Proceedings of the Second Birmingham Egyptology Symposium, University of Birmingham, 20th February 2015

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For our second symposium the chosen theme was 'Nationality, Authority, Individuality in Ancient Egypt', a topic which attracted a full programme of speakers and a capacity audience thereby ensuring a convivial atmosphere for fruitful discourse. Birmingham Egyptology takes this opportunity to thank the organizing committee, chaired by Eleanor Simmance and Luke McGarrity, and all members who helped in whatever way to bring about what proved to be a most successful event.

Birmingham Egyptology are also grateful for the continuing support of the University of Birmingham, in which respect we give particular thanks to the administration staff of the Department of Classics, Ancient History and Archaeology, Sylvia Campbell and Sue Bowen, and to Dr Henry Chapman for the use of the excellent facilities at the European Research Institute.

We were also fortunate to have the continued support of University fellows and lecturers. The Symposium began with a presentation by Dr Carla Gallorini entitled 'If people were pots. Pottery as evidence of cultural interaction', and was closed by Dr Tony Leahy who spoke of 'Names, images and ethnicity'. [Ed.]

Other papers presented at the event and not published in these proceeding are as follows:

Displaying individuality or creating authority?
Isobel Reid, University College London

The scarab-makers of the Second Intermediate Period: Canaanite and Egyptian relations as reflected by the scarabs of Tell el-'Ajjul.
Stephanie Boonstra, University of Birmingham

The Ancient Individual Model, the A.I.M. of research.
Kelee M. Siat, University of Birmingham

A historical agent's perception of the past: Thutmose III's response to the period of Hatshepsut.
Min-soo Kwack, Durham University

Did the Egyptian army act as a mechanism for the preservation of non-Egyptian ethnic identities?
Edward Mushett Cole, University of Birmingham

Dead ringers: the mortuary use of bells in Late Pharaonic Egypt.
Benjamin Hinson, University of Cambridge

Neighbouring temples, worlds apart: authority and identity in classical shrines next to Egyptian temples in Roman Egypt.
Elizabeth Brophy, Keble College, Oxford

The following research posters were also presented:

Kleopatra Thea Philpator, 'Mistress of the Two Lands', and 'Harlot Queen': who was the real Cleopatra VII?
Lisa Doughty, University of Birmingham

Individuality of Hatshepsut - examining the phenomenon on the example of Amun's Southern Room in her Deir el-Bahari Temple.
Katarzyna Kapiec, University of Warsaw

Conflict between determinism, individualism and identity in ancient Egyptian literature.
Abdelbaset Riad Mohamed Riad, Oviedo University

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The Kushite kings of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty in the light of Transcultural Studies: an iconographic approach

By Barbara Hufft, University of Basel

Abstract

The reign of the Kushites in Egypt provides a strong case study for incorporating the debate on national/ethnic, cultural and social identity into Egyptological scientific research. This paper addresses some strategies employed by the Nubian kings to display a specific vision of identity and sense of allegiance as is perceivable from the artistic conceptions of their representations on monumental wall reliefs in temples all over the Kushite area of authority. These will be embedded into a discussion of the extent to which concepts from 'Transcultural Studies' might prove to be more effective than the ethnicity approach prevalent in the study of Kushite rule over Egypt.

Introduction

A marked feature of the study on the Kushite rule over Egypt is still to a large extent its ethnicity-based approach. As by-product of European colonialism, the understanding of ethnicity is very much rooted in notions of dominance of nations, nationality and territoriality. Thus, the Annual Birmingham Egyptology Symposium 2015 on 'Nationality, Authority, Individuality in Ancient Egypt' offered an excellent opportunity to reflect on this topic from a different perspective.

Given the degree of multi-culturality in the Iron Age wider Eastern Mediterranean region and the interconnectedness of Egyptian and Nubian history, the usefulness of such an approach from within the Egyptological prospect is to be challenged. It is not a mere question of who was considered an Egyptian in Iron Age Egypt and who was perceived as 'foreign' or 'other' but also how different group identities were implemented into Egyptian society and why it is not quite satisfactory simply to assume that group identities are ethnic in nature.

As the kings of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty belong to both the ruling 'class' of Egypt and to the 'foreign minorities' from Kush, they provide an exceptionally interesting case study.[1] In view of the contextualisation of their supremacy over Egypt and Nubia, it is to be discussed why operating with the term 'identity' – and especially the various levels of cultural (and political or social) identity – is a more constructive approach when it comes to grasping the reality of (ancient) multicultural societies.

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[1] See also Booth 2005 and Winnicki 2009.

Histori(ographi)cal setting

The relationship the Pharaonic Nile valley and Nubia shared is almost a case sui generis in ancient Egyptian history. For centuries Egypt and its southern neighbour were not only linked through commercial and political connections but ultimately also through cultural attachments which, however, were (apparently) mostly accomplished by imposing pharaonic authority on the regions far beyond the first cataract.[2] By the first decades of the New Kingdom (c. 1500 BC), Nubia had effectively become a colony governed by an Egyptian Viceroy of Kush.[3] But with the disintegration of the unified state towards the end of Ramesses XI's reign, c. 1070 BC, Kush became free of Egyptian governance and eventually formed an autonomous kingdom centred at Napata near the fourth Nile cataract.[4]

By the middle of the eighth century BC, the 'Kingdom of Kush'[5] took over control in the Nile valley far beyond the first cataract (near present day Aswan) which marks the traditional southern border of the core area of ancient Egypt. Kashta's successful takeover of Upper Egypt marked the beginning of what was to become the Egyptian Twenty-fifth Dynasty (c. 760 – 656 BC),[6] also referred to as the Kushite Dynasty in Egypt or the reign of the so-called 'black pharaohs'.[7] The subsequent reunification of Upper and Lower Egypt under Kushite rule by Piye and his successors established Egypt's largest empire since the end of the New Kingdom in 1070 BC. In their role as Egyptian sovereigns they not only pursued prevailing traditions, but at the same time introduced new elements with respect to art and architecture, religion, bureaucracy as well as language and literature – they effectively launched a new era of renaissance.[8] Egypt and especially Thebes did prosper under the Nubian kings, demonstrated in particular by the extensive monumental building

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[2] Frequently reported military campaigns of Egyptian kings to '(re-)conquer' Nubia have motivated the general modern notion of this very enforced relationship between the two neighbouring countries, although other diversified forms of cultural contact and interaction are known from much earlier times; see below 'Kushite display of identity: an historical outline'.

[3] See Zibelius-Chen 2013 and also Morkot 2013: 911ff. (with extended bibliographical references) who discusses the generally accepted view of Nubia as a New Kingdom Egyptian 'colony' based on the administration and office of the Viceroy of Kush as well as introducing new perspectives.

[4] Morkot 2000: 91ff.; Fisher 2012: 18ff.; Wenig 2013: 157–171. The interpretation of the relatively scarce evidence for this phase remains highly disputable, see Morkot 2013: 954.

[5] The topographic attribution of Kush and Nubia are used synonymously in this paper, as are the expressions Nubian, Nubian-fashioned and Kushite representations further below, and thus denote peoples and tribes on the far side of the first cataract.

[6] Evidence such as Kashta's stela on Elephantine island, the 'Priestly Annals' from Karnak temple and the installation of Kashta's daughter, Amenirdis (I), as God's Wife of Amun document the growing influence. The actual means by which the Kushites gained ultimate control over Upper Egypt, and Thebes in particular, are still unclear: they may or may not have involved some military process. For an extensive discussion see Morkot 2000: 157–66 and Priese 1970: 16–32.

[7] Cf. the designative publication by R. Morkot, *The Black Pharaohs* (2000), and several cursory broadcasting documentaries such as *The Black Pharaohs* (produced by BBC Timewatch Documentary (Season 23, Episode 9), aired 2004); *Rise of the Black Pharaohs* (produced by National Geographic Television for PBS, aired 2014). Headings such as these convey the rather eurocentristic view on these topics and the special status by which ancient Egypt is distinguished from other African cultures by most Western scholars. See also Leclant 2010: 90ff.

[8] Twenty-fifth Dynasty Egypt not only saw the resumption of monumental building activity (additions to temples and large tomb architecture (including diversified burial customs) but also the widespread use of archaistic tendencies in 'art'. Furthermore, Demotic started to emerge as a new writing system for the administration and Piye's Victory Stela also contained a new style of expression. For more and detailed exemplification see Morkot 2014: 8ff. and Török 1997: 189–342.

programme, which had diminished considerably after the disintegration under the last Ramessides.[9]

Despite their achievements, it is only recently that ancient Nubia is considered a field of research in its own right rather than being seen as just the inferior southern province of Egypt. As a result, the Kushite Dynasty has since then been studied from different but isolated perspectives – but still foremost from an Egypto-centric point of view.[10] This perspective, leading to a predominantly ethnic approach in Nubian Studies, may have been prompted by the frequently occurring expression 'wretched Kush' in New Kingdom inscriptions together with illustrations of groups of captured Nubians or different southern tribes offering vast amounts and varieties of tributes. However, as far as we can tell, this reputed Egyptian prejudice was not racially motivated. Nor is there evidence for a generally reserved attitude toward the southern dwellers. Nubians were thought of as being 'inferior' (i.e. 'wretched') not because they were Nubians but simply because they were not Egyptians.[11] On official monuments, Nubians – like Libyans and Asiatics – are being depicted as belonging to the chaotic forces that threatened Egypt's world order and therefore had to be supressed and conquered for re-establishing and/or maintaining *maat*. While the official state ideology may transmit a striking image of foreigners for 'propagandistic' reasons, there is no indication that the general Egyptian public necessarily shared this viewpoint.[12] Whether the long-lasting contact between Egypt and the regions south of the first cataract was really predominantly determined by sentiments of superiority as so often manifested by Egyptian kings seems thoroughly questionable.[13]

Outgrowing rather than persistently redefining the concept of 'ethnicity'

In modern Cultural Studies (such as Cultural Anthropology, Ethnology etc.), it has become customary for some time now to operate with the term 'identity', while various disciplines of Ancient Civilization Studies often still, first and foremost, adhere to the idea and thus also to the underlying concepts of 'ethnicity' when approaching different social groups within an ancient society.[14] This approach appears

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[9] For Kushite buildings in general see Arnold 1999: 43–61, 316–17 and for Thebes in particular Leclant 1965.

[10] Cf. Adams 1994: 17ff.; Smith 2014a: 1ff. Studies on Nubian and Kushite culture in general, rather than discourses just on questions of chronology, genealogy and ethnic differentiation have lately been put forward, see for example Welsby 1996; Török 1997; Smith 2003; Edwards 2004; and Wenig and Zibelius-Chen 2013.

[11] The implication is that people of non-Egyptian background must naturally be uncivilized and barbaric (cf. also the Roman Empire and the high status of citizenship vs. non-Romans). Even the occasional linking of Nubians to animals is to be understood in the light of Egyptian state ideology (Smith 2014b: 195). As objectionable as these degradations may seem today they were not exclusively applied to Nubian peoples in particular, but to foreigners and 'enemies' threatening the Egyptian world order in general. For physical attributes leading to racially motivated discrimination see Siapkas 2014: 68.

[12] See Adams 1994: 18; Assmann 1996 discusses the role of foreigners in ancient Egypt in general while Smith 2003: 177ff. reviews specifically the transmission of stereotypes on Nubia. Studies on motivations and effects of this special kind of group behaviour (ethnocentrism) from a modern social anthropological perspective are provided by LeVine and Campbell 1972 and Reynolds, Falger and Vine 1987; see also Weiler 1989.

[13] See further below 'Kushite display of identity: an historical outline'.

[14] Cf. McInerney 2014; van Soldt 2005. Riggs and Baines (2012) argue for the legitimateness of ethnicity as a valuable approach in Egyptology and Smith 2003 explores the multiple dimensions of ethic identities when turning to archaeological evidence from Nubia.

to be straightforward since (stereotypic) ethnic groups are possibly more easily identifiable in ancient sources than the more diverse gradations of belonging, otherness and/or foreignness taken into account by modern (Trans-)Cultural Studies in the wider framework of (cultural) identity.

Modern scientific research on Kushite authority over Egypt has primarily been discussed on the basis of the predominating ethnicity-centred concepts of culture and 'nations', motivated by the ancient Egyptian topos of 'xenophobia', i.e. its stringent delimitation towards 'foreigners' in general.[15] In that way, it refers to a (large) group of people who share prevailing characteristics such as common descent, culture, history, language and/or territory. This, however, has proven to be quite problematic in modern discussions on the concept of culture and the interaction between 'nations'. Apart from the difficulty that terms and underlying concepts are rooted in Nineteenth Century nationalism and territoriality,[16] it does not cater for the phenomenon that a person, or a group of people, can assume more than just one cultural identity. For the case in hand, it also disregards the process of 'acculturation' and ultimately 'assimilation' which had taken place over the centuries and the effects of such an impact – namely on ancient Nubian cultural expressions. Over time, the concept has undergone manifold changes of meaning to the extent that nowadays it is no longer clear what is actually meant by 'ethnicity' as such. Disregarding the term's negative connotation over a long period of time, it is an exclusive and excluding concept in which different social groups are considered insular entities.[17] In addition, ethnic identity with a core notion of a common geographic origin, descent and ancestry is defined as not acquirable – it is a given, non-negotiable fact.[18] However, this seems to disagree with ancient realities, where regions of shared cultural traditions do not necessarily correspond to political, economic and geographic boundaries, but are to a certain extent 'supranational'.[19] This might be even more so in cases such as ancient Egypt, where the pharaonic policy of expansion led to the constant mandatory increase of territory.

As will be illustrated by the following few selected examples of Kushite royal display, the 'ethnicity' approach, to which scientific research on Nubian culture and archaeology only too readily adheres, is only of limited usefulness. Since the rulers of the Egyptian Twenty-fifth Dynasty present themselves in visual display not only as Egyptian pharaohs, but at the same time as Egypto-Kushite kings and as sovereigns of the Kushite Empire, they clearly link themselves to multiple social frames of reference. As the Nubian highest elite had adopted an unparalleled level of acculturation at least since the time when Nubia had effectively become an Egyptian

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[15] See Weiler 1989; Assmann 1996; Booth 2005; and Moers 2004.

[16] For a discussion of the notion of 'ethnicity' as by-product of European colonialism see for instance Oommen 1997 and Gat 2013.

[17] For a critique of such a globular model of culture defined by its seclusiveness of one 'ethnos' in relation to its environment or individuals belonging to a specific 'ethnic' group in delimitation of another see e.g. Welsch 1995: 39ff.

[18] Studies on various dimensions of 'ethnicity' are extensive. Helpful introductory studies are e.g. Jones 1997; Barth 1998; Beer 2012; McInerney 2014; and for Egyptology in particular see Smith 2003; 2007; Fluehr-Lobban and Rhodes 2004; and Riggs and Baines 2012.

[19] Baumbach 2010. Although Baumbach's research applies to modern cultural landscapes (1–14), her approach as such can nevertheless be productively applied to ancient contexts – despite the problematic term 'nation' in relation to antiquity.

province in the New Kingdom,[20] it tends to be more of a display of a culturally re-loaded Egyptianness than Kushiteness.

Consequently, a focus taking into account that a person or number of persons can belong to more than just one social sphere and hence can assume manifold aspects of identity, which are constantly negotiated and usually self-ascribed, proves to be much more functional and constructive.

> The term 'identity' is used to refer to a sense of belonging. It denotes the process of identification and thus it is understood to be essentially in the making, shaped not only by ancestry, ethnicity, gender and upbringing but also by political and social environments, cultural and personal history and especially narratives.[21]

Although the concepts of modern identity research cannot be transferred on a one-to-one level to ancient societies, such an approach opens up different and more diverse ways in tracking the Kushite royal sense of belonging to the Egyptian upper class. Aside from other markers of social belonging (e.g. personal names, cult practices, burial customs) the artistic expressions immediately convey a self-chosen image, a visual representation that is not motivated by the perception of others.[22]

Notwithstanding the fact that the discourse on identity is not entirely unproblematic in itself,[23] it nonetheless allows for more differentiated information about the various strategies for displaying different roles of Kushite kings than the purely ethnic-based method of approach would provide.

Kingship display of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty: three case studies

Following the reversal of the traditional political power structure in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, the rare situation arose that a significant number of monuments displaying parallels as well as diversity in structure, design and manner of representation were built by the rulers of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty both in Egypt and their Kushite homeland. In Egypt however, royal commissions were almost exclusively enlargements and modifications of existing buildings – mainly limited to Upper Egypt and to Thebes in particular.[24] In the Nubian heartland, on the other hand, new temples were built in the style of New Kingdom prototypes while old and decayed sacred structures were restored. After two and a half centuries of moderate building activity,

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[20] For cultural borrowings and ethnic appropriations in antiquity see the corresponding publication by Gruen 2005, and Török 2011 for the cultural transfer between ancient Nubia and Egypt.

[21] Baumbach 2010: 6.

[22] Traditionally, heteronomous perceptions do differ from self-ascribed images of a given person, a group of people or a whole community. By constituting the ruling elite of Egypt and Nubia alike, the Kushite kings were then in the position to reflect and express their own constructions of identity. The question of a presumed audience of such representations and the extent of visibility of reliefs in Egyptian temples in general is still an unresolved issue. Following the more conventional opinion, common people seem not to have been granted admission beyond a temple's first court – even on festive occasions. Whether Egyptian access conventions were mirrored on Nubian sacred sites is unknown.

[23] Although various scientific disciplines have formulated reservations on account of its highly complex definition and elusive nature (see Hall 2000: 15; Davidovic 2006), the concept of identity-based research is of a less biased and rather neutral character.

[24] Whether this phenomenon is just due to the superior preservation in Upper Egyptian sites as opposed to the more humid conditions in the Delta is disputable. So far, traces of Kushite building activity in Lower Egypt have only been identified at Memphis.

the arrival of the Kushite kings 'released a new wave of monumental building' in Egypt.[25] Nonetheless, the surviving architectural and iconographic material is of a diverse character and very fragmentary – due to wilful damage (especially under Psamtik II) and the ravages of time in general.

What is implied by the diversity in architecture between Egypt and Nubia holds true for the respective decorations. Disregarding the narrative contents of scenes, the actual way of representing Kushite rulers can be differentiated from a strictly iconographic point of view. By means of few but representative examples, three different key-roles of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty kings can be differentiated: the Kushite King as ruler over the Nubian realm, as an Egypto-Kushite sovereign, and as Egyptian pharaoh.

The Kushite King as ruler over the Nubian realm

Kushite royal representations are very distinct – in monumental scenes on temple walls and in sculpture alike. Statues of Napatan rulers found at Kerma (immediately south of the third Nile cataract) illustrate this fact clearly.[26] These colossal sculptures, as well as some mobiliary art,[27] reflect a specific dimension of Kushite portrayal: allusion to their darker skin. Since skin colour has unfortunately not survived on temple reliefs and the names have in general been erased (at least in Egypt), identification on carved stone walls therefore often rests nearly exclusively on further attributes: well-known elements such as the double uraeus, the close-fitted cap-crown, the ram pendant and ram-headed earrings identify royal figures as unmistakably Kushite in nature. Distinctive renderings of the features do also allude to the rulers from the South in the form of full cheeks, a broader, flatter nose, accentuated nasolabial folds and bulging lips as well as a short chin. Interestingly, such particularities in appearance are to be found on monuments in Egypt and Nubia alike. But only in rare cases are Kushite physiognomic features in carved relief as striking as those in the depiction of king Shabaqa on a naos in Esna and on a non-allocable relief fragment showing a king as a child protected by a goddess.[28]

In general however, the Kushite sovereign is distinguished just by the double uraeus attached to the close-fitted cap-crown and particular jewellery shaped in the form of a ram which originated with the Kushite kings.[29] Fairly well preserved examples from the precinct of Amun at Karnak, at the Chapel of Osiris Heka-Djet and the Treasury, show Shebitqo and Shabaqa in this Nubian-fashioned style.[30] But such 'Kushite' representations do not form the majority of the existing records – they are outnumbered by scenes that display more conformity to Egyptian conventions. Figures even refute the supposition that at least in their Nubian homeland the Kushite

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[25] Arnold 1999: 43ff.

[26] See Bonnet 2006. Among the statues of Napatan kings are those of Taharqa and Tanutamani – as well as later rulers such as Senkamanisken, Anlamani and Aspelta. The colossi carved of dark-grey granite are now displayed in the National Museum of Sudan at Khartoum.

[27] E.g. the bronze statuette of Taharqa kneeling before the falcon god Hemen offering wine (Louvre E 25276) and the green schist head of a Kushite ruler (Shabaqa?) (Brooklyn Museum NY 60.74); unfortunately both of unknown provenance.

[28] Granite naos of Shabaqa (Esna; Roeder 1914: GC 70007); sandstone temple relief (Brooklyn Museum 70.1).

[29] Robins 1997: 216ff. and – albeit outdated in some places – Wenig 1975: 400ff.

[30] For Shebitqo at the Chapel of Osiris Heka-Djet see Leclant 1965: pl. XXIII, XXV; for Shabaqa on a porch of his treasury see Licitra 2011: 30.

kings would more frequently present themselves in a rather Nubian-fashioned manner. Furthermore, it is quite noteworthy that on Nubian temple walls the king wears a greater variation of garments and manifold headdresses which is not matched in Egypt.[31]

Although there is a distinctly different display of kingship in Nubia and Egypt, the royal regalia are essentially Egyptian in design.[32] Any attempt to detect an entirely indigenous Nubian style for the kings of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty remains futile. This is probably due to the phenomenon that Kushite art (and in particular reliefs on a monumental scale) only seems to emerge at a time when the Egyptian conceptions of artistic expression had already been taken over by way of cultural contacts.[33] It is only in Meroitic times, following the relocation of the Nubian capital to Meroë, that artistic expression evolves a more independent style: see for instance the large Meroitic temple complex at Musawwarat es-Sufra dating to the third century BC or the remains of a sandstone relief from the south wall of the funerary chapel of queen Shanakdakhete (now in the British Museum, EA 719, second century BC) and even more so the lion temple at Naga dedicated to the god Apedemak. Although the Egyptian origin is still very much obvious in these late examples, variations in regalia, clothing, proportions and expressions occur to a much greater extent than in the early Kushite reliefs.

The borderline between this category and the subsequent one might indeed be a very thin and occasionally blurred one – especially since Kushite monuments and reliefs or parts of them have not survived. The relevance of this separation lies in the fact that the Kushite kings used strategies to explicitly display their authority over their own homeland. As the rather obvious examples of the coloured statues show, the difficulty lies in discerning this category in the preserved sources, not its former existence. Examples for this category from the corpus of monumental reliefs include depictions of the king as ruler of the Kushite Kingdom at Gebel Barkal, Kawa and Sanam (fragmentary) which present him in this amalgamated style with Egyptian and Nubian elements.[34] These additions to the Egyptian style conventions, originating exclusively from Nubian culture, apply primarily to the king's regalia (especially the headdress and jewellery).

The Kushite King as Egypto-Kushite sovereign

Although the above mentioned representations of the Kushite king are closely embedded in the Egyptian cultural tradition, they can be separated from another set of

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[31] Interestingly enough, there seems to have been no absolute preference for their newly introduced cap-crown over the many other royal headdresses used. Only the Blue Crown appears to have never been a part of the Kushite regalia; see Leahy 1992: 223ff. and also Russmann 1995: 227ff.

[32] See Russmann 1979: 49ff. and more generally Russmann 1974.

[33] Török (2009: 329ff.) dissociates himself decidedly from earlier practices of scholars to attribute this cultural codification as 'part of a political-ideological playacting by which the Kushite rulers tried to legitimate their kingship in Egypt'. The present author shares Török's (2008: 154) view that 'it would be a misleading simplification to describe this process […] as direct 'Egyptianisation' of native mortuary religion, burial and tomb types. In reality it was a more comprehensive process in which native concepts were continuously amalgamated with rather than replaced by Egyptian ideas'. For a brief conventional introduction on the subject of Kushite 'legitimation' see e.g. Chimko 2003: 15–78 and Smith 2003: 159ff.

[34] One of the most noteworthy examples derives from Taharqa's shrine at Kawa, today at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (1936.661). Its west wall depicts the king in this full regalia which includes a maximum of Kushite elements.

depictions known from Thebes, which for the present may be termed as representations of the Kushite King as 'Egypto-Kushite sovereign'. Apart from only minor but significant alterations, these representations do blend the rulers from the South fully into what is otherwise perceived as traditional or conventional Egyptian style.

But for one detail – the double uraeus – king Shabaqa, on two separate blocks from the Edifice at the Lake, keeps well in line with carved reliefs known from other Egyptian rulers.[35] Although only the head of the figure of the king is preserved on each block, it is merely because of the double uraeus that Shabaqa can be distinguished – no hint of characteristic physiognomic features or particular ram-shaped jewellery is associated with the Nubian rulers here. Because a former structure of Shabaqa had already been dismantled under Taharqa, these blocks with an intact double uraeus at the king's forehead have survived as filling material of the new building. Most such double uraei however have suffered a *damnatio memorie* under Psamtik II, who, as a rule, had the second cobra chiselled away.[36]

Another, though more subtle, specific of Kushite display within the Egyptian cultural tradition is the mix of different stylistic elements right next to one another. Beside the more realistic expressions discussed in the first category (distinctive rendering of the features), there are two other styles that are distinguishable: aside from representations that revert to Ramesside and Libyan models, there are those rooted in the art of the Old and Middle Kingdoms which are of particular interest. Not only were the proportions of the human figure adopted, but also the peculiar well-defined leg and knee muscles. The remains of a sequence of intercolumnar walls from two surviving entrance porches at Karnak illustrate the combination of various elements.[37] There, much of the king's appearance derives from Middle Kingdom prototypes whilst at the same time New Kingdom elements have been incorporated. Though such recourses to historic representations, or archaistic tendencies, are a well-known feature of Egyptian art, with the rulers of Twenty-fifth Dynasty it became a customary strategy.[38]

The Kushite King as Egyptian pharaoh

Alongside royal representations which mark the respective ruler as Kushite in origin, there exist – albeit to a much lesser extent – depictions which conform to Egyptian conventions of style to a maximal degree, thereby displaying the Nubian sovereign as a veritable Egyptian pharaoh. Such depictions, which completely adhere to Egyptian canonic conventions, are to be found in Egypt and Nubia alike. One example from Kawa, for instance, shows Taharqa as a human-headed sphinx wearing the *nemes*-headdress, a uraeus, a beard and a collar as he tramples on foreign foes.[39] Such

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[35] Leclant 1965: pl. XLI and XLV. Randomly taken examples from Karnak of Senusret I (Chapelle Blanche, e.g. pillar 4.n) and Amenhotep I (relief fragment of an Amun-chapel now at the Brooklyn Museum 71.82) illustrate the affinity between these different royal representations over time.
[36] Yoyotte 1951: 215–239.
[37] Cf. the remains of intercolumnar walls of the eastern colonnade in the precinct of Amun and of the entrance porch to the temple of Montu; for a comparatively good example see Barguet and Leclant 1954: pl. LXI (Ea1).
[38] See Wenig 1975: 400ff.; Török 1997: 189ff.; and Morkot 2003: 77–99. For basic objectives regarding 'archaism' as well as further bibliography see Brunner 1970; 1975; Neureiter 1994; and Tiradritti 2008.
[39] Kawa, first court, west wall; Macadam 1955: pl. IX.

representations of a king in the shape of a sphinx or a griffin trampling on enemies are rarely found on a monumental scale like this. It figures predominantly on much smaller objects, mostly mobiliary art.[40] It might be significant that this rather unusual though entirely Egyptian motif has only been used for royal display in Nubia but not in Egypt itself. A closely related scene also at Kawa shows the king smiting a group of enemies. The top layers of stone are missing, and the type of headdress Taharqa once wore can no longer be determined. Thus, it is not feasible to entirely dismiss the possibility that instead of the expected white and red crown, it might also have been the Kushite cap-crown.[41]

In Thebes representations in such canonically Egyptian style are to be found for instance at the rear wall of the Kushite pylon of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple at Medinet Habu.[42] The pylon had been built under Shabaqa, who had also its west wall decorated with a smiting scene. The structure was altered under Taharqa to create a rear porch, which affected the original decoration but at the same time added a new albeit smaller sequence of scenes. These conversions account for the peculiar layout and change in decoration visible today. Despite the transformations and the damage to the structure, the original smiting scene is preserved to a decent level. The raised relief pictures the king taking a big step, grabbing with one arm a group of captured foes with swords in their hands and holding a smashing mace in his other raised arm. He is shown barefoot wearing a short pleated kilt to which an animal tail is attached, a falcon-jacket and the respective crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt (the red crown on the north wing the white crown on the south wing).[43]

Another conventional 'Egyptian' scene depicts Shabaqa at the entrance porch of the Luxor Temple running with oar and ḥpt-sign towards Amun-Re-Kamutef and Amunet.[44] He is barefoot, bare-chested, wearing a short kilt and the white crown with only one uraeus. In the course of the alternating visual display of Kushite rulers, it is significant that immediately in the subjacent fragmentary register of this wall, the king is represented in the Nubian-fashioned style with cap-crown, double uraeus (the second one has been chiselled away), ram pendant and ram-headed earring.

Both scenes, pharaoh smiting the enemies and the king's cultic running, are motifs already known from early dynastic Egyptian kingship. They never lost their

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[40] For the greater part it is to be found in funerary complexes of the Old Kingdom. Apart from these, Taharqa's exact reproduction at Kawa and a slightly altered version at Deir el-Bahari are the only surviving copies of this motif on a monumental scale.

[41] Kawa, first court, east wall; Macadam 1955: pl. XI. This clearly illustrates the preservation-related difficulties of categorisation: As evidence is missing, Taharqa's headdress is disputable. Depending on the reconstruction with the white and red crown or with the Kushite cap-crown, this scene may have displayed the ruler either as 'Egyptian pharaoh' or as 'Egypto-Kushite sovereign'. While the various headdresses are interchangeable in many scenes, in this particular case, due to its position and context, the mode of display would be of quite another quality and subsequently of significant impact regarding the topic in question.

[42] Medinet Habu, Kushite pylon, west wall; for a partial picture see Leclant 1965: pl. LXXXII. The structure itself as well as the scenes and the complete inscriptions are still in preparation for a comprehensive publication by the Oriental Institute, Chicago.

[43] Regarding the uraeus attached to the crowns, unfortunately, it remains unclear whether there was once a single or a double uraeus, as the Ptolemaic wall covers that part of the scene on the north wing and observations are contradictory: Leclant (1965: 149) states that originally there was a double uraeus, whereas Lepsius' (1973: pl. 1c) and Champollion's (1970: pl. CXCVII) graphic renderings of the now vanished south wing depict the king with a single uraeus.

[44] Luxor Temple, entrance porch, west wall, top register; Leclant 1965: pl. LXXIX; and Decker and Herb 1994: pl. XL (A 233).

prestigious significance and were incorporated into royal depictions from the earliest times to the end of the Ptolemaic rule.

Kushite display of identity: an historical outline

These few selected examples from a Twenty-fifth Dynasty royal perspective may suffice to encourage further discussions on cultural connection between Egypt and Nubia that exceed the limitations of an ethnic-focused approach. The evidence from the highest elite in Egypt and Nubia clearly bears witness to a differentiating way of representing Kushite kings – even though a general pattern of distribution is hard to determine. The Kushite Dynasty constitutes a fairly exceptional case in that its sovereigns, for a short period of time, personify simultaneously miscellaneous aspects of kingship reflected in the visual arts.

If this phenomenon is approached solely from an ethnic-based viewpoint, the information gained is relatively limited as the portrayal of rulers of Nubian origin was blended with Egyptian tradition, with some forms of representation indistinguishable from those of native Egyptian kings. By reducing this debate to a discussion of groups of people or individuals as opposing entities, a lot of further data would be missed out. A transcultural studies perspective, on the other hand, with its key notion on identity and especially the situative character of identity constructions, allows for a multi-layered and diversified approach in the course of which different questions can be tackled – for instance: To what extent are the Kushite royal temple reliefs a demonstration of individual, dynastic or collective identity? What active engagement might be observable on the part of the Kushites to borrow, manipulate and transform shared traditions? What senses of corporate and collective identity and hence 'us-ness' is there? How does the acculturated display of dynastic and individual identity relate to the concept of Egyptian and/or Kushite cultural memory? How did the displayed acculturation work in practice?

Diachronic evidence for Nubians in Egypt

Although the Twenty-fifth Dynasty marks a culminating point of the Egypto-Nubian relationship, interactions of various kinds between these two cultural spheres are recorded in Egypt from very early times onward.[45] The following examples may serve to highlight evidence for the matter in hand.

Old Kingdom images of Nubians show them foremost as prisoners and occasionally as servants. One such relief of a captured Nubian derives from Unas' mortuary complex at Saqqara. This rather small wall scene is interesting insofar as the Nubian captive bears next to no markers of his Nubian descent (dark(er) skin colour, curly hairstyle, special clothing or weapons). Apart from a V-shaped arm ring which is associated with peoples from the South, the prisoner's complexion is that of a native Egyptian. Although not explicitly labelled as 'Nubians', relief fragments from the mortuary temples of Sahure and Niuserre at Abusir depict individuals with the

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[45] See Pembler 2014; Gratien 2013; Seidelmayer 1999; 2002; Meurer 1996; and Smith and Buzon 2014. Trade for luxury goods between Egypt and regions further south seems to have already existed in predynastic times. Apart from being depicted as enemies, prisoners, and delegates offering tributes, Nubians do appear in other spheres as well – such as servants, herdsmen, hunters, soldiers (archers), officials, wrestler and dancers.

same characteristic V-shaped bracelet. Apart from that piece of jewellery, a special kind of hair plait also distinguishes these captives from an otherwise Egyptian aspect. Slightly more explicit facial physiognomy appear on figurines of (captured) Nubians which were found in the mortuary complexes of Niuserre, Djedkare Isesi, Unas, Teti, Pepy I and Pepy II.[46]

By way of contrast, documentation from the First Intermediate Period and the Middle Kingdom provide a greater variety of scenes and styles in which Nubians were portrayed. The 'Nubian costume' started to appear regularly in a number of spheres – Nubian men and women became more easily identifiable on account of their skin colour, the special clothing, hairstyle, and personal ornaments. The predominantly military context of the Old Kingdom imagery was supplemented by scenes of hunting and herding men and occasional depictions of Nubian women.[47] As the Middle Kingdom witnessed the construction of numerous fortifications at Egypt's southern border in order to control and secure Egypt against the region immediately beyond the first cataract, this indicates a changed position towards especially the Lower Nubian tribes born out of closer contact and personal everyday life knowledge. Yet, Senusret III's famous Semna Stela of Year 16 records an official attitude against Nubian peoples by characterizing them as generally weak with 'broken hearts' and unfit for combat – likely a propagandistic ruse.

The representative style culminated in manifold New Kingdom smiting and tribute scenes, as well as groups of captives, depicting Nubian prisoners conquered by the Egyptian king. The term 'wretched' in connection with southern tribes now became customary in official inscriptions. It is only then that the image of Nubians became increasingly stereotypical. The stereotyped rendering in what was perceived as Nubian style by the Egyptians (skin colour, dress, hairstyle, ostrich feather, jewellery) became an iconographic 'topos' which also found its way into private tomb decoration, as the Eighteenth Dynasty tomb of Huy (TT 40), viceroy of Kush, illustrates: Amongst several Nubian delegates (distinguished by different shades of dark skin colour) offering their tributes to Huy, the prince of Miam (Aniba), Hekanefer – kneeling before the Egyptian governor of Nubia – is capped and gowned according to the Egyptian conception of 'Nubians'. Thus, Hekanefer's appearance reflects the epitome of the Nubian 'topos' in the Egyptian worldview.

Such representations of Nubians were motivated by several factors. Above all, these Egyptian stereotypes, which are more often than not derogatory in their configuration, served foremost as a propagandistic means to perpetuate the prevailing power structure and world order.[48] The reality of contacts and cohabitation between 'Egyptian' natives and peoples from the South was not of such a deprecative nature as the officially constructed stereotype - which is reflected in the 'ethnicity' approach to Nubian Studies - implies. For example, in contrast to the tribute scene from Huy's tomb in Thebes where the painting shows the prince of Miam as a traditional Nubian, in his own tomb at Toshka, Hekanefer expresses quite a different position. By adopting Egyptian religious beliefs and burial customs, he reveals a high degree of what can be labelled 'acculturation'. The decisive point though is the person

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[46] Meurer 1996: 92f. The truthfulness of the images of Nubians as real captured prisoners of war is, however, questionable.

[47] See Meurer 1996: 93ff. and Pembler 2014: 443ff. Cf. for instance the evidence from the tombs of Setka at Aswan, Ankhtifi at el-Moalla, Iti at Gebelein, Djehutihotep at el-Bersha and a bowl from Aswan (now in Bonn, 0/1257) or the well-known Nubian archers from the tomb of Mesehti at Assiut (Cairo CG 257).

[48] Smith 2014b: 194ff.

Hekanefer himself – who appears as an Egyptian, not a stereotypical 'Nubian'. It is hard to ascertain the motivation that lay behind these different constructions of identity: Was he an 'Egyptian' but depicted as 'Nubian' to underline his Nubian connection? Was the idea of him turning partly native just the perception of the Egyptians? Or was he Nubian, but depicted himself as 'Egyptian' as his self-chosen identity frame?

A related case is that of the Eighteenth Dynasty tomb of Maiherperi. Not much is known about him, the tomb being a small undecorated shaft tomb in the Valley of the Kings (KV 36). It is noteworthy because of its burial equipment and above all the Book of the Dead papyrus, in which Maiherperi is portrayed as an Egyptian but with dark skin colour in reference to his Nubian origin.

Unparalleled is a set of First Intermediate Period funerary stelae from Gebelein, in which the owners are depicted in a distinctive Nubian iconography but on an Egyptian medium. The stela of the Nubian soldier Nenu[49] is of particular interest. Nenu is shown with dark brown skin and Nubian outfit (leather loincloth and an animal skin or tail around his waist; holding a bow and an arrow case). His wife on the other hand seems to be Egyptian, depicted with yellow skin and typically Egyptian hairstyle and clothing. Their son shares his father's features, while another woman on this stela combines Egyptian and Nubian elements. Similarly, some of Mentuhotep II's wives share this particular iconography of different 'ethnic markers' in their graves and on shrines.[50]

Twenty-fifth Dynasty evidence for Nubians in Egypt

Intriguing evidence such as these emerges when members of a given minority (i.e. non-native Egyptians) are able to leave objects of self-representation. The case of Hekanefer and his different depiction in the tomb of Huy and his own are particularly striking. Elite burials in Thebes of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty are likewise of a peculiar kind. With the Kushite kings holding office in Egypt, members of their own entourage came to be buried in the area of Thebes, particularly in the Asasif adjoining the mortuary complex of Deir el-Bahari. New tomb structures, so-called 'temple-tombs', were designed with massive mudbrick entrance pylons, large open courts, shrines and subterranean chambers (cf. Montuemhet TT34; Karakhamun TT223; Karabasken TT391). The decorations include Old Kingdom iconographic style and motifs as well as features from New Kingdom royal tombs. Surviving portrayals of the respective tomb owners on the other hand show that they followed the artistic expressions of contemporary royal models. Funerary equipment of less extravagant burials comprised elements of traditional Egyptian burial customs, as well as elements with regard to their Nubian origin.[51] Further examples of monuments demonstrating an amalgamation of Egyptian and Nubian components derive from members of the royal family at Abydos. The stela of a general and commander named Pagattereru underlines the point at hand particularly well: while medium, motif and execution conform to traditional Egyptian design, the aspect of the functionary in worship

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[49] MFA Boston 03.1848 (similarly, Turin Suppl. 1270; Leiden F 1647/9.1; Leiden 1938/1.6); see Fischer 1961: 56–59, fig. 3, pl. 11.
[50] See Russmann 1997: 21–39.
[51] For Kushite burials in Thebes see Aston 2003: 138ff. and Morkot 2014: 5ff.

before the god Osiris reveals his Nubian background through hairstyle, headdress, clothing ('Nubian dress') and jewellery.[52]

From foe to foreigner to acculturated member of (Egyptian) society: the rise, fall and usefulness of modern theories and approaches

The question which inevitably rises from these examples concerns the 'Egyptianisation', acculturation, and assimilation of 'others', foreigners or even groups of individuals into ancient Egyptian society. With parts of the Nubian community residing in Egypt, earning their living, marrying into Egyptian society and eventually even being buried far from their former country of origin, we see adoptions of Egyptian cultural traditions to variable degrees.

The past decades have seen numerous changes in paradigms regarding 'Nubian culture' – and its relationship with Egypt. Early studies on Nubia were dominated by Egypto-centric views, operating with restricted ethnic-based models and research approaches. But with the continuous emergence of archaeological evidence in Egypt and far upriver, this category has increasingly become contested. The perception of Nubians as one uniform 'ethnos', propagated especially by the omnipresent Egyptian sources from the New Kingdom which labelled and delimited peoples from the South mainly as 'foes and enemies' and cast them into a 'Nubian' stereotype, was no longer sustainable. The emergence of Nubian and Meroitic Studies as independent fields of research and the assessment of their material culture called for more differentiated viewpoints and new approaches regarding 'the other' and 'foreignness'. Archaeological evidence challenged – and still does – the traditional modern view of the ancient Egyptian and Nubian sense of (cultural) belonging.[53] As a consequence, in recent times different forms of 'group identities' have become accepted as a legitimate part of (Egyptian) community, especially in view of the increasingly multicultural nature of society during the first millennium BC. With models deriving from modern Transcultural Studies, the nature of interaction between individuals, groups, and peoples can be differentiated to a greater extent. In moving away from biased concepts such as 'Egyptianisation', scholars of ancient civilizations have lately turned to more permeable processes of acculturation and assimilation which culminate in the notion of 'cultural entanglement'[54] though the impact of these

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[52] Leahy 1994: 171ff. (pl. XXVIa, stela originally from Abydos now in Chicago, OIM 6408). Leahy adds that the name of the high official mentioned in the inscription, Pagattereru, could be the Egyptian rendering of the Meroitic form Pekartror.

[53] Cf. also Assmann 1996: 77ff. on the concept of 'foreignness' within Egyptian society: 'In den klassischen Perioden seiner Geschichte entwickelte der Ägypter keine ethnischen oder nationalen Zugehörigkeitskonzepte und -gefühle. Die entscheidende Zugehörigkeitsstruktur bleiben für ihn die face-to-face Gemeinschaft von Familie, Dorf und Stadt und der Rahmen von Verwandtschaft, Bekanntheit, Vertrautheit. Ausserhalb dieses Rahmens beginnt für ihn die Fremde' (p. 97). This is a most valid viewpoint which should be included more often in discussions on native Egyptians, 'others' and 'foreigners'; to what extent was there a notion of 'the Egyptians' as one community by the Egyptian people itself?

[54] Modern Cultural Studies use concepts such as 'hybridity' and 'creolisation' to denote phenomena and processes of what is referred to as 'acculturation' and 'assimilation' in the field of Egyptology. For the time being, there is no immediate need to abandon these terms traditionally used in studies on ancient Egypt as they do not seem to be much negatively connoted. The term 'Egyptianisation', however, is a different matter, as it implies the unidimensional transfer of elements of ancient Egyptian culture to another society, with no scope for mutual exchange; see Siapkas 2014; Smith 2014b; Smith and Buzon (2014: 431) suggest replacing this term with a model of 'cultural entanglement' which

on interpreting the royal display of the Twenty-fifth dynasty has only been marginally explored.

In order to better grasp the living realities of interaction and cohabitation in multicultural ancient societies, scientific research methods require elastic and versatile models and adaptable theories. However, the problem at hand is twofold: on the one hand modern (Western) ways of thinking are still very much influenced by notions rooted in Nineteenth-century colonialism; on the other hand, ancient Egyptian sources are already distorted and conceptually biased as stated above. For propagandistic reasons 'ancient Egyptian state ideology explicitly linked ethnic groups with territory'[55] thus implying a form of cultural contact which surely never took place in this manner. This prompted the modern focus on 'Egyptianisation' of Nubian communities and debates on mutually excluding models using ethnicity-based approaches.

Once non-native individuals and/or groups gain the opportunity of self-portrayal in a given society, a more differentiated picture of interaction and relationship becomes visible. Culturally acquired identity is constantly undergoing a re-evaluation and change as the individual or the group interacts with its environment. It is thus that a person or a collective can adopt more than one social identity and a self-ascribed sense of belonging. That is why an ethnicity-based approach in its narrow sense of given and non-negotiable facts (i.e. birth-place, descent, family and ancestry, gender, physique and physiognomy) is only of limited usefulness in this context.

A statement by Jan Winnicki, who argues the case not only for Nubia, but for the major groups of non-Egyptian origin in general, brings these general reflections on inter- and multiculturality in ancient societies to a close:

> Foreign ethnic groups have been present in the Nile Valley throughout the entire history of Egypt. Information about them is scattered in various written sources, on funerary and royal stelae, temple reliefs, tomb paintings, etc. […] It needs stressing that the influx from various directions, Syria, Libya, and Nubia, each had its own specific character and intensity, which found reflection in the diversity of sources that concern them.[56]

The task at hand is to (re-)evaluate specific sources that relate to the classification of different communities of primary non-Egyptian origin. Whereas Egyptian (official) sources tend to brand foreign groups on an ethnic-based perspective for largely propagandistic reasons, personalized evidence from individuals seem to demonstrate another reality of everyday life. Various degrees of acculturation, starting from 'Egyptianisation' to full assimilation, continuously shape the individual's sense of belonging and cultural identity.

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originated in the late 1990's and specifically defines this kind of interaction as 'a process whereby interaction with an expanding territorial state gradually results in change of indigenous pattern of production, exchange, and social relations' (Alexander 1998: 485).

[55] Smith 2014b: 195.

[56] Winnicki 2009: 3.

Conclusion

Based on the current state of evidence available with regard to the visual representations, the Kushite kings demonstrate a sense of collective identity as they show themselves integrated into the cultural tradition of generic Egyptian kingship display. Albeit demonstrating some selective variation in canonic style, they nevertheless stand in line with the standard display of Egyptian kingship. At the same time, though, with the double uraeus, cap-crown and the ram shaped jewellery, explicit tribute is being paid to their Kushite descent by showing off specific dynastic features of the royal family of Kush. By way of personifying simultaneously an Egyptian as well as a Kushite sovereign, representations of Twenty-fifth Dynasty rulers are, up to that point in time, of an outstanding and exceptional character in Egyptian history.[57]

The construction of identity as perceivable from monumental wall reliefs and sculpture in the round is subject to a variety of factors. One of the major points to be taken into consideration is the importance, perhaps even need, of 'legitimation' and the recourses to artistic expression from the past associated with it on the part of the Kushite kings. As archaeologic evidence from the broad social strata in Nubia is still insufficient, it remains debatable whether only the Nubian elite adopted Egyptian stylistic conventions, to what extent and for what reason.

Whilst the kings of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty avoided placing a strong emphasis on representing (potentially) local Kushite elements in the visual arts in Egypt and Nubia, in Meroitic times a more obvious indigenous Nubian dimension to the negotiation process of identity and sense of belonging is observable. Wall reliefs from Meroitic temples demonstrate a striking shift towards including more local elements and visual expression.

While this contribution focuses on the suitability of Transcultural Studies approaches to better understanding the diverse but not necessarily opposing constructions of Nubian and especially Kushite royal identity, the sources instigate a further very fundamental question: whether and to what extent an attribution of the Kushite kings to a dynasty of foreign character as opposed to an indigenous Egyptian one may be a solely modern construct or a reality of this specific ancient society. Influenced perhaps by manifold references to a supposed Egyptian xenophobia, modern scholarship tends to differ between 'black and white' rather than to appreciate the 'grey' shades in between with all their implications. It is the respective distribution and play with standardized and deviant forms of canonical Egyptian artistic conventions that are not only an interesting fact but also of some importance in the evaluation of a Nubian and explicitly Kushite specific vision of identity and sense of allegiance.

A more detailed analysis of such scenes embedded into a more elastic research approach rooted in transculturality, instead of the restricted and constraining approach focused on theories on ethnicity, will hopefully allow an improved understanding of how the perception of the Kushites as indigenous or foreign rulers is displayed in both core areas and what its repercussions on Egypto–Kushite conceptualisation of identity

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[57] Cf. similar but less prominent cases of hybrid royal representations from later stages of Egyptian history: the Persian great king (coins of Artaxerxes III), the Ptolemies and Roman emperors.

are in view of the multicultural societies in the Nile valley in the first millennium BC.[58]

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Where is my Mummy…Who is my Mummy?
A Re-Evaluation of the Dra Abu-el Naga Coffin of Queen Ahhotep (CG 28501) with Queen Satkamose*

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Abstract

In 1859, a discovery was made at Dra Abu el-Naga of the burial of a queen. The deceased was named as Queen-Consort Ahhotep on her coffin and her burial revealed a large array of jewellery and weapons. It was the latter, along with a chain of three golden flies, that have led to this queen-consort being identified as a 'warrior queen'. However, the identification of this Ahhotep with the historically-known wife of King Seqenenra-Tao and mother of King Ahmose was thrown into doubt with the discovery of another coffin from the Deir el-Bahari cache, which also identified the owner as Queen-Consort Ahhotep. This has led to much discussion and debate on the identity of Ahhotep of Dra Abu el-Naga and considerations of the genealogy of the early Eighteenth Dynasty. These debates have hinged on whether there were one, two or even three Ahhoteps and if the owner of the Dra Abu el-Naga coffin were the queen-consort of King Seqenenra-Tao, the queen-consort of King Kamose, and/or the same person as the owner of the Deir el-Bahari coffin. In this paper, I take a new approach to the problem by considering the evidence provided by the King's Daughter Satkamose. Based on Satkamose's genealogical position, it is concluded that the most likely owner of the coffin from Dra Abu el-Naga was the same as the owner of the coffin from Deir el-Bahari and that there was only one Queen-Consort Ahhotep, who was the queen-consort of Seqenenra-Tao and mother of Kamose and Ahmose.

Introduction

The Problem of the Two Coffins and Previous Studies

In the plains beneath the hills of Dra Abu el-Naga (the precise location is not known), the workmen of Auguste Mariette, the Director of the newly created Service des Antiquités, discovered a pit containing a coffin on the 5th February 1859 (fig. 1).[1] The coffin was stated to have contained a mummy, various jewellery and precious

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* Several conventions have been used in this paper: following Roth 1999: 361 note 4, I refer to people called IaHms as Ahmose if they are male and Ahmes if they are female; in the genealogy charts equal signs (=) are used to indicate marriage, straight lines to indicate parent-child relationships and dashed lines for an uncertain relationship; also in the genealogy charts, bold letters are used for kings and underlined names indicate a queen-consort; I have avoided referring to different Ahhoteps as Ahhotep I and Ahhotep II because these terms are not used consistently by scholars and instead denote Ahhotep with due reference to a historical source, e.g. Ahhotep of the Dra Abu el-Naga coffin.

[1] The excavation was not recorded but for a reconstruction, see Winlock 1924: 252-5.

artefacts. Whilst the mummy was apparently disposed of, the surviving coffin lid, jewellery and artefacts were eventually sent to the Bulaq Museum in Cairo.[2]

Fig. 1: The coffin of Ahhotep from Dra Abu el-Naga
(Daressy 1909: plate 9)

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[2] Descriptions of these can be found in Von Bissing 1900 and CG 18478-80, 28501, 52004, 52068-88, 52159, 52378-81, 52390-1, 52409-12, 52423, 52642, 52645-62, 52664, 52666-8, 52670-5, 52688, 52692-3, 52713 and 52733.

The gilded coffin lid (CG 28501) has a *rishi*-design and features a line of inscription in the centre, which contains the offering formula, followed by the name and titles of the deceased: *ḥmt nsw wrt, ẖnmt nfr ḥḏt*, Ahhotep.[3] Both titles, translated as Great Royal Wife and She Who is Joined to the White Crown, mean that Ahhotep was a queen-consort.[4] As many of the objects found with this coffin bear the cartouches of the kings Kamose and Ahmose and no other king, it is highly likely that Ahhotep was contemporary with them, i.e. she lived in the late Seventeenth to the early Eighteenth Dynasty. Based on this, Ahhotep was initially identified as the queen-consort of Kamose and mother of Ahmose.[5]

However, Ahhotep's assumed identity was thrown into doubt with the discovery of a coffin from the Deir el-Bahari cache (CG 61006) that featured the titles *s3t nsw, snt nsw, ḥmt nsw wrt, ẖnmt nfr ḥḏt, mwt nsw* (King's Daughter, King's Sister, Great Royal Wife, She Who is Joined to the White Crown, King's Mother) and the same name of Ahhotep.[6] This has led to considerable debate over their identities, familial relationships and discussions of whether there were one,[7] two,[8] or even three[9] Ahhoteps.

Some scholars have dealt with the problems of Ahhotep's identity by comparing the two coffins with each other and with other contemporary coffins to judge how Ahhotep of the Dra Abu-el Naga[10] coffin may have been related to Ahhotep of the Deir el-Bahari[11] coffin and to contemporary royal family members. However, this approach, based on coffin comparison, has led to largely irrelevant conclusions. For example, Thomas and Schmitz suggested that the smaller coffin from Naga may have been the inner coffin of the larger Bahari coffin and could thus have belonged to the same person.[12] But their views were rejected by Troy,[13] quoting Maspero's comments that the Naga coffin cannot fit inside the Bahari coffin,[14] meaning that there must have been two Ahhoteps. In any case, considerations of whether or not the two coffins could nest are to a certain extent irrelevant. If the coffins could nest, it does not mean they did and, vice versa, if they could not nest, does not indicate they were not designed to.[15]

Likewise, as some scholars have attempted,[16] a comparison of the facial features on the Naga coffin with the Bahari coffin to determine if they represent the same or different individuals is also of little value, because when facial features were depicted in Egyptian culture they were not portraiture and nor were they always

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[3] Eaton-Krauss 1990: 196.
[4] Robins 1982: 71. All three of these terms indicate that the woman in question was the principal wife of the king. The term King's Wife is used to indicate a lesser wife of the king.
[5] Mariette 1859: 36.
[6] Daressy 1908: 8-9.
[7] Schmitz 1978; Thomas 1979; Eaton-Krauss 1990; Eaton-Krauss 2003.
[8] Gauthier 1912: 163-4, 207-8; Winlock 1924: 247-55; Vandersleyen 1977; Roth 1977-8; Troy 1979; Wente 1980a; Troy 1981; Blankenberg-van Delden 1981a and 1981b; Roth 1999.
[9] Robins 1982.
[10] Henceforth abbreviated to Naga.
[11] Henceforth abbreviated to Bahari.
[12] Thomas 1979: 62 note 25; Schmitz 1978: 209.
[13] 1981: 88 note 36.
[14] 1886: 545.
[15] Eaton-Krauss 2003: 87-8 also pointed out several cases where multiple coffins of a single owner were clearly designed to nest but could not because of errors in manufacture, such as those of Maherperi in Reeves 1990: 141-7.
[16] E.g. Roth 1999: 365-6.

consistent.[17] This is exemplified by the middle coffin of Tutankhamun (JE 60670), which has different facial features to his other coffins,[18] but it has never been suggested that this belonged to a second Tutankhamun of whom there is no evidence.

Equally, comparing the Naga coffin to other contemporary coffins and using similar features on them to suggest a relationship can lead to flawed conclusions. Although the Naga coffin may share similar features with many others (Winlock believed that the Naga coffin was similar to Seqenenra-Tao's;[19] Roth saw similarities with Kamose's;[20] Schmitz with Ahmes-Meritamon;[21] Blankenberg-van Delden wrote that it was similar in style to Nubkheperra Intef;[22] and Ryholt with Sekhemra-Wepmaat Intef),[23] the Egyptians emphasised other relationships (such as mother-son) in addition to husband-wife, which means that one cannot depend on similarity of coffins to reveal how the owners may have been related, if at all.[24]

Other studies have taken the form of source evaluations, where historical sources mentioning Ahhotep were analysed to reveal any familial relationships. Unfortunately, this method has often resulted in somewhat bewildering accounts. Gauthier assigned some sources and the Naga coffin to the mother of Ahmose,[25] with some other sources and the Bahari coffin to a wife Amenhotep I.[26] However, Gauthier's interpretations are unlikely because there is no evidence that Amenhotep I had a wife called Ahhotep;[27] this interpretation would not explain the title of King's Mother on the Bahari coffin as Amenhotep I is not known to have had a son who became a king; and scarabs from both groups have the same, and rather unrevealing, inscription of 'King's Wife Ahhotep'.

More comprehensive source evaluations were undertaken by Schmitz and Troy in the late 1970s, each concluding that all known historical references to Ahhotep should be assigned to a queen-consort of Seqenenra-Tao and mother of Ahmose.[28] But, confusingly, whereas Schmitz concluded that there was only one Ahhotep and assigned both coffins to her, Troy believed that there were two Ahhoteps and that the Naga coffin belonged to a queen-consort of Kamose because of the close proximity of their burials and similarity of coffins.[29]

Based on an examination of the titles recorded with the name of Ahhotep, Robins suggested multiple Ahhoteps. She proposed switching Gauthier's assignations and believed that Ahhotep I of the Naga coffin should be identified as the queen-consort of Kamose because no queen-consort of his is known and Ahhotep II of the Bahari coffin should instead be understood as the mother of Ahmose.[30] On a stela from Karnak dating to the reign of Ahmose (CG 34001),[31] Ahhotep II of the Bahari coffin was not called Great Royal Wife even though she was on her coffin. Therefore,

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[17] Eaton-Krauss 2003: 86.
[18] James 2000: 87.
[19] 1924: 251.
[20] 1977-8: 36.
[21] 1978: 209.
[22] 1981b: 17.
[23] 1997: 276-7.
[24] Roth 1999: 363.
[25] 1912: 163-4.
[26] 1912: 207-8.
[27] Gitton 1975: 37 note 105 'Ahhotep, wife of Amenhotep I, without a doubt did not exist except in the imagination of Gauthier [translation]'.
[28] Schmitz 1978; Troy 1979.
[29] 1979: 84.
[30] 1982: 71.
[31] Urk IV: 14-24; Legrain 1903: 27-9; Beylage 2002: 315-27; Klug 2002: 25-34; Barbotin 2008: 210-4.

to Robins, Ahhotep II only achieved the title of Great Royal Wife much later in the reign of Ahmose.[32] As an inscription on a statue, dating to the reign of Seqenenra-Tao and now in the Louvre (E15682),[33] records an Ahhotep as She Who is Joined to .the White Crown, which was used to mean queen-consort, this Ahhotep cannot be Ahhotep I (because she could only achieve this title in the reign of Kamose) or Ahhotep II (because she would only hold this title late in the reign of Ahmose), and must be a third Ahhotep.

The problem with Robins' theories is that titles were not recorded consistently on Egyptian monuments. Troy has shown that Ahmes-Meritamon's titles varied on different sources.[34] Similarly, though she was entitled to be called King's Daughter, King's Sister, Great Royal Wife, God's Wife and King's Mother, Ahmes-Nefertari was rarely shown with all her titles.[35] Roth pointed out five objects that mention a King's Wife Ahhotep, which date to late in the reign of Ahmose.[36] As these cannot be identified with Ahhotep I, II or III, (because all of whom should be called Great Royal Wife by this time), they must suggest either a fourth Ahhotep or, more likely, display the inconsistency applied to the use of titles.

Outline of Methodology

In this paper, I attempt to identify the most likely candidate for the owner of the Naga coffin by evaluating the main historical sources in understanding the familial relationships of the female(s) called Ahhotep to judge where Ahhotep of the Naga coffin best fits into a genealogy of the Ahmosid family. Rather than recreating a complete and wholly accurate genealogy of the late Seventeenth to early Eighteenth Dynasties,[37] only the key relationships of the Ahmosid family are focused upon. Similarly, instead of undertaking a thorough analysis of all historical sources mentioning Ahhotep,[38] only key sources in understanding Ahhotep's relationships are highlighted to avoid the issues encountered by Robins due to the inconsistent application of titles in Egyptian culture.

Principally, my investigation involves the explanation of the title Great Royal Wife on the two coffins from Bahari and Naga by linking them to the king(s) of whom the coffins' owner(s) were the Great Royal Wife(/ves). Whilst kings in ancient Egypt could have multiple wives, they only had one Great Royal Wife/queen-consort at one time. A king may have had more than one queen-consort in his life if a queen-consort predeceased him, resulting in the appointment of another one. This practice can thus be used to link those females who bear the title of Great Royal Wife to their respective kings, as another Great Royal Wife could not have existed in their lifetimes unless they were married to different kings, with one of them being the dowager queen-consort and widow of the previous king.[39] By investigating the titles,

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[32] 1982: 73.

[33] Winlock 1924: 251, 255-6; Barbotin 2007: 32-34.

[34] 1981: 81-6.

[35] Gitton 1975: *passim.*

[36] 1999: 370.

[37] For this see Dodson and Hilton 2004: 122-9.

[38] For a comprehensive source evaluation, see Troy 1981.

[39] There was no term in ancient Egypt for a dowager queen-consort and she would continue to use the title of Great Royal Wife in historical sources. Only through applying historical sense can we understand that the queen-consort in question was dowager, e.g. if she bears the title of King's Mother as well.

approximate times of death and other relevant relationships of the queen-consorts of the Ahmosid family, I link them to their husbands/kings. As certain objects bearing the cartouches of Kamose and Ahmose were present in the Naga burial of Ahhotep, they provide a *terminus post quem*. Because of this approximate dating and because kings could only have one Great Royal Wife at one time it will be possible to judge if Ahhotep of the Naga coffin can be identified as the queen-consort of one of the known kings. If she cannot, she is best understood as being the same person as Ahhotep of the Bahari coffin, whose genealogical position is better known.[40]

Genealogy of the Ahmosid Family[41]

The Donation Stela (CG 34002) and Iuf Stela (CG 34009)

On a stela from Abydos (CG 34002, known as the Donation Stela), Tetisheri was titled as Great Royal Wife and King's Mother and was recorded as being the mother of Ahmose's mother and father.[42] On a stela of a steward Iuf (CG 34009), the Great Royal Wife and King's Mother Ahhotep was specifically identified as the mother of Ahmose. Taken together, this can be reconstructed as Chart 1, which appears to be substantiated by Ahhotep's titles of King's Wife, Sovereign's Sister, King's Daughter and the August King's Mother on the Karnak Stela (CG 34001). As the titles on the Bahari coffin (Great Royal Wife, She Who is Joined to the White Crown, King's Daughter, King's Sister, King's Mother) would apply well to this Ahhotep, it is likely that this historically known Ahhotep should be identified as the owner of the Bahari coffin.[43]

King = Tetisheri

King = Ahhotep

Ahmose

1: Abydos Stela and Iuf Stela

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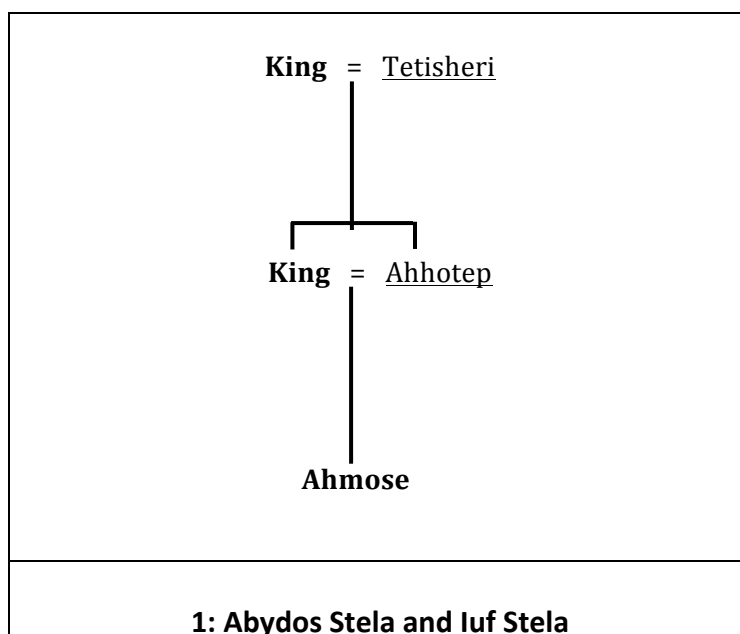
[40] See the next section for a description of this genealogical position.

[41] Eaton-Krauss 2003 has already presented much of the information given in this section and formed the same genealogy that I do. Rather than referencing Eaton-Krauss, I present my own arguments in order that the role of Satkamose in forming my conclusions can be more clearly understood.

[42] Urk IV: 26-9; Winlock 1921: 14; Drioton 1953.

[43] This was first suggested by Roth 1977-8: 35 and Robins 1978: 73 and all subsequent scholars have also come to the same conclusion.

The Munich Coffin-Head (ÄS 7163) and Ahmes Shroud (Turin 63001)

An inscription on the inside of a coffin-head, currently in the Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst, Munich (ÄS 7163), give the owner's name and titles as King's Daughter and King's Sister Satdjehuty and name her mother as Queen-Consort Tetisheri.[44] A like-named Satdjehuty is stated on the shrouds of Ahmes from QV 47 (Turin 63001).[45] On these shrouds, Ahmes is titled as King's Daughter and King's Sister. She identified her mother as the King's Daughter, King's Sister and King's Wife Satdjehuty and her father as Seqenenra-Tao. Grimm and Schoske identify the Satdjehuty on the shroud as being identical to the Satdjehuty on the coffin-head based on their contemporary existence, the same generational position (the generation after Tetisheri),[46] similar titles and the nickname of Satibu.[47] Thus presented in Chart 2.

Unless it is assumed that her titles were a scribal error, the use of the title King's Sister by Ahmes strongly suggests that Seqenenra-Tao must have had a son who became a king.[48] But it does not seem likely that Ahmes's mother Satdjehuty was the mother of this suggested king. This is because Satdjehuty is nowhere stated to have the titles of King's Mother and Great Royal Wife, so it is most likely that she never had these titles. The inscription on the shroud must have been written after the accession of the new king (i.e. after Seqenenra-Tao's death as Satdjehuty's daughter Ahmes could otherwise not use the title of King's Sister) and it would be unlikely that the important title of King's Mother would have been neglected if Satdjehuty were this new king's mother. It is thus more likely that Seqenenra-Tao had another wife, most probably his queen-consort (as Satdjehuty lacks this title), who bore him this son who became a king. The identity of this queen-consort is strongly suggested by Statue E15682.

The Louvre Statue (E15682)

Statue E15682, which is now in the Louvre, depicts a seated individual called Ahmose. On the back of the statue, the traditional *ḥtp-di-nsw* offering formula is inscribed vertically in the centre. There is one column on each side of the central column, giving the names and titles of the donors. The right column records the name and titles of King Tao, almost certainly Seqenenra-Tao.[49] On the left column are the

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[44] Grimm and Schoske 1999: 2.

[45] Grimm and Schoske 1999: 38-9.

[46] Because the Satdjehuty recorded on the coffin-head is stated to be the daughter of Tetisheri, she must, of course, belong to the next generation. As shown by Chart 1 and Statue E15682 (see below), the name Ahmose/Ahmes is frequently used for members of the third generation. Being the mother of Ahmes, the Satdjehuty recorded on the shroud thus also belongs to the second generation (Grimm and Schoske 1999: 41).

[47] 1999: 39-41.

[48] In this period, the title of King's Sister was only used by females who shared at least one parent with a king; it was not normally used by cousins (Robins 1982: 74 and note 27).

[49] Whereas it was previously believed that there were two kings called Tao (e.g. Winlock 1924: 243-8), it is now recognised, based on an inscription from Karnak, that the nomen of first king was actually Ahmose and his prenomen was Senakhtenra (Biston-Moulin 2012: 61-2).

name and titles of Ahhotep, who is titled as King's Eldest Daughter and She Who is Joined to the White Crown. On the sides of the statue, four females called Ahmes are recorded as King's Daughters (with one stated to be the eldest) and as the sisters of Ahmose. As Ahmose is referred to as *m3ꜥ-ḫrw* (true of voice) and Seqenenra-Tao is not, and the sisters 'cause his [Ahmose's] name to live so that he may do every good for them in the Afterlife', it is clear that he has predeceased Seqenenra-Tao and thus cannot be identified with King Ahmose. It is highly likely that this statue recorded the family of the deceased and therefore Seqenenra-Tao and Ahhotep should be interpreted as the parents of Ahmose and the four princesses.[50] With the previous evidence (summarised in Chart 2), this gives Chart 3.[51] As the Ahhotep recorded on this statue was the Great Royal Wife of Seqenenra-Tao, it explains why Satdjehuty lacked the same title. Also, if Ahhotep were the mother of the next king, the use of the title King's Sister by Satdjehuty's daughter Ahmes on her shrouds can also be explained. Furthermore, it is likely that the Ahhotep of this statue was the sister of Seqenenra-Tao because it would explain why, as the eldest daughter of the previous king, she was given pre-eminence with regard to the position of Great Royal Wife over her possible younger sister Satdjehuty.
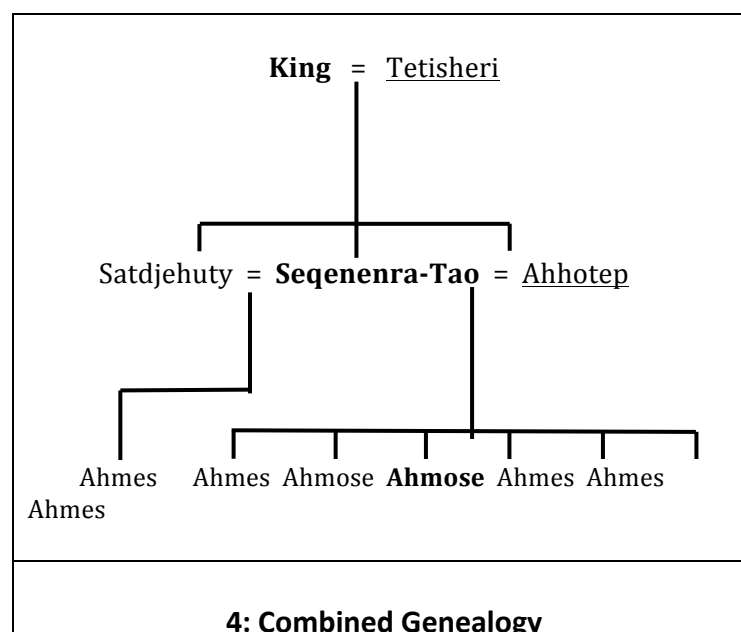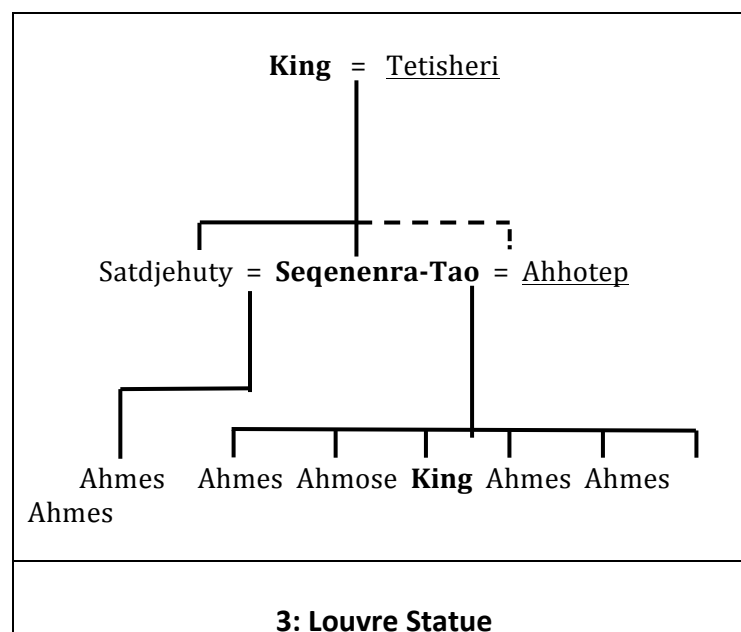
King = <u>Tetisheri</u>

Satdjehuty = **Seqenenra-Tao**

Ahmes

2: Coffin-Head and Ahmes Shroud
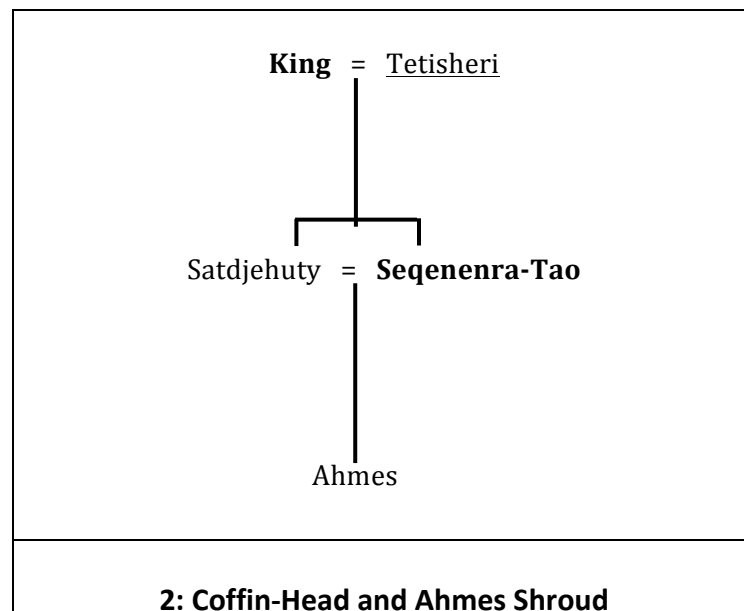
Genealogy of the Ahmosid Family

The Donation Stela and the Iuf Stela show that Queen-Consort Tetisheri was the maternal and paternal grandmother of King Ahmose and his parents were Queen-Consort Ahhotep and a previous unstated king (Chart 1). From the Munich coffin-head and the Ahmes shrouds, it can be surmised that Tetisheri was the mother of Seqenenra-Tao and his wife Satdjehuty, though the latter was not a Great Royal Wife,

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[50] Winlock 1924: 251.

[51] The order of the children of Seqenenra-Tao and Ahhotep given here is pure speculation and also irrelevant to the purpose of this paper.

and they had a daughter called Ahmes, who was a half-sister to a king (Chart 2). The Louvre Statue indicates that the Great Royal Wife of Seqenenra-Tao was called Ahhotep (Chart 3).

King = Tetisheri

Satdjehuty = **Seqenenra-Tao** = Ahhotep

Ahmes Ahmes Ahmose **King** Ahmes Ahmes
Ahmes

3: Louvre Statue

King = Tetisheri

Satdjehuty = **Seqenenra-Tao** = Ahhotep

Ahmes Ahmes Ahmose **Ahmose** Ahmes Ahmes
Ahmes

4: Combined Genealogy

If the findings shown in Chart 1 were combined with the evidence from Chart 3, it would result in Tetisheri being the mother of Ahhotep and Seqenenra-Tao, and they in turn being the parents of King Ahmose. Thus shown in Chart 4. It is possible that the Queen-Consort Ahhotep on the Louvre Statue was different to the Queen-Consort Ahhotep on the other sources, both being queen-consorts to Seqenenra-Tao, if the former died before the latter. In this scenario, Ahhotep of the Louvre Statue (represented in Chart 3) must have died before Ahhotep of the Bahari coffin (also known from the Karnak Stela and Iuf Stela and represented in Chart 1), because the

latter Ahhotep, as evidenced by the Karnak Stela, lived into the reign of her son Ahmose. But if the simplest possible explanation is adopted, there appears to be no good reason to assume that the Louvre Statue should represent an earlier queen-consort of Seqenenra-Tao. As shown in Chart 1 and 4, Ahhotep, the mother of Ahmose, was the full sister of Seqenenra-Tao. It is therefore unlikely that another woman would have taken precedence over her.[52]

Several other people can be added to Chart 4 at this stage. As Senakhtenra was identified as the immediate predecessor of Seqenenra-Tao on several king lists,[53] he is the most likely candidate to be his father and the husband of Tetisheri, especially as he had the nomen of Ahmose,[54] suggesting that he is part of this family. Also, primarily based on the inscriptions on the Donation Stela (CG 34002), Ahmes-Nefertari has long been recognised as the sister and queen-consort of King Ahmose.[55]

5: Genealogy of the Ahmosid Family
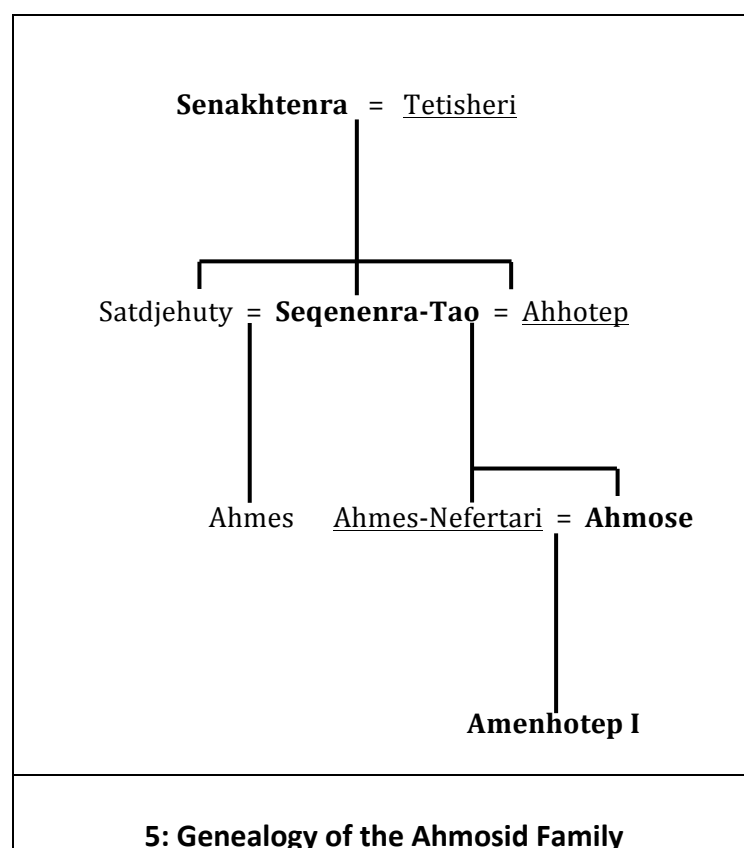
It therefore seems likely that she was one of the female sisters named Ahmes on the Louvre Statue. Winlock suggested that Ahmes-Nefertari was the Ahmes titled as the eldest daughter, which would explain her marriage to her brother and later elevated status.[56] Similarly, Amenhotep I is well known to be the son of Ahmes-Nefertari and

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[52] Unless this other Ahhotep was also a full sister of Seqenenra-Tao but in this case it would make no historical sense to perceive two Ahhoteps.
[53] Redford 1967: 32.
[54] Biston-Moulin 2012: 61-2.
[55] Gitton 1981: 7-11.
[56] Winlock 1924: 256.

they are associated together in numerous sources as mother and son.[57] These added people are displayed in Chart 5, without the superfluous children of Seqenenra-Tao.

The Title of Great Royal Wife on the Naga Coffin

In order to understand the identity of the owner of the Naga coffin, the title of Great Royal Wife that was inscribed on it needs to be explained and linked to one of the kings of the Ahmosid family. But Chart 5 essentially precludes the possibility that Ahhotep, the owner of the Naga coffin, could be a second queen-consort of Senakhtenra, Seqenenra-Tao or Ahmose. Tetisheri was recorded as living and participating with Ahmose in an offering to Montu on a stela (UC 14402)[58] and Ahhotep of the Bahari coffin was alive in the reign of her son Ahmose as she was shown to be aiding Ahmose's rule on the Karnak Stela.[59] Thus both Tetisheri and the Ahhotep on Chart 5 outlived their husbands and were alive during the reign of Ahmose. The owner of the Naga coffin could not have pre-deceased Seqenenra-Tao as the coffin was discovered with many objects bearing the cartouches of Kamose and Ahmose, and no other king. As kings only had one Great Royal Wife at one time, it is thus untenable that the owner of the Naga coffin was another queen-consort of Senakhtenra or Seqenenra-Tao. Nor is Ahhotep of the Naga coffin likely to be the Great Royal Wife of Ahmose, as in all known sources, it is Ahmes-Nefertari who holds this position throughout Ahmose's reign. Finally, there is no evidence to suggest that Amenhotep I had a queen-consort called Ahhotep.[60]

To explain the title of Great Royal Wife on Ahhotep's coffin from Naga and thus her identity, there are two possibilities. The first possibility is that she was the same person as Ahhotep of the Bahari coffin and there was only one Ahhotep, who was the queen-consort of Seqenenra-Tao and mother of Ahmose. The other possibility is her being the queen-consort of Kamose, who reigned between Seqenenra-Tao and Ahmose.[61] Kamose is generally believed to be either a younger brother of Seqenenra-Tao[62] or his son and older brother of Ahmose[63] but this is pure speculation. No relative of Kamose can be identified with certainty and nobody is specifically recorded as his Great Royal Wife. Indeed, the uncertain genealogical position and family relationships of Kamose are the real reasons for continued debate on the question of Ahhotep. If Kamose's position in the Ahmosid genealogy could be resolved, it is possible that the whole Ahhotep problem could also. An intriguing possibility may lie with Satkamose.

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[57] E.g. Gitton 1981: 15-20.

[58] Petrie 1921: 15.

[59] Urk IV: 21.

[60] See note 27. Also, the identities of Amenhotep I's queen-consorts are discussed below.

[61] That Kamose reigned between Seqenenra-Tao and Ahmose is known from later king lists and chronological understanding of the two Kamose stelae (Smith and Smith 1976) with the inscription of Ahmose, son of Ibana (Urk IV: 2-4; Ryholt 1997: 167-70).

[62] Vandersleyen 1977: 237; Dodson and Hilton 2004: 124-5.

[63] Winlock 1924: 262; Roth 1977-78: 37.

Satkamose

The Titles of Satkamose

On the bandages of a mummy, which was found in the Bahari cache, the name and titles are recorded as King's Daughter, King's Sister and Great Royal Wife, Satkamose.[64] Her name means 'daughter of Kamose' and, if this is taken literally and there is only one Kamose, then Kamose must have had a son who became a king to give Satkamose the title of King's Sister. But, as shown in Chart 5, Kamose had no known sons who became a king as Ahmose was the son of Seqenenra-Tao and Amenhotep I was the son of Ahmose. How, then, can her name and titles be explained?
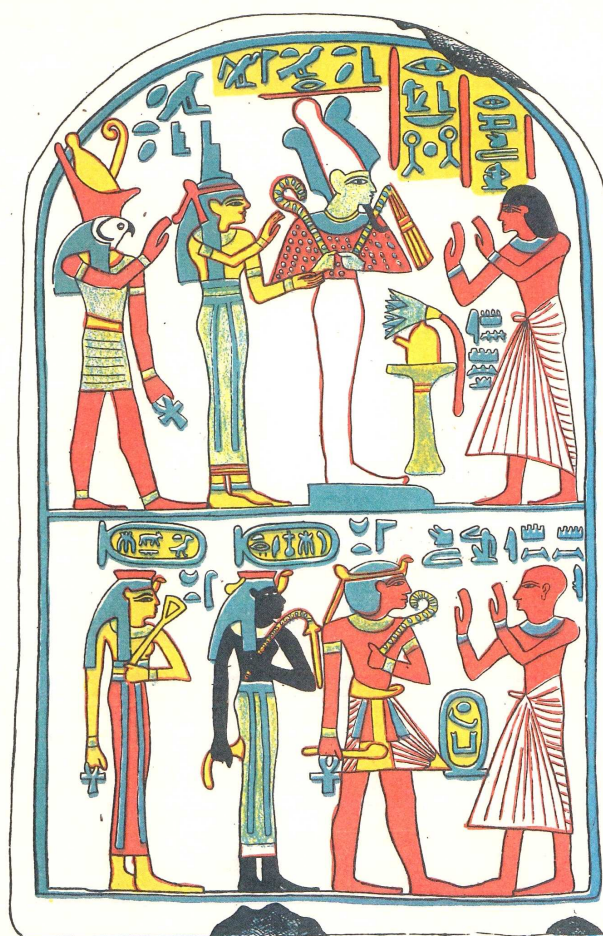

Fig. 2: Stela of Memnon, BM 297 (Birch 1885).

It is known that Satkamose was roughly contemporary with the early Eighteenth Dynasty as she is depicted in the tomb of Tetiky with Ahmes-Nefertari worshipping the Hathor cow.[65] On BM 297, a stela of Menamon, she features on the lower register, behind Ahmes-Nefertari and Amenhotep I, being venerated by Menamon (fig. 2). Like Ahmes-Nefertari, she bears the title of *ḥmt nṯr*. Satkamose's

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[64] Vandersleyen 1977: 241.
[65] Davies 1925: 14.

title and presence on this stela strongly suggest a close kin-relationship with Ahmes-Nefertari and Amenhotep I, as the latter are mother and son. She is also depicted alongside other royal personages in a scene from the tomb of Khabekhnet (second row, number 10; fig. 3),[66] again indicating some royal connection.
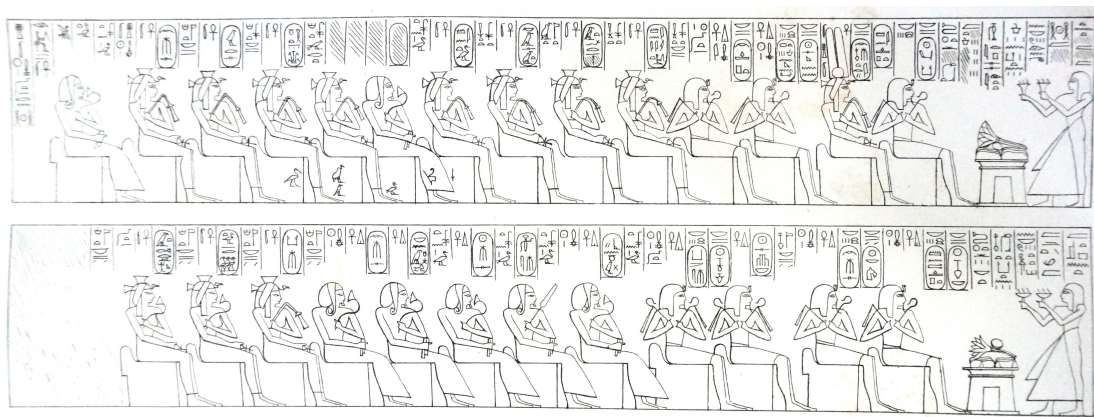

Fig. 3: Scene from the tomb of Khabekhnet: TT 2 (Lepsius 1842: plate 11).

On a statue from the temple of Mut at Karnak, Amenhotep I is shown on the lap of the goddess and a woman is depicted on either side.[67] On one side is his mother, the God's Wife and Great Royal Wife Ahmes-Nefertari. On the other side is the King's Daughter, King's Sister and God's Wife Satamon. Troy showed that this triad was frequently represented, with Satamon sometimes replaced with Satkamose or Ahmes-Meritamon.[68] As Ahmes-Meritamon is known to be the Great Royal Wife of Amenhotep I and daughter of Ahmes-Nefertari,[69] the most likely interpretation is that Satkamose was also a Great Royal Wife of Amenhotep I,[70] who passed away early in Amenhotep I's reign, causing him to appoint another Great Royal Wife.

If it is accepted that Satkamose was the queen-consort of Amenhotep I, to make sense of the rest of Satkamose's titles (King's Daughter and King's Sister) and the meaning of her name, one must adopt one of five possibilities:

1. Her name is not to be taken literally; she was the daughter of Ahmose and Ahmes-Nefertari and was named after her father's illustrious predecessor;
2. The titles on her bandages are incorrect;
3. Kamose had an unknown son who became a king;
4. She was adopted by Ahmose;
5. She was the daughter of Kamose and Ahmes-Nefertari.

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[66] Wilkinson 1830: plate 5; Lepsius 1842: plate 11; Denkmäler 5 III.2A; Prisses d'Avennes 1847: plate 3.
[67] Troy 1981: 84.
[68] 1981: 84.
[69] Troy 1981: 85-6 and also see later reference to the stela from Qasr Ibrim.
[70] Scarab 18.2.52 may suggest a marriage announcement between Ahmose and Satkamose but its poor quality, crudely executed hieroglyphs and manufacture from pottery makes this unlikely. See below for discussion and a more likely interpretation of this scarab.

The fifth possibility is the best way to explain her name and her titles, based on current knowledge. As Amenhotep I was the son of Ahmose and Ahmes-Nefertari, Satkamose would have been his half-sister. Also, the presence of Satkamose with Ahmes-Nefertari and Amenhotep I on the Menamon Stela and the Khabekhnet scene is explained: she is the daughter of Ahmes-Nefertari and the queen-consort of Amenhotep I. This marriage of Kamose and Ahmes-Nefertari, first suggested by Maspero,[71] is, of course, purely hypothetical but it would explain why Kamose's 'missing wife' has not been detected in historical records because the Great Royal Wife Ahmes-Nefertari was the queen-consort of two kings. Some supporting evidence can be cited for this theory: namely, the ages of the mummies of Satkamose and Ahmes-Nefertari and the Donation Stela.

The Age of Satkamose

For the fifth of the listed possibilities to be true, Satkamose must have been born around the short reign of Kamose and died early in the reign of Amenhotep I as the latter had a later queen-consort.[72] That is, she must have been born just before the 25-year reign of Ahmose and died soon after. This correlates well with her mummy's estimated age of death of 30-35 years.[73] Smith and Dawson also believed that, owing to similar mummification techniques, she must have died near in time to the death of Ahmose.[74]

As Satkamose was depicted with Amenhotep I on several sources, such as on BM 297, it is highly likely that she was alive during his reign. Taken with her estimated age of death, Satkamose was too young to have been a daughter of Seqenenra-Tao or a wife of Kamose. She may have been a wife of Ahmose but as Ahmes-Nefertari outlived Ahmose,[75] there would be the difficulty of Ahmose having two Great Royal Wives who outlived him.

Wente considered it unlikely that Satkamose was the daughter of Kamose, as in the tomb of Tetiky she is called King's Daughter and King's Sister.[76] As this tomb features the use of the earlier writing of the moon-hieroglyph, Gitton dated this tomb to before Year 22 of Ahmose.[77] To Wente, this means that Satkamose must have been a daughter of Seqenenra-Tao and sister to Ahmose to have the title of King's Sister. However, the scene also includes Ahmes-Nefertari and Davies has pointed out that the presence of Ahmes-Nefertari, who eclipsed Ahhotep in royal scenes only from the reign of Amenhotep I,[78] and the architecture of the tomb suggest a date 'no later than the reign of Amenophis I'.[79] This means that the tomb is best understood as dating to late in the reign of Ahmose and, as shown by Wente,[80] Amenhotep I was co-regent to Ahmose during the later years of the latter's reign. As this would allow Satkamose to call herself King's Sister with Amenhotep I being her half-brother, this tomb scene

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[71] Maspero 1897: 78.
[72] See below for discussion of the Qasr Ibrim Stela.
[73] Smith 1912: 22; Krogman and Baer 1980: Table 6.4.
[74] Smith and Dawson 1924: 90-1.
[75] Bradbury 1985; see below for discussion of the age and year of death of Ahmes-Nefertari.
[76] Wente 1980a: 125.
[77] Gitton 1975: 11.
[78] Gitton 1975: 11 listed the Tetiky scene as one of the earliest attestations of Ahmes-Nefertari.
[79] Davies 1925: 18.
[80] Wente 1980b: 239.

does not alter the proposed theory that Satkamose was the daughter of Kamose and queen-consort and half-sister to Amenhotep I.

Furthermore, it is unlikely that Satkamose was a daughter of Ahmose. Based on his mummy, Ahmose is estimated to have died at the age of 30, which means that he was about 5 years old at the start of his 25-year reign.[81] If Satkamose were his daughter she would have to have been born, at the earliest, around Year 10, at the onset of Ahmose's puberty. As she died when she was approximately 30, this would have occurred around Year 15 of Amenhotep I, three-quarters of the way through his reign. This scenario is rendered unlikely by the fact that Amenhotep I had a better attested queen-consort, Ahmes-Meritamon,[82] and possibly even a third queen-consort called Satamon.[83] Also, the Tetiky scene shows that Satkamose was alive early in the reign of Amenhotep I but died soon after as her mummy suggests that her death was close to that of Ahmose. Furthermore, a stela of Amenhotep I from Qasr Ibrim may declare Amenhotep I's marriage to Ahmes-Meritamon.[84] As this stela is dated to Year 8, it would strongly suggest that Satkamose had died by this point.

The Age of Ahmes-Nefertari

According to Smith and Dawson[85] and Harris and Weeks,[86] the estimated age of death for Ahmes-Nefertari was 70, based on the condition of her body and almost bald head. Krogman and Baer give her estimated age of death as 30-35 based her spinal column and 40-45 based on her vault sutures.[87] Wente suggested 28.[88] But the younger estimates are almost certainly incorrect.[89] As shown by Bradbury, Ahmes-Nefertari died around Year 5 of Tuthmosis I.[90] As she was most probably the daughter of Seqenenra-Tao (see Chart 5), she must have been at least 55 years-old when she died (reign of Kamose [5] + reign of Ahmose [25] + reign of Amenhotep I [20] + 5 years of Tuthmosis I). If Ahmes-Nefertari is accepted as being the Ahmes titled as the eldest daughter on the Louvre Statue, as seems likely, she must have been alive in the reign of Seqenenra-Tao.[91] Seqenenra-Tao is estimated to have died at the age of 30-35 based on his mummy,[92] and the Louvre Statue shows that Seqenenra-Tao and his wife had at least 5 children. Therefore, 1-20 years need to be added to Ahmes-Nefertari's age of death, if it assumed that Seqenenra-Tao was producing children from the age of 15. As she was the eldest, she was most likely born in the earlier part of Seqenenra-Tao's mature period, and one should add 10-20 years to her already posited 55 years. Thus, 70 is indeed a likely age of death.

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[81] Krogman and Baer 1980: Table 6.4; Wente 1980b: 242.
[82] Troy 1981: *passim.*
[83] Troy 1981: note 16.
[84] Wente 1980a: 128.
[85] 1924: 90.
[86] 1973: 128.
[87] 1980: Table 6.4.
[88] 1980b: 245.
[89] Some doubt must be cast on several of Krogman and Baer's estimates. The most obvious of these is Rameses II, who they estimated to have died at 50-55, even though his reign is known to have been about 67 years.
[90] 1985.
[91] Winlock 1924: 256.
[92] Harris and Weeks 1973: 128; Krogman and Baer 1980: Table 6.4; Wente 1980b: 244.

This means that Ahmes-Nefertari was about 20 years old at the beginning of Ahmose's reign. Ahmose himself is estimated to have been about 5 years old at the start of his reign.[93] As women in ancient Egypt generally married at the onset of puberty,[94] the 15-year age difference between Ahmes-Nefertari and Ahmose may suggest that she had a previous marriage. This makes Kamose, the immediate predecessor of Ahmose, the most likely candidate for her previous husband. If Kamose were the older brother of Ahmose, he would also be the full brother of Ahmes-Nefertari. Being her full brother would explain his marriage to Ahmes-Nefertari because brother-sister marriages were being instigated in this family, as Seqenenra-Tao, Ahmose and Amenhotep I all married their sisters.[95] Alternatively, Kamose may have been a younger brother of Seqenenra-Tao rather than his son, as all of Seqenenra-Tao's known children are called Ahmes/Ahmose.[96] If Kamose were the brother of Seqenenra-Tao, a marriage to Ahmes-Nefertari, the daughter of the previous king and his niece, would again seem likely, and may have been a way to strengthen Kamose's link to the throne.

The Donation Stela

A further source which may support the theory of a marriage between Kamose and Ahmes-Nefertari is the Donation Stela (CG 34002). In lines 19-20, Ahmes-Nefertari states of Ahmose that *ḥbs=f wi iw nn wny=i*, 'He clothed me when I did not exist' and *rdi=f wsr=i iw nḥm=kwi*, 'He gave me strength when I was poor'. Redford translated *nn wny=i* as 'when I was a nobody', linking it to *iwty-sw*, 'non-entity, pauper'.[97] He also believed that *nḥm* was meant to be *nmḥ*, 'to be orphaned', and interpreted this passage as the poor condition of Ahmes-Nefertari following the death of her father Seqenenra-Tao. Whilst this passage is in any case likely to be rhetorical rather than fact, it surely makes more sense in the context of the disadvantaged status of a widow following the death of her husband. Ahmose restored power (*wsr*) to his sister Ahmes-Nefertari by marrying her and relieving her from the uncertain status of being a widow.[98] Furthermore, Ahmes-Nefertari was unlikely to call herself orphaned when her mother Ahhotep, as shown by the Karnak Stela (CG 34001), was still alive and politically active in the reign of Ahmose.[99]

The Widowhood and Remarriage of Ahmes-Nefertari

The fifth possibility, that Satkamose was a daughter of Kamose and Ahmes-Nefertari, relies on the unusual circumstance of Ahmes-Nefertari being widowed and remarried to her brother Ahmose. Whilst there is very little evidence of the remarriage of widowed queens, it is important to note that there is generally very little evidence of

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[93] See note 80.
[94] Wente 1980a: 137.
[95] Wente 1980a: 123.
[96] Ryholt 1997: 278.
[97] 1967: 30-31 note 12.
[98] That widowhood could be uncertain is shown by Papyrus Ashmolean 1945.96 (Gardiner 1940), where Nebnefer adopts his wife 'to ensure that her position as widow is the happy one of matriarch, and not the inferior status of unprotected destitute' (Eyre 1992: 218).
[99] See note 59.

widowhood itself because Egyptian texts from tombs and stelae, for example, tended to reflect an idealised situation.[100] However, widowhood and remarriage would not have been unusual in ancient Egypt because women generally married when they were young, often to much older husbands, because death in child-birth was common.[101] That remarriage of women evidently occurred is shown by Papyrus Ashmolean 1945.97, 'The Will of Naunakhte'.[102] Perhaps the most obvious example of a remarriage of an Egyptian queen is shown by tablet KUB XXXIV.25, where a widowed Egyptian queen requested the Hittite King to send her one of his sons to become her husband, as she did not want remarriage to one of her servants.[103] Furthermore, it appears that brother-sister marriages were standard in this family and it is possible that Ahmose's other sisters had already predeceased him, leading to the occurrence of his marriage to a much older and widowed sister.

The Adoption Theory

The fourth possibility, that Satkamose was the daughter of Kamose (but not Ahmes-Nefertari) and was adopted by Ahmose and Ahmes-Nefertari, would also explain her name and titles but it does not seem likely. Some support for such an adoption taking place may be provided by scarab 18.2.52 from University College London.[104] The scarab is made of blue-green pottery and one corner is now missing. On one side, it features the cartouche of Nebpehtyra and a seated king determinative. On the other side, four hieroglyphs can be distinguished facing left: the upraised arms and bull, both spelling *k3*; the three-skins, spelling *ms*; and the folded cloth, spelling *s*. The lack of a cartouche on this latter side and the size and position of the missing part (in the top-left corner) suggest that more text should be expected and that this was not meant to be a reference to King Kamose. The missing part may have contained the duck and semi-circle hieroglyphs needed to spell Satkamose's name. This scarab may therefore suggest a relationship between Ahmose and Satkamose, possibly of adoption. However, in the case of Satkamose, a formal adoption would be completely unnecessary. Adoption only occurred for legal reasons, normally to allow inheritance, as it seems that only a child of the deceased could become their heir(ess).[105] Further, there are several cases, such as that of the barber Sibastet, that show that marriage was preferable to adoption for legal and inheritance purposes, as Sibastet arranged the marriage of his chosen heir to his niece rather than adopt him.[106] This means that Satkamose's marriage to Amenhotep I would have rendered an adoption unnecessary. Also, as a member of Ahmose's extended family, she would not have been left without means to support herself following the death of her father Kamose. The only circumstances that would allow for an adoption is if one assumes a fairy tale-like scenario where Amenhotep I fell in love with the common-born Satkamose, persuaded his parents to adopt her to give her royal status, then made Satkamose his queen-consort in preference to his royal sisters.

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[100] Franke 1986: 1279.
[101] Eyre 1992: 218.
[102] Černý 1945: 44.
[103] Güterbock 1956a: 47-8, 1956b: 94-5.
[104] Petrie 1917: plate 24.
[105] Eyre 1992: 218.
[106] Eyre 1992: 215.

Perhaps the most likely explanation of this scarab is that if Satkamose were the daughter of Ahmes-Nefertari from her previous marriage to Kamose, Ahmes-Nefertari's remarriage to Ahmose would have made him Satkamose's step-father and an informal, by default, adoption would have happened. It should also be pointed out that a juxtaposition of names may not necessary imply a familial relationship. For example, on a fragment of a diorite vase from KV 20, the cartouches and titles of Ahmes-Nefertari can be seen next to the cartouche of one of the kings called Tuthmosis.[107] Whilst this may appear to imply a relationship between them, Ahmes-Nefertari is not known to have any directly familial relationships to any of the Tuthmosid kings. The most likely explanation for these cartouches can be suggested by a more complete inscription on another vase. On this second vase, there are the cartouches of Tuthmosis I and Tuthmosis II, and the latter states of the former that 'he made monuments for him'.[108] The surviving hieroglyphs on the first fragment suggest that a similar rendering could be applied here. Therefore, rather than implying any relationship, this vase fragment shows that one of the later Eighteenth Dynasty kings made offerings to Ahmes-Nefertari. It is plausible that scarab 18.2.52 was similarly meant to represent Satkamose offering to Ahmose.

The Identity of Satkamose

The age of the mummy of Satkamose at her death, references to her in historical sources, her titles and the meaning of her name best fit into a scenario where she is the daughter of Kamose and Ahmes-Nefertari, step-daughter of Ahmose, and half-sister and queen-consort of Amenhotep I at the beginning of latter's reign (possibility 5). As a result, since our understanding of Satkamose conforms to our present knowledge of the Ahmosid family, there is no reason to assume that her titles were wrongly copied (possibility 2) or that Kamose had an unknown son who became a king (possibility 3). The age of Satkamose's mummy also shows that she was too old to have been a daughter of Ahmose (possibility 1) and it is neither likely nor necessary that she were formally adopted by Ahmose (possibility 4).

Whilst the marriage of Kamose and Ahmes-Nefertari is hypothetical, the age of Ahmes-Nefertari's mummy at her death does not exclude the possibility of an earlier marriage before her marriage to Ahmose. In fact, the age difference between Ahmes-Nefertari and Ahmose (aged approximately 20 and 5 respectively at the start of the reign of Ahmose) and the inscription on the Donation Stela would support the idea of an earlier marriage of Ahmes-Nefertari.

The Identity of Ahhotep of Dra Abu el-Naga

Suggested Genealogy of Ahmosid Family

The main facts from the historical sources discussed above allow us to reconstruct the main relationships of the Ahmosid family in the following way:

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[107] Carter 1906: 106.
[108] Carter 1906: 108.

- The Donation Stela (CG 34002) shows that Queen-Consort Tetisheri was the mother of King Ahmose's mother and father;
- The Donation Stela also shows that Ahmes-Nefertari was the sister and queen-consort of King Ahmose;
- The Iuf Stela (CG 34009) indicates that the mother of King Ahmose was called Queen-Consort Ahhotep;
- On the Karnak Stela (CG 34001) Queen-Consort Ahhotep was also titled as sister of a king and daughter of a king;
- From the coffin-head (ÄS 7163) and Ahmes shrouds (Turin 63001), it can be surmised that King Seqenenra-Tao was the son of Queen-Consort Tetisheri and that he had a son, who became a king;
- The Louvre Statue (E15682) strongly suggests that King Seqenenra-Tao's queen-consort was called Ahhotep and that they were the parents of the later Queen-Consort Ahmes-Nefertari;
- King Senakhtenra was the immediate predecessor of King Seqenenra-Tao and thus the most likely candidate to be husband of Queen-Consort Tetisheri;
- Satkamose's name, titles and age at death suggest that she was the daughter of King Kamose and Ahmes-Nefertari, before Ahmes-Nefertari's later remarriage to her brother Ahmose, and that Satkamose was also the queen-consort of Amenhotep I, who was the son of Ahmose and Ahmes-Nefertari.

I would also tentatively add that, as there are few known cases where a younger brother of a king (or indeed anyone else) succeeded him when a son existed, Kamose was the older (half?) brother of Ahmose.[109]

6: Suggested Theory

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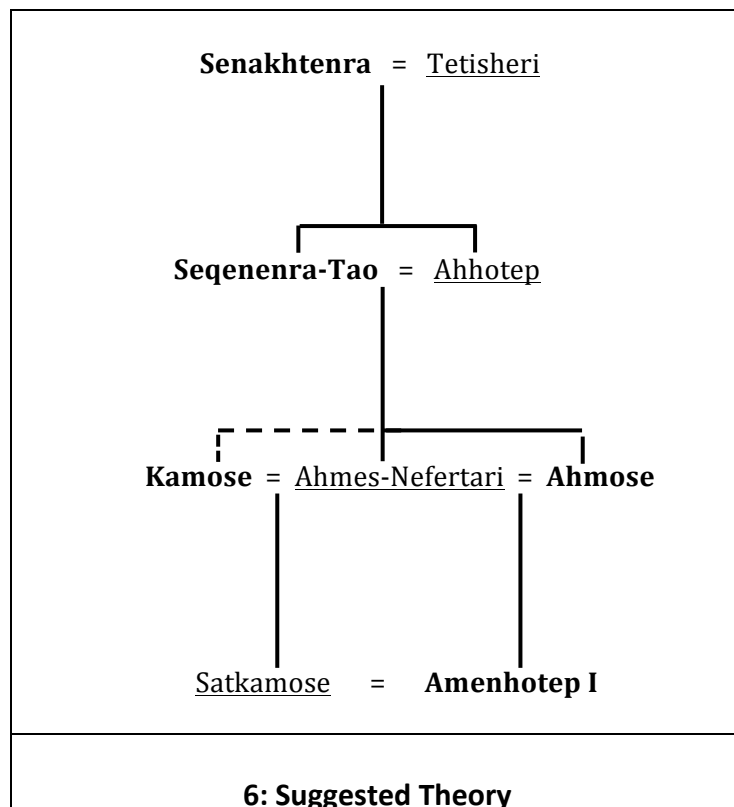
[109] Robins 1982: 72.

If all of these sources are put together, then King Senakhtenra and Queen-Consort Tetisheri can be understood as being the parents of King Seqenenra-Tao and Queen-Consort Ahhotep, who were siblings, and they in turn were the parents of the Kings Kamose and Ahmose and their queen-consort Ahmes-Nefertari. Satkamose, the daughter of Ahmes-Nefertari's first husband, married Amenhotep I, the son of Ahmes-Nefertari's second husband. This genealogy is reconstructed in Chart 6, showing the kings and their Great Royal Wives. Because all of the titles preserved on the Bahari coffin of Ahhotep (King's Daughter, King's Sister, Great Royal Wife, She Who is Joined to the White Crown and King's Mother) apply well to the Ahhotep reconstructed in Chart 6, it is most likely that the owner of the Bahari coffin was indeed the Ahhotep from Chart 6.

The Approximate Times of Death of the Queen-Consorts

In order to understand the identity of Ahhotep of the Naga coffin, her title of Great Royal Wife needs to be understood and linked to a king of the Ahmosid family. As kings only had one Great Royal Wife at one time, the approximate times of death of Ahhotep of the Naga coffin and the Queen-Consorts shown in Chart 6 are described. In the cases of Tetisheri, Ahhotep of the Bahari coffin and Ahhotep of the Naga coffin, the evidence only properly indicates a *terminus post quem*. However, as no later attestations, other than those listed below, are known to show Tetisheri and Ahhotep of the Bahari coffin as being alive, it is highly likely that these important figures did not long outlive these sources.

- Tetisheri lived into the reign of Ahmose, as shown by stela UC 14402, where she was depicted as living and participating in offerings to Montu with Ahmose;[110]
- Ahhotep lived into the reign of Amenhotep I, as shown by the stela of Kares (CG 34003), who recorded that he received a command from the living Ahhotep in the reign of that king;[111]
- Ahmes-Nefertari died in Year 5 of Tuthmosis I, as shown by the stela of Nefer;[112]
- Satkamose died early in the reign of Amenhotep I, as she was depicted with him on BM 297 and by Year 8 Amenhotep I had another Great Royal Wife, as shown by a stela from Qasr Ibrim.[113]
- The owner of the coffin from Naga, named Ahhotep and titled as Great Royal Wife, lived into the reign of Ahmose, as shown by objects found with her coffin that were inscribed with that king's name.

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[110] Petrie 1921: 15.
[111] Urk IV: 45.13-15.
[112] Bradbury 1985.
[113] Wente 1980a: 128.

The Case for One Ahhotep

With the reconstruction in Chart 6 now being the case and through understanding the approximate times of death of the queen-consorts of the Ahmosid family, there is no space in the genealogy for a second Ahhotep. The theory of Eaton-Krauss, that there was only a single Ahhotep, must be accepted and the owner of both coffins should be identified as the same individual.[114]

Ahhotep of the Naga coffin cannot be a second Great Royal Wife of Senakhtenra because both she and Tetisheri outlived him and kings only had one Great Royal Wife at one time. Ahhotep of the Bahari coffin also outlived her husband Seqenenra-Tao and, as Ahhotep of the Naga coffin lived into reign of Ahmose, Ahhotep of the Naga coffin cannot be identified as a second queen-consort of Seqenenra-Tao. Similarly, Ahhotep of the Naga coffin and Ahmes-Nefertari outlived Kamose. As Ahmes-Nefertari outlived Ahmose and is shown to be his queen from the beginning of his reign, it is highly unlikely that Ahhotep of the Naga coffin were Ahmose's queen-consort. Equally, there is no evidence that Amenhotep I had a queen-consort called Ahhotep and, in fact, it is highly likely that three queen-consorts of his can be surmised: Satkamose, Satamon and Ahmes-Meritamon.[115]

As the title of Great Royal Wife on the Naga coffin cannot be satisfactorily linked to any of the Ahmosid kings if she were another queen-consort of one of them, it can only be reasoned that Ahhotep of the Naga coffin was the same as Ahhotep of the Bahari coffin and the title of Great Royal Wife in both cases referred to King Seqenenra-Tao. As mentioned above, titles were not displayed consistently and the lack of the titles King's Mother and King's Sister on the Naga coffin, though they are present on the Bahari coffin, does not necessary mean that the two coffins represent different people.

The greatest objection to the theory of a single Ahhotep is pointed out by Ryholt, in that it 'ignores the crucial point that not a single object naming Seqenenre was found in the burial [at Naga] of this Ahhotep, whereas several objects naming Kamose and Ahmose were'.[116] But neither of the coffins (nor the whole of the Naga burial) were found in their original location, meaning that one cannot split their ownership on the basis of two coffins.[117] It seems highly likely that the Naga burial was not Ahhotep's tomb but a cache of plundered objects,[118] as all of the burial goods were of expensive materials. The Naga burial lacked certain objects that were normally included in the burials of queens, such as pottery, furniture items and cosmetic objects, substantiating the suggestion that this was a cache.[119] As it is impossible to know how large a proportion the contents of the Naga burial represent of the original burial, it is equally impossible to conclude that Ahhotep's burial originally contained no goods bearing the name of Seqenenra-Tao. If this burial is indeed a robbers' cache, for which the best objects would have been selected, it is perhaps not surprising that there are many objects with the name of Ahmose, some with Kamose and none with Seqenenra-Tao, as this would reflect Ahhotep's access to

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[114] 1990: 2003.

[115] Gitton 1975: 37 note 105 debunked the suggestion that Ahhotep of the Naga coffin was a queen-consort of Amenhotep I because of the lack of any evidence. Also, see previous section on Satkamose and Troy 1981: 84-6 for these three as the queen-consorts of Amenhotep I.

[116] 1997: 276.

[117] Eaton-Krauss 2003: 87.

[118] Eaton-Krauss 2003: 87.

[119] Sidpura 2015.

greater economic resources and ability to procure better quality goods. It is also important that although there are two coffins there is only one body: the Bahari coffin contained the body of Pinedjem I.[120]

It is most likely that Ahhotep had two coffins because they were made in different times of her life. Based on stylistic similarities to other contemporary coffins, such as their sizes, facial features and decorative elements, the coffin from Naga was most likely made in the reign of Seqenenra-Tao, possibly alongside his own highly similar coffin as a matched pair for husband and wife.[121] The Bahari coffin, however, should date to the reign of Amenhotep I, based on its stylistic similarities to the coffins of Ahmes-Nefertari and Ahmes-Meritamon.[122] It is possible that the second and larger coffin was commissioned for Ahhotep in order to include all of the titles that she was now entitled to, such as King's Mother, which were not included in the earlier coffin. It is also possible that it was standard practice for royal females in the early Eighteenth Dynasty to have two coffins as the in situ burial of Ahmes-Meritamon, queen-consort of Amenhotep I, contained two coffins for her.[123] The interpretation that the original burial of Ahhotep was plundered explains why these two coffins of the same person were subsequently found in different places. When Ahhotep's original tomb was plundered, it is possible that the thieves also carried away the lighter and gilded coffin to store and transport their plunder but left behind the more cumbersome coffin, which was later taken away by Egyptian officials and used in the reburial of Pinedjem I at Bahari.[124] The fact that the two large coffins of Ahmes-Meritamon were left behind after her burial had been plundered would substantiate this theory.

A further important body of evidence for a single Ahhotep are royal ancestor lists from private Theban tombs, such as from Khabekhnet (fig. 5; row 1, number 4). These consistently show only a single Ahhotep. Roth, who believed that Ahhotep of the Naga coffin was the queen-consort of Kamose, suggested that this Ahhotep was probably confused with her more famous mother-in-law and Kamose himself is not well attested.[125] However, Kamose is, in fact, fairly well attested[126] and features on several ancestor lists, including the Khabekhnet scene (row 2, number 4) and on an offering table from Marseille (#204).[127] It also seems unlikely that one Ahhotep was confused with another Ahhotep, when these ancestor lists feature historically lesser known people such as King's Daughter Ahmes-Tumerisi (row 1, number 9 in the tomb of Inherkhawy)[128] and King's Daughter Binpu (row 2, number 5 in the tomb of Khabekhnet).

Conclusion

The title of Great Royal Wife on the coffin of Ahhotep from Naga cannot be aligned with a known Ahmosid king if she is considered to be different from Ahhotep of the

[120] Eaton-Krauss 1990: 205.
[121] Eaton-Krauss 1990: 200-1.
[122] Roth 2000: 363-8.
[123] Winlock 1932: 6-8
[124] Eaton-Krauss 2003: 86-9.
[125] 1977-8: 36.
[126] See Ryholt 1997: 398-400.
[127] Capart 1908: plate 86.
[128] Denkmäler 5 III.2D; Bruyère 1933: 33-40; Cherpion and Corteggiani 2010: 49-54.

Bahari coffin. As Tetisheri, Ahhotep of the Bahari coffin and Ahmes-Nefertari outlived their husbands and Ahhotep of the Naga coffin lived at least into the reign of Ahmose, Ahhotep of the Naga coffin cannot be understood as another queen-consort of the first four kings of the Ahmosid family. The lack of any evidence, direct or indirect, makes it highly unlikely that Ahhotep of the Naga coffin was a wife of Amenhotep I, especially when it is taken into account that there is evidence for three of his queen-consorts.

All of the historical sources discussed above that refer to Ahhotep denote a single Ahhotep, who was the daughter of Tetisheri, queen-consort to Seqenenra-Tao and mother of Ahmose. In their more comprehensive source evaluations, Schmitz[129] and Troy[130] were unable to deduce any references to a second Ahhotep, meaning that it makes no historical sense to create a second Ahhotep. Thus, not only is it unlikely that a second Ahhotep existed, one cannot attribute any sources to her. The coffin from the Dra Abu el-Naga burial most likely belonged to the famous Ahhotep, the mother of Ahmose, who continues to be remembered through the ages.

Abbreviations

CG: Daressy, 1909; Lacau 1926; Vernier 1907 and 1925.
Denkmäler: Lepsius 1849-56.
Urk IV: Sethe 1906.

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[129] 1978.
[130] 1979.

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The authority behind statues and the authority of statues: sistrophores and intermediaries[1]

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Abstract

Statues which profess to bear a mediating function between human and god are known primarily from the New Kingdom, and in particular the reign of Amenhotep III and during the Ramesside period, although a small number of examples is also known from the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties (with another perhaps dating to the Twenty-seventh). The majority of these take the form of what is commonly dubbed a 'sistrophore', in which a prominent, sistrum-type emblem is the primary element after the individual himself, a form which seems to have been an innovation of Hatshepsut's favoured official Senenmut. While to some extent the statuary of the elite follows and reflects royal artistic style and, it can be argued, the ideology of the pharaoh and traditional roles of royal and elite, the very purpose of the intermediary statues seems to indicate an *assumption* of royal authority, and this purpose is laid out very clearly in their inscriptions. This paper will explore the intermediary statue forms, provenances and the phraseology used in their inscriptions and will ask where these individuals derived this degree of authority and why, at these particular times, they were able to exhibit what had hitherto been displayed as a solely royal prerogative. The ideology of contemporary pharaohs will also be considered in brief, as well as the features of particular cults with which these statues were associated. It will be proposed, consequently, that changes in royal ideology regarding the divinity of the pharaoh created favourable circumstances for parallel changes to occur in the spheres of elite display and authority.

Introduction

This paper concerns itself with the presence of two categories of statue, those of 'intermediaries' and 'sistrophores', within ancient Egypt.[2] The former is defined here as a non-royal monument in a non-mortuary context, which places itself in a position between the human and divine worlds, offering to transmit prayers and messages up to the gods. The majority of these are what may be termed 'sistrophores', a basic definition of which would be a statue, typically non-royal, which has a sistrum, or at least a sistrum-element, usually appearing on the front of the statue. This paper will look at the features of these types of statuary, focusing more closely on the

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[1] This article is a modified version of a paper given at the 2nd Annual Birmingham Egyptology Symposium on 20th February 2015 at the University of Birmingham. Thanks are given to the editors of the Birmingham Egyptology Journal for their suggestions. The discussion within this article forms part of my ongoing doctoral thesis, with the working title 'Mediation in Egyptian religion, with particular reference to intermediary statues and sistrophores'.

[2] Although this paper will demonstrate a close relationship between the two categories, not all intermediary statues are sistrophores and not all sistrophores are intermediaries, so neither can be regarded as a sub-category of the other.

interpretation of the sistrophore specifically, in order to posit ideas as to where both statue and statue-owner gained their authority and what power and agency they had in the context of Egyptian religion, and to provide an idea of the research routes which could be followed in the future.

Questioning statuary and defining the 'intermediary'

When considering a statue, various basic questions could be asked, including queries as to who set it up, and if this individual is the same as the one represented, where it was erected, and if this can be definitely determined from its findspot, and when it was it erected. Most relevant to this paper, however, is the question as to its purpose. A fundamental function of statuary in Egypt was of course commemoration, ensuring the eternal survival of the individual after death and the preservation of their name and the events of their life. As a corollary to this, a statue provides an object towards which family members, friends, and perhaps others, can direct their devotion and present offerings. Originally set up within tombs, or at their entrances, these statues commanded a particular authority over passers-by, requesting that they receive offerings and prayers. In some ways, therefore, the cult of the dead and its associated sculpture had the authority to compel the living into practising cult activity in the funerary sphere. Only in the Middle Kingdom did non-royal statuary start appearing and remaining (after the death of the owner)[3] in temples,[4] and this new context allows us to ask further questions about these monuments – how the purpose compared to funerary sculpture, how, if at all, the audience changed, and from where the statue-owner derived the authority to set up their monument within such a sacred space. These last questions are particularly pertinent when discussing intermediary statues. Before they can be addressed, however, a more detailed delineation of the features of intermediary statues and their texts must be provided to assist with the identification of the monument type itself.

The basic parameters defining a statue which can be identified as an intermediary between human and divine have been given above. Whilst it could reasonably be argued that *all* statues have a connection between physical and metaphysical worlds, particularly if they represent a deceased individual, what distinguishes intermediary monuments from the rest is that they utilise certain words and phrases which make their purpose fairly clear. There are three categories into which I have divided these texts, although there is some overlap:

(1) Establishment of a monument-divine relationship: this includes texts demonstrating the closeness of the individual represented by the statue (herein called the statue-owner for convenience, albeit with the understanding that statues could in reality be dedicated by another on their behalf) to the named deity, thereby setting out the basis for the statue-owner's divinely-mandated

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[3] There is no way we can be certain if and how frequently statues were moved. For example, it is plausible that an individual would set up a statue in a temple during life which would then be moved to their tomb after death. However, the number of statues discovered in temples implies, at least, that from the Middle Kingdom statues were erected in temples and were not moved from those complexes after the death of their owner.

[4] Vandier 1958: 226; Freed 2010: 893; Scott 1989: I, 426 (scribal statues).

authority. For instance, *ink wḥm.w n nṯr pn*, 'I am the reporter of this god'[5] or *ink ḏd(.w) r-ḫ3.t(=s)*, 'I am one who speaks before (her)';[6]

(2) Establishment of a monument-human relationship: this consists largely of instructions for passers-by for how they are to engage with the statue and thus how to make use of their intermediary function. This is usually a clear indication of the power wielded by the statue over visitors, for not only does the statue-owner give orders as to how observers are meant to act,[7] but intermediary texts are also often accompanied by requests for offerings. In this context, these requests are akin to a form of payment required for the services offered, the implication being that the statue-owner could potentially withhold his mediating services unless his orders are followed and rituals are performed for his own benefit, thus implying a level of superiority and control. Examples of the instructions include: *nty nb spr.wt m di=f ḏd sn r msḏr=i*, 'Anyone who (has) requests, he says them to my ear',[8] and *i n=i*, 'Call to me'.[9] A similar idea is expressed by *[iiy.w] nb r wdn n Nbw r mḥ r=i m di.wt*, 'All [those who come] to offer to the Golden One, and to fill my mouth with provisions' (followed by a phrase of the type in the third text category), whereby it is anticipated or even assumed without doubt that visitors will be coming to give offerings to the statue, in some ways placing the onus on the visitor to fulfil that expectation before they are able to contact the gods;[10]

(3) Willingness to mediate: in these parts of the texts the statue-owner explains that he will contact the deity on the visitor's behalf and in response to the actions of the visitor (the undertaking of offering rituals for the statue-owner as mentioned in the description of the previous text category). For instance, *wḥm=i s.t n nb.t t3.wy sw ḥr sḏm nḥ.t*, 'I will repeat it to the lady of the Two Lands (because) she is hearing (my) prayer'[11] and *s:ꜥr=i spr.wt=tn*, 'I will cause your petitions to ascend'.[12]

To my knowledge, there are currently thirty statues in varying states of preservation which contain such texts, spanning a time period from Amenhotep III in the Eighteenth Dynasty until, at the latest, the Twenty-seventh Dynasty.[13] It is acknowledged that this is a small number, but they are nonetheless a corpus of interest

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[5] Amenhotep son of Hapu (Cairo JE 44862).

[6] Kha (Cairo CG 930).

[7] Although a visitor would be the active agent following instruction, and thus to some extent empowered, the fact that the statue-owner gives these instructions maintains an element of authority over observers.

[8] Ameneminet (Luxor J 141).

[9] Men (Cairo CG 901).

[10] Iuy (Strasbourg Inv. 1599).

[11] Raia (Cairo CG 627).

[12] Men (Cairo CG 901).

[13] Two of Amenhotep son of Hapu (Cairo JE 44861 and 44862), Men (Cairo CG 901), Neferrenpet (Louvre E 14241), Penshenabu (location unknown), Sedjemwau (Avignon A 35), Ameneminet (Luxor J 141), Minmose (Brighton Af. 202), Minmose (Cairo CG 1203), Piyay (private collection, Lyons), Iuy (Strasbourg Inv. 1599), Inhernakht (Linköping Inv. 189), Bahy (private collection, location currently unknown to me), Tjauy (BM EA 1459), Unknown (BM EA 41645), Ramose (private collection, Brussels), Amenemhat (Strasbourg Inv. 1587), Khaemipet (Cairo 11/4/64/1), Kha (Cairo CG 930), Neferhotep (Cairo JE 89783), Raia (Cairo CG 627), Amenemipet (DeM magazine 25), four Unknowns (three certainly and one possibly DeM magazine 25), Horudja (Cambridge E 31.1973), Montuemhat (Cairo CG 647), Amenmose (private collection, Australia), Unknown (Munich ÄS 62.4871, potentially Twenty-seventh Dynasty, see Clère 1995: 158 n. 81).

with regard to ancient elite attitudes towards religious practice and elite self-presentation. It should be noted that not every text category as described above is fulfilled for each statue, particularly where damage has rendered the inscription fragmentary, and six of them are less explicit than the rest in that they do not refer obviously to the hearing and reporting of prayers. However, all thirty share a sufficient number of similarities in phrasing and titles, and often in physical form as well, to make it likely that they all had the same purpose.

The wording used on these statues, particularly those pertaining to 'listening', 'reporting', 'petitions' and 'ascending' can be found, albeit in limited numbers, on other monuments prior to the emergence of intermediary statues, as well as concurrently. One example is from the Theban Tomb (TT) 100 of Rekhmire, a vizier under Thutmose III and Amenhotep II, where he is represented (east end of the north wall in the longitudinal hall, painted on lime whitewash) receiving visitors *r sḏm mdw rḫy.t*, 'in order to hear the words of the *rekhyt*-people' and he is said to [*ḥnn*] *spr.(w)t šmꜥ.w mḥ.w*, '[consider] petitions of Upper and Lower Egypt' (Fig. 1).[14] This seems not to be in a cultic context (though some of the individuals coming to present their petitions do raise their arms in the characteristic pose of adoration), but describes Rekhmire's role as a mediator in legal disputes and for complaints as a vizier and representative of the pharaoh. Thus, he performs a role which creates a mediatory link between the people and the pharaoh (or at least, pharaonic power), the latter being the ultimate arbiter of justice.
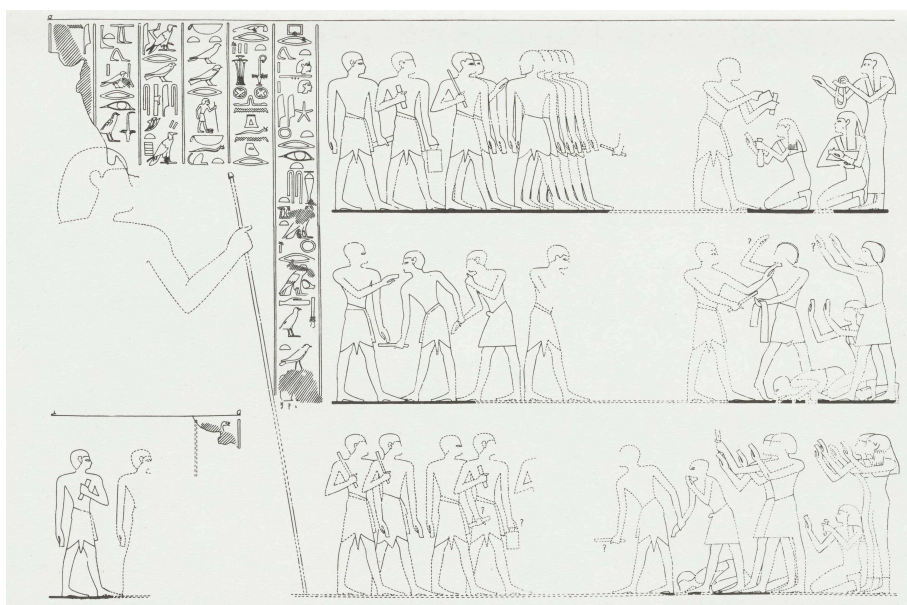

Fig. 1. Petitioners approaching Rekhmire, TT 100. The caption explains his role in listening to their appeals. (Davies 1943: pl. LXII. Image reproduced with permission: line drawing © The Metropolitan Museum of Art).

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[14] *Urk* IV, 1139: 13-15.

A stela of Menkheperreseneb, called Menkheper, of TT 79, has him appealing directly to the gods: *s:ꜥr mdw=i n nb nḥḥ m spr.t n.t b3[k n nb=f]*, 'may my speech ascend to the lord of eternity as a petition of a serva[nt for his lord]'.[15] Whilst such inscriptions do not necessarily reflect a relationship between human and god (in the case of Rekhmire),[16] or between god and human via a mediator (in the case of Menkheperreseneb), it seems that ideas were being expressed in other contexts which may have developed into the concepts so eloquently attested by intermediary statues. It is also highly likely that particular responsibilities, such as spokesman for the king and good reputation during life, may have made certain individuals more suitable to be commemorated in stone as a mediator in the religious sphere.[17] Rekhmire, as shown above, acted as a mediator during life in an administrative or court context, and such a position (or a similar duty within a religious locality) may be from where a statue-owner derived their authority to transmit petitions to the gods by means of a permanent, monumental addition to a temple. The assumption of royal prerogative by non-royal elites – be it through delegation by the pharaoh or appropriation by the elite – which results in these officials taking on mediatory functions, will be discussed to a much greater extent below ('*Statues as a reflection of royal ideology?*').

The intermediary statues discussed here are all likely associated with temples, including those of Amun at Karnak, Isis at Coptos and Hathor at Djeseret on the Theban West Bank. In many cases, it must be said, references to general locations or specific goddesses in the inscriptions are the only clue as to which temple, and even where archaeological provenance is recorded there is uncertainty as to the specific area where the statue was originally erected. One area which may have complemented the function of intermediaries is temple doorways, their being liminal spaces. I will return briefly to the significance of doorways below; what is significant more generally at this point in the paper is that whilst temples were not exactly public places, they were nonetheless relevant to a wider group of people than, say, a tomb, which was likely not only to be smaller and less conspicuous than a temple, but also in practice was probably visited most regularly only by those with a connection to the deceased – the family – even if tomb biographies and appeals to passers-by appear to anticipate a wider audience. Thus, with the establishment of statues in a different context (temples) the expected audience of statuary, too, was different, and this presumably affected the motivations of statue-owners in terms of how they wanted to portray themselves; perhaps the potential for this different audience was in fact one of the inducements to set up statues in a temple. Additionally, the erection of a statue in a sacred complex will have required substantial wealth and power; a tomb was a monument made for an individual over which they presumably had considerable control in terms of the decoration and statuary, whereas a temple was a space set up for the gods and the king, with less of a personal connection to non-royal individuals, which implies that an individual would need to be particularly exemplary (with wealth almost certainly accompanying this status) in order to enjoy the privilege of erecting a statue there.

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[15] *Urk* IV, 1192: 14-15.

[16] It could be also argued that the pharaoh and pharaonic power for which Rekhmire acted as representative were considered divine and thus the relationship between people and pharaoh's agent cannot be disassociated from religion entirely. However, the inscription in fact makes no mention of deities nor of the pharaoh, so even with the implied link to the pharaoh that Rekhmire provides, the focus appears to be secular.

[17] As I have argued for Amenhotep son of Hapu in my unpublished MRes thesis (Simmance 2014a, especially Chapter Three on his titles and epithets).

The temple setting is also of note in that it lends further import to the intermediary status set out in the inscriptions: it is declared in the eyes of the gods, thus implying a level of royal and divine patronage for the statue and its mediatory role, even if this is not mentioned within the inscriptions themselves.[18] The function assumed by the statue-owner is therefore endorsed in some ways by higher authorities, lending the statue-owner credibility.

Statue form: cross-legged (scribal) and block-formed, and the use of these forms within the category of sistrophores

Alongside inscriptions and context, another major consideration in statue creation is statue form. A variety of forms is represented by the statues I have identified as intermediary – cross-legged, block form (sitting on the floor or a low cushion with knees drawn to the chest), kneeling, and sitting on a seat. In several cases the right hand is brought to the mouth.[19] The majority have some additional feature, such as papyrus scroll in the case of the cross-legged types or a sistrum-like element (this latter type will be discussed in more detail below). It can be assumed that when erecting a statue, the owner felt that its form was suitable for its context and for its purpose. For instance, it may commemorate a position held by that person during their lifetime, but at the same time show deference to royal and divine authority within the temple in which the statue was placed. Amenhotep son of Hapu's two statues are both cross-legged and scribal (holding a scroll) and display several features of note: a bowed head that is not only suggestive of reading the scroll but could also be interpreted as deferential (Fig. 2);[20] a facial expression which indicates concentration and contemplation, wisdom and perhaps existence in a metaphysical sphere; a papyrus roll which commemorates his scribal career (and thus attributes to him literacy and intellectualism) whilst also contributing to the intermediary function as an indication of his readiness to receive and record petitions from supplicants; and a cross-legged pose which suggests patience, anticipation of instruction and potentially a role as a guard by a doorway (see below). Whilst these characteristics therefore reflect his position in the administration as royal scribe, they also represent him as a wise man with implied connections to the king and to the divine (corroborated in the inscriptions), and are therefore particularly suitable for someone assuming the role of intermediary between those powers and the wider populace. Within the intermediary group there are, however, only three cross-legged statues in total, that is the two of Amenhotep and another of Neferrenpet, the latter not holding a papyrus roll, but rather seeming to support something on his left knee, potentially a sistrum given his claim (in the inscription across the knees, to the right of the object) to be the *iḥy n ḥnw.t=i*, 'sistrum-player of my mistress'.[21]

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[18] On the formula 'given as a gift of the king', which for the intermediary group appears only on the two statues of Amenhotep son of Hapu, see Delvaux 2008.

[19] On this gesture, see Bernhauer 2002.

[20] The gaze, if the eyes are to be interpreted as following the same line as the head and not angled downwards, was not fixed on the papyrus. A head bowed over a papyrus is usually seen from the New Kingdom (one Old Kingdom piece, Cairo CG 83, displays this attitude), including examples where Thoth as a baboon sits on a pedestal looking down on the scribe at work (for example, Louvre E 1154); see Simmance 2014a: 62-63.

[21] *Urk* IV: 1856. A parallel may be found in the statue of Huy (Cairo JE 71897), also from the reign of Amenhotep III and also cross-legged with a sistrum element supported on the left thigh. The statue of

Fig. 2. Amenhotep son of Hapu (CG 44861), displaying characteristics of a slightly bowed head (note that the gaze is not directed at the papyrus), corpulent physique, papyrus scroll and crossed legs. (Image reproduced with permission from DallasArtsRevue.com, photo by J. R. Compton.).

Block statues are generally considered to have been the most popular statue type amongst both lower and higher elites in Egypt, in part because of the large number that survive to the present day and in part because they appear to have enjoyed the longest period of use, from the Middle Kingdom until the Graeco-Roman period, in both tombs and temples.[22] Indeed, out of the thirty intermediary statues I have collated, nineteen are block-formed (this total includes some which are extremely damaged so the block form is likely but not entirely certain). Their body position and clothing not only reflect practical concerns of the sculptor in making a statue sturdy with no weak points, but are also appropriate for a monument which was placed by a tomb or temple door in order to engage passers-by. The head is necessarily raised over the surface formed by the knees, interacting with observers and awaiting offerings (though only rarely is the head angled upwards which would further facilitate communication).[23] The seated position with legs drawn up to the chest is, like the cross-legged pose, an indicator of patience and anticipation of instruction. It has been suggested that their form, with its solid body and base, is

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Iuny (Cairo CG 728), dated to the reigns of Thutmose IV or Amenhotep III, also holds the sistrum element on the left thigh, but in this case the individual is depicted kneeling.

[22] See Schulz 1992 for catalogue and discussion of this type.

[23] Bothmer 1970.

particularly useful as door-stop.[24] The pose is attested in this context from a relief in the Memphite tomb of Horemheb showing a man before a doorway resting his head on his arms which are crossed over his knees (Fig. 3).[25]

Fig. 3. Servants within houses as shown in the Memphite tomb of Horemheb. Note the individual crouching in the typical 'block' pose before a doorway. (Martin 1991: 85. Image reproduced with permission from G. T. Martin).

Seven of the intermediary corpus call themselves 'door-keepers' (all but one being block-formed)[26] and I have argued previously that it is very likely that the two statues of Amenhotep son of Hapu, found at the north face of the tenth pylon of Karnak temple, were also related to a doorway, even if this pylon, or specifically the northern face, was not originally their place of discovery.[27] Doorways are a fitting location for an intermediary statue, because it reflects the action of receiving messages from human visitors and taking them to the god inside the sacred space, whilst also implying that the statue-owner oversees passage through the doorway and guards the sacred space from unauthorised entry.[28] So, aside from their general popularity, if block statues are considered the best sculptural form to act as a door-stop, this might explain further why the majority of the intermediary statues take this shape.[29] Nevertheless, it must be admitted that even where the block statue is relatively small, it would still be rather inconvenient, and perhaps a little undignified from the perspective of the statue, to move the statue frequently to allow for the door to be opened or closed, so the door-stop theory remains unconvincing. Regardless, a connection between block statues and doorways still stands, in that they could have

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[24] Rondot 2011: 145; Schulz 2011: 6.

[25] Martin 1991: 85.

[26] Sedjemwau (Calvet Museum A 35; rather *iry*, 'guardian', which nonetheless has the same implication as *iry-ʿ3*, 'door-keeper'), Inhernakht (Linköping Museum No.189), Unknown (British Museum EA 41645), Minmose (Brighton Art Gallery and Museum Af. 202), and Piyay and Ramose (in private collections, Lyons and Brussels respectively) are all block-formed; Horudja (Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge E 31.1973) differs in that the individual kneels.

[27] Simmance 2014b: 4-8.

[28] Simmance 2014b: 8-10.

[29] The presence of a door-stop statue would not necessarily authorise a visitor to pass through the open doorway, however: Pantalacci and Traunecker (1993: 380, 382) have suggested the presence of a system for the temple of El-Qal'a at Coptos which allowed visitors to see through the open doorway, but would be barred from entering by a lower, secondary door.

emulated the pose assumed by human door-keepers in the vicinity of the doorway (but not necessarily within the doorway or holding the door-leaves). Furthermore, the concentration of footfall to be expected around the area of a doorway, it being a route through the boundary in which the latter is found, would perhaps lend the block type further suitability, as its durable form would be more resistant to damage from passers-by.[30]

It has already been stated that nineteen of this group are block-formed. Of those, eleven are sistrophores, with at least two more which are too damaged to be certain. In addition, there are approximately seven non-block forms which have a sistrum-element. These include kneeling and seated poses. This gives around twenty of the total number of intermediary statues being sistrophores,[31] a clear majority, a point which is presumably of significance for the intermediary type. The sistrum-element normally appears in relief on the front of the statue (this being the usual means of representing the sistrum-element on a block statue); in other cases, it appears as a separate object being supported by the individual portrayed.[32] There has been debate over the true distinction between a statue with a large naos-sistrum feature and those with a smaller object, either a naos- or arched-sistrum, as well as the manner in which this feature is executed (relief or three-dimensionally sculpted), and thus what these differences might indicate regarding the functions of both the statue and its owner; these distinctions complicate the definition of 'sistrophore' given at the start of this paper somewhat. However, for the sake of space these arguments will not be covered here; the significant factor in the present discussion is the presence of a sistrum in some way and therefore I will consider the relevant statues as a cohesive group with shared symbolism.[33]

Sistrophores are first attested in the name of Senenmut, Hatshepsut's favoured official known for his artistic innovations, and there are over 100 attested from then to the Late Period.[34] Some consider them to be a type of theophore (a statue which has an image of a god as its main feature);[35] in this case the deity, shown as a sistrum, is Hathor, or goddesses with related characteristics and mythology such as Bat, Isis, Mut and Sekhmet. However, I do not think sistrophores can be classified as a theophore quite so simply, as the sistrum bears symbolism more than just as a representation of a deity. The sistrum was used as a cultic rattle with which the officiant could invoke a deity, usually a goddess, calling her forth so she could benefit from rituals and offerings.[36] The significance of sistra for worship of Hathoric deities may be reflected in the many votive sistra deposited in chapels, amongst a vast number of votive

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[30] Thanks to Steven Gregory for suggesting this to me.

[31] It is also worth noting that of the corpus only six were *definitely* sculpted without any form of sistrum feature.

[32] Inhernakht (Linköping No. 189) is an example of a block statue showing the sistrum element in raised relief. Khaemipet (Cairo 11/4/64/1) and Amenemminet (Luxor J 141) are block statues where the sistrum element is three-dimensionally sculpted. For kneeling sistrophores, the statue-owner usually supports a large three-dimensionally sculpted sistrum element before them (for example, see Senenmut (Cairo CG 579)). For the few extant seated statues the sistrum feature either appears on a small scale in the lap against the chest or head of the individual (Nakhtweser (Cairo JE 36719) – before the chest – and Unknown (female; Budapest Inv. 51.2048) – by the head; this latter is damaged and may have been standing not seated), or it is supported before the legs (Neferhotep (Cairo JE 89783) – by the left knee – and Tiay (Cairo CG 1286) – between the legs).

[33] The article of Konrad (2011-13) deals with this issue, and it also forms part of my current doctoral research.

[34] Clère 1970.

[35] Perdu 2009: 466; Konrad 2011: 115.

[36] Overview of the sistrum: Ziegler 1984.

offerings in Hathor temples and chapels known from the work of Geraldine Pinch.[37] Thus, whilst the use of a sistrum-element on a statue makes reference to a god or goddess, this appears to be a secondary connotation since it is not the actual deity represented but an item connected to that deity. It is conceded here that there is evidence that the sistrum could be the object of worship in its own right,[38] and furthermore, a sistrophorous statue of Minmose from my intermediary corpus states *ḥnw.t=i smn m ḳniw=i*, 'my mistress is firmly in my embrace', clearly denoting the sistrum which is supported by the individual and therefore personifying it as a representation of the goddess as opposed to it just being an object.[39] Notwithstanding, I believe it significant to the reception of this statue and the understanding of its purpose that a sistrum is shown as opposed to an anthropomorphic deity as would appear on a true theophore. This feature denotes the symbolism of the sistrum as a musical instrument as well as the ritual activity of which it was a part, including the giving of votive offerings. There is also an implication that the statue-owner is an active participant in this ritual activity, as it is he who supports the sistrum-element.[40]

With regard to the symbolism of the sistrum, there are several features which are of interest. The sistrum is often shown as dual-faced, perhaps representing the dual nature of the deity depicted, since goddesses present both volatile and motherly, nurturing characteristics (on this dual nature, see the myth of the destruction of mankind by the Eye of Ra, Hathor).[41] This links to the idea that the gentle rattling of the sistrum would work to calm her if she were angry, therefore, or at least keep these two elements of her nature balanced.[42] Indeed, this volatility is mentioned in at least two examples of the intermediary, sistrophorous statues.[43] This aspect of the sistrum can be seen at work mollifying the potential anger not of a goddess but of the king in *The Story of Sinuhe*, whereby the queen and princesses shake sistra and menit-necklaces, appealing to the pharaoh for forgiveness on Sinuhe's behalf.[44] Even here, however, connections to a Hathoric goddess are made, with references to the 'insignia of the lady of heaven' (*ḫkr.w n nb.t p.t*), the 'Golden One' (*Nbw*), the 'lady of the stars' (*nb.t sb3.w*) and the 'lady of all' (*nb.t r-dr*), seemingly assimilating the king with the goddess, or perhaps invoking her that she might also be appeased or inspire a favourable decision by the king.

Another symbolically-charged feature is the presence of serpents. Sistra often bear at least one snake, normally in the form of a rearing cobra and often either within the opening of the naos headdress which appears atop the head of the goddess or, in

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[37] Pinch 1993: 138 (who uses a narrow definition of 'sistrum' to suggest that the number of actual sistra found is actually rather low).

[38] For instance, see the stelae Cairo JE 59863, Turin Cat. 1656 and BM EA 323 in which sistrum-elements are the object of adoration.

[39] Cairo CG 1203.

[40] For a similar idea related to naophores, see Drioton 1944: 91, 93; Bonnet 1961: 95 (who applied this to both naophores and sistrophores); Krauspe 1976: 49; and Bryan 2010: 938.

[41] For translation and bibliography: Lichtheim 2006b: 197-199.

[42] Pinch 1982: 140; Roberts 1995: 57 (quoting a Graeco-Roman inscription from Dendera – Chassinat and Daumas 1972: 91); Simmance 2012.

[43] Unknown (DeM Magazine 25(? – see Clère 1995: 131): *ink s:grḥ [ib] n Ḥw.t-ḥr m tri=t [qnd]*, 'I calm [the heart] of Hathor in her moment [of anger]' (Clère 1995: 135); Horudja (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge E 31.1973): *bn qnd=s bn ḥdn=s bn kḥ=s*, 'she will not be angry, she will not be indignant, she will not be irritated(?)' (Clère 1995: 144-145). Unknown (BM EA 41645) has a similar phrase referring to Hathor's anger (ond), but it is not fully certain that this is a sistrophore due to damage.

[44] Translation: Lichtheim 2006a: 232 (bibliography page 223). Discussion: Brunner 1955: 5-11.

the case of arched-sistra, as the rattling cross-bars.[45] The uraeus-snake not only acts as the universal determinative for a goddess,[46] but also has more specific connections to deities with solar associations such as Sekhmet and Wadjet. Later examples of sistra have connections to cats and to ducks also.[47] Interpretation of the sistrum has also gone beyond its specific characteristics: Plutarch and Diodorus Siculus attribute to the sistrum cosmic symbolism. For instance the former notes that it bears parallels to the shape of the moon, presumably referring to its arched-form, not its naos type which is admittedly more prevalent on sistrophores. He therefore states that it bears some of the moon's earth-governing aspects.[48]

The sistrum therefore bears a wide variety of functions and aspects (although not all would necessarily have applied throughout the course of their history) to which sistrophorous statues may have alluded. One slight issue is that sistrophores, both intermediary and non-intermediary, do not all strictly bear a sistrum. In a significant minority of cases the emblem is reduced to the supporting column and the Hathoric face, which in those cases is normally crowned by a *modius* headdress, thereby appearing without a naos-type headdress.[49] In other cases the naos of the sistrum atop the head of the goddess is reduced in height so it appears squashed.[50] All types are attested throughout the time period in which sistrophores are found and all are found in my intermediary corpus, so there appears not to be a chronological factor or functional reasons behind these differences. Whatever the reason, it seems that the naos part was considered of lesser importance for the purpose of recognising the emblem. The face, seen in other contexts such as column capitals,[51] is the most distinctive part of the emblem. Because it is shown frontally, a passer-by is easily engaged. In fact, I would go further to suggest that that the frontally-portrayed face on a statue sets up a basic communicative relationship between an observer and the goddess, since they are connecting eye to eye. As such, it would be especially apposite for a statue whose purpose is that of intermediary; I argue that, in effect, the form of sistrophores implies that the only reason a supplicant is able make (eye-)contact with the goddess of the emblem is because the statue-owner, who is of course also shown frontally, is presenting that emblem to them. If it were not for the authority of that individual in being able to have direct contact with the deity's symbol and show this in statuary, the goddess would be less accessible to others. This iconographic idea is reinforced by the inscriptions found on intermediary statues – the statue-owner provides routes through which an observer can connect with the goddess. The statue-owner has physical contact with an object representing the goddess and states his willingness to contact her on a supplicant's behalf (here perhaps the sistrum-element also has another purpose other than symbolising the

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[45] During the Amarna period, these snake-shaped cross-bars are normally the *only* decorative feature seen on sistra, a well-known example being the sistra of Tutankhamun (CG 69317a-b).

[46] Gardiner Sign List I 12 and I 13 (Gardiner 1957: 476).

[47] For example, British Museum stela EA 369 (showing a Hathoric feature in the manner of a sistrum with a cat sitting either side of the handle) and sistra from the Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna, KS 3110-11 (with cats reclining on top of the arch – a feature introduced in the Ptolemaic period – and cross-bars ending in duck-heads). The cat has obvious associations with goddesses, particularly Bastet. On the duck as an erotic symbol which appears in connection with musical instruments, see Manniche 1991: 108, 112.

[48] *De Iside et Osiride* 63.

[49] For example, Paser (BM EA 510 – non-intermediary) and Khaemipet (Cairo 11/4/64/1 – intermediary). See Fig. 4, middle.

[50] Iuny (Cairo CG 728 – non-intermediary) and Inhernakht (Linköping No. 189 – intermediary). See Fig. 4, left.

[51] Bernhauer 2005. On 'Hathor masks' see Pinch 1993: 135-159.

deity, being a representation of the ritual means by which he would establish the connection with the divine – the shaking of a sistrum), but the statue itself also offers the opportunity to view this object, and perhaps touch it, providing another way in which an observer can forge a link with the goddess. It is also possible to interpret the uraeus which often appears emerging from the opening of the naos as another indication that the sistrum-element facilitates communication with the goddess represented: I mentioned earlier that the uraeus has associations with several deities, and its presence within the naos opening could allude to a god's appearance before the statue-owner when the sistrum is shaken.

Consequently, an observer of the statue has indirect contact with the deity through the sistrum-bearer (the statue-owner) acting as mediator in a metaphysical realm, represented by the ritual symbolism of the sistrum, the face of the goddess and the uraeus in the naos opening, but also to some extent direct contact with the goddess in that her face and uraeus snake is physically before them on the statue. Thus intermediary inscriptions on sistrophores lend support to the symbolism of the sistrum-element itself, and *vice versa*, whilst the statue itself, as a physical, tangible piece, offers other, albeit connected, means of communication and connection with the deity being invoked, including actually touching the object representing them.

The Hathoric associations of sistrophores are well-established, as indicated in the preceding paragraphs. Since this statue type forms the largest group of my intermediary corpus, it is unsurprising that the majority of the corpus mention Hathor in the context of communication within their inscriptions, but it is noteworthy that several *non*-sistrophorous intermediaries also name this goddess, so it seems that the Hathoric link extends beyond the appearance of a sistrum-element on a statue and is also relevant to an intermediary type more generally.[52] Other deities mentioned in the context of communication are Isis, Mut, Mehyt, Werethekau (although this may be intended as an epithet for another goddess), Onuris and Amun. The presence of intermediaries within any of these cults points to the existence of popular worship, perhaps to the greatest extent within the cult of Hathor, which therefore required that there was provision to contact the deity even where an individual was without the authority to approach him or her directly. It is also an indication of the perceived attributes of these deities, in that they were clearly believed (otherwise intermediary statues would have no credibility) to be prepared to enact their ability to hear and respond to the prayers of their supplicants. It is not clear whether the attribute of being a listening deity led to the development of a popular cult around them, or whether instead a burgeoning popular cult added this feature to their character because it allowed closer contact. Further research concerning the emergence of epithets referring to listening abilities and comparing this to evidence attesting to

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[52] Twelve (thirteen if a restoration based on the statue-owner's titles is included) of the thirty statues mention Hathor, and no other deity is represented as frequently. A further two refer only to the 'Golden One', a Hathoric epithet, without further qualification but were discovered in Deir el-Bahari (Unknown (British Museum EA 41645)) and Deir el-Medina (Unknown (DeM Magazine 25; Bruyère 1952: 53, 96-97, 132 no. 219)) so the assumption is made here that these relate to the cult of Hathor, bringing the total to fourteen or fifteen. However, it should be borne in mind that 'Golden One' can be applied to deities other than Hathor – Neferhotep (Cairo JE 89783) links the epithet to Isis – and the combination of 'Golden One' and a findspot in Western Thebes does not always relate to Hathor: the statue of an unknown individual found at Deir el-Medina (Magazine 25; Bruyère 1952: 33, 55, 59 no. 20 (*sic*) – see Clère 1995: 131 n. 55) includes a *ḥtp-di-nsw* formula which can be restored as relating primarily '[to Mut…lady of Ish]eru'. Furthermore, the bust of Montuemhat (Cairo CG 647) includes the epithet, but was found in the Mut temple at Karnak, so perhaps the now-destroyed sections of the inscription referred to Mut.

popular religious practices could be undertaken, but given the likelihood that popular worship and direct contact with deities existed prior to *evidence* for those activities,[53] theories relating to cults of deities with listening characteristics may have to remain in the realms of speculation. It is, indeed, of little import for the purposes of this paper: regardless of how the popular cults of deities developed, the intermediary statues were a response to such cults and the listening aspects of their deities, the elite perhaps taking advantage of a feature of cult worship in order to further their own aims for self-commemoration and the consolidation of their authority by setting up monuments in stone. Hathoric cults appear to have been the most attractive for this purpose, but one could have similar interpretations at least for the cult of Amun in Karnak, to whom the two scribal statues of Amenhotep son of Hapu refer – Amun is presented as a listening deity on those monuments, and also in inscriptions within the temple complex, such as those in the Eastern Temple known as 'Amun-Ra-Ramesses who-hears-prayers',[54] so it is clear that there was some part of his cult which emphasised this attribute, into which Amenhotep son of Hapu decided to invest.

Statues as a reflection of royal ideology?

Responses in art and elite self-presentation to political and religious changes are of particular interest to me in the context of statuary and this paper will now turn towards that end: it may be possible to see such changes reflected in intermediary statues, and in particular sistrophores. Not a great deal has been written solely about sistrophores, nor has a full corpus been published as yet. However, some remarks have been made by Kirsten Konrad on their purpose as it relates to the ideology of the pharaoh.[55] For instance, she suggests that in the case of Senenmut Hatshepsut's ideology percolates through the iconography of his sistrophores, setting his ruler up in the inscriptions as the counterpart of the goddess symbolised by the emblem, and then demonstrating his own relationship with his queen (and thus also the goddess) by placing his name and titles on top of the naos of the sistrum.[56] Just as can be seen with some of his other statues which bear another of his innovations, the rebus of Hatshepsut,[57] his sistrophores appear to have been governed by the authority of the pharaoh, in that he was compelled, directly or otherwise (the latter more likely), to represent the ideological programme which would receive her endorsement, or was even formulated with her involvement. Including such motifs on his statues was perhaps for the purpose of legitimising her reign, and to continue to ingratiate himself with her, whilst also emphasising his own high connections so they could be seen by those of lower social status than himself, thereby legitimising his own authority.

However, the most relevant of Konrad's arguments to this paper is that which pertains to the placement of *cartouches*. It is generally agreed for statues of any type that a cartouche appearing on the upper arm is not displaying ideological ideas, rather permission which has been obtained by the pharaoh to set up the monument,

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[53] An idea related to the theory of 'decorum' in display (Baines 1987).

[54] Nims 1957: 80; PM II^2: 208-215; Gallet 2013. On the concept of the divine hearing prayers in the ancient Near East, see Giveon 1982, and for some discussion on buildings named in this way, see Ausec 2010.

[55] Konrad 2011.

[56] Konrad 2011: 116-117.

[57] Keller 2005: 117 (called a cryptogram); examples include Louvre E 11057 and Brooklyn 67.68, both including a cobra with sun-disk and flanked by *k3*-arms (*M3ꜥ.t-k3-Rꜥ*).

sometimes corroborated in the inscription with the formula 'given as a favour from the king',[58] as well as respect afforded to the king and deference to his rule. Konrad suggests a different intention with regard to cartouches placed on the naos (compare with the views, just mentioned, on Senenmut placing his name on the naos just mentioned). She argues that where the royal name appears between the individual and the sistrum-emblem, this represents the function of the pharaoh as mediator between the goddess and the statue-owner, and by extension, between divine and human worlds.[59] However, one of the examples she uses is the statue of Men (CG 901).[60] This features in my intermediary corpus since the statue's inscriptions state Men to be a direct mediator between human worshippers and the gods, *without* the explicit involvement of the king: Men is the *wḥm.w n ḥnw.ty=i*, 'reporter of my two mistresses', suggesting he bore a role in which he answered directly to the goddesses. He also recommends that people should *i n=i s:ꜥr=i spr.wt=tn*, 'call to me (and) I will cause your petitions to ascend'. The cartouches on the naos, if we suppose them to represent the pharaoh as mediator, seem rather redundant given Men's stated relationship to the divine. Men's statements could indicate that the king was no longer solely responsible for contacting the gods on behalf of the people, or that it is simply no longer recorded in that ideal way in monumental form and instead what became apparent in sculpture was what actually happened in reality: the king delegating duties to his officials. Either way, it seems that this reflects some change in attitude with regard to elite presentation and royal ideology in a religious context.

Konrad also believed that sistrophores of the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties had a changed meaning and function and that 'neither the close relationship between the owner and the goddess of the emblem nor the function of the king as mediator between them is incorporated'.[61] The support provided for this is that the royal-divine relationship is not represented by royal cartouches: only in one Late Period sistrophore do cartouches appear on the statue – the statue of Pa-akhref (CG 48642). Here they are on the upper arms of the statue, not by the sistrum-element, which according to generally accepted interpretation thereby does not display royal ideology with regard to the king's communication with deities, but rather just royal endorsement for the statue (in addition, the statue does not name a goddess whom the sistrum represents).[62] I am not entirely convinced by Konrad's overall rationale for two main reasons. Firstly, I have already expressed my doubt that cartouches on the sistrum-element of sistrophores are always indicators of the king's mediatory function between statue-owner and deity (with reference to the statue of Men, above), so naturally I do not follow her interpretation of later statues where she implies that the lack of cartouches suggests a change in meaning. Secondly, if the function of sistrophores had indeed changed meaning and function in the Late Period as she suggests in the passage quoted above, this would indicate that the features which had previously been ideological in nature (including the sistrum element) had changed in, or even lost, meaning and relevance, particularly as they relate to communication with deities. However, the fact that we do have at least two intermediary sistrophores from this period suggests that some of the ideas and symbolism behind sistrophores, as

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[58] See footnote 18 above.
[59] Konrad 2011: 118, 119, 125.
[60] Konrad 2011: 119-120.
[61] Konrad 2011: 124.
[62] Konrad 2011: 124 (note, however, that she also implied that some late sistrophores other than Pa-akhref reflect royal ideology, although without further elaboration).

explored above, were still meaningful in order to complement intermediary inscriptions.[63]

Taking these points into consideration, these statues and their inscriptions have implications for our understanding of royal ideology. The intermediary corpus dates primarily to the reigns of Amenhotep III in the Eighteenth Dynasty, the early Ramessides (the majority probably from the reign of Ramesses II as is implied by the presence of his cartouches on several of the statues), and Psamtik I of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. As I have just discussed, Konrad has already put forward her interpretation of sistrophores and how they relate to pharaonic ideology, yet these notions are less convincing when intermediary sistrophores, and intermediary statues more generally, are taken into account. Intermediaries seem to indicate that certain elite individuals were powerful enough to act autonomously in specific areas of religious activity, or were at least powerful enough to commemorate *explicitly* this autonomy in sculpture. This suggests that there were different ideas about self-presentation in statuary and the assumption of roles which had in other periods been reserved, at least in the ideals represented in the monumental programme, for the pharaoh. This is not to say that the pharaoh's authority had diminished: he was presumably still involved in the process of communication between human and god, but I believe it significant that these statues are taking on the role of messenger with little to no mention of the pharaoh in that context.

It should therefore be considered what could have engendered this change in display. The reigns of Amenhotep III, Ramesses II and Psamtik I are known for being lengthy, fairly stable and wealthy financially and artistically, perhaps creating an environment in which creativity in sculpture could flourish, resulting in the intermediary type. However, another proposition for their emergence is put forward here, based on a suggestion by Arielle Kozloff concerning the reign of Amenhotep III. To summarise, she has argued, developing an idea proposed by Betsy Bryan, that this king's programme of self-deification in the final decade of his 38-year reign caused a shift in the elite hierarchy – he became a god, an honour rarely bestowed on a *living* pharaoh (this kind of deification here being considered as distinct from the divinity of kingship and the king as an embodiment of Horus),[64] and as a consequence of his elevation in status, the highest elite also rose in status, if not in title.[65] They were therefore authorised to assume the mediating function between human and god. If we then look ahead to the two other main periods from which intermediaries have been identified, we know from reliefs and inscriptions in the temples of Ramesses II, particularly in Nubia, that he also embarked on a programme of self-deification during life,[66] and there is evidence to suggest that Psamtik I also had a cult which began during his reign.[67] Consequently, what is argued here is that that Kozloff's suggestion for the reign of Amenhotep III may apply at other periods and that the statue-owners of intermediary monuments may have been able to read the political and religious environment and take advantage of changing politico-religious concepts

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[63] See Bernhauer 2009 on sistrophores of the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties.

[64] The New Kingdom pharaohs are frequently designated as *ntr nfr*, 'good god', often within their titulary, but this appears to put them on a lesser ranking than the "true" deities (*ntr ꜥꜣ*, 'great god'). Also, actual cult worship appears to have been posthumous in most cases, centred around mortuary temples, whereas the extant temples in Nubia and use of colossi prominent in particular under the reigns of Amenhotep III and Ramesses II indicate that there could be non-mortuary-based cults in existence.

[65] Bryan 2010: 927; Kozloff 2012: 197.

[66] Gaber 2013 (on Seti I); Habachi 1969 (on Ramesses II).

[67] De Meulenaere 2011.

for their own advancement. They benefited from the ideological programme for the king which essentially authorised *them* to assume royal functions in the monumental record. As a result, their statues commanded authority over the religious activity of those who entered temple complexes, even to the extent that their apparent aim was to be the focal point for visitors who were not authorised to go far within.[68] The intermediary type, explicitly presenting this authority through their inscriptions and corroborating this through their forms, are perhaps explained by this phenomenon. Undeniably, such a role is advantageous for an individual wishing to demonstrate their own status during life, and ensure the survival of their own memory after death in monumental form, as it encourages interaction with their statue, ostensibly for the purpose of accessing the gods but benefiting the statue-owner in the process.

Conclusions

In the way of some final remarks, I return to the title of my paper. With regard to the authority behind a statue, any monument set up in a temple would have been, in an abstract sense, subject to the ultimate authority of the gods, for they were believed to inhabit the space. This is reflected to some extent in the deferential poses shown by many of the statues, and in the form of sistrophores, where the individual supports the emblem of a goddess, which acknowledges the potential for the gods to be present. It is also probable that the pharaoh gave permission for or endorsed the creation of statues, particularly where they were set up in temples. This may have been indirect, since it could be argued that those who could afford statues – the elite – were only in the position that provided them with wealth due to the influence of the king. Moreover, as I have argued in the second part of this paper, changes to the ideology of the king was a stimulus for changes in elite display and therefore is an authority permitting the emergence of intermediary statues. A third source of authority stems from the statue-owners themselves. Whilst it is inconceivable that a statue would include a feature or inscription that explicitly scorned the power of the king, for fear of the owner suffering punishment, it is likely that the statue-owners had a certain level of autonomy within their districts of governance and thus over their own monuments. The example of Rekhmire in TT100 receiving petitions from the public suggests that the elite could also establish a relationship with the people under their control throughout their political life, which made them trustworthy, respected figures who reached significant levels of power but also a level of accessibility which the rather distant pharaoh could never match.[69] Thus, divine, royal and elite authority governed and contributed to the erection of statuary.

As for the authority *of* the statue, the inscriptions which compelled passers-by to present offerings or enact rituals demonstrate authority, partly in their own right and partly by demonstrating the statue-owner's superiority and connections to the divine world. Such texts also imply the expectation that they will be obeyed. Furthermore, it seems in the case of intermediaries that statues could assume royal responsibilities within the cult sphere and therefore wield authority over the religious

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[68] The idea that these statues and the doorways by which they may have sat were the destination for visitors, with consideration, for instance, of Yoyotte's work on pilgrimages (1960), is being explored as part of my ongoing doctoral research.

[69] The possibility that such tomb scenes reflect – at least in part – a position desired for the afterlife as opposed to reality should also be borne in mind, but it seems likely that interaction with petitioners *was* part of the remit of high officials, and that tomb scenes have elements of both realism and ideology.

activities of the population. One might wonder how they commanded authority amongst the non-literate majority, who might not be able to understand the purpose of the statues as laid out in their inscriptions. It could be argued that only the statue form mattered, and indeed there are symbolic elements of scribal, block and sistrophorous statues which exude power and demand respect; this paper has focused more closely on the symbolism of the sistrum and its cult significance which lent some of these intermediaries further power. The possibility cannot be ignored, however, that inscriptions were passed around orally. In addition, the intended audience may not have only been the non-literate visitor to the temple; the statue-owners may have also hoped to demonstrate their authority to their educated peers. The gods should not be forgotten, either – a *non-royal* assuming a position as mediator is quite a statement to make in the eyes of the gods. It could even be argued that whilst statues would not have been supposed to wield power over divine forces in the same way as over humans, the assumption that the gods will respond to the statue-owner's excellent qualities (as exemplified by the statue and all it represents) by bestowing benevolence upon them for eternity, demonstrates in a way a belief that one could exact influence over the gods' actions. Finally, these statues suggest that without them, no communication can take place between human and god. In that respect, intermediaries set themselves, and thus the statue-owner, up as the most important, most indispensable and most powerful figures in this area of personal religious practice.

Abbreviations:

PM II^2 = Porter and Moss 1972.
Urk IV = Sethe 1909.

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