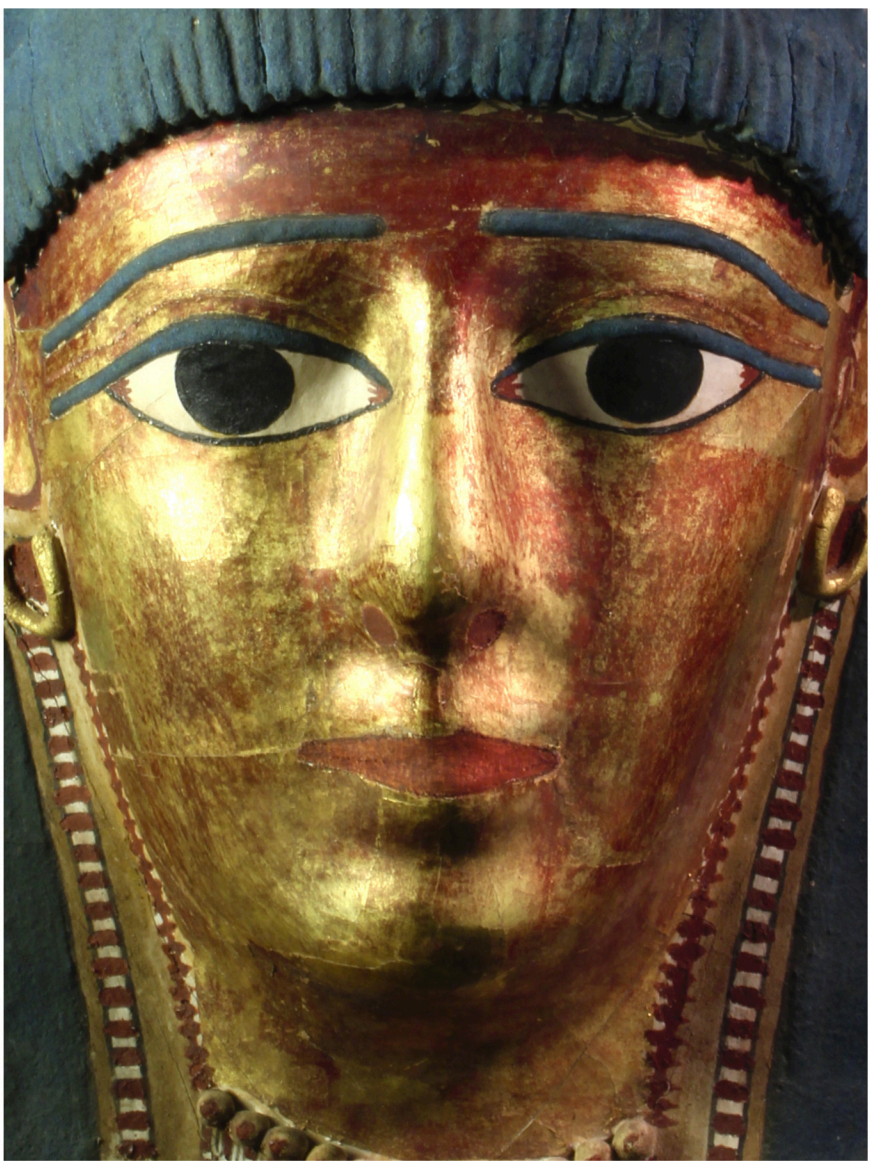

Alexander Ancient Art

Alexander Ancient Art

Alexander Biesbroek, MA
Papelaan 65
2252 EE Voorschoten
The Netherlands

Telephone: +31 (0)71 5614 015
Mobile: +31 (0)6 3360 3485
Email: info@alexanderancientart.com

www.alexanderancientart.com

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2023

1 - A New Kingdom Wood Anthropoid Coffin Lid

An anthropoid cover of a coffin made for a man, who is shown wearing a vertically striped tripartite wig and an elaborate *wesekh* collar with falcon-headed terminals. On his chest is a depiction of Nut, the goddess of the sky, kneeling and with her wings outstretched, protecting the deceased. Below her runs a vertical band to the feet, with which four transversal bands cross at right angles, imitating the mummy bandages. The band below the image of Nut reads:

> *To be recited by the Osiris [blank] justified, he says: O my mother Nut, stretch yourself over me, that you may place me (among the imperishable stars which are in you, that I may not die*).

The four vertical bands on each side contain invocations to various gods, all starting with the words "*To be recited by the revered one*"; the texts would have continued on the box of the coffin.

Around the edges of the lid are two bands of text, only parts of which can be translated due to their fragmentary nature, damage and wear to some of the signs, and some scribal errors. The text running along the proper right hand edge contains the words: "*To be recited by Geb: The Osiris [blank] justified, the heir, ruler of Heliopolis, this is Horus, born of Isis*". In the text on the proper left hand side we read: "*To be recited (?) by Nut /// loved by (?) the Osiris [blank] justified, born of (?) Geb*".

The panels on the body between the bands are decorated with the image of two kneeling figures, who represent the goddesses Isis and Nephthys, their arms raised in mourning. Closer to the feet two large *wedjat* eyes are shown, a widespread symbol of protection and healing.

New Kingdom, 18th dynasty, around the reign of Amenhotep III, ca. 1389-1351 B.C.

Height 182 cm.

Published: *Art of the Ancient World*, volume XVIII (New York, Royal-Athena Galleries, 2007), p. 83, no. 227.

Provenance: French private collection, imported into France before 1950; thence Galerie Jean-Philippe Mariaud de Serres, Paris; thence Royal-Athena Galleries, New York; thence private Dutch collection E.R.; thence Kunsthandel Mieke Zilverberg, Amsterdam.

Background information:

THE GODDESS NUT AND THE COFFIN

Coffins served several purposes. They protected the body of the deceased from dangers, but at the same time they were considered regeneration devices, helping the deceased to be reborn. For both functions the sky goddess Nut was indispensable. Therefore she is prominently present on this coffin lid: she is depicted in the texts and she is mentioned.

The Egyptians believed that Nut stood on all fours at the corners of the earth. In the morning she gave birth to the sun god in the east; this god then travelled along her body towards the west, where Nut swallowed him in the evening. During the night the sun travelled back to the east inside her body, to be born again the next morning.

Every Egyptian hoped to be reborn after death, and to that end hoped to join the sun god on his travels (or even to be identified with him), which would ultimately lead to daily rebirth from the womb of Nut.

At the same time the deceased was identified with Osiris who, according to the Heliopolitan theology, was the son of Nut; therefore, when this goddess would give birth, the deceased would be (re)born out of her.

As a result the tomb, tomb chamber or more specifically the sarcophagus from which the deceased hoped to reappear, was identified with Nut.

The goddess is regularly depicted on the inside of coffin lids, her body often covered with stars, so that she is literally above the deceased in his coffin, like the sky is above the earth. In royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings the journey of the sun through Nut is depicted on the ceiling; similarly the goddess is sometimes depicted on the tomb ceiling of private individuals.

TEXTS FOR PROTECTION AND ETERNAL LIFE

Already the Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts describe how Nut gives the deceased king protection, concealing him from the evil god Seth (Allen, p. 103, § 16b = Sethe (1908), p. 426, § 777a-b, Spruch 427) or from everything bad (Allen, p. 107, § 41a = Sethe (1908), p. 459, § 825a-b, Spruch 446).

A similar text of protection was written on some Middle Kingdom coffins, informing us that Nut has spread herself over the deceased, who is called the eldest of her children, allowing him to exist as a god without opponents, protecting him from all evil (Sethe (1908), p. 347, § 638a-d, Spruch 368; Sethe (1910), p. 355, § 1607a-1608b, Spruch 588; Allen (2005), p. 82 = § 199b Teti; p. 213 = § 26 Merenre; compare Sethe (1908), p. 304, § 580c, Spruch 356; Willems (1988), p. 134; 174; Galán (2013), p. 120). This formula was written on the most visible part of coffins, both rectangular and anthropoid: in a single text band, usually yellow, running down the centre of the outer side of the lid, or occasionally on the eastern panel. Thus, Nut's Pyramid Text spell became part of the coffin's inscriptional decoration in the Middle Kingdom. The tradition was continued in the Second Intermediate Period, but in the New Kingdom suddenly a different text was chosen from the corpus of Middle Kingdom precursor texts.

HIDDEN TEXTS

Little known is the fact that certain rectangular Middle Kingdom coffins contained "hidden" texts, written on the thickness of the boards, so that they would be invisible when the coffin was assembled. Among these so-called mitre texts is an inscription, present on several coffins, referring to Nut's activity of protecting the deceased. Another mitre text, on a coffin from Assiut, asks that the deceased (identified with Osiris) will be sheltered by the goddess Nut (Grallert (1996), p. 147-165, more specifically p. 158-159; Grallert (2007), p. 60; Nils (2003), p. 126–132; Galán (2013), p. 120):

> *O mother Nut, spread yourself over Nakht, and may you place him among the imperishable stars that are in you.*

It is from this spell that the text on New Kingdom coffin lids, written in a central vertical band, was derived.

The formula goes back to the Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts, where the goddess is described as encircling the created world, and is asked to place the deceased on her body among the imperishable stars (Sethe (1908), p. 430, § 782a-b (Spruch 432); Allen, p. 347; 355; 369); these are the circumpolar stars in the northern sky that never set below the horizon, a cosmic event that for the Egyptians was full of symbolism.

Other spells from the same text corpus express the same idea: the deceased sits near the imperishable stars and will not perish (Sethe (1910), p. 94, § 1079c - 1080a-b, Spruch 503; Allen, p. 155, § 457; p. 332, § 272a); the deceased is an imperishable star, son of the great sky (Sethe (1910), p. 303, § 1469a, Spruch 571; Allen, p. 179).

ISIS AND NEPHTHYS

An integral part of the burial rituals was the wailing of relatives and friends of the deceased, as well as of hired, professional mourners. Depictions show groups of wailing women and men when the mummy is being transported from the house to the necropolis and during the rites in front of the tomb. Several gestures can be shown, but the most common one is that of the arms being raised above the head, or the hands in front of the face. In many cases a pair of wailing women is shown, probably two priestesses who took over specific ritual acts and who are usually close to the mummy, at the feet and at the head of the coffin.

On a mythological level these are Isis, the wife of Osiris, and her sister Nephthys, who lament over his corpse. Since the late Old Kingdom their names, their images or related spells have been part of the decoration of coffins. The position of Isis was normally at the feet of the mummy where she could face him, while her sister Nephthys could wield protection over him from behind, as she was sitting at the head end (compare also Camacho (2014), p. 136-137). However, the position of Isis and Nephthys was not always consistent.

The short panels of the coffin were not only associated with Isis and Nephthys, they were even considered manifestations of the two goddesses (Münster (1968), p. 24-53; 31; Willems (1988), p. 126-127; 134-135; 169-170; Willems (1996), p. 55-56), and therefore Isis and Nephthys were divine embodiments of the coffin ends (Willems (1996), p. 92); Willems asserts that the decoration of the coffin symbolises a ritual situation.

On this coffin lid, the two women are shown in panels between the text bands, both facing the deceased.

THE LARGE EYES

The god Horus was associated with the sky (his Egyptian name *Her* means "he who is high, who is distant"); in certain texts his body was seen as the firmament, his right eye as the sun, and his left eye as the moon. However, Egyptian religion knew various falcon gods called Horus; initially these were quite different gods, but because of the many aspects they had in common, they were soon assimilated and started to take over properties from each other. In this way the eye of Horus, the sky god, was identified with the eye of Horus, the son of Osiris.

In mythology Horus, the son of Osiris, challenged his uncle Seth for the throne, after the latter had killed Osiris. During the violent conflict between them that followed, Seth tore out - or damaged - one of Horus's eyes. Later another god, in many myths Thoth, healed the eye and returned it to Horus. He in turn offered it to his deceased father Osiris; it was such a powerful object that it restored him to life, according to one version of the story. Because of this, the offerings brought to the dead in funerary rituals were equated with the eye of Horus.

This eye was called the *wedjat* eye, from the Egyptian verb *wedja*, "being safe, unharmed"; commonly it is believed that this refers to the eye that had been healed and returned; however, it should be noted that some scientists think that *wedjat* refers to the other eye, the one that Seth did not take and that therefore remained unharmed (Andrews (1994), p. 43).

The eye, which has a recognizable shape, based on the markings on the head of the lanner falcon, was believed to have protective magical power, and became a common symbol for healing, well-being and protection; it was used as an amulet from the Old Kingdom onwards.

Eyes can also be seen on the rectangular coffins of the Middle Kingdom, usually in a pair and always on the eastern panel; although these too may have had a protective function, they were also supposed to allow the deceased, who was usually buried on his left side, facing the east, to see outside the coffin, more specifically to look at the sun, rising in the eastern horizon.

The eyes on this coffin lid are intended to offer protection and restore the deceased to life. The eye on the proper right hand side is the left eye. For reasons of symmetry the other eye is mirrored, it represents the same eye and is not the right eye of the sun god Re. The eyes are positioned in such a way that they face the deceased.

THE MISSING NAME

Remarkable is the absence of the expected name of the owner. Everywhere on the lid the words "*To be recited by the Osiris*" are followed by a (small) empty space and then continues with "*justified*". In these empty spaces the name of the owner of the coffin was supposed to be filled in, but this never happened.

Funerary objects were often made to order for a specific individual; in that case the name, filiation and titles of the client were incorporated in the text from the start. In other cases pieces were prefabricated in funerary workshops, leaving open spaces for the name of a future buyer to be filled in later, once the object had been purchased. Such objects were offered for the clients' choice in what must have been the equivalent of a modern showroom (Niwinski (1989), p. 18; Kockelmann (2017), p. 72-73). Once bought, the object would be inscribed with the name of the owner, either by the same scribe or in a different handwriting - which can also indicate reuse (compare Cooney (2018); Kockelmann (2017), p. 68).

In rare cases objects have open spaces for the name; perhaps these were never bought by a client, but more likely is that after the sale the scribe forgot - or didn't bother - to add the name; after all, not many ancient Egyptians would have discovered this, since most were unable to read.

COLOUR SYMBOLISM

Although New Kingdom anthropoid coffins were first generally painted white, with crossing bands imitating the mummy wrappings, this changed around the mid 18th dynasty; coffins were more commonly black, particularly in non-royal burials.

As we have seen, the deceased was identified with Osiris, and this god was called "the black one" in various funerary texts; he is also often depicted with a black skin. Black was considered a positive, life-giving colour. For example, Egypt was called Kemet, the Black Land, referring to the black colour of the banks of the river Nile, caused by the alluvial silt deposited during the annual inundation. This silt made the area fertile, allowing seeds for crops to germinate and grow.

The yellow colour was also symbolic. Yellow represented gold, which was considered to be eternal, an imperishable element; it was also the colour of the sun. According to Egyptian beliefs, the flesh of the gods was made of gold, and therefore a gold or gilded mask or coffin helped to represent the deceased as a transfigured being, eligible for eternal life.

There might be another symbolic meaning for the yellow background colour of the text band, and also for the thin white lines bordering it. Galán has noted that on the ceiling of many New Kingdom tomb chapels a text band is visible with prayers to Nut, written on a yellow background. These text bands run along the central axis of the chapel, aligned with the entrance ceiling; they might be associated with the rays that the sun radiates at dawn, yellow being associated with gold, and hence with the sun god. Similarly the thin white strips framing the yellow bands, which can be found on some Middle Kingdom and 18th dynasty coffins as well as on the ceiling of 18th dynasty tomb-chapels, could add to the symbolism of the rays of the sun penetrating and illuminating the tomb-chapel: the Egyptian word *ḥḏ* means both "white" and "illuminate", referring to the sun's rays reaching the land (Galán, p. 123-124).

DEVELOPMENT OF COFFINS AND THEIR DECORATION

Anthropold coffins first appeared in the Middle Kingdom and became the most common type of coffin in the New Kingdom. Initially mainly found in royal burials, they soon became widely used. In connection with the development of tomb decoration in the Theban area, which adopted the burial scenes from the coffins, a new repertoire for the decoration of coffins was developed, which became classical for the New Kingdom: a yellow-striped or monochromatic wig, framing the face and falling down on the shoulders, replaces the earlier royal nemes headdress, another sign that the design originally intended for royal coffins is now used for private individuals. A large wesekh collar is painted on the chest, ending in falcon-headed terminals on the shoulders. Below the collar the figure of a protective deity is depicted, in the form of Nekhbet or Nut, spreading the usually winged arms. Below this image runs a vertical band to the feet, with which three or four transversal bands cross at right angles.

Initially, the fields between the bands remained empty, but soon the image of deities or the wedjat eye appeared; unlike on this coffin, Isis and Nephthys usually kept the position they had on Middle Kingdom coffins, on the head and foot ends. This repertoire, which was supplemented over time with new scenes, is typical until the end of the New Kingdom.

On the other hand, the colours changed, and because of that it is possible to differentiate between three types of coffins: white (the latest ones from the time of Thothmes III), yellow (the first ones in the post-Amarna period) and black (the earliest ones probably during the reign of Hatshepsut, the last ones probably under Horemheb).

On the black ones figures are yellow or gilded; the same applies to texts, that however can also be written in black (or other colours) on yellow/gilded bands. These coffins show clear influences of the royal stone sarcophagi and the royal gilded or gold anthropoid coffin. For an overview of these developments see Niwinski (1984), p. 434-437.

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2 - An Egyptian Mummy Mask

A mummy mask made of cartonnage, partly gilded and partly painted in polychrome. Especially the parts of the mask that show the human skin (face, neck and ears) were gilded, because the deceased hoped to become a god after death, being equated with Osiris; according to Egyptian beliefs, the flesh of the gods was made of gold, the imperishable element that also contained solar aspects. A gold or gilded mask therefore helped to represent the deceased as a transfigured being, eligible for eternal life.

The face is that of a woman. It is idealised and youthful, with large, wide-open eyes with dark pupils. Other facial features such as the nose and mouth were summarily modelled and the lips were painted. All this is typical for mummy masks of the period.

The face is surrounded by a blue tripartite wig which leaves the ears exposed. The wig is adorned on top with a falcon with outstretched wings, a frontal headband with rosettes, and a row of pearls or beads with a wedjat eye in the middle. The hair on the forehead is worked in relief, as are the earrings and the nacklace the woman is wearing.

Background information:
Cartonnage was made with several layers of linen (or, in later periods, sometimes recycled papyrus documents) which were glued together and shaped in a mould or moulded over the mummy, and then coated with a layer of gesso (a mixture of glue and plaster). This resulted in a smooth medium, well suited for painting.

The ancient Egyptians believed that the preservation of the body was essential to the eternal survival; it served as the physical point of return for the *ba* (often translated, rather incorrectly, as “soul”), the aspect of man that could move freely after death, that would leave the tomb in the shape of a human-headed bird to sit in the sun, or to drink water in the shadow of some trees in the garden, and that would at night return to the body, transferring to the mummy the energy it had acquired during the day. In order to make this possible, the body of the deceased had to be preserved, as well as protected in the tomb. At the same time, its appearance had to be made such that the *ba* would recognise the body.

Improvements in the mummification technique, developments in the funerary beliefs and other factors have during the long history of ancient Egypt resulted in a series of changes that affected the appearance of mummies and the shape and decoration of coffins and masks.

Fragmentary pottery masks, dating to the late Predynastic Period, have been found, but there is still some discussion about their function. But by the early Old Kingdom, the linen outer wrappings of mummies were already stiffened with plaster, modelled and painted to imitate facial and anatomical features. Later in the Old Kingdom, these details were modelled in an added layer of plaster. Since the First Intermediate Period the head of the mummy began to be protected with a cartonnage mask placed over the wrappings, representing the deceased. In the early New Kingdom the wrapped heads, their faces painted, were sometimes provided with false hair and false eyes.

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Late Ptolemaic Period, circa first century B.C.

Height circa 31 cm.

Provenance: Private USA collection of Donald M. Freese, Bloomington, Illinois (1921-2013), acquired in the 1950s, probably from the Susette Khayat Gallery in New York, from whom Freese bought Egyptian artifacts during those years. Before it was mounted on a plinth which still carried a label from auction house Parke-Bernet, New York (established 1937 - bought by Sotheby London in 1964), reading "98"; thence collection of Martin L. Gerwick (2013); thence French private collection (2014). With a French export license.

3 - A Large Egyptian Faience Mummy Bead Net

A large rectangular beaded net strung into an open lozenge pattern. The tubular faience beads have been arranged diagonally with ringbeads where the tubular beads interconnect, whilst the border was formed by stringing tubular beads close together, parallel to each other.

Such nets were placed over the front of a wrapped mummy, usually covering him from just below the shoulders to the feet, and were often sewn or tied to a linen shroud or to the outer mummy wrappings.

The blue-green, turquoise colour of the faience was chosen deliberately because it has solar symbolism. Funerary texts tell us that the sun, rising in the morning between two sycamore trees made of turquoise, was greeted and praised by twelve turquoise gods. Even the sun disk itself and its rays could be called turquoise, and turquoise coloured sun disks can be found on coffins of the Third Intermediate Period up to the early Ptolemaic Period. The colour was a combination of the fertile green of vegetation and the powerful blue of not only the regenerative waters of Nun, the primeval waters from which everything was created (Arnst (2004), p. 84-85), but also of the sky goddess Nut. Since the deceased hoped to be reborn from his mother Nut and to join the sun god on his daily journey, or even to be identified with him, the bead nets were believed to assure rebirth and resurrection.

For parallels see Friedman (1998), p. 160; 249, nos. 163-164.

Background information:
Garments consisting of beads, strung together in lozenge patterns, have been excavated from Old Kingdom contexts (Jick (1988), p. 78; Friedman (1998), p. 249; Bianchi (2022), p. 77; compare Arnst (2004), p. 79, note 1). There is some discussion among scholars whether these were exclusively for funerary purposes, or were also worn in everyday life. In favor of the latter speak several examples of a dress with a lozenge pattern on Old Kingdom private statues and painted tomb reliefs, and the painted wooden female offering bearers from the tomb of Meketre (Middle Kingdom); however, although it has been assumed that these multicolored patterns depict beadwork, the conventions of Egyptian art make it difficult to establish with certainty whether the beads were sewn on or woven into a cloth dress, or if the pattern was created by a netting of beads made entirely or partially separate from the garment underneath. Clearer evidence of a separate net garment comes from the third story in the papyrus Westcar, in which king Snefru is entertained in a boat that is rowed by twenty beautiful women draped in nothing but nets (although the story takes place in the Old Kingdom, the text was written much later).

By the time of the Third Intermediate Period the net garment appears exclusively in funerary contexts, and from then on was placed almost exclusively over outer mummy wrappings in both male and female burials. Sometimes they have a beaded frieze with the depiction of divinities, symbols like the djed-pillars, masks, collars, winged scarabs, and even hieroglyphic texts.

The development of putting beaded nets on mummies was probably contemporary with the use of fishnets to envelop a mummy; both methods persisted into the Roman Imperial Period. It has been suggested that the beaded network and the fishnet, both designed as a two-dimensional lozenge-shaped network on shrouds, reflect the lozenge-shaped network of bandages on mummies, and that all four must be considered subsets of the same typology, the function of which is to serve as a "whole-body amulet" (Bianchi (2022), p. 78; 85-86; compare Arnst (2004), p. 79-93; Price (2020), p. 168; Zibelius-Chen (2011), p. 399-406, who relates such bead nets to rites of protecting Osiris Hemag, a special form of the god during his reawakening).

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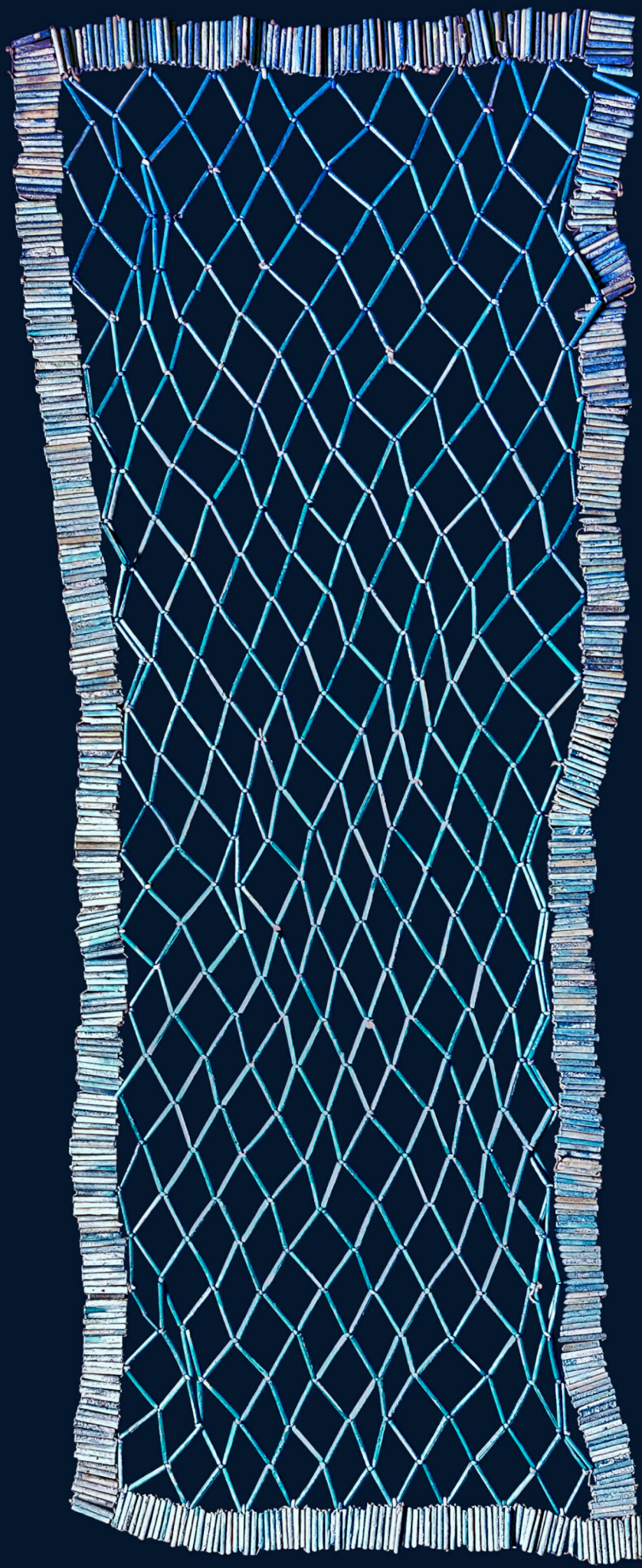
Late Period, circa 700 - 300 B.C.

Size: Circa 65 x 25 cm maximum.

Exhibited: Museum of Man, California (1968), inv. no. M150.

Provenance: Collection of Dr. Goddard Du Bois (1869 – 1925) and Josephine Cook Du Bois (1864 – 1961), New York, acquired in Egypt between 1900 and 1906. The couple took frequent excursions throughout Egypt, and acquired a marvellous collection of antiquities, one of the largest privately owned collections to be exhibited in major museums in the USA.



4 - A Rare Egyptian Wood Statuette of a Baboon

The animal is depicted squatting on its hind-quarters, with his hands resting on his knees and revealing his pronounced genitalia. His plain mantle is hanging down the front and back of the baboon. The animal rests on an integral base with a rounded back edge.

Baboons evoked various associations in the minds of the ancient Egyptians: the intelligence and assumed wisdom of the animals linked them to Thoth, the god of wisdom; the sound and gestures they made at dawn implied divine adoration and jubilation in a secret sacred language, relating them to the sun god; and their virility and prominent genitalia linked them to procreation, gaining eternal life and regeneration (Pio (2018), p.126-127).

In the eyes of the ancient Egyptians, baboons were more than just animals. They had noticed that baboons began to scream shortly before sunrise, when the eastern sky began to light up a little, signaling the new beginning of life. In ancient texts the animals are described as the ones "*that announce Re when this great god is to be born again (...) They dance for him, they jump for him, they sing for him, they sing praises for him, they should out for him (...) They are those who announce Re in heaven and on earth*" (Te Velde, p. 130; Assmann (1983), p. 30). In this capacity, they may be a manifestation of the Hermopolito-Theban ogdoad (Zivie-Coche (2009), p. 173; Stadler (2012), p. 3).

However, apart from their natural animal sounds, baboons were believed to speak another, secret language, possibly because the sounds they made at daybreak sounded as if coming from another world. They were considered to possess hidden knowledge and to be able to converse with the creator god. The pharaoh knew the secret language of the baboons (Assmann (1970), p. 21; Te Velde, p. 133-134), and texts inform us that he also knew their secret form.

Baboons were called "*ba*'s of the east" (Assmann (1983), p. 29; 68). The concept of the *ba* (often translated incorrectly as "soul") is rather complex, but we do know that the Egyptians also knew the "*ba*'s of the north", that were seen incorporated in migratory birds; these too were creatures that had a second, secret form, and were able to make sounds in an unusual way.

In the cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (the Osireion, with parallels on papyri and a block from a temple in Athribis) a scene shows the goddess of the sky, Nut, arching over the earth and supporting herself on her arms and legs. Behind her back lies an area that does not belong to the created, visible world. It is from this place of complete darkness that birds come into the created world, like migratory birds come into Egypt. The accompanying text explains that these animals "*have faces like men, but their nature is that of birds. One of them speaks to the other in human speech (...) When they come in Egypt under the rays of heaven, their shapes become birdlike*" (Frankfort, Volume I, p. 73; Volume II, pls. 75-76; 81; Von Lieven, p. 76; 408; § 73–75; Zago, p. 517). In other words, in the created world these animals had their usual appearance of birds and made the sounds of birds, but in yonder world their shape was that of a *ba*-bird, and they made different sounds. When they crossed the boundary between the two worlds, a transformation took place. A similar transformation has been suggested for the baboons, although it is unknown what their secret form was.

In any case, since baboons were considered the ideal adorers of the sun god, man hoped to become one of them (Te Velde, p. 129; Pio, p. 2; Book of the Dead, spell 100: "*I have joined the baboons and I am one of them*").

Baboons were also worshipped in Egypt as a manifestation of the god Thoth, one of the oldest deities of the Egyptian pantheon, and best known as a god of writing and wisdom, a lunar deity, and vizier of the gods, a cosmic deity, creator god, and warrior. The Egyptians observed the intelligence of baboons and their habit of contemplative staring, associating them with the god of wisdom (Pio, p. 18-19).

There are many representations of baboons which are clearly a theriomorphic transformation of Thoth, such as the statue of a baboon in the cult chamber of the baboons at Tuna el-Gebel, the necropolis near Hermopolis, the chief cult center of Thoth (Kessler (1998), p. 35, pl. 9), or the image on votive stelae, which is identified by inscriptions as *Lord of Hermopolis*. The association is also clear from texts, such as spell 126 from the Book of the Dead: *O ye baboons who sit at the prow of the bark of Re, who cause truth to ascend to the Lord of the Universe, who judge both the needy and the rich (...) who live on truth and sip of truth, who lie not and whose abomination is sin* (Allen (1974), p. 102; Pio, p. 19).

However, it should be noted that not all images of a baboon represent Thoth (Stadler (2012), p. 3). For example, iconographic analysis of the vignettes in the Book of the Dead as well as of depictions on tomb walls indicates that the baboon motif figures in four broad thematic catagories: a) baboons as adorers (of the sun when rising in the east and when setting in the west), b) baboons as assessors (at the weighing of the Heart), c) baboons as guardians and gate-keepers (at the Lake of Fire (Book of the Dead spell 126) or at the gates of the underworld, and d) baboons as genii (for example Hapi, one of the children of Horus) (Pio, p. 45-104).

The evident virility and prominent genitalia of baboon males, and the sexual receptivity of the females did not go unnoticed; Egyptians associated baboons with potency, power and procreation. The Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts already mention the baboon Baby, whose phallus is equated with the bolt of the doors of the sky, and who is called "*Lord of the night sky, the bull of baboons*"; he was a deity with the power of protection and procreation, embodying a life-preserving and life-giving force (Pio, p. 23).

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Late Period, 25th-31st dynasty, circa 746-332 B.C.

Height 10 cm.

Provenance: Collection of Gustave Mustaki, Alexandria, Egypt; exported from Egypt to the UK circa 1950; Elsa MacLellan, UK, by descent from the above; private collection, London, UK, by descent from the above; private collection, Rome, Italy, acquired in 2012; most recently with Charles Ede Ltd., London.

5 - A Middle Kingdom Limestone Cover of a Canopic Jar

This is the exceptionally well preserved cover of a canopic jar, made of limestone and dating to the Middle Kingdom. The cover has the form of a human head, probably depicting the god Imsety. He is wearing a tripartite wig, leaving the ears exposed, and has a short beard. The eyes and eyebrows are executed in fine relief.

Much of the original polychromy is preserved. The short beard was outlined in black, as were the eyes and eyebrows. The corners of the eyes were marked in red. The face and ears were painted yellow, and traces indicate that the wig was originally blue.

For similar canopic jar covers see George A. Reisner, *Canopics. Revised, annotated and completed by Mohammad Hassan Abd-ul-Rahman* (Catalogue Général du Musée du Caire, nos. 4001-4740 and 4977-5033) (Le Caire, Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1967), especially nos. 4017, 4030-4032, 4059-4061; Jørgensen Mogens, *Catalogue Egypt I (3000-1550 B.C.), Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek* (Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1996), p. 166f., no. 67.

Published:
Galerie Nefer Ancient Art, Catalogue 9 (1991), p. 31, no. 36.

Middle Kingdom, 12th Dynasty, ca. 2000-1800 B.C.

Height 12.5 cm.

Provenance: With Galerie Nefer, Zürich, Switzerland, 1991; thereafter with Galerie Cybèle, Paris; thereafter collection Leu, Zürich, acquired from the above on 16 November 1999 during Cultura Basel; thereafter with Cahn Auktionen Basel, 13 November 2015, lot 131; thereafter with Alexander Ancient Art, 2017; thereafter German private collection H.P., Hamburg.

6 - A Huge Egyptian New Kingdom Wood Shabti

This brightly painted wood and polychrome mummiform shabti, probably coming from Deir el Medineh, has a round face with nicely modelled details, and wears a tripartite wig and a broad collar necklace. The hands, mostly hidden by the long wig, are crossed over the chest and are holding agricultural implements for work in the afterlife.

There are six horizontal bands of hieroglyphic text from the so-called shabti spell (spell 6 of the Book of the Dead).

What is remarkable about this piece, apart from the size, is the fact that the expected name of the owner is absent. This was meant to be written in the empty space in the first line. For this relatively rare phenomenon compare a parallel in the National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden, The Netherlands (Schneider (1977), part II, p. 52, no. 3.1.3.1; part III, pl. 16), or the coffin lid in this catalogue (no. 1).

Egyptian women as well as men placed funerary figurines in their tombs. Often certain details of the figure and the text were adjusted to reflect gender differences, but sometimes only the name and title would indicate whether the owner was male or female. But occasionally a mistake was made.

On the shabti of the Lady of the House Maya the type of wig, the strands of hair across the forehead, the use of hair bands and braids, the carved and painted details of the face, and her title all attest that the owner was a woman, even though the scribe, in an apparent oversight, used *masculine* pronominal references in the text (Spanel (1996), p. 151-152; Silverman (1997), p. 252-255 and fig. 83b).

A similar error occurred on the shabti for the songstress of Amon Tentimentet, where both her titel and her appearance are clearly feminine, and yet the text uses the expressions "HE says", "as a MAN at HIS work", and "for HIM" (Aubert (2005), p. 80-81, no. 14). The shabti in Leiden, mentioned above, does not have a name, but the hairdress is clearly that of a woman; yet here too the masculine pronoun was used in the text.

However, our shabti takes this one step further and is therefore extremely exceptional. The scribe who wrote the text left all options open. If complete, the text would have read "*The enlightened Osiris so-and-so, he says*", or "... *she says*". But not knowing if a man or a woman would own the statuette in future, the scribe decided to write both the pronouns "*she*" and "*he*", leaving the choice of gender to be decided in the future.

All the parallels mentioned above are made of wood, brightly painted, and have a considerable size. They all seem to have been made in Deir el-Medina, which makes it possible that our shabti was also created there. As home to the workmen and artists who built and decorated the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings, Deir el-Medina was an unsurpassed atelier for funerary figurines (Spanel, p. 152).

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New Kingdom, 19th - 20th dynasty, circa 1292 - 1070 B.C.

Height 24.8 cm.

Published: *Art of the Ancient World*, volume XVIII (New York, Royal-Athena Galleries, 2007), p. 81, no. 219.

Provenance: US private collection P.A., New York (1908-2004), a UN diplomat who acquired the piece in Cairo in 1970; thence by descent; with Royal Athena Galleries, New York; private Virginia collection, acquired from the above in 2008; thereafter with Sands of Time Ancient Art, Washington DC.

7 - A Large New Kingdom Wood Shabti for Menkheper

A very large wood shabti for a man called Menkheper. In spite of the damage to the figure, this is a highly interesting statuette with wonderfully carved hieroglyphs, arranged in six columns. This is itself is rare, because most of the shabtis from this period have their texts in horizontal bands; however, a few parallels from the same period are known.

The text reads:

> *To be recited by Menkheper; he says: O, these shawabties, if one counts, if one reckons, if one calls in the realm of the dead, to do all the works which are wont to be done there, to cultivate the fields, to irrigate the riparian lands, to transport sand by boat from the west to the east - now indeed obstacles are implanted for you there - as a man at his duties when you are counted upon at any time to serve there: "Here I am", you shall say*.

Menkheper, the owner of the shabti, is not easily identifiable, the more so since no titles or parents are mentioned. The name, especially in its fuller form Menkheperreseneb, indicates that Menkheper was possibly born during the reign of Thothmes III (Helck (1958), p. 388; Gabolde (2011), p. 199), on whose coronation name (Menkheperre) it was based. Yet the name is not very common. Only about half a dozen persons with this name are listed (see Ranke I, p. 150, 13; II, p. 360; see also I, p. XXIII), to which a few have been added later (see for example the priest Menkheper; Gabolde (2011), p. 199; 202). To make it more complicated, it is not always clear whether Menkheper was used as a standalone name or as an abbreviation for Menkheperreseneb.

However, it seems clear that Menkheper was an important man. The size of the shabti and the quality of the inscribed hieroglyphs point towards someone of high rank.

Among the candidates are the royal scribe, personal servant to the king, and mayor of Memphis Menkheper (known from a sandstone stelophorous statue with a hymn to the sun god Ra (Naville (1913), p. 2; pls. IV, 2; VIII, Ba-Bb), or the owner of Theban tomb 79, the overseer of cattle of Amun, overseer of the granaries of the Lord of the Two Lands in Heliopolis, and overseer of the granaries of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperreseneb, whose name was regularly abbreviated to Menkheper. He was one of the important officials during the reign of pharaohs Thothmes III and Amunhetep II (for this person and his titles see Helck, 1958, p. 388-389; 498-499), and he was awarded the gold of honour by the king (Jéquier (1912), p. 123, fig. 3, no. 4). Also known is the High Priest of Amun during the reign of Thothmes III Menkheperreseneb, the owner of Theban tombs 86 and 112 (Helck (1982), p. 43).

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New Kingdom, 18th dynasty, reign of Thothmes III (1479 - 1425 B.C.) or shortly after.

Height circa 26.5 cm.

Provenance: U.S.A. private collection of Walter and Mary-Louise Daniels, San Francisco, acquired circa 1973.

8 - An Egyptian Bronze Statuette of the Apis Bull

A solid bronze statuette of the Apis bull, shown in a striding position with both left legs forward. The animal has a sun disc between its horns which is adorned with a uraeus. A winged sun disc is engraved across the shoulders, and another one is visible on its hindquarters. Between the sun disks, in the middle of the back of the bull, we see an rectangular, embroidered blanket with fringed ends, the pattern of which has been executed in fine chasing. On an integral oblong plinth, which was once attached to another plinth with vertical tenons.

The Apis bull was considered sacred from at least as early as the predynastic period. The animal was linked to the Memphite god Ptah and was believed to be his *ba* (which translates rather incorrectly as "soul").

Simultaneously Apis was also linked to the god Osiris, perhaps through the connection of Osiris with Ptah, as seen in the union Ptah-Sokar-Osiris. Both Osiris and Apis were frequently mentioned in connection with their fertility, and Osiris could also be called "the great bull of the west".

Apis also had solar features, as indicated by the sun disk between his horns, and the sometimes engraved solar symbols on its back.

A ritual called the "Apis walk", aiming to give fertility to the fields, was known from the earliest times. Another Apis walk can be seen on the foot end of many Late Period sarcophagi; this served to carry the deceased to the tomb.

The Apis bull lived in the so-called Apieion in Memphis, which was located near the temple of Ptah. During the Hellenistic Period, the cult also became very popular in Alexandria. Only one Apis bull at a time was worshipped in Egypt. After the bull died, it was mummified and buried in an underground complex of chambers in the cemetery of Saqqara, now called the Serapeum. The tombs of more than sixty animals have been found there. Part of the mummification ritual for the Apis bulls has been preserved in a Demotic papyrus.

The choice of a new Apis bull was determined by certain physical characteristics, such as special body markings, the most important of which was a white triangle on the forehead. But ancient writers, including Herodotus, also speak about the outline of a vulture wing on his back, a crescent moon on his flank, the sign of a scarab under his tongue, and other features.

When a new bull, showing these special markings, had been found, there was rejoicing throughout the country, and the bull was brought to a temple where he was worshipped. He was considered to be an oracle (the movements of his body were believed to be prophesies) as well as a bringer of health (his breath was believed to cure illness) and strength. The Apis was also believed to be a manifestation of the pharaoh, since both had associations with strength and fertility.

Since the animal was considered sacred, small statues depicting it were often made, usually of bronze. These statues could be worshipped, but also served as votive offerings which could be bought and offered to the god. Large numbers were found in the Serapeum (excavated by Auguste Mariette in 1850-1854) and in the favissas of the sacred animal necropolis in Saqqara.

Many statuettes of Apis bulls were left undecorated. Only the better ones have a decoration engraved on the body. There is a large variety in these decorations, which most likely reflects the work of different bronze workshops, although there may also be a chronological evolution.

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Late Period, 26. Dynastie, circa 664 - 525 B.C.

Length 8.8 cm.

Provenance: With Sotheby's London, 4 December 1978, lot 87; thence German private collection U.H.

9 - A Bronze Statuette of Harpocrates

A highly interesting statuette of the Egyptian child god Horus, known as Harpocrates in Greek. He is depicted as a young boy, naked, with the so-called sidelock of youth (a symbol of childhood in ancient Egypt). The index finger of his right hand is pointing towards his mouth, just below the lips. Although later tradition explained this as a gesture for silence, calling Harpocrates "*the god who holds his finger to his lips for silence sake*" (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 9:692), it is in fact another indication of the god being a child; the depiction of the god with his finger to his mouth (Gardiner sign list A17) is the hieroglyphic sign for the word "child". Harpocrates was among other things the protector of children.

The god is wearing the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt, also known as the *pschent* (the Greek transcription of the Egyptian *pꜣ sḫm.ty*, *pa sekhemty*, the two powerful ones), and is shown standing, leaning with his left arm on a tree stump and holding a fruit-laden *cornucopia* (a symbol of abundance and nourishment), next to which a snake is coiling up.

The cornucopia and the snake were more often associated. The cornucopia became the attribute of several Greek and Roman deities, particularly those associated with the harvest, prosperity, and related notions. Ancient mythology knew various traditions about the origin of the cornucopia. In one of them (as told by Archilochus, 7th century B.C.; Pindar and Sophocles, both 5th century B.C.; Publius Ovidius Naso, 1st century B.C.-1st century C.E.; and others), the Greek river god Acheloos (who could change his shape) wrestled with Heracles for the hand of Deianeira; one of the shapes of Acheloos in this fight was that of a snake, another one that of a bull. In one of the versions Heracles broke off one of the bull-horns of Acheloos, and the Naiads filled it with fruit and flowers, transforming it into the "horn of plenty" (cornucopia) (Ovidius, *Metamorphoses*, 9:1-88).

Strabo, 1st century B.C. - 1st century C.E. provided a rationalised account of the Acheloos legend, which he believed arose from the nature of the river Acheloos, the noise of the water resembling a bull's voice and its windings and length resembling a snake (*Geography*, 10.2.19; similar Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*, 4.35.3–4). According to these authors Heracles diverted the course of the river, creating new fertile land in the river delta, which came to be known as Amaltheia's horn of plenty.

The ancient Egyptians feared snakes as dangerous, deadly animals, but also saw them as protective creatures. Since they have the ability to cyclically peel off their skin, they were the symbol of regeneration, and thus also of immortality and fertility. In the *Amduat*, a funerary composition of the New Kingdom, we encounter several serpents which were believed to have a positive notion: the snake Mehen coiled around the sun god Re protectively during his journey through the underworld; in another division of the Amduat the serpent Sa-ta appears as a symbol of resurrection, and in the last hour the sun god rejuvenates inside the body of a gigantic snake, called "Life of the gods", just before he is reborn. For an overview see Argyros (2018); Reemes (2015). Similarly, the snake in Greek religion is often described in dualistic opposites like life and death, whereas it also played the role of a protective guardian (Rodríguez Pérez, 2021, p. 1-23).

The statuette was created in a period when ancient Egyptian religious ideas and those from the ancient Greek and Roman world were often syncretised. There had been Greek settlements in Egypt since the 7th century B.C., and there were contacts between Egypt and the Aegean from the archaic to the classical periods, meaning that for example Isis became known outside Egypt long before the Hellenistic period (Woolf (2014), p. 75). Her cult spread across the Mediterranean through travelers, who built shrines for her in Greek cities. The spread of Egyptians beliefs and syncretism were also helped by the contacts of both Greek and non-Greek people with the Egyptian cults in Ptolemaic Egypt. The first Ptolemy knew that after the conquest of Alexander the Great, he had to respect the religion of the Egyptians in order to reconcile them. But he also wanted support from the Greeks living in Egypt. Therefore, as many scholars believe, he created the cult of a new syncretistic god, called Sarapis. This god was based on the Egyptian god Osiris and the sacred bull Apis, but was also identified with several Greek deities including Asklepios, Dionysos, Hades, Helios and above all Zeus. He became very popular and was worshipped in Egypt and in other parts of the Graeco-Roman world. The last centuries B.C. saw a diffusion of religious traditions throughout the Hellenistic world. For example the cults of Isis and Sarapis reached Roman Italy together with many other religions (Orlin, 2010; see also the many entries in the series edited by Vermaseren), and the same applies to the religious thoughts concerning Isis' son Harpocrates. As a result small statuettes of Harpocrates, both in bronze and in terracotta, were found scattered throughout the Roman Empire.

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Roman Imperial Period, circa 1st century C.E.

Height 7.8 cm.

Provenance: Dutch private collection H.v.H.; with AAG Auctioneers, Amsterdam, 2018; Dutch private collection L.J. Jansen; with Gorny & Mosch Giessener Münzhandlung, München, 18 December 2013, lot 282; private collection; with Gorny & Mosch Giessener Münzhandlung, München, 23 June 2010, lot 288. Most recently with Kunsthandel Mieke Zilverberg, Amsterdam.

10, 11 - Two Egyptian Faience Amulets of a Lion-Headed Goddess

Amulets of maned, lion-headed women first appear in the Third Intermediate Period, and were in fact a feature of that period. However, they are very difficult to identify. Inscriptions on them often give contradictory information. One type depicts a bare-headed goddess, holding a sistrum and seated on an openwork throne. The sistrum suggests that Bastet in her original fearsome form is represented. Figures with a tall upreared cobra on top of the head, forming the front of a suspension loop, are occasionally actually named Bastet. Yet sometimes, too, identical figures are identified as Sekhmet, the fierce goddess of the Memphite area, who symbolised the burning heat of the sun and, as the sun-god's vengeful eye, destroyed his enemies and brought plague and pestilence. It might be thought that Sekhmet is probably represented by those figures with a sun-disc on the head, for they have an obvious solar connection. However, identical votive bronzes specifically mention Wadjet, the protectress of Lower Egypt, who usually assumed the form of a cobra (Andrews (1994), p. 33-34). Generally speaking, Bastet, Sakhmet, Mut, Tefnut, Shesemtet, Pakhet, Mafdet, Wadjet and others could all appear as a lioness or lion-headed woman.

Only in some cases it is clear that Bastet is represented, as is the case with figures of a cat, holding in her left arm a small basket in which she has placed her kittens. But it becomes less clear when her aspects are rather leonine, which could be reminiscent of the "Dangerous Goddess", and at the same time details or inscriptions define her as Bastet. Based on the attributes, and in the absence of an inscription, or even with an inscription, the identification of lion-headed goddesses remains extremely difficult (Lebrun-Nélis - Brasseur (2009), p. 232-233).

This ambiguity has to do with the Egyptian way of thinking in terms of opposites, such as day and night, Nile valley and desert, Upper and Lower Egypt, and many others. The goddesses Sekhmet and Bastet began to be paired as such opposites complementing each other as early as circa 1850 BC. The Myth of the Eye of the Sun in the temple at Philae, some 1700 years later, described the goddess Hathor-Tefnut with the words "*She rages like Sekhmet and she is friendly like Bastet*". Eventually they came to be thought of as aspects of the same goddess, one threatening and dangerous, the other protective and peaceful (Malek (1997), p. 95), also because cats are known to attack unexpectedly, even when a moment ago they were peacefully purring. Similarly, a mother lioness can be gentle and nurturing and yet fiercely aggressive when protecting her cubs. This duality of fury and care became the quintessential quality of feline goddesses (Barbash (2016), p. 23). For this aspect see also Joseph (2018), esp. p. 36-41.

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Anne Lebrun-Nélis - Charlotte Brasseur, "Déesse à tête de lionne", in Claire Derriks - Luc Delvaux (eds.), *Antiquités égyptiennes au Musée royal de Mariemont* (Morlanwelz, Musée royal de Mariemont, 2009), p. 231-233;
Jaromir Malek, *The Cat in Ancient Egypt* (London, British Museum Press, 1993; Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997).

10 - A Bright Turquoise-Blue Egyptian Faience Amulet of an Enthroned Lion-Headed Goddess

The goddess is depicted as a woman with the head of a lion, and is shown sitting on her throne, the sides of which are in openwork, displaying serpent-like figures which have been identified as depictions of the god Nehebkau; the throne is also open at the underside. The goddess is holding a scepter in her left hand and a sistrum in her right hand, and is wearing a long close-fitting garment, down to the ankles, and a tripartite wig which merges with the lion's manes. Her bracelets, anklets, and other details have been added in black. There is a suspension loop at the back of the head.

For comparable amulets see Andrews (1994), p. 34, fig. 30a,d.

Late Period to Ptolemaic Period, circa 664 B.C. - 30 B.C.

Height 5.9 cm.

Provenance: With Sotheby's New York, sale of 17 December 1996, lot 27.

11 - An Egyptian Green Glazed Egyptian Faience Amulet of a Lion-Headed Goddess

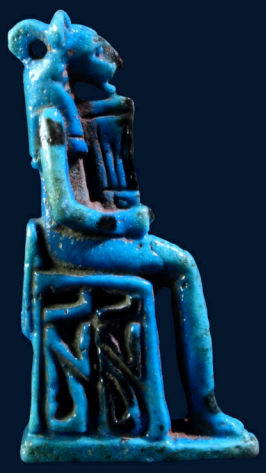
The goddess is shown with the body of a woman and a feline head, depicted in a striding position with her left foot forward, her arms held against her sides. She is wearing a long, close-fitting dress, down to the ankles, and a tripartite wig which passes under the lion's mane. Her navel is represented by a small hole. An imposing uraeus placed on top of her the head, between the large erect ears, serves an a suspension loop. The dorsal column contains impressed hieroglyphs, mentioning the name of the goddess as Bastet. On an integral rectangular base.

For comparable objects see Andrews (1994), p. 34, fig. 30b-c; Malek (1997), p. 108, figs. 78-79; Lebrun-Nélis - Brasseur (2009), p. 233, B450, B468, B469.1; Barbash (2016), p. 36-37, figs. 51a-d.

Third Intermediate Period or shortly after, circa 1069 - 525 B.C.

Height 7.6 cm.

Provenance: Dutch private collection, acquired at Bonhams London, 30 October 2003, lot 20; before that UK collection, purchased in London in the late 1950s - early 1960s.



12 - An Egyptian Bright Blue Glazed Amulet of a Divine Triade

An amulet depicting the sister goddesses Isis and Nephthys with the young Harpokrates (Horus the child) between them. The three figures are striding side-by-side, the left foot forward, and are holding hands. They are depicted on a on a small rectangular base with a high vertical back slab, at the back of which a suspension loop is visible.

On the proper left hand side Isis is shown, wearing a long, close fitting dress and a tripartite wig; on her head she wears her symbol, the throne. Her left arm is held stretched against her body, and her right hand holds the left hand of Horus. He is shown naked and with the sidelock of youth, both indications that he is still a young child (even though these amulets usually depict him as large as the two goddesses); a uraeus-serpent is visible above his forehead. With his other hand Horus is holding the left hand of the goddess on the right hand side of the amulet, Nephthys. She is dressed in the same fashion as Isis, and the symbol on her head consists of a basket (*neb*) and a palace (*hut*), together spelling her name (Nebet-hut being the original version of the Greek form Nephthys).

The relationship between the gods is important in the myth of Osiris. Seth, the god of desert, chaos, confusion and storm, killed his brother Osiris in order to take the throne. However, Osiris' newborn son Horus was the legitimate heir to the throne. Isis decided to hide her child in the marshes in the Delta, to prevent Seth from finding him. In the Delta the child was exposed to all kinds of other dangers, but he managed to overcome these thanks to magical powers and the protection offered to him by Isis and Nephthys.

Plaque amulets depicting triads first became popular during the Late Period, and were particularly popular during the Saite Period. The blue-green colour was also typical of this period. It was created by controlled mixing of the right quantities of copper and iron, as well as allowing a controlled presence of oxygen in the oven (Lebrun-Nélis - Brasseur (2009), p. 218).

Amulets like this one were often placed between the mummy wrappings, especially on the lower torso, to protect the deceased like Isis and Nephthys protected Horus. For comparable amulets see Andrews (1994), p. 49 and fig. 53d; Petrie (1914), p. 35 and pl. XXVII, no. 152a-b; Spurr - Reeves - Quirke (1999), p. 59, no. 92; Lebrun-Nélis - Brasseur (2009), p. 217-218.

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Stephen Spurr - Nicholas Reeves - Stephen Quirke, *Egyptian Art at Eton College. Selections from the Myers Museum* (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art; Windsor, Eton College, 1999).

Late Period to Ptolemaic Period (circa 664 B.C. - 30 B.C.)

Height 4.5 cm.

Provenance: Dutch private collection, acquired from Christie's London, 3 July 1996, part of lot 222.

13 - An Extremely Rare Egyptian Haematite Inscribed Headrest Amulet

An amulet in the shape of a headrest, inscribed with spell 166 from the Book of the Dead ("spell for the headrest").

To date, only four amulets with this text are known; one of these amulets is in the British Museum London (EA 20647; Andrews 1994, fig. 95d), one in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston (MFA 1976.128), and two are in the Egyptian Museum Cairo (J.E. 5306 and J.E. 89041). A fifth, with Sotheby's London in 1990, is briefly mentioned by Perraud (2007, p. 1502), but further details of the inscription are lacking.

Other sources for the spell, which is rare anyway, are eight funerary papyri, two coffins, the wall of one tomb, and one full size headrest, all dating from the New Kingdom up to the Third Intermediate Period, and a cartonnage (Late Period-Ptolemaic Period). The amulets all date from the 26th dynasty (Andrews 1994, p. 95-96; Lüscher 1998, p. 79-81; Quack 2009, p. 20).

The text on our amulet consists of extremely small hieroglyphs, which are in part difficult to read, even under magnification. But thanks to the parallels, which are more or less identical, it is possible to give a translation:

The swallows raise you up, you who were asleep.
They awaken your head to the horizon.
Raise yourself up.
You have felled your enemies.
You have been justified concerning that which has been done against you.
You have commanded to act against him who has acted against you.
You are Horus, the avenger of his father.
Behold, you have cut off the heads of your enemies.
They will not remove his head from him until eternity.
You have cut off the heads of your enemies.
They will not remove your head until eternity.

The purpose of the spell is therefore multiple: first of all it awakens the deceased from his death sleep and raises him; the swallow, a migratory bird, was a symbol of regeneration, but was also known as the herald of dawn, who would wake up those who were asleep. By awakening the deceased, the headrest makes him triumph over his enemies. And finally the spell preserves the deceased from the much feared dismemberment by protecting the head from being cut off (Lüscher 1998, p. 80-81).

Background information:
Egyptian headrests were in use from the earliest part of the historic period until late in Graeco-Roman times. They were primarily objects of daily life, and could be decorated with images of protective deities, or inscribed wish wishes for a good sleep. For life after dead the headrest was also needed, because the dead was believed to be sleeping.

Headrests would be placed in or near sarcophagi, or depicted in the object frieze of sarcophagi. In later periods, miniature headrests were sometimes placed between the mummy wrappings as amulets, and very few of these were inscribed with a short version of the relevant spell.

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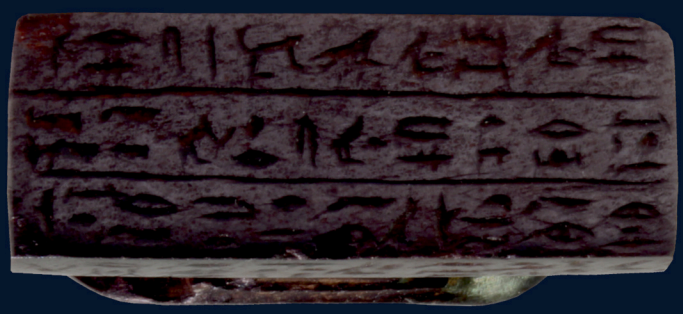
Late Period, 26th Dynasty, 664 - 525 B.C.

Length 2.9 cm.

Provenance:
Dutch private collection, acquired from Christies New York, sale of 4 June 1999, lot 336; before US private collection of Theodore & Aristea Halkedis, New York, Thalassic collection.



14 - An Egyptian Faience Necklace

A magnificent necklace with beautiful colours, strung with blue glazed Egyptian faience amulets and beads, all from the New Kingdom. The amulets depict baboons and fruit and floral amuletic jewellery elements, all flat backed and with a suspension loop at the top, strung together to form a collar characteristic of the 18th Dynasty (compare Andrews, p. 88 and colour plate 65).

Most notable are seven detailed amulets of a baboon. This animal was worshipped in Egypt as a manifestation of the god Thoth, and was therefore associated with the moon. But it was also related to the rising sun (see below; compare Andrews, p. 90), and therefore played a part in the process of regeneration.

The baboon amulets are interspersed with 8 amulets depicting fruits and parts of plants, lotus (or lily) petals; here too we find the symbolism of regeneration: growing plants symbolised new life, but some flowers also close at night and open again every morning, another indication of new life and resurrection (Andrews. p. 88).

The amulets are combined with faience beads and tubes in the same blue tones to form a very beautiful necklace, which is fitted with a modern 18 carat clasp; the whole is ready to be worn.

New Kingdom, 18th dynasty, circa 1550-1292 B.C.

Length circa 46 cm.

Provenance: Components of the assembled object come in part from the private collection of Egyptologist Geoffrey Metz, Sweden, acquired in the 1990s, in part from Harmakhis Gallery, Brussels, acquired from an old Belgian collection, and in part from the collection of H. Dolman, Hendon, United Kimgdom, acquired in 1939 from Harold Clements, Crest Private Museum, Hemel Hempstead, Hertfordshire, United Kingdom. Thereafter with Sands of Time Ancient Art, Washington DC.

Background information:

In the cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (the Osireion, with parallels on papyri and a block from a temple in Athribis) a scene shows the goddess of the sky, Nut, arching over the earth and supporting herself on her arms and legs. Behind her back lies an area that does not belong to the created, visible world. It is from this place of complete darkness that birds come into the created world, like migratory birds come into Egypt. The accompanying text explains that these animals "*have faces like men, but their nature is that of birds. One of them speaks to the other in human speech (...) When they come in Egypt under the rays of heaven, their shapes become birdlike*" (Frankfort, Volume I, p. 73; Volume II, pls. 75-76; 81; Von Lieven, p. 76; 408; § 73–75; Zago, p. 517). In other words, in the created world these animals had their usual appearance of birds and made the sounds of birds, but in yonder world their shape was that of a *ba*-bird, and they made different sounds. When they crossed the boundary between the two worlds, a transformation took place. These creatures were seen as the "*ba*'s of the north".

Similarly, baboons were called "*ba*'s of the east" (Assmann (1983), p. 29; 68). The Egyptians had noticed that baboons began to scream shortly before sunrise, when the eastern sky began to light up a little, signaling the new beginning of life. The animals are the ones "*that announce Re when this great god is to be born again (...) They dance for him, they jump for him, they sing for him, they sing praises for him, they should out for him (...) They are those who announce Re in heaven and on earth*" (Te Velde, p. 130; Assmann (1983), p. 30). Apart from their natural animal sounds, baboons were thought to speak another, secret language. They were considered to possess hidden knowledge and to be able to converse with the creator god; since they were considered the ideal adorers of the sun god, man hoped to become one of them (Te Velde, p. 129; Book of the Dead, spell 100: "*I have joined the baboons and I am one of them*"). The pharaoh knew the secret language of the baboons (Assmann (1970), p. 21; Te Velde, p. 133-134), and texts inform us that he also knew their secret form.

Therefore baboons, like the migratory birds having a second, secret form and speaking a second, secret language, contributed importantly to the notion of regeneration.

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15 - A Boeotian Terracotta Statuette of an Enthroned Goddess

A large statuette of a goddess with a flat, hand-modeled body, depicted in a sitting position. The artist who made the figure bent it at the waist and the knees, so that she is sharply leaning backwards, her hands resting on her knees; her chair or throne is absent, but to prevent the figurine from falling backwards a single back support was attached instead. This is a feature that is unique to Boeotia.

She wears a *peplos* which is fastened at the shoulders with large, round brooches, from which hangs a long serpentine cord decoration or chain, another feature that can only be seen in Boeotian art. On top of her moulded head a *polos* with crinkly rim is visible.

There are traces of the original paint at the collar of the garment.

Please note: paperwork maintained by the Corcoran Gallery of Art will accompany this object, including photographs and records about conservation treatment.

Published: *Collection of Antique Grecian, Egyptian, and Etruscan Statuettes, Vases, Tanagras, etc., made by Raphaël Collin, of Paris, France* (1911), p. 4, no. 30; *Illustrated Handbook of the W.A. Clark Collection* (Washington, DC, The Corcoran Gallery of Art, 1928), p. 103, no. 2533; *Illustrated Handbook of the W.A. Clark Collection* (Washington, DC, The Corcoran Gallery of Art, 1932), p. 107, no. 2533; Sue McGovern-Huffman, *The Senator William A. Clark Collection of Ancient Art* (Washington, DC, Sands of Time Ancient Art, 2022), p. 52.

Greece, Boeotia, circa 550 - 500 B.C.

Height circa 20 cm.

Provenance: Collection of Louis-Joseph-Raphaël Collin (1850 – 1916), a French painter who assembled his collection with the assistance of experts from the Louvre Museum, Paris, between 1890 and 1910; thence collection of the American politician Senator William Andrews Clark Sr. (1839 - 1925), bought from the above; thence collection of the Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington DC (1926 - 2014), received as a bequest from the above; thence collection of the American University Museum, Washington DC (2014 - 2021), received as a gift from the trustees of the Corcoran Gallery; thence with Sands of Time Gallery, Washington DC.

16 - A Boeotian Painted Terracotta Horse and Rider

A hand-modelled and stylised statuette of a horse and rider. Although in these depictions the rider usually "merges" with the horse, he is thought to be sitting astride on the back of the animal. He seems to be clutching its long neck, but a painted line on the side of the animal's head may in fact indicate that he is holding the reins. The details of the horse's eyes and mane, as well as the harness of the animal are painted in red, as are decorative bands along the body and legs.

Greece, Boeotia, 6th century B.C.

Height circa 13 cm maximum, length circa 13 cm.

Provenance: Collection of Christian Rolle, agricultural engineer and irrigation specialist in Egypt, circa 1945; the tail of the horse has been reglued using a glue which indicates that the repair was done in the 19th or early 20th century; with Arcane Enchères, Paris, Vente d'Archéologie, 10 June 2017, lot 156; French private collection O.M., acquired from the above; thereafter Galerie Tarantino, Paris.

17 - A Boeotian Red-Figure Bell Krater

This bell krater (a bowl for mixing wine and water) is not from Apulia, as one would expect at first glance (and as was also assumed by the Corcoran Museum, where it was exhibited), but from mainland Greece; it was made in a known Boeotian workshop (see the publication by Ure, and confirmed by the curator of ancient art of the Princeton University Art Museum).

The vase consists of a deep bowl, standing on a hollow disk foot. The mouth is wide and has an everted, overhanging rim, decorated with a band of tongues. There are two horizontal handles, each with an ivy leaf underneath.

The krater is decorated with a large palmette on the reverse, and the head of a woman facing left on the obverse. She has curly hair, covering her ears, and is wearing a sakkos patterned with dots between double stripes.

Women's heads were a favourite form of decoration on Boeotian vases of the latter part of the fifth century and the early fourth (Ure, p. 245), as they were in the whole Greek world, where they were extraordinarily widespread. The significance of these representations is not known; it is noteworthy that there was no male counterpart.

For close parallels see the publication by Ure; for a nearly identical krater, probably by the same painter, see Sarajevo Museum, 417 (Beazley Archive Pottery Database, 9003347). See also a Boeotian krater in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, accession number 75.2.17, said to have been found in the vicinity of Athens.

Please note: paperwork maintained by the Corcoran Gallery of Art will accompany this object, including photographs and slides made before, during and after conservation treatment, and including correspondence from 1952 with A.D. Ure about rights to publish the vase.

Exhibited: Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, (1926-2014); American University Museum, Washington, DC (2014 - 2021).

Published: This krater was published in a comparative study by Ure (1953), p. 246, no. 11; pl. 70, fig. 21; pl. 71, fig. 31; Collection Collin (1911), p. 27, no. 188; Original Clark Catalog, p. 251, part 2, no. 188; Illustrated Handbook (1928), p. 124, no. 2690; Illustrated Handbook (1932), p. 118, no. 2690; McGovern-Huffman, p. 37.

Bibliography:
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Greece, Boeotia, circa 4th century B.C.

Height circa 15 cm.

Provenance: Collection of Louis-Joseph-Raphaël Collin (1850 – 1916), a French painter who assembled his collection with the assistance of experts from the Louvre Museum, Paris, between 1890 and 1910; thence collection of the American politician Senator William Andrews Clark Sr. (1839 - 1925), bought from the above; thence collection of the Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington DC (1926 - 2014), received as a bequest from the above; thence collection of the American University Museum, Washington DC (2014 - 2021), received as a gift from the trustees of the Corcoran Gallery; thence with Sands of Time Gallery, Washington DC.

18 - A Large Etruscan Lid of a Cinerary Urn

This is the rectangular terracotta lid of a cinerary urn, made of pale, orange-beige clay with traces of red paint. On the lid a child is depicted in the traditional way, reclining at the funerary meal, leaning on his left arm, which rests on a rectangular cushion. He is holding a patera umbilicata in his right hand, and he is draped around his lower body. There is a small, square vent hole on top of his head.

The Etruscans cremated their dead, and especially during the last phase of Etruscan civilisation cremation burials became increasingly common. The ashes were placed in urns that were made in stone or, more commonly, in terracotta. Most were small rectangular boxes, usually decorated with mythical or ornamental scenes in relief on the sides, often with an inscription at the top of the box identifying the deceased, and with a lid on which a reclining figure portrayed the deceased.

Although changes in Etruscan society during the Hellenistic period are evident in the funerary environment, the form and placement of cinerary urns and their lid effigies illustrate remarkable continuity in the Etruscan understanding of the afterlife.

The cinerary urns served as integral components of a dynamic funerary environment. Although on almost all cinerary urns there is a strong emphasis on the head of the deceased, the importance of the lid effigy did not lie in its physical resemblance; portraits were mass-produced and depict types rather than individuals. Through aspects of performance, interaction, and visual convention, these urns maintained the deceased's personhood in the afterlife, an identity that related to familial relationships and active participation in important social practices (Huntsman, 2014).

Bibliography:
Richard Daniel De Puma, *Etruscan Art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2013), p. 118; 243-249; Theresa Rose Huntsman, *Eternal Personae. Chiusine Cinerary Urns and the Construction of Etruscan Identity* (Washington University, 2014); Carlos A. Picón a.o., *Art of the Classical World in The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Greece, Cyprus, Etruria, Rome* (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2007), p. 311, fig. 369; p. 476-477.

Probably from Chiusi, second century B.C.

Dimensions: 40 x 28 x 22,5 cm.

Provenance:
Swiss private collection, acquired from Galeria Serodine, Switserland, in 2001; thence Kunsthandel Mieke Zilverberg, Amsterdam.

19 - A Black-Figure Oinochoe, Attributed to the Gela Painter

A vase with a tapering body, a deep shoulder, and a trefoil mouth with a high handle from the shoulder to the rim. The oinochoe stands on a low conical foot. Based on its shape the oinochoe belongs to the type 1 as classified by Sir John Beazley.

The black vase has a reserved figure panel, showing a scene with Dionysos reclining on a couch; his *himation* is wrapped around his waist, having fallen off one of his shoulders. Next to him is a small table hung with cuts of meat. The god is bearded, and a vine springs from his legs. In front of him are a draped maenad and a satyr holding a pair of wooden clappers (*krotala*); behind Dionysos is another satyr.

The scene is framed left and right with a net pattern and tongues above, and a meander pattern around the neck, consisting of a long, unbroken line, repeatedly folding back on itself to form an interlocking pattern. A red line beneath the scene.

The illustration belongs to the more popular scenes: the theme of Dionysos, surrounded by (dancing) maenads and satyrs, is common in the Archaic period. Current among Attic black-figure vase-painters from the second quarter of the sixth century onward, the subject became particularly popular around the middle of the century on vases by Lydos and his followers (Markoe (2000), p. 45), but also elsewhere. For the subject of Dionysos reclining in the presence of a maenad and sileni compare also a white-ground oinochoe in Compiègne (Haspels (1936), p. 214, no. 189; Flot (1924), vol. I, p. 9; vol, II, pl. 12, no. 15) and an oinochoe in Auxerre (Rolley (1957-1958), p. 5, no. 47).

Please note: paperwork maintained by the Corcoran Gallery of Art will accompany this object, including photographs made before and after conservation treatment, and a short comparative study of the vase with illustrations showing parallels and related vases.

Exhibited:

Special exhibition:
"The William A. Clark Collection," Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, 26 April - 16 July 1978.

General exhibitions:
Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, (1926-2014);
American University Museum, Washington, DC (2014 - 2021).

Published:
Collection Collin (1911), p. 23, no. 167;
Original Clark Catalog, p. 248, part 2, no. 167;
Illustrated Handbook (1928), p. 123, no. 2669;
Illustrated Handbook (1932), p. 117, no. 2669;
McGovern-Huffman, p. 24.

Bibliography:
Illustrated Handbook of the W.A. Clark Collection (Washington, DC, The Corcoran Gallery of Art, 1928);
Illustrated Handbook of the W.A. Clark Collection (Washington, DC, The Corcoran Gallery of Art, 1932);
Collection of Antique Grecian, Egyptian, and Etruscan Statuettes, Vases, Tanagras, etc., made by Raphaël Collin, of Paris, France (1911);
Marcelle Flot, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, France, Musée de Compiègne (Musée Vivenel)* (Paris, Librairie ancienne Édouard Champion, 1924);
Caroline Henriette Emilie Haspels, *Attic Black-figured Lekythoi* (Travaux et mémoires des anciens membres étrangers de l'Ecole et de divers savants, Ecole française d'Athènes, volume 4) (Paris, E. de Boccard, 1936);
Glenn Markoe, "An Attic Black-figured Column-Krater in Malibu: Dionysiac Sparagmos and Omophagia", *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* Volume 6 (Occasional Papers on Antiquities, 9) (Malibu, California, The J. Paul Getty Trust, 2000), p. 45-54;
Sue McGovern-Huffman, *The Senator William A. Clark Collection of Ancient Art* (Washington, DC, Sands of Time Ancient Art, 2022);
Claude Rolley, "Catalogue des vases grecs du Musée d'Auxerre", *Bulletin de la société des sciences historiques et naturelles de l'Yonne*, 97 (1957-1958).

Greece, Attica, circa 510-490 B.C.

Height circa 18 cm.

Provenance:
Collection of Louis-Joseph-Raphaël Collin (1850 – 1916), a French painter who assembled his collection with the assistance of experts from the Louvre Museum, Paris, between 1890 and 1910;
thence collection of the American politician Senator William Andrews Clark Sr. (1839 - 1925), bought from the above;
thence collection of the Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington DC (1926 - 2014), received as a bequest from the above;
thence collection of the American University Museum, Washington DC (2014 - 2021), received as a gift from the trustees of the Corcoran Gallery;
thence with Sands of Time Gallery, Washington DC.

20 - A Large Greco-Italic Transport Amphora

A large and decorative Greco-Italic amphora, made of brown terracotta, used for the transport of wine. As evidenced by the abundant marine deposits, the amphora has been lying on the seabed for a long time; the ship in which the amphora was transported has likely been shipwrecked.

Amphorae were made in many places and in many shapes during a period of thousands of years. The first one to create a systematic classification of (Roman) amphorae was the German archaeologist Heinrich Dressel (1845 – 1920) in his *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, XV, 2: Inscriptiones urbis Romae latinae. Instrumentum domesticum* (Berlin, Georg Reimer, 1899), part 3, p. 491-701 and plate 2. The material of his work has later been expanded and supplemented by various scholars. For an overview of types see Daniela Matos, *Amphores*.

Our amphora belongs to the category MGS 3 (Magna Graecia, Sicily) and is therefore of Greco-Italic production. Amphorae in this group have their origin in Sicily and Calabria, and are typically 60 to 65 cm high and about 35 cm wide. Their diffusion is Naples, Calabria and Sicily, and their date range is from the end of the 5th to the end of the fourth century B.C. Their contents was wine (Matos, p. 26).

In the ancient world much of the trade was done by boat; transport over water, be it river or sea, prevailed over land transport for financial reasons. Boats could carry significant quantities of goods, and the profits made far outweighed the losses from shipwreck, even though these were relatively common, caused by bad weather or hitting rocks.

The typical shape of amphorae, with their pointed base and two carrying handles on opposite sides, allowed upright storage, either in racks or in soft ground, such as sand; the base facilitated transportation by ship. Amphorae were tied together with ropes passing through their handles, to prevent shifting or toppling during rough seas; as an extra protection reeds were sometimes packed around them.

Amphorae were used for the transport and storage of various products, both dry (grain, grapes, olives etc.) and liquid (olive oil, honey, water and above all wine). They were carried on two handles, and this is where they derive their name from. The Greek noun φορεύς (phoreus, "carrier"), from the verb φέρειν (pherein, "to carry"), was combined with the word ἀμφί (amphi, "on both sides"), forming the word ἀμφιφορεύς (amphiphoreus, "two-handled", "carried on both sides"). This in turn was shortened by haplology to amphora.

Literature:
- Daniela Matos, *Amphores*;
- Martine Sciallano - Patricia Sibella, *Amphores, comment les identifier?* (Aix-en-Provence, Edisud, 1991; réédition 1994).

Magna Graecia, end of the 5th - end of the 4th century B.C.

Height circa 63.5 cm; diameter circa 37 cm; height with stand circa 84 cm.

Provenance: German private collection of Albert Schenk, collected between the 1950s and 1970s.

21 - An Apulian Gnathian Lekythos

A beautifully decorated lekythos with an ovoid body, constructed from fine red clay. The body is rising from a disk foot to a slender neck with a splayed mouth. A single strap handle is attached just below the shoulder and at the neck.

The body of the vase is decorated with elaborate floral designs. In the centre is a female bust in profile, facing left, wearing a frilled collar in the shape of a flower, as if the head is rising from that flower.

Apulia, Hellenistic Period, circa 330 - 320 B.C.

Height 16.5 cm.

Published: *Art of the Ancient World*, volume XXVII (New York - London, Royal-Athena Galleries, 2016), no. 115.

Provenance: From the private collection of Jerome M. Eisenberg (1930-2022), New York, acquired in Basel in September 1988; thence Sands of Time Ancient Art, Washington, DC.

22 - A Large Terracotta Applique of Medusa

A large applique depicting the goddess Medusa in raised relief, her face framed by wavy locks of snake hair. The goddess is horned and has broad feathered wings at either side, with a *lunula* on top.

Medusa stares ahead and uncompromisingly confronts the viewer, striking fear into his heart and threatening to turn him into stone, thereby warding off evil. She represents a dangerous threat meant to deter other dangerous threats, an image of evil to repel evil.

Medusa and her sisters Stheno and Euryale were the Gorgons, the winged terrifying daughters of the primordial sea gods Phorcys and Ceto (Hesiod, *Theogony*, 270 ff.). Medusa was the only one of them who was not immortal (she was killed by Perseus). She had a frightening, petrifying gaze, and because of this a gorgoneion (a depiction of the grotesque face) was often used as protection for buildings and objects, being placed on walls, doors and tombstones, as well as on ships, shields, breastplates and elsewhere, protecting against evil and the evil eye.

The appearance of Medusa changed over time. Earlier writers describe her as a member of a family of monsters; Homer, who speaks about one single Gorgon, calls her a ghastly monster from Hades (Homer, *Odyssey*, XI, 633). Later classical poets say that she was once a beautiful woman who was transformed into a monster with snakes as hair by the goddess Athena, a punishment because the temple of Athena was desecrated by Poseidon and Medusa (Ovidius, *Metamorphoses*, Book 4, 794–803). But although her appearance changed, her frightening and protective aspect remained. Her eye would for example prevent spirits or humans from disturbing the deceased, giving Medusa the role of guardian of the realm of the dead.

This applique, which is completely covered with a layer of gesso, was once a decorative and apotropaic ornament on a large terracotta vase, most likely an askos. This is a type of pottery vessel with a unique, usually globular but asymmetric shape that is reminiscent of a wineskin (the word *askos* means wineskin in Greek). Askoi were mostly found in high profile tombs; their shape suggests that they were used for certain rituals. They were often decorated with painting, three-dimensional figures, and a relief showing the head of Medusa.

Bibliography:
William A.P. Childs, "The Human Animal: The Near East and Greece" in J. Michael Padgett - William A. P. Childs - Despoina S. Tsiaphakē (eds.), *The Centaur's Smile. The Human Animal in Early Greek Art* (Houston, Museum of Fine Arts; Princeton, Princeton University Art Museum, 2003), p. 49–72;
Madeleine Glennon, "Medusa in Ancient Greek Art", *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History* (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2017)
Jean-Pierre Vernant, "Death in the Eyes: Gorgo, Figure of the Other" in Froma I. Zeitlin (ed.), *Mortals and Immortals. Collected Essays* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1991), p. 111–138.

Apulia, Canosa, circa third century B.C.

Width circa 19.5 cm; height circa 12 cm.

Provenance: Swiss private collection of Dr. L., acquired in the 1950s; thence Galerie Kunst der Antike, Vöcklabruck, Austria; thence with Kunsthandel Mieke Zilverberg, Amsterdam.

23 - A Votive Stela of the Triple Hekate

A flat relief stela with a round upper end, made of white, fine crystalline marble. Depicted is the triple-bodied goddess Hekate. She is holding torches in her hands, and is offering sacrifices, standing between two altars.

In the lower part is an inscription by the person who dedicated the stela, reading:

> ΒΑΛΕ ΒΑΛΗΣ ΛΕΚΟΥΡΙΩΝ
> ΕΥΧΗΝ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ
>
> The decurion Valerius Valens
> dedicated (this) in fulfilment of a vow

A decurion was a Roman cavalry officer in command of ten men. Of the name of the dedicator only the *nomen gentilicium* (Valerius, partly abbreviated) and the *cognomen* (Vale(n)s) are given, which in Greek were written with a B (the Greek β being pronounced as a "v").

Unfortunately it seems impossible to identify this person, the more so because only two of his three names are given. Existing databases contain thousands of names of military people, many of which have identical *tria nomina*; sources regularly offer very few adjacent details of persons. For example Valens is a typical military name which, combined with lack of other biographical or prosopographic details, makes disambiguation impossible. In addition militaries had higher mobility than other groups, so identical names appearing on monuments in different locations may, or may not, refer to the same person (Lumezeanu - Varga (2019), p. 37).

Published: Angelos Chaniotis - Joannis Mylonopoulos, "Epigraphic Bulletin for Greek Religion 2003", *Kernos* 19 (2006), p. 363, no. 61.

Eastern Mediterranean, circa 2nd-3rd century C.E.

Height 41 cm.

Provenance: Dutch private collection; with Gorny & Mosch Giessener Münzhandlung, München, Germany, 16 June 2004, no. 355; before in an old German private collection.

Background information:
The origins and nature of Hekate are still debated. Did she come from mainland Greece, as some scholars believe, or from Thrace, Thessaly, or even Mesopotamia? The earliest evidence comes from both mainland Greece and Asia Minor. In literature, Hekate first appears in Hesiod's eighth-century *Theogony*, while the earliest archaeological evidence for her worship consists of a small statuette from Athens and an altar from Miletos, both from the sixth century BC. The most commonly accepted theory places the origins of Hekate in Karia (Anatolia) (Herring (2022), p. 6).

Although Hekate is depicted exclusively with a single body in Lagina, images of the triple-bodied goddess were common in the rest of Karia, and in the rest of the ancient world. It should be noted that her worship in Lagina in the Hellenistic and Roman periods was also different from that elsewhere in the Greek world, including in Karia (Herring, p. 6-7).

While a popular deity in personal religious rites, she was rarely featured in mythology or state cult. Small shrines (called a *hekataion*, see below) sanctified to her were placed at spaces she oversaw including road junctions, city gates and doorways of private homes and temples, even of those dedicated to other divinities. Votives, curse tablets and spells called upon Hekate for assistance as the patron of witchcraft and leader of the restless dead. In art, her triple-bodied form oversaw road junctions and her torches illuminated liminal spaces (Herring, p. 1).

As a triple-bodied deity, Hekate was associated with the dangers of the road; see for example Sophokles (5th century B.C.), who in his *Rhizotomoi* (Root-Cutters) mentioned *Hekate Enodia (the "Wayfarer"), goddess of the roads* (Calvo Martínez, p. 4-5). This mainly alludes to those places where a road splits, so the intersection of three roads - strictly speaking not crossroads, as is often stated, because that suggests a four-way meeting of two roads, but rather a junction in the shape of a Y (Green (2007), p. 128). The Greek *triodos* and the Latin *trivia* (both "three roads") indicate this, and the relation of Hekate with those places is reflected in her name Trivia, a name also used for the goddess Diana, who was also worshipped as the triple goddess at the meeting of three ways (Kline, 2000; Green (2007), p. 133-134): compare the invocation of Diana as Hecate: *treble-formed Hecate, the three faces of the virgin Diana* (P. Vergilius Maro, *Aeneid*, 4:511).

It is with those road junctions that the triple-bodied Hekate had a strong connection. These were a fearful location, not only because thieves frequently loitered there, but also because they were associated with dark forces, including witchcraft, magic and ghosts – all of which fell under the purview of Hekate. In addition, the liminal nature of the road junctions, since they did not belong to any single location or road, mirrors that of the space between life and death over which Hekate ruled, and they provided an appropriate locale in the physical world at which to worship the goddess (Herring, p. 15-16).

Hekataia, statues of the triple-bodied goddess, were frequently placed there because each of the statue's three bodies was believed to oversee a different road:

> *Thou seest Hecate's faces turned in three directions that she may guard the crossroads where they branch three several ways* (Ovidius, *Fasti* I, 141-142 in the translation by Frazer); *Trivia, goddess of the crossways* (Ovidius, *Metamorphoses* II:416, translated by Anthony S. Kline, 2000). For the altars of the goddess compare also Ovidius, *Metamorphoses* VII: 74-97: *She went to the ancient altars of Hecate (…) He swore by the sacred rites of the Triple Goddess.*
> Ovidius (Publius Ovidius Naso) was a Latin poet who lived in the first century B.C. - first century C.E.

The triple-bodied Hekate became popular in the fifth century BC. Pausanias (a travel writer who lived in the second century C.E.) wrote about the first triple-bodied statue, made for the Athenian Acropolis:

> *Of the gods, the people of Aegina worship in particular Hecate, in whose honour every year they celebrate her mysteries which, they say, Orpheus of Thrace established among them. Within the enclosure is a temple; the wooden statue of hers is the work of Myron. It has only one face and one body. It was Alkamenes in my opinion, who first made three images of Hecate attached to one another* (Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 2.30.2; Jones, (1918); Tsotsou (2016), p. 2).
> Alkamenes was an ancient Greek sculptor of Athens, living in the 5th century B.C.

Although this statue is now lost, it is possible to reconstruct what it looked like, based on the known *hekataia*, which became popular in Greek and Roman art, and which have been found throughout the Mediterranean. One well-preserved example, made of marble and dating to the second century C.E., is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (acc. no. 2012.477.12) (Von Bothmer (1961), p. 31, no. 120; pl. 39; Herring, p. 16, fig. 12). The sculpture depicts three women around a central pole, representing the three-bodied nature of Hekate.

Hekate is also known to carry torches, an attribute which carries over from Hekate's representations in the Persephone myth (Herring, p. 15); see also her epithet "Phosphoros", "the bringer of light"; compare the *Homeric hymn to Demeter*, line 52.

Bibliography:
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James George Frazer, *Ovid, Fasti* (Loeb Classical Library) (Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press; London, William Heinemann, 1931);
C.M.C. Green, *Roman Religion and the Cult of Diana at Aricia* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2007;
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W.H.S. Jones - H.A. Omerod, *Pausanias. Description of Greece* (Loeb Classical Library) (Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press; London, William Heinemann, 1918);
Angela Lumezeanu - Rada Varga, "The Process of Record Linkage on Roman Epigraphical Sources. Theory, Methods and Results", *Digital Classics Online* 5,2 (2019), p. 28-42;
Eirini Tsotsou, *Hekate in Pausanias' Corinthiaka* (2016).


ΒΑΛΕ ΒΑΛΗΣ ΔΕΚΟΥΡΙΩΝ
ΨΥΧΗΝ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ

24 - A Roman Bronze Statuette of a Youth

A bronze hollow cast statuette depicting a young man, shown in a standing position. The figure is carrying a large wineskin *askos*, using his hip to support his load. He is slightly leaning backwards, probably because of the weight he has to carry. He is wearing a collar knotted in the back, and once he was also wearing a necklace of separate material, which is partly preserved. His long, thick wavy hair is surmounted by a fragmentary headdress.

An *askos* is a bag or bottle used for storing, transporting and drinking wine or water. It was made of leathered animal skin, most commonly of goats or sheep. The skin was first cleaned, then tanned, coated with pitch extracted from pine trees, and bound into form, often with a nozzle for pouring and drinking.

Wineskins were in widespread use from ancient times. Archaeological evidence is not abundant, since leather or skin rarely survives unless preserved in dry conditions. More evidence is available from textual sources (Greek writers, such as Homer; the Bible; ostraca etc.), and from illustrations on Greek vases, coins, sarcophagi, and oil lamps (for an overview see Wills - Watts (2014), p. 124-125 and figs. 1-4). The use of animal skins brought more advantages (less fragile, lightweight, flexible and easier to transport etc.) than disadvantages (wine may take on flavours from skins, and skin containers may be pierced by sharp points and lose their contents), so wineskins continued in use at least until the mid-20th century (Wills - Watts, p. 127-131).

Bibliography:
Barbara Wills - Amanda Watts, "Why wineskins? The exploration of a relationship between wine and skin containers", in Susanna Harris - André J. Veldmeijer (eds.), *Why Leather? The Material and Cultural Dimensions of Leather* (Leiden, Sidestone Press, 2014), p. 123-134.

Roman, circa 2nd-3rd century C.E.

Height 16.2 cm.

Exhibited: Brooklyn Museum, New York, 1978-1987 (loan no. L78.17.49).

Provenance: Collection of Nasli (1902-1971) and Alice (1910-1993) Heeramaneck, New York; with Sotheby's, New York, 29 November 1989, lot 339; with Christie’s New York, 12 April 2022, lot 115.

25 - A Roman Bone Hairpin

An ancient Roman hairpin, made of bone. The shaft is cylindrical and tapers to a point. It is surmounted by a female bust on a ribbed collar. Her hair is parted centrally, and long strands fall to her shoulders.

Bone pins with heads depicting a woman's head and shoulders occur in moderate numbers throughout the Roman empire (Cool (1983), p. 88). It has been suggested that these hairpins were used as imagines representing dead family members. They may therefore have been set up in household shrines (Henig (1977), p. 359; Crummy (1983), p. 25).

There has been a scholarly discussion about the use of these pins. One theory is that such pins were used to fasten garments; others have objected to that idea because in their view the pins were too thick and would damage the cloth. However, the average diameter of needles used to make those clothes is about the same; it would appear that material which can be sewn with thick needles will not be damaged by the use of large pins as fasteners. But brooches are well attested as cloak fasteners, yet their pins are slender. This would seem to imply that brooches and large pins do not share a common function. Also, to be effective as a clothes fastener a pin needs to have some means of gathering and holding in place folds of the fabric it is fastening, otherwise it will tend to slip. Roman pins do not have this feature. If we consider how common brooches were during the earlier Roman period and how much more efficient a fastener they were, it seems very unlikely that pins would have been used instead. It should also be noted that many pins of various materials have been found either on or close to the skulls of buried women, which points to their use as hairpins; there is also pictorial evidence showing that these pins were used to secure and decorate the hair arrangements of women and girls. Elaborate hairstyles requiring the use of hairpins were a Roman fashion (Crummy (1983), p. 19; Cool (1990), p. 150).

Although it is difficult to date many pins, it has been shown that based on the hairstyle many of the pins depicting female busts were in use during the second half of the first century and the early second century C.E. (Cool (1983), p. 88-90; Cool (1990), p. 168).

For hairpins in general, especially those made of bone and more in particular those with a human head, see Cool (1983), Volume 1, p. 45-119; Volume 2, p. 387-388 (Appendix B, Nos. 270 to 283); 502-658, esp. p. 630-631; Crummy (1983), p. 19-20 and especially p. 25-26 with fig. 23, no. 445.

Bibliography:
Hilary E.M. Cool, "Roman Metal Hair Pins from Southern Britain", *Archaeological Journal*, 147 (1990), p. 148-182; *idem*, *A Study of the Roman Personal Ornaments Made of Metal, Excluding Brooches, from Southern Britain* (Phd Thesis, University of Wales, 1983); Nina Crummy, "A Chronology of Romano-British Bone Pins", *Britannia*, Volume 10 (November 1979), p. 157-163; *idem*, *Colchester Archaeological Report 2: The Roman Small Finds from Excavations in Colchester, 1971-9* (Colchester, Colchester Archaeological Trust Ltd, 1983); Martin Henig, "Death and the Maiden. Funerary Symbolism in Daily Life" in Julian Munby - Martin Henig (eds.), *Roman Life and Art in Britain. A Celebration in Honour of the Eightieth Birthday of Jocelyn Toynbee* (British Archaeological Reports, 41) (Oxford, 1977), p. 347–366.

Roman, circa first-second century C.E.

Height 11.4 cm.

Provenance: Dutch private collection; with Bonhams London, 14 May 2003, part of lot 319; before that UK private collection, 1960s-1970s.

26 - A Roman Bronze Statuette of Alexander the Great

Alexander is shown in a standing position with his weight on his right leg, his left leg set back. He is wearing a short *peplos* which is elegantly draped over his body, and a mantle around his shoulders. His left arm is bent at the elbow, once holding an object, and his right arm was once resting on a club. The hair in long wavy locks makes it possible to recognise him as Alexander (see Bieber (1964), pl. XXXV, 69-70); these locks recall a leonine mane, compare the lion skin worn by Herakles, one of the typical characteristics of Alexander's portraiture.

Ancient authors record that Alexander the Great was so pleased with the depictions of himself that were created by Lysippos that he decreed no other sculptor should make his image, which shows that Alexander understood the propagandistic importance of his image and the need to control it. Plutarch wrote:

> *The outward appearance of Alexander is best represented by the statues of him which Lysippus made, and it was by this artist alone that Alexander himself thought it fit that he should be modelled. For those peculiarities which many of his successors and friends afterwards tried to imitate, namely, the poise of the neck, which was bent slightly to the left, and the melting glance of his eyes, this artist has accurately observed* (Plutarch, Alexander, 4.1 in the translation by Perrin).

Classical writers also said that Alexander's hair was blonde and wavy, but that something terrifying could also be seen in the king's face (Aelian, Historical Miscellany, 12.14, translated by Wilson; Trofimova (2010), p. 23).

The ruler's external appearance, especially his face, was presented in numerous depictions. His image was revolutionary not only in terms of art: it affected people's conceptions of other people, of heroes and gods, of the nature of power, of the virtues, of the limits of what could be achieved. Even during the ruler's lifetime his portraits were transformed into a series of stereotypes ("the inspired hero", "the deified ruler", "the warrior-conqueror", "the tragic hero", and so on). The classical tradition has provided us with a considerable body of evidence (written sources, inscriptions and surviving monuments) for the existence of numerous statues, group sculptures, works by painters and stone-cutters portraying Alexander. During his lifetime most of these monuments were commissioned by Alexander himself, but they were also ordered by his father Philip II, by Alexander's court, by cities in Greece and Asia Minor and various private individuals. After his death his portraits were acquired by diadochi (his successors), kings and dynasties, city-states and leagues of cities. Series of coins with his portrait, intended to confirm the legitimacy of the succession of power, were minted in all the Hellenistic kingdoms. The most common images were small private commissions, statuettes for domestic cults and engraved gems (Trofimova (2010), p. 22).

His image in works of art exerted an unprecedented influence on marbles, bronzes, ivories, frescoes, mosaics, coins, medals, even painted pottery and reliefware. As a result, Alexander's physiognomy became the most famous in history. But these representations of the ruler intended to transmit a set of carefully crafted clichés that mobilised the notion "Alexander" for diverse ends and diverse audiences, rather than a likeness of Alexander (Stewart, 1993).

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Roman, circa 1st century C.E.

Height 8.5 cm.

Provenance: UK private collection E.B., formed between 1965 and 1975; thence with Kunsthandel Mieke Zilverberg, Amsterdam.