

# Chief of Seers

Egyptian Studies in Memory of Cyril Aldred

*Edited by*

**Elizabeth Goring, Nicholas Reeves  
and John Ruffle**



Studies in Egyptology



Cyril Aldred

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# Abbreviations

Abbreviations normally follow the practice of the *Annual Egyptological Bibliography* which should be consulted in cases of difficulty. Those which may cause trouble are as follows:

<i>ÄAT</i>	<i>Ägypten und altes Testament</i>
<i>AV</i>	<i>Archäologische Veröffentlichungen</i> , Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abt. Kairo
<i>BIE</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte</i>
<i>BMMA</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art</i> , New York
<i>BMQ</i>	<i>British Museum Quarterly</i>
<i>CG</i>	Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire
<i>DAIK</i>	Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abt. Kairo
<i>EEFM</i>	Egypt Exploration Fund Memoir
<i>EPHE</i>	Ecole pratique des Hautes Etudes
<i>EPRO</i>	<i>Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain</i>
<i>HÄB</i>	<i>Hildesheimer ägyptologische Beiträge</i>
<i>IFAO</i>	L'Institut français d'archéologie orientale
<i>JE</i>	Journal d'entrée, Cairo Museum
<i>JMFA</i>	<i>Journal of the Museum of Fine Arts</i> , Boston
<i>KRI</i>	K. A. Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i>
<i>KV</i>	Valley of the Kings
<i>LAAA</i>	<i>Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology</i> , Liverpool
<i>LD</i>	K. R. Lepsius, <i>Denkmaeler aus Aegypten and Aethiopien</i>
<i>LdÄ</i>	W. Helck and E. Otto, <i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i>
<i>MÄS</i>	<i>Münchener Ägyptologische Studien</i>
<i>MIFAO</i>	<i>Mémoires of IFAO</i>
<i>MMJ</i>	<i>Metropolitan Museum Journal</i>
<i>NARCE</i>	<i>Newsletter of the American Research Center in Egypt</i>
<i>PM</i>	B. Porter and R. Moss, <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings</i>
<i>PN</i>	H. Ranke, <i>Die altägyptischen Personennamen</i>
<i>PT</i>	Pyramid Text(s)



## *Abbreviations*

<i>RT</i>	<i>Recueil de travaux relatifs à l'archéologie égyptienne et assyrienne</i>
<i>SASAE</i>	<i>Suppléments aux Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte</i>
<i>SSEA</i>	The Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities, Toronto
<i>TT</i>	Theban Tomb
<i>Urk.</i>	<i>Urkunden des aegyptischen Altertums</i>

# Preface

The preparation of a volume in honour of Cyril Aldred, whose contributions to the study and appreciation of Egyptian art have been many and various, was mooted several years ago. Its eventual appearance engenders a mix of emotions: joy that so many of Cyril's friends and colleagues should have wished to contribute to it; and sadness that the man the essays were written to celebrate did not live to see the finished product. It will be some consolation to note that, a matter of weeks before his death, on 23 June 1991, Cyril had been presented with a mock-up of the title-page and contents-list. He was greatly moved and had been looking forward to reading the articles themselves; it is a double tragedy that we will not benefit from his response to the final offering.

In a long and productive scholarly career Cyril Aldred developed interests in a number of directions, though the mainspring of his Egyptological work always remained the history of Egyptian art. To this subject he made many distinguished contributions, and at the time of his death he was unquestionably the acknowledged British authority in this field. Nevertheless, he was much more than an art historian. His work on New Kingdom art took him deeply into all aspects of the Amarna Period, and he never flinched from any of the daunting challenges posed by the history and archaeology of that fascinating, if infuriating, age. The research which emanated from his long preoccupation with this period led to a series of publications which have had an unusually wide circulation and a pervasive impact, due in no small measure to his enviable gifts as a communicator and popularizer. We must not, however, think of him as an armchair student of ancient artefacts. He was also an accomplished metal-worker who could bring an unusual degree of practical insight to the elucidation of the problems of ancient workmanship.

The papers collected in this volume are a worthy reflection both of Cyril Aldred's range of interests and the breadth of his experience. Beginning with appreciations of the man by three scholars who knew him well at different stages in his career, we move to a comprehensive bibliography prepared by Diana Magee followed by 26 papers from distinguished scholars in the field of ancient Egyptian art. The Amarna Period inevitably figures prominently with articles by Berman (on a fragment of the sarcophagus lid of Merymose at Vassar), Bryan (on glazed steatite figures of Amenhotep III), Kozloff (on the use of blue in artefacts dis-

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covered at Malqata and El-Amarna), Lilyquist (on material from KV46 and 55), and Peck (on statuettes of two scribes and a king). However, art of other periods, particularly sculpture, is copiously represented. Arnold discusses the origins and character of so-called liliiform capitals whilst Eaton-Krauss and Loeben study the well-known Old Kingdom statues of Sepa and Nesames in the Louvre. The central issue of Egyptian iconography is well represented by Bianchi's study of the ethos of Egyptian iconography, the analysis by Malek of the daggers of Ahmose, Robins' work on the feminization of the male figure in New Kingdom contexts, Russmann's study of the use of the vulture and cobra in royal headresses, and Vandersleyen's intriguing analysis of Ramesses II's use of earlier sculpture. Aldred's research on the Middle Kingdom is echoed by Bourriau's discussion of a piece in the Fitzwilliam and the studies of Fay, Fischer, and Leclant. Given his long commitment to the New Kingdom and his keen eye for an intrinsically fine piece, Aldred would have been particularly delighted by Peterson's discussion of a mid-XVIII Dynasty representation of a gazelle. Vassilika's article on pre-Late Period bronze sculpture supplements work which Aldred did on the same topic, and his contribution to the Third Intermediate Period is reflected in Fazzini's study of aspects of the art of that period. Cyril Aldred's interest in jewellery is not as well represented as the preceding themes, but he would have been fascinated by the wealth of detail with which Markowitz and her colleagues deal with fragments from the tomb of Nefertari and the patient detective work which Whitehouse brings to bear to plot the history of an aquamarine gem in Paris. Edwards' intriguing article on the Seila pyramid lies rather outside the main foci of Aldred's work, but Kitchen's discussion of documents providing information on the work of craftsmen in the Ramesseum fits securely in the frame, and Aldred's youthful connection with Carter is most aptly recalled by James' illuminating account of the latter's epigraphic work at Deir el-Bahri and Reeves' survey of Carter's collection of Egyptian and Classical antiquities.

Thanks are due to all those students of ancient Egyptian art who took the time to write for this volume, particularly for the patience they have shown during the delay between the submission of their contribution and eventual publication. The volume was inaugurated and commissioned by Elizabeth Goring, Nicholas Reeves, and John Ruffle, and has been seen through the press by Alan Lloyd, General Editor of Kegan Paul International's Studies in Egyptology Series. The volume editors are pleased to acknowledge their indebtedness to Professor Lloyd for his hard work and diplomacy, without which these studies might never have appeared.

This book was for Cyril. It was equally for his wife, Jessica, to whom it is now offered with love and affection.

Elizabeth Goring  
Nicholas Reeves  
John Ruffle  
(Volume Editors)  
Alan B. Lloyd  
(Series Editor)

# Three Appreciations of Cyril Aldred

## 1. Cyril Aldred BERNARD V. BOTHMER

THE essays assembled in this memorial volume are a labour of love — more love than labour, which cannot be said of many memorial volumes in our time where duty and loyalty often form the primary inducement.

These essays were written, and are being published, with only one thought in mind, one motive: to honour a great scholar, an exquisite human being, an outstanding connoisseur, and a friend who to all of us meant something very special in the course of so many years. If he had lived to read between the lines — some learned, some less so — he would have sensed the warmth and affection which all of us wanted to express to exalt him: Cyril who was, and will always be, so very special indeed.

For one, he was the *rara avis* among Egyptologists, an art historian who has really studied art, a writer not only of art history, but also of librettos, poetry, ditties, and especially of letters that always do justice to the best of the epistolary art.

He was also a craftsman whose replicas of Middle Kingdom jewellery were once the pride of any number of the wives and daughters of his friends. As a sophisticated wit of brilliant intelligence he used to delight the company of high-brows and lowbrows alike, and as a dancer of Scottish renown he attracted crowds, even on a summer evening at the corner of the Rue de la Huchette, in the Quartier Latin, wielding his walking stick to demonstrate a traditional sword dance.

My own recollections of Cyril Aldred go back to the mid-1940s, shortly after we had both returned to civilian life in the field of the arts. A letter arrived at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, addressed to the Curator of Egyptian Arts, Dows Dunham, requesting photographs of a number of Old Kingdom sculptures and — lo and behold — information of such detailed nature that the addressee turned it over to me to take care of it.

William Stevenson Smith's *magnum opus* had appeared shortly after the war; Gallery I (Old Kingdom) was being rearranged and freshly painted; Harvard Camp at Giza had been closed that year, and the mass of Dr Reisner's records, brought

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back from Egypt, had to be put in order and shelved; and the publication of the tomb of Queen Hetepheres was being planned — in other words, the entire Department of Egyptian Art was concentrating on Dynasty IV, and there was this letter from an unknown keeper in a museum in far-away Scotland who seemed to have the nerve to write a book on Old Kingdom art!

But the letter was duly answered, the photographs dispatched, publication permission granted, and not much later came a gracious reply with thanks, this time addressed to me, and out of this courteous exchange grew a correspondence that to this year had never stopped although there have been weeks, and sometimes months, of silence, always fertile on Cyril's side because a string of fine publications continued to flow from his eloquent pen, beginning with *Old Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt* in 1949.

Three years later we met for the first time when, on a tour of Egyptian collections in the British Isles, I came to Edinburgh, on a visit which he so charmingly evoked in 1983 in the preamble to an essay entitled 'Ahmes-Nefertari Again'. It was on this visit that I came to experience Cyril's great love for, and abiding interest in, the object *per se*, the Egyptian antiquity, primarily of 'his' collection at the RSM (now the Royal Museum of Scotland) because — like all great curators — he was, and still is at heart, a collector, and it is amazing to realize how much he enriched his Museum over the years of his stewardship (1937–75) with the distinctly modest means at his disposal. He also kept in touch with private collectors, tracked down objects long lost sight of, surveyed the market in Britain as well as in France regularly, and usually knew what was going to come up for auction. Always a diplomat, he also knew how to attract donors.

It was then, on this first visit to Edinburgh, that I came to understand how deeply object-oriented he was and, beyond his intellectual preoccupation with the ancient work of art, lived by and was nurtured through the contact with antiquities — an impression that became more and more confirmed in the years to follow and that forms so obviously the basis of his writing: he is truly devoted to the object, the objects from ancient Egypt. As the foremost historian of Egyptian art in our time, he always dealt first with the work as such, and since he was one of the few who 'has an eye' — or should I say 'the eye'? — for Egyptian art his writing is based on the object and not on an abstract idea as we find it so often in writings pretending to deal with the essence of Egyptian art.

Apart from his letters — always so full of new thoughts expressed in well-turned phrases — the all too infrequent meetings enriched my life as he must have enriched those of others as well, and like others I feel a deep sense of gratitude for the wealth he bestowed so generously on all of us, as a scholar and as a friend.

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## **2. Cyril Aldred: 'A Very Cautious Young Man'\* ELIZABETH GORING**

I was never privileged to work with Cyril Aldred as I joined the Royal Scottish Museum (now part of the National Museums of Scotland) in 1982, nearly eight years after Cyril retired. However, I have had cause to be grateful to him on an almost daily basis; for his many years in the Museum left a lasting and precious legacy. He added enormously to the range and quality of the collections, he recorded and documented the objects with meticulous care and consummate expertise, and he devised an Egyptian Gallery which has given pleasure and enlightenment to thousands of children and adults. When I took up my post, a non-Egyptologist responsible for a major Egyptian collection as part of my duties, he gave generously of his time and knowledge. I am delighted to offer this small tribute to Cyril, both on my own behalf and on behalf of the Museum. Cyril was without doubt one of the most able and celebrated scholars that this Museum has been fortunate enough to employ, and he will be sadly missed.

The senior staff of the Royal Scottish Museum could have had little idea of the effect that the young Mr Aldred would have on the institution when they interviewed him for the post of librarian in 1937. Several representatives of the Museum, including the Director, Thomas Rowatt, travelled to London to conduct interviews. The panel were impressed by Cyril and offered him the job, but described him as 'a very cautious young man'. I suspect that many of his colleagues might find that description hard to recognize, and it certainly always amused Cyril.

The new museum librarian had an appropriately literary and art-historical background. Whilst at school, he had been particularly influenced by one of his masters. On one occasion, this master was called away in the middle of a class, and instructed Cyril to continue in his absence. Cyril, without hesitation, produced an extemporized lecture about the painting then under discussion, which happened to be Cézanne's *Portrait of the Artist's Mother*. The master returned to find Cyril in full flow and made him continue to the end of the lesson. This demonstration led the master to encourage Cyril to take a particular interest in the history of art.

Cyril began a degree in English at King's College, London, but soon transferred to a course in the history of art at the newly founded Courtauld Institute. He then spent the following year editing novels by Thomas Hardy. He had had an interest in literature and writing since his school days and had edited the school magazine for three years.

When Cyril arrived in Edinburgh in June 1937, his official position was that of Assistant in the Art and Ethnographical Department, in charge of the library. The collections of that Department of the Royal Scottish Museum covered the same range as a considerable number of separate departments of the Victoria and Albert and British Museums in London. This diversity is still the case today.

\* Much of the information in this article was provided by Cyril Aldred himself when I visited him in the company of John Ruffle and Nicholas Reeves in May 1991, a few weeks before his death. John Ruffle has published a tribute to Cyril in the American periodical *KMT* (Vol. 2, no. 3, Fall 1991, 22ff.) which was partly drawn from the manuscript version of the present paper.

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Because of the limited number of curators in the Royal Scottish Museum, members of staff who took a particular interest in any subject in their department were freely encouraged to explore it further. This suited Cyril perfectly and, whilst continuing to run the library, he took a special interest in ethnography.

He rapidly developed his knowledge of the content of the collections, made it his business to identify gaps, and soon discovered how to fill those gaps, even with the small amounts of money available for purchases. In the 1930s, ethnographic material was still both inexpensive and obtainable, and Cyril made contact with many people who could help, especially collectors and dealers. He was so successful that staff of some London museums wrote a letter of complaint to the Keeper of the Department, Robert Kerr, claiming that Cyril was acquiring items for Scotland that should more properly have gone to London.

Early in his new career, Cyril found himself in the arcade at South Kensington Underground Station, on the doorstep of the Victoria and Albert Museum. In the window of a shop called The Art Depot, he saw a large collection of miscellaneous items, amongst which was a North West Coast Haida Indian carved shale figure of a seated man. He recognized that this filled a gap in the collection and had it sent to Kerr on approval. At a pound and ten shillings, this became his first acquisition for the museum (1938.495) (see fig. 1). The same year provided another important acquisition, when he married his wife Jessica.

At the outbreak of war, the Royal Scottish Museum closed to the public and did not re-open until December 1943. Most of the staff were seconded to war work. Cyril joined the Scottish Education Department at St Andrews House in Edinburgh in November 1939 and then the technical branch of the Royal Air Force until 1946. On his return to the Royal Scottish Museum, to the now renamed Department of Art, Archaeology, and Ethnology, he immediately began the work of sorting out and documenting the collections, which had been sent away to secure storage.

He continued to develop the ethnographic collections. Amongst his happiest acquisitions was an important Peruvian gold beaker with repoussé designs of three warriors, dating to 1000–1532 AD (1947.170). He had spotted the cup in a back issue of *Man* (1913, 37) and discovered that it had once belonged to the brother of A. O. Curle, a former Director of the Royal Scottish Museum. Cyril tracked it down to friends of the Curle family, who had buried it at the back of a cupboard. It was acquired by the Museum in exchange for the price of a picture which the friends had seen on display in the Royal Scottish Academy.

Cyril now also turned his exceptional eye and remarkable visual memory to the Egyptian collections. He had been interested in Egyptology from the age of eleven when, during a period of illness, he was given one of Wallis Budge's works on hieroglyphs. Whilst still at school, Cyril was provided with an introduction to Howard Carter by one of his masters. Carter showed Cyril some drawings of alabaster vessels to test his knowledge and ability. Cyril pointed out that one of them exhibited incorrect proportions. This early demonstration of one of Cyril's best-known skills impressed Carter sufficiently to lead him to introduce the boy to Petrie. This meeting was somewhat less successful. Petrie gave Cyril, at some length, the benefit of his views on the correct way to stack books so as prevent

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damage to them (horizontally). When Carter suggested that the young would-be Egyptologist might like to join Petrie's excavation team, Petrie replied that the question was how much money Cyril's father would contribute to the excavation fund. The reaction of Cyril's father to this suggestion brought Cyril's active interest in Egyptology to an abrupt conclusion — at least for the interim.

His enthusiasm was re-awakened at the Royal Scottish Museum. Cyril's first important Egyptological publications appeared in rapid succession: *Old Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt* (1949), *Middle Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt* (1950), and *New Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt* (1951). His special interest in the Amarna Period was stimulated around 1950 when he came upon a gold ring of Nefertiti in the collections (1883.49.1) (see fig. 2). This led him to investigate other Amarna items acquired by the Museum at the same time (see G. Martin, *The Royal Tomb at El-Amarna I*, 1974, 75–7). In 1952 he mounted a small exhibition of the Egyptian collections at the east end of the great Main Hall of the Chambers Street Museum. This display enabled him to explore some of his ideas for a new permanent gallery which was to be housed elsewhere in the building. The emphasis was on the cultural rather than the funerary achievements of the Egyptians, and the approach was thematic. Topics such as Dress, and Hunting and Warfare, were illustrated by objects supplemented by models and photographs where appropriate. Cyril was particularly proud of a specially researched and crafted diorama commissioned from the artist R. T. Roussel (see below). This approach was strongly influenced by a desire to make Egyptology accessible to the general public and was highly successful. It was this same display which led to an invitation to become Associate Curator of Egyptian Art in the Metropolitan Museum in 1955.

Cyril's contribution to the field of Egyptology in general was outstanding. It was no less significant within the context of the Museum. In 1961, he was appointed Keeper of the (again re-named) Department of Art and Archaeology, a post he held until he retired in June 1974. His retirement was marked by the gift of a Twenty-sixth Dynasty red jasper inlay of a Pharaoh, probably Apries, presented by Mr K. J. Hewett (1974.191) (see fig. 3). During his thirty-seven years in the Museum, Cyril's principal achievements were, first and foremost, his development of the collections, which will be a permanent asset, and secondly his Gallery, which in the nature of things must sadly be less permanent.

The last time I saw Cyril I asked him which acquisitions had given him most satisfaction. The bequest of the Trechmann collection was the first that he mentioned. This is a collection of over four-hundred items, mostly Egyptian, some Maori (1965.1–440). The collection had been built up over a lifetime by Dr Charles Taylor Trechmann of Castle Eden, Co. Durham, an eminent geologist. Trechmann spent many years acquiring small antiquities at auction and from dealers, mostly in London. His geological collections were left to the British Museum (Natural History) (*Proceedings of the Geological Society of London* 1964–5, no. 1628, 207–8). One of the most significant items in the collection is a statue of Ramesses IX, Neferkare, which Trechmann had bought, with some acumen, from the Lowther Castle sale of 1947 (see fig. 4). At the time of its sale, it had been used as the support for a branch of a tree in a case of stuffed birds.

Another satisfying acquisition was the lower part of an Eighteenth Dynasty



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black granite statue of Ahmose Pennekheb, the 'Finlay statue base' (1948.486) (see fig. 5). Cyril discovered this in the Stewartry Museum, Kirkcudbrightshire, which he visited with Jessica in 1948. He recalled that it cost sixpence to enter, and they had to collect the key from a nearby cobbler's shop. The collection was housed in a crowded upstairs room. Cyril noticed a large, fragmentary, and unlabelled lump of stone barely visible under a table. He made out some hieroglyphs which seemed familiar. On his return to Edinburgh, he found the text in Breasted's *Ancient Records II*, 17. The biographical inscription had originally been published by Maspero in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache* 1883, 77ff, and was copied from a statue base of Ahmose Pennekheb belonging to a Mr Finlay. Cyril contacted the Stewartry Museum Association, Kirkcudbright, who immediately and generously offered to give the statue to the Royal Scottish Museum. It turned out to be the very piece published by Maspero: the Stewartry Museum records revealed that it was an inscribed statue brought by a Mr Alexander Finlay from Cairo and presented by Mrs Jane Finlay of Bath in December 1898. The base is an important document for the early years of the Eighteenth Dynasty, once thought lost.

However, Cyril's own favourite piece in the collection was without doubt the shabti head of Akhenaten which he published in the catalogue of the exhibition *Art from the Reign of Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, shown in Brooklyn and Detroit in 1973 (see fig. 6).

Cyril was dismissive about his achievement in the realization of the Egyptian Gallery, claiming that it was not as good as he had planned it to be. However, this Gallery, completed in 1972, has probably given more pleasure to more people than any other gallery in the museum, and it has certainly excited thousands of schoolchildren. In 1972 it was almost certainly ahead of its time, and it has survived for twenty years looking as fresh in concept. Its thematic approach has assisted hundreds of school parties to learn about life and death in ancient Egypt, and given immense pleasure to the general public. At the same time, Cyril ensured that the cream of the excellent collection would be on public display, to be readily viewed by the more informed visitor.

Through force of circumstance, the gallery was many years in the planning. A special feature, the dioramas, was worked out as early as 1948. In *The Museums Journal* 48 no. 11 (1949), 232–5, Cyril published a typically elegant article entitled 'A New Diorama in the Egyptian Hall of the Royal Scottish Museum' in which he explained his rationale:

The ordinary members of the general public, who are intrepid enough to visit archaeological collections in this country, too often have to use a knowledge which they do not possess if they are to gather anything of value from the specimens they examine. The expert concerned with arranging his material so as to illustrate a stratification technique or a typological series, is tempted to forget that, unlike himself, the ordinary visitor cannot see the pot from the shard; and that a scrap of greasy leather, some fragments of corroded bronze, and a few broken spindle-whorls still remain virtually mute however scientifically they may be labelled and however properly they may be related to their context. The matter is further complicated in the case of Egyptian archaeological collections by the fact that so many members of the general public visit them in order to indulge a ghoulish appetite for the macabre which is only too often satisfied by the sight of mouldering coffin-cases and poor mummied remains. The Egyptian collections at

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the Royal Scottish Museum are being re-arranged so as to place an emphasis more upon the cultural than the funerary achievements of the Ancient Egyptians; and as part of this policy, four dioramas will be installed illustrating various aspects of life in Ancient Egypt. . .

The first of these was of the fortress of Semna West in the Sudan.

The dioramas, executed by the artists R. T. Roussel and Dunstan Mortimer over a number of years, provide clear evidence of Cyril's most special talent: that of communication. Besides being an exceptional scholar, Cyril had the rare and enviable skill of being able to share his knowledge at a popular level, and he has described himself as doing 'a public relations job for Ancient Egypt'. His books bear permanent witness to his skill with the written word, but the gallery, and the dioramas in particular, are an excellent demonstration of a philosophical approach which has made his knowledge accessible to all through visual communication (see fig. 7). In his introduction to *Scenes from Ancient Egypt*, in which he published all four dioramas, Cyril wrote:

It has been the task of generations of archaeologists to . . . interpret the often vestigial traces that the remote past has bequeathed us. Much of this work is highly technical and has passed unnoticed by the general public. As a result of excavations, an antiquity or two may have unobtrusively taken its place from time to time among the objects exhibited in museums. Many more have found their way into storerooms and reference collections where they may seldom if ever be seen even by privileged researchers. . . Most of the discoveries of archaeologists . . . remain locked up in magazines or obscure publications where the maps, plans, diagrams and pottery corpuses confirm the opinion of the casual reader that the Ancient Egyptians are irredeemably dead and could hardly ever have lived. With this in mind, the Royal Scottish Museum, taking up from where the archaeologist has so often left off, has made four dioramas. . .

Cyril breathed life into a culture perceived as dead (in all senses) by the general public.

Another of Cyril's talents, perhaps less well-known, was metalworking. All the replica jewellery on display in the Egyptian gallery — the vulture pectoral of Tutankhamun, the pectoral of Sit-Hathor, the boatman's circlet of Sit-Hathor-Yunet, the earring of Seti II, the fly pendant from Dra Abu 'l-Naga, and the motto clasps of Queen Mereret — was made and presented by Cyril himself. He had studied silversmithing at evening classes in the 1950s and made his perfect reproductions in the kitchen at home. Readers of his excellent *Jewels of the Pharaohs* may not realize that the author has actually tried his hand at recreating several of the items of jewellery illustrated in it. (Similarly, many visitors to the Aldred home may not have recognized the splendid tomb-painting disguising the electrical fuse box in the hall as yet further evidence of the Aldred artistic talent.) His skill with verse is perhaps better-known. Cyril belonged to the Order of the Monks of St Giles, an Edinburgh literary dining club at which members read their own humorous verse. Cyril's pen name was Father Rameses. A fine example of his work was inspired at the time of his resignation from the Committee of the EES in 1976. The minutes of his last committee meeting were copied to Cyril with a note reading 'Your last Minute, I suppose'. His response, entitled *Aldred's Last Minute (Swansong of a Member of Committee)* can be consulted on application to the EES where it is lovingly preserved in the records.

Cyril wrote of the objects that have survived from the past 'each in its context,

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or even out of it, has a story to tell'. The readers of Cyril's popular books, the travellers whom he guided on Swan Hellenic tours and the visitors to his gallery were all delighted by his ability to tell those stories. It is fortunate that Cyril found his way into the museum world, where he combined his expertise, his acute eye, and his communication skills to such rare effect. Museums provide a unique bridge between artefacts and the public. Cyril performed a splendid public relations job for Ancient Egypt, and the National Museums of Scotland are grateful to have benefited from the brilliant results of his work.

### **3. Cyril Aldred: A Long-time Friend** **NORA E. SCOTT**

In the early 1950s when William C. Hayes, the Curator of the Egyptian Department of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, returned from some international congress abroad, he announced that he had met 'a Cyril Aldred', that he had been impressed by him, that (almost as important!), he had liked him, and that he had decided to invite him to join the staff of our department. He then began to describe Cyril, but I said, 'I know him already!' I had been in Edinburgh the previous summer, had of course, gone to see the Egyptian Collection in the Royal Scottish Museum, and had introduced myself to the Keeper, Cyril Aldred. He was characteristically hospitable and invited me to dinner at his home the next day.

Cyril and Jess have always been delightful hosts, but my most vivid memory of my own first visit is of Cyril's voice raised in righteous indignation as he recounted two separate incidents that had aroused his wrath. The Aldreds lived in a typical old Edinburgh house with a basement lit by a narrow, barred window high in the wall, always left open as the bars were far enough apart for the family cat to go in and out at will. The Aldreds had been asked to be kind to an Australian (as I remember it) musician who was visiting the British Isles for the first time. She had had dinner with them a short time before I did and had brought along in her handbag her most precious possessions — her Press reviews. She left her bag on the hall table when they went in to dinner, and, when they came out, bag and clippings were gone. An enterprising local couple had discovered that their small son could insinuate himself between the bars of such area windows, and it was he who had made off with the invaluable handbag. I do not recall if the contents had been tampered with, but I can still hear Cyril's voice, 'I was robbed by an eight-year-old child! By an eight-year-old child!'

The second incident concerned a request for additional space for his Egyptian Galleries, made at a Board meeting. There was a moment of silence while the members considered the problem. Then one reminded his colleagues of a beautiful old building that should be saved for posterity, just the place. Then Cyril rose in his wrath: 'Gentlemen!', he said, 'Gentlemen! If ever an unsuitable building needs to be saved, someone is sure to come up with the answer, "Let's make it a museum!".' This is a problem that present-day curators still share.

Cyril did come to New York for the year 1955–6; and I have never known any newcomer to make so many friends among the staff so quickly, and I do

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believe he liked us. Unfortunately, just before the Metropolitan's invitation arrived, he had bought a new, up-to-date house in Edinburgh, with an extensive garden, which he loved and which is difficult to provide in New York. As I remember, he did not turn us down immediately but took some time to consider which position would suit him better. (Jess, who had nursing training, had spent the year as a volunteer Gray Lady in a New York City hospital on the edge of Harlem. She reported that the head doctor had said, 'I don't know what we'd do without you Gray Ladies!') But in spite of, I believe, liking New York, the Aldreds decided to go home.

Cyril took part in the regular work of the Department while he was in the Metropolitan Museum and published several of the Egyptian antiquities at that time. The major works for which he is best known, however, appeared after his return to Edinburgh. Cyril's contributions to the study and understanding of Egyptian jewellery are universally recognized, but what is not so well known is that, before embarking on his study, he actually learned the craft of the jeweller himself. His statements about the particular pieces he is discussing are based on the fact that he had gone through the process himself, and so could appreciate the difficulties and accomplishments of his ancient colleagues, and, when he arrived at the Metropolitan to join the staff, he bore offerings for the ladies in the Department in the form of replicas of amulets of the Lahun Treasure, indistinguishable (except to the expert) from the originals, and constructed in the same way. I still treasure mine.



FIGURE 1 Cyril's first acquisition: a North West Coast Haida Indian carved shale figure. A1938.495. Photograph by Mike Smith, University of Durham (Oriental Museum).

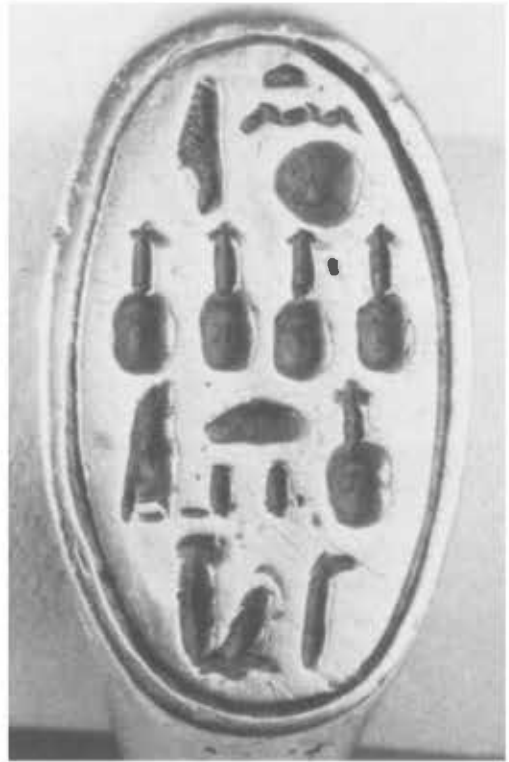


FIGURE 2 Gold ring bearing the name of Nefertiti from the Royal Tomb at El-Amarna. A1883.49.1. Copyright Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland.



FIGURE 3 26th Dynasty red jasper inlay presented by Mr K. J. Hewett to mark Cyril's retirement from the Royal Scottish Museum. A1974.191. Copyright of the Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland.



FIGURE 4 Statue of Ramesses IX, Neferkare, from the Trechmann Collection. A1965.1. Copyright Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland.



FIGURE 5 'The Finlay statue base'. A1948.486. Photograph by Mike Smith, University of Durham (Oriental Museum).



FIGURE 6 Shabti head of Akhenaten. A1972.94. Copyright Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland.



FIGURE 7 Diorama of a sculptor's workshop of the Old Kingdom Period. Copyright Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland.

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Compiled by DIANA MAGEE\*

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15. 'The Carnarvon Statuette of Amūn', in *JEA* 42, 3–7 with pls. i, ii.
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# New Evidence for Liliform Capitals in Egypt

DIETER ARNOLD

THE actual plant represented in 'liliform' ornaments and capitals has not yet been identified and the expression 'lily' is — as are many other expressions created by archaeologists — nothing more than a convention.

Ludwig Borchardt,<sup>1</sup> Gustave Jéquier, and others<sup>2</sup> have stated that columns with liliform capitals ('Liliensäulen', 'chapiteau floraux iris') appear in only two periods in Egypt. First of all, they are depicted in the wall decoration of the New Kingdom tombs at Thebes, Amarna, and Zawiyet el-Amwat (see fig. 3). In these scenes, the roofs of the royal throne baldachins and divine bark shrines are supported by wooden cluster-columns with a combination of three superimposed, different capitals. One of these is a so-called liliform capital, shaped like a flower bud (calyx) with two petals (volutes) and a central, red spike that sometimes ends with a palmette-like feature. Elements that droop from the underside of the petals remain unexplained. Examples of representations of these columns are found in the following tombs:

1. Tomb TT 1 of Senedjem, kiosk of Osiris (Dyn. 20): Borchardt fig. on p. 19; MMA photo T 2742.
2. Tomb of Imiseba TT 65, usurped from Nebamun (time of Ramesses IX): Charles K. Wilkinson and Marsha Hill, *Egyptian Wall Paintings* (New York, 1983), 155 [MMA acc. no. 36.4.1].
3. Tomb TT 45 of Djehutyemhab (time of Ramesses II), usurped from Djehuty (time of Amenhotep II): Wilkinson and Hill, *ibid.*, 152 [MMA acc. no. 15.5.12].
4. Tomb TT 226 of unknown owner (time of Amenhotep III): Wilkinson and Hill, *ibid.*, 127 [MMA acc. no. 15.5.1]; N. de G. Davies, *The Tombs of Menkheperasonb etc.* (London, 1933), pls. 41 and 43.
5. Unidentified Theban tomb (18th Dynasty): Prisse d'Avennes, *Histoire de l'art égyptien*, text and 2 plate volumes (Paris, 1879), pl. 17 [4].<sup>3</sup>
6. Unidentified tomb: Prisse d'Avennes, *ibid.*, pl. 18 [3].
7. Unidentified tomb: Prisse d'Avennes, *ibid.*, pl. 19 [2].
8. Unidentified tomb: Prisse d'Avennes, *ibid.*, pl. 19 [3].
9. Tomb of Parennefer at Amarna: N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna*, VI (London, 1908), pl. 6; LD III, 99b.

### *Liliform Capitals in Egypt*

10. Unidentified tomb at Amarna: Prisse d'Avennes, *ibid.*, pl. 19 [1].
11. Tomb of Nefersekheru at Zawiyet el-Amwat (late Eighteenth or Nineteenth Dynasty): Prisse d'Avennes, *ibid.*, pl. 17 [5].

The same cluster-columns with capitals in the combination lily-papyrus-lotus are also depicted in the round on engaged sandstone pillars or wall slabs from the western gate of Medinet Habu. The lily-capitals were painted bright blue and red. The only 1.1 m high, pilaster-like slabs apparently carried a wooden architrave.<sup>4</sup>

Since the 'lily' is one of the two emblematic plants of Upper Egypt (the other is the lotus), and, therefore, of great importance, it is astonishing that the liliform capital never appears in New Kingdom stone architecture. The only approximation are the two famous emblematic granite pillars in front of the sanctuary of Amun at Karnak (see fig. 4).<sup>5</sup> The northern pillar shows a high-relief papyrus and the southern one a 'lily'. This absence of liliform capitals in stone architecture led Jéquier to doubt that they really existed and he assumed that the paintings were '*une interprétation picturale un peu fantaisite*'.

The second instance of the liliform capital in stone occurs in the columns of Graeco-Roman period temples (Jéquier's types 18, 21, 23, 24), where they are among the most beautiful late Egyptian architectural creations (see fig. 5). Here, the petals of the lily surround a bud that looks more like a papyrus than a lily. None of the known examples show a single plant but instead has a multi-layered bouquet of up to five tiers enriched with papyrus motifs. Jéquier's four type groups display a great number of buds (counting downwards from the top):

Type 18: 4 + 4 (and not 8 as Jéquier counts)	Type 23: 4 + 4 + 8 + 16
Type 21: 4 + 4 + 8	Type 24: 4 + 4 + 8 + 16 + 32

One has now to ask how these complicated forms could have been created without the existence of single-flower forerunners of the type represented in the paintings of the New Kingdom. That this simple type actually existed can now be concluded from three construction sketches on two ostraka in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (see fig. 6).<sup>6</sup> They were found in 1922–3 in the debris of the court of Eleventh Dynasty Theban tomb 509. On these ostraka an artist tried to project a liliform capital using a grid of 4 × 4 or 4 × 5 squares. He apparently considered two possibilities, a wider capital using 3 × 5 of the squares and a smaller one using 3 × 4 of the squares. Unfortunately the date of the ostraka is unknown. From the date of the surrounding pottery one would tend to date them into the late Ptolemaic/early Roman period, when — as we know — artists studied older tombs. However, the two ostraka might even go back to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, when Nespekashuty built his own tomb into the court of tomb no. 509 (c. 675 BC).

The artist would not have drawn this design had such a capital existed only in his imagination; for we know that such sketches were the first step in the process of creating stone monuments such as columns, statues, and sphinxes. The next step probably would have been to produce a small model of the capital with the grid scratched on the top and on one or more sides. Two such model capitals are preserved in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. One of limestone represents half



of a composite papyrus/palmette capital of Jéquier's type 20 with the grid on the top (see fig. 7).<sup>7</sup> The other, of pottery, was completed in the round (see fig. 8) and is a model for a composite liliform/palmette capital in the shape of Jéquier's type 23.<sup>8</sup> The date of the models is unknown but assumed to be Saite-Ptolemaic or Ptolemaic-Roman.

Models such as these could then be brought into the quarry or stone mason's workshop where a rectangular block of stone could be covered with the same grid and sketch lines at the desired larger scale. Three capitals prepared in this way and intended to be cut out from the quarry face have actually been discovered in the quarries of Gebel Abu Foda.<sup>9</sup> Two drawings were prepared to be cut into Hathor-head capitals, but the third one was meant to be a liliform capital (see fig. 1). This can be concluded from the right-side profile with the pendant under the petal.

That the liliform capital in its *simple* shape existed before the Saite Period can be deduced not only from the Eighteenth Dynasty wall paintings but also because this proto-Ionic capital type spread — from Egypt or other origins<sup>10</sup> — first as the 'Timora'-capital<sup>11</sup> over the Near East soon after the New Kingdom (tenth century BC). From there, it may have become the forerunner of — or at least have influenced — the formation of the Ionic capital which made its appearance at the Artemision at Ephesos and the Heraion at Samos around 560 BC.<sup>12</sup>

Timora and Ionic capitals have two volutes, giving the capital a clear two-dimensional aspect. The capital can actually only be appreciated from the front or back, while the side views remain rather unattractive. Did the Egyptian prototypes also have two volutes? The representations on the wall paintings and ostraka show only two volutes and, therefore, seem to support this assumption. However, it is impossible to draw more than these two volutes in a frontal elevation of such a capital, even if it really had four. A third volute would only be visible in an unusual corner projection (see fig. 1). Since all later Egyptian composite liliform capitals are constructed out of four volutes (4-8-16-32, see above), one would assume that their New Kingdom prototypes also had four. I should therefore prefer the reconstruction shown in fig. 2.

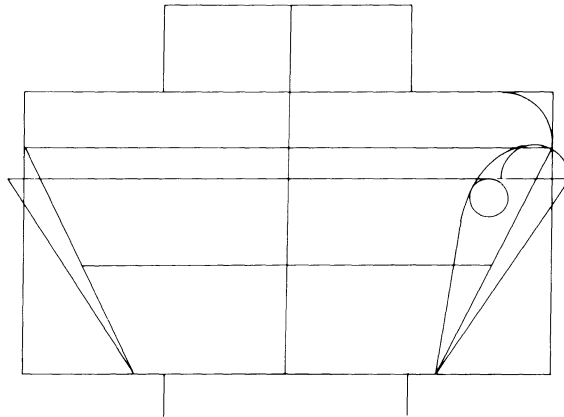


FIGURE 1 Corner projection of capital

## *Liliform Capitals in Egypt*

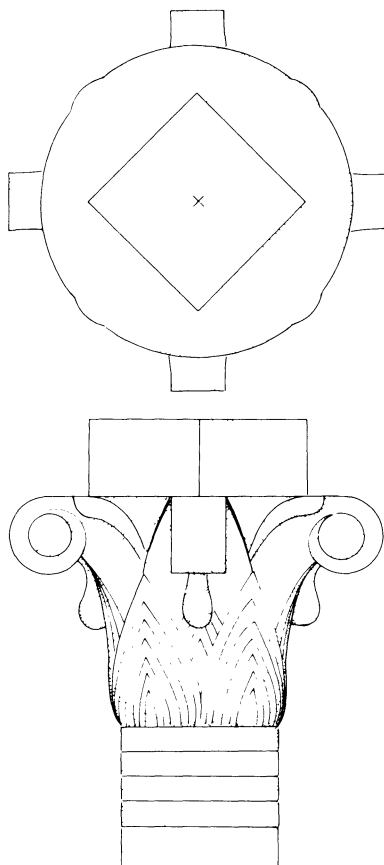


FIGURE 2 Egyptian composite liliform capital

The question remains open as to why then the Near Eastern artists created a two-volute capital. Perhaps they had never seen a real liliform capital in Egypt and knew them only from traded motifs in the minor arts.

### **Notes**

- 1 L. Borchardt, *Die aegyptische Pflanzensäule* (Berlin, 1897), 18–24.
- 2 G. Jéquier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne: Les éléments de l'architecture* (Paris, 1924), 263–71. Botanical but also archaeological aspects of the problem are studied in V. Täckholm and M. Drar, *Flora of Egypt*, IV (Cairo, 1969), 148–56.
- 3 Prisse d'Avenne's spectacular publication also contains several examples of liliform ceiling decorations from unidentified tombs.
- 4 U. Hölscher, *The Mortuary Temple of Ramses III*, III (The Excavations of Medinet Habu, vol. IV, Chicago, 1951), 9–10, pl. 4.
- 5 Prisse d'Avenne, *ibid.*, pl. 16.
- 6 Acc. nos. 23.3.34, Rogers Fund, 1923 (ca. 12 × 12.5 cm) with the two sketches fig. 4a and b and 23.3.35, Rogers Fund, 1923 (ca. 11 × 12.8 cm) with one sketch fig. 4c. Drawing in red on a red grid.

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- 7 Acc. no. 12.182.6, Rogers Fund, 1912 (E. Young, *BMA* 22 March 1964, fig. 14). Height 15 cm, width 14.5 cm.
- 8 Acc. no. 29.2.1, Rogers Fund, 1929. Probably modelled, not moulded. Height 13.5 cm, maximum width 14 cm.
- 9 *Description*, IV pl. 62 [3–5]; L. Borchardt, *ibid.*, fig. p. 24; *id.*, *ZÄS* 34 (1896), 73–4, pl. III [fig. V] from W. M. Flinders Petrie, *A Season in Egypt 1887* (London, 1888), 33, pl. 25.
- 10 P. P. Betancourt, *The Aeolic Style in Architecture* (Princeton, 1977), 17–23. The best known examples are from Hazor, Megiddo, and Sichem (Palestine), Golgoi and Trapeza (Cyprus), Neandria (northern Ionia), and Klopedi (Lesbos).
- 11 Y. Shiloh, 'The Proto-Aeolic Capital and Israelite Ashlar Masonry', in *Qedem. Monographs of the Institute of Archaeology*, XI (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1979).
- 12 Betancourt, *ibid.*, 122–33; Walter Andrae, *Die ionische Säule, Bauform oder Symbol?* (Berlin, 1933).

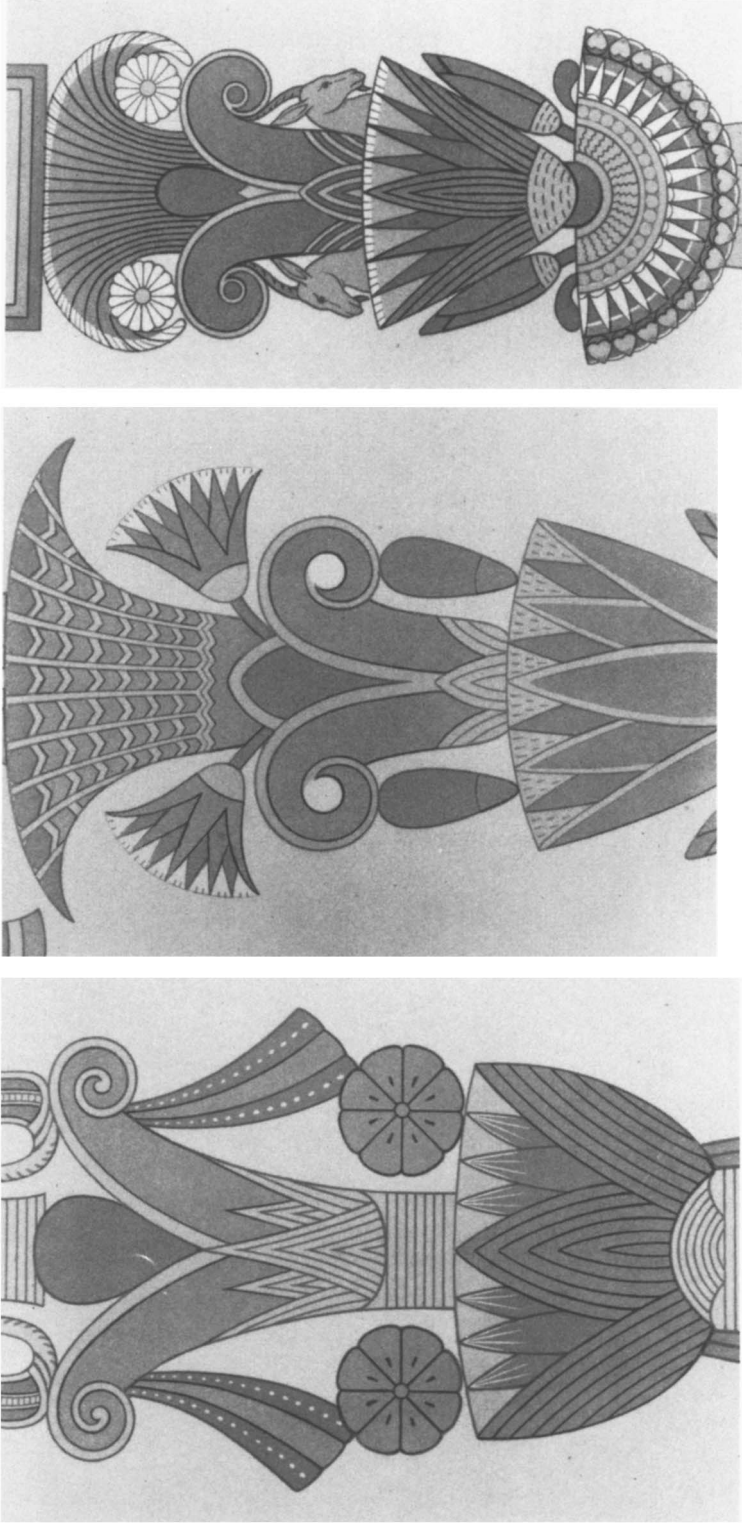
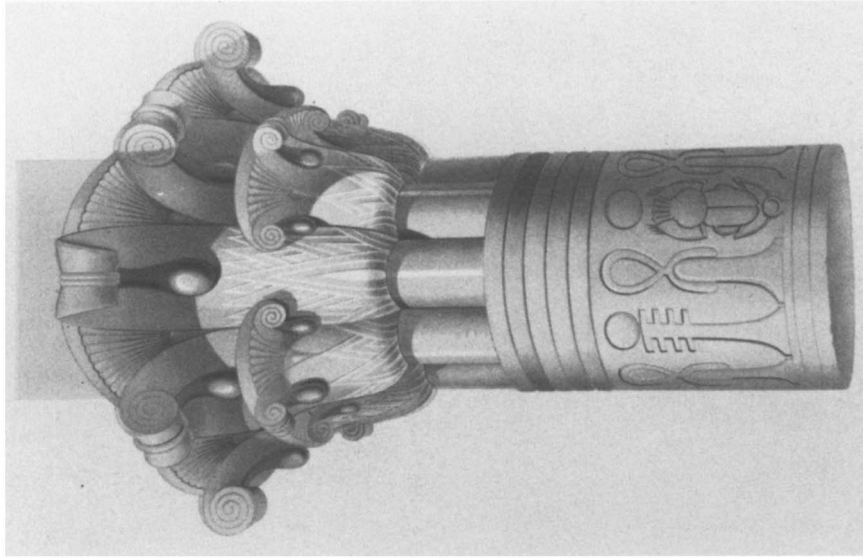
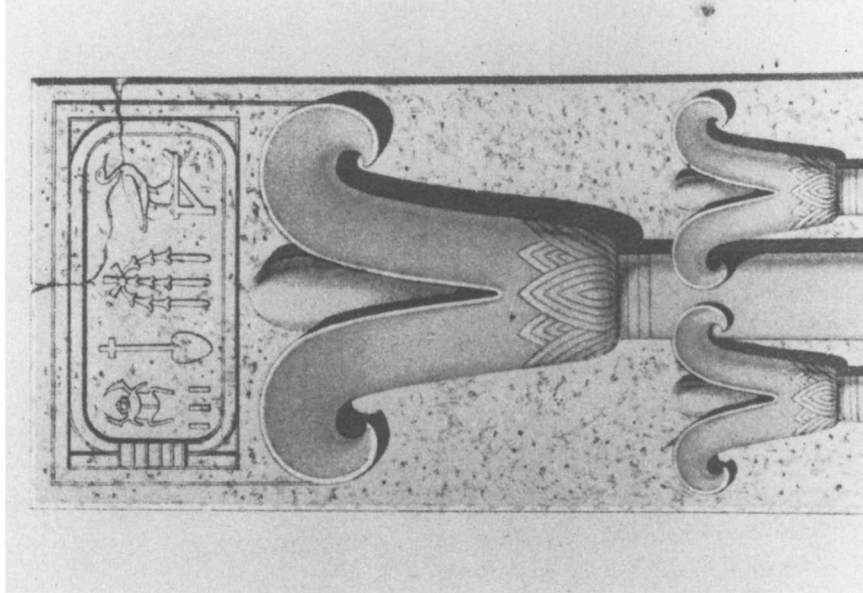


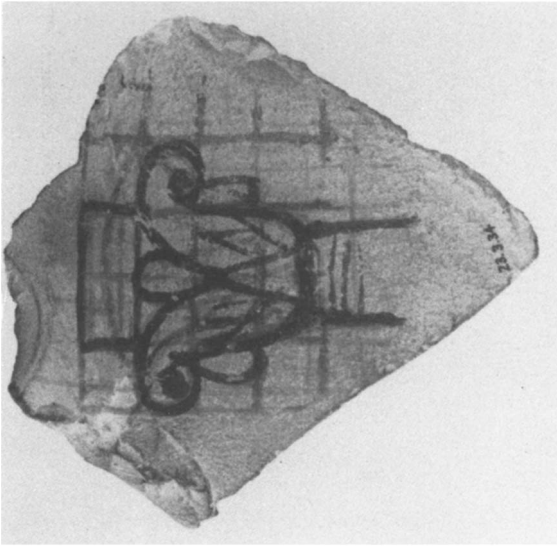
FIGURE 3 Three examples of New Kingdom representations of lotiform capitals (from Prisse d'Avignes, *Histoire*, pl. 19).



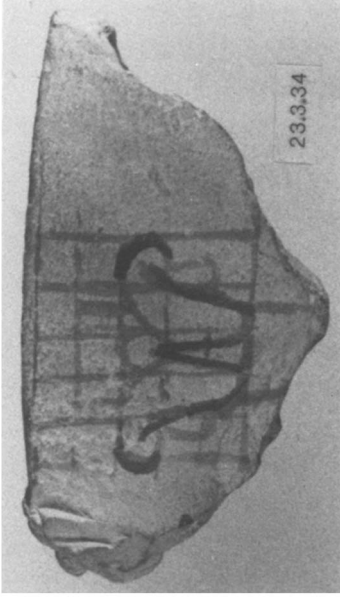
**FIGURE 5** A liliiform composite capital from a Ptolemaic temple (from *Prisse d'Avennes*, op. cit., pl. 25).



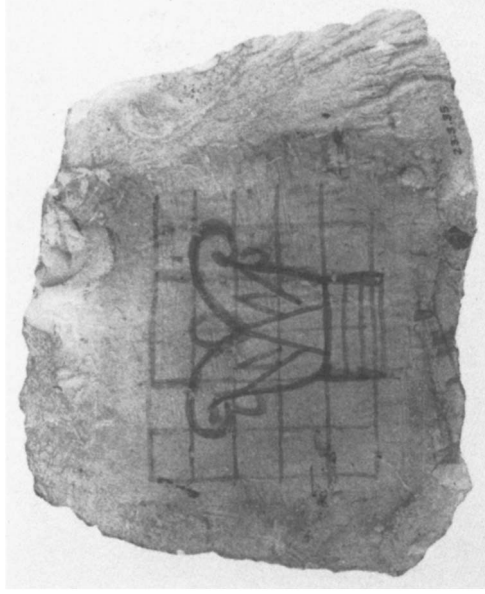
**FIGURE 4** The pillar with the lily emblem at Karnak (from *Prisse d'Avennes*, op. cit., pl. 17).



A. Acc. no. 23.3.34 Rogers Fund



B. Acc. no. 23.3.34 Rogers Fund



C. Acc. no. 23.3.35 Rogers Fund

FIGURE 6 Three trial sketches of liliform capitals in the MMA (Photo William Barrette).



FIGURE 7 Limestone model capital of composite papyrus/  
palmette capital of Jéquier's type 20 with grid on top.



FIGURE 8 Pottery model for composite liliform/  
palmette capital in the shape of Jéquier's type 23.

# Merymose at Vassar

LAWRENCE MICHAEL BERMAN

CYRIL Aldred's contributions to the history and art history of the Eighteenth Dynasty and the reign of Amenhotep III in particular are well known, and it is fitting that the publication of a hitherto unknown fragment from that period should first appear in a volume dedicated to his memory.

In 1987 the Vassar College Art Gallery, Poughkeepsie, New York, received as a gift a red-granite male head from a sarcophagus lid (see fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> Except for the tip of the nose, the face is complete. Both ears are preserved. He wears a divine wig, of which only the top part, above the ears, remains, and a divine beard. There is a break just below the chin where the beard has been reattached. The absence of a uraeus or other distinguishing mark of royalty (such as a royal headdress) indicates that this is not the head of a king but of a private person. A panel in sunk relief at the top of the head shows the goddess Nephthys with upraised arms and the upper parts of three lines of inscription: 'Words spoken: I have surrounded this [my brother the Osiris So-and-so. Your limbs] shall not be weary.' Although the goddess is preserved only from about the waist up, she was undoubtedly seated on the gold-sign.

The long, narrow, almond-shaped eyes, full mouth, faintest suggestion of a smile, incised line around the lips, and unpierced ears are characteristic of portraits of Amenhotep III.<sup>2</sup> Stone sarcophagi of non-royal persons of that period are rare, however. A quarryman (*hrty ntr*) named Wabset, buried at Soleb, had a rectangular sarcophagus of sandstone.<sup>3</sup> Amenhotep, son of Hapu, had two anthropoid sarcophagi of black granite (fragments now in Paris, Grenoble, London, Cairo, and Brussels).<sup>4</sup> The only one of Amenhotep III's officials that is known to have had a red granite sarcophagus is his viceroy of Kush, Merymose. This great official possessed no less than three stone sarcophagi, all anthropoid — the outer one of red granite, decorated with reliefs and inscriptions in sunk relief, the middle and inner ones of black granite, with raised relief decoration — parts of which are now in Luxor, London, Prague, Vienna, Oslo, Paris, and Boston.<sup>5</sup>

Merymose's outer sarcophagus was discovered in 1940 in his tomb at Qurnet Murai (Theban Tomb no. 383).<sup>6</sup> The box, in the form of a mummy resting on a sledge,<sup>7</sup> was intact, but the lid was in pieces, and the head was missing. Indeed, it was the sudden appearance (and disappearance) on the Luxor antiquities market



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of objects obviously deriving from the tomb that led Baraize and the Antiquities Service to the discovery of the tomb, whose location had been lost since the last century. The box and the remaining pieces of the lid were removed from the tomb and deposited 'dans le magasin de la maison du Service des Antiquités, située derrière le temple des colosses de Memnon', where Varille was able to study them in 1942, and where, presumably, they remain today.<sup>8</sup> Varille's article on Merymose's three sarcophagi, with photographs and drawings of the outer sarcophagus showing the lid fragments reconstructed, appeared three years later. In the drawing (see fig. 2) the head is reconstructed conjecturally on the basis of that of Merymose's inner lid in the British Museum with a short, stubby wig.<sup>9</sup> There is ample room, however, for a long, divine wig, as on the Vassar head.<sup>10</sup> Indeed, the Vassar head (which, by its size, would have had to come from a large, outer sarcophagus such as this) is the right size, shape, and material for Merymose's outer sarcophagus.<sup>11</sup> Parts of the wig and alongside the beard are still missing, making a smooth join impossible.

The viceroy of Kush Merymose is one of the best attested of Amenhotep III's officials. Statues, stelae, and rock inscriptions bearing his name attest to his activity over a wide area, from Kanayis (west of Edfu, on the way to the Barramiya gold mines) in the north to Gebel Barkal in the south.<sup>12</sup> None of these inscriptions is dated by regnal year. As Merymose is the only viceroy of Kush attested under Amenhotep III, a long term of office covering most of the thirty-eight year reign of Amenhotep III is not unlikely.<sup>13</sup> Merymose's Semna stela preserves the account of a military action led by the viceroy in the land of Ibhet (probably to be located in the region of Wadi Allaqi, where an inscription of Merymose has been found), in which 740 living captives and 312 hands were taken.<sup>14</sup> If this is to be linked with Amenhotep III's 'first campaign of victory against the land of vile Kush', commemorated in inscriptions at Sai Island and in the region of Aswan,<sup>15</sup> then Merymose's career began as early as year 5: some scholars now doubt this, however, for various reasons.<sup>16</sup> Merymose is said to appear in unpublished 'sed'-festival reliefs at Soleb,<sup>17</sup> and the title 'controller of the two seats in Khenet-hennefer', which he bears at Silsila West (Shrine 26), points to his role at the festival.<sup>18</sup> This would mean that he was still alive in year 30, when Amenhotep III celebrated his first 'sed'-festival (others were to follow in years 34 and 37), commemorated at Soleb. There is no reason to believe that Merymose survived into the reign of Amenhotep III's successor, Amenhotep IV-Akhenaten.

## Notes

- 1 No. 89.19.1, Gift of Margaret Lanphier Wengren '38. H. 70.2 cm, W. 44.7 cm; H. of face (beard to wigline), 27.1 cm, W. of face (ear to ear), 30 cm; L. of beard, 21.6 cm, W. of beard, 9.3 cm. According to the donor, Mrs Wengren, the head was acquired about fifteen years ago in the United States. I am grateful to Rebecca E. Lawton, Curator of Collections, Vassar College Art Gallery, for permission to publish the head, for supplying photos, and for allowing me to take detailed measurements of the head, and to Mrs Wengren for her kindness in answering my queries.

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- 2 E.g., the red granite head of that king in the Luxor Museum, no. J. 133 (The Luxor Museum of Ancient Egyptian Art, *Catalogue* [Cairo, 1979], no. 126). For facial features of statuary of Amenhotep III, see C. Strauß-Seeber, 'Kriterien zur Erkennung der königlichen Rundplastik Amenophis III', in L. M. Berman (ed.), *The Art of Amenhotep III: Art Historical Analysis* (Cleveland, 1990), 9–13.
- 3 In Khartoum, no. 14408, J. Leclant, 'Le sarcophage de Ouabset de la nécropole de Soleb', *Kush* 11 (1963), 141–53; M. Schiff Giorgini, C. Robichon, and J. Leclant, *Soleb, II: Les nécropoles* (Florence, 1971), 125–32.
- 4 A. Varille, *Inscriptions concernant l'architecte Amenhotep fils de Hapou* (Institut français d'archéologie orientale. Bibliothèque d'étude 44), (Cairo, 1968), 113–20, pls. 13–14. Outer sarcophagus, lid in Paris, Louvre no. D 4, *ibid.*, pl. 13 (a); fragments of box in Grenoble nos. inv. 1945, 1955, *ibid.*, (b), (c); G. Kueny and J. Yoyotte, *Grenoble, musée des Beaux-Arts: Collection égyptienne* (Inventaire des collections publiques françaises 23), (Paris, 1979), nos. 103–4; London, Petrie Museum no. U.C. 14213, Varille, *op. cit.*, pl. 13 (d); H. M. Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection, II: The New Kingdom*, pl. 48.1, 59–60. Inner sarcophagus, lid in Cairo no. JE 44309, Varille, *op. cit.*, pl. 14 (e); fragments of box in Grenoble nos. inv. 1958, 1981, 1985, *ibid.*, (f), (g), (i); Kueny and Yoyotte, *op. cit.*, nos. 105–7; Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire no. E. 3059, Varille, *op. cit.*, pl. 14 (h).
- 5 Varille, 'Les trois sarcophages du fils royal Merimes', *ASAE* 45 (1945), 1–15, pls. 1–11. Outer sarcophagus, box and fragments of lid in Luxor, *ibid.*, pls. 1–6. Middle sarcophagus, two fragments of lid and six fragments of box in London, British Museum no. 1001 A, I. E. S. Edwards, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, &c., in the British Museum VIII* (London, 1939), 19–21, pls. 18–19; fragment of lid in Paris, Louvre no. A.F. 1692, Varille, 'Le tombeau thébain du vice-roi de Nubie Merimose', *ASAE* 40 (1940), pl. 59; fragment of box, *id.*, *ASAE* 45, pl. 7; face in Boston, Museum of Fine Arts no. 09.286, A. J. Spencer, in S. D'Auria *et al.*, *Mummies and Magic: The Funerary Arts of Ancient Egypt*, exh. cat. (Boston, 1988), no. 87. Inner sarcophagus, complete lid and fragments of box in London, British Museum no. 1001, Edwards, *op. cit.*, 15–18, pls. 16–17; fragments of box in Prague, National Museum no. 19/48, Z. Žába, 'Un nouveau fragment du sarcophage de Merymôsé', *ASAE* 50 (1950), fig. 2; Vienna no. 5864, E. Komorzynski, 'Ein Bruchstück vom inneren Sarkophag des Prinzen Meri-mes in Wien', *Archiv für Orientforschung* 19 (1959–1960), 139–40; Oslo, National Gallery no. 470, I. Müller, 'Der Vizekönig Merimose', in E. Endesfelder, *et al.* (eds.), *Ägypten und Kusch* (Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients 13) (Berlin, 1977), 325–9.
- 6 Varille, *ASAE* 45, 1–3, pls. 1–6; *id.*, *ASAE* 40, 570.
- 7 Cf. the outer coffins of Yuia and Tjuia, Cairo nos. CG 51001 and 51005, J. E. Quibell, *Tomb of Yuia and Thuiu* (Cairo, 1908), pls. 1, 7.
- 8 Varille, *ASAE* 45, 3. PM I<sup>2</sup>, I, 436, still gives for the location 'in Antiquities House at Thebes'.
- 9 Varille, *ASAE* 45, pl. 3.
- 10 Clearly visible in the photograph in *ibid.*, pl. 1.
- 11 From the drawing in *ibid.*, pl. 3, which is reproduced at one-fifth the actual size, the missing portion would be about 70 × 50 cm.
- 12 G. A. Reisner, 'The Viceroy of Ethiopia', *JEA* 6 (1920), 33–34; L. Habachi, 'Graffiti and Work of the Viceroy of Kush in the Region of Aswan', *Kush* 5 (1957), 22–5; *id.*, 'Königssohn von Kusch', *LdÄ* III, 632–3; statue fragments from Gebel Barkal, in Khartoum(?), D. Dunham, *The Barkal Temples* (Boston, 1970), 28 (7), fig. 22 on p. 29. Merymose is the first viceroy of Kush whose monuments — aside from tombs and tomb equipment — are found north of Aswan, see T. Säve-Söderbergh, *Ägypten und Nubien* (Lund, 1941), 180.
- 13 That his predecessor Amenhotep under Tuthmose IV continued in office in the early reign

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- of Amenhotep III may be surmised but not proven. His successor, Tuthmose, is attested only under Akhenaten.
- 14 British Museum no. 656, Edwards, op. cit., pl. 20, pp. 21–2; *Urk.* IV, 1659–61. Graffito at Wadi Allaqi, B. Piotrovsky, 'The Early Dynasty Settlement of Khor-Daoud and Wadi Allaki: The Ancient Route of the Gold Mines', in *Fouilles en Nubie (1961–1963)* (Cairo, 1967), pls. 27–29, p. 136. For the location of Ibhet, see further K. Zibelius, *Afrikanische Orts- und Völkernamen in hieroglyphischen und hieratischen Texten* (Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients. Reihe B [Geisteswissenschaften] Nr. 1), (Wiesbaden, 1972), 74–5.
  - 15 *Urk.* IV, 1661–6, 1793, 1959.
  - 16 D. Dehler, 'Mrj-msw und der Nubienfeldzug Amenophis' III. im Jahre 5', *SAK* 11 (1984), 77–83; D. O'Connor, 'The Location of Irem', *JEA* 73 (1987), 128; Z. Topozada, 'Les deux campagnes d'Amenhotep III en Nubie', *BIFAO* 88 (1988), 154–64. Against Dehler's argument that Merymose's Semna stela and Akhenaten's Buhen stela of year 12 were composed by the same scribe, thus are not likely to have been 45 years apart (op. cit., 82), see now R. Gundlach, 'Die Felsstelen Amenophis' III. am 1. Katarakt (zur Aussagenstruktur königlicher historischer Texte', in J. Osing and G. Dreyer (eds.), *Form und Mass: Beiträge zur Literatur, Sprache und Kunst des alten Ägypten; Festschrift für Gerhard Fecht* (Ägypten und Altes Testament 12), (Wiesbaden, 1987), 185–6.
  - 17 Topozada, op. cit. 164, n. 58, citing a personal communication from Robichon.
  - 18 C. Vandersleyen, 'Un titre du vice-roi Mérimose à Silsila', *CdE* 43 (1968), 234–58. The steward Nefersekheru, for example, was 'controller of the two seats at the first "sed"-festival' (var. 'in the offices of the first "sed"-festival') under Amenhotep III, *ibid.* 246–47, 250 (9), (10). For Shrine 26 at Gebel es-Silsila and its attribution to Merymose, see R. A. Caminos and T. G. H. James, *Gebel es-Silsilah, I: The Shrines* (Archaeological Survey of Egypt. Thirty-first Memoir), (London, 1963), 86–88, pl. 67. It will be interesting to see whether Merymose appears with the title 'controller of the two seats' at Soleb.



FIGURE 1 Head from a sarcophagus lid, here attributed to Merymose. Red granite, H. 70.2 cm. Collection, Vassar College Art Gallery, Poughkeepsie, New York; Gift of Mrs Richard Wengren '38, no. 89.19.1.

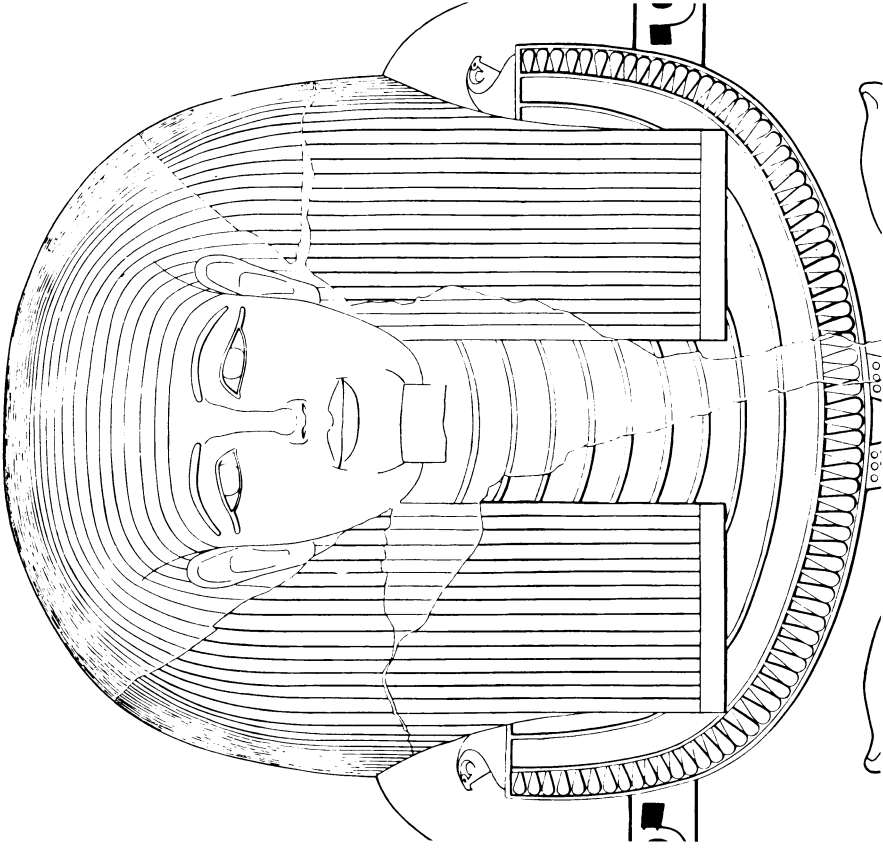


FIGURE 2 Outer sarcophagus lid of Merymose (detail). The face has been reconstructed on the basis of Merymose's inner lid in the British Museum (no. 1001). (After Varille, *ASAE* 45, pl. 3.)

# An Elite Image

ROBERT STEVEN BIANCHI

I met Cyril Aldred for the very first time at the Brooklyn Museum during a session of one of Bernard V. Bothmer's graduate seminars which he was wont to conduct in the Wilbour Library there. The topic of discussion late that day revolved around an aesthetic assessment of the granite head of Osorkon II<sup>1</sup> from Tanis which is now in Philadelphia and its artistic antecedents. The dialogue between Messrs Aldred and Bothmer during that session was as electrifying as it was edifying because both of those gentlemen approached the topic as art historians, a discipline within the field of Egyptology with which both men are inextricably associated and to which they have both contributed so much. I am consequently very honoured indeed to have been invited to contribute to this volume dedicated to a scholar whose name has become synonymous with ancient Egyptian art history and aesthetics. As a consequence I have selected as my topic an inquiry into the meaning of putative portrait-like images in ancient Egyptian art, a choice motivated as much by the issues raised in that earlier seminar as by the fundamental changes occurring within the discipline of ancient Egyptian art history at present.

I must, however, preface my essay with an observation that art historians within the discipline of Egyptology are a minority and that often their chosen field of specialization is not highly regarded by their peers.<sup>2</sup> This lack of esteem occasionally verges on condescending scorn.<sup>3</sup> All too often art historical exegesis relies almost exclusively on formal considerations by which stylistically similar details are the sole criteria by which comparisons are effected and issues of dating and identification resolved. One question, just as H. Frankfort did of G. H. Evers' work,<sup>4</sup> the validity of such an approach<sup>5</sup> inasmuch as there often appears to be so much internal variation among the physiognomic details of different heads, positively identified by inscriptional evidence, for example, as depictions of either Tuthmose IV<sup>6</sup> or Amenhotep III.<sup>7</sup> The sterile limitations of such an approach can be appreciated by considering just one example, the inability of stylistic analysis to yield the identity of an allegedly Tuthmosid head.<sup>8</sup> That impasse did not, however, deter the investigator in question from inferring an historical conclusion, which, to my mind at least, overreaches the evidence.<sup>9</sup> In this and similar cases stylistic analyses have been inappropriately invoked as the teleological schema for determining history. Is it any wonder, therefore, that the more traditionally

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grounded social scientists among Egyptologists divorce themselves from such avenues of inquiry?

Investigations into aspects of the social sciences ought, ideally, to involve quantifiable methods clearly defined by the investigator so that others can measure the results obtained against the validity of the methods employed. In dealing with the complex issue of the image in ancient Egypt, very few scholars define at the outset of their studies their scientific methods and fewer still place their approaches into the historical frameworks which gave rise to their respective avenues of investigation. The discipline's collective inability to formulate strictly defined and critically applied criteria to which all historians of ancient Egyptian art adhere requires redress. Two cases will illustrate this point.

First, many scholars, past and present, treating the subject of the image in ancient Egyptian art begin with an Hegelian approach by tacitly assuming that any past work of art can be understood from the point of view of the present. This approach is that of both Cl. Vandersleyen<sup>10</sup> as well of A. Bolshakov,<sup>11</sup> both of whom assume that ancient Egyptian images which, in broad strokes, appear to conform visually to contemporary, Western definitions of portraits, are in fact Western portraits. Nevertheless, such an approach fails to take into account the Hegelian distinction which must also be made between the interior and exterior unity of a work of art, that is, a distinction between the sculptural completeness of an image and the way in which the spectator, regarding that image, has been from the beginning of the creative process counted in with that image, as defined by A. Riegl.<sup>12</sup> Although they invoke this theorem, both Cl. Vandersleyen and to an even greater extent A. Bolshakov and E. R. Russmann<sup>13</sup> fail to support this premise with Egyptian evidence to show that the spectator was as integral to the creative process as was the observer to Baroque painting. In fact, in certain contexts the contrary can be demonstrated, namely that the ancient Egyptians purposefully strove to conceal the individual's identity by means of his/her own image. This is particularly evident in funerary contexts where the image of the deceased — uncritically termed a death mask or mummy portrait in most of the modern literature — was intended to conceal the identity of the deceased in an attempt to retard recognition. The deceased, thereby effectively rendered headless, might maintain his/her identity unknowable and hence render his/her person unaccessible to the malevolent forces of chaos.<sup>14</sup> In this particular context, recognition was clearly not the intent of the image.

In other contexts the burden of proof still remains with those who prefer to regard other ancient Egyptian images as Western portraits within specific and narrowly defined parameters which demand intended viewer involvement. Such a demonstration is not forthcoming because the images discussed by A. Bolshakov were intentionally secreted in areas of the tombs in which spectator interaction was never intended. Therefore, the viewer interaction, which is so fundamental to his premise, is never demonstrated. This and similar approaches to the ancient Egyptian image must, therefore, be discounted because the scientific method invoked and definitions applied in support of this Hegelian premise are themselves neither strictly maintained nor documented during the course of the argumentation. The suggestion is rendered invalid by its own damaging internal inconsistencies.

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My second area of unease is that this Hegelian approach to the Egyptian image is often either conflated with or replaced by a second which regards these images from the vantage of a neo-Kantian theory of empathy. Accordingly one projects a sense of an inner feeling of one's own bodily state on to the interpretation of the image, an inanimate object, in a process more fully developed by H. Wölfflin.<sup>15</sup> This methodology is fundamental to the approach which regards the signs of age<sup>16</sup> in the faces of officials assigned to Dynasty XXVII as expressions of the anguish suffered by the Egyptians under the oppressive yoke of the Persians.<sup>17</sup> Indeed, F. Junge has recently exposed the fallacies of such an approach when it is applied to ancient Egyptian art,<sup>18</sup> because the empathetic approach, variously applied to one and the same ancient Egyptian image by more than one commentator, has yielded diametrically opposed conclusions about the nature of the image investigated.<sup>19</sup> The apparent inability to reach consensus regarding the interpretation of any given figure by the application of the empathetic theorem is, then, yet another indication of the flawed methodology of this art historical approach to the problem, which in the final analysis is simply based on one's own subjective assessment of any given work of art.<sup>20</sup>

It would seem, therefore, from his survey that historians of ancient Egyptian art ought to invoke J. G. Herder's observation, adduced over two centuries ago, that one ought not to judge Egyptian art by Greek and, by extension, Western standards because Egyptian art was produced neither for the Greeks nor for us.<sup>21</sup> In advocating J. G. Herder's position I would further repudiate E. Panofsky's acceptance of I. Kant's epistemology that idea and image are incapable of resolution<sup>22</sup> because idea and image, as I shall try to demonstrate below, are essentially the same in ancient Egyptian art.

It is, however, at this point that I should like to interject with a view toward dismissing once and for all the specious medical arguments which are often erroneously invoked as demonstrations for the existence of Western-defined portraiture in ancient Egyptian art. There is no correlation between pathological observations gained by embalmers in the practice of their craft and its alleged transference to artists, as is often suggested,<sup>23</sup> because these non-idealizing images were created before the craft of mummification was sufficiently developed to the point where it might have influenced artists.<sup>24</sup> In like manner the facile comparisons, often adduced for putative physiognomic similarities between works of art and ancient Egyptian mummies in an effort to demonstrate the existence of Western-defined portraiture<sup>25</sup> in Egyptian art, fails for the following reasons. The characteristic features of one's face reside within the soft tissue which give the nose and the lips their individual characteristics. In the course of embalming, these soft tissues are invariably altered by the process of desiccation, artificial manipulation, and the like. The features of a deceased's face so preserved bear absolutely no close resemblance to that individual's appearance in real life and are even further removed from artistic representations of the individual because of the artist's manipulation of the medium.<sup>26</sup>

Equally fallacious is the assumption that ancient Egyptian artists were capable of an accurate medical depiction of certain physical and genetic defects. Their depiction of famine victims, usually in the form of emaciated images of the unfortu-

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nate,<sup>27</sup> do not conform to reality.<sup>28</sup> In like manner the prevalent representation of the dwarf in the art of the Old Kingdom is primarily based upon a model provided, not by dwarfs, but rather by short-limbed individuals which have been selectively integrated into an artistic composition, enhanced, on occasion, with the addition of one or more anatomically accurate details.<sup>29</sup> The resulting creation is not, however, a medically acceptable textbook illustration of the condition so depicted.<sup>30</sup> This conclusion supports the observation that, save in the earliest periods, Egyptian physicians were themselves not interested in the physiology of disease. For them the onset of illness was attributed to divine malevolent intervention.<sup>31</sup> If such ancient Egyptian images of clinically defined pathological conditions are, in fact, manipulations of reality rather than their replication, one must inquire into the nature of Egyptian images enhanced with signs of age along these same lines.

The designs of images of the emaciated and of dwarfs and even of those of bears<sup>32</sup> and of the young<sup>33</sup> are not photographic replications of reality. Each sign is an artistic manipulation of reality by which the specific becomes generic. Each of these images, then, becomes a sign representing the essence of the idea represented rather than the temporal and spacial specificity of the model on which it is based. From this vantage each of these images, so manipulated, is ultimately conceived, designed, and rendered according the strict tenets which govern the compositional and contextual concerns of the hieroglyphs themselves. Both are pictograms, the hieroglyph for dwarf and the image thereof; sign and image become one,<sup>34</sup> each intentionally regarded as an archetype conveying the generic sense of the typology rather than the specific example therein. Acceptance of this premise provides one with the hieroglyphic basis of ancient Egyptian art<sup>35</sup> which is, in my estimation, a more valid avenue of inquiry into the nature of the image within the broader cultural vista of ancient Egypt. Contrary to both E. Panofsky and I. Kant, image and content become congruent and their resulting synartesis is so characteristically ancient Egyptian<sup>36</sup> and so foreign to classical and subsequent Western perceptions that one is again forced to repudiate classical, Western associations with, and definitions of, ancient Egyptian images. It is, therefore, essential to recognize, acknowledge, and accept the unavoidable conclusion that Egyptian art is hieroglyphic.<sup>37</sup>

In a remarkable way, then, any ancient Egyptian hieroglyph, and by extension any Egyptian image, approaches Plato's definition of the archetype of thought specifically as it applies to and is developed in his simile of the cave.<sup>38</sup> When one then applies this line of reasoning to the majority of ancient Egyptian images of individuals, one has little difficulty in accepting the premise because the artistic, visual idealizations of the images, as consistent manifestations of the commentator's preconceived notions of ancient Egypt's societal ideals, offer no disquieting aspect which warrants questioning the premise in the first place.<sup>39</sup> The difficulty, it seems, resides in the investigators' reluctance to incorporate non-idealizing images, those characterized by signs of age, perceived to be Egyptian approximations of Western portraits, into this same cultural framework.

Because such images abound in almost all periods of Egyptian art from the late Old Kingdom,<sup>40</sup> to the Middle Kingdom,<sup>41</sup> and are particularly frequent in the Kushite Period<sup>42</sup> and afterwards,<sup>43</sup> it may be advisable to begin by asking



how the ancient Egyptians themselves regarded the human body in general and faces with these signs of age in particular. In the religious texts, the various parts of the human body lose their anatomical significance and are transformed. So, for example, in the inscriptions at both Dendera and Edfû, both deities<sup>44</sup> and the temple itself<sup>45</sup> are described as body parts. Furthermore, of the fourteen hieroglyphic signs for the dismembered anatomical parts of the body of Osiris, only four bear a resemblance to their actual corporeal counterparts, and each is said to be of a material other than flesh and blood.<sup>46</sup> Religion and anatomy are linked in such a way that the anatomical integrity of the human body is subsumed by an overriding symbolism,<sup>47</sup> a process consistent with ancient Egyptian medical theory which divorces disease from its true physiological dimension and attributes its cause, instead, to what we should describe as religion rather than nature. This religious disregard for the body as an independent natural phenomenon is echoed in the earlier literature as well. In the *Myth of the Celestial Cow* from the New Kingdom ageing is not regarded as a pathological process, and the accompanying vignettes eschew altogether representations of natural images of ageing and the aged.<sup>48</sup> On the other hand, in the episode of the myth where Isis attempts to determine his real name, Re ages, but his ageing is not described in terms of signs of age, but rather in terms of generic, geriatric transformations which, far from being gratuitous, actually contribute to the tale's plot.<sup>49</sup> The saliva, which drools from the aged mouth of Re, falls to earth and becomes the vehicle by which Isis then models the serpent, so necessary for maintaining the narrative.<sup>50</sup> From these and other examples, I think it fair to state that for the ancient Egyptians the ravages of time upon the human body and its parts were of little consequence as ends in themselves.<sup>51</sup> To be sure, the physiological effects of ageing, such as those recounted by Ptahhotep at the beginning of the *Papyrus Prisse*,<sup>52</sup> and the almost banal request frequently encountered in the offering formula in the autobiographical inscriptions of officials of the Late Period, who long for a good burial at the end of a long life, are not couched in terms of one's deteriorated physical appearance. Ageing is regarded in these texts neither as the antithesis of the body beautiful, nor as a medical document of the physiological effects of ageing on flesh.

Indeed E. Hornung has perceptively observed that there are approximately a dozen words in the ancient Egyptian lexicography for likeness or image and that those words generally indicate that the human visage is cast in the likeness of the gods,<sup>53</sup> as expressed most clearly in the Piye stela.<sup>54</sup> This observation is consistent with the investigation of H. te Velde regarding the hieroglyphic sign for 'statue', 'image', 'shape', 'form', and the like, the meaning of such plurality being limited to a stylized human corpse transformed into a divine image.<sup>55</sup>

Whereas it is true that the hieroglyphic signs for both 'head' (*tp*) and 'face' (*hr*) in ancient Egyptian do allow for what some might term realism in both their form<sup>56</sup> and content,<sup>57</sup> that specificity is clearly and concisely defined in terms of their cultic, not their personal application. There is no attempt to indicate either personality or individuality by the application of signs of age to these hieroglyphs.<sup>58</sup> In like manner the addition of signs of age to the faces either on ancient Egyptian reliefs or sculpture in the round may likewise be attributed to the influence of artistic tradition as well as to the effect of technique on the conventions of

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representation,<sup>59</sup> especially since the creating of images was, by and large, a fully canonical enterprise<sup>60</sup> within which the ancient Egyptian craftsmen could transform one of two structurally similar designs into either an ideal or sign-of-age image by the elective application of linear adjuncts.<sup>61</sup> E. Riefstahl has convincingly defined the so-called aged face of one of the statues of Amenhotep,<sup>62</sup> son of Hapu, in Cairo<sup>63</sup> in precisely these terms. She regards the stylistic features with which the signs of age are rendered as part of a *koinē*, or repertoire of artistic forms, commonly available to the ancient Egyptian craftsmen of the New Kingdom for the specific depiction of the faces and coiffures of old men.<sup>64</sup> This distinction is all too often either overlooked or ignored by those commentators who fail to realize that the morphology of an ancient Egyptian image and its reference are not the same.<sup>65</sup> The resulting image is, accordingly, the depiction of a type, not the representation of a specific individual.<sup>66</sup>

That a type, rather than an individual, is intended by such depictions is confirmed by the following lexicographical evidence. There is virtually no descriptive terminology in ancient Egyptian for either the face<sup>67</sup> or for such physiognomic features which a modern critic labels 'wrinkles', 'folds', 'naso-labial furrows', 'crow's feet', and the like.<sup>68</sup> The one possible exception is a text cited by J. F. Borghouts, the precise meaning of which is elusive.<sup>69</sup> If the phrase in this text, *ỉ3wt-ḥr*, perhaps to be read *wp-ḥr*, does seem to refer to wrinkles and a furrowed brow, those physiognomic features make manifest fear and are not associated with ageing.

This observation raises an interesting question about the relationship between thought-processes, artistic achievement, and descriptive terminology. The appearance of signs of age in works of art and the absence of a descriptive terminology in the ancient Egyptian language are akin, in my view, to the conclusion reached by J. Baines regarding ancient Egyptian painting.<sup>70</sup> He demonstrates that there are more polychromatic categories discernible to a modern critic in the palette of the ancient Egyptian painters than the restrictive terminology of their language allows, just as there are signs of age on the faces of some ancient Egyptian images but virtually no word in ancient Egyptian to describe these features. Since this is so, a great deal more investigation is necessary to explain the cognitive processes of the ancient Egyptians.<sup>71</sup> From this vantage the works of Schäfer<sup>72</sup> and more recently of E. Brunner-Traut<sup>73</sup> are interesting, but limited, because neither investigator attempts to correlate their assessments of ancient Egyptian visual perception, as inferred primarily from two-dimensional representations, with the greater issue of cognition operative in the process. This shortcoming is indicative of just how pervasive, and limiting, formal, stylistic analysis is, no matter how ambitious it may be of ancient Egyptian art.

A window, however limited, into the significance of the face for the ancient Egyptians is provided by the phrase *nfr ḥr*, 'comely of face', an epithet which has little or nothing to do with natural, physical beauty as defined by the West. Consider, for example, that even the grotesquely reptilian face of the god Sobek in his crocodilian manifestation can be qualified in ancient Egyptian as *nfr ḥr*, because such an image is accessible to a petitioner according to the imperatives of ancient Egyptian cults.<sup>74</sup> In fact, the head and face completely divorced from its body can exist as an independent entity in Egyptian culture in one of several ways.

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As *nfr hr*, within the cultic context just discussed, the face effectively becomes a deity complete with its own clergy.<sup>75</sup> Additionally the head and face when employed independently as well on standards or staves or on agides and collars are each possessed of a wide range of cultic associations, none of which denotes the Western notion of individual likeness.<sup>76</sup> In other cases, the ancient Egyptian concepts about the face remain elusive to Western commentators, as evident, for example, in one's inability to explain satisfactorily the significance of the epithet, 'he-of-the-face-of-the-lotus' as applied to certain deities.<sup>77</sup> From these examples it is clear that the meanings assigned to the human visage in ancient Egyptian culture are fundamentally different from those assigned to it by the West, which regards the face as essentially a vehicle for identification. It follows, therefore, that the face in ancient Egyptian civilization is not the signifier of identity through portraiture.

This conclusion gains support from an investigation into the nature of the ancient Egyptian society for whom these images were created. Here again the more theoretical discussions of this issue relegate the phenomenological in favour of the epiphenomenological argumentation. What a Western observer regards when contemplating an ancient Egyptian image is obviously not what the ancient Egyptian craftsmen initially intended.<sup>78</sup> At issue, then, is an explication of the role and function of these images of signs of age within Egyptian culture. In order to address this issue, one must first recognize that the material culture of ancient Egypt today represents the tangible products of an élite, advantaged, and statistically small percentage of the population.<sup>79</sup> The diachronic uniformity of that élite's culture over so many centuries is ample proof of the strict adherence of its members to traditional cultural values made manifest through an art which habitually remained impervious to foreign stylistic and thematic incursions.<sup>80</sup> Within such a culture the concept of an élite class is operative,<sup>81</sup> and the image then serves as a signifier of quantifiable social indices from among which, as one has seen above, viewer identification is excluded.

Excluded as well is the modern notion that ancient Egyptian images characterized by signs of age represent recognizable individuals because the social élite responsible for the creation of these images is conformist. The concept of an individual, existing outside the accepted norms of social intercourse, was known to and condemned by the ancient Egyptians, as is evident in the maxims of Ptahhotep in the *Papyrus Prisse*.<sup>82</sup> As a result, ancient Egyptian society placed little value on the role of the individual,<sup>83</sup> and stressed, rather, collectivism.<sup>84</sup> And it was this collectivism of an élite with its purposeful co-opting of the craftsmen which gave rise to the canonical image in ancient Egyptian art, as defined by Davis in his historical sociology of representation.<sup>85</sup> In my view the attempt to discern an emerging interest in the individual as adduced by an examination of the context of some of the religious treatises composed after the close of the New Kingdom<sup>86</sup> has been effectively countered by J. Baines who, rightly to my mind, regards this putative personal piety not as an expression of individuality but rather the broader privileged access of members of the priesthood to religion.<sup>87</sup> In other words, there was an increase in the numbers of the élite who controlled, in addition to other intellectual endeavours, the monopolies for the creation and display of the canoni-

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cal image. The integrity of the collective was not violated; the role of the individual remained subordinate to its interests.

Consequently, H. te Velde<sup>88</sup> has recently reintroduced the observation made over sixty years ago by A. de Buck,<sup>89</sup> namely that in the culture of ancient Egypt individuality comes to be hidden behind the typical in both art and literature. He concludes that the Egyptians are concerned with ideals, not specifics, generalizations not particulars.<sup>90</sup> Images, even those marked by signs of age, are extensions of societal decorum.<sup>91</sup> Since there are no 'ego-documents' preserved in the ancient Egyptian biographical records,<sup>92</sup> it follows that there are no 'ego-images', Western portraits of specific individuals so commemorated because they achieved a status outside of the collective.

For these reasons the ancient Egyptian awareness of ageing, as described in the *Papyrus Prisse* and expressed as signs of age in the face of the statue of Amenhotep, son of Hapu, cited above, is not perceived as an indication of an individual's personal appearance at a given point in time. Indeed, the ancient Egyptians did not regard old age from this vantage of *stasis*, but rather maintained that ageing, in its various permutations, was part of a dynamic of change, transformations termed *hprw*.<sup>93</sup> Officials could aspire to attain a ripe old age and expect a goodly burial in the necropolis after having attained a full term of life, a term which is defined as having lasted 110 years.<sup>94</sup> Such is the aspiration recorded by Amenhotep, son of Hapu, according to the inscriptions on his statue in Cairo. Whereas specific passages of this text remain problematic, it is clear that this official has here linked career advancement to other transformations. The theme clearly celebrated by Amenhotep is his intentional linking of a successful, successive climb up the bureaucratic ladder with an implied aspiration that greater advancement lies ahead as he approaches the ideal term of life. The image is not, therefore, a static depiction of an individual at the specific eightieth year of his life, but rather an *ex-voto* celebrating past, present, and future transformations, the plurality of his diachronic *hprw*. This dynamism of transformation assumes a plurality of expression consistent with the richness of ancient Egyptian philosophical thought.<sup>95</sup> So, in one context, this metamorphosis continues even after death when the aged are ultimately transformed during the Twelfth Hour into the youthful child once again.<sup>96</sup> In a temple context, these transformations are more complex, because the statue of an individual, dedicated in a temple, loses its specificity within the hierarchy of the sanctuary and becomes, by virtue of its placement, incorporated into the temple theology. The differences between a temple and a statue (which we moderns in our Aristotelian classifications disassociate from one another by reasoning that the former is an example of architecture and the latter that of a work of art) were not operative in ancient Egyptian theological thought. In many ways an Egyptian temple and statue placed therein shared the same dogma.<sup>97</sup> The plurality of transformations thereby implied in this, as in other contexts, does not include metamorphosis into or out of images defined by some as Western portraits. The Western concept of the portrait as the signifier of a temporally and spatially defined specific individual cannot be applied to representations created as canonical images<sup>98</sup> for display in ancient, pharaonic Egypt by craftsmen co-opted to make manifest the ideology of the collective's élite.

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### Notes

- 1 University of Pennsylvania, University Museum E 16199: C. Aldred, *et al.*, *L'Égypte du crépuscule. De Tanis à Méroé 1070 av. J.-C.–IVe siècle apr. J.-C.* (Paris, 1980), p. 281, fig. 271, joined to its body in Cairo, the Egyptian Museum CG 1040 by Bernard V. Bothmer, 'The Philadelphia-Cairo Statue of Osorkon II (Membra Dispersa III)', *JEA* 46 (1960), 3–11.
- 2 The comments by M. Eaton-Krauss and E. Graefe (eds.), *Studien zur ägyptischen Kunstgeschichte* (Hildesheim 1990) (= *HÄB* 29), v, are appropriate here regarding the status of historians of ancient Egyptian art relative to other German-speaking Egyptologists before 1987.
- 3 J. Vercoutter, 'Introduction', and G. Haeny, 'Sur certains aspects souvent perdus de vue lors de travaux de restauration', in N.-C. Grimal (ed.), *Prospection et sauvegarde des antiquités de l'Égypte* (Cairo 1981) [= *BdE* 86], ix, and 74–5, respectively; D. Wildung, 'Ägyptologie und Öffentlichkeitsarbeit', *Orientalistka 2. Mednarodni znanstveni simpozij: Problemi Starega Egipta* (1978) [Ljubljana/Zagreb], 113–14; and id., 'Bilanz eines Defizits. Problemstellungen und Methoden in der ägyptologischen Kunstwissenschaft', in Eaton-Krauss and Graefe op. cit. 57–60.
- 4 H. Frankfort, 'On Egyptian Art', *JEA* 18 (1932), 33–4 and 44–5, commenting on G. H. Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein. Denkmäler, Geschichte und Bedeutung der ägyptischen Plastik während des Mittleren Reichs* (Munich, 1929).
- 5 Wildung, op. cit. 60; and F. Junge, 'Versuch zu einer Ästhetik der ägyptischen Kunst', in Eaton-Krauss and Graefe, op. cit. 1–2.
- 6 B. Bryan, 'Portrait Sculpture of Thutmose IV', *JARCE* 24 (1987), 3–20, esp. fig. 6.
- 7 C. Strauss-Seeber, 'Kriterien zur Erkennung der königlichen Rundplastik Amenophis' III', in L. M. Berman, *The Art of Amenhotep III: Art Historical Analysis*. Papers Presented at the International Symposium Held at the Cleveland Museum of Art. Cleveland, Ohio. 20–21 November, 1987 (Cleveland, 1990), 9–15, esp. figs. 1–3 and 4–11; and below, n. 62.
- 8 Ägyptisches Museum (SMPK) Berlin 1/86: S. Schoske, 'Kunst — Geschichte. Bemerkungen zu einem neuerworbenen Königskopf im Ägyptischen Museum (SMPK) Berlin', in M. Eaton-Krauss and E. Graefe, op. cit. 81–93.
- 9 Ibid. 91–3. This approach, which employs works of art as historical-documentary records, has been called into question by both Cl. Vandersleyen, 'Objectivité des portraits égyptiens', *BSFE* 73 (1975), 5–27, and R. Tefnin, 'Image et histoire', *CdE* 54 (1979), 218–44.
- 10 Vandersleyen, 'Portrait', *LdÄ* 4 (1982), 1074–80.
- 11 A. Bolshakov, 'The Ideology of the Old Kingdom Portrait', *GM* 117/118 (1990), 89–142.
- 12 A. Riegl, *Das Holländische Gruppenportät* (ed. K. M. Swoboda) (Vienna, 1931), 42.
- 13 E. R. Russmann and D. Finn, *Egyptian Sculpture. Cairo and Luxor* (Austin, 1989), 172–5.
- 14 J. F. Borghouts, 'The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348', *OMRO* 51 (1970), 23 and 41–3; B. George, "'Geheimer Kopf'" — "'Kopf aus Lapislazuli.'" Altägyptische Tradition und Mumienmasken römischer Zeit', *Medelhavsmuseet* 16 (1981), 15–38; A. Klasens, 'An Amuletic Papyrus of the 25th Dynasty', *OMRO* 66 (1975), 25–6; Ch. Letiz, 'Spruch 7 des magischen Papyrus Leiden I 348 (rto III, 5–8)', *GM* 100 (1987), 47–55; and D. Meeks, 'Zoomorphie et image des dieux dans l'Égypte ancienne', *Les Temps de la réflexion 7: Corps des dieux* (1986), 178–81.
- 15 H. Wölfflin, 'Prolegomena zu einer Psychologie der Architektur', in *Kleine Schriften* (ed. J. Gantner) (Basel, 1946), 13–47.
- 16 This felicitous turn of phrase was first employed by B. V. Bothmer, 'The Signs of Age', *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts* [Boston] 49 (1951), 69–74, as the description for the appearance of non-idealizing images as defined by R. S. Bianchi *et al.*, *Cleopatra's Egypt: Age of the Ptolemies* (Brooklyn, 1988), 55–62.
- 17 Cl. Barocas, 'Les statues "realistes" et l'arrivée des Perses dans l'Égypte saïte', *Gururājamañ-jarikā. Studi in onore di Giuseppe Tucci* (Naples, 1974), 130 and n. 45.
- 18 Junge, op. cit. 1–8.

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- 19 So, too, T. G. H. James, in *JEA* 48 (1962), 171, who railed against conclusions drawn from this empathetic approach, which is still uncritically evoked by recent commentators: see, Russman and Finn, *op. cit.* 172–5.
- 20 Junge, *op. cit.* 2–3.
- 21 J. G. Herder, *Sämtliche Werke* (edition Suphan) (Berlin, 1877–1913), VIII, 476–77.
- 22 E. Panofsky, ‘History of the Theory of Human Proportion’, in *Meaning in the Visual Arts* (Harmondsworth, 1970), 82–138; and *id.*, *Idea* (Berlin, 1924), 71–2.
- 23 See, D. B. Spanel, *Through Ancient Eyes: Egyptian Portraiture* (An Exhibition Organized for the Birmingham Museum of Art, Birmingham, Alabama, April 21–July 31, 1988) (Birmingham, 1988), 19 and 44–7, for a survey of this issue. The suggestion of H. Demel, ‘Einige ägyptische Porträtköpfe der Spätzeit’, *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* NF 10 (1936), 1–8, that the advances in anatomical understanding developed by the physicians of a putative school of Alexandrian medicine contributed to a so-called verism in alleged portrait images in the art of Ptolemaic Egypt has been repeatedly repudiated, see *inter alia*, R. Anthes, in *AA* 54 (1939), 382. These images were created by native Egyptians who in all likelihood did not interact with those attached to such Alexandrian Greek institutions. On the other hand, L. Giuliani, ‘Die seligen Krüppel. Zur Deutung von Missgestalten in der hellenistischen Kleinkunst,’ *AA* 1987–4, 701–21, maintains this putative Alexandrian school of medicine did influence the creation of grotesques and the like in Hellenistic art. Although the subject deserves to be studied anew, R. O. Steuer and J. B. de C. M. Saunders, *Ancient Egyptian and Cnidian Medicine. The Relationship of their Aetiological Concepts of Disease* (Berkeley, 1959), have reservations about the extent to which pharaonic medicine influenced that of the Hellenistic Greeks.
- 24 S. D’Auria, ‘Mummification in Ancient Egypt’, in *id. et al.*, *Mummies and Magic. The Funerary Arts of Ancient Egypt* (An Exhibition at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts, September 14–December 11, 1988). (Boston, 1988), 14; E. Brunner-Traut, ‘Der menschliche Körper — eine Gliederpuppe’, *ZÄS* 115 (1988), 11; A. J. E. Cave, ‘Ancient Egypt and the Origin of Anatomical Science’, *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine* 43 (1950), 568–71.
- 25 Spanel, *op. cit.* 1–3, 37, and figs. 1–4, presents the evidence which he then dismisses as equivocal.
- 26 R. David (ed.), *Mysteries of the Mummies. The Story of the Manchester University Investigation* (New York, 1978), 168–78, and Robert Steven Bianchi, in *AJA* 93 (1989), 61, popular misconceptions about the issues involved notwithstanding, S. Baker, ‘Facing King Tut’, *Omni Magazine* (Dec. 1983), 53.
- 27 Paris, Musée du Louvre E. 17381: J. Vandier, ‘Acquisitions du département des antiquités égyptiennes’, *Musées de France*, II (March, 1950) 7–28, fig. 4, where the accession number is incorrectly given as E.17376; and Chr. Ziegler, *Catalogue des stèles, peintures et reliefs égyptiens de l’Ancien Empire et de la Première Période Intermédiaire vers 2686–2040 avant J.-C.* (Paris, 1990), 48–9.
- 28 G. H. Fischer, ‘A Realistic Example of the Hieroglyph for ’I3w “Old”’, *JARCE* 2 (1963), 23–4; and Robert Steven Bianchi, ‘Skelett’, *LdÄ* V (1984), 981–2.
- 29 V. Dasen, ‘Dwarfism in Egypt and Classical Antiquity: Iconography and Medical History’, *Medical History* 32 (1988), 253–76.
- 30 K. R. Weeks, *The Anatomical Knowledge of the Ancient Egyptians and the Representation of the Human Figure in Egyptian Art* (A Dissertation Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Yale University in Candidacy for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. New Haven, Connecticut, 1970), i, ‘the relationship between physical form and society is a reciprocal one, in the case of achondroplastic dwarfs and the blind, for example, it is shown that their social roles were determined by the handicap from which they suffered’, a relationship termed by Weeks the ‘personification’ of the figure.

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- 31 H. Ranke, 'Medicine and Surgery in Ancient Egypt', *University of Pennsylvania Bicentennial Conference: Studies in the History of Science* (Philadelphia, 1941), 31–42.
- 32 E. Hornung, 'Bedeutung und Wirklichkeit des Bildes im alten Ägypten', in *Kunst und Realität* [= *Akademische Vorträge, gehalten an der Universität Basel* 8] (Basel, 1973), 37–44.
- 33 Ibid. 43.
- 34 H. te Velde, 'Egyptian Hieroglyphs as Signs, Symbols and Gods', *Visible Religions* 4–5 (1986), 63–72.
- 35 A selection of the more important recent discussions of this phenomenon should include the following works by J. Assmann, 'Die Hieroglyphe Mensch. Ägyptische Porträtkunst', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* 74 (28 March 1987), cited by Junge, op. cit. 1, n. 1; J. Baines, 'Communication and Display: The Integration of Early Egyptian Art and Writing', *Antiquity* 63 (1989), 471–82; id., in *JEA* 60 (1974), 272–6; H. Schäfer, *Principles of Egyptian Art*, 4th edn (J. Baines ed.), 2, 11, *passim*; H. G. Fischer, *L'Écriture et l'art de l'Égypte ancienne* (Paris, 1986), 24–46, with the remarks on same by J. Baines, in *Art International* 1 (Autumn 1987), 123–5; H. te Velde, loc. cit.; and id., 'Egyptian Hieroglyphs as Linguistic Signs and Metalinguistic Inferments', *Visible Religion* 6 (1988), 169–79; M. Malaise, 'Calembours et mythes dans l'Égypte ancienne', in *Le Mythe, son langage et son message. Actes du Colloque de Liège et Louvain-la-Neuve* (eds. H. Limet and J. Ries) (Louvain-la-Neuve 1983) [= *Homo Religiosus* 9], 97–112; and below, n. 49.
- 36 G. Fischer, 'Redundant Determinatives in the Old Kingdom', *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 8 (1973), 7–25, provides ample demonstration of this synartesis which then casts doubts on the hypothesis of Junge, op. cit. 26–38; below, n. 78.
- 37 In addition to the studies cited in n. 35, one should consider the broader issues between Egyptian art and hieroglyphs as suggested both by J. Assmann, 'Schrift, Tod und Identität', in A. Assmann and Chr. Hardmeier (eds.), *Schrift und Gedächtnis. Beiträge zur Archäologie der literarischen Kommunikation* (Munich, 1983), 64–93; and the application of the tenets of *iconicité* as defined by R. Tefnin, 'Discours et iconicité dans l'art égyptien', *GM* 79 (1984), 55–72, and presented by I. Shirun-Grumach, 'Zur strukturalen Semantik in der Kunst', *AAT* 12 (1987), 429–35, which can be contrasted with the discussions of J. Assmann, 'Hierotaxis', *ÄAT* 12 (1987), 18–42; below, n. 78.
- 38 Plato, *The Republic*, VII, 514–17. Junge, op. cit. 13, implies this Platonic connection between image and meaning but is not explicit, whereas W. M. Davis, 'Plato on Egyptian Art', *JEA* 65 (1979), 121–7; and id., *The Canonical Tradition in Ancient Egyptian Art* (Cambridge, 1989), 106 and 225 n. 1, is. It remains to be seen, however, whether this underlying intellectual premise in the writing of Plato is either a parallel development with what had occurred earlier in Egypt or whether there is direct Egyptian influence on the philosopher's oeuvre. This is a particularly vexing question and one which truly deserves more serious consideration than it has received heretofore. The avenues of inquiry into this Platonic question would do well to consider the approach formulated by R. Anthes, 'Affinity and Difference between Egyptian and Greek Sculpture and Thought in the Seventh and Sixth Centuries B.C.', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 107 (1963), 60–81 (= *Studia Aegyptiaca* 9 [1983], 60–81), which recognizes cultural differences in contrast to the polemics of M. Bernal, *Black Athena. The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization. I. The Fabrication of Ancient Greece 1785–1985* (London, 1987), 103–8, *passim*, who argues, without sufficient evidence in my view, that Plato was profoundly influenced by and indebted to Egyptian civilization. The caveat of K. A. D. Smelik and E. A. Hemelrijk, 'Who Knows not What Monsters Demented Egypt Worships?', *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*, II, *Principat* (H. Temporini and W. Haase eds.) 17, 4 (Berlin, 1984), 1876–9, is, however, well worth remembering in these discussions. At the heart of this question is, of course, the issue of whether Plato himself actually did visit Egypt, for which, see an initial attempt by M. von den Steinen, 'Plato in Egypt', *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts. Faouad I University, Cairo*. 13, Part I (1951), 107–27; and more recently S. Sauneron, *Le Papyrus magique illustré de*

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- Brooklyn [Brooklyn Museum 47.218.156]* (Brooklyn 1970), ix; K. Svoboda, 'Platon et l'Égypte', *Archiv Orientální* 20 (1952), 28–38; B. Mathieu, 'Le voyage de Platon en Égypte', *ASAE* 71 (1987), 153–68; and G. Goyon, 'Kerkasôre et l'ancien observatoire d'Eudoxe', *BIFAO* 74 (1974), 147. Less convincing appear to be the arguments dealing with numerology, such as that by H. Plessner, *Sterngeborenes Olympia. Die Entstehung des sakralen Masses* (Düsseldorf, 1956), recalling the earlier essay by A. Aurès, 'Le Nombre géométrique de Platon', *RT* 15 (1893), 69–83, although the empirical approximation of the second, or Saite, canon to the golden section cannot be overlooked: see, Davis, op. cit. 49–50.
- 39 So, D. B. Spanel, op. cit. 5 and 14, suggests that the idealizing images ought to be connected with ancient Egyptian conceptions of 'maat', whereas Russmann, op. cit. 75–6, associates those images with the ancient Egyptian concept of the 'ka', a position which echoes the view of G. Steindorff, 'Der Ka und die Grabstatuen', *ZÄS* 48 (1911), 152–9, which is discussed by Bolshakov, loc. cit. Each of the former views accepts one aspect of the study by H. te Velde, 'Some Remarks on the Concept "Person" in the Ancient Egyptian Culture', in H. G. Kippenberg et al. (eds.), *Concepts of Person in Religion and Thought* (Berlin, 1990), 83–101, but apparently denies the concept of plurality which is so fundamental to ancient Egyptian thought processes.
- 40 Davis, op. cit. 106, with bibliography, discussing the emergence of the so-called Memphite Style of Dynasty VI, to which compare, Russmann, 'A Second Style in Late Old Kingdom Sculpture', *NARCE* 149 (Spring, 1990), 17.
- 41 E. Delange, *Catalogue des statues égyptiennes du Moyen Empire 2060–1560 avant J.-C.* (Paris, 1987), 9, who suggests that the realism perceived in the physiognomies of the kings of the Middle Kingdom occurs earlier in certain images of officials so that in this instance royal workshops appear to be following the lead of private ones, whereas Russmann, op. cit. 69, subscribes to the older view that the royal workshops initiated the use of signs of age which were then adapted for depictions of officials.
- 42 B. V. Bothmer, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period, 700 B.C. to A.D. 100* (Brooklyn, 1960), 1–30; and Russmann, *The Representation of the King in the XXVth Dynasty* (Brussels, 1974).
- 43 Bianchi, above, n. 16.
- 44 Brunner-Traut, op. cit. 13, and n. 30.
- 45 R. B. Finnestad, *Image of the World and Symbol of the Creator: On the Cosmological and Iconological Values of the Temple of Edfu* (Wiesbaden, 1985) [= *Studies in Oriental Religions* 10], 116–17.
- 46 E. Chassinat, *Le Mystère d'Osiris au mois de Khoiak II* (Cairo, 1968), 494.
- 47 D. Van Der Plas, '“Voir” dieu. Quelques observations au sujet de la fonction des sens dans le culte et la dévotion de l'Égypte ancienne', *BSFE* 115 (1989), 4–7; and Hornung, op. cit. 36–7.
- 48 N. Guilhou, *La Vieillesse des dieux* (Montpellier, 1989), although her discussion on ageing on p. 84 regarding images from the Late Period is coloured by the applications of the empathetic theorem which has been discussed above, nn. 15–20.
- 49 Malaise, loc. cit., in discussing this myth, reveals how in ancient Egyptian civilization word and image are one and, in this case, rely on puns for their significance. His argument is yet another demonstration of how linked to the hieroglyphs ancient Egyptian images are, and how divorced they are from Western concepts of portraiture: see above, nn. 35 and 37.
- 50 Ibid. 84–5.
- 51 Brunner-Traut, op. cit. 9–11.
- 52 G. Burkard, 'Ptahhotep und das Alter', *ZÄS* 115 (1988), 19–30.
- 53 Hornung, loc. cit.; and id., 'Der Mensch als "Bild Gottes" in Ägypten', in O. Loretz (ed.), *Die Gottebenbildlichkeit des Menschen* (Munich, 1967), 123–56.
- 54 Cairo JE 48862: N.-C. Grimal, *La Stèle triomphale de Pi(ankh)y au Musée du Caire* (Cairo, 1981) [= *MMIFAI* 105], 26\*, 5.



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- 55 H. te Velde, 'Funerary Mythology', in S. D'Aura, op. cit. 35.
- 56 K. Myśliwiec, 'A propos des signes hiéroglyphiques "hr" et "tp"', *ZÄS* 98 (1972) 85–99, the variations of the depictions of which are consistent with the palaeographic variations of hieroglyphic signs in general, as Meeks, op. cit. 178, observes.
- 57 Meeks, loc. cit.
- 58 C. Graindorge and M. P. Martinez, 'Karnak avant Karnak — Les constructions d'Aménophis Ier et les premières liturgies amoniennes', *BSFE* 115 (1989), 36–64, and pl. 9.
- 59 Baines, 'Theories and Universals of Representation: Heinrich Schäfer and Egyptian Art', *Art History* 9 (1985), 2; and Davis, op. cit. 38–47, on the canonical conventions of 'naturalism' in Egyptian art in general.
- 60 Davis, 'Positivism and Idealism in the Study of Egyptian Art', typescript of the Plenary Address delivered on the occasion of the Fourth International Congress of Egyptologists on August 30, 1985, in Munich, Germany.
- 61 Bianchi, op. cit. 57, 59–60, and 140–2; so, too, Junge, op. cit., 1–2; and Delange, op. cit. 28, discussing the signs of age on Paris, Musée du Louvre E. 12961, a statue of Sesostri III from Medâmûd.
- 62 J. Quaegebeur, 'Aménophis, nom royal et nom divin; questions méthodologiques', *RdE* 37 (1986), 97–106, on the rendering of the name.
- 63 The Egyptian Museum CG 42127: G. Legrain, 'Rapport sur les travaux exécutés à Karnak du 25 Septembre au 31 Octobre 1901', *ASAE* 2 (1901), 272, no. 14, and fig. 1, where he writes '... intacte sauf le nez qui avait été brisé puis retouché dès l'antiquité'; G. Maspero, 'Notes sur le rapport de M. Legrain', *ASAE* 2 (1901), 281–4, esp. 281, where one reads: 'On peut toutefois se demander si elle n'a pas été retouchée à l'époque saïte'; and S. Schoske, 'Historisches Bewusstsein in der ägyptischen Kunst. Beobachtungen an der Münchner Statue des Bekenchons', *MJdbK* 38 (1987), 21–4, who maintains that the present statue is an original of Middle Kingdom date, usurped and recut by Amenhotep, son of Hapu. A lengthy physical inspection of the statue, conducted with the aid of a ladder on two separate occasions, leads me to conclude that the statue could not have been recut from one of earlier date. The formation of the intact ears conforms to ears on contemporary statues in the same gallery and indicates that virtually no stone was removed from the face because of its proportions relative to the head as a whole. The spalling of the surfaces of the face, particularly evident on the cheeks, appears to be the result of weathering rather than that of the attention of craftsmen. One should, however, still entertain the distinct possibility that this statue was closely modelled on a prototype created during the Middle Kingdom on which the statue of Gebu in Copenhagen (A 67=AE.I.N. 27) is itself based: M. Morgensten, *La Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg. La Collection égyptienne* (Copenhagen, 1930), 54–5.
- 64 E. Riefstahl, 'An Egyptian Portrait of an Old Man', *JNES* 10 (1951), 65–73.
- 65 Davis, op. cit. 59 and 231, n. 1, citing Tefnin, 'Image, écriture, récit', *GM* 47 (1981), 55–78; and id., op. cit., n. 36.
- 66 A. Scharff, 'Typus und Persönlichkeit in der ägyptischen Kunst', *Archiv für Kultur-Geschichte* 29 (1939), 1–24.
- 67 Weeks, op. cit., 17–38.
- 68 Ibid.
- 69 Borghouts, op. cit. 23; and A. Piankoff, *La Création du disque solaire* (Cairo, 1953) [= *BdE* 19], 18 and 62.
- 70 Baines, 'Color Terminology and Color Classification: Ancient Egyptian Color Terminology and Polychromy', *American Anthropologist* 87 (1985), 282–97.
- 71 I am not altogether certain whether these phenomena can be satisfactorily explained either by regarding each as an example of the primacy of expression of the craftsmen's individual knowledge and authority at the expense of suppressed or relegated canonical authority, an implication suggested, perhaps, by Davis, op. cit. 108–9, or by viewing them, on the analogy of the Egyptian language, as the vowels if one extends the implication of Junge, op. cit. 24.

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- 72 See above, n. 35.
- 73 Brunner-Traut, *Frühformen des Erkennens am Beispiel Altägyptens* (Darmstadt, 1990).
- 74 F. Dunand, 'La figure animale des dieux en Egypte hellénistique et romaine', *Les Grandes Figures religieuses fonctionnement pratique et symbolique dans l'antiquité*. Besançon, 25–26 April, 1984. [= *Centre de recherches d'histoire ancienne* 68. *Lire les polythéismes* 1] (Paris, 1986), 68.
- 75 Meeks, loc. cit.
- 76 Ibid.
- 77 Ibid.
- 78 For the purposes of this essay the arguments advanced by Junge, op. cit. 36–8 (see above, nn. 36–7) are not included in the discussions because his theory of coded significance is, by his own admission, not necessarily incorporated into the ancient Egyptian work of art at the time of its creation. Furthermore, conceptualism, as there implied by Junge, although admittedly he eschews the use of the noun itself, is entirely incompatible with the narrow definition of the ancient Egyptian canonical image, as formulated by Davis, because 'the canonical image in that art should seem to possess one single received meaning — for forms and themes were held steadily invariant in many different contexts of use — surely [this characteristic of the canonical image] intervenes strongly in the flow of free, loose, individual constructions imposed by the viewer on a world of signs' (Davis, op. cit. 208).
- 79 Baines, 'Literacy and Ancient Egyptian Society', *Man* 18 (1981–5), 572–99; and te Velde, 'Scribes and Literacy in Ancient Egypt', *Scripta Signa Vocis. Studies Presented to G. H. Hospers* (Groningen, 1986), 253–64.
- 80 A. Leahy, 'The Libyan Period in Egypt: An Essay in Interpretation', *Libyan Studies* 16 (1985), 51–6; Bianchi, op. cit. 63–70; and Davis, op. cit. 129, and 221–2.
- 81 Baines, above, n. 56, p. 8.
- 82 Z. Žába, *Les Maximes de Ptahhotep* (Prague 1956).
- 83 W. Helck, 'Individuum', *LdÄ* III (1980), 152–5.
- 84 If, as sociologists maintain, Western societal values of self-reliance and individualism are strongest in a small and rather select group of the modern nation states of America, Australia, Great Britain, Canada, and the Netherlands in the 1990s, and if then collectivism is the norm for the remainder of the world's societies, one can suggest, on the basis of cultural analogy, that individualism was virtually absent from the cultural record of ancient totalitarian regimes such as pharaonic Egypt. Art as the manifestation of such societal ideology cannot be ignored when discussing the material culture of ancient Egypt; so, too, A. B. Lloyd, in B. G. Trigger *et al.*, *Ancient Egypt. A Social History* (Cambridge, 1983), 304–6. For the contrasts between individualism and collectivism in the 1990s, compare two essays by H. C. Triandis ('Values, Attitudes, and Interpersonal Behaviour', *The Nebraska Symposium on Motivation* 27 (1979), 195–259; 'Multi-method Probes of Individualism and Collectivism', *The Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 59 (1990), 1006–20), with R. N. Bellah, *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Culture* (Berkeley, 1985). Failure to recognize the dominant role played by collectivism in society often leads to erroneous conclusions about that society, as explained by B. Schwartz, *The Battle for Human Nature* (Berkeley, 1986). I wish to thank Kate Bianchi for discussing this sociological issue with me and for providing the appropriate references within this note.
- 85 Davis, op. cit. xvii and 210–24.
- 86 Helck, op. cit. 154.
- 87 Baines, 'Restricted Knowledge, Hierarchy, and Decorum: Modern Perceptions and Ancient Institutions', *JARCE* 27 (1990), 22.
- 88 Te Velde, op. cit. n. 39, p. 89.
- 89 A. de Buck, *Het typische en het individuele bij de Egyptenaren* (Leiden, 1928).
- 90 Te Velde, op. cit. 83–101.

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- 91 Baines, 'Communication and Display: The Integration of early Egyptian Art and Writing', *Antiquity* 63 (1989), 475.
- 92 Te Velde, loc. cit.
- 93 J. P. Allen, 'Funerary Texts and their Meaning', and te Velde, 'Funerary Mythology', in D'Auria, op. cit. 43 and 29, respectively.
- 94 S. Allam, 'Papyrus Moscow 127 (translation and Notes)', *JEA* 61 (1975), 148, and n. 16; J. M. A. Janssen, 'On the Ideal Lifetime of the Egyptians', *OMRO* 31 (1950), 33–43; A. Rowe, 'New Light on Objects Belonging to the Generals Potasimto and Amasis in the Egyptian Museum', *ASAE* 38 (1938), 191, text XXV; H. Ranke, 'A Late Ptolemaic Statue of Ha:hor from her Temple at Dendera', *JAOS* 65 (1945), 246–8; H. Wilsdorf, 'Nach 110 Jahren', in P. Nagel (ed.), *Studia Copta* (Berlin, 1974) [= *Berliner byzantinistische Arbeiten* 45], 11–18.
- 95 Davis, op. cit. 92–3, correctly observes that 'maintaining invariance' is not tantamount to 'maintaining inflexibility'.
- 96 E. Hornung, *The Valley of the Kings. Horizon of Eternity* (trans. D. Warburton) (New York, 1990), 91.
- 97 Finnestad, op. cit. 133; A. Gutbub, 'A propos de quelques textes dogmatiques concernant la dédicace du temple et sa prise de possession par la divinité à Edfou', *Hommages à François Daumas*, II (Montpellier, 1986), 391–2; and D. Kurth, 'Eine Welt aus Stein, Bild, und Wort. Gedanken zur spätägyptischen Tempeldekoration', in J. Assmann and G. Burkard (eds.), *5000 Jahre Ägypten. Genese und Permanenz pharaonischer Kunst* (Nussloch, 1983), 94 and 98.
- 98 Davis, op. cit. 41–6.

# An Early Twelfth Dynasty Sculpture

JANINE BOURRIAU

AMONG the particular pleasures of working in a museum is the chance to make acquisitions that will enhance the collection beyond the curator's working lifetime. This Cyril Aldred did notably for the collection of the then Royal Museum of Scotland, one example being the beautiful quartzite male head of early Twelfth Dynasty date, R.M.S.1952. 197.<sup>1</sup> Another pleasure is to discuss problem pieces with colleagues and here I, like so many others, often benefited from Cyril Aldred's advice. One of his most important articles was his study of royal sculptures of the Middle Kingdom in the *Metropolitan Museum Journal*.<sup>2</sup> This article is dedicated to him in gratitude for the pleasure which that study has given me.

Chance often plays a part in the making of acquisitions but even more important is the skill and confidence to exploit the opportunities chance provides. The Fitzwilliam Museum during Michael Jaffé's tenure as Director (1973–90) has provided many examples of this winning combination, and the story of the acquisition of the Egyptian sculpture, shown on fig. 1, a–c, is only one of them.<sup>3</sup>

The sculpture was brought in for identification by the owner in August 1987. Its prior history was that it had been acquired in Egypt as a tourist souvenir during the 1950s and had languished at the back of a cupboard, having been inherited by a friend of the original owner, until being sold to the present owner. It had been discovered in Egypt in a fragile condition and termites had all too evidently destroyed the body, but, miraculously, the face, neck, and one breast survived. As a safety measure the fragment had been encased in coarse lime plaster. Letters and numerals in Arabic on tiny scraps of newspaper were visible in the plaster. Thirty years or more after the application of this straitjacket, the plaster was beginning to decompose and cracks in the wood to widen. The owner agreed to lend the sculpture to the Fitzwilliam in return for necessary and urgent conservation work, and two years later a private treaty sale was negotiated by Professor Jaffé which resulted in the purchase of the sculpture.

## Conservation Treatment

The statue fragment was conserved during Spring 1988 by Julie Dawson, Assistant Keeper (Conservation) in the Department of Antiquities, and the following account is taken from her conservation records.

After detailed examination and recording, the surviving pigment was consolidated with 3% Paraloid B72 diluted in xylene. A firm base was then made to support the fragment during the removal of the lime plaster. This support was moulded from silicone foam.<sup>4</sup> With the head thus supported, the plaster was removed with a scalpel after having first been dampened with deionized water. After all the plaster had been removed, loose dust and dirt were brushed and blown away. The copper-alloy mounts for the eyes were painted with a solution of 3% benzotriazole in methylated spirit. The major cracks were backed with strips of very thin Japanese tissue stuck down with a solution of 10% Paraloid B72 in acetone. Two fragments from above the left eyebrow, originally suspended in the plaster, were secured using the Paraloid B72. The tissue backing the wide crack on the right cheek was toned down using Cryla Colour (acrylic paint) diluted in water.

## Description

At first sight it was apparent that the fragment was to be dated to the early Middle Kingdom, and that it was of outstanding quality. The workmanship and the expensive materials of the inlays (copper-alloy, obsidian, and calcite) confirmed this. No inscription or attribute remains to date the sculpture independently, but the stylistic criteria are strong enough to show it belongs to the very beginning of Dynasty XII. More tentatively, I suggest the reign of Amenemhet I to the beginning of the reign of Senwosret I, for reasons which will appear later.

The height of the statuette from which this fragment comes can be estimated as approximately 60 cm. The photograph (fig. 1) shows the fragment at actual size 16 cm. If the estimated height is correct, the statuette would have been originally 12 cm taller than the statuette of Imertnebes in Leiden<sup>5</sup> (see fig. 2). Parallels suggest that it would have stood on a wooden base inscribed with the lady's name and titles.

What remains is the face, ears, fragments of a long, full wig, neck, five-strand necklace, and left breast. The material is a fine-grained, probably local wood such as tamarisk, painted and inlaid. The inlays consist of ebony (for the brows and the cosmetic line (now lost) ); copper alloy (providing a frame and a mount for the eye inlays); calcite (for the eyeball); and obsidian (for the iris).

The wig, of a type which appears frequently throughout the Middle Kingdom, shows the faintest trace of a centre parting and is painted black. The hair lies in horizontal strands across the forehead and falls in vertical strands in two rectangular lappets in the front reaching the top of the breast. The top and back of the head are missing so it is impossible to know how the wig was treated at the back, but it seems likely that it was undivided, in the manner of the wig of a statuette in the

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Schimmel collection.<sup>6</sup> The end of one strand of the left lappet is still in position on the breast, making it possible to reconstruct the original length of the wig and to confirm its similarity to that of the Schimmel piece. In front of the ears, two patches of natural hair are visible, painted black.

The face and features have the following measurements — head, wig to chin: 4.8 cm; width of face taken from outer corners of the eyes: 4.6 cm; length of ear: 2.3 cm; width of ear: 1.1 cm; length of eye: 1.9 cm; height of eye 0.6 cm.

The brows are 0.2 cm wide and inlaid with ebony. Part of the inlay has fallen out, but the line of the brows can still be traced clearly. It begins as a straight line near the nose, then, just before the outer corner of the eye, it bends sharply downwards to finish parallel with the cosmetic line. The inlays of the cosmetic line itself have been lost, but the cutting for them remains and reveals their shape. The sharply angled brow-line does not follow the exaggerated curve of the large eyes. These are set within copper-alloy mounts: the eyeball is calcite, and the iris obsidian. Traces of the ancient mortar holding the mounts in place are still visible around the right eye. At the outer corner of the eye is a red spot, and the inner corner shows a distinct 'beak' to mark the tear duct. The large almond-shaped eyes are set at a definite slant.

The ears are exceptionally long and set rather high. The ear-hole is level with the top of the eye rather than its outer corner which is more usual in sculpture in the round in the early Middle Kingdom.<sup>7</sup> The lips have been carefully outlined; the philtrum is marked and there is a corresponding notch in the upper lip. The lower lip is strongly bowed so that the mouth appears to curve upwards in a faint smile. The profile views show that the lips have been cut unnaturally flat. The round chin is small and carries the faintest suggestion of a double chin. The face is also round, with full cheeks. Despite the unnaturally large slanting eyes, the features harmonize to provide an ideal image of youthful beauty.

The gently rounded left breast, with the nipple painted red and the aureole black, appears to be uncovered but there are traces of white pigment in a line below the necklace. These appear to be the remains of the close-fitting tunic with shoulder straps which was the most common garment worn by women in sculpture in the round and relief during the Middle Kingdom.<sup>8</sup> The Cairo Museum contains similar examples (and there are many more) of statuettes of women wearing such a tunic with straps and with the nipples and the breasts painted.<sup>9</sup> There are traces of white gesso around the nostrils and inside the ears, showing that the body was originally covered with fine plaster and painted. It remains uncertain whether the white pigment (or gesso) on the breast represents a tunic or the background for paint. As a result, we cannot be absolutely sure whether the woman was shown naked or clothed. Wooden statuettes of women of high rank shown naked exist, for example, Louvre E3931,<sup>10</sup> E12003,<sup>11</sup> E22909.<sup>12</sup> These all date, on Delange's reckoning, to the end of Dynasty XI or the first half of Dynasty XII. Two, both from Assiut, preserve traces of body pigment, and it is red ochre. The style of these statuettes is, however, in no way comparable with that of the Fitzwilliam fragment.

The only item of jewellery of which traces remain is the bead collar. It is in five strands and represented in a simplified form as bands of colour overlaid with

vertical black stripes. The colours from neck to breast are blue-green, red, black, white, and red.

### Commentary

A review of the published corpus of Middle Kingdom wooden sculptures of women to see where the Fitzwilliam statuette fragment best fits provides no close parallel. If one confines oneself only to statuettes of women, of comparable quality and material, i.e. of wood with inlaid eyes, then the choice for comparison is small. Needler, in the best recent discussion,<sup>13</sup> lists only three: the statuette of Ashait in the Cairo Museum, JE 47310<sup>14</sup> (see fig. 3, a–b), the head with separate wig from Lisht in the Cairo Museum,<sup>15</sup> and the statuette of Imertnebes, from Thebes, in Leiden.<sup>16</sup> All are illustrated in Aldred's study of Middle Kingdom art, where they are dated to Dynasty XI and early Dynasty XII. To these may be added the statuette in the Schimmel collection,<sup>17</sup> also dated to early Dynasty XII by Cooney, and possibly from Deir el-Durunka.

Needler has argued, and there is no reason to doubt her, that there are no examples of private sculptures, in wood with eyes inlaid, of men or of women, which are later than the first half of Dynasty XII, i.e. after the reign of Senwosret III,<sup>18</sup> the sole exception being the statuette of Ibi-ref which is the subject of her article. This seems to be firmly dated on epigraphic and stylistic grounds to late Dynasty XII.<sup>19</sup>

The next step is to arrange the statuettes of women into a chronological sequence using all the available evidence, stylistic, epigraphical, and archaeological, and then to see where the Fitzwilliam fragment may belong. In my view the order would be: Ashait,<sup>20</sup> Imertnebes,<sup>21</sup> the statuette from the Schimmel collection,<sup>22</sup> and the head from Lisht.<sup>23</sup>

If looked at in relation to this sequence, the Fitzwilliam sculpture is seen to fall between the statuettes of Ashait and Imertnebes. It still has many elements which link it to the Eleventh Dynasty pre-unification, Theban sculptural style, exemplified by the statuette of Ashait. Firstly, there is the artificial shape of the brows, acutely angled so that they terminate parallel with the cosmetic line. They and the cosmetic line are inlaid with ebony, which is most unusual. One parallel for this feature is the statue of Hetepi in the Louvre, E123.<sup>24</sup> It is dated tentatively by Delange to the end of the Eleventh Dynasty, and she also suggests it may come from Thebes. The evidence for this depends on the identification of Hetepi, one of whose titles is *imy-r hk3w*,<sup>25</sup> with a man of the same name and title named on a pottery label from a tomb in a Deir el-Bahri cemetery connected with the Mortuary Temple of Nebhepetre Montuhotep.<sup>26</sup> The Louvre statuette differs in other stylistic respects from the Fitzwilliam sculpture: it is less accomplished, there is now no trace of a cosmetic line, and the shape of brows, nose, and mouth is different. However the similar proportions of the face and contour of the eye suggest that they are not far apart in date. Other features which link the sculpture with the statuette of Ashait are: the large, wide-open eyes with pronounced inner canthi set at a slant, the fish-tailed cosmetic line, the long ears without inner detail,

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deep grooves at the corner of the mouth and around the nostrils, and finally, a round, smooth face, unrevealing of the bone-structure underneath.

A comparison with the statuette of Imertnebes, on the other hand, reveals differences between the Fitzwilliam piece and Ashait. The most striking is in the treatment of the body. Fragment though it is, the Fitzwilliam sculpture is closer to the anatomical realism of Imertnebes than to the ill-proportioned stiffness of Ashait's figure, even if some allowance is made, in the latter, for the thick layer of pigment which may obscure fine modelling. The treatment of the mouth also shows a significant change. Instead of the thick straight lips, which appear to be laid on to the surface of the face, and which are so distinctive of royal and private sculpture from Thebes in Dynasty XI and earlier,<sup>27</sup> the lower lip is strongly bowed and the upper lip shaped as a triangle whose apex is the philtrum and notch. A similar shape has been given to the lips of the nomarch Hapidjefai, in his colossal wooden statue in the Louvre, datable to the reign of Senwosret I.<sup>28</sup> The lips are, as the profile view shows, cut flat, in contrast to the more natural, rounded, even pouting shape of the lips of Imertnebes. Nevertheless, the contour of the mouth in both figures is similar, and both also show the same thin ridge outlining the lips.

The proportions of the two faces and the treatment of the facial structure are, however, very different. The eyes of Imertnebes are not so dominant (the eye-inlays are similarly mounted in metal but the inlays are glass-paste not stone); they are smaller, and they are set at a more natural angle. Her face is broad, not round, and shows strong modelling of cheekbone and chin. It is these differences, taken together with the links which the Fitzwilliam sculpture has with the early Middle Kingdom Theban style, which suggest to me that it is earlier in date than Imertnebes.

In the discussion so far, I have assumed that the three statuettes, Ashait, Imertnebes, and the Fitzwilliam sculpture, can be put into a single line of stylistic development. The basis of this assumption is three-fold: firstly, two have a secure Theban provenance;<sup>29</sup> secondly, it is likely that they were made close to where they were deposited, given their fragility; and thirdly, wooden sculptures with inlaid eyes are rare, limited to persons of high rank. As a consequence they would have been made in only a few workshops, including those concerned with the preparation of images of the king and his family for their mortuary complex but also some serving private persons.<sup>30</sup> In the early Twelfth Dynasty these existed at Thebes as well as *'It-t3wy* (probably Lisht), the residence newly established during the reign of Amenemhet I. The royal workshops at Thebes, however, with their distinctive style, seem the most likely candidate for the provenance of the Fitzwilliam fragment.

Is it possible to refine the date of the statuette fragment any further? The face of the wooden statue of Hapidjefai is sadly too badly damaged to provide more than a striking parallel for the shaping of the lips. The statuette of Imertnebes has been dated to early Dynasty XII by Schneider in the most recent discussion of it,<sup>31</sup> and I have already suggested that the Fitzwilliam piece seems to be earlier in style. The famous pair of wooden statuettes from Lisht, originally identified as of Senwosret I<sup>32</sup> wearing the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt, would seem to provide a comparison, although the eyes are painted, not inlaid, but stylistically they belong



(with the woman's head with separate wig also from Lisht) to a different sculptural tradition which has broken completely with the mannerisms of the Theban style.<sup>33</sup> They are also to be dated to the next reign on the basis of a re-examination of their find-spot and the records of their original excavation.<sup>34</sup>

Thereafter comparisons have to be made with stone sculptures. This is inherently difficult, and there is the additional question of whether sculptors using stone and wood did not work in separate studios, thus perpetuating the different traditions, models, and craft skills which they inherited. We presume that they did so from the few cases where we can compare sculptures in wood and stone of the same person, e.g. Nakht at Assiut<sup>35</sup> and Ashait at Thebes.<sup>36</sup>

Nevertheless, stone sculptures of the first two kings of Dynasty XII should provide some points of comparison; so does the limestone statue of an anonymous woman found by Naville in the Temple of Nebhetepre Montuhotep and thought by him to have come from one of the shrines of the royal women and thus to be roughly contemporary with the wooden statuette of Ashait.<sup>37</sup> While the angled shape of the brows is similar,<sup>38</sup> the ears are set lower, the eyes are rounder, and the face is broader. Unfortunately, the shape of nose and mouth is obliterated by damage.

It would seem best to look at the statues of Amenemhet I and Senwosret I which have a Theban provenance, since these should provide the closest comparisons with the Fitzwilliam sculpture. Only two fragments, none showing the face, remain to us of statues of Amenemhet I,<sup>39</sup> but of Senwosret I<sup>40</sup> there are at least twelve. Three are illustrated by Aldred,<sup>41</sup> one by Wildung,<sup>42</sup> a head of an Osirid is published by Chevrier,<sup>43</sup> another is published by Loukianoff;<sup>44</sup> two (including part of another Osirid pillar) are published in the Luxor Museum Catalogue;<sup>45</sup> two are, respectively, published but unillustrated<sup>46</sup> and unpublished;<sup>47</sup> and two are preserved only in their lower parts.<sup>48</sup>

These sculptures of Senwosret I portray the king in a variety of ways, as a sphinx;<sup>49</sup> as a living king;<sup>50</sup> and as Osiris.<sup>51</sup> The sculptors also employ various stones, i.e. red and black granite and limestone. The result, hardly surprisingly, is a range of images, not a single one.<sup>52</sup> Nevertheless, some facial features remain common to all: the relief eyebrows which begin straight and then curve sharply to end parallel with the cosmetic line;<sup>53</sup> the fish-tailed cosmetic line itself; the prominent inner canthi; the slanting eyes;<sup>54</sup> the pronounced philtrum and notch on the upper lip;<sup>55</sup> the line defining the lips; the deep grooves around nostrils and at the corners of the mouth; and the broad face with high cheek bones.

It is noteworthy that with the exception of this broad facial structure all the facial features which these statues have in common are echoed in the Fitzwilliam's wooden statuette. Most telling are the two Osirides in painted limestone, where the idealizing style and the use of a more malleable stone have produced softer, rounder contours, more easily comparable with the medium of wood.

To sum up, it seems unwise, given the absence of securely dated royal or private sculpture from Thebes of the reign of Amenemhet I, to date the Fitzwilliam sculpture unequivocally to the reign of his successor Senwosret I. In my view, the end of the latter's reign forms the lower limit and the end of Dynasty XI the upper limit of the possible date range.

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### Notes

- 1 J. D. Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals. Egyptian Art during the Middle Kingdom* (Cambridge, 1988), Cat. no. 17.
- 2 C. Aldred, 'Some Royal Portraits of the Middle Kingdom in Ancient Egypt', *MMJ* 3 (1970), 27–50. Reprinted in *Ancient Egypt in the Metropolitan Museum Journal* (New York, 1977), 1–24.
- 3 Fitzwilliam Museum E.1.1989. Photographs published by courtesy of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.
- 4 J. Dawson, 'Conservation for "Pharaohs and Mortals"', in *The Conservation of Ancient Egyptian Materials* (UKIC, 1988), 101–6.
- 5 C. Aldred, *Middle Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1950), 41, pl. 29; H. Schneider in *Nofret die Schöne: Die Frau im alten Ägypten* (Mainz, 1985). Cat. no. 110. There is a discrepancy between the heights given and Schneider's have been preferred.
- 6 O. W. Muscarella (ed.), *Ancient Art in the Norbert Schimmel Collection* (Mainz, 1974), cat. no. 181.
- 7 This observation is based on the sculpture, royal and private, in stone and wood, examined by the author in preparation for the catalogue, *Pharaohs and Mortals*, see above, n. 1. Seven of the eleven sculptures eventually published in the catalogue show the ear in this position. Two (cat. nos. 8, 9) show it slightly higher, in the position of the Fitzwilliam statuette, and both are dated to the reign of Nebhepetre Montuhotep.
- 8 M. Malaise, 'Le Costume civil du Moyen Empire: une contribution à la datation des documents privés', in F. Geus and F. Thill (eds.), *Mélanges offerts à Jean Vercoutter* (Paris, 1985), 217–28.
- 9 L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum von Kairo* (Berlin, 1911), Teil I, 150–1, pl. 47, no. 229.
- 10 E. Delange, *Catalogue des statues égyptiennes du Moyen Empire 2060–1560 B.C.* (Musée du Louvre, Paris, 1987), 116–17.
- 11 Delange, op. cit. 156–7.
- 12 Delange, op. cit. 200–1.
- 13 W. Needler, 'A Wooden Statuette of the Late Middle Kingdom', in W. K. Simpson and W. M. Davis (eds.), *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean and the Sudan* (Boston, 1981), 134–5, n. 17, 18.
- 14 Aldred, op. cit. 35, pl. 6. The photographs in fig. 3 are from the archives of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, and I thank the curator of Egyptian Art, Dr Dorothea Arnold, for providing them.
- 15 M. Saleh and H. Sourouzian, *The Egyptian Museum, Cairo* (Mainz, 1987), cat. no. 89.
- 16 See above, n. 5.
- 17 See above, n. 6.
- 18 Needler, op. cit. 134–5, n. 20. Wildung dates the head of a woman from Lisht to this reign but without stating his reasons: D. Wildung, *Sesostris und Amenemhet. Ägypten im Mittleren Reich* (Fribourg, 1984), 85, pl. 74.
- 19 Needler, op. cit. 136.
- 20 The statuette was found inside her coffin in her burial at Thebes, H. E. Winlock, 'The Egyptian Expedition for 1920–1921', in *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin, Part II* (November, 1921), 48–51, figs. 23, 26.
- 21 See above, n. 5.
- 22 See above, n. 6.
- 23 See above, n. 15.
- 24 Delange, op. cit. 108–10.
- 25 'Overseer of magicians', an extremely rare title. The translation is not without problems, although the reading is clear (Stephen Quirke, personal communication).

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- 26 PM I<sup>2</sup>, 2, 651. The reference in Delange is incorrect.
- 27 Aldred in *MMJ* 3, figs. 3–9; T. G. H. James and W. V. Davies, *Egyptian Sculpture* (British Museum, London, 1983), figs. 23–4.
- 28 Louvre E26915, Delange, op. cit. 77.
- 29 In the case of Imertnebes, it is based on her title, unique for the Middle Kingdom, of Wife and Hand of the god Amun: see Leclant in *LdÄ* II, 813–15.
- 30 There are several examples of sculptures in wood with inlaid eyes from Assiut.
- 31 See n. 5, also H. D. Schneider and M. J. Raven, *Die Ägyptische Oudheid* (Gravenhage, 1981), 63, with bibliography.
- 32 Saleh and Sourouzian, op. cit., no. 88 and bibliography there cited. The catalogue shows the example in the Cairo Museum, JdE.44951, wearing the crown of Upper Egypt.
- 33 *Pace* Aldred, op. cit. 14–15.
- 34 Dorothea Arnold, personal communication. At a colloquium in Cambridge in 1988 she argued for a date in the reign of Amenemhet II, based on a fresh examination of the Mastaba of Imhotep close to the Pyramid of Senwosret I, where they were found. The full report of this work is in preparation.
- 35 Compare the wooden statue Louvre E11937, Delange, op. cit. 151–3, and the calcite statue also found in the burial chamber of Nakht: E. Chassinat and C. Palanque, *Une campagne de fouilles dans la nécropole d'Assiout* (Mémoires de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire 24) (Cairo, 1911), 49, pl. 11, 3.
- 36 Compare the wooden statuette, see above n. 13 and 19, with the relief carving of her limestone sarcophagus, Saleh and Sourouzian, op. cit., cat. no. 69.
- 37 Geneva 4766, E. Naville, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari*, Part 2 (Mémorial of the Egypt Exploration Society, 30) (London, 1910), 21, pl. 11A; H. Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein* (Munich, 1929), II, pl. 11.
- 38 This feature can be seen on royal statues well into the reign of Senwosret I.
- 39 PM II<sup>2</sup>, 107, 109. Illustrated in Evers, op. cit., I, Abb. 4; II, pl. 2, 8.
- 40 Indexed conveniently in PM II<sup>2</sup>, 557; PM I<sup>2</sup>, 2, 850. Add *The Luxor Museum of Ancient Egyptian Art* (Cairo, 1979). Cat. nos. 25, 28. This does not claim to be an exhaustive list.
- 41 Aldred, op. cit., pls. 13, 25, 27.
- 42 Wildung, op. cit., pl. 62. There are many other illustrations in print but this one shows the sculpture most clearly.
- 43 H. Chevrier, 'Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak', *ASAE* 39 (1939), 566, pl. 105.
- 44 G. Loukianoff, 'Une tête inconnue du pharaon Senouset Ier au Musée du Caire', *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte* 15 (1933), 89–92, pls. 1–2.
- 45 See above, n. 39, and bibliography cited there.
- 46 PM II<sup>2</sup>, 107.
- 47 Philadelphia University Museum E14370. The identification is marked with a question mark in Porter and Moss.
- 48 PM II<sup>2</sup>, 108; PM I<sup>2</sup>, 2, 597.
- 49 Wildung, op. cit., pl. 62.
- 50 Aldred, op. cit., pls. 25, 27.
- 51 Aldred, op. cit., pl. 13, taken from Evers, op. cit., pl. 35, right — the profile view in Wildung, op. cit., pl. 119 is much clearer; Luxor Museum, op. cit., cat. no. 25.
- 52 The chronological sequence of these statues within the king's long reign of forty-five years (see W. K. Simpson, Sesostris I, in *LdÄ*, V, 890–9) is at present unknown because most of them were found re-used in the foundations of later buildings, and their original architectural setting is lost.
- 53 Especially noticeable on the British Museum statue, Aldred, op. cit., pl. 25.
- 54 Most striking on the sphinx, Wildung, op. cit., pl. 62.
- 55 Most clearly seen on the two Osirid statues, Wildung, op. cit., pl. 119; Luxor Museum, cat. no. 25.



FIGURE 1 Fragment of a statuette of a woman, painted wood with inlaid eyes, 1943–1899 BC. Actual size. Fitzwilliam Museum (E.1.1989, FMK 17602). Courtesy the Fitzwilliam Museum.

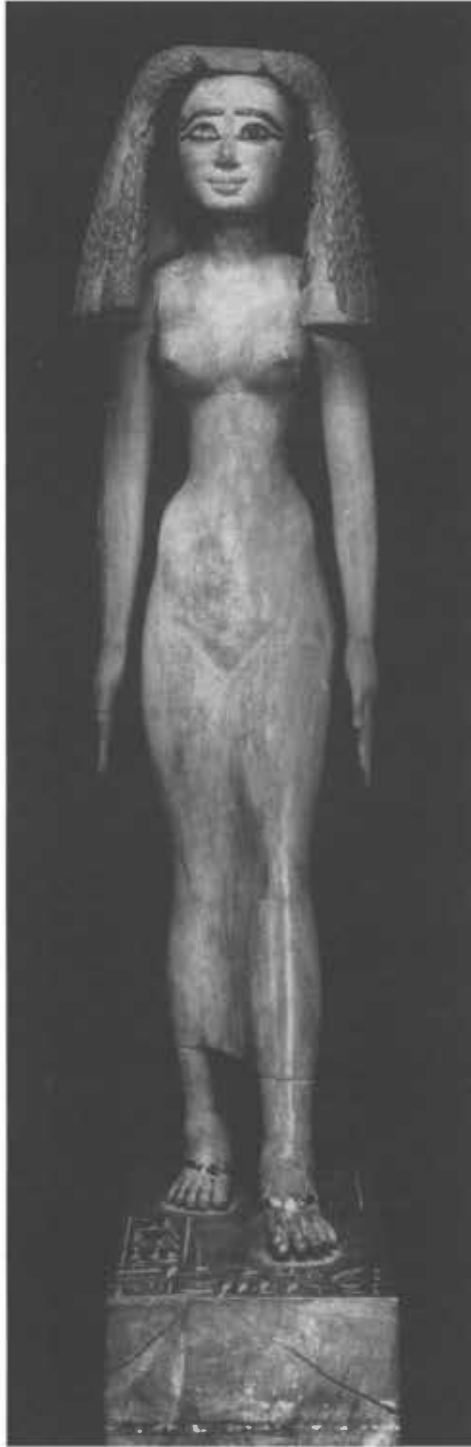


FIGURE 2 Statuette of Imertnebes.  
Courtesy Rijksmuseum van Oudheden,  
Leiden.



FIGURE 3 Statuette of Ashait, Cairo, JE 47310. Courtesy the Cairo Museum.

# **Striding Glazed Steatite Figures of Amenhotep III: An Example of the Purposes of Minor Arts**

BETSY M. BRYAN

A number of fragmentary steatite figures of Amenhotep III and at least one of Amenhotep III and Queen Tiye have survived from ancient Egypt. One group of these was worked in a light gray steatite and was then glazed and fired, in a manner similar to the commemorative scarabs from the same reign. The description and analysis of these glazed statuettes are the subject of the discussion here. The result of the investigation has produced a join for a head in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo to a body in the Oriental Museum of Durham England. Study of the iconography, which is decidedly solar, leads ultimately to the source of these statuettes and their significance within the context of Amenhotep III's art production.

## **Statuettes of the King**

1. The best-preserved example, CG 42083 (JE 38240) (see fig. 1),<sup>1</sup> represents the striding king against a backpillar. The statuette has lost most of its original glaze. There are still patches of oxidized copper-based glaze over most of the figure and backpillar, but original colour is not visible to the naked eye. The entire surface is now whitened and is cracked in a number of areas. The stone itself, visible at a break on the king's apron corner, is quite grey in colour. The white cracking surface may represent either discoloured glaze or the effects of firing on the surface as originally prepared to receive glaze. The statuette was found, according to the *Journal d'Entrée*, in the Karnak cachette. Water action might, therefore, also have contributed to the surface erosion.

The height of the figure, preserved from near the top of the crown to the bottom of the apron and 'shendyt' (equivalent to the top of the knee), is 30.7 cm. The face of the king is quite fleshy and round, despite the lengthening effect of the 'nemes' and royal beard. Amenhotep's eyes are exaggerated. Downsloping plastic cosmetic lines depart from the outer corner of the large eyes,<sup>2</sup> and the brows are plastically modelled as well. As on all statues of Amenhotep III the eyelid is broad and convex from lid to brow.<sup>3</sup> The king's body-type on this statuette

### *Steatite Figures of Amenhotep III*

combines sensuous fleshiness with a virile physique characterized by broad shoulders and a powerful upper body which tapers strongly from shoulder to waist.<sup>4</sup>

The backpillar, some 5.8 cm in width at its broadest, tapers towards its top into a triangular shape, perhaps imitating an obelisk. The actual pillar, excluding the negative space between it and the statuette, is only 1.2 cm in thickness. It is inscribed but is only partially preserved due to the break below the king's knees. Above a *pt* sign is the remainder of a cartouche which once held the king's *nomen*. It is largely missing now. Beneath the sky sign may be read *ntr nfr nb t3wy Nb-m3t-r s3 R' Imn-htp(w) hk3 W3st [mry] Imn nb nswt t3wy m [broken]*, '[Amenhotep heka Waset], the Good God, lord of the Two Lands, Nebmaatre, son of Re Amenhotep heka Waset, beloved of Amun, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands in [broken]'.<sup>5</sup>

The king wears a 'nemes' headdress with the double crown atop it, a royal beard, a 'shendyt' kilt with triangular apron and sporran over it, a broad collar, and armlets.<sup>5</sup> An attribute, partially of a separate material, was once held in the king's left hand and touched his right shoulder. Only an oval glazed patch is now visible and raised from the surface of the shoulder.<sup>6</sup> Although it has been suggested that this was a standard-bearing statuette,<sup>7</sup> analysis of standard-bearer statues in stone of all types shows that standards were not separate from the figures, but part of the single stone block. Berlin 17020, discussed below, has only a fragmentary standard remaining, and it is inseparable from the statuette (likewise CG 42095, also of steatite). In addition the Amenhotep III standard-bearers, and those of other kings, hold the standard against the forward-striding side of the body, as on Berlin 17020 and the Montu-precinct quartzite colossi. It is probable that a small item with one open end was held in the left hand and rested against the right shoulder. Such an attribute would have left an oval patch with glaze as here on CG 42083. Neither in statuary nor in relief<sup>8</sup> does the king wear this headdress with a divine standard but holds the crook (and sometimes the flail as well), makes an offering, or holds nothing. Here the most likely missing element must be the 'heka', or an emblem less commonly seen.

The combination of 'nemes' and double crown, as seen here, begins in statuary with this king.<sup>9</sup> Amenhotep III appears in the combination headdress on a number of sculptures, including those made for the mortuary temple.<sup>10</sup> The single relief scene from the Luxor Temple in which Amenhotep appears in this headdress shows the king receiving his crowns before [Amun] and accompanied by deities (names destroyed) wearing Upper and Lower Egyptian crowns. Other relief examples illustrate the king offering, having been endowed with the crown, while in statuary he appears as here standing, or seated with palms down. Although the crown's iconography may not convey a precise meaning, it may have communicated more information to the viewer than one may think.

An early relief example of the crown appears on a relief block from the sandstone building of Tuthmose IV at Karnak.<sup>11</sup> There a statue of the king as a falcon wears the 'nemes' and double crown. Redford has stressed the connection of this royal falcon image with the Heliopolitan deities beginning in the middle Eighteenth Dynasty.<sup>12</sup> A much later textual description of the king wearing this headdress is to be found in the tomb of Seti II. There the king offers 'maat' to



Sokar<sup>13</sup> and is described in the text behind him in the legend: *ḥ' nsw mī 'Itm wbn.f mi Hr-3ḥty nb ḥ' Sty-mr-n-Pth*, 'The king appears like Atum, when he shines like Harakhty, the lord of crowns Sety Merenptah.' In the Temple of Ramesses II at Wadi es-Sebua<sup>14</sup> Ramesses appears as part of a group of deities receiving incense from King Ramesses II. The group includes Onuris-Shu, son of Re, Ramesses-em-Per-Amun, Tefnut, and Nekhbet. The last goddess endows 'sed' festivals to the king, from the properly southern tutelary divinity, while Onuris-Shu and Tefnut, along with Ramesses-em-Per-Amun, wearing the 'nemes' and double crown, form a Heliopolitan triad recalling the flight of the eye of Re (Tefnut) and its return (Onuris-Shu). Presumably Ramesses-em-Per-Amun can be equated with Atum here, as in the tomb of Seti II, or with Geb, the son of Shu and Tefnut, and the heir of Atum. In the late Eighteenth Dynasty and the Ramesside age this headdress was a common choice for group statues of the king and gods.<sup>15</sup> It also appeared frequently on colossal statues placed before temple façades.<sup>16</sup>

Although it cannot be demonstrated with certainty, the presence of this headdress appears to signify the king's possession of divine kingship, particularly through solar deities, including Amon-re. The crown, as employed in temple relief programmes, may be described as 'resultant' rather than 'performant'. That is, the king receives this crown during and as a result of his encounter with and approval by the gods. Amenhotep III's common use of the crown on colossal statuary which guard temples (e.g., mortuary temple, Luxor Temple, Karnak Tenth Pylon), and Ramesses II's likewise (Luxor Temple, Ramesseum, Abu Simbel, Karnak, etc.) suggest it contributed to the depiction of the *nsw ntry*, 'the divine king', who was the *ḥt R' ḥnty t3wy*, 'image of Re before the Two Lands'.<sup>17</sup> So common is solar imagery in Amenhotep III's inscriptions that citations are hardly necessary; it would be unlikely that the visual imagery would be different.

2. CG 42084 (JE 37428) is a steatite figure of Amenhotep preserved only from the knee to the shoulder.<sup>18</sup> Although it is attributed to the Karnak Temple cachette, the glaze is well preserved on this statuette whose overall height is 25.8 cm. The backpillar is similar to that of CG 42083: its thickness is 1.7 cm, and its width is 5.8 at the bottom and 4.4 at the top. Here the king wears a 'shendyt' kilt with a sporran over it. The sporran is attached with several sashes which descend from beneath the belt. A panther head tops the apron, and a uraeus with a sun disc on its head flanks both lower corners of the sporran. The king wears both armlets and bracelets; his right hand holds a 'heka' sceptre and his left hand perhaps once held a seal. Around the neck of Amenhotep III are two 'shebiu' collars and a broad collar. The king's body type compared to that of CG 42083<sup>19</sup> does not taper as much from the waist to the shoulders and breast. It is a generally heavier upper body.

The inscription on the backpillar reads as follows: *[broken] n ḥt.f mr.f 'Imn-ḥtp(w) ḥk3 W3st [mry] 'Imn-R' m t3 ḥwt [broken]*, '[Son of Re] of his body, his beloved Amenhotep heka-Waset, beloved of Amon-re in the temple [broken].'

3. CG 42085<sup>20</sup> (JE 38242) is a torso similar in details to CG 42084 but is only 11 cm in height. It consists of only the torso which had arms down at its sides. The

### *Steatite Figures of Amenhotep III*

belt and backpillar inscriptions are quite simple: *[broken] nb t3wy nb ir ht Nb-m3t-r s3 R' [Imn-htp(w) hk3 W3st]*, '[broken] lord of the Two lands, lord of performing cult rituals, Nebmaatre, son of Re [Amenhotep heka Waset].'

4. Durham 496<sup>21</sup> (see figs 2, 3), from the Duke of Northumberland's Alnwick Castle collection, is a statuette preserved from lower face to knees. The overall height of the figure is 23.2 cm, and its greatest depth is 12 cm, across the break at top. The blue-green glaze<sup>22</sup> is well preserved over the entire figure whose original provenance is unknown. The statuette preserves unusually the king's mouth, excluding its right corner, as well as the beard but no other part of the head. The right arm is entirely lacking from the shoulder, and the left one is sheared down its side. This piece joins Cairo JE 38596, the head described in the next entry. There is a possibility that this statue was a standard-bearer type. Both arms are missing now, and a particularly large gap exists on the proper left, while the right arm was dowelled in.<sup>23</sup> An excellent parallel exists in British Museum 37639 (fig. 4), a headless quartzite statue of Tutankhamun usurped by Horemheb. Wearing the same kilt and feathered sporran (the uraei with disks have been carefully removed at some time) as well as sashes which flow from beneath the belt, the king holds a standard against the left side of his body. The standard and arm with open palm cover much of the king's left side and, if removed, would leave a large break region. Dowel holes resembling those on Durham N 496 are the only traces of the missing right arm. The holes, however, indicate that an arm with open palm flat against the body was once there. Naturally this is not a certainty, but the possibility is strong.

Amenhotep III wears a 'shendyt' kilt with sporran as on CG 42084. There are sashes from beneath the belt and a panther head at the top of the sporran, but the details differ. Here there are no uraei, but the pattern within the sporran is herring-boned in feather imitation.<sup>24</sup> As on CG 42084 a wide belt over the kilt is decorated with diamond patterns and a central rectangle which contains the inscription: 'The Good God Nebmaatre'. The king wears armllets, two 'shebiu' collars, and a broad collar. The entirety of garb is very close to that which the king wears on CG 42084, and his proportions are likewise similar, being large in the upper body, without the significant taper seen on CG 42083.<sup>25</sup>

The backpillar is here three-sided and inscribed on all three faces. The texts are as follows:

Proper right: *[broken] ht w Nb-m3t-r s3 R' Imn-htp(w) hk3 W3st di(w) nh [mi R']*

Rear: *[broken] Nb-[m3t-r] ir.n.f m mnw.f n hnty.f nh m t3 hwt [Nb]-m3t-r*

Proper left (*pt* sign is behind the king's thigh rather than at top of column). *ntr nfr [break] hnty.f nh m t3 hwt Nb-m3t-r ir.n.f [broken with part of two signs visible]* '[broken] crowns, Nebmaatre, the son of Re, Amenhotep, heka Waset, given life [like Re]. [broken] Neb-[maatre]. He made (it) as his monument for his living image in the temple of [Neb]maatre [broken]. The Good God [broken] his living image in the temple of Nebmaatre. He made [broken].'

5. JE 38596,<sup>26</sup> (see fig. 3, joins Durham N 496, see fig. 2) is a partial head of the king which likewise comes from the cachette. The overall height of the head is 12.1 cm, only 3 cm of which includes the face. The depth of the break at the bottom is 11.2 cm. There are discernible traces of glaze left on the wig but few on

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the face, which is broken through the left eye. The right side of the face is nearly complete, but the mouth, other than the right corner, is lacking. The king wears the round wig topped by the double crown; a uraeus begins above the brow-band and terminates halfway up the red crown's shelf. The king's right eye is strongly oblique and narrowly rimmed. A natural brow appears above it.

As with CG 42083 and 42084 there is a backpillar here, but, unlike those two statuettes, JE 38596 has a three-sided pillar which emulates an obelisk and is inscribed on its two remaining faces. Undoubtedly its third side was also inscribed.) A *pt* sign begins each text:

Proper right: *ntr nfr nb 3wt-ib nb [broken]*

Rear: *ntr nfr nb t3wy [Nb]m3t-r [broken]*

'The Good God, lord of joy, lord of [broken]; the Good God, lord of the Two Lands, [Neb]maat-re [broken].'

If one places JE 39596 atop Durham 496 the join at the mouth is perfect as is that of the backpillar. The depth of the Durham break, 12.0 cm, is slightly longer only because it includes the protrusion at the mouth which the Cairo break, 11.2 cm, does not. The Cairo piece, ostensibly from the Karnak cachette, is the head to the Durham body and allows reconstruction of at least the proper right and rear texts as follows:

Proper right: 'The Good God, lord of joy, lord of crowns, Nebmaat-re, the son of Re, Amenhotep heka Waset, given life [like Re].'

Rear: 'The Good God, lord of the Two Lands, Nebmaat-re. He made as his monument for his living image in the temple of Nebmaat-re [broken].'

There is no way of knowing how or when the head and body became separated, but it was probably in the ancient period if the head's provenance to the cachette is correct. The Duke of Northumberland's acquisition of the piece pre-dated the discovery of the cachette by several generations, and the excellent state of glaze on the Durham piece versus the virtually absent state on the head likewise suggests different resting places for the fragments. At least we can now see the totality of the statuette's garb and regalia. Since there are likewise neither lappets nor streamers on the shoulders of CG 42084, we may suggest that it wore a headdress similar to the round wig with double crown.<sup>27</sup>

It is interesting to note that the occurrence of this crown, the round wig with the double crown, is quite common for Amenhotep III in small-scale statuary. It appears on the steatite figures here considered, a kneeling example in Boston, (BMFA 1970.636), omitted due to its pose, and a quartzite piece in Cleveland (61.417) of slightly less than life size. The type's frequency is particularly noteworthy since it appears to have been introduced either by this king or his father.<sup>28</sup> The relationship between this image and the god Neferhotep has been discussed by Vandersleyen who forcefully made the argument for the identification.<sup>29</sup> The king's association with that deity, who was the perfectly appeased deity reborn as a youthful king, is entirely appropriate and consistent with Amenhotep III's receipt of crowns and regalia at the 'sed' festival. Neferhotep's association with lunar and solar gods is likewise well attested, since it is the potential violence in them that

### *Steatite Figures of Amenhotep III*

his personification propitiates. That this statuette comes from the mortuary temple, near the location of the jubilee, is, therefore, not surprising. And the iconography of the panther head on the king's kilts discussed above likewise deepens our understanding of this figure as well as CG 42084.

The panther has its mythological roots in the heavens. The leopard or cheetah, like the later heavenly cow, stretched across the heaven spotted with stars.<sup>30</sup> Like the vulture sky goddess to be discussed below, the panther's function was to guarantee the sun's course through the sky and, as such, could act protectively (motherly) or aggressively. The common syncretism of Sekhmet and Mut may have its source in the connection of these two sky goddesses each of whom possessed two distinct aspects.<sup>31</sup> In the case of the king wearing this emblem we may assume that the sky goddess cat acts to protect the ruler who, like Rē', must travel the solar course.<sup>32</sup> The connection of the panther with the sun's journey brings it as well into the cycle of death and rebirth, thus tying it as well to the 'sed' festival.<sup>33</sup> Not surprisingly, then, we see at Amada, the youth Tuthmose IV wearing the sidelock and clutching the nestling in his hand, garbed in a panther skin with the head falling over the front of his kilt, just as here.<sup>34</sup> The overall effect of the panther worn by Amenhotep III is to identify him as the son of the sun god whose protection must be ensured. That this appears on the regalia of the living king, rather than on his funerary goods, such as we see for Tutankhamun (gold panther head, black panther figures for him to ride upon, a panther bed for transport, etc.) may well be the result of the king's rejuvenation at the 'sed' festival. The iconography of the headdress, taken together with that of the panther amulet, identifies Amenhotep III as a rejuvenated and divine form of the king (Neferhotep and a sun god). The image is a different one from that presented by CG 42083, the first statuette, but both emerge sensibly from the process of renewal.

6. Louvre E25682<sup>35</sup> (N3934) is a kilt and left thigh of the king 8.3 cm in height with heavy blue-green glaze remaining.<sup>36</sup> The original statuette was similar in type and size to CG 42083, no. 1 above. The kilt front on that statuette, belt to hem, was 8.8 cm and of similar width as well.

7. Berlin (former East) 17020<sup>37</sup> (see fig. 5) is a steatite (or limestone) figure some 23.5 cm in height on a base 3.5 cm in height. The statuette is headless but otherwise complete. The glaze has entirely oxidized and appears as brown stains over the surface of the piece. The glaze would have been heavy to judge from the remaining stains. This statuette of Amenhotep III has the king wearing a blue crown (streamers remain on both sides of the backpillar) and a 'shendyt' kilt topped with a sporran. The sporran is topped by the panther head (discussed already) and has the herring-boned feather pattern terminating in uraei with sun-discs as on CG 42084. Descending from beneath the king's belt on either side of the sporran are two pleated ties and a sash. The only necklace is a broad-collar, but Amenhotep wears both armlets and wristlets.

Berlin 17020 has a fragmentarily preserved divine standard held against the king's left side. The divine emblem is, however, entirely missing. There is a backpillar which tapers slightly from bottom to top, but there is no inscription. The

backpillar is 20 cm in height and was designed to terminate at the back ridge on Amenhotep's blue crown. The actual highest point of the crown would have been slightly higher than the backpillar. That this is a figure of Amenhotep III can hardly be in doubt, however, due to the close comparison of all its details to other steatite statuettes. This is, of course, the view taken as well by Schäfer and Müller.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of Berlin 17020 is its body type which differs markedly from that seen on CG 42083. Amenhotep III on the Cairo piece appeared with a strong and virile upper body and rather slim lower physique as well. In contrast our Berlin steatite figure is more similar, but not identical, to the Brooklyn Museum wooden figure of the king, Acc. No. 48.28. While on CG 42083 the king's shoulders were 5.75 grid squares wide, his breast width 3.07 squares, and his waist, 2.77, the Brooklyn figure's shoulders were 5.08 + squares, its breast 3.66 squares, and its waist 3.48 Berlin 17020 has a shoulder width of 5.5 squares, a breast width of 3.12 squares, and a waist width also of 3.12 squares. Lower down the body is significantly changed too. The thickness of the statuette at its waist is 2.94 squares, while that of CG 42083 is 2.5. Amenhotep III's maximum hip width on CG 42083 was 2.28 squares, while his hip width on Berlin 17020 is 4.54 squares. We can see, then, that the Berlin proportions are those of a less idealized king whose torso is more barrel-shaped than hourglass. Naturally we have cited the parallel with the wooden figure in Brooklyn, but there is also the dark steatite statuette in the Metropolitan Museum, 30.8.74,<sup>38</sup> and the best parallel, although also uninscribed, namely British Museum 2275.<sup>39</sup> This last is similar in pose. Its shoulders are broad at 6.5 squares, but the breast width is 3.77 squares, and the waist width is 3.33 squares. The width of the hips is 4.64 squares. The figure is thus 'plump' between breast and hips, as is Berlin 17020.

### Statuettes Including Royal Women

8. Louvre E 25493 and N 2312<sup>40</sup> (fig. 6) represents two joining fragments of a group statuette of Amenhotep III and Tiye whose overall height is 30 cm. The blue-green glaze is preserved over the entire surface. The king and queen lean against a single back slab which is inscribed. Although her right hand is missing, Tiye is nearly perfectly preserved from just above her ankles to the top of her feather crown. Only Amenhotep's left arm, which has both an armllet and a wristlet, remains, but we may be certain that his height approximated to that of the queen including her tall feather crown, since the king's shoulder is at the level of the top of Tiye's wig.

This figure of Queen Tiye is significant both for its proportions and its iconography. Her body is of a type seen developing throughout Amenhotep III's reign and has a close parallel in another figure of the queen, CG 780,<sup>41</sup> an Egyptian-blue statuette. Perhaps first seen emerging in the late Tuthmosid period,<sup>42</sup> this type is long, broad, and thick between the waist and knee.<sup>43</sup> The upper torso is generous through the bust but greatly shortened between the waist and shoulder. A brief comparison between the wooden figures of Ibentina,<sup>44</sup> reign of Hatshepsut and Tuthmose III, and Tama,<sup>45</sup> end of Amenhotep III or early Amenhotep IV, demonstrates the proportional differences. The earlier example is long through the torso,

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and the hips broaden along a single curve and are widest well above the thighs. Tama, on the other hand, has a nearly undefinable waist due to the shortening of the torso. Her stomach panches beneath her navel, and the line of her hips is somewhat realistically drawn. It angularly juts out at the pelvic juncture, depresses at the hip joint, then swells to the thighs well below the level of Tama's hips. This is likewise the case with Tiye, although the feathered dress disguises much of the statuette's outline. Indeed another steatite figure demonstrates the body type even better. The pair of Khaemwese and Manana in Cairo, JE 87911, from Bubastis, is very similar to the pair of Amenhotep and Tiye.<sup>46</sup> Manana's body undulates from the nearly imperceptible waist to the knees, and the thighs are enormous when compared to the hip joint area.

It is interesting that this modelling of the line between waist and knee to include the pelvis and the hips separately is not new to Amenhotep III, although it is infrequent in the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty. In the Old Kingdom some female statuary is detailed in this way, although in those early works the upper torso was longer.<sup>47</sup> The same features may be found in the Eleventh Dynasty and perhaps early Twelfth Dynasty as well, but it otherwise appears to be rare in the Middle Kingdom.<sup>48</sup> In Amenhotep III's reign, this lower body form, which exists in two dimensions as well,<sup>49</sup> was, therefore, only innovative in combination with the thicker and shorter upper torso. The complete body profile strongly emphasized the breast and pelvic area and at the same time de-emphasized the waist line. The relationship between this body type and that of the older post-partum woman is difficult to ignore.

Facial features on this statuette are unexceptional. Tiye's nose is broad and somewhat flat, her mouth is not large but is smiling and lightly rimmed. The eyes are, as on CG 42083, wide and long, but the convex area between lid and brow is here broken by lid lines, rendered, however, in two ways. The right shows a small modelled ridge, while the left an incised line. There are curved remnants of the queen's own hair shown beneath her wig line, and this feature, unusual for the period, may well be a direct archaism recalling Old Kingdom conventions of the sort.<sup>50</sup> The steatite pair statuette cited already above, of Khaemwese and Manana, likewise has hair protruding from beneath the wig, just as she has a similarly round face and rather bland features, as well as lid lines. The pose of Tiye and Manana is very similar, and it would not be surprising to find that the two statuettes were produced in the same workshop.

Tiye's enveloping wig is covered by the vulture headdress with double uraei, a lotus filet, a modius and double plumes. Her left hand holds a flywhisk, and she wears a broad collar, but it is her dress which is unusual; for it is the garb of a deity, not a queen, that Tiye wears here. Narrow archaic shoulder straps which emerge from beneath the broad collar meet a belt at the waist. Below the belt Tiye wears a feathered garment made of 'U'-shaped plumage, and the ends of two wings wrap, right over left, across the queen's genital region, creating a 'V' such as is visible on many contemporary wooden statuettes.<sup>51</sup> The feathering suggests a vulture's plumage, associating the queen to Nekhbet and Mut.<sup>52</sup> Although the wings are detailed in a general manner seen on a variety of birds, including falcons, kites, and vultures, the deities with kite or falcon wings do not have this 'U'-shaped

feathering on the bodies, while the vultures, when feathering is shown, do.<sup>53</sup> Vultures, according to all Egyptian drawings, do have feathered fronts, and, therefore, those 'bellies' are shown with the feathering motif: see, for example, the vulture on the wall and ceiling of the pillared hall at Deir el-Bahri which precedes the Anubis Chapel.<sup>54</sup> The association of Tiye's dress with vulture goddesses is borne out by the inscription on the statuette's backpillar. The queen is referred to as: *rp<sup>c</sup>tt wrt ḥswt ḥmt-nsw wrt Ty [mrt] Nḥbt*, 'The *rp<sup>c</sup>tt*, great of favours, Great King's Wife Tiye, [beloved] of Nekhbet.'

More important, perhaps, than the mere association of this dress to the vulture, however, is the connection to the vulture goddess who facilitates the sun's course through the sky. Although plainly deduced from the texts as well,<sup>55</sup> a number of scenes from the Valley of the Kings show the diurnal heaven as a ram-headed, uraeus-tailed, vulture-bodied divinity, whose wings span the sky.<sup>56</sup> Westendorf considered all winged mixed-deity forms to be based in the vulture sky goddess. For him even a winged sun bark should be included in these mixtures: 'Das Flügelpaar der Sonnenbarke kann dabei durchaus von der Himmelsgöttin "Geier" stammen, denn die ursprüngliche Funktion jeder Himmelsgöttin war offensichtlich, mütterlicher Aufenthaltsraum und Transporteur der Sonne zu sein.'<sup>57</sup> The simple vulture appears in the passageways of royal tombs, sometimes with a serpent or falcon head, to protect the kings' travel.<sup>58</sup> It is perhaps noteworthy that the one goddess, other than Mut and Nekhbet, who wears a 'U'-shaped feathered dress, as well as vulture wings, is Maat,<sup>59</sup> the daughter of Re. An intended solar connection for Tiye's iconography can thus hardly be ignored. Since she wears the double uraei flanking the vulture on her headdress, we may hazard a suggestion that she, like the combined vulture image, could protect the king night and day.<sup>60</sup>

9. UC 16486<sup>61</sup> (fig. 7) is the upper part of a statuette of a queen wearing the enveloping wig, vulture headdress, fillet, modius (largely destroyed) and, presumably, but now lacking, plumes. There is little glaze on the surface, although it is most visible on the incised feather pattern of the vulture headdress. Since steatite breaks along shear lines, it is possible to see here the general outlines of the original rear of the statuette. Although it appears we see the eroded remains of a backpillar, it is rather the form of a broken-away pillar that remains. The shallowness of this image, as seen in profile, is thus the result from its having been torn from its support. If the profile view is compared with that of the Louvre Queen Tiye statuette, it may be seen that we have only a small portion of the negative space behind the feathers, and indeed none of whatever backpillar existed. This fragmentary bust, therefore, derived from a larger original, which may have been a group statue. Aldred found a connection between this piece and statuettes which he identified as Ahmose Nefertari. This may be the case; however, here our interest is in the relationship of the bust to the Louvre figure of Queen Tiye. The overall height of this piece is 3.55 cm. The standing height of the statuette, based on the present proportions, would have been 13.5 cm to the hairline, plus the height of the wig and headdress. This statuette would therefore have been a trifle more than half the height of the Queen Tiye figure. However, there are some similarities to be noted.

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The detailing of the eyes on Louvre E 25493 and N 2312 shows that one lid was modelled with a lid line in relief, while the other was marked with an incision. This interesting difference in lid treatment is exactly paralleled by examination of UC 16486, whose right lid carries the incised mark of a lid line but whose left lid is modelled in a ridge above the lid. In addition the facial shapes of the two figures are quite similar, as are the broad flat noses. Without question the Louvre figurine is a more carefully finished work, but the presence of glaze on it may well disguise many deficiencies. Although the University College bust may not have been made by the same artist, there is sufficient stylistic relationship to suggest the possibility.

Nonetheless, UC 16486 is not of the same image as is Louvre E 25493 and N 2312. It is a statuette of a queen wearing a large fillet over the wig and vulture headdress with modius and feathers. There is not a double uraeus plus vulture here, but rather a poorly formed single vulture body whose head is lacking. Nor is there a feather dress implied by the presence of shoulder straps or a belt as on the Louvre piece.

As Queen, Tiye wears the double uraeus, with and without the additional vulture headdress, on all inscribed works with intact uraei.<sup>62</sup> The limestone colossal group from Medinet Habu, for example, shows the queen with vulture headdress and double uraeus. However, another figure in the group wears the vulture headdress alone. Amenhotep III's daughter Henuttaneb appears between her parents with the title *sm3yt Hr imyt lb.f s3t nsw*. The princess wore the enveloping wig with vulture headdress, modius, and plumes. Only the double uraeus was lacking in comparison with Tiye, and this may have been the case with the University College statuette as well. It is possible that Tiye was never represented here, but that one of Amenhotep III's daughters, Henuttaneb or Sitamun, appeared in a group with her parents and was scaled smaller than they. The bust seen here will therefore represent part of the daughter's figure which was torn away from the larger group at some point. Whether this fragment belonged to the Louvre group to which it is stylistically related is entirely unknown, but it could have belonged to it or a similar group. The proportions of the figure are so much smaller than those of the existing Amenhotep III figures and of the single preserved Queen Tiye that the identification of the woman as a princess is indeed possible.

**10.** Macclesfield 59–10<sup>63</sup> is a steatite figure inscribed for Queen Tiye. The piece is some 11.4 cm in height according to the publications, but it has not been examined for this study. Examination on Aldred's behalf ascertained the presence of bits of glaze on the statuette's surface. Here the queen wears the enveloping wig and vulture headdress. There are three holes atop the wig for the insertion of a headdress. The uraei are broken away, but, according to Aldred, they were probably double (presumably two flanking the vulture). The queen holds the flywhisk in her left hand, and the lotus in her right.<sup>64</sup> The necklace is summarily done here, and the eyes are not similar to those of Queen Tiye on other works. Since the nose and mouth are destroyed, the overall features remain bland and unrevealing. The backpillar is inscribed for the *rp'tt wrt hswt hmt-nsw wrt Tyy* (written \_\_\_\_\_), [*mrt*] *3st hryt-ib ////*, 'rp'tt, great of favours, the Great Royal Wife, Tiye [beloved of] Isis in the midst of ////'.



The work on this piece is not of the greatest quality, but the piece does provide an additional example of the proportions already spoken of with regard to the Louvre group and CG 780. The best parallel is the woman in the pair of CG 816, a private group. The proportions are similar, as is the facial shape. There is no new and informative iconography on the Macclesfield statuette, however, and it would be difficult to suggest it was made to accompany any of the preceding ten statues.

### Conclusion

The statuettes of Amenhotep III and Tiye supply a wealth of information when considered individually and as a group. Amenhotep III, appearing as the divinely appointed heir of Atum, was a vigorous and physically perfect specimen. As the recently reborn and perfect king he was physically less muscular and fleshier. In the role of a sun god he appeared with the protection of the panther sky goddess who, together with the vulture goddess, carried the solar deities on their way across the heaven. Several of our steatite figures combined the young king with the sun-god iconography, thus suggesting the two-in-one image. It would be difficult to provide the vehicle for both to emerge other than by the 'sed' festival which is so often referred to in the mortuary-temple statuary and inscriptions. Queen Tiye's imagery is that of the vulture sky goddess herself. She stands next to the king, guaranteeing his safe travel with the Heliopolitans. As the perfect mother goddess her body accentuates the female organs. It is ultimately a fecundity that both Amenhotep III's and Tiye's plumper images communicate. That these statuettes originated from the mortuary temple is most likely, given the text from Durham 496. One may consider that these were made as votive images of cult statues of the king ('he made [it] as his monument for his living image in the temple of Nebmaatre'). The ultimate discovery of these objects in the Karnak cachette may well have resulted from their votive function. Such objects representing a powerful deity might have been placed in Karnak to ask favours from Amun on behalf of a supplicant. However their original source in the mortuary temple and its workshops seem undeniable.

### Notes

- 1 PM II<sup>2</sup>, 139; G. Legrain, *Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers* (Catalogue général du Musée du Caire I) (Cairo, 1906), pl. 51, pp. 48–9. A. Weigall, *Ancient Egyptian Works of Art* (London, 1924), 166, fig. 1; J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, III (Paris, 1958), pl. 106; M. Müller, *Die Kunst Amenophis' III. und Echnatons* (Basel, 1988), IV–15, with bibliography.
- 2 B. V. Bothmer, 'Eyes and Iconography in the Splendid Century: King Amenhotep III and his Aftermath', in L. M. Berman (ed.), *The Art of Amenhotep III: Art Historical Analysis* (Cleveland, 1990), fig. 4, calls these 'buttonhole eyes'.

Termining the eyes 'exaggerated' is not necessarily a subjective judgement. The length of the eyes, 1.1 cm left, 1.0 cm right, is 33% of the height of the face, beard line to browband,

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3.0 cm. The height of the eyes, 0.40 cm right, 0.30 cm left, is approximately 13.3% of that same facial height. This compares to examples wearing the 'nemes': British Museum EA 4 where the eye length is 32% and the eye height is 10.5%. On Luxor Museum J 137 the length of the left eye is 32% of the facial height, while that of the right is only 29.5%. The height of the eye is 8.7%. On Metropolitan Museum 22.5.1 the eye length is 27.6% of the face, and the eye height is 9.2%. On 22.5.2 the length is 31% (left) and 27.8%. The eye height is 9.8%. On Luxor Museum J 131 the length is 29.3% and the height is 8.6%. EA 3, a colossal limestone bust gives a length 31.4% of the face, with the eye height at only 7.8%. Luxor Museum J 155, the alabaster group with Sobek, shows the king with an eye length 28.2% of the facial height and an eye height of 7.9%. Hanover 1935.200.112 has an eye similar to our steatite figure's, and curiously wears the same headdress: the length of eye is 37.7% of the facial length, while the height is 12.3%. The steatite figure's 'exaggerated eye size' is, therefore, more expressed in its height than its length. However, both measurements are large for the king's portraits wearing similar headgear.

- 3 This is in notable contrast to the eyelids of the 'Gurob' style known best from the yew-wood head of Queen Tiye but also from a number of private statues. The concave eyelid dominated through the remainder of Dynasty XVIII and is characteristic of Ramesside portraiture as well. Ramesses II even changed the convex Amenhotep III lid on various reuses of his sculpture, such as those in Luxor Temple. Compare the untouched Amenhotep III eye on a statue of the king from Amenhotep son of Hapu's mortuary temple: A. Varille and C. Robichon, 'Fouilles des temples funéraires thébains (1937)', *Rév. d'Égyptologie* 3, pl. viii, with the Ramesside head in black granite of identical type but with recarved features of Ramesses II, PM II<sup>2</sup>, 437 (12).
- 4 At 11.6 cm, the width of shoulders is approximately 5.75 grid squares for this statuette. 6.2 cm, the width of breast at nipple, is approximately 3.07 squares, and 5.6 cm, the width of waist, is 2.77 squares, while its thickness, 5.2, is 2.57. These are high numbers in comparison to the ideal grid from the reign of Tuthmose III, preserved in two dimensions on a board in the British Museum. There the shoulder width, excluding rounding as here, is 5 squares, and the waist is only 2.33. The strongest taper here is between shoulders and breast, but the hourglass shape continues to the waist. The proportions of other idealizing statues of Amenhotep III display this taper less extremely:  
CG 42083 shoulders 11.6 cm = 5.75 sqs. breast 6.2 cm = 3.07 sqs. waist 5.6 cm = 2.77 sqs.  
Luxor Museum J 131 shoulders 73 cm = 5.56 sqs. breast 44.3 = 3.37 sqs. waist 38.5 = 2.93  
Luxor Museum J 155 shoulders 51.5 cm = 6.15 sqs. breast 28.6 cm = 3.41 sqs. waist 23.7 cm = 2.83 sqs.  
MMA 22.5.2 shoulders 78.5 = 5.03 sqs. breast 48.0 cm = 3.08 sqs. waist 41.0 = 2.63 sqs.  
MMA 22.5.1 shoulders 68.5 = 5.01 sqs. breast 42.0 cm = 3.07 sqs. waist 31 cm = 2.27 sqs.  
Colossus on viewer's left as now erected at Montu precinct: shoulders 78.5 cm = 5.9 sqs. breast 58.5 = 4.4 sqs. waist 30.6 cm = 2.3 sqs.  
Compare Brooklyn Museum Acc. 48.28, a wooden statuette of Amenhotep III with a fleshier body type.  
Brooklyn 48.28 shoulders 5.7 + cm = 5.08 + sqs. (arms are missing); breast 4.1 cm = 3.66 sqs. waist 3.9 cm = 3.48 sqs. The proportional differences are evident. See below for the other steatite figures.
- 5 Simple wristlets are probable for both arms, although the right is completely lost. The left is slightly visible. The uraei at the corners of the sporran do not have sun-discs atop them.
- 6 Müller, op. cit., IV–15, has identified the missing element as a divine standard such as appears on Berlin (former East) 17020).
- 7 Müller, op. cit., IV–15.
- 8 H. Brunner, *Die südlichen Räume des Tempels von Luxor* (AV 18) (Mainz, 1977), pl. 48. K. Mysliwiec, *Le Portrait royal dans le bas-relief du Nouvel Empire* (Warsaw, 1976), pl. 64, nrs. 150–1; Bob de Gryse, *Karnak 3000 ans de gloire égyptienne* (Liège, 1984), colour plate

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- (unnumbered) of the king censng and pouring libation. The entire surface of the raised relief is painted gold, with the exception of blue beard and jewellery.
- 9 Müller, op. cit., IV-3, ascribes the headdress to Tuthmose IV in a relief example. Although such a headdress appears on a Karnak block (Sauneron, *BIFAO* 70, pl. 69), it depicts a statue of the king as a falcon, rather than a statue of the king himself. The import of this, however, may be noted below. In fact, an example of the double crown atop the 'kluft' headdress exists from the reign of Hatshepsut. The Boston Museum of Fine Arts possesses a fragment of Hatshepsut's fallen Karnak obelisk, and the piece clearly shows the queen wearing such a headdress: W. S. Smith, *Ancient Egypt as represented in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston, 1960), 117, fig. 67.
  - 10 Hanover 1935.200.112, for example. See Müller, op. cit., IV-3, for a mention of statues of Amenhotep III in this headdress. To this list add a small sphinx and a seated pair statue of the king with Harsiese, both from the new Luxor Temple cachette. M. El-Saghrir, *The Discovery of the Statuary Cachette of Luxor Temple* (DAIK Sonderschrift no. 26) (Mainz, 1991). See above, n. 3, for one found in Amenhotep son of Hapu's temple but undoubtedly from the king's originally. In addition the Leningrad sphinxes of red granite from the mortuary temple wear this headdress.
  - 11 See n. 9 above.
  - 12 D. Redford, 'The Sun Disc in Akhenaten's Program I. Its Worship and Antecedents', *JARCE* 13 (1976), 47-62, especially 59-60.
  - 13 *PM I*<sup>2</sup>, 2, 532.
  - 14 H. Gauthier, *Les Temples immergés de la Nubie, Le Temple de Ouadi Es-Sebouâ* (Cairo, 1912), pl. 56 A.
  - 15 CG 42097, Tutankhamun with Amun and Mut; Vienna 8301, Horemheb [Tutankhamun] and Re-Harakhty; Louvre A 12, later Ramesside king with Osiris and Harsiese; CG 42153, Ramesses VI with Amun; CG 603, Tutankhamun or Horemheb, probably from a group.
  - 16 With Amenhotep III, at Luxor Temple, the colossi usurped by Ramesses II and now in the first court; probably the seated statue usurped by Merneptah and now in New York, MMA 22.5.1; at the mortuary temple the original locations are difficult to ascertain for dark granite pieces, e.g., Hanover 1935.200.112, the large head with inscription found in Amenhotep son of Hapu's precinct, *RdE* 3, pl. 8; the Ramesseum dark granite head, recarved for Ramesses II but essentially identical to the last; the colossal quartzite statue from before the Tenth Pylon at Karnak and now in fragments. For other kings, Akhenaten in the 'kluft' with double crown, JE 49529, from East Karnak; Tutankhamun, JE 59869, from Thebes; Boston MFA 11.1533; Berlin 1479, Ay; Ramesses II, e.g., Ramesseum statues (several recarved but used nonetheless), including British Museum colossi; Luxor Temple colossi from before first pylon and from first court; Abu Simbel exterior; Wadi es-Sebua exterior, including sphinxes; Memphis, limestone colossus, and Ramses Square colossus.
  - 17 *Urk.* IV, 1687, 17; 1693, 12; 1703, 8 (*nsw ntry*); 1646, 12; 1747, 11 (*tît R' hnty t3wy*). The last is found on a Leningrad sphinx of the king wearing the 'nemes' and double crown, and the text concludes *Hr nfr nb dt dl(w) 'nh*, 'the perfect Horus, lord of eternity, given life'. A seated colossus from the mortuary temple wearing the 'nemes' alone, BM 5, has an inscription referring to the king as *nb hb-sd h'(w) hr tn3t ml R'*, 'lord of the "sed" festival, appearing on the dais like Re', *Urk.* IV 1479, 11-12. This may be the characterization of Amenhotep III preceding his re-coronation.
  - 18 *PM II*<sup>2</sup>, 139; Legrain, op. cit., I, pl. 50, pp. 49-50. H. Schäfer, 'Die Simonsche Holzfigur eines Königs der Amarnazeit', *ZÄS* 70 (1934) Abb. 8, p. 6; Vandier, op. cit., pl. 106; Müller, op. cit., IV-15 to IV-16, with bibliography.
  - 19 The shoulder width, 13.5 cm, is approximately 5.23 squares; the breast width, 8 cm, is 3.1 squares, and the waist, 7 cm, is 2.71 squares.
  - 20 Legrain, op. cit. 49-50, pl. 50. Müller, op. cit., IV-16.
  - 21 Durham N. 496, *PM II*<sup>2</sup>, 452; S. Birch, *Catalogue of the Collection of Egyptian Antiquities*

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- at *Alnwick Castle* (London, 1880), 56–8; Müller, op. cit., IV–11, with bibliography. Many thanks to the Keeper of the Oriental Museum, Dr John Ruffle, for his help and kind access to the piece.
- 22 As A. Kozloff has discussed elsewhere in this volume, we have recorded shades of glassy blue used in faiences, glazing, and glass during the reign by reference to the Munsell glossy colour chart. The glaze on Durham 494 ranges from a dominant 10 BG (blue-green) 4/6 to a 2.5 B (blue) 4/8 as observed in daylight supplemented with incandescent lighting.
  - 23 The right arm was dowed from the beginning for there is glaze on the inside of the break. The left shows a break pattern on the arm and kilt which might suggest a second element was present.
  - 24 The king wears the same combination as TT 192 of Kheruef where the repetition of the ‘sed’ festival is referred to in the inscriptions.
  - 25 There is no shoulder width to calculate, but the breast width is 3.6 squares approximately (3.9 cm) and the waist width is 2.79 squares (6.0 cm).
  - 26 PM II<sup>2</sup>, 140. Müller, op. cit., IV–18 to IV–19, with bibliography. Müller identifies the stone as limestone.
  - 27 I am not aware of an example of the king wearing the ‘shebiu’ collar with the white, red, or double crown alone. It does appear with the blue crown, but that has been ruled out here.
  - 28 The fragmentary remains of a grey granite colossus of Tuthmose IV from the Luxor Temple wore the round wig and, apparently, to judge from the visible fragments, the double crown as well. M. Abd el-Razik who published this statue as Tuthmose IV (‘Luxor Studies’, *MDAIK* 27 [1971], 222ff.) did not, however, provide photos of the cartouche fragments. Although the statue base texts suggest his date is correct (B. Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV* [Baltimore, 1991], 163–5), there can be no confirmation until photos of the prenomen are published. That the crown existed in the reign is without doubt, however, since Tuthmose IV wears it in his temple decoration at Amada when he receives coronation from Re-Harakhty-Atum: see P. Barguet and M. Dewachter, *Le Temple d’Amada*, IV, pl. C 6–8.
  - 29 C. Vandersleyen, ‘Amenophis III incarnant le dieu Neferhotep’, *Orientalia Lovanensia Periodica* 6/7 (1975/76), 535–42.
  - 30 W. Westendorf, *Altägyptische Darstellungen des Sonnenlaufes auf der abschüssigen Himmelsbahn* (MÄS 10) (Munich, 1966), 12, 22, 54.
  - 31 Westendorf, op. cit. 23, n. 9.
  - 32 Westendorf, ‘Beiträge aus und zu den medizinischen Texten’, *ZÄS* 92 (1967), 134. ‘Wenn Könige des Neuen Reiches einen Pantherkopf am Gürtel tragen, so mag darin ein “Amulett” gesehen werden, allerdings mit eindeutiger Funktion: Schutz und Erhaltung der Geschlechtskraft.’ Although he does not mention the importance of the solar course here (and he excludes it only with reference to the king), in the *Lexikon* article he is closer to the view that the king substitutes as the sun ‘... [D]ie Pantherkatze ursprünglich eine universale Himmelsgöttin gewesen sein muss, die auf den drei Ebenen Kosmos-Königtum-totenkult gleichermassen wirkte, indem sie der Sonne, dem König, dem Menschen das Leben gab’, *LdÄ* III, 664–5.
  - 33 Westendorf, *ZÄS* 92, 134, and nn. 8–9 for Niuserre and Pepy II. Likewise, id., *LdÄ* III, 665.
  - 34 Barguet and Dewachter, op. cit., IV C2–4.
  - 35 Mentioned by Müller, op. cit., IV–11 and catalogued on IV–46 with bibliography.
  - 36 Munsell glossy 5 BG 3/6 shading to 5 BG 3/8. (The second set of numbers is the hue. We often record two hues when the hue observed was deeper than one colour chip but not as deep as the next.)
  - 37 Schäfer, op. cit., pl. 3; Müller, op. cit., IV–4, with bibliography. Müller considers this one of the finest works. She terms this limestone.
  - 38 Müller, op. cit., IV–139 with bibliography.
  - 39 Müller, op. cit., IV–123 to IV–124.

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- 40 Vandier, op. cit. 636, refers only to N 2312, the other fragment having not yet been purchased: Vandier, 'Une statuette de la reine Tiy', *Fondation Eugène Piot. Monuments et mémoires publiés par l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 54 (1965), 7–23.
- 41 Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum von Kairo*, III (Cairo, 1930), 89, pl. 144; Vandier, op. cit., pl. 136, 1; Müller, op. cit., IV–14–15, who relates the gown to one worn by Montuhotep's 'wife' Kemsit from her chapel at Deir el-Bahri. The body of the queen is even more broad and squat than in the Louvre example.
- 42 For example late in the reign of Amenhotep II, CG 42126, PM II<sup>2</sup>, 283–4, the standing figure of Sennefer's daughter Mutnofret, has similar but less emphasized proportions. Likewise the thicker midriff region seen on CG 42080 of Tuthmose IV's mother Tiaa (probably made in the same sculptural workshop).
- 43 Full discussion of the proportions of this piece and of female proportions appear in A. Kozloff and B. Bryan, *Egypt's Dazzling Sun: Amenhotep III and his World* (Cleveland, 1992), 202–3, 466. See also R. Tefnin, 'La Date de la statuette de la dame Toui au Louvre', *CdE* 46 (1971): 35–49. The author apologizes to M. Tefnin for misattributing an error to him in *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, 258, n. 2. See Errata sheet for volume reprint.
- 44 JE 63646, PM I<sup>2</sup>, 2, 701; M. Saleh and H. Sourouzian, *Official Catalogue: The Egyptian Museum Cairo* (Mainz, 1987), 141.
- 45 Saleh and Sourouzian, op. cit. 154; E. R. Russmann, *Egyptian Sculpture Cairo and Luxor* (Austin, 1989), 111, fig. 52.
- 46 So, too, Müller, op. cit., IV–46; Saleh and Sourouzian, op. cit. 152.
- 47 Observe this lower body outline on the Cynopolite and Diospolite nome triads of Mycerinus, e.g., JE 40679, PM III<sup>2</sup>, 1, p. 28; Saleh and Sourouzian, op. cit. 33.
- 48 See, for example, E. Delange, *Catalogue des statues égyptiennes du Moyen-Empire* (Paris, 1987). N 3892, an ivory figure, indicates the pelvic angularity but does not depress at the hip joint.
- 49 See, for example, in TT 192 of Kheruef, the court ladies libating for Amenhotep III. There the body type is exhibited in a profile view. Illustrated in K. Lange and M. Hirmer, *Ägypten* (Munich, 1985 [1967]), 166–7.
- 50 For example, on the statue of Nofret from Meidum, CG 4, PM IV, 90; Saleh and Sourouzian, op. cit. 27; the wife of Mitri, JE 51738, PM III<sup>2</sup>, 2, 632. Khamerneby in Boston, 11. 738, Lange and Hirmer, op. cit., pl. 41.
- 51 CG 800, 830, 804, Louvre N 1582, Bologna 1859, Berlin 8041 are but a few examples.
- 52 See Louvre N 3566, a Ramesside statue of Amun and Mut, where Mut wears the identical garment. Vandier, op. cit., pl. 136. Another example of a queen wearing this dress is Karomama on her bronze figure now in the Louvre. As the God's Wife of Amun Karomama was very likely affecting a relationship with Mut. One would be very inclined to see Queen Tiye claiming that same relationship as well as one with Nekhbet. See Westendorf, *Altägyptische Darstellungen des Sonnenlaufes auf der abschüssigen Himmelsbahn* (MÄS 10) (Munich, 1966), 23, n. 9.
- 53 A survey of the objects from Tutankhamun's tomb will bear this out well, but, even when kite and falcon gods are shown as birds, the body plumage is done differently, e.g., TT 1 of Sennedjem shows body-dotting rather than plumage. Compare, as well, the kites of Isis and Nephthys flanking the 'Ba' of Re in the tomb of Siptah. All three show the dotted bodies. E. Hornung, *The Valley of the Kings: Horizon of Eternity*, David Warburton, translator (New York, 1990), has numerous photographs of winged deities as well.
- 54 A colour photograph in Lange and Hirmer, op. cit., pl. 16 (colour).
- 55 K. Sethe, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte nach den Papierabdrücken und Photographien des Berliner Museums Zeiter Band, Text, zweite Hälfte, Spruch 469–714* (Pyr 906–2217) (Liepzig, 1910), 1118–19, refers to the vulture mother ferrying the king: Westendorf, op. cit. 22–3.
- 56 Hornung, op. cit. 92, pls. 64–5. See also PT 1462, where *knmt*, 'darkness' or 'the wrapping',

### *Steatite Figures of Amenhotep III*

is a vulture, while here the mixed form of ram, uraei, and vulture deliberately combines the night and day skies.

- 57 *Ibid.*, 23.
- 58 Hornung, *op. cit.* 208, 194.
- 59 See Abydos, temple of Seti I, inner Hypostyle Hall. The same dress as worn by Tiye.
- 60 Compare in this regard, BD 164, spells for Sekhmet-Bastet-Ra-et and for Mut of the three heads: 'Hail to you Sekhmet-Bastet-Ra-et, mistress of the gods, bearer of wings . . . mistress of the white crown and the red crown, the sole one who is on the forehead of her father . . . Mut in the horizon of the sky, appeased of heart, the greatly beloved, who represses chaos. . .'. R. Lepsius, *Das Totenbuch der Ägypter nach dem hieroglyphischen Papyrus in Turin* (Leipzig, 1842), Ch. 164.
- 61 A. Page, *Egyptian Sculpture Archaic to Saite in the Petrie Collection* (Warminster, 1976) no. 96; C. Aldred, *Artibus Aegypti. Studia in honorem Bernardi V. Bothmer* (Brussels, 1983), 11; Müller, *op. cit.*, IV-30. UC 16487, Page, *op. cit.* no. 161, appears to be similar in form, but is stylistically more like Nineteenth Dynasty figures. It could, however, be a companion piece to the work here. It is smaller (2.5 cm), and would not have been more than 12 cm to the brow.
- 62 Cairo 610 (Medinet Habu group); Louvre E 25493 + N 2312; Cairo JE 38257; Macclesfield H 10 (according to Aldred's surmise), *op. cit.* 10. For a complete list of Tiye's statutory, see Müller, *op. cit.*, IV-152; most of her list is attributed, including some doubtful pieces, particularly Chicago OIM 18021, probably an Amarna or slightly post-Amarna piece. BM 948's subject is a deity and is soon to be rejoined on paper by Hourig Sourouzian. Boston 21.2802 is also of a goddess — Hathor. Uninscribed pieces include CG 609. West Berlin 21834 shows the remains of double gold uraei from beneath the glass covered second headdress. A nearly life-sized grano-diorite head in a private collection shows double uraei from a modius with horns and feather atop the enveloping wig. Hildesheim 53, of probable Amarna period date, nonetheless should represent Tiye and has double uraei. The Memnon colossi are too poorly preserved to inform concerning uraei, but Tiye's on the southern colossus appear to be double.
- 63 R. David, *The Macclesfield Collection of Egyptian Antiquities* (Warminster, 1980), 59; C. Aldred, *op. cit.* 9ff., 13, figs. 2-3.
- 64 See S. Schoske and D. Wildung, *Ägyptische Kunst München* (Munich, 1983), 63, nr. 42, is a gold foil over wood relief image of the queen holding the same attributes.



FIGURE 1 CG 42083. Amenhotep III shown with enlarged eyes and a virile physique. Author's photo.

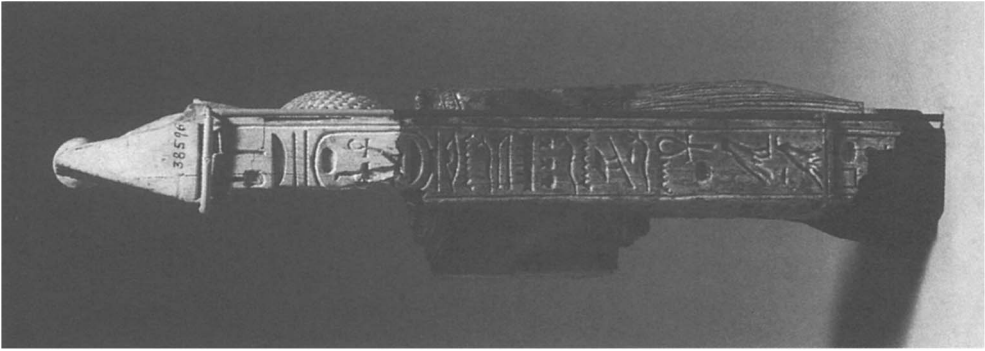
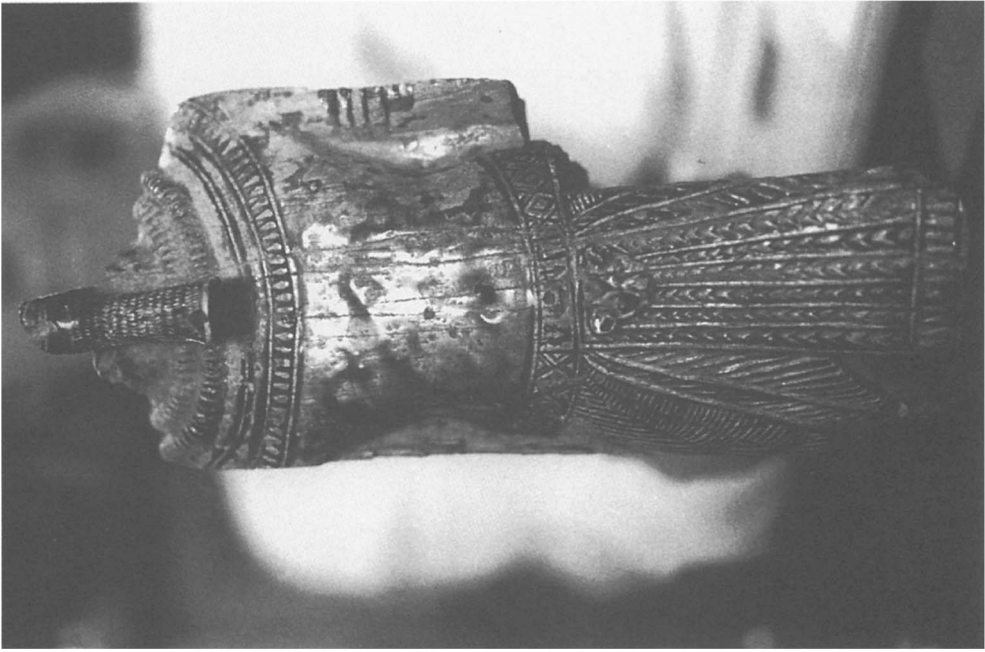


FIGURE 2 Durham 496, Duke of Northumberland's Alnwick Castle Collection. Joins JE 38596. Inscriptions meet exactly. (a) Author's photo. (b) and (c) photos by Howard T. Agriesti, the Cleveland Museum of Art.



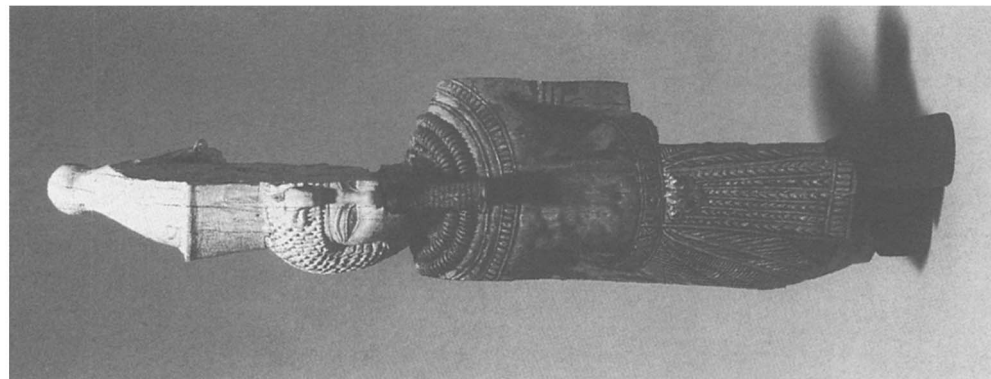
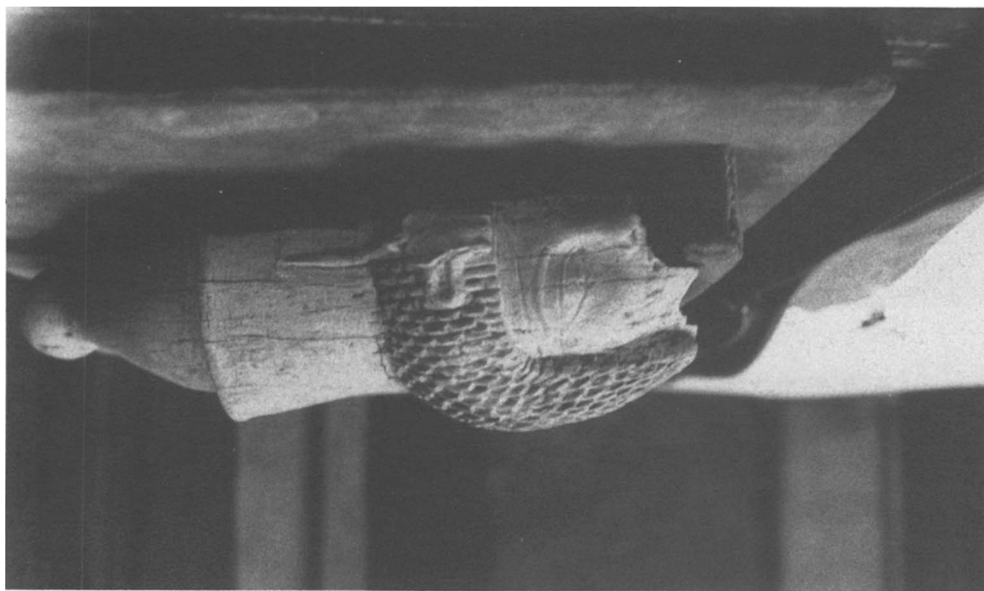


FIGURE 3 Cairo JE 38596. Head of statuette Durham 496. Note the missing mouth which is oddly preserved on the Durham figure. (a) Author's photo. (b) and (c) photos by Howard T. Agriesti, the Cleveland Museum of Art.



FIGURE 4 BM 37639. Tutankhamun usurped by Horemheb. Parallel for the right arm dowel holes seen on Durham 496. Author's photo.

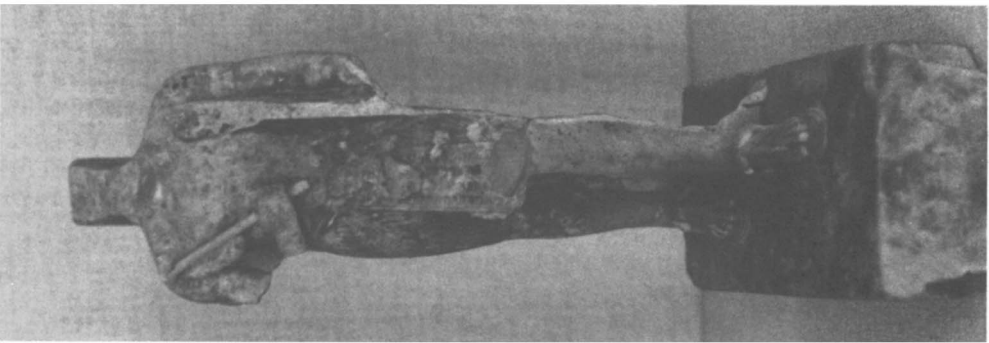
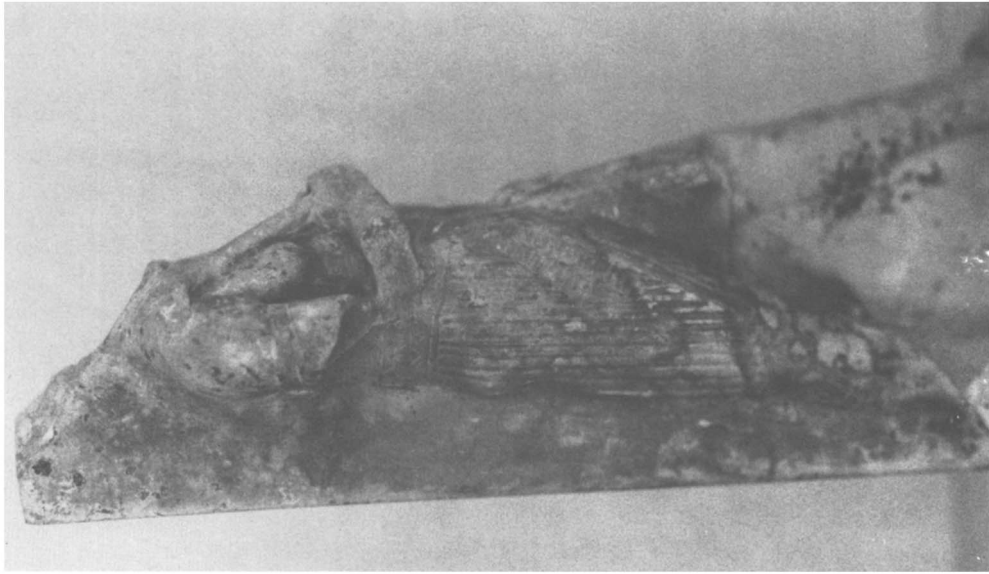


FIGURE 5 Berlin (former East) 17020. Uninscribed but attributed to Amenhotep III by proportions and iconography. Author's photo.

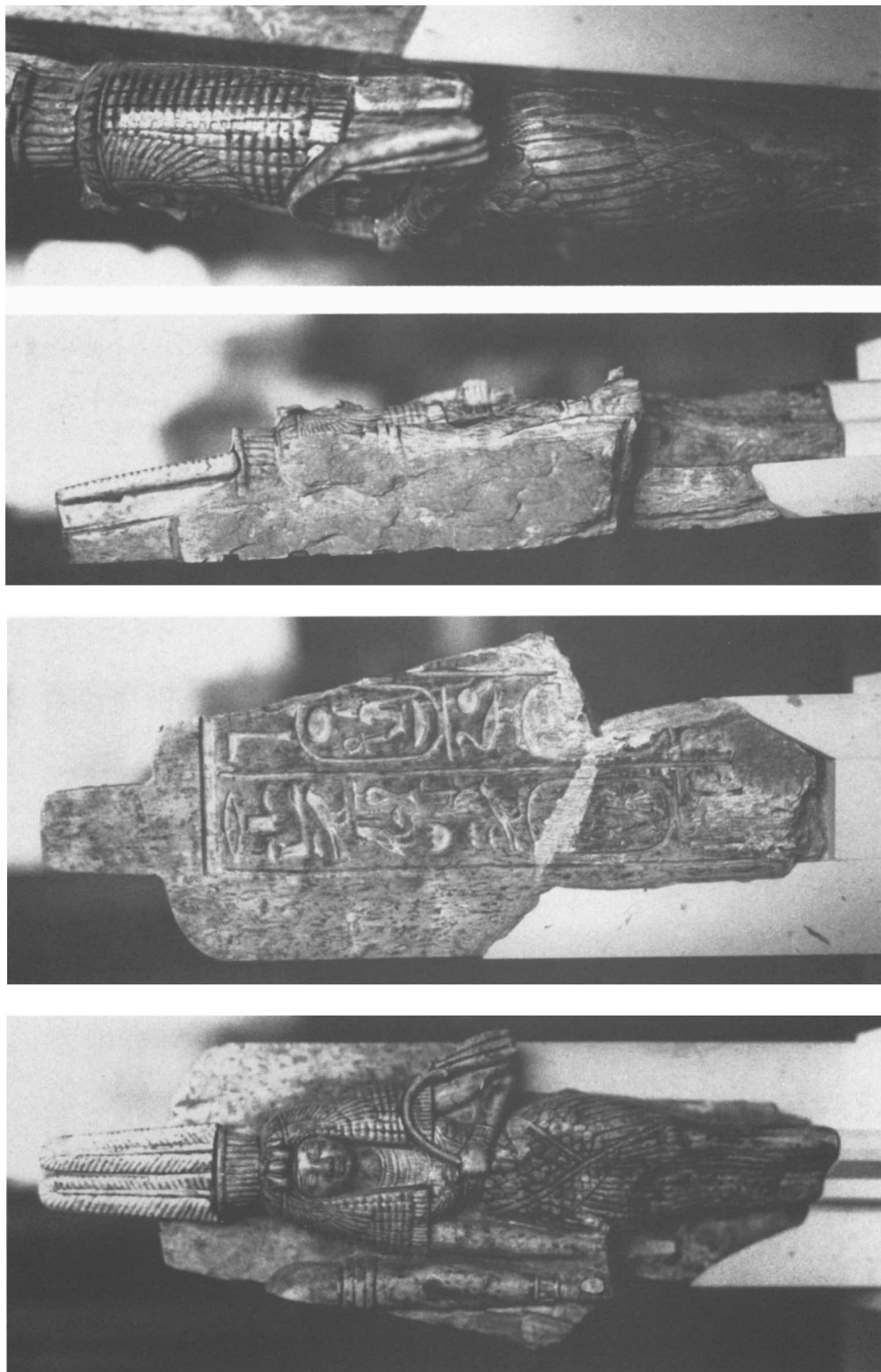


FIGURE 6 Louvre E 25493 and N 2312. Group statuette of Amenhotep III and Tiye as a vulture goddess. Author's photo.

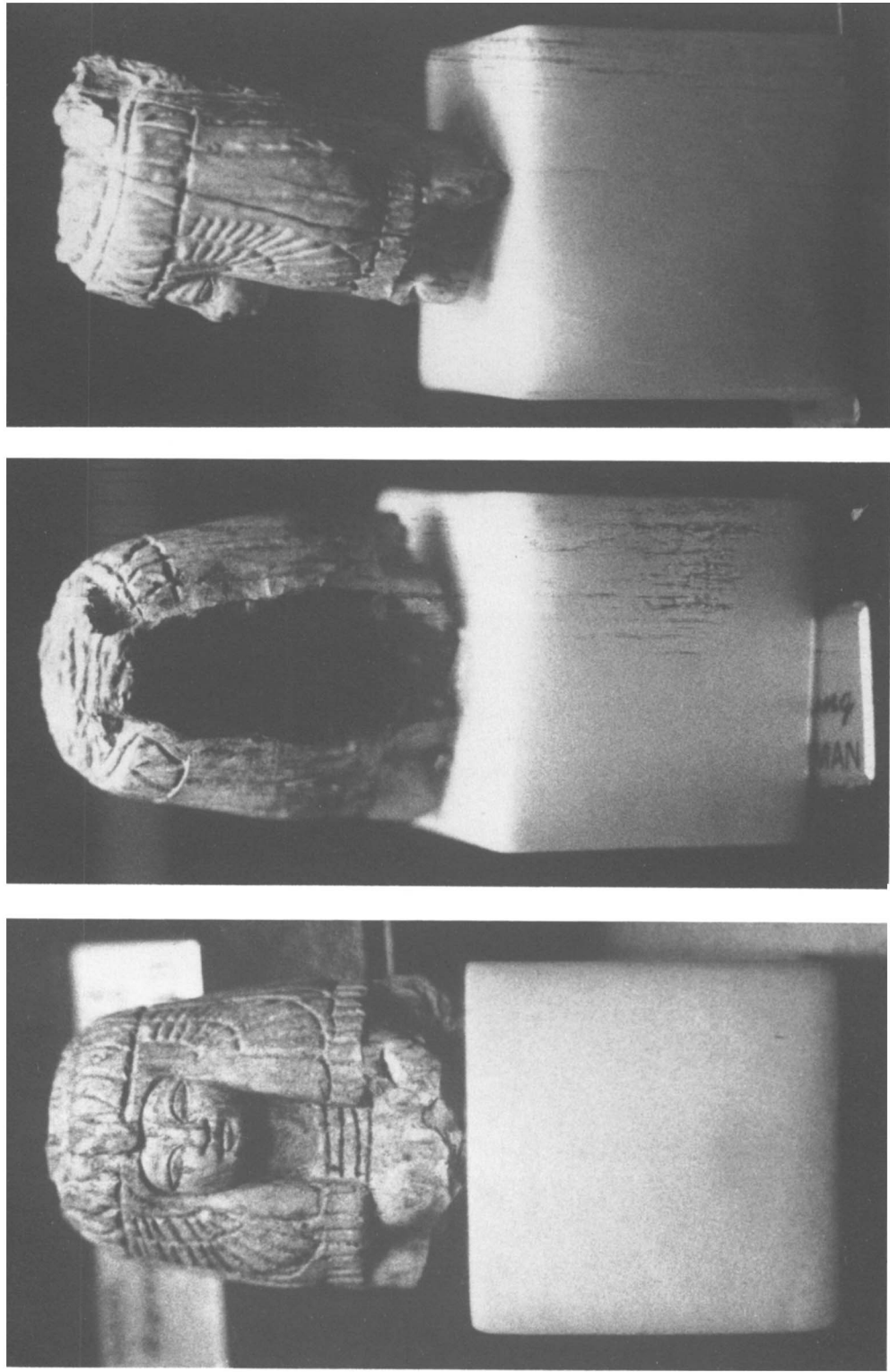


FIGURE 7 UC 16486. Upper part of a statuette of a daughter of Amenhotep III and Tiye. Perhaps part of a group. Author's photo.

# Some Remarks on the Louvre Statues of Sepa (A 36 and 37) and Nesames (A 38)

Marianne EATON-KRAUSS and Christian E. LOEBEN

THE two statues of Sepa and the companion piece depicting Nesames, presumed to be his spouse, are among the more frequently illustrated and discussed works of Egyptian art.<sup>1</sup> Acquired from the Mimaut collection in 1837, the statues occupy a prominent position among the Louvre's Old Kingdom holdings.<sup>2</sup> Consensus dates them to Dynasty III<sup>3</sup> and accords them the honour of being the earliest completely preserved, large-scale standing figures executed in stone.<sup>4</sup> The observations on their composition that follow are offered in memory of Cyril Aldred, whose own comments on them are to be found in his chapter on the statuary of the Old Kingdom included in *Le Monde égyptien/Les pharaons 1: Le Temps des pyramides* (J. Leclant, ed.) (Paris, 1978), 179, 181.

While Nesames's figure depicts her standing with her feet together,<sup>5</sup> the statues of Sepa show him with his left leg advanced (see fig. 1a), the walking staff in his left hand and a sceptre in his right. These attributes are not otherwise found in stone statuary depicting a striding figure.<sup>6</sup> The left arm is bent at the elbow with the lower arm pressed horizontally across the chest; the staff, depicted in relief, projects only slightly above the left hand fisted around it, and it extends downward over the kilt and negative space, along the calf of the left leg, to rest on top of the base.<sup>7</sup> The sceptre is depicted vertically 'between the body and the right arm, with the right hand open and the lower end of the sceptre bedded between thumb and index finger'.<sup>8</sup> As Smith noted,<sup>9</sup> this 'obviously not completely successful' experiment showed that staff and sceptre were not suitable for inclusion in the composition of stone statuary. Similarly, Seidel and Wildung remark: 'This solution, born of the necessity to show the deceased with insignia appropriate to his rank while avoiding the destruction of the figure's block-like volume, was not imitated in later times.'<sup>10</sup> Comparing the statues to contemporaneous relief and painting, Smith confined his remarks to similarities in facial rendering,<sup>11</sup> but Seidel and Wildung pertinently remark that in Sepa's statues 'the formal principles for representing the human figure in relief and painting are transposed into sculpture in the round: striding posture, long staff in the extended left hand, sceptre vertically in the right'.<sup>12</sup>

Among the scholars who have commented more recently on the statues, only Smith noted that the inscriptions, which are cut in raised relief on top of the bases

of all three statues, 'like those of the [contemporaneous] seated statues, show clumsy forms of hieroglyphs, with the added peculiarity that *they are placed sideways on the base*'.<sup>13</sup> Some forty years earlier, Weill, too, remarked upon the placement of the texts, adding that the inscriptions, viewed from the figure's right side, were oriented toward the observer,<sup>14</sup> thereby providing the clue to explaining their anomalous orientation: in order to read the texts, the statues must be approached from their right side. Thus, it is highly likely that the sculptor who carved the figures conceived them as images seen from the right side, comparable to 'hieroglyphic' figures in relief and painting displaying the dominant rightward orientation.<sup>15</sup>

The attitude of Sepa's statues provides another point of correspondence between them and two-dimensional depictions of the male figure in relief and painting.<sup>16</sup> Sepa actually strides forward, with the weight of his body borne by the advanced left leg, not by the right (fig. 1a).<sup>17</sup> And in one of the statues (A 36) the left shoulder of the figure swings slightly forward, to follow the movement of the legs.<sup>18</sup>

The rendering of a true striding posture in Sepa's statues is adequately explained in terms of their generally experimental character and their dating to the formative phase of Egyptian sculpture. As in all early stone statuary, a back pillar is missing from the composition of the statues of both Sepa and Nesames (see fig. 1b, a back view of A 37). It became a standard accoutrement for striding male (and standing female) figures in stone only in Dynasty V.<sup>19</sup> The massive form of the lower extremities with, in Sepa's case, considerable negative space between the legs, is clearly a function of the sculptor's concern for the stability of the figures. As with the attributes — staff and sceptre — included in the composition, the attitude of Sepa's statues embodies what the sculptor intended to show;<sup>20</sup> the subsequent adoption of a convention depicting the 'striding' posture in stone statuary with the figure's weight carried by the right leg instead of the advanced left, in association with the introduction of the backpillar (or back slab), represents a concession to the requirements of the material as perceived by later sculptors. Thus, the term 'striding' appropriately describes the traditional attitude.<sup>21</sup>

In wooden statuary, where stability presented a comparatively minor problem (hence the absence of a backpillar)<sup>22</sup> the weight of the figure tends to be more or less evenly distributed on both legs,<sup>23</sup> while representations of statuary in relief and painting similarly show an even weight distribution, regardless of the material — stone or wood — of the statue depicted.<sup>24</sup> And at least one fine-quality wooden statue of the Old Kingdom unequivocally does render movement, as has been remarked by Russmann. It was found with several others in the serdab of a tomb at Saqqâra whose owner probably lived during later Dynasty V.<sup>25</sup> Russmann notes 'that the gastrocnemius muscle is clearly indicated on the back of the right leg [while] the advanced left leg has a bulging calf . . . presumably the right leg is being tensed in the moment just before the heel is lifted off the ground *to take another step*'.<sup>26</sup>

**Notes**

- 1 See, for example, W. S. Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom*<sup>2</sup> (hereafter: *HESPOK*) (London and Boston, 1949), 17f., pl. 4c; J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne I.2: Les trois premières dynasties* (Paris, 1952), 986, fig. 664; W. Wolf, *Die Kunst Aegyptens, Gestalt und Geschichte* (Stuttgart, 1957), 131f., fig. 97. The most thorough treatment of the statues of Sepa to date is found in F. W. von Bissing, *Denkmäler ägyptischer Sculptur* (Munich, 1914), no. 5 (= A 37). All three statues are illustrated in colour in C. Ziegler, *Le Louvre. Les Antiquités égyptiennes* (Paris, 1990), 24.
- 2 They will be included in a catalogue of Old Kingdom statuary in the Louvre in preparation by Christiane Ziegler.
- 3 Sepa's distinctive titles are preserved on fragments of a stone vessel from the Step Pyramid (see W. Helck, *Untersuchungen zur Thinitenzeit* (Äg. Abh. 45) (Wiesbaden, 1987), 242–4 — we are indebted to Jochem Kahl for this reference); thus the statues can be dated with confidence to the earlier part of the dynasty.
- 4 The colossal statues of Min discovered by Petrie at Koptos that were made before the unification of Egypt (see B. Williams, *JARCE* 25 (1988), 35–59) are not comparable since the figures are not depicted in the traditional striding posture (q.v. further below).
- 5 See the side view among the drawings of the statue in Hornemann, *Types*, 875; one of Sepa's statues (A 36) is also included in Hornemann's corpus, as no. 202.
- 6 A seated stone statue with the same attributes, found at Giza, is to be published by Zaki Hawass. (It has been illustrated in *K.M.T. A Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt* I:3 (1990), 5.) Cf. the depiction of such statues in relief and painting discussed by Eaton-Krauss, *The Representations of Statuary in Private Tombs of the Old Kingdom* (Äg. Abh. 39) (Wiesbaden, 1984), 16–18.
- 7 G. A. Reisner's supposition (*Mycerinus. The Temples of the Third Pyramid at Giza* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), 121) that this arrangement reproduces the attitude shown in the reliefs of two panels from the tomb of Hesy-re where the staff is indeed held against the chest, rather than in the usual attitude in reliefs and painting (arm and hand with the walking staff extended in front of the body) has found no supporters — see the comments of A. Shoukry, *Die Privatgrabstatue im alten Reich* (SASAE 15) (Cairo, 1951), 118, and cf. J. Baines, in H. Schäfer, *Principles of Egyptian Art* (Oxford, 1986), 358 (addenda to pp. 48–9) who suggests the distinct posture in question may depict 'a specific ritual or courtly attitude'. (We thank Professor Baines for this last reference and for his comments on a preliminary draft of this paper.)
- 8 Shoukry, op. cit. 117f.: the sceptre is shown 'zwischen dem Körper und dem rechten Arm ... wobei die rechte Hand geöffnet und das untere Ende des Szepters zwischen Daumen und Zeigefinger gebettet [ist]'.
- 9 *HESPOK*, 17.
- 10 *Das Alte Ägypten* (Propylaen Kunstgeschichte 15, C. Vandersleyen, ed.) (Berlin, 1975), 218f. (text to pl. 119a–b): 'Diese Lösung, die aus der Notwendigkeit heraus geboren wurde, zum einen den Verstorbenen mit seinen Würdezeichen abzubilden, zum anderen den blockhaften Raum der Figur nicht zu zerstören, blieb ohne Nachahmung.'
- 11 *HESPOK*, 17, where 'a strong resemblance between the facial features' of the statues and the heads of Khabausokar and his wife in the reliefs of their tomb is remarked.
- 12 Op. cit. 218: 'die formalen Prinzipien der Menschendarstellung [sind] aus der Flachbildkunst in die Rundplastik übertragen: Schrittstellung, langer Stab in der vorgestreckten Linken, Sechemzepter waagrecht in der Rechten. ...'
- 13 *HESPOK*, 18 (italics added). See the photos of A 37 illustrating the position of the texts in the exhibition catalogue *Naissance de l'écriture. cunéiformes et hiéroglyphes* (Galeries nationales du Grand Palais 7 mai–9 août 1982) (Paris, 1982), 71. For the location of inscriptions on statues older than those of Sepa and Nesames, see the comments of Fischer, in H.



- G. Fischer and E. L. B. Terrace, *Treasures of the Cairo Museum. From Predynastic to Roman Times* (London, 1970), 25. A study of the position of inscriptions on statuary is long overdue.
- 14 *Les Origines de l'Égypte pharaonique I. La II<sup>e</sup> et la III<sup>e</sup> dynasties* (Paris, 1908), 258: 'L'inscription, exactement pareille sur une statue et sur l'autre, est gravée à plat sur le socle, du côté droit du personnage et, de ce côté, face au spectateur. . . .'
- 15 For which see H. G. Fischer, *Egyptian Studies II. The Orientation of Hieroglyphs Part I: Reversals* (New York, 1977), § 4. For a reaffirmation of Fischer's thesis, countering objections along the lines of those expressed by D. Wildung, in *Studien zur ägyptischen Kunstgeschichte* (M. Eaton-Krauss and E. Graefe, eds.) (HÄB 29) (Hildesheim, 1990), 74f., see E. R. Russmann, *Egyptian Sculpture, Cairo and Luxor* (Austin, Texas, 1989), 4-6.
- 16 For the influence of the latter on the former, see Fischer, *Egyptian Studies II*, § 4; id., *L'Écriture et l'art de l'Égypte ancienne. Quatre leçons sur la paléographie et l'épigraphie, pharaoniques* (Collège de France, Paris, 1986), 55f.
- 17 Fischer noted this feature in *CdE* 62 (1987), 9.
- 18 Wildung has recently called attention to this characteristic feature of Egyptian statuary (*Studien zur äg. Kunstgeschichte* 69, 72f.). But the observation is not new — see, for example, Wolf, op. cit. 132f. and B. V. Bothmer, *Kēmi* 21 (1971), 15, who describes a highly unusual case (a royal bust depicting Neuserre, in Beirut) where the right shoulder, not the left, is forward.
- 19 See B. van de Walle, 'Rückenpfeiler', in *LdÄ*, V, 315-18.
- 20 Cf. the comments of A. Erman, *Ägypten und ägyptisches Leben im Altertum* (neu bearbeitet von H. Ranke) (Tübingen, 1923), 495; Shoukry, op. cit. 133.
- 21 *Contra* Wildung, *Studien zur äg. Kunstgeschichte*, 70, 78, who prefers *Stand-Schreitfigur* since he believes the posture depicts 'virtual' rather than actual movement. The same idea was expressed earlier by H. Senk (*OLZ* 54 (1959), 130, in a review of Wolf's history of Egyptian art) who suggested *Standschritt* to describe 'the simultaneous "standing" and "striding" of Egyptian figures' ('das gleichzeitige "Stehen" und "Schreiten" ägyptischer Figuren').
- 22 Its rare occurrence in wooden statuary is consistently explained as documenting the imitation of stone prototypes (see, e.g., van de Walle, *LdÄ* V, 317, n. 2). Note, however, that some backpillars are painted to imitate wood: Fischer, *MMJ* 10 (1975), 11.
- 23 It is remarkably difficult to find published photographs of side views of even the most famous wooden statues. We cite here three examples: Cairo CG 34 (the 'Sheikh el-Beled'): Russmann, *Egyptian Sculpture*, 30; Boston MFA 47.1455 (one of the statues of Metjetjy): P. Kaplony, *Studien zum Grab des Methethi* (Bern, 1976), 57; Louvre E 11937 (Nakhti): *Un siècle de fouilles française en Égypte 1880-1980* (exhibition catalogue) (Paris, 1981), 109.
- 24 Eaton-Krauss, *Representations of Statuary*, 4.
- 25 PM III<sup>2</sup>, 638, dates the tomb to the time-span 'Dynasty V-VI'. The statues were published by Abdel el-Hamid Zayed, *ASAE* 55 (1958), 127-37, where the standing figure in question is illustrated in a profile view on pl. XIII, and the crucial back view is pl. XV.
- 26 *MMJ* 8 (1973), 46 (italics added).



a



b

FIGURE 1 Third Dynasty statue of Sepa, Louvre A37. Photos courtesy R.M.N. with whom copyright subsists.

# The Pyramid of Seila and its Place in the Succession of Snofru's Pyramids

I. E. S. EDWARDS

AN entry in my diary for Thursday, 8 March, 1979, reads: 'Visit Chephren's pyramid, 11.0.' Like the majority of such entries, it was intended to remind me of something which I had to do. My reason for going to the pyramid was that I needed to check a feature in the burial-chamber for an article I was writing,<sup>1</sup> but, since the pyramid was closed, it had been necessary to obtain permission to enter it from the Chief Inspector of the Giza Necropolis, Dr Zahi Hawass, whose representative was to accompany me. On my arrival at the pyramid, whom should I see standing at the entrance but Cyril Aldred, wearing a sun-hat and carrying a cane. Around him was a small group of eager listeners. I did not know he was in Egypt, and I have a vivid recollection of the pleasure that seeing him there gave me. That pleasure is renewed whenever my eye happens to fall on the entry in the diary. As one of Cyril's oldest Egyptological friends, I have many other happy memories of my association with him, sometimes on social occasions, at other times when seeking his opinion on problems of a sculpture or his advice on matters of horticulture. He was always most generous in giving me the benefit of his expertise, and I have been indebted to him for presenting me with photographs of a professional quality which he had taken in Egypt, particularly a set showing many aspects of the pyramid of Meidum — a gift which has influenced me in my choice of subject for this volume.

Because the pyramid of Meidum provides such a compelling spectacle, few who visit it are likely to pay much attention to another much smaller pyramid situated at a distance of some six to seven miles towards the west, on the eastern fringe of the Faiyum, and yet, as Petrie pointed out a century ago, it stands on the highest peak in its vicinity, and it is a landmark which can be seen not only from Meidum but also from Hawara.<sup>2</sup> It is the pyramid of Seila<sup>3</sup> (see fig. 1a), one of the small group of step pyramids which have no known internal corridors or compartments and whose purpose is still rather speculative, though the prominent position chosen for this pyramid suggests that visibility was an important element in that purpose.

Until further excavations have been undertaken, it will not be possible to determine the precise dimensions of the pyramid<sup>4</sup> or even to know with certainty whether it had four steps, as has generally been supposed, or five, for which some

## *The Pyramid of Seila*

evidence has been found at the north-west corner. Whether or not it had been provided with an outer casing of fine limestone, like the chamberless pyramid of Zawiyet el-Mayeten,<sup>5</sup> is also something which remains open to doubt.

Until recently the builder of the pyramid of Seila had not been identified. G. Dreyer and W. Kaiser had found evidence for dating the chamberless pyramid of Elephantine to Huni, the last king of the Third Dynasty, and had expressed in 1980 their opinion that he was probably the builder of all the pyramids of that class.<sup>6</sup> Their conjecture proved to be very nearly right in the case of the Seila pyramid, when the Brigham Young University expedition under Professor C. W. Griggs, assisted by Dr Nabil Suelim, discovered in 1987 two round-topped stelae, one uninscribed and the other bearing the Horus-name, Nebmaat, and the pre-nomen of Huni's successor, Snofru<sup>7</sup> (see fig. 1b). They were lying beneath the sand and rubble which had accumulated on the east side of the pyramid. Snofru's stelae at the Bent Pyramid and its subsidiary pyramid, and at the pyramid of Meidum, were associated with sacred edifices, but hitherto no trace of a cult-edifice has come to light at the Seila pyramid. A feature which may — if it is not a freak development of nature — have some connection with the stelae is the surface layer on the steeply sloping ground in front of the pyramid on its east side. In appearance it resembles a thin layer of stone, but no joins can be seen.<sup>8</sup>

That ritual ceremonies took place at the pyramid — and consequently that a priesthood was attached to it — seems to be implied by the existence of a fine alabaster (travertine) altar of a unique design which was found in 1987 on the north side of the pyramid (fig. 2a); it may have been associated with an offering-place on that side or with the stelae on the east side. Another discovery which supports the theory that some kind of cult ceremony was conducted at the pyramid is that of parts of a seated human figure made of the same stone as the altar.

Until excavations have reached a more advanced stage than at present, it would be premature to do more than note the existence of significant elements at Seila for which no parallels have been found at the other known chamberless pyramids, but it is already apparent that the Seila pyramid, at least, was not simply an emblem of royal authority set up in the vicinity of one of the king's residences; the alternative explanation that it was a cenotaph is a possibility.<sup>9</sup>

The reign of Snofru marked a watershed both in the architectural evolution of the pyramid and in the character and location of the buildings associated with it. A further development was a variation in the method of construction: building-blocks were laid in flat, not inwardly sloping, courses. The earlier method, which had been used in step pyramids, was discontinued, probably because it gave no greater cohesion to a true pyramid, the sides of which inclined inwards.<sup>10</sup> It was simply a technical change, whereas the true pyramid was a result of the adoption of different ideas regarding the afterlife and the means by which it could be achieved. With step pyramids the main cult-edifice lay on the north side of the pyramid, the side of the circumpolar stars; with the true pyramid it was situated on the east side, to face the rising sun. It did not mean, however, that stellar concepts of the next world had been completely discarded, although it clearly implied that the solar cult had gained precedence at the ancient religious centre of Heliopolis.

## I. E. S. EDWARDS

If the most significant architectural and constructional features of Snofru's pyramids are reviewed, the course of their evolution can be traced fairly clearly. The starting-point must be the pyramid of Meidum in its step forms, which indirect evidence shows beyond reasonable doubt should be attributed to Snofru.<sup>11</sup> Their stone blocks were laid on beds sloping downwards towards the interior of the building, as would be expected in a step pyramid. No offering-place has been found, but it may be conjectured that it lay on the north side in front of the entrance and was either dismantled or buried under masonry when the conversion of the step pyramid to a true pyramid took place. The earliest known subsidiary pyramid was erected on the south side of the main pyramid, but its superstructure is now largely destroyed.<sup>12</sup> The Bent Pyramid at Dahshur was planned as a true pyramid, but was built (in its lower part) after the fashion of a step pyramid with inward-sloping courses.<sup>13</sup> An offering-place with an altar and two tall stelae stood in front of the middle of its east side,<sup>14</sup> and another smaller offering-place lay outside the northern entrance.<sup>15</sup> A subsidiary pyramid with cult-edifices in similar positions to their counterparts at the main pyramid was situated on the south side.<sup>16</sup>

Since the step pyramid of Seila had no chambers or corridors — and consequently no entrance — it would not be surprising if it had no northern offering-place. In that case the altar, already mentioned, probably belonged to the eastern offering-place, whose stelae (one uninscribed) were also mentioned above. What can be seen of the pyramid at present is not homogeneous: in places the blocks incline inwards rather steeply (see fig. 2b), while elsewhere they are laid almost flat (see fig. 3).<sup>17</sup> Both the northern pyramid of Snofru at Dahshur and the true pyramid at Meidum were built in flat courses and each of them has an offering-temple on its east side.<sup>18</sup>

If structural features offered the only evidence for fixing the sequence of Snofru's pyramids, it would be difficult to determine the relative positions on the one hand of the Bent Pyramid and the pyramid of Seila and on the other hand of the northern pyramid of Dahshur and the conversion of the pyramid of Meidum into a true pyramid. While the step form of the pyramid of Seila may be considered as an indication of its priority, the fact that its function was different from the function of the Bent Pyramid, and consequently that it may not have been subject to the same changes in ideas about the afterlife, renders conclusions based on stylistic grounds of doubtful value; perhaps the step-design was an archaistic survival, continued simply for traditional reasons. Nevertheless, the combination of sloping and level beds in its masonry is a feature which it shares with the upper part of the Bent Pyramid,<sup>19</sup> and it may well be contemporaneous with it.<sup>20</sup> There is little room for doubt that the northern stone pyramid at Dahshur and the conversion of the Meidum pyramid into a true pyramid were proceeding synchronously: both are built in level courses, and both have yielded blocks with dates which coincide with or, at least fall within, the same span of time. In accordance with custom, such dates were written in red ochre on the blocks, and they recorded the number of a census of cattle which occurred either annually or biennially. In the reign of Snofru the censuses took place biennially for his first fourteen years and then in his fifteenth year. Whether the biennial record was resumed after his eighth

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count or whether the annual census was continued is still uncertain, but the sheer volume of stone and the amount of work involved in building his four pyramids would strongly suggest that the biennial count had been restored, as Stadelmann has persuasively proposed.<sup>21</sup>

The earliest date found hitherto on fallen blocks from the Meidum pyramid is that of the 13th census and the latest is the year after the 18th census or very possibly the 23rd census, but the hieroglyphic signs for 'year' and 'occasion' or 'time', which should accompany the numeral, are missing.<sup>22</sup> Since a very large part of the base of the pyramid is still engulfed to a considerable depth in drift-sand, which, in every probability conceals dated blocks, there is good reason to hope that further information will eventually be forthcoming.<sup>23</sup>

Dated blocks discovered at the northern stone pyramid of Dahshur range in time from the 15th<sup>24</sup> to the 24th<sup>25</sup> census and are therefore substantially in agreement with the Meidum records. One of the blocks with the date of the 15th census was found at the very base of the south-west corner of the pyramid and consequently provides the date when its foundation was laid, though not when work on its infrastructure was begun.<sup>26</sup>

Very probably the Seila pyramid embodied dated blocks, and some of them may have survived, but the paint could only be preserved if it were on surfaces concealed from the elements and thus invisible without further dismantling the pyramid. Its method of construction suggests that it was roughly contemporaneous with the upper part of the Bent Pyramid, but there is no certainty that the Bent Pyramid had been completed by the time the northern stone pyramid was begun. Snofru may well have wanted to have the Bent Pyramid ready to be his tomb if he should die before the northern stone pyramid or the true pyramid of Meidum was ready for use. The precise date of the pyramid of Seila cannot, therefore, be fixed within Snofru's reign, but its position in the sequence of the king's pyramids seems to be clear.

## Notes

*Acknowledgement:* I wish to express my deep gratitude to Professor C. W. Griggs, of Brigham Young University, not only for inviting me to visit the University's excavations at Seila in 1988, but also for providing the photographs which accompany this article and for answering the many questions which I have addressed to him.

- 1 Published in W. K. Simpson and W. M. Davis (eds.), *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean and the Sudan. Essays in honour of Dows Dunham on the occasion of his 90th birthday, June 1, 1980.* (Boston, Mass., 1981), 55-7.
- 2 See W. M. F. Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob, 1889-90*, (London, 1891), 31 and pl. 30. L. H. Lesko, 'Seila 1981', *JARCE* 25 (1988), 216, describes its setting as follows: 'The top of the pyramid actually represents the highest point (124m.) of the range of low, rugged hills called the Gebel el-Rus; and it commands to the west an impressive view of the eastern Fayum, the lush, fertile area generally below the Abdella Wahbi canal, with a similarly impressive view to the east of the desert west of Meidum with the Nile valley beyond.'
- 3 Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography IV* (1934), 103. See also A. Pochan, 'Pyramide

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- de Seila (au Fayoum)', *BIFAO* 37 (1937), 161; A Fakhry, *The Pyramids* (Chicago, 1961), 58–60; J.-P. Lauer, 'Les petites pyramides à degrés de la III<sup>e</sup> dynastie', *Rev. Arch.* 1961, pt. 2, 5–15; id., *Histoire monumentale des pyramides d'Égypte*, I (Cairo, 1962), 222–5, pls. 49–50; G. Dreyer and W. Kaiser, 'Zu den kleinen Stufenpyramiden Ober- und Mittel-ägyptens', *MDAIK* 36 (1980), 43–59, pls. 68–77; *LdÄ* V (Wiesbaden, 1984), 828; L. H. Lesko, op. cit. 223, 226, 228–35; I. E. S. Edwards, *The Pyramids of Egypt* (Harmondsworth, 1991), 65–70.
- 4 Professor Griggs writes in a letter: 'We do not have the exact measurement. The distance from the centre to the farthest corner should be 25 metres, but it could be one metre off (not more than one metre). This makes it 35.5 metres to a side.'
  - 5 Lauer, *Rev. Arch.* 1961, 10–12, expresses the opinion that the pyramids of El-Kula and Nagada had outer casings of fine limestone.
  - 6 Op. cit. 59.
  - 7 Professor Griggs informs me that the approximate measurements of the inscribed stela are: height, 140 cm, width, 60 cm, and thickness 35–40 cm.
  - 8 When I saw the overlay in 1988, the area which had been cleared of sand was not very large, so that its composition was difficult to judge, though I thought it was a thin layer of stone. Lesko, op. cit. 231, writes: 'It appeared at first that this lower slope had been cased deliberately to present a more imposing aspect to the east. However, testing the layers below this "casing" revealed sand and rubble, so it appears most likely that the surface here had recemented itself, just as had occurred in the cemetery below.'
  - 9 See Dreyer and Kaiser, op. cit. 54–9.
  - 10 J.-P. Lauer, 'Sur la pyramide de Meidum et les deux pyramides du roi Snefrou', *Orientalia*, 36 (1967), 243, states 'Les architectes de Snefrou eurent constaté que ce déversement des lits n'offrait aucun avantage dans le cas d'une pyramide.'
  - 11 Cf. R. Stadelmann, 'Snofru und die Pyramiden von Meidum und Dahschur', *MDAIK* 36 (1980), 446.
  - 12 V. Maragioglio and C. Rinaldi, *L'Architettura delle pyramidi menfite*, III (Rapallo, 1964), Testa 26 and Obs. 25, say 'We may infer that the superstructure of this small pyramid must have been in steps and composed of layers. . . . We exclude the possibility that the subsidiary pyramid was built in the shape of a geometrically true pyramid.' See the writer's *Pyramids of Egypt* (1985 ed.), 74; (1991 ed.), 75.
  - 13 Lauer, *Orientalia*, 36, 243, referring to the inward slope of the stones of the step-forms of the pyramid of Meidum, writes: 'ce déversement très accusé à la partie inférieure de la Rhomboïdale (pyramide) et encore faible à sa partie supérieure. . . .'
  - 14 See A. Fakhry, *The Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur*, I, *The Bent Pyramid* (Cairo, 1959), 75ff., 98–104 and Frontispiece; V. Maragioglio and C. Rinaldi, op. cit. 72–4.
  - 15 A. Fakhry, op. cit. 41–6; Maragioglio and Rinaldi, op. cit. 72.
  - 16 Fakhry, op. cit. 89–96 and 104–5; Maragioglio and Rinaldi, op. cit. 80–2.
  - 17 Lauer, *Rev. Arch.* 1961, 9, notes the incline of the courses but does not mention that some courses are flat. He remarks, however, on the difficulty of judging the details of the structure in the condition in which he saw it.
  - 18 Excavation of the offering-temple of the northern pyramid at Dahshur by the German Archaeological Institute in Cairo under Professor Rainer Stadelmann is still in progress.
  - 19 See nn. 13 and 17.
  - 20 R. Stadelmann, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alten Reiches. Die Länge der Regierung des Snofru', *MDAIK* 43 (1986), 230, expresses the opinion that the pyramid of Seila was either contemporaneous with the step pyramid of Meidum or even somewhat earlier.
  - 21 Stadelmann, *MDAIK* 43, 234–9.
  - 22 I am greatly indebted to Madame Paule Posener for allowing me to quote the figures from her article on the graffiti before its publication. Among previous publications of Meidum graffiti are the following: W. M. F. Petrie, E. Mackay and G. A. Wainwright, *Meydum and*

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*Memphis III* (London, 1910), 9, pl. 5; C. Maystre, 'Les dates des pyramides de Snefrou', *BIFAO* 35 (1935), 89–98; A. Rowe, 'Excavations of the Eckley B. Coxe Jr. Expedition at Meydum, Egypt 1929–30', *Museum Journal Pennsylvania* 22 (March, 1931), 26, pl. 38, 2.

- 23 The sand at the north-west corner was removed in 1983–4 by the Antiquities Organization under the direction of Dr Ali el-Khouli.
- 24 See n. 26 below.
- 25 See Stadelmann, *MDAIK* 43, 234–5, Abb. 3, and 239–40, Abb. 4.
- 26 See Stadelmann, *op. cit.* 233–4, Abb. 1, and *id.*, *Die ägyptischen Pyramiden* (Mainz, 1935), 100 (with photograph).





FIGURE 1a Pyramid of Seila looking east with north-west corner in foreground. Photo C. W. Griggs.



FIGURE 1b Broken limestone stela inscribed with the names of Snofru. Pyramid of Seila. Photo C. W. Griggs.



FIGURE 2a Travertine altar. Pyramid of Seila. Photo C. W. Griggs.



FIGURE 2b Inward inclining blocks. Pyramid of Seila. Photo I. E. S. Edwards.



FIGURE 3 Flat and slightly inclining blocks. Pyramid of Seila. Photo C. W. Griggs.

# Missing Parts

BIRI FAY

THIS article presents two sculpture reconstructions, each with a central part of the figure missing. Both represent individuals who lived during the XIIth Dynasty, the period to which my interest was initially drawn by Cyril Aldred's article in the *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, publishing the museum's Middle Kingdom royal holdings.<sup>1</sup> Cyril Aldred's contributions to Egyptology have changed the way we look at pharaonic art. This article is dedicated to his memory.

Without a common fracture plane — that is, when a part is missing — matching two fragments requires a twofold stylistic analysis. The upper part must not only be identified as an image of the individual named on the base, but the parts must also be reconstructed — that is, shown by evidence and analysis to be two portions of the same statue.

Both lower parts of the proposed reconstructions are inscribed, one in Cairo for Amenemhet III (see fig. 1),<sup>2</sup> and the other in London for a XIIth Dynasty Elephantine Mayor, Serenput II (see figs. 4–8).<sup>3</sup> Both inscriptions indicate where the statues were to be set up. The royal base, which is little more than a pair of striding feet, reads, 'the Good God, *Ny-m<sup>3</sup>t-r<sup>3</sup>*, given life, beloved of Sobek of Shedyt, who dwells in Shedyt', indicating emplacement in the Fayum. The non-royal base, which represents a man seated on a block seat without a backpillar, was found in Serenput II's tomb at Qubbet el-Hawa. He wears a pleated tab kilt, his left hand rests with the palm flat on his knee, and his right hand is clenched in a fist resting on his thigh. The remains of this fist around the break suggest he held an 'emblematic stave,' not a handkerchief. The section of inscription on the right front of his seat reads, 'Overseer of the Priests of Satet, Mistress of Elephantine', indicating intended emplacement at Elephantine (fig. 8). As is typical of headless fragments, both bases have received little note beyond initial documentation. Nevertheless, both offer significant clues toward matching them with their missing parts.

Statue material is the most obvious clue. The Cairo base inscribed for Amenemhet III is green chlorite schist, and the London base naming Serenput II is black/grey diorite with white and occasional pink/white clots. Clearly, prospective upper parts must match these materials. Equally important are the statue configurations. For example, the left foot on the Cairo base is advanced; thus corresponding

features of a prospective upper part, such as position of the legs, must match this configuration. More subtle are statue proportions. Features of the separate parts — hands, feet, faces — must be mutually proportional. Most complex of all is art historical and stylistic analysis. During the early XIIth Dynasty, for example, life-sized, hardstone striding statues were royal. The seated posture of the London base is thus consistent with Serenput II's status as a private person. Furthermore, because the base was carved without a backpillar, a prospective upper part must also lack this feature.

The proposed upper parts are well published and stylistically unambiguous. The non-royal bust in London (figs. 4–7),<sup>4</sup> worked in diorite and lacking a backpillar like the proposed base, is readily identifiable as a work of the mid-XIIth Dynasty, around the time Serenput II lived,<sup>5</sup> by its roundish face, chin-cupping beard, banded brows, large eyes with straight lower rims and arched upper rims with centred high points. The royal bust/torso in the Louvre (fig. 1)<sup>6</sup> carved in schist and with the left leg advanced like its proposed base, can be identified easily as Amenemhet III by its distinctive facial features familiar from his many inscribed sculptures.

Over 80 sculptures representing Amenemhet III and a variety of sculptural styles can be documented from the king's long reign. The Louvre bust/torso is decidedly Lower Egyptian in style; it is quite distinct from representations of this king found in Upper Egypt, for example, at Karnak.<sup>7</sup> The facial features of five other sculptures of Amenemhet III, most of which can be associated with Lower Egypt, are so similar that closely related workshops, perhaps even one, may be responsible for the group: Cairo JE 66322, from Medinet Maadi (figs. 2c and 3c); London, BM 1063, found at Bubastis (figs. 2f and 3f); Cairo CG 394, found at Tanis (figs. 2e and 3e); Cambridge, Ashmolean E 2-1946, found at Assuan (figs. 2b and 3b); and one sculpture whose provenance is not known, New York, MMA 29.100.150 (figs. 2d and 3d).

Two specific features characterize this stylistic group, which includes the Louvre/Cairo statue of Amenemhet III. The noses are all broad from the front and acquiline in profile (compare figs. 2 and 3), and the mouths are all horizontal, with particularly well-formed lips, almost pouting and pulled up at the corners. Other similarities include the treatment of the large, almond-shaped eyes, with subtly outlined upper and lower lids. The king appears mature in these representations, in contrast to another group of youthful, almost childlike representations, one of which was found at Lisht.<sup>8</sup>

Despite strong stylistic similarities common to these sculptures, their individual findspots suggest only a general association with Lower Egypt, not really a specific site. The provenance of the Metropolitan Museum head is not known; the Tanis sphinx was moved in antiquity from another Lower Egyptian site; and the statue from which the Cambridge head was broken was certainly not worked at Assuan, but was sent there from another part of Egypt. Even though the seated representation of the king from Medinet Maadi (figs. 2c and 3c) and the granite head recovered from Bubastis (figs. 2f and 3f) were found *in situ*, this is not proof for either a Medinet Maadi or Bubastis workshop for the group of sculptures. Nevertheless, this evidence securely associates these two sculptures with Lower Egyptian sites. Finally, the Cambridge head from Assuan is the only one of the group not

### *Missing Parts*

found in Lower Egypt. Its style suggests it was made in Lower Egypt and sent to Assuan from there. The stylistic analysis and comparison with five other sculptures of Amenemhet III associates the Louvre bust/torso with Lower Egypt, and the inscription on the proposed Cairo base associates it with the Fayum. Thus, stylistic and inscriptional data indicate that the Louvre/Cairo reconstruction can be associated with Lower Egypt.

The non-royal bust in London (figs. 4–7) presents a somewhat different situation. While its proportions and configuration are consistent with the base and materials of the two pieces are a convincing match as the appended report shows, the stylistic analysis is complex. The ‘look’ of the London bust is similar to various Middle Kingdom sculptures found at the Hekaib Sanctuary on Elephantine Island, and one art historian has already noted the similarity of the bust to another representation of Serenput II found in his shrine at the Sanctuary (fig. 10a).<sup>9</sup> The inscriptions on many of the private sculptures found there associate them with Elephantine, and in some cases specifically with the Sanctuary. Numerous stylistic details suggest, however, that they were created elsewhere and sent to the Sanctuary during the course of the Middle Kingdom. The rationale for this view is that an Assuan School, existence of which has been questioned elsewhere,<sup>10</sup> would not have provided enough work to keep highly qualified sculptors busy year around. Thus, in order to plausibly suggest where the reconstructed statue of Serenput II was carved, stylistic parallels with works from other regions of Egypt must be considered.

The closest contemporary stylistic parallels for the proposed Serenput II reconstruction, other than Hekaib Sanctuary sculptures, were found at Lisht. Of these, perhaps the best comparison is the statue of the Steward, Sehetepibreankh, in the Metropolitan Museum (fig. 9c).<sup>11</sup> Despite the difference in stone, numerous stylistic details of the two sculptures are analogous. The most obvious include the roundish facial shapes, the chin-cupping beards (longer on Sehetepibreankh’s statue), the large horizontally set eyes, straight lower eye rims, arching upper rims with the highest part centred over the eyes, the band-like brows, fleshy nasio-labial muscles, and the wide horizontal mouths. The lips do not narrow to points at the corners but are embraced by small paranthesis-shaped muscles. The torsos are nicely proportioned; the waists are youthful without being narrow; and the arm muscles are well modelled. Finally, the resemblance between the wavy shawl wigs with locks twisted at their ends is strong. Similarities between these statues are so great that they may well have been products of the same workshop.

Another good parallel, unfortunately without provenance, is a seated statue acquired by Cyril Aldred in 1959 for the Royal Museum of Scotland (fig. 9a).<sup>12</sup> W. V. Davies has already pointed out the similarities between the London bust and this sculpture, which is the only other preserved Middle Kingdom stone statue with inlaid eyes representing a private individual. Similarities between the two sculptures are evident also in the general workmanship, proportions, and style, including a short chin-cupping beard, the lack of a backpillar, and the choice of an ‘emblematic stave’ in the clenched right fist instead of a handkerchief.

Comparison between the proposed British Museum reconstruction and Serenput II’s shrine statue (figs. 5 and 10a) is stylistically complex. As similar as they

are, close examination and comparison suggests that the tomb sculpture is stylistically earlier than the shrine statue. The tomb sculpture was carved under the stylistic influence of Amenemhet II's reign, perhaps during the king's co-regency with his son, whereas the shrine statue reflects changes that occurred during Senwosret II's reign, as illustrated by a bust of the king in Moscow (fig. 10b).<sup>13</sup> In contrast to the fine, open sculptural style of the London bust, Serenput II's shrine statue is bolder. Whereas the sculptural surface of the tomb sculpture exhibits rather expansive treatment, the later style devotes more attention to details and forms of the underlying muscular structure, as exemplified by the mouth and nose treatment, and the muscular modelling of the torso. Finally, the moods of the two sculptures are in contrast. Serenput II's 'pleasant' expression on the British Museum reconstruction contrasts with a more earnest set to the face on the Assuan shrine statue. The tomb sculpture is closer to the soft, slightly pudgy style of the statue of Chema (fig. 9b),<sup>14</sup> also from the Hekaib Sanctuary. From the inscription on Chema's shrine, we know that he served during the reign of Amenemhet II, and the inscription on his statue reveals that it was made for him by Serenput II. A plausible suggestion is that Serenput II commissioned his own tomb statue and Chema's shrine statue simultaneously, perhaps during the early years of Senwosret II's short reign when the king acted as co-regent with his father, Amenemhet II. Perhaps about the same time, Serenput II's shrine statue was commissioned from a sculptor already working in the new style. Alternatively, the statue may have been commissioned from a sculptor working in the latter part of Senwosret II's reign.

Comparison of these two statues of the same person shows that despite great similarities, each is worked in a distinct style, each with notable differences. This phenomenon is well documented in royal sculpture. For example, representations of Amenemhet III at Hawara exhibit a variety of styles at the same site; yet, the familiar features of the king are immediately recognizable on all.

Although the statue types are common — striding king and seated official — each statue does have its eccentricities. The Louvre/Cairo reconstruction depicts Amenemhet III with a dagger tucked under the belt of his kilt (fig. 1). This detail was once thought to be unique in sculpture before the New Kingdom, but H. Sourouzian has shown that a group of royal statues wearing falcon-headed daggers, previously thought to be Ramesside, are datable to the early XIIth Dynasty.<sup>15</sup> There is no reason, therefore, to question whether the dagger was part of the original design. It is also noteworthy that this statue is not only the smallest known striding stone representation of Amenemhet III, but that it is the only one where he wears a tab kilt.<sup>16</sup> The non-royal bust in London also has an unusual feature. It is an example of a private stone sculpture that had inlaid eyes (fig. 5), which is rare in either private or royal sculptures in stone at any time.<sup>17</sup>

This article reconstructs two Middle Kingdom statues, one royal and one private, from two pairs of fragments. Missing parts preclude physical joining of the fragment pairs, but several factors are convincing for their association as sculptures. Not only are materials of the fragments, their sizes, and their proportions consistent with the proposed reconstructions (figs. 1 and 5), but dates of the individuals named on the lower parts are consistent with the stylistic dating of the upper parts.

## *Missing Parts*

In addition, the proposed reconstructions enabled consideration whether names of emplacement sites mentioned on the statues are necessarily also the workshop locations. This aspect of stylistic analysis sometimes bears significantly on reconstruction efforts that involve missing parts. The final judgement whether the proposed reconstructions are valid, however, must be left to the 'eye'.

## **Appendix**

### *Report on the examination of two Egyptian 'black granite' sculptures (Department of Egyptian Antiquities)*

The two sculptures, EA98 and EA1010 (BMRL Nos. 33147W and 33148U) have been examined; EA98 is the upper part of a statue of a high official, dated to the Twelfth Dynasty, whilst EA1010 is the lower half of a statue of Sarenput. Because of the similarities including the scale of the figures and the general appearance of the stone from which they are carved, it is thought that the two pieces may be parts of a single statue. The aim of the present study has been to determine the nature and degree of similarity of the stone used for the two sculptures.

Small fragments were removed from each sculpture and prepared as polished thin sections for examination using the petrographic microscope and also in the scanning electron microscope (SEM), equipped with energy-dispersive X-ray analyser (EDXA).

## *Results*

Both sculptures are made from dark-coloured, coarse-grained rocks which contain lighter-coloured grains and clots, some over 1 cm across. Observation in thin-section using the petrographic microscope showed that the sculptures are made from similar rocks of comparable grain size and mineralogy. They consist essentially of major plagioclase feldspar, dark mica, and hornblende, together with minor amounts of other phases including opaque minerals, apatite, garnet, and quartz; they are (quartz-mica-hornblende-) diorites. Analysis of individual grains of the various minerals (in particular feldspar, mica, hornblende, and opaque grains of ilmenite) in the SEM using EDXA showed that the compositions of the corresponding minerals in the two sculptures are very similar.

## *Discussion and Conclusions*

The results reported here show that both sculptures are made from (quartz mica-hornblende-) diorite. The stone of the two sculptures is very similar in general texture, overall mineralogy, and in the composition of particular phases. Thus, whilst not proving that they originally formed parts of the same sculpture, the observations are consistent with such a hypothesis.



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The presence of garnet and the relative abundance of the apatite are distinctive and unusual features and examination of further examples of 'black granite' would be of interest in order to determine whether these features are particular to the two sculptures examined (which would provide more positive evidence for their association), or more general features of the 'black granites' as a whole.

R.L. 5856  
28 July 1989

A. P. Middleton  
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### Notes

- 1 C. Aldred, 'Some Royal Portraits of the Middle Kingdom in Ancient Egypt', *MMJ* 3 (New York, 1970), 27–50.
- 2 Cairo CG 769 (JE 28318), fragmentary base from a striding statue, green schist, height 4.5 cm, width 10 cm, preserved depth 12 cm, provenance according to the Journal d'Entrée, Fayum (possibly deduced from inscription). H. Sourouzian kindly checked the *JE*. I thank Dr Mohamed Saleh, Director, Cairo Museum, for permission to publish this fragment.
- 3 London, BM 1010, lower portion of a seated statue, black/gray diorite with white and occasional pink/white clots, height 71 cm, width 40.5 cm, depth 83 cm, height of seat 52.5 cm, height of base 12 cm, found in the tomb of Serenput II at Qubbet el-Hawa (Tomb no. 31) and given to the British Museum by Lord Grenfell in 1887; L. Habachi, *Elephantine, IV, The Sanctuary of Heqaib* (Mainz am Rhein, 1985), 42 and note 3, and D. Franke, *Personendaten aus dem Mittleren Reich* (ÄA 41) (Wiesbaden, 1984), Dossier 530.

I thank Vivian Davies, Keeper, Department of Egyptian Antiquities, the British Museum, for facilitating work with the British Museum statue fragments, arranging stone tests, photography, and finally a reconstruction of the statue, especially since the join had independently occurred to him.

The help of Jennifer Dinsmore, the British Museum Research Laboratory, who generously shared her observations concerning the statue parts on several occasions, is gratefully acknowledged.

All special photographic and montage work was undertaken for me by Margarete Büsing.

- 4 London, BM 98, bust of a private man, black/gray diorite with white and occasional pink/white clots, height 48.5 cm, width approx. 35 cm, depth approx. 24 cm, depth of torso 18.5 cm, width of torso break about 26.5 cm; W. V. Davies, *A Royal Statue Reattributed* (British Museum Occasional Paper No. 28, London, 1981), 8–9, pls. 16–20. Although it has not been possible to determine the exact date the bust entered the museum, M. Bierbrier has located its first mention in the *Synopsis of the Contents of the British Museum*. In the 50th edition (1847) of the *Synopsis*, BM 98 is listed as a group of canopic jars. In the 52nd edition, also 1847, the description of BM 98 on page 157, 'Upper part of a statue of a man, of good workmanship and period. Dark granite', fits the object which is registered under this number today.
- 5 Serenput II, presumably born under Amenemhet II, served under Senwosret II and Senwosret III; Habachi, *Heqaib*, Text (1985), 45–46 (F); W. K. Simpson, *LÄ V* (1984), cols. 429–430.
- 6 Paris, Louvre N 464, royal bust and torso, green chlorite schist, height 21.4 cm, width 10 cm, depth 10.3 cm, width of back pillar 3.3 to 3.8 cm, provenance not known, inventoried between 1852 and 1857; E. Delange, *Statues égyptiennes du Moyen Empire* (Paris, 1987), 33–35.
- 7 The similarity between the features of the Louvre bust/torso and a statue of Amenemhet

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- III in St Petersburg [no. 729; B. Fay, *MDAIK* 44 (1988), pl. 25] has been recognized by a number of scholars. The presence of a vulture hieroglyph in the latter's inscription has been assumed to refer to the goddess Mut. This has led to the supposition that both the Louvre and St Petersburg statues were set up at Karnak. However, as noted elsewhere [Fay, *MDAIK* 44 (1988), 75–76], the vulture hieroglyph need not refer to Mut. Furthermore, in the event that the reference is indeed to the goddess Mut, the possibility that the St Petersburg statue was made elsewhere in Egypt remains.
- 8 New York, MMA 08.200.2, excavated at the pyramid of Amenemhet I at Lisht, limestone, height 14 cm; W. C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt I* (New York, 1953), 175, fig. 106.
  - 9 Habachi no. 13, found inside Serenput II's shrine at the Hekaib Sanctuary, grey granite, height 120 cm; Habachi, *Heqaib* (1985), 42, pls. 30–37; for the similarity to the British Museum bust, see Davies, *A Royal Statue* (1981), 20, n. 91.
  - 10 Fay, *MDAIK* 44 (1988), 69, n. 21.
  - 11 New York, MMA 24.1.45, from the South Pyramid, Lisht, limestone, height 95.5 cm. D. Franke has noted, *Personendaten*, Dossier 694, that Sehetepibreankh of the Metropolitan Museum statue may be the same individual known from an inscription dated to year 6 of Amenemhet II. I thank Dorothea Arnold, Lila Acheson Wallace Curator in Charge, Department of Egyptian Art, the Metropolitan Museum, for permission to illustrate this object.
  - 12 Edinburgh, RMS 1959.24, black diorite, height 38.1 cm, width 12.6 cm; J. Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals: Egyptian Art in the Middle Kingdom* (Cambridge, 1988), 28, no. 18.
  - 13 Moscow 3402, granite, height 19 cm, width 17 cm; Moscow, *Egyptian Collection* (1917), 1, illus. on pl. I, 2 (in Russian).
  - 14 Habachi no. 15, found inside Chema's shrine at the Hekaib Sanctuary, grey granite; Habachi, *Heqaib* (1985), 43–44, pls. 39–45.
  - 15 H. Sourouzian, *MDAIK* 44 (Mainz, 1988), 248–250.
  - 16 Representations of Amenemhet III engaged in a naos and wearing a tab kilt are not classified as free standing. For one see, Cairo JE 43289, from Hawara; J. Vandier, *Manuel III* (Paris, 1958), pl. LXIV (5).
  - 17 Whether Serenput II's statue is from the royal studio that produced the female sphinx head in the Brooklyn Museum [acc.no. 56.85; Fazzini *et al.*, *Ancient Egyptian Art in The Brooklyn Museum* (New York, 1989), pl. 19], or the pair of statues of Queen Nofret in the Cairo Museum (CG 381–382) is not known. Despite the fact that the sculptures are approximately contemporary, the method of inlay preparation is dissimilar. The back of the recessed eye area is a flat plane in the Brooklyn and Cairo examples, whereas the area is wedge-shaped in The British Museum private bust. See also W. V. Davies' discussion of the inlaid eyes, *A Royal Statue* (1981), 7–9.

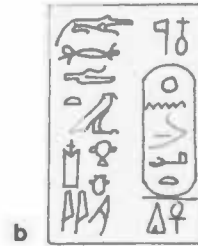


FIGURE 1. a. Amenemhet III. Paris, Louvre N 464 (photo B. V. Bothmer) and Cairo CG 769. b. Inscription on top base of CG 769.



a. Amenemhet III. Paris, Louvre N 464 (photo B. V. Bothmer).



b. Amenemhet III. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam E 2-1946 (photo courtesy of the museum).



c. Amenemhet III from Medinet Maadi. Cairo JE 66322 (photo B. V. Bothmer).



d. Amenemhet III. New York, MMA 29.100.150.



e. Amenemhet III from Tanis. Cairo CG 394 (photo B. V. Bothmer).



f. Amenemhet III from Bubastis. London, BM 1063 (photo B. V. Bothmer)

FIGURE 2



a. Amenemhet III. Paris, Louvre N 464 (photo B. V. Bothmer).



b. Amenemhet III. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam E 2-1946 (photo courtesy of the museum).



c. Amenemhet III from Medinet Maadi. Cairo JE 66322 (photo B. V. Bothmer).



d. Amenemhet III. New York, MMA 29.100.150 (photo courtesy of the museum).

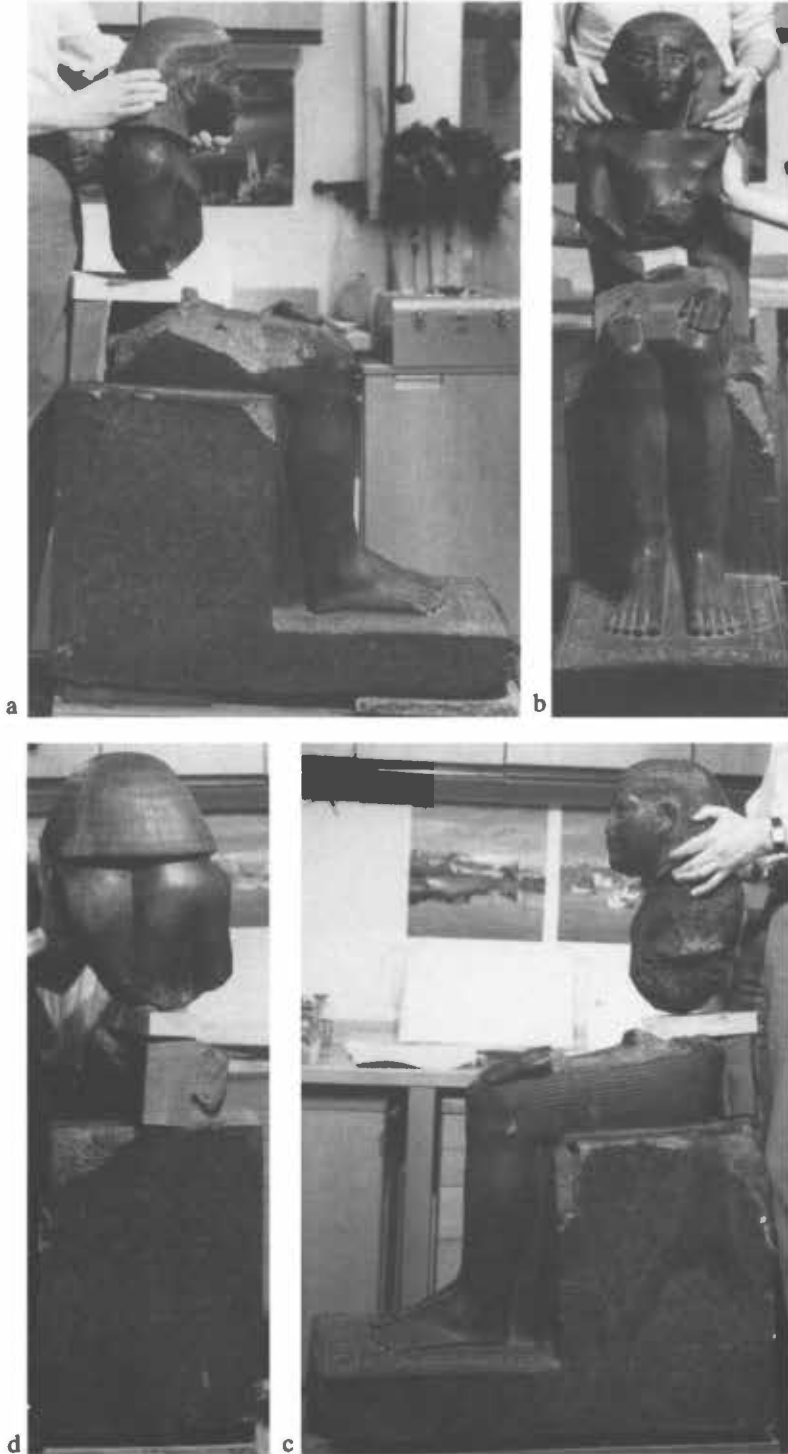


e. Amenemhet III from Tanis. Cairo CG 394 (photo B. V. Bothmer).



f. Amenemhet III from Bubastis. London, BM 1063 (photo B. V. Bothmer).

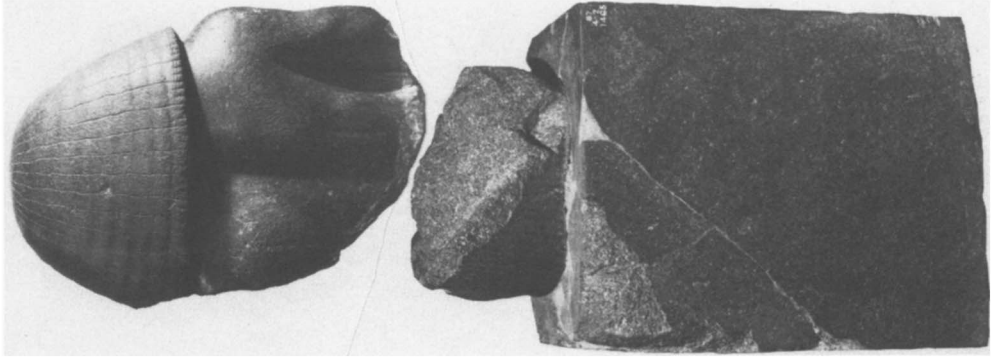
FIGURE 3



**FIGURE 4** (a–d) Serenput II. London, British Museum 98 and 1010. Initial test of reunification of fragments (photos courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).



FIGURE 5 Photograph property of Biri Fay. Upper portion (BM 98) courtesy of the museum.  
Lower portion (BM 1010) BAF 90-1.



FIGURES 6 and 7 Serenput II. London, British Museum 98 and 1010 (photos of upper portion courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).





FIGURE 8 a-e Serenput II. London, British Museum 98 and 1010. inscription on base: a. and b. front of seat; c.-e. top of base.

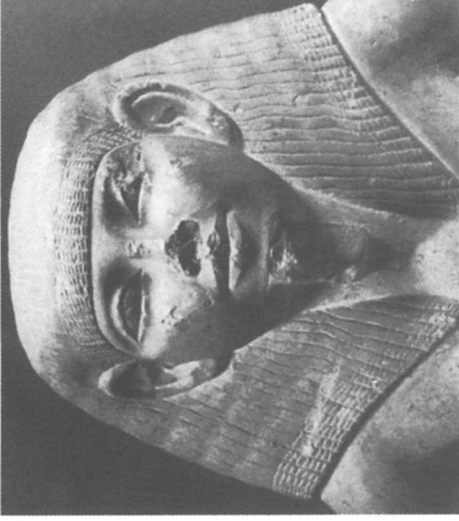
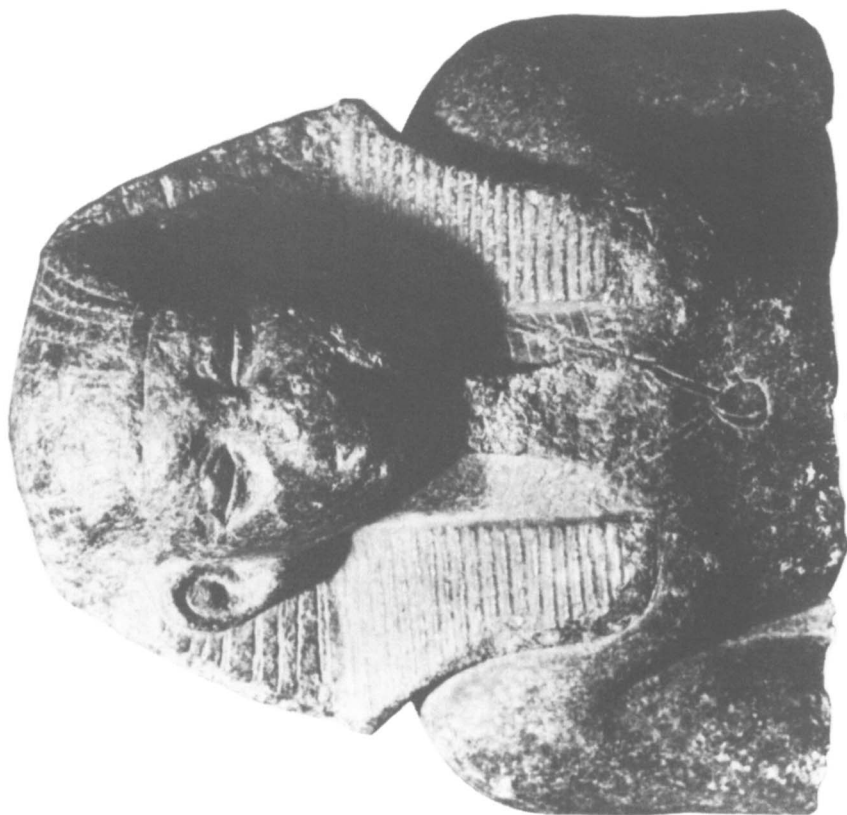


FIGURE 9 a. Khusobek, Edinburgh, RSM 1959.24 (photo courtesy of the museum).  
b. Khema from Elephantine, Habachi no. 15 (photo D. Johannes).  
c. Sehetepibreankh from Lisht, New York, MMA 24.1.45 (photo courtesy of the museum).



a



b

FIGURE 10 a. Serenput II from Elephantine. Habachi no. 13 (photo D. Johannes).  
b. Senwosret II. Moscow 3402 (photo B. V. Bothmer).

# Several Objects, and Some Aspects of the Art of the Third Intermediate Period

RICHARD A. FAZZINI

CYRIL Aldred was perhaps best known for his research and publications on Egyptian art of the New Kingdom, especially Dynasty XVIII and earlier times, but he sometimes also benefited his professional colleagues by turning his trained art historian's eye, and his felicitous command of English, to later eras. In one such study he managed within a few brief pages not only to improve our knowledge of the iconography of a major deity but also to help lay the basis for the study of several significant aspects of the artistic style of the Third Intermediate Period.<sup>1</sup> Hence it seems appropriate to contribute to this volume of studies in memory of Cyril Aldred the publication of several objects relevant to the study of the art of the Third Intermediate Period.

In the article already cited, Cyril Aldred credited George Steindorff with coining the term 'Third Intermediate Period',<sup>2</sup> which Steindorff used as a label for Dynasty XXI to Dynasty XXV.<sup>3</sup> Acknowledging that terminology is not a matter of general agreement, the author of the present article is using 'Third Intermediate Period' to refer to late Dynasty XX to Dynasty XXV in Egypt; 'Libyan Period' for the time from the accession of Shoshenq I to Shabaqo's conquest of Egypt; 'Kushite Period' for Dynasty XXV in Egypt, beginning with Shabaqo's conquest; and 'Late Period' for Dynasty XXVI through the Macedonian Period to the accession of Ptolemy I Soter.

The first of the objects (see fig. 1a) that are the subject of this article was purchased by the Brooklyn Museum in 1975 with monies from the Charles Edwin Wilbour Fund (accession number 75.167). It is a fragment of sunk relief in limestone, showing a male figure facing left. He wears the *hbswt*-beard, a short, curled wig with uraeus and streamer, and a broad collar necklace. To judge from the better-preserved side of the figure, he presumably had an armband on each arm and may very well have had two halter straps to support a now missing midriff covering or 'corselet'. Just above his head is preserved the lower edge of a solar disc. The relief, whose provenance is not known, is 43.5 cm in height, 43 cm in width, and circa 5 cm in depth.

When it was acquired, this relief was catalogued provisionally as a work of the Ptolemaic Period. However, subsequent study led the writer to conclude that it was much earlier, with one small detail arguing for a probable date no later than

the Libyan Period. The detail is, of course, the two creases on the figure's throat. As Aldred has observed, this feature 'came gradually into prominence during the reign of Amenophis III and was typical of the Amarna Period and later of the Ramessides';<sup>4</sup> and contrary to the opinion expressed by John Cooney,<sup>5</sup> both the flesh folds on the neck and indented/pierced earlobes (another Dynasty XVIII stylistic innovation) are to be found in both northern and southern works created during the Libyan Period.<sup>6</sup> In fact, after their appearance on some funerary furnishings of Dynasty XXI,<sup>7</sup> the creases on the throat appear, for example, on royal reliefs at Thebes in the reigns of Shoshenq I and Osorkon I, and even on one image as late as the time of Osorkon III and Takelot III.<sup>8</sup> In the north they can even appear on images in hard stone of Osorkon II, are certainly still current in the reign of Shoshenq III, appear in reliefs that may be as late as Shoshenq V, and *seem* to make a rare appearance in a few images of Dynasty XXVI.<sup>9</sup>

If the Brooklyn relief is not later than the Libyan Period, could it be earlier than the Third Intermediate Period? The face has an arched eyebrow in relief, with tapered end. The eye is almond-shaped and set level in the face, the narrow cosmetic lines rimming both eyelids tapering towards the end of their extension at the outer canthus and reaching back as far as the end of the eyebrow. The nose, with its flared nostril, is aquiline and its profile makes a distinct break with the line of the forehead. The mouth is relatively small, its upper lip only very slightly thicker than the lower. The meeting of upper and lower lips is marked by a horizontal line that does not reach the mouth's outer corner, which is marked by a depression as well as an incised line. The creases on the throat alone indicate that the Brooklyn relief cannot pre-date the reign of Amenhotep III and, together with its general style, suggest that it is most probably post-Amarna in date. Moreover, the boldness and rounding of Brooklyn's sunk relief are elements of style one would not expect in a work of the pre-Amarna New Kingdom. Nevertheless, it would appear that somewhat better parallels for the features can be found in the art of pre-Amarna Dynasty XVIII<sup>10</sup> than in post-Amarna Dynasty XVIII–Dynasty XX, the best of the latter being in the time of Seti I–Ramesses II or the later part of Dynasty XX.<sup>11</sup> In other words, one could view the Brooklyn relief as somehow reflecting elements of the art of pre-Amarna Dynasty XVIII and as displaying stylistic features of the post-Amarna New Kingdom without showing sufficiently strong affinities to the art of the post-Amarna New Kingdom to compel its attribution to that era. And that is one argument for the relief's attribution to the Third Intermediate Period.

As has sometimes been noted, art of the earlier Ramesside Period can display Tuthmosid influences. Moreover, some such works number among the 'archétypes de la XIX<sup>e</sup> dynastie' which Myśliwiec sees as the basis for certain changes in the facial 'iconography' of Ramesses VII(?), IX, X, and XI.<sup>12</sup> On the other hand, the Tuthmosid elements Aldred observed in a statue of Ramesses IX<sup>13</sup> could reflect earlier, Tuthmosid-influenced Ramesside art just as well as actual Tuthmosid works. In fact — and without denying that works made between the reigns of Ramesses II and IX sometimes reflect the Tuthmosid — among the stylistic tendencies of later Ramesside art, it is this tendency to encompass both actual Tuthmosid ante-

cedents and Tuthmosid-influenced earlier Ramesside art that appears to grow into *one* of the main stylistic tendencies of the Third Intermediate Period.

In general, when the relatively few and brief commentaries on the pre-Kushite art of the Third Intermediate Period have not viewed it as the survival or, worse, as the decline of Ramesside art, they have been mainly concerned with the identification and discussion of the revival or survival of Tuthmosid stylistic elements and/or iconography. Less often, as was the case, for example, with Aldred's study of the Carnarvon statuette of Amun and sculpture in metal in general,<sup>14</sup> they have also been concerned with defining stylistic evolution over time or with viewing the art of the time as displaying some coherence of style. In fact, it is rare to find a comment such as that by Yoyotte — who viewed Memphite reliefs of the reign of Siamun as harbingers of what he saw as the basically Ramesside reliefs of the reigns of Shoshenq I and his Libyan Period successors — to the effect that both the best donation stelae and temple reliefs of the Libyan Period have '*les visages, les corps effilés, les vêtements frangés possédant une grâce particulière à ce temps*'<sup>15</sup> (the italics are this author's).

At the risk of oversimplification, but to make what could be a longer story<sup>16</sup> necessarily brief, the writer will here simply emphasize a few points:

*a.* A good many works of Dynasty XXI–Libyan Period display varying mixtures of Tuthmosid and Ramesside elements, and in particular early or very late Ramesside elements.

*b.* Most of these objects deviate sufficiently from Ramesside art to be distinct from it. And in connection with this point it is worth noting the observations by F. von Kaenel and P. Montet that the reliefs recovered at Tanis from the Dynasty XXI tomb of Khonsuheb '*. . . sont plus proches, par le style, de ceux d'Osorkon II que des reliefs de la XX<sup>e</sup> dynastie*',<sup>17</sup> and that the reliefs of Shoshenq V at Tanis are in a style '*qui n'est pas très éloigné des reliefs du tombeau d'Osorkon II*'.<sup>18</sup>

*c.* There is at least a relative coherence of style over both time and space. To be sure, the observations just quoted may argue for a site-specific continuity at Tanis. And it must be admitted, for example, that the situation at Thebes is somewhat different in that its reliefs and statuary may sometimes display a relatively stronger Tuthmosid influence<sup>19</sup> and a less continuous history for the general style of which we are speaking.<sup>20</sup> On the other hand, clear reflections of Tuthmosid style may sometimes be seen in northern Egyptian works.<sup>21</sup> Equally important — and without denying that there are regional differences in the art of the Third Intermediate Period (some aspects of which will be discussed below) — there are sufficient similarities among many royal reliefs of the Libyan Period from various sites<sup>22</sup> to justify speaking of a broad Third Intermediate Period style, or at least a stylistic milieu encompassing various mixtures of the Tuthmosid and Ramesside. Moreover, although there would be much that was new in the art of Dynasty XXV, this general style of late Dynasty XX/XXI, but especially of the Libyan Period, helps explain some of the art of the Kushite Period, including aspects of its temple reliefs.<sup>23</sup>

This particular stylistic milieu of the Third Intermediate Period is the artistic context of the Brooklyn relief. But where should it be placed in time and space within this milieu? The answers to that question could be the same for a relief

that recently came to my attention. Acquired by that worthy in the 1920s, it is in the Reverend Theodore Pitcairn Collection and is illustrated (see fig. 1b) by kind permission of the Pitcairn family.

This relief, which is 68.5 cm in height and 30.5 cm in width, shows a king who had at least one arm raised in a worshipful gesture. He wears the 'khat'-headdress from which descends a streamer, and which is adorned with a uraeus whose body is arranged in two horizontal loops. Although variants can occur in Tuthmosid times,<sup>24</sup> it has been noted that this pattern for the uraeus' loops is essentially a Ramesside stylistic element that survives through the Libyan Period.<sup>25</sup> Above the king's head are the remains of a solar disk labelled 'Behdet'/'Behdetite', from which hang one of what was probably a pair of cobras, each with an 'ankh'-sign. Such a set of symbols above a king's head is hardly uncommon, including in the Libyan Period<sup>26</sup> and when the king wears the 'khat'.<sup>27</sup> As already noted, the king's 'pierced' earlobe is a phenomenon otherwise attested from Dynasty XVIII until Kushite times.<sup>28</sup>

Despite some differences, this writer believes the Brooklyn and Pitcairn reliefs' faces are sufficiently similar to associate them closely in time and, perhaps, space. But the questions remain: where? when?

It is difficult to identify stylistic chronological indicators for many aspects of the art of the Third Intermediate Period, in part because the monuments known to us may not always represent a high percentage of what was made, and in part because a considerable percentage of what is known has not been adequately published. Moreover, in the type of stylistic milieu under discussion, variations are sometimes found, for example, in facial features on the same monument or closely related monuments,<sup>29</sup> while related facial features may appear at quite different times and places. That includes variants of the features on the Brooklyn and Pitcairn reliefs.

Given these caveats, it seems to this writer that the closest *general* parallels for the facial styles of the two related reliefs are to be found in reliefs made in the northern part of Egypt between the time of King Osorkon II and King Shoshenq III.<sup>30</sup>

One relief of the time of Shoshenq III is of particular interest. Known to me only from an old photograph in the archives of the Brooklyn Museum, and illustrated here as fig. 2, it once formed part of a scene of a king, labelled as Shoshenq III, censing before Isis. The texts appear to identify her as 'Mistress of Mesdet', which might link the relief in fact, and not just in allusion, to the Delta site of Mesdet/Mostai, where reliefs of Shoshenq III were once discovered.<sup>31</sup> If this relief does not provide perfect parallels for all elements of the Brooklyn and Pitcairn reliefs, it is hardly alien to them in style, including the demarcation of the iris of the eye in relief.

The history of the last-named stylistic detail remains to be written on the basis of first-hand examination of a great many objects, but some comments on aspects of it have been published. For example, R. Bianchi has noted that this stylistic element goes back to the Middle Kingdom and has stressed that its appearance in Ptolemaic art need not be attributed to foreign influence or be a reason for a late dating for such objects.<sup>32</sup> He also considers that the phenomenon originated in reliefs of King

Montuhotep II at Deir el-Bahri, those eyes being the inspiration for the detail's reappearance in Dynasty XVIII temple reliefs at the same site. This, in turn, inspired their reappearance in Late Period tombs in the Asasif.<sup>33</sup>

At least the first part of this historical reconstruction is problematic, in some measure because the stylistic trait does not appear to be characteristic of the reliefs of Montuhotep II at Deir el-Bahri,<sup>34</sup> and, in part, because it does not take into account its appearance in some reliefs of Amenhotep I at Karnak, which otherwise seem to be strongly influenced by Karnak reliefs of Senwosret.<sup>35</sup> Moreover, a related phenomenon, the demarcation of irises and pupils by means of incised lines, is also attested in private reliefs of Dynasty XI not only at Thebes but also at Dendera,<sup>36</sup> on a private statue of Dynasty XII, and on a head of King Ahmose.<sup>37</sup>

Given the southern nature of most of these monuments, it seems worth noting that the Dynasty XII statue mentioned *could* be evidence for one form of carved (as opposed to painted) details of eyes in the north as early as the Middle Kingdom. Although reportedly from Byblos, it was usurped by a Memphite High Priest of Dynasty XXI or the Libyan Period, probably the latter,<sup>38</sup> which means it may have been Memphite in origin. Nevertheless, and without precluding the possibility that it was an independent invention of northern artists in the Libyan Period, more evidence is needed to make it possible to determine whether there were older, northern prototypes for the Libyan Period irises in relief on the relief of Isis of Mesdet, on the Brooklyn and Pitcairn reliefs, and on a statuette in bronze of King Pami.<sup>39</sup> Whatever their origins, these irises in relief add new geographical and chronological dimensions to the previously known history of this stylistic phenomenon.

Another stylistic detail whose history remains to be elucidated is the hollow-drilling of curls in wigs. To the author's knowledge, this occurs sporadically and *infrequently* in northern Egyptian Old Kingdom statuary, Dynasty XVIII Theban relief, Dynasty XIX Theban statuary, northern Egyptian Libyan Period statuary, and Late Period relief.<sup>40</sup> If the dating and geographical attributions of the Brooklyn relief are accepted, it is also known to occur in northern Egyptian Libyan Period relief. Alas, the identification of the figure wearing the wig with drilled curls appears to be problematic.

Several general identifications are possible for this figure: god, deceased king, and/or king as deified/hypostasis of a god:

The figure's garb does not help with the identification because in the Third Intermediate Period both kings and gods wear armllets and a corselet with one or two shoulder straps,<sup>41</sup> and, although much more common for gods, the *ḥbswt*-beard is sometimes worn by kings. The instances of its being worn by kings of Dynasty XXI–Libyan Period certainly include images of deceased kings on objects from or scenes in their tombs,<sup>42</sup> but such a provenance is at least highly unlikely for the Brooklyn relief. Hence, it should be noted that the Libyan Period *may* include some depictions of living kings wearing the *ḥbswt*, including scenes where they offer to deities.<sup>43</sup> However, if they exist, such images are rare.

As to the disc over the figure's head, the writer knows of but one Libyan Period parallel for a *king* wearing a solar disc in the manner of a crown.<sup>44</sup> Nor is there a Libyan Period parallel for the Ramesside image — presumably the divine



aspect of Ramesses II — with disc, uraeus, *hbswt*, armlets, and corselet with two halter straps.<sup>45</sup> One can, however, point to a pre-Third Intermediate Period prototype for a *hbswt*-wearing god with a (different) short wig surmounted by a solar disc and uraeus,<sup>46</sup> and a few deities, particularly Osiris, can be shown wearing a streamer in the manner of the Brooklyn relief during the Third Intermediate Period and earlier.<sup>47</sup> Such streamers are, however, far more common for kings than for gods, only becoming more frequent with the latter in Ptolemaic times.

If the figure is a deity, and the relief can be associated with Mesdet, one might think of a form of Thoth or of the god Shepsi, who can sometimes be shown with a short wig — with or without a uraeus — surmounted by a disc.<sup>48</sup>

Quite different in style from the reliefs discussed is a head in the round in a private collection, which is published here for the first time by kind permission of its owner (see figs. 3a–c). Said to be from Tanis, it represents a king wearing a type of cap-crown with uraeus and, at the rear, the remains of a streamer or streamers that descended from the rimmed ‘hem’ of the crown down over the flap of its ‘lining’. Despite its small size,<sup>49</sup> it is carved with a great deal of fine detail and modelling in compact limestone.

The piece is broken off across the neck, but enough is preserved of the back of the neck and streamer(s) to indicate that the head came from a sculpture showing the king in other than a standing/striding or seated pose. In fact, the lines of the neck and streamer(s) show that our king must have been leaning forward, i.e. that the sculpture, presumably made for a temple, most likely depicted him proffering some offering.<sup>50</sup>

In the absence of the ancient base, and given the problems involved in superimposing accurately a vertical line over the profile of the face (if we assume it was perpendicular to the base), it is difficult to determine the angle of the forward lean of the figure from which came the head. Hence the writer will only note that an attempt to do so indicated that:

(1) the figure leaned forward more than one would expect for a statue of a king kneeling with both knees together;<sup>51</sup>

(2) the head did not come from a truly prostrate figure, that is, one resting in part on its abdomen;<sup>52</sup>

(3) the head did not come from a figure leaning far forward, with one knee advanced and the other leg thrust toward the rear;<sup>53</sup>

(4) the figure leaned forward at an angle between the extremes mentioned, presumably with its legs in the position described in point (3).<sup>54</sup> Several statues in this pose are known, ranging in date from the New Kingdom to the Late Period.<sup>55</sup> Even if many of the two-dimensional images of statues or statuettes of kneeling kings were made of metal,<sup>56</sup> they and two-dimensional images of kings proper also testify to the importance of the pose from the New Kingdom to the Late Period.<sup>57</sup>

But where in this long history does the head under discussion belong? Or, to phrase the question differently, in what period or periods can we find good parallels for the following:

a. A sculpture with relatively full face; a forehead with a decided curve inward toward the root of the nose; eyebrows without stripes in relief; pronounced indentations to mark the inner upper ends of the eye sockets; plastically rendered

### *Art of the Third Intermediate Period*

eyeballs curved from end to end and curving inwards from top to bottom; upper and lower eyelids rimmed, the ends of the upper rims extending slightly past the eyes' outer corners; a nose that is fairly straight in profile and which is prominent with wide nostrils; a clearly marked philtrum; a protruding but nevertheless small mouth no wider than the nostrils above; lips that meet in a straight line and are delineated by a vermilion line; and a well-rounded chin and heavy throat (the latter only in part the result of the pose).

b. A type of cap-crown projecting, but not greatly, toward the rear, with a rimmed 'hem'; almost rectangular and straight-bottomed tabs; a relatively narrow 'lining' band across the forehead; a wider 'lining' band across the neck; and a streamer or streamers.

c. A uraeus with two double loops resting horizontally relatively near the front edge of the crown.

To begin with the last point, as already noted, in reliefs a uraeus with two loops is common in the second half of the New Kingdom, is known in Dynasty XXI, is common again in the Libyan Period, and, although it is exceptional, appears in one royal relief of Amenirdis I. It also appears in reliefs of Dynasties XXVI, XXVII, XXX, the Macedonian Period,<sup>58</sup> and the Ptolemaic Period. Moreover, in the earlier Ramesside Period there evolved the fashion, for sculpture in the round, of having the loops of the uraei in an oval arrangement relatively close to the brow line<sup>59</sup> and somewhat reminiscent of the head under discussion. However, although it is possible to cite a Ramesside image of a king with a uraeus with two double loops in more or less the manner of the head published here,<sup>60</sup> Ramesside uraei normally have a single double loop. Equally important, the best parallel — and it is only a partial one — for our uraeus in the Third Intermediate Period is provided by a kneeling bronze figure attributed to Neferkare Peftjauawybast,<sup>61</sup> whereas it is sculpture in the round of Dynasty XXVI and later that provides good parallels in some numbers for the stylistic phenomenon under discussion.<sup>62</sup>

In general, the observations just made on uraei could indicate that this head was made in Dynasty XXVI. However, this evidence could be misleading because the small amount of sculpture in the round preserved from the Libyan Period may not fairly represent that era's production of such works. Moreover, the fact that the head has only one uraeus indicates that it is at least highly unlikely to be an image of a Kushite king, whereas we have almost no information about sculpture in the round of Libyan kinglets contemporary with the Kushite Period.<sup>63</sup> Also misleading could be the evidence of the internal details of the uraeus, which find relatively good parallels in works of Dynasties XXI and XXVI,<sup>64</sup> but not in Dynasties XXII–XXV. This fact, however, could also be explained by these eras' paucity of well-preserved uraei.

To turn to the cap-crown worn by the head under discussion, the first thing that must be stated is that it finds its closest parallels, general and specific, in works of Dynasty XXVI and later. Unlike earlier times, when both cap-crowns and blue crowns had shorter, rounded tabs before the ears,<sup>65</sup> in Dynasty XXVI and later they had longer and more rectangular tabs.<sup>66</sup> In fact, good parallels for the crown worn by the head under discussion are provided by images of proffering and worshipping kings, especially those accompanied by the names of Psammetichus

II, on related and so-called intercolumnar slabs that are all probably Heliopolitan in origin.<sup>67</sup> Of course, this could be viewed as pointing toward Dynasty XXVI as a date for the head. And this writer must admit that he sees resemblances between the faces of some Saite royal sculptures and the face of the head under discussion.<sup>68</sup> However, these are sufficiently different to suggest that the head should not be attributed to Dynasty XXVI; and the shape of the crown on the Heliopolis reliefs of 'Psammetichus II' — not to mention his facial features — is quite different from that of the head published here. Indeed, the crown of the former reliefs (as well as the profile of the bald head of Psammetichus I on these blocks) is much taller and projects less toward the rear. And, although one can find some royal Kushite reliefs with relatively tall cap-like headgear as well as with relatively 'flat-backed' heads, the shape of the crown on the head under discussion finds relatively better parallels than those provided by Dynasty XXVI in some Kushite royal images,<sup>69</sup> (to the degree one can judge) the Tanis relief of King Pedubast II (n. 63) datable to sometime between c. 730 BC and the reign of Taharqa, the bronze figure of a king identified as Neferkare Peftjauawybast (n. 61), and the faience relief of King Iuput II (n. 25). The elongation of the skull of the latter is greater than that of the other objects just mentioned and of the head under consideration. In this the relief of Iuput could be viewed as following somewhat in the tradition of late Dynasty XX to Libyan Period images of cap-crowns. Some of these have already been cited: images of Herihor (n. 65), reliefs of Osorkon II from Bubastis and of Iuput II from Tell el-Yahudiyeh (n. 65), and a bronze of the High Priest of Amun, Menkheperre (n. 19). Also with relatively long skulls are three other heads in the round that have been attributed to this period:

One is a head in quartzite in the Brooklyn Museum, which has a cap-crown and once had a uraeus in some other material. If it represents a Theban pontiff, rather than an actual king, it might, as has sometimes been suggested, be from a statue of Herihor.<sup>70</sup>

The second is a sculpture in wood, which Cooney published as an image of a king of Dynasty XXI wearing a cap-crown. For the present writer, the figure, whatever its date, seems at least as likely to be a female, as was also once suggested. Its 'cap-crown', which has no 'hem' on front or back, appears to be a wig.<sup>71</sup>

The third object is a gilt wooden head that does have a cap-crown with uraeus, and could, as Cooney suggested, date to Dynasty XXI. However, Cooney's reasons for attributing it to Thebes and no later than Dynasty XXI were his belief that the indications of folds on the neck were essentially a southern stylistic phenomenon that did not survive in the Libyan Period (which we have already seen is not the case), and the presence in the crown's diadem of glass inlays, which he erroneously believed did not occur in Dynasty XXII.<sup>72</sup> For the present writer, this head relates to the general stylistic milieu discussed above in connection with the reliefs of figs. 1–2, and could just as well date to the Libyan Period as to Dynasty XXI. Whatever its date, the shape of its crown does not help link the small limestone head under discussion to its period.

The evidence provided by a comparative study of the crown of the head under discussion seems to indicate a chronological range of *circa* very late Libyan times to Dynasty XXV and, possibly, early Dynasty XXVI. The writer thinks that the

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style of the head indicates the same chronological range, but with early Dynasty XXVI even less likely.

Although they are very different from our head in many ways, the writer believes that the bronzes of Shabaqo in Athens and a stone head, probably of the same king, in Brooklyn<sup>73</sup> provide *reasonable* parallels for the shape of the face, the broad nostrils, the facial profile, the strong indentation of the inner corners of the eye sockets, and, in the case of the stone head, for the shape of the eyes. Although only its upper eyelids are rimmed and its eyebrows rendered in relief, it might be noted that the famous black granite head of Taharqa in Cairo has basically similar forms of its eyebrows, eye sockets, and eyes.<sup>74</sup> Moreover, royal Kushite reliefs provide some reasonably good parallels for the head's facial profile, with its strongly projecting nose, prominent mouth and chin, and heavy throat.<sup>75</sup>

Outside the realm of Kushite royal art, the closest parallels for the head under discussion are to be found in two objects. One is the bronze identified as Neferkare Peftjauawybast (n. 61). In general, it provides weaker stylistic parallels for the head than do the Kushite royal works mentioned. To a lesser extent than the Kushite works it has similarly shaped eyebrows (here incised to represent paint stripes) and eyes. As for the shape of the face, from the front it is broader, and in profile it has an aquiline nose and narrow nostrils, which is not the case for the head we are discussing, and a small but far less projecting mouth. However, it is far more closely related in style to the head than almost all other works up to its time of the Third Intermediate Period. The second object is the relief in faience of King Iuput II (n. 25), whose facial profile is quite similar to that of the head under discussion.

Under the circumstances, it seems most reasonable to attribute the limestone head to sometime between c. 730 BC and the end of Dynasty XXV, with the Kushite Period being its most likely time of creation, and, as such, to view it as a harbinger to some extent of stylistic and iconographic tendencies to come. Certainly it is the one known precursor for Dynasty XXVI and later cap-crowns of its particular type. It is the only known work in the round with such a crown, and one of a small number of preserved works in the round of a king or other individual in king-like guise in an Egyptian cap-crown of any type.

To be sure, some would possibly see the cap-crown of the type worn by this head, with 'rectangular' tabs and unadorned with concentric circles, as different in type as well as details of form from the earlier cap-crowns that had rounded tabs and were often adorned with concentric circles.<sup>76</sup> On the other hand, the differences between them are akin to differences among blue crowns of the New Kingdom through the Libyan Period and of the Late Period, which have not been considered to indicate the existence of two basically different crowns.

If the earlier and later cap-crowns are essentially similar in nature, it is perhaps worth noting a few observations that have been made concerning the significance of the earlier form. It has, for example, been viewed as ecclesiastical in nature and worn by a king when his high priestly function was emphasized,<sup>77</sup> and it has been stated that its use by the High Priest of Amun was 'possibly to emphasize his dedication to and worship of the gods', whereas its absence from Seti I's own chapel in his Abydos temple (where he is otherwise often shown wearing it) has

been viewed as evidence that the cap-crown was worn by kings 'acting in the role of son and/or priest of a deity.'<sup>78</sup> These related interpretations of the crown's significance would be appropriate to its appearance on a proffering statue, and there is certainly validity to them. Nevertheless, a few representations, or probable representations, of the cap-crown appear to indicate that its significance is somewhat more complex, such as when it is worn by a 'boy'-sized king seated on the lap of a goddess or being suckled by a goddess.<sup>79</sup> Moreover, Seti I wears it once on the entrance to his chapel in the Abydos Temple in a scene where he holds a crook and 'ankh' and receives 'years' and 'seds' from a god.<sup>80</sup> Hence, it seems appropriate here to cite the comments by W. V. Davies (who has demonstrated that the blue crown evolved from the cap-crown at the beginning of the New Kingdom, when the latter almost vanished as a headgear for kings until post-Amarna times) that the function of the post-Amarna cap-crown, including in relation to and as distinct from the blue crown, remains to be determined.<sup>81</sup>

As the reader will have noticed, all the royal Kushite monuments cited for stylistic parallels to the head published here are from Thebes or close to Thebes, and the most likely provenance for the Peftjauawybast bronze is at least as far south as Heracleopolis. Moreover, even the relief of Iuput II could conceivably have a Theban provenance and be more a work of Dynasty XXV rather than a northern work greatly resembling such art (see n. 25). One might, therefore, question the validity of the dealer's statement that the head comes from Tanis. Nevertheless, there are reasons for viewing the piece as a northern Egyptian work and quite possibly from Tanis. Once again, the presence on the head of a single uraeus suggests the king is hardly likely to be a Kushite king. Secondly, the piece does not so closely resemble the Middle Egyptian Peftjauawybast bronze, which is at least one indicator for royal Egyptian imagery in that part of the country in late Libyan times. In addition, and as noted, the type of cap-crown of our head finds its best parallels in reliefs of Dynasty XXVI and later from northern Egypt, which is also the provenance, or probable provenance, of other Dynasty XXVI works providing at least some stylistic parallels for the head. Moreover, it is the Delta that provides the greatest possible number of local rulers in late Libyan times and Dynasty XXV to serve as potential candidates for the subject of our head. And this includes Tanis, which had several kings during the period in question. Under the circumstances, and again to make what could be a long story short,<sup>82</sup> it seems appropriate to write a few words about another stylistic milieu of the Third Intermediate Period, one to which our head and some of the other works mentioned could relate.

This stylistic milieu has already been touched by Russmann, who, while noting that it was somewhat isolated stylistically, related the voluminous forms in the bronze of Nefkare Peftjauawybast to late Libyan Period works from Lower Egypt and noted that, although this bronze might 'reflect the Kushite taste for strength and simplicity . . . its real antecedents lie in the later stages of the Third Intermediate Period [defined as ending with Dynasty XXIV] in the north'.<sup>83</sup> The present writer agrees, although he sees the beginnings of this development in works somewhat earlier than those quoted by Russmann.

One such somewhat earlier Libyan Period work is one of the few blocks

excavated at Memphis that comes from a small chapel normally dated to the reign of Shoshenq III (see fig. 4).<sup>84</sup> Its figure of the king and (presumably) Sekhmet do not stand totally alone in northern works of the reign of Shoshenq III, and their proportions — broad shoulders and upper chests but low, narrow waists and a certain elongation of the figure in general — provide at least partial prototypes for an increasing number of figures, which tended to become more elongated, in Lower Egyptian reliefs dated to the reigns of Pami, Shoshenq V, and Tefnakht.<sup>85</sup> *To an extent* these are the two-dimensional counterparts to some of the three-dimensional late Libyan Period works mentioned by Russmann.

Such figures in relief beginning in the north no later than the reign of Shoshenq III also provide prototypes for the appearance of such figures in southern Egypt. At Thebes, variants of these figure-types appear in sunk reliefs on a block statue of the time of King Osorkon III and on the stela of King Iny, which is either roughly contemporary with or — more likely — just after King Rudamun.<sup>86</sup> Only somewhat later do at least partially related figures appear at Heracleopolis on two stelae of the reign of Neferkare Pefjtjauawybst.<sup>87</sup> During Dynasties XXV and XXVI variants of these figural styles are common at Thebes, the female figures of the type having once been termed elements of, basically, ‘der thebanischen “Volkskunst” der kuschitisch-saitischen Epoche’ and the ‘aegypto-kuschitischen Figurenstils’.<sup>88</sup> Given the above, the present writer suggests that this style has its origins in northern Egyptian art of the Libyan Period, including works made before a significant Kushite presence in Egypt.

Other stylistic elements that become popular in the south in Dynasty XXV also have prototypes of sorts in northern Egyptian art of the Libyan Period. One such element is the predilection for emphasized knee and leg musculature. This appears in royal Kushite reliefs as early as the reign of King Piye at Gebel Barkal (personal communication from Dr Timothy Kendall), but is also present on the figure of Shoshenq III shown in fig. 4, on a Serapeum stela of the reign of Pami, and, to a lesser extent, on a relief probably of the time of Shoshenq V from Tanis.<sup>89</sup>

Another element is ‘realistic’ faces. If the majority of faces of Dynasty XXI and the Libyan Period are idealizing, including in the manner of figs. 1–2, there are some exceptions in northern Egyptian art of the same periods. This includes one or two sculptures in the round, such as a Tanite sphinx of Siamun that is probably influenced by Middle Kingdom sculpture.<sup>90</sup> It also includes some works in relief. One is on a figure of a king in the Tanis tomb of Osorkon II,<sup>91</sup> and two more appear on the relief of fig. 4. It is possible to see some resemblances between the latter and some works of the latter Middle Kingdom, which also (although not uniquely so) have beards, and whose upper garments are related to those shown in fig. 1,<sup>92</sup> and it might be noted that other Old Kingdom or later Middle Kingdom artistic influences have been seen at work in reliefs of the late eighth century BC to Dynasty XXV at Tanis and Athribis.<sup>93</sup> Moreover, at least vaguely related faces of the Libyan Period, deviating from the more ‘classic’ faces of the Libyan Period as represented by figs. 1–2, can be seen in some stelae of the time of Shoshenq III, Pami, and Shoshenq V.<sup>94</sup> No one would argue that such faces provide perfect parallels or prototypes for the more realistic Kushite royal faces of Dynasty XXV. However, they do demonstrate that ‘realistic’ faces and even less realistic faces

with elements, for example, of the profiles of Iuput II and the head in cap-crown, existed in Lower Egypt, both before and during Kushite times. As such, they suggest a general stylistic milieu that could have influenced Kushite art as well as one in which the head in cap-crown could have been created.

To be sure, this originally Lower Egyptian stylistic milieu could also have been influenced eventually by southern (i.e. Kushite) royal Egyptian art. A case in favour of this view can be made in the instance of the faience relief of King Iuput II. If it is a northern work — even if we are still lacking similar contemporary or earlier Kushite works at Thebes in this style — it is clear that its style *may* be definable as a politically motivated ‘Kushitizing’.<sup>95</sup> This includes its garments, and one should perhaps see a Kushite influence, direct or lingering, in some reliefs at Tanis, which also show similarly treated shoulder straps for corselets or dresses.<sup>96</sup> However, even *if* such is the case, it should be noted that Iuput’s garments — corselet with shoulder strap and short, narrow kilt with central vertical panel — were not Kushite inventions. These garments, singly or in combination, were current for images of kings in the Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom, and pre-Amarna Dynasty XVIII, after which they still appear on images of gods. On the other hand, variants of these garments can appear together on images of the deceased on Theban funerary furnishings of Dynasty XXI.<sup>97</sup> Variants of the kilt are worn by a king on a Dynasty XXI papyrus, on a relief of early Dynasty XXII at El-Hiba, and in several reliefs of Osorkon III and Takeloth III at Karnak.<sup>98</sup> Moreover, as already noted, the corselet with shoulder strap is worn by both Osorkon III and Takeloth III at Karnak, as well as appearing in the earlier Memphite relief of fig. 4. Interestingly enough, the latter provides a Libyan Period prototype for the use of the corselet with shoulder strap together with a triangular kilt, as sometimes happens in southern Egyptian art of Dynasty XXV.<sup>99</sup> Hence it would seem that the garments in question were undergoing a revival as attire for kings prior to the arrival of the Kushites in Egypt, presumably as a result of archaizing. Without this negating the claim to either Kushite manufacture or Kushitizing for the relief of Iuput II, it should also be noted that this relief’s style and garments have been seen as copied from ‘un style des hautes époques’ in general, and as reflecting Memphite art of the Old Kingdom in particular.<sup>100</sup>

Given the partially preserved nature of some reliefs of non-Kushite kings of late Libyan times and Dynasty XXV, it is certainly possible that more such works portrayed their subjects in both the corselet with shoulder strap and the short, narrow kilt with vertical panel. However, the only two such definite images of this type appear to be the faience relief of Iuput II and an image of King Tefnakht on one of his stelae as king.<sup>101</sup> The latter is crudely carved and poorly preserved but seems hardly likely to have displayed the Kushite-like details of the Iuput II plaque. Does this image reflect a currency for this attire among the Libyan rulers of the north in late Kushite times? If so, was that as much a matter of northern archaizing as Kushite influence? Does the Iuput II relief reflect a Kushite influence? If so, does that, itself, owe a debt of gratitude to the Libyan Period art of Lower Egypt?

It is to be hoped that future excavations will shed much-needed light on the art of Lower Egypt during the entire Third Intermediate Period. If and when it does, it may become possible to locate the reliefs of figs. 1–2 more precisely in

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both time and space, and to see the head of figs. 3a–c as more than a northern image of a nameless king that cannot be dated with certainty because it reflects the art and iconography of more than one era. In the interim, this writer hopes the publication of these objects will help spur some further interest in the art in question. And he certainly believes they reflect how complex and interesting, not to mention sometimes how fine, the art of these periods can be.

### **Postscript: January, 1992**

N. 34 should include a reference to R. Freed's comments on British Museum 1819: 'Two Middle Kingdom Monuments Reexamined', *Fourth International Congress of Egyptology. Abstracts of Papers* (Munich, 1985), 63.

N. 45 should include a reference to D. Wildung's comments on images of kings crowned with a solar disc: 'Ramses, die grosse Sonne Aegyptens', *ZÄS* 99 (1972), 33–41.

After this article was submitted:

(1) The writer learned of J. Yoyotte's comments on the deities of Mostai ('Religion de l'Égypte ancienne', *Annuaire EPHE Ve Section 75, 1967–1968* (1967), 102–8), where he mentions a relief which could be our fig. 2. In addition to Thoth and Shepsi, he also mentions Khonsu-Neferhotep, who could be another candidate for the figure of the Brooklyn relief.

(2) The director of a New York City art gallery kindly showed the writer a Middle Kingdom relief, possibly from Middle Egypt, that includes a figure with the iris of its eye in relief and a sculptural demarcation between the eyeball and the outer corner of the eye.

(3) The Pitcairn relief of a king (fig. 2) has been acquired by the Brooklyn Museum. Its accession number is 1991.40, and the credit line is Charles Edwin Wilbour Fund.

### **Notes**

1 C. Aldred, 'The Carnarvon Statuette of Amün', *JEA* 42 (1956), 3–7.

2 Aldred, *op. cit.* 7.

3 G. Steindorff, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, 1946), 17.

4 Aldred, 'Amenophis Redivivus', *BMMA* 14 (1956), 118.

5 J. Cooney, 'Three Royal Sculptures', *RdE* 27 (1975), 92.

6 For the pierced earlobes, cf. Aldred's observation that after the Ramesside Period they occur sporadically until Kushite times: 'A Statue of King Neferkarē' Ramesses IX', *JEA* 41 (1955), 7.

7 E.g., G. Goyon, *La Découverte des trésors de Tanis: aventures archéologiques en Égypte* (Paris, 1987), 153, illus. (gold mask of Psusennes from Tanis); H. Winlock, *Excavations at Deir el Bahri, 1911–1931* (New York, 1942), pl. 80, bottom centre (Dynasty XXI Theban coffin).

8 The Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak. III, The Bubastite Portal*, OIP 74 (Chicago, 1954), pls. 10, 11, 13; and PM II<sup>2</sup>, 206 (21): a figure of Hathor in the chapel of Osiris Heqa-Djet.

9 K. Myśliwiec, *Royal Portraiture of the Dynasties XXI–XXX* (Mainz am Rhein, 1989), pl. XIX, d (Osorkon II); P. Montet *et al.*, *La Nécropole royale de Tanis. III, Les constructions et le tombeau de Chéchanq III à Tanis* (Paris, 1960), pls. XXXIV and XXXVII; the relief of 'Isis, Mistress of Mesdet' cited below (Shoshenq III); and P. Montet, *Le Lac sacré de Tanis* (Paris, 1966), pls. LVI, 112; LVIII, 118; and pp. 51–52 (attributed by Montet to



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- Aakheperure Shoshenq); and pl. XCVIII, 335, with p. 94 (not dated); *Royal Portraiture*, pl. LV, a-c (Dynasty XXVI).
- 10 E.g., Myśliwiec, *Le Portrait royal dans le bas-relief du nouvel empire*, Travaux du Centre d'archéologie méditerranéenne de l'Académie polonaise des sciences 18 (Warsaw, 1976), pls. XXXVII; XLIII; L, 119; LIX (not as good).
  - 11 E.g., Myśliwiec, *Le Portrait royal*, pls. CII, 228 and CXIII, 249 (both Ramesses II); and CXLI, 311 (Ramesses IX).
  - 12 Myśliwiec, *Le Portrait royal*, 143.
  - 13 Aldred, *JEA* 41 (1955), 7.
  - 14 Aldred, *JEA* 42 (1956), 3-7.
  - 15 J. Yoyotte, in B. Abbo *et al.*, *Tanis. L'or des pharaons* (Paris, 1987), 74, and see also 65 and 72.
  - 16 R. Fazzini, 'The Chapel of Osiris Heqa-Djet and the Art of the Third Intermediate Period', in G. Kadish, D. Redford, *et al.*, *The XXIIIrd Dynasty Chapel of Osiris Heka-Djet at Karnak*, SSEA Publ. (nn) (Toronto, forthcoming).
  - 17 F. von Kaenel, 'Les courtisans de Psousennès et leur tombes de Tanis', *BSFE* 100 (1984), 41.
  - 18 Montet, *Lac sacré*, 44-5, and pls. XLVII, 29; LIV, 107; LVI, 112; LVIII, 117; LVIII, 118 (which, on p. 52, Montet compares with Tanite reliefs of Shoshenq III); and LXVIII, 227.
  - 19 Cf., for example, Myśliwiec's comments (*Royal Portraiture*, 19) on the 'classicism', defined basically as a return to Dynasty XVIII pre-Amarna forms, on the Bubastite Portal; and Bothmer's comment on excellent imitations of (essentially earlier) Dynasty XVIII style in some Karnak private statues of the Libyan Period ('A Contemporary of King Amenhotep II at Karnak', *Karnak V. 1970-1972* (Cairo, 1975), 116, fn. 1). Needless to say, and as Myśliwiec admits (p. 20) the Bubastite Portal also includes Ramesside elements, and not all Karnak statues are so purely 'Tuthmosid'. To cite only two, for example, see G. Legrain, *Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers (CGC 42192-42250)*, III (Cairo, 1914), pl. XXIII, and p. 37, where he describes the essentially Ramesside wig as a 'véritable anachronisme'; or the 'sfumato' eyes on CG 42193 and CG 42224. The writer cannot accept Myśliwiec's assessment (*Royal Portraiture*, 19-20) of this 'classicism' as differing so greatly from what came before in Dynasty XXI, in part because, as he notes (p. 4), pre-Amarna influences already existed in painted Theban coffins of Dynasty XXI and XXII, or (not mentioned by him in this context) in such works as the Rio de Janeiro bronze of the Dynasty XXI Theban High Priest, Menkheperre (M. Beltrão and K. Kitchen, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Collection in National Museum, Rio de Janeiro*, I (Rio de Janeiro, 1990) 187-9; and II (Rio de Janeiro, 1990), pls. 18-1.
  - 20 Although the maintenance of strong Tuthmosid stylistic elements can be observed, for example, in Theban private statuary, it is nowhere near such a prominent feature in preserved Theban temple reliefs made between the Bubastite Portal and the front gateway of the Chapel of Osiris Heqa-Djet (*Royal Portraiture*, pl. XXIII, a, b). Myśliwiec (*Royal Portraiture*, 27, 28, 38) believes the relief of Osorkon on the gate of the Chapel of Osiris Heqa-Djet may date from after his reign. This writer, however, believes (*Osiris Heqa-Djet*, forthcoming) that this dating is untenable, in part because a contemporary statue of Osorkon III also shows strong Tuthmosid influences (cf., e.g., C. Aldred, *Egyptian Art in the Days of the Pharaohs, 3100-320 BC* (London, 1980), 210, and see also his comment in *JEA* 41, 7; see, too, E. Russmann and D. Finn, *Egyptian Sculpture. Cairo and Luxor* (Austin, 1989), 155-7.
  - 21 For example, a bronze sphinx of Siamun, possibly from Tanis (C. Ziegler, in *Tanis. L'or*, 164-5); and the face of a statue of Osorkon II from Tanis (B. V. Bothmer, 'The Philadelphia-Cairo Statue of Osorkon II (Membra Dispersa III)', *JEA* 46 (1960), 3-11, esp. p. 6.
  - 22 See, for example, Myśliwiec, *Royal Portraiture*, pls. XII (Siamūn, Memphis), XIV and XVI (Shoshenq I, Karnak); XV, a (Shoshenq I, El-Hiba); XIX, d (Osorkon II, Bubastis); and XXIII (Shoshenq III, Bubastis); A. Badawi, 'Das Grab des Kronprinzen Scheschonk,

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- Sohnes Osorkons' II. und Hohenpriesters von Memphis', *ASAE* 54 (1957), pls. VIII–XI; Montet, *Lac sacré*, pls. LVI, 112; LVII, 17; LVIII, 118; LXVIII, 227 (attributed to Shoshenq V); and, to a more limited extent, the kneeling figures on a monument of Iuput II (E. Naville, *The Mound of the Jew and the City of Onias. Belbeis, Samanood, Abusir, Tukh el Karamus 1887* and F. Ll. Griffith, *The Antiquities of Tell el Yahûdîyeh, and Miscellaneous Work in Lower Egypt during the Years 1887–1888*, EEFM 7 (London, 1890), the drawing of pl. I (better known to the writer from actual photographs). It might be noted that also in this general style is the face of the large figure of Osiris carved on the coffin from the Ramesseum of Ankhpakhered II (R. Anthes, 'Die deutschen Grabungen auf der Westseite von Theben in den Jahren 1911 und 1913', *MDAIK* 12 (1943), pls. 10–11), which is sometimes dated to Takeloth II (Myśliwiec, *Royal Portraiture*, 17) or Dynasty XXVI, but is much more likely to have been made in the mid- or later eighth century BC (D. Aston and J. Taylor, 'The Family of Takeloth III and the "Theban" Twenty-third Dynasty', in A. Leahy (ed.), *Libya and Egypt c. 1300–750 BC* (London, 1990), 137).
- 23 See, for example, E. Russmann's observation that some of Shabaqo's reliefs are 'purely traditional, idealized representations' and that 'idealized work in the tradition of the New Kingdom' can be found in reliefs of Taharqo (*The Representation of the King in the XXVth Dynasty* (Monographies Reine Elisabeth 3) (Brussels and Brooklyn, 1974), 15); J. Leclant's assessment of the Theban ateliers of the Libyan Period as having maintained traditions and of the closeness in style between some Karnak reliefs of Dynasties XVIII and XXV (in Aldred *et al.*, *L'Égypte du crépuscule. De Tanis à Méroé, 1070 av. J.-C.–IV<sup>e</sup> siècle apr., J.-C* (Le monde égyptien. Les pharaons 3) (Paris, 1980), 79); C. Vandersleyen's characterization of the art of Dynasty XXI (with harbingers in late Dynasty XX) as displaying a return in some ways to forms of the early New Kingdom, with this leading to 'dem eher schmuckklösen Klassizismus der Reliefs der 25. Dynastie', where one can see that 'die Kunst der 12. Dynastie und die ersten Hälfte der 18. Dynastie liefert die entscheidenden Anregungen' (in C. Vandersleyen *et al.*, *Das alte Aegypten* (Propyläen Kunstgeschichte 15) (Berlin, 1975), 72–3); or Wenig's characterization that one of the styles of Dynasty XXV 'represents the historical evolution of the Ramesside and Third Intermediate Periods' (*Africa in Antiquity. The Arts of Ancient Nubia and the Sudan* II (Brooklyn, 1978, 49).
- 24 Myśliwiec, *Le Portrait royal*, pl. XXXIX, 92.
- 25 Cf. Myśliwiec, *Royal Portraiture*, 20 and, for example, pls. II; III; XII, b; XIV, a; XVI; XXII, c–d; XXVII, b (the last a Dynasty XXV image of Amenirdis I); Anthes, *op. cit.* pl. 11 (mid- to late eighth century BC Theban); and R. Fazzini, in R. Fazzini, *et al.*, *Ancient Egyptian Art in The Brooklyn Museum* (Brooklyn, 1989), No. 69 (faience relief of King Iuput II). As explained by E. Russmann ('An Egyptian Royal Statuette of the Eighth Century BC', in W. K. Simpson and W. Davis [eds.], *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan. Essays in Honor of Dows Dunham on the Occasion of his 90th Birthday, June 1, 1980* (Boston, 1981), 156, fns. 47, 50) the fact that this relief is sometimes attributed to Thebes is based on information furnished by C. Aldred to the effect that its first modern owner, Franklin Hood, acquired his collection in that area. Given recent reassessments of Iuput II as a Delta ruler having nothing to do with a Theban Dynasty XXIII, which by the time of Iuput II may have retreated to Hermopolis or Heracleopolis (see P. Spencer and A. Spencer, 'Iuput II, the Twenty-third Dynasty and the Delta', *JEA* 72 (1986), 199–201; Aston and Taylor, *op. cit.* 145, 147; A. Leahy, 'The Twenty-Third Dynasty', in Leahy [ed.] *Libya and Egypt c. 1300–750 BC*, 195–8), a Theban provenance for the Brooklyn relief or its companion piece in Edinburgh becomes quite problematic. If such a provenance should be proved, it *could* raise questions concerning Delta–Theban links at this time, or place a direct relationship, including in terms of time, between Iuput II and the making of the plaque into question.
- 26 The Epigraphic Survey, *op. cit.*, pl. 13; Montet, *Chéchanq III*, pl. XIV, b.

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- 27 E.g., Fazzini, *Egypt. Dynasty XXII–XXV* (Iconography of Religions XVI, 10) (Leiden, 1988), pl. XXXII, 1; E. Naville, *Bubastis (1887–1889)* (EEF 8) (London, 1891), pl. XLI.
- 28 See above, n. 6. One head in the round of a Kushite king as sphinx does have an earlobe indicated as notched or pierced, and some Kushite kings were shown in relief wearing earrings (cf. E. Russmann, 'Two Royal Heads of the Late Period in Brooklyn', *BMMA X* (1969), 103, fig. 16; and 106–8). Are the earlobes 'pierced' on Myśliwiec, *Royal Portraiture*, pl. LI, a–b? Is Montet, *Lac sacré*, pl. XC, 301, which shows a pierced ear, Dynasty XXVI (p. 85) in date?
- 29 See, e.g., the eyes and eyebrows of Siamun on reliefs from Memphis (Myśliwiec, *Royal Portraiture*, pls. XII–XIII), on reliefs of Shoshenq I from El-Hiba (*Royal Portraiture*, pls. XIV, a; XV), and on two figures of the king in the tomb of Osorkon II (P. Montet *et al.*, *La Nécropole royale de Tanis. I, Les Constructions et le tombeau d'Osorkon II à Tanis* (Paris, 1947), pl. XXXII).
- 30 E.g., Myśliwiec, *Royal Portraiture*, pls. XIX, d; XXII; Montet, *Osorkon II*, pl. XLV, lower; Montet, *Chéchanq III*, pl. XXXVII.
- 31 C. Edgar, 'Report on an Excavation at Tell Om Harb', *ASAE* 11 (1911), 164–9.
- 32 R. Bianchi, 'The Striding Draped Male Figure of Ptolemaic Egypt', in H. Maehler and V. Strocka (eds.), *Das Ptolemaische Ägypten. Akten des internationalen Symposions, 27.–29. September, 1976 in Berlin* (Mainz am Rhein, 1978), 99. *id.*, in Bianchi *et al.*, *Cleopatra's Egypt. Age of the Ptolemies* (Brooklyn, 1988), 72, 126, 134, 137. Here and in the next reference cited, the terms 'pupil' and 'iris' are sometimes confused; and the term 'scored' is sometimes used to describe the phenomenon.
- 33 Bianchi, 'The Archaizing Eyes of Asasif', *Aegyptus Antiqua* 6–7 (1989), 1–2.
- 34 His references to the phenomenon in Montuhotep II reliefs are to drawings of reliefs. In the case of those reliefs for which I have been able to consult good photographs or transparencies, the delineation of the internal details of the eyes seems to be in paint alone. Dr Rita Freed, who is a specialist in reliefs of Dynasty XI and early Dynasty XII, could only refer me to one relief she attributes to Montuhotep II and Thebes with an iris in raised relief: I. E. S. Edwards, 'Two Egyptian Sculptures in Relief', *BMQ* 23 (1960/61), 9–11 and pl. IV = British Museum 1819. The writer is grateful to her for this reference.
- 35 For the latter point, see most recently C. Graindorge and P. Martinez, 'Karnak avant Karnak: les constructions d'Aménophis I<sup>er</sup> et les premières liturgies amoniennes', *BSFE* 115 (June, 1989), 47–9, and pls. 2 (with iris in relief) and 3 (without iris in relief). Given the close relationship between the Karnak monuments of Senwosret I and Amenhotep I (e.g., *ibid.* 47), it is interesting that in the reliefs of Senwosret I irises in relief appear only in hieroglyphs, including the eye-hieroglyph: e.g., K. Lange and M. Hirmer, *Egypt. Architecture, Sculpture, Painting in Three Thousand Years* (London and New York, 1968), pl. 92. Although this is hardly unique to eye-hieroglyphs on monuments of Senwosret I, one might wonder if they were part of an influence on Amenhotep I's sculptors. For other possible influences, see the next note.
- 36 H. G. Fischer, 'An Eleventh Dynasty Couple Holding the Sign of Life', *ZÄS* 100 (1973), 22–3.
- 37 J. Romano, 'Observations on Early Eighteenth Dynasty Royal Sculpture', *JARCE* 13 (1976), 103.
- 38 Fischer, 'The Mark of a Second Hand on Ancient Egyptian Antiquities', *MMJ* 9 (1974), 122–6, figs. 14–17.
- 39 For the statuette of Pami see J. Yoyotte, 'Des lions et des chats. Contribution à la prosopographie de l'époque libyenne', *RdE* 39 (1988), 164–6, and pl. 4, a. On p. 164 he notes the phenomenon as a sign of the sculpture's careful execution and less than conventional nature. An image of Osorkon II at Tanis may have had an iris in relief (Montet, *Osorkon II*, pl. XXI), but this is on a wall erected by Shoshenq III: F. von Kaenel, 'Notes épigraphiques', in P. Brissaud (ed.), *Cahiers de Tanis I* (Paris, 1987), 48–9.

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- 40 See Fazzini, in L. Ferber *et al.*, *The Collector's Eye: The Ernest Erickson Collections at The Brooklyn Museum* (Brooklyn, 1987), 102; and Lange and Hirmer, *op. cit.* colour pl. LIV.
- 41 R. Schwaller de Lubicz, *Les Temples de Karnak, contribution à l'étude de la pensée pharaonique* (Paris, 1982), pl. 236: Osorkon III, Takeloth III, and Atum; Montet, *Osorkon II*, pl. XXXVI: the king, also wearing armlets, jubilating at his last judgement; V. Schmidt, *Sarkofager, Mumiekister, og Mumiehylstre i det Gamle Aegyptens. Typologisk Atlas* (Copenhagen, 1919), 113–14, 132–5, etc.
- 42 E.g., on royal mummy masks (*Tanis. L'or*, 58, 216–17, 271); Montet *et al.*, *La Nécropole royale de Tanis. II, Les constructions et le tombeau de Psousennès à Tanis* (Paris, 1951), pl. LIX: deceased Psusennes I; Montet, *Chéchanq III*, pl. XXXI: king as Osiris 'awakened' by Horus, and king sailing in solar boat.
- 43 Naville and Griffith, *loc. cit.*, shows two kneeling figures of King Iuput II wearing the *hbswt*, but photographs of this monument indicate this might not have been the case. Naville, *Bubastis*, pl. XXXIX, shows three offering scenes in which Osorkon I wears the *hbswt*, including one in which he also wears the Blue Crown. As the latter is seldom, if ever, worn by a bearded king until much later times, this may raise questions about the reliability of these drawings.
- 44 The scene in the tomb of Osorkon II (*Tanis. L'or*, 74) where a king with armlets, shoulder straps, and corselet has a disc just above his head.
- 45 S. Donadoni *et al.*, *Grand Temple d'Abou Simbel. III, Les salles du trésor sud*, fasc. I–II (CEDAE. Collections Scientifiques) (Cairo, 1975), pl. XXV. For a possible relationship between two images in the round of Kushite kings wearing the 'nemes' crowned with sun disc and Ramesside images, see Russmann, *Representation*, 34–5.
- 46 G. Roeder, *Hermopolis. 1929–1939* (Pelizaeus-Museum zu Hildesheim. Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung 4) (Hildesheim, 1959), pl. 64, left, second register from the top: image (p. 299) of 'Shepsi who dwells in Hermopolis'.
- 47 E.g., A. Piankhoff, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, Bollingen Series XL, 1 (New York, 1954), pls. 35, 137; M. Bierbrier, *The British Museum. Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc.* 11 (London, 1987), pl. 2 (no. 8484).
- 48 E.g., Roeder, *op. cit.*; J. Parlebas, 'Das Pantheon der Statue des Prinzen Siptah', *SAK* 8 (1980), pls. IX–X; the Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu. VII, The Temple Proper. Part III* (OIP 93) (Chicago, 1964), pl. 541; and VIII, *The Eastern High Gate* (OIP 94) (Chicago, 1970), pl. 607.
- 49 Height 4.02 cm; height of face 2.3 cm; width (across ears) 2.85 cm; depth 3.6 cm; width of break 1.9 cm; depth of break 2.6 cm.
- 50 For the meaning of such sculptures see, e.g., Fischer, 'Further Remarks on the Prostrate King', *University Museum Bulletin* 31 (1956), 38; G. Posener, *De la divinité du pharaon* (Cahiers de la Société Asiatique 15) (Paris, 1960), 31; G. Englund, 'Gifts to the Gods — A Necessity for the Preservation of Cosmos and Life. Theory and Praxis', in T. Linders and G. Nordquist (eds.), *Gifts to the Gods. Proceedings of the Uppsala Symposium, 1985* (Uppsala Studies in Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern Civilizations 15) (Uppsala, 1987), 60–1.
- 51 One can sometimes find an image in relief of a king in this pose leaning well forward (W. Stevenson Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt*, 2nd edn. rev. and with additions by W. K. Simpson (Harmondsworth and New York, 1981), 417, fig. 409), and this can be common in two-dimensional images of non-royalty: e.g., images on Serapeum stelae from the reigns of Shoshenq V to Psammetichus I (M. Malinine, G. Posener, J. Vercoutter, *Département des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Louvre. Catalogue des stèles du Sérapéum de Memphis* (Paris, 1968), numerous images from pls. IX, 26–LXV, 242). Stone figures in the round of kneeling king (which a recent Dynasty XVIII find in the Luxor Temple has shown could sometimes be part of a group of king and god) lean forward only slightly, if at all, and sometimes lean backwards (e.g., B. V. Bothmer *et al.*, *Egyptian Sculpture of*

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- the Late Period: 700 BC–AD 100* (Brooklyn, 1960), 161); and the same seems true of the numerous bronzes of kneeling kings, for which see most recently M. Müller, 'Der kniende König im 1. Jahrtausend', *Société d'Égyptologie Genève. Bulletin* 13 (1989), 121–30.
- 52 For such figures see, e.g., Fischer, 'Further Remarks', 35–9; and id., 'Prostrate Figures of Egyptian Kings', *University Museum Bulletin* 20 (1955), 26–42.
- 53 E.g., H. Müller, 'Der Torso einer Königsstatue im Museo Archeologico zu Florenz. Ein Beitrag zur Plastik der ägyptischen Spätzeit', *Università degli studi di Pisa. Studi in memoria di Ippolito Rosellini nel primo centenario della morte (4 guigno 1843–4 guigno 1943)*, II (Pisa, 1955), pl. XIX, a, f; Aldred, *JEA* 41, pl. I; Legrain, *Statues*, II, pls. IV–V; *Statues*, III, pl. V. For better photographs of the latter, a statue of Osorkon III, see Russmann and Finn, op. cit. 155–7. For some version in the round of a 'roi prosterné', possibly of Dynasty XXV, see P. Vernus, *Athribis. Textes et documents relatifs à la géographie, aux cultes, et à l'histoire d'une ville du Delta égyptien à l'époque pharaonique* (IFAO BdE 74) (Cairo, 1978), 81–2.
- 54 It was probably the left leg that was advanced, although there are two sculptures in which the right knee is forward: Bothmer, 'Membra Dispersa', 8–9. The authenticity of a third example (Aldred, *JEA* 41, 5) has sometimes been questioned.
- 55 E.g., Legrain, *Statues*, II, pl. VI (statue of Ramesses II), the Philadelphia–Cairo statue of Osorkon II from Tanis (Bothmer, 'Membra Dispersa'), and a statue in Florence (H. Müller, 'Torso', 191 and pl. XX, d) attributable to Amasis (J. Josephson, 'An Altered Royal Head of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty', *JEA* 74 (1988), 235). All three wear the 'nemes'.
- 56 Cf., e.g., the references by Posener and Englund cited in n. 50.
- 57 For the New Kingdom see, e.g., Müller, 'Torso', pl. XIX, e; XX, c; H. Nelson (ed. by W. Murnane), *The Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak*, 1, 1, *The Wall Reliefs* (OIP 106) (Chicago, 1981), pls. 153–4. For the Late Period see G. Roeder, *Naos* (CG 70001–70050) (Leipzig, 1914), pl. 12, b.
- 58 Myśliwiec, *Royal Portraiture*, pls. LV, a–c (Dynasty XXVI); LXVIII, b–d; LXIX, b (Dynasty XXVII); LXXXVII, b (Dynasty XXX); D. Spanel, *Birmingham Museum of Art. Through Ancient Eyes: Egyptian Portraiture* (Birmingham, 1988), 127 (Ptolemaic). Some of the Dynasty XXVII examples cited by Myśliwiec (p. 91) could actually be Saite: cf. the suggested history of the Hibis Temple's decoration in E. Cruz-Uribe, 'Hibis Temple Project: A Preliminary Report, 1985–1986 and Summer Field Seasons', *VA* 3 (1987), 225–30. For the Macedonian Period, see B. V. Bothmer, in D. von Bothmer *et al.*, *Antiquities from the Collection of Christos G. Bastis* (New York, 1987), 79, where he indicates an equivalency between the uraeus with two loops in relief and what, in the round, one could call a uraeus with two double loops. He also says the uraeus with two loops does not exist on blue crowns in reliefs of the Macedonian Period, but a possible exception to this general rule is suggested by a drawing of a relief of Philip Arrhidaeus: S. Snape and D. Bailey, *British Museum Expedition to Middle Egypt. The Great Portico at Hermopolis Magna: Present State and Past Prospects*, British Museum Occasional Paper 63 (London, 1988), 83, pl. 21.
- 59 Aldred, *BMMA* 14, 118.
- 60 J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*. III, *Les grandes époques. La statuaire* (Paris, 1958), pl. CLVII, 5 (MMA 90.6.1). The writer is grateful to Dr Dorothea Arnold for confirming the existence of this detail on this private sculpture.
- 61 Russmann, 'An Egyptian Royal Statuette', 149–56, with figs. 1–6. Russmann has shown that this cannot represent Neferkare Shabaqo and is most probably Neferkare Pefjtjauawybast of Heracleopolis rather than some other Neferkare. For the still-shadowy King Neferkare at Tanis, see the reference cited by Russmann, and M. A. Bonhême, *Les Noms royaux dans l'Égypte de la Troisième Période Intermédiaire* (IFAO BdE XCVIII) (Cairo, 1987), 224–5. For Pefjtjauawybast as likely successor of Rudamun and the possibility of Heracleopolis being the new seat of a Theban Dynasty XXIII after Rudamun's reign, see Aston and Taylor, op. cit. 145, 147.

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- 62 Bothmer, *ESLP*, 89 and pl. 50. I see no compelling reason to agree with Myśliwiec (*Royal Portraiture*, 57, 78) in making a bronze in Kansas City Saite rather than later simply because of the presence of a uraeus with two double loops; nor in dating another head with related uraeus, normally labelled 'Hakoris?' (cf. A. Grimm, 'Ein Statuentorso des Hakoris aus Ahnas el Medineh im ägyptischen Museum', *GM* 77 [1984], 14 and pl. 2) to Apries or Amasis. In fact, the narrowness of the 'lining' on the brow of the latter piece's blue crown would speak against such an early date (cf. Bothmer, *ESLP*, 62), and this writer sees no reason why it cannot be even later than Hakoris.
- 63 In relief a cap-crown with a uraeus with a single loop appears on a sunk relief from Tanis of King Pedubast II (Montet, *Lac sacré*, 64, and no. 230 in pls. XXX and LXXIII). This Pedubast is normally dated to the time of Taharqa, but it has recently been argued that he could equally well be dated to c. 730 bc: Leahy, op. cit. 188–90.
- 64 See *Tanis*. *L'or*. 104; and L. Habachi, 'Athribis in the XXVIth Dynasty', *BIFAO* 82 (1982), pl. XLII, A.
- 65 Cf., e.g. Myśliwiec, *Le Portrait royal*, all plates showing the cap-crown or blue crown (except pl. CXXXVIII, 304: a Dynasty XX ostrakon where a sketch of a cap-crown has a tab with a straight and independently-rimmed lower edge); The Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple of Khonsu. I, Scenes of King Herihor in the Court* (OIP 100) (Chicago, 1979), pls. 6, 15, 36, etc; an image of Herihor as deceased king in a funerary papyrus (*A General Introductory Guide to the Egyptian Collections in The British Museum* (London, 1930), 376, fig. 206; and cf. p. 81, fig. 29); the bronze of Neferkare and the relief of Iuput cited in n. 25 and 61. The tab on an oddly elongated cap-crown(?) worn by Osorkon II on a naos from Bubastis (Roeder, *Naos*, 24–5, not illustrated) has somewhat less rounded tabs than usual, and the same may be true of those worn by Iuput II on his monument (barque-stand or altar) from Tell el-Yahudiyeh (Navelle and Griffith, op. cit., pl. I). The tabs on Kushite royal caps are almost always rounded (e.g., Russmann, *Representation*, figs. 1, 5–7, 9, 17–18; and Myśliwiec, *Royal Portraiture*, pls. XXX, b–c; XXXII, a–b; XXXIV; XXXV, b; and XLVIII, a–b) and can vary in height. In rare cases (*Royal Portraiture*, pl. XXXIII, b) they can assume a more rectangular outline.
- 66 Bothmer, *ESLP*, pl. 50, fig. 121. See also Myśliwiec, *Royal Portraiture*, pl. LV, a–c; Müller, 'Ein Königsbildnis der 26. Dynastie mit des "Blauen Krone" im Museo Civico zu Bologna', *ZÄS* 80 (1955), pls. IV–VI.
- 67 Cf. Bothmer, *ESLP*, 91; and Myśliwiec, *Royal Portraiture*, 46, no. A, 1 and pls. LIII, a and LIV, a–b (Psammetichus I); 47, no. C, 4 and pls. LIII, b and LV, a–c (Psammetichus II; but years ago Bothmer suggested, in an oral communication, that these might be usurped from an earlier Saite king); and 69, nos. A, 1, b and A, 2, with pls. LXXXVI, a–c; and Smith, loc. cit. (Nectanebo I). For their probable Heliopolitan origin, see L. Limme, 'Un toponyme héliopolitain', *OLP* 6/7 (1975/1976), 376–7, where Limme also announced a forthcoming publication of these blocks by himself and E. Jones. Pending its appearance, it may be noted that the blocks have been termed parts of a balustrade (Smith, op. cit. 416, and 475, n. 48), or possibly a low barrier wall (T. G. H. James, *Ancient Egypt. The Land and its Legacy* (London, 1988), 11–12), and that at least some of their texts have been associated with New Year's rituals (H. Satzinger, *Kunsthistorisches Museum. Ägyptische Kunst in Wien* (Vienna, 1980), 56–7).
- 68 E.g., Müller, *ZÄS* 80, pls. IV–VI.
- 69 E.g., Myśliwiec, *Royal Portraiture*, pl. XXXII (Shabaqo); J. Leclant, *Recherches sur les monuments thébains de la XXV<sup>e</sup> dynastie dite éthiopienne* (IFAO BdE XXXVI) (Cairo, 1965), pls. XIV–XV (Shabaqo); pl. XXVI (Shebitko); Vandier, 'Hémen et Taharqa', *RdE* 10 (1955), pl. 5 (Taharqa).
- 70 See most recently, Spanel, op. cit. 108–9.
- 71 Cooney, *RdE* 27, 87–91, and pl. 6, A; and cf. B. Fay, 'Egyptian Sculpture', *Bulletin. The*

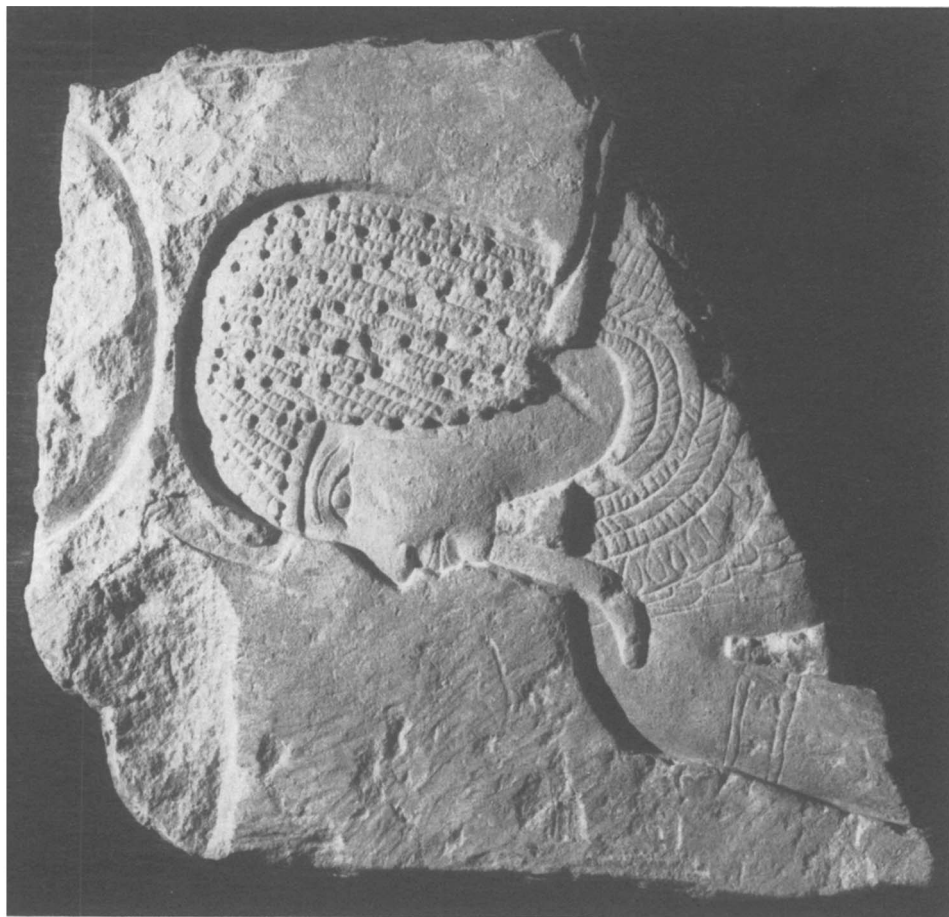
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- Dayton Art Institute* 32 (1973), 11, fig. 14. The figure's probable nudity would be highly unusual for an image of a king.
- 72 Cooney, *RdE* 27, 91–2 and pl. 6, B. For glass inlays in the Libyan Period and in the north, see Badawi, op. cit. 176 and pl. XIV, c; and A. Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptian Jewellery* (London, 1971), 172 and pl. LXII, A.
- 73 Russmann, *BMA* X, 94–5, figs. 7–9; and 97–8, figs. 10–12.
- 74 Russmann, *Representation*, figs. 8–9.
- 75 E.g., Myśliwiec, *Royal Portraiture* pls. XXVIII, b; XXXII; XXXVI, a–b; XXXVII, b (did this and pl. XXVII, c have both upper and lower eyelids rimmed, with relatively short extensions of the upper lid's rim beyond the outer corner of the eye?); and XXXVII, d.
- 76 E.g., Cooney, *RdE* 27, 88, considered the faience relief of Iuput II to be the last representation of a king in cap-crown. L. Török, who uses the term 'skullcap' for cap-crowns of the type worn by Iuput II, describes one of the Dynasty XXX cap-crowns on the Heliopolis blocks as 'the late Period Egyptian tight-fitted helmet' (*The Royal Crowns of Kush. A Study in Middle Nile Valley Regalia and Iconography in the 1st Millennium BC and AD* (Cambridge Monographs in African Archaeology 18) (Oxford, 1987), 10).
- 77 The Epigraphic Survey (OIP 100), xv.
- 78 E. Ertman, 'The Cap-crown of Nefertiti: Its Function and Probable Origin', *JARCE* 13 (1976), 64 (citing an unpublished communication from John Harris).
- 79 A. Calverley et al., *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos*. IV, *The Second Hypostyle Hall* (London and Chicago, 1958), pl. 20; C. Lepsius, *Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, III, pl. 218, c, and pl. 150, b. The latter, a scene of Ramesses II with cap-crown suckled by Mut, is the counterpart to Lepsius, pl. 131, f, an image of Seti I in blue crown suckled by Hathor.
- 80 Calverley, op. cit., pl. 32. It might be noted that Herihor wears the cap-crown when holding the crook and flail and kneeling, with one leg thrust toward the rear, to receive 'seeds' suspended from year-signs and 'all life, stability, and dominion' from the gods: The Epigraphic Survey (OIP 100), pls. 50, 65.
- 81 W. V. Davies, 'The Origin of the Blue Crown', *JEA* 68 (1982), 75.
- 82 Fazzini, *Osiris Heqa-Djet* (forthcoming).
- 83 Russmann, 'An Egyptian Royal Statuette', 152, 154.
- 84 Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 46915. Photograph by R. Fazzini, illustrated by permission of the Egyptian Museum. For this monument, see G. Daressy, 'Fragments memphites', *ASAE* 20 (1920), 169–70; and cf. K. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100–650 BC)*, 2nd edn, with suppl. (Warminster, 198), 341, n. 543.
- 85 Malinine, Posener, Vercoutter, op. cit., pl. VIII, 22–3 (Pami); Montet, *Lac sacré*, pls. LIX, 115 and LXVII, 222; A. el-Mohsen Bakir, 'A Donation Stela of the Twenty-second Dynasty', *ASAE* 43 (1943), pl. I (Shoshenq V). J. Berlandini has published a donation stela with figures of the type under discussion and has observed that the elongation of figures on it relates more to the art of the time of Shoshenq V than of Shoshenq III ('Une stèle du donateur du dynaste libyen Roudamun', *BIFAO* 78 (1978), 161 and pl. XLIX). See also J. Yoyotte, 'Les principautés du Delta au temps de l'anarchie libyenne (Etudes d'histoire politique)' *Mélanges Maspero*. I, fasc. 4 (Cairo, 1961), pl. I, 1; id., 'Notes et documents pour servir à l'histoire de Tanis', *Kêmi* 21 (1971), figs. 1–2; R. El-Sayed, *Documents relatifs à Sais et ses divinités* (IFAO BdE LXIX) (Cairo, 1975), pl. VII (Tefnakht). For the King Tefnakht on some of the stelae cited probably being the opponent of Piye rather than an immediate predecessor of Necho I, see, e.g., A. Leahy, 'Death by Fire in Ancient Egypt', *JEHSO* 27 (1984), 205, fn. 30.
- 86 The statue is CG 42224: Legrain, *Statues*, III, pl. XXXI. For the stela of King Iny and its dating, see Yoyotte, 'Pharaon Iny. Un roi mystérieux du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle avant J.-C.', *CRIPPEL* 11 (1989), 113–31 and pl. 14; and D. Aston, 'Takeloth II — a King of the "Theban Twenty-third Dynasty"?'', *JEA* 75 (1989), 152–3.

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- 87 G. Daressy, 'Stèle du roi Pefnifdubast', *ASAE* 17 (1917), 43–5 (not illustrated), and 'Fragments héracléopolitains', *ASAE* 21 (1921), 138–9 (not illustrated). The writer was once kindly granted permission to examine and photograph these stelae by Dr Abd el-Qadr el-Selim when he was Director of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.
- 88 P. Munro, 'Eine Gruppe spätägyptischen Bronzespiegel', *ZÄS* 95 (1969), 98.
- 89 Malinine, Posener, Vercoutter, op. cit., pl. VIII, 23; and Montet, *Lac sacré*, pl. LXVI, 222.
- 90 Aldred, in *Crépuscule*, 123, and 280, fig. 266. To be sure, this piece could be a usurped work of the Middle Kingdom. For some comments on an interest in pre-New Kingdom art during Dynasty XXI and the Libyan Period see, e.g., G. Tait, 'The Egyptian Relief Chalice', *JEA* 49 (1963), 106; J. Yoyotte, 'Petits monuments de l'époque libyenne', *Kêmi* 21 (1971), 49–50; and B. Letellier, 'Un groupe héliopolitain de Basse Epoque', *BIFAO* 70 (1971), 122.
- 91 Montet, *Osorkon II*, pl. XLV, upper.
- 92 E.g., Vandersleyen, op. cit., pls. 277, a–b.
- 93 Montet, *Lac sacré*, pls. LXXXV, 241, and LXXXVI, 242, and pp. 69–70; Yoyotte, in *Tanis. L'or*, 75; id., *RdE* 39, 164, fn. 60; Vernus, *Athribis*, 79–80.
- 94 Malinine, Posener, Vercoutter, op. cit., pls. VII, 21, and VIII, 22–23; and el-Mohsen Bakir, op. cit.
- 95 Russmann, 'An Egyptian Royal Statuette', 155–6.
- 96 Montet, *Lac sacré*, pl. LXXIV, 239–A (c. Dynasty XXV); and pls. XXXV, 300, and XCII, 302 with p. 85 (Psammetichus I?). Does the existence of these reliefs help argue for a possible northern origin for the relief of Iuput II?
- 97 Schmidt, op. cit.
- 98 Sir Frank Francis (ed.), *Treasures of the British Museum* (London, 1971); 63; H. Ranke, *Koptische Friedhöfe bei Karâra und der Amontempel Scheschonks I. bei El Hibe* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1926), pl. 21, 3; R. Parker, J. Leclant, J.-C. Goyon, *The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake of Karnak* (Brown Egyptological Studies VIII) (Providence, 1979), pl. 23, left, upper.
- 99 E.g., Myśliwiec, *Royal Portraiture*, pl. XXXII, a; Parker, Leclant, Goyon, op. cit., pls. 5, and 17, b.
- 100 Yoyotte, in *Tanis. L'or*, 75; Aldred, *Egyptian Art*, 212.
- 101 Yoyotte, *Kêmi* 21, figs. 1–2.





a



b

FIGURE 1 a. Sunk relief of a god or king. The Brooklyn Museum 75.167, Charles Edwin Wilbour Fund. Illustrated courtesy of the Brooklyn Museum. b. Relief of a king. The Rev. Theodore Pitcairn Collection. Illustrated by permission of the Pitcairn Family.

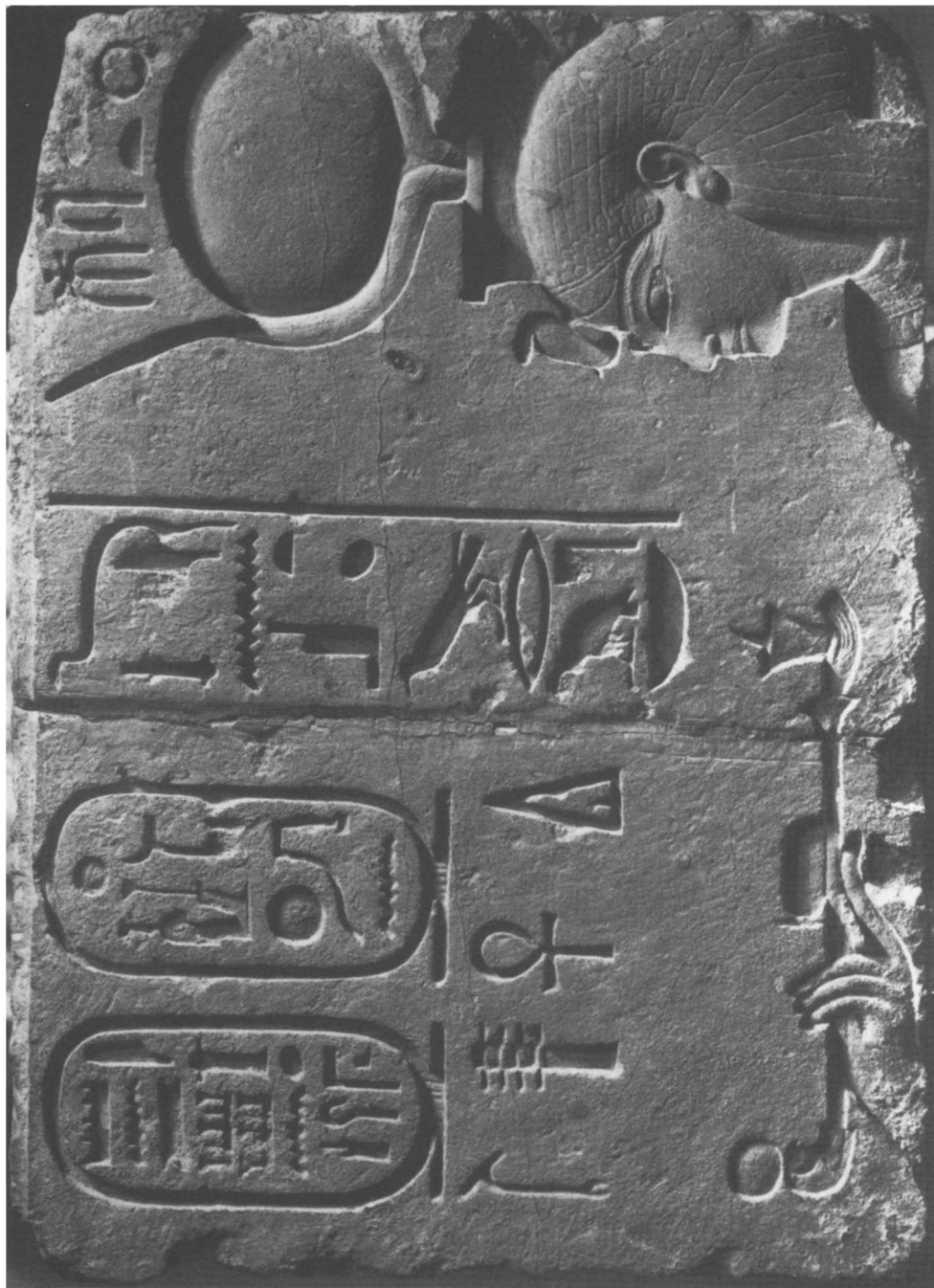
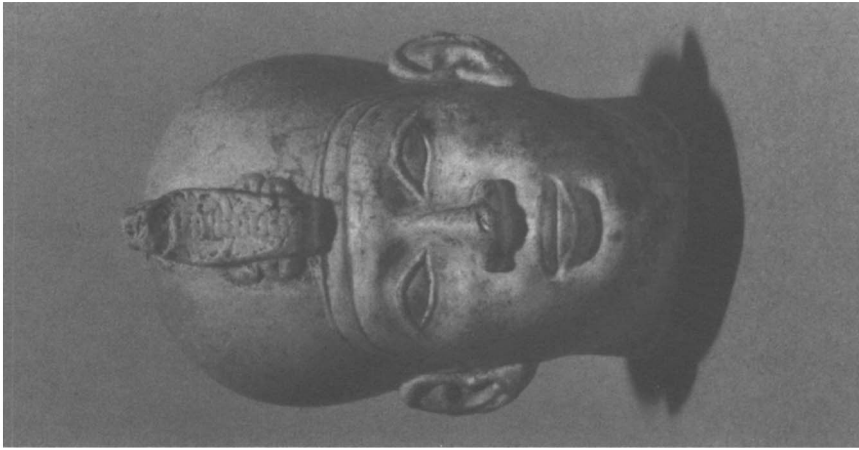


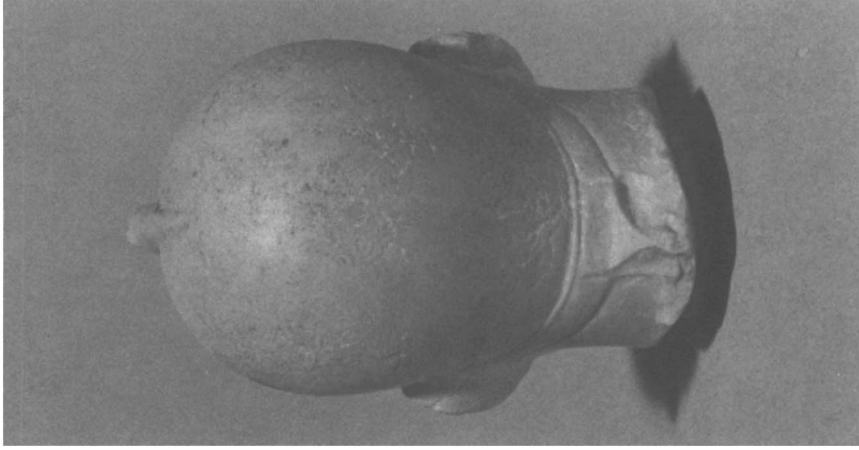
FIGURE 2 Relief of Isis, Mistress of Mesdet. Illustrated from a photograph in the Brooklyn Museum.



a



b



c

FIGURE 3 a-c. Head of king. Private Collection, illustrated by courtesy of the owner.



FIGURE 4 Sunk relief from Memphis. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 46915. Illustrated courtesy of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

# Two Iconographic Questions: Who and When?

HENRY G. FISCHER

THE task of preparing an appropriate tribute to Cyril Aldred is doubly daunting, since he was renowned for his ability not only to instruct but, by virtue of his skilful pen, to delight his readers. Conscious of my own inability to match his stylistic elegance, I have attempted the next best, more obvious thing. It is hoped that the first of these brief iconographic offerings may prove enlightening and that the subject of the second may also entertain.

## 1. Cairo T13/4/22/9: God as King or King as God?

In his *Staat aus dem Stein*, II (Munich, 1929), 104, fig. 26, Evers illustrates what he describes as an 'Amonköpfchen mit den Zügen Amenemhets III' (see fig. 5a-b), and, to the best of my knowledge, the same description has been applied to this piece by virtually everyone who has subsequently mentioned it.<sup>1</sup> It is certainly true that 'representations of gods almost always have the features of the reigning king', as Edna Russmann has recently stated, in reference to one of the triads of Mycerinus.<sup>2</sup> But there are two obstacles to such an interpretation in the present case. In the first place, the crown clearly displays a uraeus, and this element is normally absent from representations of Amun and Min,<sup>3</sup> even though Amun received the epithet 'king of the gods' at the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty.<sup>4</sup> Secondly, it is equally clear that the head lacks the divine beard which is regularly worn by these gods.

Moreover, the same crown is worn by *Nb-hpt-R* Montuhotep in the reliefs of his shrine from Dendera, and here the beard is likewise absent,<sup>5</sup> although it appears in a similar representation of the king from Elephantine, where the royal uraeus is also added to the crown.<sup>6</sup> Nor is this the only king who assumed the form of a god; all three elements — crown, uraeus and beard — reappear identically in a relief of *Snh-k3-R* Montuhotep from Tod.<sup>7</sup> And the crown of Amun (without uraeus) reappears on several representations of Twelfth Dynasty kings at Serabit el-Khadim, including Amenemhet III himself (see fig. 1)<sup>8</sup> as well as Amenemhet II and IV.<sup>9</sup> Amenemhet II wears the royal beard, but Amenemhet III has none at all. In the case of Amenemhet III there is also textual evidence for his claim to

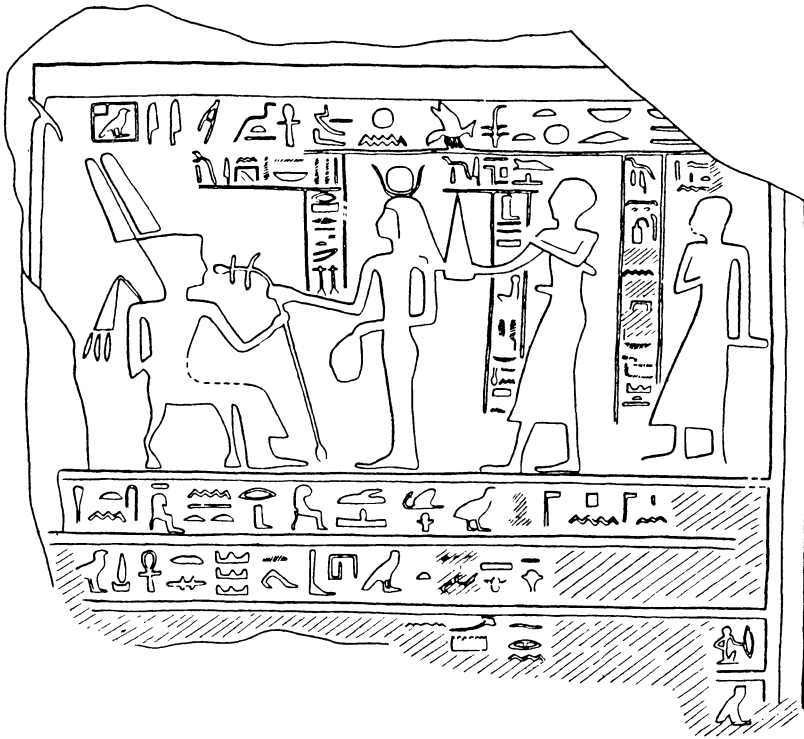


FIGURE 1 Crown of Amun on Twelfth Dynasty representation at Serabit el-Khadim.

be a god; a contemporary stela identifies him with several other divinities, including Khnum and Re, Batet and Sekhmet.<sup>10</sup>



Thus there can be no doubt whatever that the king is represented as a god in this case.<sup>11</sup>

## 2. Brooklyn 37.1355E: What Date?

The curious piece of limestone relief shown in fig. 6<sup>12</sup> has not been illustrated previously, although the column of text is to be found in T. G. H. James, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions in the Brooklyn Museum*, I (Brooklyn, 1974), no. 65. It once belonged to the Abbott collection and appears in the catalogue of that collection published by Bonomi in 1846, where it is said to come from Saqqara. James describes it as a trial piece of the Sixth Dynasty, which names a 'prophet, inspector of fields, *Skr-snb.f*, son of the lector priest *'Im*s'.

The size of the text, which James rightly considers to be complete, is oddly at variance with that of the offerings displayed beside it; they are executed on quite a large scale, the entire stone measuring 55 cm in height. But the oddest thing about them is the fact that they are cut off, at the right and at the bottom, by a crudely gouged frame that encloses the text and the representations. Both features — the abrupt amputation of the representations and their size — are most

unexpected in a trial piece.<sup>13</sup> It must, therefore, be considered whether the relief may have been a block from a funerary chapel which, having been isolated from the scene to which it originally belonged, was reduced in thickness and refashioned as a rudimentary stela by the addition of the crude border and the inscription. A close examination of the surface confirms this possibility beyond any doubt. The surface of all the margins has been reduced, more deeply at the top, bottom and right, somewhat less so at the left; but at the left a wider area is affected, and this area is traversed by the border. The left edge also shows some traces of what has been erased. A horizontal line, extended across the inscription, demarcates a register that formerly contained the figure of a funerary attendant. The front of one foot may be detected, and above this, the projecting tip of his kilt. Still further up, a diagonal line again intrudes into the inscription; a cuplike shape at the end of it identifies it as a censer, and there are traces of the hand that holds the censer, as well as fainter traces of the attendant's arm.<sup>14</sup> The register containing the censuring figure was evidently the uppermost of three, all of which probably contained funerary priests and bearers of offerings.<sup>15</sup> Their combined height makes for a very plausible reconstruction of the adjacent offering table, as shown in fig. 2. The tomb owner was doubtless seated at the right of it, facing left.

From what has been observed thus far, it is clear that the date of the text must be later than that of the representations, and that each must be considered separately. Putting aside, for the moment, the question of the text, one can say at the outset that the representations of offerings are later than the Old Kingdom. That is indicated by the form of , which occurs as a hieroglyph in inscriptions of the Old Kingdom mentioning *sphṯ* (*nt*) *spr* 'rib roast' (and loin),<sup>16</sup> but regularly appears as  when represented on a larger scale.<sup>17</sup> The hieroglyphic form was

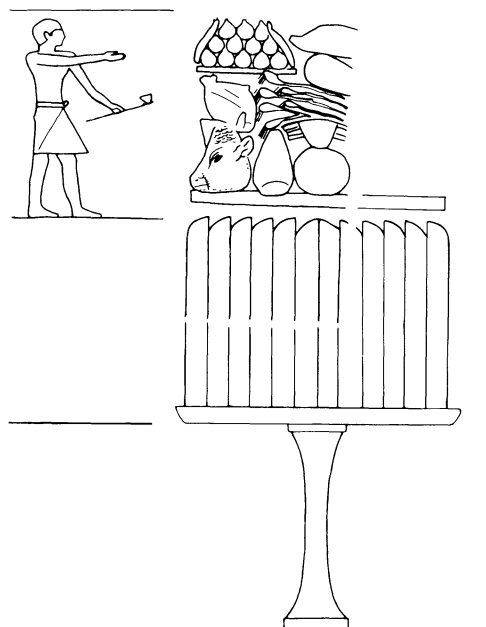


FIGURE 2 Reconstruction of context of Brooklyn 37.1355E.

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secondarily transferred to the larger representations of offerings in the Middle Kingdom. This kind of transference can be demonstrated even more clearly in the calf's head, which normally lacks horns in reliefs of the Old Kingdom, while hieroglyphic 𓆎 signifies the mature animal, *pars pro toto*.<sup>18</sup> Although the hornless calf's head is not mentioned in the offering lists of the period, it not only figures in the abundant displays of offerings that are typical of the later Old Kingdom but is shown being brought to the tomb owner's repast.<sup>19</sup> In all likelihood it was not cut up before it came to the table but was served intact as *tête de veau à l'anglaise*. Horns were scarcely ever added to the calf's head before the beginning of the Middle Kingdom,<sup>20</sup> after which they gradually became more common, usually of shorter length, although the hornless head was never entirely eliminated.<sup>21</sup>

In the present case, it would seem that the addition of the horns has not been fully understood, perhaps because they had not yet become at all customary. The one at the right (see fig. 3A), displayed against a round of beef (*swt*), does not make a complete connection with the head, and the other, presumably situated within a peculiar triangular depression (see fig. 3B), is not defined at all. The only explanation that occurs to me is that these odd features have been incompletely copied from another example; the triangular depression might be a mechanical reduplication of the space between the head and adjacent offerings.

The eye of the calf (see fig. 3C) provides a more specific clue to the date. The eye is usually open in examples prior to those of the New Kingdom, which often show it closed very nearly to a slit, yet with the pupil still visible (see fig. 4D).<sup>22</sup> The rare examples of a closed eye that are known from the Old and Middle Kingdom (see fig. 4A–C)<sup>23</sup> differ from those of the New Kingdom in that the orbit of the eye is suggested, with the lids compressed within it. The imbricated pattern on the poll of the head (see fig. 3D) is also known from the Middle Kingdom,<sup>24</sup> as is the ruff above the muzzle (see fig. 3E).<sup>25</sup>

The Middle Kingdom again provides evidence for the symmetrical pair of melons<sup>26</sup> flanking a heap of figs,<sup>27</sup> although this motif had its beginning in the Old Kingdom<sup>28</sup> and by the New Kingdom became quite common.<sup>29</sup> It is difficult to find

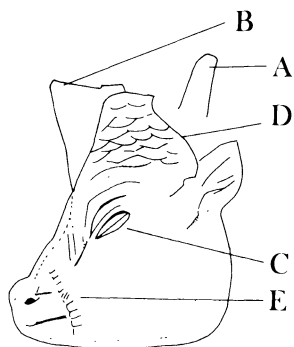


FIGURE 3 Detail of Brooklyn 37.1355E.

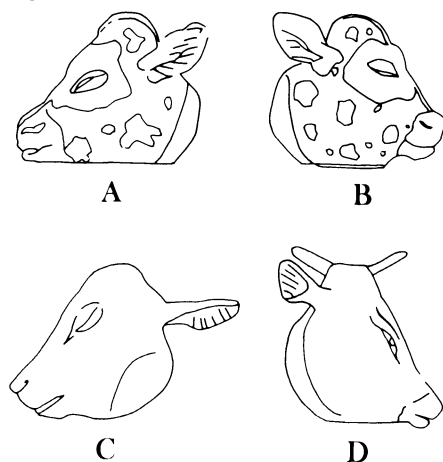
















FIGURE 4 Old and Middle Kingdom examples of calf-heads.



any parallel, however, for the crumpled stalks and long roots of the onions, which, at all periods, are more usually bundled together.<sup>30</sup>

The form of the censer is likewise well known from the Middle Kingdom and somewhat earlier<sup>31</sup> — so too the presence of a thurifer at the repast of the tomb owner.<sup>32</sup> This date also suits the presumed provenance, which would preclude the early New Kingdom. The Later Period might be considered, but the published material of this period affords few iconographic parallels.<sup>33</sup>

Now the inscription may be considered. It is not surprising that James translates  as 'inspector of fields,' since the title *imy-r shwt* 'overseer of fields' is known from the Old and Middle Kingdom.<sup>34</sup> But the distinction between  (*shwt*) and  (*sm*) is more elusive than one might suppose, for even as early as the Old Kingdom these two signs were frequently interchanged. Since *shwt* is repeatedly mentioned in Old Kingdom tomb chapels, the substitution of  for  is particularly well attested; it is known from Giza<sup>35</sup> and Saqqara<sup>36</sup> as well as from the provinces.<sup>37</sup> But there are also several Old Kingdom examples of  for ,<sup>38</sup> some of which occur in priestly titles: <sup>39</sup> and <sup>40</sup> (var. <sup>41</sup>, <sup>42</sup>), the latter following the title  'hm-ntr-priest of Sokar'. The association of *sm* and *Zkr* is significant because , the title in question, also takes this form in the Late Period, and again in connection with Sokar.<sup>43</sup> This title is attested on a false door of the late Sixth Dynasty (written normally)<sup>44</sup> and is not known to have been used again until the second year of Pimay, on a stela from the Serapeum which, by happy coincidence, also provides early evidence for the revival of the name *Snb.f.*<sup>45</sup> It is this name, and not \**Zkr-snb.f.*, that appears on the Brooklyn fragment,<sup>46</sup> and, like the father's name 'Im*s*, it is otherwise known (at least once) from the Middle Kingdom. The presence of the title *shd smw* precludes that early a date, however. The combination of the names and title clearly points to the Late Period, possibly as early as Pimay, but more probably the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, about forty years later.

Yet another question remains to be answered; is it possible that a priest of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty put his identity on a block of relief from the Middle Kingdom to provide himself with so improbable a monument? That seems unlikely. Although the hieroglyphs seem, at first sight, to be convincing, a closer look at them reveals uncertainty. The initial signs are rather weak, while those that follow are not only firmer but progressively increase in size. The tops of the leaves in  are ill-defined, and the chisel has made a series of jogs in executing curved lines. I believe it must be concluded that a forger has copied the inscription from an ancient text in order to make the fragment look more complete and to enhance its interest. This conclusion might explain the inappropriate use of the phrase *ms(w) n* 'born of' before the name of the father — a discrepancy to which James has already called attention;<sup>47</sup> a portion of the original text has been heedlessly

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omitted. It is probably only by chance that the text stems from a period when the style and iconography of earlier periods were imitated.

If the inscription must be condemned as a forgery, it is not without interest on that account, since the forgery was perpetrated before 1846 and is therefore one of the earliest examples of its kind.<sup>48</sup> And the altogether genuine representation of offerings is even more interesting, given the fact that relatively few tomb chapels of the Middle Kingdom have survived. Apart from the exceptionally detailed portrayal of the calf's head, the fragment is particularly intriguing because the subject is appropriate to the innermost walls of a chapel, and yet it is executed in sunk relief. That would not be surprising if the offering scene came from a rock-cut tomb,<sup>49</sup> but the tomb in question was evidently a mastaba with one or more chambers lined with limestone blocks.

## Notes

- 1 E. Drioton, A. Vignieu, *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art: Le Musée du Caire* (Paris, 1949), pl. 50 and p. 21; J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne III, Les Grandes Epoques: La Statuaire* (Paris, 1958), pl. 67 (2) and pp. 201, 596; Hans-Wolfgang Müller, *Ägyptische Kunst* (Frankfurt, 1970), pl. 80 (top) and p. xxviii; Edna Russmann and David Finn, *Egyptian Sculpture: Cairo and Luxor* (Austin, Texas, 1989), 68–9, fig. 30. D. Wildung (*Sesostris und Amenemhet* (Munich, 1984), 68, fig. 61) hesitates between this view and the possibility that the king may be represented as a god but gives no reason for the latter alternative and adheres to the former in the caption of his illustration.
- 2 Russmann, op. cit. 24.
- 3 For statues of Amun see Vandier, op. cit., pls. 118 (1–5), 119 (3, 7), 121 (2, 4), 136 (4, 5); also University Museum, Philadelphia, E. 14350 (ib. 387, 642); C. Aldred, 'The Carnarvon Statuette of Amun', *JEA* 42 (1956), 3–7 and pl. 1; W. Peck, 'A Seated Statue of Amun', *JEA* 57 (1971), 73–9. For Middle Kingdom representations of Amun in relief see P. Lacau and Chevrier, *Une Chapelle de Sesostris I<sup>er</sup>* (Cairo, 1956/1969), pls. 12, 14, 16, etc.; for Min see W. M. F. Petrie, *Koptos* (London, 1896), pl. 9.
- 4 ib., pls. 14 (6), 24 (20), etc.
- 5 L. Habachi, 'King Nebhepetre Mentuhotep: His Monuments, Place in History, Deification and Unusual Representations in the Form of Gods', *MDAIK* 19 (1963), most clearly in fig. 7, p. 24 and pl. 6, but probably the same in fig. 8, p. 26, and pl. 8.
- 6 Ibid., fig. 19, p. 42 and pl. 13; the graffiti in figs. 20, 21 seem too indistinct to show whether the beard is missing: cf. pl. 14.
- 7 Bisson de la Roque, *Tôd (1934 à 1936)* (Cairo, 1937), pl. 22 (Cairo J 66333).
- 8 A. H. Gardiner, T. E. Peet, and J. Černý, *Inscriptions of Sinai* (London, 1955), pl. 36 (116).
- 9 ib., pls. 21 (72), 41 (126, where the face is missing); cf. pl. 84 (404), where the name of the king is lost. For Amenemhet IV see also MMA 26.7.1438: Fischer, *L'écriture et l'art*, pl. 56.
- 10 Cairo CG 20538, II c 12,15–17. For these and other statements of the same kind see Elke Blumenthal, *Untersuchungen zum Ägyptischen Königtum des Mittleren Reiches. I. Die Phraseologie* (Berlin, 1970), 94–111.
- 11 The later history of this subject has been pursued by L. Habachi, *Features of the Deification of Ramesses II* (Glückstadt, 1969), and by L. Bell, 'Aspects of the Cult of the Deified Tutankhamun', *Mélanges Gamal eddin Mokhtar (BdE 97/1 [1985])*, 31–59.
- 12 I am indebted to Richard Fazzini for the photograph, and for his permission to publish it.
- 13 Cf., for example, W. M. F. Petrie, *Memphis*, I (London, 1909), pl. 33; W. C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, II (New York, 1959), figs. 58, 141, 171, 172 (probably not intact); H. M.

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- Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection*, I (Warminster, 1976), pl. 52 (1).
- 14 All of these details can be seen on the photograph, but I am again deeply indebted to Richard Fazzini for confirming them from an examination of the stone itself at a time when I was temporarily confined by illness. He has also confirmed that the thickness of the stone has evidently been reduced; for the back is suspiciously smooth.
  - 15 As in A. M. Blackman and M. R. Apted, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, VI (London, 1953), pls. 15, 17.
  - 16 S. Hassan, *Giza*, VI/2 (Cairo, 1948), 253–4; for a Middle Kingdom example of the phrase see A. M. Blackman, *Rock Tombs of Meir*, III (London, 1915), pl. 25.
  - 17 Compare R. Macramallah, *Le Mastaba d'Idout* (Cairo, 1935), pl. 18 (bottom left), with the offerings shown on pls. 12, 17, 20. When shown among offerings this item is sometimes vertical rather than horizontal, but the shape remains the same: M. A. Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, I (London, 1905), pl. 12; H. Petrie and M. A. Murray, *Seven Memphite Tomb Chapels* (London, 1952), pl. 10. There are, however, at least two exceptional occurrences of the hieroglyphic form: Junker, *Giza*, III, fig. 35; *Giza*, X, fig. 45 (the latter inverted).
  - 18 Sometimes both ⚡ and ⚡ appear in the short hieroglyphic lists beneath the offering table (e.g. H. Junker, *Giza*, I (Vienna and Leipzig, 1929), fig. 59; II (1934), fig. 15, CG 1506) and in such cases the calf's head undoubtedly represents the entire animal. Occasionally ⚡ replaces ⚡ in this context (*ibid.*, pls. 9–10) and in the Middle Kingdom the replacement is frequent.
  - 19 H. Wild, *Tombeau de Ti*, III (Cairo, 1966), pl. 162; a Middle Kingdom example in A. M. Blackman, *Rock Tombs of Meir*, II (London, 1915), pl. 2.
  - 20 One example (J. E. Quibell, *Ramesseum*, R. Paget and A. Pirie, *Tomb of Ptah-hetep* (London, 1898), pl. 34) clearly echoes ⚡ in an adjacent list of hieroglyphs; another (N. Davies, *Rock Tombs of Deir el Gebrawi*, II (London, 1920), pl. 13) has quite long horns, indicating the same influence.
  - 21 Among the Middle Kingdom examples are: N. Davies, *Tomb of Antefoker* (London, 1920), pl. 32; P. Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, I (London, 1893), pl. 17; Blackman, *Meir*, II, pl. 6; III, pl. 17; Blackman and Apted, *Meir*, VI, pls. 15, 18; D. Silverman, *Tomb Chamber of Hsw the Elder*, I (Winona Lake, Indiana, 1988), fig. 93; Louvre C 1 (W. K. Simpson, *Terrace of the Great God at Abydos* (New Haven and Philadelphia, 1974), pl. 14); C3 (*ibid.*, pl. 15); Leiden V 7 (*ib.*, pl. 60); V 68 (*ib.*, pl. 56); Florence 2504 (*ib.*, pl. 51); BM 564 (*ibid.*, pl. 36); BM 573 (*Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, & c., in the British Museum* II (London, 1912), pl. 6); BM 1201 (*ibid.*, pl. 13); BM 251 (*ibid.*, III (1912), pl. 35); BM 237 (*ibid.*, IV (1913), pl. 38); BM 246 (*ibid.*, pl. 45).
  - 22 Figure 4D is from H. Davies, *Tomb of Rekh-mi-rē*, II (New York, 1943), pl. 77; similarly in pls. 73, 85, 87–89 etc.; so also N. Davies, *Tomb of Ken-Amun I* (New York, 1930), pls. 40, 54; N. Davies, *Seven Private Tombs at Kurnah* (London, 1948), pls. 14, 23; N. Davies, *Tomb of Puyemrē*, II (New York, 1923), pls. 49, 64.
  - 23 Figure 4A, B is from Wild, *Ti*, III, pl. 159 (two examples, the first also shown in pl. 141); cf. pls. 160, 176, 177 which show a simple slit; an almost equally closed eye appears in M. Verner, *Abusir, The Mastaba of Ptahshepses*, I/1 (Prague, 1977), pl. 103 (= I/2, pl. 57). Figure 6C is from Blackman, *Meir*, II, pl. 6 (a similar example appears on pl. 2, and on pl. 6 the same rendering of the eye appears in the heads of a gazelle, an ibex and an oryx).
  - 24 BM 830 (Simpson, *Terrace*, pl. 8); Louvre C 3 (*ibid.*, pl. 15, seen from the original); C 5 (*ibid.*, pl. 9); Louvre, E 20900 (seen from the original); Leiden V 69 (P. A. A. Boeser, *Beschrijving van de Egyptische Verzameling in het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden*, II (The Hague, 1909), pl. 39).
  - 25 CG 20024 (E. Grébaut, *Le Musée Egyptien* I (Cairo, 1890–1900), pl. 17).
  - 26 Not cucumbers: see L. Keimer, *Die Gartenpflanzen im alten Ägypten* (Berlin, 1924), 15.
  - 27 R. Engelbach, *Riqqeh and Memphis VI* (London, 1915), pl. 23; Blackman and Apted,

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- Meir*, VI, pl. 18 (repeatedly); CG 20072 (Simpson, *Terrace*, pl. 27); CG 20571 (H. Schäfer, *Priestergräber [Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft in Abusir 1902–1904]* (Leipzig, 1908), pl. 6).
- 28 Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, I, pl. 7; N. Davies, *Mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhetetep*, II (London, 1901), pls. 26, 33.
- 29 Davies, *Rekh-mi-rē*, II, pls. 77, 103 etc.; N. Davies, *Five Theban Tombs* (London, 1913), pl. 26; E. Naville, *Ahnas el Medineh*, J. J. Tylor and F. Ll. Griffith, *Tomb of Paheri* (London, 1894), pls. 7, 8; R. Caminos and T. G. H. James, *Gebel es-Silsilah*, I (London, 1963), pls. 29, 37, 65.
- 30 Long roots are to be seen in Davies, *Rekh-mi-rē*, pls. 77, 85, 91, 103, in all cases more neatly parallel; the stalks are bound as usual.
- 31 H. Fischer, 'Varia Aegyptiaca: 4. The Evolution of the Armlike Censer', *JARCE* 2 (1963), 28–34 (but note that fig. 1 is later than the Old Kingdom; cf. H. Fischer, *Dendera in the Third Millennium BC* (Locust Valley, N.Y., 1968), p. 87 [3] and pp. 170 ff.).
- 32 P. Newberry, *El Bersheh*, II (London, 1895), pl. 17; *Beni Hasan*, I, pls. 17–20; *Beni Hasan*, II (1894), pl. 17; W. M. F. Petrie, *Tombs of the Courtiers and Oxyrhynchos* (London, 1925), pl. 28; Maria Cramer, 'Ägyptische Denkmäler im Kestner-Museum zu Hannover', *ZÄS* 72 (1936), 86 and pl. 4 (4); Oxford QC 1110 (Simpson, *Terrace*, pl. 73); 1111 (ib., pl. 84); MMA 63.159 (ib., pl. 81); CG 20748 (ib., pl. 52); CG 20088; CG 20092, CG 20126 (H. O. Lange and H. Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs*, IV (Berlin, 1902), pls. 8, 9, 11). There is relatively little evidence of this in private tombs of the early Eighteenth Dynasty; I have noted one example in N. Davies and A. H. Gardiner, *Tomb of Amenemhet* (London, 1915), pl. 24. In W. C. Hayes, *Burial Chamber of the Treasurer Sobk-mose from er Rizeikat* (New York, 1939), pl. 5, the armed censer is wielded by the tomb owner himself.
- 33 The calf's head sometimes has a half-closed eye (K. Kuhlmann and W. Schenkel, *Das Grab des Ibi* (Mainz a.R., 1983), pl. 51; J. Assmann, *Das Grab des Basa* (Mainz, 1973), pl. 16), but the tongue and an artery usually protude, as in reliefs of the New Kingdom, and the head is often inverted. In one case the onions are separate and show fairly long roots (*Ibi*, pl. 19), but in general other details of the offerings are different: the loin attached to the rib roast is usually banded (☞), for example, again as in the New Kingdom (*Ibi*, pls. 19, 53; *Basa*, pls. 16, 20; in Bietak and E. Reiser-Haslauer, *Das Grab des Anch-hor* (Vienna, 1982), plan 15; and so too in the tomb of Nespeqashuti). This last feature ultimately goes back to the horizontal form of the Old Kingdom (Jéquier, *Monument funéraire de Pepi II*, II [Cairo, 1938], pls. 77, 80, 94, 102) but does not seem to occur in the Middle Kingdom.
- 34 'Imy-r *sh̄t nbt*: H. Junker, *Gîza*, VIII (Vienna, 1947), fig. 36; 'Imy-r *sh̄wt H̄wfw*; W. K. Simpson, *Mastabas of the Western Cemetery: Part 1* (Giza Mastabas 4) (Boston, 1980), fig. 45. 'Imy-r *sh̄t h̄tp*: J. Capart, *Rue de Tombeaux à Saqqara*, II (Brussels, 1947), pl. 73: cf. also *imy-r b'ht sh̄t*: A. Mariette, *Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire* (Paris, 1889), p. 160. 'Imy-r *sh̄t* is also known from the Middle Kingdom: W. A. Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom* (Beirut, 1982), no. 343, and from the Middle Kingdom *sh̄d sh̄wt* is known as well (ibid., no. 1333).
- 35 D. Dunham and W. K. Simpson, *Mastaba of Mersyankh*, III (Giza Mastabas 1) (Boston, 1974), fig. 4 (twice). Also Abusir: Borchardt, *Grabdenkmal Saḥure*, I, fig. 122, p. 100.
- 36 P. Duell *et al.*, *The Mastaba of Mereruka* (Chicago, 1938), pl. 213; Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, I, pl. 18; Macramallah, *Idout*, pl. 11; A. M. Moussa and H. Altenmüller, *Das Grab des Nianchnum und Chnumhotep* (Mainz, a.R., 1977), pl. 60 and fig. 11; BM 718 (T. G. H. James, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc.*, I, 2nd edn (London, 1961), pl. 29 [2]). At least three dozen more examples may be found in the Pyramid Texts of Pepy II (*PT* 374b, 555d, 563b [cf. E. Drioton, 'Dissimilations graphiques dans les Textes des Pyramides', *ASAE* 49 (1949), 60], 805a, 910d, 918a, etc.); also Merenre in one case, *PT* 1018a, and *Ibi* (Jéquier, *La Pyramide d'Aba* (Cairo, 1935), pl. 14 [690, 692, 694]).
- 37 W. M. F. Petrie, *Deshasheh* (London, 1897), pl. 18; A. M. Blackman and M. R. Apted, *Meir*,

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




- V (London, 1953), pl. 30; N. Kanawati, *Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish*, I (Sydney, 1980), figs. 8, 11; II (1981), figs. 17–18 (both tombs probably post-Old Kingdom). Note also an Eighteenth Dynasty example at Thebes: Davies, *Ken-Amun*, pl. 51 (twice).
- 38 C. Firth and B. Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries* (Cairo, 1926), pl. 59; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish*, VIII (1988), fig. 19 (both in *sm.n[.i] m3r*, ‘I helped him who was needy’); also Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, fig. 10 (*sm* ‘plant’), and the Middle Kingdom name  *Sm-ib* (BM 930, *Hieroglyphic Texts*, IV, pl. 41), not cited by H. Ranke, *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen*, I (Glückstadt, 1935), but cf. *PN* I, 307 (3), II (1952), 386.
- 39 Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 250; impossible to check, but Cairo CG 1701, belonging to another individual, has  : L. Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches im Museum von Kairo*, II (Cairo, 1964), 143.
- 40 Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 157; again impossible to check, but the following  must be  *mhnk nswt*, as in the next series of titles that Mariette quotes.
- 41 Mariette, *Mastabas*, 113 (and 451); confirmed by James, *Hieroglyphic Texts*, I<sup>2</sup>, pl. 17 (bottom), although his reading (*hrp sht*, p. 50) is to be corrected. Mariette, p. 377, has , but the last sign is actually , as shown by P. Bienkowski and E. Southworth, *Egyptian Antiquities in the Liverpool Museum*, I (Warminster, 1986), pl. 7.
- 42 James, *Hieroglyphic Texts*, I<sup>2</sup>, pl. 17 (top).
- 43 M. Malinine, G. Posener, and J. Vercoutter, *Catalogue des stèles du Sérapéum de Memphis* (Paris, 1968), *passim*, and most clearly on stelae 26, 42, 50, 51, 98, 125, 197, 213.
- 44 H. Fischer, ‘A Group of Sixth Dynasty Titles Relating to Ptah and Sokar’, *JARCE* 3 (1964), 28 and pl. 15; also a second example of the same period in an incomplete titulary: N. Landa and I. Lapis, *Egyptian Antiquities in the Hermitage* (Leningrad, 1974), no. 17.
- 45 Malinine *et al.*, *op. cit.*, no. 24. The title belongs to a brother who is ‘inspector of *sm*-priests in the mansion of Sokar’. H. De Meulenaere, in ‘Un titre memphite méconnu’, *Mélanges Mariette* (Cairo, 1961), 288–9, discusses the later evidence for *sm*-priests including a ‘*sm*-priest of Sokar’ (288, n. 10).
- 46 After coming to this conclusion, I find that it has been anticipated by Jaromir Malek (B. Porter and R. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings*, III/2. *Saqqâra to Dahshûr*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1981), 829), although he does not apply it to the date, which he says is Old Kingdom or Middle Kingdom (as suggested by Simpson, *AJA* 79 (1975), 153). A further argument against the name \**Zkr-snb.f* is the fact that names of the pattern *NN-sdm.f* are known only from the Old Kingdom, while theophoric names that speak of the gods as being *snb* ‘healthy’ are known only from the Middle Kingdom onward.
- 47 Ranke, *PN* II, 8, n. 10, cites a single exception, from the New Kingdom.
- 48 A forgery of the same kind, and of at least equal antiquity, is probably to be seen in the pair of obelisks I have discussed in ‘Quelques prétendues antiquités de l’Ancien Empire’, *RdE* 30 (1978), 91–5. On the subject of early forgeries see also C. Lilyquist, ‘The Gold Bowl naming General Djehouty: A Study of Objects and Early Egyptology’, *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 23 (1988), 5–68.
- 49 As exemplified by the Sixth Dynasty tomb of *Mry* at Hagarsa (W. M. F. Petrie, *Athribis* (London, 1908), pls. 10–12) and the early Eighteenth Dynasty tomb of *Rnni* at El-Kab (J. J. Tylor, *Wall Drawings and Monuments of El-Kab: The Tomb of Renni* (London, 1900)).



FIGURE 5a and b. Amenemhet III as a god.



FIGURE 6 Brooklyn 37.1355E.

# Relief Styles of the Nebhepetre Montuhotep Funerary Temple Complex

RITA E. FREED

FEW have contributed more to the study of Egyptian art than Cyril Aldred. His elegantly written books and articles have influenced generations of students, myself included. Scholars benefit from his keen eye, particularly his ability to appreciate subtle differences of style, not only between reigns but even within a given reign, particularly during the Amarna Period. This study, offered in his honour, is an attempt to apply Aldred's methodology to examine in detail the dated royal reliefs of Nebhepetre Montuhotep's funerary temple at Thebes with the aim of distinguishing temporal variations in relief style. Over the years, references have been made to differences in style by a number of authors,<sup>1</sup> but a complete discussion seems long overdue.

Like the reign of Akhenaten, which is easily divisible into the phases before and after the king's move to Amarna, the reign of Montuhotep II may also be divided by several alterations in the royal titulary. In the course of at least fifty-one years of rule, Montuhotep II changes his Horus name twice and the spelling of his prenomen once.<sup>2</sup> Political events in his reign are generally believed to have motivated these changes. Particularly important in this survey of reliefs is the final change of Horus name from *Ntr-ḥdt*, 'Divine Master of the White Crown', to *Sm3-t3wy*, 'Uniter of the Two Lands', and the accompanying substitution of the *hpt* sign in the prenomen for the oar. Exactly when these final alterations took place is uncertain, but, for the purpose of this paper, they are assumed to have marked the culmination of the conquest of the North and reunification of the country. Reliefs bearing the final form of the name are accordingly assumed to be post-reunification.

Both the penultimate and final forms of Montuhotep II's name exist on different parts of his funerary complex at Thebes (see fig. 1), the ancestral home of the Montuhotep kings. The different names, combined with the archaeological evidence which documents how the temple complex developed and changed architecturally,<sup>3</sup> provide a relative chronology for relief decoration. Temporal changes in relief style present in the temple and associated structures are set forth below.

The site was first discovered by Frederick Lord Dufferin, who interrupted the 'social and sporting activities' of his 1859 Nile journey long enough to conduct a small excavation.<sup>4</sup> Edward Naville excavated a much broader area from 1903–7 on

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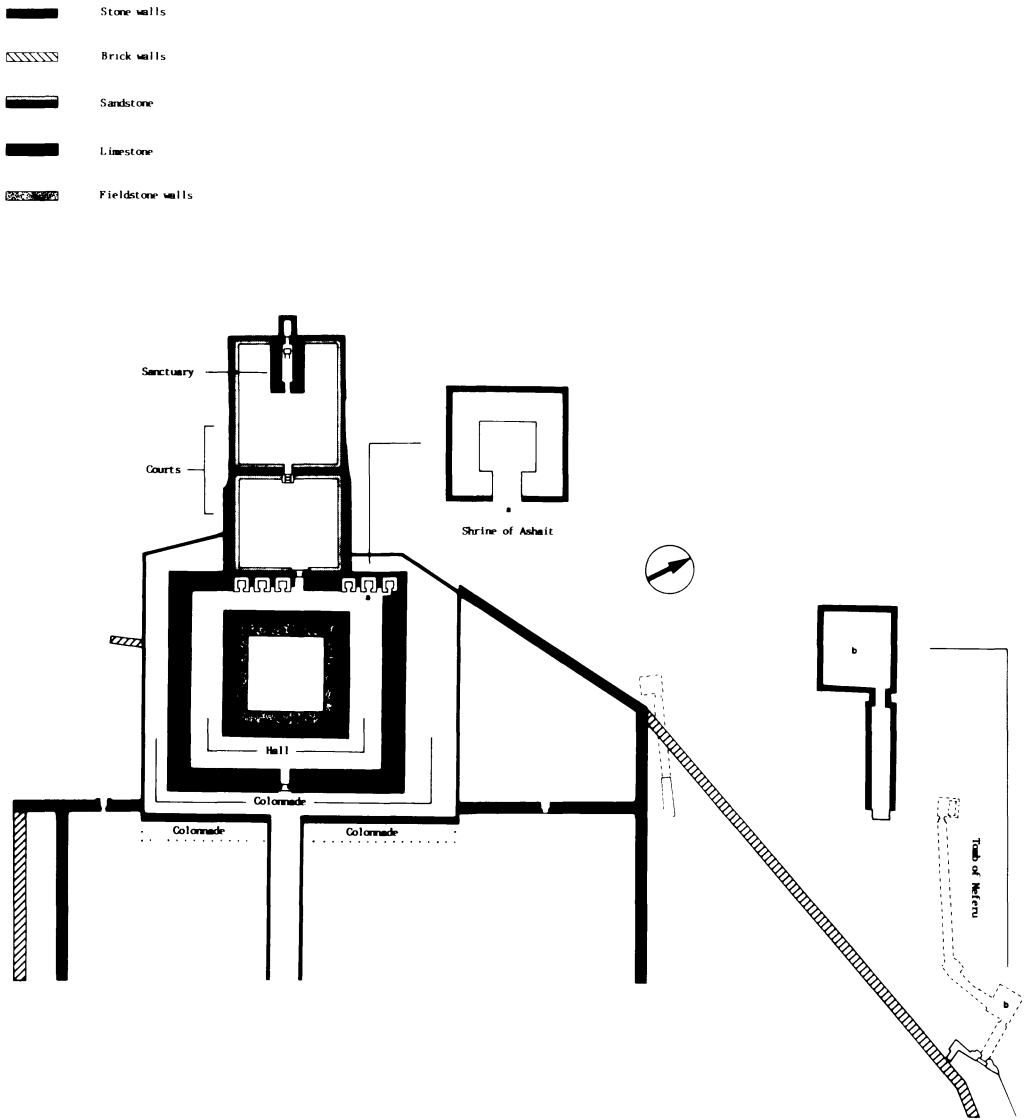


FIGURE 1 Relief decorated walls of the Montuhotep II Funerary Temple Precinct, adapted from D. Arnold, *The Temple of Mentuhotep at Deir el-Bahari* (New York, 1979), pl. 38. Drawing by Yvonne Markowitz.

behalf of the Egypt Exploration Society,<sup>5</sup> followed by Herbert Winlock for the Metropolitan Museum of Art from 1930–31.<sup>6</sup> Most recently (1966–71) the site was examined by Dieter Arnold under the auspices of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut.<sup>7</sup>

The earliest reliefs from the funerary temple complex come from the tombs and above-ground chapels of Montuhotep II's minor queens,<sup>8</sup> whose six tombs were first excavated by Naville and later re-examined by Winlock. Of the six, five (Ashait, Henhenit, Kawit, Kemsit, and Sadhe) featured relief-decorated limestone chapels, fragments of which were distributed by the EES to participating insti-



tutions.<sup>9</sup> Ashait, Kawit, and Kemsit had relief-decorated limestone sarcophagi. Ashait's and Kawit's are beautifully preserved in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo;<sup>10</sup> of Kemsit's, only fragments exist, and they are now in the British Museum.<sup>11</sup>

When the king is mentioned on the minor queens' material, the Horus name is *Ntr-hdt* and the prenomen is spelled with the *hpt*-sign.<sup>12</sup> Archaeological evidence supports their early date, because a later building stage in the temple necessitated the dismantling of the chapels. The area was then covered by additional construction<sup>13</sup> (see fig. 1).

The relief style found on the chapels and sarcophagi of the royal ladies is distinctive. A characteristic example from Kemsit's chapel (see fig. 2) displays a very high, rounded, almost three-dimensional surface. Its multiple layers of overlapping design elements, beginning with the back of the shawl, and, superimposed on it, the torso, garment straps, broad collar, front lapets of the shawl, arm, and finally a bracelet, for example, are the products of complex and well-thought-out composition. Additionally, there is a singular creativity in fashion. A square-backed shawl worn by Kemsit (see fig. 2) and Ashait<sup>14</sup> and Kawit's one-piece dress with concave strap (see fig. 3) are otherwise unknown. The artisans of the minor queens' chapels and sarcophagi also took great delight in rich surface texture and in juxtaposing contrasting patterns. Many of the surfaces are lavishly covered with incised details executed with a jewel-like precision and whimsical inventiveness as the carefully 'rolled' curls of one of the minor queens so aptly demonstrate (see fig. 4, and also fig. 2). The same sculptural quality and meticulous detailing may be found in the raised relief hieroglyphs (see fig. 5). Representations in sunk relief (see fig. 3) follow the same aesthetic and feature deeply cut outlines, rounded contours, overlapped surfaces, and abundant incised detail.

Whether from raised or sunk reliefs, facial features from the minor queen's tombs are also noteworthy. A thin, elegant brow in raised relief extends in a gentle curve from the bridge of the nose to the temple and surmounts a particularly large eye which is often slightly angled and includes a pronounced tear duct. The eyes are rimmed by a thin ridge, and a cosmetic line extends from the outer corner toward the temple, splaying slightly. The nose is broad and 'pug', and the edge of the nostril may be set off by a slight depression. Thick lips, often set apart from the face by a vermilion line, terminate in an abrupt vertical line depressed partly into the cheek. An often tiny, receding chin and an elongated but otherwise naturalistic ear complete the visage.

Figural proportions differ from the standard Old Kingdom model in the following ways:<sup>15</sup> waist and buttocks are high for the height of the figure, and the legs are correspondingly long; the head is often disproportionately small, and the relative width of the shoulders varies. All of this probably came about as a result of the decline of the artistic hegemony of the North. Apparently the Old Kingdom 'Achsenkreuz', consisting of a vertical axis line with six horizontal lines intersecting strategic body parts,<sup>16</sup> served only as a guide into which variations on the standard vertical spacing and torso width were introduced.

As far as the chapels themselves are concerned, it is difficult to draw conclusions about the overall treatment of space because most of the material is so fragmentary. If the decorated sarcophagi, however, are representative, then a tend-

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ency toward a *horror vacui* is noticeable (see figs. 3 and 6). Available spaces are filled, at times seemingly at random, with a single object or an entire scene expanded or contracted to fill the space, irrespective of what lies beside it. On Ashait's sarcophagus, for example, a pair of sandals almost as large as the man scooping grain is shown above a granary (see fig. 6). Although the presence of sandals on the foot end of the sarcophagus is consistent with their usual placement in the frieze of objects,<sup>17</sup> the juxtaposition of a granary scene and sandals is hardly standard.

In its totality, the style of the minor queens' reliefs is unique and charming. They are, however, heavily influenced by contemporary royal reliefs from other sites, including Dendera<sup>18</sup> and Gebelein,<sup>19</sup> and earlier royal works from Thebes.<sup>20</sup> In reliefs from the next phase of development of the Montuhotep II funerary complex, namely in the tomb of his chief queen, Neferu,<sup>21</sup> the fanciful lyricism of the minor queens' style develops a colder, more abstract appearance.

Excavated by Winlock in 1925–6 for the Metropolitan Museum,<sup>22</sup> Neferu's rock-cut tomb abuts the north side of the funerary temple complex (see fig. 1) and consists of a corridor cased in limestone and decorated in sunk relief leading to a roughly square raised-relief-decorated limestone chapel.<sup>23</sup> From the chapel a descending passageway opens into a burial chamber cased in painted sandstone.<sup>24</sup> A fragment of relief bearing Montuhotep II's Horus name in its last form, *Sm3-t3wy*,<sup>25</sup> establishes that the decoration post-dates both the minor queens' tombs and the reunification.

Subtle changes distinguish the relief style of Queen Neferu from that of the minor queens. Raised reliefs are somewhat lower and flatter in Neferu's tomb (see fig. 7), and sunk relief is correspondingly less plastic. Even raised-relief hieroglyphs lose their sculptural quality (see fig. 8, cf. fig. 5). Complex multi-layered overlapping is still present, but, at least in the case of a fragment depicting two women carrying a jar between them on a pole (see fig. 7), it appears ineffectually executed to the modern eye where the pole pierces the neck of the rear carrier.

Close examination of the facial features also shows slight differences between the Neferu and minor queens' material.<sup>26</sup> Although the shape of the eye and brow is similar, the cosmetic line splays considerably more in the Neferu representations (see fig. 9: cf. figs. 2 and 4). The nose tends to be aquiline rather than straight, and the nostril is often open. The corner of the nostril is marked by a pronounced, angular notch, replacing the more naturalistic depression which sometimes appears on the minor queens' reliefs. The vermilion line is more distinct. The elongated ears found in the minor queens' reliefs become even more attenuated in Neferu's tomb, and they are placed at a decided diagonal. The earlobe tends to flatten into a disc.

In Neferu's tomb the trend toward greater linearity and abstraction apparent in the decorative details and facial features is borne out in a comparison of overall composition. The common theme of hairdressing,<sup>27</sup> for example, is treated very differently in both (cf. figs. 3 and 9). In a relief from Minor Queen Kawit's sarcophagus, the arms and hands of her maid form an interplay of concave and convex shapes mirrored in her nimble fingers, which adroitly adjust a lock of hair. Each digit forms an S-curve. The same is true for Kawit's hands and those of her

manservant. Neferu's maidservant, in contrast, has tube-like arms which terminate in rigid fingers, seemingly ill-adapted to the work they do. Offering-bearers from Neferu's tomb barely touch what they carry, making their delicate and graceful gestures more symbolic than representative of hard work (see fig. 10). The abundant and fanciful incised detail that imparts so much charm to the minor queens' reliefs is much reduced in Neferu's, not only in its quantity but also in its lyrical quality. What remains tends to be restrained and geometric. Generally, decorated areas are set off by expanses of plain surfaces; rarely do two different decorated areas touch. This is yet another compositional aspect which so clearly distinguishes Neferu's material from the minor queens' reliefs.

In view of the differences set forth above, it is not surprising that space, insofar as the fragmentary nature of the material permits conclusions to be drawn,<sup>28</sup> is treated differently in the minor queens' material than it is in Neferu's. The artisans who worked on the minor queens' reliefs generally appear to have avoided repetitive gestures and arrangements within the same work. Neferu's artisans, on the other hand, reveal a decided preference for staid, almost rhythmic rows of figures virtually identical in dress, attribute, and pose (see fig. 10). In most instances, each figure or figure group forms a discrete ensemble kept visually separate from the next by an expanse of empty background. This contrasts sharply with the tendency in the minor queens' tombs to fill all available spaces.

In spite of the different aesthetic which separates the minor queens' reliefs from those of Neferu, the canon of proportion remains the same (cf. figs. 3 and 7). Although there is a movement toward a more sober, academic treatment in the Neferu reliefs, which may well have come about as a result of increased contact with Northern works or Northern artisans, the Northern canon of proportion had yet to reach Thebes.

Many of the lines of development which were traced above in distinguishing the minor queens' reliefs from those of Neferu continue to unfold in reliefs from the next phases of the Deir el-Bahri temple, namely those in the colonnades, hall, courts, and sanctuary.<sup>29</sup> Archaeologically they represent part of the final phase of the funerary temple's construction,<sup>30</sup> and, as expected, feature Montuhotep II's name in its final form.<sup>31</sup>

The walls to the rear of the colonnades as well as the hall were of limestone and decorated exclusively in raised relief, and the same is true for the sanctuary walls. In contrast, the walls which lined the two courts in front of the sanctuary were of sandstone and carved in sunk relief.<sup>32</sup> Thematically, most is known about the sanctuary reliefs as a result of the painstaking work of Dieter Arnold, who reconstructed its walls.<sup>33</sup> A similar collection and reassembly is currently underway for the rest of the temple,<sup>34</sup> but to date the best publication of the material remains the Naville volumes,<sup>35</sup> which are, however, woefully incomplete. Moreover, many fragments, not illustrated, are now widely dispersed and many remain unpublished. The problem is particularly acute for the sandstone reliefs, which are represented in the publications by only a few fragments.<sup>36</sup>

From what is available of the limestone reliefs from the walls of the sanctuary, colonnades, and hall, it seems clear that although they differ thematically, their relief style is the same. It is likely that the same group of artisans, or at least the

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same master/s worked on both, and in this context they are treated together. With regard to the sandstone sunk reliefs, since this material does not yield the clean line or smooth finish of limestone, at first glance they appear to differ from the latter to a greater extent than they really do.<sup>37</sup> In fact, many broad aspects of style are common to both materials, and these aspects are discussed in the following pages.

The tendency to carve lower and flatter raised relief which distinguishes the Neferu material from that of the minor queens progresses even further in the temple's final stages. The overlapping of design elements made possible by the higher level of relief in the earlier material is no longer feasible here. Accordingly, even in a context such as foreign enemies in a 'free fall' (see fig. 11), where one might expect a jumbled, overlapping mass of bodies, one finds instead stiff-limbed figures neatly spaced from one another in what appears to the modern eye as a most dispassionate and sterile scene of carnage. Additionally, since low relief lends itself less easily to intricate incised interior detailing, it is supplied in paint. The sandstone sunk reliefs are correspondingly shallow, and, although they appear to have more incised detail than the raised reliefs, they are similarly devoid of interior modelling (see fig. 12).

The exaggeration and abstraction of facial features apparent in the minor queens and Neferu is now abandoned in favour of a more naturalistic treatment in both limestone (see fig. 13) and sandstone (see fig. 14). The eyes tend not to be as elongated as earlier, and they lose the downturned, open inner canthus of the Neferu reliefs. They remain often, although not always,<sup>38</sup> rimmed by a raised relief band. Cosmetic line and brow continue toward the temple in a thick, even band. They neither splay dramatically, as they did in the Neferu reliefs, nor do they have the delicacy they displayed in the minor queens' material. As in the Neferu reliefs, the nose is straight rather than aquiline, but it has a sharper tip and a narrower nostril than in the minor queens' reliefs. The interior of the nostril is often visible, as in Neferu, but the angular notch at the corner reverts to the more naturalistic fold seen in the minor queens' reliefs. The lips taper into the cheek, rather than ending abruptly in a line, although the vermilion line is often still present (see fig. 15). The ears are now naturalistic in their size and shape, and at times even delicate.<sup>39</sup>

The treatment of space in the colonnades, hall, and sanctuary reliefs continues the development toward greater linearity and abstraction. Not only is overlapping avoided, except in scenes of king and god embracing, where it is virtually mandatory,<sup>40</sup> but there is also an attempt to separate even further a scene's components by using design elements as space dividers. This is apparent in a swamp scene from a colonnade wall where tall stems of papyrus flowers compartmentalize each bird (see fig. 16).

In the sanctuary where, as expected, staid processions of king and deities are found, columns of text or vertical elements such as sceptres or staffs may further separate each figure from the next.<sup>41</sup> By using these methods the tendency toward neat, academic spacing is rendered more explicit than in the Neferu reliefs. The resulting stiff formalism of the sanctuary reliefs is an understandable outcome of a deliberate and successful attempt to emulate the canon of proportion of the Old

Kingdom. Unlike the earlier Deir el-Bahri material discussed above, the length of the legs, height of the torso, size of the head, and overall figural width of all of the reliefs of this final stage of the temple's construction conform to what is found at the Memphite and Memphite-influenced necropolises from Dynasty III on (see figs 12 and 15). The eighteen-square grid evolved at this time to replace the less-exacting *Achsenkreuz*,<sup>42</sup> very likely to facilitate the canon's reproduction. The finer grid allowed for greater precision in the calculation of ratios between body parts and facilitated their transfer from one surface to the next. Although the tendency toward flatter raised relief and paucity of incised detail may also be attributed to some degree of Northern influence, more so than any other stylistic element, the accurate copying of the Old Kingdom canon represents a dramatic break with past Theban and Theban-region traditions of earlier Dynasty XI. Moreover, it firmly re-establishes the artistic hegemony of the North. Whereas previously the Memphite area only influenced the South in select and very specific ways, now the Theban style is virtually subsumed under the traditions of the North.

The possible mechanisms for the transmission of style are many, and contemporary documents allude to two. Inyotefnakhte, on his stela dated to the reign of Montuhotep II indicates that he travelled to Memphis at the time of the reunification to observe its monuments in order to decorate the 'King's House' at Thebes.<sup>43</sup> The sculptor Iri-irusen's vast theoretical and practical knowledge of art expressed on his famous stela from Abydos suggested to Winfried Barta that his place of birth and training was Heracleopolis.<sup>44</sup> Iri-irusen's stela is also dated to the reign of Montuhotep II after the reunification, and aspects of its style and composition, including the false door format at the bottom, link it to Heracleopolitan prototypes.

Direct contacts between Heracleopolitan/Memphite and Theban artisans and their monuments are not the only possible mechanisms for the transmission of the Northern style. Sites in Upper Egypt, including but not limited to Qoseir, Meir, Bersha, and Sheikh Said, contain Old Kingdom tombs whose reliefs and painted decoration display the classical Old Kingdom style. They may have served as models for Theban artisans following the reunification. Relief-decorated tombs of Tenth/Eleventh Dynasty date at Beni Hasan, Bersha, Meir, and Assiut, which fell within the Northern sphere of influence, likewise may have been easily available for examination. Because a number of these later tombs pre-date the reunification but feature canonical figures and the low, flat raised relief typical of Old Kingdom Memphis, it is tempting to think that their artisans are among the heirs and descendants of those who decorated the Old Kingdom royal necropolises. After the reunification some of these artisans may well have migrated south to work on the final stages of Montuhotep II's mortuary precinct and served as the impetus for the final style.

The possible pictures of what transpired following the reunification are many. It is nevertheless clear that toward the end of Montuhotep II's reign, after his final name change, and presumably after the reunification, there is an explosion of royal building activity, not only in Thebes but throughout Upper Egypt from Abydos to Elephantine.<sup>45</sup> The relief decoration on all of these late monuments incorporates the latest Deir el-Bahri style, and in some instances it approaches even more

closely the greater naturalism and sophistication of Old Kingdom Memphis. The development from the high, plastic surfaces of the minor queens' reliefs, with their fondness for complex overlapping and lavish incised decoration, to the more abstract, attenuated style of Neferu, and finally to the canonically correct, yet aloof and understated reliefs of the funerary temple's walls and sanctuary was rapid and dramatic. At few other times in Egyptian history can such monumental changes in style be documented within a single reign. Not only would Montuhotep II be revered as a god in the minds and chronicles of his royal descendants, but also his final relief style would set the standard for the rest of the Middle Kingdom.

## Notes

- 1 Among them, M. Werbrouck, 'La Décoration murale du temple des Mentouhotep', *Bulletin des musées royaux d'art et d'histoire* 9 (1937), 36–44; B. Jaroš-Deckert, *Grabung im Asasif 1963–1970. V. Das Grab des Inj-jtj.f Die Wandmalereien der XI. Dynastie* (Mainz am Rhein, 1984), 112–16; 135–6; D. Wildung, *Sesostris und Amenemhet. Ägypten im Mittleren Reich* (Munich, 1984), 41–53; G. Robins, 'The Reign of Nebhepetre Montuhotep II and the Pre-unification Theban Style of Relief', in G. Robins (ed.), *Beyond the Pyramids. Egyptian Regional Art from the Museo Egizio, Turin* (Atlanta, 1990), 39–45; and R. Freed, 'BM 1819: A Middle Kingdom Royal Relief Re-examined', in S. Schoske (ed.), *Akten des vierten internationalen ägyptologischen Kongresses München 1985* (in press).
- 2 For a chart outlining the name changes see D. Arnold, *Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep von Deir el-Bahari. I. Architektur und Deutung* (Mainz am Rhein, 197), 62. For a discussion of other possible variants see further D. Arnold, 'Zur frühen Namensform des Königs *Mntw-ḥtp Nb-ḥpt-R*', *MDAIK* 24 (1969), 38–42.
- 3 The archaeological evidence is clearly set forth in Dieter Arnold's recent publications: Arnold, *Architektur und Deutung*; id., *Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep von Deir el-Bahari. II. Die Wandreliefs des Sanktuars* (Mainz am Rhein, 1974); id., *The Temple of Mentuhotep at Deir el-Bahari* (New York, 1979).
- 4 I. E. S. Edwards, 'Lord Dufferin's Excavations at Deir el-Bahri', *JEA* 51 (1965), 16–28.
- 5 E. Naville, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari, I* (London, 1907); id., *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari, II* (London, 1910); Naville and H. R. Hall, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari, III* (London, 1913).
- 6 Preliminary Reports: H. Winlock, 'The Egyptian Expedition 1920–1921. III. Excavations at Thebes', *BMMA* II (Nov., 1921), 29–53; id., 'The Egyptian Expedition 1922–1923. The Museum's Excavations at Thebes', *BMMA* II (Dec., 1923), 11–39; id., 'The Egyptian Expedition 1923–1924. The Museum's Excavations at Thebes', *BMMA* II (Dec., 1924), 5–14; id., 'The Egyptian Expedition 1924–1925. The Museum's Excavations at Thebes', *BMMA* II (March, 1926), 5–12; and 'The Egyptian Expedition, 1925–1927. The Museum's Excavations at Thebes', *BMMA* II (Feb., 1928), 3–24. Much (although not all) of the information is repeated in H. Winlock, *Excavations at Deir el-Bahri 1911–1931* (New York, 1942). Winlock never produced a final report on his work. This was left to D. Arnold in *The Temple of Mentuhotep at Deir el-Bahari* (New York, 1979).
- 7 See n. 3.
- 8 Five bear the title *ḥmt-nsw*, 'king's wife'. The sixth, Mait, is more problematic. Laid to rest in an unfinished and undecorated tomb, her skeleton indicates she died in early childhood. Winlock suggested that she might have been the king's daughter (*BMMA* II (Nov., 1921), 48, 51–2). For a discussion of the titles and an assessment of the material see L. Kuchman, 'Titles of Queenship. Part II: The Eleventh Dynasty and the Beginning of the Middle

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- Kingdom: The Wives of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep', *JSSEA* 9 (1978), 21–5. Both Kuchman (op. cit. 25) and D. Franke (*JEA* 76 (1990), 231) feel that the function of these women was chiefly religious.
- 9 For a partial list of present locations, see PM II<sup>2</sup>, 386–90.
  - 10 Ashait: JE 47267; Kawit: JE 47397. See Winlock, *BMMA* II (Nov., 1921), 29–53. For details of both, see M. Saleh and H. Sourouzian, *The Egyptian Museum Cairo* (Mainz, 1987), nos. 68–69. Henhenit's sarcophagus, which is in the Metropolitan Museum, is decorated with a band of inscription only.
  - 11 Naville, *XIth Dynasty Temple*, I, 53 and pls. xxii–xxiii. Winlock in *BMMA* II (Nov. 1921), 46, incorrectly states that the sarcophagus had only painted decoration. Rather, it was painted on the inside and carved outside. For clarifying this for me, I am grateful to Mr Vivian Davies and Dr Jeffrey Spencer of the Department of Egyptian Antiquities, The British Museum.
  - 12 Naville, *XIth Dynasty Temple*, I, 33, and pls. XII, H and XIV, E. For published references, see PM II<sup>2</sup>, 386–90.
  - 13 Naville, *XIth Dynasty Temple*, I, 31 and Arnold, *Temple of Mentuhotep*, 41.
  - 14 This detail from Ashait's sarcophagus is illustrated in Saleh and Sourouzian, *Egyptian Museum Cairo*, no. 692.
  - 15 These differences are clearly outlined by W. Barta in *Das Selbstzeugnis eines altägyptischen Künstlers* (Berlin, 1970), 94–8.
  - 16 Barta, op. cit. 96.
  - 17 H. Willems, *Chests of Life* (Leiden, 1988), 209.
  - 18 G. Daressy, 'Chapelle de Mentuhotep III à Dendérah', *ASAE* 17 (1917), 226–36 and pls. I–III.
  - 19 Barta, op. cit., figs. 14–16; A. M. Donadoni Roveri (ed.), *Egyptian Museum of Turin. Egyptian Civilization. Religious Beliefs* (Milan and Turin, 1988), 85–91; Robins (ed.), *Beyond the Pyramids*, cat. nos. 3–23, pp. 69–75.
  - 20 For monuments of Wahankh Inyotef (II), see Arnold, *Gräber des Alten und Mittleren Reiches in El-Tarif* (Mainz am Rhein, 1976), pls. 43–4 and C. Vandersleyen (ed.), *Propyläen Kunstgeschichte. XV. Das alte Ägypten* (Berlin, 1975), figs. 246 a–b.
  - 21 In addition to the title *hmt-nsw* ('king's wife'), she was also *s3t-nsw n ht.f* ('king's daughter of his body'), indicating that she was also of royal blood in her own right. She may also have been the king's sister: see Kuchman, *JSSEA* 9 (1978), 23–5, and Franke, *JEA* 76 (1990), 231.
  - 22 Winlock, *BMMA* II (Dec., 1924), 8, 12–14; id., *BMMA* II (March, 1926), 7–12; id., *BMMA* II (Feb., 1928), 4–6. For granting me access to the unpublished excavation records and for fruitful discussions about the material, I am indebted to Dr Dorothea Arnold, Associate Curator and Administrator *pro tem.*, Department of Egyptian Art, the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Although visited by tourists of the Eighteenth Dynasty and used as a repository for hundreds of mummies of the Roman Period (Winlock, *BMMA* II (March, 1926), 9, 11–12), the tomb appears to have been next entered by Mariette in 1858. He was followed by Ebers in 1873 and Naville in 1882. (For a summary of the early work see E. Riefstahl, 'Two Hairdressers of the Eleventh Dynasty', *JNES* 15 (1956), 13–13.) Today the most extensive collection of reliefs from the tomb may be found in the Metropolitan Museum, although additional fragments are in museums and private collections around the world. (For the published blocks, see PM I<sup>2</sup>, 1, 391–3.)
  - 23 Winlock, *BMMA* II (March, 1926), 10.
  - 24 Winlock, *BMMA* II (Feb., 1928), 4.
  - 25 This is mentioned by Winlock in his excavation notes, although it has not been otherwise confirmed: see Arnold, *Temple*, 19, n. 63.
  - 26 Neferu's facial features were beautifully described by Riefstahl in *JNES* 15 (1956), 11.
  - 27 The hairdressing theme was discussed by Riefstahl both in the article mentioned in n. 22

## *Relief Styles of the Nebhepetre*

- and in 'An Ancient Egyptian Hairdresser', *Bulletin of the Brooklyn Museum* 13 (1952), 7–16.
- 28 From the evidence presented Naville's reconstruction of Sadhe's and Ashait's chapels (Naville, *XIth Dynasty Temple*, II, 7–9 and pls. xi and xiv) seems largely conjectural.
- 29 Lord Dufferin, Naville, Winlock, and Arnold all worked in this area. For the excavation reports, see bibliography in nn. 3–6.
- 30 Arnold, *Temple*, 45.
- 31 For example, Arnold, *Wandreliefs*, pl. 24.
- 32 I am grateful to Dieter and Dorothea Arnold for clarifying this point.
- 33 Arnold, *Wandreliefs*. A list of the fragments by museum may be found on pp. 53–4.
- 34 Brigitte Jaroš-Deckert of Linz, Austria, is preparing a reconstruction of this material (written communication).
- 35 See n. 5.
- 36 Naville, *XIth Dynasty Temple*, I, pl. xiii, A (note that fragment C, now Brussels E. 4986, is limestone, not sandstone, as incorrectly listed on p. 68); id., *XIth Dynasty Temple*, II, pl. ix, B.
- 37 Naville called them 'peculiar' in *XIth Dynasty Temple*, I, 68, and for Werbrouck in *Bulletin des musées royaux d'art et d'histoire* 9 (1937), 39, they were 'moins raffinés'.
- 38 Where the raised relief band is not present, it may well have been added in paint. See, for example, Peabody Museum 6776, illustrated in H. Fischer, 'Eleventh Dynasty Relief Fragments from Deir el-Bahari', *Yale University Art Gallery Bulletin* 24, 2 (Oct., 1958), 32, fig. 4.
- 39 For example, Manchester 4620, illustrated in Naville, *XIth Dynasty Temple*, I, pl. xviii, 2nd row, right (incorrectly labelled as being from the 'shrine of the princesses', undoubtedly because a female is represented).
- 40 For example Arnold, *Wandreliefs*, pl. 59 a and b, both of which are presumably scenes of the king and deities embracing.
- 41 As, for example, Arnold, *Wandreliefs*, pls. 12, 25, and 26.
- 42 To my knowledge, none of the Deir el-Bahri colonnade or sanctuary reliefs show traces of a grid of any sort. However, full grids do exist on private stelae which are approximately contemporary with the late Deir el-Bahri material. Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum Inv. No. 202 (illustrated in *Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna. Guide to the Collections* (Vienna, n.d.), 24, where the suggested date of Dynasty XII may well be too late) may be the earliest example of relief with an eighteen-square grid for standing figures, and Cairo CG 20003 (illustrated in H. Brunner, *Hieroglyphische Chrestomathie* (Wiesbaden, 1965), pl. 8.) may represent the earliest known use in relief of the fourteen-square grid for seated figures.
- 43 Cairo TR 3/6/25/1, translated by W. Helck, 'Zur Reichseinigung der II. Dynastie', *ZÄS* 80 (1955), 76. The stela is in very poor condition, however, and H. Fischer in 'An Example of Memphite Influence in a Theban Stela of the Eleventh Dynasty', *Artibus Asiae* 22 (1959), 248–9 and n. 9 is inclined to be much less specific about the details. Evidence exists of other personnel from the South who were appointed to Northern offices after the reunification. For example, Inyotef, son of Tjefi, claims on his stela from Thebes that he was appointed by Montuhotep II to serve in the Heracleopolitan region, possibly as prison overseer (Fischer, *Artibus Asiae* 22 (1959), p. 248).
- 44 Barta, op. cit. 127. The stela is now in the Louvre and bears number C 14.
- 45 The areas of post-reunification building activity of Montuhotep II include Abydos, Armant, Tod, Shatt er-Rigal, and Elephantine. A discussion of their relief styles may be found in R. Freed, *The Development of Middle Kingdom Egyptian Relief. Sculptural Schools of Late Dynasty XI* (unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, NYU, 1984).





FIGURE 2 London, British Museum 1450 (1907-10-15, 460), from the chapel of Kemsit; limestone. Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum.



FIGURE 3 Cairo, JE 47397, from the sarcophagus of Kawit; limestone. Courtesy Egyptian Museum, Cairo.



FIGURE 4 Brussels E 7120, from the chapel of Kawit (?); limestone. Courtesy Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire.



FIGURE 5 London, British Museum 1450 (1907-10-15, 545), from the chapel of a minor queen; limestone. Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum.

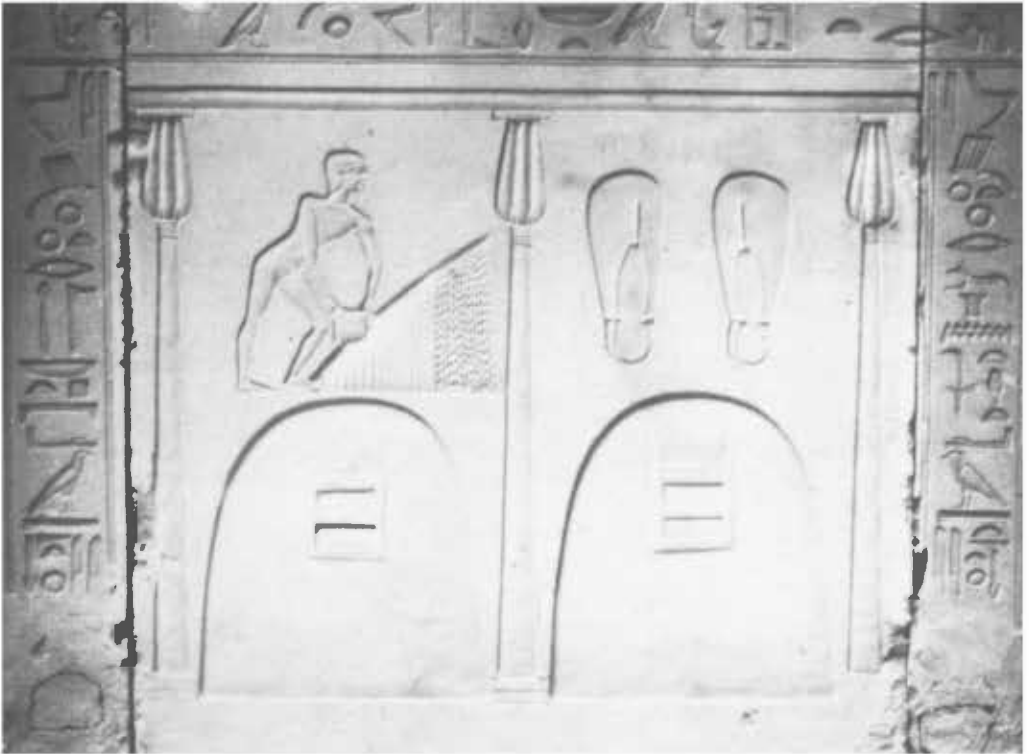


FIGURE 6 Cairo, JE 47267, from the sarcophagus of Ashait; limestone. Courtesy Egyptian Museum, Cairo.



FIGURE 7 Boston, MFA 1973.147, from the tomb of Queen Neferu; limestone. Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, J. H. and E. A. Payne Fund.



FIGURE 9 Brooklyn 54.49, from the tomb of Queen Neferu; limestone. Courtesy the Brooklyn Museum.  
 FIGURE 8 (left) New York, MMA 26.3.353 K, from the tomb of Queen Neferu; limestone. Courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1926.



FIGURE 10 New York, MMA 26.3.353 P, from the tomb of Queen Neferu; limestone. Courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1926.



FIGURE 11 London, British Museum 732, from the temple colonnades and hall; limestone. Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum.



FIGURE 12 Manchester 1115, from a court in front of the temple sanctuary; sandstone. Courtesy the Manchester Museum, University of Manchester, England.



FIGURE 13 Boston, MFA 06.2472, from the temple colonnades or hall; limestone. Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Gift of the Egypt Exploration Fund, 1906.



FIGURE 14 Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum 91.34.24, from a court in front of the temple sanctuary; sandstone. Courtesy Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.



FIGURE 15 London, British Museum 1397, from the temple sanctuary; limestone. Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum.



FIGURE 16 New York, MMA 06.1231.3, from the temple colonnades or hall; limestone. Courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art. Gift of the Egypt Exploration Fund, 1906.

# ‘The Very Best Artist’

T. G. H. JAMES

THE history of Egyptological studies is littered with the unfulfilled promises of schemes of work, begun with enthusiasm and carried forward only to a point short of completion. Death had sometimes intervened; energy has often waned when progress became difficult; fate in other forms may have been the agent of disruption. Among incompleting tasks, one which offered specially high promise was the drawing by Howard Carter of the Opet Festival scenes in the colonnade of Hor-emheb in the temple of Luxor.

During the summer of 1916 Carter took his one wartime home leave in England, in the course of which he had several meetings with Alan Gardiner to discuss various co-operative tasks which the latter had in mind. The first, but not the principal enterprise, was the study of the Turin papyrus bearing the plan of a royal tomb. In this Carter was required to carry out on the ground in Egypt a careful survey of the tomb of Ramesses IV, which he completed by the spring of 1917. The article, including Carter’s ‘perfectly deliciously drawn plan and section’, was published later in the same year.<sup>1</sup> They further discussed arrangements for the publication of the Opet scenes at Luxor. Gardiner was prepared to pay Carter for this drawing and looked forward to a volume in which expense would not be spared. Carter relished the challenge, looking forward to a task which he could pursue intermittently during periods of leave from war-work in Cairo. Gardiner was especially enthusiastic: ‘I have got the very best artist to help me . . . I should like the book to be an artistic one’; ‘I want this once to do your admirable drawings real justice . . . I want our publication to be just perfect.’<sup>2</sup> By May 1917 Carter had completed drawings for fifteen plates, about half the estimated total. Then nothing further happened, for reasons that are not wholly clear; the end of the war, the resumption of Carter’s work for the Earl of Carnarvon, and finally the discovery of the tomb of Tutankhamun successfully ruined the possibility of completion. The finished drawings are now among the Gardiner papers in the Griffith Institute.<sup>3</sup> So terminated a collaboration planned to end in a very fine publication, which would, in Gardiner’s words, ‘show the Americans that they have not the monopoly of making *éditions de luxe*’. By a strange irony — but fortunate purpose — the Opet scenes are now well on their way to publication in the excellent series of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. Gardiner

would, I am sure, have applauded this late fulfilment of one of his cherished tasks but at the same time lamented the loss of a volume demonstrating the special artistic and epigraphic skills of Howard Carter. An examination of Carter's drawings in Oxford shows what has been lost, particularly in consideration of the deterioration of the Luxor monument in the intervening seventy years.<sup>4</sup>

In setting about drawing the Luxor reliefs Carter returned to epigraphic methods which he had not extensively employed for fifteen years or more, since the completion of the recording of the scenes in Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahri. He had in the meanwhile never ceased exercising his artistic talents in the production of paintings — mostly watercolours — of landscapes, ancient monument, vignettes from reliefs and murals in tombs and temples, and paintings and drawings of objects for archaeological publications, most notably, perhaps, the set of illustrations of the finest objects found in the tomb of Yuia and Tjuia.<sup>5</sup> There was, however, a distinct difference in purpose between his watercolours and his epigraphic drawings. The requirements of accuracy and precision needed for a good epigraphic copy were more demanding in time and observation than the easier restraints which governed the copying of three-dimensional objects or in the making of topographical paintings, but Carter would not have allowed the view that epigraphic recording was essentially a mechanical process needing little artistic ability. It was, in fact, his insistence on the need to reproduce, in drawing a scene, not only the precise detail of the original but also its artistic quality, that determined his methods of copying.

Strangely, however, there is no detailed account by Carter or any independent observer, of the method he developed for copying the Deir el-Bahri reliefs. It has been reported that Gardiner and Mrs Nina de Garis Davies described his method as follows:<sup>6</sup>

He made tracings of the surfaces to be recorded, transferred them to heavy drawing paper on a small scale by means of a grid of reducing squares, and finally pencilled or, more often, crayoned in his reductions, performing all those operations *in situ* with constant reference to the originals. . . .

Neither Gardiner nor Mrs Davies was in Egypt when Carter was working at Deir el-Bahri, or even when he was copying the Luxor reliefs, so it must be concluded that the statement of method was based on what Carter himself may have told them, with the proviso that Carter faithfully described his procedures, and that his interlocutors fully grasped what he told them.

It would be fruitless to try to explain what may lie at the back of what seems clearly to be a mistaken description of his method. For mistaken it surely is, if Carter's own statements on the subject of copying are considered, and the evidence of his surviving drawings scrutinized. Above all, tracing was anathema to Carter. In later life he wrote a number of autobiographical sketches which exist in several versions in the Carter papers in the Griffith Institute. His Sketch II, 'An account of myself', deals with his upbringing and first experiences in Egypt.<sup>7</sup> The details of many events in his early years are not always precisely recorded, but it may be taken that his views on matters like epigraphy, which do not depend on factual precision for reliability, represent true expressions of opinion. He was seventeen



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when he first went to Egypt with P. E. Newberry in 1891, and he claims that from the first he found the copying methods, which had been instituted in Newberry's first season at Beni Hasan, objectionable:<sup>8</sup>

The method employed for reproducing these mural decorations, full of delineations of beauty, was I thought neither favourable for the purpose, nor suitable for a correct copy of that ancient art. Instead of copying these pictures as anyone practised in the fine arts would do — make a facsimile from the original with free and understanding hand — I was disappointed to find that the *modus operandi* was to hang large sheets of tracing paper on the walls and with a soft pencil trace the scenes upon them, no matter whether the scenes were painted in the flat, sculptures in relief, or the wall surfaces were smooth or granular. Such completed tracings were then rolled up and sent to England, where they would be inked in with a brush, and all inside the outlines of the figures filled in black like a silhouette, more often than not by persons without any knowledge of the original or of drawing.

These blackened tracings were then reduced to a small scale by photo-lithography. From the point of view of Egyptian art, the results were far from being satisfactory.

There was little that Carter could do at this early stage in his career to modify the Newberry method. Yet he did succeed in producing drawings of the El-Bersha tomb of Djehutihotep which, when inked in by himself, avoided the silhouette effect, giving an altogether more pleasing impression of the decorations in that important tomb.<sup>9</sup> He introduced a new technique in 1893 when he was working in the rock tombs at El-Sheikh Said:<sup>10</sup>

I was more than anxious to get away from the unsatisfactory system of tracing them. Here, for example, most of the scenes were either carved in high relief, or incised, upon the native rock. To attempt to trace them would be absurd. As a compromise, I introduced a new and what I thought a far better method. In place of the tracing paper, to employ a suitable tough white linen paper, and by the application of light pressure, by carefully pressing the paper with the finger and thumb on the reliefs, thus obtain an impression, a sort of dry squeeze, sufficient for the purpose of guiding the eye and the hand, while making full-sized completed copies in pencil direct from the originals.

Unfortunately he had no real opportunity to try out this method before he was sent on a bizarre quest to find and excavate the papyrus chambers at Mendes. It was not a technique he was ever to use extensively, although he would consider it as a possible method for use at Deir el-Bahri a few years later.

Howard Carter was first and foremost an artist.<sup>11</sup> He came from an intensely artistic family, his father being a well-known Victorian animal painter, his brother William a successful portrait painter, his brother Samuel a general artist, his brother Vernet a very good draughtsman and skilled engraver, his sister Amy an accomplished miniaturist. Howard was the youngest in the family and was trained to draw by his father whom he characterized as being 'one of the most powerful draughtsmen I ever knew'. He approached all his work in Egypt with the eye of an artist and learned very quickly to appreciate the particular qualities of Egyptian art. His opportunity to put into practice his ideas came in 1893 when he was assigned to work as principal artist with Naville at Deir el-Bahri.

In advance of leaving for Egypt in the autumn, he wrote to Naville in Geneva, suggesting:<sup>12</sup>

For low relief, dry squeezing with pencil outline I found most pleasing and accurate [*sic*] and as

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I hear from Mr. John Newberry that the greater part of the work is such, I strongly advise that method.

Would you kindly favour me with your opinion on the subject.

It is not known whether Carter actually employed dry squeezing initially at Deir el-Bahri. Certainly by December he was using a different method. He wrote to Percy Newberry:<sup>13</sup>

The copying here is not so cool as in the tombs, but the work is more elaborate and I hope to be able to make some fine plates; at present I am drawing them to scale.

He seems already to have settled on a procedure he would use for copying the whole temple, one which he would also require his various assistants over the years to follow — his brother Vernet (1894), Percy Brown (1894–6), and Charles Sillem (1896–1900).<sup>14</sup> Naville was highly delighted with the first results. In January 1894 he wrote to Edward Maunde Thompson, a Vice-President of the Egypt Exploration Fund:<sup>15</sup>

I have been able to judge what Mr. Carter can do. He certainly has much talent, and in this respect I do not think we could have a better artist. His copies when reproduced in colour or in black will make very fine plates.

Before examining in some detail precisely how Carter executed his drawings, it may be useful to see how he conceived the nature of the task which confronted him, and what principles determined his methods. Again his comments are taken from his late autobiographical sketch, 'An account of myself':<sup>16</sup>

At times in these pages I have remarked upon the unsatisfactory methods generally employed when copying Egyptian art for archaeological purposes. . . . A problem which is intensified by the fact that to obtain really satisfactory results, the skill of the Egyptian artists who made those beautiful reliefs is required. There is also another difficulty. As most of the Egyptian themes depend so largely on their size, their relative dimensions, they when reduced to a common scale must lose some of their natural grandeur. Those ancient Egyptians understood more than most nations of antiquity the worth of the power of dimension. The very dignity of their monument, the figures with which they adorned them, depended largely upon this factor. . . . But in our case, as only a convenient scale can be considered in the problem of reproducing these works in book form, should we not employ the very best means to convey all the other subtleties of this art?

To my mind this question has but one answer. The same infinite pains and competency to meet the task should be employed as in the case of any other archaeological problem. The more so in this case, for Egyptian art depends so much upon its graceful and understanding line.

In connection with Egyptological work I could never quite understand the axiom: 'Mechanical exactitude of facsimile-copying is required rather than freehand or purely artistic work'. It has always struck me that in this case when using the term 'mechanical exactitude', a very important point is forgotten: that mechanical exactitude when copying an art may not be necessarily wholly accurate. . . . 'In true art', says Ruskin, 'the hand, the head, and the heart of man go together'. The ambiguous expression 'purely artistic work' has also been a puzzle to me. Unless it means, as it seems to suggest, 'inaccuracy'! But why purely artistic work should necessarily be inaccurate I fail to fathom.

. . . but as there exists an idea that tracing is an accurate method of obtaining a copy of a work of art, I would like to point out that it is a mistaken idea; that the action of following an original line with a pencil point, and thus delineating a line upon tracing paper, is analogous to something being drawn over a surface and leaving a mark. The line thus made may be in many

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ways accurate, careful, or even an excellent pattern; but the line so made will lack meaning, it will lack the knowledge required if it is to be in conformity with truth. The traced line may be an accurate copy of detail, size and proportion, but in no way will it express the subtle rendering in the flat of the third dimension of form. To do this, the delineator must have the knowledge of the form — that which makes up the form — he is rendering, and thus put intelligent expression in his line, which appeals to all intellectual minds. In fact, any method of copying that limits the student from such expression to mere mechanical drawing is erroneous. . . .

When reproducing an ancient art, let us by all means be accurate, and employ every kind of mechanical aid to obtain that objective; but let that mechanical aid be our assistant, not our master!

In expounding his copying credo in these terms — clearly, if on occasion rather opaquely — Carter was establishing an ideal for epigraphic work which few epigraphers could ever hope to achieve. It can be argued that most epigraphic recording does not require such artistic skill and understanding, but it cannot be denied that what Carter achieved in the *Deir el-Bahri* publication was supremely good. As the late Dr Ricardo Caminos said<sup>17</sup> — and he knew far more than most modern epigraphers about the requirements of copying — ‘I know of few epigraphic drawings which so effectively convey the feeling of the sculptured wall’; and, confirming Carter, ‘That is epigraphy at its best.’

How precisely did Carter — and his assistants — achieve such splendid results? His own account is sadly elusive:<sup>18</sup>

I felt that if I attempted to copy the scenes sculptured upon the walls of Hat.shep.sût’s mortuary temple by the prevailing system of tracing, the essential charm of these beautiful reliefs would have vanished in my copy. And as Professor Naville had given me a free hand in the matter, I felt bounden to study the problem, to find a means to attain the best results. I tried many expedients; but they resolved in the simple solution: To first observe the fundamental laws of Egyptian art; how it eliminates the unessentials; to copy that art accurately and intelligently with honest work, a free hand, a good pencil, and suitable paper.

Although these lines on copying in theory and in practice were written in late life, they certainly reflect what happened in 1893 at *Deir el-Bahri* when Carter accepted the responsibility of copying some of the finest reliefs that have survived from ancient Egypt. Many of them were damaged; many had suffered ancient mutilation. Yet the copies in the six volumes of *Deir el-Bahari* (1895–1908) have always commanded authority for accuracy and reliability. Their artistic quality is more than a bonus. They are a remarkable achievement for someone who first came to Egypt in 1891, and was still only nineteen when he started work at Thebes.

It is clear that Carter did not use tracing as his method of copying at *Deir el-Bahri*. Did he use a reducing grid and other mechanical aids to assist him in his drawing? The only other contemporary clue to his method is the statement by the Honorary Secretary of the Egypt Exploration Fund in his report to the Annual General Meeting of the Fund on 26 October, 1894:<sup>19</sup> ‘Mr. Howard Carter’s pencil drawings are exact copies of the scenes portrayed on the walls of the temple, and are being reproduced in half the original size direct from the pencil drawings.’ There would be no intervention by another hand by a process of inking between the artist’s original and the printer’s plate.

Happily, the original drawings from which the plates were prepared are pre-

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served in the Griffith Institute, and an examination of them provides many clues to Carter's method. They also significantly increase one's admiration for the artistic skill they display. Only part of this is conveyed by the printed result. Both Carter and Naville were dissatisfied with the way in which the drawings were reproduced. The collotype process was used, and in the hands of a good operator the printed results should have very adequately done justice to the originals. During his summers in England Carter spent much time chasing Griggs, the man in charge of the plate-production, who was slow, and clearly not good enough for the job. In 1899 Naville grumbled:<sup>20</sup>

I am obliged again to direct the attention of the committee to the very bad way in which the plates are printed. Vol. III is certainly worse than Vol. II . . . a plate so faint that the signs are hardly discernible is followed by another which is much too dark. . . . I cannot help feeling that such drawings as those by Mr. Carter which as regards accuracy and artistic value are the very best hieroglyphical drawings ever made, should be so badly reproduced.

Eventually a different printer was used for Vol. VI, but the indifferent quality of the earlier volumes could not be undone. It is not surprising, therefore, that Gardiner said in 1917, about the projected Horemheb publication, 'I want this once to do your admirable drawings real justice.' The originals of the Deir el-Bahri plates (and even more so the surviving Luxor drawings) have all the sensitivity and confidence of pencil (no crayon) drawings executed by a properly trained draughtsman, skilled in the tools of his trade, and inspired by a real feeling for the work he is copying. Every drawing is signed by the artist who prepared it, so it is easy to identify those by Howard Carter himself. It is noticeable, as would indeed be expected, that the later plates are more confidently and stylishly finished. By 1899, when he finished his formal engagement with the Egypt Exploration Fund, he was twenty-five years old, and a field-worker of considerable experience and maturity.

From a general examination of the drawings it seems clear that the principles for copying used throughout the seven years of work were established in more than general terms at the very beginning and were found to be suitable not only for Carter's own personal skills, but also for those of his colleagues. To determine some of these principles, a careful scrutiny was made of one of the earlier drawings, reproduced as plate ix in *Deir el-Bahari*, I.<sup>21</sup> It shows a scene on the end (north) wall of the Anubis chapel, part of the complex of rooms leading off the north side of the Upper Court. From the photograph of the drawing, reproduced here as fig. 1, it can be seen as being in the form of a large stela; in the upper part, below a winged disc, is a badly damaged cartouche with Hatshepsut's prenomen, flanked by 'sekhem'-sceptres and obliterated figures of the Anubis-jackal on shrine; in the lower half, again below a winged disc, Hatshepsut (obliterated) and Tuthmose I are represented approaching a shrine containing the Anubis-emblem (mostly destroyed).

The following observations, both general and particular, have been drawn from a close examination of this drawing. The general observations have been checked against other Carter drawings in the Deir el-Bahri series, randomly chosen:

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1. A good quality, heavy, cartridge paper is used for all the drawings.
2. All the drawings are executed in pencil, not crayon; there is clear evidence of several weights of pencil.
3. To the left of the drawing on a level with the pendent wing at the top is pencilled ' $\frac{1}{3}$  Full Size'. On the other side, almost on the level of the top of the drawing, and upside-down, is written 'to reproduce 18 high  $\frac{1}{5}$  Full Size'. In the volume the reproduced drawing is a little less than 18 inches high. The added scale, in which 25 inches is represented by 5 inches, confirms that a one-fifth reduction was intended. For most plates in the six *Deir el-Bahari* volumes this same scale is maintained; in the case of larger originals a scale of one-sixth was used.
4. A ruler or straight-edge was used for lines that were evidently straight, e.g. the base lines, the vertical borders of the main 'stela', the *pt*-sign dividing the upper and lower parts of the 'stela', the horizontal and vertical lines of the shrine, the sides of the cartouches and of long sceptres. In fact wherever straight lines occur, the ruler was used, even in hieroglyphs like, for example, the *nb*-signs. In a few cases, the original, finely drawn guide lines can be detected protruding beyond the final drawn line; so, on either side of the larger *pt*-sign and between the sides of the main cartouche and the *nwb*-sign below it.
5. Compasses were used initially for the drawing of circular signs and elements. The mark made by the point of the compasses is clearly visible in the large and small sun-discs, in the *h*-signs, and even the *sp*-sign. It is not clear that a free hand was used regularly to finish off what was first drawn lightly by compasses.
6. There is no trace of a grid. As the drawing is executed in pencil, there is no possibility that a grid could have been erased when the drawing was completed.
7. Some very lightly drawn horizontal and vertical lines were used to ensure the proper alignment of particular elements in the scene, e.g. the upper and lower limits of line and columns of hieroglyphs, groups of signs, and even single signs. Many such lines may now be obscured by the heavier final lines of the drawing, but many, in whole or in part, can still be seen, even on the reproduced plate. Some clear examples:

A vertical line running from just right of centre of upper winged disc, down through the centre of the cartouche, then down to just left of the centre of the lower winged disc, and down until lost in the hatching below. This line is particularly visible above and below the lower winged disc, and in the cartouche.

A vertical line running from the point where the king's bag wig meets the beard strap, down through the eye of the right pendent uraeus of the kilt ornament, and down to cut the rear foot at the point where the big toe merges with the instep; mostly not visible on the printed plate.

Vertical lines on both sides of the two columns of text in the shrine; particularly visible on the right.

A horizontal line running between the points of the extended *pt*-sign in the shrine, which serves as a top guide line for the hieroglyphic text. A lower horizontal for the same line of text is partly visible on the left.

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Several short verticals were used to assist the drawing of the *hnt*-sign; mostly visible.

Upper and lower lines were used to ensure the level regularity of the *n*-signs.

Similar lines were used for the plural strokes under the *hh*-sign; very clear on the plate.

Many more similar lines can be distinguished with the help of a lens. They demonstrate quite clearly that in order to establish position and alignment, verticals and horizontals were used as necessary, which means quite frequently. They were essentially guide lines to enable the artist to draw finally with a free hand.

This partial analysis — which could be extended almost infinitely by carrying through the process to the plates of all the six volumes — helps to clarify how Howard Carter set about drawing a scene. It may be reconstructed in simple terms as follows:

- a. Set out on a suitably sized sheet of paper the outlines and principal features of the scene, using a ruler or straight edge, establishing internal geometrically drawable elements by measuring and the use of the ruler, and, where appropriate, compasses.
- b. Again by measuring, insert vertical and horizontal lines, drawn very faintly with a hard pencil, to locate features like columns and lines of text; also the median lines of figures. Such guide lines might be added generously or sparingly.
- c. Use faint guide lines to ensure regularity and level lines of hieroglyphs and groups of hieroglyphs. The employment of a set-square should probably be assumed.
- d. By eye and skilled hand complete the drawing, using the various faint guide lines, and always working in front of the scene.
- e. Submit the drawing for checking by Naville and incorporate any necessary changes or corrections.

In this brief description of the process no account has been taken of the special ability of the artist to convey the spirit of the original, by the use of lines of graded thickness, by the judicious emphasis of detail, and by shading. It also does not consider the very simple, but extremely effective, method of cross-hatching by which he indicated damage, especially purposeful damage, so that even the subtly suggested 'shadow' of a damaged figure might be indicated. It may also be remarked that the originals of the Carter plates for the later volumes of the series show far less reliance on internal guide lines, although the mechanical aids of ruler, set-square, and compass continued to be used. Confidence and experience enabled him to suggest detail and relief with a far more economical use of the pencil, but what the examination of the drawings for all the volumes shows is that he, like anyone working free-hand, but aiming for accuracy, did not invariably achieve precision in the first instance. There is plenty of evidence of rubbing out and redrawing both for large elements and for small hieroglyphs. In our chosen plate,

for example, redrawing can be observed for the feathers of the wings of the lower winged disc; also in the *hh*-figure in the left column of the shrine inscription.

It is a comfort for lesser epigraphers to know that Howard Carter, this 'very best artist', needed from time to time to wield an eraser, but it is not for lesser epigraphers to attempt the Carter method without acquiring first a more than competent mastery of drawing — a discipline that is not generally as well taught today as it was one hundred years ago.<sup>22</sup>

## Notes

- 1 H. Carter and A. H. Gardiner, 'The Tomb of Ramesses IV and the Turin Plan of a Royal Tomb', in *JEA* 4 (1917), 130–58. The comment on Carter's work comes from a letter to him by Gardiner, dated 4 March, 1917, in the Griffith Institute, Carter Papers V, 99. I am grateful to the Committee of Management of the Griffith Institute for permission to quote from Carter and Gardiner papers in the Institute's archives, and also for permission to reproduce the photograph of the Carter drawing here on fig. 1.
- 2 Letter of Gardiner to Carter dated 17 June, 1917, Griffith Institute, Carter Papers V, 101.
- 3 Gardiner Papers AHG/11.1–13. For further on the Gardiner–Carter co-operative projects, see T. G. H. James, *Howard Carter: The Path to Tutankhamun* (Kegan Paul International, 1992), ch. 8.
- 4 The Carter drawings have been scrutinized by the epigraphers of Chicago House, Luxor, as Dr Lanny Bell informed me.
- 5 Commissioned by Theodore Davis and executed by Carter in the months following his resignation from the Antiquities Service in 1905; published in Davis *et al.*, *The Tomb of Iouiya and Touiyou* (London, 1907).
- 6 R. Caminos in Caminos and Fischer, *Ancient Egyptian Epigraphy and Paleography* (New York, 1976), 7.
- 7 The version quoted here is contained in Carter Notebook 15, 19ff.
- 8 Carter Notebook 15, 24.
- 9 The contrast between Carter and Newberry plates can best be seen in Newberry, *El Bersheh*, I (London, 1894); see p. viii where responsibility for the various plates is given.
- 10 Carter Notebook 15, 51.
- 11 For Carter's family background and early training, see James, *Howard Carter*, ch. 1.
- 12 Letter of 25 October, 1893, in Geneva, Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, MS 2542, 38. I am grateful to the Library authorities for allowing me to quote from the Naville and Carter documents in their possession, and especially to Professor M. Valloggia for his generous help in searching out these documents and for obtaining copies for me.
- 13 Griffith Institute, Newberry Correspondence 49/1; letter dated 28 December, 1893.
- 14 Miss Rosalind Paget, an artist working principally for Somers Clarke at El-Kab, also spent some months at Deir el-Bahri in 1895–7, painting coloured facsimiles of details and individual hieroglyphs.
- 15 EES Deir el-Bahri letters XVII 16. I am grateful to the Committee of the Egypt Exploration Society for permission to quote from this and other letters in its archive.
- 16 Carter Notebook 15, 68ff.
- 17 Caminos and Fischer, *loc. cit.*
- 18 Carter Notebook 15, 71.
- 19 Reginald Stuart Poole in *E.E.F. Annual Report 1893–4*, 13.
- 20 For the work on recording Deir el-Bahri and for the difficulties over printing, see James, *Howard Carter*, ch. 3. Naville's letter is in the EES Deir el-Bahri correspondence XI a 3.

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- 21 The drawings for the published volumes are not separately numbered, but kept as a collection in the Carter Papers in the Griffith Institute. For the scene in question, see PM II<sup>2</sup>, 363 (scene 121).
- 22 As I write (1990), the Royal College of Art has just appointed its first Professor of Drawing, establishing its first ever courses in academic drawing.



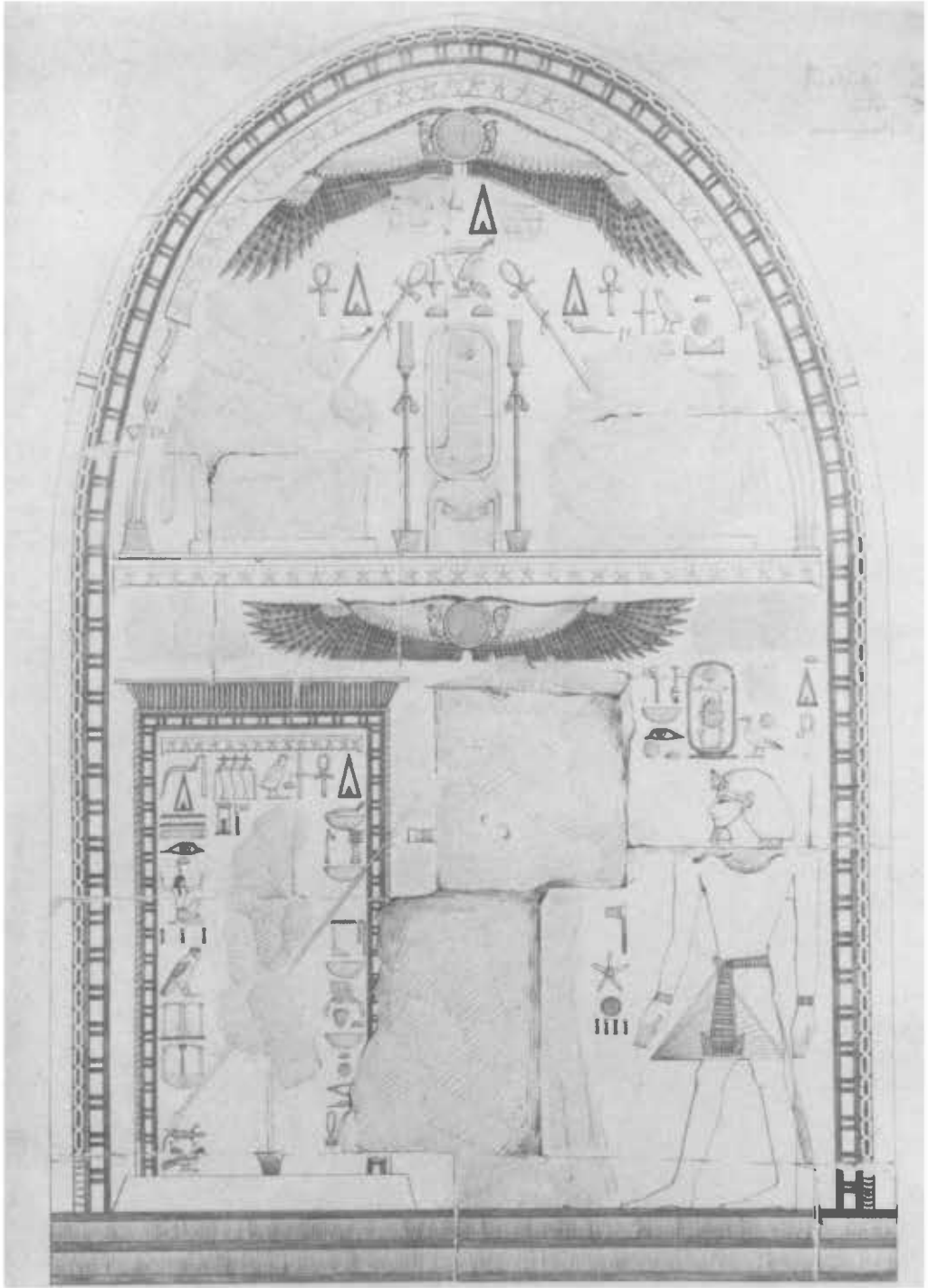


FIGURE 1 Carter's drawing for pl. ix of Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari*, I. Courtesy the Griffith Institute.

# Memoranda on Craftsmen at the Ramesseum

K. A. KITCHEN

AMONG the largely-neglected 'lesser'; documents discovered in the Ramesseum precinct almost a century ago, alongside docketts from the Ramesseum's many vineyards,<sup>1</sup> and cargo-lists of blocks to build the temple,<sup>2</sup> are to be found two modest documents barely ever studied hitherto.<sup>3</sup> So far as this writer currently understands it, the longer text<sup>4</sup> runs as follows:

(1) *2nd month of Winter (Prt), Day 17:*

*Taking (note of?) work done on the doorway of [ . . . ], (2) on this day.*

**He who** was smoothing<sup>5</sup> and veneering<sup>6</sup> at the back: the craftsman Amenshedu (or: Shedamun); veneer, 5 cubits, 1 (item), which he filled with?/took from?<sup>7</sup> the other sht,<sup>8</sup> for the d3(yt)s(?)<sup>9</sup>

**He who** was (4) smoothing and veneering on the (wooden) rmt<sup>10</sup> off/for the front: the craftsman Ramesses-smen; (5) veneer, 4 cubits, 1 (item), which he cut, 2 sections ('cuts') for the rmt (6) off/for the front.

**He who** was making the upper(?) d3yt, which is what rests on?/supports?<sup>11</sup> the house/structure [ . . . ]: [the craftsman?] (7) Nay.

**He who** was putting the front isw,<sup>12</sup> at the right side: the craftsman Senufer.

[**He who** was] (8) making the doors for the (?) t3 . . . (cabin, shrine? ?), (it) being veneered: [the craftsman, PN?]

[**He who** was] making the (9) doorposts(?)<sup>13</sup> : the craftsman Amenmose.

**He who** was making the [ . . . : the craftsman] (10) Nefererhat.

**He who** was working at the (wooden) sides of the h3 [ . . . : the craftsman, . . . ] (11) - men; and the d3yt for the front, at the right side: the craftsman [PN . . . ], [?working at the] (12) place.

**He who** was sawing a post(?)<sup>14</sup> of sycamore, Kha[ . . . ]. (Rest lost).

The shorter text, No. 132, is as follows:<sup>15</sup>

(1) *Memorandum on causing to be made 10 (metal) (2) mtprt<sup>16</sup> (together) with (3) their 10 (leather?) 'gnt.<sup>17</sup>*

In the first and longer text we find ten craftsmen all busily working on a doorway and (seemingly) on various parts of its woodwork, with three men applying veneer (two, after smoothing), at back and front of the structure.<sup>18</sup> Measurements of 4 and 5 cubits' length (at 20.6 inches to the full cubit) give dimensions of between 6 ft 10 in and 8 ft 7 in. Doorposts, sides of a structure and doors

(doorleaves?) of a mysterious  $\underline{t}3$  . . . all appear among identifiable features. *Rmt* may be the edging of some structure; even more theoretically,  $\underline{d}3yt$  could be a 'crosspiece' (lintel beam?); *sh̄t* remains totally obscure.

In all probability, such work at the Ramesseum would not be concerned with the stone-built fabric of the temple itself, nor is there any reason to imagine that the temple's stone doorways were faced merely with wood — gold,<sup>19</sup> silver,<sup>20</sup> even semi-precious stones, and pigments<sup>21</sup> were far more the order of the day in lavish imperial Egypt. It may rather be the case that here we have work being done on some wooden shrine or other structure to be incorporated within the temple sanctuaries. And once the carpenters had done their job, then perhaps metalsmiths and others would move in to apply gilding and other decoration.

The second and much shorter memo is almost totally obscure. Meeks had compared *mtprt* with the outwardly similar *tp̄rt*, a term used of Hittite vehicles at the Battle of Qadesh, and possibly in P. Anastasi III, vso 1:3, where coppersmiths work on it. In agreement with Edel<sup>22</sup> one may compare this latter term with Akkadian *saparru*, 'chariot/wagon'.<sup>23</sup> At Qadesh the reference is to 'troops of the *saparratu*/baggage-wagons, <in> the camp of the Fallen One (= King) of Hatti'.<sup>24</sup> The Akkadian word is feminine and may have been taken over and interpreted as such, in West Semitic, acquiring a corresponding fem. *t*-ending, seen also in its Egyptian transcription here. As argued by Edel, one may link this text with the pictures of actual four-wheeled baggage-wagons visible in the Hittite camp in the Abydos reliefs.<sup>25</sup> In the Anastasi reference, it is just possible that a chariot is not intended but rather bronzework being treated on the chariots already mentioned in the passage concerned, if this *tp̄rt* were *siparru*, 'bronze', not *saparru*, 'wagon'.<sup>26</sup> Our word *mtprt* is not that for a wagon, but it might be related to the term for bronze, as a West-Semitic *m*-derivative based on *siparru* as a loanword. Long ago, Bondi suggested that it might be related to late Hebrew *msprt*, 'razor', the leather *gnt* then being a sheath for this implement.<sup>27</sup> Otherwise, our term must simply be taken as some kind of bronze fitment, ten in number, with ten corresponding leather pieces (skin determinative). No obvious fresh suggestion about their nature springs to mind, but, in a different connection, E. Pusch has surmised that following the Egypto-Hittite peace-treaty Hittite-type 'figure-of-8' shields were being manufactured at Pi-Ramesse with the employment of bronze tools and leather fitments.<sup>28</sup> Whether or not our short memo had anything to do with shield-making is quite another matter — as *gnt* also lacks any clear origin at present, this little enigma must remain!

## Notes

- 1 See Kitchen, 'The Vintages of the Ramesseum', in A. B. Lloyd (ed.), *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society* (London, 1992), 115–23.
- 2 See Kitchen, 'Building the Ramesseum', in D. Valbelle *et al.* (eds.), *Mélanges J. J. Clère* (Lille, 1991), 85–93.
- 3 Copy and transcription, W. Spiegelberg, *Hieratic Ostraka and Papyri* (London, 1898), pls. 17/17A, nos. 132–3; text now also, *KRI* II, 671–2.

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- 4 *KRI* II, 671–2, no. 133.
- 5 Word 3<sup>c</sup>, cf. references, L. H. Lesko, *Dictionary of Late Egyptian*, I (Berkeley, 1982), 2.
- 6 Word *ph3*, cf. op. cit. 180; J. J. Janssen, *Commodity Prices in the Ramessid Period* (Leiden, 1975), 391–2.
- 7 Not clear which meaning best suits, the former (KAK) or the latter (D. Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, III: 1979 (Paris, 1982), 127:1296).
- 8 Obscure; not in *Wb.*; noted in Meeks, op. cit. 263:2685.
- 9 If correctly surmised to be the same word as in line 11 below; again, not in *Wb.* and noted by Meeks (op. cit. 342:3617); just conceivably a ‘crosspiece’? (if related to *q3y*, ‘to extend, reach, cross over’)
- 10 Yet another word omitted by *Wb.*; noted as obscure by Meeks (op. cit. 169:1748). With considerable reserve, I would compare it with Akkadian *limitu*, ‘circumference, edge, rim’ (hence here, ‘frame’?). In Old Babylonian, the word has medial *w*; but medial *m* appears from late second millennium BC, our period. Cf. A. L. Oppenheim *et al.*, *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*, 9/L (Chicago, 1973), 191, 192.
- 11 Phrase *hm n*, ‘to trust/rely on’, hence ‘rest upon’ (KAK), or ‘supports’ (Meeks, op. cit. 179:1833 end).
- 12 Perhaps a defective writing for ‘plank’, or ‘reeds’?
- 13 Perhaps read *b<n>šw* here?
- 14 A word *b3*, cf. Meeks, op. cit. 84:0839.
- 15 *KRI* II, 672, no. 132.
- 16 Again, not in *Wb.*; cf. Meeks, op. cit. 137:1420, who links it with the *tprt* of the Battle of Qadesh (*KRI* II, 140:12) and in P. Anastasi III, vso. 1:3 (Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, 30:5; Caminos, *Late-Eg. Miscellanies*, 105, 106).
- 17 Again, a *hapax* (not in *Wb.*); Meeks, 57:0564.
- 18 Similar activities in the Eighteenth Dynasty, but in stone, cf. W. C. Hayes, *JEA* 46 (1960), 32, pl. IX, no. 4.
- 19 Cf. P. Lacau, *ASAE* 53 (1956), 221–50.
- 20 E.g., silver pavements, Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, II, §883; IV, §7.
- 21 As in a large hall of Ramesses II at Memphis, Year 43, c.1237 BC (*KRI* VII, 102–3).
- 22 In *Festschrift H. Brunner: Fontes atque Pontes* (Wiesbaden, 1983), 99–105, §6.
- 23 See E. Reiner *et al.*, *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*, 15/S (Chicago, 1984), 162–3, under *saparru* B, from early second millennium BC onwards.
- 24 *KRI* II, 140:12, §47; at Abydos, see wall-diagram, *ibid.*, II, 128, A, 47.
- 25 Cf. E. Naville, *Quelques détails relevés . . .* (1930), pl. 17; cf. photo, G. Roeder, *Ägypter und Hethiter* (Der Alte Orient 20), 1919, 55, Abb. 12.
- 26 If one accepts the suggestion by U. Hofmann, *Fahrwesen und Pferdehaltung im alten Ägypten* (Bonn, 1989), 162–3. *Siparru*, ‘bronze’, cf. Reiner, op. cit. 296–9.
- 27 J. H. Bondi, *OLZ* 28 (1925), 572; he reports possible doubts (from Spiegelberg) on the transcription of the *t* in *mprt*, and of ‘gnt; however, none better is evident.
- 28 See his paper in *Fragments of a Shattered Visage* (Memphis, Tennessee, 1991) 203–4; and cf. *National Geographic Magazine*, Spring 1991, on Ramesses II.

# The Malqata/El-Amarna Blues: Favourite Colours of Kings and Gods

ARIELLE P. KOZLOFF

Not many periods in the history of Egyptian art were as colourful as late Dynasty XVIII. Bright-blue faience sphinx, yellow jasper lips, rainbow-coloured glass vessels, a young king's funerary furnishings inlaid with a kaleidoscope of rich and true colours — these are a few favourite things of that date. One of the most delightful moments of a 1975 visit to Edinburgh to meet Cyril Aldred was the discussion of the vibrant glass and glazed decorative arts of that period, which he himself had studied so carefully in his own early years. Cyril would have liked to know that our own studies of late Dynasty XVIII glasses and faiences have led to some intriguing results.

Cyril Aldred, whose writings excelled in their ability to bring alive the history and the personalities of late Dynasty XVIII, would have been happy to learn the following bit of personal information about Amenhotep III. In a reign that produced works of art in a brilliant variety of colours, it appears that the king himself had a favourite colour. We can now document this colour's predominance in glass at Malqata Palace and on faiences inscribed for the king and his family.<sup>1</sup>

Our research on colour preference occurred during preparation for an exhibition on the art of Amenhotep III.<sup>2</sup> Betsy Bryan, Lawrence Berman, and I have carefully recorded 1,863 pieces of glass, Egyptian blue, faience, and combinations thereof, making as many as fourteen measurements of a single object, recording colours by the use of Munsell charts (which identify around 360 different shades of, for example, the colour blue) as well as relative translucency and opacity.<sup>3</sup> The objects studied represent twenty-six museum collections in America, Europe, and in Egypt. Included are 193 unprovenanced objects and 1,670 registered from eighteen sites; 103 are inscribed (all later Dynasty XVIII royal names, none private). Carol Lock entered all of these objects into the project database, and managed the analysis of the data.

There are three general shades of the colour blue found on late Dynasty XVIII objects that we documented during our research, the purple blues, the sky blues, and the blue-greens. Cobalt oxide (CoO) is the colorant of the purple blues (Munsell PB range).<sup>4</sup> The most typical Munsell values occur between 5PB2/6 and 5PB3/4 or 7.5PB2/6 and 7.5PB3/4.<sup>5</sup> The colorant of the sky blues (Munsell B range) is copper oxide (CuO), with the most typical Munsell numbers being

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5BMAX-7.5B5/10. The most spectacular and best-known example of this colour, inscribed for Amenhotep III, is in faience — the Metropolitan Museum sphinx, 1972.125 (see fig. 1). The colorant of the blue-greens is also copper oxide, with possibly some iron oxide (FeO). The most typical Munsell number for the blue-greens is 5BG5/4. In some cases, it will be convenient to refer to the three colour groups — Munsell PB, B and BG — individually, while in other cases it will be more useful to group the colours by their mineral content, and to call them cobalt blue (PB) and copper blues (B and BG.)

Applying this standard method then to art historical research, we have observed that Amenhotep III's favourite colour in glass and faience was cobalt blue. We have found that this preference did not extend into the next reign, because we can show that cobalt blue was by far the predominant colour in glass at Malwata, while at El-Amarna, distribution among the three shades of blue is relatively equal; however, the copper blues together outnumber the cobalt blue. As a result of investigations into the types of glass made at Malqata and El-Amarna, we have some general remarks to make about glass production in Egypt in late Dynasty XVIII. Finally, we can also document favourite colour combinations in inscribed faience of both Amenhotep III and other personalities of late Dynasty XVIII.

In order to present our data in an orderly way, we have divided our investigation into two categories: (I) glass, and (II) faience.

### **I. Glass<sup>6</sup>**

A total of 1,333 pieces of glass from Malqata were recorded, and 181 from El-Amarna.<sup>7</sup> The main body colour of 68% of finished glasses — vessels and vessel fragments — found at Malqata falls within the cobalt blue (Munsell PB) range.<sup>8</sup> At Malqata, sky blue (Munsell B) accounts for 24% and a bright blue-green (Munsell BG) for 1%. By contrast, cobalt blue is the body colour of only 27% of glasses from El-Amarna, whereas sky blue accounts for 23% and blue-green for 22%. The percentages of these three colours are statistically close enough to be considered virtually equal. In the glasses we examined, then, all blues at Malqata totalled 93%, whereas all blues at El-Amarna totalled 72%, indicating a 21% decrease in the usage of all blues at El-Amarna.

Both Malqata and El-Amarna have yielded large numbers of unused manufacturing elements — glass rods and lumps — presumably left there at the close of the active period of the glass workshops at those sites. It stands to reason then that these items should represent the colour tastes and practices of those workshops at the end of their active periods. The ratios for unused manufacturing elements are statistically somewhat similar to those we saw in finished glasses with one exception — a significant rise in the occurrence of blue-green at Malqata.

In most respects, the numbers of occurrences of manufacturing element colours at the two sites are similar to the numbers in finished glasses. Cobalt blue appears the overwhelming favourite (38%) at Malqata, especially in comparison to sky blue (6%). At El-Amarna, once again, all three blues occur in relatively similar

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amounts — 21% PB, 17% B, 12% BG — amounts that roughly parallel the amounts in finished glasses from the same site.

However, manufacturing element colours differ from finished wares in one significant statistic. Malqata’s manufacturing elements show a 14% occurrence of BG in contrast to a 1% BG occurrence among the finished glasses at the same site. Does this suggest a change in colour preference at the very end of Malqata’s active period, a change which did not continue long enough for it to show in the total count of finished wares?

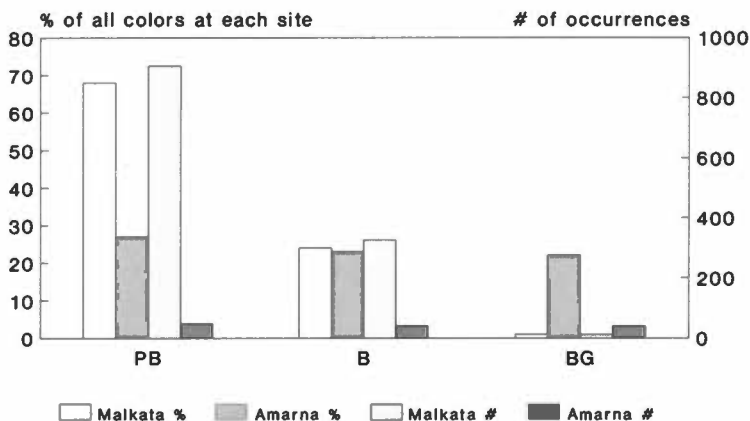
Graph 1 illustrates the occurrences of blue colours as main body colours among Malqata and El-Amarna glass vessels. It divides the blue colours into three hues or shades and documents their appearances at Malqata and El-Amarna in both raw numbers and in the percentage that these raw numbers represent of all glass which we studied from each site. Graph 2 illustrates the colour occurrences among blue glass manufacturing rods and lumps at Malqata and El-Amarna.

All in all, the two sets of statistics — one for finished glasses and one for manufacturing elements — suggest a general preference for cobalt blue at Malqata and, if we combine the two copper blues, a greater preference for them at El-Amarna.

**II. Inscribed Faience and Egyptian Blue**

We felt that another way to study colour preferences between the reigns of Amenhotep III and Akhenaten would be to measure and tabulate the colours of faience and Egyptian blue objects inscribed for Amenhotep III, Akhenaten, and members of their families. The statistics for these studies are presented on Graphs 3, 4, and

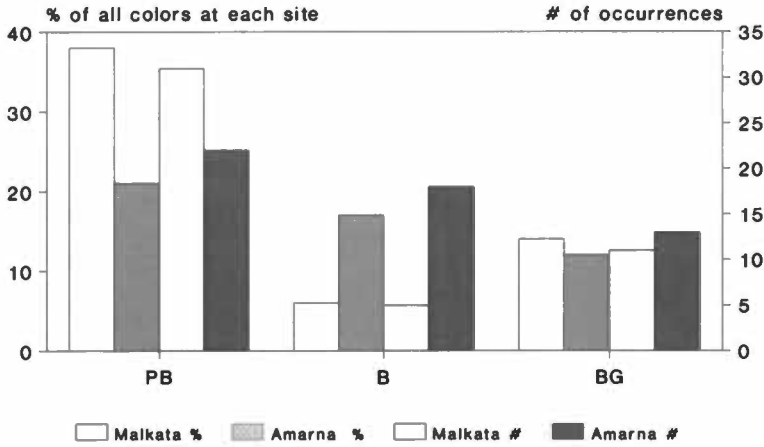
Occurrences of Blues  
as Main Body Colours among  
Malkata and Amarna Glass Vessels



Graph 1

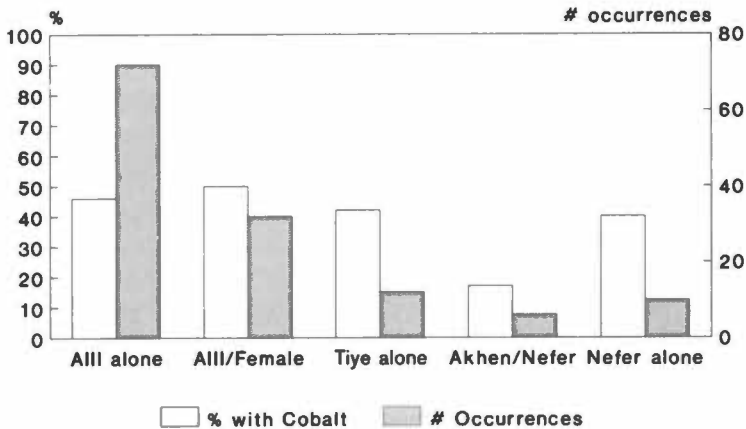
*The Malkata/El-Amarna Blues*

**Colour Occurrences among Blue Glass Manufacturing Rods and Lumps At Malkata and Amarna**



Graph 2

**Use of Cobalt Blue on Faïences Inscribed with Royal Names**



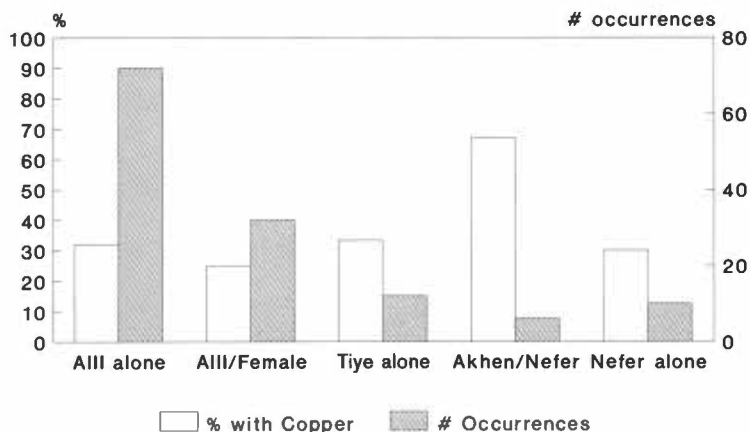
Graph 3

5. Table I at the end of this text lists the inscribed faïences studied. It includes eighty-four objects or groups of objects studied in 24 collections in the US and Europe.

Unlike glass vessels, inscribed faïence and Egyptian-blue objects,<sup>9</sup> when polychrome, are usually limited to two colours — one for the body colour and one for

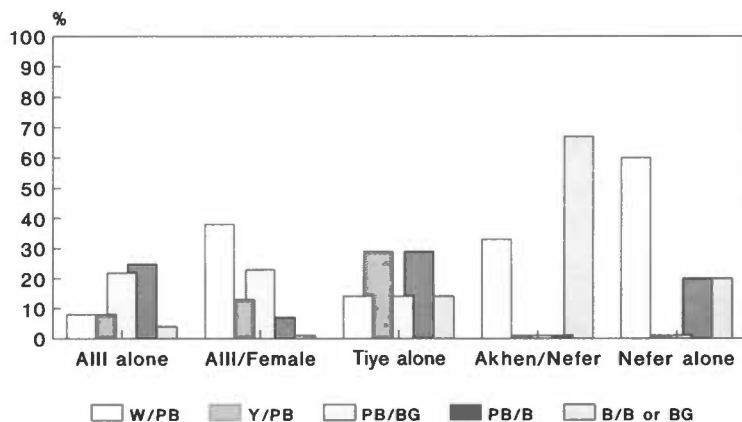


### Use of Copper Blue on Faiences Inscribed with Royal Names



Graph 4

### Favorite Colour Combinations of Faiences Inscribed with Royal Names



the inscription.<sup>10</sup> In rare instances there is a tiny bit of a third colour added for extra decoration. While on the glasses we considered only the body colour, on the faiences each of the two main colours could be argued to have equal importance, and so we have carefully measured each. Therefore, the statistics on Graphs 3 and 4 are given in percentages of total possible occurrences, with two possible occurrences for each sample.

The inscribed faiences give a more personal picture of the difference in colour

### *The Malqata/El-Amarna Blues*

choice between Amenhotep III and Akhenaten since we did not find their names occurring together on the same piece. Very few of the inscribed faïences are provenanced. No conclusions about colour preference and site can be made about this group except insofar as we relate the one king more to Malqata and the other king to El-Amarna.

Graphs 3 and 4 document the occurrences of cobalt blue (Graph 3) and copper blue (Graph 4) on faïences inscribed with royal names. On each graph there are five categories: (a) faïences inscribed for Amenhotep III alone; (b) those inscribed for Amenhotep III and another person (always a female member of his family); (c) those inscribed for Tiye alone; (d) those inscribed for Akhenaten and Nefertiti (we found none inscribed for Akhenaten alone); and (e) those inscribed for Nefertiti alone.

In the samples we examined, Amenhotep III used cobalt blue as either the body colour or as the inscription — never both. He used copper blues as both colours on only three of his thirty-eight samples; Akhenaten used copper blue as both on two of his three samples.<sup>11</sup>

Graph 3 shows that of thirty-eight objects inscribed for Amenhotep III alone,<sup>12</sup> allowing for seventy-six possible occurrences, there are thirty-five occurrences (46%) of cobalt blue, sixteen as main body colour (21%) and nineteen as the inscription colour (25%). The three objects having no cobalt blue are sky blue with blue-green inscriptions. Graph 4 shows that the copper blues occur a total of 31% of the seventy-six possible occurrences with sky blue occurring 17% of the time (thirteen of seventy-six occurrences — seven times as the main body colour and six times as the inscription) and blue-green 14% of the time (eleven of the seventy-six — never as a body colour).

The three objects bearing Akhenaten's name were inscribed not for him alone<sup>13</sup> but jointly for him and Nefertiti (see Table I at end of text). Of six possible occurrences, cobalt blue appears 17% of the time and the copper blues, 67%. Two faïence bowl fragments inscribed jointly for Akhenaten and Nefertiti contain no cobalt blue, comprising instead sky-blue bodies, one with a darker sky-blue inscription, and one with a blue-green inscription; the furniture knob inscribed (originally) few faïences known with the El-Amarna royal pair's names inscribed jointly show a preference for copper blues.

On the other hand, faïences inscribed jointly for Amenhotep III with a female member of his family show a distinctly greater use of cobalt blue.<sup>14</sup> All sixteen Amenhotep III and family objects — thirty-two possible occurrences<sup>15</sup> — employ cobalt blue as either the main body colour of the object or the colour of the inscription — a 50% occurrence rate contrasted to Akhenaten's 17%.

Graph 3 shows that of seven objects (fourteen occurrences) inscribed for Tiye alone, there are six occurrences of cobalt blue (43%) and five occurrences of copper blue (36%) — see Table I.<sup>16</sup> Considering this small number of samples by themselves, the percentages are too close to insist that Tiye had a preference for cobalt blue because theoretically the appearance of only a very few new samples could change the percentages. However, the percentages presented here are close enough to Amenhotep III's and the percentages for other groupings from his reign to justify doubt that additional finds would change the general outcome drastically.

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Listed on Table I but not shown on the graphs are four faiences (eight occurrences) with Amenhotep III daughters' names. All four contain cobalt blue (50% occurrence), and three contain copper blues (38% occurrence), statistics not dissimilar from the king's own preferences. Again, the sample is small and the percentages would change if only one or two objects of different colours appeared. However, the similarity to Amenhotep III's numbers is intriguing, and there we have a fairly large body of material producing more reliable statistics.

On objects, inscribed for Nefertiti alone, the choice was parallel to Tiye's — cobalt blue (40%, see Graph 3) and copper blue (30%, see Graph 4). We found no sample of blue-green inscribed for Nefertiti, and only one sky blue. Of all eight objects with her name (sixteen occurrences), including the above-mentioned three inscribed jointly with her husband's name, five occurrences (31%) were cobalt blue and seven (44%) were copper blue.

Not graphed are four objects belonging to their daughters Ankhesenpaaten and Meritaten (see Table I) which include three occurrences of cobalt blue (38%) with no copper blue. Also not graphed are two objects inscribed for Smenkhare and one for Tutankhamun with a total of one occurrence of cobalt blue (17%) and five occurrences of copper blues (83%). Again, these small samples can be misleading, but it is interesting that the daughters' combined use of cobalt blue is similar to Nefertiti's, and the succeeding kings' combined use of cobalt blue is similar to Akhenaten's.

Briefly, then, Amenhotep III preferred cobalt blue by a five-to-three ratio. Tiye, their daughters, Nefertiti, and her daughters all seemed to prefer cobalt blue by a four-to-three ratio. Amenhotep III's use of cobalt blue in every instance of his name combined with a female's is also worth noting. In contrast, Akhenaten preferred copper blue by about a three-and-one-half-to-one ratio. The tiny sample representing his successors shows a five-to-one ratio in favour of copper blues.

In documenting the Malqata/El-Amarna blues, the colours with which they were combined provided some interesting statistics. The most common colour combinations were white with cobalt blue, yellow with cobalt blue, cobalt blue with copper blue (sky blue), cobalt blue with copper blue (blue-green), and the two shades of copper blue together.

Graph 5 illustrates favourite colour combinations on inscribed faiences. The bars on that graph represent not raw numbers (which are cited in the paragraphs and above and below) but only the percentages that the raw numbers represent of all colour combinations. Only combinations which appear repeatedly are given bars; therefore, not all groups add up to 100%.

For himself alone, Amenhotep III seemed to enjoy combining cobalt blue with copper blue 47% of the time (21% PB/BG, 26% PB/B) (see fig. 2) as compared to white with cobalt blue or yellow with cobalt blue each of which he used 8% of the time.<sup>17</sup> Objects inscribed for Amenhotep III and a female member of his family and objects inscribed for Queen Tiye show a similar preference for cobalt blue combined with copper blue.

The second choices of Amenhotep III's women are much more significant than Amenhotep III's second choices. The group jointly inscribed for the king and his women shows white with cobalt blue as a strong second choice at 38%. Queen

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Tiye's second choice for objects inscribed for her alone was yellow with cobalt blue (29%). On objects inscribed for either or both members of the royal couple it appears seven of fifty-nine times (12%). We are not able to document the bichromal combination of yellow with cobalt blue for anyone else but Tiye and Amenhotep III.<sup>18</sup> On bichromal faïences we never found white or yellow combined with any colour other than cobalt blue.

Of fifteen objects inscribed for El-Amarna individuals (not graphed, see Table I), only two samples — one for Nefertiti and one for Smenkhkare — contain Amenhotep III's favourite combination. Akhenaten's preference was for two shades of copper blue, while Nefertiti's and her daughters' overwhelming preference was white with cobalt blue (58% — for Nefertiti alone, 60%).<sup>19</sup> The occurrences of white and cobalt blue on what we suppose to be elements of Amenhotep III's burial necklace (see n. 14) added to the high percentage of white with cobalt blue among objects inscribed for Nefertiti could suggest to those who see the two reigns as successive rather than concurrent that this particular colour combination was a speciality of the royal workshops at the end of the one reign and the beginning of the next.

## **Conclusions**

The documentation presented here suggests the following:

1. Cobalt blue — a rich, deep purple-blue — was the favourite colour for glass vessels at Malqata, occurring nearly twice as often as the two copper colours added together. Cobalt blue was also the favourite colour on inscribed faïences of the royal principals at that palace.

2. The two copper blues — sky blue and blue-green — added together outnumbered the cobalt blues at El-Amarna. Copper blues were also the favourites of Akhenaten for inscribed faïence, but his wife's taste was more evenly balanced between the copper blues and cobalt blue. Furthermore, there is a significant decrease in the use of the colour blue in general at El-Amarna.

3. Since Amenhotep III has the largest number of samples, his favourite colour combination — cobalt blue with copper blue — stands out as the most common of the period and was used in significant amounts by Tiye, their daughters, Nefertiti, Smenkhkare and Tutankhamun but not at all — in the small sample here — by Akhenaten and Nefertiti jointly.

4. White with cobalt blue is the one combination used in large percentages by Amenhotep III, Tiye, one daughter, Akhenaten, Nefertiti, and two daughters. We did not find it for Smenkhkare and Tutankhamun.

The reason for Amenhotep III's emphasis on cobalt blue and Akhenaten's lack of interest in it is not clear. Was it simply a question of personal taste? Could it be that the materials needed to create each of the colours, copper from Sinai and cobalt from either Asia<sup>20</sup> or Bohemia,<sup>21</sup> were more or less plentiful in one place or the other or at one time or the other? Or could it be that deep blue was so closely associated with blue-skinned 'Amun of the lapis lazuli'<sup>22</sup> that it slid from favour at Akhetaten? The last question should perhaps be examined more closely

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by iconographers since dark-blue glass is referred to in both ancient Egyptian and cuneiform texts as ‘artificial lapis lazuli’.<sup>23</sup> However, if cobalt blue’s association with Amun was the reason for its favoured status at Malqata, then how could it have survived at all at El-Amarna?

If we go back and look at the statistics presented here in an entirely different way, there are two more remarks which need to be noted:

1. The numbers of glass fragments from Malqata are over seven times greater than those from El-Amarna.

2. The number of faïences inscribed for Amenhotep III and his family are over five times greater than for Akhenaten and Nefertiti and their daughters.

These points raise an interesting question. Considering that Malqata was in operation for perhaps twenty years during Amenhotep III’s reign and El-Amarna for at least a dozen years, what accounts for the disparate amounts of material produced?

Perhaps the answer to the question will become apparent if we look past El-Amarna to the tomb of Tutankhamun, being chronologically the next large cache of material which should contain glass and faïence from the royal workshops. There, except for inlays, we find only a few simple blue-green glass beakers of undistinguished workmanship and some faïences, admittedly some large ones such as the *hes*-vases, and some inscribed cups, but all generally either clumsy in design or unevenly fired with burn spots, or both.

The emphasis in Tutankhamun’s tomb is on carved Egyptian alabaster, a material employed only rarely and not very elegantly for inscribed royal vessels during Amenhotep III’s reign.<sup>24</sup> Its use in rare examples of sculpture from that reign, such as the glorious Amenhotep III and Sobek group in the Luxor Museum, is another story.

Although future finds may change this view, it appears from the evidence presented here that the late Dynasty XVIII glass and faïence industry reached its zenith at Malqata Palace during the reign of Amenhotep III. Apparently the industries continued at El-Amarna but were not as productive as before. By the time Tutankhamun’s burial was prepared, both industries still existed, but their level of quality was greatly diminished. Malqata and El-Amarna type glasses which occur in contexts of later date, such as Kom Medinet Ghurab, may not be evidence of the survival of a whole glass industry, but merely testimony to the loving care of family heirlooms, which these precious Malqata and El-Amarna glasses must have been.

In documenting the Malqata and El-Amarna blues, we have raised some larger issues. These questions cannot be answered in a study restricted to the statistics of colours of glass. Perhaps the answer will become more clear as this research takes its place in a much larger and more comprehensive examination of the art of the reign of Amenhotep III, an examination that Cyril Aldred did much to engender, to inspire, and to invigorate.

## Notes

1 See R. H. Brill, ‘The Chemical Interpretation of the Texts’, in A. L. Oppenheim, *Glass and Glassmaking in Ancient Mesopotamia* (Corning, 1970), 114. Since faïence’s colour comes

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- from its 'glassy' surface, for the purpose of this article it is treated similarly. Egyptian blue is, as well, since it often cannot be differentiated from glass except by chemical analysis.
- 2 *Egypt's Dazzling Sun: Amenhotep III and His World* opened July 1, 1992, in Cleveland, Ohio. It closed September 10, 1992, and was then shown at the Kimbell Museum, Fort Worth, Texas, October 17, 1992–January 10, 1993, and the Grand Palais, Paris, February 21–May 22, 1993, under the auspices of the Louvre and the Réunion des musées nationaux, and the curatorship of Elisabeth Delange. The exhibition gathered more than 100 works of art from twenty-five collections throughout North America and Europe.
  - 3 The Munsell System of Colour Notation is a standard method of the classification of colour, used in research, as well as a variety of industries throughout the world. Munsell colour charts afford clarity of terminology. Previous descriptions of Dynasty XVIII glass colours — lapis blue, turquoise blue, periwinkle blue, even Cyril's favourite cerulean, can evoke different visions in different people, and sometimes do not translate easily into other languages, just as foreign terms sometimes do not find easy, precise equivalents in English. With Munsell charts, each identified by number and letter, there is less possibility of misinterpretation.
  - 4 For a list of colorants and colorant-opacifiers of ancient glass see Brill, *op. cit.* 122, Table 1.
  - 5 In the Munsell system, the three basis qualities of colour — hue (H), value (V) and chroma (C) — are identified and coded. The hue refers to the quality of colour, the value to the lightness or darkness of a colour, and the chroma to the purity or intensity of a colour. The standard form of a Munsell colour number is H V/C, e.g. 7.5PB2/6; where 7.5PB stands for the hue, 2 for the value, and /6 for the chroma.
  - 6 The glasses we examined include core-formed vessels and the manufacturing rods used to make those vessels.
  - 7 The Malqata glasses were examined in the following collections: the Victoria and Albert Museum (usually ascribed to Medinet Habu), the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Victoria Museum, Uppsala, Sweden, and the British Museum. El-Amarna glasses were examined at the Toledo Museum of Art, the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, University College, London.
  - 8 We do not document here the colours used to decorate glass vessels, since these decorations are almost always simple, abstract, and of no obvious iconographic or other importance unlike royal inscriptions. Usually there are three colours contrasting with the main body colour: white, yellow, and sky blue or blue-green. Trying to measure the predominance of one over another did not seem a fruitful line to follow.
  - 9 We include in this section (1) faïences glazed with one body colour and with the inscription laid on in a contrasting colour, (2) faïences inlaid with glass or Egyptian blue inscriptions, (3) Egyptian blue inlaid with glass or with a contrasting shade of Egyptian blue. These materials differ chemically but are difficult or impossible to distinguish visually and are therefore grouped together in this article. See Brill, *op. cit.* 114–15.
  - 10 We studied four objects with two decorative colours contrasting with the main body colour, perhaps the most spectacular being the yellow faïence Louvre jar with blue inscription for the king and queen and additional red decoration (E. 4877).
  - 11 It is only fair to note the *caveat* that the number of samples for Akhenaten is extremely small and statistically dangerous since the sudden appearance of even a small number of new fragments could alter the picture. However, it is also important to note that the conclusions which can be drawn from the inscribed faïences are comparable to those drawn from the glass which was examined in much larger, and statistically safer, numbers.
  - 12 We actually recorded forty-four objects or groups of objects inscribed for Amenhotep III alone, but on only thirty-eight of them were we able to measure both the main body colour and the inscription colour accurately enough to use in this study.
  - 13 BM 63548 has a lacuna for his cartouche between cartouches of Nefertiti and the Aten.
  - 14 Many of the faïences studied were kohl tubes or parts of kohl tubes not likely to be found

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among Akhenaten's personal accoutrements since he was rarely depicted with kohl lines around his eyes.

- 15 A kohl tube inscribed for Isis and Amenhotep III in the Schimmel Collection is ivory with cobalt blue and red inlays, and has been left out of the study. In addition, a fragment in the Ashmolean Museum of an openwork green fruit or faience vessel with incised cartouches of Amenhotep III, Tiye, and Sitamun has been excluded from this group. In addition, the following objects were not examined:
  - (1) Pendant published by G. Michaëvides, 'Pendoloque au nom d'Aménophis III et de Sat Amon', *ASAE* 45 (1947), 123–6, figs. 11–16. Inscribed for Sitamun and Amenhotep III.
  - (2) Faience button now in Cairo, no. 67962. R. Engelbach, 'A List of the Royal Names on the Objects in the "King Fouad I Gift" Collection with Some Remarks on Its Arrangement', *ASAE* 41 (1942), 225. Inscribed for Sitamun, Amenhotep III, and Tiye.
  - (3) Kohl tube in Cairo, no. CG 44521, from Kom Medinet Ghurab. Inscription: 'The good god Nebmaatre and the king's beloved daughter Isis, given life.'
  - (4) Kohl tube in Herbert Thompson Collection, *LdR* II, 232. Inscription: '[The king's] beloved [daughter] Henuttaneb.'
  - (5) Kohl tube fragment from Kom Medinet Ghurab. W. M. F. Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob* (1891; reprint Warminster, 1974) pl. 17 (20), p. 156; *LdR* II, 232. Inscription: '[. . .] Nebmaa[tre] and the king's daughter Henuttaneb, may she live like Re [. . .].'
  - (6) Pendant, bottom part broken off, in the Pier Collection. G. C. Pier, *Egyptian Antiquities in the Pier Collection* (Chicago, 1906), pl. XIX, no. 156; cf. p. 23. Inscription: 'The good god [Neb]maatre and the king's daughter Hennutta[neb].'
- 16 Two have cobalt blue bodies, with sky blue inscriptions. Two cobalt blue inscriptions are on yellow (one senet piece and one kohl tube) and one on white (a kohl tube found at El-Amarna). The sixth object, a kohl tube, has a sky blue body with a blue-green inscription. The seventh has a cobalt blue body with a blue-green inscription.
- 17 We counted eleven examples of white and cobalt blue inscribed for Amenhotep III alone; however, six of these are broad collar elements (four spacer beads and two lotus-flower terminals), all of which are very similar in size and style and which we suspect to have come from the same broad collar, possibly one that adorned the royal mummy's own neck. In addition, another two instances are two identical strings of cartouche beads in two different collections, and undoubtedly originally from the same necklace. Therefore, we have reduced the occurrences of white and cobalt blue among Amenhotep III's wares to three — one representing all of the necklace elements combined; the second, the bookplate in the Louvre; and the third, a vessel fragment in Berlin.
- 18 Of course, on multi-chromal objects, such as shawabtis and a box lid inscribed for Ankhesenpaaten (Louvre AF6734), yellow is one of several colours present.
- 19 Analysing colour combinations in faience turns our attention to two colours which were particularly difficult and expensive to produce in brilliant, pure tones: yellow and white. Red, which was also very difficult to produce, appears only three times as small bits of decoration on two objects inscribed for Amenhotep III and Tiye and on one inscribed for the king alone. For a discussion of red glass see Brill, *op. cit.* 119–21.
- 20 A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (London, 1962), 260.
- 21 J. E. Dayton, L. Bowles, and C. Shepperd, '“Egyptian Blue” or “kyanos” and the Problem of Cobalt', *Annali. Istituto Orientale di Napoli*, Napoli 40, N.S. 30 (1980), 319–51.
- 22 A. I. Sadek, *Popular Religion in Egypt during the New Kingdom* (Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge 27) (Hildesheim, 1987), 14, 86.
- 23 A. L. Oppenheim, in Oppenheim *et al.*, *Glass and Glassmaking in Ancient Mesopotamia* (Corning, 1970), 6, 9–11; J. R. Harris, *Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Materials* (Berlin, 1961), 125, 128.
- 24 Geologist James Harrell, University of Toledo, in a paper entitled 'Misuse of the Term “Alabaster” in Egyptology' (to appear in *Göttinger Miscellen*) asks that we call 'alabaster'

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by its geologically correct name 'travertine' or else distinguish it from true alabaster by calling it 'Egyptian alabaster', the latter solution probably being the more comfortable. The name 'calcite' which has come into use is really a mineralogical name and not a geological one.

**Table I Table of Inscribed Faiences Studied\***

*Inscribed for Amenhotep III Alone (38 objects)*

Owner/ID	Object	Colours (Body/Insc)	Provenance	Inscription
Ash 148.1887	KohlTubeFrag	Y/PB	El-Amarna	NMR
Ash 1983.1-41 (391)	Vessel Frag	B/PB	El-Amarna	AH
Ash	KohlTubeFrag	B/PB		AH
Ath ANE 1798	Stela	PB/BG		NMR
BM 48952	Spacer	W/PB		AH/hw
BM 56565	Sceptre	PB/BG		NMR
BM 65817	Necklace Term.	W/PB		NMR/AH hw
Bru E286	Frag	B/PB		AH/hb
Bru E287	Cylinder Frag	PB/B		
Bru E7309	Lotus Bud	G/Y, PB		NMR
CMA 19.619	Group Beads	W/PB		NMR
Dur unnumbered	Finial	PB/BG		NMR
Ftz E259.1939	Papyrus	PB/B		NMR
Ftz xi 192	Frag	PB/BG		NMR
Ftz xi 178	Spacer	W/PB		NMR/AH hw
Ftz	Spacer	W/PB		AH/hw
Hiclr H49	Furn. Knob	PB/BG	KV22	AH hw
Hil 4754	Throwstick	B/BG		NMR/AH
Kofler	Seated God	W/PB/R		NMR/AH
Lou E.25564	'Nemset' Vase	B/BG	Karnak?	AH hw/NMR
Lou N805	Bracelet	PB/BG		NMR/AH
Lou E.3043	Bookplate	W/PB		NMR
Lou E.22687	Group Beads	W/PB		NMR
MMA 17.190.2038	Furn. Knob	B/BG		NMR
MMA 66.99.66	Necklace Term.	W/PB/R		NMR (lac)
MMA 26.7.913	Bracelet	PB/B		NMR/AH hw
MMA 26.7.1120	Ring Stand	PB/BG		NMR
Pskn I.1a.1990	Lotus Bud	G/Y,PB		NMR
RSM 1955.83	Vessel Frag	PB/BG		NMR
RSM 1965.276	Beads	G/PB		NMR/AH
UC 2226	Lid Frag	PB/B	El-Amarna	NMR/(AH)
UC 586	KohlTubeFrag	PB/B	Thebes	NMR
UC 12376	Bowl Frag	B/PB	El-Amarna	NMR/(lac)
UC 587	KohlTubeFrag	PB/B	Thebes	NMR/hbsd
V+A C. 408-1917	Sceptre	G/PB		NMR
WAG 48.402	Furn. Knob	PB/B		NMR
WAG 42.86	Spacer	W/PB		NMR
WBe 7241	Vessel Frag	PB/W		NMR/AH



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*Inscribed for Amenhotep III and Tiye (13 objects)*

Owner/ID	Object	Colours (Body/Insc)	Provenance	Inscription
BM 22878	Bookplate	B/PB		Tiye/NMR
BM 37236	Kohl Tube	B/PB		NMR/Tiye
Bru E6760	Vase	W/PB		NMR/AH hw/Tiye
Dur North 2095	Cylinder	W/PB		Tiye/AH hw
Lou E.22662	Frag	PB/BG		Tiye/AH hw
Lou N.818	Kohl Tube	PB/B		NMR/Tiye
Lou E. 4877	Jar	Y/PB		AH/NMR/Tiye
MMA M.1669	Kohl Tube	PB/B		NMR/Tiye
RSM 1965.269	Kohl Tube	Y/PB	Thebes?	NMR/Tiye
RSM 1954.37	Flask	W/PB/R	Thebes?	AH hw/Tiye/NMR
Tur 25445	Vase Frag	PB/W		AH/Tiye
Tur 6236	Kohl Tube	W/PB		NMR/Tiye
UC 35324	Frag Group	PB/BG	Sinai	AH/NMR/Tiye

*Inscribed for Tiye Only (7 objects)*

Owner/ID	Object	Colours (Body/Insc)	Provenance	Inscription
Ash 1-41 (469)	Wig Fragment	PB/B	El-Amarna	Tiye
Ash	KohlTubeFrag	W/PB	El-Amarna	hn/Tiye
BM 65820	Kohl Tube	Y-G/PB		Tiye
Brk 37.598E	Kohl Tube	B/BG		Tiye
Pskn	Sceptre	PB/B		Tiye
Tol 27.74	Senet Piece	Y/PB		Tiye/hnw
UC 577	KohlTubeFrag	PB/BG	El-Amarna	Tiye

*Inscribed for Daughters of Amenhotep III (4 objects)*

Owner/ID	Object	Colours (Body/Insc)	Provenance	Inscription
Ash E 4543	Bead	PB/BG		NMR/Hen
Lou 10894	Finial	PB/BG		Sit
MMA 26.7.908	Nemset	W/PB		NMR/Tiye/Hen
MMA 26.7.910	Kohl Tube	B/PB		NMR/Sit

*Inscribed for Akhenaten and/or Nefertiti (8 objects)*

Owner/ID	Object	Colours (Body/Insc)	Provenance	Inscription
Ash 1-41.1893 (471)	Bowl Frag	B/BG	El-Amarna	Akh/Nef
Ash 1893.1-41 (472)	Bowl Frag	B/B	El-Amarna	Akh/Nef
BM unnumbered	Vessel Frag	W/PB		Nef
BM 63548	Furn. Knob	PB/W		Nef/lac/Aten
Ftz EGA.5994.1943	Bead	W/PB		Nef
UC 614	Frag	PB/B	El-Amarna	Nef
UC 12469	Cylinder	W/PB		Nef
WBe unnumbered	Sceptre Frag	B/B	El-Amarna	Nef

## *The Malqata/El-Amarna Blues*

### *Inscribed with Later Dynasty XVIII Royal Names (7 objects)*

Owner/ID	Object	Colours (Body/Insc)	Provenance	Inscription
Ash 1-41.1893 (479)	Sceptre	B/BG		Smenkhkare
Lou AF6734	Box Lid	W/PB/Y		Ankhesenpaaten
Tol 25.646	Furn. Knob	BG/BG	El-Amarna	Tutankhamun
UC 5861	Object	W/PB		Meritaten
UC 589	Sceptre Frag	W/PB	El-Amarna	Meritaten
UC	Furn. Knob	PB/B	El-Amarna	Smenkhkare
UC 592	KohlTubeFrag	R/W	El-Amarna	Meritaten

### *Objects Too Weathered for Accurate Colour Measurements*

Owner/ID	Object	Colours (Body/Insc)	Provenance	Inscription
Ath 2566.1-5	Plaque Frag		Mycenae	AH/NMR
Ath 2718	Plaque Frag		Mycenae	Broken
Ath 12582	Plaque Frag		Mycenae	Broken
Leiden inv. AD24	Kohl Tube			Tut (NKR)
Lou E. 11160	Jar Lid			AH hw/NMR
MMA 26.7.953	Vase Frag			NMR
Tur 17136	Vase Frag			NMR/—
UC 35322	Vessel Frag		Sinai	NMR
UC 35328	Vessel Frag		Sinai	NMR

\* Only bi-chrome and tri-chrome faience, Egyptian blue, with glass and combinations thereof are included.

Ash = Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

Ath = The National Archaeological Museum, Athens

Brk = The Brooklyn Museum

Bru = Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire, Brussels

BM = The British Museum

CMA = The Cleveland Museum of Art

Dur = The Oriental Museum, Durham, England

Ftz = The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, England

Hicl = Highclere Castle, England

Hil = Roemer- und Pelizaeus-Museum, Hildesheim

Kofler = Private collection, Lucerne

Leiden = Rijksmuseum van Oudheden

Lou = The Louvre Museum

MMA = The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Pskn = The Pushkin Museum, Moscow

RSM = The Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh

Tol = The Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo, Ohio

Tur = The Egyptian Museum, Turin

UC = Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, University College, London

V+A = The Victoria and Albert Museum

WAG = The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore

WBe = The Egyptian Museum, Schloßstraße, Berlin

NMR = Nebmaatre

AH = Amenhotep

Sit = Sitamun

Hen = Henuttaneb

hw = *hk3 W3st*

hbsd = *hb sd*

hn = *hmt nsw*

hnw = *hmt nsw wr(t)*

W = white

R = red

G = green

Y = yellow

PB = purple blue

B = sky blue

BG = blue-green

lac = lacuna



FIGURE 1 Faience sphinx of Amenhotep III. L. 25 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1972.125.



FIGURE 2 Fragmentary faience stela showing Amenhotep III offering to Ptah. H. 15 cm. The National Archaeological Museum, Athens, Greece, ANE 1798.

# Un dignitaire de l'heureuse Memphis au Moyen Empire: Ptah-ounenef

JEAN LECLANT

EN hommage à Cyril Aldred dont l'apport demeure fondamental pour la connaissance de la statuaire égyptienne, nous voudrions, comme témoignage d'amitié, offrir un document recueilli dans les fouilles menées par la Mission Archéologique Française de Saqqarah au complexe funéraire de Pépi Ier.<sup>1</sup>

En Février 1973,<sup>2</sup> dans les déblais du temple intime, sur le flanc Nord du massif qui fait séparation entre la salle aux cinq niches et le sanctuaire, ont été recueillis deux fragments jointifs (a) d'un socle de statuette en calcaire avec la partie inférieure assez endommagée d'un personnage assis 'en scribe'.<sup>3</sup> Puis en Janvier 1974,<sup>4</sup> la poursuite des dégagements a livré un torse nu (b) provenant évidemment de la même statuette. Nous avons eu enfin la chance de retrouver la tête (c) en Février 1977,<sup>5</sup> lors des recherches conduites dans le secteur des vestiges des magasins au Nord de la salle aux cinq niches (fig. 1).

Ainsi reconstituée,<sup>6</sup> cette statuette de calcaire<sup>7</sup> atteint une hauteur de 25.5 cm (figs. 5 et 6). Elle se distingue par sa structure très géométrique;<sup>8</sup> l'ample perruque repose largement sur les épaules; au torse puissant est accolé le haut des deux bras, le gauche se rabattant sur la poitrine,<sup>9</sup> tandis que l'avant-bras droit repose sur la cuisse droite. Le bas du corps est totalement pris dans un pagne court qui l'enserme étroitement; le giron constitue une surface entièrement plane, utilisée pour une brève légende; les jambes étaient croisées, la droite devant l'autre comme en témoignent l'épais genou et la pointe du pied, seuls subsistant. C'est lourdement que le personnage repose sur un socle trapézoïdal<sup>10</sup> qui laisse se développer à sa partie supérieure une bande de texte aussi large que l'inscription gravée sur sa face verticale avant.

Un volume qui a été conçu aussi 'serré' sur lui-même que possible n'a malgré tout pas empêché le succès d'une volonté systématique de bris:<sup>11</sup> la tête s'est détachée en emportant une partie de l'épaule droite; le torse vertical s'est séparé du bas du corps horizontal; le socle a été cassé en biais par une fente partant de l'avant du personnage et se prolongeant sur son côté gauche. Les points (a, b et c) où ont été successivement recueillis les divers éléments de la statuette semblent jalonner un alignement. Celui-ci correspond-il à un trajet vers l'un des fours à chaux installés dans le temple (fig. 1)? En ce cas, vers lequel?<sup>12</sup> Il est vraisemblable que la statuette se trouvait primitivement dans la cour à piliers.<sup>13</sup>

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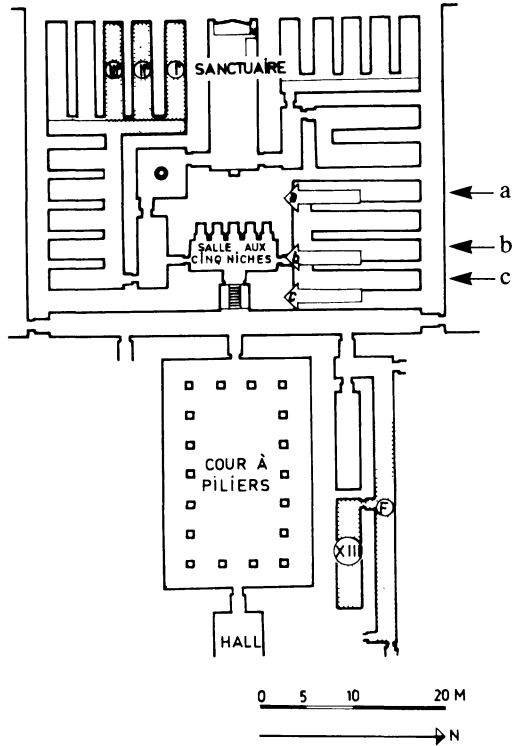


FIGURE 1 Croquis de position dans le temple funéraire de Pépi Ier des fragments (a, b et c) de la statuette de Ptah-ounef. En grisé, les magasins ayant servi comme réserves de chaux.

L'affirmation structurale n'empêche pas que certains détails ont reçu une attention particulière. La perruque est marquée de stries élégantes qui rayonnent à partir du sommet de la tête et descendent bas sur le front. La face ronde est flanquée de deux oreilles larges et hautes;<sup>14</sup> les yeux sont grand ouverts. Un certain sourire accentue l'aspect épanoui qui caractérise le personnage. Le torse est nu, très sommairement modelé à l'avant; sous la large main gauche qui couvre la poitrine, le pli épigastrique et le nombril sont clairement indiqués. Mais c'est surtout dans le dos qu'un sillon profond descend depuis les épaules jusqu'à la ceinture.<sup>15</sup> Cette dernière est bien marquée avec l'attache du pagne simplement précisée. Une impression d'auto-satisfaction<sup>16</sup> se dégage de l'ensemble.

Dans l'état actuel des cassures, la surface plate du giron (figs. 7 et 2) ne laisse

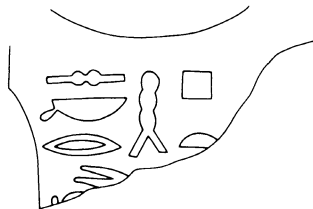


FIGURE 2 Inscription sur le giron de la statuette de Ptah-ounef.

## Ptah-ounenef

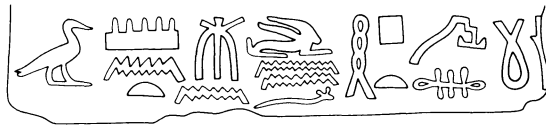


FIGURE 3 Inscription sur la partie horizontale à l'avant du socle.

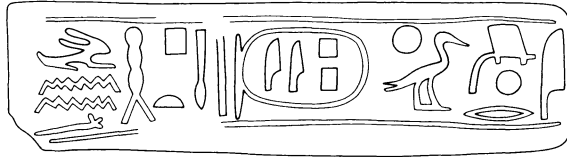


FIGURE 4 Inscription sur le rebord vertical à l'avant du socle.

plus apparaît que les signes<sup>17</sup> indiquant les liens du personnage avec le dieu Ptah,<sup>18</sup> plus précisément 'Ptah-Sokar'. La ligne d'hieroglyphes gravée à l'avant de la partie supérieure du socle (fig. 7 et 3) débute par quatre signes indiquant la qualité du propriétaire de la statuette.<sup>19</sup> Puis vient le nom du personnage, Ptah-ounenef,<sup>20</sup> et l'indication de sa mère: Ménet, 'l'hirondelle'.<sup>21</sup> Enfin, la face avant du socle (figs. 5, 6, 7, 4) indique: 'le féal auprès du fils de Rê Pépi, juste de voix, Ptah-ounenef'. La mention d'*imakhou* auprès d'un roi, si même elle existe à l'Ancien Empire,<sup>22</sup> n'est pas rare en tout cas au Moyen Empire.<sup>23</sup> Elle s'inscrit dans ce renouveau des cultes funéraires des Pharaons de l'Ancien Empire bien attesté au cours de la XII<sup>e</sup> dynastie.<sup>24</sup>

Venant par son attitude<sup>25</sup> se ranger tout auprès<sup>26</sup> de celles d'Iméni 'le chanteur' de la collection Norbert Schimmel<sup>27</sup> et de Sebek-eminou,<sup>28</sup> la jolie statuette de Ptah-ounenef offre un témoignage supplémentaire sur les petits dignitaires et sur les cultes de l'heureuse Memphis du Moyen Empire.

## Notes

- 1 C'est sur le travail en commun mené par la Mission Archéologique Française de Saqqarah (MAFS) que repose le présent article: documentation par Catherine Berger, relevés architecturaux d'Audran Labrousse, dessins épigraphiques d'Isabelle Pierre — On trouvera rapports succincts et bibliographie dans la chronique des travaux publiée annuellement par la revue *Orientalia* (Rome) — Pour un croquis de situation des éléments du temple, cf. J. Leclant, *Recherches dans la pyramide et au temple haut du Pharaon Pépi 1<sup>er</sup> à Saqqarah* (Scholae Adriani De Buck Memoriae Dicatae VI) (Leiden, 1979), fig. 3, et ici-même, fig. 1.
- 2 Cf. *Orientalia* 43 (1974), 183.
- 3 C'est l'attitude du type PME XIV, d, de la classification de J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, III, *Les grandes époques, La statuaire*, 1958, 231 — On notera, pour comparaison, que diverses variantes caractérisent des types voisins.
- 4 Cf. *Or.* 44 (1975), 207.
- 5 Cf. *Or.* 47 (1978), 280.
- 6 La statuette figurait en Janvier 1981 dans l'exposition présentée au Caire, au Palais Manial: *Cinquante années à Saqqarah de Jean-Philippe Lauer, architecte-archéologue, 13 Avril 1980 — 15 Mars 1981* (Le Caire, 1983), 61. Cf. également J.-Ph. Lauer, dans *ASAE* 65 (1983), 81 et

- pl. 8 (H) et C. Berger, 'Le temple de Pépi Ier au Moyen Empire', dans *Saqqara, Les dossiers d'archéologie*, 146-7, Mars-Avril 1990, 93 (avec phot.).
- 7 Le calcaire est le matériau usuel des statues et des reliefs de Saqqarah. Sur d'autres sites, en revanche, au Moyen Empire, en particulier à Abydos, la préférence est accordée aux roches dures.
  - 8 Ce caractère de classicisme strict du début du Moyen Empire a été maintes fois souligné, en particulier par Cyril Aldred; cf. aussi, entre autres, D. Wildung. Ceci n'exclut pas à cette époque la recherche d'attitudes nouvelles, telle celle des statues-cubes.
  - 9 Cf. C. Aldred, *Le Temps des pyramides* (Coll. Univers des Formes I) (Paris, 1978), 220: '*Ce geste, qui entraîne une diagonale sur la poitrine, rompt la symétrie habituelle de la statuaire égyptienne*' (cf. la statue en granit de la nourrice Satsnefrou d'Adana, *ibid.*, fig. 332; PM VII, 398).
  - 10 Le socle épais de 4 cm présente les dimensions suivantes: 15 cm à l'avant, 12 cm à l'arrière et 18 cm sur les côtés.
  - 11 On comparera la façon dont ont été réduites en tronçons les statues de prisonniers destinées au four à chaux (J.-Ph. Lauer et J. Leclant, dans *RdE* 21 (1969), 55-62, pl. 8A, pl. 10 et fig. 2, p. 57; Leclant, dans *Or.* 39 (1970), 333, fig. 20-5, 28-30; *id.*, *Recherches* (Scholae Adriani De Buck, 1979), 8 et fig. 22-4).
  - 12 Des vestiges de fours à chaux ont été retrouvés à proximité des magasins à étage I', II' et III', immédiatement au Sud du sanctuaire: cf. *Or.* 39 (1970), 333, fig. 26 et 27; Lauer et Leclant, dans *RdE* 21 (1969), 56, fig. 1; *id.*, *Le Temps des pyramides* (1978), fig. 107, p. 100; *id.*, *Recherches* (Scholae Adriani De Buck) (1979), 8, fig. 15; *id.*, dans *Saqqara, Les dossiers d'archéologie*, 146-7, Mars-Avril 1990, 54 (avec phot.). — Quant au magasin XIII, il est à l'origine des longues coulées de chaux du couloir F; puis il a été de nouveau 'rechargé', mais il a été abandonné avant utilisation: cf. Leclant, dans *Saqqara, Les dossiers d'archéologie*, 146-7, Mars-Avril 1990, 55 (avec phot.).
  - 13 Au Moyen Empire se développe l'usage de placer des statues de particuliers dans les cours des temples, pour prendre part aux offrandes présentées aux dieux et demander aux visiteurs prières et dons ('*suppliant contemplatif satisfait d'assister par procuration au mystère de la mort et de la résurrection*': Aldred, *Le Temps des pyramides* (1978), 225; cf. également Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, III, 226; D. Wildung, *L'âge d'or de l'Égypte, le Moyen Empire* (1984), 105-6). On rappellera que la cour à portique du temple de Pépi Ier a livré, au cours de la campagne 1973-4, huit statues; cf. *Or.* 44, (1975), 207, fig. 4 et 6 à 9. Pour la statue de Semenekh(wi)-Ptah, cf. Leclant, 'Une statue-cube de dignitaire memphite au temple haut de Pépi Ier', dans *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 6-7 (1975-6), 355-9, pl. XII-XIII. En 1977, a été recueillie une superbe statue-cube au nom de Kheperkare-ankh: *Or.* 43 (1978), 280, fig. 17. On a également retrouvé dans le temple des éléments d'une table d'offrande au nom de Nefer-Hor, desservant du temple de Ptah, cf. *Or.* 43 (1974), 183 et P. Vernus, dans *RdE* 28 (1976), 119-38, 2 fig., pl. 11-13.
  - 14 La taille considérable des oreilles est assez caractéristique de la période; ainsi pour la statue-cube fameuse de Hotep de Saqqarah (Aldred, *Middle Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt* (1950), no. 36, cf. p. 43-4).
  - 15 Cf. e.g. la statue du Musée du Louvre E 11216 (E. Delange, *Catalogue des statues égyptiennes du Moyen Empire* (Musée du Louvre, Paris, 1987), 140-1).
  - 16 D. Wildung a analysé avec justesse la '*conscience de soi bourgeoise et solide du fonctionnariat*' de la XII<sup>e</sup> dynastie (*L'âge d'or de l'Égypte. Le Moyen Empire* (Fribourg-Paris, 1984), 101); cf. Berger, *op. cit.* 93: '*personnage au sourire naïf, émouvant dans son contentement béat*'.
  - 17 En dehors de cette inscription en ligne — sans doute incomplète à l'avant par suite du bris de la jambe gauche, il y avait encore un autre élément d'inscription dont il ne subsiste que les oreilles et la queue relevée du lièvre *wn*.
  - 18 Les documents du Moyen Empire retrouvés récemment sur la chaussée d'Ounas accusent aussi la dépendance des dignitaires vis-à-vis de Ptah (A. Moussa, *MDAIK* 27 (1971), 81-4

- et pl. XII; Moussa et H. Altenmüller, *MDAIK* 31 (1975), 93–7 et pl. 32; Altenmüller, *GM* 38 (1980), 15–20 — Sur Ptah à Memphis, cf. M. Sandman Holmberg, *The God Ptah* (Lund, 1946), 204–20; sur Ptah-Sokar, cf. *ibid.*, 128–39 — On rappellera que la ‘divine offrande’ dans le temple de Ptah devait alimenter à la XII<sup>e</sup> dynastie les temples funéraires des Pharaons défunts de l’Ancien Empire (Vernus, dans *RdE* 28 (1976), 138).
- 19 Sans doute convient-il de lire les deux premiers signes *hꜣrp sꜣrw*. Ce titre viendrait ainsi se ranger (H. Junker, *Giza IX* (1950), 229) auprès de *iry sꜣrw*, *sꜣ m sꜣrw*, *hꜣry-tp sꜣrw* et *mr sꜣrw*. Ce dernier titre en particulier est bien connu dans les tombes memphites de l’Ancien Empire: A. M. Murray, *Index of Names and Titles of the Old Kingdom* (Londres, 1908), XXIV; Junker, *Giza*, XII (1955), 168; *PM TB III*<sup>2</sup>, 924; *Wb IV*, 296, 3 (où il est noté que le *r* est rarement écrit) et 4; il est traduit ‘overseer of linen’, ‘Vorsteher der Leinwand’. Les graphies sont diverses, mais généralement avec l’emploi du signe du ‘sac’ V 33 (Gardiner, *Sign-list*) ou V 35. Nous n’avons relevé l’emploi de la ‘boucle de corde’ V 6 que dans G. Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers contemporains de Pépi II* (1929), 54, 111, et 115; c’est par erreur que V 6 est utilisé dans H. Junker, *Giza*, VII, 28 pour une stèle du mastaba D 47 de *N-hꜣfty-k3(i)* (le texte porte en fait le signe V 33, cf. Mariette, *Mastaba*, pl. LXXXIII et Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches*, I (Berlin, 1937), C.G.C. no. 1484, pl. 40). Sur la confusion des signes V 6 et V 33, cf. l’article classique de A. H. Gardiner, ‘Two hieroglyphic Signs and the Egyptian Words for “Alabaster” and “Linen”, etc.’, dans *BIFAO* 30, 1 (1930) (*Mélanges Victor Loret*), 161–83. Pour l’emploi du signe de la corde V 6 sur des poids inscrits de l’époque royale israélite, cf. A. Lemaire et Vernus, dans *Semítica* 28 (1978), 53–8 — Il convient de ne pas tenir compte des indications données dans *PM III*<sup>2</sup>, 924, concernant un ‘overseer of linen of the endowment’ et un ‘overseer of linen of the Pyramids of Khufu and Khephren’ — Quant au groupe *stp s3*, il peut être compris comme une précision: ‘du palais’ (*Wb IV*, 340–1), plutôt que comme un second titre: ‘Leibdiener’ (Junker, *Giza*, XII (1955), 176; cf. XI, 148) ou ‘court councillor’ (Firth–Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries* (Le Caire, 1926), 110, n. 2 et p. 132).
- 20 Cf. Ranke, *PN I*, 139, 4, qui cite une stèle d’Abydos et une liste d’ouvriers d’un papyrus Kahun; cf. aussi une fausse porte, de Saqqarah probablement, au Brooklyn Museum no. 37.1347 E. (T. G. H. James, *Corpus*, I, pl. XXXVIII (133), p. 56–7; cf. *PM III*<sup>2</sup>, 735).
- 21 ‘L’hirondelle’: *Wb II*, 68; cf. Ranke, *PN I*, 150, 28, fréquent au Moyen Empire.
- 22 Encore qu’il soit difficile de préciser la date de certaines sépultures memphites (comme l’a souligné avec raison Wildung, *L’âge d’or de l’Égypte, le Moyen Empire* (Paris–Fribourg, 1984), 98), on mentionnera des ‘féaux auprès d’Ounas’ à l’Ancien Empire, cf. Altenmüller, ‘Zur Vergöttlichung des Königs Unas im Alten Reich’, dans *SAK* 1 (1974), 1–18 — Voir aussi les fragments peints de la tombe de Metchetchi (Chr. Ziegler, *Stèles, peintures et reliefs égyptiens de l’Ancien Empire et de la lère Période Intermédiaire* (Musée du Louvre, Paris, 1990), 133 et 136, avec bibliographie; mais la date est controversée, cf. p. 123). Sur l’ensemble du problème voir aussi les études, citées *supra* n. 18, ainsi que P. Munro, dans *GM* 59 (1982), 98. A Dahshour, In-Snefrou-Ishtef se proclame également sur sa stèle ‘*imakh* auprès de Snéfrou’ (cf. *PM III*<sup>2</sup>, 89; J. de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour en 1894–1895* (Vienne, 1903), 6, fig. 9).
- 23 Cf. Wildung, *Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige im Bewusstsein ihrer Nachwelt*, I (*MÄS* 17) (1969), 125–6, Doc. XX. 190, pour les *imakhou* auprès de Snéfrou, auxquels on peut joindre Anpy (Petrie, Brunton, Murray, *Lahun*, II (1923), 27, 42 et pl. XXXI, 74; Wildung, *Die Rolle*, 140, Doc. XX. 381). Dans le complexe funéraire de Pépi II, G. Jéquier a mis au jour une statuette au nom d’un Merenrê, féal auprès de Neferkarê et de Ptah-Sokar (G. Jéquier, *Pépi II*, III, 31–2, fig. 12 et pl. 50, no. 3) — On notera également au Moyen Empire les formules de proscynème mentionnant un roi: pour Snéfrou, cf. Wildung, *Die Rolle*, 125, Doc. XX. 180; pour Amenemhat I, cf. Gautier–Jéquier, *Mémoire sur les fouilles de Licht* (MIFAO 6) (Le Caire, 1902), 104, fig. 125–6; pour Sésostri Ier, cf. *id.*, *ibid.*, 60, fig. 69 et Sésostri III,



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- Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour, 1894* (Vienne, 1895), 27–9, fig. 47, p. 28; voir aussi H. G. Fischer, *Egyptian Studies*, I, *Varia* (MMA, New York, 1976), 59–61, n. 6.
- 24 Pour la reprise du culte au Moyen Empire dans le temple de Pépi Ier, cf. *supra* n. 13 et Leclant, dans *BSFE* 77–8 (Oct. 1976–Mars. 1977), 37–8; *Or.* 47 (1978), 280; C. Berger, ‘Découverte archéologique en Egypte; les papyrus de Saqqarah’, dans *Echos Elf Aquitaine*, 75, hiver 87, 45–49; id., dans *Saqqara, Les dossiers d’archéologie*, 146–7, Mars–Avril 1990, 90–3. Pour d’autres monuments memphites, cf. A. Fakhry, *The Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur, The Valley Temple*, II: *The Finds* (Le Caire, 1961). Wildung, *Die Rolle*, Leclant, op. cit., *supra*, n. 13 et Vernus, dans *RdE* 28 (1976), 119–38, pl. 11–14.
- 25 Cf. *supra*, n. 3.
- 26 Un certain nombre de différences sont notables pour la statue du Louvre E 11216 (cité *supra*, n. 15); cf. aussi la statuette BM 2308 (R. B. Parkinson, *Voices from Ancient Egypt* (British Museum Press, 1991, 18).
- 27 *The Norbert Schimmel Collection, Ancient Art*, ed. Oscar W. Muscarella (Mainz, 1974), no. 183 (notice de J. D. Cooney) et Catalogue de l’exposition *Von Troja bis Amarna* (Berlin, Charlottenburg, 1978), no. 213.
- 28 Vienne, Kunsthistorisches Museum ÄS 35: B. Jaros-Deckert, *Statuen*, dans *Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum, Lose Blatt Katalog Aegyptischer Altertümer*, I (Mainz, 1987), 8 feuillets avec riche bibliographie (en particulier, Vandier, *Manuel* III (1958), 231–2, 251 et 611, pl. LXXVIII, 3).



FIGURE 5 Statuette de Ptah-ounenef (cliché J-Fr. Gout).



FIGURE 6 and 7 Statuette de Ptah-ounenef (cliché J.-Fr. Gout).

# Descriptive Notes from the Valley

CHRISTINE LILYQUIST

IN preparing a republication of the royal tomb in the Wady Qirud belonging to Tuthmose III's three Asiatic wives, I have often consulted Cyril Aldred's work both in print and in notes at the Metropolitan Museum, made while he was on its staff during 1955–6. The following brief notes were written to honour the one who gave so much to the study and appreciation of tombs in the Royal Valley itself.

## **KV 46, Yuia and Tjuia**

While the rich furnishings and funerary items from this tomb visible today in the Cairo Museum have long been appreciated, there are several hidden<sup>1</sup> items that deserve more attention.

First of all is a gold finger stall reported on Yuia's mummy (Quibell p. 70, CG 51190).<sup>2</sup> Quibell locates the stall on the small finger of the right hand, noting that 'when the mummy was found there was a series of these coverings of the fingers'. Complete sets of finger and toe stalls are known from the mummies of Tutankhamun<sup>3</sup> and the kings of Tanis,<sup>4</sup> but their use by private people in pharaonic times is rare indeed.<sup>5</sup>

Of equal significance but more impressive today is a pair of silver and gilt sandals on the feet of Tjuia (figs. 3–4; Quibell p. 72, CG 51191, Special Register no. 10). The soles are of sheet silver, ribbed in imitation of papyrus soles, with the edges marked by three parallel bands. Each circumference is reinforced by silver wire over which the outer edge of the sole is turned. The soles are 8 cm wide, but the tips of each sandal are missing and, therefore, the original lengths cannot be determined. The upper parts of the sandals also follow papyrus prototypes:<sup>6</sup> on each side of the foot were two vertical silver 'posts', scored with horizontal lines in imitation of wrapped rush. The posts seem to stand within the contour of the sole, rather than on ear-like projections from it. To the silver soles and posts were attached gilded straps (leather?), again in imitation of a papyrus prototype. No central strap is preserved, but side straps are present, although broken apart where they (or it) would have joined the strap running towards the ankle from between the toes of each foot.

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Altogether the sandals are shaped much like Tutankhamun's golden ones,<sup>7</sup> in contrast to Yuia's stall, Tjuia's sandals may have a precursor from another private tomb in the Royal Valley, that of Maiherpri (KV 36). Daressy illustrates several gold parts and describes them as an 'object' found on the right foot of the standard-bearer's mummy (CG 24067b), and a 'tube' found under his feet (CG 24067e).<sup>8</sup>

The most unusual item to be described here from KV 46, however, is the gilded openwork 'cage' which was found near the chariot (figs. 1–3; Quibell p. vi) but which had once been on Tjuia's mummy and is there today (CG 51011, Special Register 11) within her third anthropoid coffin (CG 51007). According to Quibell, Yuia's mummy was equipped with inscribed cartonnage straps to be tied to his mummy (CG 51010); in contrast, Tjuia's cartonnage was a rigid sheath that embraces more than half of the mummy and had divine images as well as texts. I measured the sheath as 1.09 m long (against Quibell's 1.21), the width at c. 28 cm. It is constructed of linen covered by gilded gesso; the bottom surface is smooth while the top is modelled with figures and incised with text. At the head end Nut faces right, her head broken off, kneeling on a collar of gold; her wings are outstretched above *tt*- and (?)*dd*-signs. Vertical and horizontal bands below form six spaces for divine figures; the foot end of the cage (with the text copied by Quibell) is missing. Quibell's column (1) is the central vertical band, (2) the vertical band on the mummy's right, and (3) no doubt the vertical band on its left. The eight texts Quibell gave under 'right' and 'left' are the four columns on the mummy's right, starting at the head end; these are followed by the four on its left. Two anthropomorphic male figures face each other at the head end, identified as Imsety and Hapy; two theriomorphic figures of Anubis are in the middle, and Isis (on the mummy's right) and Nephthys (on its left) are at the foot end. The figures are fully in the style of Amenhotep III's reign, the hieroglyphs beautifully proportioned and executed (detailed like Tjuia's outer anthropoid coffin, 51006, but incised only). Again, we can find a parallel amongst Tutankhamun's mummy trappings.<sup>9</sup>

I would suggest that the stall, precious sandals, and openwork cartonnage were all royal burial prerogatives, probably also the wrapped viscera with gilded masks for Tjuia, Quibell pl. 16. Looking back at the presumed gold sandals of Maiherpri, one would suggest that the use of royal funerary items crept in with the opportunity to have burial in the Valley itself, Amenhotep II being the first king to allow a number of private associates the privilege of burial in the Valley.<sup>10</sup>

I should also like to signal the use of silver in Yuia and Tjuia's tomb. Both Yuia's (51004) and Tjuia's inner anthropoid coffins were gilded on the exterior and silvered on the interior (hers likewise provided with a figure of Nut, against Quibell, see fig. 3 here). The two metals were used together on the exterior of Yuia's middle anthropoid coffin (51003), the mirror (51173) and a chair (51112); while silver alone was used to highlight two of Tjuia's shawabtis (51037–8) and a bedstead (51109). The use of silver and its combination with gold for Tjuia's sandals are thus in keeping with the considerable use of silver in this tomb, still shining when found (Quibell, pp. ii, 10).

## **KV 55**

For the continued study of this apparently endlessly fascinating tomb,<sup>11</sup> I offer notes and photos of the two inscribed stone toilet vessels,<sup>12</sup> Daressy's no. 41 and 42.

JE 39656, termed haematite by Daressy, is 5.7 cm high, the inscription 2 cm high. The material is what I have been taught to recognize as goethite and has the banding which gives rise to the name 'tiger's eye'. The mouth of the bag-shaped jar is oval, and the hole was drilled off to one side. The top of the lip is flat, and thus the inner surface of the neck meets it at an angle; the floor of the jar is grooved with a ring. While the flanking inscriptions of *Nb-m3t-r* and Tiye are untouched, I could detect no more than the reed leaf and game board of 'Imn within the central cartouche (see fig. 5).

JE 39657, termed amazonite by Daressy, is an intensely coloured stone, reminding me of chrysocolla: it is heterogeneous, mostly bright green, and has crystal and maroon-coloured (not blue) inclusions. From these characteristics it is probably not amazonite, but correct identification would require sampling. Height 4.8 cm; hole bored straight down; groove on exterior at base of neck. Daressy indicates that the signs of his copy are lightly incised but does not indicate that they are not complete, nor that the palaeography is exceedingly poor (see fig. 6). The surface on this part of the vase has been rubbed down, and I believe the inscription given by Daressy is secondary. What seem to remain of the original inscription are the two *r*<sup>c</sup>-signs, and the edge of a sign below the *r*<sup>c</sup>-sign in the first cartouche. The shape of the vessel is usually associated with the earlier part of the Eighteenth Dynasty, but reuse of stone vessels in the royal tombs is well known.<sup>13</sup> The two-column inscription on this type of vessel is unique as far as I know.

## **Notes**

- 1 But see the colour photographs of Yuia and Tjuia in microfiche illustrations 5B11 and 5B12 of James E. Harris and Edward F. Wente, *An X-Ray Atlas of the Royal Mummies* (Chicago, 1980). I thank Dr Mohammed Saleh for having the inner anthropoid coffin of Tjuia opened for me in 1980, allowing my colleague Richard Stone to photograph details, and me to publish them.
- 2 J. E. Quibell, *Tomb of Yuia and Thuiu* (Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du musée du Caire, nos. 51001–51191) (Cairo, 1908).
- 3 C. N. Reeves, *The Complete Tutankhamun* (London, 1990), 113.
- 4 P. Montet *et al.*, *Les Constructions et le tombeau d'Osorkon II à Tanis* (La nécropole royale de Tanis, 1) (Paris, 1947); *Les Constructions et le tombeau de Psousennès à Tanis* (La nécropole royale de Tanis, 2) (Paris, 1951).
- 5 As at Tanis, and later in non-royal surroundings, *ASAE* 1 (1901), 269 and *PM III*<sup>2</sup>, 2, 648.
- 6 As clearly seen on a papyrus pair of sandals from the tomb in the Metropolitan Museum, 10.104.lab.
- 7 H. Carter, *The Tomb of Tut-ankh-amen*, 2 II (London, 1927), pl. 35.
- 8 G. Daressy, *Fouilles de la Vallée des rois (1898–1899)* (Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du musée du Caire, nos 24001–990) (Cairo, 1902).
- 9 Harry Burton negatives TAA 1362 and 1364.

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- 10 E. Hornung, *The Valley of the Kings, Horizon of Eternity* (New York, 1990), 189. On the dating of Maiherpri's tomb, see Lilyquist and Brill, *Studies in Early Egyptian Glass* (New York, 1993).
- 11 See most recently M. Bell, 'An Armchair Excavation of KV 44', *JARCE* 27 (1990), 105 nos. 33 and 34.
- 12 I thank Mohammed Saleh also for access to and publication permission for these materials. Bill Barrette made these photographs; the negatives for all photos here are in the Metropolitan Museum.
- 13 See my forthcoming 'Stone Ointment Jars and Cosmetic Vessels, Seuserenra Khian through Tuthmosis IV'.



FIGURE 1 Gilded openwork 'cage' from Tjuia's mummy (detail)



FIGURE 2 Gilded openwork 'cage' (full-length view)



FIGURE 3 Gilded openwork 'cage' (detail)





FIGURE 4 Sandals on Tjuia's mummy



FIGURE 5 JE39656, toilet vessel from KV55



FIGURE 6 JE39657, toilet vessel from KV55

# The Locusts on the Daggers of Ahmose

JAROMIR MALEK

THE erudition and expertise of the Egyptologist to whom this volume is dedicated are displayed in many books and articles, but I fear I would make a poor exegete of his scholarship. Instead, I shall recall his good humour occasionally tinged with caustic wit, his willingness to step into the breach when the determination and courage of others have failed shortly before a crucial deadline, and his old-fashioned courtesy and readiness to share his knowledge. I submit this small offering in memory of Cyril Aldred with gratitude for his kindnesses over many years.

The area of semiotics into which I shall venture<sup>1</sup> spans several aspects of ancient Egyptian civilization often regarded as autonomous and studied as such: the language, visual arts, and state ideology, the last occasionally subsumed under religion. The widespread existence of symbolism<sup>2</sup> in Egyptian art is acknowledged,<sup>3</sup> but iconology<sup>4</sup> as a field of Egyptological study is only in its beginnings.<sup>5</sup> Ancient Egypt probably produced more visual symbols than any other civilization in the world. This was at least partly due to the fact that the multi-layered Egyptian religion did not possess a written codified version of its basic tenets, such as the Bible of the Christians, the Koran of the Moslems, or the Torah of the Jews, which could have been used to reaffirm the creed among the faithful and to proselytize among the non-believers. The questions of how religious beliefs were spread among the population and how profound was their religious knowledge have not yet been satisfactorily answered. Egyptian temples did not serve as meeting places where 'officially approved' beliefs would have been communally affirmed in the way churches, mosques and synagogues do, and the power of the word thus was not the nearly exclusive means of communicating such ideas to ordinary people. For most, opportunities for a religious experience at the 'officially recognized' level (although the term would require a more precise definition) came through contact with visual images of deities, be it statues seen during religious festivals, or divine manifestations, such as animals or natural inanimate objects. The same applied to state ideology where, in the conditions of very limited literacy, visual power symbols were the main tools of state propaganda. The 'unofficial' popular religion which, for most Egyptians, was the main form of such an experience is still insufficiently

known because of the paucity, if not absence, of monumental and written documentation.

Among the remarkable objects associated with the burial of Queen Ahhotep I,<sup>6</sup> discovered at Dra Abu 'l-Naga in 1859, there is a dagger inscribed with the names of her son, King Ahmose (see figs. 3, 4). Madame C. Desroches Noblecourt has given us a convincing and detailed *exposé* of the decoration of this weapon and another, similar although somewhat larger, in the Louvre.<sup>7</sup> Her conclusion was that it is not merely ornamental, but symbolic,<sup>8</sup> and refers to historical events which took place at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty. The scene of a lion chasing a wild bull alludes to the expulsion of the invaders of Egypt (the bull being, in the first instance, a reference to the god Seth) by Ahmose, the king-liberator. The four locusts represent the Pharaoh's armies in the process of devastating the crops around the besieged foreign cities. While I agree that the dagger's decoration is symbolic, I shall propose a different programme for it and a different interpretation of the most unusual symbol, the locusts.

The daggers have broad blades with blunt ends. The gold-wire design on the bronze blade of the Cairo weapon<sup>9</sup> (CG 52658) and the chased<sup>10</sup> design on that in the Louvre (E. 27218) are almost identical, and I shall confine my description to the former. On the Cairo dagger the names and titulary of king Ahmose are inscribed on a narrow central niello<sup>11</sup> band on either side of the gilded blade. On the *recto* (see figs. 5, 1, left), the vertical column of text starts near the hilt of the weapon and is delineated by a sky (*pt*) hieroglyph, with the signs facing right: *ntr nfr nb t3wy (Nb-phty-R) dl(w) 'nhj ml R' dt*, 'the perfect god, lord of the Two Lands, Nebpehtyre, given life like Re eternally'. Then the arrangement changes to horizontal but continues to unfold in the same direction, towards the tip of the blade. It consists of a lion pursuing a wild bull/bullock/calf at 'flying gallop' in a summarily indicated landscape, faced by four locusts, each with a schematically indicated plant in front of it.<sup>12</sup> A floral 'terminal'<sup>13</sup> near the tip of the blade concludes the design.<sup>14</sup> On the *verso* (see fig. 6, fig. 1 right), below a *pt*-sign, there is a similarly arranged text, but with the signs facing left:<sup>15</sup> *s3 R' n ht.f (Tḥ-ms(w)) dl(w) 'nhj ml R' dt*, 'the son of Re of his body, Ahmose, given life like Re eternally'. The rest of the decoration on the *verso* consists of fifteen almost identical fleurons which decrease in size towards the tip of the blade, and the calyx of the plant which has provided the fleurons. The gilded wooden hilt, inlaid with semi-precious stones, has a pommel with four axially facing female heads and on either side of the guard there is a bovine<sup>16</sup> head whose horns appear to 'protect' the beginning of the royal titulary on the scalloped blade.

The 'parade weapons' (to use Aldred's term) seem to have been characteristic of the warlike Seventeenth and early Eighteenth Dynasties. Many were royal gifts, and the name of the king is either a reminder of the occasion on which the weapon was presented or is endowed with a symbolic meaning, or both. Sometimes the message conveyed by the decoration is quite unambiguous, e.g. on the 'sword' of Kamose<sup>17</sup> (see fig. 7). The scene of a lion chasing its prey on the dagger of Ahmose could, of course, be taken at its face value. Hunting and warfare are found closely linked perhaps in all cultures, and their tools are not always distinguishable. Scenes such as that on the sheath<sup>18</sup> of Tutankhamun's dagger (see fig. 8) might be, super-

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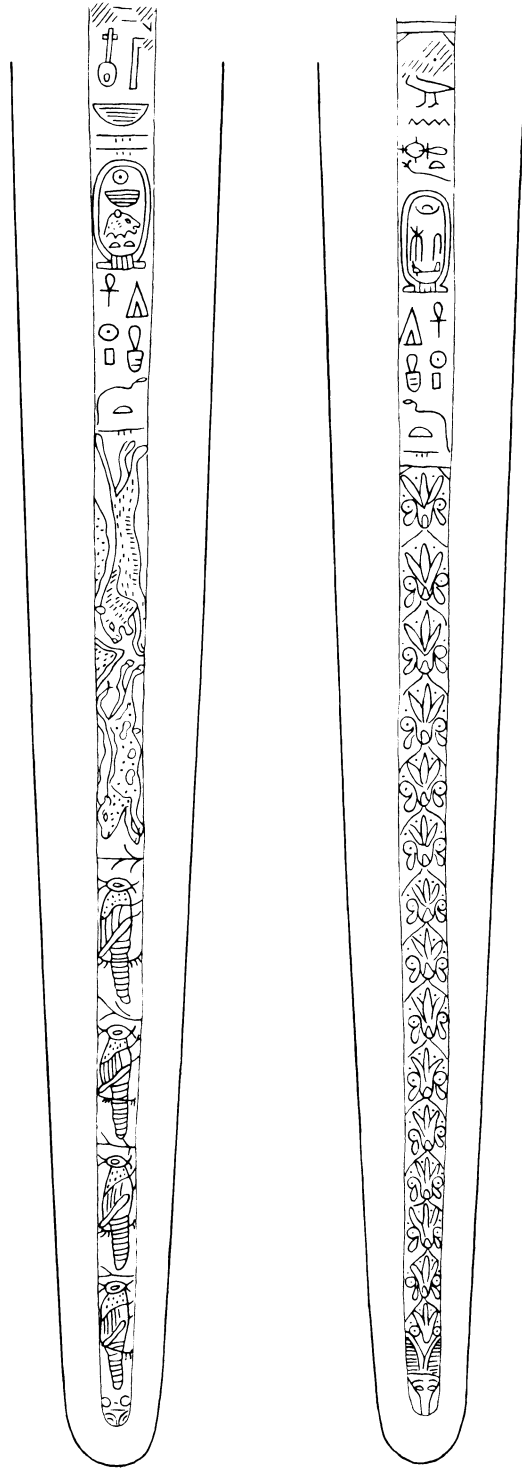


FIGURE 1 The decoration on the dagger of Ahmose, in Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 52658. Drawing based on Griffith Institute photo. 5105.

officially, regarded as purely ornamental, and the decoration of the daggers of Ahmose may seem to be of the same type. The lion is, however, a well-known symbol of royalty in Egypt<sup>19</sup> and elsewhere. Hunting-scenes with the ruler as the protagonist are known from pyramid- and other cult-temples<sup>20</sup> where they could hardly be understood as mere decoration or a record of the sporting feats of the past and a guarantee of their continuation in future. The four locusts could be seen as an artistic synecdoche<sup>21</sup> to convey the image of the lush greenery in which the chase takes place, but that would almost certainly be over-simplification.

The locust (mainly *Schistocerca gregaria*)<sup>22</sup> was a popular motif used on various personal items. Sometimes this may have been just a reflection of the commonly encountered situation in which the insect unexpectedly springs up in most unlikely surroundings. The analysis of the use of the word *znhm*,<sup>23</sup> 'locust', however suggests that more was involved here. In an easily understandable association, the comparison in which the locust was commonly invoked implied 'numerous', 'multitudinous'.<sup>24</sup> It is not difficult to make the transposition to 'rich',<sup>25</sup> and it was a wish connected with this characteristic which may have been behind the use of the motif in certain contexts: a locust as an element of jewellery or on the lid of a jewellery-box carries a fairly obvious connotation.<sup>26</sup>

Apart from their huge numbers the locusts impress by their voraciousness and speed with which their hordes can devastate crops and vegetation.<sup>27</sup> The Delta and the Nile valley were, and still are, green oases surrounded by deserts. The inhabitants of these arid and inhospitable areas, the country's traditional enemies, descended on Egypt in times of insecurity and would have produced the same effect as desert locusts, one of the plagues of Exodus.<sup>28</sup> This may have been a precondition for an interesting symbolic link between Egypt's foes and the locusts. The King's role in subduing Egypt's enemies was clearly expressed in iconography.<sup>29</sup> The themes of the trampling of enemies underfoot<sup>30</sup> and the ceremonial slaying of a foe<sup>31</sup> appeared in art very early and were retained throughout the Egyptian history, but with little reference to the real state of affairs; updated variants were added later. It is the related motif of the foes under the king's feet which is relevant for the decoration on the daggers of Ahmose. It could take on a variety of forms. In the earliest seated royal sculptures of Khasekhem the grotesquely contorted bodies of slain enemies were incised on the front and sides of the statue base<sup>32</sup> (see fig. 9), but this design was soon superseded by the Nine Bows (mostly on the upper surface of the statue base), sometimes combined with the *rekhyt*-birds.<sup>33</sup> The motif of the prostrate live<sup>34</sup> captives<sup>35</sup> (although only their heads are shown) is attested in Egyptian sculpture in the round infrequently from the Third Dynasty onwards,<sup>36</sup> and such monuments may have served as parts of the pedestals of royal statues. It was during the New Kingdom that the theme, expressed either in two or three dimensions, came to be seen more often on the bases/pedestals of statues of kings (or, by extension, those of deities). The captives, with their arms tied at the elbows behind their backs, are a visual expression of the Egyptian idiom<sup>37</sup> *hr rdwy*, 'under the feet (of the king)',<sup>38</sup> or *hr tbwty.f<y>*, 'under his soles/sandals'.<sup>39</sup> The motif could be incorporated into temple or tomb scenes and was also used to adorn items in comparable ceremonial contexts where the king was involved, such as the ramp or the steps approaching the throne, the

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dais on which the throne stood, and rooms in royal palaces.<sup>40</sup> It is found on footstools<sup>41</sup> (see fig. 10) and even the king's sandals.

When the captives are represented prostrate, their overall appearance is that of a locust, with the tightly fettered arms and the hands supporting the body reminiscent of the insect's long hindlegs. This is particularly noticeable when they are shown in the round<sup>42</sup> (see fig. 10). It is unlikely that this striking visual parallel would have escaped the Egyptian artist. It is also worth mentioning that large numbers of enemies are in several inscriptions<sup>43</sup> compared to locusts.<sup>44</sup>

Thus, I believe that the locusts on the daggers of Ahmose symbolize the Pharaoh's enemies. The elements of the scene are symbolic and form a programme but are not connected with real historic events. The name identifies the protagonist who, as a lion, is shown performing the two complementary ideological tasks of the Egyptian king: asserting his control over the forces of nature<sup>45</sup> and over Egypt's external enemies.<sup>46</sup> In this way, he is ensuring the continued existence of the desired world-order as defined in Egyptian ideology.

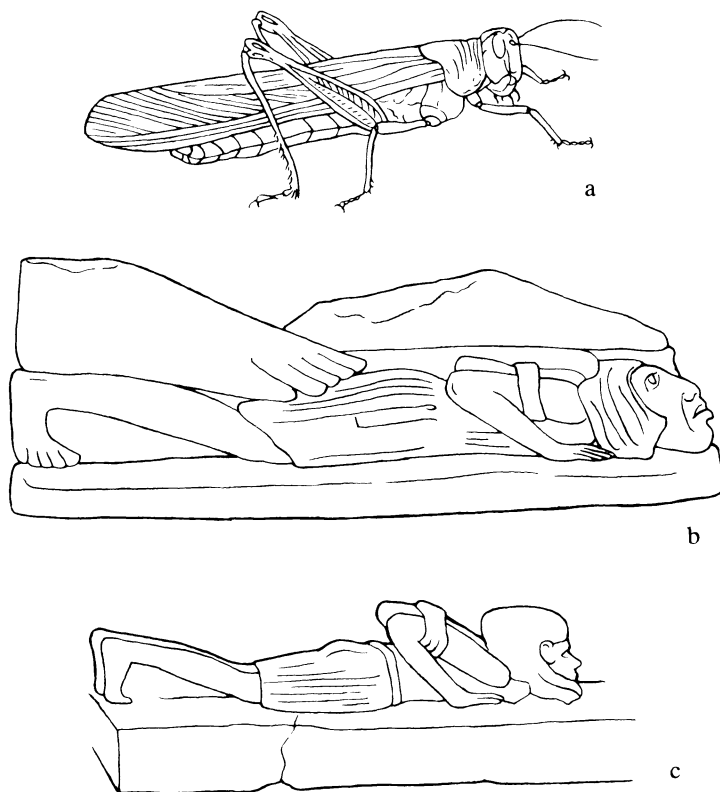


FIGURE 2 (a) *Schistocerca gregaria* (a reversed image based on L. Keimer, in *ASAW*, 33 (1933), fig. 87b on p. 126). (b) Fragmentary statuette of a prostrate captive under the feet of the king (drawing based on a photograph of D. Wildung, in *Archiv für Orientforschung* 24 (1973), fig. 2 on p. 109). (c) Detail of a prostrate captive, from statuette BM 60279 (drawing, adapted and re-drawn, of a detail from B. Hornemann, *Types of Ancient Egyptian Statuary*, VI (Copenhagen, 1969), pl. 1475).

Notes

- 1 I gratefully acknowledge the guidance through non-Egyptological literature given to me by Jane Jakeman, Jeremy Black, and Michael Vickers. The line-drawings for figs. 1 and 2 were prepared by M. E. Cox.
- 2 The understanding of the term 'symbol' varies and depends on whether one leans towards art history, religion, philosophy, or psychology. I take it to be a form which calls to mind the semblance or notion of something other than itself, especially of an abstract idea, realized by association with it, but without precise denotation (paraphrasing and re-interpreting *The Encyclopaedia Britannica* 14th edn, vol. XXI (London and New York, 1929), 700–1; B. L. Goff, *Symbols of Prehistoric Mesopotamia* (New Haven and London, 1963), 49, and W. Westendorf, 'Symbol, Symbolik', in *LdÄ* VI, 122–8). Indeed, in visual arts the form is not always represented and can be communicated by a literal or other allusion (to quote a present-day example, Austin's cartoon in *The Guardian* of 24 October, 1990, refers to the recent Persian Gulf crisis: a general says to an Arab falconer with a bird of prey perched on his wrist: 'If you see any doves . . .'). The precise 'intended meaning' of a symbolic form may be difficult to establish and need not be clear-cut (E. H. Gombrich, *Symbolic Images. Studies in the Art of the Renaissance*, 3rd edn (Oxford, 1985), 1–5 and elsewhere throughout the publication). The same form may represent different symbols in different contexts, and there may be dissimilar interpretations of the same symbol in different cultures, at different period, by different groups of people, and even by different individuals. Furthermore, there is always the possibility (and danger) that a symbol may be perceived where none was intended (this a warning of the limitations of modern interpretations). As O. Grabar in his study of 'Symbols and Signs in Islamic Architecture' (in R. Holod and D. Rastorfer (eds.), *Architecture and Community Building in the Islamic World Today. The Aga Khan Award for Architecture* (New York, 1983), 31) succinctly remarks, 'the referent alone (user, viewer) decides the symbolic meaning of an artistic creation'. Grabar also makes an important methodological remark: 'architectural symbolism can only be demonstrated from nonarchitectural sources — written sources, opinion surveys, of whatever else may be developed'. This applies to all kinds of symbolism and is most lucidly discussed by Gombrich in the already quoted publication.
- 3 W. Westendorf, op. cit.; R. T. Rundle Clark, *Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1959); O. Keel, *Die Welt der altorientalischen Bildsymbolik und das Alte Testament. Am Beispiel der Psalmen* (Zurich, etc., 1972); B. L. Goff, *Symbols of Ancient Egypt in the Late Period. The Twenty-first Dynasty* (The Hague, etc., 1979). Most studies tend to be rather descriptive, e.g. M. Lurker, *Lexikon der Götter und Symbole der alten Ägypter* (Bern, etc., 1987).
- 4 As understood by twentieth-century art historians since Aby Warburg's revolutionary paper read in Rome in 1912, cf. W. S. Heckscher, 'The Genesis of Iconology', in *Stil und Überlieferung in der Kunst des Abendlandes. Akten des 21. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte, Bonn 1964* (Berlin, 1967), III, 239–62 (reprinted in *Art and Literature. Studies in Relationship*, ed. E. Verheyen, Baden-Baden, 1985). Iconology 'studies forms as carriers of meaning', i.e. is interpretative, as opposed to more descriptive iconography. Gombrich describes iconology as 'the reconstruction of a programme' (op. cit. 6).
- 5 As compared with art history outside Egyptology where the study of, e.g., Renaissance emblems and emblem-books, is well established, Heckscher, 'Renaissance Emblems. Observations suggested by some Emblem-Books in the Princeton University Library', in *The Princeton University Library Chronicle*, 15 [ii] (1954), 55–68 (reprinted in *Art and Literature*).
- 6 A brief synopsis of the facts concerning the queen by W. Seipel can be found in 'Ahhotep I', in *LdÄ* I, 98–9. A. Mariette was in charge of the excavation, but the tomb was discovered in his absence, *BIE* 1 Sér. 1 (1859), 32–6 (dagger = no. 10); L. Vassalli, *I Monumenti Istorici Egizi* [etc.] (Milan, 1867), 128–31 (the three daggers = no. IX; G. Maspero in Mariette,

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- Oeuvres diverses*, I (Bibliothèque égyptologique 18) (Paris, 1904), cii–civ; H. E. Winlock, *JEA* 10 (1924), 251–5. Objects, F. W. von Bissing, *Ein thebanischer Grabfund aus dem Anfang des Neuen Reichs* (Berlin, 1900), and their bibliography up to 1964, PM I<sup>2</sup>, 600–2.
- 7 C. Desroches Noblecourt, in F. Junge (ed.), *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens. Zu Ehren von Wolfhart Westendorf* [etc.], 2 (Göttingen, 1984), 883–94, pls. 1, 2.
  - 8 Such an approach had also been favoured by, e.g., S. Birch, *Fac-similes of the Egyptian Relics, etc. . . . Exhibited in the International Exhibition of 1862* (London, 1863), 2 (both the lion and the grasshoppers=locusts refer to the qualities of the King).
  - 9 E. Vernier, *La Bijouterie et la joaillerie égyptiennes* (MIFAO 2) (Cairo, 1907), 30, 132, pl. 24 [2]; id., *Bijoux et orfèvreries* (CG Caire, 1927), 209–10, pl. 345 (*recto* only illustrated); von Bissing, op. cit., pl. 2; Desroches-Noblecourt in J. Leclant (ed.), *Le Monde égyptien. Les Pharaons, II. L'Empire des conquérants* (Paris, 1979), fig. 270 (*recto*, the best colour photograph known to me); M. Saleh and H. Sourouzian, *Die Hauptwerke im Ägyptischen Museum Kairo* (Mainz, 1986), no. 122 (colour illustration but too small); pre-1964 bibliography, PM I<sup>2</sup>, 601. The descriptions of the technical aspects of the dagger's decoration vary widely, see A. Lucas (ed. J. R. Harris), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (London, 1962), 250–1. I rely on Vernier, although I suspect improvements could be made. These, however are outside the range of this paper and my knowledge.
  - 10 Perhaps rather than incised as stated by Desroches Noblecourt, op. cit. 886.
  - 11 See, *inter alios*, Aldred, *Jewels of the Pharaohs* (London, 1971), 114.
  - 12 Desroches Noblecourt, op. cit. 890, n. 32, suggests that they are feeding on it.
  - 13 Sometimes interpreted as the head of an animal.
  - 14 Nowadays there is almost complete general agreement that the manufacture of the dagger is Egyptian (but see, e.g., G. A. Wainwright, in *LAAA* 6, 1914, 43; Sir Arthur Evans, *The Palace of Minos at Knossos*, I, London, 1921, 715), although Aegean artistic influences are conceded in the representations (e.g. W. Stevenson Smith (ed. W. K. Simpson), *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* (Harmondsworth, 1981), 222). This does not affect the scene's symbolic content.
  - 15 H. G. Fischer, *The Orientation of Hieroglyphs* (Egyptian Studies II) (New York, 1977), 18 [8], fig. 17. It should be pointed out that since the dagger was usually worn on the right side of the body (as is to be expected for a right-handed person), this is the logical orientation for both the *recto* and *verso*, cf. e.g. the cartouches on the colossus of Ramesses II at Mit Rahina, H. G. Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein*, II (Munich, 1929), pl. 1 [33].
  - 16 Apis according to some, e.g. Mariette, *Notice des principaux monuments . . . à Boulaq* (Alexandria, 1864), 222 [6], and Vernier, op. cit. While there is some evidence which connects Ahmose with Memphis (one of the ships of his fleet was called <Ḥ<sub>h</sub>-ms> ḥ'w-m-Mn-nfr, *Urk.* IV, 3.9), this explanation is far from compelling. Nevertheless, scholars still refer to 'Apis-bull', e.g. G. J. F. Kater-Sibbes and M. J. Vermaseren, *Apis, I. The Monuments of the Hellenistic-Roman Period from Egypt* (Leiden, 1975), 35–6 [136]. Desroches Noblecourt's suggested identification with the bull of Montu (op. cit. 886) carries more conviction. I prefer the view of von Bissing (op. cit.) and more recently Seipel (in C. Vandersleyen (ed.), *Das Alte Ägypten* (Propyläen Verlag Berlin, 1975), 378) who regard the four female and the two bovine heads as representations of Hathor, and I should take this idea further by seeing Hathor *quadrifrons* in the female heads, Ph. Derchain, *Hathor Quadrifrons. Recherches sur la syntaxe d'un mythe égyptien* (Istanbul, 1972).
  - 17 Oxford, Ashmolean Mus. 1972.4622; PM I<sup>2</sup>, 602.
  - 18 Carter no. 256dd, Cairo Mus. JE 61584.
  - 19 U. Schweitzer, *Löwe und Sphinx im alten Ägypten* (Ägyptologische Forschungen 15) (Glückstadt and Hamburg, 1948); C. de Wit, *Le Rôle et le sens du lion dans l'Égypte ancienne* (Leiden, 1951); U. Rössler-Köhler, 'Löwe, Löwe-Köpfen, Löwe-Statuen' in *LdÄ* III, 1080–90.
  - 20 E.g., the pyramid-temple of Sahure (PM III<sup>2</sup>, 327, 5) and the cult-temple of Ramesses III (PM II<sup>2</sup>, 516, 185 and PM II<sup>2</sup>, 518, 188–9).



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- 21 The locust is often found in such an environment in tomb-reliefs and paintings and its image does not necessarily imply devastation. The disproportionate sizes of the animals and insects need not be worried about in the context of Egyptian art.
- 22 L. Keimer, *ASAE* 32 (1932), 129–50; 33 (1933), 97–130; 37 (1937), 143–59; E. Brunner-Traut, 'Heuschrecke', in *LdÄ* II, 1179–80. There is also a brief summary by J. Boessneck, *Die Tierwelt des Alten Ägypten* [etc.] (Munich, 1988), 148–9.
- 23 *Wb.* III, 461,6–8; R. O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford, 1962), 233.
- 24 Keimer in *ASAE* 33 (1933), 103–6.
- 25 Thus Menkheperre (Tuthmose III) is described as 'š3 ḥt + a locust on scarab Brit. Mus. 40797, H. R. Hall, *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs, etc., in the British Museum* (London, 1913), 69 [673]; Keimer, in *ASAE* 32 (1932), 143, fig. 52. The correct interpretation has been given by Desroches Noblecourt, op. cit. 888, n. 22.
- 26 The reasoning must not be applied mechanically. Aldred offered an interesting explanation — the locust as a source of oil — for such a form adopted for an ivory cosmetic box, in his *New Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1961), pl. 102.
- 27 Though there are remarkably few references to a plague of locusts, E. Brunner-Traut, op. cit. 1179.
- 28 The reason for the mass migrations of desert locusts is overcrowding rather than starvation (A. Wootton, *Insects of the World* (Poole, Dorset, 1984), 164–5), but ancient Egyptians would have cared little about the cause of the disaster.
- 29 D. Wildung, 'Feindsymbolik', in *LdÄ* II, 146–8.
- 30 The king was on these occasions portrayed as a wild beast, e.g. bull, lion, or a griffin, and the subject is already found on late Predynastic palettes.
- 31 Possibly already in the so-called Painted (or Decorated) Tomb at Kom el-Ahmar (Hierakonpolis), J. E. Quibell and F. W. Green, *Hierakonpolis*, II (Egyptian Research Account 5) (London, 1902), 20–2, pls. 75–9; PM V, 199, and certainly on the palette of Narmer, Cairo CG 14716, Quibell, *Hierakonpolis*, I (Egyptian Research Account 4) (London, 1900), 10, pl. 29; PM V, 193–4. The bibliography of such scenes is very extensive and, for convenience, I shall refer to A. R. Schulman, *Ceremonial Execution and Public Rewards* (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 75) (Freiburg, Schweiz and Göttingen, 1988), in particular 63, n. 8, and E. Swan Hall, *The Pharaoh Smites his Enemies: A Comparative Study* (Münchener ägyptologische Studien 44) (Munich, 1986).
- 32 Discussed at some length by H. Junker in O. Firchow (ed.), *Ägyptologische Studien* (Festschrift H. Grapow) (Berlin, 1955), 162–75. Junker stresses the contrast between the dignified static figure of the king and the bodies strewn about in the agonies of death.
- 33 Already on the fragmentary statue of Netjerikhet=Djoser, Cairo Mus. JE 49889, PM III<sup>2</sup>, 407. A very good photograph by W. Forman is in Malek, *In the Shadow of the Pyramids. Egypt during the Old Kingdom* (London, 1986), fig. on pp. 88–9.
- 34 It would be nice to believe that this was a sign of changing attitudes, but in addition to being historically naive this would be an incorrect evaluation of the veracity of Egyptian art.
- 35 Such a captive was *sqr-nḥ*, perhaps 'tied for smiting', as suggested by Westendorf, in *ZÄS* 92 (1966), 153. Could a rather gruesome accounting note 'smiting: bound <captive: one>' be at the root of this? This is an opportunity to mention Aldred's contribution to the topic of 'foe in Egyptian art,' 'The Sheyba in Ancient Egypt', in *JEA* 63 (1977), 176–7.
- 36 Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein*, II (Munich, 1929), 91–3; Wildung in *Archiv für Orientforschung*, 24 (1973), 111–12.
- 37 Such a relationship in Amarna art has been explored by E. Hornung, in *ZÄS* 97 (1971), 74–8.
- 38 *Wb.* II, 462.3–7. A son of the chief of Kush whose life had been spared during a massacre in Nubia and who was brought back to Egypt was placed *ḥr rdwy n nṯr nfr*, 'under the feet

## The Daggers of Ahmose

- of the perfect god (i.e. Tuthmose II),' *Urk.* IV, 140, 14. I do not, however, take it as literally as Wildung, op. cit. 110, appears to do.
- 39 *Wb.* V, 362, 3–5.
- 40 E.g., the painted plaster in the palaces of Amenhotep III at El-Malqata, Robb de P. Tytus, *A Preliminary Report on the Re-excavation of the Palace of Amenhetep III*. (New York, 1903), 17–18; G. Daressy in *ASAE* 4 (1903), 166 with pl.; and of Akhenaten at Amarna, W. M. F. Petrie, *Tell el Amarna* (London, 1894), 13–14, pls. 2–4; the relief-decoration in the palace of Merneptah at Kom el-Qala, C. S. Fisher in *Penn. Univ. Mus. Journ.* 8 (1917), fig. 82 on p. 221; K. P. Kuhlmann, *Der Thron im alten Ägypten* (Glückstadt, 1977), pl. 5 [12]; J. Schwartz *et al.*, in *Expedition*, 26[3] (1984), fig. 3 on p. 33; D. G. Jeffreys, Malek and H. S. Smith, in *JEA* 72 (1986), 10–13, fig. 6; and of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu, U. Hölscher, *The Mortuary Temple of Ramses III, I* (The Excavation of Medinet Habu 3) (Chicago, Ill., 1941), 52, figs. 30–1. Faience tiles with the same motif were used for the same purpose in the palace of Ramesses II at Qantir, W. C. Hayes, *Glazed Tiles, etc.* (MMA Papers 3) (New York, 1937), in particular pp. 12–17 with fig. 1. Tiles with captives are known from other palaces, such as Medinet Habu (PM II<sup>2</sup>, 524–5) and Tell el-Yahudiya (PM IV, 57). The painted plaster on the brick-built staircase leading up to the structure of Amenhotep III at Kom el-Samak was similarly decorated, *Malkata-South. Scientific Report of the Excavations of 1971–1981 by the Archaeological Mission of Egypt of Waseda University, Tokyo*, I (in 2 parts) (Tokyo, 1983) [in Japanese].
- 41 Several were found in the tomb of Tutankhamun, Carter nos. 30, 88, 90, 378 and possibly 511.
- 42 The corpus of statuettes of kings or deities with their feet resting on prostrate captives has been compiled by Wildung, in *Archiv für Orientforschung*, 24 (1973), 108–16, and I can add to it only the base of a faience statuette, probably of the New Kingdom, which is in Paris, Fondation Custodia, 2402a (F. Lugt collection), *Egypte. Eender en anders. Tentoonstelling . . . Allard Pierson Museum* (Amsterdam, 1984), no. 137. The majority of these pieces are small statuettes made of faience or bronze. None of the known examples predates the Eighteenth Dynasty, but about a half of them are dated to the New Kingdom. Even allowing for dating difficulties, it seems probable that the type was already known at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty. See also the apparently self-contained statuette of a prostrate captive, dated to the Nineteenth Dynasty, in Wildung and S. Schoske, *Entdeckungen. Ägyptische Kunst in Süddeutschland* (Mainz am Rhein, 1985), no. 65.
- 43 See n. 25; H. Grapow, *Die bildlichen Ausdrücke des Aegyptischen* (Leipzig, 1924), 98; E. Brunner-Traut, 'Heuschrecke', in *LdÄ* II, 1179–80.
- 44 The emphasis is definitely on the numbers and in one case the comparison is applied even to the Egyptian army, H. H. Nelson, *Earlier Historical Records of Rameses III* (Medinet Habu I) (Chicago, Ill., 1930), pl. 17, line 16. There may be a simple explanation of such a distribution. Egyptian texts are by their nature victorious, and the glory of victory is always enhanced by the magnitude of opposition.
- 45 Here I differ from some other commentators who regard even the hunting scenes as being symbolic of the subjugation of enemies, Wildung, 'Feindsymbolik', in *LdÄ* II, 146; W. Barta, 'Königsdogma', in *LdÄ* III, 491–2.
- 46 Exemplified beautifully on Tutankhamun's painted box (Carter no. 21), Nina M. Davies and A. H. Gardiner, *Tutankhamun's Painted Box* (Oxford, 1962).

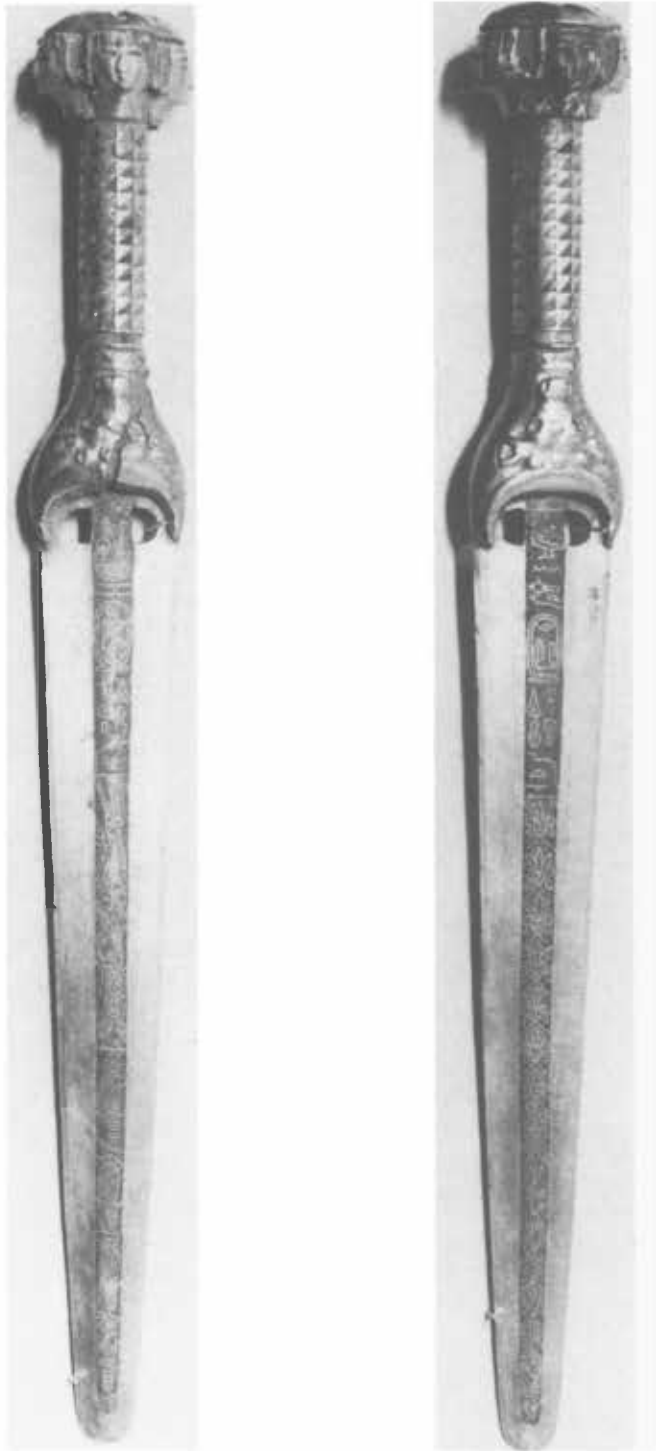


FIGURE 3 and 4 Dagger of Ahmose, in Cairo Museum, CG 52658.  
Griffith Institute photo 5105.

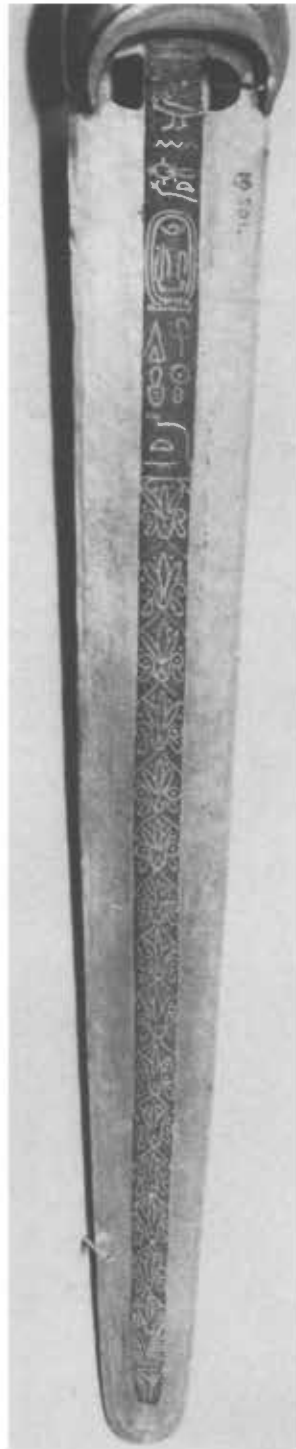


FIGURE 5 and 6 Dagger of Ahmose, detail.



FIGURE 7 Detail of decoration on the 'sword' of Kamose in Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1927. 4622. Photograph by courtesy of the Visitors of the Ashmolean Museum.



FIGURE 8 The decorated sheath of Tutankhamun's dagger (Carter no. 256dd), in Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 61584. Photo. H. Burton, by courtesy of the Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.



FIGURE 9 The statue of Khasekhem in Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, E.517. Photograph by courtesy of the Visitors of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

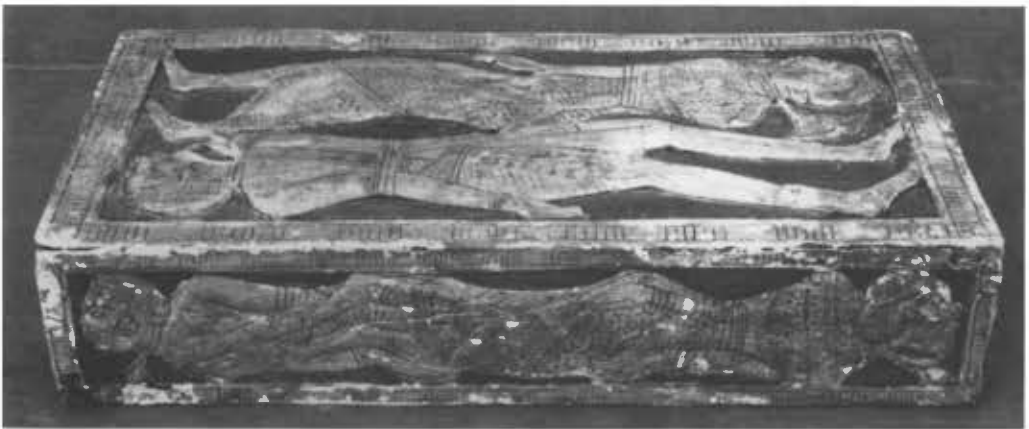


FIGURE 10 The decorated wooden footstool (Carter no. 30) from the tomb of Tutankhamun, in Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 62047. Photo. H. Burton, by courtesy of the Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

# Jewellery Fragments from the Tomb of Nefertari in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

YVONNE MARKOWITZ, PETER LACOVARA, and  
PAMELA HATCHFIELD

IN 1903 Albert M. Lythgoe, then curator of the Department of Egyptian Art at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, went to Egypt to purchase material to augment the Museum's holdings.<sup>1</sup> During his sojourn, which was financed by a generous donation from Emily Esther Sears, he was able to acquire not only outstanding works of art but also small pieces of both scientific importance and historical interest.

Among the purchases Lythgoe made in Luxor were several which appear to have been part of the original burial equipment of Nefertari-Meryenmut, Great Royal Wife of Ramesses II. The objects included four shawbatis of Nefertari (BMFA 04.1966–9) as well as three jewellery elements: a large gilded plaque of silver with stone frit and glass inlays, a small gold plaque with stone inlays and frit beads, and a gilded bronze pendant in the shape of a lily (BMFA 04.1954–6)<sup>2</sup> (see fig. 1).

Nefertari's tomb (QV 66) was discovered in 1904 by the *Missione archeologica italiana* in Egitto under the direction of Ernesto Schiaparelli.<sup>3</sup> Museum records do not indicate the exact date of Lythgoe's purchases, but it is possible that they might have been made even before the tomb was cleared.<sup>4</sup> If so, these objects must have been a chance find, possibly by someone excited by the work of the Italian Mission in the Valley.<sup>5</sup> If they did not come from inside the tomb itself, they may have formed part of a robber's cache deposited outside the tomb.<sup>6</sup> Indeed, the large plaque has had part of the gold facing stripped off.

## Large Plaque

The largest piece (BFMA 04.1955) is a rectangular silver plaque overlaid with gold foil and inlaid with carnelian, lapis, blue frit, and red glass (see fig. 4). The gold foil was partially peeled off, presumably by tomb robbers in antiquity. The inlays form a chevron border at the top and bottom of the plaque and a hieroglyphic inscription which runs along the centre. It reads: 'The Osiris, Great Royal Wife, his beloved, Mistress of Lower Egypt. . .'. These are not the complete titles of the Queen, and

### *Fragments from the Tomb of Nefertari*

there must have been at least one companion plaque inscribed ‘... and Upper Egypt, Nefertari, true of voice’.

The plaque itself measures 11.5 × 4.7 cm and was shaped from a single sheet of silver 0.02 mm thick. Depressions for inlaid hieroglyphs and horizontal decorative bands were hammered from the front, probably into a wooden mould. The edges of these inlaid areas appear rounded on the verso and sharp on the recto, indicating that shaping was done from the front. The two fasteners appear to have been soldered in place, as evidenced by traces of solder and by the presence of chasing marks left on the metal surface.

The surface of the plaque was once entirely gilded. Approximately two-thirds of this surface has been lost, revealing a silver substrate. Both the plaque and the lily-shaped pendant exhibit a complex structure of layers beneath the gilded surface which appears to relate less to existing metal technology and more to the methods developed to decorate organic materials such as wood and cartonnage. For example, a layer of brown resin (see appendix, binding-media analyses) was applied to the silver substrate of the plaque. Traces of the resin are visible where the silver surface is revealed by damage to the gilding. In the decoration of wood artefacts this layer of tree resin or animal glue would have been used to seal the wood surface in preparation for the application of a gesso ground. We find adhered to this resin a tabby-woven layer of linen fabric, on top of which was applied the calcium carbonate gesso ground. This technique was unnecessary to stick the metal layers together but is typically used as a substrate for painting or gilding on wood.

This application of fabric is a convention which has long been used in the preparation of wood panels to accept gessoed, painted, and gilded surfaces. Its use above the wood substrate allows for the contraction and expansion of the wood in response to changes in relative humidity and temperature, while protecting the less flexible layers above from cracking or buckling as the wood below changes dimension. These techniques appear to have been developed by the ancient Egyptians specifically for the decoration of wood, and then later adapted for use in the decoration of other base materials, whether or not they were required to stabilize the painted or gilded surface.

Methods for the gilding of base metals were certainly very sophisticated in Egypt by the Ramesside Period and follow a long tradition of simulating expensive materials, particularly for funerary purposes. There is evidence that the earliest purpose for gilding was to make objects appear as if they were made of pure gold, and thus much more valuable than the material hidden beneath.

The earliest gilding methods documented in Egypt involve the wrapping of a core with a sheet of gold. The gold layer was secured by means of tacks or by crimping the edges and hammering, or by pressure gilding, a process which uses burnishing to join overlapping edges or layers of gold. With the development of methods to produce thinner and thinner gold leaf, adhesives were used in the application of leaf to substrate materials. As early as Dynasty VI (c. 2400–2200 BC) methods of gilding directly onto metal surfaces by hammering thin sheet gold on to a copper substrate are noted by Lucas.<sup>7</sup> More sophisticated methods involving the use of heat were later developed for gilding metals, such as diffusion gilding, the



heat fusion of leaf gold to metal surfaces, and, by the fourth century AD, mercury gilding methods, documented in Persia and the Mediterranean.<sup>8</sup>

The resin-soaked textile on the Nefertari plaque supports a fine, white gesso layer of calcium carbonate (determined by X-ray diffraction and X-ray fluorescence in the microprobe).<sup>9</sup> Another layer of resin applied on top of the gesso was employed to make the gold leaf adhere to the surface. It is evident from crushed gold in areas where inlays are missing that the gold was applied before inlays were applied with the same resin. The gold was burnished, probably before the inlays were applied. The inlays are fashioned from red carnelian, red glass, lapis lazuli, blue-green felspar, and a blue glass frit (see appendix.)<sup>10</sup>

The remains of a fastening link are apparent on the proper right edge at the back where the silver curls to form a cylindrical socket for the attachment of additional elements. The silver substrate did not show signs of metal stress, as it would if the plaque had originally been curved to form part of a bracelet or armband. Therefore, it would have been a broad, horizontal ornament. The plaque has been suggested to have been part of a decorated mummy band. However, the authors would suggest that it could have originally formed part of a belt or decorated girdle. The top and bottom edges and the proper right edge of this segment were pierced at approximately 2.5 cm intervals, presumably to allow its incorporation into a garment by means of textile fibre cords.

Examples of precious-metal girdle buckles inlaid with hieroglyphs in various materials are known from the late Old Kingdom. The gold buckle of Ptahshepses,<sup>11</sup> with its geometrically patterned belt of small stone and metal beads, is an outstanding example of this type of ornament. That some of these belts had fringe elements is demonstrated by a First Intermediate Period bead and shell girdle found by Petrie at Diospolis Parva.<sup>12</sup> An example from the Middle Kingdom is the belt of Senebtisi excavated by Mace and Winlock at Lisht. This piece has an apron of beadwork streamers evenly spaced around the belt.<sup>13</sup> Its gilded clasp is decorated with the owner's name, as in the Nefertari panel. The latter, however, is only half of a buckle which must have extended horizontally across the belly and would have been inscribed with the queen's full name and titles.

While streamers are not typically associated with buckles but rather with dependent elements suspended from beaded belts, the length of the Boston inlaid plaque and the relatively evenly spaced holes running along the top and bottom edge, suggests that a network of strung beads was hung from the buckle. Interestingly, the dimensions of the lily pendant (see below) are such that it could have been the terminal element of such a streamer as is found on Middle Kingdom girdles.<sup>14</sup>

Rectangular buckles of plain gold appear throughout the New Kingdom;<sup>15</sup> and two sheet gold belts, chased with decorative motifs and hieroglyphic titles, were found on the mummy of Tutankhamun.<sup>16</sup> On the lower edge of these belts a series of holes was punched which probably served as the attachment for beaded and floral elements. The Boston plaque, therefore, can be seen as a continuation of a long tradition of inlaid titular buckles with beaded belts and aprons that were used by both men and women.

### **Small Plaque**

A smaller plaque in gold (BMFA 04.1954) has a chased inscription which reads vertically: 'the Osiris, the Royal Wife, Nefertari-Meryenmut, the true of voice' (see fig. 5). The last epithet, true of voice, indicates that this was a piece of funerary jewellery intended for the burial of the queen.

The above element seems to have been part of a bracelet and a partial row of blue frit beads still remains on the left side of the plaque along with gold rings which must have formed the clasp for the beadwork bracelet. A similar plaque was found in the tomb of Nefertari in 1988 by the Getty Conservation Institute.<sup>17</sup> The main element consists of three sections all formed from individual sheets of gold soldered together (see appendix for analysis). They include a central section inscribed with the cartouche of Nefertari, and two flanking panels inlaid with lapis lazuli, carnelian, and felspar and the associated gold fasteners and blue-frit beads. The hieroglyphic inscription on the central section was chased on the front of a single flat sheet of gold.<sup>18</sup> The flanking panels were formed from single sheets of gold whose edges have been bent upward to form a rectangular box into which the inlays were set on beds of resin. Six chevron-shaped dividers were soldered on to the upper edges of these rectangles to form cloisons for the border inlays. The placement of the gold dividers is indicated by lines scribed in pairs, which are still visible on the underside. The cloisons for the chevron inlays are soldered in place along the top edges of the flanking sections. Three circular fasteners made from strips of gold sheet are soldered to the outer edges. Some of these are filled with resin, but textile fibres are visible at the ends of four of them, indicating that fibre cords were used to attach this element to its adjoining sections. Glass-frit beads such as those which remain attached were probably placed symmetrically on either side of the gold element.

Bracelets with inlaid clasps similar to the Boston example first appear in the Middle Kingdom.<sup>19</sup> Two small bracelet clasps of Princess Khunmet<sup>20</sup> consist of 'djed' signs with semi-precious stone inlays while a larger beaded bracelet<sup>21</sup> has cloisonné inlays in the central panel. In the Middle Kingdom and early New Kingdom such flexible bead bracelets were fastened by means of grooved spacer bars attached as terminal elements to the bead strands. By the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty, a new technique of attaching the sections of bracelets appears.<sup>22</sup> This is a hinged attachment composed of metal loops soldered to the fastening plaque which serve as a socket for a pin that joins the plaque to the beaded strands. As Cyril Aldred observed, this no doubt developed from the solid hinged bracelet that appears at the very beginning of the New Kingdom as evidenced in the Ahhotep treasure.<sup>23</sup> Vertically pierced loops for attachment are also carved into the sides of one of the carnelian bracelet plaques from the Carnarvon collection now in the Metropolitan Museum.<sup>24</sup> The small gold bracelet plaque of Nefertari belongs to a comparable beaded bracelet, and there are a number of examples of similar ornaments that survive from the late New Kingdom and the Third Intermediate Period, including several from the tomb of Tutankhamun,<sup>25</sup> the tomb of Siptah,<sup>26</sup> one inscribed for Herihor,<sup>27</sup> and one fragment from Saqqara.<sup>28</sup> Although similar to the Getty plaque, the two bracelets are not identical. It is interesting to note, however,

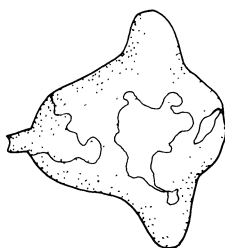


FIGURE 1 Lily pendant of Nefertari. BMFA 04.1956. Drawing by Yvonne Markowitz.

that one depiction of the Queen in her tomb shows her wearing two very different bracelets on opposite arms (see fig. 3).<sup>29</sup>

### Pendant

The last piece that was part of the group is a copper pendant overlaid with gold foil and fashioned into the shape of a lily (BMFA 04.1956) (see fig. 1). Dangling three-dimensional elements were used to enhance the basic design of necklaces, collars, bracelets, earrings, and girdles. Typically, such three-dimensional elements were made by hammering the metal foil over a wood or stone positive or in moulds.<sup>30</sup> The technology used to gild both the pendant and the bracelet relates closely to the methods used to polychrome and gilded wooden figurative sculptures, coffins, and models. The substrate is shaped and applied with glue or resin-soaked woven cotton or linen textile. The fabric, is, in turn, applied with gesso, a mixture of ground chalk (whiting), or gypsum, and an adhesive, usually a plant gum or animal glue. This surface is smoothed and applied with paint or gold leaf.

The lily pendant is constructed from a copper-tin alloy in two halves which were then soldered together. The seam is visible at the top of the pendant, where a suspension is formed from a soldered piece of sheet copper. The body of the pendant lotus blossom is made from a copper-tin alloy, and the loop is soldered with silver solder. The surface has been coated with calcium-carbonate gesso and gilded with a leaf containing significant amounts of silver (see appendix).

Such three-dimensional jewellery elements are usually somewhat 'flattened' to allow them to rest properly on the body. Where individual elements could hang freely as in the suspended blossoms on the counterpoise of the great 'shebtu' collar of Psusennes I<sup>31</sup> and the collar and bracelets of Pinudjem,<sup>32</sup> or the earring pendants found in the tomb of Siptah,<sup>33</sup> they have a rounded shape as on the Boston lily pendant.

Other floral pendants are known from earrings of New Kingdom date, including examples from the tombs of Tutankhamun<sup>34</sup> and Seti II.<sup>35</sup> The relatively large size of the lily pendant, however, suggests it may have been an element of a composite girdle as suggested above. Unfortunately, the fragmentary nature of the evidence prevents any definitive reconstruction of Nefertari's original suite of burial jewellery.

Since they were clearly the items tomb robbers of antiquity voraciously sought

## *Fragments from the Tomb of Nefertari*

out, it is rare that any royal jewellery survives from ancient Egypt. We offer what we can glean from these few fragments to further our understanding of ancient jewellery, which has been immeasurably enriched by the brilliant insight and flawless prose of Cyril Aldred.

### **Appendix**

#### *Chemical Analyses of Nefertari Jewellery Elements\**

	Gold	Silver	Copper	Lead
04.1955 LARGE PLAQUE				
Silver Substrate**	5.2%	89.4%	4.9%	0.1%
Gilding Layer	99.0%	0.9%	trace	
04.1954 SMALL PLAQUE				
Gold Substrate**	81.7%	12.5%	4.0%	
04.1956 PENDANT				
Gilding Layer	91.2%	8.6%	0.2%	
Substrate***	Copper 97.5%	Tin 2.5%	Arsenic trace	

#### *Binding Media Analyses*

04.1955 LARGE PLAQUE: The gesso layer was found to be a mixture of calcium carbonate (determined by X-ray diffraction and X-ray fluorescence in the microprobe) and an organic binding medium. It was analysed for the presence of monosaccharides by gas chromatography using a Hewlett Packard 5890 capillary gas chromatograph. In addition to the monosaccharides arabinose, fructose and glucose, amino acids were detected, indicating that the binder contains components of vegetable gums, which may be a vegetable gum contaminated with protein, or could be a contaminated protein.

The brown resinous material used to make inlays adhere and as a size over and under the gesso layer was also analysed by gas chromatography. The sample was hydrolysed in weak acid, then saponified and methylated to test for resins waxes, and oils. The sample produced large signals for palmitic and stearic acids in approximately the same quantities, but no azelaic acid, the standard by-product for drying oils. These results indicate that the sample is not a drying oil. Palmitic and stearic acids are frequently found in samples of aged animal glue and are generally considered to be contaminants in animal products.

A second sample was hydrolysed in weak acid and prepared producing TMS-oxime derivatives, and gave only a low signal for glucose and no arabinose, indicating that the sample is most likely not a carbohydrate.

\* These analyses were conducted by Richard Newman and Robert Ogilvie at the Museum of Fine Arts Boston, by energy-dispersive X-ray fluorescence, and at Harvard University by wavelength-dispersive X-ray fluorescence in a Cameca MBX electron beam microprobe with a Tracor-Northern 5500 X-ray analysis system.

\*\* Analysis by wavelength-dispersive X-ray analysis (microprobe) rather than energy-dispersive X-ray analysis.

\*\*\* Neither lead nor zinc was detected in this alloy; detection limits for these elements by this method of analysis are 0.5%. A rather high level of silver was detected at the soldered joint between the two halves of the lily, suggesting the use of hard solder (a copper-silver alloy).

Notes

- 1 D. Dunham, *The Egyptian Department and Its Excavations* (Boston, 1958), 19.
- 2 W. S. Smith, *Ancient Egypt: As represented in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston, 1960), 145–6, fig. 96.
- 3 E. Schiaparelli, *Relazione sui lavori della Missione archeologica italiana in Egitto (1903–1920). I: Esplorazione della 'Valle delle Regine'* (Turin, 1923), 57–194.
- 4 The purchase of the jewellery fragments seems to coincide with Lythgoe's buying trip of 1903–4, the last purchases appear to have been made in June of 1904.
- 5 Schiaparelli, *op. cit.* 3–9.
- 6 Cf. C. N. Reeves, *The Valley of the Kings: The Decline of a Royal Necropolis* (London, 1990), 17.
- 7 A. Lucas and J. R. Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (London, 1962), 232.
- 8 P. A. Lins, W. A. Oddy, 'The Origins of Mercury Gilding', *Journal of Archaeological Science* 2, (1975), 365.
- 9 P. B. Hatchfield and R. Newman, 'Ancient Egyptian Gilding Methods', in *Gilded Wood: Conservation and History* (Madison, CT, 1991), 39.
- 10 Hatchfield and Newman, *op. cit.*
- 11 Ahmed Y. Moustafa, 'Reparation and Restoration of Antiques: The Golden Belt of Prince Ptah-Shepses', *ASAE* 54 (1947), 149–51.
- 12 W. M. F. Petrie, *Diospolis Parva: The Cemeteries of Abadiyeh and Hu* (London, 1901), 41.
- 13 W. C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, I (New York, 1953), 308.
- 14 *Ibid.*, 309.
- 15 Alix Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptian Jewellery* (London, 1971), 135.
- 16 Howard Carter and A. C. Mace, *The Tomb of Tutankhamun*, II (London, 1927), pl. 34.
- 17 Press Release, 'Jewelry Fragment Discovered in the Tomb of Nefertari', The J. Paul Getty Trust (April 12, 1988).
- 18 Chasing is defined as inscribing with a small chisel-shaped tool '... which each time it is struck made a short indented line ... which appears rounded when viewed in cross-section,' H. Hodges, *Artifacts* (Kingston, Canada, 1988), 78–9.
- 19 Wilkinson, *op. cit.* 63.
- 20 J. de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour* (Vienna, 1895), 60.
- 21 *Ibid.*, 66.
- 22 C. Aldred, *Jewels of the Pharaohs* (London, 1971), 159.
- 23 *Ibid.*, 159.
- 24 MMA 26.7.1340, We would like to thank Catharine Roehrig of the Metropolitan Museum for the information on this piece.
- 25 K. Mallakh and A. Brackman, *The Gold of Tutankhamen* (New York, 1978), pl. 105.
- 26 T. M. Davis, *The Tomb of Siptah* (London, 1908), pl. 16.
- 27 A. Eggebrecht, *Juwelën der Pharaonen* (Hildesheim, 1988), 6–9, 12.
- 28 Caroline Ransom Williams, *Gold and Silver Jewelry and Related Objects* (New York, 1924), 59–61, pl. 5, no. 3a–b.
- 29 Gertrud Thausing and Hans Goedicke, *Nofretari* (Vienna, 1971), pl. 145.
- 30 Aldred, *op. cit.* 202.
- 31 Henri Sterlin and C. Ziegler, *Tanis: Vergessene Schätze Pharaonen* (Munich, 1987), pl. 11.
- 32 B. Abbo *et al.*, *Tanis. L'or des pharaons* (Paris, 1988), 98.
- 33 Davis, *op. cit.*, pl. 7.
- 34 Mallakh and Brackman, *op. cit.*, pl. 99.
- 35 Rita Freed, *Ramses II: The Great Pharaoh and his Times* (Memphis, Tennessee, 1987), pl. 38.

*Fragments from the Tomb of Nefertari*



FIGURE 2 Jewellery elements of Nefertari. Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



FIGURE 3 Nefertari wearing two types of bracelets. Photograph courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

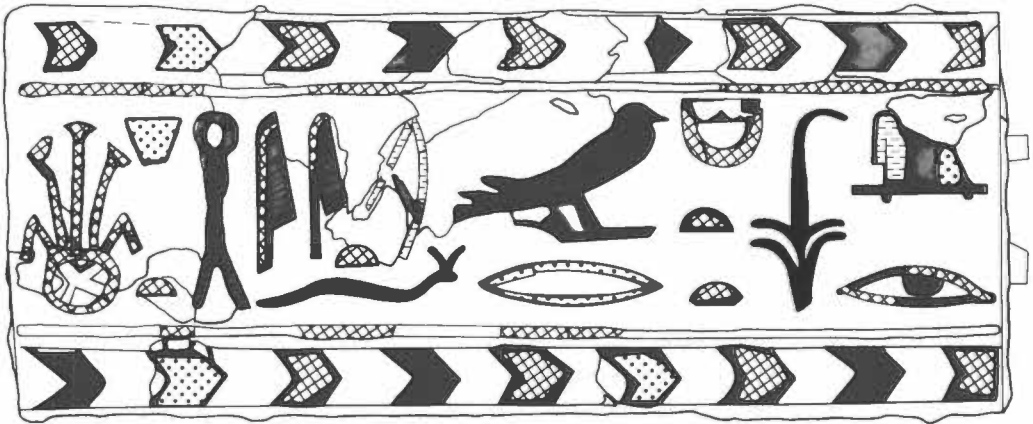


FIGURE 4 Nefertari girdle section of gilded silver with stone inlays. BMFA 04.1955. Drawing by Yvonne Markowitz.

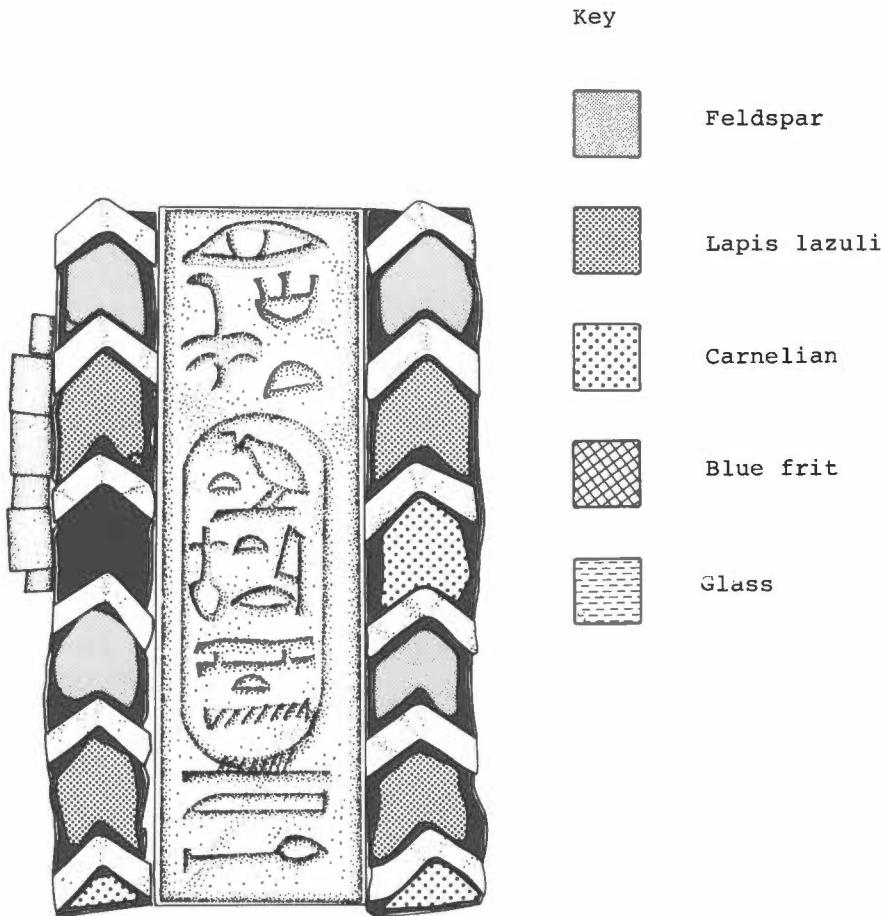


FIGURE 5 Bracelet plaque of Nefertari. BMFA 04.1954. Drawing by Yvonne Markowitz.

# Two Scribes and a King of Dynasty XVIII

WILLIAM H. PECK

It is a privilege to dedicate these modest observations to the memory of Cyril Aldred, who was an inspiration to me, often a source of encouragement, and always a model to emulate.

Some years ago I published a comparison of two statuettes of seated scribes, one in the collection of the Detroit Institute of Arts for which I have been responsible, and the other in the Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin (see fig. 1a).<sup>1</sup> I called attention to the similarity of the two pieces, so striking as to support the argument that they were produced in the same workshop, if not by the same hand. In that article I was able to document that the Berlin piece was excavated at El-Amarna.<sup>2</sup> Because it was in a style better associated with the reign of his father, this raised the question as to whether it was taken to Akhenaten's new capital from Thebes or produced at El-Amarna by an artist who continued the tradition of sculpture from the time before Akhenaten's religious and artistic revolution. The implication for the Detroit statuette, so similar in style to the Berlin piece, was to date it more firmly to the time at the end of the reign of Amenhotep III and the beginning of that of Akhenaten. To this pair of statuettes I would like to add a third and similar statuette of the same quality and sensitivity. It is not a scribe, however, but a representation of Amenhotep III (see fig. 1b).<sup>3</sup>

The statuette is a small depiction of the king that was once described by William Hayes as representing 'a pathetically fat old man clad in a fringed and pleated overgarment of a type worn only by women'.<sup>4</sup> It has, unfortunately, lost its head, but the characterization of the figure and the unusual garment are enough to have made it the subject of some interesting conjecture. The first published discussion concerning the statuette was part of the special supplement to the *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* which recorded the bequest of Theodore M. Davis, of which it was a part.<sup>5</sup> In the publication of the large collection which Davis left to the museum, Ambrose Lansing described the purchased objects separately from the excavated material. The figure of the king was part of the purchased material and only said to have come from Thebes. Lansing pointed out at that time the unusual costume, which he described as in a style which one would not hesitate to attribute to the reign of Akhenaten '... were it not for the fact that the prenomen *Neb-maat-Re*', is not erased. Only two conclusions are possible.



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Either it is a commemorative figure made after the death of Amen-hotep III but before his successor adopted the worship of the Aten, or else it is a contemporary statue. In the latter case some of the characteristics in sculpture which we are inclined to regard as novelties of the reign of Akh-en-Aten were already current during the lifetime of his predecessor.'

In the *Scepter of Egypt* William Hayes alluded to the possibility that the fringed undergarment worn by the king may be of Asiatic origin and that the lowered and clasped hands may be compared more easily to images such as those of Gudea of Lagash than to representations of Egyptian kings. The time elapsed between the reign of the Sumerian ruler of the twenty-second century BC and that of the Egyptian king make any direct connection highly unlikely. One might better search for iconographic comparison with Kassite images, if a parallel in Near Eastern costume is assumed or expected.

Except for the clasped hands, Amenhotep III is shown in the traditional standing pose for Egyptian males with the left foot forward. He was originally depicted with the blue crown, attested by the remains of streamers hanging down his back. Around his neck is a beaded collar of a slightly unusual design in that the regular progression of rows of simple tubular beads terminating with a row of pendant or floral elements is interrupted by a penultimate row with oval beads separated by horizontal spacers. The overgarment, according to Hayes, 'normally worn only by women', overlaps and is fastened by a knot or a clasp. The undergarment, described by him as 'of Asiatic inspiration', is fringed on its lower border but is otherwise obscured. The feet are enclosed in sandals with the strapping carved in careful detail.

The most striking comparison, often noted, for the representation of Amenhotep III in this unusual costume, with the same fullness of figure, is a painted limestone stela in the British Museum (No. 57399). On that object the king is shown in an identical costume, wearing the Blue Crown, slumped forward in his chair, and accompanied by Queen Tiye, whom he embraces. Found in the house of Panehesy at Amarna, this stela has sometimes been used as an indicator for the possibility of Amenhotep's residence at Akhenaten's capital during the conjectural 'long' co-regency. Opponents of the co-regency theory have argued that it is a posthumous representation, as Lansing suggested about the statuette in New York. The name of the Aten appears on this stela in the late form which is thought to date no earlier than year nine in the reign of Akhenaten. The prenomen of Amenhotep III, *Nebmaatre*, is repeated instead of using the prenomen and nomen in the normal fashion, avoiding the nomen which includes the name of Amun, a problem 'corrected' on the Metropolitan Museum statuette by the erasure. This suggests that the stela, produced after the prohibition had been codified, is later than the statuette, which had been made when the name of Amun was still allowed.

What the unusual costume, best paralleled in female garb, means in both the British Museum stela and the Metropolitan statuette is still open to debate. The garment is similar, but not identical in detail, to that worn by Nefertiti and other females during the reign of Akhenaten, the principal differences being the frequent lack of the long undergarment on depictions of females, as well as the method by which the garment is secured. On the representations of Nefertiti, the royal daugh-

### *Two Scribes and a King of Dynasty XVIII*

ters and other females the semi-transparent robe is closed by a long, separate, sash-like belt, tied in a knot. On the Metropolitan museum statuette there is no sash or belt but rather some sort of closure resembling a figure-eight clasp which is used to clinch it around the waist. Akhenaten is shown in the same style of garment a number of times (in the tomb of Ramose at Thebes, the tomb of Parennefer at Amarna and others). It is reminiscent of some Near Eastern styles of dress of different time and origins only in that it is draped over one shoulder and secured under the breast. Comparisons, such as that suggested by Hayes to images of Gudea, are of little assistance in explaining the source of this fashion, unusual for an Egyptian king. Vandier characterizes the appearance of this garment on the Metropolitan statue as simply 'en avance sur son époque'.<sup>6</sup> It is probably enough to say that during the latter part of the reign of Amenhotep III into the reign of Akhenaten some types of male and female costume were very similar, much more so than in other periods of Egyptian history.

In many respects the image of the king can be compared to the statuettes of the two scribes. It is apparently made from the same dark stone, sometimes described as serpentine and sometimes as schist, but, like many designations of stone in the Egyptological literature, open to more exact geological identification. It is slightly larger in scale, measuring 23 cm tall without head, in comparison with 8.9 and 6.4 cm for the Berlin and Detroit pieces. The two scribes, as shown by a number of preserved examples, may have been part of composite groups in which they were accompanied by an image of the baboon of Thoth and thus, as complete ensembles, closer in scale to the royal statue. The base on the figure of the king is slightly undercut on the vertical surfaces which indicates that this figure, like the scribe statues to which it seems to be related, was probably set into another base, possibly as a part of a similar statue group. Even a cursory comparison suggests that the carving techniques employed in the production of the three statuettes are similar and that a comparison of individual details will be enlightening.

Berlin 22621 and Detroit 31.70 have many characteristics in common with the figure in the Metropolitan Museum. The king's missing head prevents a comparison with those of the two scribes but a number of other details are common to the three works (see fig. 2). The general soft, rounded contours of all three are similar. The abstraction of the shape of arms betrays an attitude to the rendering of this element as a plastic, somewhat boneless, but well-defined part in all three statuettes. The hands in every case are made up of smooth curves also with little suggestion of an underlying skeletal structure. The toes of the Berlin scribe and those of the king are similarly defined. The soft details of costume, particularly the pleats of sleeves, exhibit a similar character. The incision of design elements — necklace and fringes on the figure of the king, hair patterns on the two scribes — are done in the same, slightly cursory manner (see fig. 3). The junctures between parts, the abutment of two sculptural elements and the transitions effected between them, are handled in similar ways. These several similarities in execution suggest a common origin for the three statuettes, either in a workshop or school of sculptors employed at Thebes late in the reign of Amenhotep III or at Amarna early in the reign of Akhenaten.

Neither of the two scribes has any inscription but the larger statuette of the

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king is inscribed on the top of the base with his name and on the back pillar with an honorific inscription (see fig. 4).<sup>7</sup> In both places the name of the god Amun has been erased as a part of the iconoclastic defacement perpetrated by the followers of Akhenaten, extending, as here, even to the name of his father. The backpillar was carved in the form of a 'djed' pillar, suggesting to some scholars that the statuette was made as a commemoration of a jubilee,<sup>8</sup> although Lansing, quoted above, posited that the work might be a posthumous tribute.

Of the three statuettes we have noted that only the Berlin scribe excavated at El-Amarna, shows that at least one representation of Amenhotep III in the same costume as the Metropolitan statuette existed in relief in Akhenaten's capital. If one accepts a co-regency, it is possible to suggest that representations of Amenhotep III in the 'Amarna' style were created side by side with formal works in the 'courtly' mature style of his reign. Even a short co-regency might account for representations of this type, but, if a co-regency is completely discounted, a possible explanation for the stela and the Metropolitan statuette would make them memorials to the deceased king.

Taken together, the Berlin, Detroit and New York statuettes have a relationship that suggests a common source in a royal workshop with a specialist (or specialists) in the production of small-scale votive works which were often composite or made up of more than one image. Since one of the objects is documented as from El-Amarna, one is said to be from Thebes, and one has no provenance, it is impossible to posit a fixed location for that royal workshop with certainty. It is not improbable that artists and craftsmen in this crucial period for El-Amarna art were moved from place to place as they were needed. It is my expectation that other works of art can be related to these three objects, and it is possible that more information will be forthcoming to shed light on their common origin.

## Notes

- 1 William H. Peck, 'Two Seated Scribes of Dynasty Eighteen', *JEA* 64 (1978), 72-5, pls. XII, XII00.
- 2 The Detroit Scribe (31.70) was acquired from Kalibdjian Frères, Paris, in 1925 by Mrs Lillian Henkel Haass. It was said to have been in the Raifé collection and was catalogue number 310 in the 1867, Paris, sale of that collection. According to Dawson and Uphill, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 2nd edn, Raifé bought his antiquities 'at the principal sales, particularly that of Anastasi in Paris, 1857'. The scribe was given to the Detroit Institute of Arts in 1931 by Mrs Haass and her daughter, Miss Constance Haass (later Mrs Trent McMath, and an important donor of antiquities to Detroit in her own right).
- 3 Metropolitan Museum of Art 30.8.74. Published and illustrated by William Hayes in *Scepter of Egypt*, II, 237, fig. 142. The piece has been mentioned and discussed a number of times. I wish to thank the Egyptian Department of the Metropolitan Museum for supplying copies of the references recorded in their files.
- 4 *Scepter of Egypt*, II, 236. Claude Vandersleyen takes exception to this description in 'The Sculpture in the Round of Amenhotep III: Types and Purposes', in *The Art of Amenhotep III: Art Historical Analysis* (Papers presented at the International Symposium at The Cleveland Museum of Art, 20-21 November 1987) (Cleveland Museum of Art, 1990), 3. He maintains that the king was never actually old and 'probably never reached his fifties'.

### *Two Scribes and a King of Dynasty XVIII*

He agrees that the statue is to be dated late in the reign of the king, not because he is shown as fat, but because the statuette is related to a 'sed' festival.

5 *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, March 1931, Section II, 7 and fig. 10.

6 Vandier, *Manuel*, III, 1, 327.

7 'The good god, the son of Amun, whom he loved more than any (other) king, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Lord of the Two Lands, Neb-ma'et-Re', given life forever': translation by Hayes in *Scepter of Egypt*.

8 As Vandersleyen, n. 4, above.

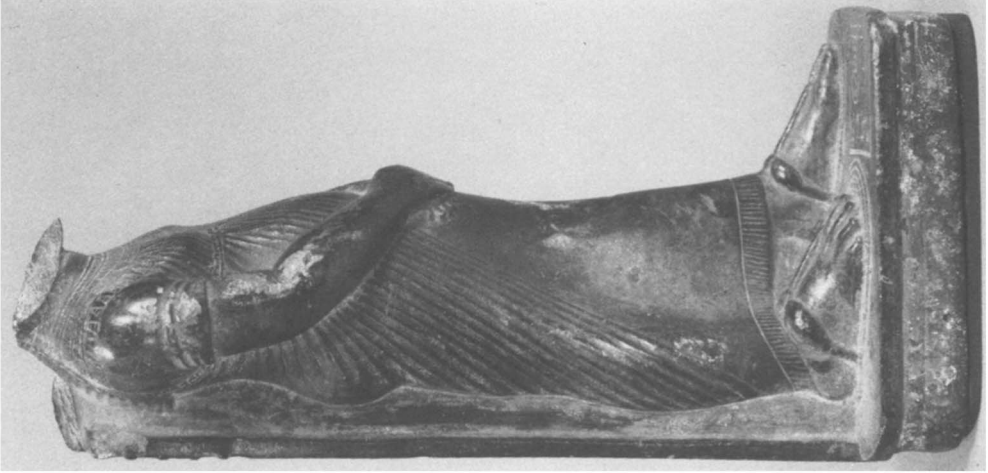


a



b

FIGURE 1 a. Detroit 31.70, 3/4 view; b. New York 30.8.74, 3/4 view. Photographs courtesy named museums.



c



b



a

FIGURE 2 a. Detroit 31.70, right side; b. Berlin 22621, right side; c. New York 30.8.74, right side. Photographs courtesy named museums.



a



b



c

FIGURE 3 a. Detroit 31.70, front; b. Berlin 22621, front; c. New York 30.8.74.  
Photographs courtesy named museums.



FIGURE 4 New York 30.8.74, back. Courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art.



# A Sleeping Gazelle

BENGT PETERSON

Just by the Ibn Tulun mosque in Cairo the Gayer-Anderson Museum of Oriental Arts and Crafts is a memorial to private collecting of fine arts. However, one does not so often think of Major R. G. Gayer-Anderson Pasha (1881–1945) as an eager collector of ancient Egyptian art. Some pieces are well known, e.g. the Gayer-Anderson cat in the British Museum and some masterpieces in the Fitzwilliam Museum. But his field was enormous. He collected everything having a connection with the pharaonic period. Several sections of his collection were devoted to baskets and ropes, wooden implements, prehistoric pottery and palettes, scarabs and seals, weapons, and furniture etc. Much of it was given to the Fitzwilliam Museum, but one is not accustomed to connecting R. G. Gayer-Anderson with the Stockholm Egyptian Museum. In fact, he was a great benefactor of this Museum from 1930 onwards. Owing to financial limitations the Museum could only buy some 'cheap' items from him but was given many odds and ends as well as his magnificent group of ostraca with drawings from Deir el-Medina. After Gayer-Anderson's death in 1945 many crates with fascinating objects were sent to Stockholm. The Major had a keen eye and the right feeling also for small and precious objects. Among the Stockholm scarabs and seals, there are many outstanding small items. One of them will be presented here as a tribute to the connoisseur of Egyptian art commemorated by this volume.

The object in question looks like a big seal of animal type (see figs. 1–2). It is very simple: just a sleeping gazelle on a base. Underneath one finds an incised desert hunting scene. It is made of brown stone of steatite type; its measurements are l. 5.5 cm, w. 3.2 cm, h. 1.8 cm. The weight is 32 g.

The reposing young gazelle is very elegant, the head with its diminutive horns rhythmically meeting the right hind leg with its gracile shape. Looking underneath, one immediately recognizes the very desert itself. The oval flat space is surrounded by incised grass and shrubs. A dog with a collar is on the hunt. There are five gazelles, all in flying gallop in front of him. They are of three different types: one oryx, two dorcas-gazelles, and two cow antelopes. Further, running to the right, there are a hare and two hyenas, the one to the upper right as a counter-point, turning its head to the left. The whole is an admirable composition, the space being completely filled and well balanced. The only exceptional detail is that only

## *A Sleeping Gazelle*

part of the dog is represented, not the whole body, but this is not an impossibility within the context of Egyptian art.

Are there any parallels to this object? It is made in the tradition of button seals with animal shapes. One can find bulls, calves, and rams in this lying or sleeping position: a steatite bull in Cairo is of the First Intermediate Period; an ivory ram found in Buhen of the Twelfth Dynasty is another example as is a small bovine creature with uninscribed bottom from Amarna; W. M. F. Petrie found a sleeping oryx with an amuletic incision in a Twenty-second Dynasty tomb in Illahun; a glazed oryx in the Brooklyn Museum is said to come from Bubastis and is dated to the Late Period, possibly a votive figure. Further parallels are a grey stone sleeping oryx in Stockholm, also from the Gayer-Anderson Collection, and a sleeping calf found at Carchemish, once interpreted as a weight.

As to the date of the Stockholm gazelle one must look at the desert hunting scenes and especially those within the period when the flying-gallop motif was current. There one is on firm ground as they occur exclusively during the short span of the reigns of Tuthmose III and Amenhotep II. It is easy to compare our desert scene with similar arrangements and same mood among the less than twenty preserved hunting scenes in the Theban tombs.

Hunting with dogs is a common feature in these desert scenes. It may be interesting to recall a passage from a description of the venerable hunter Sir Samuel W. Baker. In his *The Nile Tributaries of Abyssinia* he tells us about the peculiarities of hunting gazelles with dogs:

The Arabs course them with greyhounds, and sometimes they are caught by running several dogs at the same time; but this result is from the folly of the gazelle, who at first distances his pursuers like the wind; but, secure in its speed, it halts and faces the dogs, exhausting itself by bounding exultingly in the air: in the meantime the greyhounds are closing up, and diminishing the chance of escape. As a rule, notwithstanding this absurdity of the gazelle, it has the best of the race, and the greyhounds return crestfallen and beaten.

How about the gazelle in everyday life in Egypt outside a hunting context? This animal was certainly a favourite, often a pet. There is one burial excavated by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in which a pet gazelle was found. It was a burial pit belonging to a woman 'Singer in the Court of Amun' in the Theban necropolis of the Twenty-third Dynasty. According to the description by Dorothy W. Phillips: 'At the foot of the coffins lay the body of her pet gazelle — not mummified but so well preserved that it seemed to be sleeping by its mistress, its legs curled up under it.'

A possibility is that one should interpret the existence of the small masterpiece in question within the sphere of private joy and appreciation of beautiful objects — so seldom attested to in the often earnest, funeral heritage of Egypt. Life was sometimes sweet and happy, not least during the Eighteenth Dynasty when private luxury was developed and when one could surround oneself with nice playthings. There is a small statuette in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, a gazelle standing on a base in the shape of a desert hillock. That may be similar to the Stockholm gazelle, an object made for a primary aesthetic purpose symbolizing private joy, elegance, and leisure — let us say love. Do we not read how the lover is likened

BENGT PETERSON

to a gazelle in the songs of Papyrus Chester Beatty. Miriam Lichtheim has so beautifully translated:

O that you came to your sister swiftly,  
Like a bounding gazelle in the wild;  
Its feet reel, its limbs are weary,  
Terror has entered its body.  
A hunter pursues it with his hounds. . . .



FIGURE 1 Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm, MM 14526, top. Photo. Margareta Sjöblom.



FIGURE 2 Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm, MM 14526, base. Photo. Margareta Sjöblom.

# Howard Carter's Collection of Egyptian and Classical Antiquities\*

NICHOLAS REEVES

HOWARD Carter is best known in Egyptological circles as the man who discovered the tomb of Tutankhamun; yet archaeology was only one of many accomplishments. First and foremost Carter was a connoisseur, blessed with excellent taste and a discerning 'eye', qualities for which the intended recipient of the present volume was himself justly renowned. That would itself have been sufficient reason for dedicating to Cyril Aldred an essay on Howard Carter's antiquities; with the realization that he and Carter were actually acquainted, it becomes all the more appropriate.

The acquaintance was recently brought home to the writer while perusing Howard Carter's personal address book,<sup>1</sup> where Cyril Aldred's name and London address are duly entered alongside those of the Duke of Alba and the Cairo antiquities dealer E. A. Abemayor (see fig. 1). It transpires that Cyril had visited Carter in his London home at 2 Prince's Gate Court, Kensington, in 1932, seeking advice on a possible Egyptological career. Carter evidently took a shine to the young man, and proposed that he come to work in Egypt with him. Sadly, nothing came of this suggestion; Cyril decided to follow a more conventional education in art history at King's College, London, and at the Courtauld — though he was, to the benefit of us all today, able to return to more specifically Egyptian interests when, in 1937, he was appointed Assistant Keeper in the Royal Scottish Museum in Edinburgh.

Although Cyril declined Carter's invitation to join him in Egypt, his visit to Carter's home was not without profit. More than fifty years later, Cyril was still able to recall a number of the pieces which adorned Carter's mantelpiece, including the small ivory statuette of a girl now in the Brooklyn Museum.<sup>2</sup> These remembered antiquities, it is clear, were merely the tip of a veritable iceberg of fine, museum-quality objects which passed through Carter's hands during his lifetime.<sup>3</sup> The present note is offered as a modest contribution to the documentation of these pieces.

Howard Carter, though a methodical man, seems to have kept no systematic record of the antiquities in which he had a personal interest.<sup>4</sup> The closest we come to a record of this sort is a valuation for probate prepared by the London art dealers Spink and Son on 1 June 1939, three months after Carter's death.<sup>5</sup> The Spink list

*Howard Carter's Collection*

is divided into eighteen sections, of which the second (headed 'Jewellery etc.') and third ('Egyptian antiquities') contain material of immediate relevance. The following descriptions are taken verbatim from the Spink list,<sup>6</sup> and comprise all the Egyptian and classical antiquities which the dealers chose to catalogue.<sup>7</sup>

**The Spink List**

[1] Stater of Philip II of Macedon	£2.10.0	[20] Blue scarab in faience;	
[2] Bronze figure of a Sphinx, Ptolemaic, 9" long	30.0.0	[21] yellow glass minute vase; [22] yellow glass hair-ring	2.0.0
[3] Bright blue faience unguent vessel and lid, New Kingdom, 4½" high	50.0.0	[23] Black basalt portrait Head of an Official, Saite, 3½" high	15.0.0
[4] Lapis-lazuli scarab, gold mounted, New Kingdom, 1" long	10.0.0	[24] Large blue faience Romano-Egyptian two-handed vase, 9½" high	15.0.0
[5] Blue faience Sphinx inscribed, New Kingdom, 9½" long	500.0.0	[25] Blue faience Scarab as paper-weight, 1¾" high	1.0.0
[6] Blue faience Hes vase and lid, 8" high	80.0.0	[26] Small lapis-lazuli Sphinx (one foreleg missing), 1¾" long; [27] small faience cat; [28] small yellow and green bull; [29] small blue faience seated figure	8.0.0
[7] Necklace of Tell-el-Amarna coloured faience beads and plaques	10.0.0	[30] Egyptian flint knife — surmounted in part with gold, 6¾" long	6.0.0
[8] Pectoral in lapis-coloured faience beads	15.0.0	[31] Small gold plaque of Psemthek, 1⅜" x ¾" long	6.0.0
[9] Ivory figure of a dog (ear chipped) no tail, 6" long	40.0.0	[32] Blue faience relief amulet of Maat, 1⅜" high	1.0.0
[10] Circular pectoral of faience plaques, petals, etc. in yellow, blue, red and green, 7" high	15.0.0	[33] Graeco-Egyptian bronze head of a woman	1.0.0
[11] Lapis coloured faience thistle shaped vase, foot modern (broken), 3½" high	5.0.0	[34] Small gold scent bottle with filigree work, 2" high	8.0.0
[12] Small red jasper inlay, profile head to right, mounted as pendant	10.0.0	[35] 29 blue and green faience finger rings	10.0.0
[13] Minute bronze Ape; [14] minute bronze Offerer	3.0.0	[36] Bronze figure of a cat, 2⅜" long	4.0.0
[15] Carnelian small hand; [16] small basalt dog; [17] faience bull	3.0.0	[37] Part of green faience Sistrum Hathor Head and twin Bes figures, 2½" high	2.0.0
[18] Blue glass armilla (incomplete); [19] fragment of Cameo	1.0.0	[38] Graeco-Egyptian faience Diogenes Head — mounted as trinket box, 2¼" long	6.0.0
		[39] Aragonite pointed Vase, 5¾" high	3.0.0

## NICHOLAS REEVES

<p><b>[40]</b> Black granite head of a man, Ptolemaic period, 7¾" high</p>	15.0.0 <sup>8</sup>	<p><b>[55]</b> Alabaster small Hes vase-model surmounted by figure of an Offerer applied in relief in carnelian and lapis, 3" high</p>	50.0.0
<p><b>[41]</b> Portrait head, painted in oils, of a man. Egyptian Hellenistic period. 14" high</p>	20.0.0	<p><b>[56]</b> Circular necklace composed of papyrus amulets, New Kingdom; <b>[57]</b> circular coloured faience lid of a vase, 3¼" diameter</p>	18.0.0
<p><b>[42]</b> Two flint arrow heads</p>		<p><b>[58]</b> Green faience portrait statuette of a king in mummified form, inscribed in black, New Kingdom, 11¾" high</p>	50.0.0
<p><b>[43]</b> small fragment of flint; <b>[44]</b> two green faience large tubular beads; <b>[45]</b> amethyst Scarab &amp; <b>[46]</b> small piece of gold</p>	2.0.0	<p><b>[59]</b> Blue faience Ankh amulet with black line inscription, 3¾" high</p>	12.0.0
<p><b>[47]</b> Five Utchat eyes in green faience</p>	2.0.0	<p><b>[60]</b> Minute green and blue faience figure of squatting Isis, 1¾" high</p>	3.0.0
<p><b>[48]</b> Quantity of loose beads and minute amulets; <b>[49]</b> a box of coloured pendants and beads from Tell-el-Amarna</p>	3.0.0	<p><b>[61]</b> Small figure of a princess of ivory, New Kingdom, 3¼" high</p>	20.0.0
<p><b>[50]</b> Bronze part of a fitment inscribed, 9¼" × 2½"</p>	1.0.0	<p><b>[62]</b> Six Greek silver coins</p>	2.0.0
<p><b>[51]</b> Two lapis coloured Ushabti figures in faience, New Kingdom, 6½" high</p>	6.0.0	<p><b>[63]</b> Plaster cast of the Macgregor Obsidian Head</p>	—
<p><b>[52]</b> Eight gold headed nails</p>	2.0.0	<p><b>[64]</b> Amphora in alabaster inscribed with two cartouches, New Kingdom, 19" high</p>	10.0.0
<p><b>[53]</b> Bright blue foundation deposit inscribed, 2" high</p>	16.0.0		
<p><b>[54]</b> Two ivory toilet boxes and lids in the form of geese trussed for sacrifice, New Kingdom, 3½" high;</p>			

Following probate, Carter's collection was dispersed, a number of pieces being sold by Carter's heir, Phylis Walker, through Spink or via Carter's executors, Harry Burton and Bruce Ingram, during the 1940s. Despite the general (and sometimes inaccurate) nature of the descriptions, and the absence of further documentation at Spink and Son,<sup>9</sup> the majority of the objects listed (some visible in contemporary photographs of Carter's latterday homes)<sup>10</sup> may be identified; these are referenced below.<sup>11</sup> Those objects whose present whereabouts remain uncertain are nos. **[1–4]**<sup>12</sup>, **[11–15]**, **[19]**, **[25]**, **[27]**, **[31]**, part of **[35]**, **[36–37]**, **[39]**, **[46]**, **[48<sup>13</sup>–52]**,<sup>14</sup> **[56–59]**, **[62]**.

### Proposed Identifications

**[5]** Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1972.125 (N. Scott, *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 31/3 (1973), frontispiece)

**[6]** The Brooklyn Museum 48.55 (E. Riefstahl, *Ancient Egyptian Glass and Glazes in The Brooklyn Museum* (Brooklyn, 1968), no. 34; E. Brovarski,

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- S. K. Doll, and R. E. Freed, *Egypt's Golden Age*, no. 307)
- [7] Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Bruxelles, E 7534 (Brovarski, Doll, and Freed, *Egypt's Golden Age*, no. 308)
- [8] The Brooklyn Museum 40.522 (Riefstahl, *Ancient Egyptian Glass*, no. 32)
- [9] Metropolitan Museum of Art 40.2.1 (Scott, *BMMA* 31/3 (1973), fig. 40)
- [10] Metropolitan Museum of Art 40.2.5 (W. C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, II (New York, 1959), fig. 203; Scott, *BMMA* 31/3 (1973), fig. 26)
- [16] ? Metropolitan Museum of Art 47.58.1 (D. W. Phillips, *Ancient Egyptian Animals* (New York, 1948), fig. 17)
- [17] Metropolitan Museum of Art 47.58.3
- [18] Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 1959.446
- [20] Ashmolean Museum 1959.441
- [21] Ashmolean Museum 1959.438 (Brovarski, Doll, and Freed, *Egypt's Golden Age*, no. 189)
- [22] ?Ashmolean Museum 1959.439
- [23] Detroit Institute of Arts 40.48 (B. V. Bothmer, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period* (Brooklyn, 1960), no. 111; R. S. Bianchi, *Cleopatra's Egypt* (Brooklyn, 1988), no. 37)
- [24] Detroit Institute of Arts 40.49
- [26] Metropolitan Museum of Art 47.58.4 (Hayes, *Scepter* II, fig. 101, centre right)
- [28] Metropolitan Museum of Art 47.58.2
- [29] ?Ashmolean Museum 1959.435 (See also [60] — which, however, is bluish-green with a purplish-blue wig)
- [30] Ashmolean Museum 1959.442
- [32] Ashmolean Museum 1959.434
- [33] Ashmolean Museum 1959.447
- [34] Ashmolean Museum 1959.425
- [35] including Ashmolean Museum 1961.402–.404<sup>15</sup>
- [36] ?Cleveland Museum of Art 73.29 (hæmatite) (J. D. Cooney, *Bulletin of The Cleveland Museum of Art* 62 [1975], figs. 5–6)
- [38] Ashmolean Museum 1960.725
- [40] Detroit Institute of Arts 40.47 (Bothmer, *Sculpture*, no. 104; Bianchi, *Cleopatra's Egypt*, no. 44)
- [41] The Brooklyn Museum 40.386 (K. Parlasca, *Repertorio d'arte dell'Egitto Greco-Romano*. Serie B, I [Palermo, 1969], no. 178)
- [42] Ashmolean Museum 1959.444–.445
- [43] ?Ashmolean Museum 1959.443
- [44] Ashmolean Museum 1959.436–.437
- [45] Ashmolean Museum 1959.440
- [47] Ashmolean Museum 1959.426–.431
- [53] ?Ashmolean Museum 1959.433 (height = 3.1 cm)
- [54] Metropolitan Museum of Art 40.2.2–.3 (Hayes, *Scepter* II, fig. 199, right and left)
- [55] Metropolitan Museum of Art 40.2.4 (ibid., fig. 199, centre)
- [60] ?Ashmolean Museum 1959.435 (height = 3.2 cm); see also [29]
- [61] The Brooklyn Museum 40.126.1–2 (Cooney, *Egyptian Art in the Brooklyn Museum Collection* (Brooklyn, 1952), no. 32)
- [63] Metropolitan Museum of Art 48.6
- [64] Present whereabouts unknown (Sotheby Parke-Bernet, *The Cranbrook Collections* [New York, 2–5 May, 1972: sale no. 3360], lot 348 [ill.]; id., *Important Greek, Roman, Etruscan, Egyptian and Western Asiatic Antiquities* [New York, 19 May 1979; sale no. 4253], lot 266 [ill.]

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A good number of the pieces listed above would have been familiar to Cyril Aldred, if not from his visit *chez* Carter then from his many years' active involvement in the museum world. Several of the objects are of first-rate importance in themselves; the association with Carter gives to them an added interest and may, at some future date, shed further valuable light upon their origins.



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### Notes

\* For providing information the writer would like to thank J. R. Harris, Marsha Hill, T. G. H. James, Klaus Parlasca, John H. Taylor, Angela Tooley, and Helen Whitehouse.

- 1 One of two Carter address books made available to me by his great-nephew, John E. Carter, to whom I should like here, for this and other kindnesses, to express my thanks.
- 2 No. **[61]** below. A second ivory figure seen by Aldred at the time of his visit, and perhaps sharing the same origin as the Brooklyn piece, has still not been accounted for. As Aldred recalled, the figure, contained in a glass-fronted leatherette case, was somewhat larger (5 to 6 inches in height), and shown naked wearing a full, heavy wig; both the wig and pubic triangle were picked out in black.
- 3 No extensive listing of Carter pieces has ever appeared, nor can it be attempted here. Nevertheless, Carter's role in assembling the Carnarvon collection of Egyptian art, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, as well as the Egyptian collections in Cleveland and Detroit, is well known. Other Carter-related pieces of note include the 'Treasure of Three Princesses' (H. E. Winlock, *The Treasure of Three Egyptian Princesses* (New York, 1948)), as well as the Nectanebo falcon (Metropolitan Museum of Art 34.2.1) (*Guide to the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1972), p. 117, fig. 46) and the head now identified as a portrait of King Amenmesse (MMA 34.2.2: P. D. Cardon, 'An Egyptian Royal Head of the Nineteenth Dynasty in the Metropolitan Museum', *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 14 (1979), 5–14), both purchased through Eustache de Lorey, Carter's agent in Paris.
- 4 Allusions to specific pieces may nevertheless be found throughout Carter's notes and correspondence, both in the Griffith Institute, Oxford, and elsewhere. His so-called 'rough diaries' for 1922–4 (Griffith Institute), for example, mention a number of items purchased by Carter for the English collector J. J. Acworth (three of these now in the British Museum: EA 64594, 65400, 65025), and for the American Edward S. Harkness (e.g., two papyri: now Metropolitan Museum of Art 35.9.20–.21). Pieces which Carter had purchased from or was attempting to sell through Cairo and Luxor dealers such as E. A. Abemayor, Jusef Hasan, Sayed Molattam, Maurice Nahman, and Nicolas Tano are also referred to in the diaries.
- 5 A photocopy of this document, dated 1 June 1939, is preserved in the British Museum's Department of Egyptian Antiquities.
- 6 The square-bracketed numbers in bold have been added to facilitate reference and are not present in the original listing.
- 7 The list does not reflect the total number of objects in Carter's possession at the time of his death: see n. 11 below.
- 8 A 'Large 18th-century Arab glass vase 13" high', valued at £2.0.0, is here omitted.
- 9 I am informed by Paul Champkins, Director of the Oriental Department at Spink, that many of the company's records — including, apparently, those relating to the Phylis Walker sale — were lost during the last war.
- 10 At 19 Collingham Gardens, London SW5 (taken July, 1930), (see fig. 2) and 2 Prince's Gate Court, London, SW7 (1931) (see fig. 3–5); photographs reproduced by kind permission of John Carter. Visible in the photographs are nos. **[2]** and **[51]** of the Spink list.
- 11 Other, lesser objects were presented by Miss Walker to the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, in 1946, 1959, 1960, 1961, and 1963. Note that several of the pieces now in Oxford (e.g. 1959.426, glazed steatite knob; 1959.432, square faience plaque; 1961.399, limestone relief fragment with marine; 1961.400, wood Ptah-Soker-Osiris base with papyrus; 1961.401, blue faience vessel [restored]; 1961.405, steatite scarab of Amenhotep III; 1961.406–409, faience scarabs [2 of Tuthmose III]; 1963.173–.174, uraeus and red-crown amulets) appear to have been excluded from the Spink probate listing, as were a number of more obvious Tutankhamun 'study' objects which were returned to Cairo via King Farouk on Carter's death — on which see most recently H. V. F. Winstone, *Howard Carter and the Discovery of the*

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*Tomb of Tutankhamun* (London, 1991), 292ff.; T. G. H. James, *Howard Carter. The Path to Tutankhamun* (London, 1992), 388 ff. Ashmolean 1946.297–298, two Predynastic pottery vessels (Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Ancient Egyptian Art* (London, 1922), pl. 34, top left and top right), had been on loan to the Museum from Carter since August 1923.

- 12 For [2], see n. 10 above and Postscript.
- 13 [48] apparently represents a group of elements of the kind that at some time were used to make up the necklace St Louis Art Museum 16.1940 (E. Brovarski, S. K. Doll, and R. E. Freed, *Egypt's Golden Age: the Art of Living in the New Kingdom, 1558–1085 BC* (Boston, 1982), no. 309). Sometime in the 1960s, a collar composed from these was for a time on display in the foyer at the Royal Festival Hall (information which I owe to J. R. Harris).
- 14 For [51], see n. 10 above.
- 15 Three further faience rings, probably from this group, are in private ownership: cf. C. C. van Siclen III, *Varia Aegyptiaca* 6 (1990), 46, nos. 5–7.

## **Postscript**

Since the above notes were compiled, the Spink probate listing has been reproduced in Nicholas Reeves and John H. Taylor, *Howard Carter Before Tutankhamun* (London, 1992), 182–3, published to accompany the recent British Museum exhibition of the same name. The large bronze sphinx (no. [2] in the Spink listing), visible in several of the photographs of Carter's homes, has now been located in a private collection in England.

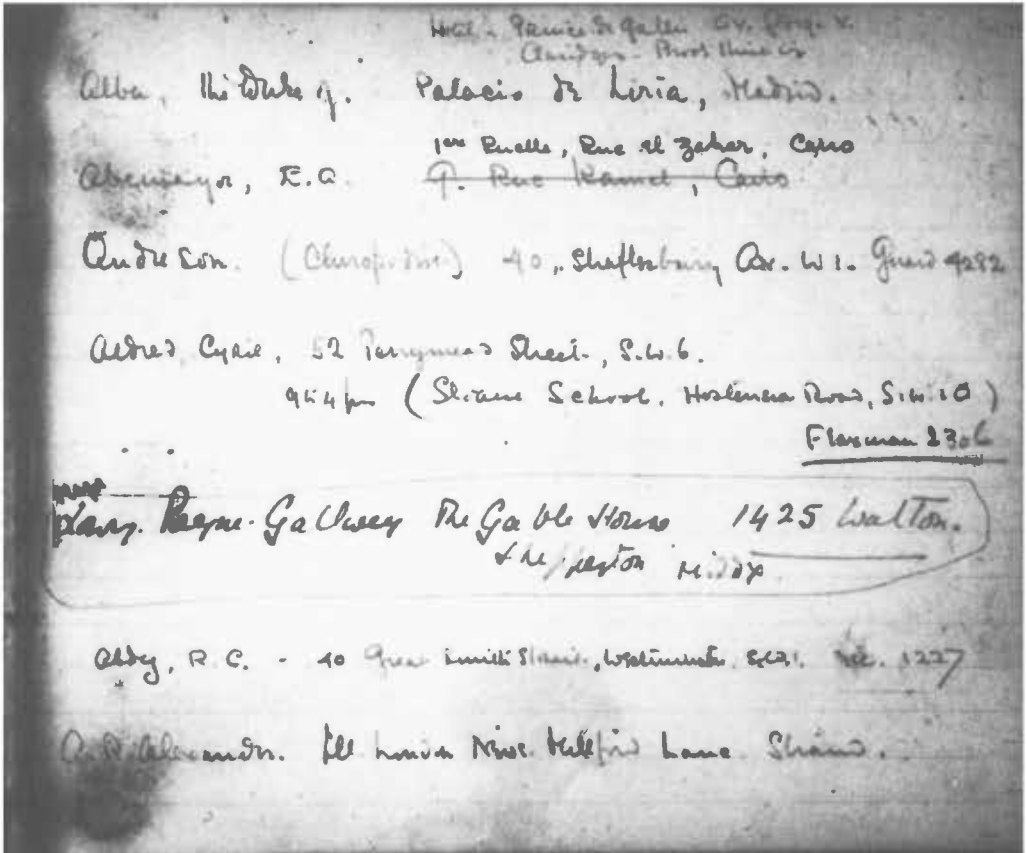


FIGURE 1 The fourth entry in Howard Carter's personal address book: 'Aldred, Cyril, 52 Perrymead Street, S.W.6 9 to 4 pm (Sloane School, Hortensia Road, S.W.10). Flaxman 2306'.



FIGURE 2 An antique Italian cabinet in Carter's Collingham Gardens study, with bronze sphinx (no. [2]) on top.



FIGURE 3 Carter's study at 2 Prince's Gate Court, showing the two 'lapis coloured Ushabti figures in faience' (no. [51] of the Spink listing) upon his desk and the bronze sphinx (no. [2]) on a small table to the left of the photograph.



FIGURE 4 Carter's study at 2 Prince's Gate Court, again with the two faience shabti figures (no. [51]) in position upon his desk.



FIGURE 5 The large bookcase in Carter's Prince's Gate study, the bronze sphinx (no. [2]) just visible on top of the small table to the right of the photograph.

# The 'Feminization' of the Male Figure in New Kingdom Two-Dimensional Art

GAY ROBINS

WHILE it has sometimes been supposed that there was a fixed canon of proportions in Egyptian art,<sup>1</sup> the proportions of the human figure were in fact far from unchanging during the three thousand years of pharaonic history. During the New Kingdom, for instance, trends develop in the representation of the male figure which seem, to modern eyes at least, to have a feminizing effect. The object of this paper is to examine these trends and to demonstrate how they can be quantified so as to assess these apparent departures from the masculine.

First, however, it is necessary to consider what characteristics can be regarded as specifically masculine and what specifically feminine in the representation of the human figure. One approach is to compare the physiques of men and women in life. Apart from genital differences and the presence of breasts, the female body is generally distinguished by a greater slenderness of the shoulders, waist, arms, and hands, more rounded contours with less muscular swelling, a long slim neck, a small head with finer facial features, and spreading buttocks. Further, in a man and a woman of the same height, the woman usually has smaller vertebrae than the man and, therefore, a shorter spinal column, higher small of the back, and longer legs in relation to her body height.

If we turn to the art of the ancient world, obviously masculine traits can be seen in the neo-Assyrian reliefs of Ashurnasirpal II. Here figures of Assyrian women are absent, and the whole aim is to emphasize and exaggerate the power of the male, identified with the might of Assyria. The figures are characterized by large heads, strong features, short necks, broad shoulders, massive trunks, thick muscular limbs, long arms with large hands, and a low small of the back which is achieved by bringing it down in most instances to coincide with the top of the buttocks.<sup>2</sup>

A clear contrast to this is seen in the art of ancient Greece. The classical *contrapposto* stance, with one leg weight-bearing, pelvis tilted to emphasize one hip, the trunk undulating, head to one side, is not a pose readily achieved by the human body. Since, however, the female body is more flexible than the male, the effect could be regarded as feminizing. It has even been said of the work of Praxiteles that it 'just stops short of effeminacy'.<sup>3</sup>

Let us now turn to a consideration of the traits found in the representation

## GAY ROBINS

of the male figure in Egyptian two-dimensional art. During the first three dynasties of Egyptian history there was considerable proportional variation between figures, but by the later Fourth Dynasty through the Fifth and into the first half of the Sixth Dynasty a particular set of proportions came to dominate representations of major figures. I shall term them 'classic proportions', since artists return to them at the beginnings of the Middle Kingdom, the New Kingdom, and the Late Period, each time after a period of development away from these proportions.

In the early Twelfth Dynasty artists adopted the squared grid as a guide to help obtain acceptable proportions for figures. Standing figures were drawn on a grid of eighteen squares between the soles of the feet and the hairline, and seated figures on one of fourteen squares.<sup>4</sup> Although grids were not used in this way, as far as we know, in the Old Kingdom, the proportions of figures from this time can be analysed on such grids. In fact any standing or seated figure can be analysed on the appropriate sized grid, whether or not traces of an original grid survive, so that the proportions of two or more figures in similar postures can be compared.

If we place a classic Old Kingdom standing figure on a grid of eighteen squares between the soles and the hairline, we find the following proportions: (The grid horizontals are numbered upwards from the baseline at 0 to the hairline at 18.) the top of the knee lies on or near horizontal 6; the lower border of the buttocks lies on or near horizontal 9, the small of the back, often coinciding with the top of the belt at the back, on or near 11, the nipple on or near 14, and the junction of the neck and shoulders on or near 16; the width across the shoulders from the outer edge of the forward arm to the outer edge of the rear arm at the level of horizontal 15 is about six squares and between the armpits about four, so that each upper arm is one square in width; across the body at the level of the small of the back the width is normally somewhere between two and a quarter and two and a half squares (see fig. 1).<sup>5</sup>

In addition to these proportions, we find that the limbs are shown as muscled. The biceps is usually indicated by a bulge of the upper arm, while the musculature of the lower leg is clearly if somewhat schematically represented. Depicted male costume is usually simple. Major figures most frequently wear a collar round the neck, together with some form of kilt that reaches from the waist to just above the knees, covering the genitals which remain invisible. Sometimes a leopard skin is draped over the upper part of the body, but it never obscures the underlying form.<sup>6</sup>

The classic female figure varies in a number of ways from the male one. If we analyse standing female figures on a grid of eighteen squares from soles to hairline, the top of the knee lies on or near horizontal 6, the breast on or near 14, and the junction of the neck and shoulders often on or near 16, as in male figures, but the small of the back is usually pushed up above horizontal 11, often to 12. The lower border of the buttocks may rise above 9, and sometimes lies as high as 10; if it remains on 9, the effect is to create more spreading buttocks. Further, the width of the shoulders at the level of horizontal 15 is narrower than in a male figure, occupying only five squares or less, and the width across the body at the level of the small of the back is only two squares or less (see fig. 2). The upper

*The Feminization of the Male Figure*

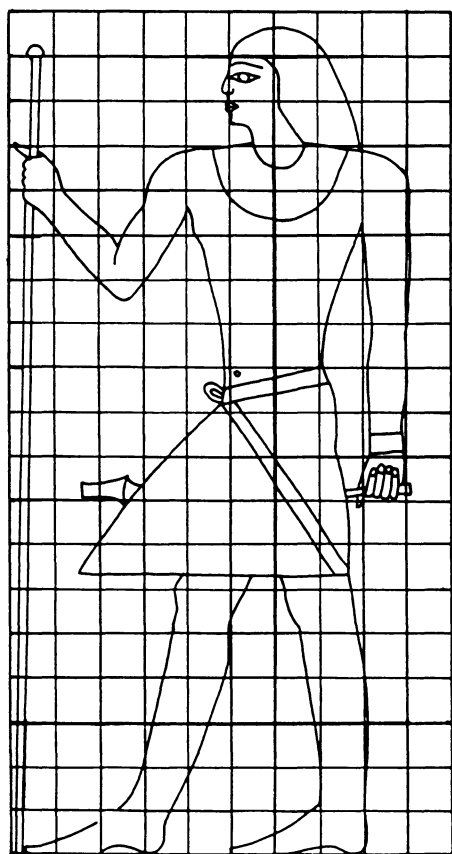


FIGURE 1 Standing figure of Mereruka on hypothetical eighteen-square grid, right entrance jamb, tomb chapel of Mereruka, Saqqara, early Sixth Dynasty, after author's photograph.

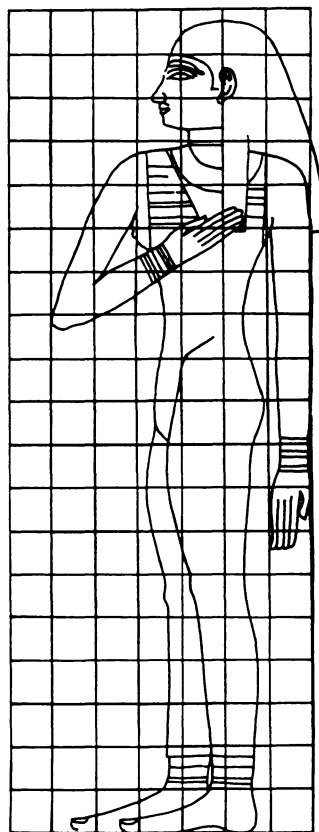


FIGURE 2 Standing figure of Meresankh III on hypothetical eighteen-square grid, tomb chapel of Meresankh III, Giza, mid-Fourth Dynasty, after D. Dunham and W. K. Simpson, *The Mastaba of Mersyankh III* (Boston, 1974), fig. 7.

arms do not convey the impression of musculature so carefully contrived on male figures.<sup>7</sup>

Female costume is also totally different from male dress. More of the body is covered; for female figures wear a long sheath dress stretching from breast level to just above the ankles, which is usually held up by two shoulder straps. The body-hugging garment gives the appearance of restricting movement in contrast to the much freer male costume. However, while the male kilt hides the genital area, the sheath dress is moulded so closely to the body that the front line of the rear thigh is clearly visible leading the eye to the genital region where, in many cases, the outline of the pubic area is also revealed.<sup>8</sup>

Since many of the differences shown between male and female figures, such as the broader shoulders, muscled limbs, and lower small of the back, are rooted in nature, Egyptian artists, in making a distinction between male and female proportions, are drawing on real life differences. This does not, of course, rule out



the possibility that they may also be using them to symbolize differences in male and female roles in Egyptian society.<sup>9</sup> The artist's image of costume, however, has less connection with reality. The sheath dress has no parallel in the archaeological record and indeed could hardly exist in reality, unless elasticated or knitted. It hugs the body so tightly that it would be impossible to move in it, yet when figures are shown walking, the dress stretches exactly the right amount to allow the step.<sup>10</sup> By contrast, surviving dresses consist of an unshaped tube of material, usually with a bodice and sleeves.<sup>11</sup> The artist's image is, therefore, just that, an image, presumably designed to tell the viewer something about women. The contrast between the restrictive sheath dress and freer male costume may refer to a woman's more restricted position in society; for, unlike a man, she does not hold any bureaucratic office or administer any estate, but rather her role is at home raising children for her husband. We read in the Wisdom Texts as advice to men: 'Take a hearty wife, a son will be born to you',<sup>12</sup> and 'She [the wife] is a fertile field for her lord'.<sup>13</sup> This aspect of female fertility is stressed in the art through the image of a dress that reveals every contour of the female body including the genital area.

As implied above, the classic Old Kingdom proportions for the human figure were not dominant at all periods of Egyptian art. Different proportions can be found, for instance, in the late Old Kingdom through the First Intermediate Period,<sup>14</sup> and in the late Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties. However, with the reunification of the country in the Eleventh Dynasty<sup>15</sup> and later in the Eighteenth,<sup>16</sup> there were deliberate returns to earlier classic proportions,<sup>17</sup> no doubt because the models drawn on were associated with strong periods of government that the new rulers wished to emulate.

Thus, at the beginning of the New Kingdom, in the early Eighteenth Dynasty, proportions of figures are based on later Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasty models which ultimately go back to classic Old Kingdom examples. However, during the long reign of Tuthmose III proportions began to change again, and this can be clearly seen from the reign of Amenhotep II onwards. In male figures, the levels of the lower border of the buttocks and the small of the back often rise above their classic positions on or near horizontal 9 and 11 respectively and are more frequently found on or near horizontal 10 and 12 (see fig. 3). Sometimes the lower leg is lengthened, pushing the top of the knee up above horizontal 6.<sup>18</sup> In addition there is less emphasis on depicting muscle. The shoulders are often less than six squares wide, especially when the rear arm is brought across the body, a distinction according to pose not often made in the Old and Middle Kingdoms.<sup>19</sup> In other words, male figures tend to become less aggressively masculine. The difference between male and female figures is still maintained, however, because in female figures, the level of the small of the back usually moves higher still with the consequence that the buttocks become more spreading (see fig. 4).

From the reign of Amenhotep II onwards, changes were also occurring in depicted costume. Female dresses become longer, reaching down to the tops of the feet, and often running across them in an oblique line (see fig. 4).<sup>20</sup> The sheath dress gives way to a looser, pleated garment which was draped round the body and secured by a knot under the breasts.<sup>21</sup> Part of the outline of the body is often visible through the material, although at this time the pubic area is usually con-

*The Feminization of the Male Figure*

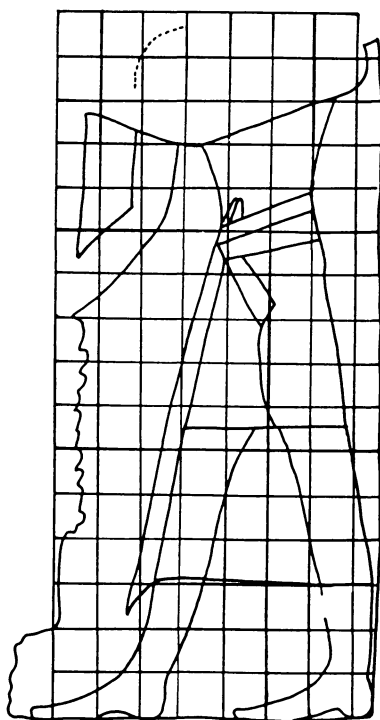


FIGURE 3 Unfinished standing male figure on grid completed from surviving traces, shrine 5, Gebel es-Silsila, *temp.* Tuthmose III, after R. Caminos and T. G. H. James, *Gebel es-Silsilah I. The Shrines* (London, 1963), pl. 15.

cealed.<sup>22</sup> Male costume also begins to become more elaborate, and by the reign of Amenhotep III men are shown in garments with complex pleats and folds.<sup>23</sup>

The changes in proportions of figures occurring in the reigns of Tuthmose III to Amenhotep III were interrupted during the Amarna period when a different set of proportions was introduced, almost certainly by the king himself in connection with his promotion of the Aten religion. From surviving grid traces we can deduce that the old eighteen-square grid for standing figures was abandoned in favour of a twenty-square grid.<sup>24</sup> Characteristic of these new proportions are a large head and long neck, high small of the back, short lower legs, narrow shoulders, thin unmuscled limbs, prominent breast, wide hips and large buttocks (see figs. 5, 6, 7).<sup>25</sup> Of these, all except the large head and short lower legs are specifically feminizing.<sup>26</sup> Figures in the earlier part of the Amarna period are more extreme than later ones,<sup>27</sup> and in the second half of the period the level of the small of the back drops. The level of the lower border of the buttocks is not raised, lying at half the hairline height in the earlier period, and even lower in the later period, but, since the small of the back is high, the buttocks have a wide spread, which is a female rather than a male characteristic. The proportions of the king's figure are followed to a certain extent by male private figures.<sup>28</sup>

Female figures including those of Nefertiti, the most widely portrayed woman of the period, exhibit the same large head, long neck, narrow shoulders, high



FIGURE 4 Standing figures of Nakht and his wife Tawy on grid completed from surviving traces, TT 52, *temp.* Amenhotep III, after E. Mackay, *JEA* 4 (1917), pl. 15, no. 6.

small of the back, and short legs as male figures.<sup>29</sup> However, distinctions are made between male and female figures. Figures of the queen are usually even slenderer than those of the king,<sup>30</sup> while the separation between the level of the navel and the maximum convexity of the buttocks is normally greater in the queen's figure than the king's in any given representation of the royal couple.<sup>31</sup> In addition, the pubic area is once more regularly shown on female figures, female dress being represented as though completely transparent.<sup>32</sup> This can be contrasted with the representation of private male figures. The complex, pleated garment now depicted as worn by men covers the upper part of the body and falls almost to the ankles, winding round the body in several layers. Although it is often depicted as transparent so that the forward line of the torso and the outline of the legs show through, an extra fold of material, which is not transparent, usually crosses the genital area, in clear contrast to the female figure.<sup>33</sup> In fact, it is typical that in adult major figures in Egyptian art, it is acceptable to show the female genital area but less so to show that of the male.

An exception to the opacity of male dress in the genital region is found with figures of Akhenaten.<sup>34</sup> The front line of the king's rear thigh, sometimes coinciding with one edge of his pleated skirt, is frequently drawn, beneath the centrepiece, if present, running up to meet, or nearly meet, the front line of the forward thigh at the bottom of the belly fold.<sup>35</sup> While the draperies are rendered as if transparent, no genitalia are shown. However, there is clear differentiation between the king's figure and that of the queen. On the latter the front line of the rear thigh curves

*The Feminization of the Male Figure*

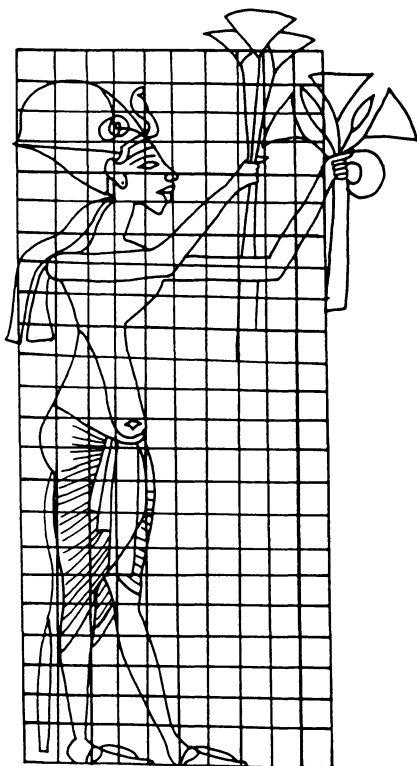


FIGURE 5 Standing figure of Akhenaten on grid completed from surviving traces, limestone slab, royal tomb at Amarna, Cairo temp. no. 10/11/26/4, temp. Akhenaten, after G. T. Martin, *The Royal Tomb at El-Amarna. I. The Objects* (London, 1974), pl. 54, no. 395.

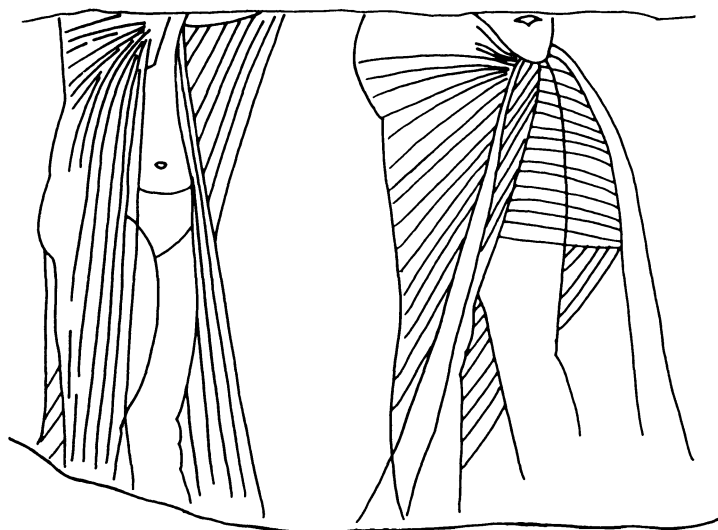


FIGURE 6 Parts of standing figures of Akhenaten and Nefertiti, relief block from Hermopolis, private collection, New York, temp. Akhenaten, after J. Cooney, *Amarna Reliefs from Hermopolis in American Collections* (Brooklyn, 1965), 9, no. 3a.



FIGURE 7 Standing figures of Akhenaten and Nefertiti, boundary stela N, Amarna, *temp.* Akhenaten, after N. de G. Davies *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna*, V (London, 1908), pl. 33.

back at the top to form one side of the pubic triangle. The king's thigh line does not curve in this way, and there is no reference to a pubic triangle (see figs. 6, 7).<sup>36</sup> In other words, the king is shown without male or female genitalia, just as in the much discussed 'sexless' colossus.<sup>37</sup> If this statue is compared with others which obviously represent women,<sup>38</sup> it can be seen that it too lacks the pubic triangle so common on female statuary. It is possible that this absence of specific genitalia in two and three dimensions was meant to indicate discreetly that Akhenaten, like his creator god the Aten, embodied both male and female principles.

With Akhenaten's death and the return to orthodoxy in religion during the reign of Tutankhamun, the Amarna style of art was abandoned, though not without leaving its mark, and artists returned in general to pre-Amarna models.<sup>39</sup> They did not, however, go back to classic proportions but rather to those proportions that had developed immediately prior to the Amarna period, continuing the trends that had been interrupted by the reign of Akhenaten. Since the period had lasted less than two decades, this is not surprising, and many artists still working may originally have been trained in the style current under Amenhotep III.

These trends continued during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties and lasted throughout most of the Third Intermediate Period. The lower leg is length-

## *The Feminization of the Male Figure*

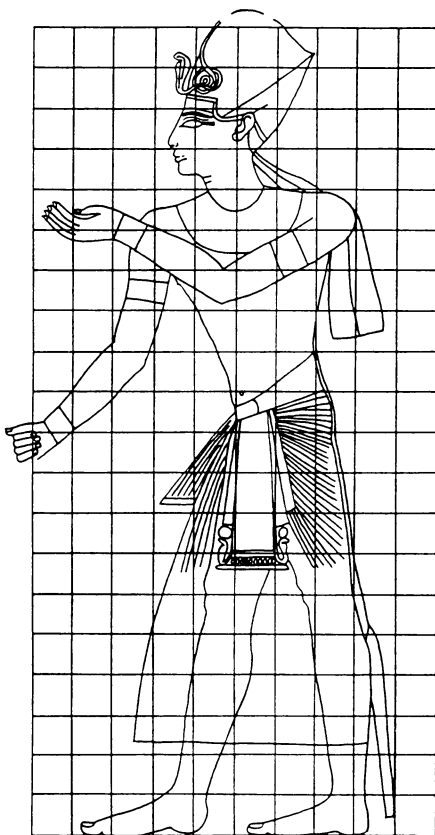


FIGURE 8 Standing figure of Seti I on hypothetical eighteen-square grid, temple of Seti I, Abydos, *temp.* Seti I, after A. Calverley, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos*, III (London–Chicago, 1938), pl. 45.

ened more often than not, so that it is the bottom of the knee cap and not the top that lies on horizontal 6, and the top is, therefore, pushed up higher. The lower border of the buttocks and the small of the back are most usually on or near horizontals 10 and 12 respectively, and the lack of indication of muscle continues (see fig. 8).<sup>40</sup> By the Twentieth Dynasty, the lower leg often becomes still longer, with the tibial tubercle on or above horizontal 6, and the top of the knee even higher than before.<sup>41</sup> The width across the shoulders at horizontal 15 may be less than six squares and between the armpits less than four squares,<sup>42</sup> while the width of the upper arms can be narrower than a full square (see fig. 9).

At this period, there can be seen a clear contrast between divine and royal figures on the one hand and private figures on the other. In the former, the shoulder width on male figures is normally at least five squares wide, while in the latter the same distance can be as little as just over four squares. Further, while the small of the back in royal and divine figures does not often rise above horizontal 12, in private figures it may move as high as 13. Many private figures wear a long, opaque skirt falling to just above the ankles. The resulting proportions produce a short upper torso with narrow shoulders, contrasting with a long lower

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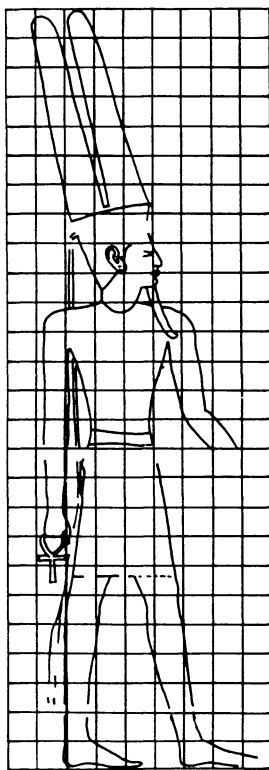


FIGURE 9 Standing figure of Amun with hypothetical eighteen-square grid, temple of Ramesses III, Karnak, *temp. Ramesses III*, after Epigraphic Survey, *Ramses III's Temple within the Great Inclosure of Amon, II* (Chicago, 1936), pl. 107F.

part of the body, mostly covered by a skirt (see fig. 10).<sup>43</sup> In other words, proportions and costume tend to be more conservative in royal and divine figures than in private ones.<sup>44</sup>

Although some of these proportional trends can be interpreted as a feminization of the male figure, male figures do not replicate contemporary female figures. During the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties, female figures generally continue to have a higher small of the back than male ones, to be narrower across the shoulders and waist, and to have slenderer and often shorter arms (see fig. 11). Although both male and female private costume relies on elaborate draping of lengths of cloth, the results are always clearly distinguished. As in the Amarna period, the male genital area is virtually always covered by an extra layer of opaque cloth, while the same region in female figures is made visible by rendering the material of the dress transparent.<sup>45</sup>

Similar proportions can be found during most of the following Third Intermediate Period, but, towards the end of this era, the influence of the Kushites began to be felt in Egypt not long before they conquered the country to become the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. At this time, there was a change in the art. Current models lapsed, and artists returned to older prototypes, and the consequent archaization reintroduced classic proportions. If male figures of this period are analysed on

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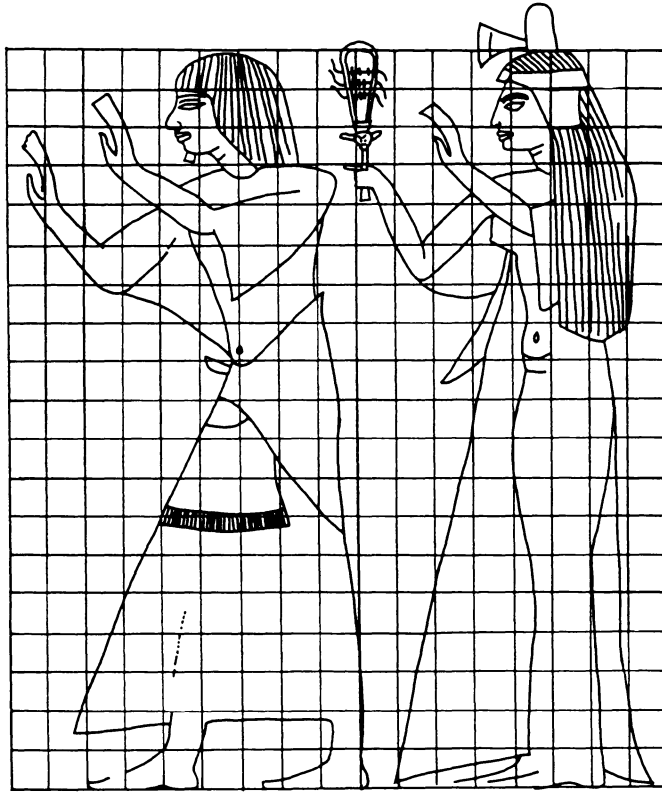


FIGURE 10 Standing figures of Maya and Tey on hypothetical eighteen-square grid, block from tomb of Maya, Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet NME 23, Ramesside Period, after G. T. Martin, *Corpus of Reliefs of the New Kingdom from the Memphite Necropolis and Lower Egypt*, I (London, 1987), pl. 38, no. 105.

eighteen-square grids, the top of the knee lies on or near horizontal 6, the lower border of the buttocks on or near 9, and the small of the back on or near 11. The width of the shoulders occupies approximately six squares with a full square for the width of the upper arms.<sup>46</sup> The limbs are thick and muscled, and the whole effect is one of increased masculinity.

At this point we must ask whether the changes in proportions that took place during the New Kingdom which I have termed 'feminizing' would, in fact, have been so regarded by the Egyptians. First we must make a distinction between the proportions of the Amarna period and those that began to develop in the reign of Tuthmose III and lasted into the Third Intermediate Period. There can be little doubt that the figure of Akhenaten, in an image surely chosen by the king, deliberately incorporates feminine characteristics, such as the prominent breast, and large hips and buttocks. However, clear-cut distinctions are kept between the figures of the king and queen, so that while Nefertiti unequivocally displays female attributes, Akhenaten's figure, in contrast to other males, is ambiguous as to sexual characteristics. His feminine aspects, his transparent clothing, and his asexuality avoiding explicit hermaphroditism can perhaps all be interpreted as showing that



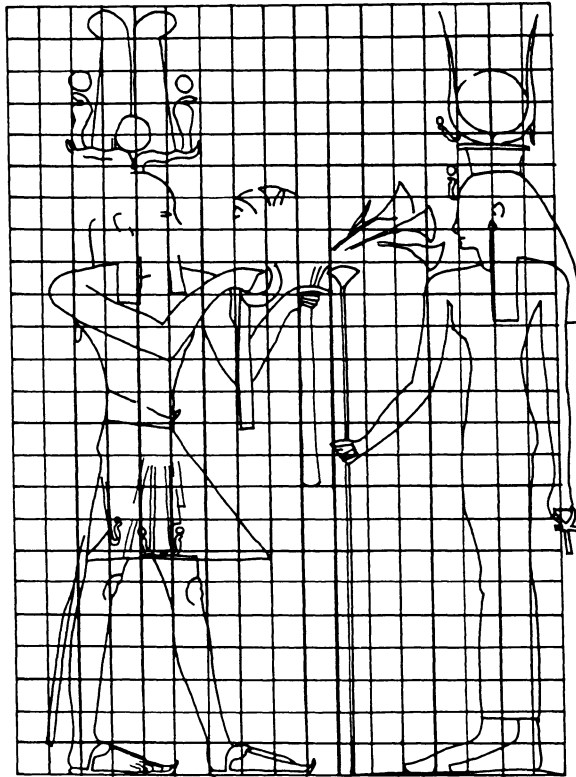


FIGURE 11 Standing figures of Ramesses II and Hathor on hypothetical eighteen-square grid, small temple of Abu Simbel, *temp.* Ramesses II, after C. Desroches-Noblecourt and C. Kuentz, *Le petit temple d'Abou Simbel*, II (Cairo, 1968), pl. 25; note the small size of the fists in both figures, less than the length of the side of the grid square, in contrast to the Old Kingdom figures in figs. 1 and 2.

Akhenaten, like the sexually undifferentiated creator god Aten, whose representative on earth he was, contained within himself both male and female principles.<sup>47</sup>

The apparent feminization of the male figure and male costume outside the Amarna period is less extreme and must be rooted in different causes. Since artists carefully distinguished the proportions of male and female figures, they were clearly aware of the differences and could hardly have failed to see that an elevation of the small of the back, for instance, in male figures represented an approach towards female proportions. On the other hand, other factors may have been involved. Raising the buttocks results in a lengthening of the leg, and so an increase in elegance. Now there is evidence that even in classic proportions the lower leg is longer in relation to the thigh than in life, a change in ratio that produces a more elegant rendering of the leg as a whole.<sup>48</sup> If this was a deliberate attempt to increase the elegance of the figure, it was applied to both male and female figures in equal measure and can hardly be seen as a feminizing trend, especially when taken together with the otherwise strongly masculinizing characteristics of the male classic figure. Thus, the lengthening of the lower leg in relation to the thigh and of the

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whole leg in relation to the torso may have been intended to increase the elegance of the figure rather than to be specifically feminizing.

It is also tempting to associate the 'feminization' of proportions with changes occurring in costume. Undeniably, to modern western eyes the long skirts and elaborate pleats and tucks have a distinctly feminine feel to them. In Ancient Egypt, however, until the middle of the Eighteenth Dynasty, female dress in art had none of these associations; it is simple and plain. The elaboration of female costume beginning in the reign of Amenhotep II and developing through the reigns of Tuthmose IV and Amenhotep III does, perhaps, seem just to precede the parallel development of complex male costume and may, therefore, give the latter an initial female association. On the other hand, if the costume represented in art relates to what was worn in reality, the increasingly extravagant use of material in dress may simply have been an expression of status and the growing affluence of the ruling class, resulting from Egypt's becoming an imperial power.

The apparent feminization of the male figure in art occurs during a time when Egypt was securing and later re-securing an empire. The contrast between the 'feminized' male figure and the emphasis on military conquest is particularly noticeable in the reigns of Seti I, Ramesses II, and Ramesses III, all of whom portrayed themselves in their battle reliefs as great warriors. One is reminded a little of the extravagant costume worn by gentlemen in England during the first half of the Seventeenth Century, including the period of civil war under Charles I. The elaborate garments, high-waisted and enlarged around the hips, give a distinctly feminine outline and contrast with the military preoccupations of many of the wearers.<sup>49</sup>

## Notes

- 1 E.g., E. Iversen, *Canon and Proportions in Egyptian Art*, 2nd edn (Warminster, 1975), 43, 55.
- 2 G. Robins, 'Proportions of Standing Figures in the North-west Palace of Aššurnasirpal II at Nimrud', *Iraq* 52 (1990), 107–19.
- 3 J. Boardman, *Greek Art*, revised edn (London, 1973), 134.
- 4 G. Robins, *Egyptian Painting and Relief* (Aylesbury, 1986), 27–31.
- 5 E.g., Iversen, *Canon and Proportions*, pls. 10, 11, 12. It should be noted that there is slight variation even among these figures. The shoulders on the figure on pl. 10.2 are narrower than six squares, and the small of the back on the figure on pl. 11 is slightly higher than horizontal 11. On the two figures on pls. 10.2 and 11, the top of the belt at the back touches horizontal 11, while on the figure on pl. 10.1, it lies roughly half a square lower.
- 6 E.g., Ahmed Moussa and H. Altenmüller, *The Tomb of Nefer and Kahay* (Mainz am Rhein, 1971), pls. 7, 30, 37; Moussa and Altenmüller, *Das Grab des Nianchnum und Chnumhotep* (Mainz am Rhein, 1977), pls. 4, 5, 32, 33, 51, 87, 88.
- 7 E.g., Moussa and Altenmüller, *The Tomb of Nefer and Kahay*, pls. 30, 37, 38.
- 8 E.g., D. Dunham and W. K. Simpson, *The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III* (Boston, 1974), figs. 6, 7, 12; Simpson, *The Mastabas of Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II* (Boston, 1978), figs. 26, 28, 30, 33, 34. The contrast between male and female costume in respect to the genital area is also very clear in sculpture, e.g., C. Aldred *et al.*, *Le Temps des pyramides* (Editions Gallimard, 1978), figs. 178, 185, 186, 190, 191.

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- 9 Robins, 'Some Images of Women in New Kingdom Art and Literature', in B. S. Lesko (ed.), *Women's Earliest Records from Ancient Egypt and Western Asia* (Atlanta, 1989), 109.
- 10 E.g., Moussa and Altenmüller, *Das Grab de Nianchnum and Chnumhotep*, pls. 66–67.
- 11 R. Hall, *Egyptian Textiles* (Aylesbury, 1986), 27–32, figs. 15, 18, 20.
- 12 M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, I (Berkeley–Los Angeles–London, 1973), 58.
- 13 Lichtheim, op. cit. 69.
- 14 R. Hanke, 'Beiträge zum Kanonenproblem', *ZÄS* 84 (1959), 117–18, fig. 2; Robins 'The Reign of Nebhepetre Montuhotep and the Pre-unification Theban Style of Relief', in Robins (ed.), *Beyond the Pyramids: Egyptian Regional Art from the Museo Egizio, Turin* (Atlanta, 1990), 42.
- 15 J. Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals* (Cambridge, 1988), 10; R. Freed, 'The Development of Middle Kingdom Egyptian Relief Sculptural Schools of Late Dynasty XI with an Appendix on the Trends of Early Dynasty XII (2040–1878 BC)', unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University 1984 (Ann Arbor, 1985), 151–2.
- 16 Aldred, *Egyptian Art* (London, 1980), 147.
- 17 For classic proportions in the early Twelfth Dynasty see, for example, Iversen, *Canon and Proportions*, pl. 8, which also illustrates the continuing distinction between male and female figures.
- 18 See Betsy M. Bryan, 'Private Relief Sculpture outside Thebes and its Relationship to Theban Relief Sculpture', in L. M. Berman (ed.), *The Art of Amenhotep III: Art Historical Analysis* (Cleveland, 1990), 65–80.
- 19 E.g., N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Two Sculptors* (New York, 1925), pls. 8, 15, where the width across the shoulders of the two male figures is approximately five squares on a hypothetical eighteen-square grid.
- 20 E.g., Nina Davies, *Scenes from some Theban Tombs* (Oxford, 1963), pl. 1; El Sayed Aly Hegazy and M. Tosi, *A Theban Private Tomb, Tomb No. 295* (Mainz am Rhein, 1983), pl. 9d; Bryan, in *The Art of Amenhotep III*, pl. 19, fig. 9.
- 21 Davies, *Two Sculptors*, pls. 1, 7, 8; T. G. H. James, *Egyptian Painting* (London, 1985), figs. 25, 26, 27; Hegazy and Tosi, op. cit., pl. 4.
- 22 E.g., Davies, *Two Sculptors*, pls. 1, 8; note, however, that the figure of the girl offering a drink on pl. 5 = pl. 6 right has the pubic triangle visible through her dress; A. Kozloff, 'Theban Tomb Paintings from the Reign of Amenhotep III: Problems in Iconography and Chronology', in Berman (ed.), *The Art of Amenhotep III: Art Historical Analysis*, pl. 15, figs. 4, 5, 7; note, however, fig. 6 showing a female figure from TT 63 in which the forward line of the near thigh is drawn in, in a manner similar to that found in earlier depictions of women wearing sheath dresses.
- 23 E.g., Davies, *Two Sculptors*, pls. 7, 8; Bryan, in *The Art of Amenhotep III*, pl. 18, figs. 2, 3, 4, 6, pl. 19, figs. 7, 9, 10.
- 24 Robins, 'Amarna Grids: 1', *GM* 64 (1983), 67–72.
- 25 The impression of thin neck, torso and limbs is increased by the almost ubiquitous use of sunk relief, Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti* (London, 1973), 52.
- 26 Aldred, *Akhenaten King of Egypt* (London, 1988), 231.
- 27 Robins, 'Amarna Grids: 3. Standing Figures of the King in the Early Style', *GM* 84 (1985), 51–64.
- 28 E.g., N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El-Amarna*, II (London, 1905), pl. 22; III (London, 1905), pl. 20; IV (London, 1906), pls. 3, 4.
- 29 Robins, 'Amarna Grids 2: Treatment of Standing Figures of the Queen', *GM* 88 (1985), 47–54.
- 30 Robins, *GM* 88 (1985), 52.
- 31 M. Eaton-Krauss, 'Miscellanea Amarnensia;', *CdE* 56.112 (1981), 260–4; Robins, *GM* 88 (1985), 52.
- 32 E.g., Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, nos. 17, 31, 34, 74; also in sculpture, no. 106.

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- 33 E.g., Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, no. 137.
- 34 Robins, 'Ancient Egyptian Sexuality', *DE* 11 (1988), 65.
- 35 The relief modelling makes it clear that artists intended to indicate the line of the thigh and not just the edge of the garment, and in some representations the two are separate.
- 36 E.g., J. Lauffray, *Karnak d'Egypte, domaine du divin* (Paris, 1979), 188, no. 155; Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, nos. 49, 122; de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El-Amarna*, Part IV (London, 1906), pl. 40 left; Part VI (London, 1908), pl. 40; Aldred, *Akhenaten King of Egypt*, pl. 8.
- 37 Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, 29, fig. 9. See also n. 47 below.
- 38 E.g., Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, 22, fig. 6, nos. 22, 90, 106.
- 39 Robins, 'Two Statues from the Tomb of Tutankhamun', *GM* 71 (1984), 47–50; 'Isis, Nephthys, Selket and Neith represented on the Sarcophagus of Tutankhamun and in four free-standing Statues found in KV 62', *GM* 72 (1984), 21.
- 40 E.g., Robins, 'Analysis of Facial Proportions in Egyptian Art', *GM* 79 (1984), 39, fig. 1; Iversen, *Canon and Proportions*, pl. 13. It should be noted that proportions are far from absolute and unvarying at any given period, or even on any one monument. Iversen op. cit., pl. 14 shows a figure of Seti I with the lower border of the buttocks roughly  $9\frac{1}{2}$  squares up and the small of the back  $11\frac{1}{2}$  squares up, rather than on or near horizontals 10 and 12 respectively. It is important to realize that in describing changes in proportions, we are dealing with prevailing trends rather than rigid rules to which artists had to conform.
- 41 E.g., Robins, 'The Slope of the Front of the Royal Apron', *DE* 3 (1985), figs. 1, 2 (standing figures of Ramesses III from Medinet Habu).
- 42 E.g., Robins, 'Slopes of the Double Feathers of Amon-Re in the Temple of Ramesses III within the Great Enclosure of Amun at Karnak', *DE* 2 (1985), figs. 4, 5, 7, 9.
- 43 E.g., Robins, *Egyptian Painting and Relief*, 34, fig. 26c.
- 44 It should be noted that the costume innovations of the New Kingdom were not adopted for figures of deities; for instance, goddesses continue to be shown wearing the sheath dress, in clear contrast to royal and private women (compare figs. 10 and 11).
- 45 E.g., G. T. Martin, *Corpus of Reliefs of the New Kingdom from the Memphite Necropolis and Lower Egypt* (London, 1987), *passim*.
- 46 E.g., Robins, *Egyptian Painting and Relief*, 35, fig. 27a, b. At the same time as this return to classic proportions, the grid system changed, so that standing figures now occupied twenty-one squares between the soles and upper eyelid, each new square being  $\frac{5}{6}$  the size of the old, G. Robins, 'Standing Figures in the late Grid System of the 26th Dynasty', *SAK* 12 (1985), 101–16.
- 47 E. Hornung, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt: The One and the Many* (trans. J. Baines, London, 1982), 171; P. Behrens, 'Nacktheit', *LdÄ* IV (Wiesbaden, 1982), 293 with references in n. 29. For the view that the statue is unfinished, however, see J. Samson, *Amarna City of Akhenaten and Nefertiti* (London, 1972), 23–24.
- 48 Robins, 'Natural and Canonical Proportions in Ancient Egyptians', *GM* 61 (1983), 21–3.
- 49 E.g., E. Larsen, *L'opera completa di Van Dyck 1626–1641* (Milan, 1980), nos. 770, 859, 887, 907, A3; O. Millar, *Van Dyck in England* (London, 1982), figs. 21, 22, 24, 30, cat. no. 25; M. Rogers, *William Dobson 1611–46* (London, 1983), colour plates 5, 7, cat. nos. 9, 10.

# Vulture and Cobra at the King's Brow

EDNA R. RUSSMANN

No subject is more closely associated with Cyril Aldred's distinguished career than royal iconography of the New Kingdom. This essay into his territory is offered, with profound admiration, to the memory of one who well understood that images, like written words, may have their own history, and must be observed with equal attention and precision.

In the seventy years since the discovery of the tomb of Tutankhamun,<sup>1</sup> the solid gold mask found on the head of his mummy (see fig. 1)<sup>2</sup> has become a veritable modern icon, the shining image of pharaoh in the Egyptian New Kingdom. This apotheosis is not unmerited; for the mask is a paradigm of many cultural, religious, and political currents of its time: in its splendour, but also, to an even greater degree, in its orthodoxy. The royal regalia, for example — 'nemes' head-dress, broad collar, plaited beard of deification — despite the lavishness of their crafting, are almost totally conventional.

In one obvious and basic respect, however, the mask deviates from long-established conventions. Instead of the single uraeus cobra, worn on the 'nemes' of kings since the Old Kingdom, and on other royal crowns from the Middle Kingdom on,<sup>3</sup> the 'nemes' on Tutankhamun's mummy mask carries two emblems: a vulture and a cobra, side by side. The snake has the form of a conventional single uraeus on a 'nemes' of this period.<sup>4</sup> The vulture, to its right, is represented only by the head and neck.

All three of Tutankhamun's anthropoid coffins also have a vulture head and a cobra, instead of a single uraeus on the forehead.<sup>5</sup> The diadem worn under the gold mask carried the same dual emblem.<sup>6</sup> As on the mask and coffins, the vulture is placed to the cobra's right.<sup>7</sup>

Beneath the diadem, separated from the mummy's head only by the last layers of wrapping and a beaded skullcap, was a linen headdress, which also bore a vulture and cobra, but in a different form. Carter's account of this feature is not entirely clear. In his publication of the tomb, he described it as 'a fine cambric-like linen *Khat* head-dress, unfortunately reduced by decay to such an irreparable condition that it was only recognizable from a portion of the . . . pigtail at the back. . . . Sewn to this *Khat* head-dress were the royal insignia',<sup>8</sup> consisting of two separate objects: a cobra in gold, with an inlaid hood pattern and a flexible tail of

## *Vulture and Cobra*

strung beads,<sup>9</sup> and a vulture of thin sheet gold, with its head facing forward, wings outspread at right angles to the body, and 'shen'-signs in its claws.<sup>10</sup> The cobra occupied the normal position of a uraeus. The vulture lay over it, its body parallel with the snake's tail and its wings stretched across the crown of the king's head (see fig. 2).

Carter's description seems unambiguous in assigning the vulture and the cobra to a single headcloth. An element of uncertainty, however, is introduced by his nomenclature on the tomb cards for the two objects.<sup>11</sup> Both are identically headed: 'Insignia of *Khat* Headdress;' but, whereas the position of the vulture is given as 'Sewn to linen *Khat* headdress', that of the cobra reads 'Sewn to linen "nemes"-headdress'.<sup>12</sup> Accepting the last phrase literally, Wilkinson stated that the emblems were sewn to two separate headdresses, a 'khat' above a 'nemes'.<sup>13</sup> However, Wilkinson's interpretation is not supported by the archaeological evidence. As recorded by Carter, the remains were those of a single headcloth: one gold forehead band and one linen pigtail,<sup>14</sup> and an excavation photograph shows the cobra head projecting so far above the vulture that it would have deformed any second headcloth placed between them (see fig. 2).<sup>15</sup> Direct contact between the two emblems is also implied by Carter's description of the vulture as having a 'mass of beeswax over head and neck to hold it, *in conjunction with the uraeus*, in place within the wrappings'.<sup>16</sup> Carter's reference to a 'nemes' would be an understandable slip (the 'nemes' is, after all, by far the most common form of royal headcloth), perhaps even signalling unexpressed doubts about the exact nature of the disintegrated and unrecoverable cloth.<sup>17</sup>

There is also evidence to suggest that this version of the dual emblem — vulture and cobra separate but attached to a single head covering, with the vulture over the top of the head — was by no means unique. In his discussion of alterations to the private coffin usurped for the reburial of Amenhotep I, Daressy described the headdress as follows: 'Le *klaft* était d'abord noir et jaune, on l'a passé au bitume, traçant seulement un vautour en jaune sur le sommet de la tête, et ajoutant sur la front un uraeus'.<sup>18</sup> Makeshift though it is, this arrangement so exactly parallels the form and placement of the two emblems on Tutankhamun's headcloth, as to suggest that they were conventional insignia for a king's mummy.<sup>19</sup>

Thus every device on every headdress of Tutankhamun's mummy, from the inmost wrappings to the outermost mummiform container, consisted of a paired vulture and cobra.<sup>20</sup> The same insignia were placed on his mummified organs: the four miniature anthropoid viscera coffins placed inside the canopic recesses,<sup>21</sup> as well as the four canopic jar lids,<sup>22</sup> have a vulture head and a cobra at the brow of the 'nemes'. On all these examples, the vulture is on the proper right side.<sup>23</sup>

The vulture and cobra also appear at the foreheads of a few Tutankhamun shabtis, all of them large wooden figures, decorated with gold leaf and fitted with gilt or bronze trappings.<sup>24</sup> The dual emblem was the exception on these figures, rather than the rule.<sup>25</sup> It occurs on a variety of headdresses: the military or 'Nubian' wig,<sup>26</sup> the 'nemes' (see fig. 3),<sup>27</sup> the Red Crown,<sup>28</sup> the White Crown (see fig. 4),<sup>29</sup> and the Double Crown,<sup>30</sup> but not, apparently, on the 'khat' or the Blue Crown.<sup>31</sup>

On most of these figures, the placement of the two elements is the same as on the mummy and canopic containers, with the vulture head to the proper right

of the cobra. Two shabtis, however, reverse this orientation: the one wearing a White Crown (see fig. 4) and the one with a Double Crown show the vulture on the left side.<sup>32</sup> In all cases, the emblem was cast in bronze. Usually, the two elements seem to have been made and attached separately,<sup>33</sup> but, in at least one example, they appear to have been cast as a single unit.<sup>34</sup>

So far as I have been able to determine, all the other images of kings found in Tutankhamun's tomb bear a single uraeus.<sup>35</sup> In addition to the great majority of the shabtis,<sup>36</sup> these include the two over-lifesize standing wood and gilt statues,<sup>37</sup> the armless, half-length lifesize wood figure,<sup>38</sup> the gilded wooden statuettes in magical poses,<sup>39</sup> the little gold and silver figures wearing Blue Crowns,<sup>40</sup> a miniature representation of the mummy on a bier,<sup>41</sup> and all two-dimensional representations, whether painted, as on the tomb wall and the painted casket,<sup>42</sup> or in relief, such as the figures on the small gilded shrine,<sup>43</sup> and the back of the gilded throne.<sup>44</sup> All known two- and three-dimensional representations of Tutankhamun outside of his tomb also bear a single uraeus.<sup>45</sup>

Although the vulture-and-cobra forehead emblem is well documented only in the tomb of Tutankhamun, there are a number of examples from other reigns, several hitherto unrecognized. The earliest known to me are the royal canopic lids found in the tomb of Amenhotep II.<sup>46</sup> Like Tutankhamun's canopic lids, those of Amenhotep II represent the king's head wearing a 'nemes'. The area above the brow is battered, but in each case the presence of two elements is unmistakable. Daressy noted this in his publication of the objects from the tomb, but assumed them to be a double uraeus.<sup>47</sup> In fact, if one looks closely at the remaining traces, it is clear that the paired elements were not identical. There is no snake tail here to help differentiate them, but the rounded column of the neck bone and traces of a lower-set, more pronounced head indicate that, as on the Tutankhamun lids, the vulture head was on the proper right. The hood of the cobra, to the left, has a lower, flatter surface.<sup>48</sup>

A little serpentine head in the Louvre, representing Amenhotep III,<sup>49</sup> may be the earliest surviving example of the vulture-and-cobra emblem on a shabti.<sup>50</sup> The insignia at the front of the 'Nubian' wig are badly damaged in the area of the heads, but the lower section, especially at the base, still clearly shows the presence of two parallel, contiguous elements. Only one serpent tail is represented, and it seems to join the form on the proper left side. The necks of the two components appear slightly different; the bottom of the one on the right may be somewhat rounder, as would fit a vulture's neck. On so small a statuette, such distinctions are difficult to confirm. Nonetheless, the presence of two units, with only one tail, makes it extremely probable that this shabti of Amenhotep III bore a vulture and cobra at the front of its wig.<sup>51</sup>

Another king for whom the vulture and cobra were used, prior to Tutankhamun, was the original owner of his miniature canopic coffins.<sup>52</sup> Though considered above as part of Tutankhamun's burial equipment,<sup>53</sup> they were originally inscribed for Smenkhkare,<sup>54</sup> the usurpation apparently involving only the change of name.<sup>55</sup>

Continued use of the dual emblem for the king's remains is attested after Tutankhamun,<sup>56</sup> in the burial of Horemheb, whose canopic lids had a vulture head on the proper right side of the cobra.<sup>57</sup> The differences between the two components

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can be seen on pl. 76 of the publication:<sup>58</sup> the snake's tail, the hole for attaching the separately made vulture head, and the contrasting shapes and patterns of the two necks are clearly visible.<sup>59</sup> In writing the catalogue for these objects, Daressy repeated the error he had made with the Amenhotep II lids, describing them as two uraei.<sup>60</sup>

On the lids of royal stone sarcophagi of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties, the mummiform representation of the king bears only a single uraeus at the brow.<sup>61</sup> Since virtually none of the original regalia from the mummies of the Ramesside kings, or their coffins, have survived, it is uncertain whether the vulture-and-cobra combination was still placed on, and in close proximity to, their physical remains. At least one piece of evidence, however, suggests that it was.

A fragmentary limestone ostrakon, found in the sarcophagus chamber of the tomb of Merenptah, shows the front and proper right sides of the upper part of a mummiform figure, wearing a 'nemes' and, in the front view, holding an Osiride crook and flail.<sup>62</sup> Both views are annotated with measurements, apparently giving the major dimensions. The drawing appears to depict a coffin or a sarcophagus,<sup>63</sup> and the excavator suggested that it was a sketch of the figure of Merenptah on his nearby sarcophagus lid.<sup>64</sup> In the profile view, however, the front of the 'nemes' displays a dual emblem: the vulture head is shown on the near (proper right) side and the cobra beyond, on the proper left.<sup>65</sup> The front edge of this detail is lost, but the sharp angle and the flat top of the bird's head and neck are unmistakable, as are the higher, rounder forms of the snake's head and hood.<sup>66</sup> Whether the ostrakon was a working sketch for a coffin, a copy of a real one, or merely a theoretical design, it would seem to show that the vulture and cobra were still associated with the head of a king's coffin.

Actual examples of the vulture-and-cobra forehead emblem from the burials of Ramesside kings can be found on a few royal shabtis, all of them wearing the 'nemes'. The earliest appears to be the upper half of a bronze shabti of Ramesses II.<sup>67</sup> The heads of the two elements had been made separately and are now lost, but the different shapes of the attachment holes and the single serpent tail leave no doubt that the emblem comprised a vulture head, on the proper right, and a cobra.<sup>68</sup>

A faience figurine inscribed for Ramesses VI seems a fine but orthodox Ramesside royal shabti, except for its forehead insignia (see fig. 5).<sup>69</sup> Apart from the Tutankhamun group, this is perhaps the best-preserved example of the dual emblem. Although the head of the vulture is lost, its narrow, rounded neck is noticeably different from the cobra to its left, and the single snake tail is unmistakable. This figure may not originally have belonged to Ramesses VI,<sup>70</sup> but several other shabtis bearing his name also have the dual emblem, including the upper part of another faience example, found at Medinet Habu,<sup>71</sup> and three large wooden figures, reminiscent in both size and material of Tutankhamun's elaborate gilded shabtis. One of these has the Valley of the Kings as a provenance (see fig. 6),<sup>72</sup> and it is likely that all three came from the king's tomb.<sup>73</sup> As usual on damaged examples of the dual emblem, the heads of the animals can no longer be distinguished, but identifiable traces of the vulture and the cobra remain, in the asym-



metry of the two elements and the connection of a single serpent tail to the one on the proper left.<sup>74</sup>

Other Ramesside royal shabtis with a vulture and cobra at the forehead could probably be added to this short list, but such figures must have been, at most, a small proportion of the total number deposited in the tombs of these kings. As with Tutankhamun, the great majority of shabtis have a single uraeus, or none.<sup>75</sup> This relative infrequency, and the fact that most surviving Ramesside occurrences of the dual emblem appear on unusually fine shabtis, suggest a pattern of occurrence similar to that in Tutankhamun's tomb.

The dual emblem did not outlast the New Kingdom, to judge from the coffins, canopic jars, and shabtis found in the royal burials at Tanis. Without exception, all of these mortuary images have, at most, a single uraeus at the brow.<sup>76</sup>

Thus the vulture beside the cobra, on the king's head, was a New Kingdom phenomenon.<sup>77</sup> Usually, but not always, the insignia were placed on a 'nemes'. In almost every case, the vulture was on the king's right side. The device was exclusively funerary. Even within the tomb, however, its use seems to have been reserved for a few special shabtis, and for the actual physical remains. In Tutankhamun's tomb, the latter role was clearly pre-eminent: from the first layer of bandages outward, every single headdress on or over the mummy, and every anthropoid container for the organs, bore the vulture and cobra. There can be little doubt that the purpose of the emblem was, above all, the protection or reanimation of the king's mortal parts.

Although much has been written about many of the Tutankhamun objects mentioned above, comparatively little attention has been given to the vulture-and-cobra forehead emblem. It is often simply described without comment.<sup>78</sup> When the two components are identified, they are almost always assumed to represent Nekhbet the vulture, tutelary goddess of Upper Egypt, and the cobra Wadjet, goddess of Lower Egypt.<sup>79</sup> An alternative suggestion is that the head of Nekhbet was added to a standard single uraeus, but no explanation for such an addition has been offered.<sup>80</sup> One commentator has described the two beings as 'les dieux protecteurs de l'Égypte; ils découragent les démons qui tendent des pièges au roi au cours de son voyage dans l'au-delà'.<sup>81</sup>

An identification with Nekhbet and Wadjet has at least the virtue of conforming with the orientation of most of the examples considered above; for, as the king lay in his tomb with his head to the west, the images of the vulture were on the south side and those of the cobra on the north.<sup>82</sup> Their final location does not seem to have been taken into consideration, however, for the identical dual emblems on the canopic containers. These were arranged in facing pairs, so that two of the coffinettes and their lids faced west,<sup>83</sup> and the orientation of their forehead insignia was, therefore, reversed.<sup>84</sup> Simple heedlessness might also explain the reversal of the animals on two of the shabtis, but it should be noted that these figures are almost as exceptional in the crowns they wear.<sup>85</sup>

It is not clear, however, why Nekhbet and Wadjet should have been particularly appropriate to accompany the king's remains, nor have I found any serious attempts to account for their role in this strictly mortuary context.<sup>86</sup> To some extent, this silence is probably due to the fact that those who accept this identification often

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seem unaware that the vulture-and-cobra insignia appeared only in the tomb.<sup>87</sup> This lack of discrimination has fostered the outright error of equating the dual emblem with the more familiar double uraeus.<sup>88</sup>

As the goddesses most closely associated with the vulture and the cobra,<sup>89</sup> and also with the White and Red Crowns,<sup>90</sup> Nekhbet and Wadjet dominated the iconography of these two sets of images to a striking degree, the more so when one considers that both animals were associated with a number of female deities,<sup>91</sup> and that both crowns were also attributes of other goddesses.<sup>92</sup> It was surely the complementary and, in a sense, interchangeable natures of Nekhbet and Wadjet that made the vulture and cobra interchangeable in many contexts. Nekhbet and Wadjet could be symbolically combined, as on a vulture cap with a cobra head.<sup>93</sup> They could be shown as a pair of vultures,<sup>94</sup> or, much more often, as two cobras.<sup>95</sup> In the latter guise, they appeared on the foreheads of queens as a double uraeus, often wearing the White and Red Crowns. Like the vulture and cobra on the forehead of the dead king, the queen's double uraeus was an Eighteenth Dynasty innovation, but it is first attested several reigns earlier.<sup>96</sup>

Living or dead, the Egyptian king was represented with a double uraeus at the brow only in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.<sup>97</sup> During the New Kingdom, the distinction between the uses of the queen's double uraeus and the king's posthumous vulture-and-cobra insignia was entirely consistent and clearly deliberate. There was no confusion or overlap between the two double forehead emblems. This fact, in itself, implies a well-defined difference between them.

One explanation of the specifically funerary connotations of the vulture and cobra in the dead king's tomb is suggested by another object from Tutankhamun's burial (see fig. 7).<sup>98</sup> It is a naiform pectoral, on which the king, as Osiris,<sup>99</sup> stands flanked by a vulture wearing a White Crown with plumes, and a winged cobra in a Red Crown. The two stand on 'neb'-baskets, extend 'shen'-signs towards Osiris, and in every way look exactly like Nekhbet and Wadjet. But their inscriptions say otherwise: the vulture is named as Isis, and the cobra as Nephthys.<sup>100</sup>

Other evidence from the New Kingdom leaves little doubt that Isis and Nephthys had, to some extent, assimilated the iconography of Nekhbet and Wadjet.<sup>101</sup> Both Isis and Nephthys were associated with the uraeus<sup>102</sup> and could be shown as a pair of cobras at the feet of Osiris.<sup>103</sup> In this form, they were sometimes crowned: Isis with the White Crown, Nephthys with the Red.<sup>104</sup> It must be these companions of Osiris who often appear, with or without crowns, as a sort of double uraeus at the 'brow' of the Abydos fetish and the personified 'djed' pillar.<sup>105</sup> Given the frequency of such representations, it is not surprising that Isis and Nephthys should sometimes be represented as a vulture and a cobra, nor, given her association with the White Crown, that it was Isis who was identified with the vulture.<sup>106</sup>

Though the vulture-and-cobra forehead insignia is apparently an Eighteenth Dynasty innovation, the symbolism itself may be somewhat older. Carter long ago remarked how old-fashioned were the designs of Tutankhamun's coffins: despite the addition of human figures of Isis and Nephthys to the outer- and innermost, they are basically 'rishi' coffins.<sup>107</sup> Compared to earlier versions, however, the feather patterns are more fully and systematically delineated as the wings of goddesses: of Isis and Nephthys in their traditional human form on the outer coffin;

of a vulture and cobra on the middle coffin;<sup>108</sup> of both pairs on the inner coffin. These two types of winged figures look much like variations on a single theme, and it is tempting to see both forms as representations of Isis and Nephthys.<sup>109</sup>

To the extent that it is a continuation of the traditional 'rishi' symbolism, the design of Tutankhamun's coffins is both more explicit and more repetitive. Given these tendencies, the addition of a vulture and cobra at the brow seems a further reinforcement of a deliberately redundant symbolism, especially since, in all locations, Isis and the vulture are on the proper right side, Nephthys and the cobra on the left.<sup>110</sup>

A vulture and a cobra had already appeared together on 'rishi' coffins, as a pectoral on the breast.<sup>111</sup> During the Eighteenth Dynasty, this pectoral seems to have been separated from the exterior design of royal coffins and moved inside, as a real piece of jewellery on the mummy itself. Two were included among the many pectorals draped over Tutankhamun's upper body.<sup>112</sup> The practice may have continued in the Ramesside period; for a naiform pectoral, with a vulture and cobra below the cartouche of Ramesses II, is known from a princely burial.<sup>113</sup> On Third Intermediate Period royal burials, the motif was still included among the small gold foil mummy amulets.<sup>114</sup>

In one notable respect, however, the 'rishi' pectorals, and most later pectorals and mummy amulets of this type, differ from the vulture and cobra as shown at the king's brow, on coffins or shabtis. On the pectorals and amulets the vulture appears on the proper left.<sup>115</sup> In the other group, as we have seen, the orientation is normally the reverse. The difference is far too consistent to be considered fortuitous.<sup>116</sup> However, since the orientation of the forehead emblem is correlated with the symbolism of both Isis–Nephthys and Nekhbet–Wadjet, within the New Kingdom mortuary context in which it originated, an explanation for the opposite orientation should probably not be sought in simple symbolic equations. The pectoral pattern is the older one, and its history — its origins or early applications — is likely to hold the keys to its meaning.

The 'rishi' pectoral tradition also included a solo vulture with outspread wings.<sup>117</sup> The same image, in sheet gold, was the only pectoral found on the mummy in KV 55,<sup>118</sup> and Tutankhamun's mummy bore examples in gold foil and in inlay work.<sup>119</sup> As an element of the mummy furnishings, the motif of the single vulture long outlasted the New Kingdom, to appear among the little gold leaf mummy amulets of the Third Intermediate Period and, even later, in the amulet sets placed on the mummies of private persons of the Late Period.<sup>120</sup>

It is this image that seems to be invoked by Spell 157 of the *Book of the Dead*, which explicitly associates the vulture of gold at the throat of the deceased with Isis. The text is known from a Late Period source,<sup>121</sup> but the history of the pictorial imagery, continuous from at least the Eighteenth Dynasty, suggests an equally unbroken symbolic tradition. Further study might well demonstrate that certain apparently decorative variations in representations of vultures on funerary objects had specific symbolic connotations, associated with several different goddesses.<sup>122</sup>

## Postscript

For Tutankhamun's sarcophagus (n. 55), now see Eaton-Krauss, *The Sarcophagus in the Tomb of Tutankhamun* (Oxford, 1993). The British Museum shabtis of Ramesses VI (n. 73) have been illustrated by A. J. Spencer, *Death in Ancient Egypt* (Harmondsworth–New York, 1982), fig. 13.

## Notes

- 1 KV 62: H. Carter, *The Tomb of Tut.Ankh.Amen*, 3 vols. (London, 1923–33). For the three separate numbering systems applied to material from the tomb, see H. Beinlich and M. Saleh, *Corpus der hieroglyphischen Inschriften aus dem Grab des Tutanchamun* (Oxford, 1989), 236–7. Citations here are by C. [Carter excavation] numbers, as given in H. Murray and M. Nuttall, *A Handlist to Howard Carter's Catalogue of Objects in Tutankhamun's Tomb* (Tutankhamun's Tomb Series I) (Oxford, 1963). Journal d'Entrée and Cairo exhibition numbers have been omitted when they can easily be found in the concordances in Beinlich and Saleh, op. cit. 238–73. Beinlich, 'Konkordanz der Tutanchamun-Kataloge', *GM* 71 (1984), 11–26, is cited for objects catalogued in the various international exhibitions.
- 2 C. 256, a; Beinlich, op. cit. 16–17; Saleh and H. Sourouzian, *Official Catalogue: The Egyptian Museum Cairo* (Munich–Mainz, 1987), colour pl. opp. p. 28, no. 174, with bibliography.
- 3 *LdÄ* VI, 866.
- 4 Cf. the two grey granite standing statues of Tutankhamun, found at Karnak: CG 42091, 42092, the former well illustrated in G. Legrain, *Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers I* (*Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*) (Cairo, 1906), pl. 58.
- 5 Outermost: C. 253, *in situ*: Carter, op. cit., II, pls. 16, 66, 67. Middle: C. 254: *ibid.*, pl. 69. Innermost: C. 255: Saleh and Sourouzian, op. cit., no. 175.
- 6 C. 256, 4, o: Carter, op. cit., II, 110–11, pl. 25; C. Aldred, *Jewels of the Pharaohs: Egyptian Jewellery of the Dynastic Period* (London, 1971), pl. 123; A. Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptian Jewellery* (London, 1971), pls. 42, 43. The vulture and cobra (C. 256, r, s) were detachable, separately, by tongue-and-groove arrangements. They had been removed from the headband, presumably because they would not fit under the mask, and laid beside the mummy's legs: see following note.
- 7 The vulture and cobra removed from the diadem had been placed lower down on the body (see preceding note), but their original orientation was maintained: the vulture head lay beside the right leg, the cobra by the left leg. This point was noted by Carter, op. cit., II, 110; cf. pl. 30 (items r and s).
- 8 Carter, op. cit., II, 112.
- 9 C. 256, 4, q: *ibid.*, 112, pl. 76D.
- 10 C. 256, 4, r: *ibid.* Both objects are illustrated by Wilkinson, op. cit., pl. 44.
- 11 I am most grateful to the Griffith Institute and particularly to Diana Magee, Assistant to the Keeper of the Archive, for making these records available to me.
- 12 Carter tomb cards for 256, 4, r and q, respectively; quoted by the kind permission of the Griffith Institute.
- 13 Op. cit. 120. Though Wilkinson does not mention it, her reconstruction has an interesting counterpart in a non-royal, Middle Kingdom context: a 'khat' in a *frise d'objets* with a vulture head at the brow: see M. Eaton-Krauss, 'The *Khat* Headdress to the End of the Amarna Period', *SAK* 5 (1977), 24, n. 28, for references. Suggestive though it may be for the origins of the dual emblem, this early example does not seem directly relevant to the Tutankhamun material. The 'khat'-like headdress on his outermost coffin has the vulture

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- and cobra together (see above, n. 5), and the representations of 'khats' on shabtis bear no more than a single uraeus (below, n. 31).
- 14 Carter, op. cit., II, 112; cf. Murray and Nuttall, *Handlist*, 10 (C. 256, 4, p and bis).
  - 15 Unwrapping the head, Carter evidently encountered the cobra first, since he gave it the lower letter designation. Another photograph of the emblems *in situ* and a view of them, removed and cleaned, in their original configuration, are given by C. Desroches-Noblecourt, *Tutankhamen: Life and Death of a Pharaoh* (New York, 1963), figs. 136, 137.
  - 16 Carter tomb card for 256, 4, r (italics mine).
  - 17 Desroches-Noblecourt (op. cit. 224–5) accepts the existence of only one cloth headdress, but does not specify its type. If due to prudence, this is, perhaps, a laudable vagueness. Elsewhere, however, within the very brief description of this feature, the same vagueness permits several inaccuracies, the most important of which is her statement that the forehead band held the two objects in place. Fig. 2 and the Carter phrases cited in the preceding footnote show that this was not the case.
  - 18 G. Daressy, *Cercueils des cachettes royales (Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire)* (Cairo, 1909), 7: CG 61005. For possible historical implications in this use of the insignia, see below, n. 77.
  - 19 The components might have survived from other royal mummies, but, detached from the headdress and separated from each other, they would be virtually impossible to recognize. The vulture pectoral found on the head of the mummy in KV 55 (see below, n. 118) might be interpreted as a maladroit or incomplete attempt to provide this insignia. If so, it would be yet another indication that the body was that of a king.
  - 20 All the above occurrences were listed by W. Deonna, *Deux études de symbolisme religieux* (Collection Latomus, 18) (Berchem–Brussels, 1955), 87 n. 2, but without recognition, either of the rarity of these insignia, or of their specialized location.
  - 21 C. 266, g: Beinlich, op. cit. 18–19 with n. 15. The set was usurped from Smenkhkare; see below, n. 54.
  - 22 C. 266, c–f; all are much like 266, e: Beinlich, op. cit. 16–17; Saleh and Sourouzian, op. cit., no. 176, colour pl. following p. 28.
  - 23 Apparent exceptions in published photographs are errors caused by reversed transparencies or negatives. For a recent example, see A. Eggebrecht *et al.*, *Das alte Ägypten: 3000 Jahre Geschichte und Kultur des Pharaonenreiches* (Munich, 1984), 31. Also on larger objects, such as the inner coffin: K. Lange and M. Hirmer, *Egypt: Architecture. Sculpture. Painting in Three Thousand Years* (London, 3rd edn, rev., 1961), pl. 185 (adjacent to another view with correct orientation) and front of dust jacket.
  - 24 The most precise account of them is given by P. A. Clayton, 'Royal Bronze Shawabti Figures', *JEA* 58 (1972), 168; cf. J.-F. and L. Aubert, *Statuettes égyptiennes: chaouabtis, ouchebtis* (Paris, 1974), 57–8.
  - 25 The others had a single uraeus, for example, C. 318, a, C. 330, e: Beinlich, op. cit. 20–1, or none: C. 496, a = JE 60840: Beinlich, op. cit. 22–3; P. P. Riesterer, *Grabschatz des Tut-ench-Amun (Das Ägyptische Museum Kairo II)* (Bern–Cairo, 1965), shows this and another with no uraeus: pl. 25, left and right.
  - 26 C. 326, a: Beinlich, op. cit. 22–3; Riesterer, op. cit., pl. 25, centre. Called a round wig by Clayton, *loc. cit.* For this wig, see C. Aldred, 'Hair Styles and History', *BMMA* 15 (1957), 142–5. An earlier shabti has the dual emblem on the same wig; see below, n. 51.
  - 27 Two examples: C. 110, C. 458,. From a close comparison of available photographs, I believe that the shabti illustrated here as fig. 3 is C. 110: see the excavation photograph in the exhibition catalogue *Treasures of Tutankhamun* (New York, 1976), 158. This shabti, listed by Beinlich, op. cit. 22–3, as T. 17, was no. 32 in the 1967 Paris exhibition, and no. 15 in the Russian tour of 1973/4. As Beinlich has remarked (n. 32), its identity is confused by the fact that the flail, held in the left hand of the Paris (and earlier) photographs, was

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- replaced, by the time of the Russian catalogue, by a flail in the right hand and a crook in the left. Thus it has (so far) remained.
- 28 Two examples: C. 330, a and b. One is illustrated by Desroches-Noblecourt, *op. cit.*, colour pl. 35, and (beside a very similar figure with a single uraeus) K. El-Mallakh and A. Brackman, *The Gold of Tutankhamun* (New York, 1978), pl. 66.
- 29 C. 330, e.
- 30 C. 330, f.
- 31 Fifty-two Tutankhamun shabti wear 'khats', according to M. Eaton-Krauss, 'The *Khat* Headdress', 39, n. 96; for the vulture on this headdress, see above, n. 13. An example with the Blue Crown: C. 318, a: Beinlich, *op. cit.* 20–21; Saleh and Sourouzian, *op. cit.*, no. 182.
- 32 It must be remembered here that the attributes of at least one shabti have been altered quite recently (see above, n. 27; but cf. below, n. 33).
- 33 This is certainly true of C. 110 (above, n. 27). Though not clearly visible in fig. 3, the separate units can be seen in the colour detail published in the Paris catalogue, *Toutankhamon et son temps* (Paris, 1967), [142].
- 34 On the figure wearing a Double Crown (n. 30 above). The existence of such unified castings — possibly made with a single tang for attachment — renders ambiguous the few cases where the insignia are lost, leaving only an attachment hole. (The reader should bear in mind that, although I have recorded these details as accurately as possible, they are based on visual, not technical, examination.)
- 35 Any question about which of these images actually represent Tutankhamun is, for the purposes of this discussion, not germane.
- 36 Aubert, *op. cit.* 57–60. Of the 417 shabtis in the tomb, 410 have a single uraeus (or none at all).
- 37 Wearing a 'nemes': C. 22. With a 'khat': C. 29: Beinlich, *op. cit.* 14–15; Saleh and Sourouzian, *op. cit.*, no. 180.
- 38 C. 116: E. R. Russmann, *Egyptian Sculpture: Cairo and Luxor* (Austin, Texas, 1989), no. 58.
- 39 Among others, C. 275, b–d, 289, a–b: Beinlich, *op. cit.* 18–19. Cf. PM I<sup>2</sup>, 2, 574–5.
- 40 C. 235, a: Beinlich, *op. cit.* 14–15; 235, b; 320, c: *ib.* 20–1.
- 41 C. 331, a: Beinlich, *op. cit.* 20–1; Aubert, *op. cit.* 71–2.
- 42 Tomb representations: K. Myśliwiec, *Le Portrait royal dans le bas-relief du Nouvel Empire (Travaux de Centre d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences, 18)* (Warsaw, 1976), pl. 80. The painted casket: C. 21 = JE 61467: N. M. Davies, *Tutankhamun's Painted Box* (Oxford, 1962).
- 43 C. 108: Beinlich, *op. cit.* 14–15; Eaton-Krauss and E. Graefe, *The Small Golden Shrine from the Tomb of Tutankhamun* (Oxford, 1985).
- 44 C. 91: Saleh and Sourouzian, *op. cit.*, no. 179.
- 45 Statues: CG 42091–2: see above, n. 4; JE 59869: Russmann, *Egyptian Sculpture*, no. 59; Saleh and Sourouzian, *op. cit.*, no. 173; also J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne, III, La statuaire* (Paris, 1958), pl. 117. Relief: Myśliwiec, *op. cit.*, pl. 81; Eaton-Krauss, 'Tutankhamun at Karnak', *MDAIK* 44 (1988), pl. 17.
- 46 CG 5030: G. Daressy, *Fouilles de la Vallée des Rois (Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire)* (Cairo, 1902), pl. 50. Cf. Russmann, *The Representation of the King in the XXVth Dynasty* (Monographies Reine Elisabeth 3) (Brussels–Brooklyn, 1974), 37.
- 47 *Op. cit.* 244.
- 48 This description is based on my own observation of the lids now on exhibition in Cairo.
- 49 Louvre E. 11107; preserved height, 7 cm: Vandier, *op. cit.*, pl. 107, 6. For information about this head, and pictures, I am most grateful to Dr J.-L. de Cénival, Conservateur en Chef, Département des Antiquités Égyptiennes, Musée du Louvre, and to Dr Betsy Bryan. However, the description and interpretation of the forehead insignia are based on my own observations of the head.

- 50 The head certainly belonged to a shabti: it was apparently found at his tomb (cf. PM I<sup>2</sup>, 2, 550), and it still displays the tops of 'ankh'-signs at the shoulders. The Auberts do not mention the head, but they refer to serpentine fragments of Amenhotep III shabti bodies, also in the Louvre (op. cit. 46). Dr Bryan has informed me that these are the same black stone as the head (personal communication, November, 1990).
- 51 Another unusual feature of this head, noted by Aldred, 'The Tomb of Akhenaten at Thebes', *JEA* 47 (1961), 43, n. 4, is the combination of the Nubian wig with a royal beard. For a Tutankhamun shabti with the double emblem on the same wig (but without a beard), see n. 26 above.
- 52 And, of course, the owner(s) of any others of these objects that were usurped. The canopic lids and the middle coffin have been ascribed to Smenkhkare by C. Vandersleyen, 'L'Iconographie de Toutankhamon et les effigies provenant de sa tombe', *BSEG* 9-10 (1984-5), 311-13. To the extent that such suggestions are based solely on personal impressions of 'likeness', they are not very useful; Vandersleyen himself mentions opinions diametrically opposed to his. However, the rather conservative patterns of the 'rishi' design on the middle coffin (below, n. 102) might indicate a slightly earlier date, and subsequent reuse. In this connection, it may also be noted that, whoever their original and ultimate owners may have been, the canopic lids and anthropoid coffin found in KV 55 show signs of only a single uraeus: T. M. Davis *et al.*, *The Tomb of Queen Tiyi* (London, 1910), no. 4, pp. 16-19, pl. 30 (coffin); no. 16, pp. 24-25, pls. 9, 13, 16, 17 (canopic lids).
- 53 See above, n. 21.
- 54 Beinlich and Saleh, op. cit. 116-17.
- 55 Unlike the box of Tutankhamun's sarcophagus, which, as Eaton-Krauss has recently demonstrated, was not only usurped, but also significantly reworked: 'The Sarcophagus in the Tomb of Tutankhamun', Abstract of lecture delivered at *After Tutankhamun: An International Conference on the Valley of the Kings* . . ., Highclere Castle, 15-17 June 1990; id., 'Neue Forschungen zum Schatz des Tutanchamun', *Antike Welt* 22 (1991), 102-4.
- 56 In this context, one might mention the royal coffin used for the reburial of Ramesses II (CG 61020). Often considered, on stylistic grounds, to have been made two to four reigns earlier, it shows marked discoloration and irregularities on the forehead: Saleh and Sourouzian, op. cit., no. 207. These marks were already visible in the original publication (see Daressy, *Cercueils*, pl. 20); they might, if closely examined, disclose the form of the original insignia.
- 57 Cairo, CG 46809, 46826, 55369; cf. Russmann, *Representation*, 37.
- 58 T. M. Davis *et al.*, *The Tombs of Harmhabi and Touatankhamanou* (London, 1912).
- 59 Unfortunately, these details are almost invisible on the only other photograph of a lid included here (*ibid.*, pl. 75). As they are exhibited today in Cairo, it is possible to see that all had identical forehead insignia.
- 60 *Ibid.*, no. 3, p. 100.
- 61 See E. Hornung, *Tal der Könige: Die Ruhestätte der Pharaonen*, 4th edn (Zürich-München, 1988), 196 (Tawosret), 203 (Merenptah); Aldred, *The Egyptians* (1st edn), fig. 58 (Ramesses III). As an innovation of the Nineteenth Dynasty, this type of royal sarcophagus might be expected to manifest new or different symbolic elements.
- 62 Carter and Legrain, 'Report of Work done in Upper Egypt [1903-1904]', *ASAE* 6 (1905), 118, pl. 3; not mentioned by PM, op. cit. 509.
- 63 Compare the more complete drawing of the front (i.e., the top) of the lid of a private anthropoid coffin on another ostrakon found in the Valley of the Kings: New York, MMA 23.7.1.
- 64 *Ibid.*
- 65 No forehead emblem at all is shown on the headdress in the front view, but neither are the facial features indicated, whereas the profile face has a sketchily rendered eye and brow.

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- 66 The ostrakon is illustrated, not with a photograph, but with a drawing that I assume to be accurate. The copy was intended to provide a facsimile of the inscriptions, so it seems reasonable to believe that care was taken with all the details. The calligraphic rendering of the animal heads is convincing, and conforms with the overall style of the sketch. With the discovery of Tutankhamun's tomb still almost two decades in the future, it is almost inconceivable that the copyist should have produced a dual emblem, unless it was actually there.
- 67 Berlin 2502; Clayton, op. cit. 167–71, pl. 33, 1–3.
- 68 As recognized by Clayton, op. cit. 168; cf. Aubert, op. cit. 81–2.
- 69 New York, MMA 66.99.57; h. 28.5 cm; ex collection Albert Gallatin, no. 66: unpublished.
- 70 The cartouches appear to have been altered in antiquity from an earlier king, possibly Ramesses III, to judge from the epithets.
- 71 JE 59715; not listed in PM II<sup>2</sup>, or loc. cit.
- 72 Cairo CG 48415; preserved h. 26 cm (broken above knee level). P. E. Newberry's description in *Funerary Statuettes and Model Sarcophagi (Catalogue général du musée des antiquités égyptiennes)* (Cairo, 1930–57), 352, mentions only a uraeus over the forehead. As in most illustrations of this detail, the emblem is virtually indecipherable in the published photograph, op. cit., pl. 31.
- 73 The other two are British Museum 29998 and 29999; hts. 38.3, 39.8 cm, respectively. They come from the collection of Robert Hay, who travelled in Egypt during the 1820s and 1830s; see W. R. Dawson and E. P. Uphill, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 2nd edn, rev. (London, 1972), 135. For information on these figures, and especially for verifying details of the forehead emblems, I am indebted to Dr C. A. R. Andrews, Assistant Keeper in the Department of Egyptian Antiquities at the British Museum.
- 74 Cf. Russmann, *Representation*, 37–8, n. 11; Aubert, op. cit. 119, describes them as having a double uraeus.
- 75 Ramesside royal shabti are poorly published. For a representative sampling, see Aubert, op. cit., pls. 10–13 (Seti I), 23 (Ramesses VI and VII); W. C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt II* (New York, 1959), figs. 207 (MMA 26.7.919: Seti I), 222 (MMA 26.7.1451: Merenptah), 223 (MMA 14.6.179: Siptah); C. Aldred, *The Egyptians*, 1st edn (London, 1961), fig. 63 (Louvre: Ramesses IV).
- 76 P. Montet, *Les Constructions et le tombeau de Psousennès à Tanis (La nécropole royale de Tanis II)* (Paris, 1951), passim. The same is true of the numerous Third Intermediate Period royal shabtis: see, for example, Aubert, op. cit., pls. 25–6, 33–6, 42–5, 47–50.
- 77 This fact may have some use as a dating criterion. For example, the depiction of a vulture above the uraeus, on the early Eighteenth Dynasty private coffin adapted for the reburial of Amenhotep I (see above, n. 18), suggests that the alteration was made during the New Kingdom. If so, the major rehabilitation of this mummy must have been carried out well before its inclusion in the Third Intermediate Period cache.
- 78 Especially in short entries; for example, Saleh and Sourouzian, op. cit., nos. 174–6, and very frequently in the exhibition catalogues.
- 79 This began with Carter: op. cit., II, 83 (mask), 110 (diadem), etc. Often the goddesses are identified, but not named. Thus Edwards: 'The vulture's head . . . symbolizing sovereignty over Upper Egypt. . . . By its side is the cobra, symbolizing sovereignty over Lower Egypt. . . .': *Treasures of Tutankhamun* (Exhibition Catalogue, British Museum) (London, 1972), no. 50, and verbatim in the North American catalogue, *Treasures of Tutankhamun* (New York, 1976), no. 25, p. 134; J. S[ettgast], *Tutanchemun* (Exhibition Catalogue, Ägyptisches Museum) (Berlin, 1980), no. 53, p. 162: 'die Wappentiere von Ober- und Unterägypten.'
- 80 *LdÄ* III, 133; Desroches-Noblecourt, op. cit. 225, comes closest to explaining this theory: 'All the pharaoh's headgear had to include the *uraeus*, symbol of his supreme authority. In funerary portrayals, the serpent was accompanied by the head of Nekhabet, the vulture of the South.'



- 81 J. Quaegebeur in the exhibition catalogue *Le Règne du soleil: Akhenaton et Néfertiti* (Brussels, 1975), 129 (discussion of a Tutankhamun shabti). The source of such imagery and the identities of the beings are not given.
- 82 Carter, op. cit., II, 110.
- 83 Carter, op. cit., III, 49, pl. 10.
- 84 This may not be significant. The protective goddesses could also be inadvertently reversed: Carter, op. cit., III, 50–1.
- 85 See fig. 4 and n. 32 above.
- 86 E. Kerrn Lillesø's suggestion that Tutankhamun's use of the dual emblem 'stressed the return to the traditional religion' ('Two Wooden Uraei', *JEA* 61 (1975), 143), if not entirely belied by the funerary context and the chronological spread of the motif, is certainly contradicted by the Aten cartouches on the beaded cap (C. 256, 4, t) placed directly on his skull; for these, see M. Eaton-Krauss, 'Miscellanea Amarnensia', *CdE* 56 (1981), 251; Beinlich and Saleh, op. cit. 91.
- 87 See, for example, *LdÄ* III, 133, 813, and Edwards' unsupported remark that vulture and cobra 'heads were often placed side by side on the front of the headdresses worn by kings on state occasions, and on the headdresses of their statues and other representations' (*Tutankhamun's Jewelry* (New York, 1976), 9), made in conjunction with his presumption that the diadem (nn. 6, 7 above) was court wear. This notion, which may derive from Carter (op. cit., II, 111), is rather widely voiced: cf. Wilkinson, op. cit. 118. Representations of kings wearing this type of diadem show only a uraeus at the forehead (as on Tutankhamun's throne: above, n. 44). The funerary purpose of the dual emblem has been recognized primarily by those proposing identities other than Nekhbet and Wadjet (see above, nn. 80, 81), but there are exceptions, such as Aubert, op. cit. 58.
- 88 H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1952), 846. According to *LdÄ* VI, 868, n. 21: 'Manchmal kommen statt 2 U[räi] eine U und ein Geierkopf vor.' Since this sentence occurs in a footnote on the Kushite double uraeus, it is doubly misleading; for the double forehead insignia of Twenty-fifth Dynasty kings *always* comprised two cobras. The next footnote is also wrong: Queen Tiye did not wear a triple uraeus, which only appeared on much later queens: Russmann, *Representation*, 39–40: cf. n. 87. What is shown on the statue head cited (CG 609) and other representations of Tiye (e.g. the colossal seated group statue JE 33906) is a vulture head between two cobras; cf. Russmann, op. cit. 39 with n. 4.
- 89 *LdÄ* II, 514; IV, 366–7; VI, 865, 906–7.
- 90 *LdÄ* III, 813; IV, 367; VI, 906–7, 1221.
- 91 *LdÄ* II, 514; VI, 865–6; Bonnet, op. cit. 210–11, 683.
- 92 Bonnet, op. cit. 395; *LdÄ* III, 812.
- 93 From the Old Kingdom on: H. Sourouzian, 'Une tête de la reine Touy à Gourna', *MDAIK* 37 (1981), 447, 450, pls. 72–6; Bonnet, op. cit. 211.
- 94 As on one of Tutankhamun's fans, C. 245: Carter, op. cit., II, pl. 63A; El-Mallakh and Brackman, op. cit., pl. 147.
- 95 *LdÄ* IV, 367; exemplified in Tutankhamun's tomb by an alabaster vase with elaborate unification symbolism: the two cobras not only wear the appropriate crowns, but are placed on their respective Upper and Lower Egyptian plants: C. 210: Saleh and Sourouzian, op. cit., no. 190; back and front views in Edwards, *Tutankhamun: His Tomb and Its Treasures*, 98, 99; cf. R. Fazzini, 'Khaemwaset Under Foot', *VA* 6 (1990), 128, 131, fig. 9.
- 96 Russmann, *Representation*, 39; Eaton-Krauss 'Miscellanea Amarnensia', 247, n. 3. For headdresses on the paired uraei, see Kerrn Lillesø, op. cit. 141–3, who also describes the persistence of the queens' double uraeus into the Ptolemaic period.
- 97 I have found no exceptions. The two 'Akhenaten' examples mentioned in Russmann, *Representation*, 38, certainly represent Nefertiti: Eaton-Krauss, 'Miscellanea Amarnensia', 248–51. References to a double uraeus on Eighteenth Dynasty kings go well back in the

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- Egyptological literature: see Bonnet, op. cit. 846, and the sources given there. However, specific citations invariably refer, either to emblems elsewhere than on the forehead, such as pendant cobras on either side of the head (as on the Tutankhamun diadem, above, n. 6), or to misinterpretations of the vulture and cobra (see above, nn. 47, 60, 74). Examples of all these problems occur in the list given by Kern Lillesø, op. cit. 139; cf. Russmann, op. cit. 37.
- 98 C. 261, o: Aldred, *Jewels*, pl. 96 (colour); Wilkinson, op. cit., pl. 49B; E. Feucht-Putz, *Die königlichen Pektoreale: Motive, Sinngehalt und Zweck* (Diss. Munich) (Bamberg, 1967), no. 23, pp. 93–4, 171–2, pl. 9.
- 99 This figure is not named. Its inscription consists of epithets which, like the mummy shroud, ‘atef’ crown, and other regalia, are characteristic of Osiris. That it did not also represent the king is, in this context, inconceivable.
- 100 This has been recognized as assimilation: Aldred, op. cit. 219, says Nekhbet and Wadjet ‘are also identified with Isis and Nephthys’; Wilkinson, op. cit. 144: ‘Isis and Nephthys are represented as Nekhbet and Edjo. . .’
- 101 For the assimilation of Isis and Nephthys with Nekhbet and Wadjet, also see M. Münster, *Untersuchungen zur Göttin Isis vom Alten Reich bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches* (Münchner Ägyptologische Studien 11) (Berlin, 1968), 113–14.
- 102 Münster, op. cit. 106ff.; Bonnet, op. cit. 520.
- 103 Rearing cobras at his feet wear Isis and Nephthys symbols on a Ramesside relief: Cpn NCG AEIN 1555: O. Koefoed-Petersen, *Les Stèles égyptiennes* (Copenhagen, 1948), no. 36, pl. 36D. Cf. Feucht-Putz, op. cit. 84, n. 1. This type of representation is closely related to the representations as uraei: Münster, op. cit. 202.
- 104 For texts connecting the goddesses with their respective crowns, see Münster, op. cit. 109. Since figures of Isis and Nephthys are so often identifiable only by the attributes worn on their heads, their crowned theriomorphic representations are often recognizable only by their context, as on a Tutankhamun pectoral, where winged human figures of Isis and Nephthys are doubled by cobras with White and Red Crowns in front of them: C. 261, i: Aldred, *Jewels*, pl. 95; Feucht-Putz, op. cit., no. 55, pl. 16; Beinlich (as C. 261, n. [?]), op. cit. 16–17, n. 4.
- 105 Russmann, *Representation*, 41. Note that Osiris — like the king — does not wear a double uraeus when shown in human form.
- 106 Thus on a papyrus vignette of the resurrection of a mummiform Osiris, with Isis by his head, Nephthys at his feet. Before Isis stands a vulture, and a cobra is in front of Nephthys: Hornung, *Tal der Könige*, 183. Also see below, n. 115.
- 107 Carter, op. cit., II, 70. For the coffins, see above, n. 5. On the continuation of the ‘rishi’ tradition on Eighteenth Dynasty royal coffins, see *LdÄ* V, 434.
- 108 It may be significant that the least ‘advanced’, in terms of ‘rishi’ design, among Tutankhamun’s coffins, the middle coffin, is the one sometimes considered to be usurped: see above, n. 52. It is also the closest in design to the royal coffin found in KV 55, described in detail by Aldred, ‘The Tomb of Akhenaten at Thebes’, 41–3: cf. now M. R. Bell, ‘An Armchair Excavation of KV 55’, *JARCE* 27 (1990), 98–9.
- 109 Bonnet, op. cit. 662, considered that the ‘rishi’ wings had to be those of Isis, a remark which Feucht-Putz (op. cit. 85, n. 2) related to the iconography of the Tutankhamun pectoral discussed above (see n. 92). Bonnet did not discuss the symbolism of the later royal feathered coffins, except to declare, largely on the basis of the two mentioned in the previous note, that it had become more diffuse (*ibid.*).
- 110 Isis and vulture on right side of inner coffin: Saleh and Sourouzian, op. cit., no. 175b; Nephthys and cobra on left side: Aldred, *Tutankhamun*, pl. 2; Edwards, *Tutankhamun: His Tomb and Its Treasures*, 130.
- 111 P. Lacovara, ‘An Ancient Royal Pectoral’, *JMFA* 2 (1990), 18–29; the subject of his article is a large pectoral of this design which, he argues, was inlaid on a royal ‘rishi’ coffin of the

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- Second Intermediate Period: cf. id. in A. Eggebrecht (ed.), *Ägyptens Aufstieg zur Weltmacht* (Mainz, 1987), no. 1, 101–3, with colour plate.
- 112 C. 256, f (sheet gold): Beinlich, op. cit. 16–17, and C. 256, nnn (inlay work). Beinlich's entry for 256, nnn and the exhibition reference, op. cit. 16–17, are incorrect: cf. P. Fox, *Tutankhamun's Treasure* (Oxford, 1951), pl. 35; Murray and Nuttall, *Handbook*, 10; Carter, op. cit., II, pl. 81B. For a colour illustration, see Eggebrecht, *Das alte Ägypten*, 329.
- 113 Louvre E. 79: Feucht-Putz, op. cit., no. 24, pl. 10; Aldred, *Jewels*, pl. 145; Wilkinson, op. cit., pl. 61A. From a burial in the Serapeum, presumably that of Prince Khaemwese: on this identity, see Wilkinson, op. cit. 149 with n. 1. This example differs from those discussed above, in its naoform frame, its additional motifs, and other anomalies (see below, n. 116); moreover, it was not buried with a king. Such differences could reflect chronological development, but they may also indicate that the pectoral does not properly belong in this group.
- 114 Amulets of Psusennes: Montet, op. cit., pl. 119, bottom.
- 115 Thus Lacovara, op. cit., figs. 1, 7, 10, 12; both Tutankhamun pectorals discussed above (n. 112); gold amulets of Psusennes (preceding note).
- 116 For exceptions on the Tutankhamun shabti, see fig. 4 and n. 32 above. The major exception among pectorals is the atypical Ramesside example discussed above, n. 113: on the front surface, the vulture is on the proper right. This piece is finished on both sides; according to Feucht-Putz, op. cit. 85, the winged ram(?) -headed figure near the top of the obverse is a human-headed, bearded figure on the reverse.
- 117 An example of particular interest is an Eighteenth Dynasty private (post-'rishi') coffin in Boston, where the carefully drawn vulture is not only painted yellow to simulate gold foil, but embellished with black dots that look very like an attempt to suggest the plasticity of repoussé work: MFA 1988.1, S. D'Auria *et al.* (eds.), *Mummies and Magic: The Funerary Arts of Ancient Egypt* (Boston, 1988), no. 67, p. 133.
- 118 Davis, *Tomb of Queen Tiyi*, pl. 20; cf. Aldred, 'The Tomb of Akhenaten at Thebes', 42–3, *Jewels*, pl. 72; M. R. Bell, op. cit. 101, no. 6. It was, however, bent over the skull, in a manner reminiscent of Tutankhamun (cf. fig. 2), but without a companion cobra, and with the tail towards the front: *ib.*, 118, 133, n. 293, 135, 137.
- 119 C 256, e: Wilkinson, op. cit., pl. 35, centre; C. 256, mmm: Aldred, op. cit., pl. 111.
- 120 TIP: Montet, op. cit., pls 23–24 (a necklace), 119 (top right), 137 (bottom centre). LP: E. Bresciani *et al.*, *La tomba di Ciennehebu, capo della flota del Re* (Serie egyptologica: Tombe d'età a Saqqara, 1) (Pisa, 1977), pls. 34, 36, 62.
- 121 Cited by *LdÄ* II, 514; Bonnet, op. cit. 211; for the source, see T. G. Allen, *The Book of the Dead* (SAOC 37) (Chicago, 1974), 155–6. The vignette shows the vulture with spread wings: *ibid.*, n. 258.
- 122 Compare, for example, the fully extended wings on the examples discussed above, with the half-folded wings of the vulture identified as Nut on another pectoral of Tutankhamun: C. 261, p, 3 (Aldred, *Jewels*, pl. 92). Significance is more likely to be indicated by large gestural variations, such as wing stance, than by smaller differences like the direction of the head, which seems to vary independently of the pose. For the range of variations in this subject within Tutankhamun's tomb, also see C. 256, ppp; 267, i; 267, o (*ibid.*, pls. 103, 102, 105), and the amulets illustrated by Carter, op. cit., II, pl. 78D (= Desroches-Noblecourt, op. cit., fig. 141).



FIGURE 1 Gold mask of Tutankhamun, C. 256, a; photograph by the author.



FIGURE 2 Mummy of Tutankhamun: head partially unwrapped, with vulture and cobra in place; photograph courtesy of the Griffith Institute.



FIGURE 3 Shabti of Tutankhamun, C. 110; photograph by the author.



FIGURE 4 Shabti of Tutankhamun, C. 330, e; photograph by the author.



**FIGURE 5** Shabti of Ramesses VI, New York, MMA 66.99.57, Purchase, Fletcher Fund and the Guide Foundation, Inc., 1966; photograph courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.



FIGURE 6 Shabti of Ramesses VI, Cairo, CG 48415; photograph by the author.

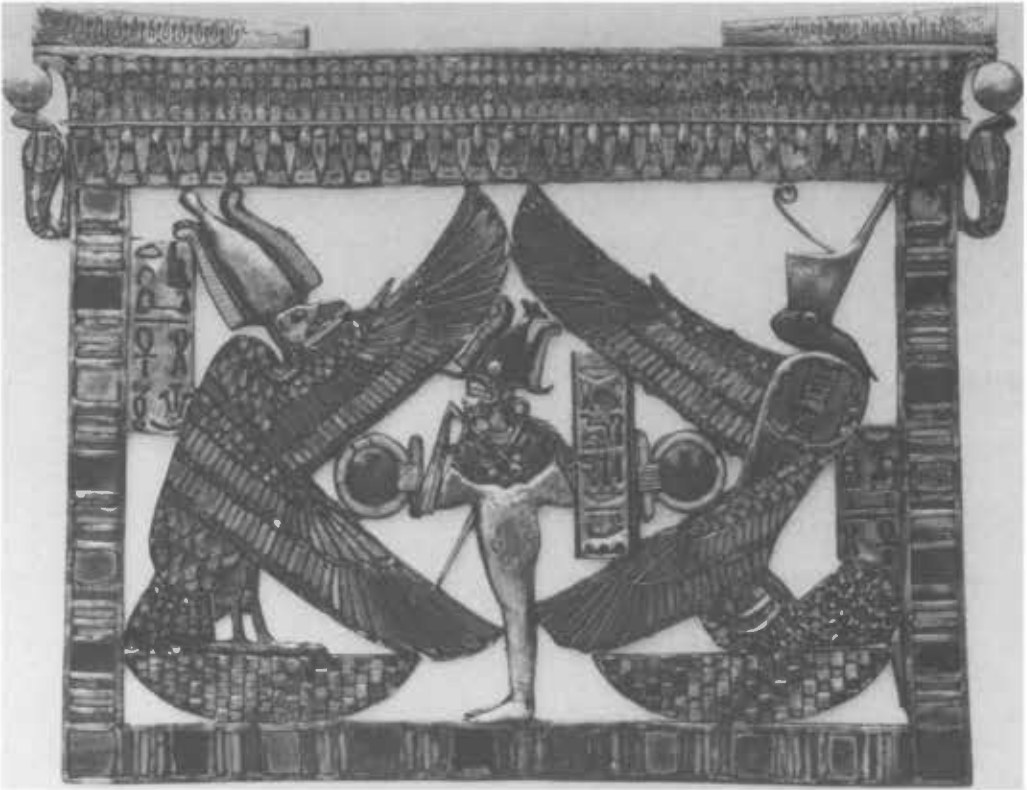


FIGURE 7 Pectoral of Tutankhamun, C. 261, o; photograph courtesy of the Griffith Institute.

# Ramsès II admirait Sésostris I<sup>er</sup>

CLAUDE VANDERSLEYEN

Tout comme j'admirais Cyril Aldred,  
sans me prendre pour Ramsès II,  
mais avec beaucoup d'amitié.

RAMSÈS II a peut-être fait mettre en chantier des milliers de statues destinées à le représenter et nous en avons conservé quelques centaines. En outre, il a sélectionné dans la passé un certain nombre d'oeuvres figurant des prédécesseurs; il y ajoutait son nom, parfois faisait inscrire son nom à la place des noms anciens et souvent aussi faisait retoucher le visage et même le corps pour les adapter à son physique. Ce n'est pas nécessairement du vandalisme ni du sacrilège; peut-être une forme de réincarnation en des ancêtres admirables. Quand on aura pu relever toutes les oeuvres ainsi marquées à son nom ou à son visage, on aura devant soi ce que Malraux aurait appelé 'le Musée Imaginaire' du roi. Il n'a pas 'usurpé' n'importe quoi ni n'importe qui. Sésostris II plaisait tant à Ramsès II que celui-ci ne nous a laissé de ce roi aucune statue inscrite dont il n'a pas fait retoucher le visage à son effigie.<sup>1</sup> Des sphinx du Moyen Empire lui ont plu aussi. Mais il a également récupéré des oeuvres grandioses d'Amenhotep II<sup>2</sup> et d'Amenhotep III.<sup>3</sup> La merveilleuse tête qui gît sur le sol au Ramesséum<sup>4</sup> et qui nous conserve assurément les traits de Ramsès est d'une grande perfection; pourtant c'est aussi le résultat d'un très habile remaniement d'une oeuvre antérieure;<sup>5</sup> le type de pierre, le 'pschent' sur le 'némès' font cette fois encore penser à Amenhotep III. Il en va de même pour l'énorme buste dont le transport depuis le Ramesséum jusqu'à Alexandrie et de là à Londres était le principal exploit dont s'enorgueillissait Belzoni;<sup>6</sup> ce buste, dont les remaniements sont évidents, pourrait avoir été 'emprunté' au même roi qui avait, comme Ramsès, un goût particulier pour le colossal.

A ma connaissance, la plus ancienne oeuvre ainsi réutilisée, où toutes les inscriptions sont de Ramsès et où les visages ont été si habilement 'revis' que les 'coutures' sont peu perceptibles, est la triade (voir fig. 1-4) de granite rouge où jadis Sésostris I<sup>er</sup> trônait entre deux déesses.<sup>7</sup> Pourvues de quelques caractères ramessides, notamment ceux empruntés à Amarna, ces deux dames encadrent donc aujourd'hui Ramsès. De nombreux détails prouvent que l'oeuvre est du Moyen



Empire, et la convergence de plusieurs d'entre eux nous amènent invinciblement au règne de Sésostri I<sup>er</sup>.

Il est vrai que toutes les inscriptions sont dues à Ramsès II et aucune trace d'inscriptions antérieures n'est décelable. Pour adapter l'oeuvre à son époque, ce roi a donc fait inciser deux sillons sur le cou des trois personnages et marquer des creux dans le lobe de leurs oreilles, stigmates hérités d'Akhénaton; les oreilles du roi ont été en outre fortement — et maladroitement — réduites; comme Ramsès avait le front fuyant et les arcades sourcilliaires saillantes, il a fallu, pour leur donner le relief suffisant, enlever plusieurs millimètres de pierre sur le devant du 'némès' qui a ainsi perdu son bandeau, ses rayures<sup>8</sup> et son uraeus; celui-ci a dû être remplacé par une pièce rapportée encastrée dans une rainure profonde, à présent vide; une barbe avait été ajoutée, pièce rapportée aussi, fixée au corps du roi dans une longue mortaise aujourd'hui béante; le ruban figurant l'attache de la barbe a été simplement gravé, sans épaisseur. Au sommet des trois têtes, des mortaises avaient été creusées pour recevoir des couronnes ou des emblèmes aujourd'hui disparus. Le reste du visage royal et celui des deux femmes semblent avoir été retouchés aussi, mais le poli a été refait au point d'égaliser celui de l'ensemble du groupe, ce qui est rare dans les remaniements ramessides.

Malgré ces 'rajeunissements', le groupe a gardé de nombreuses caractéristiques du Moyen Empire. Sur les tempes, les rayures du 'némès' sont presque rectilignes et aboutissent au bord de la coiffe en un angle aigu (§§ 83-6);<sup>9</sup> les retombées du 'némès' ont dû être pourvues de fines rayures, normales à cette époque, quelques lignes horizontales sont encore bien visibles; un examen spécial à la lumière rasante permettrait peut-être d'en déceler davantage de restes; il est visible que ces retombées ont été martelées et laissées brutes; le but de ce martelage a pu être d'en diminuer l'épaisseur, toujours très grande dans les statues de Sésostri I<sup>er</sup> (§ 36). Les ailes du 'némès' sont tellement repoussées vers l'arrière de la tête qu'elles aboutissent au milieu de l'épaisseur des épaules (§ 41); les retombées dessinent donc une forte courbure d'arrière en avant pour rejoindre le devant de la poitrine; il s'agit là d'une particularité exclusive de Sésostri I<sup>er</sup> (§ 36). Les jambes du roi sont très proches l'une de l'autre; les mollets se touchent; il n'y a donc aucun espace prévu pour y figurer la queue d'animal (§ 312) caractéristique des rois; mais ce n'est que sous Sésostri I<sup>er</sup> qu'on a commencé à la figurer (§ 290). C'est critères suffisent à montrer qu'il s'agit bien d'un groupe sculpté au temps de Sésostri I<sup>er</sup>. D'autres détails peuvent encore être relevés. La position des mains — main gauche à plat, poing droit horizontal — est inconnue à l'Ancien Empire et propre au Moyen Empire à l'exception du règne de Sésostri II; elle disparaît après Amenemhet III (§ 273-6). La forme générale du 'némès' est étroite, ce qui est propre à Sésostri I<sup>er</sup> (§ 75), et le bord extérieur des ailes est rectiligne, ce qui est normal pendant la 12<sup>e</sup> dynastie (§ 77); l'aspect du 'némès', de face, correspond exactement à celui des statues de calcaire trouvées à Lisht,<sup>10</sup> sauf que le dessus a été arasé dans le groupe ici étudié, ce qui a fait disparaître les rayures du 'némès' à cet endroit; c'était évidemment pour ménager une assise à un 'pschent' éventuel. L'absence de barbe, elle, est de règle sous le Moyen Empire (§ 190).

Le modelé des torsos, tant masculin que féminins, a une rondeur fort différente de la pudique discrétion ramesside; les bouts des seins du roi étaient même incrus-

tés. Toutefois, la ceinture a été refaite, elle est assez grossièrement gravée et comporte le nom de Ramsès II sur la boucle; le type de ceinture est ramesside; à l'époque de Sésostri I<sup>er</sup>, elle aurait dû avoir le décor simple fait de carrés séparés entre eux par des séries de quatre lignes verticales (§ 230), ce qui est exactement le décor des minces bretelles et du 'galon' ornant le haut et le bas de la robe-fourreau des déesses. Notons que les bretelles passent non sur les seins, mais sur leur côté extérieur.

Enfin, un des critères les plus archaïques de ce groupe est la dalle dorsale (§ 341). Il est certain que les tranches verticales de cette dalle, de même que les flancs du siège, qui ne forment qu'une surface continue de chaque côté du groupe, ont été ravalés, sans doute pour être pourvus d'un nouveau décor; les bandes décoratives ne correspondent pas aux usages du Moyen Empire et l'aspect de la pierre est plus irrégulier là que sur le reste de la statue; indice décisif, les bras des déesses, de part et d'autre du groupe, sont en saillie par rapport à la largeur de la dalle, laquelle a donc été rétrécie. Ces deux déesses sont aujourd'hui Isis à la droite du roi et Hathor à sa gauche. Avaient-elles cette identité jadis? Elles sont totalement dépourvues d'emblèmes ou de critères d'identification.<sup>11</sup>

S'il est vrai que l'imitation est la forme la plus sincère de l'admiration, que dire de cette identification absolue que serait la réincarnation du roi dans ses grands ancêtres? Ne serait-ce pas une hypothèse aussi satisfaisante que l'idée d'une rapacité de prince pressé et sans scrupules?

## Notes

- 1 Caire CG 430 et 432; les visages de ces deux statues représentent aujourd'hui Ramsès II.
- 2 Londres BM 61 (C. Vandersleyen, 'Sur quelques statues usurpées par Ramsès II', *Acts 1st ICE* (Berlin, 1979), 665-9) et Turin 1381 (bonne photo dans E. Scamuzzi, *L'Art égyptien au Musée de Turin* (Turin, 1966), pl. 62; cf. notamment les fines rayures du 'némès' et la position des bras, exactement semblables à Caire CG 42074; seul le visage de Turin 1381 a été retouché et les inscriptions de Ramsès ont été ajoutées).
- 3 Paris Louvre A 20 (C. Vandersleyen, loc. cit.), Londres BM 15 (parallèle à la tête Louxor Catal. no. 126, J 133; les retouches ramessides de la statue de Londres sont très apparentes) et plusieurs statues de la première cour du temple de Louxor (F. J. Yurco, 'Amenhotep III and Ramesses II: The Standing Colossi at Luxor', *Acts 1st ICE* (Berlin, 1979), 687-90).
- 4 PM II, 437 (12).
- 5 Les rayures du 'némès' ont été effacées sur les ailes et au dessus du front avec un enlèvement de matière assez important pour faire saillir le front et les arcades sourcilliaires; la différence de couleur de la pierre, due à la différence du poli, est très apparente aussi là où les joues touchent les ailes du 'némès'.
- 6 Londres BM 19, PM II, 436 (11).
- 7 Caire CG 555, hauteur: 1, 74 m. PM V 125; Fl. Petrie, *Koptos* (Londres, 1896), 15, 25; L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten*, I (Berlin, 1911), no. 555; Vandier, *Manuel*, III, Index, p. 619; *RdE* 16 (1964), 81; Catalogue *Nofret — die Schöne* (Munich, 1985) ou *La Femme au temps des Pharaons* (Bruxelles, 1985), no. 80.
- 8 C'est le même traitement qui a été appliqué à la tête gisant dans le Ramesséum et au buste colossal Londres BM 19.

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- 9 Ces paragraphes renvoient à H. G. Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein*, II, *Die Vorarbeiten* (Munich, 1929).
- 10 Cf. spécialement, Evers, o.c. pl. 29, CG 411.
- 11 Cf. le groupe d'Amenemhet III, Caire JE 43104, Evers, o.c., pl. 99 et 100, entouré de deux 'princesses' inidentifiables.



FIGURES 1 and 2, Caire CG 555.



FIGURES 3 and 4, Caire CG 555.

# Egyptian Bronze Sculpture Before the Late Period\*

ELENI VASSILIKA

IN 1956 Cyril Aldred published a study of datable royal statuettes of cast metal which represents perhaps the earliest attempt to isolate New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period bronzes from those of the Late Period.<sup>1</sup> The present article will introduce some Egyptian bronzes in the Fitzwilliam Museum and review and supplement those enumerated by Cyril Aldred.<sup>2</sup>

The life-size copper figure of Pepy I and his son found at Hieraconpolis and now in Cairo are perhaps the best known examples of early metal statues.<sup>3</sup> Since their discovery there has been debate over their manner of manufacture. The excavators suggested they were hammered, while others have proposed that at least parts were castings.<sup>4</sup> If these figures were partly cast, they would be the earliest hollow-cast statues from Egypt. On a far smaller scale, hollow casting was used to produce the spouts of some Old Kingdom vessels.<sup>5</sup> However, the earliest certain cast copper-alloy figures date from the First Intermediate Period.<sup>6</sup> Elaborately cast axe-heads with openwork figural decoration probably date from this same period.<sup>7</sup> Solid-cast figures of striding and draped male figures begin to proliferate in the Middle Kingdom.<sup>8</sup> The prototype of the nursing Isis also occurs in the Middle Kingdom. In this group, the goddess squats asymmetrically and nurses a child, an ambitious subject for the medium.<sup>9</sup> The supreme examples of Middle Kingdom cast metalwork are the little-known figures of Amenemhet III (?) and his courtiers found together in the Faiyum and now mainly in private collections. At least two of these figures appear to be hollow-cast. The solid-cast crocodile in Munich articulated with gold inlay<sup>10</sup> and a hollow-cast male in the Louvre<sup>11</sup> are said to come from this same Middle Kingdom hoard.

The great mystery for art historians is why there are so few cast-metal figures from the New Kingdom. Casting technology was certainly not forgotten, as the early and middle Dynasty XVIII bronze mirrors with papyrus and female figure handles testify.<sup>12</sup> An example of a figured mirror from the reign of Amenhotep II, found at far-away Semna, demonstrates how highly desired such objects were.<sup>13</sup> Elaborate openwork casting continued to be produced, such as vessel stands decorated with the newly introduced horses.<sup>14</sup> Although some of the openwork axe-heads with figural motifs might have been cast in an open one-part mould; the more elaborate axes and the vessel stands probably required the lost-wax process.

To my knowledge, the technology of these stands has not been studied. The decoration was not cut out, and the double curvatures of these objects could not possibly have been created by bending a flat casting from a one-piece open mould. These stands are datable to some time between the reigns of Tuthmose III and Amenhotep III. The vessels on the stands were very likely hammered into shape.

Well known examples of solid castings from the early New Kingdom are the bronze Hathor cows mounted inside bronze carinated bowls.<sup>15</sup> Both solid- and hollow-cast weights were also produced. New Kingdom weights, often in the shape of animals could be hollow cast and filled with lead to the prescribed weight.<sup>16</sup>

The earliest published New Kingdom cast bronze of a king is that of Tuthmose III in the Louvre, solid cast and shown as a sphinx. His eyes, 'nemes', beard, mane, and cartouche are inlaid with gold wire.<sup>17</sup> The archaeological *silentium* between the Middle Kingdom royal figure and this one is inexplicable. The next royal bronze is that of Tuthmose IV in the British Museum. This king is hollow cast and is shown kneeling and offering the 'nu'-pots in carefully dowelled arms.<sup>18</sup> Remarkably, no bronze figures have been published as from the tomb of Tutankhamun. However, a hollow-cast kneeling king in the University Museum Philadelphia with separately dowelled arms, now lost, has been attributed to Tutankhamun.<sup>19</sup> Its authenticity was established when the core underwent thermoluminescence analyses that resulted in a date of 1490 BC ± 305. The blackened patina which provides a contrast with the traces of gold inlay in the headdress and nipples, though applied after recent stripping, may approximate to the original patina. It has been suggested that the figure possibly underwent antique alterations after casting; this is indicated by rectangular 'mortises' improbably associated with lost struts to connect this sculpture to a complicated figural composition.<sup>20</sup>

This is perhaps the place to introduce a small solid-cast head of a king wearing the Blue Crown in the Fitzwilliam Museum (see figs. 1–4).<sup>21</sup> The face shows a broad, oblique forehead and strong wide and high cheekbones. The eyes are slanted upwards at the outer corner and they are widely spaced from the broad root of the long nose whose tip is damaged. The upper lids of the eyes are blunt and fleshy, and these are accentuated along the long cosmetic stripe that slants downwards, especially evident at the right side of the face where the corrosion is less intrusive. The cheeks are full, and this is rendered more profound by the depth of the orbital along the lower rims of the eyes. The face is not modelled along a vertical axis but along an inclined plane which necessarily required an adjustment to the traditional vertical axis of the neck so that it inclines outward from the shoulders. The oblique angle of the face also results in the full jowls and squared chin. The lips of the mouth are full and straight. Stylistically, this broad fleshy-cheeked face which is thrust forward from the chest relates to Amenhotep III. The concentric circular coiled cobra is also datable to the reign.<sup>22</sup> The fact that the ears are pierced is interesting, since the phenomenon occurs on images of his wife Tiye, but not elsewhere on sculptures of the king until the reign of his successor Akhenaten.<sup>23</sup> Pierced ears appear on royal representations in the Third Intermediate Period,<sup>24</sup> yet earrings were not found among the royal gold jewellery at Tanis. Pierced ears are never shown on royal figures from Dynasty XXV onwards. On the basis of the corrosion products, the Fitzwilliam bronze is undoubtedly ancient;

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its style is comparable to that of Amenhotep III, but a Third Intermediate Period date cannot be excluded.

Another *lacuna* in the representation of the king in metal occurs between the time of the so-called Tutankhamun in Philadelphia and Dynasty XX.<sup>25</sup> Garland illustrates the upper part of a bronze statuette of Ramesses IV with very elaborate sockets for separate arms.<sup>26</sup> The trunk of a hollow-cast figure of Ramesses V is in the Fitzwilliam Museum (see fig. 5).<sup>27</sup> The king is preserved from just above the navel to the hem of his kilt. He wears a 'shendyt'-kilt and a belt with triglyph decoration with a cartouche at the front naming *Wsr-mꜣt-rꜥ (s)ḥpr-n-rꜥ*. The casting is thick-walled, and the core remains within. Aldred illustrated a figure of Ramesses IX whose arms appear to be separately attached.<sup>28</sup> The High Priest Menkheperre of Dynasty XXI is preserved in Rio de Janeiro, his arms separately dowelled.<sup>29</sup> A hollow cast King Psusennes I offering a tray as he kneels on his right leg, his left knee raised, is now in a private collection.<sup>30</sup> The arms were made in two sections and joined at the shoulder and forearm. King Siamun of Dynasty XXI appears as a bronze sphinx inlaid with gold and silver in the Louvre.<sup>31</sup> A kneeling King Smendes of Dynasty XXI or XXII with separately attached arms, now lost, is in Mariemont museum.<sup>32</sup> King Osorkon I with separately attached arms and gold inlay is preserved in Brooklyn.<sup>33</sup> The bust of Osorkon II, also with separately attached arms, is in a private Paris collection.<sup>34</sup> A kneeling king Pimay, with both dowelled arms still extant, is in London.<sup>35</sup> Shoshenq of either Dynasty XXII or XXIII appears as a solid-cast sphinx.<sup>36</sup> The trunk of King Petubast of Dynasty XXIII with elaborate cold working, gold and colour inlay in the cells of the belt and girdle, is preserved in the Gulbenkian Museum, Lisbon.<sup>37</sup> An Amun with separately attached and preserved arms, gold and colour inlay in the face, broad collar, and kilt is inscribed for a private man also named Petubastet.<sup>38</sup> Stylistically, these figures tend to show the artificially sweet and fully banded eyes ultimately derivative of the image of Amenhotep III. The eyebrows and cosmetic stripes are often inlaid in another material. It might be noted that these dated royal figures can be either solid or hollow cast and that the arms tend to be separately attached.

Many royal and divine bronze figures, often with gold or colour inlay and with separately attached arms, are stylistically datable to the Third Intermediate Period.<sup>39</sup> Several other figures belong stylistically to this period, but it is not clear whether the arms were separately attached.<sup>40</sup> Some remarkable hollow-cast bronze female figures with separately attached arms belong in the Third Intermediate Period along with Karomama, the Divine Adoratrix in the time of Osorkon II.<sup>41</sup>

A group of solid-cast Third Intermediate Period figures without attached limbs is composed of shabtis and Osirid figures. Before these are enumerated, it should be noted that early bronze shabtis are known such as that of Ani of Dynasty XVIII<sup>42</sup> and of Hesmeref stylistically datable to the end of Dynasty XVIII or Dynasty XIX.<sup>43</sup> The face of the latter is shown with post-Amarna eyes that are fully banded and provided with an upper eyelid fold in a sunken orbital. The mouth is thin and deeply demarcated by the vermilion contour, and the ears are pierced. Examples of both hollow- and solid-cast shabtis of Ramesses II and III respectively are known.<sup>44</sup> The famous group of shabtis from the Dynasty XXI tombs of Psusennes and Wendjebaendjet at Tanis were scattered to several insti-



tutions.<sup>45</sup> Two Osirids, which appear to be hollow cast and which display a debt to Ramesside iconography, were found at Medinet Habu.<sup>46</sup> The bronze cells of the broad collar of one of these figures are quite deep. This same broad collar appears on a stylistically related Osirid with inlaid eyes in Berlin.<sup>47</sup> A stylistically later Osirid with squarer face, crown contour closer to the eyebrows, and larger straighter mouth has no broad collar, possibly because it was made separately.<sup>48</sup> Another bronze figure which could be datable to the Third Intermediate Period is that of a sphinx standing on uraei on a standard.<sup>49</sup>

A bronze hollow-cast figure of Min-Amun in the Fitzwilliam Museum belongs in the Third Intermediate Period (see figs. 6–8).<sup>50</sup> The strong structural build of the face with flat, narrow forehead, sharply sculpted nose and tight planar cheeks which adhere to a strong underlying bone structure are characteristic of the period. The maxillo-facial area is compressed and squared. The sweeping brows are positioned tightly between the contour of the crown and a strong ridge which formally defines the upper edge of the shallow orbital. The brows, once inlaid, span the width of the face, closely imitating the contoured edge of the crown. The horizontal almond-shaped eyes and elegantly long cosmetic stripes were also inlaid, the white stone of the eyes minus the irises remains. The chin strap was also once inlaid and the beard was separately attached under the chin. Traces of gilding remain on the face and crown. Indeed, were the plastic inlays remaining, this bronze figure would bear some resemblance to the gold Third Intermediate Period Amun published by Aldred.<sup>51</sup> The feathers of the crown, the flail held in the raised arm, and the phallus were separately attached. X-rays reveal that the square-section peg for securing the figure to a base was passed through the soles of the feet and up the inside of the legs to the height of the knees. Attention has been paid to the jewellery and bindings of the Fitzwilliam bronze figure, testifying to the superb bronze-working technology of the period. The presence of two rectangular ‘mortises’ along the side of the figure under the raised right arm and on both hips reminds us of those documented only on the Philadelphia ‘Tutankhamun’, which the authors suggested were for connective rods in some sort of elaborate group sculpture.<sup>52</sup> Group compositions in bronze are normally linked on a common base, rather than having connective rods between figures.<sup>53</sup> X-rays show that these ‘mortises’ on the Min-Amun are actually rectangular bronze patches which disguise holes that pass laterally through the bronze and the core. The hole under the raised arm does not penetrate right through the figure, perhaps because the lowered left arm is solid. A central row of four smaller square patches can also be made out on the X-rays extending vertically down the front of the figure at the base of the broad collar, at the solar plexus, just above the phallus and at the upper thighs. They do not seem to penetrate through to the back of the figure. The fact that the deep socket for the phallus intersects the lateral hole from hip to hip might imply that the hole was a by-product of the casting process, rather than for later structural purposes. All in all, the square recesses appear to be patched holes that served some purpose during the casting process, presumably to connect the core to the investment.<sup>54</sup>

The metal of the so-called Amenhotep III, the Ramesses V torso, and the Min-Amun was examined by means of energy dispersive X-ray fluorescence analysis.<sup>55</sup> Over the last few years a large number of analyses of ancient Egyptian

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bronzes has been published, in particular by J. Riederer in Berlin and by the British Museum Research Laboratory.<sup>56</sup> There is, however, a particular lack of New Kingdom and early first millennium bronze analyses.

The solid cast head of the 'Amenhotep III' in the Fitzwilliam contains about 2.5% lead and a tin content of 11%, both lead and tin percentages seem high for Dynasty XVIII. The analyses of the shabtis of Ani and Ramesses II are almost pure copper, whereas those of Ramesses III and Psusennes are of bronze and this was thought to confirm a datable change in metal technology.<sup>57</sup> However, tin occurs in copper alloys at least as early as the First Intermediate Period and is well represented in the Middle Kingdom.<sup>58</sup> For example, the superb hollow-cast Middle Kingdom male statue recently acquired by the Louvre contains around 5% tin.<sup>59</sup> Once into Dynasty XVIII, despite the small number of bronze statuettes of this period, there is ample evidence for tin bronzes. The British Museum Tuthmose IV has about 3% tin,<sup>60</sup> and the Philadelphia Tutankhamun has around 5% tin.<sup>61</sup> However, none of the published analyses of Middle or New Kingdom bronze statuettes match the high level of 11% tin found in the 'Amenhotep III' head, neither do they have the small, but probably intentional, lead content. On the other hand, the high levels of tin and even the small lead content of the 'Amenhotep III' head can be matched in other categories of bronze objects from Egypt from the Middle Kingdom onwards, such as weapons.<sup>62</sup> Even if separate alloy types were employed for different types of objects, it is easy to see how recycling might have resulted in this apparently unusual composition for a statuette. Alternatively, despite the stylistic considerations, it is possible that the head is a Third Intermediate archaistic example, though there are no parallels for this precise imitation.

The Fitzwilliam Ramesses V torso is a tin bronze with about 12% tin and lead below the detection limit, that is well under 1%. A similar composition has been noted in a fine quality hollow-cast fecundity figure that on stylistic grounds is datable to the late Ramesside or early Third Intermediate Period.<sup>63</sup>

Analyses of samples taken from three separate areas of the Min-Amun showed varying results, no doubt due to the corroded surface and the small size of the samples. The body of the figure appears to be made from a copper-tin alloy with 4% or 5% tin. This tin level is fairly typical for Egyptian bronze statuette in the New Kingdom and later. There is also a lead content which cannot be quantified with any accuracy due to lead segregation in the alloy, but it is probably somewhere between 4% and 6%, almost certainly an intentional addition. Although lead has been found in some New Kingdom copper-alloy objects such as about 15% in a Dynasty XVIII vessel and 7.5% in a model axe of the same period,<sup>64</sup> as far as can be determined from published analyses, no copper alloy figural representations in the round contain as much lead as the Fitzwilliam Min-Amun until the Third Intermediate Period. For example, the bronze priest Khonsumeh in Berlin datable to Dynasties XXI/XXII contains 5.55% lead.<sup>65</sup> The famous Dynasty XXII inlaid 'menat' in the same museum contains 6.55% lead.<sup>66</sup> Another bronze stylistically datable to the Third Intermediate Period, not the New Kingdom as published, is a seated Amun in Krakow, also a tin bronze with between 5–10% lead.<sup>67</sup> The highest lead content in a dated statuette is the British Museum kneeling statuette of King Pimay which has about 25% lead; it also has 3.3% tin.<sup>68</sup> Other bronzes

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that might be datable to the Third Intermediate Period on stylistic grounds contain comparable high lead levels.<sup>69</sup> On the other hand, the Tanite bronze shabtis typically contain very little if any lead.<sup>70</sup> Four Tanite shabtis in the Fitzwilliam Museum all had lead below the detection limit and tin contents between 3% and 6.5%. The highest lead content noted in a Tanite shabti is 1.5% in an example in Munich.<sup>71</sup> The advantages of adding lead would not be relevant in such simple small solid castings.

The few analyses discussed here support the general assumption that particular alloy types reflect chronology, complexity, and function. Thus the Middle Kingdom and New Kingdom figures in the round do not seem to have more than 5% tin, whereas weapons and tools of the same period can contain considerably higher levels, due to the practical hardening advantages of tin in functional objects. On the other hand, lead is usually not an intentional addition for tools and weapons but could be an additive in decorative metalwork and statuettes since it facilitated casting when hardness was not important. Leaving aside the problematic 'Amenhotep III' head, lead is near enough absent in statuettes and shabtis until about Dynasty XX.<sup>72</sup> The extremely high levels of lead, most characteristic of the Late Period, is attested as early as Dynasty XXII.<sup>73</sup> The addition of lead to the alloy improved the flow of the molten metal in casting and allowed the production of complex forms in one piece without resorting to a separate assembly of arms and other components. Lead also facilitated the production of thin-walled castings. Further study of the style and iconography of Egyptian bronzes should be undertaken in tandem with a study of their construction and alloys. Possibly the Egyptian nomenclature could be revealing. The Egyptian terminology for copper is thought to be *ḥmty* which occurs from the Old Kingdom until it is replaced by *ḥsmn* in the New Kingdom when bronze and copper manufacture coexisted. the word *ḥmty* was again employed in the Third Intermediate Period, possibly to denote both copper and bronze.<sup>74</sup>

No doubt future analyses will shed further light on the chronology of bronze technology. In this way, the corpus of New Kingdom and early first millennium bronzes may be enhanced and Egyptologists may be restrained from labelling all bronzes as 'Late Period'.

## Notes

\* Since submitting this article, R. S. Bianchi, 'Egyptian Metal Statuary of the Third Intermediate Period (c. 1070–656 bc), from its Egyptian Antecedents to its Samian Examples', *Small Bronze Sculpture from the Ancient World* (Papers Delivered at a Symposium at the J. Paul Getty Museum March 1989) (Malibu, 1990), 61–84, has appeared. Bianchi includes Dynasty XXV in the Third Intermediate Period, and his article largely focuses on the material of that date found at the Heraion at Samos. Bianchi, who illustrates several of the Third Intermediate Period bronzes in the Brooklyn Museum, is right to point out the fine quality of the metalwork of this Period. However, it is debatable whether one can compare the traditions of base and precious metalworking technologies; certainly the gold and silver objects from Tanis, which he mentions, were characteristically hammered and not hollow cast.

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- 1 C. Aldred, 'The Carnarvon Statuette of Amun', *JEA* 42 (1956), 3–7. The Late Period in the present article is defined as the period from Dynasty XXV onwards: see B. V. Bothmer *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period, 700 BC to AD 100* (Brooklyn 1960. Reprint New York, 1969), ix. In older publications the Late Period often included the Third Intermediate Period and thus Roeder for example, who examined more bronzes than any Egyptologist, included Dynasty XXII onwards: G. Roeder, *Ägyptische Bronzewecke* (Pelizaeus-Museum zu Hildesheim 3) (Hildesheim, 1937), 248–9.
- 2 Aldred op. cit. See also E. R. Russman, 'An Egyptian Royal Statuette of the Eighth Century BC', in W. K. Simpson and W. M. Davis (eds.) *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean and the Sudan: Essays in Honor of Dows Dunham* (Boston, 1981), 153, nn. 19, 20; Paris, *Tanis: L'or des pharaons* (Paris, 1987), 85–101.
- 3 J. Quibell and F. W. Green, *Hierakonpolis II* (London, 1902), pls. 50–4. For an analysis of the metal see G. Maspero, *Guide to the Cairo Museum*. English transl. by J. E. and A. A. Quibell, 4th edn (Cairo, 1910).
- 4 A. Lucas and J. R. Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*. 4th edn (London, 1962), 214–15; H. Garland and C. O. Bannister, *Ancient Egyptian Metallurgy* (London, 1927), 36–7.
- 5 Garland and Bannister, op. cit. 35.
- 6 Berlin, *Ägyptisches Museum Berlin* (Berlin, 1981), 98.
- 7 W. C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt: A Background for the Study of the Egyptian Antiquities in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, II (New York, 1969), 213, n. 6.
- 8 Berlin, *Ägyptisches Museum Berlin* (Berlin, 1967), cat. nos. 317–22.
- 9 Berlin 1967 op. cit., cat. no. 316; R. A. Fazzini, R. S. Bianchi, J. F. Romano, and D. B. Spinel, *Ancient Egyptian Art in The Brooklyn Museum* (London–New York, 1989), cat. no. 25.
- 10 Munich, *Fünf Jahre: Neuerwerbungen der Staatlichen Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst München 1976–1980* (Munich, 1980), 14–15.
- 11 E. Delange, *Catalogue des statues égyptiennes du Moyen Empire 1060–1560 avant J.-C.* (Paris, 1987), cat. no. E 27153. Another Louvre bronze, that of a seated female E 16267, is probably not Middle Kingdom in date but an archaizing example of Dynasty XXV.
- 12 Hildesheim, *Ägyptens Aufstieg zur Weltmacht* (Hildesheim, 1987), cat. nos. 137, 225–8.
- 13 W. S. Smith, *Ancient Egypt as Represented in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston, 1960), fig. 72. See also G. Bénédite, *Miroirs* (Cairo, 1907), CG 23.
- 14 Hildesheim, op. cit., cat. nos. 152, 153.
- 15 Cairo JE 34738, JE 34739 and New York, MMA 30.8.67, see Hildesheim op. cit., cat. no. 85.
- 16 Hildesheim, op. cit., cat. nos. 48b–d. It should be noted that many of the weight measures worked out by Flinders Petrie, *Weights and Measures* (London, 1926) are fallacious due to the unknown corrosion factor.
- 17 Acc. no. E 10897, J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, III, *Les grandes époques, la statuaire* (Paris, 1958), pl. CI.
- 18 Acc. no. 64564, Vandier, op. cit., pl. CIII, also Paris, op. cit. 87.
- 19 Acc. no. E 14295, B. Fishman, and S. J. Fleming, 'A Bronze Figure of Tutankhamun: Technical Studies', *Archaeometry* 22:1 (1980), 81–6.
- 20 *Ibid.*, 82; 84.
- 21 Fitzwilliam Museum acc. no. E.G.A.4504.1943. Height 4.5 cm, width 1.5 cm. Provenance unknown. Gayer-Anderson Bequest. What appears in the photograph as inlay in the circular depressions of the Blue Crown is in fact corrosion products.
- 22 Fazzini, op. cit., cat. no. 44. For a stylistic survey of the treatment of the eyes of Amenhotep III, see both C. Strauss-Seeber and B. V. Bothmer in the Cleveland Museum of Art, *The Art of Amenhotep III: Art Historical Analysis*, ed. L. M. Berman (Cleveland, 1990), 9ff., 84ff.
- 23 E. R. Russmann, *Egyptian Sculpture: Cairo and Luxor* (Austin, 1989), 127. W. R. Johnson

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of the Epigraphic Survey has recently identified pierced lobes in the reliefs of Amenhotep III on the east wall of the sun court of the Luxor Temple.

- 24 Paris, op. cit., cat. no. 104.
- 25 Lucas and Harris, op. cit. 221–2 refer to the large hollow cast royal bronze bust in Hildesheim (acc. no. 384) as that of Ramesses III. H. Kayser, *Die ägyptischen Altertümer im Roemer-Pelizaues-Museum in Hildesheim* (Hildesheim, n.d.), cat. no. 384 proposed that this was Ramesses II.
- 26 Garland and Bannister, op. cit. 12, 47–8, figs. 2, 16.
- 27 Fitzwilliam Museum acc. no. E.213.1954. Height 11.0 cm. Provenance unknown. Sir R. Greg Bequest.
- 28 Aldred, op. cit. fig. 7.
- 29 Paris, op. cit. 90.
- 30 Christie's London (11 December 1987), lot. 120. The authenticity of this statuette is debated.
- 31 E 3914, possibly from Tanis, Paris, op. cit., cat. no. 42.
- 32 Acc. no. E 52, Mariemont, *Les Antiquités . . . du musée de Mariemont* (Brussels, 1952), pl. 9.
- 33 Bothmer and J. L. Keith, *Brief Guide to the Department of Egyptian and Classical Art* [in the Brooklyn Museum] (Brooklyn, 1974), 58–9. Lucas and Harris, op. cit. 222, record a hollow-cast statuette of Osorkon I.
- 34 Paris, op. cit. 88.
- 35 T. G. H. James and W. V. Davies, *Egyptian Sculpture* (London, 1983), fig. 47, also Paris, op. cit. 88.
- 36 Fazzini 1989, op. cit., cat. no. 68.
- 37 Washington, *Egyptian Sculpture from the Gulbenkian Collection* (Washington, 1949), cat. no. 16.
- 38 Basel, *Geschenk des Nils: Aegyptische Kunstwerke aus Schweizerbesitz* (Basel, 1978), cat. no. 272.
- 39 See H. Jedrzejska, 'A Corroded Egyptian Bronze: Cleaning and Discoveries', *Studies in Conservation* 21 (1976), 101–14 for a bronze Amun in Krakow Acc. no. XI–671 fig. 1, and another in New York, MMA acc. no. 161115 fig. 15; O. Koefoed-Petersen, *Egyptian Sculpture in the NY Carlsberg Glyptothek* (Copenhagen, 1962), fig. 36 the god Onuris; R. A. Fazzini, *Images for Eternity: Egyptian Art from Berkeley and Brooklyn* (Brooklyn, 1975), cat. no. 87 the god Amun; Basel, op. cit., cat. nos. 272 Amun inlaid with gold and coloured paste; 273 possibly Onuris but incorrectly described as a queen with suppressed bosom on the basis of the wig; Roeder 1937, op. cit., pl. 5k–l a kneeling fecundity deity; Munich, *Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst*, 2nd revised edn (Munich, 1976), ÄS 1534 bust of a fecundity figure; B. V. Bothmer, D. V. Bothmer, P. Getz-Preziosi, D. Buitron-Oliver, and A. Oliver, *Antiquities from the Collection of Christos G. Bastis* (Mainz am Rhein, 1987), cat. no. 9 face of Osiris (?) with inlaid eyes and eyebrows in the Bastis Collection.
- 40 See E. Brunner-Traut and H. Brunner *Osiris Kreuz und Halbmond: Die drei Religionen Ägyptens* (Mainz am Rhein, 1984), cat. no. 26 Amun on a palimpsest; Basel, op. cit., cat. no. 274 seated king, possibly Osorkon II; G. Steindorff, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, 1946), cat. no. 490 a nursing Isis; Kestner-Museum Hannover acc. no. 1964.37 striding king illustrated in a museum loose-leaf publication 'Eingangsvitrine', cat. no. 1.
- 41 Berlin acc. no. 2309 G. Roeder, *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Mitteilungen aus der ägyptischen Sammlung VI: Ägyptische Bronzefiguren* (Berlin, 1956), pl. 47a–c; Louvre acc. no. E 14276, Paris, op. cit. 90; Meresamun, Berlin acc. no. 71/71, (improbably dated by Brunner-Traut, op. cit., cat. no. 48 as Dynasty XXV/XXVI); Karomama, Louvre Acc. no. N 500, Paris, op. cit., cat. no. 48. There are subtle stylistic differences between these statues and the superficially similar statue of Takushit of Dynasty XXV in Athens, Paris, op. cit., p. 89.
- 42 P. A. Clayton, 'Royal Bronze Shabti Figures', *JEA* 58 (1972), 167–74, esp. 174.
- 43 Washington, op. cit., cat. no. 15.

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- 44 Clayton, op. cit.
- 45 Paris, op. cit., cat. nos. 15, 16; S. Schoske and D. Wildung, *Ägyptische Kunst München* (Munich, 1989), fig. 62; H. W. Müller, *Ägyptische Kunstwerke, Kleinfunde und Glas in der Sammlung E. und M. Kofler-Truniger, Luzern* (MÄS 5) (Berlin, 1964), cat. no. A 114; H. Schneider, *Shabtis*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1977), nos. 4.7.1.1–6, 4.7.7.1; Fitzwilliam nos. E.148–150.1954; Clayton, op. cit. 172–5.
- 46 G. E. J. Daressy, *Statues de divinités* (Cairo, 1906), CG.38.275; CG.38.309, pl. XVIII. The Osirid CG.38.286 also found at Medinet Habu probably belongs to a slightly later date. The highly stylized modelled upper lid, recalls a Min-Amun in Berlin, Roeder 1956, op. cit., pl. 30c, 1.
- 47 Berlin acc. no. 23882, Roeder 1956, op. cit., pl. 25a–c, f; R. Anthes, 'Technik und Datierung einiger ägyptischer Bronzen mit farbigen Glaseinlagen', *Berliner Museen Berichte aus den preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 59: 4 (1938), 70–6.
- 48 Berlin acc. no. 8716, Roeder 1956, op. cit., pl. 27a–c. Anthes, op. cit. Other Osirids may be added to the list of Third Intermediate Period bronzes: Karlsruhe Badisches Landesmuseum H 568 in Brunner-Traut, op. cit., fig. 30; Bologna Museo Civico Archeologico KS 77, KLS 79 illustrated in Bologna, *Il senso dell'arte nell'antico Egitto* (Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico, Milan, 1990), cat. nos. 139, 140.
- 49 Fazzini 1975, op. cit., cat. no. 78 dates this to Dynasty XIX.
- 50 Fitzwilliam acc. no. E.496.1954. Height 23.3 cm. Provenance unknown. Sir R. Greg Bequest.
- 51 Aldred, op. cit., pl. I. An idea of the colourful effect of the inlays can be had from a stylistically related face of Osiris (?) in the Bastis Collection, Bothmer *et al.*, 1987, op. cit., cat. no. 9.
- 52 Fishman and Fleming, op. cit. 84–5.
- 53 Rectangular mortises were generally employed for attachment of attributes such as the beard as on the Fitzwilliam Min-Amun. A square mortise occurs on the side of the head for the sidelock on a naked bronze seated royal or divine youth. This fine-walled hollow-cast bronze with dowelled arms and inlaid eyes, probably datable to the Third Intermediate Period, was once in the Bartholdi Collection, Roeder, 1956, op. cit., pl. 17k–m.
- 54 Perhaps in the case of the Philadelphia 'Tutankhamun', the authors (Fishman and Fleming, op. cit. 84) were too quick to dismiss the 'mortises' as patches replacing casting rods, albeit ones which were crookedly positioned.
- 55 The author is grateful to Dr Jack Ogden for undertaking these analyses and for contributing substantially to the discussion which follows.
- 56 J. Riederer, 'Die naturwissenschaftliche Untersuchung der Bronzen der Staatlichen Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst in München', *Berliner Beiträge zur Archäometrie* 7 (1982), 5–34. Id., 'Metallanalysen der ägyptischen Statuetten des Kestner-Museums, Hannover', *Berliner Beiträge zur Archäometrie* 8 (1983), 5–17. Id., 'Die naturwissenschaftliche Untersuchung der Bronzen des Ägyptischen Museums Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin', *Berliner Beiträge zur Archäometrie* 9 (1984), 5–42. Id., 'Metallanalysen ägyptische Bronzestatuetten aus deutschen Museen', *Berliner Beiträge zur Archäometrie* 10 (1988), 5–20. P. T. Craddock, 'Three Thousand Years of Copper Alloys: From the Bronze Age to the Industrial Revolution', *Application of Science in Examination of Works of Art*, eds. P. A. England and L. van Zelst (Boston, 1985) and the various works cited elsewhere in this article. Unfortunately, Riederer gives no chronological information and his analyses must be consulted together with other publications such as Roeder, op. cit.
- 57 Clayton, op. cit. 175.
- 58 Craddock, op. cit.
- 59 Delange, op. cit. 211–13, 253. It should be noted that the bronze seated female figure E 16267 is probably an archaizing figure of Dynasty XXV, and its high lead content (8%) also casts doubt on Delange's Middle Kingdom date.
- 60 Craddock, op. cit., B.M. acc. no. 64564.

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- 61 Fishman and Fleming, op. cit. 82.
- 62 Craddock, op. cit., *passim*; W. V. Davies, *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum VIII: Tools and Weapons I, Axes* (London, 1987), Appendix I.
- 63 Private collection, unpublished analyses by Independent Art Research Ltd no. 90093.
- 64 Craddock, op. cit., BM 63972, U.C.L. 15892.
- 65 Riederer 1984, op. cit. 30, acc. no. 23732 (Roeder 1964, op. cit., pls. 45–6). The iron content of over 3% is unusual.
- 66 Riederer 1984, op. cit. 29, acc. no. 23733 (Roeder 1956, op. cit., pl. 64e).
- 67 Jedrzejewska, op. cit. 113.
- 68 Craddock, op. cit., BM 32747 (James and Davies, op. cit., fig. 47).
- 69 For example Berlin acc. nos. 23883 and 8671 contain 13.54% and 23.84% lead respectively Riederer 1984, op. cit. 34, 40. See also Roeder 1956, op. cit., pls. 25a–c, f, 27a–d.
- 70 Clayton, op. cit. 174; Riederer 1982, op. cit. 13, Munich nos. 5316–5319.
- 71 Riederer 1982, op. cit. 13, acc. no. 5317.
- 72 The shabti of the British Museum Ramesses III (no. 33938) has between 2% and 4% lead, Clayton, op. cit. 174 and Craddock, op. cit. respectively.
- 73 For a supposed Dynasty XIX Osiris with 25% lead see the early (1909) analyses by Rathgen cited in Riederer 1982, op. cit. 9, possibly the same analyses cited by Lucas and Harris, op. cit. 223, n. 6. It should be noted that copper alloys with high lead contents of over 15% were employed as early as the third millennium BC in some parts of the ancient Old World, see for example, M. N. Ragimova and I. R. Selimkhanov, 'Chemical Study of some Ancient Copper-Lead Objects found in the Caucasus', *Dolk. Akad. Nauk. Azerb. SSR* 26, 2 (1970), 94–7.
- 74 A. Leahy, 'Egypt as a Bronzeworking Centre (1000–539 BC)', in J. Curtis (ed.), *Bronzeworking Centres of Western Asia, c. 1000–539 BC* (London, 1988), 298–9.

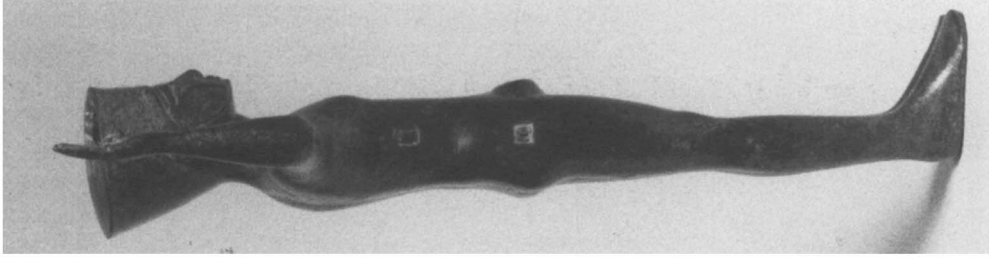
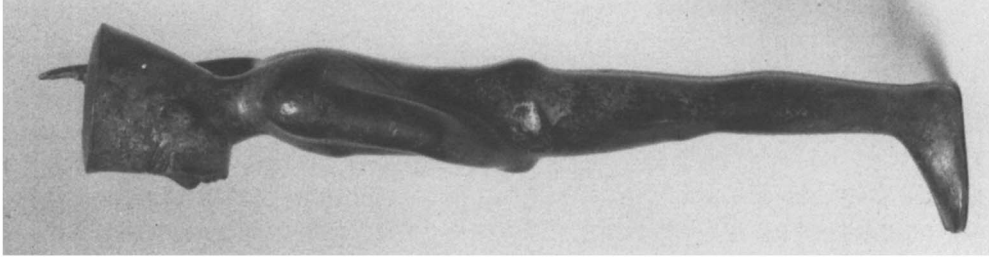
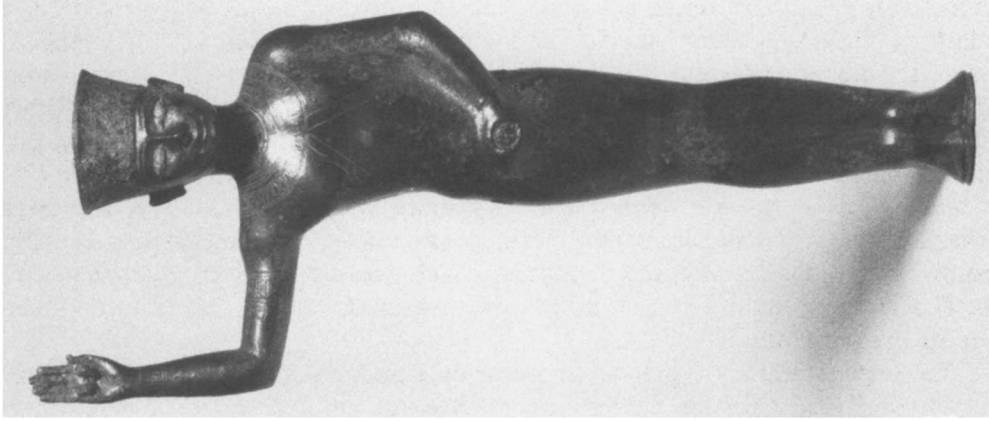


FIGURES 1-4 Bronze head of Amenhotep III, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Acc. no. E.G.A. 4505.1943.





FIGURE 5 Bronze hollow cast trunk of Ramesses V, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Acc. no. E.213.1954.



FIGURES 6-8 Bronze hollow cast Min-Amun, Third Intermediate Period. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. E.496.1954.

# A Remarkable Gem in Paris

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IN the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale is an object which is intriguing both for its original form and for its later treatment in accordance with an Egyptianizing fashion of the Renaissance: it consists of an ancient aquamarine cameo cut in very high relief, set in a decorated gold pedestal which makes it a miniature term 43 mm high (see fig. 1); the provenance is unknown.<sup>1</sup> The unusual form of the aquamarine, cut three-quarters in the round as a swelling ovoid body surmounted by a human head, led to its description in the nineteenth-century catalogue of the collection of gems as an Egyptian amulet 'en forme d'oeuf surmonté d'une tête',<sup>2</sup> but it is, in fact, a miniature image of an Egyptian divinity with the body of a jar, as was recognized in a more recent description.<sup>3</sup> The back of the aquamarine is flat, indicating that it was made for insertion in a setting, presumably of metal; in its present mount, which obscures its foot, it measures 17 mm. The mount, which is somewhat crudely executed, was attributed in the catalogue to the sixteenth century AD.

The most familiar deity of this type, with a body reminiscent of the canopic jars of funerary use, has traditionally been known as Osiris Canopus, but in recent discussions the titles 'Osiris Hydreios'<sup>4</sup> or 'Osiris-in-hydria'<sup>5</sup> have been preferred for this image in which a divine head surmounts a high-shouldered water jar or hydria. In the present article, however, the old, familiar name will be employed where images of Osiris are concerned. Although it has been surmised that the origins of a cult of Osiris in this form may go back at least to the Thirtieth Dynasty, surviving representations of the deity seem to be no earlier than the first century AD, so that the visual image has been considered an essentially Roman phenomenon, most commonly attested in Egypt and Italy.<sup>6</sup> The best-known type of representation is a free-standing sculpture of Osiris Canopus, often with a face of idealized but rather banal classicizing type framed by a headcloth which combines features of the royal 'nemes' with the vertically striped lappets of a divine wig; this is usually surmounted by plumes, disc, and ram's horns carrying uraei, and the body of the jar is decorated in relief with collar, pectoral, and divine figures, or more rarely with diagonal fluting or folds of drapery, sometimes accompanied by a pendulous collar.<sup>7</sup> The jar is thought to embody, symbolically but not literally, the life-giving water associated and identified with Osiris as promoter of the fertile

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land in this life and dispenser of the cool water of immortality in the next; the image is found in both cultic and funerary contexts.<sup>8</sup> The jar form is not exclusive to Osiris, however, and other Egyptian deities appear in this guise: the aquamarine belongs to this latter category, since the head portrayed is not male, with a striped head covering, but female — she wears a tripartite wig, the lappets of which, falling in four strands on either side of the face, are incised horizontally in a block-like formation suggestive of rows of curls.<sup>9</sup> Across the forehead runs a narrow plain band turning in, tab-like, at the ear, and above this are four rows of incised ‘blocks’, followed by three more in a narrower, semi-circular formation which is flanked by a pair of wider, hatched bands which fall at either side of the head; further details of headgear are omitted as the figure descends to the flat back (see fig. 2). These wider bands have the appearance of bird’s wings, and they suggest that the headdress might be interpreted as a wig surmounted by the vulture crown, the block-patterned rows above the forehead representing perhaps the front of the feathered cap and the vulture’s body rather than the curls of the wig.<sup>10</sup> Allowances may be made for economy in the detailing of such complicated headgear on an object of this type and scale, but it must be noted that a vital feature which would distinguish the headdress is missing — neither the vulture head, nor the uraeus which sometimes replaces it, is shown on the front.<sup>11</sup> Between the lappets, which fall close together over the shoulder of the jar, appears a collar consisting of two rows of beads indicated in slightly oblique strokes. The face above displays large eyes and a slightly smiling mouth with full lips above a small, firm chin; in profile we see a neatly tilting nose and, below the rotund chin, a smooth and jawless descent down a short curving neck. Mouth, chin, neck, and the comparatively high setting of the ears are comparable to traits found in Egyptian sculpture of the Ptolemaic period; the dominant eyes, however, with a slight downturn at the outer edge, are reminiscent of the expressive treatment sometimes given to this feature in Hellenistic sculpture.

The back of the aquamarine presents an oval, flat surface; on the right-hand side are the remnants of a bevelled edge which projects slightly beyond the line of the jar body, but on the left the edge is broken and the bevelling missing; the damage continues around the side into the wig lappet. The stone has been pierced vertically down the back, rather clumsily and a little off-centre to the right — this might represent a prior attempt at fixing the stone in a modern setting, or even a change of setting in antiquity.<sup>12</sup> The present setting has been effected by piercing the stone horizontally at the shoulders, somewhat asymmetrically (probably because of the damaged area). The lowest part of the jar is hidden by the modern setting.

Examples of small free-standing images of Osiris Canopus cut in semi-precious or attractive stones are known,<sup>13</sup> and the type exists in miniature as an amulet,<sup>14</sup> but the aquamarine in Paris is apparently unique among gems cut in high relief. Representations in intaglio are not uncommon: several examples, generally dated to the second century AD and cut in a variety of stones or glass, show Osiris Canopus, usually in profile and wearing his tall crown, the details of which (and sometimes the decorated body of the jar, too) tend to be sketchily rendered.<sup>15</sup> The image also appears as a cult object on a stand or naos — a fragmentary sardonyx cameo in Munich shows Osiris Canopus thus within a temple entrance,<sup>18</sup> reminiscent

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of the coin type familiar in the Roman issues of Alexandria where a temple pylon is shown with a divine image in the entrance or above, between the towers, as though appearing on a *sšd n ḥ*<sup>c</sup>; both single and paired jar-divinities are shown thus.<sup>17</sup> On a unique pair of glass inlays in the British Museum an object like the nome-standard of Abydos intervenes between the stand or naos and a jar-divinity of Osiris Canopus type (though the headdress is modius-shaped), shown in profile.<sup>18</sup>

Despite the lack of any distinguishing features on the headdress, an identification of the aquamarine figure as Isis, or possibly Hathor or the composite Isis-Hathor, in jar form seems likely. A small number of such figures are known: in discussing a marble 'Isis-in-hydria' in Leiden, Bianchi has suggested a feasible extension to Isis of the cultic symbolism of water attaching to Osiris;<sup>19</sup> on the Leiden figure, which has been attributed to the second century AD, the body of the jar is decorated in relief, after the manner of Osiris Canopus figures, and the face, Egyptian in style, is framed by a curled wig, originally surmounted by a headdress of which only the base is preserved. Among representations in relief, three goddesses — Isis, Hathor, and Mut — whose imagery would fit the aquamarine cameo appear among the fourteen jar-divinities on the monument of the soldier Agrios from Akhmim, which has been dated to the early Roman Imperial period,<sup>20</sup> and one, seemingly Isis, appears in the procession of jars borne by priests on one of the columns from the Iseum Campense at Rome.<sup>21</sup> A close connection between Isis and Osiris Canopus is implied by the proximity of her statue (in the usual anthropomorphic form) to his cult image found *in situ* at Luxor;<sup>22</sup> her putative appearance as his consort on the coin types of Alexandria is not so clear, however<sup>23</sup> — as Wild has pointed out, the paired jars here might be two different manifestations of the one divinity, like the two Osiris Canopus statues found at Ras el-Soda.<sup>24</sup> Whether identified as Isis in close connection with Osiris, or as a goddess in a broader company of gods, as on the Agrios monument where a cosmological significance has been detected,<sup>25</sup> it seems that the divine figure in its jar manifestation would be symbolically associated with water in either case. The choice of stone for the Paris gem is significant — the aquamarine is, as Chabouillet noted, 'très claire',<sup>26</sup> and would admirably embody the water symbolized not only by the jar but by the whole concept of this sacred image. The combination of lucent stone and female, divine, head curiously echoes that unique and enigmatic object found in tomb 55 at El-Kurru in Nubia and dated to the late eighth century BC, a rock crystal ball surmounted by a golden head of Hathor.<sup>27</sup> It is possible that further details of the headdress on the aquamarine might have been added in metal as part of the setting (if they were not simply omitted through technical difficulty or ignorance, which seems unlikely).

Because there seem to be no representations earlier than the first century AD, but the image seems to enjoy modest popularity in the second, it has been suggested that the theology and canonical representation of 'Isis-in-hydria' (and also Osiris Canopus) is a development of the Roman Imperial period, during which it underwent rapid codification and proliferation.<sup>28</sup> The phenomenon might be more prudently regarded, however, as the rapid development to a fully evolved form with attributes such as the decorated jar body of a pre-existing, simpler image whose cultic significance is not at present fully known to us.<sup>29</sup> With no provenance or

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significant context to provide a clue but only itself as evidence, the gem in Paris can hardly throw any light on this question, but it seems likely that it should be added to the small list of images of this type which may pre-date the first century AD.<sup>30</sup> Cameos were an innovation of the Hellenistic era, an opulent style of gem cutting which continued to be popular in the Roman period, initially perhaps expressly because of its association with the luxurious productions of the Hellenistic world: the fashion for portrait cameos cut in high relief, often in single-colour stones, was especially marked in the early Empire, reaching its apogee in the mid-first century AD.<sup>31</sup> This could be the period in which the Paris gem was cut, but its very Egyptian nature and style makes it likelier that it was produced in Ptolemaic Egypt and that it should be seen in the context of other gems of this period which carry Egyptian religious symbolism.<sup>32</sup> The unusual height of the cutting makes it seem an unlikely choice for setting in a ring,<sup>33</sup> a necklace or the wall of a vessel might be a more suitable destination.

The ancient setting of the aquamarine may only be guessed at, but its modern setting enables us to learn something about the way in which it was interpreted in a later age. The stone is set in a tapering pedestal of gold with niello decoration on the front and sides in a simplified form of the Arabesque style appropriate to the small surface area.<sup>34</sup> Less elegant than the mount is the device securing the aquamarine to it by means of wires extending from a plate on the back to the horizontal holes at shoulder level, where there are obtrusive clips, particularly noticeable on the damaged left side. The stone is held slightly lop-sidedly in this setting.

The addition of this mount has converted the gem into a small, free-standing example of the kind of Egyptianizing term, telamon or caryatid found in some sixteenth-century decorative schemes. Earliest and best-known are the figures in the spandrels of the upper part of the Stanza dell'Incendio in the Vatican, painted by Giulio Romano and others in 1514–17 after Raphael's designs;<sup>35</sup> they follow quite closely their granite models, the pair of telamones in the style of statues of Antinous as an Egyptian, presumed to have been found in the ruins of the Villa Adriana in the course of the fifteenth century and visible thereafter outside the Bishop's Palace at Tivoli, where they were observed and drawn by various artists and antiquaries.<sup>36</sup> These figures, however, have legs, shown in the Egyptian striding pose of the originals; for a type corresponding to the form of the aquamarine in its setting — that of a classical herm, with a bust above a pedestal — we need to look later in the sixteenth century, to a group whose possible interrelationship has occasioned some comment: two engravings and a pair of sculpted caryatids. The engravings — by Cornelis Bos (c. 1510–56),<sup>37</sup> and J. A. du Cerceau (c. 1520–84)<sup>38</sup> — belong to the mid-sixteenth century, though their precise dates are unknown; the caryatids form part of the monumental doorway into the Chapelle de la Trinité on the west side of the Jardin de Diane at Fontainebleau, designed by an unknown hand (Rosso Fiorentino and Primaticcio are among suggested candidates) and belonging probably to François I's building works around 1540.<sup>39</sup> The figures are closely similar and may be exemplified by the Bos engraving (see fig. 3): the torso is rather bulky, with emphatic breasts (which are decidedly female on the Fontainebleau caryatids and in Du Cerceau's engraving, where the figure is

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employed as a canephorus), wide hips, and a sagging line to the waistband of the kilt, the central pendant part of which has been turned into a tasselled rope, a motif frequently encountered in decorative grotesques of this period. The arms terminate as though broken off half-way above the elbow. The Tivoli statues may have provided the idea for using such figures as supporting elements, and the feminized physique displayed by the engravings and the Fontainebleau pair seemingly relates them to Egyptian Antinous figures; the fleshy musculature of these gave them a certain ambiguity which would have been compounded by the fact that the 'nemes' headcloth and the kilt would have been adjudged female dress (a mistake of gender which was to be perpetuated in neo-classical furniture designs over two centuries later). A similar confusion may be observed in other drawings of Egyptian sculpture at this time, arising either from the mistake over dress and gender or from the pervasive visual influence of the Egyptian Antinous.<sup>40</sup> The lack of arms, however, and the substitution of pedestals for legs, suggests that the immediate model may not have been the Tivoli pair (directly or indirectly via drawings or the Stanza dell'Incendio frescoes) but a fragmentary statue of Antinous type:<sup>41</sup> one such was seen at Rome and drawn (with female breasts) by Etienne Dupérac in about 1590, though it is not known how much earlier in the sixteenth century it may have been visible; it has been identified as the red marble Antinous now in Munich, of which the right arm is broken above the elbow, the left missing entirely, and the lower part of the body lost just above the hem of the kilt.<sup>42</sup> The figure engraved by Bos and Du Cerceau corresponds quite closely to this statue in details such as the facial features, the style of the 'nemes' with its high-set uraeus and uneven ending of the lappets, and the setting of the kilt waistband under the pelvis and some distance below the navel.<sup>43</sup> Contemporary sketches of other fragmentary Egyptian statues restored as though they were herms suggest that this interpretation of Egyptian figures according to a familiar classical type was not uncommon.<sup>44</sup> The exact relationship between the Fontainebleau figure and the engravings remains uncertain;<sup>45</sup> they could owe their similarity to a common but now unknown source.<sup>46</sup> One distinguishing peculiarity of the Fontainebleau statues may be noted: their faces are now much eroded but with their rounded cheeks, shallow-cut almond eyes, and slightly smiling mouths below flaring nostrils they display the vestiges of something more Egyptian than the classicizing features generally found on Antinous statues (see fig. 4): the striations of their 'nemes' headcloths fall more closely down the lappets than across the head, and they seem to have the vestiges of necklines between the lappets. These are features which could be observed on the basalt sphinxes which stood at the foot of the Capitol in Rome during the sixteenth century, and it is possible that these served as the model for this part of the figures, via drawings or casts.<sup>47</sup>

Whatever their relationship or origin, this group of figures may help us to place the aquamarine and its mount in context as another manifestation of this mid-sixteenth-century interpretation of Egyptian figures as herms, and to confirm the sixteenth-century date attributed to the mount in Chabouillet's catalogue, a date which its comparative lack of technical finesse might otherwise belie. We may also refer to the extraordinary illuminated page for the Mass of St John the Baptist in the Colonna Missal, apparently completed some time after the death in 1532 of

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Cardinal Pompeo Colonna, there designated 'Divus' (see fig. 5).<sup>48</sup> The page is encircled by a profusion of Egyptian motifs, probably in allusion to the putative Egyptian origins of the Colonna family;<sup>49</sup> they include the celebrated Egyptian antiquities of the day, among them the Capitoline sphinxes and a male statue similar to the Tivoli telamones at the foot of the page. At the mid-point on either side are Egyptianizing terms — a pair of blue female figures with 'nemes'-like headcloths at the right, and at the left a herm with the head of Jupiter Ammon and a pedestal incised with hieroglyphs. His sharp green colour has prompted the identification 'bronze',<sup>50</sup> but, taken together with the inscription, it might indicate that his form was partly modelled on that of a glazed faience shabti — a type of Egyptian antiquity rarely attested but certainly not unknown at this period;<sup>51</sup> the enigmatic mummiform shape of a shabti, with arms folded in over the chest and tapering shaft-like lower body, could well have influenced the conception of an Egyptian equivalent to the classical herm. Painted in jewel-like colours and lacking any relative scale, the antiquities depicted by the artist of the Colonna illuminations have the quality of collector's miniatures, and it is in this context that we should see the aquamarine in its Renaissance setting. The craftsman who wrought that setting presumably thought (correctly in this case) that he was working with a female figure, which he probably recognized as Egyptian, though the jar form would doubtless have escaped him;<sup>52</sup> whether or not he was directly influenced by the engravings or caryatids discussed above, he was evidently familiar with the same concept of the Egyptianizing term and modelled this little figure accordingly: a surprising transformation of an image — a human-headed jar — which was already as surprising to European eyes as anything which Mannerism could devise.

### Notes

- 1 The object, *Inventaire des Monuments d'or et d'argent* n°. 101, is published here by kind permission of the Bibliothèque Nationale; my thanks are also due to Mme Marie-Louise Vollenweider, who is preparing a catalogue of the Hellenistic gems in the Cabinet des Médailles in which this will appear, and to Mme. Mathilde Avisseau, Conservateur au Cabinet des Médailles.

This short study is dedicated with affection and gratitude to the memory of a scholar whose skill as a jeweller and silversmith was perhaps not quite as widely known as his virtuosity as an art-historian.

- 2 A. Chabouillet, *Catalogue général des camées et pierres gravées de la Bibliothèque Impériale* (Paris, 1858), 414, no. 2776.
- 3 J. Boardman and M.-L. Vollenweider, *Catalogue of the Engraved Gems and Finger Rings in the Ashmolean Museum, I. Greek and Etruscan* (Oxford, 1978), 70, s.v. 'Beryl': 'miniature Canopus, probably of Ptolemy IV'. The evidence examined in the present paper rules out the possibility of a male portrait.
- 4 R. A. Wild, *Water in the Cultic Worship of Isis and Sarapis* (EPRO 87) (Leiden, 1981), 113–23.
- 5 R. S. Bianchi, in: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, *Mummies and Magic* (Exhibition catalogue, S. d'Auria *et al.*) (Boston, 1988), 243, no. 206; *id.*, in: the Brooklyn Museum, *Cleopatra's Egypt: Age of the Ptolemies* (Exhibition catalogue, R. S. Bianchi *et al.*) (Brooklyn, 1988), 248–9, no. 136.

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- 6 Wild, op. cit. 119–20.
- 7 The feature should be interpreted thus, and not as a U-shaped garment neckline with horizontal bands, as described by Wild (op. cit. 113, 120); this ungainly form of deep collar appears *passim* in offering scenes (see, e.g., E. Chassinat and F. Daumas, *Le Temple de Dendara*, VII (Cairo, 1972), pl. 603).
- 8 Wild, op. cit. 123–8. Its ambiguous relationship to the funerary canopic jars which it so closely resembles has been recognized, and Wild (244–5 n. 104) notes the continuing use of these; see also F. W. von Bissing's observations on the misunderstanding implicit in Graeco-Roman representations of sets of canopic jars, *Expedition Ernst von Sieglin*, I. *Die Nekropole von Kôm-Esch-Schukâfa* (Leipzig, 1908), 154 n. 31.
- 9 The cutting of the squares has been compared technically to that on a cameo of ?Arsinoe II in Oxford: Boardman and Vollenweider, op. cit. 81, no. 286.
- 10 Both wig and feathered cap should be shown, but the former is sometimes barely visible peeking out below the latter and the markings can be similar: see, for instance, the ivory statuette of a royal lady of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty in Edinburgh: the Brooklyn Museum, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period* (Exhibition catalogue, B. V. Bothmer *et al.*) (Brooklyn, 1960), 13–14, no. 12.
- 11 A diadem is another possibility — usually worn over a tripartite wig alone, but for an example combined with a vulture-cap, see a fragmentary sardonyx cameo of a Ptolemaic queen, now in Boston: J. D. Beazley, *The Lewes House Collection of Ancient Gems* (Oxford, 1920), 104, no. 17 and pl. 8.
- 12 A. Furtwängler, *Die Antiken Gemmen. Geschichte der Steinschneidekunst im Klassischen Altertum* (Leipzig/Berlin, 1900), III, 152, cites a Hellenistic cameo from the Crimea which had been first bored, then set in a ring.
- 13 See an example in agate from Rome, 73 mm high with a hole on top for a separate headdress, Berlin no. 21790: Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, *Ägyptische Museum Berlin* (Berlin, 1967), 107, no. 1019. A curious marble specimen in Bologna has loculi for oval inlays on the jar.
- 14 W. M. F. Petrie, *Amulets* (London, 1914), nos. 158 k–s.
- 15 See the examples catalogued, with parallels, by H. Philipp, *Mira et Magica. Gemmen im Ägyptischen Museum der Staatlichen Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin-Charlottenburg* (Mainz, 1986), 34–5 and pl. 3, nos. 10–12. Two examples identified as Isis seem rather to be Osiris: E. Zwierlein-Diehl, *Antike Gemmen in Deutschen Sammlungen*, II. *Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Antikenabteilung Berlin* (Munich, 1969), 124, no. 293 (headdress unclear but probably horns, disc and plumes); *id.*, *Die antiken Gemmen des Kunsthistorischen Museums in Wien*, II (Munich, 1979), 206, no. 1503 (the headdress here seems to be the conical crown as worn by one of the pair of figures from Ras el-Soda (see below, n. 24) plus horns and uraei).
- 16 E. Brandt *et al.*, *Antike Gemmen in Deutschen Sammlungen*, I. *Staatliche Münzsammlung München*, III (Munich, 1972), 84, no. 2653.
- 17 P. Naster, 'Le pylone égyptien sur les monnaies impériales d'Alexandrie', *Antidoron W. Peremans Sexagenario ab alumnis oblatum* (Studia Hellenistica 16, 1968), 181–90, esp. 183–4 and pl. 1, nos. 1–2 (single divinity, not on stand) and 3–4 (pair, likewise).
- 18 J. D. Cooney, *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum*, IV. *Glass* (London, 1976), 13, no. 123 (c) and (d) and pl. 1; the pair forms part of a set, dated to the first–second century AD, with the Four Sons of Horus.
- 19 Bianchi, in *Cleopatra's Egypt* (above, n. 5), 249.
- 20 E. Bernard, *Inscriptions métriques de l'Égypte gréco-romaine* (Paris, 1969), 442–62, no. 114; O. Guéraud, 'Le monument d'Agrios au Musée du Caire', *ASAE* 39 (1939), 279–311 and pls. 40–3. The jars have plain bodies; Mut is wearing the vulture cap (as noted by Guéraud, 282), but details of the headgear below the disc and horns of Isis and Hathor are not clear — there seem to be traces of a vulture's head and tail.



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- 21 Museo Capitolino, Rome, column left of the entrance from the cortile: A. Roulet, *The Egyptian and Egyptianizing Monuments of Imperial Rome* (EPRO 20) (Leiden, 1972), 58 and fig. 45; the jar has a 'draped' body and the head wears a wig and vulture cap surmounted by horns, disc, and plumes.
- 22 Wild, op. cit. 117 and pl. 21.
- 23 See above, n. 17.
- 24 Wild, op. cit. 121. Although unclear, the details of the crowns shown on the coins seem to bear this out, the second being the conical type, as at Ras el Soda: A. Adriani, 'Sanctuaire de l'époque romaine à Ras el-Soda', *Annuaire du Musée Gréco-Romain (1935-1939)* (Alexandria, 1940), 136-48, esp. 144 and pl. 53, 1.
- 25 H. Beinlich, *Die 'Osirisreliquien'. Zum Motiv der Körperzergliederung in der altägyptischen Religion* (AA 42) (Wiesbaden, 1984), 303-4.
- 26 Above, n. 2. For the use of aquamarine (strictly speaking, pale-blue beryl) as a gemstone, see Furtwängler, op. cit., III, 394-5.
- 27 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 21.321, 53 mm high: the Brooklyn Museum, *Africa in Antiquity*, I (Exhibition catalogue, S. Wenig) (Brooklyn, 1978), 180, no. 93, where it is suggested that although the head looks Egyptian, the composition is 'most probably a native conception'.
- 28 Bianchi, in *Cleopatra's Egypt* (above, n. 5), 80.
- 29 Apart from the jar-divinities on the Agrios monument, the comparison which has been drawn with the procession of personified nomes with jars in the East Osiris Chapel at Dendera (discussed at length by Beinlich, op. cit. 209-71) adds to the complexity.
- 30 Wild, op. cit. 114 and n. 86 on 243, rightly emphasizing that their case stands on style alone. An addition to his list is a gold pendant in the Benaki Museum, Athens, set with an earlier intaglio of a priest carrying Osiris Canopus, possibly of the first century BC: Zwierlein-Diehl, *AGDS II. Berlin* (Above, n. 15), 124.
- 31 Boardman and Vollenweider, op. cit. 74; Furtwängler, op. cit., III, 313, and 394-5 (on the popularity of aquamarine in the Hellenistic and Augustan periods).
- 32 Furtwängler, op. cit., III, 155 and pl. 50. For the production of cameos as a courtly luxury particularly associated with the ruler cult, see H. Kyrieleis, *Bildnisse der Ptolemäer* (DAI Archäologische Forschungen 2) (Berlin, 1975), 151-2.
- 33 For a comparatively high relief portrait cameo set in a ring, see an example of late Republican - early Augustan date from Pedescia: A. Furtwängler, *Königliche Museen zu Berlin. Beschreibung der Geschnittenen Steine im Antiquarium* (Berlin, 1896), 393-4, no. 11066.
- 34 For Arabesque (or Moresque) ornament, see the fundamental survey by P. Ward-Jackson, 'Some Main Streams and Tributaries in European Ornament from 1500 to 1750. Part 2. The Arabesque', *Victoria and Albert Museum Bulletin* 3 (1967), 90-103.
- 35 N. Pevsner and S. Lang, 'The Egyptian Revival', in N. Pevsner, *Studies in Architecture and Design* (London, 1968), 213-48 (revised version of the paper originally published in *The Architectural Review* 119 (1956)), 222 and fig. 26; illustrated in colour by J.-M. Humbert, *L'Égyptomanie dans l'art occidental* (Paris, 1989), 97.
- 36 Roulet, op. cit. 87, nos. 101-2; J. Raeder, *Die statuarische Ausstattung der Villa Hadriana bei Tivoli* (Europäische Hochschulschriften, Reihe XXXVIII, Archäologie Bd.4) (Frankfurt am Main/Bern, 1983), 166-7, no. III 73.
- 37 S. Schéle, *Cornelis Bos. A Study of the Origins of the Netherland Grottesque* (Stockholm Studies in History of Art 10) (Stockholm, 1965), 144-6 and pl. 27, no. 71.
- 38 H. de Geymüller, *Les Du Cerceau. Leur vie et leur oeuvre* (Paris, 1887), 314; Pevsner and Lang, op. cit. 225, fig. 32.
- 39 Pevsner and Lang, op. cit. 224, fig. 30; illustrated in colour by Humbert, op. cit. 34. The figures, not very accomplished work, display differences of proportion and features and may be the work of two different sculptors: cf. L. Dimier, *Le Primatice* (Paris, 1900), 130.
- 40 See, for instance, the comparable physique of statues drawn by Ligorio: E. Mandowsky and

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- C. Mitchell, *Pirro Ligorio's Roman Antiquities* (Studies of the Warburg Institute 28) (London, 1963), 85–6, nos. 64–8 and pl. 35.
- 41 Cf. Schéle's reservations about the Tivoli pair as models, op. cit. 145.
- 42 Roullet, op. cit. 86, no. 98 and fig. 117 (Dupérac's drawing); Raeder, op. cit. 152–3, no. III 31; illustrated as it now appears, with restorations removed, by H. W. Müller and D. Wildung, *Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst* (2nd edn) (Munich, 1976), 228.
- 43 Du Cerceau's engraving shows the kilt lapped from the figure's right to left as it is on the Munich statue; this is reversed in the Bos engraving, and on the Fontainebleau pair the kilts are arranged symmetrically so that the overlaps point inwards, as they do on the Tivoli statues.
- 44 See, for instance, the damaged Cesi Sekhmet statue sketched as a caryatid by Lambert Lombard, who was in Rome in the late 1530s (Album d'Arenberg, fol. 63: Roullet, op. cit., fig. 167 and 100–1, no. 150) or Baldassare Peruzzi's sketch of a fragmentary queen (Siena MS, fol. 47v: ib., fig. 206 and 109, no. 183).
- 45 Pevsner and Lang, op. cit. 225, favour Du Cerceau as a source for Fontainebleau; Schéle, op. cit. 145–6, suggests a sequence of Bos–Fontainebleau–Du Cerceau. The Egyptian figure is unlikely to have been devised by Bos, in any case — of the series of sixteen to which it belongs, the majority are demonstrably copied or derived from other sources, among them the frescoes in another of the Vatican *Stanze* (ib. 144); Bos is thought to have been in Rome in about 1548, but had already included an Egyptianizing figure in a grotesque of 1546 (ibid. 29; 169, no. 13 and pl. 37 — this latter appears to be the source for the Egyptian terms in the *impresa* of Henri II, Pevsner and Lang, op. cit. 225, fig. 34).
- 46 A search through designs of the period would probably yield evidence of further diffusion of this motif — see, for example, a caryatid of similar but less overtly Egyptianizing style in a drawing tentatively attributed to Luzio Luzzi (active 1528–75), Windsor, Royal Library 10197: Museo Nazionale di Castel Sant'Angelo, *Gli affreschi di Paolo III a Castel Sant'Angelo 1543–1548. II. I Disegni* (Exhibition catalogue, F. M. A. and E. Gaudio, 1981), 41, no. 20.
- 47 For the casts which Primaticcio brought back from Rome on his two trips in the 1540s, see F. Haskell and N. Penny, *Taste and the Antique* (New Haven and London, 1981), 2–6. Roullet (op. cit. 135–6, nos. 286–7) suggest that these may have included the Roman granite sphinxes in the Belvedere.
- 48 Volume I, fol. lxxix: M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Latin Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library at Manchester*, I (Manchester/London, 1921), 87–95, nos. 32–7, esp. 89–90; illustrated in colour in: J. Baltrušaitis, *La Ricerca di Iside. Saggio sulla leggenda di un mito* (trans. A. Bassan Levi) (Milan, 1985), pl. 8 on 128; Martin Gropius Bau, Berlin, *Europa und der Orient 800–1900* (Exhibition catalogue, G. Sievernich and H. Budde) (Berlin, 1989), 19.
- 49 Pevsner and Lang, op. cit. 222.
- 50 James, op. cit. 89–90.
- 51 An admirable scientific illustration of the shabti of one *Psmṯk* in Amsterdam was published later in the century in the *Hieroglyphica* of Jan Becan van Gorp: *Opera Ioan. Goropi Becani. Hactenus in lucem non edita* (Antwerp, 1580), Hieroglyphica, 108.
- 52 Pevsner and Lang's suggestion (op. cit. 222) that, at the time they served as a source for Raphael's frescoes, the Tivoli statues may not even have been recognized as Egyptian in style seems unlikely; certainly by the time the Colonna Missal was executed, Egyptian antiquities were well defined.



FIGURE 1 Aquamarine gem in a gold and niello setting, Cabinet des Médailles.



FIGURE 2 Right profile view of the gem.

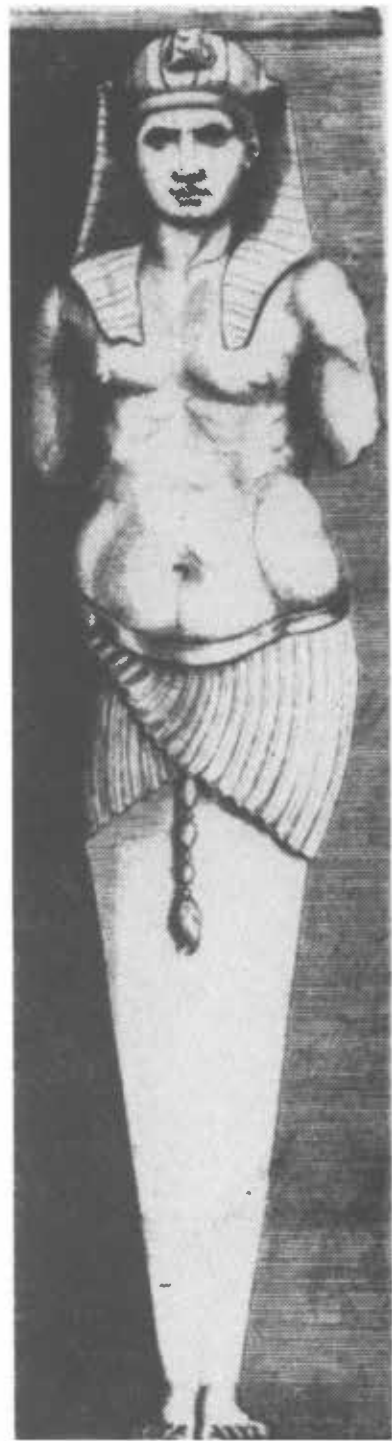


FIGURE 3 Egyptianizing caryatid engraved by Cornelis Bos.

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FIGURE 4 Detail of the right-hand caryatid at Fontainebleau.



FIGURE 5 Illuminated page from the Colonna Missal, attributed to Giulio Clovio (1498–1578); reproduced by courtesy of the Director and University Librarian, the John Rylands University Library of Manchester.