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# L'art de l'Ancien Empire égyptien



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# L'art de l'Ancien Empire égyptien

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Établis par Christiane Ziegler,  
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### **Index**

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# Sommaire

|  |   |
|--|---|
| Avant-propos, par Pierre ROSENBERG ..... | 7 |
| Préface, par Christiane ZIEGLER .....    | 9 |

## L'art royal

Michel VALLOGGIA

---

|   |    |
|---|----|
| Les choix architecturaux de la pyramide de Radjedef<br>à Abu Rawash ..... | 13 |
|---|----|

Michel BAUD

---

|                                |    |
|--------------------------------|----|
| La statuaire de Rêdjedef ..... | 35 |
|--------------------------------|----|

Miroslav VERNER

---

|   |    |
|---|----|
| Quelques remarques sur le contexte archéologique de<br>la découverte des statues du roi Raneferef ..... | 63 |
|---|----|

## L'art privé

Zahi HAWASS

---

|  |    |
|--|----|
| "The Pyramid Builders": A Group of Unique Statues<br>Discovered at Giza IV. The Statue of an Overseer<br>of the Craftsmen and his Wife ..... | 79 |
|--|----|

Biri FAY

---

|   |    |
|---|----|
| Royal Women as Represented in Sculpture<br>During the Old Kingdom ..... | 99 |
|---|----|

---

Hourig SOUROUZIAN

---

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| La statue du musicien Ipi jouant de la flûte et autres monuments du règne de Snofrou à Dahchour . . . . . | 149 |
|---|-----|

---

Rainer STADELMANN

---

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Représentations de la famille royale dans l'Ancien Empire | 169 |
|---|-----|

**Iconographie et datation**

---

Günter DREYER

---

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Motive und Datierung der dekorierten prädynastischen Messergriffe . . . . . | 195 |
|---|-----|

---

Nadine CHERPION

---

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| Sandales et porte-sandales à l'Ancien Empire . . . . . | 227 |
|--|-----|

---

Naguib KANAWATI

---

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| Some Iconographic Peculiarities in the Teti Cemetery . . . | 281 |
|--|-----|

---

Andrei O. BOLSHAKOV

---

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| Royal Portraiture and "Horus Name" . . . . . | 311 |
|--|-----|

**Style et datation**

---

Dietrich WILDUNG

---

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| La Haute-Égypte, un style particulier de la statuaire de l'Ancien Empire? . . . . . | 335 |
|---|-----|

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Julia C. HARVEY

---

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Old Kingdom Wooden Statues: Stylistic Dating Criteria . . | 355 |
|---|-----|

|                                   |     |
|-----------------------------------|-----|
| Liste des abréviations . . . . .  | 381 |
| Index . . . . .                   | 383 |
| Crédits photographiques . . . . . | 397 |

# Royal Portraiture and “Horus Name”

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Qualitatively different attitude towards rendering individual features of private persons and kings is a problem of critical importance for understanding the principles of interaction of ideology and art in ancient Egypt. Private sculpture is generally indifferent to individuality: as a rule, a man is represented conventionally, individualisation being attained only by means of legends containing the name. Age is not rendered either, and even old and ill people are shown as young and athletic. This attitude is based on the notion of the Ka<sup>1</sup>. We must admit that there are no representations of human beings in Egyptian art at all – what we regard as images of people, actually were their Ka-Doubles<sup>2</sup>. Respectively represented is not the appearance of a man, but that of his Ka, whose important characteristic is eternal youth<sup>3</sup>.

Genuine portraits are very rare and they always have conventional counterparts, so the general rule remains unaffected<sup>4</sup>. A characteristic feature of these portraits is naturalistic treatment of both faces and bodies, but not of one or the other of these two constituents of human appearance.

On the contrary, kings are always represented with individual faces (methods of stylisation are a special problem) and ideal bodies<sup>5</sup>. It would be tempting to see here a manifestation of the double – both divine and human – nature of the Egyptian king. Being a god he is no doubt perfect and cannot have physical defects, which is reflected in ideal bodies of royal statues, but he lives as a human being and has a human look, which engenders individualisation of faces.

A specific group of Old and New Kingdom royal statuary representing the king with a falcon behind his head or wearing the so-called *Falkenkleid*<sup>6</sup> is an excellent starting point for the study of the problem. The most celebrated among them is the diorite statue of Chephren in the Cairo Museum

with his head embraced by the outstretched wings of a falcon sitting behind [2]<sup>7, 8</sup>. A small alabaster fragment of a king's head with a hawk's wing across it, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, belongs to another statue of this type, although the position of the bird was somewhat different [3]<sup>9</sup>. It was found at Giza, not far from the pyramid temple of Cheops<sup>10</sup>, and the statue might be an image of that king<sup>11</sup>, but in default of reliable evidence it may be as well regarded as coming from another statue of Chephren. In any case, the Fourth Dynasty is the preferable date. Relatively recent discovery of an analogous statuette of Neferefra by Czechoslovak expedition at Abusir [4]<sup>12</sup> supplemented this group with another monument of the highest quality.

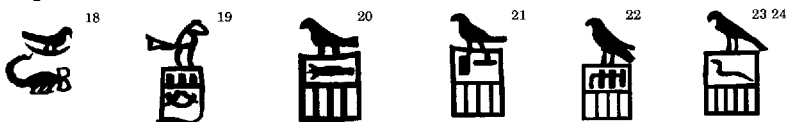
These statues are traditionally interpreted as symbolising the protection of the king by the falcon sky-god Horus who was associated with the rulers of Egypt in the deepest antiquity, but the problem seems to be much more intricate and important, combination of the images of the king and the falcon being the most obvious manifestation of the king's dualism.

However, objects of art taken as such cannot unambiguously confirm this supposition and we should turn to the information from another source. A key to the problem can be found in the ideology of the so-called "Horus name", the most ancient of the names forming the royal titulary.

Structurally, "Horus name" consists of three components. Representations of the palace and the Horus falcon form the so-called *serekh* – a frame containing the name itself. Various combinations of these elements were possible at the initial stage of development, such as falcon and name without palace<sup>13</sup>, palace and name without falcon<sup>14</sup>, name without both falcon and palace<sup>15</sup>, name without palace and with a star substituting the falcon<sup>16</sup>, not to mention the replacement of the falcon by the Seth animal and then their coexistence at the end of the Second Dynasty. However, successful attempts to unite these components into a whole are known already at the end of the so-called Dynasty 0. The following interpretation of the sense of the "Horus name" is based mainly on its structure.

According to the common view, it designates king as Horus<sup>17</sup>, but this statement is wrong in its essence and may be repeated only because we usually indulge inexact wording even in conceptual contexts. Indeed, Horus is sole and eternal, and if we wanted to define a king as Horus, we could at most call him Horus. This would be merely a title, the same for all of the kings, but in no wise a name. Thus, another understanding is preferable.

The point is that at least six of the earliest known "Horus names" (late predynastic times and the beginning of the First Dynasty) were spelled by a single sign besides the falcon and palace:



This rule was cancelled only in the middle First Dynasty when the "Horus names" were turned into word combinations written by means of two or more signs:



It seems that in the case of the first kings of Egypt, we deal not with the names in the common sense. Consisting of one sign, they are much more similar to heraldic symbols, so to say "emblems" of the rulers<sup>29 30</sup>. This is not as strange as it might seem at the first sight. When the name is being pronounced or read, an image of the respective individual rises in our mind (which is the function of the name), but the information allowing us to single a specific person out of the mass can be encoded in other ways. For example, in the medieval Europe, every not quite a scrubby noble could "read" blazons and identify their bearers<sup>31</sup>, although the encoding was by no means oriented towards sounding<sup>32</sup>.

Thus, the relation of king and Horus reflected in the "Horus name" is diametrically opposite to the traditional interpretation and is aimed at resolution of the contradiction between king's mortality as an earthly creature and his immortality as a divinity, which has a critical importance for the Egyptian ideology in general. If, as already stated, Horus is sole and eternal, while kings succeed one another, Horus manifests himself on the earth in different beings. "Horus name" describes not king as Horus, but Horus as king, Horus in king – this is the momentary earthly name of the sky-god. In one reign Horus is a Scorpion, in another one he is a Sheat-fish, then a Serpent, etc.<sup>33</sup>. Why these very beasts were chosen as royal emblems is uncertain, the more so as there are names having no bearing to animals – Embracer (which probably means Gatherer), Fighter, and Catcher<sup>34</sup>, but all of the early "Horus names" are related to aggression, which is quite natural at the stage of the violent unification of the country.

Now we may return to the statues of Chephren [2] and Neferefra [4] and compare them, for instance, with the Abydos stela of Serpent [1]<sup>35</sup> being a classical early dynastic monument where the "Horus name" for the first time acquires the perfection of artistic expression. The falcon "holding" the head of the king shows us his face, the main component of his individuality, i.e., it reveals how Horus looks on the Earth for the time being. The falcon on the serekh is placed over the king's emblem designating the present earthly form of Horus – serpent – in the same manner as in statuary it is related to the face of the ruler. Thus, the falcon statue and the "Horus name" are at large identical, they express the same idea, although the idioms used are seemingly different.

This interpretation can be well confirmed by two or three Old Kingdom monuments. The first is the famous alabaster statuette of Pepi I in the Brooklyn Museum [5]<sup>36</sup>. The king wearing a heb-sed cloak and the White Crown sits on the throne with his serekh carved at its rear surface, while a three-dimensional falcon placed on the back of the throne at the level of the king's head belongs both to the sculptural composition and to the serekh, such a combination of flat and solid components being most characteristic of Egyptian art. Less known is the headless statue of Chephren in Cairo [6]<sup>37</sup> of the same material and approximately the same size as CG 14 [2] and also belonging to the sculptural decoration of his pyramid temple. A fragment of a statue of Pepi I with an analogous arrangement of serekh found in Dendera [7]<sup>38</sup> may be another example of this type of statuary<sup>39</sup>, although the degree of destruction makes definite conclusions impossible<sup>40</sup>. In any case, whether we consider three or only two statues here, differing from Chephren CG 14 [2] and the Abusir Neferefra [4] by the forcedly turned position of the falcon, they are an important and undeniable link between the early royal stelae and the later royal statuary.

The alabaster statuette fragment [8]<sup>41</sup> acquired by Petrie at Giza under the circumstances unknown and published as representing Mycerinus<sup>42</sup> marks the next step in abstracting the idea of the king's nature. Royal head-cloth is feathered here and it steadily turns into a stylised image of a bird embracing king's shoulders with its wings. Unfortunately, the date of the statuette is uncertain and its genuineness was called in question more than once<sup>43</sup>, but even if Petrie's attribution is wrong, this would not seriously affect our analysis. If genuine, the London statuette is indeed an important link between the Old Kingdom and the New Kingdom monuments, but the development of typology is evident even without it.

We should not also overlook the famous composition found in a deposit in the central chamber of the Hierakonpolis temple [9]<sup>44</sup>. Partly overlaid by a gold sheet, it originally consisted of wooden figures of a king and a falcon. Conceptually it might adjoin the above group, but the analogous New Kingdom sculptural groups unquestionably had another meaning (see below). Thus, it is reasonable to consider the more disputable Old Kingdom sample with them.

We do not know falcon statues in the Middle Kingdom<sup>45</sup>. In all probability, the reason is in the changes of the royal ideology. As far as we know, falcon statues appeared under Chephren<sup>46</sup> when the Horus concept remained the main explanation of the king's nature and the concept of the Son of Ra formulated under Chephren's predecessor Djedefra was still a novelty. Moreover, personal relations of the two kings may explain much, although they still require a serious study. In his time, Reisner offered a reconstruction of the dynastic and ideological struggle of the two lines in the kin of Cheops going back to Djedefra and Chephren, which resulted in the posthumous persecution of the former<sup>47</sup>. In spite of its picturesqueness or rather by force of it, that theory has been questioned for a long time and now one of its main elements may be regarded as erroneous. First, the recently discovered deposit of ceramic vessels in the pyramid temple at Abu Rawash proves that the cult lasted there at least till the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty<sup>48</sup>; second, the offering table Hermitage □ 18106 gives evidence on the cult of Djedefra even later, in the Sixth Dynasty<sup>49</sup>. Thus, the *damnatio memoriae* of Djedefra in the spirit of Reisner is out of question<sup>50</sup>, but this does not disprove the existence of the two lines within the dynasty, and some implicit tension between them is obvious<sup>51</sup>. Probably the royal cult was too important for the country and, as a state institution, it could not be cancelled, but at the lower, everyday level the members of the two lines could hate one another. Thus, when developing the sculptural program of his temple, Chephren who had a spite against his deceased half-brother could make stress on the statues expressing the ancient ideology.

Since the Middle Kingdom rulers did not belong to the ancient royal family, in substantiation of their divinity they made an emphasis on the solar theory well tailored for justifying the enthronement of those who had no right to it by blood (hence the main plot of Papyrus Westcar, be this text a kind of official propaganda or a work of non-royal literature). In this situation, falcon statues could become of little interest if not useless.

The situation radically changed in the New Kingdom when the royal ideology turned to ancient heritage in order to resolve another crisis of the basing of king's power and, as a result, the idea of the royal falcon statues revived; moreover, they became even more numerous than in the third millennium BC<sup>52</sup>. Two trends directly descending from the Old Kingdom falcon statues may be traced in the New Kingdom. The line of development going back to Chephren CG 14 [2] is represented by three sculptures. The statue of Seti I in Vienna [11]<sup>53</sup> is the closest to the Old Kingdom prototype and artistically is the most perfect among the New Kingdom samples. The falcon embracing the king's head is sitting on the back pillar shaped as an obelisk with an inscription including the "Horus name" on its rear plane. However, the serekh has a flat image of a falcon on it, the three-dimensional bird not being a component of the "Horus name"; moreover, they are even separated from one another by a pictorial composition placed above the serekh<sup>54</sup>. This is no wonder, for, as compared to the third millennium BC when pictograms dominated in the hieroglyphic script, the border between the text and the image became much more definite in the New Kingdom. Two more statues of the same type are in Cairo. One of them, that of Thutmose III [12]<sup>55</sup>, is quite traditional, while the second, depicting Ramesses VI<sup>56</sup> accompanied by a lion and overthrowing a Libyan captive [13]<sup>57</sup>, has no analogies among falcon statues<sup>58</sup>. In the latter case the hawk's figure is rather clumsy: since the back pillar is very high, the bird sitting on it lowers its wings in the most unnatural manner. However, in spite of these minor differences, the Vienna and the Cairo statues in general follow the Old Kingdom tradition and their idea should be also ancient.

The London statuette of the alleged Mycerinus [8] is followed by several monuments. The most important of them is a fragment of a jasper statuette in the Louvre iconographically attributed to Thutmose III [14]<sup>59</sup>. It represents him as half a man, half a falcon, with the wings folded at his sides. As distinct from the London "Mycerinus", the treatment of the avian component is more summarised and feathers are not rendered, but it is obvious that the head-cloth turns into the wings.

Even closer to the Old Kingdom prototype is the recently published statue fragment of Thutmose IV in Cairo [15]<sup>60</sup>. No wings are shown, but feathers covering the back, shoulders, neck and, probably, the back part of the lost head are depicted in detail. The Brooklyn head of Thutmose III [16]<sup>61</sup> could belong to a similar statue, at least feathering begins here at the crown and is rendered in the same manner, as a part of the head-cloth.

All the above statues, both Old and New Kingdom, represent the king's nature as imagined by the Egyptians in the most naturalistic manner (as far as this word is applicable to the fantastic situation): the king is a creature conjoining both human and divine features, Horus manifests himself in the king, and this is expressed by the combination of the images of a man and a bird. However, this "mythical reality" had to be repeatedly created and reconfirmed by rituals. The third, an absolutely new group of falcon statues reflects this aspect of king's life. The late faience statuette of an anonymous king in Leiden [17]<sup>62</sup> is an excellent example. The shoulders and the back of the king are covered by a feathered cloak turning into the bird's tail. Since the flaps are visible and the realistically rendered head-cloth is separate from the feathers, there is no doubt that this is a kind of a ritual garment.

The feathering and the head-cloth are treated separately also in the fragment CG 747 [18]<sup>63</sup>. The plait is put under the feathers leaving no doubt that a cloak is depicted. Moreover, the function of the cloak is apparent too. The fold on the shoulders proves that this is the heb-sed garment like in the case of the Brooklyn Pepi I [5], this time feathered.

The statue from the temple of Thutmosis III at Qurna [19]<sup>64</sup> belongs to the same group. The king wears a cloak imitating bird's wings and tail over traditional garments; regrettably, the upper part of the statue is lost and it is impossible to reconstruct the appearance of the head-cloth<sup>65</sup>.

Not only the cloak, but also the king's headgear could be associated with a falcon. On its occipital part a decoration (probably gold) could be arranged, shaped as a falcon with outstretched wings (sometimes it could be replaced by a vulture). The earliest record of this kind of headgear decoration is a relief fragment from the pyramid temple of Cheops [10] showing him in a heb-sed context<sup>66</sup>. However, as far as we can judge by the existing monuments, the falcon decoration was not common in the Old Kingdom and became widespread only in the New Kingdom<sup>67</sup>. Most probably, its function was in general similar to that of the feathered garbs.

The compositions probably originating from the Hierakonpolis group [9] and consisting of a large falcon figure with a much smaller image of the king standing in front of it facing away are widespread in the New Kingdom<sup>68</sup> and especially in the Late Period<sup>69</sup>, but they are far from the subject of our study. Indeed, besides them we know analogous statues depicting kings with other zoomorphic (cows<sup>70</sup>, rams<sup>71</sup>, baboons<sup>72</sup>, serpents<sup>73</sup>, etc.) and anthropomorphic (Amun<sup>74</sup>) deities. Since the

king is not Amun (all the more so he is not Hathor or Meretseger), we are facing here not representations of his nature, but, as it is traditionally understood, the manifestations of his protection by the respective gods<sup>75</sup>. The meaning of the Hierakonpolis group could be the same<sup>76</sup>.

However, this does not demolish the main thesis of the present paper. Firstly, the existence of this group of sculptures cannot deflate our arguments concerning other groups. Secondly, in all of the statues considered, the figure of the king dominates that of the falcon; on the contrary, when protection is the main concept of the statue, the king is disparately smaller than the god. Strictly speaking, in the first instance, the image of the king is the kernel of the composition, while in the second case the deity is the main personage.

The fact that two different ideas could manifest themselves in similar forms is by no means surprising. Such convergence is predestined by the very nature of Egyptian art where the possibility of making multiple figured sculptural compositions was reduced to a small number of combinations of the figures.

Of special interest is the fact that the figures of birds in falcon statues are always arranged so that they can be seen only in profile, but remain invisible if looking *en face*, although Egyptian statuary was made for the frontal view. Most characteristic in this respect is the statue of Ramesses VI CG 42152 [13] where the hawk is perched high above the king's head – it is entirely hidden behind the tall composite crown. Such consistency cannot be accidental – birds were no doubt intentionally concealed from the eyes of spectators. This may be a manifestation of the phenomenon that was defined by the present author as Egyptian “art of hinting”<sup>77</sup>. When for some reason it was impossible or objectionable to express some ideas by means of images, Egyptians could use an indirect method of presenting visual information – making “hint compositions” where this image remained invisible or partly invisible, but its presence was apparent for those who knew the rules of the game. It was very difficult both to imagine and to express the double nature of the king: on the one hand, it caused no doubts, on the other hand, it was not observable in everyday life. Falcon statues reveal his dualism in the best possible way: as in reality, the king has a human appearance, but under certain conditions, in side-view, his divinity becomes evident.

This is a serious argument in favour of our interpretation and against the traditional one. Indeed, the protection of the king by gods must be stressed, demonstrated as clearly as



possible, and it was done in compositions with the dominating size of the god's figure. On the contrary, the divine nature of the king is non-obvious, it can be only hinted at.

Let us turn to the combined plate presenting all the monuments discussed and their interrelations (fig. 1). The development of the typology is quite clear, the degree of continuity being surprisingly high, although the left and the right parts of the plate are separated by a half-millennium-long chronological gap. However, the alteration is also serious. All the Old Kingdom samples but one display the king's nature most ingeniously, his relation to Horus demonstrated by the presence of the god as a real creature – the bird. The New Kingdom representations of the feathered cloak show not the "mythical reality", but its reflection in rituals.

What was the cultic specificity of the falcon statues? Aldred has convincingly proved that the images of the king (both sculpture and reliefs) in his feathered garb show him during the celebration of heb-sed. It would be very tempting to generalise this observation and to extend Aldred's idea to the statues where Horus is present as a bird and to those showing the feathered head-cloth. Not only typological considerations but also the fact that two statues – the Brooklyn Pepi I [5] and CG 747 [18] – depict the heb-sed cloak may be a good corroboration. However, the problem is much more complicated. The sculptural program of the temple of Chephren can be now reconstructed completely enough thanks to the new catalogue of the Leipzig collection<sup>78</sup>. It includes a heb-sed statue without a falcon<sup>79</sup>, while the two falcon statues considered here reveal no relation to heb-sed. On the contrary, the heb-sed of Neferefra is not recorded<sup>80</sup>, but he had a falcon statue. This might be explained by the scarcity of the monuments of this king, but Ramesses VI who did not celebrate heb-sed<sup>81</sup> also had a falcon statue (be it original or usurped). The same concerns the London statuette if it is genuine and if its attribution to Mycerinus is correct<sup>82</sup>.

Thus, some statues representing the king with a falcon are associated with heb-sed, but the association is not incumbent. Most heb-seds were celebrated without them, and, *vice versa*, their existence does not mean that the respective kings solemnised their jubilees. A special study is required to solve the problem; at present the author would like only to afford the following conjecture. Falcon statues could originally be unrelated to heb-sed, but since they ideally manifested the nature of the king, they started to be used in the royal jubilees. This hypothesis is supported by the above-mentioned general

tendency from Old Kingdom naturalistic images of the bird towards showing ritual garbs in the New Kingdom.

However, these problems are not of special interest for our subject. Of much more importance is the unquestionable association of the royal head-cloth with Horus recently discussed by Goebs<sup>83</sup>. The record of this association in Spell 312 of the Coffin Texts is a reliable written confirmation of our concept.

The subject of this spell is adequately reflected in its title: Spell for Being Transformed into a Divine Falcon. The possession of the head-cloth is described as a condition of the transformation<sup>84</sup>: "How can you reach the confines of the sky? Indeed, you are equipped with the Ba of Horus, but you do not possess the head-cloth"; "I will give you the head-cloth – so said the Double Lion to me – that you may come and go on the paths of the sky". The head-cloth is then identified with wings: "The Double Lion has taken out the head-cloth for me, he has given me my wings".






Thus, any representation of the king wearing a head-cloth is in point of fact analogous to statues with a falcon. It is clear now why the head-cloth (as contrary to crowns which could be worn both by kings and deities) was a specifically royal attribute – there is no other being in the world having the same dual nature. And it is, of course, not a mere coincidence that Papyrus Westcar describing the birth of the first kings of the Fifth Dynasty mentions that they came into being in royal head-cloths<sup>85</sup> – since the succession happens not in an obvious manner in this case, it is necessary to stress the specific royal properties of the infants, their falcon nature included.

In conclusion, it may be of interest to consider also a very controversial monument – the two-meters-high statue found by Mariette at Karnak [20]<sup>86</sup>, which is often reckoned among the sculptures being the subject of the present paper. On the face of it, such an attribution seems possible, but there is a serious difference not allowing us to regard it as a king's statue: the creature represented has not only bird's wings and tail, but also the falcon's head and, thus, it cannot express the main concept of the royal falcon statues. This must be an image of one of numerous falcon deities.

The statue bears an inscription of the Third Intermediate Period, but since it is no doubt secondary, much earlier datings – Middle<sup>87</sup> and even Old Kingdom<sup>88</sup> – were proposed. However, the statue has no definite early features and the dating recently suggested by van Rinsveld<sup>89</sup> – the reign of Amenhotep III – is more substantiated. If accepting the dating by van Rinsveld, we may suppose that this is one of the statues

connected with the heb-seds of Amenhotep III. Then the statue is related to the royal cult and the loan from the royal iconography becomes explicable. Van Rinsveld identifies the god represented as Ra-Harakhte<sup>90</sup>, but the older attribution as Khons<sup>91</sup> seems preferable. Ra-Harakhte, as any solar deity, is indeed related to the king, but not closely enough to adopt the very specific royal iconography; on the other hand, Khons, whose name means “King’s Placenta”<sup>92</sup>, is a royal deity *par excellence*. This intimate relation with the king made it possible to use the royal iconography for the image of the god.

## Notes

1. A.O. Bolshakov, *Man and his Double in Egyptian Ideology of the Old Kingdom*, Wiesbaden, 1996, 254-260.
2. *Ibidem*, 215.
3. *Ibidem*, 292-195.
4. In the cases when only individualised statues have survived (Hemiuu, Ankhhaf), the circumstances of their discovery testify to the existence of their conventional counterparts, *ibidem*, 236-237. The only case when the portrait exists without a conventional statue – Rahotep – can be easily explained, *ibidem*, 259.
5. The treatment of the body in pre-Amarna, Amarna and post-Amarna sculpture is only an episode against the general background of Egyptian art.
6. See a brief review by D. Wildung, "Falkenkleid", *LÄ II* (1977), 97-99. These sculptures are designated as falcon statues in the present paper; this term, however, is not applied to the compositions representing a large falcon with a much smaller king's figure in front of it.
7. CG 14, L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten I*, Berlin, 1911, Bl. 4; *PM III*<sup>2</sup>, 22.
8. The numbers in square brackets refer to the line drawings in Fig. 1. Since most of the monuments discussed are well known and repeatedly published, only selected references are given.
9. MFA 27.1466, W. Stevenson Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom*, London, 1949, pl. 5-a.
10. *Ibidem*, 20.
11. E. g., Wildung, *LÄ II*, 98, Anm. 1; cf. *idem*, "Königsplastik", *LÄ III* (1980), 561.
12. JE 98171, M. Verner, "Les sculptures de Rêneferéf découvertes à Abousir", *BIFAO* 85 (1985), pl. 47; M. Saleh, H. Sourouzian, *The Egyptian Museum, Cairo. Official Catalogue*, Mainz, 1987, cat. no. 38; Verner *et al.*, *Unearthing Ancient Egypt, 1958-1988. Activities of the Czechoslovak Institute of Egyptology in Egypt*, Praha, 1990, pl. 41; M. Verner, *Verlorene Pyramiden, vergessene Pharaonen*, Praha, 1994, Abb. an SS. 144-145 und Schutzumschlag, Vorderseite.
13. E.g., , J.E. Quibell, *Hierakonpolis I*, London, 1900, pl. 19.
14. E.g., , S. Quirke, *Who were the Pharaohs*, London, 1990, fig on p. 44.
15. E.g., , the "Narmer" palette, Quibell, *Hierakonpolis I*, pl. 29; *PM V*, 193-194 (not  see note 20).
16. , the Scorpion mace-head, Quibell, *Hierakonpolis I*, pl. 26-c:4; *PM V*, 194.
17. E.g., "König als Horus auf Erden", W. Barta, *Untersuchungen zur Göttlichkeit des regierenden Königs*, München-Berlin, 1975, 51; "König als irdischen Stellvertreter des Göttes Horus", Jürgen von Beckerath, "Königsnamen und -titel", *LÄ III*, 540.
18. Quibell, *Hierakonpolis I*, pl. 26.
19. P. Kaplony, *Die Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit III*, Wiesbaden, 1964, 147 (848).
20. W.M. Flinders Petrie, *The Royal Tombs of the Earliest Dynasties II* (London, 1901), pl. 13-91. For *mr* often placed in the serekh and engendering the reading "Narmer" as the personal name of Horus Sheat-Fish see: Yu. Ya. Perepelkin, «Drevniy

Egipet», *Istoriya Drevnego Vostoka* 1/2, Moscow, 1988, p. 300-302.

21. Petrie, *Royal Tombs* II, pl. 14-99.

22. *Ibidem*, pl. 15-107.

23. Petrie, *Royal Tombs* I, London, 1900, pl. 18-1.

24. Probably also "Horus Crocodile" should be added to the beginning of this list, see G. Dreyer, "Horus Krokodil, ein Gegenkönig der Dynastie 0", *The Followers of Horus. Studies Dedicated to Michael Allen Hoffman*, Oxford, 1992, Abb. 1-2. A number of inscriptions with what may be new kings' names from recent German excavations at Abydos have not been properly published yet and cannot be considered here.

The late predynastic name



recorded in two graffiti found in the Western Desert (H. A. Winkler, *Rock-drawings of Southern Upper Egypt* I, London, 1938, pl. 11-2, 3; T.A.H. Wilkinson, "A New King in the Western Desert", *JEA* 81 (1995), fig. 1) contradicts to this rule, but its reading is still obscure, monuments of its bearer are unknown, and his place in history is indistinguishable. Does he belong to the sequence of the predecessors of Scorpion sharing the same ideology? Only the discovery of his name in Hierakonpolis or elsewhere in the valley may answer these questions, speculations being groundless at present.


As for the mysterious




(Petrie, *Royal Tombs* I, pl. 13-96), serious doubts are voiced against its being a "Horus name" (Kaplony, *Inschriften* II, 1092; W. Barta, "Zur Namenform und Zeitlichen Einordnung des Königs Ro" *GM* 53 (1982), 11-13; T. A. H. Wilkinson, "The Identification of Tomb B1 at Abydos: Refuting the Existence of a king \*Ro/\*Iry-Hor", *JEA* 79 (1993), 241-243. Cf. also W. Kaiser, Günter Dreyer, "Umm el-Qaab. Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof, 2. Vorbericht", *MDAIK* 38 (1982),

Abb. 14: this sign combination is never placed in a serekh, while both the earlier and the later names may be arranged in it. Most probably this is not a king's name at all.

25. Petrie, *Royal Tombs* II, pl. 18-136.


26. The reign of  is a period of serious changes in royal ideology. The *n(j)-sw.t bjtj* title was first introduced under him and, probably, the process leading to the appearance of the "gold name" started (see von Beckerath, *Königsnamen*, 23). His compound "Horus name" may be a manifestation of the same processes.

If  really was the son of queen Meretneith and she was a regent in his childhood (W. Helck, "Meret-Neith", *LÄ* IV, 93; cf. S. Roth, "Königin, Regentin oder weiblicher König? Zum Verhältnis von Königs-ideologie und 'female sovereignty' in Frühzeit", in *Selbstverständnis und Realität*, Wiesbaden, 1997, *ÄAT* 36/1, 90-124), numerous innovations may be a result of some weakening of old traditions during her abnormal "reign".



27. Petrie, *Royal Tombs* I, pl. 26-61.

28. *Ibidem*, pl. 28-77.

29. This interpretation was simultaneously and independently offered by the present writer and his colleague Andrey G. Soushchevski (his concept remains unpublished).

30. To this interpretation testifies also the fact that the scorpion on the Scorpion mace-head is depicted not as a real insect, but with a vertical pole below, i.e., as a finial of a standard: 

31. Hence "cognisance" as a synonym to "blazon", "coat of arms". Egyptian *srh* being a substantivised causative from *rh*, "to know", i.e., literally "that allowing to know > recognise", is an exact analogy to English "cognisance". This is, of course, a mere conjuncture, but the most allusive one.

32. It follows from this observation that the attempts of Egyptologists to read the earliest "Horus names" are substantially incorrect – Egyptians never read them but only apprehended the image. Of course, it was somehow sounded afterwards, but, anyway, primary was the image, while the sound remained secondary (this must be the starting point of our approach to pictography, which, in spite of its plainness, is not applied to Egyptian hieroglyphic script in a due measure). Thus, when our ignorance of the word standing behind the  sign makes us call the king "Scorpion", this is much closer to Egyptian reality than reading the name of one of his successors as Djed, Uadji, etc. owing to the phonetic value of .

33. On this ground, every "Horus name" must be unique – each time Horus manifests himself in a new creature. If our understanding is correct, this is a serious argument against the modern theory postulating the existence of two Scorpions, Scorpion I and II, which seems to become influential nowadays, e.g., R. Gundlach, *Der Pharao und sein Staat*, Darmstadt, 1998, 85, 110.

34. In the interpretation of these names, the author is closer to Barta, *Göttlichkeit*, 52, than to Peter Kaplony, "Sechs Königsnamen der 1. Dynastie in neuer Deutung", *OrSu* 7 (1958), 54-69.

35. Louvre E.11007, *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art. Les antiquités égyptiennes du musée du Louvre* [Paris], 1935, pl. 4; Ch. Ziegler, *The Louvre. Egyptian Antiquities*, Paris, 1990, fig. on p. 19 (left); *PM* V, 82-83.

36. Brooklyn 39.120, F. Daumas, "Le trône d'une statuette de Pépi I<sup>er</sup> trouvé à Dendera", *BIFAO* 52 (1953), pl. 2; J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne* III, Paris, 1958, 37, pl. 7-11; R. Fazzini, *Images for Eternity. Egyptian Art from Berkeley and Brooklyn*, s.l., 1975, fig. 9.

37. CG 9, Borchardt, *Statuen* I, Bl. 3; H.G. Fischer, *Egyptian Studies* II.

*The Orientation of Hieroglyphs I. Reversals*, New York, 1977, fig. 31.

38. Daumas, *BIFAO* 52, pl. 2.

39. *Ibidem*, 164-165.

40. At least, Fischer, *Reversals*, 30, note 81, called this reconstruction in question on the principle that, firstly, the composition of the inscription is different from that on the Brooklyn statuette and, secondly, that the orientation of the hieroglyphs would contradict his theory of reversals. Although these arguments are strong enough, they are not decisive, and, thus, we cannot neglect the Dendera statue in our study.

41. University College London 16020, P. Krieger, "Une statuette de roi-faucon au musée du Louvre", *RdE* 12 (1960), fig. 20-b; A. Page, *Egyptian Sculpture from the Petrie Collection*, Warminster, 1976, 103, cat. no. 113; *PM* III<sup>2</sup>, 35.

42. W.M. Flinders Petrie, "A Portrait of Menkaura", *AE* 1923, fig. on p. 1, pl. facing p. 1; *idem*, *A History of Egypt* I<sup>1</sup>, London, 1894, fig. 36; I<sup>2</sup>, London, 1923, fig. 48.

43. G.A. Reisner, *Mycerinus*, Cambridge, Mass., 1931, 124, note 4. Cf. also *PM* III<sup>2</sup>, 35; Page, *Sculpture*, 103. It should be admitted that the statuette is indeed very strange, while Petrie had no systematic training in art history to disclose a fake basing on the stylistic features (it is even probable that the oddity of the statuette could be a reason to purchase it). On the other hand, he was more than a key man in dealing with the natives and it would be difficult to put off an apparent fake upon him. Moreover, all the arguments *contra* are based mainly on the singularity of the monument and not on the analysis of facts. For instance, the absence of the uraeus mentioned by Reisner, the main Petrie's opponent, as an argument against the authenticity cannot be regarded as such: there is no uraeus also on the forehead of Chephren CG 14 – this might be pos-

sible because the image of the falcon alone was enough to demonstrate the divinity of the king. Only a detailed study of the statuette can establish its genuineness and this remains the must for art historians. At last, a possibility of re-dating the statuette cannot be excluded as well; then, among similar pieces of New Kingdom statuary, it will lose much of its uniqueness and, respectively, a decisive argument against its authenticity will be deflated. (The author never had a possibility to study the fragment in the Petrie Museum and, thus, his observations based on poor photographs do not pretend to be reliable.)

44. CG 14717, J. E. Quibell, F. W. Green, *Hierakonpolis II*, London, 1902, pl. 47; *PM V*, 191, 193.

45. As the only exception to the rule one may regard the colossus attributed to Senusert II, CG 430 (usurped by Ramesses II) with two serekhs on the back pillar, their falcons carved in very high relief, see H.G. Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein* (München, 1929), Taf.68 (I am grateful to Christian Loebe for directing my attention to the monument). However this statue is different from Chephren CG 9 and the Brooklyn Pepi I: being rather small as compared with the king's head and placed below the set of his shoulders, the falcons look like elements of the inscriptions and not of the sculptural composition. Statue Brussels E.5188 sometimes dated to this period will be considered below as a New Kingdom monument.

46. The fragments of the sculptures of Djedefra in the Louvre do not allow us to imagine the program of his temple, but not a single among them can be identified as coming from a falcon statue, see Christiane Ziegler, *Musée du Louvre. Département des Antiquités égyptiennes. Les statues égyptiennes de l'Ancien Empire*, Paris, 1997, cat. nos. 1-13. A detailed study of the new fragments recently discovered at Abu Rawash (now in IFAO, see the paper by Michel Baud in the present volume) may change the situation, but actually, although being aware of

the imperfection of information at our disposal, we should base our reconstructions on the assumption that the history of the falcon statues begins under Chephren. On the relief of Cheops depicting him wearing a falcon headgear see below, note 66.

47. Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 239-254.

48. S. Marchand, M. Baud, «La céramique miniature d'Abou Rawash. Un dépôt à l'entrée des enclos orientaux», *BIFAO* 96 (1996), 281-284.

49. A. O. Bolshakov, «Egipetskiye zhertvenniki Starogo tsarstva iz sobraniya Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha», *EV* 24 (1988), p.13-14, 17-18, fig. 2.

50. See also V. Dobrev, «À propos d'une statue fragmentaire du roi Menkaouré trouvée à Abou Rawash», *Études sur l'Ancien Empire et la nécropole de Saqqâra dédiées à Jean-Philippe Lauer I*, Montpellier, 1997, 158-161.

51. See, e.g., the rock graffito at Wadi el-Fawachir mentioning side by side with the well-known royal names of the Fourth Dynasty several otherwise unrecorded kings: É. Drioton, «Une liste de rois de la IV<sup>e</sup> dynastie dans l'Ouâdi Hammâmât», *BSFE* 16 (1954), 41-49.

52. See Wildung, *LÄ II*, 97-99.

53. ÄS 5910, E. Rogge, *Statuen des Neuen Reiches und der Dritten Zwischenzeit. CAA Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien VI* (Mainz, 1990), 70-73; Wilfried Seipel, *Gott, Mensch, Pharao. Viertausend Jahre Menschenbild in der Skulptur des alten Ägypten* [Wien], 1992, Kat. Nr. 106.

54. *Ibidem*, 68.

55. CG 743, Borchardt, *Statuen III*, Bl. 137; C. Vandersleyen, *Das alte Ägypten. Propyläen Kunstgeschichte* 15, Berlin, 1975, Abb. 177. For attribution see M. Seidel and D. Wildung in Vandersleyen, *Das Alte Ägypten*, 245 (*contra* Vandier, *Manuel III*, 392).

56. Or usurped by him, see Vandier, *Manuel III*, 404.

57. CG 42152, G. Legrain, *Statues et statuettes des rois et des particuliers* II, Le Caire, 1909, pl. 15; J. Capart, *L'Art égyptien* II (Bruxelles, 1942), pl. 373; Vandier, *Manuel* III, pl. 132-1, 3; Vandersleyen, *Das alte Ägypten*, Abb. 207-b.
58. This is a strange contradictory combination of a falcon statue with Ramesside sculptures representing king's triumph over Libyans, cf. Turin 1392, Seipel, *Gott, Mensch, Pharao*, Kat. Nr. 114. Such a practical (although mythologically interpreted) king's activity as prosecution of war disagrees with his universal importance as Horus and reflects mainly the new spirit of the country loosing its might and dreaming of the past glory. The very possibility of this mixture proves that the ancient idea could not already exist in its original integrity, and indeed, this is the latest statue showing the falcon embracing the king's head.
59. E.5351, Krieger, *RdE* 12, pl. 3-4; Ziegler, *Egyptian Antiquities*, fig. on p. 46 (upper left); Seipel, *Gott, Mensch, Pharao*, Kat. Nr. 87; K. Goebis, "Untersuchungen zu Funktion und Symbolgestalt des nms", *ZÄS* 122 (1995), Taf. 3-4; L.M. Berman, B. Letellier, *Treasures of Egyptian Art from the Louvre*, s.l., 1996, cat. no. 10.
60. CG 42081, B.M. Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV*, Baltimore-London, 1991, fig. 27-28.
61. Brooklyn 55.118, J.D. Cooney, *Five Years of Collecting Egyptian Art*, Brooklyn, 1956, pl. 14-15.
62. Leiden F.1937/6.9, W.D. Van Wijngaarden, "Een Egyptisch koningsbeeldje van blauwe fayence", *OMRO* 19 (1938), Afb. 1-3; H. Brunner, "Nochmals ein König im Falkenkleid", *ZÄS* 87 (1962), Taf. 6.
63. Borchardt, *Statuen* III, 72.
64. Arthur E. P. Weigall, "A Report on the Excavation of the Funeral Temple of Thoutmosis II at Gurneh", *ASAE* 7 (1906), 136, fig. 9.
65. However, cf. the relief representing Thutmosis IV wearing exactly the same cloak and the double crown: B. Letellier, "La cour à péristyle de Thutmosis IV à Karnak", *BSFE* 84 (1979), fig. 4.
66. J.-Ph. Lauer, "Note complémentaire sur le temple funéraire de Khéops", *ASAE* 49 (1949), pl. 2; *PM* III<sup>2</sup>, 11.
67. See list in E. Brunner-Traut, "Ein Königskopf der Spätzeit mit dem 'Blauen Helm'", *ZÄS* 97 (1971), 21-22.
68. E.g., JE 64735, P. Montet, "Les fouilles de Tanis en 1933 et 1943", *Kêmi* 5 (1935-37), pl. 10-11; Vandier, *Manuel* III, pl. 133-2.
69. E.g., MMA 34.2.1, H.E. Winlock, "Recent Purchases of Egyptian Sculpture", *BMMA* 29 (1934), fig. 2.
70. E.g., JE 38574, Capart, *L'Art* II, pl. 316-317; Vandier, *Manuel* III, pl. 102-4; *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art. Le Musée du Caire*, [Paris], 1949, pl. 86; CG 784, Borchardt, *Statuen* III, Bl. 144; Capart, *L'Art* II, pl. 388; *Encyclopédie photographique... Caire*, pl. 174-175.
71. E.g., Berlin 7262, Capart, *L'Art* II, 320-321; Vandier, *Manuel* III, pl. 107-1.
72. E. g., Vienna ÄS 5782, Vandier, *Manuel* III, pl. 130-4; B. Jaroš-Deckert, *Statuen des Mittleren Reiches und der 18. Dynastie. CAA Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien* I, Mainz 1987, 132-138; Seipel, *Gott, Mensch, Pharao*, Kat. Nr. 89; H. Satzinger, *Das Kunsthistorische Museum in Wien. Die Ägyptisch-Orientalische Sammlung*, Mainz, 1994, 75, Abb. 50.
73. E.g., Capart, *L'Art* II, pl. 314-315; Vandier, *Manuel* III, pl. 100-4.
74. E.g., CG 42086, Legrain, *Statues* I, pl.52; Vandier, *Manuel* III, pl. 107-4; CG 42141, Legrain, *Statues* II, pl. 3; Vandier, *Manuel* III, pl. 135-2; Louvre E.11105, Vandier, *Manuel* III, pl. 118-3; Louvre E.11609, *Encyclopédie*



*photographique... Louvre*, pl. 78-79; Vandier, *Manuel III*, pl. 118-4, 119-2.

75. This idea is manifest also in private New Kingdom sculpture. For instance, a man may be represented with a baboon arranged behind his head in the same manner as a falcon is in the royal statuary: Louvre E.25398, Vandier, *Manuel III*, pl. 173-1; CG 42162, Legrain, *Statues II*, pl. 26; *Encyclopédie photographique... Caire*, pl. 144; Vandier, *Manuel III*, pl. 150-3; Berlin, 2284, Vandier, *Manuel III*, pl. 157-1. Since the owners of the first two statuettes were King's scribes, it is apparent that these sculptures reflect the same notion of the patronage over the scribe by Thoth as the numerous statuettes where the man and the baboon are shown side by side (the most celebrated among them are Louvre E.11154, Vandier, *Manuel III*, pl. 150-1; Ziegler, *Egyptian Antiquities*, fig. on p. 65; Louvre E.11153, Vandier, *Manuel III*, pl. 150-2; and JE 59291, J.D.S. Pendlebury, "Preliminary Report of the Excavations at Tell el-'Amarnah, 1932-1933", *JEA* 19 (1933), pl. 17, 18-1,2; Vandier, *Manuel III*, pl. 171-5; E.L.B. Terrace, H.G. Fischer, *Treasures of the Egyptian Museum*, London, 1970, no. 29).

76. At the same time, we should not overlook the fact that the idea of protection was highlighted only in the New Kingdom, when it gave rise to numerous naophorous, stelaphorous, etc. statues with the images of a deity and the owner safeguarding one another (on this mutual defence see J. Van Dijk, "A Ramesside Naophorous Statue from the Teti Pyramid Cemetery", *OMRO* 64 [1983], 52-58). In the Old Kingdom, Egyptians never appreciated the vulnerability of a man so dramatically and pessimistically; it is enough to compare the next life as described in the Book of the Dead with the Old Kingdom notion of the Doubleworld, see Bolshakov, *Man and his Double*, 282-290. Thus, notwithstanding the later analogies, the Hierakonpolis group still may be closer to falcon sta-

tues than to the New Kingdom compositions with a large hawk.

77. A.O. Bolshakov. "Hinting as a Method of Old Kingdom Tomb Decoration, I. The Offering-Stone and the False Door of the Dwarf *Snb*". *GM* 139 (1994), 9-33.

78. *Katalog Ägyptischer Sammlungen in Leipzig I*; R. Krauspe, *Statuen und Statuetten*, Mainz, 1997.

79. Leipzig 1948, *ibidem*, Taf. 4.

80. E. Hornung, E. Staehelin, *Studien zum Sedfest*, Basel-Genf, 1974, 22-23.

81. *Ibidem*, 40.

82. *Ibidem*, 21.

83. Goebs, *ZÄS* 122, 159ff.

84. CT IV, 77c-e, 78h; translation after R.O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts I*, Warminster, 1973, 229-232.

85. X:8-10, 16-17, 23-25.

86. Brussels E.5188, J. Capart, *Documents pour servir à l'étude de l'art égyptien I*, Paris, 1927, pl. 99-100; *idem*, *L'Art II*, pl. 400.

87. E.g. Wildung, *LÄ II*, 98, Anm. 8.

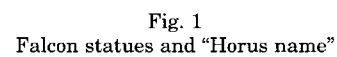
88. Capart, *Documents I*, 72-73.

89. B. Van Rinsveld, "Redating a Monumental Stone Hawk-Sculpture in the Musées royaux, Brussels", *K.M.T.* 4/4 (1994), 20-21.

90. *Ibidem*, 21.

91. Capart, *Documents I*, 72-73; *idem*, *L'Art II*, 45.

92. A.M. Blackman, "The Pharaoh's Placenta and the Moon-God Khons", *JEA* 3 (1916), 235-249; now see also reprint Blackman, *Gods, Priests and Men. Studies in the Religion of Pharaonic Egypt*, London-New York, 1998, 381-395.



## Legends of illustrations

- ❶ Paris, Louvre E. 11007, line drawing based on *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art. Louvre*, 4
- ❷ Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 14, line drawing based on Borchardt, *Statuen I*, Bl. 4
- ❸ Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 27.1466, line drawing based on Smith, *Sculpture and Painting*, pl.5a
- ❹ Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 98171, line drawing based on Saleh, Sourouzzian, *Official Catalogue*, cat. no. 38
- ❺ New York, Brooklyn Museum 39.120, line drawing based on Daumas, *BIFAO* 52, pl. 2
- ❻ Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 9, line drawing based on Fischer, *Reverals*, fig. 31
- ❼ Present location unknown, line drawing based on Daumas, *BIFAO* 52, pl. 2
- ❽ University College London 16020, very inexact line drawing (reversed) based on unsatisfactory photographs Petrie, *AE* 1923, fig. on p. 1; *idem*, *History I*, fig. 36; P, fig. 48; Krieger, *RdE* 12, fig. 20b; Page, *Egyptian Sculpture*, 103, cat. no. 113
- ❾ Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 14717, line drawing based on Quibell, Green, *Hierakonpolis II*, pl. 47
- ❿ Present location unrecorded, relief fragment from the causeway of Cheops, line drawing after Lauer, *ASAE* 49, pl. 2
- ⓫ Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum AS 5910, line drawing based on Rogge, *Statuen des Neuen Reiches*, 72
- ⓬ Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 743, very inexact line drawing based on Borchardt, *Statuen III*, Bl. 137; Vandersleyen, *Das alte Ägypten*, Abb. 177.
- ⓭ Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 42152, line drawing based on Legrain, *Statues II*, pl. 15
- ⓮ Paris, Louvre E.5351, line drawing based on Goebis, *ZÄS* 122 (1995), Taf. 4
- ⓯ Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 4208 1, line drawing (reversed) based on Bryan, *Thutmose IV*, fig. 28
- ⓰ New York, Brooklyn Museum 55.118, line drawing based on Cooney, *Five Years*, pl. 15
- ⓱ Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden F 1937/6.9, line drawing based on Van Wijngaarden, *OMRO* 19, Afb. 3; Brunner, *ZAS* 87, Taf. 6
- ⓲ Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 747, line drawing based on Borchardt, *Statuen III*, 72
- ⓳ Present location unrecorded, from Qurna, line drawing based on Weigall, *ASAE* 7, 136, fig. 9
- ⓴ Brussels, Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire E.5188, line drawing based on Van Rinsveld, *K.M.T.* 4/4, 21

# L'art de l'Ancien Empire égyptien



Depuis les spectaculaires découvertes de Mariette, au milieu du <sup>xix</sup><sup>e</sup> siècle, l'Ancien Empire égyptien nous est mieux connu, et l'on sait qu'il ne se résume pas aux grandes pyramides. Cette époque qui couvre plus de cinq cents ans (vers 2700-2200 av. J.-C.) a été considérée par les anciens Égyptiens comme l'âge d'or de leur civilisation. Déjà se manifestent dans l'art toutes les formes du génie égyptien : la grande architecture de pierre, les statues monumentales destinées aux temples et aux tombeaux, le décor peint et sculpté, le travail des pierres et des métaux précieux. Tout ce qui constitue l'originalité de l'art pharaonique apparaît déjà élaboré, ce dont témoignent les remarquables œuvres conservées dans les différents musées du monde.

Les actes de ce colloque, qui a réuni au musée du Louvre une vingtaine d'éminents archéologues et spécialistes d'histoire de l'art venus de divers pays, donnent matière à de nouveaux débats sur la datation des œuvres et les caractéristiques stylistiques des grands courants artistiques.

