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FREER GALLERY OF ART
OCCASIONAL PAPERS

NUMBER FIVE
(End of Vol.)

A ROYAL HEAD FROM ANCIENT EGYPT

By
GEORGE STEINDORFF



PUBLICATION 4022

WASHINGTON

1951

FREER GALLERY OF ART OCCASIONAL PAPERS

The Freer Gallery of Art Occasional Papers, published from time to time, present material pertaining to the cultures represented in the Freer Collection, prepared by members of the Gallery staff. Articles dealing with objects in the Freer Collection and involving original research in Near Eastern or Far Eastern language sources by scholars not associated with the Gallery may be considered for publication.

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ROYAL EGYPTIAN HEAD

Three-quarter view, right side. Freer Gallery of Art.

STEINDORFF, GEORGE, 1861-1951

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FOREWORD

It was a great source of satisfaction to the Freer Gallery when Dr. Steindorff agreed to make a study of our Egyptian head, offering, as it did, the opportunity of bringing to bear his great knowledge upon an object of especially high quality about which little was known. Scholars everywhere will be interested in his conclusions.

Dr. Steindorff wrote the article in German, and this was ably translated by Dr. Richard Ettinghausen, of our staff, who was greatly aided by Mrs. Marcella D. Dovener, who also prepared the table of conversions from meters to inches and made many valuable suggestions. The bibliography was compiled by the Freer Gallery librarian, Mrs. Bertha M. Usilton, and the photography was in the able hands of Burns A. Stubbs, assistant to the Director.

To all these, and above all to Dr. Steindorff for his great interest, we wish to extend our heartiest thanks.

A. G. WENLEY,
Director.

Freer Gallery of Art
Washington, D. C.
September 18, 1950

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CHRONOLOGY *

When, about 280 B.C., the Egyptian priest Manetho wrote a history of his country for the Greek king of Macedonia, Ptolemy Philadelphos (285-247 B.C.), he divided the Egyptian kings, from Menes, the first historical ruler, to Alexander the Great, into 30 dynasties. By and large, these corresponded to the dynasties that ruled the country one after the other and sometimes even at the same time. Modern historical science has retained this division. Besides this, however, it has grouped a number of dynasties into larger historical periods: the Old Kingdom (2780-2280 B.C.), the Middle Kingdom (2060-1780 B.C.), the New Kingdom (1546-1085 B.C.), the Late Period (1085-332 B.C.). These are separated from one another by Intermediate Periods. The historical age is preceded by a long prehistoric period (ca. 5000-3200 B.C.), during which the Egyptian people gradually developed their state and their civilization until they reached that height which they were to occupy in world history.

The dates before the Twelfth Dynasty (i.e., before 2000 B.C.) cannot be established with absolute accuracy; even as late as the Twenty-sixth Dynasty they may vary by decades.

PREHISTORIC PERIOD (before 3200 B.C.):

Egypt was divided into small states, which at times were united in two kingdoms: Upper Egypt, symbolized by the "white" crown, and Lower Egypt, symbolized by the "red" crown, of their respective kings. From that period several civilizations are known, called after the places in which they were centered.

EARLY DYNASTIC PERIOD (ca. 3200-2780 B.C.):

First Dynasty (3200-2980 B.C.) and *Second Dynasty* (2980-2780 B.C.).—Menes, founder of the United Kingdom of Egypt. Residence: Thisis. Royal tombs at Abydos.

* After the author's earlier statement: 35, pp. 15-18.

OLD KINGDOM (Pyramid Age, 2780-2280 B.C.):

Third Dynasty (2780-2680 B.C.).—The “Step Pyramid” at Şaqqāra built by Djoser. Residence: Memphis (Giza, Şaqqāra).

Fourth Dynasty (2680-2560 B.C.).—The three Great Pyramids at Giza built by Cheops (Khufu), Chefren (Khafrē), Mycerinus (Menkawrē).

Fifth Dynasty (2560-2420 B.C.).—The period of the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties, the “Golden Age” of Egyptian art.

Sixth Dynasty (2420-2280 B.C.).—Long reign of Phiops II, ending in a great revolution. Monuments: pyramids of Şaqqāra with the oldest religious (Pyramid) texts.

FIRST INTERMEDIATE PERIOD (2280-2060 B.C.):

Seventh to Eighth Dynasties (2280-2240 B.C.).

Ninth to Tenth Dynasties (2240-2060 B.C.).—Residence: Herakleopolis.

MIDDLE KINGDOM (2060-1780 B.C.):

Eleventh Dynasty (2060-2000 B.C.).—Reconstruction of the state by the Intefs and Mentuhotep II, princes of Thebes.

Twelfth Dynasty (2000-1780 B.C.).—The pharaohs Amenemhēt I-IV and Senwosret-Sesostris I-III. Residences and pyramids at Lisht, Dahshūr (south of Memphis), and in the Fayyūm.

SECOND INTERMEDIATE PERIOD (1780-1546 B.C.):

Thirteenth to Fourteenth Dynasties (1780-1630 B.C.).—Gradual disintegration of the state.

Fifteenth to Sixteenth Dynasties (1730-1580 B.C.).—Invasion and rule of the Asiatic Hyksos. Residence: Avaris (Tanis).

Seventeenth Dynasty (1680-1546 B.C.).—Expulsion of the Hyksos by the Theban kings. Reconstruction of the state.

NEW KINGDOM (The Empire, 1546-1085 B.C.):

Eighteenth Dynasty (1546-1336 B.C.).—Capital: Thebes. The temple of Deir el-Bahārī (West Thebes) erected by Queen Hatshepsut. Thutmosis III (1504-1450 B.C.) and Amenhotep III (1405-1370 B.C.). Egypt a world power. Large temples built at Thebes (Karnak, Luxor). Amenhotep IV (Ekhnaton, Akhenaten, 1370-1350 B.C.): religious revolution. New capital at Amarna. Queen Nofretēte; Tutankhamun (1350-1340 B.C.); end of heresy, reestablishment of the old orthodox religion.

Nineteenth Dynasty (1336-1200 B.C.).—Haremhab, Sethos (Sethy I), Ramses [Ramesses] II (1290-1223 B.C.). Residence: Raamses (Tanis). Thebes remained the religious center. Royal rock tombs in the "Valley of the Kings."

Twentieth Dynasty (1200-1085 B.C.).—Ramses III-XI. Temple of Madīnat Habū, constructed by Ramses III.

THIRD INTERMEDIATE PERIOD (The Decline, 1085-663 B.C.):

Twenty-first Dynasty (1085-945 B.C.).—King Psusennes. Residence: Tanis.

Twenty-second Dynasty (945-745 B.C.).—Pharaohs of Libyan descent. Sheshonq. Residences: Bubastis and Tanis.

Twenty-third to Twenty-fourth Dynasties (745-712 B.C.).—Petty kingdoms in Lower Egypt. Fall of the Empire.

Twenty-fifth Dynasty (712-663 B.C.).—Egypt conquered by (Negro) kings (Ethiopia; Piankhy, Shabaka, Taharka) and ruled from Napata (Gebel Barkal, Sudān). Wars with the Assyrians during their temporary rule (670-663 B.C.). Beginning of a renaissance in state and art.

LATE (SAITIC) PERIOD (663-332 B.C.):

Twenty-sixth Dynasty (663-525 B.C.).—Last flowering of Egypt under Psametik I and his successors. Residences: Sais and Memphis. Neo-Memphite art.

Twenty-seventh Dynasty (525-404 B.C.).—Egypt conquered and ruled by the Persians (Kambyses).

Twenty-eighth to Twenty-ninth Dynasties (404-378 B.C.).—Short rules of native kings.

Thirtieth Dynasty (378-341 B.C.).—Native kings independent of Persia. The temples of Sammanūd (Sebennytyos) and Behbeit (Iseion) erected by Nektanebos I (Nekht-nebef, 378-360 B.C.) and Nektanebos II (358-341 B.C.). In 332 B.C. Egypt conquered by Alexander the Great; foundation of Alexandria.

PTOLEMAIC (GREEK) PERIOD (332-30 B.C.) and ROMAN PERIOD:

Alexander's successors, the Macedonian Ptolemies (Ptolemy I-XVI). After the battle of Actium (Antony and Cleopatra) in 30 B.C., Egypt a Roman province, subject only to the Emperor. Christianity introduced into Egypt during the second century; rapid spread. The Christians in Egypt known as Copts, their language and art as Coptic.

PREFACE

When the Freer Gallery of Art asked me to publish its beautiful royal Egyptian head in their *Occasional Papers*, the task tempted me a great deal and I accepted the invitation with pleasure. I had just finished my *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery* and was anxious to treat again a historical art subject. At that time I was working on my *Coptic Grammar* and other linguistic investigations; then there came the opportunity to participate in the publications of the Freer Gallery. At first I did not fully realize the difficulties that lay ahead of me. Only slowly did I discover that it is not easy to study thoroughly a work of art from a great distance, having to depend mostly on photographs for detailed study. Furthermore, I lacked the necessary literature and the comparative Egyptian materials so plentiful in the libraries and museums of the East Coast and in the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. Consequently, I had to rely entirely on my own books, as the University of California Library in Los Angeles does not contain Egyptological literature. If I have succeeded in spite of these handicaps, it is owing to the help of my colleagues, especially those of the Freer Gallery. Its Director, A. G. Wenley, and Dr. Richard Ettinghausen provided me with much of the information I lacked, particularly by furnishing me with photographs.

When, during the 1920's, I sometimes went from Leipzig to Berlin to work in the Egyptian Department of the Berlin Museum, a young member of the museum staff gave me every possible help, even without my asking for it. His name was Bernhard von Bothmer. This novice in Egyptology has now become Bernhard V. Bothmer, assistant in the Department of Egyptian Art in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. He has changed his country and his position, but he has retained his eagerness to help, from which I gained a rich measure of benefit in the collection of this material. He selected from

his large file of photographs of Egyptian monuments everything that could be of use to me in my research, putting them at my disposal and giving me permission to publish whatever seemed necessary.

In a similar way, William Stevenson Smith has given me his full support. He has answered every question about the sculpture of the Old Kingdom, and in so doing often went to great trouble. This was all the more valuable to me since he has an intimate knowledge of the Mycerinus statues from Reisner's excavations at the Third Pyramid of Giza, now in the Boston Museum, and is an excellent judge of the sculpture of the Old Kingdom.

To both of these friends I express my warmest thanks.

Especially valuable to me also was the active support of John D. Cooney, curator of Egyptian Art of the Brooklyn Museum. From the start of my research he has shown enthusiastic interest; hardly a week passed in which he did not send me a letter containing some data about the royal head in the Freer Gallery. Again and again I had to admire his fine understanding of style, which is based on sound observation. And when my manuscript was finally written, he kindly edited it and sent me a revised and polished copy. I now wish to thank him for all his efforts. I would like to state quite freely that without the help of Mr. Cooney this publication might not have materialized. Often I have asked myself whether it would not have been better for the sake of scholarship for the publication of the Freer head to have been entrusted to him instead of to me.

It was Dr. Richard Ettinghausen, however, who prepared the English translation from my German draft. He has given immeasurable help in accomplishing the final version of the manuscript.

Finally, I should like to thank Edward S. King, administrator of the Walters Art Gallery, for his kind permission to use the greater part of the "Chronology" of my *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery*, and also the Kunstinstitut of the University of Marburg for permission to publish some of its unique photographs.

The measurements of the objects are given in the metric system, since this is consistently used in scientific publications. As it is difficult to visualize these measurements in English-speaking countries, a special table is presented at the end of the paper giving their equivalents in feet and inches.

GEORGE STEINDORFF

North Hollywood, Calif.

August 6, 1950

A ROYAL HEAD FROM ANCIENT EGYPT

By GEORGE STEINDORFF

WITH 29 PLATES

DESCRIPTION OF THE FREER HEAD

1. The fine head of a youthful king wearing the crown of Upper Egypt (pls. 1-4), which I am herewith privileged to publish, is now one of the treasures of the Freer Gallery of Art (F.G.A. 38.11). It is a fragment of a statue that reached Washington through the art trade.

In common with so many other Egyptian works of art, nothing certain is known of where the head was found. According to information kindly supplied by John D. Cooney, it is very probable that a dealer in Cairo bought it at al-Samā'na, a place in the Eastern Delta about 20 kilometers northeast of Qantir, where some years ago preliminary excavations by the Service des Antiquités of Egypt produced sculptures of the Middle Kingdom. It is uncertain whether the Freer head has any connection with this material. No excavations have been made at al-Samā'na itself.

2. When a great work of ancient art lacking documentation appears on the European or American markets, the question of its *authenticity* is clearly the first problem to be settled. Perhaps no major object has ever been acquired under these circumstances without arousing the inevitable claims of a modern origin, made in some cases by persons who have never seen the original. The Freer head was subjected to all the customary technical tests generally employed by art museums, in the course of which it seems probable that any trace of modern workmanship or recent cutting of the stone would have been detected. The evidence of a fragment of copper corroded in place around the eye is difficult to explain unless the head is ancient. But, apart from technical evidence, perhaps the strongest arguments for the authenticity of the sculpture are the great creative ability and originality displayed by its maker. Modern sculptors, working in the style

of Ancient Egypt, almost never achieve more than a fine copy or, at best, a type obtained by combining various elements. The sculptor of the Freer head created not only a great work of art, but a head of such force and originality that it lacks a single close parallel in the entire range of Egyptian royal sculptures. This degree of creative ability within the limitations of correct iconography seems convincing evidence for the ancient origin of this sculpture.

3. The *preservation* of the head is especially good. Nose and mouth are undamaged, although in many Egyptian statues the nose has been knocked off or is partially missing. One ear, however, is broken. The chin beard is gone and the rear pillar is damaged. The rounded finial of the crown was broken off, but it has been reset. The most severe damage is the loss of the left eye. Like the right eye, it was made separately, of fine materials, and then inserted.

4. The *measurements* indicate that the head and, accordingly, the statue itself were of life size. The plumb-line height from the top of the head (i.e., the top of the rounded finial) is 0.580 meter. The distance from the middle of the forehead, at the point where the crown starts, to the lower chin, at the point where the beard starts, is 0.128 meter. The width of the head from tip to tip of each ear, measured with calipers, is 0.176 meter. The exact measurements of the two ears indicate that they are not identical. The height of the left ear is 0.061 meter, while the right is 0.064 meter.

5. Dr. William F. Foshag, mineralogist of the United States National Museum, has identified the *material* of the head as diorite, or, in geological terms, diabase. The preserved right eyeball, which includes the white of the eye, is carved of fine marl, originally held in place by a copper rim of which two small completely oxidized fragments remain. According to Dr. Foshag, this oxidization must have taken place in situ. The copper exhibits all the degenerative results of oxidization, namely, cuprite, azurite, and malachite. The center of the eyeball was recessed to two depths, apparently to receive inlays representing the iris and the pupil, which are now missing.

Dr. Foshag and the late John E. Lodge, former Director of the Freer Gallery, examined the head under ultraviolet light, which revealed scattered areas of carbonate of calcium, especially on the crown, some of it visible even to the naked eye. Their conclusion was that "there is thus the possibility that the head was painted." I believe that we can accept such painting as a certainty. This conforms with the Egyptian custom of covering most sculptures-in-the-round with paint, to make them as lifelike as possible.¹ This applies not only to sculptures of limestone, sandstone, alabaster, or wood, but also to most of those made of valuable materials such as granite, diorite, or slate. The inlaid eyes serve the same purpose. Figures from the end of the Prehistoric Period are the earliest evidence of this effort to imitate life.

6. The masterful *technique* with which the artist has treated the hard stone (which even today is not easy to manipulate) is not inferior to that of the celebrated diorite statue of Chephren in the Cairo Museum (pl. 10). Certain fine points are more noticeable on the original than in illustrations, since the photographic plate is not sensitive enough to reproduce adequately the dark, spotted diorite.

7. Stylistically, the royal head follows the *law of frontality*, which is the guiding principle for all Egyptian sculpture-in-the-round, just as it was for the sculptures of other nations not influenced by Greek art of the fifth century B.C. According to this principle, which was first formulated by the Danish art-historian Julius Lange, any archaic sculpture-in-the-round may be divided into two symmetrical parts by an imaginary plane which intersects the body from the top of the head to the base of the torso.² Although this convention to a certain degree limits the Egyptian artist in his execution of a sculpture-in-the-round, it nevertheless leaves him free to create an individualized portrait. The necessity he feels for having everything symmetrical, however, obliges him to make every feature exactly similar to those of the other side. This

¹ 30, p. 50.

² 35, pp. 4-5. Lange's law has been further developed by H. Schäfer, who elucidated its intrinsic causes: 31, pp. 239-327; 30, pp. 158-182.

diminishes what we regard as a likeness to the original of the portrait.

8. The small size of the *face* of the Freer head and its bony structure are emphasized by the massive and plain curves of the large crown. The forehead is, to a large extent, covered by this crown, the lower edge of which ends in a sharp line. The eyebrows form a narrow relief band as they arch pleasantly above the inlaid eyes. Parallel to them runs a narrow relief band from the corner of the eye toward the ear; this is the so-called paint stripe, which apparently indicates a line of eye-paint on the face. The smooth facial planes, the delicately cut nose, the folds under the eyes, the not-too-prominent cheekbones, the full lips of the energetic mouth—all these the artist expresses in a perfect technique. Grace and dignity are reflected in this face, which reveals the ideal type of beauty of the period and yet portrays the individual features of the original. It is not an ordinary man of the people who looks at us; it is the king, the "good god," as their ruler was known to the Egyptians. We sense royalty, but a tolerant and approachable one; there is nothing of the severe, haughty reserve, nothing of the tense vitality, which characterize so many statues of Egyptian kings. It was a great artist who, in spite of all stylization, created this portraitlike statue of his king; yet the name of this artist, like that of nearly all Egyptian sculptors, remains unknown to us.

9. Inasmuch as only a section of the king's *ceremonial beard* has been preserved, we cannot say anything about its form and details. Two flat, narrow relief bands (width of center section, 0.011 meter) run from the beard to the ear. They reproduce the straps with which the artificial beard was tied on, and they are perhaps the last remnants of a jaw beard, which was worn by kings in prehistoric times. In historic times the face of the king, as well as that of all men of the higher classes, was clean-shaven, but on solemn occasions ceremony required the wearing of an artificial beard by the ruler.³

³ As reliefs show, noblemen, as well as kings, wore chin beards and occasionally a short, thin mustache. The chin beard is usually natural, as is shown

On the upper lip a narrow *mustache* is indicated by lightly incised lines curving down to points just beyond the corners of the mouth. This is a detail never frequent in Egyptian art; among private sculptures of the Old Kingdom, the famous statue of Rhotep in Cairo is perhaps the best-known example. Several of the Mycerinus statues also have mustaches.

10. The *white crown* stands in sharp contrast to the roundness of the face. More than twice the height of the face, it has unusually subtle lines, curving in sharply toward the top and less sharply at the base, seeming to diminish its apparent heaviness. The original was made of a white substance, possibly skin or fabric, but in any case of a light material. It fits the head tightly and covers the nape of the neck. Sections are cut out to free the ears.

11. *Composition of the statue.* Whether the fragment in the Freer Gallery is from a seated or standing figure cannot be stated with absolute certainty, but the presence of the narrow plinth (pl. 4) running almost to the full height of the crown would seem to indicate that the head is from a standing figure. This opinion is strengthened by the absence of similar plinths on seated royal statues of the Old Kingdom in which the torso is either completely in-the-round or supported by the high back of a throne.

12. At this point two important questions arise: *When was the Freer head made?* and *Whom does it represent?* Unfortunately there is no inscription to give us an unequivocal answer to these questions. The absence of any definite information about its place of discovery (paragraph 1) has left us without firm grounds for discerning even its approximate date. If we knew in what sanctuary the sculpture once stood or where the head was found, as in the cases of the Chephren or Mycerinus statues in Cairo and Boston respectively, our questions could be easily answered, even with no inscription.

by the age-old sign for hr, "face" (a face frontally seen); it is often elaborately braided and, like the royal beard, tied with straps below the chin, as part of the ceremonial costume (10, p. 251 f.) The numerous portraitlike "reserve heads" found in the tomb shafts of the Fourth Dynasty show no trace of a beard.

When so unusual a sculpture as the Freer head is torn from its ancient context without record, a convincing identification can be made only by detailed examination of its features, comparing and contrasting them with documented royal sculptures. Unfortunately for this method, the head is so individual in style that close parallels are not to be found, and even though its approximate period can be determined, there will probably always be considerable differences of opinion about its identification. On this point we are reminded of the famous slate head of a king in Copenhagen which has been assigned to dates ranging over twenty centuries!

COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

13. It can be said without hesitation, however, that the *Freer Gallery head belongs neither to the New Kingdom nor to a later period*. It cannot be associated with any of the well-known royal portraits of the Eighteenth or Nineteenth Dynasties, such as those of Thutmosis, or Amenophis—let alone Amenophis IV—Ekhнатon, or with those of Sethos I or Ramses II; nor is there any connection with any of the heads of the Pharaohs of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, all characterized by a softer style and a stereotyped smile, a typical example of which is the head of Psammetich III in the Louvre (pl. 26). Nor, finally, is there any relationship to the royal head of green stone in the Berlin Museum (pl. 27), a characteristic work of "Neo-Memphite art" of the Late Period.

14. The head in the Freer Gallery also is quite *different from the royal portraits of the middle of the Twelfth Dynasty*, such as those of Sesostris III and Amenemhēt III (pls. 23-25). All these portraits are connected by a pronounced family resemblance, which is characterized by a strong bony structure of the face, revealing a sense of self-importance and an unyielding will to rule, as well as a bitter seriousness brought about by sad experience. If one compares the Freer king with the head of the Metropolitan Museum's masterly sphinx of Sesostris III (pl. 25), or the bust of the limestone statue of Amenemhēt III from the Pyramid Temple in Ḥa-

wāra (Fayyūm) in Cairo, or, finally, with the magnificent head of black-green slate in the Ny-Carlsberg, Copenhagen (pl. 24), which, though without designation, is rightly called Amenemhēt III, one realizes at once that the Freer head portrays a human type quite different from these stern monarchs.

15. If one cannot place the Freer head among the sculptures of the Twelfth Dynasty or of later periods, there remains only the Early Dynastic Period (Dynasties I-II), the Old Kingdom (Dynasties III-VI), and the following centuries, known as the First Intermediate Period, which stretch from the end of the Sixth Dynasty to the beginning of the Middle Kingdom.

We can disregard the Prehistoric Period (before 3200 B.C.) and the First Intermediate Period, since these were times of great unrest, and from which we know of no great or important works of art. Which, then, are the classical royal portraits attributed to the *Old Kingdom* that can be compared with the Freer head? Plates 5-18 show such a series of royal heads. Let us examine these one by one.

16. Head of *King Khasekhem*, turn of the Second to Third Dynasty, from a seated statue made of slate, found in Hierakonpolis (Kōm al-aḥmar near al-Kāb, Upper Egypt), and now in the Cairo Museum (pl. 5). Only the left side of the face is preserved. According to the law of frontality (see paragraph 7), however, the right side was identical with it and could be reconstructed without difficulty. The face is delicately modeled. The ears project in a rather clumsy fashion, according to the custom of Egyptian sculptures of any period. The eyes are individually treated "with only a delicate rim around the eye and the rather sharp edge of the eye socket suggesting the brow" (33, p. 13). Another seated statue of Khasekhem, of limestone, from the same find, is now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. (Reproduced with very extensive restorations in 29, p. 99, pl. 2.) Its modeling is just as fine as that of the Cairo example, but it differs in the treatment of the eye. The "continuance (of the eyebrow) is outlined on either side of the brow and a second stripe of paint is continued in relief at the corner of the eye. The rim

of the eye also projects slightly more than usual on each side of the nose. The area of the eyelids has received a plastic treatment unknown in earlier works." (33, loc. cit.)⁴

17. Portrait of *Djoser*, the first king of the Third Dynasty, from a seated limestone statue found in place in a chamber (*serdāb*) on the northern face of the Step Pyramid at Şaqqāra (Memphis), now in the Museum in Cairo (pl. 6). This masterpiece from the early period of Egyptian art shows a great step forward in the creation of portraits when compared with the archaic figures of Khasekhem (paragraph 16). The brutal, cheerless features of this undisputed master and lord of his subjects are reproduced with astounding realism. "The broad face with its high cheekbones and big mouth . . . The eyes had been inlaid and are now missing," which further exaggerates the cheerless expression. "The long beard reaching down across the chest . . . is not found again in Old Kingdom royal statues." Also found only in this statue is "the massive headdress formed by a royal headcloth (the *nemes*), worn over a full divine wig with lappets hanging down over the shoulders." (Cf. 33.) The statue apparently had been painted, yellow for the skin, and black for the hair and beard, as traces of it are still visible.

18. Since no royal portrait can be identified for the early Old Kingdom, that is, the Third Dynasty, until the time of Cheops (Fourth Dynasty), I present as an example an anonymous piece which certainly belongs to this period (pl. 7). I am referring to the more than life-size *royal head with the white crown* (height 0.543 meter), carved of red granite, now in the Wilbour Collection of the Brooklyn Museum, perhaps a portrait of *Hu* (Third Dynasty), Snefru, or of Cheops (10).

The round, somewhat full face has a tired, surly expression, probably due to the somewhat deep-set eyes. The (damaged) nose appears to have had a very high bridge and a great width of nostrils. The mouth, with its flat upper lip and full, realistic lower lip, represents a type found also among the

⁴ For a bibliography on both statues see 24, vol. 5, pp. 193-194.

portraits of the Fourth Dynasty. The eyes, too, are of the conventional Old Kingdom form: the upper lid outlined, the lower lid plain; no eyebrows; the eyeball in relatively flat relief. Above the edge of the upper lid is a ridge indicating a roll of flesh (10). The large ears, which are placed high on the head, are no individual characteristic but correspond to the style of Egyptian sculptures-in-the-round (paragraph 16).

19. Portrait of *Khufu-Cheops*, the famous builder of the Great Pyramid at Giza (Fourth Dynasty), from a seated ivory statue (height about 0.075 meter), found by Flinders Petrie in the ruins of the temple at Abydos and now in the Cairo Museum (pl. 8, left). A work of extraordinary delicacy and finish whose monumental quality seems incredible in view of its small size. Even when magnified to more than double size (pl. 8, right), it does not reveal any imperfection or clumsiness, but suggests, rather, a life-size statue.

The king, in festive attire, wears the red crown of Lower Egypt, only the lower part of which is preserved. The broad and forceful face, with a strong jaw, full cheeks, large mouth, and wide nostrils, conveys to us Khufu's impressive personality. We sense the energy and commanding air, the indomitable will and firm ability of the great monarch, known to us as the creator of one of the most impressive structures of the Old World.⁵

20. Portrait head of *Djetf-rē*, successor of Khufu, red quartzite with traces of paint (height 0.28 meter), wearing the royal headcloth and uraeus diadem; found with hundreds of statue fragments in the pyramid temple at Abū Roāsh (Western Bank, near Cairo), now in the Louvre (pl. 9).

The head shows magnificent modeling and an extraordinary realism, both of which distinguish it sharply from the idealized portraits of the following period, such as those of Khafrē-Chephren and Menkawrē-Mycerinus. The (broken) straight nose and the carefully drawn eyes and mouth are delicately worked; the ears, as usual, are too large. Most characteristic is the indication of cheek muscles and the bunching of the flesh

⁵ First published 22, pls. 13 and 14, text p. 30; 33, pl. 5b, text p. 20. Bibliography, 24, vol. 5, p. 46.

at the corners of the mouth. The physiognomy is a mixture of vitality and melancholy, withal an expression of royal dignity.⁶

21. An enormous body of *royal portrait sculpture* was discovered in the temples of the pyramids of Chephren and Mycerinus at Giza.⁷ Reisner distinguishes two schools of artists among these statues. Both, I believe, had their studios in the temple area of Ptah-Hephaistos in Memphis and he attributes their works to the sculptors "A" and "B" and their assistants. In "A" he would see an older man working in a more severe style, and in "B" a master who applies a softer modeling to his surfaces and who is an exponent of exact portraiture. This is not the place to examine critically Reisner's ingenious hypothesis. I am satisfied to show two characteristic specimens of Chephren, of which the statue described in paragraph 22 has been attributed to Master "A" and that described in paragraph 23 to Master "B."

22. Portrait of *Chephren* wearing the royal headdress (*nemes*) and the uraeus diadem, from the celebrated over-life-size diorite statue in Cairo (height 1.68 meters), found by Marietta in the so-called Sphinx Temple, the Valley Temple of the Second Pyramid of Giza (pl. 10). This statue has been quite rightly praised as one of the most beautiful and dignified royal sculptures of all time. "Although it (the face) is intended to be a portrait, there is in it something more than the portraiture of a man; the king being considered divine, there is in this portrait an expression of that aloofness which one associates with divinity. The face is wide, the cheek-bones rather prominent, the nose is straight or slightly aquiline, rather narrow between the eyes. The eyes are large and well opened; the fossa is not exaggerated, as the eyes themselves are cut in the stone without being inlaid; the eyebrows are not artificially indicated. The firm mouth has a very slight Cupid's bow, but there is no sharp edge to the lips; and it is to the

⁶ Published 7, vol. 25 (1921-1922), p. 60; see also 21, pp. 444-445, pl. 59a; and 33, pl. 11a, b, p. 32, where an exact description of the eyes is also given. In the Cairo Museum is a large head of the king with the white crown which lacks, however, the lower part of the face; it corresponds to the one in the Louvre (33, pl. 11).

⁷ Published 28, ch. 6; 33, pls. 5, 12, 13, text p. 34; 15.

delicacy with which the muscles of the face, especially those round the mouth, are delineated, that we owe the 'precision of the expression, combining what a man should be to win our feelings, and what a king should be to command our regard.' . . . The greater part of the throat is covered by the beard and the lappets of the head-dress, but in the small portion which is visible the sculptor has not shirked the anatomy; it is truly a throat, not a cylindrical column, as in statues of a later period." (20, p. 55 f.)

23. Face of *Chephren*, fragment of a diorite statue (height 0.165 meter), found during my excavations in the Sphinx Temple (see paragraph 22) and given by me to the Egyptian Museum of the University of Leipzig (pl. 11).⁸ A masterpiece ranking with the statue in Cairo and likewise reproducing the controlled but natural expression of the divine king.

This is one of the most beautiful and lifelike portraits of Chephren; characteristic are the transversely striped beard, which becomes broader toward the tip, and the eyebrows, reproduced in relief.⁹

24. The Mycerinus statues found by Reisner (see paragraph 21), now in the Museums of Boston and Cairo, reveal a wide range of qualities and compositions previously unknown in royal sculpture. In their departure from the austere style of the preceding royal sculptures, particularly those of Chephren, toward a softer, perhaps more realistic treatment of the king's face, these sculptures of Mycerinus established a type of royal portraiture which apparently influenced royal sculptors throughout the balance of the Old Kingdom and possibly even established the basis for the ideal type of royal portraits after Mycerinus. The few later royal sculptures that survive from the Old Kingdom give some evidence in support of the continuance of the Mycerinus style. The following two portraits were attributed by Reisner to the workshop "B" (paragraph 21).

⁸ This sculpture fragment was rescued when, on December 4, 1944, a great bombing attack destroyed the greater part of the museum.

⁹ Published 15, pl. 16 and figs. 80, 81, p. 92; 33, pl. 13e, p. 25; pl. 13d reproduces a similar fragment in Copenhagen.

Triad of Mycerinus, Hathor (with horns and sun), and the female personification of the Upper Egyptian Hare Nome (Province of Hermopolis) carrying on her head a standard with an emblem of a hare; from a slate group now in the Boston Museum (pl. 12).

The king wears the Upper Egyptian crown and has a transversely striped royal beard; the eyebrows are not in relief. The faces of the king and his two companions have the same soft, delicate, almost smiling expression which was regarded as the ideal beauty of the period and the true representation of kingly and divine majesty.

Of the sculptures so far examined, the faces of the three figures in this triad are the first to bear close resemblance to the Freer head. The relationship is based on similarity of feeling and general structure, rather than duplication of details. It is worth observing, also, that both the Freer and Mycerinus heads are relatively small in comparison with their crowns.

25. Portrait head of Mycerinus from a more than life-size seated alabaster statue in the Cairo Museum, height 0.48 meter (28, pl. 50) (pl. 13). A companion piece to this statue, also alabaster, is now in Boston (28, pl. 12; 33, pl. 13b). The figures probably stood in a courtyard of the Pyramid and Valley Temples of the king. The king wears the royal head-dress with the uraeus diadem, below which the formally dressed hair appears. Painted traces of a mustache are still recognizable; the royal beard is fastened on with a strap. The eyebrows are not in relief. The round face, with its full lips, broad nose, and well-formed chin, is a model of individualistic portraiture; the same applies to the head of the Boston statue.¹⁰ These two are the most lifelike heads of Mycerinus of the many that have been preserved.

26. Portrait head of *Shepseskaf* (?), son and successor of Mycerinus, found in the Valley Temple of the Third Pyramid, now in the Boston Museum (pl. 14, left).

The king wears the conventional beard but no headdress,

¹⁰ Both heads are represented side by side in 34, p. 523.

except for the uraeus on the forehead, which serves as a symbol of royalty. The treatment of the hair (or fitted cap?), which is rendered by parallel horizontally grooved stripes, is curious. The face has, without a doubt, a youthful expression. It has therefore been regarded as a portrait of the young Mycerinus, but it is possible that it represents Shepseskaf. Smith (33, p. 45) considers the facial characteristics similar and the sensitive modeling akin to that of the large alabaster seated figure of plate 13. The eyebrows are not in relief.

27. Royal statues of the Fifth Dynasty are rare (4, Nos. 38-40). The outstanding work of this period is the magnificent portrait head of *Userkaf* (Usercherēs), the first king of the Fifth Dynasty; red granite (height 0.68 meter); fragment of a colossal statue (three times life-size) found in the Pyramid Temple of the king not far from the Step Pyramid of Şaqqāra and accordingly identified; now in the Cairo Museum (pl. 14, right).

The head is decorated with the royal headdress, which is plain and without detail, and the uraeus diadem. "The treatment is simple and to a certain extent conventionalized, as is suitable for a work planned on monumental lines" (33, p. 46). In spite of that, the artist has succeeded in endowing the face with an expression of great strength and dignity and through these individual features has created a great work of art, which, without hesitation, can be placed on the same level as the masterly portraits of Mycerinus in Boston and Cairo (paragraph 25).¹¹

28. Portrait of *Sahurē* (Sephres), second king of the Fifth Dynasty, from a diorite group (height 0.633 meter) representing the seated king, accompanied by a figure with a long divine beard personifying the Upper Egyptian province of Koptos (north of Thebes), and wearing the double falcon as its standard; probably from the mortuary temple of the king at Abuşir (2, 8th ed., 1929, p. 151), now in the Metropolitan Museum (pl. 15).

¹¹ Published by Firth (13, p. 65, pl. 1); cf. 33, pl. 17a, text p. 46.

The group was bought from a local dealer at Luxor, but we cannot draw from this, or from the fact that the local god of Koptos is represented, the conclusion that the group originally came from a temple in Koptos and is therefore the work of a provincial sculptor's workshop there, the shop having been established by craftsmen outside Memphis to supply the temple sculptures of Koptos. It must be remembered that the Mycerinus group with the local god of Hermopolis (pl. 12 and paragraph 24) was not placed in a shrine of Hermopolis, but in the Valley Temple of Mycerinus. This sculpture, which is entirely in the style of the Mycerinus group of plate 13, for instance, is certainly from the same workshop in Memphis as the Mycerinus group. If these figures are less well-proportioned than those of the Fourth Dynasty, following a more squat and clumsy form, and if their final polishing is by no means so carefully done, it is because the sculptors of Memphis who carved them were less skillful, not because of a provincial style. The face of the king shows the same alertness and intensity that characterize so many of the Mycerinus portraits (see paragraph 24 and pl. 12).¹²

29. As in the Fifth Dynasty, few royal statues from the Sixth Dynasty exist, and of these only a very small number can be attributed with any certainty to a specific king. To this period belongs the portrait of *Pyopy-Phiops I*,¹³ the second king of the Sixth Dynasty, from a celebrated copper statue of excellent style and technique (pl. 16). This sculpture was discovered with a smaller one that presumably represents Methusuphis, the son and successor of Phiops I; both were found by Quibell in the form of scattered fragments in the temple remains of Hierakonpolis (Kōm al-aḥmar) near al-Kāb in Upper Egypt. Originally, some sections had been hammered as repoussé work, while others had been molded by the *cire-perdue* process and then put together with rivets, the torso having been nailed to a wooden core. The fragments were cleaned and put in place and the result is a statue of Phiops I of about life-size (height 1.77 meters), now in the Cairo

¹² Published in 12, p. 129; cf. 33, pl. 17b, text p. 46.

¹³ The first name has been erroneously transcribed as Pepi.

Museum. Wig and headdress, both apparently made of valuable materials (possibly gold and lapis lazuli), are missing, as is the royal kilt.

Although the metal is much corroded, the facial expression is singularly lifelike. The aquiline nose, the not-very-large mouth, and the full and rounded chin are well modeled; the inlaid eyes consist of a simple disk of hard stone (i.e., the pupil) set into the white of the eye.¹⁴

30. Portrait of *Pyopy-Phiops I*, from a 0.15-meter-high slate statuette which represents the king kneeling and offering two wine jars. This work of amazing dignity and flexibility apparently comes from the mortuary temple of the king in Şaqqāra South and is now in the Museum in Brooklyn (pl. 17).¹⁵ The king wears the striped royal headcloth and the uraeus diadem; however, the separate uraeus, which probably was of gold, is now missing. The eyes, which were made in the same manner as those described in paragraph 29, are inlaid within copper rims; the eyebrows are in relief. The face, with its broad mouth and well-rounded lips, is stylized and, while of an unusual type, has no trace of portraiture.

31. To the First Intermediate Period, the Dark Ages of the Seventh to the Tenth Dynasties, which were filled with social unrest and internal wars, belongs an *anonymous portrait of a king with the Upper Egyptian white crown*. It is a standing statue of red granite slightly less than half life-size,¹⁶ which was found at Şaqqāra, having been thrown in the shaft of a mastaba, and is now in the Cairo Museum (pl. 18). In view of the circumstances of the find, Quibell attributed it to the First Intermediate Period. Smith (33, text p. 82 f.) identified it as Teti-Othoes, the first king of the Sixth Dynasty, assuming it to be older than the statues illustrated in plates 16 and 17. His reasons for this attribution (the place of dis-

¹⁴ First publication 26; extensive bibliography in 24, vol. 5, p. 193. See also 5, p. 86.

¹⁵ Brief announcement of acquisition in 9.

¹⁶ Cairo 39103. Height from break at right knee to top of crown, 73 cm., height from break at back pillar to top of crown, 74 cm. Measurements given by Bernhard V. Bothmer.

covery being near Teti's mortuary temple and the fact that no sculptures of a quality approaching it have been found from the Intermediate Period) do not seem to me to be convincing and do not weaken Quibell's dating.

The statue is delicately modeled. Its face, apparently beardless, is rather coarse, with full cheeks and a large nose and mouth. "The eyebrows are drawn in relief and the swelling line of the throat is well indicated." The artist evidently tried to create a portrait of the king, but here as in most cases it is difficult to decide what should be attributed to the general type of the period and what to the individual. Smith finds in the portrait, which he attributes to Teti, a certain resemblance to the faces of the Mycerinus triads, with which he is very familiar (see paragraph 24).

32. For better comparison with the Freer head, I am adding to the portraits of the Old Kingdom several characteristic royal portraits from the beginning of the Middle Kingdom, that is, the Eleventh Dynasty, and the first reigns of the Twelfth Dynasty.

Portrait of *Mentuhotep II*, with the given name *Nebhepet-rē*, from a more than life-size seated statue of painted sandstone (height 1.83 meters), which was buried in a funerary shaft called Bāb al-Ḥiṣān, within the mortuary temple of this king in Thebes on the west bank of the Nile; now in the Cairo Museum (pl. 19).

The strong and powerfully executed statue shows the king with the red crown of Lower Egypt, wearing a long beard turned up at the tip and dressed in the peculiar festive garb of the so-called Heb-sed jubilee. The crown is painted red, the garment white, and the flesh black (the symbolic color of death). The face is in the style of the Late Old Kingdom and is treated conventionally, without individual features. The material, Upper Egyptian sandstone, suggests the possibility of local manufacture at Thebes, though it may be the work of a sculptor in a Memphis workshop, as were the reliefs of the mortuary temple.¹⁷

¹⁷ Report of the finding of the statue: 6, p. 201, pls. 1 and 2; 36, p. 33; 5, p. 104 ff., fig. 40. Bibliography: 24, vol. 2, p. 134. For the position of the king in the Eleventh Dynasty, cf. 36, p. 30 ff.

33. At the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty the royal residences were located in Southern Memphis (Lisht and Dahshūr), and in the Fayyūm (Lāhūn and Ḥawāra) a new school of sculptors comes to the fore with a distinctive style. "Their work possesses an almost brutal vigour, as though not only to reproduce the outward features, but to suggest also the inward qualities of the persons portrayed." (Blackman in 29, p. 21; see also above, paragraph 14.) The often-expressed opinion that the seat of this new style is to be looked for in Lower Egypt, particularly in Tanis, is due to the erroneous assumption that numerous works of this school found in Tanis were also made there. In reality they came from various temples of the country. When Ramses II wanted to lavish unheard-of splendor on his new capital "The House of Ramesses,"¹⁸ he did not shrink from plundering the temples and removing their monumental sculptures, especially the statues and sphinxes of the Middle Kingdom, to his great temple in Tanis. In this way many pieces in the new style of the early Twelfth Dynasty came together and therefore created the impression that a rich artistic life had flourished there in the Middle Kingdom.

34. The oldest work of the new school known to us is the statue of *Amenemhēt-Amenemēs I*, from a colossal seated statue of red granite (height 2.68 meters) found in Tanis, now in the Cairo Museum (pl. 20). The inscriptions make the Temple of Ptah in Memphis the probable original location of this sculpture.

The king wears the white crown with the uraeus (the oldest example of this decoration on the white crown) and a long chin beard (now damaged). In creating the face the artist endeavored to reproduce a certain portraitlike appearance. The full cheeks, the broad nose, and the folds below the eyes probably correspond to the features of the king; the eyebrows and lids are indicated in relief.¹⁹

¹⁸ Or briefly "Raameses," mentioned in the Bible, Exod. 1:11. It is located on the site of the earlier Hyksos fortress of Avaris.

¹⁹ 23, vol. 1, pp. 4-5, pl. 13, 1; the inscriptions, pl. 1, 3 A, C, D; vol. 2, trans. of inscriptions, p. 15.

35. Portrait of *Senwosret-Sesostris I*, the second king of the Twelfth Dynasty, from a colossal seated statue (height 1.99 meters), which stood with nine other nearly identical statues in the mortuary temple of the king in Lisht, and was found in 1894 hidden in a "cachette." The ten statues are now in Cairo (pl. 21).

The king wears the folded headcloth (*nemes*) with the uraeus diadem and the transversely striped royal beard. The sweetish, soft face differs from the works of the new style. With its smiling, good-natured expression and its calm eyes, enlivened by coloring, it is a typical example of conventional and idealizing royal portraiture. The same expression is to be found in the so-called Osiris pillars, which are statues of the king as Osiris with the white or red crown, against broad pillars, from the mortuary temple of Lisht; now in the Cairo and Metropolitan Museums.²⁰ (11, 31.32.)

Masterworks of the new style are:

36. Portrait of *Senwosret-Sesostris II*, of black granite (height 0.76 meter) from an over-life-size statue "from Memphis" in the British Museum (pl. 22).

The king wears the folded headcloth and the uraeus diadem. The narrow face, with its protruding cheekbones and hollows below the eyes and at the corners of the mouth, is strikingly true to life.

37. Portrait of *Senwosret-Sesostris III*, of red granite, from a colossal standing statue (height 3.15 meters) found in Karnak, now in the Cairo Museum (pl. 23).

The king wears the white crown with uraeus and the striped royal beard, which flares outward toward the base and is attached by straps.

In its perfect simplicity this statue is a remarkable piece of realistic work: the haggard face; the prominent cheekbones, which emphasize the puffs under the eyes; the delicately molded mouth with its slightly pouting lips and air of contempt; the protruding bony chin, which can almost be called animal-like—

²⁰ Excavation report, 14, p. 30 ff., pls. 9-14; also 12; 24, vol. 4, p. 77; "Cachette," 24, vol. 4, p. 32 ff.; see also 5, p. 109.

all these features give a true picture of Senwosret the man (18, No. 42011).

38. Unidentified royal head with the Upper Egyptian crown, of green slate (height 0.48 meter). Perhaps the portrait of the youthful Amenemhēt III; of unknown origin, now in the Glyptothek Ny-Carlsberg, Copenhagen (pl. 24).

The eyelids are in relief, the nose is damaged; a portrait unusually true to life.

39. Portrait head of *Senwosret-Sesostris III*, from a diorite sphinx (height 0.425 meter, length 0.735 meter), in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (pl. 25).

The head, with its pleated royal headdress and long royal beard, reproduces the characteristic features of the typical portraits of Sesostris III and Amenemēs III, without special indication of individual features.

40. To emphasize the sharp contrast in style, I am adding to this list of royal portraits of the Older Period two royal heads of the Late Period, masterworks of "Neo-Memphite art" (see paragraph 13).

Head of *Psametik-Psammetich III*, the last king of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, who, in 525 B.C., was defeated by Kambyzes; made of green stone—"basalte verdâtre" (height 0.22 meter); now in the Louvre (pl. 26).

The king wears the white crown on which is represented, in high relief, the body of the uraeus extending to its entire height. The face is highly stylized, but the fine workmanship and conventionalized smile give it a sensitive and delicate beauty, certainly with no trace of the actual appearance of this king. "L'élégance juvenile et la grâce un peu morbide du roi . . . sont traduites avec un rare bonheur dans cette image délicatement raffinée, l'une des plus séduisantes, à coup sûr qu'ait produites la sculpture égyptienne des dernières époques." (21, p. 522.)²¹

41. *Anonymous royal head of green stone* (metamorphic slate) (height 0.24 meter), probably from Sais and representing one of the kings of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty residing there. Now in the Berlin Museum, No. 11864 (pl. 27).

²¹ Published 3, 11, p. 35 ff.

The king wears the striped royal headdress (*nemes*) on which the body of the uraeus is arranged in wide curves. The conventionalized face acquires some animation from the form of the mouth, a detail typical of the period and intended to suggest a smile.

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

42. This comparison of royal portraits of the Old Kingdom with the Freer sculpture has shown that, of the surviving examples through Dynasty IV, only the portraits of Mycerinus show any marked similarity to the Freer head, and that primarily in the slate triads. It does not seem possible that this sculpture can be a portrait of Mycerinus. It lacks the strength, force, and vitality of the royal work of Dynasty IV. The Freer head has a human softness or sensitiveness, in contrast to the august forcefulness of the Mycerinus type, and I have already remarked that the resemblance between these sculptures is general, rather than specific. The relationship of the Freer head to the Mycerinus sculptures, and its variations from them, would seem to identify it as a reflection of the style established by the Dynasty IV sculptures, and they are therefore later. If my argument that the Freer head belongs to the Old Kingdom is accepted, then its date must be within Dynasties V and VI.

The attribution of this sculpture to the late Old Kingdom, Dynasties V to VI, seems to rest on firm ground, but in attempting to place it within this period we are in a much more precarious position. The major difficulty is the scarcity of comparable royal sculptures-in-the-round, particularly in Dynasty V, of which only two important examples are known (pls. 14, right, and 15), neither of which seems to have much in common with the Freer king. As these two sculptures represent the first two kings of Dynasty V, we are completely without information on the representations of the other seven kings of this Dynasty. It seems therefore clearly impossible, in our present stage of knowledge, to attribute the Freer king to this Dynasty with any certainty. Although royal sculptures and reliefs from Dynasty VI are also rare, a slightly larger

selection is available from this Dynasty than from the preceding one. These works offer some points of similarity with the Freer head and seem to me to provide evidence for a *tentative dating of this sculpture to Dynasty VI*. It is possible that future finds will overthrow this attribution, which I advance as the one most in keeping with present evidence.

43. The form of the *white crown* indicates a date in the late Old Kingdom. The early Old Kingdom examples of this crown found in the Khasekhem and Brooklyn statues (pls. 5 and 7), and the Cairo head of Djedef-rē (see footnote 6), do not taper in toward the base but have a massive, semicylindrical form. The earliest example of the form of the Freer crown appears in the Mycerinus triads (pl. 12). Centuries later it is duplicated in Quibell's granite statue from Şaqqāra (pl. 18, left) and in the alabaster statuette of Phiops I in the Brooklyn Museum.²² The form of the crown is thus consistent with a late Old Kingdom attribution. The absence of the uraeus on the crown conforms with and helps to support an Old Kingdom date, although this is of no use for more specific dating within the period.

The flaps or small parts of the white crown directly in front of the ears are important evidence to consider in establishing the date. They vary considerably among royal sculptures of the Old Kingdom and are occasionally entirely omitted, but in general there is a clear, if not steady, change in form and detail during the Old Kingdom. In the Freer head the lower flap is rounded and on the right side extends slightly beyond the depth of the upper flap. The lower flap is slightly shallower on the left side, extending to less than the full depth of the upper part. These details are paralleled in the so-called Teti statue (pl. 18), as well as in some of the reliefs from the funerary temple of Phiops II,²³ and are practically duplicated in the Teti relief (pl. 28). The lower edge of the back of the crown ends at the midpoint of the neck, in contrast to the early form of the white crown, which extends

²² No. 39.120, illustrated in 27, pl. 19.

²³ 16, vol. 2, pl. 12, left, and vol. 3, pl. 20.

down beyond the base of the neck—a detail clearly shown in most of the examples just cited.

44. The *ears* of the Freer head are placed relatively high on the head and because of their individual form are a conspicuous feature. The top of the ear projects far from the head, and the sculptor has made the surface of the ear slightly concave. This is found in a few of the Mycerinus sculptures.²⁴ Both the marked projection and the concavity are paralleled in the Brooklyn statuette of Phiops I (pl. 17). These details probably are conventions employed by the sculptor, rather than characteristics of the king represented. Doubtless the same is true of the drawing of the details of the ear, for which no exact duplicate in royal sculptures of the Old Kingdom has been found. The ears then offer no assistance in assigning a date more exact than the late Old Kingdom.

45. Nor does *the form of the nose* of the Freer head give any specific information. Cooney points out to me that the deep incisions on each side of the nose are found also on the Teti relief in Cairo (see paragraph 43), on both the Brooklyn Museum statues of Phiops I, and on wooden statues found in the cemeteries around the Teti pyramid. These marks occur, however, not only in the Sixth Dynasty, but even in an earlier period, and are, therefore, of no use for a specific dating of the Freer head.

If we had a representative selection of late Old Kingdom royal sculptures for comparison, the incised *mustache* might be an important clue in identifying the king represented. It is so very rare a detail in royal sculptures of the period, best exemplified perhaps in the painted mustache on the colossal alabaster statue of the Boston Mycerinus, that it doubtless represents an individual trait of the actual appearance of the Freer king.²⁵ But, as we have at present no way of knowing

²⁴ E.g., 28, pl. 49.

²⁵ Traces of a painted mustache are to be found on the following representations of Mycerinus in Boston: the great alabaster statue of the king; the triad of the Hare District, and the Kynopolites (in the case of the last, only recognizable on an old photographic plate). The alabaster head of Shepseskaf (?) does not appear to have had a painted mustache, judging from pictures of it when first found. (Communication of William Stevenson Smith.)

which kings of the late Old Kingdom wore mustaches, the use of this clue must be left to the future.

The *lips* of this head are more conventionalized than in the majority of royal sculptures. Their surface is flat with sharp edges. There seems to be no attempt at naturalism, for the lips are arranged so as to form a V-shaped area. I know of no exact parallel; the closest seems to be in the relief of Teti (pl. 28), where the lip area is slightly damaged but apparently comparable. The great copper statue of Phiops I appears to have similar lips, but the heavy corrosion of the surface makes certainty impossible.

Finally, we have to acknowledge that we cannot draw any certain conclusions as to the date from the existence and the form of the very damaged *back pillar* (pl. 4).

46. The *formation of the eyes*, however, offers a basis for a more exact dating of the Freer head. The eyebrow is long and curved, with a convex surface, and is balanced by an elongated paint stripe continued from the outer corner of the eye and broadening toward the end. This highly stylized treatment of the eyebrows and paint stripes is not found in the early Old Kingdom, and while our present state of knowledge does not permit a certain statement of its earliest use, it appears to be typical of royal work of the Sixth Dynasty. It occurs on both the alabaster and slate statuettes of Phiops I in Brooklyn (paragraph 30 and pl. 17), on Quibell's royal figure from Şaqqāra (paragraph 31 and pl. 18), on a Sixth Dynasty queen in Cairo (4, No. 255), and in some of the reliefs of the funerary temple of Phiops II.²⁶

The *technique of the inlaid eyes* leads us also into the late Old Kingdom. In the older period, for instance, in the celebrated statues of Rahotep and Nofret, in Cairo (29, p. 103), the eyes are formed by an opaque white quartz eyeball, the cornea being of rock crystal and the eyelids in some material partly brown and partly gray in color (33, p. 21; 19, p. 84). This complicated technique becomes less intricate in the Sixth Dynasty by the adoption of a simpler combination of materials,

²⁶ 16, vol. 2, pls. 17, 33 (second relief down from top right).

namely, a disk of black stone, usually obsidian, set into an alabaster piece to represent the dark and white parts of the eyes (33, p. 78). The eye of the Freer head is executed in this technique (the iris and the pupil are set into the white of the eye, see paragraph 5), and the same applies to the copper statues of Phiops I (paragraph 29), and to the Teti relief²⁷ (pl. 28, obsidian and quartz(?) with a copper rim).

ATTRIBUTION

47. This analysis of the Freer sculpture indicates that *its date most probably falls within the Sixth Dynasty*, and it is to this period that I assign it. Certain identification within this Dynasty is impossible, as the Freer head does not appear to represent either Teti or Phiops I, the only kings of this Dynasty of whom we possess adult representations. There is a resemblance in the general facial structure between the Freer head and the granite sculpture found by Quibell at Şaqqāra, but it is not sufficiently close to justify an identification.

The Freer sculpture possesses individuality but probably is not a portrait. Its features are too stylized and fine to include the physical characteristics of the king as a man, and it is unlikely that we shall ever know with certainty the name of the king represented. As *Phiops II* by the mere length of his reign dominated the Sixth Dynasty, there is a fair chance that the Freer head is a representation of that monarch, but this suggestion is unprovable, since the two statues extant of Phiops II (in Cairo [pl. 29]²⁸ and Brooklyn²⁹), both of alabaster,

²⁷ The relief (No. 39.924; length 1.04 meters) is from the Funerary (Pyramid) Temple of Teti, published in 25, pl. LIV, No. 3, where the reproduction is so poor that it is impossible to draw any stylistic conclusions from it. The eye is inlaid.

²⁸ 16, vol. 3, pl. 49, text p. 30 ff. This alabaster statue of the child king (height 0.16 meter) was found in his funerary monument at Şaqqāra. It shows him in the nude, seated on the floor with his knees drawn up; the index finger of his right hand is laid on his mouth (presumably he is sucking it). The (shaven) head is covered with a tightly fitted cap decorated with the uraeus, the symbol of royal dignity, on the front. The inscription on the base designates him by his given name: "Nefekerē, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, who has been endowed with life eternal."

²⁹ 1, Nos. 62-63.

represent him as a child and are of no value as comparative material for our purpose.

48. My provisional attribution of the Freer head to Phiops II will probably stand until new and better comparative material is available, which may necessitate another attribution. I should like to close with a short sketch of the historical data which tradition has preserved for us about *the reign of Phiops II* (2360-2270 B.C.).

After the death of Phiops I, who had the given name of Meryrē, his older son Merenrē ascended the throne. He was, apparently, a very capable person, but he ruled only a short time, about 5 or 6 years. He was followed by his 6-year-old stepbrother, our Phiops II, whose given name was Neferkerē, and who, according to information derived from the monuments and Manetho, ruled for 94 years, the longest reign of any king known. (For comparison, the reign of Louis XIV lasted only 72 years.)

During the first years of Phiops II's rule, military expeditions to Palestine and Nubia took place, and reports of the successful conclusions of these excursions have been preserved in the biographical accounts of his field commanders. From one of these campaigns in the region of the Nile Cataract, Harkhuf, the "Governor of the South," brought back a dancing dwarf, perhaps a member of one of the pigmy tribes of Central Africa. When he informed the Court about it, the young king was so delighted that he wrote a long letter of instructions to Harkhuf in which he urgently advised that a watch be kept on the dwarf so that under no circumstances should anything happen to him, and that on the way to the North he should not fall into the Nile. "If he, Harkhuf, should bring him successfully to the Court, he would receive a great reward."

In sharp contrast to the successes abroad during the early reign of Phiops II, the next decades saw failures in the interior, extreme changes in administration, and social upheaval. This led finally to a great revolution, the break-down of monarchical rule, and the collapse of the power of the Old Kingdom. We do not know how Phiops II ended. Wisdom and order, these immovable pillars of Egyptian society, dissolved

into chaos. "Nay, but laughter hath perished and is no longer made. It is grief that walketh through the land, mingled with lamentations. Nay, but the land turneth round as doth a potter's wheel . . .,"⁸⁰ thus an old text describes the sad conditions. All culture seems to have disappeared in this political tornado. Not until 200 years later did Egypt celebrate her resurrection in the Middle Kingdom and experience a new flowering of her history.

Phiops II stands at the turn of two ages, one of the most remarkable personalities of the Egyptian world, the last king of the glorious Old Kingdom, whose youthful features may be preserved for us in the beautiful Freer head.

⁸⁰ 10a, pp. 97, 95.

Conversion table for all measurements given in the text

Paragraph	Object	Meters	Inches
4....	Freer Head: height, total	0.580	22.835
	Face	0.128	5.039
	Right ear	0.064	2.520
	Left ear	0.061	2.402
	width, from ear to ear....	0.176	6.929
9.....	Relief band, center sec- tion	0.011	0.433
18....	Anonymous head (Brooklyn), height....	0.543	21.378
19....	Khufu-Cheops (Cairo), height.....	0.075	2.953
20....	Djef-rē (Louvre), height.....	0.28	11.024
22....	Chephren (Cairo), height.....	1.68	66.142
23....	Chephren (Leipzig), height.....	0.165	6.496
25....	Mycerinus (Boston), height.....	0.48	18.898
27....	Userkaf (Cairo), height.....	0.68	26.772
28....	Sahurē (Metropolitan Museum), height.	0.633	24.921
29....	Phiops I (Cairo), height.....	1.77	69.685
30....	Pyopy-Phiops I (Brooklyn), height....	0.15	5.906
32....	Mentuhotep II (Cairo), height.....	1.83	72.047
34....	Amenemhēt-Amenemēs I (Cairo), height.	2.68	105.512
35....	Senwosret-Sesostris I (Cairo), height..	1.99	78.346
36....	Senwosret-Sesostris II (British Museum), height	0.76	29.921
37....	Senwosret-Sesostris III (Cairo), height..	3.15	124.015
38....	Amenemhēt III (Copenhagen), height..	0.48	18.898
39....	Senwosret-Sesostris III (Metropolitan Museum), height	0.425	16.732
	length	0.735	28.937
40, footnote 21:	Psametik-Psammetich III (Louvre), height	0.22	8.661
41....	Anonymous head (Berlin Museum), height	0.24	9.449
46, footnote 27:	Teti relief (Cairo), length.....	1.04	40.945
31, footnote 16:	Anonymous king (Cairo):	Centi- meters	Inches
	Knee to top of crown.....	73	28.740
	Break at back to top of crown.....	74	29.134

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PLATES



ROYAL EGYPTIAN HEAD

Attributed to Old Kingdom, Sixth Dynasty. Possibly representing Pharaohs II.
Freer Gallery of Art (38.11).



ROYAL EGYPTIAN HEAD
Profile view, left side. Freer Gallery of Art.



ROYAL EGYPTIAN HEAD

Rear view, showing plinth. Freer Gallery of Art.



KHASEKHEM

Old Kingdom, Second to Third Dynasty. Cairo, Museum. Photograph courtesy
W. S. Smith.

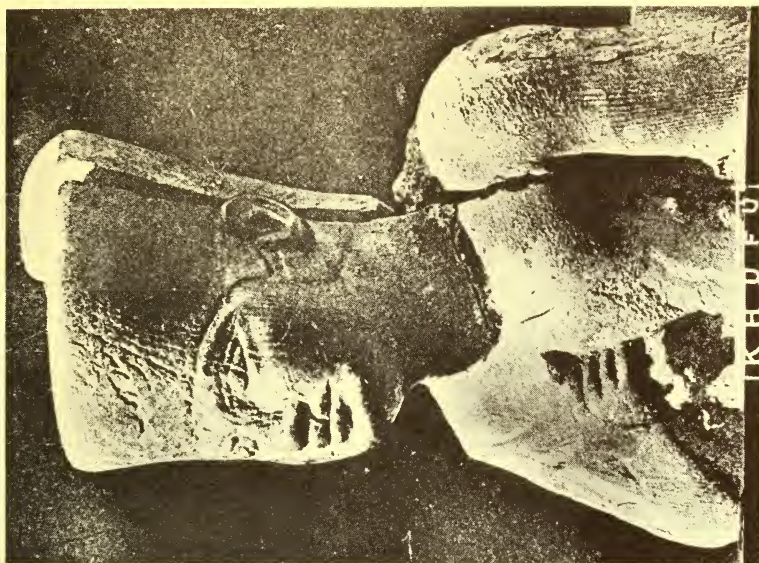


DJOSER

Third Dynasty. Cairo, Museum. Photograph Kunstinstitut, Marburg.

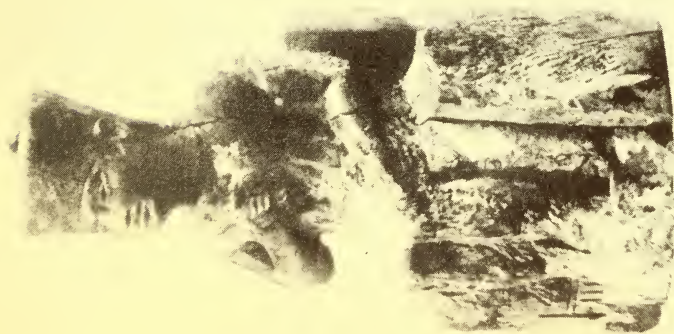


ANONYMOUS ROYAL HEAD (HU?)
Third Dynasty. Courtesy Brooklyn Museum.



KHUFU-CHEOPS
Fourth Dynasty.

Photograph courtesy Brooklyn Museum.



Cairo, Museum.



DJETF-RĒ
Fourth Dynasty. Paris, Louvre. Photograph courtesy W. S. Smith.

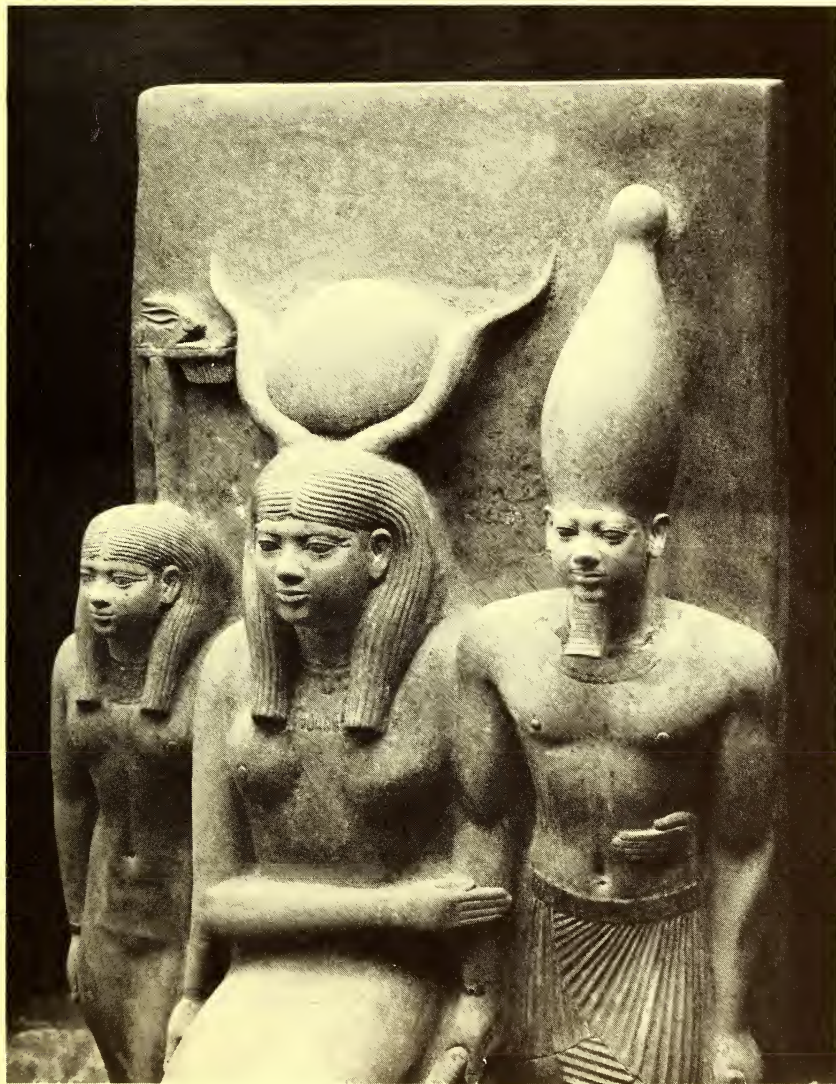


CEPHREN
Fourth Dynasty. Cairo, Museum. Photograph Kunstinstitut, Marburg.



FACE OF CEPHREN

Fourth Dynasty. Egyptian Museum, University of Leipzig. Photograph courtesy
W. S. Smith



**TRIAD OF MYCERINUS, HATHOR, AND FEMALE PERSONIFICATION OF THE
UPPER EGYPTIAN HARE NOME**

Fourth Dynasty. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. Photograph courtesy W. S. Smith.



MYCERINUS

Fourth Dynasty. Cairo, Museum. Photograph courtesy W. S. Smith.



USERKAF (USERCHERĒS)
Fifth Dynasty. Cairo, Museum.
Photograph Kinstinstitut, Marburg.



SHEPSEKAF (7)
Fourth Dynasty. Boston, Museum of
Fine Arts. Photograph courtesy W. S. Smith.



SAHURĒ (SEPHRĒS)

Fifth Dynasty. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Photograph by Charles Sheeler.



PTOLEMY I

Sixth Dynasty. Cairo, Museum. Photograph Kunstinstitut, Marburg.



PYOPY-PHIOPS I

Sixth Dynasty. Courtesy Brooklyn Museum (Wilbour Collection).



ANONYMOUS KING WITH UPPER EGYPTIAN CROWN

First Intermediate Period, Seventh to Tenth Dynasties. Cairo, Museum.

(After 25, pl. 31).



MENTUHOTEP II

Middle Kingdom, Eleventh to Early Twelfth Dynasty. Cairo, Museum. Photograph
Kunstinstitut, Marburg.



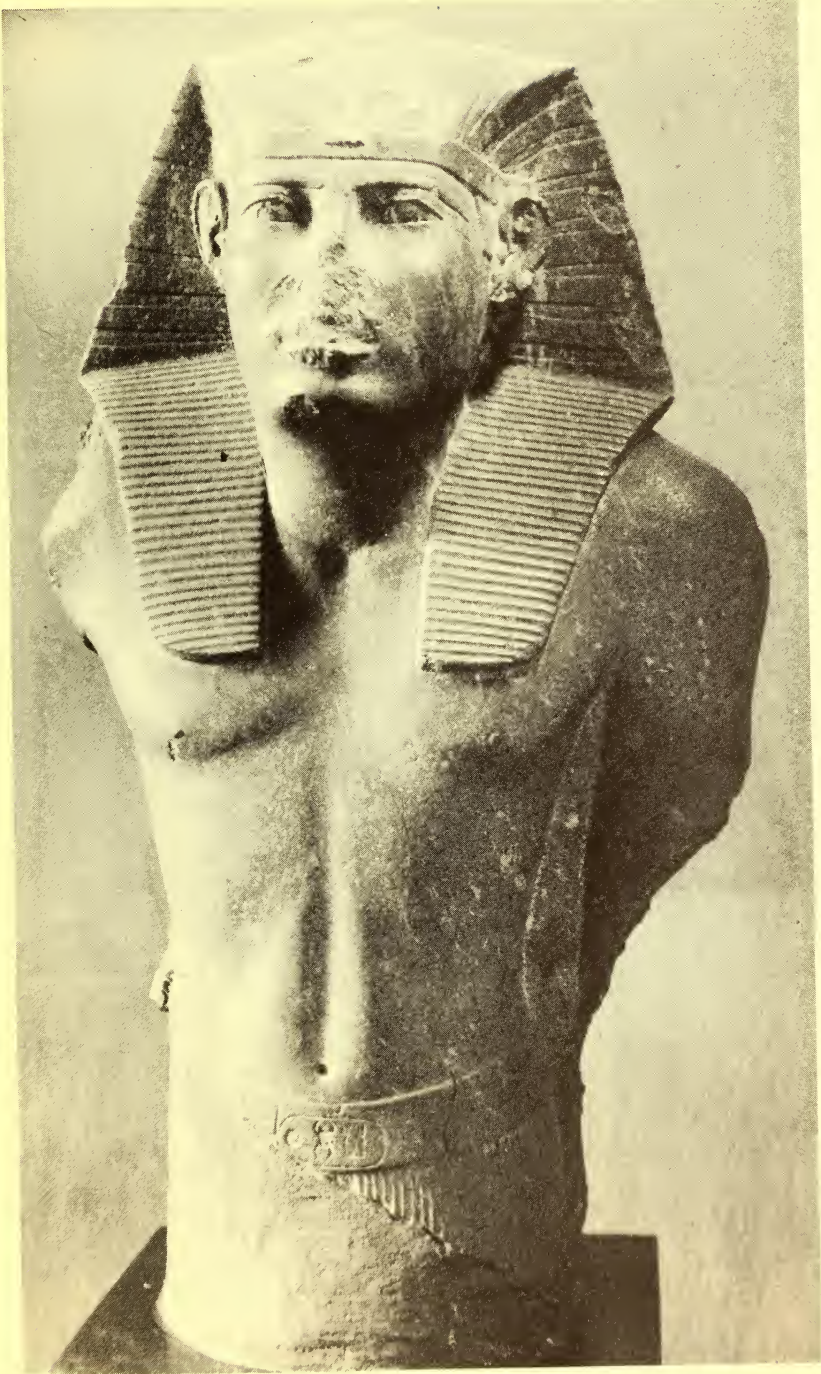
AMENEMHĒT - AMENEMĒS I

Early Twelfth Dynasty. Cairo, Museum. Photograph Kunstinstitut, Marburg.



SENWOSRET - SESOSTRIS I

Twelfth Dynasty. Cairo, Museum. Photograph Kunstinstitut, Marburg.



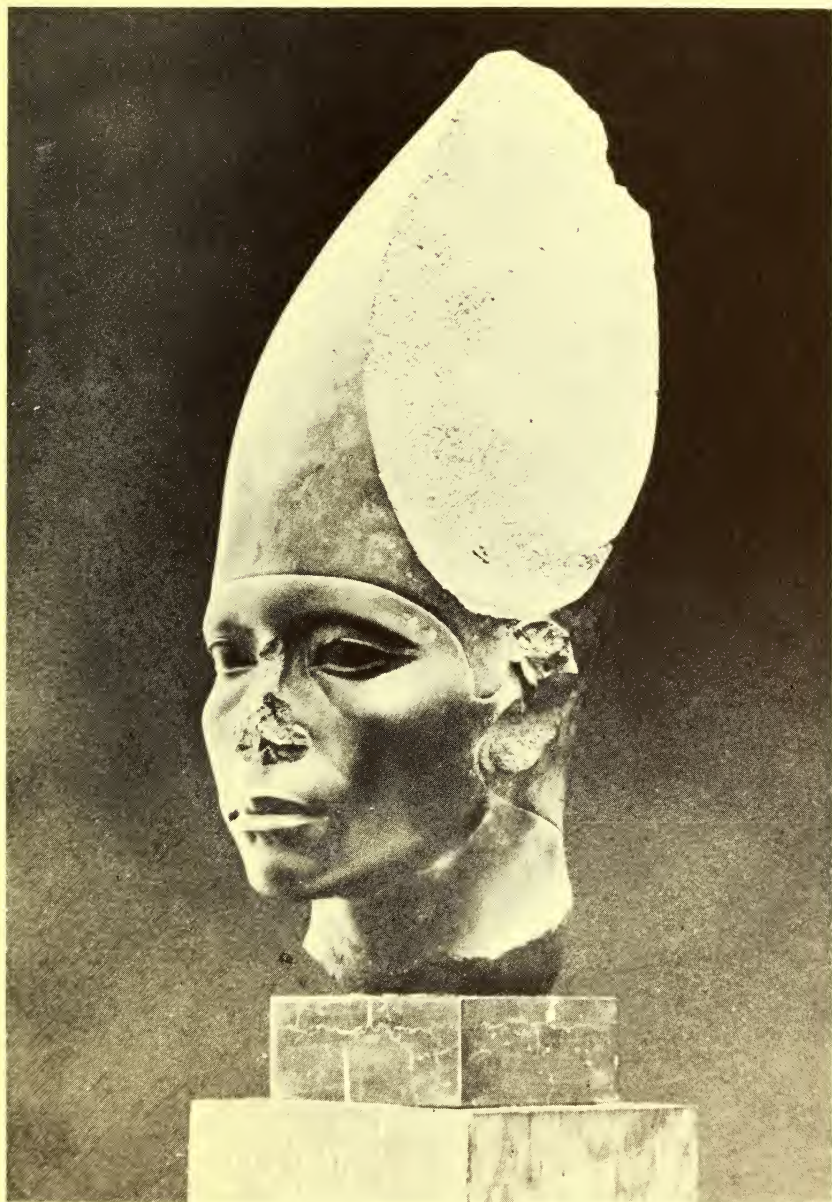
SENWOSRET-SESOSTRIS II

Twelfth Dynasty. London, British Museum. Photograph Kunstinstitut, Marburg.



SENWOSRET-SESOSTRIS III

Twelfth Dynasty. Cairo, Museum. Photograph Kunstinstitut, Marburg.



ANONYMOUS ROYAL HEAD

Copenhagen, Glyptothek Ny-Carlsberg. Photograph Kunstinstitut, Marburg.



SENWOSRET-SESOSTRIS III AS A SPHINX

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Photograph by Charles Sheeler.



PSAMMETIK-PSAMMETICH III

Twenty-sixth Dynasty. Paris, Louvre. Photograph Archives Photographiques.



ANONYMOUS ROYAL HEAD OF GREEN STONE

Berlin Museum (No. 11864). Courtesy Egyptian Department of State Museums, Berlin.



RELIEF OF TETI I

Sixth Dynasty. Cairo, Museum. Photograph courtesy John D. Cooney.



PYOPY-PHIOPS II AS A CHILD

Sixth Dynasty. Cairo, Museum. (After 18, vol. III, pl. 49).



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