

Offerings to the Discerning Eye  
An Egyptological Medley in Honor of Jack A. Josephson

# Culture and History of the Ancient Near East

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# Offerings to the Discerning Eye

An Egyptological Medley in Honor of Jack A. Josephson

*Edited by*

Sue H. D'Auria



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## PREFACE

With sincere pleasure, this volume is dedicated to Jack A. Josephson by his friends and colleagues in token of their esteem and affection, on the occasion of his approaching 80<sup>th</sup> birthday on January 31, 2010. May he, as the ancient Egyptians wished, live 110 years in robust health, joyfully pursuing his passion for Egypt and its great civilization as energetically and purposefully as he does today.

Jack is a singular scholar in a rarified field. A latecomer to Egyptology, he has molded himself into a writer and researcher in the tradition of the “gentleman scholar.” In the process, he has attained specialized expertise in three-dimensional sculpture and achieved broad recognition as an authority in Egyptian art history. Museums and collectors seek his advice on matters of authenticity and identification, and young scholars look to him for guidance. Over the years, Jack’s lucid investigative analyses have probed and redefined the limits of inquiry, expanded research parameters, and broadened perspectives. His scholarship helps validate the discipline, emphasizing its undeniable contributions in an intra-disciplinary framework and highlighting its promise of further potential.

In clear, concise language and a crisp, unadorned style, his output displays the rigorous application of conventional methodological tools and techniques, informed by an increasingly original, innovative approach, instilling new vitality into a field too often dismissed or ignored. At their most complex, his writings and lectures weave cultural and political history into fascinating vignettes and narratives reflected in the formulaic art of the Egyptian civilization. Art-historical interpretation thus applied can reveal tantalizing insights—clues offering a figurative reading between the lines—which might elude the philologist solely focused on often propagandizing, and often misleading, hieroglyphic texts. To cite one example, Jack’s comparative study of two contrasting statues of the 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasty vizier Mentuemhat posits an elaborate power struggle pitting

the ambitious Theban against the wily Psamtik I—a protracted long-distance intrigue culminating in a stalemate, but foiling the southerner’s apparent aspirations to royal status.

Innumerable extant sculptures—deprived of archaeological context, intact but shorn of inscription, archaizing, usurped, re-carved, or broken and battered fragments, the detritus of time—can, under the practiced scrutiny of the art historian, still have a name to regain, a period, a reign, a workshop, or even a master sculptor to be assigned to, and still provide answers to queries and elucidate historical conundrums. Yet others, embellished in modern times, or altogether fake, can be exposed under the stylistic assessment of a keen and knowledgeable eye.

In one such instance, a collaborative research effort by Jack and Rita Freed concluded that the stunning Middle Kingdom sphinx head of a queen, a masterpiece of the Brooklyn Museum collection, while indeed ancient, had undergone substantial repair and re-working in eighteenth-century Italy. The inquiry setting the investigation in motion was an initial observation, made during an earlier joint endeavor on the identification of another MK sphinx queen’s head now at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (the Centennial Queen). The Brooklyn Queen, viewed in the context of the known corpus of MK female sphinx heads, appeared anomalous. With the two scholars pursuing all leads, from scouring every available source reference to seeking out comparable sculptures in Roman museums, the resulting article is a classic example of art-historical analysis in application at its best.

Intensely examining an enigmatic image may give Jack the eerie sensation of communing with the artifact, of seeking to inhabit the world of its maker. In reality, he is mustering an array of the invaluable personal resources of connoisseurship—a discerning eye; an innate aesthetic sensibility; insight and intuition; strong visual recall and mental acuity bolstered by avid reading; constant interaction with fellow scholars; and the continu-

ous scrutiny of countless images. The course of art-historical analysis is painstakingly methodical and protracted. Sometimes, in an exciting procedural reversal, the trigger is an exhilarating “Eureka!” In one startling occurrence, the mass of information stored in a supple mind fused in instant revelation. Examining a photograph of the Cairo Museum statue of King Snefru set bells ringing and led to the identification of a rare surviving head of a statue of the first ruler of the Fourth Dynasty, once namelessly assigned to the Fifth. Intuitive recognition, honed by eye and memory, had still to be substantiated by strict science—but it was a moment to be savored.

As a critical area of study, Egyptian art history is currently imperiled, to the serious detriment of the field of Egyptology. To Jack’s dismay, the subject has all but disappeared from the curricula of the few institutions both in the United States and Europe offering graduate degrees in the field. Deploring this untoward attrition, Jack is a determined proponent of its reinstatement as an essential component in the formation of new cadres. He voices unbounded reverence for the giants of Egyptian art history, among them his mentor Bernard V. Bothmer (a.k.a. BVB), and his personal ideal, William Stevenson Smith, for their inestimable contributions to the discipline.

Profound thanks are due to many participants who have in various ways made this *Festschrift* possible. Foremost among these are Jack’s friends and colleagues, the authors who have, despite the heavy demands of their notoriously overburdened schedules, so generously joined together to offer Jack an exceptional gift. I note with satisfaction that the articles included here reflect a diversity of topics and themes of particular interest and importance to the writers, and I am infinitely

touched by their gracious response. I am truly grateful to my two fellow coordinators of this project, our peerless editor Sue D’Auria, who has undertaken this lengthy, arduous task—a labor of love—with infinite patience, unfailing good humor, and a scrupulous efficiency; and Rita Freed, Jack’s good friend and frequent collaborator, who found time despite her weighty duties as John F. Cogan, Jr. and Mary L. Cornille Chair, Art of the Ancient World at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, to function as logistics manager, wise advisor, and ever-optimistic encourager—and to contribute an article! The team at our publisher Brill, including Publishing Manager Michiel Klein Swormink, Production Editor Michael Mozina, and Acquisitions Editor Jennifer Pavelko, whose dedicated professionalism has made all our dealings a pleasure, has produced a quality publication of which we are all justly proud. My friends Mary McKercher and Malcolm McCormick have provided heartily appreciated assistance and support. Mikhail Ghali kindly supplied e-mail linkage services from Cairo. Amal Safwat el Alfy, Director of the Supreme Council of Antiquities Press, and Janice Kamrin, Director of the Egyptian Museum Database and Registrar Training Projects at the American Research Center in Egypt obligingly forwarded urgently needed archival photographs. Ben Harer proposed an inspired amendment to the working title, and Ogden Golet contributed the perfectly apt cover illustration. In the interests of discretion, local e-maildrop was orchestrated by Helen Atlas and Michaela Gold. Without all these, and many other aiders, abettors, and well-wishers, this volume would not have seen the light of day. Thank you, one and all. Shukran!

To JJ, with love and admiration,

Magda Saleh



## AMENHOTEP III'S LEGACY IN THE TEMPLE OF MUT

Betsy M. Bryan  
*Johns Hopkins University*

Jack Josephson is an art historian and a connoisseur of Egyptian artisanship whose many discussions of Ptolemaic and other periods of art speak for themselves. His love of the field and his constancy in supporting Egyptology inspire all who know him. I am honored to be able to submit this small article to celebrate his contributions to the study of ancient Egypt. Although the statue I focus on is perhaps not the best-preserved example of royal sculpture, its condition is at least partly a result of its ancient usage. A survey of that long and somewhat enigmatic history will, I hope, serve as a sincere tribute to Jack by adding to our understanding of the reuse of earlier monuments.

Any visitor to the precinct of Mut is familiar with two large figures in the Second Court of the Mut Temple: the oversized statue of Sekhmet wearing a diadem of uraei on the west side of the court, and the seated figure of a king on the east (fig. 1). Both were found prone by the Benson and Gourlay expedition and restored as we see them today. The royal statue is the subject of the discussion below. It will be argued that its original subject was Amenhotep III, that it was altered and reinscribed in the Ramesside era, and was then changed again, most probably in the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty.

Benson and Gourlay's vivid prose describing work in the 1896 season includes a description of finding the royal statue in question:

We had hardly passed the gateway [the Second Pylon] when we struck on what appeared to be part of a large sphere of granite, and while we were still wondering what this could be we found an edge and two rounded projections and suddenly perceived it to be the back of the rounded wig kings wear, with the king's shoulders beneath it.

It tries the patience of an excavator to work slowly at a statue which is lying flat on its face, so that the most important point cannot be determined

until the whole thing is free. We must in such a case too work carefully and slowly, and it seemed long before all was uncovered and we turned over the upper part of a king's figure. The arms were broken off above the elbow; the face was scarred, but not too much to exhibit a physiognomy of the most pleasing character.

We then searched further to the east—the direction from which the figure had fallen—and found the lower part of the statue. Very little was actually missing, so that we were able subsequently to mend and set it up in the temple. The statue, with its pedestal, is about 8 feet high.

The one fact which proved disappointing was that there was no certain evidence of date. A friend called our attention to the fact that an oval mark on the shoulder showed that a cartouche had been chiseled out, and a broad band of roughened granite up the back of the seat witnessed to the erasure of an inscription.<sup>1</sup>

### *Description and Identification of the Seated Royal Statue*

#### *1. General Description, Damage, and Erasures*

The granodiorite image has an overall height of 2.5 meters<sup>2</sup> (fig. 2). The height from bottom of the foot to the hairline is 2.10 meters, and the socle height is .20 meters. The king is seated on a throne, wearing the *nemes* headdress and *shendyt* kilt, broad collar, and bracelets. There is a belt with zigzag pattern, but no central buckle oval. The surface is rubbed and consequently obscured in that area, indicating that an erasure likely took place. The king's hands are open, palm-down on the lap, in a gesture of acceptance. The proper-right arm was broken above the elbow, although the hand remains on the lap. The left arm had been broken in antiquity and was repaired (fig. 3). The carefully finished surface from shoulder

<sup>1</sup> *PM II*<sup>2</sup>, 259; M. Benson and J. Gourlay, with P. Newberry, *The Temple of Mut in Asher* (London, 1899), 38-39; 208, pl. XV; plan, no. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps originally 2.6 m (equivalent to 5 cubits). The socle, now .20 m, is highly degraded, and .30 m is not unusual for Amenhotep-era statues.



Fig. 1. Second Court of the Mut Temple with statues of Sekhmet and the king on the west and east sides.

to elbow indicates the repair. The break runs vertically through the remains of a cartouche carved on the proper-left shoulder. The replacement element was narrow and vertical and shaped to complete the shoulder and elbow; its midsection was a thick slot that formed the locking mechanism. A similar, but not identical, repair may be found on the Metropolitan Museum of Art statue of Amenhotep III, usurped for Merenptah, 22.5.2.<sup>3</sup> Another repair may be seen on the Luxor Temple striding statue of Amenhotep III.<sup>4</sup> The date of the Mut Temple statue's repair is uncertain.

The statue is particularly damaged on its proper right. On that side, the eye and mouth are both damaged, as was the arm, as already noted. The main break had been through the waist level, but the proper-right side of the throne was more heavily cracked and consequently restored by the Benson and Gourlay team. The break was also larger at the rear than in front, and there is heavy cement on the back pillar. The socle stone is degraded, and the feet are poorly preserved.

The king is seated on a throne that shows the partially erased remains of a "color bar" framing the seat on both right and left (fig. 4). The front bar, running vertically on the proper left, is well cut in straight lines on the bottom half of the seat, but is sloppily incised in the top part. When viewed from the front of the statue, the proper-left side of the throne seat is not square, but tapers inward from bottom to top. The area within the bars is highly roughened and was erased, and in view of the tapering, the upper portion was more deeply cut away than the bottom, necessitating the re-incision of the bars on the top half of the seat. It is not possible to see any inscription or decoration within the color-bar area. The proper right may show this same pattern, but it is more damaged. The rear of the statue similarly shows that a lengthy inscription was erased from the narrower upper throne back and the entire area of the seat (fig. 5). The breadth of the inscription was that of the smaller upper pillar and did not widen in the seat area below. So far, the only certain glyph

<sup>3</sup> W.C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, Part 2: *The Hyksos Period and New Kingdom* (New York, 1959), 234-235, fig. 140. Cf. the repair of the ear of Cleveland 52.513, as discussed by Bryan in: A.P. Kozloff and B.M. Bryan, *Egypt's Dazzling Sun: Amenhotep III and his World* (Cleveland, 1992), 166-167

and n. 2. See more recently, L. Berman, *Catalogue of Egyptian Art: The Cleveland Museum of Art* (Cleveland, 1999), 222-224, who speculates that the ears were replaced at the time of manufacture due to weakness in the stone.

<sup>4</sup> Luxor Museum J. 131.



Fig. 2. Frontal view of the granodiorite royal statue in the Second Court of the Mut Temple.

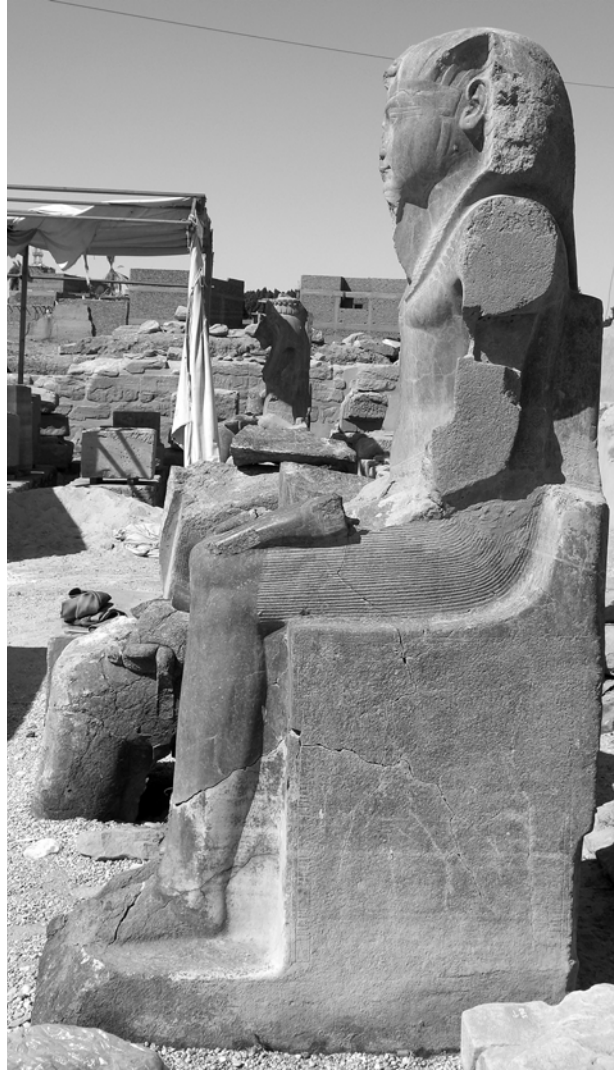


Fig. 3. Proper-left side of royal statue showing ancient repair to arm.

traces that have been recovered from the back pillar represent the tops of two cartouches with sun disks as the first element. Other circular signs appear, in twos at several locations on the pillar, one set being larger than the others. It is tempting to see these as the “city” sign.

Both shoulders show erasure patterns where cartouches had identified a ruler’s name (fig. 6). That on the proper-right shoulder now shows a lighter, rougher oval, but the surface has been somewhat smoothed. On the left shoulder, part of the cartouche ring is still visible, but the erasure marks are as well. The mark of the latter covers a small part of the broad collar, but it is otherwise

<sup>5</sup> One possibility is that it was an adjustment to the statue’s temple location at some time in its use. Another explanation

rather neatly placed. An unusual detail of the statue is the presence of two somewhat regular cuts on the lower rear corners of the throne. That on the proper right is larger than on the left, but the areas both were smoothed over after the cuts were made. It remains unclear when and for what purpose these alterations were made.<sup>5</sup>

## 2. Identification of the Original Subject by Iconography and Style

The general statue type, throne shape, and physical features are reminiscent of Amenhotep III, but there is no remaining inscription, and there are

is that stone from these cuts was used to create the proper-left arm’s repair patch.



Fig. 4. Proper-left side of throne showing erasure of color bars and internal decoration.



Fig. 5. Rear of statue showing erasure of inscription.



Fig. 6. Neck and shoulder of royal figure showing erased cartouches and necklace area.

many crudely carved details and rough areas that suggest the statue was reworked after its original creation.<sup>6</sup> Since there are a number of seated granodiorite figures of Amenhotep III, it is possible to compare them with regard to their proportions, in order to strengthen an identification with that ruler. Such proportions have been shown to have been date sensitive.<sup>7</sup>

1. Height of the figure from bottom of foot to hairline is 2.1 m (equivalent of 4 cubits), representing 14 grid squares.
2. Height of the throne, bottom of foot to top of seat is .82 m, equivalent to 5.46 grid squares.
3. Depth of the throne is .70 m, representing 4.66 squares.
4. Height of the knees is .93/.95 m, representing 6.2-6.33 grid squares.
5. Width of the shoulders (estimated from one complete half) is .85 m, representing 5.66 grid squares.
6. Width of the breast is .48 m, equivalent to 3.2 grid squares.
7. Width of the waist (narrowest point) is .35 m, equivalent to 2.33 grid squares.
8. Height of back at belt top is equivalent to 8.56 grid squares.
9. Height of back at shoulder is equivalent to 12.0 grid squares.

The statue with proportions closest to this one is Metropolitan Museum of Art 22.5.2,<sup>8</sup> to which the name of Merenptah was added without reworking of the sculpture. It shows the following hypothetical grid proportions: seat height: 5.2, seat depth 4.2, knee height 6.3, shoulder width 5.5, breast width 3.4, waist width 2.3, height of back 8.4, and shoulder height 11.9. In comparing these hypothetical grid square numbers with those from sampled statues, the proportions suggest Amenhotep III as the likely original model for the Mut Second

Court royal statue, particularly based on the seat dimensions, which routinely showed thrones approximately one grid square higher than they were deep, in contrast to those carved earlier, which were either squared or even deeper than tall. The one-square difference in height to depth is found on many later New Kingdom examples, but these are also taller than the Amenhotep III thrones and accommodated the lengthened legs for Ramesside figures.<sup>9</sup>

It is not the proportions alone that suggest Amenhotep III as the original owner of this statue, but a variety of iconographic details, including one that is highly supportive. A bull's tail is carved in raised relief between the king's legs, and above it is a flat rectangle carved in raised relief, the lower border of which is the line of the top of the seat (fig. 7). It was apparently intended as a negative space but also modestly prevented focus beneath the king's kilt. The same treatment may be seen on the British Museum statues EA 4 and 5, the granodiorite figures of Amenhotep III from his mortuary temple at Kom el-Hettan, and on the Metropolitan Museum of Art seated images, 22.5.1-2 (fig. 8). Bulls' tails were a consistent feature of Amenhotep III's statues, both striding and seated, but the small rectangular tab above the tail characterizes only those in the granitic stones.<sup>10</sup> Seated figures of other rulers do not display this specific detail. Frequently, they were carved to show the bulls' tails extending up to the *shendyt* kilt.<sup>11</sup> This small feature of the raised relief above the tail appears thus far to be unique to the royal statuary of Amenhotep III, and it is also seen on the Louvre statue A20, shown to have been recarved for Rameses II from a figure of Amenhotep III.<sup>12</sup> From the proportions and this tiny detail, the probability that the Mut Temple statue originally represented Amenhotep III is nearly certain.

<sup>6</sup> Benson and Gourlay identified the king as Tutankhamun, pl. XV facing p. 208.

<sup>7</sup> Bryan in *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, Appendix, table 1, pp. 461-63, for seated statues, with comparisons to Hatshepsut, Thutmose III, Thutmose IV, Tutankhamun, and Rameses II.

<sup>8</sup> H. Sourouzian, *Les monuments du roi Merenptah* (Mainz, 1989), 159 and 162, where she notes that the statue has not been re-carved.

<sup>9</sup> Bryan, in *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, p. 148, Appendix, table 1, 462. For the lengthened leg on Ramesside figures, see G. Robins, *Proportion and Style in Ancient Egyptian Art* (Austin, 1994), chapters 6 and 7.

<sup>10</sup> The workshop distinctions between the granitic and

sedimentary-stone sculpture were first laid out by Bryan in *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, Chapter 5. The seated colossal limestone group in Cairo, number 610, shows the tail extending all the way up to the kilt.

<sup>11</sup> For example, on statues of Thutmose IV (CG 42080) and Amenemhat III (GM 284) the tail continues. On JE 49537 and JE 39260, both of Thutmose III, the tail terminates below the *shendyt*, but not at the line of the seat, and the negative space in both cases is recessed, rather than in raised relief. See, for example, Z. Hawass and A. De Luca, *The Illustrated Guide to the Egyptian Museum in Cairo* (Cairo, 2001).

<sup>12</sup> Kozloff, in *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, pl. XIV, p. 189, and catalogue entry 14, pp. 172-74.



Fig. 7. Lower half of statue showing carved rectangle beneath kilt.

### 3. Original and Retouched Features

The overall shape of the face is slightly rounded, with fleshy cheeks nearly devoid of bone structure (fig. 9). This shape is characteristic of Amenhotep III's portraits and can be favorably compared with his visage on such statues as the colossal head from Kom el-Hettan, Luxor J 133. Likewise such soft fleshiness may be seen on the images of Amenhotep III in quartzite, such as British Museum EA 6 and 7.<sup>13</sup> The mouth, although damaged, clearly shows a lip-line around the rim, as did virtually every royal portrait of Amenhotep III. Nothing suggests that the mouth was altered, as was the case with Louvre A20.<sup>14</sup> The nose is preserved in outline only but shows no evidence of having been narrowed or changed at its bridge—a feature seen, for example, on the Osiride of Thutmose IV re-carved for Rameses II and now part of the Luxor Museum.<sup>15</sup> The earring holes in the ears and two incised lines on the neck were presumably added at the time of the Ramesside reworking.

In contrast to the polished and well-modeled cheek, nose, and mouth areas, the eyes of the



Fig. 8. British Museum EA4 of Amenhotep III showing carved rectangle beneath kilt.

Mut statue show a roughly finished surface in the eyelid areas that betray the mark of reworking. In a close-up view, the polished and precise outline of the proper-left eyebrow appears distinctively different from the irregular and shallow cosmetic banding of the eye beneath. The eye type here is what Bernard Bothmer referred to as “banded,” and it includes cosmetic lines on the upper lids that are etched in a hieroglyphic style extending toward the *nemes* tabs.<sup>16</sup> Although the eyes

<sup>13</sup> Color plates in *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, pp. 121-124; 185-187.

<sup>14</sup> Kozloff, in *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, 172-74.

<sup>15</sup> *The Luxor Museum of Ancient Art: Catalogue*, no. 224, p. 147, figs. 118-119.

<sup>16</sup> B.V. Bothmer, “Eyes and Iconography in the Splendid Century: King Amenhotep III and His Aftermath,” in *The Art of Amenhotep III: Art Historical Analysis*, ed. L. Berman (Cleveland, 1990), 84-92.





Fig. 9. Face of royal figure, Mut Temple Second Court.

of Amenhotep III's statues were carved to show cosmetic lines of various shapes, they nonetheless were consistently almond shaped and obliquely set. In addition, the king's eye was always carved on a lid that swelled in a convex shape between lid and brow<sup>17</sup> (fig. 10). It was this feature that was changed on the Mut Temple sculpture. The original eyes of the Mut Temple statue were cut back vertically between the banded eye and the brow to render a hollowed, or concave-shaped, eyelid—a style introduced with Amenhotep IV and that also characterized the portraits of Rameside rulers. In addition, it was characteristic of Amenhotep III eyeballs to have bulged at the top beyond the line of the lid, and to then have receded beneath the center of the eyeball (see fig. 10). From the front view, this gives the impression of a downward gaze, and Amenhotep III had portraits with various degrees of vertical angling.

<sup>17</sup> Bryan, *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, 144. This is unvarying for the sculpture of Amenhotep III, unless one dates works in the "Gurob" style to the lifetime of the king. For this author, Amenhotep IV's reign commences the representation of a concave eyelid.

<sup>18</sup> This has been documented by study of the angle of Amenhotep III's statuary in comparison with reworked examples. See Bryan, *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, 144, 157 with a drawing showing the angle, and the Appendix with the measurements of vertical angles of the eyeballs.

<sup>19</sup> CG 607, JE 31414, a statue of Merenptah from his mortuary temple. *PM II*<sup>2</sup>, 448; M. Saleh and H. Sourouzian, *The Egyptian Museum Cairo: Official Catalogue* (Mainz, 1987), no. 211; See also CG 601 from Medinet Habu, but which could depict Rameses II rather than Merenptah. C. Ziegler, ed., *The Pharaohs* (Milan, 2002), 66, 438, cat. no. 125, entry by A. Mahmoud. For Merenptah's reuse of statuary, see Sourouzian, *Monuments du roi Merenptah*, 170-172, for this statue,

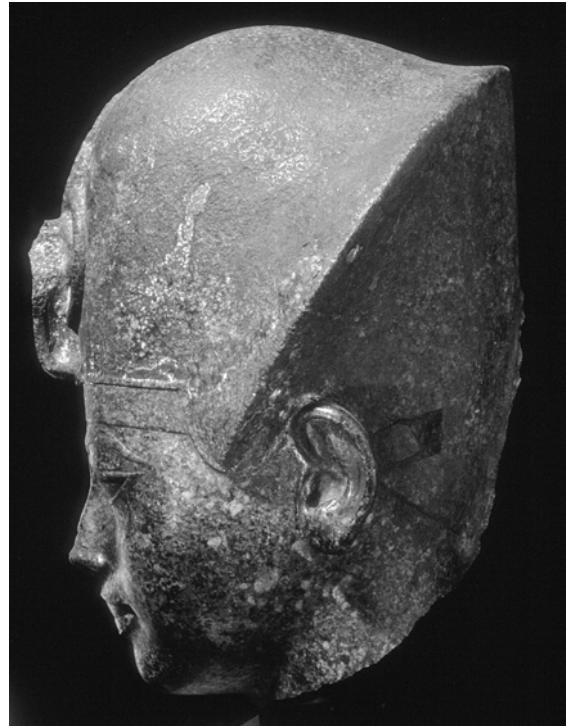


Fig. 10. Cleveland Museum of Art CMA 52.513 showing convex lid and eyeball carved to create downward stare.

The larger the statue, the greater the vertical angle was cut.<sup>18</sup> Here the eyes have been cut to eliminate any angle in the eyeball, although the eye sockets themselves are in the same general position as before recarving (fig. 11). Similar treatment of the eyelids and eyeballs is seen on a granodiorite statue of Merenptah in the Egyptian Museum (CG 607), certainly also taken over from Amenhotep III. Hourig Sourouzian has persuasively argued that this recarved image resulted in a true portrait type for Merenptah, although the same approach to reworking eyes also occurred on works reused for Rameses II.<sup>19</sup>

especially 171, regarding the reuse of Amenhotep III's images. Sourouzian notes that CG 607 has been entirely changed to express the true portrait of Merenptah. That seems true to me as well, and in contrast to the situation with the Mut Temple king. For examples of Rameses II with similar eye treatment, see Vienna AS 5770, a greywacke statue of a deity, with inscribed back pillar and the beginning of Rameses II's prenomen: E. Rogge, *Statuen des Neuen Reiches und der Dritten Zwischenzeit* (Vienna, 1987), 76-83. The close-up of the face (and the back pillar) shows the areas of roughening and also the lip-line of the Amenhotep III version. The remains of a second area of eyelid is visible on p. 83. See also Walters 22.107, a reworked head in the blue crown, which Sourouzian also discusses, *Monuments du roi Merenptah*, 170-171. B. Bryan, "A 'New' Statue of Amenhotep III and the meaning of the *Khepresh* Crown," in *Archaeology and Art of Ancient Egypt: Studies in honor of David O'Connor*, ed. Z. Hawass and J. Richards (Cairo, 2007), 154-156, figs. 7-8.



Fig. 11. Profile of face of Mut Temple royal statue showing recut eye lid and socket.

Although the Mut Temple statue shows recarving in several locations other than the eyes, most retouching does not suggest that the statue was remodeled. In addition to the eyes, the *nemes* borders and tabs, as well as the beard straps, have been redefined, although not relocated (see fig. 11). There is no clear indication that the stripes of the headdress were changed. The belt has been adjusted across the front, and perhaps on more than one occasion. As mentioned earlier, the front of the belt was erased, such that now the surface is smooth to the touch but shows no remains of the original oval (fig. 12). The zigzag pattern on the belt is carefully incised in fifteen small lines on the proper right and left of the statue, but it is crudely incised on the front, where there are only five sloppy and large zigzags. The contrast with the sides of the belt strongly indicates that the redefinition was in concert with changes to the front oval and not part of a remodeling of the figure. Unlike the situation with Louvre A20, where the belt width and decorative motif were changed, here the belt width was unaltered, and only the number of zigzags differs.

The necklace area at first appearance looks as if it was retouched, but on closer observation, it is original. The rows of rectangular and teardrop beads are regular and well cut, but on the proper left of the statue the spaces between beads has been smoothed, while on the proper right they are rough. This is consistent for the entire necklace

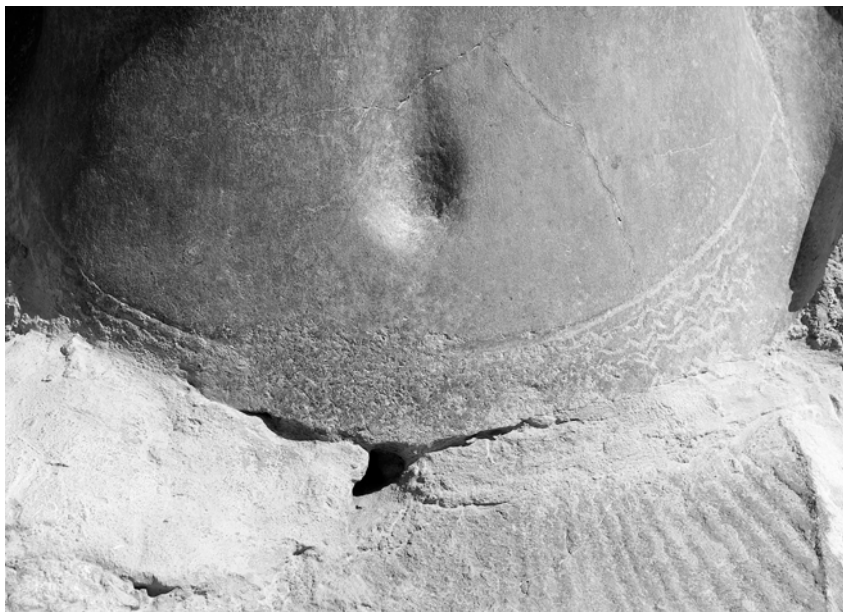


Fig. 12. Detail of belt area, Mut Temple royal statue.



and therefore must be a relic of the original statue production, when sculptors worked the two sides of the statue separately. It is clear in detail views of the statue. A line of roughened surface beneath the broad collar may suggest that the jewelry area was at some time pigmented or even gilded, but the internal details of the necklace are unretouched. The roughened line does not appear on original statues of Amenhotep III that wear the broad collar, but roughly finished necklace areas did often contrast with the polished body parts.<sup>20</sup>

*Reconstructing the History of the Statue in the Mut Temple*

The Mut Temple statue was fashioned as an image of King Amenhotep III in the later 18th Dynasty. It originally was inscribed on the back pillar and perhaps on the belt's buckle, which now shows a roughened surface. Other seated granodiorite figures of that king might carry inscriptions on their back pillars, on the throne front next to the king's legs, and on the belt fronts. However, there was no consistency, and some were inscribed at all three locations, some on one or two, and some were not inscribed all. Thus the Mut Temple statue, having had texts on the rear and the belt, was entirely consistent with other Amenhotep III seated sculpture. The statue originally had no cartouches on the shoulders, although two were added when the piece was retouched for a later king.<sup>21</sup> Indeed, no original statue of Amenhotep III bore cartouches on the body—whether abdomen, arms, or shoulders. Rather, the addition of a king's cartouches on royal statues began after the Amarna era, and it was a common feature of both reused and original statuary of Rameses II, Merenptah, and other Ramesside rulers. Sometimes these statues were otherwise retouched, as here, but often not.<sup>22</sup> Four statues of Amenhotep III have added body

cartouches naming Merenptah.<sup>23</sup> None bears a body cartouche with another name, despite significant numbers of Amenhotep's statues having been reused and reinscribed on socles, back pillars, thrones, and belt buckles, particularly for Rameses II and III. This fact would certainly favor Merenptah as the king whose name was within the added body cartouches on the Mut Temple statue. However, these cartouches were erased later when the statue was once again reused.

The thrones of Amenhotep III's seated figures were decorated with either the union of the plants of Upper and Lower Egypt carved within a rectangle, or the Nile gods tying plants together.<sup>24</sup> The throne decoration on the Mut Temple statue cannot be determined due to complete erasure within the color bars. The imprecise lines of the bars on the top half of the throne signal that these were recarved, but the erasure pattern covers these as well. We may thus conclude that here also, two periods of reuse are in evidence. The Amenhotep III statue, Louvre A20, reused by Rameses II, was recut on the throne sides by shaving back only the surface defined within color bars, and incising inscriptions. The throne sides on Metropolitan Museum of Art 22.5.1 and 22.5.2, reused for Merenptah, were shaved back on the entire decorated surfaces, including the color bars—which were then re-incised. This would have been the same method used on the Mut Temple statue during its first reuse.

An arm repair on the proper-left arm of the Mut Temple statue is another feature that may be paralleled by comparison with other reused Amenhotep III sculptures. Metropolitan Museum of Art 22.5.1 and Luxor Museum J 131, both found in the Luxor Temple, had arm repairs using similar tenon-type patches, and both were also reused for Merenptah.<sup>25</sup> It should be considered a possibility that the Ramesside reuses occasioned repairs to these three statues, and it might be worth com-

<sup>20</sup> See, for example, the rough-surfaced broad collar on a Cairo torso of the king: Bryan, "A 'New' Statue." Compare the quartzite Luxor Temple cachette statue with a broad, rough area that could have received metal sheeting.

<sup>21</sup> Non-royal statues were carved with body cartouches of the reigning king from the mid-18th Dynasty onward in a similar, but not identical, approach to statue identification. Facial reworking of non-royal statues was apparently rare, and the addition of a later ruler's cartouche rarer still.

<sup>22</sup> CG 42096 of Horemheb was an early example. From the large temples of Luxor, Karnak, Medinet Habu, Memphis, Tanis, etc., statues in museums and still in situ display added cartouches on shoulders and chests. E.g., R.A. Schwaller de Lubicz, *The Temples of Karnak* (London, 1999), passim. Thutmoseid colossi before the north flanks of the Seventh

Pylon carry the original features of the 18th Dynasty kings, but the cartouches on shoulders are of Rameses IV: *ibid.*, plate 363. See also R. Freed, *Rameses the Great* (Memphis, 1987), 16, 123 for two additional examples with the names of Merenptah. For a list of examples where the king added his name and may or may not have removed that of the earlier king, see W. Helck, "Usurpierung," *LÄ* 6, 905-906, n. 7.

<sup>23</sup> Sourouzian, *Monuments du roi Merenptah*, 159ff.; three from the Luxor Temple (MMA 22.5.1 and 22.5.2) and one in situ (Freed, *Rameses the Great*, 16).

<sup>24</sup> For the former, British Museum EA 4 and 5; for the latter, Cairo JE 37640 and the so-called "Memnon colossi."

<sup>25</sup> Do. Arnold, *The Royal Women of Amarna: Images of Beauty from Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1996), 63, fig. 57; L. Berman, *Catalogue of Egyptian Art*, 224 and n. 6. Both

paring the stone patches microscopically to determine whether they are similar. Several points of comparison suggest that the Ramesside reuse of the Mut Temple statue took place in the reign of Merenptah. The facial changes, body cartouches, throne-side reuse, and the arm repairs are all found on statues of Amenhotep III reused for Merenptah, but are not found on his sculptures reused by other kings.

The final reuse of the Mut Temple statue remains far more elusive to determine. Several elements point, however, to the 21st Dynasty and perhaps to Pinudjem I as the ruler in question. First, there are two other Amenhotep III statue adoptions from the reign of Pinudjem I in the Mut Temple—a Sekhmet statue with an added back-pillar inscription of Queen Henettawy that mentions the work of King Pinudjem in Karnak, and the recently found statue of Queen Tiye with a back-pillar inscription for Queen Henettawy.<sup>26</sup> In these cases, there was no reworking, and the name of Amenhotep III was left intact. The second reuse of the Mut Temple royal statue attempted to remove the evidence of the Ramesside retouching by erasing the body cartouches, belt inscription, and throne and back-pillar texts. The rough surfaces on the throne and back pillar suggest that the finish was accomplished in plaster and paint;

the deepened chisel marks around the necklace suggest likewise.

Pinudjem and Henettawy's work in the Khonsu Temple and Karnak stressed their associations with Amun-Re and Mut and their issue, Khonsu.<sup>27</sup> The interest of both rulers in the Mut Temple would thus have continued this association. Further, the inscription added by Henettawy on the rear of the Queen Tiye statue listed her formal titles, but further privileged her consort role to the king in a manner paralleling Mut's relation to Amun-Re.<sup>28</sup> The find place of the Tiye and Henettawy statue was near the royal figure, in the porch of the temple. It was placed there in the Roman Period during a final renovation of the porch. The original height of the queen sculpture, 2.5 meters,<sup>29</sup> is identical to that of the king statue, and it is quite possible that they were fashioned as a pair, perhaps to be displayed in concert with the similarly proportioned large Sekhmet statues, also in the Second Court. Although it must remain a speculation, the attempt to remove the Ramesside changes to the king figure may have signaled Pinudjem's and Henettawy's adoption of these statues, with an acknowledgment of their original association with Amenhotep III and Tiye.

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consider that the repair on the Metropolitan Museum statue was original to the reign of Amenhotep III.

<sup>26</sup> The Sekhmet, *PM II*<sup>2</sup>, 257 [6]; Benson and Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher*, 29-30, 245. The Queen statue, B.M. Bryan, "A Newly Discovered Statue of a Queen from the Reign of Amenhotep III," in *Servant of Mut: Studies in Honor of Richard A. Fazzini*, ed. S. D'Auria (Leiden and Boston, 2007), 32-43.

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<sup>27</sup> S.-A. Naguib, *Le clergé féminin d'Amon thébain à la 21<sup>e</sup> dynastie* (Leuven, 1990), 218-221.

<sup>28</sup> Bryan, "A Newly Discovered Statue," 43: "She is summoned, entering and going forward because of the greatness of her love for the king. She is one great of terror, one sacred of dew/fragrance, the uraeus who guards Horus."

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*