

AMILLA

The Quest for Excellence

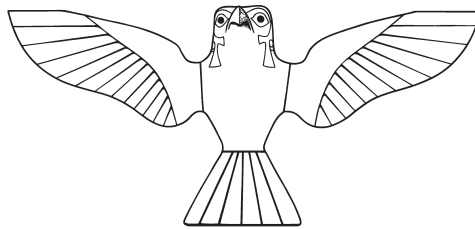
Studies Presented to Guenter Kopcke in
Celebration of His 75th Birthday



AMILLA

The Quest for Excellence

Studies Presented to Guenter Kopcke in
Celebration of His 75th Birthday





Guenter Kopcke in his office at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, June 2010.

PREHISTORY MONOGRAPHS 43

AMILLA

The Quest for Excellence

Studies Presented to Guenter Kopcke in
Celebration of His 75th Birthday

edited by

Robert B. Koehl



Published by
INSTAP Academic Press
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
2013

Design and Production
INSTAP Academic Press, Philadelphia, PA

Printing and Binding
Hoster Bindery, Inc., Ivyland, PA

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Amilla : the quest for excellence : studies presented to Guenter Kopcke in celebration of his 75th birthday / edited by Robert B. Koehl.

pages cm. -- (Prehistory monographs ; 43)

Includes bibliographical references.

ISBN 978-1-931534-73-4

1. Mediterranean Region--Antiquities. 2. Classical antiquities. 3. Art, Classical. I. Koehl, Robert B., author, editor of compilation. II. Kopcke, Günter, honouree.

DE59.A56 2013

937--dc23

2013013540

Copyright © 2013
INSTAP Academic Press
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
All rights reserved
Printed in the United States of America



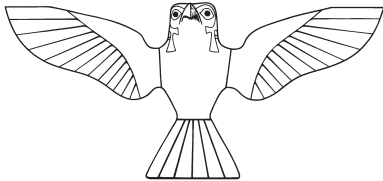
Table of Contents

List of Tables in the Text.....	ix
List of Figures in the Text.....	xi
Preface and Acknowledgments.....	xxi
Guenter Kopcke: A Bibliography.....	xxv
List of Abbreviations.....	xxvii
PART I. PERCEIVING ANCIENT ART	
1. Ancient Egyptian Art: Image and Response <i>by Dorothea Arnold</i>	3
2. The Belvedere Apollo: On the Perception of an Ancient Work of Art after Antiquity <i>by Annalis Leibundgut</i>	17
3. “Silence et fureur”: The Pythia in Berlin and in the Paris Opéra <i>by Michael Maaß</i>	21
PART II. AEGEAN BRONZE AGE	
4. The Larnakes from the Hagios Charalambos Ossuary <i>by Philip P. Betancourt</i>	33

5. From Representational to Narrative Art in the Early Bronze Age Cyclades <i>by Christos G. Doumas.</i>	41
6. From Vase Painting to Wall Painting: The Lilies Jug from Akrotiri, Thera <i>by Andreas G. Vlachopoulos.</i>	55
7. The Crocus Gatherer's Costume Revisited <i>by Bernice R. Jones.</i>	77
8. Architectural Design, Bioclimate, and Palaces: The Loom, the Warp, and the Weft <i>by Stella Chryssoulaki.</i>	91
9. A New Reconstruction of the South House at Knossos <i>by Jane F. Lloyd.</i>	103
10. Cult Object—Image—Emblem: A Life-Sized Stone Bull's Head from the Juktas Peak Sanctuary <i>by Alexandra Karetsou and Robert B. Koehl.</i>	135
11. Animated Art of the Minoan Renaissance <i>by J. Alexander MacGillivray.</i>	145
12. Realities of Power: The Minoan Thalassocracy in Historical Perspective <i>by Malcolm H. Wiener.</i>	149
PART III. EGYPTIAN, ANATOLIAN, AND EAST MEDITERRANEAN BRONZE AGE	
13. Figural Representations from the Predynastic Cemetery at Naga El-Hai and the Origins of Egyptian Style <i>by Rita E. Freed.</i>	177
14. Kerma in Nubia, the Last Mystery: The Political and Social Dynamics of an Early Nilotic State <i>by David O'Connor.</i>	189
15. The Origins of the West Anatolian Early Bronze Age <i>by Jak Yakar.</i>	207
16. An Early Anatolian Ivory Chair: The Pratt Ivories in The Metropolitan Museum of Art <i>by Elizabeth Simpson.</i>	221
17. A Plaster-Encased Multiple Burial at Alalakh: Cist Tomb 3017 <i>by K. Aslihan Yener.</i>	263
18. Red Lustrous Wheelmade and Coarse-Ware Spindle Bottles from Ashkelon <i>by Celia J. Bergoffen.</i>	281
19. Cypriot Bronzework and Images of Power: The Cesnola Krater and Tripod <i>by Joan Aruz</i> <i>with a contribution by Deborah Schorsch.</i>	293
PART IV. IRON AGE GREECE, WESTERN ASIA, AND THE NEAR EAST	
20. The Meaning of the Greek Cemetery from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age <i>by Anthony M. Snodgrass.</i>	311
21. "Old Country" Ethnonyms in "New Countries" of the "Sea Peoples" Diaspora <i>by Itamar Singer†.</i>	321
22. Phoenician Clay Figurines Recovered from the Sea in the Hecht Museum Collection <i>by Ephraim Stern.</i>	335
23. The Hasanlu Lovers <i>by Oscar White Muscarella.</i>	345

PART V. ARCHAIC AND CLASSICAL GREECE, ITALY, AND WESTERN ASIA

24. Ships in Pre-Classical Asia Minor <i>by Olaf Höckmann</i>	353
25. Apollo and Herakles at Naukratis in the Archaic Period <i>by Ursula Höckmann</i>	367
26. The Career of Mnesikles <i>by James McCredie</i>	379
27. The Classical Marble Pyxis and Dexilla's Dedication <i>by Jasper Gaunt</i>	381
28. Helen's Birth on a Calyx Krater from Acanthus <i>by Katerina Romiopoulou</i>	399
29. Observations on "La Stanca," the Neo-Attic Weary Maenad <i>by Beryl Barr-Sharrar</i>	409
30. Some Notes on the Metropolitan Museum's Pagenstecher Lekythos <i>by Joan R. Mertens</i>	415
31. What Role for Etruscans? <i>by Larissa Bonfante</i>	423
32. The Genesis of the Etruscan Round Throne <i>by Irma Wehgartner</i>	437



List of Tables in the Text

Table 9.1.	Rooms with pillars at the ground-floor facades of nonpalatial Minoan buildings on Crete.....	111
Table 9.2.	Stairways and windows in buildings at Akrotiri, Thera.....	113
Table 9.3.	Stairways in Minoan buildings other than palaces in the Neopalatial period.	115
Table 9.4.	Exterior and interior windows in Early Neopalatial Minoan buildings.....	120
Table 9.5.	Stairways at porticoes in Neopalatial Minoan buildings.....	126
Table 9.6.	Stairways with raised landings in Neopalatial Minoan buildings.....	127
Table 13.1.	Chronological list of Naga el-Hai graves containing objects with figural representations.	187
Table 14.1.	Grave floor size levels according to average floor area for subsidiary graves in Tumuli K X, K IV, and K III.....	197

Table 14.2.	Percentage of the total number of subsidiary graves in each tumulus.	198
Table 14.3.	Percentages of surviving sacrificial burials for Tumuli K X, K IV, and K III.	199



List of Figures in the Text

Figure 1.1.	The cattle of Khufu, limestone relief block (a) and detail (b) excavated at Lisht North, Fourth Dynasty, reign of Khufu, ca. 2551–2528 B.C.E.....	5
Figure 1.2.	Relief representation of a goat, limestone relief block excavated at Lisht North, Fourth Dynasty, reign of Khufu, ca. 2551–2528 B.C.E.....	7
Figure 1.3.	The sun god from the tomb of King Haremhab, Valley of the Kings, Egypt, Eighteenth Dynasty, reign of Haremhab, ca. 1323–1295 B.C.E.	7
Figure 1.4.	Seated couple from the tomb of Nakht, Theban Tomb 52, ca. 1400–1390 B.C.E.....	9
Figure 1.5.	Group of party guests and harpist from the tomb of Nakht, Western Thebes/ Sheikh Abd el-Qurna.....	10
Figure 1.6.	The northern part of the western wall in the tomb of Nakht.....	11
Figure 1.7.	Back view of the limestone statue of Nikare, second half of the Fifth Dynasty, ca. 2420–2323 B.C.E.....	12
Figure 1.8.	Sandstone statue of an official from El Kab, Fourth Dynasty, ca. 2575–2465 B.C.E.....	13
Figure 1.9.	Emblem showing the cosmic snake urobos surrounding “reality.”.....	14
Figure 1.10.	Head of a granodiorite statue of the goddess Sakhmet, Eighteenth Dynasty, reign of King Amenhotep III, ca. 1390–1352 B.C.E.	14

Figure 2.1.	Apollo Belvedere, plaster of the bronze copy by Giacomo Zoffoli, about 1770 C.E.	18
Figure 3.1.	Interior of an Attic drinking cup found in Vulci (Etruria).	22
Figure 3.2.	“Pythia,” replica of the bronze statue in the Paris Opéra, 1869/1870, by Marcello.	22
Figure 3.3.	Detail of the Cumaean Sibyl from the Sistine Chapel ceiling fresco by Michelangelo Buonarroti.	23
Figure 3.4.	Aeneas and the Sibyl meet Anchises, illustrated manuscript “Eneit” by Heinrich von Veldeke, Alsatia, 1418/1419.	25
Figure 3.5.	“Priestess of Delphi,” oil on canvas, London, 1891, by John Collier.	26
Figure 4.1.	Plan of the ossuary at Hagios Charalambos.	34
Figure 4.2.	Larnakes 1–4.	35
Figure 4.3.	Grid of human long bones placed at the base of the deposit of human bones in Room 5. ...	37
Figure 5.1.	Rock art from Korphi t’Aroniou on Naxos, now housed in the Bardanis Archaeological Museum, Apeiranthos.	44
Figure 5.2.	Fragment of an askos with incised boat and human figure, from Phylakopi.	45
Figure 5.3.	Depictions of boats.	45
Figure 5.4.	Lentoid askos from Phylakopi, Melos.	47
Figure 5.5.	Ovoid pithos from Akrotiri, Thera.	47
Figure 5.6.	Early Matt-painted pottery and fragments.	49
Figure 5.7.	Abstract depictions of human figures.	49
Figure 5.8.	Abstract depictions of human figures.	50
Figure 6.1.	The Lilies Jug.	56
Figure 6.2.	Drawing of the Lilies Jug.	57
Figure 6.3.	The Lilies Jug, detail of rosette spirals from left side.	58
Figure 6.4.	The Lilies Jug, detail of rocky landscape.	59
Figure 6.5.	The Spring Fresco from Building Complex Delta.	60
Figure 6.6.	Kamare Ware amphora from Phaistos.	61
Figure 6.7.	Kamare Ware rhyton from Phaistos.	62
Figure 6.8.	Middle Minoan III amphora from Knossos.	63
Figure 6.9.	The Ganymede Jug.	65
Figure 6.10.	Pithos no. 4854 from the West House at Akrotiri (a); detail of lily on side of same vessel (b).	65
Figure 6.11.	Sherd with representation of a male figure and a lily flower.	67

Figure 7.1.	The Crocus Gatherer fresco (a) and drawing with dress parts labeled (b).....	78
Figure 7.2.	Construction diagrams of dress (<i>heanos</i>).....	80
Figure 7.3.	Experimental replication by B.R. Jones (tassels by V. Bealle) of the Crocus Gatherer's dress (<i>heanos</i>).....	82
Figure 7.4.	Linear B ideograms *146 + <i>WE</i> (<i>we-a₂-no</i>); *166, *166 + <i>WE</i> ; and *181.	83
Figure 7.5.	Construction of kilt.....	84
Figure 7.6.	Experimental replication by the author of the Crocus Gatherer's dress (<i>heanos</i>) and kilt.	85
Figure 7.7.	Model replicating the Crocus Gatherer's pose.	86
Figure 8.1.	The Minoan palaces as collectors of solar energy: the case of Phaistos.	93
Figure 8.2.	The orientation of the Minoan palaces.....	94
Figure 8.3.	Path of the sun on December 21 (a) and on June 21 (b), the winter and summer solstices. ..	94
Figure 8.4.	The placement of the palace of Zakros in relation to the prevailing northwest winds....	97
Figure 8.5.	Drawing a parallel between the architectural conceptions of two buildings: (a) Knossos palace, eastern megaron; (b) Frank Lloyd Wright's Falling Water house....	98
Figure 8.6.	The cistern on the eastern wing of the Zakros palace and its function.	100
Figure 9.1.	The South House from the southwest.....	104
Figure 9.2.	The western end of the northern facade of the South House.	104
Figure 9.3.	Sketch plan of the South House drawn by D. Mackenzie on June 22, 1908.....	104
Figure 9.4.	Plan and longitudinal section of the South House.	106
Figure 9.5.	Plan and longitudinal section of the South House.	107
Figure 9.6.	Plans of the basement rooms and reconstructed ground floor, first story, and second story of the South House at Knossos.	108
Figure 9.7.	Reconstructed stairway in the Center Corridor of the South House.....	108
Figure 9.8.	Model of the South House from the northwest (a) and the southwest (b).	108
Figure 9.9.	Plan of the Upper Columnar Hall and a postulated room to the south in the upper story of the South House, 1928.....	109
Figure 9.10.	Two steps and angle blocks found at the southern end of the Center Corridor.....	125
Figure 9.11.	Model of the West House, Akrotiri, Thera, from the south.	125
Figure 9.12.	Plans of the ground, first, and second stories of the West House, Akrotiri, Thera.....	125
Figure 10.1.	Stone fragment HM 4560.....	136
Figure 10.2.	Head-shaped bull rhyton from the Little Palace at Knossos.....	138
Figure 10.3.	Plaster relief bull's head from Knossos.	138

Figure 10.4.	Reconstruction drawing of stone fragment HM 4560.	138
Figure 10.5.	Fragmentary ceramic bull's-head vessel from Akrotiri.	140
Figure 12.1.	Map of the Aegean showing Bronze Age sites discussed in detail in the text and Minoan trade routes.	153
Figure 12.2.	Plan of House A at Hagia Eirene, Kea.	155
Figure 12.3.	Painted scene on the Hagia Triada sarcophagus.	163
Figure 12.4.	Middle Minoan I seal depicting a ship with sails and oars.	164
Figure 12.5.	Middle Helladic Aeginetan pottery.	165
Figure 12.6.	The Siege Rhyton.	165
Figure 12.7.	Detail of the Miniature Fresco from Akrotiri, Thera.	168
Figure 12.8.	View from southwest of Monastiraki Katalimata, East Crete.	169
Figure 13.1.	View of Naga el-Hai in 1913.	178
Figure 13.2.	Comb with ibex(?) handle from Naga el-Hai tomb K 495.	179
Figure 13.3.	Fish-shaped palettes from Naga el-Hai grave K 453 (a, b), grave K 527 (c), grave K 458 (d).	180
Figure 13.4.	Naga el-Hai grave K 362.	181
Figure 13.5.	Ivory bracelets from Naga el-Hai grave K 481.	182
Figure 13.6.	Anthropomorphic figure from Naga el-Hai grave K 602.	183
Figure 13.7.	Feldspar amulets from Naga el-Hai grave K 128.	183
Figure 13.8.	Peg figure from Naga el-Hai grave K 128.	184
Figure 13.9.	Abstract reptile palette from Naga el-Hai grave K 2034.	185
Figure 13.10.	Falcon amulet from Naga el-Hai tomb K 627.	186
Figure 13.11.	Bull's(?) -head amulet from Naga el-Hai grave K 681.	186
Figure 14.1.	Egypt and Nubia in the Second Intermediate Period.	190
Figure 14.2.	Reconstruction of a ruler's burial at one of the great tumuli at Kerma.	192
Figure 14.3.	Plan of Tumulus K X showing the central burial compartment of the ruler and the numerous subsidiary graves subsequently cut into the tumulus.	192
Figure 14.4.	A typical example of a larger subsidiary grave, K 1067, in Tumulus K X.	193
Figure 14.5.	Schematic map of the southern sector of the Kerma cemetery.	195
Figure 14.6.	Schematic plans illustrating the locations and relative sizes (according to floor areas) of subsidiary graves in the three great tumuli.	196
Figure 14.7.	Schematic plans illustrating the approximate outlines of the subcemeteries into which the subsidiary graves in each tumulus can be subdivided.	202

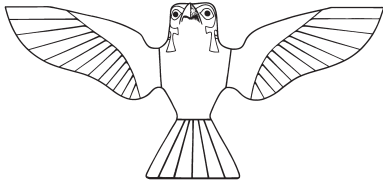
Figure 15.1.	Map of western Anatolia.....	208
Figure 16.1.	Ivory furniture attachments, terracotta fragments, and sealings donated to The Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1936 by Mrs. George D. Pratt, in memory of George D. Pratt.....	222
Figure 16.2.	Burned remains of the Sarıkaya palace at Acemhöyük (level III).....	222
Figure 16.3.	Earth and burned bricks in the area of the palace where the ivory wing AH1 was excavated in 1965.....	222
Figure 16.4.	Plan of the mound at Acemhöyük.....	223
Figure 16.5.	Plan of the Sarıkaya palace at Acemhöyük.....	223
Figure 16.6.	The four ivory sphinxes (P1–P4) donated by Mr. and Mrs. George D. Pratt to The Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1932 and 1936.....	230
Figure 16.7.	The ivory sphinxes (P1–P4), back view.....	230
Figure 16.8.	The Pratt ivory sphinxes P1–P4 , side view.....	231
Figure 16.9.	Top and bottom views of the pink sphinx P1 , facing left, showing a mortise in the top and a flat base.....	231
Figure 16.10.	Drawings of the pink sphinx P1 , showing the side, front, and rear views (top) and the joinery, top and base (bottom).....	232
Figure 16.11.	Drawings of the dark red sphinx P2	233
Figure 16.12.	Drawings of the gray sphinx P3	234
Figure 16.13.	Drawings of the light red sphinx P4	235
Figure 16.14.	Pratt ivory sphinxes in a “reconstructed positioning” based on the curls of the wigs... ..	236
Figure 16.15.	Dark red sphinx P2 , exhibiting traces of gilding and damaged areas that do not show evidence of the red color.....	236
Figure 16.16.	Dark red sphinx P2 , side view.....	236
Figure 16.17.	Pink sphinx P1 , detail of the left eye, showing inlay and gilding.....	236
Figure 16.18.	Pink lion leg P5 (left) and gray lion leg P6 (right) from the Pratt collection.....	239
Figure 16.19.	Red lion’s leg fragment P7 from the Pratt collection, two views.....	239
Figure 16.20.	Drawings of the pink lion’s leg P5 , showing the front, rear, and side views (top) and the joinery, top and base (bottom).....	240
Figure 16.21.	Drawings of the gray lion’s leg P6	241
Figure 16.22.	Drawings of the red lion’s leg fragment P7 , which is now deformed and shrunken....	242
Figure 16.23.	Reconstruction drawing of the left front leg of the ivory chair, composed of the light red sphinx P4 and pink lion’s leg P5 , with joinery indicated.....	244
Figure 16.24.	Reconstruction drawing of the right rear leg of the ivory chair, composed of the pink sphinx P1 and gray lion’s leg P6 , with joinery indicated.....	245
Figure 16.25.	Falcon and two gazelles P8–P11 from the Pratt collection.....	248

Figure 16.26. Drawings of the falcon body P8 , showing the front and side views and the top view, back view with joinery, and base.....	248
Figure 16.27. Falcon body P8 and left wing P9 , showing the plaster restorations by the Metropolitan Museum.	249
Figure 16.28. Falcon's left wing P9	249
Figure 16.29. Drawings of the falcon's left wing P9	249
Figure 16.30. Wing fragment AH1	250
Figure 16.31. Inner edge of AH1 , showing the mortise.....	250
Figure 16.32. Drawings of wing AH1	250
Figure 16.33. Drawings of the two gazelles.	251
Figure 16.34. Drawings of the falcon and gazelle composition as it may once have appeared.	252
Figure 16.35. Front view of the ivory chair reconstructed.	254
Figure 16.36. Right side of the ivory chair reconstructed.....	255
Figure 16.37. Four ivory plaques from the Pratt collection (P12 , P13 , P15 , and P17), exhibiting color variation, deformation and shrinkage, inlay for the eyes, and evidence of gilding.....	256
Figure 17.1. Alalakh 2003 season squares, showing location of plastered tomb 3017.....	264
Figure 17.2. Individuals 3 and 4 in situ.	264
Figure 17.3. Skulls of individuals 2 and 4 seen beneath plaster encasing.	264
Figure 17.4. Prepared base of plastered tomb.....	265
Figure 17.5. Location of plastered tomb at the edge of the slope in area 3, square 45.71.	266
Figure 17.6. Burials of individuals 1 and 2.....	266
Figure 17.7. Burials of individuals 3 and 4.....	267
Figure 17.8. Beads from tomb 3017.....	268
Figure 17.9. Embossed gold appliqués with rosettes and gold hair ring (a); amber pendant (b); gold ring (c).	268
Figure 17.10. Gold hair ring (a); bone spindle whorl (b).....	269
Figure 17.11. Ceramic assemblage from burial group 3017.....	270
Figure 17.12. Ceramic assemblage from burial group 3017.....	271
Figure 17.13. Individuals 3 and 4.	272
Figure 17.14. Individual no. 3.	272
Figure 17.15. Embossed gold appliqué with rosette.	274
Figure 18.1. Coarse-ware spindle bottle from Ashkelon made in southern Canaan.....	282
Figure 18.2. Coarse-ware spindle bottles from Alalakh.	284
Figure 18.3. Red Lustrous Wheelmade spindle bottle from Ashkelon.	288

Figure 18.4.	Coarse-ware spindle bottle from Ashkelon made in Lebanon.....	289
Figure 18.5.	Coarse-ware spindle bottle from Ashkelon made in Cyprus.....	290
Figure 19.1.	Detail of gold bowl, Ugarit, ca. 14th century B.C.E.....	294
Figure 19.2.	Detail of gold dagger sheath, Thebes, Tomb of Tutankhamun, 14th century B.C.E.....	294
Figure 19.3.	Gold foil chariot attachment, Thebes, Tomb of Tutankhamun, 14th century B.C.E.....	294
Figure 19.4.	Detail of bronze plaque attributed to “Tyre” but possibly found in Egypt, ca. 14th century B.C.E.	295
Figure 19.5.	Detail of drawing of bronze sword hilt, Zapher Papoura cemetery, Knossos, ca. 14th century B.C.E.	295
Figure 19.6.	Gold bowl, Ugarit, ca. 15th to 14th century B.C.E.	295
Figure 19.7.	Ivory game box, Enkomi, Cyprus, ca. 13th to 12th century B.C.E.	295
Figure 19.8.	Drawing of pottery sealing, Maa- <i>Palaiokastro</i> , Cyprus, late 13th century B.C.E.	296
Figure 19.9.	Cesnola amphoroid krater rim, bronze, Cyprus, ca. 13th to 12th century B.C.E.	297
Figure 19.10.	Cesnola amphoroid krater rim, detail.	299
Figure 19.11.	Drawing of LM IIIB sarcophagus design from Klema, Crete.....	300
Figure 19.12.	Drawing of Mycenaean IIIB “pastoral style” krater from Kition- <i>Bamboula</i> , Cyprus, 13th century B.C.E.	300
Figure 19.13.	Rim from bronze tripod or stand from Myrtou Pigades, Cyprus, 13th to 12th century B.C.E.	300
Figure 19.14.	Steatite mold from Enkomi, Cyprus, 13th to 12th century B.C.E.....	300
Figure 19.15.	Cesnola tripod, bronze, Cyprus, ca. 13th to 12th century B.C.E.	301
Figure 19.16.	Cesnola tripod rim, detail of groups nos. 14, 1, and 2; 6–8; 9–11, and 12–13.	301
Figure 19.17.	Drawing of LM I clay sealing with animal combat from Hagia Triada, Crete.	302
Figure 19.18.	Bronze Cypriot rim fragment from Anthedon, Boiotia, 13th to 12th century B.C.E.....	302
Figure 19.19.	Cesnola amphoroid krater, detail of rim radiograph showing extent of ancient cast-on section and two modern solder repairs.....	304
Figure 19.20.	Cesnola bronze tripod, details of relief band and radiograph showing location of join in wax strips.	305
Figure 19.21.	Cesnola bronze tripod, details of relief band and radiograph showing location of join in wax strips with conflated animals.....	306
Figure 19.22.	Cesnola bronze tripod, details of radiograph showing repetition of animal elements on different areas of the band.....	306
Figure 19.23.	Cesnola bronze tripod, detail of relief band showing “wax” drip on reverse.....	306
Figure 19.24.	Cesnola amphoroid krater, handle.....	306
Figure 19.25.	Cesnola amphoroid krater, details of handle and radiograph showing borders of <i>genii appliqués</i>	307

Figure 20.1.	Plan of MH graves in the West Cemetery at Eleusis, sector Δ.	313
Figure 20.2.	Distribution of the Mycenaean chamber tombs at Prosymna by date of construction....	316
Figure 20.3.	Plan of the LH IIIC chamber tomb cemetery at Perati.....	317
Figure 20.4.	The Submycenaean cemetery near the Pompeion in the Kerameikos at Athens.....	318
Figure 20.5.	Submycenaean burials in the Skoubris cemetery at Lefkandi.....	318
Figure 22.1.	Phoenician horsemen.	337
Figure 22.2.	Syrian horsemen.	338
Figure 22.3.	Cypriot horsemen.....	338
Figure 22.4.	The ruling god figurines.....	339
Figure 22.5.	The blessing god figurines.	340
Figure 22.6.	Tanit-Astarte fertility goddesses.....	341
Figure 23.1.	The Hasanlu Lovers in situ, from the east.....	346
Figure 23.2.	Plan of Hasanlu IVB with find spot of the Hasanlu Lovers indicated by an arrow.....	347
Figure 24.1.	Representations of Greek longships.....	354
Figure 24.2.	Ships in Archaic representations from western and eastern Turkey and Egypt.....	354
Figure 24.3.	Ships from the Levant and Cyprus.	355
Figure 24.4.	Representations of longships.....	355
Figure 25.1.	Map of the Eastern Mediterranean with Egypt and Greece.	368
Figure 25.2.	Plan of Naukratis.	369
Figure 25.3.	Inside of Attic cup showing Apollo with lions, ca. 540 B.C.E.	369
Figure 25.4.	Lion-tamer from Naukratis.	370
Figure 25.5.	Fragment of kantharos showing a scene from the Gigantomachy.....	371
Figure 25.6.	Medinet Habu, Ramses III (1184–1153) on his Asiatic expedition.....	372
Figure 25.7.	Votive inscription to Herakles on a Milesian cup from Naukratis.	373
Figure 27.1.	Marble pyxis 28 with pedestal foot.....	382
Figure 27.2.	Marble pyxis 22 with pedestal foot.....	382
Figure 27.3.	Marble pyxides 87–90	383
Figure 27.4.	Marble pyxis 91	384
Figure 27.5.	Marble pyxis 92	384
Figure 27.6.	Achaemenid diorite stemmed dish, Tehran, Archaeological Museum.....	386

Figure 27.7.	Marble pyxis 86 with pigment.....	389
Figure 27.8.	Marble pyxis 43	390
Figure 28.1.	Attic red-figure calyx krater from Acanthus.	400
Figure 28.2.	Hole cut into base after the firing of the krater.....	401
Figure 28.3.	Profile drawing of the krater.	401
Figure 28.4.	Detail of the shepherd and Hermes.	402
Figure 28.5.	Detail of side A: seated Leda and Eros.	402
Figure 28.6.	Detail of side A: figure with scepter and maenad.....	403
Figure 28.7.	Detail of side B: satyr and maenad.....	403
Figure 28.8.	Detail of side B: satyr.....	404
Figure 29.1.	Marble slab of a maenad in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.	410
Figure 29.2.	Marble slab of a maenad in the Museo del Prado, Madrid.	411
Figure 29.3.	Fragment of a maenad on a round marble base from the 1935 excavations at Tolmeta in Cyrene, Libya.	411
Figure 29.4.	Collapsing maenad from the major repoussé frieze on the bronze Derveni krater.	412
Figure 29.5.	Detail of the seated maenad.....	413
Figure 30.1.	Pagenstecher lekythos showing the Judgment of Paris.	416
Figure 30.2.	Judgment of Paris, detail of scenes from the obverse side.....	417
Figure 30.3.	Scene from the obverse of a Pagenstecher lekythos showing a seated woman.....	419
Figure 30.4.	Lekythos with relief decoration showing the flaying of Marsyas.	420
Figure 31.1.	Traveler depicted on the neck of an Attic Late Geometric II/Early Proto-Attic Dipylon amphora, late eighth century B.C.E.	424
Figure 31.2.	Shipwreck krater from Pithekoussai, ca. 725 B.C.E.	425
Figure 31.3.	Nestor Cup from Pithekoussai, ca. 725 B.C.E.	426
Figure 31.4.	Details of scenes from the Aristonothos krater, from Cerveteri, ca. 650 B.C.E.	427
Figure 31.5.	Miracle of the metamorphosis of the Tyrrhenian pirates into dolphins, black-figure hydria, 510–500 B.C.E., Painter of Vatican 238.	428
Figure 31.6.	Attic red-figure amphora from Vulci, ca. 440 B.C.E.	430
Figure 32.1.	Round wooden chair from the Walchensee.....	438
Figure 32.2.	Wooden throne from Verucchio (Rimini), eighth century B.C.E.	438



Preface and Acknowledgments

I first encountered Guenter Kopcke when I was invited in 1978 to address the New York Aegean Bronze Age Colloquium, which he co-founded in 1974 with Ellen Davis and Malcolm Wiener (inspired by Edith Porada's Near Eastern Seminar at Columbia University), and which continues to thrive in no small measure due to Guenter's enthusiastic support and participation. But it was in the following years when, as a member of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens from 1979–1981, I became acquainted with his students that I began to gain a deeper understanding of the man whom they revered with an almost hushed awe: an awe of his brilliance and an awe of the extraordinary level of intellectual rigor that he brought to the field of ancient art and archaeology. It is this rigor and an especially probing desire to understand the ancient world—an *ἀμιλλὰ* ("a striving for superiority") of the mind and spirit—that informs the thoughts and words of our honoree.

Guenter Kopcke was born in Wiesbaden, Germany, in 1935 and grew up in Hamburg, handsome and athletic. Knowing that he was planning to enter the University of Tübingen, his teacher of ancient Greek at Gymnasium asked Guenter to send his regards to Bernhard Schweitzer, Professor of Classical Archaeology there, with whom he had studied. Schweitzer invited the newly arrived undergraduate to attend his lectures on the art and archaeology of Bronze Age Crete and Greece and to enroll in his seminar on Roman baths. Schweitzer's lectures and seminar kindled in Guenter a lifelong passion for ancient art, history, and archaeology, especially for the world of the Aegean Bronze Age.

Following the peripatetic system of a German university education, Guenter went on to the University of Basel to study with Karl Schefold, and then to the Ludwig-Maximilians University of Munich for additional study with Ernst Buschor and Ernst Homann-Wedeking. Under Homann-Wedeking's guidance, he wrote a dissertation on fourth-century B.C.E. Athenian gilded Black Glaze Ware (published as Kopcke 1964). After receiving his doctorate in 1962, Guenter served for three years as an assistant curator in the Glyptothek of the Staatliche Antikensammlungen in Munich under Dieter Ohly, supervising the workshop created for the installation of the new exhibition of the pedimental sculptures from the Temple of Athena Aphaia on Aegina. Working with the sculptors engaged in their restoration and display taught him volumes about the practical and theoretical issues that confront artists, and it provided him with unique insights into the processes of artistic creation. During those years, Guenter also participated in the excavations of the Heraion at Samos and, thanks to his intervention, saw to it that the extraordinary series of Iron Age and Early Archaic wooden votive objects discovered there were carefully conserved, inviting science into the world of archaeology at a time when, unimaginable today, they would have otherwise been left to decay.

Upon leaving the Staatliche Antikensammlungen, Guenter taught for two years as "wissenschaftlicher Assistent" in the Archaeological Institute of the University of Zurich under Professor Hansjörg Bloesch, the noted authority on Greek vases. When James McCredie left New York University's Institute of Fine Arts (IFA) for the directorship of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens in 1969, Guenter was offered a three-year stint as his replacement at the IFA, and he eventually accepted a permanent position there as the Avalon Foundation Professor.

Teaching at the IFA offered Guenter the freedom to explore a broad range of interests within the field of classical archaeology. Since his earliest years of study, he has been deeply interested in examining the Greeks in their varying artistic incarnations, in how they expressed themselves to one another and to the outside world. He has been concerned particularly with questions of cultural and artistic continuity, specifically how to bridge the "divide" from the Bronze to the Iron Ages. He has sought to trace the origins of the Classical Greeks back to the Bronze Age through seminars, at a major conference that he organized in 1990 at the IFA ("Greece between East and West: 10th–8th Centuries B.C."), and in many of his publications.

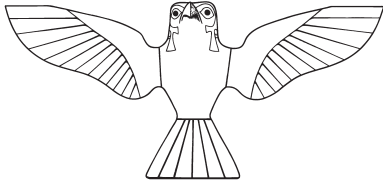
Indeed, Guenter has written masterfully and with credible insights on Aegean Bronze Age society, trade, and commerce; the art of the Shaft Graves; Mycenaean ivories and ceramics; Greek Geometric art and architecture; the wooden votives from Samos; Phoenician-Greek interactions; and Classical and Hellenistic ceramics and sculpture. Reading Guenter is an intellectual adventure: he constantly teases, provokes, and challenges assumptions (his own and those of his readers), not to play the role of provocateur, but to support—as he modestly likes to say—the case of the plausible. His writings are often peppered with personal reactions to the views of his colleagues and friends. And while he may describe his impressions and emotional responses to artifacts and cultural processes, these are based on a profound body of knowledge rooted in years of study and contemplation. Still, no one is quicker to express self-doubts, to admit the limitations of the available evidence, or, in its absence, to own up frankly to speculation. For Guenter, the questions are always at least as important as the answers, which, as he well knows, in the field of archaeology, can change instantly with the scraping of a trowel. The depth of his understanding of the possibilities and limitations that archaeology can bring to the study of cultural history, which I believe he regards as his overarching intellectual pursuit,

derives from extensive and broad field experience. Besides work on Samos (1961–1966), Guenter has participated in excavations in Greece at Olympia (1958–1959), on Aegina (1964), on Samothrace (1972–1987), in the Kerameikos (1993), and in Israel at Tel Hadar (1992).

When I began to consider how to organize this volume, it became clear that if it were to reflect the fields upon which Guenter has made an impact, it could not be organized around a single theme, region, or time period. Rather, I invited articles from scholars whose lives Guenter has touched along the various stages of his own, and I also received many requests to contribute as rumors of the preparation of this *Festschrift* began to spread. I know that I speak on behalf of everyone whose thoughts and words appear here—that we wish Guenter many more years of teaching, thinking, and writing, inspiring us, his students, colleagues, and friends, to follow his example in the pursuit of scholarly excellence.

I would like to thank the students in my seminar in Greek archaeology at Hunter College during the spring semester of 2008—Justine Ahlstrom, Dennis Ambrose, Danica Killalea, Kathleen Maloney, Michele Mitrovich, Harold Ohayon, and Elizabeth Shiverdecker—for the preliminary editing of many of the articles included in this volume and for the lively discussions stimulated by their presentations. I owe a special debt of thanks to Michele Mitrovich for her continued help in the preparation of this volume at many stages, and for the handsome photograph of Guenter Kopcke that serves as the frontispiece. I am also grateful to Irit Ziffer for invaluable advice and information, and to Irene and the late Ioannis Manolakakis (d. 2010) for their hospitality during the summer of 2009, when I was able to complete the editing of most of these articles at their home in Kalessa, Crete. Finally, I wish to thank my partner, Stylianos Manolakakis, for providing me with the Greek title of this volume.

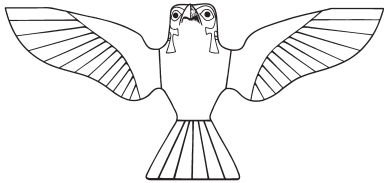
Robert B. Koehl
New York City, NY
October 2010



Bibliography of Guenter Kopcke

- Kopcke, G. 1964. "Golddekorierte attische Schwarzfirniskeramik des vierten Jahrhunderts v. Chr.," *AM* 79, pp. 22–84.
- . 1966. "Samos 1965: Holzfunde im Heraion. Fundlage und Konservierung," *AA* 84, pp. 165–170.
- . 1967. "Neue Holzfunde aus dem Heraion von Samos," *AM* 82, pp. 100–148.
- . 1968. "Heraion von Samos: Die Kampagnen 1961/1965 im Südtemenos (8.–6. Jahrhundert)," *AM* 83, pp. 250–314.
- . 1969. "Attische Reliefkeramik klassischer Zeit," *AA* 84, pp. 545–551.
- . 1969. "Erforschte Vergangenheit: Eine Ausstellung in Schaffhausen," *Schweizer Monatshefte* 49, pp. 498–500.
- . 1969. "Die Hündin Baracco: Beobachtungen und Vorschläge," *RM* 76, pp. 128–140.
- . 1970. Review of *The Archaic Greek Temenos: A Study of Structure and Function*, by B. Bergquist, *Gnomon* 42, pp. 72–76.
- . 1973. "Ein Siebgefäß in Zürich," in *Zur Griechischen Kunst: Hansjörg Bloesch zum 60. Geburtstag am 5. Juli 1972 (AntK-BH 9)*, Bern, p. 70.
- . 1974. Review of *Early Cretan Armorers (Fogg Museum Monographs in Art and Archaeology 1)*, by H. Hoffmann, *ArtB* 56, pp. 430–432.
- . 1975. Review of *Black and Plain Pottery of the 6th, 5th and 4th Centuries B.C. (Agora 12)*, by B.A. Sparkes and L. Talcott, *Gnomon* 47, pp. 183–186.
- . 1976. "Zum Stil der Schachtgräbermasken," *AM* 91, pp. 1–13.
- . 1976. "Eine Bronzestatuetten des Zeus in der Münchner Glyptothek," *MüJb* 27, pp. 7–27.
- . 1977. "Figures in Pot-Painting before, during, and after the Dark Age," in *Symposium on the Dark Ages in Greece*, E.N. Davis, ed., New York, pp. 32–50.
- . 1979. "More about Olympia B1701 and B1999," in *Studies in Classical Art and Archaeology: A Tribute to Peter Heinrich von Blanckenhagen*,

- G. Kopcke and M.B. Moore, eds., Locust Valley, NY., 1979, pp. 17–21.
- Kopcke, G., and M.B. Moore, eds. 1979. *Studies in Classical Art and Archaeology: A Tribute to Peter Heinrich von Blanckenhagen*, Locust Valley, NY.
- Kopcke, G. 1981. Review of *Die Kessel der orientalisierenden Zeit 2: Kesselprotomen und Stabdreifüsse* (OIForsch 11), by H.V. Herrmann, *AJA* 85, pp. 230–232.
- . 1987. “The Cretan Palaces and Trade,” in *The Function of the Minoan Palaces. Proceedings of the Fourth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens, 10–16 June 1984* (SkrAth 4°, 35), R. Hägg and N. Marinatos, eds., Stockholm, pp. 255–259.
- . 1990. *Handel* (ArchHom M), Göttingen.
- . 1992. “Catalogue of Finds. 1. Ceramics,” in *The Rotunda of Arsinoe (Samothrace 7)*, J.R. McCredie, G. Roux, S.M. Shaw, and J. Kurtich, Princeton, pp. 277–326.
- . 1992. “What Role for Phoenicians?” in *Greece between East and West, 10th–8th Centuries B.C. Papers of the Meeting at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, March 15–16th, 1990*, G. Kopcke and I. Tokumaru, eds., Mainz, pp. 103–113.
- Kopcke, G., and I. Tokumaru, eds. 1992. *Greece between East and West, 10th–8th Centuries B.C. Papers of the Meeting at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, March 15–16th, 1990*, Mainz.
- Kopcke, G. 1995. “The Argolid in 1400—What Happened?” in *POLITEIA: Society and State in the Aegean Bronze Age. Proceedings of the 5th International Aegean Conference, University of Heidelberg, Archäologisches Institut 10–13 April 1994* (Aegaeum 12), R. Laffineur and W.-D. Niemeier, eds., Liège, pp. 89–92.
- . 1997. “Mycenaean Ivories,” in *TEXNH: Craftsmen, Craftswomen and Craftsmanship in the Aegean Bronze Age. Proceedings of the 6th International Aegean Conference, Philadelphia, Temple University, 18–21 April 1996* (Aegaeum 16), R. Laffineur and P.P. Betancourt, eds., Liège, pp. 141–143.
- . 1999. “Male Iconography on Some Late Minoan Signets,” in *POLEMON: Le Contexte Guerrier en Égée à L’Âge du Bronze. Actes de la 7e rencontre égéenne internationale, Université de Liège, 14–17 avril 1998* (Aegaeum 19), R. Laffineur, ed., Liège, pp. 341–345.
- . 1999. “Akrotiri: West House. Some Reflections,” in *MELETEMATA: Studies in Aegean Archaeology Presented to Malcolm H. Wiener as He Enters His 65th Year* (Aegaeum 20), P.P. Betancourt, V. Karageorghis, R. Laffineur, and W.-D. Niemeier, eds., Liège, pp. 445–455.
- . 2000. “Handel und Kultur in Kreta und Mykene,” in *Im Labyrinth des Minos: Kreta—die erste europäische Hochkultur. Ausstellung des Badischen Landesmuseums, 27.1 bis 29.4.2001, Karlsruhe, Schloss, M. Maaß, ed., Munich*, pp. 181–189.
- . 2001. “Das schöne Gerät—Eine Betrachtung mykenischer Vasen,” in *Zona Archaeologica: Festschrift für Hans Peter Isler zum 60. Geburtstag*, S. Buzzi, ed., Bonn, pp. 239–248.
- . 2002. “1000 B.C.E.? 900 B.C.E.? A Greek Vase from Lake Galilee,” in *Leaving No Stones Unturned: Essays on the Ancient Near East and Egypt in Honor of Donald P. Hansen*, E. Ehrenberg, ed., Winona Lake, IN, pp. 109–117.
- . 2004. “Mycenaean Kingship—A Speculative View,” in *Commerce and Monetary Systems in the Ancient World: Means of Transmission and Cultural Interaction. Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Symposium of the Assyrian and Babylonian Intellectual Heritage Project, Held in Innsbruck, Austria, October 3rd–8th 2002* (Melammu Symposia 5), R. Rollinger and C. Ulf, eds., Stuttgart, pp. 170–177.
- . 2009. “The First Great Temple on Samos,” in “Ephraim Stern Volume,” ed. J. Aviram, special issue, *Eretz Israel* 29, pp. 88*–98*.



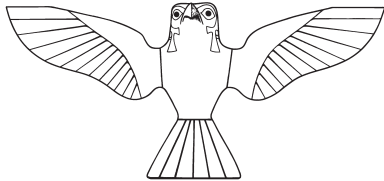
List of Abbreviations

Abbreviations for periodicals in the bibliographies of individual articles follow the conventions of the *American Journal of Archaeology* 111.1 (2007), pp. 14–34.

aux.	auxiliary	LH	Late Helladic
BB	Burned Building	LM	Late Minoan
BR	Base Ring	m	meter
ca.	about	max.	maximum
cm	centimeter	MBA	Middle Bronze Age
dia.	diameter	MC	Middle Cycladic
EBA	Early Bronze Age	MH	Middle Helladic
EC	Early Cycladic	mm	millimeter
EM	Early Minoan	MM	Middle Minoan
FN	Final Neolithic	pers. comm.	personal communication
g	gram	pers. obv.	personal observation
h.	height	RLWM	Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware
in.	inches	th.	thickness
L.	length	w.	width
LBA	Late Bronze Age	wt.	weight
LC	Late Cycladic		

PART I

Perceiving Ancient Art



Ancient Egyptian Art: Image and Response

Dorothea Arnold

My focus is not to try to arrive at a “meaning,” in the sense of semiotic, symbolic, religious or political significance for the various images, but rather to understand their visuality.

—Wells 2008, 16

As an Egyptologist and museum curator in charge of a collection of Egyptian art, one is frequently asked why this art is so popular in our time. Witnesses to the factual truth underlying this question are the vast numbers of visitors to exhibitions of Pharaonic objects, the sales of books and replicas of such objects, and the personal experience of this curator, who hears again and again people just entering the Great Hall of The Metropolitan Museum say: “First I want to go to the Egyptian galleries.” It is not easy to find an explanation of this phenomenon in the Egyptological literature, because even treatises such as the highly informative *Consuming Ancient Egypt* (MacDonald and Rice 2003) tend largely to just describe the situation as significant for our own time, and they do not link it to present day understandings of ancient Egypt on its own terms.

One aspect suggested by prevailing scholarly understandings of the purpose of Egyptian art that might be relevant in this context is the idea of exclusivity. John Baines, in his essay on the “Status and Purposes of Ancient Egyptian Art” (Baines 2007, 335–336), summarizes this in the concluding paragraphs. Egyptian art, he writes, “served the ordered cosmos, which was celebrated on behalf of the gods and which humanity, as represented by the king and the gods, defended against the chaos. Art defined, encapsulated, and perpetuated that cosmos. At the same time it served the perpetual destinies of ruler and inner elite and circumscribed their lifestyles in relation to the rest of society.”

Baines draws from this general understanding a number of conclusions about the nature of Egyptian art, the important role played by tradition

during its history, and its seemingly all-pervasive exclusivity. He states (2007, 335–336):

The perpetual dialogue with the past and the use of different past models with diverse implications characterize an artistic discourse that is internally self-sustained and exploits this characteristic to assert its significance both to itself and to the wider society. This internal discourse, which provides an analogy within the culture for the relative isolation of Egyptian civilization from its surroundings, is both a legitimization of art and a way in which artists create a context in which only their own concerns matter. As such it is a typically professional phenomenon. Professions, both ancient and modern, are exclusive and assume that only their members can judge the validity of what they do, avoiding recourse to a wider constituency. This characterization applies strongly to the Egyptian elite, and hence to the status of the art.

This understanding of the purpose of Egyptian art would suggest that the pleasant and invigorating experience of visitors in Egyptian art collections and exhibitions is based on the viewers' subconscious satisfaction that in seeing these artworks, they have become (posthumously, so to speak) members of the ancient Egyptian elite, or at least, of an Enlightenment elite that first "discovered," collected, and displayed Egyptian works in the western world. Such an explanation neatly would link present scholarly views on the place of Egyptian art in its own culture with the experiences of museumgoers today. But frankly, I do not believe that it explains sufficiently the worldwide appeal of Egyptian works. The attainment of quasi-elite status may be an ingredient in the joyful experience of museumgoers and tourists that flock to the monuments in Egypt and museums all over the world, but it is certainly not all of it.

John Boardman, the renowned scholar in your own field, Guenter, also understands exclusivity to be part of the attraction of Egyptian art and culture. But instead of Baines's social approach, Boardman links what he calls the "idiosyncrasy" of Egyptian art with its primary function: the prolongation of life beyond death. The "idiom" of Egyptian art, he writes, "is based on close knowledge and observation of the real but it [the real] was deliberately translated into something else, something more timeless than mere realism. . . . The result is an art which brilliantly expresses what lies beyond

realism, the divine, the immortal" (Boardman 2006, 156). It is this beyond-the-real quality of Egyptian art that, according to Boardman, makes it "easy to see how it continues today to be a focus for speculation about the exotic, magical, even extra-terrestrial in the arts" (Boardman 2006, 154). The latter aspect of its reception recaptures thoughts and experiences of viewers of Egyptian art from Renaissance and Enlightenment times through today and ultimately goes back to the reactions toward Egypt expressed by the ancient Greeks (Vasunia 2001). To be so long-lasting an ingredient of people's fascination with ancient Egypt, the idea of the culture's exotic, metaphysical nature can certainly not be disregarded as a factor in its allure to the present day. But again: Can that be all? Yes, among all the viewers that derive joy from visiting our galleries there are always a few who are seekers of the spiritual. The majority of viewers, however, simply derive visual pleasure and intellectual enrichment from the encounter with an extraordinary ancient culture. There must be something much more substantial about Egyptian art to generate that kind of reaction.

Another recent deliberation about the reception of Egyptian art and objects today comes from Egyptologist-cum-anthropologist Lynn Meskell. In her 2004 book *Object Worlds in Ancient Egypt*, in which she advocates a prioritization of the physical presence of Egyptian objects (their materiality) in our quest for understanding that ancient culture, she also deals seriously and at fair length with the present popularity of all things Egyptian (Meskell 2004, 177–219). In her final pages she sums up: "Thousands of years after the demise of Pharaonic Egypt as a coherent cultural sphere, so many lay people as well as scholars are fascinated with Egypt's tangible and spiritual achievements, although it is the overpowering physicality that serves as the bedrock for our fantasies and fascinations" (Meskell 2004, 218). This emphasis on the "thingness" of Egyptian art is very much part of any museum curator's (as well as any archaeologist's) life. But the physical presence of objects is not confined to ancient Egypt. It is true for any assemblage of objects from any human culture past and present. Therefore, the question remains: Why are the ancient Egyptian things so especially attractive to us today? I would like to suggest that this attractiveness is an outcome of the ancient

Egyptian world view transmitted through a singularly visual artistic language.

Let me start my explanation of what I mean by inviting you to look at a relief block found reused in the fill of the pyramid of Amenemhat I (ca. 1981–1978 B.C.E.) at Lisht, but derived from a monument of the much earlier pharaoh Khufu, builder of the Great Pyramid at Giza (ca. 2551–2528 B.C.E.). An

original Fourth Dynasty date for the relief, now housed in the Metropolitan Museum of Art ([Fig. 1.1](#)), is indicated by its style and the name of an estate that supplied offerings that include Khufu's cartouche (Goedicke 1971, 18–19; Arnold 1999). The relief shows three oxen, the first one missing its head, the last its tail. These oxen are part of a cortege of offering animals driven toward the



a



b

Figure 1.1. The cattle of Khufu, limestone relief block (a) and detail (b) excavated at Lisht North, Fourth Dynasty, reign of Khufu, ca. 2551–2528 B.C.E. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1922 [22.1.3]. Photo B. White; image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

mortuary temple of the king. The bone structure, musculature, and skin texture of the cattle are depicted so accurately and with so much tactile sensitivity that the viewer experiences almost physically the smoothness of the creatures' skin, the softness of their flesh, and the typical bone structure of bovines (see, esp., [Fig. 1.1:b](#)). Even the depiction of the tails follows nature in its most essential details. The tail grows smoothly rounded out of the flesh and skin on the animal's back, passes along its hind parts, and then hangs down, weighted by the heavier end. This extraordinary detailing takes place on a sculptured surface raised less than a quarter of an inch above the background of the relief.

It should also be noted that a considerable amount of depth is suggested in the animal representations, not by any oblique views or foreshortening, but by the artist's skillful shaping of the grooves between various parts of the body. They are carved in such a way that the viewer has the impression that the legs and belly flesh are situated at different levels of depth, although in reality most of the grooves separating the near legs from the belly and the belly from the far legs are more or less just that—grooves—and the surfaces of body parts at seemingly greater depth are actually situated at an almost equal level (Schäfer 1986, 76–77, fig. 31:d).

The naturalistic details in the animal depiction and the illusion of depth in the relief are largely confined, however, to the interior of the figures. The outlines that determine the identity and posture of each figure are mainly composed according to a set of conventions that were put in place early in the history of Egyptian art and never totally abandoned. Heinrich Schäfer, in his *Von ägyptischer Kunst* of 1919, first identified and described these conventions as a “mental image which . . . is not faithful to a perceived visual impression but image-based (*vorstellig*)” (Schäfer 1986, 91; see also Baines 2007, 209), a term that comes close to what neuroscientists studying the visual perception of humans today call “object-centered perception” (as opposed to a viewer-centered perception that forms the basis for the eventual evolution of representational perspective; see Bruce, Green, and Georgeson 2004, 276). Following Schäfer, the object-centered conventions of two-dimensional Egyptian art have been described by others as a representational system in which each part of an object or figure is represented according to its most characteristic and

easily recognizable view (e.g., Smith 1978, 128, 273–350). The end result is an additive or, to use E. Brunner-Traut's term, “aspective” image (Brunner-Traut 1986) that combines various different views of a figure or object into a conceptual rather than realistic representation. Human figures, for example, commonly are depicted with the head, legs, and feet in profile, while torso, eyes, and hands usually are shown in frontal view. Animals are rendered in profile with only such parts as ears or horns seen in frontal view. In both human and animal figures the legs are best made visible by rendering them in a striding posture.

The cattle of the Khufu relief is fully in accord with this scheme of two-dimensional representation. The animals' heads and bodies are depicted strictly in profile, whereas the eyes, ears, and, above all, the horns are represented as if seen from the front. Without any interior detailing, the result of such an outline drawing would be an easily recognizable image of a particular animal; and even with the naturalistic features of the finished relief in place, elements such as the horns of the cattle retain a largely decorative quality. The entirely abstract rendering of the join between the forehead and horns reveals unmistakably the basic conceptual character of the composition. Intriguingly, both the naturalistic and abstract elements could shift places somewhat from image to image. On another Old Kingdom block from Lisht ([Fig. 1.2](#)), for instance, the horns of a goat convey an astonishing impression of depth and verisimilitude through an ingenious twisting of the grooving and the stepped, slightly overlapping position of the horns. In general, however, conventions had the upper hand over the outlines of figures, determining much of the figures' postures and attitudes, while realism was played out in modifications of the conventional and in the detailed modulations of areas inside the outlines.

More than 60 years ago, Ernst H. Gombrich, in his 1950 work *The Story of Art* (in its 16th edition by the year 2006), based a good part of his assessment of Egyptian art on the relationship between its firmly regulated “idiom” or “convention” on the one side, and the artists' keen observation of nature and reality on the other. “The observation of nature,” Gombrich wrote (2006, 51), “and the regularity of the whole, are so evenly balanced [in Egyptian art works] that they [the art works]

impress us as being lifelike and yet remote and enduring.” Then he formulated the general statement: the “combination of geometric regularity and keen observation of nature is characteristic of all Egyptian art” (Gombrich 2006, 51). Nowadays we are reluctant to accept such general statements in view of the complexities of objects of art and artifacts. Let me, nevertheless, take what Gombrich has written about the Janus-faced character of Egyptian art (keen observation of nature coupled with “regularity”) as a starting point for a demonstration of how Egyptian artists/artisans expressed a general world view by visual means.

To a certain degree, an analysis of the reality-versus-formality qualities in Egyptian two-dimensional art is paralleled and further defined by the artistic process. The process of creating a relief like the one depicting the cattle of Khufu can be best observed in partly unfinished works. One

such instance, [Figure 1.3](#), from the burial chamber of King Haremhab (ca. 1323–1295 B.C.E.; Hornung 1971, 45, pl. 31) shows the sun god Re with the ram head of the creator god. He stands in a shrine on a boat and is protected by a huge snake. In this obviously unfinished detail, red guidelines were used to position the figures while black outlines were used to determine the main features of each figure and object. The sculptor then started his work, which was interrupted halfway through and never resumed. We can see, therefore, that the sculptor began by chiseling away the background around the god’s figure. This lowering of the background transformed the outlined figure into a “cookie-like” silhouette. After that, the sculpturing of the head created an unmistakable, albeit only sketchy, image of a living ram with its flapped ear, softly rounded muzzle, and deep furrow beside the nose. These latter naturalistic details again are located



Figure 1.2. Relief representation of a goat, limestone relief block excavated at Lisht North, Fourth Dynasty, reign of Khufu, ca. 2551–2528 B.C.E. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1922 (22.1.20). Photo B. White; image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

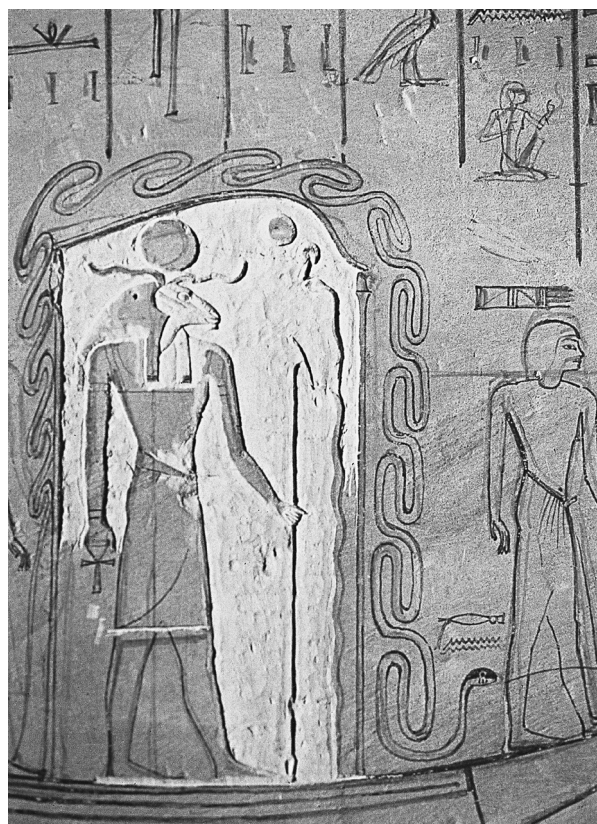


Figure 1.3. The sun god from the tomb of King Haremhab, Valley of the Kings, Egypt, Eighteenth Dynasty, reign of Haremhab, ca. 1323–1295 B.C.E. Photo A. Brack.

inside the outlines of the figure; and it is interesting to see that they were carved toward the end of the creative process, or at least at a point when the sculptor was ready to think of the final shape of the work. Because the relief work is unfinished, its surface is lacking a final smoothening.

While the decoration of the royal tomb of Haremhab is a highly sophisticated affair of state-like character, paintings in nonroyal tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty are much livelier in the choice of themes and with the introduction of inventive modifications in positions and gestures based on observations of real life. There is, however, a noticeable distinction in these representations between the main figures in a composition, which are largely guided by conventions and thus much less free, and the often more realistic looking subsidiary figures. For instance, a wall painting in the tomb of Nakht at Western Thebes/Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (Fig. 1.4; ca. 1400–1390 B.C.E.; Shedid and Seidel 1996, 74; for the technical process, see also Shedid 1988; Bryan 2001; Tiradritti 2007, 62–84) shows the seated tomb owner and his wife. As was customary for conventional figural representations since the early Middle Kingdom, a rectangular grid of red lines was initially laid out over this section of the wall (Bryan 2001; Robins 2001). The figures were then drawn in outline directly onto the grid, following the canon of proportions prevalent at that time, which placed the hairline of a seated figure at 14 horizontal grid lines above the ground line (Robins 1994, 73–99). Remains of the initial grid are still visible in parts of the painting where no pigments were yet applied.

If the outline drawings of the seated or standing main figures again followed general conventions, the same is true for the drawing of main figures in action, although during the later Eighteenth Dynasty, such figures were frequently drawn free-hand, without an underlying grid. Indeed, the striking ability of Egyptian artists of all times to lay out even and intricately structured figures in one sweep is not only apparent in the images themselves, but it is also expressed in a rare ancient text relating to artistic work: the early Middle Kingdom stela of Irtisen now housed in the Louvre. In this text the master sculptor and painter Irtisen lists among other skills that he “know(s) the striding of a male figure and the walk of a female . . . the movement of the arm of a hippopotamus hunter, and the movement

of the legs of a runner” (Delange 2000, 61). Such attitudes were clearly part of a traditional repertoire.

After the first outline drawings were completed, painters applied solid areas of pigment over the various parts of the figures as indicated by the outlines (Fig. 1.4). Like the lowering of the background in relief work, this procedure transformed the drawn figures into silhouettes. It is important to realize that Egyptians evidently considered both outline drawings and silhouettes fully capable of serving the basic function of tomb decorations: to provide eternal life for the tomb owner. In the case of an emergency such as the premature death of a tomb owner, the work could obviously be left in this state without losing its life-preserving power.

One might, indeed, compare the silhouette-like quality of basic Egyptian figural representations to certain well-known images from our own history and daily life. Traffic signs, for instance, or the heraldic images that adorned the shields of medieval knights are of a similar character. In both cases, instant recognition is (or was) the main aim of such pictures, as both cases warn of life in peril. By analogy, one could argue that the art of the ancient Egyptians first goal was to establish, in quite an existential sense, the sheer presence of a person or situation by flashing instantly recognizable outlined images and silhouettes. Once the recognition was achieved, the detail work could begin in order to give credence to the reality of the image and link it to human observations and the human environment. A closer look at the silhouettes of the seated tomb owner and his wife in Figure 1.4 reveals, however, that some naturalistic features derived from observations of the real world could occasionally enter into the creation of figural silhouettes. The tomb owner in Figure 1.4, for instance, wears two pieces of clothing: an undergarment that covers the left shoulder and reaches down to the ankles, and on top of it a short kilt. The undergarment is painted with a light pink pigment (a mixture of red and white; see Lee and Quirke 2000, 113) to indicate that it was made of so fine and thin a linen fabric that the reddish-brown color of the man’s skin shines through.

The gestures and movements of lesser figures that are not the focus of the scene were not as strictly governed by convention, and all sorts of modifications and adaptations were employed in



Figure 1.4. Seated couple from the tomb of Nakht, Theban Tomb 52, ca. 1400–1390 B.C.E. Tempera on paper facsimile by Lancelot Crane, 1909–1910, detail. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1915 (15.5.19f). Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

the outlining process to introduce a certain measure of realism into the picture. William Stevenson Smith has described in detail the multiple ways in which Old Kingdom artists modified, often ingeniously, the conventions of two-dimensional art in order to introduce real-world attitudes, movements, and gestures into the pictures on tomb and temple walls (Smith 1946, 304–332). He called the chapter in which he dealt with such modifications “The Attitudes of the Subsidiary Figures,” and in the introductory sentences he stated that “although in general they [the minor or subsidiary figures] follow the conventions laid down by the drawing of the chief figures, the multiplicity of the actions required for subsidiary figures, and their comparative unimportance in relation to the dominant figure, stimulated the artist to a more careful

approximation to some of the transitory aspects of the human body in movement and repose” (Smith 1946, 304). Thus, a kind of visual hierarchy was established where main figures were mostly governed by convention and subsidiary figures were often substantially modified according to observations of the real world. Of course, for us modern viewers—but who knows, perhaps for the ancient ones too—much of the charm of narrative two-dimensional Egyptian art is derived from such modifications of the conventional in the depictions of servants, agricultural laborers, herdsmen, craftsmen, and even festive guests and their entertainers and caterers (Figs. 1.5, 1.6).

Many modifications and adaptations in these subsidiary figures soon became, of course, part of a conventional repertoire and were thus repeated



Figure 1.5. Group of party guests and harpist from the tomb of Nakht, Western Thebes/Sheikh Abd el-Qurna. Photo A. Brack.

again and again, often with further modifications. But in many tomb scenes, especially those of the New Kingdom, there are also quite unprecedented, ad hoc inventions of a truly naturalistic nature. In [Figure 1.6](#), the tufted hairdo of one of the grape pickers, the man at the trough beside the vintners, and the cook who cleans out the fowl for the master's meal are each slightly varied according to the assumed age of the particular person, or just for variety's sake. Golden earrings like the one worn by Nakht's little daughter in the boat ([Fig. 1.6](#), upper right register) or like those peeking through the strands of hair of the party attendees ([Fig. 1.5](#)), and the way that the female guests interact with complicated gestures and turned heads ([Fig. 1.5](#)) are all unconventional and naturalistic representations. One can easily envisage the conversation taking place in [Figure 1.5](#) about the smell of the mandrake fruit that two of the ladies are holding: "Does yours smell differently than mine?" In the meantime, a third lady prefers the smell of a water lily.

Especially intriguing are the hands of the blind harpist in [Figure 1.5](#). The fingers of his upper hand

were so convincingly shaped with some bold brushstrokes (done at the silhouetting stage of the painter's process) that the painter who drew the final consolidating outlines around each figure did not add to this part of the work. The fingers of the lower hand—mostly with final outlines—are even seen in perspective, with the thumb touching the little finger, a way of showing hands that would become even more prominent during the Amarna period (ca. 1352–1336 B.C.E.). The movement of the fingers of both the harpist's hands are indeed so intriguingly suggestive of the musician's action on the strings of his harp that it takes the viewer a while to realize that the painter has attached the hands to the wrong arms, because the upper hand is really a right hand, here attached to the left arm, and the lower hand is a left hand attached to a right arm. Do we have to assume that in a previous painting the hands would have been rightly distributed and that the Nakht painter mixed up his prototype? It was again Smith who made detailed observations, albeit in a style that nowadays seems uncomfortably patronizing, on the various ways in which Egyptian artists of the

Old Kingdom dealt with the representation of hands in figures composed according to the conventions (Smith 1978, 275–289).

What evolves from such observations is the notion that Egyptian artists approached “reality” on a piece-by-piece basis. How then does this same complementary relationship between convention and naturalism play out in Egyptian three-dimensional art? H.G. Fischer demonstrated in his memorable 1965 article “Anatomy in Egyptian Art” (Fischer 1965) how much detailed knowledge of the bone structure and musculature of the human body and their organic functions is evident in ancient Egyptian sculpture. Fischer, interestingly enough, recorded in his article that he gained such insights during the fulfillment of some basic curatorial duties. As he told me himself, he spent many hours in

the Metropolitan Museum’s photo studio working with the photographers to obtain documentation of as many details of a piece as possible. Referring to the statue of Nikare (Fig. 1.7) as an example, he writes (Fischer 1965, 171–172):

to demonstrate the amount of anatomical observation in the statue illustrated, the source of illumination must be varied so as to pick up selective portions of the surface. If the light is passed across the shoulder from front to back, two faint vertical grooves become visible; these deltoid grooves, a recurrent feature in Egyptian sculpture, provide one of the rare examples of a detail that is observable only when the muscle is under great stress. The back of the same statue, as seen under harshly oblique lighting, brings out the same detail as well as the scapular ridges and the seventh vertebra, or vertebra prominens, at the base of the neck.

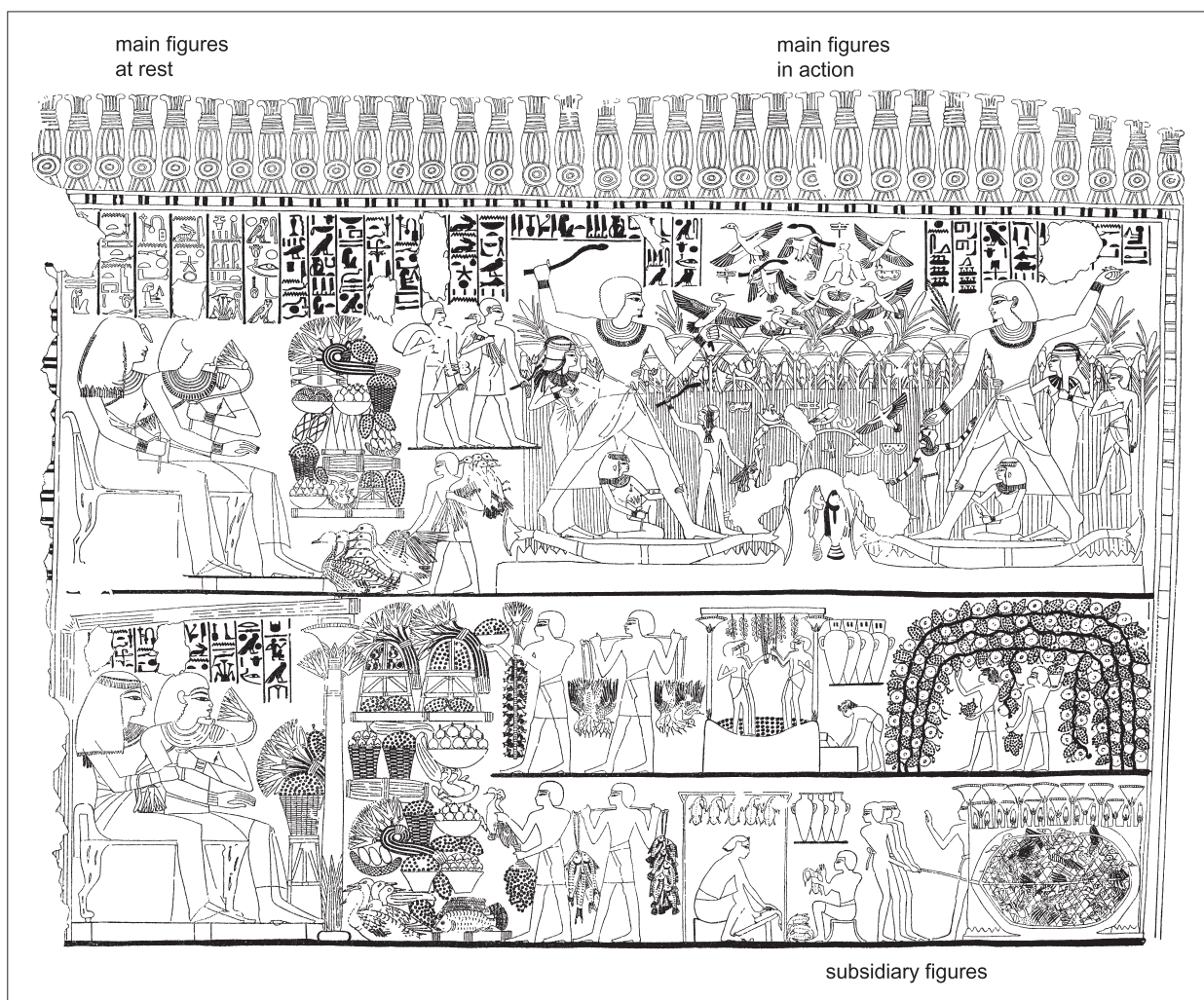


Figure 1.6. The northern part of the western wall in the tomb of Nakht. Drawing by S. Murphy, after Davies 1917, pl. 22.



Figure 1.7. Back view of the limestone statue of Nikare, second half of the Fifth Dynasty, ca. 2420–2323 B.C.E. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1952 (52.19). Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

The traits in Egyptian three-dimensional sculpture that express “regularity” and the “permanent” have often been described. With rare exception, Egyptian statues present their front to the viewer, and their position is composed around an axis. All of the statues are, moreover, placed on a block- or slab-shaped base that forms an unalienable part of the whole figure, while at the rear a vertical “back pillar” or “back slab” draws attention to the statue’s upright attitude (Fig. 1.8). It has often been remarked that together, the back pillar (or slab) and base preserve the cubic structure of the original block of stone from which the statue was carved, reminding the western viewer of Michelangelo’s statement that a statue is hidden in the stone—the sculptor has just to free it by carving away what hides it (Gombrich 2006, 238). Dietrich Wildung has proceeded from there to interpret the base and back pillar/slab as constituting the space occupied by the statue, and he understands the forward moving stride of the left leg as an element that links the figure with the defined space of the base and back pillar (Wildung 2006).

One basic fact should always be remembered: back pillars and back slabs are not remnants of a “primitive” state of Egyptian art when sculptors did not yet dare to free the figure entirely from the stone. The earliest Egyptian sculptural works do not have back pillars or back slabs (Eaton-Krauss 1998; only known exception: Ziegler 1999, 178–179, no. 10). These elements were intentionally developed from high seat backs during the Fourth Dynasty (Wildung 1972, 151–152). Once chosen, however, they became indispensable components of the Egyptian sculptural language and were adhered to until the very end of Egyptian art history. During that millennia-long history, the back elements changed their meaning repeatedly, of course, a fact that is well demonstrated by the changing repertoire of texts inscribed on them (Jansen-Winkel 2000).

The basic kinship of Egyptian stone sculpture with geometrically defined bodies is further emphasized by the various rectangular, triangular, trapezoidal, or otherwise multiangled supports that link—as so-called negative space—the legs with each other, the arms with the body, and the body with the back pillar, while also securing beards and other protruding parts of the figure. These noniconic components of Egyptian stone statues are fundamentally different in character from the tree trunk-shaped or otherwise imitative supports in classical sculpture. Although they function in some cases as static supports, most are not necessary to maintain the stability of a piece, and none of them is disguised as an object from the real world. In congruence with their noniconic shape, the elements comprising negative space are conceptual entities that underline the nonreal character of the framework of Egyptian sculpture.

It is important to stress that the base, back pillar/slab, and the various inner supports and “fill” areas turned many statues into high relief, and thus link them to the architecture that was in their sphere of existence. Egyptian statues were placed in chapels, statue chambers, or niches, and, when located under the open sky, they stood against walls or pylons or between the columns or pillars of a court. Even processional ways that were often flanked by rows of statues were mostly closed by long walls on both sides of the passageway. Carved from stone, the main construction material for temples and elite tombs, the sculptures were even more closely

linked with the architecture by the geometric elements that they incorporated. Since stone was almost exclusively the material of sacred buildings in ancient Egypt, the statues' close connection with architecture was also a link with the divine. Images of wood, ivory, metal, or clay were—in most cases—deposited in shrines, which were also often made of wood, or in boxes, or even just placed underground. Rarely fitted out with back pillars or support elements, they were less closely linked with architecture. For these works, linen wrappings often played the role of an accoutrement that lifted the statue (or statuette) from this world into the realm of the divine (Davies 2007, 179–180, fig. 77).

This then is what Egyptians evidently considered to be the right balance between regularity and realism in three-dimensional art. Each sculpture had to be endowed with a framework that ensured its existence in an environment of a superhuman character. Only inside that framework could the earthly and “real” come alive. It is clear that this understanding is essentially not different from the hierarchical relationship between the conventional and the realistic in two-dimensional art discussed above. In both cases the conventional and conceptual are linked to the superhuman while the transitory, narrative, and realistic, although of no lesser importance, takes second place.

After all these words, it is humbling to realize that ancient Egyptian scribes had already expressed similar ideas in one single image. Andrzej Niwinski and Erik Hornung were the first to recognize the significance of the hieroglyphic emblem in [Figure 1.9](#). As Hornung has written (1992, 51–52), “the urobos [a cosmic snake called ‘the one who bites its tail’] surrounds a rabbit, the Egyptian written sign for *wen* (being). The rabbit appears on a standard otherwise reserved for images of gods.” We do not need to go here into Hornung’s interpretation of the urobos aside from its reading as a symbol of an all-enveloping horizon of timeless nonexistence through which this world is again and again regenerated, like the sun rising from the underworld, but in which everything will dissolve at the end of time. For the present purpose it is enough to see that, according to this particular early first-millennium scribe, the Egyptians understood reality in its essential (divine) quality as existing inside a larger context of a nonreal/super-real character.



Figure 1.8. Sandstone statue of an official from El Kab, Fourth Dynasty, ca. 2575–2465 B.C.E. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1962 (62.200). Photo B. White; image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

I want to close these remarks with a look at an example of a well-known Egyptian statue type: the beautiful Sakhmet ([Fig. 1.10](#); Metropolitan Museum of Art, acquisition no. 15.8.3). This statue is one of literally hundreds of such dark granodiorite sculptures that were dedicated to Sakhmet, the mighty goddess of war and pestilence, by King Amenhotep III in his mortuary temple at western Thebes (Hayes 1959, 238, fig. 143). All of these statues have a common form: the goddess’s body is that of a mature, rather broad-hipped female who sits on a throne holding a sign of life in one of her hands while wearing the tripartite wig, the usual



Figure 1.9. Emblem showing the cosmic snake urobos surrounding "reality." The rabbit reads *wen*, "to be." Drawing after Hornung 1992, 52.



Figure 1.10. Head of a granodiorite statue of the goddess Sakhmet, Eighteenth Dynasty, reign of King Amenhotep III, ca. 1390–1352 B.C.E. Photo B. Schwarz; image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

head covering of female deities, over her head and shoulders. As the daughter of the sun god Re, she is crowned by a solar disk to which a uraeus cobra is attached in front. The head is that of a lioness, shaped with all the features characteristic of the animal in nature. Strongly emphasized cheekbones define the greatest width of the face at the height of the eyes. Below them, the cheeks are strikingly hollow, hinting at the presence of long and powerful jaws that enable lions and lionesses to open their mouths especially wide for the decisive bite into the back or flank of their prey. The large nose broadens expressively at the tip, and the chin sags under the thin-lipped, double-bow-shaped mouth. The eyes, hooded by fleshy lids, look slightly downward with an uncompromising watchfulness that is well known to anybody who has observed the animal in a zoo or in the wild. In short: the sculptors of these hundreds of statues took the greatest care to endow each deity's head with the typical features of the real animal while transferring properties of fur and flesh into sculptural elements.

That is not to say, of course, that each sculptor, or even each supervisor of a sculptors' workshop, went into the wild to sketch lions from nature. The basic features of the animal had been observed and depicted for thousands of years by the time Amenhotep III commissioned the Sakhmet statues. What is important is that the essential components of the image, however much due at this point to a tradition taught to young sculptors through the generations, were still understood as congruent with the real and reinforced, most probably again and again, by renewed observation. Evidence for this understanding is provided by the astonishing degree to which the features of the Sakhmet statues are still recognizable as the ones of real lions and lionesses; the opportunity to check the long-held artistic tradition was amply provided at the time the Sakhmets were created by the king's extensive hunting feats (Hayes 1959, 232).

It is all the more striking that the superbly rendered animal features in Sakhmet's head are surrounded by and combined with other forms of (at least partly) conceptual character. Female lions, for instance, have furry ruffs around their faces that are somewhat reminiscent of the mane around the face of the male lion, but differ from it by not covering the gap between the ears. The ruff around the face of Sakhmet, however, has been transformed

into a star-shaped collar. Similarly, the animal's whiskers are shaped in the sculptures as a palmette-like decorative feature, and the tufts of hair inside the ears, although following beautifully the undulations of the flesh, are rendered as decoratively distributed thin lines.

Also intriguing are the claw-shaped, raised areas below the eyes of the Sakhmet statue (Fig. 1.10). The eyes of living lions and lionesses are visually elongated at both the inner and outer corner by dark-colored markings that make the eyes look larger than they are and add to their menacing character. Based on the markings that run from the inner corner of the living animal's eye toward the nose, the sculptors have created sculpturally circumscribed areas shaped like a half crescent. Since the eyes of the statues are more horizontally

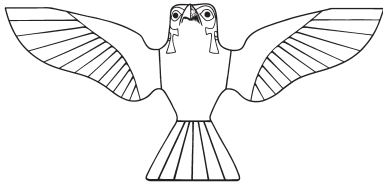
positioned than the slanted feline eyes of the living animal, possibly to make them look more human, the half crescent-shaped features in the sculptures have become attached to the lower eyelids, and their direction is almost vertical. The sharply pointed ends of these features, however, contribute markedly to the piercing quality of the deity's glance.

In short, the impressively sculpted head of the goddess Sakhmet (Fig. 1.10) is another example of the Egyptian artists' close familiarity with nature and their ability to integrate the knowledge derived from that familiarity into a more than just realistic whole. Do you still wonder why people love Egyptian art? Don't we all look for the fullness of life under an umbrella of something that is not "just real"?

References

- Arnold, D. 1999. "King Khufu's Cattle," in *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, D. Arnold and C. Ziegler, eds., New York, pp. 222–223.
- Baines, J. 2007. *Visual & Written Culture in Ancient Egypt*, Oxford.
- Boardman, J. 2006. *The World of Ancient Art*, London.
- Bruce, V., P.R. Green, and M.A. Georgeson. 2004. *Visual Perception: Physiology, Psychology and Ecology*, 4th ed., New York.
- Brunner-Traut, E. 1986. "Epilogue: Aspective," in *Principles of Egyptian Art*, H. Schäfer and E. Brunner-Traut, eds., Oxford, pp. 421–446.
- Bryan, B. 2001. "Painting Techniques and Artisan Organization in the Tomb of Suemniwet, Theban Tomb 92," in *Colour and Painting in Ancient Egypt*, W.V. Davies, ed., London, pp. 63–72.
- Davies, N. de. G. *The Tomb of Nakht*, New York.
- Davies, S. 2007. "Bronzes from the Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqara," in *Gifts for the Gods, Images from Egyptian Temples*, M. Hill, ed., New York, pp. 174–187.
- Delange, E. 2000. "Der Künstler spricht: Die Stele des Irtisen," in *Ägypten 2000 v. Chr. Die Geburt des Individuums*, D. Wildung, ed., Munich, pp. 60–63.
- Eaton-Krauss, M. 1998. "Non-Royal Precanonical Statuary," in *Les critères de datation stylistiques à l'ancien empire (Bibliothèque d'étude 120)*, N. Grimal, ed., Cairo, pp. 209–225.
- Fischer, H.G. 1965. "Anatomy in Egyptian Art," *Apollo: The Magazine of the Arts* 82, pp. 169–175.
- Goedicke, H. 1971. *Re-used Blocks from the Pyramid of Amenemhet I at Lisht (Publications of The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition 20)*, New York.
- Gombrich, E.H. 2006. *The Story of Art*, 16th ed., New York.
- Hayes, W.C. 1959. *The Scepter of Egypt: A Background for the Study of the Egyptian Antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. II: The Hyksos Period and the New Kingdom (1675–1080 B.C.)*, New York.
- Hornung, E. 1971. *Das Grab des Haremhab im Tal der Könige*, Bern.
- . 1992. *Idea into Image: Essays on Ancient Egyptian Thought*, New York.
- Jansen-Winkel, K. 2000. "Zum Verständnis der 'Saitischen Formel,'" *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 28, pp. 83–124.
- Lee, L., and S. Quirke. 2000. "Painting Materials," in *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technologies*, P.T. Nicholson and I. Shaw, eds., Cambridge, pp. 104–120.
- MacDonald, S., and M. Rice. 2003. *Consuming Ancient Egypt*, London.

- Meskel, L. 2004. *Object Worlds in Ancient Egypt: Material Biographies Past and Present*, New York.
- Robins, G. 1994. *Proportion and Style in Ancient Egyptian Art*, Austin.
- . 2001. "The Use of the Squared Grid as a Technical Aid for Artists in Eighteenth Dynasty Painted Theban Tombs," in *Colour and Painting in Ancient Egypt*, W.V. Davies, ed., London, pp. 60–62.
- Schäfer, H. 1986. *Principles of Egyptian Art*, E. Brunner-Traut, ed., trans. J. Baines, Oxford.
- Shedid, A.G. 1988. *Stil der Grabmalereien in der Zeit Amenophis' II: Untersucht an den thebanischen Gräbern Nr. 104 und Nr. 80 (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Abteilung Kairo 66)*, Mainz am Rhein.
- Shedid, A.G., and M. Seidel. 1996. *The Tomb of Nakht: The Art and History of an Eighteenth Dynasty Official's Tomb at Western Thebes*, Mainz.
- Smith, W.S. 1946. *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom*, London.
- . 1978. *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom*, reprint, New York.
- Tiradritti, F. 2007. *Ägyptische Wandmalerei*, Munich.
- Vasunia, P. 2001. *The Gift of the Nile: Hellenizing Egypt from Aeschylus to Alexander*, Berkeley.
- Wells, P.S. 2008. *Image and Response in Early Europe*, London.
- Wildung, D. 1972. "Two Representations of Gods from the Early Old Kingdom," *Miscellanea Wilbouriana* 1, pp. 145–160.
- . 2006. "Die Thematisierung des Raumes: Zur Struktur der altägyptischen Skulptur," in *Mensch und Raum von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart (Colloquium Rauricum 9)*, A. Loprieno, ed., Munich, pp. 169–174.
- Ziegler, C. 1999. "Male Deity," in *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, D. Arnold and C. Ziegler, eds., New York, pp. 178–179.



The Belvedere Apollo: On the Perception of an Ancient Work of Art after Antiquity

Annalis Leibundgut

Since we have often discussed the problem of the perception of ancient works of art, dear Guenter, I am encouraged to take an extraordinarily famous “*eidolon*” of antiquity as a starting point for presenting some theoretic considerations in this field: the Belvedere Apollo (Fig. 2.1), on whom much of my work has focused (Leibundgut 2006; forthcoming).^{*} The statue is particularly well suited for illuminating the problem since, from its discovery in the late 15th century (Magister 2002) to our day, it has caught the interest of both scholars and the general public, with alternating intensity. Whereas earlier archaeological research from the 19th century onward dealt mainly with problems of *Kopienkritik* and their likely Greek prototypes (Himmelfmann 1998), the recent research of E. Gazda and her American followers (Gazda, ed., 2002) on Roman *aemulatio* attempts to understand

these works from the point of view of Roman artists (Perry 2005, 1–6).

In the case of the Belvedere Apollo, the problems are enhanced by the fact that no copies of the statue are known, making any attempt at *Kopienkritik* futile. The Munich head, a terracotta from Kayseri, and a bronze head from Sirmium—all recently claimed as ancient copies (Fuchs 2004)—have persuasively been shown by Himmelfmann to be post-antique in date (Himmelfmann 2005). Links between representations of Apollo in Hellenistic friezes from Pergamon and Lagina (Fuchs 2004, 145 nn. 106–109) and in the Roman Agora Gate at Aphrodisias (Linant de Bellefonds 1996, 179, fig. 5;

^{*}I am grateful to Olaf Höckmann for providing an English translation of my German text.