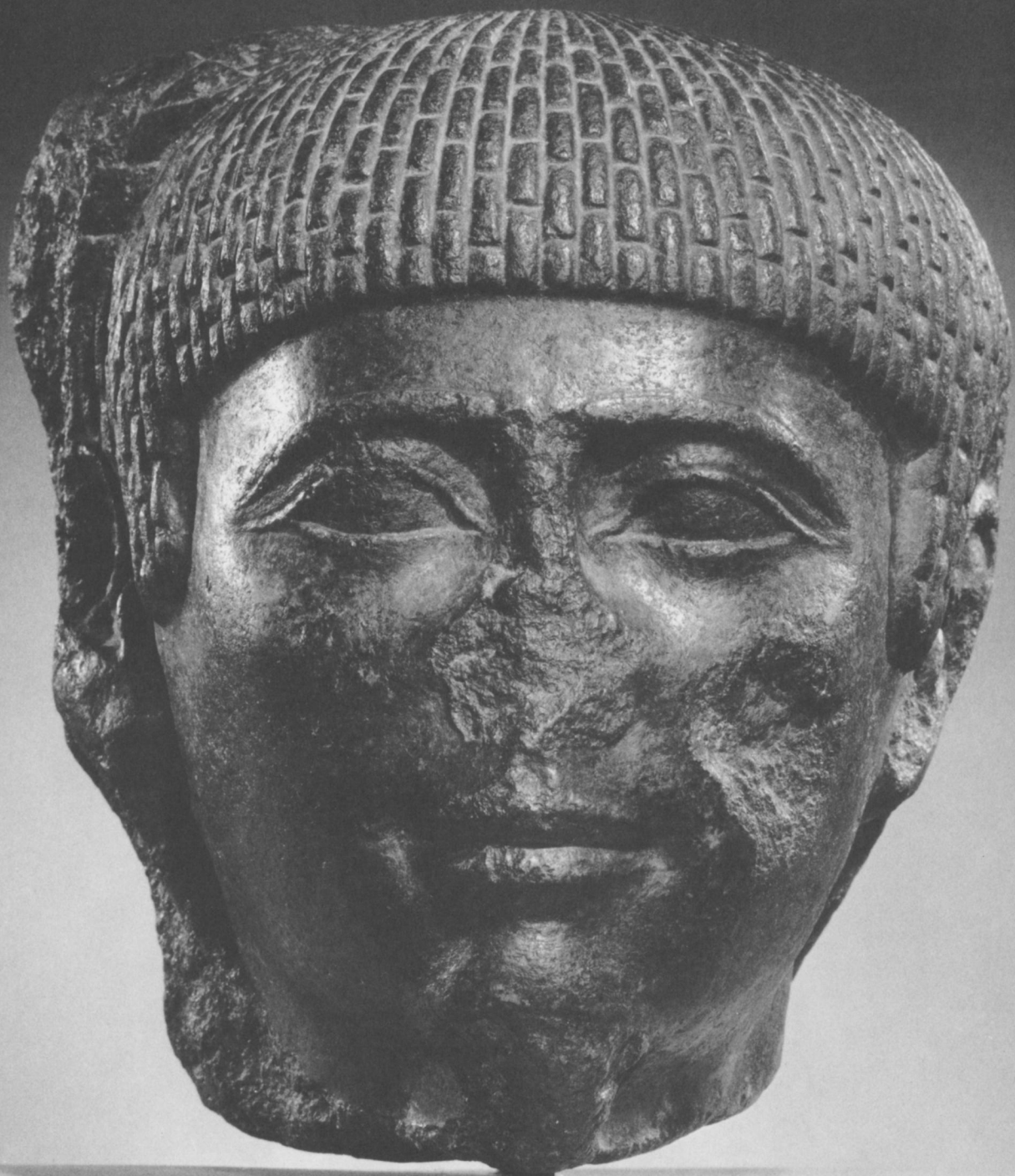


MARCH 1967

The Metropolitan Museum
of Art BULLETIN





The Gallatin Egyptian Collection

HENRY G. FISCHER *Curator of Egyptian Art*

The Department of Egyptian Art was able to celebrate its sixtieth anniversary last fall by presenting a special exhibition of acquisitions made during the preceding two years. The occasion is a memorable one, for it has given the public its first comprehensive view of Albert Gallatin's Egyptian collection. This is the most important group of antiquities from ancient Egypt that the Museum has acquired since the final season of our Theban excavations in 1936, and the most important purchase of its kind since 1926, when we obtained the Carnarvon Collection and accessioned the Treasure of the Three Princesses. The purchase of the Carnarvon Collection was made possible by a gift from Edward S. Harkness, and in the present case we have again received substantial help, this time from Dr. and Mrs. Edmundo Lassalle. It is curious how frequently the sixth year of a decade has been of good portent, for we acquired our most renowned group of objects, the Lahun Treasure, in 1916, exactly ten years after the Egyptian department was founded and began its first season of excavations in 1906.

Similar portents conspired to bring Albert Gallatin into the world, and to New York, in 1880, the same year that saw the arrival of Cleopatra's Needle, an event that had a great impact on local interest in Egypt and was an important factor in the formation of our Egyptian collection. After landing on the west side of Manhattan at Ninety-sixth Street, the obelisk began a three months' journey to and across Central Park, reaching its present site on January 5, 1881, three days before Gallatin's first birthday. He undoubtedly paid many visits to this monolithic wonder as a boy, and was infused with the admiration it attracted. When he was ten, he spent a winter on the Nile in the course of a two-year grand tour with his family, and made his own first acquisitions of antiquities—a bronze statuette of Osiris and a painted wooden *h3*-bird. Even before that date, however, he had installed a modest collection, including a papier-mâché skeleton of a mastodon, in his sisters' dollhouse and labeled the door "Gallatin American Museum of Art and Natural History." The priority given art in this composite title forecasts his later interests, for, although his collections ultimately included fossils as well as ethnological and archaeological artifacts, artistic merit was always the most important consideration, and he tried to adhere to a rule that "all objects bought must represent art for 80% of the price paid, archaeology or anthropology not over 20%."

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All the objects illustrated in this article were acquired through the Fletcher Fund and a gift from Dr. and Mrs. Edmundo Lassalle, through the Guide Foundation, Inc.

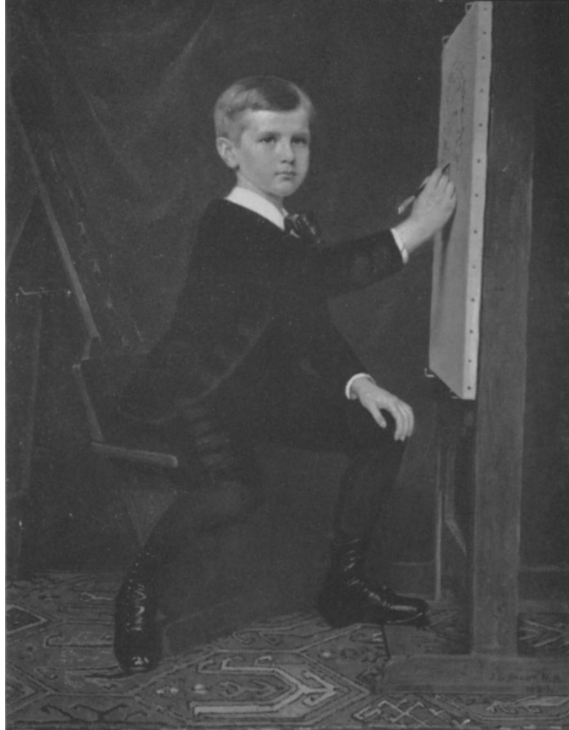
ON THE COVER:

Relief of Akhenaten, from Tell el Amarna. Dynasty XVIII, about 1370 B.C. Limestone, height 13 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches. 66.99.40. This early work of the Amarna Period is probably a sculptor's model

FRONTISPIECE:

Royal prince or high priest of Ptah. Dynasty XXV, about 700 B.C. Black granite, height 8 $\frac{5}{8}$ inches. 66.99.64. The identification of this powerful portrait as a prince or high priest is indicated by the sidelock of childhood, emblematic of a filial relationship to the king or to a god

1. *Albert Gallatin at nine. Portrait*
by J. G. Brown, 1889



It seems unfortunate that, at the end of his eighty-five years, the newspapers described Gallatin as an archaeologist. This classification would have been entirely satisfactory had his achievements been limited to the two works cited in the obituary—a volume of the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, produced in collaboration with Joseph Clark Hoppin, and *Syracusan Dekadrachms of the Euainetos Type*, for which he was awarded the Archer M. Huntington Medal of the American Numismatic Society. But it was in the field of collecting that his real interest and talent were centered.

There are so many types of collectors that such a designation would be pointless if it were not qualified. The accumulative instinct is almost universal, and is often reinforced by other motives that, although equally instinctive, are neither instructive nor always conducive to happiness. *The Pursuit of Happiness* is the title given to Gallatin's third and last book, a privately printed work dealing with his life as a collector. His use of the Jeffersonian phrase is apt, for it not only alludes to the president whom his illustrious great-grandfather served as Secretary of the Treasury, but represents an

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EGYPT FRAGMENT OF A GRANITE-QUARTZITE
STELE

Pl. XXXIV

Cat No. 47

Fragment of a rose colored granite-quartzite stele showing the head and shoulders of Amen-hetep IV - Akh-en-Aten - worshipping the solar disk. Surface damaged in places - mouth, cartouches. Early Amarna Period

Sale was made on condition of release by Cairo Museum for export. Museum held relief for several weeks while a search was made to determine if object was broken off from any known or published monument. Museum authorities did not hesitate in pronouncing the object to be genuine.

Bought from Maurice Nahman, Cairo. March 1939
Probably from same stela as fragment showing Nefertiti in collection of late Levi de Ben Zion in Paris (bought in Cairo)

No 78. Pl 22 Ancient Art from N.Y. Private Collections
Met. Museum 1960-61



2. Index card from Gallatin's files. This relief is illustrated on page 278

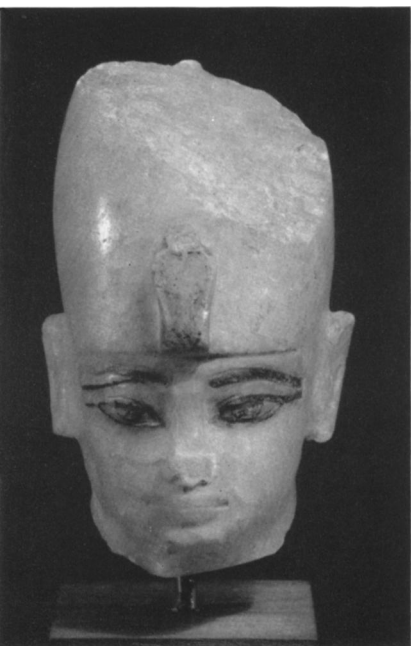
aim that Gallatin had the good fortune and the perspicacity to realize throughout his life. To him, a collection was something to be enjoyed for itself, and not for prestige or financial gain. He condemned what he called the stamp-dealer mentality, which depends on a well-established standard of rarity and avoids untrodden paths; collectors with this point of view "must be able to own and boast of one of the ten known specimens of a stamp or a Rembrandt etching." His prejudice against philatelists was aggravated by the fact that they put a premium on errors, and so "the most valuable stamps are among the least attractive." But in making this point, he added: "I wish that I might have discussed this subject with some of the Pacific island head-hunters or an American Indian collector of scalps. The human side of collecting is always interesting." Like Anatole France's Sylvestre Bonnard, whose pursuit of a manuscript to Sicily brought him in contact with a couple in equally diligent search of rare match-boxes, he could say: "Mais enfin ils faisaient une collection, ils étaient de la confrérie, et pouvais-je les railler sans me railler un peu moi-même?"

As these remarks indicate, Gallatin not only collected, but gave a great deal of thought to the objectives of collecting, which became the focus of his entire outlook, to the point that it colored his descriptions even of minor pleasures. Thus, in speaking of his father's hobby of making fireworks every summer, he said that the collection was "dispersed in a great display late in the fall." Before the First World War he stocked his cellar with fine Kentucky bourbons, and of this connoisseurship he observed: "Such a collection is difficult to preserve and at the same time to enjoy."

In a very general way Gallatin's collecting may be divided into three phases: Far Eastern art, prior to World War I; classical art, up to World War II; and Egyptian art thereafter. That is not to say that he ever completely lost interest in a field once he had cultivated it, as may be seen by his purchase in 1947 of the Roman bronze head



3. *Head of a shawabty figurine of Amenophis III, from his tomb at Thebes. Dynasty XVIII, about 1380 B.C. Alabaster, height 4½ inches. 66.99.29. Royal figurines of this type usually wear the nemes-headcloth, rather than the Upper Egyptian crown shown here, but another shawabty of the same king, equally exceptionally, has the combined crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt*



discussed by Andrew Oliver in the following article. Nor does this summary give a fair idea of the diversity of his interests, which ranged from Benin bronzes to Rodin's bronze statuette of the nude Balzac.

Gallatin's first important acquisitions, after coming of age, were Japanese paintings and prints and Chinese vases, as well as books. About ten years later, in 1911, he made his initial purchases in the field of classical antiquities, including the first of his important collection of Greek vases. Nearly all of these were eventually sold to the Metropolitan Museum when, in 1941, the Gallatins decided to move from their house on Sixty-seventh Street to a nearby apartment. His interest in ancient Greece did not become paramount until 1917, however; in that year he sold a valuable group of books by Oscar Wilde to buy a number of vases from the collection of Thomas B. Clarke, and in the same year he became an Associate Member of the American Numismatic Society. By 1926 he was a Patron of the Society and he served on its governing Council from 1922 to 1942. It was during this period that he made his contribution to the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* (1925) and published his volume on Syracusan dekadrachms (1930). In an indirect way the latter contributed to Gallatin's financial security, not because of the modest royalties that it brought in, but because the research it entailed took him to Europe on the eve of the stock-market disaster of 1929, and decided him to sell his speculative investments before making the trip.

It has already been pointed out that Gallatin's Egyptian collection was begun as early as 1890, and that it was only after the Second World War that this field became his major interest. Of the seventy most important purchases, scarcely more than half a dozen were made between 1916 and 1939 as compared with nearly sixty between 1947 and 1955. No less than twenty of these were bought in 1951, among them his magnificent archaic quartz lion (Figure 4). The lion had been found at Gebelein, a few miles south of Luxor, about the same time that Gallatin visited Upper Egypt as a boy of ten and had lain in wait for him for sixty years.

Although Gallatin's financial situation was always comfortable, he said: "I had little to spend in comparison with my appetite and when I bought something I tried to learn

OPPOSITE:

4. *Lion, from Gebelein. Archaic Period, about 3100 B.C. Quartz, length 10 inches. 66.99.2.*
This and the head shown below are the greatest rarities in the Gallatin Egyptian collection. The lion is one of the most engaging products of the Protodynastic Period and is expected to rival William the hippopotamus in popularity
5. *Head of a royal statue. Early Middle Kingdom, about 2000 B.C. Yellow limestone, height 7 inches. 66.99.3. The most likely identification of this king, as suggested by John Cooney, is Mentuhotep III, the penultimate ruler of the Eleventh Dynasty*



6. *Head of a royal statue, from Tyre. Early Dynasty XII, about 1900 B.C. Green dolomitic marble, height 5½ inches. 66.99.4. The type of stone is rare, but a less crystalline form of the same material appears in a statuette of a later Twelfth Dynasty king (March 1964 Bulletin)*



something about what I was buying.” The same motive, combined with a keen business sense, led him to buy most shrewdly, particularly at auctions. The initial decision to make a purchase was generally based on his own conviction, but he then sought the help of specialists and compiled all the information he could glean from them and from his own researches. This and other data were typed or printed by hand on a five-by-seven-inch index card, with space reserved for a pen-and-ink drawing of the object (Figure 2). Gallatin was an art student in his youth and could delineate his acquisitions with considerable skill. His records are as complete as any in our own catalogue.

Because of his interest in the human side of collecting, the recent history of Gallatin’s acquisitions was as carefully noted as their date and period of manufacture, and many of his Egyptian antiquities do, in fact, acquire added meaning and value because of their provenance. In addition to the archaic lion from Gebelein, there are, for example, three reliefs that derive from Lord Amherst’s excavations at Tell el Amarna, which took place about a year after Gallatin’s initial visit to Egypt, one of these being a truly outstanding portrait of Akhenaten (Cover), the king whose name is so closely linked with that site. The alabaster head of a large shawabty figurine of this king’s predecessor, Amenophis III (Figure 3), was discovered in the latter’s Theban tomb by Napoleon’s scientific expedition in 1798. Another of Gallatin’s more important pieces comes from a famous cache of statues within the precincts of the Temple of Karnak, as related by Eric Young elsewhere in these pages. A particularly unusual provenance is assigned to an early Middle Kingdom head of green dolomitic marble (Figure 6) that reportedly comes from underwater excavations at Tyre, and shows some evidence of having been worn by being rolled on the floor of the sea. Few antiquities from the Nile Valley have ever suffered such an experience, although several other Middle Kingdom exports are known to have traveled as far afield.

Still more important than either his business sense or his care in making records, were the taste and predilections of the collector. Gallatin had an eye for precisely the sort of material that is of greatest interest to a museum curator. In view of the fact that his Egyptian collection is strongest in sculpture of the Middle and New Kingdoms, the two periods that are already most fully represented in our own exhibitions, it is remarkable how much it contributes to our present holdings, and particularly in the domain of royal sculpture (Figures 5, 14-15). Several of the best objects derive from other periods as well, the most notable example being the First Dynasty quartzite lion, which provides us with our first imposing piece of archaic sculpture in the round. Our display of Late Period sculpture will also benefit very appreciably by the addition of an impressive life-size head of a royal prince or high priest of Ptah of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty (Frontispiece), and by an interesting naos stela, or framed statue group (Figure 7), dating from the following dynasty.

Egyptian art was not only Albert Gallatin’s latest interest, but the one that ultimately gave him greatest satisfaction. Being frequently confined by illness throughout the last ten years of his life, he gathered this part of his collection about his bed, where, though badly crowded, it could be – and was – enjoyed. One likes to think that these antiquities sustained him, and saw him in peace upon the roads of the West.

7. Naos stela, showing Pa-inmw and his father, It, from Memphis. Dynasty XXVI, about 600 B.C. Basalt, height 15¾ inches. 66.99.67. The stela apparently comes from the temple of Ptah at Memphis, and it harks back to a type that originated in the Memphite Old Kingdom



NOTES

Most of the Gallatin Egyptian collection has been catalogued by John D. Cooney in *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 12 (1953), pp. 1-9. A number of items are also represented in the catalogues of two exhibitions: *Ancient Art in American Private Collections* (Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, 1954), and *Ancient Art from New York Private Collections* (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York,

1961), the latter edited by Dietrich von Bothmer. The head of Amenophis III (Figure 3) was initially published in the *Description de l'Égypte, Antiquités*, II (Paris, 1821), Pl. 80 (3, 7); *Text*, X (1826), p. 225 (3). The dollhouse belonging to Gallatin's sisters, a replica of his mother's home at 890 Broadway, is to be seen in the Museum of the City of New York.

8. *Kneeling statuette of Amenophis III. Dynasty XVIII, about 1400 B.C. Green steatite, height 5¼ inches. 66.99.28. The kilt, and its uraeus-fringed apron with a panther head, are carved in particularly fine detail, as is the royal device on the front of an offering stand that the king presents to an unnamed divinity*



9. *Ancestral bust, from Deir el Medina. Late Dynasty XVIII, about 1350 B.C. Painted limestone, height 16¼ inches. 66.99.45. Probably from a niche in one of the houses of the necropolis craftsmen, as in the case of similar busts as well as stelae, the latter actually naming the venerated dead. This bust is probably the largest and most handsome example of its kind*



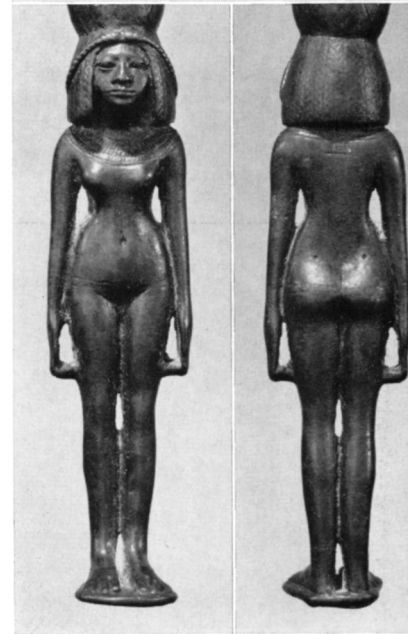
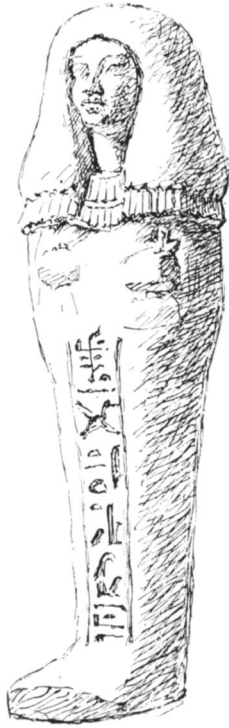
10. *Head of an ibex. Dynasty XVIII, about 1400 B.C. Painted terracotta, height 3½ inches. 66.99.33. Probably from the shoulder of a large vase, the body being in relief or painted, and the horns (now absent) touching the rim*



11. Mirror. Early Dynasty XVIII, about 1500 B.C. Bronze, height $10\frac{1}{8}$ inches. 66.99.25. The scantily clad girl bears a papyrus umbel on her head. The motif is common in mirror handles of the early New Kingdom, but the face in this instance shows an unusual degree of individuality



12. Shawabty figurine of a Chantress of the Aten named Ese. Dynasty XVIII, about 1365 B.C. Limestone, height $8\frac{3}{8}$ inches. 66.99.38. An exceptional example of this type of figurine in the suave style of the Amarna Period



13. Astragalus in the form of a monkey. Ptolemaic Period (332-30 B.C.) or later. Bone, height $1\frac{5}{16}$ inches. 66.99.75. It is uncertain whether or not this knucklebone was actually used for gaming. The drawings are from Gallatin's index cards



14. Head of a statue of an official.
 Dynasty XVIII, about 1400 B.C.
 Hard green stone, height 5 inches.
 66.99.31. The treatment of the
 upper eyelid is a detail that dates this
 piece to the reign of Amenophis III,
 by whom this elegantly bewigged
 official was decorated with a "gold
 of honor" necklace



15. Head of a statue of Sesotris III.
 Dynasty XII, about 1860 B.C.
 Gabbro, height 5¼ inches. 66.99.5.
 In its subtle plasticity this portrait
 compares very favorably with one of
 our outstanding works of Middle
 Kingdom sculpture—the face of a
 quartzite statue depicting the same
 king, formerly in the Carnarvon
 Collection. The comparison is of
 interest because the expression of the
 Gallatin head is more alert, that of
 the Carnarvon face more careworn
 and brooding

OPPOSITE:

16. Head of a statue of an unknown
 ruler. New Kingdom, perhaps about
 1500 B.C. Black granite, height
 7½ inches. 66.99.20. It has been
 suggested that this well-preserved
 head represents Queen Hatshepsut,
 wearing the kingly nemes-headcloth



Portrait of a Young Boy

ANDREW OLIVER, JR. *Assistant Curator of Greek and Roman Art*



1. *Portrait of a young boy. Roman, first half of the 1 century A.D. Bronze, height 11½ inches. Funds from various donors, 66.11.5*

Last June the Museum acquired the only Roman portrait of a young child in bronze that has survived from antiquity (Figures 1, 4-6, 12).

The head is life-size. It is hollow, but weighs nearly fourteen pounds because the casting is thick. Today its surface is dark grayish green, spotted with pale green and deep red areas, the latter mainly on the neck, chest, and shoulders—a mottled patina that is the result of the chemical action of various elements over the centuries.

The boy represented might be five, six, or seven years old. He has a good head of hair, rather long in back, curling over the ears but neatly trimmed in front, and combed to leave a little fishtail over the forehead. He is handsomest when turned to one side (Figures 1, 4, 6). From that view his curly hair forms a pleasing contrast to the simple lines of his face, and shows off his profile: the strong bridge of his nose, thin, neatly formed lips, and small chin with a dimple that is hardly visible. Feathery eyebrows are lightly incised on the raised ridge of his brows, a delicate feature in comparison to his thick hair.

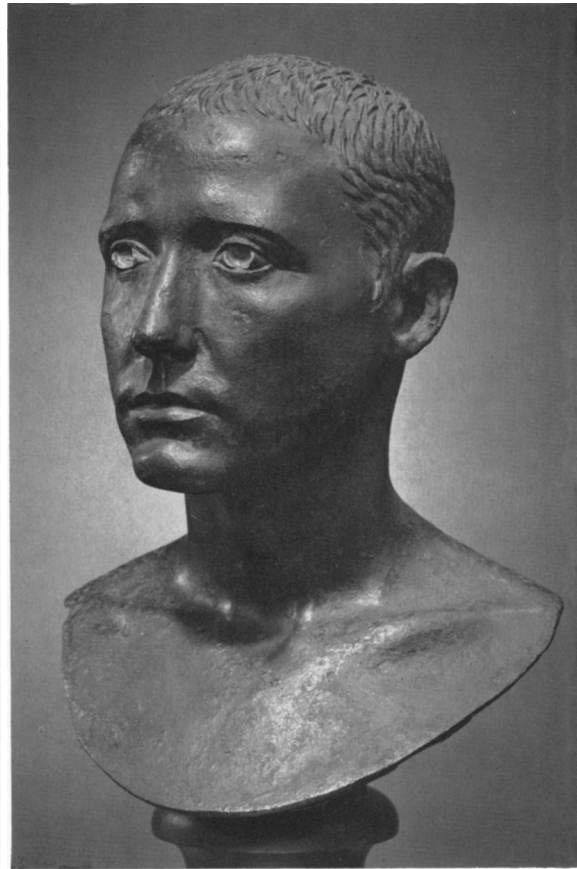
Face on (Figure 5), one sees what a small mouth he has and how much his ears stick out, and, above all, how intense his eyes are. The whites are inlaid with silver; the irises and pupils, which are not differentiated, are indicated by disks of bronze or another copper alloy. The eyelashes are not represented, but the sharp edges of the eyelids make up for their lack.

A Roman portrait sculptor went to great lengths to reproduce the eyes, for without them a portrait becomes quite lifeless. In another Roman bronze head in the Museum (Figure 3), that of a young man, the whites of the eyes are of bone, originally light brown though now somewhat discolored. The pupils and irises are missing, but they were probably a vitreous paste dark enough to form a proper contrast with the bone. In a portrait of a woman in the National Museum in Naples (Figure 2), a dark substance set in white paste made the eyes (now disfigured by partial deterioration) seem very lifelike.

The latter head is covered with ugly accretions of a sort that must have covered the head of the boy when it was first found. These have long since been removed, but their traces remain in the form of pockmarks and the red spots already mentioned. In antiquity the appearance of the head was quite different, possessing then the golden color of bronze, and it was surely oiled—as the Roman writer Pliny said bronzes were—to prevent the surface from becoming tarnished.

In its ancient setting the head was mounted on a herm pillar, or rectangular shaft, about four feet tall, made either of stone (probably marble) or of wood. It was fastened in place by a pin that passed through a hole still to be seen at the back of the neck (Figure 12). The bronze portrait of the Pompeian magistrate C. Norbanus Sorex (Figure 11) is set on just such a shaft, made of marble. The base on which the boy's head is now mounted is a summary rendition of the top of a shaft of this type. The woman's head in the Naples museum, also from Pompeii, is thought to have been set on a wooden pillar, which naturally had disintegrated long before the head was un-

2. *Portrait of a woman, from Pompeii. Roman, first half of the 1 century A.D. Bronze, height 15 inches. National Museum, Naples. Photograph: Anderson—Art Reference Bureau*



earthed in 1861. The house in which it was found belonged to L. Popidius Secundus Augustinianus, of an old and influential Pompeian family, and it has been assumed with good reason that the lady was a member of this family. Though in the past some scholars had thought the head to be a portrait of the Empress Livia, the wife of Augustus, owing to a certain resemblance to profile images of Livia on Roman coins, the similarity is superficial, and the woman's hairdo is best matched by a style that did not come into fashion until about ten years after Livia's death in A.D. 29.

This brings us to the question of how Roman portraits are identified. Portraits of

3. *Portrait of a young man. Roman, first half of the 1 century A.D. Bronze, height 15 inches. Bequest of Benjamin Altman, 14.40.696*

OVERLEAF :

- 4, 5, 6. *The Museum's portrait of a young boy*





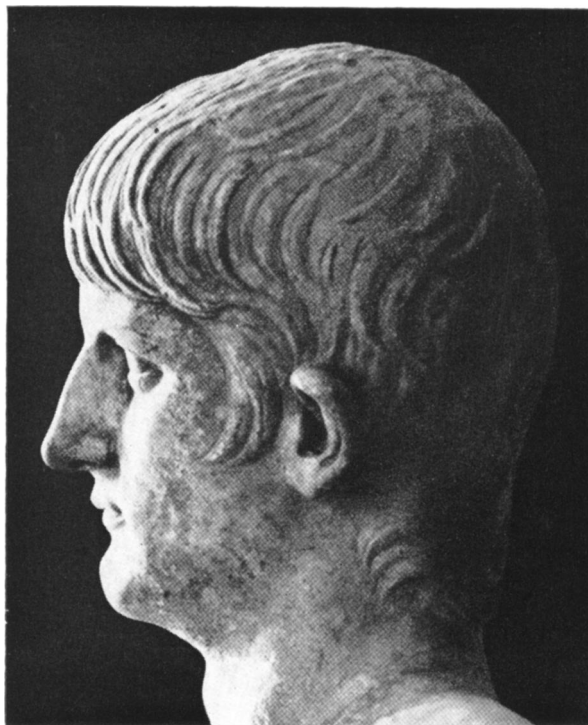


7. *Portrait of a boy, possibly Nero at twelve. Roman, mid-1 century A.D. Marble, life-size. (Nose and edge of ear restored.) Lateran Museum, Rome. Plate 842 (Munich, 1912) in Griechische und Römische Porträts by P. Arndt and F. Bruckmann*



8. *Nero and his mother, on a gold aureus issued in A.D. 55, a year after he became emperor. Diameter $\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Bequest of Joseph H. Durkee, 99.35.140*

9. *Portrait of a youth, probably Nero at sixteen. Roman, mid-1 century A.D. Marble, life-size. Cagliari Museum, Sardinia. Plate 32, figure 2 in Römische Mitteilungen 47 (1932)*



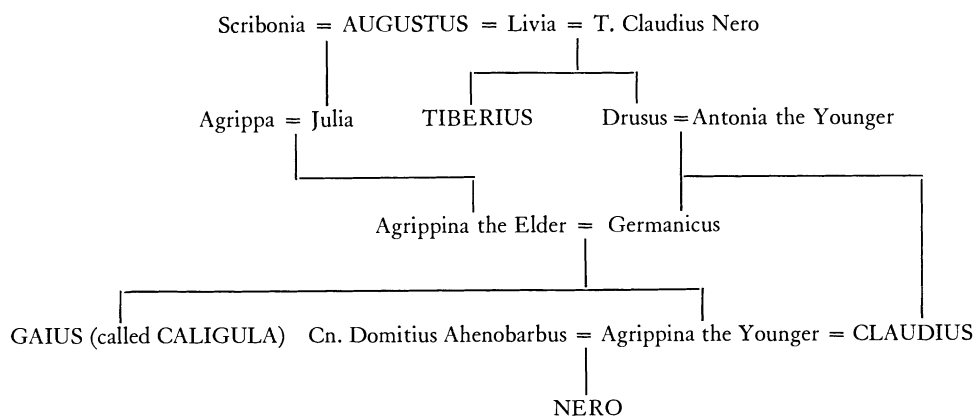
almost all the emperors and many members of the imperial families have been recognized through very close resemblances to their profile images on coins of the Empire. When the number of portraits was large, as it was with the famous emperors such as Augustus and Hadrian, whose likenesses must have been set up in every city and town of the Empire, the identifications are absolutely certain. On the other hand, we possess no sure likeness of those emperors whose rule lasted for only a few months.

With portraits of private individuals there is usually little information to tell us who they were, and the majority of these, like the bronze portrait in Figure 3, will probably remain anonymous. On rare occasions the person's name is inscribed on the bust or, as in the case of C. Norbanus Sorex, on the front of the marble shaft.

There does not seem to be any such evidence for the identification of the bronze boy, yet an eminent Danish scholar and an authority on Roman portraits, Vagn H. Poulsen, has seen in this head the likeness of the young Nero. This is not an idle guess; rather it is an opinion that should be considered seriously, and if it is to be dismissed, it should be dismissed with care.

Nero, the great-great-grandson of Augustus through maternal descent (see the genealogical chart below) was born on December 15, A.D. 37. When he was only three years old his father died, and his uncle, the Emperor Caligula, deprived him of his inheritance. But on the death of Caligula in 41 and the accession of Claudius (Nero's great-uncle), his rightful inheritance was restored, and he and his mother were again in favor with the ruling member of the family. So, by the time he was five or six, he was important enough to have had his portrait made.

Is the stylistic date of the portrait compatible with its identification as Nero? Or, in other words, can the head be reasonably dated to the years around 43 to 45? A number of points may be mentioned. The style of the hair, neatly combed over the forehead in strands that emerge from underneath the random curls, is in keeping with the hair-style of the emperors Tiberius, Caligula, and Claudius – which is the equivalent of saying that it was probably the prevailing fashion in the years of these three reigns. The manner in which the sculptor has incised the eyebrows in short feathery strokes is closely paralleled on the head of the woman from the Popidius house at Pompeii



(Figure 2), a portrait that should be dated on the grounds of its hairstyle to the reigns of Caligula and Claudius (37-54); this is a valid comparison because feathery eyebrows of this sort occur on few other Roman bronze heads. Inlaid silver eyes are also rare, the only comparable ones occurring on a life-size portrait of the Emperor Tiberius found on the island of Minorca in 1759 (Figure 10). Moreover, the smooth, well-formed features, apart from showing the actual appearance of the boy, also show the style of a sculptor working in the spirit of classicism, much in fashion in the first part of the first century A.D. The fact emerges that the proposed date of the head is appropriate, although there is no serious objection to its having been made several decades earlier in the century.

What about the identification itself? The earliest certain likeness of Nero is his profile on coinage of the year 51, when he was thirteen years old. Several marble heads, such as one in the Lateran Museum (Figure 7), have been associated (though not with absolute certainty) with this youthful coin portrait. They are thought to have been made when Nero was twelve, on the occasion of his adoption by the Emperor Claudius, whom his mother had just taken as her second husband. The head in the Lateran and the bronze in New York share several features, in particular the small mouth and the style of the hair – long in back, curly on top, and combed and parted in front. In addition, a head in Sardinia, the best of a group of portraits probably made about the time Nero became emperor in 54 (Figure 9), allows one to see how the bronze head might take its place as the earliest member of a series of three that demonstrate a progressive development of Nero's features.

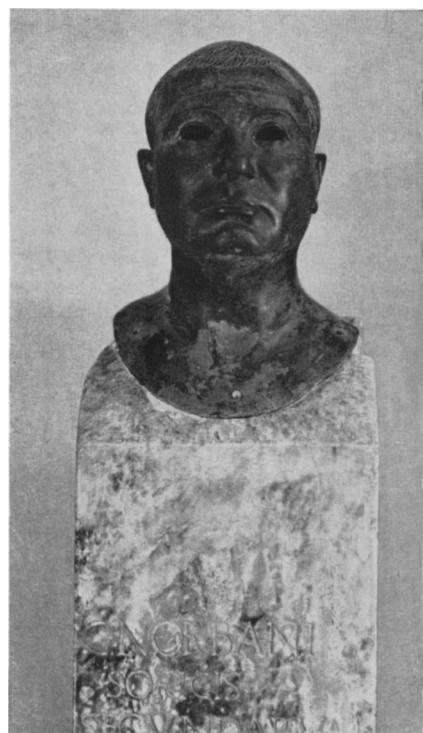
This argument is appealing, but there are two objections: the head in the Lateran Museum may not really be Nero; and the resemblance of the bronze head to the one in the Lateran does not seem, at least to me, to be sufficiently close to warrant a positive identification. The superficial likeness of one Roman portrait to another can often best be attributed to a coincidence of the fashion of hair or the artist's style, rather than to the identity of the people represented. Although it is conceivable that the boy is the young Nero, it is equally probable that he is actually the favored child of an important household. Proof that he was wellborn is given by the portrait itself, for to be represented in bronze at such a tender age is no average demonstration of one's parents' love.

Nothing is known of the original provenance of the head. It was first noticed when in the possession of Sir Francis Cook at Doughty House, in Richmond, Surrey. Cook is known primarily for his celebrated picture collection, but he also owned a very fine group of classical works of art. Adolf Michaelis, the author of *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* (1882), a mine of information about classical antiquities in nineteenth-century England, reported that, "The Richmond collection was formed from purchases in Italy, France, and England, partly from older collections and at sales, partly from the results of the latest excavations, so that the cabinet, though not large is various, and contains, besides single marbles worthy of remark, some noticeable bronzes and gems." Though Michaelis made two visits to Doughty House, in 1873 and 1877, he appears to have overlooked the head both times, for no mention of it is made in his book. There were other visitors to Doughty House, however. In 1876 Hans von Dadelsen wrote a



10. Portrait of Tiberius, from Minorca. Roman, A.D. 14-37. Bronze, height 15 inches. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

11. Portrait of C. Norbanus Sorex, from Pompeii. Roman, first half of the 1 century A.D. Bronze, height 14 inches. National Museum, Naples. Plate 86 in *Il Museo Nazionale di Napoli* by Alfonso de Franciscis



long letter to Michaelis describing the antiquities he had seen in the Cook collection. Much of what he listed had already been seen by Michaelis, but in a small private room off the hallway at the entrance of the house, a room to which Michaelis had not, so it seems, gained admittance, Dadelsen noted “a bust of a boy, in bronze, and life-size”—this boy.

After the death of Sir Francis Cook in 1901, the head passed to his younger son, Wyndham F. Cook, and then to Wyndham’s son, Humphrey W. Cook, who sold it in 1925. Years later, the head was acquired by Albert Gallatin in New York. Shortly after Mr. Gallatin’s death it was bought by the Museum.

Back in 1903, when Wyndham Cook lent the head to the Burlington Fine Arts Club for an exhibition of Greek art, a reviewer wrote, “The life-size portrait bust of a Roman boy with the delicate thin little mouth, and the hair so individually arranged behind the ears . . . ranks among the bronzes in the exhibition which any museum would prize.” We are fortunate to be that museum.

12. *The back of the Museum’s portrait of a young boy*



NOTES

Pliny’s mention of oiled bronzes occurs in his *Natural History*, Book 34, chap. 21. Vagn H. Poulsen’s identification of the head as Nero appears in *Acta Archaeologica* 22 (1951), p. 122. The remarks of the reviewer, Alexander Conze, are taken from *Burlington Fine Arts Club, Exhibition of Ancient Greek Art* (London, 1904), p. xxiii; in this catalogue, the head is no. 15, Pl. 15. The letter of Dadelsen (dated July 23, 1876, from Harrow) is among Michaelis’s notes in the possession of the University of Strasbourg, generously made available to the Metropolitan Museum by Professor Pierre Amandry. It was first mentioned in D. von Bothmer, *Ancient Art from New York Private Collections* (New York, 1961), p. 42, where the bronze head was most recently published.



An Offering to Thoth

A Votive Statue from the Gallatin Collection

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On October 3, 1899, with a thunder that could be heard almost two miles away in Luxor, eleven massive stone-masonry columns in the Hypostyle Hall in the Great Temple of Amun at Karnak fell to the ground (Figures 2, 3). This dire event had been predicted exactly one hundred years earlier by the French savants Jollois and Devilliers, members of Napoleon Bonaparte's scientific expedition to Egypt, and in 1875 Auguste Mariette, the Frenchman who founded the Antiquities Service of Egypt, had reiterated warnings of the catastrophe that must take place if the great complex of temples at Karnak were not given the necessary repairs. Some minor work was undertaken in the last few years of the century, but it took the catastrophe itself to loosen the purse strings of the government to provide sufficient funds for this urgent restoration.

Work was begun immediately under the direction of Gaston Maspero, who had succeeded Mariette as head of the Antiquities Service, and under the supervision of Georges Legrain, the able and energetic architect and Egyptologist who, for more than twenty years, until his death in 1917, was responsible for the enormously complicated task of clearing, restoring, and rebuilding these temples.

1. *The complex of temples at Karnak as it appeared to the artists of the German expedition of 1842-1845. The Hypostyle Hall is in the center, the sacred lake is in the foreground, and the court in which the cache was found is in the left center. Plate 71 from *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopen*, I, by C. R. Lepsius*



In 1902 Maspero directed Legrain to clear the great court that lies between the south wall of the Hypostyle Hall and the seventh pylon, erected by Tuthmosis III (1504-1450 B.C.). During the next year Legrain dug away the top layers of the court, revealing several colossal statues and the remains of two temples of the Middle and New Kingdoms. Then, in December 1903, he reached a deep layer filled with statues, fragments of statues, and stelae. The further he went down, the more numerous they became, and for four winters, until 1907, Legrain fished around in the mud and water, recovering statue after statue (Figure 5).

Tuthmosis III had used this area as a dump for earth and debris excavated from the nearby sacred lake during its enlargement. He had subsequently erected his second pylon (the seventh in the modern numbering of the monuments) with its accompanying court here, on a new axis—at right angles to the main axis of the Amun temple and leading southward through the pylon built by his hated predecessor Hatshepsut toward the Temple of Mut.

Many centuries later, possibly about the time of the fourth or fifth Ptolemy (around 200 B.C.), the architects charged with the restoration of the Temple of Amun found it necessary to clear away the great accumulation of votive statues, stelae, and the like that were blocking the court, the nearby house of the high priest, and the various corridors on the south side of the main sanctuary. Not wishing to remove these ex-votos—sanctified as they were both by the will of the donors and by their long habitation of the sacred precincts—entirely from the temple enclosure, the architects caused a huge trench to be dug in the soft fill of Tuthmosis III's court. Into this were piled indiscriminately almost 800 statues and statuettes of stone, several score of stelae and fragments of reliefs, and some 17,000 statuettes and small objects of bronze. It was this enormous cache that Legrain had discovered.

At one stroke the collections of statuary in the Cairo Museum were more than doubled. It was the most important artistic and historical find in Egypt since Mariette had cleared

CHRONOLOGY

Predynastic Period		before 3100 B.C.
Early Dynastic Period	(Dynasties I-II)	3100-2686 B.C.
Old Kingdom	(Dynasties III-VI)	2686-2181 B.C.
First Intermediate Period	(Dynasties VII-X)	2181-2040 B.C.
Middle Kingdom	(Dynasties XI-XII)	2133-1786 B.C.
Second Intermediate Period	(Dynasties XIII-XVII)	1786-1567 B.C.
New Kingdom	(Dynasties XVIII-XXI)	1567-945 B.C.
Third Intermediate Period	(Dynasties XXII-XXV)	945-664 B.C.
Late Dynastic Period	(Dynasties XXVI-XXX)	664-332 B.C.
Ptolemaic Period		332-30 B.C.
Roman Period		30 B.C. - A.D. 364

the Serapeum at Saqqara more than fifty years earlier, and far outweighed in importance the later, spectacular (and much publicized) discovery of the tomb of Tutankhamun.

A number of statues from this cache were disposed of as duplicates by the Cairo Museum, and others reached the hands of dealers in Cairo and Luxor by more circuitous and suspicious routes. Thus, about ten statues in this Museum, ranging in date from the Twenty-second Dynasty to the Ptolemaic Period, are either known or have since been suspected to come from this source. Now, among the superb objects bought from the estate of Albert Gallatin, the Museum has acquired another votive statue from the Karnak cache – the “block statue” of Iu-it-ef, carved of indurated limestone (Figures 4, 8, 7, 10, 11).

Iu-it-ef is shown sitting on a low rectangular base, his feet and knees together and drawn tightly against his body, so his knees come almost level with his shoulders and he is able to fold his arms across them. His hands lie flat, palms down. This attitude appears unnatural to us, but, apart from the fact that in most statues of this type the feet are drawn in too close to the body for real comfort, such a pose was easily assumed and held by the small-boned Egyptians. It was introduced for statuary in the Middle Kingdom, occurred sporadically through the early part of the New Kingdom, became common in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties, and was by far the commonest attitude for the votive statuary of what is known as the Third Intermediate Period, and later.

This position pulls the skirt tightly across the front so the legs disappear into the mass, and a high degree of stylization also merges the cloaked arms into the block, leaving only the hands free. The result is a statue with a virtually rectangular silhouette from whatever side it is viewed – a statue, in fact, that scarcely emerges from the matrix of the block.

Logic normally caused the Egyptian artist to express himself in strictly concrete terms and the viewer to interpret what he saw in strictly literal terms – at least within the

framework of the art’s fixed conventions, which were logical to the Egyptians, if not to us. This logic had dominated artistic style during the Old Kingdom, but by the end of the Middle Kingdom the painter and sculptor had begun to free themselves to a certain extent from its rigid dictates, and to introduce innovations.

Nowhere is the change more evident than in the question of how the sculptor applied inscriptions to the statue. In the Old Kingdom virtually all statues of commoners were made for the tomb (only the king was permitted to place statues in the temples); inscriptions were brief, normally only identifying the owner, and appeared only where it

2, 3. *The fallen columns.*

Photographs taken shortly after the collapse. The masonry construction, without the use of mortar, is clearly seen, as is the extensive deterioration of the lower parts of the columns due to the periodic flooding that led to their collapse





4. Block statue of Iu-it-ef, from the Karnak cache. Third Intermediate Period, about 945-664 B.C. Indurated limestone, height 13½ inches. Fletcher Fund, and the Guide Foundation, Inc., Gift, 66.99.63

was conceivable to see them in real life: on the block or seat upon which the figure stood or sat, the pillar or slab behind, the papyrus of a scribe statue, and certain parts of the dress on which it was logical to find the owner's name and titles, such as the belt. In the Middle Kingdom commoners began to usurp such royal prerogatives as addressing the gods directly, without the king or his deputy as intermediary. Now they too had statues made as votive offerings, which were placed in temples and shrines to further the interests of their donors. Inscriptions became somewhat lengthier with the addition of offering formulae, and were frequently applied to the skirt, as on another statuette from the Gallatin collection (Figure 6). Logic was wearing thin at this point, and the conception of the statue as a field for inscriptions, like a stela or a shrine, was beginning to emerge. In this same period we see the first occurrence of inscriptions cut directly on the bare flesh. At first only the words "food offerings" were incised in the open palms of some statues, either to symbolize and guarantee the receipt of such offerings, or to request them of the onlooker. By the beginning of the New Kingdom the sculptor was venturing in a few rare cases to write the man's name and title directly on the upper arm.

In the early years of the reign of Akhenaten, the heretic king of the Eighteenth Dynasty, before his transference of the capital from Thebes to Amarna in about 1374 B.C., certain colossal statues of the king were inscribed in a strange manner: pairs of cartouches of the sun god Aten on thick rectangular plaques were placed on his wrists, upper arms, or bare torso. Scholars in the past have theorized either that these plaques represent items of jewelry, or that they indicate that the king was tattooed with these cartouches. Portraits of both the king and queen made during the first four or five years

after Akhenaten moved to Amarna go one step further and show these same cartouches in the same locations carved in the “living flesh,” as in the relief in Figure 7. The only explanation of this would be tattooing, if logic were still the governing principle in interpreting the phenomenon. Akhenaten, however, was merely adopting the practice we have seen earlier. He changed it from a rare and sporadic custom to a normal one, and thus made the final break in the chain of logic that demanded such literal interpretations.

In these inscriptions cut in the “living flesh” we see evidence that the artists were no longer concerned with visual reality, but were free to place inscriptions on the statue in such a manner as to be most readable, or to produce a balanced composition, or to best serve any function *of the inscriptions themselves*. From the Nineteenth Dynasty onward many statues of kings have cartouches and the like carved on the arms or torso (and this became the favorite manner for one king to take over the statuary of another, as we see in our colossal seated statues of Amenophis III, usurped by Merneptah). The practice was also followed on private statues; the figure of a man’s patron deity, for instance, was often incised on his shoulder.

Commoners were developing an ever closer relationship with the gods, although, as we shall see later in studying the inscriptions on our statue, the fiction was still maintained that the king was the only one to hold direct communication with divinity. Increasingly statues were made for votive rather than funerary use. In such statues the donors preferred to have themselves portrayed in the very act of making their offerings. Thus the majority of statues from the Nineteenth Dynasty onward hold or support stelae, shrines containing statuettes of deities, or religious symbols, all inscribed with prayers, offering formulae, and other comparatively lengthy votive texts. On a few statues as early as the Nineteenth Dynasty, and on the majority of the block statues of the Third Intermediate and later periods, the sculptor takes advantage of the new license in placing his scenes and inscriptions. He produces a kind of

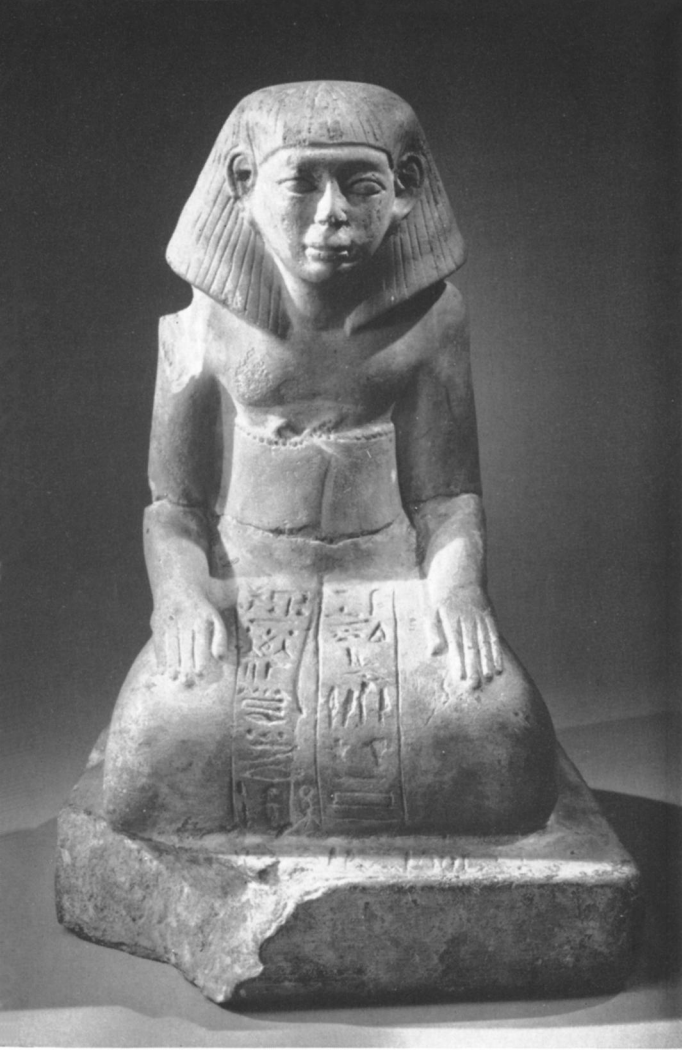
shorthand combination of figure and offering: omitting the stela or shrine, he puts the inscriptions, relief scene, or high-relief figure of the deity directly on the body of the statue – more precisely, on the stretched garment across the front or along either side.

The tendency toward longer inscriptions reached its climax in about the fourth century B.C. At this time a special type of votive was introduced, which we refer to as “prophylactic” and the Egyptians themselves called “savior” statues. These were designed to ward off evil and prevent the owner or donor from succumbing under the attacks of such noxious beasts as scorpions and snakes. The figures were often covered with magical inscriptions and scenes from head to toe, omitting only the face and hands. Logic was now long dead and gone.

In the statue of Iu-it-ef, then, we have an amalgam of figure and votive stela, with the relief scene and inscription of the latter transferred to the front of the former.

5. *Legrain’s excavation of the Karnak cache. Photograph taken about 1904-1905*





6. *Statue of the overseer of priests, Amenhotep III. The inscription on the skirt – an offering formula to “Sobek of Shedyet and Osiris the Sovereign who is in To-she” – suggests that the statue was placed as a votive in a temple of the crocodile god Sobek at Crocodilopolis in the Fayyum. Late Dynasty XII, about 1850 B.C. Limestone, height 8½ inches. Fletcher Fund, and the Guide Foundation, Inc., Gift, 66.99.6*



7. *Akhenaten worshipping the sun god Aten, on a fragment of a carved parapet from the great Temple of the Aten at Amarna. Three pairs of cartouches of the Aten are incised on the king's chest. Dynasty XVIII, about 1374-1369 B.C. Red quartzite, height 9¼ inches. From the Gallatin collection. Fletcher Fund, and the Guide Foundation, Inc., Gift, 66.99.41*

In the scene (Figure 8) we see the god Thoth, ibis-headed and wearing the *atef* crown, an elaborate combination of ram's horns surmounted by ostrich plumes and uraei (royal serpents), all with sun disks above. He is seated and holds the *was* scepter (expressing “dominion”) in his left hand and the *ankh* sign of “life” in his right. Above his head are the words, “To be recited by Thoth, the Great One, Lord of Hermopolis.”

Before the god an offering stand contains small loaves or biscuits, with a lotus flower (in itself a symbol for “offerings”) draped carefully across the top. Beneath the stand rest a wreath of flowers and a wine jar.

Facing the god stands Iu-it-ef himself in the guise of a priest with shaven head and long skirt. In his left hand he holds forth an incense burner—a rod, probably of bronze, decorated at one end with a falcon head and at the other with a clenched hand holding a bowl in which the incense is burned, with a container for the incense pellets between. In his right hand is a spouted bronze vessel from which he pours libations of cool water over the pile of offerings. The caption above his head explains his actions and gives his name: “Making censings and oblations (by) the Osiris Iu-it-ef, justified.”

The seven lines of inscription beneath the scene are an offering formula on behalf of the statue's donor: “An offering that the king gives to Thoth, the Great One, Lord of Hermopolis, the Judge of the Two Combatants, Foremost in Has-roet, the Great God in the

midst of Thebes, so that he (Thoth) might give a thousand invocation offerings of meat and fowl, wine and milk, incense and oblations, food offerings and every good and pure thing to the *ka* (spirit) of the Osiris Iu-it-ef, justified, son of Djehuty-ir-di-es, justified, and born of Ta-riyu, justified before Re.” Here we see expressed the fiction that the king is the source of all offerings to the gods and the only intercessor between gods and mortals.

The vertical column on the rear pillar (Figure 10) reads, “Thoth, the Lord of Hermopolis, may he give life and protection (?) (to) the Osiris Iu-it-ef, justified, (also) called Tjekred (i.e. Takelot), justified, born of Ta-riyu, justified.”

It will be noticed that nowhere in these inscriptions are we given any information about Iu-it-ef himself, except his second personal name, Takelot, and the names of his parents. We cannot infer from the fact that in the offering scene he is shown as a priest that such was his function in life. He may indeed have been a priest—it is even most likely, but these scenes are too stereotyped to be used as evidence in the absence of supporting information. The expressions “the Osiris” and “justified” applied to Iu-it-ef would imply that he had died, for a dead person is judged in the Afterworld before Osiris, the king of the dead, and (hopefully) is pronounced “justified” and thus allowed to become identified with Osiris himself. Again, however, the terms are extremely stereotyped and, the wish being father to the fact, could be applied at this period equally to the living and the dead. Having been found in the temple cache, the statue was certainly not made for the man’s tomb.

The name Iu-it-ef—apparently meaning “(he) is his father,” or perhaps, as we would say, “he is his father all over again”—and the name of the mother, Ta-riyu, are not known from other sources. The names Djehuty-ir-di-es and Takelot are extremely common at this time, the latter being the throne name of three kings of the Twenty-second and Twenty-third Dynasties. The use of “Takelot” indicates that the statue cannot be earlier

than the Twenty-second Dynasty, whilst the style of the inscriptions, especially the one on the rear pillar, shows that it cannot be later than the end of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. This is the span of time that is becoming known among scholars as the Third Intermediate Period, and covers almost three centuries between 945 and 664 B.C.

We are given more, yet still meager information concerning Thoth, the object of Iu-it-ef’s devotions and of his family’s also, judging by the name of his father, Djehuty (i.e. Thoth)-ir-di-es. The commonest epithet of Thoth, on this statue as elsewhere, “Lord of Hermopolis,” connects him with the city known to the Egyptians as Khemenu—“Eight-Town” (Figure 9), to the Greeks as Hermopolis—“City of Hermes” (the god of wisdom with whom the Greeks identified Thoth), and to us as El-Ashmunein—the Arabic pronunciation still readily identifiable as the direct descendent of the ancient name. “Foremost in Has-roet” likewise connects the god with Hermopolis, for Has-roet is almost certainly the ancient name for the necropolis district of Hermopolis—Tunah el Gebel, more familiar in archaeological literature as Hermopolis West. This was the area most intimately connected with Thoth, for here were buried the mummies of baboons and ibises, animals sacred to that god; Thoth is almost invariably shown as a man with the head of an ibis.

The most interesting epithet for us, however, both because it is not known in exactly this form from other sources and because of the place from which the statue comes, is “the Great God in the midst of Thebes.” Thoth was the god of wisdom, of the written word, of magic; he was intimately connected with Osiris and Horus, with the sun god Re, and with many forms of funerary and temple ritual. But one of his principal identities, increasingly important in the Late Period, was as a god of the moon, the left eye of heaven. As such he was naturally connected and identified with the principal moon god Iah and, more important to us, with the god Khonsu, the third member of the divine triad of Thebes—Amun, Mut, and Khonsu, each of

8. *Relief scene on the statue of
Iu-it-ef*



whom had a major temple devoted to his cult at Karnak.

In the time of Sethos I (1318-1304 B.C.) of the Nineteenth Dynasty, Thoth (or Khonsu-Thoth) is called “Lord of Karnak,” whilst under Ramesses II (1304-1237 B.C.) and later on in the Twenty-first Dynasty he is sometimes called “Lord of the Southern On (i.e. Thebes).” Despite these epithets, however, and despite the fact that in certain relief scenes at Karnak, notably in the Temple of Khonsu, Thoth is himself shown being worshiped by the king, there is no direct evidence of a temple or shrine dedicated to him at Karnak. But we do have the evidence of our statue, and about fifteen votive statuettes of baboons from the same cache, to indicate that there must have been at least a subsidiary shrine of Thoth in one of the Karnak temples devoted to another god. This hypothesis is also suggested by other hints, such as the title on a Late Period statue, now in Cairo and most probably from Thebes, “the priest of

Thoth in the Temple of Amun”; and the titles of the great-grandfather of T’ja-en-Wast on the latter’s statue in our collection, “priest of Amun, priest of Thoth, Lord of Hermopolis, the receiver of offerings of Pharaoh, Har-si-Ese.” The most likely place for our statue to have been dedicated, therefore, is either in the great Temple of Amun itself, or in the nearby Temple of Khonsu.

The last epithet of Thoth, “Judge of the Two Combatants” and the variant form that is occasionally found elsewhere, “Judge of the Two Gods,” is most frequently found in the name of a temple located in the fifteenth nome or province of Lower Egypt, at a place now known as Tell el Baqliya (to the south-east of Mansura in the Delta) but in ancient times called “House (i.e. temple) of Thoth, the Judge of the Two Combatants.” This was the principal shrine of Thoth in Lower Egypt, second only in importance to Hermopolis in Upper Egypt, for which reason the Romans called it Hermopolis Parva. This epithet brings

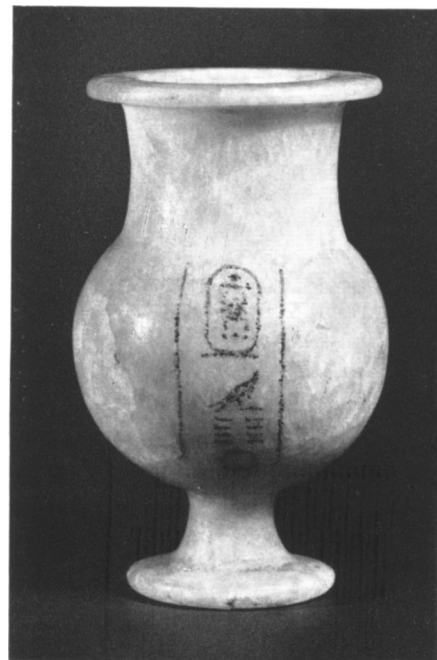
to mind a fascinating segment of Egyptian mythology, for the Two Combatants were Horus and Seth, the principles of good and evil, over whose struggles for supremacy Thoth was the arbitrator. Part of the account is given in a long mythological narrative on a papyrus of the time of Ramesses V (1160-1156 B.C.), now in the British Museum.

The story is just such a one as the story-tellers spun for the entertainment of the common people, and was undoubtedly written to be so recited. It points up the divergence between the formal creeds of the temples, such as we see illustrated by our statue, and the man in the street's beliefs – almost secular beliefs – about the gods. Taking elements from a number of ancient myths, the anonymous author weaves them, with many a sly comment and many an amusing characterization, into one tale. Horus, the son of Osiris and Isis, is depicted as a mere stripling seeking his rightful inheritance, while Seth, the wicked uncle of Horus, is depicted as a powerful but rather dim-witted bully striving by all manner of deceit to win the kingly office for himself. Thoth, although in formal texts such as ours referred to as the judge of the two combatants, is here reduced to the position of secretary for the divine council and its supreme god Re-Harakhty (the sun god). Thoth favors the claim of Horus; Re-Harakhty favors Seth; whilst the divine council favors whoever was the last to speak, and vacillates between supporting Horus and mocking him as the various arguments and tests are put forth. A brief extract will illustrate the tenor of the tale.

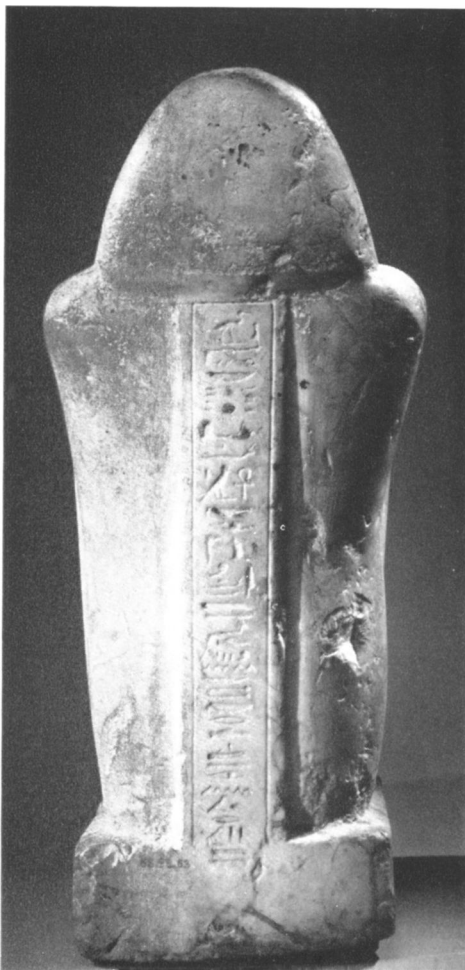
Thoth has just been instrumental in proving Seth to be in the wrong in a test. "Then the divine council said, 'Horus is in the right and Seth in the wrong.' And Seth was exceedingly angry and cried aloud when they said, 'Horus is in the right and Seth is in the wrong.' And Seth swore a great oath saying, 'The office shall not be given to him until he has been cast forth with me. And we will fashion for ourselves some ships of stone, and we shall run a race, the two of us. And whoever shall prevail over his fellow, to him shall be given the office of Ruler.' Then Horus

fashioned for himself a ship of cedar and plastered it with gypsum and launched it into the water at night time, there being no man in the entire land who saw it. And Seth saw the boat of Horus and thought it was stone. And he went to the mountain and cut off a mountain peak and fashioned for himself a ship of stone of 138 cubits (237 feet). Then they went down to their ships in the presence of the divine council and the ship of Seth sank in the water. And Seth changed himself into a hippopotamus and caused the ship of Horus to founder. And Horus seized his harpoon . . ." and so on and so on until the elder sun god Atum finally persuades Seth to forego his claim and Horus is at last crowned king.

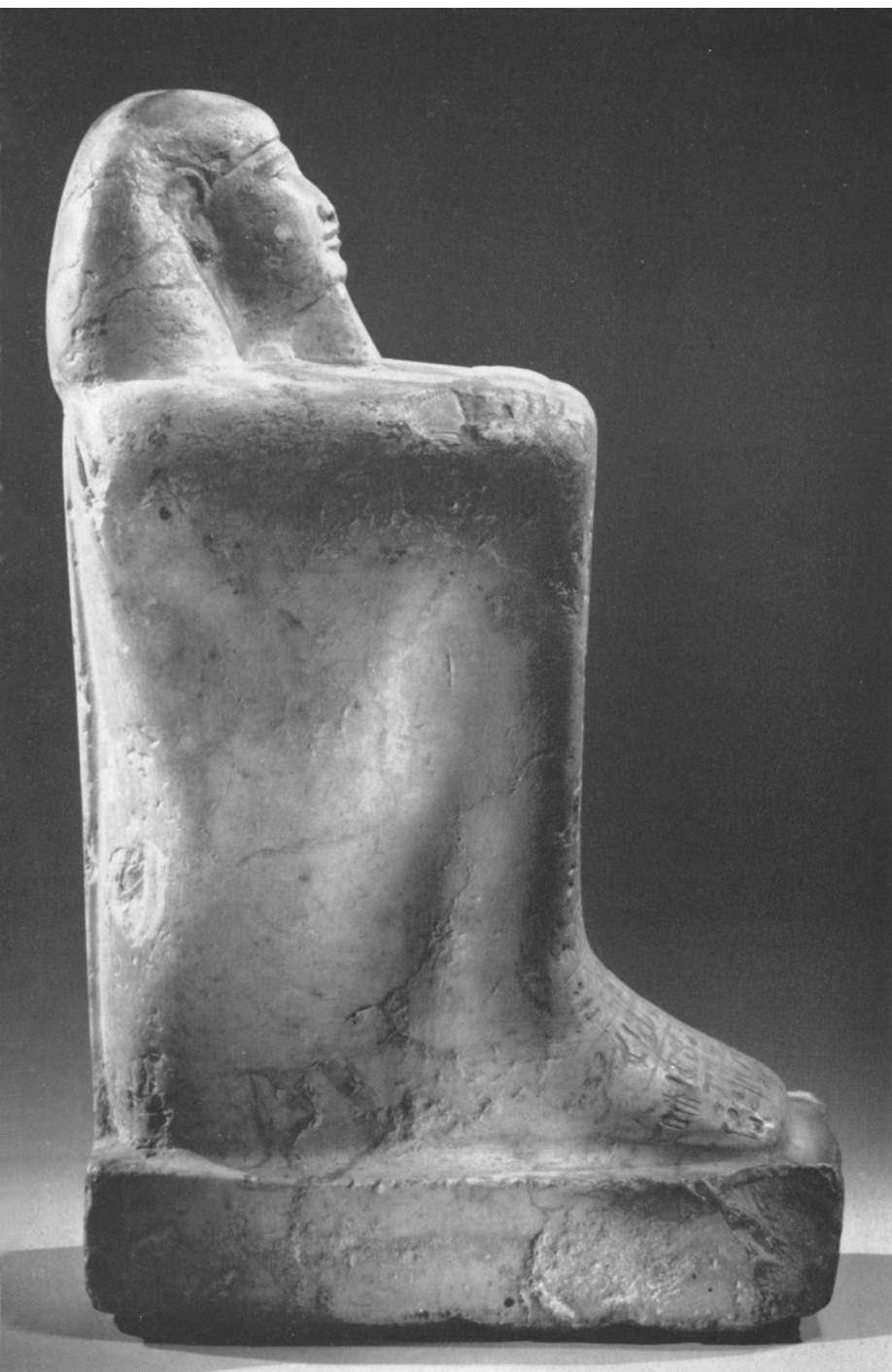
Thoth in this tale is a mere scribe, making no decisions, uttering no pronouncements. But in temples throughout Egypt, other than his own, he took part in the rituals of the other gods as recorder and as the final authority on creed and proper procedure. He was also the recorder of a man's deeds, good



9. Jar of Amenophis II inscribed "Aa-kheperu-Re (Amenophis II) in Khemenu" – apparently the name of a sanctuary erected by the king in Hermopolis. Dynasty XVIII, 1450-1425 B.C. Alabaster, height 6 inches. From the Gallatin collection. Fletcher Fund, and the Guide Foundation, Inc., Gift, 66.99.24



10. Rear pillar of the statue of Iu-it-ef



11. The statue of Iu-it-ef from the side

and evil, on the day of judgment, giving him an awesome power over man's future well-being. Perhaps it was in humble recognition of this power that Iu-it-ef made his devotions to Thoth and thereby gave to all posterity proof of his piety.

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THE MAIN BUILDING: Open weekdays 10-5; Sundays and holidays 1-5. Telephone: TRafalgar 9-5500. The Restaurant is open weekdays 11:30-2:30; Sundays 12-3; closed holidays. Coffee hours: Saturdays 3-4:30; Sundays 3:30-4:30.

THE CLOISTERS: Open weekdays, except Mondays, 10-5; Sundays and holidays 1-5 (May-September, Sundays 1-6). Telephone: WAdsworth 3-3700. MEMBERSHIP: Information will be mailed on request.

