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A ROYAL PORTRAIT HEAD IN THE COLLECTION OF THE MICHAEL C.
CARLOS MUSEUM AT EMORY UNIVERSITY

by

KAREN MARGARET BRYSON

Under the Direction of Dr. Melinda Hartwig

ABSTRACT

This thesis discusses a small, red granite, Egyptian royal portrait head in the collection of the Michael C. Carlos Museum in Atlanta, Georgia. The head is determined to be a fragment from a group depicting the king in front of the monumental figure of a divine animal, probably a ram or baboon. Scholars have attributed the head to the reigns of various New Kingdom pharaohs, including Horemheb and Seti I, but on more careful examination its style demonstrates that it dates to the reign of Ramesses II (1304-1237 B.C.).

Keywords: ancient Egypt, Egypt, art, sculpture, royal, New Kingdom, portrait, Horemheb, Seti I, Ramesses II, New Kingdom, NK, animal, animal statue

A ROYAL PORTRAIT HEAD IN THE COLLECTION OF THE MICHAEL C.
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by

KAREN MARGARET BRYSON

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

In the College of Arts and Sciences

Georgia State University

2008

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Karen Margaret Bryson
2008

A ROYAL PORTRAIT HEAD IN THE COLLECTION OF THE MICHAEL C.
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List of Abbreviations

ASAE – *Les Annales du Service des Antiquités de l’Egypte*

BSFE - *Bulletin de la Société Française d’Égyptologie*

JARCE – *The Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*

JEA – *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*

MDAIK – *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo*

SDAIK - *Sonderschrift / Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo*

1 - INTRODUCTION

Among the objects in the permanent collection of Emory University's Michael C. Carlos Museum in Atlanta, Georgia, is a small Egyptian royal head carved from red granite (Figs. 1.1 & 1.2). The provenance of the head is poorly documented. It was in the hands of a number of private collectors before the Carlos Museum purchased it at auction. It is reported to have once been in the collection of the Reverend Theodore Pitcairn. Reverend Pitcairn, along with his father and brother, was an avid collector of Near Eastern antiquities during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. It is possible that one of the Pitcairns may have acquired the head from an antiquities dealer in the United States or Europe sometime during the 1920's or 30's.¹

The Carlos head bears no inscription, and thus cannot be dated in this way to the reign of a particular king. It has, however, been dated stylistically based on the facial features. The head was exhibited in San Antonio in 1995 as part of the exhibition *Dynasties: The Royal Image in the New Kingdom*, and was attributed at that time to Seti I.² This attribution is not certain, however; a post-Amarna date, at the end of the 18th

¹ See Ed Gyllenhaal, "Hidden Treasures: The Glencairn Museum," *Near Eastern Archaeology*, Vol. 61, No. 2 (Jun., 1998), 130.

² Gerry Scott, *Dynasties: The Egyptian Royal Image in the New Kingdom. (Exhibition) San Antonio Museum of Art, January 6 - April 9, 1995* (San Antonio: Ch. Van Siclen, 1995), 33.

Dynasty rather than the beginning of the 19th, has also been suggested.³ The period to which the Carlos head is thought to date poses problems for dating based on stylistic criteria. While the royal portrait sculpture of the earlier part of the 18th dynasty has been studied extensively, relatively little scholarly attention has been paid to works created for the kings who oversaw the transition from the Amarna period to the Ramesside era. The stylistic criteria for dating works of this period are not well established, and thus a close study of the Carlos head would seem to present the perfect opportunity for a careful examination of the post-Amarna style in Egyptian royal portraiture. It is also possible that the head in fact dates to much later in the 19th or even the 20th Dynasty.⁴ The study of Ramesside portrait sculpture is complicated by the same issues of usurpation and imitation that beset the study of the art of the post-Amarna period, and also by a dearth of material from the reigns of the last Ramesside kings.

In addition to style and iconography, this thesis will examine the Carlos head in terms of its type. The shape of the break at the back of the head raises the question of what type of statue the Carlos head once belonged to. An examination of pieces comparable in terms of scale, material, and iconography will reveal the original composition of the statue, allowing us to examine the head's original context and function.

³ Personal communications from Dr. Peter Lacovara of the Michael C. Carlos Museum at Emory University and Dr. W. Raymond Johnson.

⁴ Personal communication from Dr. Hourig Sourouzian.

The study of the Carlos head raises a number of interesting questions. It is quite unusual in both its style and in the shape of the break at the back. Examining the head in detail presents an opportunity to shed light on some of the questions surrounding Egyptian royal portrait sculpture of the later New Kingdom.



Figure 1.1: A red granite Egyptian royal head in the collection of the Michael C. Carlos Museum at Emory University in Atlanta, Georgia.



Figure 1.2: Profile view of the Carlos head.

2-DESCRIPTION

The head is 15.4 centimeters in height. It depicts a king wearing the royal false beard and *nemes*-headdress with a uraeus serpent at the brow. The *nemes* is smooth, without incised pleating. A headband is faintly indicated by a depression that arcs across the forehead. The pattern of the stone makes it difficult to see this feature in photographs; it is highlighted in Figure 2.1. There is no indication of a chin strap attached to the false beard, and the beard itself is not striated. The body of the uraeus serpent is arranged in the shape of a horizontal figure eight at the king's brow with the undulating tail extending over the top of the king's head. The two loops of the figure eight, one on either side of the rearing body of the serpent, are positioned asymmetrically, with one placed slightly higher up on the king's forehead than the other. The tail of the uraeus extends over the crown of the king's head in four open curves (Fig. 2.2).⁵

The material is an unusual variety of coarse-grained, pinkish-red Aswan granite. The dark matrix, or groundmass, of the stone is interspersed with large crystals of reddish feldspar, creating a vivid and distinct pattern that gives the appearance of heavy veins. Egyptian red granite typically contains light, white to greyish minerals including quartz and lighter-colored feldspar, along with the rose-colored feldspar that gives it its

⁵ For descriptive terms pertaining to the uraeus, see Sally Johnson, *The Cobra Goddess of Ancient Egypt: Predynastic, Early Dynastic, and Old Kingdom Periods* (London: Keegan Paul, 1990), 29-33.

characteristic color.⁶ It appears that the stone of the Carlos head is poor in the lighter colored material, and the dark groundmass is present in large amounts. It is difficult to find examples of statues made of a similar type of stone. It is possible that the ancient Egyptians generally preferred the lighter varieties of Aswan granite.⁷ A 4th Dynasty statue in the Louvre belonging to Setka, the son of the pharaoh Djedefre (Fig. 2.3), however, is a close parallel in terms of material. Like the Carlos head the statue of Setka is carved from red granite with an abundant dark matrix. Because of the enormous separation in time and type between the two statues, the only conclusion that can be drawn from this similarity is that the stone from which the Carlos head was carved was used in pharaonic sculpture from the Old Kingdom on, and does not suggest that the head is not authentic.

At the back, where it would normally taper into a queue, the nemes tapers toward a projection of stone, a remnant of the object against which the royal figure was engaged. The break is in the shape of an inverted “U”. In other words, the projection is rounded at the top and descends in a straight line on each side. At the top, the projection flares upwards slightly, indicating that whatever stood behind the head was taller than the figure of the king. A slight outward flare is also visible on one side of the projection, indicating that the back support was wider than the king’s figure (see section 3 – Type).

Once part of a larger statue, the Carlos head has sustained considerable damage. Most of the false beard is missing, along with the lower parts of both wings of the

⁶ Rosemarie and Dietrich Klemm, *Steine und Steinbrüche im Alten Ägypten* (Berlin: Springer-Verlag, 1992), 313-339.

⁷ Klemm and Klemm, 325.

headdress, with a greater portion of the left wing intact than the right. The uraeus is badly damaged, particularly on the left side, and the lower part of the nose has been destroyed. In spite of its damaged state, however, the face retains a great deal of expression and character.

The overall facial shape is round, its width slightly greater than its length (see Fig. 2.1). The full cheeks contribute to the soft impression. The eyes are almond shaped—the upper lid is slightly rounded above the lower lid, which extends from the inner canthus in a straight line, and then angles upward by roughly 18.5 degrees about halfway between the inner and outer canthi to connect at the outer canthus with the upper lid. The eyebrows are not plastic, and are indicated by a raised ridge along the browline. The mouth is quite full, and the upper lip is slightly wider than the lower. The philtrum is not modeled, but the tubercle, the thickened area at the center of the upper lip, is indicated by a dip where the lips meet. The corners of the mouth are raised in a slight smile, but are not emphasized by circular drill holes. The ears, set high on the head, are shown as pierced (Fig. 2.4).

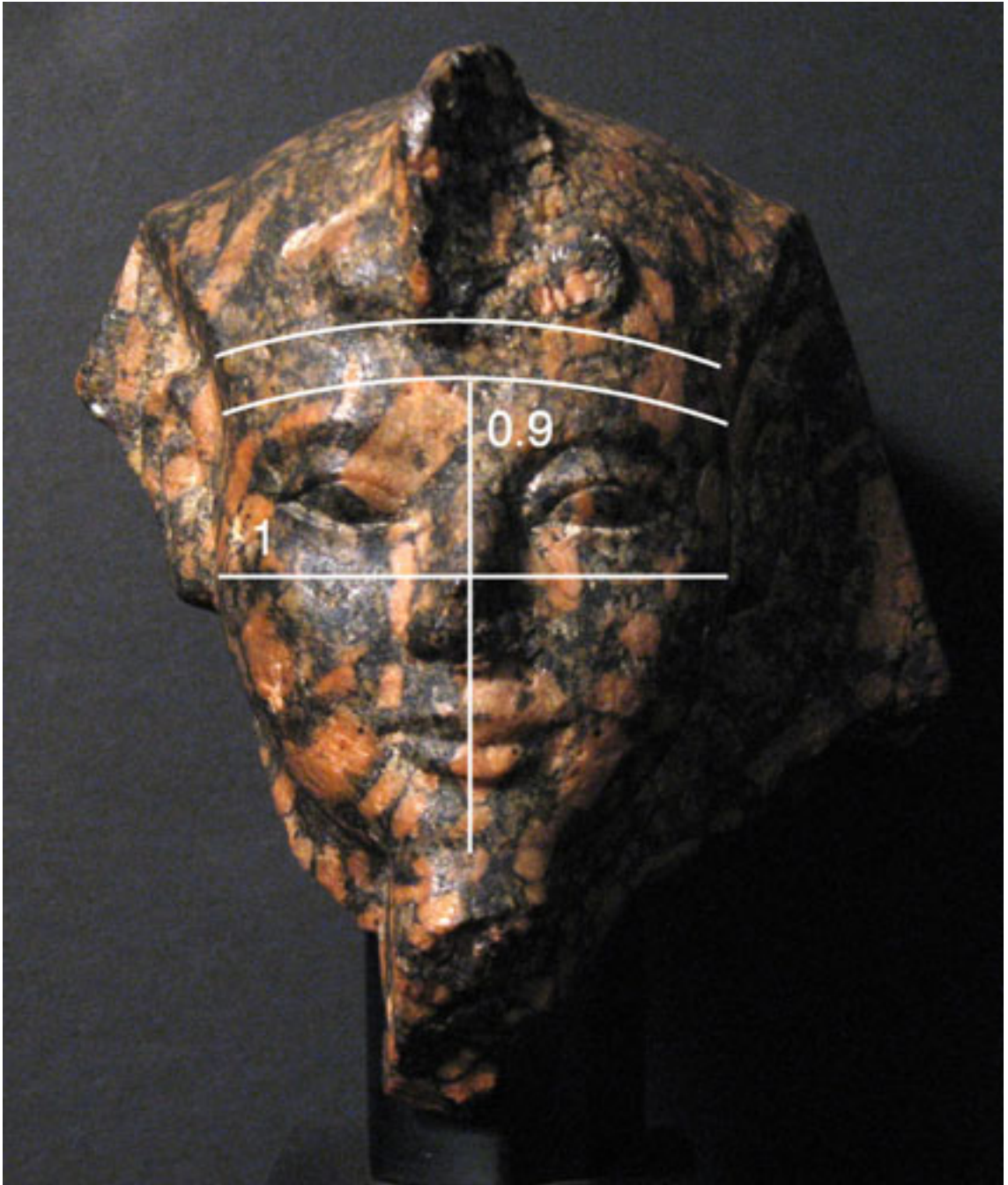


Figure 2.1: The position of the headband of the *nemes* and the proportions of the face are highlighted.



Figure 2.2: The top of the head, showing the body of the uraeus.

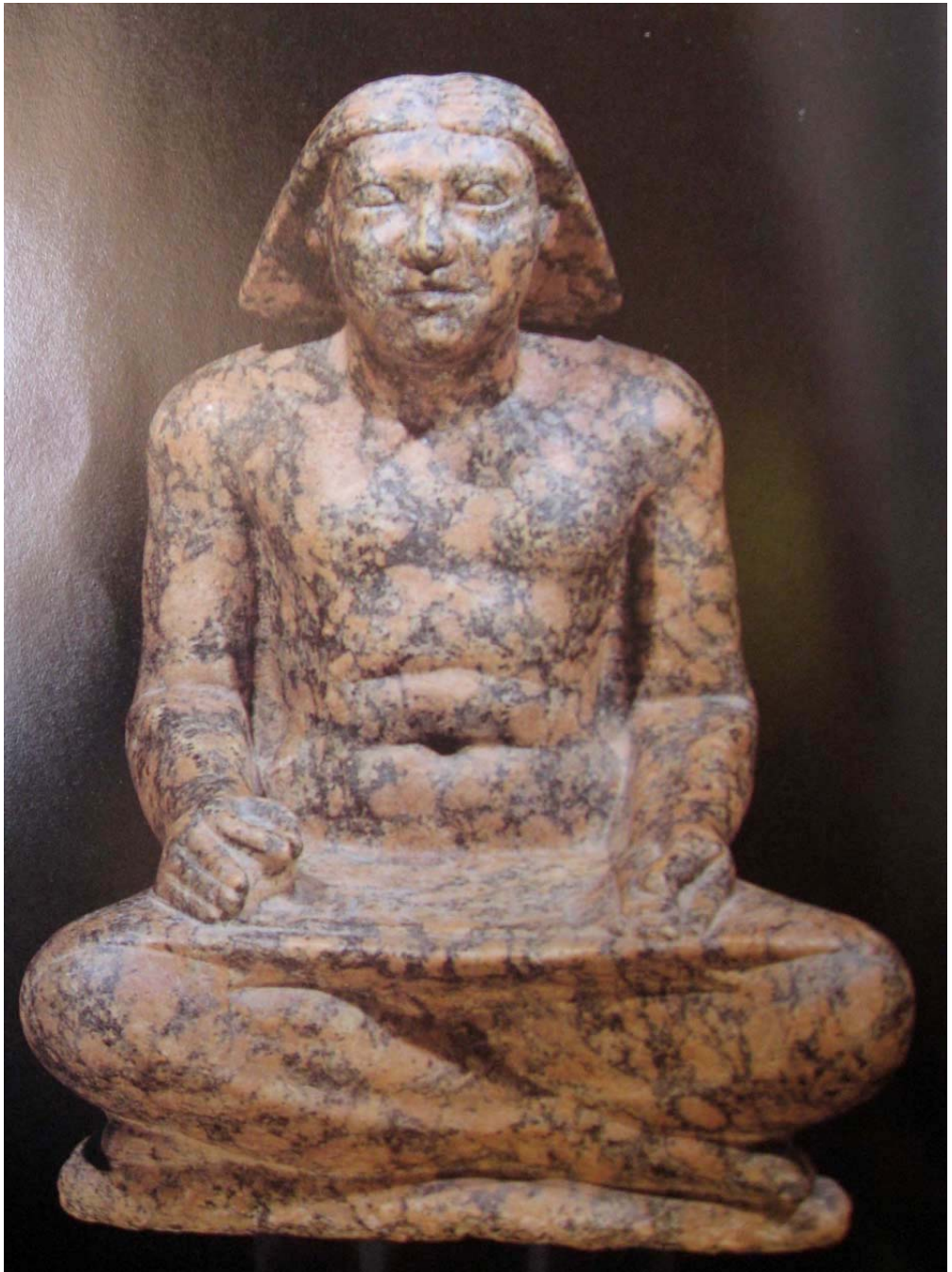


Figure 2.3: Scribe statue of Setka, son of the 4th Dynasty pharaoh Djedefre.



Figure 2.4: Detail of the Carlos head.

3 - TYPE

The shape of the break at the back of the Carlos head leaves no doubt that a back pillar, a back slab, or another figure stood behind the figure of the king. On top, the nemes headdress begins to slope downward, and, at the sides, the wings taper toward the center back. Just before the edge of the break, however, the angle of the taper changes abruptly. At the top of the head, the downward slope reverses and the stone flares upward to the point of the break (Fig 3.1), indicating that the back support was at least as tall as the figure of the king. At the sides, the inward taper of the nemes reverses and the stone flares outward slightly, as can be seen from the side of the head that preserves a larger portion of the wing of the nemes. A piece of stone is visible that would be extraneous if the back support had not been wider than the head (Fig. 3.2). The outline of the break viewed from behind can be described as an inverted “U” shape, with a rounded top and straight sides (Fig. 3.3).

Regardless of size or pose, most ancient Egyptian stone statues had a back support of some kind.⁸ A back pillar is a vertical rectangular projection from the rear face of the statue base, usually no taller than the total height of the human figure, and narrower than its total width. Back pillars were used to give structural support to sculptures, and also served as convenient surfaces for inscriptions. The back pillar was not meant to be seen

⁸ Baudouin van de Walle, “Rückenpfeiler,” in *Lexicon der Ägyptologie Band V: Pyramidenbau-Steingefässe*, ed. Wolfgang Helck (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1975), 315.

when the statue was viewed from the front. A back slab, in contrast, is taller than the human figures it supports and as wide as the statue base, making it large enough to serve as a kind of “frame” for the overall composition. The slab is the earliest attested form of back support, and was particularly popular during the Old Kingdom. The famous dyad and triad statues of Menkaure in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, are classic examples of this type.

In order to determine whether the Carlos head stood in front of a back pillar or back slab, it is necessary to compare it to other statues that still retain their back supports. Although back pillars commonly vary in height, reaching anywhere from the middle of the back to the top of the headdress, it is difficult to find a statue similar in scale to the Carlos head in which the king wears the plain nemes headdress, and which possesses a narrow back pillar that stands as tall as the figure of the king.

There are sculptures from the New Kingdom fitting this description. A kneeling statue of Merenptah in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (CG 562, Fig. 3.4) is supported by a back pillar that reaches almost the full height of the king’s figure.⁹ We can see that an upward flare is present at the point where the back pillar meets the figure of the king. The flare is not part of the headdress itself, however, but occurs in the fill of stone that occupies the gap between the sloping rear surface of the nemes and the upright back pillar. It is clear from the pleats in the headdress where the nemes ends, and we can see

⁹ Ludwig Borchardt, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du musée du Caire* nr. 381-653: *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten*, Teil 2 (Berlin: Reichsdruckerei, 1925), 110; Hourig Sourouzian, *DAIK Sonderschrift 22: Les monuments du roi Merenptah* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1989), 153-154.

that the fill between the figure of the king and the back pillar is shaped almost like a wedge.

The upward flare at the back of the Carlos head appears to be steeper than that found on the statue of Merenptah. The absence of pleating on the nemes of the former, combined with the vivid pattern of the stone, makes it difficult to determine from photographs where the headdress should be understood to end. It is apparent from a direct examination of the Carlos head, however, that there is less distance between the rear edge of the nemes and the beginning of the flare than in the statue of Merenptah. This means that the stone fill occupying the space between nemes and back pillar in CG 562 is not as deep on the Carlos head. In addition, the nemes appears to end at an almost uniform distance from the leading edge of the wings at all points along the edge of the break. If this stone fill had the same wedge shape in the Merenptah statue and the Carlos head, we would expect the fill to be substantially wider near the top than the bottom of the headdress. This does not appear to be the case with the Carlos head (Fig. 3.5). As difficult as it is to quantify the differences between the shape of the back of the Carlos head and that of the kneeling Merenptah, it seems unlikely that a conventional, narrow back pillar served to support the king's figure in the former work.

Another possibility is that the Carlos head was attached to a back slab. Back slabs are typically taller and wider than the human figures they support, often joining a group of two or more individuals. It is common for the figures in this type of group to be relatively small, similar in scale to the Carlos head. Two groups in the Egyptian Museum,

one depicting Hatshepsut and the other probably Tutankhamun, are good New Kingdom examples of this type of statue. CG 42065¹⁰ shows Hatshepsut and the god Amun seated, each with one arm around the other's waist. This group has an overall height of 115 cm, with the king's figure roughly at the same scale as the Carlos head. As in the statue of Merenptah, the nemes tapers toward the back support (Fig. 3.6). It is impossible, however, to compare the top of Hatshepsut's head with that of the Carlos head because her nemes is topped with an elaborate *atef* crown. The same holds true for CG 42097 (Fig. 3.7),¹¹ an uninscribed group which shows an 18th Dynasty king, possibly Tutankhamun, seated between figures of the god Amun and his consort Mut. The head of the king is in much lower relief against the back slab than is the case for the Carlos head. Moreover, as in the statue of Hatshepsut and Amun, the king's nemes is topped with the *atef* crown, making its comparison with the top of the Carlos head impossible. A number of larger scale sculptures appear to show the king in a plain *nemes* seated in front of a back slab. CG 554 (Fig. 3.8)¹² and EM CG 555 (Fig. 3.9)¹³ show Ramesses II in the company of Ptah-Tatenen and of Isis and Hathor respectively. The juncture between the back of the nemes and the back slab in each of these groups is more similar in shape than in any example examined so far (Figs. 3.10, 3.11). The fill between the slab and the

¹⁰ Georges Legrain, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du musée du Caire nr. 42001-42250: Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers i, nr. 42001-42138* (Cairo: IFAO, 1906-11), 38; Matthias Seidel, *Die Königlichen Statuengruppen Band I: Die Denkmäler vom Alten Reich bis zum Ende der 18. Dynastie* (Hildesheim: Gerstenberg Verlag, 1996), 138-139.

¹¹ Legrain i, 56-57; Seidel, 219-221.

¹² Borchardt ii, 101-102.

¹³ Borchardt ii, 102-103.

nemes is not deep, and does not form the pronounced wedge shape that we see in the statue of Merenptah. The back of the nemes is almost vertical against the back slab, although on top, a slight downward slope followed by an upward flare is clearly present. An inspection of the top of the king's head in each case, however, reveals a hole where a more elaborate crown, perhaps the double crown or *atef*, would have been attached to the nemes. The need to support the tall headdress may have informed the sculptor's decision to engage the back of the king's head closely against the back slab, thus, we cannot infer from these two examples how a plain nemes might have been treated in a similar group. In addition, both of these statues are on a much larger scale than the Carlos head. As with the two smaller groups discussed above, neither of these statues offers an ideal comparison with the Carlos head in terms of the shape of the break.

There are examples of statues showing the king in a plain nemes against a back slab. A group in the Museo Egizio in Turin, Inv. Nr. 768, depicts Tutankhamun with Amun.¹⁴ The king, wearing a kilt and plain *nemes* headdress with uraeus, stands next to the seated figure of the god. The figure of the king is life-size, the figure of the god a good deal larger. Viewing the head of the king from Turin 768 in profile alongside the Carlos head (Fig. 3.12), there appears to be some similarity in the shaping of the stone at the back of the nemes. It is clear that there is a slight upward flare at the point where the king's head meets the back pillar. A group of the same type in the Luxor Museum (Luxor

¹⁴ Ernesto Scamuzzi, *Museo Egizio di Torino* (Turin: Edizioni d'Arte Fratelli Pozzo, 1964), pl. XXX; Seidel, 209-212. This group is inscribed for Horemheb, see section 4-Style.

J. 155, Fig. 3.13)¹⁵ showing Amenhotep III with Sobek also exhibits such an upward flare, but it is not at the back of the headdress. Instead, it forms a part of the stone fill between the *nemes* and the back pillar itself, and is considerably farther from the front of the head than the break on the Carlos head. Turin 768 is much closer in shape to the Carlos head, but as in the statue of Merenptah, the space between the sloping back of the *nemes* and the erect back support is filled with plain stone, and the headdress is clearly delineated. To a lesser degree than the Merenptah statue, but a greater degree than the Carlos head, the Turin group also shows the sloping, wedge-shaped fill between the back of the *nemes* and the slab.

There are evidently very few smaller-scale sculptures depicting the king wearing a plain *nemes* and seated or standing against a back slab. One such group, JE 49537 (Fig. 3.14),¹⁶ shows a pharaoh, perhaps of the Thutmosid period, seated. The king is flanked on one side by the seated figure of Osiris and on the other by those of Isis and Horus. In the case of JE 49537, we can clearly see that the *nemes* does not meet the back slab in a manner consistent with the break at the rear of the Carlos head. While the *nemes* of the Carlos head slopes downward only slightly before reversing to flare outward toward the break, a much greater portion of the *nemes* of the king in JE 59537 is free of the back slab (Fig. 3.15). This is in contrast to the two statues of Ramesses II discussed above. It is impossible to know whether the smaller scale of the Thutmosid group might have

¹⁵ James F. Romano et al., *The Luxor Museum of Ancient Egyptian Art: Catalogue* (Cairo: American Research Center in Egypt, 1979), 82; Seidel 201-204.

¹⁶ Seidel, 155-157.

something to do with the fact that the king's head is not engaged as closely against the back slab as it is in the Ramessid examples. However, this sculpture is the closest in scale and iconography (though not material) to the Carlos head of any we have yet examined.

One problem that presents itself in comparing the Carlos head with all of the pieces discussed above is that in each of the previous examples, the nemes is shown with pleats. This makes it possible to determine where the headdress ends and the fill that connects the figure with the back pillar begins, while it is difficult to determine this with the Carlos head. In addition, it is far more common for New Kingdom royal portraits, regardless of scale, to show the nemes as pleated rather than smooth.¹⁷ A New Kingdom royal portrait with a smooth nemes would be an anomaly in any of the statue types discussed above.

There is, however, one type of New Kingdom royal sculpture that matches with the Carlos head in terms of scale, material, and iconography. Amenhotep III pioneered this type, widely imitated in subsequent periods,¹⁸ which shows the king in front of the monumental figure of a ram, the animal sacred to the god Amun. One of these ram statues, now in the Egyptian Museum in Berlin (Fig. 3.16, no. 7262),¹⁹ stood at Amenhotep III's temple at Soleb before it was moved to Gebel Barkal during the 21st

¹⁷ See Jacques Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne iii: Les grandes epochs. La statuaire* (Paris: Picard, 1958), pl. CXVII-CXXXVII.

¹⁸ Kozloff and Bryan, 222.

¹⁹ Karl-Heinz Priese, ed., *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin: Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1991), 95; Kozloff and Bryan, 221-222.

Dynasty.²⁰ Another, also dating to the reign of Amenhotep III and now in the Museo Egizio in Turin (Fig. 3.17, Inv. Nr. 836),²¹ probably originated at Thebes. The Berlin ram is 130 cm high overall, and the figure of the king is only slightly smaller in scale than the Carlos head. The statue is carved of pinkish granite, although the difficulty of moving such a large, heavy piece from the quarries at Aswan seems to have necessitated the use of a local Nubian variety rather than the Aswan granite that was favored for solar monuments.²² The recumbent ram shelters a mummiform figure of the king between its forelegs. The king wears the nemes headdress, ornamented only with a uraeus. The nemes, like that of the Carlos head, is smooth rather than pleated as was considerably more common in New Kingdom sculpture. The beard is also smooth. The figure of the king is engaged against a pillar, which, unlike the narrow back pillar usually associated with freestanding figures, is wider than the narrowest point of the nemes at the top of the king's head. The pillar is also considerably taller than the figure of the king. Both the width and the height of the pillar are much more in keeping with the shape of the break at the back of the Carlos head than a back pillar or back slab would be, particularly on a work comparable in scale and depicting the king in a plain nemes.

While the Berlin ram statue bears much similarity to the Carlos head, other similar statues do not match as well in terms of the shape of the stone at the back of the

²⁰ Porter and Moss vii, 169.

²¹ Silvio Curto, *L'antico Egitto nel Museo Egizio di Torino* (Turin: Tip. Torinese ed., 1984); Kozloff and Bryan, 221.

²² Kozloff and Bryan, 221; Klemm and Klemm, 325, express the belief that light, pinkish granite as opposed to darker reddish material was the preferred variety of Aswan granite in ancient times.

nemes. The figure of the king from the Turin ram, for example, stands against a narrower back pillar. On another ram from Soleb, inscribed for Taharqa (Fig. 3.18, British Museum EA 1779),²³ the top of the nemes is not free. Instead, the space between the top of the king's head and the ram's chin is filled with stone. This configuration is found on many other monuments depicting the king with the figure of a divine animal. Countless similar examples are found in temples throughout Egypt. Statues showing kings in front of bovine figures, usually representing the goddess Hathor, also commonly show a stone fill between the chin of the animal and the top of the head of the human figure. The top of the Carlos head was clearly a free surface, indicating that it could not have belonged to a statue with this type of fill. If the Carlos head belonged to a statue showing the king in front of a ram or criosphinx, the configuration must have been quite similar to the Berlin ram of Amenhotep III.

Another type of group, of which two examples are known, shows the king clad in a kilt with starched apron, standing in front of the figure of a baboon. This type of group, like that of the king with the ram of Amun, is a solar image, and hence red granite seems to have been the material of choice. One of the two known examples of this type is in the collection of the Egyptian Museum in Berlin (Fig. 3.19, cat. 9942).²⁴ The provenance of the statue is unknown, although it may have come from Hermopolis. Amenhotep III dedicated four colossal baboon statues in brown quartzite at this site, reflecting his

²³ Depicted *in situ* in M.F. Laming Macadam, *The Temples of Kawa, Vol. II: History and Archaeology of the Site* (London: Oxford University Press, 1955), pls. 44 & 50; Kozloff and Bryan, 221.

²⁴ Alfred Grimm et al., *Pharaoh, Kunst, und Herrschaft im alten Ägypten* (Munich: Klinkhardt und Biermann, 1987), 150.

devotion both to Thoth, the god of writing and a lunar deity, and to the sun god.²⁵ The Berlin statue is uninscribed, but Alfred Grimm gives a 21st Dynasty date for unspecified reasons.²⁶ The king's face is badly damaged, and it is difficult to analyze the style of the features. The general characteristics of the figure, however, are comparable to those of the Carlos head. The material is Aswan granite. The nemes appears to be smooth,²⁷ without pleats, and is ornamented only with the uraeus. The beard is too badly damaged to determine easily whether it was smooth, like that of the Carlos head. The statue stands 106 cm high, meaning that the figure of the king is similar in scale to the Carlos head.

The Berlin baboon statue's better-preserved counterpart is in the collection of the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (Fig. 3.20, ÄS 5782).²⁸ It is quite similar in scale to the Berlin statue, standing 130 cm high overall, and is nearly identical in its description. The king stands, his left leg extended, and wears the royal kilt with starched apron, his arms extended with the palms of the hands resting on the kilt. This gesture of reverence echoes the raised hands of the baboon as it greets the rising sun. The king wears the plain nemes with uraeus, shown smooth rather than pleated. The false beard is missing. The cartouche of *Sthj-mr-n-pth*, either Seti I or Seti II, is faintly visible in sunken relief on the chest of the baboon, just above the king's head. It is likely, however, that this cartouche

²⁵ Kozloff and Bryan, 227-228.

²⁶ Grimm et al., 150.

²⁷ Without examining the statue directly, and in the absence of a thorough published description, it is difficult to be certain that there is no trace of pleats to be seen.

²⁸ Thoroughly described by Brigitte Jaros-Deckert, *Corpus Antiquarum Aegyptiacarum, Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, Lieferung 6: Statuen des Mittleren Reichs und der 18. Dynastie* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1985); 1,132-1,133; also published in Christiane Ziegler ed., *The Pharaohs* (New York: Rizzoli, 2002), 101 and 412.

was added during a later reign. Brigitte Jaros-Deckert suggests an 18th Dynasty date for the sculpture on stylistic grounds.

Statues such as the Berlin and Turin rams and the baboons in Berlin and Vienna first became common during the New Kingdom. Amenhotep III placed many groups showing himself at the breast of a ram in temples throughout Egypt, inspiring generations of his successors to have themselves depicted in a similar manner.²⁹ Amenhotep III also placed a number of monumental baboon statues in temple precincts, although without royal figures engaged against the animals' chests.³⁰ These group sculptures reflect the desire of the king to be seen as associated with and protected by the gods whose power was symbolized by the animals sacred to them.

From the reign of Amenhotep III on, rams or ram-headed sphinxes paired with figures of the king often lined processional routes and approaches to temples where Amun was worshipped as a sun god. Although the provenance of the two baboon groups is unknown, they were probably also placed in temples dedicated to the sun. The Egyptians saw these creatures in nature sunning themselves and vocalizing at dawn, and associated this behavior with the worship of the sun. Ramesses II placed baboon figures in a small solar chapel on the terrace of the Great Temple at Abu Simbel, and the bases of obelisks were often adorned with relief or sculptural representations of baboons.³¹

²⁹ Kozloff and Bryan, 222.

³⁰ Kozloff and Bryan, 227-228.

³¹ See Pascal Vernus and Jean Yoyotte, *Bestiaire des pharaons* (Paris: Agnes Vienot Editions, 2005), 625.

Overall, group statues depicting a figure of the king engaged against the larger figure of a divine animal offer the best comparison with the Carlos head. The scale of the royal figure in such statues, the smooth, plain nemes with uraeus, and the height and sometimes the width of the back support that joins the figure of the king with that of the animal are all in keeping with the features of the Carlos head. The shape of the area where the king's head meets the body of the baboon in both groups appears to match the form of the break at the back of the Carlos head quite closely. In figures 3.19 and 3.20, a ridge of stone is visible between the animal's forearm near the elbow and a point on the wing of the nemes just below the top of the king's head. This ridge of stone could account for the projection on the break at the back of the Carlos head visible in figure 3.2. The Carlos head is carved of red granite, a stone with strong solar associations; it is thus reasonable to infer that the animal represented was probably one (probably a ram or baboon) connected with a solar deity. It is most likely that the home of the Carlos head was originally a temple precinct devoted to the worship of the sun god in one of his many forms.



Figure 3.1: View of the head showing the upward flare at the back of the *nemes*.



Figure 3.2: Projection of stone at the side of the head.



Figure 3.3: Back view of the Carlos head.



Figure 3.4: CG 562.



Figure 3.5: Comparison of the shape of CG 562 and the Carlos head.



Figure 3.6: Detail of CG 42065.



Figure 3.7: Detail of CG 42097.



Figure 3.8: CG 554



Figure 3.9: CG 555



Figure 3.10: Detail of CG 554.



Figure 3.11: Detail of CG 555.



Figure 3.12: Detail of Turin 768.



Figure 3.13: Detail of Luxor J. 155.



Figure 3.14: JE 49537.



Figure 3.15: Detail of JE 49537.



Figure 3.16: Detail of Berlin 7262



Figure 3.17 Turin 836.



Figure 3.18: British Museum EA 1779.



Figure 3.19: Berlin 9942.

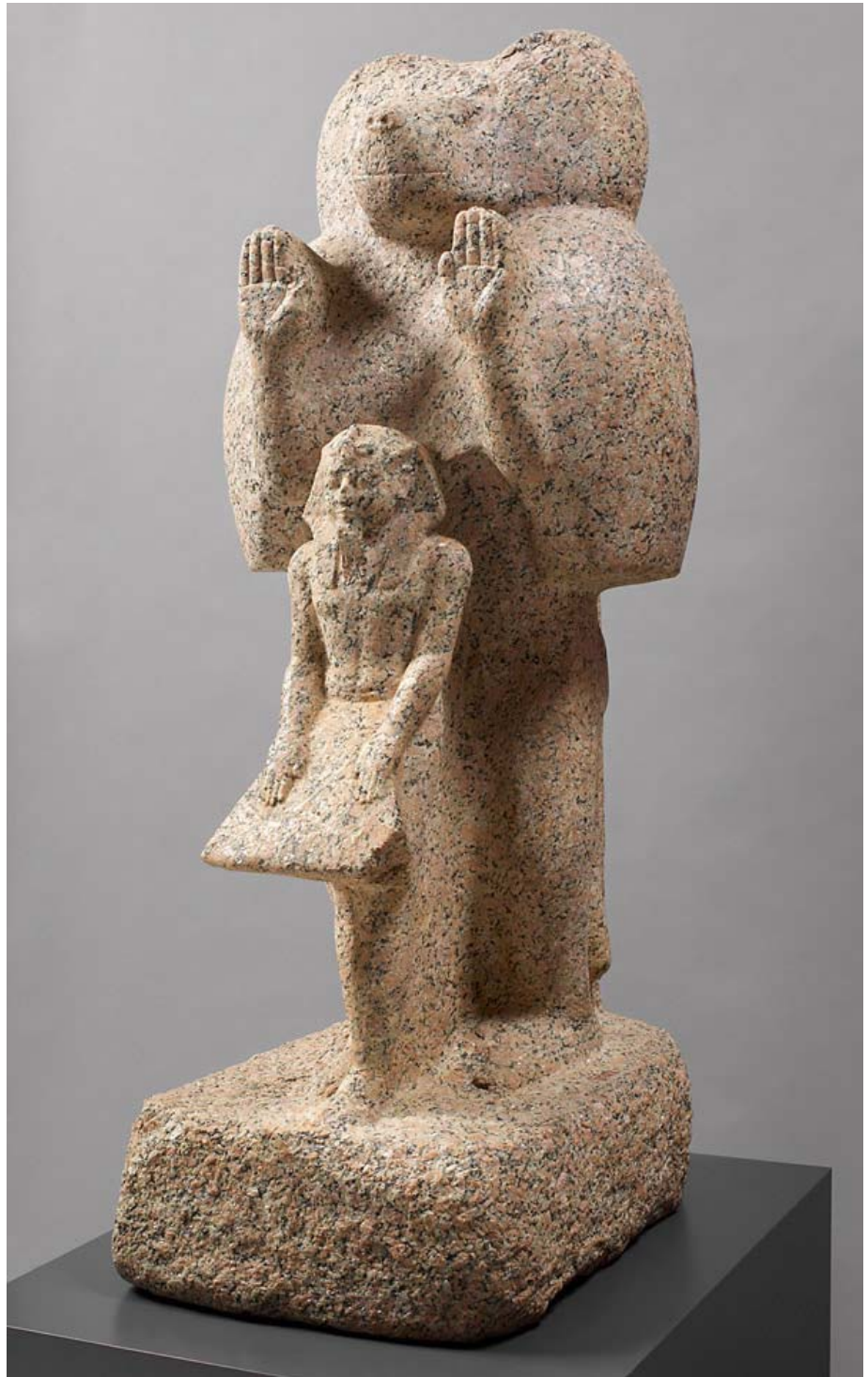


Figure 3.20: Vienna ÄS 5782

4 - STYLE

Royal portrait sculpture was of great importance to the ancient Egyptians.³² In fashioning a statue of a ruler, the Egyptians believed that they were creating a “living image,” which would become magically effective upon activation through ritual. Certain of these “living images” were thought to support the ruler after death by providing a body where his spirit could reside. Others were intended to serve during the king’s lifetime as his stand-in in temples throughout Egypt, magically performing rituals and taking part in offerings. Additionally, temple statues were signs to viewers of the king’s presence and role in society.³³ In order to fulfill each of these functions, the statue had to be recognizable as the individual it was meant to portray. Inscriptions, an integral part of all Egyptian art, served to identify the subject of a work magically to the spirit that was meant to inhabit it, as well as to those among the living who could read the text.

In a world where literacy was the exception rather than the rule, however, visual cues in the form of distinctive facial features were also thought necessary to reinforce the individual identity of the “living image.”³⁴ Royal sculptors would create an official portrait for each king, one which reflected visual characteristics important to his identity.

³² Jan Assmann has called portraiture “by far the most important and productive genre of Egyptian art...” “Preservation and Presentation of Self in Ancient Egyptian Portraiture,” in *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson, Vol. I*, ed. Peter der Manuelian (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1996), 55.

³³ These two levels of function for Egyptian portrait sculpture are articulated by Dietrich Wildung in “Eternal Presence: The Image of the Pharaoh in Egyptian Sculpture,” in Ziegler, ed., 202

³⁴ Excellent discussions of the individuation of facial features can be found in Kozloff and Bryan, 125-126; and Assmann, 61-64.

It has thus been recognized for some time that sculptures of Egyptian pharaohs can often be identified by the style of their features even when no inscription is present. Not only the general period to which a piece may date, but also the reign of the individual pharaoh for whom it was created can be determined with some degree of certainty by careful examination and comparison with inscribed statues of known date.³⁵

Balancing the possibility of identifying individual portraits based on style, however, is the well-known conventionalism of Egyptian art. Although it was important for a sculpture to be as recognizable as the individual portrayed, “slavishly and mechanically reproducing the external features” of the subject was not the goal of Egyptian portraiture.³⁶ In Egyptian portraiture, “likeness” is best understood as a combination of visual cues to individual identity (which may or may not have been based on the subject’s actual appearance), and of stylizations that reflected social and religious values. Because a statue was intended to function as a substitute body for the spirit of the person portrayed, it made sense to depict the ideal rather than the reality, with all its blemishes and deformities, of an individual’s appearance. Additionally, royal sculpture was intended to represent not just an individual king, but also the divine institution of kingship, which was meant to be timeless and unchanging. “Generalized” images of the king - that is, images which focused on the king as a perfected type rather than distinguishing him as an individual - reinforced the notion of the pharaoh as a force of

³⁵ See Johnson, 129.

³⁶ See Spanel, 5.

stability and order.³⁷ As ideas about the nature of kingship changed, so did the overall style of royal representation, but even as the Egyptian monarchy evolved, the tendency to refer to tradition by generalizing the style of royal portraiture remained consistent. For this reason, images from different periods tend to share overall characteristics that make it difficult to distinguish the individuals being portrayed. All Egyptian portraiture reflects a balance, then, between creating a visually individualized image and expressing social and religious norms. The interplay of the elements of this balance must be considered carefully in order to date an uninscribed piece like the Carlos head.

While a better-preserved work might offer clues to its date in an inscription, or even in the proportions of the body or some distinctive insignia or item of regalia, the Carlos head offers little more than the style of its facial features as a basis for analysis. In general, these are the most difficult aspects of a statue to quantify and describe objectively. Before attempting to suggest a more specific date for the piece, then, it seems wise to consider how its general characteristics suggest a defensible date.

The overall outline of the face is an immediate indication that the Carlos head dates to the New Kingdom. While the facial shapes of Old and Middle Kingdom pharaohs can usually be described by straight lines of varying degrees of angularity, softer contours seem to be a hallmark of portraiture beginning early in the 18th Dynasty.³⁸ This overall softness falls into the category of generalizing tendencies that supersede the

³⁷ Assmann, 67.

³⁸ See William Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt: A Background for the Study of the Egyptian Antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Vol. II: The Hyksos Period and the New Kingdom* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1960), 48.

representation of individual features, and helps point to the period in which the Carlos head ought to be placed. By examining the development of portrait art over the course of the New Kingdom, we can narrow the time frame even further.

An overall softness has been pointed out in the “beautiful style” of the Thutmosid rulers, a style that influenced Egyptian art for many generations afterwards.³⁹ However, the features of Thutmosid statues are usually described as “stylized” and “hieroglyphic.”⁴⁰ The eyes of Hatshepsut and her stepson Thutmose III are almond shaped. Broad cosmetic lines often extend well past the outer canthus, and the high arches of the brows are smooth and plastic. The features of the Carlos head give a somewhat more natural impression. The eyes are shown without cosmetic lines, and the eyebrows are softly rendered rather than clearly outlined as geometric shapes. In addition, the shape of the uraeus is not consistent with the Thutmosid practice of placing the serpent’s coils higher up on the headdress. It is thus most unlikely that the Carlos head represents any of the Thutmosid pharaohs.

Upon the accession of Amenhotep III, the elegant stylization of Thutmosid portraiture gave way to a new mode of representing the royal face. Amenhotep III’s is one of the more distinctive countenances of the New Kingdom, as well as one of the best known and studied. At least one thousand statues of him are known,⁴¹ making it possible

³⁹ See Edna Russmann, “Art in Transition: The Rise of the Eighteenth Dynasty and the Emergence of the Thutmosid Style in Sculpture and Relief,” in *Hatshepsut: From Queen to Pharaoh*, ed. Catherine Roehrig (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2005), 23.

⁴⁰ Russman and Finn, 90.

⁴¹ Kozloff and Bryan, 125.

for scholars to analyze his portraiture in great detail. Several variations of Amenhotep III's features are known. The development of his portrait style may have been related to the different functions and varying materials of his statuary, as well as to the chronological and ideological progression of his reign. In general, though, the hallmarks of his portrait include large almond-shaped, slanted eyes, a full, lightly rimmed mouth with a pronounced, slightly off-center tubercle in the upper lip, and a broad-based and slightly snubbed nose. An approximately life-sized head of Amenhotep III in the Cleveland Museum of Art (no. 52.513, Fig. 4.1),⁴² shows these features clearly, although it is important to note that the king's statuary shows a great deal of variation depending on its date within the reign and on its material.⁴³

The shape of the eyes and the fullness of the face are very similar between the Carlos head and portraits of Amenhotep III. However, the Carlos head lacks stylizations like the rim around the lips that might date it securely to the reign of Amenhotep III. Later portraits of the king do often show the eye without cosmetic lines and plastic eyebrows, but this variation seems most commonly to take the form of the "*sfumato*" or "shadow" eye, which has the appearance of having been incompletely carved.⁴⁴ Another sign that it is not a work of this period is the fact that the eye is shown embedded in its

⁴² See Kozloff and Bryan, 128, for a description of Amenhotep III's characteristic features.

⁴³ W. Raymond Johnson discusses the development of Amenhotep's image in relief and sculpture in "Monuments and Monumental Art under Amenhotep III: Evolution and Meaning," in *Amenhotep III: Perspectives on his Reign*, ed. David O'Connor and Erich Cline (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001).

⁴⁴ See Bernard Bothmer, "Eyes and Iconography in the Splendid Century: King Amenhotep III and His Aftermath," in *Egyptian Art: Selected Writings of Bernard V. Bothmer*, ed. Madeleine E. Cody (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004); Johnson, "Monuments," 82; Johnson, "Amenhotep III and Amarna: Some New Considerations," *JEA* 82 (1996), 65-82: 77.

socket, with a noticeable concavity of the orbital area below the brow line. Normally, the space between the eye and the brow is shown as convex in portraits of Amenhotep III (see Fig. 4.2). Finally, the proportions of the facial features of the Carlos head are too delicate for an image of Amenhotep III. A table in Arielle Kozloff and Betsy Bryan's *Egypt's Dazzling Sun: Amenhotep III and his World* gives the range of measurements for a representative sample of portraits of the latter pharaoh in comparable granitic materials. In general, the width of one eye is no less than 25% of the width of the face, and the height of the mouth is no less than 28% of its width, with the great majority at 30% or higher.⁴⁵ On the Carlos head, those proportions are roughly 24% and 29% respectively in measurements taken from photographs, very much at the low end of the range for Amenhotep III's features.

To begin to find facial features more like those of the Carlos head, we must look to the reign of the son and successor of Amenhotep III, Amenhotep IV or Akhenaten. The Amarna period represents the point in the course of the 18th Dynasty when the "natural" features that had begun to appear in portraits of Amenhotep III became the standard rather than deviations from a more stylized norm. In classical Egyptian sculpture, the ruler's face is shown free from the lines and folds of age, and is meant to conform to a timeless standard of beauty and strength. However, during a handful of reigns (Akhenaten's among them) it became the conventional to show the ruler's face with features that deviated from the smooth, impassive countenance that reflected earlier

⁴⁵ Kozloff and Bryan, 468-470.

ideals. Much like the art of the Middle Kingdom under Senwosret III and Amenemhet III, the art of the Amarna period moved away from idealized portrayals of the king to show faces creased by deep lines, and features that sag and bulge rather than appearing smooth and impassive. Hieroglyphic features like the flat or only slightly convex eyeball framed by minimally represented eyelids were replaced in Akhenaten's portrait by protruding, rounded eyeballs set deeply into their sockets and partially covered by drooping eyelids of considerable thickness. Broad cosmetic lines disappear along with plastic eyebrows that echo them in their geometric shape. Instead, the eyes are shown as they might appear in reality, with the volume of the eyeball and the contours of the socket modeled in a lifelike manner.

“Realism” is a term often used to characterize the way the human figure and face were represented during the Amarna period.⁴⁶ Because the individual features of Amarna period sculpture are so sensitively modeled, and because they lack the obvious stylizations of earlier sculpture, it is believed that, under Akhenaten, artists were directed to base aspects of their work on the observation of nature rather than strictly on the traditional canons of Egyptian art.⁴⁷ The face of Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten is certainly one of the most recognizable among Egyptian royal portraits of any period. The best-known and most characteristic examples are the colossi found in the Great Temple at

⁴⁶ Bernard Bothmer and James Romano, for instance, refer to the “crass realism” of the Amarna style in *The Luxor Museum of Ancient Egyptian Art: Catalog*, (Cairo: American Research Center in Egypt, 1979), 120.

⁴⁷ See the discussion of the stela of the head sculptor Bak in Rita E. Freed, “Art in the Service of Religion and the State,” in *Pharaohs of the Sun: Akhenaten, Nefertiti, Tutankhamun*, ed. Rita Freed, Yvonne Markowitz, and Sue D’Auria (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1999), 128.

Karnak (the face of one of these colossi, JE 99065, is shown in Fig. 4.3). In these sculptures the king's face is shown dramatically elongated, with hollow cheeks and a protruding chin. Deep lines running from the corners of the nose past the mouth are among the marks that distinguish his face from others. His lips are extremely full and somewhat pursed, and in combination with the lines incised from nose to mouth create a tense expression. Akhenaten's eyes are shown elongated and obliquely set, tapering sharply toward the outer corners. At the early stage of the reign represented by the Karnak colossi, the slant of the eyes narrows them almost to slits. They are set deep within sockets framed by high cheekbones and brows set off by a groove above the upper eyelid. The eyelids themselves are thick and drooping.

Taken together, these sensitively indicated but greatly exaggerated features give a slightly grotesque impression that once led many to speculate about whether the king might have had some illness that led to deformity.⁴⁸ No medical diagnosis that has been suggested, however, can definitively explain the anomalous features of the king's portrait. It is now considered far more likely that the startling appearance of the Karnak colossi is derived from a deliberate distortion. This distortion was at least in part a visual device intended to enhance their impact on the viewer.⁴⁹ It is possible that it also reflects in some way the new ideas of the Amarna period. The sculptor Bak, for example, informs us in his memorial stela that the king himself instructed his artists in the new style. In

⁴⁸ Cyril Aldred, for instance, whose study of Amarna period art remains one of the standard works on the subject, was convinced that some sort of endocrine disorder was responsible for Akhenaten's odd appearance. Aldred, 54.

⁴⁹ Valerie Angenot, "La parallaxe dans l'iconographie d'Akhenaton," forthcoming, BSFE 2008.

spite of the realism that informs certain aspects of the Amarna style, the features of Akhenaten's early statuary are clearly stylizations in their own right. It makes more sense to see in them a radical new approach to the institution of kingship, one that would have dictated drastic revisions in the generalizations that had characterized Egyptian art for centuries.⁵⁰

From a slightly later date during the reign, evidence in the form of sculptors' models appears at el-Amarna to show that the royal artists were taking an active interest in the reality of the appearance of their subjects. The plaster faces found in the workshop of the sculptor Thutmose are so lifelike that they have been taken for life or death masks. In fact, they were copies made from sculpted clay originals. These models demonstrate that Amarna artists were aware of the possibilities of realism in portraiture.⁵¹ A delicate balance was being maintained on behalf of the king between stylized abstraction and an incredibly sensitive realistic naturalism.⁵²

One fact that argues in favor of seeing the Karnak colossi as radical abstractions is that many of the more extreme features of Amarna art were gradually mitigated over the course of Akhenaten's reign. By the later part of the period, the king's face shows the same long jaw and pronounced chin as in the Karnak colossi, as well as the slanting, heavy-lidded eyes, but these are less pronounced and do not jar the viewer in the same

⁵⁰ For one exposition of the argument against seeing medical abnormalities as the basis for Akhenaten's portrait, see Russmann and Finn, 53.

⁵¹ Freed et al., 126.

⁵² Russmann and Finn, 116.

way as the features of the Karnak colossi.⁵³ The less exaggerated but still recognizable features of the end of Akhenaten's reign can be seen in a yellow limestone statue of the king holding an offering table, discovered in the region of Amarna (Fig. 4.4, JE 43580).

Although many of the more radical elements of the Amarna style were moderated over the course of Akhenaten's reign, a number of the features that appear for the first time in the 18th Dynasty during the reign of Akhenaten persisted after the restoration of orthodoxy and the abandonment of the ideals that had led to the development of the radical style of art. In particular, sensitive, naturalistic modeling of facial features is considered a hallmark of post-Amarna faces.

Politically, Egypt entered into a period of upheaval following the Amarna Period. Little is known of Akhenaten's immediate successors.⁵⁴ At the end of the Amarna Period, Egypt was apparently ruled for a short time by a pharaoh known as Neferneferuaten. It is not known whether Neferneferuaten ruled independently or merely served as Akhenaten's co-regent during the last years of his reign. A pharaoh named Smenkhkare, whose reign lasted less than a year, is also known to have ruled during this period. No portrait can be attributed with any certainty either to Smenkhkare or to Neferneferuaten. After the death of Smenkhkare, no more than four years and perhaps as little as a year after Akhenaten's death, Tutankhamun took the throne.

⁵³ Aldred, 58-71 traces the evolution of the Amarna style into the later part of the king's reign. See also Russmann and Finn, 116.

⁵⁴ For a recent and convincing examination of the available evidence, see James P. Allen, "The Amarna Succession," published online at "Causing His Name to Live: Studies in Egyptian Epigraphy and History in Memory of William J. Murnane" (<http://history.memphis.edu/murnane/>).

The portraits of King Tutankhamun are the first true examples of art in the post-Amarna style. The young pharaoh's face is familiar to the world through the exquisite objects found in his tomb. The wooden sculptures included in his funerary equipment clearly show the influence of the art of the later part of Akhenaten's reign. A half-length model of the king's head and torso (Fig. 4.5, JE 60722) serves as a representative example. It is easy to describe the lovely features of the king in subjective terms as "boyish" or "child-like." The features show the softness that we recognize as belonging to this period. The face is quite full and rounded, almost as if the sculptor had intended to show baby fat on the young king's cheeks.⁵⁵ His eyes are large and almond-shaped, set slightly back into their sockets. The finely carved nose and mouth, with full lips pursed into a slight downturn at the corners, complete the familiar visage.

While Tutankhamun's face as shown on his wooden tomb statues is easily recognized, his statuary in stone does not always exactly reproduce those features. What is more, very few images in stone remain of the king that were not usurped by the recarving of their inscriptions under his successors. In order to understand the style of Tutankhamun's stone statuary, the most secure starting point is an examination of the pieces in stone that still bear his name, are not recarved, and can thus be attributed with absolute certainty to his reign. Of these, only three, all found at Karnak, are well published. One is now in the Luxor Museum (Fig. 4.6, Luxor J. 198),⁵⁶ one in the Louvre

⁵⁵ Rusmann and Finn, 58.

⁵⁶ The inscription is visible on the back pillar. Romano, 127; El-Shahawy, 52.

(Fig. 4.7, Louvre E 11609),⁵⁷ and one in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (Fig. 4.8, CG 42091).⁵⁸

Luxor J. 198 is a standing image in limestone, 155 cm high overall. The king is represented as the god Amun, as indicated by the distinctive crown topped by tall feathers. The fullness of the cheeks, the shape of the lips, and the rounded chin are shown very much as they are in the wooden torso from his tomb, although the cheeks seem slightly leaner. The treatment of the eyes, however, is quite different. In the wooden statue, the eyes are shown heavily outlined with cosmetic lines. The eyes of J. 198 are not lined, nor are they as wide compared with the width of the face as those of the torso. The unlined eyes are a feature carried over from the Amarna style, indicating that the transition toward more traditional representations of the king occurred gradually. One effect of these differences is that J. 198 gives a more mature impression than the wooden sculpture from the tomb.

Louvre E 11609 illustrates a key difficulty in dating post-Amarna statues. An attempt was made to efface the original cartouches, probably in order to replace them with the name of a later king. Fortunately, however, two small cartouches of Tutankhamun on the skirt of the king's figure were overlooked, leaving no question as to the original owner of the statue.⁵⁹ The face of the Louvre statue is closer in appearance to the face of the wooden torso than that of Luxor J. 198. The formal depiction of the eyes,

⁵⁷ Christophe Barbotin, *Les statues égyptiennes du Nouvel Empire* (Paris: Éditions Khéops, 2007), 130-131.

⁵⁸ Legrain ii, 58.

⁵⁹ Freed et al., 275.

shown with cosmetic lines, and the eyebrows is not in keeping with the naturalism of the Amarna style, echoes of which seem to appear in Luxor J. 198. The face is round, with full cheeks and a wide chin. The lips of the statue are slightly pursed, indicated by slight indentations at either side of the mouth.

CG 42091, a standing statue in dark granite discovered in the Karnak Temple cachette, depicts the king wearing a nemes headdress, striding forward with arms extended and palms down touching the front of his kilt. This statue was incompletely usurped by Horemheb, and bears the cartouches of both kings. The features of CG 42091 are neither as formal as those of Louvre E 11609 nor as natural in appearance as those of Luxor J. 198. The eyebrows are outlined with an incised line, but there are no cosmetic lines. The eyelids are noticeably thicker and heavier in appearance than those of Luxor J. 198, although there is a possibility that this is not an original characteristic (see the discussion below of Horemheb's usurpation of Tutankhamun's monuments).

Although they differ in certain details, as we might expect from the fact that they are carved of different materials, the firmly identified portraits in stone of Tutankhamun discussed above share certain features that we may regard as diagnostic in attributing sculptures that do not retain their inscriptions. The overall shape of the face is round, with the chin wide enough that the effect is not of a heart-shaped taper but almost a circle, roughly as wide as it is tall. The high cheekbones join planes beneath the eyes with planes between the jaw and the naso-labial region. Measurements taken from photographs show that the height of the face of J. 198 from the center of the base of the

crown to the base of the chin just above the false beard is roughly equal to the width of the face at its widest point. This proportion is the same in Louvre E 11609 and in CG 42091.

In each of these three pieces, the eyes are almond-shaped. More specifically, a wide arc describes the upper lid while the lower lid is an almost straight horizontal line that angles upward toward the outer canthus near the mid-point of the width of the eye. The eyes are shown recessed into their sockets, but not as deeply as those of Akhenaten. When viewed in profile, the eyeballs are somewhat rounded but not bulging. The lips are full, with the upper lip very slightly wider than the lower, and the tubercle is clearly indicated. The expression is serious, and the corners of the lips slightly downturned. When these criteria are taken into account, the number of statues attributable to Tutankhamun becomes considerable.

The features of the Carlos head are not dissimilar to those of Tutankhamun. The shape of the eyes and the treatment of the eyebrows in particular are highly reminiscent of representations of the young king, including Luxor J. 198. A well-known statue of the god Khonsu with the features of Tutankhamun also offers a good comparison (Fig. 4.9, CG 38488). The full cheeks of the Carlos head are also reminiscent of the childlike manner in which both Amenhotep III and Tutankhamun were often represented. The Carlos head, however, lacks the defined cheekbones and serious expression that might identify it as a work of the reign of Tutankhamun. In fact, the fullness of the cheeks has a distinctly different shape than that seen in Tutankhamun's portrait sculpture. Below the

high cheekbones of the latter, the area between the ear, the jaw, and the naso-labial area is flatter than that of the Carlos head. Although Tutankhamun's cheeks are often described as full, their shape in stone sculpture is not entirely rounded, but includes an area above the jawline that might almost be described as a flat plane, which is not present in the Carlos head. A final indication that the Carlos head does not represent Tutankhamun is the faint smile on its lips, which contrasts with the downturned corners of the mouth seen on most of Tutankhamun's sculpture.

Where Tutankhamun's face is well-known, those of his successors are much harder to recognize. Ay, already an elderly man at the time of his accession, would have had little time to complete an ambitious sculptural program. In fact, there are no well-published works that can be firmly attributed to him by inscription and by a significant dissimilarity of features with known works of Tutankhamun. Raymond Johnson, however, has suggested that in the case of four colossal figures, two seated and two standing, from Ay's mortuary temple at Medinet Habu, the similarities of the facial features to those of Tutankhamun may mask the fact that they were in fact created for Ay.⁶⁰

The accepted interpretation of the standing Medinet Habu colossi is that they were sculpted for Tutankhamun's mortuary temple, and appropriated after his death by Ay. Horemheb then usurped the sculptures from Ay by effacing and recarving the cartouches. An unusually clear example of this type of recarving can be seen on the belt buckle of

⁶⁰ Johnson, "Hidden Kings and Queens," 143-144.

one of the standing figures, now in the museum of the Oriental Institute in Chicago (OIM 14088, Fig. 4.10), where the faint image of the hieroglyphs for Ay's name are visible behind those of Horemheb. The features of the Medinet Habu colossi are almost indistinguishable from those in other portraits of Tutankhamun. The shape of the eyes and mouth can be described in the same terms as those of Luxor J. 198 and Louvre E. 11609. The formal eyebrows have a slightly higher arch than those of the stone statues of Tutankhamun, but they echo the shape of the brows of the wooden torso from his tomb very closely. The Medinet Habu colossi have very high cheekbones, even higher and more pronounced than those of Tutankhamun. Even if we could establish that the Medinet Habu colossi are examples of a portrait style created especially for Ay, however, that style would not fit with the Carlos head. If we accept Johnson's argument for a style created for Ay, the lower cheekbones and less pronounced arch of the eyebrows of the Carlos head would rule out Ay as a candidate for the person represented.

The reign of Ay's successor Horemheb was long and stable enough that we would certainly expect to see a well-developed portrait style in his statuary. It is nearly impossible, however, to attribute any royal portrait to his reign with certainty. Horemheb usurped the monuments of Tutankhamun and Ay wholesale, replacing their names with his own. Thus, while monuments bearing Horemheb's name are relatively plentiful, it is difficult to be sure that they were not carved originally for his predecessors. Until recently only one piece, a scribe statue created for Horemheb before his ascension (MMA

23.10.1, Fig. 4.11),⁶¹ could be attributed securely to him. W. Raymond Johnson has convincingly shown, however, that one of two similar group statues of Amun with the king from the Luxor cachette (Luxor J. 834, Fig. 4.12; Luxor J. 823, Fig. 4.13), both inscribed for Horemheb, was created specifically for the general-turned-king.⁶² Johnson points out that the features of the two Amun figures are quite different, and that each most likely represents a different monarch. He then demonstrates strong stylistic similarities between the faces of the Metropolitan Museum scribe statue and Luxor J. 834. The features of Luxor J. 823, on the other hand, bear a close resemblance to those of Tutankhamun's known, inscribed representations, indicating that the inscription for Horemheb belies the fact that the group was sculpted for the young king. Luxor J. 834, however, bears such a strong resemblance to the Metropolitan Museum scribe that it is possible to conclude that the inscription of the former is original and that both pieces represent the same individual, Horemheb, at different stages of his career.

Johnson identifies a number of facial features shared by the Metropolitan Museum scribe and Luxor J. 834. Of these, the one that stands out most clearly (and is most distinct from Tutankhamun's portrait) is the appearance of the large eyes, with their thick and sharply defined lids. The modeling of the eyelids can almost be called plastic; they are treated as separate masses, set off from the eye sockets by a clearly indicated crease. The only other possible pre-royal portrait of Horemheb still extant is a small (h.

⁶¹ H.E. Winlock, "A Statue of Horemhab Before his Ascension." *JEA* 10, no. 1 (April 1924), 1-5; Freed et al., 277.

⁶² Johnson, 131-134.

20.5 cm) face found in his Memphite tomb (Fig. 4.14).⁶³ It is interesting to note that in this face, the eyelids have received the same treatment as those of the Metropolitan Museum scribe statue and Luxor J. 834: they are shown as thick and heavy, and are set off from the sockets by a crease. Closer views of the heads of the Amun figures studied by Johnson (Fig. 4.15) show this distinction quite clearly. Another feature noted by Johnson - the firm set of the mouth - also seems from the three examples mentioned above to be characteristic of Horemheb's visage. Horemheb's lips, though wide, are thinner than Tutankhamun's, and marked by small indentations at the slightly upturned corners, giving the impression of a tight smile.⁶⁴ The high cheekbones and "planar" facial surfaces are also softened in J. 834 in comparison to J. 823.

Another statue of Horemheb (Fig. 4.16, Vienna KHM ÄS 8301) not examined by Johnson in "Hidden Kings and Queens" confirms these features of the king's portrait. A limestone group sculpture in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna showing the king seated, embraced by Horus, exhibits the same distinguishing facial characteristics that can be identified in Luxor J. 834, the limestone face from the king's Memphite tomb, and the Metropolitan Museum scribe statue. The Vienna group has been heavily restored in modern times with plaster; the tip of the king's nose is a modern element. The rest of the face, however, is original, and clearly shows the thick, heavy eyelids that seem to be a key hallmark of Horemheb's portrait. In the case of the Vienna statue, an incised line

⁶³ Hans D. Schneider, et al., *The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb, Commander-in-Chief of Tutankhamun, Vol. II: A Catalog of the Finds* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1998), 76.

⁶⁴ Seidel, 255

indicates the crease where the eyelid joins the socket. Matthias Seidel sees evidence in the overall appearance of the face, and the heavy-lidded eyes in particular, that this statue is an original work of Horemheb's reign rather than a usurpation. The wide, thin, firmly set mouth also indicates that this is the face of Horemheb.

None of the statues described above have identical facial features. The execution of the portrait varies in each one. As Johnson notes, however, such variation was an important principle in Egyptian sculpture – no two pieces were ever made perfectly alike.⁶⁵ Nevertheless, the key features of heavy-lidded gaze and firm mouth seem to be distinctive of Horemheb's portrait. It is possible that these were aspects of the king's actual physical appearance. Another possibility (not necessarily exclusive of the first) is that they illustrated qualities that Horemheb deemed important to his role as pharaoh. The papyrus in the lap of the New York statue tells us that as a government official, Horemheb “saw to the execution of the laws of the king,” and “fixed the protocol for the courtiers. I was a man careful of speech and there was nothing of which I was ignorant...”.⁶⁶ This text tells us explicitly that keen observation and awareness were considered important in a man in his position, and were qualities for which Horemheb wished to be remembered. The large, bulging eyes may have represented his powers of perception, in much the same way that the prominent ears seen in portraits of Middle Kingdom pharaohs like Senwosret III and Amenemhat III indicated that they listened to

⁶⁵ Johnson, 140.

⁶⁶ Robert Hari, *Horemheb et la Reine Mutnedjment, ou, la fin d'une dynastie* (Geneva: Imprimerie la Sirène, 1964), 45.

and heard the voices of their people. It is entirely conceivable that Horemheb should have carried this feature over from his private to his royal statuary.

It must be noted that the treatment of the eyelids on two of the three named portraits of Tutankhamun discussed above is quite similar to that found in statues attributed to the reign of Horemheb. Louvre E 11609 and Cairo CG 42091 exhibit the same three-dimensional eyelids set off by a crease that we have mentioned as a possible hallmark of Horemheb's portrait. This treatment stands in contrast to the smooth orbital area of Luxor J. 198. If only the three inscribed statues are taken into account, it might seem that Luxor J. 198 is an anomaly, and that heavy, three-dimensional eyelids are typical of Tutankhamun's portraiture, considerably weakening the case that any monument could be attributed to the reign of Horemheb. When other sculptures are taken into account, however, the picture changes.

The two heavy-lidded sculptures of Tutankhamun, Louvre E 11609 and CG 42091, were incompletely usurped by Horemheb. The cartouches in the inscription on the back pillar of Louvre E 11609 have been partially erased in preparation for replacement with Horemheb's but Tutankhamun's name remains on the belt buckle.⁶⁷ The belt buckle and base of CG 42091 bear the cartouches of Horemheb, but the inscription on the back pillar still names Tutankhamun. It is not beyond the realm of possibility that Horemheb decided at some point to add re-cutting of the features to reinscription in usurping the sculpture of his young predecessor. It would have been possible for the sculptor to

⁶⁷ Seidel, 213.

deepen the orbital area and reshape the eyeball to add depth and definition to the upper lids.

Other sculptures of Tutankhamun usurped by Horemheb show no evidence of such possible recarving. A beautiful group in Turin's Museo Egizio (ME 768, Fig. 4.17),⁶⁸ showing Tutankhamun with Amun-Re, is an outstanding example. That the sculpture was unfinished at the time of Tutankhamun's death is clear from a number of details, including small balls of stone left intact near the king's left foot.⁶⁹ It would seem that Horemheb simply added his own inscription to an existing monument. The facial features bear out this assessment. The shape of the eyes is exactly like that of Luxor J. 198; the upper lid forms a continuous arc, while the lower lid angles upward about halfway from the inner canthus to meet the upper lid at the outer canthus. There are no cosmetic lines, and the orbital area is relatively smooth – there is no marked crease where the eyelid begins. The full cheeks, tapered jaw, square chin, and full, pursed lips complete the familiar face of Tutankhamun.

It is possible that early in his reign, Horemheb simply usurped Tutankhamun's monuments by inscription, and that the recarving that may be visible in CG 42091 and Louvre E 11609 dates to a later part of his reign, when simply reinscribing his predecessor's monuments was no longer sufficient for his purposes. In fact, Horemheb seems to have made preparations to usurp Ay's representations in Tutankhamun's

⁶⁸ Scamuzzi, pl. XXX; Seidel 209-212.

⁶⁹ Seidel, 211.

mortuary temple, but then apparently decided to demolish the building instead.⁷⁰

Although it is impossible to be certain, it would make sense that this later, more radical effort to efface the memory of the earlier post-Amarna kings extended to statuary as well as architecture. Perhaps the fact that the reinscription of the two statues of Tutankhamun was not completed reflects the fact that this change took place not long before Horemheb's death.⁷¹

If we accept the heavy, clearly defined eyelids and tight set of the mouth as hallmarks of Horemheb's portrait, we are forced to conclude that the Carlos head does not in fact represent the general-turned-king. The eyelids of the Carlos head do not possess the heavy, three-dimensional quality that seems to distinguish Horemheb's visage. The mouth is also curved in a slight smile, but not set off with indentations at the corners, giving the head a much softer and more open expression than Horemheb's stern countenance. One other important characteristic of the Carlos head argues against its identification as either Tutankhamun or Horemheb: the curves in the tail of its uraeus are not found on the stone sculptures of either king. The uraei of both Tutankhamun and Horemheb seem usually to possess straight tails. The curves in the tail could be a reference to the style of Amenhotep III as shown on the Berlin ram (Fig. 4.18, Berlin 7262), a possibility that seems particularly attractive in view of the fact that the Carlos

⁷⁰ See Marianne Eaton-Krauss, "Restorations and Erasures in the Post-Amarna Period," in *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-First Century: Proceedings of the Eight International Congress of Egyptologists, Cairo, 2000* (Cairo: American University Press, 2003), 196.

⁷¹ Eaton-Krauss states the consensus view that Horemheb's usurpation of sculpture was confined to inscription, 201 n. 38.

head may have been part of a similar work. It is well established that Tutankhamun sought to associate himself with Amenhotep III in the context of the post-Amarna restoration.⁷²

One problem with using the pre-royal scribe statue in the Metropolitan Museum of Art as a point of reference for Horemheb's portrait style is the well-known tendency of private sculpture to reflect the features of the reigning pharaoh. It is possible that the difficulty in distinguishing between the sculpture of Tutankhamun and Horemheb is related to the fact that the young king's image, or perhaps late portraits of Akhenaten, may have informed Horemheb's private sculpture. Rather than recarving in the two usurped statues discussed above, we may simply be seeing Horemheb's choice in imitating a variant of the young pharaoh's portrait. We encounter this same difficulty in trying to attribute royal sculpture to Horemheb's successor, Ramesses I. Johnson has suggested that the Carlos head might be one of the only known images of Ramesses I as pharaoh.⁷³

This is quite an interesting proposition, given that the only royal statues that can be securely attributed to Ramesses I lack heads, making comparison of the facial features impossible.⁷⁴ To gain an idea of Ramesses I's appearance in art, we must look to his pre-royal representations. There are two statues of Paramessu, son of Seti, the future Ramesses I, in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. It is interesting to note that the faces of the

⁷² See Eaton-Krauss, "Tutankhamun at Karnak," *MDAIK* 44 (1988), 1-11.

⁷³ Personal communication; forthcoming article in *Festschrift for Jack Josephson*.

⁷⁴ One, in fact, is nothing more than a base, and dates not to the reign of Ramesses I but to that of Seti I. Vandier, 390.

two statues, JE 44863 (Fig. 4.19) and JE 44864 (Fig. 4.20),⁷⁵ are not entirely similar. JE 44863 bears a striking resemblance to the face of the king from Luxor J. 834, which Johnson argues is a portrait of Horemheb. The heavy lidded eyes, the indentations at the corners of the mouth, the prominent tubercle of the upper lip, and the broad, rounded face are so similar that we might be forgiven for thinking, on the basis of the facial features, that the two statues portray the same person. Given that the statue dates to the reign of Horemheb, this similarity is to be expected. JE 44864, in contrast, has less exaggerated, though still heavy, eyelids. The eyes are narrower and more oblique, the arch of the eyebrows is higher, and the shape of the face slightly more tapered, an effect emphasized by the high cheekbones. The inscription on this statue also indicates that it dates to the reign of Horemheb, although from the high cheekbones and arched brows, it seems possible from Johnson's own evaluation of the Medinet Habu colossi that it was in fact sculpted during the short reign of Ay. Another possibility, suggested by Arielle Kozloff, is that these two statues were originally created for Amenhotep, son of Hapu, an important official under Amenhotep III, and then recarved for Paramessu, resulting in the inconsistent features that we see in them today.⁷⁶

The face of Paramessu, later Ramesses I,⁷⁷ is also represented on two anthropoid sarcophagi in the Egyptian Museum. The outer sarcophagus, JE 30707 (Fig. 4.21), was

⁷⁵ Both statues are published in Georges Legrain, "Les statues de Paramessou, fils de Sêti," *ASAE* 14 (1914), 17-26.

⁷⁶ Personal communication.

⁷⁷ The attribution to Ramesses I was not a foregone conclusion; Guy Brunton did not believe that these sarcophagi were made for the future Ramesses I, but for a son of Seti I. See "The Inner Sarcophagus of Prince Ramessu from Medinet Habu," *ASAE* 43 (1943), 133-148.

discovered at Gurob, while the inner sarcophagus, JE 72203 (Fig. 4.22), was found at Medinet Habu.⁷⁸ These sarcophagi seem to have been prepared for Paramessu before he was appointed “king’s son” and successor to Horemheb, and then modified to reflect the more exalted titles he bore at the end of his life.⁷⁹ The outer sarcophagus reflects, like JE 44863, the features we have come to think of as distinctive of Horemheb. The eyelids are quite heavy, and they are set off from the socket by a marked crease. The mouth is wide, but the lips relatively narrow, and the indentations at the corners give the impression that it was slightly pursed. The ears are quite large, even more so than those of Luxor J. 834, and their lobes are pronounced and slightly flared. The face of the inner sarcophagus is quite similar, although most of the features are less exaggerated. The eyelids are not as heavy, and the eyes appear more open. The arch of the brows is higher than on the outer coffin. The ears, however, are once again large and low-set, with thick, flaring lobes.

In order to distinguish a possible royal portrait of Ramesses I from those of his predecessors and successors based on the scribe statues and sarcophagi, it would be necessary to identify features that distinguish them from presumed portraits of Ay and Horemheb. Such distinctions are bound to be quite subtle, as a glance at the pieces in question shows. One feature of Horemheb’s portrait that Johnson notes in Luxor J. 834 and in the Metropolitan Museum scribe statue is that the upper lip is somewhat thinner

⁷⁸ The inner sarcophagus is published in Brunton; both are published in Daniel Polz, “Die Särge des (Pa-)Ramessu,” *MDAIK* 42 (1986). 145-166.

⁷⁹ For a detailed examination, see Polz.

than the lower.⁸⁰ The opposite appears to be true of both JE 44863 and JE 44864, although it is difficult to determine whether this also applies to the two sarcophagi. Another subtle feature that Johnson notes in Luxor J. 834 and the Metropolitan Museum scribe, and that can also be seen in Vienna KHM AS 8301, is a slight furrow, shaped like an inverted “v,” between the brows. This furrow is less pronounced in the two statues of Paramessu. The earlobes of the Paramessu scribe statues are also somewhat less fleshy and flaring than those of either Tutankhamun or Horemheb. The sarcophagi, however, both have very large, low-set ears with fleshy lobes. It is interesting to note that, in comparison, this feature is more noticeable in the Horemheb group from Luxor (J. 834) than in the Tutankhamun group (J. 823).

The Carlos head does appear to combine post-Amarna and Ramesside features. The rounded face with its serene, slightly smiling expression seems to look toward the later New Kingdom, while the soft modeling and naturalism of the features, along with the shape of the eyes, seem to be rooted firmly in the post-Amarna style. This blend of styles may indicate that the head dates to the very beginning of the Ramesside period. The particular mix of elements in the Carlos head, however, is not necessarily what we would expect for the reign of Ramesses I. The high cheekbones and planar facial surfaces of Tutankhamun’s portrait are softer in the statues of Paramessu, as they are also in Horemheb’s sculpture and in the Carlos head. The eyes of Paramessu’s scribe statues and sarcophagi, however, show more continuity with Horemheb’s portrait. The eyes of the

⁸⁰ Johnson, 133.

Carlos head resemble those of Tutankhamun more closely than those of Horemheb, and the eyelids are not as thick and heavy as those that seem to distinguish the portraiture of the latter. If, as has been suggested, in the latter part of his reign Horemheb sought to efface the memory of Tutankhamun and set himself apart from his immediate predecessors, we would expect Ramesses I, the contemporary and appointed successor of Horemheb, to move away from Tutankhamun's image as well. The post-Amarna period would still have been very much alive in the memory of Paramessu, and we can only imagine that he felt some loyalty to Horemheb. It seems relatively unlikely that in his extremely brief reign he would have reversed the artistic direction set by the man to whom he owed his elevation to the throne. By Johnson's argument, Horemheb's pre-royal portrait informed his royal image, and we might expect Ramesses I, also a commoner elevated to royal status, to have followed suit. The Carlos head, however, bears as much similarity to Tutankhamun's image as to Horemheb's, if not more. It is not impossible by any means that the Carlos head represents Ramesses I. It seems however, that in the absence of securely dated comparanda, there may be as much of an argument against this attribution as for it.

When it was exhibited in San Antonio, the Carlos head was described as belonging to Seti I.⁸¹ Hourig Sourouzian has pointed out that early portraits of Seti I were executed in the post-Amarna style,⁸² and, as with the attribution to Ramesses I, the

⁸¹ Scott, 47.

⁸² Hourig Sourouzian, "Statues et representations de statues royales sous Seti I," *MDAIK* 49 (1993), 239-257: 245ff.

assertion that the Carlos head represents Seti I seems to be based on its combination of Ramessid and post-Amarna features. One sculpture that Sourouzian discusses as an example of the early, post-Amarna style of Seti I is a large calcite royal figure now in the Luxor Museum (Luxor J. 929, Fig. 4.23).⁸³ The face of this monumental statue so closely resembles that of Tutankhamun that it has been suggested that it was simply usurped. Sourouzian discounts this possibility and compares the Karnak statue to a group of statues from a small chapel of Seti I at Memphis, which are also executed in a style that clearly shows the influence of the post-Amarna period.

The two Memphite royal heads (Figs. 4.24 and 4.25)⁸⁴ are badly damaged. One is missing the mouth, chin, nose, and one side of the face; the other lacks the tip of the nose, and the area around the mouth is heavily abraded. The influence of the art of the post-Amarna period is clear, however, in the heavy-lidded,⁸⁵ almond shaped eyes and naturalistic eyebrows. The shape of the faces is oval, and the cheeks are rounded and full. This is in contrast to the Karnak statue, the face of which is shorter and more squared, with flatter cheeks (although this could certainly be explained by the fact that the statues were created in different regions).

Sourouzian dates the Memphite heads and the Karnak statue to the early part of Seti I's reign and identifies them as transitional in style between the 18th and later 19th Dynasties. If this is true, it could detract from the argument that the Carlos head

⁸³ Originally in the Egyptian Museum under number CG 42139. Legrain ii, 1-4; Romano et al., 96.

⁸⁴ Sourouzian, "Statues," 247-250.

⁸⁵ Sourouzian identifies the incised line above the eyes as a cosmetic band, but it appears in fact to mark the crease in the orbital area where the upper eyelid begins.

represents Ramesses I. If the heavy-lidded eyes that are so distinctive of Horemheb's portrait persisted into the reign of Seti I, it would be surprising if the very brief reign of Ramesses I had witnessed a hiatus in the depiction of the eyes in this manner. However, if the Karnak statue (the eyelids of which are not thick and heavy in appearance) is original to the reign of Seti I, it would indicate that the two styles could exist side-by-side. In any case, the features of Carlos head do not fit well with those of the Karnak statue. The straight mouth of the latter contrasts with the slight smile of the Carlos head, and the flatter planes and squarer shape of the Karnak statue's face are also a poor match. The heavy eyelids and oval, rather than tapered, shape of the Memphite heads also indicate that the Carlos head was not carved for Seti I.

If the Carlos head does represent Seti I, which seems unlikely,⁸⁶ it would have to date to the early part of his reign. The mature version of his portrait is quite distinctive and relatively consistent. It is best represented by a group of statues in dark granite from the king's temple at Abydos.⁸⁷ One of these, a well-known piece now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, is shown in fig. 4.26 (MMA 22.2.21).⁸⁸ Among the features of this style is a formal treatment of the eyes, with cosmetic lines and plastic eyebrows. The mouth is thinner than in the king's earlier works, and turned up at the corners in a distinctly "Ramesside" smile. Deep indentations extend downward from the sides of the nose all

⁸⁶ In a personal communication, Dr. Sourouzian expressed the opinion that it does not.

⁸⁷ For a description and analysis of this style, see Victoria Solia, "A Group of Royal Statues from Abydos," *JARCE* 29 (1992), 107-122; also, Hourig Sourouzian, "Raccords Ramessides," *MDAIK* 54 (1998), 279-292.

⁸⁸ Hayes, 330-331; Solia, 113-118.

the way to the chin, giving the lower half of the face a shape that is distinctive of Seti I. The cheeks are full and rounded, but this fullness is carried quite low, much closer to the jaw than on the Carlos head. It seems fair to say that there is no good reason to believe that the Carlos head dates to the reign of Seti I. The mature portrait of Seti I formed the basis for his son and successor Ramesses II's early sculpture,⁸⁹ marking the beginning of a distinct artistic era. We have shown that it is quite unlikely that the Carlos head dates, as has been suggested, to the 18th or the beginning of the 19th Dynasty. We must look instead to the height of the Ramesside period for a convincing attribution.

Study of the sculpture of Ramesses II is complicated considerably by his enthusiasm for usurping the monuments of his predecessors, replacing the inscriptions of his predecessors and at least occasionally recarving the features. In spite of the confusion caused by the association of Ramesses II's name with images created for others, in cases of recarving certain trends emerge that point to a distinctive portrait style. Thin lips formed into an almost v-shaped smile and a low forehead seem to have been among the facial characteristics that Ramesses II's sculptors sought to incorporate into both original sculptures and the recarved faces of usurped works.⁹⁰ These features are clearly evident in a seated statue of Ramesses II in the Egyptian Museum in Turin (Fig. 4.27, Turin 1380),⁹¹ which is among a comparatively small portion of the king's many statues that are widely acknowledged as original to his reign rather than usurped.

⁸⁹ Sourouzian, "Statues," 249.

⁹⁰ See Kozloff and Bryan, 172-175.

⁹¹ Scamuzzi, pls. LVII and LVIII; Ziegler, ed., 225-227.

Other presumably original images of Ramesses II show that there was considerable variation in the king's portrait style. The seated statue in Turin is thought to date to the beginning of the king's reign. Its facial features are reflected strongly in a statue in the Egyptian Museum, CG 616 (Fig. 4.28).⁹² The narrow lips pursed in a v-shaped smile, the long, aquiline nose, the almond-shaped eyes, and the high, curved arch of the brows leave no doubt that the same individual is represented by both sculptures. A statue of the king bearing the standards of the god Montu and his consort, however, gives a much different impression (JE 44668, Fig. 4.29).⁹³ The king's face is broader and rounder, the lips fuller, and the line of the faint smile on the lips less angular.

There is no reason to suggest that the differences between the standard-bearing sculpture and those from an earlier date in the king's reign are the result of usurpation. The inscription indicates that the standard-bearing statue was created more than halfway through the king's long reign. In spite of its later date, it is more youthful in appearance than the Turin sculpture or CG 616. It is well known that Amenhotep III adopted a childlike style after the thirtieth year of his reign, an anniversary when Egyptian kings celebrated a jubilee in which they were thought to be rejuvenated and their authority renewed.⁹⁴ It is entirely possible that the standard-bearing statue of Ramesses II represents the same kind of stylistic change occasioned by an important development in the king's reign.

⁹² Borchardt, 162-163.

⁹³ Rita Freed, *Ramses II: The Great Pharaoh and his Time, an Exhibition in the City of Denver* (Memphis, TN: Denver Museum of Natural History, 1987), 132.

⁹⁴ Johnson, "Monuments," 81.

Another work in the Egyptian Museum explicitly depicts Ramesses II as a child. JE 64735 (Fig. 4.30) shows the king under the protection of the Hauron, a deity whose origins were not in Egypt but in Palestine. The composition of the sculpture is a rebus for the king's name. As an emblem of the Egyptian sun god, the falcon representing Hauron can be read *ra*, the figure of a child with its finger at its mouth is pronounced *mes*, and the plant held in the king's left hand, *sw*. The statue was discovered in the eastern Delta city of Tanis, where it was apparently the focus of its own cult during the Late Period. The king's face (Fig. 4.31) is quite similar in appearance to that of the standard-bearing statue (JE 44668, Fig. 4.29). The cheeks are round and full. The eyes are almond-shaped, and the brows shown as rounded arches. The mouth is slightly smiling, although not pursed in the v-shape seen in the king's earlier works. The forehead is low and somewhat narrow.

Early sculptures from the reign of Ramesses II, such as the Turin statue and CG 616, are often taken as representative portraits of the king. The Carlos head differs in appearance from these pieces in a number of ways. The face of the Carlos head is fuller, and the features, particularly the mouth, are softer. Downcast eyes have been indicated as a distinguishing feature of Ramesses II's portrait, regardless of scale.⁹⁵ While the eyes of the Turin statue and CG 616 are depicted in this fashion, the eyes of the Carlos head are wide open and gaze straight ahead. When other statues of the king, different in style perhaps due to ideological developments of his reign, are taken into account, however,

⁹⁵ See Sourouzian, "Standing Royal Colossi of the Middle Kingdom Reused by Ramesses II," *MDAIK* 44 (1998), 229-254: 255.

the true identity of the Carlos head becomes clear. Like Amenhotep III, Ramesses II may have chosen to be represented with more childlike features later in his reign, including rounded cheeks, full, soft lips, and wide eyes. The almond shape of the eyes of the statue of the king with Hauron is extremely close to those of the Carlos head. Moreover, the way that they are represented, with the opening of the lids forming a kind of “buttonhole”⁹⁶ around the eyeball, is the same in both cases.

The eyelids and brows of Ramesses II’s statues seem to be consistently more plastic than those of the Carlos head, the naturalism of which has played a considerable role in its erroneous attribution to the post-Amarna period. It could be that the small scale and material of the Carlos head have something to do with the fact that the eyes are shown naturalistically rather than formally. It is also possible that the type of statue to which the Carlos head originally belonged could explain why the eyes were treated in a more naturalistic fashion. The royal figures in similar animal groups from other reigns, beginning with that of Amenhotep III as seen in the Berlin ram statue (see Fig. 4.18), are shown with naturalistic facial features. If Ramesses VI were imitating his predecessors in erecting such a statue, it might have been considered appropriate to modify the standard royal portrait to match more closely with the earlier prototype.

One link between the Carlos head and Ramesses II can be found in a royal head in the collection of the Roemer- und Pelizaeus Museum in Hildesheim (Fig. 4.32, No.

⁹⁶ This usage was apparently coined by Vandier to refer to the Ramesside manner of representing the eyes (see Manuel iii, 402, where the term is used to describe the eyes of Ramesses III in particular).

1882).⁹⁷ Stylistically, the features of the Hildesheim head are very close to those of the Carlos head. The smiling mouth and naturalistically treated, almond-shaped “buttonhole” eyes, along with the tapered face, pierced ears, and the configuration of the uraeus, all suggest that the two heads are closely related. Although the Hildesheim head is uninscribed, it can be dated stylistically to the reign of Ramesses II by comparison with early portraits such as the Turin statue.

Its material is another interesting indication that the Hildesheim head dates to the reign of Ramesses II. The head is carved of a type of black granite interspersed with large and sharply defined areas of fine-grained, pinkish-red granite. This appears quite similar to an unusual variety of the stone employed in a head inscribed for Ramesses II, now in the collection of the Luxor Museum (Fig. 4.33, Luxor J. 1009).⁹⁸ The two colors have been used in an interesting manner: the king’s headdress has been carved in an area comprised mostly of red stone, while the rest of the head is of the black material. The eyes of the Hildesheim head, like those of the Carlos head, are not plastic, offering an indication that the naturalistic treatment of the brows and the absence of cosmetic lines in the latter does not rule out attribution to Ramesses II.

⁹⁷ Günther Roeder, *Die Denkmäler der Pelizaeus-Museum zu Hildesheim* (Berlin: Karl Curtius Verlag, 1921), 79-80; Katja Lembke, *Schönheit im Alten Ägypten : Suche nach Vollkommenheit, Roemer- und Pelizaeus-Museum Hildesheim 25. November 2006 bis 01. Juli 2007, Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe 28. Juli 2007 bis 27. Januar 2008* (Hildesheim: Verlag Gebrüder Gerstenberg, 2006), no. 039.

⁹⁸ Formerly in the collection of the Egyptian Museum under the number CG 824, see Borchardt iii, 113-114; Abeer el-Shahawy, *Luxor Museum: The Glory of Ancient Thebes* (Cairo: Farid Atiya Press, 2005), 92-93.

The remainder of the 19th Dynasty offers little with which to compare the Carlos head. The few well-preserved portraits of Merenptah are distinctive enough that it is apparent that Ramesses II represents the better comparison.⁹⁹ Although all of the remaining rulers of the dynasty are represented by inscriptions in the granite quarries at Aswan from which the material of the Carlos head is derived,¹⁰⁰ little sculpture survives for comparison, and the relatively limited number of pieces dating to the reigns of Amenmesse through Twosret do nothing to undermine the attribution of the Carlos head to Ramesses II.

It is also unlikely that the Carlos head dates to the early part of the 20th Dynasty. Although the former appears to combine post-Amarna and Ramesside features, and it has been noted that Ramesses III imitated the portrait of Tutankhamun “almost to the point of caricature,”¹⁰¹ his sculptures do not possess the heart-shaped, wide-eyed face of the Carlos head. Vandier observed that portraits of Ramesses III fall into two basic groups: those with rectangular faces, and those with round faces.¹⁰² An excellent example of the first type, which does reflect the influence of the late 18th Dynasty, is CG 42150, a statue of the king as a standard-bearer of Amun (Fig. 4.34).¹⁰³ The face of CG 42150 is less tapered than that of the Carlos head, and the eyes are slightly narrower. The second group

⁹⁹ See Sourouzian, *Merenptah*, 171.

¹⁰⁰ Alexander Peden, *The Graffiti of Pharaonic Egypt: Scope and Roles of Informal Writings (c. 3100-332 B.C.)*, *Probleme der Ägyptologie 17* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 110-111. Quarry graffiti do not point to any one king's reign as the period when the granite of the Carlos head was quarried.

¹⁰¹ Edna Russman, “The Statue of Amenemope-em-hat,” *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 8 (1973), 33-46, 39 n.22.

¹⁰² Vandier, 400-402.

¹⁰³ Borchardt v, 14-16; Bojana Mojsov, “The Sculpture and Relief of Ramesses III,” 136-142.

of portraits of Ramesses III, comprising those with round faces, tends to have countenances of such exaggerated width that they bear no real resemblance to the Carlos head.

The paucity of surviving royal sculpture from the later 20th Dynasty makes it difficult to determine whether the imitation of the art of the late 18th Dynasty was common, after the reign of Ramesses III, and if so what its visual result might have been. It is worthwhile, however, to consider the possibility that the Carlos head could represent one of the later Ramesside kings.¹⁰⁴ There is a striking resemblance between the face of the Carlos head and that of the sarcophagus of Ramesses VI (British Museum EA 140, Fig. 4.35).¹⁰⁵ A number of formal details on the features of the sarcophagus contrast with the naturalism of the Carlos head. On the face of the sarcophagus, the creases of the upper eyelids are indicated by thin incised lines, and the eyebrows are plastic, though modeled in very low relief. The outlines of the eyes, however, are identical between the two pieces, even to the asymmetry of the eyes - the line of one lower lid extends farther from the inner canthus before angling upward at a slightly more rounded corner than the other lower lid. The width of the mouth appears to be similar in both cases, with the corners extending only slightly beyond the width of the base of the nose. The philtrum of the lips is more visible in the sarcophagus, but their shape is otherwise similar, with a noticeable but not exaggerated tubercle and slightly upturned corners. Perhaps most significantly, the shape of the face is quite similar from one work to the other. The cheeks

¹⁰⁴ This possibility was suggested to me by Dr. Sourouzian.

¹⁰⁵ Nigel Strudwick, *Masterpieces of Ancient Egypt* (London: British Museum Press, 2006), 229.

are full, and the face quite rounded, but slightly tapered from cheekbones to chin. The cheekbones are discernible, but not pronounced.

Sculptures in the round of Ramesses VI, though few in number, share some features of the sarcophagus face. A statue in the Luxor Museum (Luxor J.902, Fig. 4.36)¹⁰⁶ of the king leading a prisoner of war is one of the few largely complete examples known. If we were to disregard the manner in which the eyes have been depicted, the face could be described in almost the same terms as that of the sarcophagus. The eyes are wide and almond-shaped, and the high arch of the brows, perfectly echoing the line of the upper lid, matches the sarcophagus as well. The lips are full, with a visible but not exaggerated tubercle, and the corners of the mouth are turned upward in a slight smile. The face, though full, tapers distinctly toward the chin, and the cheekbones are not overly pronounced. The eyes of this sculpture, however, are extremely formal, with heavy, extended cosmetic lines whose shape is duplicated by plastic eyebrows that extend toward the hairline. The forehead is wider than that of the Carlos head as well, and the nasal alae are wider, and more rounded. A small (h. 19 cm) head in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (JE 27535, Fig. 4.28)¹⁰⁷ inscribed for the king also shows the tapered facial shape, almond-shaped eyes, and full lips of the sarcophagus face and Luxor J. 902. The pierced ears are not oversized, and are set high up on the head, another feature shared

¹⁰⁶ Previously in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, under number CG 42152. Vandier v, 17-19.

¹⁰⁷ Bodil Hornemann, *Types of Ancient Egyptian Statuary ii* (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1957), no. 367.

with the Carlos head. In addition to the extremely plastic treatment of the eyes and brows, the philtrum is pronounced in JE 27535, unlike that of the Carlos head.

After the reign of Ramesses VI, the production of monumental art in Egypt seems to have dropped off quite sharply.¹⁰⁸ There is no reason to suppose that a work in red granite, particularly of the high quality seen in the Carlos head, could date to the period of decline at the end of the Ramesside era. The prodigious building activities of Ramesses II, in contrast, made extravagant use of Aswan granite in its many different varieties, and it is easy to imagine the Carlos head as a product of this period. The style of the head, contrary to the initial impression given by the naturalistic treatment of the features, supports this idea.

¹⁰⁸ See Peden, 127-129 – after the reign of Ramesses VII, an absence of graffiti indicates that the granite quarries at Aswan were no longer exploited to any meaningful extent.



Figure 4.1: Cleveland 52.513.

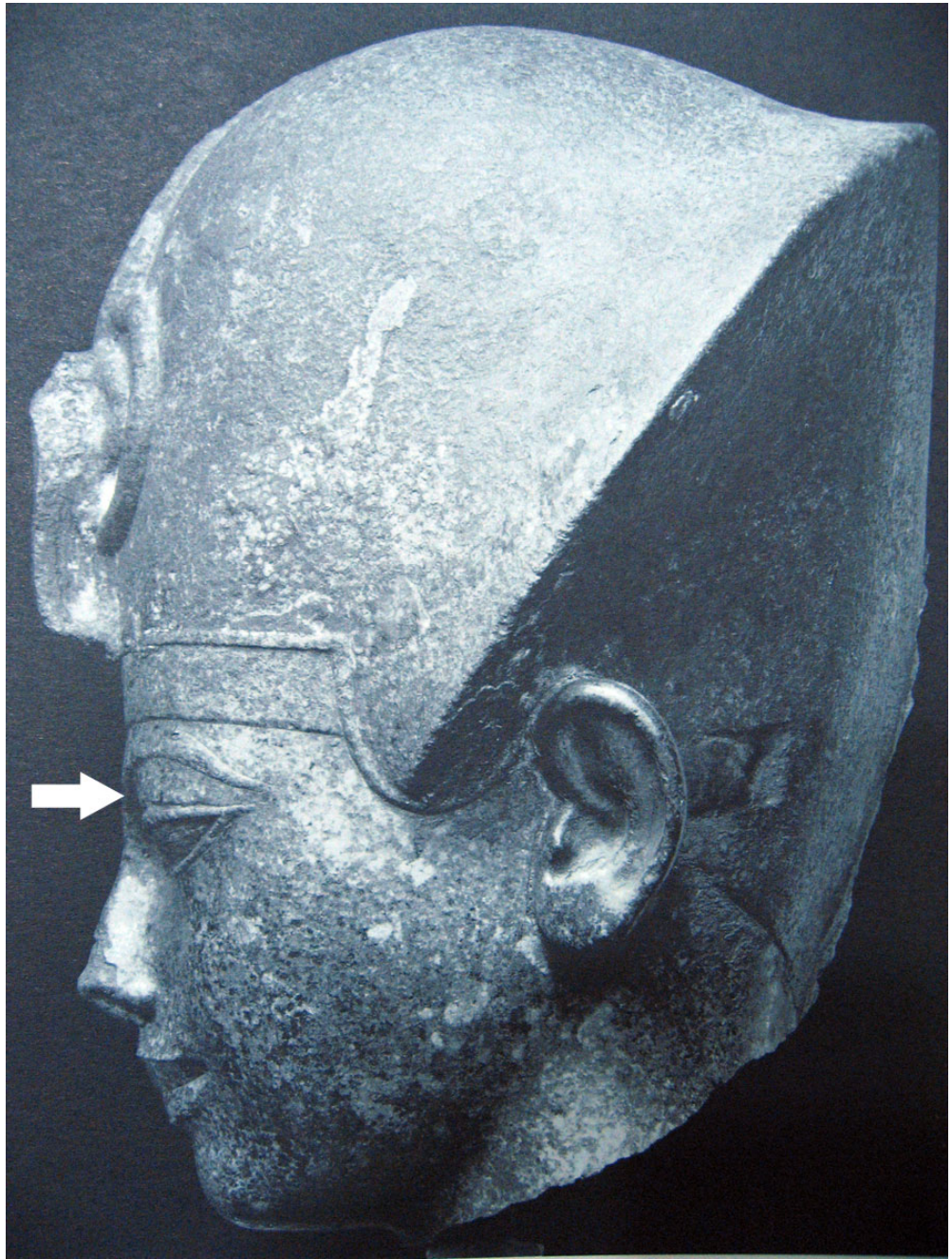


Figure 4.2: Convex orbital area of Cleveland 52.513.



Figure 4.3: JE 99065.



Figure 4.4: JE 43580.



Figure 4.5: JE 60722



Figure 4.6: Luxor J. 198



Figure 4.7: Louvre E 11609

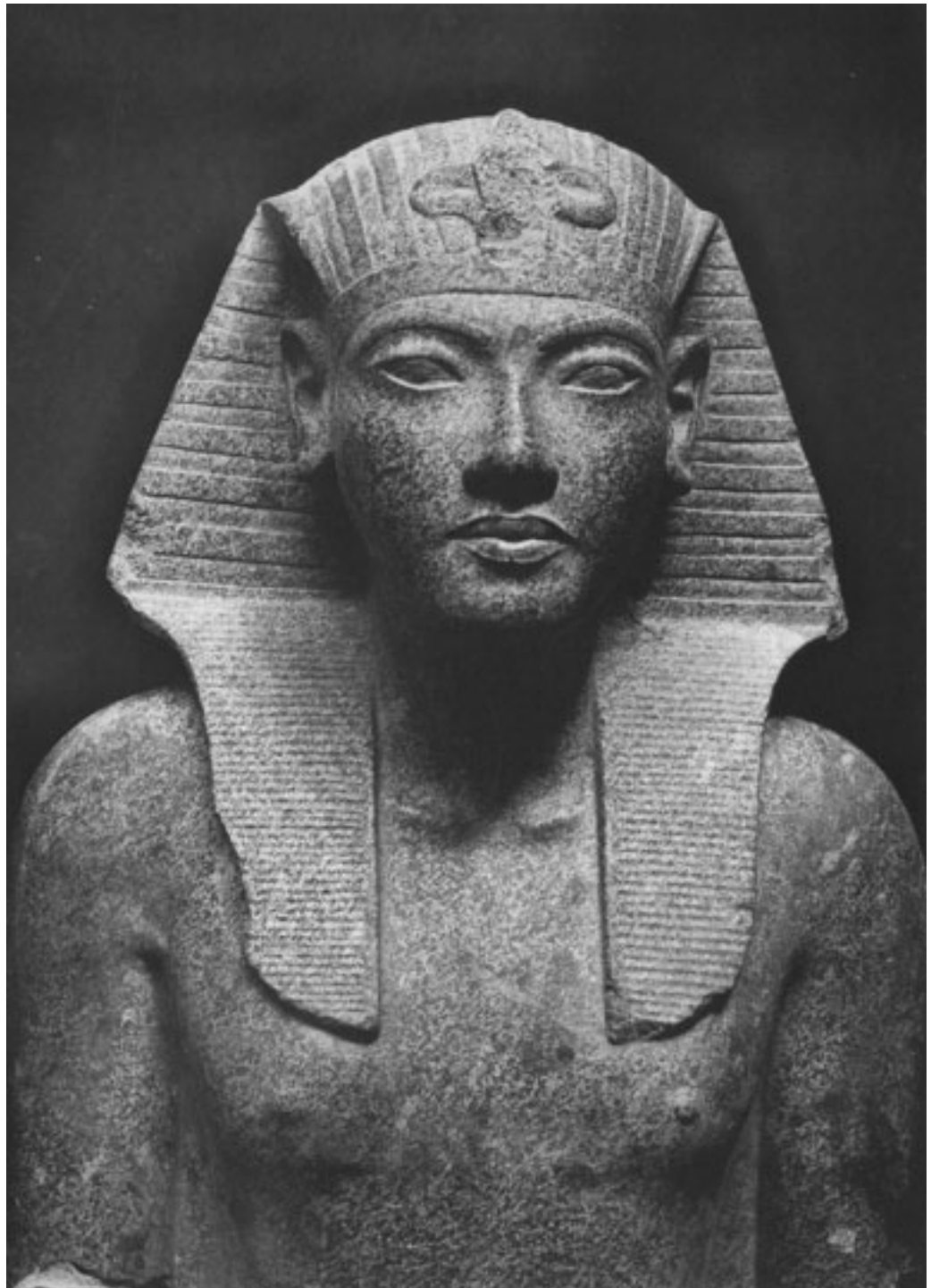


Figure 4.8: CG 42091

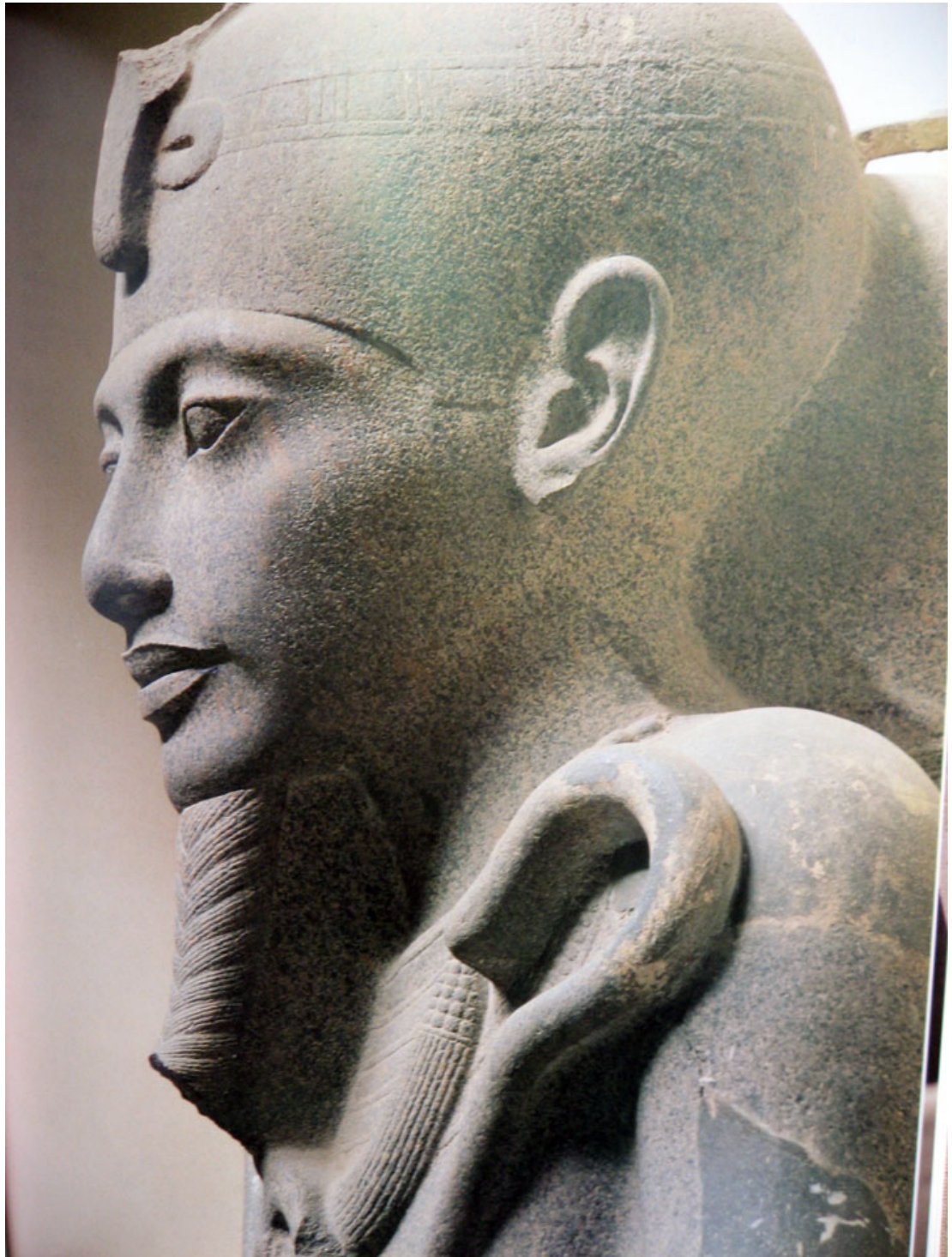


Figure 4.9 – CG 38488.

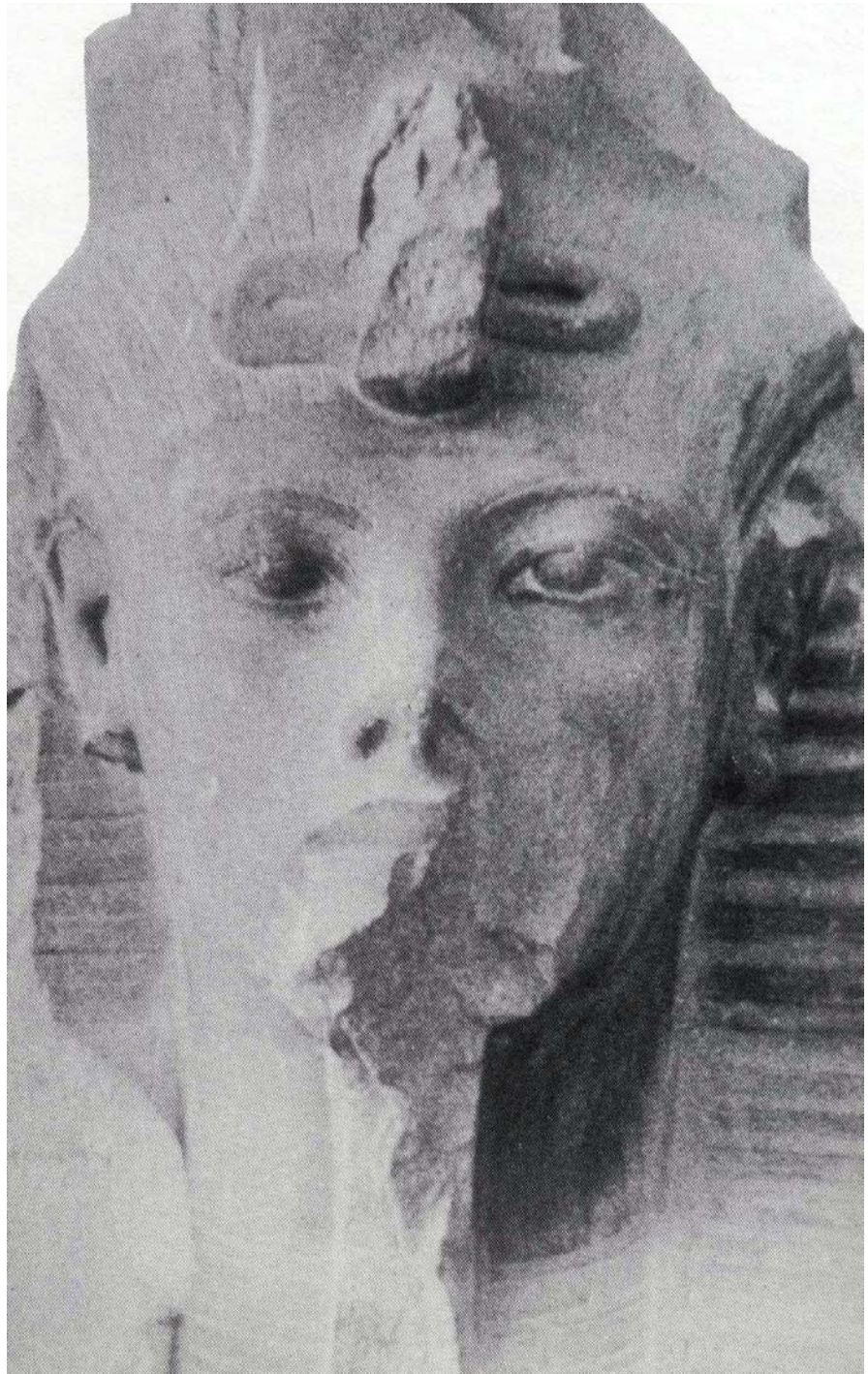


Figure 4.10: Chicago OIM 14088.



Figure 4.11: MMA 23.10.1.

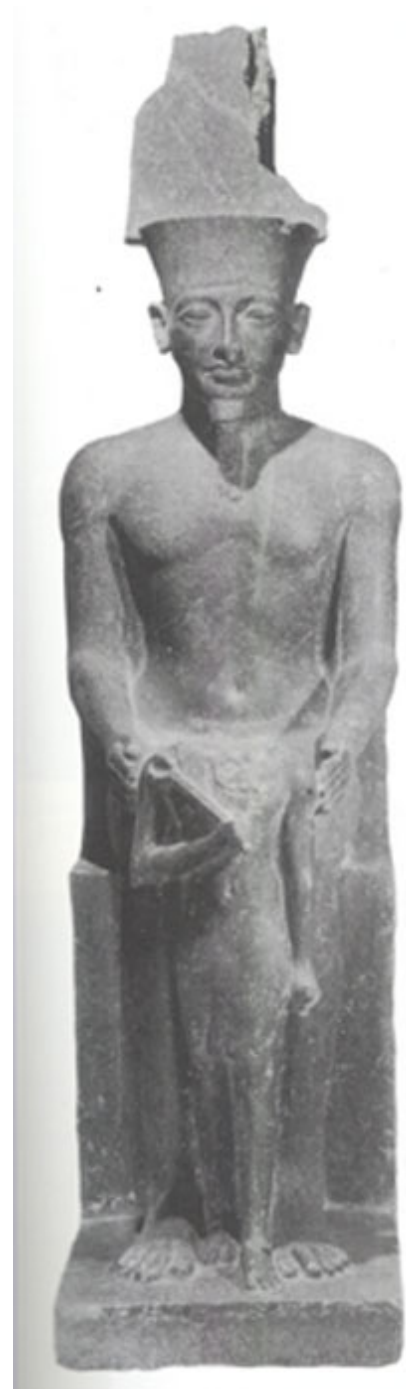


Figure 4.12: Luxor J. 834



Figure 4.13: Luxor J. 823



Figure 4.14: Head from the Memphite tomb of Horemheb.

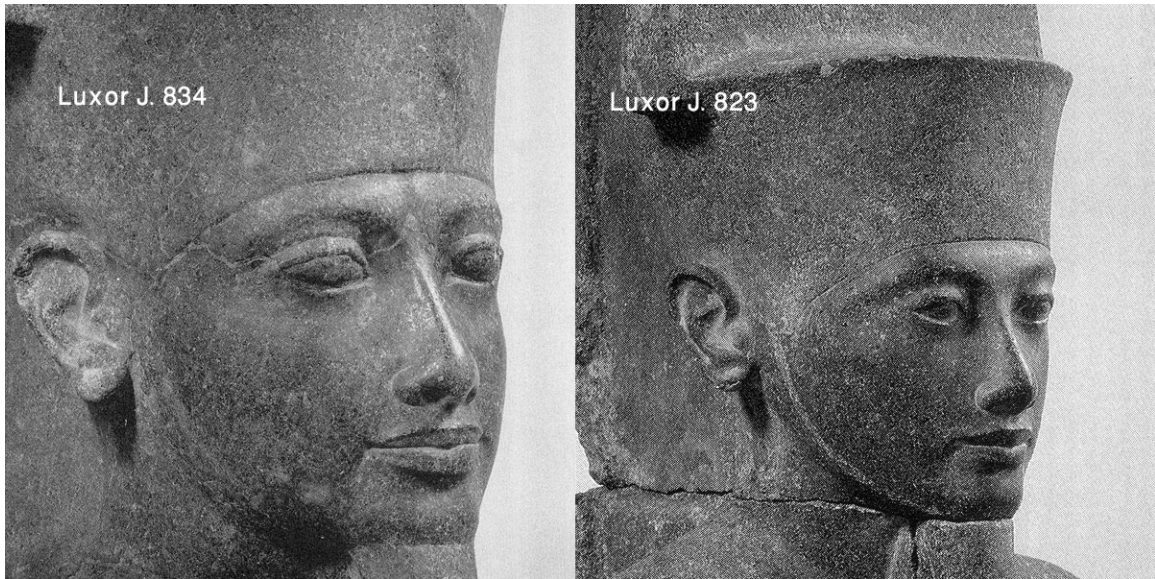


Figure 4.15: Comparison of the facial features of Luxor J. 834 (left) and Luxor J. 823 (right).



Figure 4.16: Vienna KHM ÄS 8301.



Figure 4.17: Turin 768.



Figure 4.18: Detail of Berlin 7262.



Figure 4.19: JE 44863.



Figure 4.20: JE 44864.



Figure 4.21: JE 30707.



Figure 4.22: JE 72203.

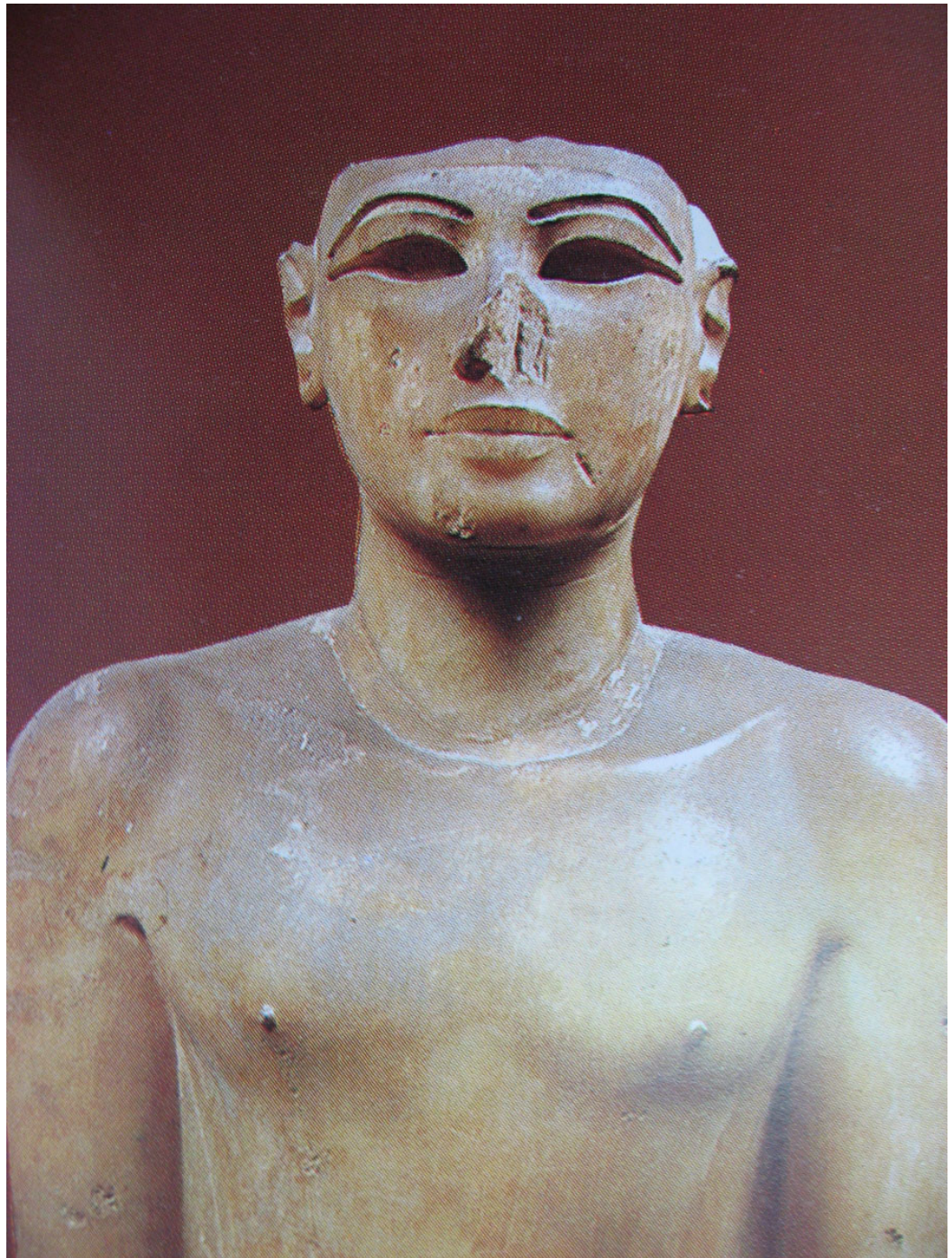


Figure 4.23: Luxor J. 929.

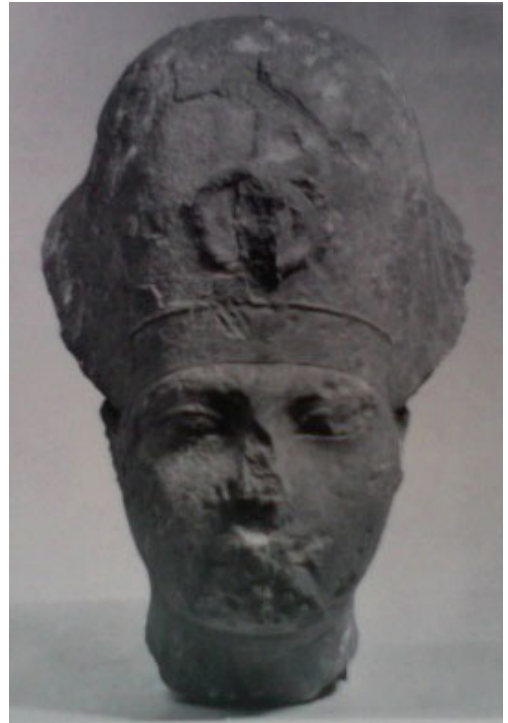


Figure 4.24: Head of Seti I from Memphis.



Figure 4.25: Head of Seti I from Memphis.



Figure 4.26: MMA 22.2.21.



Figure 4.27: Turin 1380.



Figure 4.28 – CG 616.



Figure 4.29: JE 44668.

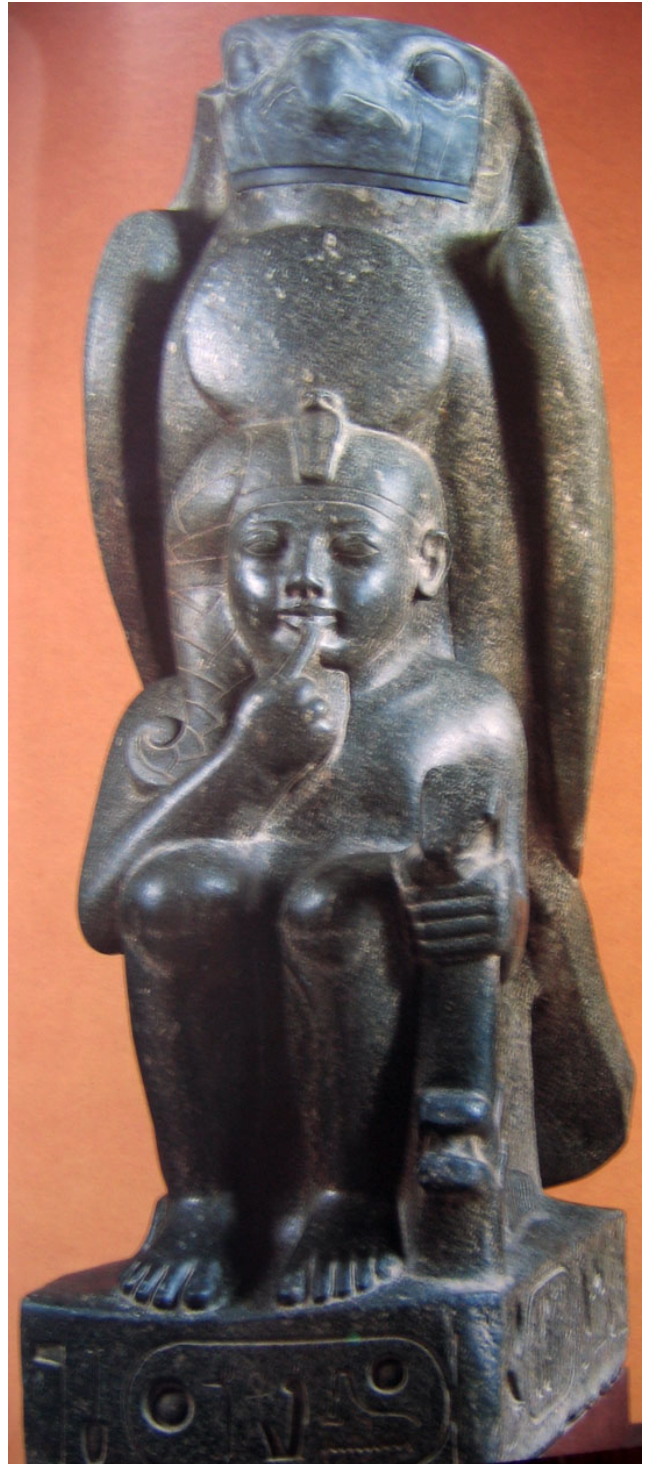


Figure 4.30: JE 64735.



Figure 4.31: Detail of JE 64735



Figure 4.32: Hildesheim No. 1882.



Figure 4.33: Luxor J. 1009.



Figure 4.34: CG 42150



Figure 4.35: British Museum EA 140



Figure 4.36: Luxor J.902.

5 – CONCLUSION

The Carlos head was once part of a statue that showed the figure of the king protected by the much larger figure of a divine animal, probably a creature such as a ram or baboon, which had solar associations. This type of sculpture would have been placed in the approach area or court of a temple to emphasize the solar aspect of the temple's chief deity. The figure of the king below that of the animal represented the ruler's desire to be seen as accepted and protected by the god, and reflected his presence in principle as the god's chief priest.

This head is a finely executed piece of sculpture, the style of which poses a number of interesting questions. It seems at first glance to be a work of the post-Amarna period, but a closer examination and comparison with securely dated pieces reveals a number of features that do not quite fit with that date. The combination of post-Amarna and Ramesside features in the face raises the possibility that it represents the transition from one stylistic era to the other. Again, however, we are faced with considerable difficulty in establishing a close enough comparison with a securely dated royal portrait to attribute the head to this period with any certainty. It is difficult even to make a plausible suggestion of how it might fit into the development of late 18th and early 19th Dynasty sculpture.

The available evidence points clearly to the Ramesside period, and more specifically to the reign of Ramesses II. One final consideration in dating the Carlos head

is the unusual material from which it is carved. The use of such dark pinkish-red granite, with such a great deal of dark matrix present and a very low content of light-colored minerals, does not seem to have been the first preference of the Egyptians.¹⁰⁹ The sample published by Klemm and Klemm that bears the most similarity to the Carlos head was taken from an area to the southeast of Aswan.¹¹⁰ To the north of the sample area, there is evidence for quarrying under Amenhotep III. To the south, at an almost equal distance, there seems to have been considerable activity during the Ramesside period.¹¹¹ The granite of the Carlos head is not a perfect match for the sample in Klemm and Klemm, being darker in color and containing even less of the lighter-colored material often found in this stone. Nevertheless, a date in the reign of Ramesses II is entirely in keeping with the geological evidence. It seems on balance that in the Carlos head we have a portrait of Ramesses II, disguised by its dissimilarity to early, well recognized images of the king and by a lack of formalism that might lead one to associate it with the art of the post-Amarna period.

Regardless of its date, the Carlos head presents an intriguing combination of features that invites inquiry into the art of poorly documented but pivotal periods in Egypt's history. It is a worthy addition to the collection of the Michael C. Carlos Museum, and may yet offer additional insight into the history of Egyptian art of the late New Kingdom.

¹⁰⁹ Klemm and Klemm, 325.

¹¹⁰ Klemm and Klemm, pl. 10.5 (sample no. 707)

¹¹¹ See the map in Klemm and Klemm, 306-307.

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