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The statue of the steward Nemtyhotep (Berlin ÄM 15700) and some considerations about royal and private portrait under Amenemhat III

Simon Connor

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The World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000-1550 BC)

Contributions on archaeology, art, religion, and written sources

Volume I

Edited by

Gianluca Miniaci, Wolfram Grajetzki

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Front cover: Detail of canopic stopper from Shaft 106, Dahshur (*cf.* Baba, Yazawa: “Burial Assemblages of the Late Middle Kingdom”, pp. 18-9 © Baba, Yazawa)

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To hybrid creatures

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Table of Contents

<i>Preface</i>	
Gianluca Miniaci	ix
<i>Introduction</i>	
Wolfram Grajetzki, Gianluca Miniaci	xi
List of contributors	xv
List of Abbreviation	xvii
<i>Burial Assemblages of the Late Middle Kingdom: Shaft-tombs in Dahshur North</i>	
Masahiro Baba, Ken Yazawa	1
<i>Stone Objects from the Late Middle Kingdom Settlement at Tell el-Dab‘a</i>	
Bettina Bader	25
<i>Late Middle Kingdom or Late Period? Re-Considering the “Realistic” Statue Head, Munich ÄS 1622</i>	
Helmut Brandl	43
<i>The Statue of the Steward Nemtyhotep (Berlin ÄM 15700) and some Considerations about Royal and Private Portrait under Amenemhat III</i>	
Simon Connor	57
<i>Thoughts on the Sculpture of Sesostris I and Amenemhat II, Inspired by the Meket-re Study Day</i>	
Biri Fay	81
<i>London BM EA 288 (1237) – a Cloaked Individual</i>	
Biri Fay	85
<i>Neferusobek Project: Part I</i>	
Biri Fay, Rita E. Freed, Thomas Schelper, Friederike Seyfried	89
<i>A Torso gets a Name: an Additional Statue of the Vizier Mentuhotep?</i>	
Rita E. Freed	93
<i>Three Burials of the Seventeenth Dynasty in Dra Abu El-Naga</i>	
José M. Galán, Ángeles Jiménez-Higueras	101
<i>A Middle Kingdom Stela from Koptos (Royal Pavilion & Museums, Brighton & Hove HA282043)</i>	
Wolfram Grajetzki	121
<i>Hathor and her Festivals at Lahun</i>	
Zoltán Horváth	125
<i>King Seankhibra and the Middle Kingdom Appeal to the Living</i>	
Alexander Ilin-Tomich	145
<i>A unique Funerary Complex in Qubbet el-Hawa for Two Governors of the Late Twelfth Dynasty</i>	
Alejandro Jiménez Serrano	169
<i>In the Realm of Reputation: Private Life in Middle Kingdom Auto/biographies</i>	
Renata Landgráfová	177
<i>The So-called Governors’ Cemetery at Bubastis and Provincial Elite. Tombs in the Nile Delta: State and Perspectives of Research</i>	
Eva Lange	187

<i>The Archetype of Kingship: Who Senwosret I claimed to be, How and Why?</i> David Lorand	205
<i>Tracing Middle Kingdom Pyramid Texts Traditions at Dahshur</i> Antonio J. Morales	221
<i>New Approaches to the Study of Households in Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period Egypt</i> Miriam Müller	237
<i>The (social) House of Khnumhotep</i> Melinda G. Nelson-Hurst	257
<i>Scribes of the Gods in the Coffin Texts</i> Rune Nyord	273
<i>The Significance of the Hieroglyph ‘The Egg with the Young Bird Inside’</i> Mohamed Gamal Rashed	309
<i>The Canopic Chest of Khakheperreseneb/Iy – Louvre E 17108</i> Patricia Rigault	325
<i>I am a Nbt-pr, and I am Independent</i> Danijela Stefanović, Helmut Satzinger	333
<i>Garstang’s El Arabah Tomb E.1</i> Angela M. J. Tooley	339
Colour plates	357

The Statue of the Steward Nemtyhotep (Berlin ÄM 15700) and some Considerations about Royal and Private Portrait under Amenemhat III

Simon Connor

Abstract

The statue of Nemtyhotep shows all the characteristics of the upper-elite sculpture of the Late Middle Kingdom. The material, size and quality are typical for statues of high officials and indicate that the statue probably came from a royal workshop. The style suggests a date in the reign of Amenemhat III; indeed, the face shows the features of the 'softened' portrait of this king. Basically, the royal portrait of Amenemhat occurs in two main variants: a stern and expressive one, intended mainly for large-scale statues made of hard stones which were probably installed in open-air spaces, and a more human and sensitive one, meant for smaller-size statues, often of precious or less durable materials. Private statuary from this reign usually follows the latter model; the former seems to be reserved to the king and intended for a specific message and function.

The quartzite statue in Berlin ÄM 15700¹ represents a man seated on a cubic chair, wrapped in a long coat, dressed with a heavy shoulder-length undulated wig with the sides falling forward triangularly on to the chest. His arms are crossed on his chest, the left hand flat, while the other one is holding the coat. The piece, bought in 1902 by Ludwig Borchardt for the Ägyptisches Museum, is said to be from “el-Burg el-Hamam, in the region of Asyut”.² We will see later what might have been the context in which it was installed.

The sculpture is of high quality: the balance of proportions, the features of the face, the carving of the surface, although not much detailed, are similar to the characteristics of the upper-elite and royal statuary during the Late Middle Kingdom. However, some indications show that the piece might have not been completely finished. Nails are missing; nostrils are more outlined than really sculpted. One could also expect a finer polishing of the surface, with comparison to the corpus of this quality from the same period. The inscription, instead of being carved vertically on either side of the legs as it is common during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties, is only roughly sketched on the proper right side of the seat. A single horizontal (or more or less horizontal) line is awkwardly incised and identifies the owner of the statue as the “The honoured in front of the Great God, lord of the sky, the steward Nemtyhotep, justified” (*im3hy hr ntr 3 nb pt imy-r pr Nmty-htp m3c hrw*).³

Nothing, in the shape of the statue, designates a specific function or identity. At the first look, it could represent any high official. The way this inscription is written suggests that it might have been only temporary, perhaps intended as a mark, a short note, easy to erase, meant to identify the statue, perhaps also intended for the sculptor who would have been charged to cut it carefully into the stone.

The costume

The man wears a mantle, which covers most of his body, until the ankles. It is maintained by the right hand, while the left one lays flat on the chest. This costume is quite common during the Middle Kingdom – according to the preserved corpus, it appears in around 15 % of cases. In sculpture, it can be worn by anybody. Without precise archaeological contexts, it is difficult to associate this coat with a type of architectural or iconographical environment. Statues with a mantle can be found in temples (Abydos,⁴ Karnak⁵), as well as in funerary contexts (Haraga,⁶ Lisht-

Ägyptische Inschriften, vol. I, 145) or Antihotep (YOYOTTE, *Die Kunstschatze der Pharaonen*, 53, 193, pl. 52).

⁴ Bologna KS 1839 (PM VIII, no. 801-537-050; PERNIGOTTI, *La statuaria egiziana*, 30-1, pls. 30-1).

⁵ Beni Suef 1632 (before Cairo CG 42206, LEGRAIN, *Statues et statuettes*, vol. I, 15-7, pl. 14), Cairo CG 42041 (*op. cit.*, 24, pl. 25).

⁶ Manchester 6135 (ENGELBACH, *Harageh*, 13, 29, pl. 19; BOURRIAU, *Pharaohs and mortals*, 56, no. 43).

¹ H. 77 cm. Bibliography: see LEMBKE, *GM* 150, 81-6.

² PM IV, 268; von BISSING, *Denkmäler ägyptischer Skulptur*, 23.

³ LEMBKE, *GM* 150, 81-6. The name of the man, difficult to read, had been proposed before as Khertihotep (ROEDER,

North,⁷ Abydos,⁸ Thebes⁹). However, the association of different characters in a group statue highlights the ‘dignifying’ nature of this dress, joined with the gesture of the hands. In the sculptural group of Senpu,¹⁰ for example, the only man wearing this mantle is the main one, in the middle position, whom the statue and the offering table are dedicated to. On either side of the group, the two men in the praying position, with both arms stretched out in front of them, wear the traditional long kilt. Another example of this dignifying aspect is the little naos in the Louvre in which a man is represented wrapped in this mantle. Finally, the only statue of a governor wearing it in the sanctuary of Heqaib in Elephantine, was commanded by a son for his father;¹¹ it appears then to be a statue of an already deceased man, realized in homage to him. One might be tempted to see an analogy between this coat and the *heb-sed* royal costume. Nothing permits to affirm that the jubilee dress constituted a direct inspiration for the private one. However, the same idea of dignity and sacredness appears through this association between the mantle and the gesture of the hand on the chest.

The wig

Different forms of headdresses are attested during the Middle Kingdom. For men, the most common is a shoulders-length wig, which can be represented released behind the shoulders or framing the face, with two pointed lappets on the clavicles. It can be smooth or striated. There is no evidence that connects a form of wig with a social status or a context. Even the reasons of the choice of a wig or of a bald skull cannot find any explanation in the framework of the corpus of the considered period. However, the shape of wigs provides at least indications of dating.

Nemtyhotep wears a smooth and undulating wig. Undulations on the wig are typical of private statuary of the time of Senusret II, Senusret III and Amenemhat III.¹²

⁷ Caracas R. 58.10.37 (QUIRKE, *Cultura y arte egipcios*, 105), New York MMA 15.3.226 and 15.3.576 (HAYES, *The Scepter of Egypt*, vol. I, 213, 244).

⁸ Cairo CG 480 (EVERS, *Staat aus dem Stein*, vol. I, pl. 97b).

⁹ MMA 35.3.110 (LANSING, *BMMA* 30, 15, fig. 10).

¹⁰ Paris E 11573 (DELANGE, *Statues du Moyen Empire*, 144-7).

¹¹ HABACHI, *The Sanctuary of Heqaib*, no. 27: statue of the governor Heqaib II, commanded by his “beloved son and excellent heir” Imeny-seneb, “to perpetuate his name”.

¹² See for example the statue found in the cemetery of *mas-tabas* next to the funerary complex of Senusret III in Dahshur (Amsterdam 15.350, *cf.* DE MORGAN, *Fouilles à Dahchour*, 35, fig. 72), the group statue of Ukhhotep IV in Meir (Boston 1973.87, *cf.* FREED *et al.*, *Arts of Ancient Egypt*, 129),

Until the reign of Senusret III, wigs are usually striated, while smooth ones become more and more common under Amenemhat III, and quasi systematic during the Thirteenth Dynasty. The combination of smoothness and undulations indicates thus most probably a dating around the reign of Amenemhat III.

This dating is confirmed by the stylistic analysis of facial features. The comparison with royal statuary and representations of other private sculpture allows a more precise dating.

Royal statuary under the reign of Amenemhat III

Amenemhat III is, with his predecessor Senusret III, the Middle Kingdom king who is the most attested in statuary. Around eighty statues can be attributed to him (*cf.* list at the end of the paper).¹³ From a stylistic point of view, Amenemhat III’s statuary pursues the tendencies of Senusret II and III. Artisans of royal workshops, whose creativity had been particularly encouraged under the reign of Senusret III, continue to represent the king with a peculiar physiognomy, which mixed naturalism and a powerful expressivity, reflecting his complex nature.

Senusret III broke with tradition by creating a new, severe, powerful and expressive physiognomy. His successor Amenemhat III sought for a continuation of this representation. He could hardly intensify the plastic treatment of the features of the face. He therefore used other original ways to express the strength of royal ideology, either with new forms inspired from a distant past, with huge dimensions, with unusual materials or with reinterpreted ancient iconographic details. A high number of statues, often life-size, depicting the king associated with a wide range of deities, have been found in a temple, which was itself of unusual type and dimensions: Hawara. Every aspect was thus intended to find new ways of expressing an ideological and political message.

the statue of the governor Sarenput II (HABACHI, *The Sanctuary of Heqaib*, no. 13, pl. 30), the statue of the high steward Khentykhety(wer) (Rome Barracco 11, *cf.* SIST, *Museo Barracco*, 38-42), a statue of a vizier usurped in the Third Intermediate Period (Baltimore 22.203, *cf.* STEINDORFF, *JEA* 25, 30-3; STEINDORFF, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture*, 49, pl. 25, no. 145), a head in Brussels, with facial features undoubtedly similar to those of Senusret III (MRAH E. 6748, *cf.* DE SMET, JOSEPHSON, *BMRAH* 62, 5-14) or the torso in Basel (loan of the British Museum, EA 848, *cf.* WIESE, *Antikenmuseum Basel*, no. 26).

¹³ This number does not take into account all the limestone fragments found in Hawara, as it is sometimes difficult to identify if they represented the king or deities (*cf.* BLOM-BOËR, *Die Tempelanlage Amenemhets III. in Hawara*, 166-91, no. 56-93).

Rita Freed has recently highlighted the originalities concerning new forms and types of statuary, in order to identify the sources of this creativity:¹⁴ groups associated the king with animal-headed figures of gods, often carved in high-relief inside a naos,¹⁵ dyads representing the king in an archaizing shape, perhaps in a priest costume, offering goods to the Nile,¹⁶ dyads representing two figures of the king standing side by side, one holding the role of the deity giving life, while the other is in the prayer position.¹⁷

There is a clear inspiration from ancient forms. As usual in Egyptian art, when new forms and concepts had to be invented, the artisans looked to the past, to recreate something inspired from ancestral models.

For the statues in a praying position,¹⁸ the model refers to the predecessor of Amenemhat III, Senusret III (*cf.* statues from Deir el-Bahari)¹⁹. To create new types such as the king represented as a priest, or the Nilotic dyads, the royal artisans took their inspiration from images of Early Dynastic times. The beard and the wide wig of the colossal priest-statue from Kiman Faris are

a striking reminder of archaic private statuary.²⁰ The U-shaped beards of the Nilotic figures of the king, as well as the curls of the headdresses, seem reminiscent of those of the Min-colossi in Coptos.²¹ These statues of new type thus borrow and combine elements from a very ancient corpus, which goes back to the beginning of the dynastic period.

The same practice can be observed for the ‘mane sphinxes’, at least one example of which is attested at the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty, in Abu Rawash, in the funerary complex of Djedefre,²² and another one in the middle of the Twelfth Dynasty.²³

Some iconographic details of headdresses also appear for the first time in the corpus of representations of Amenemhat III: the king is shown for example with a crown very similar to that of Amun or Min: a mortar with two high feathers (*cf.* Figs. 4-5).²⁴ This exact crown appears also on a relief recently discovered in Hawara during cleaning work of the canal crossing the site. The represented figure is the king, not a god, as he bears an uræus above his forehead – the crown of the god is devoid of it.

Amenemhat III is also represented by statues of more traditional types; however, other aspects are used to highlight their originality. Unusual and beautiful materials are used, like for example a white indurated limestone for statues in Hawara, Medinet Madi, or Abydos: obsidian, chalcedony, or copper alloy, for sculptures, which present a real virtuosity in their execution. The statue of the Ortiz collection,²⁵ for example, shows a great expertise: despite its quite large dimensions, the torso and face are parts of a single piece of metal, shaped in lost-wax casting. The *nemes* is a separate piece, as well as were the missing arms, kilt and legs. The eyes are finely inlaid of white limestone, rock crystal and a dark metal pastille for the pupil.

¹⁴ FREED, *RdE* 53, 103-24, pls. 15-20.

¹⁵ Statues associating the king to deities are known from the Old and early Middle Kingdom (for example the triads of Menkaure (Boston 09.200, Cairo JE 40678, 40679, 46499) or the sculptural groups of Amenemhat I (Cairo JE 67430, *cf.* SEIDEL, *Die königlichen Statuengruppen*, vol. I, docs. 32-3). The novelty consists here in the way these deities are represented: for the first time, they are depicted with their attributes and animal heads in sculpture in the round and in high dimensions: crocodile-, bovine-, falcon- or snake-headed, momiform deities, or unusual figures like the goddesses holding fishes in their hands.

¹⁶ Cairo CG 392, CG 531, and Rome, Palazzo Altemps 8607. They are the transposition in sculpture in the round of temple reliefs which depict the king presenting offerings to the gods. Given the unusual character of the offerings presented on the trays –fishes and ducks–, Rita Freed suggests that it could have been the product of hunt and fishing in the marshes, canonical scene which is the symbol of victory against, as well as the expression of gratitude from the king towards the high floods during his reign (FREED, *RdE* 53, 118). An inspiration from the “fecundity figures” of the temples decoration is not impossible, even if the king is represented here, and not genies (BAINES, *Fecundity Figures*, 112-8).

¹⁷ Copenhagen ÄIN 1483, Cairo JE 43289 and a fragment of a third one, the present location of which is unknown (PETRIE *et al.*, *The Labyrinth, Gerzeh and Mazghuneh*, 30).

¹⁸ Berlin ÄM 1121, Berlin ÄM 17551 (+ Cairo CG 42019), Cairo CG 42014 (= Luxor J. 117), Cairo CG 42015, New York MMA 45.2.6, Paris AF 2578 (+ Cairo JE 43596), Cleveland 1960.56 (+ Cairo CG 42019).

¹⁹ Cairo TR 18/4/22/4 (EVERS, *Staat aus dem Stein*, vol. I, pl. 83), London BM EA 684, 685 and 686 (WILDUNG, *L'Âge d'Or*, 202, figs. 176-7; RUSSMANN, *Eternal Egypt*, 101-4, n. 29; STRUDWICK, *Masterpieces of Ancient Egypt*, 90-1).

²⁰ See particularly the kneeling statue found in Hierakonpolis (Cairo JE 32159, *cf.* VANDIER, *Manuel d'Archéologie Égyptienne*, vol. III, 209; FAY, in ZIEGLER (ed.), *L'art de l'Ancien Empire égyptien*, 116; FREED, *RdE* 53, 114-5).

²¹ FREED, *RdE* 53, 117.

²² Cairo JE 35137, *cf.* SOUROUZIAN, in WARMENBOL (ed.), *Sphinx*, 101-2, fig. 4.

²³ Berlin ÄM 22580, perhaps Amenemhat II (FAY, *The Louvre Sphinx*, 26-7, pls. 53-4, no. 2).

²⁴ Cairo TR 13/4/22/9 and Philadelphia E 6623. Nb.: the dating of the latter is uncertain. Freed proposed to see it as a king of the Thirteenth Dynasty (FREED, *RdE* 53, 113). The treatment of the eyes evokes rather the portrait of Amenemhat III; however the fragmentation of the piece does not allow a secure argumentation.

²⁵ Most probably a representation of Amenemhat III, despite the difficulty to compare this statue with the stone ones, because of the peculiarity of the material. However, the large, slightly flattened nose, the sinuous lips, the prominent arches of the eyebrows and cheekbones are in favour of such identification, as is the supposed provenance of the piece, from Hawara.

The sculptural program of Amenemhat III stands out also by the number and dimensions of statues. It is the first time that such a quantity of colossal statues is produced. He is also the king, who has been represented by the tallest monolithic statues ever sculpted until then – except the Giza Sphinx. Only Amenhotep III, in the Eighteenth Dynasty, would surpass him – he was probably himself greatly influenced by his predecessor of the Middle Kingdom, for his statuary program in Kom el-Hettan.²⁶ One can cite the two quartzite colossi of Biahmu,²⁷ the granite colossus of Hawara,²⁸ and the two granodiorite statues of Bubastis.²⁹

Finally, the treatment of forms and features of the face differs from what had been done so far in royal statuary. As during the previous reigns, the search for formal perfection and aesthetic ideal is undeniable. During the mid-Twelfth Dynasty, one could assist to a research of a balance between purity of forms and refinement of details. The sculptors of Amenemhat III went further in this aesthetic exploration, with a more subtle carving of flesh and skin, as well as with an extreme polishing of the surface (as we can see for example with the fragments of the quartzite colossi of Biahmu, or the indurated limestone statues from Hawara). For the statuary of the first half of the Twelfth Dynasty, the face was composed of simple forms, artificially constructed. Under Senusret III, it was transformed into a very imperious ‘mask’. Amenemhat III opts for a representation, which is closer to the human reality:³⁰ flesh appears more flexible, the bone structure more visible, furrows and marks more subtle, the nose slightly flattened, naturalistically thin and sinuous lips. Only the eyes keep more geometric contours: wide, elongated, with sharp *canthi*, they still attract the attention of the observer, despite the disappearance of the painting, which had indicated the pupil.

Variations in the royal physiognomy

One can recognize the official facial features of Amenemhat III on his representations, allowing an attribution to him of several usurped or uninscribed statues. A flattened and slightly humpy nose, a large mouth with sinuous lips, receding lower jaw and chin, prominent arches

of the eyebrows and cheekbones, almond-shaped eyes, irregularly and subtly modelled cheeks, two large furrows falling down from the inner *canthi* and two others from the corners of the nostrils, wide ears with a heavily pronounced lobe are all characteristics of his official portrait. Nevertheless, several variations, sometimes important ones, divide the corpus of his statues in different groups. The chin may be more or less receding, the lower jaw more or less strongly marked, the eyes more or less large (sometimes even disproportionate), the lips more or less severe, the general expression sometimes human and sensitive, although a bit cold and austere, sometimes violent and almost wild. The body itself appears sometimes almost childish, with thin members and a smooth torso, while other statues present a muscular appearance, with flexed pectorals.

These differences seem sometimes to be due to the provenance: for example, statues of Amenemhat III found in Karnak seem to belong to a homogeneous style. Other sites, like Hawara, have delivered effigies of the sovereign with a varied physiognomy. Some peculiar features, like the broad chin or the smiling mouth, appear on pieces from different sites: for example the most massive statues (mane-sphinxes, colossi of Bubastis and Fayum statues). In other cases, the material seems to have influenced the manner of sculpting: statues in greywacke, for example, show a certain stylistic coherence.

Several interpretations (chronological, geographical or ideological) might be proposed to explain these differences. It is difficult to favour one interpretation or another, for they may have been all true and combined. The most advanced stylistic study so far of the statuary of Amenemhat III has been published by Felicitas Polz twenty years ago.³¹ The author distinguished between four different styles in the corpus, which she attributed to the sovereign: “realistische Stil, idealisierende Stil, stilisierende Stil, jugendliche Typus”.

1° The ‘realistische Stil’ gathers the statues with a strong accentuation of musculature, bones structure, furrows and modelling of the skin. Polz classed in this group the praying statues from Karnak, the mane-sphinxes, the priest-statues, and the statues in greywacke.³² These statues are, according to the author, the closest to those of Senusret III, reminding us of the expressivity. The three

²⁶ BRYAN, in KOZLOFF, BRYAN (eds.), *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, 110-1; BRYAN, in QUIRKE (ed.), *The Temple in Ancient Egypt*, 57-81.

²⁷ PETRIE, *Hawara, Biahmu and Arsinoe*, 53-5. The biggest fragment found on the site is a nose, in Oxford AN 1888.759A.

²⁸ Only fragments of it have been found until now (the foot is in Copenhagen ÆIN 1420).

²⁹ London BM EA 1063 + 1064 and Cairo CG 383 + 540.

³⁰ Only the face of the king is concerned. The anthropomorphic deities, as for them, keep more idealistic, and elongated features, and a slightly smiling expression.

³¹ POLZ, *MDAIK* 51, 227-54 (esp. 230-7).

³² *Op. cit.*, 231. Praying statues from Karnak: Cairo CG 42014, 42015, 42016, 42017, 42018, JE 43596, Berlin 17551, Cleveland 60.56, New York MMA 45.2.6 (Nb.: Cairo CG 42016 and 42018 might be rather representations of Amenemhat IV, although they clearly mean to belong to the same style). Mane-sphinxes: Cairo CG 393, 394, 530, 1243 and JE 87082. Priest-statues: Cairo CG 392, 395 and Rome, Palazzo Altemps 8607. The statues in greywacke, said to be ‘realistic-expressive’: Paris N 464, Copenhagen ÆIN 924, Cairo TR 13/4/22/9.

following styles of Polz are characterized by a younger appearance, by softening this expressivity.

2° The ‘idealisierende Stil’, with the pieces, the modelling of which avoids sharp transitions, shows few folds and an attenuated relief between the surfaces. Polz proposed to put in this group the two black limestone heads of Cambridge and New York, the bust of Moscow and the calcite head in the Louvre.³³

3° The ‘stilisierende Stil’, characterized by a naturalistic treatment of the skin, of the bone structure and musculature. The face, simplified, appears devoid of graphic elements or marked furrows. This group would gather the statues from Medinet Madi, the granite dyads from Hawara, the seated colossi from Bubastis and the seated statue of the Hermitage.³⁴

4° The ‘jugendliche Typus’, illustrated mainly by the seated statue from Hawara, where the king appears with a triangular face, delicate features and a physiognomy which seems generally less marked by age.³⁵

The statues of the first group (at least those in granodiorite)³⁶ clearly have to be separated from the others,

³³ POLZ, *MDAIK* 51, 232: Cambridge E 2.1946 and New York MMA 29.100.150, Moscow 4757 and Paris E 10938. (Nb.: Polz also included the torso of Baltimore 22.251, probably reworked in modern times, as one could observe in the area of the eyes, the nose and the mouth. In this article, we propose to date it rather to the Thirteenth Dynasty, because of the *nemes* proportions, the very elongated eyes and particularly the ears, devoid of this prominent lobe proper to Amenemhat III. However, the transformation of this piece prevents further analysis).

³⁴ *Op. cit.*, 232-3. Statues from Medinet Madi: Milan E.922 and Beni Suef JE 66322. Granite dyads from Hawara: Cairo JE 43289 and Copenhagen ÄIN 1482. Colossal heads from Bubastis: Cairo CG 383 and London BM EA 1063. Statue of the Hermitage: Saint-Petersburg 729. Polz also added a face of statue from Hawara (Leiden F 1934/2.129), difficult to compare with the other pieces, given its level of fragmentation, as well as a quartzite head, which we would rather date to the first third of the Thirteenth Dynasty: MMA 12.183.6. Indeed, the treatment of the facial musculature, the wide space between the eyes, the protruding lower lip and chin differ too much from the corpus, which can be attributed to Amenemhat III.

³⁵ *Op. cit.*, 233: the seated statue from Hawara (Cairo CG 385), the granodiorite head of the Petrie Museum (London UC 14636), and the little bust in chalcedony (Munich ÄS 6762). The author also attributes to this group the limestone head from Lisht (New York MMA 08.200.2), which might however represent one of the successors of Amenemhat III, as well as the quartzite head in Basel (Lg Ae NN 17), which belongs more probably to the beginning of the Thirteenth Dynasty, for the same reasons as the New York head MMA 12.183.6 (*cf.* previous note).

³⁶ The statues in greywacke (Cairo TR 13/4/22/9, Copenhagen ÄIN 924, Paris N 464, and most probably also Boston 20.1213) present a more triangular face, a more pointed chin and more hollow cheeks than the granodiorite statues. The

even if ‘expressive Stil’ would perhaps be more appropriate than ‘realistische’. However, the distinction between the three others groups is less obvious. Stylistic features allow indeed the granodiorite statues from Karnak and the massive statues found the Fayoum and the Delta to be distinguished from the rest of the corpus. They all present large jaws, deep furrows, and strong contrasts in the modelling of the face, conferring a quite unfriendly expression.

The praying statues from Karnak: these statues present a more elongated face, the lower lips particularly prominent, expressing a kind of pout. They can be organized in two series: three or four statues of 110 cm high³⁷ and three others of 80 cm high.³⁸ The two series follow the peculiarities of the same model. The curve of the flanks rises very high, while the pelvis is narrow. The arms look then surprisingly powerful. The musculature is very pronounced, particularly the pectoral muscles. A ventral furrow marks the connection between the breastbone and the navel. These elements give the king a firm and strong, but slim, geometric and somewhat ‘naturalistic’ body. One can observe some slight differences between the six faces: the eyes may be more or less widely opened, the *canthi* more or less sharply sculpted, the lips more or less fleshy. Nevertheless, one should not identify each of these differences as the mark of a sculptor. The six pieces obviously follow the same particular model. They were probably produced for the same program, by a sculptor or a group of sculptors of the same level of excellence.³⁹

sinuous lips have their corners turned down, while those of the granodiorite colossi are often more serene. Particularly, the greywacke figures show a great virtuosity in the chisel and polishing skills, in the shadow and light contrasts, in the suppleness of the flesh and the balance of proportions. The most striking characteristic of the greywacke statues is their precisely chiselled appearance, which is probably due to the nature of the material, requiring particular processes of carving. The grain of greywacke is extremely fine and homogeneous, and the hardness of the stone renders its carving and polishing much longer than granite and granodiorite.

³⁷ Cairo CG 42014, Luxor J. 117 (= CG 42015) and Cairo JE 43596, which might be a fragment of the same statue as Paris AF 2578.

³⁸ Berlin ÄM 17551, New York MMA 45.2.6 and Cleveland 1960.56 (probably upper part of Cairo CG 42019).

³⁹ The available photographs do not allow the most objective comparison. The angles and light influence the perception we might have of them. Nevertheless, they all show the same proportions, the same modelling of the face (particularly strong on these six statues), the same manner of sculpting the contour of the eyelids and lips, wrinkles and furrows of the skin. The statues, which completed this group in the following reigns, present a different treatment, despite the similarity of the model (Cairo CG 42016, 42018, 42020, Berlin ÄM 10337).

The colossi (mane-sphinxes and the priest-king): they present a wider face, with sharp features, a massive bone structure (strong jaws, prominent arches of the eyebrows and cheekbones, protruding chin). The mouth is large and sinuous. The corners of the mouth are slightly raised up, expressing a feeling of confident majesty. On the statues where the king is depicted as a priest, this strong appearance is completed by a particularly developed musculature, flexed pectorals underlined by a double curve.

Some statues should be included in this group, as they share the same features, though Polz suggested qualifying them as belonging to a 'stilisierende Stil': the two granodiorite seated colossi from Bubastis, the granite dyads from Hawara, as well as the hard limestone statues from Medinet Madi. Although they are deprived of the wide beards, which cover the cheeks of the mane-sphinxes and priest-statues, they present an identical facial and body structure: massive, male, strongly modelled, with prominent muscles and bones, with fleshy and sinuous lips, and corners of the mouth raised up. The pectoral muscles are strongly underlined by a double curve, which separates them from the abdomen. This physiognomy is obviously proper to all the preserved colossi of Amenemhat III (Figs. 7, 9). These characteristics seem to be proper to the statues of biggest dimensions, and not only to those in granodiorite. One can also observe them on the torso holding the flail found in Hawara, and the seated statues from Medinet Madi. On those, the material, an indurated limestone, reduces the contrast between shadow and light, and confers to the faces a semblance of softness, which would have been absent if the same features had been given to statues in granodiorite.

None of the colossal statues has been found in a primary context, however, according to their dimensions and types of statuary (sphinxes and seated colossi), one can assume that they were meant to be 'visible', on either side of the gate of a temple. They show then the physiognomy, which was intended to be seen by the widest public.

In contrast to the colossi, the statues in smaller dimensions present a softened face. The athletic body gives way to a slim and sleek torso, with a simplified modelling, and a thinner face, with a calmer, almost sullen expression. Polz qualified this style "juvenile". Freed preferred to see this representation not as a "young" one, but as a return to a more traditional type of an ageless, "perfect" and eternal portrait.⁴⁰ This look is also much more 'human': the king does not appear there with an athletic or wild body. The physiognomy becomes finer, in order to focalize the attention of the observer on the face, which concentrates all the intelligence of the individual. The modelling of the legs becomes 'academicized' and summarized: the tibias and kneecaps are represented by

real ridges; the calf is simplified as a rounded geometric form, instead of the complicated relief on the statues of the first half of the Twelfth Dynasty. The most characteristic and best-preserved example is the limestone statue from Hawara, Cairo CG 385. Folds and furrows, bone structure and expressive musculature give way to a figure of flesh and skin, with an attenuated and subtler modelling. Only the eyes are still highlighted by their large size and clearly indicated dark rings. Several other statues are related to this softened and humanized physiognomy of Amenemhat III (cf. Figs. 10-13): Berlin ÄM 11348, London UC 14363, Cambridge E.2.1946 and New York MMA 29.100.150.⁴¹ All are of quite modest dimensions. The tallest, Cairo CG 385, is slightly under life-size. All are carved in materials of which the grain, colour and surface confer more softness than the granodiorite of most of the monumental statues of the sovereign. Several are in unusual materials, not always easy to identify: a flecked serpentine (?) for the head in the Petrie Museum, a brown serpentine (?) for the Berlin torso, a dark and fine limestone for the heads in Cambridge and New York. Other statues, of smaller dimensions and also in unusual stones, seem to follow the same model, though with less subtlety in the modelling and simplified features: calcite (Paris E 10938), chalcedony (?) (Munich ÄS 6762), steatite (Private Coll. 2003), indurated yellow limestone (Boston 1978.54).

To summarize, within the statuary corpus of Amenemhat III, two main tendencies can be distinguished:

– An expressive one, illustrated by the group of praying statues from Karnak, inspired from those of Senusret III, and by the colossal statues;

– A softened, 'humanized' style, presenting slight variations, for statues in different materials and quite modest sizes.

It is probably abusive to identify several different groups and subgroups and to include each statue in one of them. Within the two opposite tendencies, each statue

⁴⁰ FREED, *RdE* 53, 106.

⁴¹ The heads of Cambridge E.2.1946 and New York MMA 29.100.150 have been categorized in an 'idealisierende Stil' (POLZ, *MDAIK* 51, 232, n. 26), although they do not really present different features than the statues of the 'jugendliche Typus'. They should probably be included in the wider group of the softened and 'humanized' statues. The New York head is carved in the same unusual dark-brown limestone as the Cambridge bust. Both present similarities, which push one to see them as sculptures produced for the same occasion, in the same workshop and perhaps by the same sculptor: large eyes, eyelids indicated only by an edging, two thin and clear lines incised from the inner *canthi*, little prominent cheekbones, the arches of the eyebrows accentuated only at the basis of the nose. The nose itself is quite thick and rounded, with small circular nostrils. The upper lip is fleshier than usual, the chin slightly protruding but short, and the contours of the face are quite square.

shares common features and slight differences with the others, which do not seem to be of significance. Such characteristics can be due to the dimensions, the material, the capability of the sculptor, or a specific phase within the long reign. The two above-mentioned tendencies emerge with more precision because they show more extreme trends and objective common features.

The series of Karnak and the colossal statues show homogeneous and pronounced characteristics, probably because they were produced for specific purposes, in the same hard materials and dimensions, and for a precise destination. The other statues, which are usually less expressive, might have been produced more regularly, in fewer quantities, for different temples or chapels, in diverse materials and dimensions, as well as by sculptors of various levels. Despite some variations, these statues with a softened expression constitute probably the most traditional and representative portrait of the sovereign. They are indeed using the most classic forms, seated or standing, in traditional dress.

A stylistic evolution within the reign?

The reign of Amenemhat III is particularly long: forty-six years. The hypothesis that an evolution, conscious or not, might have characterized his statuary, would thus be legitimate. Although not improbable, this could hardly be demonstrated in the current state of knowledge. It would be difficult to try to see an ageing or rejuvenation in his portrait. The most marked effigies do not represent him 'older', but, on the contrary, they are the most powerful and intimidating. The musculature of these statues reinforces this impression. The statues with a softened expression do not seem necessarily younger; they are in fact ageless, out of time. They simply look more human, softer and interiorized.

The statues from Medinet Madi (Beni Suef JE 66322 and Milan E. 922, *cf.* Fig. 8) are the only ones, which might be datable. They belong probably to the late phase of the reign of Amenemhat III, as the small temple had been finished by Amenemhat IV.⁴² These statues, bigger than life-size, present the characteristic physiognomy of the colossal statues. However, they can hardly suffice to give a date to all the other statues with this appearance.

Another one might be dated, though with less precision: the seated statue from Hawara (Cairo CG 385), prototype of the softened and 'humanized' portrait. It should belong to a date later than the year 15 of his reign, according to a double argument: first, because of the writing form of the royal name, more common after this

date.⁴³ Secondly, it may be estimated due to its provenance, Hawara, second complex of Amenemhat III, the construction of which had logically begun after the abandonment of Dahshur. This argument does not really help to date the style of this statue and establish a stylistic development within the reign. Indeed, no statue can be securely dated to the first fifteen years of his reign. It is also not impossible that the statue had been originally installed in Dahshur, then moved out to Hawara during the construction of this second funerary complex. No statue has indeed been found in Dahshur so far. Finally, even if the statue Cairo CG 385 belongs to the second part of the reign, this would leave us with a long period of around thirty years after the year 15. Let us note also that statues of both styles have been found in Hawara: the most expressive as well as the most softened.

Regional or functional differences?

No regional style can be determined with certainty. Statues of different styles were found on the same sites. Only the group of praying statues present a peculiar style, but one should not try to identify it as a 'Theban style', as their unusual physiognomy may be due to a specific program and does not appear on any other royal or private statue.

It is thus rather to specific cases that particular styles may correspond, apparently related to materials, dimensions and types of statuary:

– On one side, colossi in hard stones, which are the most expressive statues, often depicted with unusual attributes;

– On the other side, statues with a softened physiognomy, for statues of more modest sizes, in different materials, using more traditional forms of statuary.

This difference of physiognomy related to the type of statuary might suggest that both opposite styles were simultaneous but endowed with different functionalities. Although it cannot be demonstrated, for lack of a sufficient number of primary archaeological contexts, it is even likely that these functionalities were dependent on the place where the statues once stood. The most expressive ones, which are the most massive and in the hardest materials, were probably standing in open areas, in courtyards or at the gates of temples. Intended to be visible by the widest range of people, these would manifest the strong, severe, wild, powerful and protective nature of the king.

The others, smaller and often in more precious stones, were showing another, more human and sensitive nature

⁴² LABOURY, *EAO* 30, 58.

⁴³ MATZGER, *Die letzten Könige der 12. Dynastie*, 184; FREED, *RdE* 53, 106.

of the royal person. According to their size and materials, they were probably sheltered in niches or *naoi*, inside the chapels and temples.

Conclusion on the royal portrait

The sculptors of Amenemhat III used a number of new or reinterpreted statuary forms. New creations in an audacious style, were intended to complete the architectural works of the sovereign, projects which were themselves extraordinary, particularly in Biahmu and Hawara.

Some of these forms of statuary were used as models during the following reigns: the series of praying statues in Karnak, for example, which was enlarged by several sovereigns until the Thirteenth Dynasty. The style of the last long reign of the Middle Kingdom considerably marked the sculpture of the following century. All sovereigns of the Thirteenth Dynasty borrowed, with some variations, a physiognomy inspired from the portrait of Amenemhat III, to such an extent that it is often easy to confuse the precursor and successors.

Private statuary under the reign of Amenemhat III

Private sculpture, however, keeps the traditional forms of the previous reigns. The officials are mainly represented seated, standing or squatting. They generally wear a long kilt tied above the navel⁴⁴ or a mantle covering most of the body, and a long wig, pushed back behind the shoulders or falling on the clavicles in pointed lappets.⁴⁵

None of the private statues attributable to the reign of Amenemhat III has been found in archaeological context. However, the large corpus of the Late Middle Kingdom allows us to consider that most of the upper-elite statues were installed in courtyards of temples and local sanctuaries, while the lower elite figures belonged mainly to funerary chapels.

A distinction must indeed be made between the two main different layers of the elite, people able to afford a statue. On one side are the officials holding rank titles (*iry-p^c.t*, *h3ty^c* and particularly *hmtw bity*). Their func-

tion apparently does not enter into consideration for the category of statue. Ministers, governors, officers seem to have acquired the same kinds of statues: the largest ones, in hardest stones (mainly granodiorite and quartzite) and of the higher quality. They adopt with exactitude the physiognomy of the king, in such a way that the same sculptors or workshops seem to have produced them – which would not be surprising as these officials, according to their rank titles, are members of the court and close to the king. It is noticeable that only the softened version of the portrait of the king is adopted for the representations of the officials. The expressive, male and wild face of the mane sphinxes and colossi seems to have been exclusive to the king.

The statue of Nemtyhotep in Berlin is perhaps one of the most representative examples of the high officials corpus of the reign of Amenemhat III. It shows very close similarities with the softened version of the portrait of the king: an oval face with a slightly receding chin, a large mouth with an austere expression, thin but fleshy lips, a quite large nose a bit flattened at the end, particularly large almond-shaped eyes, with heavy eyelids, prominent arches of the eyebrows, deprived of make-up, wide ears, and a very sensitive manner of modelling the skin and bone structure of the cheeks, the corners of the mouth falling down, and the nasolabial folds.

One of the closest other examples of the upper-elite corpus of this reign is the quartzite statue of the director of priests Amenemhat-ankh (*cf.* Fig. 14).⁴⁶ The quality of the carving is comparable to royal sculpture of the late Twelfth Dynasty. The inscriptions indicate that the represented character was close to the king, clearly identified as Amenemhat III: Amenemhat-ankh is said to be “beloved of the Horus Aabaw”, “estimated of Nimaatre”, and “known of Amenemhat”. The material, quartzite, is generally reserved for the upper levels of the hierarchy, and the high quality of the sculpture suggests that the statue came from the chisels of the most experimented sculptors, most likely attached to royal workshops. The treatment of the body and face follows the model of the less expressive sculptures of the sovereign (*cf.* above): the torso is firm, the waist narrow, the musculature is discretely indicated, the shoulders are broad, the face shows a U-shape, the chin is slightly receding, the eyes are wide, almond-shaped, the eyebrows are heavily marked. Only the mouth is less delicately modelled than the king’s: austere and geometric, it is rather reminiscent of some statues of the reign of Senusret III.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ The long kilt becomes more and more common in the second part of the Twelfth Dynasty. It can be used as a quite good dating criterion. Under Senusret II and III, it is tied under the abdomen; under Amenemhat III, above the navel; in the first half of the Thirteenth Dynasty, it is raised until the breast. The abdomen appears gradually more and more prominent by following this development.

⁴⁵ These two forms of wigs, attested since the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty, with some variations, can still be striated, but appear more and more often smooth. On high quality figures, it can then be undulating.

⁴⁶ Paris E 11053, DELANGE, *Statues du Moyen Empire*, 69-71. Probably from the Fayoum.

⁴⁷ Amsterdam 15.350, London BM EA 848 (on loan in Basel Antikenmuseum). *Cf.* CONNOR, in ANDREU, MORFOISSE (eds.), *Sésostri III*, 65-7, figs. 9, 13.

Other close comparisons are the statues Brooklyn 62.77.1,⁴⁸ Rome Barracco 9,⁴⁹ New York 59.26.2,⁵⁰ Baltimore 22.203 (Figs. 15, 17-19). All of them present the same U-shaped face, the wide almond-shaped eyes, the heavy upper eyelids, the large and severe mouth, the thin lips, the corners of the mouth slightly falling down, the pointed chin a little bit receding, the nose generally flattened at the level of nostrils, the wide ears, the short neck, the large shoulders, the firm but discrete musculature. Except for the usurped statuette of a vizier, eyebrows are never incised, but only suggested by the bone structure – however, they were perhaps painted. A statue found in Serabit el-Khadim also shows the same quality and features, though carved in a much less fine material, a local sandstone (cf. Fig. 20). It represents the chief of a mining expedition.⁵¹ Despite the coarseness of the stone, the fineness of the sculpture is comparable to the contemporary royal sculptures – this suggests the presence of a royal sculptor, or a sculptor trained in the royal workshops, in the team of the expedition of both characters. All features of the softened version of the face of Amenemhat III are present. The long kilt is tied above the navel, and the wig is smooth and undulating, following the characteristics of the style of this reign. The ‘embonpoint’ is suggested by incised curved lines, indicating rolls of fat; however, the sculptor applied the stylistic criteria of his time, by representing a very flat torso.

Besides these statues of royal quality, a more modest production seems to expand under Amenemhat III, intensifying a tradition, which characterizes the Late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period. It is not, strictly speaking, a ‘popular’ statuary. The represented characters certainly do not belong to the modest levels of the population, but more probably rather local elites or lower levels of the national elite (officials, but also artisans and staff serving the highest dignitaries). Statues from this category follow the model of the upper-elite sculpture. However, their dimensions are smaller, materials are generally softer (mainly limestone and steatite) and their style is usually of less fine quality. Dating them is then often difficult, as soon as they deviate too far from the style of the royal statuary.

⁴⁸ Brooklyn 62.77.1 (FAZZINI *et al.*, *Ancient Egyptian Art in the Brooklyn Museum*, no. 24).

⁴⁹ Rome Barracco 9 (SIST, *Museo Barracco*, 44-5).

⁵⁰ New York MMA 59.26.2 (SEIPEL, *Gott-Mensch-Pharao*, no. 64).

⁵¹ The “deputy of the treasurer” Nebaawer and the “chamberlain of Djedbaw” Khentykhety (Brussels MRAH E. 2310, cf. VALBELLE, BONNET, *Le sanctuaire d’Hathor*, 154, fig. 178). These two officials are not known from other monuments. However, at least twenty-eight expeditions were sent to Sinai under Amenemhat III (*op.cit.*, 10-1), which makes the dating of this dyad under this reign highly probable, as suggested by its style.

The only one, which may be dated from other sources is the small sandstone triad of the overseer of workmen of the necropolis Senbebu (cf. Fig. 21).⁵² The father of Senbebu, Sobekhotep, who held the same title as him, was in charge under Amenemhat II, according to the stela Berlin ÄM 1203. The inscription on the statuette explains that it was produced on behalf of the son’s initiative, Ptah-wer, also with the same title, two generations then after Amenemhat II, which leads us to the beginning of the reign of Amenemhat III. The sculpture does not lack of care from the sculptor, however it does show certain awkwardness, which forbids us to see it as the product of a royal workshop: unequal proportions (legs too large, torso too narrow), inclined axis of the lateral figures, imprecisions in the features of the face. However, the model is clearly inspired from the royal style, with the large eyes and heavy eyelids, the oval face, and the sullen mouth. The kilt of the owner is tied above the navel; he wears the traditional striated wig, pushed back behind the shoulders.

It is thus possible to identify a lower-elite style, perhaps a provincial one, of the reign of Amenemhat III. A series of other statuettes, single or groups, may be attributed to the same period, according to stylistic criteria (shape of the kilt, the wig, the contours of the face, the treatment of the eyes, eyelids, mouth, musculature, etc., cf. Figs. 21-24): Baltimore 22.349, Basel Lg Ae OG 1, Boston 27.871, Cairo CG 476 and JE 37891, Cleveland 1985.136, New York 66.123.1, Oxford 1913.411, Paris E 22771.⁵³ Stylistic features allow us to date them approximately to the reign of Amenemhat III. However, they present a modelling less subtle and a quality somewhat lower than the statues of the king and of the high officials. They are all of small dimensions and in materials less prestigious than the stones of the upper-elite statuary: limestone, sandstone, steatite and serpentine.

The private statuary attributable to the reign of Amenemhat III seems then to have followed, for the higher officials as well as for the lower levels of the elite, the model of the softened portrait of the king (style of the

⁵² New York MMA 56.136 (FISCHER, *B MMA* 17, 145-53).

⁵³ Baltimore 22.349 (SCHULZ, SEIDEL, *Egyptian Art*, 48-9), Basel Lg Ae OG 1 (PAGE-GASSER, WIESE, *Ägypten: Augenblicke der Ewigkeit*, 74, no. 41), Boston 27.871 (DUNHAM, JANSSEN, *Semna Kumma*, 33, pls. 39-40), Cairo CG 476 (BORCHARDT, *Statuen und Statuetten*, vol. II, 60-1, pl. 79), Cairo JE 37891 (HORNE MANN, *Types of Ancient Egyptian Statuary* V, no. 1165), Cleveland 1985.136 (BERMAN, *The Cleveland Museum of Art*, 158-9, no. 96), New York MMA 66.123.1 (FISCHER, in *Egyptian Studies III*, 108, n. 3, frontispiece), Oxford 1913.411 (WHITEHOUSE, *Ancient Egypt and Nubia in the Ashmolean Museum*, 67-8, fig. 19, pl. 9), Paris E 22771 (DELANGE, *Statues du Moyen Empire*, 199). Nb.: also the unpublished pieces Chicago Field Museum A.30821 and Oxford 1872.86.

seated statue from Hawara, Cairo CG 385). Some variations may be due to the quality of sculpture and the material, however one can identify the inspiration from the official features of the sovereign. The expressive physiognomy of the mane sphinxes and the colossal statues of the king seem to have had no echo in the private repertoire. It is obviously a style, which is reserved to a particular production of royal statues. The same phenomenon is observable under Senusret III: except for a few rare statues⁵⁴ no preserved private representation shows the features of the expressive version of the portrait of the sovereign. Under Senusret III as well as under Amenemhat III, the sculptors borrowed for private statuary the softened, less personalized, version of the royal portrait.⁵⁵

Conclusion

Higher officials and members of the lower levels of elite were using the same forms of statuary. Both categories are represented in the same positions, the same gestures, the same costumes and wigs and the same stylistic model: the softened version of the royal portrait.

On the other hand, the quality and the material, as well as in many cases the size of the statue, depend on the status of the represented person. Statues of the highest officials, ministers and familiars of the king, may come from the royal workshops: they are usually in quite large dimensions, in hard materials (granodiorite, quartzite, fine limestone) and present the same quality and physiognomy as the royal representations. Statues of the lower officials and provincial elites are of smaller dimensions,

⁵⁴ The statue of the governor Heqaib II in Elephantine (HABACHI, *The Sanctuary of Heqaib*, no. 17) and a head in Brussels (MRAH E. 6748, DE SMET, JOSEPHSON, *BMAH* 62, 5-14).

⁵⁵ The corpus of statues of gods from the reign of Amenemhat III shows also several anthropomorphic representations, which follow also an attenuated version of the face of the sovereign. The few preserved faces present a still smoother physiognomy:

- Leiden F 1934/2.89 (BLOM-BÖER, *Die Tempelanlage Amenemhets III. in Hawara*, no. 40)
- Copenhagen ÆIN 1415 (BLOM-BÖER, *op. cit.*, no. 35)
- Cairo JE 36359 (FAY, *MDAIK* 52, 115-41)
- Perhaps also Geneva Eg. 4 (CHAPPAZ, *BSEG* 26, 5-12)

However, they show the wide and elongated eyes of the sovereign, as well as his ears with prominent lobes. The torsos of the male deities (including those with a crocodile- or a bull-head, for example) are more related to the monumental and expressive statues of Amenemhat III, with a strong musculature and flexed pectorals, underlined by a clear curve. For example:

- Boston 12.1003 (PETRIE *et al.*, *The Labyrinth, Gerzeh and Mazghuneh*, pl. 24d)
- Cairo TR 1/10/14/2 (deity with a crocodile-head), PETRIE *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pl. 24c
- Probably also Philadelphia E 12327 (unpublished)

lower quality of carving and in less prestigious materials (soft limestone, sandstone, serpentine and steatite). These tendencies are observable through all the Late Middle Kingdom, from Senusret III until the late Thirteenth Dynasty.

The statue of Nemtyhotep in Berlin definitely belongs to the upper class corpus.

The represented man bears the title of a “steward” (*imy-r pr*). However, as this kind of statue, of large size, prestigious material, and royal-like quality, is typical of the upper-elite, it may be proposed then to attribute it, as suggested by W. Grajetzki and D. Stefanović, to the “high steward” (*imy-r pr wr*) Nemtyhotep, attested by a seal in New York.⁵⁶ If it is the case, the owner of the statue would then bear the rank titles of “royal chancellor” (*htmw bity*) and perhaps “follower of the king” (*šmsw n(i)-sw.t*), which would make him one of the highest members of the court. As noted above, the inscription on the statue seems to consist only in a rough draft. It is then possible that only the abbreviated title of the owner has been written – it was probably just meant to identify it, perhaps in a workshop, waiting for a more careful inscription, which has finally never been carved. Such a statue is indeed typical of the category of upper-elite sculpture and would be suitable for a high official.

The statue was bought by Borchardt in Asyut in 1902. It was said to be from its region, from the now unknown locality of “el-Burg el-Hammam”. Was it installed in a temple, which has now disappeared? Late Middle Kingdom statues of such quality and size of high officials are usually found in temples or local sanctuaries. However, it may also come from the Siutian necropolis, where the nomarchs of the first half of the Twelfth dynasty have been buried.

No major tombs seem to have been cut as late as during the late Twelfth Dynasty. The last ones seem to date to the middle of it.⁵⁷ No tomb, even smaller, of a Nemtyhotep has been found in the necropolis. Nevertheless, the name of the owner of the statue, based on the name of the local deity “Nemty”, makes probable the origin of the steward in the region of Asyut.⁵⁸ The statue might then have been placed not in the funerary chapel of the represented man, but in one of an ancestor/predecessor. This practice is indeed attested in other places in the Late Middle Kingdom.

The closest example is the necropolis of Qaw el-Kebir, where the large statue of the governor Wahka III (Turin S. 4265)⁵⁹ seems to have been installed in the

⁵⁶ New York MMA 22.2.245 (GRAJETZKI, STEFANOVIĆ, *Dossiers of Ancient Egyptians*, no. 103.)

⁵⁷ ZITMAN, *The Necropolis of Assiut*, 319-56.

⁵⁸ CHAPPAZ, in LIMME, STRYBOL (eds.), *Aegyptus Museis Rediviva*, 63-75, figs. 1-5.

⁵⁹ EVERS, *Staat aus dem Stein*, vol. I, pl. 77; STECKEWEH, STEIN-

monumental tomb of his ancestor Wahka I. The dating of this statue has been subject to many discussions. However, its style points to the very late Twelfth Dynasty or even perhaps more probably the beginning of the Thirteenth (according to the form of the wig, the modelling of the facial features, the treatment of the elongated almond-shaped eyes and the large mouth with a smile). None of the three huge funerary chapels in Qaw el-Kebir can however be dated so late in the Middle Kingdom. The monumental program of the architecture and of the decoration of these tombs of quasi royal appearance, correspond to the first half of the Twelfth Dynasty. The style of the reliefs and of the owners' statues confirms this dating, not later than Amenemhat II or Sensusret II. The governor represented by the statue 4265 is named Wahka son of Neferhotep, while the two monumental tombs in Qaw el-Kebir belong to Wahka (I) son of Henu (tomb 7) and Wahka (II) son of Nakht(i) (tomb 18). The style of the statue clearly points to a much later date, and its owner has thus to be identified as a third governor named Wahka. Instead of building, like his predecessors, a fourth large funerary complex, which was no longer allowed or economically possible for a provincial governor at this time, Wahka III son of Neferhotep installed a large statue of himself in the chapel of the founder of his lineage. An offering table found in the tomb of Wahka II, also attests to another governor of Qaw el-Kebir, named Nemtynakht.⁶⁰ It appears then as a common practice for governors of the Late Middle Kingdom to pay homage to their ancestors through monuments placed in their chapels.⁶¹

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DORFF, *Die Furstengraber von Qau*, 15, 46; CURTO, *L'antico Egitto nel Museo Egizio di Torino*, 96; FRANKE, *Personendaten*, no. 199; D'AMICONE, in DONADONI ROVERI (ed.), *Civiltà degli Egizi. Le credenze religiose*, 119, pl. 160; GRAJETZKI, *GM* 156, 56-7; MELANDRI, *V&MO* 15 (2011), 252-70.

⁶⁰ PETRIE, *Antaeopolis*, pl. 17.

⁶¹ The cult of ancient nomarchs seems indeed to have constituted an important part of the religious practices during the Middle Kingdom, perhaps even more important, at least in the provinces, than the cult of deities. Cf. KEMP, *CAJ* 5, 25-54; WILLEMS, *Les textes des sarcophages et la démocratie*, 127-8, 226-7.

Appendix

List of statues inscribed for Amenemhat III or which may be attributed to him according to stylistic criteria or archaeological context⁶²

	Museum/site + Inv. Nb.	Type of statue	Material	Provenance	Dating method	Short bibliography
1*	Abydos, temple of Sethy I, 2 nd courtyard	Osiridae, in a naos	Limestone	Abydos	Style	WEGNER, <i>The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III</i> , 43-6
2	Alep 6450	Sphinx	Granodiorite	Alep	Inscription	SCANDONE-MATTHIAE, <i>RdE</i> 40, 123-9, pl. 4
3*	Berlin ÄM 1121	Standing, praying	Granodiorite	Mit Rahina	Inscription	WILDUNG, <i>Ägypten 2000 v. Chr.</i> , no. 56
4*	Berlin ÄM 11348	Seated? (bust with nemes)	Serpentine?	Unknown	Style	WILDUNG, <i>Ägypten 2000 v. Chr.</i> , no. 55
5*	Berlin ÄM 17551	Standing, praying	Granodiorite	Probably Kar- nak	Style	WILDUNG, <i>Ägypten 2000 v. Chr.</i> , no. 54
6*	Beirut DGA 27574 (might be also identified as Senusret III)	Undefined (head with nemes)	Gneiss	Byblos	Style	DUNAND, <i>Fouilles de Byblos</i> , 596, pl. 156, no. 13377
7-8*	Colossi of Biah- mu (nose: Oxford AN1888.759A)	Seated colossi	Quartzite	Biahmu	Inscription	PETRIE, <i>Hawara, Biahmu and Arsinoe</i> , 3, 53-6, pls. 26-7
9*	Boston 13.3968	Undefined (bust with nemes)	Serpentine	Kerma	Style	FREED, in PETSCHER, VON FALCK (eds.), <i>Pharao siegt immer</i> , 214, no. 205
10*	Boston 1978.54	Undefined (face with nemes or khat)	Limestone	Unknown	Style	PM VIII, no. 800-493-350
11*	Boston 20.1213	Undefined (head with nemes)	Greywacke	Kerma	Style	REISNER, <i>Excavations at Ker- ma VI</i> , no. 12
12*	Boston (loan)	Sphinx	Granodiorite	Unknown	Inscription	FAY, <i>The Louvre Sphinx</i> , 57, 66, pl. 89, no. 39
13*	Cairo CG 383 + 540	Seated colos- sus	Granodiorite	Bubastis	Style	EVERS, <i>Staat aus dem Stein</i> , vol. I, 113-4, 117; vol. II, § 431-4, 699
14*	Cairo CG 385	Seated	Limestone	Hawara	Inscription	WILDUNG, <i>L'âge d'or</i> , 206, fig. 181
15	Cairo CG 391	Mane sphinx	Limestone	Elkab	Style	VERBOVSEK, <i>Die sogenannten Hyksosmenumente</i> , 24

⁶² An asterisk indicates when the author has personally examined the statue.

16*	Cairo CG 392	Dyad, king-priest offering Nilotic goods	Granodiorite	Tanis	Style	FREED, <i>RdE</i> 53, 116-8, pl. 19b
17*	Cairo CG 393	Mane sphinx	Granodiorite	Tanis	Style	VERBOVSEK, <i>Die sogenannten Hyksosmenumente</i> , 19-20
18*	Cairo CG 394	Mane sphinx	Granodiorite	Tanis	Style	VERBOVSEK, <i>Die sogenannten Hyksosmenumente</i> , 21
19*	Cairo CG 395	King as a priest	Granodiorite	Kiman Fares	Style	FREED, <i>RdE</i> 53, 114-5, pl. 19a
20	Cairo CG 423	Seated	Granodiorite	Kom el-Ahmar	Inscription	BORCHARDT, <i>Statuen und Statuetten</i> , vol. II, 31, pl. 68
21*	Cairo CG 487	Undefined (head with nemes)	Gneiss?	Unknown	Style	BORCHARDT, <i>Statuen und Statuetten</i> , vol. II, 65-6, pl. 81
22*	Cairo CG 488	Undefined (head with nemes)	Gneiss	Unknown	Style	BORCHARDT, <i>Statuen und Statuetten</i> , vol. II, 66, pl. 81
23*	Cairo CG 530	Mane sphinx	Granodiorite	Tanis	Style	VERBOVSEK, <i>Die sogenannten Hyksosmenumente</i> , 22
24	Cairo CG 531	Dyad, king-priest offering Nilotic goods	Granodiorite	Tanis	Style	LEIBOVITCH, <i>JNES</i> 12, 99-100, 111-2, figs. 25-6
25*	Cairo CG 1243	Mane sphinx	Granodiorite	Tanis	Style	VERBOVSEK, <i>Die sogenannten Hyksosmenumente</i> , 22
26	Cairo JE 41472	Sphinx (front part)	Granodiorite	Karnak	?	PM II ² , 281
27*	Cairo CG 42015	Standing, praying	Granodiorite	Karnak	Style	EVERS, <i>Staat aus dem Stein</i> , vol. I, pls. 131-2
28	Cairo CG 42019 (+ perhaps join with Cleveland 1960.56)	Standing, praying	Granodiorite	Karnak	Inscription	LEGRAIN, <i>Statues et statuettes</i> , 12
29*	Cairo JE 42995	Heb-sed? (head with white crown)	Granodiorite	Kom el-Hisn	Style and provenance	EVERS, <i>Staat aus dem Stein</i> , vol. I, pl. 101
30	Cairo JE 43104	Triad, Heb-sed	Granodiorite	Kom el-Hisn	Inscription	EVERS, <i>Staat aus dem Stein</i> , vol. I, 91-2, fig. 23, pls. 99-100
31*	Cairo JE 43289	Dyad in a naos	Granite	Hawara	Provenance	SEIDEL, <i>Die königlichen Statuengruppen</i> , 101-3, pl. 28a, fig. 27

32*	Cairo JE 43596 (perhaps same statue as Paris, Louvre AF 2578)	Probably standing, praying	Granodiorite	Karnak	Style and provenance	PM II ² , 281
33*	Cairo JE 66322 (now in Beni Suef)	Seated, holding a tray	Limestone	Medinet Madi	Inscription	VOGLIANO, <i>Un'impresa archeologica milanese</i> , pl. 7
34*	Cairo JE 87082	Dyad of mane sphinxes	Granodiorite	Bubastis	Style	HABACHI, <i>SAK</i> 6, 83, fig. 1, pl. 23a
35*	Cairo TR 13/4/22/9	Undefined (head with Amun crown)	Greywacke	Unknown	Style	RUSSMANN, <i>Egyptian Sculpture, Cairo and Luxor</i> , 68, no. 30
36*	Cambridge E.2.1946	Undefined (bust with nemes)	Dark limestone	Unknown	Style	ROBINS, <i>The Art of Ancient Egypt</i> , 113, fig. 121
37*	Cambridge E.GA.82.1949	Undefined (face)	Granodiorite	Unknown	Style	BOURRIAU, <i>Pharaohs and mortals</i> , 42-3, no. 29
38*	Chicago OIM 14048	Undefined (head with nemes)	Limestone	Unknown	Style	PM VIII, no. 800-493-750
39*	Cleveland 1960.56 (+ perhaps join with Cairo CG 42014)	Standing, praying	Granodiorite	Probably Karnak	Style	BERMAN, <i>The Cleveland Museum of Art</i> , 155-7
40*	Copenhagen ÆIN 1417	Colossus	Limestone	Hawara	Provenance	BAGH, <i>Finds from W.M.F. Petrie's Excavations</i> , 108-9, fig. 3.20
41*	Copenhagen ÆIN 1420	Seated colossus	Granite	Hawara	Provenance	BLOM-BOËR, <i>Die Tempelanlage Amenemhets III. in Hawara</i> , 180-1, no. 85
42*	Copenhagen ÆIN 1482	Dyad in a naos	Granite	Hawara	Provenance	SEIDEL, <i>Die königlichen Statuengruppen</i> , 103-4, pl. 28b, fig. 27
43*	Copenhagen ÆIN 924	Undefined (head with White Crown)	Greywacke	Unknown	Style	JØRGENSEN, <i>Egypt I</i> , 168-9, no. 68
44	Damascus 471	Sphinx	Greywacke	Ugarit	Inscription	SCHAEFFER, <i>Ugaritica</i> 4, 223, fig. 25
45	Damascus 473	Sphinx	Greywacke	Ugarit	Inscription	SCHAEFFER, <i>Ugaritica</i> 1, 21, pl. 3
46	Hawara?	Dyad in a naos (fragment)	Granite	Hawara	Provenance	BLOM-BOËR, <i>Die Tempelanlage Amenemhets III</i> , 138
47*	Hawara	Statue in a naos, with flail	Limestone	Hawara	Provenance and style	BLOM-BOËR, <i>Die Tempelanlage Amenemhets III</i> , 160-2, no. 53

48	Hawara	Group with fish-goddesses	Limestone	Hawara	Provenance	BLOM-BOËR, <i>Die Tempelanlage Amenemhets III</i> , 137-8, no. 28
49	Karnak, Akhmenu SX.2	Fragment of base	Limestone	Karnak	Inscription	CARLOTTI, <i>L'Akh-menou de Thoutmosis III</i> , 116, fig. 67
50	Leiden F 1934/2.129	Fragment of a head	Limestone	Hawara	Provenance and style	BLOM-BOËR, <i>Die Tempelanlage Amenemhets III</i> , 165, no. 55
51*	Leiden F 1934/2.83	Undefined (fragment of a royal kilt)	Limestone	Hawara	Provenance	BLOM-BOËR, <i>Die Tempelanlage Amenemhets III</i> , 172, no. 67
52*	London BM 1063 + 1064	Seated colossus	Granodiorite	Bubastis	Style	STRUDWICK, <i>Masterpieces of Ancient Egypt</i> , 92-3
53*	London BM EA 65506 (might also be a successor of Amenemhat III)	Miniature mane sphinx	Obsidian	Unknown	Style	WARMENBOL, <i>Sphinx</i> , 92, 208, no. 50
54*	London UC 14363	Undefined (head with nemes)	Serpentine? Gneiss?	Unknown	Style	TROPE, QUIRKE, LACOVARA, <i>Excavating Egypt</i> , 22, no. 17
55*	Luxor J. 117 (= Cairo CG 42014)	Standing, praying	Granodiorite	Karnak	Inscription	EVERS, <i>Staat aus dem Stein</i> , vol. I, pls. 131-2
56*	Milan E. 922	Seated, holding a tray	Limestone	Medinet Madi	Inscription	LISE, <i>Museo archeologico: Raccolata egizia</i> , 28, figs. 109-13, no. 80
57	Moscow 4757	Seated	Granodiorite	Unknown	Style	BERLEV, HODJASH, <i>Sculpture of Ancient Egypt</i> , 87-8, no. 18
58*	Munich ÄS 6762	Undefined (bust)	Chalcedony?	Unknown	Style	WILDUNG, <i>L'âge d'or de l'Égypte</i> , 204, fig. 180
59*	Munich ÄS 6982	Standing	Copper	Hawara?	Style	WILDUNG, <i>Ägypten 2000 v. Chr.</i> , no. 60
60*	Munich ÄS 7132	Sphinx	Limestone	Unknown	Style	WARMENBOL, <i>Sphinx</i> , 93, 210, no. 53
61*	Munich ÄS 7133 (might also be a successor of Amenemhat III)	Mane sphinx	Serpentine	Unknown	Style	WARMENBOL, <i>Sphinx</i> , 73, 210, no. 55
62*	Munich ÄS 7268	Standing, praying	Limestone	Unknown	Style	WILDUNG, SCHOSKE, <i>Last Exit Munich</i> , 63, no. 47
63*	New York MMA 24.7.1	Undefined (head with Double Crown)	Granodiorite	Unknown	Style	ALDRED, <i>MMJ</i> 3, 48

64	New York MMA 29.100.150	Undefined (head with nemes)	Dark lime- stone	Unknown	Style	ARNOLD, in FRELINGHUYSEN <i>et al.</i> , <i>Splendid Legacy: the Havemeyer Collection</i> , 114
65*	New York MMA 45.2.6	Probably standing, pray- ing	Granodiorite	Probably Kar- nak	Style	ALDRED, <i>MMJ</i> 3, 47, figs. 32-3
66	New York Art Institute S. 439	Seated	Granodiorite?	Unknown	Inscription	Unknown?
67*	Paris AF 2578 (+ Cairo JE 43596?)	Standing, praying	Granodiorite	Probably Kar- nak	Style	DELANGE, <i>Statues du Moyen Empire</i> , 46-7
68*	Paris E 10938	Sphinx	Calcite	Unknown	Style	DELANGE, <i>Statues du Moyen Empire</i> , 38-9
69*	Paris N 464 + Cairo CG 769	Standing	Greywacke	Fayum	Inscription + style	FAY, in GORING <i>et al.</i> , <i>Chief of Seers</i> , 97-103
70*	Philadelphia E 6623	Undefined (head with Amun crown)	Granodiorite	Hu	Style	Unpublished
71*	Rome Altemps 8607	Fragment of a priest-statue	Granodiorite	Unknown (found in Rome)	Style	FREED, <i>RdE</i> 53, 116
72	Saint-Petersburg 729	Seated	Granodiorite	Unknown	Inscription	POLZ, <i>MDAIK</i> 51, 246, n. 108
73	Saint-Petersburg 18113	Standing	Greywacke	Unknown	Inscription	POLZ, <i>MDAIK</i> 51, 246, n. 110
74	Current place unknown (Karnak-Nord E. 133)	Kneeling	Granodiorite	Karnak-Nord	Inscription	BARGUET, LECLANT, <i>Kar- nak-Nord IV</i> , 139, pl. 116
75*	Private collection (Ortiz)	Undefined (head with a nemes)	Copper	'Hawara'	Style	ORTIZ, <i>In Pursuit of the Abso- lute</i> , no. 36
76*	Private collection (Ortiz)	Kneeling	Copper	'Hawara'	Style	ORTIZ, <i>In Pursuit of the Abso- lute</i> , no. 37
77	Private collection (ex- Nubar collection)	Undefined (head with a nemes)	Quartzite	Unknown	Style	CAPART, <i>L'art égyptien</i> , vol. II, pl. 287
78	Private collection	Undefined (fragment of a face)	Limestone	Unknown	Style	<i>Sale Catalogue Bonhams</i> , May 14 th 2003, 7, no. 11
79	Private collection	Undefined (bust with a nemes)	Serpentine or steatite	Unknown	Style	FAY, <i>EAO</i> 31, 17-8, figs. 14-5

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Fig. 1



Fig. 2

Figs. 1-3 - Berlin ÄM 15700 and detail. Quartzite. H. 77 cm. With courtesy of the Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin

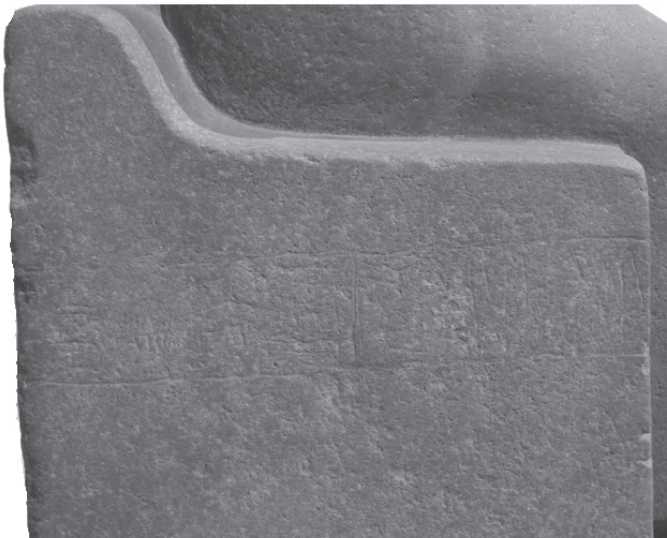


Fig. 3

Fig. 4 - Relief from Hawara (unpublished). Quartzite

Fig. 5 - Cairo TR 13/4/22.9. Head of Amenemhat III with Amun-crown. Greywacke. H. 18 cm

Statues of Amenemhat III (“expressive portraits”)

Fig. 6 - Cleveland 1960.56. Granodiorite. H. orig. 80 cm. Most probably from Karnak

Fig. 7 - London BM 1063. Granodiorite. H. orig. 425 cm. Found in Bubastis

Fig. 8 - Cairo JE 66322 (now in Beni Suef museum). Limestone. H. 170 cm. From Medinet Madi.

Fig. 9 - Rome, Palazzo Altemps 8607. Granodiorite. H. orig. 300 cm. Found in Rome

Statues of Amenemhat III (“softened portraits”)

Fig. 10 - London UC 14363. Serpentine? H. orig. 80-96 cm. Unknown provenance

Fig. 11 - Berlin ÄM 11348. Serpentine? H. orig. ca. 80 cm. Unknown provenance

Fig. 12 - Copenhagen ÆIN 924. Greywacke. H. orig. ca. 150 cm. Unknown provenance

Fig. 13 - Cairo CG 385. Limestone. H. 160 cm. From Hawara



Fig. 4



Fig. 5



Fig. 6



Fig. 7



Fig. 8



Fig. 9

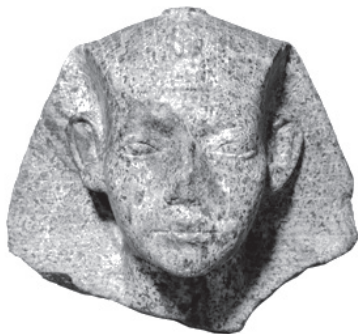


Fig. 10



Fig. 11



Fig. 12



Fig. 13



Fig. 14



Fig. 15



Fig. 16



Fig. 17



Fig. 18



Fig. 19

Fig. 14 - Paris E 11053. Quartzite. H. orig. 72 cm. Probably from Fayum

Fig. 15 - Brooklyn 62.77.1. Quartzite. H. 69,8 cm. Unknown provenance

Fig. 16 - Berlin ÄM 15700

Fig. 17 - Rome Barracco 9. Quartzite. H. orig. 36-48 cm. Unknown provenance

Fig. 18 - New York MMA 59.26.2. Quartzite. H. orig. 38-50 cm. Unknown provenance (photo © MMA)

Fig. 19 - Baltimore 22.203.

Greywacke. H. orig. 40 cm. Unknown provenance

Fig. 20 - Brussels E. 2310. Sandstone. H. 34 cm. From Serabit el-Khadim

Fig. 21 - Group statue of Senbebu. New York 56.136. Sandstone. H. 21 cm. Probably from Elephantine (photo © MMA)

Fig. 22 - Oxford 1913.411. Limestone. H. 18,6 cm. From Abydos, Middle Cemetery

Fig. 23 - New York MMA 66.123.1. Limestone. H. 26,6 cm. Unknown provenance (photo © MMA)

Fig. 24 - Statuette of the steward Mentuaa. Basel Lg Ae OG 1. Steatite. H. 15,3 cm. Unknown provenance



Fig. 20



Fig. 21



Fig. 22



Fig. 23



Fig. 24

