		MFR (the name *Jw-nfr*)		NUELE
Basel Cat. 526	scarab	532	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 526 [p]	1ad	D7	I	e7	raised	4 serrations	obsidian	Athribis			NUELE
Basel Cat. 537	scarab	1224	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 537 [p]	3a	D6	III	d14	raised	chipped off	steatite		MFR (the name *Ḫntj-ḥtp*)		NUELE
Basel Cat. 538	scarab	782	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 538 [p]	3a	C7/D	II	e6a	raised	not serrated	steatite		Heliopolis (after Berlin 32525)		NUELE
Beirut 2150	scarab	1230a	only base	1ad			d9				Ansar	MFR (the name *Ḫntj-ḥtjj-ḥ3t*)		NUELE
Berkeley 6-17224	scarab		all sides, museum website [p]	1ad	C5	II	d8	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite	Koptos (purchased)	MFR (the title *jmj-r3 ʿḫnwtj n k3p*)	13th Dyn., Senbi (after Cairo CG 20614, Wien ÄS 140 (to add to DAE 198))	NUELE
Berlin 9519	scarab	709	all sides, examined personally	4f	C5	II	d6	raised	chipped off	steatite		MFR (the name *Jw-nfr*)		NUELE
Berlin 31038	scarab	1743	all sides, examined personally	3a	C5	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite		MFR (the title *jtj-ntr n Ḫntj-ḥtjj*)		NUELE
Berlin 32293	scarab		all sides, examined personally	1ad	A1	I	e7	raised at base, deeply set at front	4 serrations	obsidian		MFR (the title *jmj-r3 ḫ3-nḫw*)		NUELE
Berlin 32403	scarab	3	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7	I	d8	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite		MFR (after MMA 22.1.327)		NUELE

Table 41 The reference group of Middle Kingdom private-name scarabs attributable to any particular region. (continuation)

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Region
Berlin 32406	scarab	23	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	I	d5	raised	chipped off	steatite		MFR (after MMA 09.180.936 and MMA 20.1.12)		NUELE
Berlin 32407	scarab	24	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	II	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite		MFR (after MMA 09.180.936 and MMA 20.1.12)		NUELE
Berlin 32414	scarab	102	all sides, examined personally	1ad	D6	III	d14	raised	not serrated	steatite		MFR (the title *ḫrj-pr n pr-ʿ*ꜣ)	13th Dyn., Senebsumai (after Marseille 223 (dating: Grajetzki 2001, 24))	NUELE
Berlin 32419	scarab	115	all sides, examined personally	4f	C7/D	I	d6	raised	chipped off			MFR (the name *Jpj*)		NUELE
Berlin 32420	scarab	117	all sides, examined personally	1ak	C5	III	d5	raised at base, deeply set at front	chipped off	steatite		MFR (the name *Jpj*)		NUELE
Berlin 32421	scarab	124	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	I	e9	raised	not serrated	steatite	Shibin el-Qanatir (Blanchard)	MFR (the name *Jppj*)		NUELE
Berlin 32426	scarab	182	all sides, examined personally	3d	A4a	II	d14	raised at base, deeply set at front	4 serrations, zigzag border	steatite	Saqqara (Blanchard)	Memphis (a governor of Memphis (*Mn-nfr*))		NUELE
Berlin 32440	scarab	309	all sides, examined personally	1ak	C2/C5	III	d6	raised	chipped off	steatite	Edfu (Blanchard)	Heliopolis (a governor of Heliopolis (?))		NUELE
Berlin 32457	scarab	389	all sides, examined personally	1m	A6a	IIII	d14	raised	4 serrations, zigzag border	steatite		MFR (the name *Snfrw*, the title *ḥrd n kꜣp jpt-nsw*)		NUELE
Berlin 32459	scarab	400	all sides, examined personally	4a	C7	II	d8	chipped off	chipped off	steatite		MFR (the title *ḫrp ʿḥ*)		NUELE
Berlin 32460	scarab	401	all sides, examined personally	4a	C6	II	d8	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite		MFR (the title *ḫrp ʿḥ*)		NUELE
Berlin 32461	scarab	401a	all sides, examined personally	4a	C3	II	d8	chipped off	chipped off	steatite		MFR (the title *ḫrp ʿḥ*)		NUELE
Berlin 32472	scarab	457	all sides, examined personally	3a	D6	II	d14	raised at base, deeply set at front	4 serrations	steatite		MFR (after MMA 20.1.15)		NUELE
Berlin 32473	scarab	474	all sides, examined personally	3a	B2	II	d14	raised	4 serrations	wood		MFR (the title *ḫrj-pr n jpt-nsw*)		NUELE

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Region
Berlin 32481	scarab	515	all sides, examined personally	3a	A5	II	d6	deeply set, single partition line	numerous serrations	steatite		NUELE (the name *Htp*)	12th Dyn. (epithet(s))	NUELE
Berlin 32486	scarab	537	all sides, examined personally	3d	D3	O	e6b	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Shibin el-Qanatir (Blanchard)	Heliopolis (the title *wr m3w*)		NUELE
Berlin 32487	scarab	554	all sides, examined personally	1m	A6a	II	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Lahun (Blanchard)	MFR (the title *jmj-r3 ḫnwtj n k3p*)		NUELE
Berlin 32501	scarab	620	all sides, examined personally	1ak	C5	III	d8	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite		MFR (the title *jmj-r3 ḥ3-mḥw*)	13th Dyn., Senebsumai (after Cairo CG 20562 (PD 279, dating: DAE 38))	NUELE
Berlin 32502	scarab	623	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	I	e9	chipped off	chipped off	steatite		MFR (after MMA 22.1.347, the title *jmj-r3 ḫnwtj n k3p*)		NUELE
Berlin 32503	scarab	624	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	I	e9	raised	not serrated	steatite		MFR (after MMA 22.1.347, the title *jmj-r3 ḫnwtj n k3p*)		NUELE
Berlin 32508	scarab	637	all sides, examined personally	3a	C5	III	d14	raised at base, deeply set at front	worn off	steatite		Heliopolis (a governor of Heliopolis)		NUELE
Berlin 32511	scarab	662	all sides, examined personally	1s	C2/C5	II	d9	raised	chipped off	steatite		MFR (the title *ḥrp ḥ*)		NUELE
Berlin 32516	scarab	725	all sides, examined personally	1ak	C5	II	d8	raised	worn off	steatite		MFR (the name *Snfrw*)		NUELE
Berlin 32519	scarab	740	all sides, examined personally	3a	A5	II	d16	raised	4 serrations	steatite		MFR (Khentikhety in the offering formula)	12th Dyn. (filiation *jr·n*+mother's name)	NUELE
Berlin 32525	scarab	772	all sides, examined personally	3a	C5	II	d8	raised	chipped off	steatite	Shibin el-Qanatir (Blanchard)	Heliopolis (Atum, the lord of Heliopolis, in the offering formula)		NUELE
Berlin 32526	scarab	772a	all sides, examined personally	4a	C5	I	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite		Heliopolis (after Berlin 32525)		NUELE
Berlin 32538	scarab	837	all sides, examined personally	1ak	C2	II	d5	chipped off	chipped off	steatite		MFR (after Cairo CG 20631 (PD 367))	13th Dyn., ca. Senbi (after Cairo CG 20631 (PD 367; dating: Ilin-Tomich 2017a))	NUELE

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Region
Berlin 32541	scarab	845	all sides, examined personally	3a	A3	II	d5	deeply set, single partition line	not serrated	steatite		NUELE (the name *Rn=f-ʿnḫ*)		NUELE
Berlin 32580	scarab	1117	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite		MFR (after MMA 09.180.1216)		NUELE
Berlin 32588	scarab	1160a	all sides, examined personally	3a	A5	II	d9	raised	4 serrations	steatite		MFR (the title *jmj-rʾ pr n ḥtpw-nṯr n Ḫntj*)		NUELE
Berlin 32594	scarab	1219	all sides, examined personally	1ak	A4a	II	d6	raised	serrated	steatite		MFR (the name *Ḫntj-m-ḥʾ*)		NUELE
Berlin 32595	scarab	1223a	all sides, examined personally	4a	C7	I	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite		MFR (the name *Ḫntj-ḥtp*; the title *rḫ-nsw n kʾp*)		NUELE
Berlin 32596	scarab	1231	all sides, examined personally	1ai	D6	II	d14	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite		MFR (the name *Ḫntj-ḥtjj-ḥtp*)		NUELE
Berlin 32597	scarab	1233	all sides (head lost), examined personally	1ak		II	d8	chipped off	chipped off	steatite	Hihya (Blanchard)	MFR (the name *Ḫntj-ḥtjj-ḥtp*)		NUELE
Berlin 32640	scarab	1565	all sides, examined personally	1ak	C5	III	d14	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Zagazig (Blanchard)	Mendes (the title *jmj-rʾ pr n ḥtpw-nṯr n Sbk Ḏdwt*; after Mendes 2M14 (PD 645))	late 12th Dyn. (after Mendes 2M14 (PD 645; dating: Ilin-Tomich 2017a))	NUELE
Berlin 32646	scarab	1630	all sides, examined personally	1ak	C5	II	d9	raised	chipped off	steatite		MFR (the title *jmj-rʾ t3-mḥw*)	13th Dyn. (after Cologny 8 (PD 689))	NUELE
Berlin 32661	scarab	1695a	all sides, examined personally	1al1	D6	II	d14	raised	not serrated	steatite		MFR (the name *Kmɜ*; the title *whmw ʿrɥjt*, not attested after the 12th Dyn.)	12th Dyn. (the title *whmw ʿrɥjt*, not attested after the 12th Dyn.)	NUELE
Berlin 32663	scarab	1706	all sides, examined personally	1ak	C5	II	d14	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite		MFR (the name *Kkj*)		NUELE
Berlin 32665	scarab	1719	all sides, examined personally	1ak	C2	II	d8	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite		MFR (the title *jmj-rʾ ʿḫnwtj n kʾp*)	13th Dyn., Senebsumai (after Fitzwilliam E.1.1840 (PD 732; Grajetzki 2000, § III.18))	NUELE
Berlin 32671	scarab	1764	all sides, examined personally	4a	C2	II	d8	raised	chipped off	steatite		MFR (after MMA 22.1.317)		NUELE

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Region
Berlin 32672	scarab	1765	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	II	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite		MFR (after MMA 22.1.317)		NUELE
Berlin VÄGM 1983/023	scarab		all sides, examined personally; Martin 1979, no. 57 [s]	3d	C2	II	d8	raised	worn off	steatite		NUELE (the name *Snbj*)		NUELE
Berlin VÄGM 1983/025	scarab		all sides, examined personally; Martin 1979, no. 48 [s]	3a		I	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		MFR (after MMA 09.180.936 and MMA 20.1.12)		NUELE
Berlin VÄGM 1984/064	scarab		all sides, examined personally; Martin 1979, no. 50 [s]	3a	C7/D	I	e9	raised	not serrated	steatite		MFR (the name *Jpj*)		NUELE
Berlin VÄGM 1984/066	scarab		all sides, examined personally; Martin 1979, no. 69 [s]	1g	C5	II	e6b	raised	4 serrations	steatite		MFR (the name *Jppk(j)*)	12th Dyn. (*jrj: r*)	NUELE
Berlin VÄGM 1986/083	scarab		all sides, examined personally; Martin 1979, no. 61 [s]	4f	C6	II	d9	deeply set, single partition line	not serrated	steatite		MFR (the title *hrj-ḥb Sbk Šdtj* and the name *Sỉ-jp*)		NUELE
Berlin VÄGM 1988/100	scarab	434	all sides, examined personally; Ransom Williams 1918, 172, pl. XXVII (9) [p]	1ak	C5	II	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite		MFR (the title *jrj-ʿ r n ʿḥ*)	13th Dyn., not earlier than Khendjer (the name *Wsr-k3-rʿ-ʿnḫ* (venerating Khendjer))	NUELE
Berlin VÄGM 1988/108	scarab		all sides, examined personally	1a	C2	II	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite		MFR (after MMA 22.1.424)		NUELE
Berlin VÄGM 1988/109	scarab		all sides, examined personally	1d	A4b	II	e6c	raised	4 serrations, zigzag border	amethyst		MFR (the name *Sỉt-ỉpỉj*)		NUELE
BM EA4322	scarab	1759	all sides, examined personally	4a	C2	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite		MFR (after MMA 22.1.317)		NUELE
BM EA12801	scarab	1209	all sides, examined personally	4f	C5	II	d5	raised	2 serrations	steatite		MFR (the name *Ḥnms*)		NUELE
BM EA14902	scarab	708	all sides, examined personally	1s	A5	II	d8	deeply set, double partition line	4 serrations	steatite		MFR (the name *Jw-qfr*)		NUELE
BM EA28241	scarab	1191	all sides, examined personally	4c	A6a	O	d5	raised	chipped off	glass		MFR (the title *jrj-ʿ r n jpt-nsw*)	ca. Amenemhat IV (after Cairo CG 20418 (PD 452))	NUELE
BM EA28254	scarab	1223	all sides, examined personally	4f	C5	III	d14	raised	4 serrations	steatite		MFR (the name *Ḫntj-ḫtp*)		NUELE
BM EA29227	scarab	396	all sides, examined personally	1ak	C2	II	d9	raised	worn off	steatite		MFR (the title *ḥrp ʿḥ*)		NUELE

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Region
BM EA30523	scarab	1760	all sides, examined personally	3a	C2/C5	III	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite		MFR (after MMA 22.1.317)		NUELE
BM EA30537	scarab	20	all sides, examined personally	3d	C7/D	II	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		MFR (after MMA 09.180.936 and MMA 20.1.12)		NUELE
BM EA30541	scarab	1663	all sides, examined personally	4a	C5	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite		MFR (the title *jrj-ʿt n ḏḥḏwj n ʿḥ*)		NUELE
BM EA30548	scarab	1141	all sides, examined personally	1ad	D6	II	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite		MFR (the title *jrj-ʿt n ʿḥ*)		NUELE
BM EA32268	scarab	1489	all sides, examined personally	1j	C7/D	II	d8	raised	chipped off	glazed composition		MFR (after Cairo CG 20562 (PD 629); the title *jḫms n ʿt kȝp*)	13th Dyn., Senebsumai (after Cairo CG 20562 (PD 629), dated after Roccati, Gs Berlev, no. 1 (DAE 38))	NUELE
BM EA37693	scarab	1232	all sides (head lost), examined personally	1ad		II	d	raised	chipped off	steatite		MFR (the name *Ḫntj-ḫtjj-ḥtp*)		NUELE
BM EA37695	scarab	331	all sides, examined personally	1ak	C5	II	d5	raised	4 serrations	steatite		MFR (the title *ḥrp ʿḥ*)		NUELE
BM EA37701	scarab	1124	all sides, examined personally	3a	C6	II	d6	deeply set, single partition line	7 serrations	steatite		MFR (the name *Ḫntj-ḫtjj-m-sȝ*)	12th Dyn. (*jrj: j-r*)	NUELE
BM EA40671	scarab	1321	all sides, examined personally	3a	A5	II	d14	raised	4 serrations	steatite		MFR (the title *ḥtmw ḳȝ-jb*)		NUELE
BM EA40727	scarab	380	all sides, examined personally	3d	C7/D	II	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite		MFR (the title *sš jpt-nsw*)		NUELE
BM EA42278	scarab	30	all sides, examined personally	1ad	C2	II	d8	raised	chipped off	steatite		MFR (after Bolton 1920.10:11 and Cairo JE 39069 (PD 17))	13th Dyn. (after Bolton 1920.10:11 and Cairo JE 39069 (PD 17))	NUELE
BM EA50661	scarab	839	all sides, examined personally	1g	D6	III	e6b	raised	not serrated	steatite	Atfih			NUELE
BM EA59014	scarab	1466	all sides, examined personally	3a	D6	II	e6b	raised	4 serrations	steatite		MFR (the title *ḥtmw ḳȝ-jb*)	mid- to late 12th Dyn. (after Leiden F.1926/8.2 (PD 601))	NUELE
BM EA64379	scarab	181	all sides, examined personally	3a	A4b	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		NUELE (the name *Jmn-m-ḥȝt-snb*)		NUELE
BM EA64856	scarab	714	all sides, examined personally	1ad	D6	II	d9	raised	4 serrations	steatite		MFR (the title *jmj-rȝ ỉȝ-mḥw*)	Am. III (after Sinai 94 (PD 311))	NUELE

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BM EA66090	scarab	1564	all sides (head lost), examined personally	1x	C5		d8	raised	chipped off	steatite		MFR (the title *jmj-r³ ḫ³-mḥw*; after BM 238, Cairo CG 20054, Torino 1627 (to add to PD 648))	13th Dyn., Senebsumai and Senbi (after BM 238 (PD 648; dating: Grajetzki 2001, 23))	NUELE
BM EA66728	scarab	416	all sides, examined personally	1ak	C5	III	d9	raised	4 serrations	steatite		MFR (the title *jrj-ʿ³ n pr-ʿ³*)		NUELE
BM EA66732	scarab	1716	all sides, examined personally	1ak	A5	III	d6	deeply set, single partition line	5 serrations	glassy composition		MFR (the title *sš n ḫntj*)		NUELE
BM EA66738	scarab	1199	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	II	e6c	raised	4 serrations	glass		MFR (the name *Ḫpr-k³*)		NUELE
BM EA67082	scarab	122	all sides, examined personally	1w	A6a	III	e7	raised	4 serrations	obsidian		MFR (the name *Jppj*)		NUELE
BM EA67083	scarab	184	all sides, examined personally	3a	A3	I	e7	raised	4 serrations	obsidian		NUELE (the name *Kʾ=j-pw-jmn-m-ḥ³t*)		NUELE
BM EA67088	scarab	326	all sides, examined personally	3a	A4b	II	e6c	raised	4 serrations	amethyst		MFR (the name *ʿnḫ-pjpj*)	12th Dyn. (epithet(s))	NUELE
Boston 29.1175	scarab impression	1464		3a							Semna	MFR (Khentikhety in the offering formula)	late 12th Dyn.–early 13th Dyn. (after Toulouse 49.274 (PD 600, dating: Ilin-Tomich 2017a))	NUELE
Brooklyn 44.123.102	scarab	1738	all sides, museum website [p]	3a		II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite		MFR (the title *jmj-r³ ʿḫnwtj n k³p*)		NUELE
Brooklyn 44.123.103	scarab	1154	all sides, examined personally	4g	D6	II	d14	raised	not serrated	steatite		NUELE (the name *Ḥtp*)		NUELE
Brooklyn 44.123.105	scarab	179	all sides, examined personally	1ak	D6	III	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		MFR (the title *ḫrd n k³p*)		NUELE
Cairo CG 36046	scarab	1632	only base, seen on display	1ak						steatite	Mit Rahina			NUELE
Cairo CG 36057	scarab	1317	base and back, museum database [p]; Dewachter 1985, 125 [8*] [d]; seen on display	3a	C7/D	I		raised	worn off	steatite	Saqqara			NUELE
Cairo CG 36066	scarab	1483	base and back, seen on display	1j	A6b	II	d14	raised	4 serrations	steatite		MFR (after MMA 22.1.424)		NUELE

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Cairo CG 36070	scarab	296	all sides, museum database [p]; seen on display	4f	A6b	III	d6	deeply set, double partition line	numerous serrations, incised	steatite		MFR (after Manchester 3306)	Sen. III (after Manchester 3306)	NUELE
Cairo JE 15956	scarab	470		1ad							Giza	MFR (the name *Pjpj*)		NUELE
Cairo JE 34083	scarab	199	base and back, seen on display	3d	C2	I	d9	raised	serrated	steatite	Mit Rahina			NUELE
Cairo JE 36872 (d)	scarab	1234	only base	3a		O				steatite	Bubastis	MFR (the title *wr mˁw*; the name *Ḫntj-ḥtjj-ḥtp*)		NUELE
Cairo JE 38253	scarab	1238	base and back, museum database [p]	3a	A6b	I			5 serrations	porphyry		Faiyum (*Sbk Šdtj* in the offering formula)		NUELE
Cairo JE 39247	scarab	1294	base and back, museum database [p]	3a	D5?	III	d14		not serrated	steatite	Saqqara			NUELE
Cairo JE 44965	scarab	1130	base and back, museum database [p]; seen on display	3a	D5	II		raised	not serrated	amethyst	Lisht			NUELE
Cairo JE 47021	scarab	1157	base and back, museum database [p]; seen on display	3a	C7/D	I	e9	raised	chipped off	steatite	Lahun	NUELE (the name *Ḥtp*)		NUELE
Cairo JE 48394	scarab	642	all sides, examined personally	3a	B2	I	e7	raised	4 serrations	feldspar	Lisht			NUELE
Cairo JE 57316	scarab	180	all sides, examined personally	3a	C5	II	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite	Amarna	NUELE (the name *Jmn-m-ḥȝt-snb*)		NUELE
Cairo JE 58827	scarab impression	183a		3a							Lisht	MFR (the name *Ḥˁ-ḫpr-rˁ*)		NUELE
Cairo JE 63905	scarab	1383	only base	3a		I				steatite	Lisht			NUELE
Cairo JE 75056	scarab	1762	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3d	C5	II		raised	not serrated	steatite		MFR (after MMA 22.1.317)		NUELE
Cairo JE 75067A	scarab	1476	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	D3	II	e6b	raised	not serrated	steatite		MFR (after Louvre E 20002 (PD 606))	late 12th Dyn.–early 13th Dyn. (after Louvre E 20002 (PD 606; dating: Ilin-Tomich 2017a))	NUELE
Cairo JE 75077	scarab	1617	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	D6	I		raised	not serrated	steatite		MFR (the name *Snfrw*)		NUELE

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Cairo JE 75086	scarab	1595	all sides, examined personally; Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	C5	II	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite		MFR (the title *jtj-ntr n ḫntj-ḫtjj*)		NUELE
Cairo JE 75128	scarab	25	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3d	C7/D	I		raised	not serrated	steatite		MFR (after MMA 09.180.936 and MMA 20.1.12)		NUELE
Cairo JE 75137	scarab	1115	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	1ad	C5	II		raised	not serrated	steatite		MFR (after Cairo CG 20742)	13th Dyn. (after Cairo CG 20742)	NUELE
Cairo JE 75139	scarab	1133	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	1s	C2	O		raised	worn off	steatite		MFR (after Cairo CG 20742)	13th Dyn. (after Cairo CG 20742)	NUELE
Cairo JE 75144	scarab	835	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	1ad	C5	II		raised	not serrated	steatite		MFR (after Fitzwilliam E.1.1840 (PD 364))	13th Dyn., Senebsumai (after Fitzwilliam E.1.1840 and Cairo CG 20160 (PD 364))	NUELE
Cairo JE 75154	scarab	51	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	1ak	C5	II		raised	not serrated	steatite		MFR (the title *sš jpt-nsw*)		NUELE
Cairo JE 75167	scarab	18	all sides, examined personally; Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	1ak	C2	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite		MFR (the title *jmj-r³ jpt-nsw*)		NUELE
Cairo JE 75170	scarab	78	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	1ak	C5	II		raised	worn off	steatite		MFR (after Cairo CG 20720 and Genève D 48 (PD 37))	late 12th Dyn.–early 13th Dyn. (after Cairo CG 20720 and Genève D 48 (PD 37))	NUELE
Cairo JE 75172	scarab	1542	all sides, examined personally; Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	1ao1	C5	II	d14	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite		MFR (the name *ḥ⁽-ḫprr-r⁽-snb*)	12th Dyn. (epithet(s))	NUELE
Cairo JE 75181	scarab	594	all sides, examined personally; Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	1ad	D6	O	e6c	raised	4 serrations	steatite		MFR (the title *sš jpt-nsw*)		NUELE
Cairo JE 75199	scarab	118	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	4a	A4b	O		raised	4 serrations	glazed composition		MFR (the name *Jpj*)		NUELE
Cairo JE 75200	scarab	771	all sides, examined personally; Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	4a	C7/D	II	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		Heliopolis (after Berlin 32525)		NUELE
Cairo JE 75207	scarab	1568	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	4a	C2	I		raised	not serrated	steatite		Faiyum (the title *jtj-ntr n Šbk Šdtj*)		NUELE
Cairo JE 86263	scarab impression	71		3a							Quban	MFR (the name *Jw-nfr*)	Sob. IV (after Wadi el-Hudi 23 (PD 30))	NUELE

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Region
Cairo JE 87417	scarab	805a	base and back, Hamada and Farid 1947, 199, pl. LX (2) [s]; museum database [p]	3a	A3	II		deeply set, no partition line	6 serrations	amethyst	Kom el-Hisn		early Middle Kingdom (from archaeological context (Brunton 1947; Orel 2000, 44))	NUELE
Cairo JE 89464	scarab	1571	base and back, museum database [p]	1ad	C5	II			serrated	steatite	Kom Firin	MFR (the title *ḫrd n kȝp*)		NUELE
Cairo JE 89465	scarab	1358	base and back, museum database [p]	3d	C3	II				steatite	Kom Firin	MFR (the spelling of *sȝ.t* "daughter" as *st*)		NUELE
Cairo JE 91201	scarab	311a	all sides, Mlinar 2004b, 110 fig. 2 (1) [s]	3a	C4	O	e6b	raised	not serrated	steatite	Tell el-Dab'a (F (A/I1))			NUELE
Cairo JE 98565	scarab		all sides, Schiestl 2009, 194, pl. XV (c), XVI (b) [p, s]; Martin 1998 [s]	3a	A7	II	e6c	raised	4 serrations	amethyst	Tell el-Dab'a (G/4 (F/I))			NUELE
Czerny, ÄgLev 11, 13–26	scarab impression		Czerny 2015, 157 fig. T150 [s]	1ai							Tell el-Dab'a (G/1–3 to F (R/I a))	Tell el-Dab'a (a governor of Avaris)		NUELE
Edinburgh A.1921.1071	scarab	1213	all sides, photo from the museum [p]	2a	C5	II	d9	raised	4 serrations	steatite		MFR (the name *ḥnmsw*; after SEH 201)	12th Dyn. (after SEH 201)	NUELE
Elephantine Siegeltyp 264	scarab impression		von Pilgrim 1996, 242 fig. 98 (264) [s]	1ad							Elephantine (BS XIII)	MFR (after Toulouse 49.274 (PD 600))	late 12th Dyn.–early 13th Dyn. (after Toulouse 49.274 (PD 600, dating: Ilin-Tomich 2017a))	NUELE
Elephantine Siegeltyp 274	scarab impression		von Pilgrim 1996, 242 fig. 98 (275) [s]	5							Elephantine (BS 13)	MFR (after BM 905)	13th Dyn. (after BM 905 and the title *jmj-r³ ˁḫnwtj*)	NUELE
Fadrus 185/545:2	scarab	299a	base and back, Save-Soderbergh and Troy 1991, 95, pl. 17 (185/545:2) [p]	1s	D6	II	d14	raised	worn off	steatite	Dibeira East	MFR (the title *jmj-r³ ˁḫnwtj n kȝp*)		NUELE
Farouk 113	scarab		all sides, Ragab 2018, no. 79 [p]	3d	B6	I	e6b	raised	4 serrations	a hard stone		MFR (the name *Ḥnty-ḥtp*)		NUELE
Farouk 133	scarab		all sides, Ragab 2018, no. 82 [p]	3a	A7	I	e6c	deeply set, no partition line	serrated	rock crystal		NUELE (the name *Ḥtp*)	12th Dyn. (epithet(s))	NUELE

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Region
Fitzwilliam E.Sc.180	scarab	764	all sides, Bourriau and Quirke 1988, no. 183 (a) [s]	3a	C2	II	d5	raised	chipped off	steatite		MFR (the title *jmj-rꜣ ḥmwtj n kꜣp*)		NUELE
Forstner-Müller et al., ÄgLev. 24, fig. 67	scarab impression		Forstner-Müller et al. 2015, fig. 67 [p]	4f							Tell el-Dabʿa	NUELE (the name *Snbj-wr*)		NUELE
Forstner-Müller et al., ÄgLev. 24, fig. 68	scarab impression		Forstner-Müller et al. 2015, fig. 68 [p]	1ak							Tell el-Dabʿa	MFR (the name *Ḥntj-m-ḥꜣt*)		NUELE
Giveon, Tel Aviv 3, no. 11	scarab		all sides, Giveon 1976, no. 11 [p]	3a	A1	II	e7	deeply set, single partition line	4 serrations	a hard stone		NUELE (the name *Ḥtjj*)	12th Dyn. (the name *Ḥtjj*, not attested after the 12th Dyn.)	NUELE
Giveon, Tel Aviv 7, no. 4	scarab		all sides, Giveon 1980, no. 4 [p]	3a	C7/D	III	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite		MFR (the title *ḥrp ʿḥ*)		NUELE
Giveon, Tel Aviv 7, no. 9	scarab		all sides, Giveon 1980, no. 9 [s]; Keel 2010a, 576 (6) [s]	1ad	D6	II	d5		not serrated	steatite	Ain Samiya	NUELE (after Cairo CG 20441 (origin: Ilin-Tomich 2017a))	late 12th Dyn. (after Cairo CG 20441 (dating: Ilin-Tomich 2017a))	NUELE
Grdseloff MSS 3.24.43b	scarab	1462a	base and back, Grdseloff MSS 3.24.43b [s]	3a	face	II						MFR (after Toulouse 49.274 (PD 600))	late 12th Dyn.–early 13th Dyn. (after Toulouse 49.274 (PD 600, dating: Ilin-Tomich 2017a))	NUELE
Hannover 1935.200.377	scarab impression	1226		3a							Lahun	MFR (the name *Ḥntj-ḥtjj-wr*; the title *wḥmw ʿrrjjt*)	late 12th Dyn. (after pUC 32114C (DAE 156) and the title *wḥmw ʿrrjjt*, not attested after the 12th Dyn.)	NUELE
Hannover 1976.89	scarab		all sides, examined personally; Beste 1979, 128–129 [p]	3a	A1		d5	deeply set, single partition line	4 serrations	steatite		MFR (the name *Jppj*)		NUELE
Hannover 1976.95	scarab		all sides, examined personally; Beste 1979, 142–143 [p]	1aq	A5	II	d6	deeply set, double partition line	4 serrations	steatite		MFR (the title *jrj-ʿ nꜣ ḫꜣp*)		NUELE
Heracleópolis Magna 87-30	scarab		base and back, Pérez Die and Vernus 1992, 33–34, 127 fig. 15 (doc. 7) [s]; Pérez Die 2010 [p, s]	1ae2	C5	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite	Herakleopolis			NUELE

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Region
Jerusalem IM 76.31.84	scarab		all sides, Ben-Tor 1988, pl. I (6) [p]; Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 24 (5) [s]	3a	C5	II	d5	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite		MFR (after Louvre E 20002 (DAE 102))	late 12th Dyn.–early 13th Dyn. (after Louvre E 20002 (DAE 102; dating: Ilin-Tomich 2017a))	NUELE
Jerusalem IM 76.31.89	scarab		all sides, Ben-Tor 1988, pl. III (18) [p]; Ben-Tor 1989, 60 (6) [p]; Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 24 (6) [p]	1ak	C5	III	d8	raised	not serrated, straight-line border	steatite		MFR (the name *Kmꜣ*)		NUELE
Jerusalem IM 2010.65.1717	scarab		all sides, unpublished museum photo [p]	3a	C7/D	I	e9	raised	not serrated	steatite		MFR (after MMA 22.1.327)		NUELE
Jerusalem RM 38.619	scarab	811	all sides, Keel 1997, 454–455 (1030) [p]; Ben-Tor 2016, 36 (6) [p]	1ak	C6	I	d14	raised	not serrated	steatite	Tell el-ʿAjjul	Heliopolis (the title *wr mꜣw*)		NUELE
Louvre AF 6739	scarab	1763	all sides, museum database [p, s]	4d	C5	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite		MFR (after MMA 22.1.317)		NUELE
Louvre AF 6744	scarab	1211	base and back, museum database [p, s]	1ad	D6	II		raised	chipped off	steatite		MFR (the name *Ḥnmsw*)		NUELE
Louvre AF 6749	scarab	1242	all sides, museum website [p]	3a	A6a	O	d6	raised		steatite		MFR (the name *Ḥtjj-ḥtp*)	12th Dyn. (the name *Ḥtjj-ḥtp*, unattested after the 12th Dyn.)	NUELE
Louvre E 3692	scarab	223b	all sides, museum website [p]	3a	A5	III	d8			gold		MFR (the name *Nbw-kꜣw-m-ḥꜣt*)		NUELE
Louvre E 25437	scarab	1270	all sides, museum website [p]	1ad	B8	I	e7	raised	serrated	obsidian		MFR (after MMA 22.1.320)		NUELE
Martin 8	scarab impression	8		1s							Abydos	MFR (the title *jmj-rꜣ jpt-nsw*)		NUELE
Martin 116	scarab	116		1m								MFR (the name *Jpj*)		NUELE
Martin 183	scarab	183	only base	3a								Athribis (the governor of Athribis)		NUELE
Martin 419	scarab	419	only base	3a								MFR (after Berlin 7286 (PD 215))	13th Dyn. (after Berlin 7286 (PD 215))	NUELE
Martin 458	scarab	458	only base, Yacoub 1988, pl. XVII fig. 3 [p]	4f		II					Tura			NUELE
Martin 816	scarab	816	only base	1ak						obsidian		MFR (the title *jmj-rꜣ ʿḏmwtj n kꜣp*)		NUELE

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Region
Martin 1146	scarab	1146	only base	3a								MFR (the name *Sjfrw*; *the title ḫrd n kȝp*)		NUELE
Martin 1155	scarab	1155	only base	1ad		O						NUELE (the name *Ḥtp*)		NUELE
Martin 1164	scarab	1164	only base	4a							Lisht	NUELE (the name *Ḥtp*)		NUELE
Martin 1165	scarab	1165	only base	3a								NUELE (the name *Ḥtp*)	12th Dyn. (epithet(s))	NUELE
Martin 1184	scarab	1184	all sides, Newberry MSS, PEN G VI ED [s]	1g	C5	III	d5	raised	4 serrations			MFR (the name *Ỉf^c-k3w-r^c-snb*)		NUELE
Martin 1208	scarab	1208	only base	3a								MFR (the name *Ḫnms*)		NUELE
Martin 1210	scarab	1210	only base	4f	face							MFR (the name *Ḫnms*)		NUELE
Martin 1214	scarab	1214	only base	4a		II	d8					MFR (the name *Ḫnmsw*)		NUELE
Martin 1343	scarab	1343	only base	1n								MFR (the name *S3-spdw*)	12th Dyn. (epithet(s))	NUELE
Martin 1361	scarab	1361	only base	1ad								MFR (the name *S3t-ḫntỉ*)		NUELE
Martin 1444	scarab	1444	only base	3a								MFR (the title *ḥtmw kȝ-ỉb*)		NUELE
Martin 1480	scarab	1480	only base, Firth 1927, 90, pl. 35 (87) [s]	1e							Quban	MFR (the title *jmj-r3 ʿḫnwtỉ n kȝp*)	Sob. IV (after Wadi el-Hudi 24 (PD 628))	NUELE
Martin 1545	scarab	1545	only base	1ak								NUELE (the name *Snbj*)		NUELE
Martin 1562	scarab	1562	only base	4a								MFR (after Firenze 2506 (PD 635); the title *jrj-ʿ^ȝ n kȝp*)	Am. III (after Firenze 2506 (PD 635))	NUELE
Martin 1621	scarab impression	1621		4a							Lahun	MFR (the name *Snfr*[*wỉ*])		NUELE
Martin, MDAIK 35, no. 18	scarab		all sides, Fay 2003, no. 15 [p]; Sotheby 1975, no. 118 [p]; Martin 1979, no. 18 [s]	1j	A7	O	e6b	raised	4 serrations	steatite		MFR (the name *Kms* and after Cairo CG 20748 (PD 353=PD 721))	Sen. III–Am. III (after Cairo CG 20748 (PD 353=PD 721, dating: Ilin-Tomich 2017a))	NUELE

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Region
Martin, MDAIK 35, no. 53	scarab		only base, Martin 1979, no. 53 [s]	3a			d8			steatite		NUELE (the name *Jmn-m-ḥȝt-snb*)		NUELE
Maskhuta M83-494	scarab		all sides, Ben-Tor 2007a, Appendix, pl. 1 (10) [s]	3a	C5	II	d8	raised	not serrated		Maskhuta			NUELE
Mirgissa 3-12	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 14, 136 [p]	4f							Mirgissa	MFR (after Cairo JE 39247)		NUELE
Mirgissa 3-46	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 16 [s]	1s							Mirgissa	MFR (the title *jmj-rȝ ˁḥmwtj n kȝp*)		NUELE
Mirgissa 3-47	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 16 [s]	1b							Mirgissa	MFR (the title *ḥrd n kȝp*)		NUELE
Mirgissa 3-49	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 16 [s]	3a							Mirgissa	MFR (the title *jrj-ˁt jpt-nsw*)		NUELE
Mirgissa 3-50	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 16 [s]	4f							Mirgissa	NUELE (the name *Rn=f-ˁnḫ*; the title *jrj-ˁt jpt-nsw*)		NUELE
Mirgissa 3-51	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 137, 16 [s]	1a							Mirgissa	MFR (the title *jrj-ˁt n pr-ˁ*ȝ)		NUELE
Mirgissa 3-52	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 16 [s]	1ad							Mirgissa	MFR (the title *jrj-ˁt n jpt-nsw*)		NUELE
Mirgissa 3-92	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 18 [s]	3a							Mirgissa	MFR (the name *Ḥpr-kȝ-rˁ*)		NUELE
Mirgissa 3-104	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 19, 137 [p]	4f							Mirgissa	MFR (the name *Ḥntj-ḫtp*)		NUELE
Mirgissa 3-138	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 20 [s]	4a							Mirgissa	MFR (the title *ḫrj-pr n ˁḥ*)		NUELE
Mirgissa 3-153	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 21 [s]	3a							Mirgissa	MFR (the name *Snfr*[w])		NUELE
Mirgissa 3-180	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 22, 137 [p]	6a							Mirgissa	MFR (after Cairo CG 20614)	13th Dyn., Senbi (after after Cairo CG 20614)	NUELE
Mirgissa 3-327	scarab impression		Gratien 1986b, no. Q 275 [s]; Gratien 2019, pl. 27 [s]	4f							Mirgissa	MFR (the name *Snfrw*)		NUELE
Mirgissa 31-1-176	scarab impression	1635	Dunham 1967, 166, 171 fig. 10 [s]	1ak							Mirgissa	MFR (the title *ḫrd n kȝp jpt-nsw*)		NUELE
Mirgissa 32-1-194	scarab impression	207	Dunham 1967, 166, 171 fig. 10 [s]	3a							Mirgissa	MFR (the title *ḫrd n kȝp n* [...])	13th Dyn. (filiation formula *ms.n*)	NUELE

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Region
MMA 05.3.346	scarab	123	only base	3a		II	d9			steatite	Kom Ombo (purchased there)	MFR (the name *Ḥpỉ*)		NUELE
MMA 09.180.932	scarab	665	all sides (head lost), museum website [p]	3a		II	e9	chipped off	chipped off	steatite	Lisht			NUELE
MMA 09.180.936	scarab	21	all sides, museum website [p]; Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 22 (14) [s]	4a	C7/D	II	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite	Lisht			NUELE
MMA 09.180.941	scarab		all sides, museum website [p]	3a	C7/D	I	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite	Lisht			NUELE
MMA 09.180.1206	scarab	1730	all sides, museum website [p]; Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 22 (15) [s]	3a	C5	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite	Lisht	MFR (after UC 32199 (PD 736))		NUELE
MMA 09.180.1208	scarab	293	all sides, museum website [p]; Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 20 (10) [s]	3a	A5	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite	Lisht			NUELE
MMA 09.180.1209	scarab	1196	all sides, museum website [p]; Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 23 (2) [s]; Oppenheim et al. 2015, 139 (71D) [p]	1ak	D6	III	d14	raised	not serrated	steatite	Lisht	MFR (the name *Ḥpr-kȝ*)		NUELE
MMA 09.180.1210	scarab	1445	all sides, museum website [p]; Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 23 (3) [s]	4a	C2	II	d8	raised	chipped off	steatite	Lisht			NUELE
MMA 09.180.1213	scarab	1100	all sides, museum website [p]; Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 23 (5) [s]	3a	C7/D	I	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite	Lisht			NUELE
MMA 09.180.1215	scarab	361	all sides, museum website [p]	3a	C7/D	I	e9	raised	not serrated	steatite	Lisht			NUELE
MMA 09.180.1216	scarab	1116	all sides, museum website [p]; Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 23 (6) [s]	3a	C7	II	e9	raised	not serrated	steatite	Lisht			NUELE
MMA 09.180.1217	scarab	1440	all sides, museum website [p]	3a	C5	O	e6b	raised	not serrated	steatite	Lisht			NUELE
MMA 09.180.1225	scarab	848	only base	3a							Lisht			NUELE
MMA 10.130.275	scarab	621	only base	3a		II	e9			steatite		MFR (after MMA 22.1.347; the title *jmj-rȝ ˁḳnwtj n kȝp*)		NUELE

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Region
MMA 10.130.278	scarab	1462	all sides, seen on display	3a	A2	II	d5	deeply set, single partition line	not serrated	steatite		MFR (after Toulouse 49.274 (PD 600))	late 12th Dyn.–early 13th Dyn. (after Toulouse 49.274 (PD 600, dating: Ilin-Tomich 2017a))	NUELE
MMA 10.130.285	scarab	550	all sides, museum website [p]	1ad	C5	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite		MFR (after Leiden V. L. D. J. 2 (PD 250))	13th Dyn., Senbi (after Leiden V. L. D. J. 2 (PD 250))	NUELE
MMA 10.130.295	scarab	1207	only base	1ad						green jasper		MFR (the name *Ḫnmsw*)	Am. III (after Sinai 23 and Sinai 83 (PD 462))	NUELE
MMA 15.3.65	scarab	619	base and back, museum website [p]	3a	A4b	II	e7	raised	serrated	obsidian	Lisht			NUELE
MMA 15.3.77	scarab	1526	all sides, museum website [p]; Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 23 (8) [s]	3a	C7/D	II	d16	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Lisht		13th Dyn., Senebsumai	NUELE
MMA 15.3.135 a	scarab	195	all sides, museum website [p]	1ak	A7	I	e7	raised	4 serrations	green jasper	Lisht			NUELE
MMA 15.3.135 b	scarab plate	196	only base, museum website [p]	1ak						gold	Lisht			NUELE
MMA 15.3.285	scarab		all sides, museum website [p]	1a	A4b	III	e7	raised	not serrated	feldspar	Lisht			NUELE
MMA 20.1.11	scarab	691	all sides, museum website [p]	3a	D6	I	d6	raised	not serrated	steatite	Lisht			NUELE
MMA 20.1.12	scarab	22	all sides, museum website [p]	3a	C7/D	I	e9	raised	not serrated	steatite	Lisht			NUELE
MMA 20.1.13	scarab	1396	all sides, museum website [p]; Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 23 (9) [s]	3a	C7/D	II	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite	Lisht			NUELE
MMA 20.1.15	scarab	456	all sides, museum website [p]; Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 23 (10) [s]	3a	D6		d13	raised	not serrated	steatite	Lisht			NUELE
MMA 20.1.16	scarab	511	all sides (head lost), museum website [p]	1ad			d16	raised	serrated	glassy composition	Lisht			NUELE
MMA 21.2.82	scarab	1369	only base, Newberry MSS PEN G VI E D unnumbered 029 [s]	11		I	d8			steatite		MFR (the title *jmj-r3 t3-mḥw*)		NUELE

Table 41 The reference group of Middle Kingdom private-name scarabs attributable to any particular region. (continuation)

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Region
MMA 22.1.273	scarab	1619	all sides, museum website [p]	3a	A6a	III	e6c	deeply set, single partition line	4 serrations	feldspar	Lisht	MFR (the name *Sḫtpw-ḥtp*)	12th Dyn. (*jmj-rꜣ*: *m-r*)	NUELE
MMA 22.1.310	scarab	651	all sides, museum website [p]; Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 23 (12) [s]	1ad	C6	II	d9	raised	4 serrations	glazed composition	Lisht			NUELE
MMA 22.1.311	scarab	555	all sides, museum website [p]; Oppenheim et al. 2015, 139 (71A) [p]	1ad	C5	II	d14	raised	not serrated	steatite	Lisht			NUELE
MMA 22.1.315	scarab	1478	all sides, museum website [p]	3a	C7/D	I	d9	raised	4 serrations	glazed composition	Lisht			NUELE
MMA 22.1.317	scarab	1761	all sides, museum website [p]; Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 23 (13) [s]	3d	C2	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite	Lisht			NUELE
MMA 22.1.318	scarab	1777	all sides, museum website [p]; Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 23 (14) [s]	3d	C7/D	III	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite	Lisht			NUELE
MMA 22.1.320	scarab	1269	all sides, museum website [p]; Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 23 (15) [s]	3a	C7	II	e9	raised	not serrated	steatite	Lisht			NUELE
MMA 22.1.324	scarab	840	all sides, museum website [p]; Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 23 (16) [s]	3a	C7/D	III	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite	Lisht			NUELE
MMA 22.1.327	scarab	29	all sides, museum website [p]; Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 23 (17) [s]	3a	C7/D	I	e9	raised	not serrated	steatite	Lisht			NUELE
MMA 22.1.341	scarab	321	all sides, museum website [p]	3a	A4a	I	e6c	raised	4 serrations, zigzag border	a hard stone	Lisht			NUELE
MMA 22.1.347	scarab	622	all sides, museum website [p]	3a	B4	II	e9	raised	not serrated	steatite	Lisht	MFR (the title *jmj-rꜣ ḫnwtj n kꜣp*)		NUELE
MMA 22.1.420	scarab	12	all sides, museum website [p]	3a	A4b	O	d5	raised	chipped off	steatite	Lisht	MFR (the title *jrj-ʿꜣ n jpt-nsw*)		NUELE
MMA 22.1.424	scarab	1484	all sides, museum website [p]; Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 22 (13) [s]	1a	C6	III	e6b	raised	not serrated	steatite	Lisht			NUELE
MMA 22.1.521	scarab		all sides (head lost), museum website [p]	3a		O	d5			glazed composition	Lisht			NUELE

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Region
MMA 22.1.1112	scarab impression	1153	museum website [p]	1ad							Lisht	NUELE (the name *Ḥtp*)		NUELE
MMA 22.1.1663	scarab impression		museum website [p]	1ak							Lisht	Lisht (after coffin Bourriau 1996, 110–1)		NUELE
MMA 22.1.1667	scarab impression		museum website [p]	1ak							Lisht	Lisht (after coffin Bourriau 1996, 110–1)		NUELE
MMA 22.1.1670	scarab impression		museum website [p]	1ad							Lisht	Lisht (after coffin Bourriau 1996, 110–1)		NUELE
MMA 26.7.271	scarab	1140	only base	3a		II	d8			steatite		MFR (the name *Ḥnij-ḥtjj-ḥtp*)		NUELE
MMA 26.7.286	scarab	1230	only base	1ar		II	d9			steatite		MFR (the name *Ḥnij-ḥtjj-m-sȝ=f*)		NUELE
MMA 26.7.312	scarab	743a	only base	3a		I	d14			steatite		MFR (the title *jmj-rȝ ʿḫnwtj n pr-ḥḏ pr-ʿȝ*)		NUELE
MMA 26.7.317	scarab	467	only base	1ak		III	d9			steatite		MFR (the name *Ppj*)		NUELE
MMA 26.7.326	scarab	1702	all sides, museum website [p]	1ak	A4b	I	e7	raised at base, deeply set at front	4 serrations	glazed composition		MFR (the name *Kmȝ*)	13th Dyn., Amenemhat Sonbef and Senebsumai (after Louvre C 29 (PD 723; dating: Ilin-Tomich 2017a))	NUELE
MMA 30.8.644	scarab	1336	only base	1ak		II	d8			steatite		MFR (the title *ỉrd n kȝp*)	13th Dyn. (after Cairo CG 20640)	NUELE
MMA 30.8.647	scarab	1228	only base	3a		II	e6c			green jasper		MFR (the name *Ḥnij-ḥtjj-wsr*)	12th Dyn. (epithet(s))	NUELE
MMA 30.8.657	scarab	1305	only base	1g		III	d9			steatite		MFR (the title *jrj-ʿr n ỉpt-nsw*)		NUELE
MMA 30.8.660	scarab	1297	all sides, seen on display	1ak	C5	II	d8			steatite		MFR (the title *ȝw ỉpt-nsw*)		NUELE
MMA 30.8.664	scarab	79	only base	1ak		II	d9			steatite		MFR (after Cairo CG 20720 and Genève D 48 (PD 37))	late 12th Dyn.–early 13th Dyn. (after Cairo CG 20720 and Genève D 48 (PD 37); mixed filiation *jr.n*+F *ms.n*+M on Genève D 48))	NUELE

Table 41 The reference group of Middle Kingdom private-name scarabs attributable to any particular region. (continuation)

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Region
MMA 30.8.665	scarab	328	only base	1aj		II	d9			steatite		MFR (the title *jmj-rꜣ ḫꜣ-mḏw*)	13th Dyn., Senebsumai (after Cairo CG 20562 (PD 279))	NUELE
MMA 32.1.151	scarab impression	1182	museum website [p]	3a							Lisht	MFR (the name *ḫfᶜ-ḫpr-snb*)		NUELE
MMA 32.1.155	scarab impression	1791	museum website [p]	1ad							Lisht	MFR (the title *jmj-rꜣ ᶜḫnwtj n kꜣp*)		NUELE
MMA 32.1.156	scarab impression	1235	museum website [p]	1ak							Lisht	MFR (the name *ḫntj-snb*)		NUELE
Moscow I, 1a 2075	scarab		all sides, examined personally; Hodjash 1999, no. 437 [p]	1ad	B5	O	e6c	raised	4 serrations	steatite		MFR (the title *sš n ḫntj*)		NUELE
Moscow I, 1a 2137	scarab	1229	all sides, examined personally; Hodjash 1999, no. 438 [p]	1s	D3	II	d8	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite		MFR (the name *Ḫntj-ḫtjj-m-ḫꜣt*)	13th Dyn. (after BM 243 and Oxford QC 1109 (PD 470))	NUELE
Moscow I, 1a 2169	scarab	869	all sides, examined personally; Hodjash 1999, no. 431 [p]	3a	C5	I	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite		MFR (the title *jmj-rꜣ ᶜḫnwtj n kꜣp*)		NUELE
Moscow I, 1a 2255	scarab		all sides, examined personally; Hodjash 1999, no. 429 [p]; Hodjash 1973, no. 24 [p]	3a	A4a	III	e6c	raised at base, deeply set at front	4 serrations	agate		Heliopolis (the title *ḥqꜣ-ḫwt wrt Jwnw*)	12th Dyn. (*jmj-rꜣ: m-r*)	NUELE
Moscow I, 1a 2319	scarab	707	all sides, examined personally; Hodjash 1999, no. 453 [p]	1ad	B5	I	e6b	raised	4 serrations	glazed composition		MFR (the name *Jw-ntr*)		NUELE
Niccacci, Scarabs, no. 138	scarab		only base, Niccacci 1980, 138 [p]	3a						steatite		MFR (the name *ḫmnsw*, the title *jdnw n jmj-rꜣ jpt-nsw*)		NUELE
OIM 18561	scarab	1162	all sides, examined personally	1s	A6b	II	d6	deeply set, double partition line	4 serrations, zigzag border	steatite		MFR (after Louvre C 45 and Berlin 7286 (PD 446))	13th Dyn., Senbi (after Louvre C 45 (PD 446))	NUELE
OIM 18581	scarab	399	all sides, examined personally	1ak	C2	II	d14	raised	not serrated	steatite		MFR (the title *ḥrp ᶜḥ*)		NUELE
OIM 18590	scarab	1511	all sides, examined personally	1ad	C2	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite		MFR (the title *ḥrd n kꜣp*)	13th Dyn., Senebsumai (after Wien ÄS 142 (PD 663; dating: Grajetzki 2001, 25))	NUELE

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Region
Philadelphia E.10116	scarab	547	base and back, museum website [p]; Wegner 2018, 241, fig. 13.5 [p]	1ak	D6	II	e6c	raised		steatite	Buhen	MFR (the title *šmsw pr-ʿ*)		NUELE
Philadelphia E.10742	scarab	517	base and back, Wegner 2018, 240 fig. 13.5 [p, s]	1u	B2	O	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite	Buhen	MFR (after Brooklyn 37.1345E)	late 12th Dyn. (after Brooklyn 37.1345E)	NUELE
Praha P 336	scarab		all sides, unpublished museum photos [p]	3a	C2	II	d8	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite		NUELE (the name *Htjj*)	12th Dyn. (the name *Htjj*, not attested after the 12th Dyn.)	NUELE
Semna South KE-28	scarab impression		Žabkar and Žabkar 1982, 38 [s]	3a							Semna South	MFR (the title *jmj-r³ pr n Sbk Ḏdj*)		NUELE
Sidon S/3223/1070	scarab		all sides, Loffet 2012, no. 2 [p]	1ak	A4a	II	d14	raised	serrated	steatite	Sidon	MFR (the name *Jw-njfr*)		NUELE
Stockholm MM 11348	scarab		all sides, Martin 1978, no. 2 [p]; museum website [p]	3a	C7/D	I	e9	raised	not serrated	steatite		MFR (after MMA 09.180.936 and MMA 20.1.12)		NUELE
TD 4488	scarab		all sides, Mlinar 2001b, no. 101 [s]	1ak	D5	O	d6	raised	not serrated	steatite	Tell el-Dabʿa (G-F (F/1))			NUELE
TD 9649	scarab		all sides (head lost), unpublished excavation photos [p]	1m		II	d9	chipped off	chipped off	steatite	Tell el-Dabʿa			NUELE
Tübingen 555	scarab	1201	all sides, Brunner-Traut and Brunner 1981, 179, pl. 104 [p]	9	A5	III	d6	deeply set, single partition line	4 serrations	steatite		MFR (the title *jmj-r³ ỉ³-mḏw*)	13th Dyn. (after Cairo CG 20280)	NUELE
UC 6697	scarab impression	87	museum website [p]	3a							Lahun	Heliopolis (the title *wr mˁw m Jwnt*)		NUELE
UC 6712	scarab impression	1463	museum website [p]	3a							Lahun	MFR (after Toulouse 49.274 (PD 600))	late 12th Dyn.–early 13th Dyn. (after Toulouse 49.274 (PD 600, dating: Ilin-Tomich 2017a))	NUELE
UC 6714	scarab impression	42	museum website [p]	3a							Lahun	Lahun (the title *sš ḫr ḥtm n Ḥtp-s-n-wsrt ʿnḫ-s-n-wsrt*)		NUELE
UC 6715	scarab impression	43	museum website [p]	3a							Lahun	Lahun (the title *sš ḫr ḥtm n Ḥtp-s-n-wsrt ʿnḫ-s-n-wsrt*)		NUELE

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Region
UC 6717	scarab impression	1563	museum website [p]	4a							Lahun	Lahun (the title *sš ḥwt-nṯr n Ḥtp-s-n-wsrt*)		NUELE
UC 11208	scarab	844	all sides, examined personally; Ward 1978, 78 fig. 17 (Z) [s]	3a	D6	I	d14	raised	not serrated	steatite		NUELE (the name *Rn=f-ʿnḫ*)	12th Dyn. (*ỉrỉ: ỉ-r*)	NUELE
UC 11347	scarab	1543	all sides, examined personally	1i	A1	II	d6	raised	4 serrations, zigzag border	glazed composition		NUELE (the name *Snbj*)		NUELE
UC 11348	scarab	615	all sides (head lost), examined personally	1g	D6		d14	raised	chipped off	steatite	Lahun			NUELE
UC 11355	scarab	674	all sides, examined personally	1ak	A6a	III	e6c	raised at base, deeply set at front	serrated	glazed composition	Haraga			NUELE
UC 11361	scarab	1776	all sides, examined personally	1ak	C6	O	d14	raised	serrated	steatite		MFR (after MMA 22.1.318)		NUELE
UC 11362	scarab	1156	all sides, examined personally	1ad	C2	III	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite		NUELE (after Cairo JE 47021; the name *Ḥtp*)		NUELE
UC 11370	scarab	1473	all sides, examined personally	1am	C2	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya			NUELE
UC 11394	scarab	121	all sides, examined personally	1ak	C5	I	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		MFR (the title *jmj-rꜣ ỉꜣ-nḫw*)		NUELE
UC 11406	scarab	1212	all sides, examined personally	1ad	D6	III	d	raised	worn off	steatite		MFR (the name *Ḫnmsw*)		NUELE
UC 11409	scarab	281	all sides, examined personally	1ad	C2	II	d9	raised	worn off	steatite		MFR (the name *Jkkjj*)		NUELE
UC 11415	scarab	1365	all sides, examined personally	1m	A6a	O	d14	raised	4 serrations	steatite		MFR (the name *Sỉt-spdw*)		NUELE
UC 11424	scarab	1206	all sides, examined personally	4a	C5	II	d5	raised	chipped off	steatite	Haraga	MFR (the name *Ḫnm(s)*)		NUELE
UC 11425	scarab	1145	all sides, examined personally	4f	A5	II	d8	raised	4 serrations	glassy composition	Haraga			NUELE
UC 11428	scarab	397	all sides, examined personally	4a	C5	II	d9	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite		MFR (the title *ḥrp ʿḥ*)		NUELE
UC 11430	scarab	1699	all sides, examined personally	4f	C2	II	d9	raised	worn off	steatite		MFR (the name *Kms*)		NUELE

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Region
UC 11441	scarab	638	all sides, examined personally	3a	C5	II	e6b	raised	not serrated	steatite	Lahun			NUELE
UC 11446	scarab	1467	all sides, examined personally	3a	A4a	II	e6c	raised at base, deeply set at front	4 serrations	steatite		Lahun (the title *sdfj nsw ʿnḫ-s-n-wsrt*)		NUELE
UC 11447	scarab	1198	all sides (head lost), examined personally	3a	C5	O	e6b	raised	not serrated	steatite		MFR (the name *Ḥpr-kȝ*)		NUELE
UC 11448	scarab	1197	all sides, examined personally	3a	A4b	II	e6c	raised	4 serrations	steatite		MFR (the name *Ḥpr-kȝ*)		NUELE
UC 11450	scarab	264	all sides, examined personally	3a	A3	II	d5	deeply set, single partition line	not serrated	steatite	Lahun		12th Dyn. (*jmj-rʾ: m-r*)	NUELE
UC 11452	scarab	339	all sides, examined personally	3a	D6	I	e6b	raised	not serrated	steatite		MFR (after Boston 1971.403+Christie's London, 30.04–01.05.1974, lot 354)	late 12th Dyn.–early 13th Dyn. (after Boston 1971.403+Christie's London, 30.04–01.05.1974, lot 354 (mixed filiation *jr.n*+M and *ms.n*+M))	NUELE
UC 11458	scarab	1344	all sides, examined personally	6a	C2	I	d5	raised at base, deeply set at front	chipped off	steatite	Haraga	MFR (the title *sš n ḫntj*)		NUELE
UC 11480	scarab	398	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	I	d5	raised	worn off	steatite		MFR (the title *ḥrp ʿḥ*)		NUELE
UC 11481	scarab	1592	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	II	e9	raised	not serrated	steatite		MFR (after Louvre C 39 (PD 671))	13th Dyn., Senbi (after Louvre C 39 (PD 671))	NUELE
UC 11484	scarab	1517	all sides, examined personally	3a	C5	II	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite	Lahun		13th Dyn., Senebsumai	NUELE
UC 11501	scarab	520	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7	I	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite		MFR (the title *jmj-rȝ ʿḥwtj n kȝp*)		NUELE
UC 11791	scarab	272	all sides, examined personally	1ak	C5	II	d8	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Haraga			NUELE
UC 26120	scarab	1615	all sides, examined personally	1al2	D6	II	d5	raised	worn off	steatite		MFR (the name *Snfrw*)	Amenemhat II (after BM EA497 (PD 678))	NUELE
UC 26123	scarab	1222	all sides, examined personally	1s	D6	II	d14	raised	not serrated	steatite		MFR (the name *Ḥntj-ḫtp*)		NUELE
Uronarti 9	scarab impression	699	Dunham 1967, 65 (9) [s]	1j							Uronarti	MFR (the name *Nbw-kȝw-rʿ-snb*)		NUELE

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Region
Uronarti 19	scarab impression	1475	Dunham 1967, 66 (19) [s]	1ad							Uronarti	MFR (the title *jrj-ʿ nʿ pr-ʿ*)		NUELE
Uronarti 20	scarab impression	1225	Dunham 1967, 66 (20) [s]	1ad							Uronarti	MFR (the name *Ḫntj-ḫtjj*)		NUELE
Uronarti 24	scarab impression	1158	Dunham 1967, 66 (24) [s]	1ad							Uronarti	NUELE (the name *Ḥtp*)		NUELE
Uronarti 45	scarab impression	185	Dunham 1967, 67 (45) [s]	3a							Uronarti	NUELE (the name *Jmn-m-ḥȝt-ʿnḫ*)		NUELE
Vercoutter, Mélanges Michałowski, pl. 1 (4c)	scarab	6a	base and back, Vercoutter 1966, 221, pl. 1 (4c) [p]; Vercoutter 1976, 280 fig. 8 (1) [p]	3a	C5	III		raised	not serrated	steatite	Mirgissa	MFR (Khentikhety in the offering formula)		NUELE
Wegner, Scarabs 2004, fig. 1 (5)	scarab impression		Wegner 2004, fig. 1 (5) [s]	3a							Abydos	MFR (the name *Jpj*)		NUELE
Wegner, Temple, fig. 154 (18)	scarab impression		Wegner 2007, fig. 159 (18) [s]	3a							Abydos	MFR (the name *S-n-wsrt-ʿnḫ*)		NUELE
Wegner, Temple, fig. 154 (24)	scarab impression		Wegner 2007, fig. 154 (24) [p, s]	3d							Abydos	MFR (the name *Ḥtjj*)	12th Dyn. (the name *Ḥtjj* (not attested after the 12th Dyn.))	NUELE
Wegner, Temple, fig. 155 (27)	scarab impression		Wegner 2007, fig. 155 (27) [p, s]	3a							Abydos	MFR (the title *jmj-rȝ ḥȝ-mḥw*)		NUELE
Wegner, Temple, fig. 157 (48)	scarab impression		Wegner 2007, fig. 157 (48) [p, s]	1ak							Abydos	MFR (the title *jmj-rȝ ḥmw-nṯr n Sbk Šdtj*)	13th Dyn., Senbi (after Leiden V. L. D. J. 2 (PD 250))	NUELE
Wegner, Temple, fig. 158 (58)	scarab impression		Wegner 2007, fig. 158 (58) [p, s]	1ad							Abydos	MFR (after Bolton 1920.10.11 and Cairo JE 39069 (to add to PD 17))	13th Dyn. (after Bolton 1920.10.11 and Cairo JE 39069 (to add to PD 17))	NUELE
Wegner, Temple, fig. 159 (68)	scarab impression		Wegner 2007, fig. 159 (68) [s]	1g							Abydos	MFR (the name *Jmȝ-ppjj*)		NUELE
Wegner, Temple, fig. 159 (74)	scarab impression		Wegner 2007, fig. 159 (74) [s]	1ak							Abydos	MFR (the name *Snfrw*)		NUELE
Wegner, Temple, fig. 159 (77)	scarab impression		Wegner 2007, fig. 158 (77) [s]	3a							Abydos	MFR (the name *Ḫntj-ḫtjj-ḥtp*)	12th Dyn. (*jmj-rʾ: m-r*)	NUELE
Wegner, Temple, fig. 159 (81)	scarab impression		Wegner 2007, fig. 159 (81) [s]	1ak							Abydos	MFR (the name *Ppj*)		NUELE

Table 41 The reference group of Middle Kingdom private-name scarabs attributable to any particular region. (continuation)

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Region
Wimmer, BN 96, 30, 36	scarab		all sides, Wimmer 1999, 30, 36 [s]	1ad	C7/D	I	d5	worn off	worn off	steatite		MFR (the title *jmj-rꜣ ḥmw-nṯr n Šbk Šdtj*)		NUELE
Archaeological Center 23.04.2019, lot 66	scarab		base and back, https://il.bidspirit.com/ui/lotPage/source/catalog/auction/6056/lot/82773/A-CANAANITE-OBSIDIAN-SCAAB-Middle (accessed on 07.10.2022) [p]	1ad	A4b	I		raised	4 serrations	obsidian		SUE (the title *bꜣkt nt ḥqꜣ*)		SUE
Ashkelon scarab of Seshenu	scarab		base and back, Daphna Ben Tor, personal communication 13.02.2022 [p]	1ak	C2	O	d14	raised	not serrated		Ashkelon	SUE (the title *jrj-pḏt*)		SUE
Ashmolean AN1892.286	scarab	977	all sides, examined personally	3a	D6	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the title *sꜣb; rꜣ-nḫn*)		SUE
Askut A09	scarab impression		Penacho 2015, fig. 1V.8 (C) [s]	4a							Askut	SUE (the title *ḥrj n tm*)		SUE
Basel Cat. 520	scarab	1469	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 520 [p]	1ad	D6	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the title *sꜣb; rꜣ-nḫn*)		SUE
Basel Cat. 521	scarab	430	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 521 [p]	3a	C7/D	II	d9	raised	worn off	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya	SUE (the title *sꜣb; rꜣ-nḫn*)		SUE
Basel Cat. 534	scarab	260	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 534 [p]	1al2	D3	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the title *jmj-ḫt sꜣ-prw*)	13th Dyn., Senebsumai (after Roccati, Gs Berlev, no. 1 (DAE 64))	SUE
Basel Cat. 551	scarab	1195	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 551 [p]	4a	C5	II	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the name *Nbw-ḥw-sj*)		SUE
Basel Cat. 552	scarab	1751	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 552 [p]	3a	B4	O	e9	raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the name *Ddw-sbk*)		SUE
Basel Cat. 553	scarab	69	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 553 [p]	4a	D6	II	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (after Martin 68)		SUE
Basel Cat. 564	scarab	465	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 564 [p]	2b	D3	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite	Aswan			SUE

Table 41 The reference group of Middle Kingdom private-name scarabs attributable to any particular region. (continuation)

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Region
Ben-Tor, Bell, Ashkelon, no. 19	scarab impression		Ben-Tor and Bell 2018, no. 19 [s]	1ad							Ashkelon	SUE (the title *ḥrj n tm*)		SUE
Berkeley 6-12786	scarab		all sides, museum website [p]	3a	A1	O	e7	deeply set, single partition line	4 serrations	a hard stone	Naga ed-Deir (Cemetery 100-400)		12th Dyn. (found in a tomb in Naga ed-Deir Cemetery 100-400 with most tombs ranging from Late Old Kingdom to Early Middle Kingdom (extrapolating from the sample studied by Kroenke 2010, 81–84))	SUE
Berkeley 6-19079	scarab		all sides, museum website [p]	3d	C5	III	d9	raised	not serrated, straight-line border	steatite		SUE (the title *s3-prw*)		SUE
Berkeley 6-19651	scarab		all sides, museum website [p]	1ad	C5	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite	el-Ballas (purchased)	SUE (the title *smsw ḥ3jt*)		SUE
Berlin 18162	scarab	56	all sides, examined personally	9	C5	II	d9	worn off	worn off	steatite		SUE (the name *Jˁ-jb*)		SUE
Berlin 32404	scarab	7	all sides, examined personally	4a	C2/C5	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite	Zagazig (Blanchard)	SUE (the title *jmj-ḫt s3-prw*)	13th Dyn. (after Bologna 1921 (PD 13))	SUE
Berlin 32410	scarab	45	all sides, examined personally	4a	C5	II	d8	raised	chipped off	steatite		Thebes (after Würzburg H 35 (PD 23))	13th Dyn., Ankhu (after Würzburg H 35 (PD 23))	SUE
Berlin 32418	scarab	114	all sides, examined personally	3a		I	e7	raised	4 serrations	green jasper		SUE (the title *jmj-ḫt s3-prw*)		SUE
Berlin 32464	scarab	425a	all sides, examined personally	4a	C7/D	II	d9	raised	4 serrations	steatite		Hierakonpolis (the title *wˁb ˁq n Ḥr Nḫnj*)		SUE
Berlin 32465	scarab	433	all sides, examined personally	1m	C3	II	e6b	raised	4 serrations	steatite		Thebes (the name *Wsr-ḫnsw*)		SUE
Berlin 32495	scarab	593	all sides, examined personally	1ak	A3	III	d6	deeply set, single partition line	4 serrations	steatite		SUE (the title *smsw ḥ3jt*)		SUE
Berlin 32515	scarab	724	all sides (head lost), examined personally	3a			d9	chipped off	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the name *Nfr-ḥtp*)		SUE
Berlin 32518	scarab	737	all sides, examined personally	3d	C7/D	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the name *Nfrw*)		SUE

Table 41 The reference group of Middle Kingdom private-name scarabs attributable to any particular region. (continuation)

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Region
Berlin 32532	scarab	807a	all sides, examined personally	4a	C6	III	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the title *smsw ḥ3jt*)		SUE
Berlin 32536	scarab	829	all sides, examined personally	3d	C2/C5	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite	Shibin el-Qanatir (Blanchard)	SUE (the title *jrj-pḏt*)	13th Dyn., Senbi (after Louvre C 39 (PD 355))	SUE
Berlin 32549	scarab	874	all sides, examined personally	6a	D3	II	d9	raised	worn off	steatite		Thebes (the title *ḥm-ntr Jmn*)		SUE
Berlin 32576	scarab	1098	all sides, examined personally	1s	C2/C5	II	d14	raised	not serrated	steatite	Saqqara (Blanchard)	SUE (the title *ḥrj tm*)		SUE
Berlin 32601	scarab	1267	all sides, examined personally	1s	C5	O	d14	raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the title *jrj-pḏt*)		SUE
Berlin 32608	scarab	1307a	all sides, examined personally	1ak	C5	II	e6b	raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the title *sḫ; r3-nḫn*)		SUE
Berlin 32611	scarab	1337	all sides (head lost), examined personally	3a	?		d8	raised	not serrated	steatite	Mit Rahina (Blanchard)	SUE (the title *smsw ḥ3jt*)		SUE
Berlin 32612	scarab	1345	all sides, examined personally	1s	C2	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite		Thebes (the title *sš n ḫnrt wr* with the sign U31)		SUE
Berlin 32613	scarab	1348	all sides, examined personally	1ad	C5	II	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite		Thebes (after Firenze 2553 (PD 552))	13th Dyn. (after Firenze 2553 (PD 552))	SUE
Berlin 32641	scarab	1576	all sides, examined personally	6a	C2	II	d8	raised	worn off	steatite		SUE (the name *Snb=f-ʿnḫ=f*)		SUE
Berlin 32642	scarab	1581	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	I	e9	raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the name *Snb=s-ʿnḫ=s*)		SUE
Berlin 32644	scarab	1610	all sides, examined personally	3a	D6	II	d14	raised	4 serrations, straight-line border	steatite		SUE (a title referring to Asfun)		SUE
Berlin 32647	scarab	1636	all sides, examined personally	6a	C6	II	d8	chipped off	not serrated	steatite	Tukh el-Qaramus (Blanchard)	SUE (the title *sḫ; r3-nḫn*)		SUE
Berlin 32648	scarab	1647	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	I	d8	raised	chipped off	steatite		Thebes (the title *sš n ḫnrt wr* with the sign U31)		SUE
Berlin 32651	scarab	1654	all sides (head lost), examined personally	1ad		II	d8	chipped off	chipped off	steatite		SUE (the title *smsw ḥ3jt*)		SUE

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Region
Berlin 32656	scarab	1670	all sides, examined personally	3a	C5	II	d8	raised	chipped off	steatite	Mit Rahina (Blanchard)	SUE (the title *sḥb; r³-nḫn*)		SUE
Berlin 32659	scarab	1694	all sides, examined personally	1s	C2	O	d14	raised	4 serrations	steatite		SUE (the title *smsw ḥ3jt*)		SUE
Berlin 32670	scarab	1754	all sides, examined personally	3a	A2	I	d9	deeply set, single partition line	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the name *Ddw-sbk*)		SUE
Berlin 32673	scarab	1766c	all sides, examined personally	3a	B4	O	e8	raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the title *ḥrj n tm*)		SUE
Berlin 34414	scarab		all sides, examined personally	3a	B4	O	e9	raised	not serrated	steatite		Thebes (after Cairo CG 20322)	late 13th Dyn. (after Cairo CG 20322 (dating: Lin-Tomich 2017a))	SUE
Berlin VÄGM 1983/024	scarab		all sides, examined personally; Martin 1979, no. 82 [s]	3a	D6	O	e6b	raised	not serrated	steatite		Abydos (the name *Jn-ḥrt-nḫt*)		SUE
Berlin VÄGM 1984/067	scarab		all sides, examined personally; Martin 1979, no. 29 [s]	1ad	C5	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite		Thebes (after Durham EG580 (DAE 203))	13th Dyn. (after Durham EG580 (DAE 203))	SUE
BM 104925	scarab	209	all sides, Keel 2013, 408–409 (563) [p]; museum website [p]; Givéon 1985, 110–111 (2) [s]	3d	C5	II	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite	Gezer	Thebes (after Rio de Janeiro 646 [2436] (to add to PD 118))	13th Dyn., Ankhu (after Rio de Janeiro 646 [2436] (to add to PD 118) from Dyn. XIII Theban workshop 2)	SUE
BM EA4316	scarab	1479	all sides, examined personally	1s	C2/C5	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the title *smsw ḥ3jt*)		SUE
BM EA17251	scarab	1671	all sides, examined personally	1s	C2	III	d14	raised	worn off	steatite	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	Thebes (the title *sš n ḫnrt wr* with the sign U31)		SUE
BM EA17872	scarab	1498	all sides, examined personally	1ak	A7	H	e7	raised	4 serrations, zigzag border	green jasper		SUE (the title *smsw ḥ3jt*)		SUE
BM EA24094	scarab	735	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1970, no. 8 [s]	1s	C3	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the name *Nfrw*)		SUE
BM EA24132	scarab	719	all sides, examined personally	3a	D6	III	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite		Thebes (the title *ḥm-nṯr n Jmn m W3st*, the name *Nfr-ḥtp*)		SUE
BM EA24262	scarab	252	all sides, examined personally	4a	C2/C5	II	d9	raised	worn off	steatite		SUE (the name *Jn-ḫrt-ˁnḫ*)		SUE

Table 41 The reference group of Middle Kingdom private-name scarabs attributable to any particular region. (continuation)

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Region
BM EA28225	scarab	313	all sides, examined personally	1ad	C2/C5	I	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the title *sḏb; r³-nḥn*)		SUE
BM EA28235	scarab	729	all sides, examined personally	3a	C6	III	d9	raised	4 serrations	steatite		SUE (the name *Ddw-sbk*)		SUE
BM EA30524	scarab	443	all sides, examined personally	3d	A4b	O	d8	raised	4 serrations	steatite		SUE (the title *bꜣkt nt ḥqꜣ*)		SUE
BM EA30525	scarab	648	all sides, examined personally	3d	C7/D	I	d9	raised	chipped off	steatite		SUE (the title *smsw ḥꜣjt*)		SUE
BM EA32288	scarab	1187	all sides, examined personally	1ad	C5	II	d9	raised	chipped off	steatite		SUE (the title *sḏb; r³-nḥn*)		SUE
BM EA37694	scarab	453	all sides, examined personally	3a	C2	I	d5	raised	worn off	steatite		Rizeikat (after Cairo CG 20406 and Cairo CG 20583 (PD 221))	13th Dyn. (after Cairo CG 20406 and Cairo CG 20583 (PD 221))	SUE
BM EA40724	scarab	1757	all sides, examined personally	3d	C2/C5	O	e6b	raised	not serrated	glassy composition		SUE (the name *Ddt-mwt*)		SUE
BM EA40728	scarab	723	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7	II	d9	raised	4 serrations	steatite		SUE (the name *Nfr-ḥtp*)		SUE
BM EA40729	scarab	677	all sides, examined personally	1ad	C5	II	d14	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite		Thebes (after Vaticano 22784, Hermitage 1078 (PD 303))	13th Dyn., Ankhu (after Vaticano 22784, Hermitage 1078 (PD 303))	SUE
BM EA41564	scarab	831	all sides, examined personally	1ad	C2/C5	II	d8	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite		Dendera (the title *wʿḏ n ḥwt-ḥr nbt Jwnt*; however the connection with MMA 69.30 (DAE 131) points to Thebes)	Am. IV–early 13th Dyn. (after MMA 69.30 (DAE 131))	SUE
BM EA41566	scarab	514	all sides, examined personally	1ak	C2	II	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the name *Pt-nbw*)		SUE
BM EA42746	scarab	759	all sides, examined personally	4a	C6	I	d14	raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the title *Bꜣkt nt ḥqꜣ*)		SUE
BM EA42878	scarab	608	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	I	e9	raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the title *Sꜣb; r³-nḥn*)		SUE
BM EA66074	scarab	31	all sides (head lost), examined personally	1ad		I	e7	chipped off	chipped off	green jasper		Abydos (the title *ỉtỉ-nṯr n Jn-ḥrt*)		SUE

Table 41 The reference group of Middle Kingdom private-name scarabs attributable to any particular region. (continuation)

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Region
BM EA66081	scarab	551	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	I	e9	raised	chipped off	steatite		Thebes (after Hermitage 1086 (PD 252))	13th Dyn., Senbi (after Hermitage 1086 (PD 252; dating: Ilin-Tomich 2017a))	SUE
BM EA66084	scarab	716	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	I	e9	raised	chipped off	steatite		SUE (the name *Nfr-ḥtp*)	late 13th - 16th Dyn. (after Bruxelles E.480 (PD 312), dating: Marée 2010)	SUE
BM EA66088	scarab	1492	all sides, examined personally	1ak	C5	III	d14	raised	not serrated	steatite		Thebes (after pBoulaq 18 (PD 615))	13th Dyn., Ankhu (after pBoulaq 18 (PD 615))	SUE
BM EA66735	scarab	1307	all sides, examined personally	3a	C2	O	d9	raised	not serrated	glassy composition		Thebes (the title *qfnw n Jmn*)		SUE
BM EA69224	scarab		all sides, examined personally	1s	D6	O	d14	raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the title *s3b; r3-nḫn*)		SUE
BM EA76767	scarab	19	all sides, examined personally	1ad	C2/C5	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the title *smsw ḥ3jjt*)		SUE
BM EA76768	scarab	188	all sides, examined personally	1m	C2	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite		Thebes (the name *Jmn-ḥtp*)		SUE
Boston 24.1531	scarab	1649	all sides, museum website [p]	1ak	B2	O		raised	4 serrations	obsidian	Semna	SUE (the title *jrj-pḏt*)		SUE
Boston 24.1607	scarab	1506	all sides, museum website [p]	1ak	B5	O	e7	raised	4 serrations	jasper	Naga ed-Deir			SUE
Boston 72.3571	scarab	592	all sides, museum website [p]	3a	C7/D	II	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the title *smsw ḥ3jjt*)		SUE
Brooklyn 13.1028	scarab	1279	all sides, museum website [p]	3a		I	e7	raised	4 serrations	obsidian	Abydos	SUE (the name *S3-jn-ḫrt*)		SUE
Brooklyn 35.1114	scarab	875	all sides, examined personally	3a	C2	II	d8	raised	chipped off	steatite	Armant			SUE
Brooklyn 44.123.96	scarab	755	all sides, examined personally	1ak	C6	II	d14	raised at base, deeply set at front	4 serrations	steatite		SUE (the title *ḫkrt-nsw*)		SUE
Brooklyn 44.123.97	scarab	17	only base	1s			d14					SUE (the title *s3b; r3-nḫn*)		SUE
Bruxelles E.5020	scarab	1745	all sides, museum website [p]	4a	D6	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite		Thebes (the title *sš n ḫnrt wr* with the sign U31)		SUE

Table 41 The reference group of Middle Kingdom private-name scarabs attributable to any particular region. (continuation)

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Region
Bruxelles E.5024	scarab	661	all sides, museum website [p]	3a	C2/C5	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the title *jrj-pḏt*)		SUE
Cairo CG 36044	scarab	1217	base and back, museum database [p]	3d	A7	I	e7	deeply set, single partition line	not serrated	feldspar		Thebes (the name *Ḥnsw*)	late 13th–16th Dyn. (after Liverpool WM 16.11.06.13 and MMA 21.2.69 (PD 464))	SUE
Cairo JE 3349	scarab	655	base and back, museum database [p]; seen on display	1ak	C2/C5	O	d9	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Abydos			SUE
Cairo JE 30455	scarab	1720	base and back, museum database [p]; seen on display	1ad	C2/C5	I	d9	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the title *ḥrj n tm*)		SUE
Cairo JE 30457	scarab	696	base and back, seen on display	3d	C5		d8	raised	4 serrations	steatite		SUE (the name *Nbw-wsr*)		SUE
Cairo JE 41377	scarab	97	base and back, museum database [p]	3a	D6	I			not serrated	steatite		Medamud (the title *wʿb n Mnṯw nt Mʿdw*)		SUE
Cairo JE 48238	scarab	1314	base and back, Brunton 1930, pl. XIX (1) [s]; Tufnell 1970, no. 1 [s]; museum database [p]	3a	C2	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite	Qau el-Kebir	SUE (the title *ḥkrt-nsw*)		SUE
Cairo JE 49110	scarab	1249	base and back, museum database [p]	11	A3	O		deeply set, no partition line	4 serrations	feldspar	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna		12th Dyn. (*jmj-rʾ*?*: m-r*)	SUE
Cairo JE 54147	scarab	559	base and back, museum database [p]	3a	C7	II		raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the title *sḫ; rʾ-ḥḏn*)		SUE
Cairo JE 59797	scarab	1387	only base	3d						steatite	Medinet Habu			SUE
Cairo JE 67371	scarab	236	all sides, examined personally	4e	D6	II	d14	raised	not serrated	steatite	Armant	Thebes (the title *ḥrj tm n njwt rsj*; the name *Jb(=j)-rʾ*)		SUE
Cairo JE 75037	scarab	1755	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	A4b	III		raised	4 serrations	steatite		SUE (the name *Ddw-sbk*)		SUE
Cairo JE 75041	scarab	678	all sides, examined personally; Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	C7/D	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the title *smsw ḥ3jt*)		SUE
Cairo JE 75044	scarab	738	all sides, examined personally; Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	C7/D	I	e9	raised	not serrated	steatite		Thebes (the title *sš n ḫnrt wr* with the sign U31; the name *Nfrw*)		SUE

Table 41 The reference group of Middle Kingdom private-name scarabs attributable to any particular region. (continuation)

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Region
Cairo JE 75045	scarab	1108	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]; seen in the museum	9	C5	II	d8	worn off	worn off	steatite		SUE (the title *jrj-pḏt*)	13th Dyn. (after BM 221)	SUE
Cairo JE 75052	scarab	1352	all sides, examined personally; Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	D3	II	e6b	raised	not serrated	steatite		Thebes (the name *Sꜣt-jmn*)		SUE
Cairo JE 75057	scarab	1291	all sides, examined personally; Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	C7	II	e9	raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the title *smsw ḥ3jt*)		SUE
Cairo JE 75070	scarab	50	all sides, examined personally; Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3d	C7/D	II	e9	raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the title *sꜣb; rʾ-nḫn*)		SUE
Cairo JE 75090	scarab	717	all sides, examined personally; Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	C7/D	I	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the name *Nfr-ḥtp*)		SUE
Cairo JE 75096	scarab	629	all sides, examined personally; Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	C7/D	I	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the title *jrj-pḏt*)		SUE
Cairo JE 75099	scarab	61	all sides, examined personally; Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	C5	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the title *ḥrj im*; the name *Jwjf(j)*)		SUE
Cairo JE 75101	scarab	523	all sides, examined personally; Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	C7/D	II	d5	raised	chipped off	steatite		SUE (the title *jrj-pḏt*)		SUE
Cairo JE 75130	scarab	186	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3d	C7	II	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite		Thebes (the name *Jmn-ḥtp*)		SUE
Cairo JE 75131	scarab	1579	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	1ak	C2/C5	II	d8	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite		Thebes (after Edinburgh A.1951.344)	13th Dyn., Senbi (after Edinburgh A.1951.344 (dating: Ilin-Tomich 2017a))	SUE
Cairo JE 75132	scarab	718	all sides, examined personally; Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	1ad	C6	III	d14	raised	not serrated	steatite		Thebes (the title *ḥm-nṯr n Jmn*; the name *Nfr-ḥtp*)		SUE
Cairo JE 75148	scarab	46	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	1ak	D5	O		raised	4 serrations	glazed composition		SUE (the title *smsw ḥ3jt*)		SUE
Cairo JE 75150	scarab	429	all sides, examined personally; Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	1ak	D6	II	d14	raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the title *smsw ḥ3jt*)		SUE

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Region
Cairo JE 75152	scarab	978	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	1ad	C2	II		raised	worn off	steatite		Thebes (the title *sš n ḫnrt wr* with the sign U31)		SUE
Cairo JE 75156	scarab	1756	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	1ad	C5	II		raised	not serrated	steatite		Edfu (the name *Ddt-jsj*)		SUE
Cairo JE 75157	scarab	16	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	1ad	C5	II		raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the title *ḫrj tm*)		SUE
Cairo JE 75164	scarab	447	all sides, examined personally; Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	1ad	C2	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the title *b3kt nt ḥq3*)		SUE
Cairo JE 75168	scarab	203	all sides, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	1ad	A7	II	e7	raised	4 serrations	obsidian		SUE (the title *b3kt nt ḥq3*)		SUE
Cairo JE 75169	scarab	1151	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	1ad	B8	I	e7	raised	4 serrations	obsidian		Thebes (the title *sš n ḫnrt wr* with the sign U31)		SUE
Cairo JE 75176	scarab	55	all sides, examined personally; Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	1ad	A7	I	e7	raised	4 serrations	obsidian		Thebes (the title *ḫmt-nṯr n Mnṯw*)		SUE
Cairo JE 75182	scarab	1678	all sides, examined personally; Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	1ad	B2	I		raised	worn off	steatite		SUE (the title *s3-prw*)		SUE
Cairo JE 75193	scarab	809	all sides, Tufnell 1970, no. 5 [s]; Drioton MSS 5381 [p]; seen in the museum	1aq	C5	II	d8	raised	chipped off	steatite		SUE (the name *Ḥtp-nbw*; the title *ḫkrt-nsw*)		SUE
Cairo JE 75195	scarab	1789	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	2a	C5	II		raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the title *jmj-ḫt s3-prw*)		SUE
Cairo JE 75203	scarab	1448	all sides, examined personally; Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	4a	C2/C5	II	d8	raised	worn off	steatite		SUE (the title *jr j-pḏt*)		SUE
Cairo JE 75210	scarab	538	all sides, examined personally; Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	1ad	A7	I	e7	raised at base, deeply set at front	4 serrations	obsidian		Elkab (the title [...] *n Nḫb*)		SUE
Cairo JE 75211	scarab	52	all sides, examined personally; Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	1ad	A7	I	e7	raised	serrated	obsidian		SUE (the title *jr j-pḏt*)		SUE
Cairo JE 97642	scarab		only base, museum database [p]	3a						glazed composition	Dakhla	SUE (the title *smsw ḥ3jjt*)		SUE

Table 41 The reference group of Middle Kingdom private-name scarabs attributable to any particular region. (continuation)

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Region
CNG auction 371, lot 1018	scarab	613a	base and back, https://cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=307972 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	3a	C7/D	I	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the title *jrj-pḏt*)		SUE
CNG auction 371, lot 1019	scarab	737a	base and back, https://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=307973 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	4a	face	7b				steatite		SUE (the name *Nfrw*)		SUE
Durham EG3630	scarab	591	all sides, examined personally	1am	D6	II	d6	raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the title *smsw ḥḳ3t*)		SUE
Elephantine Siegeltyp 2	scarab impression		von Pilgrim 1996, 242 fig. 98 (2) [s]	3a							Elephantine (BS XIII and BS 13)	Elephantine (a governor of Elephantine)	late 12th Dyn.–early 13th Dyn. (Elephantine governor Khakaurasneb (Franke 1994, 43))	SUE
Elephantine Siegeltyp 3	scarab impression		von Pilgrim 1996, 242 fig. 98 (3) [s]	3a							Elephantine (BS XIII)	Elephantine (a governor of Elephantine)	late 12th Dyn.–early 13th Dyn. (Elephantine governor Khakaurasneb (Franke 1994, 43))	SUE
Elephantine Siegeltyp 53	scarab impression		von Pilgrim 1996, 242 fig. 98 (53) [s]	1ak							Elephantine (BS XIII)	Elephantine (a governor of Elephantine)	late 12th Dyn.–early 13th Dyn. (Elephantine governor Khakaurasneb (Franke 1994, 43))	SUE
Elephantine Siegeltyp 55	scarab impression		von Pilgrim 1996, 243 fig. 99 (55) [s]	3a							Elephantine (BS 12)	Elephantine (a governor of Elephantine)	late 12th Dyn. (Elephantine governor Amenyseneb (Franke 1994, 41–42))	SUE
Elephantine Siegeltyp 59	scarab impression		von Pilgrim 1996, 242 fig. 98 (59) [s]	3a							Elephantine (BS XIII)	Thebes (Khonsu in the offering formula)		SUE
Elephantine Siegeltyp 207	scarab impression		von Pilgrim 1996, 242 fig. 98 (207) [s]	1m							Elephantine (BS 13)	Thebes (after Würzburg H 35 (PD 23))	13th Dyn., Ankhu (after Würzburg H 35 (dating: Ilin-Tomich 2017a))	SUE
Elephantine Siegeltyp 273	scarab impression		von Pilgrim 1996, 242 fig. 98 (273) [s]	1ad							Elephantine (BS 13)	SUE (the name [...]*Nbw-r*-[...])		SUE
Esna 153E.0	scarab		all sides, Downes 1974, 61 (153E.0) [s]	6b	A7	O	d8	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Esna			SUE

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Region
Esna 318E.1	scarab		only base, Downes 1974, 58, 65 (318E.1) [s]	3a							Esna			SUE
Farouk 102	scarab		all sides, Ragab 2018, no. 102 [p]	1ad	A7	I	e7	raised	4 serrations	obsidian		SUE (the title *smsw ḥ3jt*)		SUE
Field 239003-1	scarab	270	only base, museum website [p]	1ak			e5			green jasper		SUE (the title *ḫkrt-nsw*)		SUE
Field 239003-2	scarab plate	408	only base, museum website [p]	1ad						gold		SUE (the title *s3b; r3-nḫn*)		SUE
Giveon, CdE 49, no. 5	scarab		all sides, Giveon 1974, no. 5 [p]; Keel 2010a, 576 (5) [p]	4a	C7/D	II	d6	raised	not serrated	steatite	Ain Samiya	SUE (the title *jmj-ḫt s3-prw*)		SUE
Giveon, Tel Aviv 3, no. 7	scarab		base and back, Giveon 1976, no. 3 [p]	3a	D5	II	e6c	raised	4 serrations	steatite		Herakleopolis (a governor of Herakleopolis)		SUE
Giveon, Tel Aviv 7, no. 3	scarab		all sides, Giveon 1980, no. 3 [s]	1ad	C5	III	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the title *smsw ḥ3jt*)	13th Dyn., Ankhu (after pBoulaq 18, larger manuscript, vs II.1.22 (Allam 2019))	SUE
Grajetzki in Näser et al., JEA 103	scarab impression		Näser et al. 2017, 167–168 fig. 21 [p]	1n							Shalfak	Thebes (the office *ḥ3 t3tj s3b t3jjtj njwt rsj*)		SUE
Hannover 1976.92	scarab		all sides, examined personally; Beste 1979, 134–136 [p]	3a	B5	O	e6c	raised at base, deeply set at front	4 serrations, zigzag border	a hard stone		SUE (the name *Jn-ḥrt*)	12th Dyn. (epithet(s); title *rḫ-nsw mḥ*ʿ (Grajetzki 2000, 225))	SUE
Hannover 1976.96	scarab		all sides, examined personally; Beste 1979, 145–146 [p]	9	C6	III	d14	raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the title *b3kt nt ḥq3*)		SUE
Jerusalem IM 76.31.4497	scarab	1482	all sides, Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 24 (10) [s]	9	C5	II	d9	raised	not serrated			Thebes (after Martin 1482)		SUE
Jerusalem IM 76.31.4516	scarab		all sides, Downes 1974, 58, 61 (198E.i) [s]; Ben-Tor 1989, 61 (15) [p]; Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 24 (14) [s]	4a	C5	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite	Esna	SUE (the title *ḥm-nṯr n Jn-ḥrt*; the name *S3-jmn*)		SUE
Jerusalem IM 76.31.4522	scarab		all sides, Ben-Tor 1988, pl. III (17) [p]; Ben-Tor 1989, 61 (13) [p]; Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 24 (18) [s]	1ak	C5	III	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the title *smsw ḥ3jt*)		SUE
Jerusalem RM 33.1725	scarab	1309	all sides, Ben-Tor 1989, 63 (15) [p]; Keel 1997, 240 (403) [p]	1ak	C5	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite	Tell el-ʿAjjul	SUE (the title *jrj-pḏt*)		SUE

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Region
Jerusalem RM 33.1954	scarab	63	all sides, Tufnell 1958, pl. 30 (37), 31 (37), 41 (20) [s]; Rowe 1936, pl. II (50) [p]	3a	C5	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite	Tel Lachish	Elkab (the title [*wʿḏ*] *ʿq n Nḫbt*)		SUE
Keel 33	scarab		all sides, Keel 2020, no 33 [p]		C7/D	I	e9	raised	chipped off	steatite		SUE (the title *sš n ḫnrt wr* with the sign U31)		SUE
Kerma no. 4	scarab impression		Gratien 1991a, fig. 1 (3) [s]	6c/3							Kerma	SUE (the title *sȝb; rʾȝ-nḫn*)		SUE
Kerma no. 9	scarab impression		Gratien 1993, 28 (c, 2) [s]	1s							Kerma	SUE (the title *smsw ḥȝjt*)		SUE
Khartoum 3047	scarab	1308	base and back, Dunham 1967, pl. XXX-VII (C, D) [p]	4e	D6	II		raised	chipped off	steatite	Uronarti	SUE (the title *jmj-ḫt sȝ-prw*)		SUE
Khawam May 1955	scarab		only base, Drioton MSS 5434.1440 [s]	1n						steatite		Thebes (the title *jmj-rʾȝ pr n Jmn*)		SUE
Leipzig 2260	scarab	734	all sides, Steindorff 1937, pl. 54 (44) [p]; Blumenthal and Onasch 2005, back cover [p]; seen on display	2b	C6	II	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite	Aniba	SUE (the name *Nfrw*)		SUE
Liverpool WM 16.11.06.346	scarab	446	all sides, Downes 1974, 7, 62 (223E) [s]; seen on display	4a	C7	II	d6		not serrated	steatite	Esna			SUE
Martin 68	scarab	68	only base	1ad							Abydos			SUE
Martin 557	scarab	557	only base	1o								SUE (the title *ḥrp wsḫt*)		SUE
Martin 564	scarab	564	only base, Dunand 1964, 32, pl. III (2) [p]	3a						ame-thyst	Byblos	Thebes (after Chicago AI 1920.262; for this family, see: Ilin-Tomich 2014a, 142 (2–3))	early 12th Dyn. (after Chicago AI 1920.262; for this family, see: Ilin-Tomich 2014a, 142 (2–3))	SUE
Martin 721	scarab	721	only base	1ak								Medamud (the title *ḥm-nṯr n Mnṯw*; the name *Nfr-ḥtp*)		SUE
Martin 746	scarab	746	only base	3a								Dendera (the title *ḫrj-ḥb Jwnt*)		SUE

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Region
Martin 849	scarab	849	only base	3a								SUE (the name *Rn=f-rs*; the title *s3b; r3-nḫn*)		SUE
Martin 1276	scarab	1276	only base	4a								Thebes (the name *S3-jmn*)		SUE
Martin 1355	scarab	1355	only base	4a								SUE (the title *b3kt nt ḥq3*)		SUE
Martin 1426	scarab	1426	only base, Wilbour MSS, Notebook 2F, 62 [s]	1u								Elkab (the title *ḥrj-ḥb n Nḫbt*)		SUE
Martin 1482	scarab	1482	only base	9						glazed composition	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (TT 97)			SUE
Martin 1696	scarab	1696	only base, Chéhab 1940, 46, 40 fig. 10 (c) [p]	1ak						steatite	Majdalouna	SUE (the title *ḥrj tm*)		SUE
Martin 1848a	scarab impression	1848a	Knudstad 1966, 174, 176, fig. 1 (g) [s]	1n							Serra	Thebes (the office *ḫ3 n ṯ3tj n njwt rsjt*)		SUE
Martin 1906	scarab	1906		1ad						feldspar		SUE (the title *b3kt nt ḥq3*)		SUE
Martin 1908	scarab	1908	only base, Wilbour MSS, Notebook 4F, 18, 20 [s]	1ad							Dra Abu el-Naga			SUE
Martin, MDAIK 35, no. 27	scarab		base and back, Martin 1979, no. 27 [s]; Grimm-Stadelmann 2012, 30 (R-089) [p]	1u	C2	I	d14			steatite		SUE (the title *smsw ḥ3jt*)		SUE
Martin, MDAIK 35, no. 56	scarab		only base, Martin 1979, no. 56 [s]	3a		I	e9			steatite		Thebes (the title *sš n ḫnrt wr* with the sign U31)	13th Dyn. (after Cairo CG 20570)	SUE
Millon, 19.04.2010, no. 60 a	scarab		only base, https://www.millon.com/en/lot/7148/1373252 (accessed on 30.03.2020) [p]	3a						steatite		SUE (the title *smsw ḥ3jt*)		SUE
Mirgissa 3-1	scarab impression		Gratien 1986b, no. Q 57 [s]; Gratien and Le Saout 1994, no. 171 g [s]; Gratien 2019, pl. 14, 136 [p]	1n							Mirgissa	Thebes (the title *ḫ3 n ṯ3tj n njwt rsjt*)		SUE

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Region
Mirgissa 3-2	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 14, 136 [p]	1n							Mirgissa	Thebes (the office *ḫȝ tȝtj sȝb tȝjjtj njwt rsj*)		SUE
Mirgissa 3-7	scarab impression		Gratien 2004a, 169 fig. 4 [p]; Gratien 2019, pl. 14, 137 [p, s]	4a							Mirgissa	Thebes (the title *whmw n njwt-rsj*)	13th Dyn., Ankhu (after pBoulaq 18 (PD 356))	SUE
Mirgissa 3-33	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 15 [s]	1ad							Mirgissa	SUE (the name *Nfr-ḥtp*)		SUE
Mirgissa 3-43	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 16, 136 [p, s]	3a							Mirgissa	SUE (the title *jmj-ḫt sȝ-prw*)		SUE
Mirgissa 3-57	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 17, 137 [p]	1ak							Mirgissa	SUE (the name *Nfrw*)		SUE
Mirgissa 3-58	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 17 [s]	4a							Mirgissa	SUE (the name *Nfrw*)		SUE
Mirgissa 3-61	scarab impression		Gratien 1986b, no. Q 230 [s]; Gratien 2019, pl. 17 [s]	1ad							Mirgissa	SUE (the name *Ddw-sbk*)		SUE
Mirgissa 3-83	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 18, 137 [p, s]	3a							Mirgissa	Thebes (the title *jrj-ʿ1 (n) pr-ḥd n Wȝst*)		SUE
Mirgissa 3-137	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 20 [s]	4f							Mirgissa	SUE (the title *jmj-ḫt*)		SUE
Mirgissa 3-140	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 20, 137 [p, s]	3d							Mirgissa	SUE (the name *Nfr-ḥtp*)		SUE
Mirgissa 3-142 +32-1-143	scarab impression	604	Gratien 2019, pl. 20 [s]; Dunham 1967, 165, 171 fig. 10 [s]	1ad							Mirgissa	Thebes (after Cairo CG 20733 (PD 257))	Sen. III (after Cairo CG 20733 (PD 257))	SUE
Mirgissa 3-148	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 20 [s]	1a							Mirgissa	SUE (the title *ḫrj tm*)		SUE
Mirgissa 3-162	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 21 [s]	1ak							Mirgissa	SUE (the title *jmj-ḫt*)		SUE
Mirgissa 3-170	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 21 [s]	3a							Mirgissa	SUE (the name *Jb(=j)-jʿ*)		SUE
Mirgissa 3-179b	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 133 [s]	3a							Mirgissa	Thebes (the name *Jwjj*)		SUE
Mirgissa 3-181	scarab impression		Gratien 1986b, no. Q 364 [s]; Gratien 2019, pl. 22 [s]	1ak							Mirgissa	SUE (the title *sȝb; rȝ-nḫn*)		SUE

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Region
Mirgissa 3-182	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 22 [s]	1s							Mirgissa	SUE (the title *sḥb; r³-nḫn*; after Louvre C 12)	13th Dyn. Ankhu (after Louvre C 12)	SUE
Mirgissa 3-183	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 22 [s]	1ak							Mirgissa	SUE (the title *sḥb; r³-nḫn*)		SUE
Mirgissa 3-187	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 22 [s]	3a							Mirgissa	SUE (the title *smsw ḥ³jit*)		SUE
Mirgissa 3-188	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 22, 137 [p]	1ak							Mirgissa	SUE (the title *smsw ḥ³jit*)		SUE
Mirgissa 3-189	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 22 [s]	1ak							Mirgissa	SUE (the title *smsw ḥ³jit*)		SUE
Mirgissa 3-190	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 23 [s]	3a							Mirgissa	SUE (the title *smsw ḥ³jit*)		SUE
Mirgissa 3-191	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 23 [s]	1ak							Mirgissa	SUE (the title *smsw ḥ³jit*)		SUE
Mirgissa 3-194	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 23 [s]	3a							Mirgissa	Thebes (the name *S³-jmn*)		SUE
Mirgissa 3-201	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 23 [s]	4f							Mirgissa	SUE (the name *Jb(=j)-f*ˁ)		SUE
Mirgissa 3-203	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 23 [s]	1ad							Mirgissa	SUE (a name with *Nbw*)		SUE
Mirgissa 3-252	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 25, 138 [p]	1ad							Mirgissa	SUE (the name *Jb(=j)-f*ˁ)		SUE
Mirgissa 32-1-102	scarab impression	314	Dunham 1967, 164, 171 fig. 10 [s]	3a							Mirgissa	SUE (the title *smsw ḥ³jit*)		SUE
Mirgissa 32-1-153	scarab impression	1750	Dunham 1967, 172 [s]	1ak							Mirgissa	SUE (the name *Ddw-jq*)		SUE
Mirgissa 32-1-179+3-41 (Q 366)	scarab impression	1275	Dunham 1967, 166, 171 fig. 10 [s]; Gratien 1986b, no. Q 366 [s]; Gratien 2019, pl. 16, 136 [p, s]	1ad							Mirgissa	Thebes (the name *S³-jmn*; the title *jrj-pḏt*)		SUE
MMA 05.3.270	scarab	736	base and back, Ward 1902, pl. 1 (224) [p]; seen on display	2b	C6	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the name *Nfrw*)		SUE
MMA 10.130.276	scarab	830	all sides (head lost), museum website [p]	3a				raised	worn off	steatite		Rizeikat (after Berkeley 5-348)	13th Dyn. (after Berkeley 5-348)	SUE
MMA 10.130.284	scarab	119	only base	3d		I	d9			steatite		SUE (the title *jrj-pḏt*)		SUE

Table 41 The reference group of Middle Kingdom private-name scarabs attributable to any particular region. (continuation)

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Region
MMA 10.130.288	scarab	722	base and back, seen on display	1s	C5	II	d8	raised		steatite		Thebes (the name *Nfr-ḥtp*)		SUE
MMA 10.130.291	scarab	90	all sides, seen on display	3a	A4a	II	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		Thebes (the name *Jwjj*)	late 13th Dyn.–16th Dyn. (after rishi-coffin rT23MMA (PD 46; dating: Miniaci 2011, 117))	SUE
MMA 10.130.911	scarab	1216	all sides, museum website [p]	3a	A4b	O	e6c	raised	4 serrations	green jasper		Thebes (the name *Ḥnsw*)		SUE
MMA 26.7.298	scarab	298	only base	4a						steatite		SUE (the title *jmj-ḫt s3-prw*)		SUE
MMA 26.7.306	scarab	1577	all sides, museum website [p]; Lilyquist 2020 [p]	4a	C2	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite	Asasif			SUE
MMA 26.7.313	scarab	1218	all sides, museum website [p]	3d	C6	III	d14	raised	chipped off	steatite		Thebes (the name *Ḥnsw*)	late 13th - 16th Dyn. (after Liverpool WM 16.11.06.13 and MMA 21.2.69 (PD 464))	SUE
MMA 26.7.314	scarab	1758	only base	3a			d14			steatite		SUE (the name *Ddt-nbw*)		SUE
MMA 26.7.315	scarab	834	only base, Carnarvon and Carter 1912, pl. LXXII [p]	1ak		II	d14			steatite	Asasif	Thebes (after Mirgissa 3-7)	13th Dyn., Ankhu (after pBoulaq 18 (PD 356))	SUE
MMA 26.7.324	scarab	473	only base	1ad		II	d8			steatite		SUE (the name *P3-n-ʿnw*)		SUE
MMA 26.7.752	scarab	804	all sides, Lilyquist 2020 [p]	3d	A4a	III	e6c	raised	serrated	steatite	Asasif			SUE
MMA 30.8.649	scarab	697	only base	3d		O				steatite		SUE (the name *Nbw-m-s3*)		SUE
MMA 30.8.650	scarab	239	only base	3d			d9			steatite		SUE (the title *s3b; r3-nḥn*)		SUE
MMA 30.8.651	scarab	512	only base	4a			d14			steatite		Dendera (the title *ḫwt-ḥr nbt Jwnt*)		SUE
MMA 30.8.672	scarab	1119	all sides, museum website [p]	1ad	face	II	d8			steatite		SUE (the title *ḥrj tm*)		SUE
MMA 30.8.674	scarab	1732	only base	1ad		II	d8			steatite		SUE (the title *smsw ḥ3jt*)		SUE

Table 41 The reference group of Middle Kingdom private-name scarabs attributable to any particular region. (continuation)

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Region
MMA 35.3.47	scarab	561	all sides, museum website [p]; Hayes 1935, 28, fig. 9 [p]	3a	C7/D	I	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite	Asasif			SUE
Moeller, Marouard, Khyan, fig. 11	scarab impression		Moeller and Marouard 2018, fig. 11 [s]	1ad							Edfu	Edfu (the name *Jsj*)		SUE
Moeller, Marouard, Khyan, fig. 12	scarab impression		Moeller and Marouard 2018, fig. 12 [s]	2b							Edfu	SUE (the name *Nfrw*)		SUE
Moeller, Marouard, Khyan, fig. 13	scarab impression		Moeller and Marouard 2018, fig. 13 [s]	1s							Edfu	SUE (the name *Wsr-nbw*)		SUE
Moscow I, 1a 2139	scarab		all sides, examined personally; Hodjash 1999, no. 446 [p]	1s	C6	II	d14	raised	not serrated	steatite		Thebes (the title *ḥm-nṯr Mnṯw*)		SUE
Moscow I, 1a 2173	scarab		all sides, examined personally; Hodjash 1999, no. 449 [p]	3a	C5	O	e6b	raised	not serrated	steatite		Armant (the title *wʿb n Mnṯw m Jwnjj*)		SUE
Moscow I, 1a 2174	scarab	1807	all sides, examined personally; Hodjash 1999, no. 452 [p]	1ak	C3	II	d14	raised	chipped off	steatite		SUE (the title *bȝkt nt ḥqȝ*)		SUE
Niccacci, Scarabs, no. 133	scarab		only base, Niccacci 1980, 133 [p]	1ad						steatite		SUE (the title *smsw ḥȝjt*; the name *Jb(=j)-fʾ*)		SUE
OIM 18411	scarab	1203	all sides, museum website [p]	1ad	C5	II	d9	chipped off	chipped off	steatite		SUE (the title *smsw ḥȝjt*)		SUE
OIM 18563	scarab	277	all sides, museum website [p]	3a	D6	O	e6b	raised	not serrated	steatite		Edfu (the name *Ntr-jsj*)		SUE
OIM 18566	scarab	1239	all sides, examined personally	3a	C3	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite		Elephantine (the title *wʿb ʿq ḥr sšm n Stt*)		SUE
OIM 18571	scarab	1747	all sides, examined personally	3d	C2/C5	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the title *smsw ḥȝjt*)		SUE
OIM 18572	scarab	618	all sides, examined personally	1ak	C6	I	d14	raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the title *bȝkt nt ḥqȝ*)		SUE
OIM 18580	scarab	1740	all sides, examined personally	3d	C2/C5	II	d9	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite		Thebes (after Cairo JE 43461 (PD 738))	Sob. IV (after Cairo JE 43461 (PD 738; dating: Lin-Tomich 2017a))	SUE

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Region
OIM 18582	scarab	463	all sides, examined personally	1ad	A4a	O	e7	raised at base, deeply set at front	4 serrations	hematite		SUE (the name *Pȝ-n-wr*)		SUE
OIM 18586	scarab	658	all sides, examined personally	1ak	A4b	O	e6b	raised	worn off	steatite		Thebes (the title *sš n ữnrt wr* with the sign U31)		SUE
Philadelphia 61-14-977	scarab		all sides, Keel 2010a, 254–255 (89) [p, s]; museum website [p]	1ad	C2/C5	II	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite	Beit Shemesh	SUE (the title *smsw ḥȝjt*)		SUE
Philadelphia E.2224A	scarab	103	all sides, photo from the museum [p]	1ad	A5	O	d14	raised	not serrated	steatite	el-Ballas	SUE (the title *ḥrj n tm*)		SUE
Philadelphia E.10915	scarab impression	733		1ak							Buhen	SUE (the name *Nfrw*)		SUE
Pittsburgh 4210:7	scarab	1273	only base, Peet 1914, pl XIII.10 [p]	1ad						steatite	Abydos	SUE (the title *ữtmw ḥrj-ˁ wˁrt tp-rsj*)		SUE
Scarabcollection PJS55	scarab		base and back, https://sites.google.com/site/scarabcollection/ (PJS55) (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	1k	A4a	II		raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the title *jrj-pḏt*)		SUE
SCF II, 65 (7)	scarab impression	1849	Dunham 1967, 65 (7) [s]								Uronarti	SUE (the office *ḫȝ n tȝtj n tp rsj*)		SUE
SCF II, 160, 170 fig. 9 (1)	scarab impression	1848	Dunham 1967, 160, fig. 9 (1) [s]	1n							Mirgissa	Thebes (the office *ḫȝ n tȝtj n ữwt rsjt*)		SUE
Semna South F-4	scarab impression		Žabkar and Žabkar 1982, 40 [s]	1f							Semna South	SUE (the title *smsw ḥȝjt*)		SUE
Semna South K1-17	scarab impression		Žabkar and Žabkar 1982, 19–20, 37 [s]	1n							Semna South	Thebes (the office *ḫȝ tȝtj sȝb tȝjjtj ữwt rsj*)		SUE
Torino Cat. 4815	scarab	1318	all sides, examined personally	3d	C6	I	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the title *smsw ḥȝjt*)		SUE
Torino Cat. 5053	scarab	698	all sides, examined personally	9	D3	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the name *Nbw-m-sȝ=s*)		SUE
Torino Cat. 5845	scarab	1753	all sides, examined personally	1ad	C7/D	II	d9	raised	chipped off	steatite		SUE (the name *Ddw-sbk*)		SUE

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Region
UC 11337	scarab	1339	all sides, examined personally	1b	C2/C5	II	d8	raised	chipped off	steatite		Thebes (after Wadi el-Hudi 23 (PD 548)); the title *sš n ḫnrt wr* with the sign U31)	Sob. IV (after Wadi el-Hudi 23 (PD 548))	SUE
UC 11343	scarab	464	all sides, examined personally	1s	C6	II	d16	raised	not serrated, zigzag border	steatite		Thebes (the title *sš n ḫnrt wr* with the sign U31)		SUE
UC 11345	scarab	187	all sides, examined personally	1s	C6	II	d14	raised	not serrated	steatite		Thebes (the name *Jmn-ḥtp*; after Cairo CG 20724 (DAE 55))	13th Dyn., Ankhu (after Cairo CG 20724 (DAE 55))	SUE
UC 11353	scarab	541	all sides, examined personally	1ad	A6a	I	e7	raised	4 serrations	amethyst	Naqada	SUE (the title *ḥkrt-nsw*)		SUE
UC 11354	scarab	1666	all sides, examined personally	1ak	C5	II	d8	raised at base, deeply set at front	4 serrations	steatite		SUE (the title *ḥrj n tm*)		SUE
UC 11356	scarab	1477	all sides, examined personally	1w	C5	III	d14	raised at base, deeply set at front	4 serrations	steatite		Edfu (after Cairo JE 38998 (PD 605))	13th Dyn. (after Cairo JE 38998 (PD 605))	SUE
UC 11366	scarab	549	all sides, examined personally	1ak	A1	I	e7	deeply set, no partition line	serrated	jasper		Thebes (after Ny Carlsberg ÆIN 964 (PD 249))	late 13th Dyn. (after Ny Carlsberg ÆIN 964 (PD 249))	SUE
UC 11372	scarab	546	all sides, examined personally	1ak	D6	O	e6b	raised	chipped off	steatite	Koptos			SUE
UC 11374	scarab	65	all sides, examined personally	1ak	C2	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the title *snsw ḥ3jit*)		SUE
UC 11375	scarab	95	all sides, examined personally	1ad	C6	II	d8	raised	worn off	steatite		SUE (the title *s3b; r3-nḫn*)		SUE
UC 11385	scarab	808	all sides, examined personally	1ad	C2	II	d5	raised	chipped off	steatite	Koptos			SUE
UC 11386	scarab	1567	all sides, examined personally	1ad	A6a	I	e7	raised	4 serrations	obsidian		Thebes (after pBoulaq 18 vs IX.10 (Allam 2019); the title *jr.j-pḏt*)	13th Dyn., Ankhu (after pBoulaq 18, larger manuscript vs IX.10 (Allam 2019))	SUE
UC 11389	scarab	1123	all sides, examined personally	1ad	B4	III	e7	raised	4 serrations	obsidian	Ramesseum	Thebes (the title *s3b; r3-nḫn*)		SUE
UC 11401	scarab	713	all sides, examined personally	1y	A5		c	deeply set, single partition line	4 serrations, zigzag border	steatite		SUE (the name *Nfr-ḥtp*)		SUE

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Region
UC 11411	scarab	98	all sides, examined personally	1ad	C5	II	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the name *Jb(=j)-j*^{r})		SUE
UC 11427	scarab	1351	all sides, examined personally	4a	C7/D	II	d9	raised	4 serrations	steatite		Thebes (the name *S3t-jmn*)		SUE
UC 11429	scarab	1487	all sides, examined personally	4a	C7/D	I	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the title *jrj-pḏt*)		SUE
UC 11431	scarab	1353	all sides, examined personally	4a	C5	II	d9	raised	chipped off	steatite	Koptos		13th Dyn. (filiation formula *ms.n*)	SUE
UC 11434	scarab	1271	all sides, examined personally	3d	C7/D	I	e9	raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the title *smsw ḥ3jt*)		SUE
UC 11436	scarab	240	all sides, examined personally	3d	C2/C5	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the title *smsw ḥ3jt*)		SUE
UC 11438	scarab	715	all sides, examined personally	3d	C7/D	II	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the name *Nfr-ḥtp*; the title *ʿnḫt nt nsw tpy*)	SIP (after Bolton 1920.10.12 (Stefanovič 2016, 153))	SUE
UC 11436+26343	scarab impression	1578		3a							Naqada	SUE (the title *sš n ḫnrt wr* with the sign U31)	13th Dyn., Ankhu (after pBoulaq 18, larger manuscript, rt IV.2.15; vs IX.18; vs II.2.16 (Allam 2019))	SUE
UC 11461	scarab	1452	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	I	e9	raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the title *s3b; r3-nbw*)		SUE
UC 11467	scarab	1645	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	II	e9	raised	not serrated	steatite		Thebes (the title *sš n ḫnrt wr* with the sign U31)		SUE
UC 11468	scarab	1646	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite		Thebes (the title *sš n ḫnrt wr* with the sign U31)		SUE
UC 11473	scarab	1290	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7	II	e9	raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the title *smsw ḥ3jt*)		SUE
UC 11506	scarab	652	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7	II	e9	raised	not serrated	steatite		Thebes (*the title sš n ḫnrt wr* with the sign U31)		SUE
UC 16594	scarab	317b	all sides, examined personally	9	C5	II	d8	raised	4 serrations	steatite		SUE (the title *ḥrj n tm*)		SUE
UC 26118	scarab	1569	only base, museum website [p]	1ak						obsidian	Koptos			SUE

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Region
UC 26341	scarab impression	686		3a							Naqada	Thebes (the title *ḫrp-ḫtm pr-Imn*)		SUE
Ukma 16/8	scarab		base and back, Andreu 1987, no. 16/8 [p]	4a	C6	I		raised	not serrated	steatite	Ukma	Abydos (the title *jỉj-nfr n.Jn-ḥrt*)	SIP (after Burnley Eg. 100 (Franke 2001, 200; dating: Lin-Tomich 2017a))	SUE
Ukma 131/13	scarab		base and back, Andreu 1987, no. 131/13 [p]	3a	C7/D	O		raised	not serrated	steatite	Ukma	SUE (the title *sḫb, r³-nḫn*)		SUE
Ukma 186/10	scarab		base and back, Andreu 1987, no. 186/10 [p]	3d	C5	II		raised	chipped off	steatite	Ukma	Thebes (the title *sš n ḫnrt wr* with the sign U31)		SUE
Ukma 203/7	scarab		base and back, Andreu 1987, no. 203/7 [p]	3d	A5	I		raised	4 serrations	steatite	Ukma		13th Dyn. (after Cairo CG 405, MCA 632 (PD 547))	SUE
Uronarti 12	scarab impression	1322	Dunham 1967, 65 (12) [s]	1s							Uronarti	SUE (the title *jrj-pḏt*)		SUE
Uronarti 14	scarab impression	702	Dunham 1967, 65 (14) [s]	1ak							Uronarti	SUE (the title *ḥrj n tm*)		SUE
Uronarti 37	scarab impression	739	Dunham 1967, 66 (37) [s]	4f							Uronarti	SUE (the name *Nfrw*)		SUE
Uronarti 443	scarab impression	1274	Dunham 1967, 80 (443) [s]	1ak							Uronarti	Thebes (the name *S³-jmn*)		SUE
Vink, MKS 2, 263 fig. 4	scarab		all sides, Vink 2016, 263 fig. 4 [s]; https://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=233062 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	1ad	C6	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the title *bȝkt nt ḥqȝ*)		SUE
Wahsut 15876	scarab		all sides, Wegner 2000, fig. 10 (9) [s]; Smith 2010, 337 [s]	3a	A4a	I	e6c	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Abydos	Abydos (the title *jmj-r³ šnʿw S-n-wsrt*)		SUE
Wahsut 31776.1	scarab impression		Smith 2010, 324 fig. 150 (2) [s]	3a							Abydos	SUE (after Cairo CG 20690)	13th Dyn. (after Cairo CG 20690)	SUE
Wahsut 032674	scarab		base and back, Picardo 2015, 269 fig. 11.14 [p]	1ak	C5	III		raised	not serrated	glazed composition	Abydos (Wahsut)			SUE

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Region
Wahsut 35358.2	scarab impression		Smith 2010, 326 fig. 151 [s]	3a							Abydos	Thebes (after pBrooklyn 35.1446 recto 64-80f (DAE 49))	late 12th Dyn.–early 13th Dyn. (after pBrooklyn 35.1446 recto 64-80 f (DAE 49))	SUE
Walters 42.18	scarab	1302	all sides, museum website [p]; Schulz 2007, no. 77 [p]	1m	D6	IIII	d6	raised	not serrated	steatite		Thebes (the title *wʿb ʿȝ n ḫnsw*)		SUE
Wegner, Temple, fig. 150 (1)	scarab impression		Wegner 2007, fig. 150 (1) [p]	3a							Abydos	Abydos (a governor of Wahsut)		SUE
Wegner, Temple, fig. 150 (2)	scarab impression		Wegner 2007, fig. 150 (2) [p, s]	1ad							Abydos	Abydos (a governor of Wahsut)		SUE
Wegner, Temple, fig. 150 (4)	scarab impression		Wegner 2007, fig. 150 (4) [s]	3a							Abydos	Abydos (a governor of Wahsut)		SUE
Wegner, Temple, fig. 150 (5)	scarab impression		Wegner 2007, fig. 150 (5) [s]	3a							Abydos	Abydos (a governor of Wahsut)		SUE
Wegner, Temple, fig. 150 (6)	scarab impression		Wegner 2007, fig. 150 (6) [p, s]	3a							Abydos	Abydos (a governor of Wahsut)		SUE
Wegner, Temple, fig. 150 (7)	scarab impression		Wegner 2007, fig. 150 (7) [s]	3a							Abydos	Abydos (a governor of Wahsut)		SUE
Wegner, Temple, fig. 150 (9)	scarab impression		Wegner 2007, fig. 150 (9) [s]	3a							Abydos	Abydos (a governor of Wahsut)		SUE
Wegner, Temple, fig. 151 (10)	scarab impression		Wegner 2007, fig. 151 (10) [p, s]	3a							Abydos	Abydos (a governor of Wahsut)		SUE
Wegner, Temple, fig. 151 (11)	scarab impression		Wegner 2007, fig. 151 (11) [p, s]	1ak							Abydos	Abydos (a governor of Wahsut)		SUE
Wegner, Temple, fig. 151 (12)	scarab impression		Wegner 2007, fig. 151 (12) [p, s]	3a							Abydos	Abydos (a governor of Wahsut)		SUE
Wegner, Temple, fig. 151 (14)	scarab impression		Wegner 2007, fig. 151 (14) [s]	1ad							Abydos	Abydos (a governor of Wahsut)		SUE
Wegner, Temple, fig. 154 (21)	scarab impression		Wegner 2007, fig. 154 (21) [p, s]	4a							Abydos	Abydos (a god's sealer of Osiris)		SUE
Wegner, Temple, fig. 156 (37)	scarab impression		Wegner 2007, fig. 156 (37) [p, s]	3d							Abydos	Abydos (the title *mḏḥw n Wȝḥ-swt*)		SUE
Wegner, Temple, fig. 157 (49)	scarab impression		Wegner 2007, fig. 157 (49) [p, s]	1u							Abydos	Thebes (the title *ḫm-nṯr Mnṯw*)		SUE

Table 41 The reference group of Middle Kingdom private-name scarabs attributable to any particular region. (continuation)

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ISBN Print: 978-3-447-12043-2 — ISBN E-Book: 978-3-447-39406-2

Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Region
Wegner, Temple, fig. 157 (50)	scarab impression		Wegner 2007, fig. 157 (50) [p, s]	4a							Abydos	Abydos (the title *wʿb n Wȝḥ-swt Ḥʿ-kȝw-rʿ-mȝʿ-ḫrw-m-ȝbḏw*)		SUE
Wegner, Temple, fig. 157 (53)	scarab impression		Wegner 2007, fig. 157 (53) [p, s]	1ak							Abydos	Abydos (the title *ḥrj-ḥb n Wȝḥ-swt*)		SUE
Wegner, Temple, fig. 158 (57)	scarab impression		Wegner 2007, fig. 157 (57) [p, s]	3a							Abydos	SUE (the name *Ỉb(=j)-jʿ*)		SUE
Wegner, Temple, fig. 159 (82)	scarab impression		Wegner 2007, fig. 159 (82) [s]	1ak							Abydos	SUE (the title *jrj-pḏt*)		SUE

Table 41 The reference group of Middle Kingdom private-name scarabs attributable to any particular region. (continuation)

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ISBN Print: 978-3-447-12043-2 — ISBN E-Book: 978-3-447-39406-2

Scarab	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Region
Berlin 32406	23	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	I	d5	raised	chipped off	steatite		MFR (after MMA 09.180.936 and MMA 20.1.12)		NUELE
Berlin 32420	117	all sides, examined personally	1ak	C5	III	d5	raised at base, deeply set at front	chipped off	steatite		MFR (the name *Jpj*)		NUELE
Berlin 32538	837	all sides, examined personally	1ak	C2	II	d5	chipped off	chipped off	steatite		MFR (after Cairo CG 20631 (PD 367))	13th Dyn., ca. Senbi (after Cairo CG 20631 (PD 367; dating: Lin-Tomich 2017a))	NUELE
Berlin 32541	845	all sides, examined personally	3a	A3	II	d5	deeply set, single partition line	not serrated	steatite		NUELE (the name *Rn=f-ʿnḫ*)		NUELE
Berlin VÄGM 1983/025		all sides, examined personally; Martin 1979, no. 48 [s]	3a		I	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		MFR (after MMA 09.180.936 and MMA 20.1.12)		NUELE
BM EA12801	1209	all sides, examined personally	4f	C5	II	d5	raised	2 serrations	steatite		MFR (the name *Ḫnms*)		NUELE
BM EA30537	20	all sides, examined personally	3d	C7/D	II	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		MFR (after MMA 09.180.936 and MMA 20.1.12)		NUELE
BM EA37695	331	all sides, examined personally	1ak	C5	II	d5	raised	4 serrations	steatite		MFR (the title *ḫrp ʿḥ*)		NUELE
Brooklyn 44.123.105	179	all sides, examined personally	1ak	D6	III	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		MFR (the title *ḫrd n kȝp*)		NUELE
Cairo JE 57316	180	all sides, examined personally	3a	C5	II	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite	Amarna	NUELE (the name *Jmn-m-ḥȝ-snb*)		NUELE
Cairo JE 75200	771	all sides, examined personally; Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	4a	C7/D	II	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		Heliopolis (after Berlin 32525)		NUELE
Fitzwilliam E.Sc.180	764	all sides, Bourriau and Quirke 1988, no. 183 (a) [s]	3a	C2	II	d5	raised	chipped off	steatite		MFR (the title *jmj-rȝ ʿḫmwtj n kȝp*)		NUELE
Giveon, Tel Aviv 7, no. 9		all sides, Giveon 1980, no. 9 [s]; Keel 2010a, 576 (6) [s]	1ad	D6	II	d5		not serrated	steatite	Ain Samiya	NUELE (after Cairo CG 20441 (origin: Lin-Tomich 2017a))	late 12th Dyn. (after Cairo CG 20441 (dating: Lin-Tomich 2017a))	NUELE

Table 42 Middle Kingdom scarabs with d5-type sides that are owned by persons attributable to any particular region.

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Scarab	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Region
Hannover 1976.89		all sides, examined personally; Beste 1979, 128–129 [p]	3a	A1		d5	deeply set, single partition line	4 serrations	steatite		MFR (the name *Jpnj*)		NUELE
Jerusalem IM 76.31.84		all sides, Ben-Tor 1988, pl. I (6) [p]; Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 24 (5) [s]	3a	C5	II	d5	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	steatite		MFR (after Louvre E 20002 (DAE 102))	late 12th Dyn.–early 13th Dyn. (after Louvre E 20002 (DAE 102; dating: Ilin-Tomich 2017a))	NUELE
Martin 1184	1184	all sides, Newberry MSS, PEN G VI ED [s]	1g	C5	III	d5	raised	4 serrations			MFR (the name *ỉf^-ḳ3w-r^-snb*)		NUELE
MMA 09.180.941		all sides, museum website [p]	3a	C7/D	I	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite	Lisht			NUELE
MMA 10.130.278	1462	all sides, seen on display	3a	A2	II	d5	deeply set, single partition line	not serrated	steatite		MFR (after Toulouse 49.274 (PD 600))	late 12th Dyn.–early 13th Dyn. (after Toulouse 49.274 (PD 600, dating: Ilin-Tomich 2017a))	NUELE
MMA 22.1.420	12	all sides, museum website [p]	3a	A4b	O	d5	raised	chipped off	steatite	Lisht	MFR (the title *jrj-ʿ1 n ỉpt-nsw*)		NUELE
UC 11394	121	all sides, examined personally	1ak	C5	I	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		MFR (the title *jmj-r3 ỉ3-mḥw*)		NUELE
UC 11424	1206	all sides, examined personally	4a	C5	II	d5	raised	chipped off	steatite	Haraga	MFR (the name *Ḥwn(s)*)		NUELE
UC 11450	264	all sides, examined personally	3a	A3	II	d5	deeply set, single partition line	not serrated	steatite	Lahun		12th Dyn. (*jmj-r3: m-r*)	NUELE
UC 11458	1344	all sides, examined personally	6a	C2	I	d5	raised at base, deeply set at front	chipped off	steatite	Haraga	MFR (the title *sš n ḥntỉ*)		NUELE
UC 11480	398	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	I	d5	raised	worn off	steatite		MFR (the title *ḥrp ʿḥ*)		NUELE
UC 26120	1615	all sides, examined personally	1al2	D6	II	d5	raised	worn off	steatite		MFR (the name *Sỉfrw*)	Amenemhat II (after BM EA497 (PD 678))	NUELE
Wimmer, BN 96, 30, 36		all sides, Wimmer 1999, 30, 36 [s]	1ad	C7/D	I	d5	worn off	worn off	steatite		MFR (the title *jmj-r3 ḥmw-nṯr n Sbk Šdỉ*)		NUELE
Basel Cat. 553	69	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 553 [p]	4a	D6	II	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (after Martin 68)		SUE

Table 42 Middle Kingdom scarabs with d5-type sides that are owned by persons attributable to any particular region. (continuation)

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Scarab	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Region
BM EA37694	453	all sides, examined personally	3a	C2	I	d5	raised	worn off	steatite		Rizeikat (after Cairo CG 20406 and Cairo CG 20583 (PD 221))	13th Dyn. (after Cairo CG 20406 and Cairo CG 20583 (PD 221))	SUE
Cairo JE 75101	523	all sides, examined personally; Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	C7/D	II	d5	raised	chipped off	steatite		SUE (the title *jrj-pḏt*)		SUE
UC 11385	808	all sides, examined personally	1ad	C2	II	d5	raised	chipped off	steatite	Koptos			SUE
UC 11438	715	all sides, examined personally	3d	C7/D	II	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		SUE (the name *Nfr-ḥtp*; the title *ʿnḫt nt nsw tpt*)	SIP (after Bolton 1920.10.12 (Stefanović 2016, 153))	SUE

Table 42 Middle Kingdom scarabs with d5-type sides that are owned by persons attributable to any particular region. (continuation)

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Region
Ashmolean AN1922.230	scarab	295	all sides, examined personally	4f	C5	II	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite		Memphis (the title *sš n qnbyt n w n Ḥwt-k3-ptḥ*)		NUELE
Berlin 9519	scarab	709	all sides, examined personally	4f	C5	II	d6	raised	chipped off	steatite		MFR (the name *Jw-ifr*)		NUELE
Berlin 32419	scarab	115	all sides, examined personally	4f	C7/D	I	d6	raised	chipped off			MFR (the name *Jrjj*)		NUELE
Berlin VÄGM 1986/083	scarab		all sides, examined personally; Martin 1979, no. 61 [s]	4f	C6	II	d9	deeply set, single partition line	not serrated	steatite		MFR (the title *ḥrj-ḥb Sbk Šdtj* and the name *S3-jp*)		NUELE
BM EA12801	scarab	1209	all sides, examined personally	4f	C5	II	d5	raised	2 serrations	steatite		MFR (the name *Ḥnms*)		NUELE
BM EA28254	scarab	1223	all sides, examined personally	4f	C5	III	d14	raised	4 serrations	steatite		MFR (the name *Ḥwj-ḥtp*)		NUELE
Cairo CG 36070	scarab	296	all sides, museum database [p]; seen on display	4f	A6b	III	d6	deeply set, double partition line	numerous serrations, incised	steatite		MFR (after Manchester 3306)	Sen. III (after Manchester 3306)	NUELE
Forstner-Müller et al., ÄgLev. 24, fig. 67	scarab impression		Forstner-Müller et al. 2015, fig. 67 [p]	4f							Tell el-Dabʿa	NUELE (the name *Snbj-wr*)		NUELE
Martin 458	scarab	458	only base, Yacoub 1988, pl. XVII fig. 3 [p]	4f		II					Tura			NUELE
Martin 1210	scarab	1210	only base	4f	face							MFR (the name *Ḥnms*)		NUELE
Mirgissa 3-12	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 14, 136 [p]	4f							Mirgissa	MFR (after Cairo JE 39247)		NUELE
Mirgissa 3-50	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 16 [s]	4f							Mirgissa	NUELE (the name *Kn=f-ʿnḫ*; the title *jrj-ʿꜣ jpt-nsw*)		NUELE
Mirgissa 3-104	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 19, 137 [p]	4f							Mirgissa	MFR (the name *Ḥwj-ḥtp*)		NUELE
Mirgissa 3-327	scarab impression		Gratien 1986b, no. Q 275 [s]; Gratien 2019, pl. 27 [s]	4f							Mirgissa	MFR (the name *Snfrw*)		NUELE
UC 11425	scarab	1145	all sides, examined personally	4f	A5	II	d8	raised	4 serrations	glassy composition	Haraga			NUELE

Table 43 Scarabs with 4f-type bases that are owned by persons attributable to any particular region.

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Date	Region
UC 11430	scarab	1699	all sides, examined personally	4f	C2	II	d9	raised	worn off	steatite		MFR (the name *Kmɜ*)		NUELE
Mirgissa 3-137	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 20 [s]	4f							Mirgissa	SUE (the title *jmj-ḫt*)		SUE
Mirgissa 3-201	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 23 [s]	4f							Mirgissa	SUE (the name *Jb(=j)-jf*)		SUE
Uronarti 37	scarab impression	739	Dunham 1967, 66 (37) [s]	4f							Uronarti	SUE (the name *Nfrw*)		SUE

Table 43 Scarabs with 4f-type bases that are owned by persons attributable to any particular region. (continuation)

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Scarab	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Provenance	Origin	Date	Epithets
Berlin 32404	7	all sides, examined personally	4a	C2/C5	II	d8	raised	not serrated	Zagazig (Blanchard)	SUE (the title *jmj-ḫt s3-prw*)	13th Dyn. (after Bologna 1921 (PD 13))	*m3ʿ ḫrw*
Berlin 32440	309	all sides, examined personally	1ak	C2/C5	III	d6	raised	chipped off	Edfu (Blanchard)	Heliopolis (a governor of Heliopolis (?))		
Berlin 32504	627	all sides, examined personally	1ak	C2/C5	7b	d6	raised	not serrated				*whm-ʿnḫ; nb jm3ḫ*
Berlin 32511	662	all sides, examined personally	1s	C2/C5	II	d9	raised	chipped off		MFR (the title *ḥrp ʿḥ*)		
Berlin 32533	818	all sides, examined personally	4a	C2/C5	I	d8	raised	chipped off				
Berlin 32536	829	all sides, examined personally	3d	C2/C5	II	d8	raised	not serrated	Shibin el-Qanatir (Blanchard)	SUE (the title *jrj-pḏt*)	13th Dyn., Senbi (after Louvre C 39 (PD 355))	
Berlin 32576	1098	all sides, examined personally	1s	C2/C5	II	d14	raised	not serrated	Saqqara (Blanchard)	SUE (the title *ḫrj im*)		*m3ʿ ḫrw*
BM EA4316	1479	all sides, examined personally	1s	C2/C5	II	d8	raised	not serrated		SUE (the title *smsw ḥ3jt*)		*nb jm3ḫ*
BM EA17231	387	all sides, examined personally	6b	C2/C5	II	d9	raised	chipped off				
BM EA24262	252	all sides, examined personally	4a	C2/C5	II	d9	raised	worn off		SUE (the name *Jn-ḥrt-ʿnḫ*)		*m3ʿ ḫrw*
BM EA28225	313	all sides, examined personally	1ad	C2/C5	I	d8	raised	not serrated		SUE (the title *s3b; r3-nḫn*)		*m3ʿ ḫrw*
BM EA30523	1760	all sides, examined personally	3a	C2/C5	III	d8	raised	not serrated		MFR (after MMA 22.1.317)		*m3ʿ ḫrw*
BM EA30551	862	all sides, examined personally	1s	C2/C5	II	d14	raised	worn off			13th Dyn. (after Rio de Janeiro 630 [2422] (PD 395))	*m3ʿ ḫrw*
BM EA37685	1499	all sides, examined personally	3a	C2/C5	II	d8	raised	not serrated			13th Dyn. (after Sotheby Sale Cat. Dec. 12, 1988, lot. 85)	
BM EA40724	1757	all sides, examined personally	3d	C2/C5	O	e6b	raised	not serrated		SUE (the name *Ddt-mwt*)		
BM EA41564	831	all sides, examined personally	1ad	C2/C5	II	d8	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated		Dendera (the title *wʿb n Ḥwt-ḥr nbt Jwnt*; however, the connection with MMA 69.30 (DAE 131) points to Thebes)	Am. IV–early 13th Dyn. (after MMA 69.30 (DAE 131))	

Table 44 Scarabs with hybrid asymmetrical C2/C5-type heads.

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Scarab	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Provenance	Origin	Date	Epithets
BM EA67023	317	all sides, examined personally	1ad	C2/C5	II	d8	raised	4 serrations				
BM EA76767	19	all sides, examined personally	1ad	C2/C5	II	d8	raised	not serrated		SUE (the title *smsw ḥ3jt*)		
Bruxelles E.5024	661	all sides, museum website [p]	3a	C2/C5	II	d8	raised	not serrated		SUE (the title *jrj-pḏt*)		
Cairo JE 2523	578	base and back, seen on display	3a	C2/C5	I	d8 or d9	raised	worn off	Abydos			
Cairo JE 3349	655	base and back, museum database [p]; seen on display	1ak	C2/C5	O	d9	raised	4 serrations	Abydos			*wḥm-ʿnḫ*
Cairo JE 30455	1720	base and back, museum database [p]; seen on display	1ad	C2/C5	I	d9	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated		SUE (the title *ḥrj n tm*)		*mỉʿ ḫrw*
Cairo JE 30456	770	base and back, seen on display	3a	C2/C5	I	d8	raised	not serrated			13th Dyn. (filiation formula *ms.n*)	*mỉʿ ḫrw*
Cairo JE 74964		base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	C2/C5	I		raised	worn off			Sob. IV (the wife of Sobekhotep IV (Siesse 2016))	*wḥm-ʿnḫ*
Cairo JE 75040	828	all sides, examined personally; Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	C2/C5	I	d8	raised	not serrated				*nb jmỉḫ*
Cairo JE 75103	368	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	C2/C5	II		raised	not serrated				
Cairo JE 75131	1579	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	1ak	C2/C5	II	d8	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated		Thebes (after Edinburgh A.1951.344)	13th Dyn., Senbi (after Edinburgh A.1951.344 (dating: Ilin-Tomich 2017a))	
Cairo JE 75160	536	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	1ak	C2/C5	I		raised	chipped off				*mỉʿ ḫrw*
Cairo JE 75203	1448	all sides, examined personally; Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	4a	C2/C5	II	d8	raised	worn off		SUE (the title *jrj-pḏt*)		*nb jmỉḫ*
Cambridge 2003.39	1505	all sides, examined personally	1ad	C2/C5	II	d8	raised	not serrated			13th Dyn., Senbi (after SEH 163 (PD 657))	

Table 44 Scarabs with hybrid asymmetrical C2/C5-type heads. (continuation)

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Scarab	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Provenance	Origin	Date	Epithets
CNG auction 381, lot 609	1714a	base and back, https://www.cng-coins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=319571 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	1ad	C2/C5	II	d8	raised	not serrated				*mꜣᶜ ḫrw*
Fadrus 185/20:1	872c	all sides, Säve-Söderbergh and Troy 1991, pl. 10 (185/20:1) [p]	3d	C2/C5	I	d8	raised	not serrated	Dibeira East			
Magnarini, Catalogo ragionato, no. 12.40		base and back, Magnarini 2014, no. 12.14 [p, s]	1ad	C2/C5	I	d9	raised	worm off				
Moscow I, 1a 2136	204	all sides, examined personally; Hodjash 1999, no. 454 [p]	1ak	C2/C5	I	d5	raised	worm off				
OIM 18571	1747	all sides, examined personally	3d	C2/C5	II	d8	raised	not serrated		SUE (the title *smsw ḥjjt*)		
OIM 18580	1740	all sides, examined personally	3d	C2/C5	II	d9	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated		Thebes (after Cairo JE 43461 (PD 738))	Sob. IV (after Cairo JE 43461 (PD 738; dating: Lin-Tomich 2017a))	*wḥm-ᶜnḫ; nb jm³ḫ*
Philadelphia 61-14-977		all sides, Keel 2010a, 254–255 (89) [p, s]; museum website [p]	1ad	C2/C5	II	d9	raised	not serrated	Beit Shemesh	SUE (the title *smsw ḥjjt*)		
UC 11337	1339	all sides, examined personally	1b	C2/C5	II	d8	raised	chipped off		Thebes (after Wadi el-Hudi 23 (PD 548); the title *sš n ḫnrt wr* with the sign U31)	Sob. IV (after Wadi el-Hudi 23 (PD 548))	
UC 11369	1398	all sides, examined personally	1ad	C2/C5	II	d8	raised	not serrated				
UC 11410	1623	all sides, examined personally	1ad	C2/C5	II	d8	raised	not serrated				
UC 11436	240	all sides, examined personally	3d	C2/C5	II	d8	raised	not serrated		SUE (the title *smsw ḥjjt*)		

Table 44 Scarabs with hybrid asymmetrical C2/C5-type heads. (continuation)

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ISBN Print: 978-3-447-12043-2 — ISBN E-Book: 978-3-447-39406-2

Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Provenance	Origin	Date	Epithets
Ashmolean AN1892.50	scarab	1626	all sides, examined personally	1s	C5	II	d14	raised	not serrated				*mꜣʿ ḫrw*
Basel Cat. 509	scarab	303	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 509 [p]	1t	A3	H	c	raised at base, deeply set at front	4 serrations				
Basel Cat. 535	scarab	1333	all sides (head lost), Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 535 [p]	1s		II	d14	chipped off	chipped off				
Berlin 32411	scarab	48a	all sides, examined personally	1u1	C2	II	d14	raised	not serrated				
Berlin 32505	scarab	628	all sides, examined personally	1s	C3	II	d14	raised	not serrated				
Berlin 32510	scarab	645a	all sides, examined personally	1t	C2	II	d8	raised	not serrated				
Berlin 32511	scarab	662	all sides, examined personally	1s	C2/C5	II	d9	raised	chipped off		MFR (the title *ḫrp ʿḥ*)		
Berlin 32521	scarab	753	all sides, examined personally	1s	C2	II	d8	raised	chipped off	Shibin el-Qanatir (Blanchard)			
Berlin 32576	scarab	1098	all sides, examined personally	1s	C2/C5	II	d14	raised	not serrated	Saqqara (Blanchard)	SUE (the title *ḫrj tm*)		*mꜣʿ ḫrw*
Berlin 32600	scarab	1266	all sides, examined personally	1s	D3	I	d14	raised	not serrated				*nb jmꜣḫ*
Berlin 32601	scarab	1267	all sides, examined personally	1s	C5	O	d14	raised	not serrated		SUE (the title *jrj-pḏt*)		
Berlin 32612	scarab	1345	all sides, examined personally	1s	C2	II	d8	raised	not serrated		Thebes (the title *sš n ḫnrt wr* with the sign U31)		
Berlin 32659	scarab	1694	all sides, examined personally	1s	C2	O	d14	raised	4 serrations		SUE (the title *smsw ḥsjt*)		
Berlin 34417	scarab		all sides, examined personally	1s	C2	III	d8	raised	not serrated				
Berlin VÄGM 1984/068	scarab		all sides, examined personally; Martin 1979, no. 26 [s]	1s	D6		e6b	raised	not serrated				
BM EA4316	scarab	1479	all sides, examined personally	1s	C2/C5	II	d8	raised	not serrated		SUE (the title *smsw ḥsjt*)		*nb jmꜣḫ*
BM EA14902	scarab	708	all sides, examined personally	1s	A5	II	d8	deeply set, double partition line	4 serrations		MFR (the name *Jw-nfr*)		

Table 45 Scarabs with bases having 4 round scrolls on each side (Martin types 1s and 1u).

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Provenance	Origin	Date	Epithets
BM EA17251	scarab	1671	all sides, examined personally	1s	C2	III	d14	raised	worn off	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	Thebes (the title *sš n ḥnrt wr* with the sign U31)		*nfr*
BM EA24094	scarab	735	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1970, no. 8 [s]	1s	C3	II	d8	raised	not serrated		SUE (the name *Nfrw*)		*mꜣᶜ ḫrw*
BM EA30551	scarab	862	all sides, examined personally	1s	C2/C5	II	d14	raised	worn off			13th Dyn. (after Rio de Janeiro 630 [2422] (PD 395))	*mꜣᶜ ḫrw*
BM EA32273	scarab	1375	all sides, examined personally	1s	C6	III	d14	raised	worn off				
BM EA32279	scarab	870	all sides, examined personally	1s	C3	II	d14	raised	not serrated				
BM EA32282	scarab	617	all sides, examined personally	1s	D3	II	d14	raised	not serrated				
BM EA66727	scarab	525	all sides, examined personally	1t	A5	H	d14	raised	4 serrations, zigzag border				
BM EA69224	scarab		all sides, examined personally	1s	D6	O	d14	raised	not serrated		SUE (the title *sꜣb; r3-nḫn*)		
Bonhams 27.04.2006 lot 33 (4)	scarab		only base, https://www.bonhams.com/auctions/13686/lot/33/ (accessed on 11.04.2020) [p]	1s									
Brooklyn 44.123.97	scarab	17	only base	1s			d14				SUE (the title *sꜣb; r3-nḫn*)		
Cairo JE 75139	scarab	1133	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	1s	C2	O		raised	worn off		MFR (after Cairo CG 20742)	13th Dyn. (after Cairo CG 20742)	
Cairo JE 75149	scarab	687	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	1s	D6	IIII	d14	raised	not serrated				
Cairo JE 75162	scarab	832	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	1s	D6	IIII		raised	not serrated				
Cairo JE 75171	scarab	1340	all sides, examined personally; Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	1s	C5	II	d8	raised	not serrated				
Cairo JE 75180	scarab	1380	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	1s	C2	O		raised	not serrated				

Table 45 Scarabs with bases having 4 round scrolls on each side (Martin types 1s and 1u). (continuation)

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Provenance	Origin	Date	Epithets
Cambridge 2003.43	scarab	10	all sides, examined personally	1s	D3	O	d6	deeply set, double partition line	4 serrations				*wḥm-ʿnḫ*
Chicago AI 1894.1569	scarab	358	base and back, museum website [p]	1u	A1			raised	not serrated				
Fadrus 185/545:2	scarab	299a	base and back, Säve-Söderbergh and Troy 1991, 95, pl. 17 (185/545:2) [p]	1s	D6	II	d14	raised	worn off	Dibeira East	MFR (the title *jmj-rꜣ ʿḫmwtj n kꜣp*)		*mꜣʿ ḫrw*
Giveon, Tel Aviv 7, no. 5	scarab		base and back, Giveon 1980, no. 5 [s]	1s	A5	II	d14	deeply set, double partition line	not serrated, zigzag border				
Hannover 1976.88	scarab		all sides, examined personally; Beste 1979, 125–127 [p]	1u	C2		d14	raised	worn off				*nfr ʿnḫ*
Jerusalem IM 76.31.69	scarab	631	all sides, Ben-Tor 1989, 61 (11) [p]; Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 24 (1) [s]	1s	C3	II	d8	raised	not serrated				*mꜣʿ ḫrw*
Jerusalem IM 76.31.4595	scarab		all sides, Ben-Tor 1989, 60 (3) [p]; Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 25 (3) [s]	1s	C6	I	d14	raised	not serrated				*mꜣʿ ḫrw*
Kerma no. 9	scarab impression		Gratien 1993, 28 (c, 2) [s]	1s						Kerma	SUE (the title *smsw ḥ3jjt*)		
Macclesfield 1758.77	scarab		all sides, David 1980, 35 (1) [s]	1s1	C5	II	d8	raised	chipped off				
Martin 8	scarab impression	8		1s						Abydos	MFR (the title *jmj-rꜣ jpt-nsw*)		
Martin 672	scarab	672	only base	1s									
Martin 1426	scarab	1426	only base, Wilbour MSS, Notebook 2F, 62 [s]	1u							Elkab (the title *ḫrj-ḥb n Nḫbt*)		*mꜣʿ ḫrw*
Martin 1766	scarab	1766	only base	1s									
Martin, MDAIK 35, no. 27	scarab		base and back, Martin 1979, no. 27 [s]; Grimm-Stadelmann 2012, 30 (R-089) [p]	1u	C2	I	d14				SUE (the title *smsw ḥ3jjt*)		*mꜣʿ ḫrw*
Mirgissa 3-43	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 16 [s]	1s						Mirgissa			

Table 45 Scarabs with bases having 4 round scrolls on each side (Martin types 1s and 1u). (continuation)

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Provenance	Origin	Date	Epithets
Mirgissa 3-46	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 16 [s]	1s						Mirgissa	MFR (the title *jmj-rꜣ ḥmwtj n kꜣp*)		
Mirgissa 3-68	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 17 [s]	1s						Mirgissa			
Mirgissa 3-84	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 17 [s]	1s						Mirgissa			
Mirgissa 3-182	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 22 [s]	1s						Mirgissa	SUE (the title *sšꜣ; rꜣ-nḫn*; after Louvre C 12)	13th Dyn., Ankhu (after Louvre C 12)	
Mirgissa 3-303	scarab impression		Gratien 2019, pl. 27 [s]	1s						Mirgissa			
Mirgissa 32-1-36B	scarab impression	1329	Dunham 1967, 163, 171 fig. 10 [s]	1s						Mirgissa			*nb jmꜣḫ*
Mirgissa 32-1-136	scarab impression	1338	Dunham 1967, 165, 172 fig. 11 [s]	1s						Mirgissa			
Mirgissa 32-1-169	scarab impression	1330	Dunham 1967, 166, 171 fig. 10 [s]	1s						Mirgissa			*nb jmꜣḫ*
MMA 09.180.1207	scarab		all sides, Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 22 (9) [s]	1s1	C5	II	d8	raised	not serrated	Lisht			
MMA 10.130.281	scarab	1580	only base	1s		II	d8						
MMA 10.130.288	scarab	722	base and back, seen on display	1s	C5	II	d8	raised			Thebes (the name *Nfr-ḥtp*)		*mꜣʿ ḫrw*
MMA 10.130.292	scarab	1664	all sides, seen on display	1s	C5	III	d14						
MMA 10.130.388	scarab	861	all sides, seen on display	1s	C6	III	d14						
MMA 14.3.258	scarab impression		museum website [p]	1s						Lisht			
MMA 26.7.285	scarab	1420	all sides, museum website [p]	1s	C5	IIII	d6	raised	not serrated				
Moeller, Marouard, Khyan, fig. 13	scarab impression		Moeller and Marouard 2018, fig. 13 [s]	1s						Edfu	SUE (the name *Wsr-nbw*)		
Moscow I, 1a 2137	scarab	1229	all sides, examined personally; Hodjash 1999, no. 438 [p]	1s	D3	II	d8	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated		MFR (the name *Ḥntj-ḥtjj-m-ḫꜣt*)	13th Dyn. (after BM 243 and Oxford QC 1109 (PD 470))	
Moscow I, 1a 2139	scarab		all sides, examined personally; Hodjash 1999, no. 446 [p]	1s	C6	II	d14	raised	not serrated		Thebes (the title *ḫm-nṯr Mntw*)		

Table 45 Scarabs with bases having 4 round scrolls on each side (Martin types 1s and 1u). (continuation)

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Seal	Type	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Provenance	Origin	Date	Epithets
OIM 18561	scarab	1162	all sides, examined personally	1s	A6b	II	d6	deeply set, double partition line	4 serrations, zigzag border		MFR (after Louvre C 45 and Berlin 7286 (PD 446))	13th Dyn., Senbi (after Louvre C 45 (PD 446))	
OIM 18585	scarab	66	all sides, examined personally	1s	C6	II	d14	raised	not serrated				
Petrie, Scarabs, pl. XVIII (Khensu)	scarab		only base, Petrie 1917, pl. XVIII (Khensu) [s]	1s									*wḥm-ʿnḫ*
Philadelphia E.10742	scarab	517	base and back, Wegner 2018, 240 fig. 13.5 [p, s]	1u	B2	O	d9	raised	not serrated	Buhen	MFR (after Brooklyn 37.1345E)	late 12th Dyn. (after Brooklyn 37.1345E)	*mȝʿ ḫrw*
UC 11341A	scarab	1349	all sides, examined personally	1s	C5	II	d14	raised	chipped off				
UC 11342	scarab	897	all sides, examined personally	1u	C6	III	d14	raised	not serrated				*mȝʿ ḫrw*
UC 11343	scarab	464	all sides, examined personally	1s	C6	II	d16	raised	not serrated, zigzag border		Thebes (the title *sš n ḫnrt wr* with the sign U31)		*nb jmȝḫ*
UC 11344	scarab	1423	all sides, examined personally	1s	C2	II	d8	raised	not serrated				*mȝʿ ḫrw*
UC 11345	scarab	187	all sides, examined personally	1s	C6	II	d14	raised	not serrated		Thebes (the name *Jmn-ḥtp*; after Cairo CG 20724 (DAE 55))	13th Dyn., Ankhu (after Cairo CG 20724 (DAE 55))	
UC 11357	scarab	1325	all sides, examined personally	1s	C5	III	d14	chipped off	chipped off		Uncertain (the title *sš n ḫnrt wr* (SUE); the name *Sȝ-ḥntj-ḥtjj* (MFR))		
UC 26123	scarab	1222	all sides, examined personally	1s	D6	II	d14	raised	not serrated		MFR (the name *Ḫnij-ḥtp*)		
Uronarti 12	scarab impression	1322	Dunham 1967, 65 (12) [s]	1s						Uronarti	SUE (the title *jrj-pḏt*)		
Wegner, Temple, fig. 157 (49)	scarab impression		Wegner 2007, fig. 157 (49) [p, s]	1u						Abydos	Thebes (the title *ḫm-nṯr Mnṯw*)		
Wozencroft, GM 213, 101-104	scarab		all sides, Wozencroft 2007 [p]	1u	C6	III	d14	raised	not serrated				

Table 45 Scarabs with bases having 4 round scrolls on each side (Martin types 1s and 1u). (continuation)

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Table 46 Scarabs with only elytra bordered.

Scarab	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Provenance	Origin	Date	Epithets
Basel Cat. 128		all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 128 [p]	3d	C5	II	d8	raised	not serrated				
Basel Cat. 520	1469	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 520 [p]	1ad	D6	II	d8	raised	not serrated		SUE (the title *sꜣb; rꜣ-nḫn*)		
Basel Cat. 551	1195	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 551 [p]	4a	C5	II	d9	raised	not serrated		SUE (the name *Nbw-ḫw-sj*)		
Ben-Tor, Scarab, 60 (1)		base and back, Ben-Tor 1989, 60 (1) [p]	1ad	C6	II		raised	not serrated				
Berkeley 6-19652		all sides, museum website [p]	1m	C5	II	d8	raised	not serrated	el-Ballas (purchased)			
Berlin 9518		all sides, unpublished photo from the museum [p]	1ad	C5	II	d9	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated			Khendjer–Sobekhotep III (wife of Sobekhotep III, known from Laming Macadam, JEA 37, pl. VI, or alternatively as Ryholt 1997, 221 suggests wife of Khendjer, known from Cairo JE 54498)	
Berlin 10977		all sides, examined personally	1ad	C5	II	d9	raised	not serrated			same as previous	
Berlin 18162	56	all sides, examined personally	9	C5	II	d9	worn off	worn off		SUE (the name *Jꜥ-jb*)		*wḫm-ꜥnḫ; nb jmꜣḫ*
Berlin 31026		all sides, examined personally	1ad	C5	II	d8	raised at base, deeply set at front	chipped off			Ameny Qemau (likely, the king's daughter)	
Berlin 32404	7	all sides, examined personally	4a	C2/C5	II	d8	raised	not serrated	Zagazig (Blanchard)	SUE (the title *jmj-ḫt sꜣ-prw*)	13th Dyn. (after Bologna 1921 (PD 13))	*mꜣꜥ ḫrw*
Berlin 32462	402	all sides, examined personally	1aj	C5	I	d8	raised	not serrated	Mit Rahina (Blanchard)		SIP (after Ballerini, Bessarione 7, 235–236 (DAE 69))	*mꜣꜥ ḫrw*
Berlin 32533	818	all sides, examined personally	4a	C2/C5	I	d8	raised	chipped off				
Berlin 32612	1345	all sides, examined personally	1s	C2	II	d8	raised	not serrated		Thebes (the title *sś n ḫnrt wr* with the sign U31)		
Berlin 32621	1424	all sides, examined personally	1ad	C5	II	d8	raised	not serrated				*wḫm-ꜥnḫ*
Berlin 32623	1442	all sides, examined personally	1ad	C5	II	d8	raised	not serrated				

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Scarab	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Provenance	Origin	Date	Epithets
Berlin 32643	1594	all sides, examined personally	4a	C5	II	d8	raised	not serrated				
Berlin 32656	1670	all sides, examined personally	3a	C5	II	d8	raised	chipped off	Mit Rahina (Blanchard)	SUE (the title *sȝb; r3-nḫn*)		*mꜣʿ ḫrw*
Berlin 32662	1705	all sides, examined personally	4a	C5	II	d8	raised	4 serrations				*mꜣʿ ḫrw*
Berlin 32669	1749	all sides, examined personally	1ad	C5	II	d14	raised	not serrated				
Berlin 32710		all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	II	d8	raised	worn off				
Berlin 34417		all sides, examined personally	1s	C2	III	d8	raised	not serrated				
Berlin VÄGM 1984/067		all sides, examined personally; Martin 1979, no. 29 [s]	1ad	C5	II	d8	raised	not serrated		Thebes (after Durham EG580 (DAE 203))	13th Dyn. (after Durham EG580 (DAE 203))	
BM EA24108	1547	all sides, examined personally	3a	C2	I	d8	raised	worn off			13th Dyn., Senbi	
BM EA24262	252	all sides, examined personally	4a	C2/C5	II	d9	raised	worn off		SUE (the name *Jn-ḥrt-ʿnḫ*)		*mꜣʿ ḫrw*
BM EA24275	1193	all sides, examined personally	3d	D3	II	d8	raised	not serrated				
BM EA28225	313	all sides, examined personally	1ad	C2/C5	I	d8	raised	not serrated		SUE (the title *sȝb; r3-nḫn*)		*mꜣʿ ḫrw*
BM EA30546	1368	all sides, examined personally	1ak	A5	III	d14	raised	chipped off				
BM EA37685	1499	all sides, examined personally	3a	C2/C5	II	d8	raised	not serrated			13th Dyn. (after Sotheby Sale Cat. Dec. 12, 1988, lot. 85)	
BM EA40668	758	all sides, examined personally	3d	D6		d5	raised	not serrated				*wḥm-ʿnḫ*
BM EA40700		all sides, examined personally	3d	C5	II	d9		worn off			same as Berlin 9518 above	
BM EA64850	1603	all sides, examined personally	3a	C5	II	d9	raised	not serrated				*wḥm-ʿnḫ*
BM EA66078	335	all sides, examined personally	4f	C5	III	d8	raised at base, deeply set at front	chipped off			SIP (after Cairo CG 20143 (PD 176; dating: Lin-Tomich 2017a))	*wḥm-ʿnḫ*

Table 46 Scarabs with only elytra bordered.
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Scarab	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Provenance	Origin	Date	Epithets
BM EA66155		all sides, examined personally	3a	C2	II	d8	raised	chipped off				
BM EA66738	1199	all sides, examined personally	3a	C7/D	II	e6c	raised	4 serrations		MFR (the name *Ḥpr-kȝ*)		
BM EA67023	317	all sides, examined personally	1ad	C2/C5	II	d8	raised	4 serrations				
BM EA76767	19	all sides, examined personally	1ad	C2/C5	II	d8	raised	not serrated		SUE (the title *smsw ḥȝjt*)		
Bruxelles E.5020	1745	all sides, museum website [p]	4a	D6	II	d8	raised	not serrated		Thebes (the title *sš n ỉmnt wr* with the sign U31)		
Bruxelles E.5024	661	all sides, museum website [p]	3a	C2/C5	II	d8	raised	not serrated		SUE (the title *ỉrỉ-pḏt*)		
Bruxelles E.5025	584	all sides, museum website [p]	3a	C5	I	d8	raised	not serrated				
Cairo JE 75040	828	all sides, examined personally; Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	C2/C5	I	d8	raised	not serrated				*nb ỉmȝḫ*
Cairo JE 75051	178	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	D3	I		raised	not serrated			12th Dyn. (*ỉmỉj-rȝ: mr-r*)	
Cairo JE 75164	447	all sides, examined personally; Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	1ad	C2	II	d8	raised	not serrated		SUE (the title *ḥȝkt nt ḥqȝ*)		
Cairo JE 75167	18	all sides, examined personally; Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	1ak	C2	II	d8	raised	not serrated		MFR (the title *ỉmỉj-rȝ ỉpt-nsw*)		
Cairo JE 75203	1448	all sides, examined personally; Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	4a	C2/C5	II	d8	raised	worn off		SUE (the title *ỉrỉ-pḏt*)		*nb ỉmȝḫ*
CNG auction 381, lot 609	1714a	base and back, https://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=319571 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	1ad	C2/C5	II	d8	raised	not serrated				*mȝʿ ḫrw*
Fitzwilliam E.94.1920	1530	all sides, Bourriau and Quirke 1988, no. 182 (a) [s]	3a	C5	II	d9	raised	chipped off			13th Dyn., Senebsumai	
Giveon, Tel Aviv 7, no. 3		all sides, Giveon 1980, no. 3 [s]	1ad	C5	III	d9	raised	not serrated		SUE (the title *smsw ḥȝjt*)	13th Dyn., Ankhu (after pBoulaq 18, larger manuscript, vs II.1.22 (Allam 2019))	*mȝʿ ḫrw*

Table 46 Scarabs with only elytra bordered.
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Scarab	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Provenance	Origin	Date	Epithets
Hannover 1976.96		all sides, examined personally; Beste 1979, 145–146 [p]	9	C6	III	d14	raised	not serrated		SUE (the title *bꜣkt nt ḥqꜣ*)		
Jerusalem IM 76.31.4516		all sides, Downes 1974, 58, 61 (198E.i) [s]; Ben-Tor 1989, 61 (15) [p]; Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 24 (14) [s]	4a	C5	II	d8	raised	not serrated	Esna	SUE (the title *ḥm-nṯr n ỉn-ḥrt*; the name *Sꜣ-ỉmn*)		*nb ỉmꜣḫ*
Magnarini, Catalogo ragionato, no. 12.40		base and back, Magnarini 2014, no. 12.14 [p, s]	1ad	C2/C5	I	d9	raised	worn off				
Martin, MDAIK 35, no. 18		all sides, Fay 2003, no. 15 [p]; Sotheby 1975, no. 118 [p]; Martin 1979, no. 18 [s]	1j	A7	O	e6b	raised	4 serrations		MFR (the name *Kmꜣ* and after Cairo CG 20748 (PD 353=PD 721))	Sen. III–Am. III (after Cairo CG 20748 (PD 353=PD 721, dating: Ilin-Tomich 2017a))	
MMA 10.130.285	550	all sides, museum website [p]	1ad	C5	II	d8	raised	not serrated		MFR (after Leiden V. L. D. J. 2 (PD 250))	13th Dyn., Senbi (after Leiden V. L. D. J. 2 (PD 250))	*wḥmꜥnḫ*
MMA 10.130.288	722	base and back, seen on display	1s	C5	II	d8	raised			Thebes (the name *Nfr-ḥtp*)		*mꜣꜥ ḫrw*
MMA 10.130.292	1664	all sides, seen on display	1s	C5	III	d14						
MMA 10.130.388	861	all sides, seen on display	1s	C6	III	d14						
MMA 30.8.643	1431	all sides, museum website [p]	6a	C5	II	d8	raised	not serrated				
Moscow I, 1a 2137	1229	all sides, examined personally; Hodjash 1999, no. 438 [p]	1s	D3	II	d8	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated		MFR (the name *Ḫntỉ-ḫtỉỉ-m-ḫỉt*)	13th Dyn. (after BM 243 and Oxford QC 1109 (PD 470))	
OIM 18590	1511	all sides, examined personally	1ad	C2	II	d8	raised	not serrated		MFR (the title *ḫrd n kꜣp*)	13th Dyn., Senebsumai (after Wien AS 142 (PD 663; dating: Grajetzki 2001, 25))	
Philadelphia 61-14-977		all sides, Keel 2010a, 254–255 (89) [p, s]; museum website [p]	1ad	C2/C5	II	d9	raised	not serrated	Beit Shemesh	SUE (the title *snsw ḫsỉỉ*)		
UC 11362	1156	all sides, examined personally	1ad	C2	III	d8	raised	not serrated		NUELE (after Cairo JE 47021; the name *Ḥtp*)		*nb ỉmꜣḫ*

Table 46 Scarabs with only elytra bordered.
(continuation)

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Scarab	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Provenance	Origin	Date	Epithets
Ashmolean AN1892.50	1626	all sides, examined personally	1s	C5	II	d14	raised	not serrated				*mꜣʿ ḫrw*
Basel Cat. 530	67	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 530 [p]	1aq	C5	IIII	d14	raised	not serrated				
Basel Cat. 550		all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 550 [p]	3a	D6	II	d8	raised	chipped off				
Berkeley 6-19079		all sides, museum website [p]	3d	C5	III	d9	raised	not serrated, straight-line border		SUE (the title *sꜣ-prwy*)		
Berlin 32410	45	all sides, examined personally	4a	C5	II	d8	raised	chipped off		Thebes (after Würzburg H 35 (PD 23))	13th Dyn., Ankhu (after Würzburg H 35 (PD 23))	*mꜣʿ ḫrw*
Berlin 32505	628	all sides, examined personally	1s	C3	II	d14	raised	not serrated				
Berlin 32509	641	all sides, examined personally	1ae2	C5	II	d8	raised	worn off				*wḥm-ʿnḫ*
Berlin 32601	1267	all sides, examined personally	1s	C5	O	d14	raised	not serrated		SUE (the title *jrj-pḏt*)		
Berlin 32659	1694	all sides, examined personally	1s	C2	O	d14	raised	4 serrations		SUE (the title *smsw ḥsjt*)		
Berlin 34416		all sides, examined personally	1m	C2	O	d14	raised	4 serrations				*mꜣʿ ḫrw*
BM EA17251	1671	all sides, examined personally	1s	C2	III	d14	raised	worn off	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	Thebes (the title *sš n ḫnrt wr* with the sign U31)		*nfr*
BM EA24094	735	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1970, no. 8 [s]	1s	C3	II	d8	raised	not serrated		SUE (the name *Nfrw*)		*mꜣʿ ḫrw*
BM EA30551	862	all sides, examined personally	1s	C2/C5	II	d14	raised	worn off			13th Dyn. (after Rio de Janeiro 630 [2422] (PD 395))	*mꜣʿ ḫrw*
BM EA32279	870	all sides, examined personally	1s	C3	II	d14	raised	not serrated				
BM EA66721		all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3201 [s]	1n	D3	II	d13	raised	not serrated			13th Dyn., Ay (royal name)	
BM EA76768	188	all sides, examined personally	1m	C2	II	d8	raised	not serrated		Thebes (the name *Jmn-ḥtp*)		*mꜣʿ ḫrw*
Cairo JE 49794	340	base and back, EES AB.NEG AB 25 280-281 [p]; museum database [p]	1ad	C2	III		raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	Abydos			*mꜣʿ ḫrw*
Cairo JE 72814	926	base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]; Tufnell 1984, no. 3128 [d]	3a	C2	I	d9	raised	worn off			13th Dyn., Nef. I (royal name)	

Table 47 Scarabs with concave head-sides.

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Scarab	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Provenance	Origin	Date	Epithets
Cairo JE 75038	1701	all sides, examined personally; Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	C2	II	d14	raised	not serrated		Uncertain (the title *smsw ḥzjjt* (SUE); the name *Kmṯ* (MFR))		
Cairo JE 75099	61	all sides, examined personally; Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	C5	II	d8	raised	not serrated		SUE (the title *ḥrj im*; the name *Jwi(j)*)		
Cairo JE 75149	687	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	1s	D6	IIII	d14	raised	not serrated				
Cairo JE 75159	1418	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	1ao1	C2	II		raised	worn off				
Cairo JE 75162	832	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	1s	D6	IIII		raised	not serrated				
Durham EG3630	591	all sides, examined personally	1am	D6	II	d6	raised	not serrated		SUE (the title *smsw ḥzjjt*)		
Fadrus 185/545.22	299a	base and back, Säve-Söderbergh and Troy 1991, 95, pl. 17 (185/545:2) [p]	1s	D6	II	d14	raised	worn off	Dibeira East	MFR (the title *jmj-r3 ꜥḫnwtj n kꜣp*)		*mꜣꜥ ḫrw*
Hannover 1976.84		all sides, examined personally; Beste 1979, 115–117 [p]; Martin 1979, no. 19 [s; incorrect drawing of the back]	1aj	D6	IIII	d6	raised	4 serrations				
Hannover 1976.88		all sides, examined personally; Beste 1979, 125–127 [p]	1u	C2		d14	raised	worn off				*nfr ꜥnḫ*
Heracleópolis Magna 87-30		base and back, Pérez Die and Vernus 1992, 33–34, 127 fig. 15 (doc. 7) [s]; Pérez Die 2010 [p, s]	1ae2	C5	II	d8	raised	not serrated	Herakleopolis			
Jerusalem IM 76.31.69	631	all sides, Ben-Tor 1989, 61 (11) [p]; Ben-Tor 2007a, pl. 24 (1) [s]	1s	C3	II	d8	raised	not serrated				*mꜣꜥ ḫrw*
Keel 30		all sides, Keel 2020, no. 30 [p]	3d	C5	I	d8	raised	chipped off				
Lille L 0871		base and back, Vercoutter 1975, 86 fig. 26 (3) [p]; Postel 2014, 25 [p]; Morfoisse and Andreu-Lanoë 2014, 276 (46) [p]	3a	D6	O		raised	not serrated	Mirgissa			
Louvre E 6199	476	base and back, museum website [p]	1ad	C5	III	d14	raised	not serrated				
Martin, MDAIK 35, no. 25		base and back, Sotheby 1975, no. 131 [p]	3a	D6	III	d9	raised	not serrated				*nb jmꜣḫ*
MMA 10.130.288	722	base and back, seen on display	1s	C5	II	d8	raised			Thebes (the name *Nfr-ḥtp*)		*mꜣꜥ ḫrw*

Table 47 Scarabs with concave head-sides. (continuation)

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Scarab	Martin no	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Provenance	Origin	Date	Epithets
MMA 10.130.292	1664	all sides, seen on display	1s	C5	III	d14						
MMA 10.130.388	861	all sides, seen on display	1s	C6	III	d14						
MMA 26.7.285	1420	all sides, museum website [p]	1s	C5	IIII	d6	raised	not serrated				
Moscow I, 1a 2174	1807	all sides, examined personally; Hodjash 1999, no. 452 [p]	1ak	C3	II	d14	raised	chipped off		SUE (the title *bꜣkt nt ḥqꜣ*)		
OIM 18585	66	all sides, examined personally	1s	C6	II	d14	raised	not serrated				
UC 11341A	1349	all sides, examined personally	1s	C5	II	d14	raised	chipped off				
UC 11374	65	all sides, examined personally	1ak	C2	II	d8	raised	not serrated		SUE (the title *smsw ḥsjt*)		*whm-ꜥnḫ*
UC 11375	95	all sides, examined personally	1ad	C6	II	d8	raised	worn off		SUE (the title *sꜣb; rʾ-nḫn*)		
van Nijl Tot Schelde, no. 96		base and back, Gübel 1991, no. 96 [p]	3a	A5	II		deeply set, single partition line	chipped off			13th Dyn., Senebsumai	
Walters 42.18	1302	all sides, museum website [p]; Schulz 2007, no. 77 [p]	1m	D6	IIII	d6	raised	not serrated		Thebes (the title *wʿb ʿꜣ n Ḥnsw*)		

Table 47 Scarabs with concave head-sides. (continuation)

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Seal	Type	No	Availability and bibliography	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Base	Title	Cartouche	Epithet	Material	Provenance	King
Basel Cat. 149	scarab		all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 149 [p]	D9	O	e11		not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*ḥnḳ dt*	steatite		Aahetepre
Berlin 8080	scarab		all sides, examined personally; Petrie 1899, no. 131 [s]	D8	O	e11		not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ḥnḳ*	steatite		Aahetepre
Berlin 31022	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D9	O	e11		not serrated	3a	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ḥnḳ*	steatite		Aahetepre
Berlin 32739	scarab		all sides, examined personally	A3	I	e10	deeply set, double partition line	worn off	8	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ḥnḳ*	steatite		Aahetepre
Berlin 32740	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D3	O	e11		not serrated	8	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ḥnḳ*	steatite		Aahetepre
Berlin 32741	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D3	O	d5		not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ḥnḳ*	steatite		Aahetepre
Berlin 32742	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D8	II	e11		not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*ḥnḳ dt*	steatite		Aahetepre
Berlin 32743	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D3	O	e11		not serrated	3a	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ḥnḳ*	steatite	Shibin el-Qanatir (Blanchard)	Aahetepre
BM EA28097	scarab	Tufnell 3428	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3428 [s]; Hall 1913, no. 283 [p]	D9	O	d5		not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ḥnḳ*	steatite		Aahetepre
BM EA42397	scarab	Tufnell 3431	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3431 [s]	D3	O	e11		not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Aahetepre
Cairo JE 72916	scarab	Tufnell 3426	base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D3	O			not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*ḥnḳ dt*	steatite		Aahetepre
Cairo JE 72917	scarab	Tufnell 3427	base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D7	O	e11		not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Aahetepre
Cairo JE 72918	scarab	Tufnell 3425	base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D3	O	e11		not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ḥnḳ*	steatite		Aahetepre
Cairo JE 72919	scarab	Tufnell 3429	base and back (head lost), Drioton MSS 5380 [p]		O	d5		chipped off	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*ḥnḳ dt*	steatite		Aahetepre
Cairo JE 72936	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D9	O			not serrated	7b		without cartouche	*dj>s ḥnḳ*	steatite		Aahetepre
Cairo JE 72937	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D8	O			not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ḥnḳ*	steatite		Aahetepre

Table 48 The reference group of 14th–15th Dynasty royal-name scarabs.

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Seal	Type	No	Availability and bibliography	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Base	Title	Cartouche	Epithet	Material	Provenance	King
Cambridge 2003.42	scarab	Tufnell 3432	all sides, examined personally	D9	O	d5	raised	not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*ʿnḫ dt*	steatite		Aahetepre
Jerusalem RM 35.3941	scarab	Tufnell 3424	all sides, Keel 1997, 302–303 (587) [p, s]	D3	O	d5		not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*ḏj ʿnḫ*	steatite	Tell el-ʿAjjul	Aahetepre
Keel 54	scarab		all sides, Keel 2020, no. 54 [p]	D9	O	e11	raised	not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*ḏj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Aahetepre
Keel, Corpus 1, Tell el-ʿAǧul no. 1037	scarab	Tufnell 2885	only base, Keel 1997, 456–457 (1037) [s]						7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*ḏj ʿnḫ*	steatite	Tell el-ʿAjjul	Aahetepre
MMA 30.8.465	scarab		only base, Hayes 1959, 5 fig. 1 (row 2, 3) [p]						3a	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*ḏj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Aahetepre
MMA 30.8.466	scarab		only base, Newberry 1906, pl. LXIII (20) [s]						3a	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*ḏj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Aahetepre
Newberry, PSBA 36, pl. X (h)	scarab		only base, Newberry 1914, 171, pl. X (h) [s]						7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*ḏj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Aahetepre
Niccacci, Scarabs, no. 1	scarab		only base, Niccacci 1980, pl. 1, 9 (1) [p, s]						7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*ḏj ʿnḫ*			Aahetepre
OIM 18453	scarab	Tufnell 3430	only base, Allen 1923, 142 (94.1405) [p]						7a	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*ʿnḫ dt*	steatite		Aahetepre
Settgast, MDAIK 18, pl. XXXVI (3)	scarab	Tufnell 3421	base and back, Settgast 1962, pl. XXXVI (3) [p]	D9	O			not serrated	3a	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*ḏj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Aahetepre
Tufnell II 3433	scarab	Tufnell 3433	only base, Tufnell 1984, no. 3433 [s]	D3	O	d4		worn off	1ad	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*ʿnḫ dt*		Tel Lachish	Aahetepre
UC 11676	scarab	Tufnell 3420	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3420 [s]	D7	O	e11	raised	not serrated	3a	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*ḏj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Aahetepre
UC 11817	scarab	Tufnell 3423	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3423 [s]	D8	O	d5		not serrated	7a	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*ḏj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Aahetepre
UC 11818	scarab	Tufnell 3422	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3422 [s]; Petrie 1917, pl. XXII (16.J.2) [p], pl. LXIII (H 70) [s]	D8	O	d5		worm off	3a	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*ḏj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Aahetepre
Ashmolean AN1893.9	scarab	Tufnell 3439	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3439 [s]	D3a	O	e6b		not serrated	11		in oval ring		steatite		Aauserre Apep

Table 48 The reference group of 14th–15th Dynasty royal-name scarabs. (continuation)

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Seal	Type	No	Availability and bibliography	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Base	Title	Cartouche	Epithet	Material	Provenance	King
Basel Cat. 138	scarab		all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 138 [p]	D3	O	e5		not serrated	3d		without cartouche		steatite		Aauserre Apep
Basel Cat. 144	cowroid		only base, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 144 [p]						12		in oval ring		steatite		Aauserre Apep
Berlin 31033	scarab		all sides (head lost), examined personally	D3a	O	e6b		worn off		*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Aauserre Apep
Berlin 32722	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D3a	O	e6b		not serrated	3a	*nsw bjtj*	in cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Aauserre Apep
Berlin 32729	scarab		all sides, examined personally	B4	O	e6b		not serrated	6a	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche		steatite		Aauserre Apep
Berlin 32730	scarab		all sides (head lost), examined personally					chipped off	1ad	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche		steatite		Aauserre Apep
Berlin 32771	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D3a	O	e6b		not serrated			in cartouche		steatite		Aauserre Apep
BM EA17780	cowroid		only base, Hall 1913, no. 300 [p]						12		in oval ring		steatite		Aauserre Apep
BM EA24113	scarab	Tufnell 3458	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3458 [s]	A6a	O	e6b		not serrated	1ad	*bjtj*	in cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Aauserre Apep
BM EA32331	scarab	Tufnell 3443	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3443 [s]	D3a	O	e5	raised	not serrated	11		in oval ring		steatite		Aauserre Apep
BM EA37663	scarab	Tufnell 3457	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3457 [s]	A6a	O	e6b		chipped off	1ak	*nsw bjtj*	in cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Aauserre Apep
BM EA66167	scarab		all sides, examined personally; Hein 1994, no. 110 [p]	D7	O	e5	raised	not serrated	11		in oval ring		steatite		Aauserre Apep
Cairo JE 72858	scarab	Tufnell 3450	base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D3a	O	e6b	raised	not serrated	11		in oval ring		steatite		Aauserre Apep
Cairo JE 72859	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D3	O			not serrated	3f		without cartouche				Aauserre Apep
Cairo JE 72860	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D7	O			not serrated	3f		without cartouche		steatite		Aauserre Apep
Cairo JE 98093	scarab		all sides, Régen and Soukiassian 2008, 158 (72) [p]		1	e11	chipped off	chipped off	3f		without cartouche		glazed composition	Gebel Zeit	Aauserre Apep

Table 48 The reference group of 14th–15th Dynasty royal-name scarabs. (continuation)

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Seal	Type	No	Availability and bibliography	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Base	Title	Cartouche	Epithet	Material	Provenance	King
Fribourg ÄS 1983.132	scarab		all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=2503 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	A4b	O	e6b		not serrated	1ad	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Aauserre Apep
Fribourg ÄS 1983.140	scarab	Tufnell 3449	all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=2516 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	D3a	O	e6b	raised	chipped off	11		in cartouche		steatite		Aauserre Apep
Fribourg ÄS 1983.141	scarab	Tufnell 3440	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3440 [s]; Matouk 1971, 206 (104) [p]; Keel and Uehlinger 1990, 70 fig. 86d [p]	D3a	O	e5		chipped off	11		in oval ring		steatite		Aauserre Apep
Fribourg ÄS 1983.142	cowroid		all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=2518 (accessed on 20.03.2019) [p]						12		in oval ring		steatite		Aauserre Apep
Fribourg ÄS 1983.143	cowroid		all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=2520 (accessed on 20.03.2019) [p]						12		in oval ring		steatite		Aauserre Apep
Fribourg ÄS 1983.144	scarab		all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=2522 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	B3	O	e11		not serrated	3f		without cartouche		glazed composition		Aauserre Apep
Fribourg ÄS 1983.145	scarab		all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=2523 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	D7	I	e11		chipped off	3f		without cartouche		glazed composition		Aauserre Apep
Fribourg ÄS 1983.146	scarab		all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=2524 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	D5	I	e11		not serrated	3a		without cartouche		steatite		Aauserre Apep

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Seal	Type	No	Availability and bibliography	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Base	Title	Cartouche	Epithet	Material	Provenance	King
Fribourg ÄS 1983.147	scarab		all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=2525 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	D7	II	e11		chipped off	3a		without cartouche		steatite		Aauserre Apep
Fribourg ÄS 1983.153	scarab	Tufnell 3441	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3441 [s]; Matouk 1971, 206 (105) [p]	D3a	O	e6b		not serrated	11		in oval ring		steatite		Aauserre Apep
IoA UCL E.XII 84/1	scarab	Tufnell 3437	base and back, Keel 1997, 106–107 (2) [p, s]	D7	I	e11	raised	not serrated	11		without cartouche		steatite	Tell el-ʾAjjul	Aauserre Apep
IoA UCL E.XII 85/3	scarab	Tufnell 3434	all sides, Keel 1997, 196–197 (280) [p, s]; Tufnell 1984, no. 3434 [d]	A3	O	e11	deeply set, single partition line	not serrated	3a		without cartouche		steatite	Tell el-ʾAjjul	Aauserre Apep
Jerusalem IM 76.31.2231	scarab		base and back, museum website [p]	A7	open-work	c		4 serrations	1ad	*s3 Rʿ*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Aauserre Apep
Jerusalem IM 76.31.3882	scarab		base and back, museum website [p]	D7	O		raised	not serrated	11		in oval ring		steatite		Aauserre Apep
Jerusalem RM J. 363	scarab		base and back, Rowe 1936, no. 210 [p]	D7	O	e11		not serrated	3f		without cartouche		steatite		Aauserre Apep
Jerusalem RM J. 380	scarab		base and back, Rowe 1936, no. 211 [p, s]	B2	O	e11		not serrated	3f		without cartouche		glazed composition		Aauserre Apep
Leiden EG-ZM2170	scarab		all sides, museum website [p]	D3a	O	e6b	raised	not serrated			in cartouche		steatite		Aauserre Apep
Louvre E 3282	scarab		all sides, Hein 1994, no. 121 [p]	D3a	O	e6b		chipped off			in cartouche		steatite		Aauserre Apep
Louvre E 6333	cowroid		only base, museum website [p]						12		in oval ring		steatite		Aauserre Apep
Manchester 9045	scarab	Tufnell 3436	all sides, Keel 1997, 150–151 (137) [p, s]	D7	O	e11	deeply set, no partition line	not serrated	3f		without cartouche		glazed composition	Tell el-ʾAjjul	Aauserre Apep
MMA 15.171	scarab	Tufnell 3460	base and back, museum website [p]	face	II	e6b			1ak	*nsw nfr*	in cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Aauserre Apep
MMA 26.7.267	cowroid		base and back, museum website [p]						12		in oval ring		steatite		Aauserre Apep

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Seal	Type	No	Availability and bibliography	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Base	Title	Cartouche	Epithet	Material	Provenance	King
New York Jewish Museum 12-73.405B	scarab	Tufnell 2881	all sides, Keel 1997, 118–119 (40) [p, s]	D8	O	e11		not serrated	3a		without cartouche		steatite	Tell el-ʿAjjul	Aauserre Apep
Newberry, PSBA 35, pl. XXX (6)	scarab		only base, Newberry 1913, 118, pl. XXX (6) [s]						3a	*nfr nsw bjtj*	in cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ dt*			Aauserre Apep
Newberry, Scarabs, pl. XXIII (33)	scarab		only base, Newberry 1906, pl. XXIII (33) [s]						1ae	*bjtj*	in cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*			Aauserre Apep
Newberry, Scarabs, pl. XXIII (34)	scarab		only base, Newberry 1906, pl. XXIII (34) [s]						1ad	*bjtj*	in cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*			Aauserre Apep
NFA Scarabs, no. 30	scarab		base and back, NFA 1991, no. 30 [p]	A6a	O		raised	not serrated	11		in oval ring		steatite		Aauserre Apep
OIM 18462	scarab		only base, Pier 1906b, pl. IV (1238) [s]						8		without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Aauserre Apep
OIM 18463	scarab	Tufnell 3453	only base, Pier 1906b, pl. IV (1239) [s]						6a	*nsw bjtj*	in cartouche	*ʿnḫ dt*	steatite		Aauserre Apep
Pella 1	scarab		all sides, Richards 1992, 81 fig. 1 [s]; Eggler and Keel 2006, 206-207 [p]		O	d5		worn off	6a	*k3*	in cartouche		steatite	Pella	Aauserre Apep
Pella 56	scarab		all sides, Richards 1992, 11–12 fig. 1, pl. XIII (56) [s]	B2	I	d5		not serrated	3d		without cartouche		steatite	Shamir	Aauserre Apep
TD 7552	scarab		all sides, Mlinar 2001b, no. 1074 [s]; Hein 1994, no. 115 [p]; Bietak, Czerny, Prell 2016, 93 fig. 9 [s]	A5	I	d5	deeply set, double partition line	not serrated	11		in oval ring		steatite	Tell el-Dabʿa (secondary context)	Aauserre Apep
TD 8963	scarab		all sides (head lost), Zeger 2009, 66–67 [s]; Bietak, Czerny, Prell 2016, 93 fig. 9 [s]		O	e11		chipped off	3f		without cartouche		steatite	Tell el-Dabʿa (HVI – w/17, L 4605, Str. d)	Aauserre Apep
Trieste 30841	scarab		base and back, Creva-tin and Vidulli Torlo 2013, 183 (7.22) [p]	D3a	O		chipped off	chipped off	11		in oval ring		steatite		Aauserre Apep

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Seal	Type	No	Availability and bibliography	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Base	Title	Cartouche	Epithet	Material	Provenance	King
Tufnell II 3438	scarab	Tufnell 3438	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3438 [s]	A6a	O	e8		not serrated	11		in oval ring		steatite		Aauserre Apep
Tufnell II 3451	scarab	Tufnell 3451	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3451 [s]	D3a	O	d5		not serrated	6a	*k3*	in cartouche		steatite		Aauserre Apep
UC 11657	scarab		all sides (head lost), examined personally; museum website [p]		open-work	c	raised	not serrated	12		in oval ring		steatite		Aauserre Apep
UC 11658	scarab	Tufnell 3447	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3447 [s]; Petrie 1917, pl. XXI (15.5.2) [p], pl. LIX (D 80) [s]	D3a	O	e6b	raised	chipped off			without cartouche		steatite		Aauserre Apep
UC 11659	scarab	Tufnell 3448	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3448 [s]; Petrie 1917, pl. XXI (15.5.3) [p], pl. LIX (D 90) [s]	D7	O	e6b	deeply set, no partition line	not serrated	12		in oval ring		steatite		Aauserre Apep
UC 11660	scarab	Tufnell 3445	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3445 [s]	B4	O	e5		not serrated	11		in oval ring		steatite		Aauserre Apep
UC 11661	scarab	Tufnell 3462	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3462 [s]; Petrie 1917, pl. XXI (15.5.5) [p], pl. LXVII (M 74) [s]	A4a	O	e11	raised	not serrated	4a		without cartouche		steatite		Aauserre Apep
UC 11662	scarab	Tufnell 3442	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3442 [s]; Petrie 1917, pl. XXI (15.5.6) [s], pl. LXIX (T 55) [p]	B4	O	e5	raised	worn off	11		without cartouche		steatite		Aauserre Apep
UC 11663	scarab	Tufnell 3446	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3446 [s]	D5	O	d5		not serrated	11		without cartouche		steatite		Aauserre Apep
UC 11664	scarab	Tufnell 3456	all sides (head lost), examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3456 [s]	D7	O	d5	raised	not serrated	6a		in cartouche		steatite	Koptos	Aauserre Apep
UC 11665	scarab	Tufnell 3444	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3444 [s]	D7	O	d5	raised	worn off	12		in oval ring		steatite		Aauserre Apep

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Seal	Type	No	Availability and bibliography	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Base	Title	Cartouche	Epithet	Material	Provenance	King
UC 11666	scarab	Tufnell 3452	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3452 [s]; Petrie 1906, pl. IX (144) [s]; Petrie 1917, pl. XXI (15.5.10) [p], pl. LXVI (L 9) [s]	A5	I	d5	deeply set, double partition line	not serrated	4a		in cartouche		steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya	Aauserre Apep
UC 11667	scarab	Tufnell 3454	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3454 [s]; Petrie 1917, pl. XXI (15.5.11) [p], pl. LXIX (T 26) [s]	D6	II	e6b	raised	worn off			in cartouche		steatite		Aauserre Apep
UC 11668	cowroid		all sides, examined personally; museum website [p]						12		in oval ring		steatite		Aauserre Apep
UC 11669	cowroid	Tufnell 3523	all sides, examined personally; museum website [p]						12		in oval ring		steatite		Aauserre Apep
UC 11670	scarab		all sides, examined personally; museum website [p]	D7	O	e11	raised	not serrated	3f		without cartouche		glazed composition		Aauserre Apep
UC 11671	scarab		all sides (head lost), examined personally; museum website [p]		O	e11	worn off	worn off	3a		without cartouche		glazed composition		Aauserre Apep
UC 11672	scarab		all sides, examined personally; museum website [p]	D7	O	e11	worn off	not serrated	3a		without cartouche		glazed composition		Aauserre Apep
UC 11673	scarab		all sides, examined personally; museum website [p]		O	e11	raised	not serrated	3a		without cartouche		steatite		Aauserre Apep
UC 11674	scarab	Tufnell 3435	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3435 [s]	B2	O	e11	raised	not serrated	3a		without cartouche		glazed composition		Aauserre Apep
UC 11675	scarab		all sides, examined personally; museum website [p]		O	d5		not serrated	3a		without cartouche		steatite		Aauserre Apep
Berlin 32296	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D9	O	d5		not serrated	6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Amu
Berlin 32299	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D6	O	d5		not serrated	1aa	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Amu
Berlin 32755	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D9	O	d5		not serrated	6a	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Amu

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Seal	Type	No	Availability and bibliography	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Base	Title	Cartouche	Epithet	Material	Provenance	King
Berlin 32758	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D7	O	d5		not serrated	7b		without cartouche		steatite		Amu
Berlin VÄGM 1982/015	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D3	O	d5		not serrated	6c/2	*rˁ nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Amu
BM EA66163	scarab	Tufnell 3353	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3353 [s]	D9	O	d5		not serrated	6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Amu
BM L.904	scarab	Tufnell 3351	all sides, Keel 1997, 264–265 (474) [p, s]	D3	O	d5		not serrated	6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite	Tell el-ʿAjjul	Amu
Boston 24.1508	scarab	Tufnell 3355	all sides, museum website [p]	D7	O	d5		not serrated	6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite	Semna	Amu
Brooklyn 44.123.90	scarab	Tufnell 3362	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3362 [s]	D3	O	d5		not serrated	7b	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Amu
Cairo JE 22157	scarab		only base, Newberry 1907a, no. 36040 [s]; Petrie 1899, no. 130 [s]						6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite	Abydos	Amu
Cairo JE 72940	scarab	Tufnell 3357	base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D3	II	e11		not serrated	6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Amu
Cairo JE 72941	scarab	Tufnell 3348	base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	B3	O	d5		not serrated	6a	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Amu
Cairo JE 72942	scarab	Tufnell 3350	base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D9	O	d5		not serrated	6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Amu
Fribourg ÄS 1983.150	scarab		only base, Matouk 1971, 206 (106) [p]						7a	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Amu
IoA UCL E.XII.66/2	scarab	Tufnell 3363	all sides, Keel 1997, 150–151 (138) [p, s]	D6	O	d5		not serrated	1ab	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite	Tell el-ʿAjjul	Amu
Jerusalem IM 76.31.4068	scarab		base and back, museum website [p]	D9	O			worn off	6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Amu
MMA 10.130.31	scarab		only base, Hayes 1959, 5 fig. 1 (row 2, 6) [p]						6c/2	*ntr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Amu
Newberry, PSBA 36, pl. X (i)	scarab		only base, Newberry 1914, 171, pl. X (i) [s]						6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*			Amu
Newberry, PSBA 36, pl. X (i1)	scarab		only base, Newberry 1914, 171, pl. X (i1) [s]						6c/2	*rˁ nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*			Amu

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Newberry, Scarabs, pl. XXII (14)	scarab		only base, Newberry 1906, pl. XXII (14) [s]						7b		without cartouche				Amu
Newberry, Scarabs, pl. XXII (17)	scarab		only base, Newberry 1906, pl. XXII (17) [s]						6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*			Amu
Newberry, Scarabs, pl. XXII (18)	scarab		only base, Newberry 1906, pl. XXII (18) [s]						6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*			Amu
OIM 18459	scarab	Tufnell 3354	only base, Allen 1923, 142 (94.1411) [p]						7a	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Amu
OIM 18460	scarab	Tufnell 3358	only base, Pier 1906b, pl. IV (1236) [s]						7b	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Amu
UC 11794	scarab	Tufnell 3360	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3360 [s]	D5	O	d5	raised	not serrated	6a	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Amu
UC 11821	scarab	Tufnell 3359	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3359 [s]	D6	O	d5		not serrated	7b		without cartouche		steatite		Amu
UC 11822	scarab	Tufnell 3352	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3352 [s]	D9	O	d5		not serrated	6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Amu
UC 11823	scarab	Tufnell 3356	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3356 [s]	D7	O	d5		not serrated	6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Amu
UC 11824	scarab	Tufnell 3349	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3349 [s]	D9	O	d5		chipped off	6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Amu
Basel Cat. 165	scarab	Martin 349	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 165 [p]	B5	III	d6	deeply set, single partition line	numerous serrations	3a	*ḥqȝ ḫȝswt*	without cartouche		steatite	Tell Basta	Anathar
Berlin 32447	scarab	Martin 350	all sides, examined personally	A7	II	d6	raised	5 serrations	3a	*ḥqȝ ḫȝswt*	without cartouche		steatite		Anathar
UC 11655	scarab	Tufnell 3464 Martin 318	all sides (head lost), examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3464 [s]		II	d14	worn off	worn off	6c/4+	*ḥqȝ ḫȝswt*	without cartouche		steatite		Aper-Anati
Cairo JE 72861	scarab	Tufnell 3455	base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	B8	O	d6	raised	chipped off	6d	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Horuserre
Berlin 32766	scarab		all sides, examined personally	B6	O	d5	raised	6 serrations	1ad		in cartouche				Hotepibre
Giveon, RdE 30, 163, pl. 6-7 (1)	scarab		all sides, Giveon 1978, fig. 1 [p]	B6	O	e6b	raised	numerous serrations, incised	6d		without cartouche				Hotepibre

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Jerusalem RM 33.1256	scarab	Tufnell 3097	all sides, Keel 2017, 76–77 (104) [p, s]	B6	O	d5	raised	numerous serrations, incised	1ad	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche			Jericho	Hotepibre
Sotheby 1975, no. 33 (3)	scarab		only base, Sotheby 1975, no. 33 (3) [p]						6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Khamu(re)
UC 11819	scarab	Tufnell 3361	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3361 [s]; Petrie 1917, pl. XXII (16.K.1) [p], pl. LXIX (U 60) [s]	D9	H	d5	raised	not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Khamu(re)
Aberdeen ABDUA: 81074	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D3	O	d5		not serrated	6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Khauserre
Aberdeen ABDUA: 81075	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D6	O	d5		not serrated	7a	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Khauserre
Ashmolean AN1892.140	scarab	Tufnell 3344	all sides, examined personally	D7	O	d5		not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Khauserre
Berlin 32751	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D3	O	e10		not serrated	7a		without cartouche		steatite		Khauserre
Berlin 32756	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D3	O	d5		not serrated	6a	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Khauserre
BM EA66164	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D7	O	d5		not serrated	6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Khauserre
Bruxelles E.5023	scarab	Tufnell 3346	all sides, museum website [p]	D6	O	d5		not serrated	6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Khauserre
Cairo CG 36041	scarab		only base; Newberry 1907a, pl. I [s]						8	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Khauserre
Cairo JE 72938	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D9	O			not serrated	6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Khauserre
MMA 26.7.105	scarab		only base; Newberry 1907b, pl. IV (58) [s]; Hayes 1959, 5 fig. 1 (row 2, 3) [p]						6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Khauserre
NFA Scarabs, no. 29	scarab		base and back, NFA 1991, no. 29 [p]	D9	O			not serrated	7a	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Khauserre
Pier, Egyptian Antiquities, no. 71	scarab		only base; Newberry 1906, pl. XLIV (7) [s]; Pier 1906a, pl. XVII (71) [s]						1ai	*nṯr nfr*	in cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Khauserre

Table 48 The reference group of 14th–15th Dynasty royal-name scarabs. (continuation)

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Seal	Type	No	Availability and bibliography	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Base	Title	Cartouche	Epithet	Material	Provenance	King
Sotheby 1975, no. 33 (4)	scarab		only base, Sotheby 1975, no. 33 (4) [p]						7a	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Khauserre
UC 11795	scarab	Tufnell 3343	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3343 [s]	D6	O	d5	raised	not serrated	6a	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Khauserre
UC 11796	scarab	Tufnell 3341	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3341 [s]	D9	O	d5	raised	chipped off	7a		without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Khauserre
UC 11797	scarab	Tufnell 3345	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3345 [s]	D8	O	d5	raised	not serrated	7b		without cartouche		steatite		Khauserre
UC 11798	scarab	Tufnell 3347	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3347 [s]	D6	O	d5	raised	not serrated	6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Khauserre
UC 16596	scarab	Tufnell 3342	all sides, examined personally	D3	O	d5		not serrated	6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Khauserre
Adam, ASAE 56, pl. X (b)	scarab	Tufnell 3208 Martin 1172	all sides, Adam 1959, pl. X (b) [p]; Tufnell 1984, pl. LVI [s]	B8	O	c	raised	4 serrations	6c/3	*ḥqꜣ ḫꜣswt*	without cartouche		steatite	Ezbet Rushdi	Khyan
Basel Cat. 141	scarab	Tufnell 3209 Martin 1175	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 141 [p]; Fraser 1899, pl. 1 (8) [s]	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	6c/3	*ḥqꜣ ḫꜣswt*	without cartouche		steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya	Khyan
Basel Cat. 142	scarab		all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 142 [p]	D3	I1	d6		4 serrations	6c/3	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Khyan
Berlin 18653	scarab	Tufnell 3459	all sides, examined personally	B7	O	d6	raised	5 serrations	1ad	*sꜣ Rʿ*	in cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite	Abusir el-Meleq	Khyan
Berlin 32589	scarab	Martin 1177	all sides, examined personally	face	O	e6b			6c/3	*ḥqꜣ ḫꜣswt*	without cartouche		steatite	Shibin el-Qanatir (Blanchard)	Khyan
Berlin 32723	scarab		all sides, examined personally	A7	O	c2	raised	4 serrations	6c/3	*ḥqꜣ ḫꜣswt*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Khyan
Berlin 32724	scarab		all sides, examined personally	B7	I1	d6	raised	worn off	6c/3	*ḥqꜣ ḫꜣswt*	without cartouche		steatite		Khyan
BM EA37664	scarab	Tufnell 3218	base and back, museum website [p]; Hall 1913, no. 290 [p]; Tufnell 1984, no. 3218 [s]	B8	O	d11		not serrated	1ad	*sꜣ Rʿ*	in cartouche	*ʿnḫ dt*	steatite		Khyan

Table 48 The reference group of 14th–15th Dynasty royal-name scarabs. (continuation)

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Seal	Type	No	Availability and bibliography	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Base	Title	Cartouche	Epithet	Material	Provenance	King
BM EA66722	scarab	Tufnell 3217	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3217 [s]	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	1ad	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Khyan
Cairo JE 30458	scarab	Tufnell 3210 Martin 1171	base and back, museum database [p]	D5	O	e6b		not serrated	6c/3	*ḥqȝ ḫȝswt*	without cartouche		steatite		Khyan
Cairo JE 72862	scarab	Tufnell 3219	base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	B7	O	d6	raised	chipped off	1ag	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Khyan
Istanbul 2350	scarab	Tufnell 3214 Martin 1181a	all sides, Keel 2013, 276–277 (247) [p]	B5	O	b3		4 serrations	6c/3	*ḥqȝ ḫȝswt*	without cartouche		steatite	Gezer	Khyan
Jerusalem IM 76.31.4593	scarab		base and back, museum website [p]	D3	O			not serrated	6d	*ḥqȝ ḫȝswt*	without cartouche		steatite		Khyan
Leiden L.IV.61-b	scarab		base and back, Bulsink 2015, no. 93 [p]	B7	O			4 serrations, zigzag border	1ai	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Khyan
Mariette, Album, pl. 36 (528)	scarab		only base, Mariette 1872a, pl. 36 (528) [p]						1ad	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche		steatite		Khyan
Martin 1176	scarab	Martin 1176	only base						6c/3	*ḥqȝ ḫȝswt*	without cartouche				Khyan
Martin 1178	scarab	Martin 1178	only base						6c/3	*ḥqȝ ḫȝswt*	without cartouche				Khyan
Martin 1179	scarab	Martin 1179	only base						6c/3	*ḥqȝ ḫȝswt*	without cartouche				Khyan
MMA 05.3.345	scarab	Tufnell 3216	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3216 [s]; Ward 1902, 40, pl. 1 (222) [p]	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	1ad	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Khyan
MMA 10.130.36	scarab	Tufnell 3211 Martin 1173	only base, Tufnell 1984, no. 3211 [d]; Hayes 1959, 5 fig. 1 (row 1, 6) [p]	A6	I1	d6			6d	*ḥqȝ ḫȝswt*	without cartouche		steatite		Khyan
MMA 26.7.104	scarab	Tufnell 3207	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3207 [s]; Winlock 1947, pl. 21 (row 2, 2) [p]	A7	O	c3	raised	4 serrations	6a	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche		steatite		Khyan
MMA 26.7.117	scarab		only base, Newberry 1914, 171, pl. X (f) [s]						6d	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche		steatite		Khyan

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Seal	Type	No	Availability and bibliography	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Base	Title	Cartouche	Epithet	Material	Provenance	King
MMA 30.8.457	scarab		base and back, museum website [p]	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	1ad	*s3 R^c*	in cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Khyan
Moeller, Marouard, Khyan. fig. 6	scarab impression		Moeller and Marouard 2018, fig. 6 [s]						1ad	*s3 R^c*	in cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*		Edfu	Khyan
OIM 18461	scarab	Tufnell 3213	only base, Pier 1906b, pl. IV (1237) [s]; Newberry 1906, pl. XXII (23) [s]					4 serrations	6c/3	*nṯr nfr*	in cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Khyan
OIM 18465	scarab	Tufnell 3215 Martin 1174	only base, Allen 1923, 142 (94.1418) [p]						6c/3	*ḥq3 ḫ3swt*	without cartouche		steatite		Khyan
Petrie, Hyksos, pl. IX (124)	scarab	Tufnell 3220	base and back, Petrie 1906, pl. IX (124) [s]	B7	II	d6	raised	4 serrations	1ag	*s3 R^c*	in cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya	Khyan
Sotheby 1975, no. 33 (5)	scarab impression		only base, Sotheby 1975, no. 33 (5) [p]; Sotheby 1993, no. 566 [p]						1ad	*nṯr nfr*	in cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Khyan
Sotheby's 9-10.07.1992, no. 549	scarab		only base, Sotheby 1992, no. 549 [p]						1ag	*s3 R^c*	in cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Khyan
TD 9355 + 9354 Q + 9376 J	scarab impression		Sartori 2009, 285–286 fig. 7–9 [s]						6d	*ḥq3 ḫ3swt*	without cartouche			Tell el-Dabʿa	Khyan
TD 8972	scarab impression		Bietak 2004, 51 fig. 9 [s]; Zeger 2009, 70 [s]						1ad	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*		Tell el-Dabʿa (18th Dyn.)	Khyan
TD 8973	scarab impression		Zeger 2009, 71 [s]						1ad	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*		Tell el-Dabʿa (18th Dyn.)	Khyan
TD 9354	scarab impression		Sartori 2009, 287 fig. 11 [p, s]						1ad	*ḥq3 ḫ3swt*	without cartouche			Tell el-Dabʿa	Khyan
TD 9373 M	scarab impression		Sartori 2009, 385 fig. 6 [p, s]						1a13	*ḥq3 ḫ3swt*	without cartouche			Tell el-Dabʿa	Khyan
TD 9396	scarab impression		Bietak 2010, 988 fig. 15 [p]						1ad	*ḥq3 ḫ3swt*	without cartouche			Tell el-Dabʿa	Khyan
TD 9464	scarab impression		Reali 2014, 69 fig. 4 [p]; Forstner-Müller and Reali 2018, 101 fig. 5 [p]						6c/3	*ḥq3 ḫ3swt*	without cartouche			Tell el-Dabʿa ((R/III b))	Khyan

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Seal	Type	No	Availability and bibliography	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Base	Title	Cartouche	Epithet	Material	Provenance	King
TD 9465	scarab impression		Reali 2014, 69 fig. 6 [p]; Forstner-Müller and Reali 2018, 103 fig. 6 [p]						1ad		in cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*		Tell el-Dabʿa ((R/III g))	Khyan
TD 9466	scarab impression		Reali 2014, 69 fig. 5 [p]; Forstner-Müller and Reali 2018, 101 fig. 5 [p]						6d					Tell el-Dabʿa ((R/III c))	Khyan
TD 9664 N	scarab impression		Forstner-Müller and Reali 2018, 104 fig. 8 [p]						6d	*sꜣ Rʿ*	without cartouche			Tell el-Dabʿa	Khyan
UC 11656	scarab	Tufnell 3212 Martin 1170	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3212 [s]; Petrie 1917, pl. XXI (15.3) [p], pl. LXIX (T 53) [s]	D5	O	e10	raised	not serrated	6c/3	*ḥqꜣ ḫꜣswt*	without cartouche		steatite		Khyan
Aberdeen ABDUA: 81067	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D3	O	d5		not serrated	1ab	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Aberdeen ABDUA: 81068	scarab		all sides, examined personally	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	1ab	*nṯr nfr*	in cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Aberdeen ABDUA: 81071	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D3	O	d5		not serrated	1ab	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Aberdeen ABDUA: 81077	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D9	O	e10		chipped off	6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Aberdeen ABDUA: 81080	scarab		all sides, examined personally	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	1ab	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Amman J.9386	scarab	Tufnell 3275	all sides, Eggler and Keel 2006, 32–33 (40) [p, s]	D3	O	d5		not serrated	1aa	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite	Amman	Maaibre
Ashmolean AN1892.323	scarab	Tufnell 3272	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3272 [s]	A7	O	d6	raised	worn off	1aa	*nṯr nfr*	in oval ring	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Aswan 1028	scarab		only base, Firth 1915, 158, pl. 41 (1) [s]						1ab	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*		el-Dakka	Maaibre
Basel Cat. 145	scarab		all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 145 [p]; Fraser 1899, pl. I (14) [s]	D6	O	d5	raised	not serrated	1ab	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya	Maaibre

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Basel Cat. 146	scarab		all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 146 [p]; Fraser 1899, pl. I (13) [s]	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	1ab	*nṯr nfr*	in cartouche	*dj ꜥnḫ*	steatite	Zawyet el-Amwat	Maaibre
Basel Cat. 147	scarab		all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 147 [p]	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	1ab	*s3 Rꜥ*	without cartouche	*ꜥnḫ dt*	steatite		Maaibre
Basel Cat. 148	scarab		all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 148 [p]	D9	O	d5		not serrated	6a	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ꜥnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Berlin 18164	scarab	Tufnell 3269	all sides, examined personally	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	1ab	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ꜥnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Berlin 18746	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D9	O	d5		not serrated	6c/3	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ꜥnḫ*	steatite	Abusir el-Meleq	Maaibre
Berlin 19670	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D9	O	d5		not serrated	6a	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ꜥnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Berlin 31329	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D9	O	e10		not serrated	1ab	*nṯr nfr*	in oval ring	*dj ꜥnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Berlin 31330	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D9	O	d5		not serrated	1af	*nṯr nfr*	in oval ring	*dj ꜥnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Berlin 31331	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D5	O	d5		chipped off	1ab	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ꜥnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Berlin 31332	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D9	O	d5		not serrated	6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ꜥnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Berlin 31333	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D8	O	d5		not serrated	1ab	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ꜥnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Berlin 31334	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D9	O	e10		not serrated	6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ꜥnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Berlin 31335	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D9	O	d5		not serrated	6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ꜥnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Berlin 31641	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D9	O	e9		not serrated	1ab	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ꜥnḫ*	steatite	Kom el-Shatayin (Blanchard)	Maaibre
Berlin 32734	scarab		all sides, examined personally	B7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	1ab	*nṯr nfr*	in cartouche	*dj ꜥnḫ*	steatite	Qau el-Kebir (Blanchard)	Maaibre
Berlin 32735	scarab		all sides, examined personally	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	1aa	*nṯr nfr*	in oval ring	*dj ꜥnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Berlin 32736	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D9	O	d5		not serrated	1aa	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ꜥnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre

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Seal	Type	No	Availability and bibliography	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Base	Title	Cartouche	Epithet	Material	Provenance	King
Berlin 32737	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D3	O	d5		not serrated	6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite	Asyut (Blanchard)	Maaibre
Berlin 32738	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D3	I1	d5		chipped off	6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
BM EA17212	scarab		only base, Hall 1913, no. 256 [p]						6c/3	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
BM EA24131	scarab	Tufnell 3270	only base, Tufnell 1984, no. 3270 [d]; Hall 1913, 242 [p]	D6	O	d5			1ab	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
BM EA30509	scarab	Tufnell 3274	only base, Tufnell 1984, no. 3274 [d]; Hall 1913, no. 243 [p]	D6	O	d5			1ab	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
BM EA30510	scarab	Tufnell 3244	only base, Tufnell 1984, no. 3244 [s]; Hall 1913, no. 250 [p]	D9	O	d5			6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
BM EA32287	scarab		only base, Hall 1913, no. 246 [p]						6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
BM EA32308	scarab	Tufnell 3268	only base, Tufnell 1984, no. 3268 [d]; museum photo [p]	D6	O	d5			1ab	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
BM EA32320	scarab	Tufnell 3259	only base, Tufnell 1984, no. 3259 [d]; Hall 1913, no. 248 [p]	D9	O	d5			6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
BM EA32363	scarab	Tufnell 3267	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3267 [s]	D6	O	d5		worn off	1ab	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
BM EA37665	scarab	Tufnell 3240	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3240 [s]; Hall 1913, no. 257 [p]	B8	O	d6	raised	not serrated	6c/4+	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
BM EA37666	scarab	Tufnell 3243	only base, Tufnell 1984, no. 3243 [d]; museum photo [p]	D9	O	d5			6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
BM EA37667	scarab	Tufnell 3248	only base, Tufnell 1984, no. 3247 [d]; museum photo [p]	D9	O	d5			6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
BM EA40156	scarab		only base, Hall 1913, no. 247 [d]						6c/3		without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*			Maaibre
BM EA40738	scarab	Tufnell 3254	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3254 [s]	D7	O	d5		not serrated	6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
BM EA42221	scarab	Tufnell 3255	only base, Tufnell 1984, no. 3255 [s]	D9	O	d5			6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre

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Seal	Type	No	Availability and bibliography	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Base	Title	Cartouche	Epithet	Material	Provenance	King
BM EA42268	scarab	Tufnell 3247	only base, Tufnell 1984, no. 3246 [d]	D9	O	d5			6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
BM EA42474	scarab	Tufnell 3239	only base, Tufnell 1984, no. 3239 [d]	D9	O	d5			6c/3	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
BM EA42477	scarab		only base, Hall 1913, no. 241 [p]						1ai	*nṯr nfr*	in cartouche	*ʿnḫ dt*	steatite		Maaibre
BM EA42803	scarab	Tufnell 3250	only base, Tufnell 1984, no. 3250 [d]	D9	O	d5			6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
BM EA53098	scarab	Tufnell 3238	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3238 [s]	D9	O	d5		not serrated	6c/3	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
BM EA53100	scarab	Tufnell 3271	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3271 [s]	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	1ab	*nṯr nfr*	in cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Boston 66.1024	scarab		all sides, museum website [p]	B3	O	d5		not serrated	1ab	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Boston 72.3759	scarab		all sides, museum website [p]	D9	O	d5		not serrated	6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Boston 1979.586	scarab		all sides, museum website [p]	D6	O	d5		not serrated	1ab	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Brooklyn 35.1130	scarab		only base, James 1974, no. 156 [s]						6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (purchased)	Maaibre
Brooklyn 44.123.87	scarab		only base, James 1974, no. 157 [s]						1ab	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Cairo CG 36031	scarab		only base, Newberry 1907a, pl. I [s]						1ab	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite	Abydos	Maaibre
Cairo CG 36032	scarab		only base, Newberry 1907a, pl. I [s]; Mariette 1872b, 15, pl. 48 (l)						1af	*nṯr nfr*	in cartouche	*ʿnḫ dt*	steatite	Abydos	Maaibre
Cairo CG 36033	scarab		only base, Mariette 1872a, pl. 36 (526) [p]						1ab	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite	Abydos	Maaibre
Cairo CG 36035	scarab		only base, Mariette 1872a, pl. 36 (525) [p]						1ab	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite	Abydos	Maaibre
Cairo JE 13001	scarab		only base, Newberry 1907a, no. 36034 [s]						1ab	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	Maaibre
Cairo JE 31039	scarab		only base, Newberry 1907a, no. 36030 [s]						1ai	*nṯr nfr*	in cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite	Abydos	Maaibre
Cairo JE 45689A	scarab		base and back, museum database [p]; Lilyquist 2020, no. 1341 [p]	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	1aa	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite	Asasif	Maaibre

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Seal	Type	No	Availability and bibliography	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Base	Title	Cartouche	Epithet	Material	Provenance	King
Cairo JE 72895	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	1ab	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Cairo JE 72896	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D9	O			chipped off	1ab	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Cairo JE 72897	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	B3	O			not serrated	1ab	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Cairo JE 72898	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D3	O			not serrated	1ab	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Cairo JE 72899	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	B7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	1ab	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Cairo JE 72900	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D3	O			worn off	1ab	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Cairo JE 72901	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	B7	O		raised	4 serrations	1ab	*nṯr nfr*	in cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Cairo JE 72902	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	1ab	*nṯr nfr*	in cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Cairo JE 72903	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	B8	O		raised	chipped off	6a	*nṯr nfr*	in oval ring	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Cairo JE 72904	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D6	O			not serrated	6a	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Cairo JE 72905	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D9	O			not serrated	6c/3	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Cairo JE 72906	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D3	O			not serrated	6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Cairo JE 72907	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D9	O	d5		not serrated	6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Cairo JE 72908	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D7	O			chipped off	6c/3	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Cairo JE 72909	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D3	O			worn off	6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Cairo JE 72910	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D9	O			not serrated	6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Cairo JE 72911	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D8	O			not serrated	6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Cairo JE 72912	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D3	O			chipped off	6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Cairo JE 72913	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D9	O			worn off	6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre

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Cairo JE 72914	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D6	O			not serrated	6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Cairo JE 72915	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D9	O			not serrated	6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Cambridge 2003.31	scarab		all sides, examined personally	B8	O	d6	raised	3 serrations	1ab	*nṯr nfr*	in cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Cambridge 2003.53	scarab	Tufnell 3257	all sides, examined personally	D9	O	d5		not serrated	6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Cambridge 2005.200	scarab	Tufnell 3276	all sides, examined personally	D6	O	d5		not serrated	1ab	*nṯr nfr*	in oval ring	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Cambridge 2005.226	scarab	Tufnell 3256	all sides, examined personally	D6	O	d5		not serrated	6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Daninos, Tigrane Pacha, pl. XLIII (Maaibre)	scarab		only base, Daninos 1911, pl. XLIII [p]						1ab	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*			Maaibre
Esna 333/3	scarab		only base, Downes 1974, 65 (333/3) [s]						7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*ʿnḫ dt*		Esna	Maaibre
Firth, Survey of Nubia 1910-1911, pl. 41 (1)	scarab		only base, Firth 1927, 216, pl. 36 (230) [s]						8	*nṯr nfr*	in cartouche	*ʿnḫ dt*		Sayala	Maaibre
Fitzwilliam E.Sc.34	scarab	Tufnell 3245	all sides, museum website [p]	D3	O	d5		worn off	6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Fribourg ÄS 1983.115	scarab		all sides (head lost), http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=2462 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]		O	e10		chipped off	10	*nṯr nfr*	in cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Fribourg ÄS 1983.116	scarab		only base, Matouk 1971, 206 (107) [p]; Keel and Uehlinger 1990, 70 fig. 86c [p]						1ai	*nṯr nfr*	in cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Fribourg ÄS 1983.117	scarab		all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=2464 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	D9	O	d5		not serrated	6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre

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Fribourg ÄS 1983.118	scarab		all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=2465 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	D3	O	d5		not serrated	6a	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite	Zagazig (Blanchard)	Maaibre
Fribourg ÄS 1983.119	scarab		all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=2490 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	D7	O	e10		not serrated	6a	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Giveon, CdE 49, 223, no. 4	scarab		all sides, Keel 2013, 534–535 (7) [s]	D6	O	d5		not serrated	6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite	Halif	Maaibre
Hilton Price 174	scarab		only base, Hilton Price 1897, no. 174 [s]						6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
IoA UCL EV.1/18	scarab	Tufnell 3242	all sides, Keel 2010b, 38–39 (22) [p]	D6	O	d5		not serrated	6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite	Tell el-Farah (South)	Maaibre
IoA UCL EV.2/19	scarab		all sides, Keel 2010b, 32–33 (10) [p, s]	D9	O	e10		not serrated	1ad	*s3 Rʿ*	in cartouche		steatite	Tell el-Farah (South)	Maaibre
Jerusalem IM 76.31.4036	scarab		base and back, museum website [p]	D3a	O			worn off	6c/3	*nṯr nfr*	in cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Jerusalem RM 35.3980	scarab	Tufnell 3233	all sides, Keel 1997, 372 (791) [p, s]	D6	O	d5	raised	not serrated	3a	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite	Tell el-ʿAjjul	Maaibre
Jerusalem RM 38.551	scarab	Tufnell 3265	all sides, Keel 1997, 456–457 (1035) [p, s]	D7	O	d5		chipped off	1ab	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite	Tell el-ʿAjjul	Maaibre
Jerusalem RM J.518	scarab	Tufnell 3234	all sides, Keel 2013, 404–405, (555) [p, s]	D3	O	d5		not serrated	6a	*nṯr nfr*	in oval ring	*ʿnḫ dt*	steatite	Gezer	Maaibre
Keel 53	scarab		all sides, Keel 2020, no. 53 [p]	D9	O	d5		not serrated	6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Keel, Corpus 4, Halif 18	scarab		all sides, Keel 2013, 538–539 (18) [p, s]	D6	O	e10		4 serrations	1ab	*nṯr nfr*	in cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite	Halif	Maaibre
Leiden EG-ZM2294	scarab	Tufnell 3241	all sides, museum website [p]	D3	O	d5		not serrated	6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Leiden EG-ZM2344	scarab	Tufnell 3258	all sides, museum website [p]	D9	O	d5		not serrated	6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Leiden F 93/1.4	scarab	Tufnell 3262	all sides, museum website [p]	D7	O	e10		not serrated	6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Louvre AF 6455	scarab	Tufnell 3266	only base, Petrie 1889, no. 118 [s]; Tufnell 1984, no. 3266 [d]	D6	O	d5			1ab	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre

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Louvre AF 6456	scarab	Tufnell 3232	all sides, Tufnell 1984, 3232 [s]	D7	O	d5	deeply set, double partition line	not serrated	6a	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Maskhuta M81-455	scarab		all sides, Ben-Tor 2007a, Appendix, pl. 2 (8) [s]	D6	O	d5		not serrated	6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite	Maskhuta	Maaibre
Maystre, Akasha I, 163 fig. 41	scarab		only base, Maystre 1980, 163 fig. 41 [p]						6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite	Akasha	Maaibre
MMA 05.3.343	scarab		only base, Ward 1902, 40, pl. 1 (7) [p]						6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
MMA 26.7.106	scarab		only base, Newberry 1907b, pl. V (59) [s]						1ab	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
MMA 26.7.107	scarab		only base, Newberry 1907b, pl. V (60) [s]						1ab	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
MMA 26.7.108	scarab		only base, Newberry 1907b, pl. V (61) [s]						6c/3	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
MMA 30.8.459	scarab		base and back, museum website [p]; Mace 1921, pl. VIII (1) [p]	D7	O			not serrated	6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
MMA 30.8.460	scarab		only base, Mace 1921, pl. VIII (2) [p]						6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
MMA 30.8.461	scarab		only base, Mace 1921, pl. VIII (3) [p]						1ab	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
MMA 30.8.462	scarab		base and back, museum website [p]; Mace 1921, pl. VIII (4) [p]	B3	I1			4 serrations	1ab	*nṯr nfr*	in cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Moscow I, 1a 2126	scarab		all sides, Hodjash 1999, no. 35 [p]	D7	O	d5		not serrated	1ab	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Moscow I, 1a 2260	scarab		base and back, Hodjash 1999, no. 36 [p]	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	6c/3	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*ʿnḫ dt*	steatite		Maaibre
Newberry, Scarabs, pl. XXI (2)	scarab		only base, Newberry 1906, 150, pl. XXI (2) [s]						6a	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*			Maaibre
Newberry, Scarabs, pl. XXI (4)	scarab		only base, Newberry 1906, 150, pl. XXI (4) [s]						6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*			Maaibre
NFA Scarabs, no. 26	scarab		base and back, NFA 1991, no. 26 [p]	D9	O	d5		not serrated	1ab	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre

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NFA Scarabs, no. 28	scarab		base and back, NFA 1991, no. 28 [p]	D3	O			not serrated	6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Niccacci, Scarabs, no. 7	scarab		only base, Niccacci 1980, pl. 1, 9 (7) [p, s]						6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*			Maaibre
Niccacci, Scarabs, no. 8	scarab		only base, Niccacci 1980, pl. 1, 9 (8) [p, s]						6a	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*			Maaibre
Niccacci, Scarabs, no. 9	scarab		only base, Niccacci 1980, pl. 1, 9 (9) [p, s]						1ab	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*			Maaibre
Petrie, Historical scarabs, no. 112	scarab		only base, Petrie 1889, no. 112 [s]						6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*			Maaibre
Petrie, Historical scarabs, no. 114	scarab		only base, Petrie 1889, no. 114 [s]						6c/2		without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*			Maaibre
Petrie, Historical scarabs, no. 117	scarab		only base, Petrie 1889, no. 117 [s]; Mariette 1872b, pl. 52 (f) [s]						1ab	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*		Dra Abu el-Naga	Maaibre
Pier, Egyptian Antiquities, no. 67	scarab		only base, Pier 1906a, 18, pl. XVII (67) [s]						6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Pier, Egyptian Antiquities, no. 68	scarab		only base, Pier 1906a, 18, pl. XVII (68) [s]						7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Pier, Egyptian Antiquities, no. 69	scarab		only base, Pier 1906a, 18, pl. XVII (69) [s]						6c/4	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*ʿnḫ dt*	steatite		Maaibre
Sai 4-123-5	scarab		only base, Gratien 1985, 104 (5) [s]		O	d5			6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite	Sai	Maaibre
SCF II, 77 (378)	scarab impression		Dunham 1967, 77 (378) [s]						6a	*nṯr nfr*	in oval ring			Uronarti	Maaibre
Sotheby 1975, no. 39 (6)	scarab		only base, Sotheby 1975, no. 39 (6) [p]						6c/3	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Sotheby 1977, no. 101	scarab		only base, Sotheby 1977, no. 101 [p]						6c/4+	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Trieste 12227	scarab		base and back, Crevatin and Vidulli Torlo 2013, 183 (7.22) [p]	D6	O		raised	not serrated	1ab	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Tufnell II 3273	scarab	Tufnell 3273	only base, Tufnell 1984, no. 3273 [d]	D6	O	d5			1aa	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*			Maaibre

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Seal	Type	No	Availability and bibliography	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Base	Title	Cartouche	Epithet	Material	Provenance	King
UC 11681	scarab	Tufnell 3264	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3264 [s]	B7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	1aa	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
UC 11682	scarab	Tufnell 3261	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3261 [s]	D6	O	e9		not serrated	6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
UC 11683	scarab	Tufnell 3251	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3251 [d]	D5	O	d5		not serrated	6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
UC 11684	scarab		only base, museum website [p]						6c/3	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
UC 11685	scarab	Tufnell 3236	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3236 [s]	D6	O	e10		not serrated	6c/3	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
UC 11686	scarab	Tufnell 3252	only base, Tufnell 1984, no. 3252 [d]	D9	O	d5			6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
UC 11687	scarab	Tufnell 3253	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3253 [s]	D7	O	e9		not serrated	6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
UC 11688	scarab	Tufnell 3246	only base, Tufnell 1984, no. 3246 [d]	D9	O	d5			6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
UC 11689	scarab	Tufnell 3235	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3235 [s]	D5	O			not serrated	6a	*nṯr nfr*	in oval ring	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
UC 11690	scarab	Tufnell 3237	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3237 [s]		O	d6		4 serrations	6c/3	*nṯr nfr*	in cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
UC 11825	scarab	Tufnell 3260	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3260 [s]	D3	O	e11		not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
UC 16595	scarab	Tufnell 3263	all sides, examined personally	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	10	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Maaibre
Ukma 155/3	scarab		base and back, Andreu 1987, 234 [p]	D9	O			not serrated	6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite	Ukma	Maaibre
Vercoutter, Les objets égyptiens, pl. XXI (765)	scarab impression		Vercoutter 1945, 260 pl. XXI (765) [p]						1ab	*nṯr nfr*	in cartouche	*ʿnḫ ḏt*		Carthage	Maaibre
Zagreb 135	scarab		only base, Monnet Saleh 1970, 68 (135) [p]						6c/2		in cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*			Maaibre
UC 11826	scarab	Tufnell 3496	all sides, examined personally; museum website [p]; Petrie 1917, pl. XXII (17.A) [p], pl. LXVII (N 30) [s]	B2	O	d5	raised	not serrated	3a		without cartouche				Nebkhepeshre Apep

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Seal	Type	No	Availability and bibliography	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Base	Title	Cartouche	Epithet	Material	Provenance	King
UC 11827	scarab	Tufnell 3497	all sides, examined personally; museum website [p]; Petrie 1925, pl. XXIV (17.A.2) [p], pl. XXX (Y 82) [s]	D7	II	e5		not serrated	3a		without cartouche				Nebkhepeshre Apep
Antwerpen AV.23.10.43 7/22	scarab		all sides, Gubel 1995, no. 494 [s]		O	e11		not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Nebuuserre
Berlin 31025	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D9	O	e11		not serrated	7a	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Nebuuserre
Berlin 31027	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D8	O	e11		not serrated	7b		without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Nebuuserre
Berlin 32752	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D8	O	e11		not serrated	3a	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite	Shibin el-Qanatir (Blanchard)	Nebuuserre
Berlin 32753	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D9	O	e11		not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Nebuuserre
Berlin 32754	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D9	O	e11		not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Nebuuserre
BM EA30512	scarab	Tufnell 3490	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3490 [s]	D8	O	e11		not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Nebuuserre
BM EA64924	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D8	O	e11		not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Nebuuserre
Bonn MF68	scarab		all sides, Konert, Morenz, and Weil, no. 47 [p]	D9	O	e11	raised	not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Nebuuserre
Cairo JE 72946	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D6	O			not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Nebuuserre
Fribourg ÄS 1983.149	scarab	Tufnell 3488	all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=2528 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	D5	O	e11		chipped off	3a	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Nebuuserre
Fribourg ÄS 1983.152	scarab		all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=2533 (accessed on 01.05.2020) [p]	D9	O	e11		not serrated	7a	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Nebuuserre
Moscow I, 1a 2391	scarab	Tufnell 3487	all sides, Hodjash 1999, no. 12 [p]	D8	O	e11		not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Nebuuserre

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Seal	Type	No	Availability and bibliography	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Base	Title	Cartouche	Epithet	Material	Provenance	King
OIM 18452	scarab		only base, Allen 1923, 142 (94.1404) [p]						7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Nebuuserre
Pella 2	scarab		all sides, Eggler and Keel 2006, 214–215 (31) [p, s]	D6	O	e11		not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite	Pella	Nebuuserre
Petrie, Historical scarabs, no. 126	scarab		only base, Petrie 1889, no. 126 [s]						7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*			Nebuuserre
Settgast, MDAIK 18, pl. XXXVI (6)	scarab	Tufnell 3489	base and back, Settgast 1962, pl. XXXVI (6) [p]	D9	O			not serrated	7a	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Nebuuserre
Tufnell II 3492	scarab	Tufnell 3492	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3492 [s]	D8	O	e11		not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Nebuuserre
UC 16597	scarab	Tufnell 3491	all sides, examined personally	D8	O	e11		not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Nebuuserre
Berlin 32298	scarab		base and back, photo from the museum [p]	A4a	O	d5		worn off	3a	*s3 Rʿ*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Nehsy
OIM 18450	scarab		all sides, photo provided by the museum [p]	A4a	O	d5	raised	not serrated	1aa	*s3 Rʿ*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Nehsy
UC 11589	scarab	Tufnell 3469	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3469 [s]	D3	1	e6b	raised at base, deeply set at front	not serrated	1af	*s3 Rʿ*	in cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Nehsy
Basel Cat. 151	scarab		all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 151 [p]	D3a	O	e6b		chipped off	6a	*wsḫ*	in cartouche		steatite		Nikare
Basel Cat. 152	scarab		all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 152 [p]	D3a	O	d5	raised	not serrated	11		in oval ring		steatite		Nikare
Basel Cat. 153	cowroid		all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 153 [p]						12		in oval ring		steatite		Nikare
BM EA17211	cowroid	Tufnell 3522	all sides, museum website [p]; Tufnell 1984, no. 3522 [s]						12		in oval ring		steatite		Nikare
BM EA32305	scarab	Tufnell 3494	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3494 [s]	D3a	O	d5	raised	not serrated	11		in oval ring		steatite		Nikare
BM EA38569	scarab	Tufnell 3495	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3495 [s]	D7	O	d5	raised	not serrated	11		in oval ring		steatite		Nikare

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Seal	Type	No	Availability and bibliography	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Base	Title	Cartouche	Epithet	Material	Provenance	King
BM EA45457	cowroid	Tufnell 3521	only base, Hall 1913, no. 291 [p]; Tufnell 1984, no. 3521 [s]						12		in cartouche		steatite		Nikare
Louvre AF 9197	cowroid		only base, Hein 1994, no. 118 [p]						12		in oval ring		steatite		Nikare
Louvre E 3606	scarab		only base, Petrie 1889, no. 105 [s]						12		in oval ring				Nikare
Malloy 1972 I, lot 21 (a)	scarab		only base, Malloy 1972, lot 21 (a) [p]						11		in oval ring		steatite		Nikare
Aberdeen ABDUA: 81287	scarab		all sides, Ryholt 1998a, fig. 1 [p]	D3	O	d5		not serrated	3a	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Qareh
Aberdeen ABDUA: 82145	scarab		all sides, Ryholt 1998a, fig. 2 [p]	D5	O	d5		not serrated	7b	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Qareh
Amman J.5745	scarab	Tufnell 3485	all sides, Keel 2017, 258–259 (558) [p, s]	D8	O	e11		not serrated	6a	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite	Jericho	Qareh
Berlin 32688	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D8	O	d5		not serrated	3a	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Qareh
BM EA66160	scarab		all sides, examined personally; Ryholt 1998a, fig. 3 [p]	D9	O	e11		not serrated	7b	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Qareh
Cairo CG 36043	scarab	Tufnell 3484	only base, Tufnell 1984, no. 3484 [d]; Newberry 1907a, pl. I [s]	D3	O	d5			6a	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Qareh
Cairo JE 72939	scarab	Tufnell 3483	base and back, Driot-on MSS 5380 [p]	D3	O	d5		worn off	7b	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Qareh
UC 11809	scarab	Tufnell 3486	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3486 [s]	D8	O	e11	raised	not serrated	3a	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Qareh
Basel Cat. 166	scarab	Tufnell 3463 Martin 1453	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 166 [p]; Fraser 1899, pl. 1 (7) [s]	A6b	I1	d6	deeply set, double partition line	not serrated	1ad	*ḥqȝ ḫȝswt*	without cartouche		steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya	Samuqenu
Aberdeen ABDUA: 81064	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D3	O	e11	raised	not serrated	7b	*ntr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
Aberdeen ABDUA: 81069	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D9	O	d5		not serrated	7b		without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre

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Seal	Type	No	Availability and bibliography	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Base	Title	Cartouche	Epithet	Material	Provenance	King
Aberdeen ABDUA: 81072	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D9	O	d5		not serrated	7a	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
Aberdeen ABDUA: 81073	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D6	O	d5		not serrated	7b		without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
Aberdeen ABDUA: 81076	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D3	O	d5		not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
Ashmolean AN1892.193	scarab	Tufnell 3397	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3397 [s]	D7	O	e11		not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
Ashmolean AN1892.206	scarab	Tufnell 3390	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3390 [s]	D7	O	e11		not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
Ashmolean AN1896-1908 E.3849	scarab	Tufnell 3408	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3408 [s]	D6	O	e11		not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
Basel Cat. 168	scarab		all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 168 [p]	D9	O	e11		not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
Basel Cat. 169	scarab		all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 169 [p]	D3	O	e11		not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
Basel Cat. 180	scarab		all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 180 [p]	D9	O	d5		not serrated	7a	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
Beckerath, Antike Welt 7, 57 fig. 4	scarab		base and back, Beckerath 1976, 57 fig. 4 [p]	D8	O		raised	chipped off	7a	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
Berlin 1896	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D9	O	d5		not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
Berlin 31024	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D9	O	d5		not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
Berlin 31338	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D9	O	d5		not serrated	7a	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
Berlin 31339	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D8	O	e11		not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
Berlin 31340	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D9	O	d5		not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
Berlin 31341	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D9	O	e11		not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre

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Seal	Type	No	Availability and bibliography	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Base	Title	Cartouche	Epithet	Material	Provenance	King
Berlin 31342	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D9	O	e11		not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
Berlin 31343	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D7	O	d5		not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
Berlin 32744	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D9	O	d5		not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
Berlin 32745	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D9	O	e11		not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite	Saqqara (Blanchard)	Sekhaenre
Berlin 32746	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D6	O	e10		not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
Berlin 32748	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D8	O	e11		not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite	Zagazig (Blanchard)	Sekhaenre
Berlin 32749	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D3	O	d5		not serrated	7a	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Sekhaenre
Berlin 32750	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D8	O	e11		not serrated	7b		without cartouche		steatite	Tell Merdas (Blanchard)	Sekhaenre
Berlin VÄGM 1988/107	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D8	O	e11		chipped off	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
BM EA28201	scarab	Tufnell 3387	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3387 [s]; Hall 1913, no. 280 [p]	D5	O	e11		not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
BM EA30511	scarab	Tufnell 3415	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3415 [s]; Hall 1913, no. 276 [p]	D3	O	e11		3 serrations	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
BM EA32342	scarab	Tufnell 3409	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3409 [p]; Hein 1994, no. 152 [p]	D3	O	d5		not serrated	7a	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
BM EA38716	scarab	Tufnell 3399	only base, Tufnell 1984, no. 3399 [d]; Hall 1913, no. 279 [p]	D9	O	e11			7b		without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
BM EA42933	scarab	Tufnell 3392	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3392 [s]; Hall 1913, no. 278 [p]	D7	O	e9		not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
BM L.670	scarab	Tufnell 3391	all sides, Keel 2010b, 257–258 (537) [p, s]	D9	O	d5		not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite	Tell el-Farah (South)	Sekhaenre
BM L.1068	scarab	Tufnell 3396	all sides, Keel 1997, 258–259 (460) [p, s]	D9	O	e11		not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite	Tell el-ʿAjjul	Sekhaenre
Brooklyn 44.123.83	scarab		all sides, museum website [p]	D8	O	e11		not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre

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Cairo CG 36042	scarab		only base, Newberry 1907a, pl. I [s]						7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite	Abydos	Sekhaenre
Cairo JE 53663	scarab		only base, Petrie 1906, 10, 15, pl. IVa (A/3), IX (143) [p, s]						6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche			Tell el-Yahudiya	Sekhaenre
Cairo JE 72920	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D3	O			not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
Cairo JE 72921	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D7	O			not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
Cairo JE 72922	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D9	O			not serrated	6c/2	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
Cairo JE 72923	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	B3	O			not serrated	6c/2		without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Sekhaenre
Cairo JE 72924	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D9	O			worn off	6c/2		without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
Cairo JE 72925	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D9	O	d5		not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
Cairo JE 72926	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D8	O			not serrated	7a	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
Cairo JE 72927	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D3	O			not serrated	7a	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
Cairo JE 72928	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D9	O			not serrated	7a	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
Cairo JE 72929	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D5	O			not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
Cairo JE 72930	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D5	O			not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
Cairo JE 72931	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D9	O			not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
Cairo JE 72932	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D9	O			not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
Cairo JE 72933	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D3	O			not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
Cairo JE 72934	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D9	O			not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
Cairo JE 72935	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D9	O			not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
Fitzwilliam E.Sc.56	scarab	Tufnell 3414	all sides, museum website [p]	D9	O	e11		not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre

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Seal	Type	No	Availability and bibliography	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Base	Title	Cartouche	Epithet	Material	Provenance	King
Fribourg ÄS 1983.107	scarab	Tufnell 3395	all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=2452 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	D3	O	d5		not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
Fribourg ÄS 1983.108	scarab	Tufnell 3405	all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php bomid=2454 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	D7	O	d5		not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
Fribourg ÄS 1983.109	scarab	Tufnell 3412	only base, Tufnell 1984, no. 3412 [d]; Matouk 1971, 208 (188) [p]	D6	O	d5			7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
Fribourg ÄS 1983.110	scarab	Tufnell 3404	all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=2456 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	D3	O	e10		not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
Fribourg ÄS 1983.111	scarab	Tufnell 3386	all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=2457 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	D8	O	e11		not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
Fribourg ÄS 1983.112	scarab	Tufnell 3410	all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=2459 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	D3	O	d5		not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
Fribourg ÄS 1983.113	scarab	Tufnell 3382	all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=2460 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	D8	O	e11		not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
Fribourg ÄS 1983.114	scarab	Tufnell 3403	all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=2461 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	D3	O	d5		not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
Giveon, CdE 49, 222 (1)	scarab		all sides, Keel 1997, 516–517 (1214) [p, s]	D3	O	e10		chipped off	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite	Tell el-ʿAjjul	Sekhaenre

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Seal	Type	No	Availability and bibliography	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Base	Title	Cartouche	Epithet	Material	Provenance	King
Hilton Price 177	scarab		only base, Petrie 1889, no. 137 [s]; Hilton Price 1897, no. 177 [s]						7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
Jerusalem IM 76.31.3883	scarab		base and back, museum website [p]	D9	O			not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
Keel, Corpus 1, Tell el-ʿAǧul no. 1036	scarab	Tufnell 2887	only base, Keel 1997, 456–457 (1036) [s]						7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite	Tell el-ʿAǧul	Sekhaenre
Leiden AED 71	scarab	Tufnell 3407	all sides (head lost), Tufnell 1984, no. 3407 [s]		O	e10		worn off	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
Leiden EG-ZM2817	scarab	Tufnell 3383	all sides, museum website [p]	D8	O	d5		not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
Leipzig 5197	scarab		all sides, seen on display; Blumenthal and Onasch 2005, 85 fig. 34 [p]	D3	O	e11		worn off	7a	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
Leipzig 11005	scarab		base and back, Steindorff 1937, pl. 54 (2) [p]	D6	O			not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite	Aniba	Sekhaenre
Louvre AF 6448	scarab	Tufnell 3384	only base, Tufnell 1984, no. 3384 [d]; Hein 1994, no. 120 [p]	D7	O	d5			7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
Louvre AF 6451	scarab	Tufnell 3406	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3406 [s]	D7	O	d5		serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
Louvre E 6350	scarab		only base, Petrie 1889, no. 145 [s]						7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
MMA 05.3.344	scarab		base and back, Ward 1902, 40, pl. 1 (214) [p]	D3	O	e11		not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
MMA 26.7.109	scarab		only base, Newberry 1907b, pl. V (62) [s]						7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
MMA 26.7.110	scarab		only base, Newberry 1907b, pl. V (62) [s]						7b		without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
NFA Scarabs, no. 31	scarab		base and back, NFA 1991, no. 31 [p]	D3	O			not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
OIM 9589	scarab		all sides, museum website [p]	D6	O	d5	raised	not serrated	6a		without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre

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Petrie, Historical scarabs, no. 129	scarab		only base, Petrie 1889, no. 129 [s]						7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche				Sekhaenre
Petrie, Historical scarabs, no. 136	scarab impression		only base, Petrie 1889, no. 136 [s]						7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche				Sekhaenre
Pier, Egyptian Antiquities, no. 70	scarab		only base, Pier 1906a, pl. XVIII (70) [s]						7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
Reisner, Kerma IV-V, fig. 168 (60)	scarab impression		Reisner 1923a, 28, pl. 3 [p]; Reisner 1923b, fig. 168 (60) [s]						6c/3	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche			Kerma	Sekhaenre
Settgast, MDAIK 18, pl. XXXVI (5)	scarab	Tufnell 3411	base and back, Settgast 1962, pl. XXXVI (5) [p]	D3	O		raised	worn off	7a	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
Sotheby 1975, no. 39 (4)	scarab		only base, Sotheby 1975, no. 39 (4) [p]						7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
Sotheby 1975, no. 39 (5)	scarab		only base, Sotheby 1975, no. 39 (5) [p]						7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
Tufnell II 3385	scarab	Tufnell 3385	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3385 [s]	D5	O	e11		chipped off	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
UC 11799	scarab	Tufnell 3398	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3398 [s]	D5	O	d5		not serrated	7b		without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
UC 11800	scarab	Tufnell 3402	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3402 [s]	D6	O	d5		not serrated	7a		without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
UC 11801	scarab	Tufnell 3401	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3401 [s]	D7	O	d5		not serrated	7b		without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
UC 11802	scarab	Tufnell 3381	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3381 [s]	A1	II	d5	deeply set, double partition line	not serrated	7a	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
UC 11803	scarab	Tufnell 3388	only base, Tufnell 1984, no. 3388 [d]	B2	O	e11			7a	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
UC 11804	scarab	Tufnell 3380	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3380 [s]; Petrie 1917, pl. XXII (16.F.6) [p], pl. LXVI (L 12) [s]	A5	II	e10	deeply set, no partition line	not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
UC 11805	scarab	Tufnell 3394	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3394 [s]	D8	O	d5		not serrated	7a	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre

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UC 11806	scarab	Tufnell 3389	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3389 [s]	D8	O	e11		not serrated	7a	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
UC 11807	scarab	Tufnell 3413	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3413 [s]	D8	O	e11		not serrated	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
UC 11808	scarab	Tufnell 3393	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3393 [s]	D8	O	e11		worn off	7b	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche		steatite		Sekhaenre
Ashmolean AN1935.100a	scarab	Tufnell 3465	all sides, examined personally	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	1ai	*nṯr nfr*	in cartouche	*ꜥnḫ ḏt*	steatite		Sekheperenre
Aberdeen ABDUA: 81048	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D7	II	e10		not serrated	3a	*s3 Rꜥ*	without cartouche	*dj ꜥnḫ*	steatite		Sheneh
BM EA32392	scarab	Tufnell 3482	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3482 [s]	B7	O	d6	raised	chipped off	3a	*s3 Rꜥ*	without cartouche	*dj ꜥnḫ*	steatite		Sheneh
Moscow I, 1a 2258	scarab	Tufnell 3481	base and back, Hodjash 1999, no. 41 [p]; museum website [p]	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	4a	*s3 Rꜥ*	without cartouche	*dj>s ꜥnḫ*	steatite		Sheneh
TD 6160	scarab		all sides, Mlinar 2004a, no. 4 [s]	D3	O	d5		not serrated	7a	*s3 Rꜥ*	without cartouche	*ꜥnḫ ḏt*	steatite	Tell el-Dab'a (D/2-3 (A/V))	Shenshek
Aberdeen ABDUA: 81035	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D9	O	d5		not serrated	6c/2	*s3 Rꜥ*	without cartouche	*ꜥnḫ ḏt*	steatite		Sheshi
Aberdeen ABDUA: 81037	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D3	O	d5		not serrated	1ab	*s3 Rꜥ*	in cartouche	*ꜥnḫ ḏt*	steatite		Sheshi
Aberdeen ABDUA: 81038	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D3	O	d4		not serrated	1ab	*s3 Rꜥ*	in oval ring	*ꜥnḫ ḏt*	steatite		Sheshi
Aberdeen ABDUA: 81040	scarab		all sides, examined personally	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	1ab	*s3 Rꜥ*	in cartouche	*ꜥnḫ ḏt*	steatite		Sheshi
Aberdeen ABDUA: 81041	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D8	O	d5		not serrated	1aa	*s3 Rꜥ*	in oval ring	*ꜥnḫ ḏt*	steatite		Sheshi
Aberdeen ABDUA: 81043	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D8	O	d5		not serrated	7b	*s3 Rꜥ*	without cartouche	*dj ꜥnḫ*	steatite		Sheshi
Aberdeen ABDUA: 81045	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D3	O	d5		not serrated	1ab	*s3 Rꜥ*	in oval ring	*ꜥnḫ ḏt*	steatite		Sheshi

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Aberdeen ABDUA: 81046	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D3	O	d5		not serrated	6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Aberdeen ABDUA: 81047	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D9	O	d5		not serrated	6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Aberdeen ABDUA: 81049	scarab		all sides, examined personally	B3	O	e11		not serrated	7b	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Aberdeen ABDUA: 81050	scarab		all sides (head lost), examined personally		O	e10	chipped off	chipped off	6a		in oval ring	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Aberdeen ABDUA: 81051	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D3	O	d5		not serrated	6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Aberdeen ABDUA: 81052	scarab		all sides, examined personally	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	1y	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Aberdeen ABDUA: 81053	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D8	O	d5		not serrated	6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	in oval ring	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Aberdeen ABDUA: 81056	scarab		all sides, examined personally	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	1aa	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Sheshi
Aberdeen ABDUA: 81070	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D9	O	e11		not serrated	7b	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Sheshi
Abou Bakr, Fouilles en Nubie (1959-1961), 118, pl. VI (A, top left)	scarab		base and back, Abou Bakr 1963, 118, pl. VI (A, top left) [p]	B7	O		raised	serrated	1ab	*s3 Rˁ*	in oval ring	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite	Aniba	Sheshi
Amman J.5765	scarab	Tufnell 3281	all sides, Keel 2017, 240–241 (513) [p, s]	D7	O	e5		4 serrations	6a	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche		steatite	Jericho	Sheshi
Ashmolean AN1892.52	scarab	Tufnell 3307	all sides, examined personally	B4	O	d5		not serrated	6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Ashmolean AN1892.87	scarab	Tufnell 3329	only base, Tufnell 1984, no. 3329 [d]	D9	O	d5			1ab	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*			Sheshi
Ashmolean AN1892.125	scarab	Tufnell 3279	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3279 [s]		O	e11		worm off	7a	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Sheshi

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Ashmolean AN1892.398	scarab	Tufnell 3323	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3323 [s]	B4	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	1ab	*s3 Rˁ*	in oval ring	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Ashmolean AN1955.503.1	scarab	Tufnell 3339	all sides, examined personally	B8	II	d6	raised	6 serrations	1ai	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite	Tel Lachish	Sheshi
Ashmolean AN1955.503.112	scarab	Tufnell 3277	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3277 [s]	D7	O	e11		not serrated	3a	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite	Tel Lachish	Sheshi
Ashmolean AN1962.58	scarab	Tufnell 3314	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3314 [s]	D9	O	e11		not serrated	7b	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Sheshi
Athens 200	scarab		all sides, seen on display	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	1ab	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Basel Cat. 159	scarab		all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 159 [p]	D9	O	d5		not serrated	6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Basel Cat. 160	scarab		all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 160 [p]; Fraser 1899, pl. 1 (1) [s]	D3	O	d5	raised	not serrated	6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya	Sheshi
Basel Cat. 161	scarab		all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 161 [p]	B7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	1ab	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Basel Cat. 162	scarab		all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 162 [p]	D7	O	e10		not serrated	1ab	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Basel Cat. 163	scarab		all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 163 [p]	D7	O	e10		not serrated	6a	*s3 Rˁ*	in oval ring		steatite		Sheshi
Basel Cat. 164	scarab		all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 164 [p]	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	1ab	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Berlin 7301	scarab	Tufnell 3336	only base, Tufnell 1984, no. 3336 [d]	D3	O	e9			1ab	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*			Sheshi
Berlin 8887	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D9	O	e11		not serrated	7b	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Sheshi
Berlin 31030	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D9	O	d5		not serrated	7a	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Berlin 31337	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D9	O	e11		not serrated	7b	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Berlin 31672	scarab		all sides, examined personally	B7	O	d6	raised	worn off	1ab	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Berlin 32288	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D9	O	d5		not serrated	1ab	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi

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Seal	Type	No	Availability and bibliography	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Base	Title	Cartouche	Epithet	Material	Provenance	King
Berlin 32728	scarab		all sides, examined personally	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	1ab	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Sheshi
Berlin 32731	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D9	O	e11		not serrated	3a	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Sheshi
Berlin 32732	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D9	O	e11		not serrated	7b	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*ˁnḫ ḏt*	steatite		Sheshi
Berlin 32733	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D9	O	e11		not serrated	7b	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite	Saqqara (Blanchard)	Sheshi
Berlin VÄGM 1985/080	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D8	O	e11		not serrated	3a	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Sheshi
Bet-Shemesh IAA 57-213	scarab		all sides, Keel 2010a, 596–597 (1) [p, s]	B7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	1ab	*s3 Rˁ*	in oval ring	*ˁnḫ ḏt*	steatite	Tel al-Asawir	Sheshi
BM EA3923	scarab	Tufnell 3335	all sides, museum website [p]; Tufnell 1984, no. 3335 [s]	D7	O	d5		not serrated	1ab	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ˁnḫ ḏt*	steatite		Sheshi
BM EA3924	scarab	Tufnell 3299	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3299 [s]; museum website [p]	D9	O	d5		not serrated	6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ˁnḫ ḏt*	steatite		Sheshi
BM EA3925	scarab	Tufnell 3319	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3319 [s]	D8	O	e11		not serrated	7a	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Sheshi
BM EA16407	scarab	Tufnell 3328	only base, Tufnell 1984, no. 3328 [d]; Hall 1913, no. 264 [p]	D3	O	d5			1ab	*s3 Rˁ*	in oval ring	*ˁnḫ ḏt*	steatite		Sheshi
BM EA22962	scarab	Tufnell 3293	only base, Tufnell 1984, no. 3293 [d]; Hall 1913, no. 273 [s]	D3	O	d5			6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Sheshi
BM EA30498	scarab	Tufnell 3331	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3331 [s]; Hall 1913, no. 268 [p]	D6	O	d5		not serrated	1ab	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*ˁnḫ ḏt*	steatite		Sheshi
BM EA30499	scarab	Tufnell 3290	only base, Tufnell 1984, no. 3290 [d]; Hall 1913, no. 274 [p]	D3	O	d5			6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*ˁnḫ ḏt*	steatite		Sheshi
BM EA41858	scarab	Tufnell 3312	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3312 [s]; Hall 1913, no. 263 [p]	D9	O	e11		not serrated	7b	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Sheshi
BM EA41862	scarab	Tufnell 3325	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3325 [s]; Hall 1913, no. 266 [p]	B7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	1ab	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ˁnḫ ḏt*	steatite		Sheshi
BM EA41868	scarab	Tufnell 3338	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3338 [s]; Hall 1913, no. 267 [p]	B8	O	d6		worn off	1ai	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ˁnḫ ḏt*	steatite		Sheshi

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Seal	Type	No	Availability and bibliography	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Base	Title	Cartouche	Epithet	Material	Provenance	King
BM EA42413	scarab	Tufnell 3302	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3302 [s]	D9	O	d5		not serrated	6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
BM EA42603	scarab	Tufnell 3303	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3303 [s]; Hall 1913, no. 271 [p]	D3	O	d5		not serrated	6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
BM EA45455	scarab	Tufnell 3305	only base, Tufnell 1984, no. 3305 [d]; museum website [p]	D3	O	d5			6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
BM EA45456	scarab	Tufnell 3306	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3306 [s]; Hall 1913, no. 275 [p]	D3	O	d5		not serrated	6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
BM EA51859	scarab	Tufnell 3304	only base, Tufnell 1984, no. 3304 [d]	D3	O	d5			6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*			Sheshi
BM EA64755	scarab	Tufnell 3322	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3322 [d]	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	1ad	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Sheshi
Bologna KS 2763	scarab		all sides, Jaeger 1993, no. 3 [p]	D6	O	d5		not serrated	7b	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Sheshi
Bonn MF57	scarab		all sides, Konert, Morenz, and Weil, no. 48 [p]	D9	O	e11	raised	not serrated	3a	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Boston 57.440	scarab		base and back, museum website [p]	B7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	1ab	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Boston 66.1009	scarab		all sides, museum website [p]	D3	O	e11		not serrated	6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Boston 67.1128	scarab		base and back, museum website [p]	D9	O			not serrated	6c/3	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Boston 67.1151	scarab		base and back, museum website [p]	D9	O			not serrated	6a	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Boston 72.943	scarab		base and back, museum website [p]	D8	O			not serrated	6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Boston 1979.587	scarab		base and back, museum website [p]	D9	O	e10		not serrated	6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Boston 1979.588	scarab		base and back, museum website [p]	B7	O	d6	raised	5 serrations	1ab	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Boston 1979.589	scarab		base and back, museum website [p]	A1	O		deeply set, double partition line	not serrated	10	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Brooklyn 44.123.84	scarab		only base, James 1974, no. 158 [s]						6c/3	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi

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Seal	Type	No	Availability and bibliography	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Base	Title	Cartouche	Epithet	Material	Provenance	King
Bruxelles E.5026	scarab	Tufnell 3286	all sides, museum website [p]	D9	O	d5		not serrated	6c/3	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Cairo CG 36036	scarab		only base, Newberry 1907a, pl. I [s]						6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Cairo CG 36039	scarab		only base, Newberry 1907a, pl. I [s]						6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Cairo JE 2521	scarab		only base, Dewachter 1985, pl. XXI (47) [s]						6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*			Sheshi
Cairo JE 30675	scarab		only base, Newberry 1907a, pl. I (36037) [s]						4a	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Cairo JE 34008	scarab		only base, Newberry 1907a, pl. I (36038) [s]						6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite	Thebes	Sheshi
Cairo JE 46983	scarab		all sides, museum database [p]	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	1ai	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite	Edfu (purchased in Edfu)	Sheshi
Cairo JE 72869	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	1aa	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Cairo JE 72870	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D3	O			chipped off	1ab	*s3 Rˁ*	in oval ring	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Cairo JE 72871	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D3	O			not serrated	1aa	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Cairo JE 72872	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	B8	O		raised	serrated	1aa	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Cairo JE 72873	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	B8	O		raised	4 serrations	1ai	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Cairo JE 72874	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	1aa	*s3 Rˁ*	in oval ring	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Cairo JE 72875	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	1ab	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Cairo JE 72876	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D3	O	d5		chipped off	1ab	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Cairo JE 72877	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D3	O	e10		not serrated	6a	*s3 Rˁ*	in oval ring	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Sheshi
Cairo JE 72878	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D6	O			not serrated	6a	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Cairo JE 72879	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D6	O			not serrated	6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	in oval ring	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi

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Seal	Type	No	Availability and bibliography	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Base	Title	Cartouche	Epithet	Material	Provenance	King
Cairo JE 72880	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D3a	O			chipped off	6c/2	*s3 R^c*	in cartouche	*ꜥnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Cairo JE 72881	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D3	O			not serrated	6c/2	*s3 R^c*	without cartouche	*ꜥnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Cairo JE 72882	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D5	O			not serrated	6c/2	*s3 R^c*	without cartouche	*ꜥnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Cairo JE 72883	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D9	O			not serrated	6c/2	*s3 R^c*	without cartouche	*ꜥnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Cairo JE 72884	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D3	O			not serrated	6c/2	*s3 R^c*	without cartouche	*ꜥnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Cairo JE 72885	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D3	O	e11		not serrated	6c/2	*s3 R^c*	without cartouche	*ꜥnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Cairo JE 72886	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D3	O	d5		not serrated	6c/2	*s3 R^c*	without cartouche	*ꜥnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Cairo JE 72887	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D9	O			not serrated	6c/2	*s3 R^c*	without cartouche	*ꜥnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Cairo JE 72888	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D6	O			chipped off	6c/2	*s3 R^c*	without cartouche	*ꜥnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Cairo JE 72889	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D9	O			not serrated	7b	*s3 R^c*	without cartouche	*ꜥnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Cairo JE 72890	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D9	O			not serrated	7b	*s3 R^c*	without cartouche	*dj ꜥnḫ*	steatite		Sheshi
Cairo JE 72891	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D3	O			not serrated	6c/2	*s3 R^c*	without cartouche	*ꜥnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Cairo JE 72892	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D3	O			not serrated	7b	*s3 R^c*	without cartouche		steatite		Sheshi
Cairo JE 72893	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D9	O			not serrated	7b	*s3 R^c*	without cartouche	*dj dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Cairo JE 72894	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D8	O			not serrated	3a	*s3 R^c*	without cartouche	*dj ꜥnḫ*	steatite		Sheshi
Cambridge 2003.34	scarab	Tufnell 3292	all sides, examined personally	D9	O	d5		not serrated	6c/2	*s3 R^c*	in cartouche	*ꜥnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Cambridge 2003.38	scarab	Tufnell 3311	all sides, examined personally	D9	O	e10		not serrated	7b	*s3 R^c*	without cartouche	*dj ꜥnḫ*	steatite		Sheshi
Cernusco sul Naviglio 01.17	scarab		base and back, Tiradritti 1999, 106 (3) [p]	D3	O			not serrated	1ab	*s3 R^c*	without cartouche	*ꜥnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi

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Daninos, Tigrane Pacha, pl. XLIII (Sheshi)	scarab		only base, Daninos 1911, pl. XLIII [p]						1aa	*s³ Rᶜ*	in cartouche	*ʿnḫ dt*			Sheshi
El Amrah and Abydos, pl. LIII (2)	scarab		only base, Randall-MacIver and Mace 1902, pl. LIII (3) [s]						7b	*s³ Rᶜ*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*		Abydos	Sheshi
Emery, Sebua Adindan, pl. 32 (76)	scarab		base and back, Emery and Kirwan 1935, 321 fig. 31, pl. 32 (76) [s]	D3	O			worn off	6c/3	*s³ Rᶜ*	without cartouche	*ʿnḫ dt*	steatite	Masmas	Sheshi
Fitzwilliam E.11.1920	scarab	Tufnell 3324	only base, Tufnell 1984, no. 3324 [d]	B3	O	d5			1ab	*s³ Rᶜ*	in oval ring	*ʿnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Fitzwilliam E.85.1920	scarab	Tufnell 3334	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3334 [s]	D3	O	d5		worn off	1ab	*s³ Rᶜ*	without cartouche	*ʿnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Fitzwilliam E.129.1891	scarab	Tufnell 3310	all sides, museum website [p]	D3	O	e11		worn off	7b	*s³ Rᶜ*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Sheshi
Fitzwilliam E.Sc.52	scarab		all sides, museum website [p]	D9	O	d5	raised	not serrated	6c/2	*s³ Rᶜ*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Fitzwilliam E.Sc.164	scarab		all sides, museum website [p]	D9	O	e11	raised	not serrated	7b	*s³ Rᶜ*	without cartouche	*ʿnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Fribourg ÄS 1983.120	scarab		all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=2491 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	D3	O	e10		chipped off	10	*s³ Rᶜ*	in cartouche	*ʿnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Fribourg ÄS 1983.121	scarab		all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=2492 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	B8	O	d6		not serrated	10	*s³ Rᶜ*	in cartouche	*ʿnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Fribourg ÄS 1983.123	scarab		all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=2494 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	D6	O	d5		not serrated	6c/2	*s³ Rᶜ*	in cartouche	*ʿnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Fribourg ÄS 1983.124	scarab		all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=2495 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	1ab	*s³ Rᶜ*	in cartouche	*ʿnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi

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Fribourg ÄS 1983.125	scarab	Tufnell 3327	all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=2496 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	D9	O	d5		not serrated	1ab	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Sheshi
Fribourg ÄS 1983.126	scarab		all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=2497 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	D3	O	e11		not serrated	7b	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Sheshi
Fribourg ÄS 1983.127	scarab		all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=2498 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	D9	O	e11		not serrated	6a	*s3 Rˁ*	in oval ring	*ˁnḫ ḏt*	steatite		Sheshi
Fribourg ÄS 1983.128	scarab		all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=2499 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	D9	O	d5		not serrated	7b	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Sheshi
Fribourg ÄS 1983.129	scarab		all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=2500 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	D7	O	d5		not serrated	1ab	*s3 Rˁ*	in oval ring	*ˁnḫ ḏt*	steatite		Sheshi
Fribourg ÄS 1983.130	scarab		all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=2501 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	D9	O	e11		not serrated	6a	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Sheshi
Fribourg ÄS 1983.131	scarab		all sides (head lost), http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=2502 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]		O	d5	chipped off	chipped off	7b	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Sheshi
Fribourg ÄS 1983.133	scarab		all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=2508 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	D6	O	d5		not serrated	6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*ˁnḫ ḏt*	steatite		Sheshi
Fribourg ÄS 1983.134	scarab		all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=2509 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	D9	O	e11	raised	not serrated	3a	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*ḏt*			Sheshi

Table 48 The reference group of 14th–15th Dynasty royal-name scarabs. (continuation)

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Seal	Type	No	Availability and bibliography	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Base	Title	Cartouche	Epithet	Material	Provenance	King
Fribourg ÄS 1983.135	scarab		all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=2510 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	D3	O	e10		not serrated	7b		without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Fribourg ÄS 1983.136	scarab		all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=2512 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	D9	O	e11		not serrated	6c/2	*s3 Rʿ*	without cartouche	*dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Fribourg ÄS 1983.137	scarab		all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=2513 (accessed on 14.05.2020) [p]	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	6a	*s3 Rʿ*	without cartouche	*ʿnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Fribourg ÄS 1983.138	scarab		all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=2514 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	D6	O	e11		not serrated	7b	*s3 Rʿ*	without cartouche	*sw*	steatite		Sheshi
Fribourg ÄS 1983.139	scarab		all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=2515 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	D6	O	e11		not serrated	7b	*s3 Rʿ*	without cartouche		steatite		Sheshi
Garstang, Arábah, pl. X (193)	scarab		only base, Garstang 1900, 8, 34, pl. X (193) [p]						1ab	*s3 Rʿ*	in cartouche	*ʿnḫ dt*		Abydos	Sheshi
Gotha Ae211	scarab		only base, Hsu 2020, 259 (2) [s]						1ab	*s3 Rʿ*	in cartouche	*ʿnḫ dt*			Sheshi
Griffith, LAAA 11, pl. LXI (7)	scarab		only base, Griffith 1924, 171, pl. LXI (7) [p]						6c/2	*s3 Rʿ*	without cartouche	*ʿnḫ dt*	steatite	Faras	Sheshi
Hilton Price 169	scarab		only base, Petrie 1889, no. 75 [s]; Hilton Price 1897, no. 169 [s]						6c/3	*s3 Rʿ*	without cartouche	*ʿnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Hilton Price 170	scarab		only base, Petrie 1889, no. 70 [s]; Hilton Price 1897, no. 170 [s]						6c/2	*s3 Rʿ*	in cartouche	*ʿnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Hilton Price 171	scarab		only base, Hilton Price 1897, no. 171 [s]						7b	*s3 Rʿ*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Sheshi

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Seal	Type	No	Availability and bibliography	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Base	Title	Cartouche	Epithet	Material	Provenance	King
Istanbul 4987	scarab		all sides, Keel 2013, 176–177 (22) [p, s]	D8	O	d5		not serrated	7b	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite	Gezer	Sheshi
Jerusalem IM 76.31.3850	scarab		base and back, museum website [p]	B7	O		raised	4 serrations	1ab	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Jerusalem IM 76.31.3893	scarab		base and back, Ben-Tor 1989, 49 (5) [p]	D7	O			not serrated	1ab	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Jerusalem IM 76.31.3978	scarab		base and back (head lost), museum website [p]		O			chipped off	1ab	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Jerusalem IM 76.31.3979	scarab		base and back, museum website [p]	B7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	1ai	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Jerusalem IM 76.31.3980	scarab		base and back, museum website [p]	D3a	O			not serrated	6c/3	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Jerusalem IM 76.31.4035	scarab		base and back, museum website [p]	B8	O		raised	4 serrations	1ab	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Jerusalem IM 76.31.4042	scarab		base and back, museum website [p]	D3	O			not serrated	1af	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Sheshi
Jerusalem RM 33.1736	scarab	Tufnell 3332	all sides, Keel 1997, 230–231 (379) [p, s]	D6	O	d5		not serrated	1ab	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite	Tell el-ʿAjjul	Sheshi
Jerusalem RM 35.3797	scarab	Tufnell 3278	all sides, Keel 1997, 298–299 (578) [p, s]	D3	O	e11		not serrated	3a	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite	Tell el-ʿAjjul	Sheshi
Jerusalem RM 35.3975	scarab	Tufnell 3297	all sides, Keel 1997, 366–367 (775) [p, s]	D3	O	d5	raised	not serrated	6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite	Tell el-ʿAjjul	Sheshi
Jerusalem RM 38.623	scarab	Tufnell 3318	all sides, Keel 1997, 454–455 (1033) [p, s]	D3	O	d5		not serrated	7b	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite	Tell el-ʿAjjul	Sheshi
Jerusalem RM J. 998	scarab	Tufnell 3315	all sides, Keel 2013, 2–3 (3) [p, s]	D7	O	e11		not serrated	7b	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ dt*	steatite	Tel Jemmeh	Sheshi
Keel, Corpus 1, Tell Amr 1	scarab		all sides, Keel 1997, 638–639 (1) [s]	D9	O	e11		not serrated	7b	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite	Tell Amr	Sheshi
Keel, Corpus 1, Tell el-ʿAǧul no. 834	scarab	Tufnell 2895	only base, Keel 1997, 388–389 (834) [s, p]						1ab	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*		Tell el-ʿAjjul	Sheshi
Kraków IV-ZI-2789	scarab		all sides, Śliwa 2015, no. 3 [p]	A4a	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	1ab	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Kraków MNK XI-330	scarab		all sides, Śliwa 2015, no. 4 [p]	D9	O	d5		not serrated	6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Leipzig 2271	scarab		all sides, seen on display	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	1aa	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi

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Lille L 876	scarab		all sides, http://www.globalegyptianmuseum.org/record.aspx?id=7200 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	D9	O	d5		not serrated	6c/2	*s3 R^c*	without cartouche	*ḥḏ dt ḥr*	steatite	Mirgissa	Sheshi
Liverpool WM 1978.291.272	scarab		base and back, museum website [p]	D9	O			not serrated	6c/2	*s3 R^c*	in cartouche	*ḥḏ dt ḥr*	steatite		Sheshi
Louvre AF 6449	scarab	Tufnell 3287	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3287 [s]	D3	O	d5		not serrated	6c/3	*s3 R^c*	without cartouche	*ḏỉ ʿnḫ*	steatite		Sheshi
Louvre E 5088	scarab	Tufnell 3285	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3285 [s]	D3	O	d6		4 serrations	6c/3	*s3 R^c*	without cartouche	*ḏỉ ʿnḫ*	steatite		Sheshi
Louvre E 6316	scarab		only base, Petrie 1889, no. 82 [s]						8	*s3 R^c*	without cartouche	*ḥḏ dt ḥr*			Sheshi
Louvre E 30974	scarab		only base, museum website [p]						1ad	*s3 R^c*	without cartouche	*ḥḏ dt ḥr*	steatite		Sheshi
Louvre N 528	scarab	Tufnell 3284	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3284 [s]; museum website [p]	D9	O	d5		not serrated	6c/3	*s3 R^c*	in oval ring	*ḥḏ dt ḥr*	steatite		Sheshi
Macclesfield 1754.77	scarab		all sides, David 1980, 37–38 (17) [s]	D5	O	d5		not serrated	1ab	*s3 R^c*	in cartouche	*ḥḏ dt ḥr*	steatite		Sheshi
Malloy 1973 I, lot E12 (b)	scarab		only base, Malloy 1973, lot E12 (b) [p]						7b	*s3 R^c*	without cartouche	*ḥḏ dt ḥr*	steatite		Sheshi
Manchester 7016	scarab		base and back, Brunton and Engelbach 1927, pl. XL (5) [s]	D7	O			not serrated	1ab	*s3 R^c*	in cartouche	*ḥḏ dt ḥr*	steatite	Gurob (tomb 43)	Sheshi
MMA 05.3.341	scarab		only base, Ward 1902, 40, pl. 1 (14) [p]						6c/2	*s3 R^c*	without cartouche		steatite		Sheshi
MMA 05.3.342	scarab		base and back, Ward 1902, 40, pl. 1 (212) [p]	B3	O	e11		not serrated	3a	*s3 R^c*	without cartouche		steatite		Sheshi
MMA 23.3.182	scarab		all sides, museum website [p]	D6	O	e11		not serrated	7b	*s3 R^c*	without cartouche	*ḏỉ ʿnḫ*	steatite	Deir el-Bahri	Sheshi
MMA 26.7.99	scarab		base and back, Newberry 1907b, MMA 26.7.99 [sk]; Winlock 1947, pl. 21 (row 5, 3) [p]	B7	O	d6	raised	serrated	1ab	*s3 R^c*	in cartouche	*ḏỉ ʿnḫ*	steatite		Sheshi
MMA 26.7.100	scarab		only base, Newberry 1907b, pl. IV (53) [s]; Winlock 1947, pl. 21 (row 4, 5) [p]						1ab	*s3 R^c*	without cartouche	*ḥḏ dt ḥr*	steatite		Sheshi

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MMA 26.7.101	scarab		only base, Newberry 1907b, pl. IV (54) [s]; Winlock 1947, pl. 21 (row 5, 5) [p]						7b	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dt*	steatite		Sheshi
MMA 26.7.102	scarab		only base, Newberry 1907b, pl. IV (55) [s]; Winlock 1947, pl. 21 (row 5, 6) [p]						7b	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Sheshi
MMA 26.7.103	scarab		only base, Newberry 1907b, pl. IV (56) [s]; Winlock 1947, pl. 21 (row 4, 1) [p]						3a	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Sheshi
MMA 26.7.111	scarab		only base, Newberry 1907b, pl. V (62) [s]; Winlock 1947, pl. 21 (row 4, 2) [p]						1ab	*s3 Rˁ*	in oval ring	*ʿnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
MMA 30.8.463	scarab		only base, Mace 1921, pl. VIII (5) [p]						1aa	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ʿnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
MMA 30.8.464	scarab		only base, Mace 1921, pl. VIII (25) [p]						3a	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Sheshi
Moscow I, 1a 2140	scarab		all sides, Hodjash 1999, no. 37 [p]	D7	O	d5		not serrated	1ab	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ʿnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Moscow I, 1a 2167	scarab		base and back, Hodjash 1999, no. 38 [p]	D9	O	d5		not serrated	6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ʿnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Newberry, PSBA 36, pl. X (e)	scarab		only base, Newberry 1914, 170, pl. X (e) [s]						6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*ʿnḫ dt*			Sheshi
Newberry, Scarabs, pl. XLIII (17)	scarab		only base, Newberry 1906, 196, pl. XLIII (17) [s]						6a	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ʿnḫ dt*			Sheshi
Newberry, Scarabs, pl. XLIII (18)	scarab		only base, Newberry 1906, 196, pl. XLIII (18) [s]						10	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ʿnḫ dt*			Sheshi
Newberry, Scarabs, pl. XXI (9)	scarab		only base, Newberry 1906, pl. XXI (9) [s]						3a	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*ʿnḫ dt*			Sheshi
Newberry, Scarabs, pl. XXI (10)	scarab		only base, Newberry 1906, 150, pl. XXI (10) [s]						3a	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*ʿnḫ dt*			Sheshi
Newberry, Scarabs, pl. XXI (12)	scarab		only base, Newberry 1906, 150, pl. XXI (12) [s]						6a	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*ʿnḫ dt*			Sheshi

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Newberry, Scarabs, pl. XXI (13)	scarab		only base, Newberry 1906, 150, pl. XXI (13) [s]						6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*			Sheshi
Newberry, Scarabs, pl. XXI (17)	scarab		only base, Newberry 1906, 150, pl. XXI (17) [s]						6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*			Sheshi
Newberry, Scarabs, pl. XXI (18)	scarab		only base, Newberry 1906, 150, pl. XXI (18) [s]						1ab	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*			Sheshi
NFA Scarabs, no. 27	scarab		base and back, NFA 1991, no. 27 [p]	D3	O			not serrated	6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Niccacci, Scarabs, no. 101	scarab		only base, Niccacci 1980, pl. 3 (101) [p]						1ab	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*			Sheshi
Odessa 52927	scarab		all sides, Hodjash 1999, no. 39 [p]	D7	O	d5		not serrated	6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
OIM 5193	scarab		all sides, museum website [p]	D6	II	e9	raised	not serrated	1ab	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite	Hu	Sheshi
OIM 16884	scarab	Tufnell 3300	only base, Tufnell 1984, no. 3300 [d]						6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*			Sheshi
OIM 18454	scarab	Tufnell 3316	only base, Pier 1906b, pl. IV (1230) [s]						7b	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
OIM 18456	scarab	Tufnell 3313	only base, Pier 1906b, pl. IV (1232) [s]						7b	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
OIM 18457	scarab	Tufnell 3280	only base, Pier 1906b, pl. IV (1233) [s]						6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
OIM 18458	scarab	Tufnell 3282	only base, Pier 1906b, pl. IV (1234) [s]						6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
OIM 18472	scarab	Tufnell 3330	only base, Pier 1906b, pl. IV (1231) [s]						1ab	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Petrie, Diospolis Parva, pl. XLI (11)	scarab		only base, Petrie 1901, 52-53, pl. XLI (11) [s]						1ab	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*		Hu	Sheshi
Petrie, Historical scarabs, no. 69	scarab		only base, Petrie 1889, no. 69 [s]; Mariette 1872b, pl. 54 (k) [s]						6a	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*		Elephantine	Sheshi
Petrie, Historical scarabs, no. 78	scarab		only base, Petrie 1889, no. 78 [s]						6c/3	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*			Sheshi

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Petrie, Historical scarabs, no. 85	scarab		only base, Petrie 1889, no. 85 [s]						1aa	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*			Sheshi
Petrie, Illahun, pl. XXIII (1)	scarab		only base, Petrie 1891, pl. XXIII (1) [s]						6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*		Gurob	Sheshi
Philadelphia E.4680	scarab		all sides, museum website [p]	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	1ab	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite	Hu	Sheshi
Pier, Egyptian Antiquities, no. 74	scarab		only base, Pier 1906a, 19, pl. XVII (74) [s]						1ab	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Pier, Egyptian Antiquities, no. 75	scarab		only base, Pier 1906a, 19, pl. XVII (75) [s]						1ab	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Sheshi
Pier, Egyptian Antiquities, no. 76	scarab		only base, Pier 1906a, 19, pl. XVII (76) [s]						10	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Pier, Egyptian Antiquities, no. 77	scarab		only base, Pier 1906a, 19, pl. XVII (77) [s]						3a	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Pier, Egyptian Antiquities, no. 78	scarab		only base, Pier 1906a, 19, pl. XVII (78) [s]						7b	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche		steatite		Sheshi
Pier, Egyptian Antiquities, no. 79	scarab		only base, Pier 1906a, 19, pl. XVII (79) [s]						6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Sheshi
Pier, Egyptian Antiquities, no. 80	scarab		only base, Pier 1906a, 19, pl. XVII (80) [s]						6a	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche		steatite		Sheshi
Plunkett, From the mummy's tomb, 41 (left)	scarab		only base, Plunkett 1993, 41 (left) [p]						6c/3	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*			Sheshi
Reisner, Kerma IV-V, fig. 168 (57)	scarab impression		Reisner 1923a, 28, pl. 3 [p]; Reisner 1923b, fig. 168 (57) [s]						6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*		Kerma	Sheshi
Reisner, Kerma IV-V, fig. 168 (58)	scarab impression		Reisner 1923a, 28, pl. 3 [p]; Reisner 1923b, fig. 168 (58) [s]						6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*		Kerma	Sheshi
Sotheby 1975, no. 39 (1)	scarab		only base, Sotheby 1975, no. 39 (1) [p]						6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*ˁnḫ*	steatite		Sheshi

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Seal	Type	No	Availability and bibliography	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Base	Title	Cartouche	Epithet	Material	Provenance	King
Sotheby 1975, no. 39 (2)	scarab		only base, Sotheby 1975, no. 39 (2) [p]						1ai	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Stockholm MME 1969.726	scarab		all sides, museum website [p]	D9	O	d5		not serrated	6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Sydney NM50.357	scarab	Tufnell 2894	all sides, Keel 1997, 456–457 (1034) [p, s]	D6	O	d5		not serrated	6a	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite	Tell el-ʿAjjul	Sheshi
Tufnell II 3308	scarab	Tufnell 3308	only base, Tufnell 1984, no. 3308 [d]						6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*			Sheshi
Tufnell II 3320	scarab	Tufnell 3320	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3320 [s]	D6	O	e9		not serrated	6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*			Sheshi
UC 11691	scarab	Tufnell 3337	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3337 (as 11692) [s]; Petrie 1917, pl. XXI (16.C.1) [p], pl. LXIX (T 5) [s]	D3	O	d6		4 serrations	1ab	*nṯr nfr*	in cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Sheshi
UC 11692	scarab		only base, museum website [p]				raised	4 serrations	1ab	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
UC 11693	scarab		only base, museum website [p]						1ab	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
UC 11694	scarab	Tufnell 3326	only base, Tufnell 1984, no. 3326 [d]	D9	O	d5			1ab	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
UC 11695	scarab		only base, museum website [p]						1ab	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
UC 11696	scarab	Tufnell 3321	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3321 [s]; Petrie 1917, pl. XXI (16.C.6) [p], pl. LXIX (T 79) [s]		O	d7	raised		10	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
UC 11697	scarab	Tufnell 3288	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3288 [s]	B8	O	d6	raised	5 serrations	6c/4+	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
UC 11698	scarab	Tufnell 3291	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3291 [s]	D6	O	d5		not serrated	6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
UC 11699	scarab	Tufnell 3283	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3283 [s]	D9	O	d5		not serrated	6c/3	*s3 Rˁ*	in oval ring	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
UC 11700	scarab	Tufnell 3298	only base, Tufnell 1984, no. 3298 [d]	D3	O	d5			6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
UC 11701	scarab	Tufnell 3295	only base, Tufnell 1984, no. 3295 [d]	D3	O	d5			6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi

Table 48 The reference group of 14th–15th Dynasty royal-name scarabs. (continuation)

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Seal	Type	No	Availability and bibliography	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Base	Title	Cartouche	Epithet	Material	Provenance	King
UC 11702	scarab	Tufnell 3289	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3289 [s]; Petrie 1917, pl. XXI (16.C.12) [p], pl. LXIX (T 20) [s]	D7	O	e11		not serrated	6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*ḏj ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
UC 11703	scarab		only base, museum website [p]						7b	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*ḏj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Sheshi
UC 11704	scarab	Tufnell 3309	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3309 [s]	A5	I1	d5	deeply set, double partition line	not serrated	6a	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*ḏj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Sheshi
UC 11705	scarab	Tufnell 3317	only base, Tufnell 1984, no. 3317 [d]	D9	O	e11			7b	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*ḏj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Sheshi
UC 11706	scarab	Tufnell 3340	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3340 [s]	D7	O	e10		not serrated	4a	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
UC 61288	scarab		base and back, museum website [p]	D3	O	d5		not serrated	6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	in oval ring	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
UC 61289	scarab		base and back, museum website [p]	D3	O	d5		not serrated	6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	in oval ring	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
UC 61290	scarab		base and back, museum website [p]	D9	O			not serrated	6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
UC 61294	scarab		base and back, museum website [p]	D9	O	d5		not serrated	7b	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche		steatite		Sheshi
UC 61329	scarab		base and back, museum website [p]	D8	O			not serrated	3a	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*ḏj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Sheshi
UC 64849 (4)	scarab		all sides, examined personally; Petrie 1907, pl. XIII E (4) [s]	D3	O	e10		not serrated	1ab	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite	Deir Rifa	Sheshi
van Nijl Tot Schelde, no. 98	scarab		base and back, Gubel 1991, no. 98 [p]	D7	O		raised	not serrated		*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Walters 42.15	scarab		all sides, Schulz 2007, no. 2 [p]	D3	O	e11		not serrated	3a	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Walters 42.17	scarab		all sides, Schulz 2007, no. 3 [p]	D9	O	d5		not serrated	1ab	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ḏj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Sheshi
Walters 42.26	scarab		all sides, Schulz 2007, no. 4 [p]	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	10	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Sheshi
Berlin 31029	scarab		all sides, examined personally	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	1ai	*nṯr nfr*	in cartouche	*ḏj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Wazad
Berlin 32760	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D8	O	e11		not serrated	3a	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite	Tukh el-Qaramus (Blanchard)	Wazad

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Seal	Type	No	Availability and bibliography	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Base	Title	Cartouche	Epithet	Material	Provenance	King
BM EA32319	scarab	Tufnell 3467	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3467 [s]	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	6a	*nṯr nfr*	in cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Wazad
Cairo CG 36029	scarab		only base, Newberry 1907a, pl. I [s]						1af	*nṯr nfr*	in cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Wazad
Petrie, Historical scarabs, no. 348	scarab		base and back, Petrie 1889, no. 348 [s]	B7	O	d6	raised		6c/3	*nṯr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Wazad
Ashmolean AN1892.343	scarab	Tufnell 3417	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3417 [s]	D6	O	e11		not serrated	7b	*s3 Rʿ*	without cartouche		steatite		Yaʿammu
Basel Cat. 139	scarab		all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 139 [p]	D9	O	e10		not serrated	7b	*s3 Rʿ*	without cartouche		steatite		Yaʿammu
BM EA32441	scarab	Tufnell 3416	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3416 [s]	D8	O	e11		not serrated	7a	*s3 Rʿ*	without cartouche		steatite		Yaʿammu
Cairo JE 72943	scarab	Tufnell 3379	base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D8	O	d5		not serrated	7a		without cartouche		steatite		Yaʿammu
Cairo JE 72944	scarab	Tufnell 3377	base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D9	O	d5		not serrated	7a		without cartouche		steatite		Yaʿammu
Cairo JE 72945	scarab	Tufnell 3375	base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D8	O	e11		worn off	7a		without cartouche		steatite		Yaʿammu
Cambridge 2003.30	scarab	Tufnell 3419	all sides, examined personally	D9	O	d5		not serrated	7b	*s3 Rʿ*	without cartouche		steatite		Yaʿammu
OIM 18451	scarab	Tufnell 3418	only base, Allen 1923, 142 (94.1403) [p]						7b	*s3 Rʿ*	without cartouche		steatite		Yaʿammu
Pittsburgh 11983-16e	scarab		only base, Patch 1990, 34–35 [p]						7b	*s3 Rʿ*	without cartouche		steatite		Yaʿammu
Aberdeen ABDUA: 81057	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D9	O	d5		not serrated	7b	*s3 Rʿ*	without cartouche		steatite		Yakbim
Aberdeen ABDUA: 81063	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D9	II	d5		not serrated	7b	*s3 Rʿ*	without cartouche		steatite		Yakbim
Art of the Ancient World 8/1, no. 136	scarab		only base, Royal-Athena Galleries 1994, no. 136 [p]						6c/2	*s3 Rʿ*	without cartouche		steatite		Yakbim
Ashmolean AN1892.209	scarab	Tufnell 3376	all sides, examined personally	D7	O	e11		chipped off	7a	*s3 Rʿ*	without cartouche		steatite		Yakbim
Berlin 17602	scarab	Tufnell 3368	all sides, examined personally	D3	O	d5		not serrated	6c/2	*s3 Rʿ*	without cartouche		steatite		Yakbim

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Seal	Type	No	Availability and bibliography	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Base	Title	Cartouche	Epithet	Material	Provenance	King
Berlin 31023	scarab	Tufnell 3370	all sides, examined personally	D9	O	d5		not serrated	7b	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche		steatite		Yakbim
Bet-Shemesh IAA 1999.1286	scarab		all sides, Keel 2017, 540–541 (19) [p, s]	D6	O	e10		not serrated	7b	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche		steatite	Kabri	Yakbim
Bet-Shemesh IAA 1999.1287	scarab		all sides, Keel 2017, 542–543 (20) [s]	D6	O	d5		not serrated	7b	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche		steatite	Kabri	Yakbim
Cairo JE 72864	scarab	Tufnell 3364	base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	B7	O	d5		not serrated	6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche		steatite		Yakbim
Cairo JE 72865	scarab	Tufnell 3373	base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D7	O	d5		not serrated	7b	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche		steatite		Yakbim
Cairo JE 72866	scarab	Tufnell 3372	base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D9	O	d5		not serrated	7b	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche		steatite		Yakbim
Cairo JE 72867	scarab	Tufnell 3371	base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	D9	O	d5		not serrated	7b	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche		steatite		Yakbim
Jerusalem IM 76.31.4059	scarab		base and back, museum website [p]	D8	O			not serrated	3a	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche		steatite		Yakbim
Jerusalem IM 76.31.4060	scarab		base and back, museum website [p]	D6	O			not serrated	7a		without cartouche		steatite		Yakbim
Jerusalem RM 32.2704	scarab	Tufnell 3366	all sides, Keel 2010a, 48–49 (15) [p, s]	D7	O	e9		not serrated	6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite	Tell Beit Mirsim	Yakbim
Leipzig 5009	scarab		all sides, seen on display; Blumenthal and Onasch 2005, 85 fig. 33 [p]	D9	O	d5		not serrated	7b	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche		steatite		Yakbim
Malloy 1973 I, lot E12 (a)	scarab		only base, Malloy 1973, 1 ot E12 (a) [p]						7b	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche		steatite		Yakbim
MMA 21.2.79	scarab		only base, Hayes 1959, 5 fig. 1 (row 1, 4) [p]						6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche		steatite		Yakbim
Newberry, Scarabs, pl. XXII (7)	scarab		only base, Newberry 1906, pl. XXII (7) [s]						7a		without cartouche				Yakbim
Newberry, Scarabs, pl. XLIII (21)	scarab		only base, Newberry 1906, pl. XLIII (21) [s]						7b	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche				Yakbim
Philadelphia E.10083	scarab		only base, Randall-MacIver and Wooley 1911, pl. 57 (10083) [p]; Ward 1976, 367 (18) [s]						7b	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche		steatite	Buhen	Yakbim

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Sotheby 1975, no. 33 (2)	scarab		only base, Sotheby 1975, no. 33 (2) [p]						6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche		steatite		Yakbim
UC 11811	scarab	Tufnell 3365	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3365 [s]	D9	O	e11	raised	not serrated	7a	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche		steatite		Yakbim
UC 11812	scarab	Tufnell 3378	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3378 [s]	D9	O	d5	raised	not serrated	7a	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche		steatite		Yakbim
UC 11813	scarab	Tufnell 3367	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3367 [s]; Petrie 1917, pl. XXII (16.H.4) [p], pl. LXIX (U 35) [s]	D9	O	d5	raised	not serrated	6c/2		without cartouche		steatite		Yakbim
UC 11814	scarab	Tufnell 3374	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3374 [s]	D7	O	d5	raised	chipped off	7b	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche		steatite		Yakbim
UC 11815	scarab	Tufnell 3369	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3369 [s]	D9	O	e9	raised	not serrated	6c/2	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Yakbim
UC 11820	scarab	Tufnell 3372A	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3372A [s]	D7	O	e9		not serrated	7b		without cartouche		steatite		Yakbim
Berlin 32689	scarab		all sides, examined personally	D8	O	e11		not serrated	3a	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche		steatite		Yakereb
UC 11810	scarab	Tufnell 3493	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3493 [s]	D9	O	d5	raised	not serrated	3a	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche		steatite		Yakereb
Aberdeen ABDUA: 81204	scarab		all sides, examined personally	B7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	3a	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Yaqubhar
Basel Cat. 143	scarab		all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 143 [p]; Fraser 1899, pl. I (9) [s]	C5		d6	raised	4 serrations	1af	*nṯr nfr*	in cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya	Yaqubhar
Basel Cat. 167	scarab		all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 167 [p]; Fraser 1899, pl. I (11) [s]	B5	O	d6	raised	4 serrations, zigzag border	6c/4+	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya	Yaqubhar
Berlin 8891	scarab	Tufnell 3226	all sides, examined personally	B8	O	d6	raised	5 serrations	1af	*nṯr nfr*	in cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Yaqubhar
Berlin 13152	scarab	Tufnell 3222	all sides, examined personally	A7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	6a	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*dj ʿnḫ*	steatite		Yaqubhar

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Berlin 17603	scarab		all sides (head lost), examined personally	B		d6	raised	5 serrations	1af	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Yaqubhar
Berlin 22671	scarab		all sides, examined personally	B8	II	d6	raised	4 serrations	1ai	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Yaqubhar
Berlin 32725	scarab		all sides, examined personally	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	1ai	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya (Blanchard)	Yaqubhar
Berlin VÄGM 1983/022	scarab		all sides, examined personally	B8	O	c	raised	4 serrations	1ak		without cartouche		steatite		Yaqubhar
Bet-Shemesh IAA 1995.5571	scarab impression		Keel 2013, 108–109 (31) [p, s]; Giveon 1965 [p]						6a	*ntr nfr*	in cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*		Gat	Yaqubhar
BM EA30500	scarab	Tufnell 3228	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3228 [s]	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	1af	*ntr nfr*	in cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Yaqubhar
BM EA40741	scarab	Tufnell 3231	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3231 [s]	A7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	1ai	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Yaqubhar
BM EA40742	scarab	Tufnell 3221	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3221 [s]	B8	O	d6	raised	serrated	6a	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Yaqubhar
BM EA64759	scarab	Tufnell 3227	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3227 [s]	B8	O	c	raised	4 serrations	1ai	*ntr nfr*	in cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Yaqubhar
Boston 66.1028	scarab		all sides, museum website [p]	B8	O	e6b	raised	chipped off	1ad	*bjtj*	in cartouche	*dmḍ*	steatite		Yaqubhar
Cairo JE 33995	scarab	Tufnell 3229	base and back, museum database [p]	A7	O	e6b	raised	numerous serrations, incised	1af	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite	Hu	Yaqubhar
Cairo JE 72863	scarab	Tufnell 3225	base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	1ab	*ntr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Yaqubhar
Hannover 1935.200.99	scarab impression		examined personally						6c/4+	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*			Yaqubhar
Hannover 1976.93	scarab		all sides, examined personally	A7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	1af	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Yaqubhar
Hilton Price 188	scarab		only base, Hilton Price 1897, no. 188 [s]; Newberry 1906, 151, pl. XXII (28) [s]						1ad	*ntr nfr*	in cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*			Yaqubhar

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Jerusalem IAA 1981-1191	scarab	Tufnell 3230	base and back, Ben-Tor 2016, 48 (12) [p]; Tufnell 1984, no. 3230 [s]	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	1ai	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite	Tel Shikmona	Yaqubhar
Jerusalem IM 76.31.3977	scarab		base and back, museum website [p]	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	1af	*ntr nfr*	in cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Yaqubhar
Louvre E 6321	scarab		only base, Petrie 1889, no. 351 [s]						1ad	*s3 Rˁ*	in cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*			Yaqubhar
MMA 26.7.112	scarab		base and back, Newberry 1907b, 59, pl. XXI (7) [s]	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	1af	*s3 Rˁ*	in oval ring	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Yaqubhar
Newberry, Scarabs, pl. XXII (30)	scarab		only base, Newberry 1906, pl. XXII (30) [s]						1ad	*ntr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*			Yaqubhar
OIM 18464	scarab	Tufnell 3224	only base, Pier 1906b, pl. IV (1240) [s]						1ad	*ntr nfr*	in cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Yaqubhar
OIM 18467	scarab	Tufnell 3223	only base, Pier 1906b, pl. IV (1245) [s]						6c/3	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Yaqubhar
Reisner, Kerma IV-V, fig. 168 (56)	scarab impression		Reisner 1923b, fig. 168 (56) [s]; Ward 1976, 367 (2) [s]						1ak	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*		Kerma	Yaqubhar
TD 8970	scarab impression		Bietak 2004, 52 fig. 10 (left) [s]; Zeger 2009, 68 [s]						1ad	*ntr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*		Tell el-Dabʿa (18th Dyn.)	Yaqubhar
TD 8971	scarab impression		Bietak 2004, 51 fig. 9 [s]; Zeger 2009, 69 [s]						1ad	*ntr nfr*	without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*		Tell el-Dabʿa (18th Dyn.)	Yaqubhar
TD 8975	scarab impression		Zeger 2009, 72 [s]						1ad		without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*		Tell el-Dabʿa (18th Dyn.)	Yaqubhar
Basel Cat. 140	scarab		all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 140 [p]	D9	O	e11		not serrated	7b	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*dj ˁnḫ*	steatite		Ykh / Khy
Cairo JE 72868	scarab		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]		O			not serrated	7b	*s3 Rˁ*	without cartouche	*ˁnḫ dt*	steatite		Ykh / Khy

Table 48 The reference group of 14th–15th Dynasty royal-name scarabs. (continuation)

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Scarab	No	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Name
Berlin 32678	Martin 1820	all sides, examined personally	3a	D7	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; smr-wʿtj* (…)
Berlin 32679	Martin 1821	all sides, examined personally	3a	D9	O	e11	raised	chipped off	steatite	Shibin el-Qa-natir (Blanchard)	*ḥtmw-bjtj; smr-wʿtj* (…)
Berlin 32680	Martin 1822	all sides, examined personally	7b	D7	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; smr-wʿtj* (…)
Berlin 32681	Martin 1823	all sides, examined personally	7b	D3	O	e11	raised	not serrated	steatite	Zagazig (Blanchard)	*ḥtmw-bjtj; smr-wʿtj* (…)
Berlin VÄGM 1983/034		all sides, examined personally	3a	D7	O	e11	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; smr-wʿtj* [?]
UC 11513	Martin 1819	all sides, examined personally	3a	D9	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite	Shibin el-Qa-natir	*ḥtmw-bjtj; smr-wʿtj* (…)
Seal Collector 9a		base and back, http://www.seal-collector.de/scarab-gallery_9.html (accessed on 05.03.2019) [p]	1ag	A7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations, zigzag border	steatite		*sš Jr-n=j-stḥ*
Cairo JE 75173	Martin 304	all sides, examined personally; Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	1ag	D3a	O	e6b	raised	numerous serrations, incised	steatite		*smsw ḥ3jit Jipt-ḥr*
Berlin 32439	Martin 305	all sides, examined personally	6c/4+	B7	O	e6b	raised	7 serrations	steatite		*jlmꜥs nʿt ḥnkwt Jimn*^{3}
Basel Cat. 135	Martin 307	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 135 [p]	3a	D9	O	e11	raised	not serrated	steatite		*s*^{3}*-nsw Jjkbn*
Cairo JE 74965	Martin 308	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	D9	O		raised	not serrated	steatite		*s*^{3}*-nsw. smsw Jjkbn*
Berlin 32417	Martin 111	all sides, examined personally	1ai	A7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; smr-wʿtj; jmj-r*^{3} *ḥtmt Jbt*
BM EA66077	Martin 108	all sides, examined personally	1af	A7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-r*^{3} *ḥtmt Jbt*
Cairo JE 75183	Martin 109	all sides, examined personally; Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	1ah	B7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-r*^{3} *ḥtmt Jbt*
Ashmolean AN1890.165	Martin 125	all sides, examined personally	1aa	C7	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*s*^{3}*-nsw. Jppj*
Berlin 31344		all sides, examined personally	7a	D9	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*s*^{3}*-nsw. Jppj*
Berlin 32721		all sides, examined personally	1ad	D6	II	d14	raised	not serrated	steatite	Saqqara (Blanchard)	*s*^{3}*-nsw. Jppj*
Aberdeen ABDUA:81123	Martin 147	base and back, examined personally	3a	D3	O	d6	raised	not serrated	steatite		*s*^{3}*-nsw. smsw Jpq*
Aberdeen ABDUA:81145	Martin 149	all sides, examined personally	3a	D3	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*s*^{3}*-nsw. smsw Jpq*
Aberdeen ABDUA:81218	Martin 148	all sides, examined personally	3a	D3	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*s*^{3}*-nsw. smsw Jpq*

Table 49 The reference group of 14th–15th Dynasty private-name scarabs.

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Scarab	No	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Name
Abydos Garstang 646 A'08 (2)		base and back, Garstang neg. A557, A559 [p]	3a	D3A	O		raised	not serrated	steatite	Abydos	*s3-nsw smsw Jpq*
Basel Cat. 136	Martin 156	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 136 [p]	3a	B7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*s3-nsw smsw Jpq*
Basel Cat. 137	Martin 155	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 137 [p]	3a	D3	O	e11	raised	not serrated	steatite		*s3-nsw smsw Jpq*
Berlin 8082	Martin 152	all sides, examined personally	3a	D3	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*s3-nsw smsw Jpq*
Berlin 10984	Martin 153	all sides, examined personally	3a	D3	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*s3-nsw smsw Jpq*
Berlin 20454	Martin 154	all sides, examined personally	3a	D3	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*s3-nsw smsw Jpq*
Berlin 32422	Martin 167	all sides, examined personally	3a	D6	O	e10	raised	not serrated	steatite		*s3-nsw smsw Jpq*
Berlin 32423	Martin 168	all sides, examined personally	3a	D3	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*s3-nsw smsw Jpq*
Berlin 32424	Martin 168a	all sides, examined personally	3a	D3	O	d5	raised	chipped off	steatite	Mit Rahina (Blanchard)	*s3-nsw smsw Jpq*
BM EA3926	Martin 129	all sides, examined personally; museum website [p]	3a	D3	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*s3-nsw smsw Jpq*
BM EA24141	Martin 130	all sides, examined personally	3a	D3	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*s3-nsw smsw Jpq*
BM EA37669		all sides, examined personally	8	B7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*s3-nsw Jpq*
BM EA54766	Martin 131	all sides, examined personally	3a	D9	O	e10	raised	not serrated	steatite		*s3-nsw smsw Jpq*
Boston 67.1147	Martin 151	all sides, museum website [p]	3a	D7	O	d5	raised	worn off	steatite		*s3-nsw smsw Jpq*
Cairo JE 74967	Martin 138	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	A1	I	d5	deeply set, single partition line	not serrated	steatite		*s3-nsw smsw Jpq*
Cairo JE 74968	Martin 139	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	D9	O		raised	not serrated	steatite		*s3-nsw smsw Jpq*
Cairo JE 74969	Martin 140	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	D9	O		raised	not serrated	steatite		*s3-nsw smsw Jpq*
Cairo JE 74970	Martin 141	base and back (head lost), Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a		O		chipped off	chipped off	steatite		*s3-nsw smsw Jpq*
Cairo JE 74971	Martin 142	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	D3	O		raised	not serrated	steatite		*s3-nsw smsw Jpq*
Cairo JE 74972	Martin 143	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	D6	O		raised	not serrated	steatite		*s3-nsw smsw Jpq*
Cambridge 2003.29	Martin 144	all sides, examined personally	3a	D7	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*s3-nsw smsw Jpq*
Cambridge 2003.50	Martin 145	all sides, examined personally	3a	D3	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*s3-nsw smsw Jpq*

Table 49 The reference group of 14th–15th Dynasty private-name scarabs. (continuation)

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Scarab	No	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Name
Cambridge Z 18045.1	Martin 146	all sides, examined personally	3a	D3	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*s3-nsw smsw.Jpq*
Fribourg ÄS 1983.1622	Martin 127	all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=7610 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	3a	D9	O	e10	raised	not serrated	steatite		*s3-nsw.Jpq*
Fribourg ÄS 1983.1623	Martin 164	all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=7611 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	3a	D3	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*s3-nsw smsw.Jpq*
Fribourg ÄS 1983.1624	Martin 162	all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=7612 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	3a	D8	O	e11	raised	not serrated	steatite		*s3-nsw smsw.Jpq*
Fribourg ÄS 1983.1625	Martin 163	all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=7613 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	3a	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*s3-nsw smsw.Jpq*
Fribourg ÄS 1983.1626	Martin 161	all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=7614 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	3a	D9	O	e11	raised	not serrated	steatite	Zagazig (Blanchard)	*s3-nsw smsw.Jpq*
Fribourg ÄS 1983.1627	Martin 165	all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=7615 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	3a	D9	O	e10	raised	not serrated	steatite		*s3-nsw.Jpq*
Fribourg ÄS 1983.1628	Martin 166	all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=7616 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	3a	D6	O	e10	raised	not serrated	steatite		*s3-nsw smsw.Jpq*
Giveon, Tel Aviv 3, no. 2		all sides, KEEL 2013, 638–639 (1) [p, s]	4a	D3	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite	Hebron	*s3-nsw smsw.Jpq*
Hornung, ZÄS 92, 100, Abb. 1-3	Martin 160	all sides, HORNUNG 1966 [p]	3a	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*s3-nsw smsw.Jpq*
Moscow I, 1a 2081		all sides, HODJASH 1999, no. 421 [p]	3a	D3	I	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*s3-nsw smsw.Jpq*
UC 11602	Martin 132	all sides, examined personally	3a	D3	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*s3-nsw smsw.Jpq*
UC 11603	Martin 133	all sides, examined personally	3a	C2	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*s3-nsw smsw.Jpq*
UC 11604	Martin 134	all sides, examined personally	3a	D3	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*s3-nsw smsw.Jpq*
UC 11605	Martin 135	all sides, examined personally	3a	D3	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*s3-nsw smsw.Jpq*
UC 26276	Martin 136	all sides, examined personally	3a	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Qau el-Kebir	*s3-nsw smsw.Jpq*
Basel Cat. 132	Martin 271	all sides, HORNUNG and STAEHELIN 1976, no. 132 [p]	3a	D3	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*s3-nsw Jmr-mrk*
UC 11379	Martin 319	all sides, examined personally; QUIRKE 2004, 186 fig. 16 [s]	1ad	D3a	O	e6b	raised	numerous serrations, incised	steatite		*jrj-ḥtm ʿpr-bʿ3r*

Table 49 The reference group of 14th–15th Dynasty private-name scarabs. (continuation)

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Scarab	No	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Name
Berlin 32443	Martin 320	all sides, examined personally	1ad	B7	O	c	raised	4 serrations, zigzag border	steatite		*sr ʿpr-bʿ ʾr šrj*
UC 11516		all sides, examined personally	1ad	D3	O	e6b	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥmt-nsw W3dt*
Aberdeen ABDUA:81183	Martin 501	all sides, examined personally	3a	D7	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḫtmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḫtmt Pr-m-ḫst*
Berlin 31036	Martin 490	all sides, examined personally	7b	D7	O	e11	raised	not serrated	steatite		*jmj-rꜣ ḫtmt Pr-m-ḫst*
Berlin 32474	Martin 491	all sides, examined personally	7b	D3	O	e11	raised	not serrated	steatite	Akhmim (Blanchard)	*jmj-rꜣ ḫtmt Pr-m-ḫst*
Berlin 32475	Martin 492	all sides, examined personally	3a	D6	O	d5	raised	chipped off	steatite		*jmj-rꜣ ḫtmt Pr-m-ḫst*
Berlin 32476	Martin 493	all sides, examined personally	7b	D9	O	e11	raised	chipped off	steatite		*jmj-rꜣ ḫtmt Pr-m-ḫst*
Berlin 32477	Martin 494	all sides, examined personally	7b	D9	O	d5	raised	worn off	steatite		*jmj-rꜣ ḫtmt Pr-m-ḫst*
Berlin 32478	Martin 495	all sides, examined personally	7b	D7	O	e11	raised	not serrated	steatite	Akhmim (Blanchard)	*jmj-rꜣ ḫtmt Pr-m-ḫst*
Berlin 32479	Martin 496	all sides, examined personally	7b	D6	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*jmj-rꜣ ḫtmt Pr-m-ḫst*
BM EA3893	Martin 477	all sides, examined personally	7a	D6	O	d5	raised	chipped off	steatite		*jmj-rꜣ ḫtmt Pr-m-ḫst*
BM EA30534	Martin 478	all sides, examined personally	7b	D7	O	e11	raised	chipped off	steatite		*jmj-rꜣ ḫtmt Pr-m-ḫst*
BM EA37692	Martin 479	all sides, examined personally	7b	D6	O	d6	raised	not serrated	steatite		*jmj-rꜣ ḫtmt Pr-m-ḫst*
BM EA66087	Martin 480	all sides, examined personally	7b	B3	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*jmj-rꜣ ḫtmt Pr-m-ḫst*
BM EA66733	Martin 503	all sides, examined personally	3a	D9	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḫtmw-bjtj; smr-wʿtj; jmj-rꜣ ḫtmt Pr-m-ḫst*
Brooklyn 44.123.85	Martin 489	all sides, examined personally; museum website [p]	7b	D9	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*jmj-rꜣ ḫtmt Pr-m-ḫst*
Cairo JE 36872 (a)	Martin 483	base and back, museum database [p]	7b	D7	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite	Bubastis	*jmj-rꜣ ḫtmt Pr-m-ḫst*
Cairo JE 75094	Martin 484	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3b	D9	O		raised	not serrated	steatite		*jmj-rꜣ ḫtmt Pr-m-ḫst*
Cairo JE 75106	Martin 485	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	D3	O		raised	not serrated	steatite		*jmj-rꜣ ḫtmt Pr-m-ḫst*
Cambridge 2003.51	Martin 500	all sides, examined personally	3a	D9	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḫtmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḫtmt Pr-m-ḫst*
CNG auction 93, lot 1948		base and back, https://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=233064 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	3a	D9	O		raised	chipped off	steatite		*jmj-rꜣ ḫtmt Pr-m-ḫst*

Table 49 The reference group of 14th–15th Dynasty private-name scarabs. (continuation)

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Scarab	No	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Name
Fribourg ÄS 1983.172	Martin 507	all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=6144 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	7b	B3	O	e5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*Pr-m-ḥst*
Jerusalem IM 76.31.2223		base and back, museum website [p]	3a	D6	II		raised	not serrated	steatite		*jmj-rꜣ ḥmt Pr-m-ḥst*
Keel 55		all sides, Keel 2020, no. 55 [p]	7b	D9	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*jmj-rꜣ ḥmt Pr-m-ḥst*
Kraków MNK XI-A-444		all sides, Śliwa 2015, no. 77 [p]	7b	D6	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*jmj-rꜣ ḥmt Pr-m-ḥst*
UC 11508	Martin 481	all sides, examined personally	7b	D3	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*jmj-rꜣ ḥmt Pr-m-ḥst*
UC 11509	Martin 504	all sides, examined personally	3a	D3	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; snw-wʿtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Pr-m-ḥst*
UC 11510	Martin 482	all sides, examined personally	3a	D9	O	e11	raised	not serrated	steatite		*jmj-rꜣ ḥmt Pr-m-ḥst*
Berlin 32482	Martin 516	all sides, examined personally	6c/3	D3	O	e9	raised	not serrated	steatite		*jmj-rꜣ pr Ptjj*
Berkeley 6-17256		all sides, museum website [p]	3a	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Koptos (purchased)	*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ sḫtjw Mr-ʿ-jtj*
Berlin 32698		all sides, examined personally	3a	D5	O	e11	raised	worn off	steatite		*jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt; sšrj nsw Mrrj(j)*
Berlin VÄGM 1983/033		all sides, examined personally	3a	D8	O	e11	raised	not serrated	steatite		*jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt; sšrj nsw Mrrj(j)*
BM EA42546	Martin 660	all sides, examined personally; Hein 1994, no. 155 [p]	7a	D8	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*sꜣ-nsw smsw Nb-nṯrw*
Ashmolean AN1933.93(XIX)	Tufnell 3471	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3471 [s]	3a	D7	O	d5	raised	not serrated			*sꜣ-nsw Nḥsj*
Athens 409	Martin 795	all sides, seen on display	1af	D5	open-work	d6	raised	chipped off	steatite		*sꜣ-nsw smsw Nḥsj*
Basel Cat. 133	Martin 794	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 133 [p]	3a	D8	O	e11	raised	not serrated	steatite	Tell Basta	*sꜣ-nsw smsw Nḥsj*
Basel Cat. 134		all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 134 [p]	3a	D8	O	e11	raised	not serrated	steatite		*sꜣ-nsw smsw Nḥsj*
Berlin 32528	Martin 795a	all sides, examined personally	3a	D3	O	e6b	raised	chipped off	steatite		*sꜣ-nsw smsw Nḥsj*
Berlin 32682		all sides, examined personally	3a	D8	O	e11	raised	not serrated	steatite	Mit Rahina (Blanchard)	*sꜣ-nsw smsw Nḥsj*
Berlin 32683		all sides, examined personally	3a	D9	O	e11	raised	chipped off	steatite		*sꜣ-rˁ smsw Nḥsj*
Berlin 32684		all sides, examined personally	3a	D8	O	e11	raised	not serrated	steatite		*sꜣ-nsw smsw Nḥsj*
Berlin 32685		all sides, examined personally	3a	D3	O	d5	raised	chipped off	steatite	Thumis (Blanchard)	*sꜣ-nsw smsw Nḥsj*

Table 49 The reference group of 14th–15th Dynasty private-name scarabs. (continuation)

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Scarab	No	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Name
Berlin 32686		all sides, examined personally	8	D8	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*s3-nsw Nḥsj*
Berlin VÄGM 1983/029		all sides, examined personally	3a	D8	O	e11	raised	not serrated	steatite		*s3-nsw Nḥsj*
BM EA52541	Tufnell 3476 Martin 784	all sides, examined personally	3a	D9	O	e11	raised	not serrated	steatite		*s3-nsw smsw Nḥsj*
BM EA66169	Tufnell 3475 Martin 785	all sides, examined personally	3a	D8	O	e11	raised	not serrated	steatite		*s3-nsw smsw Nḥsj*
Cairo JE 72854	Tufnell 3478 Martin 789	base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	7b	D9	O	e11	raised	not serrated	steatite		*s3-nsw smsw Nḥsj*
Cairo JE 72855	Tufnell 3470 Martin 790	base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	3a	D9	O	e11	raised	not serrated	steatite		*s3-nsw smsw Nḥsj*
Cairo JE 72856	Tufnell 3479 Martin 791	base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	3a	D3	O	d6	raised	not serrated	steatite		*s3-nsw Nḥsj*
Cairo JE 72857	Tufnell 3468 Martin 792	base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	3f	D8	O	e11	raised	not serrated	steatite		*s3-nsw smsw Nḥsj*
Jerusalem IM 2016.61.815		all sides, unpublished museum photo [p]	3a	B3	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*s3-nsw smsw Nḥsj*
MMA 05.3.272		all sides, museum website [p]; Ward 1902, 40, pl. 1 (278) [p]	3a	A4a	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*s3-nsw smsw Nḥsj*
UC 11590	Tufnell 3473	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3473 [s]	3a	D3	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*s3-nsw smsw Nḥsj*
UC 11591	Tufnell 3477 Martin 786	all sides, examined personally; Petrie 1925, pl. XXIV (13.53.3)) [p], XXX (U 74) [s]	3a	D8	O	e11	raised	not serrated	steatite		*s3-nsw smsw Nḥsj*
UC 11597	Tufnell 3474 Martin 787	all sides, examined personally	3a	D9	O	e11	raised	not serrated	steatite		*s3-nsw smsw Nḥsj*
UC 11598	Tufnell 3472 Martin 788	all sides, examined personally	3a	D8	O	e11	raised	not serrated	steatite		*s3-nsw smsw Nḥsj*
Cairo JE 75209	Martin 903	all sides, examined personally; Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	6c/2	D9	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*rḫ-nsw Rdj-rdj (?)*
Berlin 32556	Martin 911	all sides, examined personally	3a	D3a	O	e10	raised	not serrated	steatite		*jmj-r3 ḥtmt Rdj-ḥ3*
Berlin 32557	Martin 912	all sides, examined personally	7b	D3	O	d5	chipped off	chipped off	steatite		*jmj-r3 ḥtmt Rdj-ḥ3*
BM EA28228	Martin 904	all sides, examined personally	7b	D3	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*jmj-r3 ḥtmt Rdj-ḥ3*
Firenze 1163	Martin 909	base and back, http://www.globalegyptianmuseum.org/record.aspx?id=8997 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	7b	D9	O		raised	not serrated	steatite		*jmj-r3 ḥtmt Rdj-ḥ3*

Table 49 The reference group of 14th–15th Dynasty private-name scarabs. (continuation)

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Scarab	No	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Name
Fribourg ÄS 1983.1632	Martin 910	all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=7620 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	7a	D8	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Rdj-ḥꜣ*
UC 11479	Martin 905	all sides, examined personally	3a	D9	O	e10	raised	not serrated	steatite		*jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Rdj-ḥꜣ*
UC 11507	Martin 906	all sides, examined personally	7b	D7	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Rdj-ḥꜣ*
Aberdeen ABDUA:81167	Martin 1043	all sides, examined personally	3b	D6	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Aberdeen ABDUA:81169	Martin 1045	all sides, examined personally	3a	D6	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Aberdeen ABDUA:81179	Martin 1044	all sides, examined personally	3b	D9	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Antwerpen AV.4765 22/29		all sides, Gubel 1995, no. 493 [s]	3a		O	d5	raised	worn off	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Ashmolean AN1888.282	Martin 1038	all sides, examined personally; Griffith 1890, pl. X (4) [s]	3a	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya	*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Ashmolean AN1892.210	Martin 1039	all sides, examined personally	3a	D9	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Ashmolean AN1892.235	Martin 1040	all sides, examined personally	1ad	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations, zigzag border	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Ashmolean AN1892.319	Martin 1041	all sides, examined personally	3a	B7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Ashmolean AN1922.231	Martin 1042	all sides, examined personally	3a	D9	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Basel Cat. 522	Martin 1068	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 522 [p]	3a	D3	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Basel Cat. 523	Martin 1066	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 523 [p]	3a	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Basel Cat. 524	Martin 1067	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 524 [p]	3a	D9	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Basel Cat. 525	Martin 1069	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 525 [p]	3a	D3	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Berlin 31034	Martin 1057	all sides, examined personally; Ben-Tor 1989, 64 (17) [p]	3a	D9	O	e5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Berlin 31640	Martin 1070	all sides, examined personally; Ben-Tor 1989, 64 (17) [p]	3a	D3	O	d5	raised	chipped off	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Berlin 32273		all sides, examined personally	3b	D6	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Berlin 32561	Martin 1071	all sides, examined personally	3b	D9	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*

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Scarab	No	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Name
Berlin 32562	Martin 1072	all sides, examined personally	3a	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Berlin 32563	Martin 1073	all sides, examined personally	3a	D6	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Berlin 32564	Martin 1074	all sides, examined personally	3a	D6	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Berlin 32565	Martin 1075	all sides, examined personally	3a	D3a	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Berlin 32566	Martin 1076	all sides, examined personally	3a	D9	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Berlin 32567	Martin 1076a	all sides, examined personally	3b	D3	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Berlin 32568	Martin 1076b	all sides, examined personally	3b	D9	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Berlin 32569	Martin 1076c	all sides (head lost), examined personally	3b		O	d5	chipped off	chipped off	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Berlin 32570	Martin 1076d	all sides, examined personally	3a	D9	O	e10	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Berlin 32571	Martin 1086	all sides, examined personally	6c/2	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; smr-wʿtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Berlin 32572	Martin 1087	all sides, examined personally	1ai	B8	O	c	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; smr-wʿtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Berlin 32573	Martin 1088	all sides, examined personally	3a	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Mendes (Blanchard)	*ḥtmw-bjtj; smr-wʿtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Berlin 32574	Martin 1088a	all sides, examined personally	3a	D3	I	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; smr-wʿtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Berlin VÄGM 1983/026		all sides (head lost), examined personally	3a		O	d5	chipped off	chipped off	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Berlin VÄGM 1983/027		all sides, examined personally	3a	D8	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Berlin VÄGM 1983/028		all sides, examined personally	3a	D3	O	d5	raised	worn off	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Berlin VÄGM 1983/031		all sides, examined personally	3a	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
BM EA4285	Martin 984	all sides (head lost), examined personally	3a	D7	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
BM EA24109	Martin 985	all sides, examined personally	3b	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
BM EA24110	Martin 986	all sides, examined personally	3a	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
BM EA28124	Martin 987	all sides, examined personally	3b	D3a	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
BM EA32280	Martin 990	all sides, examined personally	3a	D3	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
BM EA32292	Martin 991	all sides, examined personally	3a	D9	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*

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Scarab	No	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Name
BM EA37688	Martin 992	all sides, examined personally	3a	D9	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
BM EA37689	Martin 993	all sides, examined personally	3a	B7	O	d6	chipped off	chipped off	steatite		*ḥmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
BM EA37690	Martin 994	all sides, examined personally	3a	D9	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
BM EA37691	Martin 995	all sides, examined personally	3a	D8	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
BM EA40735	Martin 996	all sides, examined personally	3a	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*ḥmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
BM EA40736	Martin 997	all sides, examined personally	3a	D6	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
BM EA40737	Martin 1079	all sides, examined personally	3b	D7	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥmw-bjtj; snw-wʿtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
BM EA42222	Martin 998	all sides, examined personally	3a	D8	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
BM EA42350	Martin 999	all sides, examined personally	3a	B3	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
BM EA42410	Martin 1000	all sides, examined personally	3a	D9	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
BM EA45450	Martin 1001	all sides, examined personally	3a	D9	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
BM EA46695	Martin 1003	all sides, examined personally	3a	D9	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
BM EA54765	Martin 1004	all sides, examined personally	3a	D8	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
BM EA64841	Martin 1005	all sides, examined personally	1ab	B8	O	d6	raised	5 serrations	steatite		*ḥmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
BM EA64842	Martin 1006	all sides, examined personally	3a	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*ḥmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Bonn MF197		all sides, Konert, Morenz, and Weil, no. 49 [p]	3b	D3	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Boston 67.1148	Martin 1052	all sides, museum website [p]	3a	D3	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Boston 1979.590		all sides, museum website [p]	3b	B7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*ḥmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Brunton, Qau III, pl. XIX (19)	Martin 1063	base and back, Brunton 1930, pl. XIX (19) [s]	3b	B7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Qau el-Kebir	*ḥmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Cairo JE 75114	Martin 1020	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	D7	O		raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Cairo JE 75115	Martin 1021	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	B8	O		raised	4 serrations	steatite		*ḥmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Cairo JE 75116	Martin 1022	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	D3	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Cairo JE 75117	Martin 1023	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	D3	O		raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Cairo JE 75118	Martin 1024	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	D8	O		raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*

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Scarab	No	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Name
Cairo JE 75119	Martin 1025	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	D6	O		raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Cairo JE 75120	Martin 1026	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	D9	O		raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Cairo JE 75121	Martin 1027	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	D9	O		raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Cairo JE 75122	Martin 1028	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	D9	O		raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Cairo JE 75123	Martin 1029	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	D3	O		raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Cairo JE 75124	Martin 1030	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	D9	O		raised	chipped off	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Cairo JE 75125	Martin 1031	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	D9	O		raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Cairo JE 75126	Martin 1032	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3b	D9	O		raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Cairo JE 75127	Martin 1081	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	D7	O		raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; smr-wʿtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Cairo JE 75155	Martin 918	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	1af	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3(r)*
Cairo JE 75158	Martin 917	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	1z	B8	O		raised	4 serrations	steatite		*rḫ-nsw Ḥ3(r)*
Cairo JE 75188	Martin 1082	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	1ab	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; smr-wʿtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Cambridge 2003.45	Martin 1036	all sides, examined personally	3b	D3	O	e10	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Cambridge 2003.47	Martin 1037	all sides, examined personally	3b	D3	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Chalon-sur-Saône DEG.54		base and back, Ville d'Autun 1988, no. 226 [p]	6c/2	D9	O		raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; smr-wʿtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Chicago AI 1894.1586		base and back, museum website [p]	3b	D9	O		raised	worn off	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Edinburgh A.1965.145	Martin 1085	base and back, museum website [p]	3b	A7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; smr-wʿtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Fadrus 185/8:1	Martin 1065a	all sides, Säve-Söderbergh and Troy 1991, pl. 10 (185/8:1) [p]	3a	D9	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite	Dibeira East	*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Fitzwilliam E.550.1939	Martin 1035	base and back, museum website [p]	1ab	B8	III	d6	raised at base, deeply set at front	5 serrations	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*

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Scarab	No	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Name
Giveon, Tel Aviv 3, no. 6		all sides, Keel 2017, 14–15 (1) [p]	3b	D6	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite	Yavneh-Yam	*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-r³ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
IoA UCL EV.11/11	Martin 1077a	all sides, Keel 2010b, 60–61 (78) [p]; museum website [p]	3a	D9	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite	Tell el-Farah (South)	*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-r³ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Jerusalem IAA 73-163		all sides, Keel 1997, 538–539 (23) [p]	3a	D9	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite	Acre	*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-r³ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Jerusalem IM 76.31.4506		base and back, Ben-Tor 1989, 64 (17) [p]	3b	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; smr-wʿtj; jmj-r³ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Jerusalem IM 2016.61.824		all sides, unpublished photo from the museum [p]	3a	D9	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-r³ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Jerusalem RM 35.3793	Tufnell 2915 Martin 1064	all sides, Keel 1997, 296–297 (573) [p]; Ben-Tor 1989, 64 (17) [p]	3a	D3	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite	Tell el-ʿAjjul	*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-r³ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Khartoum 1202	Martin 1065	base and back, Reisner 1923b, pl. 40–41 [p]	3b	D3	O		raised	not serrated	steatite	Kerma	*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-r³ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Leiden AS-1	Martin 1061	all sides, museum website [p]	1aa	A7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-r³ ḥtmt Ḥ3(r)*
Loffet, AHL 42-43, 116 no. 2		all sides, Loffet 2015, 116–117, 168 fig. 2 [p]	3a	B7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-r³ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Louvre AF 6752	Martin 1062	base and back, museum website [p]	3a	D6	O		raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-r³ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Macclesfield 1804 ii.77		all sides, David 1980, 36 (7) [s]	3a	D6	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-r³ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Magnarini, Catalogo ragiona-to, no. 12.41		all sides, Magnarini 2014, no. 12.41 [p]	3a	D7	O	d5	chipped off	chipped off	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-r³ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
MMA 05.3.269	Martin 1046	all sides, Ward 1902, 40, pl. I (227) [p]	3a	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-r³ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Moravská Třebová O 400		all sides, Martínková et al. 2015, 118, 123 (D.41) [p]	3a	D9	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-r³ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
OIM 18591	Martin 1053	all sides, examined personally	3a	D7	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-r³ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
OIM 18592	Martin 1054	all sides, examined personally	3a	D9	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-r³ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
OIM 18593	Martin 1055	all sides, examined personally	3a	D6	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-r³ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Santarelli 474		all sides, Sist 2012, no. 34 [p]; https://www.bonhams.com/auctions/16777/lot/392 (accessed on 12.05.2020) [p]	3a	D9	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-r³ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
TD 6161		all sides, Milnar 2001b, no. 909 [s]; Milnar 2004a, no. 5 [s]	3a	D3a	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite	Tell el-Dabʿa (D/2 (A/V))	*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-r³ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Torino Cat. 4824	Martin 1059	all sides, examined personally	3a	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-r³ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*

Table 49 The reference group of 14th–15th Dynasty private-name scarabs. (continuation)

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Scarab	No	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Name
UC 11405	Martin 1007	all sides, examined personally	1ai	A7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-r³ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
UC 11486	Martin 1080	all sides, examined personally	3b	D3	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; smr-wˁtj; jmj-r³ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
UC 11487	Martin 1008	all sides, examined personally	3b	D3	O	e10	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-r³ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
UC 11488	Martin 1009	all sides, examined personally	3a	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-r³ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
UC 11489	Martin 1010	all sides, examined personally	3a	D3	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-r³ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
UC 11490	Martin 1011	all sides, examined personally	3a	D9	O	e5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-r³ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
UC 11491	Martin 1012	all sides, examined personally	3a	D7	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-r³ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
UC 11492	Martin 1013	all sides, examined personally	3a	D3	I	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-r³ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
UC 11493	Martin 1014	all sides, examined personally	3a	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-r³ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
UC 11494	Martin 1015	all sides, examined personally	3a	D6	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-r³ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
UC 11495	Martin 1016	all sides, examined personally	3a	D9	O	e10	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-r³ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
UC 11496	Martin 1017	all sides, examined personally	3a	D9	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-r³ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
UC 11497	Martin 1018	all sides, examined personally	3b	D3	O	d5	raised	chipped off	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-r³ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
UC 64849 (3)	Martin 1019	all sides, examined personally	3a	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Deir Rifa	*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-r³ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
UC 11512	Martin 1167	all sides, examined personally	3a	D9	O	e11	raised	not serrated	steatite		*jmj-r³ gs Ḥmj-k3*
BM EA65958	Martin 1298	all sides, examined personally	3a	B8	O	d5	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*jmj-r³ pr S3-mrjjt*
Giveon, Tel Aviv 7, no. 6		all sides, Giveon 1980, no. 6, fig. 2:3 [p]	3a	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*jmj-r³ pr S3-mrjjt*
OIM 18558	Martin 1299	all sides, examined personally	8	B7	O	d5	raised	chipped off	steatite		*jmj-r³ pr S3-mrjjt*
Basel Cat. 508	Martin 1312	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 508 [p]	1ai	D3	O	e6b	raised	not serrated	steatite		*rḫ-nsw S3-ḫwt-ḥr*
Ben-Tor, Scarab, 61 (20)		base and back, Ben-Tor 1989, 61 (20) [p]	1ab	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*rḫ-nsw S3-ḫwt-ḥr*
Cairo JE 75059	Martin 1672	all sides, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]; Ward 1975/1976, fig. 2 [s]	3a	D7	O	e11	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-r³ ḥtmt S3mj (?)*
Ward, OLP 6/7, fig. 1		all sides, Ward 1975/1976, fig. 1 [s]	3a	D3	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-r³ ḥtmt S3mj (?)*
UC 11483	Martin 1403	all sides, examined personally	6d	B6	II	d6	raised	chipped off	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-r³ gs-pr Sbk-nb-k3*
UC 11451	Martin 1450	all sides, examined personally	3a	D3	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-r³ shtjw Snmtj*

Table 49 The reference group of 14th–15th Dynasty private-name scarabs. (continuation)

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Scarab	No	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Name
Fitzwilliam E.Sc.39	Martin 1455	all sides, museum website [p]	3a	D6	O	d5	chipped off	chipped off	steatite		[*jmj-r³*] *sḫtjw Smtr-ḥr*
Berlin 32653	Martin 1660	all sides, examined personally	3a	D9	O	e10	raised	not serrated	steatite		*s³-nsw Skt*
Berlin 32654	Martin 1660a	all sides, examined personally	6a	D9	O	e10	raised	not serrated	steatite		*s³-nsw Skt*
Berlin 32687		all sides, examined personally	6a	D6	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite	Zagazig (Blanchard)	*s³-nsw Skt*
BM EA24111	Martin 1347	all sides, examined personally	3b	D3	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*s³-nsw Skt*
BM EA37668	Tufnell 3480	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3480 [s]	1aa	D3	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*s³-nsw Skt*
BM EA66079	Martin 1656	all sides, examined personally	3a	D6	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*s³-nsw; jmj-r³ w (?) Skt*
BM EA66161	Martin 1657	all sides, examined personally	3a	D3	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*s³-nsw Skt*
Jerusalem IM 76.31.3896		base and back, museum website [p]	6a	B5	III	d6	raised	4 serrations	glazed composition		*s³-nsw Skt*
Moscow I, 1a 2175	Martin 1661	all sides, Hodjash 1999, no. 422 [p]; http://goskatalog.ru/portal/#/collections?id=8290571 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	3a	D9	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*s³-nsw; jmj-r³ w Skt*
UC 11601	Martin 1658	all sides, examined personally	3a	D3a	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*s³-nsw; jmj-r³ w (?) Skt*
Athens 185		all sides, seen on display	3a	B8	O	d5	raised	4 serrations			*s³-nsw Qwppn*
Ben-Tor, Scarab, 63 (16)		base and back, Ben-Tor 1989, 63 (16) [p]	3a	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*s³-nsw smsw Qwppn*
Berlin 32657	Martin 1685	all sides, examined personally	3a	B7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*s³-nsw smsw Qwppn*
BM EA65963	Martin 1680	all sides, examined personally	3a	B7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*s³-nsw smsw Qwppn*
Cairo JE 74966	Martin 1683	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	B7	O		raised	not serrated	steatite		*s³-nsw smsw Qwppn*
Giveon, Tel Aviv 3, no. 5		base and back, Giveon 1976, no. 5 [p]	10	B8	O		raised	4 serrations	steatite		*s³-nsw smsw Qwppn*
Louvre E 6345	Martin 1684	base and back, museum database [p]	3a	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*s³-nsw smsw Qwppn*
UC 11599	Martin 1681	all sides, examined personally	8	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*s³-nsw smsw Qwppn*
UC 11600	Martin 1682	all sides, examined personally; Petrie 1925, pl. XXIV (14.Ea) [p], XXX (W 87) [s]	6c/3	B7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*s³-nsw smsw Qwppn*
Berlin 32666	Martin 1726a	all sides, examined personally	3a	A7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*ḫmw-bjtj; s³ (n) nsw n ḫft-ḥr Qprḥwqph*

Table 49 The reference group of 14th–15th Dynasty private-name scarabs. (continuation)

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Scarab	No	Availability and bibliography	Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Name
Berlin 34419		all sides, examined personally	1ab	D3	O	d8	raised	numerous serrations	steatite		*wʿb ḥq Ksrj*
Aberdeen ABDUA:81005	Martin 1709	all sides, examined personally	1r	D3	O	e6b	raised	not serrated	steatite		*Kṯwn*
UC 11514	Martin 1711	all sides, examined personally	3a	D8	O	e11	raised	not serrated	steatite		*jmj-rꜣ ḥmt Gbm*
Aberdeen ABDUA:81055		all sides, examined personally	3a	D7	O	e11	raised	not serrated	steatite		*Ḥmt-nsw t-tj*
Basel Cat. 130		all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 130 [p]; Fraser 1899, pl. I (4) [s]	6a	D9	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya	*ḥmt-nsw T-tj*
Berlin 32716		all sides, examined personally	6a	D9	O	e11	raised	worn off	steatite		*ḥmt-nsw T-tj*
Berlin 32717		all sides, examined personally	6a	B8	IIII	d6	raised	3 serrations	steatite		*ḥmt-nsw T-tj*
BM EA20824		all sides, examined personally; Griffith 1890, pl. X (3) [s]	6a	D6	O	e10	raised	not serrated	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya	*ḥmt-nsw T-tj*
BM EA37721		all sides, examined personally	3a	D9	II	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥmt-nsw T-tj*
Cairo JE 75042		base and back, examined personally; Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a	D3	O		raised	not serrated	steatite		*ḥmt-nsw T-tj*
BM EA30535	Martin 1772	all sides, examined personally	6d	B8	O	e6b	raised	6 serrations	steatite		*jmj-rꜣ pr n šnwt Ḏḥwtj-pth*

Table 49 The reference group of 14th–15th Dynasty private-name scarabs. (continuation)

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Scarab	No	Availability and bibliography	Base	Tufnell Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Name/King
Aberdeen ABDUA:81040		all sides, examined personally	1ab	3D2	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		Sheshi
Aberdeen ABDUA:81052		all sides, examined personally	1y	3D2	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		Sheshi
Aberdeen ABDUA:81056		all sides, examined personally	1aa	3D2	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		Sheshi
Aberdeen ABDUA:81068		all sides, examined personally	1ab	3D2	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		Maaibre
Aberdeen ABDUA:81080		all sides, examined personally	1ab		B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		Maaibre
Aberdeen ABDUA:81204		all sides, examined personally	3a		B7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		Yaqubhar
Abou Bakr, Fouilles en Nubie (1959-1961), 118, pl. VI (A, top left)		base and back, Abou Bakr 1963, 118, pl. VI (A, top left) [p]	1ab		B7	O		raised	serrated	steatite	Aniba	Sheshi
Adam, ASAE 56, pl. X (b)	Tufnell 3208 Martin 1172	all sides, Adam 1959, pl. X (b) [p]; Tufnell 1984, pl. LVI [s]	6c/3		B8	O	c	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Ezbet Rushdi	Khyan
Amman J.3978	Tufnell 2327	all sides, Keel 2017, 246–247 (528) [p, s]	1ad	3A3	B7	O	d6	raised	serrated	steatite	Jericho	
Amman J.11140	Tufnell 2266	all sides, Keel 2017, 164–165 (320) [s]	1g	3B2a	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations, zigzag border	steatite	Jericho	
Ashmolean AN1888.282	Martin 1038	all sides, examined personally; Griffith 1890, pl. X (4) [s]	3a		B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya	*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-r³ ḥtmt Ḥ³r*
Ashmolean AN1892.235	Martin 1040	all sides, examined personally	1ad		B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations, zigzag border	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-r³ ḥtmt Ḥ³r*
Ashmolean AN1892.319	Martin 1041	all sides, examined personally	3a		B7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-r³ ḥtmt Ḥ³r*
Ashmolean AN1892.323	Tufnell 3272	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3272 [s]	1aa	3D1	A7	O sprays	d6	raised	worn off	steatite		Maaibre
Ashmolean AN1892.398	Tufnell 3323	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3323 [s]	1ab	3D1	B4	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		Sheshi
Ashmolean AN1935.100a	Tufnell 3465	all sides, examined personally	1ai	3D2	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		Sekheperenre
Ashmolean AN1949.104	Tufnell 2281	all sides, Keel 1997, 454–455 (1029) [p, s]; museum website [p]	1g	3D1	B7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Tell el-ʿAjjul	
Ashmolean AN1955.503.1	Tufnell 3339	all sides, examined personally	1ai	3D2	B8	II sprays	d6	raised	6 serrations	steatite	Tel Lachish	Sheshi

Table 50 Scarabs of the type B7/8-O-d6 with rings around the hole ends.

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Scarab	No	Availability and bibliography	Base	Tufnell Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Name/King
Athens 200		all sides, seen on display	1ab	3D2	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		Sheshi
Basel Cat. 136	Martin 156	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 136 [p]	3a		B7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*s3-nsw smsw Jpq*
Basel Cat. 141	Tufnell 3209 Martin 1175	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 141 [p]; Fraser 1899, pl. I (8) [s]	6c/3		B8	O sprays	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya	Khyan
Basel Cat. 143		all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 143 [p]; Fraser 1899, pl. I (9) [s]	1af	3D2	C5		d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya	Yaqubhar
Basel Cat. 146		all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 146 [p]; Fraser 1899, pl. I (13) [s]	1ab	3D2	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Zawyet el-Amwat	Maaibre
Basel Cat. 147		all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 147 [p]	1ab		B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		Maaibre
Basel Cat. 161		all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 161 [p]	1ab	3D2	B7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		Sheshi
Basel Cat. 164		all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 164 [p]	1ab	3D2	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		Sheshi
Basel Cat. 167		all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 167 [p]; Fraser 1899, pl. I (11) [s]	6c/4+		B5	O	d6	raised	4 serrations, zigzag border	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya	Yaqubhar
Basel Cat. 523	Martin 1066	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 523 [p]	3a		B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*ḫtmw-bjtj; jmj-r3 ḫmt Ḥ3r*
Ben-Tor, Scarab, 61 (20)		base and back, Ben-Tor 1989, 61 (20) [p]	1ab		B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*rḫ-nsw S3-ḫwt-ḥr*
Ben-Tor, Scarab, 63 (16)		base and back, Ben-Tor 1989, 63 (16) [p]	3a		B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*s3-nsw smsw Qwppn*
Berkeley 6-17256		all sides, museum website [p]	3a		B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Koptos (purchased)	*ḫtmw-bjtj; jmj-r3 sḥtjw Mr-ḥtj*
Berlin 8891	Tufnell 3226	all sides, examined personally	1af	3D2	B8	O	d6	raised	5 serrations	steatite		Yaqubhar
Berlin 13152	Tufnell 3222	all sides, examined personally	6a	3D2	A7	O sprays	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		Yaqubhar
Berlin 17603		all sides (head lost), examined personally	1af	3D2	B		d6	raised	5 serrations	steatite		Yaqubhar
Berlin 18164	Tufnell 3269	all sides, examined personally	1ab		B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		Maaibre
Berlin 18653	Tufnell 3459	all sides, examined personally	1ad	3D2	B7	O	d6	raised	5 serrations	steatite	Abusir el-Meleq	Khyan
Berlin 22671		all sides, examined personally	1ai	3D2	B8	II sprays	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		Yaqubhar

Table 50 Scarabs of the type B7/8-O-d6 with rings around the hole ends. (continuation)

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Scarab	No	Availability and bibliography	Base	Tufnell Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Name/King
Berlin 31029		all sides, examined personally	1ai	3D2	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		Wazad
Berlin 31672		all sides, examined personally	1ab	3D2	B7	O	d6	raised	worn off	steatite		Sheshi
Berlin 32417	Martin 111	all sides, examined personally	1ai		A7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; smr-wʿtj; jmj-rʾ ḥtmt Ibt*
Berlin 32443	Martin 320	all sides, examined personally	1ad		B7	O	c	raised	4 serrations, zigzag border	steatite		*sr ʿpr-bʿɜr šrj*
Berlin 32562	Martin 1072	all sides, examined personally	3a		B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-rʾ ḥtmt Hɜr*
Berlin 32571	Martin 1086	all sides, examined personally	6c/2		B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; smr-wʿtj; jmj-rʾ ḥtmt Hɜr*
Berlin 32572	Martin 1087	all sides, examined personally	1ai		B8	O	c	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; smr-wʿtj; jmj-rʾ ḥtmt Hɜr*
Berlin 32573	Martin 1088	all sides, examined personally	3a		B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Mendes (Blanchard)	*ḥtmw-bjtj; smr-wʿtj; jmj-rʾ ḥtmt Hɜr*
Berlin 32657	Martin 1685	all sides, examined personally	3a		B7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*sʾ-nsw smsw Qwppn*
Berlin 32666	Martin 1726a	all sides, examined personally	3a		A7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; sš (n) nsw n ḫft-ḫr Qprḥwqph*
Berlin 32723		all sides, examined personally	6c/3		A7	O sprays	c2	raised	4 serrations	steatite		Khyan
Berlin 32724		all sides, examined personally	6c/3		B7	II	d6	raised	worn off	steatite		Khyan
Berlin 32725		all sides, examined personally	1ai	3D2	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya (Blanchard)	Yaqubhar
Berlin 32728		all sides, examined personally	1ab	3D2	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		Sheshi
Berlin 32734		all sides, examined personally	1ab	3D2	B7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Qau el-Kebir (Blanchard)	Maaibre
Berlin 32735		all sides, examined personally	1aa	3D1	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		Maaibre
Berlin VÄGM 1983/022		all sides, examined personally	1ak		B8	O	c	raised	4 serrations	steatite		Yaqubhar
Berlin VÄGM 1983/031		all sides, examined personally	3a		B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-rʾ ḥtmt Hɜr*
Bet-Shemesh IAA 57-213		all sides, Keel 2010a, 596–597 (1) [p, s]	1ab	3D1	B7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Tel al-Asawir	Sheshi
Bet-Shemesh IAA 1987.1284		all sides, Keel 2013, 536–537 (10) [p, s]		3B5	B7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Halif	
Bet-Shemesh IAA 1999.1300		all sides, Keel 2017, 538–539 (14) [p, s]		9C5+9D	B8	O sprays	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Kabri	

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Scarab	No	Availability and bibliography	Base	Tufnell Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Name/King
Bet-Shemesh IAA 1999.1305		all sides, Keel 2017, 536–537 (7) [s]	6a	3A3	B7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Kabri	
Bet-Shemesh IAA 2008.480		all sides, Keel 2017, 560–561 (7) [p, s]			B7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Kefar Ara	
Birmingham A.362-58	Tufnell 1282	all sides, Keel 2017, 226–227 (475) [p, s]		3A1	B7	O	d6	raised	chipped off	steatite	Jericho	
BM 104927		all sides, Keel 2013, 416–417 (581) [p, s]		9E	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Gezer	
BM 105133	Tufnell 3512	all sides, museum website [p]; Tufnell 1984, no. 3512 [s]; Keel 2013, 426–427 (601) [p, s]	12	3B1c	B8	II flower	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Gezer	"Djeserkheperre"
BM EA20823		all sides, examined personally; Griffith 1890, pl. X (7) [s]		9D+9E	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya	
BM EA24109	Martin 985	all sides, examined personally	3b		B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*ḥmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥꜣr*
BM EA24110	Martin 986	all sides, examined personally	3a		B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*ḥmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥꜣr*
BM EA30500	Tufnell 3228	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3228 [s]	1af	3D2	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		Yaqubhar
BM EA32319	Tufnell 3467	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3467 [s]	6a	3D2	B8	O sprays	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		Wazad
BM EA32392	Tufnell 3482	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3482 [s]	3a		B7	O	d6	raised	chipped off	steatite		Sheneh
BM EA37665	Tufnell 3240	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3240 [s]; Hall 1913, no. 257 [p]	6c/4+		B8	O	d6	raised	not serrated	steatite		Maaibre
BM EA37669		all sides, examined personally	8		B7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*sꜣ-nsw Jpq*
BM EA37689	Martin 993	all sides, examined personally	3a		B7	O	d6	chipped off	chipped off	steatite		*ḥmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥꜣr*
BM EA40735	Martin 996	all sides, examined personally	3a		B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*ḥmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥꜣr*
BM EA40741	Tufnell 3231	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3231 [s]	1ai	3D2	A7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		Yaqubhar
BM EA40742	Tufnell 3221	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3221 [s]	6a	3D2	B8	O	d6	raised	serrated	steatite		Yaqubhar
BM EA41862	Tufnell 3325	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3325 [s]; Hall 1913, no. 266 [p]	1ab	3D2	B7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		Sheshi
BM EA41868	Tufnell 3338	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3338 [s]; Hall 1913, no. 267 [p]	1ai	3D2	B8	O	d6		worn off	steatite		Sheshi

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BM EA53100	Tufnell 3271	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3271 [s]	1ab	3D2	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		Maaibre
BM EA64005	Tufnell 3041	all sides, museum website [p]; Tufnell 1984, no. 3041 [s]	6a	3D2	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		Senusret II
BM EA64755	Tufnell 3322	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3322 [d]	1ad	3D2	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		Sheshi
BM EA64759	Tufnell 3227	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3227 [s]	1ai	3D2	B8	O	c	raised	4 serrations	steatite		Yaqubhar
BM EA64841	Martin 1005	all sides, examined personally	1ab		B8	O	d6	raised	5 serrations	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥꜣr*
BM EA64842	Martin 1006	all sides, examined personally	3a		B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥꜣr*
BM EA65963	Martin 1680	all sides, examined personally	3a		B7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*sꜣ-nsw smsw Qwṱṭn*
BM EA66077	Martin 108	all sides, examined personally	1af		A7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Jbt*
BM EA66722	Tufnell 3217	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3217 [s]	1ad	3D2	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		Khyan
BM L.784		all sides, Keel 2010b, 104–105 (176) [p, s]		3A3 +3B	B7	O	d6	raised	5 serrations	steatite	Tell el-Farah (South)	
BM L.911	Tufnell 1539	all sides, Keel 1997, 238–239 (400) [p, s]		3B2	B7	O sprays	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Tell el-ʿAjjul	
BM L.914	Tufnell 1682	all sides, Keel 1997, 244–245 (416) [p, s]		3B6	B8	O	d6	raised	worn off	steatite	Tell el-ʿAjjul	
BM L.1063	Tufnell 2277	all sides, Keel 1997, 260–261 (466) [p, s]	1g	3D1+3C	B8	O flower	d6	raised	3 serrations	steatite	Tell el-ʿAjjul	
Boston 20.1766		base and back, museum website [p]		10A2+9D	B7	O		raised	4 serrations	steatite	Kerma	
Boston 57.440		base and back, museum website [p]	1ab	3D2	B7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		Sheshi
Boston 88.1050		all sides, museum website [p]; Griffith 1890, pl. X (8) [s]		9E+9D	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya	
Boston 88.1053		base and back, museum website [p]; Griffith 1890, pl. X (18) [s]		3B1c+3B5	B8	O	d6	raised	serrated	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya	
Boston 1979.588		base and back, museum website [p]	1ab	3D2	B7	O	d6	raised	5 serrations	steatite		Sheshi
Boston 1979.590		all sides, museum website [p]	3b		B7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥꜣr*
Brandl, Shiloh, no. 3		all sides, Brandl 1993, 206–207 (3) [p, s]		3A3	B8	II flower	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Shiloh	

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Scarab	No	Availability and bibliography	Base	Tufnell Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Name/King
Brunton, Qau III, pl. XIX (19)	Martin 1063	base and back, Brunton 1930, pl. XIX (19) [s]	3b		B7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Qau el-Kebir	*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-r³ ḥtmt H3r*
Bruxelles E.2563		all sides, museum website [p]; Petrie 1906, pl. VII (6) [s]	1ad	3A3	B7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya	
Bruxelles E.2567		all sides, museum website [p]; Petrie 1906, pl. VII (10) [s]; Boschloos 2017, 197 fig. 9.2 [p]		3B1c	A7	O sprays	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya	
Cairo JE 45689A		base and back, museum database [p]; Lilyquist 2020, no. 1341 [p]	1aa		B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Asasif	Maaibre
Cairo JE 46983		all sides, museum database [p]	1ai	3D2	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Edfu (purchased in Edfu)	Sheshi
Cairo JE 72861	Tufnell 3455	base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	6d		B8	O	d6	raised	chipped off	steatite		Horuserre
Cairo JE 72862	Tufnell 3219	base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	1ag	3D2	B7	O	d6	raised	chipped off	steatite		Khyan
Cairo JE 72863	Tufnell 3225	base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	1ab		B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		Yaqubhar
Cairo JE 72869		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	1aa		B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		Sheshi
Cairo JE 72872		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	1aa	3D2	B8	O		raised	serrated	steatite		Sheshi
Cairo JE 72873		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	1ai	3D2	B8	O		raised	4 serrations	steatite		Sheshi
Cairo JE 72874		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	1aa	3D1	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		Sheshi
Cairo JE 72875		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	1ab	3D2	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		Sheshi
Cairo JE 72895		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	1ab		B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		Maaibre
Cairo JE 72899		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	1ab		B7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		Maaibre
Cairo JE 72901		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	1ab	3D2	B7	O		raised	4 serrations	steatite		Maaibre
Cairo JE 72902		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	1ab	3D2	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		Maaibre
Cairo JE 72903		base and back, Drioton MSS 5380 [p]	6a	3D1	B8	O		raised	chipped off	steatite		Maaibre

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Scarab	No	Availability and bibliography	Base	Tufnell Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Name/King
Cairo JE 74966	Martin 1683	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a		B7	O		raised	not serrated	steatite		*s3-nsw smsw Qwppn*
Cairo JE 75115	Martin 1021	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	3a		B8	O		raised	4 serrations	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-r3 ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Cairo JE 75155	Martin 918	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	1af		B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-r3 ḥtmt Ḥ3(r)*
Cairo JE 75158	Martin 917	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	1z		B8	O		raised	4 serrations	steatite		*rḫ-nsw Ḥ3(r)*
Cairo JE 75183	Martin 109	all sides, examined personally; Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	1ah		B7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-r3 ḥtmt Jbr*
Cairo JE 75188	Martin 1082	base and back, Drioton MSS 5381 [p]	1ab		B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; smr-wʿtj; jmj-r3 ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Cambridge 2003.31		all sides, examined personally	1ab	3D2	B8	O	d6	raised	3 serrations	steatite		Maaibre
Damascus 0.1357	Tufnell 3045	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3045 [s]	10	4	B8	O sprays	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		Senusret II
Edinburgh A.1965.145	Martin 1085	base and back, museum website [p]	3b		A7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; smr-wʿtj; jmj-r3 ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Eggler and Keel, Corpus, Dschabal al-Hawayah 1		all sides, Eggler and Keel 2006, 150–151 (2) [p, s]		3B3e+3B6	B8	O	d6	raised	chipped off	steatite	Jebel al-Hawayah	
Fadrus 185/545:11		all sides, Säve-Söderbergh and Troy 1991, pl. 17 [s]		10A2c	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Dibeira East	
Fitzwilliam E.82.1920	Tufnell 3020	all sides, museum website [p]; Tufnell 1984, no. 3020 [s]			B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		Senusret I
Fitzwilliam E.550.1939	Martin 1035	base and back, museum website [p]	1ab		B8	III	d6	raised at base, deeply set at front	5 serrations	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-r3 ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
Fribourg ÄS 1983.29	Tufnell 3025	all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=672 (accessed on 29.09.2019) [p]	1g	3D1	B8	II	d6	raised	worn off	steatite		Senusret I
Fribourg ÄS 1983.124		all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=2495 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	1ab	3D2	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		Sheshi
Fribourg ÄS 1983.1625	Martin 163	all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=7613 (accessed on 06.07.2020) [p]	3a		B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*s3-nsw smsw Jpq*

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Fribourg ÄS 1983.2918	Tufnell 3509	all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=8940 (accessed on 29.09.2019) [p]	4a		B8	O	d6	raised	3 serrations	steatite		"Djeserkheperre"
Fribourg ÄS 1983.2919	Tufnell 3503	all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=8941 (accessed on 29.09.2019) [p]	4a		B8	O sprays	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		"Djeserkheperre"
Fribourg ÄS 1983.2920	Tufnell 3511	all sides, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=8942 (accessed on 28.07.2019) [p]	1g	3D1	A7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		"Djeserkheperre"
Giveon, Tel Aviv 3, no. 5		base and back, Giveon 1976, no. 5 [p]	10	4	B8	O		raised	4 serrations	steatite		*s3-nsw smsw Qwppn*
Giveon, Tel Aviv 7, no. 6		all sides, Giveon 1980, no. 6, fig. 2:3 [p]	3a		B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*jmj-r3 pr S3-nrjjt*
Glasgow D.1931.232a		all sides, Keel 2017, 96-97 (152) [p, s]		3	B7	O	d6	raised	serrated		Jericho	
Glasgow D.1938.15/17	Tufnell 2830	all sides, museum website [p]; Keel 1997, 314-315 (625)	3a	10C2	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Tell el-ʿAjjul	
Hannover 1976.93		all sides, examined personally	1af		A7	O sprays	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		Yaqubhar
Hornung, ZÄS 92, 100, Abb. 1-3	Martin 160	all sides, Hornung 1966 [p]	3a		B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*s3-nsw smsw Jpq*
IoA UCL E.XII 57/1	Tufnell 1657	all sides, Keel 1997, 140–141 (108) [p, s]; museum website [p]	6a	3A3	B7	O sprays	d6	raised	6 serrations	steatite	Tell el-ʿAjjul	
IoA UCL E.XII 85/1	Tufnell 2762	all sides, Keel 1997, 196–197 (278) [p, s]; museum website [p]		10A2b	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Tell el-ʿAjjul	
IoA UCL E.XII 85/4	Tufnell 1422	all sides, Keel 1997, 196–197 (281) [p, s]; museum website [p]		3A3	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Tell el-ʿAjjul	
IoA UCL EV.1/16	Tufnell 2817	all sides, Keel 2010b, 36–37 (20) [p, s]; museum website [p]		10C	B8	O sprays	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Tell el-Farah (South)	
IoA UCL EV.8/20	Tufnell 2839	all sides, Keel 2010b, 44–45 (38) [p, s]; museum website [p]		10D1	B8	O	d6	raised	serrated	steatite	Tell el-Farah (South)	
IoA UCL EV.35/6	Tufnell 2758	all sides, Keel 2010b, 46–47 (41) [p, s]; museum website [p]	3a	10A2b+9C2	B8	O sprays	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Tell el-Farah (South)	
IoA UCL EV1.8/3	Tufnell 2272	all sides, Keel 2010b, 46–47 (43) [p, s]	1g	3C	B7	O	d6	raised	6 serrations	steatite	Tell el-Farah (South)	
Jerusalem IAA 58-237		all sides, Keel 1997, 750–751 (8) [p, s]		9E	B8	O sprays	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Azor	

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Scarab	No	Availability and bibliography	Base	Tufnell Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Name/King
Jerusalem IAA 96-1954		all sides, Keel 1997, 776–777 (45) [p, s]		3B5+3A3	B7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Atlit	
Jerusalem IAA 96-1956		all sides, Keel 1997, 776–777 (48) [p, s]		10A2+9D	B7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Atlit	
Jerusalem IAA 96-1958		all sides, Keel 1997, 776–777 (49) [p, s]		10A2+9D	A7	O sprays	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Atlit	
Jerusalem IAA 96-1960		all sides, Keel 1997, 774–775 (44) [p, s]	1ad	3A3	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Atlit	
Jerusalem IAA 1981-1191	Tufnell 3230	base and back, Ben-Tor 2016, 48 (12) [p]; Tufnell 1984, no. 3230 [s]	1ai		B8	O sprays	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Tel Shikmona	Yaqubhar
Jerusalem IM 76.31.3850		base and back, museum website [p]	1ab	3D2	B7	O		raised	4 serrations	steatite		Sheshi
Jerusalem IM 76.31.3977		base and back, museum website [p]	1af	3D2	B8	O sprays	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		Yaqubhar
Jerusalem IM 76.31.3979		base and back, museum website [p]	1ai	3D2	B7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		Sheshi
Jerusalem IM 76.31.4035		base and back, museum website [p]	1ab	3D2	B8	O		raised	4 serrations	steatite		Sheshi
Jerusalem IM 76.31.4506		base and back, Ben-Tor 1989, 64 (17) [p]	3b		B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; smr-wʿtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥꜣr*
Jerusalem RM 32.1050		all sides, Keel 2017, 38-39 (17) [p, s]		3B6	B7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Jericho	
Jerusalem RM 35.3968		all sides, Keel 1997, 350-351 (724) [p, s]; Tufnell 1984, no. 1030 [d]		3	B7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Tell el-ʿAjjul	
Jerusalem RM 38.558	Tufnell 1896	all sides, Keel 1997, 476–477 (1089) [p, s]		3E5	B7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations, zigzag border	steatite	Tell el-ʿAjjul	
Jerusalem RM I.4412	Tufnell 2612	all sides, Keel 2010b, 38–39 (25) [p, s]		9E	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Tell el-Farah (South)	
Jerusalem RM J. 995		all sides, Keel 2013, 2–3 (4) [p, s]		9D+9E	B8	O sprays	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Tel Jemmeh	
Keel, Corpus 1, Afek 51		all sides, Keel 1997, 96-97 (51) [p, s]		3C+3D6	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Tel Afek	
Keel, Corpus 5, Jericho 401	Tufnell 1560	all sides, Keel 2017, 196–197 (401) [s]		3C+3A3	B8	O	d6	raised	5 serrations	steatite	Jericho	
Keel, Corpus 5, Jerusalem 135		all sides, Keel 2017, 338–339 (135) [p]		3C	B7	O	D6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Jerusalem	

Table 50 Scarabs of the type B7/8-O-d6 with rings around the hole ends. (continuation)

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Scarab	No	Availability and bibliography	Base	Tufnell Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Name/King
Keel, Corpus 5, Kabri 37		all sides, Keel 2017, 550-551 [p, s]		4+3	B7	O sprays	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Kabri	
Kraków IV-Zł-2789		all sides, Śluwa 2015, no. 3 [p]	1ab	3D2	A4a	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		Sheshi
Leiden AS-1	Martin 1061	all sides, museum website [p]	1aa		A7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥꜣ(r)*
Leiden DA 1267		all sides, Eggler and Keel 2006, 396–397 (12) [p, s]	1a		B8	O	d6	raised	5 serrations	steatite	Amman	Senusret I
Leipzig 2271		all sides, seen on display	1aa	3D2	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		Sheshi
Liverpool GM J.55.69	Tufnell 1776	all sides, Keel 2017, 160–161 (309) [p, s]			B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Jericho	
Liverpool WM 28.8.06.7		base and back, museum website		10A2c	B8	O sprays		raised	4 serrations	steatite	Saft el-Henna	
Loffet, AHL 42-43, 116 no. 2		all sides, Loffet 2015, 116–117, 168 fig. 2 [p]	3a		B7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥꜣr*
Loud, Megiddo, no. 3		all sides, Loud 1948, pl. 149, 154 (3) [p]	6c/3	3A3	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Tel Megiddo	
Loud, Megiddo, no. 14		all sides, Loud 1948, pl. 149, 154 (14) [p]		3A4	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Tel Megiddo	
Loud, Megiddo, no. 17		all sides, Loud 1948, pl. 149, 154 (17) [p]	1a	3D1+3C	B7	II	d6	raised	4 serrations, straight-line border	steatite	Tel Megiddo	
Loud, Megiddo, no. 117		all sides, Loud 1948, pl. 151, 156 (117) [p]		2B	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Tel Megiddo	
Louvre AO 17148		all sides, Keel 2017, 92–93 (140) [p, s]	1g	3C	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Jericho	
Louvre E 6345	Martin 1684	base and back, museum database [p]	3a		B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*sꜣ-nsw smsw Qwṯpn*
Manchester 3379		base and back, museum website [p]; Petrie 1906, pl. IX (131) [s]	1ab	3A3	B8	O		raised	serrated	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya	
Manchester 3449		all sides, museum website [p]; Tufnell 1978, fig. 1 (10) [s]; Richards 2001, 297 (TEY4) [s]; Petrie 1906, pl. VII (14) [s]		3C	B7	O	d6	raised	serrated	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya	
Manchester 3453		all sides, museum website [p]; Tufnell 1978, fig. 1 (8) [s]; Petrie 1906, pl. VII (18) [s]		10A2a	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya	

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Scarab	No	Availability and bibliography	Base	Tufnell Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Name/King
Manchester 9555	Tufnell 1658	all sides, Keel 1997, 298–299 (580) [p, s]		3B6	B7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Tell el-ʿAjjul	
Megiddo M 2127		all sides, Guy 1938, pl. 116 (8) [p]	6a	3A3	B8	O sprays	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Tel Megiddo	
MMA 05.3.269	Martin 1046	all sides, Ward 1902, 40, pl. I (227) [p]	3a		B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-rꜣ ḥtmt Ḥ3r*
MMA 05.3.345	Tufnell 3216	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3216 [s]; Ward 1902, 40, pl. I (222) [p]	1ad	3D2	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		Khyan
MMA 10.130.36	Tufnell 3211 Martin 1173	only base, Tufnell 1984, no. 3211 [d]; Hayes 1959, 5 fig. 1 (row 1, 6) [p]	6d		A6	II	d6			steatite		Khyan
MMA 26.7.99		base and back, Newberry 1907b, pl. IV (52) [sk]; Winlock 1947, pl. 21 (row 5, 3) [p]	1ab	3D2	B7	O	d6	raised	serrated	steatite		Sheshi
MMA 26.7.112		base and back, Newberry 1907b, 59, pl. XXI (7) [s]	1af	3D2	B8	O fish	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		Yaqubhar
MMA 30.8.457		base and back, museum website [p]	1ad	3D2	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		Khyan
Moscow I, 1a 2258	Tufnell 3481	base and back, Hodjash 1999, no. 41 [p]; museum website [p]	4a		B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		Sheneh
Moscow I, 1a 2260		base and back, Hodjash 1999, no. 36 [p]	6c/3		B8	O sprays	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		Maaibre
Niccacci, Scarabs, no. 86		all sides, Keel 2017, 286–287 (19) [p, s]		3A3	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Jerusalem	
OIM 5199	Tufnell 3015	all sides, museum website [p]	10	4	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Hu	Senusret I
Petrie, Historical scarabs, no. 348		base and back, Petrie 1889, no. 348 [s]	6c/3		B7	O sprays	d6	raised		steatite		Wazad
Petrie, Hyksos, pl. IX (124)	Tufnell 3220	base and back, Petrie 1906, pl. IX (124) [s]	1ag	3D2	B7	II sprays	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya	Khyan
Philadelphia E.2827		all sides, Tufnell 1978, fig. 2 (15) [s]; Petrie 1906, pl. VII (28) [s]		9C4+10C	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya	
Philadelphia E.4680		all sides, museum website [p]	1ab		B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Hu	Sheshi
Seal Collector 9a		base and back, http://www.seal-collector.de/scarab-gallery_9.html (accessed on 05.03.2019) [p]	1ag		A7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations, zigzag border	steatite		*sꜣ Jy-n=j-sth*

Table 50 Scarabs of the type B7/8-O-d6 with rings around the hole ends. (continuation)

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Scarab	No	Availability and bibliography	Base	Tufnell Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Name/King
Sedment I, pl. XLIII (15)		base and back, Petrie and Brunton 1924, pl. XLIII (15) [s]		3C	B7	O	d6	raised	serrated		Sedment (tomb 1270)	
Sydney NM50.355		all sides, Keel 1997, 480-481 (1102) [p, s]		3B5+3B6	B7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations		Tell el-ʿAjjul	
Sydney NM52.641 (reg. 50)		all sides, Keel 2017, 270–271 (585) [p, s]		3A3	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Jericho	
Sydney NM69.07	Tufnell 1576	all sides, Keel 2017, 256–257 (555) [p, s]		4+3A3	B8	O sprays	d6	raised	5 serrations	steatite	Jericho	
Sydney NM69.08	Tufnell 1704	all sides, Keel 2017, 258–259 (559) [p, s]			B7	O	d6	raised	5 serrations	steatite	Jericho	
TD 7402		all sides, Mlinar 2001b, 1: 159 fig. 40 [s]	3a	3B5	B7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Tell el-Dabʿa (D/2 (A/4), see: Philip 2006, 106 (218))	
TD 8920		all sides, Tell el-Dabʿa archive [p]	4f	8AA+3	B7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Tell el-Dabʿa (secondary context)	"Nebukheperre" (Intef ?)
TD 8935		all sides, Bietak, Dorner and Jánosi 2001, 48 fig. 11 (top) [s]	10	4	B7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Tell el-Dabʿa (D/3 (H/VI))	
TD 9027		all sides, Mlinar 2004b, 112, fig. 3 (8) [s]		3B2+3B4	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Tell el-Dabʿa (secondary context)	
Tell Basta B 148 (a)		base and back, Ashmawy Ali 2016, no. B 148 A [p]	1ad	3A3	B7	O		raised	serrated	steatite	Tell Basta	
Tell Basta B 148 (d)		base and back, Ashmawy Ali 2016, no. B 148 (d) [p]		5+4	B8	O		raised	4 serrations	steatite	Tell Basta	
Tell el-Retaba 683		base and back, Nour el-Din et al. 2016, pl. V [s]; Hamdy el-Elimi and Nour el-Din 2014, 241 fig. 15 [p, s]		4	B7	O	d6		4 serrations	steatite	Tell el-Retaba (grave 8)	
Tell el-Retaba 684		base and back, Nour el-Din et al. 2016, pl. V [s]; Hamdy el-Elimi and Nour el-Din 2014, 241 fig. 16 [p, s]		10D2	B7	O	d6		6 serrations	steatite	Tell el-Retaba	
Torino Cat. 4824	Martin 1059	all sides, examined personally	3a		B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-r3 ḥtmt H3r*
Tufnell II 3507	Tufnell 3507	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3507 [s]	6a	3B4+3D1	B8	O	d6	raised	serrated	steatite		"Djeserkheperre"
Tufnell, Lachish, 71		all sides, Tufnell 1958, pl. 32–33 (71) [s]		9E	B8	O	d6	raised	serrated	steatite	Tel Lachish	
Tufnell, Lachish, 130		all sides, Tufnell 1958, pl. 32–33 (130) [s]		10A2b	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Tel Lachish	

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Scarab	No	Availability and bibliography	Base	Tufnell Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Name/King
UC 11157		all sides, examined personally		2B	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Lahun	
UC 11231	Tufnell 3021	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3021 [s]	1a	3D1	A7	O sprays	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		Senusret I
UC 11405	Martin 1007	all sides, examined personally	1ai		A7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-r³ ḥtmt H3r*
UC 11483	Martin 1403	all sides, examined personally	6d		B6	II	d6	raised	chipped off	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-r³ gs-pr Sbk-nb-k3*
UC 11488	Martin 1009	all sides, examined personally	3a		B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-r³ ḥtmt H3r*
UC 11493	Martin 1014	all sides, examined personally	3a		B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-r³ ḥtmt H3r*
UC 11599	Martin 1681	all sides, examined personally	8		B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*s³-nsw smsw Qwppn*
UC 11600	Martin 1682	all sides, examined personally; Petrie 1925, pl. XXIV (14.Ea) [p], XXX (W 87) [s]	6c/3		B7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		*s³-nsw smsw Qwppn*
UC 11681	Tufnell 3264	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3264 [s]	1aa		B7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		Maaibre
UC 11697	Tufnell 3288	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3288 [s]	6c/4+		B8	O	d6	raised	5 serrations	steatite		Sheshi
UC 13091	Tufnell 3506	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3506 [s]	4f		B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		"Djeserkheperre"
UC 16595	Tufnell 3263	all sides, examined personally	10	4	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		Maaibre
UC 18856		base and back, Petrie and Brunton 1924, pl. XLIII (49), pl. XL (37) [s]		3B5+3B6	B7	O sprays	d6	raised		steatite	Sedment (tomb 1270)	
UC 26015		base and back, museum website [p]		3B2	B8	O		raised	4 serrations	steatite	Qau el-Kebir	
UC 26031		all sides, museum website [p]; seen on display		9E+10A1e	B8	O	d6	raised	serrated	steatite	Qau el-Kebir	
UC 26276	Martin 136	all sides, examined personally	3a		B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Qau el-Kebir	*s³-nsw smsw Jpq*
UC 61197		all sides, examined personally; Petrie 1906, pl. IX (129) [s]; Petrie 1925, pl. XIX, XXIII (1535) [p]		3B3b	B7	O sprays	d6	raised	6 serrations	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya	
UC 64849 (3)	Martin 1019	all sides, examined personally	3a		B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Deir Rifâ	*ḥtmw-bjtj; jmj-r³ ḥtmt H3r*
Walters 42.26		all sides, Schulz 2007, no. 4 [p]	10	4	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite		Sheshi

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Scarab	No	Availability and bibliography	Base	Tufnell Base	Head	Back	Elytra	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Name/King
Atlanta 56.82	Tufnell 2326	all sides, KEEL 2017, 140–141 (257) [p, s]	1ad	3B8+3B2a	B8	O		d14	raised	worn off	steatite	Jericho	
Atlanta 56.84	Tufnell 1798	all sides, KEEL 2017, 140–141 (256) [p]		3B2+3D1	B7	O		d14	raised	numerous serrations	steatite	Jericho	
Berlin 32439	Martin 305	all sides, examined personally	6c/4+	3C	B7	O		e6b	raised	7 serrations	steatite		*jḥms n ʿ nḫkwt Jmnjȝ*
Bet-Shemesh IAA 81-2017		all sides, KEEL 2010a, 78–79 (81) [s, p]	1ad	3B2a+3A3	B7	O		e6b	raised	5 serrations	steatite	Tell Beit Mirsim	
Bet-Shemesh IAA 1963-2791		all sides, KEEL 2010a, 32-22 (4) [p, s]		3B6+7A2b	B7	O		e6b	raised	numerous serrations	steatite	Beit Gamliel	
BM EA20820	Tufnell 3028	base and back, GRIFFITH 1890, pl. X (1) [s]; TUFNELL 1984, no. 3028 [s]	1ad	3B8+3D2	B7	O		e6b	chipped off	chipped off	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya	Senusret I
BM EA30535	Martin 1772	all sides, examined personally	6d		B8	O		e6b	raised	6 serrations	steatite		*jmj-rȝ pr n šnwt Ḏḥwtj-ptḥ*
BM L. 915		all sides, KEEL 1997, 244-245 (420) [p,]			B7	O		e6b	raised	not serrated		Tell el-ʿAjjul	
Boston 66.1028		all sides, museum website [p]	1ad		B8	O		e6b	raised	chipped off	steatite		Yaqubhar
Brandl, in Beth-Shean II, no. 10		all sides, KEEL 2010a, 192–193 (217) [p, s]	6a	3D2+3C3	B7	O		e6b	raised	6 serrations	steatite	Beit She'an	
Bristol H 3728		all sides, museum website [p]; GRIFFITH 1890, pl. X (21) [s]		3B5+3B6	B7	O		d14	raised	6 serrations	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya	
Bruxelles O.1162		all sides, KEEL 2017, 52–53 (46) [p, s]		2B	B7	O		e6b	raised	chipped off	steatite	Jericho	
IoA UCL EV.9/21	Tufnell 1628	all sides, museum website [p]; KEEL 2010b, 50–51 (51) [p, s]		3B5+3B6	B7	O		e6b	raised	chipped off	steatite	Tell el-Farah (South)	
Jerusalem IAA 96-1955		all sides, KEEL 1997, 772–773 (38) [p, s]	1ad	3B8+3B2a	B7	O		e6b	raised	not serrated	steatite	Atlit	
Jerusalem IAA 96-1966		all sides, KEEL 1997, 774–775 (42) [p, s]		3B8+3A3	B7	O		e6b	raised	worn off	steatite	Atlit	
Jerusalem RM 32.1912		all sides, KEEL 1997, 182–183 (237) [p, s]		3A1	B8	O		e6b	chipped off	chipped off	steatite	Tell el-ʿAjjul	
Jerusalem RM 33.1955		all sides, TUFNELL 1958, pl. 30–31 (52) [s]		3B2+3B7 +3B6	B7	O		e6b	raised		steatite	Tel Lachish	
Jerusalem RM 34.2960		all sides, TUFNELL 1958, pl. 32–33 (123) [s]		3B2a	B7	O		e6b	raised	6 serrations	steatite	Tel Lachish	
Jerusalem RM 34.2990		all sides, TUFNELL 1958, pl. 32–33 (91) [s]	1ak	3B2a	B7	O		e6b	raised	worn off	steatite	Tel Lachish	

Table 51 Scarabs of the type B7/8-O-e6b/d14 without rings around the hole ends.

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Jerusalem RM 34.2996		all sides, Tufnell 1958, pl. 32–33 (90) [s]	1g	3D1+3C	B7	O		e6b	raised	4 serrations, zigzag border	steatite	Tel Lachish	
Jerusalem RM 35.3874	Tufnell 2369	all sides, Keel 1997, 384–385 (825) [p, s]	1ad	3B2a	B7	O		e6b	raised	5 serrations, zigzag border	steatite	Tell el-ʿAjjul	
Jerusalem RM 35.4027		all sides, Keel 1997, 414-415 (911) [s]		3C	B7	O		e6b	chipped off	chipped off		Tell el-ʿAjjul	
Jerusalem RM J. 315		all sides, Keel 2013, 190–191 (54) [p, s]		3B8+3B2	B7	O		d14	raised	serrated	steatite	Gezer	
Keel, Corpus 1, Afek 32		all sides, Keel 1997, 90-91 (32) [p, s]		3B2+3B4 +3B7	B7	O		e6b	raised	worn off	steatite	Tel Afȇk	
Keel, Corpus 1, Afek 36		all sides, Keel 1997, 90–91 (36) [p, s]	1ad	3A3	B7	O		e6b	raised	5 serrations	steatite	Tel Afȇk	
Keel, Corpus 1, Tell el-ʿAgul 375	Tufnell 1538	all sides, Keel 1997, 228–229 (375) [p, s]; Tufnell 1984, no. 1538 [s]		3B2+3B6 +3D1	B7	O		e6b	raised	numerous serrations	steatite	Tell el-ʿAjjul	
Keel, Corpus 5, Jericho 437	Tufnell 1775	all sides, Keel 2017, 210–211 (437) [s]		1E+3D1 +3B3b	B7	O		e6b		4 serrations	steatite	Jericho	
Loud, Megiddo, no. 20		all sides, Loud 1948, pl. 149, 154 (20) [p]	1o	3A3	B7	O		e6b	raised	not serrated	steatite	Tel Megiddo	
Loud, Megiddo, no. 129		all sides, Loud 1948, pl. 151, 157 (129) [p]	6a	3B2	B7	O		e6b	raised	5 serrations	steatite	Tel Megiddo	
Louvre AF 6452	Tufnell 3063	all sides, Tufnell 1984, no. 3063 [s]; Morfoisse and Andreu-Lanoë 2014, 275 (20) [p]	1ad	3B2a+3D2	B7	O		e6b	raised	6 serrations	steatite		Senusret III
Louvre AO 17141		all sides, Keel 2017, 88–89 (133) [p, s]		3D1	B8	O		e6b	raised	worn off	steatite	Jericho	
Manchester 9015	Tufnell 1545	all sides, Keel 1997, 124–125 (63) [p, s]		3B2	B7	O		e6b	raised	not serrated	steatite	Tell el-ʿAjjul	
Megiddo x487		all sides, Guy 1938, pl. 105 (13) [p]		3B1c+3B4	B7	O		e6b	raised		steatite	Tel Megiddo	
Megiddo x490		all sides, Guy 1938, pl. 106 (2) [p]		3B5	B7	O		e6b			steatite	Tel Megiddo	
NFA Scarabs, no. 10		base and back, NFA 1991, no. 10 [p]		3D2+3B2a +3B3b	B7	O			raised	serrated	steatite		Amenemhat III
Niccacci, Scarabs, no. 131		all sides, Keel 2017, 288–289 (22) [p, s]		3C	B8	O		e6b	raised	5 serrations, zigzag border	steatite	Jerusalem	
Philadelphia 29-104-5		all sides, Keel 2010a, 130-131 (74) [s, p]; museum website [p]		3C+3B5	B7	O		e6b	raised	numerous serrations	steatite	Beit She'an	
Sydney NM53.269	Tufnell 1889	all sides, Keel 2017, 170–171 (336) [p, s]		3E5	B7	O		e6b	raised	serrated	steatite	Jericho	

Table 51 Scarabs of the type B7/8-O-e6b/d14 without rings around the hole ends. (continuation)

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Scarab	No	Availability and bibliography	Base	Tufnell Base	Head	Back	Elytra	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Name/King
TD 81		all sides, Mlinar 2001b, no. 709 [s]	4a	3A3	B7	O		e6b	raised	numerous serrations	steatite	Tell el-Dabʿa (D/3 (A/II))	
TD 199		all sides, Mlinar 2001b, no. 507 [s]		3B2a+3B4 +3B3b+3B6	B7	O		e6b	raised	6 serrations	steatite	Tell el-Dabʿa (E/1 (A/II))	
TD 2191		all sides, Mlinar 2001b, no. 618 [s]	1g	3D1	B7	O		d14	raised	not serrated	steatite	Tell el-Dabʿa (E/1-D/3 (A/II))	Senusret I
TD 5348		all sides, Mlinar 2001b, no. 901 [s]		3B2+3B4 +3B3a+3B6	B7	O		e6b	raised	5 serrations	steatite	Tell el-Dabʿa (D/2 (A/II))	
TD 7214		all sides, Mlinar 2001b, no. 1065 [s]		3B2a+3A1	B7	O		e6b	raised	5 serrations	steatite	Tell el-Dabʿa (secondary context)	
TD 8621		all sides, Mlinar 2001a, no. 1 [s, p]	6a	3A3+3B8	B7	O		e6b	raised	numerous serrations	steatite	Tell el-Dabʿa (D/3-2 (A/II))	
TD 8627		all sides, Mlinar 2001a, no. 2 [s, p]		3B4+3A4	B6	O		e6b	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Tell el-Dabʿa (D/3-2 (A/II))	
Tufnell, Lachish, 3		all sides, Tufnell 1958, pl. 30–31 (3) [s]		3B2	B7	O		e6b	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Tel Lachish	
UC 11164		all sides, examined personally		2B	B7	O		e6b	raised	not serrated	steatite	Lahun	
UC 61192		all sides, examined personally; museum website [p]; Petrie 1906, pl. IX (111) [s]; Petrie 1925, pl. XIX, XXIII (1530) [p]		3A1	B8	O		e6b	raised	worn off	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya	

Table 51 Scarabs of the type B7/8-O-e6b/d14 without rings around the hole ends. (continuation)

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Scarab	No	Availability and bibliography	Base	Tufnell Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Name/King
Adam, ASAE 55, pl. XX.2		base and back, Adam 1958, 310, pl. XX.2 [s]		3B4	B7	O		raised	4 serrations	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya		
Adam, ASAE 55, pl. XX.3		base and back, Adam 1958, 310, pl. XX.3 [s]		9E	D3	O				steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya		
Adam, ASAE 55, pl. XX.4		base and back, Adam 1958, 310, pl. XX.4 [s]	1ad	3B2	D5	O				steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya		
Ashmawy Ali, ÄgLev 20, 37 fig. 12		base and back, Ashmawy Ali 2010, 26, 37 fig. 12 [p]		3C	D8	O		raised	not serrated	glazed composition	Tell el-Yahudiya		
Ashmolean AN E.3490A		all sides, Tufnell 1978, fig. 2 (17) [s]; Petrie 1906, pl. VII (33) [s]		4	D?	O sprays	e10	raised	chipped off		Tell el-Yahudiya (Grave 19)		
Ashmolean AN E.3536A		all sides, Tufnell 1978, fig. 1 (1) [s]; Petrie 1906, pl. VII (1) [s]		2B	D5	O	e9	raised	not serrated		Tell el-Yahudiya (Grave 2)		
Ashmolean AN EE.634		all sides, Tufnell 1978, fig. 2 (26) [s]; Petrie 1906, pl. VI (5) [s]		9B	D9	O	d5	raised	not serrated		Tell el-Yahudiya		
Ashmolean AN EE.635		all sides, Tufnell 1978, fig. 2 (25) [s]; Petrie 1906, pl. VI (4) [s]		3C	A5	II	e11	deeply set, double partition line	not serrated		Tell el-Yahudiya		
Ashmolean AN EE.637		all sides, Tufnell 1978, fig. 2 (29) [s]; Petrie 1906, pl. VIII (53) [s]		9E+10C	D6	O	d5			steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya		
Ashmolean AN EE.638		all sides, Tufnell 1978, fig. 2 (28) [s]; Petrie 1906, pl. VIII (55) [s]		2A	D9	O	d5			steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya		
Ashmolean AN EE.640		all sides, Tufnell 1978, fig. 2 (23) [s]; Petrie 1906, pl. VIII (46) [s]		6C2	D9	O	e11				Tell el-Yahudiya		
Ashmolean AN1888.282	Martin 1038	all sides, examined personally; Griffith 1890, pl. X (4) [s]	3a		B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya		*ḥtmw-bjtj*: *jmj-rꜣ ḥmt Ḥꜣr*
Ashmolean AN1888.286	Tufnell 3032	base and back, Griffith 1890, pl. X (2) [s]; Tufnell 1984, no. 3032 [s]	1g	3A3	D3a	O	e6b				Tell el-Yahudiya		
Basel Cat. 108		all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 108 [p]	3a	3D2	C7/D	I	d9	raised	not serrated	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya		Neferhotep I
Basel Cat. 126		all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 126 [p]	3a	3D2	C7/D	II	e9	raised	chipped off	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya		Ay
Basel Cat. 130		all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 130 [p]; Fraser 1899, pl. I (4) [s]	6a	3D1	D9	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya		*ḥmt-nsw T-tj*

Table 52 Scarabs from Tell el-Yahudiya.

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Scarab	No	Availability and bibliography	Base	Tufnell Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Name/King
Basel Cat. 141	Tufnell 3209 Martin 1175	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 141 [p]; Fraser 1899, pl. I (8) [s]	6c/3		B8	O sprays	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya		Khyan
Basel Cat. 143		all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 143 [p]; Fraser 1899, pl. I (9) [s]	1af	3D2	C5		d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya		Yaqubhar
Basel Cat. 145		all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 145 [p]; Fraser 1899, pl. I (14) [s]	1ab		D6	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya		Maaibre
Basel Cat. 160		all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 160 [p]; Fraser 1899, pl. I (1) [s]	6c/2		D3	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya		Sheshi
Basel Cat. 166	Tufnell 3463 Martin 1453	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 166 [p]; Fraser 1899, pl. I (7) [s]	1ad		A6b	II	d6	deeply set, double partition line	not serrated	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya		Samuqenu
Basel Cat. 167		all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 167 [p]; Fraser 1899, pl. I (11) [s]	6c/4+		B5	O	d6	raised	4 serrations, zigzag border	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya		Yaqubhar
Basel Cat. 521	Martin 430	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 521 [p]	3a		C7/D	II	d9	raised	worn off	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya	SUE (the title *s3b; r3-nḫn*)	*s3b; r3-nḫn Wsr-nḫ-ʿnḫ (?)*
Basel Cat. 546	Martin 1114	all sides, Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 546 [p]	3d		D3	O	d5	raised	not serrated		Tell el-Yahudiya		*jrj-ʿꜣ; s3w jwf Ḥr-ʿnḫ*
BM EA20820	Tufnell 3028	base and back, Griffith 1890, pl. X (1) [s]; Tufnell 1984, no. 3028 [s]	1ad	3B8+3D2	B7	O	e6b	chipped off	chipped off	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya		Senusret I
BM EA20823		all sides, examined personally; Griffith 1890, pl. X (7) [s]		9D+9E	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya		
BM EA20824		all sides, examined personally; Griffith 1890, pl. X (3) [s]	6a	3D1	D6	O	e10	raised	not serrated	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya		*ḥmt-nsw T-tj*
Boston 88.742		base and back, museum website [p]; Griffith 1890, pl. X (10) [s]		9E	D3	III sprays		raised	not serrated	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya		
Boston 88.1050		all sides, museum website [p]; Griffith 1890, pl. X (8) [s]		9E+9D	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya		
Boston 88.1051		base and back, museum website [p]; Griffith 1890, pl. X (42) [s]		6B2	D3	O		raised	not serrated	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya		
Boston 88.1052		base and back, museum website [p]; Griffith 1890, pl. X (48) [s]		2B	D6	II		raised	not serrated	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya		

Table 52 Scarabs from Tell el-Yahudiya. (continuation)

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Scarab	No	Availability and bibliography	Base	Tufnell Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Name/King
Boston 88.1053		base and back, museum website [p]; Griffith 1890, pl. X (18) [s]		3B1c+3B5	B8	O	d6	raised	serrated	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya		
Boston 88.1054		all sides, museum website [p]; Griffith 1890, pl. X (23) [s]		3B3e	D9	O	e10	raised	not serrated		Tell el-Yahudiya		
Boston 88.1055		all sides, museum website [p]; Griffith 1890, pl. X (39) [s]		5	D6	7b	e10	raised	not serrated	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya		
Boston 88.1056		all sides, museum website [p]; Griffith 1890, pl. X (41) [s]		6B2	D6	O	d5	raised	not serrated	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya		
Bristol H 3728		all sides, museum website [p]; Griffith 1890, pl. X (21) [s]		3B5+3B6	B7	O	d14	raised	6 serrations	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya		
Bristol H 3732		all sides, museum website [p]: Petrie 1906, pl. IX (109) [s]		2B	D6	II	e9	raised	not serrated	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya		
Bristol H 3733		all sides, museum website [p]: Petrie 1906, pl. IX (152) [s]		9E+10A1	D3	O	e11	raised	worn off	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya		
Bristol H 3734		all sides, museum website [p]: Petrie 1906, pl. IX (167) [s]		9F	D8	O	e11	raised	not serrated	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya		
Bruxelles E.2563		all sides, museum website [p]: Petrie 1906, pl. VII (6) [s]	lad	3A3	B7	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya		
Bruxelles E.2564		all sides, museum website [p]: Petrie 1906, pl. VII (7) [s]; Boschloos 2017, 197 fig. 9.2 [p]	lad	3A3	B7	O	d4	raised	not serrated	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya		
Bruxelles E.2565		all sides, museum website [p]: Petrie 1906, pl. VII (8) [s]		1E+3B3b	D9	O	e10	raised	not serrated	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya		
Bruxelles E.2566		all sides, museum website [p]; Petrie 1906, pl. VII (9) [s]; Boschloos 2017, 197 fig. 9.2 [p]		1E+3B3b	D7	O flower	e10	raised	not serrated	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya		
Bruxelles E.2567		all sides, museum website [p]; Petrie 1906, pl. VII (10) [s]; Boschloos 2017, 197 fig. 9.2 [p]		3B1c	A7	O sprays	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya		
Cairo JE 27712	Martin 459	base and back, seen on display	4f		C2	II	d7	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya		*jmj-r3 mḏwt Bjn*
Griffith, Yahûdîyeh, pl. X (6)		base and back, Griffith 1890, pl. X (6) [s]		10A1f+3C	D6						Tell el-Yahudiya		
Griffith, Yahûdîyeh, pl. X (11)		base and back, Griffith 1890, pl. X (11) [s]	3d	9B	D6						Tell el-Yahudiya		
Griffith, Yahûdîyeh, pl. X (19)		base and back, Griffith 1890, pl. X (19) [s]		3B5	B8				5 serrations		Tell el-Yahudiya		

Table 52 Scarabs from Tell el-Yahudiya. (continuation)

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Scarab	No	Availability and bibliography	Base	Tufnell Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Name/King
Griffith, Yahûdîyeh, pl. X (22)		base and back, Griffith 1890, pl. X (22) [s]		3B5	D5						Tell el-Yahudiya		
Griffith, Yahûdîyeh, pl. X (24)		base and back, Griffith 1890, pl. X (24) [s]	1a	3A3	B8			raised	4 serrations		Tell el-Yahudiya		
Griffith, Yahûdîyeh, pl. X (26)		base and back, Griffith 1890, pl. X (26) [s]		3B6	B3						Tell el-Yahudiya		
Griffith, Yahûdîyeh, pl. X (28)		base and back, Griffith 1890, pl. X (28) [s]		3B2e	B4						Tell el-Yahudiya		
Manchester 3379		base and back, museum website [p]; Petrie 1906, pl. IX (131) [s]	1ab	3A3	B8	O		raised	serrated	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya		
Manchester 3449		all sides, museum website [p]; Tufnell 1978, fig. 1 (10) [s]; Richards 2001, 297 (TEY4) [s]; Petrie 1906, pl. VII (14) [s]		3C	B7	O	d6	raised	serrated	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya		
Manchester 3450		all sides, museum website [p]; Tufnell 1978, fig. 1 (13) [s]; Richards 2001, 298 (TEY6) [s]; Petrie 1906, pl. VII (16) [s]		3C+9F	D3	O	e10	raised	not serrated	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya		
Manchester 3452		all sides, museum website [p]; Tufnell 1978, fig. 1 (12) [s]; Richards 2001, 298 (TEY5) [s]; Petrie 1906, pl. VII (17) [s]		3A4+3C	B6	O	d5	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya		
Manchester 3453		all sides, museum website [p]; Tufnell 1978, fig. 1 (8) [s]; Petrie 1906, pl. VII (18) [s]		10A2a	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya		
Petrie, Hyksos, pl. IX (124)	Tufnell 3220	base and back, Petrie 1906, pl. IX (124) [s]	1ag	3D2	B7	II sprays	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya		Khyan
Petrie, Hyksos, pl. IX (145)		base and back, Petrie 1906, pl. IX (145) [s]		4+5	D7	O sprays	e10			steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya		
Petrie, Hyksos, pl. IX (163)		base and back, Petrie 1906, pl. IX (163) [s]		10A2b	D	II flower				steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya		
Philadelphia E.2826		all sides, Tufnell 1978, fig. 2 (16) [s]; Petrie 1906, pl. VII (27) [s]		10B	D9	O	d5			steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya		

Table 52 Scarabs from Tell el-Yahudiya.
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Scarab	No	Availability and bibliography	Base	Tufnell Base	Head	Back	Side	Clypeus	Clypeus front	Material	Provenance	Origin	Name/King
Philadelphia E.2827		all sides, Tufnell 1978, fig. 2 (15) [s]; Petrie 1906, pl. VII (28) [s]		9C4+10C	B8	O	d6	raised	4 serrations	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya		
UC 11370	Martin 1473	all sides, examined personally	1am		C2	II	d8	raised	not serrated	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya		*ỉȝw ʿȝ n ỉỉwt Snʿr*
UC 11666	Tufnell 3452	all sides, examined personally; Tufnell 1984, no. 3452 [s]; Petrie 1906, pl. IX (144) [s]; Petrie 1917, pl. XXI (15.5.10) [p], pl. LXVI (L 9) [s]	4a	3D2	A5	I	d5	deeply set, double partition line	not serrated	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya		Aauserre Apep
UC 61185		base and back, museum website [p]; Petrie 1906, pl. IX (179) [s]; Petrie 1925, pl. XIX, XXIII (1523)		6A		I	e11	raised		glazed composition	Tell el-Yahudiya		
UC 61186		all sides, examined personally; museum website [p]; Petrie 1906, pl. IX (183) [s]; Petrie 1925, pl. XIX, XXIII (1524) [p]		6C3	A5	II	e11	deeply set, double partition line	not serrated	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya		
UC 61187		all sides (head lost), examined personally; museum website [p]; Petrie 1906, pl. IX (127) [s]; Petrie 1925, pl. XIX, XXIII (1525) [p]		2C		O	d6	chipped off	chipped off	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya		
UC 61188		all sides, examined personally; museum website [p]; Petrie 1906, pl. XI (190) [s]; Petrie 1925, pl. XIX, XXIII (1526) [p]		4	D3	II	e9	raised	not serrated	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya		
UC 61189		all sides, examined personally; museum website [p]; Petrie 1906, pl. IX (189) [s]; Petrie 1925, pl. XIX, XXIII (1527) [p]		1A		I	e5	deeply set, no partition line		steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya		
UC 61190		all sides, examined personally; museum website [p]; Petrie 1906, pl. IX (188) [s]; Petrie 1925, pl. XIX, XXIII (1528) [p]		1A	A3	I	e5	deeply set, no partition line		steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya		
UC 61192		all sides, examined personally; museum website [p]; Petrie 1906, pl. IX (111) [s]; Petrie 1925, pl. XIX, XXIII (1530) [p]		3A1	B8	O	e6b	raised	worn off	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya		
UC 61194		all sides, examined personally; Petrie 1906, pl. IX (165) [s]; Petrie 1925, pl. XIX, XXIII (1532) [p]		3C	D8	O	e11	raised	not serrated	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya		

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UC 61195		all sides, examined personally; museum website [p]; Petrie 1906, pl. IX (166) [s]; Petrie 1925, pl. XIX, XXIII (1533) [p]		3C	A5	II	d6	deeply set, double partition line	chipped off	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya		
UC 61197		all sides, examined personally; Petrie 1906, pl. IX (129) [s]; Petrie 1925, pl. XIX, XXIII (1535) [p]		3B3b	B7	O sprays	d6	raised	6 serrations	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya		
UC 61198		all sides, examined personally; museum website [p]; Petrie 1906, pl. IX (121) [s]; Petrie 1925, pl. XIX, XXIII (1526) [p]		3B1c+3B1a	A5	II	e11	deeply set, double partition line	not serrated	steatite	Tell el-Yahudiya		
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Fig. 98 B7/8-O-e6b/d14 without a ring, scarab of *Jjmnj3*, with the anra-formula Berlin 32439. Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. This image is copyright. Reproduced by permission of Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. 25×17×11 mm

Fig. 99 A scarab impression from Wahsut with the name of Amenemhat III bordered by pairs of hieroglyphic signs. Reproduced from Wegner 2007, fig. 144 (2) with permission of the author. 16 mm

Fig. 100 A scarab impression from Mirgissa with the name of Amenemhat III bordered by pairs of hieroglyphic signs Mirgissa 1-97. Reproduced from Gratien 2019, pl. 6 (1-97). © Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Le Caire. 14 mm

Fig. 101 A scarab of Khyan with the name bordered by pairs of hieroglyphic signs, MMA 26.7.104. Reproduced from Tufnell 1984, no. 3207. 16×11×8 mm

Fig. 102 A scarab of Amenemhat IV, UC 11332. Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. 26×17×12 mm

Fig. 103 A design scarab from tomb B 35 in Jericho (Group III). Reproduced from Kirkbride 1965, 621 fig. 292 (8). This image is copyright. Reproduced by permission of University of Cambridge Museum of Archaeology & Anthropology (BR6/3/1/8). 18×13 mm

Fig. 104 Impression of a Middle Kingdom royal-name scarab with the name of Senusret I from Bauschicht 13 on the Elephantine, featuring continuous scroll borders. Reproduced from von Pilgrim 1996, 242 fig. 98 (111) with permission of the author. 18×12 mm

Fig. 105 An imitation of a Middle Kingdom royal-name scarab from Tell el-Dabʿa with features

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of the Second Intermediate Period Egyptian or Levantine production (B7-O-d14), TD 2191. Reproduced from Mlinar 2004b, 129 fig. 12 (2). 15×10×6 mm

Fig. 106 A 12th Dynasty scarab from Dahshur with the name of Senusret III in a 1y-type border (two pairs of oblong scrolls) on a golden plate, MMA 26.7.756. Public domain photo from https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/546139, credit line: Purchase, Edward S. Harkness Gift, 1926. 13 mm

Fig. 107 A scarab of Sheshi with the name in a 1y-type border (two pairs of oblong scrolls), Aberdeen ABDUA 81052. Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. Courtesy of the University of Aberdeen, Scotland. 21×15×10 mm

Fig. 108 A scarab of Khyan from Tell el-Yahudiya with a 1ag-type border with snake heads or bud finials. Reproduced from Petrie 1906, pl. IX (124). 18 mm

Fig. 109 An impression of a Middle Kingdom scarab of Amenemhat III with a complex design. Reproduced from Petrie, Brunton and Murray 1923, pl. LXIV (215). 15mm

Fig. 110 A scarab of Aauserre (Apep) with a complex design, Louvre E 3282. © 1994 Musée du Louvre/Christian Larrieu, reproduced from https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010030186. 15×10×6 mm

Fig. 111 Scarabs of the type B4-O/I-e8/e9, BM EA67024. Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum. 19×14×8 mm

Fig. 112 Scarabs of the type B4-O/I-e8/e9, Berlin 32718. Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. This image is copyright. Reproduced by permission of Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. 17×12×7 mm

Fig. 113 Scarabs of the type B4-O/I-e8/e9, Berlin 32673. Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. This image is copyright. Reproduced by permission of Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. 19×13×9 mm

Fig. 114 Scarabs of the type B4-O/I-e8/e9, Cairo JE 75202. Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. 21×14×9 mm

Fig. 115 Scarab of the official Aperbaal the younger, Berlin 32443. Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. This image is copyright. Reproduced by permission of Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. 22×16×10 mm

Fig. 116 Scarab of the queen Sonbhenas belonging to Ryholt's type A, Berlin 10977. Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. This image is copyright. Reproduced by permission of Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. 20×14×8 mm

Fig. 117 Scarab of the queen Sonbhenas belonging to Ryholt's type B, BM EA40700. Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum. 21×15×9 mm

Fig. 118 Scarab of the queen Nebuhetepti belonging to Ryholt's type A, MMA 26.7.70. Public domain photo from https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/544394, credit line: Purchase, Edward S. Harkness Gift, 1926. 24×17×10 mm

Fig. 119 Scarab of the queen Nebuhetepti belonging to Ryholt's type B, MMA 30.8.642. Public domain photo from https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/556299, credit line: Theodore M. Davis Collection, Bequest of Theodore M. Davis, 1915. 28 mm

Fig. 120 Scarab of the governor *Ḏḥwtj-nḫt*, MMA 26.7.321. Public domain photo from https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/556435, credit line: Purchase, Edward S. Harkness Gift, 1926. 22×14×10 mm

Fig. 121 Scarab of the governor of Antaeopolis *Ḥtp*, OIM 18577. Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. 21×14×8 mm

Fig. 122 A comparable scarab of a Memphite official, Berlin 32457. Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. This image is copyright. Reproduced by permission of Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. 24×17×10 mm

Fig. 123 Scarab of the governor of the Antaeopolite nome *Ḥtpwj*, Cairo JE 75048. Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. 23×17×11 mm

Fig. 124 Scarab of the governor *Ttj*, MMA 09.180.1206 from Lisht. Public domain photo from https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/557049, credit line: Rogers Fund, 1909. 24×17×9 mm

Fig. 125 Scarab of the overseer of treasurers Aki, Berlin 32455. Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. This image is copyright. Reproduced by permission of Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. 24×16×10 mm

Fig. 126 Scarab of the overseer of treasurers Aki, Fitzwilliam E.Sc.41. Drawing from Bourriau and Quirke, Pharaohs and Mortals: Egyptian Art in the Middle Kingdom, 159 fig. 182 (c). © Cambridge University Press 1988. Reproduced with permission of The Licensor through PLSclear. 22 mm

Fig. 127 Scarab of the commander of the crew of the ruler Sobekhotep, Ashmolean AN1892.271. Photo by A. Ilin-Tomich. © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. 22×16×11 mm

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Ashmolean	Ashmolean Museum	http://collections.ashmolean.org/
Berkeley	Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology	https://portal.hearstmuseum.berkeley.edu/
BM	The British Museum	https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection
Boston	Museum of Fine Arts	https://www.mfa.org/collections
Bristol	Bristol Museum & Art Gallery	http://museums.bristol.gov.uk/
Brooklyn	Brooklyn Museum	https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/
Bruxelles	Royal Museums of Art and History	https://carmentis.kmkg-mrah.be/
Chicago AI	Art Institute of Chicago	https://www.artic.edu/collection
Edinburgh	National Museums of Scotland	https://www.nms.ac.uk/explore-our-collections/search-our-collections/
Field	Field Museum	http://collections-anthropology.fieldmuseum.org/list
Fitzwilliam	The Fitzwilliam Museum	https://collection.beta.fitz.ms/
Genève	The Museum of Art and History of the City of Geneva	https://collections.geneve.ch/mah/
Glasgow Hunterian	Hunterian Museum	http://collections.gla.ac.uk/
IoA UCL	The Institute of Archaeology Collections	http://archcat.museums.ucl.ac.uk/
Jerusalem IM	Israel Museum	https://museum.imj.org.il/imagine/collections/
Jerusalem RM	Rockefeller Museum	
Leiden	National Museum of Antiquities	https://www.rmo.nl/collectie/collectiezoeker/
Liverpool GM	Garstang Museum	
Liverpool WM	World Museum	https://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/collections
Los Angeles County	Los Angeles County Museum of Art	https://collections.lacma.org/
Manchester	The Manchester Museum	http://harbour.man.ac.uk/mmcustom/HumDtlQuery.php (was accessible as of 19.06.2021)
MMA	The Metropolitan Museum of Art	https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection
Moscow	The Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts	http://goskatalog.ru/portal/#/collections?musemIds=2595 (was accessible as of 19.06.2021)
OIM	Oriental Institute Museum	https://oi-idb.uchicago.edu/
Philadelphia	Penn Museum	https://www.penn.museum/collections/
Portland	Art Museum	http://www.portlandartmuseum.us/
Stockholm	Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities	https://carlotta.smvk.se/carlotta-mhm/web
UC	The Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology	https://collections.ucl.ac.uk/search/simple
Walters	The Walters Art Museum	https://art.thewalters.org/
Washington	National Museum of Natural History	https://collections.nmnh.si.edu

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Abbreviations

Am.	Amenemhat.
d	description.
DAE	Grajetzki and Stefanović 2012.
Drioton MSS	the papers of Étienne Drioton at the National and University Library, Strasbourg (including the photographs of scarabs from the King Fouad I collection in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo).
Dyn.	Dynasty.
Garstang neg.	the negatives of field photographs from John Garstang excavations in Abydos, Garstang Museum, Liverpool.
Grdseloff MSS	the papers of Bernhard Grdseloff at the Griffith Institute, Oxford.
LE	Lower Egypt.
Martin	catalogue number in Martin 1971.
MB IIB	Middle Bronze Age IIB.
MFR	the Memphis-Faiyum region.
Newberry MSS	the papers of Percy E. Newberry at the Griffith Institute, Oxford.
NUELE	northern Upper Egypt and Lower Egypt.
p	photograph.
PD	dossier number in Franke 1984.
s	drawing, sketch.
Sen.	Senusret.
SIP	Second Intermediate Period
Sob.	Sobekhotep.
SUE	southern Upper Egypt.
Tufnell	catalogue number in Tufnell 1984.
Wilbour MSS	the notebooks of Charles Edwin Wilbour at the Brooklyn Museum, New York.

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