

The Statue of Amenemope-em-hat¹

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THE STATUE whose inscriptions have been analyzed by Herman De Meulenaere in the preceding article is of such high quality that one cannot help particularly regretting the fact that it has lost its head. But this defect has the compensatory advantage of focusing attention on the modeling of the body. In its overall character, as well as in its details, the statue is a consummate example of the artistic trends, both of its period and of the part of Egypt where it was made (Figures 1–3).²

1. Even more than their earlier counterparts, Egyptian statues of the Late Period suffer from inadequate publication or no publication at all. Since this study is primarily concerned with the minute details that make up a style and that can be judged only by a comparison of many contemporary objects, it could not have been undertaken had I not had the good fortune of being allowed access to the photographic files of the Corpus of Late Egyptian Sculpture at The Brooklyn Museum. I am grateful to Bernard V. Bothmer, Curator of Egyptian and Classical Art, for granting me permission to use them extensively in the preparation of this article; the extent of my debt will be apparent in the many references in the notes. Where possible I have added bibliographical references to CLES citations, especially when the statues are illustrated, though the picture may not show the detail under discussion. I am deeply indebted to Henry G. Fischer for numerous ideas and references; in many respects I am simply expanding his remarks on the statue under discussion in his article “Anatomy in Egyptian Art,” cited in notes 7 and 8. I also wish to thank Dr. Fischer and Professor Bothmer for reading the article in manuscript and for their many helpful suggestions.

2. Metropolitan Museum of Art, accession 24.2.2. The height is 64 cm. The base measures 28 cm. wide, 42 cm. deep, 10.5 cm. high. The area of the break at the neck is 12.7 cm. deep at the middle of the back pillar and 19.8 cm. wide at its widest part. For bibliography on the statue see De Meulenaere’s notes 3 and 4.

3. As it is called in standard Egyptological usage. Technically, it is a sedimentary rock, a greywacke; see A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian*

Carved in a dark green schist³ that has a few lighter patches characteristic of this stone (for example, on the left breast and below the right eye of the Hathor head), and polished to a velvety surface typical of the early Late Period,⁴ the statue is modeled with great attention to certain details of anatomy. The break at the neck has left enough traces at the back to show that the figure wore a striated wig that fell to the level of the shoulders.⁵ The transition from neck to trunk is rather abrupt: the two meet in a clearly demarcated, rounded

Materials and Industries (London, 4th ed., rev. and enlarged, 1962) pp. 419–420.

4. In contrast to the highly polished harder stones preferred in later times: Bernard V. Bothmer et al., *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period* (Brooklyn, 1960), p. 5. Since the term “early Late Period” will be used repeatedly in this article, I should define my use of it at the outset. The Late Period proper is generally taken to extend from the XXVth Dynasty, ca. 740–656 B.C., to the end of Ptolemaic rule in 30 B.C. (Bothmer’s periodization in *ESLP*, pp. xxx–xxxii, includes even the Roman Period, 30 B.C.–A.D. 324, when Egypt was no longer an independent political entity). Since the concern here is with art history rather than political periods, “early Late Period” refers to the XXVth Dynasty and the first reign of Dynasty XXVI, that of Psamtik I. The works of this brief span form, on the whole, a coherent body. Similarly, by “early XXVIth Dynasty” and “early Saite” I mean works dating to Psamtik I, but do not exclude pieces that may be slightly later, insofar as they reflect the earlier style rather than the new currents that first become visible during the reign of Psamtik II. This terminology is a matter of necessity as well as of convenience, for many works still cannot be more precisely dated.

5. The striated wig was once thought to have been confined to Dynasty XXV and the first two reigns of Dynasty XXVI (*ESLP*, p. 2), but at least two statues are now known that show its use in the time of Apries: Cairo J.E. 38021 (CLES; unpublished) and Lausanne Eg. 9 (CLES; for bibliographical references see note 60). In general, however, its appearance on a XXVth Dynasty statue suggests a date early in the period.



FIGURES 1-3

Kneeling statue of Amenemope-em-hat. Early XXVIth Dynasty. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 24.2.2

line, characteristic of Egyptian sculpture. Set well under the neck, but no lower than they usually appear, are the collarbones, carved as obliquely curving ridges with the sternal notch well marked.⁶ The rounded pectorals, with protuberant nipples, are quite prominent, their projection emphasized by the receding line of the lower torso. They are separated by a broad, shallow depression that runs the length of the trunk, becoming most noticeable in the area just above the round navel. The rib cage is indicated only very lightly, as a slight rounding in the receding line of the torso,

and the abdomen, though differentiated from the hips, is very flat. The impression is one, not only of muscularity, but of considerable tension, as if the figure had taken a deep breath and was holding it, pulling in his stomach at the same time.⁷

The same muscularity is evident in the shoulders and arms, despite the damage they have suffered. The left shoulder has been broken at the front and the right shoulder at the back, but we can still see the way in which their broadness curves into the bulging muscles of the upper arm. This bulge is particularly apparent



from the back (De Meulenaere's Figure 1) where, on the left side, one can also see a slight bunching of the flesh of the arm slightly below the armpit. The lower arms have suffered badly, the left one being lost for over half its length along with most of the hand, and the right one broken off altogether from slightly above the elbow. But enough remains of the left forearm to show how the muscle is tensed below the elbow, creating an oblique, almost angular surface. A curious contrast to the tension and muscularity of the body is formed by the hands, particularly the right one, which

is almost fully preserved. They are modeled with equal care, the nails being clearly shown and the cuticles subtly indicated, but they are flat and lifeless, without any hint of bones, tendons, or joints. Such a "hieroglyphic" hand, little more than a symbolic notation for its real-life counterpart, is characteristic of even the most carefully modeled Egyptian sculptures, especially when the hand, as here, is flat, rather than flexed or fisted.

The figure wears a short pleated kilt, as we can clearly see at both sides, where the pleats are indicated by fluting. But at the front the lap is treated as a smooth flat shelf. Nor is there at the front any indication of the belt that can be seen behind the arms.

The legs show the same combination of broad generalizing treatment and attention to specific anatomical details: the kneecaps are large smooth convex surfaces without any indication of the bone structure, but the bulge of flesh at the inner fold of each knee, caused by its bending, is carefully modeled, to the point of slight

6. This unnaturally slanted collarbone is typically Lower Egyptian; it may be well observed on a statue of a Mendesian official contemporary with the piece under discussion, Palermo 145 (Henri Wild, "Statue d'un noble mendésien du règne de Psamétik I^{er}," *BFAO* 60 [1960] pp. 43-67, pls. 1-v, especially pl. II; *ESLP*, no. 20, pl. 18). In this case, however, the sternal notch is not indicated. On the other hand, the sternal notch is well marked, although the collarbones themselves are very faint, on Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 22.79 (George Steindorff, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery* [Baltimore, 1946] no. 154, pl. 24). The slant tends to be less pronounced in Upper Egyptian sculpture, where the collarbones are sometimes nearly horizontal (*ESLP*, pp. 29-30). Though often more prominent than in earlier periods, the collarbones are by no means always indicated, even on works of high quality; they do not seem to be present, for example, on Cairo C.G. 647 (Mentuemhat, Dyn. XXV/XXVI; Ludwig Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum von Kairo* [*Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*] II [Berlin, 1925] pl. 119), on Cairo C.G. 42243 (a son of Mentuemhat; Georges Legrain, *Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers* [*Catalogue général*] III [Cairo, 1914] pl. XLIX) or on British Museum 1132, datable to Psametik I and probably from Karnak (CLES; *The Illustrated London News* 234, no. 6246 [Feb. 21, 1959] p. 313 [illustrated]; Herman De Meulenaere, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 55 [1960] col. 129; De Meulenaere, "La famille des vizirs Nespamedou et Nespakachouty," *Chronique d'Égypte* 38 [1963] p. 73 f). Although collarbones are often represented on Theban sculptures, it is my impression that they are somewhat less frequent, and certainly less prominent, on the better works than they are in the north.

7. This tension has been noted by Henry G. Fischer in "Anatomy in Egyptian Art," *Apollo* 82 (Sept., 1965) p. 173.

exaggeration. Two muscles are clearly shown on the lower leg, the peroneus longus, forming a ridge down its length, and the gastrocnemius or calf muscle.⁸ Representation of the latter, as we shall see, is quite rare in Egyptian sculpture. The peroneus longus terminates in the rounded projection of the anklebone. The feet are fairly high-arched, and the toes are quite naturalistically splayed. But, like the fingers, they appear boneless and jointless, although the nails are painstakingly marked. They are, in fact, typical Egyptian feet.⁹

The object held by Amenemope-em-hat is an architectural element, consisting of a rectangular post with beveled corners, surmounted by a capital in the shape of the head of the goddess Hathor, on which rests an abacus. The whole forms a cult symbol of Hathor (Figure 4).¹⁰ Although the presentation of an emblem of this deity by a kneeling statue enjoyed a certain popularity during the reign of Psamtik I,¹¹ most such statues hold a Hathor sistrum.¹²

The modeling of the emblem has received as much attention as that of the figure itself. The heavy striated wig of the goddess, with its soft undulations running at

8. Both the calf muscle and the skin fold at the knee were observed by Fischer, "Anatomy," p. 173.

9. The feet occasionally receive a little more attention in this period than has been devoted to them in the present example. The cuticles of the toenails are indicated on Brussels E. 8039 (CLES; unpublished); Copenhagen Thorvaldsen's Museum 356, which must have been a very carefully modeled work, to judge from the lower body, which is all that survives (CLES; Henry Madsen, "Les inscriptions égyptiennes du Musée Thorvaldsen à Copenhague," *Sphinx* 13 [1910] p. 56, no. 356); and Durham 509, also a very fine work (CLES; S. Birch, *Catalogue of the Collection of Egyptian Antiquities at Alnwick Castle* [London, 1880] pp. 69–71, pl. A, right [opposite p. 72; drawing]. The toes are widely separated and unusually splayed on East Berlin 10289, where the knees are also farther apart than usual (CLES; Königliche Museen zu Berlin, *Ausführliches Verzeichnis der Aegyptischen Altertümer* [Berlin, 1899] p. 258 [not illustrated]). Occasionally the toes are not splayed; on Cairo J.E. 37425 this causes an awkward inward bend to the little toe (CLES; unpublished). On a few statues the tops of the toes are rounded and well differentiated from the flat, depressed surfaces of the nails: Cairo J.E. 36908 (asymmetrically squatting: CLES; Hermann Kees, "Der Vezir Hori, Sohn des Jutjek," *ZAS* 83 [1958] pl. xiib; Kenneth A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt [1100–650 B.C.]* [Warminster, 1973] §194, p. 228. Both mistakenly give the number as 86908.); J.E. 37425 (CLES); Durham 509 (CLES). But even these do not approach the degree of naturalism that occurs sporadically in other periods, such as the quite realistically rendered toes of the early XXVIIth Dynasty statue of Hekatefnakht, Louvre E. 25499 (CLES; Jacques Vandier, "La statue de Hekatefnakht," *La Revue du Louvre* 14 [1964] pp. 57–66).



FIGURE 4
Hathor symbol found at Deir el Bahri (photo: Metropolitan Museum)

10. This example was found at Deir el Bahri (Herbert E. Winlock, "The Museum's Excavations at Thebes," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, Part II, *The Egyptian Expedition 1922–1923* [Dec., 1923], fig. 34, p. 39; dated by the excavator to the XVIIIth Dynasty). Though far more crudely worked, it is strikingly similar to the object held by the statue under discussion, differing chiefly in the facts that, like a true Hathor column, it appears to have two heads of the goddess, and that it is mounted on a stepped base.

11. *ESLP*, p. 16. Perhaps there is some connection between the appearance of such statues and the fact, noted by Labib Habachi, that Hathor capitals are popular in temple architecture during the XXVIth Dynasty, whereas they are less often used from Dynasty XIX through Dynasty XXV (*Tell Basta* [Supplément aux *ASAE*, Cahier no. 22] [Cairo, 1957] p. 66).

12. J. J. Clère, who is making a study of sistrophorous statues, seems to feel that such variations are of no great significance, since the face of the goddess is the most important element ("Propos sur un corpus des statues sistrophores égyptiennes," *ZAS* 96 [1969] p. 2). And indeed, the distinction between Hathor sistrum and Hathor capital is often very indistinct, for the sistrum clearly incorporates a Hathor capital, and the capital is typically surmounted by a superstructure which has elements of the sistrum.

right angles to the striations, shows the closest sort of simulation of wavy tresses known to ancient Egyptian conventions. The necklace, carved on the post under her chin, is cut with precision. But the cow-eared face, though modeled with great finesse and refinement, has a curious, flattened look, particularly evident in the nose, which is very flat and therefore also seems extremely broad at the nostrils. All the features, when studied individually, share in the general disproportion: the plane of the eyes and their plastic brows is too flat; the area between eye and nose is too depressed; the cheeks seem to push in on the nose and on the mouth, which is too wide for the sharply narrowed jaw; the square chin is excessively short. In fact, the head, although modeled in the round, is conceived two-dimensionally and handled with the same conventions usually applied to Egyptian representations of the full face in relief.¹³ This is quite deliberate, for it is not really the head of the goddess that is depicted, but her symbol on a capital. The fact that relief, rather than sculptural, conventions are normally applied to such capitals may indicate that a mask of the goddess is represented, or perhaps, with typical Egyptian logic, that a face was applied to the stone block which formed the actual supporting element.¹⁴ In any case, the avoidance of naturalistic, three-dimensional modeling emphasizes the abstract, symbolic quality of the emblem.

The pose of a figure kneeling and holding before it the emblem or image of a deity is not an innovation of the Late Period, but it is by no means one of the most ancient types of Egyptian statuary. Although kneeling figures exist from the earliest period on,¹⁵ the theo-

13. The technical difficulties arising from the attempt to reproduce essentially three-dimensional forms in relief, and the conventions established in the attempt to cope with them, may clearly be seen in the frontal figure represented on a relief from Giza now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts: William Stevenson Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom* (London, 2nd ed., 1949) pl. 57c, dated by Smith to the VIth Dynasty (p. 190). Once established, the conventions remained applicable to all faces represented frontally in relief; thus they are also used in the XXVIth Dynasty for the faces of large anthropoid stone sarcophagi (Marie-Louise Buhl, *The Late Egyptian Anthropoid Stone Sarcophagi* [Copenhagen, 1959] no. A, 5, fig. 3 [Leiden 149]; no. A, 7, fig. 5 [MMA 07.229.1, here shown in profile view]; no. B, a1, fig. 4 [Boston 30.834]). The same treatment is accorded the full-face hieroglyph *hr* throughout its history. See, for example, the representations collected by Karol Myśliwiec in "A propos des signes hiéroglyphiques 'hr' et 'tp'," *ZAS* 98 (1972) figs. 2, 3, 5, 7, 9,

12, 13, 14. His conclusion (pp. 86, 96) that the hieroglyph represents a foreigner seems to me most unlikely, for the peculiarities of the face are precisely those we have already noted on a Hathor capital and on representations of Egyptians at various periods.

14. Certainly the Hathor capital was not conceived as a full head. As Eugen von Mercklin notes in "Das ägyptische Figuralkapitell," *Studies Presented to David Moore Robinson* (Saint Louis, 1951) pp. 198–199, the majority of such capitals have either two or four faces of the goddess; he quotes (p. 198) von Bissing's interesting comment that the Hathor capital is a "Pfeiler, gegen den das Kultbild gelehnt ist." Von Mercklin's illustrations in *Antike Figuralkapitelle* (Berlin, 1962) figs. 1–39, give a good idea of the Hathor mask as it appears on capitals of various periods. For similar Hathor heads on sistra held by statues of this period, see, for example, Cairo C.G. 646 (CLES; Borchardt, *Statuen* II, pl. 119), British Museum 1132 + 1225 (CLES; for other references, see note 6), Louvre E. 25388 (CLES; François Lenormant, *Collection de feu M. Raifé* [Hôtel Drouot, March 18–23, 1867] p. 2, no. 5 [not illustrated]).

15. The history of the kneeling statue in Egyptian art prior to the XVIIIth Dynasty is a curious one. Throughout this long period there is not, to my knowledge, a single example clearly made to represent the owner in his own right, in tomb or temple. The IIrd or IIIrd Dynasty kneeling man Cairo C.G. 1 (Edward L. B. Terrence and Henry G. Fischer, *Treasures of the Cairo Museum* [London, 1970] no. 2, pp. 25–28) was most likely, as Fischer has observed (p. 25), a funerary priest of royal cults; it is noteworthy that the statue was found at Memphis; it was probably put in a temple of the owner's service, rather than in his tomb. Even greater subservience is indicated in the placement of the kneeling funerary priest Cairo C.G. 119 (Borchardt, *Statuen* I, pl. 26): it was deposited in his master's tomb and was, for all practical purposes, a servant figure. A still greater degree of humility marks the little figures kneeling to present vessels; these begin in the Archaic Period (Zaki Y. Saad, *Royal Excavations at Helwan [1945–1947]* [Supplément aux *ASAE*, Cahier 14] [Cairo, 1951] pl. xxiv; ivory; the figure represented is a hunchback) and continue into the Middle Kingdom (MMA 22.1.124: Bodil Hornemann, *Types of Ancient Egyptian Statuary* III [Copenhagen, 1957] no. 640; faience, representing a dwarf); one might also mention the numerous servant statues kneeling to grind grain (James H. Breasted Jr., *Egyptian Servant Statues* [Bollingen Series XIII] [Washington, D.C., 1948] pls. 15–21), and kneeling bound captives, such as MMA 47.2 (William C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt* I [New York, 1953] fig. 67, p. 114). There seems little doubt that a connotation of servitude was attached to the pose, rendering it unsuitable for representation of the deceased. Nevertheless, it could be applied to the king as servant of the gods: the Brooklyn statuette 39.121 depicts Pepy I kneeling and holding out two *nu* pots. This pose is very rare before Dynasty XVIII, but it is repeated twice without variation in the Middle Kingdom (Jacques Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne III La statuaire* [Paris, 1958] pp. 221, 683, referring to Cairo C.G. 42013 [Sesostris III] and Karnak-Nord E. 133 [Amenemhat III]), suggesting that a specific ritual was involved. The kneeling statue of Queen Sobkneferu, from the end of the XIIth Dynasty, is apparently too damaged for one to be sure of the position of the hands. Vandier believes they rested flat on the thighs (*Manuel* III, p. 215, note 2), but Labib Habachi thinks it possible that they held vessels (Habachi, "Khatá'na-Qantir: Importance," *ASAE* 52 [1952–54] p. 459; the statue is illustrated in his pl. viiB).

phoric kneeling statue has its origins in the early Eighteenth Dynasty, when both Hatshepsut and her great official Senenmut had themselves portrayed in this fashion.¹⁶ From such exalted beginnings the pose no doubt acquired a high status for, following a period of lesser popularity in the later Eighteenth Dynasty,¹⁷ it was frequent in the later New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period for statues of large size and careful work.¹⁸ The Late Period inherited it without interruption; in fact, many of the earliest examples, especially at Thebes, reproduce not only the pose but also the elaborate pleated, long-skirted costume of the earlier examples.¹⁹ But such fussy dress did not accord with the severer principles of a period that, in general, looked further back in time for its models, and almost from the beginning of the Late Period we find the New Kingdom

pose rendered in the costume of a much earlier and simpler time: a short kilt, often the pleated *šndyt*, with chest and arms bare of any ornaments.²⁰ In keeping with its period, our statue wears the *šndyt*, for the short kilt quickly prevailed, apparently during the reign of Psamtik I. Not until the Persians conquered Egypt, establishing a dynasty now called the Twenty-seventh, was a kneeling figure again shown wearing a long skirt. But then it was the peculiar garment, wrapped high on the chest, that the Persians may have introduced.²¹

These remarks on the costume of kneeling figures have brought us to a tendency well known for the early Late Period, the borrowing from styles of the past, which is known as archaism.²² This archaizing fashion affected almost all aspects of the art of the Twenty-fifth and early Twenty-sixth Dynasties.

16. Hatshepsut: MMA 23.3.1, 23.3.2. Senenmut: Cairo C.G. 579 (Borchardt, *Statuen* II, pl. 99), Cairo J.E. 34582 [Bernard V. Bothmer, "More Statues of Senenmut," *Brooklyn Museum Annual* XI [1969–70] figs. 15–18, pp. 140–142]; Brooklyn 67.68 (Bothmer, "More Statues," fig. 1, pp. 125–143; the article also discusses two examples in private collections); Louvre E. 11037. The importance of such statues may be realized in the fact that Senenmut himself apparently commissioned a copy of one of them (the copy is MMA 48.149.7; see William C. Hayes, "Varia from the Time of Hatshepsut," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 15 [1957] pp. 84–88). For a discussion of the significance of statues representing private people holding images see Hans Bonnet, "Herkunft und Bedeutung der naophoren Statue," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 17 (1961) pp. 91–98. Bonnet makes some telling points in looking to cult practices, and in particular festival processions, as origins for the type. One wonders, however, whether "genugsam Gelegenheiten . . . bei denen man in die Knie sank" (p. 96) are sufficient to account for the adoption of the kneeling pose at this time, especially since, as he himself points out, this kind of explanation is not very satisfactory for the naophorous block statue.

17. Examples can be cited, however, for the reigns of Amenhotep II (Cairo C.G. 935; Borchardt, *Statuen* III, pl. 158), Tuthmosis IV (Brooklyn L93.88.2) and Amenhotep III (Cairo C.G. 901; Borchardt, *Statuen* III, pl. 156).

18. Dynasties XIX and XX: Brooklyn 36.615; numerous examples in Cairo: Legrain, *Statues* II (Cairo, 1909), passim; MMA 33.2.1 (Hayes, *Scepter* II [New York, 1959] fig. 219, p. 351). Dynasty XXII: Cairo C.G. 42208 (Legrain, *Statues* III, pl. xv), C.G. 42229 (Legrain, *Statues* III, pls. xxxvi, xxxvii).

19. East Berlin 8806 (CLES; Labib Habachi, "A Statue of Bakennifi, Nomarch of Athribis," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 15 [1957] p. 73); Cairo C.G. 1056 (CLES; Borchardt, *Statuen* IV, p. 41: illustrated with a sketch); Cairo C.G. 42245 (CLES; Legrain, *Statues* III, pl. 11); Louvre E. 25388 (CLES; Lenormant, *Coll. A. Raifé*, p. 2, no. 5); Saint Louis 221:24 (CLES; *ESLP* no. 3, pl. 3). Most of these examples

belong to the brief span conventionally labeled Dynasty XXV/XXVI. Cairo C.G. 42245, for example, was made for one Horsiese, a brother of the great Mentuemhat who flourished both under the Kushites and Psamtik I: the statue could have been made in either dynasty. That the continuation of this costume spanned both dynasties is proved by the Saint Louis statue, where XXVth Dynasty Divine Consorts are named, which make it datable to the time of Taharqa, and by the Louvre piece, which not only represents a well-known official of Psamtik I, but also has the cartouche of that king.

20. The same Horsiese of note 19 also had himself represented in this fashion: Cairo C.G. 42244 (Legrain, *Statues* III, pl. 1) and so did his brother, Mentuemhat, Cairo C.G. 42237, holding a stela (Legrain, *Statues* III, pl. XLVII); he wears a necklace, consisting of a pendant hung from several strands of beads.

21. For the form and dates of this skirt see *ESLP*, pp. 75, 76; Bernard Bothmer has recently called attention to the continued representation of the garment in the fourth century ("The Head That Grew a Face," *Miscellanea Wilbouriana* 1 [Brooklyn, 1972] p. 30). Its representation on kneeling figures of the XXVIIth Dynasty include Cairo C.G. 726 (*ESLP*, no. 65, pls. 61–62) and Louvre E. 25499 (Vandier, "La statue," figs. 1–3).

22. See *ESLP*, p. xxxvii and passim, especially p. 30. Much work needs to be done on Egyptian archaism and imitation of the past in all periods. Besides the well-known proclivity of the initiators of a new era in Egyptian history for systematically looking to the great monuments of the past, especially in royal art, there are sporadic and seemingly isolated instances throughout. We do not know, for example, why Amenhotep, son of Hapu, had himself portrayed, under Amenhotep III, in Middle Kingdom guise, complete to pose, costume, and a very creditable imitation of a late XIIth Dynasty face (Cairo C.G. 42127: Legrain, *Statues* I [Cairo, 1906], pl. LXXVI. Another of his statues also shows him with a Middle Kingdom wig: Cairo C.G. 551: Borchardt, *Statuen* II, pl. 92. Its pose may also invoke the Middle Kingdom; compare the statues of Sesostri III found at Deir el Bahri: one is illustrated in E. A. Wallis Budge, *Egyptian Sculptures in the British Museum*

Having so long a past on which to draw, the Egyptians of this period were fairly eclectic in their borrowing. They rejected much of the late New Kingdom tradition, which had been handed down through the Third Intermediate Period,²³ and turned instead to the two great preceding periods. From the Middle Kingdom they took a few statue types, such as the seated cloaked figure²⁴ and the seated crosslegged scribe with legs covered by a long skirt.²⁵ The distinctive Middle Kingdom wig with pointed lappets appears,²⁶ and the heavy-lidded face so well known from the later Twelfth Dynasty enjoys a brief vogue.²⁷

Even more striking, however, is the attempt to simulate the art of the Old Kingdom. It shows itself in the revival of the crosslegged scribal pose for important

officials,²⁸ in the preference we have noted for the most characteristic Old Kingdom costume, the short kilt, and in the representation of certain types of long unused wigs.²⁹ But the sculptors of the early Late Period were not concerned simply to reproduce obsolete details of fashion. They sought to recreate the spirit of the earlier works, their purity and above all their strength.³⁰ What they saw in the early art, and the ways in which they utilized it, make a fascinating chapter in the history of art.

We have observed that the torso of the Metropolitan statue is bisected by a broad shallow groove running its length. This somewhat unnaturalistic manner of organizing the trunk, known on other sculptures of the early Twenty-sixth Dynasty,³¹ is characteristic of the

[London, 1914] pl. xi). The XIXth and XXth Dynasties are full of such throwbacks: Sety I recalls the style of Tuthmosis III (MMA 22.2.21; Hayes, *Scepter* II, fig. 210, p. 335); Bakenkhonsu, under Ramesses II, borrows a specific peculiarity of representing the eye from the time of Amenhotep III (Munich Gl. W. A. F. 38; Hans Wolfgang Müller, *Die ägyptische Sammlung des bayerischen Staates* [Munich, 1966] fig. 38); Ramesses III imitates (almost to the point of caricature) the features of Tutankhamun (Boston 75.10: Vandier, *Manuel* III, p. 402, note 4, pl. cxxx, 2), to name only a few of the most obvious examples. Many, no doubt, have not even been recognized.

23. That it is a deliberate rejection is emphasized by the brief survival of such details as the elaborate double wig with its striated and echeloned patterns. Carried over into the early XXVth Dynasty (British Museum 1514: CLES; Jean Leclant, *Enquêtes sur les sacerdoces et les sanctuaires égyptiens à l'époque dite "éthiopienne,"* [Cairo, 1954] V B, pp. 78–83, pls. xviii–xxii), it occurs occasionally until the time of Psamtik I (British Museum 1132: CLES; for bibliography see note 6), then disappears from the scene. See also *ESLP*, p. 12.

24. Examples are given in *ESLP*, p. 2; since the works listed here that have a provenance are both Theban, one should perhaps also mention the Memphite example discussed elsewhere in *ESLP* (no. 10, pp. 11–12). A seated cloaked statue is the subject of Irmgard Woldering's "Zur Plastik der Äthiopenzeit," *ŽĀS* 80 (1955) pp. 70–73.

25. British Museum 1514 (CLES; for bibliography see note 23), early XXVth Dynasty. Note that the Middle Kingdom pose is here combined with a New Kingdom double wig.

26. Leningrad, Hermitage 18112, dated to the reign of Psamtik I (CLES; I. A. Lapis and M. E. Mat'e, *Drevneegipetskaia Skulptura v Sobranii Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha* [Moscow, 1969] pl. 70, no. 108, pp. 106–107 [with further bibliography]).

27. Cairo J.E. 37866 (Leclant, *Enquêtes*, pls. 1–14; the head is quite well illustrated in Woldering, "Zur Plastik," pl. viii, fig. 3); Richmond 51-19-3 (*ESLP*, no. 8, p. 9, pl. 8; also see the discussion of this phenomenon, with further examples, on pp. 2, 8).

28. *ESLP*, pp. xxxvii, 23; I cannot help wondering if the high status of this pose, which is used for large and important sculpture

(such as Cairo J.E. 37341: CLES; Rudolf Anthes, "Der Berliner Hocker des Petamenophis," *ŽĀS* 73 [1937] p. 30, no. 4; Palermo 145: Wild, "Statue d'un noble mendésien," pp. 43–67, pls. 1–v; Richmond 51-19-4: "Herald of the King," *Bulletin of the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts* 25, no. 8 [April, 1965] pp. 1–2), is not conferred to some extent by its use in the New Kingdom to represent the highest officials in the land. Such statues as the two belonging to Amenhotep, son of Hapu (Cairo J.E. 44861: Terrace and Fischer, *Treasures*, no. 25, pp. 117–120, and J.E. 44862), that of Horemheb (MMA 23.10.1: Hayes, *Scepter* II, fig. 190, p. 305), and the pair made for the vizier Paramessu (Cairo J.E. 44863, 44864) must have been visible and well known; indeed, the Amenhotep and Paramessu statues were still in situ when excavated at Karnak (Georges Legrain, *Au pylône d'Harmhabi à Karnak*, *ASAE* 14 [1914] pp. 15–16, pls. 1–iii).

29. Such as the striated wig half covering the ears, on a head found at the temple of Mut at Karnak (Sale Catalogue, *An Important Group of Ancient Egyptian Sculpture*, Christie, Manson and Woods, Dec. 5, 1972, no. 4); or the short echeloned wig: East Berlin 8803 (CLES; *Ausführliches Verzeichnis*, p. 83 [not illustrated]); Louvre A 89 (CLES; Bernard V. Bothmer, "Apotheosis in Late Egyptian Sculpture," *Kēmi* 20 [1970], no. x, pl. xi, fig. 18); both of the latter are standing statues.

30. The thoroughness of this attempt to reproduce both the spirit and details of Old Kingdom works is best seen in the standing statues. One of the most interesting is Louvre A 89 (CLES; Bothmer, "Apotheosis," no. x, pl. xi, fig. 18), datable to Dynasty XXV and possibly from Heliopolis. It was probably an Old Kingdom model that led the owner to have himself shown with a woman standing beside him, for women are not often represented in this period (*ESLP*, p. xxxvii). The bipartite modeling of the torso, the muscular arms, everything is in the best Old Kingdom tradition (see notes 32, 35). Even such a tiny detail as the indication of ridges across the sternum has been taken over from the prototype. (For an Old Kingdom example of this feature, MMA, 48.111, see Fischer, "Anatomy," p. 172 and fig. 6, p. 173.)

31. Other examples of the median line rendered as a broad depression may be found in *ESLP*, nos. 18 and 19, pl. 16.

period; it clearly derives from the narrower line that divides the torso of all fine Old Kingdom statues.³² There can be no doubt that the torso of our figure is meant to recall those of the Old Kingdom; the firmness and reticence of the modeling and the lack of emphasis on the rib cage strongly recall Old Kingdom models.³³ But there is considerable difference between the torso of Amenemope-em-hat and his Old Kingdom predecessors. The pectorals are more prominent than is usually the case earlier, and the sharply receding line beneath them is a late development. The flattened stomach is very far removed from the Old Kingdom models.³⁴ The result is that, whereas an Old Kingdom torso gives an impression of equilibrium, even of a healthy relaxation, the later work is taut and strained. There is a sense, also reflected in the limbs, of almost painful tension.

The tensed forearm of the Metropolitan statue provides another example of borrowing from the Old Kingdom. From the Fourth Dynasty on the muscles of the lower arm are often quite prominently marked, not

only when the fist is clenched,³⁵ but even when, on seated statues, one hand rests palm down on the thigh, and one might expect to find the corresponding forearm relaxed.³⁶ The emphasis, therefore, is on the muscularity of the arm, but a certain effect of tautness is produced. This effect is much reduced in the Middle Kingdom; although the muscle continues to be indicated, both when the hand is fistled and when it is open,³⁷ the modeling tends to be considerably more subdued. The generally slacker body modeling of the New Kingdom dispenses with the forearm muscle. When the kneeling figure holding a large object appears in this period the arms, like the hands, are represented as perfectly relaxed.³⁸

The early Late Period revival of the tensed forearm is most successful on examples that are closest to Old Kingdom types, especially on the standing figure. When the fists are clenched, the effect, though often somewhat exaggerated, is not dissimilar to the prototypes.³⁹ But its application to the theophoric kneeling pose⁴⁰ creates an effect of strain unlike anything found

32. Such as the Vth Dynasty Ranofar (Cairo C.G. 19), well illustrated in *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art, Le Musée du Caire* (Éditions 'TEL,' 1949) pl. 23. This narrow median line appears on early Late Period standing figures: Boston 07.494 (*ESLP*, no. 9, pl. 9); Cairo J.E. 38045 (CLES; Bothmer, "Apotheosis," no. XII, pl. XI, fig. 20); Cairo J.E. 39403, 39404 (representing Taharqa: Jean Leclant, *Recherches sur les monuments thébains de la XXV^e dynastie dite éthiopienne* [Cairo, 1965] pls. LXIV, LXV); Louvre A 89 (CLES; Bothmer, "Apotheosis," no. X, pl. XI, fig. 18).

33. Thus I must take issue with the view expressed in *ESLP*, p. xxxv, that bipartite torso modeling in the early Late Period derives from Middle Kingdom sculpture. On the statue of Sesostris I (MMA 25.6; Hayes, *Scepter I*, fig. 110, p. 180; Fischer, "Anatomy," fig. 1, p. 169), cited in *ESLP*, p. 11, as a prototype, the median line is quite subdued and the rounding of the rib cage even hints at a tripartite organization of the torso; the whole is much more subtle and rounded than Old Kingdom sculpture. Professor Bothmer himself, in class and in conversation, has often spoken of the Old Kingdom elements in such statues as the one under discussion.

34. Nor have I been able to find very close parallels for this particular feature on statues contemporary with the Metropolitan piece. It is, however, a detail very difficult to observe in photographs.

35. A few obvious examples are the right arm of the seated Chephren (Cairo C.G. 14; Borchardt, *Statuen I*, pl. 4), the arms of the king in the Mycerinus dyad (Boston 11.1738: Cyril Aldred, *Old Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt* [London, 1949] fig. 26) and of Ranofar on the statue cited in note 32.

36. The arms are equally tense, for example, on the seated Vth Dynasty Nykare, although one hand is fistled and the other flat (MMA 52.19; Hayes, *Scepter I*, frontispiece). Some Old Kingdom

seated figures, especially those from royal workshops, show a clear differentiation between the arms of the fistled and the relaxed hands: thus the Mycerinus colossus (Boston 09.204; Smith, *History of Egyptian Sculpture*, pl. 13b), but also the nonroyal statue Cairo C.G. 85 (Borchardt, *Statuen I*, pl. 19). The higher profile of the right arm in such cases apparently reflects the fact that the fist is upright with the little finger at the bottom, so that the arm is turned, radius and ulna being lined up vertically. This differentiation on seated statues may also be observed in the Middle Kingdom when the fist is held vertically (MMA 33.1.1: Vandier, *Manuel III*, pl. LXXVII, 2), but the arms are equally flat when the fistled hand rests palm down.

37. As, for example, on the beautifully modeled seated Sesostris I, MMA 25.6. For views of the two arms, compare the illustrations in Hayes, *Scepter I*, fig. 110, p. 180, and Fischer, "Anatomy," fig. 1, p. 169.

38. This appears to be true of all the examples cited in notes 16–18, except for Cairo C.G. 571, where the surface of the arm is too broken to be observed.

39. The muscles are especially noticeable on the standing statues Cairo C.G. 42243 (CLES; Legrain, *Statues III*, pl. XLIX; generally over-muscled), Louvre A 89 (CLES; Bothmer, "Apotheosis," no. X, pl. XI, fig. 18) and Boston 07.494 (CLES; *ESLP*, no. 9, pl. 9). A peculiarity of the arms of the last-named statue is the marking of the elbows at the back as two circles. The same detail may be observed on another statue of the same man, Cairo J.E. 36991 (CLES; unpublished; mentioned in *ESLP*, p. 11) and on Louvre A 111, which is datable to Psamtik I (CLES; Charles Boreux, *Guide-catalogue sommaire. Musée National du Louvre. Département des Antiquités Égyptiennes II* [Paris, 1932] p. 463 [not illustrated]).

40. On kneeling statues the tensed forearm is customarily indi-

in the Old Kingdom. It is as if the hands were being pressed tightly against the object they hold; it is not a pose one would want to keep for all eternity. The detail represents another departure from the spirit of the model, even though the outward form is revived.

The striving for tension in Amenemope-em-hat's figure is probably the result of an effort to impart a sense of vitality and life. It impelled the sculptor, not only to exaggerate his borrowings, but even to add new details not to be found in the prototypes. The clearest example of this elaboration on the model is to be seen in the muscles of the leg.

A strong, muscular lower leg was part of the ideal of the perfect Old Kingdom body. Strength was conveyed by the rather curious convention of marking the long muscles as a series of vertical grooves and ridges, sometimes quite sharply faceted.⁴¹ Behind them the bulging calf was often indicated in a fairly naturalistic manner.⁴² The importance of the lower limbs may be

cated by a ridge that creates an angular surface, as on the statue under discussion. The feature is not always as pronounced, however, as on the Metropolitan piece. Examples are British Museum 41561 (CLES; unpublished; mentioned in *ESLP*, p. 20), Louvre E. 9417 (CLES; unpublished; mentioned in *ESLP*, pp. 38, 44); Turin 3043 (CLES; unpublished). Exactly the same stylization is used when the hands rest flat on the thighs: Athens N.M. 8 (CLES; Karl Piehl, "Textes égyptiens inédits," *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 10 [1888] p. 532, no. 4; D. Mallet, "Quelques monuments égyptiens du Musée d'Athènes," *Recueil de Travaux* 18 [1896] p. 10, no. 1267; inscriptions only); East Berlin 10289 (CLES; Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, *Führer durch das Berliner Ägyptische Museum* [Berlin, 1961] p. 77 [not illustrated]); Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek 591 (Otto Koefoed-Petersen, *Catalogue des statues et statuettes égyptiennes* [Copenhagen, 1950] pl. 117); Leiden 1942/11.5 (W. D. van Wijngaarden, "Een Granieten Beeld uit de Saitische Tijd," *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* n.s. 29 [1948] pl. 1, pp. 1-2). Occasionally the muscle is more specifically marked: on Moscow 4997 (CLES; V. V. Pavlov, *Egipetskaia Skulptura* [Moscow, 1949] pl. 47), its ridge is set off from the rest of the arm by a shallow groove, and on Louvre E. 5778 the ridge is curved and very prominent (CLES; unpublished).

41. As on the preserved leg of a standing statue of Chephren, Cairo C.G. 16 (Borchardt, *Statuen* I, pl. 4), or the standing Mycerinus from his triads (as Cairo J.E. 40679; Terrace and Fischer, *Treasures*, no. 7, p. 46).

42. As, for example, on the Vth Dynasty statue of Ranofer, cited in note 32; the legs are best seen in Terrace and Fischer, *Treasures*, no. 10, p. 59.

43. Examples from Borchardt, *Statuen* I, include Cairo C.G. 76 (pl. 17), C.G. 137 (pl. 31), C.G. 146 (pl. 33), C.G. 172 (pl. 38).

44. For example, on the statue of Horemakhet, Dynasty XXV/XXVI, Cairo C.G. 42204 (Terrace and Fischer, *Treasures*,

seen in the fact that the legs are sometimes treated with some detail on statues where the modeling of the rest of the body is rather summary.⁴³ The emphasis on the legs and their stylization as well were revived in standing figures of the early Late Period.⁴⁴ A similar treatment was accorded kneeling statues, once they were freed from the long, concealing skirts. But the several ridges and grooves of the standing statues' legs are reduced to a single ridge, usually quite pronounced, connecting with and ending in the ankle bone.⁴⁵ The area above this ridge often bulges slightly, marking the calf.⁴⁶ The sculptor of the Metropolitan statue, however, has gone one step further. He has indicated the calf muscle as a separate entity, with the lower end clearly defined. The recognition of this particular muscle is without precedent in Egyptian art of any earlier period.

The representation of the calf muscle was not invented for this statue, however. The earliest surviving

no. 36, p. 159). The calf is especially pronounced, and even seems to be set off by grooves on a contemporary statue representing a son of Mentuemhat, Cairo C.G. 42243 (CLES; Legrain, *Statues* III, pl. XLIX). The bulge of the calf may be very pronounced on other poses, for example, on the asymmetrically squatting statue Cairo J.E. 36908 (CLES; see note 9 for bibliographical references), and often on cross-legged scribe statues, most notably on the powerful, unstylized legs of Cairo J.E. 37341 (CLES; Anthes, "Der Berliner Hocker," p. 30, no. 4).

45. The ridge is unusually broad and rounded on Durham 509 (CLES; for bibliography see note 9). Sometimes it is formed by parallel grooves, as on Cairo C.G. 42237 (CLES; Legrain, *Statues* III, pl. XLVII) and Zagazig 171 (CLES; unpublished). So nearly omnipresent is it on kneeling statues that it may be well to mention the few cases where it could not be observed: Cairo J.E. 36987 (CLES; unpublished), J.E. 37855 (CLES; unpublished), Lyon, Collection Varille I (CLES; Paul Tresson, "Sur deux monuments égyptiens inédits," *Kèmi* 4 [1931] pp. 126-144, pls. viib, viii, ix), Louvre N. 5406 (CLES; Boreux, *Catalogue-Guide* II, p. 453 [not illustrated]; Paul Pierret, *Recueil d'inscriptions inédites du Musée Égyptien du Louvre* II [Paris, 1878] p. 13). The convention did not originate with the Late Period; it is one of the few carry-overs from the New Kingdom, for it occurs on kneeling figures from Senenmut on: it may be seen on the statue of Senenmut, Brooklyn 67.68, despite the fact that he wears a long skirt (Bothmer, "More Statues," fig. 1; the detail is not visible on the photograph). Usually the skirt hides all leg modeling, but the continuation of the detail may be seen on Brooklyn 36.615 (Dynasty XIX: a son of Ramesses II).

46. As on Cairo C.G. 656 (CLES; Borchardt, *Statuen* III, pl. 121), Cairo J.E. 36674 (CLES; unpublished), J.E. 42880 (CLES), Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek 591 (CLES; Koefoed-Petersen, *Catalogue des statues*, pl. 117), Rome, Vatican 167 (CLES; *ESLP*, no. 56, pl. 51, fig. 123).

FIGURE 5

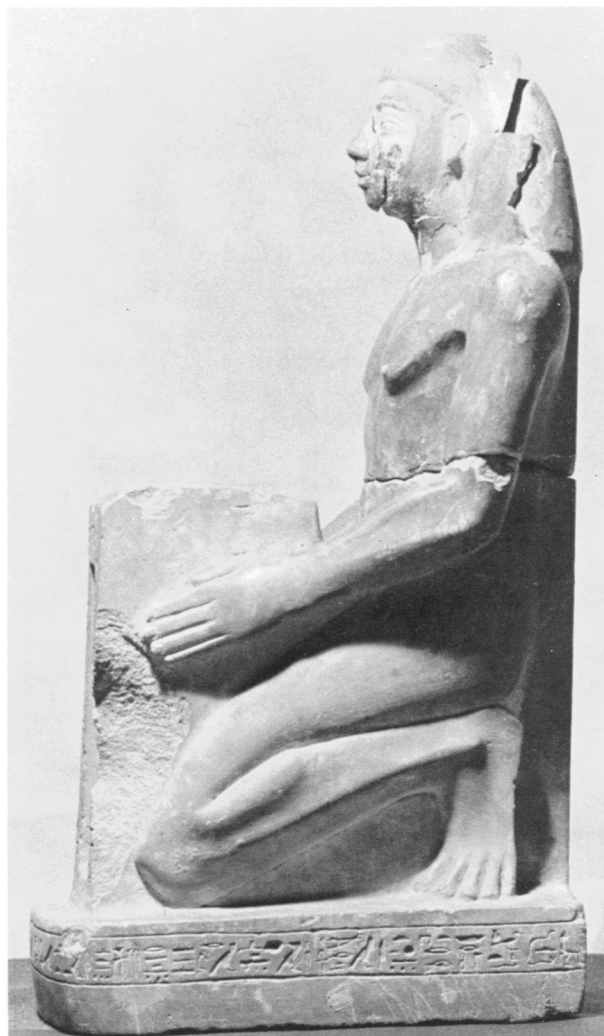
Kneeling statue of Pedimahes. End of XXVth Dynasty. Moscow, Pushkin Museum, 4993. (Photo: courtesy CLES)

example I have been able to find is on a statue believed to date to the end of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty (Figure 5).⁴⁷ It was made for a man named Pedimahes,⁴⁸ and is a product of Lower Egypt, coming from Tell el Muqdam, the ancient Leontopolis.⁴⁹ As the illustration shows, it is not an especially attractive statue, nor is the workmanship of the best quality. Though the muscle is shown, it is clearly as a convention rather than the result of direct observation; there is, for example, no attempt to show the bulge of flesh at the inside of the knee.

Thus it seems probable that Pedimahes' statue was made to follow the example of better works, very likely products of the royal workshops, which were usually the sources of innovation in Egyptian style, especially when close observation and attention to detail were involved. That the muscle was indicated on royal statues in the early Twenty-sixth Dynasty is shown by a badly damaged kneeling figure of Psamtik I in Copenhagen (Figure 6),⁵⁰ where the detailing of the calf muscle is in keeping with the care exhibited in the decoration of the wide belt. Indeed, most of the statues that display the gastrocnemius muscle are made with some care, and many, like Amenemope-em-hat's, are of the highest quality. One finds, for example, that, in most cases where the torso is preserved, the collarbones are marked—by no means an invariable feature of Late Period Egyptian sculpture.⁵¹

Originating in the north and, we may suppose, in a royal workshop, the convention was quickly picked up in Thebes. It appears on a statue from the Karnak Cachette, of the end of the Twenty-fifth or beginning of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.⁵² But it did not win acceptance in the south: to the best of my knowledge this is the only example with a Theban provenance.

Two early Twenty-sixth Dynasty statues whose provenance is not known, one in Paris and one in Moscow, show again the connection between representation of the calf muscle and detailed modeling of the body generally.⁵³ On both the collarbones are strongly marked, and on the Paris statue even a fold of flesh at the armpit



47. Moscow 4993. A front view of this statue is illustrated in Bothmer, "Apotheosis," pl. VIII, fig. 6. For its probable date, see the Bothmer article, p. 42.

48. Another statue of this man, Brooklyn 64.146, is discussed in Bothmer, "Apotheosis," and illustrated in his pls. VI and VII.

49. Jean Yoyotte, "La ville de 'Tare mou' (Tell el-Muqdam)," *BIFAO* 52 (1953) no. 5, pp. 180-181, 185.

50. Nationalmuseet AAb 211: CLES; Marie-Louise Buhl, "Antiksamlingens Betydeligste Orientalia Erhvervet efter 1851," *Fra Nationalmuseets Arbejdsmark* (1952) p. 80, fig. 2 (front view); Hans Wolfgang Müller, "Ein Königsbildnis der 26. Dynastie mit der 'Blauen Krone' im Museo Civico zu Bologna," *ZAS* 80 (1955) p. 54, fig. 1b (back view).

51. See note 6.

52. Cairo J.E. 38061, Dynasty XXV/XXVI, from the Karnak Cachette (CLES; Hornemann, *Types* III, no. 563; Herman De Meulenaere, "Les monuments du culte des rois Nectanébo," *Chronique d'Égypte* 35 [1960] p. 102, n. 6 [inscription]).

53. Paris, Petit Palais 308 (CLES; unpublished; mentioned in *ESLP*, see note 54) and Moscow 4997 (CLES; Pavlov, *Egipetskaia Skulptura*, pl. 47).



FIGURE 6

Kneeling statue of Psamtik I. Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet Antiksamlingen, AAb 211. (Photo: courtesy Nationalmuseet Antiksamlingen)

These examples show that by the end of the reign of Psamtik I the representation of the calf muscle was an accepted, if rather rare, feature for kneeling statues of some quality. It appears at least once during the short reign of Necho II.⁵⁶ Continued representations later in the dynasty show that the detail remained characteristic of northern rather than of southern sculpture. It appears on the statue of General Hor, an official of Psamtik II, which was found at Tell el Yahudieh in the Delta.⁵⁷ Also datable to the reign of Psamtik II are the two statues of Nekhthorheb on which the calf muscle is shown (Figure 7).⁵⁸ It is not known where these pieces were found, but a Lower Egyptian origin seems virtually assured for both.⁵⁹ Still later in the dynasty, datable to the reign of Apries, and also from

is indicated.⁵⁴ Both also show, to some degree, the bunching of skin at the bend of the knee, which the Karnak example apparently lacks. This skin fold, as well as the calf muscle, is also to be observed on two contemporary statues of which only the lower bodies are preserved.⁵⁵

54. There are a number of unusual details on this interesting statue. Besides the face, discussed by Bothmer in *ESLP*, p. 20, one might mention the bulge of the collarbones at the front, the deep slit of the sternal notch, and the large, teardrop-shaped navel.

55. Hannover 1935.200.512, preserved from the hips down (CLES; unpublished) and Turin Cat. 3024, preserved from the waist down (CLES; Eberhard Otto, *Die biographischen Inschriften der ägyptischen Spätzeit* [Leiden, 1954] no. 42, p. 128). The Turin statue may come from Mostai in the Delta, according to Jean Yoyotte in *Annuaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études V^e section Sciences religieuses* (1967–1968) p. 104.

56. East Berlin 11332 (CLES; *Ausführliches Verzeichnis*, pp. 256–257 [not illustrated]; Herman De Meulenaere, *Le surnom égyptien à la Basse Époque* [Istanbul, 1966] no. 45, p. 15). The northern connections of the owner of this statue are shown by a figure of Isis inscribed for him, from Sais, Cairo C.G. 39303 (Georges Daressy, *Statues de divinités [Catalogue général]* [Cairo, 1906] p. 326).

57. Manchester 3570, preserved from the waist down (CLES; W. M. F. Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities* [London, 1906] pls. 15, 20, pp. 18–19; De Meulenaere, *Le surnom*, no. 57, p. 18).

58. The statue illustrated is Louvre A 94. Its importance for Egyptian art history is considerable, for it represents one of the earliest examples in the dynasty of tripartite torso modeling (*ESLP*, p. 54). The bibliography for this piece is extensive; for references see De Meulenaere, *Le surnom*, no. 44, p. 14. The second statue of Nekhthorheb is British Museum 1646 (CLES; *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Volume of Plates II [Cambridge, 1928] pp. 118–119, fig. b). The date of these monuments has been established by G. Posener in “La date de la Statue A 94 du Louvre,” *Revue d'Égyptologie* 6 (1951) pp. 234–235.

59. The inscription of Louvre A 94 invokes Thoth of both *Hmnw*, well known as Hermopolis Magna in Upper Egypt, present-day Ashmunein (Alan H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* II [Oxford, 1947] pp. 79*–80*) and *B'h*, identified as the Delta Hermopolis, capital of the XVth nome of Lower Egypt, the modern Tell el Baqlih (Henri Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques* II [n.p., 1925] p. 16; see also Labib Habachi, “Notes on the Delta Hermopolis,” *ASAE* 53 [1955] pp. 441–480, and Yoyotte in *Annuaire V^e section* [1969–1970] p. 180). It is the Delta Hermopolis, however, that is named on the dominant right side of the statue. And the name *Hmnw* possibly in this case also refers to the Delta town, rather than its better-known Upper Egyptian counter-

FIGURE 7

Kneeling statue of Nekhthorheb. Dynasty XXVI, reign of Psamtik II. Paris, Musée du Louvre, A 94. (Photo: courtesy the Louvre)

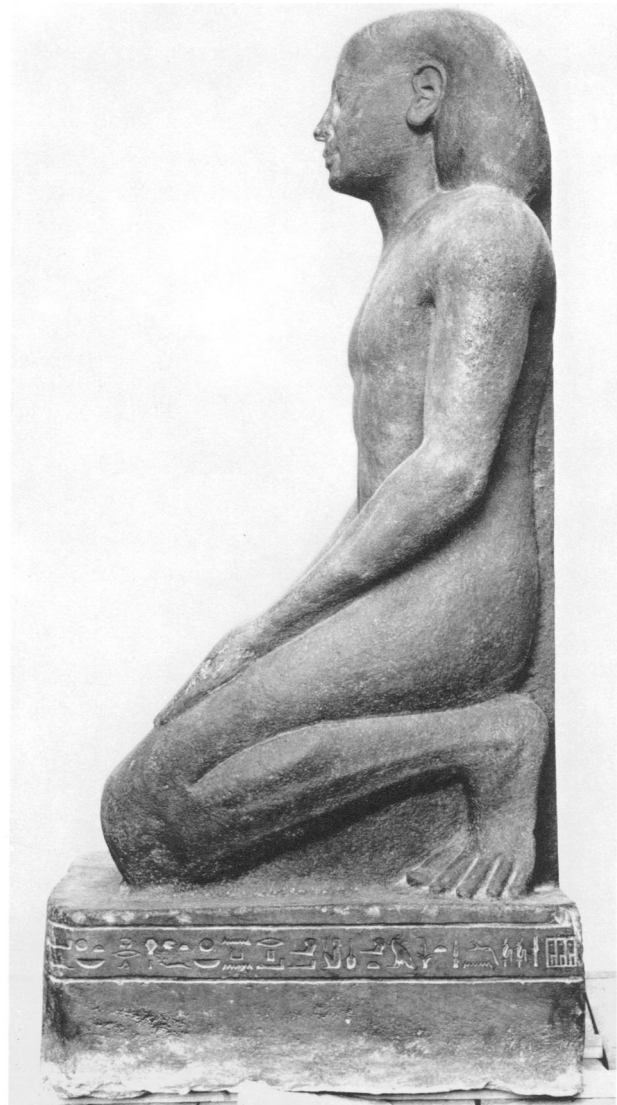
the north, are two more statues with calf muscles marked. One is in Lausanne and one in London.⁶⁰ Both of these are rather perfunctory and schematic in their modeling; on the Lausanne statue the collar-bones, though indicated, are rudimentary. This work is also one of the last datable examples of the striated wig,⁶¹ so perhaps it was even intended to be a little old-fashioned.

It is interesting that, of the fifteen statues where the calf muscle could be observed,⁶² only one is known to come from Thebes. The precise differences between northern and southern art in this period are difficult to describe, but they undoubtedly exist.⁶³ In light of what we know, it is not surprising that this detail was apparently a northern development. In the north there seems to have been a closer observation of the body and a more studied attempt to reproduce the sense of skin and flesh. The impulse is apparent in such very different examples as our statue with its extreme tautness and the relaxed, fleshy softness of the asymmetrically squatting Bes.⁶⁴ The south was more traditional in its approach to the body, more bound by the conventions. Theban statues tend to be much more “stony” than their northern counterparts, even when attempts are made to render fleshiness.⁶⁵

I cannot pretend to have observed all the examples

part, for a mention of “Thoth, lord of *Hmnw*” has been found at Tell el Baqlih with apparent local reference (Edouard Naville, *Ahnas el Medineh* [London, 1894] p. 24). Yoyotte, however, would apparently discount any special geographic significance in Delta references to Thoth of *Hmnw*; see his comments on a similar writing found at Tarrana in *Annuaire V^e* section (1969–1970), p. 184. That the provenance of the statue is indeed Tell el Baqlih is confirmed in an unpublished study by Yoyotte, in the possession of Bernard V. Bothmer, where he lists it under this site. Nekhthorheb also had ties to Sais. The funerary formula of British Museum 1646 invokes Neith and Osiris at Sais, and another of his monuments was found there (Cairo C.G. 39275; Posener, “La date,” p. 234).

60. Lausanne Eg. 9, head and arms broken off. From the region of Tell el Balamun (communication of Herman De Meulenaere to B. V. Bothmer) (CLES; Henri Wild, *Antiquités égyptiennes de la collection du Dr. Widmer* [Lausanne, 1956] pl. v, pp. 15–16; Emma Brunner-Traut, “Die Tübinger Statuette aus der Zeit des Apries,” *ZÄS* 82 [1957–1958] no. 8, p. 95; De Meulenaere, *Le surnom*, no. 55, p. 17). British Museum 83, head and shoulders



gone; possibly from Heliopolis (CLES; Brunner-Traut, “Die Tübinger Statuette,” no. 6, pl. iv, p. 94 [with further bibliography].)

61. See note 5.

62. A final example, which cannot be more closely dated than the XXVIth Dynasty, and the provenance of which is not known, is Vienna 5772. It is headless and unfinished (CLES; unpublished).

63. This virtually unexplored topic is touched on in *ESLP*, especially pp. 29–31. That different tendencies should have existed is not surprising, given the political realities of the period: see Kenneth A. Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, §356, pp. 395–396; §365, pp. 404–405.

64. Lisbon, Gulbenkian 158 (*ESLP*, no. 29, pl. 27, pp. 34–35). Note also the idiosyncratic treatment of the corolla of the nipples.

65. I am thinking particularly of the standing figure of Irigadiganen (Cairo J.E. 38018: *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art. Le*

of defined calf muscles on statues of the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties. Even had photographs of all extant works been available, it is the sort of detail that becomes invisible under inopportune angles of lighting.⁶⁶ But the examples I have found show that it seems to have developed shortly before the time when our statue was made; it continued throughout most of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, but was never common, and it apparently disappeared before the end of the dynasty. I know no examples datable to Amasis, and in the Twenty-seventh Dynasty, though kneeling figures wearing short skirts are sometimes represented,⁶⁷ there seems to be no attempt to show the muscle.

But this feature had still not quite disappeared from Egyptian art, for it surfaces at least once more, in the fourth century B.C., on a kneeling statuette (Figure 8).⁶⁸ In this case, however, it is most perfunctory, merely an incised line that sets the calf off from the rest of the leg and curves to mark the lower end of the muscle. We are now very far from the Saite version—and yet, perhaps, not so far, for this little figure is one of the clearest examples of the archaistic trend of the Thirtieth and Thirty-first Dynasties. Looking to their past, as we have seen the Egyptians were so wont to do, these sculptors went no further back than the Twenty-sixth Dynasty for their models.⁶⁹ With its striated wig, its pleated kilt, and its sketchy calf muscle, the Chicago statuette must have derived from a sculpture very like the one discussed here.

Like its inscriptions, the style of the Metropolitan

Musée du Caire [Éditions 'TEL,' 1949] pl. 173) and the asymmetrically squatting Harwa (Cairo J.E. 37386: Battiscombe Gunn and R. Engelbach, "The Statues of Harwa," *BIFAO* 30 [1931] pls. 1-11; similar statues of the same man on pl. III).

66. For example, the calf muscle on Manchester 3570 (note 57), clearly visible in Petrie's publication, can scarcely be seen in that museum's photograph on file in CLES.

67. Cleveland 3955.20 (*ESLP*, no. 61, pl. 58, figs. 143-145); Louvre E. 25390 + E. 25475 (*ESLP*, no. 57, pls. 54-55, figs. 132-134); Toronto 969.137.1 (W. B. Emery, "Preliminary Report on the Excavations at North Saqqâra 1966-7," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 53 [1967] pl. xxxiii, 1-2, p. 143); Turin Cat. 3034 (CLES; G. Maspero, "Rapport . . . sur une mission en Italie," *Recueil de Travaux* 4 [1883] p. 149, no. xxxviii [inscription only]).

68. Chicago Art Institute 10.243 (*ESLP*, no. 91, pl. 85, figs. 226-227).

69. Thus their products are called archaistic, for they are patterned on works that are themselves archaizing; they are twice removed from the original. See *ESLP*, p. xxxvii and the remarks on the Chicago statuette, *ESLP*, pp. 114-116.

statue places it firmly into the early part of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. Further comparisons, especially if parallels for the flattened stomach can be found, may help to refine this dating, but in the present state of our knowledge we cannot be more precise. In the modeling of the calf muscle the figure suggests its northern origin. With its careful workmanship and—apart from the head—its relatively good state of preservation, the statue is one of the finest examples of the art of this period.

FIGURE 8

Kneeling statuette of Wesirnakht, fourth century B.C. The Art Institute of Chicago, 10.243. (Photo: courtesy The Art Institute of Chicago)



ADDENDUM: The frequent occurrence of archaism in Egyptian art, particularly art of the Late Period, and the problems involved in recognizing and evaluating it, have been much discussed in the above pages. A statue that came to my attention only after the manuscript had been completed serves to illustrate these points only too well. It is a Fifth Dynasty statue in wood representing one Akhtyhotep, found in his tomb at Saqqara. (Abd el-Hamid Zayed, "Le tombeau d'Akhtyhotep à Saqqara," *ASAE* 55 [1958] pp. 127-137. The statue under discussion is briefly referred to, along with other statuary from the tomb, on p. 136; it is illustrated on pls. ix, xii, xiii, and xv. The size is not given). Although the piece is, in most respects, typical for the period, the workmanship is excellent. Its great interest for our purposes lies in the fact that the gastrocnemius muscle is clearly indicated on the back of the right leg. The advanced left leg has a bulging calf, but there is apparently no trace of the muscle (the different conformations of the two legs may be seen on Zayed's pls. xiii and xv). It would seem that we have here another example of the often subtle naturalism of the finest Old Kingdom sculpture: presumably the right leg is being tensed in the moment just before the heel is lifted off the ground to take another step.

This observation of an early representation of the calf muscle makes it seem quite probable that its depiction in the Late Period was not, as I had thought, an innovation. On the contrary, for this detail, as for so many

others, the sculptors had revived an Old Kingdom usage; and, just as in the case of the tensed forearm muscle, they applied it to a different, and altogether less appropriate, pose. The detail can never have been common; it would seem, therefore, that sculptors of the early Late Period sought out the finest of Old Kingdom works as models. But the naturalism and close observation embodied in such pieces were of less interest to them than the depictions of individual muscles which they used quite arbitrarily to heighten the effect of tension in their sculpture. It may also be significant that Akhtyhotep's statue comes from the Memphite necropolis: exemplars from the same cemetery may account for the fact that representation of the calf muscle seems to be concentrated at Memphis and the Delta sites.

SOURCES ABBREVIATED

- ASAE*—*Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*
BIFAO—*Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*
 CLES—Corpus of Late Egyptian Sculpture, Department of Egyptian and Classical Art, The Brooklyn Museum
ESLP—Bernard V. Bothmer et al., *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period* (Brooklyn, 1960)
ZÄS—*Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*