



EGYPTIAN
SCULPTURE
of the Late Period

THE BROOKLYN MUSEUM

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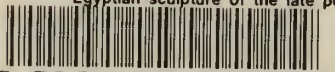
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EGYPTIAN SCULPTURE
of the Late Period



Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, Museum.

EGYPTIAN
SCULPTURE
of the Late Period
700 B.C. to A.D. 100

THE BROOKLYN MUSEUM, 1960
Dept of Art & Sciences



An exhibition held at
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Catalogue

Compiled by BERNARD V. BOTHMER in collaboration with
HERMAN DE MEULENAERE and HANS WOLFGANG MÜLLER
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Contents

LENDERS TO THE EXHIBITION	iv-v
FOREWORD	vii-viii
PREFACE	ix-xiv
LIST OF PLATES AND FIGURES	xv-xxvi
ABBREVIATIONS OF BOOKS AND PERIODICALS	xxvii-xxix
CHRONOLOGY	xxx-xxxi
INTRODUCTION	xxxii-xxxix
CATALOGUE	1-184
INDEX OF COLLECTIONS AND PROVENANCES	185-197
ADDENDA AND ERRATA	197
PLATES 1-134	

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YALE UNIVERSITY ART GALLERY	<i>New Haven, Conn.</i>
M. H. DE YOUNG MEMORIAL MUSEUM	<i>San Francisco, Cal.</i>

Foreword

THE EXHIBITION recorded in the following pages summarizes the research of a decade. It was in 1950 that Bernard V. Bothmer, then an assistant in the Department of Egyptian Art of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, started his great survey, soon afterwards to be identified as the *Corpus of Late Egyptian Sculpture*. That survey is still in progress, and it will doubtless be many years before the final summary can be published. Awaiting that, this Catalogue makes available in part the present results of the long study.

Surveying at first hand all the Late Egyptian sculptures scattered over Egypt, Europe, and the Americas, in public possession and private, has been a costly and laborious affair. The actual research has largely been done by Bothmer himself, but several institutions and organizations have aided in financing some of the work. Early in the investigation the Museum of Fine Arts granted leave of absence to allow research in European collections. A most generous grant was received from the Bollingen Foundation in New York to be used for making many of the photographs essential for the *Corpus*. The American Council of Learned Societies also made a grant for photography. Two years in Egypt (1954-1956) were possible, thanks to two generous Fulbright Research Grants. They allowed the detailed study of the major part of the vast unpublished collections in Cairo and Alexandria, though at least another year's work there remains to be done. At the Brooklyn Museum the Trustees have allocated various sums for travel and for additional photography. Most recently, the cost of this Exhibition and its accompanying catalogue has been defrayed by the Charles Edwin Wilbour Memorial Fund.

It is impossible to mention all the individuals who have assisted during the past ten years: even were we to restrict the list to those who have cooperated in the assembling of the Exhibition, they alone number more than one hundred persons. But it is equally impossible to avoid mentioning two men without whose aid the Catalogue and Exhibition would never have taken form. Dr. Herman De Meulenaere of Brussels has for several years assumed responsibility for the philological side of the *Corpus*. The quality and importance of his work are obvious on almost every page of this Catalogue. He has also been responsible for several of the "joins" that are so spectacular a part of this Exhibition. Professor Hans

Wolfgang Müller of Munich has long made a special study of royal sculpture of the Late Period. He has kindly prepared material for the entries of royal pieces in this publication. The contributions of these two scholars are deeply appreciated by the Brooklyn Museum, and equal appreciation will certainly be forthcoming from scholars in general.

The Exhibition has not been assembled as a survey of the entire field of Late Egyptian art but rather as a representative selection of Late Egyptian sculpture. The great bulk of the collection consists of stone sculpture in the round; only a few limestone reliefs have been chosen from the impressive quantities surviving — a field in itself — and two royal bronzes are included; of the more fragile media of wood, ivory, and faience only one example each is shown. Obviously, important categories of Late Egyptian art have been ignored. But within the limited field of sculpture in the round, which together with architecture was probably Egypt's greatest contribution to posterity, a balanced view is certainly obtainable from this Exhibition. Several masterpieces, scarce in any civilization, are shown along with sculptures of excellent quality and still others of indifferent workmanship; a few are so dull that their interest is entirely archaeological — one would not willingly live with them.

The dates and attributions listed in the Catalogue are frequently at wide variance with those of the owners or with those found in earlier publications. Praise or censure for these rests with the compiler of the Catalogue, Bernard V. Bothmer.

JOHN D. COONEY

Curator

Department of Ancient Art

Preface

THE LAST GREAT EPOCH of Egypt's sculptural achievement, chosen as the theme of this temporary Exhibition, "Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period," coincides with the rise of Western civilization in the Eastern Mediterranean and with the gradual evolution of Greek art, to which we have been — and still are — so greatly indebted. Though it is a time of great creative richness, it has been largely neglected by scholars in the field of Egyptian and (to a lesser extent) of Classical studies, because of its frequently startling departure from traditional artistic style. In this Exhibition we endeavor to illustrate, for the first time in any museum of any country, the history of sculpture during the closing centuries of Egypt's great ancient civilization.

This Catalogue is a guide to the Exhibition, a handbook for the visitor, not a treatise on the art of the Late Period, though it contains many general observations on the development of sculptural form during the eight centuries from 700 B.C. to A.D. 100. About one-third of the material included has not previously been published, and an even greater proportion has received only summary notice. What the Catalogue offers is by no means an exhaustive study, but it is hoped that it may lead to more comprehensive publication of at least the outstanding works shown in the Exhibition.

It will be noted by the attentive visitor that a proportionally larger number of pieces are shown for the beginning and end of the period covered than for the intervening time. This is quite intentional, for the beginning was an era of creative revival, introducing many innovations fundamental for the understanding of what was to follow, and the end — the Ptolemaic Period — was the last flowering of a great tradition, producing works so rich and varied that it seemed to us necessary to show its strength to the fullest possible extent. The assembling in one room of three or four of the truly great portraits of that period may alone lead to a deeper understanding of the contribution of Egypt to the art of the West.

We have, for the most part, limited the objects shown to statues of kings and private persons; four sculptures of deities have been included to enliven the picture with representations from the spiritual realm. We have intentionally discarded the numerous bronzes of Egyptian gods made during the Late Period, for as mold-made, mass-produced objects

they have little to do with the development of the modeling of the human form, which we are attempting to illustrate in the Exhibition.

Lenders to the Exhibition have shown great generosity. In inviting museums and collectors to participate we have met with most cordial response. While we have drawn primarily on the rich collections of the United States and Canada, a few museums of other countries have also parted temporarily with some of their great sculptures to permit us to round out the picture. A list of the more than fifty lenders to whom we are indebted precedes the Foreword. The extent of each loan can be gleaned from the "Index of Collections" at the end of the text of this Catalogue.

The Dates given in the text are for the most part merely approximate, to be taken with a grain of salt, except when the contrary is specifically stated. This holds true especially for the headings of the plates, where the ubiquitous "about" has been consistently omitted. The dates to which individual sculptures have been attributed reflect the views of this compiler and his collaborators and may be at variance with those of the owners of the objects. In many instances our dating is only tentative. Frequently, moreover, we have not specifically explained how we have determined the period to which we have assigned a given sculpture; this is for the simple reason that a full discussion of the *imponderabilia* leading to our conclusions would far exceed the purpose of this guide to the Exhibition.

Though certain dates may be relative and subject to change in years to come, a respectable number of sculptures in this Exhibition can be assigned to a definite time within the Late Period. We refer to a statue as *dated*, when its period is evident from a fact stated in its inscription or in the text of a related document, such as a stela or a papyrus or another statue, which mentions the person represented or a member of his family. On the other hand, a piece is called *datable* to a given period, when certain stylistic criteria of artistic form, costume, or inscription in our opinion permit a definite attribution. In the numbering of the Ptolemaic kings we follow that of the leading specialists in the history of the period — W. Otto, Skeat, and Vergote. A "Chronology" will be found on pages xxx-xxxii.

It will be noted that the material presented in the Exhibition has been arranged in the Catalogue so far as possible in chronological order. This order, as indicated above, is primarily based on sculptures dated by a royal name or by historical facts in a related inscription or on pieces with texts that have permitted Dr. De Meulenaere to give a more or less definite attribution through stylistic analysis. It is only when such means have failed me that I have ventured to determine the chronological position of a sculpture by study of the archacological evidence, always bearing in mind Bernard Berenson's words in *The Passionate Sightseer*: ". . . documented and dated works were my only stepping stones across the vague lands of connoisseurship."

Vague lands they are, indeed, these eight centuries with which the Exhibition is concerned. The sculptures produced during that time have been dated back and forth, almost at will, from the Saite to the Ptolemaic Period. The lack of long-established method in Egyptian archaeology becomes very apparent when one reads such works as Miss Richter's *Kouroi* and realizes with what an accumulation of tested knowledge, precise terminology, and systematic procedure a Classical archaeologist approaches his subject. In studying the Egyptian sculpture of the Late Period, much new ground had to be broken. By systematically recording in photography every available piece of the period a reference file has, however, been built up. Without it, any attempt at a chronology would be difficult, if not impossible, and such identifications (to give only one example) as that of the female head in the Bastis Collection (No. 55), which turns out to be the companion piece of the Isis in Cairo (Pl. 52, Fig. 128), would have been out of the question.

The Material of each sculpture has in most cases been described as it appears to the eye; only in a few instances has it been verified by laboratory analysis. Although precise identification of stones is highly desirable from a scientific point of view, it is not always of value to the archaeologist, who is rarely a trained mineralogist, and perhaps even less to the larger public, chiefly interested in the appraisal of a sculpture as a work of art. In general, therefore, I have employed generic terms such as "schist," "granite," "basalt," and the like, basing my nomenclature as closely as possible on A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (3rd edition; London, 1948). I have often added an adjective descriptive of the color of a piece, though with full awareness that the tone of a well-polished or a much-worn surface may be quite different from the actual color of the stone employed, as seen, for instance, in a recent break.

The majority of sculptures of kings and private persons made during the Late Period were fashioned of hard stone. Only a comparatively small number were made of the softer and more easily worked limestone and sandstone, and still fewer were executed in wood, ivory, faience or bronze. The ratio in which these materials were used is pretty faithfully reflected in the pieces shown in the Exhibition.

The Measurements of the pieces shown in the Exhibition are given in greater detail than is customary in Egyptian archaeology in general and in catalogues and handbooks in particular. Unless otherwise stated, "Height" always means maximum height (including the ancient base), "Width" is maximum width (the level at which the measurement was taken is frequently stated), and so forth. In many instances, individual parts, such as face, head, base, have been measured separately, to encourage more detailed studies on the proportions of sculpture, the value of which has only recently become more widely recognized. Specific attention has been given to the measurements of fragmentary pieces, since it is obvious that

headless statues in one collection and bodiless heads in another may belong together, but that without accurate measurements of the breaks not even a beginning can be made in trying to join widely dispersed members of one and the same sculpture. Due to wanton damage and to tampering with ragged breaks it is not always easy to assemble two pieces of a sculpture on paper, for the diameter of the greatly worn break at a neck may differ on a head and torso which actually belong together. In Egyptian sculpture, however, we are fortunate in having one factor which remains constant, no matter how great the damage — the back pillar and the intracolumnar space of the inscription upon it. By intracolumnar space, we mean the distance within (though not including) the two lines bordering a column of text. In the case of a fracture which runs perpendicular to a line of inscription, the intralinear width is given. Thanks to these measurements, many a suspected join has been proved to be correct, without going to the bother of making tracings and plaster casts or actually shipping fragmentary sculptures hither and yon for trial fittings. In cases of doubt, it has been indicated whether the measurement of a fracture follows a break ("slant") or has been taken horizontally ("horiz."). Measurements of back pillar and intracolumnar width are always understood to have been taken as close as practicable to the line of fracture, even if this is not specifically stated in the text. Figures of less than ten inches (25 cm.) have been termed statuettes; those exceeding this size are called statues — an arbitrary designation, but one which gives some sort of standard to a widely varying nomenclature. Sculptures, or parts of them, which are larger than life size are referred to as colossal. Since the metric system is used by most archaeologists, it has been employed throughout this publication. Let us remind the visitor that the average width of a man's hand measures 10 centimeters or 4 inches.

The Bibliography of sculptures shown in this Exhibition has been given in full under the appropriate heading, except in a few instances, where, in view of the large number of titles to be cited, it had to be made *selective*, in which case care has been taken to include publications containing additional bibliographical material on the piece under discussion. Since this is primarily a guide to an exhibition and in no sense a comprehensive handbook on Late Egyptian statuary, references in the *Comments* have had to be curtailed; otherwise the bulk of the text would have become too unwieldy. More than half of the objects cited, however, have not previously been mentioned in the literature. As for the remaining pieces, specialists will know the standard catalogues in which they have been published; others who are interested in supplementary references may address inquiries to the curator in charge or to The Corpus of Late Egyptian Sculpture in care of The Brooklyn Museum. Many titles have been quoted in abbreviated form; the reader will find the key to these publications in the "Abbreviations of Books and Periodicals" on pp. xxvii-xxix. On almost

every page, acknowledgement should have been made to five works, to which I am immeasurably indebted: Bissing, *Denkm.*, Maspero, *Egypte*, Bosse, *Menschl. Figur*, Hornemann, *Types I-III*, and Vandier, *Manuel III*. The last-named book, although ending with the close of Dynasty XX and not directly concerned with the Late Period, is the fundamental compendium for sculpture in the round — a study needed by Egyptian archaeology for more than half a century, which finally has provided a basis for critical investigation of Egyptian statuary of all periods.

The References to sculptures shown in the Exhibition and discussed in the Catalogue are always preceded by “No.,” written with a capital, and their illustrations are cited as “Fig.,” whereas “no.” and “fig.” are used in all other instances.

The Spelling of Names of persons and places has necessarily been a compromise, but in the main we have been guided by Dr. W. S. Smith’s *Ancient Egypt* (1960 edition).

The Photography of Late statuary follows, in general, the rules that apply to the photography of all ancient sculpture. The optical axis, whenever possible, has been raised to the eye level of the statue or head, and furthermore the distance between object and camera has been increased to six or even eight times the greatest dimension of the sculpture, so as to insure a minimum of distortion. Many museums and private collectors have furnished excellent photographs, which are up to standard both from a technical and an artistic point of view. If we have not always used them, this has come about mainly because their size and the angle from which the figure was taken did not agree with the proposed layout. We have attempted to give more than one view of each item, in order to create an impression of sculpture in the round for those who may leaf through this Catalogue long after the Exhibition has closed. In this connection, special thanks are due to Professor H. W. Müller, not the least of whose many accomplishments is the uniformly high standard of his photographs of Egyptian sculpture, and who has contributed so generously over the years to the photographic records of the Corpus of Late Egyptian Sculpture. Many fine pictures from his hand will be found in the plates of this Catalogue. The credit for each view has been given in the “List of Plates and Figures” on pp. xv-xxvi, where also has been incorporated the acquisition record of the objects, when required by the lenders.

Research on the history and development of Late Egyptian sculpture is — like that in any other field — essentially a taking of stock, a collecting and sifting of all available evidence, which should result in a sensible and understandable chronological order. It is for this reason that every time we are confronted with a partial, or fragmentary, piece of sculpture, we ask ourselves what the missing portion may have looked like or what the lost part of an inscription may have contained. This avid curiosity, with the help of systematically collected notes on measurements and materials, has made it possible to discover over the

years more than three dozen fragmentary sculptures which can be joined to form half that number of more or less complete figures, a venture in which John D. Cooney, Herman De Meulenaere, Henri Wild, and myself have been moderately successful. This Exhibition shows some of the results (though unfortunately not all the photographic reconstructions have been entirely successful, due to the fact that the pictures were taken at different times with different equipment, and not always under favorable conditions). With one exception, none of these fragmentary sculptures was ever joined before coming to Brooklyn for the Exhibition, which is probably the only show of ancient statuary in which so large a number of dispersed members have been — at least temporarily — made whole.

BERNARD V. BOTHMER

List of Plates and Figures

All objects which appear on the plates of this Catalogue are illustrated through the courtesy and by express permission of their owners. For picture credits the following abbreviations are used in parentheses:

- ph. O = Photograph provided by, and reproduced by courtesy of, the owner of the sculpture.
 ph. BKLN = Photograph from the files of the Brooklyn Museum.
 ph. HWM = Photograph by Professor Hans Wolfgang Müller, Munich.
 ph. CLES = Photograph of the Corpus of Late Egyptian Sculpture at the Brooklyn Museum.

Plate 1	Fig. 1	No. 1	Amenirdas I, the Divine Consort. <i>Joslyn Memorial Art Museum, Omaha, Nebraska</i> ; no. 1953.80. Front (ph. CLES).
Plate 2	Fig. 2	No. 2	Man with Cloak. <i>Mr. Albert Gallatin, New York, N. Y.</i> Front (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 3	No. 1	Amenirdas I. Right profile (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 4	No. 1	Inscription on back pillar (ph. CLES).
Plate 3	Fig. 5	No. 2	Man with Cloak. Detail of head (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 6	No. 3	Kneeling Servant of the Divine Consorts. <i>City Art Museum of St. Louis, St. Louis, Mo.</i> ; no. 221:24. Front (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 7	No. 3	Left side (ph. CLES).
Plate 4	Fig. 8	No. 4	Djed-khonsu-iuf-ankh, Prophet of Monthu. <i>The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y.</i> ; no. 07.228.27 (Rogers Fund, 1907). Front (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 9	No. 4	Detail of head (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 10	No. 4	Top view (ph. CLES).
Plate 5	Fig. 11	No. 5	Royal Dispatch Writer. <i>Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass.</i> ; no. 04.1841. Three-quarter view (ph. O).
	Fig. 12	No. 5	Back (ph. O).
Plate 6	Fig. 13	No. 6	Akhamenru, High Steward of Shepenwepet II. <i>The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y.</i> ; old no. 1271 (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 14	No. 7	Head from Abydos. <i>The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y.</i> ; no. 02.4.191 (Gift of the Egyptian Exploration Fund, 1902). Left profile (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 15	No. 7	Back (ph. O).
Plate 7	Fig. 16	No. 7	Front (ph. CLES).
Plate 8	Fig. 17	No. 8	Priest from Bubastis. <i>Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, Va.</i> ; no. 51-19-3. Front (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 18	No. 8	Back (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 19	No. 8	Detail of head (ph. CLES).

Plate 9	Fig. 20	No. 9	Khonsu-ir-aa. <i>Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass.</i> ; no. 07.494. Back (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 21	No. 9	Front (ph. O).
	Fig. 22	No. 9	Left side (ph. O).
Plate 10	Fig. 23	No. 10	Ankh-em-tenenet. <i>The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y.</i> ; no. 07.228.47 (Rogers Fund, 1907). Front (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 24	No. 10	Right profile (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 25	No. 10	Back (ph. O).
Plate 11	Fig. 26	No. 11	Figure of a Girl. <i>William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art and Mary Atkins Museum of Fine Arts, Kansas City, Mo.</i> ; no. 47-25. Front (ph. O).
	Fig. 27	No. 12	Royal Lady in Ivory. <i>Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh</i> ; no. 1954.40. Left side (ph. O).
	Fig. 28	No. 12	Front (ph. O).
Plate 12	Fig. 29		Mentuemhat, Count of Thebes (not shown in the Exhibition). <i>Egyptian Museum, Cairo</i> ; no. C.G. 647. Detail of face (ph. CLES).
Plate 13	Fig. 30	No. 13 A-B	Mentuemhat, Count of Thebes (plaster cast). Upper: <i>Chicago Natural History Museum, Chicago, Ill.</i> ; no. 31723. Lower: <i>The Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, N. Y.</i> ; no. 16.580.186. Front (ph. BKLN).
	Fig. 31	No. 13 A-B	Back (ph. BKLN).
	Fig. 32	No. 14	Mentuemhat in Relief. <i>William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art and Mary Atkins Museum of Fine Arts, Kansas City, Mo.</i> ; no. 48-28/2. Detail of main figure (ph. O).
Plate 14	Fig. 33	No. 15	Girls Fighting. <i>The Oriental Institute, The University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.</i> ; no. 18828. Entire (ph. BKLN).
	Fig. 34	No. 16	Man with Fowl. <i>Mr. Avery Brundage, Santa Barbara, Cal.</i> ; no. 2/101. Entire (ph. BKLN).
Plate 15	Fig. 35	No. 17	Mentuemhat's Guardians. <i>The Robert H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.</i> ; no. 5-363. Base, detail of inscription (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 36	No. 17	Front (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 37	No. 17	Detail of Amset (ph. CLES).
Plate 16	Fig. 38	No. 18	"Libyan" Bust. <i>The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md.</i> ; no. 22.398. Front (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 39	No. 18	Back (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 40	No. 19	Senbef. <i>The Reverend Theodore Pitcairn, Bryn Athyn, Pa.</i> Front (ph. CLES).
Plate 17	Fig. 41	No. 19	Detail of head (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 42	No. 19	Back pillar inscription (ph. CLES).
Plate 18	Fig. 43	No. 20	Bes, Prince of Mendes. <i>Museo Nazionale, Palermo</i> ; no. 145. Front (ph. CLES).
Plate 19	Fig. 44	No. 20	Front, entire statue; combined view (ph. CLES). Lower: <i>Egyptian Museum, Cairo</i> ; no. C.G. 1233 (not shown in the Exhibition).
	Fig. 45	No. 20	Back, entire statue; combined view (ph. CLES).
Plate 20	Fig. 46	No. 21	Anonymous Scribe. <i>The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y.</i> ; no. 25.2.1 (Rogers Fund, 1925). Front (ph. O).

	Fig. 47	No. 22	Scribe's Bust. <i>Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, Va.</i> ; no. 51-19-4. Front (ph. CLES).
Plate 21	Fig. 48	No. 23	Old Man Frowning. <i>The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md.</i> ; no. 22.145. Three-quarter view (ph. O).
	Fig. 49	No. 23	Back (ph. CLES).
Plate 22	Fig. 50	No. 24	Archaizing Stela. <i>The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio</i> ; no. 3949.20 (<i>John Huntington Collection</i>). Entire (ph. O).
	Fig. 51	No. 25	King Psamtik I. <i>The Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, N. Y.</i> ; no. 58.95. Front (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 52	No. 26	Father and Son. <i>Mr. Albert Gallatin, New York, N. Y.</i> Entire (ph. O).
Plate 23	Fig. 53	No. 27	Djed-khonsu-iuf-anekh, Prophet of Amun. <i>Egyptian Museum, Cairo</i> ; no. J.E. 37992. Back pillar (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 54	No. 27	Front (ph. O).
Plate 24	Fig. 55	No. 27	Detail of head (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 56	No. 28	Ankh-pa-khered with Osiris. <i>City Art Museum of St. Louis, St. Louis, Mo.</i> ; no. 222:24. Detail of head (ph. CLES).
Plate 25	Fig. 57	No. 28	Front (ph. CLES).
Plate 26	Fig. 58	No. 28	Right side (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 59	No. 28	Back pillar (ph. CLES).
Plate 27	Fig. 60	No. 29	Bes the Courtier. <i>Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Lisbon</i> ; no. 158. Three-quarter view (ph. O).
	Fig. 61	No. 29	Back (ph. O).
Plate 28	Fig. 62	No. 30	Ipy and His Lady. <i>The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md.</i> ; no. 22.76. Front (ph. O).
	Fig. 63	No. 30	Back (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 64	No. 30	Ipy, from above (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 65	No. 31	Keref, a General of Psamtik I. <i>Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels</i> ; no. E. 7526. View from above (ph. CLES).
Plate 29	Fig. 66	No. 31	Front (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 67	No. 31	Back (ph. CLES).
Plate 30	Fig. 68	No. 32	Nesna-isut from the Fayum. <i>Mr. Nasli M. Heeramanek, New York, N. Y.</i> Front, from above (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 69	No. 32	Back (ph. CLES).
Plate 31	Fig. 70	No. 32	Right side (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 71	No. 33	Hor, Son of Djed-monthu-iuf-anekh. <i>The Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, N. Y.</i> ; no. 57.66. Left side (ph. O).
	Fig. 72	No. 33	Back pillar inscription (ph. O).
	Fig. 73	No. 33	View from above (ph. O).
Plate 32	Fig. 74	No. 34	Harbes of Busiris. <i>Chicago Natural History Museum, Chicago, Ill.</i> ; no. 105181. Front (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 75	No. 34	Back, entire statue; combined view. Lower: <i>Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen</i> ; no. 78 (not shown in the Exhibition); ph., upper: CLES, lower: O.
	Fig. 76		Statue of Akhamenru (not shown in the Exhibition). <i>The Oriental Institute, The University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.</i> ; no. 14284. Detail of head (ph. CLES).

- Plate 33 Fig. 77 No. 35 King with *Atef* Crown. *The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio*; no. 3920.20 (*John Huntington Collection*). Entire (ph. CLES).
 Fig. 78 No. 36 Pe-shery-aset. *Mr. Michel Abemayor, New York, N. Y.* Back (ph. CLES).
 Fig. 79 No. 36 Front (ph. CLES).
- Plate 34 Fig. 80 No. 37 Horwedja Kneeling. *The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md.*; no. 22.79. Right side (ph. CLES).
 Fig. 81 No. 37 Back (ph. CLES).
- Plate 35 Fig. 82 No. 38 A-B Pedy-amun-ra-neb-waset. Back; combined view (ph. CLES).
 Fig. 83 No. 38 A Pedy-amun-ra-neb-waset. *The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y.*; no. 07.228.33 (*Rogers Fund, 1907*). Bust, front (ph. CLES).
- Plate 36 Fig. 84 No. 39 Anonymous Osiriphoros. *The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, N. Y.*; no. Inv. 11. Three-quarter view (ph. CLES).
 Fig. 85 No. 39 Right side (ph. CLES).
 Fig. 86 No. 38 B Pedy-amun-ra-neb-waset. *Egyptian Museum, Cairo*; no. J.E. 37442. Lower part, right side (ph. CLES).
- Plate 37 Fig. 87 No. 40 Nes-ptah with Naos. *The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md.*; no. 22.159. Back (ph. CLES).
 Fig. 88 No. 40 Front (ph. CLES).
- Plate 38 Fig. 89 No. 41 Osiris. *The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md.*; no. 22.184. Front (ph. CLES).
 Fig. 90 No. 41 Head, left profile (ph. CLES).
 Fig. 91 Osiris Statue with Inscription of King Psamtik I (not shown in the Exhibition). *Egyptian Museum, Cairo*; no. C.G. 38231. Detail of head, left profile (ph. HWM).
- Plate 39 Fig. 92 No. 42 King Necho II in Relief. *The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md.*; no. 22.135. Entire (ph. O).
 Fig. 93 Royal Head (not shown in the Exhibition). *The Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, N. Y.*; no. 16.237. Entire (ph. O).
 Fig. 94 No. 42 Detail of king's head (ph. CLES).
- Plate 40 Fig. 95 No. 43 King Necho II Kneeling. *The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.*; no. E. 13004. Front (ph. CLES).
 Fig. 96 No. 43 Detail of inscription on belt in rear (ph. CLES).
 Fig. 97 No. 44 Iret-horru with Osiris. *The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md.*; no. 22.215. Detail of head (ph. O).
- Plate 41 Fig. 98 No. 44 Three-quarter view (ph. O).
 Fig. 99 No. 44 Back (ph. O).
- Plate 42 Fig. 100 No. 45 Ankh-wennufer with Naos. *Mr. Avery Brundage, Santa Barbara, Cal.*; no. 2/24. Front (ph. CLES).
 Fig. 101 No. 45 Back pillar (ph. CLES).
 Fig. 102 No. 46 Head of the Sixth Century. *Mr. Michel Abemayor, New York, N. Y.* Back pillar inscription (ph. CLES).
- Plate 43 Fig. 103 No. 46 Front (ph. CLES).
 Fig. 104 No. 47 Ipy, also named Ankh-Psamtik. *Mr. Michel Abemayor, New York, N. Y.* Front (ph. CLES).
 Fig. 105 No. 47 Back (ph. CLES).

Plate 44	Fig. 106	No. 48	Harbes with Osiris. <i>The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y.</i> ; no. 19.2.2 (<i>Rogers Fund</i> , 1919). Right side (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 107	No. 48	Back (ph. O).
	Fig. 108	No. 48	Detail of Osiris (ph. O).
Plate 45	Fig. 109	No. 48	Detail of Harbes' head (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 110	No. 49	Bust from Memphis. <i>The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md.</i> ; no. 22.198. Back (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 111	No. 49	Front (ph. CLES).
Plate 46	Fig. 112	No. 50	Head of Osiris. <i>Mr. Walter C. Baker, New York, N. Y.</i> Front (ph. O).
	Fig. 113	No. 50	Left profile; detail of face (ph. CLES).
Plate 47	Fig. 114	No. 51	King Apries. <i>Mr. and Mrs. Philip R. Adams, Cincinnati, Ohio.</i> Left profile (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 115	No. 51	Detail of eye (ph. CLES).
Plate 48	Fig. 116	No. 52 A	Iahmes (Neferibra-nakht). <i>Mr. Albert Gallatin, New York, N. Y.</i> Right profile (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 117	No. 52 A	Front (ph. CLES).
Plate 49	Fig. 118	No. 52 A-B	Back; combined view (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 119	No. 52 B	Iahmes (Neferibra-nakht). <i>Egyptian Museum, Cairo</i> ; no. C.G. 895. Front (ph. CLES).
Plate 50	Fig. 120	No. 53	King Amasis. <i>The University Museum, Philadelphia, Pa.</i> ; no. E. 14303. Front (ph. O).
	Fig. 121	No. 53	Back (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 122	No. 53	Left profile (ph. O).
Plate 51	Fig. 123		Pa-debehu (not shown in the Exhibition). <i>Vatican Museum, Rome</i> ; no. 167. Front; restored head eliminated (ph. O). Cf. Pl. 53, No. 56.
	Fig. 124	No. 54	Sphinx Head. <i>Mr. Albert Gallatin, New York, N. Y.</i> Left profile (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 125	No. 54	Front (ph. O).
	Fig. 126	No. 54	Back (ph. CLES).
Plate 52	Fig. 127	No. 55	Head of a Goddess. <i>Mr. Christos G. Bastis, Bronxville, N. Y.</i> Front (ph. O).
	Fig. 128		Goddess Isis (not shown in the Exhibition). <i>Egyptian Museum, Cairo</i> ; no. C.G. 38884. Head; right profile (ph. HWM).
	Fig. 129	No. 55	Right profile (ph. CLES).
Plate 53	Fig. 130	No. 56	Pa-debehu; combined view of back. Upper: <i>The Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, N. Y.</i> ; no. 60.11 (ph. O). Lower (not shown in the Exhibition): <i>Vatican Museum, Rome</i> ; no. 167 (ph. O).
	Fig. 131	No. 56	Three-quarter view (ph. O).
Plate 54	Fig. 132	No. 57 A	Iahmes-sa-neith. <i>Musée du Louvre, Paris</i> ; no. E. 25390. Bust, right side (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 133	No. 57 A-B	Back; combined view. Upper: see Fig. 132 (ph. CLES). Lower: <i>The Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, N. Y.</i> ; no. 59.77 (ph. CLES).
Plate 55	Fig. 134	No. 57 A	Front (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 135	No. 58	Pa-wen-hatef with Naos. <i>Seattle Art Museum, Seattle, Wash.</i> ; no. Eg. 11.23. Front (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 136	No. 58	Head, three-quarter view (ph. CLES).

- Plate 56 Fig. 137 No. 58 Inscription on back pillar (ph. CLES).
 Fig. 138 No. 59 Djed-djehuty-iuf-ankh Kneeling. *Mrs. Clifford B. Hartley, New York, N. Y.* Back (ph. CLES).
 Fig. 139 No. 59 Front (ph. CLES).
 Fig. 140 No. 60 Head from Athribis. *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass.; no. 37.377.* Inscription on back pillar (ph. O).
- Plate 57 Fig. 141 No. 60 Front (ph. O).
 Fig. 142 No. 60 Detail of head (ph. CLES).
- Plate 58 Fig. 143 No. 61 Horwedja, Son of Tesnakht. *The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio; no. 3955.20 (John Huntington Collection).* Three-quarter view (ph. O).
 Fig. 144 No. 61 Back (ph. O).
 Fig. 145 No. 61 Detail of head (ph. CLES).
- Plate 59 Fig. 146 No. 62 Bust from a Group. *The Baltimore Museum of Art, Baltimore, Md.; no. 51.258.* Right side (ph. CLES).
 Fig. 147 No. 62 Front (ph. CLES).
 Fig. 148 No. 63 Ankh-hor. *The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio; no. 191.14 (John Huntington Collection).* Front (ph. CLES).
- Plate 60 Fig. 149 No. 63 Detail of head (ph. CLES).
 Fig. 150 No. 63 Back (ph. CLES).
 Fig. 151 No. 64 Ptah-hotep. *The Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, N. Y.; no. 37.353.* Neck ornaments, from above (ph. CLES).
- Plate 61 Fig. 152 No. 64 Right side (ph. O).
 Fig. 153 No. 64 Detail of inscription (ph. CLES).
 Fig. 154 No. 65 Psamtik-sa-neith. *Egyptian Museum, Cairo; no. C.G. 726.* Bust, left side (ph. O).
- Plate 62 Fig. 155 No. 65 Front (ph. O).
 Fig. 156 No. 65 Back (ph. O).
 Fig. 157 No. 65 Bust, front (ph. O).
- Plate 63 Fig. 158 No. 66 Niche Stela of a Family. *Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh; no. 1956.134.* Back (ph. O).
 Fig. 159 No. 66 Front (ph. O).
- Plate 64 Fig. 160 No. 67 Fifth Century Portrait. *Musée du Louvre, Paris; no. N. 2454.* Three-quarter view (ph. HWM).
 Fig. 161 No. 67 Right profile (ph. HWM).
 Fig. 162 No. 67 Back (ph. HWM).
- Plate 65 Fig. 163 No. 67 Detail of head (ph. CLES).
 Fig. 164 No. 68 Man with Persian Gesture. *The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md.; no. 22.208.* Front (ph. CLES).
 Fig. 165 No. 68 Back pillar (ph. CLES).
- Plate 66 Fig. 166 No. 69 Model Bust. *The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md.; no. 22.34.* Right profile (ph. CLES).
 Fig. 167 Uninscribed Naophorous Statue (not shown in the Exhibition). *The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y.; no. 25.2.10 (Rogers Fund, 1925).* Detail of costume.
 Fig. 168 No. 69 Three-quarter view (ph. O).
 Fig. 169 No. 69 Back of head (ph. CLES).

Plate 67	Fig. 170	No. 70	Wen-nufer. <i>Dr. and Mrs. Max M. Stern, New York, N. Y.</i> Back pillar (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 171	No. 70	Front (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 172	No. 71	Kneeling King. <i>William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art and Mary Atkins Museum of Fine Arts, Kansas City, Mo.; no. 53-13.</i> Back (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 173	No. 71	Front (ph. CLES).
Plate 68	Fig. 174	No. 72	Naophoros with Neith in Relief. <i>M. H. De Young Memorial Museum, San Francisco, Cal.; no. 54664.</i> Right side (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 175	No. 72	Front (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 176	No. 72	Back pillar inscription (ph. CLES).
Plate 69	Fig. 177	No. 73	King Nectanebo I. <i>Musée du Louvre, Paris; no. E. 8061.</i> Back (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 178	No. 73	Three-quarter view (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 179	No. 73	Left profile (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 180	No. 73	Front (ph. CLES).
Plate 70	Fig. 181	No. 74	Tha-aset-imu, Royal Secretary. <i>The Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, N. Y.; no. 56.152.</i> Reverse, entire (ph. O).
	Fig. 182	No. 74	Reverse, detail (ph. O).
Plate 71	Fig. 183	No. 74	Obverse, detail (ph. O).
	Fig. 184	No. 74	Obverse, entire (ph. O).
Plate 72	Fig. 185	No. 75	Torso of Dynasty XXX. <i>Mr. Otto L. Spaeth, New York, N. Y.</i> Front (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 186	No. 75	Back pillar inscription (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 187	No. 75	Inscription on left side of back pillar (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 188	No. 76	Thanefer, Son of Nespa-medu. <i>The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, N. Y.; no. Inv. 10.</i> View from above (ph. CLES).
Plate 73	Fig. 189	No. 76	Front (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 190	No. 76	Left side (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 191	No. 76	Back (ph. CLES).
Plate 74	Fig. 192	No. 77	Servant of Osiris-Anedjty. <i>Wittelsbacher Ausgleichsfonds, Munich (on loan at the Ägyptische Staatssammlung; Glyptothek no. 29).</i> Three-quarter view (ph. HWM).
	Fig. 193	No. 77	Back (ph. HWM).
	Fig. 194	No. 77	View from above (ph. HWM).
Plate 75	Fig. 195	No. 78	Wen-nufer, Servant of Neith. <i>The Baltimore Museum of Art, Baltimore, Md.; no. 51.257.</i> Back pillar (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 196	No. 78	Left profile (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 197	No. 79	Head with Wide Wig. <i>City Art Museum of St. Louis, St. Louis, Mo.; no. 215:54.</i> Front (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 198	No. 79	Right profile (ph. CLES).
Plate 76	Fig. 199	No. 80	Archaistic Statue. <i>The Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, N. Y.; no. 52.89.</i> Back (ph. O).
	Fig. 200	No. 80	Three-quarter view (ph. BKLN).
Plate 77	Fig. 201	No. 81	Ankh-pa-khered, Son of Nesmin. <i>The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y.; no. 08.202.1 (Rogers Fund, 1908).</i> Back (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 202	No. 81	Front (ph. CLES).

- Plate 78 Fig. 203 No. 82 Hap-ii's Lady Musicians. *The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio; no. 199.14 (John Huntington Collection)*. Entire (ph. O).
 Fig. 204 No. 81 Ankh-pa-khered. Inscription on base (ph. CLES).
- Plate 79 Fig. 205 No. 83 Portrait of a Priest of Monthu. *The Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, N. Y.; no. 55.175*. Three-quarter view (ph. O).
 Fig. 206 No. 83 Back (ph. O).
- Plate 80 Fig. 207 No. 84 Head in Polished Diorite. *Dr. Robert Waelder, Haverford, Pa.* Right profile (ph. BKLN).
 Fig. 208 No. 84 Back (ph. BKLN).
 Fig. 209 No. 84 Three-quarter view (ph. BKLN).
- Plate 81 Fig. 210 No. 85 Youthful Head. *Albright Art Gallery, Buffalo, N. Y.; no. 42:16.281*. Three-quarter view (ph. O).
 Fig. 211 No. 85 Back (ph. CLES).
 Fig. 212 No. 86 Man with Serrated Shawl. *Mr. and Mrs. Norbert Schimmel, New York, N. Y.* Back (ph. O).
 Fig. 213 No. 86 Front (ph. O).
- Plate 82 Fig. 214 No. 87 In Praise of Drinking (relief). *The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md.; no. 22.97*. Left part (ph. O).
 Fig. 215 No. 87 Left part, detail of standing man (ph. CLES).
 Fig. 216 No. 87 Left part, detail of pied kingfisher (ph. CLES).
 Fig. 217 No. 87 Right part (ph. O).
- Plate 83 Fig. 218 No. 87 Left part, detail of seated man (ph. CLES).
 Fig. 219 No. 88 Dignitary with Long Staff. *The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.; no. E. 14316*. Entire (ph. O).
- Plate 84 Fig. 220 No. 89 Iret-horru. *The Oriental Institute, The University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.; no. 13953*. Right side (ph. O).
 Fig. 221 No. 89 Back (ph. O).
 Fig. 222 No. 89 Three-quarter view, upper (ph. CLES).
- Plate 85 Fig. 223 No. 90 Girl's Head. *The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y.; no. 30.8.90 (The Theodore M. Davis Collection. Bequest of Theodore M. Davis, 1915)*. Right profile (ph. CLES).
 Fig. 224 No. 90 Front (ph. CLES).
 Fig. 225 No. 90 Back (ph. CLES).
 Fig. 226 No. 91 Wesir-nakht with Necklace. *The Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.; no. 10.243*. Back (ph. CLES).
 Fig. 227 No. 91 Left side (ph. CLES).
- Plate 86 Fig. 228 No. 92 Lady with Large Wig. *Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, Va.; no. 55-8-13*. Upper; right profile (ph. CLES).
 Fig. 229 No. 92 Back (ph. CLES).
 Fig. 230 No. 92 Front (ph. CLES).
- Plate 87 Fig. 231 No. 93 Tired Old Man. *The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md.; no. 22.63*. Three-quarter view (ph. CLES).
 Fig. 232 No. 93 Right profile (ph. CLES).
 Fig. 233 No. 93 Front (ph. CLES).
- Plate 88 Fig. 234 No. 94 Theban Lady. *Rosicrucian Egyptian, Oriental Museum; San Jose, Cal.; no. 1603*. Upper; three-quarter view (ph. CLES).
 Fig. 235 No. 94 Back pillar (ph. CLES).

	Fig. 236	No. 95	Girl or Goddess. <i>Graeco-Roman Museum, Alexandria</i> ; no. 1332. Back (ph. CLES).
Plate 89	Fig. 237	No. 95	Left side (ph. O).
	Fig. 238	No. 95	Three-quarter view (ph. O).
Plate 90	Fig. 239	No. 96	King Ptolemy II. <i>Université de Strasbourg, Strasbourg (Bas-Rhin)</i> ; no. 1585. Right side (ph. O).
	Fig. 240	No. 96	Back (ph. O).
	Fig. 241	No. 96	Detail of face (ph. O).
Plate 91	Fig. 242	No. 97	Amun-pe-yom, Commander of Troops. <i>The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio</i> ; no. 48.141 (Gift of Hanna Fund). Three-quarter view (ph. O).
	Fig. 243	No. 97	Back (ph. O).
Plate 92	Fig. 244	No. 98	Queen Arsinoe II. <i>The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y.</i> ; no. 38.10 (Gift of Mrs. John D. Rockefeller, Jr.; 1938). Front (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 245	No. 98	Left profile (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 246	No. 98	Top view (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 247	No. 99	Prophet of Horemheb. <i>Academy of the New Church Museum, Bryn Athyn, Pa.</i> Inscription on back (ph. CLES).
Plate 93	Fig. 248	No. 99	Front (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 249	No. 99	Left profile (ph. CLES).
Plate 94	Fig. 250		Statue of Teos II (not shown in the Exhibition). <i>Egyptian Museum, Cairo</i> ; no. C.G. 700. Detail of head, front (ph. O).
	Fig. 251	No. 100	Head with Stubble Beard. <i>Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass.</i> ; no. 50.3427. Front (ph. O).
	Fig. 252	No. 100	Right profile (ph. O).
Plate 95	Fig. 253	No. 101	Head with Portrait Features. <i>The Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto</i> ; no. 958.221.4. Front (ph. O).
	Fig. 254	No. 101	Left profile (ph. O).
	Fig. 255	No. 102	Pekher-khonsu. <i>Rosicrucian Egyptian, Oriental Museum; San Jose, Cal.</i> ; no. 1583. Back (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 256	No. 102	Front (ph. CLES).
Plate 96	Fig. 257	No. 103	Hellenistic Royal Head. <i>Peabody Museum of Natural History, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.</i> ; no. 388 (on indefinite loan at the Yale University Art Gallery; no. 4.1.1953). Front (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 258	No. 103	Three-quarter view (ph. CLES).
Plate 97	Fig. 259	No. 104	Portrait of a Strong Man. <i>The Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit, Mich.</i> ; no. 40.47. Front (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 260	No. 104	Three-quarter view (ph. CLES).
Plate 98	Fig. 261	No. 105	Ptolemaic Queen. <i>The Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto</i> ; no. 910.75. Right side (ph. O).
	Fig. 262	No. 105	Front (ph. O).
	Fig. 263	No. 106	Fragment of a Face. <i>The Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, N. Y.</i> ; no. 57.42 (ph. O).
Plate 99	Fig. 264	No. 107	Portrait of a Wise Man. <i>Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Lisbon</i> ; no. 46. Three-quarter view (ph. O).

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|-----------|----------|---------|---|
| | Fig. 265 | No. 107 | Front (ph. O). |
| | Fig. 266 | No. 107 | Left profile (ph. O). |
| Plate 100 | Fig. 267 | No. 108 | The Boston "Green Head." <i>Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass.</i> ; no. 04.1749. Front (ph. O). |
| | Fig. 268 | No. 108 | Right profile (ph. O). |
| | Fig. 269 | No. 108 | Three-quarter view (ph. O). |
| Plate 101 | Fig. 270 | No. 109 | Bust of a Ptolemy. <i>Peabody Museum of Natural History, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.</i> ; no. 384 (on indefinite loan at the <i>Yale University Art Gallery</i> , no. 1.1.1953). Front (ph. CLES). |
| | Fig. 271 | No. 109 | Back (ph. CLES). |
| | Fig. 272 | No. 108 | The Boston "Green Head." Back (ph. O). |
| Plate 102 | Fig. 273 | No. 110 | Man with Aquiline Nose. <i>Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels</i> ; no. 5346. Right profile (ph. O). |
| | Fig. 274 | No. 111 | Portrait Head with Hooked Nose. <i>The Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit, Mich.</i> ; no. 40.48. Right profile (ph. O). |
| | Fig. 275 | No. 111 | Back (ph. CLES). |
| Plate 103 | Fig. 276 | No. 110 | Man with Aquiline Nose. Front (ph. O). |
| | Fig. 277 | No. 111 | Portrait Head with Hooked Nose. Three-quarter view (ph. CLES). |
| | Fig. 278 | No. 111 | Front (ph. O). |
| Plate 104 | Fig. 279 | No. 112 | Votary of the Second Century. <i>The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md.</i> ; no. 22.395. Right side (ph. CLES). |
| | Fig. 280 | No. 112 | Front (ph. CLES). |
| Plate 105 | Fig. 281 | No. 113 | Queen Cleopatra II. <i>The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y.</i> ; no. 89.2.660 (Gift of Mrs. Lucy W. Drexel, 1889). Detail of head (ph. CLES). |
| | Fig. 282 | No. 113 | Front (ph. CLES). |
| | Fig. 283 | No. 113 | Left side (ph. CLES). |
| Plate 106 | Fig. 284 | No. 114 | Head from a Ptolemaic Sphinx. <i>Mr. Avery Brundage, Santa Barbara, Cal.</i> ; no. 2/97. Detail of face (ph. CLES). |
| | Fig. 285 | No. 114 | Left profile (ph. CLES). |
| Plate 107 | Fig. 286 | No. 115 | Votary with Naos. <i>Kestner-Museum, Hanover</i> ; no. 1935.200.773. Front (ph. HWM). |
| | Fig. 287 | No. 115 | Left side (ph. HWM). |
| | Fig. 288 | No. 115 | Detail of bust (ph. HWM). |
| Plate 108 | Fig. 289 | No. 116 | Ptolemaic Head. <i>Mr. Ernest Erickson, New York, N. Y.</i> (on loan at <i>The Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, N. Y.</i> ; no. L59.5). Three-quarter view (ph. BKLN). |
| | Fig. 290 | No. 116 | Left profile (ph. BKLN). |
| | Fig. 291 | No. 117 | Pinouris, Son of Hor. <i>The Philip H. and A. S. W. Rosenbach Foundation Museum, Philadelphia, Pa.</i> Back pillar inscription (ph. CLES). |
| | Fig. 292 | No. 117 | Front (ph. CLES). |
| Plate 109 | Fig. 293 | No. 118 | Portrait Head with Beard. <i>The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md.</i> ; no. 22.9. Three-quarter view (ph. O). |
| | Fig. 294 | No. 118 | Right profile (ph. CLES). |
| | Fig. 295 | No. 117 | Pinouris. View from above (ph. CLES). |
| Plate 110 | Fig. 296 | No. 119 | Pensive Man. <i>Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, R. I.</i> ; no. 58.001. Right profile (ph. O). |

	Fig. 297	No. 119	Front (ph. O).
Plate 111	Fig. 298	No. 120	Curly-haired Youth. <i>The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md.; no. 22.226.</i> Back (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 299	No. 120	Front (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 300	No. 120	Right profile (ph. CLES).
Plate 112	Fig. 301	No. 121	Governor of a Province. <i>The Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection (Trustees for Harvard University), Washington, D. C.; no. 37.13.</i> Three-quarter view (ph. O).
	Fig. 302	No. 121	Back (ph. O).
	Fig. 303	No. 122	Girl with Flower. <i>Egyptian Museum, Cairo; no. $\frac{5}{25} + \frac{3}{7}$.</i> Back (ph. O).
Plate 113	Fig. 304	No. 122	Front (ph. O).
	Fig. 305	No. 122	Detail of head (ph. O).
	Fig. 306	No. 122	Right side (ph. O).
Plate 114	Fig. 307	No. 123	Queen Arsinoe II, Deified. <i>The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y.; no. 20.2.21 (Rogers Fund, 1920).</i> Right side (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 308	No. 123	Front (ph. CLES).
Plate 115	Fig. 309	No. 123	Back (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 310	No. 123	Detail of head (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 311	No. 124	Bust of a Kneeling King. <i>The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y.; no. 10.176.44 (Rogers Fund, 1910).</i> Front (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 312	No. 124	Left profile (ph. CLES).
Plate 116	Fig. 313	No. 125	Sphinx with Serpent-headed Tail. <i>The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y.; no. 30.8.71 (The Theodore M. Davis Collection. Bequest of Theodore M. Davis, 1915).</i> Right side (ph. O).
	Fig. 314	No. 125	Three-quarter view (ph. CLES).
Plate 117	Fig. 315	No. 126	Personage with Lotus Bud Diadem. <i>Graeco-Roman Museum, Alexandria; no. 3151.</i> Front (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 316	No. 126	Left profile (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 317	No. 127	The Berlin "Green Head." <i>Ehemals Staatliche Museen, Berlin; no. 12500.</i> Back (ph. HWM).
Plate 118	Fig. 318	No. 127	Face, right profile (ph. HWM).
Plate 119	Fig. 319	No. 127	Three-quarter view (ph. HWM).
	Fig. 320	No. 128	Ptolemaic Ruler with Blue Crown. <i>The Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, N. Y.; no. 54.68.</i> Right profile (ph. O).
	Fig. 321	No. 128	Front (ph. O).
Plate 120	Fig. 322	No. 129	Man or God. <i>Mr. Frederick Stafford, New York, N. Y.</i> Front (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 323	No. 129	Back (ph. CLES).
Plate 121	Fig. 324	No. 130	Late Ptolemaic Queen. <i>Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Conn.; no. 1931.106.</i> Three-quarter view (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 325	No. 130	Front (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 326	No. 130	Back (ph. CLES).
Plate 122	Fig. 327	No. 131	Man with Scarred Forehead. <i>Graeco-Roman Museum, Alexandria; no. 3204.</i> Right profile (ph. CLES).
	Fig. 328	No. 131	Three-quarter view (ph. CLES).

- Plate 123 Fig. 329 No. 132 The Brooklyn "Black Head." *The Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, N. Y.*; no. 58.30. Three-quarter view (ph. O).
 Fig. 330 No. 132 Back pillar inscription (ph. O).
- Plate 124 Fig. 331 No. 132 Front (ph. O).
- Plate 125 Fig. 332 No. 133 Bearded Head. *Los Angeles County Museum, Los Angeles, Cal.*; no. A.6425.53-9. Front (ph. CLES).
 Fig. 333 No. 133 Left profile (ph. CLES).
 Fig. 334 Head of Bearded Man; painting on linen (not shown in the Exhibition). *The Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, N. Y.*; no. 37.1811E (ph. O).
 Fig. 335 No. 133 Back pillar (ph. CLES).
- Plate 126 Fig. 336 No. 134 Head in Attitude of Apotheosis. *Musée Archéologique, Auxerre (Yonne)*. Right profile (ph. CLES).
 Fig. 337 No. 134 Front (ph. CLES).
- Plate 127 Fig. 338 No. 135 Late Ptolemaic Prince. *The Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, N. Y.*; no. 54.117. Front (ph. CLES).
 Fig. 339 No. 135 Left side (ph. O).
- Plate 128 Fig. 340 No. 136 Pakhom, Governor of Dendera. *The Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit, Mich.*; no. 51.83. Right side (ph. O).
 Fig. 341 No. 136 Back (ph. O).
- Plate 129 Fig. 342 No. 137 Tutu as Sphinx. *The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio*; no. 344.15 (*John Huntington Collection*). Front (ph. CLES).
 Fig. 343 No. 136 Pakhom. Detail of head (ph. CLES).
 Fig. 344 No. 137 Tutu. Left side (ph. CLES).
- Plate 130 Fig. 345 No. 138 Woman in Ecstasy. *Mr. Avery Brundage, Santa Barbara, Cal.*; no. 3/162. Front (ph. CLES).
 Fig. 346 No. 138 Left profile (ph. CLES).
- Plate 131 Fig. 347 No. 139 Ex-voto to the God Tutu. *Mr. Khalil Rabenou, New York, N. Y.* Entire (ph. CLES).
 Fig. 348 No. 139 Detail of heads (ph. CLES).
 Fig. 349 No. 139 Detail of inscription (ph. CLES).
- Plate 132 Fig. 350 No. 140 Dignitary of the Roman Period. *Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.*; no. 8218. Right side (ph. O).
 Fig. 351 No. 140 Front (ph. O).
- Plate 133 Fig. 352 No. 140 Back (ph. O).
 Fig. 353 No. 141 Man with Wrinkled Forehead. *Chicago Natural History Museum, Chicago, Ill.*; no. 105182. Front (ph. CLES).
 Fig. 354 No. 141 Back (ph. CLES).
- Plate 134 Fig. 355 No. 141 Detail of face (ph. CLES).

Abbreviations of Books and Periodicals

- AA *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, Beiblatt zum *Jahrbuch des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts*
- AfO *Archiv für Orientforschung*
- AJA *American Journal of Archaeology*
- ASAE *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte*
- Benson and Gourlay M. Benson and J. Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asker* [London, 1899]
- Berliner Museen *Berliner Museen, Berichte aus den preussischen Kunstsammlungen*
- BIE *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte*
- Bieber, *The Sculpture* M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* [New York, 1955]
- BIFAO *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire*
- BiOr *Bibliotheca Orientalis*
- Bissing, *Denkm.* Fr. W. von Bissing, *Denkmäler ägyptischer Sculptur* [Munich, 1914]
- BMFA *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts* [Boston]
- BMMA *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*
- Bonnet, *Reallexikon* H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* [Berlin, 1952]
- Borchardt, *Sabu-re* L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sabu-re* I-II = *Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* VI-VII [Leipzig, 1910 & 1913]
- Borchardt, *Statuen* L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten* I-V = *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, nos. 1-1294 [Berlin, 1911-1936]
- Boreux, *Guide-Catalogue* C. Boreux, *Guide-Catalogue Sommaire (Musée National du Louvre, Département des antiquités égyptiennes)* I-II [Paris, 1932]
- Bosse, *Menschl. Fig.* K. Bosse, *Die menschliche Figur in der Rundplastik der ägyptischen Spätzeit von der XXII. bis zur XXX. Dynastie* = *Ägyptologische Forschungen* I [Glückstadt, Hamburg and New York, 1936]
- Breasted, *A.R.* J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* I-V [Chicago, 1906-1907]
- Brugsch, *Reiseberichte* H. Brugsch, *Reiseberichte aus Aegypten* [Leipzig, 1855]
- BSAA *Bulletin, Société archéologique d'Alexandrie*
- Buhl, *L.E.A.S.S.* M. L. Buhl, *The Late Egyptian Anthropoid Stone Sarcophagi* [Copenhagen, 1959]
- BVBKAB *Bulletin van de Vereeniging tot Bevordering der Kennis van de Antieke Beschaving*
- Capart, *Documents* J. Capart, *Documents pour servir à l'étude de l'art égyptien* I-II [Paris, 1927 & 1931]
- CdE *Chronique d'Égypte*, Bulletin périodique de la Fondation égyptologique Reine Elisabeth
- Delbrück, *Antike Porträts* R. Delbrück, *Antike Porträts* [Bonn, 1912]
- Delbrueck, *Antike Porphyrrwerke* R. Delbrueck, *Antike Porphyrrwerke* [Berlin and Leipzig, 1932]
- De Meulenaere, *Herodotos* H. De Meulenaere, *Herodotos over de 26ste Dynastie* [Leuven, 1951]
- Drerup, *Äg.Bildnisköpfe* H. Drerup, *Ägyptische Bildnisköpfe griechischer und römischer Zeit* [Münster, 1950]
- Evers, *Staat* H. G. Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein* I-II [Munich, 1929]
- Gardiner, *Onom.* A.H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* I-III [London, 1947]
- Gauthier, *L.R.* M. H. Gauthier, *Le livre des rois d'Égypte* = *MIFAO* 17-21 [Cairo, 1907-1917]
- Graindor, *Bustes* P. Graindor, *Bustes et statues-portraits d'Égypte romaine* [Cairo, 1937]
- Hassan, *Great Sphinx* S. Hassan, *The Great Sphinx and its Secrets* [Cairo, 1953]
- Hornemann, *Types* B. Hornemann, *Types of Ancient Egyptian Statuary* I-III [Copenhagen, 1951 & 1957]
- IFAO *Institut français d'archéologie orientale*
- ILN *The Illustrated London News*
- Iversen, *Two Inscriptions* E. Iversen, *Two Inscriptions Concerning Private Donations to Temples* = *Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Histor-*

- isk-filologiske Meddelelser. XXVII, no. 5 [Copenhagen, 1941]
- JAOS *Journal of the American Oriental Society*
- JdI *Jahrbuch des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts*
- JEA *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
- JNES *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
- JWAG *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*
- Koefoed-Petersen, *Catalogue des statues* O. Koefoed-Petersen, *Catalogue des statues et statuettes égyptiennes = Publications de la Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg*, no. 3 [Copenhagen, 1950]
- Leclant, *Enquêtes* J. Leclant, *Enquêtes sur les sacerdoces et les sanctuaires égyptiens* = IFAO, *Bibliothèque d'étude XVII* [Cairo, 1954]
- Lefebvre M. G. Lefebvre, *Le Tombeau de Petosiris I-III* [Cairo, 1924]
- L'Orange, *Apotheosis in Ancient Portraiture* H. P. L'Orange, *Apotheosis in Ancient Portraiture* [Oslo, 1947]
- Macadam, *Kawa* M. F. L. Macadam, *The Temples of Kawa I-II* [London, 1949 & 1955]
- Malinine, *Choix* M. Malinine, *Choix de textes juridiques I* [Paris, 1953]
- Maspero, *Egypte* G. Maspero, *Egypte = Ars Una, Species Mille, Histoire générale de l'art* [Paris, 1912]
- Maspero, *Guide* G. Maspero, *Guide du visiteur au Musée du Caire* [Cairo, 1915]
- MDIK *Mitteilungen des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo*
- MIFAO *Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire*
- Misc.Greg. *Monumenti Musei e Gallerie Pontificie, Miscellanea Gregoriana* [Vatican, 1941]
- Mnemosyne *Mnemosyne = Bibliotheca Classica Batava*, series 3, vol. 7 [Leiden, 1939]
- Mon.Piot *Fondation Eugène Piot, Monuments et mémoires publiés par l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*
- Montet, *Nouvelles fouilles* P. Montet, *Les Nouvelles fouilles de Tanis (1929-1932)* [Paris, 1933]
- OLZ *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*
- OMRO *Oudheidkundige Mededeelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden*
- Otto, *Priester und Tempel* W. Otto, *Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Ägypten I-II* [Leipzig and Berlin, 1905 & 1908]
- Otto, *Topographie* E. Otto, *Topographie des thebanischen Gaus = Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Aegyptens* 16 [Berlin and Leipzig, 1952]
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- PN H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen I-II* [Glückstadt, 1935 & 1952]
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- Posener, *Douanes* G. Posener, "Les douanes de la Méditerranée dans l'Égypte saïte" = *Revue de philologie de littérature et d'histoire anciennes* XXI, pp. 117-131 [Paris, 1947]
- Posener, *Première Domination* G. Posener, *La première domination perse en Égypte* = IFAO, *Bibliothèque d'étude XI* [Cairo, 1936]
- R.A. *Revue archéologique*
- RdE *Revue d'égyptologie*
- Rec.Trav. *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*
- REG *Revue des études grecques*
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- R.M. *Mitteilungen des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Roemische Abteilung*
- Roeder, *Ägyptische Bronzefiguren* G. Roeder, *Ägyptische Bronzefiguren = Mitteilungen aus der Ägyptischen Sammlung VI* [Berlin, 1956]
- Roeder, *Statuen* G. Roeder, *Statuen ägyptischer Königinnen = Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft* 37, part 2 [Leipzig, 1932]
- Ross, *The Art* E. D. Ross, *The Art of Egypt through the Ages* [New York and London, 1931]
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- de Rougé, *Inscr.* E. de Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques copiées en Égypte* [Paris, 1887]
- Schäfer, *Gewand* H. Schäfer, "Das Gewand der Isis, Ein Beitrag zur Kunst-, Kultur-, und Religionsgeschichte des Hellenismus" = *Janus, Arbeiten zur alten und byzantinischen Geschichte* I, pp. 194-206 [Leipzig, 1921]
- SDB *Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplément*
- Smith, *A.A.A.E.* W. S. Smith, *Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* (Pelican History of Art) [Baltimore, 1958]
- Smith, *Anc.Egypt* W. S. Smith, *Ancient Egypt as Represented in The Museum of Fine Arts* [Boston; editions of 1942, 1946, 1952, 1960]
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- TSBA *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*
- Vandier, *Manuel* J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne* III, *La statuaire* part 1-2 [Paris, 1958]
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- Wilbour, *Travels* C. E. Wilbour, *Travels in Egypt*, ed. J. Capart [Brooklyn, 1936]
- Wolf, *Kunst.* W. Wolf, *Die Kunst Aegyptens* [Stuttgart, 1957]
- Wreszinski, *Atlas* W. Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte* I [Leipzig, 1923]
- ZÄS *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*

Chronology

PREDYNASTIC PERIOD

4500-3100 B.C.

ARCHAIC PERIOD

3100-2600 B.C. Dynasties I-III

OLD KINGDOM

2600-2500 B.C. Dynasty IV

2500-2200 B.C. Dynasties V-VI

FIRST INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

2200-2000 B.C. Dynasties VII-XI

MIDDLE KINGDOM

2052-1786 B.C. Dynasties XI-XII

SECOND INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

1785-1567 B.C. Dynasties XIII-XVII

NEW KINGDOM

1567-1304 B.C. Dynasty XVIII

1370-1352 B.C. Amarna Period

1304-1195 B.C. Dynasty XIX

1195-1075 B.C. Dynasty XX

THIRD INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

1075-715 B.C. Dynasties XXI-XXIII

725-710 B.C. Dynasty XXIV

LATE PERIOD

736-656 B.C. Dynasty XXV; Kushite Period (*in part contemporaneous with
Dynasties XXIII-XXIV*)

???-736 Kashta

736-710 Piankhi

716 / 15 Conquest of Upper Egypt

710-696 Shabako

698-685 Shebitku

690-664 Taharqa

664-656 Tanwetamani (in the south)

664-525 B.C. Dynasty XXVI; Saite Period

(673-664 Necho I, Prince of Sais)

664-610 Psamtik I

	656	Consolidation of Lower and Upper Egypt
	610-595	Necho II
	595-589	Psamtik II
	593	Campaign against Kush
	589-570	Apries
	570-526	Amasis
	526-525	Psamtik III
525-404 B.C.	Dynasty XXVII; Persian Period (<i>First Persian Domination</i>)	
	525-522	Cambyses
	522-486	Darius I
404-398 B.C.	Dynasty XXVIII	
398-378 B.C.	Dynasty XXIX	
	390-378	Hakoris
378-341 B.C.	Dynasty XXX	
	378-360	Nectanebo I
	361-359	Teos
	359-341	Nectanebo II
341-333 B.C.	Dynasty XXXI (<i>Second Persian Domination</i>)	
332-304 B.C.	Macedonian Period	
	332-323	Alexander the Great
	323-304	Ptolemy Lagos, <i>ruling as satrap for</i> Philip Arrhidaeus (323-317) Alexander, son of Roxane (316-310)
304-30 B.C.	Ptolemaic Period	
	304-284	Ptolemy I Soter (Ptolemy Lagos)
	285-246	Ptolemy II Philadelphos
	246-221	Ptolemy III Euergetes I
	221-205	Ptolemy IV Philopator
	205-180	Ptolemy V Epiphanes
	180-145	Ptolemy VI Philometor
	145	Ptolemy VII Neos Philopator
	145-116	Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II
	116-107	Ptolemy IX Soter II (Lathyros)
	107-88	Ptolemy X Alexander I
	88-81	Ptolemy IX (restored)
	81-80	Ptolemy XI Alexander II
	80-51	Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysos (Auletes)
	51-30	Cleopatra VII Philopator
30 B.C.—A.D. 324	Roman Period (<i>Emperors mentioned in the Catalogue</i>)	
30 B.C.—A.D. 14	Augustus (Caesar Octavianus)	
A.D. 54-68	Nero	
81-96	Domitian	
117-138	Hadrian	

Introduction

OF THE FOUR MAJOR SPANS of time into which the history of ancient Egypt has been divided for convenience' sake, the Late Period is the longest. Unlike the Old, Middle, and New Kingdoms, it is historically not a unit. During it, periods of foreign domination were interspersed with dynasties of native rule, and for three hundred years before our era a foreign house — that of the Ptolemies — made Egypt its own, to hold it until the land finally became a colony of all-conquering Rome. But archaeologically and artistically, the eight hundred years between around 700 B.C. and A.D. 100 constitute a well-defined entity. To treat them as a whole in tracing the development of sculpture is not as arbitrary as it may seem, for changes of dynasties, wars, and invasions had remarkably little effect on native cultural life. The stream of Egyptian civilization flowed on, gaining impetus as it went, and (in contrast with what seems to have happened during the unsettled periods of the third and second millennia B.C.) magnificently surviving the ill fortune that from time to time befell the country.

Ever since the remains of two standing figures in wood, of about two-thirds life size, were found in a grave dated to the end of Dynasty I (about 3000 B.C.), we have been aware that the noblest manifestation of ancient Egyptian art — sculpture in the round of human beings on a human scale — existed in the Nile Valley for nearly as long as the expression of ideas in written characters and the fitting of hewn stone into architectural units. These two statues were “. . . erect in a frontal pose . . . one leg advanced . . . the weight evenly distributed . . . the hands either clenched or, more rarely, laid flat against the thighs.” It is in these words, used by Miss Richter (*Kouroi*, p. 3) in reference to the earliest Greek statues, fashioned some two thousand years later, that they are best described. There can be no doubt that these sculptures of the Old Kingdom — the first sizeable creations made by the Egyptians in their own image — mark the beginning of Western sculpture. As the modeling of the human figure in the Old, Middle, and New Kingdoms has by now been well studied, the moment seems to have arrived for focusing attention on the statuary made during the final centuries of ancient Egyptian civilization, when Egypt was continuously in touch with both the Middle East and the rising West, when Phoenicians and

Assyrians, Persians and Cypriotes, Greeks and Romans came to the Nile Valley and saw the living art of its people.

After a long twilight, which set in as early as the reign of the great Ramesses (some of whose statuary, not to mention that of his notables, shows an appalling deterioration), there occurred in Egypt about 700 B.C. one of those revivals of the art of sculpture, such as had taken place earlier, in Dynasties XI and XVIII, following periods of anarchy and invasion. This time, however, the revival did not come in the wake of national resurgence. On the contrary, it was stimulated by conquering rulers from Kush, a land far to the south. These foreign kings and their courtiers commissioned the modeling of their likenesses in hard stone on a scale not known for centuries past; and just as early Middle Kingdom art harked back to the Old Kingdom and certain work of the sixteenth century took inspiration from Dynasties XII and XIII, so the statues made under Kushite rule in the beginning reflected the best of the sculpture of earlier periods.

This reawakening after three or four centuries of stagnation is one of the miracles that constantly astonish the student of the archaeology of the Late Period. From the time of the Kushite kings sculpture remained dominant in the art of Egypt. Relief work and architecture also reached new heights, but only sporadically; sculpture alone continued and developed to the very end of the existence of the ancient civilization. The function of statuary became more sharply defined. (In the beginning, images of human beings had been destined mainly for the tomb, where they were hidden from the sight of men.) From the Middle Kingdom on, private people occasionally set up their statues in the sanctuaries of their local gods, but in the Late Period all sculptures were destined for the temples and meant to be seen by those who came to worship. For this reason, attempts were made, time and again, to endow the face of a statue with something more than a benign and idealizing expression, to give it the features of a definite person, to imbue it with the character and inner life of the subject. To the influence of Egyptian realism thus developed, we owe some Hellenistic and many fine Roman portraits. — Start

Having once been shaken out of their splendid introspective isolation, the Egyptians rose to the challenge of a modern world, in which neighboring peoples had to be reckoned with. Not to suffer in their pride, they became demonstrative and extroverted. Under the eyes of foreigners, they gave visible proof of their faith and tenacity of tradition by filling their temples with statues in hard stone in a profusion that belies the modern dismissal of the waning centuries of ancient Egyptian civilization as weak and decadent. Only with Roman rule, when the country was bled white and the proud aristocracy gradually decimated, did they cease to display their images in their sanctuaries, but hid them from the sight of the hard bureaucrats and armored cohorts who had come from beyond the seas to govern Egypt. It

was in the first century A.D., precisely at the time when the Roman administration became firmly entrenched, that the sculpture of temple statues deteriorated and a new art — the painting of portraits on panels — arose for the privacy of the grave. Only then what was genuinely Egyptian came to an end. Though succeeding centuries saw the evolution of a new, more direct art form — the Coptic — it was one that drew for the most part on popular versions of Greco-Roman tradition.

[E]gyptian statues differ from those of all other countries of the ancient world in incorporating a member called the back pillar, a post or pillar which rises from the base in the rear to shoulder, neck, or head level. The figure does not lean against this pillar; it follows the contour of the body as if it intruded into or grew out of the person represented. Its rear plane is flat and rectangular and frequently covered by one or more columns of text. Various explanations — none satisfactory — have been offered to explain the use of the back pillar. Some think that the Egyptian sought for an upright, a pillar like the engaged columns of early temple architecture, against which to lean his statue, and that once this member had been devised it was clung to for tradition's sake. Others, more practical-minded, have argued that the back pillar was created to protect the statue from breakage; against this theory speaks the fact that in many early examples the back pillar does not extend above shoulder level and thus leaves the neck unprotected. A further suggestion — based on the protective hawk that stands on the back pillar in certain royal sculptures of the Old Kingdom — is that the shaft is the seat of the vital force, the *Ka*, the divine essence thought to endow the person represented with divine power.

The shape of the back pillar is often a valuable aid in attributing a sculpture to a definite period. Throughout the entire Late Period it frequently terminates in a squared-off top. A new version appears with Dynasty XXVII, when the top is sometimes shaped like a trapezoid, and from the latter part of the fourth century B.C. occasionally it ends in a point, first as an isosceles and later, in the Ptolemaic Period, as an equilateral triangle.

In principle the back pillar rises perpendicular to the base, but there are exceptions, as for instance in No. 39 of this Catalogue, in which the back pillar slants toward the rear of the sculpture. In the Late Period, the Egyptians were less addicted to a mechanical construction of sculpture than at any previous time; figures were modeled more freely. Though they conformed to a few simple rules, long since established by faith and tradition, when one measures and tests them with level and plumb line one invariably finds that they do not follow a rigid canon. It is true that Egyptian sculpture is "frontal" — until the last decades of the Ptolemaic Period an obvious movement or turn of the head does not occur in a statue. On the other hand the sole intention seems to have been to make a figure *appear* to conform to the law of frontality. On closer inspection one nearly always finds

that the conformity is only illusionary; that a gentle turn of the head by a fraction of an inch, the lowering of one shoulder against the other, a slight shifting of the body's weight are all incorporated in what seem to be formally and symmetrically executed statues.

② Since the degrees of asymmetry employed in the sculptures of the earlier periods have not yet been extensively studied, no precise comparison with those of the Late Period can be offered. It seems, however, as if Late sculptors were far more addicted to loosening a rigid code than their forebears had been. This is also evident in variations in detail occurring in a single statue. For instance, the hands may be highly stylized and the feet modeled naturalistically, or the hands are left crude and undeveloped, and other parts of the body are modeled with great attention to detail. All these deviations serve to enliven a piece of sculpture, though the observer may register them only subconsciously.

In the course of the period under discussion the modeling of the male torso, from sternal notch to navel, undergoes a number of changes, the most important of which is that from bipartition to tripartition. The Egyptians of the Kushite Period, in reviving an ideal handed down in the sculpture of Dynasty XII, stressed as the most prominent feature of a man's body the median line, vertically bisecting the torso into two distinctly separate halves. This sculptural form, called bipartition, is very pronounced until the time of King Psamtik II (595-589 B.C.), and still occurs occasionally under his successors. Then a new basic principle of modeling evolves, which we call tripartition. In this the median line is hardly noticeable or entirely absent, even under strong raking light, and the three main portions of the torso — chest, rib cage, and abdominal region — are modeled almost as separate entities, markedly set off against each other. This style achieves its fullest development in the reign of King Amasis (570-526 B.C.), well anticipating a similar stylistic change in Greek sculpture.

We are poorly informed about the modeling of the male body in Dynasties XXVII-XXIX, but with King Nectanebo I (378-360 B.C.) of Dynasty XXX, the body is again often shown in the nude from neck to loins, and though the king himself employed sculptors who modeled him in a fashion which can only be described as a mixture of bipartition and restrained tripartition, the private statuary of his time and of the following period displays, for the most part, pure tripartition. The Ptolemaic Period goes its own way, mostly along the lines of tripartition; pure bipartition is never revived.

④ The principal statue forms represented in sculpture of the Late Period are the following:

Standing statue, the classical attitude of male or female figures cited in the second paragraph of this Introduction. Whether "standing" or "striding" — the terms can be used interchangeably — the figure is in repose, not walking. The left foot is advanced, and the

stride is longer in the male statue than in the female. All standing sculptures in stone have a back pillar, except some sculptors' models and, possibly, a few royal figures of late Ptolemaic times.

Seated statue, the position of a person resting erect on a block of approximately cubic shape which serves as a seat. Neither foot is advanced. With and without back pillar, this form of sculpture was made occasionally for single figures until the time of Psamtik I, and for groups until the reign of Necho II (with two possible exceptions, Cairo J.E. 36576 and Paris, Louvre E. 9333). The single seated figure was revived in Roman times, after 30 B.C., and there is at least one royal example of a seated group in the Ptolemaic Period (Alexandria 11261).

Kneeling statues, showing a person kneeling and resting on his heels. These were made throughout the Late Period, and one specimen seems even to date from Roman times (Alexandria 22986). All private examples have a back pillar, sometimes lacking in royal figures.

Block statues, first fashioned in the beginning of the Middle Kingdom. This is a typically Egyptian form not found anywhere else in the ancient world. It shows a man squatting on the ground or on a very low cushion, the arms crossed on the knees, which are drawn up to shoulder level. It is the most frequently employed type of the Late Period, increasing considerably in post-Persian times and not going out of fashion until the beginning of the first century B.C. Up to the time of Psamtik I, block statues were on occasion made without back pillar; after his reign they always have one.

Asymmetric squatting statues, representing the subject, always a man, as sitting on the ground, the left leg drawn up as in a block statue, and the right leg folded under, so that the sole of the right foot appears under the left thigh, back of the left foot. In one instance (Hanover 1935.200.515) the subject folds the right leg straight back from the knee so that he actually sits on the right foot. Asymmetric squatting statues occur mainly in Dynasty XXV; a few are dated to Psamtik I of Dynasty XXVI, but none are found under his successors. They usually have a back pillar; only two exceptions are known (Cairo C.G. 653 and J.E. 36711).

Squatting statues, also referred to as *scribe statues*, showing the subject seated on the ground cross-legged, the knees spread widely apart. In most cases the right leg is crossed over the left. All dated sculptures of this type are from the reign of King Psamtik I; only very few,

if any, may have been made for men who lived under his successor, Necho II. The majority come from Memphis, and are without back pillars. Those found at Thebes were made sometimes with or sometimes without back pillar.

3 percent
start
By far the largest number of statues created during the Late Period represent men, ~~thus~~ widely changing the ratio which prevailed in earlier times. In Dynasty XXV no stone sculpture of a queen or a private woman was ever made; the only females represented in durable material were the princesses who served as divine consorts of the god Amun. In the beginning of Dynasty XXVI we find a few private female figures in stone, and women still appear in group statues under Necho II. Then none were so honored for centuries to come, until the time of Alexander the Great or of his immediate successors, to whose reign we have attributed No. 92. In the Ptolemaic Period, statues of women are not uncommon, constituting about one-fourth of all sculptures made.

The reason for this strange ban against temple sculptures of women is ~~not~~ known. It becomes even more puzzling in view of the fact that the renaissance which took place under Psamtik I included the restoration of the woman's position in the arts. It almost seems as if the Egyptians, on account of increasingly frequent contacts with foreign nations, had come to deem inappropriate the presence of a female sculpture in a temple. Only a few statuettes in wood show that there may have been a traditional undercurrent among the populace, to bridge the two and a half centuries during which stone statues of women were apparently never fashioned.

out
It was not only in Dynasty XXV, when the great revival of sculpture-making took place, that statuary was frequently inspired by the splendid examples of bygone times. Sculpture of the time of the Saite ruler, Psamtik I, also shows many classicistic tendencies, which we call *archaizing*. One of them, for instance, is the revival of the scribe — or squatting — type of figure, which harks back to the great Memphite examples of the Old Kingdom. This trend toward the distant past should be well distinguished from a style of Dynasty XXX, termed *archaistic*, which attempts to revive the glories of Dynasty XXVI and, more specifically, of its early decades, when Psamtik I was ruling. By careful analysis of undated examples of such classicism, these two periods, the archaizing and the archaistic, can be better understood. That one of them is more derivative than the other is of no importance; to distinguish them is far more vital, for otherwise a critical appraisal of the achievements of the two dynasties or of a given span of time cannot be made. Part of the lack of serious interest in the Late Period has always been due to misconceptions arising from the bewildering multitude of stylistic features which seem to exist side by side. It is true that there are many currents in the art of these times, but they cease to be bewildering when they are

studied on the basis of dated and datable sculptures of each period. Such study is very rewarding in its revelation of the inner richness and sense of direction that never failed the Egyptian sculptor until the beginning of the Roman rule.

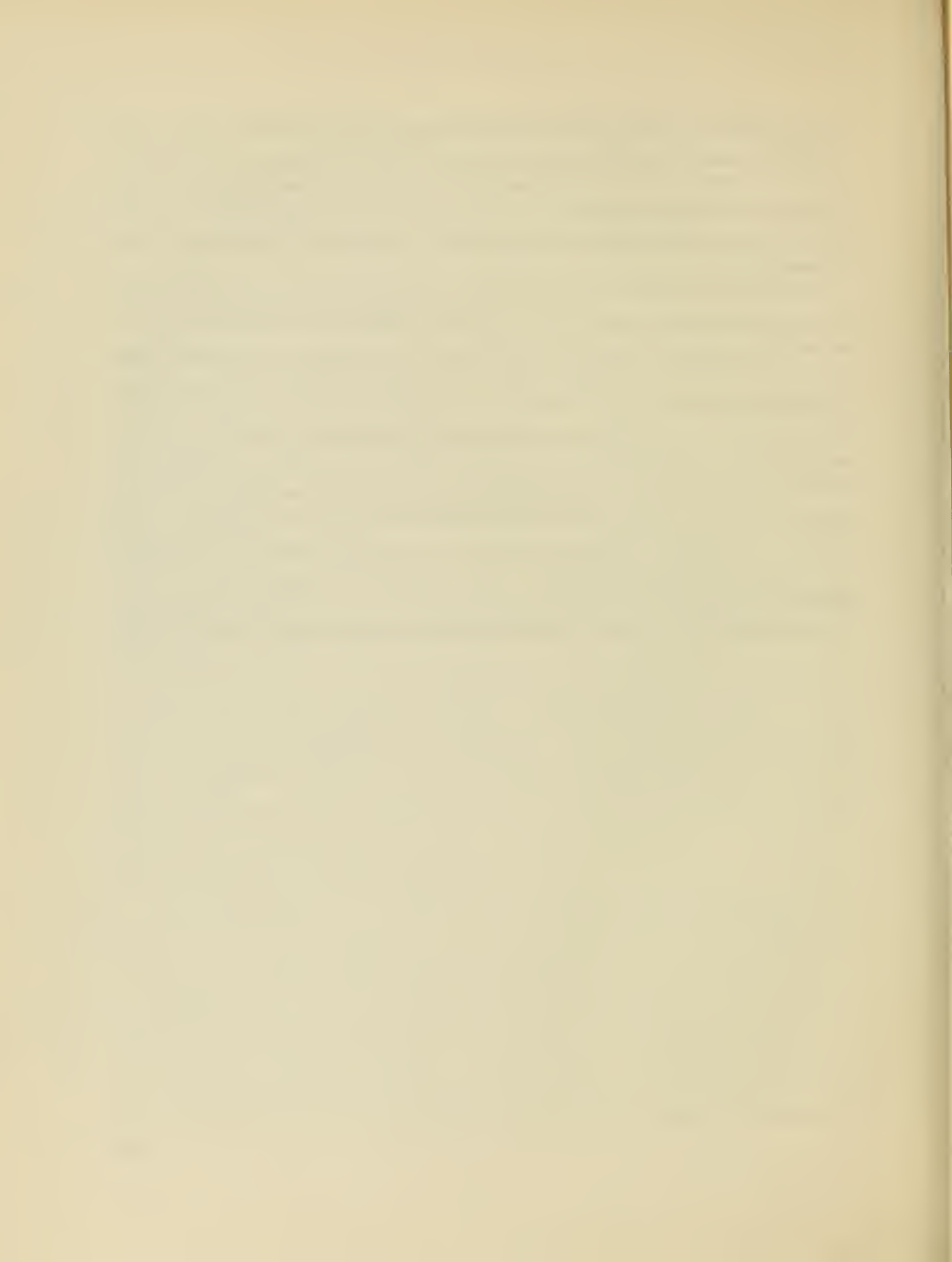
One of the many fascinating aspects that lend to Late Period sculpture a mark of distinction is the treatment of the human face. As in all previous periods of Egyptian art, there is a fair share of idealization, arising from the desire to create for posterity a harmonious, contented, eternally youthful countenance. From the middle of the seventh century on, we find the outspoken "smile," which — together with the rigid frontality and stance of the Egyptian statue, — was soon to be taken over by the Greeks, but at the same time a new conception of the human face made itself felt. At the close of Dynasty XXV and during the reign of Psamtik I at the beginning of Dynasty XXVI, there set in a trend of almost brutal realism. It would be claiming too much if one hailed the sculptured heads in this style as portraits. A *portrait* embodies the individual traits of a definite human being. Since there is some evidence that these heads were created after a common formula used for denoting the maturity of age, as distinguished from the immaturity of eternal youth, we prefer to call the sum-total of these more or less stereotype features a *likeness*.

After the half-century of the reign of Psamtik I, this realism is discontinued, only to crop up again under Persian rule. Although Dynasty XXVII is archaeologically but little explored, we have enough evidence to claim that after 525 B.C. there begins a development that quickly ripens to true portraiture in the Western sense, revealing the outer as well as the inner characteristics of a human being in the lineaments of his face. From then on the search for man's soul in the shape and expression of his countenance was never to cease until the end of ancient Egyptian civilization; and Greece and eventually Rome soon joined in the quest. Splendid examples of this native Egyptian portrait style abound; we find in them the full range of human emotion, and through them we sense the vigor and vitality of an artistic force which, though far from the lofty ideals of the centuries of isolation, was able to hold its own in a changing world.

In the last millennium the technical process involved in making hard-stone sculpture remained essentially the same as it had always been. By pounding and hammering and bruising, the stone was worn away; the cutting was done with stone tools and the polishing with quartz sand. Unfinished statues display tool marks exactly the same as those of never-completed hard-stone statues of Dynasty IV. The use of hard-tipped metal tools by foreign sculptors of their time, does not prove that the tradition-minded Egyptian craftsmen borrowed these tools and employed them successfully. Just as the peasant of a Near Eastern village, employing a team of oxen and a crude wooden plough, never so much as turns his head when a tractor crosses his path, so the Egyptian craftsman clung to his established

perfect technique in the face of scientific developments of other countries. What he had was good enough. To fashion a diorite head such as ^{Fig. 9} No. 132 without leaving a mark or trace on the polished face would be impossible even with the most modern steel tool. The very walls of the temple of Dendera, the roofing slabs of the temple of Edfu, all point to the justifiable persistence of Egyptian artisans in the employment of their own time-tested methods.

There lay their strength, in imperturbably following their own way, adapting, even borrowing, but always creating what was essentially Egyptian. Our present task is to isolate and to arrange in a sensible order the elements which form the sum-total of their achievement in the field of sculpture. One cannot begin this task by choosing pieces here and there and comparing them without form analysis with the finest sculptures of earlier times. A period has to be judged on its own merits; only then can one weigh the evidence and measure the degree to which it surpasses or falls short of another epoch. But little is gained by such comparison. Though of the same stock and of the same faith as their forefathers, the Egyptians of the Late Period faced different problems and coped with a world foreign to their tradition. That they maintained an even higher standard of durability in their work than did their predecessors is greatly to their credit. How great was their artistic achievement, how fine their sculptures, determined by any standards, must be judged for himself by each who sees the Exhibition and goes through the pages of this Catalogue.



Catalogue

About 700 B.C.; Dynasty XXV.

Dark grey and brown mottled granite.

Owner: Joslyn Memorial Art Museum, Omaha, Nebraska; no. 1953.80.

The Kushite rulers of Egypt constitute the XXVth Dynasty. Their rise to power ushers in the last great era of Egyptian history and art, which is commonly called the Late Period. Far from exercising a debasing influence on Egypt, they effected a revival of artistic expression, and many of the works created during their rule rival in quality the best created in earlier periods.

About 715 B.C. Piankhi, King of Kush, became ruler of a large part of Egypt, the first foreigner in a thousand years to dominate the Nile Valley. No sculpture in the round is known to represent him; this bust in Omaha shows his sister, Amenirdas, daughter of King Kashta of Nubia, which the Greeks and Romans called Ethiopia and which today is divided between the Sudan and the United Arab Republic.

At the time of the Kushite conquest, Shepenwepet I, daughter of the last native king, held the supreme religious office of the land at Thebes, which for long had been the spiritual capital of Egypt. She was compelled to adopt Amenirdas, the Kushite princess, who henceforth as Amenirdas I became the Divine Consort, earthly bride of the state god Amun, thus lending legitimacy to the claim of the house of Kush to the kingship of Egypt. The upper part of the nearly life-size sculpture is one of several statues which were set up at Thebes at the height of her rule. In quality it is surpassed only by her alabaster statue in Cairo (C.G. 565). Though of foreign extraction, her attitude, costume, and bearing are such as if she had been born to the exalted office of the god's consort, and despite her somewhat plump, broad Nubian features the face framed by the heavy wig radiates the calm majesty for which the best of

pharaonic sculpture is justly famous. She is crowned by a circlet of cobra heads and hoods; another uraeus, now lost, adorned her forehead. In the tradition of the New Kingdom, the eyebrows and cosmetic lines are long drawn out in heavy relief. A simple, tight-fitting garment sheathes her body, the breasts are covered by a halter, and the left hand grasps the stem of a lily — a scepter as much as a symbol of femininity. The back pillar bears the beginning of a column of inscription, probably the continuation of a text, now lost, which started on the base.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 64.3 cm. Width ca. 37 cm. Depth 29.8 cm. Depth of break at waist level 26.2 cm. Width of back pillar near break 14.5 cm. Intracolumnar width ca. 10.8 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; most probably from Thebes. Originally collected by General Le Marois, later le Comte le Marois, a member of Napoleon's campaign in Egypt (1798-1801).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Joslyn Memorial Art Museum, *A Guide to the Museum*, no. 1 (1958), p. 19 (illus.).

COMMENT: The face lacks the delicacy usual in Egyptian representations of women. Typically Kushite is the fold of the skin which springs from the upper nostril and broadens out on the cheek. On the other hand, the lips are beautifully contoured by an incised line, a feature far too little studied thus far, which seems to distinguish a number of outstanding sculptures (Nos. 5, 50) and is never found on heads of inferior quality. The iconography of the divine consorts of Dynasty XXV is well established, and comparison with the alabaster statue of Amenirdas I in Cairo (C.G. 565 — always illustrated at an angle so far from below that the impressive face appears distorted) proves that the facial features are nearly identical. The lower part of a second statue of Amenirdas I in Cairo (C.G. 611) is of the same material as the Omaha bust, although the two do not belong together. The uraeus crown is flat on top, as on Sydney 41, but unlike Cairo C.G. 565, which has a hole in the center of the top surface for insertion of an additional adornment. The strands of the hair are not indicated; in this the Omaha bust, with

its straight lappets hanging over the shoulders, is unlike any other sculpture of the divine consorts, though on the sphinxes with curled lappet ends the tresses are never marked. Amenirdas I is the only divine consort of Dynasty XXV whose sculptures never show an ornamental necklace; this, too, con-

firms the attribution of the Omaha bust.

The hieroglyphic signs on the back pillar read "Lower and Upper Egypt," part of the frequent title of the divine consorts, "Mistress of Upper and Lower Egypt."

No. 2; Pls. 2-3, Figs. 2, 5.

MAN WITH CLOAK

700-660 B.C.; *Dynasty XXV*.

Fine-grained black granite.

Owner: Mr. Albert Gallatin, New York, N. Y.

The head and shoulders of this anonymous man might be taken for a work of the Middle Kingdom, particularly of Dynasty XII. Both the striated wig and the almost fierce expression of the face would favor such an attribution, and the fringed cloak, of which enough survives to identify it as such, is also found in that period. Yet the contour of the wig and the cutting of the eyes betray the Late origin of the sculpture. In spite of damage to forehead and nose, the face is extraordinarily lively. Its deep nasolabial furrows and heavy mouth indicate the advanced age of the man represented. It must have been a sculpture in which the forms were given in great detail, because even the Adam's apple is evident. The back is badly worn. All that can be said of it with certainty is that there is no trace of the back pillar, which was either ground off deliberately or ended below the break; for statues of the type from which this head comes should normally have a back pillar. The man wore a simple cloak wrapped around his shoulders and covering arms and legs down to the ankles. The hands were probably shown, the left lying flat on the right side of the chest, the right holding the edge of the garment and pulling it toward the left hip. The edge, incidentally, shows a loop

pattern; both the cloak and the patterned edge are rendered as was the custom in Dynasty XII, some 1200 years earlier.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 15.2 cm. Height of face 4.5 cm. Width of break ca. 13.6 cm. Depth (chin through back) 9.4 cm. Depth of break (slant) 9.1 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; acquired in 1953.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: None.

COMMENT: Despite numerous instances in which it is difficult to determine at first glance whether a sculpture dates from Dynasty XII or from Dynasty XXV, the plastic art of the Kushite Period constitutes an original effort and is not just a copy of work of the Middle Kingdom. Tradition is not merely preserved; it is being revived, for the sculpture of the preceding Third Intermediate Period (Dynasties XXI-XXIV) is without vitality and, with very few exceptions (Cairo J.E. 37512; Philadelphia E. 16199 + Cairo C.G. 1040), of inferior quality. The striated wig, continuously in use for nearly two millennia, is still found in Dynasty XXV; at the end of the seventh century it disappears in the reign of King Necho II (No. 44) and briefly recurs in slightly different form in sculpture of the early Ptolemaic Period. It is found in exactly the same form as in the Gallatin head in a cloaked seated statue of Mentuemhat (Berlin 17271). It should be stressed that statues wearing the long cloak are always seated; apart from the aforementioned statue of Mentuemhat, the best-dated example is Cairo J.E. 37866 (Leclant, *Enquêtes*, pp. 3 ff.), belonging to Bakenptah, the grandfather of Akhmenru (No. 6). For the lack of a back pillar, if there was really none, see the *Comment* on No. 10.

*About 690 B.C.; Dynasty XXV.**Green chlorite schist.**Owner: City Art Museum of St. Louis, St. Louis, Mo.; no. 221:24.*

As a result of an understandable reluctance on the part of the native Egyptians to identify themselves too closely with their foreign rulers, few private sculptures of Dynasty XXV bear cartouches of the Kushite kings, and many of those on which such cartouches originally appeared no longer show them, because in the time of King Psamtik II (594-589 B.C.) the royal names of the by then hated usurpers were scratched out and replaced by those of Psamtik II, who in 593 B.C. undertook a famous campaign against the land of Kush. Fortunately few people were compelled for political reasons to name a Kushite king on their statues, but many named one or several of the spiritual rulers of their time — the divine consorts of the god Amun — in their inscriptions, and for purposes of dating these names are just as helpful as the names of kings.

Such is the case with this statuette of a kneeling man who proffers a figure of the god Osiris. He wears a wide double wig without indication of the strands of hair, the upper part of which covers most of the ears. The eyebrows are plastically indicated in low relief; the mouth is straight and has full lips. The body is clad in an elaborate pleated skirt with a trapezoid forepart, held in place by a belt. The soles of the kneeling man are perfectly vertical.

As happens often in Egyptian sculpture, the stone between the head of the deity and the body of the donor has not been cut away, and on the right and left sides of this "bridge" are the names of the divine consorts Amenirdas I and her adopted daughter and eventual successor Shepenwepet II. From the inscription on the base we learn that the statuette's subject was their chamberlain, and thus the statuette must have been made at the time of the co-

regency of the two great ladies before the death of Amenirdas I. The back of the statuette shows not even a trace of an inscription, and it appears as if the man's name, with the rest of the text, may have been intentionally erased. It is a pleasant little sculpture, and though it does not show much individuality it nonetheless presents a good example of the small-scale statuary of the middle of Dynasty XXV.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 18.7 cm. Height of base ca. 2.8 cm. Width of base 5.5 cm. Depth of base 10 cm. Height above modern base (as illustrated) 18 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; perhaps from Karnak. Formerly in the collection of A. Stoclet, Brussels.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: City Art Museum of St. Louis, *16th Annual Report* (St. Louis, 1925), p. 55.

COMMENT: The material, chlorite schist (often erroneously referred to as "*prime d'émeraude*"), is rarely employed in Egyptian statuary. Kneeling theophorous sculptures, though introduced during the New Kingdom, become more frequent in the Late Period, but only during Dynasties XXV-XXVI. They then go out of fashion; only one example (Berlin 18562) dates from the Ptolemaic Period. The use of the double wig without indication of the strands of hair is even more limited, occurring only during Dynasty XXV and immediately afterward, under Psamtik I (No. 34 and Berlin 17700). Centuries later it is revived briefly in the Ptolemaic Period in almost grotesque form (Cairo J.E. 37169; New York, M.M.A. 07.228.28). The garment with the trapezoid, apron-like forepart is, though pleated, essentially the same as in a statue from Cairo shown in this Exhibition (No. 37). It is a New Kingdom heritage, often represented in relief work. In sculpture in the round it occurs occasionally throughout Dynasties XXV and XXVI (London, B.M. 14466; Paris, Louvre E. 4299), but becomes exceedingly rare during the post-Persian (Cairo C.G. 1020) and Ptolemaic (Berlin 18562) periods.

For the title "Chamberlain" (*imy-khent*), see the references cited by Leclant, *Enquêtes*, p. 76 (c). If the inscription on the back of the statuette was intentionally erased — and this appears to have been the case — one suspects that it was done because the two divine consorts were named there with their full titulary, which would include at least the names of

their ancestors, King Kashta, father of Amenirdas I, and King Piankhi, father of Shepenwepet II, and in so small a sculpture it was easier to grind off the whole text than to pick out just the hated royal names.

Thus far it has been assumed that the two names of the divine consorts are those of Amenirdas I and Shepenwepet II. There are, however, two other possibilities, namely Shepenwepet I + Amenirdas I and Shepenwepet II + Amenirdas II (cf. Christophe, in *BIE* 35 [1953], pp. 141-152). For stylistic reasons, the former possibility can be disregarded, although

neither of the two names is followed by either "living" or "deceased." The St. Louis statuette is not unique in mentioning just the two names; two inscriptions on statues in the Cairo Museum ($\frac{14}{22} + \frac{5}{2}$ and J.E. 36995) show the same feature, and there are probably others. Very little is known about Amenirdas II, and the rôle she played after her adoption by Shepenwepet II was at best ephemeral. Until better evidence can be uncovered one is therefore compelled to consider the two names as those of Amenirdas I and Shepenwepet II, and stylistically there is nothing to contradict such an attribution.

No. 4; Pl. 4, Figs. 8-10.

DJED-KHONSU-IUF-ANKH, PROPHET OF MONTHU

About 665-650 B.C.; end of Dynasty XXV to beginning of Dynasty XXVI.

Black basalt.

Owner: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y.; no. 07.228.27.

The block statue is as typical for Egyptian sculpture as the pyramid for Egyptian architecture. It is the most compact way of representing a human being who sits on the ground, with the knees drawn up to shoulder level and a cloak covering the whole body, except for the head and hands (see p. xxxvi). In contrast to the amorphous mass of the body, the head of the sculpture shown here looks surprisingly human and alert, presumably a well-calculated effect, which could not fail to attract the visitor to the temple of Karnak, where, in the presence of his gods, the man represented wished to be remembered forever. His name, as we learn from the inscriptions, was Djed-khonsu-iuf-ankh. He was a prophet of the god Monthu of Thebes, held another priestly office with the goddess Mut, "Mistress of Heaven," and was a libationer of the god Khonsu, in addition to having an administrative function in the "House of Amun." His son, Khonsu-mes, who had the statue made for him, was likewise a "Prophet of Monthu" and libationer. The son, as was often the case in Egypt, had been named after his paternal grandfather. Djed-khonsu-iuf-ankh's mother was named Ta-aat.

The subject of the statue wears a plain wide wig, which bulges forward under the ears. The eyebrows and the short cosmetic lines at the outer corners of the eyes are in low relief. The nose is remarkably strong and straight, continuing the contour of the forehead in an almost unbroken line. The face is full and round, forceful yet idealizing. A short beard forms the transition between chin and the surface of the "block" proper. The crossed arms are not shown; only the hands are indicated in relief, issuing from the cloak. The back of the base is slightly higher than the front, as if the subject sat on a low cushion. There are four columns of inscription in a neatly framed rectangle at the front, one line and two columns of text on top of the base, and three columns on the back pillar, the plane of which slightly projects from the plane formed by the back of the wide wig.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 31 cm. Base: height (front) 4.8-5.1 cm., (rear) 5.2-5.6 cm., width (front) ca. 13.5 cm., (rear) 15 cm., depth (right) 20.6 cm., (left) 21.1 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; undoubtedly from Karnak.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *BMAA* 2 (1907), p. 195.

COMMENT: There are two basic types of block stat-

ues, both of which were created as early as the Middle Kingdom (Vandier, *Manuel III*, pp. 235-237). One shows the subject entirely wrapped in the cloak; only the hands and the head protrude; the feet are covered. The second type has the feet uncovered, and the arms are either modeled freely three-quarters in the round or are wrapped in the cloak. Only the first of these two types is of interest here (the second is discussed in the *Comment* on No. 32). It is by far the most typical form of the block statue in the Late Period, although presence or absence of the beard (see, below, *Comment* on No. 5) and especially the position of the hands vary. In this case, both hands lie flat, palm down, a common attitude in the New Kingdom and the Third Intermediate Period (Cairo J.E. 38015; Detroit 11834; London, B.M. 1007; New York, M.M.A. 23.8; Paris, Louvre E. 20205). There are a number of examples from Dynasty XXV to the beginning of Dynasty XXVI: Cairo C.G. 535; Karnak, Karakol 68; Cairo C.G. 646 (Mentuemhat); Karnak-Nord T 40 (Mentuemhat); Cairo C.G. 42234 (Mentuemhat's grandfather), and C.G. 42246 (a brother of Mentuemhat). The block statue of Khonsu-mes the Elder, father of Djed-khonsu-iuf-anekh, too, has the same position of the hands (Cairo J.E. 37878) and furthermore has the double wig (see *Comment* on No. 3). There are a few more examples of statues with extended hands in relief, which are dated to the reign of King Psamtik I (Cairo J.E. 37002, 37413; 37414; Frankfurt-

Main 1449), and then the style changes, and different positions of the hands prevail. Certain other archaeological details that occur on sculptures of Dynasty XXV or, at the latest, the beginning of Dynasty XXVI may be observed on the block statue of Djed-khonsu-iuf-anekh. For instance the back pillar which does not form a continuous line with the wig is also found on Cairo J.E. 36976 and 38586 and on Karnak-Nord T 36. The four columns of the inscription on the front are similarly placed on Cairo C.G. 42196. All of this adds up to a very good case for a date within the transitional period from Dynasty XXV to Dynasty XXVI. The statue of Khonsu-mes the Elder in Cairo (J.E. 37878) has already been mentioned. There is also a second statue of Djed-khonsu-iuf-anekh (Baltimore, W.A.G. 173), likewise made for him by his son, and a number of additional documents (Amherst Coll. 347; Sabatier Coll. 105 and 110; Leiden M. 20-23; London, B.M. 35804) very considerably enlarge the file on his family. Thus, although none of these objects are precisely dated by inscription, the inscriptional material as a whole and especially the style of the sculptures leave no doubt about the general date indicated above. The forceful expression of the face of this statue points to late Kushite rather than to early Saite times, especially when one considers the Theban origin. For the title, *sešh thay medjat*, see references cited in Gardiner, *Onom.* I, p. 72 (A 181) and *ASAE* 54 (1957), p. 143, note 1.

No. 5; Pl. 5, Figs. 11-12.

ROYAL DISPATCH WRITER

About 700-670 B.C.; Dynasty XXV.

Green schist.

Owner: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass.; no. 04.1841.

In the course of the Late Period, the extraordinary competence of Egyptian craftsmen in working hard stone is for the first time applied to the large-scale production of private sculpture. As a result, limestone and sandstone are less favored for non-royal sculpture than had heretofore been customary. This head is an excellent example of the delicacy with which such material can be used. The velvet-like smoothness of the surface lacks the high, glossy polish which, during the Late Period, is found occasionally before the Persian domination

(No. 44) but mainly occurs from the fourth century B.C. on (No. 80).

The head of this man comes from a so-called block statue, in which he was shown squatting on the ground, with his knees, drawn up to shoulder level, supporting his crossed arms (see p. xxvi and Nos. 4 and 32). A wide wig, resting on shoulders and back pillar, leaves the ears free. The plastic eyebrows, in low relief, form elegant curves; the rim of the upper eyelid is outlined, and so are the lips. The nose, so rarely preserved, is very well modeled, thus

completing the picture of what were considered the ideal features of the period. For this head is not a portrait; it is a standard likeness of a man who wished to be represented in stone with a fine youthful face. As idealizing sculpture goes, this is one of the best examples from the two centuries preceding the Persian invasion.

The back pillar shows the beginning of three columns of inscription; the hieroglyphs have been carved with great care. It is typical for hard stone that the unpolished parts, in this case the hieroglyphic signs, show up much lighter than the surface surrounding them. The first column begins with a common invocation of the person represented, a priest of the god Monthu of Thebes; the second column lists the main title of the man, namely "Scribe of the Letters of the King," or "Royal Dispatch Writer." The third column ends with a personal name, Hor, which may be that of the man who dedicated the statue or of his father.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 19.5 cm. Height of face 6.8 cm. Depth 12.6 cm. Width across break at shoulder level ca. 18.5 cm. Width of back pillar near break 6.8 cm. Intracolumnar width 1.7 to 1.8 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; presumably from Karnak.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: None.

COMMENT: The great variety of sculptural styles prevailing throughout the Late Period is due to several factors, which are discussed in connection with the respective sculptures included in this Catalogue. The Boston head represents in part the grand tradition of idealizing youth and in part reflects the revival of great craftsmanship under the Kushite rulers, one of the most surprising benefits that this domination by foreign kings brought to Egypt. Admittedly, there is little difference between idealizing sculptures in hard stone of Dynasty XXV and those of the early decades of Dynasty XXVI. The reasons for attributing the Boston head to the beginning rather than to the second half of the seventh century B.C. are the inscription, the form of the back pillar, which occurs almost identically on two statues of Harwa (Berlin 8163 and Louvre A 84), and the rare outlining of the lips, which is found in a block statue of Kushite date in Cairo (J.E. 37150), in the sculpture of Ity (British Museum 24429) dated to the 15th regnal year of King Shabako, and in a third statue of Harwa (British Museum 55306). Harwa was the High Steward of the divine consorts of Amun at Thebes during the reigns of kings Shabako, Shebitku, and Taharqa of Dynasty XXV. The obviously short beard, on the other hand, is not very common in the earlier period, but occurs much more regularly in the second half of the seventh century. For the title "Royal Dispatch Writer" see H. Kees, in *ZÄS* 84 (1959), pp. 56-57; the statue discussed there (Cairo J.E. 37150) is datable to Dynasty XXV and bears titles similar to those of the Boston head.

No. 6; Pl. 6, Fig. 13.

AKHAMENRU, HIGH STEWARD OF SHEPENWEPET II

About 660 B.C.; end of Dynasty XXV.

Limestone, with remains of color.

Owner: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y.; old no. 1271.

In an exhibition dedicated primarily to stone sculpture in the round, it seems desirable to include a few reliefs to illustrate the two-dimensional work contemporary with the hundreds of sculptures carved in hard stone. This relief from the southern part of Egypt was chosen because it is a fine example of the classicistic tendencies prevailing in private relief work of the XXVth Dynasty.

The man represented is identified by the inscription as Akhamenru, son of Pekiry, a well-known personality who exercised the function of High Steward for the Divine Consort Shepenwepet II between 665 and 656 B.C. He is shown in one of the traditional poses of the master in his tomb, seated and holding in the far hand a long staff, in the near one a folded kerchief. The simple wig, with summary in-

dication of the strands of hair, is of a type frequently occurring on statues of the seventh century B.C. He wears a broad necklace, an amulet suspended from a cord, and a sash crossing his breast; his loins are covered by a simple kilt. His chair has a low backrest covered with a cushion; its supports are in the shape of lions' legs resting on a frustum. The sidepiece of the seat extends beyond the back to end in an elaborate papyrus blossom.

Were it not for the inscription, one might wonder if this relief did not come from a tomb of the Middle Kingdom, and indeed the difference is so fine that it might well baffle an expert. The work has noble simplicity and, unlike archaizing art of other countries, is not disfigured by the frills with which craftsmen often attempt to improve upon an earlier model. Still, it is no empty imitation but a well-rounded composition with the inner tension inherent in the best of Middle Kingdom reliefs, from which it takes its inspiration.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 47 cm. Width 26.3 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; presumably from the tomb of Akhamenru (no. 404) in the Asasif valley at western Thebes.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: None. For Akhamenru and his father, Pekiry, see M. Lichtheim, in *JNES* 7 (1948), pp. 163 ff., and J. Leclant, in *JNES* 13 (1954), pp. 154 ff. (on the tomb of Akhamenru *ibid.* pp. 161 and 169).

COMMENT: There is no record of the way in which the relief was acquired, but it can hardly be doubted

that it came from Akhamenru's tomb, and this is corroborated by the creamy texture of the limestone, which points to a provenance from the Asasif valley. Hardly anything is left of the decorations of Akhamenru's tomb, which adjoins and encroaches upon that of his predecessor as high steward, Harwa. When Psamtik I brought Thebes under his control in 656 B.C., the Divine Consort Shepenwepet II was obliged to adopt his daughter, Nitocris, as coregent, and a new man, Pabasa, became their high steward. It is not even clear if Akhamenru was actually buried in the tomb that undoubtedly was prepared for him while he occupied his exalted post. The pose, coiffure, ornaments, and attributes of Akhamenru in this relief are typical for the Middle Kingdom, and numerous parallels can be noted in H. O. Lange and H. Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches*, IV (Berlin, 1902), pl. LX, LXXV, LXXXIII, XCIV. In sculpture in the round, the broad collar is not found in this period (see No. 91), although the sash occurs occasionally (No. 13), as does the double amulet (Brussels E. 7049 and E. 7730). The Late character of the relief is evident from the delicate eye of Akhamenru, the kerchief, which is just a trifle too long and thin, and the papyrus blossom, which is much more dainty than the sturdy examples of this type on Middle Kingdom chairs in relief. The truncated cone under the lion's foot is usually inverted on reliefs of the middle of the seventh century B.C.; here, however, the craftsman has faithfully followed his Middle Kingdom model. As in the case of reliefs, it is just as hard, in certain instances, to distinguish between Middle Kingdom and Late sculptures in the round. For example, Baltimore, W.A.G. 188, New York, M.M.A. 28.2.1, London, B.M. 44, which date from the Middle Kingdom, are claimed for the Late Period. On the other hand, there are pieces, such as Brussels E. 7049 and London, B.M. 1229, which languish in alien surroundings amidst the Middle Kingdom statuary, although they date from the Late Period.

*Date uncertain; probably Dynasty XXV, 715-660 B.C.**Light brown quartzite.**Owner: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y.; no. 02.4.191.*

For many decades the Late Period of Egypt was a kind of dumping ground into which sculptures as well as archaeological specimens were relegated when they could not be easily attributed to any other period. Ever since the picture of Late statuary has become better defined, it has been necessary to remove heads, in some cases even entire statues, from this limbo, because they were obviously not made in the course of the last 700 years before our era, and at present much of this material is now attributed to the Third Intermediate Period (about 1100-730 B.C.), with which this Exhibition fortunately is not concerned.

One of these sculptures of uncertain date is this fine quartzite head from Abydos. It would have been a pity to leave it out, though it must be admitted at once that the attribution to Dynasty XXV is based on rather circumstantial evidence. For its workmanship and style, no other period offers any good parallel examples, and thus one has to reckon with it as one of those rare sculptures which, in a period of great and varied production, occupy an isolated place and are not closely related to any other document of their time. It should be added that few pieces of life-size statuary of the Late Period from Abydos are known; perhaps we have in this head the best product of a local school, the output of which was small and has for the most part been lost.

It is an impressive piece of sculpture, with its mighty skull, heavy-lidded eyes, and sensitive mouth. The face is broad and firm and has a majesty that is hard to define. This is not an idealizing type, no replica of a standard model, and yet it is too remote to rank as a true portrait. The cranium is unusual, inasmuch as it shows a slight ridge, best noticed from directly

in front or back, and the notches which descend from the corners of the mouth are uncommon. The back pillar, of nearly rectangular form, tapers slightly toward the top; it is uninscribed.

The impression of firmness, strength, and determination which one gains from the study of the head is perhaps the best guide to a tentative attribution. These features, in relatively simple form, are encountered only during the Kushite domination, i.e. Dynasty XXV, and though the sculpture is far from having a Kushite face, the underlying stylistic elements are the same as those which eventually lead to the creation of the masterful head of Mentuemhat (Fig. 29).

MEASUREMENTS: Height 30.5 cm. Width across ears 22.4 cm. Depth 29.8 cm. Width of break at neck ca. 14 cm. Depth of break (horiz.) ca. 23 cm. Width of back pillar at break 10.5 cm.

PROVENANCE: Abydos (Osiris Temple).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Petrie, *Abydos* I, p. 32, pl. LXX, figs. 4-5. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *A Special Exhibition of Heads in Sculpture from the Museum Collection* (New York, 1940), pl. [17]. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *A Handbook of the Egyptian Rooms* (New York; 1911 through 1922 editions), p. 135 fig. 56. Bosse, *Menschl. Fig.*, p. 74, no. 204.

COMMENT: Regardless of the date of this head, the Middle Kingdom heritage is unmistakable (Vienna 5801), especially in the heavy-lidded eyes, which, however, occur frequently in Dynasty XXV (London, B.M. 37883; Munich, Äg.St. 1622; Paris, Louvre A 89; Turin 3063) and occasionally thereafter (Nos. 36 and 107). For the way in which the upper eyelid is drawn over the lower lid, see the head from the Gallatin Collection (No. 2), the bust of Mentuemhat from the Cairo Museum (not shown in this exhibition, but illustrated in Fig. 29), and a head in London (B.M. 848). The ridge on the cranium is found in a sculpture well dated to the end of Dynasty XXV in Cairo (C.G. 42204), which also (like No. 8) has notches descending from the corners of the mouth. It must be pointed out, however, that the nondescript

form of the upper part of the back pillar has no parallels in the early Late Period. The decrease in width toward the top is too slight for the well known trapezoid which occurs from the end of the sixth century on (No. 65). It is much more closely related to the back pillars of, for instance, the beginning of Dynasty XIX, as is shown by comparison with the statue

of luty in Leiden (A.ST. 10, D. 32). Since the head of the latter statue also bears a certain resemblance to the head under discussion, we must take into consideration similar sculptures of around 1300 B.C., as, for example, Berlin 2297. To sum up, the attribution of the New York head must still remain uncertain.

No. 8; Pl. 8, Figs. 17-19.

PRIEST FROM BUBASTIS

About 700-670 B.C.; second half of Dynasty XXV.

Dark red quartzite.

Owner: Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, Va.; no. 51-19-3.

The strong, almost brutal features of this individual demonstrate once more how closely the sculptors of the Late Period observed the statuary of Dynasty XII. But whereas in the attribution of No. 2 stylistic criteria alone formed the basis for dating, this sculpture bears an inscription on the back pillar, which neatly confirms its date, or at least proves that it could not have been made during the Middle Kingdom. The ears are pushed forward by the striated wig, and the eyes, the fleshy nose, and the thick-lipped mouth are prominent. If this were a Theban sculpture, one would be tempted to see in it the typical rendering of Kushite features. Since it comes from the north, however, it is probably not merely the result of contact with the style preferred by the Kushites, but perhaps even more a reflection of Middle Kingdom realism. Be that as it may, the severe, unflattering rendering of the face and the powerful build of the torso, with its well modeled collarbones and muscular chest, cannot fail to impress. The complete figure must have shown the priest erect and striding, proffering the statuette of a deity, as indicated by the preserved portion of the lower left arm, which is slightly bent at the elbow.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 32.5 cm. Width at wig level ca. 19 cm. Depth at belt level 13.8 cm. Width of back pillar at top 11.6 cm., near break 12.6 cm. Depth

of back pillar at waist level 3 cm. Intracolumnar width 2.8 cm.

PROVENANCE: Probably Bubastis (Delta).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: None.

COMMENT: For the striated wig, see *Comment* on No. 2. Unlike that of No. 2, it does not bulge below the ears, although it is cut in where it meets the shoulders. The eyebrows are fairly straight and sharp, thus differing from the Middle Kingdom prototype (cf. Baltimore, W.A.G. 188, erroneously attributed to the Late Period). The nasolabial furrows and the drooping corners of the mouth represent the standard mode of indicating maturity, as distinguished from the youthful, idealizing faces of the period (No. 5). Though there is an attempt at individualization, the result is not a true portrait. The garment, ending well above the waistline, goes back to the Middle Kingdom; no parallel, however, has as yet been found to explain satisfactorily the design at the upper front edge of the skirt (cf. London, B.M. 32748). Broad back pillars with three or more columns of inscription are much more common in Dynasty XXV than later (see No. 20 for an example dated to Psamtik I). Column 1 opens with an offering formula addressed to the great ennead of Bubastis; in column 2 the subject of the sculpture appears as "Servant of Bastet, Fourth Prophet," but his name is lost. His father's name, Shed-su-bast, is mentioned in column 3. He, too, was a "Servant of Bastet," in addition to being a "Prophet of Khonsu-residing-in-Bubastis." It is not clear with whom the titles given in column 4 should be connected; perhaps they are those of the grandfather. The writing of "ennead" is typical for this period (Louvre E. 7689 and N. 3670). The provenance of the sculpture is quite clear from the text; it was set up in the temple of Bubastis, the sanctuary of the cat-headed goddess Bastet, about 50

miles northeast of modern Cairo. Despite several indications of a Kushite date sometime after the beginning of the seventh century B.C., it must be remembered that Delta monuments datable to Dynasty XXV are almost non-existent. This part of the country came only gradually under the rule of the kings from Nubia, who throughout their dynasty never held it as firmly under control as they did Memphis and Thebes. The warrior tribes of Libyans, who

formed the dominant element in the population of Lower Egypt from Ramesside times, enjoyed a certain amount of independence, and it is therefore quite possible that sculptures such as this are not, strictly speaking, of Dynasty XXV. They could have been made at a time when parts of the Delta were only nominally under Kushite rule or later, under the Assyrians, who invaded Egypt in 671 B.C. and occupied the country as far as Memphis.

No. 9; Pl. 9, Figs. 20-22.

KHONSU-IR-AA

About 670-660 B.C.; end of Dynasty XXV.

Black diorite with yellow-brown spots.

Owner: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass.; no. 07.494.

This statue of a Theban priest named Khonsu-ir-aa shows the classic figure of a striding man of powerful build and ideal proportions in the best Egyptian tradition. The extremely hard material has been treated with great ease. The surface is well polished, and though the face shows hardly any individuality, the forms of the body have been worked out in accordance with a canon based on outstanding examples of royal sculpture of the Old Kingdom. It can be stated without exaggeration that, during the half millennium preceding Dynasty XXV, no private male statue was created which even approaches in quality this figure of Khonsu-ir-aa.

With its broad shoulders, slim waist, vigorously emphasized collarbones and chest muscles, the sculpture conveys, despite its relatively small size, an impression of physical strength without brutality. The whole torso, from the sternal notch to the navel, is bisected by a well-marked median line. In profile, it becomes even more evident how powerful the upper portion of the torso is, as compared with abdomen and hips — clearly an ideal of male beauty which lastingly influenced the beginning of Greek monumental sculpture half a century later.

The head appears small in proportion to the

somewhat elongated body, a feature often observed in royal reliefs of the middle of the seventh century B.C. at Thebes. Khonsu-ir-aa does not wear a wig of usual form; his natural hair is summarily indicated by the outline of what may be taken at first glance to be a close-fitting cap. The eyes lack the customary stylization of plastic eyebrows and cosmetic lines. Small discs indicate the nipples. The arm muscles are visibly flexed, and in his clenched fists Khonsu-ir-aa holds the emblematic staves which occur in statues of this stance as early as Dynasty IV (ca. 2600 B.C.); they denote originally that the bearer was entitled to carry a staff and scepter as signs of his exalted station.

The deeply grooved kilt is held by a belt inscribed "Prophet of Amun, Khonsu-ir-aa." The fill-in between the left leg and the back pillar bears an inscription, and an additional column of text is engraved on the back pillar. This pillar is of a rare form. It becomes narrower in width toward the top, which — though basically of the square type — is worked in two planes. The feet and the base, together with the lower part of the inscriptions, are missing.

MEASUREMENTS: Height (above modern base) 43.5 cm. Height of head 5.5 cm. Width at shoulder level

12.6 cm. Depth of break at left ankle 13.5 cm. Width of break at back pillar 4 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; probably Karnak (cachette). Acquired in Egypt in 1906.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *BMFA* vol. V, no. 30 (Dec. 1907), p. 72. Leclant, *Enquêtes* (1954), p. 25 (t).

COMMENT: For the type in general, see Cairo C.G. 42243 (with over-emphasis of the muscles) and British Museum 14403. The best example of the torso with pronounced median line is offered by the colossal statue of King Tanwetamani (Dynasty XXV) in Toledo (49.105); for the Middle Kingdom prototype see the torso of the seated statue of Sesostri I in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (25.6; Evers, *Staat* I, pl. 42). A brief outline of bipartition and tripartition is found on p. xxxv of this Catalogue. The cap-like indication of the natural hair is found during the Late Period only in Dynasties XXV to XXVII (Baltimore, W.A.G. 206; Paris, Louvre E. 15548). At the same time there occurs a more naturalistic rendering of cropped hair, which is frequently employed from Dynasty XXVII down to the Roman Period (see No. 116). By far the overwhelming majority of all heads, however, are either bald (or shaven) or are covered by a wig. In *BMFA* 48 (1950), p. 15, may be found a more detailed discussion of the emblematic staves. H. Ranke stated in *JAOS* 73 (1953), p. 196, that inscribed belts on statues, formerly a royal prerogative, occur in private sculpture first with Dynasty XXV and that Mentuemhat (Nos. 13-17) may well have initiated it in his statues. Since Khonsu-ir-aa was his contemporary, there is no absolute proof that Mentuemhat was the innovator, but there seems to be little doubt that this royal custom was first applied to private sculpture in the course of Dynasty XXV. From the in-

scription on the back pillar we learn that Khonsu-ir-aa, "Prophet of Amun," was the son of a lady named Nes-nebet-isheru. Then follows an offering formula which continues on the left side of the back pillar; it is difficult to translate because of several semi-cryptographic and alphabetical writings. Two other sculptures of Khonsu-ir-aa are known: Cairo J.E. 36991 (K. 172), a striding statue with shaven head, the base of which is preserved. Its text gives the name of the father, Iuf-aa, who had in addition a "beautiful name," Djed-khonsu-Iuf-ankh. The other sculpture is in Berkeley (5-290), a fragment showing only the feet and forepart of the base of a seated figure. This fragment belongs to a rare type, since seated statues of a single person disappear with the time of Psamtik I and even in Dynasty XXV are quite uncommon. Only in Roman times is their use once more revived (No. 140). If this gives us a *terminus ante quem* — and indeed the body modeling is that prevailing during the latter part of the Kushite reign and the Saite Period — there are still two more features which permit the narrowing down of the date. On the Cairo statue of Khonsu-ir-aa, the back-pillar top has a peculiar form, also found on the statue of Pa-khered-en-mut (Cairo C.G. 42243), a son of Mentuemhat, who must have died before his father, but even more unusual is the form of the back-pillar top of the Boston statue with its characteristic "break," thus forming two planes rather than one. This is found on only three other statues (Brussels E. 7049; Cairo C.G. 42204 and J.E. 38018), two of which are firmly dated to Dynasty XXV by their inscriptions, whereas the third (Brussels E. 7049) is on stylistic grounds datable to the same period. This "break" of the back-pillar top is, however, not an invention of Kushite times; it occurs already in the Middle Kingdom (Kansas City 39-8).

No. 10; Pl. 10, Figs. 23-25.

ANKH-EM-TENENET

700-660 B.C.; Dynasty XXV.

Red-brown quartzite with yellow spots.

Owner: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y.; no. 07.228.47.

The serene face of this man, whose name is Ankh-em-tenenet, is surrounded by a wide double wig, the upper layer of which is striated, the lower formed by rows of strands with stylized curls. The ears are almost entirely covered and so is the forehead, with the result that the head appears to be broader than it

actually is. The features are regular, and although hardly a trace of portraiture can be detected, they are not overly idealizing; far from being empty, the face has a timeless quality. The eyebrows are rendered plastically in low relief, and a fold, indicated where the upper eyelid meets the brow, lends a life-like

expression. The mouth, flanked by light nasolabial furrows, is absolutely straight. The Adam's apple and the sinews of the neck are well marked.

Like the head from the Gallatin Collection (No. 2), the subject wears a cloak covering both shoulders. In this case, however, the edge is plain. Since the left hand lies flat on the right side of the chest, as is customary in cloaked statues of this period, one has to assume that the bust comes from a seated statue. The cloak is covered with inscriptions, from which we learn not only the man's name but also the fact that he was connected with the temple of the god Ptah at Memphis. The horizontal inscription on the back begins with an offering formula addressed to Ptah-Sokar.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 25 cm. Width of break 29 cm. Depth of break 18.2 cm. Depth from nose through back of head 19.2 cm.

PROVENANCE: Mitrahineh (Memphis); 1892.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *BMAA* 2 (1907), p. 195. Hoyningen-Huene and Steindorff, *Egypt* (1945 edition), p. 168.

COMMENT: The sculpture was formerly in the Cairo Museum (J.E. 29878). The man's name, Ankh-em-tenenet (PN I, 64, 10), and a second name, Iref-aan-ptah (PN I, 40, 9), which appears on the right chest and may well be that of his father, are both

frequently attested at the end of Dynasty XXV and the beginning of Dynasty XXVI. The double wig of this type occurs primarily in the middle of Dynasty XVIII and continues to be in use during the following centuries. In the Late Period it is rare; it is worn by Pas-shu-per (British Museum 1514), whose *floruit* lies at the end of the eighth century B.C., by Mentuemhat (Cairo C.G. 42236), who was active both at the end of the XXVth and the beginning of the XXVIth Dynasties, and by Nes-peka-shuty (British Museum 1132), who was vizier under Psamtik I. It then went out of fashion. The facial structure of the head of Ankh-em-tenenet is of a type which thus far cannot be exactly paralleled in sculpture of Dynasty XXV, partly because Memphite statuary of that period is almost unknown, and partly because additional examples are lacking for cloaked figures without back pillar, such as this bust and the Gallatin head (No. 2). A vague reflection of Ankh-em-tenenet's facial expression may be found in the head of the scribe's statue of Nes-peka-shuty from Karnak in the Cairo Museum (J.E. 36665, often erroneously referred to as J.E. 36662); this is not surprising, in view of the fact that Nes-peka-shuty was vizier in the time of Psamtik I, who, after having established himself at Memphis in 664, finally obtained control of Thebes in 656 B.C. Thus certain peculiarities of Memphite style appear also at Karnak and elsewhere in the Theban area. The fold on the upper eyelid occurs also in a head in the British Museum (37883), known to have been found at Memphis, and again in Brussels E. 7526 (No. 31). In short, the bust of Ankh-em-tenenet represents a Memphite type of Dynasty XXV, of which no complete specimen has yet been found.

No. 11; Pl. 11, Fig. 26.

FIGURE OF A GIRL

About 670-650 B.C.; end of Dynasty XXV to beginning of Dynasty XXVI.

Brown wood.

Owner: William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art and Mary Atkins Museum of Fine Arts, Kansas City, Mo.; no. 47-25.

The use of wood for sculptures, large and small, was common in the Old, Middle, and New Kingdoms. Around 1300 B.C., however, a significant change took place in the customs governing burial equipment; the tomb statue was almost entirely replaced by the temple statue, and toilet spoons and many other items were no longer placed in graves. A great tra-

dition of figural wood carving all but died out.

This slender statuette of an anonymous female comes, therefore, as a pleasant surprise. Not only does it represent a class of sculpture scarce in the Late Period, but it is in itself an appealing object, recalling the numerous attractive, small-scale female figures of Dynasties VI, XII, and XVIII.

Although part of the wig, the left arm, feet, and base are gone, the charm of the figure can still be felt, and the workmanship is so good that one wonders if the tradition of wood carving really may have been revived. Undoubtedly, earlier masterpieces must have been available to the craftsman who fashioned this statuette, for in the tripartite striated wig and the slimness of the body he certainly followed a style set many centuries before his time. Yet signs of the Late Period are unmistakable in the furrow that runs around the nostrils and down past the corners of the mouth and in the garment, which leaves the bosom bare and is held up by an elegant tie under the right breast. The stride of the left foot is a little too long for the classical period, and the emphasis of the median line, especially remarkable in a female body, reflects a change of taste which sets the style of the Late Period.

MEASUREMENTS: Height above modern base 15.3 cm. (there is a peg under each foot of an additional height of 1.2 cm.). Width across right hand and left hip 3.3 cm. Depth (left foot through back) 3.8 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Handbook of the Collections in the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art and Mary Atkins Museum of Fine Arts* (Fourth Edition; Kansas City, Mo.; 1959), p. 22 (illus.).

COMMENT: This is by far the earliest among the wooden sculptures of private persons known from the Late Period. Its attribution to the middle of the seventh century B.C. is based primarily on strong Middle Kingdom characteristics in the style of the figure, for it was the Middle Kingdom ideal, more than that of any other period, which was revived in the latter part of Dynasty XXV (see No. 6). The little tie under the right breast seems to occur only at that time, as does the bare bosom, which is found in an ivory statuette of unquestionably Kushite origin (No. 12). Also the face has in the nasolabial furrows—so unladylike—a sign of Kushite influence. In spite of all this, it cannot be excluded that the figure may have been made in the beginning of Dynasty XXVI. The body shows none of the heaviness characteristic of female figures from Dynasty XXV. On the contrary, its slenderness conforms more closely to the Saite ideal. Bare breasts are, of course, well attested in the Middle Kingdom in the representations of female servants (Brooklyn 53.178 and 56.126); their reappearance in the seventh century B.C. is therefore another of those archaizing tendencies of the period. The ears of the wooden statuette are pierced, a custom seldom encountered in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. (Cairo C.G. 565); the earplugs, however, have not been preserved.

No. 12; Pl. 11, Figs. 27-28.

ROYAL LADY IN IVORY

About 680-660 B.C.; Dynasty XXV.

Owner: Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh; no. 1954.40.

Statuettes in ivory are not very common in any period of Egyptian art, but they are outright rarities in the last millennium before the Roman conquest. Although this exhibition is primarily dedicated to stone sculpture, it seems appropriate to include at least one well-carved figure in this rare material, an excellently preserved little lady of royal blood. She wears an elaborate crown composed of two feathers, cow's horns, sun disc, and two cobras, which in turn wear miniature crowns of horns and

uraeus; the whole rests on an undecorated circlet with flaring sides. The long tripartite echeloned wig is surmounted by a cap of vulture wings, but where one would expect the regal bird's head a uraeus rises above the forehead, thus unmistakably distinguishing the subject as someone of royal blood. Below the full bosom, the thin skirt is held by a waistband tied with an elegant loop under the right breast. Needless to add that the tight sheath of a garment reveals rather than hides the ample forms

of the body. The left hand lies flat along the thigh, whereas the right fist grasped an object now lost.

The face, with its thick plastic eyebrows and cosmetic lines, has little individuality. It is strong, not dainty, and the lips are rather prominent. There is no back pillar, and the base, which may have borne an inscription, has not been preserved. Thus the identity of the little lady cannot be established with certainty. The adornment of the head is a faithful replica of that on a stone statue of the Divine Consort Shepenwepet II in Cairo (J.E. 59870), and the plump form suggests a date in the Kushite Dynasty, but whether the Edinburgh lady was a queen, an ordinary princess, or one of the divine consorts must remain a moot question.

MEASUREMENTS: Height above modern base 19.9 cm. Height of face 1.9 cm. Width across hands 4.5 cm. Depth (left toe to right heel) 5 cm.

PROVENANCE: Unknown; presumably from Thebes.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Royal Scottish Museum, *Dynastic Egypt* (Edinburgh, 1955), pl. 21.

COMMENT: No sculptures in the round of any Kushite queen or princess — if they were ever represented in statuary — have been preserved, except those of the divine consorts (see the *Comment* on No. 1 above).

Against the identification of this lady as a divine consort speak the position of the arms and the absence of the lily scepter which the god's brides invariably hold in all striding representations in sculpture and relief. Still, the similarity to the statue of Shepenwepet II (Cairo J.E. 59870), the successor of Amenirdas I, must not be overlooked. Perhaps we have here a representation of the little known Divine Consort Amenirdas II, daughter of King Taharqa, who was adopted by Shepenwepet II as successor, but seems to disappear from the scene when the latter was obliged to adopt Nitocris, daughter of King Psamtik I of Dynasty XXVI, after he established his rule at Thebes upon the defeat of the Assyrians, who had broken the hold of the Kushite dynasty. The beaded necklace is not found in the sculptures of Amenirdas I. The full breasts, often thought to occur in Late Egyptian art only with the Ptolemaic Period, are in fact a native characteristic from the time of Dynasty XXV, rarely noticed because so few female statues were made after the Third Intermediate Period. A feature that may help to attribute the statuette even more definitely to the decade immediately preceding the beginning of Dynasty XXVI, is furnished by the little tie of the garment under the right breast, which may also be seen on the wooden statuette from Kansas City (No. 11). It seems to be one of those fancy little details appearing only during a limited period, and the date is corroborated by a relief in Brooklyn (48.74) from the tomb of Mentuemhat, in which it is also shown. A fourth example occurs in an ivory statuette likewise datable to the middle of the seventh century B.C. (Brooklyn 49.166; *JNES* 9 [1950], pp. 202-203, pl. XVIII).

No. 13 A-B; Pls. 12-13, Figs. 29-31.

MENTUEMHAT, COUNT OF THEBES

About 665-650 B.C.; Dynasties XXV-XXVI.

Fine-grained black granite.

Owners: A (upper) *Chicago Natural History Museum, Chicago, Ill.*; no. 31723.

B (lower) *The Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, N. Y.*; no. 16.580.186.

Among the kings, royal princes and princesses, divine consorts, and commoners of the seventh century B.C., the outstanding personality — both from an historical and an archaeological point of view — is undoubtedly Mentuemhat, Fourth Priest of Amun, Count of the City, and Governor of Upper Egypt. Well known from historical inscriptions, he also left

more than a dozen statues of himself, a larger number than have survived of any other person since the time of Ramesses II, and his tomb-palace in the Asasif valley at western Thebes, with its extensive and beautiful relief decoration, is by far the finest example of early Saite art.

Mentuemhat emerged as a forceful person-

ality at just about the time of the death of Taharqa, the next to the last king of Dynasty XXV, when the Assyrian armies had penetrated Egypt as far as Thebes, and when the Prince of Sais, Psamtik I, had established the XXVIth Dynasty in Lower Egypt. During the ephemeral reign of Tanwetamani, last king of Dynasty XXV, it was Mentuemhat who – together with the Divine Consort of Amun, Shepenwepet II – exercised the real power, with almost royal prerogatives, in the south. Scion of an old Theban family with long-established sacerdotal positions in the service of the state god Amun, he nevertheless held to the end of his days only a comparatively minor temple office, that of Fourth Prophet of Amun. Still, as Count of the Thebais and Governor of Upper Egypt his influence was enormous, and it is significant that he should have been the chief negotiator for the south in 656 B.C., when his spiritual sovereign, Shepenwepet II, was compelled to accept Nitocris, daughter of Psamtik I, as adoptive daughter and co-ruler of the sacred domain of Amun.

Since the heads of ten of Mentuemhat's statues are preserved, it is disappointing to note how little they resemble each other, for we should like to have a true portrait of Mentuemhat. Though some of the heads show traces of realism, not even his famous bust in the Cairo Museum (C.G. 647; Fig. 29) can be acclaimed as truly presenting the features of the great man. In the fragmentary sculpture shown here, which is divided between Chicago and Brooklyn, we have one of the two heads in which Mentuemhat wears a most conservative double wig, with an upper layer of thin striations and horizontal waves, and a lower part with stylized echeloned curls. Around his neck is a thick necklace supporting a cow's-head amulet, symbol of the goddess Hathor who, as mistress of the western mountains of Thebes, enjoyed special veneration in Mentuemhat's home town. His chest and left shoulder are covered by the priestly leopard skin on which lies a banderole inscribed with his name and titles: "Count,

Fourth Prophet of Amun, Count of the City (Thebes), Mentuemhat, alive." The back pillar, only partly preserved, contains fragments of an autobiographical text in three columns of inscription, and near it, back of the left shoulder, is carved a hand in low relief, which proves that the bust must have belonged to a group statue of at least two persons, probably showing Mentuemhat with his son, Nes-ptah, at his right. Since this is the only representation in the round of Mentuemhat in the Western Hemisphere, it is indeed a fortunate coincidence that the two fragments composing it are only a few hundred miles apart.

MEASUREMENTS: Total height (A + B) 27.5 cm.
A (upper): Height 16.2 cm. Width 18.7 cm. Depth 13.3 cm. Intracolumnar width 2.8 cm.
B (lower): Height 14.4 cm. Width 16.5 cm. Depth of break 12.2 cm. Intracolumnar width, same as above.

PROVENANCE: Not known; presumably from Thebes. The upper part was acquired in Egypt in 1898 by E. E. Ayer, the lower fragment, by Charles Edwin Wilbour between 1880 and 1896.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: John D. Cooney, "Souvenirs of a Great Egyptian," *The Brooklyn Museum Bulletin* 18, no. 4 (Summer 1957), pp. 13-18, figs. 1-3. Jean Leclant, "Montouemhat, quatrième prophète d'Amon, prince de la Ville," *Bibliothèque d'Etude, Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*, Cairo (in press).

COMMENT: The Chicago-Brooklyn bust probably belonged to a seated group statue similar to Cairo C.G. 42241, where Mentuemhat and his son, Nes-ptah, both wear the leopard skin. The former appears in the same costume on a graffito in the Wady Hammamat (*MIFAO* 34 [1912], pp. 52-53, pl. X) and in the vignette of a papyrus in Brooklyn (47.218.3), dated to the 14th year of Psamtik I (651 B.C.), in which he immediately precedes the sacred barque. This shows that Mentuemhat was still highly respected well after Psamtik I had established his rule over Thebes – a fact borne out by a graffito dated to the same year, in which he is named with his full titulary (*ASAE* 54 [1957], pp. 179-186). For the striated and echeloned double wig, see Nos. 10 and 22. A Theban tradition of Hathor-head amulets on sculptures existed as early as the Third Intermediate Period. In addition to the Chicago-Brooklyn bust, Mentuemhat wears it in three other statues (Cairo C.G. 42237, 42241; Karnak-Nord T 40). The only one of his near-contemporaries who boasts the same adornment is the vizier Nespa-medu (Cairo J.E. 36948), son of the vizier Nespeka-shuty. After the reign of Psamtik I the Hathor-head amulet disappears, not to be revived

until the Ptolemaic Period (Cairo J.E. 37076, 37339, 37376, all from Karnak). At about Mentuemhat's time were made a number of statues, well dated to the reign of Psamtik I (London, B.M. 514, 1225), showing a kneeling person who proffers a large Hathor symbol, which is surely no accident. This type, too, dies out before the end of the seventh century, never to be revived. A similar observation can be made regarding the leopard skin worn by Men-

tuemhat, his son Nes-ptah (Cairo C.G. 42241), and Khonsu-irdas (London, B.M. 14466), who also was Governor of Upper Egypt under Psamtik I. After them, the leopard skin is not encountered again on sculptures until the Ptolemaic Period (Alexandria 17533, 17534; Cairo J.E. 37343, 38007; Paris, Louvre E. 20358, 20361). It was John D. Cooney who established that the Chicago head and the Brooklyn torso belong together.

No. 14; Pl. 13, Fig. 32.

MENTUEMHAT IN RELIEF

About 665-650 B.C.; Dynasties XXV-XXVI.

Limestone, painted.

Owner: William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art and Mary Atkins Museum of Fine Arts, Kansas City, Mo.; no. 48-28/2.

Right in the heart of the Asasif valley, which rises toward the great temple of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el Bahari in western Thebes, lies the rock-cut tomb of Mentuemhat. As we have seen, he first served the last two kings of the Kushite Dynasty, Taharqa and Tanwetamani, and later was active under Psamtik I, whom he recognized as his sovereign by representing him on the east wall of the great court of his tomb and whose cartouches appear at least twice in the inscriptions. Although the lay-out of the tomb and some of the relief work may have been done before the end of Dynasty XXV, the final decoration and the color that once enhanced the lively scenes and inscriptions are a product of early Dynasty XXVI.

The fragmentary relief in Kansas City, a detail of which is shown in Figure 32, is by far the most forceful two-dimensional representation of any private person of the last millennium B.C. The end of his name written above his head, the gala costume with pendant and leopard skin, and the stark realism of the features sufficiently identify the figure as that of the great Mentuemhat. He is followed by two files of offering bearers, well modeled and yet conventional, which serve to emphasize the

representation of the overpowering personality of the tomb's owner. No Kushite relief, even no scene in sunk relief in the tomb of Mentuemhat himself, shows such vigor and superb modeling as the low-relief compositions from the great open court of his burial place. They demonstrate well the new life imparted even into sophisticated Thebes by the rise of the Saite Dynasty.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 51.3 cm. Width 38.8 cm. Height of Mentuemhat's figure 43.5 cm.

PROVENANCE: Western Thebes, Tomb 34 (Mentuemhat).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Handbook of the Collections in the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art and Mary Atkins Museum of Fine Arts, Kansas City, Mo.* (Third Edition, 1949), p. 15; (Fourth Edition, 1959), p. 21 (illus.). Smith, *A.A.A.E.*, pp. 248, 286; pl. 182 A.

COMMENT: In the exhibition the relief is shown in the same frame with a relief of the jackal-headed god Anubis, facing right (Kansas City 48-28/1), which is probably also from the tomb of Mentuemhat, though the two reliefs do not belong together. These decorations in low relief originally lined the three walls of the west end of the great open court in Tomb 34, where the lower portions of some scenes were still visible a few years ago. The reliefs from this court, now dispersed in European and American museums, will be discussed comprehensively in Jean Leclant's forthcoming publication on Mentuemhat (see *Bibliography* to No. 13; cf. *BiOr* 16 [1959], p. 213 right).

In content and style the decorations of Tomb 34 are infinitely richer and livelier than those of any other Late tomb at Thebes, and the Kansas City relief is by far the most interesting two-dimensional representation of Mentuemhat known, though there are others, in sunk relief, showing him bedecked with the full regalia of his high position, both in the tomb (north face of east doorway to the open court) and in the Cleveland Museum (49.492, 51.280, 51.281). As has been noted so often with works of the reign of Psamtik I, the extraordinary features of Mentuemhat in the Kansas City relief are an experiment and cannot be compared for resemblance with the heads of

the two best of his statues (Cairo C.G. 647 and 42236), since they are all essentially unlike. In the relief a far freer form of modeling human features is found than in any head in the round of the period. Only several hundred years later does sculpture become so unrestrained, so loose in treatment, that something resembling the Kansas City relief head occurs in statuary, and then primarily in portraits like the head from Detroit (No. 104). Time and again we find a new attempt at expressing individuality in the period of Psamtik I, and here at Thebes, with its Kushite tradition, it successfully invades a new medium — relief; yet this attempt remains unique.

No. 15; Pl. 14, Fig. 33.

GIRLS FIGHTING

About 665-650 B.C.; Dynasties XXV-XXVI.

Limestone.

Owner: The Oriental Institute, The University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.; no. 18828.

When Mentuemhat had his tomb laid out on the slopes of the western desert opposite Karnak he ordered a large court dug out of bedrock in the Asasif valley. This court is the core of a vast complex of underground halls and passages, most of which were decorated with funerary scenes and texts in sunk relief. The court, however, has at one end decorations in low relief reflecting daily life, and it is from one of these scenes that this charming fragment in Chicago probably comes.

Despite the damage it has suffered, the motif is unmistakable. Two little girls — so young that they are still permitted to run about practically naked — have quite literally got into each other's hair and pull and tussle in the way exuberant children do. The quarrel may have started over the sheaves of grain they have been gleaning, which now lie at their feet next to the field bag. Above the girls is a wicker pannier for transporting sheaves from the field to the threshing floor. Such a pannier is usually carried suspended from a bar on the shoulders of two men, and indeed the arm of a man is visible at the upper left.

This motif of the tussling girls was inspired by a freely sketched scene in the paintings of the tomb chapel of Menna, an administrator in the time of King Tuthmosis IV (1411-1397 B.C.), which lies not far from the tomb complex of Mentuemhat. Several of the minor painted scenes of the tomb of Menna were transposed into low relief by the artisans who decorated the tomb of the Count of Thebes in about 655 B.C. The reliefs are, however, not mere copies; the sensitive treatment of contour and surface endows them with an elegance such as is neither intended nor noticeable in the painted prototypes.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 22 cm. Width 15.7 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known, but almost certainly from Tomb 34 at Thebes (Mentuemhat).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: None.

COMMENT: For Mentuemhat and his tomb, see Nos. 13-14, 16-17. The provenance of the fragment shown here is practically assured by the style, the kind of limestone, and the fact that it first appeared in the art market with a group of reliefs that almost certainly came from Tomb 34. At that time, its state of preservation was very similar to that of another fragment in the same group (Brooklyn 48.74), which was published in *JNES* 9 (1950), pp. 193 ff., pl. XIV.

Both reliefs have motifs from daily life on the farm, which were inspired by scenes in Tomb 69 (Menna) at Sheikh Abd el Qurna (Nina M. Davies and Alan H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Paintings*, vol. I, pl. LI; vol. III, p. 101). The upper group of the Brook-

lyn relief appears in the tomb of Menna directly under the two quarreling girls (Wreszinski, *Atlas I*, pl. 233); the relative positions of the Brooklyn and Chicago fragments on the wall of Mentuemhat's tomb cannot, however, now be determined.

No. 16; Pl. 14, Fig. 34.

MAN WITH FOWL

About 665-650 B.C.; Dynasties XXV-XXVI.

Limestone with some traces of paint.

Owner: Mr. Avery Brundage, Santa Barbara, Cal.; no. 2/101.

The often quoted dependence of Saite relief art on Old Kingdom scenes and decorations is, of course, one of those myths which, once they have appeared in print, can never quite be destroyed. Actually, the artisans of the early Saite Period took their inspiration from all periods of the past, and it is interesting to note that the one Late tomb — that of Aba (Thebes 36) — which shows extensive copies of sources from Dynasty VI, is also among the least interesting and most uninspired of the entire Theban necropolis. Early Saite two-dimensional compositions are full of scenes that are partly based on older motifs adapted to the style of the new era. One such scene, which actually has been published in recent years as of the Old Kingdom, is shown here in the company of other reliefs of Mentuemhat.

This fragment has to the left a column of inscription which reads “. . . seining, and all (other) good things . . .;” at the right are two registers of persons, of which only the lower has a recognizable subject. Here a cage with four water fowl is carried on the shoulder of a man wearing the valanced wig of Dynasty XVIII, which had again become fashionable in Saite times. His face lacks the usual bland expression of the offering bearer; the eyes are long and narrow, the cheek is deeply contoured against nostrils and mouth, and he has an elegant short beard. The inscription in front of him states his utterance: “This is for (your)

spirit,” referring probably to the ducks, which are destined to be eaten by Mentuemhat, from whose tomb the relief presumably comes.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 19.6 cm. Width 29.6 cm. Intracolumnar width 8.9 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known, but almost certainly from Tomb 34 at Thebes (Mentuemhat).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *ILN*, vol. 226, no. 6057 (May 21, 1955), p. 945 (“Dynasty XXVI”). *AfO* 17 (1956), p. 406, fig. 1 (“Dynasty V”).

COMMENT: For Mentuemhat and his tomb, see Nos. 13-15, 17. The relief was probably exposed to fire in the past, and thus the surface has in part a peculiar color, which is also found on other reliefs from Mentuemhat's tomb. The term *kham*, “seining,” or “fishing with a net,” (cf. *ZAS* 83 [1958], pp. 144-145), written with the sign of a heron picking at a dead fish, refers to an adjoining scene, part of which is now in Chicago (Oriental Institute 17974). They all belong to a major composition, a so-called swamp scene, to which W. S. Smith (*A.A.E.*, p. 247, note 38) has recently drawn attention. The best known relief of this group (Rome, Vatican 288), correctly dated in the Vatican publication, has been attributed to the Old Kingdom time and again (*BMAA* 17 [1958], p. 4, illus.). Although it has long been recognized that certain sunk-relief scenes in the side chapels of the great court of Thebes 34 are based on reliefs in the temple of Hatshepsut, the figure of the fowl carrier is more in the style of tombs close to that of Puyemra (Thebes 39) of the time of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III; yet the combination of eye, nasolabial furrow, and beard, in addition to the limp lotus flowers on the right, is unmistakably early Saite. It is surprising to note that the repertory of scenes in the tomb of Pabasa (Thebes 279) is much poorer than in Mentuemhat's tomb. The two were, after all, contemporaries, and Pabasa had taken over from Akh-amenru (No. 6) the office of high steward of the

divine consort, and as such must have acquired considerable stature. Some of the figures in his tomb show, however, a certain degree of slick sophistication. He was succeeded in 638 B.C. by Aba, and the

tomb of the latter (Thebes 36) shows a marked decline in comparison with Thebes 34 and 279. See also *JNES* 7 (1948), pp. 178-179, and *BiOr* 16 (1959), p. 213.

No. 17; Pl. 15, Figs. 35-37.

MENTUEMHAT'S GUARDIANS

About 665-650 B.C.; Dynasties XXV-XXVI.

Black diorite.

Owner: The Robert H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.; no. 5-363.

Mentuemhat as an historical personality is impressive enough; from the number and variety of monuments he had made for himself he stands out as the foremost figure of the seventh century B.C. That more than a dozen of his statues have been preserved has already been mentioned. A visit to his tomb complex at western Thebes is still, more than 2600 years after his death, a memorable experience. In this group statue of two of his guardian spirits we encounter another memorial of the great man, a type of Egyptian sculpture which neither before nor after his time was ever conceived in such a manner.

On a rectangular base with back slab are modeled two creatures who seem to be on the point of rising from their seats, their left legs slightly advanced. The one on the left is human-headed, with shaven skull; he holds a lizard in each hand. The inscription below his left elbow identifies him as Amset. The demon next to him, with the head of a jackal, is named Hapy; he clutches with both hands a large snake, its head now missing. An inscription on top of the base hopefully proclaims: "They shall hold vigil by night and by day over the Fourth Prophet of Amun, Mentuemhat, justified (deceased)." Amset and Hapy are normally two of the four so-called Sons of Horus, whose heads crown the lids of the Canopic jars which formed part of the standard funerary equipment. In this group, however, they are in a wider sense guardian deities, such as usually

appear in tomb and sarcophagus reliefs and in funerary inscriptions together with other guardian genii. Only Mentuemhat had them sculptured in the round, and he left a number of these strange group statues of protective demons bearing his name.

MEASUREMENTS: Height (left ear of jackal) 51 cm. Width 35.7 cm. Depth 28.5 cm. Height of base 15.5 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; presumably from the tomb of Mentuemhat (Thebes 34). Acquired in Egypt in 1899 by Mrs. Phoebe Hearst.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Henry Frederick Lutz, *Egyptian Statues and Statuettes in the Museum of Anthropology of the University of California* (Leipzig, 1930) = University of California Publications, Egyptian Archaeology, vol. V; p. 1, no. 1b; pl. I, fig. b. Jean Leclant (article to be published in the forthcoming studies in honor of V. V. Struwe).

COMMENT: The snout of the jackal head is restored. Although according to the inscription this demon represents Hapy, the ears are unmistakably those of a jackal, and not of the baboon one might expect, since Amset and the baboon-headed Hapy usually form a pair. For the identification of guardian spirits by lizards and serpents, see Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, p. 165. The forceful head of Amset is summarily modeled, but because it is so well dated, it has some significance for the study of the development of bald-headed sculptures from the seventh century to the Ptolemaic Period. This is a typical "round head" of early Dynasty XXVI, somewhat comparable to the head of Cairo J.E. 37416 which represents a vizier named in the Brooklyn papyrus (47.218.3) dated to 651 B.C. The Berkeley group is the only guardian sculpture of Mentuemhat in the Western Hemisphere; others are in Athens (112), Berlin (23729), Cairo (C.G. 39273-39274), Medinet Habu (in 1956 at the ghafir's hut), and elsewhere (see the forthcoming article by Leclant).

Date uncertain; perhaps 670-650 B.C.; Dynasties XXV-XXVI.

Grey-green schist.

Owner: The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md.; no. 22.398 (W.A.G. no. 158).

In view of the enormous production of stone sculptures in ancient Egypt and the prolific way in which most of them were furnished with inscriptions, one is not often at a loss as to the approximate period to which a statue is to be attributed. First, the hieroglyphic signs, the orthography, and the language change gradually, not rapidly, from century to century; second, many sculptures were always made in more or less the same style within a given period. As a result, the body of comparable material is usually quite sizable, and only rarely does a sculpture appear that can be called unique. Such pieces, difficult to place, are often neglected. That has been the case with this bust in Baltimore, first illustrated forty-eight years ago, which, probably on account of the unusual treatment of the face, has thus far been largely ignored.

The bust forms the upper part of a kneeling statue representing a man with a wide wig, plastic eyebrows, and a fat chin, whose face is deeply creased and anything but attractive. To term it ugly would perhaps be going a little too far, for there is no doubt that the features are strangely arresting. The wide, slanting eyes, the high cheekbones, the deep furrows, are details found on other sculptures, especially on some of early Dynasty XXVI. But what lends the face an almost foreign expression are the folds which depart from the philtrum to descend below the corners of the mouth, almost like a mustache. As a result, the mouth seems somewhat disdainful to the modern observer.

Even though unusual features appear sporadically during the middle and second half of the seventh century B.C., this face seems un-

Egyptian. Since the sculpture is uninscribed (whatever text the back pillar may have had has been carefully erased, so that no trace of a hieroglyphic sign remains), and no exact parallel for this strange expression has been found, we may assume that the person represented is of a racial strain different from that of the native Egyptian. Perhaps he was a Libyan, or a courtier of Libyan extraction, in the turbulent times when a dynasty of Libyan ancestry, the Saïtes, established itself on the throne of Egypt.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 27.2 cm. Width across shoulders 16.6 cm. Depth (depth of break at front of skirt) 11.4 cm. Width of back pillar near break 6.3 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; formerly in the collection of Giovanni Dattari.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Collections de feu M. Jean P. Lambros d'Athènes et de M. Giovanni Dattari du Caire; Antiquités égyptiennes, grecques et romaines* (Sale Catalogue, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 17-19 June, 1912), p. 36 no. 293, pl. XXXII. Steindorff, *Cat.Eg.Sc. W.A.G.*, p. 52 no. 158, pl. XXVII.

COMMENT: That the bust belonged originally to a kneeling sculpture can be seen from the angle formed by the deeply grooved kilt and the body. The upper outline of the belt is curiously uneven; perhaps this part of the statue was left unfinished or was worked over at a later date. The width of the eyes and their slant relate the head somewhat to No. 20 and a few other similar pieces (Baltimore, W.A.G. 179; London, B.M. 41561), and for the modeling of the collar-bones and the broad groove of the median line (No. 19) numerous examples of early Saïte date are available. The closest parallel, however, for the strange expression of the face, though clearly created by a different craftsman, is in Paris (Petit Palais 308), likewise a kneeling statue without inscription; in this, the slant of the eyes is highly exaggerated and the mouth has a distinctly foreign expression.

664-610 B.C.; *Dynasty XXVI.**Light brown, almost alabaster-colored, quartzite.**Owner: The Reverend Theodore Pitcairn, Bryn Athyn, Pa.*

Side by side with the idealizing style of the early Saite Period runs a strain of severe, harsh, almost ugly realism, which thus far has been detected only in a few heads dating from the reign of King Psamtik I. Whether this realism was prompted by Kushite influence reaching far to the north is as yet undetermined. There are reasons to assume that at about this time a native trend, either Memphite or from the Delta, made itself felt, which possibly reflected the Libyan ancestry of the rulers of Dynasties XXIV and XXVI. The body of inscribed sculpture dating from approximately 750 to 664 B.C. in the north is still so small that one can hardly more than guess at the evolution of statuary which led to the masterpieces of early Saite art of Memphis and the Delta.

In this bust, dated to the reign of Psamtik I by the inscription on the back pillar, we have one of the few great sculptures from the seventh century B.C. that conveys the impression of a major effort to individualize the likeness of a human being. A man is here represented who, despite the conventions of coiffure and pose, shows a directness of expression which cannot fail to attract attention. There is something very alert in this face, a face which at first glance might be termed ugly, but which in reality is merely so unlike the standard Egyptian idealizing visage that it stands out among its contemporaries. It should be added immediately, however, that there is no proof whatsoever that this care-worn face is really a portrait, the true likeness of a definite person. This can hardly be expected at the time in which it was made, because the art of the sculptor was then still bound to the traditionalism of permanence, and a factual imitation of nature, as found in the features of a particular person,

was not his aim. In a way, a head such as this is a negation of nature; a formula has been developed to produce the impressive features of an older man, and in this bust we probably have the best example of just this formula under Psamtik I. There are other age-lined faces dating from his reign, but none of them renders so admirably the maturity of a powerful old courtier.

Several details of his features deserve special attention. The cranium is unusually flat, and since the striated wig lacks the customary bulk, the receding forehead appears rather low. The wig itself bulges forward below the ears and is cut back just where it meets the shoulders. The eyebrows and upper eyelids are contoured by a deep line, which gives them a plastic appearance, though they are not rendered in relief. The eyesockets are underlined by extraordinarily strong, high cheekbones, below which the cheeks rapidly sink away. The nose, to judge by the remains, was large and fleshy. On the other hand, the nasolabial furrows — usually the most convenient means of indicating advanced age — are not very prominent. The mouth is rather forceful, broad, and with lips more open than is customary.

The collarbones have been well worked out, as is characteristic of many sculptures made in the time of Psamtik I; and the same holds true for the median line, which in this case, however, is really a deep broad groove rather than a sharply defined line. The inscription on the back pillar contains in the first two columns the so-called Saite formula and a series of titles. The third column gives the name of the person represented, Senbef, "revered before the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Wah-ib-ra (Psamtik I), living forever."

MEASUREMENTS: Height 35.6 cm. Height of face 11.5 cm. Width of break 34 cm. Depth 16.6 cm. Depth of break at median line 16.3 cm. Width of back pillar at break 12.7 cm. Depth of back pillar at break ca. 1.5 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; perhaps from Memphis.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: None.

COMMENT: The name Senbef is well attested in this period (PN I, 314, 5), especially in the Memphite region (Cairo C.G. 659; Chalon-sur-Saône 851). The place name "Hetepet" at the beginning of the fourth column is that of a cult center of the goddess Hathor in the vicinity of Heliopolis and does not necessarily indicate the provenance; it appears, for instance, also in the titulary of that famous and yet elusive Theban priest, Petamenophis, owner of Tomb 33. The flatness of the cranium is occasionally found in this period (Athens 922; Baltimore, W.A.G. 179; London, B.M. 32183; Paris, Louvre E. 11251); it thus does not seem to have been a special peculiarity of the man here represented. Some of the detail of workmanship reminds one of the bust from the Metropolitan Museum (No. 10), especially in the treatment of eyeballs and lids. The broad back pillar with its lack of columnar lines, the well marked collarbones, and the deeply grooved median line (cf.

No. 18; New York, M.M.A. 24.2.2) are all in keeping with the style of numerous sculptures of the second half of the seventh century B.C. Senbef's face, however, is a singular achievement, and despite its formulaic nature it has no close parallels—it is unique for its period. For the high cheekbones and deep eyesockets several heads, such as No. 20 and Munich, Äg. St. 1622, could be cited, but none of them is really close to the Bryn Athyn bust. The rather full mouth, which to some gives the impression that it is partly open, also is apparently well-nigh unique. Finally the question remains from what kind of a statue this bust came. Enough is preserved of the left lower arm at the elbow to indicate that it was bent nearly at a right angle. The arms, therefore, were reaching straight forward, and there is only one pose at this time which fits, namely that of the so-called scribe (No. 20). Although most scribe's statues are without a back pillar, some have one (see pp. xxxvi-xxxvii and No. 20), and it is precisely among the latter that we have a squatting scribe's figure (London, B.M. 32183), the bust of which resembles the Bryn Athyn sculpture in more than one way. The hair is striated, the back pillar is unusually broad, and though it bears only three columns of text, the way in which its upper edge meets the wig is exactly the same.

No. 20; Pls. 18-19, Figs. 43-45.

664-610 B.C.; *Dynasty XXVI*.

Owner: *Museo Nazionale, Palermo; no. 145.*

Thanks to the sharp eye of our colleague Henri Wild, of the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale in Cairo, the lower part of this magnificent bust in Sicily was recognized in the Cairo Museum, where it had been since 1898. When the upper portion, shown in this Exhibition, came to Palermo is not known. Like many pharaonic monuments it may have been carried in the time of the Ptolemies to Alexandria, where, under the Romans or even later, it was picked up and brought across the Mediterranean.

According to the inscriptions on the back pillar and on the lap of the complete statue, a prominent man by the name of Bes (or Basa)

BES, PRINCE OF MENDES

Dark grey granite with pink veins.

is here represented. He was nomarch, or prince, of Mendes, in the heart of the Delta, under Psamtik I, whose cartouches occur both on the back pillar and on the lap of the figure. The completed sculpture shows Bes in the cross-legged attitude of a scribe, although he holds with both hands the front of his loincloth rather than the opened roll of papyrus, often represented in similar statues of the same period. Whereas the statue as a whole is quite conventional, Bes' head is again an example of the highly individualistic approach, in which some sculptors of early Dynasty XXVI excelled.

Bes wears a wide wig which, in keeping with

the style of his time, bulges slightly at ear level and below. It is cut out unusually high above the temples, with the result that the forehead looks as if it were enclosed in an angular frame. Under the plastic eyebrows, the eyes are set wide apart; they are quite large and slanting. The cheekbones form two curved ridges, which makes the eyesockets appear very deep when the sculpture is lit from above. Nose and mouth are much damaged; the latter is wide and thin-lipped, and the nasolabial furrows are deeply etched. All these details lend the face a sorrowful, almost tragic expression, although it is unlikely that it is a true portrait of the Prince of Mendes.

That an unusually fastidious and skilled craftsman was at work on this sculpture can be seen in a number of rarely observed details. For instance, a very delicate ridge, to demark the line where frontal and parietal bones meet, rises vertically on the forehead over the outer portion of each eye. Above the eyebrows a horizontal depression modifies the forehead, and at the root of the nose a perpendicular, somewhat irregular furrow indicates a light frown. These are details which much later become the standard means by which an age-lined face is distinguished from idealizing features; it is surprising to find them so well developed early in Dynasty XXVI. Their presence at this time throws a special light on the achievements of sculpture in the round under Psamtik I in northern Egypt.

The torso, on the other hand, does not offer anything nearly as spectacular, though attention should be drawn to the well-modeled, strong collarbones, which in this period are often treated with great attention to anatomical detail.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 33.8 cm. Width across break 26.6 cm. Depth of break 12.3 cm. Width of back pillar 8.4 cm. Intracolumnar width ca. 1.7 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; originally from Mendes.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Biagio Pace, *Arte e Civiltà della Sicilia antica*, vol. III (1945), p. 685. *TSBA* 6 (1878), pp. 287-288 and plate. Henri Wild, "Statue d'un noble mendésien du règne de Psamétique I^{er} aux musées de

Palermo et du Caire," in *BIFAO* 60 (1960), pp. 43-67 with 2 figs., pl. I-V.

COMMENT: The lower portion in the Cairo Museum, C.G. 1233 (J.E. 32011), made its first appearance in Borchardt, *Statuen* IV, p. 122, pl. 172. Since the statue has been well published by Henri Wild, who also gave permission to reproduce here his composite views of the two widely separated fragmentary portions, this commentary can be restricted to a few points not dealt with in his otherwise admirable treatment of the statue, which, when complete, would have measured about 60 cm. in height. In general, the comments on the other sculptures of early Dynasty XXVI, especially of the time of Psamtik I, should be compared. It cannot be stressed too often, however, that after the reign of this king attempts at individualizing the features of a private person in a temple sculpture again disappear, and that there is not sufficient evidence to attribute the beginning of true portraiture to his period. As much as one might be inclined to see the traits of a definite person in heads such as this one, it must be remembered that experiments in realism at this time are widely scattered and that their sum total does not amount to more than an occasional venture to find a solution different from the usual and traditional. It has already been pointed out that our understanding of the origin of realism in sculpture under Psamtik I is still rather sketchy, especially with regard to the influence of Kushite realism of Dynasty XXV. The type of the cross-legged seated statue originates in Dynasty IV (Paris, Louvre E. 12629), without back pillar. In the Middle Kingdom the type occurs more often, still without a back pillar (Copenhagen, N.C.G. 88 is possibly the only exception). It is frequent during the New Kingdom (Vandier, *Manuel* III, pp. 448-450), and then seems to disappear, except for a few isolated examples (*ASAE* 47 [1947], pp. 15-21). The revival of this classic pose in the Late Period seems to have taken place in the north; the earliest example is Cairo $\frac{22}{48} + \frac{10}{16}$ which was made for Baken-nifi, Prince of Athribis, at the time of the Assyrian raids into Egypt between 670 and 664 B.C. All other dated or datable cross-legged statues were made in the reign of Psamtik I, one or two perhaps under his successor, although this is far from certain. Apart from the presence or absence of the back pillar, there are two main types to be distinguished. Some statues, such as the Palermo-Cairo statue of Bes, show the subject holding the front edge of the loincloth with both hands; in others the right hand rests on the right thigh, whereas the left holds a papyrus which is partly unrolled on the lap. The early example from Athribis, cited above, has one arm raised after the fashion of the Middle Kingdom (Vienna 35), from which the sculptor took his inspiration, and there is one statue in the Cairo Museum (J.E. 43711) — well dated by a cartouche of Psamtik I — in which a long skirt entirely hides the lower legs and feet. A

red vein runs diagonally across the statue of Bes. It appears that a "flawed" block was intentionally chosen for the sculpture. Since a number of Late sculptures in hard, dark stones show similar veins (Alexandria 26298; Washington, Textile Museum 07.3), it may be that, to the craftsman of those times

(unlike those of earlier periods, who apparently chose perfect blocks), the irregularities of the stone had some aesthetic or other appeal. The subject of the Palermo-Cairo statue, Bes, is not identical with the persons of the same name represented in No. 29, Marseille 214, and Moscow 4982.

No. 21; Pl. 20, Fig. 46.

ANONYMOUS SCRIBE

About 660-610 B.C.; Dynasty XXVI.

Dark green schist.

Owner: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; no. 25.2.1.

Thanks to the squatting statue of Bes, divided between the Palermo and Cairo Museums (No. 20), we have now one great sculpture in this pose with a remarkable face, which is dated to the reign of Psamtik I by the inscription. The incomplete statue from Bryn Athyn (No. 19), with an equally impressive head, also of the period of Psamtik I, in all probability likewise belonged to a squatting statue. And here we have in a bust from the Metropolitan Museum, datable to the same period, a third example, chosen for the highly individualized realism which, during a relatively brief period, is expressed in the sculpture of early Dynasty XXVI. These three are actually the best surviving pieces of this particular style, and it is indeed fortunate to be able to see them together.

And yet, the differences between them are great, and none is farther from the norm — if there ever was one — than this bust of an anonymous official in well-polished schist. He wears a bag wig which surrounds the face on three sides like a voluminous cushion and droops over the shoulders onto the back. With its smooth, bulging contour it forms a marked contrast to the wrinkled face, which, like the two examples cited above, is primarily distinguished by the high cheekbones and deep furrows. The eyebrows are strongly curved and are defined by a single incised line, which forms the upper contour. The eyes, set in large sockets, have

very delicate plastic rims on the lids, a minute detail not observed on any other sculpture of the period. Incised crow's-feet mark the outer corners of the eyes, and an almost unbelievable care — unbelievable in this period — has been exercised to model the bags under the eyes and the transition to nose and cheekbones. The way in which the upper lid covers part of the eye also betrays the mastership of the craftsman.

There are traces of small furrows at the root of the nose. The nose itself, however, is almost entirely missing. All that is left seems to indicate that it was deeply depressed, for the ridge descends straight down from the forehead. The ears are unusual, modeled in great detail and lacking the traditionally large earlobes. There are vertical "worry lines" between the eyes, and where the cheek meets the ear a few wrinkles have been added; this preoccupation of the sculptor with skin and flesh, rather than with the bony structure of the head, is almost without parallel in this period.

The torso was surely done by another hand or lacks the final finish, because, at least from the front, it is disappointingly nondescript in its traditional form. The back shows somewhat more character, and since the figure does not have a back pillar, it can be seen that the anatomical essentials have been followed with a certain faithfulness, though without inspiration.

The angle formed by the left elbow shows

that the lower arms were held nearly horizontally. This attitude, and the fact that the elbows are not held close to the body, are — together with the absence of the back pillar — the best proof that the bust belonged to a scribe's statue. There is no reason to doubt that it really came from the Ptah Temple precinct at Memphis, the finding place of so many sculptures of precisely the reign of Psamtik I, and stylistically the sculpture is definitely of the north rather than of the Thebais.

MEASUREMENTS: Height above modern base 35.9 cm. Width across arms (break) 29.8 cm. Depth 15.8 cm. Depth of break at abdomen 13.2 cm. Death of break of left arm 5.4 cm.

PROVENANCE: Said to have been found at Memphis, on the site of the Ptah Temple.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: (Herbert E. Winlock) *The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Statues and Statuettes; A Picture Book* (New York, 1937), fig. 22. (Nora E. Scott and Charles Sheeler) *The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Statues* (New York, 1945), fig. (28).

COMMENT: The absence of a back pillar occurs only during the latter part of Dynasty XXV and the beginning of Dynasty XXVI, and then only in block statues, seated statues, and squatting statues. The present piece is obviously not a block statue, and for seated statues we have thus far only two examples without back pillar, one of which is definite (Cairo J.E. 36578, Theban) and one probable (No. 10, Memphite). On the other hand, most squatting statues and statuettes are without back pillar, and thus it seems likely that this bust from the Metro-

politan Museum, too, comes from a scribe's statue, especially in view of the realistic treatment of the face, which also occurs in the two other examples (Nos. 19, 20). It is perhaps no accident that in the time of King Psamtik I, scribe's statues more than any other type of sculpture were endowed with individualistic features; the preoccupation of a man in this pose with reading, writing, understanding, and thinking may have something to do with it. The bag wig, which, like the wide wig, is found with minor modifications throughout the Late Period, makes its first appearance in the time of Psamtik I (No. 29). The stark realism of the face and the emphasis on flesh and skin in the features of this anonymous courtier are of course the climax of a fairly brief development, which perhaps began with sculptures such as No. 8 and progressed through Nos. 19 and 20 to this bust. Against such an evolution speaks the great bust of Mentuemhat in Cairo (C.G. 647), which has a similar, though Theban, treatment of the skin folds, mainly around the corners of the eyes (Fig. 29). The lack of well-developed earlobes on the bust under discussion is a feature not easily overlooked, since it does not correspond to traditional treatment, and one may well wonder if, after all, the detail is not based on actual observation of the person represented. Although at present — and this cannot be stressed too often — there is no proof of definite portraiture in the beginning of Dynasty XXVI, any statements on the formula of realistic representations must be subject to revision when the entire repertory of surviving heads of the Late Period with realistic features has been properly recorded and studied. The corners of the mouth are open and end in notches, which descend as they do in the sculpture from Richmond (No. 8). The receding forehead, for which there is a good parallel in the head from Bryn Athyn (No. 19), is not much noticeable because of the bulk of the wig.

No. 22; Pl. 20, Fig. 47.

SCRIBE'S BUST

664-610 B.C.; Dynasty XXVI.

Alabaster.

Owner: *Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, Va.; no. 51-19-4.*

Among the materials which the Egyptians themselves considered rare and precious is the milky-white to cream-colored alabaster which in many instances resembles marble. Less than twenty sculptures in this stone are known from

the Late Period, and in view of their scarcity it is fortunate to be able to include in this exhibition one which, from its style and inscription, can be assigned to the second part of the seventh century B.C.

The man represented is for the time being anonymous. The only inscriptions on the bust are the names and titulary of King Psamtik I, which are incised on the shoulders of his faithful follower. The signs on the right read, "King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Psamtik," and those on the left, "The Good God, the Lord of the Two Lands, Wah-ib-ra." The person wears a double wig which partly covers the ears. The upper layer of the wig has thinly incised, undulating striations; on the lower portion the echeloned curls are equally faint. The eyebrows are contoured by engraved lines, and this gives them the appearance of being in low relief, which is actually not the case. The features are without much distinction, except perhaps for the well-formed mouth. There is a slight repair on the nose. The collarbones, as customary in early Saite times, are quite prominent, although the alabaster tends to subdue many details of the modeling. The median line is marked; the nipples have not been indicated. Since the sculpture has no back pillar, it must have come from a scribe's statue.

Incidentally, the name of the material, alabaster, is in all probability derived from the place-name "Bubastis" in Lower Egypt, where the cat-headed goddess Bastet was worshipped. Her name is written in hieroglyphs with the

sign of an ointment jar usually made in this very material.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 37.5 cm. Width of break 34.4 cm. Depth of break 16.9 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known. Formerly in the collection of P. Philip.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Antiquités Égyptiennes, Grecques et Romaines appartenant à P. Philip*. . . (Sale Catalogue, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 10-12 April, 1905), pp. 17-18, no. 53, plate.

COMMENT: There can be no doubt that this bust comes from a scribe's statue, in view of the overwhelming number of sculptures of this type without back pillar which are dated to Psamtik I. For the double wig with indication of striations and curls, see No. 10. The use of "King of Upper and Lower Egypt" before "Psamtik" is uncommon (Gauthier, *L.R.* IV, pp. 67 and 72); one would expect it to preface "Wah-ib-ra." In general, the latter cartouche is found on the left shoulder of the statues dated to Psamtik I, although in a few cases the reverse can be observed (Cairo J.E. 36949; Edinburgh 1947.89). Among the alabaster sculptures of the Late Period are the lower portions of two scribe's statues, to either of which this bust may have belonged. One of them was in the Gubert Collection around 1800 and then passed into the J.F. Mima Collection (no. 321); it has since been lost to sight. The other is in private possession in Egypt; according to the long inscription on base and lap it represents Sema-tawy-tefnakht, the well-known commander of the flotilla which in 656 B.C. brought Nitocris, daughter of Psamtik I, to Thebes. He is the person most likely represented in the Richmond bust.

No. 23; Pl. 21, Figs. 48-49.

OLD MAN FROWNING

About 664-640 B.C.; Dynasty XXVI.

Dark grey-green schist.

Owner: The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md.; no. 22.145 (W.A.G. no. 152).

In the heads Nos. 19 and 20, dated to the reign of Psamtik I, and in that of No. 21, datable to the same king, a surprising variety of realistic expressions has been recorded. In this sculpture from Baltimore, the upper part of a standing or kneeling statue, a fourth example

is presented to illustrate the wide range of possibilities enjoyed by the craftsmen of early Dynasty XXVI in depicting advanced age. Such versatility is even more remarkable when one considers the number of idealizing heads created at the same period and probably in the

same workshops, unless one assumes that the beginning of the reign of Psamtik I is characterized by a series of realistic heads and that idealizing faces were created in the latter part of his rule, at least in the north — that is, in the Delta, at Memphis, and in the Fayum.

From the inscription on the back pillar, the last-named region is clearly the origin of this sculpture; although the man's name is only partly preserved as Djed, his titles point to that fertile oasis adjoining the Nile Valley southwest of Memphis. He was a person of considerable character, and though it is unlikely that this is his true portrait, something of his fierce frown and wildly discordant features may be reflected in this extraordinary temple sculpture. His is a face long to be remembered.

The man wears a long, striated wig of unusual shape, which is drawn back above the temples and then, in relief, without any volume, swings forward toward the eyes and back again, to end in an approximation of the usual square tabs in front of the ear. A shallow groove bisecting the forehead above the nose is flanked by two furrows slanting toward the temples. At the root of the nose, a thick horizontal fold adds to the frown. The cheeks are slightly sunken, and two heavy, curved nasolabial furrows and a mouth drooping at the corners complete the picture of an angry, determined old man.

In contrast, neck and torso show little modification except for a perpendicular ridge at the throat, the deep sternal notch, and the median line. Otherwise the body seems strangely youthful; but it must be borne in mind that after Dynasty XXV the Egyptians hardly ever bothered to reproduce individual features in the human body. The remains of the belt indicate that the skirt, as customary, is worn rather low.

The whole sculpture is peculiarly asymmetrical. The groove on the forehead is slightly left of center; the head turns almost imperceptibly to the right and leans back, and the neck does not sit vertically on the torso.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 18.8 cm. Height of face 5.2 cm. Width 10.6 cm. Depth of break 6.5 cm. Width of back pillar near break 3.9 cm. Intracolumnar width 1.5 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; probably from the Fayum.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steindorff, *Cat.Eg.Sc.W.A.G.*, p. 51, pl. XXVI and CXIII, no. 152.

COMMENT: The way in which the wig more or less squarely surrounds the forehead reminds one of No. 20, the bust from Palermo, and so does the narrowness of the head at the level of the temples. With the bust from Bryn Athyn (No. 19) this head has in common the receding forehead and the marked flatness of the cranium. The slanting folds which rise above the root of the nose occur on other sculptures of approximately the same period (Nos. 7 and 28; Berlin 23728; Moscow 1960; Washington, Textile Museum 07.4). The bulging eyes and thick eyelids are probably due to the craftsman's intention to exaggerate those features (cf. No. 36), just as he has pictured the neck as abnormally long. There is no transition between neck and torso; they are modeled as if they were separate units which have been placed one on the other. The first column of the text on the back pillar begins with the so-called Saite formula in favor of the "Servant of Neith, Prophet of Bastet-Protector-of-her-Father, Djed. . . ." The incomplete name is probably to be restored as Djed-bast-iuf-ankh, a name very common in the Fayum (London, B.M. 22374-22377; Petrie, *Hawara*, pl. II-III; Spiegelberg, *Demotica*, II, p. 29, no. 23; *MDIK* 16 [1958], pp. 243-244). Both titles of the man point to the Fayum. "Servant of Neith" is especially frequent on monuments from that region (Boston, M.F.A. 89.482; Cairo C.G. 882; London, B.M. 1042; Seattle Eg 24.12). A "Prophet of Bastet-Protector-of-her-Father" is named on London, B.M. 22374-22377. The full writing of *wedjeb* in the second column, in the standard expression *em-khet wedjeb khet*, is only known from early Saite times (Paris, Louvre N. 663). Thus date and provenance of the bust are reasonably well assured. The traces of paint mentioned in the publication are ordinary mud. There is no evidence that hard-stone sculptures of the Late Period were ever polychromed.

About 670-650 B.C.; early Dynasty XXVI.

Brown quartzite.

Owner: The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio; no. 3949.20.

The manifold facets of Saite art would not be complete without at least one example of a highly archaizing trend which, unjustly, is mentioned much too often; namely, the style which follows or even imitates works of art from the Old Kingdom. Pieces in this style are relatively few. In sculpture in the round we have the well-known statues of the so-called scribes (No. 20); in relief, there survive a few tablets and stelae, such as this from Cleveland, which are definitely based on prototypes dating from Dynasties IV and V.

The Cleveland stela is in brown quartzite, a stone quarried at the Gebel Ahmar, not far to the east of modern Cairo, of which many monuments at nearby Memphis and Heliopolis were made; this relief comes from the latter place. It represents a man named Djed-atum-iuf-ankh seated before an offering table and dressed in an archaic costume. He and his father Hory bear a typically Heliopolitan priestly title, *imy-iunet*; the mother's name is Tagemet. These names are contained in the inscription incised on a panel at the upper right of the slab, in a very different manner from the inscription in bold relief under the offering table, which reads, "A thousand of bread and beer, cattle and fowl" — a plea for everlasting nourishment in life after death.

Neither in proportions nor in composition does this relief correspond very closely to Old Kingdom examples, and yet it is unmistakably based on a type of slab stela developed in the reign of Snofru, the first king of Dynasty IV. Since there exist hardly any other parallels of the Late Period for this particular kind of bold relief derived from the early Old Kingdom, the Cleveland slab must be considered as the product of a workshop which soon abandoned

the practice of mere borrowing from works of art produced some 2000 years earlier.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 29.5 cm. Width 25.5 cm.

PROVENANCE: Heliopolis (dealer's statement, borne out by the inscription). From the John Huntington Collection.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 12 (1925), pp. 145, 147-148. *The Art News* (New York) 12 (28 Nov., 1925), p. 8 (illus.). Jean Yoyotte, in *BFAO* 54 (1954), pp. 83-85.

COMMENT: Not only is the name of the relief's subject, Djed-atum-iuf-ankh, composed with that of Atum, the chief deity of Heliopolis, but the offering formula is addressed primarily to "Atum-who-resides-in-his-town." The father's name, Hory, is also frequent in the region of Heliopolis. For the name of the mother, Tagemet, see *PN* I, 371, 20; and for the title *imy-iunet* see Yoyotte, *loc. cit.*, especially pp. 105-110. Mrs. C. R. Williams, in a footnote to the article in the *Cleveland Bulletin*, cited above, already indicated that she considered the relief Late, and F. Ll. Griffith (*JEA* 12 [1926], p. 303) assigned it to the transitional period from Dynasty XXV to XXVI. This date is indicated not only by the inscription at the upper right but also by details such as the inverted frustrum under the chair legs. Yet the Old Kingdom model had been studied with great care, as is shown by the outline of the pillow edge just above the papyrus-blossom finial on the chair. Another archaizing relief from Heliopolis, of approximately the same period, though less bold, is in Copenhagen (N.C.G. 1040); it imitates the style of Dynasty VI. A fine example of a much freer adaptation of Old Kingdom low relief in the beginning of Dynasty XXVI is offered by the stela of Harbes in Turin (Suppl. 17161). If only a fragment of the Cleveland relief with the head of Djed-atum-iuf-ankh had been preserved, it would indeed be hard to state whether it dated from the Old Kingdom or from the Late Period, so closely does the valanced wig follow the style of Dynasty IV. A similar wig, though somewhat modified, also occurs in sculpture in the round during the reign of Psamtik I (Cairo J.E. 56836; H. Hoffmann Collection 41; London, B.M. 14403), and again 300 years later, during one of those brief spells of classicism to which Egyptian art was sporadically prone to succumb (Nos. 77 and 80). Note that the archaism of this stela goes so far as to endow Djed-atum-iuf-ankh with two "left" hands and feet, whereas on the stela of Harbes, mentioned above, the hands are drawn correctly.

664-610 B.C.; *Dynasty XXVI.*

Green-brown schist.

Owner: The Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, N. Y.; no. 58.95.

In view of the large number of sculptures dated to the reign of the first king of Dynasty XXVI, Psamtik I, it is disappointing to realize how little we know of the statuary representing the great ruler himself, who restored native kingship to the Nile valley, brought the entire land under his control after the defeat of Assyrians and Kushites, and in an as yet undetermined way inspired numerous workshops all over the country, so that stone sculpture in the round once more became the primary mode of artistic expression in Egypt.

There are no statues of Psamtik I in this country except for the fragmentary torso in Brooklyn, here presented for the first time. It is the wreck of what was once a very fine figure, now only a document rather than a work of art, but in view of its artistic and historical importance, it has seemed advisable to include it in the Exhibition. It shows merely the front of a striding statuette of the king; the back is completely split off, and there are only traces of the arms. The front, however, is superbly modeled, and despite the damage the piece has suffered, it permits us to imagine what royal sculpture of the period was really like. It certainly is in no way inferior to the best of small-scale statuary of Dynasty IV, and in its refinement of form it achieves a harmony such as must have greatly impressed the Greeks in their first encounter with Egyptian sculpture.

Although the royal cartouche in the inscription on the belt is all but obliterated, there remains a minute trace of the first sign, *wah*, of the prenomen of Psamtik I, Wah-ib-ra, the name he adopted when he acceded to the throne in 664 B.C. It is usually prefaced by the title "King of Upper and Lower Egypt," but this inscription employs a more religious termi-

nology: "The Good God, Wah-ib-ra, Beloved of Amun-Ra, Living Eternally." The reference to the state god residing at Thebes permits us to assume that the statuette was dedicated there in the great temple of Karnak.

The sternal notch is placed rather high; consequently the well-modeled collarbones form a nearly straight line, unlike those in some private sculpture of the same period from the north (No. 20). The median line divides the thorax into two equal halves, though it is less pronounced than in the torso of the statue of Khonsu-ir-aa from Boston (No. 9), which may have been made about a generation earlier. The contour of the chest muscles dips slightly toward the sides, and there is a faint indication of the rib cage. The upper abdomen, though quite flat, shows a softness and roundness far more in keeping with the Theban style of the middle of the seventh century B.C. than with work done in Memphis or the Delta during the same period. Psamtik I did not establish his rule over Thebes until 656 B.C., and since he was a notably wise and cautious king, a fairly small sculpture such as this one, made in a Theban workshop, may well have been his first obeisance to the main deity of the much-coveted capital of the heartland.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 15.4 cm. Width 12.2 cm. Depth 4 cm. Width of break at neck ca. 3.7 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; perhaps Thebes.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: None.

COMMENT: Thus far only three sculptures of Psamtik I are known, all from the Delta (Alexandria 347, which forms the lower part of the headless torso in London, B.M. 600; Copenhagen, N.M. AAb 211, also headless and without arms; Cairo J.E. 67845, a statue base, not necessarily from a figure of the king himself). The fragmentary seated statue at Mitrahineh, mentioned in Brugsch, *Reiseberichte*, p. 81, was most probably that of a god, dedicated by the king. It is

very unlikely that a head in London (B.M. 633), often claimed to be that of Psamtik I, really represents the king, and his shawabtis (London, B.M. 21922; Vienna 8354) are too insignificant to be of value for no matter how meager an iconographic study — they show a pudgy, rather un-royal face and can hardly be taken into account. Comparison of the collarbones with those of the statue of Khonsu-ir-aa (No. 9) and other

Theban sculptures of the period show that this fragmentary torso may well have been made in Upper Egypt, not in Memphis or the Delta. The lack of lappets on the shoulders permits us to assume that the king was represented wearing the "Blue Crown," the war helmet (Nos. 51 and 53), which according to Herodotus II, 151, played such a decisive role when Psamtik I came to power.

No. 26; Pl. 22, Fig. 52.

FATHER AND SON

About 660-630 B.C.; Dynasty XXVI. Brownish-black basalt.

Owner: Mr. Albert Gallatin, New York, N. Y.

Included in this exhibition are many sculptures in the round and a few reliefs. This naos stela from the collection of Albert Gallatin presents a third mode of modeling the human figure, which is neither high relief nor in the round: the figures represented, shown in front view, are almost detached from the background of their niche. The front border of the shrine in which they stand is covered with a continuous band of inscription. On the loin-cloth of each man is a brief column of text giving his chief title and name, and on the background of the niche between them is a barely visible column of inscription with the name and title of the son of the man to the right. The latter, who wears a valanced wig, is Pa-inmu; on the left, with a wide wig, is his father, It, son of Pedy-ese. Pa-inmu's son, also named It, had the stela made for his father and grandfather as an offering of filial piety. The wife of Pa-inmu, mother of the younger It, was called Tabaket-en-ashakit.

The titulary of the men and the offering formula addressed to the gods Ptah and Sokar-Osiris point to a Memphite provenance. The torso of the elder It is characterized by the median line, whereas that of his son, on the right, shows a more detailed modeling, with indication of the rib cage.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 40 cm. Width 30 cm. Depth 10 cm. Height of niche 26.9 cm. Width of niche 21.2

cm. Depth of niche at level of feet 3.5 cm.

PROVENANCE: Said to be Memphis, an origin which is borne out by the inscriptions. Formerly in the Joseph Durighello Collection.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Catalogue des objets d'art antiques, égyptiens, grecs et romains . . . ayant composé la Collection de Madame Xav. Durighello* (Sale Catalogue, Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, 12 June, 1924), p. 10, no. 11, pl. II. John D. Cooney, "Egyptian Art in the Collection of Albert Gallatin," in *JNES* 12 (1953), pp. 16-17, pl. XLIX, no. 79.

COMMENT: Niche stelae with two or more standing figures half in the round occur rarely (Third Intermediate Period: *Rec.Trav.* 29 [1907], pp. 174-178; Dynasty XXV: Cairo J.E. 37377; early Dynasty XXVII: No. 66 and London, B.M. 511). The costume of the two men is archaizing; their loincloth is of a kind worn only by squatting scribes in the Late Period, and the valanced wig (in less voluminous form characteristic of the reign of Psamtik I) reminds one of the Old Kingdom prototype. The notch at the edge of the elder It's wig in the middle of the forehead is not accidental; such indication of the parting of the hair is occasionally found in early Saite sculpture (Baltimore, W.A.G. 153; Paris, Louvre E. 11068). For the name of the lady, see *PN* I, 356, 8, and 359, 11; II, p. 395. The full titulary of the people named in the stela is as follows: "God's Father, *sem*-Priest, Belonging to the Feasts of Ra, Overseer of the Secrets of Rosetau, It," son of the "God's Father, Prophet, Overseer of the Secrets of the Great Palace, Overseer of the Secrets of the House of Ptah, Pedy-ese." Pa-inmu is merely a "*renep*-Priest," whereas his son, It, was "God's Father, He-who-is-in-the-palace, and *renep*-Priest." The archaizing costume, the formula *maa-kheru neb imakh*, and the examples for the writing of the name "It" mentioned by Cooney, *loc. cit.*, all suggest a date in the first half of the reign of Psamtik I.

About 660-650 B.C.; end of Dynasty XXV to beginning of Dynasty XXVI.

Light to dark grey-green schist.

Owner: Egyptian Museum, Cairo; no. J.E. 37992 (K. 584).

In the introduction to this Catalogue it has been stressed that each period of Egyptian art, like the art of any other nation, has first to be judged on its own merits and only then compared, if necessary, with the achievements of earlier times. This statue from Karnak in Upper Egypt can pass both tests. It is one of the best examples of male sculpture without attributes from the middle of the seventh century B.C., and it certainly more than holds its own when compared with similar figures made during the New Kingdom and even earlier. Its simplicity is beguiling; though the feet and base are lost, the pose is self-evident — a striding man with the left leg advanced, dressed in a wide wig and a long skirt with stiff trapezoid front panel. There is no belt. The man holds no naos, nor does he present anything to his god. He is just himself. His arms hang at his sides, and he holds a folded kerchief in his left hand, while his right hand is stretched out, palm turned toward the rear.

There are two inscriptions on the figure, a column down the front of the skirt and another on the back pillar. From these texts we learn that the subject was the "God's Father, Prophet of Amun in Karnak, Prophet of Sobek-lord-of-Isheru, Djed-khonsu-iuf-ankh, son of the God's Father, Pi-. . .-wedja, and of the Lady, Songstress of Amun-Ra . . ." (The name of the mother is lost, and that of the father is not entirely legible.) Djed-khonsu-iuf-ankh and his parents have thus far not been identified from any other inscription. Thus the subject of this fine sculpture remains more or less anonymous for us, which is especially regrettable in view of the exquisite workmanship.

The hard schist, with its variety of shades

from light to dark, has been modeled with great care, and though the surface has been well finished, it has not been polished, which gives a texture of velvety quality rarely encountered. The face, an idealizing likeness, has been sculptured with just the degree of reticence necessary to blend the youthful features successfully with more definite traits — the firm chin, for instance — so that the impression of a pleasant, yet empty mask has been avoided.

The eyes deserve special attention since, on account of the strong eyebrows and cosmetic lines in relief, it is not readily noticed how small the openings really are. The contour formed by upper and lower eyelid is of great elegance, reminding one of the best work in the time of King Amenhotep III. There is a sharp incision around each nostril, and lastly it has to be pointed out that the corners of the mouth are drawn up in a faint "smile," though surely no smile was intended, only an amiable and pleasing expression.

In keeping with Theban tradition, the body shows the same sensitive approach as the face. The chest is muscular, and yet not overly strong; the nipples have been prominently indicated, and there is a pronounced median line.

To the modern observer the texture of the surface, the harmony of the proportions, and the benign expression of the face render this statue a very appealing work of sculpture. The body is supple and yet strong, and were it not for the inscription and the unmistakable attire of a private person, one might well wonder if the figure did not represent a person of blood royal.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 53.3 cm. Height above hem of skirt 48 cm. Height above break of back pillar 52

cm. Width across shoulders ca. 15 cm. Width of back pillar 5.8 cm. Intracolumnar width 3.5 cm.

PROVENANCE: Karnak (cachette).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hornemann, *Types I*, 115.

COMMENT: Since neither names and titles nor the palaeography of the inscriptions offer any precise dating criteria, the exact period to which this statue should be attributed has for some time been somewhat doubtful, but there are now a number of good reasons for assigning it to the transitional period of Dynasties XXV-XXVI. First, an inscription down the front of the long skirt of a standing figure seems to occur for only a limited time. In addition to the statue under discussion, it is found in at least five examples (No. 38B; Cairo C.G. 902, 42248, and J.E. 37389; Paris, Louvre E. 13106). Of these, the well-dated sculptures range from the middle of Dynasty XXV (Cairo C.G. 902) to the time of Psamtik I (Cairo C.G. 42248), and one of them, the statue of Akhamenru in Paris (Louvre E. 13106), offers several other parallels to the sculpture of Djed-khonsu-iuf-ankh. It has been remarked above that the skirt worn by Djed-khonsu-iuf-ankh has no belt. But on the statue of Akhamenru the belt, although shown on both sides of the front panel, apparently passes under it or at any rate is not indicated in the center where the column of inscription begins. Furthermore, the wide wig worn by Akhamenru is, in contour, bulk, and the way in which it juts out back of the shoulders, very similar to that of our statue, and the same holds true for the wig on the Cairo statue of Petamenophis (J.E. 37389). Akhamenru (No. 6) is well dated, and so is Petamenophis, owner of Theban Tomb 33, of whom nine sculptures are known and whose *floruit* lies definitely at the end of

Taharqa's and the beginning of Psamtik I's reign. In this connection the position of the hands of the sculpture under discussion should be mentioned, because it is so unusual for this period. For the position of the right hand, palm to rear, no Late examples have been found, but the aforementioned statue of Akhamenru has the right hand open and the left hand clenched. The kerchief is found in the left hand on the statue of In-imen-naf-nebu (Cairo C.G. 42248), who was a nephew of Mentuemhat; his right hand is stretched out. A statue in Cairo (J.E. 56836), dated by the cartouches of Psamtik I, even holds kerchiefs in both hands; after this king no examples are found for the kerchief or for asymmetrical positions of the hands in standing figures without attributes. The long skirt with trapezoidal forepart is clearly taken over from the New Kingdom without modification. The same holds true for the asymmetrical positions of the hands, one of which holds a kerchief (Hornemann, *Types I*, 110-115), and especially for the turn of the right hand held with the back to the front (Berlin 10269; Brooklyn 57.64; Paris, Louvre E. 11555 and N. 502). Heavy eyebrows and cosmetic lines, in conjunction with very narrow slit-type eyes, rarely occur; only the Osiris statue of Psamtik I in the Cairo Museum (C.G. 38231; Fig. 91) offers a fairly good parallel. That at Thebes the modeling of the torso is usually done with great care in a statue with a fine head is more often true than in the north, where a rather undistinguished body can well have an unusually good head (Nos. 21 and 23). For the faint smile, see the *Comment* on No. 29. The light spot in the stone directly above the forehead is probably accidental. Djed-khonsu-iuf-ankh is not identical with, or related to, the man represented in No. 4; the name is rather frequent at Thebes during this period.

No. 28; Pls. 24-26, Figs. 56-59.

ANKH-PA-KHERED WITH OSIRIS

About 655-640 B.C.; Dynasty XXVI.

Green-black schist.

Owner: City Art Museum of St. Louis, St. Louis, Mo.; no. 222:24.

Inscriptions are an organic part of Egyptian sculpture. The statue conveys to the illiterate the idea that a human being is commemorated; the texts with which the statue are inscribed establish the identity of the person for the literate and for the deity to whom it is offered and who is usually invoked with inscribed prayers and funerary formulas. The most com-

mon places for applying the texts are the back pillar of the figure and the four sides of the base. Occasionally the left side and, more rarely, also the right side of the back pillar bear additional inscriptions, and infrequently further texts are incised on top of the base, beside or in front of the feet of the figure. This statue is truly over-inscribed; it not only has texts in

all the places mentioned but even behind the right foot.

After reading the above description, one might well wonder what impression will be given by the original so crowded with inscriptions, but apprehension is unnecessary. The statue is a fine monument of great dignity, and the texts — except those on the back pillar — are so lightly incised that they do not disturb the eye. The man represented is Ankh-pa-khered, son of Wesir-wer (Osoroêris), who followed his father in office as “Prophet of Amun in Karnak” and who held many other priestly functions connected with the cults of the goddess Mut and the gods Khonsu and Thoth at Thebes, as his father had done before him.

Ankh-pa-khered is dressed in a wide, straight wig and a long skirt with trapezoid front panel, the upper edge of which is marked on both hips by a belt. Despite his slim, erect figure two folds under the chest indicate that in real life he may have been a portly man, perhaps a little proud of his embonpoint. The most remarkable part of this statue, however, is the face, with its fine straight nose, the severe lines descending from the nostrils and the corners of the mouth, and the delicate modulations on the forehead, denoting the furrows which rose from the root of the nose over the brows. Though surely not a true portrait, the features of a mature person have been rendered here in an idealizing manner, with just enough realism to give an impression of timelessness. When one disregards the wig and the formalism of the long narrow eyes one cannot deny that this head is a great artistic achievement of Mediterranean quality; despite its Egyptian character the face is akin to that of Western man.

Ankh-pa-khered holds before him a figure of the god Osiris resting on a base. The face of Osiris presents the very opposite of the severe expression of his votary; with its pinched features and “smiling” mouth, it looks unconcerned, almost gay.

A curious detail of the sculpture is that the

left foot of the man has only four toes. Since Egyptian sculptors were not given to slipshod workmanship, especially in so fine a statue, the lack of a toe is surely intentional, and indeed it can be seen in two other osiriphorous figures in this Exhibition (Nos. 39 and 48). There is some reason to believe that the figure of the god rests partly on the donor's foot, concealing the big toe.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 41.3 cm. Height of face 3.3 cm. Height of base (front) 5.6 cm.; (rear) 5.1 cm. Width of base 8.1 cm. Depth of base 19.8 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; almost certainly Karnak.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Antiquités égyptiennes, grecques & romaines . . . provenant de l'ancienne Collection Borelli Bey* (Sale Catalogue, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 11-13 June, 1913), p. 15, no. 150, pl. V. *Collection S. Pozzi* (deuxième partie). *Art Antique. Catalogue des objets d'art antique provenant d'Égypte, de Grèce . . . de la Collection de feu le Dr Prof^r S. Pozzi* (Sale Catalogue, Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, 25-27 June, 1919), p. 14, no. 279, plate. City Art Museum of St. Louis, *Handbook of the Collections* (1937), p. 5 (illus.).

COMMENT: In style this sculpture is very close to No. 38, although the latter is larger. For the way in which the corners of the wide wig jut out back of the shoulder, see No. 27. The curving wrinkles rising from the root of the nose can also be observed in other sculptures (No. 23), although in this statue they are indicated with much more restraint. Such restraint in rendering realistic features is typically Theban in the Post-Kushite Period, and yet the skin folds below the chest are clearly a remnant from Dynasty XXV (Cairo C.G. 902, J.E. 36711 and 36930), occurring in only two other statues (Cairo J.E. 37327 and Copenhagen, N.C.G. 84), which may be contemporary with this sculpture from St. Louis. The height of the base varies from front to rear, and the figure, like the Osiris image, is not centered upon the base. This is a feature common to many of the sculptures shown in this exhibition. Since we have here a statue obviously made with great care, such irregularities (the back pillar, for instance, is not centered at the rear of the base) show time and again that sculpture was worked freely and not “constructed” mechanically (see p. xxiv). In addition to the skin folds of the body and the details of the face noted above, attention should be drawn to the curious flatness of the point of the chin; it is rare to find so many individualistic traits in such a small sculpture — the face is, after all, only 3.3 cm. high. For the Osiris figure, see the *Comment* on Nos. 41, 44, and 50. The so-called smile of the god (cf. *Comment* on No. 29) was probably a northern feature, to which the Theban sculptors were introduced after the realm of

Psamtik I was extended to Upper Egypt in 656 B.C. The remnants of Kushite realism speak for a date early in the reign of this king, and so do the inscriptions, which are almost entirely composed of the titles of Ankh-pa-khered. Most of these titles are frequent in the early Saite Period, and a few of them become exceedingly rare later on. The *menekh-shepesy* formula, which adorns the back pillar, is quite unusual; it occurs also on No. 27. It has been noted that the great toe of the left foot is missing. Two other statues in this exhibition show this curious omission (Nos. 39 and 48), and it is probably no accident that all three are standing osiriphorous sculptures. Since a good number of similar statues have all five toes of the left foot well modeled in the round, the omission cannot have been a rigorous convention, but the reason for it escapes us. When one

considers how asymmetrical the St. Louis statue is, it seems that the sculptor could have easily moved the left foot or reduced the width of the Osiris base so as to accommodate the big toe. Since he (and the craftsmen who modeled the other four-toed statues) chose not to do so, they perhaps intended to represent the base as standing on the big toe of the votary. This explanation finds some support in a statue in Paris (Louvre E. 4299), in which the front left corner of the Osiris base actually rests on the big toe, for the tip of the toe is shown as protruding from — almost as if growing out of — the base of the god's figure. But why the base had to be supported by the big toe of the left foot is one of the very many strange features of Egyptian archaeology for which scholars have given no satisfactory explanation up to the present time.

No. 29; Pl. 27, Figs. 60-61.

BES THE COURTIER

664-610 B.C.; *Dynasty XXVI.*

Dense limestone, now discolored.

Owner: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Lisbon; no. 158.

Among the poses shown in Egyptian sculpture of the Late Period, none appears to us more relaxed than that of the asymmetric squatting figure, here presented in the exquisite statuette of Bes from the Gulbenkian Collection. Made in the fine-grained compact limestone that resembles marble, it has been carved with a precision usually reserved for harder materials. The subject, a high-ranking courtier in the time of King Psamtik I, must have been a man of considerable influence, because — though by this time competent workshops existed in widely separated places — the modeling is of such quality as to give the impression that the sculpture may have been made in a royal studio.

Bes wears a bag wig; his forehead is receding; his eyebrows and the rims of his upper lids are beautifully curved, and the eyes themselves show a distinct slant. The upper lip is fuller than the lower and protrudes slightly; the mouth curves strongly upward at the corners

and seems to have a faint smile. The neck, below the small bony chin, is rather full. Although the face does not show much individuality except around the mouth, the sculptor has lavished a great deal of attention on the modeling of the torso, which reveals a sensitivity for which this warm, originally cream-colored, limestone is well suited. Bone and flesh, from the collarbones to the upper abdomen, are faithfully rendered, and instead of the formal median line a deep depression runs from the sternal notch to the navel. The nipples, like fancy blossoms, are discs rayed with tiny spokes. Even the cuticles are indicated on the fingers of the left hand. As is customary in squatting sculptures, the garment consists of a plain loincloth, inscribed on the lap. The main text, in the three columns of the back pillar, is concluded on the top of the base in front.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 32.2 cm. Width 20.9 cm. Depth 23.6 cm.

PROVENANCE: Lower Egypt; exact location not known.

Formerly in the collection of the Reverend William MacGregor.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Catalogue of The MacGregor Collection of Egyptian Antiquities* (Sale Catalogue, London, Sotheby, 26-30 June and 3-6 July, 1922), p. 212, no. 1628, p. XLI. The British Museum (Temporary Exhibition) *Ancient Egyptian Sculpture Lent by C. S. Gulbenkian, Esq.* (London, 1937), pp. 7-8, 17-19, no. 10, pl. XIII-XIV. National Gallery of Art, *Egyptian Sculpture from the Gulbenkian Collection* (Washington, 1949) pp. 13, 25-27, 60, no. 18 (illus.). W. Wolf, *Die Kunst Ägyptens* (Stuttgart, 1957), pp. 621, 622 fig. 644. H. Wild, in *BFAO* 60 (1960), p. 50.

COMMENT: The main titles of Bes are "Count and Prince, Companion of His Majesty;" for the subsidiary titles, see the British Museum exhibition catalogue and H. Wild, in *BFAO* 60 (1960), p. 50. The provenance of the sculpture is obscure. As Khemmis is mentioned in column 1 of the back pillar inscription one might conclude that the figure of Bes comes from there, in the neighborhood of Buto. The *sekbet Hor*, "Field of Horus," is, however, unknown as a place name in connection with Khemmis. This is the earliest well-dated example of the bag wig in the Late Period (cf. No. 21). For the pose of the asymmetric squatting figure, see p. xxxvi, above. Its use disappears with the reign of Psamtik I (Florence 7245; Hanover 1935.200.515). The separation of lower edge of the wig and back pillar occurs occasionally throughout the Late Period (No. 48) down to Ptolemaic times (No. 91) and does not seem to be typical for any pose or place of origin. For the deep depression in lieu of a median line, cf. New York, M.M.A. 24.2.2, and for the slant of the eyes, see No. 20 (which probably represents a different person of the same name). The most important feature of the face

of Bes, however, is the mouth with its uplifted corners, because this is the earliest well-dated instance of the expression often called the "Archaic smile" in Greek sculpture. Reference to this type of mouth has been made in the *Comment* on Nos. 27, 28, and elsewhere; a very developed example can be seen in No. 49. Since these are not isolated cases, and since this alleged smile occurs with increasing frequency throughout the fifth and fourth centuries, until it becomes a mere grimace in later Ptolemaic times (Berlin 18562; Cairo J.E. 37169), it is evidently part of the sculptural repertory of Late Egypt. Twenty-five years ago, H. Schäfer (*Das altägyptische Bildnis*, page 20, note 50) already remarked that the mouth of a queen's head in Cairo (C.G. 602) showed a distinct smile, a fact which did not escape Vandier (*Manuel III*, p. 330), who comments also on other occurrences (*op. cit.*, p. 428). This so-called smile is featured even earlier (Bissing, *Denkm.*, Text, index p. XXII "Lächeln"); it was revived — perhaps as a reaction against Kushite realism — around the middle of the seventh century B.C. Soon after 600 B.C. it is reflected in the "upward sloping mouth" (Richter, *Kouroi*, *passim*) of Archaic Greek statuary. It must be noted, however, that the so-called smile, together with other Egyptianizing motifs, appears in Phoenician ivories from Nimrud, which was destroyed in 612 B.C. Attention should especially be drawn to a head, facetiously called "Mona Lisa," which was found at the bottom of a well at Nimrud in 1952 (M.E.L. Mallowan, *Twenty-five Years of Mesopotamian Discovery* [London, 1956], frontispiece); its mouth is strongly sickle-shaped, and though it is dated to about 715 B.C. by the excavator, its relationship to Egyptian sculpture of the eighth and seventh centuries should be investigated further.

No. 30; Pl. 28, Figs. 62-64.

IPY AND HIS LADY

About 660-620 B.C.; Dynasty XXVI.

Green schist.

Owner: The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md.; no. 22.76 (W.A.G. no. 171).

Group sculptures of man and wife, so frequent in the earlier periods of Egyptian art, seem with the advance of time to have gone out of fashion. One reason for this may have been the change in the position of the woman, a change which possibly took place during the

Third Intermediate Period. Under Kushite rule the spiritual leadership of the heartland, Upper Egypt, lay entirely in the hands of princesses of royal blood, the divine consorts; no private lady — no queen even — was represented in a stone sculpture throughout Dynasty

XXV. In the early decades of the XXVIth Dynasty in the north, harking back to the great tradition of the past, group sculptures of man and woman were, however, once more modeled, and this one from Baltimore is the only one in America of that period. It shows on the right a squatting man, knees drawn up with arms crossed over them — the familiar pose of the block statue, although in this case (unlike No. 4) the person represented wears a rather short skirt, and his arms are bare and modeled in the round. His head is covered by a wide, full wig. His mouth is small, drawn up ever so slightly at the corners. He holds a folded kerchief in his right fist, and his strong feet are planted firmly on the ground.

The man's name is Ipy; his father was called Pasher-enmut, his grandfather, Hahat. On his left kneels his spouse, Pays-thau-em-auvy-pep, whose head and most of her upper body have been lost. Her arms are stretched out on her lap, and she has folded her legs under her in a very feminine way. The composition of the two figures side by side in different poses is decidedly odd, and altogether this is a very unusual little monument, which well deserves to become more widely known and better studied.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 14.8 cm. Width 10.9 cm. Height of base ca. 2.8 cm. Width of base ca. 10.2 cm. Depth of base 7.7 cm. Intracolumnar width 1.7 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; probably the region of Heliopolis.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steindorff, *Cat.Eg.Sc.W.A.G.*, p. 59, pls. XXXII and CXVI, no. 171.

COMMENT: The offering formula on the front of the man's garment is addressed to the "Great Ennead which is in Ipet." It occurs on other sculptures from

Lower Egypt, which probably originated in the neighborhood of Heliopolis (Berlin 19779; Paris, Louvre E. 10366; Verona 583). Ipy's title, "God's Father," is frequent in the Heliopolitan region, and thus the provenance of the Baltimore group is reasonably certain. For the puckered mouth with the slightly lifted corners, see the *Comment* on No. 29, and for block statues with free arms and uncovered feet, the *Comment* on No. 31. Ipy sits on a very low cushion; this cushion, sometimes merely suggested by the rise of the rear portion of the base, is especially frequent toward the end of Dynasty XXV and at the beginning of Dynasty XXVI (Berlin 23728; Cairo J.E. 36965, 36998, 37151, 37203; New York, M.M.A. 35.9.1; Paris, Louvre A 92). The main reasons, however, for a dating to the early part of Dynasty XXVI lie — apart from the appearance of a private lady in sculpture — in the odd grouping of the two figures, man and woman, who are shown in completely different positions on a common base. Two other such pieces are thus far known (Gotha 12; Paris, Musée Rodin 90), to which should be added a strange group of two block statuettes of men side by side (Paris, Louvre E. 17449). The first two come, according to the inscriptions, from Athribis and Memphis respectively. The former shows a man in the attitude of the block statue with a lady seated on a chair to his left; the latter, a man in the squatting or scribe's position, and a woman, legs folded under her, crouching on his right. Louvre E. 17449, to judge from the text, was dedicated at the Serapeum of Saqqara. All three pieces, on stylistic and inscriptional grounds, have to be attributed to the beginning of Dynasty XXVI, and nothing in the style or texts of the Baltimore group precludes such a date. On the contrary, Ipy and Hahat are names typical for the transitional period of Dynasties XXV-XXVI; the peculiar writing of the name Hahat (PN I, 232, 6; 233, 11) also occurs on another early Saite block statue (Cairo J.E. 65843) and furthermore is found in the Brooklyn papyrus (47.218.3) dated to the 14th year of Psamtik I. The whole series of block statue groups goes back to a Middle Kingdom prototype of northern Egypt, of which there is at least one good example of known origin in the Cairo Museum (J.E. 46307). The position of the lady's legs is also familiar from an example of Dynasty XII (New York, M.M.A. 18.2.2), although in this early piece the hands are differently disposed.

664-610 B.C.; *Dynasty XXVI*.

Green schist.

Owner: Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels; no. E. 7526.

The fertile rôle played by the Kushite kings of Dynasty XXV in the revival of Egyptian political and artistic life was ably continued by the Saite rulers of Dynasty XXVI. Their home lay in the north, in Sais, on the Canopic branch of the Nile, and in expelling the Kushites from Upper Egypt and in maintaining their independence against the Assyrians, they had to rely heavily on Libyan mercenaries. Keref, son of Osorkon, represented in this statuette, was a high-ranking military commander of Libyan descent, whose loyalty to his master, King Psamtik I, is well attested by the two names of his sovereign carved on his upper arms.

He is shown in an attitude of great simplicity, squatting on the ground, with his arms crossed over the knees, a classical pose which goes back to the Middle Kingdom. This is the second form of the statue type discussed in the text to No. 4, for Keref's garment consists of a loin cloth belted at the waist, which reaches nearly to the ankles but leaves the feet bare. His arms, too, are uncovered, and thus the entire body is plainly visible. He wears a simple striated wig; his eyes are long and narrow, surmounted by eyebrows in low relief. Though the face is somewhat damaged, it shows a roundness and healthy youthfulness quite in keeping with the idealizing style of northern sculpture of the time of Psamtik I. A plain beard in the shape of a truncated cone forms the transition from the chin to the surface of the statue block. The feet and the front of the base are missing.

There are two columns of inscription on the garment, framing an incised figure of the god Osiris, who is designated as "Osiris-Ptah-Sokar," an assimilation with Osiris of the town

god of Memphis, Ptah, and the mortuary god Sokar. The two columns of inscription on the back pillar contain the so-called Saite formula, a short text addressing the local deity on behalf of the person represented by the statue, which occurs on sculptures until well into Ptolemaic times.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 19 cm. Width of base 8.5 cm. Depth of base on right side 8.8 cm. Width of back pillar 3.7 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. De Meulenaere, "Trois personnages saïtes. 3. Un général de Psammétique I," *Chronique d'Égypte* 31 (1956), pp. 254-256, fig. 24.

COMMENT: The prehistory of the Late Period — the Third Intermediate Period — is marked by the rise to power of the Libyan mercenaries who, in the person of Sheshonq I, first ruler of Dynasty XXII, even succeeded in giving Egypt a king from their own ranks. Although the Libyan house failed to usher in a new era of unity and prosperity, it helped to entrench the military caste more firmly in the political life of the Delta, and thus we find a number of Libyan military leaders in influential positions at the beginning of Dynasty XXVI. Besides Keref there were Pedishahedet, of whom two statues are known (Athens 917; Paris, Petit Palais 307), Pakir, whose block statue was once in private possession in Cairo (Omar Pasha Sultan Collection 403), and especially Sema-tawy-tefnakht who, though a native of Herakleopolis, was of Libyan descent (see *Comment* on No. 22). Their statues, however, show nothing that could be called typically Libyan; they follow the style of the period, more precisely the regional style, since there are certain differences between the schools of the Delta as far south as Memphis and those of Upper Egypt, primarily the district of Thebes. The type of Keref's statuette, with short loin cloth, feet uncovered, and arms modeled nearly in the round, has a vague forerunner in the Middle Kingdom (Dahshur, Valley Temple of Snofru, unpublished block statue from the excavations of Professor Ahmed Fakhry), but is better attested in Dynasty XVIII (London, B.M. 888; Chicago, Oriental Institute 10796), and occurs occasionally in the Ramesside Period (Cairo C.G. 606). Under the Kushites this type is more frequently represented (Berlin 4437; Cairo J.E. 37194; Paris, Louvre

A 85; Turin 3063) and finally, in the beginning of Dynasty XXVI, it becomes quite common, at Thebes as well as in the north. With the possible exception of Cairo J.E. 68595, which may be a reused piece, it disappears with the end of the reign of Psamtik I. Centuries later, it is imitated in the Post-Persian and Ptolemaic Periods (No. 76; Cairo C.G. 727, J.E. 37154, 37335, 37350; Chicago, N.H.M. 31697; Moscow 5351). The two columns of inscription on the back pillar with the Saite formula (Leclant, *Enquêtes*, p. 7, note 1) are divided by a columnar line, but lack the two outer lines (cf. Paris, Louvre E. 9417, which dates from the same period). As for the incised figure of Osiris in sunk relief on the front of the garment, it, too, constitutes a convention of very limited time range, from the end of Dynasty XXV to the beginning of Dynasty XXVI. During this period, the Osiris figure also appears on kneeling and standing statues and in the latter was often applied to the chest (Baltimore, W.A.G. 181; Copenhagen, N.C.G. 591; Paris, Louvre E. 10966, E. 13106, N. 663). It forms for sculptures not otherwise datable a good chronological criterion. Leclant (*Enquêtes*, p. 47, note 1) has discussed the various ways in which figures of

deities appear on the garments of block statues — sunk relief, low relief, and half in the round. The end of Dynasty XXV and the beginning of Dynasty XXVI are artistically in many ways inseparable, despite the strife and warring which disrupted the country until 656 B.C., when Psamtik I finally controlled Thebes. They really form one period, a time of experimentation, when traditional forms of sculpture were revived and modified and new statue decorations were introduced, some of which again disappeared with the end of the reign of Psamtik I or, possibly, with the archaeologically little explored time of Necho II. The image of a god on the front of a statue has, of course, the same function as an image presented by a donor (No. 3), but the presentation idea itself undergoes a radical change after Necho II, when the image of the deity is more and more frequently enclosed in a shrine or naos. The statuette of Keref has, as do most block statues, a back pillar, see *Introduction* p. xxxvi). Yet it must be remembered that there are in the Late Period more than a dozen block statues without back pillar, all of them datable to Dynasty XXV or the beginning of Dynasty XXVI.

No. 32; Pls. 30-31, Figs. 68-70.

NESNA-ISUT FROM THE FAYUM

664-610 B.C.; Dynasty XXVI.

Dark green to black schist.

Owner: Mr. Nasli M. Heeramanek, New York, N. Y.

On the whole, we have tried to present in this Exhibition complete sculptures or fragmentary pieces with the head intact. But exceptions seem permissible, and one of them is this block statue of a man called Nesna-isut, because here the absence of the head is only a minor tragedy, in view of the well-modeled form of what remains. As a matter of fact, the head is easily reconstructed — it must have had a wide wig, a faint smile, and youthful, idealizing features without individuality. The body, however, though in a standard attitude, is not of standard workmanship but of superior quality. For one thing, the shoulders are unusually broad; their width is by one-fourth greater than that of the base. There is only the barest indication of a kilt. If it were not for a tightly

stretched surface between the legs, just above the ankles, and a belt visible from the sides, the figure would appear to be modeled in the nude. The arms, hands, and feet deserve special attention; in their refinement they represent the best of early Saite art, which — contrary to popular opinion — did not produce cheap imitations of the sculpture of a glorious past. Indeed it would be hard to find a statue of the Middle or New Kingdom from which this piece of sculpture could have been copied or even taken its inspiration. It is the creation of a new artistic force, which manifested itself in Egypt after the end of the Third Intermediate Period and brought the proverbial new life and blood into the waning art of modeling the human form in stone. While adhering to a num-

ber of long-established traditions, the craftsman of this time, through his preference for very hard materials, set a standard of workmanship which, on the average, is far higher than that of preceding periods.

The right and left shoulders are adorned with the names and titles of King Psamtik I, first ruler of Dynasty XXVI. The right arm crosses over the left, and the fist holds a folded kerchief, whereas the other hand lies open. The feet are unusually long and narrow, the toes well separated, and in front of them is a brief inscription on top of the base, facing the observer. The main text is displayed in two columns on the back pillar, but an address to the god Osiris and the crocodile-formed god Sobek of the Fayum is displayed on the front of the garment. The name of Nesna-isut's father is Wesir-nakht.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 37.5 cm. Height of base 7.8-8 cm. Width of base 16.2 cm. Depth of base 31.3 cm. Width across shoulders 20.5 cm. Width of back pillar near break 6.9 cm. Intracolumnar width 2.8 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; probably the Fayum. Formerly in the collections of Alphonse Kann and William Randolph Hearst.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *The Alphonse Kann Collection, Part I* (Sale Catalogue, New York, American Art Association, 6-8 January, 1927), no. 40 (illus.). *Catalogue of the Important Collection of Antiquities, The Property of William Randolph Hearst, Esq.* (Sale Catalogue, London, Sotheby, 11-12 July, 1939), p. 13, no. 55.

COMMENT: For block statues with the short skirt and this full modeling of the arms, see the *Comment* on No. 31. Whereas the statue discussed there has both hands flat, Nesna-isut holds the kerchief, which often occurs in sculptures of this type in early Dynasty XXVI (No. 30). Though it may be a mere coincidence, it should be mentioned that none of the block statues of the type of Nesna-isut dated to Dynasty XXV holds this kerchief; perhaps this is a detail restricted to the time of Psamtik I. The arms on all block statues are always crossed right over left. The closest parallel to the two-column inscription between the legs on the front is Durham 502, which is also dated to the time of Psamtik I. An inscription is often found in front of the feet on top of the base (Boston, M.F.A. 29.731; Cairo J.E. 36949; Madrid, M.A.N. 2014; Paris, Petit Palais 307; all of early Dynasty XXVI). Interesting is the position of the belt, which rests on the thighs well below the waistline. Though this feature is quite common in other statue types (No. 9), it is rarely as marked in block figures. This sculpture forms a welcome addition to the small list of only about twenty pieces definitely known to come from the Fayum. The man's name, Nesna-isut (often erroneously read Nesna-kedut), is rather frequent, and so is that of his father, Wesir-nakht, but the family is not known from other sources.

No. 33; Pl. 31, Figs. 71-73.

HOR, SON OF DJED-MONTHU-IUF-ANKH

650 B.C. or slightly later; Dynasty XXVI.

Fine-grained black granite.

Owner: *The Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, N. Y.; no. 57.66.*

The attribution of a sculpture to a limited period is sometimes based on extraneous evidence, and this block statuette is a good example for the way in which such evidence can be put to use. The man represented is Hor, who had the elaborate titles of "God's Father, Scribe of the Divine Seal of the House of Amun of the Third Phyle." He was the son of Djed-monthu-iuf-ankh, a "Prophet of Monthu-lord-of-Thebes, Scribe of the Divine Seal,"

who held the same offices as his father, Petiese, and his grandfather, Ankh-pakhrod, the great-grandfather of Hor. One more generation is added in the inscriptions of the sculpture, since it was made for Hor by his eldest son, Djed-monthu-iuf-ankh, who was obviously named for his grandfather; to judge by his titles he followed his father Hor in office.

The style of the statuette is well known from similar sculptures datable from the end of

Dynasty XXV to the beginning of Dynasty XXVI. It would be hard to be more precise in dating this piece, if it were not for a well-dated document — a papyrus in the Brooklyn Museum (47.218.3), written in the fourteenth regnal year of King Psamtik I — on which Hor's signature appears as a witness, thus making it clear that he was alive in 651 B.C. Since in the inscriptions on his statue, he is referred to as deceased, the sculpture dedicated to him by his son must have been made after 651 B.C. How much later is not known; but the style of the sculpture and certain characteristics of the inscription are closer to Dynasty XXV than to Dynasty XXVI, so one is inclined to attribute the figure to the earlier part of the reign of Psamtik I.

Hor wears a wide striated wig. Eyebrows and cosmetic lines are in low relief. The broad chin rests directly on the surface of the block formed by shoulders, arms, and legs, which are completely covered by the garment. Only the hands are indicated, the left lying flat, palm down, the right holding a folded kerchief. The broad, shallow back pillar bears three columns of text without columnar separation lines, and other inscriptions are found on the sides and front of the block. The dedicatory inscription of Hor's son, Djed-monthu-iuf-anekh, was applied in an unusual manner, like an afterthought, around Hor's undefined arms, which

form the three upper edges of the block.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 18.3 cm. Width 10.1 cm. Depth 13.4 cm. Height of face 3.2 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; said to have been found at Edfu, but probably from Karnak.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: None.

COMMENT: For the Brooklyn Papyrus (47.218.3) dated to year XIV of Psamtik I, see Richard A. Parker, in *Proceedings of the Twenty-Third International Congress of Orientalists*, Cambridge, 21st-28th August, 1954, pp. 65-66. Stylistically, the sculpture conforms well with other pieces of the completely enveloped block-statue type of the middle of the seventh century B.C., as outlined earlier in this Catalogue, and the same holds true for the striated wig, which in this particular form is typical of the reign of Psamtik I and in general disappears with the reign of his successor (see *Comment* on No. 2; cf. No. 44). The lack of columnar dividing lines on the back pillar has been mentioned in connection with No. 19. Also the formula *maa-kheru, neb imakh* is a clear indication of an early Saite date. The front of the garment is inscribed with a five-column offering text to the triad of Karnak, Amun-Ra, Mut, and Khonsu. This parallel arrangement of four or more columns on the front, beginning always with the same words, is more common in Dynasty XXV (Brooklyn 51.15; Cairo C.G. 42233 and 42234) than in Dynasty XXVI. On the left side of the block the gods Osiris and Isis are represented in sunk relief; the right side shows the Abydene emblem of Osiris and the god Horus. This kind of decoration of the sides of a block figure also connects the sculpture with a style much favored in Dynasty XXV (Brooklyn 36.738; Cairo J.E. 36967; Karnak, Karakol 68 and 269). Finally it should be mentioned that the Djed-monthu-iuf-anekh, named on another block statue in Cairo (C.G. 42217), is probably the father of our Hor.

No. 34; Pl. 32, Figs. 74-76.

HARBES OF BUSIRIS

664-610 B.C.; Dynasty XXVI.

Grey granite.

Owner: *Chicago Natural History Museum, Chicago, Ill.; no. 105181.*

When this hitherto unpublished head was first studied in preparation for the exhibition it appeared to belong stylistically to the transitional period from Dynasty XXV to Dynasty XXVI, and the fact that a royal titulary, but

without the king's name, is engraved on the shoulders made it clear that the head once belonged to a well-dated sculpture. That the sculpture was a block statue could be easily deduced from the nearly horizontal surface of

what is left of the upper arms. The general date was further confirmed by the absence of dividing lines between the columns at the beginning of the inscription on the back pillar. Then our collaborator, Dr. Herman De Meulenaere of Brussels, by going over the material at his disposal in photographs and publications, suggested that a headless block statue in Copenhagen, inscribed for Harbes, was probably the missing body of the Chicago head. An inquiry was sent to Copenhagen, with specific indications of measurements and material, and in due course came the reply that the two pieces indeed belonged together. Thus we are able to complete not only the inscription on the back pillar — the most common of offering formulas — but also the royal titulary, which is that of King Psamtik I.

This fortuitous discovery permits the identification of a man who would otherwise have remained anonymous. The head is of the idealizing type, not a portrait, but in the best early Saite style. Harbes wears the double wig, which leaves only the lower part of each ear uncovered. Although this wig occurs in Theban sculpture of about the same time, there is a marked difference between the styles of the north and south, for the northern craftsmen, as in this head of Harbes, endowed the upper layer of the wig with more roundness and a certain amount of bulging, which are not to be found in contemporary pieces from the south.

Harbes is known from a series of monuments. His father was named Paf-thau-mawysu and his mother Shebeten-aset. Although a native probably of Busiris, the legendary birthplace of Osiris in the central Delta, he was primarily associated with Giza, where he held an important office at the Isis Temple and built a chapel adjoining it.

MEASUREMENTS: Height in back 15.3 cm. Height of head 10.4 cm. Width 19.5 cm. Depth 12.3 cm. Width of back pillar at break originally 7.5 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; probably Busiris (Delta).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: None. For the block statue in Copenhagen (N.C.G. 78), see Koefoed-Petersen, *Catalogue des statues*, pp. 57-58, no. 96, pl. 106; Iversen, *Two Inscriptions*, pp. 18-21.

COMMENT: Dr. Otto Koefoed-Petersen, Curator of the Egyptian Department, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, very kindly provided new photographs of the lower part of the statue and gave permission for their use in this Catalogue. The type of block figure with arms and feet uncovered has been discussed above (No. 31). In this case, the belt is unusually broad; the base has a rounded front. The break at the shoulders slants from front to back, but it is clean, and apparently very little is missing. Originally the entire statue was about 42-43 cm. high. The Copenhagen torso was acquired in Egypt in 1892, the head from Chicago, in 1908. The double wig has already been discussed under No. 3. It is interesting to compare the head with that of Akhamenru on a block statue in the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (14284), illustrated in Fig. 76 (cf. also relief No. 6). Since Akhamenru's *floruit* falls within the reign of King Tanwetamani (663-656 B.C.) of Dynasty XXV at Thebes, he may well have been a contemporary of Harbes. The double wig is closer to the straight wide wig of the period than to that of Harbes, whose wig is more bulging. On the other hand, Akhamenru's head has what one might call normal height, whereas the cranium of Harbes is quite flat, which makes the head appear shorter. That this treatment of the head is merely a convention of the period (see the *Comment* on No. 19) becomes apparent in comparing the Chicago head with one of Harbes on a kneeling statuette that was in the art market at Frankfurt during the winter 1959-60. There, Harbes' head is bald and well-rounded on top, again in conformity with the style of shaven heads of the period. The features of the head of Akhamenru in Chicago are not as delicate as those of Harbes. The latter's eyes are unusually long and narrow, the upper eyelid being contoured by an incised line, and the cavity for the eyeballs is deeply cut, as is not the case in the head of Akhamenru. Although from the text on the front of the statue, addressed to the priests entering the sanctuary of Osiris at Busiris, one would assume that it was there that the statue had originally been placed, this is not absolutely certain, for a similar block statue of the beginning of Dynasty XXVI in Boston (M.F.A. 29.731) has a similar text addressed to the priests of Sais, although the statue was definitely excavated at Mitrahineh (Brugsch, *Reiseberichte*, p. 82). In addition to the Chicago-Copenhagen piece there are two other documents of Harbes, both from Giza, which are dated by cartouches of Psamtik I (Cairo $\frac{31}{28} + \frac{12}{10}$ and J.E. 28171). To judge from the inscriptions, his kneeling figure in London (B.M. 514), like the statue in Frankfurt mentioned above, must also have come from Giza; the origin of Harbes' stela in Turin (Suppl. 17161) is, however, not yet quite clear from the text. In Boston are two objects found in the chapel of Harbes at the Isis Temple, the lower portion of a seated Isis (26-1-237) and an offering table (26-1-238). The reliefs in his chapel (Hassan, *Great Sphinx*, pl. LIII-LIV; cf. Smith, *A.A.E.*, pp. 250 and 287, note 53, who also refers to the Copen-

hagen statue) are of superb quality; one of them is now in Princeton (918; *JNES* 9 [1950], pp. 228 ff.). From the Isis Temple also comes the inscription of the so-called tomb of Harbes in de Rouge, *Inscr.* pl.

LXVI. Thus Harbes is a well-documented person, and from the sum total of his sculptures and reliefs we are inclined to date him to the early part of the reign of Psamtik I.

No. 35; Pl. 33, Fig. 77.

KING WITH ATEF CROWN

Date uncertain; perhaps 650-600 B.C.; early Dynasty XXVI.

Limestone.

Owner: The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio; no. 3920.20.

In two-dimensional representations the borderline between a work of art of a classic epoch and a replica made at a later time is not always easily seen. For certain reliefs even experts may disagree about the date and the question of whether it is an original composition or inspired by an earlier work. This limestone slab is one such instance, and good reasons will have to be brought forth for including it in the Catalogue and assigning it to the Late Period.

At a casual glance, a Late date does not seem very convincing, for the subject, a royal personage with necklace, formal beard, and elaborate crown, appears in almost exactly the same form in temple decorations of Dynasty V at Abusir. The carving has been executed with great care and feeling, and in the drawing of the corkscrew ram's horns of the crown, of the cobra head, and the profile there is a firmness of line which betrays the hand of a master craftsman. No mere copyist could have produced a relief of such quality, and that it is not just a copy is shown in a number of minor details. For instance, the short cow's horn that rises vertically above the forward ram's horn, following the contour of the mass of the crown, should originate, as it always does in Old Kingdom reliefs, *below* the ram's horn in the space between the latter and the top of the wig. As compared with prototypes, the cobra's hood is just a trifle too far removed from diadem and forehead. Eyebrow and eye could

belong to a relief of Dynasty XVIII, but the hairlines of the beard are entirely too dainty for any kind of royal representation before the Late Period.

The decisive dating criteria, however, are less obvious. One is the floral collar, which would pass unnoticed were it not for the sophisticated little blossoms of the upper row, thus far only known from glass inlays in metal from the second half of the last millennium B.C. The second point is invisible in the photograph: most of the little curls on the valanced wig of the king are hollow; that is, they have been drilled from below, an unbelievably painstaking — and, from a practical viewpoint, utterly useless — feat of workmanship. Such drilling of curls is known from some exceptionally fine Old Kingdom sculptures in the round, but in relief it has thus far been noted only in a few instances covering a limited time within the Late Period. It occurs in the tomb of Mentuemhat in the Asasif valley at Thebes and again in the adjacent and practically contemporary tomb of Pabasa, High Steward of the Divine Consort Nitocris.

Since a number of Saite reliefs closely follow Old Kingdom style (No. 24), these added parallels for a significant detail make it very likely that this royal head was carved in the second half of the seventh century B.C.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 27.9 cm. Width 27.2 cm. Thickness 6.3 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; probably the region of

Memphis. From the John Huntington Collection.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The Cleveland Museum of Art, *Handbook of the Museum* (1925 edition) p. 57; (1928 edition) p. 69. Capart, *Documents I* (1927), pp. 70 and 81, pl. 95.

COMMENT: The relief from the tomb of Mentuemhat (Thebes 34) with the hollow-drilled curls is now in Cleveland (51.281); that from the tomb of Pabasa (Thebes 279) is illustrated in *BMAA*, Part II (July 1920), p. 22, fig. 13. The size of the relief under discussion suggests that it came from a temple, not from a private tomb or stela, but our knowledge of Saite temple reliefs is pitifully small, due to the ever increasing destruction of the kôms of Lower Egypt before they have been scientifically explored. An inlaid silver broad collar with flower blossoms similar to those on the necklace of the Cleveland relief is in the Louvre (E. 25379). The erroneous attribution

of Saite reliefs to earlier dynasties is so frequent (Gulbenkian Collection 24; London, B.M. 1518; Rome, Vatican 288) that a new study of the two-dimensional representations of this period would be very rewarding. The Old Kingdom reliefs which served as models for this relief were undoubtedly seen in the temple of Sahura at Abusir, which is known to have been fairly well preserved until Greco-Roman times; see Borchardt, *Sahure II*, pl. 37-38, for likely prototypes. That the decorations of this temple were indeed copied in the Late Period is apparent from one of the walls, which was covered by grid lines at a later date (Borchardt, *op.cit.* I, p. 105, p. 106, fig. 132). Other Old Kingdom sources were also drawn upon in Late times. Some of the royal figures in the so-called Palace of Apries at Mitrâhineh are adaptations of the Zoser reliefs in the subterranean chamber of the Step Pyramid, where the Late grid lines may still be seen today.

No. 36; Pl. 33, Figs. 78-79.

PE-SHERY-ASET, SERVANT OF HORUS

655-600 B.C.; early Dynasty XXVI.

Brown-black mottled steatite.

Owner: Mr. Michel Abemayor, New York, N. Y.

Small-scale statuary of the Late Period has been studied very little, and for good reason, because few pieces of this size are inscribed and even fewer show the degree of individuality which raises them above the level of run-of-the-mill shopwork. The mass of medium or large sculpture in hard stone is so great that objects such as this little piece attract hardly any attention. Yet the figurine is not without interest, since it is well preserved, amply inscribed, and probably comes from a site which furnished few sculptures during the last 700 years before our era.

The person represented in the classical stance of the Egyptian male is, according to the text on the back pillar, Pe-shery-aset, a "Servant of Horus, Servant of the Golden One (the goddess Hathor), Prophet of Osiris, Prophet of Isis-the-Scorpion, Assistant of the Third Phyle," etc., who was the son of the "First Prophet of Horus of Edfu, Servant of the Golden One," Pedy-aa-behdet, who in turn was a son of the

"Prophet of Amun at Karnak, First Prophet of Horus of Edfu," Pathenef. Thus both father and grandfather of the statuette's subject are named in the neatly carved inscription, which was executed with infinitely more care than the face of the man himself.

He wears the round wig which forms the transition from the valenced wig to the bag wig. As happens often in small-scale sculpture, certain features are somewhat exaggerated — the overly round eyeballs, the thick plastic eyebrows, and the sharp nasolabial furrows. Especially characteristic for the middle and second half of the seventh century B.C. are the strong collarbones, which dip deeply toward the sternal notch, and the marked median line. The empty fists were meant to hold two emblematic staves. It is surprising that this statuette in soft stone has not suffered any major damage. Even the nose — so easily knocked off — is ancient.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 24.7 cm. Height of head 3.7 cm. Height of base 2.7 cm. Width of base 5.5 cm.

Depth of base 11 cm. Width of back pillar 2.9 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; presumably Edfu. Formerly in the Tigrane Pasha Collection.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Daninos Pacha, *Collection d'antiquités égyptiennes de Tigrane Pacha d'Abro*; *Catalogue* (Paris, 1911), p. 12, no. 118, pl. XXXVII.

COMMENT: Apart from the text on the figure there are several additional inscriptions relating to this family (*Rec.Trav.* 23 [1901], p. 130), which make the provenance, Edfu, virtually certain. For their dates, and the Theban connections of the family, see J. Yoyotte, in *Kêmi* 12 (1952), pp. 93-96. An epigraphical feature which supports an early Saite date

is the absence of columnar dividing lines in the inscription, which can also be observed on Nos. 19, 33, and 34, all dated to the reign of Psamtik I. The attempt to endow the face with a realistic expression is attested in the seventh century, both in Kushite sculpture from Upper Egypt and in sculpture of early Dynasty XXVI from the north; see the *Comment* on No. 20. The pronounced collarbones are another mark of early Saite sculpture (No. 19; Bristol H.404); in short, there are enough indications to attribute the statuette to the second half of the seventh century B.C. The exaggeration of detail, incidentally, is also noticeable in the deep grooving of the kilt.

No. 37; Pl. 34, Figs. 80-81.

HORWEDJA KNEELING

About 650-600 B.C.; Dynasty XXVI.

Dark grey schist.

Owner: The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md.; no. 22.79 (*W.A.G. no.* 154).

Of the attitudes met with in Late sculpture none is more humble, yet self-assured, than that of the kneeling man without attributes. He does not present anything but himself to his god, and by abasing himself in the deity's presence, while keeping his head erect, respect and confidence are equally expressed. It is a pose of great simplicity, and it seems to be of some significance that the man here represented, so humbly, yet so proudly, was a son of the highest official of the land in the time of Psamtik I.

The wide wig, the modeling of collarbones and median line conform to the standards of the period, but the chest muscles are more powerful than usual. There is something crude in the large hands; the lower legs and feet, however, are well done. An unusual feature is the small correction of the wig tab in front of the right ear; such "errors" are rarely encountered, for the employment of stone tools made for slow and careful work.

The man represented is Horwedja; his titles include "God's Father, Prophet, Overseer of the Secrets of Rosetau, and Servant of Neith." The statue was made for him by his son, Mery-ptah.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 37.4 cm. Height of base 5.6 cm. Width of base 11.3 cm. Depth of base 19.6 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; probably Memphis.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The Walters Art Gallery, *Handbook* (Baltimore, 1936), p. 19 (illus.). Borchardt, *Statuen*, III, p. 16, no. 669. *Studi . . . Rosellini*, II, p. 4. Steindorff, *Cat.Eg.Sc.W.A.G.*, pp. 51-52, pl. XXIV and CXIII, no. 154. *RdE* 11 (1957), p. 83, note 10. Buhl, *L.E.A.S.S.*, p. 169, note 7, p. 170.

COMMENT: The statue was formerly in the Cairo Museum (C.G. 669). There are now known about thirty-five kneeling statues without attributes, which range all the way from early Saite to Ptolemaic times to Dynasty XXXI. Horwedja's father, the vizier Sasobek, has long been identified from his fine anthropoid sarcophagus in London (B.M. 17). On it occurs the formula *maa-kheru neb imakh*, which is so typical for inscriptions of the middle and second half of the seventh century B.C. An early date in Dynasty XXVI is also indicated by the style of the father's sarcophagus, by the form of Horwedja's wide wig, and by the way in which the son's dedicatory inscription is placed in a single line on top of the front of the base. The back pillar runs flush into the wig, and the latter's center drops toward the inscription; this characteristic pattern marks numerous sculptures from the beginning of Dynasty XXVI down to the beginning of Apries' reign (Paris, Louvre E. 9417, A 97; Moscow 5357). In view of the mention of Rosetau, of Ptah-Sokar, and of Hathor as "Mistress of the Southern Sycamore," the Memphite origin of the statue is practically assured.

About 650-610 B.C.; Dynasty XXVI.

Grey-green schist.

Owners: A (upper) *The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y.*; no. 07.228.33.

B (lower) *Egyptian Museum, Cairo*; no. J.E. 37442 (K. 374).

At least 2000 years have passed since this statue was discarded, thrown into a pit in the temple of Karnak, and probably broken in the process. Now the two parts are at least temporarily reunited to reveal to modern eyes a rather unusual sculpture of a man presenting to Osiris a seated figure in the god's likeness. The statuette is barely supported by the tips of the man's overly long fingers, and from below it the front panel of his skirt stiffly projects. Between his feet, however, appears the base of a high pedestal on which the god's figure rests. On examination of the sculpture, one realizes that the man's skirt leaves his legs bare, that it actually serves more as a sheath for the pedestal of the figure than as a garment for the suppliant — a most unusual way of rendering a dress.

The man proffering the figure of Osiris was named Pedy-amun-ra-neb-waset, "God's Father," "Second Prophet of Khonsu-in-Thebes-Neferhotep." He was the son of Iret-horru and Ta-sheryt-aset (Senisis); his wife must have been Ta-amun-neb-nesut-tawy, who is named as mother of his two sons in the inscription on the left side of the skirt. The text on the other side of the garment ends with a short autobiographical statement to the effect that Pedy-amun-ra-neb-waset accomplished "eighty years in serving his lord." Who his lord was, is unfortunately not stated.

The style of the statue is somewhat dry, but typical for the early Saite Period at Karnak. The ears are small, the eyebrows and cosmetic lines still very long, and the two nasolabial furrows lightly incised.

MEASUREMENTS: The break is uneven, and since this is written before the two parts of the statue have

actually been joined for the Exhibition, the total height of the original statue can only be estimated as about 49 cm.

A (upper): Height 24 cm. Width 10.5 cm. Depth (front of Osiris base to back pillar) 12.4 cm. Width of back pillar at break 3.5 cm. Intracolumnar width 2.1 cm.

B (lower): Height 26.8 cm. Height of base 6.6 to 7 cm. Width of base 8.6 cm. Depth of base 19 cm. Width of back pillar and intracolumnar width, same as above.

PROVENANCE: Karnak (cachette).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: None.

COMMENT: It was Herman De Meulenaere who, on the basis of photographs of the inscriptions, recognized that these two fragments belonged together. The lower part came to light in the famous cachette at Karnak in 1904 and was accessioned at the Cairo Museum in the same year, whereas the upper portion was acquired in the art market in 1907. The way in which the Osiris figure is held with the fingertips and yet is supported by the pedestal visible between the man's feet is so unusual that one cannot fail to see here another of those experiments with new forms which characterize the reign of Psamtik I. The titles and the epigraphy also speak for an early Saite date, and an additional criterion lies in the single column of text down the center of the flaring skirt (see *Comment* on No. 27). There are two lines of inscription on top of the base in front of the figure, one line around three sides of the base, a single column on the back pillar, four columns on the left side of the skirt, and four on its right. The name Pedy-amun-ra-neb-waset is rare; it is known from only three other sources (London, B.M. 8471; Paris, Louvre E. 5157 and E. 9293), none of which refer to the person represented in this statue. The affinity between the head of Pedy-amun-ra-neb-waset and that of Ankh-pakhered (No. 28) is, despite the difference in scale, quite strong. It is noteworthy that the type of the standing naophorous or theophorous figure with the fingertips *under* the object held does not reappear for nearly 300 years. Of the two dozen examples studied, the earliest seems to be Aberdeen 1421, which is dated to Nectanebo II; most of the others are definitely Ptolemaic, and none has a supporting pedestal for the deity or naos.

No. 39; Pl. 36, Figs. 84-85.

ANONYMOUS OSIRIPHOROS

About 640-600 B.C.; Dynasty XXVI.

Grey-green schist.

Owner: The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, N. Y.; no. Inv. 11.

Since most Egyptian sculptures in the centuries preceding the Ptolemaic rulers were inscribed, an uninscribed statue is not too frequently encountered. In view of the great production of hard-stone sculptures and the amount of time involved in modeling them by pounding with stone tools and by abrasion, a sculptor's studio must have prepared certain figures for stock, for eventual sale to donors. Since there was always the possibility that a customer, whether buying from stock or on commission, was prevented by some unforeseen event from specifying the inscription he wished his statue to bear, it occurs occasionally that a complete figure turns up without a text.

This osiriphorous statue in the Morgan Library is such a case. It is clearly unfinished, for the transition from back pillar to wig has not yet been evened out. Eyebrows and cosmetic lines also seem to lack the final touch, and the contour which sets the beard of Osiris off against its support is rather ragged. The wide

wig, the long garment with its trapezoid panel, and the treatment of the man's face suggest a date toward the end of the seventh century B.C.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 47.3 cm. Height of face 4.1 cm. Height of base 6.4 to 7.7 cm. Width of top of base ca. 10 cm. Depth of base 20.3 cm. Width of back pillar ca. 4.2 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: None.

COMMENT: It is a curious fact that most of the uninscribed statues of pre-Ptolemaic times are osiriphoroi (Paris, Louvre E. 4299 and N. 868) and that at least one, of early Saite date, was inscribed at a much later period (Cairo J.E. 37408). Osiris figures, either free-standing or in a naos, when combined with the figure of their donor, more often than not have an uraeus without the snake's body extending upward along the crown, as is usual at the very beginning of Dynasty XXVI, and without the figure-8 coil, which is rarely found before the sixth century. The absence of the *maat* feathers of the Osiris crown speaks also for a date before 600 B.C. The type of the wide wig is very much like that of No. 27 and similar sculptures dated to the time of Psamtik I. The man's left foot has only four toes; for this omission see the *Comment* on No. 28.

No. 40; Pl. 37, Figs. 87-88.

NES-PTAH WITH NAOS

About 630-600 B.C.; Dynasty XXVI.

Grey-green steatite.

Owner: The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md.; no. 22.159 (W.A.G. no. 176).

Among the standing figures of the Late Period one can distinguish two basic types, those with attributes and those without. Attribute-bearing statues include those with the image of a god, a stela, an offering table, or a naos, and this sculpture from the Walters Art

Gallery is one of the earliest of the last-named type.

A naos is a shrine, a portable chapel, a tabernacle, containing the figure of a god. A suppliant frequently had himself represented with the image of a divinity in his hands or resting

on his knees, but in the course of the Late Period an increasing number of sculptures were made showing the donor proffering the god's figure within a naos. The composition was not difficult, so long as the donor was pictured as kneeling, but it seems that the Egyptians tried for about a century to find a satisfactory solution for the standing naophorous figure. While the formula for kneeling figures holding a naos was established by the end of Dynasty XXV, that for the standing figures remained unstandardized until the very end of Dynasty XXVI. Six examples made before the reign of Amasis are known, and in five of them the manner in which the shrine is placed before the donor's figure differs.

This statue in the Walters Art Gallery shows a man named Nes-ptah, "God's Father and Prophet of Amun-Ra-king-of-the-gods," holding a shrine, from which the original figure of a god has been removed and substituted by a representation of Osiris set into the back wall. Originally the entire niche of the naos must have been filled by the figure of a deity worked in a different material, probably a harder stone than the soft steatite of which the statue itself is made. The naos, without base, rests directly on the base of the statue; the walls are slightly inclined, and the roof is a little curved. Behind the shrine stands the donor, wearing a bag wig and a long skirt with trapezoid front panel. The face, for so small a sculpture, is quite expressive, and it should be noted that the whole figure is

much more asymmetrical than is usually the case. The head, for instance, is noticeably turned to the left, and the median line, though well marked, is not straight. Also unusual is the soft modeling of the umbilical region just above the belt.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 31.4 cm. Height of base ca. 4.5 cm. Width of base, front 8.2 cm., rear 7.5 cm. Depth of base 13.7 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; probably Karnak.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steindorff, *Cat.Eg.Sc.W.A.G.*, pp. 61-62, pl. XXXI and CXVII, no. 176.

COMMENT: Nes-ptah's father was Ankh-wennufer, and the same name was borne by Nes-ptah's son, who had the statue made for him. His wife, the younger Ankh-wennufer's mother, was Iret-ru. These personal names suggest that we have here one of the families brought from Memphis to Thebes by Psamtik I. Several philological peculiarities of the inscriptions point to the early Saite date, especially the reed-leaf determinative after the name of the elder Ankh-wennufer. The main reason, however, for placing the statue toward the end of the seventh century lies in the combination of standing figure and naos, as compared with the other five examples of this type definitely made before the reign of Amasis. One of these is datable to the reign of Psamtik I (Cairo C.G. 730), and of the remaining three, two are of the time of King Necho II (Cairo C.G. 807; Paris, Louvre E. 11895) and one probably of that of Apries (Turin 3026). Except for the Baltimore naophoros, where the shrine rests directly on the statue base, the groping for an adequate support for the naos is only too obvious; the Theban school alone, with its long tradition, found a more or less harmonious solution of the problem, though this piece seems to have been a unique experiment, since no further standing naophorous statues were made at Thebes for at least another century. See also No. 45.

About 630-600 B.C.; Dynasty XXVI.

Green schist; numerous traces of gold foil.

Owner: The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md.; no. 22.184 (W.A.G. no. 382).

Although this exhibition is primarily dedicated to stone sculptures of private persons and kings, representations of a few deities have been included, so as to enlarge the picture offered by the human form in its many aspects during the Late Period. Like the private and royal statuary of the time, stone figures of the gods were placed in temples by individual donors as ex-votos, either uninscribed and thus carrying, *e silentio*, the pious wishes of a suppliant to the god represented, or inscribed with plea or prayer, addressed to the deity by name and naming the person who presented the sculpture.

Of the latter type is this statuette in Baltimore, which represents Osiris, god of the dead and the nether world, the incarnation of human resurrection. He is seated on a chair with low back, wrapped in his funerary shroud, which leaves only head and hands exposed. His wrists are crossed, right over left, and in his hands he holds the crook and flail, age-old symbols of the god's divine reign. The head is adorned with the *atef* crown; where it meets the forehead the hood of a royal cobra, the uraeus, rises defiantly. Long plastic eyebrows and cosmetic lines decorate the narrow eyes, and a formal beard, held by a strap, completes the traditional costume. The face is surprisingly pleasant and shows a certain amount of character. In this it is unlike most Osiris figures in stone, which a few generations later are largely replaced by mass-produced bronze statuettes, usually of mediocre quality.

A single line of inscription, beginning at the front left corner, runs clockwise around the figure. The dedication formula is in favor of the "Overseer of the Singers of Amun-Ra, Lord of Ta-bener, Thau-en-per-mut, son of the Overseer of the Singers of Mut, Ankh-khonsu,

and of Tady-hor (Tauris)." There exists a statue of Ankh-khonsu dedicated to him by his son, this very Thau-en-per-mut. Since its style is typical for the early Saite Period, there can be no doubt about the general date at which this statuette of Osiris was made.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 27.4 cm. Height of base, front 4.4 cm. Width of base, front 5.2 cm. Depth of base 14.9 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; perhaps Abydos.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steindorff, *Cat.Eg.Sc.W.A.G.*, pp. 105-106, pl. LXVIII and CXVIII, no. 382.

COMMENT: The statue of Ankh-khonsu (Paris, Louvre E. 15545) is a headless block figure with short kilt; between the feet is the base of a now mostly destroyed male deity (for a discussion of this type, see Leclant, *Enquêtes*, p. 47, note 1). The Louvre statue is post-Dynasty XXV in style, and thus the date of the Osiris is fairly well established. Even without the inscription, one would have been inclined to attribute the Baltimore statuette to the second half of the seventh century B.C., since, beginning with the seventh century (Copenhagen, N.C.G. 72; Hanover 1935.200.493 and .494; Cairo C.G. 38231), we now have a whole series of Osiris sculptures in hard stone, well dated by inscription, down to the end of Amasis' reign (Cairo C.G. 38358). The change of style which took place over these two centuries is especially noticeable in the eyes, eyebrows, and cosmetic lines (No. 50). The connection between beard and chin also furnishes certain indications; whereas in the Baltimore statuette the point of the chin is partly covered by the beard, in the time of Amasis chin and beard form two separate entities and the beard is attached slightly below the chin. The statuette was originally entirely covered with gold foil, which must have given it a splendid appearance, and careful examination would probably establish the same for other sculptures of the god. The mention in the text of Ta-bener — a site which Jean Yoyotte tentatively identifies with today's Matbool, east of Kafr el Sheikh — connects the family with the northern part of the central Delta. The statuette itself may, however, have been dedicated at Abydos, the mythical burial place of the god Osiris. According to a theory on the position of the hands of Osiris figures offered by Roeder, *Ägyptische Bronzefiguren*, pp.

180-184, this statuette corresponds to what he calls the Upper Egyptian type. A profile view of the head, enlarged so as to correspond to a profile view of the nearly lifesize Osiris inscribed for Psamtik I

(Fig. 91; Cairo C.G. 38231; from Medinet Habu), shows a surprising similarity and also indicates that the size of a good sculpture of this period cannot be determined from a photograph.

No. 42; Pl. 39, Figs. 92-94.

KING NECHO II IN RELIEF

610-595 B.C.; Dynasty XXVI.

Pale brown limestone.

Owner: The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md.; no. 22.135 (W.A.G. no. 260).

When Psamtik I acceded to the throne in 664 B.C., he was the undisputed ruler of only part of the country. By 656 B.C., however, the whole of Egypt had come under his control and he was once more "King of Upper and Lower Egypt" in the true sense the ancient title implied. His father, Necho I, did not know any such independence, preserving a precarious situation in the western Delta between the Assyrians and Kushites and leaving no sculptures or reliefs with his likeness.

When his grandson, Necho II, came to power after the death of Psamtik I in 610 B.C., he began a successful reign of fifteen years, which saw the king and his armies carry the Egyptian banner well beyond the Nile Valley into Asia. Since the country was unified and not exposed to foreign invasions, one would expect to find a large number of monuments bearing his name. Actually, the opposite is the case, and because not even a fragmentary stone sculpture of him exists, but only a small bronze figure (No. 43), it is difficult to establish his iconography.

For this reason we have chosen for exhibition a relief with the king's name and head, one of two such reliefs in any museum outside of Egypt. It shows on the left the goddess Hathor, who addresses the king with a speech well suited to his political ambitions: "(I give) to thee every country in submission (?)." The inscription over the king mentions "offering in Hut-ihet," followed by his cartouche. The relief obviously comes from a shrine or temple dedicated by King Necho II to Hathor, chief

goddess of the third nome of Lower Egypt.

The slab is executed in sunk relief of a crisp, dry style. Necho II wears the valanced wig with diadem which, especially in the Memphite region and in Lower Egypt, had always been part of a king's festive costume, occurring often throughout the Third Intermediate Period. His features are idealizing; at least they show that a certain fullness of face with which later Saite kings are represented had not yet become a characteristic of the standard royal likeness.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 14.5 cm. Width 27.3 cm. Depth 3.5 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; probably Kôm el Hisn (Imau) in the western Delta.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steindorff, *Cat.Eg.Sc.W.A.G.*, pp. 77-78, pl. LIII, no. 260.

COMMENT: For Necho II, see the comprehensive article by Jean Yoyotte, "Nécho," in *SDb* 6 (1958), 363-393 (*ibid.* 366 and 367 on this relief). The second relief of Necho II is in Copenhagen (N.C.G. 46); in style, dimensions, and workmanship it is so close to the Baltimore relief that the two may well have come from the same site. The head of Necho II is nearly identical on both slabs. For the valanced wig (No. 24) in the Third Intermediate Period, see for instance Montet, *Nouvelles fouilles*, pl. XVI. A relief in the Brooklyn Museum (16.237; not shown in the Exhibition) is illustrated in Figure 93, because it may well be another representation of the elusive king. It was acquired by C. E. Wilbour at Zagazig, north-east of Cairo, in May 1890. The material of the Wilbour piece is brown-black basalt or diorite, infinitely harder than the limestone of the Baltimore and Copenhagen reliefs, which may account for the different treatment of the curls on what essentially is the same valanced wig. Eyebrows and cosmetic lines are overly long, drawn out in a thin stroke of relief, a treatment also to be noted on the Copenhagen piece.

610-595 B.C.; *Dynasty XXVI*.*Bronze*.*Owner: The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.; no. E. 13004.*

During the Third Intermediate Period the art of casting in metal was developed to a degree never to be surpassed in any of the following centuries; to what extent this was the result of the deterioration of the art of stone sculpture, has yet to be explained. With the advent of Dynasty XXVI, a decline in bronze casting had already set in, and although a few fine pieces were made from time to time until the end of the Ptolemaic Period, the bulk of metal statuary was mass-produced and, with its endless repetition of identical subjects, to the critical eye has very little merit.

The reason for including a bronze in an exhibition devoted to stone sculpture is that this statuette constitutes the only known sculpture in the round of Necho II, second king of Dynasty XXVI, whose valiant exploits in Asia are known from the Bible, as well as from Babylonian sources. Among other deeds, he was the first to attempt the connection by canal of the Red Sea with the Mediterranean, the first to effect the circumnavigation of Africa. Yet, for all his might, he did not leave many monuments which show him in person, and most of those on which he appeared were later dismembered by his son and successor, Psamtik II, who — for reasons still unknown — in numerous instances had his father's name erased and his own superimposed in place of it. Thus a sculpture of Necho II, even in bronze and on a small scale, is a rare item, and this one, from Philadelphia, is the only one thus far known.

The king is shown kneeling, both arms stretched forward with the palms turned in; between them he probably once held an offering to the gods. He wears a striped headcloth, the royal *nemes*, which has across the forehead a border ending in front of the ears. A broad

necklace can be seen between the lappets. The chest muscles are sharply defined; the median line is remarkably deep. The inscription on the back of the belt states: "Son of Ra, Necho, living forever." The bronze was probably much corroded when it turned up during the past century and entered a private collection in France. It was carelessly cleaned, and as a result the surface is pitted and has lost much of its original "skin." Thus the features of the king have become rather indistinct, although they were probably never more than a conventional representation. Characteristic for him, however, seem to be the slant of the eyes, the sickle-shaped mouth with lifted corners, and the triangular structure of the face.

MEASUREMENTS: Height (above the modern bronze base) 18.1 cm. Width at shoulder level 7.6 cm. Depth 10 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known. Formerly in the Gustave Posno Collection.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Collection de M. Gustave Posno. Antiquités égyptiennes, gréco-romaines & romaines* (Sale Catalogue, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 22-26 May, 1883), pp. 14-15, no. 54. Wiedemann, *Aeg. Geschichte* II, p. 630, note 7. C. Aldred, in *JEA* 42 (1956), pp. 6 and 7; pl. II fig. 9. J. Yoyotte, in *SDB* 6 (1958), 366, fig. 608.

COMMENT: It was H. De Meulenaere who first drew attention to the curious erasures the cartouches of Necho II suffered in antiquity (cf. Yoyotte, *loc. cit.*, 370-371). These may in part account for the fact that, though he ruled fifteen years, there are infinitely fewer surviving monuments with his name than there are with that of his son, Psamtik II, who was king for only six years. It is unthinkable that Necho II simply failed to have statues made of himself, and yet all that is known of his sculptures consists of this bronze statuette and a headless sphinx (*ASAE* 11 [1911], p. 87) with his cartouches gouged out. Other sculptures were presumably intentionally destroyed. On private sculptures, where his name originally appeared but was subsequently erased, the cartouche was left blank (Cairo C.G. 807 and 928; Stockholm, N.M. 78) or

had the name of Psamtik II superimposed (Cairo C.G. 658; London, B.M. 37891; Paris, Louvre E. 10709). In this connection, mention should be made of the kneeling bronze figure of a king (New York, M.M.A. 35.9.3) on which the name of King Amasis appears on the front of the kilt, written in a column

which runs right across the overlap of the garment, a most unusual place for a royal name. The back of the belt has an obliterated cartouche in exactly the same place as on the Philadelphia statuette, and the name originally contained in it may well have been that of Necho II.

No. 44; Pls. 40-41, Figs. 97-99.

IRET-HORRU WITH OSIRIS

About 595 B.C.; Dynasty XXVI.

Green schist.

Owner: The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md.; no. 22.215 (W.A.G. no. 174).

Due to the long reign of Psamtik I, there have survived a large number of private sculptures, which were made, according to their inscriptions, within the king's lifetime. The number known to have been produced under his successor is much smaller, partly because Necho II ruled for a shorter time and partly because his name was frequently scratched out, even on private sculptures, at the behest of his son, Psamtik II. Therefore any private sculpture dated to the period of Necho II is rare; the one presented here is the only one in America.

The man represented, Iret-horru, has numerous titles, of which the most important are "God's Father, Prophet of Amun-Ra-king-of-the-gods," "Libationer," and "Prophet of Thebes-triumphant." He holds before him a figure of Osiris, presenting it to the god of the nether world. His wide wig has been modified by lines of striation, common in the preceding century but no longer found after Iret-horru's time. Although the eyebrows are fully rendered in relief, the cosmetic line extends very little beyond the eyelid; with the sixth century it becomes less and less prominent in private sculpture. Collarbones and sternal notch are still well marked, but the torso lacks the hitherto familiar median line; that, too, is no longer a standard feature of the body modeling, although it occurs sporadically until the reign of King Apries.

Iret-horru is dressed in the gala garment with numerous pleats and trapezoid forepart which, especially in the profile views, makes him appear rather bulky. The arms are extraordinarily thick. With his stocky figure and erect head Iret-horru gives an impression of pride and strength rarely encountered in theophorous sculpture. Both his father, Hor, and his grandfather, Neska-shuty, held the same offices as Iret-horru at Karnak, whereas his son inherited only one of his father's priestly positions. It was this son, Necho, who had the statue made for his father, and since he obviously received his uncommon name after the ruling king, the date of the statue can hardly be doubted, especially since its stylistic features are those to be expected at the period.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 56 cm. Height of base 9.5 cm. Width of base 11 cm. Depth of base 22 cm. Width across elbows 14.5 cm. Width of back pillar 6.5 cm. Height of face 5 cm. Height of Osiris figure with its base 30.5 cm.

PROVENANCE: Karnak (cachette); 1905. Acquired in 1911.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steindorff, *Cat.Eg.Sc.W.A.G.*, pp. 60-61, pl. XXXI and CXVII, no. 174.

COMMENT: The sculpture was formerly in the Cairo Museum (J.E. 37890, K. 626). A statue of the son, Necho, is in London (B.M. 41560). Apart from their style, these statues can safely be dated to the time of King Necho II, because only then would a father have given this name to his son. A century later, under the Persians, the name Necho is revived as a

sign of nationalism, as is well known from the Serapeum stelae and from sculptures of post-Saite style, entirely different from that of these figures. The Baltimore statue thus forms a welcome addition to the small group of sculptures from the reign of Necho II. The date of some of them can be surmised from the fact that Psamtik I is mentioned as deceased in the inscriptions (Paris, Louvre E. 11895 and N. 663); others contain the name of a private person composed with that of King Necho II (Paris, Louvre E. 10966; Strasbourg 367) or bear his cartouche which

somehow escaped destruction (Paris, Louvre A 83). Examples of statues on which his name was destroyed or even replaced by Psamtik II have already been given in the *Comment* on No. 43. Osiriphorous standing sculptures enjoyed great popularity and, beginning with Dynasty XXV, occur time and again until well into the Ptolemaic Period (London, B.M. 48038). It is worth noting that, at the time of Necho II, the beard still covers the chin of the Osiris figure, but that the figure-8 coil of the uraeus becomes more frequent.

No. 45; Pl. 42, Figs. 100-101.

ANKH-WENNUFER WITH NAOS

About 600-585 B.C.; Dynasty XXVI.

Dark brown to black basalt.

Owner: Mr. Avery Brundage, Santa Barbara, Cal.; no. 2/24.

One often marvels at the great care the Egyptians lavished on the carving of inscriptions in hard stone, especially in cases where the inscription would normally not be noticed. This holds true particularly for the back pillars of statues; and although it is unlikely that ancient temple sculptures were always placed against a wall, or so close to a wall that the inscriptions could not be read by the living, many texts were certainly never seen by visitors to the temples. Inscribing the back of a statue was an act of faith. What was written there was meant to be read by the deity to assure the survival in the hereafter of the person represented, and not primarily to convey information to living human beings.

Many museums follow Egyptian custom (though for other reasons!) in exhibiting sculptures so that the back is not easily seen. This Exhibition is perhaps the first attempt to make all four sides of inscribed pieces accessible, in certain cases at least through photographs of the back, because the back — as in this naophoros from the Brundage Collection — often contains all the written data concerning the person represented and thus forms an essential part of the archaeological history of the sculp-

ture. This piece, moreover, bears an inscription which excels by reason of the beauty of the hieroglyphs and their balanced spacing. The information they impart is that the person represented is the "God's Father, Ankh-wennufer," son of the Prophet Dy-ptah-iaut, and that the statue was made by his "beloved son," whose name unfortunately is lost with the lower part of the figure.

Ankh-wennufer holds a naos, which houses an image of the god Osiris. He is represented as wearing a wide wig and a long skirt with trapezoid front panel. His face is expressive and yet idealizing; the eyebrows are almost imperceptibly indicated. On the other hand, the collarbones are well modeled, and his powerful chest, which does not show a trace of the median line, is very prominent.

MEASUREMENTS: Height above modern base 34.1 cm. Width 12.2 cm. Depth, at wrist level, 11 cm. Width of back pillar 4.8 cm. Intracolumnar width 1.8 cm. PROVENANCE: Not known; probably Memphis.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: None.

COMMENT: The period at which this statue was made is difficult to establish. Stylistically, the early Saite Period has much in its favor. The lack of a belt (see No. 27) and the strong collarbones would fit well the time of King Psamtik I, and the reed-leaf deter-

minative in the man's name, which in this case indicates the order of the two component parts of Ankh-wennufer (instead of *Wennufer-ankh*), is also typical of early Saite times. Against this date speak the form and structure of wig and face, which remind one of No. 47, the total absence of the median line, and the position of the beard of the Osiris figure. The lack of plastically defined eyebrows is more in keeping with middle Saite than with early Saite sculptures. The shape of the naos, with torus molding, cavetto cornice, and the curving roof line found

in archaic sanctuaries, is of no help, since this form exists side by side with the plain, box-like naos throughout the seventh and the better part of the sixth century. Although the titles of both father and son of Ankh-wennufer point to a Memphite provenance, none of the three men occurs on any other monument (including the Serapeum stelae) from that region. For standing naophoroi in general, see No. 40. The Saite formula seems to have been restricted to "The City God of . . ." as on No. 9 and Marseille 216. For Dy-ptah-iaut, see *PN I*, 396, 18.

No. 46; Pls. 42-43, Figs. 102-103.

HEAD OF THE SIXTH CENTURY

About 600-575 B.C.; Dynasty XXVI.

Grey-black granite with pink spots.

Owner: Mr. Michel Abemayor, New York, N. Y.

By their preference for hard stones, the Egyptian sculptors of the Late Period — far more than their ancestors — expressed a fierce belief in the permanence of votive statuary. Living, as they did, in a world of changing conditions, when the rise of potentially hostile powers beyond the borders constituted a permanent threat to the safety of their way of life, they continued, decade after decade, to model in the hardest materials available the human figure of the votary who wanted to be with his god in his temple after death. Though Egypt's influence was on the wane, though the Nile Valley no longer enjoyed the splendid isolation of an imperial past, the faith remained unshakable, and the sheer number of better-than-average sculptures produced during the last seven centuries before the Roman conquest constitutes a vivid testimony to the strength the country and its people still possessed. There is a firmness, a determination, in heads such as this one in granite, which belies the "decline" of the arts in the last millennium B.C.

The face under the wide wig is a strange mixture of idealization and just that minute touch of individuality, which makes it stand out among its more conventional fellows. The left eye, for instance, is much more slanting

than the right; the lower lip is drooping, and the corners of the mouth are marked by notches which add to the arresting qualities of the expression. An incised line around the base of the neck no doubt indicates a cord from which an amulet, a royal cartouche, or a pectoral was suspended. The back pillar runs flush into the wig; it bears the beginning of three columns of inscription with a text which seems to be both funerary and autobiographical. The man's name is not preserved. Comparison with well-dated examples of heads with similar wigs and features points to the early decades of the sixth century B.C. as the time when this sculpture was made.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 34.5 cm. Height of face 11.3 cm. Width 23.8 cm. Depth 18.5 cm. Depth of break at neck 14.2 cm. Width of back pillar 10.1 cm. Intracolumnar width 2.8 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs, *Exposition Egypte-France* (October-November 1949), no. 137.

COMMENT: The wide wig of this man is obviously not nearly as wide as that of No. 38A of early Saite date; its less flaring shape is characteristic for the sixth century. Thick plastic eyebrows and the nearly total absence of cosmetic lines at the corners of the narrow eyes occur often under Psamtik II and Apries. The incised line of the amulet cord begins with the

reign of Necho II (London, B.M. 37891; Paris, Louvre A 83 and E. 10709), and several sculptures dated to him and to Psamtik II have three columns of inscription on the back pillar (Cairo C.G. 658; London, B.M. 37891). On the other hand, the treatment of eyebrows and eyes is still found under Apries (No. 52A), with whose reign the unbroken

transition from pillar to wig seems to disappear. The notches at the corners of the mouth, already noted earlier, are in this head particularly noticeable. These triangular depressions are among the many features of Egyptian modeling which were taken over directly by the Greek sculptors of the Archaic Period (Richter, *Kouroi*, pp. 35, 64, and *passim*).

No. 47; Pl. 43, Figs. 104-105.

IPY, ALSO NAMED ANKH-PSAMTIK

595-589 B.C.; Dynasty XXVI.

Green schist.

Owner: Mr. Michel Abemayor, New York, N. Y.

The wealth of different forms and styles, which exist side by side throughout the Late Period, is still somewhat of a stumbling block to establishing a clear line of development for faces other than those with realistic or true portrait features. Here, for instance, in the upper part of a statuette inscribed for the "King's Companion" Ipy, we encounter a full face of a type usually associated with the Ptolemaic, or at least the post-Persian, Period; yet the two names of King Psamtik II are clearly incised on Ipy's upper arms, so there can be no doubt about the brief span of time in which the sculpture was made. A new type of idealizing features is being developed, and toward the end of the century we shall find this type adopted for near-colossal private statuary, such as the kneeling figure of Wahib-*ra* in London (B.M. 111).

The fact that, in this sculpture of Ipy, the median line is notably absent betrays a new approach also to the rendering of the human body in the round—an approach that is to become more apparent in succeeding years. Otherwise Ipy, with his wide wig and plastic eyebrows and cosmetic lines, follows the tradition of early Saite standards. His arms are bent at the elbow to hold a god's figure, possibly that of the god Osiris, as is indicated by the fragmentary protuberance below his chest. The back pillar is unusually wide and lacking

in depth. It bears the remains of eleven lines of inscription in rather deeply cut small hieroglyphs of careful design.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 18.1 cm. Height of head 6.1 cm. Width of break across arms 10.8 cm. Depth of break 7.4 cm. Width of back pillar near break, originally 4.9 cm.

PROVENANCE: Said to be Middle Egypt, near Ashmunein.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: None.

COMMENT: The cartouches, Nefer-ib-*ra* on the right, and Psamtik on the left upper arm, are not preceded by the customary royal titles. For the arrangement of the text on the pillar in horizontal lines, see also No. 48. In the mouth we find the faint indication of the so-called smile, discussed above under No. 29. The chest is rather fully modeled, almost fleshy, a convention which, from the time of Psamtik II on, is more and more frequently employed. The lack of the median line points out the great change in the modeling of the male torso which begins during the rule of this king, when bipartition gradually is replaced by tripartition (see p. xxxv). A statue in Paris (Louvre A 94), representing a man well dated to the reign of Psamtik II (*RdE* 6 [1951], pp. 234-235), actually shows both bipartition and tripartition very markedly, and it is surely no accident that the last sculpture with distinct bipartition (No. 52) was made for a man known to have been active both under Psamtik II and his successor Apries. The subject of our bust may possibly have been named Ip-*mer*, rather than Ipy; the reading is not entirely certain. His "beautiful name," Ankh-psamtik, indicates perhaps a Heliopolitan origin, since almost all examples of this name come from the City of the Sun (*BIFAO* 54 [1954], pp. 111-112). The text on the back pillar is autobiographical, followed by the beginning of an "Address to the Living."

595-589 B.C.; *Dynasty XXVI*.

Grey schist.

Owner: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y.; no. 19.2.2.

In trying to trace the development of Egyptian sculpture in the round throughout the last centuries before the Roman domination, one is constantly faced with the problems arising from the great difference between Theban and northern workshops. For certain periods we are equally well informed about the output of Upper and Lower Egyptian studios; for other times, material from one part of the country abounds and is lacking for the other — in short, one can rarely gain a balanced picture for the country as a whole at a given time.

We have here, in this osiriphorous statue from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, an anomaly, a complete sculpture with base, head and nose preserved, inscribed with a long text, dated by the cartouches to the reign of Psamtik II (595-589 B.C.), and known to have been found in the famous cachette at Karnak, which has yielded hardly anything inscribed for that king. It is probably the only undamaged piece of sculpture still extant that is definitely known to have been made at Thebes in the time of the third king of Dynasty XXVI. The subject, dressed in a long garment with trapezoid forepart and wearing a wide wig, proffers a figure of the god Osiris. His name is Harbes, and he bears in addition a "beautiful name," Psamtik-nefer. His father's name, Ptah-hotep, suggests that the previous generation of the family may have come from the north, and the mother's name, Diny-ikhmet-iret, is absolutely unique. Harbes and his family are not known from any other sources, and thus his rôle in history is transitory; yet he seems to have been

in a position to command a sculpture of fine workmanship. Its quality and its excellent preservation assure it a prominent place among the Theban statuary of the sixth century B.C. surviving to our day.

It should be noted that the eyebrows are now much less prominent than they were in the previous period, for a sharp ridge all but replaces the former plastic relief, and that the cosmetic lines at the corners of the eyes have become noticeably shorter.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 61.5 cm. Height of base 11.7 cm. Width of base ca. 12.2 cm. Depth of base 20.4 cm.

PROVENANCE: Karnak (cachette); 1904. Formerly in the collection of Lord William Cecil.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *ASAE* 6 (1905), p. 129. *BMMA* 15 (1920), pp. 129-130, fig. 3. Hornemann, *Types* I, 282.

COMMENT: The statue is amply inscribed. In addition to the name of King Psamtik II on the upper arms — Nefer-ib-ra on the right and Psamtik on the left — it bears three columns of text on the left side of the back pillar and another three columns on the right side of the flaring skirt. The arrangement of the inscription on the back pillar is unusual (cf. No. 47 and Alexandria 409, both dated to Psamtik II, and Vienna 5774, of the time of Apries), and it is full of alphabetical writings. Harbes is no relation of the subject of No. 34, although the name is not common (Florence 1646; Malinine, *Choix*, p. 143). The father, Ptah-hotep, was a prophet of Amun and *sem*-priest; for the mother's name, see *PN* I, 396, 21. The face shows the small curved mouth discussed under Nos. 29 and 49, with a drooping lower lip. Significant for the development of the Osiris figure are the double feathers, the figure-eight coil of the uraeus, and the attachment of the beard under the chin (cf. Nos. 41 and 50). For Harbes' main title, *mer-sesh kbentywer*, see Posener, *Première Domination*, p. 8, and Wm. C. Hayes, *A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom* (Brooklyn, 1955), pp. 39 ff. For the lack of the big toe on the left foot, see No. 28.

About 590 B.C.; Dynasty XXVI.

Grey-green schist.

Owner: The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md.; no. 22.198 (W.A.G. no. 155).

One cannot be too grateful to ancient Egyptian notables for their custom of inscribing the names of their kings on statues and in tombs. Without such chronological aids, even painstaking research would often not succeed in attributing a sculpture other than to a dynasty or a century, and detailed information on the development of style under the various rulers could never be established. This small bust from the Walters Art Gallery, for instance, though poorly preserved, is invaluable for dating, because its anonymous subject is thrice decorated with the cartouches of King Psamtik II (595-589 B.C.), son of Necho II, who despite his fairly brief reign is frequently mentioned on royal and private monuments.

Although the face of the man represented is idealizing and as such impersonal, two features should be noted as characteristic of some of the heads made during the reign of the third king of Dynasty XXVI. One is the elegance of the very slanting eyes, which remind one of the sloe-eyed girl musicians in the tomb of Nakht (Thebes 52). The other is the pronounced curve of the small, pouting mouth, causing that benign expression which has been

likened to a smile, here more evident than in examples of the time of Psamtik I (Nos. 27, 29).

To judge by the outline of the break at the front and the position of the arms, the man was represented holding before him a shrine or the figure of a deity. Since the invocation on the back pillar is addressed to the goddess Bastet, it was probably her image that he was proffering.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 16.3 cm. Width 9 cm. Depth (at nose level) 6.5 cm. Width of back pillar 2.6 cm. Intracolumnar width 1.6 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; probably Memphis.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steindorff, *Cat.Eg.Sc.W.A.G.*, p. 52, pl. XXVI and CXIII, no. 155.

COMMENT: The offering formula, addressed to "Bastet, the eye of Ra, mistress of Ankh-tawy," refers to the goddess as a Memphite deity, and thus the provenance of the sculpture is reasonably certain. Whereas the original gives the impression that nothing underlies the cartouche of Nefer-ib-ra decorating the chest, photographs taken in a raking light reveal faint traces which may, or may not, indicate the presence of an earlier cartouche. If there ever was one, it must have been that of Necho II, as is the case with London, B.M. 37891, and Paris, Louvre E. 10709. For the "smile," see the *Comment* on No. 29. The statue was either standing or kneeling, but certainly not seated, as stated in the publication.

About 590-570 B.C.; Dynasty XXVI.

Grey-green schist.

Owner: Mr. Walter C. Baker, New York, N. Y.

The features of kings and private persons in sculpture in the round may be conventional or individualizing in an infinite number of degrees, but it is impossible to define the face of a deity. As a spiritual conception it should represent an idea as well as an ideal, but no one has as yet tried to analyze what standards were followed in the facial expression of Egyptian gods. In the case of the well-known heads of the god Amun with the features of Tutankhamen, it is clear that the deity was modeled after the standard likeness of the ruling king, but in the Late Period this is not nearly so certain. Few outstanding royal heads can be attributed to a definite king, and those few do not seem to be reflected in the heads of deities; moreover, only a handful of sculptures of good quality representing gods have survived. Changes in religious ideas, especially on the popular level, and the desire of votaries to present the deity with a physical token of devotion, resulted in a mass-production of statuettes in bronze, which led to a decline of liturgical art in the field of sculpture in the round.

It is therefore a pleasure to exhibit a head of the god Osiris, made in all probability in the sixth century B.C., which in composition, style, and workmanship equals the best of royal and private sculpture of the period. Indeed it is so very fine a head that one may well wonder if it did not belong to a statue dedicated by a king. Since the iconography of the first three kings of Dynasty XXVI is as yet ill defined, and since the known heads of Apries and Amasis offer few points of comparison, it is best to abandon the idea of seeing in this head of Osiris the replica of a royal face. It is much more likely that it is the prototype of the ideal likeness of the god as developed in a great com-

munity such as Memphis or one of the Delta cities, and that only certain details reflect the conventions prevailing during the reign of a definite king.

There can be no doubt that this is Osiris, god of the nether world, of the dead and of the resurrected. His high crown was flanked by the two feathers of truth, the royal cobra rises above the forehead, and the chin was adorned with a braided beard held in place by a strap. The uninscribed back pillar tapered to a point at about the tip of the crown. The ears are rather small, and the narrow face shows the kind of refinement and benign expression which seems to be one of the characteristics of Saite art. In this it is infinitely superior to the empty masks of even the better among the masses of bronzes, which at this time began to invade the Egyptian temple.

In comparison with Osiris heads of the seventh century, two details in the head from the Baker Collection represent a new development, namely the figure-eight coil of the cobra body and the sophisticated eyes and eyebrows, which are the primary indications of a date in the first half of the sixth century.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 28.7 cm. Height of face 7.7 cm. Width 14.5 cm. Depth 19.6 cm. Depth of break, neck only (horizontal) 14.5 cm. Width of break at neck (horizontal) 6.6 cm., at back pillar 9.5 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Ancient Art in American Private Collections*. A Loan Exhibition at the Fogg Art Museum of Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass., 1954), p. 18, pl. V, no. 15.

COMMENT: Attempts to identify the torso to which this head originally belonged have been to no avail: it does not fit Cairo C.G. 38236 and J.E. 37213. The lips are contoured by an incised line, a feature observed several times in this Exhibition, occurring only on heads of unusually careful workmanship.

The treatment of the face of this Osiris head and the number of well-designed details are so attractive that an attempt to establish its chronological position within the Late Period seems deserved. Neither the form of the uraeus nor that of the eyes is a new invention; they are taken over from the repertory of earlier centuries, but their appearance in Dynasty XXVI marks one of the numerous turning points in the evolution of style of sculpture in the round. With one exception (Cairo C.G. 42242, a son of Mentuemhat) none of the stone Osiris figures of the seventh century has an uraeus with figure-eight coil (No. 41). On the other hand, it is well attested in a number of divine sculptures which are dated to the sixth century B.C. (Cairo C.G. 38358; Florence 313; London, B.M. 1162), as well as in No. 44, of the time of Necho. Again, in the seventh century the beard strap completely encloses the tip of the chin, while in the sixth century the tip becomes more and more exposed; the beard is actually fastened just under the chin. There are few sizable figures of deities with head intact dated to Psamtik II and Apries, and thus the development during their reigns

cannot at present be well defined. The sophisticated contour of the wide eyes on the Baker head is definitely attested under Amasis and differs notably from the style of Psamtik I. Thus this kind of modeling of the eye must have come into fashion in the first half of the sixth century. As for the very long and particularly narrow stripes of eyebrows and cosmetic lines, they seem to have been introduced under Necho II in relief (Fig. 94), and in the round under either Psamtik II or Apries, since in some sculptures of the time of Amasis the eyebrows are rendered naturally and the long thin paint stripe occurs only at the corners of the eyes. In short, the head under discussion may have been made under either Psamtik II or Apries, probably the latter, because a head of the king in Bologna (Museo Civico 1801) shows a somewhat similar treatment of the eyes and eyebrows. The closest parallel, however, for uraeus, eyebrows, eyes, and mouth is found in the head of an Osiris statue in Boston (M.F.A. 29.1131; from Giza), but despite the fact that it is inscribed it cannot be dated any more precisely than the head under discussion.

No. 51; Pl. 47, Figs. 114-115.

KING APRIES

589-570 B.C.; *Dynasty XXVI.*

Black diorite.

Owners: Mr. and Mrs. Philip R. Adams, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Fragments of fine works of sculpture have an attraction of their own for the sensitive observer; some amateurs even prefer fragmentary heads and statues to complete specimens, and the specialist is often so familiar with the prototype of a broken figure that he hardly notices a damaged nose, a missing ear: he sees the whole as it was, not as it is now, and the details he can observe suffice to resurrect before his inner eye an entity which is gone forever.

This fragment of the face and crown of an Egyptian king from the Adams Collection is therefore something of a test; by including it among far more complete works of art of Dynasty XXVI, it may be seen whether or not it can hold its own. It is to be hoped that many who see it will be able to visualize, in this mere portion of a king's likeness, the superb royal head to which it once belonged.

The remains of the uraeus — the royal cobra — on the forehead might sufficiently identify the person represented as a king, but the head-gear makes it certain that the fragment is from a royal sculpture, for it is never worn by a private person or even by a god. It is the so-called Blue Crown, a war helmet of leather, which in earlier representations is usually studded with a multitude of small blue faience discs. The pliable material flares to a creased edge that rises from over the temples. The rim of the leather around the face was apparently folded over and sewn, with a resulting band-like hem, which sets the crown off against the face. A lining, or a cap of softer material worn under the helmet, is visible below the helmet's edge, over the eye and back of the ear.

The eyebrows are plastic and quite thin; the rim of the upper eyelid is outlined and drawn

out over the lower lid. A swelling below the eyesocket subtly indicates the bone structure of the face. The ear is exquisitely shaped and fairly small for what was once an over life-size head; its anatomical details were followed carefully by the craftsman, who obviously knew his subject very well indeed. As for the identification of the king: though it must be stressed that our knowledge of the royal iconography of Dynasty XXVI is, on the whole, still sketchy, this fragment strongly resembles a head (Bologna 1801) which is fortunately inscribed, and thus it can hardly be doubted that King Apries, the Hophra of the Bible, is here represented.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 30.2 cm. Width 23 cm. Thickness 8.9 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Ancient Art in American Private Collections*. A Loan Exhibition at the Fogg Art Museum of Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass., 1954), p. 18, pl. V, no. 14.

COMMENT: Two fundamental articles on royal sculpture of the Late Period have been published by

H. W. Müller, in *Studi . . . Rosellini* II, pp. 181 ff., and in *ZAS* 80 (1955), pp. 46-68 and 146. In the latter article, the head Bologna 1801 is identified as that of King Apries and discussed in detail. It is the only royal head of Dynasty XXVI which offers numerous points of comparison with the Cincinnati fragment, especially for the form and volume of the crown, for the treatment of eyebrow and eye, and for the two figure-eight folds of the uraeus, which lie one above the other. To be sure, the few heads which are attributed to Psamtik II and Amasis can also be compared in one feature or the other with the fragment from the Adams Collection, but only the head of Apries in Bologna offers so many parallels. The fragmentary state of preservation is probably due to the deliberate destruction which many monuments of Apries suffered after he had been defeated by Amasis, the usurper who became his successor. A royal head with Blue Crown in Paris (Louvre E. 3433) and a fragment of a face from Heliopolis in New York (M.M.A. 12.187.31), both uninscribed, can also be attributed to the fourth king of Dynasty XXVI. Although the rendering of the eye is formal, the ear is naturalistically modeled. The essential parts of the ear—helix, tragus, and lobe—are of course always present; what is surprising is to find antihelix, concha, and antitragus formed with such minute care. More than half a century later a similar rendering of the human ear is found in Greek sculpture (Richter, *Kouroi*, pp. 27-28, 33, 34, and *passim*).

No. 52 A-B; Pls. 48-49, Figs. 116-119.

IAHMES ALSO NAMED NEFERIBRA-NAKHT

About 585 B.C.; Dynasty XXVI.

Grey-green schist.

Owners: A (upper) Mr. Albert Gallatin, New York, N. Y.

B (lower) Egyptian Museum, Cairo; no. C.G. 895.

On the left leg of the colossal statue of Ramesses II, just south of the entrance to the great rock temple at Abu Simbel, is a famous Greek inscription. It dates from the third regnal year of Psamtik II (593 B.C.), the year of his campaign against the Kushites, and relates, among other things, that the commander of the foreign contingent of his army was a certain Potasimto and that the Egyptian troops were led by Amasis. This Amasis, or Iahmes,

to call him by his Egyptian name, is represented in the head from the Gallatin Collection, and with it is exhibited the statue (now owned by the Cairo Museum) to which it once belonged. Through a discovery of H. De Meulenaere, who recognized that the two pieces went together, it is now possible to identify one of the great personalities of the sixth century B.C., a military leader known not only from an Egyptian source, but also from the earliest

Greek inscription of the entire Nile Valley.

Though Iahmes' "beautiful name," Neferibra-nakht, is compounded with the throne name of Psamtik II, his statue was not made in Psamtik's reign, but in that of his successor, Apries (589-570 B.C.), whose cartouche adorns the upper right arm of the figure. In the text of his statue, however, Iahmes refers only to Psamtik II. He not only displays his "beautiful name" prominently on his lap, with the royal component in a cartouche, but he also states in the line of inscription round the base that he was the "king's (Psamtik's) messenger, fighting on behalf of his lord in every foreign land, doing what His Majesty loves in *ta-sety* . . ." *Ta-sety*, "the Land of Nubia," specifically singles out the place of Iahmes' greatest exploits in the Nubian campaign of 593 B.C. How close he must have been to his sovereign is evident from a second Greek inscription at Abu Simbel, in which he is again mentioned as having accompanied Psamtik II as military commander.

The statue shows him in the simplest of all poses of worship, kneeling, with hands resting on the thighs. His face, of oval shape, under a wide wig, is idealizing. His eyebrows are of a new style, which appears occasionally during the reign of Apries, with rather narrow plastic bands running very straight across the forehead, but bending sharply down and tapering rapidly at the outer ends. The philtrum is unusually wide, and the left eye slants far more than the right. The torso is characterized by a marked median line, the latest example of pure bipartition, which — as has been noted elsewhere — begins to be superseded by tripartition in the time of Psamtik (see p. xxxv).

Iahmes was the son of Nes-atum; his mother's name was Na-ires-nefer. He was a prophet of the god Sopdu, the "Lord of the East," the chief deity of the 20th nome of Lower Egypt, who was worshipped in the form of a squatting hawk at what is now the village of Saft el Henna, northeast of Cairo. This village, incidentally, is one of many localities where the

name of a deity (in this case, Sopdu) has survived in a place name (Saft) to this day. Iahmes presumably was a native of the town where his statue was found, or at least of the nome in which that town is situated. That he held an important office in the north, where his home lay, is shown by the title "Superintendent at the Gateway to the Foreign Lands of the North," a reference to the strategic position of Saft el Henna as the control point where the two routes from Asia met — the Pelusiatic branch of the Nile and the Wady Tumilat.

The back pillar is inscribed with an invocation of "every *wab*-priest who comes into and goes forth from Hut-nebes, before Sopdu, Lord of the East."

MEASUREMENTS: A (upper): Height 17.8 cm. Width 13.3 cm. Depth 9.3 cm. Width of back pillar 5.5 cm. Intracolumnar width 2.3 cm.

B (lower): Height 37 cm. Height of base 9.9 cm., width 11.4 cm., depth 23.3 cm. Width of back pillar and intracolumnar width, originally recorded 1 mm. less than given above under (A). The complete statue was about 49 cm. high.

PROVENANCE: Saft el Henna (Delta). The head was acquired in the New York art market in 1951. The body, already headless, was found at Saft el Henna in 1898 or shortly before, but did not come to the Cairo Museum through Naville, as stated by Borchardt, *loc. cit.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A (upper): John D. Cooney, "Egyptian Art in the Collection of Albert Gallatin," in *JNES* 12 (1953), pp. 14-15, pl. XLVI-XLVII, no. 70. *ZÄS* 82 (1958), p. 93, no. 1.

B (lower): *Rec.Trav.* 20 (1898), p. 77, no. 2. Breasted, *A.R.* IV, p. 514. *BSAA* 21 (1925), pp. 55-57. Borchardt, *Statuen* III, pp. 142-143. *ASAE* 38 (1938), pp. 158, 170-171, 193-194, pl. XXVI. Bosse, *Menschl. Figur*, p. 34, no. 72. Posener, *Douanes*, pp. 119-120. De Meulenaere, *Herodotos*, p. 69 and passim. *BFAO* 50 (1952), pp. 159-160 and passim. For the Greek inscriptions referring to Iahmes, see *REG* 70 (1957), pp. 5-14.

COMMENT: Since both head and statue have been well published, reference may be made here to only a few minor points. For statues of kneeling worshippers without attributes, see 37, 89, and 91. Most of the sculptures of the reign of King Apries have recently been collected by E. Brunner-Traut, in *ZÄS* 82 (1958), pp. 90 ff. It is not surprising that the type reflected in the head of Iahmes should be found in at least two other sculptures dated to

Apries, one in Brussels (Collection P.G.) and one in Tübingen (University; on loan from the Linden-Museum, Stuttgart). The top of the statue base and the back pillar do not form a right angle; the latter,

in rising, leans somewhat back. The modeling of the hands is done summarily; the thumbs are abnormally short. For the early writing of *em-khet wedjeb khet*, see the *Comment* on No. 23.

No. 53; Pl. 50, Figs. 120-122.

KING AMASIS

About 570-550 B.C.; Dynasty XXVI.

Fine-grained, cream-colored quartzite.

Owner: The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.; no. E. 14303.

In view of the mass of information available on heads of private persons of the Late Period, it is disappointing to realize how few stone sculptures in the round still exist which can definitely be attributed to specific kings of Dynasties XXV-XXVI. From the Kushite Period there survives one head each of Shabako and Taharqa, and from the Saite Period we know a single head of Psamtik II, a head and a fragment of a head of Apries, and three (possibly four) heads of Amasis. Therefore, every unpublished royal head which can be assigned on stylistic grounds to pre-Persian times forms a valuable contribution, even though it sometimes may not seem to clarify existing problems or — even worse — may add new ones to an already slightly bewildering picture.

This royal head in Philadelphia lends itself to precisely such a definition — it presents many problems; but since it is an imposing sculpture and, furthermore, is the only major royal head of Saite times in the Western Hemisphere, it has been included in the Exhibition. The king, identified as such by an uraeus with two figure-eight coils and by the helmet commonly called the Blue Crown, was modeled in a rare and very hard material, light-colored quartzite. The body and tail of the uraeus stretch beyond the crest of the leather helmet. The eyebrows are clearly defined and straight, but not modeled in relief. The face is idealizing, approximately triangular, with a small mouth. The eyes are narrow, the right one straight, the

left one slightly slanting. The nostrils and the turned-up corners of the mouth are drilled. Although the chin itself is small, its under side and the transition to the neck are rather full. Only a trace is left of the back pillar; its original surface, which was probably much wider, has disappeared. It is relatively narrow and tapers somewhat toward the top, which was squared off horizontally.

The identification as Amasis, the upstart who defeated and dethroned his predecessor, Apries, is partly negative and partly positive. If one studies the heads of Psamtik II in Paris (Musée Jacquemart-André 438) and of Apries with Blue Crown in Bologna (Museo Civico 1801), it becomes obvious that this head does not represent either of these kings, and further considerations lead to the conclusion that it must be later than their reigns. Since the Persian rulers of Dynasty XXVII were not represented in statuary in the round, and since stylistically the head cannot belong to the post-Persian or even the Ptolemaic Period, the attribution to Amasis can be well defended. On the positive side — taking into account that the king ruled for more than forty years, during which the royal iconography must have undergone a certain change — one has only to refer to his famous life-size bust (Florence 5625), the face of which is probably the likeness closest to that of the Philadelphia head. A number of features are almost identical — especially eyebrows, mouth, and chin seem to be based on the same

model; in other features, a pale reflection of the known heads of Apries can be sensed, indicating probably that this head was made early in the reign of Amasis, before he developed a style entirely of his own.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 43 cm. Height of face 17.5 cm. Width of crown 26.5 cm. Depth 33.5 cm. Width of break at neck 14 cm., at back pillar 10.5 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; acquired in Cairo in 1924.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Ranke, *The Egyptian Collections of the University Museum* (Philadelphia, 1950) = *University Museum Bulletin*, Vol. XV, Nos. 2-3, p. 59. *ZAS* 80 (1955), p. 48, note 6.

COMMENT: For the Blue Crown and for the literature on royal sculpture of Dynasty XXVI, see the *Comment* on No. 51. There are two heads of Amasis on inscribed statues in Rome, the head of a sphinx (Museo Capitolino 8) and the head of a striding statue (Villa Albani 551). The latter is too much restored to leave more than a general impression (the statue identified as Villa Albani 551 in Bissing, *Denkm.*, Text to pl. 71, actually represents Ptolemy II, Villa Albani 558), but the former is of good workmanship and — except for the nose — well preserved. In 1955 H. W. Müller published his splendid study of a bust in Florence (Museo Archeologico 5625) and, entirely convincingly, was inclined to attribute it to Amasis. It has much in common with a royal head (Berlin 11864) long claimed for the Saite Period. Without going into details of the iconography of Apries and Amasis, two points should be stressed. The Amasis Sphinx in Rome and the Florentine bust both have overly wide tabs below the *nemes* in front of the ears and a deep depression which begins

slightly above the corners of the mouth, curves around them, and tapers out toward the chin. Although the tabs are not as wide on the Berlin head, also wearing the *nemes*, the depression is very noticeable. The head of Apries (Bologna 1801) entirely lacks this prominent depression, and the formation of the mouth differs greatly from that of the three aforementioned heads. The Philadelphia head, like the Apries head in Bologna, wears the Blue Crown, for which there had previously been no example in the round representing Amasis, although he is shown with that helmet in reliefs. The form of the helmet lining, which reaches as far as the tab in front of the ear, is undoubtedly later than that of the Bologna Apries head with Blue Crown, and comparing the tab itself with the tabs of the Jacquemart-André head of Psamtik II and the Apries head in Bologna, one can notice a tendency to reduce it, which finds its final form in a head in Alexandria (Graeco-Roman Museum 23843), where the helmet lining remains visible all around the tab until it meets the ear. Therefore, the Philadelphia head has to be placed later than the Apries head in Bologna; it also differs greatly from it — but resembles the Amasis in Florence — in the lack of plastic eyebrows. The depression around the mouth, absent in the Bologna Apries and present in the Rome-Florence-Berlin heads of Amasis, is well marked in the Philadelphia head, which thus further approaches the representations of Amasis. It can accordingly be assumed that this quartzite head dates from the earlier part of Amasis' reign. H. W. Müller, however, does not agree with this identification and attributes the Philadelphia head to Dynasty XXIX. The series of holes, which run in a straight line over the back of the Blue Crown between the ears and the back pillar, are due to ancient or modern attempts to split off the front of the head.

No. 54; Pl. 51, Figs. 124-126.

SPHINX HEAD

About 550-530 B.C.; Dynasty XXVI.

White indurated limestone.

Owner: Mr. Albert Gallatin, New York, N. Y.

The body of the most powerful animal, the lion, surmounted by the head of the most powerful human, the king, was the symbol of divine royalty in Egypt throughout millennia — from Dynasty IV to the Roman Period. There is ample evidence that the figure of the

sphinx was favored for the representation of kings throughout the Late Period, but unfortunately more headless inscribed sphinxes than heads of sphinxes or complete sphinxes have survived to our time.

All sphinxes from Dynasty XXVI down to

the beginning of the Roman Period wear the *nemes* headdress, as does this small head from the Gallatin Collection. The remnants of the lion's shoulder and back on the right side, and the angle at which the queue juts out, are sufficient indication that this sculpture once formed part of the divine monster. The striations of the royal headcloth are worked in relief instead of being merely incised, and the royal cobra's body stretches in six undulations over the crown of the head. Despite its small scale the damaged face makes a powerful impression. The features are round and full, much more summarily modeled than the narrow eyes, delicately outlined along the upper lids. The left eye is horizontal, the right slants markedly. A semi-circular fold runs around each corner of the mouth. Comparison with other royal heads of Dynasty XXVI—the only period during which this head could have been created—permits us to attribute this likeness to King Amasis; presumably it was made during the latter part of his reign.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 6 cm. Width 6 cm. Depth

5.6 cm. Width of break (slant) 4.8 cm. Depth of break 3.5 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; acquired in 1955.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: None.

COMMENT: There are good reasons to believe that every king of the pre-Persian period had at least one sphinx made for himself (Dynasty XXV: Turin 8; London, B.M. 1770. Dynasty XXVI: Psamtik I, Strasbourg 1394; Necho II, *ASAE* 11 [1911], p. 87; Psamtik II, Alexandria 11273; Apries, Cairo C.G. 748; Amasis, Rome, Museo Capitolino 8). The head of the Amasis sphinx in Rome offers the best parallel for the heaviness of jowl, chin, and neck, whereas the head of Amasis in Florence (Museo Archeologico 5625) must be cited for the treatment of eyebrows and eyes. The uraeus with six bends is found in another head attributed to Amasis (Berlin 11864). All three of these heads of the king show the depression round the mouth, which seems to be typical of Amasis. Another feature linking this small head with the accepted heads of Amasis is the characteristic outline of the *nemes* with stripes in relief. Whereas the Philadelphia head of Amasis (No. 53) seems to have been made early in the king's reign, since it still reflects some forms prevailing under Apries, this little limestone head, with its heavy features, should be attributable to the latter part of his rule. (See the *Comment* on Nos. 51 and 53 for further material on the royal iconography of Dynasty XXVI.)

No. 55; Pl. 52, Figs. 127-129.

HEAD OF A GODDESS

About 530 B.C.; Dynasty XXVI.

Grey-green schist.

Owner: Mr. Christos G. Bastis, Bronxville, N. Y.

Since there are precious few stone sculptures of women from the two centuries preceding the Persian invasion of 525 B.C. and since they represent only princesses of blood royal and deities, our knowledge of female statuary before the Ptolemaic Period is still very limited. Therefore the head in the collection of Mr. Bastis, although obviously not that of a private person, posed numerous problems of identification and attribution, until through a lucky coincidence it was discovered that it undoubtedly represents a goddess, not

a queen or princess, that at least one sculpture by the same hand is known, and that it can be attributed to the latter part of King Amasis' reign with a good degree of certainty.

The wig, falling over both shoulders in front and ending originally just above the breasts, is surmounted by a modius. On it rests a second element, the top of which is flat in front and toward the back rises steeply to the break. Clearly, whatever identifying symbol the goddess bore on her head covered only the rear portion of the cushion-like modius. Above the

forehead are remains of the hood and head of the royal cobra — the uraeus — which is worn by most deities. The face is full and beautifully modeled; in its soft roundness it has a great deal of grace. The brows are not stressed, but the edge of the upper lid is rendered in low relief and drawn out into the cosmetic line. Strangely enough there is no philtrum (love cup). The mouth is straight and slightly pouting, and a pleasing expression is created by the notches at the corners. With great delicacy the full throat has been set off against the under side of the chin. The one preserved ear seems remarkably small in comparison with the ears of other sculptures shown in this Exhibition.

There are in the Cairo Museum three sculptures in grey-green schist which bear the name of a courtier called Psamtik, a contemporary of King Amasis (570-526 B.C.). One of them shows Psamtik himself, standing under the head of a striding cow, identified by the inscription as the goddess Hathor (C.G. 784). The other two statues, dedicated by Psamtik, represent the god Osiris and the goddess Isis; both are seated. The state of preservation of all three sculptures is admirable. The face of the goddess Isis (Fig. 128) is line for line and trait for trait identical with that of the head in Mr. Bastis' collection, and the measurements are nearly the same. Only two pieces created after the same model and in the same workshop can be so much alike, and thus we have to assume that at least one more statue representing a goddess was dedicated by Psamtik. Who this goddess was is hard to determine, since neither the inscription nor the emblem she wore on her head are preserved. Among the three funerary goddesses most frequently associated with Isis, namely Nephthys, Neith, and Selket, the traces of the symbol on the head appear to con-

form best with the rising scorpion which identifies the goddess Selket. Despite the venomous nature of her insect, she is a protectress of life, and according to the Pyramid Texts, holds the wake at the bier of Osiris with Isis, Nephthys, and Neith.

MEASUREMENTS: Height above modern base 21.5 cm. Height of face ca. 8 cm. Width 13.2 cm. Depth 14.9 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; probably Saqqara. Formerly in the collection of Lord Amherst.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Catalogue of the Amherst Collection of Egyptian & Oriental Antiquities* (Sale Catalogue, London, Sotheby, 13-17 June, 1921), p. 27, no. 257, pl. VIII.

COMMENT: The presence or absence of the philtrum on sculptures of the Late Period has occasionally been noted, though for the time being no definite significance can be attached to it. The three sculptures of Psamtik in the Cairo Museum have been dated back and forth between Dynasty XXV and Dynasty XXX (*CdE* 31 [1956], p. 253, note 6, p. 255). They were found by Mariette at Saqqara in a pit, together with a shawabti of King Nectanebo II and the sarcophagus of an unknown queen, and the resulting confusion, even among reputable scholars, offers an amusing picture. Of late the sarcophagus of the queen (Vienna 3) has again been published; typologically it belongs clearly to the latter part of Dynasty XXVI (Buhl, *L.E.A.S.S.*, no. B, b 1; pp. 29 and 213) and may well be contemporary with the sculptures dedicated by Psamtik. On philological and epigraphic grounds, Psamtik's inscriptions indicate that he can be dated to the time of Amasis; on the basis of the modeling of the figure in front of the cow, it seems most likely that the statue was made toward the end of Amasis' reign. To create two heads almost exactly alike (the face of the Isis in Cairo differs in height by only about a centimeter from that of our goddess), probably by mechanical means, so that their profiles match in every detail, is not typical of the Late Period alone. It occurs as early as Dynasty IV, in the royal sculptures of King Mycerinus (*BMFA* 48 [1950], pp. 16-17, fig. 9). The goddess Selket as a tutelary deity is rarely represented in the Late Period, and then only on a small scale. The identification given here can, accordingly, be offered only tentatively.

About 550-525 B.C.; Dynasty XXVI.

Dark green schist.

Owner: The Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, N. Y.; no. 60.11.

One of the many unsolved problems of Egyptian archaeology is the question: Why are some persons represented with a shaven head while others are shown with a wig? No one has seriously and profoundly studied this problem. A survey of Late sculpture makes clear only one point: that the heads of block statues are never bald after the middle of the seventh century B.C. From the number of surviving statues of other types with heads still intact, one might infer that most sculptures of men showed them wearing wigs, but such inference may be misleading, for among the isolated heads in museums and private collections the greater number are shaven. This is of course due to the fact that a bald head is more easily severed from a body than one with a wig. But it goes to prove that it is impossible to establish even a numerical relation between the types. All one can say at present is that shaven heads were apparently less frequently represented in pre-Persian than in post-Persian times, because most of the stray bald heads in collections seem to belong to the fourth and third centuries B.C.

It came, accordingly, as a pleasant surprise, when H. De Meulenaere recognized from the inscription on this head in the Brooklyn Museum that it belonged to a kneeling naophorous statue in the Museo Gregoriano Egizio of the Vatican, representing a man who must have lived in the latter part of the sixth century B.C. Since there survives literally not a single intact statue with shaven head of the second half of Dynasty XXVI, the type of the Brooklyn head had long been attributed more or less to the end of the Persian Period and the fourth century. The identification of the head as belonging to the Vatican statue therefore consti-

tutes one of those "breaks" every archaeologist hopes for, and though it is not an inspired work of sculpture, it has been included in this Exhibition for its chronological importance. Even if it had not turned out to belong to a known statue, the inscription would have made one hesitate to date it later than the middle of the fifth century, for the epigraphy is very close to that of statue inscriptions of Dynasty XXVI, after Necho II.

In relation to the back pillar the head is — to put it mildly — somewhat out of line. If the back pillar is placed in a vertical position, the face is cocked so that the right eye and ear are much higher than the left eye and ear, and the chin is raised as if the man were looking skyward. This has been corrected in the photographs, but only a plaster cast placed on the torso could settle the question of the proper position.

The head is curiously compressed at the temples. A deep groove runs under the lower lip from the corners of the mouth, and the mouth itself curves upward, although its "smile" is not nearly as pronounced as, for instance, that of No. 49. The most interesting portions of the head are the eyebrows and the skull. The former consist of narrow plastic bands, which for two-thirds of their length are quite straight, then make a downward bend and rapidly taper to a point. They are essentially in the same style as the eyebrows of No. 52 A, the head in the Gallatin Collection. The skull is not nearly as egg-shaped as it appears to be at first sight in front and profile views; its top is actually flattened, and in this it differs somewhat from No. 70, the head in the Stern Collection, which is a century or more later. Here, then, in the second half of

the sixth century, occurs the transition from the round, squat heads to the egg-shaped heads. The early round heads, of which there is one example in this Exhibition (No. 17), strangely enough continue as a type — although intermediate parallels are still largely lacking — down to Dynasty XXX (Nos. 83 and 84), unless one assumes that then an early Saite model is merely revived as one of the archaistic tendencies of that dynasty. The “egg-head” type is evolved toward the end of the sixth century; it becomes more and more schematic until the time of Alexander the Great, when it is fully developed, to appear — in its most innocuous form — in the statue of Iahmes in Cairo (J.E. 37075).

MEASUREMENTS: Height 20.4 cm. Width at ear level 10.2 cm. Depth 13.1 cm. Width of back pillar 8.6 cm. Intracolumnar width 3.4 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; probably Sais.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: None. For the statue in the Vatican, see G. Botti and P. Romanelli, *Le Sculture del Museo Gregoriano Egizio* (Vatican, 1951) = *Monumenti Vaticani di Archeologia e d'Arte*, vol. IX, pp. 30-31, pl. XXVI and XXXV, no. 38 (Inv. 167) with bibliography (cf. p. 137 for the circumstances of the acquisition).

COMMENT: The head was formerly in an old French collection; the rest of the statue was acquired in 1783 from a certain Dottore Carlo De Assulle, who in turn had obtained it from a Count Pasch di Knieven in a shipment consigned from Smyrna. It is not known when the Vatican statue was restored

and acquired the pseudo-Egyptian head, with which it is still exhibited. It represents Pa-debehu kneeling and holding a naos with a figure of the god Osiris (Fig. 123). The naos is of the plain box type. The most significant “round heads” of the seventh century are those of Mentuemhat’s son, Pa-khered-enmut (Cairo C.G. 42243), and of Nes-pa-medu (Cairo J.E. 37416), a vizier of Psamtik I. Then there is a gap until the time of this head in Brooklyn, which was probably made toward the end of Dynasty XXVI. The whole problem of a more definite attribution of the statue is related to a group of sculptures which has not yet been fully recorded. Gauthier, in *ASAE* 22 (1922), pp. 81 and 106, assumed that Pa-debehu was the brother of a well-known personality of the latter part of the sixth century B.C., Wah-ib-ra, but although the father of the two could be the same, the mother’s name and titles differ. Pa-debehu was a *kherep-but*, “Prophet of Horus *wer-wadjty*, Prophet of *weret-hekau*, Overseer of the Secrets in *hut-bity*.” His father, Pef-thau-neith, was also a *kherep-but*, and a “Prophet of Neith-the-Cow.” The reading of the mother’s name, Ta-khety, is uncertain; as given in *PN* I, 367, 12, it is hardly correct. Her title was “Weaver of *resnet*” (cf. *Kémi* 14 [1957], p. 38). The name Pa-debehu occurs on several sculptures of Dynasties XXVI-XXVII, but thus far no other monument of the man represented in the Brooklyn-Vatican statue has been identified. The form of the naos, the style of the sculpture, and the epigraphy could as well be late Saite as early Persian. The broad back pillar, which tapers in width toward the neck, is soon altered to trapezoid shape on statues with shaven heads (see the *Comment* on No. 65). The head, neck, right shoulder, and right arm down to the elbow of the Vatican statue are restored. At some time in the past, the inscription was filled with white paint, which accounts for the difference in the aspect of the hieroglyphs in the back view.

About 525-500 B.C., Dynasty XXVII.

Dark green schist.

Owners: A (upper) Musée du Louvre, Paris; no. E. 25390.

B (lower) The Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, N. Y.; no. 59.77.

One of the periods for which it is still difficult to present a consecutive series of datable sculptures is the time between the end of Dynasty XXVI (525 B.C.) and the beginning of Dynasty XXX (378 B.C.). There are a few heads and statues which can be attributed with reasonable certainty to a limited period within that "dark" century and a half, and a larger number which, though obviously post-Saite and most probably earlier than Dynasty XXX, can be less definitely assigned to a given time. To throw some light on this hitherto ill-defined chapter of Egyptian art and archaeology, an effort has been made to bring together in this Exhibition a dozen pieces which are dated or datable to those hundred and fifty years, and it is hoped that doing so will lead eventually to more and better studies dealing with a relatively unexplored field, for which ample material is available in museums all over the world. The responsibility for our present ignorance about this period is not entirely that of the archaeologists. A large amount of contemporary inscribed material — stelae and papyri with dates and the names and titles of private persons — is available but not yet published. Much of the information needed for a better chronological arrangement of inscribed sculptures therefore exists, but is not generally accessible. In attempting a classification of the sculpture of the period, we can thus offer only an incomplete picture, but we hope that its very incompleteness may serve as a challenge to bring forth the publication of some of the historical and civil documents of the people who lived during the rule of the Persians and their immediate successors.

Among the prominent officials of early Dynasty XXVII there has been identified in recent

years a man named Iahmes-sa-neith, who is known from half-a-dozen different sources. Although none of them states explicitly that he was active under the Persian kings, there is enough evidence for such attribution to add some new, though fragmentary, statues to the small body of sculpture datable to Dynasty XXVII. Iahmes-sa-neith, who bears a name identical with that of King Amasis of Dynasty XXVI and who must have been born during his reign, was a personality of great standing, for he is still mentioned more than a century after his death in the inscriptions of a fine relief of Dynasty XXX, which is also shown in this exhibition (No. 74).

The bust from the Louvre, which — as Dr. De Meulenaere recently discovered — forms the upper portion of the kneeling fragment in the Brooklyn Museum, is an extraordinarily accomplished piece of sculpture, despite the extensive damage it has suffered. It is an idealizing representation, not a portrait, but in the smoothness of the youthful features the proud permanence of Egyptian art is deeply embodied. Iahmes-sa-neith wears a bag wig. The eyebrows are of a type that becomes fashionable in the time of Apries and persists throughout the reign of Amasis, until the beginning of the Persian Period. The rim of the upper eyelid barely extends beyond the outer corner of the eye. The lower eyelid shows a peculiarity, which probably exists in other sculptures of the period but has thus far not been elsewhere observed: the lid is separated from the eyeball by a double line — perhaps the beginning of the contouring noted on other sculptures of Dynasty XXVII (cf. No. 65). The ears, even by ancient Egyptian standards, are very long and are distinguished by unusually volu-

minous lobes, a feature which also occurs on another head of Iahmes-sa-neith in Moscow.

The sinews of the neck have been worked out with a fine feeling for the anatomy. The torso modeling is exquisite; the modulations of the surface have been balanced so as to suggest both strength and softness. Tripartition is noticeable, but so is a faint median line, and it seems as if the torso were created partly after an early Saite model and partly according to contemporary standards.

Iahmes-sa-neith wears on his chest, suspended by a thick cord, a tablet decorated with the scene of a king in "Blue Crown" worshipping a seated deity. Since the upper arms hang down naturally, and since abdomen, navel, and belt have been carefully worked, he probably did not hold a naos, but was kneeling with his hands flat on his thighs, like the figure of Horwedja (No. 37), which this sculpture also resembles in the manner in which the back pillar runs straight into the wig without transition.

MEASUREMENTS: A (upper): Height 27.5 cm. Width across arms 14.7 cm. Depth of break 7.1 cm. Width of back pillar 4 cm. Intracolumnar width 2.6 cm.

B (lower): Height 20.4 cm. Width 10.6 cm. Depth 14 cm. Height of base 7.5 cm. Intralinear width 2.7 cm. Back pillar and intracolumnar widths, same as above. The break on top is slanting; originally the statue must have been about 44 cm. high.

PROVENANCE: Not known; presumably Mitrahineh. The bust in the Louvre was formerly in the collection of Lévy de Benzon.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: None.

COMMENT: Although the Serapeum stelae in the Louvre have not yet been published, we are much obliged to Messrs. Vercoutter, Malinine, and Posener for willingly giving us all pertinent information from the manuscripts of their study of this important body of material. After the stelae, the most valuable sources for the prosopography of the Late Period are the papyri, especially those written in demotic, and of these, considering their number, only a small fraction has been published; on the contents of the unpublished documents very little, if any, information has been available from those entrusted with their care. Some day — it is hoped — these papyri will play an important rôle in the identification and proper chronological attribution of many persons represented in the statuary of the Late Period. Iahmes-sa-neith, for short also called

Iahmes, is known from three other sculptures (Alexandria 402; Cairo C.G. 666; Moscow 5740). A fourth piece, the fragment of a foot from a kneeling figure, together with the left rear corner of the base, was seen by Charles Edwin Wilbour on January 21, 1883, in the hands of a dealer at Saqqara (Wilbour Notebook 2-D, p. 36), who said that the rest of the sculpture, a headless, kneeling naophoros, was still at Mitrahineh. This fragment may, or may not, have been part of Cairo 666, and since the latter is headless, the head in Moscow may have belonged to it. The piece in Alexandria consists of the base and feet of a striding figure. Iahmes' well-preserved sarcophagus is in Leiden (AMT. 5), and that of his mother in Stockholm (N.M. 1). An offering table, inscribed with his name and titles, is in Paris (Louvre D 50). The evidence offered by a clay seal in London (B.M. 27574) is not quite conclusive as far as his service during the reign of King Amasis is concerned, but the indication on a doorjamb in Cambridge (Fitzwilliam Museum 5/1909) makes it clear that he was considered as having served King Amasis at one time. The attribution of at least the Louvre-Brooklyn sculpture to the Persian Period is based primarily on the fact that one of the two occurrences in the text of the name of the man, which is identical with the nomen of King Amasis, is enclosed in a cartouche. This is not an isolated instance; there are a number of other people named after a king of Dynasty XXVI (without a compound such as *-seneb* or *-ankh*), who wrote their names within a cartouche (Athens 107; Brooklyn 16.580.150; Cairo J.E. 43204). One of those instances may well be the alleged name of King Amasis in the text of Louvre A 93 (see the *Comment* on No. 64). Such use of a royal prerogative is hardly conceivable during the rule of a native dynasty; it seems to have been revived during the Second Persian Domination of 341-333 B.C. (Brussels E. 7654). Another argument in favor of a Persian date for this sculpture is offered by the pectoral in relief with the typical adoration scene of a king wearing the Blue Crown (see the *Comment* on No. 64). There can be hardly any doubt that the king represented is not a Persian ruler, but one of the pharaohs of Dynasty XXVI, whose favorite helmet was the Blue Crown. Perhaps this, like the appearance of what at first glance seems to be a royal cartouche of Dynasty XXVI on a private monument, is one of the numerous signs of subtle defiance against the foreign kings. Even the name of the mysteriously defamed King Necho II (see the *Comment* on No. 43) is revived as a private name in Dynasty XXVII. The mother of Iahmes-sa-neith was Ta-peret; the father's name is not known. He was an "Administrator of the Palace (?)," a *kherep-res* (an unknown title, also borne by the man represented in Cairo C.G. 784), and — his chief title — a "Master of the Antechamber" (see *ASAE* 33 [1933], p. 12). All his sculptures are Memphite, as is the relief of Dynasty XXX, which commemorates him (No. 74).

About 525-520 B.C.; Dynasty XXVII.

Brown-black basalt.

Owner: Seattle Art Museum, Seattle, Wash.; no. Eg 11.23.

Among the sculptures shown in this Exhibition are quite a few for which a definite date cannot be proposed without reservation, and it would have been easier to leave them out altogether rather than to admit that they offer problems which cannot at present be solved. One of them is this naophorous statue in the Seattle Art Museum, which is inscribed for the *kharep-but* Pa-wen-hatef, son of Horsiese and of Ta-debehu-en-neith. He is shown kneeling, holding a naos that contains a figure of the god Osiris, which has been so damaged that it is not possible to reconstruct its face and uraeus; all that can be said is that the beard does not cover the chin, but seems to have been tied under it. From the inscriptions it appears that the statue was dedicated in the sanctuary of Osiris at Sais in the Delta.

Pa-wen-hatef has a strong, full face, with fine, thin plastic eyebrows and cosmetic lines, under a heavy wig. A broad neck and powerful chest muscles complete the picture of well-fed health offered by so many Egyptian sculptures from the early Old Kingdom on down. The shape of the naos, which Pa-wen-hatef holds between his knees, resembles a shrine with corner posts and vaulted roof, though from the side it appears merely as a box with slanting front.

The inscription round the front refers to Pa-wen-hatef himself, whereas the text on the right side names "His eldest son, whom he loves, the *kharep-but*, Horsiese, born of the lady, the Weaver of *resnet*, Nitocris," and that on the left mentions his other son, "the *kharep-but*, Wedja-hor-mehnet," also "born of the lady, the Weaver of *resnet*, Nitocris."

We find here again the old custom of naming the first-born son after his grandfather, and we

also learn that the wife of Pa-wen-hatef, Nitocris, was a namesake of the daughter of King Psamtik I. Two columns of inscription, surmounted by the "sky" hieroglyph, cover the back pillar of the statue. In view of the "sky" sign, of the shrine-like decoration of the naos front, and especially of the fact that the sides of the naos are inscribed, the statue is probably to be dated to the beginning of Dynasty XXVII.

MEASUREMENTS: Height above the modern base 43.5 cm. Width of base 13.2 cm. Depth of base 25.5 cm. Width of back pillar 6 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; presumably Sais. Formerly in the collections of R. Sabatier (?), Baron de Menascé, H. Hoffmann, and William Randolph Hearst.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Antiquités égyptiennes; Collection de Monsieur le Baron de Menascé* (Sale Catalogue, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 23-24 February, 1891), pp. 3-4, no. 16. *Rec. Trav.* 16 (1894), p. 61, no. 11. G. Legrain, *Collection H. Hoffmann* (III); *Catalogue des antiquités égyptiennes* (Paris, 1894), pp. 15-16, pl. VIII, no. 39. *Catalogue des objets antiques provenant des Collections du Dr B. et de M. C.* (Sale Catalogue, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 19-21 May, 1910), p. 3, pl. 1, no. 4. *Catalogue of the Important Collection of Antiquities, The Property of William Randolph Hearst, Esq.* (Sale Catalogue, London, Sotheby, 11-12 July, 1939), p. 13, no. 52.

COMMENT: Legrain's statement (*op. cit.*, p. VI) that the statue was purchased at the sale of the Sabatier collection is probably an error; it does not appear in the sale catalogue of that collection (31 March-4 April, 1890). The problem of the date of this sculpture is truly vexing, and it should be noted that the final word about it has not yet been said. To begin with the inscriptions, the typically Saite titulary of Pa-wen-hatef is, in this form, known only from Cairo C.G. 888 (temp. Psamtik I) and Louvre É. 11895 (temp. Necho II). Both the writing of *ikhet* instead of *khet* and the determinative after the man's name on the back pillar are most frequent in early Dynasty XXVI. On the other hand, naoi are rarely inscribed on the sides in early and middle Saite sculpture, and probably this custom was not generally adopted

until Dynasty XXVII (London, B.M. 29478; Rome, Vatican 177 and 196). From an archaeological viewpoint, the full face is developed from the type which first appears in the time of Psamtik II (No. 47), and the modeling of the powerful chest muscles does not really evolve until after his reign. Although definite proof is still lacking, we believe that the naos front

with shrine design and the "sky" hieroglyph above the back pillar inscription do not occur until after Amasis (see the *Comments* on Nos. 59 and 60 respectively), and thus, for the time being, one has to consider the inscription archaizing. For another "Weaver of *resnet*" see No. 56, and for a second lady named Nitocris, No. 59.

No. 59; Pl. 56, Figs. 138-139.

DJED-DJEHUTY-IUF-ANKH KNEELING

About 525-500 B.C.; Dynasty XXVII.

Brown basalt.

Owner: Mrs. Clifford B. Hartley, New York, N. Y.

Small sculptures of votaries were made in great numbers in all periods of Egyptian history, but at no time were so much care and skill lavished on carving them as during the Late Period. A good many small figures in the Exhibition will bear out this statement, and when one considers that the hardest stones, rather than sandstone and limestone, were most frequently used, respect for the amount of work involved cannot be restrained. If the statuettes of this period—like this figure of Djed-djehuty-iuf-ankh—often have faces of little individuality, they merely follow the prevailing trend of many a large-scale statue.

The man is represented kneeling and holding a naos containing the image of the god Osiris. He wears a bag wig and a long garment of the wrap-around type, of which a corner appears on his chest. The base, slightly rounded in front, is decorated with one line of inscription, and there is an additional column of text on the back pillar. The hieroglyphs, considering their small size, are well and deeply cut, each with a fine clear outline. Our man has a title typical for Sais, and so did his father, Psamtik. The mother's name is Nitocris; undoubtedly she was named after Princess Nitocris, daughter of Psamtik I, who held the exalted office of divine consort of the god Amun until 585 B.C.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 19.2 cm. Height of head 3.2 cm. Width 6 cm. Height of base 3.3 cm. Width of base 4.4 cm. Depth of base 8.2 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; presumably Sais.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: None.

COMMENT: The statuette was broken across chest and elbows at the level of the naos' roof and mended; part of the right arm is restored. Djed-djehuty-iuf-ankh and his parents are not known from other monuments, but the name occurs on sculptures from Sais (London, B.M. 37922; Paris, Musée Rodin 289). The addition of *maa-kheru* after the so-called Saite formula, which ends on the left side of the base, is found most frequently from late Saite to early Persian times (No. 65; Cairo C.G. 662; Detroit 11835; Paris, Louvre A 91). The main reason, however, for attributing this statuette to early Dynasty XXVII lies in the top of the garment, the shape of the naos front, and the diminutive "sky" hieroglyph which surmounts the column of text on the back pillar, because all three of these details seem first to appear after the end of Dynasty XXVI. For the wrap-around garment, see the *Comment* on No. 63. The vaguely triangular way in which the upper, inner corner of the cloth (made like a roll in other examples) is incised on the chest is, of course, mere stylization, because of the small scale of the figure, somewhat comparable to the treatment of Stockholm 83, where, because of the naos, the outer corner is entirely left off, just as on this statuette of Djed-khonsu-iuf-ankh. Although the normal form of the naos in late Saite and Persian times is that of a plain box, there are a number of examples in which it is shaped like a shrine, with corner posts confining a vaulted roof. This is a novelty which first appears in this form toward the end of the sixth century

with Philadelphia 42-9-1 (for the date, see the *Comment* on No. 63) and a number of other sculptures (No. 58), among which Stockholm 83 is well dated to the Persian Period. (Cairo C.G. 42244, with a roof of much stronger curvature, is an isolated forerunner.) Although at first glance it seems that the back-pillar inscription is surrounded on top and both sides by a continuous line, this is actually not the case. The line on top is in reality a very thin "sky" hiero-

glyph, the tips of which do not meet the ends of the columnar lines, but bracket them by about one millimeter. The evidence for the use of this hieroglyph over back-pillar inscriptions of Dynasty XXVII is at present still circumstantial (cf. the *Comment* on No. 60); i.e., it does not occur on any statues dated by inscription to the reign of Amasis, but is found first on sculptures datable on archaeological grounds to Dynasty XXVII (Vienna 20).

No. 60; Pls. 56-57, Figs. 140-142.

HEAD FROM ATHRIBIS

About 525-500 B.C.; Dynasty XXVII.

Dark grey to black biotite granite.

Owner: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass.; no. 37.377.

The sculpture of Dynasty XXVI—like many other historical phenomena—ran a full course of development, from a beginning in widely diverse experiments, ranging from realism to idealism, to an ending of nondescript idealism, which became so well entrenched that it was imitated for generations to come. The arrival of the Persians on the sacred soil of the Nile Valley had, however, a sobering effect, and out of the shock the foreign domination must have caused there frequently emerged a new, less idealistic, approach to rendering the human form, which left its traces in a number of heads with portrait features, the finest among them those of Nos. 65 and 67 from Cairo and Paris.

This head from the Boston Museum is of approximately the same period as the Cairo statue, but its style is somewhat different, for the means employed are very sparing and subdued. It represents a man in a bag wig; the eyebrows are naturalistically drawn, the rim of the upper eyelid is contoured. A groove runs diagonally across the face from the inner corners of the eyes, and a deeper groove sets off the cheeks against the nostrils and the mouth. The small, thin-lipped mouth has that individualistic touch which gives the face its arresting expression,

extraordinarily life-like in its determination and surliness. To be sure, these are impressions gained by the modern beholder, and may not at all correspond to what the ancient craftsman intended to convey; but his competence was obviously great, and by merely following the features of his model, he could not help capturing the mood of the dignitary whose name has been lost to us, together with the lower portion of the two columns inscribed on the back pillar.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 22.8 cm. Width 18 cm. Depth of break 14.5 cm. Width of back pillar 10.2 cm. Intracolumnar width 3.6 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; probably Athribis.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *BMFA*, vol. XXXV, no. 211 (Oct. 1937), pp. 70, 72-73; vol. XLIX, no. 277 (Oct. 1951), p. 72 and note 6 (where the head is dated incorrectly).

COMMENT: The back pillar inscription contains neither names nor a distinctive title. Column 1 begins with the so-called Saite formula, whereas column 2 reads: "... in the temple of Khenty..." This may be restored to *Khenty-khety*, the name of a god of Athribis, north of Cairo, which would indicate the provenance. Although epigraphically the inscription could as well date from late Saite as from early Persian times, two features permit a more definite attribution. First, the upper edge of the back pillar is ground off so as to resemble the Egyptian "sky" hieroglyph; since there are a few contemporary examples for this, it cannot be a mere accident (cf. *Comment* on No. 58). Second, there is in the face a

portrait-like realism, which is unlike anything known from the other period of marked individualization in sculpture, namely the middle and second half of the seventh century. Since such realism, even to the point of advanced portraiture, is known in the early part of Dynasty XXVII (No. 65), the Boston head may safely be assigned to that period. Under no circumstances could it be later than 450 B.C.; the inscription is far too classical. A bust from Sais in Naples (Museo Nazionale 490) seems to have been made in the same workshop. The features are

portrait-like, and although the subject is not the same as that of the Boston head, the treatment of the mouth is very similar, while that of eyebrows and eyes is practically identical. The date of the Naples bust is well assured by the thick cord worn round the neck, from which a tablet must have been suspended (cf. No. 57 A). In both faces the lack of a depression above the eye is very significant; this represents the new eye formation, in which the upper eyelid is no longer modeled as a separate entity, although the old style still continues.

No. 61; Pl. 58, Figs. 143-145.

HORWEDJA, SON OF TESNAKHT

About 520-490 B.C.; Dynasty XXVII.

Dark green to black schist.

Owner: The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio; no. 3955.20.

As early as the end of Dynasty XXVI, a certain crowding of the hieroglyphs may be observed in the inscriptions which cover the front of a naos held by a kneeling figure (cf. Fig. 123). This characteristic crowding occurs more and more frequently in the course of Dynasty XXVII, and with the fourth century becomes a standard feature, not only of naos inscriptions, but of texts engraved on other parts of statues. One of the earliest examples of the crowding of small signs on the back pillar is this statue in the Cleveland Museum of Art — if the man represented by it were not known from a fairly well-dated stela in the Louvre, one would indeed hesitate, in view of the epigraphy, to place the statue before the end of the fifth century B.C.

It so happens, however, that the name of this kneeling naophoros, Horwedja, son of a lady named Tesnakht, occurs on a stela from the Serapeum, now in Paris, with his full titulary, the name of his mother, and even that of his father, who is not mentioned on the Cleveland statue. The stela was dedicated, in all probability, between the fourth and thirty-fourth regnal years of King Darius I; but even though the precise date cannot be established, the piece

was definitely inscribed after the end of Amasis' reign. Thus we have here another sculpture of the early part of Dynasty XXVII.

It shows Horwedja in a kneeling position, holding a naos with an image of the god Ptah, the town god of Memphis, on his knees. He wears an ample bag wig and a short kilt with wide grooves. The outline of the wig is barely contoured on the forehead (cf. No. 62) — a fashion which seems to have been often favored in the Persian Period. The face is that of a healthy youth without much individuality; it is idealizing, though it should be noted that eyes and eyebrows are rendered naturalistically, without relief lines. The features are full, and so is the chest; it lacks the muscular structure which marks the best of early and middle Saite torso modeling. Still, the figure of Horwedja is an accomplished piece of sculpture, indicative of the strong tradition which persists throughout the Persian Period, despite the ever increasing uncertainty of the political situation of Egypt.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 43.4 cm. Width of base 9.7 cm. Depth of base 23 cm. Width of back pillar 4.7 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; probably Memphis. From

the John Huntington Collection.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: None.

COMMENT: The name Horwedja is common in the Late Period; the man is, of course, not identical with, or related to, the subject represented in No. 37. The offering formula on the base, addressed to the god Prah-Sokar, makes the Memphite provenance of the sculpture virtually certain. The unpublished Serapeum stela of this man (Paris, Louvre I.M. 4057) mentions, in addition to the name of his mother, also that of his father, which is, however, only partly preserved as In-hor. . . . Horwedja's main titles are *sia-entet* and "Overseer of the Fields," which occur together also on other sculptures (Kansas City 47-12). For the shape of the naos, cf. Nos. 56 (Fig. 123) and 65; the latter offers an additional parallel for the merger of upper eyelid and eyebrow (cf. No. 62)

in this period. As the monument of a hitherto unknown man who lived under Darius I the statue will gain in importance, once all Memphite sculptures at present only vaguely attributable to later Saite and to Persian times have been properly recorded. Though it has been mentioned that features and forms of this piece are full and well-rounded, this must not be interpreted as a sign of that much-decried "decadence," which allegedly can be detected in so many sculptures of the Late Period. On the contrary; the features are youthful and unconcerned in the best Egyptian tradition, and neither the craftsmanship nor the proportions are in any way inferior to those of statues of Dynasties XXV and XXVI. Style and epigraphy gradually change. Such changes do not indicate a disintegration, but a development, and serve to prove that the art of Egypt at this time was far from stagnation.

No. 62; Pl. 59, Figs. 146-147.

BUST FROM A GROUP

About 520-480 B.C.; Dynasty XXVII.

Fine-grained brown quartzite.

Owner: *The Baltimore Museum of Art, Baltimore, Md.; no. 51.258.*

The prolific manner in which most Egyptian sculptures of the Late Period are inscribed often induces the student to turn a fragmentary statue or statuette around for a glance at the inscription on the back pillar before seriously examining the piece. To the trained eye, the style of the epigraphy is itself revealing, even if one does not attempt to "read" the text — that is, to try to understand it or to search for names and titles. Here we have one of those unusual cases where there is no inscription on the back pillar — even worse, there is no back pillar at all, only a slab which rises slightly above the head of the anonymous votary. This slab ends on one side in back of the man's right eye, but a break next to the left upper arm shows that it must have continued on the opposite side, a fact that can only be explained by the former existence of a second figure, now missing.

The face at first glance does not show any characteristic features which would permit at-

tribution to a definite period. On general grounds, one would be inclined to date the sculpture somewhere between the middle of the seventh and the end of the fifth century. There are, however, some small points which may be helpful for a more precise dating. For one, the wig is barely indicated on the forehead, as occurs in several examples from Dynasty XXVII. For the pursed mouth, there is one close parallel in the same period. The eyebrows are not plastic; they are not even sharply defined. The upper eyelid — with hardly any depression — seems to continue the surface of the temple. This, too, is well attested in the Persian Period.

Though it is hardly likely that in this period a man and woman were represented side by side, there is ample proof of the existence of groups of two or more men, either standing or kneeling. On the basis of these parallels, it appears likely that the Baltimore bust belonged to a group of two kneeling men.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 14.5 cm. Width 11 cm. Depth at nose level 8.8 cm. Width of break at waist 4.7 cm. Depth of break at waist 6.9 cm. Depth of back slab at left shoulder 4 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: None.

COMMENT: Groups of two kneeling men of approximately the same period are found in Chicago (N.H.M. 30823) and in London (B.M. 32731), both with back slab. Groups of standing men, however,

seem to occur at this time only in niches (No. 66; London, B.M. 511). The barely marked demarcation between the front of the wig and the forehead is found in at least four sculptures of Dynasty XXVII, two of which are in this exhibition (Nos. 61, 63; Copenhagen, N.C.G. 76; Paris, Louvre N. 864). No. 61 can be compared to the Baltimore bust also for the mouth and the treatment of the eyebrows without relief lines. Another sculpture of the Persian Period furnishes a good example for the transition from upper eyelid to the temple (No. 65).

No. 63; Pls. 59-60, Figs. 148-150.

ANKH-HOR

About 520-480 B.C.; Dynasty XXVII.

Black basalt or diorite.

Owner: The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio; no. 191.14.

The Egyptian temple statue, representing the subject as he wished to appear before his god, is distinguished by an air of dignity that has not lost in emphasis with the passing of millennia. This dignity is even more apparent in sculptures with age-lined faces; it leads us to forget that we are confronted with figures of human beings, rather than with personifications of an idea, an institution. Yet one is always compelled to consider the features of such a sculpture again and again, to search for the person hidden behind the timeless mask: this is the fascination a fine sculpture holds for those who study it more than casually.

Such a work is the bust of a man named Ankh-hor, which in many ways surpasses the ordinary — the conventional — despite the customary wig and the familiar wrap-around which once covered his portly figure. There is merely the faintest indication of the wig's edge on the forehead; for all practical purposes it does not exist there, and in the rear it might be Ankh-hor's own thick hair, brushed back and spread apart. The eyebrows are contoured by an incised line, which makes them appear almost plastic, and the upper eyelid is bordered by a thick rim. The nose is badly damaged;

the mouth less so — it must have been far from stereotype and still makes a sensitive impression. But all these features together would not have sufficed to lend the face its pensive quality; this is due solely to the stylized crease which curves down from the upper part of the nostrils. It lends the head what is commonly termed "character," and it is this character, this mark of a human being, which raises the bust above the conventional.

Numerous parallels show, however, that this is not a portrait sculpture; it is one of the most successful heads carved after a prototype developed during the early part of the Persian Domination. The man was shown striding and proffering a naos, which stood on a gradually receding pillar between his feet. The two columns of text on the back pillar contain the beginning of the so-called Saite formula, with his name and a by that time almost meaningless title.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 21.6 cm. Width 15 cm. Depth 11 cm. Width of back pillar 5.4 cm. Intracolumnar width 2.3 cm.

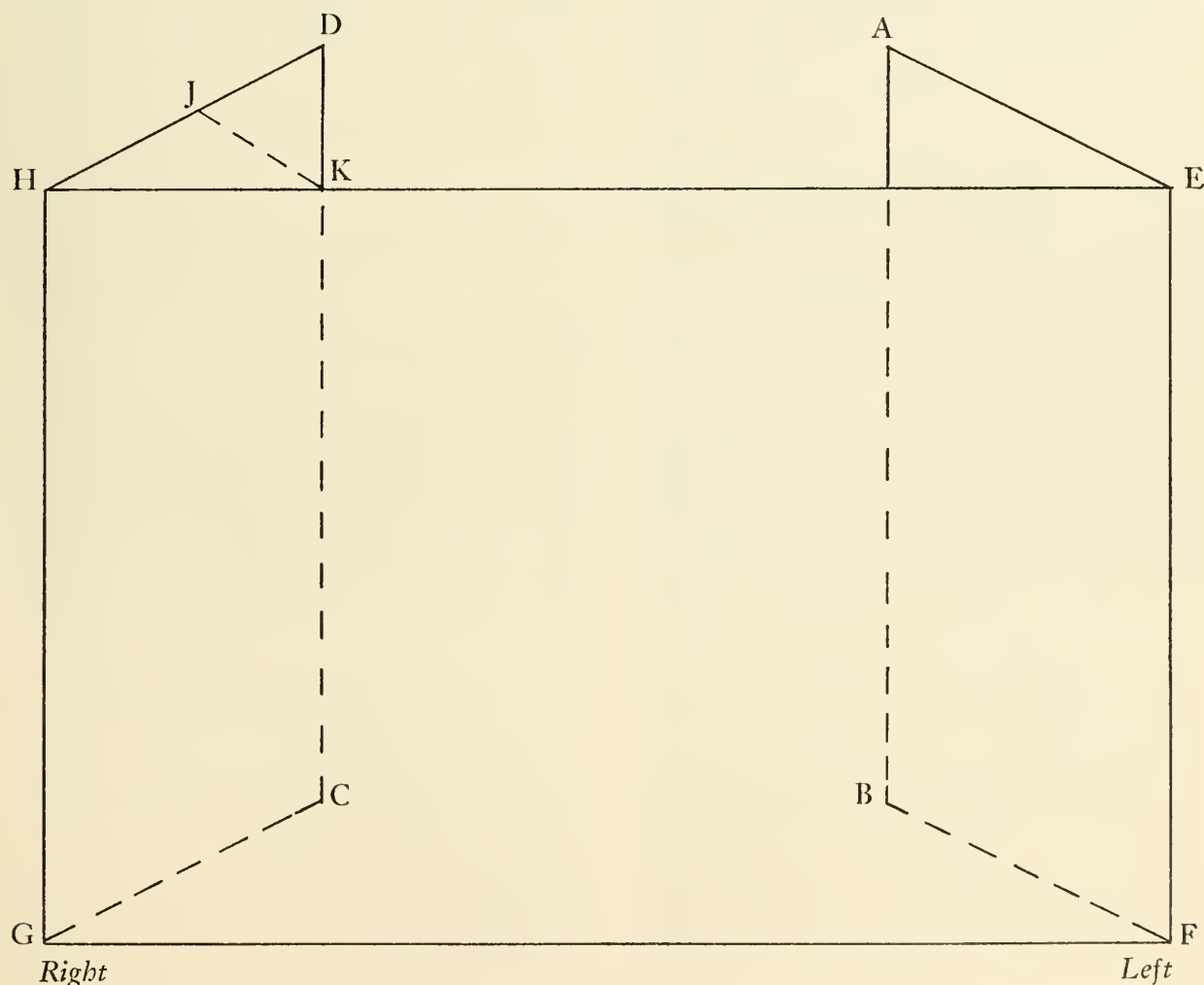
PROVENANCE: Not known. From the John Huntington Collection.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The Cleveland Museum of Art, *Catalogue of the Inaugural Exhibition, June 6-September*

20, 1916 (Cleveland, 1916), p. 213, no. 83 (illustrated edition: p. 213, no. 83; p. 339). *JE A* 5 (1918), p. 279, no. 21, pl. XXXVIII.

COMMENT: The way in which the initial signs of the Saite formula are written occurs on a number of other sculptures, most of which seem to belong to the transitional period from Dynasty XXVI to XXVII (London, B.M. 37889; Nîmes 114; Rome, Vatican 166). For the lack of the wig's contour on the forehead, see Nos. 61, 62, and Naples 980; the last-named sculpture, a bust with pectoral and a curious wig imitating a Middle Kingdom model, is in many ways comparable to the Cleveland bust. The type of naophoros, from which this fragment comes, is that of Copenhagen, N.C.G. 76; Hanover 1935.200.510; Leipzig 1635; Paris, Louvre N. 864. The piece in Hanover is headless; all others have age-lined faces, and the wig is not marked on the forehead. The attribution of the Cleveland bust to the Persian Period is based primarily on the realism of the face, for which no parallels have been found in

the reigns of Apries and Amasis, on the lack of demarcation between wig and forehead, and especially on the wrap-around garment, of which several examples may be seen in this Exhibition. This garment is known from numerous instances, and in nearly all of them the two folded corners on the chest are stylized in a different manner. Since this garment has never been discussed in detail, it may be useful to explain briefly how it was put on and folded, from experiments made under the direction of Mr. Robert Riley, Curator of the Department of Industrial Design in the Brooklyn Museum. As shown in the accompanying diagram, which is conceived from the point of view of one facing the model or sculpture, the garment consists of a rectangular sheet of material, *A-B-C-D*, reaching in its shortest dimension from chest to ankles. This material is folded in at one end, *E-F*, and the fold is held by its upper edge, *A-E*, against the chest, with the corner *E* near the left armpit. Corner *A* is then pulled up slightly and tucked in, to produce the curious "roll" protruding above the garment on the left side of the



chest. In all well-modeled examples, this "roll" seems to be "open" to the right and tapers down toward the left armpit. With the roll held firmly in place, the sheet is then wrapped very tightly around the body from left to right, passing under the armpits and returning to the front to a point just beyond the right end of the "roll." There the end of the rectangle, *D-C*, is again folded in along the line *H-G*, and a deep corner forming a triangle is taken at *D* and pulled up. The base, *J-K*, of this triangle is tucked into the upper edge of the garment to hold in place the overlapping ends of the rectangle. The point *D* is also tucked in, leaving a truncated fold, which hangs down over the front of the garment at the right. This fold may be creased, or pleated, or smooth, and it ranges in shape from a triangle to a perfect square. As in men's clothing of the present day, the overlap is invariably from left to right.

Whereas in the Cleveland bust creases and folds are not indicated, sculptures such as Nos. 64, 65, and Vatican 196 show so much detail that the way in which the garment was wrapped and fastened is quite clear. It occurs on many statues of the Late Period, from the latter part of the sixth century to the Roman era (cf. Bosse, *Menschl. Figur*, p. 93).

Its origin is as yet unexplained; a large number of the early occurrences are datable to the Persian Period, and therefore we have to assume for the time being that its use began with Dynasty XXVII. There are only two statues which seem to contradict this theory: Paris, Louvre A 93, and Philadelphia 42-9-1. Although the former presents a man who was very active in Saite times, there is no reason to assume that the statue was actually made before the end of Dynasty XXVI (see also the *Comment* on Nos. 57 and 64). The Philadelphia sculpture, which also wears the wrap-around garment and has the erased cartouche of Amasis on top of the naos, could well date from the first years of Dynasty XXVII, when it was still permissible to mention the names of Saite kings in statue inscriptions (cf. Florence 1784 and Rome, Vatican 196). In that case, the text of the Philadelphia sculpture with the name of King Amasis is merely an account of historical events and was not necessarily carved during the reign of the king mentioned in the inscription. It should be noted, however, that Dr. De Meulenaere does not agree with this interpretation; to him the occurrence of the wrap-around does not constitute a sure indication of post-Saite date.

No. 64; Pls. 60-61, Figs. 151-153.

PTAH-HOTEP

About 490 B.C.; Dynasty XXVII.

Dark grey-brown schist.

Owner: The Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, N. Y.; no. 37.353.

The last of the Saite kings, Psamtik III, was defeated by the Persians in 525 B.C. For nearly a century and a half Egypt had enjoyed complete independence under native rulers. Now the country became a province of the empire of the King of Kings, to remain under Persian domination for 122 years, but — to judge by the continued production of hard-stone temple sculptures alone — the religious and artistic life of the Egyptians seems to have been little affected by the foreign rule. Although thus far only one statue is known which bears the cartouches of a Persian king and thus directly takes cognizance of alien sovereignty in the inscription (Rome, Vatican 196), there are a number of sculptures which show, in costume

and other attributes, unmistakable Persian influence. Outstanding among them is the cloaked figure of Ptah-hotep in the Brooklyn Museum.

According to the inscription on the back pillar, this man had, in addition to a series of titles customary for high-ranking officials, the position of "Treasurer," or minister of finance, and a glance at the outfit he wears leaves no doubt regarding the master he was serving. He is clad in a jacket with wide sleeves; over it is a long, wrap-around skirt. Around his neck Ptah-hotep wears, suspended by a cord, a pectoral, or tablet, with the representation of a king before the two Memphite deities, Ptah and Sakhmet. He is also adorned with a torque, a circular necklace open in front, the ends of

which terminate in recurved ibex figures. That the sleeved jacket and the torque are of Persian origin has long been known, and final confirmation that Ptah-hotep was active during Dynasty XXVII is furnished by a stela from the Serapeum (Paris, Louvre I.M. 1244), in which he is named as "Treasurer" and also bears a Persian title written in hieroglyphs. This stela is dated to the 34th year of Darius I, the second king of Dynasty XXVII, undoubtedly Ptah-hotep's master, who granted him the distinction of a Persian necklace and a Persian title. Both these distinctions were borne by Ptah-hotep alone; we know of none of his contemporaries or successors thus decorated, though the Persian jacket with short, half-long, or long sleeves, both tight and flaring, is often found in sculpture of Dynasty XXVII and the centuries following it.

MEASUREMENTS: Height above modern base 85 cm. Width 30 cm. Depth 32.1 cm. Width of break at neck 15 cm. Width of back pillar near break 12.3 cm. Intracolumnar width 2.5 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; almost certainly Memphis.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: John D. Cooney, "The Portrait of an Egyptian Collaborator," *The Brooklyn Museum Bulletin* XV, no. 2 (Winter 1954), pp. 1-16, figs. 1-5. *CdE* 31 (1956), p. 253, note 4.

COMMENT: The back pillar is inscribed with four columns of a mainly autobiographical text, part of which is reproduced in Fig. 153 (see Cooney, *op. cit.* for full text), which relates the good work done in the temples of Memphis by the "Director of All Works of the King, Overseer of the Treasury, Ptah-hotep." His father's name is not known; that of his mother, Her-enpetays-nakht, occurs in the inscriptions on his sarcophagus in Oxford (Ashmolean Museum 1947.295; Porter-Moss, *Top. Bibl.* III, p. 57, and

Buhl, *L.E.A.S.S.*, fig. 82). His Serapeum stela is published in *Rec.Trav.* 21 (1899), pp. 67-68, where the Persian title, however, has been left off. The top of the back pillar is square and ends directly below the wig, which must have had the same shape as that of No. 60. That back pillar and wig are treated as separate entities is not too frequent (cf. Nos. 29, 40, and to a certain extent also No. 28). The back pillar inscription ends with a prayer for "a long lifetime in happiness, and a good burial after old age;" the statue was therefore made while Ptah-hotep was still alive. For the sleeved Persian jacket, see the *Comments* on Nos. 65 and 68; Ptah-hotep wears the V-neck type, whereas the subject of No. 68 is clad in the round-neck garment. In the time of King Necho, an incised breast plaque was not uncommon, but the type of pectoral worn by Ptah-hotep, modeled in high relief on the chest, seems to have become fashionable during the Persian Period (possibly with one exception — Paris, Louvre A 93 — whose date, however, is not necessarily the reign of Amasis; the alleged royal name may well be that of the subject's son, written in a cartouche: see the *Comment* on No. 57). The cord of Ptah-hotep's pectoral disappears on the shoulders under the wig, but the torque skirts the wig to run under the top edge of the back pillar, a detail for which no parallel has thus far been found. Ptah-hotep held a naos, probably containing a figure of the god Ptah. The naos, however, was not as narrow as the break in front of the body seems to indicate. This break is merely that of the "bridge" of material which connected the naos with the body. A similar difference between the width of the naos and its back support is also found on Nos. 61, 65, and numerous other examples, both standing and kneeling. For the fold-over corners of the overgarment, see the *Comment* on No. 63. Finally it should be noted that the break at the right wrist clearly shows the remains of a thick bracelet; the like is found only on one other statue — Rome, Vatican 196. The date suggested in the heading of this entry may well be too low; the statue of Ptah-hotep could have already been made before the end of the sixth century. All we know is that the man was still alive in the 34th year of Darius I.

About 500 B.C.; Dynasty XXVII.

Dark grey-green schist.

Owner: Egyptian Museum, Cairo; no. C.G. 726 (J.E. 31335; M. 824).

The problem of true portraiture as distinguished from schematic realism is one which has long occupied Egyptologists and art historians, and one should hasten to add that it is far from being solved. Lacking literary sources on the characteristic features of individual Egyptians, we can only try to arrive at the truthfulness of a representation through analysis, and portrait analysis has thus far rarely been successful in Egyptian sculpture. There can be no doubt that striking likenesses of what appear to be individual persons were modeled around the middle and second half of the seventh century B.C., and it is almost with a feeling of despair that the conclusion must be reached that these unflattering, non-idealizing sculptures are but variations on a formula of realism, which probably did not take much into account the definite features of the person represented. With the reign of Psamtik I this realism disappears, and from roughly 610 B.C. to the end of Dynasty XXVI, about ninety years later, no personal expression is found in the faces of the many Egyptians of the period whose statue heads have been preserved.

All this changes with the advent of the Persian rulers. Although bland idealism continues, side by side with it we find schematic realism, and — above and beyond it — a new approach to the face of the individual, in which (we firmly believe) lies the beginning of true portraiture of the Late Period. This constitutes a live stream, never to dry up until the end of the Ptolemaic Period, half a millennium later, and it forms the source for a very important development of portraiture in Western art, namely verism. Why realistic features were not rendered plastically for nearly a century, why they were revived precisely when Egypt

fell again under foreign domination, has yet to be explained satisfactorily. The evidence, however, is clear; and in this kneeling statue from the Cairo Museum the finest example of the new trend, which makes itself felt with Dynasty XXVII, is for the first time given the prominence it richly deserves.

The man's name is Psamtik-sa-neith, "Director of All Workmen of the King in Silver and Gold." He kneels on a base with rounded front and supports between his legs a plain naos containing a figure of Osiris with *atef* crown. All four front borders of the naos are inscribed; one line of text runs around the base of the figure, and on the back pillar is a column of inscription. In the inscriptions, which are primarily funerary, Psamtik-sa-neith claims to be a "King's Relative," but by this time the title is merely that of a well-established official and does not imply blood relationship. His head is shaven; he wears an undergarment, visible at the neck, a sleeved jacket with V-neck and, over it, a wrap-around whose tight upper edge firmly binds his fleshy chest. Since the introduction of this kind of sleeved garment is due to Persian influence, there can be no doubt that the statue was made after the end of Dynasty XXVI. A typical novelty of the Persian Period is also the trapezoid form of the back-pillar top.

The remarkable part of this figure is, however, its head, and here we have for the first time that minute observation of the skull's bone structure, which has often, though without foundation, been ascribed to "Greek influence." The formation of the skull is merely an introduction to the astonishing face, with its modulation of flesh and skin in a manner hitherto unknown. The thick upper eyelid

merges imperceptibly into the brow; there are bags under the eyes; the cheeks are worked in many planes, and a well-defined asymmetry distinguishes the two halves of the face. The nose is reminiscent of a beak, and the contour of the nostrils rises steeply. The upper lip is long and there is a deep depression under the mouth, balanced by a chin that swings forward. The mouth, with lips parted more than is usual, turns up at the corners, where curved folds lend a rather quizzical expression to the "smile." In short, it is a face that follows no known standard, and taken as a whole it has that vaguely "familiar" look, which distinguishes portraits from the distant other-worldliness of types whose features are the result of carefully composed formulae.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 44.5 cm. Height of head 6.9 cm. Width at arm level 13.5 cm. Base: height 7.8 cm., width 11.1 cm., depth 20 cm.

PROVENANCE: Mitrahineh (Memphis); 1896.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: (selective): Capart, *L'art égyptien* (1909), p. 29, pl. 86; (1911), p. 52, pl. 187. Bissing, *Denkm.*, Text to pl. 108a and 111. Maspero, *Guide*, p. 203, no. 824. Borchardt, *Statuen* III, pp. 60-62, pl. 134. Porter-Moss, *Top.Bibl.* III, p. 227. Bosse, *Menschl. Fig.*, pp. 49, 92, 93, pl. VI d, no. 125. *Misc. Greg.*, pp. 217-218, fig. 6. Hornemann, *Types* III, 615.

COMMENT: For another kneeling naophoros of about the same period, see No. 61, likewise from Memphis. The parents of Psamtik-sa-neith were Djed-ptah-iuf-anekh and Tagem-irset (*PN* I, 371, 23; also Cairo C.G. 38266). The naos from a second kneeling statue of Psamtik-sa-neith is in London (B.M. 2341). He is not mentioned on the Serapeum stela. The enumeration of the feasts in the text of the Cairo statue can be paralleled on other sculptures of late Saite to early Persian date (Cairo C.G. 662 and 673; Cambridge 393). The closest parallel for the undergarment of Psamtik-sa-neith's triple costume is offered by Vienna 20. For the wrap-around overgarment, see the *Comment* on No. 63, and for a discussion of the sleeved jacket, the *Bibliography* to No. 64. The earliest well-dated sculpture of Dynasty XXVII with sleeves is the statue of Henat in Florence (M.A. 1784), the only monument of the man where King Amasis is referred to as *maa-kheru*,

"justified," "deceased." There the sleeves are very short, barely reaching the elbows. A relief in Baltimore, W.A.G. 276, shows three men in V-neck, sleeved garments without the wrap-around skirt. Their gesture is unmistakably Persian (see the *Comment* on No. 68); the pointed sleeves end just about at the elbows. The trapezoidal back-pillar top does not seem to have been previously observed; at least it has not been commented upon in the literature. As a chronological criterion it has proved invaluable, especially for those sculptures which otherwise might as well be attributable to Dynasty XXVI as to Dynasty XXVII. Since it has never been found in a sculpture dated by inscription to Dynasty XXVI, it therefore constitutes an unfailing indication of the *datum post quem*. The origin of this shape is still somewhat obscure. There is a certain amount of experimentation with new back-pillar terminals at the beginning of Dynasty XXVII, as in the above-mentioned statue of Henat in Florence, where the back pillar tapers to a rounded top of not clearly defined form. This shape may have been found unsatisfactory, and the trapezoid top could well have taken its place. One point, however, has become clear; the trapezoid top is used in this period only in connection with shaven heads, not with bewigged heads, and thus it may have been developed in order to avoid an awkward frame for the neck, while retaining a certain width for the pillar in back of the body proper. Another important novelty of the Persian Period, for which the head of Psamtik-sa-neith furnishes a good example, is the eye with the plastic rim all around it. Since at this time eyebrows and cosmetic lines in relief are less commonly employed in private sculpture, a new means of emphasis was introduced, and this, again, has proved to be an unfailing dating criterion, for it has never been found in sculptures of pre-Persian times. It was Henri Frankfort who coined the term "buttonhole eye" for the new type — an excellent definition, which we shall continue to employ. A bust in Naples (Museo Nazionale 987) offers perhaps the closest parallel for the style of the Cairo statue. Though adorned with a heavy wig and of Saite origin, and obviously representing an entirely different person, it nevertheless comes very close to the statue of Psamtik-sa-neith in the conception of the face, which is definitely a portrait, not following any standard formula. The Naples bust is striking in its ruthless ugliness but, unlike an often illustrated head in Paris (Louvre E. 8060), it has nothing grotesque about it. As a serious study of a man past middle age, it underlines the wider range enjoyed by the artists of the period, one of whom — with a keen eye — created this extraordinary likeness of Psamtik-sa-neith.

About 500 B.C.; Dynasty XXVII.

Dark grey schist.

Owner: Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh; no. 1956.134.

The curious class of objects known as niche stelae is so uncommon that one often wonders what motivated the Egyptians to make them, if only rarely, during the Late Period. The figures with which they are decorated, like those in naoi, are worked in one with the background — a form of sculpture half in the round, with which one is familiar mostly from Greek and Roman high relief. At present only four examples of this type are known from the Late Period, and we are fortunate to be able to show two of them in this exhibition — No. 26 and this piece from Edinburgh, which is the strangest specimen of the kind.

It is a mere fragment, showing on one side (which was surely the front), two now incomplete figures in a niche surmounted by an inscription and, on the reverse, several columns of text and a scene in sunk relief. It is the only monument of the type which is decorated or inscribed on both front and back. To judge from the incline of the tympanum, what is preserved today can be only one-half of the original width; there must have been formerly at least four persons on obverse and reverse.

On the front we have, on the observer's left, a man with full, nondescript features, who wears his natural hair like a close-fitting cap. Next to him stands a man with shaven head, whose face — although not a portrait — bears the signs of the standard realism of the period: two vertical folds rising above the root of the nose and deep lines running diagonally down from the nostrils.

Both men wear the Egyptian version of the Persian costume of their time — a shirt or jacket with sleeves which reach just below the elbows and end on a slant, and over it a wrap-around similar to that of so many statues of Dynasty

XXVII, with the two upper corners tucked in on the chest. The inscription above, when partly restored from the text on the back, mentions the "Governor in the Saite Nome, the *kheryp-hut*, Prophet of *resnet*, Wah-ib-ra," whose father was Pedy-hor-resnet and whose mother was Nitocris. The relief on the reverse shows, on the right, Wah-ib-ra worshipping his ancestors; the first among them is his father, who faces him.

When seen from the side, the obverse of this stela lies in a vertical plane, but the reverse is markedly convex, increasing in depth from the top down. How such a monument was set up is unknown, though it is fairly certain that it once stood in the temple precinct of the goddess Neith at Sais.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 38.2 cm. Width 20.7 cm. Depth 11 cm. Depth of niche 3.7 cm. Height of bald man 28 cm. Reverse: Height of register with men 8.2 cm. Intracolumnar widths; cols. one 3.2 cm., two 3.2 cm., three 3.4 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; probably Sais. Formerly in the collection of A. Henry Rhind.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 33 (1898-1899), pp. 488 and 517; M. A. Murray, *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the National Museum of Antiquities* (Edinburgh, 1900), pp. 24 and 53. *CdE* 27 (1952), pp. 347-348; 31 (1956), p. 252, note 5. *The Brooklyn Museum Bulletin* XV, no. 2 (Winter 1954), page 9, note 2. Royal Scottish Museum, *Dynastic Egypt* (Edinburgh, 1955), pl. 23.

COMMENT: Many private inscriptions of the Persian Period contain elaborate genealogies (Berlin 23673; Paris, Louvre N. 418; and the Serapeum stelae), as if the people of that period were particularly anxious to prove their pure Egyptian ancestry. This perhaps explains why at least four generations are represented on the Edinburgh monument. From the costume worn by the two men on the obverse, one has to assume that the sculpture was made in Dynasty XXVII; see Nos. 64 and 65 for the Persian sleeves, and the *Comment* on No. 63 for the wrap-

around garment. The realistic traits, too, point to the Persian Period (cf. No. 63). But these archaeological features are not entirely borne out by the inscriptions. A couple, Pedy-hor-resnet and Nitocris, are named on Cairo C.G. 1275 and 1277, as the father and mother of one Psamtik-men-resnet. If they are identical with the parents of our Wah-ib-ra, Psamtik-men-resnet must have been his brother. Wah-ib-ra is perhaps identical with a man bearing similar titles, who was the donor of a stela in London (B.M. 1427) dated to the eighth regnal year of King Amasis (563 B.C.), and who is probably the person represented in the statue Cairo C.G. 672. It is, of course, unlikely that one and the same man had two monuments made for himself sixty-three years apart (or even thirty-eight years, if one assumes that the niche stela was made in the first year of the Persian Domination, namely 525 B.C.). If the incomplete inscription of the Edinburgh monument originally bore a statement to the effect that it was made by Wah-ib-ra's son, then it would be the kind of family document in which the past was carried over into the present, and Wah-ib-ra could still be the man of the London stela of Amasis' eighth year, especially since two of the three other known examples of his title, "Governor in the Saite Nome," are borne by people known to have lived under Amasis (London, B.M. 1427 and 16041). On the other hand, it must be remembered that an Egyptian frequently was given the name of his grandfather, and that the same title

or series of titles was passed on from father to son for two or more generations. Thus, it could well have been Wah-ib-ra's grandfather who was the man of the stela B.M. 1427. The fact that the mother is called Nitocris does not necessarily mean that she was born when the famous daughter of Psamtik I was still alive, in or before 585 B.C. It is well known from Serapeum stelae dated to the Persian Period that the royal names of Dynasty XXVI were given during that time to private people far more frequently than had been the custom in the Saite Period. Even the accursed name of Necho — never given to a man born between the reigns of Psamtik II and Amasis — is all of a sudden revived (Bologna 1838; London, B.M. 511). It is therefore entirely conceivable that Wah-ib-ra's mother received her name well after the demise of the princess. The sleeved garment of the two men is probably not the round-necked kind worn by the subject of No. 68; rather it had a V-neck, which is not indicated, the line round the base of the neck being as meaningless as that on No. 23. Finally the possibility should be mentioned that the Edinburgh monument was originally of the same shape and type as B.M. 511, with two men to one side, followed by a large cavity for a special inlay. In that case the break next to the arm of the older man would be that of the partition, which is well preserved on the London piece. For the few other known examples of the rarely occurring niche stelae, see the *Comment* on No. 26.

No. 67; Pls. 64-65, Figs. 160-163.

FIFTH CENTURY PORTRAIT

About 450 B.C.; Dynasty XXVII.

Grey-green schist.

Owner: *Musée du Louvre, Paris; no. N. 2454.*

One of the major contributions of Egypt to Western civilization was the early development of sculpture on a human scale with human proportions. As far back as Dynasty IV the body of man was rendered in hard stone as a true image of a living model, an achievement transmitted to the West by the Greeks some two thousand years later. Around 500 B.C., the Egyptians — having been tempted for millennia to apply their great skill in sculpting bodies also to a realistic rendering of faces — developed a series of portraits of individuals,

which once and for all firmly established a representational style of sculpture in the Nile Valley. Unlike sporadic similar ventures in times past, this style was to endure until the art of modeling in hard stone ceased to be practiced in Egypt.

One of the early examples of this latest phase of realism is offered in a bust from the Louvre, which is one of the great portraits of the ancient world, for it presents not only what can easily be recognized as the outer features of a definite individual, but also something of his

inner, spiritual personality. In view of the fact that this sculpture has been on exhibition almost continuously for more than half a century, it is surprising to find how little comment it has aroused. In its traditional formalism alone it offers a fine example of the superb craftsmanship of the Late Period, equal in quality to the best of Egypt's past, but above and beyond that, is the lifelike expression of the face, which seems to reflect the vicissitudes suffered by the Egyptians during an alien domination.

The anonymous man here represented wears a bag wig, from under the amorphous mass of which, instead of the usual tabs in front of the ears, protrude little grooved trapezoids, indicating the natural hair. The forehead is modulated by incised lines, and there is an additional sharp incision under each eyebrow. Though the two eyes are quite different, the cutting is very precise and crisp; an unusual feature are the thick folds on the upper lids beside the root of the nose. At the outer corners of the eyes are crow's feet, and by contouring the sockets against the cheek an impression of bags under the eyes has been created — a significant feature, which adds to the character of the face. The nose is thin and very straight; it is flanked by descending furrows, which, however, make a formal rather than a natural impression. But it is the mouth that shows the highest degree of individuality, with its upper lip shaped like a Cupid's bow and protruding somewhat over the lower lip, which is so full and sensuous. The chin is very articulate, especially in the profile view, and the neck has — again an unusual feature — several heavy horizontal folds.

The bust probably comes from a kneeling naophorous statue; a minute trace of the square outline of the shrine is still visible under the right side of the chest. The back pillar is of conventional shape and bears one column of text. It begins with "Honored before Ptah-Sokar," followed by a common title; then comes the break, and the rest of the text is lost. Epigraphically the inscription is of a style that already exists in late Dynasty XXVI and con-

tinues well into Dynasty XXVII. It is, of course, regrettable that the identity of the person represented cannot be established, but even if it were known, it might prove to be of little value. A mere name and a few additional titles often leave a person still incognito, and — as in Greek and Roman portraiture — the face, and the face alone, frequently provides the fullest information. If the inscription on the back pillar were of post-Persian or even Ptolemaic style, it would not be difficult to align this sculpture with the outstanding portraits of a period which has produced so many fine heads of individuals. As it is, the bust — together with No. 65 — remains a forerunner, one of those well-nigh unsurpassed early achievements, which the Egyptians suddenly produced at many times during their long civilization.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 25.1 cm. Width 18.1 cm. Depth of break below chest 10 cm. Width of back pillar 6 cm. Intracolumnar width 3.5 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; perhaps Memphis. Said to have been in the collection of Henry Salt.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 19 (1879), pp. 216 and 220 (illus.). G. Maspero, in O. Rayet, *Monuments de l'art antique I* (1884), pl. [9], text p. 2. G. Maspero, *Essais sur l'art égyptien* (1912), pp. 248-249, fig. 83. Bissing, *Denkm.*, Text to pl. 70, note 2. P. Richer, *Le nu dans l'art I* (1925), pp. 136-137, fig. 156. Boreux, *Guide-Catalogue II*, p. 461.

COMMENT: This bust and No. 65 are, for the quality of their portraiture, not such isolated examples of the best of Dynasty XXVII as one might think; Naples 980 and 987 have already been mentioned elsewhere, and there is also Louvre A.F. 6314, which deserves a special study. Dynasty XXVII seems to have opened the floodgates of long pent-up individualism in Egyptian sculpture, and those who hail the Ptolemaic Period and so-called Greek influence as the creative forces of Late portraiture should take notice that the greatest progress toward the evolution of true portraiture was really made in the late sixth and early fifth centuries. The epigraphy of the Louvre bust does not permit us to arrive at a more definite date than that indicated, but it already presages the spidery hieroglyphs more frequently encountered on fourth-century sculpture. For the way in which the back pillar meets the back of the wig, Nos. 61 and 68 should be compared. It is true that this composition occurs in Dynasty XXVI, but it is especially frequent in Dynasty XXVII, though it cannot be used as a definite dating criterion. The grooved tabs

in front of the ears have thus far not been found on other sculptures; it is indicative of the sharp eye of Bissing that he drew attention to them (see *Bibliography* above). It should be mentioned, however, that a bust in Munich (Äg. St. 1622) of late Dynasty XXV or early Dynasty XXVI has tabs which protrude from under the wig and which, though not grooved, at least mark the natural hair in unmistakable fashion. The ears of the Louvre bust are so painstakingly carved that one can only marvel at the craftsman who took so much trouble to imitate nature. In the eyes, too, the sculptor far surpassed the standards usually prevailing in private statues; the lower lid, for instance, thickens toward the rim, which is so sharply cut that at a glance one might be inclined to see it as having a plastic outline. This is,

of course, a variation on the style employed by the craftsman who carved the head of No. 65; the two pieces were made within a few decades of each other. The fine, irregular lines with which the forehead is furrowed are without parallel in the sculpture of this period (cf. *Comment* on No. 108), although they do occur, for the first time, in relief work of approximately the same date (Berlin 15414; see W. S. Smith, in *BMFA* 47 [1949], pp. 21 and 26). For the heavy folds in the flesh of the neck, only one parallel pre-dating the Ptolemaic Period is thus far known (Hanover 1935.200.515). A definitive interpretation of the portrait presented by the Louvre bust has not yet been attempted, but one cannot fail to be impressed by the breadth and depth of intellectual insight which made the creation of this masterpiece possible.

No. 68; Pl. 65, Figs. 164-165.

MAN WITH PERSIAN GESTURE

About 450 B.C.; Dynasty XXVII.

Light green schist.

Owner: The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md.; no. 22.208 (W.A.G. no. 149).

With the exception of the block statue, created during the Middle Kingdom, nearly all the poses occurring in Egyptian private sculpture were evolved during the early part of Dynasty IV. Although, in the course of the Late Period, the Egyptians came in contact with highly developed foreign art forms, they nevertheless continued their traditional poses with a sort of imperturbable stubbornness, which increased through the centuries until, during the last phase of their independence before the Roman conquest, it probably became very intentional. In standing figures, the position of the legs never changed for more than twenty-five hundred years; certain variations in the way the arms were held were added to the repertory from time to time, only to be discarded, after a few hundred years, in favor of a few well-established attitudes, which are not more numerous in the Late Period than they were in the Old Kingdom.

The last addition to the gestures found in sculpture in the round is the position of the hands as seen in this statue from the Walters

Art Gallery, which represents an anonymous man, originally in a striding attitude, with his right hand clasped over his left fist. This gesture is a radical departure from the traditional, and though it may appear quite natural to modern eyes, it constitutes the first breach in the solid front Egypt had maintained for centuries, in the unending repetition of nearly identical statue types. How did this gesture, for which about ten examples exist in sculpture in the round, happen to originate in the Late Period?

To find the answer to this question, the entire body of representations of gestures, from the Old Kingdom to the Third Intermediate Period, has to be taken into consideration. It is true that among the hundreds of different hand positions shown in relief and painting three or four instances of hands similarly clasped may be noted. They are, however, isolated cases due to the inventiveness of the artist and not based on a well-established Egyptian custom; otherwise the gesture would have been more frequently represented.

The gesture also appears once in sculptures

created prior to the Late Period. Three statues of King Amenhotep III of Dynasty XVIII show him clad in a fringed garment, his hands loosely clasped before him, the right covering the left. This, again is an isolated case; and since the costume worn by the king is not Egyptian, the position of his hands may also be interpreted as due to foreign influence.

The gesture is indeed one long familiar in countries to the east of Egypt, and there seems no doubt that its frequent occurrence in the Late Period is of Persian origin. A relief in Baltimore (W.A.G. 276) showing a row of men, all employing a similar gesture, right hands clasped over left, and all wearing wide-sleeved foreign garments, identical with those of Nos. 64 and 65, makes such origin unmistakable; for when one examines the Persian reliefs of the period, it will be found that the rows of servitors in the palace of Darius I at Persepolis alone yield half-a-dozen examples of a similar gesture.

The pose is one that must have struck the Egyptians as something typically foreign, and the man who had this sculpture made for himself — like Ptah-hotep, represented in No. 64 — must have wished to adopt something exotic (and probably fashionable) in his gesture. His garment, too, is un-Egyptian. Instead of the robe with V-neck and wide, flaring sleeves (also a foreign style), which was favored in the Persian period, he wears a long, straight coat with round neck and tight sleeves reaching to the wrists. The face is idealizing, squat under the heavy bag wig; only the rim of the upper eyelid is rendered plastically.

The text on the back pillar begins with an offering formula addressed to "Onuris-Shu, the son of Ra, the great god, the lord of Thinis . . ." which makes it most likely that the figure was dedicated in a sanctuary of this god in the Thinite nome, the region of Abydos.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 27.3 cm. Width at hip level

7.2 cm. Depth 8.5 cm. Width of back pillar 3.2 cm. Intracolumnar width 2.1 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; perhaps the region of Abydos.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steindorff, *Cat.Eg.Sc.W.A.G.*, p. 50, pl. XXV and CXIII, no. 149.

COMMENT: The first to draw attention to the gesture under discussion, was Bissing, (*Denkm.*, Text to pl. 71b, cols. 1-2 with note 8), followed by Bosse (*Menschl. Figur*, p. 93), Cooney (*Brooklyn Museum Bull.* XV, no. 2 [Winter 1954], p. 10, note 4), and Barnett (*Iraq* 19 [1957], p. 62, no. 20). The Late Egyptian sculptures with this gesture are, in addition to the Baltimore statue, the following: Antwerp A.1; Berlin 7737; Cairo C.G. 140, 691, 1189, 1282, J.E. 52356; Paris, Louvre E. 11127. Among them, at least one (Cairo C.G. 1189) is early Roman; since it most likely follows examples of the Ptolemaic Period, one can assume a live tradition, which continued after Dynasty XXXI (Berlin 7737, for instance, was made at some time around the middle of the fourth century B.C.). Nobody has as yet collected the early examples of this gesture in relief and painting, only two of which come readily to mind, one in a tomb at Deir el Medineh, the other in Tomb 82 at Thebes (Nina de Garis Davies and Alan H. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhet* [1915], pl. XII, lower register). The three statues of Amenhotep III are Cairo J.E. 33900-33901, and New York, M.M.A. 30.8.74; only the last one is mentioned by Vandier, *Manuel III*, pp. 322, 324, 327, 349, who does not discuss the gesture. The reliefs of Darius I are illustrated in E.F. Schmidt, *Persepolis I* (1953), pl. 51 upper right, 52 upper left, 87 B-C, 121 left, 122, 123; II (1957), pl. 69 G, but there are also earlier examples from Assyrian reliefs of the seventh century (C. J. Gadd, *The Stones of Assyria*, pl. 38 and 41; R. D. Barnett, *Assyrian Palace Reliefs*, pl. 107), and in sculpture in the round the clasping of the hands in front of the body is an old motif in the art of Western Asia. The long garment worn by the man represented in the Baltimore statuette has no overlap; it therefore must have been slipped over the head; only one other pre-Ptolemaic example of this costume with round neck and tight sleeves is known thus far in sculpture in the round (Boston, M.F.A. 35.1484), and it is of Theban origin. In view of the fact that, according to the inscription, the Baltimore statue is also from the south, we have here perhaps a regional difference in costume, the dress with wide, pointed sleeves and V-neck being typical for the north only. From an epigraphic and orthographic point of view the inscription on the back pillar must be earlier than Dynasty XXX; from an archaeological viewpoint the attribution of the sculpture to the middle of the fifth century seems to be well founded.

*About 450-340 B.C.; Dynasties XXVII-XXXI.**Gypsum plaster.**Owner: The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md.; no. 22.34 (W.A.G. no. 297).*

Scholars, like everyone else, have the maddening habit of repeating in print worn-out platitudes on subjects unrelated to their fields of special interest. One such stock designation, though largely erroneous, is applied over and over again to the tablets in relief and small-scale sculptures of limestone or plaster which were made in great quantities during the Late Period. These little pieces, representing figures of animals, heads and busts of kings and deities, hands, feet, and the like, are habitually called "trial pieces," "sculptor's models," or "sculptor's studies," although there is ample evidence that the great majority of them were ex-votos — tokens of faith which a worshiper offered to his god in a shrine or temple.

There are, however, a small number of true sculptor's models of the Late Period, often overlooked amid the mass of their mistaken namesakes, and one of the most interesting of them is a bust in the Walters Art Gallery which, though published some time ago, does not seem to have hitherto evoked much interest. It is a true bust, conceived as such, and not the upper portion of a lost statue. It is made in gypsum plaster, partly hollowed from beneath with a broad-edged chisel. It represents a man with shaven head, whose skull shows a ridge similar to that of a head of much earlier date from the Metropolitan Museum of Art (No. 7). The bust has no back pillar, and thus the care with which the parietal bones are indicated becomes very evident in the rear view. The approach of the craftsman who modeled it was very individualistic, for the face is full of character. Fleishy eyebrows nearly cover the small, slitted eyes; the forehead is marked by horizontal lines, and heavy jowls flank the protruding mouth.

High on the chest, just above the base of the bust, is shown the edge of a wrap-around garment, which runs under the armpits and ends in front in a "roll" and folded corner, as may be seen on other sculptures of Dynasty XXVII in this Exhibition. These ends of the garment are quite voluminous; the "roll," especially, protrudes much farther than is usual. On its "open" side, toward the right side of the chest, an interior design is indicated in relief, which shows that the "roll" was folded twice before it was tucked into the upper edge of the garment. The other corner is modeled as if it had been tightly rolled before folding.

Apart from the problem of whether the little bust is a true portrait or merely a standard representation of highly individualistic form, its date is not easily determined. Judging by the volume of "roll" and corner, it could well have been made in Dynasty XXVII; on the other hand this kind of head, with its brutal directness, is more to be associated with sculpture of the fourth century B.C., or even later, though then it might be expected that the garment would be treated less realistically. Be that as it may, the lack of a back pillar and the material employed show that the bust was no formal temple statue, but rather a model, after which an unflattering sculpture of an old official was to be executed in hard stone.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 9.4 cm. Width 8.4 cm. Depth 5.4 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steindorff, *Cat.Eg.Sc.W.A.G.*, p. 91, pl. LVIII, no. 297.

COMMENT: For a discussion of the objects erroneously called "sculptor's models" and the like, and for their votive character, see *BMFA* 51 (1953), pp. 83-84. The misnomer is current, not only in publications, but also in the labeling of some of the leading

collections of Egyptian art and archaeology. True busts are rare in Egyptian sculpture of all periods; for a parallel to the Baltimore piece, though worked in limestone and of Ptolemaic date, see Paris, Louvre E. 25374, which likewise was made without a back pillar. Since this support (if it was ever meant to be one; cf. the *Introduction*, p. xxiv) is normally present in all statues made after the early part of Dynasty XXVI, its absence underlines the temporary, non-religious, function of the sculpture (cf. also No. 86). The meticulous treatment of individual parts of the skull, which was initiated in Dynasty XXVII with sculptures such as No. 65, and the wrap-around garment, which was first widely employed at that period (cf. the *Comment* on No. 63), link the piece with the time of the First Persian Domination. Yet the date is far from certain. The only other example showing a "roll" marked with an interior design at the "open" end is a statue in New York (M.M.A. 25.2.10; Fig. 167), which — though uninscribed — undoubtedly was made during Dynasty XXVII. It has perhaps the most voluminous "roll" in the wrap-around garment of all sculptures of its size, and the parallel it offers would alone be sufficient to attribute the Baltimore bust to the Persian Period. On

the other hand, it must be remembered that we are poorly informed regarding the use of sculptor's models during that period, whereas their use in Dynasty XXX-XXXI is well confirmed (No. 86). In Dynasty XXXI, the time of the Second Persian Domination (341-333 B.C.), many features of the first Persian reign (Dynasty XXVII) were consciously revived in sculpture. But from a number of statues made between ca. 340 and 320 B.C., it is evident that the representation of the ends of the wrap-around garment had by that time become rudimentary, almost as if they were misunderstood (cf. Cairo 19 + 1, whose subject is dated to the reign of Philip Arrhidæus by Cairo J.E. 46341). It seems hardly likely, accordingly, that the ends would then have been rendered in the naturalistic form developed in Dynasty XXVII, though, on the other hand, the head of the Baltimore bust betrays an assuredness in dealing with this type of realistic sculpture, which does not seem to fit into our present picture of Dynasty XXVII. Since the surface is worn and pitted, it is difficult to decide whether the bust is cast, as stated in the publication. It may well be a freely modeled original.

No. 70; Pl. 67, Figs. 170-171.

WEN-NUFER

About 410-370 B.C.; Dynasties XXVII-XXX.

Black diorite with brown spots.

Owners: Dr. and Mrs. Max M. Stern, New York, N. Y.

The image of eternal vigor and youth, for which the Egyptians strived in their statuary at least from the beginning of Dynasty IV, persisted unabated throughout the Late Period. But it no longer formed the sole ideal; for little by little a more sober approach to the human likeness made itself felt — a realistic conception which, beginning with the seventh century, came to the fore in ever increasing waves. As has been shown earlier, this realistic conception absorbed much of the native inventiveness of the sculptors, with the result that idealizing, youthful representations became stock items of well-established forms, repeated with little variation for several centuries.

To trace the development — through what-

ever little deviation in style can be detected — of a particular type of idealizing head from the sixth to the third century B.C., a sufficient number of inscribed and datable sculptures are needed. The type with which we are concerned here is that of the egg-shaped shaven head, with well-fed features, a benign expression, and a faint smile. Though this type is amply known from several dozen isolated heads, they have either lost their back pillars or their back pillars bear so few traces of inscription that it is nearly impossible to assign them to a definitely limited period. The first real progress of recent years was made when the head of Pa-debehu (No. 56) was identified, to establish that this type, following the "round" heads of Dynasty XXV and early

Dynasty XXVI, was already evolved before the beginning of Dynasty XXVII. We now have here, in a bust from the collection of Dr. and Mrs. Stern, a second example, which proves to be a key piece. The top of its back pillar is preserved, with part of an inscription yielding enough information to assign the sculpture to the period from the latter part of the Persian domination to Dynasty XXX. Though this time span may still seem rather long, the bust permits us to attribute other uninscribed heads of a like or similar type to the fifth or fourth century with a reasonable degree of certainty.

Apart from its archaeological value, this bust is, in itself, a fine piece of workmanship on a small scale, marred only by the loss of the nose and the damage to the mouth. The skull, though amorphous, is still fairly squat — a far cry from the truly egg-shaped heads which abound in the fourth century. The eyebrows are modeled as sharp ridges, but are not in relief. The upper eyelids are drawn out at the corners and contoured by a fine, incised line. Cheeks, neck, and torso are well rounded; the body is almost feminine in its lack of muscles and sinews.

The shape of the back-pillar top is trapezoidal, and the inscription is surmounted by the "sky" hieroglyph, thus establishing Dynasty XXVII as the earliest possible date. The text begins with an offering formula addressed to the god Ptah of Memphis; then comes the break. The second column seems to start out

with the end of a Herakleopolitan title, followed by the name of the subject, "Wen-nufer, son of Pedy-hor. . . ." The position of the arms does not permit any conclusion about whether the bust came from a standing or a kneeling statue.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 13.1 cm. Width 11 cm. Depth 6.2 cm. Width of back pillar 3.9 cm. Intracolumnar width 1.8 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; probably Memphis.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Gothic & Renaissance Furniture & Objects of Art . . . Egyptian Antiquities* (Sale Catalogue, New York, Parke-Bernet Galleries, 13 March, 1952), pp. 2-3, no. 8 (illus.).

COMMENT: The type represented by this head has been miscalled "Saite" for so long that it seems worth while to establish that it is typical neither for Dynasty XXVI nor for the site of Sais. For the "sky" hieroglyph and the shape of the back pillar, see the *Comments* on Nos. 60 and 65. It must be remembered, however, that both features were employed sporadically on sculptures from the Persian domination on until well into the Ptolemaic Period. It is interesting to compare the beginning of the inscription with that of the text on No. 65. There, the text starts out well above the base line of the trapezoid, whereas by the latter part of the century the inscription starts lower, as in the present sculpture, beginning at the base line. The man's name, Wen-nufer, is frequent in the region of Herakleopolis Magna; in Greek texts it is rendered as Onnophris. Like so many pieces in this Exhibition, the sculpture is asymmetrical. The head is turned slightly to the right and the back pillar is not vertical when the head is straight. Also, the left shoulder is lower than the right one. For a fine head, showing a more developed example — about a century later — of this type, see Brooklyn 55.178. A head in Baltimore (W.A.G. 203) lies about midway between the two.

*About 380 B.C.; Dynasty XXIX.**Bronze; cast solid.**Owner: William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art and Mary Atkins Museum of Fine Arts, Kansas City, Mo.; no. 53-13.*

As far back as Dynasty VI representations of the king kneeling in humility before his god and presenting an offering had been fashioned in sculpture in the round. With the passing of time this attitude became more and more popular, and from Dynasty XVIII on, it was rendered with increasing frequency in bronze. Since bronzes were cast from molds, and molds were usually employed more than once, a certain amount of duplication was inevitable. The artisan who made the model from which a mold was formed must have known that no work of great individuality could result from his labor; he usually created, accordingly, a sculpture without much character, meant to be seen in many places and to please a large number of people.

In the case of this royal figure in bronze from Kansas City, however, the result is gratifying. Despite a notable restraint in rendering the features, the face of the kneeling king has considerable vigor and betrays a certain amount of individuality in the full mouth with lines running down from its corners. From the remains of the right arm, bent at the elbow, it might be concluded that the king offered his deity two jars of wine or, as was probably the case with No. 43, a divine image. He wears the Blue Crown, originally a war helmet, the surface of which is studded with little incised discs. The crown is small in relation to the face, and the usual creases at the sides are not very prominent. It is adorned with an uraeus in — what is rather rare — a perfect state of preservation. This royal serpent has two figure-eight coils and a well-modeled body that runs over the crown of the head. A long streamer descends from the rear of the helmet to the belt, into

which it is tucked. The depression between helmet and forehead presumably signifies that the border — probably representing a helmet lining of a different material — was inlaid with gold. Like the face, the body is modeled in well-rounded forms without much individuality, and especially in chest and upper abdomen all indication of muscles has been suppressed — one of the many characteristic features of most post-Persian sculpture on a small scale.

The identity of the kneeling king cannot be definitely established. Stylistically, the statuette dates from the post-Saite period, which, so far as sculptures of kings are concerned, is synonymous with post-Persian, since no royal representations in the round were created during Dynasty XXVII, when the Persians ruled Egypt. The three signs incised in the cartouche on the front center of the belt are unfortunately illegible. In general outline, however, they seem to conform to “Maat-khenem-ra,” the prenomen of King Hakoris (390-378 B.C.) of Dynasty XXIX, who could well be the king represented in the age-old pose of this bronze.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 20.5 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *JEA* 42 (1956), p. 6. *Handbook of the Collections in the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art and Mary Atkins Museum of Fine Arts, Kansas City, Mo.* (Fourth Edition, 1959), p. 22 (illus.).

COMMENT: The closest parallel to the head of this bronze figure is offered by a fine limestone head in Paris (Louvre E. 22761), which has also never been identified. The head of the bronze shows a faint indication of a double chin, quite in keeping with the full, well-rounded forms of the body. The long streamer — or a pair of them — hanging down from the rear of the Blue Crown (for which cf. No. 53) — seems to be characteristic of the royal costume in post-Persian times, when the discs indicated on the

helmet are also once more quite fashionable (see Baltimore, W.A.G. 326 A, 327, and 333 A). In reliefs, the streamers appear in royal representations until the very end of the Ptolemaic Period. As in the kneeling glazed-stone statuette of Hakoris in London (B.M. 24247), the soles of the feet seem to have been approximately vertical. Another kneeling figure of Hakoris is in Cairo (C.G. 681). If this statuette in Kansas City really represents the same king, it may be possible to solve the problem of when the double figure-eight coil of the uraeus

fell into disuse. It no longer occurs under Nectanebo I and his successors, but appears in Dynasty XXVI as late as Amasis (No. 53; Rome, Museo Capitolino 8). It is found in a head in Cairo (C.G. 838), which also may represent Hakoris, and in the limestone head in the Louvre mentioned above; in relief it occurs on both Gulbenkian Collection 24 and New York, M.M.A. 26.7.1006 (*JEA* 5 [1918], pl. IX), which probably antedate Dynasty XXX and may be attributable also to Hakoris.

No. 72; Pl. 68, Figs. 174-176.

NAOPHOROS WITH NEITH IN RELIEF

378-360 B.C.; *Dynasty XXX.*

Dark green schist.

Owner: M. H. De Young Memorial Museum, San Francisco, Cal.; no. 54664.

Some strange and wonderful sculptures were created under King Nectanebo I, and taking into account solely such private monuments as bear his name, one cannot but admire the inventiveness and capability of the sculptors of his time. To them the Saite Period was the golden age, and from it they took their inspiration — adding new ideas and subtly changing and adapting the traditional. One of the arts which had fallen into oblivion in the course of the century and a half following the end of Dynasty XXVI, was that of relief carving in hard stone. It was splendidly revived under Nectanebo I, and on such a scale that it not only surpassed anything done in that medium in Saite times, but also established a new tradition in Egypt for a century to come. From the reign of Nectanebo I we have such major reliefs as the Naucratis Stela and the Naos of Saft el Henna, under Nectanebo II entire temple walls in granite were decorated with relief at Mendes, Samannud, Behbeit el Hagar, and Bubastis; and relief work in hard stone, thus revived, continued until the reign of Ptolemy III, more than a hundred years later.

From the great era of Nectanebo I we have, in this fragmentary sculpture from San Fran-

cisco, one of the few examples showing the application of hard-stone relief to sculpture in the round. What remains is only a small part of a standing figure, dressed in a long coat with overlap on the right, probably a garment of the wrap-around type. The man holds a naos, or rather a block of naos shape, supported by a receding pillar which gradually blends into the front of his garment. The face of the vaulted naos is not, however, hollowed out to form the cavity of the shrine, but left solid and decorated in sunk relief with the image of the goddess "Neith, Mistress of Sais," as the inscription states. The text on the supporting pillar records an "Utterance by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Kheper-ka-ra (Nectanebo I): May this writing be placed . . ." The back pillar contained two columns of inscription, but only a small portion of them is preserved — the name and titles of the subject are lost.

What little is left of the statue shows exquisite workmanship. The relief of the goddess is extremely well done, not crowded into the field formed by the face of the naos, but showing a fine sense for composition and balance. The hands of the figure itself, often so crude in sculptures of the Late Period, are overly long

and sensitive, as if affected by the act of proferring; even the cuticles are indicated. It almost seems that the sculptor formed these fingers after a wooden model of Dynasty V or VI, a period in which elongated hands — highly stylized — are found more frequently than at any other time.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 33.3 cm. Width 12 cm. Depth 18 cm. Width of upper break (slant) 12 cm., depth (slant) 20 cm. Depth of lower break (slant) 17 cm. Width of back pillar 5.5 cm. Intracolumnar width, front 1.9 cm., back 2.1 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; probably Sais.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. H. De Young Memorial Museum, *Illustrations of Selected Works* (San Francisco, 1950), pl. 10.

COMMENT: Considering the great changes and upheavals to which Egypt was subjected from about 375 B.C. (Nectanebo I) to the third century B.C., it is surprising that this should have been the great era of temple reliefs in hard stone, especially in a part of the country where this material was not quarried; cf. *BMFA* 51 (1953), pp. 2 ff. There exist a few other relief-decorated statue naoi of Dynasty XXX (Alexandria 403; Cairo C.G. 617), but they are not an invention of the fourth century, since they already occur briefly in sculptures from Sais at the beginning of Dynasty XXVII. At that time were made a number of standing and kneeling naophoroi, supporting shrines without a cavity, but decorated in relief with a stylized representation of the façade of

the Neith sanctuary of Sais (Cairo C.G. 672, 714; Florence 1784; Paris, Louvre E. 13103; Rome, Vatican 166. Cf. *BIFAO* 6 [1908], pp. 28-30; *ASAE* 34 [1934], pp. 147-148). Among these, the Florence statue is comparable to the San Francisco fragment also for the column of text on the rudimentary pillar supporting the naos. The figure of the goddess, with ample bosom and slim waist, reminds one of the statue of the Divine Consort Ankhnes-neferibra (Cairo C.G. 42205), daughter of Psamtik II, who was in office from 585 B.C. to the end of Dynasty XXVI, which represents the ideal of feminine beauty followed in what little female sculpture and relief was made before the Ptolemies. The inscription on the back pillar begins in the first column with ". . . ipet-weret," perhaps the end of the name of the subject's mother, Tadyt-ipet-weret (*PN* I, 372, 19). The statue was dedicated by his eldest son, whose name is also lost. The second column contains part of an autobiographical text. For the prototype of the elongated fingers in wooden sculptures of the Old Kingdom, see Brooklyn 51.1 and New York, M.M.A. 26.2.3, to mention only two handy examples. Lastly, it should be considered that the naos front, with its round top, might be an imitation of a stela and that, in sculptures such as the San Francisco fragment, two conceptions — that of the stelophoros and that of the naophoros — have been combined. It must be remembered that the relief-decorated naoi of early Dynasty XXVII are mostly box-shaped and never vaulted, and that there are a number of standing stelophorous statues of late Dynasty XXV and early Dynasty XXVI (Cairo C.G. 1098, J.E. 36158) which could have served as models.

No. 73; Pl. 69, Figs. 177-180.

KING NECTANEBO I

378-360 B.C.; Dynasty XXX.

Fine-grained dark brown basalt.

Owner: Musée du Louvre, Paris; no. E. 8061.

The iconographic problems presented by the numerous idealizing and conventional heads of kings of the Late Period are many but, in the frequent absence of inscriptions, not particularly surprising. More complex and baffling is the identification of a royal head that is an individualistic work of art, the portrait of an impressive person, rather than a mass-produced, nondescript, standard representation. Con-

fronted with such a piece, the present inadequacy or very often complete lack of critical studies of Late sculpture is painfully apparent, and one has to attempt to break new ground in a field which should have been explored many decades ago.

The reason for these lamentations is a small royal head from the Louvre, which is for the first time brought into the limelight of critical

examination in this Exhibition — deservedly so, because it is probably one of the strongest royal portraits of the Late Period, despite its minute size. Under the squat but well-defined helmet, the so-called Blue Crown, we have the likeness of a full-faced, heavy-jowled king. The helmet is adorned with the uraeus, the head lost, but the hood showing the grooved pattern handed down from the New Kingdom. The cobra's head is flanked by two single coils, which here play a curiously separate rôle, as if they were no longer part of the serpent's body, thus anticipating a development frequent in the Ptolemaic Period. The tail of the uraeus runs straight up to a point just beyond the apex of the helmet.

The border of the Blue Crown is modeled in relief all around, and in addition, the lining of the helmet is plastically indicated on the slightly bulging forehead. The king's prominent brows spring from the root of the nose in an arch and descend slightly at the temples. They are treated naturalistically, but the eyes are traditional and formalistic. The upper lid is set off against the brows by a fold; the eyeballs are markedly convex and seem to protrude. The strong nose broadens out toward the nostrils far more than is customary in standard royal representations and is slightly hooked toward the tip. The mouth is straight and rather thin-lipped, with an ever-so-gentle lift at the corners. It is small, in contrast with the heavy jowls and voluminous chin, which merge into what appears to have been an equally fleshy neck. The whole face, miraculously well formed on so small a scale, betrays determination and energy. Whoever created this little masterpiece captured the likeness of a king of great power and firm — even stubborn — will.

Not content with portraying him, the sculptor provided a written identification on the back pillar, which, alas, is lost with the main portion of the figure. All that remains are the "sky" sign, the sun disc with two pendant uraei supporting the "life" hieroglyph, and a faint

trace of the hawk of Horus, with which the royal titulary began. It seems very probable, however, from the evidence at hand, that we have here a portrait of Nectanebo I.

The trapezoid-shaped top of the back pillar is unusually elongated, perhaps in an effort to cover as much as possible of the back of the Blue Crown, without detracting from the bulk of the powerful head.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 6.5 cm. Width 5 cm. Depth 6.5 cm. Width of break at neck 3.2 cm., at back pillar 2 cm. Depth of break 6 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known. Acquired in 1886.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: None. Mentioned in *ZÄS* 80 (1955), p. 48, note 6.

COMMENT: The identification of this head as a portrait of Nectanebo I was made by H. W. Müller some years ago. He bases his identification on its great similarity to the profile views of Nectanebo I on two inscribed reliefs in hard stone (Bologna, Museo Civico 1870, and London, B.M. 22), which formed part of a long, low barrier at Heliopolis. Other barrier reliefs of the same monument (London, B.M. 20 and 998; Vienna 213) are decorated with the names and representations of Psamtik I, Nectanebo I, and Psamtik II, respectively, and the evidence — to put it mildly — is very confusing. There seems to be no doubt that British Museum 22 (Smith, *A.A.A.E.*, pl. 184) does represent Nectanebo I: the hands with partly separated fingers, for instance, preclude that the relief could have been made before Dynasty XXX and inscribed at a later period; as J. D. Cooney points out, the same hands appear on a stela of Nectanebo I from Hermopolis (*ASAE* 52 [1954], pp. 375 ff., pl. IX). The king, on the London barrier, wears a skull cap with streamers of Kushite style; on the reverse his figure is twice carefully scratched out, although the remainder of the representations and the inscriptions have not been touched. On B.M. 998, too, his figure has been intentionally damaged; there, only his head, again in the Kushite cap, has been singled out for destruction, and the way in which he leans forward in adoration is a direct copy of the representation of Psamtik II on the barrier Vienna 213, where the skull cap, less elaborate than that of Nectanebo I, is clearly copied from the head of Psamtik I on the barrier London, B.M. 20. It seems, therefore, as if the representations of Nectanebo I on Bologna 1870 and British Museum 22 and 998 were carved after a local Heliopolitan model of 300 years earlier, illustrating once more the archaistic tendency of Dynasty XXX, which harks after the Saite ideal, with the exception that the king's face has been fashioned in a highly individualistic manner, for which the Louvre head forms our

only replica in the round. Although the inscription is lost, this head must be considered a true portrait of the king, beside which the inscribed sculptures of Nectanebo I with the head intact (Cairo J.E. 87298; Paris, Louvre A 29; the head from the Mauduit Collection; and several sandstone sphinxes of the avenue north of the First Pylon of the Luxor Temple) are but pale representations of the official image; their

great variety merely proves that none of them can be claimed as a true likeness. In shape and proportions the back pillar of the Louvre head very much resembles Paris, Louvre E. 10783, which also bears an inscription beginning with the "sky" sign over a sun disc with pendant uraei; it is apparently a stylistic feature first developed under Nectanebo I (cf. Paris, Louvre E. 11075).

No. 74; Pls. 70-71, Figs. 181-184.

THA-ASET-IMU, ROYAL SECRETARY

378-360 B.C.; *Dynasty XXX.*

Painted limestone.

Owner: The Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, N. Y.; no. 56.152.

Half a century ago, during one of his many seasons on the site of the city of Memphis, Flinders Petrie, the great British archaeologist, excavated at the northern end of Mitrahineh. There he discovered, reused in a brick construction at the southwest corner of the so-called Palace of Apries, a limestone slab about fifty inches high, decorated on one side with the representation of a striding man and a text in sunk relief and on the opposite side with two people and an inscription in low relief, on which a good deal of color was still preserved. The texts, containing the names of both King Amasis, designated as "deceased," and King Nectanebo I, "living forever," proved that this doorjamb from a chapel (it was easily recognized as such) was made during the reign of the latter ruler. The slab was shipped to England — fortunately after it had been photographed and drawn, for it was badly broken in transit — and is now in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge. There exists, however, a companion piece to this important document: the opposite jamb of the doorway, which is now in the Brooklyn Museum.

This double-faced relief, in nearly perfect state of preservation, corresponds almost exactly to the Cambridge slab. The outer side, the obverse, shows in carefully cut sunk relief,

facing left, the figure of a portly man with shaven head, who is dressed in a sleeved garment, probably with V-neck. Over it he wears a wide scarf, which covers one arm and shoulder, passes around the body, and ends again in front, where it is lightly held by the hand, adorned with a signet ring. The other hand holds a long staff. Above the man's head are four columns of inscription; at the right, a torus molding with remains of lacing painted in green runs along the entire height of the slab.

The opposite side, the reverse, was on the inside of the chapel, as is shown by a recess on the right to receive the door-leaf. Here the decoration is in low relief, still covered to a large extent with bright color. The scene consists of two persons; a man striding left is being received by a lady, who faces him, with her left arm around his shoulder, and holds him by the elbow with her right hand. The man wears an undergarment and a short-sleeved jacket with V-neck, and over it, the familiar wrap-around with highly stylized "roll" and pendant corner. Above the couple are five columns of brilliantly painted hieroglyphic inscriptions, surmounted by two lines of text in larger characters. These run from right to left, away from the doorway, while the two corresponding lines on the Cambridge slab, forming the

opposite side of the inner face of the doorway, go in the contrary direction, from left to right.

The relief was covered with gesso before drawing and painting were applied, and the artisan who took over after the carving had been completed worked in a remarkably free manner. He did not slavishly follow the outline marked in stone, especially in the figure of the man, and added such touches as the folds of the sleeve and of the tightly stretched wrap-around, which bring out a personal note in what otherwise would have been a routine job of coloring a completed relief. Especially noteworthy are the bulge of the sleeve between the man's arm and body on the right, and, on the left, the straight drop of the wrap-around, which does not follow the line of the body at all.

The technique used on the obverse was simply covering the sunk relief — inscription as well as representation — with gesso and then painting it; very few traces of color remain today. It is incredible that so much skill was applied to the carving, only to have it covered up again with gesso. The hieroglyphs, for instance, now look neat and clean wherever the gesso has been lost, and appear ill-defined where gesso, and occasionally color, are still preserved. Despite the sunk relief, the figure of the man, and especially his head, are modeled with a certain amount of depth. His head, in keeping with one of the ideals of the period, is typically egg-shaped, and the lifted corners of his mouth convey the well-known "smile."

As a practically undamaged relief of fairly large size and known date, the Brooklyn relief and (to a lesser degree) its companion in Cambridge are of great importance for the study of the art of Dynasty XXX. Since this is the side — not the lintel — of a doorway the representations traditionally are of a somewhat staid, formal nature, as was always the case on corresponding members of Old Kingdom chapels or the side panels of a large false door. But this sobriety is more than compensated for by the wealth of information the relief provides on

style, subject matter, technique, and color scheme, not to mention the inscriptions. These finally furnish an answer to many problems posed by the long-known texts of the Cambridge slab. The man is Tha-aset-imu, "Royal Herald," "King's Secretary," a contemporary of Nectanebo I. In the inscriptions he refers to a great personality who had lived a century and a half before his time, during and after the reign of King Amasis. This famous character was the "Master of the Antechamber," Iahmesa-neith, of whom a fragmentary statue (No. 57) is also shown in the Exhibition.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 126.8 cm. Width 34.7 cm. Thickness 17.8 cm. The dimensions of the Cambridge slab are, within a few millimeters, identical, even with respect to most details, such as the height of the lady, which is 47.5 cm. on the Brooklyn relief and 47.6 cm. on the slab in Cambridge.

PROVENANCE: Mitrahineh (Memphis).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *ZÄS* 84 (1959), p. 78, note 4. The relief in Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum 5/1909, was published in W.M. Flinders Petrie, *The Palace of Apries (Memphis II)* (London, 1909), pp. 13, 20-21, pl. XVII and XXV.

COMMENT: The Brooklyn and Cambridge doorjamb — and their inscriptions, which have been studied by H. De Meulenaere and Jean Yoyotte — will be published in detail in a separate article. The texts are very difficult to understand, and the identity of the lady Semset (cf. *BiOr* 16 [1959], p. 224) on the reverse of the Brooklyn relief and of the lady Ankhet on the slab in the Fitzwilliam Museum has not yet been fully explained. In addition to these two jambs, there is a third one (Berlin 15415) from another chapel, with a standing figure, facing left, which was published by Scharff, in *ZÄS* 74 (1938), pp. 44-45, fig. 3 (where the Berlin number is given incorrectly); it shows a man wearing a serrated scarf, wrapped numerous times around chest and shoulder, somewhat in the manner of No. 86. And finally, a relief in Philadelphia (No. 88) probably also comes from a doorjamb. Only the Brooklyn-Cambridge pieces are decorated or inscribed on both sides. As for the use of these doorways, it must be assumed that they led into real, adjacent rooms; otherwise the Brooklyn-Cambridge slabs would not be double-faced. The use of such rooms is yet to be studied; some information concerning it should be gained when the inscriptions have been fully interpreted. Anthes (in *ZÄS* 75 [1939], 30-31), in discussing the use of relief slabs such as that of Henat (Berlin 15414), proved that a theory proposed by Kuentz was untenable, but did not suggest specifically that such oblong blocks might be the lintels of doorways,

which has now been stated on very good evidence by W. S. Smith (*A.A.A.E.*, pp. 251, 287, note 60) with reference to Alexandria 380 and Paris, Louvre E. 11377. For the use of sunk relief on one side and low relief on the other side of the same block, see lately Leclant, in *Cahiers Techniques de l'Art* (Strasbourg) 4 (1957), pp. 39-40, notes 93-94. For the wide scarf, see the *Comment* on No. 86; it seems obvious that the clothes worn under the scarf are those shown on the reverse, in the scene of Tha-aset-imu and Semset. For a sculpture in wood, wearing the non-serrated wide scarf, see Cairo C.G. 140, which, despite the fact that it was published by Borchardt (*Statuen I*, p. 103) as "Spätzeit" as early as 1911, continues to be exhibited among the Old Kingdom statuary with obvious results (cf. *OLZ* 55 [1960], 19). Although the ring on Tha-aset-imu's hand in the Brooklyn relief is probably a signet ring, the corresponding object on the Cambridge slab is something entirely different, namely a cartouche-shaped seal surmounted

by two feathers. The scene on the reverse is very curious, surpassed only by the corresponding representation on the Cambridge relief, where the Lady Ankhet suckles the man. Both scenes are modeled after well-established stock representations showing the king in the good graces of a goddess, but are very strange indeed in the decoration of a private chapel. The use of plaster and paint over low relief has the effect that the head of Lady Semset appears rather gross; that of Tha-aset-imu has fared a little better. His costume is of the type worn by No. 65; for the wrap-around, see the *Comment* on No. 63. It is important to note that these garments, first found in the beginning of Dynasty XXVII under foreign influence, are in common use by the time this relief was made and have become thoroughly Egyptian. Since the man is facing left, the wrap-around has been reversed; in the relief Berlin 15415, the serrated scarf has been reversed in a similar manner.

No. 75; Pl. 72, Figs. 185-187.

TORSO OF DYNASTY XXX

378-360 B.C.; *Dynasty XXX*.

Mottled diorite.

Owner: Mr. Otto L. Spaeth, New York, N. Y.

The great pride which some Egyptians took in being in the good graces of their king induced them to decorate the entire upper portion of the back pillar of their statues with the full titulary of their sovereign, followed by the statement that the person represented in a given sculpture was honored before his ruler. Only then does the main text referring to the individual begin, usually with an enumeration of his titles. The personality of Nectanebo I must have impressed many of his subjects deeply, for a number of persons in high stations inscribed their statues in this fashion during his reign. Of all the rulers of the last five hundred years before the Roman conquest, the name of Nectanebo I appears more frequently on private sculptures than that of any other king.

In this statue of an anonymous courtier — merely the first few titles, denoting a man of high rank, are preserved — we have a fine ex-

ample of this time-honored custom, and though the sculpture is headless and the part below the thighs, with legs, feet, and base, is also missing, it is still an impressive figure. The entire surface is well polished, except for the skirt below the belt, which has been left rough as if prepared for a layer of different material. The torso of the man shows pure tripartition; chest, rib cage, and upper abdomen have been worked out as separate entities and blended together without great differentiation. Both arms were hanging straight down by the sides, and the fists probably held emblematic staves.

There are three columns of inscription on the main portion of the back pillar and one column on its left side. On its upper part, under the formerly trapezoid top, are an elongated "sky" hieroglyph surmounting the names and titles of King Nectanebo I and a brief inscription to the god Sopdu, "Lord of

the East," before whom the subject of the statue was revered.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 43.5 cm. Lower break, width 23.8 cm., depth 18.2 cm. Upper break, width of neck 8.5 cm., depth of neck only 8 cm., entire depth 13.5 cm. Width of back pillar 10 cm. Intracolumnar width, column two 3 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; presumably Saft el Henna.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: None.

COMMENT: This flocky, grey-green to black diorite seems to be as typical for Saft el Henna and the reign of Nectanebo I as the grey-green breccia for Heliopolis and Nectanebo II (Glasgow 9a-'12; Paris, Louvre E. 17379). This diorite is the same material of which the head Berlin 8805 is made; alas, the two do not belong together, although the head is datable to the time of Nectanebo I. Interesting is the ornamentation of the back-pillar top, with its pendant uraei supporting *ankh* signs and framing an inscription that ends with "Lord of Heaven." An almost identical motif appears on the back-pillar top of a statue of Nectanebo I himself in London (B.M. 1013), which is made in the same diorite and also comes from Saft el Henna. Another trapezoidal back-pillar top from a private statue in Paris (Louvre E. 10783) offers an arrangement of the royal titulary of Nectanebo I comparable to that of the New York statue, except that it is more complete, comprising

the five names of the king as against only three on our torso. Also Berlin 21596 deserves to be mentioned in this connection; here again the back pillar of a private statue has a trapezoidal top with the cartouches of Nectanebo I, after which the main text begins. This arrangement occurs on occasion already in Dynasty XXVI (Alexandria 409; Copenhagen, N.C.G. 73; Paris, Musée Rodin 284), where the names of the ruling king precede the name of the private person who mentions his sovereign in the back-pillar inscription. With the introduction of the trapezoidal top, however, the layout of the inscriptions and the design of the decoration at the top become much more elaborate; one of the many ways in which Dynasty XXX showed distinct progress. Edouard Naville, writing in 1885, when he excavated at Saft el Henna, felt that "it is impossible not to be struck by the beauty of the workmanship [of the monuments of Nectanebo I and II] as well as by the richness of the material employed. Egyptian art undergoes a new resurrection more complete than under the twenty-sixth dynasty. There is more vigour in the style than at the time of the Psammetichi. . . ." (E. Naville, *The Shrine of Saft el Henneh* [London, 1887], p. 3). Though in his day the best of Saite sculpture had not yet been uncovered, Naville's appreciation of Dynasty XXX was excellent, and it is well worth while to read his paragraphs following the quotation given above. For another sculpture from Saft el Henna, see No. 52.

No. 76; Pls. 72-73, Figs. 188-191.

THANEFER, SON OF NESPA-MEDU

About 380-340 B.C.; Dynasty XXX.

Mottled dark grey granite.

Owner: The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, N. Y.; no. Inv. 10.

There are many facets to the revival of early Saite art forms that took place in a resurgence of national consciousness under King Nectanebo I. Not the least among the forms that then returned to favor is the block statue, which in the course of the later Dynasty XXVI and of Dynasty XXVII had gradually been abandoned. With the fourth century we find in the south, at Thebes, a renewal of this statue type, executed in hard stone and appearing continuously in great numbers from then on until the end of the second or the beginning of the first century B.C.

At the time of Dynasty XXX, however, the pose was no longer deemed appropriate for a high dignitary, and one cannot suppress the feeling that the Egyptians themselves may have considered it as something faintly archaic. Both types, the one with bare feet and the one with the feet covered by the garment, are revived simultaneously, but the proportions seem to have suffered, and the attitude — at least in the examples with short skirt and bare feet — no longer makes a convincingly relaxed impression. It is probably not justifiable, however, to compare these later block statues too closely

with the early Saite prototype, for, *mutatis mutandis*, they do represent a different era and a different approach to sculpture in the round.

Because they were so frequently made at Thebes during the time of the Nectanebos, it has seemed desirable to include at least one of them in the Exhibition, though it does not show the vigor of the splendid sculptures produced in the north under those rulers. This block statue from the Pierpont Morgan Library is fairly typical of the series, impressive in size and quality of workmanship and in very little else. The man represented crosses his arms, right over left, in the classical manner, the left hand lying flat, palm down, the right holding something not clearly identifiable. Wide wig, sharp, almost plastic eyebrows, long, narrowed eyes, and a short beard complete the picture of the figure, which is inscribed around the base and on the back pillar with an invocation of Amun-Ra on behalf of Thanefer, "God's Father, Prophet of Amun in Karnak," son of Nespa-medu (who had the same titles), and of the "Songstress of Amun-Ra," Khonsu-irdas. The orthography, in its clarity and simplicity, offers a fine example of Saite revival.

With two statues of Thanefer's distinguished brother, Djed-hor, which came to light at Karnak early in the century and are now at the Cairo Museum, we now have on hand three statues of one and the same generation, made in the same workshop at approximately the same time, to give a somewhat larger view of the efforts of the period. The variety these three sculptures offer shows that there was at least no

stagnation under Nectanebo I, even if Thanefer's statue turned out to be the least inspired of the lot.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 45.5 cm. Height of face 5.5 cm. Height of base 9.4 to 10 cm. Width of base 17.5 cm. Depth of base, left 21.2 cm., right 20.6 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; undoubtedly Karnak.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: None.

COMMENT: For the early Saite prototype of Thanefer's statue, see Nos. 30-32. In Dynasty XXX, however, the garment is much less distinct, and it is not always clear whether the arms are meant to be bare or covered. Thanefer's beard is curious; it is set back so far from the chin that it appears to be merely a filler. In block statues of this type, there is some variation, even among contemporary Theban sculptures, in the way in which the head sits on the block. Sometimes the chin rests directly on the block; sometimes it is raised and supported by a beard; sometimes it is modeled freely, without the supporting beard. The position of the right hand also varies; it may hold a kerchief or even a bunch of flowers. The left hand, however, seems always to lie flat, palm down, throughout the fourth century B.C. There is, of course, if compared with the classic examples, something odd about the proportions. The depth of the base is greatly reduced in relation to the height of the statue. The two figures of Djed-hor, Thanefer's brother, are Cairo $24\frac{8}{16} + \frac{12}{16}$ and J.E. 37861. The latter is a block statue, similar to that of Thanefer; the former is a fine standing statue with wide wig, plain royal kilt, and emblematic staves in both fists. The torso modeling is exquisite, and only the wig and the expression of the face betray the post-Persian date—that is, if one disregards the inscriptions which, though well carved, appear more crowded than their Saite forerunners. Perhaps the quality of this striding statue of Thanefer's brother can be partly explained by the fact that, to judge from the rich titulary of his sculptures, he was a much more distinguished and perhaps more influential person than Thanefer.

About 370-350 B.C.; Dynasty XXX.

Dark mottled diorite.

Owner: Wittelsbacher Ausgleichsfonds, Munich (on loan at the Ägyptische Staatssammlung München; Glyptothek no. 29).

The classicism of the fourth century, prompted by the desire of Nectanebo I to revive the glories of the Saite age, produced an art, especially in the field of sculpture, that in many ways lastingly influenced the Romans more than three hundred years later and, through Roman imitations, has formed the taste and opinions of archaeologists studying Egyptian art in Italian collections almost to this day. These archaeologists have acclaimed many fourth century sculptures as "Saite," that is, as dating from the seventh and early sixth centuries B.C. There are a number of Egyptian statues in the Vatican collections, with heads restored in this "Saite" style, which actually imitate heads of Dynasty XXX.

It is hardly surprising that one of the best pieces of this last-named period should have come to Munich by way of the Villa Albani in Rome. This is a male head with a valanced wig consisting of several hundred stylized, echeloned curls, which are arranged, like beads on strings, in rows issuing from an undecorated disc on the crown of the head. Thus is introduced a vertical conception, which does not exist in the Old Kingdom, where this wig first appears. In Old Kingdom examples, the rows of curls, though already echeloned, are arranged in concentric circles around the wig, with more emphasis on the horizontal. In the Munich head the wig is rather long and bulges very little, quite unlike the similar wig on a statue in Brooklyn (No. 80) where the outline approaches the globular.

The face is placid and idealizing, well formed and somewhat bland. The eyebrows are straight and thin; the rims of the upper eyelids are outlined. The left eye slants far more than the

right. The tip of the nose has been restored, and in the process the adjoining portions seem to have been slightly reworked, so that the nose now appears much more attenuated than it originally was. The edges of philtrum and lips are unusually sharp, but cheeks, chin, and neck show hardly any modifications. The forehead is very low and deeply cut back below the wig, which leaves off abruptly, without transition to the face. As a whole it is an impressive head, uninspired so far as human features are concerned, but imaginative in the use of the unusual wig, which completely covers the ears.

The top of the back pillar, of trapezoid shape, shows in sunk relief the figure of the god Osiris-Anedjty of Busiris, facing right, before whom the man represented in the head was honored — so much at least can be made out from the inscription below, of the four columns of which only the very beginning has been preserved. Apart from the features of the face and the archaistic wig, it is the representation of the single deity on the back pillar that most strongly suggests a date in Dynasty XXX.

MEASUREMENTS: Height (exclusive of the restoration on the neck in front) 22.5 cm. Height of face 12.2 cm. Width 19.6 cm. Depth of break at neck 18.3 cm. Width of back pillar 12.7 cm. Intracolumnar width, columns one and three 2.3 cm., columns two and four 2.1 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; probably Busiris (Delta). Formerly in the collections of Cardinal Alessandro Albani.

BIBLIOGRAPHY (selective): A. Furtwängler, *Ein Hundert Tafeln nach den Bildwerken der Königlichen Glyptothek* (Munich, 1903), pl. 5. A. Furtwängler, *Beschreibung der Glyptothek König Ludwig's I. zu München* (2d ed.; Munich, 1910), pp. 32-33, no. 29. Bissing, *Denkm.*, pl. 67-68. Paul Wolters, *Führer durch die Glyptothek König Ludwig's I. zu München* (Munich, 1928 and 1935), pp. 8-9, no. 29. Spiegel-

berg, in *ZÄS* 64 (1929), pp. 74-75. Bosse, *Menschl. Figur*, p. 71, no. 190. Kunsthalle Basel, *Schatze Altaegyptischer Kunst*; 27. Juni—13. Sept. 1953 (Basel, 1953), p. 62, no. 167. Bieber, *The Sculpture*, p. 92, fig. 350.

COMMENT: This is a much-traveled head, which originally probably graced the Egyptian collection of the Emperor Hadrian at his villa near Rome. Centuries later, it formed part of the vast museum assembled by the Cardinal Alessandro Albani at his villa in the outskirts of Rome, from which Napoleon took nearly three hundred sculptures to Paris. In 1815, when these pieces were restituted to their owner, some of them had to be sold, since the cost of transportation back to Rome was too high, and thus the head of the anonymous servant of the god Osiris-Anedjty was acquired by the later King Ludwig I of Bavaria for his newly founded museum of ancient sculpture, the Glyptothek of Munich. Probably in Roman times the head had been placed on a female draped torso, from which it was removed not long ago, although it had been recognized for some time as representing a man and not belonging to the body. The piece at the front of the neck is a restoration, and so is the tip of the nose. The nose, reworked in the course of restoration, lends a strange expression to the head, especially as seen in profile. The undecorated disc on top of the wig is found also on the head of the Dattari Statue (No. 80), the *Comment* on which should be compared for a brief discussion of heads of this type. The generally vertical arrangement of the rows of curls prevails also in early Saite sculpture (London, B.M. 1682), which

affords a prototype for heads such as this one from Munich, but since there are great differences between the two styles, it is doubly curious that the Munich head should have been regarded as Saite for so long. It was finally Spiegelberg who proposed a date in Dynasty XXX, although he came to this conclusion in a rather roundabout, and probably fallacious, way. For the representation of Osiris-Anedjty with his typical headdress, see Cairo C.G. 70011, of the time of King Amasis. The single figure of a god on the back-pillar top, which occurs only briefly, is also found on No. 83, and the two pieces cannot be very far apart in date—the Munich head coming from the north and the Brooklyn head from the south. Yet these two heads show wide divergencies, symbolic of the many diverse trends expressed in sculpture of the fourth century. The close affinity between the relief style of Nectanebo II and that of Ptolemy II has been frequently pointed out (*BMFA* 51 [1953], p. 5). Taking details of the face of the Munich head, such as eyebrows, eyes, and the root of the nose, and comparing them with the corresponding parts of the statue of Ptolemy II in Rome (Vatican 27), one is indeed struck by the resemblance; if both were preserved only as fragments it would be hard to state which was of the third and which of the second century. All this merely points up the complexity of archaistic trends. It is essential, however, at least to distinguish the sculpture of early Dynasty XXVI from that of Dynasty XXX, for works of the two periods should no longer be confounded.

No. 78; Pl. 75, Figs. 195-196.

WEN-NUFER, SERVANT OF NEITH

About 365 B.C.; Dynasty XXX.

Indurated, veined limestone.

Owner: *The Baltimore Museum of Art, Baltimore, Md.; no. 51.257.*

There is only a limited amount of information to be gleaned from egg-shaped heads of the idealizing type of the fourth century B.C. Some of them are better than others—in a few the mouth shows an individualistic touch—but commonly they are rather uninspired. Nothing would be gained by including in this Exhibition another sculpture of an ordinary type, such as this head from the Baltimore Mu-

seum of Art, were it not that its back pillar provides several quite valuable data.

Only the upper portion of the pillar is preserved; it is of the trapezoidal shape introduced after the end of Dynasty XXVI, with the field divided into two parts. Despite the damage, there is no doubt that a bull with sun disc, facing right, stood on the base line of the trapezoid; on the right was probably a figure of the

statue's subject, worshipping the sacred animal. The upper part of the trapezoid is filled with three lines of inscription bearing on the scene below, which are complete in themselves and thus do not necessarily form the beginning of the main text, which must have been inscribed on the long back pillar, now lost. These three lines state that a certain Wen-nufer, one of whose titles is "Servant of Neith," was "Revered by Hapy-Sokar-Osiris, the great god, lord of Shethyt," etc.; so the bull represented must be the Apis Bull of Memphis, which indicates the provenance of the sculpture. It so happens that there is preserved the lower part of a standing statue of this same Wen-nufer (to which this head cannot belong because it is in a different material), which contains in the text a reference to King Nectanebo I, thus offering proof that the Baltimore head must also date from Dynasty XXX.

This head, then, tells us that as early as Dynasty XXX the trapezoid back-pillar top was fully inscribed, that the later very frequent scene of worship before a single god already occurred in the reign of Nectanebo I, and that the scene can be captioned above by a text of several lines, well before the Ptolemaic Period. Still, back-pillar tops of this shape were occasionally left without inscription and decoration until late in the Ptolemaic Period.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 20 cm. Width 12.6 cm. Depth of break 16.3 cm. Depth of back pillar (slant) 8.4 cm. Width of break at neck 8.4 cm., at back of neck 6.6 cm., at rear of back pillar ca. 11 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; probably Memphis.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: None.

COMMENT: The nose is modern; as restorations go, it has been done very well. The back pillar is very deep and decreases noticeably in width from the rear toward the neck. This indurated kind of limestone, now of creamy-grey color, was frequently employed from the fourth century on — frequently, considering that limestone as such was little favored in comparison with harder stones. The forehead is fairly high; the eyebrows are sharp, but not plastic; the rim of the upper eyelid is outlined and drawn over at the outer corners. There is no philtrum. The mouth curves upward; the corners are drilled and appear to be open. Wen-nufer, in addition to being a "Servant of Neith," which may indicate that he hailed from the Fayum, was *mer-sesh khenty-wer*, for which see Posener, *Première Domination*, p. 8. The other sculpture of Wen-nufer is the lower portion of a granite naophoros, Alexandria 20959, the texts of which clearly indicate a Fayum provenance and name his parents — Djed-bastet-iuf-ankh and Shedet. These persons also appear as parents of a Wen-nufer with a different title on the statue Turin 3028, but it is impossible to state at present whether it represents the same man. Since only Wen-nufer's Alexandria statue is dated by the cartouche of Nectanebo I, it is of course not proved that the Baltimore head was made in that king's reign; it may have been fashioned a few years later under Nectanebo II. Perhaps the missing statue to which the head belongs will some day be found to provide the answer.

No. 79; Pl. 75, Figs. 197-198.

HEAD WITH WIDE WIG

About 360 B.C.; Dynasty XXX.

Grey to black schist.

Owner: City Art Museum of St. Louis, St. Louis, Mo.; no. 215:54.

The memory of the Saite Dynasty played a decisive rôle in the second quarter of the fourth century B.C., when sculptures in the round were once more produced in great numbers in studios all over the Nile Valley. Much of

what was, from an Egyptian point of view, the most valuable contribution of Dynasty XXVI was revived, adapted, and even imitated. One type current in sculpture of the late seventh and early sixth century B.C. seems especially to

have attracted the Egyptians of this later age — the delicate, youthful face, represented in this Exhibition by examples such as Nos. 27 and 46.

The sculptors of Dynasty XXX even tried to improve upon this type — not always with happy results — but when they struck a balance between adaptation and innovation they succeeded in modeling some fine faces, one of which is shown here in a head from the City Art Museum of St. Louis. This head cannot be mistaken for a work of Dynasty XXVI; the wig is much too large for the face and rises too steeply above the forehead to belong to the pre-Persian period, but in the contour of the almond-shaped eyes and in the softness of the cheeks, a good deal of the prototype is reflected. On the other hand, the faint plasticity of the eyebrows and their transition to the nose are strictly of fourth century style, and the distinct line marking the front border of the wig, which does not blend into the forehead, is actually characteristic of Dynasty XXX and the centuries following it.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 10.2 cm. Width 10.4 cm. Depth 8.5 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; probably Thebes. Formerly in the J. Lionberger Davis Collection.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Part II of the Notable Art Collection Belonging to the Estate of the Late Joseph Brummer*

(Sale Catalogue, New York, Parke-Bernet Galleries, 11-14 May, 1949), pp. 4-5, no. 21 (illus.). *Bulletin of the City Art Museum of St. Louis*, XXVII, nos. 2-3 (1952), p. 27, no. 110 (erroneously identified as no. 109 in the illustration).

COMMENT: Strictly speaking, the wig is not a wide wig, but a mixture of wide wig and bag wig, such as often occurs in the fourth century B.C. The main reason, however, for attributing the head to Dynasty XXX is found in a close parallel, the head of a statue made for the brother of our No. 76, Djed-hor (Cairo 24⁸+12⁵), which is datable to the reign of Nectanebo I or a little later. Although the cut of Djed-hor's wide wig is much purer than that of the St. Louis head, the two pieces can be compared on several points, not the least of which is the scale, since they are almost identical in size. The back pillar of the St. Louis head ended just where it met the wig, a feature found also in the Cairo statue of Djed-hor and a number of other sculptures datable to the middle of the fourth century B.C. (cf. No. 80). The great height of the wig above the forehead, noticeable also in some block statues of post-Persian, pre-Ptolemaic date (Cairo J.E. 36945, 37354), may be based on a general tendency prevailing at Thebes in this period, when bald-headed statues, too, have unusually high foreheads (New York, M.M.A. 17.120.145). In the New York statue — and in numerous other examples of the time, including the St. Louis head — the eyebrows form an even curve, which is interrupted by the root of the nose without transition. The manner in which the forehead is cut back to meet the wig, resulting in a wig edge of visible depth, is already evolved during the later Persian Period (Boston, M.F.A. 35.1484). It is one of the tell-tale signs of post-Saite sculpture.

No. 80; Pl. 76, Figs. 199-200.

ARCHAISTIC STATUE

About 365 B.C.; Dynasty XXX.

Black diorite.

Owner: The Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, N. Y.; no. 52.89.

As recently as twenty years ago, expert opinion — and to a large extent that of the educated public — looked with ill-concealed horror upon Egyptian sculpture of the Late Period. Almost everything created after the end of the New Kingdom was considered decadent, and forms of modeling which did not follow

classical standards were pointed to as signs of decline. It was as if the Egyptians ought to have continued, *ad infinitum*, the style of a particularly acceptable period, thus saving the specialist the trouble of mapping the development that inevitably takes place in art forms with the passage of time. "Decadence" and

"decline" are, as we now have come to realize, only relative conceptions. As evaluations they appeal to the purist; as terms of critical judgment they are quite worthless.

The sculpture known as the "Dattari Statue," which here appears for the second time in a Brooklyn exhibition, had made the round of the major museums and collectors for a number of years before it was acquired by the Museum. The reason why it was not immediately picked up when it first appeared in the market is today hard to understand. It probably aroused suspicion, not because it was considered a forgery, but because it was held to be hybrid and lacking in that unity of form and style which is considered the essence of a work of art. That there are now quite a number of experts who consider this statue a great work of art, who will not dispute that it shows unity, and who regard it as an outstanding piece of sculpture, proves how quickly taste and understanding change, even among such conservatives as scholars usually are.

The fine youthful face — admittedly, and in keeping with one of the artistic tendencies of the time, without much individuality — seems to be divided into two halves by an imaginary line running from the middle of the forehead to the point of the chin. From this line, the forehead slopes noticeably toward the temples, and the lips toward the tips of the ears. The ears themselves are entirely covered by a valanced wig with stylized, echeloned curls, which follows the line of the cheeks much more closely than does that of the Munich head (No. 77), with the result that, in contour, it is almost globular. Its roundness is not even interrupted by the back pillar, which (again unlike No. 77) terminates at the nape of the neck.

While the face offers the picture of ideal youth with a faint "smile" about the lips, the torso and arms present a far from conventional aspect. More than any other statue of its size, this sculpture has tension and strength, expressed in superbly modeled muscle and flesh. Even if the head were missing, the torso would

remain a little masterpiece of the sculptor's art, for in it the vigor of the male body is captured in forms of almost sensuous appeal. The two hands really grasp the emblematic staves and hold them firmly.

The back pillar is very deep; its top ends horizontally. On it are three columns of inscription, headed by the divine triad, Amun, Mut, and Khonsu, in squatting position. Though these are the main gods of Thebes, there is no doubt that the statue originated in the north, where the same triad was worshipped in numerous places. Although the second column contains several priestly titles, the name of the man represented is lost, together with the lower portion of the statue. The inscription employs archaistic forms and, in the third column, some curious writings, which point to the time of Nectanebo I as the most likely period in which the statue could have been made, and this date agrees well with other stylistic features of the sculpture, such as the wig and the classical attitude without naos or divine figure.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 51.2 cm. Height of face 5.4 cm. Width 16.7 cm. Depth at left knee 14 cm. Width of back pillar 5.9 cm. Intracolumnar widths (1): 1.5 cm., (2) and (3): 1.6 cm. each.

PROVENANCE: Not known; probably the Delta. Formerly in the collection of Giovanni Dattari.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Collections de feu M. Jean P. Lambros d'Athènes et de M. Giovanni Dattari du Caire. Antiquités égyptiennes, grecques et romaines* (Sale Catalogue, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 17-19 June, 1912), p. 36, no. 291, pl. XXVII-XXVIII. *ILN*, vol. 223, no. 5973 (October 10, 1953), p. 563. The Brooklyn Museum, *Five Years of Collecting Egyptian Art, 1951-56* (Brooklyn, 1956), pp. 14-15, no. 14, pl. 30-31. *AfO* 18 (1958), p. 437, note 1. *ZAS* 84 (1959), p. 78, note 4.

COMMENT: The name "Dattari Statue" was given to the sculpture because of its first owner. The valanced wig with numerous curls was not, as is generally assumed, influenced by an Old Kingdom model, but by a coiffure fashionable in the early part of Dynasty XXVI (see No. 16), the period from which the sculpture of the reign of Nectanebo I took a great deal of inspiration. For similar heads with the curly valanced wig, cf. No. 77, Nantes E. 195, San Jose 1643, and a head in Padua (Museo Civico), although basically the wig of the Dattari Statue, with its globular form, is unique. The nose has suffered a slight

damage on the bridge, but is ancient throughout and nowhere restored. The edge of the upper lids is outlined. The face, though not quite as broad, is reflected in later heads such as Cairo J.E. 46341 of the time of Philip Arrhidæus. With its high polish and swelling forms, the torso obviously follows the standard set for the statuary of Nectanebo I (London, B.M. 1013; Paris, B.N.; Rome, Vatican 13).

Though it clearly shows tripartition, a faint median line is visible in the right light, as in the royal sculpture of the time. It is interesting to compare the modeling with that of No. 81, which is of Theban origin and should be of about the same period, but is much more subdued in its modeling. For the deep back pillar, ending horizontally and very low, cf. Baltimore, W.A.G. 150.

No. 81; Pl. 77-78, Figs. 201-202, 204.

ANKH-PA-KHERED, SON OF NESMIN

About 360 B.C.; Dynasty XXX.

Black basalt or diorite.

Owner: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y.; no. 08.202.1.

The reign of King Nectanebo I (378-360 B.C.) of Dynasty XXX has left numerous monuments which bear testimony that a conscious effort was made, after a quarter of a century of civil strife and disorder, to revive the memory of the early Saite Period, by that time considered to be something of a golden age. This renaissance is reflected in the archaistic language and epigraphy of numerous inscriptions of the period and in many other ways, one of which is the sudden reappearance of the striding male statue in the classical tradition, with short, pleated kilt and emblematic staves in the clenched hands.

Strange as it may seem, this type of figure without attributes had all but disappeared from the repertory in the sixth century; the few standing statues of the Persian Period, which were made without a naos or the figure of a god before them (cf. No. 68), are always dressed in a long garment hiding the body from chest to ankles. It is as if the Egyptians had acquired a prudish streak under foreign domination. However this may be, it is almost impossible to gain a clear picture of the development of modeling of the male torso for the period between Amasis and Nectanebo I, because even such kneeling statues as have been preserved, with or without an overgarment,

are nearly always encumbered by a naos concealing the better part of the body.

In comparison with the sensuousness that marks tripartite torso modeling toward the end of the sixth century, the forms presented in this figure of Ankh-pa-khered are surprisingly modest and restrained. Chest, rib cage, and abdomen are well indicated as individual units, but the transition from one to the other is invariably soft, and one can even detect a faint median line after early Saite fashion. The head is truly egg-shaped, and not the faintest hint at the skull's bone structure has been attempted. Thin plastic eyebrows and cosmetic lines, a straight nose and small mouth complete the picture of dignified, formal reticence, which characterizes so much of the sculpture of this period.

Ankh-pa-khered was a "God's Father, Prophet of Amun in Karnak, *idenu* of the House of Amun of the First Phyle." His father, Nesmin, also was a "God's Father," and his mother, Tady-aset-dy-ankh, a "Singer of Amun-Ra." The texts on left side and rear of the back pillar and on top of the base contain, in addition to the names and titles, funerary prayers and the so-called Address to the Living. They follow early Saite style with fair accuracy, except for a few typically fourth cen-

ture writings. The back-pillar top, too, is somewhat anachronistic in such a classicistic statue, for it is of a trapezoidal shape which did not exist in Dynasty XXVI. The rear of the back-pillar top does not lie in the same plane with the main part of the back pillar, as if the sculptor had not been quite sure of the prototype to be followed.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 58.9 cm. Height of base 4.8 cm. Width of base 15.3 cm. Depth of base 27.1 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; undoubtedly Karnak.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *BMAA* 3 (1908), p. 223, fig. 6.

COMMENT: The statue was broken in two across legs and back pillar and has been mended. A small portion of the left foot and of the left side of the back pillar is restored. The family of Ankh-pa-khered is known from other sources. His brother, Horsiese, has left a block statue now in Cairo ($2\frac{8}{16} + 1\frac{12}{16}$), and one Nesmin, who could be either the father or the son of Ankh-pa-khered, has a block statue in Glasgow (Burrell Collection) and a papyrus in Paris (Louvre E. 3096). The text on the base is copied, if not from our No. 44, at least from a statue close to it, including the formula *peret nebet her udehu-ef*, etc., which was very popular in early Saite times (Bologna 1812; Cairo J.E. 36665) and was frequently reused in the fourth century (No. 76; Paris, Louvre N. 1572). The fact that the Saite formula is not followed by *maa-kheru*, is typical for the early part of Dynasty

XXVI. This formula appears on the Cairo statue of Ankh-pa-khered's brother in a strange variant, which also occurs on No. 38. The texts of this statue of Ankh-pa-khered contain some of the alphabetical writings for which the Naucratis Stela of Nectanebo I (Cairo J.E. 34002) is well known: e.g., *ny* in column three of the inscription on the left side of the back pillar. The texts, however, are not quite as classicistic as those of certain other Karnak statues of the time of Nectanebo I (Cairo J.E. 37354 and 37861), and thus it seems best to assume that the sculpture was made at the end of the king's reign or at the beginning of that of Nectanebo II. Since there exist practically no statues from Karnak that are dated by cartouches of Nectanebo I, this sculpture and that of its subject's brother constitute a kind of fixed point in the maze of post-Persian statues, so hard to classify. Another fixed point, so far as Thebes is concerned, is Cairo J.E. 37075, the statue of Iahmes, which must have been made at about the time of Alexander the Great. For the exuberance and vitality of tripartite torso modeling in the sixth century, see Cairo C.G. 784 and London, B.M. 16041. The revival of that style in the fourth century B.C. resulted in a number of variations with drastic or subtle changes which are difficult to define. Their wide range points out the strength of this renaissance of Dynasty XXX, which set a pattern followed for nearly three centuries. Thus the reign of Nectanebo I proved artistically as fertile as that of Psamtik I, although not all aspects of Saite revival are aesthetically as harmonious as the torso of the statue of Ankh-pa-khered.

No. 82; Pl. 78, Fig. 203.

HAP-IU'S LADY MUSICIANS

About 360 B.C.; Dynasty XXX.

Limestone.

Owner: The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio; no. 199.14.

The impressions of the art of Dynasty XXX, given by surviving monuments from the time of the two Nectanebos, are highly diverse. On the one hand are formal temple sculptures, stelae, and reliefs from the great royal sanctuaries; on the other, are a series of doorjambs and relief-decorated lintels from private chapels, which, in their liveliness and stylistic freedom, are in striking contrast to the official monuments of the period.

Among these private documents is a relief from Cleveland, which, although it repeats with some variations a scene represented on slabs in Alexandria and Baltimore (No. 87), is the only nearly intact one of its kind in the Western Hemisphere, being preserved almost to its base line. As has long been recognized, it forms the right-hand portion of a relief in Berlin, representing a seated man, facing right, before whom a harpist plays his instrument; a

rooster, still a strange bird in Egypt at the time, stands between them. Only the rounded back of the harper remains at the left of the Cleveland relief. Behind him stands a woman in a long coat, who plays a barrel drum suspended by a cord from her neck. Then comes a floral arrangement on a stand, followed by a lightly clad girl who plays a lyre; behind her, at the right edge of the block, is a bird beating its wings and trying to maintain a precarious balance upon a bundle of reeds.

From the Berlin piece, we know the name of the man wearing a serrated shawl such as shown on Nos. 86 and 87, for whom the orchestra is playing: he is called Hap-iu. Though the style of the inscription points to the early Saite period, the figures give the lie to such a date. It is obvious that we have here another monument of the fourth century that recalls the style of early Dynasty XXVI. From the spaciousness of the arrangement, one would conclude that this relief is earlier than that from Baltimore (No. 87); but it undoubtedly comes from the same locality. Though the ladies' figures show a certain voluptuousness, they are treated with far more restraint than are those on certain other post-Persian reliefs. One is inclined, therefore, to attribute the Berlin-Cleveland fragments to the reign of Nectanebo I rather than to that of his successor.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 27.3 cm. Width at top 32 cm., at bottom 34.5 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; probably Heliopolis. From the John Huntington Collection.

BIBLIOGRAPHY (selective): The Cleveland Museum of Art, *Catalogue of the Inaugural Exhibition, June 6–September 20, 1916* (Cleveland, 1916), p. 212, no. 80 (illustrated edition: p. 212, no. 80; p. 339). Caroline Ransom Williams, in *JEA* 5 (1918), pp. 280–284, no. 23; pl. XXXIX. Schäfer, *Gewand*, p. 204. Capart, *Documents* I, pp. 69–70, 81; pl. 94. Bissing, in

BVBKAB 4 (1929), p. 10. Porter-Moss, *Top. Bibl.* III, p. 224. Scharff, in *ZÄS* 74 (1938), pp. 42 ff., pl. III; and in *Misc.Greg.*, p. 202, note 49. Macadam, *Kawa* II, pp. 43 and 244. Wolf, *Kunst*, pp. 640 and 642, fig. 686. H. Wild, in *Kush* 7 (1959), p. 78, note 7.

COMMENT: For such lintels in general and for the doorways which they may have surmounted, see the *Comments* on Nos. 74 and 87. C. R. Williams, in the initial publication of the Cleveland piece, suggested that the outline at the left break might be the back of a harpist, a suggestion taken up by Scharff in publishing the harpist relief, Berlin 23001; he assumed that the latter formed the missing left side of the Cleveland relief, and W. S. Smith (*A.A.A.E.*, pp. 252 and 287, note 63) confirmed it. With No. 87 and Alexandria 380, we have here a third relief of approximately identical composition: a group of lady musicians, led by a seated harpist, performing before the principal figure who is seated at left, and there is no doubt that all three reliefs are Heliopolitan, made within one generation, and that their inscriptions hark back to early Saite times; viz. the determinative of the seated man on the Berlin fragment. The name, Hap-iu, too, is already attested in the beginning of Dynasty XXVI, although, at that time, it is not very common. A great deal has been written about the costume of these ladies, their ornaments and musical instruments, and thus they warrant only a few additional remarks. No explanation can be offered for the costume of the lady drummer beyond what others have said; in view of the Kushite origin of her instrument, her stole, necklace and ear pendants are probably also of Sudanese provenance. The close-cropped curly hair, on the other hand, is in the Egyptian tradition (cf. No. 90). As for the hair ornament, the Cleveland relief shows that the lotus flower has no connection with the broad band in the figure on the left, and on a relief in Paris (Louvre E. 11148) a little girl – perhaps a maid servant – carries such an object in her hand. C. R. Williams explained the plant form between the two large papyrus umbels as a lotus leaf; Keimer, in *OLZ* 28 (1925), 465 and note 1, favors a closed papyrus bud; perhaps it and the “lily pad” on No. 87 are actually identical. The coiffure of the girl on the right occurs many times on fourth century reliefs. As there are no stone sculptures of women before the second half of the century (cf. the *Comment* on No. 92), one has to turn to bronzes (Louvre E. 11556) to find parallels in the round.

About 360-340 B.C.; Dynasty XXX.

Green schist.

Owner: The Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, N. Y.; no. 55.175.

Few heads from ancient Egypt can be called portraits in the fullest sense of the term; this green head in the Brooklyn Museum is one of them. Here, great sculptural skill has endowed a man's likeness with the lasting expression of a strong personality, has captured, with sparing means, the inner being of an anonymous Egyptian.

The face is an unwrinkled mask of skin, stretched tightly over the framework of the bones. The rise of the triangle formed by the root of the nose separates the two sharp eyebrows. The ridge of the nose is thin, but the wide-open nostrils betray a sensitivity that is offset by the firm, thin-lipped mouth with slightly drooping corners, characteristic of strength and determination. The eyes are partly closed; an incised line separates the eyelids from the brow. All parts of the face — eyes, nose, and mouth — have a life of their own, and they add up to the picture of a strangely complex individual, who was probably an outstanding figure in the life of his time.

The skull is broad and squat, with just enough indication of the anatomy to show that it was not modeled after a standard type. The incised line around the base of the neck may mark either the edge of a close-fitting garment or a string from which an amulet was suspended. The top of the back pillar, trapezoid in shape, is decorated with a seated figure of the god Osiris, on whose throne is incised a bird, the hieroglyph for "great." Underneath is the beginning of two columns of inscription naming Amun-Ra and Monthu, the two main deities of Karnak.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 15.3 cm. Height of head only 10.8 cm. Width 10 cm. Depth 12.7 cm. Width

of break 10 cm. Depth of break (horiz.) 8.4 cm. Width of back pillar 6.6 cm. Intracolumnar width 4.8 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; perhaps Karnak. Formerly in the Jameson Collection (through Nahman in Cairo and Bing in Paris).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Exposition de sculpture . . . organisée par M. Arthur Sambon* (Paris, 16 March-16 April, 1928), p. 9, no. 16; pl. 7. Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs, *Exposition Egypte-France* (October-November 1949), no. 57. *Brooklyn Museum Bulletin* XVIII no. 1 (Fall 1956), pp. 17 and 18. The Brooklyn Museum, *Five Years of Collecting Egyptian Art, 1951-1956* (Brooklyn, 1956), pp. 13-14, no. 13, pl. 28-29. G. Posener et al., *Dictionnaire de la civilisation égyptienne* (Paris, 1959), p. 275 (illus.).

COMMENT: Whereas heads with realistic features from the end of Dynasty XXV (No. 8), the beginning of Dynasty XXVI (Nos. 19 and 23), and the Persian Period indicate the repeated attempts to endow a face with some individuality within the limits of a formula, there occurs in the fourth century — after a few isolated forerunners datable to Dynasty XXVII (Nos. 65 and 67) — the real breakthrough, of which this head in the Brooklyn Museum is by far the best example. No Achaemenid or Greek influence was needed to create this portrait; it is purely Egyptian, evoking memories of the great portraits of the Old, Middle, and New Kingdoms. For the squat type of skull, see the *Comment* on No. 84. The mannerism of the eyes is, of course, traditional and occurs throughout the Late Period down to the first century B.C. (No. 127). If the incised line at the neck forms the edge of a coat, it must have been a garment like that of Nos. 72 and 74. It is more likely, however, that this line represents the cord of an amuletic pendant, for which there are quite a number of parallel cases in the fourth century alone, prior to the Ptolemaic Period (Berlin 21596; Cairo C.G. 682; Louvre E. 17379; Moscow 5320; Rome, Vatican 163). It has by now been well established that the trapezoidal back-pillar top, like the one of this Brooklyn head, was introduced in the Persian Period; in Dynasty XXVII, however, it is undecorated (No. 65). A number of well-dated examples of Dynasty XXX (Berlin 21596) have the beginning of the inscription on the trapezoid, and at that period the figure of a single deity appears in the same place as on this Brooklyn head on a small number of pieces

(No. 77; Brussels E. 4993; Paris, Louvre E. 10973). Another sculpture of Dynasty XXX (Paris, Louvre E. 17379) has two gods at the top of the back pillar, and a statue in Cairo (C.G. 682) representing the same man shows him worshipping a single deity. Since scenes of several deities, with or without a worshiper, are frequent from Dynasty XXX on, it seems that the representation of the single deity is restricted to the time of Dynasty XXX. The image of

Osiris with the bird on the seat may be a rebus-like writing of *Wesir-wer*, "Osiris, the Great," known from Greek sources as "Osoroëris." This name could possibly be also that of the person portrayed in the Brooklyn head. It has been suggested, however, that the seat encompassing the *wer*-bird might indicate the name of the repository of the sacred barque at Karnak (Otto, *Topographie*, p. 23).

No. 84; Pl. 80, Figs. 207-209.

About 360-340 B.C.; Dynasty XXX.

Owner: Dr. Robert Waelder, Haverford, Pa.

From the latter part of the sixth century B.C. idealizing heads without a wig are usually represented as shaven, and the skull is formed like a large egg without any modeling to indicate the underlying bone structure. A sizeable number of such "egg heads" have been preserved, and they hardly ever show any individuality. At first glance this sculpture in mottled diorite might be placed into the same class were it not for two distinct features. First, the head is rather squat in comparison with the common "egg heads," and second, the face is clearly not a type, but a curious mixture of the traditional and the individual. The small pointed nose is lightly upturned; the mouth is broad, and only the right corner is drilled; finally, the head is gently turned to the left in relation to the back pillar — in other words, there are definite traces of an unusual approach on the part of the craftsman. It is hard to say whether an attempt at true portraiture is intended; all one can establish for the time being is that the head is without any close parallels, that it definitely is far superior to the well-known idealizing heads of the fourth century B.C., and that, whatever the artist's intention, it is not a true portrait, since the personality of the model — if there ever was a model — is not fully brought out.

HEAD IN POLISHED DIORITE

Brown-grey mottled diorite.

Yet it is an uncommon face, and the fact that eyebrows and eyes were inlaid must have given it a lively appearance in antiquity. The back pillar is uninscribed.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 18 cm. Height of face to top of eyebrows 8 cm. Width 13.6 cm. Width across ears 11 cm. Depth 13.3 cm. Depth of break 9.2 cm. Width of back pillar near break 6.6 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: None.

COMMENT: This mottled diorite of brown-grey color is very rare in the Late Period; it may come from the same quarry as No. 75 and Berlin 8805 (the best known "egg head" of the fourth century B.C., erroneously often attributed to the Saite Period). The type of the squat bald head of the "classical" period of Dynasties XXV-XXVI is best represented by Cairo C.G. 42243 (a brother of Mentuemhat) and Cairo J.E. 37416 (a vizier of King Psamtik I). Many features of this period reappear in the sculpture and inscriptions of Dynasty XXX and the decades following it. The dating of this head is at present based on circumstantial evidence, at least so long as no close parallel has been found in an inscribed sculpture. Eyebrows and eyes with inlays in hard-stone sculptures are not known in private statuary before the fourth century, and though there are a number of instances when one or the other is shown to have been inlaid, only two examples come to mind in which both eyebrows *and* eyes were originally so treated (Baltimore, WAG 210 and Bordeaux 1255), and they date from the end of the Ptolemaic Period or from early Roman times. For squat idealizing heads there are a number of parallels

in Dynasty XXX (Louvre E. 17379). In this piece, however, the shape of the back pillar is most unusual. The width of its uninscribed rear plane does not diminish toward the top, the top itself is beveled, and

the upper portion of the pillar hugs the back of the neck so that the skull extends over it; the closest parallels for these details are furnished by No. 83 and by Alexandria University 1299.

No. 85; Pl. 81, Figs. 210-211.

YOUTHFUL HEAD

About 360-330 B.C.; Dynasties XXX-XXXI.

Red granite.

Owner: Albright Art Gallery, Buffalo, N. Y.; no. 42:16.281.

Among the numerous idealizing heads of the fourth century B.C. is a type that cannot be classified as egg-shaped or round; it cannot even be designated as squat, for the forehead is too highly domed. This group is best represented in the Western Hemisphere by a granite sculpture from Buffalo. Like heads from other type groups of the period, it is anything but a portrait. It shows a man who was identified only by the inscription on his statue, not by any individual facial traits. All that one can say of him is that the sculptor has given him rather handsome features and a pleasant expression.

The eyebrows under the high forehead are straight and well defined, but not truly plastic. The upper rims of the eyelids are outlined; the eyes are unequal in size. The nose, fortunately intact, is that of a youth, with neatly contoured nostrils but without much character. The mouth, competently modeled, turns up slightly at the corners. The nearly rectangular trace left by the missing back pillar shows that it ended fairly high at the back of

the head and that it must have been of trapezoid shape. The breaking or chiseling away of the pillar results in a peculiar outline of the skull as seen in profile.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 19 cm. Width at ear level 12 cm. Width of break at neck 7 cm. Width of back pillar at break 6 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; probably Lower Egypt.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: None.

COMMENT: The fact that the back pillar reached to well above ear level points to a date in the middle or second half of the fourth century B.C. From Berlin 7737, Paris, Louvre E. 17379 and other pieces on which the head is intact, one can infer that the Buffalo sculpture was not made at Thebes, but at Memphis or in the Delta. Red granite was rarely employed for sculpture after the Persian Period, and thus it has not been possible to find a comparable statue in this material, though at Richmond, Va. (51-19-5) there is a head in red and black breccia of approximately the same size and style, with the nose damaged and now restored. There the back pillar ends fairly low, but its rear portion is destroyed, too, with the result that the inscription is lost. One will have to wait until a complete statue with a head of the Buffalo type turns up intact before coming to any definite conclusions regarding time and place of origin.

About 360-330 B.C.; Dynasties XXX-XXXI.

Limestone.

Owner: Mr. and Mrs. Norbert Schimmel, New York, N. Y.

An Egyptian standing stone figure without back pillar is so unusual that it deserves closer examination, even if, as in the case of this statuette from the Schimmel Collection, the head is missing. Here, however, "missing" does not quite apply; for the sculpture was made without a head and was never meant to have one.

These are indeed ambiguous statements, and one must hasten to add that this statuette is one of those rare sculptor's models (see No. 69), which were carved as studio pieces, either to serve as guides in the execution of a sculpture or sculptures on a larger scale, or as examples to be used in the training of apprentices and helpers. Be that as it may, the neck was never worked out, but has a guide line running from front to rear engraved on top, and where one would expect the ankles and feet under the long coat, an approximately round portion of the stone has been left as a base. The left arm, too, is absent; one might take the curious projection at the left of the chest to be an indication of the forearm, but in that case the elbow would seem to lie far too high.

The strangest part of the figure is, however, the costume. It consists of an undergarment, indicated by a round line at the neck in front and rear, and a sleeved jacket with V-neck. Then there is a long skirt reaching almost to where the ankles would be if there were any legs; this skirt, which has an overlap on the right, is probably the wrap-around discussed in the *Comment* on No. 63. Over all this clothing, the man wears a broad shawl, deeply serrated at the lower edge. To judge from the multiple folds on the right side of the chest, the shawl must have passed several times around the body, going over the left shoulder, across the

back, and returning to the front under the right armpit, finally to end at the left, just short of the elbow, where it was held in place by the left arm or pinned to the wrap-around.

The origin of this serrated shawl, which is always wrapped around the left shoulder, is not yet well established. There is no doubt that it first occurs in post-Persian times; the earliest dated examples are the doorjambs in Cambridge and Brooklyn (No. 74) of the time of King Nectanebo I, where, however, it does not have any serrations. Regardless of its origin, there are enough representations of this shawl in relief and sculpture during the fourth century to look upon it as having by that time become a native costume enjoying wide popularity. The limestone figure from the Schimmel Collection is the only representation in the round in the Western Hemisphere in which the costume appears in this form.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 23 cm. Width at arm level 9 cm. Depth at lower garment edge 6.4 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; probably Memphis or Lower Egypt.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: None.

COMMENT: The "base" of the figure, under the coat edge, has incised guide lines on the bottom and at the back. For sculptor's models of the Late Period, see No. 69. The absence of the back pillar on stone statues generally denotes that they were models, but toward the end of the Ptolemaic Period, and especially in the first century A.D., a few temple statues and statuettes were made without back pillar (Nos. 124 and 128). On the other hand, single wooden figures of the Late Period only vary rarely have back pillars (Paris, Louvre E. 122), though a broad, stela-like back slab is common in wooden group sculptures (London, B.M. 32731, 41516). A great deal has been written about the problems presented by the costume shown here and by other garments of the last four centuries B.C. The literature has lately been summed up by Stricker, in *OMRO* 40 (1959), pp. 10-11, although he is primarily concerned with the

garments worn in the Ptolemaic Period and not with this early version of the serrated shawl (for which see Scharff, in *ZAS* 74 [1938], pp. 44-45). That the shawl, with or without serrations, may have been based on a good Egyptian costume (cf. the relief of Pabasa; Smith, *A.A.E.*, pl. 181) has already been suggested; the frequent attempts (*BIFAO* 30 [1931], pp. 217-218) to derive it from a Greek ("Macedonian") garment have generally been refuted. The shawl is really a separate broad band, rather than part of a wrap-around with serrated edge, as is made clear

by a relief in Paris (Louvre E. 11377), where the shawl hangs loosely over one shoulder of the main figure and is not wrapped around the body. Since the subsidiary figure of a man on the same relief wears only a long garment with overlap, it is entirely evident that the shawl and the overlapped skirt are really two different garments, which was not understood by Snijder (*Mnemosyne* 7 [1939], pp. 247-248) when he tried to explain the costume of Louvre E. 11414 as a single garment.

No. 87; Pls. 82-83, Figs. 214-218.

IN PRAISE OF DRINKING

About 350 B.C.; Dynasty XXX.

Limestone.

Owner: The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md.; no. 22.97 (*W.A.G.* no. 273).

In the course of the fourth century B.C., there were made at Heliopolis a group of reliefs in the form of an oblong lintel with torus molding and cavetto cornice, on which unusually gay scenes are depicted. An incomplete example of this type of relief has long been in the Walters Art Gallery without attracting much attention, and since it has more than passing interest it has been included in this Exhibition.

The main figure is that of a man seated at the left, facing a procession of companions who entertain him with music. In its arrangement, the relief is very much like several others on which there are a seated harpist and a group of women playing different instruments. Recent cleaning and new photography have revealed also on the Baltimore relief a harpist with badly damaged head, who had not previously been observed. The host of the musicians is identified as the "Divine Wine Steward of Heliopolis," Pady-ir . . . (the rest of his name is missing). He wears the broad scarf with serrated edge, wrapped several times around his chest and shoulder. His short hair is contoured in such a way as to leave no doubt that it is beginning to recede above his temples. In

his raised hand he holds a bouquet of flowers, and in front of him there remains the top of a formal flower arrangement, on which a pied kingfisher perches. The inscription which follows belongs to the standing man facing the main figure. It reads: "The excellent wine steward of drunkenness, Pady-(pep?) . . . May the Golden One (the goddess Hathor) give you drunkenness every day . . . love of drunkenness for Pady-nubet." The text is not easily understood, since the lower portions of all three columns are missing, and thus the identity of the man following the text is in doubt. But the reference to Heliopolis and to the goddess Hathor ("Goddess of Drunkenness" is one of her well-known epithets) make it sufficiently clear where the relief came from and to whose cult the people named on it were attached.

The second man wears a scarf without serrations over an undergarment with multiple folds. As with the main figure on the left, his neckline is marked by two folds under the chin. Behind him, are the upper portion of a triangular harp and the almost effaced head of the harpist who — to judge from numerous parallels — was probably represented as blind.

Above the harpist is written, "Playing the harp." Then follow three lady musicians. The first one carried a drum in the shape of an elongated barrel, on a broad band slung around neck and shoulder. The second, facing in the opposite direction, is playing the lyre, and the third (on the analogy of similar scenes) must have plucked a lute. The coiffure, ornaments, and garments of these musicians are so close to those on the relief from Cleveland (No. 82) that they need not be explained here. Though fragmentary, the well-carved slab has such a delightful subject that the loss of the lower portion and of the right end is doubly regrettable.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 17.8 cm. Width 57 cm. Height of standing man to left of break 4.5 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; undoubtedly Heliopolis.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steindorff, *Cat.Eg.Sc.W.A.G.*, p. 80, pl. LVI, no. 273.

COMMENT: Reliefs in this style have often been called "Neo-Memphite" (cf. *JWAG* 19-20 [1956-1957], p. 35). Due to recent progress in the study of relief work of the Late Period, this term has gradually become meaningless and should no longer be employed. The Heliopolitan origin of this and other similar reliefs is quite obvious. Even some formerly attributed to Memphis have been proved to come from Heliopolis (*CdE* 29 [1954], pp. 278-280); their style reflects anything but Memphite work of the Old Kingdom. Moreover, the confusion created of late by attributing fourth century reliefs to Dynasty XXVI (*BIE* 20 [1938], pp. 241 ff. *Arts asiatiques* 1 [1954], pp. 51 ff.; cf. Smith, *A.A.A.E.*, p. 287, note 54) is such that "Neo-Memphite" has become a stock label for all sorts of relief work from Dynasty XXVI to the Ptolemaic Period, which obviously deprives it of any chronological meaning. Since there are now available for stylistic comparison a number of well-dated reliefs from Dynasty XXVI to the middle of Dynasty XXVII (Baltimore, W.A.G. 274-275), the development is clear enough to make a distinction between pre-Persian and post-Persian work. Whatever archaistic trends occur in post-Persian representations and inscriptions, they reflect early Saite style rather than that of the Old Kingdom. Since this distinction between the two prototypes has often been over-

looked, it should be repeated that the style of Dynasty XXX goes back to that of Dynasty XXVI and not to that of the Old Kingdom. For the use of lintels such as this one from Baltimore, see the *Comment* on No. 74, and for similar scenes with musicians, No. 82 and Alexandria 380. The costume of the seated man at the left has been discussed under No. 86. His facial type is based on a tradition which is handed down, via a Baltimore relief (W.A.G. 274-275), from the end of Dynasty XXVI (Berlin 15414). He holds in his hand a lily with two lily pads. The flower-and-bird arrangement before the principal figure has only one parallel — the Tha-nefer relief (Alexandria 380; Bissing, *Denkm.* 101), where a heron, not a kingfisher, perches on the flowers. These flowers are papyrus umbels and bulrush buds. Bissing claimed that the bulrush (*Cyperus alopecuroides*) did not exist in Egypt before Alexander, but this claim has been refuted by C. R. Williams (*JEJ* 5 [1918], p. 282) and others. Bulrush buds in this peculiar form occur first on post-Persian reliefs such as this (see also Bissing, *Denkm.* 102 a) and in profusion, a few decades later, in the tomb of Petosiris (ed. Lefebvre, vol. III, pl. 35, second row, far left and far right). The undergarment of the standing man, facing left, shows a series of folds quite different from the superimposed edges of the broad scarf worn by the principal figure. It therefore appears to be a kind of singlet supported by a halter over one shoulder, such as is occasionally shown in sculpture, e.g., on the magnificent sarcophagus lid in London (B.M. 90) with an effigy modeled three-quarters in the round. The man on our relief wears over the singlet the scarf without serrations as on No. 74. We are indebted to Miss Dorothy K. Hill for discovering and pointing out to us the head of the harpist. For the angular harp, see *BIE* 35 (1953), p. 341, fig. 37 B #13, and passim. The female musicians are discussed under No. 82. From the inscription, a date in the reign of Nectanebo II rather than Nectanebo I is favored by H. De Meulenaere.

ADDENDUM: Just before the above went to press, it was noticed that both the undergarment with folds worn by the two men and the narrow shawl without serrations on the shoulder of the man facing left occur in nearly life-size Cypriote statues in New York (M.M.A. 74.51.2458, .2459, .2461, .2469). They are datable to the fifth century B.C., to a time when Cyprus, like Egypt, was dominated by the Persians. This connection opens up an entirely new approach to the problem of cross-influence, though the idea that the costume is of Persian origin cannot be excluded.

About 350-340 B.C.; Dynasty XXX.

Limestone.

Owner: The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.; no. E. 14316.

The changes in Egyptian relief style throughout the Late Period are still largely unexplored. Although a good deal has been written on the subject, the available material has not been nearly so well surveyed as that furnished by sculpture in the round. The stylistic development of relief in Upper Egypt down to the end of the sixth century B.C. is fairly well known from a series of dated stelae and tombs, but for Memphis, Heliopolis, and the Delta hardly any pieces of fixed date exist, so that there is but meager support for the chronological arrangement of the majority of isolated reliefs, with and without known provenance.

This limestone slab from Philadelphia is a case in point, and the date suggested above should be considered as very tentative. Despite the uncertainty regarding the time when it was carved, it seemed desirable to include it in the Exhibition, if only to present an archaistic style, different from that of Nos. 82 and 87. Two columns of inscription — too fragmentary to offer much of a clue to the contents of the complete text — surmount the figure of a standing man, facing right, holding a long staff in one hand; the other arm probably hung straight at his side. He wears a baggy or wide wig, and around his neck is a composite broad collar. The eyebrow, though it appears to be plastic, is actually fashioned by a single incised line; the rim of the upper lid is contoured, and the tear-duct is extended onto the nose. The corners of the mouth curve upward in a so-called smile, which is reflected almost as a smirk in the face of the little figure forming part of the inscription above the man. The inscription shows also two other fine hieroglyphs, a scarab beetle and an owl, both rendered with infinite care and a manneristic interest in detail.

In the modeling of the signs and of the figure of the man, who was probably the owner of the tomb chapel from which the relief came, and in the spaciousness of the composition, there is evident a sense for form and balance, which is a far cry from slavish imitation of a "classical" model. One can only hope that some day other slabs from this chapel will be found, so that the relief decoration may be evaluated on the basis of more than this single attractive fragment.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 27.2 cm. Width 29.3 cm. Present depth ca. 3.8 cm. Intracolumnar width 11.1 cm. Height of the man's figure 11.2 cm. Height of hieroglyph of squatting man 6.1 cm.

PROVENANCE: From the Delta; perhaps Buto. Acquired in Cairo in 1926.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Ranke, *The Egyptian Collections of The University Museum* (Philadelphia, 1950) = *University Museum Bulletin*, Vol. XV, Nos. 2-3, pp. 71-72, fig. 44. R. Anthes, *Aegyptische Plastik in Meisterwerken* (Stuttgart, 1954), p. 16, pl. 46.

COMMENT: Both sides and top of the slab show ancient cuts; bottom and back have been more recently sawed. It probably formed part of a composite doorway, with standing figures of the tomb owner on either side, surmounted by a lintel with relief decoration (cf. Smith, *A.A.A.E.*, p. 251). For a complete doorjamb, though monolithic, see No. 74 (also Berlin 15415). In a way, the bust of the man reminds one much more of Theban work of the seventh century (e.g. Aba; Thebes 36) than of Lower Egyptian relief of the Saite Period, although the intention of the craftsman to follow the style of Dynasty XXVI seems clear. That the Philadelphia fragment does not belong within the range of northern relief from Harbes (temp. Psamtik I) to Henat (temp. late Amasis to early Dynasty XXVII) is obvious. The offering bearers on Henat's relief in Cairo ($\frac{28}{24} + \frac{5}{8}$) furnish good examples for valanced wig, stance, and modeling, late in the sixth century. On the other hand, a relief from Buto (Cairo J.E. 46591) shows in the figure of its owner, Hor-hetep, and the large, well-spaced inscription in front of him, a great deal of stylistic affinity, and furthermore the detail of the "Horus" hieroglyph on that relief

is so close to that of the "owl" sign in the Philadelphia relief that both seem to have been designed by the same hand. The Butic relief may be of Dynasty XXX, when a revival of early Saite themes, presumably as a reaction against the Persian domination, was very much in fashion — in the written language as well as in sculpture in the round (No. 76). Although it cannot be stated with absolute certainty in what decade the Philadelphia relief was made, its attribution to the fourth century, before Alexander, is not to be doubted. It is perhaps not without inter-

est to note that the "smirk" of the little man is reproduced exactly in the hieroglyphic signs forming part of cartouches of King Nectanebo II (Brooklyn 57.21.4; Munich, Äg. St. 1313). Although the "smile" is well attested in sculpture in the round of Dynasty XXVI (No. 29), it does not appear in reliefs of that dynasty or even in those of the most advanced style of Dynasty XXVII (Baltimore, W.A.G. 274-275). The peculiar way in which the little man's upper arms cover one another is also based on a Saite model (Cairo J.E. 38825).

No. 89; Pl. 84, Figs. 220-222.

IRET-HORRU

About 350 B.C.; Dynasty XXX.

Red breccia.

Owner: The Oriental Institute, The University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.; no. 13953.

The pose of the kneeling male without attributes, the hands flat on the thighs, is less frequent in post-Persian times than in Dynasties XXV-XXVI, and yet it is so completely relaxed an attitude that one wonders why it was not more often employed. It seems almost as if it had come to be considered old-fashioned. If that was the case, its use in the fourth century might indicate one of the many archaistic trends of that period — about the last in which the pose appears in Egyptian sculpture in the round.

The date of this statue in the Oriental Institute has long constituted a puzzle. It might well be regarded by the casual observer as a Saite piece. It has been included in this Exhibition, however, precisely because it is not Saite, not even of the Persian Period, but is one of those cleverly archaistic sculptures made in the decades between the end of the Persian régime and the arrival of Alexander the Great in the Nile Valley. Though the man wears what we commonly call a wide wig, the wig is really not as wide as one would expect in a Saite figure, although the lower corners jut out from the shoulders as was customary early in Dynasty XXVI. Furthermore, the front edge

of the wig does not blend smoothly into the forehead; on the contrary, the forehead is cut back so that the wig's border stands out, a sculptural convention first observed toward the end of Dynasty XXVII and then occurring more and more frequently in the fourth and third centuries. The face is idealizing, well formed and pleasant, and could almost pass for Saite were it not for the narrow eyes and their lack of plastic brows and cosmetic lines. The body is well modeled; with its strong, round forms it reminds one of the "Dattari Statue" (No. 80), although it lacks the refinement of the latter. It shows tripartition to a marked extent — quite possible in the latter part of Dynasty XXVI, though at that time one would not find the wig with projecting corners.

The inscription consists of one column on the back pillar and a line around the base, and not much can be learned from either one. The former contains the so-called Saite formula for the "God's Father and Prophet of Amun-in-Karnak, Iret-horru," in suspiciously pure form, and the latter consists of the most common of offering pleas in Iret-horru's behalf, where he is identified as the son of a prophet,

whose name is now illegible, and of Ta-ketem. The simplicity of the language, which is intentionally classical, is not quite borne out by the way in which the signs are written — another indication that this is an archaistic work.

One additional feature — the material — makes a date in the fourth century, and specifically in the second part of Dynasty XXX, virtually certain. Breccia, like quartzite and alabaster, is one of the stones rarely employed for sculpture in the Late Period, and the majority of the pieces in which it is used can be attributed to the time of Nectanebo II, whose own sarcophagus is made in this stone. Until compelling reasons for a different attribution can be found, we do not hesitate to assign the Chicago statue to his reign.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 36 cm. Height of base 4.8 cm., width 11 cm., depth 17.8 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; probably Karnak.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: John A. Wilson, *The Burden of Egypt; An Interpretation of Ancient Egyptian Culture* (Chicago, 1951), fig. 32b, facing p. 237; = *The Culture of Ancient Egypt* (Chicago, 1956), fig. 32b, facing p. 237.

COMMENT: The statue was broken in two at about waist level and mended; the right arm is partly restored. For the way the wig juts out back of the shoulder, see for instance No. 27, of early Saite date. The characteristic sharp edge of the wig over the

forehead may also be noticed on No. 76. The face of the Chicago statue is actually quite fine, and though it differs stylistically from similar heads of earlier millennia, it is neither more meaningful nor emptier than many faces in the great mass of conventional undistinguished sculptures of the Old, Middle, and New Kingdoms. It should be noted that the back pillar ends just below the edge of the wig and stands out from the latter; this too may be an archaistic feature. The name Iret-horru was still used in Ptolemaic times, when in Greek it becomes "Inaros." As for breccia in sculpture of the Late Period, it is thus far known from less than twenty heads and statues. The study of this and other rare stones employed in statuary would be rewarding. Here it should be noted only that breccia seems not to have been used for sculpture in Dynasties XXV-XXVII, but that a number of pieces — all made in the grey-green type of breccia and originating in Heliopolis — are datable to the time of Nectanebo II or at least to Dynasty XXX (Brussels E. 4993; Hanover 1935.200.523; Paris, Louvre E. 10973, E. 17379). Red breccia is extremely rare; at present only one other sculpture (Aberdeen 1394) comes to mind. The sarcophagus of Nectanebo II, in the same material, is in London (B.M. 10). Inscriptions in breccia are often barely legible, and since there is no evidence that they were brought out by means of colored paste or the like, one might well ask if a special symbolism were not attached to this stone, and if imbedding the text into it was not more important than rendering the inscription legible. In any case, such "secretiveness" is not known in pre-Persian sculpture, on which inscriptions were always made so as to stand out in a readable manner. For other kneeling statues without attributes see, Nos. 37, 52, and 91.

No. 90; Pl. 85, Figs. 223-225.

GIRL'S HEAD

About 330-290 B.C.; Macedonian or Early Ptolemaic Period.

Green Faience.

Owner: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y.; no. 30.8.90.

The elaborate coiffures of Egyptian ladies as shown in sculpture and relief are usually assumed to be wigs. At least some of them must have been, for similar wigs, carefully packed for eternity, have been found in Egyptian tombs. One cannot be as certain, however, about sculptures showing girls or women with short hair. There appears very frequently in

the Late Period a "bob" enclosing the head like a cap, which bulges over the ears and is covered with tiny ringlets, indicated rather dryly by echeloned rectangles.

A minute head from the Metropolitan Museum of Art wears such a "bob," which may represent the natural hair of this charming little person in faience — the only piece made of

this typically Egyptian material in the Exhibition. The girl depicted, to judge from the depressed nose and tiny chin, seems little more than a child, but plastic brows and cosmetic lines show that her narrow eyes were heavily painted.

To try to guess who or what she was, leads into the realm of pure fantasy. Considering the small size and the material of the piece, she might be a survival (rare in the Late Period) of the servant figurines that, from time immemorial, had been placed in tombs to accompany the dead into the future world. Perhaps she was one of those sloe-eyed girl musicians, such as are shown in reliefs entertaining their lords in the hereafter (Nos. 82 and 87). Her coiffure is one that often occurs on the archaistic reliefs of Dynasty XXX, as well as on those of the Macedonian and early Ptolemaic periods. Chiefly in the fourth century, it is found on female sculptures in wood and — strangely enough — in stucco. It is, accordingly, to the transitional time between the last of the pharaohs and the first of the Ptolemies — the Macedonian Period — that we have assigned this delightful relic of the past.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 4 cm. Width above the ears 3.7 cm. Depth 3.9 cm. Width of break at neck 1.5 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known. Formerly in the Theodore M. Davis Collection.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: None.

COMMENT: This coiffure seems to occur first in the round at the end of Dynasty XXVI in bronzes and wooden figures (Gulbenkian Collection 17; London, B.M. 41516), when it is still very flat on top of the head and bulges only slightly around the ears. It is never found in relief during the seventh and sixth centuries B.C.; Louvre A.F. 1681 is really a good deal later than is indicated in *Arts asiatiques* 1 (1954), pp. 44 ff. The earliest datable relief (middle to second half of Dynasty XXVII) on which this coiffure occurs is probably Baltimore, W.A.G. 275, where, however, the surface is smooth and the curls are not indicated. In addition to the archaistic reliefs of Dynasty XXX, the reliefs of the Macedonian and early Ptolemaic periods, and the sculptures in wood and stucco already mentioned, it appears also on a few heads in stone (London, B.M. 57355; New York, M.M.A. 26.7.1401); the curls on these also are sometimes not indicated. This coiffure undoubtedly has a male forerunner, often shown in Middle Kingdom sculpture (Cairo C.G. 42004; Leipzig 2906). The hair of the Lady Takoushit in Athens is dressed in a different style, covering the ears. The fashion of the "bob" worn by the little faience girl seems to have died out at the beginning of the Ptolemaic Period, some time in the course of the third century B.C.

No. 91; Pl. 85, Figs. 226-227.

WESIR-NAKHT WITH NECKLACE

About 340 B.C.; Dynasty XXXI.

Dark grey steatite.

Owner: The Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.; no. 10.243.

Unlike their forefathers of the classical Egyptian periods, private persons, to judge from their statues, wore simple costumes from the close of the Third Intermediate Period until the end of Dynasty XXVI. A long skirt might occasionally be pleated (No. 3), but on the whole ornamentation in male garments was kept to a minimum, and with one exception no jewelry was ever worn. During the Persian

Period, those who adopted the foreign costume with sleeves went in for more elaborate dress and even sometimes wore a torque and bracelets (No. 64). In the fourth century simplicity again prevails, although the fashion of the Persian Period left some traces, and — in relief at least (Nos. 74 and 87) — the garment with the serrated scarf brought in a note of vanity hitherto unknown. And then, all of a sudden,

we have a statuette such as this one from Chicago with a stylized necklace, the so-called broad collar. How did this come about?

There is no obvious answer to this question, and in order to avoid embarrassment, it might have been easier — as in the case of several other sculptures in this Exhibition — not to select the piece for showing at Brooklyn. But figures such as this, so incongruous and out of the ordinary, have an appeal which makes one want to place them before a wider public, in spite of the fact that they do not fit into any known category or follow the accepted rules for a period.

To begin with the period — one has only to glance at the hair to realize that the statue does not belong to the time when a striated coiffure was fashionable, that is, to Dynasty XXV, or Dynasty XXVI down to the end of Necho's reign. There is something odd about the tabs in front of the ears, and especially from the back, the striated wig is mechanical and awkward. The body also is badly proportioned; but it is useless to dismiss the statuette as a provincial piece of no consequence, because the inscription on the back pillar, surmounted by a "sky" sign, is well written and expertly carved. From it we learn that the man represented was Wesir-nakht, who, according to his titles, was attached to the ancient sanctuary of Buto in the northern Delta, and whose father, Hor-hotep, bore a Butic as well as an Athribite title. The Delta was a lively region in the fourth century B.C., to which the epigraphy of the inscription points, and not an out-of-the-way place. Even granting that a poor craftsman fashioned the statuette, it must have been made for a person of some consequence.

As we have seen, the attitude of the kneeling worshiper without attributes, the hands flat on the thighs, occurs fairly regularly from the seventh (No. 37) to the fourth century (No. 89), but strangely enough there is not a single example which is dated — or can be dated on the basis of sound evidence — to the Ptolemaic

Period, and this in spite of the large and varied body of inscribed sculpture which was created in the last three centuries of Egypt's independence. Therefore — if one does not want to consider this statuette the one exception which proves the rule — it can hardly be attributed to the time after Alexander the Great. Thus it must have originated in the previous period, and there comes immediately to mind the archaistic trend of the fourth century, for which there are so many examples in the reign of Nectanebo I and, to a lesser degree, of Nectanebo II.

As an archaistic work the statuette makes more sense; the awkwardness of form and proportions, the very attitude, and the long-outmoded coiffure explain themselves as intentional — the figure was meant to look "ancient." Since the striated wig occurs in early Saite times until the reign of Necho II (No. 44), the statuette may well have attempted to recall the style of the beginning of Dynasty XXVI. But at that period the striated wig did not have tabs in front of the ears, and a broad collar was modeled in sculpture only once and then for a prince of royal blood (Cairo C.G. 42204). We therefore are in the dark as to the prototype the sculptor had in mind. Since good archaistic work of Dynasty XXX is known, and since both Buto and Athribis were religious centers of great prominence, it seems best to attribute the figure to Dynasty XXXI, the troubled time of the Second Persian Domination, when Egypt once again lost her independence. Especially the Delta was badly ravaged by the invader for nearly a decade, and it is quite possible that the Chicago figure was made at just about that time.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 16 cm. Height of base 1.4 cm., width 6 cm., depth 7.8 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; probably Buto (Delta).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Thomas George Allen, *The Art Institute of Chicago; A Handbook of the Egyptian Collection* (Chicago, 1923), pp. 58-59 (illus.).

COMMENT: For other kneeling figures without attributes, see No. 89. The disappearance of this pose toward the end of the fourth century is one of the

many unexplored problems concerning the sculpture of that era, especially since the Ptolemaic Period was in many ways archaistically inclined, and one might expect such an ancient attitude to have been appealing to the sculptors of that time. It should be noted that the figure leans forward and that the back pillar consequently decreases in depth from the shoulders down; also that it ends well below the edge of the wig, which is undercut all the way around the back of the shoulders. The broad collar (*wesekh*) of course occurs frequently in private statuary from the early Old Kingdom on, but though it is found on private bronzes (Baltimore, W.A.G. 588) and in private relief (No. 88) of the Late Period, it does not appear to have been used in stone sculpture, except in the one case already cited (Cairo C.G. 42204). Since the subject of this sculpture

was a member of the royal family, he perhaps followed the custom of the kings, who frequently are shown in statuary with a broad collar (Cairo C.G. 694 and 939). The striated wig of Dynasties XXV-XXVI never has tabs in front of the ears; No. 23 cannot be cited as an exception, because it is so distinctly an unusual piece. In this connection a kneeling *osiriphoros* in London (B.M. 48037) should be mentioned; it, too, is an archaistic piece, and its striated coiffure is even odder than that of the Chicago figure. *Wesir-nakht*'s titles are "*Hery-pe, wer-wadjty, imy-akhet*, Prophet of Horus-on-his-papyrus," whereas his father, *Hor-hotep*, was *hery-pe* as well as *hebes-diu*. For the name of the mother, *Tady-aset-per-mes*, "*She-who-is-given-by-Isis-of-the-Mammisi*," see *BiOr* 16 (1959), p. 224.

No. 92; Pl. 86, Figs. 228-230.

LADY WITH LARGE WIG

About 330-300 B.C.; Macedonian Period.

Grey-green schist.

Owner: Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, Va.; no. 55-8-13.

That this Exhibition is devoted to a large extent to male sculpture is simply because (as has been briefly mentioned) the Egyptians all but ceased to make stone sculptures of women at the beginning of the sixth century B.C. and with very few exceptions limited their statuary to representations of men. Things changed, however, in Ptolemaic times, when, as we know from well-inscribed sculptures, a lady who could afford to do so might have her likeness rendered in stone. Just when was this custom revived?

A fine, fragmentary statue of a woman from the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts may furnish the answer to this question, though it does not bear an inscription. It represents a lady in a large wig, bound with a fillet which is tied in back with a knot sculptured three-quarters in the round. Long, thin plastic eyebrows and cosmetic lines enhance the beauty of her small, well-shaped, slightly protruding eyes. Her face is broad, her neck and bosom ample.

Lightly incised halters covering the breasts hold up her close-fitting garment, which probably reached to her ankles. This sheath conceals more than it reveals. Nipples are not indicated, and navel and abdomen are only faintly suggested — a modesty not found in representations of the female form in either pre-Persian or Ptolemaic times. In her left hand, held under the right breast, is a folded kerchief. The right arm is missing, but undoubtedly it hung straight at her side in the traditional manner.

We shall never know who this lady was, for the back pillar, which is of unusual shape, wide and very deep, with a squared, flat top reaching midway to the crown of the head, was never inscribed. She is certainly not a goddess, not a queen, not a princess of blood royal. The fillet, for centuries a common adornment of the female coiffure, offers no clue to her identity. Even the precise date at which she lived is difficult to determine. The fillet, the

wig, the shape of the eyes, the position of the left arm, all occur in the Ptolemaic Period. Since in that period, however, the female form is rendered much more sensuously, it seems likely that this sculpture may be a forerunner of the style developed under the early Ptolemies, and that it is therefore to be attributed to the Macedonian Period.

MEASUREMENTS: Height above modern base 56.5 cm. Depth of break ca. 22 cm. Depth of back pillar behind head 8 cm. Width of back pillar near break 10.2 cm.

PROVENANCE: Benha (presumably Athribis).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: None.

COMMENT: Nose, mouth, part of the chin, and lower right cheek are lost and have been well restored. For the eyes and the formation of the face the closest parallel is London, B.M. 37901, also in grey-green schist with the same satin finish. There the lady wears a long striated wig, bound with the same ribbon or fillet, and the halters are indicated just as on the Richmond statue. The latter appears, however, to be somewhat earlier, and since the modeling of the body is neither typically Ptolemaic nor as supple as that of the sculptures of goddesses known to have been made in the sixth century B.C. (Cairo C.G. 38884; London, B.M. 1162), we can only attribute the statue to the end of the fourth century B.C. For the lack of private female sculptures from Dynasty XXV and again from the time between Necho II and Nectanebo II, see p. xxxvii. There are, however, a few female pieces in wood which may

belong to just that period (London, B.M. 32734), and one of them—a group of man and wife—is almost certainly of the sixth century, to judge by the inscription (London, B.M. 41516). Women were always, without interruption, represented in relief throughout this period, especially on stelae. Still, no stelae seem to have been set up specifically for women alone from about 600 B.C. until the Ptolemaic Period. A parallel has not been found for the voluminous back pillar (Edinburgh 1956.340 is a doubtful parallel, since the head is missing) and for the sculptured fillet-tie of the Richmond statue; the fillet itself occurs frequently in relief representations. The type of wig is rarer, though not too unusual; it is still found in the Ptolemaic Period, in relief (Cairo C.G. 22232; with a very elegant tie) as well as in sculpture in the round (Hanover 1935.200.415, where the wig covers the ears completely). The position of the left arm, which also occurs in No. 122, is known from bronzes of deities. The Richmond lady is the only piece with such a long kerchief; in Ptolemaic times the gesture occasionally occurs with an empty fist (Paris, Louvre E. 5349), although usually the woman carries the flail-like lily scepter (Alexandria 3221; Cairo J.E. 38582; Florence 6315), which centuries before had been the emblem of the divine consorts (No. 1). In many ways, Berlin 21763 can be compared with the Richmond statue, although the eyes of the Berlin queen are different, and the ears smaller. But the manner in which the fillet follows the contour of the coiffure betrays the same sensitivity, the same approach to form; if there were any comparable dated material available, both the Richmond lady and the Berlin queen might be attributed to Dynasty XXX, because of their distinctly pre-Ptolemaic sedateness.

No. 93; Pl. 87, Figs. 231-233.

TIRED OLD MAN

About 300 B.C.; Ptolemaic Period.

Green schist.

Owner: The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md.; no. 22.63 (W.A.G. no. 197).

Professor B. Schweitzer, at a symposium on portraiture held a few years ago in Copenhagen, set forth in his native German, with Kantian precision, the conditions a head had to fulfill in order to be called a true portrait:

(1) It must represent a definite person, either living or of the past, with his distinctive human traits.

(2) The person must be represented in such a manner that under no circumstances can his identity be confounded with that of someone else.

(3) As a work of art, a portrait must render the personality, i.e., the inner individual, of the person represented in his outer form.

Although it depends greatly on the viewer, whether he sees in a given head the third point stipulated by Professor Schweitzer, we might as well apply this guide to Egyptian sculptures, when in doubt concerning the nature of a likeness.

Here, in this head from the Walters Art Gallery, we have the representation of a man with age-lined features, which may remind at first glance of apparently similar heads in Berlin, Cairo, and Paris. The longer one studies the face, however, the more it appears to represent a definite person. The essentials of the head have been blocked in with sparing means. Although the skull may give the impression of being egg-shaped, without much modulation, on closer scrutiny it is seen to have been modeled with great care around the temples and the ears, back of which a deep groove marks the place where it meets the neck. The heavy features, with coarsened nose, sagging cheeks, and weary mouth and eyes, are those of a tired old man.

As for personality, it is hard to define what the face seems to reveal: a certain resignation and perhaps some disappointment and pessimism, though to what extent these are qualities of the man himself or merely inventions of the sculptor, is impossible to determine. In any

case, the head is not one made after a standard model, though its small scale may make one hesitate to call it a true portrait.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 8.3 cm. Width 5.6 cm. Depth 7.5 cm. Width of back-pillar top 2 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steindorff, *Cat.Eg.Sc.W.A.G.*, p. 65, pl. XXXIV, no. 197.

COMMENT: The back pillar, now almost entirely lost, was trapezoidal, similar to that of No. 70, a shape which precludes an attribution to Dynasties XXV-XXVI. As for a date in Dynasty XXVII, it appears, from comparison with Nos. 60, 63, 65, and 67, that the Baltimore head is of a later date. It is very tempting to place it somewhere in the vicinity of No. 83; the sparing means employed, the treatment of the eyes, are similar. The essential point, however, which excludes any comparison, is the mouth. Whereas the mouth of No. 83 still has a certain traditional flourish, that of the Baltimore head seems to be cast from nature and approaches the group around Cairo C.G. 700; cf. also No. 100. B. Schweitzer's paper on portraiture was published in: *Acta Congressus Madvigiani Hafniae MDMLIV = Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Classical Studies*, vol. III, "The Classical Pattern of Modern Western Civilization. Portraiture" (Copenhagen, 1957), where on p. 8 appears the definition here translated in somewhat condensed form. Even if the result is negative, it is always useful to keep Professor Schweitzer's three points in mind, especially since the first also implies identification by means of inscription, an aid found in Egyptian sculpture much more frequently than in that of the Classical world.

No. 94; Pl. 88, Figs. 234-235.

THEBAN LADY

About 300-250 B.C.; Ptolemaic Period.

Grey-green schist.

Owner: Rosicrucian Egyptian, Oriental Museum; San Jose, Cal.; no. 1603.

When the ban on stone sculptures of private ladies, which had been in effect since the beginning of the sixth century, was lifted with the arrival of the Greeks under Alexander the Great, the first statues and statuettes made took as models figures of the early Saite period.

Thus a style that had long been out of fashion was suddenly revived, to last until the age of the Ptolemies developed its own characteristic type of female sculpture.

Though dating from the early third century, this fragmentary statue from San Jose is al-

ready unmistakably Ptolemaic, not only on account of the epigraphy, but mainly on the basis of the overly plump features. The good woman is anonymous — the text on the back pillar merely gives the beginning of an offering formula addressed to the god Amun of Karnak; and if one can judge from the rather incompetent modeling, she was certainly not of a rank sufficiently high to command the services of a good craftsman. But her desire to be represented, alone and in a dignified pose, before her god, is evidence of an act of faith, which, strangely enough, had been denied to the weaker sex of ancient Egypt for nearly three hundred years, until enlightened foreigners — the Greeks — came to liberate and liberalize the country.

The costume of this Theban lady consists of a heavy tripartite wig, two parts of which fall over the shoulders onto the breasts, whereas the third is partly covered by the high back pillar, with its single column of inscription. The garment, which seems originally to have

reached to the neck, apparently was chiseled away so as to permit the addition of a broad necklace, never completed, which gives the dress the curious appearance of a modern, rather ill-fitting strapless gown.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 24.4 cm. Width 13.3 cm. Depth 10.5 cm. Width of break 12.7 cm., depth 9.6 cm. Width of back pillar 4.8 cm. Intracolumnar width 2.5 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; probably Karnak.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: None.

COMMENT: Even without the inscription, the style would be recognized as typically Theban; cf. the female statue from the temple of Mut at Karnak (ed. Benson and Gourlay, pp. 67, 274, 359-360, pl. XXVII), the head of which greatly resembles that of the San Jose figure. Since Ptolemy II was the only king who made important additions to that temple, it was probably in his reign that the Karnak statue was set up, and accordingly the San Jose sculpture can also be assigned roughly to his period. For the early Saite prototype of this kind of female figure in schist, cf. Antwerp 284. In limestone sculptures with long tripartite wig, striated or echeloned, the back pillar usually abuts against the lower edge of the wig and does not cover it.

No. 95; Pls. 88-89, Figs. 236-238.

GIRL OR GODDESS

About 300-275 B.C.; Ptolemaic Period.

White indurated limestone.

Owner: Graeco-Roman Museum, Alexandria; no. 1332.

A physically perfect and well-proportioned body was one of the sculptural ideals attained by the Egyptians early in their civilization. No one who has seen the triad of King Mycerinus of Dynasty IV in Boston can have failed to be impressed by the manly strength of the king's body as contrasted with the supple forms of his two female companions. Time and again we find in Egyptian art, not only in sculpture but also in relief and painting, an enjoyment of the human form which can have resulted only from long study and great aesthetic perception.

When the Greeks first came into contact with Egypt, it was this realization of the human form, as exemplified in hundreds and hundreds of statues, which gave them the final impetus toward creating something similar of their own and enabled them, from the archaic beginnings of the seventh century, to progress, in the course of less than half a millennium, to the ripeness of the Hellenistic age. How often the contact with Egypt was renewed, how much cross-fertilization took place after the arrival of Alexander the Great, cannot be demonstrated in such an Exhibition

as this. Instead of attempting to do so, we have chosen to include a single sculpture that is thoroughly Egyptian, yet owes its very existence to Greek influence — a great statue, though small in size, from Alexandria. This headless female figure, with feet and base restored in plaster, is uninscribed and without identifying attributes. It might seem out of place in an atmosphere of so many well-documented sculptures; but its importance is not historical and only mildly archaeological. It stands on its own merits as an object of beauty, based on a timeless formula — the plastic rendering of the female body.

The slender girl represented appears to be naked to the thighs, where it becomes evident that she is sheathed in a thin, clinging garment that reaches to the ankles. Her pose is the traditional one of a standing figure at rest, left leg advanced and both arms hanging straight at the sides. The full, firm breasts, with no hint of sagging, are youthful, as is the slim waist, though the hips, especially as seen in profile, have a maturer roundness. The arms — as so often at this period — are extraordinarily long in proportion to the torso, and the outstretched hands tend to conceal the swelling hips and thighs in the front view, perhaps an intentional device of the sculptor to give grace to the figure and yet remain true to the original proportions of the body.

Owing to the lack of headdress, it is useless to speculate about whether the lady depicted was a queen, a goddess, or a private person, though the latter is most likely. There is small doubt, however, that the figure was a votive statue, to be set up in a place of worship. It is hardly necessary to add that it is wholly Egyptian in stance as well as in essential form. That it was created at all is due to the Greeks, for only after the arrival of Alexander the Great was lifted what we must assume to have been a ban, lasting many centuries, on stone sculpture of women. But, though there is just the degree of naturalism in the modeling of the body to hint at the presence of the Greeks, the

sculptor has expressed himself in a purely Egyptian manner, based on long tradition.

MEASUREMENTS: Height (with restored base and feet) 50.2 cm. Width at elbow level 13.6 cm. Depth at chest level 9.2 cm. Width of break at neck 9.5 cm. Depth of break at neck 7.2 cm. Width of back pillar 5.2 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; probably from Lower Egypt.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Botti, *Catalogue des monuments exposés au Musée Gréco-Romain d'Alexandrie* (Alexandria, 1900), p. 408, no. 580. J. Capart, *Recueil de monuments égyptiens* (Brussels, 1902), pl. XLVII. Bissing, *Denkm.*, Text to pl. 64, note 7. G. Maspero, *Egypte* (Paris, 1912), p. 255, figs. 481-482, p. 261. Ev. Breccia, *Alexandria ad Aegyptum* (Bergamo, 1922), p. 173, figs. 78-79, no. 69. Ross, *The Art of Egypt*, pl. 241, figs. 4-5, p. 53. G. Roeder, in *Studies . . . Griffith*, pp. 338-339, pl. 53, figs. a and c.

COMMENT: The question implied in the caption to this entry — girl or goddess? — is hard to answer. The coiffure obviously must have been a short bob; at any rate, enough of the left shoulder is preserved to show that the hair did not touch it. Thus, it may have been like that of No. 90, or perhaps smooth, without indication of the curls, like New York, M.M.A. 26.7.1401. Against such a restoration speaks the broad and fairly deep back pillar. Although it tapers slightly above the left shoulder, it could have hardly stopped short of the coiffure. Since the very short bob is never associated with a back pillar, a valanced wig, like that of Paris, Louvre E. 5349 (in wood), may have been worn, and there is indeed the statue of a private lady in Leiden (L.X.9), which has a very curious valanced wig and a back pillar with triangular top. Yoyotte, in publishing (though not illustrating) the lower portion of an inscribed striding female figure similar to the Alexandria sculpture, calls it (*Kémi* 15 [1959], p. 76) "une des rares statues féminines de style pharaonique qui nous soit restée de la Basse Epoque." Actually, they are not rare — only rarely published, like the block statues of the Ptolemaic Period, which exist in even greater numbers and, though amply inscribed, are shunned by philologists and archaeologists alike. By arbitrarily limiting her field of study to the time before Alexander the Great, K. Bosse (*Menschl. Figur*, pp. 58-66) was compelled to exclude most private female sculptures in Egyptian style of the Late Period. For such sculptures see the remarks by Roeder (*op.cit.* pp. 337 ff.), who well develops the purely Egyptian ancestry of sculptures comparable to this figure from Alexandria. A date in the reign of Ptolemy I or early in that of Ptolemy II is proposed, because the stylistic features appear to indicate that this sculpture was made almost at the beginning of the Ptolemaic Period. First, we know the style of that time from the colossal statue of Arsinoë

II in Rome (Vatican 25), dating from before her deification (i.e. about 275-270 B.C.). The queen's statue is well proportioned, and though it is modeled on a gigantic scale, the physical form is not too far from that of the Alexandria torso. There is, furthermore, a headless limestone statue in Paris (Louvre, N. 2456), which, from evidence contained in another inscription concerning the subject, was probably made between 285 and 264 B.C. This female figure is approximately of the same size and material as the Alexandria statue, wearing the tripartite echeloned wig (cf. No. 105), which replaces ladies' short coiffures at some time early in the third century. Though the globular breasts, long

arms, extended fingers, and numerous other features are comparable, the Louvre sculpture is not of the quality of the Alexandria statue; the forms are a bit heavier, and there is not the same — almost sensuous — pleasure in physical perfection; still, the two pieces cannot be very far apart in date. Finally, it should be remembered that female figures in temple reliefs dating from the time of Ptolemy I show an elegance and slimness notably different from the manneristic elongation of the figures of women in the reliefs of his successors. For a fine female figure in early Ptolemaic relief, see Hoyningen-Huene and G. Steindorff, *Egypt* (New York; 1945 edition), p. 169.

No. 96; Pl. 90, Figs. 239-241.

KING PTOLEMY II

285-246 B.C.; *Ptolemaic Period*.

Grey-brown feldspathic quartzite with quartz vein.

Owner: Université de Strasbourg, Strasbourg (Bas-Rhin); no. 1585.

With the ascension to the throne of Ptolemy II Philadelphos a new, consolidated Egypt emerges, which for nearly three centuries enjoyed great prosperity, an active political life both in domestic and foreign affairs, and a spiritual freedom that permitted the development, side by side, of both native-Egyptian and Hellenistic-Greek culture. Greek papyri, which have come to light in large numbers in the buried cities of Ptolemaic Egypt, contain a wealth of information on the period, and since these papyri have for the most part been made available to students of the Hellenistic age, we have a well-rounded picture of Ptolemaic Egypt from Greek sources. These sources, however, are Greek, not native Egyptian, and herein lies their inadequacy. The sources available for the study of traditional Egyptian culture — mainly demotic papyri and hieroglyphic stelae — are largely unexplored, and the same holds true for sculpture of pharaonic inspiration as distinguished from Hellenistic sculpture made in Egypt.

There are many representations in the round of the Ptolemaic rulers of Egypt, but few of

them are inscribed, and still fewer — only three known at present — have the faces intact. One of these is this fragmentary, idealizing sculpture from the Egyptian collection of the University of Strasbourg. Acquired in 1905 and first published in 1909, it richly deserves further attention, not merely because of its rarity, but also because of details distinguishing it from other Ptolemaic royal sculptures, equally idealizing and thus far not attributable to a specific ruler.

The face, somewhat battered, the chest, upper arms, and part of the *nemes* headdress are preserved, as is also a portion of the back pillar with two columns of inscription containing the name of the king. The queue of the *nemes* appears on each side of the back pillar in sunk relief. The eyebrows and the rims of the upper lids are plastic; the cosmetic line outlining the upper lid of the left eye is slightly drawn out over the lower lid. This treatment of brows and eyes, connecting the sculpture with formal royal representations of Dynasty XXX, is a feature often encountered in sculpture and relief work of the time of Ptolemy II.

The forms are rounded, and the face might pass for an idealizing representation without much further interest, were it not for the unusual shape of the mouth. Of all the heads of Ptolemaic rulers, this one, together with that of Ptolemy II in the Vatican, stands out on account of the large, well-curved mouth, with lifted corners imbedded in grooves running down and around the lower lip. It cannot be stated that this apparently individualistic mouth really is a feature characteristic of Ptolemy II, but since it occurs on two inscribed sculptures of his, it may be assumed that it was at least an integral part of his official likeness. Its occurrence on other, uninscribed statues, moreover, permits the attribution to his reign of a number of hitherto undated Ptolemaic sculptures.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 33.5 cm. Width at shoulder level ca. 25 cm. Width of back pillar 8.5 cm. Intracolumnar width 2.8 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; probably Quft (Coptos). Acquired in 1905 at Giza.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W. Spiegelberg, *Ausgewählte Kunst-Denkmäler der Aegyptischen Sammlung der Kaiser Wilhelms Universität Strassburg* (Strasbourg, 1909), pp. 12-14, no. 17, figs. 6-7, pl. X. H. W. Müller, in *Studi... Rosellini* II, p. 210, note 3, pl. XXVI c.

COMMENT: It is a fortunate coincidence that the salient feature of the official representation of the likeness of Ptolemy II Philadelphos—the wide curved mouth with uplifted corners—occurs on at least two of his inscribed sculptures: the bust in Strasbourg and the well over life-size statue in Rome (Vatican 27). The face of Rome, Villa Albani 558, inscribed

for Ptolemy II, is so damaged and restored that one cannot form an opinion from photographs. This typical feature of some of his heads enables us to assign to his reign such standard, often repeated, idealizing votive busts as Brooklyn 37-37E and Cairo C.G. 33328 (the latter mislabeled a sculptor's model). Investigation of whether the royal heads London, B.M. 97 and Vienna 37 are not also attributable to his time would result in real progress in establishing the iconography of the early Ptolemies as shown on Egyptian monuments. For a close-up of the face of Ptolemy II in the Vatican sculpture, see H. W. Müller, in *Studi... Rosellini* II, p. 210, pl. XXVII; compare also relief work of the period (*BMFA* 51 [1953], pp. 1-7). The *nemes* was set very low on the forehead of the Strasbourg sculpture; a small portion of its border is still visible. The top of the back pillar indicates that its shape originally was trapezoid or triangular. Column 2 of the inscription begins with "Words spoken by Osiris of Coptos," thus localizing the deity in whose temple precinct the sculpture was originally set up. That the queue of the *nemes* is indicated on both sides of the back pillar is a standard feature of many royal sculptures after the New Kingdom; cf. *JEA* 46 (1960), p. 3, note 5. The direction of the break below the chest and the contour of the back of the king's figure suggest that the Strasbourg bust may have come from a seated figure similar to Alexandria 11261, where Ptolemy II is shown sitting side by side with his queen and his other sister. We must regard with envy the studies published in recent years of Ptolemaic portraiture of purely Hellenistic style (cf. especially Charbonneaux, in *Mon. Piot* 47 [1953], pp. 99-129). There the comparison with coins has led to numerous identifications of uninscribed portraits. Alas, there are neither gold coins nor marble sculptures offering clues to the identity of many uninscribed Ptolemaic sculptures in traditional Egyptian style, and the *tertium comparationis* has as yet not been found.

No. 97; Pl. 91, Figs. 242-243.

AMUN-PE-YOM, COMMANDER OF TROOPS

About 280-250 B.C.; Ptolemaic Period.

Grey granite.

Owner: The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio; no. 48.141.

Half a century ago, at Thmouis in the central Delta, occurred the greatest find of Hellenistic marble sculpture of quality Egypt had ever known; the ten admirable heads which formed the main portion of that discovery are

now in the Graeco-Roman Museum at Alexandria. Thmouis, today known as Tell Timai, is the ancient town within a few hundred yards of the Egyptian temple site of Mendes, now called Tell Roba. Mendes was one of the great

cult centers of the Delta, in religious and historical importance equal to Buto and Tanis. As the cult place where a ram deity was worshiped from time immemorial, Mendes is already mentioned in the Pyramid Texts, and as capital of the XVIth nome of Lower Egypt its importance, specifically during the New Kingdom and in the Late Period, was considerable. One of the major branches of the Nile (which has now disappeared) passed between Mendes and Thmouis, thus assuring easy access from other parts of the country as well as from abroad. Whereas Thmouis has yielded a great hoard of Greek sculpture, Mendes — which has never been properly excavated — has given us what is probably the finest torso in Egyptian tradition of the Ptolemaic Period, the granite statue of Amun-pe-yom in Cleveland.

If this figure of Amun-pe-yom, in his day a provincial governor (nomarch) and general of the Ptolemaic army, is life size, he must have been a big man even by modern standards, a little better than six feet tall. All that is left of his statue today is the armless torso from neck to hips, with a large portion of the inscribed back pillar. Though this may not sound impressive, what remains, fragmentary as it is, is easily recognizable as a great work of art. In no other sculpture made during the last millennium of Egyptian civilization has a human body been modeled on a human scale in as lively a fashion as this figure in its age-old attitude; for there is no doubt that Amun-pe-yom was represented standing, left foot advanced, arms hanging straight at his sides, and emblematic staves held in his clenched hands.

The deep chest with its powerful muscles, the rib cage, the abdomen of an athlete, showing an infinite variety of subtle changes in surface modulation round the navel — all these features are essentially Egyptian and can be shown to have already existed in the latter part of the sixth century B.C. But in their reappearance in the third century and at Mendes, in the neighborhood of Thmouis, they have acquired a shadowy something that is not purely

Egyptian. Though it may be going too far to say that the torso was Greek-influenced — the Egyptians, after all, had invented most of the features of its modeling — it must be admitted that only in the Hellenistic age could an Egyptian torso in the traditional stance have been imbued with such vibrating strength that even Western eyes, accustomed to the white or cream-colored surface of marble sculptures, can see the life inherent in this representation of a vigorous and beautiful body.

Amun-pe-yom, according to the inscription on the back pillar and on the belt that holds the pleated kilt, was of course a priest, but his main functions were those of a commander of infantry and of the charioteers of the Mendesian nome, which he administered as governor for an unnamed ruler. His name is one of the many Egyptian names for which there is a Greek version — in this case, Amphiomis — but he is not known from any other source, Greek or Egyptian. His father's name was Pamerih (he, too, a leader of troops), and his mother was called Nebet-tekh. The top of the back pillar has an adoration scene in sunk relief, showing on the right Amun-pe-yom, with shaven head and in a long garment, facing left and worshiping the local triad, the ram-headed chief deity of Mendes, his wife Hat-mehyt, and their son Harpocrates, who, being of tender age, still puts his finger in his mouth. Underneath is one line, reading like the main inscription from left to right, which again gives the names of the subject and of his parents. Since not even a trace of the head has survived, we have no way of knowing whether the features of this important man showed anything of his likeness or were merely an idealized representation. All that is certain is that he did not wear a long wig, for there is not a vestige of such a headdress on neck or shoulders. He may have had a shaven head, befitting his priestly status, or he may have worn his hair in close-cropped curls, in the Hellenistic manner.

Although a precise date cannot be given, it

is not difficult to establish the general period during which this statue was made. The main impact of the Hellenization of Egypt took place in the third century B.C., and at that time new forms in sculpture were once more developed. A pro-Egyptian policy, instigated by Arsinoe II, helped to consolidate the two disparate groups, Greek and Egyptians, who from then on were to live side by side. The language, the spelling, and the forms of the signs employed in the inscription all point to a date early in the Ptolemaic Period, probably before the time of Ptolemy III, and when one considers the homage paid to the gods of Mendes by Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II in the celebrated Mendes Stela, the flourishing of the local aristocracy under these rulers is well understandable. The statue of Amun-pe-yom, although sculpturally by far the best, is not the only one of the period of the Philadelphoi from Mendes; two other fragmentary granite figures made for high dignitaries of Mendes in the third century B.C. have survived to our time.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 96.5 cm. Width ca. 35 cm. Depth 36.7 cm. Width of break at neck 13.5 cm., depth 24-25 cm. Width of back pillar 16.1 cm. Intracolumnar width 4.5 cm.

PROVENANCE: Mendes (Delta).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Silvia A. Wunderlich, "Diorite Torso of a General," *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 36 (1949), pp. 99-101, illus. on p. 97. H. Ranke, "The Statue of a Ptolemaic *Strategos* of the Mendesian Nome in the Cleveland Museum of Art," *JAOS* 73 (1953), pp. 193-198, with 1 pl. *JAOS* 74 (1954), p. 70. The Cleveland Museum of Art, *In Memoriam Leonard C. Hanna, Jr.* (Cleveland, 1958), no. 219 (illus.). The Cleveland Museum of Art, *Handbook* (1958 edition), no. 9 (illus.). *MDIK* 16 (1958), p. 113. H. De Meulenaere, in *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 34 (1959), pp. 2 and 22.

COMMENT: Despite the general neglect of the few monuments visible on the surface and the lack of supervision that permits the leveling of so many important *kôms* in Lower Egypt, Tell Timai and Tell Roba are still among the great sites of the Delta. Such ancient temple and town sites, risen through the millennia to a considerable height above the level of the surrounding land, are as much worth saving as are the temples of Nubia, and — unlike the latter — most of their documentary value is still buried and unknown. There have never been any systematic excavations on a large scale at Mendes, though

chance finds from the site have abounded for nearly a hundred years. For another, earlier, sculpture from the place, see No. 20. The great hoard of Greek marble heads discovered there was first published in *Le Musée égyptien* 3 (1915), pp. 1-13, pl. I-V. We have no life-size or colossal private sculpture datable to Ptolemy I, but there is ample evidence to show that such sculpture was made under Ptolemy II (cf. the *Comment* on No. 99). The torso modeling of Amun-pe-yom follows, in principle, that evolved during Dynasty XXX, and it is helpful to compare it with that of No. 75. Tripartition is present, and so is the faint median line, which played such a dominant rôle in sculptures like No. 9, where it is far more strongly marked. It is significant that H. Ranke (*op. cit.*, p. 193), after consultation with two outstanding Classical archaeologists of his day, should have written: "The artist must have been inspired by works of Greek contemporaries but he himself certainly was an Egyptian. In all the details of rendering the male body there is not a single one which could be claimed as characteristic of Greek sculpture." The presence of the Greeks brought out something in the Egyptian sculptor that was a fine contribution to his art, especially considering the rigidity of the traditional stance. It would be of value to see if any purely Hellenistic marble torsos could be attributed to the time of Ptolemy II, so as to compare them with the Cleveland statue. The inscribed belt is a Ptolemaic revival of the custom first found in private sculpture toward the end of Dynasty XXV (see the *Comment* on No. 9), and it is interesting to note that it occurs only rarely in Dynasty XXX (Cairo J.E. 26427). The two other statues from Mendes, mentioned below, also have inscriptions on the belts. The reversal of the direction of the inscription on the back pillar is most unusual; other cases are known, but no explanation has as yet been ventured; the date of sculptures so inscribed is always post-Persian. Ranke, in his excellent study of the texts of the Cleveland statue, concluded that it was made after 120 B.C., although — in the preamble to his last paragraphs — he notes specifically that the language of the inscriptions is very "classical" and that only a single typically "Ptolemaic" sign value occurs in the text. He was induced to commit this error in dating because historians, and primarily papyrologists, have stated over and over again that no Egyptian could have held a high office — especially one of military standing — in the early part of the Ptolemaic Period, and furthermore have asserted that the title *syggenes* was never given to a native *strategos* before ca. 120 B.C. It would lead too far to develop the argument here *in extenso*; cf. H. De Meulenaere, *op. cit.*, p. 22, note 2. For the present, nothing prevents us from attributing the Cleveland torso to the reign of Ptolemy II, and the torso of his descendant, Cairo C.G. 687 (who bears the same name as the father of Amun-pe-yom), to the time of Ptolemy III at the latest. The other two life-size

statues of dignitaries from Mendes are Kansas City 47-12 (made for one Hor-em-akh-byt = Archibaios) and Paris, Louvre E. 15546 (named *P-yrds* = Pyrrhides?). The statue of Archibaios is better preserved than the Cleveland torso, but its modeling is more restrained. The Louvre torso — with back pil-

lar inscription reversed as in the Cleveland statue — is preserved from waist to thighs only, and thus does not yield any archaeological information beyond the fact that it must have been made in the same studio and approximately at the same time as the Kansas City and Cleveland Mendesians.

No. 98; Pl. 92, Figs. 244-246.

QUEEN ARSINOE II

275-270 B.C.; *Ptolemaic Period*.

White indurated limestone.

Owner: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y.; no. 38.10.

Though many a delightful account has been written of the lives and loves of the great Ptolemaic queens from Berenice I to Cleopatra VII, we have little information on the statuary made for them in Egyptian style. Few of their sculptures are inscribed, and fewer have the heads preserved. There is always a question, moreover, of whether a sculpture was made during or subsequent to a queen's reign, for several of the royal ladies were deified after death, and statues in a later style were dedicated to their cults. The problems presented by sculptured figures of queens, like those posed by their portraits on coins, are manifold; but here, for once, we have an uninscribed head from the Metropolitan Museum of Art that can be attributed with some certainty to a definite royal consort, Arsinoe II, and was probably made during her lifetime.

In many respects, Queen Arsinoe II was a remarkable woman. The daughter of the first Ptolemy, Ptolemy Lagos, she was married when still very young to Lysimachos, king of Thrace. After the death of her husband, having vainly tried to hold her own in the strife-torn world of Hellenistic kingship, she sought refuge with her brother, Ptolemy II Philadelphos, in Egypt. By this time she was in her late thirties, a woman of high intelligence, striking personality, and — like most of the Macedonian princesses — considerable ruthlessness.

In the course of an intrigue, she won an easy victory over her sister-in-law and step-daughter, Arsinoe I, who was banished to Coptos in order that she herself might marry her own brother and become queen of Egypt as Arsinoe II. This marriage, the first of Ptolemaic brother-sister unions, while following Egyptian royal custom, created considerable scandal among the Greeks. Nothing daunted, Arsinoe is said to have taken the reins of government into her own capable hands, leaving her brother to his mistresses. She died in 269 B.C., but her memory endured in the Greek world for several hundred years.

An inscribed statue of Arsinoe II in Rome (Vatican 25), with the head fortunately intact, gives a good idea of the official style of her period. It is of colossal dimensions — the queen's figure, without base, measuring eight feet in height — and the features are consequently not too detailed, but it permits the conclusion that the head from the Metropolitan Museum of Art is a replica, if not of the Vatican statue itself, at least of a similar one, and that it is undoubtedly an official likeness of Arsinoe II.

A tenon on top of the head shows that it was once, like that of the Vatican figure, crowned with a divine symbol, probably identifying the queen with Isis-Hathor. The wig is of the conventional tripartite type, with two

heavy, striated lappets that once fell to the breasts and a third that ended at the top of a low back pillar. Two uraei, the heads now lost, rise over the queen's forehead. Her eyes, long, narrow, and slanting, are exquisitely shaped under the gently curved, faintly suggested brows. The mouth is lifted at the corners, and the barest indication of a philtrum modifies the upper lip. The chin is short, yet firm, and the small ears are remarkably articulate.

Though it follows, line for line, the model set by the Vatican sculpture, this less-than-life-size head is infinitely more appealing than its colossal counterpart in red granite. In our opinion, it is by far the best of all surviving female heads of the Ptolemaic Period. Its modeling reveals a superb craftsmanship, and as a work of art it shows a harmonious blending of Egyptian tradition with an enlivening touch of Hellenistic sensuousness.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 12.2 cm. Width of break ca. 9 cm. Depth of break 5.8 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; probably Lower Egypt.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *BMAA* 33 (1938), pp. 233 (illus.) and 240. *AJA* 54 (1950), pp. 383-384, fig. 17.

COMMENT: To judge by the statue of Arsinoe in the Vatican, the missing body of the New York head must have been worked as if entirely nude, with a thin hem at the ankles merely hinting at a garment (cf. No. 95). The left arm was presumably bent, with the left hand under the right breast, in the attitude of the Vatican statue (cf. No. 92). That the back pillar ends flush with the lower edge of the wig

is frequent in female statues with tripartite echeloned or striated wigs (Paris, Louvre N. 2456). The kind of crown or headdress that was slipped over the tenon is best shown by Berlin 10114; cf. also No. 12, an early version of the Isis-Hathor crown of the Ptolemaic Period. For Arsinoe II and her time, see G. H. Macurdy, *Hellenistic Queens* (Baltimore, 1932), pp. 111-130, and passim. Her epithet, "brother-loving," manifests the close relationship which, though not shocking from an Egyptian point of view, was novel to the Greek world, to which she, as well as her husband-brother, were spiritually allied. In the Vatican statue the queen's mouth is larger than in the New York head, and it shows the distinct curvature that is characteristic of her brother's likeness (cf. No. 96). There is, indeed, a resemblance between the face of Arsinoe II and that of her brother, Ptolemy II, as shown in their colossal granite statues (Vatican 25 and 27), which is much less obvious in the New York head, with its smaller mouth and very feminine features. Mrs. I. Lapis, in *Bulletin du Musée de l'Ermitage* 11 (1957), pp. 49-52 (in Russian) proposed the identification of a queen's statue in Leningrad (Hermitage 3936) as a sculpture of Arsinoe II (better illustrated in *Pamiatniki iskusstva drevnego Egipta v Muzeiakh sovet-skogo soiuza* [Moscow, 1958], pl. 99-100). At first, her argument seems convincing, because the queen is represented with tripartite echeloned wig and holds in her left arm a cornucopia, well known from coins of Arsinoe, and is dressed in the transparent sheath-like costume of the early and middle Ptolemaic Period. On the other hand, she is represented with a triple uraeus, and the forms of her body are much plumper than is conceivable for the period, in view of the Vatican statue, which undoubtedly was made before the queen was deified. Therefore the Leningrad statue, if indeed it was meant to represent Arsinoe II, was probably created in her memory, for her cult. For another queen with triple uraeus and cornucopia, see No. 113, and for a statue of the deified Arsinoe II, No. 123.

About 280-250 B.C.; Ptolemaic Period.

Indurated limestone.

Owner: Academy of the New Church Museum, Bryn Athyn, Pa.

Although the Macedonian rulers of Egypt seem to have been accepted by the native Egyptians as god-given kings (there were remarkably few revolts in the course of the Ptolemaic Period), the affection of the Egyptian aristocracy for the successors of Alexander the Great was not so warm as to cause them to decorate their temple statues with the cartouches of a sovereign, nor was the ruling king or queen referred to by name in sculptural inscriptions. Though there are a few exceptions to this rule, in general we have to rely on related evidence for the chronology of private sculpture of the Ptolemaic Period, to look for mention of the subject of a statue in a papyrus or on a stela dated to the reign of a definite king, or to base our dating on the style of modeling and of inscription.

It has been an uphill struggle over the years to classify large numbers of statues and especially of statue fragments, mostly heads, which according to all available evidence were created between Alexander the Great and Hadrian. One hypothesis which has proved correct in so many cases that it may be termed a theory, is that life-size or colossal statues of private persons were mainly made during the rule of only two rather widely separated kings, Ptolemy II and Ptolemy XII. Here, in an anonymous, colossal limestone head from Bryn Athyn, we have a good example from the earlier of these two groups, representing a man whose chief title is "Prophet of Horemheb of *Pa-khet*." We do not know who this Horemheb was — a saint? a deified king? — and we also have no information on the place name that follows. At present, therefore, the subject of this large head is, despite the inscription, very anonymous indeed.

He must have been a person of distinction, however, because even in the early Ptolemaic Period heads of such super-human scale are not common. Unfortunately his face is not a portrait, but an idealizing likeness, with highly domed forehead, shaven skull without detailed modeling, sharp eyebrows, and stylized eyes, the contour of which is drawn with a fine flourish. Considering the round, full face, the mouth is small, with rather thick lips; the corners, like the nostrils, are deeply drilled. Instead of a back pillar, the statue had a wide stela-like panel, made in one piece with the sculpture. There was a considerable amount of space between this back slab and the man's body; his statue — so to speak — was provided with its own setting, its own background, which, considering the scale, must have greatly added to its impressiveness.

The title cited above is written on the left side of the back slab. At the top of the face of the slab, to the rear, was a scene showing the Prophet of Horemheb worshipping the divine triad of Thebes, Amun-Ra, Mut, and Khonsu. Of his figure, only his uplifted hand remains at the right; the rest, and the accompanying text, are lost.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 32.8 cm. Height of face (chin to eyebrows) 15 cm. Width 22.5 cm. Depth 36 cm. Width of break at neck (horiz.) ca. 15 cm., depth ca. 32 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; probably Thebes.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Pijoán, *El Arte egipcio*, pp. 306 and 308, fig. 412.

COMMENT: It is interesting to compare this head with one of a similar type made nearly a century previously (No. 78). Though of widely differing scale, the two are closely related; the statement, often repeated, that it is difficult to distinguish between the art of Nectanebo II and that of Ptolemy II certainly applies here, although No. 78 may have been made

as early as the reign of Nectanebo I. In any case, the differences between the two heads are not great and may be primarily those of two different localities. The Bryn Athyn head is distinctly turned toward the left in relation to the back slab. Attention should be given to the eyes, primarily to the fleshiness of the upper eyelid, which has already been noted in sculptures of Dynasty XXVII (Nos. 61-62), though at that time it did not appear in so highly stylized a context. Furthermore the contour of the eyes relates the head to that of Arsinoe II (No. 98), where, in a head of finer quality, the same outline is found. A back slab often occurs in group statues (cf. No. 62), but is not used as a background for a single standing figure before the end of Dynasty XXX. For this, three other sculptures should be compared: Cairo J.E. 37075, of the time of Alexander the Great; Lausanne Eg. 7, which is a little later; and Cairo C.G. 70031, dated to the early part of the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphos. Whereas the first two sculptures are well below life size, the slab of Cairo C.G. 70031 (which is all that is left of the sculpture) must have belonged to a fully life-size or colossal statue. The Bryn Athyn head, the fourth example of a statue with back slab, and the second

one datable to the time of Ptolemy II, probably comes from Thebes. It is significant that of the other three, two are Theban and the third comes from near-by Coptos (Cairo C.G. 70031); this type of sculpture was apparently never made in the Memphite region and the Delta. The theory that large-scale sculpture was made primarily in the time of Ptolemy II rests not on the Coptos slab alone but more on the statues of Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II in Rome (Vatican 27 and 25), on London, B.M. 1668 (representing the same subject as Cairo C.G. 70031), on Cairo C.G. 700 (which from the inscriptions is prior to Ptolemy III), and others; see also the *Comment* on No. 97 and, for large-scale sculpture of the time of Ptolemy XII, the *Comment* on No. 132. Another colossal limestone head of the third century is in Copenhagen (N.C.G. 1384). It should be noted that a colossal statue in Cairo (C.G. 1230), which stylistically can well date from the reign of Ptolemy II, was made for a certain Horemheb, referred to as "Man of Khetet" in the inscription. There is undoubtedly a connection between the two Horemhebs; it — as well as the mysterious place name — will have to be investigated further.

No. 100; Pl. 94, Figs. 250-252.

HEAD WITH STUBBLE BEARD

About 250 B.C.; Ptolemaic Period.

Fine-grained, nearly black granite.

Owner: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass.; no. 50.3427.

The frequent absence of an inscription from the top of a back pillar still remaining on a detached head does not necessarily mean that the head belonged to a statue which was never inscribed, for often, as we have seen in No. 70, the text begins fairly low. There are cases, however, of sculptures that never bore written identification, and some of them may result from a new idea, perhaps due to Greek influence, that the face of a person constituted sufficient identification, because it was unmistakably his.

This may be true of a little head from Boston which, though sadly battered, still retains a good deal of the character of the person it was intended to represent, a heavy-jowled, elderly

gentleman with deep nasolabial furrows and swollen lids half veiling his eyes. For once, the eyebrows are marked as a groove, not as a ridge, and over them the forehead merges into an almost globular skull. The chin, stubborn and well-defined, set off sharply against cheeks and neck, is covered with tiny pick marks, as are also the adjoining portions of face and neck. Since these marks were worked after the surface had been carved and smoothed, they must have been made purposely to indicate a growth of beard. Such realistic approach was possible only in the Ptolemaic Period, from which we have several other portraits with poorly shaven or bewhiskered faces (cf. No. 118), and after close contact with the natu-

realistic tendencies of the Greek world. Both stubble beard and the formation of the eyes point to a date within the third century B.C.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 10.4 cm. Width 7 cm. Depth 10 cm. Width of break at neck 5.2 cm., depth 7.5 cm. Width of back pillar, originally ca 4.4 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known. Formerly in the collection of Albert Gallatin.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. V. Bothmer, "The Signs of Age," in *BMFA* 49 (1951), pp. 69-74, figs. 1-6.

COMMENT: Since the Boston head has been published before, a remark might be appropriate on the problem of dating these late portraits and on the progress made in the last decade in building a firmer foundation for a sound method of attribution. As recently as 1953 H. Ranke stated: "A careful archaeological publication of all available Ptolemaic statues is an urgent desideratum" (*JAOs* 73 [1953], p. 196, note 13), and on the following page he pleaded for a much-needed "comprehensive investigation of the orthography of late Egyptian texts." Both are indispensable for an eventual study of the portraits of the Ptolemaic Period; it is indeed obvious that such a study has to be based on a framework of firmly dated sculptures. Although inscribed statues, with the head intact and a definite date in the inscription, are still wanting, we have at least one comparable piece whose inscription clearly indicates that it

was made some time after 238 B.C. (London, B.M. 65443; cf. the *Comment* on No. 115), and a second sculpture on a colossal scale, which has a somewhat battered yet sufficiently preserved face to show impressive portrait features (Cairo C.G. 700) and is commonly attributed to the time of Ptolemy II. This sculpture represents Teos II, a general and governor of Tanis around the middle of the third century B.C. His wildly discordant face (Fig. 250) shows individual traits (e.g. a double fold *under* the right lid, which neither before nor after his time has ever been traced in a portrait), the most important feature of which are the eyes. Though formed very plastically in the round, they are largely covered by the lids, so that the actual opening is fairly small. This technical device for giving a life-like appearance to an old man's face by modeling the eyes so realistically may, like so many features of Ptolemaic sculpture, have been based on the observation of works of a previous period; at any rate, the device is widely employed in the third century B.C., and in many instances it is difficult to determine whether an uninscribed portrait head is of earlier or later date. To come back to the Boston piece: its back-pillar top is certainly of the same shape — including the beveled sides — and height as that of London, B.M. 65443, which is dated after 238 B.C. Since the eyes, however, follow the model set by Cairo C.G. 700, it should still be attributable to the third century B.C.

No. 101; Pl. 95, Figs. 253-254.

HEAD WITH PORTRAIT FEATURES

About 250 B.C.; Ptolemaic Period.

Dark grey diorite.

Owner: The Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Canada; no. 958.221.4.

During the end of Dynasty XXV and the beginning of Dynasty XXVI, Egyptian craftsmen experimented widely with various means by which maturity or, even more, ripe old age could be expressed in a face sculptured in hard stone. Similar experimentation again took place in Dynasty XXVII (end of the sixth century B.C.), and at that time something more than a mere formula was evolved; in a few instances, surviving sculptures of the period show flashes of deep insight into human character and of the genius needed to reproduce it in stone.

This, to us, marks the beginning of true portraiture, which was to last to the end of the Ptolemaic Period.

It is understandable, however, that even in good portraits certain small details are repeated from time to time in strikingly similar manner, simply because sculptors had learned to render certain facial traits in a direct fashion without overelaboration. One such detail is the nasolabial furrow. It is usually drawn as a single line or modeled as a single fold, curving from nostril to just beyond the upper lip, but in

this head from Toronto we have a double crease, beginning at the nostril and diverging to well below the corner of the mouth. Every addition to a craftsman's repertory is, to the student, a point of interest and of inquiry. If the double furrow was a new feature adopted as a standard, one would expect to find it recurring in several sculptures. But, since diligent search has failed to turn up another example among the many sculptured faces showing the conventional signs of age, this double crease seems to be unique and may (though with due caution) be interpreted as characteristic of the person represented in the Toronto head, which, if now sadly battered, was originally too good a sculpture to have served merely as an experiment for a single variation on a type. In other words (especially since the eyes, too, show unusual modulations, perhaps expressive of the rheumy eyes of an old

man) we may have here the remnant of what was once a fine portrait head, now regrettably reduced to little more than a shadow.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 8.5 cm. Width 6.2 cm. Depth 8.7 cm. Width of break at neck 4.8 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: None.

COMMENT: The back-pillar top, once of trapezoid shape, is now mostly gone; so are the ears, nose, and mouth. Still, it was felt worth while to bring this head from Toronto to Brooklyn, in order to furnish another illustration of the variety of sculptural forms used in portraiture. If the head turns out to be representative of a type that exists somewhere on a complete or, even better, an inscribed statuette, it may be easier to place it. At the moment we are frankly at a loss as to the century in which it was made. Since the third century, as exemplified by Cairo C.G. 700 (Fig. 250) and other pieces, seems to have been an epoch of experimentation and novelties, we have tentatively assigned the Toronto head to about 250 B.C.

No. 102; Pl. 95, Figs. 255-256.

PEKHER-KHONSU

About 250-200 B.C.; Ptolemaic Period.

Grey-black diorite.

Owner: Rosicrucian Egyptian, Oriental Museum; San Jose, Cal.; no. 1583.

Most standing male sculptures of the Ptolemaic Period were represented with a shaven head; when a wig is employed, it is usually a bag wig. A wide or a straight wig is rarely found, and the few examples that occur are invariably from Thebes. It is significant of the tradition-loving south that there such a time-honored headdress appeared continuously among the shaven heads, while the north had completely abandoned it for generations. It is doubtful that the wide wig was still worn in daily life; it had probably become an accessory used only in sculpture made for tradition-minded persons. Its shape and contour became less and less distinct, and it no longer formed

an imposing frame and background for the face—it became an adjunct, put on the head for convention's sake rather than something really worn, as is shown by its awkward proportions, narrow, and rising to a great height above the forehead.

To illustrate this phase of development, a statue from San Jose has been chosen, in which the traditional stance of the male figure is reiterated with even more than customary rigidity. The technical skill with which this sculpture in extremely hard stone has been fashioned is, as always, admirable, but in its lack of nuance the figure reveals that the source of inspiration was drying up, even though, spo-

radically, at even later times, it was able still to revivify the sculptor's art.

An inscription in two columns on the back pillar indicates that the man represented was one Pekher . . . (a name most likely to be restored as Pekher-khonsu); his parents' names have been lost with the missing end of the columns, both here and on the left side of the pillar. Pekher-khonsu was a "Prophet of Amun in Karnak" and a "Prophet of Amun-Userhat," the sacred barque of the god Amun, and also held, among other titles, that of "Overseer of the Secrets and Purifier of the God," probably the equivalent of the Greek *stolistês*.

Since Pekher-khonsu, like many notables of Thebes — which during most of the Ptolemaic Period was a rather provincial town — is not known from other sources, and since the inscriptions do not provide a fixed date, his period can only be pinpointed to within half a century. Yet the mass of sculptures of the Ptolemaic Period found at Thebes, among which there are fortunately a few dated and datable pieces, provides enough information to attribute a statue such as his with full justi-

fication to the middle or second half of the third century.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 48.4 cm. Width 13.2 cm. Depth at knee level 11.5 cm. Width of back pillar 5.7 cm. Intracolumnar width 2.2 cm. Depth of break at right leg 4 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; presumably Karnak.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: None.

COMMENT: Part of the nose, the feet and the base are missing, and the left leg, from the knee down, has been restored; otherwise the statue is well preserved. Although the wide wig of early Dynasty XXVI (see No. 28) continued in use at Thebes, already in Dynasty XXX some models decrease the lower portion slightly in width (Brussels E. 4395; Cairo J.E. 37993), and there gradually develops a wig with the two sides almost parallel to each other. This modified wide wig is called a straight wig; a good example in a block statue is No. 117, and in a standing figure, London, B.M. 48038. The latter, which also belongs to a man named Pekher-khonsu (no relation), was obviously worked in the same studio as the San Jose statue: in the rear view, back pillar and wig can hardly be distinguished. Our Pekher-khonsu has a summarily modeled face; both hands hold emblematic staves. According to epigraphy and orthography, the statue still belongs to the third century; its workmanship and the shape of the wig relate it to pieces such as Cairo C.G. 680, which was made for a man known to have lived in the time of Ptolemy II.

No. 103; Pl. 96, Figs. 257-258.

HELLENISTIC ROYAL HEAD

About 250-200 B.C.; Ptolemaic Period.

Dark grey schist.

Owner: Peabody Museum of Natural History, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.; no. 388 (on indefinite loan at the Yale University Art Gallery; no. 4.1.1953).

In the Ptolemaic Period, Egyptian sculpture developed along two distinctly different lines. One was the traditional, in which — with certain modifications — costume and attitude were shown as had been the custom during previous centuries: this is Ptolemaic sculpture in the strict sense of the term. The other follows the traditional style so far as pose and attitude are concerned, but employs costume, coiffure, and

attributes of Hellenistic inspiration (though not necessarily of Greek origin), sometimes mixed with ancient Egyptian elements.

On account of its coiffure, this head from New Haven belongs to the second group: it is Hellenistic-Egyptian or Hellenistic-Ptolemaic — Hellenistic for short, though one has to bear in mind that in the context of this Exhibition a head such as this is not what Classical archae-

ologists call Hellenistic, because it is made in Egyptian material, comes — as traces of the back pillar prove — from an Egyptian temple statue, and was made by a native Egyptian, not a Greek or Greco-Egyptian sculptor. In this royal head we have — to a surprising degree — a mixture of the traditional and the new. Conventionally Egyptian, of course, are the inlay (now missing) of the eyes, the royal headcloth, the uraeus, and the back pillar. Hellenistic are the naturalistic locks protruding from under the *nemes* onto the forehead, the large, deep-set eyes, and the soft, full lips of the sensitive mouth.

The head belonged to a statue that was well over life size. There is no reason to doubt that the stance of the figure was the very same as that of hundreds of other statues with left foot advanced, which had been made during previous millennia. Although the *nemes* follows the Egyptian prototype in general form, the rise and swinging curve of its creases and its large, softly rounded planes betray Hellenistic inspiration and emphasize the alien heroic aspect of the large head. The tail of the uraeus runs distinctly to the left of center and tapers off just beyond the crown of the head. The border of the *nemes* is rather narrow and, unlike the headcloth itself, which was once well polished, has been left in the rough, probably intentionally, to be covered with metal foil. Under the border, the curls are lined up in a row increasing in volume towards the temples, like so many thick little claws. The face is softly rounded and youthful, far from mature; yet the mouth, in contrast with the other features, conveys disdain and experience. That as an idealizing likeness the head follows much more closely Hellenistic than Egyptian style is underscored by the ecstatically opened eyes, with their thick brows and the naturalistic fold of the upper lids.

The identity of the king represented must remain for the present a matter of conjecture. The entire field of Egyptian royal sculpture of the last three centuries B.C., Ptolemaic as well

as Hellenistic, has been so long neglected that even the available material, which has greatly increased in recent years, has not been recorded, much less classified and analyzed. Since only a few isolated pieces have been well published and discussed, for lack of comparative material the historical development of Hellenistic royal sculpture during these centuries can not as yet be accurately traced. It is therefore with some hesitation that even an approximate date can be proposed for the pharaoh shown here; at present an attribution to the second half of the third century B.C. seems best defensible.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 37 cm. Width 30.5 cm. Depth 24.4 cm. Height of face 15 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; formerly in the collection of Judge Victor Clay Barringer.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rostovtzeff, *Soc. & Econ. History* II, p. 872, pl. XCIX, fig. 1. Winifred Needler, in *Berytus* 9 (1948-49), pp. 133-136, pl. XXV, figs. 3-4.

COMMENT: For Judge Barringer, see the *Comment* on No. 109. Miss Needler's discussion (*op. cit.*) of the Yale head is excellent, and should be consulted for further details. At the left side of the base of the neck, part of the lappet of the *nemes* is still visible. The protruding lower lip and a deep depression below it combine to give the youthful face its disdainful expression. The ears are fairly small — always a surprising feature in an Egyptian sculpture — and the Adam's apple is indicated. There is no true resemblance between this head (or for that matter any royal head with Hellenistic coiffure and mouth) and royal heads of the period following Egyptian tradition; the two types simply cannot be compared. As for Hellenistic heads, there is one with an inscription (Athens, N.M. 108) identifying it as Ptolemy VI Philometor, on the basis of which it has been possible to attribute Alexandria 3357, a sculpture of colossal scale, to the same king. In both of these a characteristic feature is the prominence of the locks on the forehead. In consequence, the *nemes* is not very voluminous and looks as if it had been pushed back on the head. Since the locks are smaller, and the *nemes* is more sizable, it can be inferred that the Yale head may be a good deal earlier. Though in principle it is not good practice to compare sculptures of entirely different scale, reference should be made to the gigantic head of a Ptolemaic ruler with Hellenistic coiffure (Alexandria 11275), whose companion queen is now in a Belgian museum (Mariemont 505). This undoubtedly antedates the first century B.C., to which it has frequently been attributed, for the chin is certainly comparable with

that of the head in Athens, and we may thus have in the royal pair a representation of Ptolemy VI with Cleopatra II. While not directly bearing on the Yale head, the identification of the large heads with Hellenistic locks in Alexandria is of primary importance for a new approach to the entire chronology. The often cited and (since Bissing, *Denkm.* 103) not much studied colossal statue of the so-called Alexander II or IV in Cairo (C.G. 701) is, in our opinion, later than the Yale head; the latter shows a really harmonious blending of Hellenistic-Greek and Egyptian features, such as occurs only rarely in sculpture of this type. Miss Needler has attributed the Yale head to Ptolemy IV; Mr. G. K. Jenkins, of the Department of Coins and Medals of the Brit-

ish Museum, who very kindly has given us his opinion, is more inclined to liken it to coin portraits of Ptolemy III. But Ptolemy III is supposed to be represented in the big diorite head in Copenhagen (N.C.G. 933), which does not resemble the Yale head at all. Perhaps the Copenhagen head is not that of a ruler, for it lacks the uraeus or any other royal insignia. The ribbon that adorns its hair is well known from private Egyptian sculptures of the Ptolemaic Period (Alexandria P. 10425) and, unless provided with a royal cobra (No. 135), does not necessarily denote a royal personage. To judge by the hardly perceptible traces, the back pillar of the Yale torso had a rounded top.

No. 104; Pl. 97, Figs. 259-260.

PORTRAIT OF A STRONG MAN

About 250 B.C.; Ptolemaic Period.

Black diorite.

Owner: The Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit, Mich.; no. 40.47.

The apparent connection between Egyptian and Roman-Republican portraiture is a much-discussed but still largely unsolved problem of Mediterranean history of art. That there was some connection is obvious from the number of surviving Roman portraits made in Egyptian stones and presumably by Egyptian workmen familiar with such harder-than-marble materials. An even better argument in favor of a close relationship is, however, the strong resemblance between certain Egyptian portraits of the Late Period and Roman portraits made during the last decades of the Republic, and here, in a head from Detroit, is one of the most Roman-looking of all the pre-Roman heads from the Nile Valley. That it is of Egyptian origin might be suspected from the material — diorite — but is best proved by the remains of a back pillar, that infallible sign of Egyptian provenance for a sculpture of the Hellenistic Period.

Though it is of less than life size, in an enlarged photograph the head gives an illusion of being of heroic proportions. This is due to

the inner strength the artist has managed to express in the features of the unknown man it represents. He must have been a person of dynamic forcefulness, rather coarse, perhaps, and certainly ruthless. His face, unlike that of the head from the Gulbenkian Collection (No. 107), has nothing in it of peace, of quiet; it is all but brutal in its determination. No doubt from observation of the living model, the sculptor has fashioned forehead, temples, and skull with full awareness of the underlying bone structure. His attention to the whims of nature is especially evident in the brows, which — a rare feature — are paralleled by deep grooves, in precisely the place where, in earlier pieces, one would expect to find a band plastically rendered in relief. The creases running down from the nostrils are marked by fleshy folds, well-fitting the character of a face with full, heavy features and double chin. While the mouth is treated in a Hellenistic manner, the portrait as a whole is very Egyptian in its directness and excellently represents the type of portraiture which so deeply impressed the

Romans that they used it as a model when they developed their own style of portrait sculpture around 100 B.C.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 20 cm. Width 12.2 cm. Depth 17.2 cm. Width of break at neck 8.3 cm., at back pillar 8.5 cm. Depth of break (slant) 12.3 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known. Formerly in the collection of Howard Carter.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: None; mentioned in *BMFA* 49 (1951), p. 74, note 2.

COMMENT: The Detroit head—one of the great Egyptian portraits of the Late Period—is so unusual in so many respects that it should be made the subject of a special study. In the impression of volume it gives, despite its small size, it recalls a frequently illustrated head in Paris (Louvre E. 8060), though the Paris head, with features embedded in mountains of flesh, is reduced to mere caricature when confronted with the head from Detroit. The latter shows an ever-so-faint line of natural hair above the temples. A slight vertical wrinkle rises from each side of the root of the nose. It has in common with the Boston head (No. 100) the unusual groove above the brow, though the treatment of the eyes differs. Such naturalistic features constitute a new approach to portraiture. No one, we believe, will deny that No. 83, the Brooklyn "Green Head," is a portrait. Yet in it the result has been achieved by means which scarcely

take into account the nature of skin. The Detroit head, on the other hand, shows a preoccupation on the part of the sculptor with flesh and skin, which can have been brought into the open only through contact with Greek statuary, although—we hasten to add—it was always a latent part of the Egyptian craftsman's equipment, as is shown, for instance, by Nos. 23 and 67. So far as can be judged from its battered condition, the back pillar was of an amorphous nature frequent in the Ptolemaic Period. If, however, its present form is merely the result of wear, its slender proportions suggest that it may originally have been of an elongated trapezoid shape, similar to those of No. 73, Chicago, N.H.M. 31724, and London, B.M. 59075. In date, the Detroit head must be close to, or slightly later than, the head of Cairo C.G. 700 (Fig. 250). The conception of these two faces springs from the same source, although two entirely different people are represented, and the sculptures were not necessarily made at the same studio or at the same date; the question of which is the earlier must at present be left open. The mouth of the Detroit head is the most un-Egyptian part of the face, although this Hellenistic feature had been taken over by Egyptian craftsmen as early as the fourth century B.C. Here, it is strongly reminiscent of that of Turin 1385, the queen with the vulture cap and the triple uraeus. For further discussion of Egyptian-Roman relations and Egyptian influence on Roman portraiture, see the *Comment* on No. 127.

No. 105; Pl. 98, Figs. 261-262.

PTOLEMAIC QUEEN

About 240-200 B.C.; Ptolemaic Period.

Black porphyritic granite.

Owner: The Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto; no. 910.75.

Statues of queens of Dynasty XXVI appear never to have been made, and of course the Persian rulers of Egypt did not set up sculptures of their consorts any more than of themselves. During Dynasties XXVIII-XXX the queens were not even mentioned in texts or represented in relief, and Alexander the Great was too much the conqueror, hero, and god to commemorate his family in foreign lands. Only with his successors, who had become resident kings of Egypt, a change took place—actually not so much a change as a revival; for in re-

establishing the position of the queen, they merely again brought to life an ancient Egyptian tradition that had been suppressed for about five hundred years.

Basically, the representations in the round of Ptolemaic queens fall into two groups. In one the queen wears a traditional Egyptian costume, and in the other she wears garments which, though basically Egyptian, show folds in a manner inspired by Hellenistic sculpture—in short, a Hellenistic costume. If one expects to find the style changing from the former to

the latter costume at a given time, perhaps with the accession to the throne of a new queen, one will be sadly mistaken. While Queen Arsinoe II is pictured in relief as wearing Hellenistic costume, more than a century later queens are still occasionally shown in traditional Egyptian dress, not only in temple reliefs, but also on stelae. Since thus there seems to have been no definite time at which a change took place, each sculpture has to be judged by style, rather than by attributes and accouterments.

An approximately life-size bust from the Royal Ontario Museum is a good case in point. It represents a queen in a tripartite wig covered with echeloned stylized curls, bound at the ends with three bands. Half-way between forehead and crown of head, a circlet is indicated in relief, on which appear the damaged head and hood of the uraeus; the body of the royal cobra was, however, never shown. A broad back pillar rises to a height well above the head, in order to give support to a divine crown, now lost; only the modius on which it once rested is preserved. Though the edge of a garment is indicated at the neck, it probably sheathed the figure so closely that the body appeared to be naked, a convention that is, with exceptions, more common in early than in late Ptolemaic sculpture. The face is, of course, not a portrait; on the other hand it shows traits which do not quite conform to the feminine ideal as it appears in No. 98. The expression is dry, bland, non-committal, and still: the longer one looks at the face in varying light, the more one has the impression that something distinctly personal is expressed in the features. There is a mystery in the face,

and the puzzling element is probably Hellenistic-Greek. In indicating a mood, this Toronto head is distinguished from more traditional sculptures of the early Ptolemaic Period.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 63.5 cm. Height of head 22.9 cm. Width at shoulder level 33 cm. Depth at nose level 25.5 cm. Width of back pillar near break 13 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: None. Mentioned in *Berytus* 9 (1948-49), p. 140, note 6.

COMMENT: The two basic groups of queens' statuary, Ptolemaic and Hellenistic, should be further subdivided according to coiffure: Egyptian or Greek. The Toronto queen is Egyptian-Ptolemaic, but a very similar bust in Alexandria (Graeco-Roman Museum 3222) with the same wig and circlet shows Hellenistic drapery in the costume, and the breasts are covered. A head in Baltimore (W.A.G. 225) has the same wig and a bodyless uraeus, but no circlet. The heads closest to the Toronto bust are in Glasgow (Burrell Collection; *AfO* 17 [1956], p. 409, fig. 5) and Leningrad (Hermitage 3099; from Kertch). The earliest representation of Arsinoe II in Hellenistic costume appears on a stela from Tanis (London, B.M. 1054); she has the long lappet wig with circlet and uraeus and wears the crown, with two plumes, cow's horns, and sun disc, of Isis-Hathor. The Toronto queen's head has one uraeus, the statue of Arsinoe II in Rome (Vatican 25) and the head from the Metropolitan Museum of Art (No. 98) have two uraei, and the whole problem of one, two, or even three uraei (see No. 113) is as puzzling as ever, despite the discussions in Bissing, *Denkm.*, Text to pl. 64, note 8, and Roeder, *Statuen*, passim. The modius on the head of the Toronto queen has approximately the same shape as that of the goddess Isis in Fig. 128. The ends of the lappets come unusually close together. The thick rim of the upper lids and the heavy fold above it should be noted. If the date suggested (about 240-200 B.C.) is correct, we may have in this queen either Berenice II or Arsinoe III. Comparison with temple reliefs has not yielded any very definite information; often the queen is assimilated to the goddess of the temple in coiffure and costume, and frequently the date of a given relief representation is not evident from the royal names in the accompanying text.

No. 106; Pl. 98, Fig. 263.

FRAGMENT OF A FACE

About 200 B.C.; Ptolemaic Period.

Black basalt.

Owner: The Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, N. Y.; no. 57.42.

There are two mere fragments of heads included in the Exhibition: No. 51, from a head of King Apries, and this fractured face with portrait features. Though deplorably incomplete, we are showing it among the great heads of the Ptolemaic Period, since even as a document it contributes its share to the wide range of diverse physiognomies from the last centuries of ancient Egypt.

A well-formed high forehead leads in a gentle curve into what was once a lofty, elongated skull. The bridge of the nose shows a deep depression; the line of the rounded eyebrows is straight; a heavy line descends from the nostrils. Most remarkable, however, are the eyes, especially the well-preserved left eye, embedded in a deep, sharply contoured socket, from which an ornamental curve escapes to separate nose and cheek. Upper and lower lid, cut with metallic precision, are partly drawn over the eyeball, leaving a fairly small opening for the eye itself.

The cheeks must have been sunken, almost disappearing below the strong cheekbones, which probably lent the face a tragic expression. Whereas No. 100 seems complacent and rather contented, this head must have been that of a sad, if strong-willed, man.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 14.7 cm. Width (outer corners of the eyes) 6 cm. Depth 12.5 cm.

PROVENANCE: Mitrahineh (Memphis).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: None.

COMMENT: To reconstruct a head and, even more, the expression of a person, from a fragmentary face such as this is rather a task for a physiognomist than for an art historian. It would be easier if there were abundant parallels, but this is not the case. That the Brooklyn head was a highly individual sculpture is apparent, despite its poor preservation. The metallic quality of the cutting of the eye and surrounding areas, as distinguished from the soft rounding of the brows, should be noted, in the hope that it may be again found in a sculpture with head intact and with an inscription giving some clue to the date. At present one only can place this fragment among the middle Ptolemaic sculptures; in any case, it appears to be younger than Cairo C.G. 700 (Fig. 250) and older than London, B.M. 65443.

No. 107; Pl. 99, Figs. 264-266.

PORTRAIT OF A WISE MAN

About 220-180 B.C.

Light and dark green schist.

Owner: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Lisbon; no. 46.

Few men, on reaching a ripe old age, have faces that can be called beautiful, and the ancient Egyptians were no exception to this rule. When men are powerful and influential and have achieved a certain stature in the political

and economic life of their nation, their features are apt to reflect the power to command; and occasionally aging faces are pleasant and benign, radiating a life well-lived. Egyptian artists, throughout the millennia, however,

largely idealized men's features, giving them, if not the traits of youth, the lineaments of mature authority — making them, in short, into the ideal types they might wish to be for eternity. But time and again, from the early bust of Ankh-haf in Boston to the "Tête Salt" in the Louvre, anonymous sculptors managed to recreate in stone real persons, whose faces appeal today more than the hundreds of bland masks that confront us in museums and are hailed as works of art merely because of their good craftsmanship and fine preservation.

Here, in the head of a wise, if not very agreeable, old man from the Gulbenkian Collection, we are confronted with a face that has all the indications of true portraiture. In contrast with many of the heads showing signs of age, which have been preserved in fairly large numbers from Ptolemaic times, this is not a likeness made with the help of a well-proved formula, but one achieved with an artist's approach to a definite person's striking appearance. The beautifully modeled skull, the asymmetry of the two halves of the face, the heavy-lidded eyes, the sunken cheeks, and especially the thin-lipped, slightly contemptuous mouth are hard to imagine as the features of a person who died more than two thousand years ago. Minute pick marks on the upper lip may indicate the stubble of a moustache. The two nasolabial furrows, though entirely different from each other, form the only conventional feature of this otherwise highly realistic image of a man's face.

The tight, thin-lipped mouth, clearly showing the influence of Hellenistic naturalism, provides the key for the chronological position of this head, which often — so unjustly — has been attributed to the Saite Period. Another indication of the Ptolemaic origin are the eyes, specifically the eyelids, which permit us to group the head with a number of third and second century portraits with eyes treated in a similar manner. Since little remains of the back pillar, which was rather deep and terminates low on the skull, probably with a trapezoidal top, the

identity of the man is not known. His face, however, especially as seen from the front, has a haunting quality not easily forgotten, and though the mouth seems to betray experience and bitterness, the eyes, brows, and forehead impart a feeling of understanding and deep wisdom.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 9.5 cm. Width 7.5 cm. Depth 10.2 cm. Width of break at neck 3.9 cm. Depth of break 7.5 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known. Formerly in the Fouquet Collection.

BIBLIOGRAPHY (selective): E. Chassinat, *Les Antiquités égyptiennes de la Collection Fouquet* (Paris, 1922), pp. 21-22, pl. IX. *Collection du Dr Fouquet, du Caire; Art égyptien . . . composant la première vente de la Collection du Docteur Fouquet, du Caire* (Sale Catalogue, Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, 12-14 June, 1922), p. 4, pl. II, no. 19. Bosse, *Menschl. Figur*, p. 74, no. 205, pl. XIc. The British Museum (Temporary Exhibition), *Ancient Egyptian Sculpture Lent by C. S. Gulbenkian, Esq.* (London, 1937), p. 2, no. 3, pl. V-VI. Scharff, in *ZÄS* 74 (1938), pp. 48-49, note 5. National Gallery of Art, *Egyptian Sculpture from the Gulbenkian Collection* (Washington, 1949), pp. 14, 27, 61 (illus.), no. 19. Drerup, *Äg. Bildnisköpfe*, p. 24, note 23, pl. 2 b. *BMFA* 49 (1951), p. 74, fig. 8 (with bibliography). Wolf, *Kunst*, p. 629, fig. 664.

COMMENT: That the head, as a portrait, is far better than any sculpture created in early Saite times, need not be explained today; there is a "depth" in the expression of the eyes that does not exist before the fourth century and comes to its greatest ripeness in the Ptolemaic Period. Of course, heads such as this one and several others in the Exhibition contradict popular opinion of what Egyptian art is supposed to be like; they are frequently considered ugly and atypical. Whether they are ugly or not, cannot be discussed here, since this is a relative conception. Most persons overlook the individual features, once the spell of a work of art has captivated their minds and eyes, and are no longer aware of whether the object is "pretty" or "beautiful," provided it arouses their interest. The head from the Gulbenkian Collection is atypical insofar as there are no replicas, but as a member of the larger group of portraits of the Ptolemaic Period it is not so isolated as it may seem at first glance. The striking portraits brought together in this Exhibition should help to prove that the fable of the decline of Egyptian art under Ptolemaic rule is, by and large, nothing but a fable. The head from the Gulbenkian Collection, like its peers from Detroit, Baltimore, and Boston, shows an independence of spirit and a freedom of artistic conception which surpasses even the best of the two

preceding centuries. The adoption of a naturalistic rendering of the mouth, for instance, in this and other heads of the period, is not so much a concession to Hellenistic taste as a frugally tentative adoption

of the best from another world. But this other world never created a portrait on Egyptian soil of similar spiritual dimensions. The Egyptians, as always, found their strongest resources in themselves.

No. 108; Pls. 100-101, Figs. 267-269, 272.

THE BOSTON "GREEN HEAD"

About 220-180 B.C.; Ptolemaic Period.

Green schist.

Owner: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass.; no. 04.1749.

The history of collecting records few works of Egyptian art that are both distinguished and have distinguished pedigrees. Even fewer of the truly great sculptures that have been obtained through the art trade can be traced back for more than a hundred years. It is therefore worthy of note that what we consider the finest of all Ptolemaic portraits — the "Green Head" from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston — has a long and remarkable history.

That history began in the winter of 1857-58, when Auguste Mariette, the father of Egyptian field archaeology, discoverer of the Serapeum, and founder of the Antiquities Service of Egypt, was commissioned by the Khedive to open up a number of ancient sites in the Nile Valley in anticipation of the visit of Prince Napoléon, a cousin of Emperor Napoléon III. His Highness, known as "Prince Plonplon" in the salons of Paris, delayed his arrival and finally, early in 1858, canceled his visit. As souvenirs of a journey never undertaken, the Khedive nevertheless sent to him in Paris a number of the antiquities said to have been discovered by Mariette during his season of exploration. Among them was the masterpiece from Boston.

A year later, this extraordinary head was published by C. Ferri-Pisani, secretary to the Prince, who illustrated it with an engraving in reverse, which reappeared after eight years in an article on the Egyptian antiquities shown

at the Paris Exposition of 1867. Then the head vanished, only to turn up thirty-seven years later, when it was acquired by the Museum of Fine Arts from the great Bostonian collector, E. P. Warren, whose papers gave no indication of how or where he had found it. The full story of the fate of the little head during the interval will probably never be known, but it is significant that the man who brought to America the finest Greek sculpture of the Classical period in the Western Hemisphere, the Boston companion piece to the "Ludovisi Throne," should also have acquired by far the best Ptolemaic portrait sculpture owned by any museum in any country.

For there can be no doubt that, notwithstanding the merits of the Berlin "Green Head" (No. 127) and the Brooklyn "Black Head" (No. 132), this small sculpture from Boston is a jewel the like of which exists in no other collection. It reflects, in the features of an aging man with shaven head, a depth of human understanding and a sureness of execution that are the more amazing in a piece scarcely five inches in height. The character of the man is fully expressed, though his name is not known. The inscription on the trapezoid top of the back pillar names the Memphite god Ptah-Sokar, before whom he doubtless was honored; the rest is lost.

The account of Ferri-Pisani states specifically that Mariette found the head at the Sera-

peum, the sanctuary of the Ptolemaic god Sarapis and the burial place of the Apis bulls at Saqqara, in the Memphite necropolis. If the head actually came from the sanctuary of Sarapis, its date might be more easily established than if it had been found at a part of the site constantly in use from the New Kingdom on, but, alas, the facts recorded are inconclusive, and we must resort, as so often, to examination of the head itself, in order to determine its approximate age.

Under a domed skull, a fleeting forehead is marked by wrinkles in the form of neatly paralleled engraved lines, which approximate the contour of the high-arched brows. A gnarled bone protrudes under the skin between the brows, and below it the bridge of the nose is deeply depressed, to rise abruptly into what must have been a strong and conspicuous organ, probably hooked at the tip. The eyes, set in large, deep sockets, with a depression separating them from the cheeks, are half-veiled by tightly stretched lids. Short crow's-feet are engraved at the corners, and on the cheekbone, just below the left eye, is a wart, prominently displayed. The two nasolabial furrows are straight and simply drawn. The right one is paralleled by a brief line engraved in the cheek, the left, by a short fold, in perfectly harmonious asymmetry. The ears, well modeled though not in great detail, are set far back on the skull and slant conspicuously to the rear.

The greatest marvel of the head, however, is the sense it gives of underlying bone structure. It is no exaggeration to say that nowhere else have bone and skin been so sensitively handled in an Egyptian portrait. For this is a portrait — *the* portrait of the Late Period. The sculptor who made it was not interested in idealizing his subject, not concerned with giving him an appearance of youth and beauty and a bland smile. On the contrary, he portrayed faithfully the cool, calculating eyes, the large, prominent nose, the harsh mouth, even the blemish of the skin, with an almost cruel accuracy. He has made known to us a canny

and probably cunning old priest of the Memphite Ptah, who has kept his name and his secrets from us, yet reveals in his face more than he can hide.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 10.8 cm. Width 8.1 cm. Width of break at neck 5 cm., at back pillar 4.3 cm. Depth of break (horiz.) 7.8 cm.

PROVENANCE: Saqqara (Serapeum). Formerly in the collections of Prince Joseph-Charles-Paul Bonaparte Napoléon and E. P. Warren.

BIBLIOGRAPHY (selective): C. Ferri-Pisani, in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 1 (1859), pp. 275-276, 281 (reversed illus.); 23 (1867), p. 31 (reversed illus.). Museum of Fine Arts, *Handbook* (Boston, 1911), p. 50 (also illustrated in all subsequent editions, to date). *BMFA* vol. XXXV, no. 211 (Oct. 1937), pp. 70-71; vol. XLVII, no. 268 (June 1949), p. 25, fig. 6, p. 26. Smith, *Anc. Egypt* (1942, 1946, 1952 editions), p. 157 (illus.); (1960 ed.), p. 176, fig. 113. Delbrück, *Antike Porträts*, p. XXVIII, pl. 12. *R.M.* 32 (1917), pp. 145-146; 55 (1940), p. 230. Pijoán, *El Arte egipcio* (1945 ed.), p. 479, fig. 637. *R.A.* 26 (1946), p. 134. Wolf, *Kunst*, p. 629, fig. 662. Smith, *A.A.A.E.*, p. 252, pl. 158. Dows Dunham, *The Egyptian Department and Its Excavations* (Boston, 1958), pp. 19-20, fig. 12.

COMMENT: Though the discussion of Egyptian portraiture may not have been carried sufficiently far in the text of this Catalogue, the Exhibition affords an opportunity to compare and evaluate, not only the three or four best pieces of the Ptolemaic Period, such as the Berlin, Boston, and Brooklyn portraits, but also a score of other remarkable faces, in which the true likeness of an individual is imbedded. It is with this in mind that we wish to emphasize the great achievement mirrored in the Boston head. Not only skin and bones and structure and form, but character in a hitherto unknown degree is revealed in this miniature of humanity. It does not matter that we may not like the man revealed in the portrait — neither can one like the Gattamelata. But we can respect the accomplishment and grasp the profoundness of experience that inspired the unknown craftsman who produced the head.

Regarding Prince Joseph-Charles-Paul Bonaparte Napoléon and his venture, see Winlock, in *JEA* 10 (1924), pp. 259 ff., and the literature cited by him. C. Ferri-Pisani, *loc. cit.*, states that the head, with a number of bronzes, was found at the Serapeum in the foundations of the chapel of an Apis built by Apries. Though he claims to base his account on notes furnished by Mariette when the collection was presented to the Prince, his statements are so obviously based in many instances on — to say the least — a misunderstanding of whatever Mariette meant to convey that, to verify them, it would be necessary to consult Mariette's original notes, which are said to have been preserved in the archives of the Bonaparte

family. The reference to "Apries" could mean "Wah-ib-ra," a private name still frequent in the Ptolemaic Period. Also, it is not clear with which lot of bronzes the head was found, *if it was found at all in the excavations of 1857-58*. Since there is evidence that some of the objects presented to the Prince had come to light a number of years before the intended visit, it is impossible to be certain of the origin of the head. If it actually was found at the Serapeum, it was probably not from a tomb statue but rather from the temple statue of an elderly priest who wished to be commemorated near his god. As may be seen from the limited *Bibliography* listed above, the head—like so many Late portraits—has suffered the misfortune of a number of attributions without very convincing argument. The latest (Smith, *A.A.A.E.*, plate 185 [greatly enlarged], cf. p. 252) reads "Early fourth century B.C." One only wishes that there existed a series of fine portraits dated to that period, among which the Boston "Green Head" could take its place. Alas, the problems connected with assigning it to a period are numerous. One of them is posed by the inscription. We have seen that the trapezoid back-pillar top was introduced in Dynasty XXVII and was not fully decorated until Dynasty XXX. Inscriptions of the latter period are meticulous in their adaptation of early Saite style, and one primary rule, illustrated in a number of well-dated monuments, was the "balancing" and "squaring" of the inscriptions in the classical manner. The inscription of the Boston head, however, is neither balanced nor well squared; despite the fact that the contour tapers, the "r" has been shifted to the right, and the "t" of "Ptah" has dropped so low that not even its crest is visible above the break. Furthermore, attention should be given to the peculiar form in which the "h" of "Ptah" is drawn, with three separate circles forming the stem of the sign. None of these points can convincingly be paralleled in the early fourth century, but is it not difficult to find examples for them in the Ptolemaic Period. For instance, Berlin 14460, the torso of a man named Iahmes, who died in the time of King

Ptolemy V, has a group of three Memphite deities in sunk relief on the upper portion of the back pillar; above them were their names, mostly lost, but the "h" and "t" of the word "Ptah" are sufficiently preserved to show that the "h" is drawn in the same way as on the back pillar of the Boston head. The fine lines on the forehead, too, are an indication of Ptolemaic origin. To be sure, they are found in relief at the end of the sixth century (Berlin 15414) and occur—ever so faintly—on No. 67, but that, in many ways, is an unusual bust, much advanced for its time, though it can hardly be attributed to the post-Perseian period on account of its inscription. All other heads with wrinkled foreheads, so far as they can be dated by inscription or by other means with reasonable certainty, are of the Ptolemaic Period or, at the earliest, of Dynasty XXXI and the Macedonian Period (Berlin 255, 2271, 10972, 14499; Paris, Louvre E. 10243, 11127, 11195, 20173, 25374). The closest parallel to the drawing of such lines occurs in the so-called "Cesare Barracco" (Rome, Museo Barracco 31; cf. *R.M.* 55 [1940], pp. 220-230), which at the very earliest may have been created around the middle of the second century B.C. As for the wart, it has always been there, but, strangely enough, no one has ever mentioned it, though it is an essential point in assigning the head to its proper period. It is a so incredibly accurate observation of a distinguishing mark, that here—for once—we should admit foreign influence. It is precisely the kind of detail which appealed to sculptors in what Classical archaeologists call the "rococo trend" of Hellenistic art (cf. Bieber, *The Sculpture*, chapter X)—a trend later reflected in Roman portraits with warts such as the Isis Priest and the Pompeian Banker in Naples (Museo Nazionale 5634 and 110663). Both are in bronze, the material which best imitates the metallic sheen of well-polished Egyptian schist, basalt, and diorite; and for the Egyptian prototype of both the Hellenistic sculptures and the Roman bronze portraits the Boston "Green Head" is probably the earliest and by far the strongest example.

About 220-180 B.C.; Ptolemaic Period.

Black diorite.

Owner: Peabody Museum of Natural History, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.; no. 384 (on indefinite loan at the Yale University Art Gallery, no. 1.1.1953).

In many royal representations of the Ptolemaic Period an effort was apparently made to maintain a standard set by sculptures of earlier times. Frequently, only minute deviations from a long-established norm permit us to determine when a piece was modeled, to decide whether it was really made in the period it seems to reflect or at a later epoch, which was attempting to recapture the spirit of what had come to be considered a classical age. This torso from New Haven undoubtedly recalls an earlier model, but not in a stereotyped fashion. Among the numerous replicas of similar type, it stands out as one of the best and most accomplished royal sculptures in the pharaonic tradition created during the Ptolemaic Period.

The torso comes from a standing figure of a little under life size. Only the upper part, from just below the waist, is preserved. The arms and most of the shoulders are lost, as are the nose, the inlays of the eyes, and the upper portion of the uraeus. Attitude, headcloth, and facial expression follow faithfully the conventions established during the last millennium B.C., but the proportions of face and figure show a slim elegance that marks a new development in royal sculpture, an ideal form which must have evolved after the reign of Ptolemy II. The long, narrow face has an air of refinement. The royal *nemes* is unusually high and narrow, steeply domed above the figure-eight coil of the uraeus. The folds at the sides of the headcloth drop down almost vertically and extend in long, narrow lappets onto the chest. The figure is remarkable for its asymmetry: the lappets are of unequal length and width, the eyebrows are on different levels, and the right ear is placed much higher than the left.

Such sculptural deviations within a framework of conventions cannot fail to add to the interest the statue evokes, an interest heightened still further by the obvious care and finesse with which the well-polished, hard black stone has been worked. The level of the chin lies noticeably above the horizontal folds of the headcloth on the shoulders; these folds break up the emphasis on verticals, which are further stressed in the long, slim torso, with the deep dip of the collarbones, the prominent chest muscles and faint indication of a median line.

Since there are preserved no sizeable royal sculptures datable with any certainty to Ptolemies III, IV, or V, all that can be said concerning the period of the New Haven torso is that it must have been made later than the great statue of Ptolemy II in the Vatican, from which (or a similar piece) it took much of its inspiration, though it is far from a slavish copy. It, therefore, also has to be younger than the sculpture of Ptolemy II from Strasbourg (No. 96), though how much younger is not evident. On the basis of the firmness and feeling with which the figure has been modeled, we are inclined to attribute it to the end of the third or the beginning of the second century B.C., the time of Ptolemies IV and V.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 44.5 cm. Height of face 10 cm. Depth of break 17.2 cm. Width of back pillar 10 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; formerly in the collection of Judge Victor Clay Barringer.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Bulletin of the Associates in Fine Arts at Yale University*, vol. V = *Handbook; A Description of the Gallery of Fine Arts and the Collections* (New Haven, School of the Fine Arts, Yale University, 1931), p. 12 (illus.). Pijoán, *El Arte egipcio*, pp. 480 and 482, fig. 641. Winifred Needler, in *Berytus* 9 (1948-49), pp. 130-132, pl. XXIII, figs. 1-2.

COMMENT: Victor Clay Barringer, one of the early American collectors in Egypt, sat on the Court of Appeals, Mixed Tribunal in Egypt, at Alexandria, from 1874 to 1894. He was the first American judge to be selected for this position and was appointed by the Khedive. There are no records showing where the bust came from, but it is quite likely that Judge Barringer bought it in Alexandria and that it had been found there. It belongs to a group of royal striding sculptures, all uninscribed, which reflect more or less the same type (Copenhagen, N.C.G. 929; Munich, Äg. St. 20; Rome, M.N. 60921). Characteristic for them is the manner in which the queue ends in contact with the top of the back pillar, which is placed very low, at about chest level. This typical

feature of certain Ptolemaic statues, found also in the Yale torso, was adopted in imitation of early Saite royal sculpture (e.g. Copenhagen, N.M. AAb 211, and London, B.M. 600, both representing Psamtik I). At a later date it is particularly this group which served as model for Roman imitations of Egyptian royal statues (Benevent, Museo Provinciale: H. W. Müller, in *Akten des Vierundzwanzigsten Internationalen Orientalisten-Kongresses München*, 1957 [Wiesbaden, 1959]; Rome, Vatican 93). The mouth of the Yale bust is straight, with a thin upper lip and a full lower lip. Throat, sternum, chest, and upper abdomen are modeled with great sensitivity; the bust is — for royal sculpture of the period — a very accomplished piece of workmanship.

No. 110; Pls. 102-103, Figs. 273, 276.

MAN WITH AQUILINE NOSE

About 200-150 B.C.; Ptolemaic Period.

Green schist.

Owner: *Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels*; no. E. 5346.

The preoccupation of the Egyptologist with back pillars and their inscriptions may seem rather odd to those who are not forewarned. It appears to be even more eccentric when the pillar has no inscription to furnish a clue to the date and provenance of a sculpture. But the concern of the scholar is vindicated when a back pillar of unusual shape turns up in three examples, two of which are fine portrait heads that — to judge from their style — were obviously made at the same period. Such is the case with the head from Brussels discussed here and a related portrait from Detroit described under No. 111.

The small masterpiece from Brussels represents an anonymous Egyptian with two deep furrows descending from his nostrils and a remarkable hooked nose, sharply depressed at the root. As in a quick sketch, the artist has captured the entire expression of a man's face in these two features. It is not surprising to find that the skull and receding forehead show hardly any modeling and that the eyes and eyebrows are of that near-formal nature which

occurs intermittently throughout the Late Period. The large mouth, slightly drooping at the corners, shows some individuality. Though it is not of the "classical" Egyptian cut prevailing up to the fourth century, it permits no more than a suspicion that it must have been modeled after Egypt came into close contact with the Hellenistic world. The pessimistic lips show a determination that is underscored by the stubbornness of an unusually broad, shallow, and slightly receding chin.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 8.5 cm. Width ca. 6 cm. Depth 8.5 cm. Width of break at neck 3.7 cm., at back pillar 1.6 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known.

BIBLIOGRAPHY (selective): Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Ancient Egyptian Art* (London, 1922), p. 97, no. 20, pl. X. *Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Bruxelles, Département Égyptien, Album* (Brussels, 1934), p. VIII, pl. 26. *CdE* 27 (1952), pp. 346-347, fig. 24. *Kunsthalle Basel, Schätze Ägyptischer Kunst*; 27 Juni — 13. Sept. 1953 (Basel, 1953), p. 62, no. 172.

COMMENT: The back pillar — here not separately illustrated because shape and proportions are the same as that of No. 111 (Fig. 275) — is of a type not

hitherto encountered in Late Period sculpture. Its characteristics are that it is comparatively narrow as well as deep, that its top is square and its upper side almost always horizontal. It may have developed out of the overly elongated trapezoid tops found throughout the Ptolemaic Period (cf. No. 115; London, B.M. 59075 and 65443); the difficulty at present is its place within the Ptolemaic Period. In addition to the ex-

amples in this Exhibition (Nos. 107, 111, 112 and 116), Baltimore, W.A.G. 202 should be compared, the only parallel which was once inscribed. From the style of the head that sculpture could be as early as the third century B.C., whereas the Brussels head and its companion, No. 111, must be of a later date. For the outline of the mouth, No. 112 might be compared.

No. 111; Pls. 102-103, Figs. 274-275, 277-278. PORTRAIT HEAD WITH HOOKED NOSE

About 200-150 B.C.; Ptolemaic Period.

Black basalt.

Owner: The Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit, Mich.; no. 40.48.

Beginning with the third century, we find in Egypt such a diversity of sculptural schools and styles, such a variety of expression of character, superficial or profound, in representations of the human face, that even among the inscribed and dated material — stelae, for instance — contemporary pieces frequently look as if they had been made centuries apart. This wide diversity is reflected in the series of magnificent portraits made by the Egyptians during the Hellenistic age. At that time they produced fine and highly individualistic sculptures in almost any size, from heroic scale (No. 132) to very small format. Toward the end of the Ptolemaic and during the Roman Period, the pleasure they took in small-scale sculpture found a rich outlet in the hundreds and thousands of terra cottas for which Alexandria has become famous. While many of these surviving pottery figurines are dreary enough, among them are some genre pieces, usually representing common folk — slaves, street vendors, or actors — which the craftsman's skill has imbued with life.

Seen in profile, the Egyptian pictured in this small basalt head from Detroit might seem to have been one of the turbulent, happy-go-lucky crowd that thronged the streets of Alexandria two thousand years ago, but from the front it is apparent that he was by no means one

of the populace, living from day to day. His cool, calculating gaze and firm mouth seem to indicate that he must have been a wielder of the people and, whatever his birth, not one of them. With his long, narrow skull and pointed chin, he is not unlike a type still to be encountered in the Levant, and indeed were it not for subtle touches given to the head by the sculptor, it might be dismissed as the representation of a type rather than a portrait. But the artist has noted the curious slant of the man's ears, the knob-like protuberance between his eyes, the strange depression, marked by a sharp line, at the springing of his nose, his well-defined cheekbones, and put them all together to form a picture of a shrewd and clever, if not particularly benevolent, person. The skull and brows follow faithfully the underlying bone structure. The upper eyelids are drawn out over the lower lids, and there is a suggestion of bags under the eyes. The philtrum is deep-cut and the Adam's apple rather prominent. Superficially, the head bears a certain resemblance to that from Brussels (No. 110), but it is obvious that the two represent entirely different persons and that both are portraits in the full meaning of the word.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 8.7 cm. Width 6.5 cm. Depth 8.8 cm. Depth of break 5.9 cm. Width of break at neck 3.7 cm., at back pillar 2.4 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known. Formerly in the collection of Howard Carter.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: None; mentioned in *BMFA* 49 (1951), p. 74, note 2.

COMMENT: This head has a deep, square back-pillar top; for others with similar tops see the *Comment* on No. 110. In a photographic album, consisting of juxtaposed views of ancient and modern Egypt (Tristan Tzara, *L'Egypte face à face* [Lausanne, 1954], pl. 15), a profile is shown which greatly resembles that of the Detroit head. This kind of comparison has, of course, been made before (cf. *JEA* 16 [1930], pl. III-IV) and does not prove anything, except that a certain racial type still exists in Egypt today. It can, however, have a bearing on the problem of portraiture — the problem of whether a type or a definite person is represented. As remarked

initially, the profile of the Detroit head suggests certain Alexandrian terra cottas (e.g. P. Perdrizet, *Les terres cuites grecques d'Egypte de la Collection Fouquet II* (Nancy, 1921), pl. CXII-CXIV), but the resemblance is mainly based on the length and narrowness of the head and the shape of the extraordinary nose with the deep depression at the root, for which the head from the Gulbenkian Collection (No. 107) offers a good parallel. Such features mark the outer form, but they do not constitute the essentials which make this head a striking portrait. Its individuality has been achieved by a subtle blend of the conventional and the novel; the eyes, for instance, are distinctly traditional and reminiscent of the sixth century (No. 55). The receding forehead, too, should be noted. All these details could sum up to a mere caricature, but this, despite the man's striking features, the artist has successfully avoided.

No. 112; Pl. 104, Figs. 279-280.

VOTARY OF THE SECOND CENTURY

About 200-150 B.C.; Ptolemaic Period.

Grey-black basalt.

Owner: The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md.; no. 22.395 (*W.A.G. no. 178*).

The emotional range reflected in Egyptian heads of the Ptolemaic Period is much wider than is generally supposed. During that time, there is evident a conscious attempt, not only to express feeling in a sculptured face, but also to evoke a mood by a gentle turn of the head. Eventually, in the first century B.C., this movement leads to attitudes undreamed of in traditional Egyptian sculpture. The asymmetry of faces and figures of the Late Period has previously been commented upon, and it has been pointed out several times how frequently heads show a deviation from strict frontality. Here, in a bust from the Walters Art Gallery we have a man with head cocked at a marked angle, as if he were listening — and to something of which he strongly disapproves.

Though this interpretation is admittedly far-fetched, there can be no doubt that the impression given by the man's face is one of surliness — even fanaticism; and the illusion is strengthened by the drawn features and the

scrawny neck with prominent Adam's apple. There is little modeling in the skull, and the wrinkles between the brows and nasolabial furrows follow well-worn formulae. But the sunken cheeks and drooping mouth show that the craftsman modeled the face with care, and the round, opinionated chin suggests that he may have had a definite person in mind. Though it would perhaps go too far to call the head a true portrait, it is hard to resist a play of imagination evoking a fanatical, tradition-bound, and sour old man, stubbornly clinging to the past in a changing world.

It is easy to reconstruct the figure from which this bust may have come. As is apparent from what remains, the man wore a shirt with round neck under a V-necked garment with sleeves and, over all, a long, wrap-around skirt, its upper edge marked by irregular folds and its overlap, as customary, at the right. Since his arms are slightly bent forward, he doubtless held a naos containing the figure of a god, and

indeed the outline of the shrine can be traced between the arms just above the break.

Because of the turn of the head, it is important to try to place this sculpture of a votary within the period with which this Exhibition is concerned. One clue is provided by the back pillar, which, though uninscribed, is of the narrow and rather deep type not much encountered prior to the second century B.C. That the sculpture may date from that century seems to be confirmed by a stela of 183 B.C., on which is depicted in relief a man in a strikingly similar costume.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 17.6 cm. Width of break 11.8 cm. Depth of break (horiz.) 7.8 cm. Width of back pillar near break 3.5 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steindorff, *Cat.Eg.Sc.W.A.G.*, p. 62, pl. XXVII, no. 178.

COMMENT: For the deep and rather narrow back pillar, see the *Comment* on No. 110. Here it ends approximately at the same height as on No. 116. The costume is in a way comparable with that of the statue of Psamtik-sa-neith from Cairo (No. 65); there too we have the undergarment, the V-neck sleeved jacket, the wrap-around with overlap on the right — but what a difference! The roll-and-flap ending of the long skirt (cf. the *Comment* on No. 63) has here

been reduced to a roll which clings to the chest as if it had no longer any connection with the garment (a similar example is discussed under No. 115). Clearly, the roll is modeled for tradition's sake and has lost its function; as the reader will recall, the wrap-around is held in place by tightening the upper edge and rolling and tucking in the corners, in almost precisely the way in which a man of today wraps himself in a bath towel to answer the telephone. How the meaning and function of the garment have been lost in this sculpture is indicated by the irregular treatment of the folds — a far cry from that of sculptures such as No. 64. This sketchy manner of depicting folds in a wrap-around occurs frequently in Ptolemaic sculptures (Alexandria 20723; Cairo J.E. 37136 and 37328). The shirt worn under a sleeved garment is also common during the period (Alexandria University 1299). The relief mentioned above, on which it is shown, is that of a certain Iahmes, who died in 183 B.C. (Bologna 1943). Iahmes' sleeved garment, unlike that of the Baltimore votary, is pleated. Moreover, his long skirt has a shirred top, minutely carved — a representation too rare to be of a conventional nature. In connection with the piece under discussion, mention should be made of a magnificent statue in London (B.M. 34270; poorly reproduced in Ross, *The Art of Egypt*, pl. 240, fig. 2, where it is unjustly attributed to the Roman Period), representing a certain Psenobastis, who also cocks his head to one side. This man's portrait, with its heavy-lidded eyes and wonderfully tragic expression, seems to show an elaboration of many of the features found in the Baltimore bust.

No. 113; Pl. 105, Figs. 281-283.

QUEEN CLEOPATRA II

About 170-160 B.C.; Ptolemaic Period.

Marble.

Owner: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y.; no. 89.2.660.

Among the queens represented in sculptures of the Ptolemaic Period, there are some, like the royal lady from Toronto (No. 105), who have a single uraeus on their diadems, and others — for example, the small head from the Metropolitan Museum of Art (No. 98) — who have two; but above the foreheads of a few of the queens of the period cluster no less than three of the royal cobras.

A queen so adorned, depicted in an almost

complete statue from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, is identified by a cartouche on her right upper arm as "Cleopatra." She is shown in a traditional attitude, standing, with the right arm hanging at her side. Her left arm supports a cornucopia, the "horn of plenty," which was originally an emblem of the deified Arsinoe II (cf. No. 123), but was subsequently taken over by a number of other Ptolemaic queens. Her face is broad, with a large, firm

chin and a fine, thin-lipped mouth. The bridge of the nose is depressed, and the likeness, especially in profile, seems that of a very young person indeed.

It would be tempting to see in this regal figure the famous Cleopatra, who became the ruler of Egypt at nineteen and three years later captivated the rugged Caesar, but unfortunately the style of the sculpture hardly allows assigning it to a date as late as the first century B.C. Though there might be a bare likelihood that it is of provincial origin and thus lagging in style behind the official representations of the capital, the statue is so distinctly youthful, demure, and chaste that it seems with more probability to be a work of the second century, during which time a number of Cleopatras, less famous than their later namesake, shared the throne of Egypt.

The high back pillar and a break at the crown of the head suggest that the young queen wore the Isis-Hathor headdress of two plumes with sun disc and cow's horns. Her coiffure, probably a wig (see No. 122), but distinctly Hellenistic-Greek rather than Egyptian, is of a fashion introduced by the great ladies of the Ptolemaic royal house in the third century B.C., when it first appears, in a shorter version, on coins struck in memory of Arsinoë II. It consists of heavy, corkscrew curls that fall down over the shoulders. A series of ringlets protrude on the forehead from under the diadem, a simple band in relief supporting the triple uraeus. The loose garment of the queen, gathered in folds around the body just above the waist, has a heavy rolled front edge, rising between the breasts to be knotted to a shoulder cape or shawl, which covers the left arm but leaves bare the right arm and the breasts. The costume as a whole, though called Hellenistic, is actually of Egyptian derivation. Since it was not represented in sculpture in the round until the Ptolemaic Period, when it was rendered by an exuberance of pleats and folds quite contrary to Egyptian tradition but entirely Greek in spirit, its native origin is quite

understandably obscure at first glance.

Very curious is the manner of designating the queen as Cleopatra by writing her name in a cartouche on her arm. It is reminiscent of the custom of engraving the cartouche of a king on the arms of statues of private persons — a custom which died out in the sixth century (cf. No. 52A) and was never at that time applied to figures of kings or queens. Here, the hieroglyphs in the cartouche, unlike those on the earlier, non-royal sculptures, face toward the back, and are thus to be read in the Greek manner, from left to right.

If the statue does not represent Cleopatra VII — "the Great" — there arises the question: Which of the earlier Cleopatras is it meant to depict? Since Cleopatra I did not play an independent political rôle, it seems best to attribute the sculpture tentatively to Cleopatra II, the daughter of Ptolemy V Epiphanes, who was barely ten years old when she became coregent with her brothers, Ptolemy VI and Ptolemy VIII, in the autumn of 170 B.C.

MEASUREMENTS: Height above modern base 61.8 cm. Width at elbow level 18.5 cm. Depth near lower break 14.5 cm. Width of back pillar near break 5.7 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The Rev. Charles R. Gillett, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Hand-Book No. 4. Catalogue of the Egyptian Antiquities in Hall III* (1896 and 1898 editions), p. 32, no. 338. Needler, in *Berytus* 9 (1948-49), pp. 137, 139-140, pl. XXVI, fig. 5.

COMMENT: It is probably an accident that the only Ptolemaic princess shown with long corkscrew locks on a coin, the reverse of which bears the familiar cornucopia, is Cleopatra Thea, daughter of Ptolemy VI, who married three kings of Syria in succession (Macurdy, *Hellenistic Queens*, fig. 5a). The garment is found as early as Dynasty XXX in the figure of the woman behind the harpist on Alexandria 380 and, in a slightly modified form, in the right-hand figure of No. 82 in this Exhibition. There it is quite clear that the shawl is a separate garment, which, incidentally, had long been evident from Berlin 21763. This interpretation is confirmed by Cairo J.E. 46591, where a little boy — otherwise stark naked — wears such a shawl over his shoulder. Miss Needler, *op. cit.*, pp. 137-138, should be consulted for the dress as well as for the coiffure. The triple uraeus is baffling, to say the least. Roeder, *Statuen*, p. 53, men-

tions that it occurs once on the colossal group of Amenhotep III and Tiye from Medinet Habu as insignia of the queen and then refers to Turin 1385 as the only other example. The Turin bust is also of the Ptolemaic Period—an extraordinary sculpture, with a tripartite wig like that of No. 105, but covered by a vulture cap. Despite its Egyptian style (back pillar, etc.), its full lips form a very un-Egyptian, Greek-Hellenistic mouth. The third sculpture with triple uraeus is Leningrad 3936, referred to in the *Comment* on No. 98, and the fourth is San Jose 1582, briefly mentioned by Needler, *op. cit.*, p. 140, note 6, again with tripartite echeloned wig, but with both arms hanging at the sides. The San Jose statue is the most startling of the three, with a hawk's face, very much like that of the often cited coins of Cleopatra

VII (*AJA* 41 [1937], p. 463, fig. 5). There is really no reason why it could not represent the same queen as the Leningrad statue. After all, the triple uraeus and the cornucopia occur also on our inscribed New York statue, and thus identification of the Leningrad statue as Arsinoe II is put in doubt. H. W. Müller suggests that the center uraeus originated in an assimilation of the queen's vulture head to the two uraei due to her. This may apply to Turin 1385, where a vulture cap is worn, but in the remaining four examples it may rather be an allusion to the triple regency, of which each queen formed part. For the corkscrew tresses—a coiffure which originated in Hellenistic Egypt—see A. Adriani, *Testimonianze e Momenti di Scultura Alessandrina* (Rome, 1948), and Bieber, *The Sculpture*, pp. 89-90; cf. also No. 138.

No. 114; Pl. 106, Figs. 284-285.

HEAD FROM A PTOLEMAIC SPHINX

About 150 B.C.; Ptolemaic Period.

Red granite.

Owner: Mr. Avery Brundage, Santa Barbara, Cal.; no. 2/97.

The figure of the ruling king as sphinx with lion's body and human head was favored in the fourth century B.C. far more than it had been under the Saite Dynasty. With the Ptolemaic Period this preference became more marked, and next to the rock-cut Great Sphinx of Giza, which represents King Chephren of Dynasty IV, about the largest monsters of this breed are two sphinxes at the Serapeum of Alexandria, modeled in red Assuan granite. They are thought to have been made under Ptolemy VI Philometor (180-145 B.C.); at any rate, they were fashioned well after the time of Alexander the Great.

In this head from the Brundage Collection, we have a smaller example in the same hard material, the head of a Ptolemy adorned with the *nemes*, the royal headcloth, the lateral portions and lappets of which are broken off. The contours of the headcloth are soft and rounded; characteristic for the Ptolemaic Period are the flat curvature of the *nemes* across the crown of the head in front view, the near-vertical position of the lateral creases as seen in profile,

and the almost horizontal plane, in which the border meets the lateral creases at the ears. The uraeus is badly damaged; it had the single figure-eight coil which, from the end of Dynasty XXVI, decorates all royal heads with *nemes*. The queue at the back of the head-dress is sufficiently preserved to show that it extended horizontally along the back of the figure—definite proof that the head once formed part of the statue of a recumbent sphinx.

The eyebrows are straight and not very prominent, little more than a ridge between the upper eyelids and the forehead. The mouth is unusually small, the philtrum almost nonexistent. Though the modeling of eyes, ears, and mouth, and the general impression made by the face permit an attribution to the second century B.C., it is impossible to state precisely what ruler this head was meant to represent.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 27.3 cm. Width 23.5 cm. Depth 25.7 cm. Width of break (neck only) 11.5 cm. Depth of break (slant) 20.5 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities* . . .

the Property of a Collector (Sale Catalogue, London, Christie, 2 March, 1937), p. 10, no. 40 (illus.).

COMMENT: If it is difficult to distinguish between conventional royal heads of Dynasty XXX and those of the early Ptolemaic Period, it is even more difficult to establish some sort of guide to the numerous standard royal heads of the last three centuries B.C. Among the twelve successors of Alexander the Great only two are represented in heads that are definitely identified by the king's name. Since the abundant mass of uninscribed royal sculpture of the period has not yet been critically sifted, we are accordingly still in the dark about the features of the various Ptolemaic rulers. It may be recalled that the inscribed statues of Nectanebo I of Dynasty XXX bear little resemblance to one another, and we may probably assume that a similar state of affairs continued under Ptolemaic rule. Local styles, moreover, differed widely, with the result that the face of a given king modeled at Alexandria would not be recognizable in a sculpture made for him at Thebes. We have thus very little to go by in attempting to assign

the Brundage head to a definite reign. The only prominent feature — the small, thick-lipped mouth — is not found in any other royal head of the size that can be attributed with reasonable certainty to a definite Ptolemy. This type of mouth exists, however, on a very large scale and consequently in a somewhat different style, on the two colossal sphinxes at the Serapeum of Alexandria (*BSAA* 35 [1942], p. 157, pl. XXXVI, fig. 1; cf. Rowe, in *Bull. of the John Rylands Library* [Manchester], 39 [1957], p. 508), which may have been made under Ptolemy VI. If they reflect, in no matter how gigantic a proportion, an official style of this king, the head from the Brundage Collection could conceivably date from the same period. But we do not yet even have a compendium listing the royal sculptures set up in the portions of Ptolemaic temples and sanctuaries of which the building date is definitely known, and therefore any identification must be accepted with caution. For definitely identifiable royal Ptolemaic sculptures, see the *Comment* on Nos. 96 and 103, and for the *nemes* in general, the *Comment* on No. 124.

No. 115; Pl. 107, Figs. 286-288.

VOTARY WITH NAOS

About 150-100 B.C.; Ptolemaic Period.

Brown-black basalt.

Owner: Kestner-Museum, Hanover; no. 1935.200.773.

After the seventh century the naophorous statue, showing a man proffering a shrine containing a god's image, underwent many changes, until finally, in the Ptolemaic Period, it became — like the block statue — something venerably archaic — a figure made for traditional reasons and for little else. The composition had changed so radically that the essential harmony had been destroyed. A naophoros, or for that matter any statue that represents a person carrying an object, consists of two parts, the bearer and the object, which should be in aesthetically pleasing relation to each other. In earlier periods, that relationship had been established most favorably in sculptures such as Nos. 40 and 61; in the course of the Ptolemaic Period the balance was lost, with the result that the votary

achieves so great a prominence that his offering to his god looks like a gift of minor importance.

In this uninscribed statue from Hanover an elderly man with a grave mien presents to his god a small naos with a steep roof, an edifice which dwarfs the figure of the god Osiris inside, just as the votary dwarfs the shrine. His body is very slim and does not show much modeling. He wears the long wrap-around garment first introduced into Egypt at the end of the sixth century B.C. (cf. No. 63), but this, too, seems to be an archaism, for it shows no overlap and the "roll" is rudimentary. The back pillar runs up to well above neck level; its top is of elongated trapezoid shape.

The best portion of the statue is undoubtedly the head. It portrays a man with close-cropped

natural hair, distinctly outlined over the forehead and receding slightly above the temples. He has a fine, straight nose; the treatment of his eyebrows and deep-sunk eyes is quite naturalistic, and the straight, thin-lipped mouth has been modeled with a good deal of sensitivity. It appears from the state of the ears that the sculpture is unfinished, but it is, of course, impossible to determine to what degree the artist might have worked out the face in greater detail. The nasolabial furrows, at any rate, have been marked with just sufficient restraint to lend character to the face, without exaggerating the signs of age. While one cannot call this representation a portrait, the man's features are individualistic and in their serenity of expression accord well with the stark simplicity inherent in his figure.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 42.5 cm. Height of head 7.5 cm. Height of base 3.2 cm., width 7 cm., depth 14 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known. Formerly in the collection of F. W. von Bissing.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: (Kestner-Museum) *Führer durch das Kestner-Museum* (Hanover, 1952), pp. 17 (illus.) and 18. Irmgard Woldering, *Ausgewählte Werke der Ägyptischen Sammlung = Bildkataloge des Kestner-Museums Hannover I* (Hanover, 1955), p. 77, fig. 74; (second edition, 1958), p. 83, fig. 88.

COMMENT: Standing naophorous statues can be divided into two groups, those with and those without a naos support. For the former group, see Nos. 40 and 72; the support disappears with the beginning of the Ptolemaic Period. The latter group begins with Dynasty XXVII (New York, M.M.A. 25.2.10), when a supportless naos is held between the palms of the hands, looking as if it might slip out and fall at any minute, a very curious un-Egyptian conception of weightlessness. This type occurs throughout the fourth century B.C. (Cairo C.G. 722) and, intermittently, until the end of the Ptolemaic Period. In Dynasty XXX—to be precise under Nectanebo II (Aberdeen 1421)—a new method of holding a supportless naos is introduced: the shrine rests on the tips of the fingers, which reach under the base on each side. This convention is found throughout the

Ptolemaic Period in numerous theophorous and naophorous standing statues, among them the sculpture from Hanover. The rudimentary "roll" of the garment has become almost meaningless; from its origin in examples such as Nos. 63 and 65, where it is of conical shape, it has become cylindrical (or more correctly rectangular) by the time of Alexander the Great and his successor (Cairo 19⁴+1⁶), although the other corner is still indicated. In the time of Ptolemies IV-V the flap of the other corner is already occasionally eliminated, as it is in the Hanover statue, though some studios retain it faithfully throughout the Ptolemaic Period (Alexandria 17534, temp. Ptolemies V-VI; Cairo J.E. 45390, temp. Ptolemy XII). In the reign of Ptolemy II, the long garment begins to be shown without either roll or flap (Cairo C.G. 689 and 700), especially when an amulet is worn round the neck. The multiple façade and steep roof of naoi are well attested in Ptolemaic times (Cairo C.G. 70024, 70030); the roof becomes gabled as early as Dynasty XXX (Cairo C.G. 70022). Among naophorous statues of the Ptolemaic Period the closest parallel for the Hanover piece is in London (B.M. 65443), datable to about 200-150 B.C. The naos is small, but not quite as miniscule in proportion to the figure of the votary as in the sculpture under discussion; there is a roll, but no flap, on the man's garment. Indication of the natural hair, close-cropped, has been encountered in No. 9 and again in No. 66; the question is when the more naturalistic rendering, with the hairline receding above the temples, began. It is known in relief toward the end of the sixth century (Berlin 15414), as well as in the fourth century (No. 87; Boston 49.5), but in the round we do not encounter it until the fourth century at the earliest and possibly not before the beginning of the Ptolemaic Period (The Hague 1778; London, B.M. 49243, in bronze). The well-known bronze statue with the serrated coat in Paris (Louvre E. 11414) shows the recession on the temples very faintly; perhaps it is the earliest example of the group. In the Ptolemaic Period heads with the hair in a naturalistic, Hellenistic manner offer good parallels (cf. No. 118; Amsterdam 7862). To conclude solely from relief representations that certain types of sculpture should be of a given date, is fallacious, as has been pointed out in the *Comment* on the relief of Mentuemhat (No. 14). What was said there holds true also for the fourth century, when many of the costume and coiffure features shown in relief never appear in sculpture in the round.

*About 150 B.C.; Ptolemaic Period.**Fine-grained black granite.**Owner: Mr. Ernest Erickson, New York, N. Y. (on loan at The Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, N. Y.; no. 159.5).*

In most histories of art, discussion of Egypt ends with the time of Alexander the Great, or even earlier. The average author rushes through the last centuries of Egypt's ancient civilization like a person eager to get in out of the rain and ends on a note of high disdain for anything Ptolemaic. This is, of course, as must be realized by now, a gross injustice to the art produced under Alexander's successors. If anything should be treated with disdain, it is the work done toward the end of the New Kingdom, which petered out so ignominiously and left so poor a heritage that for several hundred years it seemed doubtful if there was any artistic feeling whatever left among the people of the Nile Valley. When we think of the Ptolemaic Period, there should immediately come to mind the series of magnificent portrait heads, a goodly number of which are shown in this Exhibition. They represent, it is true, the cream of Ptolemaic art; but other sculptures produced in the last three centuries before our era are by no means negligible. Numerous pieces of small scale often show an especially high quality of workmanship, and among them few are more characteristic of the Ptolemaic Period than is this little head from the Erickson Collection.

Its relationship to other small heads of the second century is immediately apparent. The two sides of the back pillar are absolutely

straight, just as in the head from Detroit (No. 111), though it terminates at a much higher level. The hair, as so often, is close-cropped, and descends rather low on a forehead marked by worry lines. The heavy-lidded eyes are unusually large and wide apart. The furrows descending from the nostrils are even more summarily indicated than those in the face of the statuette from Hanover (No. 115). The thick-lipped mouth is separated from the chin by a deep, horizontal cleft. With its coarse, prominent ears and half-sullen expression, the head is not that of a handsome or distinguished-looking man, but it is a well-proportioned piece of sculpture and one which subtly reflects a living type. Even though it cannot be called a portrait in the true sense of the word, it is typical of the good work turned out by Egyptian studios under the Ptolemies.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 6.8 cm. Width of break 4.7 cm. Depth 7.1 cm. Depth of break ca. 5 cm. Width of back pillar 2.8 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: None.

COMMENT: For this kind of back pillar with straight sides, consult the *Comment* on No. 110; it has not been illustrated because it is uninscribed and resembles that of Fig. 275. For the outline of the natural hair and the fine lines on the forehead, see the *Comments* on Nos. 115 and 108 respectively. This head may have come from a figure comparable to that from Hanover (No. 115). With its long straight nose it is somewhat related to London, B.M. 49243, a bronze with forehead similarly lined.

*About 150-120 B.C.; Ptolemaic Period.**Black basalt.**Owner: The Philip H. and A. S. W. Rosenbach Foundation Museum, Philadelphia, Pa.*

When Georges Legrain, the French Egyptologist, worked on behalf of the Egyptian Department of Antiquities in the great temple of Amun at Karnak in 1903, he made a find which is impressive even today, more than half a century later, and has increased rather than diminished in archaeological and historical importance. His discovery was the so-called *cachette*, the subterranean repository to which the temple sculptures of kings and private people had periodically been relegated, when the halls and sanctuaries of the sacred precinct of the god Amun had become too crowded. In the course of three years, he unearthed more than nine hundred statues and statuettes, dating from the Middle Kingdom to the Late Period and constituting an extensive record — a kind of *Who Was Who* — of prominent people who at one time or another had served among the clergy of the temple or simply had been commemorated by statues in the temple of Amun.

Legrain kept a *Journal de fouilles*, a register of objects, in which he entered the statues in the order in which they were found, beginning with no. 1 and identifying the group by the prefix "K" (for Karnak). At the same time he tried to have the more important pieces photographed before they left the Karnak storerooms. Fortunately, the Karnak numbers appear on many of these old pictures, for the whereabouts of Legrain's *Journal de fouilles*, to which he himself made frequent reference in his publications, is not known today. Most of his negatives, however, are still preserved in the Cairo Museum and form a very valuable source for objects from his find, which — as will be easily understood — could not be kept together. Some fragmentary pieces may have

been discarded on the spot; other sculptures went astray before they could be shipped to Cairo, and of those that entered the Egyptian Museum, not all were accessioned and incorporated into the collection. Of the last-named group a certain number were disposed of through the *Salle de Vente*, the famous salesroom of the Cairo Museum, where until the middle twenties the Department of Antiquities offered for purchase from its vast holdings sizeable pieces considered as duplicates or items of secondary importance.

About one-fourth of Legrain's find were sculptures made between Dynasty XI and the end of the Third Intermediate Period. These, and about thirty sculptures from the beginning of the Late Period, he was himself able to publish, and they are well known. It is less well known, however, that the majority of statues from the *cachette* are of the Late Period, and that some of them are as late as the second century B.C. As a matter of fact, nearly three hundred of the pieces buried at Karnak were created after Alexander the Great had come to Egypt, and almost all of these are unpublished. Among them, is this statue from the Museum of the Rosenbach Foundation, which appears on one of Legrain's Karnak photographs in the archives of the Cairo Museum. Thus, its Theban origin (of which, indeed, there had never been any doubt, because of the inscription) is amply documented.

It is a typical Karnak block statue of the Ptolemaic Period, and though its exact date can not be deduced from the text, and the people named in the genealogy are thus far not known from any other dated monument, the language, orthography, and epigraphy of the inscriptions point to a time after Ptolemy II

and, more specifically, to the second century B.C. Such block statues in hard stone were turned out at Karnak in profusion during the last centuries before the Roman conquest. Even if the temples of Dendera, Esna, and Edfu — to name only a few of the great monuments of the Ptolemaic Period — had not survived to testify to the splendor and wealth of the country under the successors of Alexander the Great, the vast number of hard-stone sculptures made for the Egyptian upper classes would alone furnish ample proof that the native aristocracy of administrators, officers, and priests, of well-to-do families firmly entrenched in long-established local positions, enjoyed great freedom in pursuing the way of life and worship established by their forefathers. The making of a statue still was, as it always had been, an act of faith, accomplished by depositing the sculpture in the precinct of the god.

According to the inscription, the statue from the Rosenbach Foundation was dedicated by Pa-*iu-en-hor* — a name rendered in Greek as Pinouris — who was a “God’s Father” and “Prophet of Amun in Karnak.” His father was the God’s Father, Hor, and his mother, the Songstress of Amun, Setha-*irbint*. The three columns of text on the back pillar contain offering formulae and prayers; the twelve lines on the front of the block are mostly composed of prayers and routine autobiographical statements. As in the post-Persian period (No. 76), the block statue is rather high in proportion to the dimensions of the base (especially the depth). The wig also is over-high and no longer seems to be a functional part of the man’s attire. The face is of standard workmanship, without individuality. The eyes have thick plastic eyebrows and cosmetic lines, and the chin is supported by an elongated beard. The body is completely covered; only the clenched hands are indicated in low relief; they each hold a plant of lettuce (a kind of romaine), which, as symbol of the fertility god Min, came to be a sign of procreation and — like the sign of life, the *ankh* sign — often ap-

pears in the hands of persons commemorated by block statues.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 41.4 cm. Height of base, front 8.3 cm., rear 9 cm. Width of base 12.9 cm. Depth of base 20.6 cm.

PROVENANCE: Karnak (*cachette*). Formerly in the collection of Lord Carmichael of Skirling.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *The Carmichael Collections. Catalogue of the Collections Formed by the Late Lord Carmichael of Skirling . . .* (Sale Catalogue, London, Sotheby, 8-10 June, 1926), p. 18, no. 192, and plate.

COMMENT: Gaston Maspero, referring to the first season of Legrain’s work on the *cachette*, wrote: “Jamais, à ma connaissance, depuis les fouilles du Sérapéum, on n’a recueilli à la fois, dans un même endroit, une quantité aussi considérable de documents historiques” (*ASAE* 5 [1904], p. 266). Between December 26, 1903, and July 4, 1904, Legrain brought to light more than 8000 objects, and 469 of them were stone sculptures (*Rec.Trav.* 27 [1905], p. 67). He valiantly tackled the task of publication, but his volumes in the *Catalogue Général des Antiquités Egyptiennes du Musée du Caire* contain only about thirty pieces of the Late Period proper. A few more were published here and there by others, but a simply staggering number of more than 500 sculptures in the round, most of them inscribed, have yet to be made fully known. The highest number from Legrain’s vanished *Journal de fouilles* pertaining to a Late sculpture preserved in Cairo is K. 909 (Cairo J.E. 43606). Since his numbers were painted on the pieces with yellow or orange color that easily rubbed off, the identification of objects from his find has presented major problems for the Cairo Museum. His photographic record, however, was good for its time. The negative on which the block statue of the Rosenbach Foundation appears, bears the photograph number 33-6/12, but unfortunately does not show the “K” or Karnak number. There are in this Exhibition quite a few sculptures which must have come from the *cachette* at Karnak, and for some of them — e.g. No. 48 — this provenance is absolutely certain. Maspero, *loc.cit.*, ventured the opinion that all the sculptures found had been cleared out under Ptolemy III or IV, but in view of the preservation of several of the older pieces, it is much more likely that clearance of the temple, or parts thereof, was undertaken periodically throughout the centuries, a theory that seems to be supported by the fact that discarded statues have been found in the foundations of several older buildings at Karnak, not only in the *cachette*. The statue from the Rosenbach Foundation Museum and other pieces indicate that the *cachette* was in use until well into the second century B.C., but since the inscriptions of the latest sculptures found there are not yet available, no definite date can be established for the last piece discarded. The statue of Pinouris is admittedly not a work of art; it is only a document

of good workmanship, but uninspired, because it so doggedly clings to a time-honored formula. The following of tradition in itself may be a merit, but there is nothing delightful in the endless repetition of the squatting pose in hard-stone sculpture throughout the Ptolemaic Period. A statue such as this seems little more than a curiosity — of interest for its inscriptions and the names and titles of the people listed in them, but of minor artistic or archaeological value. The type as such, with its elongated proportions, was established in Dynasty XXX; the only

novelty introduced in Ptolemaic times seems to be the lettuce plant (L. Keimer, in *ZÄS* 59 [1924], pp. 140-143) in *both* hands, for which there are a number of examples of this period from Karnak (Cairo J.E. 36945 and 38009; London, B.M. 54348). Pinouris apparently sits on a cushion; at least the rear portion of the base is higher than the front — a feature of block statues which at Karnak goes back at least 500 years (cf. No. 4). For the straight wig and its evolution from the wide wig, see the *Comment* on No. 102.

No. 118; Pl. 109, Figs. 293-294.

PORTRAIT HEAD WITH BEARD

About 150-100 B.C.; Ptolemaic Period.

Dark grey schist.

Owner: The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md.; no. 22.9 (W.A.G. no. 230).

Throughout the Ptolemaic Period there occur, side by side, some sculptures carved with boring, metallic precision, and others distinguished by a freedom that reveals superb mastery of the medium employed. It would be fallacious to use either type as the sole criterion for dating; for in the same decade there seem to have existed craftsmen with no talent for anything but the pedantic and artists with little patience for detail and great ability for imbuing a sculpture with meaning. These last could suggest form in a body hidden by the multiple folds of a garment without resorting to anatomical exactitude and could give character to a freely modeled face by subtle variations on traditional themes. How such free modeling was used to great advantage in portraiture is well demonstrated by this head from Baltimore.

It represents an elderly man with thick, close-cropped hair that recedes sharply above the temples. His forehead is heavily lined, and a number of deep wrinkles rise from the root of his fleshy nose. His deep-set eyes differ widely, the right being much larger than the left. The customary nasolabial furrows are sketched in with a simple stroke; they are

hardly needed to add to the impression of ripe age. The thin lips are slightly parted — very slightly, but more than traditional Egyptian sculpture had hitherto permitted — and the mouth, faintly Hellenistic, is asymmetrical. Natural hair, beard, and mustache are indicated by a multitude of pick marks, applied with great precision to create the impression of a thick mass of unruly hair kept short by the barber's shears. The effect is apparently casual, but it betrays a sureness of touch that must have resulted from long experience. In this case, more than ever, it is to be regretted that the artist who created such a fine portrait of a dour old gentleman and the studio in which he worked must remain unknown.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 12.5 cm. Width of break at neck 5.5 cm., at back pillar 3.3 cm. Depth of break 6.3 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; said to be Upper Egypt.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The Brooklyn Museum, *Pagan and Christian Egypt; Egyptian Art from the First to the Tenth Century A.D.* (Brooklyn, 1941), p. 20, no. 25. Steindorff, *Cat.Eg.Sc.W.A.G.*, p. 71, pl. XXXVII, no. 230.

COMMENT: The small trace of the back-pillar top may be restored as a trapezoid or a triangle; if the latter, the head could be dated to the first half of the first century B.C. It is, in any event, of good Ptolemaic

origin, well in advance of the Roman Period. Its affinity to the "tragic" sculpture in London (B.M. 34270) is obvious; though made by different hands, both heads are marked by a still melancholy of expression, found, indeed, in several other second century sculptures and in striking contrast with the unmistakable gaiety occasionally reflected in the faces of sculptures of considerable size made just prior to the Augustan conquest (Cairo C.G. 696). For the stubbly beard, see the *Comment* on No. 100. The

contour of the natural hair is depicted in a similar manner throughout the Ptolemaic Period; cf. the *Comment* on No. 115. The type of statue to which this head belonged was probably that of a standing figure in the so-called Hellenistic garment of No. 136, gathering the front folds of the drapery together with the left hand. The deliberate irregularity of the two heavy lines on the forehead may have been based on observation of a living model; they seem too boldly marked to be anything but an imitation of nature.

No. 119; Pl. 110, Figs. 296-297.

PENSIVE MAN

About 150-100 B.C.; Ptolemaic Period.

Mottled reddish granite.

Owner: Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, R. I.; no. 58.001.

In their depth of human understanding, the fine portraits made in the last three hundred years before our era provide what is perhaps the most moving chapter in the history of Late Egyptian art. Other chapters may seem to some of greater artistic and greater historical importance; to us, the calm gaze of the best of Ptolemaic sculptured faces happens to mean the most, though it is almost impossible to explain why in straight-forward, rational terms. It seems safest to begin this discussion with a brief description of one of the finest of them.

The nearly life-size head of an elderly man from Providence provides an example of the reticence with which an outstanding craftsman could portray his subject in an unfriendly material, which, without strong overhead lighting, simply does not show either the expression of the face or the quality of the work. Since there is no trace of polychromy, the artist undoubtedly did not have the aid of color to bring out details of his sculpture, and in diffuse light hardly anything can be seen of the man's fine, noble countenance. The composition is very simple — deceptively so. It is only after some study that one is aware of the finesse with which the features have been combined and sees how one accent depends on another. The

means employed are few and uncomplicated but used in a highly sophisticated fashion. To take but one example: The ubiquitous nasolabial furrows are echoed in lines running down from the corners of the mouth, but furrows and lines are not parallel. As a matter of fact, each of the four has been modeled individually, with great care, although adjoining parts of the face have merely been smoothed over with small attention to detail. The high forehead and the skull are also without much modulation. A few tool marks convey, in an almost impressionistic manner, the sparseness of an old man's hair, a few wrinkles, carved lightly and with great precision, cross the forehead; otherwise, the sculptor has paid little heed to individual characteristics of the skull.

He has, however, deliberately brought out facial asymmetries which vivify and render mobile the features of this aged man. The two eyebrows are treated quite differently, and the depression of the skull between left eye and ear is much deeper than it is on the right side. All is well balanced, well calculated; the total effect is quiet, not provocative — and in this the sculpture is very rewarding, for even after prolonged study it does not pall. Like several other portraits in this Exhibition, the head has

been touched by the hand of a master and imbued with life everlasting.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 23.7 cm. Width ca. 16 cm. Depth 20 cm. Width of break at neck 11.5 cm., depth (slant) 14.5 cm. Width of break of back pillar 9.4 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Bulletin of Rhode Island School of Design. Museum Notes*, vol. 45, no. 3 (March 1959), front cover.

COMMENT: In contemplating a head such as this, we are always struck by the somber note sounded by a dark and mottled stone. At the time at which this portrait was made, Hellenistic sculptors in Egypt were fashioning numerous life-size statues in marble and limestone, and nothing would have prevented an Egyptian sculptor from using for his work the limestone of his native valley, infinitely cheaper to quarry and easier to carve than the stones of his

choice. The overwhelming majority of all great works of the Ptolemaic Period, as of the Late Period in general, were nevertheless made in the hard, mostly dark, rocks of the Red Sea mountains and the Assuan region. At no other time were soft and light stones so little used by the Egyptians. The chronological position of the Providence head is not definitely established. Because of its size and quality, and because of the shape of the uninscribed back pillar, good arguments could be advanced for any of the three centuries covered by Ptolemaic rule. The least likely appears to be the third; although examples for the back-pillar top exist at that period, the stillness of the face — the expression of a mood — and the reticence of the sculptural means employed indicate rather the century in the course of which heads such as London, B.M. 34270 and 65443, and Berlin 12500 (No. 127), were made. The way in which the back pillar hugs the back of the neck is closely paralleled in the first-named London sculpture. Since this portrait from Providence is not a type, there are no close parallels for it.

No. 120; Pl. 111, Figs. 298-300.

CURLY-HAIRED YOUTH

About 150-100 B.C.; Ptolemaic Period.

Black diorite.

Owner: The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md.; no. 22.226.

Sculptures of mixed style, such as this fine black diorite head from the Walters Art Gallery, are frequently left to languish in museum storerooms. Since they are of neither pure Egyptian nor pure Classical tradition, they are often considered to be mongrel types and so are consigned to limbo by scholars of both fields as unworthy of study or classification. They form, nevertheless, an important group among the sculptures of the Ptolemaic Period, and many of them, including the one presented here, are of by no means negligible quality.

In spite of an inept and disfiguring restoration of the nose, this Baltimore head reveals a sureness of touch betraying long practice in the working of hard stones. It represents a youth whose head is covered by a multitude of carefully modeled ringlets. His face is of the idealizing type, with smooth, well-rounded

forehead, eyebrows sharply defined in an even curve, and eyes cut with metallic precision, though in good Egyptian tradition. His mouth is straight, with full, slightly parted lips. A rough rectangle at the nape of the neck is all that remains of the top of the back pillar, which was probably trapezoidal in shape.

Except for the individualistic mouth, which follows closely neither the Hellenistic nor the Egyptian pattern, this head would perhaps not offer much of interest, were it not for the contrast in color and texture afforded by face and hair. The face is expertly polished and appears dark; the hair, left in the rough, seems much lighter. With its writhing mass of locks it plays, in its animation, a striking counterpoint to the placid calm of the face. Obviously inspired by the coiffures represented on Greek statues of the second century, it reveals the in-

ventiveness of a fertile mind, here concerned with creating a new type of Egypto-Hellenistic sculpture that carried its influence into the first century B.C.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 12 cm. Width of break at neck 5.6 cm., at back pillar 4 cm. Depth of break (slant) 5.6 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; said to be Luxor.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: None.

COMMENT: The chin is slightly damaged; it is not bearded. For the unusual slant of the ears, cf. the Detroit head (No. 111). The refusal of specialists in the Egyptian as well as in the Hellenistic field to occupy themselves more seriously with sculptures made in the last two centuries B.C. has—at least among Classical archaeologists—somewhat weakened in recent years. Superb heads, which show little except the material used that could be called Egyptian, are being brought out of hiding, among them the great portrait at Kingston Lacy, to which C. C. Vermeule has justly called attention (*AJA* 59 [1955], p. 137; 60 [1956], pp. 330-331, pl. 108, figs. 18-19). The Baltimore head is, in a way, an ancestor of that head, though still marked by Egyptian accouterments such as the back pillar and the high degree of stylization in the curls. The earliest example of this type

is in Copenhagen (N.C.G. 1459). There the trapezoid back-pillar top, ending above neck level, shows an adoration scene and the beginning of an inscription; the curls are well made, but fairly short. Another example with short curls, much more voluminous than those of the head in Copenhagen, was in the collection of Anthony Charles Harris and is now in the British Museum (1928-1-23-1); the break at the neck makes it impossible to be definite about the presence or absence of a back pillar. All these heads have in common the great contrast between the polished surface of the features and the unpolished hair, the sharp dividing line which separates the coiffure and the face, and the youthful traits with carefully cut, never wide-open, eyes. The statues to which these heads belonged, probably showed the subject in an Egyptian kilt, as in Stockholm 73, and not in a draped Hellenistic costume. In attributing the Baltimore head to the second half of the second century we have based ourselves on the assumption that the coiffure is an Egyptian version of a type found on statues of Hellenistic rulers (cf. Bieber, *The Sculpture*, p. 161, figs. 682-683); certainly the back-pillar decoration of the head in Copenhagen precludes a date in the first century (the head in London, however, may have been made after 100 B.C.). For a colossal head with a similar coiffure, see No. 132.

No. 121; Pl. 112, Figs. 301-302.

GOVERNOR OF A PROVINCE

About 120-80 B.C.; Ptolemaic Period.

Limestone.

Owner: The Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection (Trustees for Harvard University), Washington, D. C.; no. 37.13.

Many different kinds of diadems were worn by Egyptian notables of the last centuries before our era, and for lack of precise literary sources the significance of most of them is obscure. One type, consisting of a thick band studded with rosettes, appears on the statue of a man who was governor of Dendera just before Egypt became a Roman province, and it is on the basis of this sculpture, for which there are several parallels, that we hazard the guess—it is only a guess!—that this head from the Dumbarton Oaks Collection may represent a nomarch of Ptolemaic times.

It is of course apparent that there are no rosettes on the head in its present state. It is encircled only by a thick band, but that band shows a series of ancient drill holes which must have been intended to receive some decoration: what could it be, but a series of rosettes? Ornamentation in metal was a current practice among Greek sculptors of the Hellenistic period, and although it is impossible at the moment to bring a parallel on this scale for such embellishment in an Egyptian statue, it seems not unlikely, in view of the many statues of the Ptolemaic Period with inlaid eyes, that we

might also have had an inlaid diadem.

The head, of nearly life size, shows traces of a back pillar indicating that it once formed part of an Egyptian temple statue. The hair is dressed in Hellenistic fashion, and the figure itself was probably clothed in the draped garment that was one of the characteristic costumes of the Ptolemaic Period. The treatment of the hair as seen from the rear is very mechanical, and parts of the face seem ill-defined, but there is some indication that portions of the head may have been left in the rough, awaiting a final touch that was never applied. One deep wrinkle crosses the forehead; the eyes, carefully outlined, stare wide open, more in the Greek than in the Egyptian manner. Philtrum and nasolabial furrows are merely hinted at, and the mouth is indefinite and without character. Though there is little personality in the face, the features convey a stark realism, a sense of immediacy, which makes it seem small wonder that only a quarter of a century ago it was thought to be the representation of a Byzantine emperor.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 32 cm. Width 18.3 cm. Depth 21.5 cm. Width of break at neck 12 cm. Depth of break (slant) 15.5 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Duthuit, "A Masterpiece of Byzantine Sculpture," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 66 (1935), pp. 277-278, with 1 pl. (2 illus.).

COMMENT: There must be something "Byzantine" about Egyptian heads of the Ptolemaic Period, for a life-size head with rosette wreath, Brooklyn 55.120, was also acclaimed as Byzantine while still in private possession. Alas, Byzantine emperors have no back pillars! The statue of Pamenkhes, governor of Dendera at the time when Augustus came to Egypt (Cairo J.E. 46320), is the prime example of a diadem with rosettes. A number of other examples (Philadelphia E. 975; Zurich, Museum Rietberg R.V.A. 501) make it seem clear that rosettes are the only decoration which could possibly have been applied in regular intervals round the head of our governor from Washington. Now the thick, rather rough band on the head of the Detroit governor (No. 136) becomes meaningful; it was dressed down too far for rosettes to be worked out in the stone, but it could well have been drilled — like the head from Washington — to accommodate separate rosettes in another material. Since the statue of the Governor Pamenkhes in Cairo has the finest of all rosette diadems, we have come to associate them with that high position of the Ptolemaic administration of Egypt. Admittedly, there is little proof for this assumption, but since there is also no proof to the contrary, it may as well be retained as a working theory. In Roman times the rosette diadem becomes associated — nobody knows why — with the representation of drowned people on stelae and other reliefs; see Rowe, in *ASAE* 40 (1940), pp. 1 ff.

No. 122; Pls. 112-113, Figs. 303-306.

About 120-70 B.C.

Owner: Egyptian Museum, Cairo; no. $\frac{5}{25} + \frac{3}{7}$

The picture of healthy youth, so long a common denominator in Egyptian art, may seem to have faded a bit during the Late Period. But though in this Exhibition we have shown the stark and sombre side as well as the pleasant and beautiful, the ideal of youth nevertheless existed — and continued to exist until well into the first century B.C. Despite the many sculptures depicting care-worn faces marked

GIRL WITH FLOWER

Fine-grained grey granite.

with signs of age, one must always remember that Egypt, to the day she became a Roman province, had an irrepressible love of life, a faith that life would continue beyond the grave, and a flair for captivating life at its best in the sculpture of a human being. Nothing could be more symbolic of the terminal phase of this innate *joie de vivre* than the girl with the flower from Cairo.

This sculpture is only the upper part of what was once a standing figure of a maiden with left foot advanced, right arm hanging at her side; in her left hand she holds a lotus flower, modeled in relief on the right breast. Her hair — or wig — is dressed in heavy, echeloned tresses, covering her ears and hanging over her shoulders, with a delicate fringe of straight bangs combed down on the forehead. From the front, the wig resembles a heavy scarf, pushed back from the forehead to show the fine, natural hair. Since the lower portion of the figure is missing, it is not easy to identify the dress. It seems, however, that the young lady wore an undergarment with round neck and short sleeves, a scarf or cape covering the left arm, and a haltered skirt, which probably ended just below the breasts and reached to the ankles. On the back pillar with rounded top there is the beginning of an unpublished and unrecorded inscription in three columns. The pillar terminates just where it meets the edge of the wig and is rather deep in relation to its width.

This description gives small idea of the warmth and charm of the figure. The face has not yet lost its young roundness. The eyes, their corners drawn out in the usual cosmetic lines, look out from under their straight, well-defined brows with almost childish frankness. The nose and full-lipped mouth, though damaged, appear to retain the softness of youth, and the breasts, swelling to ripeness, complete the picture of a sturdy girl on the eve of wom-

anhood. The lotus flower, held in the simple, traditional manner, here seems to enhance an impression of healthy, very feminine, and utterly charming adolescence.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 31 cm. Height of face to bangs 8 cm., to wig 9.8 cm. Width of face 7.5 cm. Depth of break below arm 12 cm. Height of back pillar 12.5 cm. Intracolumnar widths, columns one and three 2.1 cm., column two 2.3 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; probably Lower Egypt (Delta).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bissing, *Denkm.*, Text to pl. 112, cols. 4-5 (illus.). G. Maspero, *Egypte* (Paris, 1912), pp. 258 and 262, fig. 487.

COMMENT: The inscription on the back pillar, which epigraphically could be as early as the second century B.C., begins with a prayer to the god Amun. The name of the subject's father, in its present condition illegible, is contained in the third column, followed by "born of the lady . . .," the mother's name is lost. The shape of the back-pillar top is, even in the Ptolemaic Period, rather unusual. For a youthful face of the first century B.C., cf. that of a young man in Philadelphia E. 975. The gesture of the girl's left arm may be traced by means of the illustrations in Vandier, *Manuel III*; the earliest occurrence seems to be Cairo C.G. 381. The flower is, of course, an age-old attribute, held by women in relief and sculpture (Cairo C.G. 27471, a late Ptolemaic queen) until the end of the Ptolemaic Period, and usually in the left hand. For the girl's costume, no exact parallel in the round is available, although Rome, Museo Barracco 29, shows, for instance, that in sculpture of the first century B.C. the skirt ending directly below the breasts (cf. No. 11) was still represented. Obviously, the bosom of the Cairo bust, though well-rounded, is not as obtrusive as that of the Yale figure (No. 130), and the position of the girl's arm helps to offset the volume of the breasts. For another heavy wig with the natural hair descending on the forehead, see No. 123.

*About 100 B.C.; Ptolemaic Period.**Limestone, with traces of color.**Owner: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y.; no. 20.2.21.*

Inscribed statues of Ptolemaic queens with heads intact are very rare; in fact, only three are known, and of these, two are in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Both are included in the Exhibition. One, representing a queen named Cleopatra (No. 113), was presumably made during her lifetime, but the second, discussed here, was modeled for a royal lady long deceased.

The inscription on the back pillar, which tells us that the figure represents "... Arsinoe, divine, brother-loving . . .," distinguishes the queen from two others of the same name, as Arsinoe II, who married her brother, Ptolemy II, and received, with him, the cognomon Philadelphos, meaning "brother-loving" or (in his case) "sister-loving." The text also reveals that the statue was made in her memory, after her death, for it was only posthumously that her husband and brother elevated her to the rank of goddess, entitling her to the epithet "divine," by which she is designated in all texts written after her demise.

Since the cult of the deified Arsinoe II is attested until well into the first century B.C., we have a wide range of time to choose from in assigning this figure to a definite period. It is of a very different style from the only other inscribed figure known of her — the colossal statue in Rome (Vatican 25), which must have been made during her lifetime, for its text does not refer to her as "divine." It is different, too, from the uninscribed head in New York (No. 98), which is a smaller, finer replica of the head of the Vatican figure and probably also dates from the time of her vigorous reign. It is a portly, mature lady who is represented here, in a wig of thick corkscrew locks, from under which her own hair descends in more delicately

twisted curls well onto her forehead. The top of the head is broken away, together with the royal insignia — the uraeus and the Isis-Hathor crown worn by most Ptolemaic queens. This crown was supported by the back pillar, which must have extended considerably above its present level. The queen stands in the age-old pose, left foot advanced, holding a cornucopia on her left arm and with her right arm, hand clenched, hanging at her side. Her Hellenistic dress, carved with beautiful precision in folds, pleats, and serrations that convey a feeling of the texture of materials, outlines, without emphasizing, the heavy breasts and the thickening forms of the body. There is nothing of the delicate femininity of No. 98 in the broad, heavy face of the queen. Strongly arched, sharply defined eyebrows surmount her large, wide-open, slightly bulging eyes. Her mouth is small and thick-lipped, her cheeks all but sagging, her chin broad and firm. Traces of black on the coiffure, of gilding on the neck, and of red on the cornucopia, reveal that the sculpture was once completely polychromed. It must have formed a splendid tribute, impressive in its modeling as in its color, to a queen long dead.

Though the face is not dissimilar from that of the traditional Arsinoe II as it appears on coins, it seems quite possible that this representation, so naturalistic and so unflattering, may reflect the likeness of a queen who shared the throne of Egypt at the beginning of the first century B.C.; but we have no queen's statue of the period to serve as a parallel. In general style, however, this cult figure must be of about that time. It is notably fallacious to compare sculpture in the round with relief, especially in the Late Period; yet, to judge by the

form of the female body in temple reliefs from the third to the first century, a representation of so stocky a lady would have been impossible before the time of Ptolemy V or VI. On the other hand, the assuredness and sharpness of the thin folds of the garment on the lower part of the body relate this sculpture to certain statues which cannot be much earlier than the end of the second century B.C., the period to which we have assigned it.

MEASUREMENTS: Height above modern base 38.1 cm. Height of figure 36.2 cm. Width of base, front 7.3 cm.; rear 4.3 cm. Depth of base 13.1 cm. Width of back pillar near break 3 cm. Intracolumnar width 2.1 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: (Nora E. Scott and Charles Sheeler) The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Egyptian Statuettes* (New York, 1946), no. 36 (illus.). Millia Davenport, *The Book of Costume I* (New York, 1948), p. 33, fig. 99. Needler, in *Berytus* 9 (1948-49), pp. 137 and 140, pl. XXVI, fig. 3. Bieber *The Sculpture*, p. 92, figs. 351-353. Thompson, in *AJA* 59 (1955), p. 202, note 36. Buhl, *L.E.A.S.S.*, p. 200.

COMMENT: The inscription has been translated by Miss Needler, *loc. cit.*; her "beloved of the king" has to be corrected to "brother-loving," thus rendering Miss Buhl's identification of the piece as Arsinoe III unlikely. The title, "Daughter of Amun," evidently refers to the special place the ancient imperial god came to occupy in the state religion of the Ptolemies, due to the efforts of Arsinoe II (cf. Milne, in *Studies* . . . *Griffith*, pp. 13-15). For the cult of the deified Arsinoe in later times, see W. Otto, *Priester und*

Tempel I, pp. 349-350. For the corkscrew tresses, see Nos. 113 and 130, and for their use in a wig, cf. No. 122. As is the case on No. 130, the uraeus may have been placed so high that no trace of it is left. The iconography of Arsinoe II forms a fascinating chapter of Hellenistic art, transgressing the borders of most countries around the eastern end of the Mediterranean and expressed in sculpture of stone, faience, metal, and terra cotta, in reliefs, and in gold and silver coins. The material has been summed up by Mrs. Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 199 ff., who points out that the portraiture of the queen, as transmitted on coins, must have been established soon after her death and that the unflattering likeness was repeated again and again, until late Ptolemaic times. Mrs. Thompson's description (*op. cit.*, p. 203) applies well to the New York statue: ". . . Arsinoe looks all her forty years; her face is drawn, her long nose peaky, her mouth irritably pursed, her chin sagging, her neck heavily ringed. Moreover, her eyes protrude sensationally . . ." Though our statue, therefore, was based on the traditional idea of Arsinoe's portraiture, it still cannot be called a portrait, because it was obviously not made from the living model. The sharpness of the folds of the garment may be compared to that, for instance, of Berlin 2271, which can hardly have been made before 120 B.C. Mrs. Thompson, in *AJA* 54 (1950), p. 379, dates the Baker Dancer to about 225-175 B.C., and though the folds of a bronze statuette cannot be profitably compared with those of a limestone statue, her dissertation on the change in drapery throughout the Hellenistic age is worth rereading. The folds on our sculpture have undoubtedly a metallic quality, probably partly due to a superior workshop, but also partly the result of the prevailing style of the period, which appears to be about 100 B.C. For the deification of Arsinoe II, see *BSAA* 37 (1948), p. 15 ff. and *Aegyptus* 33 (1953), pp. 127-128.

No. 124; Pl. 115, Figs. 311-312.

BUST OF A KNEELING KING

About 100 B.C.; Ptolemaic Period.

Marbled limestone.

Owner: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y.; no. 10.176.44.

Among the numerous kinds of headgear in which Egyptian kings are represented in the Ptolemaic Period, the most favored is the *nemes*, a name derived from the ancient Egyptian word for a type of royal headcloth. It consisted of a creased — in pre-Ptolemaic times

usually pleated — hood, from which two lap-pets fell in front over the shoulders. The cloth was brought together at the back to terminate in the sheathed royal pigtail. The edge over the forehead usually had a border, from below which, in front of the ears, protruded two ap-

pendages of approximately trapezoid shape, a stylized indication of hair.

It is perhaps because the *nemes* was less cumbersome than other regal headdresses and therefore more commonly worn, that it appears on the majority of Ptolemaic royal heads. One additional head among the many routine portraits of kings shown in this traditional head covering would not, accordingly, be of much interest, were it not, as is the case with this bust from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, for certain unusual features. First, the sculpture lacks a back pillar and, second, the relationship of head to neck and torso is such that it must be assumed that the figure, when intact, leaned markedly backward. Since this would be the case only in a kneeling figure, the king represented here must have been shown kneeling, resting on his heels, with an offering to a god in his hands or — less likely — in an attitude of worship, with his hands flat on his thighs. The lack of a back pillar would favor such an assumption, for figures of kneeling pharaohs without back pillar occur from the Old Kingdom down into the Late Period. Here we may well have an additional example from the time of the Ptolemies.

Thanks to the unusual position of the body, and perhaps also to a desire to protect the head from breaking off at the neck, the *nemes* is rather large at neck level. It descends very low on the back, ending, as always, in a queue, which in this case is short and greatly damaged. The uraeus that rises above the forehead is meager and mechanically worked, its tail reaching just beyond the crown of the head. The king's face is broad, with large features. The plastic outline of the rim of the upper eyelids is continued as a short cosmetic stripe toward the temples, and the rounded, slightly protruding eyeballs give some intensity to an expression that is otherwise without character.

Although the small mouth is reminiscent of

the mouth of the royal head from the Brundage Collection (No. 114), the unknown king shown here is undoubtedly of a later date. For how long the standardized idealization of royal features as represented in these heads was in use, is not yet known, but a date at the end of the second or the beginning of the first century before our era seems plausible for the royal bust from the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 21.3 cm. Width ca. 17.5 cm. Depth ca. 11 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: None; mentioned in *Berytus* 9 (1948-49), p. 132.

COMMENT: The material — a veined and marbled limestone speckled with yellow and brown — is so unusual that it alone speaks for an origin outside the strongly pharaonic tradition of the earlier Ptolemies. The figure-eight coil of the thin uraeus is another indication of a rather late date. The face is so bland, so empty, that it does not offer any feature helpful for closer identification of the period. We cannot, however, arbitrarily dismiss sculptures such as this merely because they are uninscribed and hard to pin down chronologically. The nose is deeply depressed at the root, and the lips are small and pursed; the dome of the skull is very shallow above the border of the *nemes*. Having tilted the bust in all directions, we are convinced that the position shown in the profile view — with the head vertical and looking straight ahead — is the correct one, and that the figure was leaning back so unusually far that the abdomen lay well in front of the chest. For the history of the attitude of the kneeling king, see H. W. Müller, in *Studi . . . Rosellini* II, pp. 181 ff.; cf. also *JEA* 46 (1960), pp. 1 ff. None of the sculptures he discusses, however, shows the king leaning back as far as does the piece presented here. Below the queue, the spinal groove has been deeply hollowed out, and there is no indication that there ever was a back pillar. In this connection, reference must be made to the life-size black diorite bust of a man with shaven head in Baltimore (W.A.G. 210), which has never been satisfactorily explained. It is now mounted as if the head were bending down; once the chin is raised and the chest is permitted to slant forward, as in the New York royal bust, the attitude becomes clear: the Baltimore bust, too, comes from a kneeling figure (cf. Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Scala VI-9, which likewise is incorrectly mounted).

*About 100-70 B.C.; Ptolemaic Period.**Limestone with traces of black paint.**Owner: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; no. 30.8.71.*

The exception proves the rule: this Ptolemaic sphinx is perhaps the only complete example of its type made after Alexander that holds its own as a work of art. The striding monster, with human head and lion's body, is endowed with a tail ending in a serpent's head, which makes one uneasy about accepting it as a representation of a king. The attitude, *passant* instead of *couchant*, also is unusual for a royal sphinx of the period, and thus the statuette appears to be the image of the god Tutu rather than that of a ruler.

Eyes and eyebrows were formerly inlaid; the latter still bear traces of green paste. The serpent's head at the end of the tail, too, had inlaid eyes. In its slim build the body of the sphinx shows a great deal of grace, and something of this delicacy is found also in the face, which — unlike most Ptolemaic sculptures of gods — has fine, almost feminine, features. The heavy, stylized mane covers the forelegs like an apron; seen in profile one would expect it to be balanced by a deep lion's chest. In the front view, the bulky mane lends majesty to the representation of the god, who is anything but fierce in this small sculpture of great sophistication.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 21.5 cm. Height of base 2.9 cm. Width of base 12.1 cm. Length of base 35.7 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known. Formerly in the collection of Theodore M. Davis.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *BMMA*, March 1931, Section II, p. 6, fig. 7. S. Sauneron, in *JNES* 19, no. 4 (October 1960), notes 65 and 71 (in press).

COMMENT: For the god Tutu, see Nos. 137 and 139. The tripartite wig is never worn by kings; smooth as well as striated, it is a characteristic element of this god's costume in numerous instances when he is represented as a sphinx; his other headdress is the *nemes* (see No. 139). This tripartite wig and the cobra head at the end of the tail are, in addition to the striding attitude, the main criteria for identifying the monster as Tutu. The small braided beard, too, is not found in royal representations in the round. The large apron-like mane had been traditional in untold Egyptian sphinxes for well over a millennium until it went out of fashion around 1000 B.C. It reappears in the sphinx *couchant* of King Nephertiti I (ca. 395 B.C.; Dynasty XXIX) in the Louvre (A 26; now at La Malmaison near Paris), but in all these recumbent sphinxes it is of course much less overwhelming than in the striding examples. The function of the statuette was presumably votive, and the quality of workmanship seems to be of a kind that could have been produced only in a royal workshop. The date of this figure is as yet not satisfactorily established. Excellent workmanship, even in so small a sculpture, is not surprising in the late Ptolemaic Period, when, for instance, a similar youthful face with small pouting mouth occasionally appears in royal sculpture (Alexandria 425; Madrid, M.A.N. 2015; Paris, Louvre A 28). A royal head in Cairo (J.E. 36849), made in a glass mixture imitating imperial porphyry, might well date from the second half of the first century B.C. — with its ovoid face and pursed mouth it can be compared to the features of the Tutu sphinx. The closest parallel, however, is furnished by the face of a queen's head in porphyry, formerly at Doughty House, Richmond (in 1955 in London, Collection D.E.B.). Hesitatingly attributed to the third century B.C. by R. Delbrueck (*Antike Porphywerke*, p. 38, no. 6, pl. 1) it nonetheless belongs to the first century B.C. at the earliest. Its features reflect an idealizing type of late Ptolemaic times of which the New York Tutu may well be one of the primary examples.

*About 100-50 B.C.; Ptolemaic Period.**Grey-black basalt.**Owner: Graeco-Roman Museum, Alexandria; no. 3151.*

At Hermopolis in Middle Egypt, in the famous tomb chapel of Petosiris, decorated during the last decade of the fourth century B.C., there are represented a number of persons crowned with circlets formed by the stem of a flower which blossoms above the forehead of the wearer. Since this sort of single-stem wreath goes back as far as the Old Kingdom, its use in the Late Period is not surprising; but it is astonishing suddenly to find a number of heads modeled in hard stone around 100 B.C. (usually portraits of better-than-average quality), which show the stem-diadem as ending in two buds. Of this type, the head from Alexandria shown here is one of the best examples.

The head is a type, however, only insofar as the diadem is concerned; the face must surely be a portrait. Especially in the beetling eyebrows and the thick, horizontal upper lids, not elsewhere encountered, it shows marked individual characteristics. Add to these a short, very broad nose, a straight, stern mouth, somewhat summarily sketched but with sharply protruding lower lip, and you have before you a personality whose face must have been modeled, as the phrase goes, from life. In contrast with these highly personal traits are the triple furrows that wave along the cheeks almost from the inner corners of the eyes to well below the mouth. They are treated in a highly ornamental fashion, and since they occur in almost the same manner in other portraits, they must be considered as part of the repertory of a definite studio. Notwithstanding such conventional devices for enlivening and "aging" the face and the dry and perfunctory manner of indicating the hair, the head still conveys the impression of a definite person, some rug-

ged individualist of the first century B.C.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 15 cm. Width 9.7 cm. Depth 12 cm. Width of break at neck 6.5 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ev. Breccia, *Alexandria ad Aegyptum* (Bergamo, 1922), pp. 171, 172, fig. 77, no. 60.

COMMENT: For flower diadems in the reliefs of Petosiris, see ed. Lefebvre, pl. XX, XXXV, XLVI-XLIX, and for their ancestor, the "boatman's fillet," Ebba E. Kerrn, in *Acta Orientalia* 24 (1959), pp. 161 ff. For the Ptolemaic diadem with lotus buds, we have a number of good examples in sculpture in the round (Alexandria 3191 = Cairo C.G. 27492; Moscow 113; Munich, Glyptothek 47; Paris, Louvre E. 3434, where the buds were separately inlaid; and of late the fine head in: *Ars Antiqua, Antike Kunstwerke, Auktion I* [Sale Catalogue, Lucerne, 2 May 1959], p. 7, no. 10, pl. 4-5), but none of these pieces bears an inscription, and therefore the deeper reason why so many age-lined heads wear this fillet still escapes us. Charbonneaux (*Mon. Piot* 47 [1953], pp. 112-113), in noticing these buds on diadems which are decorated with two small wings, points up the connection with Hermes, but this does not help in the interpretation of our head from Alexandria, and also the voluminous literature on crowns, wreaths and diadems (see the references cited by Derchain, in *CdE* 30 [1955], pp. 225 ff.) has thus far not yielded any concrete suggestions as to the meaning of our fillet. It is clear, however, that the circlet with the two buds is worn only by men. It seems to occur also in relief: Louvre D 40 shows only a single bud in outline, but two may be understood as overlapping, for the representation is very different from that of women with a single flower on their forehead (London, B.M. 512). The double nasolabial furrow of the Toronto head (No. 101) may possibly be a forerunner of the triple fold of the Alexandria head, although the latter springs from further up along the nose, and not from the nostrils. The triple fold is found in only a small group of late Ptolemaic heads (e.g. Alexandria 26033; *Revue des Arts* 9 [1959], pp. 104 and 107, fig. 6). In spite of it, we consider the head under discussion a portrait; forehead, eyebrows, eyes and mouth are singularly emphasized and so well composed that it seems beyond doubt that the skilled artist who made the piece must have had a definite person in mind.

*About 100-50 B.C.; Ptolemaic Period.**Green schist.**Owner: Ehemals Staatliche Museen, Berlin; no. 12500.*

Until about a quarter of a century ago, what little credit was given to the art of the Late Period was based entirely on a single piece of sculpture, the famous "Green Head" in Berlin. That was a portrait which could not be ignored, even by the most violent advocates of the degeneracy of the arts toward the close of the long history of ancient Egypt. It has been interminably discussed — often as an exceptional and isolated phenomenon — and has been, together with the painted bust of Nofretete and the gold mask of Tutankhamen, one of the most frequently illustrated of all Egyptian works. We are fortunate to be able to show it for the first time to the American public, for indeed no exhibition of Late sculpture could be complete without it.

As one looks at the head, it is easy to see why it could never have been sent into limbo along with so many other — often important — works of the last centuries before our era. One is conscious, first of all, of the mighty, shaven skull that rises in an elongated oval above an intelligent face. The skull is such a miracle of translation of anatomical detail into artistic form, blending planes and depressions, curves and straight lines into a harmonious whole, that it has often been cited as evidence that the Egyptians profited from Greek medical knowledge. Alas, this head was based on nature, not on a Greek treatise on anatomy. The keen observation it reveals was long a part of Egyptian sculptural tradition; it has a forerunner — among others — in the head of Psamtik-sa-neith (No. 65).

The unlined forehead of the man represented is modified by a deep, horizontal depression and two sharply cut wrinkles between the brows. These wrinkles, familiar enough in Late por-

traiture, end in a pronounced outward curve. The eyes are very formally drawn; the manner in which the upper lid cuts over the lower is especially reminiscent of the treatment of the eyes in the well-known bust of Mentuemhat in Cairo (Fig. 29). Three crow's-feet incised at the outer corners of the eyes are balanced by three shorter and shallower lines on the side of the nose at the inner corners. Similar lines, again in groups of three, appear above the upper lip, and the protruding lower lip shows a vertical incision in the exact center. The face betrays a preoccupation with symmetry that is very unusual for the Late Period. The treatment of the nasolabial furrows is unique. They descend in an almost straight line down from the nostrils, to end in an elegant curve that bends upward to meet two triangular depressions at the corners of the mouth. One looks in vain among Late portraits for parallels to the singular, highly ornamental treatment of such furrows, or of the folds of flesh indicated around the minutely designed ears and especially on the earlobes, which are curiously marked by a deep incision. The cheeks, with two sharp lines beyond the corners of the mouth and a broad, deep depression descending from the temples, have lost their youthful roundness, but the face is not that of an old man. It is that of a handsome, intelligent person in the prime of life. Realistic rendering and strangely calligraphic treatment of detail have been combined by what must have been one of the most capable sculptors of ancient Egypt to produce a portrait revelatory of the nature and mind of an extraordinary person.

Like the portrait from the Gulbenkian Collection (No. 107), the Berlin head shows a traditional calm that is one of the strongest trends

surviving from earlier periods in the best works of Ptolemaic times. It is so completely unemotional that Classical archaeologists understandably employ it as an example in discussing the difference between Roman and Hellenistic portraiture of around 100 B.C. Its Egyptian origin of course can not be doubted. Aside from the material, the trapezoidal top of a back pillar is proof of that, as could also be the thick cord lying around the neck, which probably once supported an amulet. The date is another matter. Though the head was, of course, long regarded as Saite, its Ptolemaic origin has not been disputed for some years — indeed it was almost prophetically assigned to Hellenistic times by Bissing half a century ago. Where it belongs within that period has been largely ignored.

Leaving aside the sentimental considerations that play such a rôle among tradition-minded Egyptologists, when they gingerly approach the untrodden paths of archaeology of the Late Period, we are assigning the sculpture to the first century B.C. In this, we are prompted by two considerations. First, the head shows every sign of being the result of long experimentation and practice; it betrays a ripeness not yet arrived at in the early part of Ptolemaic rule. Its modeling presupposes the existence of the heads of Teos II in Cairo (Fig. 250), of the great portraits from Boston (No. 108), Lisbon (No. 107), and Detroit (No. 111). Though the dating of these pieces has not yet been firmly established, there seems no doubt that they were made well before the end of the second century B.C. Native sculptors, having created portraits (especially the Boston "Green Head") that were true to life in the widest sense, rendering not merely physical but innate characteristics, began to play variations on the theme, without ever again quite recapturing the spirit of the first great achievements. Notable among these variations is the Berlin "Green Head." Avoiding verism in outer form, even approaching unreality in its symmetry and calligraphic lines, it nevertheless manages to reflect the in-

dividual, inner being of a man who lived two thousand years ago.

Less subjective, indeed purely archaeological, is the second reason for our dating of the head to the time of Ptolemies X to XII. There is in the Berlin Museum a bust generally accepted to be a portrait of Julius Caesar, which is fashioned of a green schist nearly identical in shade with that of the head under discussion. This extraordinary piece does not represent the aging Caesar of the Ides of March, but was almost certainly made during his lifetime, and very probably at or shortly after the time he reached Egypt, in the year 48 B.C. Of Egyptian stone and obviously fashioned by a sculptor familiar with handling such stone, this portrait has so much in common with the Berlin "Green Head" that it arouses the suspicion that both must have been made within the same generation and perhaps even in the same workshop. This does not mean that the two "look alike" — after all, the Caesar bust is the portrait of a victorious dictator — but a close comparison shows that the tradition which found expression in the "Green Head" was still alive when the bust of the conqueror was modeled. The horizontal depression of the forehead, the swinging ornamental line of the nasolabial furrows, even the strange modeling of the earlobes, are all present in the face of Caesar, along with other more conventional details (here doubly prominent) such as the two lines at the root of the nose, the crow's-feet at the corner of the eyes, and the vertical incisions in the cheeks. All these features, though used to produce, on the one hand, the portrait of a Roman with head turned to one side and, on the other, that of an Egyptian in the age-old frontal pose, spring from exactly the same artistic conception.

MEASUREMENTS: Height ca. 21 cm. (the break has been obscured by a metal mount). Depth 19 cm. Width of break at neck ca. 11 cm., at back pillar 6 cm. Depth of break ca. 14 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known. Formerly in the collections of Prince Ibrahim Hilmy and Henry Wallis. Acquired in 1895.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: (selective): G. Maspero, *L'Archéologie égyptienne* (Paris, 1887), p. 228. W. M. Flinders Petrie, *The Arts & Crafts of Ancient Egypt* (Edinburgh & London, 1909), pp. 46-47. Bissing, *Denkm.*, pl. 105; Text to pl. 105-111. *ZÄS* 52 (1914-1915), p. 86; 73 (1937), p. 35; 74 (1938), pp. 26 and 44. *OLZ* 25 (1922), 397; 26 (1923), 1 and 4; 30 (1927), 245. *BMFA* 35 (1937), p. 70; 49 (1951), p. 73. Bosse, *Menschl. Figur*, pp. 75-76, 97, no. 206. Snijder, in *Mnemosyne* 7 (1939), p. 253. Anthes, in *AA* 1939, 376 ff., figs. 4-5. *R.M.* 55 (1940), p. 230. Scharff, in *Misc. Greg.*, p. 203 and note 51. *Mon. Piot* 38 (1941), pp. 117 ff. and passim. Poulsen, in *From the Collections of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek* 3 (1942), pp. 160 ff., fig. 18. *R.A.* 26 (1946), pp. 132-133 and passim. E. Buschor, *Bildnisstufen* (Munich, 1947), pp. 245-246, fig. 104. Drerup, *Äg. Bildnisköpfe*, pp. 6, 17, 23, pl. 1. *AJA* 56 (1952), pp. 86-87. Kunsthalle Basel, *Schaetze Altaegyptischer Kunst*; 27. Juni - 13. Sept. 1953 (Basel, 1953), pp. 62-63, no. 173 (illus.). Wolf, *Kunst*, pp. 628-630, figs. 665-666, p. 714, note 40 (bibliography). Smith, *A.A.A.E.*, pp. 252 and 287, note 64. Stricker, in *OMRO* 40 (1959), pp. 12-13.

COMMENT: It speaks for the perspicacity of Gaston Maspero (*loc. cit.*) that he singled out this head as a masterpiece when it was still in private possession in Cairo. For Prince Ibrahim Hilmy, see Wilbour, *Travels*, pp. 215, 466, and 530; for Henry Wallis, cf. Warren R. Dawson, *Who Was Who in Egyptology* (London, 1951), p. 163. The trapezoid shape of the back-pillar top is well attested in this "classical" — not elongated — form, as late as the first century B.C.; see for instance the governor from Coptos in Philadelphia (E. 975). For the bevel of the side of the back pillar, Berlin 10972 furnishes a close parallel. The heavy cord around the neck is found in a number of statues, e.g. London, B.M. 1935-4-17-1, and Paris, Louvre E. 20358; certainly no scholar would date the last-named piece earlier than 100 B.C. The ears are very "Ptolemaic" in the way in which they have been set back from the face and tilted, for which see No. 111. Shaven skulls become rare in sculpture in the round after the third century B.C., though they continue in a few examples beyond the end of Egyptian independence (cf. No. 141); on stelae their popularity does not seem much reduced until the Roman Period. The formal treatment of the eyes is quite in character with the ornamental approach to the composition. For their shape and outline in general, see Alexandria P. 10427 and Cairo J.E. 45390; the latter is dated to 80-50 B.C. The two folds at the root of the nose and the three crow's-feet at the outer corners of the eyes are, of course,

conventional traits long used in Egypt, but occur also in Roman heads whose early Republican date is undisputed; see Bernhard Schweitzer, *Die Bildnis-kunst der Römischen Republik* (Leipzig, 1948), passim. It is curious that only one Egyptologist long ago saw the close connection between the "Green Head" and Roman Republican portraits (Petrie, *loc. cit.*), although he was inclined to see in the Berlin head a forerunner, whereas we believe it to be a contemporary. To Classical archaeologists, with their excellent training in really seeing sculpture in the round, the association of the Berlin "Green Head" and the Caesar bust has been self-evident for many years (Bieber, in *R.M.* 32 [1917], pp. 145-146). Bissing, who committed in 1914 the unspeakable heresy of removing the "Green Head" from the Saite Period and attributing it to the end of the fourth century B.C., saw the relationship between Hellenistic and Egyptian sculpture, but never acknowledged the Roman connections, although they are admitted in almost every book on Roman portraiture; cf. also *AA* 1930, 196 ff., and *Mon. Piot* 38 (1941), 122 ff. From the Classical point of view, the difficulty seems to lie in explaining the sudden appearance of Egyptianizing portraiture in Rome at the very moment when that nation develops a sculpture of its own, mostly modeled by imported Greek artists and workmen. Heads such as Detroit (No. 104) and London, B.M. 65443 represent pre-Roman "Roman" types in Egyptian sculpture; and whether or not the reader agrees that the Berlin "Green Head" is of the first century B.C., he can hardly deny the existence of Ptolemaic prototypes of the third and second centuries B.C. for typically Roman Republican portraiture. The knowledge of such sculpture must have been transmitted to Rome with the introduction of the Isis cult; it is surely no accident that for several hundred years the Roman portraits of the priests of Isis reflect a style current in Egypt in the second century B.C. and possibly earlier. Small wonder that the first examples of these priestly heads were made in Egyptian materials (*Mon. Piot* 38 [1941], pp. 117 ff.; C. C. Vermeule, in *Allen Memorial Art Museum Bulletin* [Oberlin, Ohio], 17, no. 1 [Fall, 1959], pp. 6 ff.). The Nilotic scenes of the Palestrina mosaics are but another facet of the lively interest everything Egyptian evoked among the artists and art-minded public of Rome, a century before Caesar set foot into Egypt. For Caesar's bust in Berlin, see Carl Blümel, *Römische Bildnisse* (Berlin, 1933), pp. 4-5, no. R 9, pl. 5; and E. Boehringer, *Der Caesar von Acireale* (Stuttgart, 1933), pp. 16 and 25, pl. 42-43, with the rarely illustrated right profile.

*About 100-50 B.C.; Ptolemaic Period.**Marble; much discolored.**Owner: The Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, N. Y., no. 54.68.*

The tenacity with which the Hellenistic kings of Egypt clung to pharaonic tradition when it suited their purpose, is admirable. As one wanders through the gigantic temples of Dendera and Edfu — acres of wall space covered with inscriptions and relief in the classical Egyptian manner — and realizes that all this was built and decorated in times when fierce battles, murder, and treason embroiled the royal family in strife at home and abroad, one marvels at the solid core of the people who built these sanctuaries, at their stamina, at the strength of tradition that prevailed among them. It was tradition that made it possible for the alien rulers to hold the country together in troublous times and that inspired in architecture and sculpture major contributions not unworthy of the great civilization of the past.

The dualism of the ruler — part Egyptian deity, part Hellenistic condottiere — is strangely symbolized when a Ptolemaic king is represented in the old war helmet known as the Blue Crown, which, when it first appeared in the sixteenth century B.C., was part of a king's battle dress and not worn in formal representations in the round. Custom gradually changed, and many statues, from the end of the fifteenth century on, show the king in the Blue Crown. It is unlikely that it was still actually worn in the Ptolemaic Period, but in reliefs and also — very rarely — in sculpture in the round, it was pictured as part of the royal paraphernalia.

The much-corroded marble head of a Ptolemaic king from the Brooklyn collection shows him in the ancient helmet. The creases of the crown do not rise as steeply as was customary in pre-Ptolemaic times; the border is banded by two incised lines, and a pair of streamers, visible in relief at the nape of the neck, indicate

that if the piece ever had a back pillar, it must have ended at a low level. The form of the hood and coil of the cobra ornamenting the front of the helmet is well attested in the Ptolemaic Period, and there is at least one parallel from the first century B.C. for the sharp twist to the side of the serpent's body on the Blue Crown of a royal head. Having frequently warned against the comparison of sculpture in the round with relief for purposes of attribution, we now resort to this auxiliary ourselves, to point out a resemblance to the features of the king, which may or may not be accidental. On a large basalt slab in Paris (Louvre E. 22040) are two symmetrical representations of King Ptolemy XII, in both of which he wears the Blue Crown with streamers hanging down his back. The faces of the two representations differ, but that of the right closely resembles the profile of the Brooklyn head, especially in the very small, weak chin. A certain mute tranquility in the face also seems to fit the Late Ptolemaic Period, to which we have assigned this somewhat enigmatic sculpture.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 14.9 cm. Width 10.3 cm. Width of break 5.2 cm., depth of break 5.8 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The Brooklyn Museum, *Five Years of Collecting Egyptian Art, 1951-1956* (Brooklyn, 1956), pp. 17-18, no. 19, pl. 36. Mentioned in *AJA* 61 (1957), p. 291 (where the authenticity of the head is doubted).

COMMENT: For another marble sculpture in this Exhibition, see No. 113, and for a second example of a royal head without back pillar, No. 124. For other royal heads with Blue Crown, see Nos. 51, 53, and 71. Ann Arbor 25801 (from the Fayum) is another Ptolemaic example in war helmet, which also shows the bend of the serpent's body. One has to admit how little is still known about the iconography of the Ptolemaic kings, when it comes to idealizing representations. The comparison with the profile of

King Ptolemy XII on the Louvre relief (which may well be a fragment of the king's sarcophagus) must not be taken as suggesting that the Brooklyn head was made for this ruler; all we want to point out is that there is a resemblance and that we think the head may possibly have been made in the first half

of the first century B.C. Against such an attribution are the eyes, which might fit better into the early part of the Ptolemaic Period (cf. No. 98), than into its final century, from which time no really striking parallels for them have yet been found.

No. 129; Pl. 120, Figs. 322-323.

MAN OR GOD

About 100-50 B.C.; Ptolemaic Period.

Limestone.

Owner: Mr. Frederick Stafford, New York, N. Y.

Since most male statues of the Ptolemaic Period are either dressed in a flowing garment of Hellenistic fashion or are shown proffering a god's figure, a stela, or a naos (in which case a long, wrap-around skirt is usually worn), sculptures revealing the human body are comparatively rare. As a result, though one reads every once in a while that a torso is "typically Ptolemaic" — whatever that may mean — the development of body modeling is hardly known. This statue from the collection of Mr. Stafford therefore represents a type of sculpture not frequently encountered and, despite the fact that head, arms, and lower legs with feet and base are missing, it not only imparts a good deal of information but possesses something above and beyond mere documentary value.

For the modeling is of an archaic simplicity hardly to be expected after the exuberance of the third century (cf. No. 97). It once more indicates how many different styles existed in Egypt side by side at a given moment, for together with sculptures of heroic magnificence, attested by a number of fine examples made just before and perhaps even after Egypt's loss of independence, there prevailed at certain cult centers a much more serene style, marked by a noble reticence. This phenomenon is even more noteworthy for its occurrence in the closing decades of a great sculptural tradition,

when disintegration or complete dissolution might be expected.

Chest, rib cage, and loins are competently modeled in the traditional manner; what is unusual is the way in which the abdomen is formed as a separate entity. Although it does not greatly protrude, it is the most prominent part of the torso. For its width, the torso is not very deep — another indication of the distinctive style of the first century B.C. Two additional features seem to support this date. The first is the inclination of the top of the back pillar toward the now-missing head, and the second is the inscription. The text is extraordinarily difficult — so hard to interpret that one prominent Egyptologist, after taking a look at it, declared sculpture and all a forgery. It is, however, in the typically playful, enigmatic writing developed in temple inscriptions of the Ptolemaic Period, though almost never found in the texts of statues. The signs are oddly shaped and of disparate size, and some of them are cryptographically employed. Among the names of various gods listed, is that of Sarapis, which indicates that the statue, known to have been found at Saqqara, may once have stood in a sanctuary of the Serapeum; and since the text does not seem to contain a reference to a private person it is possible that the sculpture represents a diety, perhaps even the great god Sarapis.

MEASUREMENTS: Height above modern base 63 cm. Width of break on shoulders 15.5 cm. Depth of break at neck 12 cm. Width of back pillar 10 cm. Depth of break at left knee 25.5 cm. Intracolumnar width 7.7 cm.

PROVENANCE: Saqqara.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: None.

COMMENT: Traces of the break on the shoulders look like indications of a wide wig, but are not conclusive. Although the first deity addressed in the inscription is Onuris (or Onuris-Shu?), the short valanced wig in which this god is usually represented makes it unlikely that he is shown here. The change in plane between the inscribed rear of the back pillar and of the top is infrequent, occurring mainly toward the end of Ptolemaic rule. The width and depth of the back pillar and especially the inscription are most unusual; as a matter of fact, no exact parallel is known for this kind of text on a statue. The

modeling of the abdomen as a circular or oval, flattened unit occurs in vastly exaggerated form in the strange, naked, life-size sculptures of Ihy at Dendera and Harsomtut at Edfu, which a few years ago were still carelessly left lying around in the forecourts of those temples—probably the only hard-stone, large-scale statues of gods that date from the Roman Period. They must have been based on a style prevailing at the end of the Ptolemaic Period, and it is in sculptures such as this statue from the Stafford Collection that we can trace the development of torso modeling between the early Ptolemies and the Romans. Comparison with the modeling of Berlin 14460 (temp. Ptolemy V) and similar statues shows that our torso must be considerably later. Grenoble 14 provides the sole surviving comparison. Unfortunately uninscribed and headless, but of about the same size as our piece, it shows a similar treatment of the abdomen and also a back-pillar top inclined toward the missing head.

No. 130; Pl. 121, Figs. 324-326.

LATE PTOLEMAIC QUEEN

About 80-50 B.C.; Ptolemaic Period.

Brown-black basalt.

Owner: Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Conn.; no. 1931.106.

If one were to define facetiously in a few words the development of the modeling of the female body in Ptolemaic sculpture from the third to the first century, one might say that it progressed from nudity to nakedness. While statues such as the girl's torso from Alexandria (No. 95) are nude but inoffensive, this sculpture of a queen from Yale University seems unabashedly naked and very definitely indicates a change of taste and style. As other sculptures of the same period in this Exhibition amply demonstrate, such change was not universal; the style may have been limited to the members of a cult, to a particular sculptor's studio, or simply to a provincial locality far removed from the main stream of the nation's cultural and artistic life. Be it as it may, this statue, with its long neck and thinly veiled curves, is a far cry from the majestic early representations of Ptolemaic queens.

The fragment comes from a striding figure, with both arms hanging at the sides. A wig of long, heavy, mechanically rendered corkscrew locks is bordered in front by a diadem, on which are the remains of a uraeus. Below the wig, a row of ringlets—probably the natural hair—fringes the forehead. Wide-open eyes and a mouth formed in the Hellenistic manner dominate the none-too-carefully modeled face. The body, covered by the faintest suggestion of a garment, is of an exuberance—to put it mildly—not at all in keeping with pharaonic tradition, and indeed not typical of Greco-Egyptian sculpture. It is an exaggeration of the already exaggerated style of late Ptolemaic temple reliefs, in which breasts and abdominal parts are heavily stressed. The relief figures—depending on the locality of the temple—are usually stocky, as if the canon of proportions had changed; but in this sculpture, on the con-

trary, the proportions have changed in the other direction, with the result that the figure is over-elongated.

The presence of the uraeus on the forehead designates the wearer as a personage of blood royal, presumably a queen. The uraeus, of rudimentary form, as well as the modeling of the body and the shape of the shallow back pillar, indicates a date in the first century B.C. Since there is no break on the crown of the head (a part in the hair is indicated back of the uraeus) this queen did not wear the emblems of a goddess — a departure from tradition which may have occurred only with the first century B.C.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 48.6 cm. Height of head 12 cm. Width 23.5 cm. Depth 14 cm. Depth of break ca. 13 cm. Width of back pillar 9.4 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; acquired in 1931.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rostovtzeff, *Soc. & Econ. History* II, p. 872, Pl. XCIX, fig. 2. W. Needler, in *Berytus* 9 (1948-49), pp. 136-141, pl. XXVI, figs 1-2. Badawy, in *BIE* 35 (1953), pp. 11-12, fig. 27.

COMMENT: For other queens in Hellenistic-inspired costume and with corkscrew locks, see Nos. 113 and 123. That the Yale statue was not unique, but may have belonged to a type-group, is shown by a replica in Rome (Vatican 107), with a slightly varied coiffure, which was probably made for the Roman mar-

ket in the first century A.D. It is amusing to note that this Roman sculpture shows more modesty than the Ptolemaic prototype. Similarly the near-nude limestone statue of the lady of Kôm esh-Shuqafa, which is of the time of the Emperor Nero, follows ancient Egyptian conventions and has nothing sensuous or voluptuous about it. The hair-parting back of the uraeus is found also on Baltimore, W.A.G. 226. The circlet with the uraeus on the Yale statue is so incidental, that the sculpture could hardly have represented a ruling queen such as, for instance, Cleopatra VII, at least not as an official monument. If it dates from as late as 50-30 B.C., it may well have been made to commemorate a queen of an earlier period. The ending of the back pillar is worthy of note. Although in Ptolemaic male statuary the high back pillar, often extending well above ear level (Cairo C.G. 696, 697), is employed beyond the middle of the century, a number of exceedingly odd back-pillar endings occur (cf. Nos. 122 and 136). They make very little sense in their variety of proportions and shapes; it is as if whatever meaning the back pillar originally held (and continued to hold for certain temple statues) had been lost. The same pointed back pillar seen in No. 136 appears on a fine, and very late, queen's statue in Rome (Museo Barracco 29), which has a heavy wig of corkscrew locks. There, since the back pillar ends just below the edge of the wig, the triangle formed by the back-pillar top is placed at the level of the bosom. All these observations are, admittedly, inconclusive, so far as arranging the sculptures in chronological order and probing into the meaning of the back pillar are concerned. But they may awaken some interest in assembling archaeological data, still sadly lacking for certain features of Egyptian sculpture.

No. 131; Pl. 122, Figs. 327-328.

MAN WITH SCARRED FOREHEAD

About 80-50 B.C.; Ptolemaic Period.

Brown-black basalt.

Owner: Graeco-Roman Museum, Alexandria, no. 3204.

The great value of the sculpture made during the closing centuries of the Late Period lies in its ability to maintain its own amid the multitudinous influences and foreign inventions that invaded the Nile Valley. How creative the artists of that period were has never yet been quite appreciated. It seems as if the very turbulence of events of the first century B.C. inspired

them to ever-renewed effort toward quality in portraiture, toward sheer size in statuary. This tendency toward the colossal might be more easily understood if it expressed itself in sculptures of royal personages. But more large-scale sculptures of private persons have survived from the period than of kings. Since their inscriptions (if they are inscribed) reveal that

they were made for persons with good Egyptian names, it has to be recognized that the native population was still in a position to command the services of important sculptors' studios capable of turning out sizeable statues in the hardest materials known.

The head from one of these statues comes to us from the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria. It is an over-life-size portrait of an arresting directness such as is found elsewhere only in Roman sculpture of the second and third centuries A.D. As the deep back pillar indicates, it came from a standing statue. On account of his short curly hair, deeply receding from his forehead, the man represented has been called "Ethiopian," "Nubian," or "Negro," but his features are anything but negroid, and the illusion of fuzziness given by the hair is probably the result of stylization of the sort that is met with in other sculptures of the period, which no one dreams of designating as negroid.

The mighty forehead gives some indication of the intelligence and innate ruthlessness of our anonymous pasha. It is possible that he was a warrior, perhaps a general in the Ptolemaic army, for over his right eye a deep scar marks an injury to the skull. This is the only portrait among the hundreds of Late Egyptian heads distinguished by such a highly personal mark. It recalls, of course, the skin blemish of the Boston "Green Head" (No. 108), which the Alexandria piece also resembles in the strong downward curve of the mouth, though unlike the thin-lipped priest, this man has a strong, disdainful lower lip. His eyes are wide open under thick upper lids, pulled slightly over the lower lids. The left eyebrow is sharp and straight, the right, less well defined. Whiskers and a moustache are indicated by numerous pick marks, applied after the final polish was given. They tone down the brilliancy of the surface and add to the extraordinarily life-like impression made by the face. In its brutal power this colossal head is indeed one of the most commanding portraits of the Ptolemaic

Period, and the scar on the forehead lends an air of mystery to features otherwise expressive only of dour force.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 34 cm. Width 19 cm. Depth 32.5 cm. Width of break at neck 15.5 cm., at back pillar 12 cm. Depth of break (slant) 26 cm.

PROVENANCE: Said to be Dimeh (Fayum).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Botti, *Catalogue des monuments exposés au Musée Gréco-Romain d'Alexandrie* (Alexandria, 1900), p. 481, no. 33. Bissing, *Denkm.*, Text to pl. 111, note 26. Ev. Breccia, *Alexandria ad Aegyptum* (Bergamo, 1922), p. 171, no. 54. Graindor, *Bustes*, pp. 141-142, no. 76, pl. LXVIIb. Snijder, in *Mnemosyne* 7 (1939), p. 259, pl. XVIII, fig. 14. Drerup, *Äg. Bildnisköpfe*, p. 17, note 46b, pl. 9b.

COMMENT: The provenance (Dimeh) has been doubted by Botti (*loc.cit.*), and rightly so. The Alexandria head is stylistically related to the school that produced the famous head of Pa-en-meret (Cairo C.G. 27493), belonging to the Paris (Louvre E. 15683) statue of the Governor of Tanis in the time of Ptolemy XII (cf. *Mon. Piot* 50 [1958], pp. 1 ff.). This head of Pa-en-meret is the one fixed point in the chronology of first century portraiture. Despite the unflattering photographs thus far published, it is of first quality. From the Hellenistic coiffure and the fine, incised lines on the forehead to the metallic cutting of eyelids and eyes, it runs the whole gamut of late Ptolemaic traits, and there can be no doubt that our man with the scarred forehead from Alexandria, though of a different class and lacking the intellectual depth of the governor, belongs to the same generation. There seems to have been in the first century B.C. a group of sculptors who thought along lines which might be considered to have long been lost. Two other excellent sculptures (Cairo C.G. 696 and 697), perhaps made on the eve of Augustus' arrival in Egypt, belong to the same group of major portrait figures. It is indeed strange that in the days of the last Ptolemies and the last Cleopatra there should have been produced native Egyptian sculpture in a quantity and of a uniformly high level of quality such as had not been known for nearly one hundred years. Another basic point in relation to these large heads — most of them excellent portraits — is the following: A royal statue of over-life-size dimensions (Alexandria 22979 = Cairo J.E. 55960) was found in the early thirties by an Italian expedition in the excavation of a temple at Tebtunis, where an inscription in honor of Ptolemy XII (80-51 B.C.) also came to light. The excavators surmised that the late Ptolemaic reliefs of the forecourt of the temple were made under this king, and by inference one is tempted to attribute to him also the big statue, since it is obviously of very late date. As Mr. Dawson Kiang points out, the characteristic profile of the royal statue in Alexandria for once corresponds exactly to a coin portrait, namely to that of Ptolemy XII (Svoronos, *Ta Nomismata* III,

pl. LXI, nos. 22-23; cf. vol. II, p. 302, no. 1838) — especially his overly long, hooked nose comes out clearly in the colossal as well as in the minute representation. Consequently we have a colossal statue of Ptolemy XII, several big statues (one with a fine head; Fig. 250) of persons who lived during the reign of Ptolemy II and now, from Alexandria, another large head of a private person that may be

safely attributed to the first century B.C. The flocky hair, fashioned in a similar manner, occurs also on a youthful head with diadem (Alexandria 18536). The back-pillar top of our statue has the shape of an elongated trapezoid. It is amazing that no one, not even Bissing, has thus far commented on the scar on the forehead. Despite Graindor (*loc.cit.*) and his followers, the accession number is definitely no. 3204.

No. 132; Frontispiece, Pls. 123-124, Figs. 329-331. THE BROOKLYN "BLACK HEAD"

About 80-50 B.C.; Ptolemaic Period.

Diorite.

Owner: The Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, N. Y.; no. 58.30.

The end of the Ptolemaic Period and the incorporation of Egypt into the Roman Empire, as one of many colonies around the Mediterranean basin, terminated the greatest and longest chapter of sculpture-making in hard stone the world has ever known. For almost three millennia the Egyptians relentlessly pursued an ideal of human dignity and religious devotion, and one of the ways in which they expressed this ideal was in the modeling of the human body in a material as nearly permanent as could be found. We are well informed on the rapid decline of their great art under Roman domination; what has become better understood only in recent years is the daring work done by the sculptors of the Nile Valley in the closing decades of the Ptolemaic reign — daring in its lavish use of the hardest stone available, diorite, daring in the frequently heroic size of its statues, and daring in its drive for realism in portraiture, which left a lasting mark on Roman portraits made in Egyptian stone during the age of Augustus and shortly thereafter.

The best example of the group of heroic sculptures made during the first century B.C. for native Egyptian notables is probably the Brooklyn "Black Head," so called not only because the material is obviously very dark in color, but primarily because the polished sur-

face of the face is so startlingly black in comparison with the soft grey of the unpolished curly hair. This lively coiffure is well contoured, to set it off against the face, and uniformly rendered in tight curls, except in front of the ears, where a few strands of almost straight hair seem to have escaped from beneath it. The large planes of the face are worked with little modification; unlike other portraits of the Ptolemaic Period, this shows no outspoken preoccupation with the skin and its lines and wrinkles. Flesh as such has been rendered accurately and with a good deal of feeling, but the strength of the portrait does not lie in minute imitation of details. It is based far more on form and structure; the eyes and the upturned chin seem mere accents in an otherwise well-balanced picture. Strange are the over-small ears and the fine, thin lines of the mouth, which is neither, as so often, thin-lipped and morose nor sensuous, but determined and energetic — an impression strengthened by the volume of the firm chin.

Everything in this head breathes a spiritual superiority, a magnanimous, positive, highly intellectual outlook on life. This man could hardly have been a general of the Ptolemaic army; he was more likely a member of one of the great Memphite families that had been attached for generations to the temple of Ptah,

perhaps he was even the High Priest of Ptah himself. The top of the back pillar, of trapezoid shape, shows that our unknown man must have been identified by a long inscription, though nothing remains except the crowns of three deities and a statement that he was "revered before" them. Attempts have been made to identify the torso from which the head comes, in Egyptian collections all over the world, but to no avail. The rest of the over-life-size figure probably still lies under the mounds of modern Mitrahineh.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 41.4 cm. Width 28.5 cm. Depth 35.2 cm. Width of neck 16 cm. Depth of break (slant) 26.9 cm. Width of back pillar at neck 11.3 cm., at rear 15.8 cm.

PROVENANCE: Mitrahineh (Memphis).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: None.

COMMENT: Not only is this head in Brooklyn the peer of the two other fine portraits of the Ptolemaic Period, the relatively small "green heads" from Boston (No. 108) and Berlin (No. 127), but it is probably the best of the colossal portrait heads of its time. It outranks both Alexandria 3204 (No. 131) and 3191 in quality of workmanship and depth of perception. As a portrait it is close to Cairo C.G. 27493, on which rests much of the reasoning for dating it

to the time of Ptolemy XII (cf. the *Comment* on No. 131). With its curly hair, our head stands midway between the Hellenistic coiffure of heads such as that from Baltimore (No. 120) and the near-Augustan portrait (possibly of Marc Antony) at Kingston Lacy, which has already been mentioned in the *Comment* on No. 120. The latter, probably a generation later than the Brooklyn head, still shows a daring intrepidity, whereas a contemporary of the Kingston Lacy bust—but in Egyptian-Hellenistic style—in Cairo (C.G. 697) is more introverted and seems, with its overly wide-open eyes, to express a tragic finality, foreshadowing the end of the kingdom. None of this is felt in the Brooklyn head; in contrast to the emotionalism of the Auxerre head (No. 134), it is static, and yet essentially dynamic in its Olympian majesty. For once we have here a fine portrait of a man, his face hardly marked by the passage of years; it is an idealizing portrait, yet a portrait in the fullest sense of the word. Again, the outspoken asymmetry of the two sides of the face, the difference in the eyebrows, the numerous marks of individual touches by the craftsman's hand. It is a pity that no Memphite portraits of a generation or two earlier are known, for the Brooklyn "Black Head" must have had its forerunners in the local workshop. Its relationship to Roman Republican portraits is obvious (cf. the *Comment* on No. 127). For colossal sculpture of the early part of the Ptolemaic Period, see the *Comment* on No. 99; and for the great Memphite families of the High Priests of Ptah, cf. the literature cited in *Kêmi* 13 (1954), p. 30.

No. 133; Pl. 125, Figs. 332-335.

BEARDED HEAD

About 70-30 B.C.; Ptolemaic Period.

Dark grey to black basalt.

Owner: Los Angeles County Museum, Los Angeles, Cal.; no. A.6425.53-9.

Among the many moods expressed in the faces of Egyptian noblemen of the Ptolemaic Period is one of gentle sadness and resignation, which—to interpret it romantically—seems to foreshadow the impending end of the empire of the Nile. There is no doubt that many of the heads made under Greek rule attempt to reflect a pensive mood, and the intellectual characteristics of persons represented are often brought out in a direct and immediate way. To what extent this is a native development, or the re-

sult of contact with Hellenistic sculpture, or even something typical of the Greeks in Egypt, is hard to determine.

Among the goodly number of portraits in hard stone which show this immediacy, is this bearded head from Los Angeles. It is a portrait that foregoes the precision so often encountered in the carving of Late heads; whatever effect it has is based on the general aspect of the face, the brooding expression, the sensitivity of eyes and mouth. Especially the latter

deserves attention; the sketchiness of definition — or rather the lack of precise definition — contributes greatly to the tragic expression of the face. The beard and mass of curls composing the hair are only summarily indicated, yet the head does not appear to be unfinished. It belongs to that small group of sculptures in which the stone is treated as if it were terra cotta or stucco, modeled with the finger tips and not with a tool.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 17 cm. Width 13.7 cm. Depth 16.4 cm. Width of break at neck 8.6 cm. Depth of break (slant) 11.2 cm. Width of back pillar at break 4.2 cm. Depth of back pillar 4 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The Brooklyn Museum, *Pagan and Christian Egypt; Egyptian Art from the First to the Tenth Century A.D.* (Brooklyn, 1941), p. 20, no. 24 (illus.) [with a probably erroneous reference to an item in the sale catalogue of the Henry Wallis Collection; the measurements differ widely].

COMMENT: The edge of a garment is visible at the left side of the neck, just above the break. The back-pillar top is not well defined; it could be triangular or trapezoid. It is marked by a red vein which also shows on the right side of the back pillar. There is no trace of an inscription. The date of the head is not easily established. Classical archaeologists often tend to take Roman portraits, compare their eyes, hair, beard, etc., with an Egyptian head to be classified, and attribute the latter as

if Egyptian style followed the Roman. But Snijder, in *Mnemosyne* 7 (1939), p. 271, pointed out that Hadrian and others adopted Eastern fashions which had been in existence well before their time, and that therefore the comparison of Egyptian and Roman heads did not serve any purpose. In *La Revue des Arts* 9 (1959), p. 106, it has been stressed how rapidly sculpture in the round declined under Roman rule, although at just about that time panel painting began its rich evolution. It therefore seems more than justified to attribute the head to that last flowering of Egyptian sculpture which preceded the Roman conquest and which excelled in variety and inventiveness, namely, the first century B.C. That a full coiffure and rich whiskers were fashionable at that time is best seen from a painting on a mummy shroud (Fig. 334; Brooklyn 37.1811E), which bears a typically Ptolemaic, pre-Roman, inscription. This fashion was developed from a popular hair style first observed in the tomb of Petosiris (ed. Lefebvre, pl. XIV and XX) shortly before 300 B.C. and frequently repeated on relief slabs at about that time. Though Schäfer, who published two of these reliefs (Berlin 2214; Hildesheim 2244) in *Berliner Museen* 42 (1920), pp. 15 ff., did not yet know the Petosiris reliefs, he was nevertheless inclined (p. 22) to attribute the two slabs to the early Ptolemaic Period, and the Hildesheim piece — with its abundant hair and beard — is certainly a likely forerunner of bearded heads of the later Ptolemaic Period, when what was originally a countryman's unkempt appearance gradually became an accepted fashion. Bearded heads are very common in the Ptolemaic Period; for a heavy beard, cf. Alexandria 1341, Antwerp 282, and especially Berlin 10660, which also in the coiffure comes very close to the Los Angeles head.

No. 134; Pl. 126, Figs. 336-337.

HEAD IN ATTITUDE OF APOTHEOSIS

About 60-40 B.C.; Ptolemaic Period.

Dark grey granite.

Owner: Musée Archéologique, Auxerre (Yonne).

During the last three centuries before the Christian era, Greek sculpture of Hellenistic style spread all over the Near East, through import and also through imitation in local production. Since most of the countries of that part of the ancient world were ruled by successors of Alexander the Great, it was to be expected that Greek influence would make it-

self felt. In some regions, indeed, it stifled native art — not so, however, in Egypt. The output of statuary in purely Egyptian style was enormous during the Ptolemaic regime and continued until well into the first century B.C. But side by side with it, there existed new trends. One showed itself in sculpture that was traditionally Egyptian in form but betrayed

Greek influence in costume and coiffure. The other, whether executed in native material or imported marble, was entirely Hellenistic in form and feeling and, as such, has no place in this Exhibition. On the whole, however, it is astonishing how little Egyptian sculptors were influenced by the Greek civilization that had engulfed their native country. Though in some cases they adopted new renderings of garments and hair fairly early in the Ptolemaic period, the emotionalism so characteristic of Hellenistic works hardly showed itself in Egyptian temple sculpture until shortly before the Roman conquest. Only occasionally can "mood" and "feeling" be detected in sculptures as early as the third century B.C.

When a display of emotion finally entered into Egyptian works, it was not limited to facial expression, but was shown, in several instances, by an ecstatic movement of the head — the so-called attitude of apotheosis. This movement, with head thrown back and eyes turned skyward, is well known from Hellenistic sculpture. It had its origin in a characteristic attitude of Alexander the Great, as described by ancient authors and depicted by artists of the Hellenistic age. It was later adopted for sculptures of his successors, of deities, and eventually of private persons. It occurs in a few Egyptian temple sculptures with back pillar, though there — with one exception — it lacks the slight sideways tilt characteristic of Hellenistic heads of the period.

As an example of apotheosis in Egyptian sculpture we are showing a portrait known as "*La Tête égyptienne d'Auxerre*," because its spiritual and emotional expressiveness reveal the inner tension resulting from the conflict between two worlds — that of the ancient Nile Valley and the rising Mediterranean orbit. It is an old man who is pictured in this head. There is only the barest indication of hair, but his aged face is lavishly modeled and dominated by his wide-open eyes. The eyeballs protrude from under the heavy lids with an intensity that underlines the attitude of apotheosis — the

search for God. Everything is concentrated in these eyes; the rest of the face, the bony cheeks, the disdainful mouth, play only a subordinate rôle. They fill in the picture, but they do not determine it.

Apart from the material employed, the back pillar more than anything else indicates that this head once belonged to an Egyptian statue, representing an Egyptian and not an Egyptianized Greek. Only an Egyptian would still cling to the traditional mode of representation, which is probably to be completed as that of a striding man, with his left foot forward, dressed in the kind of costume fashionable in the Hellenistic Period. This costume is generally called Hellenistic, although it was not introduced by Greeks. On the contrary, it is an Egyptian costume, modified under Hellenistic influence and sometimes adorned with loose folds, by which it is distinguished from the more traditional "Egyptian" dress of the period. The rear plane of the back pillar is left rough, and though it may be unfinished, it is unlikely that it was ever meant to be inscribed.

The intense expression of the face, the discordant features, the great asymmetry of the two halves of the head in the front view, permit the conclusion that a definite person served as model and that we have here a true likeness — a portrait — and this impression is strengthened when one examines other heads of the period, which show a comparable amount of artistic quality and physiognomic strength. Though small details such as the relationship between lid and eyeball may be found in other sculptures of the closing decades of Ptolemaic rule in Egypt, none of these works is in any appreciable degree similar to the Auxerre head. It can be stated without reservation that the head does not represent a type, not even a type rarely encountered. It is an individual creation, made in the great tradition of the Ptolemaic Period; and it conveys the religious fervor with which some prominent Egyptians still clung to their faith on the eve of the Roman conquest.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 22.9 cm. Width ca. 17 cm. Depth 24.5 cm. Width of break, at neck 12.7 cm., at back pillar 10.5 cm. Depth of break (slant) 19.5 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; given in 1825 by Baron Henri Grand d'Esnon.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. V. Bothmer, "La Tête égyptienne d'Auxerre," in *La Revue des Arts* 9 (1959), pp. 98-108, with 7 figs.

COMMENT: Mr. Jean Vergnet-Ruiz, Inspector General of the Provincial Museums of France, discovered the head some five years ago in a storeroom of the Musée Lapidaire at Auxerre and thus brought to light one of the most significant Egyptian portraits of the last decades of Ptolemaic rule. After the head was published (see above), the Curator of the Museum, Mr. René Louis, was able to establish that it had been given to the township by Baron Grand d'Esnon, together with a collection which he formed in the course of a journey in the Levant during 1788-1790. Dr. Walter Federn kindly provided more information on this collector, Henri-Maximilien-Elisabeth-Marguerite Grand (1757-1827), who, though born in Paris, was of a Swiss family from Lausanne. In 1803 he bought the barony of Esnon (Yonne),

became a French subject in 1815, and a year later was elevated to the baronetcy as Baron Grand d'Esnon. Since the Auxerre head is not yet widely known, its position within the framework of late Ptolemaic portraiture has not been studied from more than one point of view. By including it in this Exhibition, a dynamic aspect very much on the surface may be compared with the dynamism of portraits such as the great Brooklyn head (No. 132), and from the juxtaposition we shall perhaps learn more about the validity of interpretation, when dealing with faces which, though diverse in treatment, are approximately contemporary. For apotheosis in Hellenistic art, see H. P. L'Orange, *Apotheosis in Ancient Portraiture* (Oslo, 1947). The other Egyptian heads with apotheosis are Amsterdam 7877; Brussels E. 1813; London, B.M. 1316 and 65221; they were listed in the publication of the Auxerre head. Recently, an additional head of the type has been found. Since it has a back pillar and thus belonged to an Egyptian, not a Hellenistic, statue, it has been included in this Exhibition (No. 138). It shows, as do none of the other heads, the tilt to the side characteristic of purely Hellenistic works, in Egyptian as well as Greek materials. For the type of statue to which the Auxerre head could have belonged, see No. 136.

No. 135; Pl. 127, Figs. 338-339.

LATE PTOLEMAIC PRINCE

About 60-30 B.C.; Ptolemaic Period.

Red-brown porphyritic basalt.

Owner: The Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, N. Y.; no. 54.117.

Statues of Egyptian kings, even when uninscribed, are readily identifiable as such by attributes and dress reserved for the use of royalty. Though the royal kilt, the so-called *shendet*, was taken over by private persons as early as the late Old Kingdom, certain crowns and headdresses and ornaments such as the uraeus remained to distinguish a royal sculpture from that of a commoner throughout antiquity. During the Ptolemaic Period, as we have seen, kings frequently wear the Blue Crown or the headcloth known as the *nemes*; in a number of sculptures — none of them shown in this Exhibition — the ruler appears in the lofty Upper Egyptian crown or the double crown of the

Two Lands, sometimes with a naturalistic fringe of curls hanging over the forehead from under its edge. Here, in an uninscribed statue, we have a man with Hellenistic coiffure, whose only sign of royalty is a diadem with uraeus — is he a king?

Since the statue was first published four years ago, it has aroused no comment. At that time, it was called "The Last of the Ptolemies," and it was hoped that someone might challenge the attribution, but no one has done so — and we are no wiser than before. In the absence of parallels, it is impossible to say whether or not the figure represents a ruling king. The youth shown wears around his curly hair (which is

summarily modeled, as is not surprising on so small a piece) a plain circlet supporting the hood and lost head of the royal cobra, the body of which is not indicated. Since this diadem and the tailless serpent occur on the heads of queens, such as the New Haven queen (No. 130) and the Cleopatra from New York (No. 113), it is perhaps not unwise to conclude that the youth was a scion of a royal house.

His torso, girded in the *shendet*, is broadly modeled, with an underlying composition of tripartition; his clenched hands hold emblematic staves. A wide back pillar with trapezoid top, very like that of the New Haven queen (No. 130) reaches half-way up the back of his head. His eyes were inlaid — a fairly common practice in late Ptolemaic times. The mouth gives a rather petulant impression. It is separated by a deep groove from the short, squared, and slightly protruding chin. Seen in profile, the face has a “chinlessness” similar to that of No. 128, and there is perhaps a family relationship between the two heads, though they may have been worked in different studios.

It is possible that, if not a king, this boy was a prince of blood royal. It is interesting to speculate that the figure might represent Ptolemy XIII or Ptolemy XIV, half-brothers of Cleopatra VII, or even her son Caesarion, who was fifteen years old when he was put to death. The problem is a vexing one; but though the identity of the youth can not be finally established, the style of the sculpture fits well into the last years of Ptolemaic rule in Egypt.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 30.2 cm. Width 12.8 cm. Depth 5.9 cm. Width of back pillar 4.3 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The Brooklyn Museum, *Five Years of Collecting Egyptian Art*, 1951-1956 (Brooklyn, 1956), pp. 19-20, no. 22, pl. 39-40.

COMMENT: The first publication (see *Bibliography* above) should be compared for a more detailed study of the sculpture. The crowns worn by kings in the Late Period are the Blue Crown (Nos. 51, 53, 73, and 128), the smooth *nemes* (Nos. 114 and 124), and the *nemes* with Hellenistic curls (No. 103). In addition, there exist in stone sculpture the striped (or pleated) *nemes* (cf. No. 43), the striped *nemes* combined with double crown, with or without Hellenistic curls on the forehead, and the double crown alone. Among the latter is a remarkably strong Ptolemaic portrait in black diorite (Brussels E. 1839), which, though it represents a mature man, has a chin very much like that of the Brooklyn statue. As for the uraeus, we have to insist that this is what distinguishes a royal personage from a commoner. Attempts to date to the Late Period the great head with Upper Egyptian crown minus uraeus in Copenhagen (N.C.G. 924; cf. Vandier, *Manuel III*, p. 214) lack any foundation; even if it had an uraeus it could never date from post-New Kingdom times. More of a puzzle is the lack of a uraeus on a sculpture such as Cairo 13⁵+3³, the torso modeling of which compares favorably with that of the Brooklyn statue — one might well wonder if it could represent Marc Antony in regal *nemes* but without the cobra, to which, as non-royal consort of the queen, he was not entitled. Another sculpture in Cairo with royal headdress but no cobra (C.G. 702) is obviously Roman and may show a proconsul of the first century A.D. Two parallels exist for the coiffure with circlet and uraeus of the Brooklyn statue. One, in Copenhagen (N.C.G. 294), has curly hair and eyes formerly inlaid; the chin is partly missing, but seems to have been of about the same shape as that of the Brooklyn head. The other parallel is offered by Bologna 1803. In its coiffure and diadem are much more stylized, and the eyes also differ, but the chin is remarkably close to that of the Brooklyn head.

About 50-30 B.C.; Ptolemaic Period.

Grey-brown granite.

Owner: The Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit, Mich.; no. 51.83.

In speaking of Egyptian sculpture of the Ptolemaic period, the expression "Hellenistic" is often carelessly used to distinguish statuary created for the Greco-Egyptians — the high-ranking native officials who liked to be shown in fashionable Greek guise, with curly hair and in flowing garments — from that made for the more conservative element of the population, who clung to traditional styles. Yet even the so-called Hellenistic sculpture of Egypt is indigenous — Egyptian in stance and essential form, with only surface features that can be called Greek. As such, it should not be confounded with sculpture of surrounding Mediterranean countries, which, as an evolution of the style created in the Classical Period of Greece, is truly called Hellenistic.

As an official of the Ptolemaic administration and the powerful governor of the province of Dendera, Pakhom, as represented in this "Hellenistic" sculpture from Detroit, personifies the native Egyptian aristocracy which quite frequently rose to prominence under the Ptolemies. It is fortunate that, for once, we have here a sculpture with head preserved. Though the piece is not a portrait, it affords considerable information about the style of the third quarter of the first century B.C. in Upper Egypt and, since there is good evidence that Pakhom exercised his functions between about 50 and 30 B.C., provides a fixed point in the vexing chronology of late Ptolemaic sculpture.

Unfortunately, the statue was never finished. The surface of the figure lacks the final smoothing, and the hieroglyphs of the two columns of text on the back pillar were not carved in full detail. Pakhom's hair above the diadem was probably to have been left very much in its present state, but one might expect

the locks below the circlet and the details of the face to have been worked out in a more naturalistic manner. The head, as so often in Late Egyptian sculpture, is definitely turned to the left, both as seen from the front and in relation to the back pillar. The latter ends in a triangle, the plane of which is inclined toward the head.

The garment worn by Pakhom is of typical Ptolemaic style, appearing on nearly one hundred statues and statuettes of the period. It consists of a round-necked shirt with short sleeves, over which is wrapped a long skirt. This skirt, under the Ptolemies, invariably has the overlap from right to left, exactly opposite to that of the familiar wrap-around introduced during the Persian rule. As a final touch, Pakhom wears the long scarf with serrated edge, which he holds together with his left hand. In his right hand, he grasps the traditional emblematic staff.

In its unfinished state, it is difficult to judge the statue as a work of art, but as a well-dated example of late Ptolemaic style and as the representation of an historical personality, there can be no doubt of its archaeological importance.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 69.8 cm. Width 18.5 cm. Depth of break at left leg 15.8 cm. Width of back pillar at break 6.6 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known; probably Dendera.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Herman De Meulenaere, "Les stratèges indigènes du nome tentyrite à la fin de l'époque ptolémaïque et au début de l'occupation romaine," in *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 34 (1959), pp. 1 ff., pp. 14-15 (illus.). Stricker, in *OMRO* 40 (1959), pl. IV, fig. 6 (not mentioned in text, pp. 1-16).

COMMENT: Dr. B. Stricker, in a continuation of the article cited above, will deal comprehensively with the three-piece costume of the Egypto-Hellenistic statues, twenty-four examples of which are illustrated in his article. In anticipation of his full discussion, notice should be drawn to the fact that the scarf of

the Detroit figure is serrated (cf. the *Comment* on No. 86), whereas the overlap of the skirt has a plain edge, which is slightly pulled up and tucked in on the chest, as shown by the fine folds on the right leg. In Ptolemaic sculptures the skirt often has a serrated edge, which has misled some observers to take it for the beginning of the serrated shawl. The distinct difference between the old wrap-around (cf. the *Comment* on No. 63) with overlap from left to right and the new skirt with overlap from right to left is amusingly illustrated in a statue in Cairo (J.E. 44637), which originally was draped in the wrap-around garment, but was later brought up to date by the addition of the skirt with serrated edge, with the result that the garment was provided with two overlaps (Louvre E. 11127 is a similar case). The best representation of the serrated skirt without the covering shawl is found on London, B.M. 90, which also demonstrates how the edge of the skirt was tucked in at the top, all of which is well hidden by the scarf of the Detroit statue. For Pakhom and his time, his predecessors and followers in the governorship of Dendera, see De Meulenaere, *op.cit.* For the inlaid eyes, cf. No. 135, and for the diadem, Nos. 121

and 126. The back-pillar top in shape of an equiangular triangle is typical for the first century B.C., although of course, numerous older shapes are still in use at that time. The same shape is found in the statue of a predecessor of Pakhom at Dendera (Cairo J.E. 45390; about 80-50 B.C.) and in a second statue of Pakhom himself, which was actually found at Dendera (Cairo 22⁶ + 4.5). Although it has been generally assumed that all statues in this costume, with the exception of those carrying specific attributes, hold the scarf with the left hand, there are a few exceptions (Cairo 21⁸ + 8, from Philae; Paris, Louvre E. 20361). The earliest approximately datable statue of this type is considered to be Turin 3062 (temp. Ptolemy III), but since Ptolemy II is already shown in a fine pleated garment with serrated edge on a stela in London (B.M. 1054) it can be assumed that he followed a native custom expressed in sculpture in the round in his day. The last statues of the style, Alexandria 3192 and 3202 can hardly be later than the middle of the first century A.D. For the Egyptian, non-Greek, origin of pleats and folds and draped garments, see Nos. 64, 74, and 87.

No. 137; Pl. 129, Figs. 342, 344.

TUTU AS SPHINX

About 50-1 B.C.; Ptolemaic to Roman Period.

Grey steatite.

Owner: The Cleveland Museum of Art Cleveland, Ohio; no. 344.15.

The sphinx — a lion's body with a human head — is a composite creature which, from the time of the Old Kingdom, represented the king, superhuman, god-like. Only in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods is this monster used to represent a real deity, the god Tutu, and this is the most probable identification of the little Cleveland sphinx. The soft stone is carved with great competence, and though the statuette is now fragmentary, it is an attractive piece of small-scale sculpture of the Late Period. The crown, with the upper portion of the head, is lost, but the striations of the hair and the remains of a second head (probably that of an animal) at the nape of the sphinx's neck indicate that this is not the image of a king. The eyes were formerly inlaid; a braided beard,

now mostly missing, adorns the chin, and an elaborate broad collar lies on the chest over the lion's mane. Even the ribs have been marked with a few incisions of a pointed tool. For lack of the inscribed base one can only surmise that this is Tutu, and that the statuette must have been an ex-voto to the god.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 9.5 cm. Length 14 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known. From the John Huntington Collection.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Serge Sauneron, in *JNES* 19, no. 4 (October 1960), pl. XVI A-B, note 55 (in press).

COMMENT: For representations of the god Tutu (Tithoës) see Nos. 125 and 139, as well as the article by S. Sauneron, who has established that this deity does not occur before the time of King Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II (145-116 B.C.). Royal sphinxes with a striated coiffure are not known from the Late Period; on the other hand, a relief in the Brooklyn

Museum (58.98), which undoubtedly represents Tutu, shows the god as striding sphinx with this very detail, thus making the identification of the Cleveland statuette almost certain. On the relief in the collection of Mr. Rabenou (No. 139) and in other representations of the god he has the heads of animals — emissaries of harmful deities — at the nape

of his neck. Bearded sphinxes that are undoubtedly royal are rare (Brussels E. 7702; Cairo C.G. 699 and 1166; Chicago Natural History Museum 31585); the only well-dated examples are the sphinxes of Nectanebo I (378-360 B.C.) of the avenue north of the great pylon of the Luxor Temple. A statuette similar to the Cleveland sphinx is Amsterdam 7960.

No. 138; Pl. 130, Figs. 345-346.

WOMAN IN ECSTASY

About 50-1 B.C.; Ptolemaic to Roman Period.

Dark grey to black basalt.

Owner: Mr. Avery Brundage, Santa Barbara, Cal.; no. 3/162.

Toward the end of the Late Period there came into being a non-Egyptian type of sculpture — often called Alexandrian, though in reality by no means restricted to the north — which employed Egyptian materials, but in form and style was purely Hellenistic and (eventually) Roman. Since a line had to be drawn somewhere for the Exhibition, it was decided not to include this group, but to show only what we considered to be temple statues retaining something of Egyptian tradition. With this in mind, a very unusual head in the Brundage Collection was duly noted and almost rejected, when it was found to retain traces of a back-pillar top and must therefore have belonged to a formal temple sculpture in Egypto-Hellenistic style.

It represents a woman with a long neck, her head thrown back and tilted to the right. Her hair, sculptured in vivid lines, adds to the expression of ecstasy conveyed by the pose of her head. It is parted in the middle and confined by a ribbon, the ends of which disappear under a snail-like bun that rests on the top of the pointed back pillar. Two long curls fall from behind the ears, framing the neck; the left is mostly missing, but the right is preserved and turns out to be entirely in the round, detached from the neck. This head represents what must indeed be the gravest invasion by Hellenistic innovations Egyptian temple sculpture ever

suffered. It is so rife with foreign elements that it can hardly be considered Egyptian; yet the workmanship and the form of the back pillar — not to mention the material — are typically Ptolemaic.

In its attitude of apotheosis the head from Auxerre (No. 134), already introduced a foreign element, for which, as we have seen, there exist a number of other examples. The sculpture from the Brundage Collection multiplies alien concepts. With its free-flowing locks and the emotional turn of the head, it is apparently unique. The ecstatic expression lent by the upturned, oval face, with its wide eyes and parted lips, is known from other female sculptures of the so-called Alexandrian school, in marble as well as in native stones, but none of them has the back pillar. As a temple statue, the figure to which this head belonged must indeed have presented a strange aspect of waning Hellenism, combined with all-but-forgotten Egyptian tradition.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 28.3 cm. Width 21 cm. Depth 27 cm. Width of break at neck ca. 10 cm. Depth of break ca. 18 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: None.

COMMENT: The curious shape of the nose is due to modern repairs; the upper lip was chipped and has been smoothed off and thus reduced in volume. Traces of paint, visible here and there, are probably

not ancient. The turn of the head, the oval shape of the face, the wide-open eyes and the parted lips — so startling in the profile view — are all part and parcel of a well-known Hellenistic female likeness, for which there are a number of examples, the earliest of which is probably Alexandria 3908 (*Mon. Piot* 28 [1925-1926], pp. 113-130, pl. IX); see also the material collected by A. Adriani, *Testimonianze e mo-*

menti di scultura alessandrina (Rome, 1948), *passim*. The oval form of the face is found in a Hellenistic female head in Egyptian material, Amsterdam 7818. The attitude of apotheosis expressed in a turn of the head also occurs in a female head in glassy faience (Brooklyn 58.1). For apotheosis in general, cf. the *Comment* on No. 134 and for other examples of the corkscrew locks, that on No. 113.

No. 139; Pl. 131, Figs. 347-349.

EX-VOTO TO THE GOD TUTU

First century A.D.; Roman Period.

Limestone.

Owner: Mr. Khalil Rabenou, New York, N. Y.

Whereas relief work in the Ptolemaic Period showed a certain quality and some innovation, it rapidly degenerated under the Romans, despite the extensive decorations with which the temples continued to be adorned. Stelae and votive plaques became imitative and crude, and after Augustus only a few pieces have survived that continue the best of Ptolemaic tradition. This fragmentary limestone slab is a good example of the style of the first century A.D., with its representation of a monstrous, striding sphinx — a lion with human head, royal headcloth and beard, and a god's crown. From behind his head issue the heads of an ibis and a lion; his tail is formed like a cobra; another cobra wriggles under his paws, which are armed with knives. Over him hovers a winged sundisk, now largely lost, and an inscribed plaque identifies him as the god Tutu. Even without the inscription, crown and animal heads would show this sphinx to be the fabulous deity worshiped from the time of the Ptolemies as being able to ward off evil messengers of the gods. Holes at the four corners of the slab indicate that it was hung by pegs as an ex-voto on the wall of a temple or chapel. The person who offered it there was fortunate in securing the services of an artist capable of producing within the limits of a rectangular

space a balanced representation of impressive dignity.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 22.5 cm. Width 29 cm. Thickness 2 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Serge Sauneron, "Le nouveau sphinx composite du Brooklyn Museum et le rôle du dieu Toutou — Tithoès," *JNES* 19, no. 4 (October 1960), pl. XIII (in press).

COMMENT: Interpretation of the subject of this relief is due to the kindness of Serge Sauneron, whose article, cited above, forms the definitive study of the god Tutu, long known from Greek dedicatory inscriptions as Tithoès. Originally shown as a human figure with an elaborate crown studded with animal heads, the heads of the divine emissaries, Tutu appears in the Roman Period almost always as a sphinx. Apart from the statuette in Cleveland (No. 137), the identification of which is still somewhat doubtful, the only sizeable representations of the god in the round are in the Smithsonian Institution (U.S.N.M. 8277) and in the Brooklyn Museum (37.1509E), where there is also a relief (58.98), which is the key piece for the study of Tutu, since it is not only inscribed but depicts separately a procession of the animal-headed spirits of whom Tutu was the leader. As an ex-voto, this plaque belongs to a group of reliefs which numerous authors have lumped indiscriminately with so-called sculptor's models and trial pieces. Both types are generally small, and their relief work is often incomplete. But trial pieces served as models in a sculptor's shop, whereas ex-votos were gifts to a god and as such were deposited in a temple precinct in order to obtain divine favor or to give thanks for benefits received. Many votive plaques are provided with means for suspension.

*About A.D. 50-100; Roman period.**Black basalt, grey in rough spots, with brown specks.**Owner: Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.; no. 8218.*

The man represented wears a thin undergarment that barely obscures the modeling of the torso and shows only a few folds, indicated by incised lines, on the left shoulder near the neck. Over it, there is a short kilt with thick belt, ending just above the knees. The sculpture is evidently unfinished; although the figure of the man has been smoothly surfaced, chair and back pillar have been left rough and still show numerous tool marks. This incomplete state is presumably responsible for the lack of detail on the ears. The head is summarily done; the eyes are of the buttonhole type, very simply carved. Crude notches on the corners of the mouth constitute an attempt to imbue the face with some individual expression.

The median line, beginning far below the sternal notch and ending in the round navel, is for this period unusually well defined. The position of the hands — both fists resting on the knees — is intentionally classical, and the same holds true for the attitude, imitating seated sculptures of a thousand years or more earlier. With Roman rule, Egyptian statuary was losing its inner justification and deteriorating rapidly. The pose of this man is not a revival of an older form but a helpless groping in search of a model from the great periods of yore.

Still, when one considers this sculpture by itself and disregards the grand tradition of the centuries immediately preceding, the rigidity and bland expression of the statue are not with-

out a certain appeal. The oddly shaped head, the firmly planted, trunk-like legs, and the rounded forms of torso and arms remind one of the beginning of Egyptian seated figures early in the third millennium B.C. The Ann Arbor statue represents the end of a cycle and thus again appears primitive to the eye of an observer accustomed to the more developed types of Egyptian sculpture of the periods before the Roman conquest.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 50 cm. Height of head 8.8 cm. Height of base 2.5 cm. Width of base 18.5 cm. Depth of base 29.8 cm.

PROVENANCE: Karanis, at the northern edge of the Fayum; found near the South Temple (Temple of Pnepheros and Petesouchos).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: None.

COMMENT: Seated sculptures of private persons occur until the time of King Necho II of Dynasty XXVI (Louvre N. 663), then disappear and (with the possible exceptions of Cairo J.E. 36576 and Louvre E. 9333) are not made until the time of the Roman domination, after Augustus (Alexandria 415, 3193, 3196, 3203; Amsterdam 7876; Cairo C.G. 1190, 1191). For statues dated to the Roman Period, see *La Revue des Arts* 9 (1959), p. 106 and note 23. The top of the back pillar of the Ann Arbor statue is rounded, as in certain other sculptures of this period (Alexandria 3193), though such treatment is found as early as the Ptolemaic Period (No. 122). A head in Strasbourg (1440) is stylistically closely related to the head of the Ann Arbor statuette and may belong to a similar figure. The garment running up and over the left shoulder is frequent since about Dynasty XXX, although in Ptolemaic times it is never worn with a short kilt but rather with the long skirt ending at chest level (Baltimore W.A.G. 177; Cairo C.G. 715; Cairo J.E. 37140).

About A.D. 50-100.

Black basalt with red vein.

Owner: Chicago Natural History Museum, Chicago, Ill.; no. 105182.

There are many ways in which a great art can come to an end. Very frequently, a violent act of man or nature has brought the artistic expression of a people to a sudden stop. Egypt was spared such a fate, but nevertheless the long tradition of fine sculpture in hard stone was all but ended with the Roman conquest in 30 B.C. The reasons for this were political and economic. Quarrying was not abandoned; on the contrary it flourished, well-organized for the profit of Rome, as may be seen from the active export trade in porphyry (not to mention other Egyptian materials), which began precisely when Egypt became a Roman province.

It is to the credit of the Egyptians that they began to work in other media, once deprived of the materials for enduring sculpture. While temple statues apparently became almost nonexistent, the commemoration of the dead, so long a part of Egyptian tradition, was never abandoned. It seems very probable that the evolution of painted mummy portraits was directly due to the decline of stone sculpture in the round. Though the history of such sculpture under Roman rule presents a sad tale of utter disintegration, there were produced, nevertheless, a very few heads that, if not compared with the remarkable portraits of a century earlier, can hold their own as expressions of a creative force almost primitive in its vividness and directness. The best example of the dying — yet temporarily revived — art of Egyptian sculpture is a nearly life-size basalt head from the Chicago Natural History Museum.

Comparison with a number of smaller — and weaker — parallels in the Graeco-Roman Museum of Alexandria leaves little doubt that this head can be attributed to the first century A.D.,

though how early or how late in that century is anybody's guess. The squared skull, the mechanically straight wrinkles of the forehead, the veiled eyes, are signs of an awkward and primary approach to the problem of portraiture. There is a vague suggestion in the face of the greater art of the past, and yet it betrays an awareness on the part of the artisan that a man's features and personality could be expressed in stone. Though he was not quite master of his material, he managed to convey something of what he wished to say. This is most apparent in the deep fold of skin near the nostril and the sunken cheeks, each with a small, round depression, such as might, in a less somber face, be called a dimple. The head is powerful, though hardly, in the strictly traditional sense, Egyptian. Only the trapezoid top of the back pillar (never meant to be inscribed) survives from the illustrious past.

MEASUREMENTS: Height 23.1 cm. Width 15.8 cm. Depth (when mounted correctly, with the back pillar vertical) 19.4 cm. Width of break at neck 9.7 cm., at back pillar 8.2 cm. Depth of break (slant) 13.7 cm.

PROVENANCE: Not known. Acquired in Egypt by E. E. Ayer in 1908.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: None.

COMMENT: If the lower portion of the statue — probably a seated figure — to which this head once belonged still exists, it can be easily spotted by the dark red vein, which should appear in the middle of the chest and on the left side of the back pillar. For other sculptures with red veins, see Nos. 20 and 133. The administration of the quarries under the Romans can not have differed much from that of the Mons Porphyrites (see Delbrueck, *Antike Porphyrwerke*, pp. 7-11). That the quarrying of schist, diorite, and basalt was not discontinued is shown by the large number of Roman Imperial heads made in these materials until about the time of Hadrian, although they are more frequent in the Augustan and Julio-Claudian periods. Brooklyn 54.51, London, B.M. Greek and Roman 1883, New York, M.M.A. 11.197,

and the so-called Caligula in Rome (Museo Capitolino; ph. Alinari 11772) are but a few of the many examples. The beginning of Egyptian portrait painting, which seems to coincide with the rapid abolishment of private temple statuary, will be fully dealt with by Klaus Parlasca in his forthcoming study on mummy portraits. The temples of the Nile Valley were maintained and even enlarged under the Romans, but more as a policy of public relations than as a continuance of a religious tradition. It is possible that private persons were therefore no longer entitled to consider them places for a funeral cult, with its indispensable statue. Be it as it may, the mummy

portraits show that the image of the deceased was removed from the public view in a temple to the privacy of the grave. Limestone and, to a lesser degree, sandstone continued to be available in large quantities, but were hardly used for sculpture in the round. This Chicago head has strangely undefined eyes, but the treatment of the surface shows that they are not unfinished. No parallel has been found for the large dimples in the hollow of the cheeks. The sinews of the scrawny neck stand out sharply. As a testimonial to the final phase of Egyptian sculpture in the round the head from Chicago sounds the last note of a long and glorious epic.

Index of Collections and Provenances

COLLECTIONS

Abbreviations for museums used in the text of the Catalogue are given in parentheses, following the name of the institution. The left column lists accession, catalogue, or registration numbers; the right column refers to the pages of this Catalogue. Objects shown in the Exhibition are identified by "= No." written with an initial capital.

ABEMAYOR, MICHEL		3203	182
Statuette = No. 36	8, 27, 43-44	3204 = No. 131	170-172, 173
Head = No. 46	53-54, 100	3221	117
Bust = No. 47	53, 54, 55, 70	3222	135
		3357	132
ABERDEEN		3908	181
<i>Anthropological Museum, Marischal College</i>		11261	xxxvi, 122
1394	113	11273	63
1421	45, 149	11275	132
ADAMS, PHILIP R.		17533	16
Royal head = No. 51	30, 58-59, 62, 63, 136, 167, 177	17534	16, 149
		18536	172
ALBANI, CARDINAL ALESSANDRO	97, 98	20723	145
		20959	99
ALEXANDRIA		22979	171
<i>Graeco-Roman Museum</i>		22986	xxxvi
P. 10425	133	23843	62
P. 10427	166	26033	163
347	29	26298	24
380	94, 104, 110, 146	<i>Serapeum</i>	
402	68	Colossal sphinxes	147, 148
403	90	<i>University</i>	
409	55, 95	1299	107, 145
415	182		
425	162	AMHERST, LORD, OF HACKNEY	64
1332 = No. 95	119-121, 126, 169	347	5
1341	174	AMSTERDAM	
3151 = No. 126	163, 179	<i>Allard Pierson Stichting</i>	
3191	163, 173	7818	181
3192	179	7862	149
3193	182	7876	182
3196	182	7877	176
3202	179	7960	180
			185

ANN ARBOR, MICH.		Acc. 22.226 = No. 120	155-156, 173
<i>Kelsey Museum of Archaeology,</i>		Acc. 22.395 = No. 112	143, 144-145
<i>University of Michigan</i>		Acc. 22.398 = No. 18	20, 22
8218 = No. 140	11, 182	Cat. 149 = No. 68	77, 79, 81, 82, 83-84, 102
25801	167	Cat. 150	102
ANTWERP		Cat. 152 = No. 23	26-27, 32, 33, 61, 81, 105, 116, 134
<i>Oudheidkundige Musea</i>		Cat. 153	30
A.1	84	Cat. 154 = No. 37	44, 60, 68, 73, 113, 115
282	174	Cat. 155 = No. 49	35, 55, 56, 65
284	119	Cat. 158 = No. 18	20, 22
ATHENS		Cat. 171 = No. 30	35-36, 39, 96
<i>National Museum (N.M.)</i>		Cat. 173	5
Takoushit	114	Cat. 174 = No. 44	2, 5, 33, 40, 51-52, 58, 103, 115
107	68	Cat. 176 = No. 40	46-47, 53, 77, 148, 149
108	132	Cat. 177	182
112	19	Cat. 178 = No. 112	143, 144-145
917	37	Cat. 179	20, 22
922	22	Cat. 181	38
AUXERRE (YONNE)		Cat. 188	7, 9
<i>Musée Archéologique</i>		Cat. 197 = No. 93	117-118
Head = No. 134	173, 174-176, 180, 181	Cat. 202	143
AYER, E. E.		Cat. 203	87
15, 183		Cat. 206	11
BAKER, WALTER C.		Cat. 210	106, 161
Dancer	160	Cat. 225	135
Osiris head = No. 50	1, 33, 48, 55, 57-58	Cat. 226	170
BALTIMORE, MD.		Cat. 230 = No. 118	128, 149, 153-154
<i>The Baltimore Museum of Art</i>		Cat. 260 = No. 42	49
51.257 = No. 78	98-99, 127	Cat. 273 = No. 87	103, 104, 109-110, 111, 114, 149, 179
51.258 = No. 62	72, 73-74, 75, 128	Cat. 274	110, 112
<i>The Walters Art Gallery (W.A.G.)</i>		Cat. 275	110, 112, 114
Acc. 22.9 = No. 118	128, 149, 153-154	Cat. 276	79, 84
Acc. 22.34 = No. 69	85-86, 108	Cat. 297 = No. 69	85-86, 108
Acc. 22.63 = No. 93	117-118	Cat. 326 A	89
Acc. 22.76 = No. 30	35-36, 39, 96	Cat. 327	89
Acc. 22.79 = No. 37	44, 60, 68, 73, 113, 115	Cat. 333 A	89
Acc. 22.97 = No. 87	103, 104, 109-110, 114, 149, 179	Cat. 382 = No. 41	33, 48-49, 55, 58
Acc. 22.135 = No. 42	49	Cat. 588	116
Acc. 22.145 = No. 23	26-27, 32, 33, 61, 81, 105, 116, 134	BARRINGER, JUDGE VICTOR CLAY 132, 141, 142	
Acc. 22.159 = No. 40	46-47, 53, 77, 148, 149	BASTIS, CHRISTOS G.	
Acc. 22.184 = No. 41	33, 48-49, 55, 58	Head of a goddess = No. 55 xi, 63-64, 144	
Acc. 22.198 = No. 49	35, 55, 56, 65	BENEVENT	
Acc. 22.208 = No. 68	77, 79, 81, 82, 83-84, 102	<i>Museo Provinciale</i>	
Acc. 22.215 = No. 44	2, 5, 33, 40, 51-52, 58, 103, 115	Royal statue	
		142	
		BENZION, LÉVY DE	
		68	

BERKELEY, CAL.

*The Robert H. Lowie Museum of
Anthropology, University of California*

5-290 11
5-363 = No. 17 11, 17, 18, 19, 66

BERLIN

Staatliche Museen, Ehemals Staatliche Museen

Caesar bust 165

255 140

2214 174

2271 140, 160

2297 9

4437 37

7737 84, 107

8163 6

8805 95, 106

10114 126

10269 32

10660 174

10972 140, 166

11864 62, 63

12500 = No. 127 105, 134, 138, 155,
164-166, 173

14460 140, 169

14499 140

15414 83, 93, 110, 140, 149

15415 93, 94, 111

17271 2

17700 3

18562 3, 35

19779 36

21596 95, 105

21763 117, 146

23001 104

23673 80

23728 27, 36

23729 19

BISSING, F. W. VON

149

BOLOGNA

Museo Civico

1801 58, 59, 61, 62

1803 177

1812 103

1838 81

1870 91

1943 145

BORDEAUX (GIRONDE)

Musée des Beaux-Arts

1255 106

BORELLI BEY

33

BOSTON, MASS.

Museum of Fine Arts (M.F.A.)

26-1-237 41

26-1-238 41

89.482 27

04.1749 = No. 108 83, 138-140, 150, 165,
171, 173

04.1841 = No. 5 1, 5-6, 9

07.494 = No. 9 10-11, 29, 30, 39, 53, 124, 149

29.731 39, 41

29.1131 58

35.1484 84, 100

37.377 = No. 60 70, 71-72, 77, 87, 118

49.5 149

50.3427 = No. 100 118, 128-129, 134, 136, 154

BOWER, DENYS E.

162

BRISTOL

The City Museum

H.404 44

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

The Brooklyn Museum

L59.5 = No. 116 11, 143, 145, 150

16.237 49

16.580.150 68

16.580.186 = No. 13 B 7, 11, 14-16, 17, 18

36.738 40

37.37E 122

37.353 = No. 64 68, 76-77, 79, 80, 84, 114,
145, 179

37.1509E 181

37.1811E 174

47.218.3 15, 19, 36, 40

48.74 14, 17

49.166 14

51.1 90

51.15 40

52.89 = No. 80 5, 28, 97, 98, 100-102, 112

53.178 13

54.51 183

54.68 = No. 128 108, 167-168, 177

54.117 = No. 135 133, 176-177, 179

55.120 157

55.175 = No. 83 66, 98, 105-106, 107, 118, 134

55.178 87

56.126 13

56.152 = No. 74 67, 68, 92-94, 104, 105, 108,
110, 111, 114, 179

57.21.4 112

187

57.42 = No. 106	136	$\frac{22}{48} + \frac{10}{16}$	23
57.64	32	C.G. 140	84, 94
57.66 = No. 33	39-40, 44	C.G. 381	158
58.1	181	C.G. 535	5
58.30 = No. 132	xxxix, 128, 138, 143, 156, 172-173, 176	C.G. 565	1, 13
58.95 = No. 25	29-30	C.G. 602	35
58.98	180, 181	C.G. 606	37
59.77 = No. 57 B	67-68, 76, 77, 93	C.G. 611	1
60.11 = No. 56	65-66, 70, 73, 86	C.G. 617	90
BRUNDAGE, AVERY		C.G. 646	5
2/24 = No. 45	47, 52-53	C.G. 647	15, 17, 25
2/97 = No. 114	147-148, 161, 177	C.G. 653	xxxvi
2/101 = No. 16	11, 17, 18-19, 101	C.G. 658	51
3/162 = No. 138	147, 176, 180-181	C.G. 659	22
BRUSSELS		C.G. 662	70, 79
<i>Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire</i>		C.G. 666	68
E. 1813	176	C.G. 669	44
E. 1839	177	C.G. 672	81, 90
E. 4395	131	C.G. 673	79
E. 4993	106, 113	C.G. 680	131
E. 5346 = No. 110	142-143, 144, 145, 150	C.G. 681	89
E. 7049	7, 11	C.G. 682	105, 106
E. 7526 = No. 31	12, 36, 37-38, 39, 41, 96	C.G. 687	124
E. 7654	68	C.G. 689	149
E. 7702	180	C.G. 691	84
E. 7730	7	C.G. 694	116
BRYN ATHYN, PA.		C.G. 696	154, 170, 171
<i>Academy of the New Church Museum</i>		C.G. 697	170, 171, 173
Head = No. 99	124, 127-128, 173	C.G. 699	180
BUFFALO		C.G. 700	118, 128, 129, 130, 134, 136, 149
<i>Albright Art Gallery</i>		C.G. 701	133
42: 16.281 = No. 85	107	C.G. 702	177
BURRELL COLLECTION		C.G. 714	90
see GLASGOW		C.G. 715	182
CAIRO		C.G. 722	149
<i>Egyptian Museum</i>		C.G. 726 = No. 65	9, 66, 67, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 76, 77, 78-79, 80, 82, 83, 84, 86, 87, 94, 105, 118, 145, 149, 164
$\frac{13}{15} + \frac{3}{3}$	177	C.G. 727	38
$\frac{4}{19} + \frac{6}{1}$	86, 149	C.G. 730	47
$\frac{8}{21} + \frac{2}{8}$	179	C.G. 748	63
$\frac{14}{22} + \frac{5}{2}$	4	C.G. 784	64, 68, 103
$\frac{6}{22} + \frac{6}{4.5}$	179	C.G. 807	47, 50
$\frac{28}{24} + \frac{5}{8}$	111	C.G. 838	89
$\frac{8}{24} + \frac{12}{3}$	103	C.G. 882	27
$\frac{8}{24} + \frac{12}{5}$	96, 100	C.G. 888	69
$\frac{5}{25} + \frac{3}{7}$ = No. 122	117, 146, 157-158, 160, 170, 182	C.G. 895 = No. 52 B	54, 59-61, 95, 113
$\frac{31}{28} + \frac{12}{10}$	41	C.G. 902	32, 33
		C.G. 928	50
		C.G. 939	116

C.G. 1020	3	J.E. 32011	23
C.G. 1040	2	J.E. 33900	84
C.G. 1098	90	J.E. 33901	84
C.G. 1166	180	J.E. 34002	103
C.G. 1189	84	J.E. 36158	90
C.G. 1190	182	J.E. 36576	xxxvi, 182
C.G. 1191	182	J.E. 36578	25
C.G. 1230	128	J.E. 36665	12, 103
C.G. 1233	23	J.E. 36711	xxxvi, 33
C.G. 1275	81	J.E. 36849	162
C.G. 1277	81	J.E. 36930	33
C.G. 1282	84	J.E. 36945	100, 153
C.G. 22232	117	J.E. 36948	15
C.G. 27471	158	J.E. 36949	26, 39
C.G. 27492	163	J.E. 36965	36
C.G. 27493	171, 173	J.E. 36967	40
C.G. 33328	122	J.E. 36976	5
C.G. 38231	32, 48, 49	J.E. 36991	11
C.G. 38236	57	J.E. 36995	4
C.G. 38266	79	J.E. 36998	36
C.G. 38358	48, 58	J.E. 37002	5
C.G. 38884	xi, 117	J.E. 37075	66, 103, 128
C.G. 39273	19	J.E. 37076	16
C.G. 39274	19	J.E. 37136	145
C.G. 42004	114	J.E. 37140	182
C.G. 42196	5	J.E. 37150	6
C.G. 42204	8, 11, 115, 116	J.E. 37151	36
C.G. 42205	90	J.E. 37154	38
C.G. 42217	40	J.E. 37169	3, 35
C.G. 42233	40	J.E. 37194	37
C.G. 42234	5, 40	J.E. 37203	36
C.G. 42236	12, 17	J.E. 37213	57
C.G. 42237	15	J.E. 37327	33
C.G. 42241	15, 16	J.E. 37328	145
C.G. 42242	58	J.E. 37335	38
C.G. 42243	11, 66, 106	J.E. 37339	16
C.G. 42244	71	J.E. 37343	16
C.G. 42246	5	J.E. 37350	38
C.G. 42248	32	J.E. 37354	100, 103
C.G. 70011	98	J.E. 37376	16
C.G. 70022	149	J.E. 37377	30
C.G. 70024	149	J.E. 37389	32
C.G. 70030	149	J.E. 37408	46
C.G. 70031	128	J.E. 37413	5
J.E. 26427	124	J.E. 37414	5
J.E. 28171	41	J.E. 37416	19, 66, 106
J.E. 29878	12	J.E. 37442 = No. 38 B	32, 33, 45, 103
J.E. 31335 = No. 65	9, 66, 67, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 76, 77, 78-79, 80, 82, 83, 84, 86, 87, 94, 105, 118, 145, 149, 164	J.E. 37512	2
		J.E. 37861	96, 103
		J.E. 37866	2
			189

J.E. 37878	5	CHICAGO, ILL.	
J.E. 37890	51	<i>The Art Institute of Chicago</i>	
J.E. 37992 = No. 27	3, 31-32, 33, 34, 35, 45, 46, 52, 56, 100, 113	10.243 = No. 91	7, 35, 60, 113, 114-116
J.E. 37993	131	<i>Chicago Natural History Museum (N.H.M.)</i>	
J.E. 38007	16	30823	74
J.E. 38009	153	31585	180
J.E. 38015	5	31697	38
J.E. 38018	11	31723 = No. 13 A	7, 11, 14-16, 17, 18
J.E. 38582	117	31724	134
J.E. 38586	5	105181 = No. 34	3, 40-42, 44, 55
J.E. 38825	112	105182 = No. 141	166, 183-184
J.E. 43204	68	<i>The Oriental Institute, The University of Chicago</i>	
J.E. 43606	152	10796	37
J.E. 43711	23	13953 = No. 89	60, 112-113, 115
J.E. 44637	179	14284	41
J.E. 45390	149, 166, 179	17974	18
J.E. 46307	36	18828 = No. 15	11, 17-18
J.E. 46320	157		
J.E. 46341	86, 102	CLEVELAND, OHIO	
J.E. 46591	111, 146	<i>The Cleveland Museum of Art</i>	
J.E. 52356	84	191.14 = No. 63	70, 71, 74-76, 77, 79, 80, 81, 86, 94, 108, 118, 145, 148, 149, 179
J.E. 55960	171	199.14 = No. 82	103-104, 110, 111, 114, 146
J.E. 56836	28, 32	344.15 = No. 137	162, 179-180, 181
J.E. 59870	14	3920.20 = No. 35	42-43
J.E. 65843	36	3949.20 = No. 24	28, 42, 49
J.E. 67845	29	3955.20 = No. 61	72-73, 74, 75, 77, 79, 82, 128, 148
J.E. 68595	38	48.141 = No. 97	122-125, 128, 168
J.E. 87298	92	49.492	17
K. 172	11	51.280	17
K. 374 = No. 38 B	32, 33, 45, 103	51.281	17, 43
K. 584 = No. 27	3, 31-32, 33, 34, 35, 45, 46, 52, 56, 100, 113		
K. 626	51		
K. 909	152	COPENHAGEN	
M. 824 = No. 65	9, 66, 67, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 76, 77, 78-79, 80, 82, 83, 84, 86, 87, 94, 105, 118, 145, 149, 164	<i>Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (N.C.G.)</i>	
		46	49
		72	48
		73	95
		76	74, 75
		78	41
		84	33
		88	23
		294	177
		591	38
		924	177
		929	142
		933	133
		1040	28
		1384	128
CAMBRIDGE			
<i>Fitzwilliam Museum</i>			
393	79		
5/1909	68, 92, 93		
CARMICHAEL, LORD, OF SKIRLING	152		
CARTER, HOWARD	134, 144		
CECIL, LORD WILLIAM	55		
CHALON-SUR-SAÔNE (S.-ET-L.)			
<i>Musée Denon</i>			
851	22		

1459	156	GILBERT, PIERRE	61
<i>Nationalmuseum (N.M.)</i>		GLASGOW	
AAb 211	29, 142	<i>The Glasgow Art Gallery, Burrell Collection</i>	
DATTARI, GIOVANNI	5, 20, 28, 97, 98, 101	Queen's head	103, 135
DAVIS, J. LIONBERGER	100	<i>Museum</i>	
DAVIS, THEODORE M.	114, 162	gar-'12	95
DETROIT, MICH.		GOTHA	
<i>The Detroit Institute of Arts</i>		<i>Zentralmuseum</i>	
40.47 = No. 104	17, 133-134, 166	12	36
40.48 = No. 111	142, 143-144, 150, 156, 165, 166	GRAND D'ESNON, BARON HENRI	176
51.83 = No. 136	154, 157, 170, 176, 178-179	GRENOBLE	
11834	5	<i>Musée de Peinture et de Sculpture</i>	
11835	70	14	169
DURHAM		GUBERT	26
<i>University</i>		GULBENKIAN, CALOUSTE	
502	39	see LISBON	
DURIGHELLO, JOSEPH	30	THE HAGUE	
EDINBURGH		<i>Gemeentemuseum</i>	
<i>Royal Scottish Museum</i>		1778	149
1947.89	26	HANOVER	
1954.40 = No. 12	13-14, 126	<i>Kestner-Museum</i>	
1956.134 = No. 66	74, 80-81, 149	1935.200.415	117
1956.340	117	1935.200.493	48
ERICKSON, ERNEST		1935.200.494	48
Head = No. 116	11, 143, 145, 150	1935.200.510	75
D'ESNON		1935.200.515	xxxvi, 35, 83
see GRAND D'ESNON		1935.200.523	113
FLORENCE		1935.200.773 = No. 115	129, 143, 145, 148-149, 150, 154
<i>Museo Archeologico (M.A.)</i>		HARRIS, ANTHONY CHARLES	156
313	58	HARTLEY, MRS. CLIFFORD B.	
1646	55	Statuette = No. 59	70-71
1784	76, 79, 90	HEARST, MRS. PHOEBE	19
5625	61, 62, 63	HEARST, WILLIAM RANDOLPH	39, 69
6315	117	HEERAMANECK, NASLI M.	
7245	35	Block statue = No. 32	5, 38-39, 96
FOUQUET, DANIEL MARIE	137	HILDESHEIM	
FRANKFURT-MAIN		<i>Pelizaeus-Museum</i>	
<i>Liebieghaus</i>		2244	174
1449	5	HILMY, PRINCE IBRAHIM	165
GALLATIN, ALBERT	129	HOFFMANN, HENRI	28, 69
Man with cloak = No. 2	2, 8, 9, 12, 40	HUNTINGTON, JOHN	28, 43, 73, 74, 104, 179
Niche stela = No. 26	30, 80, 81		191
Bust = No. 52 A	54, 59-61, 65, 95, 113, 146		
Sphinx head = No. 54	62-63		

JAMESON, ANDRÉ	105	LONDON	
KANN, ALPHONSE	39	<i>The British Museum (B.M.)</i>	
KANSAS CITY, MO.		Gr. & R. 1883	183
<i>William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art and</i>		Gr. & R. 1928-1-23-1	156
<i>Mary Atkins Museum of Fine Arts</i>		1935-4-17-1	166
39-8	11	10	113
47-12	73, 125	17	44
47-25 = No. 11	12-13, 14, 158	20	91
48-28/1	16	22	91
48-28/2 = No. 14	11, 16-17, 18, 149	44	7
53-13 = No. 71	88-89, 167	90	110, 179
KARNAK		97	122
<i>Karakol</i>		111	54
68	5, 40	511	30, 74, 81
269	40	512	163
KARNAK-NORD		514	16, 41
T 36	5	600	29, 142
T 40	5, 15	633	30
KINGSTON LACY		848	8
Bust	156, 173	888	37
LAUSANNE		998	91
<i>Musée des Beaux-Arts</i>		1007	5
Eg. 7	128	1013	95, 102
LEIDEN		1042	27
<i>Rijksmuseum van Oudheden</i>		1054	135, 179
AMT. 5	68	1132	12
A. St. 10	9	1162	58, 117
D. 32	9	1225	16
L.X.9	120	1229	7
M. 20-23	5	1316	176
LEIPZIG		1427	81
<i>Universität</i>		1514	12
1635	75	1518	43
2906	114	1668	128
LENINGRAD		1682	98
<i>The State Hermitage</i>		1770	63
3099	135	2341	79
3936	126, 147	8471	45
LISBON		14403	11, 28
<i>Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian</i>		14466	3, 16
46 = No. 107	8, 133, 136-138, 143, 144,	16041	81, 103
	164, 165	21922	30
158 = No. 29	24, 25, 32, 33, 34-35, 36,	22374	27
	54, 55, 56, 77, 112	22375	27
Cat. 17	114	22376	27
Cat. 24	43, 89	22377	27
		24247	89
		24429	6
		27574	68
		29478	70

32183	22	1960	27
32731	74, 108	4982	24
32734	117	5320	105
32748	9	5351	38
34270	145, 154, 155	5357	44
35804	5	5740	68
37883	8, 12	MUNICH	
37889	75	Ägyptische Staatssammlung (Äg.St.)	
37891	51, 54, 56	20	142
37901	117	1313	112
37922	70	1622	8, 22, 83
41516	108, 114, 117	Glyptothek	
41560	51	29 = No. 77	28, 97-98, 101, 106
41561	20	47	163
48037	116	Wittelsbacher Ausgleichsfonds	
48038	52, 131	Head = No. 77	28, 97-98, 101, 106
49243	149, 150	NANTES (LOIRE-INFÉRIEURE)	
54348	153	Musée Dobrée	
55306	6	E. 195	101
57355	114	NAPLES	
59075	134, 143	Museo Nazionale (M.N.)	
65221	176	490	72
65443	129, 136, 143, 149, 155, 166	980	75, 82
LOS ANGELES, CAL.		987	79, 82
Los Angeles County Museum		5634	140
A.6425.53-9 = No. 133	173-174, 183	110663	140
MAC GREGOR, THE REVEREND WILLIAM	35	NAPOLÉON, PRINCE JOSEPH-CHARLES-PAUL	
MADRID		BONAPARTE	139
Museo Arqueológico Nacional (M.A.N.)		NEW HAVEN, CONN.	
2014	39	Peabody Museum of Natural History,	
2015	162	Yale University	
MARIEMONT		384 = No. 109	132, 141-142
Musée du Domaine		388 = No. 103	131-133, 148, 177
505	132	Yale University Art Gallery	
MAROIS, COMTE LE	1	1.1.1953 = No. 109	132, 141-142
MARSEILLE (B.-DU-RH.)		4.1.1953 = No. 103	131-133, 148, 177
Musée Borély		1931.106 = No. 130	158, 160, 169-170, 177
214	24	NEW YORK, N. Y.	
216	53	The Metropolitan Museum of Art (M.M.A.)	
MAUDUIT, ARISTIDE	92	Old 1271 = No. 6	2, 6-7, 13, 18, 32, 41
MEDINET HABU	19, 147	74.51.2458	110
MENASCÉ, BARON DE	69	74.51.2459	110
MIMAUT, J. F.	26	74.51.2461	110
MOSCOW		74.51.2469	110
State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts		89.2.660 = No. 113	126, 135, 145-147, 159, 160, 167, 170, 177, 181
113	163	02.4.191 = No. 7	8-9, 27, 85
		07.228.27 = No. 4	4-5, 32, 36, 37, 153

E. 11414	109, 149	E. 14303 = No. 53	30, 61-62, 63, 88, 89,
E. 11555	32		167, 177
E. 11556	104	E. 14316 = No. 88	93, 111-112, 116
E. 11895	47, 52, 69	E. 16199	2
E. 12629	23	PHILIP, P.	26
E. 13103	90	PITCAIRN, THE REVEREND THEODORE	
E. 13106	32, 38	Bust = No. 19	20, 21-22, 24, 25, 26, 27,
E. 15545	48		40, 41, 44, 105
E. 15546	125	POSNO, GUSTAVE	50
E. 15548	11	POZZI, S.	33
E. 15683	171	PRINCETON, N. J.	
E. 17379	95, 105, 106, 107, 113	<i>The Art Museum, Princeton University</i>	
E. 17449	36	918	42
E. 20173	140	PROVIDENCE, R. I.	
E. 20205	5	<i>Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design</i>	
E. 20358	16, 166	58.001 = No. 119	154-155
E. 20361	16, 179	RABENOU, KHALIL	
E. 22040	167, 168	Relief = No. 139	162, 179, 180, 181
E. 22761	88	RHIND, A. HENRY	80
E. 25374	86, 140	RICHMOND	
E. 25379	43	<i>Doughty House</i>	162
E. 25390 = No. 57 A	67-68, 72, 76, 77, 93	RICHMOND, VA.	
I.M. 1244	77	<i>Virginia Museum of Fine Arts</i>	
I.M. 4057	73	51-19-3 = No. 8	8, 9-10, 25, 105
N. 418	80	51-19-4 = No. 22	15, 22, 25-26, 37
N. 502	32	51-19-5	107
N. 663	27, 38, 52, 182	55-8-13 = No. 92	xxxvii, 104, 116-117, 126
N. 864	74, 75	ROME	
N. 868	46	<i>Museo Barracco</i>	
N. 1572	103	29	158, 170
N. 2454 = No. 67	71, 81-83, 105, 118, 134, 140	31	140
N. 2456	121, 126	<i>Museo Capitolino</i>	
N. 3670	9	Caligula	184
<i>Musée Rodin</i>		8	62, 63, 89
90	36	<i>Museo Nazionale (M.N.)</i>	
284	95	60921	142
289	70	<i>Palazzo dei Conservatori</i>	
<i>Petit Palais</i>		Scala VI-9	161
307	37, 39	<i>Vatican (Museo Gregoriano Egizio)</i>	
308	20	13	102
PHILADELPHIA, PA.		25	121, 125, 126, 128, 135, 159
<i>The Philip H. and A. S. W. Rosenbach</i>		27	98, 122, 126, 128
<i>Foundation Museum</i>		107	170
Block statue = No. 117	131, 151-153	163	105
<i>The University Museum, University of</i>		166	75, 90
<i>Pennsylvania</i>		177	70
42-9-1	71, 76		
E. 975	157, 158, 166		
E. 13004 = No. 43	49, 50-51, 52, 68, 88, 177		
			195

196	70, 76, 77	1394	63
288	18, 43	1440	182
<i>Villa Albani</i>		1585 = No. 96	121-122, 126, 141, 148
551	62	STUTTGART	
558	62, 122	<i>Linden-Museum</i>	61
SABATIER, R.	5, 69	SYDNEY	
ST. LOUIS, MO.		<i>Nicholson Museum</i>	
<i>City Art Museum of St. Louis</i>		41	1
221:24 = No. 3	3-4, 5, 38, 41, 114	TIGRANE PASHA	44
222:24 = No. 28	27, 32-34, 35, 45, 46,	TOLEDO, OHIO	
	55, 77, 131	<i>The Toledo Museum of Art</i>	
215:54 = No. 79	99-100	49.105	11
SALT, HENRY	82	TORONTO	
SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.		<i>The Royal Ontario Museum</i>	
<i>M. H. De Young Memorial Museum</i>		910.75 = No. 105	121, 134-135, 145, 147
54664 = No. 72	89-90, 105, 149	958.221.4 = No. 101	129-130, 163
SAN JOSE, CAL.		TÜBINGEN	
<i>Rosicrucian Egyptian, Oriental Museum</i>		<i>University</i>	61
1582	147	TURIN	
1583 = No. 102	130-131, 153	<i>Museo Egizio</i>	
1603 = No. 94	118-119	8	63
1643	101	1385	134, 147
SCHIMMEL, NORBERT		3026	47
Statuette = No. 86	86, 93, 94, 104, 108-109,	3028	99
	110, 179	3062	179
SEATTLE, WASH.		3063	8, 38
<i>Seattle Art Museum</i>		Suppl. 17161	28, 41
Eg 11.23 = No. 58	69-70, 71	VERONA	
Eg 24.12	27	<i>Museo Maffeiano</i>	
SPAETH, OTTO L.		583	36
Torso = No. 75	94-95, 106, 124	VIENNA	
STAFFORD, FREDERICK		<i>Kunsthistorisches Museum</i>	
Torso = No. 129	168-169	3	64
STERN, MAX M.		20	71, 79
Bust = No. 70	65, 86-87, 118, 128	35	23
STOCKHOLM		37	122
<i>Medelhavsmuseet</i>		213	91
73	156	5774	55
83	70, 71	5801	8
<i>Nationalmuseum (N.M.)</i>		8354	30
1	68	WÄELDER, ROBERT	
78	50	Head = No. 84	66, 105, 106-107
STOCLET, A.	3	WALLIS, HENRY	165, 174
STRASBOURG (BAS-RHIN)		WARREN, E. P.	138, 139
<i>Université</i>			
367	52		
196			

WASHINGTON, D. C.

*The Dumbarton Oaks Research Library
and Collection*

37.13 = No. 121 156-157, 179
Textile Museum
07.3 24
07.4 27

*United States National Museum (U.S.N.M.),
Smithsonian Institution*

8277 181
WILBOUR, CHARLES EDWIN 15, 49
ZURICH
Museum Rietberg
R.V.A. 501 157

PROVENANCES

Abydos	Nos. 7, 41, 68	Kôm el Hisn	No. 42
Ashmunein	No. 47	Lower Egypt	Nos. 29, 85, 86, 95, 98, 122
Athribis	Nos. 60, 92	Luxor	No. 120
Benha	No. 92	Memphis	Nos. 10, 19, 21, 26, 35, 37, 45, 49, 61, 64, 65, 67, 70, 74, 78, 86, 106, 132; see also Mitrahineh and Saqqara
Bubastis	No. 8	Mendes	Nos. 20, 97
Busiris	Nos. 34, 77	Middle Egypt	No. 47
Buto	Nos. 88, 91	Mitrahineh	Nos. 10, 57, 65, 74, 106, 132; see also Memphis
Coptos	No. 96	Quft	No. 96
Delta	Nos. 80, 122	Saft el Henna	Nos. 52, 75
Dendera	No. 136	Sais	Nos. 56, 58, 59, 66, 72
Dimeh	No. 131	Saqqara	Nos. 55, 108, 129; see also Memphis
Edfu	Nos. 33, 36	Thebes	Nos. 1, 6, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 25, 79, 99; see also Karnak
Fayum	Nos. 23, 32, 131, 140	Upper Egypt	No. 118
Heliopolis	Nos. 24, 30, 82, 87		
Imau	No. 42		
Karanis	No. 140		
Karnak	Nos. 3, 4, 5, 9, 27, 28, 33, 38, 40, 44, 48, 76, 81, 83, 89, 94, 102, 117; see also Thebes		

ADDENDA AND ERRATA

Addenda

No. 6 COMMENT, last line.

For the tomb of Akhamenru (Thebes 404), see now: Porter-Moss, *Top. Bibl.* I, pt. 1 (1960), p. 445.

No. 13 A-B BIBLIOGRAPHY; add

Richard A. Martin, "Two Museums Reunite a Shared Egyptian," in *Chicago Natural History Museum Bulletin* 28, no. 10 (October 1957), p. 8.

No. 14 BIBLIOGRAPHY; add

Porter-Moss, *Top. Bibl.* I, pt. 1 (1960), p. 60.

No. 15 BIBLIOGRAPHY

Porter-Moss, *Top. Bibl.* I, pt. 1 (1960), p. 59.
Helene J. Kantor, "A Fragment of Relief from the Tomb of Mentuemhat at Thebes (No. 34)" = *Oriental Institute Museum Notes*, No. 12, in *JNES* 19 (1960), pp. 213-216, pl. V-VI.

No. 17 BIBLIOGRAPHY; add

H. F. Lutz, "A Stone Group of Amset and Hapi," in *JAOS* 46 (1926), pp. 312-313. Porter-Moss, *Top. Bibl.* I, pt. 1 (1960), p. 60.

No. 32 BIBLIOGRAPHY; add

Classical and Medieval Stone Sculptures . . . Part III of the Art Collection Belonging to the Estate of the Late Joseph Brummer (Sale Catalogue, New York, Parke-Bernet Galleries, 8-9 June, 1949), p. 93, no. 450.

No. 120 COMMENT; add

For a very recent discussion of the Kingston Lacy head, with excellent illustrations, see *BMFA* 58 (1960), pp. 19-20, figs. 6-7.

Errata

P. 5, No. 5, column 2, line 7: for xxvi read xxxvi.

P. 33, No. 28, column 2, line 47: for xxiv read xxxiv.

P. 60, No. 52, column 1, line 38: for "Psamtik" read "Psamtik II;" for xxv read xxxv.

P. 70, No. 59, column 2, line 6 from bottom: for "khonsu-iuf-anekh" read "djehuty-iuf-anekh."

Pl. 72, Fig. 187 should be inverted.

Plates



Fig. 1 No. 1. Amenirdas I

2



3

Fig. 2 No. 2. Man with Cloak

Figs. 3-4 No. 1. Amenirdas I

4





5

6



7

Fig. 5 No. 2. Man with Cloak

Figs. 6-7 No. 3. Servant of the Divine Consorts



Figs. 8-10 No. 4. Djed-khonsu-iuf-anekh,
Prophet of Monthu

9



8



10



11

Figs. 11-12 No. 5. Royal Dispatch Writer



12



13



14



15

Fig. 13 No. 6. Akhamenru
Figs. 14-15 No. 7. Head from Abydos

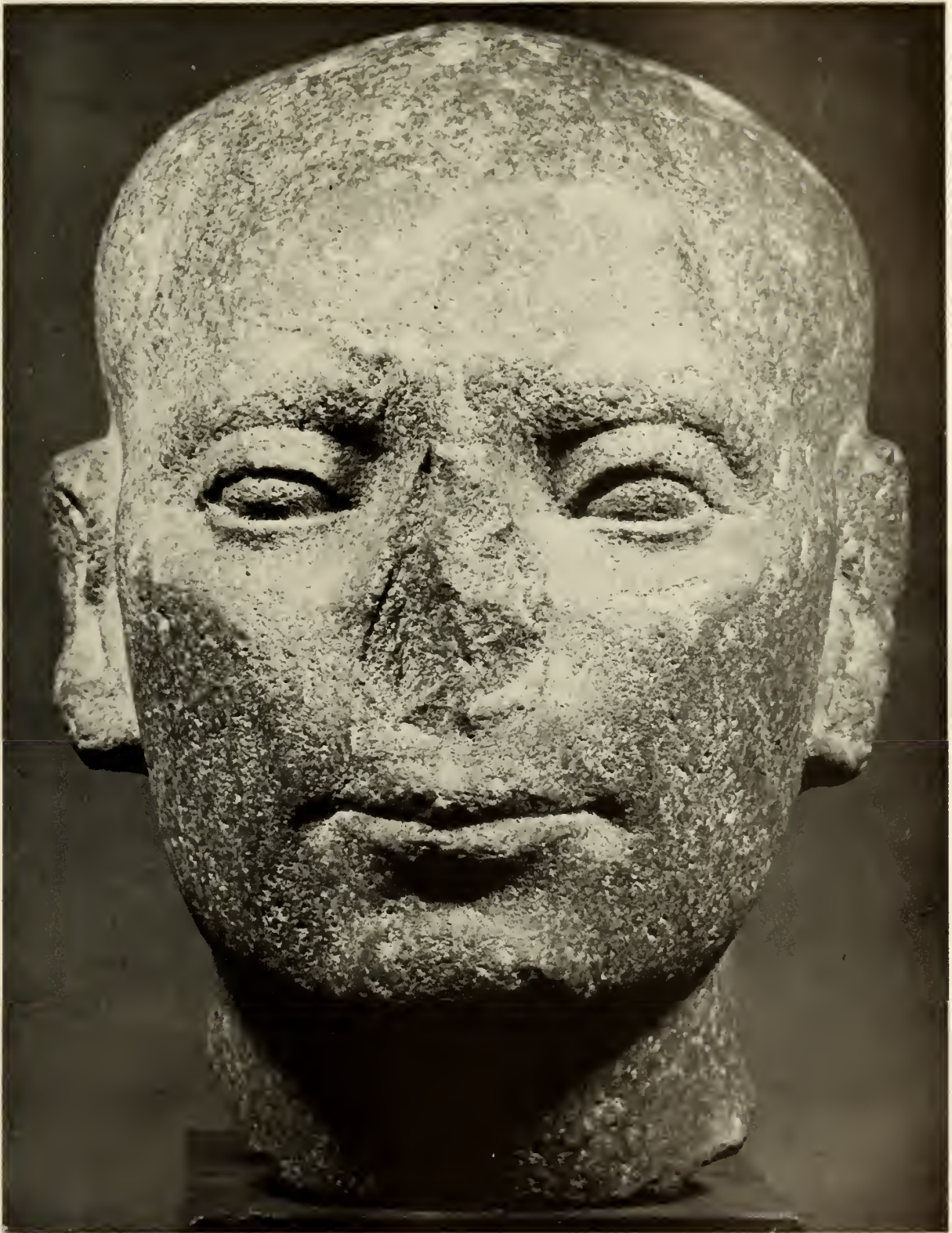


Fig. 16 No. 7. Head from Abydos



17

Figs. 17-19 No. 8. Priest from
Bubastis

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Figs. 20-22 No. 9. Khonsu-ir-aa



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Figs. 23-25 No. 10. Ankh-em-tenenet

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Fig. 26 No. 11. Figure of a Girl

26 Figs. 27-28 No. 12. Royal Lady in Ivory

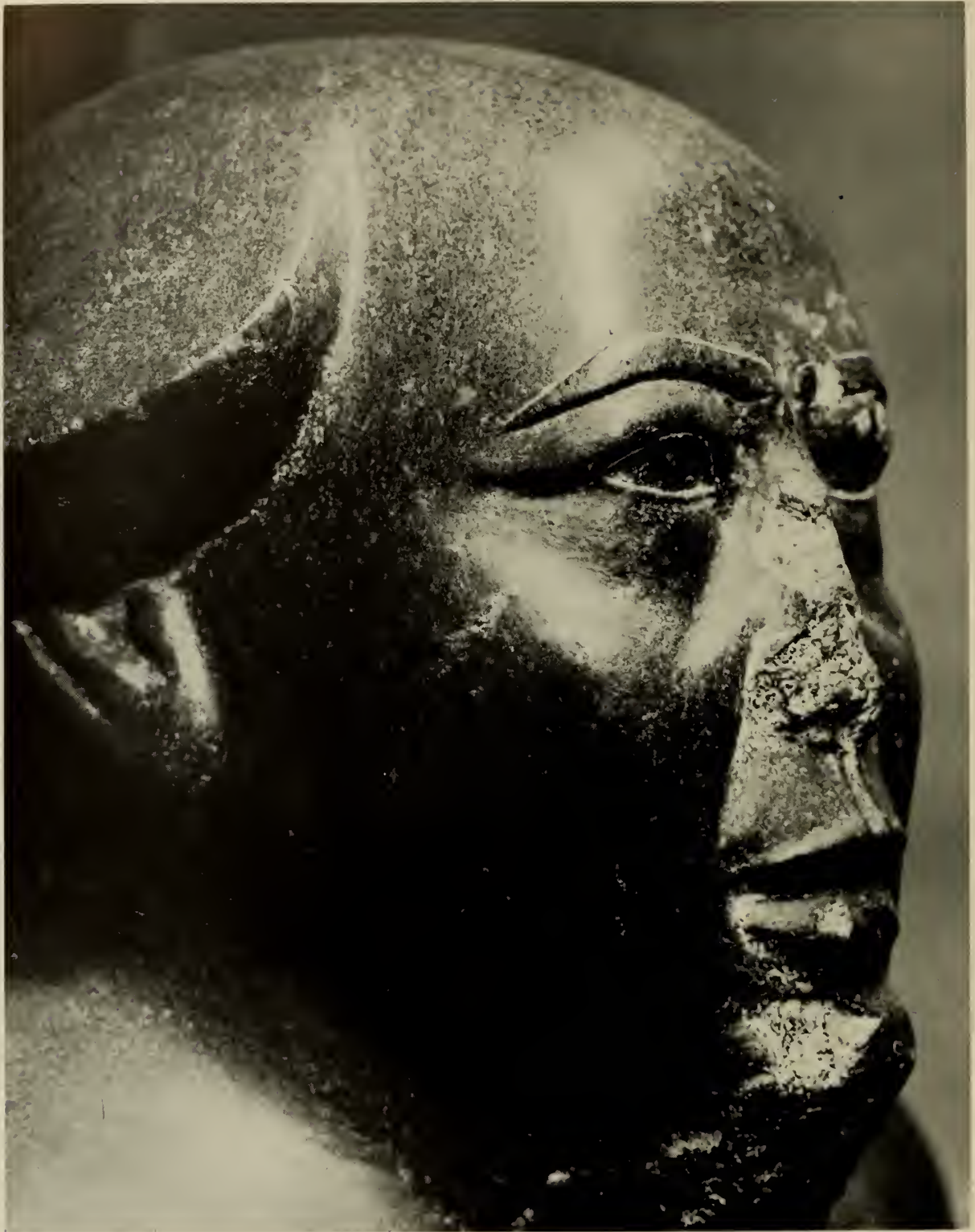


Fig. 29. Mentuemhat, Count of Thebes
(Cairo; not shown in Exhibition)



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Figs. 30-31 No. 13 A-B. Mentuemhat
(Chicago and Brooklyn fragments combined)

Fig. 32 No. 14. Mentuemhat in Relief

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Fig. 33 No. 15. Girls Fighting

Fig. 34 No. 16. Man with Fowl

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Figs. 35-37 No. 17. Mentuemhat's Guardians



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Figs. 38-39 No. 18. "Libyan" Bust
Fig. 40 No. 19. Senbef

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Figs. 41-42 No. 19. Senbef

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Fig. 43 No. 20. Bes, Prince of Mendes

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Figs. 44-45 No. 20. Bes, Prince of Mendes.
Bust in Palermo combined with lower portion
of statue in Cairo (*the latter not shown
in this Exhibition*)



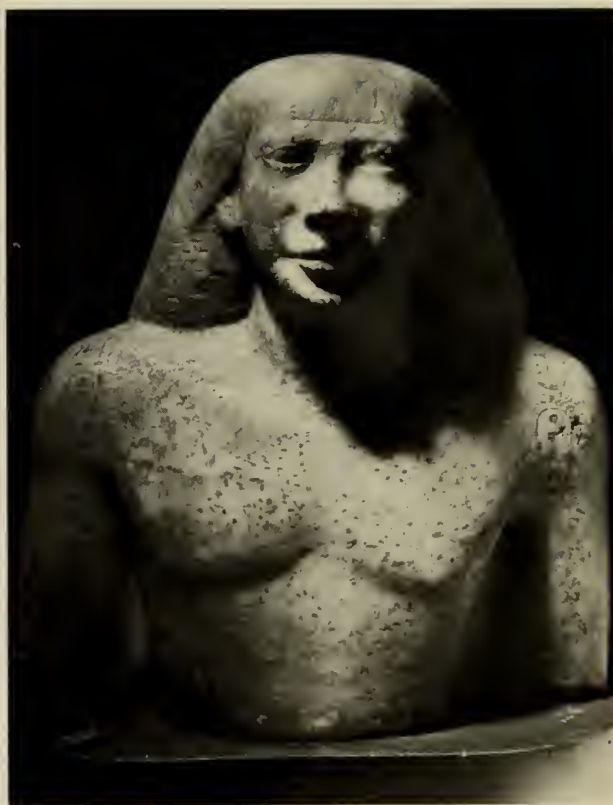
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Fig. 46 No. 21. Anonymous Scribe

Fig. 47 No. 22. Scribe's Bust



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Figs. 48-49 No. 23. Old Man Frowning



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Fig. 50 No. 24. Archaizing Stela

Fig. 51 No. 25. King Psamtik I

Fig. 52 No. 26. Father and Son



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Figs. 53-54 No. 27. Djed-khonsu-iuf-ankh,
Prophet of Amun



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Fig. 55 No. 27. Djed-khonsu-iuf-
ankh, Prophet of Amun

Fig. 56 No. 28. Ankh-pa-khered



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Fig. 57 No. 28. Ankh-pa-khered with Osiris



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Figs. 58-59 No. 28. Ankh-pa-khered with Osiris



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Figs. 60-61 No. 29. Bes the
Courtier

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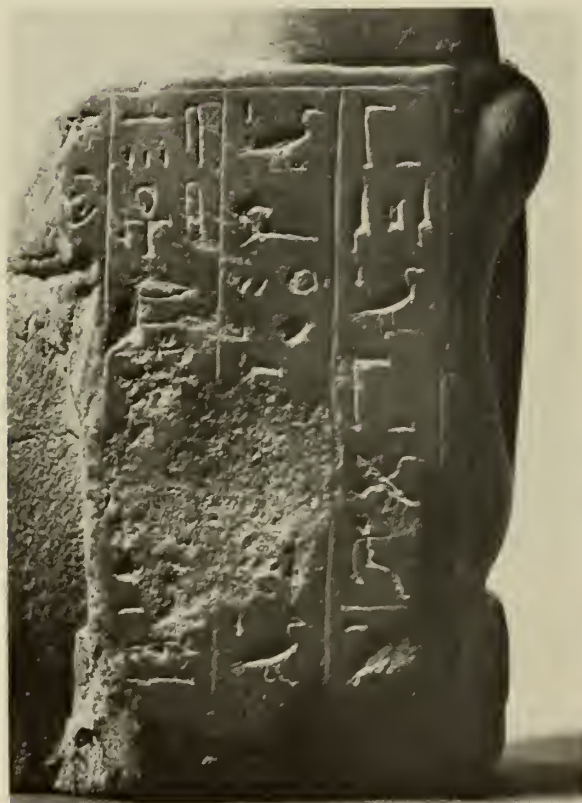


62

Figs. 62-64 No. 30. Ipy and his Lady

Fig. 65 No. 31. Keref, a General of Psamtik I;
seen from above

63



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Figs. 66-67 No. 31. Keref, a General of Psamtik I

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Figs. 68-69 No. 32. Nesna-isut from the Fayum

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Fig. 70 No. 32. Nesna-isut

Figs. 71-73 No. 33. Hor, son of
Djed-monthu-iuf-ankh



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74



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Fig. 74 No. 34. Harbes of Busiris

Fig. 75 No. 34. Head of Harbes combined with statue in Copenhagen (*the latter not shown in this Exhibition*)

Fig. 76. Head of Akhamenru (*not shown in Exhibition*); Oriental Institute, University of Chicago

76





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Fig. 77 No. 35. King with *Atef* Crown

Figs. 78-79 No. 36. Pe-shery-asct

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Figs. 80-81 No. 37. Horwedja Kneeling



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83

Pedy-amun-ra-neb-waser

Fig. 82 No. 38 A-B. Combined View of the New York and Cairo Fragments

Fig. 83 No. 38 A. Bust in New York



84

Figs. 84-85 No. 39. Anonymous Osiriphoros
Fig. 86 No. 38 B. Pedy-amun-ra-neb-waset;
Fragment in Cairo



86

85





Figs. 87-88 No. 40. Nes-ptah with Naos

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Figs. 89-90 No. 41. Osiris

Fig. 91. Head of Osiris Statue in Cairo
(*not shown in the Exhibition*)

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Figs. 92 and 94 No. 42. King Necho II in Relief

Fig. 93. Royal Head
(*Brooklyn; not shown in Exhibition*)



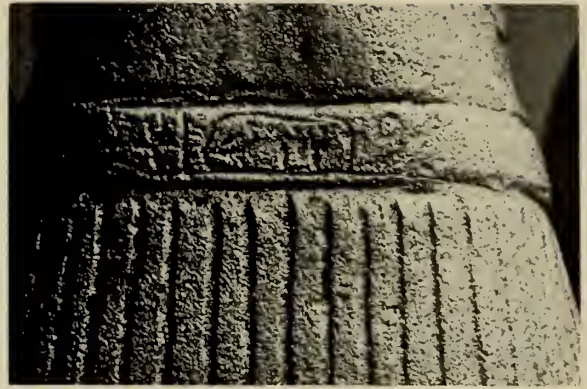
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Figs. 95-96 No. 43. King Necho II
Kneeling; Bronze

Fig. 97 No. 44. Iret-horru



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Figs. 98-99 No. 44. Iret-horru with Osiris



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102

Figs. 100-101 No. 45. Ankh-wennufer with Naos
Fig. 102 No. 46. Head of the Sixth Century;
Back Pillar

103

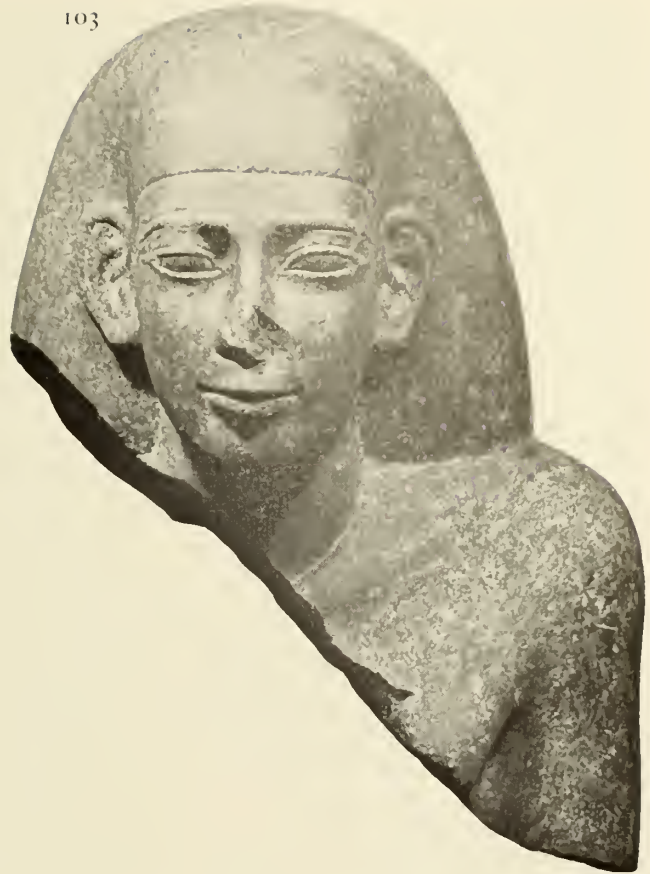


Fig. 103 No. 46. Head of the Sixth Century

Figs. 104-105 No. 47. Ipy (Ankh-Psamtik)

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Figs. 106-108 No. 48. Harbes with Osiris

109



Figs. 109 No. 48. Harbes

Figs. 110-111 No. 49. Bust from Memphis

110



111





112

Figs. 112-113 No. 50. Head of
Osiris



113

114



Figs. 114-115 No. 51.
King Apries



115



116

Figs. 116-117 No. 52 A. Iahmes
(Neferibra-nakht)



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Fig. 118 No. 52 A-B. Bust of Iahmes
Combined with Cairo Statue

Fig. 119 No. 52 B. Iahmes (Neferibra-nakht)

119

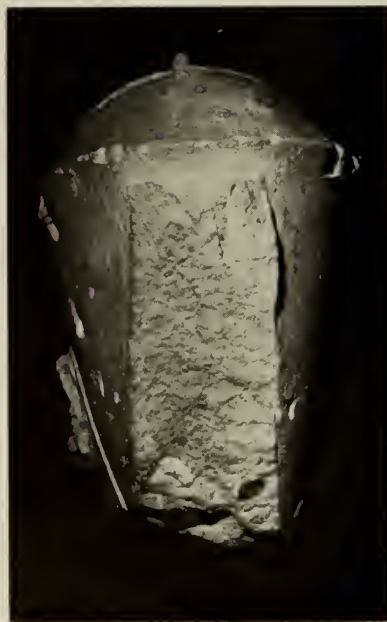




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Figs. 120-122 No. 53. King Amasis

122



121



Fig. 123 No. 56. Pa-de-behu (Rome, Vatican;
not shown in Exhibition)

Figs. 124-126 No. 54. Sphinx Head



124



123



126

125





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Figs. 127, 129 No. 55. Head of a Goddess

Fig. 128. Head of Isis Statue in Cairo
(not shown in Exhibition)

128



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131



Fig. 130 No. 56. Head of Pa-debehu combined with statue in Vatican (*the latter not shown in Exhibition*)

Fig. 131 No. 56. Pa-debehu



130



Fig. 132 No. 57 A. Iahmes-sa-neith

Fig. 133 No. 57 A-B. Paris Torso of Iahmes-sa-neith
combined with Brooklyn Fragment





134



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Fig. 134 No. 57 A. Iahmes-sa-neith

Figs. 135-136 No. 58. Pa-wen-hatef



136



137

Fig. 137 No. 58. Pa-wen-hatef; Back

Figs. 138-139 No. 59. Djed-djehuty-iuf-ankh

Fig. 140 No. 60. Head from Athribis; Back Pillar

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Figs. 141-142 No. 60. Head from Athribis

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Figs. 143-145 No. 61. Horwedja, Son of Tesnakht



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Figs. 146-147 No. 62. Bust from a Group

Fig. 148 No. 63. Ankh-hor



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149

Figs. 149-150 No. 63. Ankh-hor

Fig. 151 No. 64. Ptah-hotep,
neck ornaments



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Fig. 152 No. 64. Ptah-hotep



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Fig. 153 No. 64. Ptah-hotep, detail of inscription

Fig. 154 No. 65. Psamtik-sa-neith



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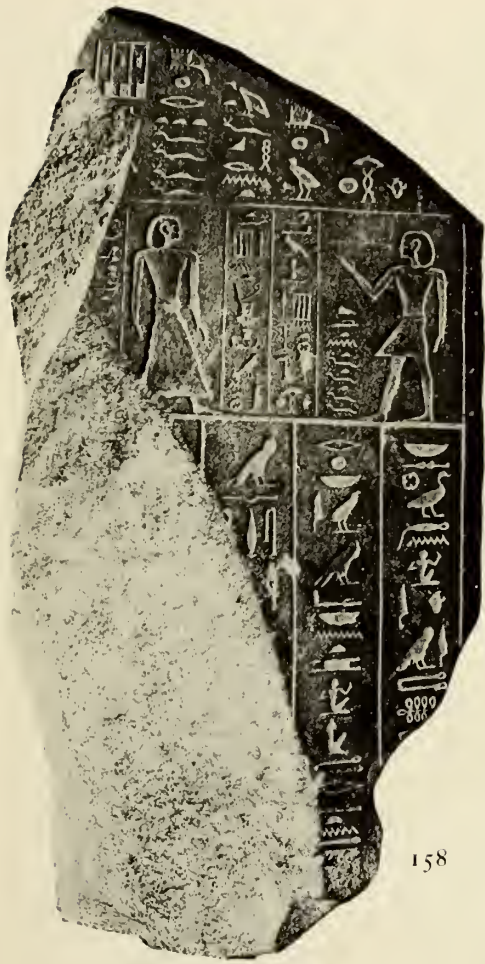


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Figs. 155-157 No. 65. Psamtik-sa-neith



157



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Fig. 158 No. 66. Family Stela, back

Fig. 159 No. 66. Family Stela, front



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Figs. 160-162 No. 67. Fifth Century Portrait

161



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Fig. 163 No. 67. Fifth Century Portrait

Figs. 164-165 No. 68. Man with Persian Gesture

164



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Figs. 166, 168-169 No. 69. Model Bust
Fig. 167. Detail of Costume (New York,
The Metropolitan Museum of Art;
not shown in the Exhibition)



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Figs. 170-171 No. 70. Wen-nufer

Figs. 172-173 No. 71. Kneeling King

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Figs. 174-176 No. 72. Naophoros with Neith in Relief



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Figs. 177-180 No. 73. King Nectanebo I

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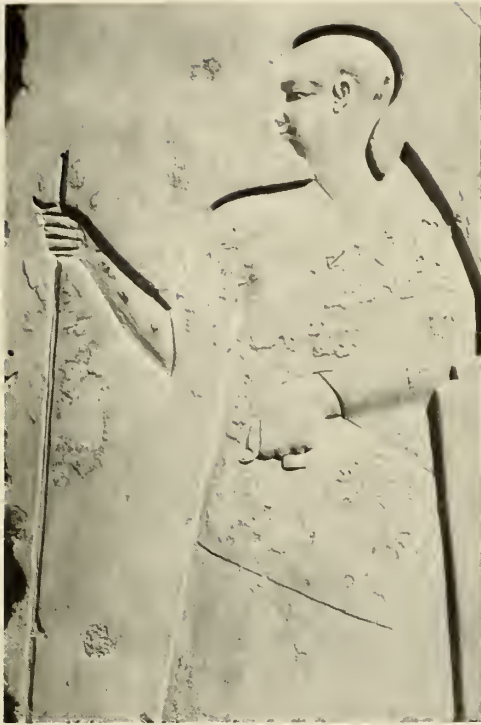


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Figs. 181-182 No. 74. Tha-aset-imu,
Royal Secretary (*reverse*)

182



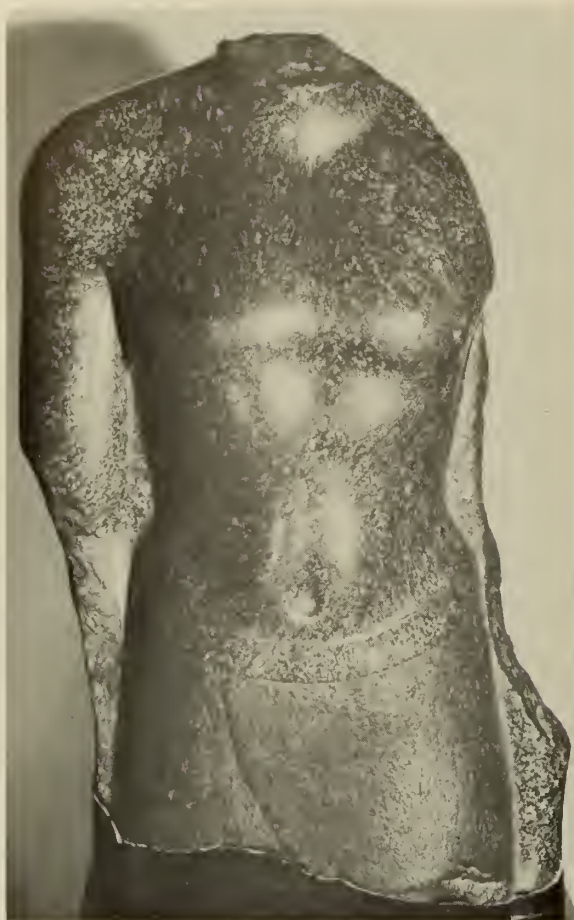


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Figs. 183-184 No. 74. Tha-asct-imu,
Royal Secretary (*obverse*)



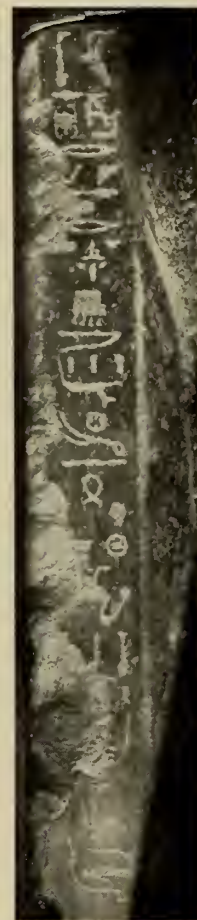
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Figs. 185-187 No. 75. Torso of Dynasty XXX

Fig. 188 No. 76. Thanefer, Son of Nespa-medu
(from above)



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Figs. 189-191 No. 76. Thanefer, Son of Nespa-medu



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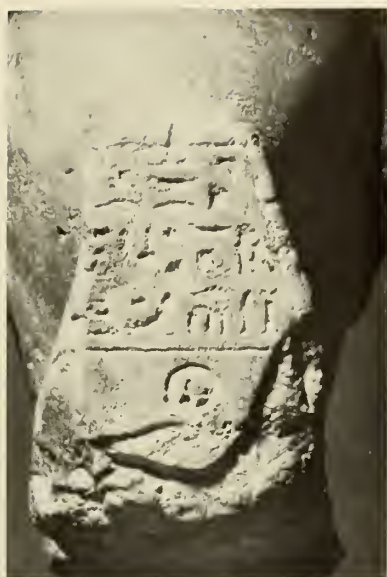
Figs. 192-194 No. 77. Servant of
Osiris-Anedjty



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Figs. 195-196 No. 78. Wen-nufer, Servant of Neith

Figs. 197-198 No. 79. Head with Wide Wig



198

Figs. 199-200 No. 80. Archaistic Statue

199



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202

Figs. 201-202 No. 81. Ankh-pa-khered, Son of Nesmin

201





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Fig. 203 No. 82. Hap-iu's Lady Musicians

Fig. 204 No. 81. Ankh-pa-khered, inscription on base



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Figs. 205-206 No. 83. Portrait of a Priest of Monthu



207

Figs. 207-209 No. 84. Head in Polished Diorite

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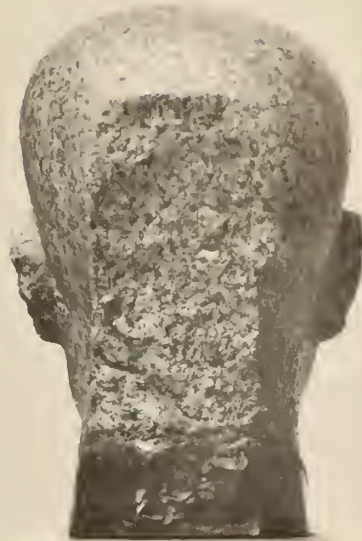


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Figs. 210-211 No. 85. Youthful Head

Figs. 212-213 No. 86. Man with Serrated Shawl



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Figs. 214-217 No. 87. In Praise of Drinking



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Fig. 218 No. 87. In Praise of Drinking, detail of seated man

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Fig. 219 No. 88. Dignitary with Long Staff



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Figs. 220-222 No. 89. Iret-horru



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Figs. 223-225 No. 90. Girl's Head (enlarged)

Figs. 226-227 No. 91. Wesir-nakht with
Necklace

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Figs. 228-230 No. 92. Lady with Large Wig

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Figs. 231-233 No. 93. Tired Old Man

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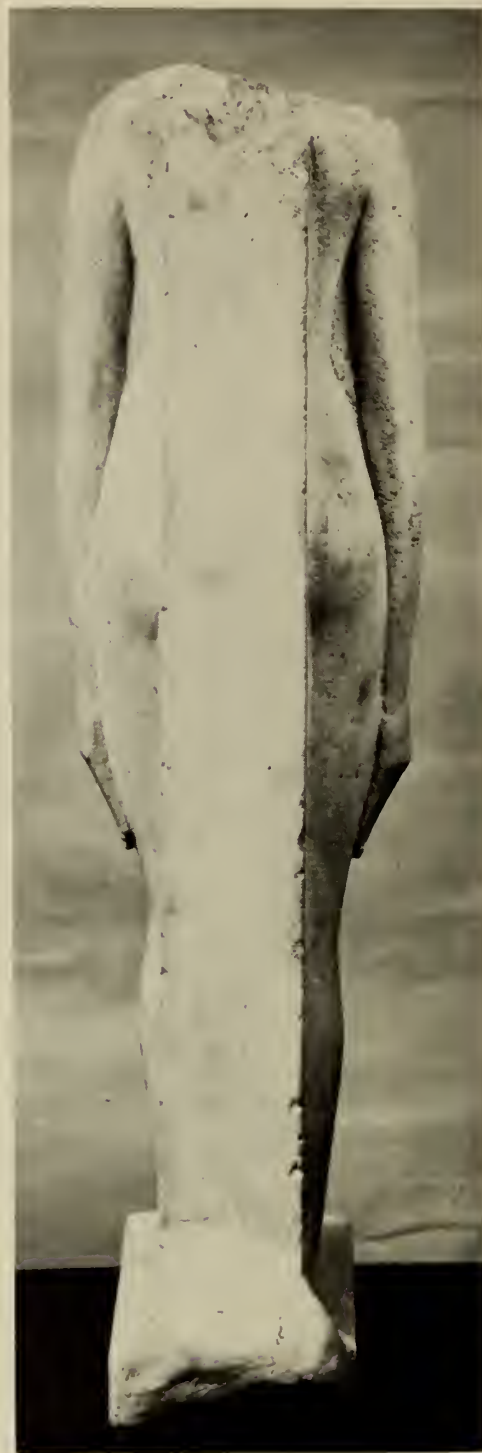
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Figs. 234-235 No. 94. Theban Lady
Fig. 236 No. 95. Girl or Goddess, back

236





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Figs. 237-238 No. 95. Girl or Goddess



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Figs. 239-241 No. 96. King Ptolemy II



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Figs. 242-243 No. 97.
Amun-pe-yom, Commander
of Troops

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Figs. 244-246 No. 98. Queen Arsinoe II
Fig. 247 No. 99. Prophet of Horemheb, back

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Figs. 248-249 No. 99. Prophet of
Horemheb

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Fig. 250 Head of Teos II
(Cairo; not shown in the Exhibition)

Figs. 251-252 No. 100. Head with Stubble Beard



252





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Figs. 253-254 No. 101.
Head with Portrait Features

Figs. 255-256 No. 102.
Pekher-khonsu



257

Figs. 257-258 No. 103. Hellenistic
Royal Head



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Figs. 259-260 No. 104. Portrait of a Strong Man



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Figs. 261-262 No. 105. Ptolemaic Queen

Fig. 263 No. 106. Fragment of a Face



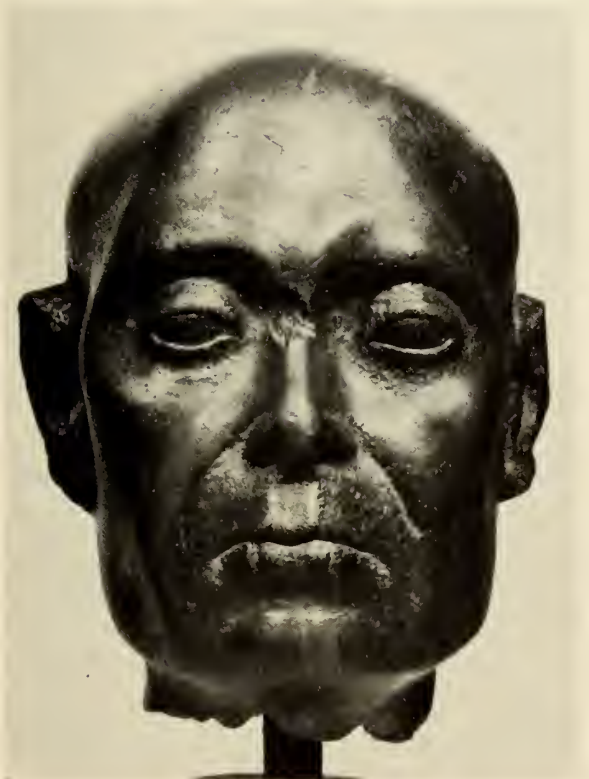
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Figs. 264-266 No. 107. Portrait of a Wise Man

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Figs. 267-269 No. 108.
The Boston "Green Head"



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Figs. 270-271 No. 109. Bust of a Ptolemy

Fig. 272 No. 108. The Boston "Green Head"



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Fig. 273 No. 110. Man with Aquiline
Nose

Figs. 274-275 No. 111. Portrait Head
with Hooked Nose



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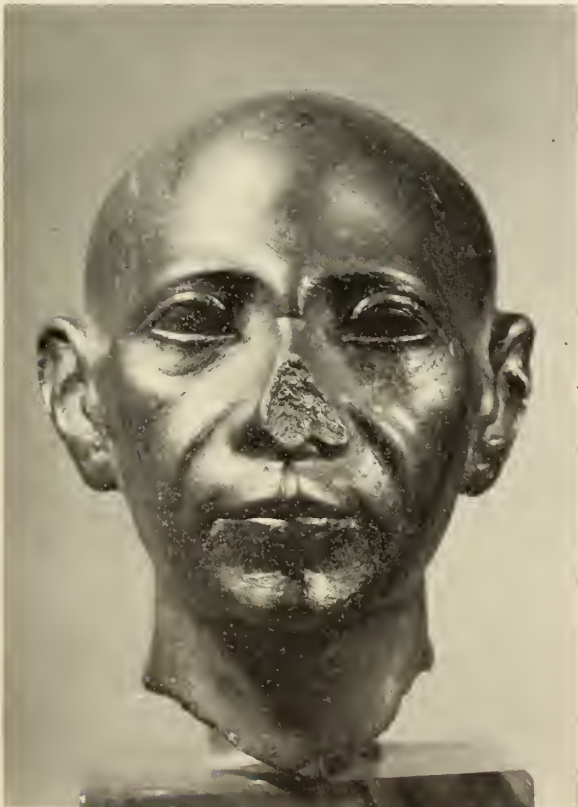
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Fig. 276 No. 110. Man with Aquiline Nose

Figs. 277-278 No. 111. Portrait Head with
Hooked Nose



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Figs. 279-280 No. 112. Votary of the Second Century



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Figs. 281-283 No. 113. Queen Cleopatra II



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Figs. 284-285 No. 114. Head from a
Ptolemaic Sphinx



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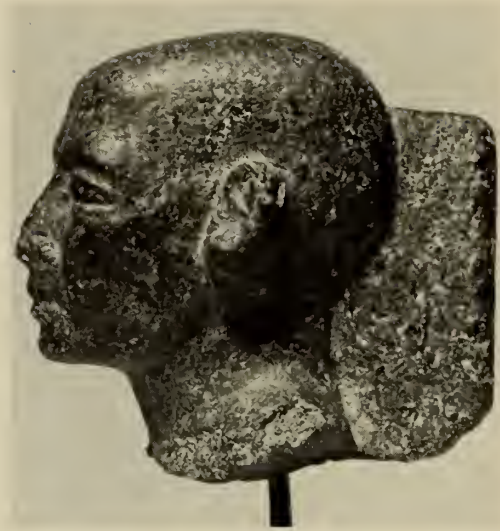


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Figs. 286-288 No. 115. Votary with Naos



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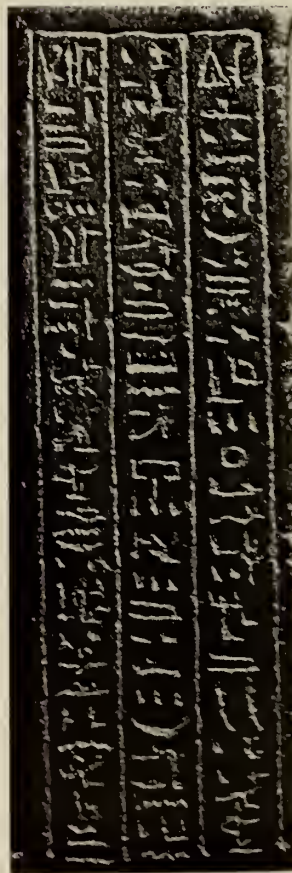


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Figs. 289-290 No. 116. Ptolemaic Head

Figs. 291-292 No. 117. Pinouris, Son of Hor

292



291



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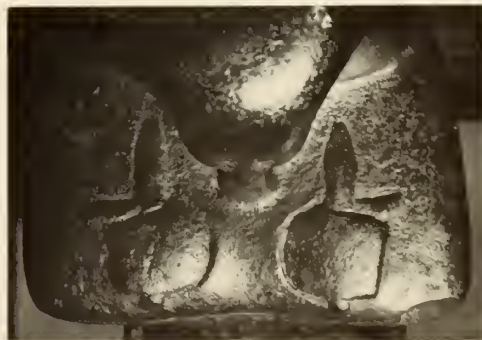
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Figs. 293-294 No. 118. Portrait Head with Beard

Fig. 295 No. 117. Pinouris, from above

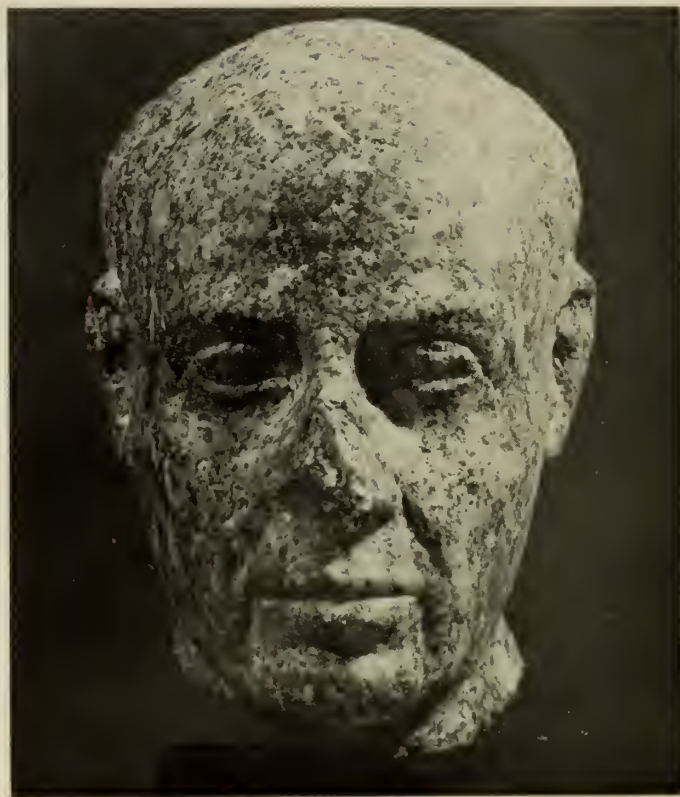
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Figs. 296-297 No. 119. Pensive Man



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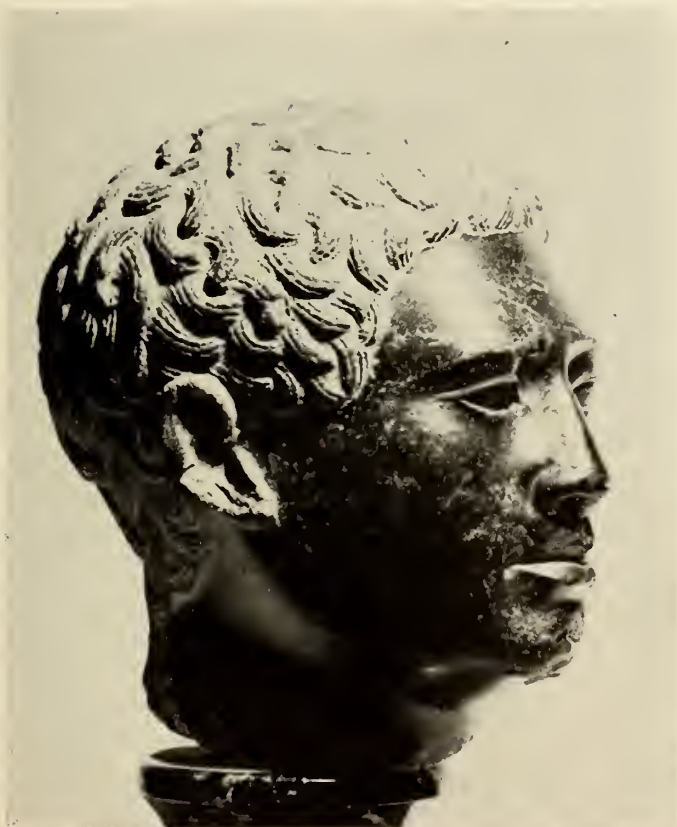


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Figs. 298-300 No. 120. Curly-haired
Youth



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Figs. 301-302 No. 121. Governor of a Province

Fig. 303 No. 122. Girl with Flower, back



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Figs. 304-306 No. 122. Girl with Flower



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Figs. 307-308 No. 123. Queen Arsinoe II,
Deified



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Figs. 309-310 No. 123. Queen Arsinoe II, Deified

Figs. 311-312 No. 124. Bust of a Kneeling King



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Figs. 313-314 No. 125. Sphinx with
Serpent-headed Tail



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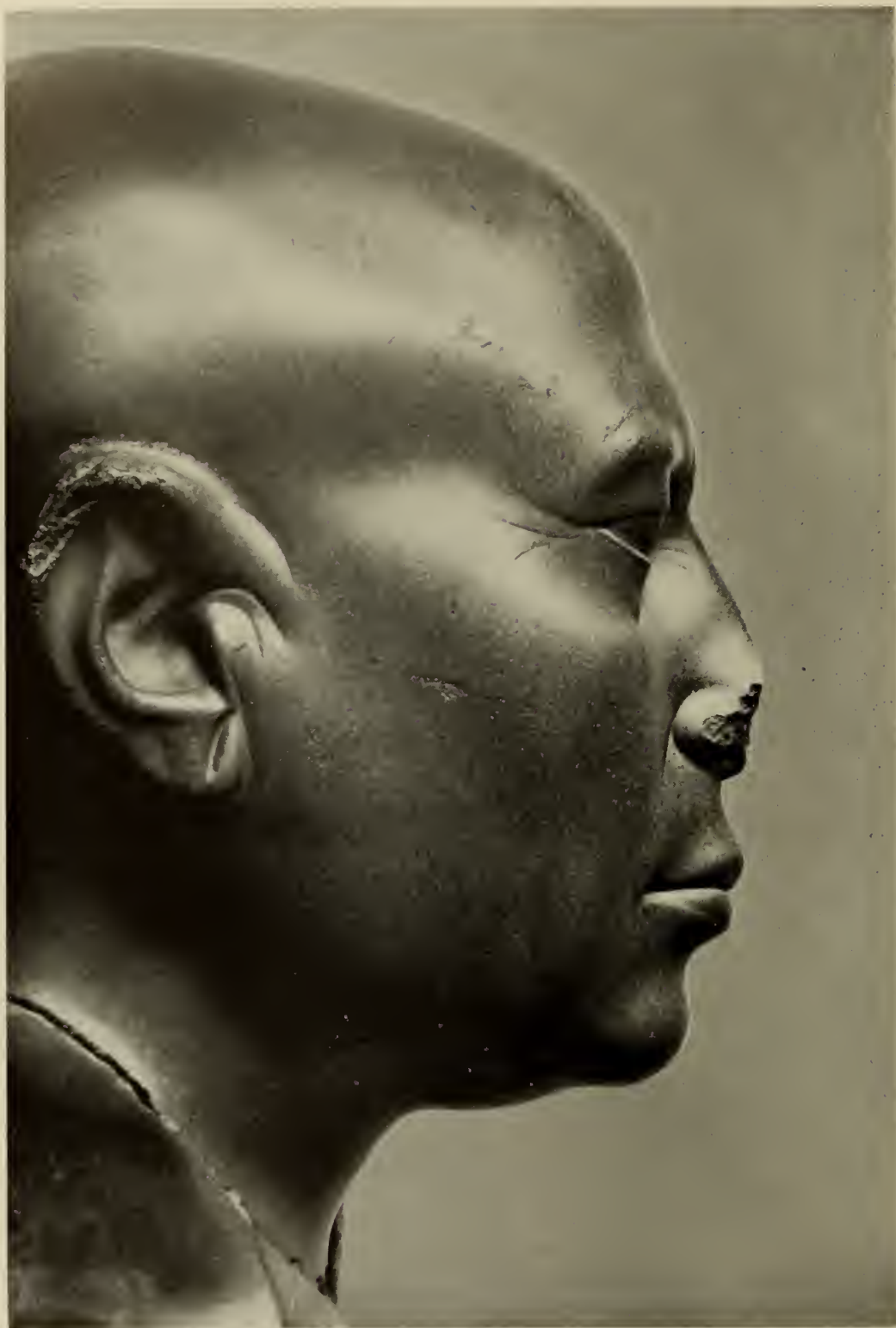
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Figs. 315-316 No. 126. Personage with Lotus Bud Diadem

Fig. 317 No. 127. "The Berlin 'Green Head,'" back



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Fig. 318 No. 127. The Berlin "Green Head"

319



Fig. 319 No. 127. The Berlin
"Green Head"

Figs. 320-321 No. 128. Ptolemaic
Ruler with Blue Crown

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Figs. 322-323 No. 129.
Man or God



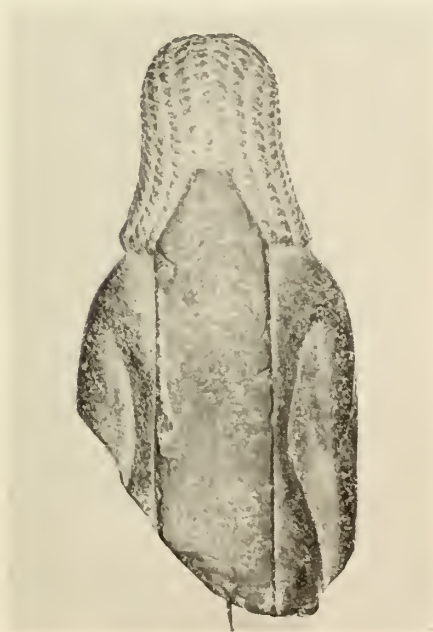
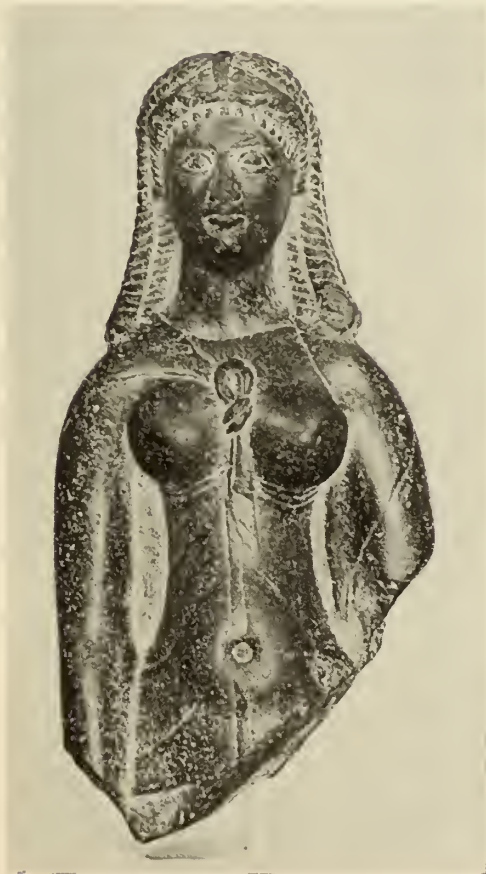
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Figs. 324-326 No. 130. Late Ptolemaic
Queen



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Figs. 327-328 No. 131. Man with
Scarred Forehead

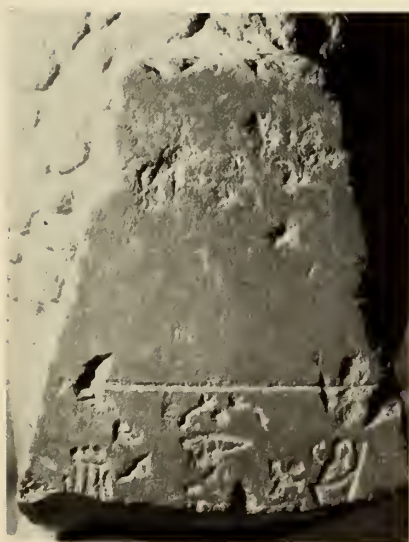


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Figs. 329-330 No. 132. The Brooklyn "Black Head"

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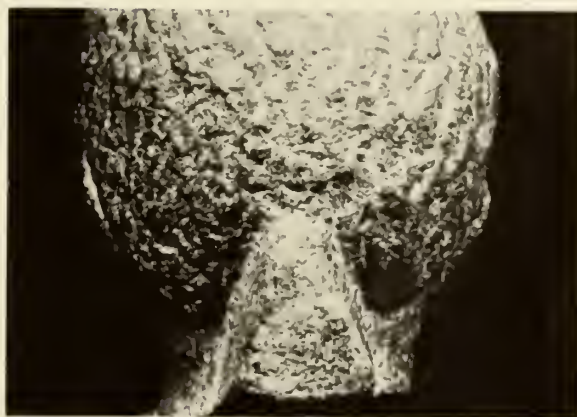
Fig. 331 No. 132. The Brooklyn "Black Head"



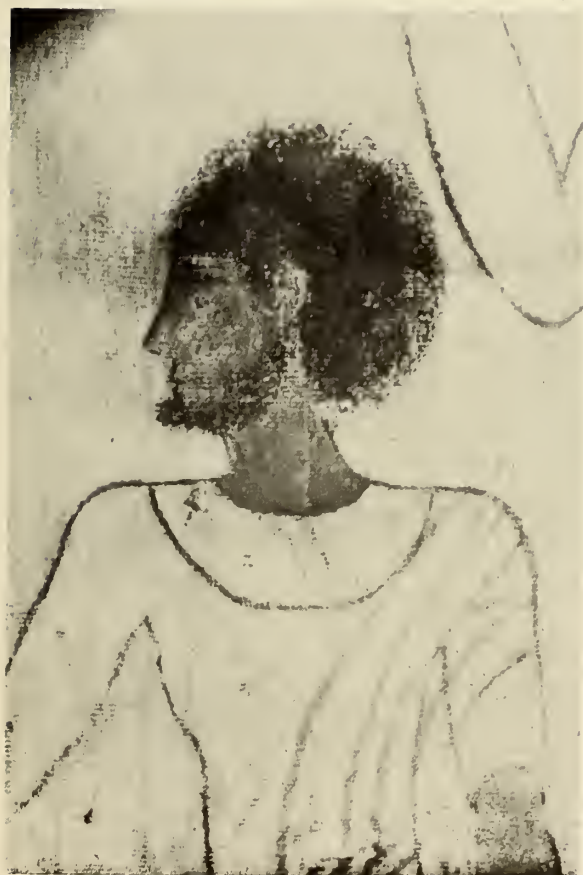
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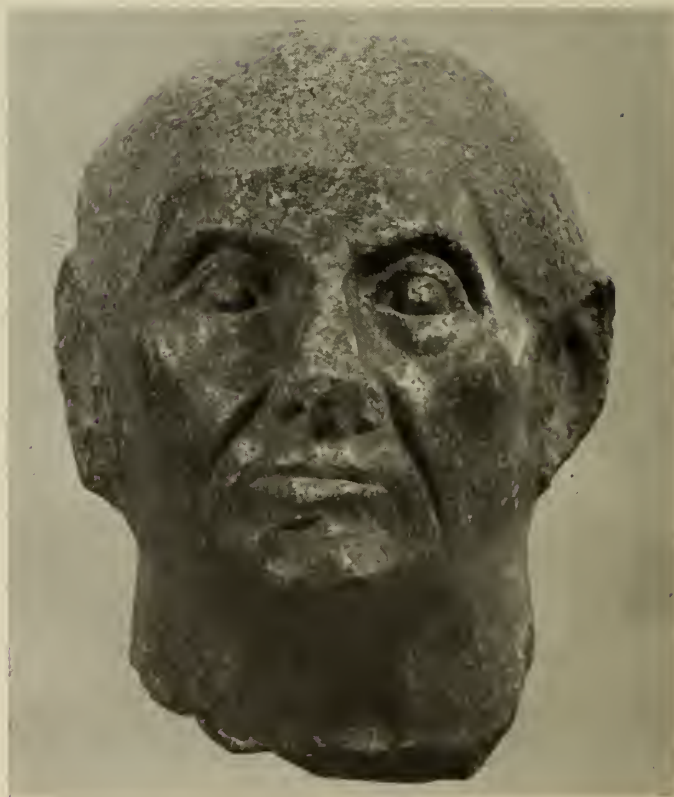
Figs. 332-333, 335 No. 133. Bearded Head

Fig. 334 Head of Bearded Man; painting on linen
(Brooklyn; not shown in the Exhibition)



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Figs. 336-337 No. 134. Head in Attitude of Apotheosis



337

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Figs. 338-339 No. 135. Late Prolemaic Prince



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Figs. 340-341 No. 136. Pakhom, Governor of Dendera



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Figs. 342, 344 No. 137. Tutu as Sphinx

Fig. 343 No. 136. Pakhom, Governor of Dendera



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Figs. 345-346 No. 138.
Woman in Ecstasy



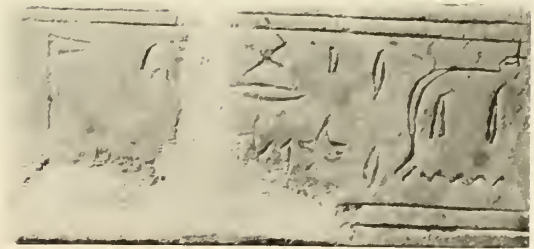
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Figs. 347-349 No. 139. Ex-voto to the God Tutu

348



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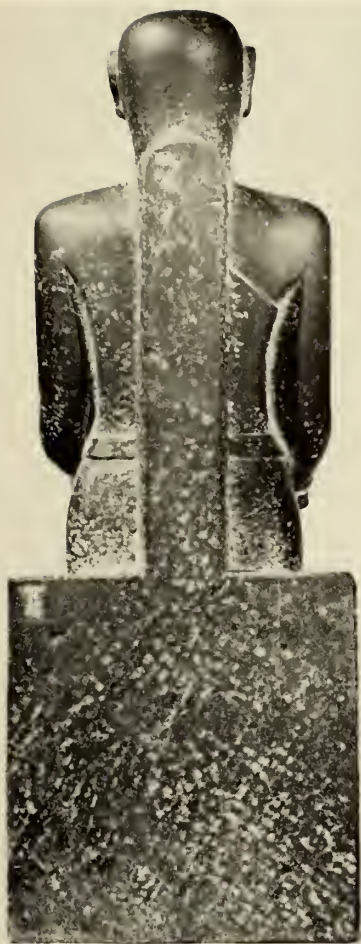


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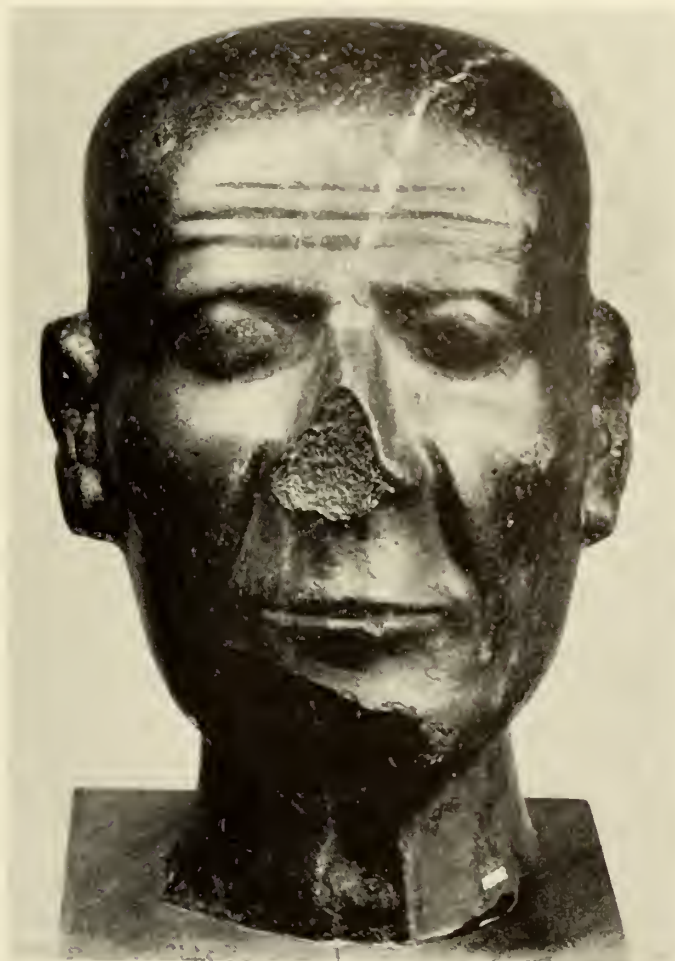
Figs. 350-351 No. 140. Dignitary of the
Roman Period



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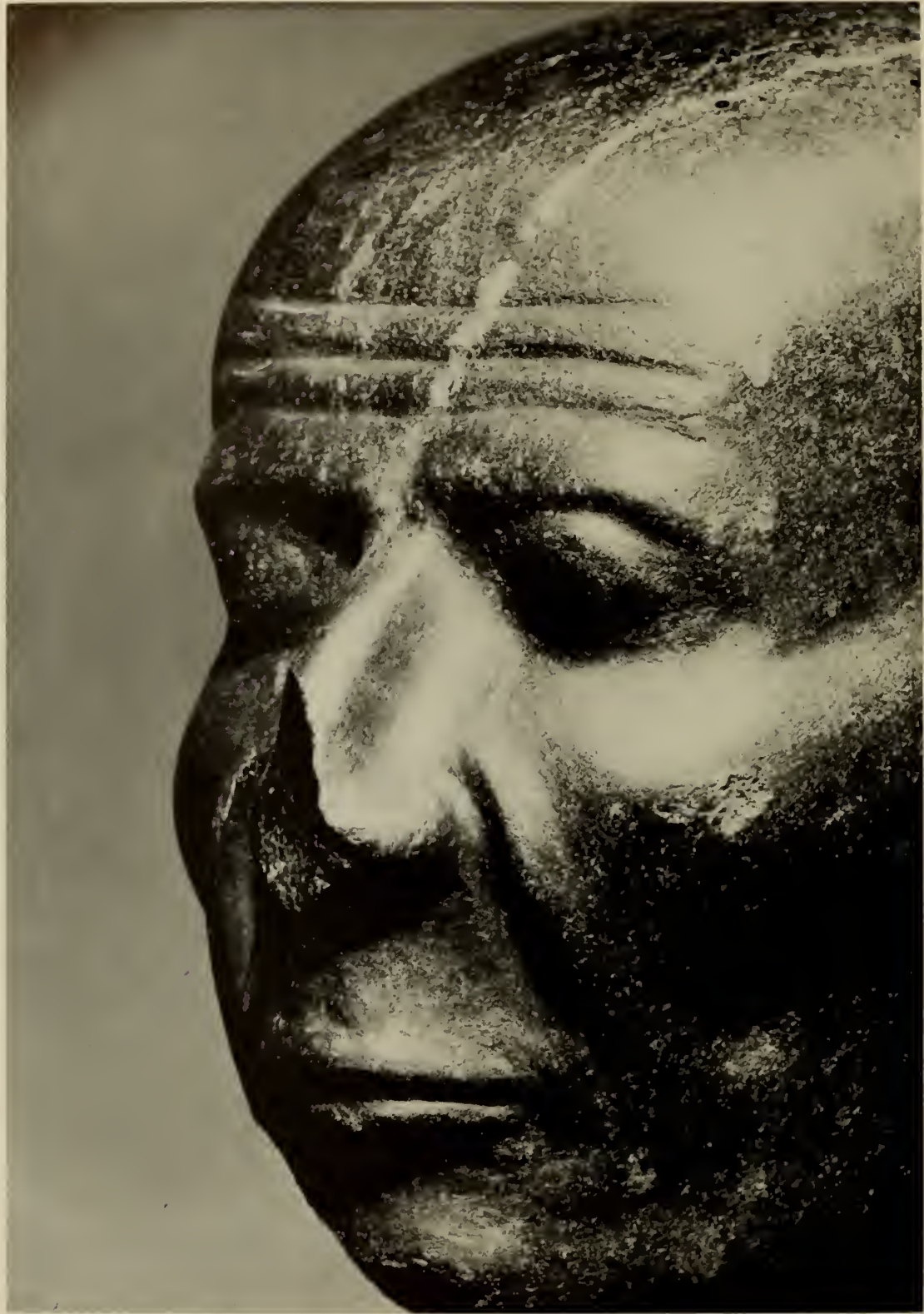
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Fig. 352 No. 140. Dignitary of the Roman Period

Figs. 353-354 No. 141. Man with Wrinkled Forehead



354



355

Fig. 355 No. 141. Man with Wrinkled Forehead



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