

# Amenmesse: An Egyptian Royal Head of the Nineteenth Dynasty in the Metropolitan Museum

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THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM of Art has in its Egyptian collection an unusual life-size head of a king, which has been the subject of much debate (Figures 1–4).<sup>1</sup> As a result of my recent discovery of the statue to which this head belongs and of Frank Yurco's reading of the inscriptions carved on the statue and five companion pieces, both head and statues must now be reexamined. The staff of the Department of Egyptian Art of the Metropolitan Museum, aware that Yurco and I were concerned with the same ancient Egyptian material, was responsible for bringing us together. Our respective researches are embodied in this and the following article. Mine is an art-historical discussion of the head, after a brief and general introduction to the period; Yurco's is concerned with inscriptional evidence bearing on the identification of the king represented as well as with the original context and creation of the statues. Joint scholarly efforts of this sort are not common in the field of Egyptology, but they are of considerable value and should be undertaken whenever possible to present the opinions of both art historians and philologists attempting to reach a balanced conclusion.

The period we are concerned with is the Nineteenth Dynasty in the New Kingdom of ancient Egypt. The New Kingdom, the third major division in ancient Egyptian history, lasted approximately five hundred years from about 1570 B.C. to about 1070

B.C. and was ruled by Dynasty XVIII through Dynasty XX.<sup>2</sup> The Nineteenth Dynasty was begun by Ramesses I (ca. 1293–1291), who had been an officer under Horemheb, the last ruler of the Eighteenth Dynasty (ca. 1321–1293), made famous by such personalities as Hatshepsut, Tuthmosis III, Amenhotep III, Akhenaten, Nefertiti, and Tutankhamun.

We know of eight monarchs in Dynasty XIX who reigned over a period of some 108 years (ca. 1293–ca. 1185). Following Ramesses I was Sety I who is known for, among other things, the building of a temple at Abydos decorated with exquisite raised reliefs and

1. Rogers Fund, 34.2.2. Painted quartzite, 48 (face 14.1) × 27.4 × 33 cm. H. E. Winlock, "Recent Purchases of Egyptian Sculpture," *MMAB* 29 (1934) p. 186, ill. on cover. Often illustrated in the *MMA Guide to the Collections*, general histories of Egypt, and art-historical publications. Later discussed by J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne* (Paris, 1958) III, pp. 394, 410, pl. CXXVI.4; W. C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt* (MMA, New York, 1959) II, pp. 341–342, fig. 216.

I am grateful to Christine Lilyquist, curator of the Department of Egyptian Art, for giving me permission to publish this head, and to her colleagues Thomas Logan, Yitzhak Margowsky, and Edna Russmann for their valuable comments. I am also grateful to William J. Murnane of Chicago House at Luxor for his help in photography and measuring, and for supplying much information in the preparation of this article.

2. For the purpose of this article the dates are those given by E. Wente and C. van Sichen, "A Chronology of the New Kingdom," *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes*, *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* 39 (Chicago, 1976) pp. 217–261.



**FIGURE 1**  
Head of King Amenmesse (1202–1199 B.C.), Dynasty XIX. Painted quartzite, H. 48 cm. (face 14.1 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 34.2.2 (photo: David A. Loggie)



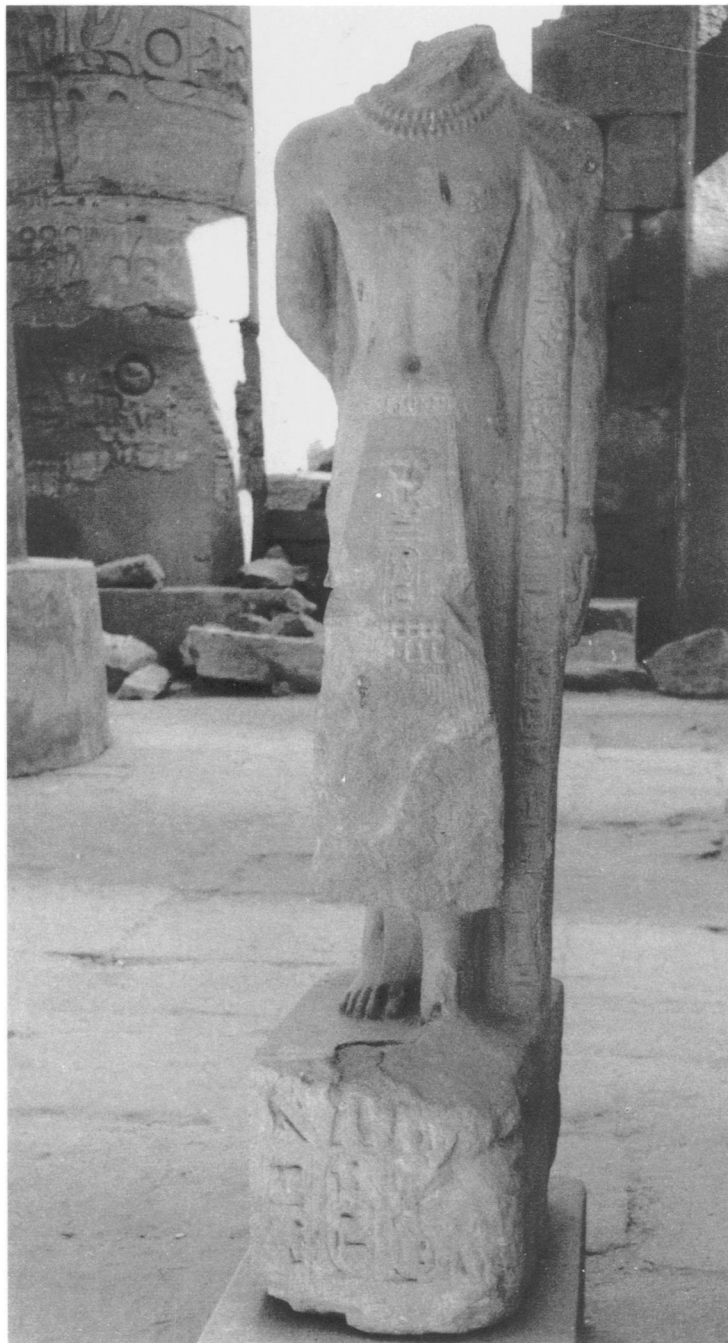
**FIGURE 2**  
Head of Amenmesse, right side

**FIGURE 3**  
Head of Amenmesse, left side

**FIGURE 4**  
Head of Amenmesse, back (photo: David A. Loggie)



**FIGURE 5**  
Statue of Amenmesse usurped by King Sety II  
(1199–ca. 1193 B.C.). Quartzite, H. 197.7 cm. Kar-  
nak, Temple of Amun, Hypostyle Hall (photo: Wil-  
liam J. Murnane)



for the decoration of the Hypostyle Hall at the temple of Amun at Karnak. Sety ruled for eleven years, to 1279, and was succeeded by his son Ramesses II who is without any doubt this dynasty's celebrity. His rule lasted some sixty-seven years, ending in about 1212. In that time he established his reputation as a fearsome warrior and a prolific builder.

Ramesses was succeeded by his thirteenth son, Merenptah, who ruled for approximately ten years to about 1202. Following Merenptah were some dynastic disputes, resulting first in Amenmesse's rule (ca. 1202–1199), and then in Sety II's ascent to the throne, which he held until about 1193. After Sety's brief reign Egypt was ruled jointly by Siptah and Queen Ta-wosre for eight years until about 1185. Following a short interregnum, the first king of Dynasty XX, Setnakht, came to the throne in 1185.

After this brief historical review of Dynasty XIX, a few general comments about the sculptural tradition of Egypt are necessary. To begin with we must understand that the tradition is a cumulative one. This does not mean that the later sculpture is of better quality than the earlier but rather that it must be viewed as an evolution which incorporates the knowledge gained from earlier productions. Therefore it is reasonable to assume, for example, that sculpture of the Middle Kingdom will reflect that of the Old Kingdom, that both traditions will be reflected in sculpture of the early Late Period, and, more specifically, that the sculpture of the Nineteenth Dynasty will reflect that of the Eighteenth.

At the same time, another point should be stressed. With each beginning in ancient Egypt, whether it be the change from one kingdom to the next, or from one dynasty to another, or from one ruler to his successor, the representation of the human face will vary. With each changeover the sculptors have a new and subtly different style, though ultimately it remains within the encompassing sculptural tradition. This tradition, described above as cumulative, is what makes the underlying feeling, the ethos that properly belongs to ancient Egypt and that cannot be captured by other sculptors at any other time.

Thus, as we study this royal head at the Metropolitan Museum, some of the questions we have to consider are: Since the man represented is an Egyptian ruler, who is he? How does this head fit into the Egyptian sculptural tradition? What is its iconography de-

rived from? The search for the answers in this case is further complicated by two problems.

The Nineteenth Dynasty was a troubled one because of the squabbles among members striving to become pharaoh. Once in power each diligently went about trying to establish a proper reputation for the future. This is reflected in an inordinate amount of usurped art, that is, art produced under previous rulers, taken over and reinscribed by the reigning pharaoh to promote his own image. The second difficulty may be called, for the sake of convenience, that of emulation. Quite often an Egyptian king harked back to a past ruler and wished to copy his greater deeds. But this was not limited to deeds only; statues would also tend to look like the admired potentate. The royal head at the Metropolitan Museum is a case in point.

Both usurpation and emulation are practices that cause difficulties for the historian. It is for this reason that collaboration between a philologist and an art historian has been so helpful in arriving at our present conclusions; researched independently, they would have taken far longer to establish.

In the winter of 1973, I was studying three royal statues in the Hypostyle Hall at the temple of Amun at Karnak. The sculptures, made of quartzite, are headless and were usurped through reinscription by Sety II (ca. 1199–1193).<sup>3</sup> A question that came to mind as I measured and photographed was whether a head existed that might fit one of them. The exercise is one that tests our methodology, a sort of sleuthing which starts from a few given facts such as the type of stone, the evidence on the body for the kind of headgear worn, the size of the object and of the break, the inscription, and the period in which the sculpture was carved. In the present case the only candidate I could think of was the life-size royal head in the Metropolitan Museum. But there were some problems: its au-

3. B. Porter, R. Moss, and E. Burney, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*: II. *Theban Temples*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1972) pp. 51–52. See Frank J. Yurco, "Amenmesse: Six Statues at Karnak," *MMJ* 14/1979 (1980) nos. 1–3, figs. 1–6; and my Figure 5. The kneeling statue originally had a head with a *nemes*; the two standing figures show no traces of a wig on the shoulders. Usurpation is quite clear in the middle areas of the back-pillars, which are sunk and rougher compared to the edges.

thenticity had been doubted by some scholars,<sup>4</sup> while others believed it to be a likeness of Sety I (ca. 1291–1279) or of Ramesses II (1279–1212).<sup>5</sup> To check the possibility of a join I approached the Centre Franco-Egyptien and obtained a latex mold of the break at the neck of the life-size striding statue which faces west (Figure 5).<sup>6</sup> Despite the fact that a fragment is missing from the back-pillar, the mold was found to match the break at the neck of the Metropolitan Museum head.

The discovery was an exciting one, but the problems concerning the identification of the king represented were far from resolved. As the figure was reinscribed for Sety II, it had to be usurped from a king who preceded him. For some, as already mentioned, the head appeared to be that of Sety I or of Ramesses II, yet its iconography did not fully support these hypotheses. In fact, the head and body could have been dated stylistically anywhere from late Ramesses II (ca. 1225) to Merenptah (ca. 1212–1202); Amenmesse, the predecessor of Sety II, was not considered since no statuary ascribed to him was known. Publication of the discovery was therefore postponed until more evidence could be gathered leading to identification of the pharaoh originally represented. This happened when Yurco, in his work on historical

problems of the late Nineteenth Dynasty, discovered traces of the names of the king from whom this statue and its companion pieces in the Karnak temple had been usurped: Amenmesse.<sup>7</sup>

The head in the Metropolitan Museum was acquired from an English private collection,<sup>8</sup> and the provenance from Karnak hitherto surmised can now be confirmed.<sup>9</sup> It represents a king wearing a *khepresh*-helmet, or Blue Crown. Carved in a light brownish-red fine-grained quartzite,<sup>10</sup> it has suffered remarkably little damage. The head of the uraeus, parts of the left side of the crown and ear, and a portion of the back-pillar are missing. Some chips are also missing from the back ridge of the crown. Traces of paint survive: yellow—probably meant to remind the viewer of the gold ornaments usually worn—and blue on the helmet,<sup>11</sup> red on the face except for the unpainted eyes.

The *khepresh*-helmet is high and smooth. It is narrow, deep, and rather bulbous at the top, closely resembling in shape the helmet of Ramesses II in Turin (Figure 6), the one on the statue of Ramesses II at Mit-Rahineh (Figure 7), and those in the representations of the king above the entrance to his temple at Abu Simbel.<sup>12</sup> The *khepresh* of the Metropolitan head has yellow on the band over the forehead as well as

4. Hayes, *Scepter II*, p. 342: "the surprisingly crude handling of the eyes has even led some connoisseurs to cast doubt upon its authenticity." Hayes himself accepts the piece as genuine but as "one of our not completely solved problems" (*ibid.*).

5. The identification of this head as Sety I or Ramesses II depends upon comparisons with the statue in Turin (Museo Egizio, no. Cat. 1380, see Figure 6). As Vandier explains (*Manuel III*, pp. 393–394), the statue in Turin was believed by some, despite the inscription, to have been made originally for Sety I, then appropriated by his successor Ramesses II. B. V. Bothmer, who is mentioned by Vandier (p. 393, n. 7), has since changed his opinion and now believes the statue to be an original of the early part of Ramesses II's reign, probably reflecting the likeness of Sety I. Hayes and Vandier both see close connections to the sculpture in Turin, which they believe to have been made for Ramesses II. Vandier further places both in his first group (*Manuel III*, p. 394).

6. Porter-Moss, *Theban Temples*, p. 52. This is the statue north of column seventy-one (H. 197.7 cm.; the base measures 42.1 × approx. 43.5 × approx. 60 cm.). See Yurco, "Six Statues," no. 1. The other standing statue in the Hypostyle Hall, being over life-size, was not considered as a candidate for the join. I would like to record my appreciation of the help given me by the late Ramadan Saad and my gratitude to M. Lauffray, director of the Centre, and his staff for their assistance.

7. The statues are dealt with comprehensively by Yurco, "Six Statues."

8. Winlock, "Recent Purchases," p. 186.

9. Hayes, *Scepter II*, p. 341.

10. A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (London, 1962) pp. 62–63, describes quartzite as "a hard, compact variety of sandstone. . . ; it varies considerably both in colour and in texture and may be white, yellowish, or various shades of red and either fine-grained or coarse-grained." He also gives several sites for the provenance of the material.

11. The "minute flecks of blue" had been noted by Winlock in 1934 ("Recent Purchases," p. 186) and can still be found on the crown.

12. *Ramses le Grand*, exh. cat. (Paris, 1976) p. 150, lower fig. As can also be seen on the stela of the Year 400, Cairo, no. JE 60539 (*ibid.*, pp. 34, 36, 37), an odd sort of recutting is clear at the top of the *khepresh*. Though an error by the sculptors is possible, the coincidence that two similar mistakes were made at Tanis and Abu Simbel is improbable. I would suggest rather a change in style or fashion. It is, however, not clear where the correction in plaster was made. There must have been a central workshop from which rulings on style originated or were approved but it is difficult to identify the geographical origin of this detail.



might lead to some corrosion of the stone. So it is much more likely that the quartzite was picked with a pointed instrument and purposely left rough where the ocher was to be applied.<sup>14</sup> Yellow ocher "will adhere to . . . stone to some extent if applied dry, and

13. These uraei are further discussed below but we should note now that they may indicate that the statue faced east at the time of this commission and not west as it does at present. The directional or geographical influence on reliefs carved at Karnak is evident in many instances. For statuary we have only to think of the inscriptions on sphinxes or on obelisks placed on either side of a gate (H. G. Fischer, "Archaeological Aspects of Epigraphy and Palaeography," in R. Caminos and H. G. Fischer, *Ancient Egyptian Epigraphy and Palaeography* [MMA, New York, 1976] p. 32). But see Yurco, "Six Statues," for a different opinion on the placement of the statue.

14. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials*, pp. 65–74.

FIGURE 6

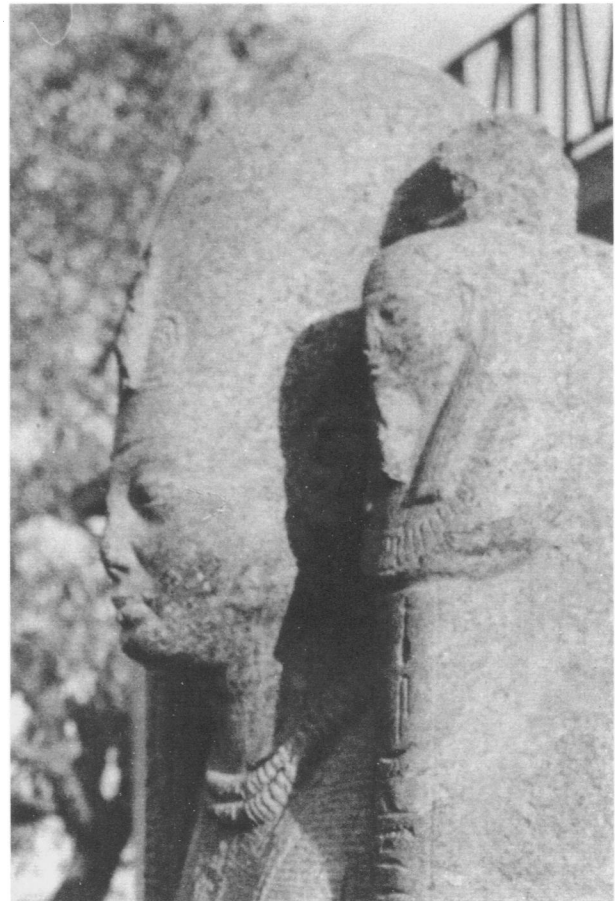
Statue of King Ramesses II (1299–ca. 1212 B.C.), detail. Turin, Museo Egizio, no. Cat. 1380 (photo: Marburg)

FIGURE 7

Statue of Ramesses II, detail. Mit-Rahineh (photo: Yurco)

on the edge of the flanges beginning above the temples and sweeping back to the top. On both the upper and lower surfaces of the edge are incisions that probably aided the artist in separating the blue and yellow colors of the crown. The uraeus, which has traces of yellow upon it, is carved to show the details of the cobra's hood; its body has a single loop on either side of the hood and rises vertically, with slight bends, to the crest of the helmet. On the rounded tabs of the helmet, in front of the ears, are interesting renderings in relief of two uraei: on the right side they wear the crown of Upper Egypt, on the left that of Lower Egypt (Figures 8, 9).<sup>15</sup> These uraei also bear traces of yellow.

Under close examination with a raking light it is clear that all the areas to which the yellow pigment was applied are rough compared to the smooth face and crown, which had different coloring. It is out of the question that ocher can affect the surface of crystalline quartzite so as to leave it pitted. Only concentrated hydrochloric acid, after lengthy application,





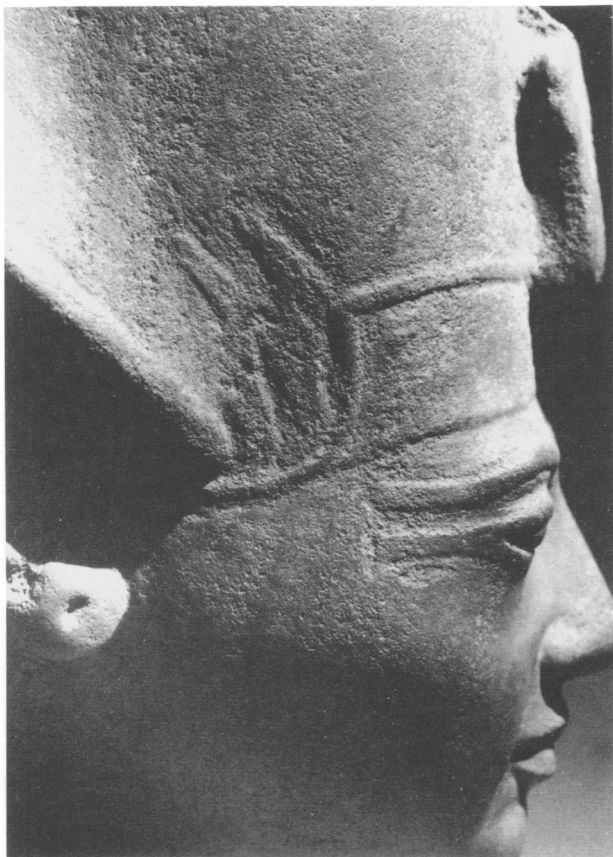


FIGURE 8  
Head of Amenmesse, right side, detail showing uraei with the crowns of Upper Egypt (photo: Cardon)



FIGURE 9  
Head of Amenmesse, left side, detail showing uraei with the crowns of Lower Egypt (photo: Cardon)

although the ochres will adhere still better if wetted, others of the ancient pigments, such as azurite, malachite, and blue and green frits, will not normally adhere without some binding material.”<sup>15</sup> Since it was unnecessary for the artist to use a binding substance in working with ocher, areas of the head to be colored yellow were probably left rough so that the pigment would have a surface to “bite” into and remain in place.

The method in which the side uraei were carved is of interest. They are not in true raised relief. Instead, the area of the crown around them has been cut back at an angle so that they appear to be so. In reality, they are at the same level as the rest of the crown and have a wide beveled border.<sup>16</sup> Are these uraei part of the original composition or were they added by the usurper, Sety II? The question cannot be definitively

answered because there is limited extant evidence of the use of such uraei and most of it exists in two-dimensional art forms. Moreover, these representations in relief are of little help in dating because they range from Sety I to Ramesses III (Dynasty XX, ca. 1185).<sup>17</sup>

15. Ibid., p. 351.

16. This work-saving device, of which many examples could be cited, is mentioned by W. Stevenson Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* (Baltimore, 1965) pp. 73–74, in reference to the relief decorations of the temple of Ny-user-ra at Abu Gurab (Dynasty V).

17. Sety I: A Calverley, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos* (London, 1933) III, pl. 38. Merenptah: an instance is unpublished but has been recorded by Yurco who has found such uraei painted on the sides of the *khepresh* at Abydos. Ramesses III: C. R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien . . .* (Berlin, 1849–58) Abth. III, pls. 215, 299(69); from Thebes, Valley of the Kings.

On sculpture in the round, another, somewhat similar occurrence of this feature—a single uraeus bearing the crown of Upper Egypt—can be seen on the head of Ramesses II from Tanis, now in Cairo.<sup>18</sup> It is probable that the tradition began in two-dimensional art forms and later was transferred to statuary. That the uraei on the sides of the Metropolitan Museum head date from the sculpture's first owner is supported by the fact that the space in the tabs in front of the flange is much broader than usual and was evidently planned as such. We need only compare these tabs with those of the Turin helmet, for example, where the space available for carving is limited by the flange, in its more normal place at the center of the tab (Figure 6). The roughness of the surface around the side uraei cannot be used as an argument for their later addition because, as we have seen, all the parts of the helmet to which yellow pigment was ap-

plied have been left rough. The evidence suggests, therefore, that the helmet was not recarved during Sety II's reign.

The type of *khepresh*-helmet seen on the Metropolitan Museum head—without circlets in relief over its surface, with a uraeus that has single loops on either side of the hood of the cobra, and with uraei in relief on the sides—is indeed rare for the Nineteenth Dynasty. It appears to be a Blue Crown which combines several features of earlier ones and some details normally found on other types of crown made at that time. The trend as the dynasty goes on is toward simplicity. If we consider other dated heads, and thus far they are all of Ramesses II, few helmets are smooth, all of them have coiled uraei, and only the one from Tanis mentioned above has uraei on the sides.<sup>19</sup> Throughout the Nineteenth Dynasty the uraeus with one loop on either side of the hood appears to be as-

18. Cairo Museum Temporary Journal no. 27/5/67/1; W. M. F. Petrie, *Tanis* (London, 1885) I, pl. 14(2), p. 15, where it is called "probably Ramses II." The photographs in that publication are poor and the uraeus on the side of the crown does not show up in the illustration of the head. I know of it from an old photograph in the Department of Egyptian and Classical Art at The Brooklyn Museum, in which only the uraeus on the right side is visible. A single uraeus where the Metropolitan head has two uraei, it differs also in being a simple, incised line representation. The *khepresh* flange ends at the back of the tab so as to leave space for the carving of the uraeus.

19. The heads with a *khepresh* we may consider dated to Ramesses II are in the Cairo Museum garden (a triad, no. 8/2/21/20), the head in Cairo mentioned above (see note 18), a head in Kansas City (Nelson Gallery of Art-Atkins Museum, no. 32-194), the statue in Mit-Rahineh (Figure 7), the Turin statue (Figure 6), and a wooden statue in Paris (Louvre, no. E.16277). The helmets of this shape with circlets in relief and coiled uraei appear to originate at the end of the reign of Amenhotep III (Brooklyn, acc. no. 48.28, Vandier, *Manuel III*, pl. civ.2,3), unless the royal head in Leipzig (no. 1640) is attributed to Tuthmosis IV. That Ramesses II may have had the helmets of Amenhotep III imitated is explained by his desire to emulate his predecessor, as has already been noted by Y. Margowsky in his talk at the Annual Meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt, 1978. After Amenhotep III, during the Amarna period, the shape of the helmet is accentuated in height and it is worn tilted further back than in the Ramesside Period (Louvre, no. E.11076, Vandier, *Manuel III*, pl. cxi, 6; Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, no. AEIN 1640, O. Koefoed-Petersen, *Catalogue des statues et statuettes égyptiennes* [Copenhagen, 1950] p. 27, pl. 51). During the Late Period there is a return to the pre-Amarna shapes of *khepresh*-helmets, though these never have a coiled uraeus. Both the pre-Amarna and Late Period *khepresh* are much squatter (cf. the pre-Amarna helmet in the Cleveland Museum of Art, no. 52.513, Vandier, *Manuel III*, pl.

cv.5, with the Late ones of Philadelphia, University Museum, no. E.14303 and Paris, Louvre, no. E.8061, both in B. V. Bothmer et al., *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period* [Brooklyn, 1960] pls. 50 and 69 respectively).

Of the Ramesside Period are several other heads with the *khepresh* but these are only datable stylistically. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, no. 22.107 (G. Steindorff, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture* [Baltimore, 1946] no. 139), *tempus* Ramesses II; Rome, Barracco, no. 21, a young Ramesses II (?); a damaged head in Bologna, Museo Civico, no. B.1802 (S. Curto, *L'Egitto antico*, exh. cat. [Bologna, 1961] p. 73, no. 25, pl. 18, thought therein to represent Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten; republished by E. Bresciani, *La collezione Egizia . . . Bologna* [Bologna, 1975] p. 39, pl. 16, as "probably Amenhotep III,") has a round face characteristic of Dynasty XIX and an orbital configuration comparable to that of Ramesses II in Turin (no. Cat. 1380); New York, Collection Kelekian, an unpublished head known from the Kodachrome collection at The Brooklyn Museum, which has a coiled uraeus and cannot be of Dynasty XXVI. Two other sculptures should be mentioned because they have been given early New Kingdom dates by some archaeologists: MMA, no. 44.4.68 (Hayes, *Scepter II*, p. 145, fig. 80, "Amun-hotpe II (?"); and Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, no. 22.229 (Steindorff, *Catalogue*, no. 104, pl. 20). I believe both to be later than Dynasty XIX and part of the revival of Dynasty XVIII types occurring in Dynasties XX and XXI; Vandier attributes the former to Dynasty XX (*Manuel III*, p. 405, pl. cxxx.5). I do not think that the metal bust of a king in Hildesheim (Roemer-Pelizaeus-Museum, no. 384) is one of Ramesses II (H. Kayser, *Die Ägyptischen Altertümer . . .* [Hildesheim, 1966] p. 70, no. 384, fig. 61; *ibid.*, 2nd ed. [1973] p. 70, fig. 70, col. pl. vi).

A royal head presently on loan to The Brooklyn Museum is of interest in connection with this study (Brooklyn, acc. no. L78.17.36). It is carved in yellowish-brown quartzite and bears an incomplete Blue Crown. The king's face is rounded. He has a protruding forehead, rounded eyeballs, naso-labial folds, and



sociated with other headdresses such as the *nemes* or the civil wig.<sup>20</sup> That it is found on the Metropolitan head is a clue that this head must have been made later than the reign of Ramesses II.

Behind the helmet, near the top, is what remains of the trapezoidal end of the back-pillar (Figure 4). Only a small part of its back surface survives and there is no evidence of inscription on it.

The right ear of the king is well modeled, deeply carved, and has a drilled lobe, whereas the left one is very flat, pushed forward, and cursorily executed (Figures 2, 3). In working on the left ear, the sculptor was probably hindered by the staff that once extended up to the edge of the crown's flange on that side of the head (Figure 5).<sup>21</sup>

A noteworthy feature is the protruding forehead, a bony bulge upon which the eyebrows are carved (Figures 2, 3). This seemed so strange at one time that it was believed to be evidence for recutting, either ancient or modern. Yet there are several other heads ranging in date from Sety I to Merenptah that share the same peculiarity.<sup>22</sup> A modern reworking of the face would presumably have allowed more stone for the recarving of the nose had it been damaged; the fact that it is intact has also been a reason for doubting the head's authenticity. A forger, however, would

have cut back the head, face, and crown, and would not have carved either the side uraei or the bulge in the brow.<sup>23</sup> All this considered, the most reasonable conclusion is that the face as it appears now was carved in ancient times and that the protruding brow is an intrinsic part of the physiognomy.

The eyebrows are rendered plastically following the brow line, and their ends are squared off on the sides of the face. They are paralleled by the squared-off cosmetic lines.<sup>24</sup> The upper eyelids project slightly and are incised so as to indicate the separation between the eye socket and the brow. The upper lids have a flattened rim, beneath which are small rounded eyeballs set into straight, buttonhole sockets. Viewed from the side, the eyeballs are undercut and give the impression of looking down.

In the smooth, lower part of the face the philtrum is deeply carved and the mouth, with a thicker lower lip, is wide and gentle. A thin, plastically rendered edge separates the lips from the face. The corners of the mouth are slightly pulled up and they are drilled. Below, a squarish chin, set off by two lines coming down from the corners of the mouth, gives a sense of the strength of character of the king represented.<sup>25</sup>

Two creases are indicated in the neck. These are not mere incised lines; on the contrary, a rounded

corners of the mouth which are drilled. On the basis of these features a stylistic attribution to Dynasty XIX is possible. Further, the remnants on the left side of the head show that the king probably held a standard. It is possible, therefore, that we have here another representation of Ramesses II or of one of his successors, including Amenmesse.

20. Vandier, *Manuel III*, pls. CXXVI–CXXX.

21. A standard-bearing statue wearing a *khepresh* is not common. Vandier (*Manuel III*, pls. CXIX, CXX) illustrates two earlier examples of the end of Dynasty XVIII (British Museum, no. 37639 and Cairo CG 42095). The second standing statue in the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak must also originally have had a *khepresh*-helmet (Yurco, "Six Statues," no. 2) as does the statue of Ramesses II at Mit-Rahineh (Figure 7).

22. Sety I: MMA, no. 22.2.21 (Hayes, *Scepter II*, p. 335, fig. 210); relief in Sety's tomb (K. Lange and M. Hirmer, *Egypt* [New York, 1968] pls. 217–219). Ramesses II: Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, no. 89.558, Ramesseum, colossal head in black granite (both illustrated in Vandier, *Manuel III*, pls. CXXVI, CXXVII). On ostraca of Ramesses II the feature is clearly visible, perhaps exaggerated: Cairo CG 25121 and CG 25124 (*Ramses le Grand*, pp. 128, 130). It is also quite prominent on two heads stylistically datable to Ramesses II: Ptah (Munich, Gl.80, *Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst* [Munich, 1972] p. 34, pl. 12); and the head in Baltimore (Walters Art Gallery, no. 22.107, see note

19 above). Merenptah: Cairo CG 607 (*Ramses le Grand*, col. pl. 55, pp. 270–273). Although the published photographs are of poor quality, it appears from a survey of them that this feature is more frequent in the sculpture of Sety I and Ramesses II.

23. An aspect of forgeries to bear in mind is that pointed out by B. V. Bothmer in "The Head that Grew a Face: Notes on a Fine Forgery," *Miscellanea Wilbouriana* 1 (1972) pp. 25–31: in many cases, though certainly not in all of them, we find that a forgery has a life-span. By now it would have been evident to us if the Metropolitan Museum head were a forgery.

24. The cosmetic lines carved in the Ramesside Period have a detail peculiar to them, which needs further research as additional dated material is brought forth. The lower incision of the cosmetic line continues partly under the eyes and stops neatly a little further in than the outer corners of the eye. This detail is found also on dated sculpture from Sety I (MMA, no. 22.2.21, Hayes, *Scepter II*, fig. 210) to Merenptah (Cairo CG 607, *Ramses le Grand*, pp. 270–273); but, as with the protruding brow, it is more common under Sety I and Ramesses II. This is once again probably a device to aid in the application of color to the stone, since there seems to be a difference in the preparation of the eyelids between hard and soft sculpture.

25. Both in the "jeunesse souriante" mentioned by Vandier, *Manuel III*, p. 394, and in the downward glance of the eyes, the head compares well with the Turin statue (Figure 6).

fold of flesh accentuates the region of the Adam's apple (Figures 2, 3).<sup>26</sup>

Thus, the face of the Metropolitan Museum king is composed of features that fall into three categories: some are individualistic, others can be associated with the early Nineteenth Dynasty, and still others appear to belong to the later part of the same dynasty.<sup>27</sup> In its general impression the head resembles that of the Turin Ramesses II (Figure 6), as other scholars have suggested, but in the details of the face there are many anomalies which make a direct connection to Ramesses II difficult. From our knowledge of the iconography of Sety II, we can claim with some certainty that the face of the king at the Metropolitan was not recut to match it, since the face bears no resemblance whatsoever to securely identified heads of Sety II.<sup>28</sup> The latter has narrower eyes and a firmly set mouth which endow him with a mean expression not visible in the king at the Metropolitan, who in his "sweeter" look more closely resembles Ramesses II. It can be noted also that the torso to which the Metropolitan

head belongs was not recut by Sety II; had it been, it would have a very strong median line in keeping with Sety II's iconography (Figure 5).

These conflicting elements were resolved when Frank Yurco discovered traces of Amenmesse's name carved on the five companion statues of the king at Karnak. Amenmesse, it appears, had reason to strive toward establishing a firm line of descent from Ramesses II. Thus, that Amenmesse's head has some resemblance to that of Ramesses II is as logical as its lack of similarity to Sety II, the pharaoh who deposed Amenmesse and reinscribed his statues. It is also appropriate that the representation should be one of a man who ruled between Ramesses II and Sety II, since the statue harks back to the iconography of the former while foreshadowing that of the latter. With this discovery, The Metropolitan Museum of Art has in its Egyptian collection the first known representation in the round of King Amenmesse, who ruled after Ramesses II and Merenptah, from 1202 to 1199 B.C.

26. This can be found on most of the sculpture of the period listed in the preceding footnotes.

27. See above, notes 19, 22, and 24.

28. British Museum, no. 616, Louvre, no. A 24, and the colossal statue in Turin, no. Cat. 1383 (Vandier, *Manuel* III, pl. CXXX,3, pl. CXXVIII,5, and Giulio Farina, *Il R. Museo di antichità di Torino, sezione egizia* [Rome, 1938] p. 38, respectively). Their inscriptions have been collated by Yurco, who confirms that they are all original of the time of Sety II.