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## A Second Style in Egyptian Art of the Old Kingdom<sup>1)</sup>

By EDNA R. RUSSMANN

(Plates 53–56)

*For Henry George Fischer*

Egyptian sculpture of the Sixth Dynasty looks very different from that of the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties. Statues made during the late Old Kingdom<sup>2)</sup> tend to be smaller in size<sup>3)</sup>, and a significantly larger proportion of surviving examples are wood, rather than stone<sup>4)</sup>. The most striking difference, however, is in the depiction of the human form (pl. 53 a–b)<sup>5)</sup>.

Unlike most three-dimensional figures of the earlier Old Kingdom, with their natural-looking proportions, musculature, and physiognomies<sup>6)</sup>, those of the Sixth Dynasty show exaggeration of some features and suppression of others. They have overlarge heads, set on bodies that are long, narrow, and pinched at the waist. This type of body is found even when the subject's long kilt, together with highly stylized fat folds and/or a thickening of the torso as seen in profile, denote

<sup>1)</sup> Some of the material in this article was presented in a paper at the Annual Meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt, Berkeley, California, in 1990, and a lecture at Emory University, Atlanta, in 1991. I am grateful to M. EATON-KRAUSS for reading the manuscript, and for her helpful comments.

Frequently cited publications are abbreviated as follows: *EgMus*: M. SALEH and H. SOUROUZIAN, *Official Catalogue: The Egyptian Museum Cairo*, Mainz 1987. – *EgSculp*: E. R. RUSSMANN, *Egyptian Sculpture: Cairo and Luxor*, Austin, Texas 1989. – *HESPOK*: W. S. SMITH, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom*, Oxford, 2nd ed., 1949. – *Manuel*: J. VANDIER, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne III, Les grandes époques: la statuaire*, Paris 1958. – *PKG*: C. VANDERSLEYEN et al., *Das alte Ägypten, Propyläen Kunstgeschichte* 17, Berlin 1985.

<sup>2)</sup> Throughout this article, the terms "Sixth Dynasty" and "late(r) Old Kingdom" are used interchangeably.

<sup>3)</sup> By the second half of the Fifth Dynasty, much private sculpture was already quite small: *HESPOK*, p. 55. The trend to smaller sculpture may have begun earlier in the dynasty, on the royal level; all known Fifth-Dynasty royal statues after the reign of Sahure are well under lifesize: M. VERNER, *BIFAO* 85, 1985, pp. 268–270, and nos. I–IX, pp. 271–279; also the under-lifesized standing figure JE 39103, attributed by SMITH to Tety (*HESPOK*, p. 82), but surely to be assigned to the late Fifth Dynasty (*EgSculp*, no. 15, pp. 41–43, 215).

<sup>4)</sup> *Manuel*, p. 90. The large proportion of Sixth-Dynasty wooden statuettes may reflect in part a comparatively high survival rate, due to their small size or their sheltered, belowground locations (n. 97). It is likely that wood was used at least as frequently as stone for private tomb sculpture throughout the Old Kingdom; see M. EATON-KRAUSS, *The Representations of Statuary in Private Tombs of the Old Kingdom*, *AA* 39, Wiesbaden 1984, p. 58.

<sup>5)</sup> Pl. 53 a–b: standing figures of Tjetety; wood, ht. 53, 42 cm.: New York, MMA 26.2.8, 26.2.9; W. C. HAYES, *The Scepter of Egypt I*, New York 1953, p. 112 (not illus.); B. PETERSON, *Medelhavsmuseet Bull.* 20, 1985, p. 13, nos. 7, 8 (illus.). I am very grateful to M. HILL for enabling me to illustrate these statues in new photographs. For the Saqqara tomb in which they were found, see PETERSON, *op. cit.*, with a date in the reign of Pepy II (p. 4).

<sup>6)</sup> Throughout this article, I use the word "natural" ("naturalism", "naturalistic") descriptively and with modern reference, to indicate what looks (comparatively) natural to us. These impressions cannot be entirely accidental; see, for example, the remarks on anatomical observation in Old Kingdom sculpture by H. G. FISCHER, *Apollo* 82, Sept. 1968, pp. 169–173, figs. 2–6. However, I am not here concerned with the extent to which Egyptian sculpture mirrored nature or was intended to, nor with the conventions by which any such effects were achieved.

that he is a portly man in later life (pl. 53 b). On stone statues, the body may be blockier and more compact, but the narrowing of the waist is still noticeable<sup>7</sup>). In neither case is there much modeled detail. The muscles are usually little in evidence or altogether suppressed, especially on the arms, which are often extremely attenuated. Hands tend to be undersized or oversized, and the fingers are exaggerated in length (pl. 53 b).

The faces of these late Old Kingdom statues (pls. 53 a–b, 54 b) are dominated by very large, wide eyes. There is usually little plastic modeling of the facial planes, except for prominent ridges or folds that extend from the nostril wings toward the sides of the mouth or jaw. The lower part of the face tapers sharply, in a way that crowds, but also emphasizes, a mouth characteristically represented as a pair of thick lips, sometimes with a slight upturn. The lips end abruptly at either side, leaving the corners open.

Such statues are numerous and constitute a distinct and well-defined group, but they have received very little attention in the literature<sup>8</sup>). This neglect may be ascribed, in part, to the lack of archaeological contexts or other good dating criteria for many of them<sup>9</sup>). The primary reason, however, is that late Old Kingdom sculpture has almost universally been judged inferior to that of the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties<sup>10</sup>). The “decline” of sculpture in the Sixth Dynasty has customarily been blamed on a deterioration of technique<sup>11</sup>), as well as the dynastic decline<sup>12</sup>), general social and cultural decay<sup>13</sup>), mass production<sup>14</sup>), or even the triumph of bourgeois taste<sup>15</sup>). It has been considered typical of the final phase in a more-or-less universal sequence of artistic growth, apogee, and decay<sup>16</sup>).

The art-historical terms most frequently employed to characterize developments in sculpture during the later Old Kingdom are “formalism” and “mannerism”. In a strict sense, neither word is particularly relevant to Sixth-Dynasty art<sup>17</sup>), so it is not surprising to find that they have almost always been used loosely, often with inappropriately judgmental connotations. Among those who

<sup>7</sup>) E.g. *PKG*, pl. 146.

<sup>8</sup>) Apart from the royal examples discussed below (n. 47), they are very seldom illustrated in books about Egyptian art. There are none in W.S. SMITH, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt*, rev. with additions by W.K. SIMPSON, New York 1981, or C. ALDRED, *Egyptian Art*, New York–Toronto 1980. *PKG* illustrates only one private Sixth-Dynasty statue (a good example and well reproduced: pl. 146). The numerous pictures in W. WOLF, *Die Kunst Ägyptens: Gestalt und Geschichte*, Stuttgart 1957, include only three of this type (figs. 156–158). The plates in *Manuel* illustrate some important pieces, but omit examples of typical forms at Saqqara. *HESPOK* provides only pl. 26 a–c, e.

<sup>9</sup>) *Manuel*, p. 140.

<sup>10</sup>) See, for example, H.G. EVERS, *Staat aus dem Stein I*, München 1929, p. 4; *HESPOK*, p. 86; WOLF, *op. cit.*, p. 185; ALDRED, *op. cit.*, p. 96; M. SEIDEL and D. WILDUNG, in: *PKG*, p. 216; A. O. BOLSHAKOV, *GM* 117/118, 1990, p. 111.

<sup>11</sup>) E.g. *Manuel*, pp. 40, 143; BOLSHAKOV, *op. cit.*, pp. 111, 122. Significantly, the nature of this supposed technical deterioration is almost never elucidated.

<sup>12</sup>) E.g. E. BRUNNER-TRAUT, *LÄ* VI, p. 43.

<sup>13</sup>) SEIDEL, WILDUNG, in: *PKG*, p. 229 (146).

<sup>14</sup>) *Ibid.*, p. 216.

<sup>15</sup>) WOLF, *op. cit.*, pp. 186–187.

<sup>16</sup>) Per H. ALTENMÜLLER, *LÄ* IV, p. 21, “Formalismus und Manierismus” is found in Egyptian art at the end of every major period: in the Sixth, Thirteenth, and Nineteenth Dynasties. For WOLF, the “Manierismus” of Sixth-Dynasty sculpture was “jene Erscheinung, die auch im kunstgeschichtlichen Ablauf der Antike und des Abendlandes wiederholt auftritt...” (*op. cit.*, p. 189). The theory that every art develops through a necessary sequence of stages is best known from the work of H. WÖLFFLIN, *Principles of Art History*, New York n.d. (transl. of *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe*, 7th ed., 1929), esp. pp. 229–235; but WÖLFFLIN did not employ the stylistic labels used by these authors.

<sup>17</sup>) “Formal” simply pertains to form, as opposed to content; “formalism” refers to the prevalence of formal elements, as established by tradition. “Mannerism”, in its original, precise meaning, denotes an extravagant style of post-Renaissance painting in Sixteenth-Century Italy. Negative connotations of the word derive from the history of this specific style: J. SHEARMAN, *Mannerism*, New York 1967, pp. 15–22.

preferred the term "formalism", only SMITH applied it in a descriptive, fairly neutral sense<sup>18</sup>). ALDRED gave the word a negative nuance<sup>19</sup>), and SEIDEL and WILDUNG used it almost as a pejorative term<sup>20</sup>). "Mannerism", for WOLF, was synonymous with decadence<sup>21</sup>); VANDERSLEYEN saw in Sixth-Dynasty sculpture the introduction of a "maniérisme déformant"<sup>22</sup>). Elsewhere, VANDERSLEYEN inaccurately described certain Sixth-Dynasty statues as "expressionistisch", apparently to emphasize the fact that their exaggerations were intentional, rather than inadvertent<sup>23</sup>).

Regardless of the extent to which they linked Sixth-Dynasty sculpture to the decline of the Old Kingdom, or to an invariant cycle of growth and decay, the authors cited above have all treated it as the last stage of a continuous Old Kingdom sculptural tradition. Among the scholars whose views are known to me, only VANDIER seems to have recognized that these works embody impulses of renewal and reaction against the past<sup>24</sup>). Even VANDIER made clear, however, that he considered any such ambitions to have failed<sup>25</sup>).

Underlying all these ideas is a premise which is rarely made explicit<sup>26</sup>): that naturalistic (or natural-seeming) modes of artistic representation are intrinsically superior to all others. This notion has had a long and complex history in the West. It remains well entrenched today, although it is recognized to interfere with understanding the art of many other cultures, past and present<sup>27</sup>). Egyptologists are all too familiar with one of the most obvious examples, for Egyptian two-dimensional art is notorious for the difficulties it presents to modern viewers<sup>28</sup>). It seems not a little ironic, therefore, that specialists have so readily dismissed sculpture of the late Old Kingdom largely on the basis of its diminished naturalism.

When one views this material without prejudice, however, one is compelled to admit that its most striking distortions and exaggerations form a consistent, incontrovertibly deliberate pattern. In fact, the complex of features characteristic of Sixth-Dynasty sculpture is so homogeneous and so distinctive that, as COONEY long ago realized<sup>29</sup>), it constitutes a separate, second Old Kingdom style<sup>30</sup>).

Apart from the way in which it renders the human form, this late Old Kingdom style incorporates other innovations and changes. Among the most obvious are those in headdress and costume. The short wig is still frequently represented, although with somewhat different shape and

<sup>18</sup>) *Art and Architecture*, p. 141.

<sup>19</sup>) *Op. cit.*, pp. 99, 101.

<sup>20</sup>) In: *PKG*, p. 228 (143 b).

<sup>21</sup>) See n. 16.

<sup>22</sup>) *LÄ* IV, p. 1076.

<sup>23</sup>) *PKG*, p. 29; the problem is not his recognition of a degree of deliberation in Sixth-Dynasty sculpture, but his use of "expressionism", which connotes *self-expression* on the part of the artist and is thus not applicable to Egyptian art.

<sup>24</sup>) *Manuel*, pp. 136, 138, 143.

<sup>25</sup>) *Ibid.*, p. 143.

<sup>26</sup>) But see WOLF, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

<sup>27</sup>) "The first prejudice teachers of art appreciation usually try to combat is the belief that artistic excellence is identical with photographic accuracy": E. H. GOMBRICH, *Art and Illusion*, Princeton 1969, p. 4.

<sup>28</sup>) Thus GOMBRICH, *op. cit.*, p. 2, uses one of the innumerable cartoons spoofing Egyptian two-dimensional figural conventions as a frontispiece for his introductory discussion.

<sup>29</sup>) J. D. COONEY, *Brooklyn Museum Bulletin* 15, 1953, p. 21. This brief discussion (which, to the best of my knowledge, he never developed further) has the merits of including both relief and sculpture, and of recognizing the long life of the style; but COONEY weakened his argument by injecting the concept of portraiture, and especially by equating stylistic and typological differences: *ibid.*, pp. 23, 25 (see further below, n. 56).

<sup>30</sup>) "Style" is here used in its most categorical sense, as "a visual language with a vocabulary of forms or motifs and a syntax governing their relationship:" H. HONOUR and J. FLEMING, *The Visual Arts: a History*, Englewood Cliffs, N. J. 1982, p. 12.



proportions<sup>31</sup>). However, another headdress appears with greater frequency than before: the flared, shoulder-length hair-do composed of long, parallel strands descending from a center part<sup>32</sup>). The kilt worn by mature men is shown as a longer garment with a stiffened front panel or flap, which may be grasped by the right hand<sup>33</sup>). Sometimes the tomb owner is represented nude<sup>34</sup>).

At least one statue type is attested for the first time in Sixth-Dynasty sculpture: a male figure sitting on the ground with one bent leg flat and the other knee raised<sup>35</sup>). This most asymmetrical of all major Egyptian sculptural poses may be related to that of the seated scribe<sup>36</sup>). Such an association could help to explain the fact that the latter type apparently falls into disfavor during the Sixth Dynasty. Other statue types also appear much less frequently, notably group statues and figures of women<sup>37</sup>).

A well known idiosyncrasy of Sixth-Dynasty stone sculpture is the removal of the negative space<sup>38</sup>), to free the limbs from the body and from other parts of the statue<sup>39</sup>). To do this, with the stonecutting tools and methods available to Egyptian sculptors, required no little technical finesse, a fact that contravenes the notion of an overall technical decline in this period, especially since the practice can be found not only on the products of royal workshops (pl. 54 a), but also on private works of no particular pretensions<sup>40</sup>).

The elimination of negative space recalls the forms of Egyptian sculpture in wood, a medium in which filling of the interstices was neither practical nor desirable<sup>41</sup>). It has often been suggested that late Old Kingdom stonecutters were imitating the conventions of wood sculpture<sup>42</sup>). At first

<sup>31</sup>) A chronological typology of this wig is needed; the sculptural development does not seem to follow the relief sequence indicated by FISCHER, *JNES* 18, 1959, pp. 238–239, with fig. 4.

<sup>32</sup>) First attested in the Fourth Dynasty scribe statues of the princes Setka (Louvre E.12629: *PKG*, pl. 129; *Manuel*, pl. 13/5) and Khuenre (Boston, MFA 13.1340: *ibid.*, pl. 9/3; *HESPOK*, pl. 10c). If it was at first specifically associated with the scribal pose, the wig had more general application by the Fifth Dynasty: *Manuel*, pp. 103–104. In the Sixth Dynasty, the sides typically show a concave curve, and the ears may be fully exposed: FISCHER, *AJA* 66, 1962, pp. 65, 68.

<sup>33</sup>) FISCHER, *JNES* 18, 1959, p. 215; for the pose, see *Manuel*, p. 91 (type XVI E).

<sup>34</sup>) *HESPOK*, pp. 62, 65, 84, 95. (For late Fifth-Dynasty examples, see nn. 62, 64.) Nude statues were also represented in Sixth-Dynasty tombs: EATON-KRAUSS, *op. cit.*, cat. 43, 46, 154, 155. A few nude statues of tomb owners have yellow skins (FISCHER, *JARCE* 2, 1963, pp. 20–21), but the majority seems to have been painted red; one is part of a standing couple (Berkeley 6–19781, from Giza: *HESPOK*, p. 62, pl. 25c). It is often suggested that differences in the features of the three naked statues found in the Sixth-Dynasty tomb of Meryre-haishetef at Sedment signify different ages (*Manuel*, pl. 45/1–3; cf. p. 119), a possibility that may be supported by the even greater differences among the nude figures of one Ipy at Saqqara: P. MUNRO, *GM* 75, 1984, p. 93, fig. 7, nos. 13, 27, 31.

<sup>35</sup>) *HESPOK*, p. 87, gives three examples. Two are Memphite (CG 120, JE 41978: *Manuel*, pl. 21/3, 5), one from Naga ed Der. Another provincial example was recorded by FISCHER, *Dendera in the Third Millennium B. C.*, Locust Valley 1968, p. 112, pl. 10b (Philadelphia, Univ. Mus. 29–66–569). To the Memphite examples, now add a small figure of Ipy, from Saqqara (MUNRO, *loc. cit.*, no. 3). Whether the asymmetric pose of JE 53150 represents a genuine precursor of this statue type (so *HESPOK*, p. 87) is open to question; for this statue, see n. 75.

<sup>36</sup>) *Manuel*, p. 68 (VB, b); cf. later examples: M. HEERMA VAN VOSS, *JEOL* 13, 1953–1954, pp. 319 (no. 9), 320 (no. 29), pl. 45 (lower right).

<sup>37</sup>) Sixth-Dynasty wooden servant figures include many female figures and simple groups, e.g. PETERSON, *op. cit.*, pp. 22–24; CG 237–254. Royal groups include the two copper statues and the alabaster statuette of Pepy II and his mother (for both, see n. 47). Female statuettes include the bust of a royal woman in black stone from Abydos (CG 255: *Manuel*, pl. 9/1; *HESPOK*, p. 84) and a limestone seated woman with signs of age (CG 135: *Manuel*, p. 139, pl. 20/5; perhaps slightly later is a false door on which a woman is shown at several ages: FISCHER, in: *Ancient Egypt in the Metropolitan Museum Journal*, Volumes 1–11 [1968–1976], New York 1977, pp. 166–169 [= *MMJ* 11, 1976, pp. 14–17], with figs. 8, 9).

<sup>38</sup>) FISCHER, in: *Ancient Egypt in the MMJ*, pp. 143–145 [= *MMJ* 10, 1975, pp. 9–11].

<sup>39</sup>) EVERS, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

<sup>40</sup>) E.g. *HESPOK*, pl. 26 c.

<sup>41</sup>) *EgSculp*, p. 8.

<sup>42</sup>) E.g. WOLF, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

glance, this suggestion may appear plausible, but it needs further study. The removal of negative space on stone statues originated earlier in the Old Kingdom as an occasional practice on limestone statues, the sizes or poses of which make it unlikely that there was any thought of emulating wooden sculpture<sup>43</sup>). The device seems, therefore, to have begun as an embellishment; its establishment as a convention may have occurred on statues transitional between the earlier and later Old Kingdom styles<sup>44</sup>).

It is a truism that Egyptian sculpture reflects the style of royal statuary; in a very real sense, the royal style *is* Egyptian style<sup>45</sup>). In this peculiarly Egyptian regard, the style of late Old Kingdom sculpture also merits separate classification, for it is the style of Sixth-Dynasty royal sculpture<sup>46</sup>). Several well preserved stone statues of Pepy I and Pepy II exhibit all the hallmarks of the later style, from small size and the removal of negative space to the attenuated, narrow-waisted body and the overlarge head with huge, wide eyes (pl. 54 a-b)<sup>47</sup>). Such statues as these defined the Sixth-Dynasty style<sup>48</sup>).

The second Old Kingdom style provides us with the earliest documented occurrence of deliberate stylistic change in ancient art; that is, a change not induced by the pressures of foreign conquest or (since it is fully developed by the second reign of the dynasty) social, political, or economic upheaval. Its existence would seem to challenge many assumptions and theories: about the nature and pace of change at the end of the Old Kingdom; about the relationship between Egyptian art and various socioeconomic factors; and about periodicity as applied to Egyptian culture. On a less theoretical level, it points to the necessity for systematic study of this material. We need to know when and where the style originated, how far it spread and by what means, and the nature of the influence it exerted on later periods. Finally, we must seek the reasons for the change of style, and for the meaning of its forms.

Before any of these investigations can be pursued in detail, much preliminary work is needed, not just to collect and document relevant works, the majority of which are unpublished, but also to pursue the difficult task of more precisely dating many Old Kingdom private tombs and tomb statues. Even at this stage, however, I think it possible to discern an outline of the history of the

<sup>43</sup>) Examples are the scribe statues Louvre N.2290 (*HESPOK*, pl.18a; *Manuel*, pl.18/3-4) and CG 36 (*EgMus*, no.43); a standing dwarf, CG 144 (*EgSculp*, no.10, pp.32, 214); a seated figure of Neferefre, JE 98171 (*VERNER*, *op. cit.*, pl.45).

<sup>44</sup>) Such as JE 53150; see n.75.

<sup>45</sup>) Contra WILDUNG, in: M.EATON-KRAUSS and E.GRAEFE (eds.), *Studien zur ägyptischen Kunstgeschichte*, HÄB 29, Hildesheim 1990, p.79.

<sup>46</sup>) To ALTENMÜLLER's list of Sixth-Dynasty royal statues, *LÄ* III, p.563, add a fragmentary seated figure of Pepy II (Brooklyn 16.80; J.F.ROMANO, *GM* 120, 1991, pp.73-80, figs. 1-6) and a miniature sphinx with the cartouche of Merenre on the underside, discussed and illustrated by ROMANO, in: C.N.REEVES, J.RUFFLE, E.GORING (eds.), *Chief of Seers: Essays in Honour of Cyril Aldred*, London (in press). Remove from the list a head tentatively ascribed to Pepy I (Louvre E.10299), which is early Middle Kingdom: E.DELANGE, *Musée du Louvre: Catalogue des statues égyptiennes du Moyen Empire*, Paris 1987, pp.36-37. I doubt that the lower half of a seated Pepy purchased at Hierakonpolis (CG 43) dates to the Old Kingdom.

<sup>47</sup>) They are: a graywacke kneeling figure of Pepy I (Brooklyn 39.121, ht.15.2 cm., pl.54 a-b), discussed and illustrated in detail by ROMANO, *op. cit.*, pp.274-276, figs. 1-7; a seated alabaster figure of the same king, with a falcon behind his head (Brooklyn 39.120, ht.26.5 cm.); an alabaster group representing Pepy II seated on his mother's lap (Brooklyn 39.119, ht.39.2 cm.), both discussed by ROMANO, *op. cit.*; for the former, also see L.GORELICK, A.J.GWINNETT, and J.F.ROMANO, *BES* 11, 1991/92, pp.33-46, with pls. 1-8. An alabaster statuette of Pepy II as a crouching naked child was found at his funerary temple (JE 50616, ht.16 cm., *Manuel*, pl.9/2). It is difficult to discuss the style of the two copper figures from a statue group of Pepy I, found at Hierakonpolis (JE 33034; *EgMus*, no.63), for there are no technical parallels, and the surface corrosion obscures almost all detail.

<sup>48</sup>) Contra SEIDEL, WILDUNG, in: *PKG*, p.216.

late Old Kingdom sculptural style. The following remarks will certainly require revision, but I hope that they will stimulate interest in a more informed understanding of the art of the Sixth Dynasty<sup>49</sup>).

The origins of the second Old Kingdom style can be seen in certain statues or statue groups with features that appear to be transitional between those of the Fifth Dynasty and those of the Sixth. Among the most illuminating is a group of five statues from the tomb of Metjetjy, a contemporary of Unas, at Saqqara<sup>50</sup>). Like so much private sculpture of the following dynasty, Metjetjy's statues are small and made of wood. They all exhibit both Fifth- and Sixth-Dynasty stylistic traits, but in combinations that differ from one example to the next. Two of the statues, very similar in dress and hairstyle, show significant contrasts in their faces and bodies. One (pl. 55 a)<sup>51</sup>) has a fairly broad torso, well-rounded hips, and sturdy legs. The face is broad and round, and the eyes and mouth are rather small. Although the head is a little oversized, the arms rather thin, and the waist a bit pinched, this figure is recognizably in the tradition of Fifth-Dynasty work. The other statue (pl. 55 b)<sup>52</sup>) is somewhat smaller. Its body is more slender, especially in the waist and hips. The greatest difference, however, is in the head, which is noticeably large for the body. The face is dominated by big eyes and by a mouth set off by nasolabial ridges, within the confines of a tapered jaw. Though less exaggerated than in later examples, all the main characteristics of Sixth-Dynasty style are present in this statue<sup>53</sup>).

The best known of Metjetjy's statues shows him with the long skirt, close-cropped hair, and laterally thickened trunk indicative of a man of advanced years (pl. 56 a, b)<sup>54</sup>). It has a disproportionately large head with huge inlaid eyes and a thick-lipped mouth. The torso is long, narrow, and small-waisted, with no indication of fleshiness in the front view. The attenuated, unmuscled arms terminate in big hands with impossibly long fingers. The skirt is very long and features a stiffened front panel, on which the creases from folding are plastically indicated<sup>55</sup>). All these are traits of the fully developed Sixth-Dynasty style<sup>56</sup>).

<sup>49</sup>) My discussion here is restricted to sculpture in the round. The second style is also evident in late Old Kingdom relief, but differences in certain of its characteristics in this medium, as well as in the chronology of its development, require separate study.

<sup>50</sup>) Three are in Brooklyn (pls. 55 and 56, discussed below); the fourth is in Boston, MFA 47.1455, and the fifth in Kansas City, Nelson-Atkins Museum 51-1. The transitional nature of these statues was recognized by COONEY, *Brooklyn Museum Bulletin* 15, 1953, p. 21, and others, e.g. WOLF, *op. cit.*, pp. 75, 176. Together with reliefs and paintings from this tomb, they have been collected by P. KAPLONY, *Studien zum Grab des Methethi*, Bern 1976. The tomb was certainly at Saqqara, but its exact location is not known. Metjetjy's epithet, "revered before Unas" (*ibid.*, pp. 7, 77), does not, in our present state of knowledge, constitute a reliable dating criterion (so already K. BAER, *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom*, Chicago 1960, pp. 44-45, with reference to Metjetjy; nonetheless, BAER considered him a younger contemporary of Unas: *ibid.*, p. 83). In the absence of a firm date from the texts, Metjetjy must, it seems, be dated on stylistic evidence. But the "late" elements in his statues do not justify a date at the end of the Old Kingdom, as suggested by MUNRO (*GM* 59, 1982, p. 98, and *GM* 74, 1984, p. 72, n. 24) and others (e.g. A. M. MOUSSA and H. ALTENMÜLLER, *MDAIK* 36, 1980, p. 346, n. 13). As argued in the following pages, close stylistic analyses support a date near the end of the Fifth Dynasty, rather than the end of the Sixth.

<sup>51</sup>) Brooklyn 50.77, ht. 89 cm.: KAPLONY, *op. cit.*, no. 11, pp. 56, 60-62; COONEY, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-17, cover illus. and figs. 9-12. I am most grateful to D. SPANEL for his help in obtaining all the photographs of Brooklyn statues illustrated here.

<sup>52</sup>) Brooklyn 53.222, ht. 74.5 cm.: WILDUNG, *op. cit.*, pl. 8; KAPLONY, *op. cit.*, no. 13, pp. 64-68; THE BROOKLYN MUSEUM, *Five Years of Collecting Egyptian Art: 1951-1956*, no. 1A, pp. 1-2, pls. 1-3.

<sup>53</sup>) For COONEY's different view, see below, n. 56.

<sup>54</sup>) Brooklyn 51.1, ht. 61.5 cm.; WILDUNG, *op. cit.*, pl. 7; KAPLONY, *op. cit.*, no. 12, pp. 62-64; THE BROOKLYN MUSEUM, *op. cit.*, no. 1B, pp. 1-2, pls. 4-6; COONEY, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-10, figs. 2-7.

<sup>55</sup>) Often called pleats (*HESPOK*, p. 94); but see E. RIEFSTAHL, *Patterned textiles in Pharaonic Egypt*, Brooklyn 1944, p. 7.

<sup>56</sup>) COONEY (*op. cit.*, p. 11) was acutely aware of the stylistic contrasts between this statue and Brooklyn 50.77 (n. 51). However, in THE BROOKLYN MUSEUM, *loc. cit.*, he also stressed its difference from 53.222 (n. 52), which he grouped with

What makes this statue remarkable is the way in which the sculptor managed to combine the exaggerations of the nascent style with naturalistic details drawn from the repertoire of earlier sculpture. He utilized the large head size to give height to the forehead. He set the enormous inlaid eyes under unusually soft, natural-looking brow ridges. He modeled the nasolabial folds as little bulges of flesh beside the nostrils, and emphasized the length of the upper lip with a well defined philtrum. He provided a shapely mouth, and enhanced its corners with fine modulations of the surface planes on the upper lip and on the area of the facial muscles above. These features make the statue unusually attractive to the modern viewer, but the real achievement of its sculptor is the success with which he has reconciled two divergent styles.

In the tomb of Mitry, also at Saqqara, FIRTH found eleven wooden statues still in place in the serdab<sup>57</sup>). The statues are now in Cairo, New York, and Stockholm<sup>58</sup>). The majority are close to lifesize and clearly within the Fifth-Dynasty stylistic tradition, with naturalistically proportioned heads and bodies<sup>59</sup>). On several of the standing figures, however, a slight enlargement of the eyes and narrowing of the bodies betrays their place near the end of that tradition<sup>60</sup>). The novelty of these exaggerations becomes clear when Mitry's statues are compared with another group of wooden statues found nearby, in the serdab of Akhtihotep<sup>61</sup>). These may be close to Mitry's statues in date, but they are still almost entirely traditional in the forms and proportions of the bodies. Both tombs contained a nude statue of the tomb owner<sup>62</sup>). Together with the nude statues of Senedjemib-Mehy at Giza<sup>63</sup>), they seem to mark the beginning of this type of statue<sup>64</sup>), which was to continue in the Sixth Dynasty<sup>65</sup>).

The most elaborate of Mitry's figures shows him as a lifesized wooden scribe. The statue is attached to a large base, which also supported a much smaller standing figure<sup>66</sup>). The scribe has inlaid eyes, and was heavily stuccoed before being painted. This surface is now poorly preserved<sup>67</sup>), but the forms of face and body are recognizably in the naturalistic mode of the Fifth Dynasty.

A startling contrast to this statue is provided by a second scribe statue found in Mitry's serdab<sup>68</sup>). The latter, of which only the upper part is now preserved, has a large head set on a very long neck. Its narrow shoulders and torso are preternaturally thin in profile. The arms are long

50.77 as examples of "the conservative, idealizing and youthful style" (COONEY, *op. cit.*, p. 21). This conclusion is so at odds with the visual evidence (pl. 55 a, b) that one must conclude that COONEY had been led astray by his failure to clearly distinguish between differences in statue type (youthful and mature) and differences in styles (*ibid.*, pp. 23, 25).

<sup>57</sup>) PETERSON, *Medelhavsmuseet Bull.* 19, 1984, pp. 10-18; PM III<sup>2</sup>, Part 2, p. 632; C. M. FIRTH, *ASAE* 26, 1926, p. 101, pls. IVA, V.

<sup>58</sup>) Cairo: *EgMus*, no. 55; MMA 26.2.2.-6: HAYES, *op. cit.*, pp. 110-112, figs. 64, 65; Stockholm MM 11410: PETERSON, *op. cit.*, with figs. on pp. 13-18.

<sup>59</sup>) Especially MMA 26.2.4: HAYES, *op. cit.*, fig. 65.

<sup>60</sup>) E.g. MMA 26.2.2.-3: HAYES, *op. cit.*, fig. 64; *EgMus*, *loc. cit.*, notes that the standing female figure, JE 51738, is "exaggeratedly long".

<sup>61</sup>) PM III<sup>2</sup>, Part 2, p. 638; ZAYED, *ASAE* 55, 1958, pls. 7-17.

<sup>62</sup>) Akhtihotep: ZAYED, *op. cit.*, pl. 7. Mitry: Stockholm MM 11410: PETERSON, *loc. cit.*

<sup>63</sup>) See n. 74.

<sup>64</sup>) Contemporary with the earliest recorded representations of nude statues in relief: EATON-KRAUSS, *op. cit.*, cat. 27, 28, 34, 35.

<sup>65</sup>) See n. 34.

<sup>66</sup>) JE 93165, ht. ca. 82 cm.: FIRTH, *op. cit.*, pl. IVA; ZAYED, *Trois études d'égyptologie*, Cairo 1956, pp. 14-17, fig. 13; HESPOK, p. 60. The base is inscribed for Mitry. The remains of the subsidiary statue are not visible on either illustration, but are described by ZAYED; they consist of two feet (the left foot advanced) on their own base. As an Old Kingdom group, the statue is highly unusual, if not indeed unique. It is exhibited on the ground floor, in room 32 (*EgMus*, *loc. cit.*).

<sup>67</sup>) There are traces of a painted moustache.

<sup>68</sup>) JE 93166, ht. 47 cm.: ZAYED, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-18, figs. 12, 14, 15; *EgSculp*, no. 16, pp. 42, 44-45, 215 (not mentioned in HESPOK, *loc. cit.*).

and skinny, with no signs of muscle. The narrow face, with its pointed chin, seems too small for the big, wide eyes and the thick, slightly everted lips. Stylistically, there is no great difference between this fragmentary scribe statue and typical Sixth-Dynasty work<sup>69</sup>). Its placement in a serdab, alongside statues still mostly in the earlier style, provides striking evidence of a period during which the two traditions co-existed, at the very end of the Fifth Dynasty or the very beginning of the Sixth<sup>70</sup>).

The mixed contents of the tombs of Metjetjy and Mitry, both at Saqqara, point to this necropolis as the birthplace of the second Old Kingdom style. That it arose in the neighborhood of the royal tombs further suggests that, as usual in Egyptian art, it was first developed for the king. It may well be that we have an example of royal sculpture in a formative stage of the late Old Kingdom style, in a graywacke head with inlaid eyes, somewhat under life-size and wearing a White Crown<sup>71</sup>). Numerous stylistic features suggest that this head, for which there are no close royal parallels, was made at the very end of the Fifth Dynasty, or the very beginning of the Sixth<sup>72</sup>).

The loss in prestige suffered by Giza after it ceased to be a royal necropolis is reflected in the localized, rather provincial-looking forms of most Fifth-Dynasty sculpture from that site<sup>73</sup>). However, two Giza statues exhibit features that presage the second style. A life-sized wooden standing figure of Senedjemib-Mehy, who was vizier under Unas, has a face with a great deal of plastically modeled naturalistic detail. However, the oblique lines of the nasolabial ridges and the form of the mouth, with its thick lips and open corners, prefigure the stylized Sixth-Dynasty versions of these features. Moreover, the figure is nude<sup>74</sup>). On a limestone statue of Nyankhre, contemporary with Senedjemib-Mehy or just a little later, the asymmetric pose and the removal of negative space also seem to point to the later conventions<sup>75</sup>). In their large size and high quality, both of these statues are so unusual for late Fifth-Dynasty Giza that one is tempted to suggest that they were imported from Saqqara. Be that as it may, the developed form of the late Old Kingdom style seems to be rather rare at Giza; it may never have been fully naturalized at this site<sup>76</sup>).

<sup>69</sup>) It differs from most Sixth-Dynasty wooden statues primarily in its pose (see n.36) and unusually (but not uniquely) large size.

<sup>70</sup>) Mitry's tomb has not been firmly dated, but the current consensus favors this date, suggested by SMITH, *HESPOK*, p.60; for example, *EgMus*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>71</sup>) Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery, 38.11, ht. 58 cm.: G. STEINDORFF, *A Royal Head from Ancient Egypt, Freer Gallery of Art Occasional Papers I*, no. 5, Washington 1951; described as lifesize, but the height of the face is only 12.8 cm. (*ibid.*, p. 2).

<sup>72</sup>) STEINDORFF, *op. cit.*, identified it as Pepy II. COONEY, *RdÉ* 27, 1975, pp.78-85, pl. 5A, dated it to the end of the Fourth Dynasty (Shepseskaf); regrettably, this attribution has often been repeated. I intend to discuss this head elsewhere; meanwhile, it cannot be too strongly said that COONEY's date is untenable. His sole criterion was the presence of a moustache, an attribute that he claimed was exclusive to Third and Fourth Dynasty kings. Since moustaches on statues were normally applied in paint and could thus disappear without trace, his argument is obviously flimsy. It has subsequently been invalidated by traces of painted moustaches on at least four of the Fifth-Dynasty statues of Neferefre: VERNER, *op. cit.*, nos. I-IV, pp.271, 272, 274, 276, pls. 44A, 47A, 51, 52 (the second more clearly visible in *EgMus*, no. 38a). A Fourth-Dynasty date is also incompatible with details of the crown, as recorded by H. SOUROUZIAN, *MDAIK* 44, 1988, p.240, with fig. 2 e on p. 237; and the form of the ears: see A. KOZLOFF, *BCMA* 69, 1982, p.215.

<sup>73</sup>) E.g. *HESPOK*, pl. 24.

<sup>74</sup>) Boston, MFA 13.3466; *HESPOK*, p.58, pl. 23 a-b; for nude statues before the Sixth Dynasty, see nn.62, 64.

<sup>75</sup>) JE 53150: *EgSculp*, no.12, pp.34-37, 214; as transitional in style: SEIDEL, WILDUNG, in: *PKG*, p.228 (143a). The tomb is late Fifth or early Sixth Dynasty, per PM III<sup>2</sup>, Part 1, p.223, and BAER, *op. cit.*, p.85, no.217. SMITH preferred a Sixth-Dynasty date: *HESPOK*, p.86.

<sup>76</sup>) The best examples are the Nekhebuw group, tp. Pepy I; *HESPOK*, p.84, pl.26 a-c; also JE 41978 (n.35).

During the course of the Sixth Dynasty, however, the new style spread throughout Egypt, eventually displacing provincial traditions derived from the earlier Old Kingdom. Examples of these older local traditions are three Sixth-Dynasty statues from Gebelaw<sup>77</sup>), and another probably from Koptos<sup>78</sup>). The influence of the Sixth-Dynasty style is apparent in a statue of the nomarch Idw II from Dendera<sup>79</sup>), and in two statues from Edfu<sup>80</sup>). Local imitations of the style also exist<sup>81</sup>).

The dissemination of the second Old Kingdom style was doubtless due in part to the continuing contacts of high local officials with the court at Memphis. FISCHER has emphasized the close royal ties, during the Sixth Dynasty, with Abydos, Elephantine, and Edfu; in several cases, the nomarch or nomarch-to-be resided at Memphis<sup>82</sup>). It may be significant, therefore, that some of the most orthodox renderings of the Sixth-Dynasty sculptural style outside of Saqqara seem to be associated with these sites<sup>83</sup>).

The spread of the style may also have been facilitated by the Sixth-Dynasty rulers' practice of building *ka*-houses near major temples throughout Egypt, and furnishing them with statues. FISCHER has linked the emphasis on provincial royal cults with political decentralization, and stressed the central role of the cult statues<sup>84</sup>). Much of the Sixth-Dynasty royal statuary found at provincial sites may derive from these *ka*-houses<sup>85</sup>). Given their small size, such figures are likely to have been made at, and distributed from, the capital<sup>86</sup>).

Having been adopted by sculpture workshops in the major provincial centers during the Sixth Dynasty, the late Old Kingdom style survived the disintegration of centralized government and the resulting isolation of local sculptors. As time passed, these craftsmen evolved their own variant traditions, and the resulting localized forms of the style persisted into the Middle Kingdom. At Asyut, a local version of the Sixth-Dynasty style prevailed until the reign of Sesostri I<sup>87</sup>).

<sup>77</sup>) FISCHER, *JARCE* 2, 1963, p. 18.

<sup>78</sup>) FISCHER, *GM* 84, 1985, p. 28.

<sup>79</sup>) MMA 98.4.9, tp. Pepy II: FISCHER, *Dendera*, pp. 102-103, pl. 7.

<sup>80</sup>) Louvre E. 14399, 14400: *Manuel*, pls. 28/1, 42/9.

<sup>81</sup>) For what appears to be an Abydene version, see FISCHER, *AJA* 66, 1962, pp. 65-69, pl. 17.

<sup>82</sup>) *LÄ* II, 411; *Dendera*, p. 70.

<sup>83</sup>) Abydos: MMA 37.2.2, FISCHER, *AJA* 66, 1962, p. 67, pl. 18, fig. 3; Elephantine: Heidelberg 1000, E. FEUCHT, *Vom Nil zum Neckar: Kunstschatze Ägyptens aus pharaonischer und koptischer Zeit an der Universität Heidelberg*, Berlin 1986, no. 153, pp. 46, 87 (illustrated); Edfu: the nomarch Qar, from his tomb, JE 43776, *HESPOK*, pl. 26 e.

<sup>84</sup>) FISCHER, *AJA* 62, 1958, pp. 331-332; citing evidence for such chapels at Bubastis, Zawiyet el Meitin, Elkab, possibly Memphis, unnamed Lower Egyptian sites, Koptos, Abydos, Akhmim, Asyut, and Nagada (the latter in *Inscriptions from the Coptite Nome*, Rome 1964, no. 31, pp. 86-87). D. O'CONNOR, in: R. FRIEDMAN and B. ADAMS (eds.), *The Followers of Horus: Studies Dedicated to MICHAEL ALLEN HOFFMAN*, *Egyptian Studies Association Publication* 2, *Oxbow Monograph* 20, Oxford 1992, pp. 90-93, has cited further evidence for a second and possibly a third *ka*-house at Bubastis, and posited one or more additional examples at Abydos and two at Hierakonpolis (one of the latter being the building in which the copper statues of Pepy I were found: n. 47).

<sup>85</sup>) Any such correlations must, at this point, be based on putative provenances or postulated chapels. A fragmentary statue of a Pepy I was purchased at Koptos (PM V, p. 131), and the Brooklyn statuettes of Pepy I and II (n. 47, pl. 54) have been said to come from Akhmim (ROMANO, *op. cit.*). From Hierakonpolis, besides the Pepy I copper group, comes a statue base of Pepy II: PM V, p. 196. (For the fragmentary statue of a Pepy purchased at this site, CG 43, see n. 46.) The throne of a seated statue of Pepy I, very like the Brooklyn example, was found at Dendera (F. DAUMAS, *BSFE* 12, 1953, pp. 36-39, fig. 3). Given this king's devotion to Hathor of Dendera (FISCHER, *Dendera*, pp. 37-49), one would expect to find his *ka*-house there.

<sup>86</sup>) Centralized manufacture could also explain the reference to Hathor of Dendera on Brooklyn 39.121 (pl. 54 a-b); similar inscriptions of Pepy I were found at Saqqara and elsewhere: FISCHER, *Dendera*, p. 38.

<sup>87</sup>) Pre-Middle Kingdom: MFA 04.1780 (SMITH, *Art and Architecture*, p. 156, fig. 148); early Middle Kingdom: Louvre E. 11937, 12002, 12028, 12633 (DELANGE, *op. cit.*, pp. 151-155, 158-161); tp. Sesostri I: Louvre E. 26915 (*ibid.*, pp. 76-77), MFA 14.720 (SMITH, *op. cit.*, pp. 180-181, figs. 171-172).

One of the most distinctive descendants of the second Old Kingdom style was that of Thebes early in the Eleventh Dynasty<sup>88</sup>). Soon after the reunification of Egypt by Mentuhotep II, this Theban style appears to have been deliberately softened, under the influence of earlier Old Kingdom art at Memphis<sup>89</sup>). Its characteristic traits persisted, however, into the Twelfth Dynasty: Sixth-Dynasty conventions are strikingly evident on the head of a sphinx of Sesostri I from Karnak<sup>90</sup>). So thoroughly naturalized had this originally Memphite style become that, when a Theban family of the Seventeenth Dynasty again asserted hegemony over Egypt, it resurfaced as the basis of their dynastic sculptural style<sup>91</sup>).

Early in the Twelfth Dynasty, a new style arose at Lisht, the site of the newly-established royal seat and of the first two Twelfth-Dynasty pyramid cemeteries<sup>92</sup>). This style, which featured a return to naturalistic proportions and anatomical details, derived much of its impetus from Memphite sculpture and relief of the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties<sup>93</sup>).

It would be inaccurate to describe Saqqara as a backwater after the foundation of the royal cemetery at Lisht, but it is not surprising to find statues still being made there under the influence of the Sixth-Dynasty style. The primary examples are two large pairs of sedan-chair statues of Hetep and Ihy<sup>94</sup>). Stylistically, these statues represent a continuous tradition, and should therefore not be considered archaizing. Their fidelity to the late Old Kingdom style is so pronounced that one may suspect that they were equally imitative in statue type, and that the figure seated in a sedan chair, like the asymmetrically seated pose, had originated in the Sixth Dynasty<sup>95</sup>). If so, we could better understand the relationship between this form and the true block statue, the earliest examples of which are contemporary with the statues of Hetep and Ihy<sup>96</sup>).

The persistence of the second Old Kingdom style underscores the fact that it was a deliberate creation, which had meaning for the ancient Egyptians. As with all the high arts of ancient Egypt, that meaning must be sought primarily in the realm of religion. The rise of a new style at the end of the Fifth Dynasty was a symptom of changing religious beliefs and practices. Nor is it the only such indication. The nude statues of tomb owners strongly imply an altered view of the persona,

<sup>88</sup>) Features of this early Middle Kingdom Theban style have been described in *EgSculp*, pp. 49–50; by ALDRED, in: *Ancient Egypt in the MMJ*, pp. 4–5 [= *MMJ* 3, 1970, pp. 30–32]; and, in a different context, by DO. ARNOLD, *MMJ* 26, 1991, pp. 27–28. The “stark intensity of the features” (*ibid.*, p. 27) on her figs. 36–37 is almost entirely the product of physiognomic conventions inherited from the late Old Kingdom style.

<sup>89</sup>) As demonstrated for relief by FISCHER, *Artibus Asiae* 22, 1959, pp. 240–252. In statuary, a lack of well dated examples makes this trend more difficult to trace with precision; but see ARNOLD’s remarks on the head of the seated private statue of Intef, *op. cit.*, p. 28 with fig. 38 (JE 89858 + 91169, better illustrated in *EgMus*, no. 70). For attributions of royal heads based on this trend, see ALDRED, *op. cit.*, pp. 7–9 (= pp. 33–35), figs. 5–12.

<sup>90</sup>) CG 42007: ALDRED, *op. cit.*, p. 11 (= p. 37), fig. 17; *PKG*, pl. 151.

<sup>91</sup>) For this influence, and examples, see SMITH, *Art and Architecture*, p. 223.

<sup>92</sup>) In statuary, this transition was not abrupt, but seems to have covered most of the reign of Amenemhat I. The large, slanted eyes, nasolabial folds, and full, taut lips of late Old Kingdom sculpture are still evident in statues of this king, such as JE 60520: ARNOLD, *op. cit.*, p. 31, fig. 44; and to an even greater degree in some private representations, such as the seated statue of one Mentuhotep, from Lisht: MMA 22.1.200: HAYES, *op. cit.*, p. 206, fig. 123.

<sup>93</sup>) Memphite Old Kingdom reliefs were actually taken to Lisht: H. GOEDICKE, *Re-used Blocks from the Pyramid of Amenemhet I at Lisht*, *PMMA* 20, New York 1972. Whatever the purpose of incorporating these blocks in the North Pyramid may have been (see, most recently, ARNOLD, *op. cit.*, n. 102), their presence at the site shows, at the very least, familiarity with the decoration of Old Kingdom funerary monuments.

<sup>94</sup>) Hetep: JE 48858 (*EgSculp*, no. 19, pp. 52–54, 215; R. SCHULZ, *Die Entwicklung und Bedeutung des kuboiden Statuentypus: Eine Untersuchung zu den sogenannten “Würfelhockern”*, *HÄB* 33, Hildesheim 1992, I, no. 174, pp. 312–313; II, pls. 78 c, 79), 48857 (*ibid.* I, no. 173, pp. 310–311; II, fig. 96 on p. 753, pl. 78 a–b). Ihy: *ibid.* I, nos. 305–306, pp. 502–504; II, pl. 132 b, c.

<sup>95</sup>) On this statue type and Old Kingdom representations of sedan chairs, see *ibid.* II, pp. 753–754.

<sup>96</sup>) *Ibid.* I, nos. 252, 299, 300, pp. 426–427, 496–497; II, pls. 111 a–c, 131 a, b.

in this life or the next. By the Sixth Dynasty, moreover, new funerary practices are evident, such as the belowground placement of tomb statues<sup>97</sup>).

It is significant that the first unmistakable signs of the second Old Kingdom style appear at about the time of Unas. HELCK recently surveyed the considerable evidence for changes in religion during the last reigns of the Fifth Dynasty<sup>98</sup>). His examples are drawn from the royal sphere where, I believe, we should also look for the origins of stylistic change<sup>99</sup>). However, a consideration of the scope and tenacity of the second Old Kingdom sculptural style in non-royal tombs leaves little doubt that the processes of change had equally important consequences for the funerary beliefs and practices of private people.

<sup>97</sup>) PETERSON, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 3; HESPOK, pp. 90, 94; cf. A. SHOUKRY, *Die Privatgrabstatue im Alten Reich*, Cairo 1951, pp. 219–221.

<sup>98</sup>) W. HELCK, *MDAIK* 47, 1991, pp. 163–167.

<sup>99</sup>) See above, especially n. 72.

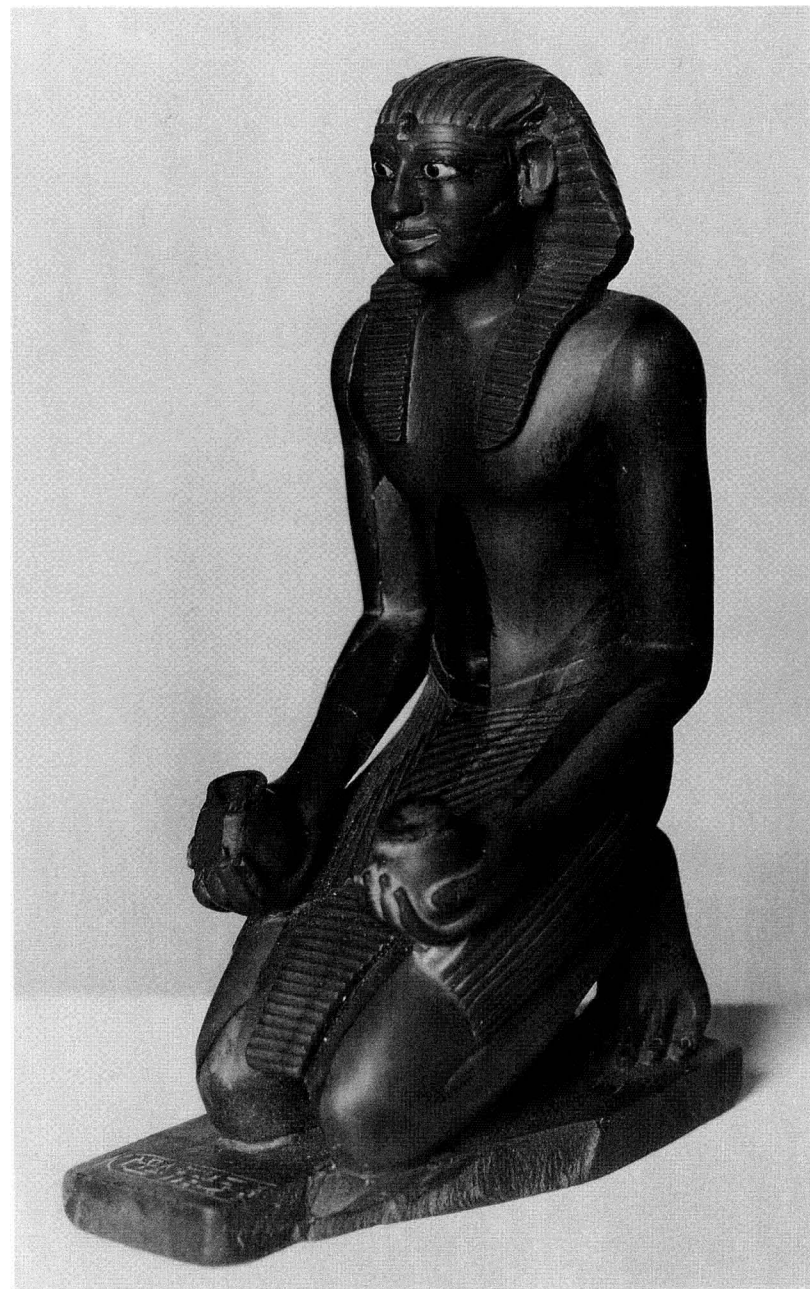




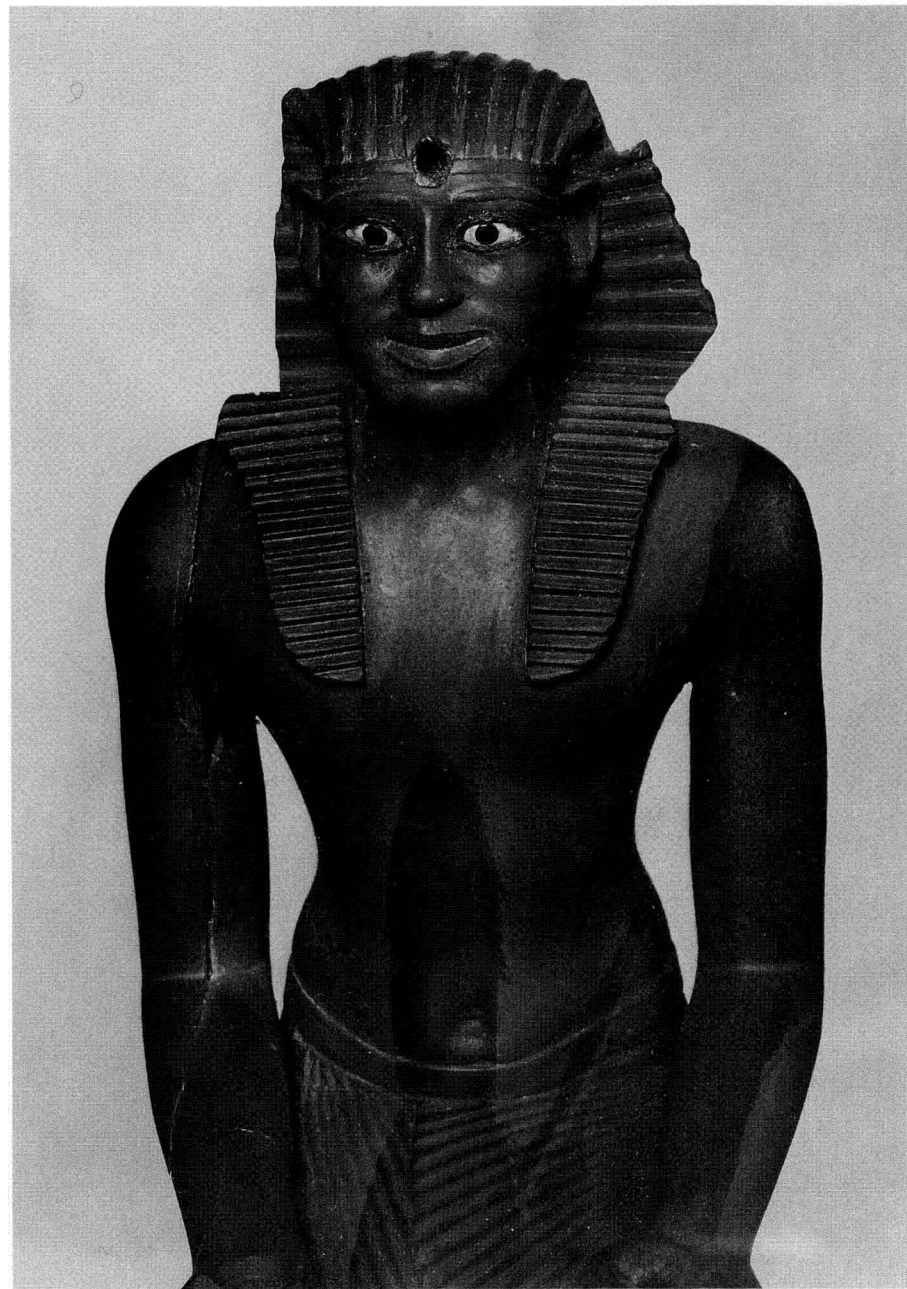
a) MMA 26.2.8: Tjetety, Dynasty 6. Photograph courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art



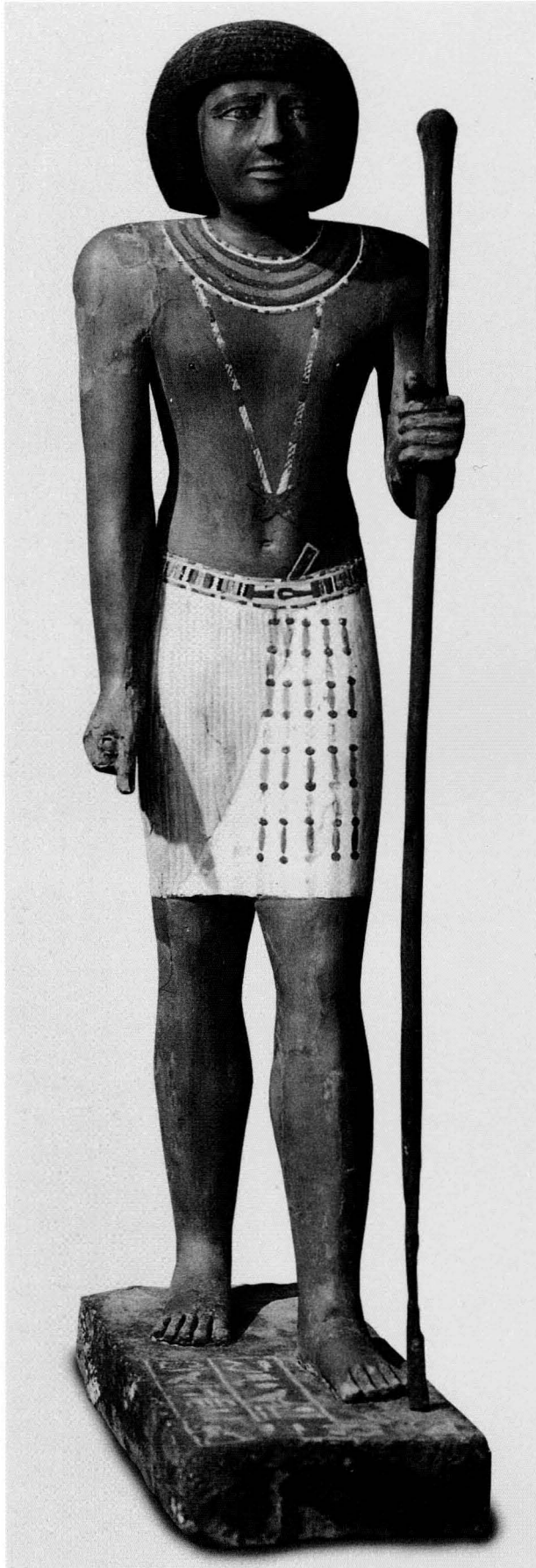
b) MMA 26.2.9: Tjetety, Dynasty 6. Photograph courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art



a) Brooklyn 39.121: Pepy I. Photograph courtesy of The Brooklyn Museum



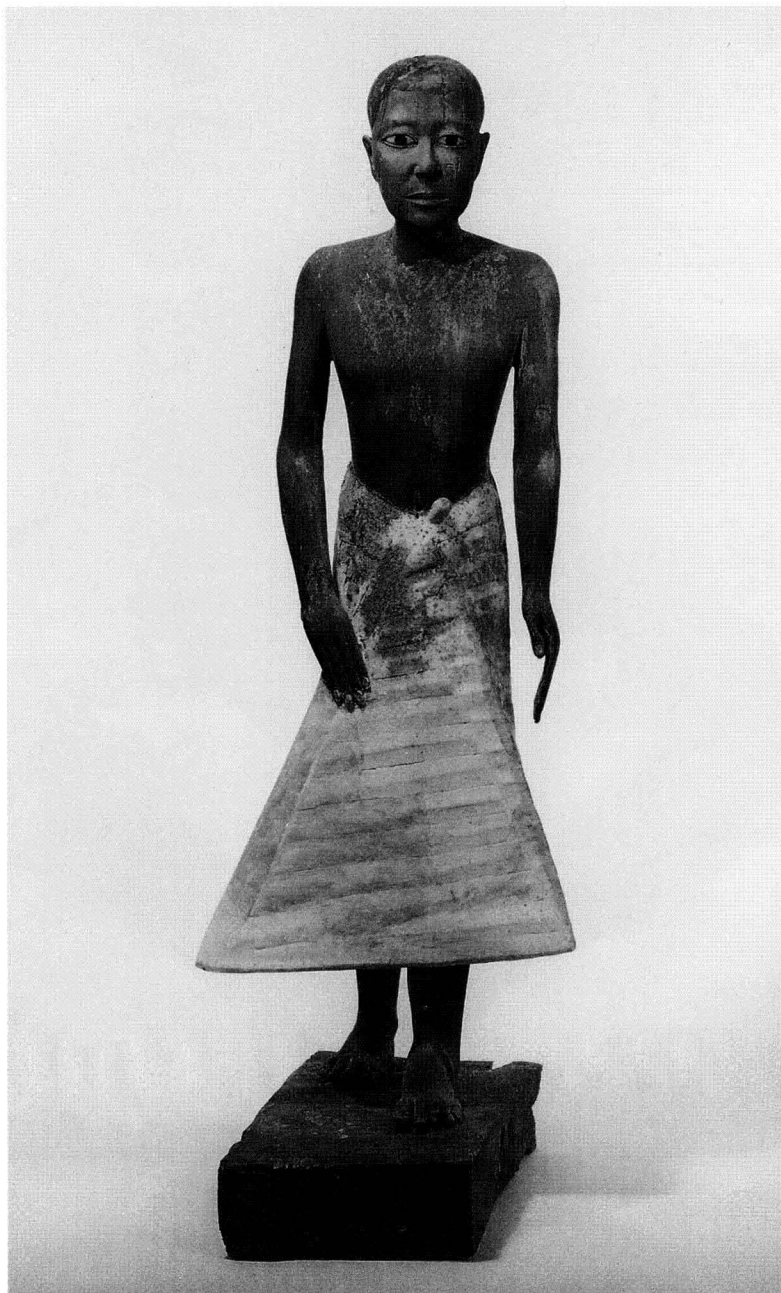
b) Brooklyn 39.121: Pepy I, detail. Photograph courtesy of The Brooklyn Museum



a) Brooklyn 50.77: Metjetjy, end Dynasty 5/beginning Dynasty 6.  
Photograph courtesy of The Brooklyn Museum



b) Brooklyn 53.222: Metjetjy, end Dynasty 5/beginning Dynasty 6.  
Photograph courtesy of The Brooklyn Museum



a) Brooklyn 51.1: Metjetjy, end Dynasty 5/beginning Dynasty 6. Photograph courtesy of The Brooklyn Museum



b) Brooklyn 51.1: Metjetjy, detail. Photograph courtesy of The Brooklyn Museum.