

IMAGES OF DIVINE NURSING IN THE ANCIENT EGYPTIAN NEW KINGDOM: KINGSHIP, KINSHIP, AND THE ROLE OF THE GODDESS

by

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Abstract

This thesis explores the use of divine nursing imagery – depictions of the king being nursed by a goddess – during the ancient Egyptian New Kingdom (ca 1539–1292 BCE) by considering the layers of context that shaped their creation and usage, including their physical, decorative, geographical, and social contexts. Research into this imagery has tended to examine it as a standardized and homogeneous motif across period and location. This thesis challenges this idea by analyzing the adaptations and variations across appearances of the motif as well as shifts in audience and medium to determine how it functioned within the specific decorative programs and narratives in which it was located.

Chapter 2 considers the social context in which images of divine nursing were created and viewed, using archaeological, art historical, and textual evidence to explore ancient Egyptian practices and ideas regarding breastfeeding and wet-nursing during the New Kingdom. Chapters 3–5 presents a series of case studies which seek to reconstruct the layers of context around specific divine nursing scenes and address some seemingly “unusual” depictions that emerge during the New Kingdom. Chapter 3 analyzes the scene of Thutmose IV nursed by Hathor and Werethekau at the temple of Amada in Nubia, the first divine nursing scene to appear in Nubia and a unique adaptation of the double nursing pattern. By considering its context, the scene’s role in efforts to assert Egyptian control in Nubia become more evident. The geographical implications of divine nursing continue to be apparent as Chapter 4 examines the nursing cow-goddess subtype of divine nursing imagery. This case study examines a group of divine nursing scenes tied geographically and iconographically largely to the region of Deir el-Bahari and which were combined with or inserted into existing Hathoric imagery, adding to the layered meaning and functionality of the images, statues, and votive offerings on which it appears. Considering the shift from temple wall reliefs to more public-facing and portable objects,

Chapter 5 examines the appearance of divine nursing on stelae. This group of seven stelae represents the range of forms the divine nursing motif took during the New Kingdom and its expanded audience. The imagery takes on elements and implications of self-presentation, communication, relationships, and ritual. Finally, Chapter 6 considers the themes and patterns that appear across these case studies, how they compare with prior research on divine nursing imagery, and how they might influence future approaches to the scenes. I propose that to better understand divine nursing scenes it is more effective to consider divine nursing as an action that could be incorporated or adapted into existing imagery, rather than a static image with largely the same implications across period and location. It was a means of creating relationships and informing the social identity of king, goddess, and image commissioner.

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Abbreviations

BM: British Museum, London

CFEETK: Indicates photos from the archive of the Centre Franco-Égyptien d'Étude des Temples de Karnak, accessed 11 December 2024, <https://www.cfeetk.cnrs.fr/archives/>.

KIU: Scene/wall reference number on SITH: Projet *Karnak*, accessed 11 December 2024, <http://sith.huma-num.fr/karnak>.

KRI: *Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical* by Kenneth Kitchen (1968–2018), 9 volumes.

MMA: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

PM: *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Statues, Reliefs and Paintings* by Bertha Porter and Rosalind L. B. Moss, 9 volumes. (Also known as Porter & Moss)

Urk. IV: *Urkunden des ägyptische Altertums. IV. Urkunden der 18. Dynastie* by K. Sethe (1906).

RITA: *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated & Annotated: Translated* by Kenneth Kitchen (1993–2014), 7 Volumes.

WB: *Wörterbuch der ägyptische Sprache* by A. Erman and H. Grapow (1971), 7 volumes.

Transliteration Notation

My transliterations in this thesis largely follow the notation system used in Allen, James P. *Middle Egyptian: An Introduction to the Language and Culture of Hieroglyphs*. Second ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

- () used to denote words or parts of words that do not appear in the hieroglyphs but are presumed or understood to be present.

- [] used to indicate words or parts of words missing from the hieroglyphs due to damage. Suggestions as to what may have originally existed in these portions are placed within the brackets.

- ⌊ ⌋ enclose words or parts of words where I suggest the text may have used the incorrect hieroglyph and what I suggest should be understood instead

- . used to separate morphemes from suffix pronouns, stative endings, and verbal suffixes (e.g. in the *sdm.n.f*)

- used to link compound words

Egyptian words will primarily be written in italics as a transcription in English; however, in cases where I am drawing attention to the specific Egyptian word used, how a word is spelled, or other grammatical aspects, words will be left in transliteration.

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1. Introduction: Divine Nursing in Ancient Egyptian Art

1.1 Divine Nursing Imagery

Breastfeeding is a practice spanning cultures and periods as a biological feature of the human species. As such, it is unsurprising that many cultures attribute breastfeeding with various meanings and symbolic values often beyond infant feeding, taking on public connotations and cultural implications, such as defining kinship, motherhood, and social structures.¹ Consequently, breastfeeding imagery appears in a myriad of contexts and artistic forms in both ancient and modern cultures. We see this clearly in ancient Egypt, where depictions of and references to breastfeeding have been found on domestic, funerary, and cultic objects and texts, permeating many aspects of ancient Egyptian life and society (Chapter 2). Some images went beyond everyday life, taking place after death and/or including deities. One such is the divine nursing motif – the image of an Egyptian king being nursed by a goddess. Such scenes survive from the Old Kingdom (the earliest dating to Sahure Cat.1.1, ca 2428–2416) through the Roman period (Cat.2.24, ca 31 BCE – 14 CE). This thesis seeks to better understand these images of the king and goddess: their role in the Egyptian mind, the social implications of breastfeeding and kinship, the impact of divine

¹ Vanessa A. Maher, “Breast-feeding in Cross-cultural Perspective: Paradoxes and Proposals,” in *The Anthropology of Breast-Feeding: Natural Law or Social Construct*, ed. Vanessa A. Maher (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1992), 9–10; Joanna Wolfarth, *Milk: An Intimate History of Breastfeeding* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2023), 2, 10; Tanya Cassidy, “Historical Ethnography and the Meanings of Human Milk in Ireland,” in *Ethnographies of Breastfeeding: Cultural Contexts and Confrontations*, ed. Tanya Cassidy and Abdullahi El Tom (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 50; Susan Falls, *White Gold: Stories of Breast Milk Sharing* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2017), 3.

breastfeeding (and kinship) on understandings of kingship, and the various decorative programs and contexts of which they were a part.

The image of divine nursing is comprised of the king and a goddess. Any number of goddesses may be depicted, appearing as a woman, animal, or tree. The king can be shown as an adult or with the attributes of a child. The goddess and king can stand, sit, or kneel, depending on context and period. While the king is not always shown actively nursing (lips at the breast), indications of nursing are clear (i.e., lips in proximity to the breast or the goddess's hand offering her breast). These two figures remain consistent and serve as the "core motif" – the portion "which invariably appears in every context of use in a highly invariant form."² This core could then be modified by changing, removing, or adding other elements.³ The pair can be accompanied by another deity or two, typically, Khnum. These figures face the pair and can have speech recorded in the accompanying text. The nursing pair might also be the subject of offerings or worship, most often by a separate depiction of the king. No features within the scenes indicate where it was to have taken place, and the nursing pair most often falls within larger decorative programs or sequences, contexts that will be considered throughout this thesis.

Case studies in this thesis focus on scenes from the New Kingdom for several reasons. First, this period represents the most extensive collection of divine nursing scenes. Approximately 61 of the 104 scenes identified in the catalog can be dated to the New Kingdom.⁴ Focusing on this single period allows for a more effective comparison between

² Whitney Davis, *The Canonical Tradition in Ancient Egyptian Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 64.

³ Davis, *The Canonical Tradition*, 64; Nils Billing, "The Secret One: An Analysis of a Core Motif in the Books of the Netherworld," *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 34 (2006): 51.

⁴ See Appendix 1.

scenes and their features. Second, during the New Kingdom, the divine nursing motif expands in its forms, contexts, and media through which it is depicted. Unlike prior periods when the image was limited to royal temples in Egypt, for the first time, the image appears in tombs (Chapter 4), votive offerings (Chapter 4), and stelae (Chapter 5), in addition to appearing in temples outside of Egypt (Chapter 3). This offers an opportunity to explore adaptation and re-interpretation. Additionally, this period contains the greatest variation in motif form, such as the goddess appearing as a snake or tree. Finally, by focusing on a specific period, this thesis can more thoroughly address the scenes' layers of context. Assumptions of continuity across long periods can be avoided. Scenes from other periods will still be referenced in the analysis, but, in terms of context, the focus will be on beliefs, practices, and evidence from the New Kingdom.

1.2 Review of Literature

Divine nursing scenes have long been part of scholarly discussions regarding Egyptian kingship. Without referencing any specific scenes or period, Maspero suggested that the scenes were metaphors, served to associate the king with Horus, and created kinship ties.⁵ Moret included divine nursing scenes in his analysis of the coronation and *heb-sed* rituals, a ritual that took place during a king's reign to renew his power and kingship (See further discussion in 3.3.4). He interpreted the nursing scenes as a rebirth and shorthand for the divine birth narrative where king became a literal member of the divine family.⁶ However, Moret's consideration of these scenes was cursory and only addressed those found in

⁵ Gaston Maspero, "Notes au jour le jour," *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 14 (1878): 308–312.

⁶ Alexandre Moret, *Du caractère religieux de la royauté Pharaonique* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1902), 63–65.

temple spaces. Divine nursing scenes continued to be considered cursorily in scholarship until Leclant's seminal series of articles. Thus, it is crucial to discuss his research and conclusions as well as the development of his ideas across the three articles he published from 1951 to 1961.

In his first article on divine nursing in 1951, Leclant examined the role of divine nursing in the Pyramid Texts. Based on the references to goddesses nursing the king in these royal funerary texts of the Old Kingdom, Leclant made several conclusions: the deceased became a child upon resurrection and, thus, required nursing just as any infant would; the imagery implied maternal protection; and the references to the king not being weaned ensured he would continue to survive and receive the various gifts given to him by the goddess.⁷

In 1960, Leclant published his most-cited article on the role of divine nursing in ancient Egyptian coronation rituals in which he argued that, at coronation, the king was reborn and became a child, once again requiring nursing. This idea has since become one of the most cited elements of Leclant's research. He also claims that through this nursing the king received victory and domination, making this act into more than just an adoption or gesture of divine protection.⁸ Based on this and his previous article, Leclant introduced the idea of nursing at the three (re-)births: physical birth, coronation (including *heb-seds*), and death.⁹

⁷ Jean Leclant, "Le Rôle du lait et l'allaitement d'après les Textes des Pyramides," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 10, no. 2 (April 1951): 123–127.

⁸ Jean Leclant, "The Suckling of the Pharaoh as a Part of the Coronation Rites in Ancient Egypt/Le Rôle de l'Allaitement dans le Cérémonial Pharaonique du Couronnement," in *Proceedings of the IXth International Congress for the History of Religions, Tokyo and Kyoto, 1958, August 27th - September 9th* (Tokyo: Maruzen, 1960), 135–145.

⁹ Leclant, "Coronation Rites," 144.

The final article, published in 1961, applied Leclant's research to the image of Bastet and the king on a *menat* counterpoise (Cat.1.66) from the reign of Taharqa (ca 690–664 BCE). He again cited the king's three births and nursing's assurance of the king's victory, based on the scenes' texts, the king being shown holding the scepter, club, or lapwing, and the king wearing the *Kheprsh* (or Blue) crown. Leclant further makes a direct connection between divine nursing and the crowning of the king, concluding the *menat* was associated with Taharqa's coronation.¹⁰

Across these three articles, Leclant drew attention to many common features and themes of divine nursing scenes. Many of his ideas will be found throughout this thesis. He provided a convincing explanation for why ancient Egyptian artists used breastfeeding imagery in coronation spaces and was able to apply it to the *menat* of Taharqa. However, his focus on coronation leaves out many scenes and contexts in which the image also appears. Despite this, many studies have taken Leclant's conclusions as a general interpretation for *all* divine nursing scenes regardless of context.

Therefore, we must address some gaps and questions in Leclant's research. First, in his 1960 and 1961 articles, Leclant uses divine nursing scenes from throughout the Pharaonic period without real distinction. He cites the scene of Phillip Arrhidaeus (ca 323–317 BCE) alongside those of the New Kingdom (ca 1539–1077 BCE), Third Intermediate Period (ca 1076–723 BCE), and Roman period (after 31 BCE) despite the hundreds of years between them.¹¹ Leclant does acknowledge that Old Kingdom scenes may be most similar to references in the Pyramid Texts, but does not address any other changes or adaptations that

¹⁰ Jean Leclant, "Sur un contrepoids de menat au nom de Taharqa. Allaitment et apparition royale," in *Mélanges Mariette*, ed. Institut Français d'Archéologie de Beyrouth (Paris: Institut Français d'Archaeologie Orientale, 1961), 251–284.

¹¹ Leclant, "Coronation Rites," 138–140; Leclant, "Sur un contrepoids de menat " 262, 265–266.

may have occurred over time.¹² Further, his examples and evidence greatly favor New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period temple scenes. Thus, his conclusions are naturally skewed toward possible functions and interpretations based on these contexts, but do not fully acknowledge nor explore these contexts.

This lack of contextualization led Leclant to make several statements which are not fully supported by the evidence and need further evaluation. First, Leclant states that nursing while standing is idealistic and not a reflection of reality.¹³ This is used to support his idea that these scenes were not representative of actual rituals. Though it is likely that divine nursing scenes were not reflections of actual rituals, breastfeeding while standing is attested in ancient Egyptian imagery beyond divine nursing scenes.¹⁴ Leclant's assumption ignores the social context of these scenes and the potential connections being made between divine nursing and general nursing practices, nuances that likely informed how the scenes were understood. Second, he states that nursing did not create a relationship with that specific goddess and that it was the act of nursing that mattered much more than the goddess herself.¹⁵ By not considering the goddess's identity and why she may have been chosen as the nurse, Leclant misses an opportunity to consider scene adaptation and customization. As will be demonstrated in each case study in this thesis, the identity of the goddess is crucial to understanding the role of a divine nursing scene within its intended context. Third, Leclant considers the attributes of childhood seen in some New Kingdom scenes, such as nudity and the sidelock, to imply that the king was understood to be a child in all

¹² Leclant, "Coronation Rites," 136.

¹³ Leclant, "Coronation Rites," 136; Leclant, "Sur un contrepoids de menat" 258.

¹⁴ Florence Maruejol, "La Nourrice: Un Thème Iconographique," *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 79 (1983): 318–319. All examples of a standing breast feeder found by Maruejol date to the New Kingdom; however, this does not mean they were not nursing in this position prior to this period.

¹⁵ Leclant, "Coronation Rites," 143; Leclant, "Sur un contrepoids de menat" 275.

attestations of the motif.¹⁶ Though some divine nursing scenes do include traditional child attributes, this is not a universal feature and is, in fact, a later development (3.2.6 and 4.2.3). Thus, it is unlikely that the king as a child was a universally understood feature of the scenes.

Despite these issues, Leclant laid the necessary groundwork regarding the purpose of divine nursing and remains fundamental to scholarship in this area. For example, his emphasis on nursing's place in coronation imagery appears in many later studies. Though Caßor-Pfeiffer links Old Kingdom scenes to the Pyramid Texts and ideas of rebirth after death, she suggests that by the New Kingdom, the scenes were associated with the king's ascension to the throne.¹⁷ Further, Volokhine states clearly that divine nursing had been incorporated into coronation rituals as a consecrating aspect with breastmilk as a transformative substance that purified and changed the king.¹⁸ Though closely related to ideas of rebirth – the king moving from one state of existence to another – Volokhine focuses less on transformation as an event (a birth) but considers it a process the king must go through to ascend the throne. In contrast, Hardekopf states that divine nursing scenes depicted a rebirth and represented the king's divine descent from a god,¹⁹ which is reminiscent of Moret's interpretation. However, kinship links between nurse and king are not always so clear. Sometimes, the goddess states that she is the king's mother,²⁰ while in the divine birth scenes of Hatshepsut (Cat.2.5) and Amenhotep III (Cat.2.18), the queen is

¹⁶ Leclant, "Coronation Rites," 136.

¹⁷ Silke Caßor-Pfeiffer, "From Ritual to Role Description? Continuity, Discontinuity, and Change in the Temple Depictions of Royals and Divine Suckling," in *Continuity, Discontinuity and Change: Perspectives from the New Kingdom to the Roman Era*, ed. Filip Coppens (Prague: Charles University, Faculty of Arts, 2021), 258, 268, 312.

¹⁸ Youri Volokhine, "Le lait et l'allaitement dans les discours égyptien sur la constitution du corps," *Anthropozoologica* 52, no. 1 (2017): 84–90.

¹⁹ Stephanie Hardekopf, *Pharaos Kindheit – Pharao als Kind: Ein soziokultureller Beitrag zum Königtum im Neuen Reich* (Hildesheim: Gebrüder Gerstenberg, 2022), 336.

²⁰ See for example, the scenes of Amenhotep III at Luxor (Cat.1.30), Seti I at Abydos (Cat.1.36), Ramesses II at Karnak (Cat.1.45), and Ramesses II at Beit el-Wali (Cat.1.41-42)

the mother and the goddess the nurse. Therefore, it appears the relationships, including indicators of parentage, are more complex than a mother-child relationship.

Other scholars have reinterpreted or adapted Leclant's "three births." Borrego Gallardo, who focuses exclusively on Old Kingdom scenes, concludes that the scenes were part of the king's rebirth at an individual (after death), social (coronation), and cosmic level (daily cycle of the sun).²¹ Though Borrego Gallardo also suggests three births, his interpretation takes a slightly less event-focused approach compared to Leclant and instead focuses on the realms in which they took place. His suggestion also means nursing would have taken place more often (daily at a cosmic level). Likewise, Rodríguez-Berzosa Gómez-Landero's study of divine nursing scenes, primarily focusing on the scenes' accompanying texts and the deities in the scenes, agrees with Borrego Gallardo's three births and sees the ultimate meaning of divine nursing as being the rebirth of the king.²² Therefore, many modern scholars agree that the act of divine nursing serves to change the king, making him more divine, and that it was through this process that the king achieved changes in his personhood, whether that be rebirth after death or upon becoming king.

Closely tied to coronation, divine nursing scenes have often been interpreted as a means of achieving or promoting the king's legitimacy. Cañor-Pfeiffer suggests that the milk of the goddess served "to pass on divine powers to the king, to legitimize and rejuvenate him."²³ Further, she suggests that the appearance of divine nursing within offering scenes may have been intended to present the king as the legitimate heir to the throne.²⁴ In her

²¹ Francisco L. Borrego Gallardo, *Las Escenas de Amamantamiento en los Complejos Funerarios Regios del Reino Antiguo. Una Aproximación Semiologica* (Asociación Española de Egiptología, 2011), 189–190.

²² Sara Rodríguez-Berzosa Gómez-Landero, "La Lactancia en el Antiguo Egipto: Una Aproximación Léxica y Cultural" (PhD Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2016), 112.

²³ Cañor-Pfeiffer, "From Ritual to Role Description," 256.

²⁴ Cañor-Pfeiffer, "From Ritual to Role Description," 292.

study of the imagery of woman and child pairs from the Bronze Age, Budin likewise proposes that, in some cases, the imagery could be used to demonstrate the legitimacy of those kings whose right to the throne was uncertain.²⁵ Similarly, Bayoumi suggests that the scene was especially popular with kings of non-royal heritage.²⁶ However, determining its popularity and ties to a king's heritage is difficult due to the potential loss of older scenes and the scene's frequent usage by kings of an established royal line. Borrego Gallardo also comments on legitimacy when examining the Old Kingdom scenes, stating that the semiological reading of the scene includes the king's legitimacy as the incarnation of Horus and king of Egypt.²⁷ Furthermore, these conclusions regarding legitimacy lead to further questions – By what means did divine nursing accomplish legitimacy? Was the scene meant to ensure, explain, or proclaim the king's legitimacy?

Some scholars have sought to explain this legitimization through adoption. Rodríguez-Berzosa Gómez-Landero examines the use of the verb *rnn* ("to raise") as an indication of legitimacy as she suggests it implied adoption and recognition by the goddess.²⁸ Arnst's research suggests that divine nursing scenes were ritual adoptions while also being transition and initiation rites. Looking at the Adoption Papyrus (P. Ashmolean 1945.96) and Pyramid Text Utterance 565, she analyzes portions of the Egyptian adoption process, which in the Pyramid Text is said to include breastfeeding.²⁹ This is an intriguing

²⁵ Stephanie Lynn Budin, *Images of Woman and Child from the Bronze Age: Reconsidering Fertility, Maternity, and Gender in the Ancient World* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 71, 74.

²⁶ Tarneem Farag Bayoumi and Riham M. Ezz El-din, "Representations of a Goddess Suckling a King in Ancient Egypt," *The Conference Book of the General Union of Arab Archeologists* 15 (2012): 177.

²⁷ Borrego Gallardo, *Las Escenas de Amamantamiento*, 143.

²⁸ Rodríguez-Berzosa Gómez-Landero, "La Lactancia en el Antiguo Egipto," 68, 78–84.

²⁹ Caris-Beatrice Arnst, "Naturae imitatio. Hinweise auf Ritualpraktiken zur Adoption," in *Genealogie – Realität und Fiktion von Identität*, ed. M. Fitzenreiter, IBAES (Golden House Publishing, 2005), 165–172.

suggestion. Little is known about adoption in Pharaonic Egypt and even less about adoption rites, as evidence for adoption practices is only known from the 19th Dynasty onwards, well after the development of divine nursing imagery.³⁰ Leclant briefly mentions adoption in his 1960 article, arguing that nursing is more than adoption.³¹ Though it is difficult to determine if scenes were understood as formal adoptions (originally or at any point), as my thesis will demonstrate, there do appear to be kinship aspects to breastfeeding (Chapter 2).

The other function of divine nursing mentioned by Leclant and further developed by Caßor-Pfeiffer is the king's reception of divine attributes, power, or gifts (the word varies across sources) through the goddess's breastmilk.³² Borrego Gallardo notes that according to the texts of Old Kingdom scenes, the king is given life, dominion, stability, health, and joy, but suggests the scene's function is more about rebirth and the maintenance of the king's status.³³ In his study of *Isis Lactans* (images of Isis nursing the child Horus), Tran Tam Tinh concludes that the milk of the goddess is what made the king a god.³⁴ Others have suggested that milk was a means of purification.³⁵ Nyord concludes that breastmilk was the means by

³⁰ Rolf Tanner, "Adoption," in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, ed. W. Helck and E. Otto (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1975), 66.

³¹ Leclant, "Coronation Rites," 142.

³² Caßor-Pfeiffer states that the king receives power, whereas Leclant suggests the king receives victory. Caßor-Pfeiffer, "From Ritual to Role Description," 256; Leclant, "Coronation Rites," 141; Leclant, "Sur un contrepoids de menat" 267.

³³ Borrego Gallardo, *Las Escenas de Amamantamiento*, 107.

³⁴ Vincent Tran Tam Tinh, *Isis Lactans: Corpus des Monuments Greco-Romains d'Isis Allaitant Harpocrate* (Leiden: Brill, 1973), 1. Tran Tam Tinh cites the story of Heracles being nursed by Hera to support this interpretation. Corrington makes a similar claim that milk grants immortality to the king, Gail Paterson Corrington, "The Milk of Salvation: Redemption by the Mother in Late Antiquity and Early Christianity," *The Harvard Theological Review* 82, no. 4 (1989): 401. This issue of using later sources to interpret these ancient Egyptian images will be discussed throughout this thesis.

³⁵ Clementine Audouit, "Bodily fluids in Ancient Egypt: vital waters but dangerous flows. Concerning an ongoing research project," in *Flesh and bones: the individual and his body in the Ancient Mediterranean Basin*, ed. Alice Mouton (Turnhout: Brepols, 2020), 51; Martine Pehal and Markéta Preininger Svobodová, "Death and the Right Fluids: Perspectives from Egyptology and Anthropology," *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 17 (2018): 117; Mu-Chou Poo, "Liquids in Temple Ritual," in *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, ed. Willeke

which qualities were transferred from the goddess to the king.³⁶ Though attributes are mentioned as being received through the milk of the goddess, most studies do not focus on these as the primary purpose for the scenes. This could be because many of the stated gifts are similar to those given to the king in other temple scenes. Evidence for breastmilk's ability to bestow qualities is limited outside of temple and funerary contexts and will be discussed in Chapter 2.

Finally, two scholars whose work has already been discussed – Budin and Rodríguez-Berzosa Gómez-Landero – have suggested that images of divine nursing should be understood as having ties to the southern region of Egypt both in their origin and meaning. Budin notes frequent southern imagery in divine nursing scenes, especially in the choice of deities, such as Nekhbet and Khnum. She suggests that this southern orientation may have been due to the symbolic ties between milk and the Nile, with the south being the origin of the Nile, a place of life and rejuvenation.³⁷ Rodríguez-Berzosa Gómez-Landero observes that later kings often placed the scenes in southern areas of temples in addition to favoring southern deities for inclusion in the scenes. She, too, correlates this southern orientation with the Nile and its life and fertility.³⁸ Both authors present this southern orientation as a symbolic element of the scenes and their interpretation. As will be demonstrated across the following chapters, geographical relationships are often crucial to the role and function of divine nursing scenes.

Wendrich et al. (Los Angeles, 2010), 4. <http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz0025dxbr>; Volokhine, "Le lait et l'allaitement," 85.

³⁶ Rune Nyord, *Breathing Flesh: Conceptions of the Body in the Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts* (Copenhagen: Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Near Eastern Studies, University of Copenhagen, 2009), 330–331.

³⁷ Budin, *Images of Woman and Child*, 88–89.

³⁸ Rodríguez-Berzosa Gómez-Landero, "La Lactancia en el Antiguo Egipto," 85.

Having examined much of the current research on divine nursing scenes, specific themes appear – coronation and rebirth, legitimacy, adoption, victory, and geographical regions. Generally, these studies’ conclusions are argued to apply to the majority of Pharaonic period divine nursing scenes, though some do acknowledge change over time, such as Caßor-Pfeiffer, Rodríguez-Berzosa Gómez-Landero, and Budin.³⁹ This often creates a homogenous interpretation and misses small changes or differences between scenes. Further, the studies primarily focus on those scenes from temple contexts. Though far fewer than those from temples, this leaves out the appearances of divine nursing on private monuments, votive offerings, and other such items.

1.3 Research Questions and Aims

As demonstrated, significant areas of inquiry remain to be addressed in our understanding of divine nursing and its function in Egyptian art. To do so, I will focus on the following research questions:

- During the New Kingdom, what was the function played by divine nursing imagery?
What role did the scene play within the decorative traditions and landscapes
(architectural, natural, and figurative) in which it was located?
 - In what way do the scenes’ geographical, decorative, and social contexts
inform their purpose and meaning?

³⁹ Caßor-Pfeiffer examines the shift from funerary to temple cults, Caßor-Pfeiffer, “From Ritual to Role Description,” 262. Rodríguez- Berzosa Gómez-Landero notes the increase in forms during the New Kingdom, Rodríguez-Berzosa Gómez-Landero, “La Lactancia en el Antiguo Egipto,” 69–70. Budin suggests that changes in popularity may have been tied to the importance placed on the king’s mother during different periods, Budin, *Images of Woman and Child*, 35–88.

- How might the scenes have changed based on their appearance in new and expanded media and contexts? What are the significance and implications of those changes?
- During this period, what was the understood meaning (or meanings) behind the image of divine nursing in the eyes of its creator and viewers?
 - How was the usage of divine nursing shaped by its social context and the nursing culture of the New Kingdom?
- Finally, how have modern perspectives on breastfeeding and nursing influenced and biased our understanding of these images?

1.4 Methodology

Just as with any study of ancient material culture, it is crucial to consider the type of object one is analyzing. With divine nursing scenes, this is the image (both two- and three-dimensional). Art history as a field has devoted itself to the study of the image, its meaning, and its function. Likewise, Egyptology has grappled with interpreting and studying ancient images, both as depictions and remnants of a past culture.

1.4.1 Text and Image

When discussing images in Egyptology, it is imperative to address the relationship between text and image. The line between word (text) and image has been and is often blurred in ancient Egypt and Egyptology. This is due primarily to the highly figurative nature of the

hieroglyphic script and its similarity to Egyptian imagery.⁴⁰ Further, many images are accompanied by or contain textual elements. Finally, the Egyptians themselves often blurred the lines between what we call text and image.⁴¹ For example, some Egyptian images (including statues) can be read as visualizations of a phrase like the king's name.⁴² In the case of divine nursing scenes, texts often accompany the scenes in the form of the speeches of the deities depicted therein.

Ikram has stated that "ideally text and image should not be divorced from one another when being studied but should be treated together as a graphic unit as well as a single cognitive group."⁴³ However, likely due to Western biases toward text,⁴⁴ studies of ancient Egyptian images can become heavily reliant on text and textual interpretations. For example, Borrego Gallardo's examination of Old Kingdom divine nursing scenes is based on semiotics and seeks to "read" the scenes and their figures.⁴⁵ Though this considers the image composition, such an approach often leads to the prioritization of texts and textual interpretations.

⁴⁰ See the research of John Baines, *Visual and Written Culture in Ancient Egypt* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007); Betsy Bryan, "Memory and Knowledge in Egyptian Tomb Painting," in *Dialogues in Art History, from Mesopotamian to Modern: Readings for a New Century*, ed. Elizabeth Cropper (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 2009), 19–39; Gay Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 22–24; Richard H. Wilkinson, *Reading Egyptian Art: A hieroglyphic Guide to Ancient Egyptian Painting and Sculpture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1992).

⁴¹ Baines discusses several of these in John Baines, "On Functions of Writing in Ancient Egyptian Pictorial Representation," in *Iconography without Texts*, ed. Paul Taylor (Nino Aragno, London, Turin: Warburg Institute, 2008), 95–126.

⁴² See for example the images of Ramesses II from Abu Simbel and Tanis, Labib Habachi, *Features of the Deification of Ramesses II* (Glückstadt: J.J. Augustin, 1969), 10, 38, pl. 27.

⁴³ Salima Ikram, "Interpreting Ancient Egyptian Material Culture," in *A Companion to Ancient Egyptian Art*, ed. Melinda K. Hartwig (Chichester, West Sussex, UK: Wiley Blackwell, 2015), 181.

⁴⁴ Glynnis Maynard and Elisa Scholz, "Text and Image in Perspective," *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 36, no. 2 (2021): 2–3.

⁴⁵ See for example Borrego Gallardo's reading of the various scene elements, Borrego Gallardo, *Las Escenas de Amamantamiento*, 142–147.

Though unique in its form, this textual prioritization is not limited to Egyptology.

Elkins writes “against the tendency to interpret images as systems of signs, or – in the looser but more prevalent formula – as examples of visual language.”⁴⁶ Similarly, Bachmann-Medick and Blauhut observe, “images are not mere signs, representations or illustrations.”⁴⁷ Images are thus not dependent upon their accompanying texts but take on purpose and meaning in and of themselves. Research has even observed that the apparent distinction between word and text is often not as clear as one might assume. As Elkins states, “there is ‘reading’ in every image and ‘looking’ in every text.”⁴⁸ Thus, while scholars like Ikram encourage us to consider text and image together, it is important not to prioritize one over the other and, by so doing, misrepresent the composition’s intentions or bias our understanding of its meaning.

Archaeologists Maynard and Scholz have instead suggested it is more effective to consider the entanglement between text, image, and media to better understand the “emotional, cognitive, and experiential aspects of human behavior.”⁴⁹ Bahrani interprets word and image as belonging “to the same system of signification” and therefore, must be considered together.⁵⁰ This interplay is especially fitting for the study of ancient Egyptian images due to the close nature between text and image noted above. Miller demonstrates the Egyptians’ use of this interplay in emblematic representations on apotropaic wands. By so doing, the figures move between “representational modes” to evoke specific meaning

⁴⁶ James Elkins, *On Pictures and the Words that Fail Them* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), xi.

⁴⁷ Doris Bachmann-Medick and Adam Blauhut, *Cultural Turns: New Orientations in the Study of Culture* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016), 245.

⁴⁸ James Elkins, *The Domain of Images* (London: Cornell University Press, 1999), 84.

⁴⁹ Maynard and Scholz, “Text and Image in Perspective,” 10.

⁵⁰ Zainab Bahrani, *The Graven Image: Representation in Babylonia and Assyria* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 128.

and fit within their given contexts.⁵¹ Baines further demonstrates that the texts accompanying images from ancient Egypt could serve several functions, including commentary, identification, or complements.⁵² In this way, the writing is “integral to a visual composition” and “requires interpretation as part of the whole.”⁵³ Thus, in Egypt, image and text functioned as a united composition, often blurring the lines between them, sharing many features of meaning. This thesis will consider them as such. Texts will be considered alongside the figural elements as part of a whole.⁵⁴ Meaning will not be assumed based on texts but informed by and analyzed alongside the figural elements of the scenes. Therefore, when “scenes” are referred to, this will include both textual and figural elements.

1.4.2 Images: What they represent and what they do

To determine the roles and functions of divine nursing imagery, we must first start with the role of the image in ancient Egypt and what images can tell us about ancient Egyptian society and thought. One of Egyptian art’s most frequently discussed characteristics (and functions) is that it depicts the ideal or essence of a subject.⁵⁵ This could be showing the Egyptian king as a youthful man late into his reign or depicting foreigners as stereotypes

⁵¹ Jordan Miller, “Emblematic Representation on Ancient Egyptian Apotropaic Wands,” *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 36, no. 2 (2021): 119–141.

⁵² Baines, “On Functions of Writing,” 99.

⁵³ Baines, “On Functions of Writing,” 98.

⁵⁴ My translations for the scenes in this thesis can be found in Appendices 2–4.

⁵⁵ See for example John Baines, “What is Art?,” in *A Companion to Ancient Egyptian Art*, ed. Melinda K. Hartwig (Chichester, West Sussex, UK: Wiley Blackwell, 2015), 10; Ikram, “Interpreting Ancient Egyptian Material Culture,” 180; Rune Nyord, “Vision and Conceptualization in Ancient Egyptian Art,” in *Sensuous Cognition: Explorations into Human Sentience: Imagination, Emotion and Perception*, ed. Rosario Caballero and Javier E. Díaz Vera (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton, 2013), 138–139. See also 5.3.4 on idealized imagery on stelae.

rather than individuals.⁵⁶ People were depicted with standard features based on gender, status, or age. This idealization will be a key point of discussion throughout this thesis. David describes this ideal nature as not depicting a subject's "physicality" but "the perfect embodiment of their essence in human society and beyond."⁵⁷ By means of this "perfect embodiment," David suggests the image served as a substitute, which, though not realistic, "incorporated essential elements for its adequate identification and functioning."⁵⁸ Weeks interprets it as depicting the "eternal nature" of the subject.⁵⁹ Thus, the choices in features and style communicated something about the person and the role they filled in their community and society.⁶⁰

However, this does not mean all ancient Egyptian images were the same or lacked creativity. Laboury demonstrates that ancient Egyptian artists' creativity is evident in the use and adaptation of traditional imagery.⁶¹ In his examination of motifs from the Books of the Netherworld, Billing employs the idea of the "core motif," noting that Egyptian art is often constructed around specific motifs that serve as models on which variations are then made specific to their contexts. As demonstrated above, several scholars have examined the "core motif" of divine nursing, looking at those elements shared among scenes and what these

⁵⁶ For discussion on Egyptian depictions of foreigners and the construction of ethnicity in ancient Egypt, see Stuart Tyson Smith, "Ethnicity: Constructions of Self and Other in Ancient Egypt," *Journal of Egyptian History* 11 (2018): 113–146.

⁵⁷ Arlette David, "What Did Ancient Egyptian Pictures Want?," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 83, no. 2 (2024): 267.

⁵⁸ David, "What Did Ancient Egyptian Pictures Want?," 269.

⁵⁹ Kent R. Weeks, "Art, Word, and the Egyptian World View," in *Egyptology and the Social Sciences*, ed. Kent R. Weeks (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 1979), 68–69.

⁶⁰ Nyord, "Vision and Conceptualization in Ancient Egyptian Art," 138–139; Weeks, "Art, Word, and the Egyptian World View," 70–71.

⁶¹ Dimitri Laboury, "Tradition and creativity: Toward a Study of Intericonicity in ancient Egyptian Art," in *(Re)productive Traditions in Ancient Egypt*, ed. Todd Gillen (Liège: Presses Universitaires de Liège, 2017), 230–247.

might tell us regarding the scene's role in Egyptian ideology and temples. However, no two divine nursing scenes are identical, nor are their texts (though they may have had shared rituals).⁶² These adaptations and variations made to the scene during the New Kingdom reveal how their ancient creators and viewers utilized and understood these scenes.

Consequently, Egyptian art represents the Egyptian worldview and how they believed things ought to be.⁶³ Ikram refers to this as a "magical reality."⁶⁴ However, this seems to downplay the way in which the Egyptians saw this idealism functioning. Baines demonstrates that this idealism was essential to cosmic order. He concludes, "[a]rt served the ordered cosmos, which was celebrated on behalf of the gods and which humanity, as represented by the king, and the gods defended against the forces of chaos. Art defined, encapsulated, and perpetuated that cosmos."⁶⁵ In this way, the ideal nature of art served a function beyond capturing images of life and shaped the world around it.

But whose ideal was this depicting? Baines continues: "At the same time, it served the perpetual destinies of ruler and inner elite and circumscribed their lifestyles in relation to the rest of society."⁶⁶ He refers to this imagery as "high culture," suggesting that those not of the elite could participate in art by imitating these higher forms.⁶⁷ Robins further points out that this was a "male Egyptian's world view."⁶⁸ Thus, much of what is now considered Egyptian art represents the worldview of elite and powerful men. Though this thesis

⁶² Moret suggests there was a formula for the text of divine nursing scenes; however, though many do share similar phrases and themes, there is not set text, Moret, *Du caractère religieux de la royauté Pharaonique*, 64.

⁶³ Gay Robins, "Problems with Interpreting Egyptian Art," *Discussions in Egyptology* 17 (1990): 45.

⁶⁴ Ikram, "Interpreting Ancient Egyptian Material Culture," 180.

⁶⁵ Baines, *Visual and Written Culture*, 335.

⁶⁶ Baines, *Visual and Written Culture*, 335.

⁶⁷ Baines, *Visual and Written Culture*, 304.

⁶⁸ Robins, "Problems with Interpreting Egyptian Art," 45.

primarily focuses on images from these elite spheres, it is important to acknowledge the forms of imagery that fall outside the elite canon as well as the adaptations and customization that likely took place as non-elites created their images. As demonstrated in Chapters 4–5, those images beyond temple walls reveal creative process and choices unique to themselves.

So, the question – What can images do? Baines suggests they ordered the cosmos.⁶⁹ Likewise, based in part on Egyptian textual sources, Nyord argues that the ancient Egyptians saw images as more than representational. The images created connections between themselves and what they depicted. They could capture power in physical form.⁷⁰ Nyord proposes that images in ancient Egypt could do three things: act as a material presence, enact change, and act as body substitutes.⁷¹ The most common was the first. Images could establish the presence of a deity or other figures, create relationships between depicted figures, and “actualize” actions and processes.⁷² In this way, images could create and make things *be*. The second – enacting change – applies to images like fertility or execration figurines, which were used to provoke a specific change in the physical world. In this way, the likeness connects the image to a physical entity, such as a human body.⁷³ Thus, Baines and Nyord demonstrate the Egyptians’ use of images to shape their world, not just aesthetically. These images could wield actual force – establishing relationships, ordering the cosmos, impacting the human body, and so on. These conclusions find exciting applications

⁶⁹ Baines, *Visual and Written Culture*, 335.

⁷⁰ Rune Nyord, *Seeing Perfection: Ancient Egyptian Images beyond Representation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 50–51.

⁷¹ Nyord, *Seeing Perfection*, 54–70.

⁷² Nyord, *Seeing Perfection*, 56–63.

⁷³ Nyord, *Seeing Perfection*, 64–65.

and implications in the study of divine nursing imagery, especially regarding their audiences and the relationships they created. Third, Nyord suggests images could act as substitute bodies. In this case, harm is directed back to the image rather than the one it depicts.⁷⁴ The texts and contexts of divine nursing scenes do not suggest this last category as one of its functions. However, understanding images as active entities in the Egyptian worldview indicates that images, like those of divine nursing, were intended to serve an active and real function in their respective contexts and spaces.

Two additional topics should be addressed briefly – multifunctionality and agency/material influence. Baines acknowledges, “insistence on a single function for works ignores uses of them that may be neither directly aesthetic nor instrumental but are nevertheless significant...Multifunctionality is to be expected.”⁷⁵ Likewise, Nyord acknowledges that the audience often determines whether an image is representational or taking an actualizing role.⁷⁶ This must be considered when examining divine nursing imagery, especially when it was adapted to other contexts. In his study on votive offerings, Bußmann notes that culture is dynamic, changes, and adapts. The same event or image might have meant different things to different people.⁷⁷ This has not often been considered in regard to divine nursing scenes. Thus, we must keep an open mind when considering the various appearances of divine nursing.

⁷⁴ Nyord, *Seeing Perfection*, 68.

⁷⁵ Baines, *Visual and Written Culture*, 310.

⁷⁶ Nyord, *Seeing Perfection*, 63.

⁷⁷ Richard Bußmann, “Practice, meaning and intention: interpreting votive objects from ancient Egypt,” in *Perspectives on lived religion: practices - transmission - landscape*, ed. Nico Staring, Huw Twiston Davies, and Lara Weiss (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2019), 74.

Finally, images have agency or material influence, meaning they can initiate events or actions.⁷⁸ The terms agent and agency are debated when it comes to ancient objects. Since, in most modern Western traditions, the objects themselves have no awareness, it often comes down to an issue of intentionality, as noted by Olabarria in her examination of the application of agency to Egyptian objects.⁷⁹ However, objects can be imbued with agency by the people creating them.⁸⁰ For example, Olabarria notes the psychological impact of art as a way in which it manipulates those around it and the use of texts and features to attract the attention of viewers.⁸¹ Nyord's research proposes that ancient Egyptian images could establish presence, relationships, and processes. They could cause things to be a certain way.⁸² Baines also gives images an active ability in that they "perpetuated the cosmos."⁸³ In this way, Egyptian images were imbued by their creators and viewers with purpose and agency in their world.

⁷⁸ As defined by Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 16. Compare this to definitions of agency for humans in Andrew Gardiner, "Agency," in *Handbook of Archaeological Theories*, ed. R. Alexander Bentley, Herbert D.G. Maschner, and Christopher Chippindale (Landham, Maryland, USA: AtlaMira Press, 2008), 95–96; Harold M. Hays, "Between Identity and Agency in Ancient Egyptian Ritual," in *'Being in Ancient Egypt': Thoughts on Agency, Materiality and Cognition: Proceedings of the Seminar held in Copenhagen, September 29–30, 2006*, ed. Rune Nyord and Annette Kjølbby (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2009), 16.

⁷⁹ Leire Olabarria, *Kinship and Family in ancient Egypt: Archaeology and Anthropology in Dialogue* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 15–16.

⁸⁰ Gell, *Art and Agency*, 18–19; Annette Kjølbby, "Material Agency, Attribution and Experience of Agency in Ancient Egypt: The Case of New Kingdom Private Temple Statues," in *'Being in Ancient Egypt': Thoughts on Agency, Materiality and Cognition: Proceedings of the Seminar held in Copenhagen, September 29–30, 2006*, ed. Rune Nyord and Annette Kjølbby (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2009), 33–34; Olabarria, *Kinship and Family*, 16.

⁸¹ Gell, *Art and Agency*, 16–17.

⁸² Nyord, *Seeing Perfection*, 56–63.

⁸³ Baines, *Visual and Written Culture*, 335.

1.4.3 Selection of Scenes for Analysis: Considerations and Justification

As outlined in the review of literature in 1.2, scholars have largely examined divine nursing scenes depicting anthropomorphic goddesses from royal cult temples in Egypt. Even when Leclant considers the divine nursing scene on the menat of Taharqa with its lion-headed goddess, his interpretation is based in his analysis of cult temple scenes.⁸⁴ Instead of continuing to explore divine nursing scenes of these same forms and contexts, my research is based on those scenes which often go ignored or unnoticed in the larger conversation, especially in the seminal work of Leclant. These “outlier” scenes include those from unique contexts like Nubia or tomb reliefs as well as those which depict unique forms of goddesses such as cow- or tree-goddesses. In this way, I can explore how the theories of Leclant may or may not apply to scenes from outside “traditional” contexts and how scenes may have changed or been adapted when applied to new spaces and their specific purposes.

It must be acknowledged that these “outliers” comprise a much smaller dataset than the “traditional” scenes of anthropomorphic goddesses within cult temples (as can be seen Appendix 1). This is likely why many studies have not focused on them. The limited number of scenes can make it difficult to determine how typical these scenes were or the level of accessibility and exposure they would have had to the public. The variety in media, context, and form within this dataset suggests that these were objects of differing function, creation, and setting, all of which can be difficult to consider and compare. Further, there is a Theban bias in the find location of these “outlier” scenes, with the vast majority coming from the regions of Deir el-Bahari and Deir el-Medina (discussed further below).

⁸⁴ Leclant, “Sur un contrepoids de menat ” 251–284.

Like most studies of ancient material, any examination of divine nursing scenes faces problems of preservation. This can especially be the case with many of the “outlier” scenes considered in this thesis. Issues of preservation can affect apparent trends in a scene’s or an object’s popularity during a specific period or the uniqueness of a particular image or object. The survival of one unique example, like the tree-goddess stela in Chapter 5, may indicate its singularity or be an accident of preservation. More durable materials (e.g., stone) outnumber those of more fragile materials (e.g., cloth) in the archaeological record, creating an imbalance toward imagery preserved in these materials. Further, biases in the choice of archaeological sites tend to result in the underrepresentation of non-royal and non-elite groups and an overrepresentation of royal material. Additionally, as mentioned above, most of the divine nursing scenes examined in Chapters 4 and 5 as well as much of the archaeological and textual material analyzed in the exploration of breastfeeding in Chapter 2 come from Thebes. This Theban bias is present in many studies of New Kingdom material as Thebes is a largely well-preserved region and served as a royal administrative and cultic center, which has led to the region being favored by many early and contemporary archaeologists. Therefore, when approaching the material presented in this thesis, it is essential to note that the interpretations may represent a more Theban perspective. It is not always clear whether the perspectives, trends, levels of accessibility, and artistic traditions discussed in these case studies applied as equally to other regions of Egypt during the New Kingdom. Thus, each chapter will include discussions regarding specific issues of preservation relevant to the sources analyzed within it.

One of the issues of preservations that must be considered for several of the divine nursing scenes discussed in this thesis is the damage and restoration of scenes. While many scenes have suffered breakage since their creation (like the stelae in Chapter 5), the

deliberate damage and restoration of a scene has different implications and can make analysis more complicated. What was changed from the original, when the changes were made, and by whom can often remain uncertain. For the scenes under consideration in this thesis, the damages during the Amarna and Thutmoside period after the reign of Hatshepsut are especially relevant. For example, purposeful damage is apparent in both the scene from Amada (Chapter 3) in at least the epithet of Hathor as well as the scene of Hatshepsut nursing from Hathor as a cow from the Hathor Chapel (Chapter 4) where the image of the king nursing was removed (Figure 32). This destruction and restoration pose methodological considerations for the analysis of a scene's intended function and reception, as its surviving form does not represent its original appearance. This means such a scene cannot be interpreted solely from the perspective or in the context of its original creator and period as the damage and restoration potentially obscure its originally intended purpose. Instead, destruction and restoration reveal more about a scene's reception by kings and officials of later periods, though determining the intentions of these later individuals can present its own challenges. Thus, each case study must consider the role of destruction and restoration and how that may affect the scene's current form and its interpretation.

Nevertheless, these "outliers" represent a previously untapped and valuable resource of information regarding the meaning and function of divine nursing in the ancient Egyptian perspective on kingship and goddesses. They include the few divine nursing scenes which are known to have been commissioned by non-royal individuals and the relative few which would have been displayed publicly to some degree. They offer insight into divine nursing scenes' reception by non-royal individuals. Such non-royal perspectives have rarely been considered in regard to divine nursing. These "outliers" also contain evidence of adaptations tied to a change in context and function, highlighting the expansion of the

scene's usage and the changes that took place during the New Kingdom to the motif's form and location. This includes its interaction and relationship with other motifs and imagery (like the Hathoric motifs discussed in Chapter 4) as well as royal adaptations to meet contemporary trends or events (as seen in the scene from Amada in Chapter 3). By considering these "outliers," I challenge the idea that all divine nursing scenes were merely copies with a set meaning. I illustrate the importance of change, adaptation, creator, and audience in the scene's function within a specific space. I demonstrate the conscious choice behind scene elements and form meant to accomplish specific purposes. Furthermore, I explore ideas of non-royal artistic agency, the non-royal use of royal iconography, public accessibility to imagery, and the interpretation of royal iconography by public audiences.

1.4.4 Considering Images' Context

To gain a more holistic and complete understanding of the purposes behind divine nursing and to account for their individual features and roles, each case study considers the various layers of contexts in which the scene was placed. First are their physical contexts. Brand comments:

A holistic examination of the entire decorative program of an edifice, and not just those items that seem most interesting and historically significant, tends to establish better, firmer conclusions. When seen within the wider context of the whole program, those more salient reliefs and inscriptions often turn out to have a different chronological or historical import than seemed apparent when they were examined in isolation.⁸⁵

This holistic consideration includes the monument or area's decorative programs and traditions as well as the events and interactions it would have had with living individuals,

⁸⁵ Peter J. Brand, *The Monuments of Seti I: Epigraphic, Historical and Art Historical Analysis* (Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill, 2000), 2.

including festivals and rituals, as far as can be determined and known. As such, each case study considers the many other images and texts that surrounded the divine nursing scene and how these together created a larger narrative.

The case studies will also consider the audience as part of their context – the humans and non-humans viewing and interacting with the scenes. This may be a different group or contain different parts of society for each scene. As noted above, the audience often determines the function of an image.⁸⁶ Such audiences might have included the temple's priests, festival visitors, the king, or even deities. For those on more public-facing objects, local communities "may adopt and re-interpret systemised thought" based on their understandings and practices.⁸⁷ Therefore, this thesis will explore whether divine nursing had a different meaning in royally commissioned spaces versus when it was used on an object like a private stela and the extent to which audience affected its creation and adaptation.

Just as important as the image's physical context is its social one. In Leach's seminal discussion of symbols, he states "we must know a lot about the cultural context, the setting of the stage, before we can even begin to decode the message."⁸⁸ As an idealized image, symbol-like functions may be applied to these images of divine nursing, including the other symbolic images (*heb-sed* glyphs, crowns, and so on) they contain. Bußmann points out that monuments do not speak directly to a visitor but rather through various aspects of cultural knowledge that need to be understood "within the language –material, visual, or written –

⁸⁶ Nyord, *Seeing Perfection*, 63.

⁸⁷ Bußmann, "Practice, meaning and intention," 74.

⁸⁸ Edmund R. Leach, *Culture and Communication: The Logic by which Symbols are Connected* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 96.

in which a society communicates.”⁸⁹ Likewise, Hays states, “Images of children, child rearing, and motherhood do not spring from nature, nor are they random. They are socially constructed.”⁹⁰ To understand these additional implications, a social context is necessary. Thus, the first chapter of this thesis contains an examination of breastfeeding and breast feeders in the New Kingdom to provide a social context in which the following case studies can be considered.

To effectively address the many layers of context surrounding images of divine nursing, I will employ case studies. Each is chosen to explore and exemplify a different usage and context in which divine nursing was found during the New Kingdom. The case studies range from examining an individual scene to a group of scenes based on form or context. By means of these case studies and the catalog of divine nursing scenes (Appendix 1), I can then trace both the “core motif,” as termed by Billing,⁹¹ and adaptations and variations made to the scenes. Hence, the case studies will follow the steps laid out by Billing: identifying the scene and tracing its history; comparing the scene to similar iconography, including those with shared elements; and considering the “reasons for the adoption and specific formulation of a core motif in the different contexts.”⁹² This prevents the scenes from becoming a homogenous group and allows the choices made regarding their individual forms to be more fully understood and represented.

Considering this, Appendix 1 of this thesis represents the initial steps of this research as I gathered all known, surviving depictions of divine nursing, drawing on Porter and

⁸⁹ Richard Bußmann, “Monumentality in Context – A Reply from Egyptology,” in *Size Matters – Understanding Monumentality Across Ancient Civilizations*, ed. Frederico Buccellati, Sebastian Hageneuer, and Sylva van der Heyden (Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2019), 101.

⁹⁰ Sharon Hays, *The Cultural Contradictions of Motherhood* (Yale University Press, 1996), 19.

⁹¹ Billing, “The Secret One,” 51–71.

⁹² Billing, “The Secret One,” 51–64.

Moss,⁹³ scholarly works on divine nursing,⁹⁴ and publications of various temples.⁹⁵ To distinguish between images of kings and child-deities for purposes of inclusion in the catalog (Appendix 1), the nursling must be identified as the king by a cartouche or element of royal regalia (like crowns, uraeus, crook, and flail). Therefore, several scenes have been left out of the catalog due to a lack of identifying features or, in some cases, the survival of these features.⁹⁶ Catalog entries for each scene contain basic information, including time period, description, current location, and a select bibliography. The catalog is arranged chronologically, with scenes divided into two sections. Section 1 are scenes where the goddess appears as a woman or with human features (including when she appears as a tree or snake with breasts, arms, and/or head). Section 2 includes those in which the goddess appears as a cow. This division facilitates the discussion in Chapter 4, which focuses on the nursing cow-goddess. Throughout this thesis, references to specific divine nursing scenes will be accompanied by a catalog reference number. These are formatted as Cat. + section number + scene number. For example, the scene of Sahure from his Funerary Temple in Abusir would be Cat.1.1. This helps distinguish them from chapter and section numbers in the thesis. It is from this collection that the case studies were chosen to address the

⁹³ Bertha Porter and Rosalind L. B. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings. Volumes I–VII* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1970–1975).

⁹⁴ See especially Borrego Gallardo, *Las Escenas de Amamantamiento*; Cañor-Pfeiffer, “From Ritual to Role Description,” 225–338; Rodríguez-Berzosa Gómez-Landero, “La Lactancia en el Antiguo Egipto.”

⁹⁵ See for example the publication of the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, Peter J. Brand, Rosa Erik Feleg, and William J. Murnane, *The Great Hypostyle Hall in the Temple of Amun at Karnak, Vol. 1, Part 2–3* (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of Chicago, 2019).

⁹⁶ Such as the scene from the tomb of Khaemhat (TT57) in Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (Walter Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altaegyptischen Kulturgeschichte (Band 1)* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'schen Buchhandlung, 1923), Taf. 198.); the stela from the workmen's resthouses at Deir el-Medina (Bernard Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir El Médineh (1934-1935) Troisième Partie: Le Village, les Décharges Publiques, la Station de Repos du Col de la Vallée des Rois* (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1939), Fig. 210.); and the gold aegis from the Walters Art Museum (“Aegis with the Head of Sekhmet,” The Walters Art Museum 57.540, accessed 11 February 2025, <https://art.thewalters.org/object/57.540/>.) which do not include any royal paraphernalia or identifying cartouche by which the nursling can be identified as a king versus a child-god or general infant.

research questions above, to represent the various contexts – beyond temples – in which divine nursing was found during this period, and to explore the objects on which the imagery appears.

1.5 Outline of Thesis

This thesis begins with an exploration of the social context in which the images of divine nursing were created during the New Kingdom in Chapter 2. This chapter explores the various archaeological, art historical, and textual evidence for breastfeeding, breastmilk, milk-siblings, and wet nurses during this period. This establishes the social context for the scenes addressed in Chapters 3–5 and aids in better understanding the Egyptian worldview in which they were understood to function.

Chapter 3 (the first case study) examines the 18th dynasty scene of Thutmose IV from the temple of Amada. This is the first known divine nursing scene in Nubia, allowing us to consider the adaptation of the scene to a new geographical region and political environment. Additionally, it is unique as two goddesses act as nurses to the king in a single scene. An adaptation of mirroring nursing scenes, this aspect of the relief offers a clear example of adaptation and agency in its design.

Chapter 4 considers a popular subtype of divine nursing – the nursing cow-goddess. Images of the goddess as a cow in divine nursing imagery have primarily been considered as simple variations of the more common anthropomorphic nursing motif which ignores their specific nuances and connotations as a subgroup. This subtype demonstrates the interaction of divine nursing with geographical decorative traditions, events like festivals, and related motifs. In addition, with this subtype, divine nursing appears on objects belonging to and

viewable by the public.⁹⁷ This case study concludes by examining the scene of Seti I from the tomb of Paser (TT 106). This scene represents the first appearance of divine nursing in a private tomb and allows us to explore issues of accessibility and self-presentation.

Finally, Chapter 5 analyzes divine nursing scenes on a group of seven stelae. This case study considers the range of forms the image could take, from the traditional anthropomorphic goddess to the nursing tree goddess. This case study was chosen to evaluate the adaptation of what was originally temple imagery to more public spaces by non-royal audiences and how these scenes operated within their new contexts. It offers an opportunity to closely observe the adaptation of the scene and how non-royal individuals understood it.

Each case study has been chosen to explore the wide range of contexts of divine nursing scenes and to consider the unique scenes, the variants, and the “outliers” to understand better how divine nursing was believed to function and the roles it could play in the Egyptian worldview. I will test the theories of previous scholarship against these specific scenes to assess how the established understanding of divine nursing may or may not remain applicable, how these meanings may have changed, and how individual scenes might have taken on unique roles and nuances.

⁹⁷ The word “public” does not always imply that the image was accessible to every Egyptian. It is possible that access was still limited by class or other distinctions. This will be discussed in each case study.

2. Social Context: Breastfeeding and Breast-Feeders in the New Kingdom

To contextualize these divine nursing scenes within the society and worldview in which they were created, viewed, and intended to function, we must first examine how breastfeeding was understood to operate both as a daily activity and within existing social structures: What did it mean to be breastfed by a goddess? Maher observed that breastfeeding “is not only conditioned by cultural patterns but exerts a definite influence on them.”⁹⁸ Thus, though not images of “daily life,”⁹⁹ the images of breastfeeding in divine nursing scenes were shaped by ancient Egyptian cultural patterns, traditions, and expectations. This chapter does not aim to catalog every object and evidence type for breastfeeding from the New Kingdom but rather seeks to bring the disparate types of evidence together to provide a more nuanced and encompassing perspective on beliefs regarding breastfeeding during this period. In this way,

⁹⁸ Maher, “Breast-feeding in Cross-cultural Perspective,” 9.

⁹⁹ While the category of daily life is commonly used for various ancient Egyptian imagery, calling such imagery “daily life” is debated in Egyptology with many suggesting that these scenes were not “snapshots” or historical documentation of the life of ancient Egyptians but rather images for specific purposes, potentially symbolic or ritual. See for example the research on Old Kingdom daily life scenes by Nico Staring, “Fixed Rules or Personal Choice? On the Composition and Arrangement of Daily Life Scenes in Old Kingdom Elite Tombs,” in *Old Kingdom, New Perspectives: Egyptian Art and Archaeology 2750–2150 BC*, ed. Nigel Strudwick and Helen Strudwick (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2023), 256–269; René van Walsem, *Iconography of Old Kingdom Elite Tombs. Analysis & Interpretation, Theoretical and Methodological Aspects* (Leiden: Ex Oriente Lux, 2005), 33–38, 51–53. van Walsem even states that while such images could have been based on reality, they should not be considered historical or objective, van Walsem, *Iconography of Old Kingdom Elite Tombs*, 101. For research reconsidering the “daily life” scenes of New Kingdom tombs see the work by Manniche and Hartwig where both refer to such imagery as “so-called daily life scenes” and demonstrate the inconsistencies with considering such imagery “daily life,” Melinda K. Hartwig, *Tomb Painting and Identity in Ancient Thebes, 1419–1372 BCE* (Brussels: Turnhout, 2004), 49–50; Lise Manniche, “The So-called Scenes of Daily Life in Private Tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty: An Overview,” in *The Theban Necropolis: Past, Present and Future*, ed. Nigel Strudwick and John H. Taylor (London: The British Museum Press, 2003), 42–45.

it can serve as a valuable backdrop for examining divine nursing scenes in the following chapters.

Many modern theories regarding breastmilk and breastfeeding in ancient Egypt are based on later sources, primarily from the Ptolemaic or Roman periods.¹⁰⁰ For example, the frequently cited Jumilhac Papyrus, dated to the Ptolemaic period (ca 332 BCE – 30 CE),¹⁰¹ remarks that the milk of the mother forms the flesh of an infant and the semen of the father their bone.¹⁰² This idea about flesh and bone is not corroborated by any other known text, and it is unknown whether this idea has an origin in earlier Egyptian beliefs.¹⁰³ Further, this is not a medical or anatomical text but a composition of various texts and genres including stories of deities (like the one where this statement comes from).¹⁰⁴ Though this does not mean this text does not reflect commonly held beliefs regarding infant feeding, based on its date and genre, it cannot be relied upon as a reliable source for a New Kingdom understanding of breastmilk.

¹⁰⁰ Ex. Role of milk based on Tebtunis Mythological Manual (Pehal and Svobodová, “Death and the Right Fluids,” 122.) and Jumilhac papyrus (Audouit, “Bodily fluids in Ancient Egypt,” 49; Clementine Audouit, “The Perception of Bodily Fluids in Ancient Egypt,” in *Current Research in Egyptology 2019: Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Symposium, University of Alcalá, 17–21 June 2019*, ed. Marta Arranz Cárcamo et al. (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2021), 147.)

¹⁰¹ “Papyrus Jumilhac,” Louvre E 17110, 6 October 2024, <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010003518>; Jaques Vandier, *Le Papyrus Jumilhac* ([Paris]: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, [1961?]), 4.

¹⁰² Audouit, “The Perception of Bodily Fluids in Ancient Egypt,” 147; Clementine Audouit, “Women’s Intimacy: Blood, Milk, and Women’s Conditions in the Gynecological Papyri of Ancient Egypt,” in *Women in Ancient Egypt: Revisiting Power, Agency, and Autonomy*, ed. Miriam F. Ayad (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2022), 387.

¹⁰³ It is possible that this idea comes via Greek influence during this period. However, evidence from Greek texts suggests milk comes from the blood having been changed in the mother’s body, Stravroula Constantinou and Aspasia Skouroumouni-Stravrinou, “Premodern ‘Galaktology’: Reading Milk in Ancient and Early Byzantine Medical Treatises,” *Journal of Late Antique, Islamic and Byzantine Studies* 1, no. 1–2 (2022): 32; Galen, “Hygiene,” ed. and trans. Ian Johnston (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018), 1.36K.

¹⁰⁴ Vandier, *Le Papyrus Jumilhac*, 63–141.

Other theories and interpretations appear to have more basis in later Christian or Western European/American ideas of the nurturing, selfless, and sacrificing mother.¹⁰⁵ With the growth of Christianity, breastfeeding took on symbolic meanings tied to the Virgin Mary – humility, purity, and charity.¹⁰⁶ Though modern research has been pushing back on the idea,¹⁰⁷ early researchers' claims that images of the Madonna and Child evolved from images of Isis and Horus may have allowed many of these Christian ideas to influence the interpretation of ancient Egyptian breastfeeding.¹⁰⁸ Furthermore, breastfeeding has taken on

¹⁰⁵ See Jaana Toivari-Viitala, *Women at Deir el-Medina: A Study of the Status and Roles of the Female Inhabitants in the Workmen's Community During the Ramesside Period* (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut Voor Het Nabije Oosten, 2001), 186, footnote 132; Hays, *The Cultural Contradictions of Motherhood*, 20, 29–32; Beatriz M. Reyes-Foster and Shannon K. Carter, "Mothers, Milk, and Morals: Peer Milk Sharing as Moral Motherword in Central Florida," in *Breastfeeding: New Anthropological Approaches*, ed. Cecilia Tomori, Aunchalee E. L. Palmquist, and E.A. Quinn (London: Taylor and Francis, 2017), 98–99.

¹⁰⁶ María Elvira Mocholí Martínez, "The Nursing Madonna in the Middle Ages: An Interdisciplinary Study," *Religions* 14, no. 568 (2023): 10, 14; Diana Bullen Presciutti, "Picturing Institutional Wet-Nursing in Medicean Siena," in *Medieval and Renaissance Lactations: Images, Rhetorics, Practices*, ed. Jutta Gisela Sperling (London: Taylor & Francis Group, 2016), 140; Jutta Gisela Sperling, "Introduction," in *Medieval and Renaissance Lactations: Images, Rhetorics, Practices*, ed. Jutta Sperling (London: Taylor and Francis, 2016), 5–8; Beth Williamson, *The Madonna of Humility: Development, Dissemination & Reception, c. 1340–1400* (Woodbridge, UK: The Boydell Press, 2009), 133. Totaro notes that during the Medieval Period in England images of Mary exposing her breast were gestures of charity and that she, like Christ, took on savior qualities, Rebecca Totaro, "Mother London and the *Madonna Lactans* in England's Plague Epic," in *Medieval and Renaissance Lactations: Images, Rhetorics, Practices*, ed. Jutta Gisela Sperling (London: Taylor & Francis Group, 2016), 155. See also for example the images of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux before the virgin Mary either receiving milk squirted from her breast or being offered her breast, "Saint Bernard of Clairvaux: he kneels before the Virgin and Christ Child. Etching by A. Jameson after B.E. Murillo," Wellcome Collection 3668i, accessed 12 February 2024, <https://wellcomecollection.org/works/aauw55s6>. "Saint Bernard of Clairvaux kneeling before Virgin and Child. Colour etching by A. Scacciati, 1766, after G.B. Poccetti," Wellcome Collection 3310i, accessed 12 February 2024, <https://wellcomecollection.org/works/nvsv56ub>.

¹⁰⁷ Elizabeth S. Bolman, "The Enigmatic Coptic Galaktotrophousa and the Cult of the Virgin Mary in Egypt," in *Images of the Mother of God: Perceptions of the Theotokos in Byzantium*, ed. Maria Vasilakē and Mouseio Benakē (Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2016), 13–22; Budin, *Images of Woman and Child*, 4; Sabrina Higgins, "Divine Mothers: The Influence of Isis on the Virgin Mary in Egyptian Lactans-Iconography," *Journal of the Canadian Society for Coptic Studies* 3–4 (2012): 71–90; Stephan J. Shoemaker, *Mary in Early Christian Faith and Devotion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 12–15.

¹⁰⁸ For example, Reid states "The figure of the goddess with Horus on her knee is interesting as being undoubtedly the precursor of the Madonna in Christian art," Robert William Reid, *Illustrated Catalogue of the Anthropological Museum, University of Aberdeen* (Aberdeen: The University Press, 1912), 112. See also Manuel Juaneda-Magdalena, *La Lactancia en el Antiguo Egipto* (Cuenca: Alderaban, 2013), 228, 232, 239–240; Thomas F. Mathews, "Isis and Mary in Early Icons," in *Images of the Mother of God: Perceptions of the Theotokos in Byzantium*, ed. Maria Vasilakē and Mouseio Benakē (Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2016), 3–11; Gertrud Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, vol. 1 (Greenwich: New York Graphic Society Ltd, 1971), 112 footnote 186.

new roles and connotations in modern societies that influence interpretations of the past as these images of breastfeeding are reinterpreted for contemporary purposes.¹⁰⁹ All of these factors influence how ancient depictions of breastfeeding have been and are understood by scholars and the public.

Thus, to contextualize the New Kingdom divine nursing scenes, it is necessary that the evidence examined represents a New Kingdom worldview, that which was held by its creator and audience. This section will include a wide range of sources as well as an exploration of wet nurses, as women often defined by their breastfeeding.

2.1 Breastfeeding and Breastmilk in the New Kingdom

Various depictions of women nursing survive from the New Kingdom; however, these are rarely accompanied by an explanatory text, let alone a discussion of nursing. Therefore, it is necessary to combine textual, iconographic, and archaeological evidence to reconstruct ancient ideas surrounding breastfeeding. It must be acknowledged that none of the sources examined here, for which the author or commissioner is known, are from women but rather were created or commissioned by elite men. Thus, we must tread cautiously in reconstructing the lives of these women.

2.1.1 Breastfeeding and Breastmilk in New Kingdom Texts

References to breastfeeding appear in textual sources of various genres from the New Kingdom, including medical, wisdom, and funerary texts. This discussion will consider each

¹⁰⁹ See for example see Wolfarth, Joanna. *Milk: An Intimate History of Breastfeeding* as well as the photos by artist Lakisha Cohill that depict women breastfeeding their children and in which various elements of ancient Egyptian imagery are incorporated.

within the context of their genre to determine what they may reveal regarding New Kingdom beliefs on the subject.

First, medical texts include the milk of a woman who had given birth to a boy in remedies for a variety of illnesses, including coughing, constipation, head colds, and uterine issues.¹¹⁰ For example, Incantations 35 and 55 of the London Medical Papyrus use it as part of a treatment for burns.¹¹¹ Its use for burns is likely based in part on a relationship with a story about Isis and Horus (as a *historiola*). Incantation 34, also for burns, begins by saying that Horus has been left alone. Isis then says, “Come my sister Nephthys with me, accompany (?) me! I was deaf, my threads entwined (?). Give me my way, that I may do what I understand, that I may quench it for him with my milk, the wholesome water within my breasts.”¹¹² Skumsnes has pointed out the importance of connections in Egyptian healing remedies, including those between the patient and the entity or deity which was healed, so that the patient might also be healed.¹¹³ In this way, the breastmilk from a woman who has given birth to a boy creates a direct connection between the patient and Horus, who was healed by Isis’s breastmilk. This requirement for breastmilk of a specific source might also imply that the Egyptians believed that breastmilk could differ between breast-feeders based on factors like the sex of the child. Skumsnes further observes that breastmilk was

¹¹⁰ John F. Nunn, *Ancient Egyptian Medicine* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2002), 90, 94, 148, 161, 194, 199; Tanja Pommerening, “Milch einer Frau, die einen Knaben Geboren Hat,” in *Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Egyptologists. University of the Aegean, Rhodes 22–29 May 2008*, ed. Panagiotis Kousouliis and Nikolaos Lazaridis (Leuven: Peeters, 2015), 2085; Eugen Strouhol, Bretislav Vachala, and Hana Vymazalova, *The Medicine of the Ancient Egyptians* (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2014), 176.

¹¹¹ Christian Leitz, *Magical and Medical Papyri of the New Kingdom* (London: British Museum Press, 1999), 73, 78.

¹¹² Translation from Leitz, *Magical and Medical Papyri*, 72.

¹¹³ Reinert Skumsnes, “Alternative Body Worlds in Ancient Egyptian Healing Texts,” *Interdisciplinary Egyptology* (forthcoming): 12–14.

understood to have “greater healing powers than any other fluid” with ties to creation, healing, and nourishment.¹¹⁴

Medical texts also include remedies for breastfeeding-related issues like low milk supply and infants not latching.¹¹⁵ For example, in Papyrus Ebers, instructions are given “to bring forth milk in a nurse who suckles a child.”¹¹⁶ Furthermore, the Egyptians may have understood that substances consumed by a breast-feeder affect her breastmilk’s composition.¹¹⁷ In Papyrus Ebers, in instructions for helping a child release retained urine, it instructs that the remedy is to be “drunk by the woman; it is given to the child in a *hin*-vessel.”¹¹⁸ How this should be interpreted is debated, and some have suggested that it instead means that the woman should warm the treatment in her mouth first, then give it to the child.¹¹⁹ Nevertheless, this does not entirely explain the use of the word “drunk” in this context. Skumsnes’s research has demonstrated that the ancient Egyptians understood the human body to consist of connected passageways between portions of the body, such as between the mouth and female genitals.¹²⁰ Perhaps it was along similar connections that the treatment was expected to flow into the breastmilk.

¹¹⁴ Skumsnes, “Alternative Body Worlds in Ancient Egyptian Healing Texts,” 19–20.

¹¹⁵ Richard-Alain Jean and Anne-Marie Loyrette, *La mère, l'enfant et le lait en Egypte ancienne : traditions médico-religieuses. Une étude de sénologie égyptienne, textes médicaux des papyrus Ramesseum nos III et IV* (Paris: Harmattan, 2010), 111–116.

¹¹⁶ Translation from Bendix Ebbell, *The Papyrus Ebers: The Greatest Egyptian Medical Document* (London: Oxford University Press, 1937), 113.

¹¹⁷ Jean and Loyrette, *La mère, l'enfant*, 140–141.

¹¹⁸ Translation from Ebbell, *The Papyrus Ebers*, 61.

¹¹⁹ Ebbell, *The Papyrus Ebers*, 81.

¹²⁰ Skumsnes, “Alternative Body Worlds in Ancient Egyptian Healing Texts,” 10–11.

Moving to a different genre, New Kingdom wisdom texts, which focus on the best way to live one's life (here specifically on the benefits of the scribal profession), contain references to breastfeeding mothers. *The Instructions of Any* states:

Double the food your mother gave you,
Support her as she supported you;
She had a heavy load in you,
But she did not abandon you.
When you were born after your months,
She was yet yoked (to you),
Her breast in your mouth for three years.¹²¹

Here, it appears that it was expected or “ideal” for a mother to nurse her child. Translated here as “yoke,” likely reflecting a modern perception of the selfless and sacrificing mother,¹²² the word used (*bḥw*) refers to compulsory labor.¹²³ This may indicate a mother's obligation to her child while emphasizing the burden and effort that was required, as the text's goal is to demonstrate how much a mother does for her child.

The next text is part of what has been termed *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, a selection of letters, instructions, and other texts primarily from the late New Kingdom.¹²⁴ These texts are thought to have served as part of scribal training, used as exercises to be repeated by

¹²¹ Translation from Miriam Lichthien, *Ancient Egyptian Literature: A Book of Readings. Volume II: The New Kingdom* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 141.

¹²² See Hays discussion on the modern and contemporary development of ideas of motherhood, Hays, *The Cultural Contradictions of Motherhood*, 29–32, 46.

¹²³ Raymond O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1986), 83; Rainer Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch: Die Sprache der Pharaonen* (Mainz, Germany: Philipp von Zabern, 1997), 257–258. Hieroglyphs are based on those recorded in Émile Suys, *La Sagesse d'Ani. Texte, Traduction et Commentaire* (Rome: Pontificio istituto biblico, 1935), 76.

¹²⁴ Fredrik Hagen, “Literature, Transmission, and Late Egyptian Miscellanies,” in *Current Research in Egyptology 2004: Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Symposium which took place at the University of Durham, January 2004* (Oxford, CT: Oxbow Books, 2006), 84.

learning scribes,¹²⁵ though this may not have been their only function.¹²⁶ In general, they were part of a “codified” collection of texts used for educational purposes.¹²⁷ One such manuscript, Papyrus Lansing (Louvre E.8419) also comments on the role of mothers, stating, “[a]s for writing, it is more pleasant than a mother that has given birth and whose heart feels no distaste: she is constant in nursing her son, and her breast is in his mouth every day.”¹²⁸ Once again constant breastfeeding and care by the mother is referenced. Yet, while they are today referred to as Wisdom texts, these texts were works of literature, not moral codes meant to determine one’s behavior. They were written by scribes largely for scribes, a position dominated by elite men. Thus, they are best understood as social ideals of an elite group and may not have represented the perspectives of the wider population. However, this has raised issues, as scholars have often taken their statements at face value. Janssen and Janssen suggest that, “[b]reastfeeding was, quite naturally, regarded by the mother as a pleasure” and cite Papyrus Lansing’s instruction as evidence.¹²⁹ Here, the act of breastfeeding served as a comparison for scribal work and was likely not meant as a realistic depiction of motherhood.

Besides these excerpts, textual references to breastfeeding are often limited to goddesses in funerary texts, like the New Kingdom Book of the Dead. Breastfeeding had long

¹²⁵ Adolf Erman, *Die ägyptischen Schülerhandschriften* (Berlin: Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1925), 1, 10–12, 23; Richard B. Parkinson, *Poetry and Culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt: A Dark Side to Perfection* (London: Continuum, 2002), 54.

¹²⁶ Hagen, “Literature, Transmission, and Late Egyptian Miscellanies,” 84–99.

¹²⁷ Parkinson, *Poetry and Culture*, 54.

¹²⁸ Translation from Ricardo Augusto Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies* (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), 377–378.

¹²⁹ Rosalind M. Janssen and Jac. J. Janssen, *Growing Up and Growing Old in Ancient Egypt* (London: GHP, 2007), 15.

been a part of these texts, appearing in both the earlier Pyramid and Coffin Texts.¹³⁰ In Book of the Dead Chapter 1, “for going forth by day,” nurses (*hnmt*) receive the deceased.¹³¹ In a “formula for causing the noble body to descend to the underworld, on the day of burial,” it states, “[h]is mother has nursed him, to give to the nurse who is in the horizon.”¹³² In Chapter 134, Nephthys is said to nurse (*rnn*) the deceased after he is born from his mother Isis, Nephthys’s sister.¹³³ Though *rnn* can also be understood as to “raise” a child, not just to nurse,¹³⁴ we see a separation of child-rearing duties between a mother and female relative. From the Old Kingdom (ca 2543–2120 BCE), Utterance 555 of the Pyramid Texts states that Isis is the king’s mother, Nephthys is *mnˁt=f* (“his nurse”), and Sekhat-Hor (another goddess) is *snkt* (“the one who makes him nurse”), emphasizing the “nursing” aspect of these goddesses’ roles.¹³⁵ In contrast, in Utterance 470, Nekhbet is identified as both the king’s mother and the one who nurses him (*snk* determined with a head nursing from a breast).¹³⁶ In his examination of breastfeeding and milk in the Coffin Texts, Nyord concluded that they

¹³⁰ See for example James P. Allen, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2015), 20, 49, 68; Raymond O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts: Spells 1–1185 & Indexes* (Oxford: Aris & Phillips, 1973), 277, 279; Leclant, “Textes des Pyramides,” 123–127.

¹³¹ Thomas George Allen, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead Documents in the Oriental Institute Museum at the University of Chicago* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1960), 69–70; Thomas George Allen, *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1974), 5–6, 270.

¹³² Translation from Stephen Quirke, *Going out in Daylight - prt m hrw the Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead* (London: Golden House Publications, 2013), 14–15. Quirke notes that this reference is found in the Coffin Texts as well.

¹³³ Papyrus of Nu *ms nsw mwt=f 3st rnn nsw nbt-hyt*, “his mother Isis gave birth to him as Nephthys **nursed** him.” My translation (and emphasis) based on photography in Günther Lapp, *Catalogue of the Books of the Dead in the British Museum. 1, Papyrus of Nu (BM EA10477)* (London: British Museum Press, 1997), pl. 48. See also Allen, *Book of the Dead Documents*, 219.

¹³⁴ Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow, *Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Sprache*, 7 vols. (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1971), II, 436; Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary*, 150.

¹³⁵ Jean Leclant, *Les Textes de La Pyramide de Pépy Ier. 2. Fac-similiés* (Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 2001), pl. XXII (P/V/E 9–11); Bernard Mathieu, *Les textes de la pyramide de Pépy Ier* (Paris: Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 2018), 537.

¹³⁶ Leclant, *Les Textes de La Pyramide de Pépy Ier. 2. Fac-similiés*, pl. VII (P/A/W 13–16); Mathieu, *Les textes de la pyramide de Pépy Ier*, 312–313.

primarily function to incorporate the deceased into divine groups and to nourish the deceased, much like food offerings.¹³⁷ These same themes are found in much of the other New Kingdom evidence discussed in this section, as well as the divine nursing scenes analyzed in the following chapters. Though these funerary texts may not represent daily breastfeeding practice, it is interesting to note that in many, the wet nurse (or female relative) does not replace the mother but rather feeds the infant alongside the mother's care. This distinction between the one who gives birth and one who breastfeeds is further seen on the back pillar of a statue of Rameses II from Elephantine (EA67), which refers to the king as "son of Khnum, born of Anuket, lady of Nubia, nursed (*rnn*) by Satet, lady of Elephantine."¹³⁸ The simultaneous or complementary care of mother and wet nurse will continue to be seen throughout this thesis.

2.1.2 Breastfeeding in New Kingdom Objects

Many unidentified women are shown breastfeeding on objects and in reliefs from the New Kingdom. Without further information, it is impossible to determine whether the woman is the child's biological mother, wet nurse, or family member or whether the identity is even necessary for the object's function. When the identity is unknown, the subject will simply be referred to as a breast-feeder (2.2). Nevertheless, these objects attest to the prevalence of breastfeeding imagery and the types of contexts in which ancient Egyptians saw breastfeeding as applicable or expected.

¹³⁷ Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 330.

¹³⁸ "Statue," British Museum EA67, accessed 11 November 2024, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA67. For text see Kenneth A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions Historical and Biographical, II* (Oxford: B.H. Blackwell Ltd, 1979), 715.

First are a series of jars from primarily the 18th dynasty (ca 1539–1292 BCE), in the shape of a woman, often called “milk vessels” or “feminoform vessels.”¹³⁹ The vessels are decorated with female features, including modeled arms and/or breasts with pierced or unpierced nipples,¹⁴⁰ suggesting an association with lactation. The jars have been found in domestic and tomb contexts,¹⁴¹ including the excavations of the New Kingdom towns of Elephantine and Sai.¹⁴² Nothing on the vessels indicates whether these were understood as mothers or wet nurses, and it is very possible that such an identification was not relevant to the objects’ purpose. Budka has suggested the vessels fall under the themes of “human health or well-being” and “life,” or perhaps “creative aspects” more generally, based on the domestic find locations for some of the vessels as well as the use of red wash, female aspects like breasts, and Hathoric motifs. Citing similarities to the nude female figurines discussed below, Budka emphasizes that these vessels were likely not used for one specific function but rather used in a “common sphere of action.”¹⁴³

Among these feminoform vessels is a subtype in which the vessel is modeled into the full-body figure of a woman with some shown holding or nursing an infant (Figure 1–2).¹⁴⁴

¹³⁹ Budka notes that it is assumed they are the precursors of the Hathor jars, Julia Budka, “Vessels of Life: New Evidence for Creative Aspects in Material Remains from Domestic Sites,” in *Vienna 2 – Ancient Egyptian Ceramics in the 21st Century: Proceedings of the International Conference Held at the University of Vienna, 14th–18th of May, 2012*, ed. Bettina Bader, Christian M. Knoblauch, and E. Christiana Köhler (Leuven, Paris, Bristol: Peeters, 2016), 86. See also Emma Brunner-Traut, *Das Muttermilchkruglein. Ammen mit Stillunghang und Mondamulett* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969–1970), 143–164.

¹⁴⁰ Budka, “Vessels of Life,” 85–86..

¹⁴¹ Budka, “Vessels of Life,” 88–90.

¹⁴² Budka, “Vessels of Life,” 91–96.

¹⁴³ Budka, “Vessels of Life,” 96–97.

¹⁴⁴ The provenance of most of these vessels remains unknown (as is the case with both Figure 1 and 2). Brunner-Traut even states that none had been found *in situ* at the time of her study, though some do come from excavated contexts, Brunner-Traut, *Das Muttermilchkruglein*, 152. AN1896-1908 E.2432 at the Ashmolean (dated to the 18th dynasty) was discovered excavated in Araba al-Madfuna along with another feminoform vessel and standing figure of a woman, “Pottery vase in the shape of a woman,” Ashmolean AN1896-1908.E.2432, accessed 19 December 2024, <https://collections.ashmolean.org/object/746460>; “Pottery vase in the form of a female offering bearer,” Ashmolean AN1896-1908.E.2431, accessed 19 December 2024,

Based on their imagery and size, some scholars have suggested that these jars were used to store breastmilk,¹⁴⁵ either for medicinal purposes,¹⁴⁶ to feed a child,¹⁴⁷ or for “amuletic” purposes.¹⁴⁸ If this is the case, breastmilk can be understood as an active substance in the New Kingdom, which was collected, stored, and used. Breastmilk’s active nature is perhaps highlighted in some divine nursing scenes where it is referenced as the source of various attributes – “(I) have given you all life and all power with me, making you grown *by my milk for it is as life and power for you, let it enter (you)!*”¹⁴⁹ Overall, the feminoform vessels likely served different, though related functions, based on context, size, and quality.

<https://collections.ashmolean.org/object/753205>; “Figure of a woman standing,” Ashmolean AN1896-1908.E.2427, accessed 19 December 24, <https://collections.ashmolean.org/object/753219>.

¹⁴⁵ Jean and Loyrette, *La mère, l'enfant*, 102.

¹⁴⁶ James P. Allen, *The Art of Medicine in Ancient Egypt* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2005), 11; Brunner-Traut, *Das Muttermilchkruglein*, 146, 154, 160; Christiane Desroches-Noblecourt, “Pots anthropomorphes et recettes magico-médicales dans l'Égypte ancienne,” *Revue d'Égyptologie* 9 (1952): 49–57.

¹⁴⁷ Charlotte Rose, “Change and Continuity: Birth Practices from the Middle Kingdom through the New Kingdom” (PhD University of Pennsylvania, 2020), 220–231.

¹⁴⁸ John Baines, “Society, morality, and religious practice,” in *Religion in ancient Egypt: Gods, myths and personal practice*, ed. Byron E. Shafer et al. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 177.

¹⁴⁹ My translation (and emphasis) of scene from the north wall of the inner sanctuary of the Hathor chapel at the Temple of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari (Cat.2.9).



Figure 1. Vessel of Woman and Child (Rijksmuseum van Ouheden AT 69, accessed 29 January 2024, <https://hdl.handle.net/21.12126/22568>)



Figure 2. Vessel of Woman Offering her Breast to an Infant (Louvre N 969; AF 6643, accessed 30 January 2024, <https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010008541>)

Breastfeeding women are also depicted on ostraca, including two with divine nursing scenes (Cat.1.47 and Cat.1.53)¹⁵⁰ and one showing a goddess holding an infant to her breasts.¹⁵¹ However, the majority depict unnamed and unidentified women.¹⁵² Referred to as “Scènes de Gynécées,” these ostraca depict a woman seated or laying on a bed or stool (Figure 3). The scenes can include a child, individuals interpreted as attendants, toiletry items, and other features. Backhouse has looked specifically at this image on ostraca from

¹⁵⁰ Jeanne Vandier D'Abbadie, *Catalogue des Ostraca Figures de Deir el Medineh* (Nos. 2256-2772), vol. 2 (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1937), #2593.

¹⁵¹ Alan H. Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1957), pl. vii (1).

¹⁵² See for example “Ostrakon figuré,” Louvre E 27661, accessed 21 January 2025, <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010035388>; “Ostrakon figuré,” Louvre E 25318, accessed 21 January 2025, <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010004033>; “Ostrakon,” British Museum EA8506, accessed 21 January 2025, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA8506. For a longer discussion and further examples, see Joanne Backhouse, *‘Scènes de Gynécées’ Figured Ostraca from New Kingdom Egypt: Iconography and Intent* (Oxford: Archaeopress Publishing Ltd., 2020).

the New Kingdom, noting that all those with known provenances are from Ramesside period Deir el-Medina. She suggests that the image may be unique to this area in this period,¹⁵³ though Rose points out that elements of the scenes are known from beds from Gurob and Amarna, nude female figures (see below), and other objects.¹⁵⁴ However, their association with Deir el-Medina must be considered, as many of the objects in this chapter and the following case studies come from this region. In comparing these ostraca with domestic wall art, Rose suggests the ostraca may have been practice for home walls.¹⁵⁵ Backhouse refutes this idea, stating that the ostraca were end products and part of the celebration of birth with its associated gift giving. As these images were meant to commemorate birth, they depicted events surrounding and following giving birth.¹⁵⁶ Alternatively, Roehrig suggests a more symbolic function for the images, stating that they were “probably symbolic of the Egyptian concept of rebirth or regeneration, rather than the mundane representations of mothers suckling their newborn infants.”¹⁵⁷ We must be careful with calling them “mundane” as it passes judgment and creates an unwarranted dichotomy between symbolic and representative art. Further, it does not consider why images of breastfeeding might have been chosen. Teeter suggests that the prevalence of images of women in caregiving roles “reflects the Egyptian desire to commemorate the regenerative power of mothers because the primary theme of Egyptian religion and culture was the continuing recreation of the

¹⁵³ Backhouse, *Scènes de Gynécées*, 109.

¹⁵⁴ Rose, “Birth Practices,” 562–564.

¹⁵⁵ Rose, “Birth Practices,” 563–564.

¹⁵⁶ Backhouse, *Scènes de Gynécées*, 109–111.

¹⁵⁷ Catherine H. Roehrig, “The Eighteenth Dynasty Titles Royal Nurse (mn’t nswt), Royal Tutor (mn’ nswt), and Foster Brother/Sister of the Lord of the Two Lands (sn/snt mn’ n nb t3wy)” (PhD University of California, Berkeley, 1990), 305.

cosmos...Mothers were emblematic of creation and recreation.”¹⁵⁸ It is likely that here is a case of a multifunctional image. As attested by the various scholarly opinions, a range of interpretations and understandings of these images are possible, spanning the personal and realistic to the purely symbolic. Thus, it is possible, and perhaps even likely, that such objects served a range of purposes. Nevertheless, they attest to the images’ use in domestic spaces, at least in Deir el-Medina, and to breastfeeding’s place among birthing events.



Figure 3. Ostracon of Seated Woman Breastfeeding: “Scènes de Gynécées” (Louvre E25333, accessed 29 January 2024, <https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010004032>)

¹⁵⁸ Emily Teeter, “Earthly and Divine Mothers in Ancient Egypt,” in *Motherhood in Antiquity*, ed. Dana Cooper and Claire Phelan (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 158.

Breastfeeding also appears on New Kingdom nude female figurines of clay, pottery, limestone, wood, ivory, and faience, primarily dated to the 18th dynasty (ca 1539–1292 BCE) through Third Intermediate Period (ca 1076–723 BCE).¹⁵⁹ The figures have been found at many sites across Egypt, including Deir el-Bahari,¹⁶⁰ Faras,¹⁶¹ Mirgissa,¹⁶² Serabit el-Khadim,¹⁶³ Gebel Zeit,¹⁶⁴ Medinet Habu,¹⁶⁵ and Karnak.¹⁶⁶ They depict a nude woman lying atop a bed, reminiscent of the “Scènes de Gynécées” ostraca. In some, a small infant lies on the bed as well. The woman might offer her breast to the infant (Figure 4).¹⁶⁷ Interestingly, one example may even depict a nurse or other caregiver as a smaller woman is shown beside the primary female figure holding an infant. It is unclear if the smaller woman is nursing.¹⁶⁸ This could represent a variation on the theme or potentially indicate a level of personalization.

¹⁵⁹ Many names have been given to these figurines, such as concubine figures, dolls, etc., but for sake of neutrality and in reflecting most recent research I have chosen to call them nude female figurines following Waraksa. For Waraksa’s discussion on this matter, see Elizabeth A. Waraksa, *Female Figurines from the Mut Precinct: Context and Ritual Function* (Fribourg: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009), 13. For materials see Geraldine Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1993), 198–209; Rose, “Birth Practices,” 171–172; Emily Teeter, *Baked Clay Figurines and Votive Beds from Medinet Habu* (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2010), 26–27..

¹⁶⁰ Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, 198, 226, 229, 231–232.

¹⁶¹ Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, 198, 231.

¹⁶² Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, 232–233.

¹⁶³ Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, 233.

¹⁶⁴ Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, 198–234.

¹⁶⁵ Teeter, *Baked Clay Figurines*.

¹⁶⁶ Waraksa, *Female Figurines*.

¹⁶⁷ See also Penn Museum 29-86-583; British Museum EA2371; British Museum EA2370; Louvre AF 7207.

¹⁶⁸ Guy Brunton and Reginald Engelbach, *Gurob* (London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1927), pl. xxv; Rose, “Birth Practices,” 563, fig. 132..



Figure 4. *Figure of Woman and Infant Laying on Bed* (Penn Museum 29-71-817, accessed 19 January 2024, <https://www.penn.museum/collections/object/24731>)

The purpose of these objects has been debated by scholars. Some, especially early researchers, interpreted them as “concubines” for the deceased.¹⁶⁹ Scholars have largely discredited such interpretations.¹⁷⁰ Along with the ostraca above, Roehrig states that they were symbolic of regeneration and rebirth.¹⁷¹ Instead, Rose suggests that they may represent a divine mother and be related to birth-bed imagery.¹⁷² However, Pinch disagrees and suggests the figures were votives to ensure and protect fertility, focusing primarily on

¹⁶⁹ Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, 211–221; Teeter, *Baked Clay Figurines*, 26; Waraksa, *Female Figurines*, 13.

¹⁷⁰ For thorough reviews of prior research on the topic see Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, 211–221; Waraksa, *Female Figurines*, 13–20.

¹⁷¹ Roehrig, “Eighteenth Dynasty Titles Royal Nurse,” 305.

¹⁷² Rose, “Birth Practices,” 187, 579.

their role as offerings to deities.¹⁷³ However, a study by Waraksa on figurines from the Mut Precinct in Karnak challenged Pinch's conclusions by examining those figurines that were found deliberately broken and in refuse deposits. Waraksa suggests their domestic, temple, and tomb contexts were likely their secondary contexts, and instead, the figurines were used in "magico-medical spells to both prevent and heal physical ailments, including those not exclusively in the realm of fecundity," expanding their use beyond fertility.¹⁷⁴ By comparing the broken figurines to objects and texts from execration rituals, like the Breaking of the Red Pots and the breaking of bound prisoner figures, as well as other magical texts, Waraksa suggests the figures were broken to ensure a specific outcome, namely health and protection.¹⁷⁵ Thus, their imagery is "evocative of bodily health via the representation of sexual and fertile adult woman."¹⁷⁶ Still, Teeter challenged Waraksa's conclusions in her study of figurines from Medinet Habu, pointing out that many have been found unbroken and not painted red. Instead, she suggests that, as the few with preserved texts all refer to fertility, this must be their primary purpose.¹⁷⁷ In the end, the range in figurine form and style,¹⁷⁸ find location, and even scholarly interpretation suggests the figures likely served a range of purposes and regional differences. However, the themes of fertility and health remain present across interpretations, and it is within this context that we must consider their breastfeeding imagery.

¹⁷³ Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, 215–217, 225.

¹⁷⁴ Waraksa, *Female Figurines*, 18.

¹⁷⁵ Waraksa, *Female Figurines*, 18, 118.

¹⁷⁶ Waraksa, *Female Figurines*, 118.

¹⁷⁷ Teeter, *Baked Clay Figurines*, 26–27.

¹⁷⁸ For example, see typologies in Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, 198–209; Teeter, *Baked Clay Figurines*, 27–91.

Finally, there are various statues and reliefs of unidentified women breastfeeding (or suggesting breastfeeding) and similarly unidentified children from the New Kingdom. These include a small statue of two women and a child (MMA 22.2.35), in which a woman fixes the hair of another who breastfeeds an infant (Figure 5), dated between the Middle Kingdom and early New Kingdom and of unknown provenance.¹⁷⁹ Another statue (MMA 44.4.64) depicts a woman seated with one knee up, a common breastfeeding pose in the Old and Middle Kingdoms,¹⁸⁰ offering her breast to a child (Figure 6). This statue is dated to the 18th dynasty and of unknown provenance.¹⁸¹ With both statues being of unknown provenance, it is difficult to determine their original purpose.



Figure 5. Woman Breastfeeding while Another Fixes her Hair (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 22.2.35, accessed 8 July 2024, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/544225>)



Figure 6. Woman Holding her Breast and Child on her Lap (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 44.4.64, accessed 8 July 2024, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/555755>)

¹⁷⁹ “Group of two women and a child,” Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 22.2.35, accessed 29 January 2024, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/544225>.

¹⁸⁰ Maruejol, “La Nourrice,” 319.

¹⁸¹ “Woman with Child,” Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 44.4.64, accessed 29 January 2024, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/555755>.

A relief dated to the Amarna period (ca 1353–1336 BCE) and found at Tell el-Amarna has been suggested as a nursing scene. It shows a woman seated with her knees up, holding an infant on her lap with her hand at her breast or the infant's chin (Figure 7).¹⁸² However, the woman's hand is much higher than her breast and appears to bring the infant's head closer to her face. This could reflect a general playful or caring gesture instead. Also dated to the Amarna period, a relief from a royal tomb depicts women mourning the death of a daughter of Akhenaten. In front of a line of mourners, a woman stands nursing a small infant. There are debates as to the identity of the woman or why she appears nursing in such a scene.¹⁸³ Another relief excavated at Tell el-Amarna preserves the head of an infant nursing (Figure 8).¹⁸⁴ Though there are no divine nursing scenes dated to the Amarna period,¹⁸⁵ it is interesting to note that there are various reliefs depicting breastfeeding associated with the royal family. This is likely due to the changing relationship between king and deity during this period, along with the increased focus on the king and his family in art.¹⁸⁶ Whether these images were meant to harken back to the divine nursing scenes is difficult to determine.

¹⁸² "relief," British Museum EA15973, accessed 29 January 2024, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA15973.

¹⁸³ Urbain Bouriant, Georges Legrain, and Gustave Jéquier, *Monuments pour servir à l'étude du culte d'Atonou en Égypte (Band 1): Les tombes de Khoutatonou*, vol. 1 (Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, 1903), 21–22, pl. ix, vii.

¹⁸⁴ "Nursing Scene," Brooklyn Museum 37.405, accessed 19 January 2024, <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/3435>.

¹⁸⁵ See Appendix 1.

¹⁸⁶ Gisela Chapot, "Divine Worship and Action: Representations of the Amarna Royal Family" in *Perspectives on Materiality in Ancient Egypt – Agency, Cultural Reproduction and Change*, ed. Érika Maynard, Carolina Vellozo, and Rennan Lemos (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2018), 1–9; Dimitri Laboury, *Akhénaton* (Paris: Pygmalion, 2010), 210–211, 215, 217; Donald B. Redford, "The Concept of Kingship during the Eighteenth Dynasty," in *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, ed. David O'Connor and David P. Silverman (Leiden, New York, Köln: Brill, 1995), 176–179; Jaquelyn Williamson, "Amarna Period," in *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, ed. Willeke Wendrich et al. (2015), 1–2.



Figure 7. Relief of a Woman Holding a Child's Chin (British Museum EA15973, accessed 29 January 2024, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA15973)



Figure 8. Fragment with Infant Nursing at Breast ("Nursing scene," Brooklyn Museum 37.405, accessed 29 January 2024, <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/3435>)

Dated generally to the New Kingdom, relief Berlin 14150 depicts a journey by boat. Among those aboard is a woman kneeling and nursing an infant.¹⁸⁷ Another relief from TT 143, possibly dating to the reign of Thutmose III or Amenhotep II (ca 1479–1400 BCE), also depicts a woman nursing a child on a boat.¹⁸⁸ Finally, a relief of unknown origin depicts a woman holding her breast to an infant held in a basket-like carrier on her chest as she holds a rope, presumably leading to an animal.¹⁸⁹ The breastfeeding in these reliefs does not appear to be the focus of the scenes but rather an inclusion to tell the viewer something about the woman, the situation it depicts, or perhaps the range of people present. This may also be the case with the mourning scene above. The inclusion of breastfeeding in such a

¹⁸⁷ Walter Wreszinski, Hermann Schäfer, and Hermann Grapow, *Altas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte (Teil 3): Gräber des alten Reiches* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs 1936), 254.

¹⁸⁸ Jaques Vandier, *Manuel d'Archéologie égyptienne. V: Bas-reliefs et peintures: scenes de la vie quotidienne* (Paris: Picard, 1969), 993; Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, I, 255.

¹⁸⁹ Emile Chassinat and Daniel Marie Fouquet, *Les antiquités égyptiennes de la collection Fouquet* (Paris, 1922), 23, pl. xi.

range of reliefs and statues attests to the significance and prevalence of breastfeeding imagery in a wide range of ancient Egyptian spaces.

Rose has explored many objects related to birth and fertility from the Middle to New Kingdom, including many of the objects with unidentified breast-feeders included in this chapter, like nude female figurines and milk vessels. Her research demonstrates that factors like social status, gender, and region often influenced the objects a person had access to, where this object could be placed (such as in the case of votives), and the form the objects took. She also notes that during the New Kingdom more material evidence comes from domestic contexts than the funerary contexts of the Middle Kingdom.¹⁹⁰ Domestic spaces are underrepresented in the archaeological record, and thus, how this space changed over time and between regions is not fully understood. Yet, the appearance of this material in domestic contexts suggests that breastfeeding imagery had a level of familiarity, meaning, and implications for the ancient population who was viewing, creating, and using the images. Further, the material's appearance among both the elite and non-elite suggests a level of familiarity with such imagery across the ancient population. Finally, Rose's research indicates a need to consider the different groups and potential regional differences in the creation and use of this material.

Not *all* women shown nursing are unnamed or unidentified. A unique stela survives from the New Kingdom, which shows a mother nursing her daughter (CG 34079).¹⁹¹ It comes from Abydos and dates to the 18th dynasty. The stela owner is one Haremwia, chief of the

¹⁹⁰ Rose, "Birth Practices," 585–590.

¹⁹¹ Amgad Joseph, "The stela of Haremwia, Chief of the Provisioning Sector of the Temple Workshop (CG 34079/JE 22011)," *Études et Travaux* 23 (2020): 89–106; Pierre Lacau, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire*, vol. 1 (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1909), pl. xl.

provisioning sector of the temple workshop.¹⁹² On the right side of the lower register, two women kneel, one nursing an infant. Above the pair is the text *sꜥt.s mr-ḥpt* (“her daughter, Mer-hepet”), while below them is the name *tyr* (Tjir). It is significant that Tjir is not actually identified as Mer-hepet’s mother. Rather, Mer-hepet is called her *sꜥt*. This term can mean daughter but might also refer to other kin relationships.¹⁹³ It is even possible that it is not a biological relationship but one of adoption. A mother shown in the act of nursing is uncommon for the New Kingdom, which might support the understanding that this is not a biological mother-daughter relationship. As this chapter demonstrates, breastfeeding could be a means of forging relationships as well as an expression of existing kin relationships.

In his discussion of temple imagery, Wightman points out, “Imagery constituted a powerful visual symbols system that encoded key aspects of social, political, economic, and religious organisations.”¹⁹⁴ As quoted previously, Hays notes the socially created nature of images of childrearing.¹⁹⁵ Thus, breastfeeding imagery was based on ancient Egyptian social concepts of infant feeding and caregiving. Breastfeeding was not an unknown motif nor an uncommon image. It appeared in homes, temples, and tombs. The image of breastfeeding appeared in the contexts of birth and fertility and may have represented the active role it and breastmilk played in ancient Egyptian lives. It is from within this environment that ancient Egyptians would have viewed, adapted, and utilized the divine nursing scenes and understood their meaning.

¹⁹² Joseph, “The stela of Haremwia,” 89–93.

¹⁹³ See discussion in Olabarria, *Kinship and Family*, 63–67.

¹⁹⁴ Greg J. Wightman, *Sacred Spaces: Religious Architecture in the Ancient World* (Paris: Peeters, 2007), 1003.

¹⁹⁵ Hays, *The Cultural Contradictions of Motherhood*, 19.

2.2 Wet Nurses in the New Kingdom

Wet nurses offer valuable insight into the ancient Egyptian perspective on breastfeeding as they are not only largely defined by their role as breast-feeders, but also appear in texts, tombs, and stelae, offering further evidence for breastfeeding practices. Additionally, considering divine nursing scenes, wet nurses may offer an important parallel. Though in some divine nursing scenes the goddess states, “I am your mother,”¹⁹⁶ many do not include this statement.¹⁹⁷ Others do not fit into the narrative of a single nursing mother, such as where the mother is present along with nursing goddesses and those scenes that come in mirrored pairs (3.2.3). As demonstrated above, it is not always a given that the mother would breastfeed. Wet nurses offer a chance to study how breastfeeding functions in areas like kinship, relatedness, childcare, and communities.

Ancient Egyptian terms translated as “wet nurse” include *ꜣtyt*, *ḥmnt*, *hnmt/hnmtt*, and *mnꜥt*, with the latter being by far the most common in the evidence cited here and perhaps in the Middle and New Kingdoms more generally (though exact lexical statistics are yet to be done and such an analysis would be beyond the scope of this thesis).¹⁹⁸ These terms will be used throughout this section to identify those women who acted as wet nurses and breast-feeders.

Before continuing, it is necessary to examine the term “wet nurse” as it is used in this thesis. Not attested until the 17th century CE,¹⁹⁹ the term carries with it many connotations

¹⁹⁶ See for example the text accompanying the scene of Seti I nursed by Mut, Cat.1.36.

¹⁹⁷ See for example those associated with the case studies in this thesis, Appendix 2–4.

¹⁹⁸ Burt Kasprian, “La condition des nourrices sous le Moyen Empire,” *Bulletin de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale* 107 (2007): 110; Beatriz Noria Serrano, “Aspectos Sociales y Culturales de la Filiación Materna en el Reino Medio Egipcio” (PhD Universidad de Alcalá, 2023), 99; Kasia Szpakowska, *Daily Life in Ancient Egypt* (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing, 2008), 36.

¹⁹⁹ Cassidy, “Human Milk in Ireland,” 51.

likely incongruent with ancient Egyptian perspectives – ideas of aristocracy, wealth, upper-class households, and exploitation.²⁰⁰ These are apparent in Palmquist’s statement, “The institution of wet-nursing is historically associated with social stratification based on wealth and power. Wet-nursing is characterised by lower status allomothers breastfeeding infants of higher status, either in exchange for social or economic remuneration or by coercion.”²⁰¹ Further, the term does not reflect the range of words used in ancient Egypt for these women. Such a range of ancient Egyptian terms suggests yet-to-be-understood nuances regarding the person identified and their role in society. However, English lacks further terms to refer to people in this role. Palmquist has suggested the use of the term “allomother nursing,” an individual (parent or not) who nurses a child (for any length of time) for both nutrient and non-nutrient reasons, as a more neutral term to be used in anthropological research.²⁰² Though this term is very helpful in broadening our perspective on who may fill these roles, I will continue to use the term wet nurse in this thesis as it is the term most commonly used in scholarship, public audience sources, translations, and current conversations on the topic. In the context of this thesis, I will be using the term wet nurse to refer to any woman who breastfeeds a child that is not her own (biological or adopted) for any length of time or for any reason. In cases where it is unclear if the woman is the mother or wet nurse, I will rely on the more neutral term “breast-feeder.”

Most discussions of wet nurses in the Egyptian New Kingdom are limited to royal spheres and while these can be very informative, they offer a limited perspective on how

²⁰⁰ See, for example, the discussion in footnote 216.

²⁰¹ Aunchalee E. L. Palmquist, “Cooperative Lactation and the Mother-Infant Nexus,” in *The Mother-Infant Nexus in Anthropology: Small Beginnings, Significant Outcomes*, ed. Rebecca Gowland and Siân Halcrow (Cham, Switzerland: Springer, 2020), 131.

²⁰² Palmquist, “Cooperative Lactation,” 127.

these relationships operated in Egyptian society. Therefore, this investigation will include both royal and non-royal evidence. Yet, it is unlikely practices were universal across class, region, household, and period.²⁰³ Variation between periods can be seen when comparing the lack of depictions of royal women shown breastfeeding during the New Kingdom to the Middle Kingdom (13th dynasty) statue of Princess Sobeknakht breastfeeding her son (Brooklyn Museum 43.137).²⁰⁴ Differences in practice versus ideals is evident in the many 18th dynasty royal wet nurses when compared to texts from the New Kingdom implying that mothers breastfeeding was the ideal (2.1.1). This variation in the evidence suggests a more complicated and nuanced situation than contemporary scholarship often presents, likely due to both differences in social practice and variation across different types of evidence, each with its own intended function, context, and form that must be considered. Significantly, none of this evidence comes to us from a wet nurse or breast-feeder herself as far as we know but instead represents others' perspectives on her and her position. It must be acknowledged that ancient Egyptian breastfeeding ideas and practices were likely not static nor universal and, in some cases, influenced by personal choice.²⁰⁵

²⁰³ Gay Robins, *Women in Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 90; Cathie Spieser, "Les nourrices égyptiennes," in *Art de manger, art de vivre Nourriture et société de l'Antiquité à nos jours*, ed. Véronique Dasen and Marie-Claire Gérard-Zai (Gollion: Infolio, 2012), 19–39.

²⁰⁴ "Princess Sobeknakht Suckling a Prince," Brooklyn Museum 43.137, accessed 19 January 2024, <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/3463>.

²⁰⁵ See Meskell's discussion on the individual, Lynn Meskell, "The Irresistible Body and the Seduction of Archaeology," in *Changing Bodies, Changing Meaning: Studies on the Human Body in Antiquity*, ed. Dominic Montserrat (Oxford: Taylor & Francis, 1997), 147, 153–159.

Many claims have been made regarding wet nurses in Egypt: they were a sign of social status,²⁰⁶ considered family or kin,²⁰⁷ or used to allow mothers to become pregnant sooner.²⁰⁸ Often, these claims are unsupported by ancient evidence, are based on later anachronistic comparisons to later European practices, or rely on the researchers' personal biases. Further, much of the research relies on Demotic (231 BCE) and Roman era (18 BCE – 308 CE) wet nurse contracts.²⁰⁹ With the earliest contract of this type dating to 231 BCE and without similar sources for these earlier periods, it is impossible to know whether these contracts represent ideas from earlier periods. Parca asserts the contracts must be considered within the unique contexts and circumstances in which they were created and functioned, pointing out that even the Demotic contract differs in many ways from the later Roman examples.²¹⁰ For these reasons, these wet nurse contracts will not be discussed here, but their impact on interpretations of ancient Egyptian wet nurses should be acknowledged.

Many of the few references to wet nurses in ancient Egypt are found in publications on women or daily life in ancient Egypt meant for general audiences. These share many themes and interpretations that need to be considered. First, wet-nursing was a job or position a woman might hold. Tyldesley notes it as “one of the few well-paid jobs which was

²⁰⁶ Juaneda-Magdalena, *La Lactancia en el Antiguo Egipto*, 240; Kasparian, “La condition des nourrices,” 109; Maryline Parca, “The Wet Nurses of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt,” *Illinois Classical Studies* 42, no. 1 (2017): 209; Barbara Watterson, *Women in Ancient Egypt* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991), 44.

²⁰⁷ Erika Feucht, *Das Kind im alten Agypten. Die Stellung des Kindes in Familie und Gesellschaft nach altägyptischen Texten und Darstellungen* (Frankfurt, New York: Campus Verlag, 1995), 150; Kasparian, “La condition des nourrices,” 113.

²⁰⁸ Kasparian, “La condition des nourrices,” 109.

²⁰⁹ Parca, “The Wet Nurses of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt,” 205, 208. Scholars like Feucht, Tyldesley, and Watterson include these as an essential part of their reconstruction of the role of wet nurses, Feucht, *Das Kind im alten Agypte*, 150; Erika Feucht, “Motherhood in pharaonic Egypt,” in *Women in Antiquity: real women across the ancient world*, ed. Stephanie Lynn Budin and Jean MacIntosh Turfa (London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis, 2016), 207; Joyce Tyldesley, *Daughters of Isis: Women of Ancient Egypt* (London: Viking, 1994), 78; Watterson, *Women in Ancient Egypt*, 44.

²¹⁰ Parca, “The Wet Nurses of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt,” 203–207.

open to women of all classes,” citing the wet nursing contracts of later periods.²¹¹ Another common idea is that elite women hired wet nurses for social reasons rather than need.²¹² Szpakowska suggests that hiring a wet nurse was a trend among elite women.²¹³ Likewise, Robins explores wet nurses as status symbols or a fashion copied from royalty.²¹⁴ Graves-Brown goes so far as to say, “Wealthy women could be spared continual nursing, sagging breasts and childcare by wet nurse and maids, just as today, wealthier career women have nannies” and later, “by hiring maidservants and wet nurses, richer woman simply pushed the burden of domestic work onto poorer woman.”²¹⁵ Yet, no text from ancient Egypt explains the reasons for the hiring of a wet nurse at any level of society. The idea of hiring wet nurses based on fashion likely comes to Egyptology from later Western traditions of wealthy and royal women hiring wet nurses,²¹⁶ revealing more about our modern

²¹¹ Tyldesley, *Daughters of Isis: Women of Ancient Egypt*, 38.

²¹² Watterson, *Women in Ancient Egypt*, 44–45.

²¹³ Szpakowska, *Daily Life in Ancient Egypt*, 36.

²¹⁴ Robins, *Women in Ancient Egypt*, 89–91.

²¹⁵ Carolyn Graves-Brown, *Dancing for Hathor: Women in Ancient Egypt* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2010), 4, 10.

²¹⁶ Wet-nurses were especially associated with the upper class during the Victorian period, a key time in the development of Egyptology as a discipline and when many early texts on ancient Egypt were written. The nobility and gentry were seen as passing off children to others, like wet-nurses, to raise them, Tamara S. Wagner, *The Victorian Baby in Print: Infancy, Infant Care, and Nineteenth-Century Popular Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 36. For example, Queen Victoria is quoted as saying, “a child can never be as well nursed by a lady of rank and nervous and refined temperament – for the less feeling and the more like an animal the wet-nurse is, the better for the child,” Jessica Cox, “The ‘most Sacred of Duties’: Maternal Ideals and Discourses of Authority in Victorian Breastfeeding Advice,” *Journal of Victorian Culture* 25, no. 2 (2020): 223. Nursing was seen by many to be incongruent with the expectations of a lady. Though there was a shift away from their use in favor of more “modern” methods, especially among the middle classes, Valerie A. Fildes, *Wet Nursing: A History from Antiquity to the Present* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988), 203; Wagner, *The Victorian Baby in Print*, 253. Cox points out, many medical and parental advice writers emphasized the importance of maternal nursing, and it was generally deemed as best, Cox, “The ‘most Sacred of Duties,’” 223–227. However, the association of wet-nurses with the upper classes continued as can be seen in an article from *The Lancet* in 1850 where one Dr. Webster is recorded as saying, “Such a large mortality from the want of breast-milk, the author thought mainly arose from the objectionable practice so prevalent among the upper and middle ranks of this country, of employing wet-nurses, instead of following the true dictates of nature, which enjoin each mother to suckle her own offspring,” “Westminster Medical Society.: Saturday, April 14, 1850. –Professor Murphy, President,” *The Lancet* 55, no. 1391 (1850): 513. Others have noted the exploitative nature of wet-nursing during the 1800s to early 1900s as often the child of the nurse suffered or even died as its mother’s care was given to another. Further, it remained common for Europeans to hire women native to the colonies

relationship with breastfeeding, women, and wet nurses than it does about ancient Egypt's. Finally, these general audience publications tend to place the nurse in a kin-like relationship with their nursling and family. Szpakowska states wet nurses appearing on Middle Kingdom stelae attests to their incorporation into the family structure.²¹⁷ Robins's discussion includes milk-siblings and the creation of kinship through breastmilk.²¹⁸ The role of wet nursing in the formation of relationships will be considered later in this chapter.

Scholarly works have also addressed these issues. Sweeney lists wet-nursing as one of the roles women might have played in Deir el-Medina.²¹⁹ Toivari-Viitala notes that wet nurses were employed throughout Egyptian history and at least occasionally in Deir el-Medina and they held a high status.²²⁰ More generally, Skumsnes observes that women are only shown breastfeeding when they are labeled as a wet nurse, not as a mother, suggesting that breastfeeding imagery was meant to indicate an occupation rather than everyday breastfeeding in most cases.²²¹ This has interesting implications for divine nursing scenes as this would suggest the goddess was understood as the king's wet nurse, not his mother. Still, we must be mindful of using the term "mother," as it is possible ancient Egyptians

and wet nursing remained common among the wealthy throughout Europe, Fildes, *Wet Nursing*, 192–198, 205–206, 210–212. Of earlier date, the association of the wealthy with wet nursing, though from satirical source, can be seen in the print *The Fashionable Mama* (British Museum 1868,080.6503) published in London and dated to 1796, "print; satirical print," British Museum 1868,0808.6503, accessed 3 July 2024, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1868-0808-6503. Further, Williamson points out that wealthier families hired wet nurses for social status during the Medieval period in Italy, Williamson, *The Madonna of Humility*, 139–147.

²¹⁷ Szpakowska, *Daily Life in Ancient Egypt*, 36–37.

²¹⁸ Robins, *Women in Ancient Egypt*, 117.

²¹⁹ Deborah Sweeney, "Women at Deir el-Medina," in *Women in Antiquity: real women across the ancient world*, ed. Stephanie Lynn Budin and Jean MacIntosh Turfa (London: Routledge, 2016), 244..

²²⁰ Toivari-Viitala, *Women at Deir el-Medina*, 186.

²²¹ Reinert Skumsnes, "Patterns of Change and Disclosures of Difference: The Feminine Element as Medium of Transformation in New Kingdom Tomb Representations," in *Methods and models in ancient history: Essays in honor of Jørgen Christian Meyer*, ed. Ingvar B. Mæhle, Per Bjarne Ravnå, and Eivind Heldaas Seland (Athens: Norwegian Institute of Athens, 2020), 115, footnote 136.

understood “mother” (*mwt*) not strictly as a biological mother, as a modern reader might expect. Depictions of unidentified breast-feeders may have been understood to indicate the child’s primary caregiver rather than a biological mother. In contrast to others, Millard asserts that though there was honor and affection for wet nurses, they were servants in the household based on their appearance on stelae and in tombs alongside other servants. She interprets images of the wet nurse among children and kin as demonstrations of their status as servants alongside the family they serve.²²² Though wet nurses do appear much more frequently on Middle Kingdom stelae than those of the New Kingdom,²²³ Maruejol suggests wet nurses gained prominence in the 18th dynasty as evidenced by the inclusion of their names and identities in monuments.²²⁴ This conclusion is likely based on the rise in royal wet nurses during the 18th dynasty. Maruejol also suggests that wet nurses were shown in funerary contexts to ensure a familiar environment and continued care for the deceased.²²⁵

One of the most cited sources, Kasparian makes two conclusions in his examination of wet nurses on Middle Kingdom stelae: wet nurses were outsiders integrated into the family – holding a place between family and servant – and served in some cases as replacement mothers.²²⁶ To support these conclusions, Kasparian notes that wet nurses are most often shown alongside children and associated with the wife or mother rather than servants.²²⁷ For example, the 12th dynasty stela of Nakhti (British Museum EA143) depicts Nakhti sitting in the top register in front of offerings. Below him are three women – his wife,

²²² Anne Millard, “The Position of Women in the Family and in Society in Ancient Egypt with Special Reference to the Middle Kingdom” (PhD University College London, 1976), 310–311.

²²³ Kasparian, “La condition des nourrices,” 109–126.

²²⁴ Maruejol, “La Nourrice,” 318.

²²⁵ Maruejol, “La Nourrice,” 317–318.

²²⁶ Kasparian, “La condition des nourrices,” 113–125.

²²⁷ Kasparian, “La condition des nourrices,” 115–118.

mother, and nurse (*mnṯ*) (Figure 9).²²⁸ The placement of all three women on the same register and position implies a similar role and status, placing the nurse within the circle of female kin in a relationship that lasted past childhood. Further, on the Middle Kingdom stela Munich GL WAF 34, the stela subject sits directly across from a women identified as *mnṯ*,²²⁹ a position often held by a mother, wife, or brother (Figure 10), implying the *mnṯ* fills a similar role. Kasparian caveats that wet nurses were not understood to be full members of the family though they were integrated into the family.²³⁰ It must be noted that Kasparian's statistics and identification of individuals' roles are based primarily on the titles provided for these individuals on a specific object type and is, thus, limited to what has been chosen to identify them in the given context. It is likely that individuals played multiple roles and held many titles and identifiers.

²²⁸ "stela" British Museum EA 143, accessed 8 November 2023, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA143; Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, V, 96.

²²⁹ Karl Dyroff, Balthasar Pörtner, and Wilhelm Spiegelberg, *Aegyptische Grabsteine und Denksteine aus süddeutschen Sammlungen*, vol. II (Strassburg: Schlesier & Schweikhardt, 1904), 13, pl. 15; William Kelly Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos: The Offering Chapels of Dynasties 12 and 13 (Egyptology: The Pennsylvania-Yale Expedition to Egypt)* (New Haven, Philadelphia: Peabody Museum of Natural History of Yale University; University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, 1974), fig. 44.41.

²³⁰ Kasparian, "La condition des nourrices," 114–115.



Figure 9. Stela of Nakhti (British Museum EA143, accessed 3 July 2024, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA143)



Figure 10. Munich GL WAF 34 (Dyroff-Pörtner, *Aegyptische Grabsteine und Denksteine*, Tf. V)

Though Kasparian's research considers a vast number of stelae, it does not engage with the purpose of these stelae or their contexts, including what effect the purpose of such monuments might have on who and how people are represented (5.3). Thus, while the trends Kasparian notes may represent social ideals regarding the position of wet nurse, they may not always reflect lived circumstances. Further, his research presumes that wet nurses came from *outside* the family, while it is possible that, in some cases, they were already kin.

Many, like Stefanović, have come to conclusions similar to Kasparian, stating that it was through milk that one could become related.²³¹ The idea of relations through milk is

²³¹ Danijela Stefanović, *The Non-Royal Regular Feminine Titles of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period: Dossiers* (London: Golden House, 2009), 65. Kasparian's ideas are cited in studies such as Noria Serrano, "Filiación Materna," 83; Spieser, "Les nourrices égyptiennes," 23.

common in scholarship on wet nurses.²³² However, no ancient Egyptian source states or suggests it was the sharing of milk that bound individuals together in kinship. Rather, as will be demonstrated, it appears the act of nursing with its intimacy, nourishment, and proximity were more important to the formation of relationship.

2.2.1 Royal Wet Nurses

The royal nurses of the 18th dynasty are uniquely well-attested and feature heavily in research on wet nurses. Documented in tombs, funerary goods, and reliefs, these women appear frequently with alongside family members and even with the royal nursling. Though many have discussed these nurses,²³³ the research of Roehrig and Hardekopf has provided in-depth studies of these women, the roles they played in the royal administration, and their relationship with their own families.²³⁴

Roehrig examines each appearance of a royal nurse (*mnꜥt nswt*). She asserts that the base word *mnꜥ*, with its determinative of the breast, does have the primary meaning of breastfeeding, and thus *mnꜥt* originally referred to a “wet nurse,” a breast-feeder.²³⁵ She states that the special attention paid to these women is an indication of their high status and influence in the royal circle.²³⁶ Their royal patrons’ esteem is evidenced by titles such as “one who nurtured the body of the god” as well as the tombs and funerary goods provided to

²³² Feucht, “Motherhood in pharaonic Egypt,” 207.

²³³ Such as Feucht, “Motherhood in pharaonic Egypt,” 207; Juaneda-Magdalena, *La Lactancia en el Antiguo Egipto*, 243; Spieser, “Les nourrices égyptiennes,” 29–31; Watterson, *Women in Ancient Egypt*, 45.

²³⁴ See Hardekopf, *Pharaohs Kindheit*, 184–188, 193–195, 260–263; Roehrig, “Eighteenth Dynasty Titles Royal Nurse,” 1–308, 314–321, 327–350.

²³⁵ Roehrig, “Eighteenth Dynasty Titles Royal Nurse,” 2, 314. For this, she cites Erman and Grapow, *WB*, II, 77–78.

²³⁶ Roehrig, “Eighteenth Dynasty Titles Royal Nurse,” 4, 317.

them.²³⁷ Roehrig provides several suggestions as to why royal wet nurses came to such prominence during the 18th dynasty: the wet nurse may have acted as a representative of the goddesses who nurse the king;²³⁸ the royal family may have struggled with poor infant health and high infant mortality;²³⁹ using a wet nurse may have allowed the queen to conceive quicker;²⁴⁰ or the choice of a specific wet nurse could have solidified a child's legitimacy by connecting them with prior dynastic families (though she admits this last suggestion is tenuous).²⁴¹ In the end, she proposes that individuals and families were purposely bound to the royal heir through the relationship forged between him and their mother/wife as wet nurse, ensuring the next king would have a loyal group of officials and advisors when he took the throne.²⁴² Roehrig also notes that though it is impossible to say whether the wet nurses' role benefited their husbands or children with elevated offices, many of their sons did go on to hold high positions in the cult of Amun.²⁴³

Hardekopf, instead, concludes that the evidence does not reflect esteem for the royal nurse by the royal family but the monument's owner (often a husband or son of the wet nurse) for the position and the impact her position had on the careers of family members.²⁴⁴ She notes that depictions of the royal nurse would have had to be retroactive, as no kings of the 18th dynasty came to the throne as children, explaining why few nurses of king's sons are known in comparison to the many nurses of the king. This would imply that the title only

²³⁷ Roehrig, "Eighteenth Dynasty Titles Royal Nurse," 327–330.

²³⁸ Roehrig, "Eighteenth Dynasty Titles Royal Nurse," 332.

²³⁹ Roehrig, "Eighteenth Dynasty Titles Royal Nurse," 334–335.

²⁴⁰ Roehrig, "Eighteenth Dynasty Titles Royal Nurse," 335–336.

²⁴¹ Roehrig, "Eighteenth Dynasty Titles Royal Nurse," 333–334.

²⁴² Roehrig, "Eighteenth Dynasty Titles Royal Nurse," 336–337.

²⁴³ Roehrig, "Eighteenth Dynasty Titles Royal Nurse," 318.

²⁴⁴ Hardekopf, *Pharaos Kindheit*, 192–193.

became significant once a wet nurse's nursling became king. Objects dedicated to these women by the king would imply that the relationship between the king and wet nurse continued into adulthood. Hardekopf suggests that the title's importance was due to the proximity it gave the nurse and her family to the king and the benefit it provided to the careers of her husband and children and that the purpose of the private depictions of wet nurses was to demonstrate the existence of this personal relationship with the king.²⁴⁵ In the end, Roehrig and Hardekopf agree that the royal nurse held an intimate relationship with the royal family. However, they disagree on *why* this position was significant, primarily whether the position was esteemed and acknowledged by the royal family. Though this is a subtle difference, it has an impact on how we should understand the relationships between the king and his wet nurse.

As Roehrig and Hardekopf have both done extensive examinations of the various depictions of the royal nurse (*mn't nswt*), I will not attempt that here, but rather, I will address several examples from their research to illustrate the types of evidence for these women and how they and their relationships with the king were depicted. First, one of the most documented and depicted royal wet nurses is Baky, nurse of Amenhotep II. She appears frequently accompanying her husband, Amenemhab, in the larger offering scenes of his tomb (TT 85) in Sheikh Abd el-Qurna.²⁴⁶ In one, Baky is shown making an offering of a bouquet to the king. The text accompanying the scenes calls her "chief nurse of the Lord of the Two Lands, one praised of the Good God, who nurtured the god, one who suckled well, whose breast was united with Horus, servant of the king, Baky."²⁴⁷ Not only do these

²⁴⁵ Hardekopf, *Pharaohs Kindheit*, 194–195, 263.

²⁴⁶ Roehrig, "Eighteenth Dynasty Titles Royal Nurse," 166–171. Hardekopf also mentions Baky, Hardekopf, *Pharaohs Kindheit*, 186–187, 236.

²⁴⁷ Translation from Roehrig, "Eighteenth Dynasty Titles Royal Nurse," 169.

epithets attest to her role being that of a breast-feeder, but they also demonstrate the honor with which the position was held. In fact, other scenes in the tomb show Baky with the king on her lap and may have even shown her nursing the king. In one, she is referred to as “one sweet of breast, who suckles healthfully.”²⁴⁸ Similar to some scenes of divine nursing,²⁴⁹ Baky holds the king while offerings are being made to him, in this case, by her husband.²⁵⁰ The parallel nature of these scenes may aid in drawing similarities between wet nurses and goddesses. Finally, in one scene, she is called “one whose two arms embraced the Good God, whose breast was united with Horus, mistress of a tomb upon the west of Thebes.”²⁵¹ Baky’s epithets emphasize her relationship with the king and that this relationship and her duties centered around breastfeeding. Due to her prominence in the tomb and the statement “mistress of a tomb,” Roehrig suggests that Baky may have been a joint owner of the tomb or had her own tomb somewhere, potentially in the Valley of the Kings.²⁵² This is unusual for women but may indicate that the status of royal wet nurses allowed for such exceptions. Later, Nofretwah, another royal nurse, appears in scenes seemingly copied from Baky in the tomb of her husband (TT 350) also in Sheikh Abd el-Qurna,²⁵³ attesting to the desirability of these images and titles, and the continued relevance of the position of royal wet nurse.

Next, a nurse of Amenhotep II, of unknown name, appears in three scenes in the tomb of her son Kenamun (TT 93), also in Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, in a place of honor and is

²⁴⁸ Translation from Roehrig, “Eighteenth Dynasty Titles Royal Nurse,” 170.

²⁴⁹ See, for example, Cat.1.19 and Cat.1.60.

²⁵⁰ Roehrig, “Eighteenth Dynasty Titles Royal Nurse,” 170.

²⁵¹ Translation from Roehrig, “Eighteenth Dynasty Titles Royal Nurse,” 170.

²⁵² Roehrig, “Eighteenth Dynasty Titles Royal Nurse,” 171.

²⁵³ Roehrig, “Eighteenth Dynasty Titles Royal Nurse,” 198–200.

even shown on the same scale as her son.²⁵⁴ One of these scenes depicts Kenamun's mother seated on a low-back throne, holding the king (as a small adult in full regalia) on her lap. In a gesture of familiarity, the king reaches his hand toward the nurse's shoulder and hair, as her right hand supports the back of his head and her left holds his elbow (Figure 11).²⁵⁵ Significantly, Kenamun's mother appears both larger than the king and in physical contact with his person, unusual for royal depictions. The two sit under a canopy as people bring offerings and play music, once again drawing similarities with some divine nursing scenes. Davies proposes that the purpose of this image was to demonstrate the elevated position held by Kenamun's mother as royal nurse.²⁵⁶ Clearly, Kenamun's mother relationship with the king provided her with unique access to the king, both physically and in imagery. It was also evidently important enough to her family's status and reputation for Kenamun to dedicate such a large image to the subject in his tomb.

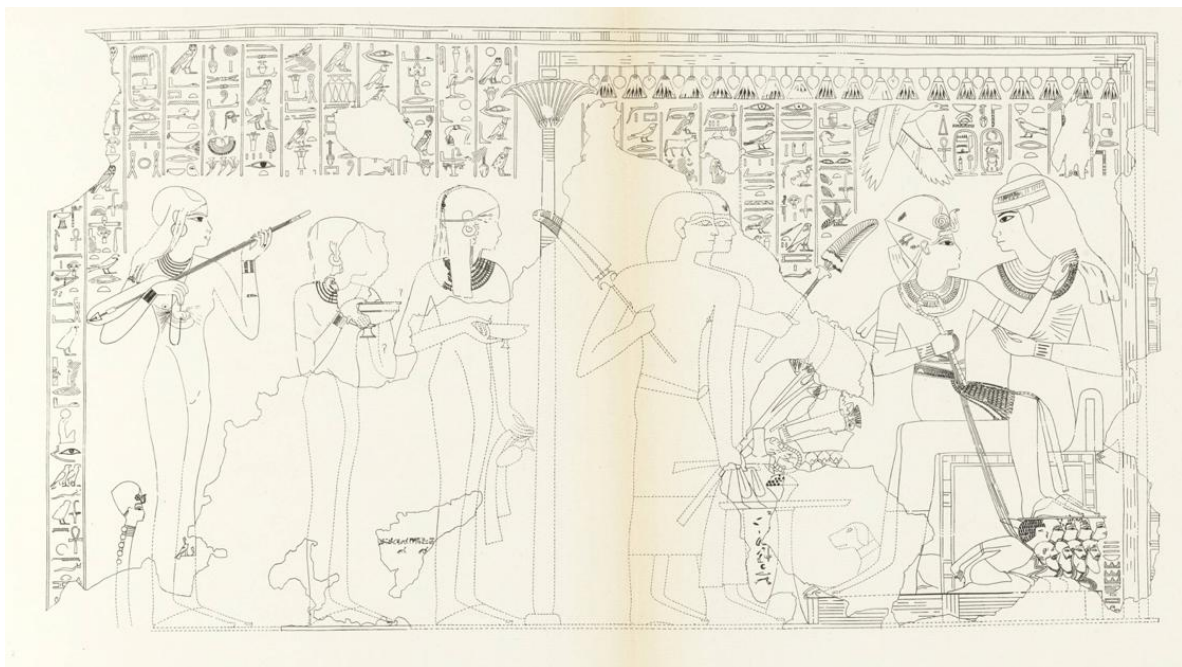


Figure 11. Scene from Tomb of Kenamun (Davies, *Tomb of Ken-Amun*, pl. IX)

²⁵⁴ Roehrig, "Eighteenth Dynasty Titles Royal Nurse," 111–113.

²⁵⁵ See Nina de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Ken-Amun at Thebes* (New York: Arno Press, 1930), pl. IX.

²⁵⁶ Davies, *Tomb of Ken-Amun*, pl. IX.

Several kings are known to have had multiple wet nurses during the 18th dynasty, raising issues especially relevant to the discussion in this thesis.²⁵⁷ First, multiple wet nurses could reflect the many goddesses who nurse the king. For example, across his many divine nursing scenes, Ramesses II is nursed by Anukis, Isis, Hathor, Mut, and Nut.²⁵⁸ Perhaps this demonstrates a similar role between the king's human and divine nurses. Second, this multiplicity may add an important element to our understanding of the relationships created through milk. Each royal nurse was able to publish her relationship with the king without issue or contradiction. Though royal depictions do not necessarily reflect everyday practices, it can be surmised that the relationship between nurse and nursling was not limited to two individuals. Closely related, the use of several wet nurses may suggest a different nursing culture, at least royally, than the modern, single devoted wet nurse. Amenhotep II had at least nine wet nurses.²⁵⁹ This is, potentially, a great deal of breastmilk for a single infant. Perhaps the women were also caring for their own children and therefore only providing a portion of their milk to the king, or possibly they acted as wet nurses at different times in the king's upbringing. Nevertheless, it is unlikely they were spending his entire childhood with him. This recalls Roehrig's suggestion that the position allowed several women (and their families) to develop relationships with the young king.

In addition to the depiction of these wet nurses in the tombs of family members, wet nurses and their titles appear on various objects.²⁶⁰ One of special interest is the statue

²⁵⁷ Hardekopf, *Pharaohs Kindheit*, 185–187.

²⁵⁸ See Appendix 1, Cat.1.41-49 and Cat.2.22-23.

²⁵⁹ Roehrig, "Eighteenth Dynasty Titles Royal Nurse," 111–189.

²⁶⁰ See for example the "Dummy Jar Inscribed for Sennefer and Senetnay," Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 32.2.6, accessed 10 July 2024, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/557557>; "jar," British Museum EA32078, accessed 10 July 2024, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA32078;

of Sitre, the wet nurse of Hatshepsut (JE 56246). Though fragmentary, the statue depicts Sitre seated on a chair with the king, as a small adult, on her lap (Figure 12). What remains of Sitre's right arm appears to indicate that she was originally holding her breast to Hatshepsut while supporting her head or back, a gesture indicative of breastfeeding.²⁶¹ The fragments of the statue were discovered among the remains of sculptures originally from Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahari. Thus, Roehrig suggests that the statue may have originally been located within the temple itself.²⁶² Winlock suggests it was set up in the Hathor chapel or near the birth sequence on the terrace based on the shared subject of nursing,²⁶³ perhaps indicating a direct parallel between the role of royal wet nurses and the goddesses depicted in the divine birth sequence or the divine nursing scenes of the Hathor chapel. The presence of the statue within the precincts of the temple also attests to the royal involvement in their representation. This statue, the granting of tombs,²⁶⁴ the dedication of funerary objects, and the unique ability to show the king in such intimate scenes all attest to the king's approval and involvement in royal wet nurse imagery. Thus, though I do acknowledge that many, if not most, of these depictions are meant to demonstrate the family's close ties to the king through their mother or wife's role as royal

"shabti," British Museum EA66677, accessed 10 July 2024, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA66677.

²⁶¹ Roehrig, "Eighteenth Dynasty Titles Royal Nurse," 1006, pl. 1001, 1002.

²⁶² Roehrig, "Eighteenth Dynasty Titles Royal Nurse," 1008.

²⁶³ Herbert E. Winlock, "The Museum's Excavations at Thebes," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 27, 2, no. 3 (1932): 10.

²⁶⁴ At least one nurse was even granted burial in the Valley of the Kings – Sitre, nurse of Hatshepsut (KV 60). Additionally, the burial equipment of Senetnay was found in KV 42 and Rey's coffin was found in a royal cache in the Valley that Roehrig suggests meant it was originally located nearby. Thus, Roehrig suggests nurses Senetnay, nurse of Amenhotep II and Rey nurse of Queen Ahmose-Nefertari may have also had burials in the valley. Roehrig suggests KV 39 as the possible tomb of Senetnay and a tomb near that of Ahmose-Nefertari for Rey. However, these are the only nurses for which evidence exists for burials in the Valley of the Kings, Roehrig, "Eighteenth Dynasty Titles Royal Nurse," 155–162.

nurse, at least some demonstrate a special relationship between the king and nurse, a bond that allowed them a unique status and level of esteem.

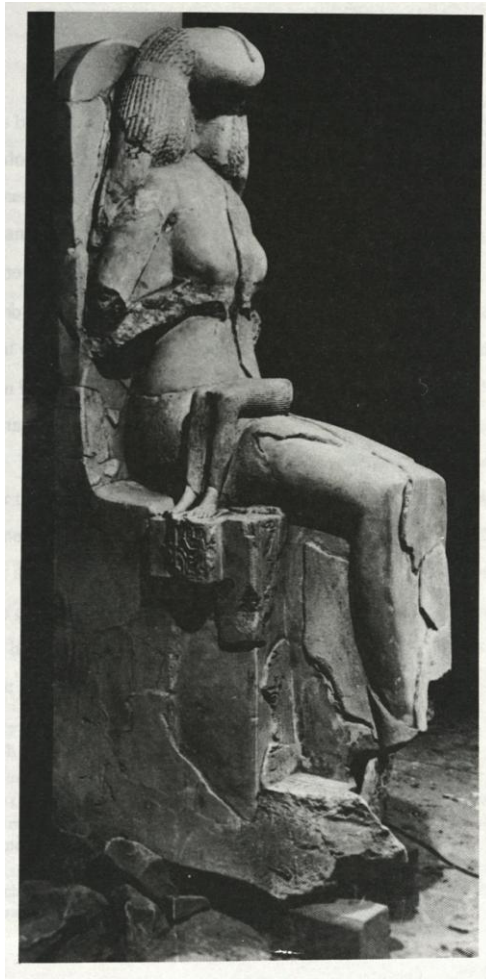


Figure 12. Statue of Sitre and Hatshepsut, JE 56246 (Roehrig, "Eighteenth Dynasty titles royal nurse," pl. 1)

2.2.2 Non-Royal Wet Nurses in Letters and Receipts

Looking at non-royal wet nurses, several preserved letters mention or discuss women identified by the term *mn't*. A unique text, P. Berlin 10497, from the New Kingdom (about the 20th dynasty, ca 1190–1077 BCE), perhaps originally from Deir el-Medina,²⁶⁵ reveals

²⁶⁵ Toivari-Viitala, *Women at Deir el-Medina*, 186–187.

complex interactions between a wet nurse and the family of her nursling. The sender (man) informs the recipient (woman) of the death of the wet nurse (*mn't*) lunry (*Jwnry*), who cared for three boys of the recipient's family. The sender complains that, as he lived in the household during this time, he should have been chosen as the children's tutor and is upset that someone else was chosen.²⁶⁶ Further, the letter states that lunry's daughter lived with and was raised by the recipient of the letter and should have taken over as wet nurse (*mn't*) after lunry.²⁶⁷ Additionally, at one point, the writer refers to the death of his mother. Given the context of the letter, it is possible that he is referring to lunry, making him her son.²⁶⁸ Thus, we see a relationship between the families of the nurse and nursling based on obligation and household structures.

Several observations can be made. First, lunry's daughter and the sender, who may be her son, lived with the family at some point, implying that during her time as wet nurse, lunry became part of the household, and to some extent, so did her children.²⁶⁹ Next, lunry took care of multiple children in the household. Unless this is a case of triplets, lunry would have spent a good deal of time with the family as children in ancient Egypt were generally breastfed for three years. However, this age is based on the *Instructions of Any*, discussed above, so should be cited with caution.²⁷⁰ It is also possible lunry served a household larger than just an immediate family, caring for children who were not siblings but rather cousins or other relations. Overall, this letter alludes to a complicated relationship between a family

²⁶⁶ Yasser Sabek, "Der hieratische Papyrus Berlin P 10497," *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 129, no. 1 (2002): 78–82.

²⁶⁷ Sabek, "Papyrus Berlin P 10497," 82.

²⁶⁸ Sabek, "Papyrus Berlin P 10497," 82.

²⁶⁹ Toivari-Viitala agrees that the wet nurse and her son entered the household, Toivari-Viitala, *Women at Deir el-Medina*, 186–187.

²⁷⁰ Audouit, "The Perception of Bodily Fluids in Ancient Egypt," 148.

and their nurse and her family based on social obligation. The writer feels the family owes him a position in the household based on his and lunry's relationship with the family. There also appears to be a hereditary nature to the position of *mn't* and perhaps other household positions, as the author feels lunry's daughter should have taken lunry's place.

Another reference to a non-royal wet nurse is found in a letter, P. Leiden I 370, also from the 20th dynasty, written from Thutmose to Butehamon reporting and issuing instructions. Thutmose and Butehamon were father-son and part of a high-ranking family of scribes in Deir el-Medina, with Butehamon succeeding Thutmose as a royal scribe, spanning the reigns of Ramesses XI and Smenides (late 20th dynasty to early 21st dynasty).²⁷¹ A portion of the letter instructs Butehamon to take care of the children well as did "this daughter of Hemesheri, her mother and wet nurse" or *t3y šry(t) n ḥmšrj t3y.st mwt t3y.st mn't*.²⁷² It is difficult to determine if this refers to three women, including a wet nurse (spelled here as *mn't*), or all describe one woman. Wente chose to translate it as "this daughter of Hemesheri, her mother, and her nurse,"²⁷³ with the comma implying they are separate individuals. Cavillier, however, translates it as "Hemesheri, her mother and her nurse," which, without the comma, is left more ambiguous.²⁷⁴ Hemesheri and her daughter appear in other letters implying the "daughter of Hemesheri" and "her mother" are two separate individuals,²⁷⁵ leaving just the question of "her mother" and "wet nurse." Given the lack of

²⁷¹ Giacomo Cavillier, *The Butehamon Project: researches on a royal scribe in Theban necropolis, volume I: The Sources* (Torino: Kemet, 2018), 5, 9–10.

²⁷² My translation based on hieroglyphs as they appear in Wilhelm Spiegelberg, *Correspondances du temps des rois-prêtres: publiées avec autres fragments épistolaires de la Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1895), 39–42. I consulted the translations of Spiegelberg, *Correspondances du temps des rois-prêtres*, 43; Edward F. Wente, *Late Ramesside Letters* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1967), 27–28.

²⁷³ Wente, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 27–28.

²⁷⁴ Cavillier, *The Butehamon Project*, 127.

²⁷⁵ See, for example, the two together in Papyri Bibliothèque Nationale 199, 5–9 + 196, V + 198, IV and Papyrus Geneva D 407 in Wente, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 21–22, 33–34. See just Hemesheri mentioned in Papyrus

possessive pronoun on *mnṯ* and that nowhere in the letters collected by Wente is Hemesheri described as a *mnṯ*,²⁷⁶ I inclined to believe these are three individual women; however, this is by no means definitive. If this is the case, the comparison of care given by the scribe to that of the mother and wet nurse implies that the wet nurse's care for the child likely went beyond providing breastmilk. Further, the nurse was not a replacement for the mother but rather cared for children alongside her. This parallel and complementary relationship echoes the images on the stelae of the Middle and New Kingdom, where the wet nurse appears alongside other female kin (mothers, grandmothers, sisters, etc.) as well as in the divine birth scenes of Hatshepsut (Cat.1.5) and Amenhotep III (Cat.1.19), where the king's mother, having just given birth, is shown alongside the goddess wet nurses. One does not replace or supplant the other, something that will be seen throughout the evidence examined here. On the other hand, if the mother and nurse are the same individual the choice to describe her by both titles may imply that the duties of mother and wet nurse were separate enough to mention that she fulfills both. In this case, we again see both mother and nurse serving roles that overlap while being separate. Without more information on the family of Hemsheri, it is difficult to know for sure.

Another text, O. Letellier, is a 19th dynasty (ca 1292–1191 BCE) letter in which Kenenkhepech (man) asks why Inerwau (woman) did not inquire of the wise woman regarding the death of two children.²⁷⁷ The line of special interest here is “What means your

British Museum 10326 in Wente, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 37–38. See the daughter of Hemesheri referenced on her own in Papyrus British Museum 10417 in Wente, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 46–47.

²⁷⁶ In addition to those in footnote 275, Hemesheri appears in Papyrus Turin 1973; Papyrus Griffith; Papyri Bibliothèque Nationale 196, II; Papyrus Turin 1971; Papyrus Geneva D 192; Papyrus Turin 1974+1945; Papyri Bibliothèque Nationale 196, III; Papyri Bibliothèque Nationale 197, VI; Papyrus Turin 2026 in Wente, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 20, 32, 42, 49–50, 51, 56–57, 67, 76–77, 83–84 (respectively)

²⁷⁷ Bernadette Letellier, “La destinée de deux enfants, un ostracon rameside inédit,” in *Livre du Centenaire de l'Ifao 1880-1980*, ed. Jean Vercoutter (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, 1980), 132.

failing to go to the woman diviner on account of the two infants who died while in your charge?”²⁷⁸ Later on, the author uses the phrase “...get a view of my own life and their mother’s life,”²⁷⁹ referring to the desire for the wise woman to also provide information regarding the lives of the author (Kenenkhepech) and the mother as well, perhaps their destiny or future. The association of the life of Kenenkhepech and the mother implies that he was the children’s father. Based on the letter’s content, Letellier suggests that Inerwau had some level of responsibility for the children, which is why she is being asked to inquire regarding their deaths. He suggests that she was either a nurse, servant, or midwife.²⁸⁰ Given that information is sought regarding the mother’s life, it might be implied she is still alive and involved in the lives of the children. Thus, this letter is often discussed in studies of New Kingdom wet nurses, but it is impossible to know for sure whether Inerwau was a wet nurse, a female relative, caregiver, or perhaps a neighbor or friend. Yet, it attests to the responsibility for childcare being shared with individuals beyond just a child’s biological mother and father.

Finally, on P. Turin 1880 verso, also known as the Turin Strike Papyrus, is a text dated to the reign of Ramesses III (ca 1187–1157 BCE) for payment to a doctor (*swnw*²⁸¹) and wet nurse (*mnꜥt*) by a man named Weser-hat. The doctor and nurse are to be given various items of specific values totaling 22 deben for the doctor and 30 ½ deben for the wet nurse. At the

²⁷⁸ Translation from Edward F. Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt* (Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1990), 142. See also Letellier, “La destinée de deux enfants,” 129.

²⁷⁹ Translation from Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, 142. See also Letellier, “La destinée de deux enfants,” 132.

²⁸⁰ Letellier, “La destinée de deux enfants,” 132; Deborah Sweeney, “Women Growing Older in Deir el-Medina,” in *Living and Writing in Deir el-Medina: socio-historical embodiment of Deir el-Medina texts*, ed. Andreas Dorn and Tobias Hofmann (Basel: Schwabe, 2006), 141.

²⁸¹ Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary*, 217; Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch*, 677.

end of the text is an oath by Weser-hat to not leave his three daughters.²⁸² Given the text's placement on the back of the Turin Strike Papyrus's strike text, it likely also comes from Deir el-Medina. Based on this, Sweeney has estimated the amount paid to the wet nurse as nearly three months' salary for an average workman.²⁸³ Therefore, we know that in some cases wet nurses were hired and given payment via a barter or exchange of goods. Eyre suggests ancient documents served as a demonstration of management and "social practice,"²⁸⁴ meaning these lists may have been a physical representation of the agreement between Weser-hat and the wet nurse rather than a contract or receipt with the intention of consulting it in the future.²⁸⁵ If this was the case, the creation of the list attests to a type of formal agreement between the father and wet nurse.

Though nothing further is known of Weser-hat and his family, McDowell suggests, based on the inclusion of the oath to not leave his daughters, that Weser-hat was a widower, his wife having died in childbirth, making this oath potentially necessary and explaining the need for a wet nurse and doctor.²⁸⁶ However, this supposes that a doctor was called to handle the childbirth. While it is possible, this is likely a contemporary assumption as birth and infant care have become more medicalized in modern society. The presence of the doctor may not indicate a recent birth but a separate issue that could still involve the mother or child. Further, though Weser-hat may have been their father, he could also have

²⁸² Alan H. Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents* (London, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1948), 47–48; Andrea G. McDowell, *Village Life in Ancient Egypt: Laundry Lists and Love Songs* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 36; Wilhelm Pleyte, *Papyrus Turin: Textes* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1869–1876), pl. 39–40.

²⁸³ Sweeney, "Women at Deir el-Medina," 249. Davies has estimated the payment to the doctor was approximately two months' salary for an ordinary workman, Benedict G. Davies, *Life within the Five Walls. A Handbook to Deir el-Medina* (Wallasey: Abercromby Press, 2018), 82.

²⁸⁴ Christopher Eyre, *The Use of Documents in Pharaonic Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 4, 8–9, 12.

²⁸⁵ Eyre, *The Use of Documents*, 9–12.

²⁸⁶ McDowell, *Village Life in Ancient Egypt*, 36.

been a guardian or family member taking care of the children and calling them his daughters (the use of the term *s:t*, typically translated as “daughter,” for other kin relationships having been discussed in 2.1.2). At the very least, the text reveals that wet nurses were an option for families and, in some cases, were compensated for their services. Being listed along with the doctor also indicates a level of professionalism for wet nurses. McDowell points out that the amounts paid to the doctor and the wet nurse are of similar monetary value, though she acknowledges that the wet nurse’s care presumably spanned a much greater period.²⁸⁷ Ultimately, this text lends a formality to the care of a wet nurse in at least some situations.

Other references to *mn:t* can be difficult to interpret. Several ostraca from Deir el-Medina include *mn:t*. In some cases, it is a title given to a woman in a list of individuals or serves as part of a proper name.²⁸⁸ The prevalence of this title in evidence from Deir el-Medina, including P. Turin 1880 verso, may attest a more frequent use of wet nurses here compared to other parts of Egypt. As a worker’s town, individuals and their families were brought together from areas where they presumably had had larger kin groups.²⁸⁹ If, indeed, ancient Egyptians relied upon kin groups for nursing (see discussion below), this displacement may explain why much of the evidence for wet nurses comes from Deir el-

²⁸⁷ McDowell, *Village Life in Ancient Egypt*, 36.

²⁸⁸ See for example O. Louvre N 0696 reverse; O. DeM 134; O. Cairo CG 25705 + O. IFAO 01322 + O. Varille 38

²⁸⁹ Gabler has demonstrated that in some cases, groups of kin were able to settle near each other within Deir el-Medina as well as the tendency for kin groups to settle in the same area generally, Katherin Gabler and Anne-Claire Salmas, ““Make Yourself at Home”: Some “House Biographies” from Deir el-Medina, with a Special Focus on the Domestic (and Funerary) Spaces of Sennedjem’s Family,” in *Deir el-Medina Through the Kaleidoscope. Proceedings of the International Workshop Turin 8th-10th October 2018*, ed. Federico Poole, Paolo Del Vesco, and Susanne Töpfer (Modena: Formazione e Ricerca, 2022), 75–141. This might imply settling in larger kin-groups was the norm in ancient Egypt. Further, understanding of how kin-groups may have differed in Deir el-Medina versus other ancient Egyptian areas may be achieved via research like Gabler and Salmas’s “House Biographies” and sources such as the *Stato Civile*, Gabler and Salmas, ““Make Yourself at Home,”” 75–141; Katherin Gabler, “The Women of Deir al-Medina in the Ramesside Period: Current State of Research and Future Perspectives on the Community of Workers,” in *Women in Ancient Egypt: Revisiting Power, Agency, and Autonomy*, ed. Miriam F. Ayad (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2022), 253; Robert Demarée and Dominique Valbelle, *Les Registres de Recensement du Village de Deir El-Medineh (Le “Stato Civile”)* (Leuven: Peeters, 2011).

Medina. These individuals would have had to look outside their kin groups to aid in roles (like wet-nursing) which would have otherwise been fulfilled within kin groups. However, as few towns have been fully excavated, this might also be a matter of preservation and excavation.

These letters and receipts represent some of the most realistic records of wet nursing in ancient Egypt. Due to their nature as letters, they are likely not idealized in the same way as tomb reliefs or stelae are. However, as noted by Navratilova, letters were still a means of self-presentation, just for a different audience and for a different purpose.²⁹⁰ For example, in the letter P. Berlin 10497, discussed above, the sender characterizes himself and his relationship with the recipient in such a way as to invoke obligation in order to convince the recipient of his right to a position in the family. Yet, these letters and receipts indicate the presence and role played by wet nurses within the households of the New Kingdom from perspectives that differ from sources like monumental texts or wisdom literature. They also attest to the individual circumstances, choices, and situations in which these women operated and lived.

2.2.3 Non-Royal Wet Nurses in Medical/Magical Texts

One of the few textual references to non-royal *mn't* outside of letters comes from P. Berlin 3027, known as the *Book of Mother and Child*. Proposed dates for the text range from the late Second Intermediate Period (ca 1759–1539 BCE) to the 19th–20th dynasties (ca 1292–1077 BCE);²⁹¹ however, the text's language suggests it originated in the Middle Kingdom (ca

²⁹⁰ Hana Navratilova, "Self-Presentation in the Eighteenth Dynasty," in *Living Forever: Self-Presentation in Ancient Egypt*, ed. Hussein Bassir (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2019), 141–142.

²⁹¹ Ulrike Dubiel, *Amulette, Siegel und Perlen: Studien zur Typologie und Tragesitte im Alten und Mittleren Reich* (Academic Press/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008), 71; Adolf Erman, *Zaubersprüche für Mutter und Kind. Aus*

1980–1760 BCE).²⁹² The text contains various instructions related to the protection and care of mothers and children. One of these sets of instructions, named Saying P by modern scholars, gives directions for the creation of a protective amulet. Before the instructions for tying the amulet, the text inquires if the child is warm. It then says *nn mwt.k hn.k nn snt jm snf nn mn't r wdj s3*, “Your mother is not with you. There is no sister to succor (you). There is no wet nurse to give protection.”²⁹³ Once again, we see the wet nurse listed alongside the mother and another female relative. The mother, wet nurse, and sister all work together for the infant’s care. Yamazaki suggests that the questions are posed to demonstrate the desperate condition of the child.²⁹⁴ While emphasizing the child’s lack of support, it then also indicates who would have been expected to offer such care to the child.

2.2.4 Non-Royal Wet Nurses on Stelae

Though not as frequent as in the Middle Kingdom, there are examples of wet nurses appearing alongside families on New Kingdom stelae. The stela of Penamun (Louvre E. 3447) of unknown provenance, dated stylistically to the 18th dynasty (ca 1539–1292 BCE), depicts Penamun, a lector priest during the reign of Amenhotep I, standing and offering a lotus flower to his mother seated on a chair.²⁹⁵ Behind Penamun, a wet nurse breastfeeds an

dem Papyrus 3027 des Berliner Museums (Berlin: Verl. der königlichen Akad. der Wissenschaften, 1901), 6; Naoko Yamazaki, *Zaubersprüche für mutter und kind. Papyrus Berlin 3027* (Berlin: Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2003), 2.

²⁹² Dubiel, *Amulette, Siegel und Perlen*, 71; Erman, *Mutter und Kind*, 6; Yamazaki, *Zaubersprüche für mutter und kind*, 3; Richard B. Parkinson, *Voices from Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Middle Kingdom Writings* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 129–130.

²⁹³ My translation based on the hieroglyphs as recorded in Erman, *Mutter und Kind*, 38–39. See also the translations in Yamazaki, *Zaubersprüche für mutter und kind*, 40; Dubiel, *Amulette, Siegel und Perlen*, 71. See also

²⁹⁴ Yamazaki, *Zaubersprüche für mutter und kind*, 41.

²⁹⁵ “Stèle of Penimun,” Louvre E 3447, accessed 10 November 2023, <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010025024>; Backhouse, ‘Scènes de Gynécées’, 106.

infant while kneeling, a common pose for nursing women,²⁹⁶ with the text identifying her as *mn.t*. The lower register depicts other family members, including sons and daughters (Figure 13). Not only does the nurse appear on a stela among the family without the inclusion of other servants, but the nurse appears in parallel with Penamun's mother. Both women are of equal size and appear with a figure of Penamun, mirroring each other. His relationship with each is the primary focus of the upper register. In the second register, he receives libations before his children. Thus, each image illustrates the people who provide for him and who fall under his influence. In this case, the nurse appears as another individual who did and would continue to provide for Penamun as part of his circle of kin.

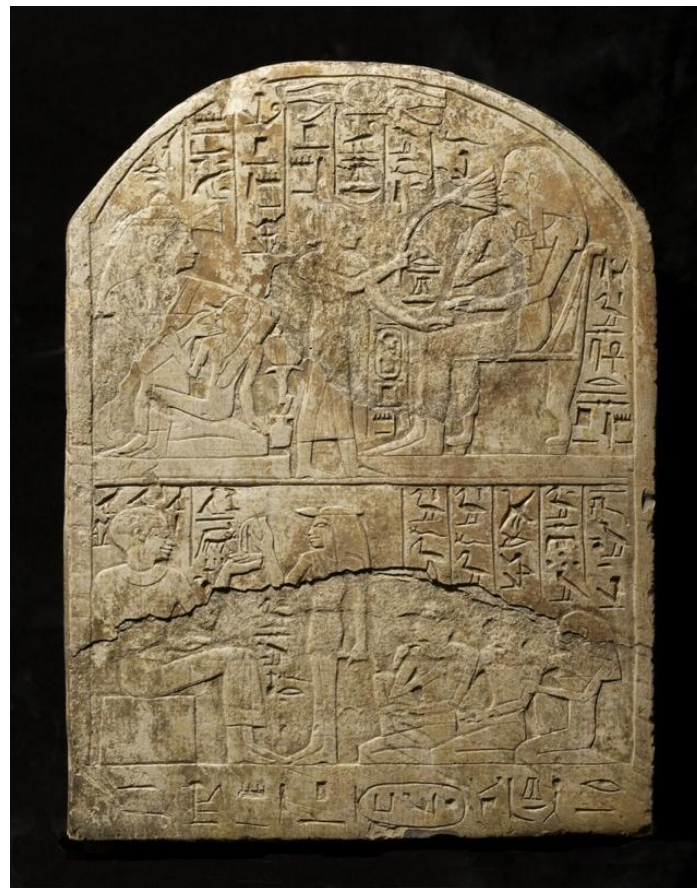


Figure 13. Stela of Penamun (Louvre E 3447, accessed 12 January 2024, <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010025024>)

²⁹⁶ See Maruejol, "La Nourrice," 311–319.

Though not shown breastfeeding, stela fragment CG 34166 (of unknown provenance) depicts a woman identified as a *mnṯ*. The name of the stela owner is not preserved. The stela shows two women in front of an offering table. The first holds a lotus flower, while the second holds the arm of the first. The text identifies the first as *sṯ.f* (“his daughter”), whereas the second is called *mnṯ.s* (“her nurse”). In this case, an intimate relationship is implied through the physical contact between the two women. Without the rest of the stela, it is difficult to say what the context for this scene would have been; however, it bears great similarity to many other depictions of wet nurses accompanying their nurslings in scenes of parents and their children. It is interesting that the nurse is identified as being that of “his” daughter rather than himself, presumably the subject of the stela. A similar depiction will be seen in the tomb relief Florence Fragment 2557 below.

As will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5, whether stelae reflect the reality of Egyptian kin groups and households can be questioned. As objects of self-presentation, the individuals shown tell us something about the subject of the stela – those who will care for them, those under their care, and those who were in their social sphere. The appearance of wet nurses on stelae implies they fell into one or all of these categories. We see an idealized representation of the position a wet nurse might hold within the social and family sphere: a role as part of the household or kin based on the care she gives the children alongside other female kin.

2.2.5 Non-Royal Wet Nurses in Tomb Reliefs

Finally, non-royal wet nurses, like royal ones, appear in tomb reliefs. In the 18th dynasty tomb of Bebi from El-Kab, wet nurses appear alongside children in multiple scenes. Above a niche in the hall of the tomb, Bebi and his wife appear with their sons, wet nurses, and

servants (Figure 14).²⁹⁷ To the west of the niche, Bebi and his wife, with a wet nurse standing behind them, appear before an offering table, including a list of servants in the household, paralleling those images of nurses where they appear among servants discussed by scholars like Kasparian and Millard (Figure 15).²⁹⁸ The nurses appear to outrank the servants based on their positions among the children and proximity to the deceased and his wife, but this could still place them in service to the family. In one scene, the wet nurse reaches out to the deceased's wife, potentially indicating her role as a servant.²⁹⁹ This once again blurs the line between family and servant when it comes to wet nurses. In either case, her appearance in the tomb indicates her place within the household and as part of the family's identity.



Figure 14. Above the niche in the hall of the Tomb of Bebi (Wreszinski, *Bericht über die photographische Expedition*, pl. 36 [lower])

²⁹⁷ Petrie MSS 5.8.146b [lower]; Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, V, 184 (181–182); Walter Wreszinski, *Bericht über die photographische Expedition von Kairo bis Wadi Halfa zwecks Abschluß der Materialsammlung für meinen Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte* (Halle a S.: Max Niemeyer, 1927), pl. 36.

²⁹⁸ See Kasparian, “La condition des nourrices,” 115; Millard, “The Position of Women,” 310–311.

²⁹⁹ Wreszinski, *Bericht über die photographische Expedition*, pl. 36 [upper].



Figure 15. Scene to west of niche in hall of Tomb of Bebi (Wreszinski, *Bericht über die photographische Expedition*, pl. 36 [upper])

Similarly, wet nurses are included alongside the children in the Tomb of Paheri (El-Kab 3) from the 18th dynasty.³⁰⁰ Paheri was the son of a tutor of the king's son.³⁰¹ In a banquet scene on the east wall of the tomb, various ancestors, relatives, and friends appear drinking and holding lotuses (Figure 16). Among these guests, seated beside his daughters are two women labeled *mnṯ.f* ("his nurse").³⁰² The scene bears many similarities to depictions of nurses in Middle Kingdom tombs like that of Khnumhotep from Beni Hasan.³⁰³ As is often the case, it is assumed the pronoun ("his") refers to the tomb owner, implying that these are Paheri's wet nurses. This inclusion of wet nurses among family and friends

³⁰⁰ Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, V, 177–180.

³⁰¹ Joseph J. Tylor and Francis Ll. Griffith, *The Tomb of Paheri at El Kab* (London: [Egypt Exploration Fund], 1894), 31–32, pl. ix–x.

³⁰² Tylor and Griffith, *The Tomb of Paheri at El Kab*, pl. vii.

³⁰³ Percy E. Newberry and George Willoughby Fraser, *Beni Hasan*, vol. I (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd., 1893), pl. xxxv.

suggests that in some cases, wet nurses were not only seen as part of the household (like other servants) but on a similar level to friends and kin. Now, there is the real possibility that they are included not because they were wet nurses, but they were chosen as wet nurses *because* they were kin or friends. Further, the appearance of three nurses, presumably of the same nursling (Paheri), is rather reminiscent of the multiple wet nurses of kings, both human and divine. Thus, having multiple nurses may not have been limited to the king. Practices where wet nurses are chosen from within kin or community groups would better fit this practice as multiple women could step in to care for and provide milk to an infant.

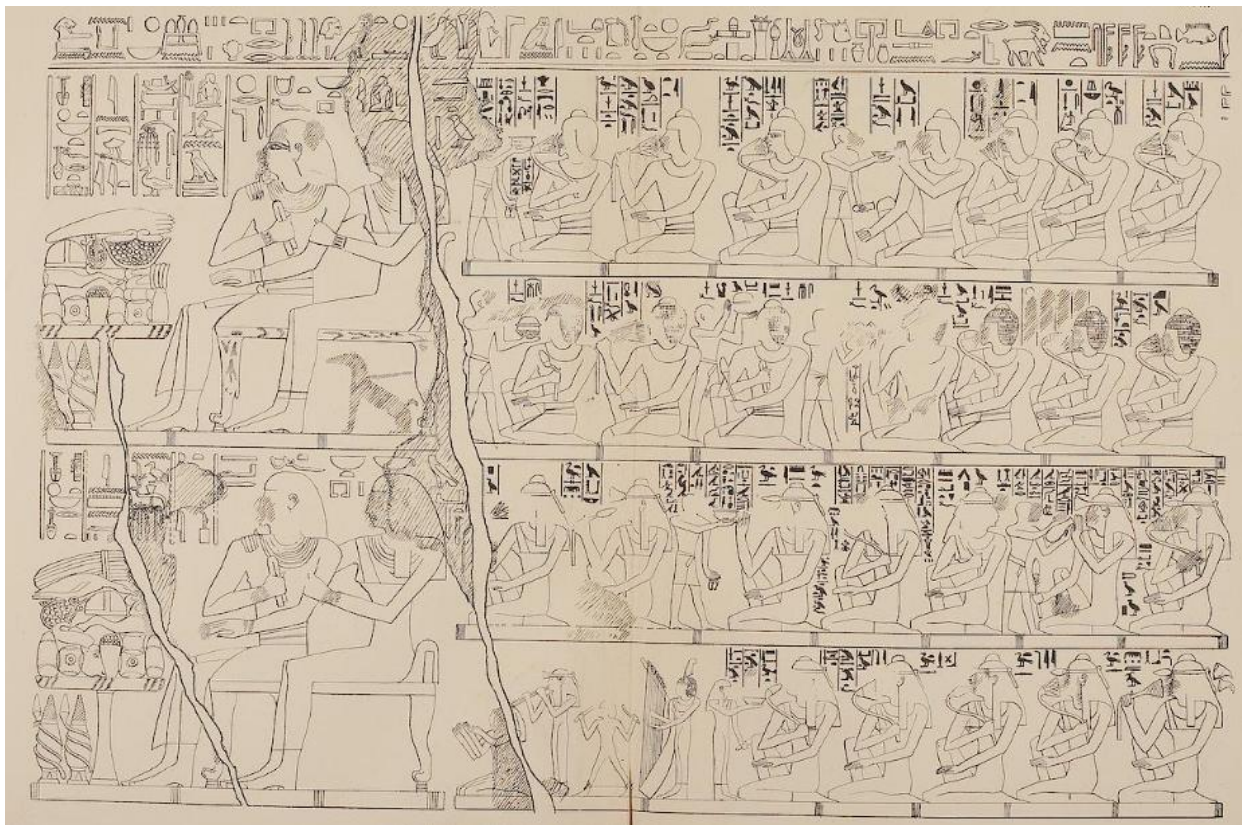


Figure 16. East wall of Tomb of Paheri (Tylor, *The Tomb of Paheri at El Kab*, pl. vii)

Multiple nurses also appear in the tomb of Userhet (TT 56) in Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, in the 18th dynasty.³⁰⁴ To the right of the entrance of the tomb appears a large offering scene showing Userhet and his wife making offerings to Amun-Re, Horakhty, and Osiris. Behind the deities are three registers of smaller figures making offerings, carrying objects, and receiving offerings.³⁰⁵ Of interest here, the middle register depicts a group of five seated women receiving offerings from two men and accompanied by a servant. Three of the women are seated with children on their laps.³⁰⁶ Though no text is present in the scene to identify these women, and they are not shown in the act of nursing, the placement of the children on their laps heavily implies a nursing/tutor or caring relationship.³⁰⁷ Further, the depiction is similar to the tomb of Khamwaset (TT A11), also from the New Kingdom, where women are shown nursing.³⁰⁸ Beinlich suggests that the three children are the tomb owner's children based on their appearance elsewhere in the tomb as adults.³⁰⁹ Further, the presence of the three children makes it unlikely that these are the nurses of Userhet himself.³¹⁰ In contrast to the letter P. Berlin 10497, where a single wet nurse cares for three children, here multiple wet nurses appear among the children. It is possible that these wet nurses were not all with the family simultaneously, but rather as each child needed. These scenes may demonstrate variation in wet nursing practices, possibly based on class, region, means, or family tradition.

³⁰⁴ Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, I, 111–112. Here the scene is described as “man offering to women nursing children.” However, the women are not actually shown in the act of nursing.

³⁰⁵ Christine Beinlich-Seeber and Abdel Ghaffar Shedid, *Das Grab des Userhat (TT 56)* (Mainz, Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1987), 48–52, fig. 13, pl. 46.

³⁰⁶ “Das Digitale Schott-Archiv (DSA),” in *Schott Photos* (7 January 2024), 50971, 55073, 55116, 55118, 55119. <https://www.schott.uni-trier.de/index.php>; Beinlich-Seeber and Shedid, *Grab des Userhat*, 52–53, fig. 13, pl. 56, 44a.

³⁰⁷ Roehrig, “Eighteenth Dynasty Titles Royal Nurse,” 288.

³⁰⁸ Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, I/1, 450.

³⁰⁹ Beinlich-Seeber and Shedid, *Grab des Userhat*, 52–53.

³¹⁰ Beinlich-Seeber and Shedid, *Grab des Userhat*, 52, footnote 291.

The final tomb relief discussed here is a fragment of an interior tomb wall now in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Florence (2557), dated to the reign of Ramesses II (ca 1279–1213 BCE). It is unknown to which tomb this relief belongs.³¹¹ The fragmentary top register shows two seated figures before an offering table with five individuals approaching. The second register, and the one of interest here, depicts a woman and man sitting in front of an offering table, receiving various gifts from their six daughters, son, and the wet nurse (*mnꜥt*) Nafmentu. While five of the daughters and the son stand facing their parents, the wet nurse and one of the daughters kneel behind the others, holding lotus blossoms to their noses (Figure 17).³¹² The nurse is identified as the wet nurse of Iniunehet, lady of the house, one of the daughters in the scene.³¹³ Similar to other depictions, such as CG 34166 and the tomb of Paheri, the wet nurse is not associated with the deceased but with one of his children. Perhaps she was included due to a focus on Iniunehet (she appears first in the line of children) or just as a key part of the household. Regardless, this indicates that nurses were not included in tombs just to serve the deceased as they did in life but rather based on their roles and positions within the deceased's household and kin-group.

³¹¹ William B Berend, *Principaux monuments du Musée de Florence* (Paris: Imp. Nationale, 1882), no. 2557; Ippolito Rosellini, *Di un basso-rilievo egiziano della I. e R. Galleria di Firenze illustrazione* (Firenze: Stamperia Piatti, 1826), 5; Ernesto Schiaparelli, *Museo Archeologico di Firenze. Antichità Egizie*, vol. I (Rome: Tipografia Della R. Accademia dei Lincei, 1887), 325, 329–330.

³¹² Berend, *Musée de Florence*, pl. viii; Schiaparelli, *Museo Archeologico di Firenze*, I, 326.

³¹³ Berend, *Musée de Florence*, 62–63, pl. viii; Schiaparelli, *Museo Archeologico di Firenze*, I, 327. In his examination of the fragment Schiaparelli suggested that the woman who is shown kneeling beside the nurse was to be understood as the nurse's daughter rather than the daughter of the deceased. The woman is identified as *sꜥt.f*, presumably referring to her relationship with the seated male figure at the beginning of the scene and paralleling the descriptions for the rest of the daughters and son in the scene. However, Schiaparelli suggested that the suffix pronoun was a mistake and should instead be *.s*, and therefore be understood as “her daughter” referring to the nurse. He bases this suggestion on the fact that the woman kneeling beside the nurse and the woman identified at the beginning of the scene share the same name – Iniunehet – and he felt it highly unlikely that the daughter would appear twice in the same scene, Schiaparelli, *Museo Archeologico di Firenze*, I, 326–327. However, this assumes a mistake on the part of the Egyptian creator. Rather this stela may instead represent a form and relationship unique or new to us. Thus, I favor continuing to read the stela as it stands.

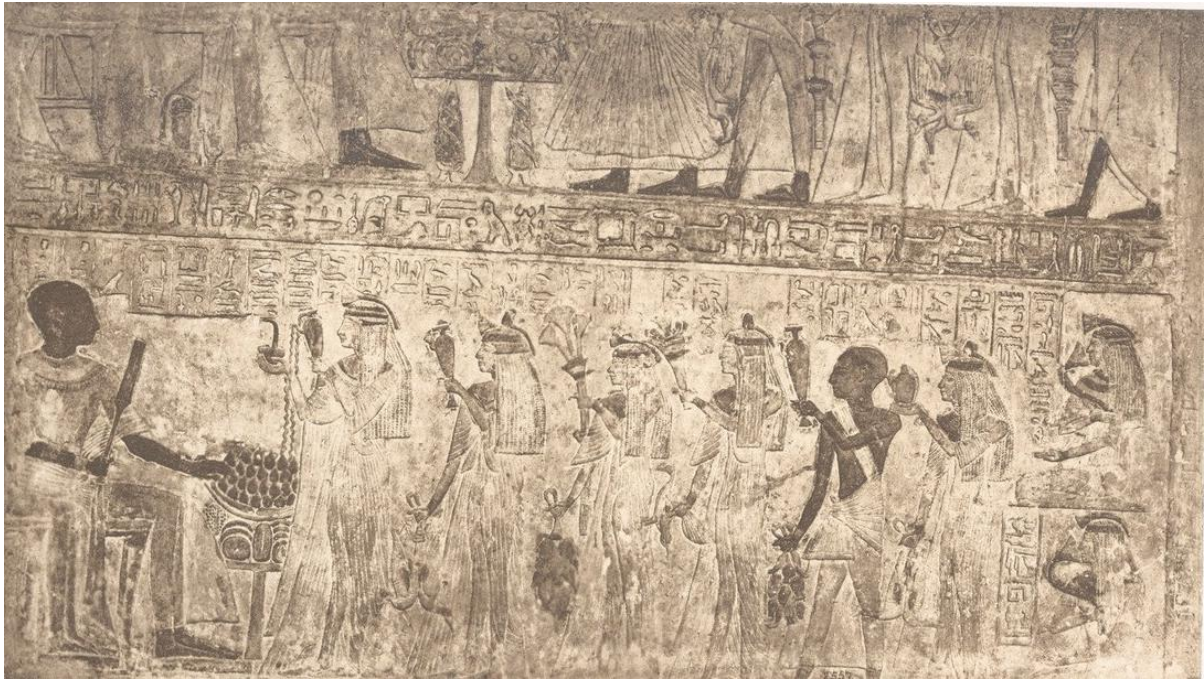


Figure 17. Tomb Relief Fragment, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Florence 2557 (Berend, *Musee de Florence*, pl. VIII)

It should be noted that like stelae, tomb scenes did not always, and were not intended to, represent reality (4.3.7). Tombs represented ideals, both individual and social. The images were functional, meant to facilitate an individual's transition after death and ensure a desired afterlife while ensuring their memory persisted in their community.³¹⁴ Thus, like their appearance on stelae, one must be cautious in accepting these images as depictions of "daily life." Jones notes regarding tombs, "Through their placement, architecture, and decoration they could replicate the living relationships between individuals, but they also provided the opportunity to forge new relationships between

³¹⁴ See Jan Assmann, "Vergeltung und Erinnerung," in *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens. Zu Ehren von Wolfhart Westendorf. Überreicht von seinen Freunden und Schülern. Band I: Sprache*, ed. Friedrich Junge (Göttingen: 1984), 691–692; Jan Assmann, "Sepulkrale Selbstthematization im Alten Ägypten," in *Selbstthematization und Selbstzeugnis Bekenntnis und Geständnis*, ed. Alois Hahn and Volker Kapp (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1987), 213; Nicola Harrington, *Living with the Dead: Ancestor Worship and Mortuary Ritual in Ancient Egypt* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2013), 88; Gabriele Pieke, "Remembering Forward: On the Transmission of Pictorial Representations in Tomb Decoration up to the New Kingdom," in *Perspectives on Lived Religion II: The Making of a Cultural Geography*, ed. Lara Weiss, Nico Staring, and Huw Twiston Davies (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2022), 49; María de los Ángeles Jiménez-Higueras, *The Sacred Landscape of Dra Abu El-Naga During the New Kingdom: People Making Landscape Making People* (Boston: Brill, 2020), 19.

individuals in death.”³¹⁵ Thus, the appearance of wet nurses attests to the relationships they had and the ones the tomb owner wanted them to have with the family and household. Further, they represented part of an individual’s circle of influence, a circle that was important to and aided in defining the deceased, much like his children, peers, and parents. This may be reminiscent of nurses appearing alongside an individual’s parents on Middle Kingdom execration figurines.³¹⁶ Execration rituals sought to identify and encapsulate the identity of the person at whom it was aimed. So, when the person’s titles, parents, and occasionally, wet nurses were included, it implies that the wet nurse was part of how one was identified and known.

2.3 Milk Siblings in the New Kingdom

To conclude this investigation of breastfeeding in the New Kingdom, it is beneficial to examine the relationship between the nurslings of the same wet nurse (including the wet nurses’ own biological children). In some cultures, kinship bonds are formed between “milk-siblings,” those who drink the same breastmilk.³¹⁷ Investigating the different relationships created by breastfeeding and breastmilk can illuminate the connotations behind or the implications of divine breastfeeding – who the nursling would then be connected to and who would now be considered related to him.

³¹⁵ Ellen Kathryn Jones, “Terms of Gendered Representation: Reassessing the Role of Elite Women in early-mid 18th Dynasty Funerary Iconography from Thebes and El-Kab” (PhD University of Oxford, 2020), 325.

³¹⁶ Georges Posener, “Le empreintes magiques de Gizeh et les morts dangereux,” *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 16 (1958): footnote 9 on page 264; Georges Posener, “Tablettes-figurines de prisonniers,” *Revue d’Égyptologie* 64 (2013): 138.

³¹⁷ Roslyn Malcom, “Milk’s Flow: Making and Transmitting Kinship, Health and Personhood,” *Med Humanit* 47, no. 3 (2021): 375–376; Palmquist, “Cooperative Lactation,” 130–131; Janet Carsten, “The Substance of Kinship and the Heat of the Hearth: Feeding, Personhood, and Relatedness among Malays in Pulau Langkawi,” *American Ethnologist* 22, no. 2 (1995): 227.

Often referred to as “milk-siblings” or “foster-siblings” in modern research and frequently based in kinship practices of many Islamic cultures,³¹⁸ scholars have come to various conclusions regarding the relationship between those nursed by the same breast-feeder in ancient Egypt. In his discussion of wet nurses as surrogate mothers, Kasparian asserts that though the children may not have been biologically related, it was just as real a bond between milk-siblings, fitting his interpretation of a nurse’s role as a substitute mother.³¹⁹ To support this reading, he cites the stela of Sekher (Liverpool no 1977-109-136), the stela of Khonsu (ÄS180), and the stela of Renseneb, which will be discussed below. Franke also suggested that milk-siblings were considered relatives and that they played an important role in the 18th dynasty royal circles.³²⁰ In regard to the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period, Stefanovic agrees with this interpretation, seeing milk as a means by which a relationship and kinship was created, and cites Franke in the discussion.³²¹ Hardekopf, however, disagrees and states that in royal contexts, the position of a milk-sibling was not appreciated or acknowledged by the royal family but rather using the title was a personal choice by the private individual and a way of building their own status.³²² This

³¹⁸ Scholars’ references to Islamic milk-relationships are often general and lack distinction between various Islamic cultures, instead referencing religious law, tradition, and practice. For example, see comments and observations by Carsten, “The Substance of Kinship,” 227; Marcia C. Inhorn et al., “Kinship and Assisted Reproductive Technologies: A Middle Eastern Comparison,” in *The Cambridge Handbook of Kinship*, ed. Sandra Bamford (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 518; Malcom, “Milk’s Flow,” 375; Palmquist, “Cooperative Lactation,” 130. For a discussion on some of the traditions, laws, and rulings regarding milk siblingship in Islam as well as other cultures which practice milk siblingship, see Virginia Thorley, “Milk siblingship, religious and secular: History, applications, and implications for practice,” *Women and Birth* 27 (2014): e17–e18.

³¹⁹ Kasparian, “La condition des nourrices,” 122–125.

³²⁰ Detlef Franke, *Altägyptische Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen im Mittleren Reich* (Hamburg, 1983), 102.

³²¹ Stefanović, *The Non-Royal Regular Feminine Titles*, 65.

³²² Hardekopf, *Pharaos Kindheit*, 206, 221.

would suggest that though there was a relationship between the king and his milk-siblings, it was limited to a professional advantage rather than an intrinsic kinship.

To start, it is important to discuss the phrases translated as foster-sibling or milk-brother/sister, most commonly appearing as *sn/snt n mnꜥ(y)* or a similar variation. As first suggested by Davies,³²³ this phrase has largely been accepted by scholars as referring to a sibling-like relationship based on the sharing of a wet nurse.³²⁴ However, Bryan has suggested that the translation should be “brother/sister of the nurse.”³²⁵ Though Bryan demonstrates that the various people given this title may have been siblings to a royal nurse, many of these relationships are theorized or suggested. Further, this translation would be unusual as it is not common for people to adopt epithets or to represent themselves in relationship to their siblings. It is much more common for titles to reflect parentage.³²⁶ Instead, multiple people with this title can be demonstrated to have been children of a royal nurse. Yet, there is still debate regarding the spelling of the word as it appears as *mnꜥy* in some cases. Without the *t*, the word may be an infinitive form of *mnꜥ* (“to nurse”) given that infinitives of third weak verbs often end in *t* or, occasionally, *y*, as may be the case here.³²⁷ Bryan acknowledges this possible understanding but rejects it as the verb *mnꜥ* does not appear as *mnꜥt* or *mnꜥy*. She further points out that the two words, *mnꜥt* or *mnꜥy*, are often

³²³ Davies, *Tomb of Ken-Amun*, footnote 2 on page 15.

³²⁴ Eрман and Grapow, *WB*, II, 78; Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch*, 338; Robert Schlichting, “Milchbruder,” in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, ed. Wolfgang Helck and Eberhard Otto (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1982), 127. See for example Franke, *Altägyptische Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen*, 102; Stefanović, *The Non-Royal Regular Feminine Titles*, 65.

³²⁵ Betsy Bryan, “The Title ‘Foster Brother of the King’,” *Journal for the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 9, no. 3 (1978): 118.

³²⁶ Roehrig, “Eighteenth Dynasty Titles Royal Nurse,” 310–311.

³²⁷ James E. Hoch, *Middle Egyptian Grammar* (Mississauga: Benben Publications, 1997), 64. For a definition of *mnꜥ* see Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary*, 108.

used interchangeably, irrespective of gender, as nouns referring to wet nurses and tutors.³²⁸

However, given that an infinitive of this word would possibly appear identical to these nouns, it is difficult to say these were never intended as such. Further, the *y*-ending is not consistent across attestations, as will be demonstrated. For these reasons, I will continue with the understanding of *sn/snt(.f) n mn'(y)* as someone nursed by the same breast-feeder, “brother/sister of nursing.” Overall, I will avoid the term “milk-sibling” as it does not reflect the way the relationship is defined. It is not the milk (*jrꜥt*) that creates this relationship but the nursing (*mn'*). No matter how it is translated, it is clear that the relationship is based around the act of nursing.

Due to the small amount of evidence for nursing-based siblingships, I will begin with some Middle Kingdom examples to inform my interpretation of the New Kingdom evidence. The late Middle Kingdom stela of Renseneb from Edfu includes a person described as *jn sn.f n mn' ssj mꜥ hrw sꜥnh rn.f*.³²⁹ Only Engelbach’s record of the hieroglyphs can be found for this stela, with no photo or drawing.³³⁰ On the stela, Sesi is described as “his brother of the wet nurse/nursing” (*sn.f n mn'*). Englebach translates the phrase as “His brother, the Tutor Sesi;”³³¹ however, this does not account for the indirect genitive (*n*). Some have suggested translating *n mn'* as “of the nursing.” If *mn'* was meant to be an infinitive “nursing” following an indirect genitive, one would expect a *t* or *y* ending for the weak verb. If it was meant as “of the nurse,” a *t* ending would also be expected as it appears on stelae of the same

³²⁸ Bryan, “The Title ‘Foster Brother of the King’,” 118.

³²⁹ For the hieroglyphs, see Reginald Engelbach, “Steles and Tables of Offerings of the Late Middle Kingdom from Tell Edfu,” *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte* 22 (1822): 122.

³³⁰ PM notes that the stela was likely seen at a dealer’s, and thus the likelihood of finding the stela or a photo is unlikely, Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, V, 203.

³³¹ Engelbach, “Steles and Tables,” 121–123.

period.³³² In this case, as both options are missing the expected ending, it is difficult to say if it should be translated as “his brother of the nurse” or “his brother of nursing.”

Nevertheless, the title is evidence for a relationship with someone other than a wet nurse defined in terms of nursing. The presence of a *sn.f n mn'* listed along with his mother, sister, and wife would demonstrate the placement of this relation within the kin group during the Middle Kingdom.

Next, the 13th to 17th dynasty (ca 1759–1540 BCE) stela of Khonsu (ÄS 180) from Abydos depicts 26 individuals, including mother, father, children, grandparents, uncles, and aunts.³³³ In the 4th register is a woman named Ipu who is called *mn't.f*. On the basis of this title, she is understood as the wet nurse (*mn't*) of the stela's subject Khonsu (*.f*).

Interestingly, in the register below her is a woman named Iu-nefert, who is called *s:t nt mn'.f*, or “daughter of his wet nurse.” Despite the lack of the *t* ending, I have chosen to translate this as “wet nurse” rather than “nursing” based on the text's placement as a label for the woman depicted. It is not uncommon for *t* endings to be left off.³³⁴ Thus, among the many family members of Khonsu, his nurse and possibly his nurse's daughter are included. Though she is not listed as his *sn/snt n mn'(y)*, the stela hints at her inclusion within the related group, at least in the idealized setting of the stela. Interestingly, two other women, Seneb-rehu and Neny, are described as *snt mwt nt mn'* or “sister of the mother of the wet

³³² Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch*, 138. See for example, “stela,” British Museum EA 143, accessed 7 January 2025, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA143 and Munich GL WAF 34 in Dyroff, Pörtner, and Spiegelberg, *Aegyptische Grabsteine und Denksteine* II, Tf. V.

³³³ “Stele des Chonsu,” Kunst Historisches Museum Inv. 180, accessed 4 November 2023, <https://www.khm.at/en/object/317671/>.

³³⁴ Kasparian understands this as “his nursing daughter” or as a child who had fallen under the care of the stela owner, Kasparian, “La condition des nourrices,” 125. However, with *mn'.f* Ipu appearing in the register just above, this may instead identify Iu-nefert as the daughter of Ipu. This is how it has been understood on the Persons and Names of the Middle Kingdom database, “Persons and Names of the Middle Kingdom,” accessed 7 January 2024, <https://pnm.uni-mainz.de/info>. For specific name see, “Wien ÄS 180,” Persons and Names of the Middle Kingdom, accessed 7 January 2024, <https://pnm.uni-mainz.de/2/inscription/1241>.

nurse/nursing” and sit in the same register as Ipu. Their exact relationship to Ipu and Khonsu is difficult to tell from this description; however, these women are all evidence of the variety and complex relationships defined by nursing.

Finally, the stela of Sekher (Liverpool 1977-109-136), dated to the 16-17th dynasty, depicts a figure labeled *sṯ.t.f nt mnꜥ*,³³⁵ translated literally as “his daughter of nursing.” Kasparian translated this as “his nurse’s daughter.”³³⁶ However, *mnꜥ* could also be understood as an infinitive, as mentioned previously, similar to the phrase *sn/snt n mnꜥ(y)*, implying that the status of “daughter” was created by means of breastfeeding. Thus, the phrase *sṯ.t.f nt mnꜥ* serves to incorporate or refer to the incorporation of the woman into the family through breastfeeding or a wet nurse.

From the New Kingdom, there are only three known individuals recorded as *sn/snt n(t) mnꜥ(y)*. All attestations date to the 18th dynasty and express a relationship with the king. First, Nebetta appears in a tomb of her grandson Menkheperresonb (TT 86) in Sheikh Abd el-Qurna,³³⁷ as Menkheperresonb is called “*ms n snt mnꜥ n nb tṯ.wy nt-tṯ mṯꜥt ḥrw*” (“born of the sister of nursing of the Lord of the Two Lands, Nebetta, true of voice”) in one of the tomb’s offering scenes.³³⁸ This title also appears on the funerary cone of Hekanefer, where

³³⁵ Piotr Bienkowski, Edmund Southworth, and Liverpool Museum, *Egyptian Antiquities in the Liverpool Museum: A List of Provenanced Objects* (Aris & Phillips: Warminster, Wiltshire, 1986), pl. 1; Kasparian, “La condition des nourrices,” 123.

³³⁶ Kasparian, “La condition des nourrices,” 123.

³³⁷ Roehrig, “Eighteenth Dynasty Titles Royal Nurse,” 18.

³³⁸ My translation of transliteration recorded in Roehrig, “Eighteenth Dynasty Titles Royal Nurse,” 19.

his wife is referred to as Nebetta's daughter.³³⁹ Based on the dates of the careers of her family members, Roehrig suggests she was "milk-sister" to Thutmose I.³⁴⁰

To return to an earlier example, Kenamun is by far the most well-known individual to appear with this title. Though Kenamun does not use the title *sn n mn'(y)* in his tomb, it appears on various other objects. On an Osiride statue of Kenamun (MMA 30.5.1), a portion of the text reads *sn mn'y n nb t'wy* or "nursing-brother (or brother of nursing) of the Lord of the Two Lands" (Figure 18).³⁴¹ The title also appears on eight of Kenamun's shabtis.³⁴² Here the *y* ending could be the infinitive of the verb *mn'*, meaning "nursing," as discussed previously. This relationship with the king is illustrated on the walls of Kenamun's tomb (TT 93) in Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, where Amenhotep II appears on Kenamun's mother's lap (Figure 11). The use of the title *sn n mn'y* on objects, but not in his tomb where the image of his mother and the king appear, gives pause. Even though Kenamun did not use the title in his tomb, it was clearly important as he chose to include his mother with the king. This might suggest a source other than Kenamun for the objects that bear this title, perhaps dependent on the purpose and function of the object. On the other hand, perhaps the title *sn n mn'y* was given more formally to Kenamun later in his career even though the relation through his mother already existed. Finally, as the title *sn n mn'(y)* is often found on small objects rather than tomb walls, it is quite possible that there are many more individuals who held this title but whose objects have been lost, repurposed, or destroyed.

³³⁹ Roehrig, "Eighteenth Dynasty Titles Royal Nurse," 20–22; Norman de Garis Davies, *Tombs of Menkheperresonb, Amenmose and Another (No 86, 112, 42, and 226)* (London: Egyptian Exploration Society, 1933), 15 footnote 13.

³⁴⁰ Roehrig, "Eighteenth Dynasty Titles Royal Nurse," 22..

³⁴¹ "Osiride Figure of Kenamun," Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 30.5.1, accessed 13 November 2023, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/548585>.

³⁴² Davies, *Tomb of Ken-Amun*, footnote 2 on page 15.



Figure 18. *Osiride Figure of Kenamun* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 30.5.1, accessed 10 July 2024, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/548585>)

The final example, Mutnofret appears in the tomb of Amenemopet (TT 29), where she is depicted making an offering to her mother, Senetay, a royal nurse, and her father, Sennefer. She is identified as *snt n mn'y*.³⁴³ She, too, was a child of a royal nurse, once again supporting the interpretation of *sn/snt n mn'(y)* as “brother/sister of nursing.”

³⁴³ Roehrig, “Eighteenth Dynasty Titles Royal Nurse,” 162–166.

Overall, evidence for ancient Egyptian ideas of siblings based on nursing is not conclusive. As all New Kingdom examples of relationships based on nursing include the king as the “sibling” and no examples survive of non-royals describing themselves as *sn/snt n mn(y)* or similar during the New Kingdom, this title is not guaranteed to represent wider social practice. Though in royal contexts it appears to have had enough significance to be mentioned by some in titles, it is very surprising that this title is not used more often as there must have been many more who could have claimed it, given the number of wet nurses known from the 18th dynasty. Thus, I suggest the title, given its appearance in only royal contexts during the New Kingdom, should not be understood as a kinship title but rather a title bestowed upon individuals who were children of royal wet nurses, likely by the king. Yet, based on the wider body of evidence explored here for wet nurses in general, there does appear to have been some social relationship between the wet nurse and the family of her nursling, including the wet nurse’s children. It is clear that the term “milk-siblings” is incorrect in describing this relationship. Milk (*jrꜥt*) was not the focus of these relationships. Currently there is no evidence to suggest milk was understood by the ancient Egyptians as a means of binding or forging relationships. Instead, ancient sources refer to milk as an agent of healing, rebirth, nourishment, and possibly, purification (2.1).³⁴⁴ This relationship was formed not by breastmilk (at least not only) but by the act of nursing, proximity, obligation, and having socialized together.

³⁴⁴ See for example Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 330–331; Skumsnes, “Alternative Body Worlds in Ancient Egyptian Healing Texts,” 13, 19–20; Pehal and Svobodová, “Death and the Right Fluids,” 117–122.

2.4 Conclusion: Social Context

Over the course of this examination, several overarching themes and trends emerge that are especially relevant to the discussion of divine nursing scenes in this thesis. First, breastfeeding imagery was not limited to private or domestic spheres, being found in temples, tombs, and votive offerings. It was an image that permeated various areas of society at every social level. This was especially the case in the Theban region, where many of the scenes from Chapters 4–5 originate. Thus, in addition to their temple and cultic contexts, divine nursing scenes should be considered within this larger context of nursing imagery. They were created and viewed in an environment in which breastfeeding was not an uncommon image.

Second, breastfeeding was an act with social meaning and consequences. It could tie people together, integrating one into the identity of the other, as evidenced by the presence of nurses on stelae and in tombs, locations associated with self-presentation and the representation of one's social identity (4.3.7 and 5.3.3). Whether mortal or deity, wet nurses were part of one's social identity. Anthropological research has observed breastfeeding's role in many cultures in one's identity and place within a community.³⁴⁵ When considering divine nursing scenes, the nursing goddess would become part of the king's identity as well as those of in his entourage or kin circle. The following three case studies will demonstrate that the identity of the goddess is integral to the scene's purpose and the viewer's understanding of the status and power of the king.

Third, breast-feeders were important for a child's upbringing. When acting as wet nurses, these women provided care alongside other family members, especially female ones

³⁴⁵ Maher, "Breast-feeding in Cross-cultural Perspective," 9–10.

like mothers and sisters. Wet nurses were not necessarily *replacements* for a biological mother or her milk. Depictions of the mother alongside the nurse, such as on the Stela of Penamun (Louvre E 3447) and possibly reflected in religious text referring to a goddess as mother and another as nurse, attest to, at least in some cases, the coexisting of mother and wet nurse. Often, the wet nurses appear as one of several protectors of the child, as in P. Berlin 3027. This may explain why we see multiple goddesses shown nursing the king. More than one goddess cares for him just as children were raised by mothers, wet nurses, and other female relatives.

Fourth, wet nurses may have been considered kin and were at least important members of the New Kingdom Egyptian household. Breastfeeding was a means of creating relationships. If we use as a framework Olabarria's attributes of kinship from her study of Middle Kingdom stelae,³⁴⁶ we find wet nurses meet several of these attributes. First, Olabarria observes that kin live in the same area or household.³⁴⁷ The evidence here clearly illustrates wet nurses' proximity to the kin group as they appear in various images alongside other kin on stelae and tomb reliefs. In texts, they are listed alongside other female kin and, in some cases, were taken into the household with their children as attested in P. Berlin 10497. Next, Olabarria states that kin are commemorated together on monuments.³⁴⁸ We see many examples throughout this section of wet nurses being commemorated alongside kin on stelae and in tombs. Further, Olabarria observes, "one of the main features of a kin group entails the relationship of reciprocity among its members and with the head of the

³⁴⁶ Olabarria, *Kinship and Family*, 77–94.

³⁴⁷ Olabarria, *Kinship and Family*, 77–80.

³⁴⁸ Olabarria, *Kinship and Family*, 80–82.

group.”³⁴⁹ There are several examples of reciprocity and obligation in the sources discussed in this chapter. Wet nurses appearing alongside mothers and sisters in providing care for an infant suggests obligation to the children of the group. In P Berlin 10497, there is evidence of the family’s obligation to members of the wet nurse’s family. Finally, the appearance of wet nurses in tomb reliefs and stelae among those offering food to the deceased suggests that they, too, were understood to fulfill this duty. It is also possible that individuals related through nursing (wet nurses or siblings) were listed as siblings or other kinship titles. Kinship terms in ancient Egypt are not as limited as modern definitions would suggest.³⁵⁰ In this case, relationships that are today referred to as “milk-siblings” may have been so common as to warrant little comment and not considered different from other types of siblingship.

For these depictions, it is helpful to consider the idea of substance. In kinship studies, substance is used to define and create kinship. Such substances may include blood, food, or milk.³⁵¹ Some have suggested breastmilk was one such substance in ancient Egypt, hence “milk-siblings.” However, there is no clear evidence that milk was understood as a substance of relatedness (see discussion at the end of 2.3). Instead, it appears to focus on the act of nursing. Nevertheless, nursing was the offering of sustenance or food. Olabarria has convincingly demonstrated the *ka* was possibly a substance of kinship in ancient Egypt. She notes that her conclusion is based in part on the role of food and nourishment in the formation of kinship and the relationship between funerary offerings and the *ka*, saying “If

³⁴⁹ Olabarria, *Kinship and Family*, 90–93, 193.

³⁵⁰ Olabarria, *Kinship and Family*, 65–67.

³⁵¹ Janet Carsten, “The Stuff of Kinship,” in *The Cambridge Book of Kinship*, ed. Sandra Bamford (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 138–139; Carsten, “The Substance of Kinship,” 223–241; Janet Carsten, *After Kinship* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 2004), 109–114; David Warren Sabeian and Simon Teuscher, “Introduction,” in *Blood & Kinship: Matter for Metaphor from Ancient Rome to the Present*, ed. Christopher H. Johnson et al. (New York: Berghahn Books, 2015), 7.

this interpretation is correct, nourishment may have been regarded as key to the sustenance of common kinship.”³⁵² Thus, while the breastmilk specifically may not have been regarded as the means of kinship, the offering of nourishment was. Just as nurses provide nourishment to the children of the kin group, they also appear in scenes in which members of kin provide nourishment and care for the deceased. Here continues an exchange of substance between wet nurses and the family of the nursling, attesting to their possible understood kinship.

Outside of Egyptology, anthropologists have understood breastfeeding as a means by which communities can regulate and establish relationships. Palmquist notes the significance of this culturally when she says, “Allomother nursing is commonly used to reorganize and transform both social ties and their associated status, responsibilities, and expectations.”³⁵³ Malcom similarly observes more generally, “By situating milk’s flow historically and culturally it shows how constructions of milk production, lactation, and infant feeding have long served as a ‘cultural signal’ of prevailing conceptions of bodies and social identities.”³⁵⁴ The ties between social identity and breastfeeding in Egypt thus find parallels in many other societies,³⁵⁵ as this close relationship between nurse and nursling takes on public and social implications influencing a child’s relationships and identity as well as their kinship.

³⁵² Leire Olabarria, “A Question of Substance: Interpreting Kingship and Relatedness in Ancient Egypt,” *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 17 (2018): 93–98; Olabarria, *Kinship and Family*, 200–201.

³⁵³ Palmquist, “Cooperative Lactation,” 130.

³⁵⁴ Malcom, “Milk’s Flow,” 375.

³⁵⁵ See for example Cassidy, “Human Milk in Ireland,” 50; Abdullahi Osman El Tom, “Religion, Wet-nursing, and Laying the Ground for Breastmilk Banking in Danfur, Sudan,” in *Ethnographies of Breastfeeding: Cultural Contexts and Confrontations*, ed. Tanya Cassidy and Abdullahi El Tom (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 116; Malcom, “Milk’s Flow,” 375–379.

If breastfeeding did serve to create relatedness, then this must be considered as part of the nuance in how divine nursing scenes were understood by their New Kingdom audience. In this case, the king was shown related and bound to the goddess and her related group – other deities – and, perhaps most relevant, the goddess's cult and geographic region. This will be considered throughout the following three case studies.

There is another possibility often left unexplored in discussions of ancient Egyptian wet nursing. Whereas many have stated that once hired wet nurses became part of the family,³⁵⁶ it is also possible that in some cases these individuals were already part of the kinship circle. This may not apply to all cases of wet nursing, as the exchange of goods may be understood as a level of distance between the family and the nurse. However, it is possible that some nurses are included in family and kinship circles because they were chosen from within these circles. By taking up the role of wet nurse, their relationship to the individual who they nursed was redefined, i.e., a woman goes from aunt to *mn't*. Though there is no direct evidence for this practice in ancient Egypt, it might explain why, in some cases, wet nurses appear alongside family members without much distinction, while in others, they appear associated with servants. Royal nurses do appear to have been chosen from families close to the king or at least among the officials and advisors who served him. If this is the case, then the goddesses of divine nursing scenes may have been understood as the ones to nurse the king as they were *already* of his social and kinship spheres.

The idea of a single wet nurse coming into a family and being assigned to a child is not universal. Cultures have approached the issue of a child needing additional milk in a

³⁵⁶ See for example Beinlich-Seeber and Shedid, *Grab des Userhat*, 53; Juaneda-Magdalena, *La Lactancia en el Antiguo Egipto*, 239; Kasparian, "La condition des nourrices," 113–118; Spieser, "Les nourrices égyptiennes," 19, 23.

variety of ways. Many cultures practice what is called ‘solidary breastfeeding’ or ‘supportive breastfeeding:’ women who are part of the family or community breastfeed a child, not for payment or occupation.³⁵⁷ Such feeding could replace or supplement that of the child’s mother. Such practices may be reflected in some ancient Egyptian religious texts where a wet nurse appears to supplement rather than supplant the mother in her care. Though these texts exist in a divine realm, they may imply that supportive breastfeeding was known and practiced in ancient Egypt. This may also be reflected in kings having multiple wet nurses.³⁵⁸ Determining whether such breastfeeding methods were practiced would be difficult as it may have gone unsaid or unrepresented in the sources for various social or cultural reasons as well as the general underrepresentation of women and domestic matters. Though this pattern of breastfeeding does not solve every question about breastfeeding in ancient Egypt, I do think it is worth considering as it fits the evidence, answers many questions, and addresses seeming inconsistencies. By considering different breastfeeding patterns, we can better reconstruct infant care and feeding practices.

It is also possible that our modern biases and early researchers’ Christian influence have driven us to expect a more symbolic meaning for wet nursing and breastfeeding. We must be careful not to assume it played specific symbolic roles not found in the Egyptian evidence. If Egyptians did practice supportive breastfeeding or chose wet nurses from within the family, a specific nurse might not appear in the evidence as a modern scholar might expect. This challenges Leclant’s statement that the identity of the goddess-nurse does not matter much to the meaning of the scene due to the many goddesses shown as wet

³⁵⁷ Noria Serrano, “Filiación Materna,” 84. Thank you to Beatriz Noria Serrano for sharing her research with me in advance of its publication. See also Fildes, *Wet Nursing*, 1.

³⁵⁸ Roehrig, “Eighteenth Dynasty Titles Royal Nurse,” 39–48, 111–121, 135–162, 166–189..

nurses.³⁵⁹ Rather, their multiplicity reflects a different breastfeeding culture. Further, while there are overarching patterns and traditions to breastfeeding, it is likely that multiple wet nursing traditions and practices existed simultaneously in ancient Egypt.³⁶⁰ This may also help explain the difference in depictions of wet nurses and the range of interpretations.

Just as it is important to place images of divine nursing within their geographical or decorative contexts, it is just as imperative to consider the social context. It is within this worldview that the images were not only created but also understood and utilized. If we truly seek to understand how these images were functioning in their respective spaces, it is important to examine the dialogues and nuances that accompanied the act of breastfeeding in ancient Egyptian society.

³⁵⁹ Leclant, "Sur un contrepoids de menat " 275.

³⁶⁰ Palmquist has observed that nursing practices can vary based on community size and form as well, Palmquist, "Cooperative Lactation," 131–132.

3. A Divine Nursing Scene in a Nubian Temple: A Case Study of Thutmose IV Nursed by Hathor and Werethekau at the Temple of Amada

3.1 Introduction: Case Study #1

The first case study of this thesis examines the New Kingdom scene of Thutmose IV (ca 1400-1390 BCE), where the king is nursed by Hathor, Lady of Ibshek, and Werethekau at the temple of Amada (Cat.1.25). Of all the New Kingdom divine nursing scenes, this scene was chosen for three primary reasons. First, the scene is well documented by Gauthier in his 1913 publication *Le Temple d'Amada* and by El-Achirie, et al. in their 1967 publication of the same name. Gauthier's publication includes a description and photograph of the scene and a transcription of the associated hieroglyphic text.³⁶¹ The 1967 publication includes a line drawing of the scene, a line drawing of the wall on which it appears, and a transcription of the hieroglyphic text (Figures 19–20).³⁶² Furthermore, a virtual tour of the temple of Amada has been made available online by Virtual Mid East through Matterport since 2020 (Figures 21–22).³⁶³ This unique resource allows me to gain a greater sense of the temple space and the place of the divine nursing scene within it. While this provides an amazing amount of documentation for the temple of Amada, allowing for a thorough examination of its texts

³⁶¹ Henri Gauthier, *Le Temple d'Amada* (Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, 1913), 163–164, pl. xxxvii.

³⁶² Hassan El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada* (Cairo: Centre de documentation et d'études sur l'ancienne Égypte, 1967), Band III, 7–8; Band IV, C6–8.

³⁶³ "Amada Temple," Matterport, accessed 9 August 2024, <https://my.matterport.com/show/?m=wpdMtL8MgHG>.

and artistic program, there are limitations to these resources. The line drawings are detailed but separate many of the images and texts which would have been originally experienced together. Further, they do not record any surviving color on the reliefs. The Matterport does much to alleviate this limitation, but it is not an unbiased source itself as the presentation of the temple is determined by choices in camera placement and lighting. It also cannot be trusted to truly represent an ancient experience due to the bright lighting used for photographic purposes.

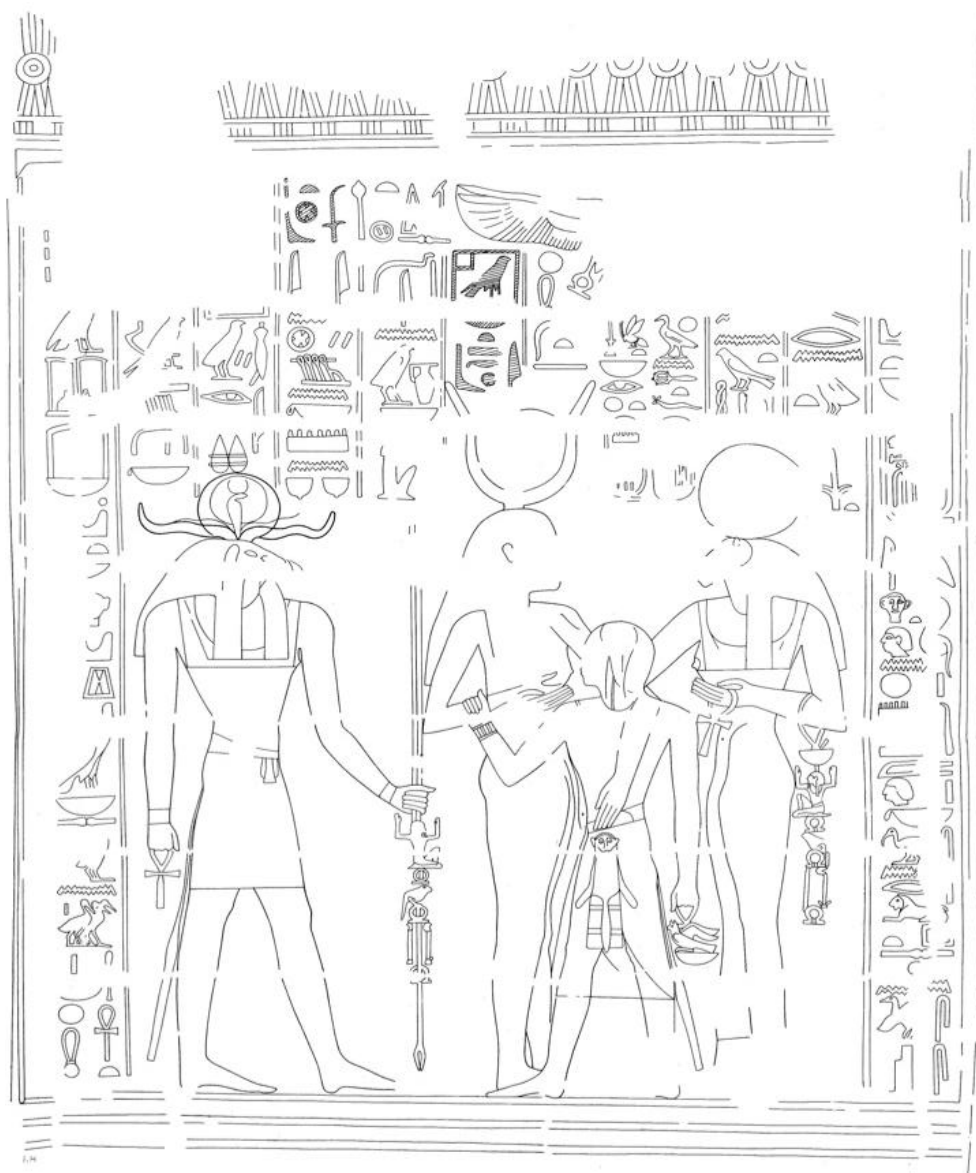


Figure 19. Thutmose IV nursed by Hathor and Werethekau at the Temple of Amada (El-Archir et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, pl. C6)

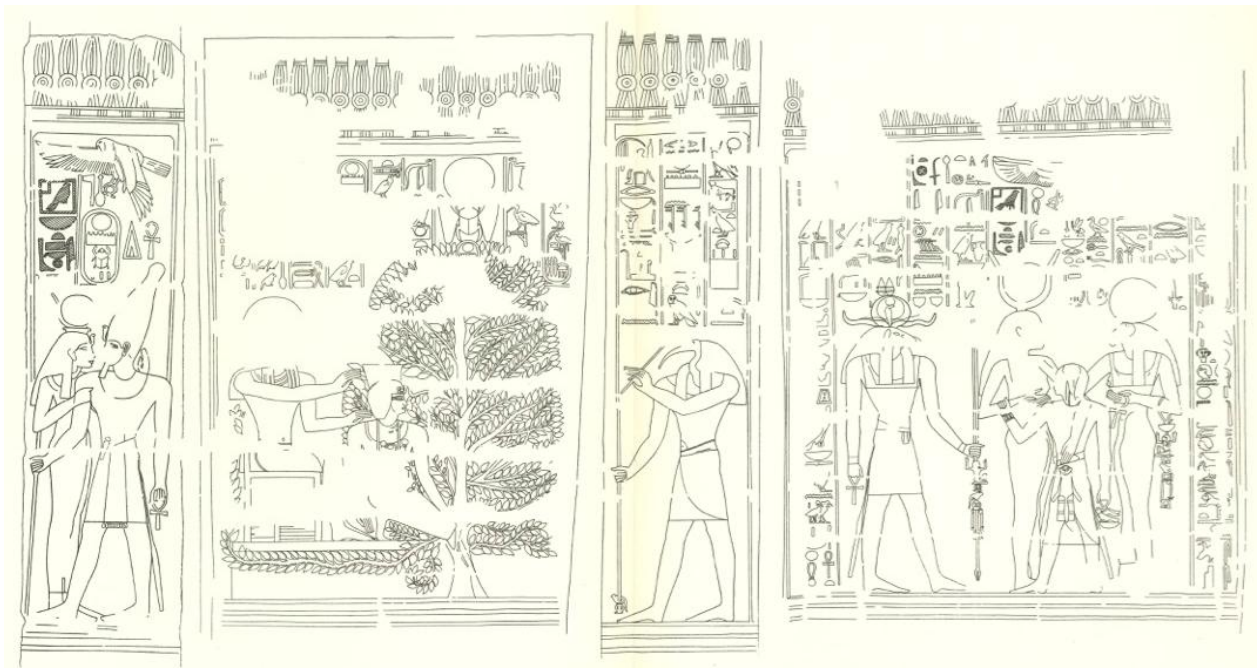


Figure 20. South Wall of the Hypostyle Hall of the Temple of Amada, including the Divine Nursing Scene (El-Archirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, pl. C6–8)



Figure 21. South Wall of the Hypostyle Hall of the Temple of Amada from Matterport Tour (My screenshot. "Amada Temple," accessed 9 August 2024, <https://my.matterport.com/show/?m=wpdMtL8MgHG>)

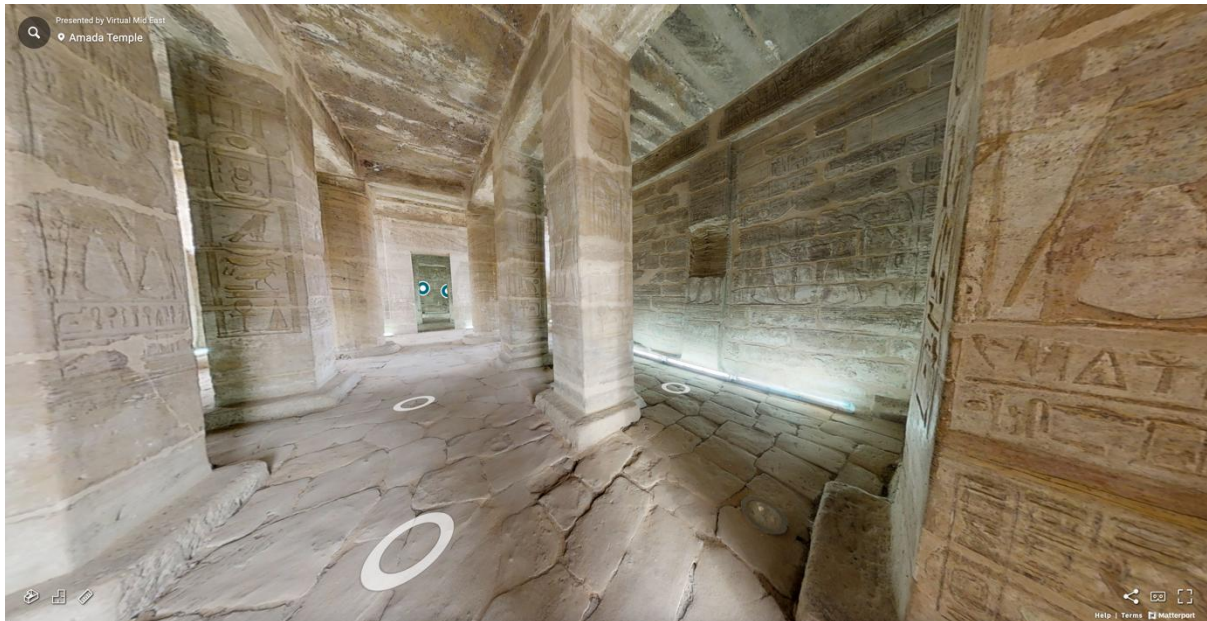


Figure 22. View of Divine Nursing Scene from Temple Entrance from Matterport Tour (My screenshot. "Amada Temple," accessed 9 August 2024, <https://my.matterport.com/show/?m=wpdMtl8MgHG>)

Second, this scene was chosen as the temple of Amada is relatively small compared to many of the other temples in which divine nursing scenes appear, such as Karnak or Luxor temples. There are also fewer layers of reconstruction and change at this temple, being primarily limited to Thutmose III, Amenhotep II, and Thutmose IV with some alternations under Akhenaten and later restorations under Seti I and Ramesses II.³⁶⁴ This allows me to examine the temple's decorative program and history more thoroughly and holistically, as discussed in 1.4.3.

Finally, this scene contains features (double nursing and the sidelock) and contexts (Nubia) that offer an opportunity to explore questions of adaptation and development in the use of divine nursing imagery. These unique features reveal much regarding how the scene was expected to function in the space as well as how it was intended to be received by its

³⁶⁴ Alexander Badawy, *A History of Egyptian Architecture: The Empire (New Kingdom): From the Eighteenth Dynasty to the End of the Twentieth Dynasty 1580–1085 BC* (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968), 273; Jean-François Carlotti, "Les modifications architecturales du temple d'Amada, à la lumière de Nouvelles observations," *Cahiers de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille* 30 (2013–2015): 65–77; Martina Ullmann, *König für die Ewigkeit: Die Häuser der Millionen von Jahren* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002), 115–120.

audience. As will be demonstrated in this chapter, I suggest the divine nursing scene of Thutmose IV played a significant role in the establishment and conception of two primary themes present in the hypostyle hall – the domination of Nubia and the transformation of the king (including the *heb-sed*).

3.2 Elements of the Divine Nursing Scene

The divine nursing scene of Thutmose IV is located on the south wall of the hypostyle hall of the temple of Amada to the right of the temple's entrance (Figure 22). The scene is composed of four figures. Starting on the viewer's left, the god Khnum, Lord of Esna,³⁶⁵ stands facing the three other figures. He wears a sun disk with uraeus atop his traditional ram horns, and in his hand, he holds a staff decorated with hieroglyphs. Next, Hathor, Lady of Ibshek, wearing cow horns and sun disk, holds her right hand to her breast as her other arm wraps around the king's shoulder. The king holds Hathor's right arm. He is dressed in sidelock and kilt and holds a *rh*yt-bird on a *nb* sign on an *nh* sign. The king's mouth is level with Hathor's breast. Behind the king stands Werethekau, who is shown with a lion head and wearing a sun disk. Her right arm reaches toward the king as her left hand holds her breast out to the king. In her left hand, she holds an *nh*, and draped at her right elbow is a loop holding various hieroglyphs (Figure 19). Werethekau and Khnum provide the speeches for the scene (see Appendix 2 for my translation).

³⁶⁵ Dewatcher has suggested understanding this place name as Esna though it differs from traditional spellings, Michel Dewatcher, "Nubie - Notes Diverses," *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 70 (1971): 103.

3.2.1 Hathor, Lady of Ibshek

The primary nurse of the scene is Hathor, Lady of Ibshek. Hathor will be of particular focus in Chapter 4 and discussed in depth in that chapter, but an overview of the goddess and her primary attributes as they relate to this scene and her association with the king will be provided here. During the New Kingdom, Hathor was the goddess most frequently shown nursing the king.³⁶⁶ In addition to temple reliefs, she appears as the nurse of Seti I in the tomb of Paser (Cat.2.20), on stela ÄM 21561 from Deir el-Medina (Cat.1.54; Chapter 5), and an ostrakon of Ramesses II (Cat.1.47). Hathor was closely associated with Horus. For example, in Book of the Dead Chapter 151, Horus is called “son of Hathor,”³⁶⁷ and in some periods, including the Old Kingdom and later Graeco-Roman Period, Hathor is referred to as the “wife of Horus.”³⁶⁸ Though there is debate about the exact intent behind her name, Hathor’s name *ḥwt-ḥr*, meaning “house of Horus,” demonstrates her fundamental connection to this deity. As the incarnation of Horus, the Egyptian king shared in these relationships.³⁶⁹

Especially in her relationship with the king, Hathor was a protective goddess, fiery and violent when needed.³⁷⁰ She is often associated with Sekhmet in the tale of the

³⁶⁶ See Appendix 1.

³⁶⁷ Allen, *Going Forth by Day*, 148.

³⁶⁸ Allen, *Pyramid Texts*, 192; Heike Sternberg-el Hotabi, *Ein Hymnus an die Göttin Hathor und das Ritual 'Hathor das Trankopfer Darbringen': nach den Tempeltexten der griechisch-römischen Zeit* (Bruxelles: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1992), 25–26. See also Christian Leitz, *Lexikon der Ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen. Volume V* (Leuven, Paris: Uitgeverij Peeters en Departement Oosterse Studies, 2002), 138.

³⁶⁹ Barbara S. Lesko, *The Great Goddesses of Egypt* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 83, 93; Elizabeth Rose Warkentin, “Looking Beyond the Image: An Exploration of the Relationship Between Political Power and the Cult Places of Hathor in New Kingdom Egypt” (PhD University of Memphis, 2018), 45.

³⁷⁰ Alison Roberts, *Hathor Rising: The Serpent Power of Ancient Egypt* (Devon: Northgate Publishers, 1995), 8; Warkentin, “Looking Beyond the Image: An Exploration of the Relationship Between Political Power and the Cult Places of Hathor in New Kingdom Egypt,” 49–50, 340–341.

Destruction of Mankind, recorded in the New Kingdom text the *Book of the Cow of Heaven*, portions of which appear in the tombs of Tutankhamun, Seti I, Ramesses II, Ramesses III, and Ramesses IV.³⁷¹ In the story, a goddess, often Hathor or Sekhmet, is sent by Re to destroy mankind. She becomes uncontrollable and violent to the point that the gods begin to fear her and worry that she would destroy all of humanity. To avoid this fate, she is pacified after drinking large amounts of red-dyed beer.³⁷² After this, the goddess becomes a more contented goddess (Hathor) associated with fertility and festivals of drunkenness (4.2.2).³⁷³ In addition to being a daughter and wife of Re, Hathor is one of the eyes of Re and one of those who fights alongside the sun-god in his daily battle against Apophis.³⁷⁴ This connection to the sun is reflected in the headdress she frequently wears – a solar disk between cow horns (Figure 19). Her solar connections are especially pertinent at the temple of Amada, which is dedicated to two solar deities – Amun-Re and Re-Horakhty.

Finally, Hathor was popular among both the general population of Egypt and its kings, especially during the New Kingdom when the temple of Amada was built. This will be especially relevant in Chapter 4. Research has suggested that more votive offerings were dedicated to Hathor and her cult than any other deity in the New Kingdom and that while the offerings likely came from the “middle class,” some may have also been offered by lower

³⁷¹ Lichthiem, *Ancient Egyptian Literature II*, 197–198; Alexandre Piankoff, *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1977), 26. The various versions of the text were published in Charles Maystre, “Le livre de la Vache du Ciel dans les tombeaux de la Vallée des Rois,” *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 40 (1941): 53–115.

³⁷² For translations see Adolf Erman, *Literature of the Ancient Egyptians* (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1927), 47–49; Lichthiem, *Ancient Egyptian Literature II*, 197–199; Piankoff, *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon*, 27–34; William Kelly Simpson, *The Literature of Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, Stelae, Autobiographies, and Poetry*, 3 ed. (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2003), 289–298.

³⁷³ Stephen Quirke, *Ancient Egyptian Religion* (London: British Museum Press, 1992), 31.

³⁷⁴ Allen, *Going Forth by Day*, 46 (Spell 39); Lesko, *The Great Goddesses of Egypt*, 119–120; Lise Manniche, “Goddess and Woman in Ancient Egypt,” *The Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 29 (2002): 5.

classes as well.³⁷⁵ Pinch asserts that “Hathor might almost be seen as the symbol of continuity of belief between all levels of society.”³⁷⁶ Some pharaohs like Mentuhotep II of the Middle Kingdom appear to have had a special affinity for Hathor, even adopting the epithet “son of Hathor” in texts and on monuments.³⁷⁷ Thus, her popularity in divine nursing scenes runs parallel to her popularity in both royal and non-royal contexts during the New Kingdom.

Her appearance here as “Lady of Ibshek” denotes a form of Hathor established in Nubia during the New Kingdom. Yet, evidence on the relief suggests that the goddess’s name was changed during restorations undertaken under Ramesses II to repair the damage done during the Amarna period.³⁷⁸ Dewatcher suggests that the name was originally Hathor, Lady of Elephantine, as this would otherwise be the only appearance of Hathor, Lady of Ibshek, and Khnum, Lord of Esna, together and the hieroglyphs of Ibshek appear not to have fit into the original space, implying the original place name was shorter.³⁷⁹ So although it can only be theorized who the original goddess was that nursed Thutmose IV, by the time of Ramesses II, Hathor, Lady of Ibshek, has been chosen as nurse for the scene, perhaps even over her original form.

³⁷⁵ Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, 345; Lesko, *The Great Goddesses of Egypt*, 112.

³⁷⁶ Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, 359.

³⁷⁷ Schafik Allam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult (bis zum Ende des Mittleren Reiches)* (Berlin: Hessling, 1963), 46–48; Labib Habachi, “King Nebhepetre Mentuhotep: His Monuments, Place in History, Deification and Unusual Representations in the Form of Gods,” *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 19 (1963): 28.

³⁷⁸ Ullmann, *König für die Ewigkeit*, 117.

³⁷⁹ Dewatcher, “Nubie - Notes Diverses,” 103.

The exact location of Ibshek is uncertain, but it is often thought to refer to the region of Faras due in part to an 18th Dynasty temple dedicated to Hathor, Lady of Ibshek, there.³⁸⁰ In addition, Hathor, Lady of Ibshek's, frequent appearances in the small temple of Abu Simbel suggest to some that Ibshek was located in the vicinity.³⁸¹ Ibshek/Faras was an important city in New Kingdom kings' attempts to establish power and dominion over the region of Nubia (3.7).³⁸² That both the small temple of Abu Simbel and the restorations of the temple of Amada depict Hathor, Lady of Ibshek implies a more extensive devotion or program employed by Ramesses II involving this goddess.

This form of Hathor first appears during the reign of Thutmose III and is only attested in the 18th and 19th dynasties.³⁸³ In addition to Abu Simbel, she is venerated in the temple of Thutmose III at Ellesia, the forts in Kumma, and Setaou cave in Ibram, among others in Nubia.³⁸⁴ With the Egyptian kings' efforts at this time to ensure control over the region of Nubia, it is possible that this form of Hathor was developed in order to have a local variation of Hathor, an incredibly popular and politically important goddess, for temples and scenes in Nubia. The use of temples in the conquering of Nubia will be discussed in 3.7.

With Hathor as his divine nurse, Thutmose IV benefitted from her numerous roles. She aided in his rebirth and acted as his fierce and violent protector. Through her, Thutmose IV gained even closer connections to Re and Horus, both fundamental deities in Egyptian kingship. Further, the choice of Hathor as his nurse may have been meant to take advantage

³⁸⁰ Christiane Desroches-Noblecourt, *Le Petit Temple d'Abou Simbel* (Cairo: Centre de documentation et d'étude sur l'ancienne Égypte, 1968), 164.

³⁸¹ Desroches-Noblecourt, *Le Petit Temple d'Abou Simbel*, 163.

³⁸² Steven Snape, *The Complete Cities of Ancient Egypt* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2000), 224.

³⁸³ Dewatcher, "Nubie - Notes Diverses," 108; Desroches-Noblecourt, *Le Petit Temple d'Abou Simbel*, 163.

³⁸⁴ Desroches-Noblecourt, *Le Petit Temple d'Abou Simbel*, 162–163; Dewatcher, "Nubie - Notes Diverses," 104.

of her incredible popularity during the New Kingdom. Whether or not Hathor, Lady of Ibshek, was the goddess originally depicted by Thutmose IV, by the time of Ramesses II reworked the scene, Hathor, Lady of Ibshek, was chosen for the scene to tie Nubia more firmly to the Egyptian king.

3.2.2 Werethekau

The second goddess in the scene is Werethekau, or “the one with great magic powers.”³⁸⁵ Previously, this name had been an epithet for various goddesses such as Uto, Isis, Hathor, Mut, and Anuket.³⁸⁶ It could also be used to refer to the uraeus.³⁸⁷ Only during the New Kingdom was the name associated with an independent deity, beginning in the reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmose II.³⁸⁸ Though she appears here with the head of a lion, Werethekau is more often associated with the cobra.³⁸⁹ This likely explains her description in the nursing scene at Amada: “The one who is upon Re has been established on your head having found the way to her gate so that she might alight upon her throne,”³⁹⁰ referring to her as the uraeus worn on the king’s forehead. Werethekau herself personified the power of the king’s crowns and is often described as sitting upon his brow.³⁹¹ Her essential role is

³⁸⁵ Christian Leitz, *Lexikon der Ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen. Volume II* (Leuven, Paris: Uitgeverij Peeters en Departement Oosterse Studies, 2002), 493.

³⁸⁶ Ingrid Nebe, “Werethekau,” in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, ed. Wolfgang Helck and Wolfhart Westendorf (Weisbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1986), 1222.

³⁸⁷ Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch*, 203.

³⁸⁸ Nebe, “Werethekau,” 1222; Ahmed M. Mekawy Ouda, “Did Werethekau ‘Great of Magic’ have a Cult? A Disjunction between Scholarly Opinions and Sources,” in *Current Research in Egyptology 2013: Proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual Symposium, University of Cambridge, United Kingdom, March 19–22, 2013*, ed. Kelly Accetta (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2014), 117.

³⁸⁹ Nebe, “Werethekau,” 1222; Leitz, *Lexikon der Ägyptischen Götter II*, 493–496.

³⁹⁰ My translation, see Appendix 2.

³⁹¹ Roberts, *Hathor Rising*, 40–41, 46. See also the coronation of Horemheb, Alan H. Gardiner, “The Coronation of King Haremheb,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 39 (1953): 29.

emphasized by Mekawy Ouda, who says, “The King was only empowered to proclaim his titulary and make his magnificent arising after the cobra Werethekau had placed herself on his forehead.”³⁹² This establishment of the uraeus symbolized the bestowal of power upon the king and, quite literally, the crowns of kingship.

Correspondingly, Werethekau is known as a goddess of coronation and ascension to the throne.³⁹³ Based on the two titles often appearing together in the titles of individuals, Mekawy Ouda has suggested that the “first god’s servant of Werethekau” was often associated with the king’s chamberlains, who were, in turn, associated with the crowning of the king. Paser, who will be discussed later in this thesis, is one such individual to bear both titles.³⁹⁴ Thus, Mekawy Ouda concludes, “Apparently these chamberlains placed the crown on the king’s head.... Werethekau’s priests represented her divine presence at these crowning ceremonies.”³⁹⁵

As the uraeus, she also acted as a protector of the king. For example, in the text of Hatshepsut from the Speos Artemidos, Werethekau-Pakhet says:

Prends plaisir toi-même, seigneur des dieux, Amon, seigneur des Deux Terres. Tu m'as fait apparaître au front de ton fils, le roi de Haute et Basse Égypte Menmaâtrê, comme ce que décide pour toi ton père Rê, <ô> Amon, seigneur des trônes des Deux Terres. J'instaure ta terreur dans tous les pays. Je me dresse entre tes deux sourcils. Ma flamme s'embrase contre tes ennemis. Ta joie (*ꜥw.t-jb*) de par moi est comme <celle> de Rê, infiniment (*ḡ.t*).³⁹⁶

³⁹² Mekawy Ouda, “Did Werethekau 'Great of Magic' have a Cult?,” 105.

³⁹³ Nebe, “Werethekau,” 1222.

³⁹⁴ See Appendix 3 for the translation of Paser’s titles on Wall 10 in the scene “Paser and his Parents Receive Invocations from a Priest.”

³⁹⁵ Mekawy Ouda, “Did Werethekau 'Great of Magic' have a Cult?,” 117; Ahmed M. Mekawy Ouda, “Werethekau and the Votive Stela of Pꜣ-n-Imn (Bristol Museum H 514),” *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 22 (2015): 71.

³⁹⁶ Translation by Jean-Luc Chappaz and Susanne Bickel, *Le Spéos Artémidos* (Geneva: Société d'égyptologie, 2024), 159.

Her nature as the protective uraeus is reflected in the terror she inspires and the flames directed at the king's enemies. This fierce, protective nature is paralleled in her lioness head at Amada. In this role, she shares much with Hathor.

Further, this quote from the Speos Artemidos illustrates Werethekau's solar connotations as she states that it is Re, the sun-god, who sent her. Likewise, Re is identified as the father of the king. This relationship is evident in the king's *s3-r* or "son of Re" name.³⁹⁷ In the text from the divine nursing scene in the temple of Amada, Werethekau even notes that she is moving from Re's head to the king, quite literally illustrating the passage of power from one to the other.³⁹⁸ Redford states, "The sun-god, as creator of the world and primordial king, retains the absolute right to bestow, or remove kingship whenever he pleases."³⁹⁹ Thus, Werethekau further embodies many of the solar aspects of kingship and coronation.

Though not common, Werethekau is not unknown as a divine nurse. She nurses the king on a pendant from the tomb of Tutankhamun (JE 61952), where she appears with the body of a snake (Cat.1.33).⁴⁰⁰ In a text from Ramesses III's temple in the Precinct of Amun at Karnak, she is mentioned in the epithet *rnnt n wrt-ḥkꜣw* or "nursed by Werethekau."⁴⁰¹ Given

³⁹⁷ Redford, "The Concept of Kingship during the Eighteenth Dynasty," 157–158.

³⁹⁸ See my translation in Appendix 2.

³⁹⁹ Redford, "The Concept of Kingship during the Eighteenth Dynasty," 170.

⁴⁰⁰ Marianne Eaton-Krauss and E. Graefe, *The Small Golden Shrine from the Tomb of Tutankhamon* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1985), pl. viii, 6–7.

⁴⁰¹ The Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak - Volume II. Ramesses III's Temple within the Great Inclosure of Amon Part II and Rameses III's Temple in the Precinct of Mut* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936), pl. 110E. The *t*-ending on *rnnt* poses an interesting question regarding who should be understood as the subject of this epithet. Given its context among the names and epithets of Ramesses III and the appearances of goddesses as the nurses of the king in other contexts, it might be assumed that the subject of this epithet is Ramesses III. However, the feminine *t*-ending on the word implies a feminine subject and as it follows the phrase *ms n mwt nbt pt* ("born of Mut, lady of the sky"), the closest feminine subject would be the goddess Mut. If she is indeed the subject, this would be a unique case of a goddess nursing another goddess and warrant further exploration beyond the scope of this thesis. See discussion of *rnnt* in 2.1.1 and Erman and Grapow, *WB*, 436.

that these appearances date after Thutmose IV, the divine nursing scene at Amada may represent her earliest known appearance in a nursing role to the king.

As she states in her speech in the divine nursing scene at Amada, Werethekau emphasizes and facilitates the bestowal of the crowns and, by extension, the office of king upon Thutmose IV by establishing the uraeus upon his brow. A similar idea is reflected in the divine nursing scene of Ramesses II from the Temple of Seti I at Abydos (Cat.1.43) described below, where the king is nursed by four forms of the goddess Hathor and, in each instance, is shown wearing a different royal crown and given the crown in the accompanying text. Perhaps Thutmose IV is not shown wearing a royal crown in the scene from Amada as it is through this nursing that he will receive them.

3.2.3 Double Nursing

Unique to this scene at the temple of Amada is the presence of *two* goddess nurses. Though Thutmose IV is not shown nursing at the breast of Werethekau, the position of the goddess's hand under her breast mirrors that of Hathor and is a gesture associated with breastfeeding. This is the only known divine nursing scene in which two goddesses are both shown as nurses to the same king in a single scene.

Scenes or series of scenes consisting of multiple goddesses nursing a king are not unknown, as noted by Borrego Gallardo and Rodríguez-Berzosa Gómez-Landero.⁴⁰² However, more often, these are two mirroring scenes in which a different goddess nurses the king in each, known as double nursing scenes.⁴⁰³ In his study of Old Kingdom divine nursing scenes,

⁴⁰² Rodríguez-Berzosa Gómez-Landero, "La Lactancia en el Antiguo Egipto," 84; Borrego Gallardo, *Las Escenas de Amamantamiento*, 178–180.

⁴⁰³ See Appendix 1, where scenes are listed as to whether they have a mirroring scene.

Borrego Gallardo suggests that such duplication symbolized the two halves of Egypt and thus suggests ideas of unity and totality in the king's rule. He further suggests the traditional pairings were Nekhbet and Wadjet or Hathor and Bastet, representing northern and southern imagery and, therefore, Egypt as a whole.⁴⁰⁴ Borrego Gallardo goes as far as to suggest that during the Old Kingdom the divine nursing scene *was* a composition of two mirrored scenes, suggesting potential mirroring scenes for those scenes for which one does not survive.⁴⁰⁵ The practice of mirroring scenes (not identical) appears elsewhere Egyptian art to express duality and unity in kingship. Robins cites *heb-sed* scenes and Old Kingdom fishing and fowling scenes from tombs as examples of these scene pairs.⁴⁰⁶

Though not all New Kingdom nursing scenes have a mirroring scene, as may have been standard in the Old Kingdom, the tradition remained with New Kingdom scenes containing a greater range of goddesses as nurses. In the temple of Gurnah, Seti I is shown nursed by Hathor (Cat.1.37) opposite a scene of his son, Ramesses II, nursed by Mut (Cat.1.44). Similarly, Ramesses II appears nursed by Anukis (Cat.1.41) and Isis (Cat.1.42) in two scenes in his temple at Beit el-Wali. From the Late Period, the Bubastite Portico depicts two mirrored scenes of Shoshenq I being nursed by Mut (Cat.1.56) and Hathor (Cat.1.57).⁴⁰⁷ Frequently, the two scenes face each other or appear parallel within the space, such as on either side of a doorway, like the two of Ramesses II from Beit el-Wali (Figure 23).⁴⁰⁸ I agree with Rodríguez-Berzosa Gómez-Landero that here at Amada, the scene is a modified version

⁴⁰⁴ Borrego Gallardo, *Las Escenas de Amamantamiento*, 180.

⁴⁰⁵ Borrego Gallardo, *Las Escenas de Amamantamiento*, 178.

⁴⁰⁶ Robins, "Problems with Interpreting Egyptian Art," 52.

⁴⁰⁷ The Epigraphic Survey, *The Bubastite Portal*, Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak, iii, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954), pls. 10–11.

⁴⁰⁸ See the temple plan in Labib Habachi, "Divinities Adored in the Area of Kalabasha, with a special Reference to the Goddess Miket," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 19 (1969): fig. 1.

of the double nursing, mirrored images, especially with the added detail of Werethekau holding her breast.⁴⁰⁹ This adaptation of an existing motif feature, in this case the use of two nearly identical images, demonstrates creativity in the scene's usage and form. The artists have taken the more typical two scenes and altered the "core motif" to include both goddess-nurses in the same image. In his examination of tomb art, Laboury suggests that it is in the small differences between otherwise consistent compositions that we can see the personal choices of the artist.⁴¹⁰ Here in a royal temple context, it perhaps tells us more about the image's commissioner – the king and his administration.

⁴⁰⁹ Rodríguez-Berzosa Gómez-Landero, "La Lactancia en el Antiguo Egipto," 84..

⁴¹⁰ Laboury, "Tradition and creativity: Toward a Study of Intericonicity in ancient Egyptian Art," 252.



Figure 23. Ramesses II nursed by Anukis (left) and Isis (right) in the Temple of Ramesses II at Beit el-Wali (Ricke, *The Beit el-Wali Temple*, pl. 40A-B)

Although this explains a possible origin or inspiration for the two nurses in the scene, a few questions remain. Why were the two mirroring scenes combined into one? Why are they not shown on either wall, as is the case with other mirrored scenes? This use of two nurses in a single scene is not seen again. It was evidently not required for there to be a second nurse. The divine nursing motif appears during the New Kingdom on the stelae

discussed in Chapter 5 depicting just a single nurse without a known mirroring image. In addition, there are temple scenes where the decorative program contains only one divine nursing scene, such as that of Seti I from the Temple of Seti I at Abydos (Cat.1.36) or Rameses IV from the Temple of Khonsu at Karnak (Cat.1.52).

Still, there are examples from the New Kingdom where, like Amada, the double nursing pattern has been adapted or re-interpreted based on the context and purpose of the decorative program of the temple. In the Temple of Seti I at Gurnah, two divine nursing scenes appear at either end of the transverse hall. One depicts Seti I being nursed by Hathor (Cat.1.37), and the other Ramesses II with Mut (Cat.1.44). In this case, the double nursing does not depict the *same* king in each scene but rather a king and his heir. It is the only known set of divine nursing scenes depicting two separate nurslings. Ramesses II's lower status (as heir, not king) might be indicated by his wearing a cap with uraeus rather than a crown like Seti I, though kings can be shown wearing such caps in the Ramesside period (their exact meaning remains unknown).⁴¹¹ In this case, double nursing emphasizes the unity of a dynasty – a king and his heir. It may also have served to *ensure* the continuity of the dynasty.

Another example of the adaptation of the double nursing pattern comes from the Temple of Seti I at Abydos. In one long sequence, Ramesses II is nursed by four different Hathors four separate times after being held by Isis (Cat.1.43). In each depiction, Ramesses II is shown wearing a different crown – the *Khepresh* crown when held by Isis, then the White crown, Red crown, *Atef* crown, and *Nemes* Headdress, respectively, when held by the four depictions of Hathor. In this case, the duplication of the nursing scene, four times rather

⁴¹¹ William Vivian Davies, "The Origin of the Blue Crown," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 68 (1982): 75.

than two, appears to have geographical implications. The Red and White crowns are depicted beside each other, signifying the two halves of Egypt. The *Atef* crown and *Nemes* headdress paired together could then imply ideas of sunset (west) and sunrise (east).⁴¹² This use of crowns echoes ideas of totality and unification, very similar to that of the Old Kingdom double nursing scenes, and further underlining the association between nursing and crowning. These examples, like the scene from the Temple at Amada, attest to a considerable level of agency and adaptation in the use of divine nursing scenes during the New Kingdom. Standard features and patterns could be modified to fit new contexts, even within temples.

Similar geographical implications can be seen in the Amada scene. Werethekau's lion-headed form may harken back to depictions of the nursing lion-headed goddess of the Old Kingdom, who Borrego Gallardo suggests is Bastet (Cat.1.2).⁴¹³ In this case, Werethekau would signify northern Egypt and the northern portion of the cosmos, and Hathor would signify southern Egypt and the southern portion of the cosmos (a directionality also tied to her identity as Lady of Ibshek).⁴¹⁴ Thus, quite literally, the two goddesses shown accepting the king as the chosen ruler and giving him the power to rule over unified Egypt and Nubia together encompass the entire region. Perhaps the choice of Hathor as the one to be actively nursing the king emphasized the scene's southern location and fit within the hypostyle hall's southern theme. However, she may also have been chosen because she was the more common nurse for divine nursing scenes.

⁴¹² Cannon Fairbairn, "Communicating Power through Text and Iconography: A Suckling Scene from the Temple of Seti I at Abydos" (Masters University of Memphis, 2020), 60–87, <https://digitalcommons.memphis.edu/etd/2089>.

⁴¹³ Borrego Gallardo, *Las Escenas de Amamantamiento*, 105.

⁴¹⁴ Borrego Gallardo, *Las Escenas de Amamantamiento*, 180.

Further, I would highlight the scene's compositional similarity to other images of deity pairs like Wadjet and Nekhbet or Horus and Seth. Borrego Gallardo notes that these paired deities are often used to represent unity.⁴¹⁵ One such image is the *sema-tawy* scene, where two gods face each other, tying together a papyrus and lotus, symbolizing Lower and Upper Egypt respectively.⁴¹⁶ Both this and the Amada divine nursing scene are composed of an inward-facing pair with the focal point being between them. The *sema-tawy* scene focuses on the knot being tied and, in some cases, the king,⁴¹⁷ while the divine nursing scene focuses on the nursing king. The *sema-tawy* scene, like the nursing scene from Amada, represents the unification of Egypt and, more specifically, following Nyord's interpretation, "is itself the act of tying together the powers inherent in the two plant species," namely the regions of Upper and Lower Egypt.⁴¹⁸ I am not necessarily suggesting that the *sema-tawy* was the inspiration for this re-interpretation of the divine nursing motif. Still, the similarities in theme and composition are suggestive. Perhaps the scene's configuration utilized a known composition inherent in motifs like the *sema-tawy* scene to suggest and accomplish a similar purpose. Both motifs may represent a "structural relationship," as termed by Goebis,⁴¹⁹ in this case, a pair of deities performing an action by which Egypt is united under/for the king. Thus, while the deities and their actions differ between the two motifs, the purpose behind the images remain the same. Similarly, both place the action in the hands of the deities

⁴¹⁵ Borrego Gallardo, *Las Escenas de Amamantamiento*, 180.

⁴¹⁶ Rania Y. Merzeban, "Unusual smꜣ-tꜣ.wy Scenes in Egyptian Temples," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 44 (2008): 42–51.

⁴¹⁷ See for example the scene from the Temple of Khonsu, The Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple of Khonsu, Volume 2: Scenes and Inscriptions in the Court and the First Hypostyle Hall* (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1981), pl. 161(B); Merzeban, "Unusual smꜣ-tꜣ.wy Scenes in Egyptian Temples," fig. 1, pg. 49–51.

⁴¹⁸ Nyord, *Seeing Perfection*, 59–60.

⁴¹⁹ Katja Goebis, "A Functional Approach to Egyptian Myth and Mythemes," *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions* 2, no. 1 (2002): 42–54.

rather than the king. Nyord points out that the *sema-tawy* scene emphasizes that it was not the king who united Egypt but the power of the gods.⁴²⁰ Likewise, in the divine nursing scene, the goddesses are the actors and the ones providing for the king. It may be upon this relationship of deity pairs and image form which the artists at Amada drew for this unique double nursing scene, highlighting the unification of Egypt by the gods for the king.

The question remains: why create this unique version of the double nursing scene here at Amada? What purpose does it serve in the overall program of the temple? Keeping in mind the Nubian context of the scene (3.7), here are two goddesses associated with the throne. While one of them is often associated with Egypt, the other is a goddess of Nubia. They nurse the king, creating that bond and bringing him into the realm of divine kin. They chose him as ruler and they both give him, through their milk, the right and total power to rule over unified Egypt *and* Nubia. Thus, the divine nursing scene works within the temple's overarching theme, demonstrating and actualizing the king's right to rule over Nubia.

3.2.4 Thutmose IV

A full biography of Thutmose IV will not be provided here, but aspects of his reign relevant to this case study will be discussed.⁴²¹ The eighth king of the 18th dynasty, Thutmose IV reigned for about 10–12 years.⁴²² Unlike the reigns of his father and grandfather, Amenhotep II and Thutmose III respectively, Thutmose IV's reign involved comparatively little foreign campaigning.⁴²³ However, there is evidence of military excursions into Palestine and Nubia,

⁴²⁰ Nyord, *Seeing Perfection*, 59.

⁴²¹ For a more thorough examination of Thutmose IV, see Betsy Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991).

⁴²² Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV*, 332.

⁴²³ Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV*, 332; William Vivian Davies, "Egypt and Nubia: Conflict in the Kingdom of Kush," in *Hatshepsut: from queen to pharaoh*, ed. Catherine Roehrig, Renée Dreyfus, and Cathleen A. Keller

such as two stelae from his mortuary temple that record the establishment of camps for foreign prisoners from Gezer (Palestine) and Nubia.⁴²⁴ Further interaction with foreign powers is evident in his marriage to a princess as part of a treaty with King Aratama I of Mitanni.⁴²⁵ Bryan has suggested that Thutmose IV's assurance of the peace of his reign is exemplified in his building program.⁴²⁶ One such project was the transformation of the courtyard of the temple of Amada into a hypostyle hall (the temple's building phases will be discussed below).⁴²⁷ Though it was primarily Thutmose IV's predecessors that pushed the boundaries of Egypt into Nubia, Thutmose IV inherited the Egypt they established and sought to maintain control and authority over it.

In much of his building and iconography, Thutmose IV followed a program aimed at associating himself with the sun god and solar deities in particular.⁴²⁸ Hartwig has examined many of these depictions in the context of the king's deification while alive.⁴²⁹ This includes the text of the Dream (or Sphinx) Stela that "stresses his divinity textually by identifying himself with Horemakhet, calling himself the son of Atum of his body, the heir of Khepri, and the image made by Re."⁴³⁰ Thutmose IV also appears as a manifestation of the sun god on his chariot and as Amun-Re on the Lateran Obelisk. In terms of evidence for deification,

(New York, New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art, Yale University Press, 2005), 51; Martina Ullmann, "Egyptian Temples in Nubia during the Middle and the New Kingdom," in *Handbook of Ancient Nubia. Volume 1*, ed. Dietrich Raue (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2019), 512–513.

⁴²⁴ Barry Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization* (London: Routledge, 2018), 31.

⁴²⁵ Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV*, 336; Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 282–283.

⁴²⁶ Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV*, 332, 336..

⁴²⁷ Carlotti, "Les modifications architecturales du temple d'Amada," 76.

⁴²⁸ Melinda K. Hartwig, "A Vignette Concerning the Deification of Thutmose IV," in *Servant of Mut: Studies in Honor of Richard A. Fazzini*, ed. Sue D'Auria et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 122; Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV*, 350–352.

⁴²⁹ Hartwig, "Deification of Thutmose IV," 120–125.

⁴³⁰ Hartwig, "Deification of Thutmose IV," 122.

Hartwig cites the appearance of Thutmose IV in the *shebyu* collar, an object that, when worn outside a funerary context, indicated a deified king and the celebration of a “*sed*-like festival” meant to rejuvenate the king. This *sed*-like festival may be what is referred to in the text of the hall at the temple of Amada (3.3.4).⁴³¹ Thutmose IV’s desire to be associated with the sun god became closely tied to his efforts to attain deification while alive. Regarding the king’s self-presentation, Bryan suggests that “Thutmose IV therefore laid a large foundation for Amenhotep III’s deification.”⁴³² Significant for our discussion here, some of the associations that connect the king to deity are via kinship – Thutmose IV can be presented as a child of the sun god, for example in the Dream Stela mentioned above.⁴³³ The temple of Amada itself is dedicated to two solar deities and makes further links between them and Thutmose IV.⁴³⁴ This use of kinship to connect or illustrate the king’s connection to a specific deity or group of deities is of special interest when considering divine nursing scenes and the relationships forged through nursing and its implications for one’s social identity.

Considering this brief description of Thutmose IV, we can better understand the choices made in the iconographic elements, unique attributes, and geographic position of the scene. It is also essential to consider how the king, or his administration, chose to depict him. Thus, we will now consider two specific aspects of the king’s appearance in this scene – the *rekhyt*-bird and sidelock.

⁴³¹ Hartwig, “Deification of Thutmose IV,” 122–124.

⁴³² Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV*, 352.

⁴³³ Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV*, 350; Hartwig, “Deification of Thutmose IV,” 122.

⁴³⁴ Hartwig, “Deification of Thutmose IV,” 122.

3.2.5 *Rekhyt*-Bird

In the divine nursing scene at Amada, Thutmose IV is shown holding a lapwing or *rekhyt*-bird (*rhyt*) on a *nb* sign along with the *nh* sign (Figure 19). The king holding the *rekhyt*-bird is not unique to this breastfeeding scene;⁴³⁵ however, this scene is both the first surviving appearance of the *rekhyt*-bird in a divine nursing scene and the earliest appearance of the king being depicted holding the *rekhyt*-bird in *any* context.⁴³⁶ Before this, the king is more often shown holding an *ankh*, crook, flail, or nothing in his hand in divine nursing scenes. These items remain more common in later divine nursing scenes, though the *rekhyt*-bird continues to appear in nursing imagery.⁴³⁷

Through his examination of the *rekhyt*-bird, Griffin concludes that the “iconography is closely associated with the legitimation of royal and hereditary succession.”⁴³⁸ This is based, in part, on the meaning of *rhyt* – “subjects of the king; common folk; mankind.”⁴³⁹ Though the nuance of the word and exactly what group of people are referred to is debated, Griffin suggests that they were those who participated in rituals and festivals.⁴⁴⁰ In temples, when not held by the king, the *rekhyt* are shown in adoration of the gods and king, taking part in the worship of deities, often as part of friezes.⁴⁴¹ Thus, in the divine nursing scene of interest

⁴³⁵ It also appears in the scenes of Amenhotep III in Room XIV at Luxor Temple (Cat.1.32) and Ramesses II from the Great Hypostyle Hall at the Temple of Amun, Karnak (Cat.1.45).

⁴³⁶ Kenneth Griffin, *All the rxyt-people Adore: The Role of the Rekhyt-people in Egyptian Religion*, GHP Egyptology 29, (London: Golden House Publications, 2018), 25.

⁴³⁷ See Appendix 1.

⁴³⁸ Kenneth Griffin, “Holding the Lapwing: Continuity and Change in Depictions of the King and Child Deities,” in *Continuity, Discontinuity and Change: Perspectives from the New Kingdom to the Roman Period*, ed. Filip Coppens (Prague: Charles University, Faculty of Arts, 2021), 211.

⁴³⁹ Griffin, *All the rxyt-people Adore*; Griffin, “Holding the Lapwing,” 211–254. See also Raymond O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), 152; Erman and Grapow, *WB*, II, 447, I-II.

⁴⁴⁰ Griffin, “Holding the Lapwing,” 215.

⁴⁴¹ Kenneth Griffin, “A Reinterpretation of the Use and Function of the Rekhyt Rebus in New Kingdom Temples,” in *Current Research in Egyptology 2006* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2007), 66–67, 75–76; Kenneth Griffin, “Lapwing

here, the *rhyt* with the *nb* can be read as “all the people (who participate in the worship of the gods),” literally depicting the king with people in his grasp, an act of control.

The king’s control is further demonstrated in how the king holds the lapwing – pinning back its wings in a pose much like older attested bird trapping and hunting scenes.⁴⁴² Unlike when *rekhyt*-birds appear worshiping in Egyptian temples, here the bird is controlled and restrained like a hunted bird, highlighting the king’s dominant role. Leclant, too, suggests that divine nursing scenes in which the king holds the *rekhyt*-bird in a *neb*-sign represent the king asserting his power over his subjects via the domination bestowed upon him by the nursing goddess.⁴⁴³

Only the king and child-deities are shown holding the *rekhyt*-bird,⁴⁴⁴ and there may have been a connection between images of the king holding the *rekhyt*-bird and child-related poses like nursing. Eight of the twenty-four depictions of the king holding the *rekhyt*-bird, collected by Griffin, are nursing scenes. Yet, Griffin categorizes the other scenes as jubilees (*heb-seds*), coronation, kinship, birth, and *menat*, categories he relates with divine kingship, not childhood.⁴⁴⁵ Rather, divine nursing’s inclusion within this group of scenes implies its connections with ideas of coronation and royal authority. So, while it is common

Tiles,” in *Between Heaven and Earth: Birds in Ancient Egypt*, ed. R. Bailleul-LeSuer (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2012), 142. See for example the friezes from the Great Hypostyle Hall of the Karnak Temple, Brand, Feleg, and Murnane, *The Great Hypostyle Hall*, part 3, fig. 83.

⁴⁴² Griffin, “Use and Function of the Rekhyt Rebus,” 67. For example, see the fowling scene and offering scene from the Old Kingdom tomb of Ti, Henri Wild, *Le Tombeau de Ti. Fascicule II. La Chapelle (Première Partie)* (Cairo: Imprimerie de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 1953), pl. viii-cix, cxxi, cv.. See also the scenes from the New Kingdom tombs of Menna (TT69) and Nakht (TT52), Colin Campbell, *Two Theban Princes. Kha-Em-Uast & Amen-Khepeshf. Sons of Rameses III. Menna, A Land-Steward and their tombs* (London: Oliver and Boyd, 1910), 104–105 (Fig. To face page 104); Norman de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Nakht at Thebes* (New York, 1917), pl. xxii–xxiv.

⁴⁴³ Leclant, “Coronation Rites,” 141–142.

⁴⁴⁴ Griffin, “Holding the Lapwing,” 215, 224–226.

⁴⁴⁵ Griffin, “Holding the Lapwing,” Table 1.

in scenes of child-deities and possible images of the king as a child, it is likely not an indicator of the king's childhood itself.

3.2.6 The Sidelock

Beginning in the New Kingdom, the king appears in some divine nursing scenes with what have been considered childhood indicators (i.e., sidelock or nudity). Despite breastfeeding's clear association with children and childhood, during the Old and Middle Kingdoms, the king appeared in divine nursing scenes as a full adult with a kilt, crown, and jewelry and no indications of childhood. The introduction of these child features in the New Kingdom has significant implications for how the scenes might be interpreted and understood both in ancient times and by modern scholars. It may also indicate a change in the meaning and usage of the scene with the New Kingdom. While nudity will be discussed more thoroughly in 4.2.3, this section will focus on the sidelock as it pertains to the scene from the temple of Amada.

The first divine nursing scene which clearly preserves the king wearing the sidelock is the New Kingdom scene of Thutmose III at Karnak (Cat.1.19). Therefore, the addition of the sidelock to divine nursing's iconography may have taken place shortly before the creation of the Amada scene. After the sidelock's appearance in the scene of Thutmose III, it appeared occasionally in divine nursing scenes, though it was still more common for the king to wear the *Khepresh* crown or Double Feather crown. Later, the sidelock was combined with crowns, such as in the scene of Taharqa in the Temple of Montu at Karnak (Cat.1.64).

The sidelock was a popular hairstyle for children from the Old Kingdom to the Late Period in both imagery and life, as attested by its presence on the mummified remains of

children.⁴⁴⁶ In the king-list scene at the Temple of Seti I at Abydos, Ramesses II appears shorter and wears the sidelock alongside his father, likely indicating his status as Seti I's child and heir.⁴⁴⁷ Child-deities also appear with the sidelock, such as Khonsu alongside his father, Amun-Re, and mother, Mut, in the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak.⁴⁴⁸ A child's removal of the sidelock served as a rite of passage.⁴⁴⁹ Thus, it appears to indicate the wearer's child or child-like status.

If Werethekau is to be understood as crowning the king, perhaps the fact that the king wears the sidelock instead of a crown implies that he has yet to ascend to the throne and receive the royal crowns. Showing the king with the sidelock could also serve to emphasize his need for protection and reliance on the deities. Both Hathor and Werethekau are fierce protectors of the king, and their positions on either side of the king emphasize this role. Finally, the king's child-nature could represent the rebirth he has undergone. Many depictions of the king as a child, wearing the sidelock, have been identified as representing the king's association with the sun god Re and/or his rebirth. Upon rising each morning, the sun-god was reborn and often shown as an infant or small child.⁴⁵⁰ For example, Semat has

⁴⁴⁶ Claire Derriks, "Une Tête d'Enfant Isiaque Hypothèse ou Certitude," in *Egyptian Religion: The Last Thousand Years. Part I, Studies Dedicated to the Memory of Jan Quaegebeur*, ed. Willy Clarysse, Antoon Schoors, and Harco Willems (Leuven: Peeters, 1998), 95–96; Janssen and Janssen, *Growing Up and Growing Old*, 33; Geoffrey Tassie, "Single Mother Goddesses and Divine Kingship: The Sidelock of Youth and the Maternal Bond," in *Current Research in Egyptology II. January 2001*, ed. Ashley Cooke and Fiona Simpson (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2005), 65–66.

⁴⁴⁷ Auguste Mariette, *Abydos. Description des Fouilles. Exécutes sur l'emplacement de cette ville.*, vol. 1 (Paris: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, 1869), pl. 43.

⁴⁴⁸ Brand, Feleg, and Murnane, *The Great Hypostyle Hall*, part 2, 166, 200; Brand, Feleg, and Murnane, *The Great Hypostyle Hall*, part 3, pl. 54.

⁴⁴⁹ Derriks, "Une Tête d'Enfant," 95–96; Tassie, "Single Mother Goddesses," 69–70. Though he does not directly address the removal of the sidelock, see also Eyre's discussion of ancient Egyptian rites of passage in general, including those associated with coming of age, Christopher Eyre, "Funerals, Initiation and Rituals of Life in Pharaonic Egypt," in *Life, Death, and Coming of Age in Antiquity: Individual Rites of Passage in the Ancient Near East and Adjacent Regions*, ed. Alice Mouton and Julie Patrier (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2014), 287–308.

⁴⁵⁰ Roberts, *Hathor Rising*, 20.

suggested that the relief from Thebes (Louvre N522) showing Ramesses II with the sidelock and finger to his lips represents the king as the sun god.⁴⁵¹ Another statue of Ramesses II from Tanis depicts the king sitting in front of a hawk-god nude with his finger to his lips and wearing the sidelock, all of which have been interpreted as indications of childhood. Above the king's head appears a solar disk (JE 46735). The statue itself acts as a visual representation of the name "Ramesses" while also directly connecting the king with solar deities like Re.⁴⁵² Finally, a bust of Tutankhamun with childlike features depicts the king's head emerging from a lotus blossom. Here, Tutankhamun is associated with the reborn sun god (JE 60723).⁴⁵³ In each case, the king's childlike attributes (sidelock included) are directly tied to his association with the reborn sun. An association with the sun god matches the overall themes of the Amada temple, as the temple is dedicated to two solar deities – Re-Horakhty and Amun-Re. Thus, in the case of the divine nursing motif at Amada, rather than indicating the king is a child, the sidelock could demonstrate his association with the sun god, emphasizing and showcasing the king's rebirth. This adds more nuance to the sidelock's usage. Something that will be especially relevant in the discussion of the child attributes and nudity in 4.2.3.

⁴⁵¹ "stèle rectangulaire; stèle biface," Louvre N 522, accessed 25 October 2024, <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010024871>; Aude Semat, "Images of Power, Powerful Images: Depicting the King in Ancient Egypt," in *Pharaoh: King of Ancient Egypt*, ed. Marie Vandenberg, Aude Semat, and Margaret Maitland (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 2016), footnote 22 on page 27.

⁴⁵² Habachi, *Features of the Deification of Ramesses II*, fig. 27, pg. 38.

⁴⁵³ Susan J. Allen, James P. Allen, and Harry Burton, *Tutankhamun's Tomb: The Thrill of Discovery* (New York, New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art; Yale University Press, 2006), 92; Christiane Desroches-Noblecourt, *Life and Death of a Pharaoh: Tutankhamun* (London: The Connoisseur and Michael Joseph Ltd, 1963), 294; Lise Manniche, "Reflections on the Banquet Scene," in *La Peinture Égyptienne Ancienne: Un Monde de Signes à Préserver*, ed. Roland Tefnin (Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1997), 30.

3.2.7 Khnum, Lord of Esna

The third deity in the divine nursing scene at Amada, Khnum's association with divine nursing is well-attested, appearing in the oldest surviving divine nursing scene, that of Sahure from his Valley Temple at Abusir (Cat.1.1). In this scene, as at Amada, Khnum stands to the left of the king and nursing goddess. He later appears in a similar position in other scenes, such as that of Horemheb at Gebel el-Silsileh (Cat.1.35). His presence in these scenes is largely based on his role as a creator who made people on his potter's wheel, including the king and his *ka*.⁴⁵⁴ In the story of the royal births from the Westcar Papyrus (P. Berlin 3033), Khnum goes with a group of goddesses to deliver three future kings, bestowing health on their bodies as they are born.⁴⁵⁵ Khnum's role in birth applied to rebirth as well. Leclant has suggested that coronations (with which he associates divine nursing) were ceremonies of rebirth for the king.⁴⁵⁶ Likewise, Borrego Gallardo also points to Khnum's role in the social rebirth of the king that took place at coronation.⁴⁵⁷ The association between Khnum, rebirth, coronation, and divine nursing is exemplified in the series of scenes of Ramesses II from the

⁴⁵⁴ Abraham I. Fernández Pichel, "Khnum, Banebdjed et Hérichef: analogies thématiques et associations dans la documentation tardive," in *Cultes et textes sacrés dans l'Égypte tardive: diffusion, circulation et adaptation*, ed. Marion Claude and Abraham I. Fernández Pichel (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 2023), 21; Eberhard Otto, "Chnum," in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, ed. Wolfgang Helck and Eberhard Otto (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1975), 952. There is debate in scholarship regarding the interpretation of the *ka*, especially the royal *ka*. See for example Lanny Bell, "Luxor Temple and the Cult of the Royal Ka," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 44, no. 4 (1985): 251–294; Rune Nyord, "The Concept of Ka Between Egyptian and Egyptological Frameworks," in *Concepts in Middle Kingdom Funerary Culture. Proceedings of the Lady Wallis Budge Anniversary Symposium held at Christ's College, Cambridge, 22 January 2016*, ed. Rune Nyord (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 150–203; Johnathan Winnerman, "Rethinking the Royal Ka" (PhD The University of Chicago, 2018).

⁴⁵⁵ Miriam Lichthien, *Ancient Egyptian Literature: A Book of Readings. Volume I: The Old and Middle Kingdoms* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 220–221. See also references to the creative role of Khnum in the Admonitions of Ipuwer (P. Leiden 344, recto, Lichthien, *Ancient Egyptian Literature I*, 151.); the stela of Sehetep-Ib-Re (JE 20538, Lichthien, *Ancient Egyptian Literature I*, 128.); the statue of Djedkhonsefankh (JE 559, Miriam Lichthien, *Ancient Egyptian Literature: A Book of Readings. Volume III: The Late Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 15.); the stela of Taimohotep, British Museum EA147, accessed 21 August 2024, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA147 and Lichthien, *Ancient Egyptian Literature III*, 61.)

⁴⁵⁶ Corrington, "The Milk of Salvation," 399; Leclant, "Coronation Rites," 143.

⁴⁵⁷ Borrego Gallardo, *Las Escenas de Amamantamiento*, 190.

Temple of Seti I at Abydos referenced earlier (3.2.3). Here, the divine nursing scene (Cat.1.43) follows an image of Khnum molding the king upon his potter's wheel.⁴⁵⁸ The relationship between these two scenes is confirmed in the text of the nursing scene, which states, "Having ascended there, O Lord and King, you have become effective, after having appeared with the *Khepresh* crown, and after Khnum fashioned you with his hands, <while Ptah was> gilding your limbs."⁴⁵⁹ The word *hnm*, "to form, create," is even written as an image of Khnum at his potter's wheel rather than its more traditional spelling.⁴⁶⁰ Though I suggest that divine nursing scenes are not limited to the event of coronation, ideas of rebirth, transition, and transformation still very much apply, and Khnum's role in this transformation is tied to him being a creator, in this case of the king and his *ka*.

By the time of Thutmose IV, Khnum also had ties to solar deities and solar worship, something hinted at here by the solar disk on his horns (Figure 19).⁴⁶¹ In general, Otto suggests that it was based on Khnum's role as a creator that he appeared as Khnum-Re and became associated with Re.⁴⁶² Thus, whereas the choice of Khnum for a divine nursing scene may not have been unique or new, the choice here may reflect and reinforce Thutmose IV's desire to be intimately connected to solar deities.

Further, Khnum was associated geographically with southern Egypt and Nubia, though he was worshipped in various locations.⁴⁶³ Esna, to which his epithet in the Amada scene refers, is located in southern Egypt. Elephantine, a city in southern Egypt near the First

⁴⁵⁸ Rosalie David, *Temple Ritual at Abydos* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 2018), 55.

⁴⁵⁹ My translation, see Fairbairn, "Communicating Power through Text and Iconography," 26.

⁴⁶⁰ Fairbairn, "Communicating Power through Text and Iconography," 34–36.

⁴⁶¹ Susanne Bickel, "L'Iconographie du dieu Khnoum," *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 91 (1991): 62.

⁴⁶² Otto, "Chnum," 951–952.

⁴⁶³ Otto, "Chnum," 951.

Cataract, is one of the sites with which Khnum is most closely associated.⁴⁶⁴ Perhaps the reason for this geographical association or as a result of it, Khnum was understood to control the flooding of the Nile.⁴⁶⁵ In the Late Period so-called Famine Stela on Sehel Island, Khnum is said to be the one controlling the flooding of the Nile and, therefore, the prosperity of Egypt.⁴⁶⁶ His southern associations may have also served to make him an ideal attendant in divine nursing scenes, as Budin and Rodríguez-Berzosa Gómez-Landero have both suggested that breastfeeding was associated with the south based on it being the region of the Nile's origins.⁴⁶⁷ Though his appearance in divine nursing scenes is not unique to Amada, his selection is suggestive and may help underline the geographical associations of the temple's decorative program. These geographical implications will be considered further in 3.7.

3.2.8 Unique Features of the Text of the Divine Nursing Scene

In the divine nursing scene's text, the speech by Khnum bears many similarities to those of other divine nursing scenes – the milk is described as sweet,⁴⁶⁸ *heb-seds* are referenced,⁴⁶⁹ and lands are placed under the control of the king.⁴⁷⁰ Although there is no standard text for divine nursing scenes, each element can be found in other scenes' texts, suggesting that

⁴⁶⁴ Fernández Pichel, "Khnum, Banebdjed et Hérichief," 28; Otto, "Chnum," 951. By the Ramesside period, Khnum as "Lord of Elephantine" had become a popular Egyptian deity in royal monuments in Nubia, Mostafa El-Alfi, "Ramesside divinities of Nubia," *Discussions in Egyptology* 18 (1990): 25; Mostafa El-Alfi, "Ramesside divinities of Nubia," *Varia Aegyptiaca* 3 (1990): 163.

⁴⁶⁵ Fernández Pichel, "Khnum, Banebdjed et Hérichief," 28; Lichthiem, *Ancient Egyptian Literature III*, 97; Otto, "Chnum," 952.

⁴⁶⁶ Lichthiem, *Ancient Egyptian Literature III*, 94–97.

⁴⁶⁷ Budin, *Images of Woman and Child*, 88; Rodríguez-Berzosa Gómez-Landero, "La Lactancia en el Antiguo Egipto," 68.

⁴⁶⁸ See scene Cat.2.22.

⁴⁶⁹ See for example scenes Cat.1.42, Cat.1.52.

⁴⁷⁰ See for example scenes Cat.1.50, Cat.2.5, Cat.2.10.

specific concepts, benefits, and actions were understood to accompany divine nursing and it is from these that creators of the images chose. What is unique about the text at Amada is the emphasis on the king's rule over upper and lower *foreign* lands rather than Upper and Lower Egypt. This is likely due to the scene's as well as the hypostyle hall's emphasis on the king's rule over both Egypt and Nubia, a relationship discussed in 3.7.

The most unique portion of this scene's text is that spoken by Werethekau, which appears more tailored toward her and her role in Egyptian ideology than to the context of breastfeeding. Her speech discusses the passing of the uraeus from the head of Re to that of the king, alluding to the king's coronation and reception of royal crowns from his father, the sun-god.⁴⁷¹ As noted above, the uraeus not only protects the king but also marks him as the legitimate and divinely appointed ruler of Egypt. Thus, the text highlights both the bestowal of divine attributes through breastmilk and the king's accession to the throne over both Egypt and Nubia.

3.3 Establishing Context: The Hypostyle Hall of the Temple of Amada

Now that the various elements of the scene have been considered, its broader context will be examined in order to understand the purpose behind this specific divine nursing scene and the way it was adapted to fit that role. The analysis will begin with the decorative program of the temple of Amada and the scenes appearing in the hypostyle hall.

⁴⁷¹ See my translation in Appendix 2.

The temple of Amada is located between the First and Second Cataracts and is dedicated to Amun-Re and Re-Horakhty.⁴⁷² In its current state, the temple consists of a small hypostyle hall and transverse hall with a tripartite sanctuary. It was built during the New Kingdom, 18th Dynasty by Thutmose III, Amenhotep II, and Thutmose IV, but there has been debate regarding the various stages in which the temple was built.⁴⁷³ Significant to this discussion, the hypostyle hall, where the divine nursing scene is located, was not part of the original temple. When first built by Thutmose III and Amenhotep II, the front of the temple had four round pillars as a portico. Later, Amenhotep II and/or Thutmose IV added the six squared pillars on the north and south ends of the portico. Thutmose IV later adapted this portico and pillars into the hypostyle hall, incorporating the existing squared pillars into the walls (Figure 24).⁴⁷⁴ Thus, though the sanctuary and portico predate the divine nursing scene, the decorative program of the hypostyle hall in which it is located was created during the reign of Thutmose IV.

⁴⁷² It should be noted that there is debate as to whether Amun-Re was indeed a subject of cult or ritual here. See Caroline M. Rochelaeu, *Amun Temples in Nubia: A Typological Study of New Kingdom Napatan and Meroitic Temples* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2008), 61.

⁴⁷³ See Carlotti, "Les modifications architecturales du temple d'Amada," 65–77; Ullmann, *König für die Ewigkeit*, 115–119; Charles C. Van Siclen III, "The Building History of the Tuthmosid Temple at Amada and the Jubilees of Thutmosis IV," *Varia Aegyptiaca* 3, no. 1 (1987): 53–66.

⁴⁷⁴ Carlotti, "Les modifications architecturales du temple d'Amada," 71–77.

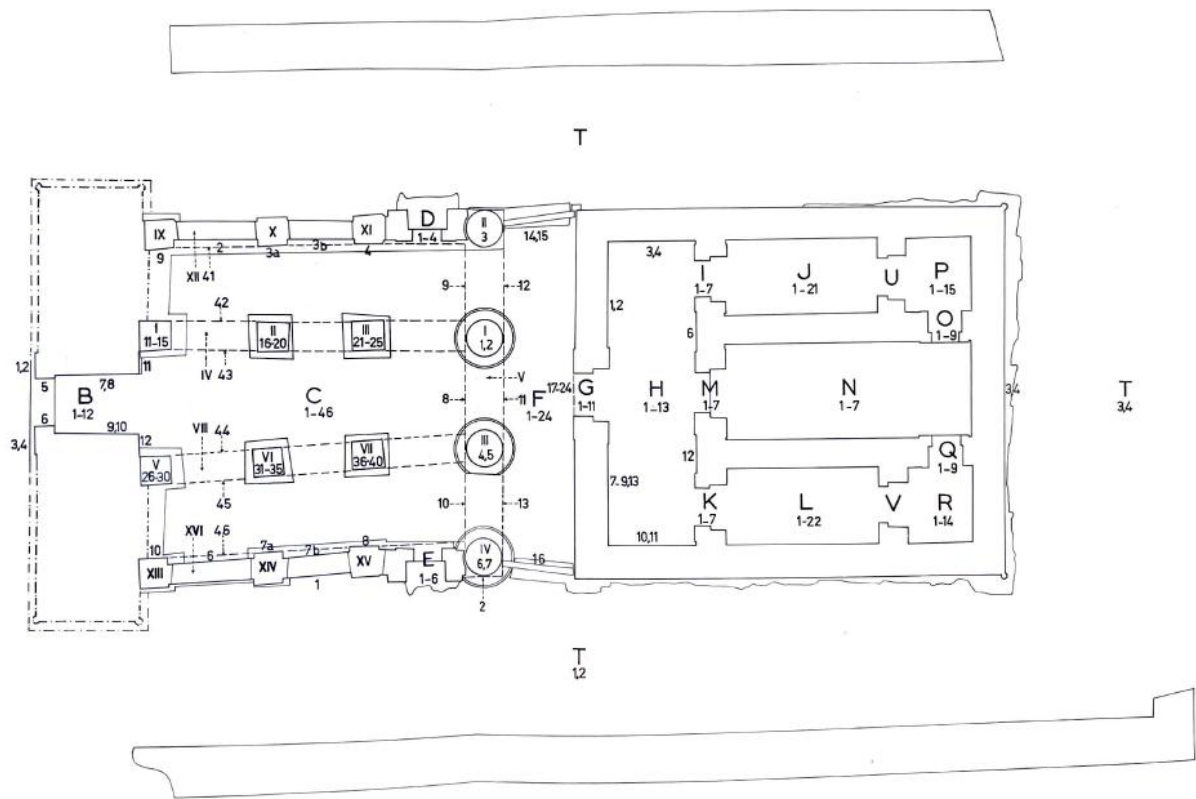


Figure 24. Plan of the Temple of Amada (El-Archir et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, pl. 1)

Figure 24 depicts the layout of the temple of Amada and the location of the various scenes within it. In this section, I will include the notations corresponding to the figure for easier reference. The area of focus for this case study is the hypostyle hall (C), doorways in the hall (E and D), and area between the hall and inner rooms (F). The divine nursing scene is located directly to the right upon entering the hypostyle hall (C6) elevated slightly from the floor, taking up the majority of the wall's height (Figure 21).

Generally, New Kingdom hypostyle halls are composed of many, often decorated, pillars, as at Amada. The area served as the processional way into the sanctuary of the temple.⁴⁷⁵ The composition of the decoration of hypostyle halls was relatively flexible and could, to some degree, be determined by the king or artisans designing the temple space, as

⁴⁷⁵ Karol Myśliweic, *Eighteenth Dynasty Before the Amarna Period* (Leiden: Brill, 1985), 7–9.

evidenced by the range of scenes that appear in hypostyle halls of other New Kingdom temples. Though, scenes regarding coronation and legitimacy were often included in the programs.⁴⁷⁶ It has been suggested that, symbolically hypostyle halls represented the location of creation, the primeval waters or swamp where life and the world began.⁴⁷⁷ In this way, ideas of the “rebirth” or “creation” of the king fit well with the hall’s overall symbolism. Divine nursing scenes are found in other hypostyle halls, such as that of Ramesses II at the Temple of Seti I at Abydos (Cat.1.43) and Seti I at the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak (Cat.1.36).⁴⁷⁸ Thus, Thutmose IV’s choice to have the scene located here is not unexpected nor unusual.

As part of the decorative program and narrative, the divine nursing scene was placed in dialogue with those scenes surrounding it. On the false pillar and wall to the left of the divine nursing scene is a depiction of Thutmose IV kneeling at the *ished*-tree (C7). To the left of this scene, Thutmose IV is shown wearing the White crown of Upper Egypt and being embraced by Hathor (C8; Figure 20). Above the door, the king is shown running with an oar (E1–6; Figure 25).⁴⁷⁹ The false pillar on the other side of the door depicts a lion-headed goddess (F6–7).

⁴⁷⁶ Hosam Refai, “Notes on the Function of the Great Hypostyle Hall in the Egyptian Temple: A Theban Approach,” in *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-First Century. Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists Cairo, 2000. Vol. 1*, ed. Zahi Hawass (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2003), 393–394.

⁴⁷⁷ Rosalie David, *Religious Ritual at Abydos* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1973), 83–84; Byron E. Shafer, “Temples, Priests, and Rituals: An Overview,” in *Temples of Ancient Egypt*, ed. Bryon E. Shafer (London: I.B. Tauris, 2005), 8.

⁴⁷⁸ See Appendix 1 for additional examples.

⁴⁷⁹ El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, E1–6.

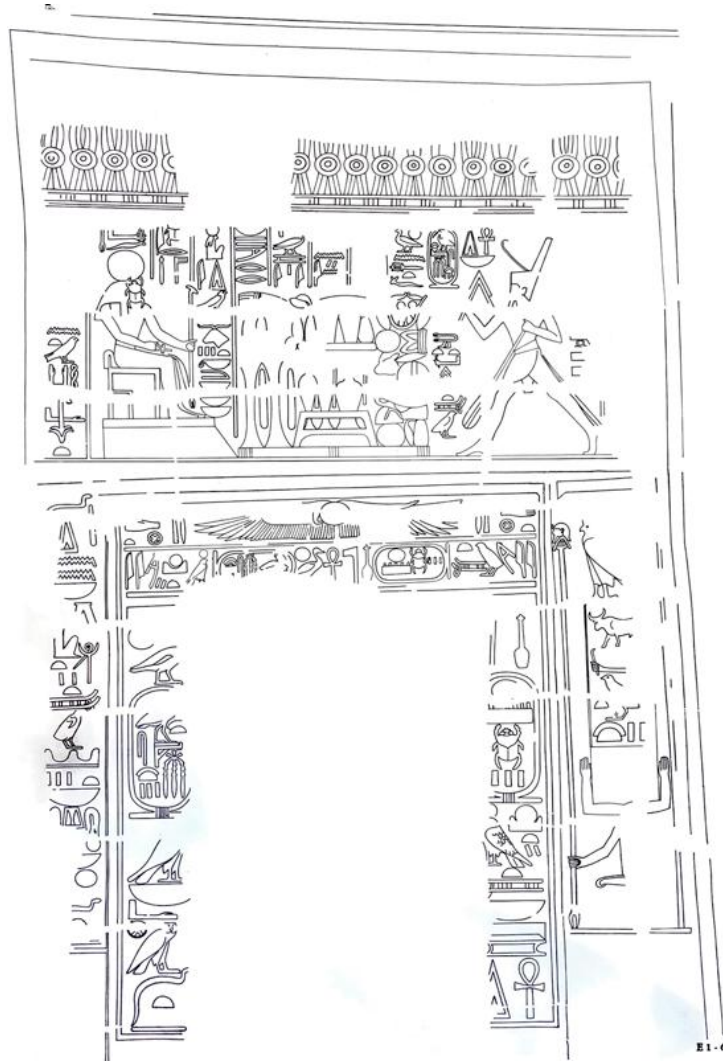


Figure 25. Thutmose IV Running with an Oar above the South Door of the Hypostyle Hall/Portico of the Temple of Amada (El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, pl. E1-6)

On the north wall of the hall (Figure 26), directly across from the nursing scene, is a depiction of Thutmose IV being led before Re-Horakhty by Satet as the king adores the god (C2). Next, the false pillar and next section of the wall show Thoth leading the king before Amun-Re as he receives *heb-seds* (C3). Finally, the king in the Double crown appears on a false pillar being embraced by Isis (C4). The scene above the north door has been destroyed (D1–4).⁴⁸⁰

⁴⁸⁰ El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, C1–46, D41–44; Joceyln Gohary, *Guide to the Nubian Monuments on Lake Nasser* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 1998), 104–107.

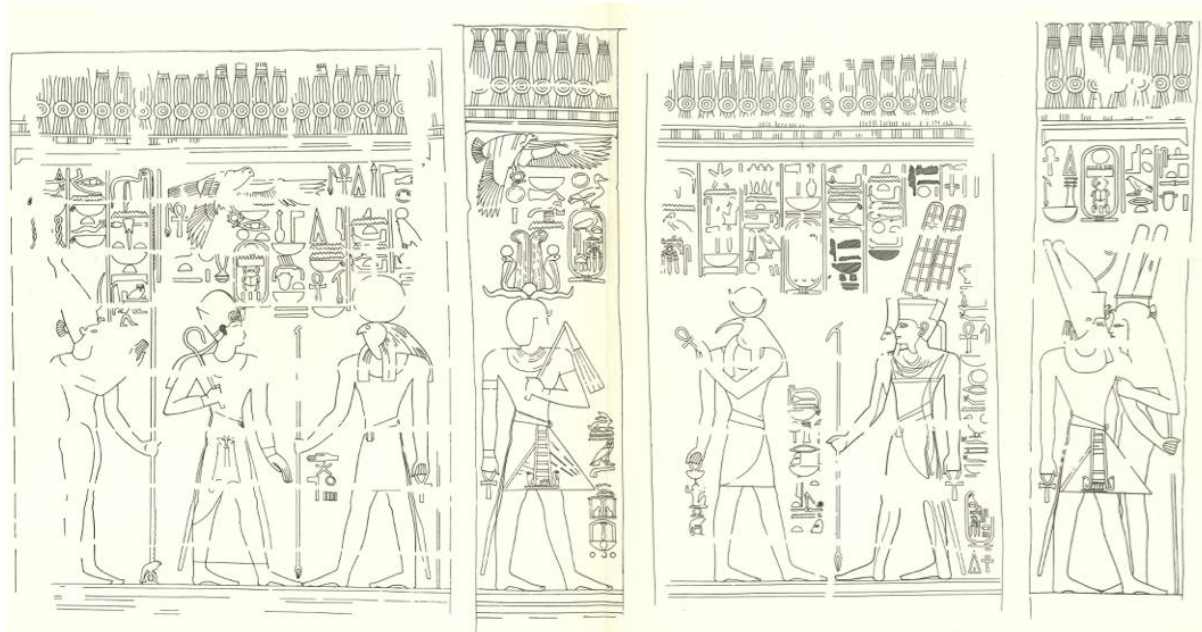


Figure 26. North Wall of Hypostyle Hall of the Temple of Amada, opposite the Divine Nursing Scene (El-Archiré et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, pl. C2–4)

At the back of the hypostyle hall, to the south of the door leading into the sanctuary, the king interacts with Amun-Re, Re-Horakhty, and Khnum in three successive scenes (F20–22). On the other side of the doorway, the king is shown interacting with pairs of deities in two scenes. In one, he is embraced by an enthroned Re-Horakhty and followed by a goddess (F19). Next, he is led by the hands of two male deities (F18).

As will be demonstrated, these images share many themes – the unification of the king with the gods as well as the establishment and promotion of the king’s power over Nubia. In this way, the divine nursing scene finds itself part of a much larger narrative throughout the hypostyle hall and temple as a whole.

3.3.1 *Ished*-Tree Scene

In closest proximity to the divine nursing scene and, therefore, the most likely to be experienced alongside it is the *ished*-tree scene (Figure 20). The scene depicts Thutmose IV kneeling before an enthroned Re-Horakhty-Amun, who reaches out and places the Double

crown atop the king's head. This deity is a combination of those to whom the temple of Amada is dedicated – Re-Horakhty and Amun-Re. In front of and overlapping with the king is the *ished*-tree, the branches of which wrap under and around the throne of Re-Horakhty-Amun. Finally, Thoth faces the king and Re-Horakhty-Amun as he makes notches in a palm branch.

Likely a development of the New Kingdom, the earliest surviving *ished*-tree scene dates to the reign of Thutmose I and they continued to be used until the reign of Hadrian in the Roman Period.⁴⁸¹ Overall, twenty-four *ished*-tree scenes survive from cult temples and nine from mortuary temples.⁴⁸² The motif depicts a ritual sequence where deities create and record the king's name upon the *ished*-tree. According to the texts that appear alongside various *ished*-tree scenes, during the process, the king is granted lifetime, annals, *heb-seds*, and victories. The king receives his name, is crowned, and enthroned by deities before making a reciprocal offering.⁴⁸³ This is reflected in a portion of the text of the Amada scene that says, "Rest yourself on the dais, I having made your name and established your annals."⁴⁸⁴

Marazzi suggests the purpose of these scenes was "propaganda to promote the validity of the reigning king's claim to the throne and justify his coronation. The reliefs tell the story to the widest possible audience."⁴⁸⁵ As will be discussed further in 3.5, though the scene likely showcased the king's legitimacy, for an image to be propaganda, it must be

⁴⁸¹ Mary Ann Marazzi, "The Ritual of the iSd Tree: A Reconstruction" (PhD University of Birmingham, 2020), 96.

⁴⁸² Marazzi, "The Ritual of the iSd Tree," 272.

⁴⁸³ Wolfgang Helck, "Ramessidische Inschriften aus Karnak," *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 82 (1957): 140; Marazzi, "The Ritual of the iSd Tree," 332–340.

⁴⁸⁴ My translation, see Appendix 2.

⁴⁸⁵ Marazzi, "The Ritual of the iSd Tree," 342.

accessible to the audience it tries to convince or influence.⁴⁸⁶ The *ished*-tree scene here is in a royal temple, an area most of the population was unlikely to visit or have access to. With less accessibility to these scenes, the scene more likely functioned, as suggested by Nyord, to materialize the relationships depicted between the king and gods and to actualize the actions taking place in the image (1.4.2).⁴⁸⁷ In this case, the image makes real the king's appointment by Re-Horakhty-Amun and his legacy's preservation on the *ished*-tree.

Though the *ished*-tree scene and the divine nursing scene were likely not intended as a literal sequence of events in the case of the temple of Amada, they share ideas of legitimization, coronation, and the perpetuity of the king's power. First, both represent an event in the "creation" of the king. Like a newborn child, the king is given a name and nursed. However, unlike the average newborn, the king's rebirth places him among the deities rather than mortal humans. He takes on royal names, created by the gods, and rather than a mortal nurse (perhaps his mother, wet nurse, or other kins-women), two goddesses nurse him. Thus, Thutmose IV was reborn, named, and nurtured in a cycle of rejuvenation in unity with the gods. The scenes' location within a hypostyle hall, a space designed to represent the primeval waters of the original creation, further emphasizes this idea of divine creation. Interestingly, both scenes also emphasize the bestowal of crowns. Werethekau's speech signifies the bestowal of kingship and literal royal crowns (3.2.2). Likewise, in the *ished*-tree scene, Re-Horakhty-Amun is shown placing the Double crown on Thutmose IV's head. Though Marazzi's comprehensive study of *ished*-tree scenes did not reveal any pattern in the location of the scenes, nor a connection with divine nursing scenes in particular,⁴⁸⁸

⁴⁸⁶ Edward Bleiberg, "Historical Texts as Political Propaganda During the New Kingdom," *Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar* 7 (1985/6): 8–9.

⁴⁸⁷ Nyord, *Seeing Perfection*, 58–63.

⁴⁸⁸ Marazzi, "The Ritual of the iSd Tree," 275–282.

their themes build upon one another and create a larger narrative of eternal rebirth and creation as Thutmose IV enters the temple to be united with Re-Horakhty and Amun-Re and his reception of royal crowns.

3.3.2 Running with the Oar Scene

Above the doorway on the same wall as the divine nursing scene, the king is shown running with an oar (Figure 25). In addition to the king, the scene depicts a god seated on a throne. Generally, in these scenes, the king is running toward a creator god – Amun, Amun-Re, Ra, or Osiris.⁴⁸⁹ Here at Amada, it is Atum with the head of a scarab, suggesting Khepri and further solar associations.⁴⁹⁰

Cultic running existed in ancient Egyptian art as far back as the Old Kingdom, such as part of the *heb-sed*, and changed little in its usage through to the Roman period.⁴⁹¹

Variations where the king runs when holding an oar, vase, or bird appear in the Middle and New Kingdom – the oar-run appearing during the reign of Mentuhotep II, the vase-run during the reign of Amenhotep I, and the bird-run during the reign of Hatshepsut. The oar-run and vase-run regularly appear as a pair and were likely connected ritually.⁴⁹² Hence, an image of the vase-run likely appeared above the opposite doorway but has since been destroyed.

⁴⁸⁹ Jirí Janák, “Running with Images: Ritualized Script in the Vogellauf, Rudderlauf, and Vasenlauf,” in *Profane Landscapes, Sacred Spaces: Urban development in the Bronze Age southern Levant*, ed. Jiérâi Janâak, Jiří Janák, and Miroslav Bárta (Equinox Publishing Limited, 2020), 93.

⁴⁹⁰ See my translation in Appendix 2.

⁴⁹¹ Wolfgang Decker and Michael Herb, *Bildatlas zum Sport im Alten Ägypten: Corpus der Bildlichen Quellen zu Leibesübungen, Spiel, Jagd, Tanz und Verwandten Themen. Teil 1. Text* (Leiden, New York: Köln; Brill, 1994), 21.

⁴⁹² Janák, “Running with Images,” 91–93.

The exact meaning of the running scenes and the features held by the king are not entirely understood. Janák suggests that the three variations of the running scene (oar, vase, or bird) show the king “as a helpful, loving and active son who swiftly performs effective and favorable actions for his divine parents (the solar/creator god and his spouse), in order that he could uphold life in his country.”⁴⁹³ This suggestion would thematically tie this running scene with others of the hypostyle hall in establishing relationships between the king and deities. Still, running scenes have also been tied to demonstrations of the king’s physical ability and the vitality required to rule Egypt whilst also ritually representing the king’s rule over all of Egypt as he runs around markers symbolizing the borders of Egypt.⁴⁹⁴ Still, the ritual of running with the Apis bull appears as early as the 1st dynasty and was tied to ideas of fertility, royal ritual, and the *heb-sed*.⁴⁹⁵ Thus, once again, the act of running appears as part of the *heb-sed* and, thus, renewal of the king. In the case of Amada, the king demonstrates his ability to fulfill the duties and responsibilities of the position given to him and to which he was crowned in the *ished*-tree and divine nursing scenes, while possibly referencing the *heb-sed* mentioned throughout the hypostyle hall (3.3.4).

Finally, themes of dominion and solar deities are showcased once again in the scene’s text. A portion of the speech of Atum states, “May I make great your majesty among the lords, like Khepri, the great god, give dominion.”⁴⁹⁶ Again, the gods grant the king dominion, as seen in many other scenes from the hypostyle hall. Further, the king is

⁴⁹³ Janák, “Running with Images,” 94.

⁴⁹⁴ Decker and Herb, *Bildatlas zum Sport*, 22.

⁴⁹⁵ Claus Jurman, “Running with Apis. The Memphite Apis Cult as a Point of Reference for Social and Religious Practice in Late Period Elite Culture,” in *Egypt in transition : social and religious development of Egypt in the first millennium BCE : proceedings of an international conference : Prague, September 1-4, 2009* ed. Ladislav Bareš, Filip Coppens, and Květa Smoláriková (Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology, Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague, 2010), 225–227.

⁴⁹⁶ My translation, see Appendix 2.

compared to Khepri, a god of the sunrise, in an image where Atum appears with the scarab-head of Khepri. The text and imagery, thus, create an assimilation between the god and king, a primary goal of the temple and something that continues throughout its imagery.

3.3.3 Welcoming and Adoration Scene

Moving to the north wall, directly across from the divine nursing scene, the king is shown being led by Satet before Re-Horakhty (Figure 26). The text identifies this scene as an adoration scene – “Adoring the god four times.”⁴⁹⁷ In addition to the king’s adoration is the king’s introduction to Re-Horakhty by Satet, who says, “Come! May your father see you so that he might give you eternity.”⁴⁹⁸ Thus, there are two primary actions: Satet bringing the king before Re-Horakhty, and the king adoring the god. I will refer to this scene as an adoration scene going forward, as that is its title in the associated text.

The decoration of the hall is laid out largely symmetrically with many scenes mirrored on each side of the hall. For example, the king is embraced by Isis on the north wall, and across from this scene (on the south wall), he is embraced by Hathor (Figures 20 and 26). These scenes also reflect geographic orientation, with Isis representing the north and Hathor the south (3.2.1). Further, each squared pillar shares similar imagery with those across from it, all facing inward toward the temple’s central walkway. Furthermore, though a parallel scene does not survive, the oar-run is known to have often appeared with a mirroring scene, of the vase-run (3.3.2).⁴⁹⁹ Though the *ished*-tree scene is not repeated on the north wall, it does contain the same subjects – Thoth and Amun – as the scene in which

⁴⁹⁷ My translations, see Appendix 2.

⁴⁹⁸ My translations, see Appendix 2.

⁴⁹⁹ Janák, “Running with Images,” 92.

the king receives *heb-seds* on the north side (Figure 26). This symmetrical nature of the hypostyle hall's decoration would suggest a relationship between the adoration and divine nursing scenes.

Derchain suggested that temple decoration can be “read” systematically and that scenes mirror each other in ideas and/or form in what he terms “puns” (continuing his “reading” language).⁵⁰⁰ In this case, the divine nursing and adoration scenes mirror each other in *both* form and ideology. In form, in both scenes the goddesses (Hathor for the divine nursing and Satet for the adoration) stand on the west, the side closest to the front of the temple. The gods (Khnum and Re-Horakhty) stand facing the king on the east, the side closest to the sanctuary. The king then stands between the goddesses and gods, facing into the temple. His leg is shown stepping forward, indicating his movement into the temple toward the sanctuary (Figures 19 and 26). This orientation is to be expected in New Kingdom temples, as generally, the king moves into the temple as the gods face out, away from their sanctuaries.⁵⁰¹ In both scenes, a goddess is the primary actor, either introducing the king or nursing. The actions of the goddesses situate the king in the divine sphere: Satet welcomes and presents the king before the god, as the nursing of Hathor (and Werethekau) positions the king within the divine kin.

Further, just like the epithet of Hathor, Lady of Ibshek, the presence of Satet references the Nubian context of the temple. Satet appears as early as the Old Kingdom, where she is referenced in the Pyramid Texts tied to the Nile and its origins, which, as has been noted before, the Egyptians associated with the First Cataract, the conventionally used

⁵⁰⁰ Philippe Derchain, “Un manuel de géographie liturgique à Edfou,” *Chronique d’Egypte* 37, no. 73 (1962): 38–40.

⁵⁰¹ Henry George Fischer, *Egyptian Studies II. The Orientation of Hieroglyphs. Part 1, Reversals* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1977), 41–44.

boundary between Egypt and Nubia. In the Middle Kingdom, Satet became part of a triad with Khnum and Anuket and appeared with the epithet the Lady of Elephantine, a name by which she was worshipped in Nubia. By the New Kingdom, Satet guarded the south country in the Book of the Dead and continued to represent the area of the First Cataract.⁵⁰² Thus, like the divine nursing scene, a southern goddess aids in the king's transformation and path to unite with the solar deities of the temple.

Scenes featuring the king's adoration of gods appear often in Egyptian art and in a variety of thematic contexts – purification, coronation, and offering.⁵⁰³ They appear in various forms, and the phrase “Adoring the god four times” or phrases like it are common titles for such scenes.⁵⁰⁴ It has been suggested that the number four had ritual significance and association with royal rituals of purification and offerings based on its frequent use in depictions of such rituals. It may also refer to the four cardinal directions or times of day – sunrise, noon, sunset, or midnight.⁵⁰⁵ However, there is no ancient explanation for its significance. In the New Kingdom, those being adored are often solar deities, with Amun-Re being the most common.⁵⁰⁶ This is the case here at Amada, where the subject of adoration is the solar Re-Horakhty. Eissa points out that this adoration scene is unique in two ways. First, it is the earliest surviving adoration scene in which the king wears the long skirt, and second,

⁵⁰² Dominique Valbelle, “Satet,” in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, ed. Wolfgang Helck and Eberhard Otto (1984), 487–488.

⁵⁰³ Rabee Eissa and Wazier Abdel-Whab, “Chronological Development of the Royal Adoration Reliefs in Ancient Egyptian Temples from the Old Kingdom to the end of the New Kingdom,” *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 75 (2019): 119.

⁵⁰⁴ Wazier Abdel-Whab and Rabee Eissa, “Remarks on Four Unusual Adoration Scenes from Abydos,” *Memnonia* 28 (2017): 183; Eissa and Abdel-Whab, “Royal Adoration Reliefs,” 120, 123.

⁵⁰⁵ Abdel-Whab and Eissa, “Four Unusual Adoration Scenes,” 183–185; Eissa and Abdel-Whab, “Royal Adoration Reliefs,” 142.

⁵⁰⁶ Eissa and Abdel-Whab, “Royal Adoration Reliefs,” 128, 133.

the iconography of this scene seems to imitate that of Senusret I at his White Chapel.⁵⁰⁷

Thus, once again, there is evidence for the adaptation of older imagery in the decorative program of the temple of Amada, suggesting conscious effort was made to ensure the decorative program addressed the specific purposes of the temple and that those building the temple were free to customize motifs used elsewhere to these specific purposes.

Overall, adoration was given in exchange for a gift from the god, in this case, “eternity.”⁵⁰⁸

This “eternity” is similar to the other gifts the king receives in the hall, such as the *heb-seds*.

Perhaps the comparable nature of the gifts received by the king is part of what makes them parallel images.

3.3.4 *Heb-Sed* Scene and Inscriptions

Many have understood the temple of Amada to commemorate a *hed-sed* (or *sed*-festival) due to the multiple scenes and numerous inscriptions within the temple that mention *heb-seds*. The divine nursing scene itself refers to the *heb-sed*, as does the *ished*-tree scene and the depiction of the king between Anukis and Re-Horakhty on the east wall.⁵⁰⁹ Additionally, the scene directly next to the adoration scene and across from the *ished*-tree scene, which depicts Thoth welcoming the king before Amun, is titled “Coming into the presence to receive the *heb-seds*” (Figure 26). Pillar 1 shows the king before Anukis mentioning the multiplication of *heb-seds* for the king (Figure 27). Furthermore, the pillars throughout the

⁵⁰⁷ Eissa and Abdel-Whab, “Royal Adoration Reliefs,” 127–128.

⁵⁰⁸ Eissa and Abdel-Whab, “Royal Adoration Reliefs,” 128–129.

⁵⁰⁹ My translation, see Appendix 2.

hall contain the inscription *sp-tpy wḥm ḥb-sd jr(w).f ʿš wrt* or “The first occasion repeating the *heb-sed*, it has been made very great.”⁵¹⁰

However, the evidence for Thutmose IV’s *heb-sed* is debated. Evidence for the celebration of *heb-seds* appears from the Predynastic to Ptolemaic period.⁵¹¹ By means of the festival, the kingship was renewed, and king was rejuvenated. By at least the reign of Osorkon in the Third Intermediate Period, elements of the festival clearly involved themes of rebirth, including rebirth after death.⁵¹² This likely reflected earlier functions of and traditions regarding the event and its rituals. The festival was intended to be held after a king had reigned for 30 years. However, as Bryan has demonstrated, this timeframe appears to have often been ignored or changed.⁵¹³ With Thutmose IV only having reigned for 10–12 years, it would have been impossible for him to have celebrated a *heb-sed* in the 30th year of his reign. Thus, he must have either celebrated it early or, as Hartwig suggests, held a *heb-sed*-like event earlier in his reign.⁵¹⁴ In general, Bryan has suggested that references to and images of *heb-seds* by those kings who had not or never would celebrate the festival at the 30-year interval reflect the anticipation of eventual *heb-seds* or smaller festivals with similar purposes (Hartwig’s *heb-sed*-like event).⁵¹⁵ Further, Eaton has acknowledged that many of the elements of the *heb-sed* may have overlapped with other festivals and rituals aimed at the king’s renewal, making it difficult for modern viewers to always distinguish between

⁵¹⁰ My translation, see Appendix 2.

⁵¹¹ Jean Daniel Degreef, “The Heb Sed Festival Sequence and pBrooklyn 47.218.50,” *Göttinger Miszellen* 223 (2009): 29; Karl Martin, “Sedfest,” in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, ed. Wolfgang Helck and Eberhard Otto (Weisbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1984), 782.

⁵¹² Eric Uphill, “The Egyptian Sed-Festival Rites,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 24, no. 4 (1965): 379–380.

⁵¹³ Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV*, 21; Martin, “Sedfest,” 784.

⁵¹⁴ Hartwig, “Deification of Thutmose IV,” 124.

⁵¹⁵ Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV*, 23.

coronation and *heb-sed* events.⁵¹⁶ Still, what appears to us as inconsistencies may instead be nuances and traditions regarding the celebration that are not fully understood by modern scholars. In a recent article, Corcoran draws attention to the many references to the *heb-sed* in the tomb of Tutankhamun, a king known to have had too short a reign for a *heb-sed*. She suggests that the imagery here may apply to a *heb-sed* held at the king's coronation or the anticipation of an eternity of *heb-seds* after his death.⁵¹⁷ Here, we may reflect on observations regarding the role of images in Egyptian art – actualization of what is being depicted, especially the relationships between subjects (1.4.2).⁵¹⁸ Thus, the imagery and textual references to *heb-seds* here in the temple of Amada may not commemorate an actual festival celebration but instead aimed to ensure the king's renewal and long reign, both in this life and the next, which has implications for the role of divine nursing in the temple. Accordingly, the temple at Amada may reflect a *heb-sed*-like event held during Thutmose IV's reign, his hope for eventual *heb-seds*, or an effort to make real the *heb-seds* of the king and his relationships with the associated deities, thereby providing Thutmose IV the benefits "in perpetuity."⁵¹⁹

As noted in 1.2, scholarship has previously connected the *heb-sed* and divine nursing. Leclant lists it as one of the three births when the king was nursed as he sees the *heb-sed* as a repeat of coronation rituals.⁵²⁰ Admittedly, later than the New Kingdom, two references to nursing appear in the record of the *heb-sed* of Osorkon at Bubastis. One of the texts is quite

⁵¹⁶ Katherine Eaton, *Ancient Egyptian Temple Ritual: Performance, Pattern, and Practice* (London: Routledge, 2013), 74–75.

⁵¹⁷ Lorelei Corcoran, "A *Heb Sed* in Perpetuity? Tutankhamun as the Lunar Osiris," in *Wonderful Things: Essays in Honor of Nicholas Reeves*, ed. Peter Lacovara (Columbus, Georgia: Lockwood Press, 2023), 34.

⁵¹⁸ Nyord, *Seeing Perfection*, 63.

⁵¹⁹ Corcoran, "A *Heb Sed* in Perpetuity?," 45–46.

⁵²⁰ Leclant, "Coronation Rites," 138.

clear: “I have nursed him to be king of the Two Lands and to rule what the sun encircles. Given all life.”⁵²¹ Elsewhere, after a reenactment of the king being reborn after death, he is nursed by Horus and Isis.⁵²² Further, Ptolemaic papyrus Brooklyn 47.218.50 alludes to the king’s rebirth and his being like a child during the *heb-sed*.⁵²³ Though both sources are later than the material examined in this thesis, they are suggestive in drawing connections between the rituals of the *heb-sed* and nursing.

3.3.5 *Ankh*-Giving Scenes

The final scene type to be discussed here are the *ankh* or life-giving scenes that appear throughout the hypostyle hall – on the inner faces of the four squared pillars and the pillars that serve as doorjambs at the entrance to the hypostyle hall (except for in one case where Khnum embraces the king). The five scenes show the king receiving life from Anukis, Khepri, Atum, Amun, and Ptah.

Interestingly, part of the text accompanying the Anukis *ankh*-giving scene on Pillar 1 (Figure 27) states, “I am your mother who fashioned your majesty and name.”⁵²⁴ Though the nursing scene does not include the statement that the goddess is the king’s mother, Anukis is here identified as such. The scene is located near the divine nursing scene, facing it from the other side of the hypostyle hall’s axis passage (see the temple map in Figure 24). The three scenes with Khepri, Amun, and Ptah state that the king is given life, dominion, and health. That with Amun refers to the king as “Lord of all foreign lands.” The scene with Atum

⁵²¹ Translation by Uphill, “The Egyptian Sed-Festival Rites,” 375.

⁵²² Uphill, “The Egyptian Sed-Festival Rites,” 379–380.

⁵²³ Degreef, “The Heb Sed Festival,” 29.

⁵²⁴ My translation, see Appendix 2.

references the building of the temple and bestows valor and strength (Atum). Finally, in the scene with Ptah, titled “Adoring the gods four times,” the king receives millions of years.⁵²⁵ Despite the title of this last one placing the scene in the category discussed previously, the iconography of these scenes, with the god extending the *ankh* to the nose of the king, suggests the function of an *ankh*-giving scene as well.



Figure 27. Anukis giving life to Thutmose IV in Hypostyle Hall at Temple of Amada (El-Archiré et al., Le Temple d'Amada, pl. C11–12)

⁵²⁵ My translation, see Appendix 2.

Scenes of gods and goddesses giving *ankh* to the king appear as early as the Old Kingdom on lintels, doorways, and corridors.⁵²⁶ Various gods and goddesses appear in such images, as showcased here at Amada. The choice of god or goddess was purposeful. For example, in the Old Kingdom funerary temples, the scenes are often related to the state-god Re.⁵²⁷ Megahed states:

The existence of the ankh-giving scene on lintels of the doorways of chambers and corridors in the Old Kingdom funerary temples can be referring to its role in the transformation of the king from one sphere to another, or from mortal king-god to be an immortal divinity, who join with the gods in the afterlife, especially as most of the deities who were depicted giving the king the symbol of life are in fact all related to the supreme god of the state in the Old Kingdom, Sun God Re.⁵²⁸

Therefore, like many of the scenes discussed here, these play a significant role in the transformation of the king.

Systematic research on these *ankh*-giving scenes, specifically from the Middle and New Kingdoms, has yet to be done, potentially due to the large number of scenes that survive. However, like those from the Old Kingdom, the scenes at Amada are associated with passageways or doorways; in this case, the space one walks through the hypostyle hall. If the scenes maintained a similar function into the New Kingdom, they would serve as part of the hypostyle hall's transformation of Thutmose IV. Further, if we again consider the ancient Egyptian image's ability to materialize what is being depicted, these scenes would actualize this transformation and establish beneficial relationships between him and the gods (1.4.2).

⁵²⁶ Mohamed Megahed, "New Ankh-Giving Scenes from the Pyramid Complex of Djedkare," in *The Perfection that Endures...* *Studies on Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology*, ed. Kamil O. Kuraszkiewicz, Edyta Kopp, and Daniel Takacs (Warsaw: Department of Egyptology, Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Warsaw, 2018), 322–325.

⁵²⁷ Megahed, "New Ankh-Giving Scenes," 323.

⁵²⁸ Megahed, "New Ankh-Giving Scenes," 324.

3.4 The Temple of Amada as a Mansion of Millions of Years

Having established the themes that weave themselves through the decorative program of the hypostyle hall, they can now be considered in the context of the temple itself. Texts from the temple identify it as a Mansion of Millions of Years. This identification is especially relevant to our discussion as the inscription bearing this title is found in the hypostyle hall.⁵²⁹ It appears on the south face of an architrave in the northern portion of the hall and says:

Words spoken by Thoth, lord of sacred writing to the great Ennead, who are in the house of Re: Come! May you see this great, pure, enduring, and splendid monument, a house of god of millions of years, after the Dual king, Men-kheperu-re made for his father Re-Atum, the great god, who ascends from the horizon, which he made, given life like Re forever.⁵³⁰

Whether the temple was considered a Mansion of Millions of Years before the reign of Thutmose IV and the construction of the hypostyle hall is uncertain,⁵³¹ but by the time of the divine nursing scene, it had been identified as such.

Mansions of Millions of Years were a New Kingdom development in temple construction, though the term dates back to the Middle Kingdom. Structures so named range from entire temples to specific areas within temples (such as a hypostyle hall in the case of Seti I at Karnak) and appear throughout Egypt.⁵³² Different from mortuary temples meant to sustain the life of the deceased king, these temples were built to memorialize and aid in the union of the king with the god of the temple.⁵³³ In the case of the temple of

⁵²⁹ Hartwig, "Deification of Thutmose IV," 123.

⁵³⁰ My translation, see Appendix 2.

⁵³¹ Ullmann, *König für die Ewigkeit*, 115–116.

⁵³² Gerhard Haeny, "New Kingdom 'Mortuary Temples' and 'Mansions of Millions of Years,'" in *Temples of Ancient Egypt*, ed. Bryon Shafer (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1997), 89–121.

⁵³³ Lanny Bell, "The New Kingdom 'Divine' Temple: The Example of Luxor," in *Temples in Ancient Egypt*, ed. Bryon E. Shafer (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1997), 158; Christian Leblanc, "Quelques réflexions sur le programme iconographique et la fonction des temples de 'millions d'Années,'" in *The Temple in Ancient Egypt: New Discoveries and Recent Research*, ed. Stephen Quirke (London: British Museum Press, 1997), 49.

Amada, this would be Amun-Re and Re-Horakhty, both of whom appear frequently in the temple's decoration and those scenes discussed above.⁵³⁴ Exactly what this meant for the ideology surrounding the living king is of great debate. Some suggest this meant the king was worshipped in these spaces during life, not just after death.⁵³⁵ Haeny suggests some level of deification of the king, while others emphasize a king with a more nuanced divine nature rather than deification. To this end, Haeny has convincingly suggested that Mansions of Millions of Years developed out of temples meant to hold statues of the deceased that allowed them to share in the offerings to the temple gods. This would imply that the king was also a recipient of the worship, ritual, and those offerings made in the temple, whether or not he was considered a deity in life.⁵³⁶

Part of what makes this temple type challenging to interpret is that there is no set decorative program. Instead, the programs appear to have been customized by the king or his artisans. Leblanc identifies themes that the decoration of these Mansions tends to follow: politics (including coronation and choice of the pharaoh by the gods), military victories, cultic activities, and familial relations (including the creation and birth of the king).⁵³⁷ It must be noted that these categories encapsulate most of those scenes that appear in temples of the New Kingdom, whether Mansions of Millions of Years or not. Further, this would divide divine nursing scenes between politics and familial relations.

Whatever the decorative program of these Mansions may have been, the programs were designed to facilitate the function of these spaces – the memorialization of the king

⁵³⁴ Dewachter argues that the sole god of the temple should be considered Re-Horakhty rather than both Re-Horakhty and Amun-Re. See Michel Dewachter, "Le grande coude du Nil à Amada et le toponyme t3 𓆎 'h(t)," *Revue d'Égyptologie* 38 (1987): 190–193.

⁵³⁵ Leblanc, "temples de "millions d'années"," 49.

⁵³⁶ Haeny, "New Kingdom 'Mortuary Temples'," 126.

⁵³⁷ Leblanc, "temples de "millions d'années"," 50–53.

and facilitation of his union with deities. Whether the temple of Amada had always been meant as a Mansion of Millions of Years or became so after the construction of the hypostyle hall by Thutmose IV, the divine nursing scene's addition at this point in the temple's development suggests the scene served the overall aim of the temple as a Mansion of Millions of Years – to unify Thutmose IV with Amun-Re and Re-Horakhty.

3.5 Audience and Accessibility to Temple Spaces and Imagery

One of the debates that often arises in discussions of temples and hypostyle halls is the matter of accessibility. Who would have had access? Who were the images and scenes meant for? Examining these questions can help us better recognize the role this divine nursing scene was meant to play in the Egyptian and Nubian minds and the intention behind the image. It is also vital when evaluating claims of temple imagery as propaganda.

It has been suggested that on special occasions, such as festivals and processions, portions of the public would have been allowed into some of the outermost areas of temples, which could have included hypostyle halls.⁵³⁸ Graffiti has often used to demonstrate the presence of public observers in temple areas; however, Salvador disagrees that such graffiti is evidence of members of the public being allowed in temples suggests that graffiti was the work of priests, scribes, and other temple personnel already working within the temple.⁵³⁹ al-Taher and Frood have agreed that such graffiti were

⁵³⁸ Bell, "The New Kingdom 'Divine' Temple," 127, 135.

⁵³⁹ Chiara Salvador, "Graffiti and Sacred Space: New Kingdom Expressions of Individuality in the Court of the Seventh Pylon at Karnak," in *Ägyptologische Tempeltagung*, ed. Martina Ullmann (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2016), 118–119.

institutionalized, thus cannot be taken as evidence of public accessibility, but should rather be interpreted as internal practice.⁵⁴⁰ The creation of graffiti would have required skill and knowledge likely beyond that of the average visitor. Further, translations of the textual graffiti indicate they were made by temple staff. Finally, the areas where these texts are found are not only on processional routes or in places where occasional visitors might have assembled.⁵⁴¹ Salvador emphasizes that the graffiti demonstrate the movements and interactions of temple staff with the temple space rather than occasional visitors.⁵⁴²

The presence of the *rekhyt*-bird has also been used as evidence of public access. However, Griffin's in-depth examination of the motif challenges this assumption. He even notes examples of the image appearing in the sanctuaries of temples where accessibility is known to have been limited, such as on the pillars of the Osiris Chapel within the Temple of Seti I at Abydos or on pillars in the Temple of Seti I at Gurna in a room accessed via the shrine of Amun. Instead, Griffin suggests the motif allowed the *rekhyt*-people to be present via the image, not physically.⁵⁴³ Although, it is important to note that accessibility may have changed over time or varied between temples, at Amada, I am inclined to follow Salvador and Griffin's conclusions and regard the hypostyle hall as an area largely off-limits to the public. This means the audience for this scene and those of the hypostyle hall would have

⁵⁴⁰ Ahmed Al-Taher, "The Graffiti in the Khonsu Temple at Karnak," in *Graffiti and Rock Inscriptions from Ancient Egypt: A Companion to Second Epigraphy*, ed. Khaled Hassan Chloé Ragazzoli, and Chiara Salvador (Cairo: Institut Français D'Archéologie Orientale, 2023), 337–339; Elizabeth Froom, "Egyptian Temple Graffiti and the Gods: Appropriation and Ritualization in Karnak and Luxor," in *Heaven on Earth, Temples, Ritual and Cosmic Symbolism in the Ancient World*, ed. Deena Ragvan (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 2013), 285.

⁵⁴¹ Chiara Salvador, "Graffiti at the Southeast Door of the Court of the Tenth Pylon at Karnak: Staff Only Beyond this Point?," in *Graffiti and Rock Inscriptions from Ancient Egypt: A Companion to Secondary Epigraphy*, ed. Chloé Ragazzoli, Khaled Hassan, and Chiara Salvador (Institut Français D'Archéologie Orientale, 2023), 362–363, 369–370.

⁵⁴² Salvador, "Graffiti at the Southeast Door," 373–374.

⁵⁴³ Griffin, "Use and Function of the Rekhyt Rebus," 66–81.

been limited to the king, temple staff, and the gods as their barques and/or statues were brought through the hypostyle hall to and from the sanctuary.⁵⁴⁴

As mentioned in 3.3.1, this limited accessibility directly contradicts interpretations of temple imagery as propaganda.⁵⁴⁵ To function as propaganda, an image must be accessible to the target audience, the opinions or thoughts of whom the creator wishes to change or influence,⁵⁴⁶ this was clearly not a primary concern here. Taterka provides two additional issues with interpreting ancient Egyptian reliefs in this way. First, literacy rates were low in ancient Egypt, especially among the greater population, meaning most Egyptians could not read the accompanying texts. Though, this does not mean that the images would not have been understandable or served a communicative purpose. Second, and also discussed by Nyord, most reliefs are inaccessible due to low lighting, placement high on walls, or locations in restricted areas, and, as was established above, members of the public would have never or rarely seen most temple reliefs.⁵⁴⁷ Today, lit by electric lights (Figures 21–22), the divine nursing scene at the temple of Amada is in an area where it would have been unlikely to receive much natural light from the entrance or side doorways and would thus have relied on artificial lights within the temple. This implies the primary function of the image was not based on its visibility and viewer consumption.

⁵⁴⁴ The presence of a sacred barque is suggested by depictions of a barque in the central sanctuary of the temple. See Ullmann, *König für die Ewigkeit*, 116–117.

⁵⁴⁵ See for example Ziegler's interpretation of the scenes of Hatshepsut as propaganda, Christiane Ziegler, ed., *The Pharaohs* (New York: Rizzoli, 2002), 217.

⁵⁴⁶ Filip Taterka, "'I have to put it on my wall!': The Function of 'Historical' Reliefs in the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari," in *Of Gods and Men. Research on the Egyptian Temple from the New Kingdom to the Graeco-Roman Period*, ed. Abraham I. Fernández Pichel (Alcalá de Henares: Editorial Universidad de Alcalá, 2002), 42–48.

⁵⁴⁷ Taterka, "Function of 'Historical' Reliefs," 42–43, 48–50; Nyord, *Seeing Perfection*, 47.

Still, the scene's audience must also not be limited to those at the time of Thutmose IV. As a Mansion of Millions of Years, its intent was to last for eternity. Evidence suggests that the cults of Nubian temples survived until at least the end of the 20th dynasty (ca 1190–1077 BCE).⁵⁴⁸ Repairs, reworking of texts (like renaming Hathor in the divine nursing scene), and other royal inscriptions of 19th Dynasty kings attest to a cult at the temple of Amada at least through the reign of Siptah (ca 1197–1193 BCE), one of the last rulers of the 19th Dynasty.⁵⁴⁹ The repairs made under Ramesses II at Amada suggest that the temple and its cult were functioning enough to warrant the repairs and attention during his reign. This extends the audience beyond the 18th Dynasty, though it likely remained of the same social composition. Further, when considering the composition of this elite group, the local community and geographical location must also be considered – in this case, its Nubian context. As will be explored in 3.7, while those with access to the temple were likely Nubian as well as Egyptian, they were still of an elite and privileged class.

Thus, the intended audience was likely limited to the king (his proxy or heirs), temple priests, temple staff, and the gods. For the king, the temple and its imagery prepared and transformed him in his approach and union with the temple's gods. Baines has suggested that when temple imagery fashioned the cosmos, it created "a cosmologically perfect environment that the gods could receive with joy and inhabit."⁵⁵⁰ It was into this "perfect environment" and sphere of the gods that the king was incorporated through his nursing. It served to create an ideal, to ensure status, and to establish relationships. The scene itself

⁵⁴⁸ Ullmann, "Egyptian Temples in Nubia," 516.

⁵⁴⁹ Ullmann, *König für die Ewigkeit*, 117.

⁵⁵⁰ Baines, "On Functions of Writing," 100–101.

encapsulated the king's relationship with deity and his own divinity while guaranteeing it would be so.⁵⁵¹

3.6 18th Dynasty Kingship and the Past

As the king's divine nature is a primary subject of divine nursing, ideas surrounding kingship in the 18th dynasty must also be considered. After the Second Intermediate Period, Redford notes that the kingship of the 18th Dynasty "inherited a great deal from the past, even while discarding much of the immediate past."⁵⁵² This can be observed in Thutmose IV's story on the stela at the base of the Sphinx in Giza, an Old Kingdom monument. Here, Thutmose IV records that the Sphinx promised him the throne of Egypt if he cleared away the sand covering it.⁵⁵³ This was part of the fashioning of Thutmose IV's legitimacy and "royal discourse" (as Bickel refers to it)⁵⁵⁴ as he tied himself to a monument of the far past, demonstrating respect for that monument and its continued relevance and power. Further, there is evidence that during the 18th Dynasty, kings and artisans used temple and tomb scenes from the Old and Middle Kingdoms, particularly the 12th Dynasty, as inspiration for contemporary scenes.⁵⁵⁵ In this way, the 18th Dynasty kings sought to iconographically and artistically tie their imagery back to a prior dynasty and demonstrate the continuity between them, creating an unbroken royal narrative as a source of legitimization.

⁵⁵¹ See discussion in 1.4.2 and Baines, *Visual and Written Culture*, 335; Nyord, *Seeing Perfection*, 58–63.

⁵⁵² Redford, "The Concept of Kingship during the Eighteenth Dynasty," 157.

⁵⁵³ Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV*, 38–41, 144.

⁵⁵⁴ Susanne Bickel, "Kings as Gods in the New Kingdom," *Orient* 59 (2024): 39.

⁵⁵⁵ Redford, "The Concept of Kingship during the Eighteenth Dynasty," 159.

Some have pointed directly to this divine nursing scene at Amada as evidence of this phenomenon or, as some have put it, “archaism” (4.3.8). Budin states that the scene replicates features of scenes from the 5th and 6th dynasties.⁵⁵⁶ Budin and Rodríguez-Berzosa Gómez-Landero specifically link the scene at Amada to that of Sahure in his Valley Temple in Abusir (Cat.1.1), which depicts the goddess Nekhbet nursing the king with Khnum standing to the left and an unknown figure to the right (Figure 28), based on similarities between other Thutmose IV and Sahure temple scenes as well as Thutmose IV’s building projects in the complexes of Sahure, not necessarily features within the scene itself.⁵⁵⁷ Though the two reliefs share similarities in overall structure, they differ in the goddess shown as the king’s nurse, the headdresses worn by the goddess and king, and the number of additional figures: Amada only has one, Khnum. Thutmose IV’s familiarity with Sahure’s monuments may have inspired his use of divine nursing imagery, but many divine nursing scenes have similar forms and features. Divine nursing imagery was not uncommon among Thutmose IV’s predecessors. Thus, it is hard to prove that the Sahure scene was the direct inspiration for the Amada scene. However, though Thutmose IV may not have been specifically referencing the Sahure scene, he was taking part in the tradition of this motif stretching back to the Old Kingdom.

⁵⁵⁶ Budin, *Images of Woman and Child*, 67.

⁵⁵⁷ Budin, *Images of Woman and Child*, 67; Rodríguez-Berzosa Gómez-Landero, “La Lactancia en el Antiguo Egipto,” footnote 465 on page 484.

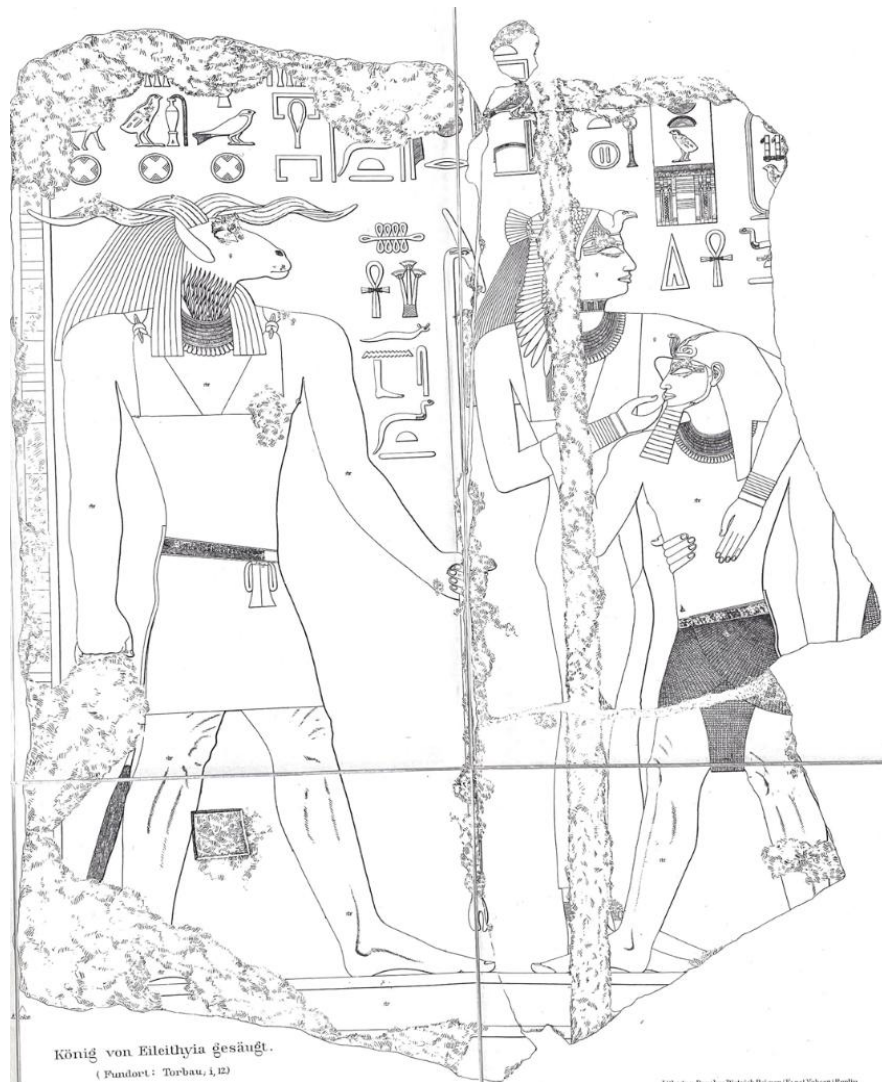


Figure 28. Sahure nursed by Nekhbet at Abusir (Borchardt, *Königs S'a'hu-re', II, pl. 18*)

During the 18th dynasty, Egyptian kings continued to seek ways to define and demonstrate the nature of their divine attributes. Depictions of the king's divine birth became more common (see Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, Cat.2.5, and Amenhotep III at Luxor Temple, Cat.2.18). Redford characterizes 18th dynasty kingship as “the strong-man king, god's representative on earth, the image of the high-god, the superior intellect – combined paradoxically to humanize this erstwhile god.”⁵⁵⁸ Yet, he suggests that the king's divinity was weakening, and he was becoming more human in Egyptian ideology; thus, the

⁵⁵⁸ Redford, “The Concept of Kingship during the Eighteenth Dynasty,” 173.

king needed to be born and chosen by the gods.⁵⁵⁹ Whether the Egyptians saw it as a “weakening” of divinity or not is difficult to determine, but the king does appear with a dual nature as mortal/human and divine, often with characteristics of either or both. While many studies have focused on royal imagery’s role in legitimacy, a recent study of New Kingdom kingship by Bickel has suggested that royal discourse was less aimed at securing the legitimacy of the king, but at demonstrating the stability of kingship and its eternal nature.⁵⁶⁰ About the king’s nature, she states: “Through the coronation, the king was set apart from human society; he changed his ontological status and became a metaperson.”⁵⁶¹ Further, Bickel points out that to the average ancient Egyptian, the distinction between the king’s divine and mortal natures was likely not an everyday concern.⁵⁶² Thus, concerns over whether the king was divine or mortal may be based on modern perceptions and dichotomies. In this way, imagery like the divine nursing scene were less about justification for the king’s rule but rather part of a larger “royal discourse” around the king’s power, where they “defined, encapsulated, and perpetuated the cosmos.”⁵⁶³

3.7 Egypt and Nubia

Finally, the temple’s location within Nubia sets it apart from the majority of divine nursing scenes and is a significant part of why it was chosen for examination here. The usage of

⁵⁵⁹ Redford, “The Concept of Kingship during the Eighteenth Dynasty,” 163–164, 174. 174.

⁵⁶⁰ Bickel, “Kings as Gods in the New Kingdom,” 46.

⁵⁶¹ Bickel, “Kings as Gods in the New Kingdom,” 49. Bickel bases her choice of words like “metahuman” on the research of David Graeber and Marshall Sahlins, *On Kings* (Chicago: Hau Books, 2017), 8.

⁵⁶² Bickel, “Kings as Gods in the New Kingdom,” 44.

⁵⁶³ Baines, *Visual and Written Culture*, 335.

divine nursing imagery in this “new” context allows us to consider how it was understood to function and how it was adapted to fit its context.

Egyptian kings had originally conquered the northern area of Nubia during the Middle Kingdom.⁵⁶⁴ During the early 18th dynasty (New Kingdom), a campaign was once again launched into Nubia, (re-)conquering the areas previously taken during the Middle Kingdom along with those further south. With this, Egypt started a multifaceted campaign to securely incorporate the conquered areas under its rule. This colonizing of Nubia has become the subject of recent research as scholars seek to understand the complex interactions between Egyptians and Nubians during this time.⁵⁶⁵

Throughout the Pharaonic period, Nubians were one of the established foreigner groups identified in ancient Egyptian ideology and depicted in art and text based on set stereotypical features. These foreign groups were characterized as cowardly and chaotic in comparison with the Egyptians.⁵⁶⁶ The image of the king subduing foreigners, including Nubians, permeated royal and state iconography and discourse, something Smith refers to as the “foreigner *topos*.”⁵⁶⁷ These ideological concepts of foreigners, including Nubians, were a key feature of royal discourse. As Smith observes:

⁵⁶⁴ Rennan Lemos and Julia Budka, “Alternatives to Colonization and Marginal Identities in New Kingdom Colonial Nubia (1550–1070 BCE),” *World Archaeology* 53 (2021): 401.

⁵⁶⁵ See for example Lemos and Budka, “Alternatives to Colonization,” 401–408; Uroš Matić, “Postcolonialism as a Reverse Discourse in Egyptology: De-colonizing Historiography and Archaeology of Ancient Egypt and Nubia Part 2,” *Archaeologies* 19, no. 1 (2023): 60–82; Willem Paul van Pelt, “Revising Egypto-Nubian Relations in New Kingdom Lower Nubia: From Egyptianization to Cultural Entanglement,” *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 23, no. 3 (2013): 523–550; Stuart Tyson Smith, “Revenge of the Kushites: Assimilation and Resistance in Egypt’s New Kingdom Empire and Nubian Ascendancy over Egypt,” in *Empires and Complexities: On the Crossroads of Archaeology*, ed. Gregory Areshian (Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology at UCLA, 2013), 84–107.

⁵⁶⁶ Smith, “Ethnicity,” 114–116; Stuart Tyson Smith, *Wretched Kush: Ethnic Identities and Boundaries in Egypt’s Nubian Empire* (London: Routledge, 2003), 173; Stuart Tyson Smith, “Nubian and Egyptian Ethnicity,” in *A Companion to Ethnicity in the Ancient Mediterranean*, ed. Jeremy McInerney (Malden, MA and Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2014), 194–197.

⁵⁶⁷ Smith, *Wretched Kush*, 167; Smith, “Ethnicity,” 120. See also the discussion in Antonio Loprieno, *Topos und Mimesis: Zum Ausländer in der ägyptischen Literatur* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1988).

In grand public settings and more intimate gatherings, the Egyptian king's surroundings and accoutrements emphasized the self-other opposition of superior ethnic Egyptians and inferior ethnic foreigner that, as a legitimizing ideology, tied the king to the cosmological struggle between order and chaos.⁵⁶⁸

While ideology clearly distinguished between Nubians and Egyptians, the lived experience was more complex. Examples demonstrate levels of cultural entanglement, primarily among elite individuals, where there appears to have been exchange between Egyptians and Nubians, including the creation of a "third-space" that was both Nubian and Egyptian.⁵⁶⁹ Yet, the relationship of Egypt and Nubia during the New Kingdom was one of colonizer and colonized, characterized by the exploitation of resources by Egyptians and violence toward Nubians.⁵⁷⁰ So, while there may have been levels of cultural entanglement among elite groups, there was still a separation between the two groups based on power and control. While the lived experience likely differed from these ideologies, the reliefs from the temple of Amada dwell within the royal discourse and "foreign *topos*" as well as the colonization campaign of the New Kingdom kings. This may explain the use of the phrase "foreign lands" rather than the more typical "Upper and Lower Egypt" in the temple's text (3.2.8).⁵⁷¹

Egyptian kings sought to control Nubia by diverse means, including religion and culture.⁵⁷² van Pelt acknowledges, "There can be little doubt that Egypt had a deliberate

⁵⁶⁸ Smith, "Nubian and Egyptian Ethnicity," 198.

⁵⁶⁹ Rennan Lemos, "Beyond Cultural Entanglements: Experiencing the New Kingdom Colonization of Nubia 'from Below,'" in *New Perspectives on Ancient Nubia*, ed. Solange Ashby and Aaron J. Brody (Piscataway, NJ: Georgias Press, 2024), 55–56; Smith, "Nubian and Egyptian Ethnicity," 198–205.

⁵⁷⁰ Lemos, "Beyond Cultural Entanglements," 58, 61; Matic, "Postcolonialism as a Reverse Discourse," 73; Uroš Matic, "Enemies hanged (head-)down," in *Egypt 2015: Perspectives of Research Proceedings of the Seventh European Conference of Egyptologists (2nd-7th June, 2015, Zagreb – Croatia)*, ed. Mladen Tomorad and Joanna Popielska-Grzybowska (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2017), 319–327.

⁵⁷¹ See my translations in Appendix 2.

⁵⁷² Ullmann, "Egyptian Temples in Nubia," 512; Martina Ullmann, "Ritual Landscape in Nubia during the New Kingdom," in *Ritual Landscape and Performance: Proceedings of the International Conference on Ritual Landscape and Performance, Yale University, September 23-24, 2016*, ed. Christina Geisen (New Haven: Yale Egyptology, 2020), 141.

policy of attempting to Egyptianize her elite subjects,”⁵⁷³ though the results were much more complex than simple Egyptianization.⁵⁷⁴ During the New Kingdom, many temples for Egyptian deities were built throughout Nubia, and variations of Egyptian deities were created for local Nubian areas, such as Hathor, Lady of Ibshek (3.2.1). Evidence survives for about 50 cult buildings from the New Kingdom in Nubia, though this number was likely higher. Temple-towns were built as administrative hubs and Egyptian settlers moved into established settlements.⁵⁷⁵ Ullmann writes, “The most visible remains of this religious takeover of Nubia undoubtedly were the temples for Egyptian deities, which were erected and run by Egyptian authorities on Nubian territory.”⁵⁷⁶ The temple of Amada can be identified as part of this religious program. Thus, in addition to being a Mansion of Millions of Years, the temple was intended to establish Egyptian control in the region, a theme that has been demonstrated to appear throughout its decorative program.

References to the king’s domination, especially over foreign lands, are repeated throughout the text of the hypostyle hall with phrases like “Having given you all lands, all foreign lands are under your sandals” and “he gives you power over every foreign land” being repeated along with epithets for the king such as “the one who conquers all foreign lands.” Focus is brought to Nubia by the depictions of deities associated with Upper Egypt and Nubia, such as Satet, Khnum, and Anukis, as well as forms of gods and goddesses from Upper Egyptian and Nubian locations, such as Horus, Lord of Aniba; Satet and Anukis of

⁵⁷³ van Pelt, “Revising Egypto-Nubian Relations,” 530.

⁵⁷⁴ Lemos, “Beyond Cultural Entanglements,” 53–94; Smith, “Revenge of the Kushites,” 95–96.

⁵⁷⁵ Lemos and Budka, “Alternatives to Colonization,” 403; van Pelt, “Revising Egypto-Nubian Relations,” 524; Ullmann, “Ritual Landscape in Nubia during the New Kingdom,” 141.

⁵⁷⁶ Ullmann, “Egyptian Temples in Nubia,” 141.

Elephantine, and Thoth “foremost of Nubia.”⁵⁷⁷ Clearly, the king’s role as a conqueror of Egypt’s enemies, as mentioned by Smith previously,⁵⁷⁸ was a primary focus of the temple’s program.

Within the temple’s sanctuary, a stela memorializes some of the more violent means by which kings sought to control Nubia. Earlier than the reliefs of the hypostyle hall and dating to the reign of Amenhotep II, the stela documents the king’s journey to Karnak (Thebes) to thank Amun for his victory. According to the text, to demonstrate his domination, the king has the bodies of his enemies hung upside down at the prow of the ship and piled outside the walls of both Thebes and Napata “to cause the victory of His Majesty to be seen forever and ever in all the lands and all the foreign lands of Nubia.”⁵⁷⁹ Here, violence and religious construction were used in parallel to ensure control over the region of Nubia. While the theme of conquering Egypt’s enemies and the construction of monuments was a key feature of kingship during the New Kingdom,⁵⁸⁰ here it was made specific to Nubia.

The divine nursing scene echoes these themes in the text accompanying the imagery. In his speech, Khnum gives Thutmose IV all the foreign lands to bow before him. The text’s reference to the upper and lower *foreign* lands is likely an adaptation of the more common phrase of ruling Upper and Lower Egypt to incorporate Nubia into the king’s divinely

⁵⁷⁷ My translations, see Appendix 2.

⁵⁷⁸ Smith, “Nubian and Egyptian Ethnicity,” 198.

⁵⁷⁹ Translation by Matić, “Enemies hanged (head-)down,” 320. See also discussion of the scene, Matić, “Enemies hanged (head-)down,” 322–324.

⁵⁸⁰ Smith, *Wretched Kush*, 169–173; Smith, “Ethnicity,” 120–122; Emily Teeter, *The Presentation of Maat: Ritual and Legitimacy in Ancient Egypt* (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1997), 2. See for example the many images of the king fighting Egypt’s enemies or otherwise demonstrating his control and power over them, such as the statue of Hatshepsut in which she rests her feet on the nine bows (Egypt’s traditional enemies), “Hatshepsut Wearing the khat Headdress,” Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 30.3.3, accessed 17 February 2025, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/547761>.

appointed domain. This type of adaptation would benefit from further exploration and comparisons among other Nubian-based scenes.

The setting, text, and iconography of the divine nursing scene communicate the king's claim to have been divinely appointed to rule over Nubia, something not shared with all divine nursing scenes from the New Kingdom. For example, in the scene of Ramesses II from Abydos (Cat.1.43) referenced earlier, each form of the goddess Hathor is from a location within Egypt, and though the text does mention domination, there is no reference to foreign lands. However, ideas of domination and victory are not unknown in divine nursing scenes, as noted by Leclant.⁵⁸¹ Though Leclant's evidence is limited to a few scenes, mainly from Thebes, this scene from Amada further demonstrates that ensuring victory and domination could be a primary purpose of divine nursing. It is possible that this is directly related to the geographical associations created by the goddesses' identities and the placement of these regions under the king, which will continue to be explored in the next chapter.

Though the re-conquering of Nubia took place largely in the early 18th Dynasty, kings continued to build and restore monuments in Nubia. Ramesses II even incorporated himself into the local pantheon as seen in his prominent place in his temple at Abu Simbel,⁵⁸² though this incorporation may be more related to his own deification and incorporation into Egyptian pantheons more generally. Still, Nubia continued to be understood as falling under the power of the deified Egyptian king. Clearly, the divine nursing scene at Amada continued to be relevant to these later royal discourses in the region as evidenced by Ramesses II's alteration of the scene to include Hathor, Lady of Ibshek.

⁵⁸¹ Leclant, "Coronation Rites," 141–142; Leclant, "Sur un contrepoids de menat " 266–267.

⁵⁸² Ullmann, "Ritual Landscape in Nubia during the New Kingdom," 149.

As determined above, the divine nursing scene was viewable by only a small audience composed of the king, temple priests and staff, the gods, and possibly occasional public visitors. Was it seen by a Nubian audience and if so, what did it mean to Nubian viewers? Though it might appear that the scene was meant for a Nubian audience, to demonstrate the king's authority over them, van Pelt has noted that the religious efforts of Egyptians in Nubia were not of "conversion," instead temple ritual was likely handled by a group of Egyptians priests, with temple rituals and cults falling under the jurisdiction of local Nubian leaders serving under the Egyptian king.⁵⁸³ Lemos observed that temple-town workers were composed of Egyptians and Nubians.⁵⁸⁴ However, most evidence, and consequently academic assessments of this issue, is based on evidence from an Egyptian perspective with little voice from the Nubians.⁵⁸⁵ It is, therefore, difficult to assess the composition of the small group that would have interacted with the temple imagery and the Nubians' feelings towards it, especially as those Nubians who would have interacted with the temple would have likely been elite and Egyptianized to some degree. Unlike in areas such as Deir el-Bahari (Chapters 4–5), surviving divine nursing imagery does not appear outside of temples in Nubia;⁵⁸⁶ however, this may be due to preservation bias in both what has survived and the sites that have been excavated. This, too, makes it difficult to determine the Nubian perspective toward this imagery. Either way, van Pelt has noted that Egyptian efforts to incorporate Nubia via culture and religion were primarily aimed at elite Nubians. Therefore, much like what will be demonstrated in the following case study, those

⁵⁸³ van Pelt, "Revising Egypto-Nubian Relations," 524, 529.

⁵⁸⁴ Lemos and Budka, "Alternatives to Colonization," 403.

⁵⁸⁵ See Lemos and Budka, "Alternatives to Colonization," 401–408.

⁵⁸⁶ See the locations for divine nursing scenes in Appendix 1.

viewing this image were not only of a small group but also likely of the elite class (4.3.5).

Thus, we must again consider what the image may have been intended to accomplish when being seen by a wide range of individuals was not its primary purpose.

3.8 Conclusion: The Role of the Divine Nursing Scene in the Iconographic Program of the Temple of Amada

Through an in-depth examination and analysis of this scene as well as its context, I have suggested that the divine nursing scene was adapted to and played an active role in the decorative program of the hypostyle hall and temple of Amada, revolving around two major themes: transformation of the king (including the *heb-sed*) and the conquest of Nubia.

The theme of the king's transformation is made evident when looking at the hypostyle hall's decorative program and the relationship between the various reliefs. The scene's parallel nature with the adoration scene on the opposite (north) wall highlights divine nursing's role as a step or event by which the king enters the sacred temple space before the gods. While it is unlikely that the *ished*-tree scene and the divine breastfeeding scene were understood as a literal sequence of events, both share ideas of legitimization, coronation, and the perpetuity of the king's power. Both images represent an event in the "creation" of the king. Like a newborn child, the king is nursed and receives a name, in this case, from his divine relations.

On the south wall, the king goes through a type of creation or transformation by the gods, as he moves inward and is presented to the deities of the temple on the north wall.

The appearance of the *ankh*-giving motif, a scene associated with moments of transformation, supports this movement from one state to another. As a Mansion of Millions

of Years, the temple served to unite the king with the gods of the temple, Re-Horakhty and Amun-Re. To do this, he passes through the divine nursing scene. Therefore, instead of the nursing scene acting as a step in the emergence from a funerary temple as in the Old Kingdom,⁵⁸⁷ here, it is part of the process by which the king approaches and is unified for millions of years with the gods. The divine nursing scene's placement by the doorway might suggest its role as an initial step in this entrance. In this way, the nursing scene works together with the other scenes and the physical space of the temple itself to represent or perhaps ensure the king is prepared to enter the temple space.

The temple's transformative aspects are furthered by the many references to the *heb-sed* which appear throughout the hall, including in the nursing scene and its neighboring *ished-tree* scene. This should not be surprising as Leclant noted that divine nursing scenes were often associated with coronations and *heb-seds*,⁵⁸⁸ moments of transformation and change for the king and his identity. However, as it is doubtful that Thutmose IV celebrated a formal *heb-sed* during his short reign, the scene's purpose here is unlikely to be commemorative of such an event. It is more likely that the image was intended to make the rituals and divine interactions depicted a reality and ensure their eternal occurrence.⁵⁸⁹ In this way, the divine nursing scene forged and maintained the intimate relationship between the king, Hathor, and Werethekau, ensuring he would continue to receive the benefits of their nursing.

Second, the divine nursing scene depicted and ensured the king's conquest of and domination over Nubia. Like many other images in the temple, the nursing scene references

⁵⁸⁷ Borrego Gallardo, *Las Escenas de Amamantamiento*, 174–176.

⁵⁸⁸ Leclant, "Coronation Rites," 138.

⁵⁸⁹ See Nyord, *Seeing Perfection*, 63.

the king's power over foreign lands and contains symbols of his domination. Although the theme of domination is not unique to the Amada scene,⁵⁹⁰ there is evidence of choices made to tailor the divine nursing scene to this specific purpose. The adaptation of the text to reference "all foreign lands," the choice to show the king holding the *rekhyt*-bird, and the selection of nursing goddesses all attest to this design choice, emphasizing the king's power over its Nubian location. Together with the other images and texts from the temple, the divine nursing becomes an image by which the king could be ensured domination and power over a geographical region. As this thesis has and will continue to discuss, associations with geographical areas are often exemplified in the identity of the nursing goddess. Though Leclant states that divine nursing does not indicate nor create any particular link between the king and that goddess,⁵⁹¹ I would argue the opposite – that one of the primary functions of divine nursing was to create a tangible connection, possibly even relatedness, between the king and that goddess. Through this relationship, the king had authority over the geographical region the goddess represented and became a part of the divine kin group that defined Egypt's cosmic organization. In the end, the scene at the temple of Amada worked alongside many other efforts by the Egyptian king and his administration to ensure the subjection and colonization of Nubia, including violence. As Matić points out, "Ancient Egyptian temples in Nubia can become places for spectacles of violence in certain contexts with the aim of reminding locals of the physical and cosmic power of the Egyptian king."⁵⁹² While it is unknown if Amada became a place for such a spectacle in a literal sense, the

⁵⁹⁰ Leclant, "Sur un contrepoids de menat " 266–267.

⁵⁹¹ Leclant, "Coronation Rites," 143.

⁵⁹² Matić, "Postcolonialism as a Reverse Discourse," 73.

temple's decorative program seeks to materialize a similar outcome for the local Nubians, serving as a re-enactment of the subjugation of Nubia.

Though the divine nursing scene from the temple of Amada shares many elements with other divine nursing scenes, the choices made in the composition of this scene make it unique to its context. The core motif was modified and adapted to fit the temple's purposes and themes. By changing the objects held by the king, the identity of the nurse(s), and the gifts listed in the text, the scene could be made to communicate different messages or emphasize specific aspects of kingship. This adaptability could help explain some of the changes in the motif over time, such as the increased variety of goddesses (and her forms) acting as the nurse including Hathor as a cow, as kings used it for specific purposes. This adaptation will continue to be evident in the next two case studies (Chapters 4–5).

4. Nursed by the Cow-Goddess: A Case Study of the Nursing Cow-Goddess Scene Subtype

4.1 Introduction: Case Study #2

Despite their unique qualities, most scholars have treated scenes of the king nursing from a cow-goddess as variations of the more common anthropomorphic divine nursing scenes (like that of Amada in the prior chapter), missing the opportunity to consider the importance of such variations and the application of divine nursing to new contexts.⁵⁹³ Likewise, this downplays the relationship between these scenes and other cow-goddess imagery, as well as the motif's geographical ties to the region of Deir el-Bahari and Hathoric traditions. This chapter argues that the nursing cow-goddess represents divine breastfeeding in a way that challenges and pushes the boundaries on current understandings of divine nursing, expanding the scenes' contexts, questioning the king's role as the scene's subject, and exploring the motif's interactions with other Hathoric motifs. By examining these scenes as a distinct group, I recommend a shift in perspective that sees the nursing cow-goddess scenes not as simply variations of divine nursing but as the incorporation of divine nursing into well-established and popular cultic imagery, highlighting the conscious choice behind the usage of nursing in imagery otherwise lost when viewed as a homogenous and repetitive motif. In

⁵⁹³ Research on divine nursing generally includes those scenes featuring the nursing cow-goddess alongside those of anthropomorphic goddesses without distinction or specific investigation. See for example their use by Leclant in Leclant, "Coronation Rites," 143. See also their discussion alongside anthropomorphic scenes in Budin, *Images of Woman and Child*; Cañor-Pfeiffer, "From Ritual to Role Description," 255–338. They are not included in Maruejol, "La Nourrice," 311–319. However, Cañor-Pfeiffer does dedicate a section to the statues of Hathor nursing in her article, while also discussing the images of Hathor nursing in greater depth, Cañor-Pfeiffer, "From Ritual to Role Description," 306–307.

this case study, I will illustrate how breastfeeding as a ritual and symbolic action was applied to existing Hathoric imagery and cult practices to create relationships between the king and geographic areas like Deir el-Bahari, people participating in the Hathor cult, and the processions and rituals which took place in the region.

4.2 Cow-Goddess Scene Type

Twenty-six scenes of the Egyptian king nursing from the udders of a cow-goddess survive (Tables 1–2). Overall, the scenes are incredibly similar, with little variation, forming an identifiable “core motif.” This “core motif” consists of a cow with a solar disk between her horns, sometimes wearing double feathers, striding forward. The king kneels beneath the goddess, drinking from and sometimes holding her udder. A second king stands under the chin of the cow-goddess, striding forward with her (see, for example, Figure 29). Based on the surviving evidence, these elements remain constant.



Figure 29. Statue of Amenhotep II Nursed by Hathor-Cow, JE11549, from the Hathor Shrine of Thutmose III (Donadoni, *Egyptian Museum, Cairo*, 98–99)

Whenever text survives identifying the cow-goddess, she is said to be Hathor and I suggest that the goddess in the majority of nursing cow-goddess scenes, with or without text, should be understood as Hathor. Yet, Hathor is not the only nurturing cow-goddess in ancient Egyptian ideology. For example, in Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahari, Hesat is referred to as "divine mother."⁵⁹⁴ Further, the two cow-headed goddesses in the divine birth scene of Hatshepsut (Cat.2.5) are identified as Hesat and Sekhat-Hor, which implies those in Amenhotep III's (Cat.2.18) should be understood in the same way.⁵⁹⁵ However, as will be discussed, these divine birth scenes serve functions different from the other nursing cow-goddess images, already distancing them from the rest of the nursing cow-goddess scenes.

⁵⁹⁴ Nathalie Beaux et al., *La Chapel d'Hathor I - Vestibule et Sanctuaires. I - Texte* (Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 2012), 131.

⁵⁹⁵ Caŕor-Pfeiffer, "From Ritual to Role Description," 285.

Pinch has identified the cow-goddess in the statue of Horemheb as Anat (Cat.2.19), though she does not explain why.⁵⁹⁶ While the goddess is not identified in the text and so cannot be entirely determined, Horemheb is repeatedly referred to as “beloved of Hathor, the great lady” in the statue’s text, suggesting the cow-goddess here is Hathor.⁵⁹⁷ By the New Kingdom, Hathor had become associated with various cow-goddesses, having taken on some of their roles, and the distinctions between them become hazy.⁵⁹⁸

That the majority of the nursing cow-goddess scenes originate in Deir el-Bahari and the surrounding regions of Thebes is suggestive. The worship of Hathor in Thebes began long before the New Kingdom. While Allam suggests that it may have begun as early as the 5th dynasty (ca 2435–2306 BCE),⁵⁹⁹ possibly the earliest royal evidence for her worship in the region is the stela of King Intef II (ca 2066–2017 BCE).⁶⁰⁰ Here the king offers beer to Hathor and milk to Re. Interestingly, the hymn to Re at the top references the nursing (*snk*) of Re. Eventually, Mentuhotep II’s construction of his mortuary temple in Deir el-Bahari would mark Deir el-Bahari as a long-standing center of Hathoric worship in Egypt.⁶⁰¹ Mentuhotep II (ca 2009–1959 BCE) appears often on the walls of his temple accompanied by the goddess and identified as the “son of Hathor.”⁶⁰² Eventually, Hatshepsut (ca 1479–1458 BCE) built her mortuary temple beside that of Mentuhotep II and became the ending point for the procession of the Beautiful Feast of the Valley. Hathor’s cult in the region seems to have

⁵⁹⁶ Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, 175.

⁵⁹⁷ My translation of text recorded in Schiaparelli, *Museo Archeologico di Firenze*, I, 153.

⁵⁹⁸ See for example Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, 173–176. In one text she is called the Hesat-cow, Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, 176.

⁵⁹⁹ Allam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult*, 58.

⁶⁰⁰ “Stela of King Intef II Wahankh,” Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 13.182.3, accessed 29 January 2025, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/544201>.

⁶⁰¹ Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, 3.

⁶⁰² Allam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult*, 59; Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, 4.

reached its height during the New Kingdom. Her popularity is evident in the great number of votive offerings dedicated to her during this period,⁶⁰³ the Beautiful Feast of the Valley (4.3.6) being one of the biggest festivals of the period,⁶⁰⁴ and her priesthood reaching its most populous during the reign of Ramesses II (ca 1279–1213 BCE).⁶⁰⁵ The thousands of votive offerings dedicated to the goddess included images of her as a cow emerging from the mountains, in the necropolis, or among the reeds.⁶⁰⁶ Based on the number of votive offerings, the popularity of the Hathor cult in Deir el-Bahari appears to have reached its height in the Ramesside period (19th–20th dynasties, ca 1292–1077 BCE),⁶⁰⁷ potentially explaining the size of its priesthood at the time. In addition to royal patronage, various public points of worship for the goddess were located in the region.⁶⁰⁸ The nursing cow-goddess scenes parallel the development of Hathor's cult here and sit well within the context of the popularity and flourishing of the cult of Hathor in the region during the New Kingdom.

Given the similarities between the nursing cow-goddess scenes themselves, their place in Hathor's cult in Deir el-Bahari, similarity with other Hathor imagery, and the identify of all named goddesses in scenes being Hathor, I will consider the majority of images as being of Hathor and analyze them within the context of her cult. This does not mean that

⁶⁰³ Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, 359.

⁶⁰⁴ Allam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult*, 68.

⁶⁰⁵ Barbara Richter, "The Priesthood of Hathor at Deir el-Medina: Devotion to the Goddess by her Clergy and their Families," in *Weseretskau "Mighty of Kas": Papers in Memory of Cathleen A. Keller*, ed. Deanna Kiser-Go and Carol A. Redmount (Columbus, Georgia: Lockwood Press, 2023), 255.

⁶⁰⁶ Saphinaz-Amal Naguib, "The Beautiful Feast of the Valley," in *Understanding and History in Arts and Sciences*, ed. Roald Skarsten, Else Johansen Kleppe, and Ragnhild Bjerre Finnestad (Oslo: Solum, 1991), 23; Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, 25.

⁶⁰⁷ Allam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult*, 66. see also Pinch's study of votive offerings in which she organizes them by type, Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, 81–322.

⁶⁰⁸ Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, 25.

when she is depicted, she is not taking on the roles and symbolism associated with other cow-goddesses. If some of the unidentified goddesses were not meant to be Hathor, their placement within Deir el-Bahari clearly seeks to associate the goddess with the role and attributes of Hathor in the region. As such, this nursing cow-goddess motif holds a special place between the divine nursing motif and the imagery of Hathor as a cow.

Despite their place at the intersection of multiple motifs, the nursing cow-goddess scenes were meant to be understood as nursing scenes, as made evident in their accompanying texts. Many of their texts mention and draw a reader's attention to the nursing even though the nursing pair are often part of a larger image. For example, in the image from the Inner Sanctuary of the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari (Cat.2.9), Hatshepsut and Thutmose III are shown making offerings of milk and water to the cow-goddess as she nurses the king.⁶⁰⁹ Despite the other figures in the scene and the offerings being made, the goddess draws attention to the figure beneath her saying, "O (my) daughter, (my) beloved, Ma'at-ka-Re, (I) have given you all life and all power with me, making you grown by my milk for it is as life and power for you to let it enter (you)!"⁶¹⁰ Thus, nursing is a primary focus of this scene.

I will not describe all twenty-six nursing cow-goddess scenes here, but will provide an overview of the trends in the motif. A list of all surviving appearances of the nursing cow-goddess motif can be found in Tables 1–2. Each table summarizes information relevant to the chapter's discussions for each surviving nursing cow-goddess scene. Additional information can be found in Appendix 1.

⁶⁰⁹ Nathalie Beaux et al., *La chapelle d'Hathor. I- Vestibule et Sanctuarie III – planches* (Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 2012), pl. 40.

⁶¹⁰ My translation based off a line drawing in Beaux et al., *La Chapelle d'Hathor Planches*, pl. 40c.

Table 1. Nursing Cow-Goddess in Reliefs

Catalogue Number	King	Location	Around Hathor's Neck	Headdress of Standing King	Headdress of Nursing King	Nursing King's Apparel	Statuary Indicators
Cat.2.1	Mentuhotep II (Figure 30)	Wall relief: Deir el-Bahari	-	-	Cap	Collar	-
Cat.2.2	Amenemhat III	Pectoral: Byblos	Sistrum	Cap	Cap	Nude?	-
Cat.2.3	Amenhotep I? (Figure 43)	Stelae: Deir el-Bahari	<i>Menat</i>	<i>Nemes</i> headdress	<i>Kheprresh</i> crown	Crook	-
Cat.2.4	Amenhotep I	Wall relief: El-Kab	-	-	-	-	-
Cat.2.5	Hatshepsut	Wall relief: Deir el-Bahari , Funerary Temple of Hatshepsut, North Portico, Second Terrace	Nothing	-	-	Nude	-
Cat.2.6	Hatshepsut (Figure 33)	Wall relief: Deir el-Bahari , Hathor Chapel, Second Hypostyle Hall	<i>Menat</i>	-	<i>Kheprresh</i> Crown	Kilt and Collar	Sledge Figures pulling sledge with ropes Boat Shrine Platform base (small)
Cat.2.7	Hatshepsut	Wall relief: Deir el-Bahari , Hathor Chapel, First Hypostyle Hall, North Wall	-	-	<i>Kheprresh</i> crown?	Kilt and Collar	Platform base Shrine
Cat.2.8	Hatshepsut	Wall relief: Deir el-Bahari , Hathor Chapel, First Hypostyle Hall, South Wall	-	-	-	-	Platform base Shrine
Cat.2.9	Hatshepsut	Wall relief: Deir el-Bahari , Hathor Chapel, Inner Sanctuary, North Wall	Sistrum	Double Feathers	Cap/Wig	Kilt	Platform base
Cat.2.10	Hatshepsut (Figure 31)	Wall relief: Deir el-Bahari , Hathor Chapel, Inner Sanctuary, South Wall	Sistrum	Double Feathers	Cap/Wig	Kilt	Platform base

Cat.2.11	Hatshepsut	Wall relief: Deir el-Bahari , Hathor Chapel, Outer Sanctuary, North Wall	<i>Menat</i>	<i>Nemes</i> headdress	<i>Kheprresh</i> crown?	Kilt	Platform base Sledge Boat Shrine
Cat.2.12	Hatshepsut (Figure 32)	Wall relief: Deir el-Bahari , Hathor Chapel, Outer Sanctuary, South Wall	<i>Menat</i>	<i>Nemes</i> headdress	<i>Kheprresh</i> crown?	-	Platform base Sledge Boat Shrine
Cat.2.13	Unknown	Stelae: Deir el-Bahari , Hathor Chapel of Djoser-akhet, Speos	-	-	-	-	-
Cat.2.14	Thutmose III	Wall relief: Karnak , Akh-menu of Thutmose III, Pillared Hall	-	-	Cap	Kilt	Platform base (small) Boat Shrine
Cat.2.15	Thutmose III (Figure 34)	Wall relief: Deir el-Bahari , Small Hathor Shrine, Right wall	<i>Menat</i>	<i>Nemes</i> headdress	Cap	Kilt	Platform base Shrine Veil
Cat.2.16	Thutmose III (Figure 34)	Wall relief: Deir el-Bahari , Small Hathor Shrine, Left wall	<i>Menat?</i>	-	-	Kilt	Platform base Shrine Veil
Cat.2.18	Amenhotep III	Wall relief: Luxor , Luxor Temple, Birthing Room	Nothing	-	-	Nude	-
Cat.2.20	Seti I (Figures 43–44)	Wall relief: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna , Tomb of Paser (TT106)	-	-	<i>Kheprresh</i> crown	Kilt, Collar, and Crook	Platform base Shrine
Cat.2.21	Ramesses II	Wall relief: Abydos	<i>Menat</i>	<i>Nemes</i> headdress	Cap	Kilt, Collar, Crook & Flail	Boat (on platform base) Shrine
Cat.2.23	Mentuhotep II (Figure 35)	Votive Cloth: Deir el-Bahari	Nothing	Cap?	Cap?	Kilt	Platform base Boat Shrine Veil
Cat.2.25	Unknown	Wall relief: Dendera/Edfu	Nothing	<i>Kheprresh</i> crown	-	Nude	Boat Shrine
Cat.2.26	Unknown	Wall relief: Serabit el-Khadim	-	-	-	Kilt	Boat

Table 2. Statues of Nursing Cow-Goddess

Catalogue Number	King	Location	Around Hathor's Neck	Headdress of Standing King	Headdress of Nursing King	Nursing King's Apparel	Features
Cat.2.17	Amenhotep II (Figure 29)	Deir el-Bahari , Hathor Shrine	None	<i>Nemes</i> headdress	Cap	Nude	Papyrus stalks at cow's shoulders
Cat.2.19	Horemheb	Rome , Iseo Campense	-	-	Wig?	Kilt	-
Cat.2.22	Ramesses II	Sheikh Abbada	-	-	Cap, Sidelock	Kilt	Papyrus beneath cow

Only two nursing cow-goddess scenes survive from the Middle Kingdom. The earliest is that of Mentuhotep II from Deir el-Bahari (Cat.2.1), potentially originating from a Hathor shrine built during his reign (ca 2009–1959 BCE).⁶¹¹ Quite fragmentary, the relief preserves only the head and shoulders of the king along with one hand grabbing cow-goddess's udders (Figure 30). Though no text survives with the fragment, its association with Deir el-Bahari and Mentuhotep II's devotion to Hathor suggests it is likely her. The next scene is a pectoral from Byblos and depicts Amenemhat III (ca 1818–1773 BCE) being nursed in two mirrored images of the nursing cow-goddess motif (Cat.2.2).⁶¹² This is the only known depiction of the nursing cow-goddess motif where the king standing at the goddess's head faces her, rather than standing beneath her chin.

⁶¹¹ Dieter Arnold, *Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep von Deir el-Bahari. Band I* (Cairo: Philipp von Zabern, 1974), 83–84.

⁶¹² Nina Jidejian, *Byblos through the Ages* (Beirut: Dar el-Machreq Publishers, 1986), pl. 61, pg. 26–29.



Figure 30. Mentuhotep II nursed by the Cow-Goddess (Beaux, La Chapelle d'Hathor Planches, fig. 43)

Most of the twenty-six surviving depictions of the nursing cow-goddess motif date to the New Kingdom, including all three surviving statues. One scene (Cat.2.4) can be dated to the reign of Amenhotep I (ca 1514–1494 BCE) and eight (Cat.2.5–12) to the reign of Hatshepsut (ca 1479–1458 BCE). These eleven all originate from Deir el-Bahari, most coming from the Hathor chapel in Hatshepsut's mortuary temple (Figure 31–33). Iconographically, they are nearly identical, with the primary difference being that in some, the cow-goddess and king stand in a shrine, while in others, they stand in a shrine atop a barque (Figures 32–33). Divine nursing also appears in the large divine birth scene, showing Hatshepsut's divine conception and birth, on the second terrace of her mortuary temple (Cat.2.5). In the portion following her birth, two identical images of the queen are nursed by cow-headed goddesses (Sekhat-Hor and Hesat) as well as two cow-goddesses. More images of this motif survive by far from the reign of Hatshepsut than any other Egyptian king.



Figure 31. Hatshepsut nursed by Hathor-Cow, South Wall of Inner Sanctuary (Beaux, *La Chapelle d'Hathor* Planches, pl. 39b)



Figure 32. Hatshepsut nursed by Hathor-Cow, South Wall of Outer Sanctuary (Beaux, *La Chapelle d'Hathor* Planches, pl. 31b)

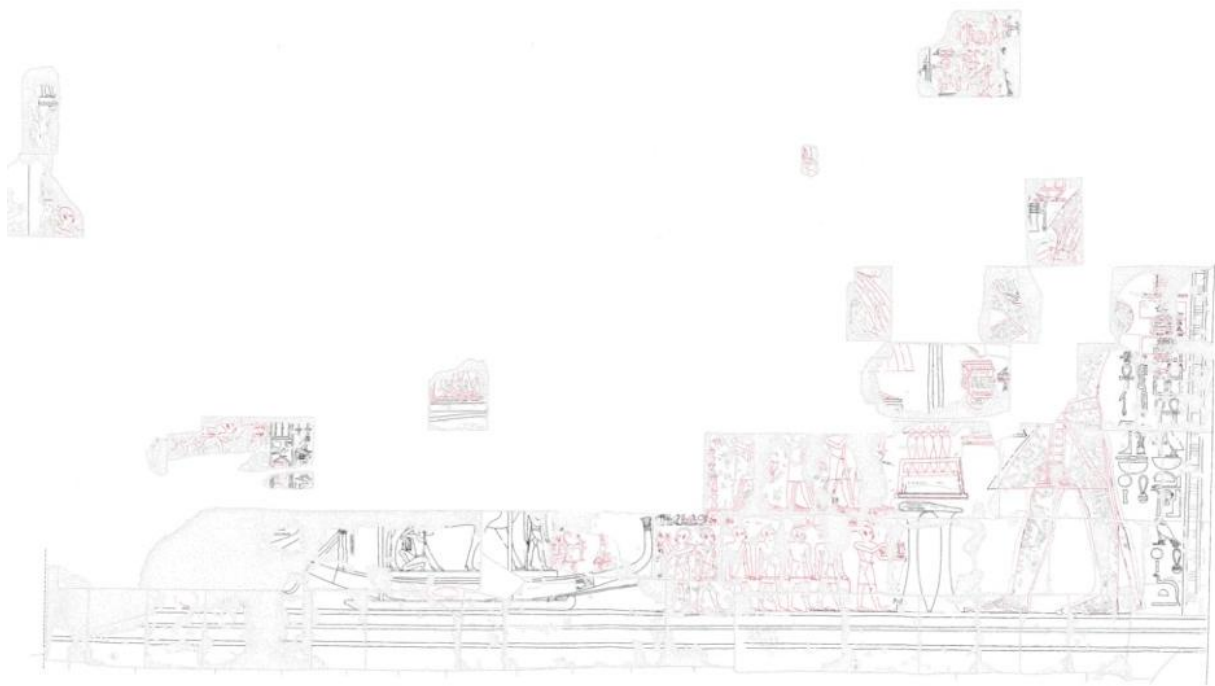


Figure 33. Hatshepsut nursed by Hathor-Cow from Second Hypostyle Hall of the Hathor Chapel at Deir el-Bahari (Beaux, *La Chapelle d'Hathor Planches*, pl. 16a)

Potentially the most famous depiction of the nursing cow-goddess is the incredibly well-preserved statue of Hathor nursing Amenhotep II (ca 1425–1400 BCE; JE 38574; Cat.2.17; Figure 29). The statue was discovered in a rock-cut shrine that depicts a cow-goddess nursing Thutmose III (ca 1479–1425 BCE) on each side wall (Cat.2.15; Cat.2.16; Figure 34). The depictions appear largely identical to the statue, except that the statue includes papyrus reeds and depicts the king nude.⁶¹³ Amenhotep III appears in one additional example of this motif (Cat.2.18) in his divine birth sequence in Luxor, which is nearly identical to that of Hatshepsut.

⁶¹³ Edouard Naville, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari, Part I* (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1907), pl. 28 (a-c), pg. 64–65.



Figure 34. Inside Hathor Shrine of Thutmose III at Deir el-Bahari ("Deir el Bahari: Mortuary Temple/Hatshepsut Interior Chapel of Hathor 3 walls of painted limestone," JSTOR Visual Arts Legacy Collection, accessed 27 April 2023, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/community.13915707>)

The second surviving statue of this motif is of Horemheb (ca 1319–1292 BCE), and was found in Rome, where it was taken to decorate the Temple of Isis in a later period (Cat.2.19). Only the back half of the statue survives, but the king appears in a very similar position to other versions of the motif, except that he is shown in a short wig rather than a crown. A fragmentary text preserves the king's name and epithets.⁶¹⁴ This is the last surviving example from the 18th dynasty.

Multiple images survive from the 19th dynasty, such as the relief from the Tomb of Paser (Cat.2.20) of Seti I (ca 1290–1279 BCE), which will be explored in greater detail later in this chapter. The final known statue is of Ramesses II (ca 1279–1213 BCE) and was

⁶¹⁴ Schiaparelli, *Museo Archeologico di Firenze*, I, 152–154; Ziegler, *The Pharaohs*, fig. 47, pg. 405.

discovered in Sheikh Abbada (Cat.2.22). It shows the king kneeling among papyrus reeds beneath the goddess. The head and front of the goddess are missing.⁶¹⁵ During 18th and 19th dynasties (ca 1539–1191 BCE), the scene appears outside of temple walls and statues more frequently and is found on stelae (Chapter 5) and a votive cloth (Cat.2.23; Figure 35).



Figure 35. Votive Cloth with Mentuhotep II nursed by Hathor-Cow (Christie's, accessed 26 April 2023, <https://www.christies.com/en/lot/lot-5567151>)

The last surviving depiction is from Edfu and shows a figure nursing from Hathor within a shrine aboard a barque, as a figure of the king stands under her chin (Cat.2.24).⁶¹⁶ Though the nursing figure has no royal identifiers, the king present under her chin suggests this is a divine nursing scene when compared to other depictions of the motif. The following

⁶¹⁵ Abel Hamid Zayed, "Some Notes on a Statuette of a Cow from Sheik Abbada (Antinoe)," *Annales de Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, 57 (1962): fig. 1–4, pl. 137–142.

⁶¹⁶ Karl Richard Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien nach den Zeichnungen der von seiner Majestät dem Könige von Preussen Friedrich Wilhelm IV nach diesen Ländern gesendeten und in den Jahren 1842–1845. Ausgeführten wissenschaftlichen Expedition auf Befehl seiner Majestät* (Berlin: Nicolaische, 1849–1859), IV, 70f.

sections will explore the features and variations across these scenes and how these may influence our understanding of the “core motif.”⁶¹⁷

4.2.1 Representation of Statuary

Though only three of the surviving twenty-six representations of this motif are statues (Cat.2.18, Cat.2.20, Cat.2.23), I would suggest that the majority of the two-dimensional representations are meant to depict statuary (with the exception of the divine birth narratives of Hatshepsut (Cat.2.5) and Amenhotep III (Cat.2.19)). This is indicated by the inclusion of statue bases, the placement of the figures on boats, and the similarities between the two-dimensional representations and surviving statues.

Of the twenty-one two-dimensional representations of the nursing cow-goddess for which the base or bottom of the image remains (not including the two divine birth narratives), twelve are shown standing on platforms/statue bases like those present in all three of the surviving statues. The bases of the three statues are similar in style and size (proportional to the statue) and across ten of the reliefs (two are on smaller platforms, see Table 1). In addition, of the twenty-one representations, five depict the goddess and king in a shrine, one on a boat, and seven within a shrine on a boat, (Table 1). The shrines appear similar, with decorative tops and sloping roofs, to those in the scenes of cult statues.⁶¹⁸ Further, transporting divine statues by boat was common practice during festivals and

⁶¹⁷ Billing, “The Secret One,” 51.

⁶¹⁸ See for example the image of Ramesses III presenting captives to Amun and Mut from the temple at Medinet Habu or the shrine placed atop the barque of Amun-Re in the Red Chapel of Hatshepsut, Franck Burgos and François Larché, *La Chapelle rouge: Le sanctuaire de barque d'Hatshepsout, Volume 1: Fac-similés et photographies des scènes*, Editions recherche sur les civilisations, (Paris: CulturesFrance, Éditions recherche sur les civilisations, 2006), 248; The Epigraphic Survey, *Earlier Historical Records of Ramesses II. Medinet Habu – Volume 1* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1930), pl.26.

celebrations, allowing the statue to remain in a sacred “temple” space even when traveling.⁶¹⁹ Though the barques of the nursing cow-goddess are not as ornate as those of gods like Amun, they share similar shapes and styles with those used to move statues, such as that depicted in the tomb of Amenmose (TT 19) from the Beautiful Feast of the Valley.⁶²⁰ Finally, three of the scenes show the barque atop a sledge, like those used for moving heavy objects like statuary. Sledges are not unusual bases for statues.⁶²¹ A similar sledge base can be seen in the 18th dynasty statue of Amenhotep III (Luxor Museum of Ancient Art J838), indicating that the statue depicts a statue of the king rather than the living king.⁶²² The regularity of these features over the various examples of this motif identifies them as depictions of statues, presumably able to leave the temple and move about to some extent.

In addition to these iconographic elements, there is a great resemblance between the surviving statues and the two-dimensional representations. One of the most striking similarities is that of the statue of Amenhotep II from Deir el-Bahari (Cat.2.17; Figure 29) and the New Kingdom votive cloth showing Mentuhotep II (Cat.2.23; Figure 35). Both show the king on the cow’s right side, as well as the unique clover-like spot pattern in gold and black/blue on the cow goddess. Likewise, the reliefs accompanying the Amenhotep II statue (Cat.2.15-16) are also similar to the votive cloth. Though they do not show the goddess with the clover-like spots but rather as solid yellow-gold color, they all include the gold shrine and

⁶¹⁹ David Falk, “Egyptian barque shrines and the complexity of miniaturized sacred space,” in *Meaning and λόγος: proceedings from the Early Professional Interdisciplinary Conference held at the University of Liverpool, April 8-10 2013*, ed. Erica Hughes (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2015), 189–190; David Falk, “Ritual Processional Furniture: A Material and Religious Phenomenon in Egypt” (PhD University of Liverpool, 2015), 46–48.

⁶²⁰ Georges Foucart, *Tombes Thébaines Nécropole de Dirâ’n-nâga. Le Tombeau d’Amonmos* (Cairo: Imprimerie de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale du Caire, 1935), pl. vi.

⁶²¹ See Kei Yamamoto, “The Sledge-Shaped Base in Ancient Egyptian Sculpture: Interpreting an Unusual Late Period Statuette Base from North Abydos,” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 47 (2011).

⁶²² Yamamoto, “The Sledge-Shaped Base,” 284–285.

red beaded veil behind the goddess. The Walters Art Gallery relief, which is likely from the tomb of Paser (4.3.4), also depicts Hathor in gold with the red-beaded veil like the votive cloth and reliefs (Figure 36). Further, in the depiction on the votive cloth, the statue is set before tall papyrus reeds, similar to those around the neck of the statue of Amenhotep II. The votive cloth, dedicated by a man named Tja-nefer,⁶²³ was discovered by Robert de Rustafjaell in “a mound of debris on the site of the Temple of Hathor” along with six similar paintings on canvas.⁶²⁴ Many similar painted cloths are known from the region of Deir el-Bahari,⁶²⁵ drawing a close geographical connection between the pieces along with their iconographic similarities. Therefore, it is likely that the votive cloth, was meant to depict the statue on one of its “public” appearances. Together with the iconographic elements above, the similarity between two- and three-dimensional depictions is further evidence for two-dimensional depictions being representations of statues.

⁶²³ See Figure 35, fourth column from the left.

⁶²⁴ Robert de Rustafjaell, *The Light of Egypt: From Recently Discovered Predynastic and Early Christian Records* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1909), 46, pl. xxv; Wilkinson Sotheby, & Hodge, *Catalogue of the Remaining Part of the Valuable Collection of Egyptian Antiquities Formed by Robert de Rustafjaell, Esq* ([London]: J. Davy and Sons, 1913), 50–51.

⁶²⁵ For more information on these votive cloths, see Sue D'Auria, “Three painted textiles in the collection of the Boston Athenaeum,” in *Studies in honor of William Kelly Simpson 1*, ed. Peter Der Manuelian (Boston: Dept. of Ancient Egyptian, Nubian and Near Eastern Art, Museum of Fine Arts, 1996), 169–176; Margaret A. Leveque, “Technical analysis of three painted textiles in the collection of the Boston Athenaeum,” in *Studies in honor of William Kelly Simpson 2*, ed. Peter Der Manuelian (Boston: Dept. of Ancient Egyptian, Nubian and Near Eastern Art, Museum of Fine Arts, 2005), 177–178; Nicholas B. Millet, “A representation of the Deir el-Bahri Hathor shrines,” *Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar* 10 (1989–1990): 95–97; Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, 102–134.



Figure 36. Relief Suggested to be from the Tomb of Paser (Walters Art Gallery 22.121, accessed 29 April 2023, <https://art.thewalters.org/detail/25775/relief-displaying-the-king-suckled-by-the-hathor-cow/>)

Finally, scholars have noted that other images of Hathor as a cow at Deir el-Bahari are likely also meant to depict statuary. Based on offerings found in the Akh-isut, Pinch proposes the existence of a cult statue of Hathor as a cow nursing the king at Deir el-Bahari as well as Faras (or Ibshek, as discussed in 3.2.1).⁶²⁶ She suggests that such statues “celebrated a particular relationship between Hathor and the king.”⁶²⁷ Hardekopf likewise comes to this conclusion, suggesting that images of Hathor nursing the king depicted a specific form of statuary that first appeared in the Middle Kingdom.⁶²⁸ Therefore, these images of Hathor as a cow nursing the king likely represent a series of statues found in Deir

⁶²⁶ Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, 174.

⁶²⁷ Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, 96.

⁶²⁸ Hardekopf, *Pharaos Kindheit*, 262.

el-Bahari. Given the depiction of Ramesses II nursing from the cow-goddess at Sheikh Abbada (Cat.2.22) and his statue of the motif from Abydos (Cat.2.21), they were not limited to Deir el-Bahari. So, though the statues appear to have originated, or at least centered around Deir el-Bahari, they were a part of the greater worship of Hathor and her relationship with the king.

With this in mind, we must consider these images within the context of Egyptian statuary. Statues like these were part of larger decorative contexts, interacting with the other imagery and decoration, and meant to be experienced in a more active way than modern museum exhibits often imply.⁶²⁹ Frood notes that ancient Egyptian statues could “exert force on the world.”⁶³⁰ Rather than simply representations of the deity or king, statues were believed to act as a residence for aspects of the gods or kings.⁶³¹ Having a physical form in which they could reside allowed deities to receive offerings and interact with those in the mortal world.⁶³² Meskell goes so far as to say that in the Egyptian mindset, there was little difference between the statue and the deity it depicted.⁶³³ Applying concepts of “distributed (or extended) personhood” and material agency similar to those proposed by (1.4.2), Kjølby suggests statues served as part of the individual in various locations.⁶³⁴ This reflects Nyord’s observations of Egyptian art as a form of “material presence” and its ability

⁶²⁹ Elizabeth Frood, “When Statues Speak About Themselves,” in *Statues in Context: Production, meaning, and (re)uses*, ed. Aurélia Masson-Berghoff (Leuven: Peeters, 2019), 17; Campbell Price, “A Perfect ‘Likeness’? Viewing Late Period Archaising Sculpture in Context,” in *Statues in Context: Production, meaning, and (re)uses*, ed. Aurélia Masson-Berghoff (Leuven: Peeters, 2019), 30.

⁶³⁰ Frood, “When Statues Speak About Themselves,” 3.

⁶³¹ Frood, “When Statues Speak About Themselves,” 3.

⁶³² Gay Robins, “Cult Statues in Ancient Egypt,” in *Cult Image and Divine Representation in the Ancient Near East*, ed. Neal H. Walls (Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research, 2005), 1.

⁶³³ Lynn Meskell, *Objects Worlds in Ancient Egypt: Material Biographies Past and Present* (Oxford, New York: Berg Publishers, 2004), 89.

⁶³⁴ Kjølby, “Material Agency, Attribution and Experience of Agency,” 34–35.

“to actualize” processes and relationships.⁶³⁵ Understood in this way, a depiction of the king nursing from a goddess is not merely a nursing scene but an ongoing and very real interaction between the king and Hathor.

Though only the statues of Amenhotep II (Cat.2.17), Horemheb (Cat.2.19), and Ramesses II (Cat.2.22) survive, the many two-dimensional depictions of the motif indicate statues of other kings in this statue type likely existed. It is also possible that later kings assumed the statues of their predecessors,⁶³⁶ as may have been the case with the statue of Amenhotep II found in a shrine belonging to Thutmose III, his predecessor. However, many statues of the nursing cow-goddess have likely also been lost. Many statues of the cow-goddess with the king under her chin, but *without* a nursing figure below her, survive.⁶³⁷ As the only feature that distinguishes the nursing scenes from these other statues is the presence of the king beneath the goddess (which only appears on one side of the statue), breakage can easily conceal what otherwise would be identified as a nursing cow-goddess statue. For example, both British Museum EA42179 and Louvre E 16380 depict the cow-goddess. EA42179, found by the Egypt Exploration Fund at the Temple of Mentuhotep II at Deir el-Bahari, has details that would have been inlaid with lapis lazuli and traces of rock crystal in the eyes. There is even a hole in the head for the attachment of the horns and

⁶³⁵ Nyord, *Seeing Perfection*, 56–63.

⁶³⁶ The practice of writing a contemporary king’s name on the statue or monument of a prior king happened at various times throughout the Pharaonic period. It was common with statues in the late New Kingdom, Peter J. Brand, “Usurpation of Monuments,” in *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, ed. Willeke Wendrich et al. (2010), 6–8. <http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz0025h6fh>.

⁶³⁷ For example, see the 19th dynasty statue of the goddess Hathor as a cow wearing a *menat* collar and found at Deir el-Medina. “statue,” Louvre E 16379A, E 16381, E 16235, E 16379B, accessed 9 August 2023, <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010008670>.

solar disk.⁶³⁸ This statue represents a high-quality example of a Hathor-cow statue from the area most associated with the nursing cow-goddess. However, only the head survives, making it impossible to determine whether this statue would have included the king nursing. Louvre E 16380 retains the double feathers between her horns and the solar disk on her head. It has been dated to the 19th dynasty and was discovered by Bernard Bruyère at Deir el-Medina,⁶³⁹ another area where the nursing cow-goddess was popular (see below) and close to Deir el-Bahari. However, like the example above, only the head of this statue survives. Both attest to the many statues that existed in and around the region of Deir el-Bahari, but they also represent the issue of determining just how common the nursing cow-goddess type would have been. Without the back of these statues (on both sides), there are no other features by which to distinguish them from non-nursing statues. The nursing cow-goddess could have been a rare statue variety; however, with the number of scenes showing the king nursing from the goddess from the temple of Hatshepsut, where many processions and festivals ended and where worship of the goddess was largely centered for many years, I am inclined to think that many more statues of the nursing cow-goddess once existed and several kings had such statues in temples and shrines around Deir el-Bahari as well other temples around Egypt.⁶⁴⁰

Many of the reliefs attest to the statues' movement in and out of their shrines and chapels. In the Second Hypostyle Hall of the Hathor chapel of Hatshepsut's temple, the

⁶³⁸ "figure," British Museum EA42179, accessed 9 August 2023, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA42179. See also the photograph of the object taken during the excavation, DB.NEG.05-06.221,

⁶³⁹ "statue," Louvre E 16380, accessed 9 August 2023, <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010008671>.

⁶⁴⁰ See for example the shrine containing a cow statue from the Osiris Hall of the Temple of Seti I at Abydos in Amice M. Calverley, *The Temple of King Sethos at Abydos. Volume III – The Osiris Complex* (London: The Egypt Exploration Society 1938), pl.14.

statue appears within a shrine on a barque being pulled on a sledge with other figures moving in the same direction, implying a procession (Cat.2.6; Figure 33). In the scene from the Temple of Ramesses II at Abydos (Cat.2.21), the king and goddess also appear in a barque on a sledge.⁶⁴¹ Other statues are known to have left their temples for processions, such as that of the cult statue of Amun during the Beautiful Feast of the Valley depicted in the tomb of Amenmose (TT 19) and the Red Chapel of Hatshepsut.⁶⁴² While it is possible that this statue of Hathor did likewise, the indications of movement may also reference the statues' initial installation and movement into place within a chapel or temple.

Based on their mobility, it may be tempting to suggest that the nursing cow-goddess statues served as processional cult statues. It is likely that temples had cult statues that resided within the inner sanctuaries and portable processional cult statues that left the temple on processions and participated in festivals.⁶⁴³ However, the nursing cow-goddess statues differ in many ways from both types and not every depiction of a god was a cult statue. According to images, processional cult statues were kept hidden in decorated, enclosed shrines when on procession.⁶⁴⁴ This contrasts with the largely exposed statues of Hathor nursing that appear in temple reliefs and votive offerings. Further, records state that these cult statues were made of and decorated with precious materials (i.e., gold, silver,

⁶⁴¹ Sameh Iskander and Ogden Goelet, *The Temple of Ramesses II in Abydos. Volume 1: Wall Scenes – Part 2: Chapels and First Pylon* (Atlanta, Georgia: Lockwood Press, 2015), pl. 4.1.9.

⁶⁴² See the tomb of Amenmose (TT 19), Dra Abu el-Naga in Foucart, *Le Tombeau d'Amonmos*, pl. vi. See also the processions of the Amun-Re barque from the Red Chapel of Hatshepsut in Burgos and Larché, *La Chapelle rouge I*, 52–53, 62–64, 111, 114. (All are from the Beautiful Festival of the Valley).

⁶⁴³ Robins, "Cult Statues in Ancient Egypt," 2; Martin Stadler, "Procession," in *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, ed. Jacco Dieleman Willeke Wendrich, Elizabeth Frood, and John Baines (2008), 3. <http://www.uee.ucla.edu/>.

⁶⁴⁴ See for example Brand, Feleg, and Murnane, *The Great Hypostyle Hall*, part 3, fig. 31, pl. 76, figs. 126, 138 ; Amice M. Calverley, *The Temples of King Sethos I at Abydos. Volume I, The Chapels of Osiris, Isis, and Horus* (London, Chicago: The Egypt Exploration Society; The University of Chicago Press, 1933), pl. 7; Foucart, *Le Tombeau d'Amonmos*, pl. xiii.

lapis lazuli, turquoise, and so on), presumably this applied to the portable processional ones as well.⁶⁴⁵ Though the statues of Hathor are of fine workmanship (and there is evidence of gilding on the horns of the Amenhotep II statue of Hathor),⁶⁴⁶ they are made of stone and decorated with paint in most cases, hardly the precious materials one would expect for a cult statue. Furthermore, cult statues held in temple sanctuaries, such as those in reliefs from the temple of Seti I at Abydos, were kept within enclosed decorated shrines, also of precious material, deep within the temple.⁶⁴⁷ This does not appear to have been the case with nursing cow-goddess statues. The statue of Amenhotep II, which was discovered *in situ*, did not have a shrine of precious materials but rather resided in the stone-cut shrine.⁶⁴⁸ This does not mean that additional shrine elements or a secondary shrine are not possible, but no evidence was found of such in the stone-cut shrine. It is also possible that the stone-cut shrine was meant to emulate those of precious materials or that a more portable shrine was erected when the statue emerged from the stone-cut shrine, reflecting the shrine shown in the reliefs from its walls (Figure 34). Finally, the extant nursing Hathor-cow statues are large and heavy, likely being difficult to move. Unlike cult statues that are carried on decorative barques on the shoulders of priests,⁶⁴⁹ these statues of Hathor, when shown moving, are

⁶⁴⁵ David Lorton, "The Theology of Cult Statues in Ancient Egypt," in *Born in Heaven, Made on Earth: The Making of the Cult Image in the Ancient Near East*, ed. Michael B. Dick (University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), 128; Robins, "Cult Statues in Ancient Egypt," 4–5.

⁶⁴⁶ Naville, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari, Part I*, 65.

⁶⁴⁷ See for example the temple reliefs in Calverley, *The Temple of King Sethos at Abydos I*, pl. 14; Amice M. Calverley, *The Temple of King Sethos at Abydos. Volume IV – The Osiris Complex* (London: The Egypt Exploration Society, 1938), pl. 30. See also Robins, "Cult Statues in Ancient Egypt," 2, 6, 9–10.

⁶⁴⁸ See Naville, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari, Part I*, pl. 27 and pg. 64–65.

⁶⁴⁹ See for example see reliefs from the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak of Amun and Mut's barques in Brand, Feleg, and Murnane, *The Great Hypostyle Hall*, part 3, fig. 31, pl. 53, fig. 126; Burgos and Larché, *La Chapelle rouge I*, 52–53, 62–64, 111, 114.

dragged along on sledges (Figure 33). Though this does still suggest mobility, the process appears to have been different from that of cult statues.

One feature that may aid in recovering the usage of these statues is the net or veil that appears in some depictions (see Cat.2.15; Cat.2.16; Cat.2.20; Cat.2.23). All depictions of this veil are identical – red with black and white beads. Upon first glance, such a veil may have served to hide the figure of the goddess as it moved about outside the temple. Veils were used to obscure the view of statues, as seen in various depictions of the transport of divine statues and their worship during festivals.⁶⁵⁰ However, none of the depictions of the veil in these nursing scenes depicts it obscuring the statue in any way, with it functioning more as a backdrop (Figures 34–35). Yet, a votive cloth similar to Cat.2.23, also from Deir el-Bahari, dated to the 18th dynasty, depicts Hathor as a cow with the same beaded veil covering her from the shoulders back, obscuring the area where the king would have been shown nursing (Figure 37).⁶⁵¹ Instead, a small figure of the king crouches behind the shrine in a position similar to when he is nursing from Hathor’s udders, though clearly not nursing. The similarities between this votive cloth and other depictions of the nursing motif are striking. It is possible that this is also a depiction of a nursing statue, but here, the artist chose to show the veil concealing the statue with the smaller king indicating its nature as a nursing statue, perhaps to depict both the king and veil without them overlapping, or a way of indicating the nature of the statue though it was not visible on both sides. Either way, it

⁶⁵⁰ Peter J. Brand, “Veils, Votives, and Marginalia: The Use of Sacred Space at Karnak and Luxor,” in *Sacred Space and Sacred Function in Ancient Thebes, Occasional Proceedings of the Theban Workshop*, ed. Peter Dorman and Betsy M. Bryan (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2007), 61; Falk, “Meaning and λόγος,” 190–191. Festival Scene from the tomb of Amenmose (TT 19) in Foucart, *Le Tombeau d’Amonmos*, pl. xiii.

⁶⁵¹ Edouard Naville, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari, Part 3* (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1913), pl. xxx (2).

attests to the use of this same veil for other similar statues of Hathor, and that, on occasion, it may have concealed the statue to some extent.

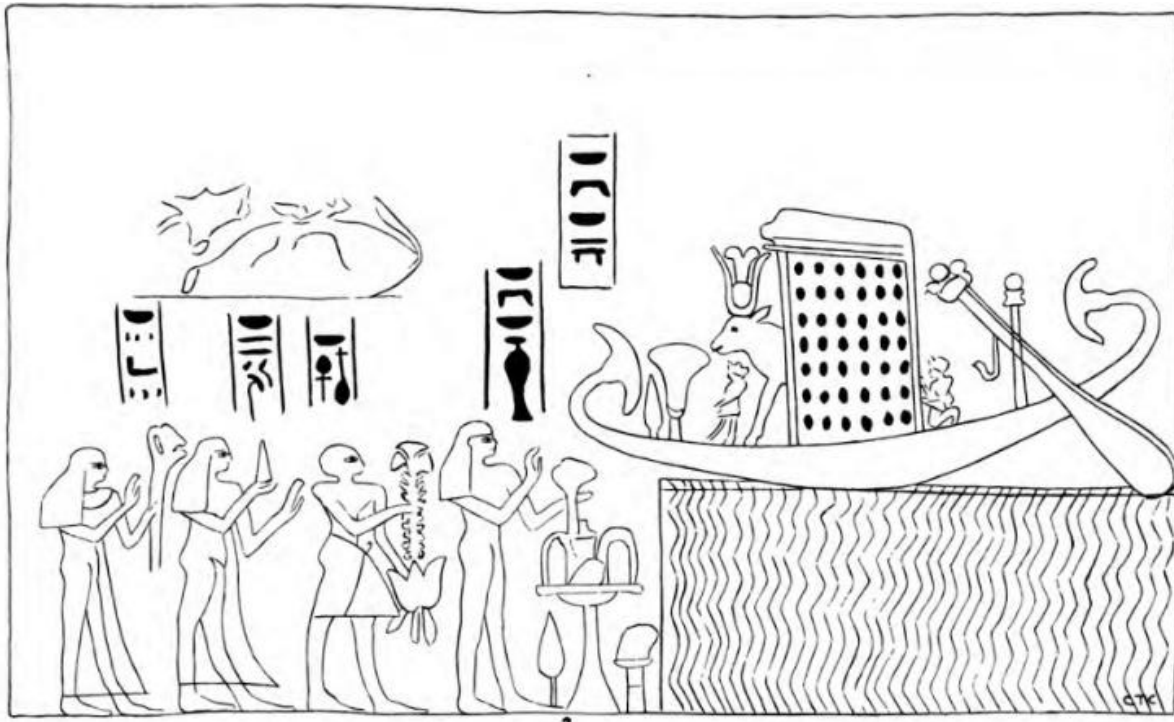


Figure 37. Line Drawing of Votive Cloth with Shrine and Veil (Naville, *The 19th Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari*, Part 3, pl. xxx(2))

Yet, the veil may *not*, in fact, have hidden the statue. Other cult images behind veils are not depicted in art. Further, the veil does not appear in images in which the statue appears to be in procession (Cat.2.6, Cat.2.11, Cat.2.12, Cat.2.21), but in depictions in which the statue is otherwise stationary. It must be asked: if the beaded veil was not meant to entirely conceal the statue, what is the significance of the veil, and why is it different from the solid veils that obscure cult statues?⁶⁵² I suggest that it is more likely that the veil was a feature of the shrine itself, a backdrop or decoration, not necessarily meant to shield the statue completely from the viewer but rather to enhance the image and its space. The veil

⁶⁵² Brand, "Veils, Votives, and Marginalia," 61–63.

may have been a feature to help the stone-cut shrine emulate the elaborate shrines of cult statues. If the veil did conceal the statue in some way, as in the case of the votive cloth in Figure 37, I would suggest that, as the nursing king was the only distinguishing feature between it and other Hathoric statues, choosing to depict that portion of the statue may have been a conscious choice by the creator to specify the statue being depicted, drawing on its precise meanings and associations. Yet, even then, it was unlikely full concealment.

Having considered the concealment of the statue, we can now continue considering its possible movement. Though evidence suggests the statue did move at some point, it is hard to know if this references the installation of the statue (perhaps being displayed publicly for a time before being placed in the temple), a regular procession like cult statuary, or a time when the statue was brought out in order for the public to see and interact with it. Pinch suggests that the statues participated in festivals based on the images of the statues being dragged on sledges, though does not specify which festivals.⁶⁵³ Although the floor of the Thutmose III shrine has a slot by which the statue depicting Hathor and Amenhotep II can slide in and out,⁶⁵⁴ the frequency with which it was utilized is unknown. I would suggest that rather than this statue being made available to the public through processions, it was worshipped largely *in situ*, potentially moving out a short way from its shrine. Many images of the cow goddess (not just nursing) being worshipped or given offerings show her within a shrine, not on procession. These are not limited to those of the king making offerings but images of the cow-goddess on votive offerings with private individuals and families

⁶⁵³ Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, 174.

⁶⁵⁴ See the photos in Edouard Naville and Henry R. Hall, "Excavations at Deir el-Bahari," *Archaeological Report (Egypt Exploration Fund)* (1905–1906): Fig. 8–9; Mohamed Saleh and Hourig Sourouzian, *Official Catalogue. The Egyptian Museum Cairo* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1987), #138.

approaching the goddess on her plinth or within her shrine.⁶⁵⁵ Even the images accompanying the statue of Amenhotep II show the king approaching Hathor as a cow within her shrine (Figure 34). Further, votive offerings (stela Cat.2.13 and wooden phalli) were discovered at the feet of the statue of Amenhotep II,⁶⁵⁶ suggesting that at least some worship was done at the shrine itself by priests or worshippers (5.3.3.1). Finally, this solution of a more stationary statue explains the small size of the statue's barque in comparison to the statue itself and the lack of decoration and ornamentation when compared to other processional barques. Therefore, though these statues likely moved during certain times, they also functioned as points of worship, perhaps more accessible to non-royal worshippers than other divine nursing scenes (4.3.5). Such an interpretation places the statue in a space similar to but not entirely the same as cult statues, being more accessible and less hidden.

4.2.2 Hathor as the Pacified Nurturer of the Living and Dead

In the majority of nursing cow-goddess scenes, Hathor wears a *menat* collar or sistrum, both cultic implements which could be shaken much like a rattle, around her neck. Sometimes, the necklace wraps around the king standing under her chin. I have yet to find a pattern as to which reliefs and statues depict Hathor wearing the *menat* and which the sistrum, though mirrored scenes depict Hathor wearing the same cultic implement. Naville records that, when originally found, the statue of Amenhotep II (Cat.2.17) was wearing a “metal necklace”

⁶⁵⁵ See for example “Votive textile depicting offerings to the cow goddess Hathor,” Royal Ontario Museum 910.16.3, accessed 9 January 2024, <https://collections.rom.on.ca/objects/198123/votive-textile-depicting-offerings-to-the-cow-goddess-hathor>; “textile; votive offering,” British Museum EA47805, accessed 9 January 2025, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA47805; “Painted Cloth Dedicated to Hathor,” Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 07.230.23, accessed 9 January 2024, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/549474>; Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, fig. 11.

⁶⁵⁶ Naville, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari, Part I*, 65; “Artefacts of Excavation: British Excavations of Egypt 1880–1980,” (The Griffith Institute, University of Oxford, 14 January 2025), DIST.14.01o. <https://egyptartefacts.griffith.ox.ac.uk/>.

that was later removed, likely a *menat* collar matching the accompanying reliefs of Thutmose III (Figure 34); however, Naville does not provide any additional information.⁶⁵⁷ Thus, the feature is attested in both three- and two-dimensional representations. In some cases, the front portion of Hathor is missing, along with any *menat* or sistrum she may have worn. Of those for which it can be determined, eight wear the *menat* collar and four wear the sistrum. Hathor is shown wearing nothing in only four reliefs (Tables 1–2).

Interestingly, the necklace that Hathor wears can vary even across largely identical reliefs. The four reliefs from the Hathor chapel in the temple of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari differ in two details (Cat.2.9–12; Figures 31–32): the presence of a barque and the sistrum versus *menat*. The depictions in the Outer Sanctuary show Hathor wearing the *menat* collar and those in the Inner Sanctuary wearing the sistrum. This difference could indicate that the sistrum and *menat* collar were not permanent and, perhaps, were added by a priest or temple worker to the statue during a ritual or festival. The “dressing” of statues or placing of jewelry or crowns on statues is known from the daily rituals associated with temple cult statues, such as those recorded on the walls of the Temple of Seti I of Abydos.⁶⁵⁸ Further, as mentioned, the statue of Amenhotep II (Cat.2.17; Figure 29) originally wore a metal necklace. It was not part of the statue itself but rather an added feature, and possibly removable, though the statue was damaged when it was removed by excavators.⁶⁵⁹ While it

⁶⁵⁷ Naville and Hall, “Excavations at Deir el-Bahari 1905–1906,” 6.

⁶⁵⁸ Such a daily ritual included cleaning the god, removing the prior day’s clothing, redressing the god, and as bestowing the deities’ crowns. This sequence can be found in each of the six chapels of the Temple (primarily on their southern walls). For these scenes from chapel of Re-Horakhty see Amice M. Calverley, *The Temple of King Sethos at Abydos. Volume II – The Chapels of Amen-Re, Re-Harakhti, Ptah and King Sethos* (London, Chicago: The Egypt Exploration Society, The University of Chicago Press, 1935), pl. 6–8, 10, 12–13, 16, 18–19; David, *Temple Ritual at Abydos*, 144–153. David suggests a possible order to this daily ritual, David, *Temple Ritual at Abydos*, 128–129, 133–135.

⁶⁵⁹ Naville and Hall, “Excavations at Deir el-Bahari 1905–1906,” 6.

is uncertain whether the necklace was removed or added for specific rituals, it does indicate that at some point, the *menat* collar was added and could have been an interchangeable feature to some degree.

Though a pattern as to when Hathor wears the *menat* versus the sistrum is difficult to determine, one pattern does emerge: where Hathor wears the *menat* collar, the king beneath the chin of the goddess wears the *Nemes* headdress and where Hathor wears the sistrum, the king wears the double feathers.⁶⁶⁰ It could be that these headdresses were paired with the *menat* or sistrum due to the ability to fit the headdress *and* necklace beneath the goddess's chin. Though it does not fall within the scope of this study, the best course for determining whether this pairing of the double feathers with sistrum and the *Nemes* headdress with *menat* would be to investigate other images of the king and Hathor for comparison as the corpus here does not represent a large enough sample size to determine whether this is a rule or not.

Whether the *menat* collar and sistrum were permanent features of the statue, they likely served to indicate or ensure that the goddess was pacified. Hathor was a goddess of seemingly contradictory natures. Hathor's vicious side is illustrated in the story sometimes called the *Destruction of Mankind* (described in 3.2.1). This aggressive nature is further exemplified in her identification as an Eye of Re and her place fighting on the solar barque.⁶⁶¹ Yet, in other capacities she is "Lady of the West," who cares for the deceased and is associated with fertility and sexuality, as "Lady of the Vulva" in later periods, and celebrated with festivals of drunkenness.⁶⁶² Thus, though Hathor could be violent and

⁶⁶⁰ At least 8 of the 23 known reliefs are missing the area where the second king would have appeared.

⁶⁶¹ See 3.2.1 for further discussion.

⁶⁶² Allam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult*, 69; Claas Jouco Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth: Two Key Figures of the Ancient Egyptian Religion* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973), 39–44; Manniche, "Reflections on the Banquet Scene," 33; Richter,

dangerous, she can also be erotic, protective, and nurturing. This duality is a defining feature of the goddess.⁶⁶³ As such, it was important to pacify the goddess to avoid her fury and stave off her violent nature, as in the Beautiful Feast of the Valley, discussed in 4.3.6. Shaking the sistrum and the *menat* collar were both common features of rituals meant to pacify and appease deities, especially Hathor, and in the 18th dynasty, some rituals also used them to bestow life, strength, and rebirth on worshippers.⁶⁶⁴ The two necklaces/instruments can be seen used by musicians in banqueting scenes (tomb of Amenemhat TT82) or offered to the deceased (tomb of Rekhmire TT100).⁶⁶⁵ Such pacification could also ensure the goddess's favor and protection.⁶⁶⁶ Thus, their inclusion around Hathor's neck in the nursing scenes likely implies she has been pacified or that this ritual had been performed.

Further, both the *menat* collar and sistrum have been ascribed symbolic values of rebirth and fertility as they appear in the cult of Hathor. Music in temples, from instruments like the *menat* and sistrum, was often seen as a necessary inspiration for the renewal and

"Priesthood of Hathor," 239. For both epithets, see Christian Leitz, *Lexikon der Ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen. Volume IV* (Leuven, Paris: Uitgeverij Peeters en Departement Oosterse Studies, 2002), 17, 25.

⁶⁶³ Quirke, *Ancient Egyptian Religion*, 31. Troy ties Hathor's duality to a larger Egyptian belief regarding the duality of the feminine, see Lana Troy, *Patterns of Queenship in Ancient Egyptian Myth and History* (Stockholm: Liber Tryck AB, 1986), 25, 58–59, 67–68.

⁶⁶⁴ Catherine Châtelet, "L'offrande du collier-menet: un symbole de protection," in *Offrandes, rites et rituels dans les temples d'époques ptolémaïque et romaine: actes de la journée d'études de l'équipe EPHE (EA 4519) "Égypte ancienne: archéologie, langue, religion," Paris, 27 juin 2013*, ed. Christiane Zivie-Coche (Montpellier: Université Paul Valéry, 2015), 89; Dorothée Elwart, "Le sistre égyptien: objet sonore et effigie d'Hathor," *Les dossiers d'archéologie* (2017): 109; Emma Perazzone Rivero, "Las mujeres y la música: las sacerdotisas de Hathor," in *Actas V Congreso Ibérico de Egiptología: Cuenca 9-12 de marzo 2015*, ed. Laura Burgos Bernal, Antonio Pérez Largacha, and Inmaculada Vivas Sainz (Cuenca: Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2017), 1199–1202; René Preys, "Études tentyrites: quelques remarques sur la relation entre le sistre et la menat," *Göttinger Miszellen* 188 (2002): 101; Richter, "Priesthood of Hathor," 245–246.

⁶⁶⁵ See the use of *menats* by dancers in the tomb of Amenemhet (TT82) and their reception by the deceased in the tomb of Rekhmire (TT100), Nina de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Amenemhêt (No. 82)* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1915), pl. xix; Norman de Garis Davies, *The tomb of Rekh-mi-Rê at Thebes: Volume II* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1943), pl. lxiii.

⁶⁶⁶ Châtelet, "L'offrande du collier-menet," 91, 99; Sara Kitat, "The Menit-Gesture: An Intriguing Scene in Egyptian Temples," *Göttinger Miszellen* 264 (2021): 111.

rebirth of the dead.⁶⁶⁷ The counterweights of *menat* necklaces can depict scenes of the cow goddess in the marsh, the child Horus, or even nursing scenes,⁶⁶⁸ all of which have ties to ideas of growth, fertility, and birth. Fekri has suggested that the rattling of the sistrum was meant to mimic the sounds of rustling papyrus reeds, recalling a place of growth and potency, and served as a guarantee of eternity for the sovereign.⁶⁶⁹ Kitat understands the *menat* similarly in her study of the *menat*-gesture (where the goddess holds the *menat*-necklace to the king's face) and suggests it guaranteed legitimacy and bestowed "the power necessary for his resurrection and renewal in the otherworld."⁶⁷⁰ Further, Châtelet suggests that by at least the Graeco-Roman period, the *menat* necklace had become a symbol and means of protection. This can already be seen in the New Kingdom in the Speos Artemidos built by Hatshepsut (ca 1479–1458 BCE), where the necklace is said to be "ensuring your protection."⁶⁷¹ It is possible the necklace served a range of functions within the Hathor cult. Still, the inclusion of the *menat* in the image of divine nursing may serve to highlight the role Hathor is serving here as a protector and source of renewal and power.

⁶⁶⁷ Silvana Fantechi and Andrea Zingarelli, "Singers and Musicians in New Kingdom Egypt," *Göttinger Miszellen, Beiträge zur ägyptologischen Diskussion* 186 (2002): 32; Perazzone Rivero, "Las mujeres y la música," 1202–1203.

⁶⁶⁸ See for example, "Meant of Taharqo: the King Being Nursed by the Lion-Headed Goddess Bastet," Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 41.160.104, accessed 1 September 2023, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/544882>; "Menat fragment showing goddess nursing king," Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York X.144.10, accessed 1 September 2023, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/553755>; JE 31392 in George Andres Reisner, *Amulets II: Nos. 12528–13595* (Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, 1958), 26, pl. xxiv.

⁶⁶⁹ Magdi Fekri, "Les attributs de la déesse Hathor," *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 79 (2005): 105.

⁶⁷⁰ Kitat, "The Menit-Gesture: An Intriguing Scene in Egyptian Temples," 124.

⁶⁷¹ Châtelet, "L'offrande du collier-ménit," 91; Kurt Sethe, *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums*, 8 vols. (Leipzig, Berlin: J. C. Hinrichs, 1903–1957), IV, Band 1, 287.

The sistrum may also have included additional nuance. During the New Kingdom, sistra existed in two forms.⁶⁷² The arched sistrum appears around the 18th dynasty and was topped with a metal arch through which rods with beads were suspended, creating the rattling sound mentioned.⁶⁷³ However, the naos or *bekhen* sistrum developed first, evolving to depict a square naos or door-shaped decoration by the Middle Kingdom.⁶⁷⁴ Fekri suggests that this type of sistrum was tied to the birth of Hathor's solar-child and had a role in the solar-rebirth based on the appearance of the solar-child within the door in a depiction of the sistrum from the Temple of Seti I at Abydos.⁶⁷⁵ However, the inclusion of the solar-child does not appear to be the norm. Such ties to solar-rebirth have obvious parallels with divine nursing scenes such as the scene from the temple of Amada.

The pacification of Hathor is also found at the heart of the region's most important festival, the Beautiful Feast of the Valley. It has been suggested that the festival commemorated either Hathor's pacification or the time between her destruction and pacification, ushering in a time of fertility and prosperity paralleled by the annual flood. Hathor's nurturing role was showcased in the milk basins surrounding Amun during the night as he was rejuvenated.⁶⁷⁶ Like the *menat* and sistrum, the festival had a regenerative aspect highlighted in the procession's path through the necropolis and mortuary temples, which brought together the living and the dead.⁶⁷⁷ Additional connections can be found

⁶⁷² Dorothée Elwart, "Le sistre, le son et l'image," in *Offrandes, rites et rituels dans les temples d'époques ptolémaïque et romaine: actes de la journée d'études de l'équipe EPHE (EA 4519) "Égypte ancienne: archéologie, langue, religion," Paris, 27 juin 2013*, ed. Christiane Zivie-Coche (Montpellier: Université Paul Valéry, 2015), 110; Elwart, "Le sistre égyptien," 20; Fekri, "Les attributs de la déesse Hathor," 103.

⁶⁷³ Elwart, "Le sistre, le son et l'image," 121; Fekri, "Les attributs de la déesse Hathor," 103..

⁶⁷⁴ Fekri, "Les attributs de la déesse Hathor," 103–104.

⁶⁷⁵ Fekri, "Les attributs de la déesse Hathor," 106.

⁶⁷⁶ Naguib, "The Beautiful Feast of the Valley," 27–29.

⁶⁷⁷ Hartwig, *Tomb Painting and Identity*, 11–12.

between this festival and the scenes of the nursing Hathor-cow, and these will be discussed later in this chapter (4.3.6). Thus, the presence of the *menat* and sistrum reflects some of the major rituals and festivals of the region. Great effort was made to ensure Hathor's caring and nurturing side would prevail rather than her fury and anger. As a nurse to the king, Hathor served as an agent of rebirth rather than destruction and as a protectress rather than a danger. Through the king's rebirth, she ensured the continuation of Egypt and *ma'at*.

4.2.3 King as Adult or Child

The king's depiction with attributes commonly used to identify a subject as a child, such as nudity, sidelock, and cap, is another element that varies across nursing cow-goddess scenes. Continuing the discussion begun in 3.2.6 which examined the sidelock, the cap and sidelock may not indicate the king was a child but instead have other nuances and purposes.

First, the king is shown in a cap rather than a crown in the two Middle Kingdom scenes (Cat.2.1, Cat.2.2), which has been suggested as an indication of childhood.⁶⁷⁸ However, Davies' study of the cap-crown and *Khepresh* crown found no particular significance in using the cap-crown (cap plus uraeus) during the New Kingdom.⁶⁷⁹ The king appears elsewhere wearing the cap with no indication he should be interpreted as a child.⁶⁸⁰ Thus, without additional evidence, the presence of the cap-crown cannot be considered an indication of childhood.

⁶⁷⁸ Borrego Gallardo, *Las Escenas de Amamantamiento*, 77.

⁶⁷⁹ Davies, "The Origin of the Blue Crown," 75.

⁶⁸⁰ See for example Seti I making an offering to Osiris in his temple at Abydos, Calverley, *The Temple of King Sethos at Abydos I*, pl. 5, 14.

In studies of Egyptian art, nudity is one of the most frequently used indications of an individual's status as a child.⁶⁸¹ If this is the case, then some of the nursing cow-goddess scenes represent the earliest depictions of the king as a child among divine nursing scenes. All known Old Kingdom and all other Middle Kingdom depictions of the motif depict the king as a small adult (no nudity or sidelock).⁶⁸² With the start of the 18th dynasty, the king most often appears beneath the cow-goddess wearing a kilt; however, in some, he appears nude (Tables 1–2).⁶⁸³ Hatshepsut appears nude in her divine birth narrative (2.5). Yet, this can be explained as in the narrative sequence, Hatshepsut has just been delivered and subsequently fed by her nurses. Thus, her nudity is expected as it reflects her nature as a recently born infant. This would then also be the case with the later Amenhotep II version of this scene at Luxor (2.19). It could be that this scene's unique context instigated the change from kilt to nudity.

Interestingly, some of the images which mirror each other are not consistent in depicting the king nude or in the kilt. The statue of Amenhotep II (Cat.2.7) depicts the king nude beneath Hathor yet wearing the kilt under her chin (Figure 29). Further, those depictions of the statue on the walls of the stone-cut shrine depict the king beneath Hathor in the kilt (Figure 34). It is unclear as to why these might differ in this aspect. For the statue,

⁶⁸¹ See for example Ogden Goelet, "Nudity in Ancient Egypt," *Source: Notes in the History of Art* 12, no. 2 (1993): 21–22; Lyn Green, "Seeing through Ancient Egyptian Clothes: Garments and Hairstyles as Indicators of Social Status in Old, Middle and New Kingdom Egypt," *KMT* 6, no. 4 (1995–1996): 33; Gay Robins, "Dress, Undress, and the Representation of Fertility and Potency in New Kingdom Egyptian Art," in *Sexuality in Ancient Art: Near East, Egypt, Greece, and Italy*, ed. Nathalie B. Kampen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 34.

⁶⁸² See descriptions in Appendix 1.

⁶⁸³ See the statue of Amenhotep II (Cat.2.7), the statue of Ramesses II (Cat.2.22), and the relief from Edfu (Cat.2.25).

perhaps the king beneath the goddess and the king under her chin were understood as separate depictions of the king at different stages or of a different status.

As addressed in 3.2.6, why the king might be shown as child-like is not hard to imagine. As divine nursing scenes, nursing cow-goddess scenes have direct ties to breastfeeding, with all its implications of infancy, development, and growth. Further, the cow-goddess motif parallels other important infants and (re)births in Egyptian theology. In some versions of the Horus birth-myth, Isis hides the infant Horus from Seth in the papyrus swamp, Chemmis. In hiding, Horus is protected and nursed by a cow-goddess.⁶⁸⁴ This mythological connection is called to mind by the papyrus reeds on the statues of Amenhotep II (Cat.2.7; Figure 29) and Ramesses II (Cat.2.22), as well as the votive cloth of Mentuhotep II (Cat.2.23; Figure 35).

Like the sidelock in the scene from the temple of Amada, the king's nudity may also have solar ties. The sun-god Re crossed the sky each day, aging before sinking into the underworld each night, where he reentered the womb. As a cow, Hathor could be shown as giving birth to the sun each morning.⁶⁸⁵ As discussed in 3.2.1, Hathor's innate solar associations are alluded to in the sun-disc between her horns. The king sought to join Re's cycle of rebirth in this life and the next, ensuring eternal rebirth and renewal. Thus, like at Amada (Chapter 3), indications of childhood in these images could signify the king's desire to join – or his success in joining – the sun-god in his daily rebirth through Hathor.

Similarly, depicting the king as a child could suggest the king's rebirth after death, part of Leclant's three births and the rebirth of the sun. In the Theban region, Hathor often

⁶⁸⁴ Geraldine Pinch, "Offerings to Hathor," *Folklore* 93, no. 2 (1982): 140.

⁶⁸⁵ See for example Fantechi and Zingarelli, "Singers and Musicians in New Kingdom Egypt," 32; Faulkner, *Coffin Texts*, 263 (Spell 335); Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, 177.

appears aiding the deceased in their transition to the next life. She protected them, acting as a mother and providing nourishment through nursing or milk.⁶⁸⁶ Hathor's common epithet "Lady of the West" emphasizes this connection with the deceased, the west being the location of the underworld and the bank of the Nile on which tombs and funerary temples were often located.⁶⁸⁷ As noted by Leclant, rebirth after death required nursing as it reflected mortal birth.⁶⁸⁸ Thus, the king's appearance as a child in these divine nursing scenes could indicate that the king was understood to be deceased, having experienced rebirth after death, and now receiving the divine, nourishing milk of the "Lady of the Necropolis," Hathor. This will continue to be considered in 4.2.4.

However, like the sidelock (3.2.6), the king's nudity may not have been meant to identify him as a child per se. Though nudity is often combined with other indications of childhood, like the sidelock, recent studies have found that, more generally, those who are depicted nude are often of a lower status than those clothed in the same scene.⁶⁸⁹ To conclude her examination of nudity in Egyptian art, especially in the Old Kingdom, Serova states:

Social-descriptive nudity and nakedness often occur when two actants or representatives of two groups face each other. To clarify and emphasize the vertical relationship between these parties, the unclothed body can be used as an explicitly means of communication...the naked individual occupies a subordinate position, depending on the favor of the higher-ranking (clothed) counterpart.⁶⁹⁰

⁶⁸⁶ Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth*, 34; Lesko, *The Great Goddesses of Egypt*, 104. (cow goddesses aiding the deceased).

⁶⁸⁷ See for example Chapter 186 in Allen, *Going Forth by Day*, 71.

⁶⁸⁸ Leclant, "Coronation Rites," 144; Leclant, "Textes des Pyramides," 124–125.

⁶⁸⁹ Green, "Seeing through Ancient Egyptian Clothes," 33; Robins, "Dress, Undress, and the Representation of Fertility," 34; Dina Serova, "Stripped Bare: Communicating Rank and Status in Old Kingdom Egypt," in *Clothing and Nudity in the Hebrew Bible*, ed. Christoph Berner et al. (London: T&T Clark, 2019), 176.

⁶⁹⁰ Serova, "Stripped Bare," 176.

Such relationships can be seen in images of nude laborers and workmen in the presence of their clothed overseers, fishing and fowling scenes, and children with their parents.⁶⁹¹

Serova points out that in the Pyramid Texts, the king comes before various deities nude or with parts of the body exposed as a sign of subordination.⁶⁹² This perhaps also applies to the serving women/girls in banquet scenes of the New Kingdom.⁶⁹³ Serova proposes that children were shown as nude to emphasize their reliance on parents and the fact that they have not yet fully joined society and are, thus, subordinate to those who have.⁶⁹⁴ Likewise, Robins points out that archaeological evidence of children's clothing contradicts the notion that children were always nude. Thus, the artistic tradition of showing children nude must be more of a symbolic usage rather than a reflection of reality.⁶⁹⁵

With these points in mind, we must consider the divine nursing scenes, both those with the cow-goddess and those with other goddesses, in which the king appears nude or with a sidelock. These features may more accurately be understood as indicating the king's subordinate role to the goddess and his reliance on her, emphasizing his dependence on her for his kingly attributes, rebirth, and other gifts rather than his identity as a child or child-like. Interestingly, the king does not appear nude in divine nursing scenes until the New Kingdom, except for the Byblos pectoral (2.2), possibly reflecting changing attitudes toward

⁶⁹¹ Robins, "Dress, Undress, and the Representation of Fertility," 34; Serova, "Stripped Bare," 171, 173–174. See for example a child before a parent in the mastaba of Seneb, Hermann Junker, *Die Mastaba des Seneb (Seneb) und die umliegenden Gräber* (Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1941), fig. 23, pg. 91.; workers in fishing and fowling scenes from tomb of Ti, Wild, *Le Tombeau de Ti II*, pl. cxxii.; 5th dynasty mastaba, Henry George Fischer, "A Scribe in the Army in a Saqqara Mastaba of the Early Fifth Dynasty," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 18, no. 4 (1959): pl. vii.; workers in fields and workshops from tomb of Ti, Henri Wild, *Le Tombeau de Ti. Fascicule III. La Chapelle (Deuxième Partie)* (Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1966), pl. cli.

⁶⁹² Serova, "Stripped Bare," 169.

⁶⁹³ See for example banquet scene from the tomb of Nebamun, "tomb-painting," British Museum EA 37986, accessed 22 July 2024, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA37986.

⁶⁹⁴ Serova, "Stripped Bare," 171.

⁶⁹⁵ Robins, "Dress, Undress, and the Representation of Fertility," 34.

the status of the king in the New Kingdom, when more emphasis was placed on the king's reliance on the gods. This may further suggest the two figures of the king, beneath and under Hathor, were truly understood as two separate forms of the king. Thus, though the use of nudity and sidelock might indicate a child-like nature in some ways, the more important aspect is its use to emphasize the king's status within the scene: subservient and reliant upon the goddess, who should, thus, be considered the primary actor of the scene.

4.2.4 Deceased or Living? The King's Status in the Cow-Goddess Nursing Motif

Whether or not one adheres to Leclant's three births categorization,⁶⁹⁶ evidence reveals that nursing was important for both the living and the deceased. Divine nursing takes place at the king's birth in the divine birth scenes of Hatshepsut (Cat.2.5) and Amenhotep II (Cat.2.18).⁶⁹⁷ References to the tree-goddess nursing the deceased were frequent during the New Kingdom (5.4.4).⁶⁹⁸ So, the question for these nursing cow-goddess scenes might be, is the king meant to be understood as deceased, being nourished by Hathor during his rebirth? Or is he living, nourished by the goddess while acting as king in life? Or, even, is the king understood to be newly born?

⁶⁹⁶ Leclant, "Coronation Rites," 144.

⁶⁹⁷ Albert Gayet, *Le temple de Louxor. 1er fascicule, Constructions of Aménphois III, cour d'Aménphis, salle hypostyle, salles des offertoires, salle du lever et sanctuaries de Maut* (Leroux: Paris, 1894), pl. LXVI; Edouard Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari (Band 2): The Ebony Shrine, Northern Half of the Middle Platform* (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1896), pl. LIII.

⁶⁹⁸ Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth*, 36; Andrea Paula Zingarelli, "Some Considerations about the Water Offered (Poured) by the Tree-Goddess at TT49," in *L'acqua nell'antico Egitto: vita, rigenerazione, incantesimo, medicamento; proceedings of the first International conference for young Egyptologists, Italy, Chianciano Terme, October 15-18, 2003*, ed. Alessia Amenta, Maria Michela Luiselli, and Maria Novella Sordi (Rome: Roma: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2005), 384.

In addition to nursing and Hathor's funerary associations (4.2.5), one of the primary features that has led some to suggest that the king is meant to be understood as deceased are the depictions of the king with black skin.⁶⁹⁹ Images of the king or gods with black skin have been interpreted to symbolize death and rebirth, representing the decay of death and/or the soil after the Nile's flood that brings about the rebirth of nature each year.⁷⁰⁰ This is partly due to Osiris often appearing with green or black skin, indicative of his role as a god of the underworld.⁷⁰¹ The first surviving depiction of the nursing cow-goddess depicts Mentuhotep II with black skin (Cat.2.1, Figure 30). Though the original colors are lost for many of the reliefs, the king standing under Hathor's chin also appears with black skin in the statue of Amenhotep II (Cat.2.17), though the king beneath the cow is shown a reddish, brown color. Of special interest to this case study, the relief in the tomb of Paser shows the king with black skin (Figure 36).⁷⁰² Finally, the king shown on the votive cloth (Cat.2.23), though difficult to determine due to damage, might also be shown with this skin color (Figure 35). Though this is not the most common way for the king to be depicted, it is not unknown and possibly represents the oldest version of the motif.

The reason for the depiction of the king as having black skin on the votive cloth (Cat.2.23), at least, has a few potential explanations. From New Kingdom Deir el-Bahari, the

⁶⁹⁹ See the Walters Art Gallery object description: "Relief Displaying the King Suckled by the Hathor-Cow," Walters Art Museum 22.121, accessed 15 June 2023, <https://art.thewalters.org/detail/25775/relief-displaying-the-king-suckled-by-the-hathor-cow/>.

⁷⁰⁰ Alexandra Verbovsek, "Reception and Perception," in *A Companion to Ancient Egyptian Art*, ed. Melinda K. Hartwig (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2015), 146. See also Kathlyn M. Cooney, "Coffins, Cartonnage, and Sarcophagi," in *A Companion to Ancient Egyptian Art*, ed. Melinda K. Hartwig (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2015), 270, 284.

⁷⁰¹ William H. Peck, "The Ordering of the Figure," in *A Companion in Ancient Egyptian Art*, ed. Melinda K. Hartwig (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2015), 363.

⁷⁰² See the argument below for the identification of the relief from the Walters Art Gallery as that from the tomb of Paser.

votive cloth depicts Mentuhotep II, identified in the accompanying text. This king, long dead, was still worshipped at Deir el-Bahari at the time of the cloth's creation.⁷⁰³ Thus, it is likely that Mentuhotep II was shown with black skin to indicate that he was a deceased, deified king, now worshipped as a divine figure. On the other hand, other statues of Mentuhotep II also depict the king with black skin, such as one of the king in the *heb-sed* robe (JE 36195).⁷⁰⁴ The votive cloth may have reflected these statues of the king, which likely emphasized the king's rebirth during the *heb-sed*.

In terms of the oldest surviving depiction, the relief of Mentuhotep II from the Middle Kingdom (Cat.2.1) has been suggested to have come from either the Hathor shrine of Mentuhotep II or the king's mortuary temple.⁷⁰⁵ In either case, the black skin of the king could be explained by the scene's proximity to or association with his mortuary temple. However, this should not be taken too firmly as those located within the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut, close at hand and known to have taken influence from the neighboring temple of Mentuhotep II, all depict the nursing king with reddish, brown skin.

Finally, the relief from the Tomb of Paser (Cat.2.20) may have shown the king in this way to indicate that Seti I had died by the time the tomb and this relief were complete. Paser came to power near the end of the reign of Seti I and continued to serve into the reign of Ramesses II.⁷⁰⁶ Thus, it is likely that when many of these reliefs were completed, Seti I had died and Ramesses II reigned. As such, the king in question was now a deceased, reborn,

⁷⁰³ Jadwiga Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes during the Reign of Hatshepsut. Royal Construction Projects. Vol. 1 Topography of the West Bank* (IKSiO Pan, 2016), 48; Naville, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari, Part 3*, 13.

⁷⁰⁴ William Stevenson Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 85–86, fig. 153.

⁷⁰⁵ Arnold, *Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep. Band I*, 83–84; Caßor-Pfeiffer, "From Ritual to Role Description," 260.

⁷⁰⁶ V. A. Donohue, "The Vizier Paser," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 74 (1988): 107. 7

and deified king. Yet, it should be noted that, at first glance, this is in contradiction with the *Kheprsh* crown being worn by the king, which is believed to have been worn by the king when he acted as a *living* agent for the gods.⁷⁰⁷ This contradiction might indicate that our understanding of the *Kheprsh* crown needs reevaluating and that these images are not meant to show the king as deceased but, rather, reborn, having come back from death and, therefore, living once more.

Though the general form of the divine nursing motif remains largely the same across its various depictions, features like the king's crown, clothing, and attributes change regularly from depiction to depiction. Even the reliefs accompanying the statue of Amenhotep II (Cat.2.17) differ in the king's dress. This occasional use of black skin for the king may, therefore, indicate an adaptation of the scene to a specific location, king, or circumstance. Therefore, looking at the motif as a whole, we see indications of childhood and physical birth (nudity, sidelocks, and appearances within the divine birth sequences), life (*Kheprsh* crown, depictions of Hatshepsut making offerings to a statue of the motif that contains herself), and death (the votive cloth of Mentuhotep II, the king with black skin, Hathor's role as "Lady of the West" and deity of the Theban necropolis). As such, it is unlikely that the nursing cow-goddess motif was limited or specifically associated with one stage in the king's life.

⁷⁰⁷ Sandra A. Collier, "The Crowns of the Pharaoh: Their Development and Significance in Ancient Egyptian Kingship" (PhD University of California, Los Angeles, 1996), 107–123; Tom Hardwick, "The Iconography of the Blue Crown in the New Kingdom," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 89 (2003): 117–141; Amarillis Pompei, "Aspetti Lunari Della Corona ḥprš," *Rivista Degli Studi Orientali* 85, no. 1–4 (2013): 435–456.

4.2.5 Within the Context of Hathoric Motifs: Hathor Among the Reeds and Hathor Emerging from the Mountains

Having considered the internal features of the motif, we must now consider their iconographic context. As established in 4.2, the nursing cow-goddess scenes are a feature of the larger decorative traditions and practice of the Hathor cult at Deir el-Bahari and Thebes. Therefore, these cow-goddess nursing scenes are not only part of the divine nursing motif but also the larger selection of scenes of the goddess Hathor as a cow from and around Deir el-Bahari. These depictions can be very similar to nursing scenes, simply without the inclusion of the king drinking from the goddess's udders. Two specific motifs will be examined here – Hathor among the reeds and Hathor emerging from the mountains – due to their similarity to depictions of the nursing cow-goddess.

Hathor among the reeds, or as Pinch refers to it, “cow and papyrus,”⁷⁰⁸ appears frequently throughout Deir el-Bahari and surrounding areas like Deir el-Medina (Figures 38–39). This motif is characterized by an image of Hathor as a cow emerging from or within reeds.⁷⁰⁹ A relief from the *Khenu*-chapel of Ramesses II in Deir el-Medina (Louvre E 16276) depicts the goddess Hathor on a background of papyrus with the solar disc within her horns and a *menat* collar standing on what appears to be a sledge made of a papyrus stalk with a depiction of the king beneath her chin (Figure 39).⁷¹⁰ Similar depictions are found on *menat* counterpoises like EA20760 at the British Museum, which depicts Hathor standing on the

⁷⁰⁸ Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, 175.

⁷⁰⁹ See for example, “Meant counterpoise with figures of Hathor as a woman and a cow,” Metropolitan Museum of Art 51.157.2, accessed 1 August 2023, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/548610?ft=hathor+cow&offset=0&rpp=40&p;pos=13>.

⁷¹⁰ “relief mural; linteau,” Louvre E 16276, accessed 3 October 2023, <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010006771>.

papyrus sledge with papyrus stalks behind her.⁷¹¹ Though the king is missing from under her chin, she does have the clover-like spots matching the statue of Amenhotep II (Cat.2.17) and the votive cloth of Mentuhotep II (Cat.2.23). Pinch suggests that the motif “might be associated with birth, or with Hathor’s ability to bestow renewed vigour and a long life. This could be linked with a specific ritual of drinking milk of sacred cows.”⁷¹² Such images of Hathor are frequently associated with visual and textual references to a cow in the marsh, the story of the child Horus hiding and growing up in the marsh of Chemmis, and a cow nursing Horus referred to in 4.2.2.⁷¹³ Hathor had become associated with a range of cow-goddesses by the New Kingdom (4.2) and the identification of the cow which cared for Horus in the marshes with Hathor is evident in the text of the Hathor chapel at the temple of Hatshepsut. After stating that the goddess dwelled in Akhmim (Chemmis) protecting Horus, the goddess declares, “I am [your] mother, sweet of milk, who nursed your majesty with (my) breasts, they enter [you] with life and power.”⁷¹⁴ This reference to Hathor as nurse of Horus at Chemmis may explain why many of the nursing scenes share features with depictions of Hathor among the reeds, the primary difference being the presence of the nursing king.⁷¹⁵ Similarities between the cow-goddess nurse and the cow in the reeds can be

⁷¹¹ “amulet,” British Museum EA20760, accessed 1 August 2023, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA20760.

⁷¹² Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, 183.

⁷¹³ Allusions and references to Horus being hidden in the marsh (Chemmis) and a cow-goddess nursing him appear in various texts, see for example Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, 193, 215, 252, 306 (Spells 519, 555, 609, and 701); Faulkner, *Coffin Texts*, 214–215 (Spell 286); Lichthien, *Ancient Egyptian Literature I*, 201 (Hymn to the Red Crown). Hathor is later equated or associated with these cow-goddesses. See the discussions in Leclant, “Textes des Pyramides,” 124; Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, 175–177. Later, a version of the story was recorded by Herodotus, Herodotus, “The Histories,” ed. Robin Waterfield (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 2.156.

⁷¹⁴ Edouard Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari (Band 4): The Shrine of Hathor and the southern hall of offerings* (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1901), pl. 94; Sethe, *Urk.*, IV, Band 1, 237.

⁷¹⁵ Pinch suggests that every scene of Hathor among the reeds may represent a divine nursing scene as it may not have been seen as proper to show the king nursing on private monuments and this could act as a substitute, Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, 177. However, we do have evidence, though limited, of the king

seen in the statue of Ramesses II (Cat.2.22), where the nursing king is set against a background of papyrus reeds beneath the goddess. Based on Hathor's protection of the child Horus, Pinch suggests Hathor among the reeds imagery had protective qualities and could be "chosen by anyone seeking to place themselves under the protection of the goddess," living or dead.⁷¹⁶ Thus, the overlap of this motif with that of divine nursing seems rather fitting.

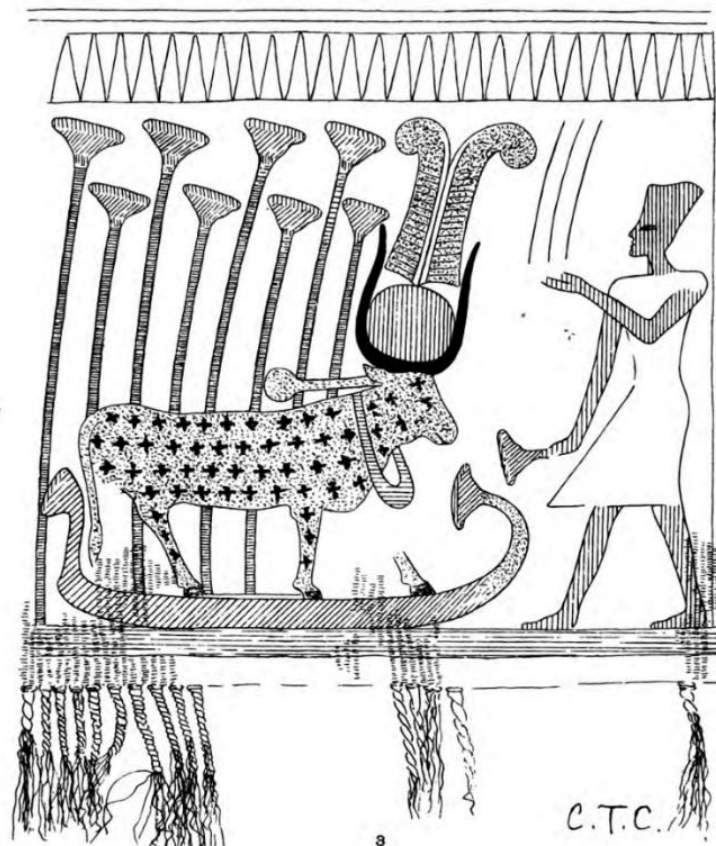


Figure 38. Hathor Among the Reeds on Votive Cloth from Deir el-Bahari (Naville, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari, Part 3, pl. xxx(3)*)

being shown nursing on private objects, such as in the tomb of Paser, which will be discussed later, as well as on votive offerings from Deir el-Bahari and Deir el-Medina (see the next chapter). Thus, there does not appear to have been a ban on images of the king being nursed as many of these images come from those close to the king and his administration. However, it must still be acknowledged that this image of Hathor among the reeds does have special ties with ideas of nursing due to its association with the story of Hathor and Horus in Chemmis.

⁷¹⁶ Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, 183.



Figure 39. *Hathor Among the Reeds Relief* (Louvre E 16276, accessed 27 April 2023, <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010006771>)

Next, the cow-goddess emerging from the mountains motif depicts Hathor as a cow behind or in front of a mountain, often with a portion of her body obscured by the slope (Figures 40–42). For example, a votive cloth depicts a family approaching the goddess with offerings as she emerges from the mountain (Figure 40). One of the most well-known examples of this motif comes from the Book of the Dead of Ani at the British Museum (EA10470,37). The goddess Taweret stands before a mountain and papyrus reeds from which Hathor, as a cow, emerges wearing a *menat*, sun disc, and double feathers (Figure 41).⁷¹⁷ A similar depiction of Hathor can be seen on a 19th dynasty stela from the British Museum (EA555), where the stela’s primary subject, Khabekhnet, adores an image of a king wearing a sidelock and Hathor emerging from the mountain (Figure 42).⁷¹⁸ The presence of the king in

⁷¹⁷ “Papyrus,” British Museum EA10470,37, accessed 1 August 2023, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA10470-37.

⁷¹⁸ “stela,” British Museum EA555, accessed 1 August 2023, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA555.

this depiction is very similar to the nursing cow-goddess images. Finally, but by no means the only other depiction of this motif, the tomb of Ameneminet (TT277; 20th dynasty) contains a relief of the deceased censuring and offering libations before a statue of Mentuhotep II and Queen Ahmose-Nefertari. Behind the figures, Hathor, as a cow, is shown emerging from the mountain wearing a *menat* collar, solar disc, and double feathers.⁷¹⁹ Mentuhotep II and Ahmose-Nefertari had both been deified and were worshiped during the New Kingdom.⁷²⁰ Like the stela of Khabekhnet, the cow-goddess is preceded by an image of a royal figure(s), reminiscent of the nursing cow-goddess imagery.



Figure 40. Votive Cloth Showing Family Approaching Hathor Emerging from the Mountain (Royal Ontario Museum 910.16.3, accessed 26 April 2023, <https://collections.rom.on.ca/objects/198123/votive-textile-depicting-offerings-to-the-cow-goddess-hathor;jsessionid=096E5>)

⁷¹⁹ Jeanne Vandier D'Abbadie, *Deux tombes ramessides à Gournet-Mourraï* (Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1954), pl. xiv, xv [1]. Similar imagery of Hathor emerging from the mountains can also be seen in the tomb of Amenemheb (TT 278), Vandier D'Abbadie, *Deux tombes ramessides à Gournet-Mourraï*, pl. xxvi, xxvii.

⁷²⁰ Michel Gitton, "Ahmose Nofretere," in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, ed. Wolfgang Helck and Eberhard Otto (Weisbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1975), 104; Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes*, 48; Naville, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari, Part 3*, 13.

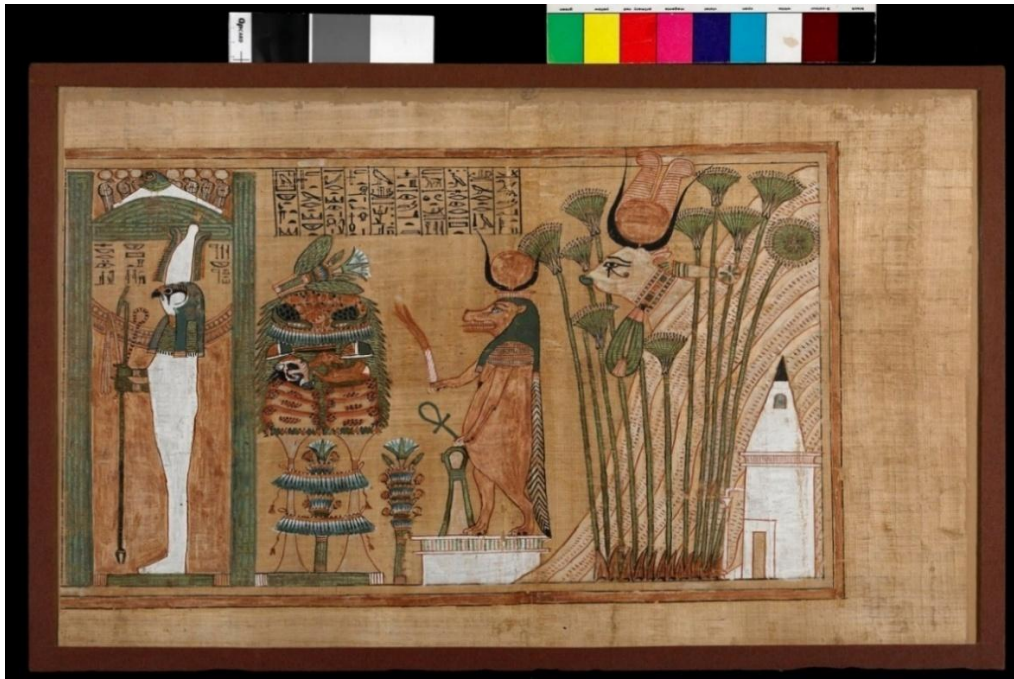


Figure 41. Hathor Emerging from the Mountains in Book of the Dead of Ani (British Museum EA10470,37, accessed 26 April 2023, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA10470-37)



Figure 42. Hathor Emerging from the Mountain on Stela (British Museum EA555, accessed 27 April 2023, <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/image/102349001>)

The image of the cow-goddess emerging from the mountains is associated with Hathor's funerary roles and ties to the necropolis discussed earlier in this thesis. As she emerges from the mountains, she is believed to be coming from the necropolis or world of the dead. In this form, she is also associated with the sun's rebirth. Just as Hathor emerges from the mountains, the sun emerges and is reborn each day. Hathor held significant power over the transition between life and death in both directions – birth, death, and rebirth.⁷²¹ Pinch states, "Hathor seems to embody a continuity between life and death, particularly when she is shown standing in the Western Mountain of the necropolis, the entrance to the realm of the dead, surrounded by the papyrus that evokes the creation and renewal of life."⁷²² Similar themes have already been noted for divine nursing scenes as well.

Though the text of the nursing cow-goddess scenes invites the viewer to think of divine nursing scenes, the iconography often suggests Hathor among the reeds and emerging from the mountains. This would have been even more the case considering most of the scenes were viewed within the context of Deir el-Bahari and surrounding regions where these cow-goddess depictions were widespread.⁷²³ Several nursing cow-goddess scenes appear very similar to non-nursing images. Compare for example, the votive cloth in Figure 35 with that in Figure 37 or the stelae in Figure 43 (EA689) with that in Figure 42 (EA555). It has even been observed that the statue of Amenhotep II found in the Hathor shrine of Thutmose III was a materialization and embodiment of Hathor emerging from the mountain with the statue literally emerging from a stone-cut shrine.⁷²⁴ In this way, nursing is

⁷²¹ Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, 180–182; Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth*, 42–44; Manniche, "Goddess and Woman in Ancient Egypt," 4.

⁷²² Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, 183.

⁷²³ Along with objects and tombs mentioned above, see, for example, Naville, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari, Part 3*, 14, 30; Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, 5, 93–94.

⁷²⁴ Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth*, 30.

literally integrated into an existing and separate Hathoric motif. The statue may also reference Hathor among the reeds due to the papyrus around the goddess's neck. The relationship between nursing cow-goddess scenes and these other cow-goddess motifs is a feature unique to this type of divine nursing scene and not evident in the more "traditional," anthropomorphic divine nursing scenes, such as the scene from Amada analyzed in Chapter 3. Those viewing the images of the nursing cow-goddess within the temple spaces as well as the more public facing stelae and votive cloths would likely have understood these images of the nursing cow-goddess as a part of the larger decorative program of Deir el-Bahari and surrounding regions rather than simply as divine nursing scenes, especially as many viewers were likely illiterate to some degree and as those scenes that appear in public spaces (e.g., stelae and votives, see 5.3.3.1) do not contain text pointing to divine nursing. This insertion of nursing into images of Hathor emerging from the mountain or among the reeds may have been an effort to combine the ideas of transition and rebirth associated with them or, perhaps, nursing already was understood to fit into this transitional space. An intriguing combination of motifs can be seen in a vignette from P. Ramose where the tree-goddess has been combined with Hathor emerging from the mountain.⁷²⁵ The tree-goddess was another motif with strong connections to nursing, as will be explored in 5.4.4. Therefore, the nursing cow-goddess is not the only nursing motif that appears to have been utilized alongside other Hathoric motifs. The combination of these motifs in non-royal as well as royal images represents a level of creativity among worshippers based on royal examples like the statue of Amenhotep II. It is evident that the ancient Egyptians understood the relationship between the motifs when creating representations of the nursing cow-goddess and sought

⁷²⁵ Cambridge E.2.1922, frag. RK04.9. Thank you to Joel Sams for bringing this vignette to my attention and providing me with images for my research.

to draw together these motifs based on shared purposes and themes or in order to compound the functions of these images.



Figure 43. King Nursed by Hathor Cow on Stela (British Museum EA689, accessed 26 April 2023, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA689)

4.3 Case Study: Seti I nursing by Hathor in the Tomb of Paser (TT 106)

To further explore adaptation and usage of the nursing cow-goddess subtype, I consider here the scene of Seti I from the 19th dynasty tomb of Paser (TT 106) in Sheikh Abd el-Qurna in the Theban necropolis (Figure 44). This scene offers an opportunity to examine the nursing cow-goddess scene outside of a temple and its use by a non-royal individual. While retaining

much of the meaning and purpose it holds within temple spaces, this scene offers an opportunity to explore how a change in context can change the function of a motif while also demonstrating the variety of purposes that divine breastfeeding imagery could fulfill.

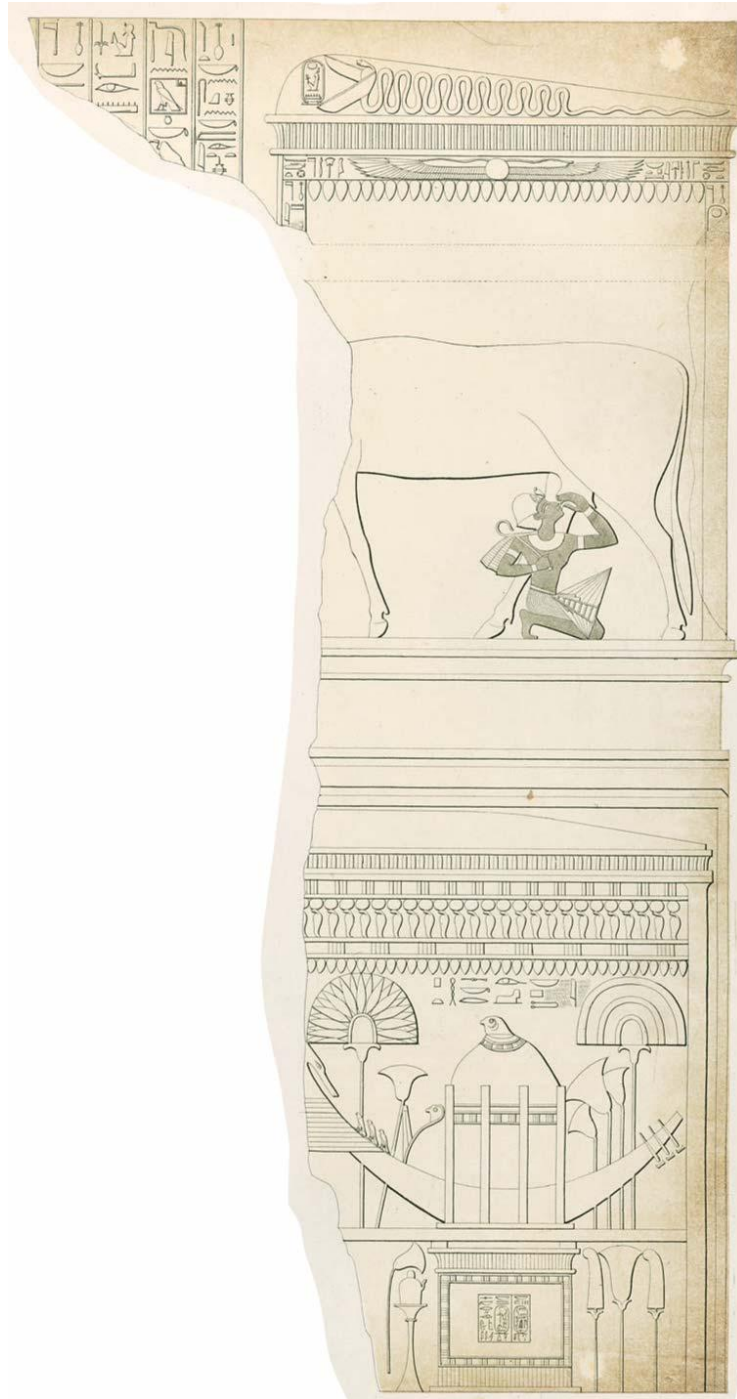


Figure 44. Seti I Nursed by Hathor-Cow from Tomb of Paser (TT 106) and Barque of Sokar (L.D. iii, 173 [a])

4.3.1 Paser, the Vizier

A full biography of Paser would exceed the scope of this thesis,⁷²⁶ but a brief introduction to his life as it pertains to this analysis will be included. Paser had a long career under the early 19th dynasty kings, Seti I and Ramesses II, holding many officers and titles and appearing in many temples, tombs, and monuments.⁷²⁷ His name and details about his life and work appear on ostraca,⁷²⁸ statues,⁷²⁹ temple inscriptions,⁷³⁰ his tomb reliefs,⁷³¹ and other sources. Paser served as chief chamberlain to Seti I before becoming vizier, a role he held until around the 21st–25th year of the reign of Ramesses II,⁷³² likely passing away around the fortieth year of Ramesses II's reign.⁷³³ The title Vizier of the South has been given to Paser by

⁷²⁶ For further information and research into Paser's life, family, and career see Bente Bladsgaard Jensen, "On the Right Side of the King. A Microhistorical Study of Vizierial titles in the Early Ramesside Period through Prosopography and Biography" (PhD Sapienza University of Rome, 2025). I would like to thank Bente for taking the time to discuss the life of Paser with me, aiding me in my analysis, and sharing her own research with me. Further information can also be found on the life of Paser in Donohue, "The Vizier Paser," 103–123; Margaret Maitland, "The King and I: Commemorating the Privilege of Royal Statue Dedication in Ramesside Deir el-Medina," in *Deir el-Medina: through the kaleidoscope. Proceedings of the international workshop, Turin 8th-10th October 2018*, ed. Susanne Töpfer, Paolo Del Vesco, and Federico Poole (Torino: Museo Egizio; Franco Cosimo Panini, 2022), 160–175; Christine Raedler, "Die Wesire Ramses' II.-Netzwerke der Macht," in *Königtum, Staat und Gesellschaft Früher Hochkulturen 1*, ed. Rolf Gundlach, Detlev Kreikenbom, and Mechthild Schade-Busch (Weisbaden: Harrassowitz, 2004), 310–351.

⁷²⁷ Donohue, "The Vizier Paser," 106–107. It has been suggested that Paser may have begun under Ramesses I, Raedler, "Die Wesire Ramses' II," 346.

⁷²⁸ See Edward F. Wente and Edmund S. Meltzer, *Letters from Ancient Egypt* (Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 2000), 44–45, 48, 119–120, 134–135.

⁷²⁹ For his title of vizier, see "statue stéléphone," E 25980, accessed 9 January 2025, <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010004099>.

⁷³⁰ See for example "linteau à corniche," Louvre E 16329, accessed 9 January 2025, <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010024869>.

⁷³¹ See Appendix 3 for translations of many of the scenes from Paser's tomb.

⁷³² Donohue, "The Vizier Paser," 106–107; Michael Rice, *Who's Who in Ancient Egypt* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), 146. Ostrakon Gardiner 362, dating to the reign of Ramesses II, records a letter to Paser in from the scribe Ramose in which Paser is called "overseer of the southern lands." For a translation of this ostrakon see Donohue, "The Vizier Paser," 107; Rice, *Who's Who in Ancient Egypt*, 146; Wente and Meltzer, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, 119–120. See O. Gardiner 362 for a primary source of the title of vizier.

⁷³³ Donohue, "The Vizier Paser," 107.

modern scholarship based on his apparent authority over the southern half of Egypt.⁷³⁴ This is the office for which he is most well-known.

In studying the “Duties of the Vizier” texts (a version of which is included in Paser’s tomb), Van den Boorn states the vizier’s role revolved around three areas: managing the palace of the king, acting as head of the civil administration, and administering justice and judgment for the king.⁷³⁵ Paser’s involvement in these areas is attested by preserved letters to and from Paser. Gardiner 13, Berlin 11238, and Toronto A11 inform Paser that wages have been correctly distributed.⁷³⁶ Gardiner 71 discusses inspecting the walls of the king’s palace as well as granaries.⁷³⁷ Chester Beatty III talks about the administration of the king’s palace as well as its watch posts. It even refers to Paser as the “great screen sheltering His Majesty.”⁷³⁸ Further evidence reveals that his responsibilities included the administration of temples and necropolises, management of royal building projects in Upper Egypt, and the supervision of the royal construction towns, like Deir el-Medina, as evidenced in ostracon Toronto A11.⁷³⁹ It is this role that becomes of great interest in terms of Paser’s relationship with the nursing cow-goddess scenes.

⁷³⁴ Though Paser is referred to as Vizier (*ḥḥy*) in his tomb, the title “Vizier of the South” is not attested. Modern scholarship has given him this title based on the location of this tomb and his many appearances in texts and reliefs in the Theban region. His position of Deir el-Medina also places him in the south. See Bente Bladsgaard Jensen’s thesis for additional information on this title.

⁷³⁵ Guido P. F. Van de Boorn, *The Duties of the Vizier: Civil Administration in the Early New Kingdom* (London: Kegan Paul, 1988), 310, 322. This summary is supported by Wente’s statements regarding the power and role of viziers based on his examination of New Kingdom ostracon, Wente and Meltzer, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, 41.

⁷³⁶ Wente and Meltzer, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, 44–45, 134–135.

⁷³⁷ Wente and Meltzer, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, 45.

⁷³⁸ Translation by Wente and Meltzer, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, 48.

⁷³⁹ Ostracon Toronto A 11 states that the village of the pharaoh was under Paser’s control and proceeds to give Paser a report on their wages as determined and provided by Paser. For a translation of this ostracon see Wente and Meltzer, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, 45.

As Vizier of the South, Paser held authority over the regions and administrations in which the nursing cow-goddess and the associated decorative traditions would have been located, including Deir el-Bahari and Deir el-Medina. Graffiti, mentioning Paser's titles and name, attest to inspections he performed in the Theban necropolis.⁷⁴⁰ Further, he was likely familiar with the historical use of the scene by prior kings. Paser appears in two statues from the Temple of Mentuhotep II, where the earliest appearance of the motif may have been originally located.⁷⁴¹ He also participated at least once in the Beautiful Feast of the Valley based on a relief from a temple in Deir el-Medina (JE 43591) and a text from within his tomb.⁷⁴² These place him in direct interaction with the images of Hathor as a cow as well as the rituals in which she played a key role in renewing and rejuvenating the royal cult and king.

Under both Seti I and Ramesses II and as "Head of Construction Work," "Manager of the Construction of Large Monuments," "Head of the King's Workshops," and "Head of all the king's work,"⁷⁴³ Paser supervised and organized many of the building projects commissioned by the kings.⁷⁴⁴ Maitland points out that it was likely Paser and Ramose, on behalf of Ramesses II, who rebuilt the temple of Hathor, the chapel to Amun-Ra, and the *Khenu*-chapel to Ramesses II at Deir el-Medina. A dedicatory panel from the *Khenu*-chapel

⁷⁴⁰ Raedler, "Die Wesire Ramses' II," 344.

⁷⁴¹ Arnold, *Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep. Band I*, 83; Raedler, "Die Wesire Ramses' II," 322.

⁷⁴² Raedler, "Die Wesire Ramses' II," 322. See texts in Appendix 3.

⁷⁴³ Many of Paser's titles can be found in Raedler, for these see Raedler, "Die Wesire Ramses' II," 286. Raedler 2004, 286. "Manager of the Construction of Large Monuments" and "Head of the King's Workshops" can be found in Paser's tomb (see translation in Appendix); "Head of all the king's work" can be found on a statue of Paser on "statue stélephone," Louvre E 25980, accessed 9 January 2025, <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010004099>.

⁷⁴⁴ Maitland, "The King and I," 160; Raedler, "Die Wesire Ramses' II," 286; Rice, *Who's Who in Ancient Egypt*, 146–147.

states that Paser built the monument that housed the statue of the king.⁷⁴⁵ Furthermore, his name and titles appear on a lintel from this same *Khenu*-chapel (Louvre E 16329),⁷⁴⁶ attesting to his role in the chapel's construction as well as his desire to be associated with it. A relief from the same chapel shows Ramesses II offering a cow statue to Hathor, accompanied by Paser and another official.⁷⁴⁷ The *Khenu*-chapel itself was built on the south wall of the Hathor temple.⁷⁴⁸ This physical shared wall between the chapel and temple created a direct connection between the cult of Ramesses II and the goddess Hathor, drawing together the royal cult and that of Hathor much as divine nursing scenes do. Therefore, evidence attests to Paser's active role in ensuring and depicting the relationship between the king and Hathor.

4.3.2 The Scene: Seti I nursed by Hathor

The tomb of Paser is located within the region of Sheik Abd el-Qurna Thebes.⁷⁴⁹ The tomb follows the popular T-shaped structure like many other 19th dynasty tombs in the Theban necropolis.⁷⁵⁰ Eight columns run down the length of the broad hall of the tomb chapel. A central passage leads from the broad hall to an inner hall. The burial chamber below is reached via a spiral-like ramp from the south corner of the broad hall (Figure 45).⁷⁵¹ The

⁷⁴⁵ Maitland, "The King and I," 160.

⁷⁴⁶ "l'inteau à corniche," Louvre E 16329, accessed 16 June 2023, <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010024869>.

⁷⁴⁷ Maitland, "The King and I," 172; Richter, "Priesthood of Hathor," 240.

⁷⁴⁸ Maitland, "The King and I," 160.

⁷⁴⁹ Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, I, 220, "Tombs 106, 108–113".

⁷⁵⁰ Edward Scrivens, "Goddesses in Ramessid Egypt: Representations of Gender and Gendered Agency in the Divine Sphere" (PhD University of Oxford, 2019), 66.

⁷⁵¹ Assmann, "Vergeltung und Erinnerung," 280; Marta Kaczanowicz, "Gordon Jelf and his Notes on the Work Conducted in the Theban Necropolis, 1909–1910," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 106 (2020): fig. 5.

tomb is heavily damaged, having been subjected to natural wear and past efforts to remove scenes.⁷⁵² Despite this, remains of paint survive on many of the walls and attest to the once vibrant colors of the tomb's decoration.⁷⁵³ Paser also had a small pyramid-shaped superstructure near the top of the hill directly behind but separate from the tomb itself.⁷⁵⁴ Currently, there is no comprehensive publication of the tomb.

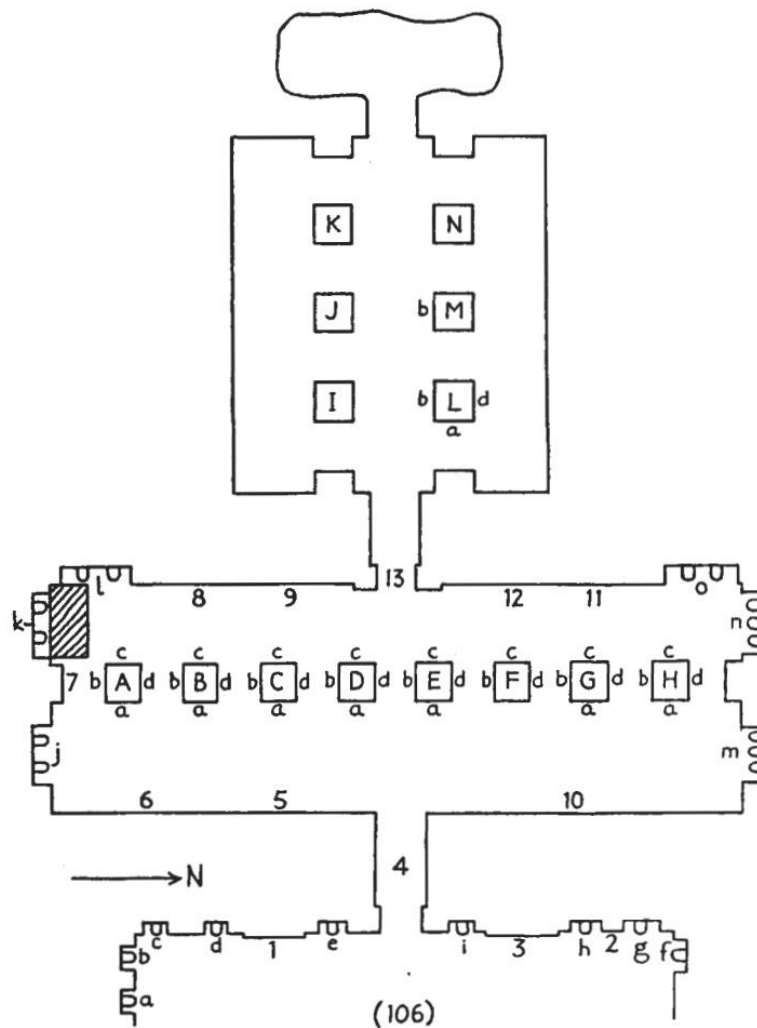


Figure 45. Plan of Tomb of Paser, TT 106 (PM I/I, 220)

⁷⁵² See photos by Harry Burton in MMA Theban Tomb Photos and Uni Dia Verlag photos, especially the carving around the images of baboons in “Uni Dia Verlag,” in *Egypt* (10 January 2025), No. 38803–388004. <https://www.uni-dia-verlag.de/aegypten>.

⁷⁵³ See for example “Uni-Dia-Verlag,” No. 38806, 38808–38810.

⁷⁵⁴ Karl-Joachim Seyfried, “Dritter Vorbericht über die Arbeiten des Ägyptologischen Instituts der Universität Heidelberg in thebanischen Gräbern der Ramessidenzeit,” *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 46 (1990): tafel 59–60; Katherine Slinger, *Tomb Families: Private Tomb Distribution in the New Kingdom Theban Necropolis* (Oxford: Archaeopress Archaeology, 2022), 289.

The divine nursing scene appears on Pillar C of the broad hall and depicts the king kneeling beneath the cow-goddess, head tilted upward as his left hand holds her udder to his mouth (Figure 44).⁷⁵⁵ The scene is no longer *in situ*, having been removed sometime between the 1840s and 1909 (discussed in 4.3.4), but is preserved in the line drawings of Hay, J. Burton, and Lepsius.⁷⁵⁶ The Lepsius line drawing includes details not found in the other two: the shrine in which the king and goddess are located and portions of the text (Figure 44).⁷⁵⁷ Lepsius also records that the king was black and the cow yellow.⁷⁵⁸ J. Burton's identification of the cow as black in color is the only contradiction between these descriptions and drawings.⁷⁵⁹

The text along the top and pillars of the naos in the scene identifies the king as Seti I. Frequently, in such scenes, the king being nursed is identified by a cartouche located near his figure or in accompanying texts; however, a label does not survive nor does that portion of the text (if it existed). So, we rely upon the shrine's decorative text to identify the king. Paser's long service under Seti I and the king's frequent appearance in Paser's tomb further support this identification.

4.3.3 Reconstruction of the Scene

It is unknown what featured in the front part of the scene. Having translated the text as it is recorded in Lepsius's line drawing (Appendix 3), I have determined line drawing's text is

⁷⁵⁵ This thesis will follow the wall and pillar designations found in PM, see Figure 45.

⁷⁵⁶ Burton MSS 25638, 68 verso; Hay MSS 29822, 81; Lepsius, *LD*, III, 173a.

⁷⁵⁷ Lepsius, *LD*, III, 173a.

⁷⁵⁸ Lepsius, *LD*, Text III, 254.

⁷⁵⁹ Burton MSS 25638.

largely complete and it is therefore unlikely that additional text is missing.⁷⁶⁰ This would leave a sizable open space before the goddess's shoulders and shrine if the line drawing's proportions are to be trusted. Without further information, any reconstruction of the scene must rely on comparisons with other nursing cow-goddess imagery and scenes within Paser's tomb.

First, a second image of the king likely appeared underneath Hathor's chin and the goddess wore the solar disc between her horns. Both features are consistent across depictions of the king nursing from Hathor with only a few exceptions (Tables 1–2). This second depiction of the king was likely striding forward in full regalia. It is difficult to determine what headdress the king wore here, but based on other versions of the motif, the king likely wore the *Nemes* headdress or double feathers and Hathor would have worn a *menat* or sistrum (4.2.2)

Though the reconstruction of Hathor and the king may be relatively straightforward, it is more difficult to determine what would have appeared in front of Hathor and the king. Rarely is the nursing pair the only feature of a scene when it appears in relief. Some scenes depict figures of the king making offerings to the goddess, such as the reliefs from the Sanctuaries of Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahari (Cat.2.9-12; Figures 31–32) or those from the Hathor shrine of Thutmose III (Cat.2.15-16; Figure 34). In the case of the votive cloth of Mentuhotep II (Cat.2.23; Figure 35) and the stelae in Chapter 5, it could be private individuals, landscape, or offering tables. Though it is possible that the only portion missing is the secondary depiction of the king and Hathor's head, I suggest that there was at least one additional figure before Hathor.

⁷⁶⁰ See my translation in Appendix 3.

If there was a figure before Hathor and the king, it begs the question as to who this would have been and what they would have been doing. The second question is probably the easiest to answer. In all scenes with figures before the king and Hathor, individuals adore or make offerings, so it would likely be the same here. In terms of who would have been doing this, it was most likely a royal figure or Paser himself. Most temple reliefs, such as those of Hatshepsut (Cat.2.9-12; Figures 31–32) and Ramesses II (Cat.2.21), depict the king making an offering before an offering table. On the votive cloth of Mentuhotep II (Cat.2.23), non-royals are shown in a similar offering posture. In his tomb, Paser appears before deities in many scenes, especially on the pillars where this divine nursing scene is located.⁷⁶¹ For example, on Pillar C, in addition to the nursing cow-goddess scene, Paser adores Re-Horakhty and Ma'at on the western face, Osiris and Isis on the southern face, and appears before Anubis on the eastern face.⁷⁶² Thus, it is likely Paser who stood before the goddess and the king in this scene. This might also explain the seemingly “backward” orientation of the scene. Most depictions of the nursing cow-goddess show the goddess facing out from the temple, whereas here, she faces toward the interior of the tomb. However, if it was indeed Paser depicted facing her, the image would instead show Paser facing outward, toward the exterior of his tomb, symbolizing his movement toward the living world and his rebirth, and matching general tomb decorative patterns. Therefore,

⁷⁶¹ Assmann, “Vergeltung und Erinnerung,” 284; Jan Assmann, “The Ramesside tomb and the construction of sacred space,” in *The Theban Necropolis: Past, Present and Future*, ed. N. Strudwick and John H. Taylor (London: The British Museum Press, 2003), 51. In tomb of Paser (TT 106), see for example, Paser censuring with his relatives (Wilkinson MSS ii, 37 [lower]); Paser censuring and libating before Amenhotep I and Ahmose Nefertere (Jean-François Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, vol. 2 (Paris: Imprimerie et librairie de Firmin Didot frères, Imprimeurs de l'Institut de France, 1835), I, pl. clxx[ij.]); Paser censuring before Meretseger (“Uni-Dia-Verlag,” No.38810.)

⁷⁶² Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, I/1, 223.

it is likely that the scene originally depicted Paser adoring or making offerings to the statue of Hathor nursing the king.

4.3.4 Modern Location of the Scene

Though the relief of Seti I being nursed by Hathor is no longer *in situ*, there is a relief at the Walters Art Gallery (22.121) that is likely a portion of the missing scene (Figure 36). The fragmentary relief depicts the king, wearing a triangular kilt, bracelet, necklace, and *Kheprsh* crown, kneeling beneath and holding the udder of Hathor. The only parts of the goddess preserved are her two back legs, bottom of her tail, bottom of her belly, and small portion of her front left leg. The king is shown with black skin, while all his clothing and accessories appear in gold. Hathor also appears in gold. The background is red with a white and black/blue net pattern matching the veil that appears in other scenes (4.2.1).

In 1995, Marohn first suggested this relief might be that from the tomb of Paser (TT 106) based on the relief being nearly identical to Lepsius's line drawing and color descriptions. She cites a photo of Pillar C in which the remnants of the scene which remain *in situ* appear to match with the relief from the Walters Art Gallery. Marohn also points out that this is a unique scene for tombs, which more often depict Hathor as a cow emerging from the mountains, and thus, it is unlikely to have belonged to another tomb.⁷⁶³

As Marohn states, the similarities between the Lepsius line drawing and this relief fragment are very suggestive, especially when one considers the unique features of Paser's scene. The nursing king only appears with black skin in the relief of Mentuhotep II (Cat.2.1) and potentially the votive cloth (Cat.2.23). In addition, the king's triangular kilt is also rare as

⁷⁶³ Gertrud Marohn, "Ein wiedergefundenes Felieffragment aus dem Grab des Veziers Paser (TT 106)," *Göttinger Miszellen* 149 (1995): 63–66.

he more often appears in a kilt clinging to his legs (see, for example, the statue of Ramesses II, Cat.2.22).⁷⁶⁴ Even the king wearing the *Khepresh* crown is less common in images of the nursing cow-goddess, as he more often wears a wig or cap (Tables 1–2).⁷⁶⁵ The presence of these features in both reliefs and the exact combination of the crook with the king's hand on the goddess's udders is very persuasive. To confirm Marohn's identification, I investigated the Walter Art Gallery relief's accession records, the line drawings of Hay and J. Burton, and other records.

James Burton and Robert Hay were both significant contributors to early epigraphic work in Thebes. Both employed the camera lucida, which ensured the drawings of the scenes were as accurate as possible for their time and have resulted in drawings largely considered reliable and of high quality.⁷⁶⁶ Burton visited Thebes in 1824 and again in 1830–1835.⁷⁶⁷ The drawing would have been made during one of these two visits; exactly which is unknown. Burton included a small note with his drawing: "Tomb near Yanni's house. Honoured king- This is in the form of Amenophis & the queen who are on the adjacent pillar. The cow as well as the boy are black."⁷⁶⁸ Yanni, or Giovanni d'Athanasia, was well-known in the Theban region at this time. He lived in the necropolis near the tomb of Nakht (TT 52) and worked with many English travelers who came to the necropolis.⁷⁶⁹ The tomb being referred to is likely that of Paser (TT 106), based on the drawing of the nursing cow-goddess and as

⁷⁶⁴ See for example scenes reference above - Thutmose II at Karnak; Rameses II at Abydos.

⁷⁶⁵ Appears in *Khepresh* crown in BM689 (Cat.2.3) stela and reconstructions of Hatshepsut reliefs but not surviving ones.

⁷⁶⁶ Warren R. Dawson and Eric Uphill, *Who was Who in Egyptology*, Second Edition ed. (London: The Egypt Exploration Society, 1972), 48, 135; Lise Manniche, *The Tombs of the Nobles at Luxor* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 1989), 106–107.

⁷⁶⁷ Manniche, *The Tombs of the Nobles at Luxor*, 106; Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, 1/2 xxxv.

⁷⁶⁸ Burton MSS 25638, 68 verso.

⁷⁶⁹ Manniche, *The Tombs of the Nobles at Luxor*, 100.

TT 52 is located close to Paser's tomb (Figure 46). Robert Hay visited Thebes at various times during 1825–1827 and 1832–1833. During this time, he worked with multiple artists recording tomb scenes.⁷⁷⁰ Finally, the only published source, Lepsius made his line drawing sometime between 1842 and 1845 and published it between 1849 and 1859.⁷⁷¹ This is the latest, and therefore the most recent line drawing of the relief *in situ*.

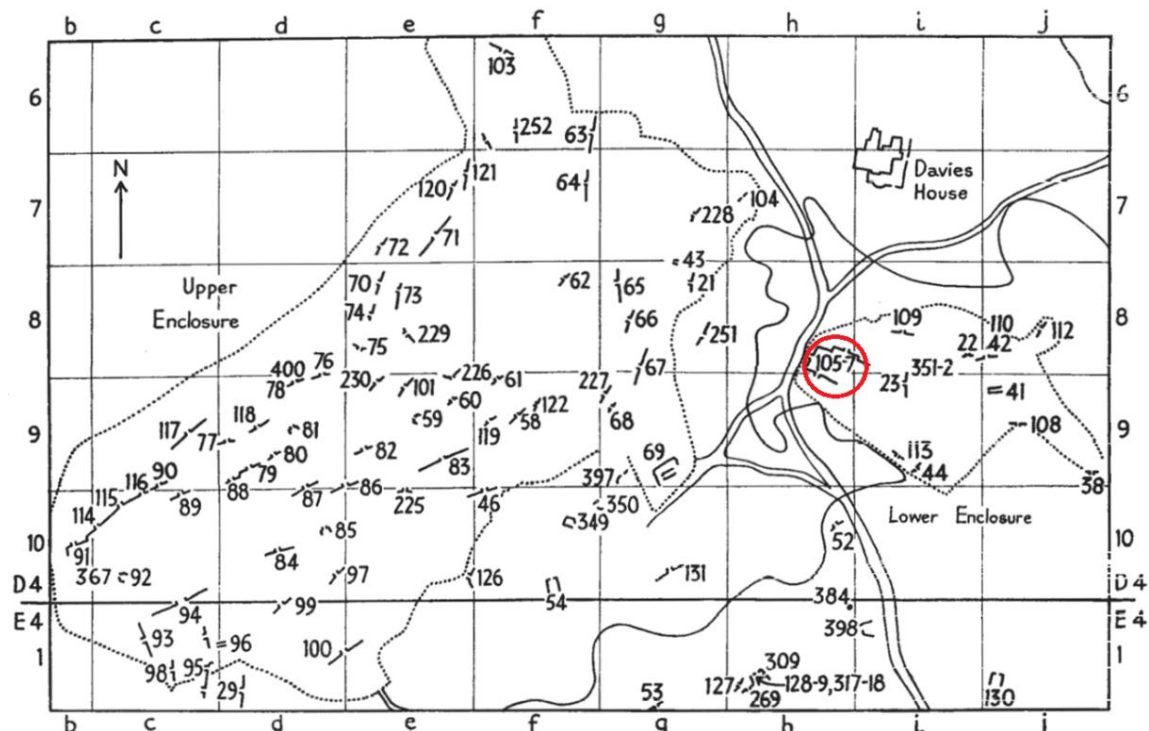


Figure 46. Sheikh Abd el-Qurna with the location of tomb of Paser (TT 106). I have circled the location of the tomb in red (PM I/I, Map V.)

Currently, the most thorough record of the tomb are the MMA photos taken between 1915 and 1933 by Harry Burton, an archaeologist and photographer, who is most well-known for his photographs of the objects from the tomb of Tutankhamun.⁷⁷² Though nearly the entire tomb is recorded in these photos, none appear to record the pillar face

⁷⁷⁰ Manniche, *The Tombs of the Nobles at Luxor*, 107; Chris Naunton, *Egyptologists' Notebooks* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2020), 93; Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, I/2 xxxvi.

⁷⁷¹ See publication information for Lepsius, *LD*.

⁷⁷² Burton was hired by The Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1914. The Theban tomb series ran from 1915-1933, Ronald T. Ridley, "The Dean of Archaeological Photographers: Harry Burton," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 99, no. 1 (2013): 121, 123; Dawson and Uphill, *Who was Who in Egyptology*, 48.

where the nursing scene was located. There is no clear reason why H. Burton would not have photographed the column as he did with the others. Therefore, it is possible that the column had already been defaced and the relief removed, and so it was felt that the column was not worth photographing. Other photos depict what appears to be chisel marks from efforts to remove wall scenes in the tomb.⁷⁷³ However, these other areas of damage were photographed, so this is not conclusive.

The notes of Gordon Jelf,⁷⁷⁴ who worked cataloguing Theban tombs for Gardiner and Weigall,⁷⁷⁵ list TT 106 as a “new” tomb in December 1909.⁷⁷⁶ Rubbish and debris were cleared out of the tomb during 17–19 October 1909, before a door was placed in the tomb entrance.⁷⁷⁷ Clearly, the tomb was not “new,” as attested by the line drawings of Hay, J. Burton, and Lepsius; however, Jelf may have meant it was unrecorded, unexcavated, or that its location had been previously lost.⁷⁷⁸ These records are significant as Jelf and Weigall ensured the tomb was secured with an iron door before leaving,⁷⁷⁹ and though it is not impossible as damage by foreign travelers and collectors was normalized to some degree, it is thus unlikely that the nursing scene would have been removed after this. This supports the theory that the relief was missing when H. Burton took photos of the tomb. During the time of Hay and J. Burton, it was common for travelers, collectors, and others to remove scenes

⁷⁷³ See MMA Photos Series T held at the Griffith Institute. Rights held by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

⁷⁷⁴ Jelf MSS, Griffith Institute, accessed 12 April 2023, <https://archive.griffith.ox.ac.uk/index.php/jelf-collection>.

⁷⁷⁵ Kaczanowicz, “Gordon Jelf and his Notes,” 37–39.

⁷⁷⁶ Jelf MSS 1 – Notebook, page, 130.

⁷⁷⁷ Jelf MSS 1 – Notebook, page 3.

⁷⁷⁸ Kaczanowicz, “Gordon Jelf and his Notes,” 40.

⁷⁷⁹ Alan H. Gardiner and Arthur E. P. Weigall, *A Topographical Catalogue of the Private Tombs of Thebes* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1913), 26–27; Kaczanowicz, “Gordon Jelf and his Notes,” 37–38.

from Theban tombs. These can be found in museums and collections worldwide.⁷⁸⁰ Evidence even suggests that some scenes were removed during the expedition in which Lepsius recorded the nursing scene.⁷⁸¹ Thus, the scene was most likely removed during this period and before H. Burton photographed the tomb.

To return to the relief in the Walters Art Gallery, it was bought by Henry Walters for the Walters Art Gallery on 2 December 1922 from Joseph Brummer of the Brummer Gallery (New York, NY), who had purchased it from René Haas (and M. Bing) in Paris on 14 October 1922.⁷⁸² I have been unable to find any records regarding the relief before this date. This fits well within the timeline established above. Further, the neat lines and curved topmost edge of the relief in the Walters Art Gallery suggest that the relief was purposefully removed, and the incomplete nature of the scene demonstrates its origins as part of a much larger scene. The relief's clear focus on the king suggests aesthetic motives for its removal. Thus, we can conclude that the relief was removed between the mid to late-1840s and 1909 and then sold to Henry Walters in 1922. Based on this evidence, I agree with Marhon that the relief from the Walters Art Gallery is indeed the missing scene from the tomb of Paser. Through this identification, not only can portions of the Lepsius line drawing be validated,

⁷⁸⁰ Manniche, *The Tombs of the Nobles at Luxor*, 104.

⁷⁸¹ Manniche, *The Tombs of the Nobles at Luxor*, 114.

⁷⁸² Inventory card with record of sale can be found at "N574: Bas relief Egyptian, kneeling figure, under hind legs of cow. Black and red polychrome, black ebony frame," N-574_recto and verso, The Brummer Gallery Records, accessed 23 July 2024, <https://libmma.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p16028coll9/id/5784/rec/1>; Haas is listed as the seller with Bing in parentheses. So I have placed Bing in parentheses as well. Haas and Bing appear to have been partners as indicated on some of the dealer cards. See Haas dealer card, ArtistsDealers-H001_recto and verso, The Brummer Gallery Records, accessed 23 July 2024, <https://libmma.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p16028coll9/id/45355/rec/1> and Bing, Haas Dealer card, ArtistsDealers-AB015_recto and verso, accessed 23 July 2024, <https://libmma.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p16028coll9/id/45112/rec/30>; "N575: Roman mosaic plaque, 3 figures and 2 animals," N0575_recto and verso, The Brummer Gallery Records, accessed 23 July 2024, <https://libmma.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p16028coll9/id/5789/rec/3>. All are held in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York Watson Library Digital Collections.

but information about the image's original coloring is acquired. Additionally, the relief attests to features, like the red beaded veil, which do not appear in Lepsius's line drawing, allowing for a more thorough examination of the scene as it would have appeared in Paser's tomb.

4.3.5 Accessibility and Public Display

If the statues of the nursing cow-goddess were indeed centers of public worship, as Pinch suggests, the audience for this imagery must be considered.⁷⁸³ The scene from the tomb of Paser provides some evidence for who may have had access to the image but also the esteem that may have existed regarding that access, possibly indicating that this access was not universal. Evidence from Paser's life suggests that the scene may have been included in his tomb and based on his own experiences with Hathor and her cult, discussed in 4.3.1. Paser's familiarity with the nursing cow-goddess may also be suggested as the scene from his tomb does not match any other known appearance of the motif and includes details only rarely included in images of the nursing cow-goddess. It is possible that the scene was based on a now-lost scene or was an artistic creation inspired by multiple versions of the motif. For example, in addition to the king's black skin, most of the surviving depictions do not include the veil. Therefore, Paser's inclusion of the king's black skin and veil could suggest that these features were included in the relief that served as inspiration for the image or that it was based on sightings of the statue itself. Marohn proposes that the presence of such a temple image in the tomb of Paser is due to Paser's high status.⁷⁸⁴ As vizier of the king, Paser was a representative of the king and so it is not surprising he would

⁷⁸³ Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, 25.

⁷⁸⁴ Marohn, "Grab des Veziers Paser (TT 106)," 63–66.

have access to such imagery. This may explain why the motif does not occur in other tombs. This would suggest that despite evidence that the nursing cow-goddess statue and its imagery were more accessible than other divine nursing images (3.5), interactions with the statue or the ability to utilize the imagery might have been limited to a select group of higher status individuals. Further, this ability to utilize the image for personal monuments or images may have been more limited than those able to view or interact with it.

So, who had access to this statue? Access to temples and temple imagery has been explored in 3.5. Who had access and to what is difficult to determine. The form such access took may have varied and not always involved being able to see and approach a divine statue. Some may have only interacted with the imagery on more public facing objects like votives and stelae, not the divine statue itself. It may be understandable for a vizier like Paser to have had access to this image, but other objects suggest that the image was accessible to a wider group, like the votive cloth discussed previously (Cat.2.23; Figure 35) and the stelae discussed in Chapter 5 (Cat.2.3; 2.13). To what extent the Hathor statues were “public” is to be debated. Evidence for the lower members of society is often lacking, and it is possible that this “public” was, in fact, members of the non-royal elite, the same who would depict Hathor and her festivals in their tombs, stelae, and other objects. The location of the shrine so close to the temples of Hatshepsut and Mentuhotep II complicates this question as the accessibility to different areas the temple is not fully understood (3.5). Luiselli has demonstrated that there were “shrines and temples built for the purpose of providing places of personal religious practice” by the state.⁷⁸⁵ The shrines holding statues of the nursing Hathor-cow may have been such places. Even if its audience was not comprised

⁷⁸⁵ Maria Michela Luiselli, “Personal Piety in Ancient Egypt,” *Religion Compass* 8, no. 4 (2014): 109.

of the entire public, there is evidence that there was still greater accessibility to it than to other statues and divine nursing scenes, such as that from the temple of Amada.

Yet just because individuals depicted themselves before the statue does not mean they had ever stood that close. It may have been symbolic of their worship or an effort to place themselves in her presence through the power of imagery. As will be explored more in the next chapter, this access to imagery and the ability to use it appears to have been a development of the New Kingdom. Evidence suggests that other images of divine nursing were also being made more accessible during the New Kingdom and that individuals were choosing to use them to demonstrate their own loyalties and positions.

The difference in audience between the nursing cow-goddess imagery and anthropomorphic nursing scenes speaks volumes regarding the difference in their use and function. Private individuals could approach (to some extent) and depict the nursing cow-goddess on their own monuments and votives, and artists had references from which to work. Greater accessibility may have also contributed to the popularity of the image of the nursing Hathor-cow on the votive offerings discovered around Deir el-Bahari, a significant difference between the nursing cow-goddess scenes and anthropomorphic divine nursing images.

4.3.6 Divine Nursing in Theban Festivals

Mentioned throughout this chapter, the procession of the Beautiful Feast (or Festival) of the Valley, an annual festival that took place between the harvest and inundation in Thebes, wound through Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (where Paser's tomb was located), shaping the

landscape of the necropolis.⁷⁸⁶ In the 19th dynasty, the festival entailed Amun, Mut, Khonsu, and Amunet leaving their temples in Karnak and crossing the river to Thebes. They toured through the necropolis of elite tombs, visited the royal mortuary temples, and ended in Deir el-Bahari at the temple of Hatshepsut.⁷⁸⁷ It allowed interaction between the deceased and the living while aiding in the rejuvenation of not just the earth and land but the deceased, both royal and elite.⁷⁸⁸ Family and visitors could visit the chapels of ancestors, like Paser, to offer food and bouquets, spending the night celebrating.⁷⁸⁹ Upon arriving at the temple of Hathor in Deir el-Bahari, Amun would stay overnight in a “lake of gold” surrounded by four large basins of milk and torches. In the morning, these torches were extinguished in the milk. Amun, along with Mut, Khonsu, and Amunet, would then return to Karnak.⁷⁹⁰ As mentioned above, the festival also celebrated the eventual pacification of Hathor and the return far away goddess.⁷⁹¹ Naguib even sees the event as a commemoration of “negotiations” with the goddess – the efforts of pacification being performed.⁷⁹² It ushered in a time of growth and rebirth.

The presence of this festival and its effect on the landscape of the Theban necropolis is evident by its frequent representation in the temples and tombs of the area as well as stelae and ostraca which reference, or have been interpreted by scholars as

⁷⁸⁶ Bryan, “Memory and Knowledge,” 22–25; Antonio Muñoz Herrera, “Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, a landscape for the afterlife: reciprocity in shaping life histories,” in *Invisible archaeologies: hidden aspects of daily life in ancient Egypt and Nubia*, ed. Loretta Kilroe (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2019), 119; Naguib, “The Beautiful Feast of the Valley,” 22–23.

⁷⁸⁷ Hartwig, *Tomb Painting and Identity*, 11–12; Naguib, “The Beautiful Feast of the Valley,” 22–23.

⁷⁸⁸ Naguib, “The Beautiful Feast of the Valley,” 22.

⁷⁸⁹ Hartwig, *Tomb Painting and Identity*, 11–12.

⁷⁹⁰ Hartwig, *Tomb Painting and Identity*, 11; Naguib, “The Beautiful Feast of the Valley,” 22.

⁷⁹¹ Naguib, “The Beautiful Feast of the Valley,” 24–27.

⁷⁹² Naguib, “The Beautiful Feast of the Valley,” 27.

referencing, the festival.⁷⁹³ Images of a possibly early version of the festival appear in the temple of Mentuhotep II: an image of Amun standing in a dais like those in New Kingdom reliefs at Deir el-Bahari and a depiction of the god's barque.⁷⁹⁴ A Middle Kingdom graffito above the Temple of Mentuhotep II references the festival of Amun.⁷⁹⁵ Moving closer to the time of Paser, texts include the desire of deceased individuals to continue participating in the festival. For example, a stela from TT C1 includes the wish that the deceased might see the Beautiful Feast of the Valley and Amun's travel from Karnak to Deir el-Bahari.⁷⁹⁶ Likewise, a similar text exists in the 18th dynasty tomb of Menna (TT 69), where the deceased hopes to see the god and continue to participate in the Beautiful Feast of the Valley, referred to as the "beautiful festival" at Deir el-Bahari.⁷⁹⁷ The deceased's participation in this festival is demonstrated in images of Menna and his wife leaving the tomb for the Beautiful Feast of the Valley on the doorway from the broad hall to the long hall,⁷⁹⁸ highlighting the connection between the tomb and the ability to continue participating in the ritual landscape. General images of the celebrations appear on the tomb walls of Djoserkareseneb (TT 38) and

⁷⁹³ Rita E. Freed, *Ramesses II: The Great Pharaoh and his Time* (Denver: Denver Museum of Natural History, 1987), no. 43; Naguib, "The Beautiful Feast of the Valley," 21; Martina Ullmann, "Thebes: Origins of a Ritual Landscape," in *Sacred Space and Sacred Function in Ancient Thebes*, ed. Peter F. Dorman and Betsy M. Bryan (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2007), 7–8; Heidi Jauhainen, "'Do Not Celebrate Your Feast Without Your Neighbours': A Study of References to Feasts and Festivals in Non-Literary Documents from Ramesside Period Deir el-Medina" (PhD University of Helsinki, 2009), 147–152; Davies, *Life within the Five Walls*, 29, 112–113.

⁷⁹⁴ Ullmann, "Thebes: Origins," 7. For reliefs see, Dieter Arnold, *Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep von Deir el-Bahari. Band II* (Cairo: Phillipp von Zabern, 1976), pl. 11, 22–23, 30.

⁷⁹⁵ Herbert E. Winlock, *The Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom in Thebes* (New York: Macmillan, 1947), pl. 40 [41], pg. 84.

⁷⁹⁶ Jan Assmann, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien. Band 2: Totenliturgien und Totensprüche in Grabinschriften des Neuen Reiches* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2005), 306; Jan Assmann, *Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt*, trans. David Lorton (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2011), 212–215.

⁷⁹⁷ Melinda K. Hartwig, ed., *The Tomb Chapel of Menna (TT 69)* (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2013), 23–24.

⁷⁹⁸ Hartwig, *The Tomb Chapel of Menna*, 63–65.

Amenmose (TT 19).⁷⁹⁹ Paser includes a reference to participating in the festival in his own tomb and his position as a leader in the festival.⁸⁰⁰ Not only do these texts and depictions attest to the festival's popularity in the region during the New Kingdom, but they also demonstrate its effect on the religious landscape, maintaining the festival's presence in the minds of visitors and viewers throughout the year.

Though it is impossible to know whether the statue of the nursing Hathor-cow was created for or used specifically in this festival, its home within the temple where the procession culminated positions it within the festival's landscape. It is interesting to note that the first occurrences of the nursing cow-goddess motif appear during the period in which the festival may have been developed (as dated by Ullmann) – the reign of Mentuhotep II.⁸⁰¹ Whether these were related or independent developments of the growing Hathor cult is hard to know.

As part of Hathor's cult, the statues of the nursing cow-goddess and Beautiful Feast of the Valley both center Hathor as the agent of change and renewal. It could be suggested that the festival's use of milk in the rebirth of Amun parallels her milk given to the king through nursing. The king and Amun are changed and receive gifts (rejuvenation, life, dominion...) through Hathor's milk. Further, both share themes of death. Though not explicitly tied to Hathor, the festival involved individuals visiting tombs and encouraged

⁷⁹⁹ The scene from the Tomb of Djeserkareseneb (TT38) at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna preserved in a facsimile by Charles K. Wilkinson, "Female Musicians," Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 30.4.9, accessed 28 September 2023, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/557727>; the relief from the Tomb of Amenmose (TT 19) at Dra Abu el-Naga preserved in a facsimile by Charles K. Wilkinson, "The Barque of Amon Arriving at the West Bank of Thebes," Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 31.6.5, accessed 28 September 2023, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/557797>. See also Naguib, "The Beautiful Feast of the Valley," 21.

⁸⁰⁰ Pillar D, Face D. See Appendix 3 for my translation.

⁸⁰¹ Ullmann, "Thebes: Origins," 8.

interactions between the living and deceased. As discussed previously in 4.2.5, the images of the nursing Hathor-cow often reference the funerary motif of Hathor emerging from the mountains. The statue of the nursing cow-goddess and the festival embody many of the same themes.

Whether it was part of the Beautiful Feast of the Valley or not, the statue's presence in a festival context is suggested by its juxtaposition in the tomb of Paser with the image of the *Henu*-barque below it (Figure 44).⁸⁰² Based on the inclusion of the name Ptah-Sokar-Osiris and the iconography of the barque with its distinctive backward-facing antelope head at the front of the barque, it can be identified as the *Henu*-barque of Sokar, a common iconographic symbol associated with the god and reference to his festival.⁸⁰³ Since the Old Kingdom, Sokar had been associated and syncretized with Ptah and Osiris, appearing as Ptah-Sokar-Osiris.⁸⁰⁴ Further, Sokar's role in the rebirth of Osiris following his death is alluded to in the Pyramid Texts, elements of which, Graindorge-Héreil suggests, are found in later New Kingdom rituals.⁸⁰⁵ Though Sokar likely began as a god associated with craftsmen, by the Middle Kingdom, he had taken on mortuary roles and was the one to transfigure the deceased.⁸⁰⁶ He was said to dwell in the Duat between the 4th and 5th hours of the night, and based on images of Sokar in the Amduat, Bleeker proposes that though Sokar dwelt in

⁸⁰² Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, I, 23.

⁸⁰³ Edward Brovarski, "Sokar," in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, ed. Wolfgang Helck and Eberhard Otto (Weisbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1984), 1057–1058; Catherine Graindorge-Héreil, *Le dieu Sokar à Thèbes au Nouvel Empire* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1994), 29; Kenneth A. Kitchen, "Henu-Barke," in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, ed. Wolfgang Helck and Eberhard Otto (Weisbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1977), 1119–1120.

⁸⁰⁴ Brovarski, "Sokar," 1059; Graindorge-Héreil, *Le dieu Sokar à Thèbes*, 8–13.

⁸⁰⁵ Graindorge-Héreil, *Le dieu Sokar à Thèbes*, 30–31.

⁸⁰⁶ Brovarski, "Sokar," 1057–1058.

death, he was also the potential for life.⁸⁰⁷ He came to represent the power to appear above ground after death and was associated with solar rebirth.⁸⁰⁸ By the time of Paser, Sokar was understood as a god associated with transformation and purification after death, essential for the deceased's rebirth.

Since the Old Kingdom, Sokar's festival had been celebrated in the region of Memphis; however, in the 19th dynasty, both Seti I and Ramesses II had given Sokar a place in their mortuary temples and instigated a Festival of Sokar at Medinet Habu and the Ramesseum.⁸⁰⁹ The festival included a procession of the *Henu*-barque, the "wearing of onions," and the presentation of offerings.⁸¹⁰ As vizier under both kings with apparent jurisdiction in Thebes, Paser likely played a significant role in moving and implementing this festival. Images of the *Henu*-barque are not uncommon in Ramesside tombs, where the tomb owner can be seen adoring or worshipping before the barque,⁸¹¹ including many tombs at Deir el-Medina, attesting to its importance to the village's residences.⁸¹² Thus, the portion missing from the Sokar scene in the tomb of Paser likely contained an image of Paser worshipping or adoring the barque. This reconstruction parallels and supports my interpretation of the divine nursing scene above: both depicting Paser before a barque and shrine/statue of a deity (4.3.3). Such a visual parallel further suggests the nursing cow-goddess's role in a festival.

⁸⁰⁷ Claas Jouco Bleeker, *Egyptian Festivals: Enactments of Religious Renewal* (Leiden: Brill, 1967), 64–68; Brovarski, "Sokar," 1058–1059.

⁸⁰⁸ Graindorge-Héreil, *Le dieu Sokar à Thèbes*, 13–14.

⁸⁰⁹ Gaballa Ali Gaballa and Kenneth A. Kitchen, "The Festival of Sokar," *Orientalia* 38 (1969): 30, 63.

⁸¹⁰ Davies, *Life within the Five Walls*, 114–115.

⁸¹¹ Gaballa and Kitchen, "The Festival of Sokar," 31.

⁸¹² Davies, *Life within the Five Walls*, 114–115.

With this brief examination of the *Henu*-barque scene, similarities between it and the nursing scene emerge. Both represent festivals or deities worshipped near the tomb of Paser, namely Hathor in Deir el-Bahari and Sokar at the Ramesseum. Both deities, statues, and barques would have been well-known, royally sponsored features of the region's cultic landscape. In addition, Paser's role as vizier of southern Egypt would have placed him in an authoritative position over the temples, festivals, and administration of the cults of both deities. It is possible that, in part, Paser's inclusion of these two images reflects the scope of his involvement in the festivals and cults of the region and his role as vizier.

However, considering Graindorge-Hérel's research on the worship of Sokar in Thebes during the New Kingdom, a potentially more significant relationship materializes. Graindorge-Hérel suggests that Sokar acted as a means by which power passed from the deceased king (as the Sokar-Osiris) to his son (as the Sokar-Horus) and that it was Hathor that facilitated this transfer of power. Examining a scene from the tomb of Kheruef (TT 192) where the king appears associated with the young sun-god accompanying Hathor, Graindorge-Hérel concludes that the scene identifies the new king as the child to the previous king. As his mother, Hathor ensured the rebirth of the king, who had become Khepri, the reborn sun.⁸¹³ Graindorge-Hérel proposes that one of the primary purposes of the festival was for Sokar to resurrect the old king (the Sokar-Osiris) and, by so doing, clear the way for the new king to take on the role of the living king (the Sokar-Horus). In this way, Sokar places the new king in the position of heir to the previous, emphasizing the new king's place in a long line of royal ancestors, all aided and made possible through Hathor.⁸¹⁴ The festival's location in Thebes placed it in dialogue with locations like the Valley of the Kings

⁸¹³ Graindorge-Hérel, *Le dieu Sokar à Thèbes*, 274.

⁸¹⁴ Graindorge-Hérel, *Le dieu Sokar à Thèbes*, 294, 340.

and royal mortuary temples, resting places of prior kings. The festival shared many themes with that of the Beautiful Feast of the Valley. Though the deities involved, rituals, and iconography differed, both focused on royal renewal and rebirth.

With this understanding of the festival of Sokar, we can draw some further compelling and important thematic comparisons between it and the divine nursing scene above it. First, both emphasize the king's legitimacy, specifically his place as heir to previous kings. The festival of Sokar served as a means by which the king took on the role of his predecessor while highlighting the chain of legitimate rulers, Osiris to Horus, forging a kinship-like relationship even where none might have been present. By way of comparison, as mentioned in Chapter 2, breastfeeding created relatedness between nurse and nursling and possibly their families. Thus, divine nursing brought the king into a relationship with the goddess and, possibly, other kings she nursed (6.3). In both cases, the festivals and images highlight kinship and relationships between kings and the divine. Second, Hathor played a crucial role in both as the conduit for and bestower of power. In the divine nursing scene, her nursing transforms the king, imbuing him with power and rejuvenation while tying him to herself and other deities. In the Festival of Sokar, she facilitates the transfer of power from one king to another. In both, she is the source of power, legitimacy, and divinity for living and deceased kings.

The juxtaposition of these two scenes in Paser's tomb and their shared themes, along with images of the nursing cow-goddess on various votive offerings and stelae, suggests that, in some capacity, nursing cow-goddess statues were part of a ritual, possibly even a festival, emphasizing the legitimacy and power of the king and the renewal and rejuvenation offered by Hathor. It is possible this was the Beautiful Feast of the Valley but could have also been a separate event.

4.3.7 The Tomb and Self-Presentation

Ancient Egyptian tombs served multiple purposes for the deceased. Assmann identifies four functions for New Kingdom tombs: to hide and hold the body, to memorialize the deceased (self-presentation), to serve as a place for the dead and living to interact, and, perhaps, to prevent the dead from returning.⁸¹⁵ The tomb's structure ensured these functions were fulfilled. At this time, tombs were typically comprised of a forecourt, broad hall, transverse hall, and burial chamber.⁸¹⁶ The burial chamber was located underneath these public spaces and sealed, serving as physical protection for the deceased's body.⁸¹⁷ The texts and reliefs within all these areas aided in the regeneration of the deceased, while the public areas (broad hall, transverse hall, and forecourt) invited visitors to participate in the funerary cult for the deceased's well-being.⁸¹⁸ Finally, the choice of relief, statue, and text within the public areas served to preserve the memory and identity of the deceased, who could craft an image of self and ensure they would be remembered and survive in the way they wished within their communities. The images chosen therefore reflected the individual's priorities and concerns.⁸¹⁹

⁸¹⁵ Assmann, "The Ramesside tomb," 46–47.

⁸¹⁶ Miriam Bueno Guardia, "Private Burials in New Kingdom Thebes: Religious Belief and Identity," *Birmingham Egyptology Journal* 7 (2020): 57.

⁸¹⁷ Assmann, "Vergeltung und Erinnerung," 277; Bryan, "Memory and Knowledge," 29.

⁸¹⁸ Bryan, "Memory and Knowledge," 29; Bueno Guardia, "Private Burials in New Kingdom Thebes: Religious Belief and Identity," 72; Harrington, *Living with the Dead: Ancestor Worship and Mortuary Ritual in Ancient Egypt*, 88; Hartwig, *Tomb Painting and Identity*, 8; Naguib Kanawati, *The Tomb and Beyond: Burial Customs of Egyptian Officials* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 2001), 66.

⁸¹⁹ Pieke, "Remembering Forward," 49; Gay Robins, "Constructing Elite Group and Individual Identity with the Canon of 18th Dynsty Theban Tomb Chapel Decoration," in *Problems of Canonicity and Identity Formation in Ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia*, ed. Kim Ryholt and Gojko Barjamovic (Copenhagen: Department of Cross-Cultural and Regional Studies, University of Copenhagen, 2016), 202.

The tomb chapel (broad hall and transverse hall) and forecourt generally remained open to visitors and served as the cult space for the deceased.⁸²⁰ In addition to kin, priests, and visitors associated with the deceased's funerary cult, participants in festivals and those going to other tombs in the area may have also visited the tomb chapel. In the tomb of Paser, the public area included the broad hall where the divine nursing scene was located.⁸²¹ So, unlike the temple of Amada (Chapter 3), where access to the relief would likely have been limited to priests and temple workers, here visitors would have been able to see the relief much more regularly and encouraged to interact with it. Paser and his craftsman would have known they were decorating the tomb for this wider audience.

As was the general trend with 19th dynasty tombs, scenes of "daily life" such as banquets were not as popular as in the 18th dynasty. Instead, there is a greater focus on the worship of deities, including kings.⁸²² In Paser's tomb, it has been noted that the axis from the tomb's entrance down the passage to the inner hall divides the tomb into two thematic sections (see Figure 45 for the tomb layout along with wall numbers). The southern half is characterized by images of the living world (day) and Paser's relationship with the king, including the Duties of the Vizier (Wall 8), the rewarding of Paser (Wall 5, Figure 47), and Paser's supervision of the creation of statues of Seti I (Wall 6). The northern half focuses on the netherworld and religious images and texts (night), with selections from the Book of

⁸²⁰ Bryan, "Memory and Knowledge," 29; Bueno Guardia, "Private Burials in New Kingdom Thebes: Religious Belief and Identity," 72; Harrington, *Living with the Dead: Ancestor Worship and Mortuary Ritual in Ancient Egypt*, 88; Hartwig, *Tomb Painting and Identity*, 8; Kanawati, *The Tomb and Beyond*, 66.

⁸²¹ Bueno Guardia, "Private Burials in New Kingdom Thebes: Religious Belief and Identity," 57; Friederike Kampp-Seyfried, "The Theban Necropolis: An Overview of Topography and Tomb Development from the Middle Kingdom to the Ramesside Period," in *The Theban Necropolis: Past, Present and Future*, ed. Nigel Strudwick and John H. Taylor (London: The British Museum Press, 2003), 8; Kanawati, *The Tomb and Beyond*, 66.

⁸²² Assmann, "The Ramesside tomb," 49, 51; Abdul-Qader Muhammed, *The Development of the Funerary Beliefs and Practices Displayed in the Private Tombs of the New Kingdom at Thebes* (Cairo: General Organisation for Government Printing Offices, 1966), 66, 71.

Gates (Wall 10) and images of Paser before various deities (Wall 11–12).⁸²³ This division is further highlighted by the hymns facing each other across this axis: the hymn to Re on the north face of Pillar D (south half of the tomb) and the hymn to Osiris on the southern face of Pillar E (north half of the tomb). The divine nursing scene appears on the day/living half of the tomb, supporting this chapter’s interpretation that the scene represented Paser’s duties and responsibilities during his lifetime.



Figure 47. Paser rewarded before Seti I. (Wilkinson, *The Manners and Customs. Supplements*, pl. 80)

In addition to this north-south division, there is also a progression in the decorative program when moving further into the tomb (east to west). This is a common feature of New Kingdom tombs: the further in one moves, the more the scenes relate to the

⁸²³ Li Xiaodong, “Connecting Past and Future: Analysis of the Wall Decoration in the Tomb of the Vizier Paser,” *Journal of Ancient Civilization* 27 (2012): 62–63. See my translation in Appendix 3.

afterlife and Osiris, starting in the outer sections with life and Re.⁸²⁴ In the case of the southern half of Paser's tomb, where the divine nursing scene is located (Pillar C), the front wall of the tomb (the easternmost wall) depicts Paser being rewarded by Seti I (Wall 5, Figure 47), approving a statue of Seti I being constructed (Wall 6), and inspecting craftsmen (Wall 6). The pillars where the divine nursing is located display scenes of Paser adoring various gods. The back wall (westernmost) is decorated with the Duties of the Vizier (Wall 8), a judgment hall scene (Wall 8), and a scene of a priest offering to Paser (Wall 9). These axes (south/north and east/west) have overlap and may not always divide as we expect. Overall, the southern half where the divine nursing scene was located focuses primarily on the life of Paser, it takes the viewer from his responsibilities and achievements during life to his judgment after death. This organization highlights the tomb's themes of self-presentation, preservation, and progress into the next life.

Assmann suggested that changes in tomb decoration between the 18th and 19th dynasties, moving from "daily life" scenes to those before deities, reflected a desire by non-royals to emulate the mortuary temples of kings and thereby ensure for themselves benefits similar to those the temples guaranteed the king.⁸²⁵ Seyfried notes that the decorative program of the broad hall of TT106 appears to place special emphasis on Paser's execution of cultic rituals and the role of the tomb as a temple for the deceased.⁸²⁶ Thus, Paser's use of a scene traditionally found in temples, the divine nursing scene, could be understood to fit within this larger shift in the focus of tombs and the desire to emulate the mortuary temples

⁸²⁴ Kampp-Seyfried, "The Theban Necropolis," 9; Richard H. Wilkinson, "Symbolic Location and Alignment in New Kingdom Royal Tombs and their Decorations," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 31 (1994): 84.

⁸²⁵ Assmann, "The Ramesside tomb," 51–52. See also the discussion on temple-tombs.

⁸²⁶ Seyfried, "Dritter Vorbericht," 348.

of the king. In this way, the divine nursing scene serves to further draw comparisons between Paser's tomb and the mortuary temples where divine nursing scenes originate in the Old Kingdom and where many of those nursing-cow goddess scenes were located during the New Kingdom, such as the incorporation of the Hathor chapel into the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari (Cat.2.6–12). By so doing, Paser seeks to ensure similar benefits to those provided at the king's mortuary temple for himself.

These patterns and themes were an essential part of the tomb's role in crafting one's self-presentation, how one chose to represent and depict oneself in a specific context. Commissioners were likely involved in the choice of images and design of their tomb to some degree.⁸²⁷ Self-presentation determined many of the textual and artistic choices in what was displayed. Even the type of tomb and its location could be a means of self-presentation, as will become apparent with Paser.⁸²⁸ Many of the objects on which divine nursing scenes are found in this chapter and Chapter 5 can be interpreted as means of self-presentation (5.5.3).

How one presented, fashioned, or defined oneself was often determined by the space and media. Rickal points out that there is the public and private self, a self of which we can only find glimpses as most evidence comes from public sources.⁸²⁹ As such, we must engage with these public selves and acknowledge that our sources will represent this aspect of self-presentation. These public self-presentations often focus on roles and social identity rather than personality. Eyre states, "Personality is subordinate to societal identity as the

⁸²⁷ Alexis Den Docker, "Identifying-Copies in the Private Theban Necropolis: Tradition as Reception under the Influence of Self-Fashioning Processes," in *(Re)productive Traditions in Ancient Egypt*, ed. Todd Gillen (Liège: Presses Universitaires de Liège, 2017), 336–337.

⁸²⁸ Navaratilova, "Self-Presentation in the Eighteenth Dynasty," 138–139.

⁸²⁹ Elisa Rickal, "Les Epithets dans les Autobiographies du Nouvel Empire" (PhD Paris-Sorbonne, 2005), 41.

theme of public presentation, used to exemplify societal role and not internalized.”⁸³⁰ One’s self-presentation was an interaction between societal expectations, traditions, patterns, *and* one’s own individuality. Humans have long defined themselves according to their roles in society. Stryker observes, “self-definitional activity proceeds largely, though not exclusively, through socially recognized categories and corresponding roles”⁸³¹ and that these roles place an individual in reference to others within the community, varying depending on the context of the depiction.⁸³² Accordingly, those texts and images of self-presentation from ancient Egypt were designed to serve specific purposes. For example, biographical texts “present an idealized image of the individual that is oriented to maintaining self and memory after death”⁸³³ and tombs served as an “imprint” for posterity.⁸³⁴ Toward these ends, self-presentation in the New Kingdom, especially textual, often included an individual’s titles, family group, occupation, status, access to the king, adherence to shared values, and devotion to deity.⁸³⁵ Individuals were especially focused on highlighting their own relationships with, obedience to, and interactions with the king and deity. There even appears to be a shift from the 18th to 19th dynasties as individuals began to focus their self-presentations more and more on their devotion and relationship with deity.⁸³⁶ These self-

⁸³⁰ Eyre, *The Use of Documents*, 31.

⁸³¹ Sheldon Stryker, *Symbolic Interactionism: A Social Structural Version* (The Benjamin/Cummings Publishing Company, 1980), 59.

⁸³² Stryker, *Symbolic Interactionism*, 59.

⁸³³ Elizabeth Froom, *Biographical Texts from the Ramesside Egypt* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2007), 2.

⁸³⁴ Navartilova, “Self-Presentation in the Eighteenth Dynasty,” 139.

⁸³⁵ Navartilova, “Self-Presentation in the Eighteenth Dynasty,” 136, 142.

⁸³⁶ Colleen Manassa Darnell, “Self-Presentation in the Ramesside Period,” in *Living Forever: Self-Presentation in Ancient Egypt*, ed. Hussein Bassir (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2019), 154–155; Navartilova, “Self-Presentation in the Eighteenth Dynasty,” 138, 142.

presentations represent how individuals situated themselves within their community and in relation to those around them. This will also become key in Chapter 5's discussion of stelae.

Scholars have often highlighted the prevalence of self-presentation in Paser's tomb decoration and text and, specifically, his focus on his position as vizier as he includes multiple images of himself acting as priest, serving in his role as vizier and official, and hymns to Seti I and Ramesses II, demonstrating his relationship and devotion to both kings. Frood has suggested that Paser sought specifically to demonstrate his role as a connection between the reigns of Seti I and Ramesses II.⁸³⁷ The biography on the south side of the hall is addressed to Seti I, whereas the biography on the north is to Ramesses II. Frood states, "By dedicating parallel texts to the two kings, Paser seems to position himself as a key point of continuity and connection between them."⁸³⁸ Though it is impossible to know for certain what Paser's role was in the passing of power from Seti I to Ramesses II, due to his high position and close relationship with the king, Paser was likely involved in this process, and this is clearly the image he wishes viewers to have as well. Such continuity has also been seen in the analysis of the Sokar festival and nursing cow-goddess (4.3.6).

Further, Paser's choice of tomb location anchored him within the ritual landscape of Thebes, including the Hathor shrines and chapels at Deir el-Bahari. Pieke points out that reusing images from one context to another inevitably creates a link and connection between the two spaces.⁸³⁹ She suggests that such linkages serve to create legitimacy and identity.⁸⁴⁰ In this case, using the nursing cow-goddess creates a link between Paser's tomb

⁸³⁷ Frood, *Biographical Texts from the Ramesside Egypt*, 148–149.

⁸³⁸ Frood, *Biographical Texts from the Ramesside Egypt*, 148–149.

⁸³⁹ Gabriele Pieke, "Lost in Transformation: Artistic Creation between Permanence and Change," in *(Re)productive Traditions in Ancient Egypt*, ed. Todd Gillen (Liège: Presses Universitaires de Liège, 2017), 262.

⁸⁴⁰ Pieke, "Lost in Transformation," 262.

and the temples and rituals of Deir el-Bahari. He draws upon Hathor and her role as a source of renewal for royal power. Her presence likely also alluded to her care for all deceased as “Lady of the West” and ensured this care for Paser as well.

Likewise, and as has been demonstrated, the scene held relevance to Paser’s career, evidenced by the text regarding his having once led the Beautiful Feast of the Valley, his appearance with a Hathor statue in the *Khenu*-chapel of Ramesses II, and so on. Hartwig states, “the tomb owner’s self-preservation was intimately linked with his professional standing, and this was memorialized within the tomb.”⁸⁴¹ Thus, the scene represents one of the local temples and cults over which Paser would have had administrative control, thereby demonstrating his power and the access he had to the nursing cow-goddess imagery or statuary, and ensuring it would be a lasting part of his memory and self-presentation.

Through the choices they made, the deceased could fashion for themselves the image by which they wanted to be remembered and incorporated into the landscape of the necropolis.⁸⁴² This self would then be able to participate in the festivals, rituals, and traditions of the necropolis, as seen with the Beautiful Feast of the Valley above. Paser fashions an image of himself as a loyal, powerful official of the king, a source of continuity between Seti I and Ramesses II, an adherent to the traditional ways of the 18th dynasty (see next section), trusted by the king, and integral in Thebes’s administrative and religious landscape. The divine nursing highlights many of these themes, and the unique inclusion of it in his tomb functions in setting Paser apart from others and drawing connections between him and kings.

⁸⁴¹ Hartwig, *Tomb Painting and Identity*, 43.

⁸⁴² Ángeles Jiménez-Higueras, *The Sacred Landscape of Dra Abu El-Naga*, 19.

4.3.8 Relationship with the King and Legitimacy

As established, a key feature of Paser's self-presentation is his relationship with Seti I and Ramesses II, their legitimacy, and royal discourse. Before continuing, it is crucial to first address the idea of legitimization. In her article discussed in 3.6, Bickel challenges conclusions around Egyptian art being propaganda with legitimizing functions. Bickel argues:

Texts and iconography that modern research tends to identify as claims of legitimacy were probably less aimed at ensuring an individual king's right to power – this right was irrevocably confirmed by the coronation ceremonies – but rather at highlighting over and over again the stability of the power system, of kingship as an 'eternal' institution that was regarded as a guarantee of permanence and world order, both on the human and cosmic scale.⁸⁴³

While Egyptian temple imagery was not propagandistic, it may still have demonstrated the king's legitimacy. Legitimacy refers to someone or something as valid or conforming to accepted principles. In this case, even if a king had no reason to *ensure* his right to the throne or convince people of his right to it, he may still have used images or iconography that demonstrated that he followed the principles of kingship that preceded him or "the stability of the power system."⁸⁴⁴ This can be seen in the shared imagery and mythology across reigns. Bickel suggests royal legitimacy was "a multifactorial concept made up of several complementary constituents, some of which were deeply rooted in the Egyptian worldview and in the myths."⁸⁴⁵ Through the choice and use of images, like the divine nursing scene, the kings and their administrations crafted for themselves social identities, aligned with the principles of kingship and based in traditions, what Bickel calls "royal discourse" – decorative and creative programs of Egyptian kings.⁸⁴⁶

⁸⁴³ Bickel, "Kings as Gods in the New Kingdom," 46.

⁸⁴⁴ Bickel, "Kings as Gods in the New Kingdom," 46.

⁸⁴⁵ Bickel, "Kings as Gods in the New Kingdom," 45.

⁸⁴⁶ Bickel, "Kings as Gods in the New Kingdom," 39.

The artistic programs and royal discourse surrounding Seti I and Ramesses II included, among other things, a return to traditional artistic styles and subjects, much like what was discussed regarding Thutmose IV and the Amada scene (3.6).⁸⁴⁷ The kings of the 19th dynasty are known to have drawn heavily upon the iconography and texts of earlier, pre-Amarna kings, especially those of the early 18th dynasty, perhaps to demonstrate their role as heirs to the throne held by these prior “legitimate” dynasties,⁸⁴⁸ or perhaps to demonstrate a long unbroken line of kingship between these prior dynasties and themselves, matching the idealized image of divine kingship. Images from this time are also known to harken back to Middle Kingdom kings, like Mentuhotep II.⁸⁴⁹ This archaism is reflected in Paser’s tomb, in the scene of Paser surveying the creation of a statue of Seti I. The text mentions that it was created like those of “ancient times,” likely referring to pre-Amarna and traditional styles.⁸⁵⁰ The use of older styles or archaism is well known in ancient Egypt.⁸⁵¹ This adherence to older tradition resulted in what many have characterized as an

⁸⁴⁷ For example, Baines points to Seti I’s adherence of styles of Amenhotep II especially, Baines, *Visual and Written Culture*, 330.

⁸⁴⁸ Loredana Sist, “The Importance of History in Ancient Egypt,” in *Pharaonic Renaissance: Archaism and the Sense of History in Ancient Egypt*, ed. Francesco Tiradritti (Budapest: Museum of Fine Arts, 2008), 30–31. Sist 2008, 30–31. Brand addresses the usurpation of prior monuments for this same purpose, Brand, *The Monuments of Seti I*, 26. Brand 2000, 26. This is not unique to the 19th dynasty, and other kings and rulers have been noted as using similar archaism, see Silvia Einaudi, “The Past between Charm and Refusal. Archaic Phenomena during the New Kingdom,” in *Pharaonic Renaissance: Archaism and the Sense of History in Ancient Egypt*, ed. Francesco Tiradritti (Budapest: Museum of Fine Arts, 2008), 55–57.

⁸⁴⁹ Einaudi, “The Past between Charm and Refusal,” 55–57.

⁸⁵⁰ Upper Register of Wall 6. See my translation in Appendix 3.

⁸⁵¹ See the discussions on “archaism” in the New Kingdom in Einaudi, “The Past between Charm and Refusal,” 55–66; Francesco Tiradritti, “Renaissance. Archaism. The Sense of History,” in *Pharaonic Renaissance: Archaism and the Sense of History in Ancient Egypt*, ed. Francesco Tiradritti (Budapest: Museum of Fine Arts, 2008), 17–20.

“orthodoxy” or increased religiosity in 19th dynasty kings and their subjects.⁸⁵² Paser likewise draws upon prior periods in his own self-presentation.

Paser’s desire to be connected with the past is demonstrated in the location of his tomb at the edge of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (Figure 48).⁸⁵³ As part of the Theban region, the hill of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna is situated close to areas significant to the 19th dynasty, like the Valley of the Kings and Deir el-Bahari, and overlooks the Ramesseum, built by Ramesses II (Figure 49). Even more significantly, Sheikh Abd el-Qurna had been a popular place for the tombs of 18th dynasty elites, especially viziers.⁸⁵⁴ During the 18th dynasty, the necropolis was arranged according to the deceased’s status, with those higher up the hill being higher officials than those buried lower down.⁸⁵⁵ Though the need for additional room eventually resulted in the abandonment of this organization,⁸⁵⁶ it is clear that burials in this necropolis focused on social and political position. As the preferred necropolis for 18th dynasty viziers and priests of Amun,⁸⁵⁷ Paser’s tomb location directly associated him with these influential 18th dynasty individuals, including viziers. This effort is further exemplified by the fact that he is the only 19th dynasty vizier buried in the area and is located away from his contemporary officials and administrators.⁸⁵⁸ Images and texts within his tomb, such as the

⁸⁵² See for example “orthodoxy” in Aidan Dodson and Salima Ikram, *The Tomb in Ancient Egypt: Royal and Private Sepulchres from the Early Dynastic Period to the Romans* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2008), 252; Manniche, *The Tombs of the Nobles at Luxor*, 64.

⁸⁵³ It should be noted that Slinger locates Paser’s tomb adjacent to Sheikh Abd el-Qurna but on the boarder with el-Khokha, Slinger, *Tomb Families*, 296. However, most place it within the tombs of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna.

⁸⁵⁴ Kanawati, *The Tomb and Beyond*, 66; Manniche, *The Tombs of the Nobles at Luxor*, 67; Muñoz Herrera, “Sheikh Abd el-Qurna,” 117; Slinger, *Tomb Families*, 289, 304.

⁸⁵⁵ Kanawati, *The Tomb and Beyond*, 66; Muñoz Herrera, “Sheikh Abd el-Qurna,” 117.

⁸⁵⁶ Kanawati, *The Tomb and Beyond*, 66.

⁸⁵⁷ Muñoz Herrera, “Sheikh Abd el-Qurna,” 117.

⁸⁵⁸ Slinger, *Tomb Families*, 137–148.

Duties of the Vizier, likewise harken back to the role and images of 18th dynasty viziers.⁸⁵⁹

The nursing cow-goddess scene fits well within this effort as a scene popular in the temples of 18th dynasty kings in Deir el-Bahari. Thus, like the kings he served, Paser created a narrative of the continuation of power and authority from previous viziers to himself.

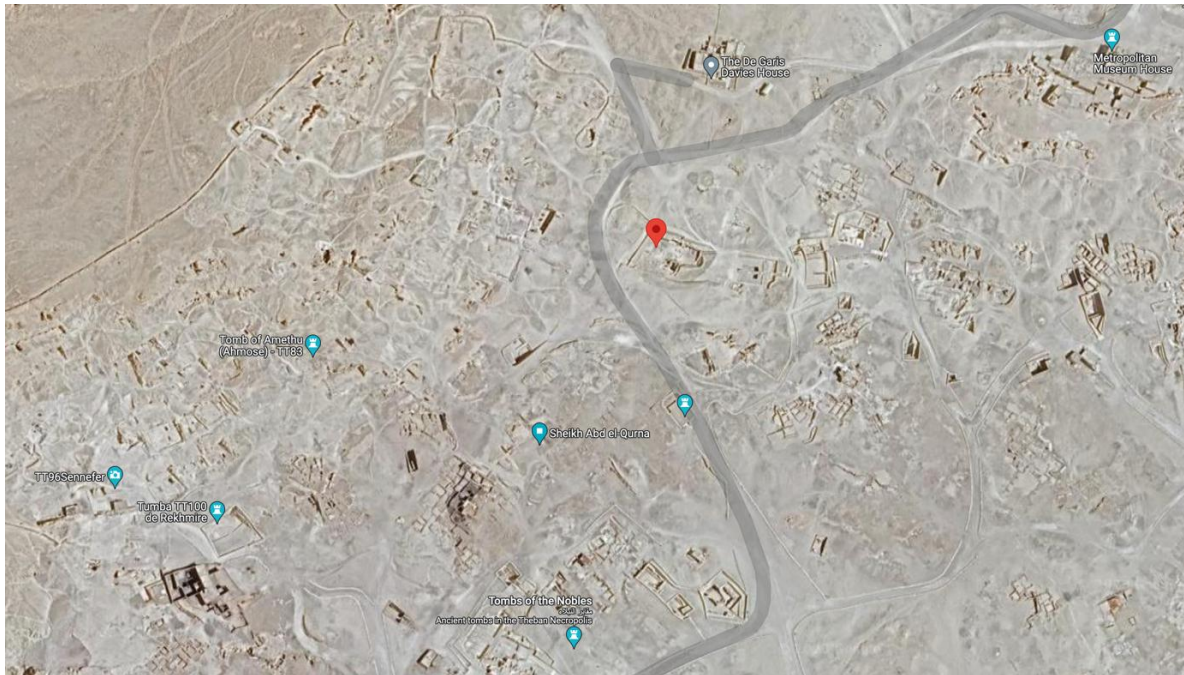


Figure 48. Location of the tomb of Paser (marked in red) in Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (My screenshot from Google Maps taken on 9 August 2023)

⁸⁵⁹ Van de Boorn, *The Duties of the Vizier*, 344.

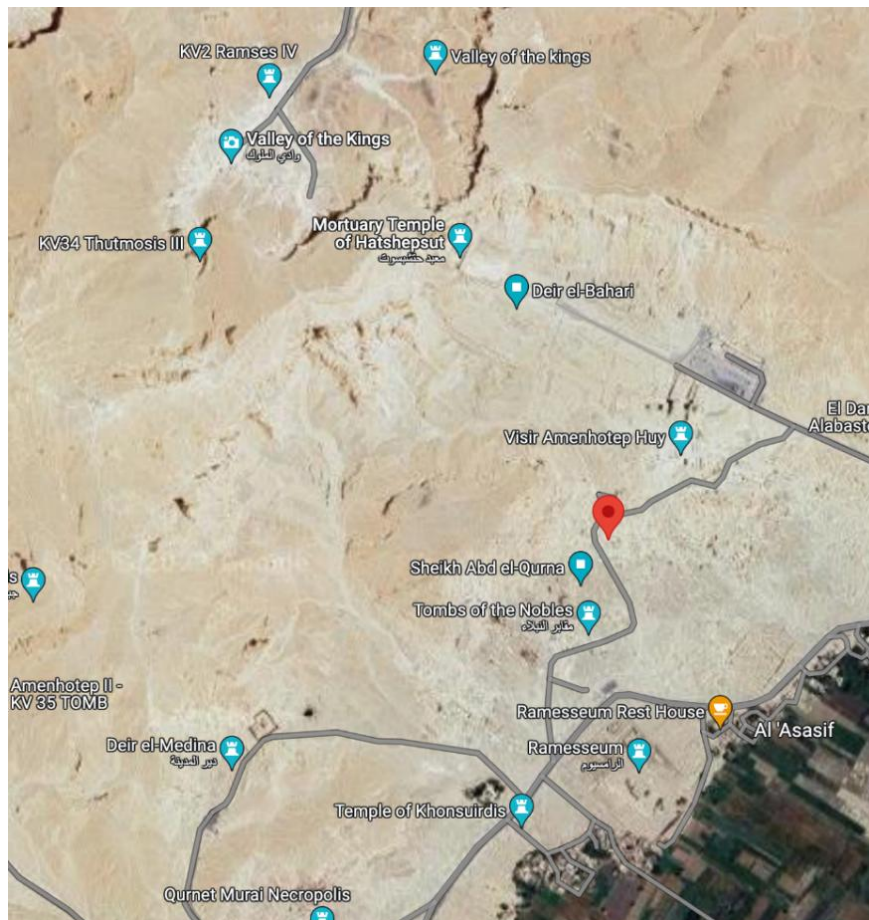


Figure 49. Theban Area with Temple of Hatshepsut, Ramesseum, Valley of the Kings, and tomb of Paser, marked in red. (My screenshot of Google Maps taken 9 August 2023)

There are multiple reasons why Paser may have chosen to highlight his relationship with Seti I and Ramesses II in his tomb, making it part of his own self-presentation. As a lifelong official and vizier, his social identity revolved around the king. In his position, Paser was likely actively involved in the creation of the royal image and discourse. Many of the scenes in Paser's tomb demonstrate not only the legitimacy and eternal nature of the 19th dynasty but also Paser's key role in it. The Duties of the Vizier text showcased Paser's loyalty and responsibility. Frood suggests that the reward scene, in particular, demonstrated Seti I's role as mediator for Paser in this journey to the next life.⁸⁶⁰

⁸⁶⁰ Frood, *Biographical Texts from the Ramesside Egypt*, 27.

A similar relationship is attested in the text of Pillar B of Paser's tomb, where Paser appeals to Seti I that he might cause him to flourish based on his service to him.⁸⁶¹ The divine nursing scene and the *Henu*-barque of Sokar both serve to demonstrate the king's connection with the gods, his divine attributes, and his eventual (or mortal) divinity as well as Paser's integral role in such festivals and rituals. His service and duties to the king were Paser's way of ensuring *ma'at* and thus being reborn.

Paser's relationship with the kings he served was a crucial and pivotal part of the self-presentation he crafted as he oriented himself within the royal discourse and themes of the kings he served and borrowed from their imagery. Here, the divine nursing scene demonstrates Paser's participation and role in the continuation of that kingship, the renewal of the king, and the royal cult in Thebes. Thus, divine nursing imagery finds a unique role having been adapted to this specific context, in this case into the construction of his self-image. It also demonstrates the image's continued importance and active role in the royal discourse of the early 19th dynasty kings.

4.4 Conclusion: Purpose of the Cow-Goddess Nursing Scene

The unique contexts and forms of the nursing cow-goddess scene serve to differentiate it from its anthropomorphic counterparts. Its adaptation challenges many of the assumptions made regarding divine nursing. Perhaps most unique, depictions of the nursing cow-goddess represent statues, exemplified in the statues of Amenhotep II, Horemheb, and Ramesses II. Unlike anthropomorphic divine nursing scenes such as that of the temple of Amada (Chapter

⁸⁶¹ Pillar B, Face A. See my translation in Appendix 3.

3), the presence of the motif on objects like votive cloths, the stelae (Chapter 5), and the tomb of Paser suggests that it was visible to a larger and less restricted number of people. It could be that the statue itself or imagery of the statue, as in the case of visitors to the tomb of Paser, was publicly visible. Thus, there is a shift in the scene's context from within temple spaces out into the realms of tombs, votives, and private monuments. The viewer changes from priests and royalty to witnesses and worshippers. Including the king within statues of the widely popular goddess Hathor strengthened and demonstrated the king's divine nature and relationship with deities. The act of nursing allowed the king to incorporate himself appropriately into a divine image of the goddess while still placing himself as subject to her highlighted in the inclusion of childhood attributes. In this way, the king promoted his divine attributes and nature and, potentially most importantly, his relatedness to her and other deities. With Hathor's great popularity during the New Kingdom, the king associating himself closely with her placed the king in the favor and personal worship of the people. The imagery also relied on the cultural understanding of breastfeeding to explain the origins and nature of the king's divinity and relationship with deities.

Further, this subtype of divine nursing demonstrates an important shift in our consideration of divine nursing in Egyptian art in general. Instead of being a copy of other divine nursing scenes with just a switch in the goddess's appearance, the motif incorporates and applies divine nursing into an existing decorative tradition. The scene's iconography is closely tied to two popular Hathoric motifs: the cow-goddess emerging from the western mountains and the cow-goddess among the reeds. Other anthropomorphic divine nursing scenes do not have these same ties and allusions. In this way, divine nursing becomes one of several motifs that could be layered to express the roles and powers of Hathor. As demonstrated in the analysis of New Kingdom breastfeeding practices (Chapter 2) and the

scene from the temple of Amada (Chapter 3), nursing was an act associated with rebirth and transformation. Nursing showcased the king's reliance on the goddess for this rejuvenation and her commitment to provide it for him. When, thus, inserted into the well-known images of Hathor among the reeds or emerging from the mountains, the king became associated with and able to access the various roles of Hathor in Thebes. The statue of Amenhotep II combines all three, with its mountain stone-cut shrine and papyrus, and thus cannot be limited to just a rebirth after death (Hathor emerging from the mountains), each day (as the sun), or at birth (Hathor emerging from the papyrus). The king is assured of Hathor's gifts and acceptance at all stages of life and after death. I originally translated the last line of the text of the tomb of Paser scene, *snk.n.k m jrṯt(.j) [...]*, as **"You were created** by means of (my) milk [...]" ; however, it could also be understood as *snk(.j) n.k m jrṯt(.j)* to mean **"(I) create you** by means of (my) milk [...]"⁸⁶² This translation better represents this idea of continual creation and rejuvenation and reflects ancient Egyptian ideas of imagery making real the actions and relationships they displayed (1.4.2). The presence of the image itself ensured continual nursing along with all its implications and benefits. This specific type of divine nursing scene was more than just a variation of the diving nursing motif; rather, it was a motif with its own unique history and usage.

Paser's tomb offers an excellent example of how this image was used for new purposes by a non-royal individual. Paser adapts this image to firmly connect himself to the Theban landscape, drawing upon the image's geographical ties. It highlights his power and accessibility in the area as vizier and his participation in its rituals, events, and cults. Finally, it highlighted the 19th dynasty's legitimacy and Paser's role under those kings, thereby

⁸⁶² See my translations in Appendix 3 (emphasis added).

ensuring his own legitimacy and rebirth. By considering how Paser used the image, we can better understand how he and others might have understood it to function and what it meant. The next chapter will continue to examine the adaptation of this image by various individuals to public spaces in the case of stelae and continue to address many of the themes observed in the divine nursing scene from the tomb of Paser.

5. Depictions of Divine Nursing on Stelae: A Case Study of Six Stelae from the New Kingdom

5.1 Introduction: Case Study #3

To further explore the new purposes, functions, and audiences taken on by divine nursing images during the New Kingdom, this chapter will examine those divine nursing scenes on stelae. Examining a group of similar objects offers an opportunity to investigate not just the function of divine nursing but also the ways in which it was utilized and adopted by individuals and groups. These represent some of the “outliers” of divine nursing, which not only appear on public-facing objects but also contain unique features, such as the nursing tree-goddess or the presence of private individuals. All seven known images of divine nursing on stelae date to the New Kingdom and represent a range of iconographic types. Two depict Hathor as a cow (Cat.2.3, Cat.2.14), three show the goddess as a seated woman (Cat.1.49, Cat.1.51, Cat.1.54), one shows the king and goddess standing (Cat.1.50), and one represents the tree-goddess (Cat.1.46). In addition to addressing the iconographic and textual elements of each stela, this case study will consider them within the context of New Kingdom stelae more generally. Having done so, it is possible to compare their functions, uses, and audiences to scenes from temples and tombs (Chapters 3–4).

5.2 Case Study Objects: Divine Nursing Stelae

5.2.1 Stela EA689 (Cat.2.3)

Stela EA689 depicts Hathor in the form of a cow emerging from the mountains (Figure 43). Beneath her body, the head of the king in the *Kheprsh* crown can be seen nursing from her udders. Beneath the goddess's chin stands another depiction of the king. Although broken off, shapes can be seen in front of her. Hall suggests these are flowers.⁸⁶³ Nothing of the lower portion of the stela survives.

5.2.1.1 Text

Above the goddess are three columns of text with her name and epithets (see my translation in Appendix 4). The king is not identified. It may be meant to represent Amenhotep II or Thutmose III, given the Hathor shrine nearby and that the epithet on the stela that matches that on the statue of Amenhotep II.⁸⁶⁴ Alternatively, Naville and Hall suggested that it may be Hatshepsut,⁸⁶⁵ perhaps due to the proximity of its find location to her temple and the many images of her nursing there. All of these are compelling possibilities that find comparison in similar nursing scenes but remain conjecture.

⁸⁶³ Henry R. Hall, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stele, etc. in the British Museum, Part 5* (London: British Museum Press, 1914), 11.

⁸⁶⁴ Karen Exell, *Soldier, Sailors and Sandalmakers: A Social Reading of Ramesside Period Votive Stelae* (London: Golden House, 2009), 56.

⁸⁶⁵ Edouard Naville and Henry R. Hall, "Excavations at Deir el-Bahari," *Archaeological Report (Egypt Exploration Fund)* (1904–1905): 3.

5.2.1.2 Provenance

EA689 was found by Naville and Hall during excavations at Deir el-Bahari at the temple of Mentuhotep II between 1903 and 1905,⁸⁶⁶ and acquired by the British Museum in 1905.⁸⁶⁷ Little information as to the stela's find location or archaeological context is recorded in Naville and Hall's reports. Another nursing cow-goddess stela was discovered during later excavations of the Hathor shrine of Thutmose III (Cat.2.13) by Naville and Hall and is discussed below. In recording the find of this second stela, Naville states that it is "of the same type as that illustrated in pl. xxv. E, which was found the year before."⁸⁶⁸ The plate corresponds to an image of EA689. As the Hathor shrine was found in Naville and Hall's 1905–1906 season,⁸⁶⁹ EA689 was likely discovered in the 1904–1905 season. A possible reference to its discovery may appear in their report of that season, saying, "on a small stela found this year is a representation of Queen Hatshepsu (?) being suckled and protected by the cow of Hathor, 'Lady of Tjesert which is within Akh-aset.'"⁸⁷⁰ Though this comment is not tied to EA689 by picture or find number, its description and date strongly suggest it to be the stela in question. Hall mentions the stela once again in his 1914 publication, comparing it to the Hathor-cow statue from the shrine of Thutmose III.⁸⁷¹

⁸⁶⁶ The discovery is reported in the 1904–1905 report that states the excavations "were begun last year," Naville and Hall, "Excavations at Deir el-Bahari 1904–1905," 1.

⁸⁶⁷ "stela," British Museum EA689, accessed 2 February 2024, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA689.

⁸⁶⁸ Naville, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari, Part I*, 65.

⁸⁶⁹ Naville and Hall, "Excavations at Deir el-Bahari 1905–1906," 4–5.

⁸⁷⁰ Naville and Hall, "Excavations at Deir el-Bahari 1904–1905," 3.

⁸⁷¹ Hall, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stele*, 11. Though Hall gives the date of this find to 1907, this contradicts with the finding of the statue of Hathor being recorded in their 1905–1906 season report.

The 1904–1905 excavation was focused on clearing the temple ramp, finding the southern colonnade, and excavating the central structure of the temple of Mentuhotep II.⁸⁷² There is only one mention in the report to stelae when not describing a specific find: “Many votive statues of this kind, as well as stelae, were dedicated in the temple at different periods.”⁸⁷³ The comment appears after a reference to finds from the lower level of the platform on the south side.⁸⁷⁴ Consequently, it is possible that the stela came from excavations in this area, along with a variety of other statues and stelae.

In their excavations of the platform of the temple of Mentuhotep II across three seasons, Naville and Hall found a variety of objects. In the 1904–1905 report, they record finding votive cows, faience and bronze plaques, the alabaster head of a cow statue, and various statues and stelae.⁸⁷⁵ In the 1903–1904 report, they similarly record finding small cow figurines, faience and clay female figures, votive eyes and ears, plaques with cows, blue vase fragments, scarabs, and beads in the area between the temples of Hatshepsut and Mentuhotep II.⁸⁷⁶ Naville speculated that these objects must have come from the Hathor chapel in the Temple of Hatshepsut, being placed here when the chapel became too full of votive offerings.⁸⁷⁷ It is among these objects that EA689 was likely found and should, therefore, be considered.

⁸⁷² Naville and Hall, “Excavations at Deir el-Bahari 1904–1905,” 1.

⁸⁷³ Naville and Hall, “Excavations at Deir el-Bahari 1904–1905,” 7.

⁸⁷⁴ Naville and Hall, “Excavations at Deir el-Bahari 1904–1905,” 7.

⁸⁷⁵ Naville and Hall, “Excavations at Deir el-Bahari 1904–1905,” 7–8.

⁸⁷⁶ Edouard Naville and Henry R. Hall, “Excavations at Deir el-Bahari,” *Archaeological Report (Egypt Exploration Fund)* (1903–1904): 10–11.

⁸⁷⁷ Naville and Hall, “Excavations at Deir el-Bahari 1903–1904,” 11.

The British Museum has dated the stela to the 18th dynasty,⁸⁷⁸ likely based on the many other 18th dynasty objects and depictions of Hathor found during Naville and Hall's excavations as well as the artistic style of the image, including the *Khepresh* crown worn by the king, which developed into its traditional form around the beginning of the 18th dynasty.⁸⁷⁹ The kings suggested above for the stela's nursing king further place the stela within this period.

5.2.2 Stela from the Hathor Shrine (Cat.2.13)

No picture of the stela found within the Hathor shrine of Thutmose III has been published, nor are its present whereabouts known. The only description comes from Naville who says, "the cow is seen issuing from a mountain. She suckles the king, who is also represented under her head, but there is no name."⁸⁸⁰ Naville refers to it as a fragment and "of the same type" as EA689 (Cat.2.3; Figure 43).⁸⁸¹ Thus, other than Naville's short comment, information regarding the stela is primarily based on EA689.

5.2.2.1 Text

Without an image of the stela or any other record, the inscription on the stela is largely unknown. Naville reports that the goddess was called Hathor, "Lady of Zeser, who resides in Akhu-aset, the princess of the gods."⁸⁸² Thus, like EA689 (Cat.2.3), it may have also only

⁸⁷⁸ "stela," British Museum EA689, accessed 2 February 2024, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA689.

⁸⁷⁹ Sandra A. Collier, "The Khepresh Crown of Pharaoh," *Ufahamu: A Journal of African Studies* (1993): 145; Davies, "The Origin of the Blue Crown," 69–72.

⁸⁸⁰ Naville, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari, Part I*, 65.

⁸⁸¹ Naville, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari, Part I*, 65.

⁸⁸² Naville, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari, Part I*, 65.

contained the names and epithets of the goddess. The king's name is not included. He may be one of those suggested for EA689 due to the similarity between the two stelae.

5.2.2.2 Provenance

Naville records that this stela was found inside the Hathor shrine along with the statue of Amenhotep II and Hathor (Cat.2.17).

We cannot suppose that there was anything else in the chapel beside the cow; the room is too narrow. There are no traces even of any sacred furniture, the only things we found in the small heap of rubbish which was before her feet were a few wooden phalli and *a fragment of a stele* (of the same type as that illustrated in pl. xxv. E., which was found the year before) on which the cow is seen issuing from a mountain. She suckles a king, who is also represented under her head, but there is no name. She is called Hathor, "lady of Zeser, who resides at Akhu-aset, the princess of the gods."⁸⁸³

This location within the shrine and its association with wooden phalli, popular and common offerings to Hathor,⁸⁸⁴ indicates the stela was possibly offered and placed by a donor, especially if it was open to some amount of public worship (4.3.5), or may have been collected and placed before the goddess by a priest. Regarding dating, the stela's place at the feet of Hathor *in situ* might imply that it dates to just before the shrine became inaccessible or unused. Its similarity to EA689 (Cat.2.3) may suggest a similar date for both stelae.

No clear mention is made of this stela or its eventual whereabouts in Naville and Hall's excavation reports nor the records of the distribution of the objects from this excavation.⁸⁸⁵ Stelae are most often referenced in these archival lists with no distinguishing

⁸⁸³ Naville, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari, Part I*, 65. My emphasis.

⁸⁸⁴ See Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, 235–238.

⁸⁸⁵ Held at the Griffith Institute, "Artefacts of Excavation: British Excavations of Egypt 1880–1980." "1905–09 Deir el-Bahari," accessed 1 March 2024, <https://egyptartefacts.griffith.ox.ac.uk/excavations/1905-06-deir-el-bahri>.

features, making it difficult to determine a specific one.⁸⁸⁶ However, objects that are unique in their find location or imagery are identified by such in the documents. For example, one phallus sent to Chicago is identified as having come from the Hathor shrine.⁸⁸⁷ This is likely one of those found with the stela. Thus, though it is possible that the stela is one of those mentioned in the distribution records, it may also have remained in Egypt or on site and therefore not made it to the distribution records. For now, its location remains unknown.

5.2.3 Stela Fragment from Medinet Habu MH 29.363 (Cat.1.49)

The stela MH 29.363 is recorded in two photographs from the Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures at the University of Chicago (Figures 50–51) and a line drawing by Peggy Sanders and has recently been published in an article by Emily Teeter.⁸⁸⁸ The bottom register shows Mut seated, receiving offerings and adoration from Sennedjem, Khonsu (his son), and Iynofret (wife of Sennedjem and mother of Khonsu). More fragmentary, the upper register preserves the legs of a seated goddess with the image of the king from the shoulders down standing beside her. Based on the position of the king and the goddess in comparison with other known scenes, it can safely be reconstructed as a divine nursing scene.

⁸⁸⁶ I checked the online collection databases of the recipient museums where possible. The collections of the Maclean Museum, British Museum, National Liverpool Museum, Penn Museum, Johns Hopkins collection, University of Chicago Museum, and the National Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh were all candidates. Though I was able to find many objects that came from this excavation, none matched the description of this stela.

⁸⁸⁷ “Artefacts of Excavation: British Excavations of Egypt 1880–1980,” DIST.14.01o, accessed 14 March 2024, <https://egyptartefacts.griffith.ox.ac.uk/documents/dist-2014-2001o>.

⁸⁸⁸ Emily Teeter, “A Stela of the Family of Sennedjem and the Goddess Mut,” in *The Overseer of Works in Memphis and Thebes: Studies in Honour of Nigel Strudwick*, ed. Melanie Pitkin (2023), fig. 1–2, pgs. 309–319.

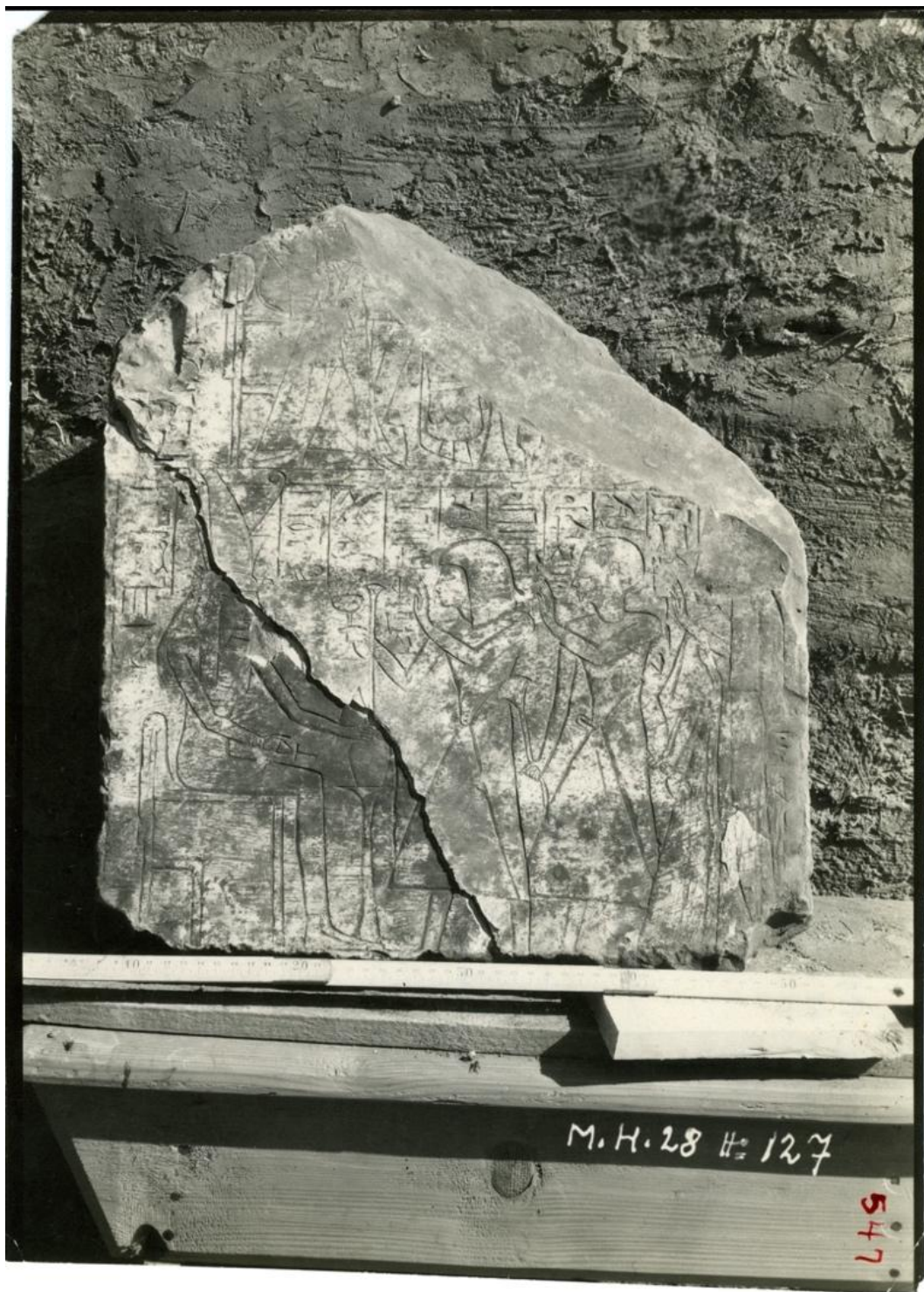


Figure 50. Stela of Sennedjem (Photo 16068/M.H. Excav. 28.127. Courtesy of the Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures of the University of Chicago)



Figure 51. Stela of Sennedjem (N29770/P.16068/M.H. 29.363.
Courtesy of the Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures of the
University of Chicago)

5.2.3.1 Text

Only the bottom register's text has survived (see Appendix 4 for my translation). The text identifies Mut as the goddess and Sennedjem, Khonsu, and Innofret as the individuals before her. Teeter identified the Sennedjem depicted here as the same person from TT 1, where he and Khonsu appear together.⁸⁸⁹ Teeter suggests the king is Amenhotep I, Seti I, or Ramesses II, and she dates it to the first half of the reign of Ramesses II based on the known dates for Sennedjem and his family. She proposes Amenhotep I as he was deified and worshipped during this period. She suggests that it would be the only known depiction of this king being

⁸⁸⁹ Teeter, "A Stela of the Family of Sennedjem," notes 1–2 on page 312.

nursed;⁸⁹⁰ however, there are also statues of Amenhotep I from the Temple of Mut at Karnak and Abydos that may be nursing scenes (Cat.1.15–16), in addition to the relief of Amenhotep I from el-Kab (Cat.2.4). Yet, it is much more common for scenes to depict the reigning king rather than past kings.⁸⁹¹ Further, the seated goddess with a standing king form of the divine nursing motif first appears with Amenhotep III but becomes more common for images of Seti I and Ramesses II (5.4.2). Therefore, I would suggest that it depicts Seti I or Ramesses II.

Regarding the nursing goddess, Teeter suggests she is Mut, as it is Mut who appears in the bottom register of the stela, who appears in a similar scene of Seti I in Abydos (Cat.1.36; Figure 52), and who was a particular favorite of Sennedjem and his family.⁸⁹² For these same reasons, I would agree that the goddess nursing the king is likely Mut.

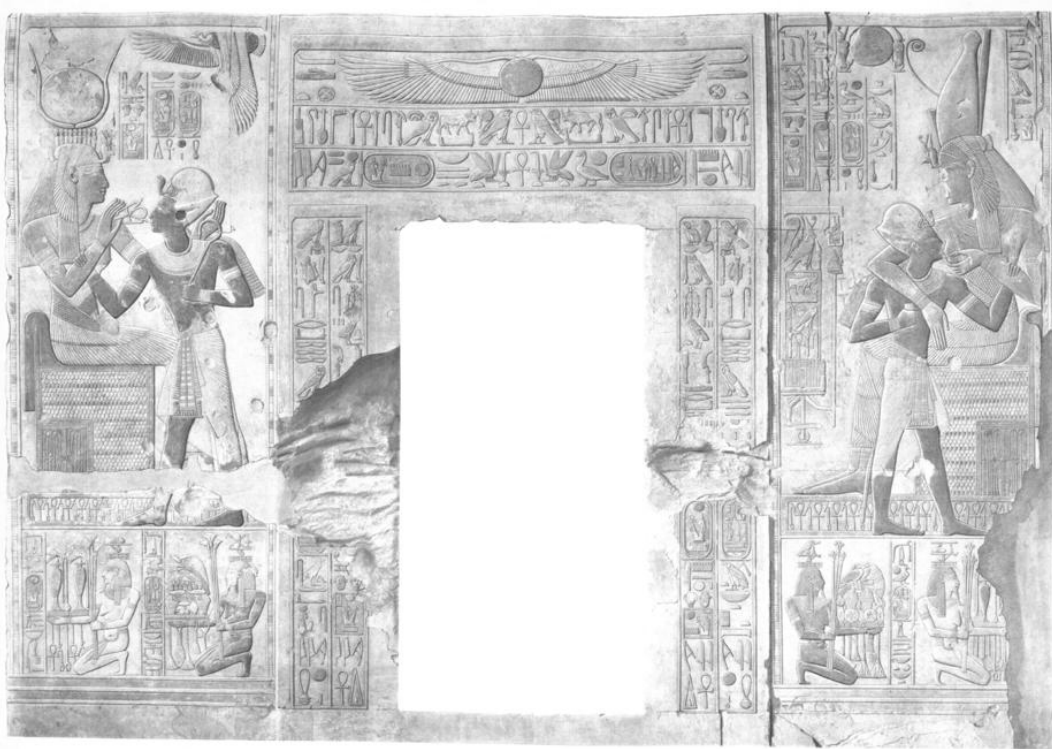


Figure 52. Seti I being nursed by Mut, Temple of Seti I at Abydos (Calverly, *The Temple of King Sethos at Abydos IV*, pl. 23)

⁸⁹⁰ Teeter, "A Stela of the Family of Sennedjem," 314, 316.

⁸⁹¹ There are some exceptions where deceased kings are shown nursing. See for example the votive cloth depicting Mentuhotep II (Cat.2.23) and the statue of Khufu (Cat.1.17).

⁸⁹² Teeter, "A Stela of the Family of Sennedjem," 315–316.

Though the text as it survives does not indicate who dedicated the stela, Teeter suggests that it was Sennedjem's eldest son Khabekhnet based on comparisons with those who appear on the stela and who appear in the tombs of family members. Whomever it was, the stela must have been commissioned by a member of Sennedjem's family, given that everyone shown on the stela was part of this family group, placing the stela within the context of the many stelae and tomb scenes commissioned by Sennedjem and his family.⁸⁹³

5.2.3.2 Provenance

The current location of this stela is unknown. It was originally excavated by the Architectural Survey of the University of Chicago in 1929–1930. Records say it was found at Medinet Habu “in the rubbish,” though one of the excavators, Uvo Hölscher, thought some of this “rubbish” might have been debris from earlier excavations.⁸⁹⁴ There is no record of the stela being accessioned at the museums in Cairo or Chicago. Therefore, records of the stela are limited to two photos: Photo 16068/M.H. Excav. 28.127 and N29770/P.16068/M.H. 29.363 at the Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures at the University of Chicago.⁸⁹⁵

Teeter believes that the stela did not originate in Medinet Habu but rather Deir el-Medina based in part on Hölscher's observation above. She suggests that the stela may have been first set up at one of the chapels near the Hathor temple in Deir el-Medina that held votive stelae. She even points out that Chapels F and G in the southwest have recesses in the walls for such votive stelae and that some of the chapels were associated with Mut. Its origin

⁸⁹³ Teeter, “A Stela of the Family of Sennedjem,” 315–316.

⁸⁹⁴ Teeter, “A Stela of the Family of Sennedjem,” 310, 317.

⁸⁹⁵ Teeter, “A Stela of the Family of Sennedjem,” note 1 on page 310. One of which can be found here: “Oriental Institute Digital Archives,” ed. Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures The University of Chicago, West Asia & North Africa (2024), P.16068, <https://isac-idb.uchicago.edu/id/16062c745691-745727b-745694d745602-a745699d-745654a745915ae745688b745696>. <https://isac.uchicago.edu/collections/collections>.

in Deir el-Medina is further supported by the identity of Sennedjem and his family.⁸⁹⁶ Teeter points to scholars like Davies, who suggested that workers from Deir el-Medina would worship at popular temples like Medinet Habu, and McClain, who suggested that stelae from Deir el-Medina were taken to Medinet Habu either at the time of its offering or at a later point.⁸⁹⁷ Thus, the family may have originally placed it in one of these chapels from which it was later moved to Medinet Habu or it may have been moved in a later period. Though its original intended location can be debated, this stela illustrates well the portable nature of these objects and the issues with assuming the find location was the stela's original context.

5.2.4 Stela from Houses at Deir el-Medina, ÄM 21561 (Cat.1.54)

The surviving fragment of stela ÄM 21561⁸⁹⁸ (Cat.1.53) preserves three figures. On the right, an anthropomorphic goddess sits on a throne wearing the solar disk and horns atop the Vulture cap. She offers her breast to the king, who wears the *Khepresh* crown and kilt, as she wraps her arm around his shoulders. A second image of the king, wearing the *Nemes* headdress and kilt, stands before the goddess, offering a small vessel in each hand. The goddess and nursing king stand atop a platform (Figure 53). While the goddess and nursing king may be understood as a statue (see below), I would suggest that the second king, only partially on the platform, is not part of the statue but making an offering to it.

⁸⁹⁶ Teeter, "A Stela of the Family of Sennedjem," 315–318.

⁸⁹⁷ Davies, *Life within the Five Walls*, 201; Teeter, "A Stela of the Family of Sennedjem," 317. Noted as personal communication from McClain to Teeter.

⁸⁹⁸ This object also appears in museum records under the number ÄM 22730 but will be referenced by ÄM21561 this number throughout this thesis as it is primarily that used in the museum and archive records.



© SMÄ Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Foto: unbekannt

Figure 53. Stela Fragment with Nursing Scene (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin - Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Inv. No. ÄM 21561, Photographer: Unknown)

5.2.4.1 Text

Above the three figures is a small portion of text with the name and epithet of Hathor (see Appendix 4 for my translation). The rest of the stela is lost, and it is unknown what other images or text may have accompanied it. The king is not identified. There are few images of the goddess seated while nursing a standing king (5.4.2). However, as will be discussed, it is likely an oversimplification to assume the imagery on stelae was simply a copy of another divine nursing image, so the king on this stela cannot be identified only by matching it to a

similar temple scene. There are other clues as to who the king may be. Its discovery in Deir el-Medina provides a narrower time frame – the village thrived during the New Kingdom, 18th–20th dynasties. Further, the presence of the *Kheprsh* crown also identifies it as being likely from the New Kingdom as the crown developed into its recognized form in the early 18th dynasty to then fall out of usage until the Amarna and Ramesside periods.⁸⁹⁹ Further, Hathor, popular throughout the New Kingdom, was especially tied to kings in Deir el-Medina during the reigns of Seti I and Ramesses II. This is clear in the association of Ramesses II's *Khenut*-chapel with that of Hathor (4.3.1).⁹⁰⁰ Additionally, Sadek has suggested that Ramesses II is the most frequent king to appear as intercessor on non-royal objects during the New Kingdom.⁹⁰¹ Therefore, I would suggest that the king is likely a 19th dynasty king, and most likely Ramesses II.

5.2.4.2 Provenance

Discovered by Möller in the excavations at Deir el-Medina, the excavation's *Fundjournal* records that the stela fragment was discovered on Wednesday, 5 March 1913 at digging site D.⁹⁰² The exact location of digging site D, however, is not recorded. During 1911–1913, Möller excavated a small area of the village of Deir el-Medina near the Ptolemaic temple.⁹⁰³ Publication was later completed by Anthes, who states that section D was the central

⁸⁹⁹ Collier, "The Kheprsh Crown of Pharaoh," 138, 144–145; Davies, "The Origin of the Blue Crown," 73–75; Hardwick, "The Iconography of the Blue Crown," 117.

⁹⁰⁰ Maitland, "The King and I," 160; Ashraf Iskander Sadek, *Popular Religion in Egypt during the New Kingdom* (Hildesheim: Gerstenberg, 1987), 64–65..

⁹⁰¹ Sadek, *Popular Religion in Egypt during the New Kingdom*, 228–230.

⁹⁰² Möllers *Fundjournal*, AÄM 129, Ägyptische Museum und Papyrussammlung Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. I am grateful to Dr. Robert Kuhn for helping me consult this document.

⁹⁰³ Backhouse, 'Scènes de Gynécées', 1.r

portion of the western side of the village.⁹⁰⁴ Anthes' map of the area includes the houses, now numbered N.E. VIII–N.E.XIX,⁹⁰⁵ as well as an outer area and wall within this section D.⁹⁰⁶ Though Anthes lists several houses as being in this section, it is unknown which house the stela may have been associated with or whether it was found outside of the houses.

In the publication, the stela is listed as having been found along with other stelae, including Berlin 21565.⁹⁰⁷ ÄM 21565, which depicts two snakes as well as a woman kneeling in adoration, was found in house D4 or N.E. XI along with stela Berlin AMP 21538.⁹⁰⁸ However, in her examination of the finds from this area, Weiss notes that objects from section D may have come from debris from the previous Schiaparelli excavation and that some may have been discovered in higher layers before Möller could distinguish the houses.⁹⁰⁹ Though it is difficult to place the stela in an exact find location, it is possible it had a domestic association like the stelae found with it (e.g. ÄM 21565). The stela is currently held by the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin - Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung.

5.2.5 Stela of Tree-Goddess and Ramesses II (Cat.1.46)

Preserved in fragments, this round-topped stela depicts a large sycamore tree. Among the branches of the sycamore, a goddess offers her breast to a king (Figure 54). Only the upper portion of the goddess and the king's head survive. The king wears what appears to be a wig

⁹⁰⁴ Rudolf Anthes, "Die deutschen Grabungen auf der Westseite von Theben in den Jahren 1911–1913," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 12 (1943): 55.

⁹⁰⁵ Lara Weiss, *Religious Practice at Deir el-Medina* (Leuven: Peeters, 2015), 229.

⁹⁰⁶ Anthes, "Die deutschen Grabungen," 55, fig. 57.

⁹⁰⁷ Anthes, "Die deutschen Grabungen," 60.

⁹⁰⁸ "Stele der Ubech(et)," Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung ÄM 21565, accessed 10 January 2025 <https://id.smb.museum/object/598539/stele-der-ubechet>; Weiss, *Religious Practice at Deir el-Medina*, 390–391.

⁹⁰⁹ Weiss, *Religious Practice at Deir el-Medina*, 229.

while holding the crook by his head. A small amount of text above the king and at the base of the tree is preserved. The baseline at the bottom of the tree and the size of the stela indicates it would have likely had two registers. Bruyère suggests that the fragments of a man's name at the bottom would have been above the heads of worshippers in the bottom register.⁹¹⁰



Figure 54. Fragment of a Stela showing Tree-Goddess Nursing Ramesses II
(Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir El Médineh*, fig. 37)

⁹¹⁰ Bernard Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir El Médineh (Années 1948 à 1951)* (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1953), 118–119.

5.2.5.1 Text

Three lines of the text survive at the top. My translation (Appendix 4) is based on the image of the fragments in Bruyère (Figure 54) as well as his record of the hieroglyphs.⁹¹¹ The text identifies the goddess as Nut and the king as Ramesses II. Nut is identified with epithets potentially relevant to her depiction as nurse here – “mother,” “who bore the gods,” and “nurse of the land of Osiris Wennefer.”⁹¹²

5.2.5.2 Provenance

This stela was discovered among the tombs of Deir el-Medina. Bruyère’s report lists the stela under the objects found at tomb no. 1448. Also found in this same area were fragments of papyrus, ostraca (six Hieratic and one Coptic), a wooden sketch of a statuette of Bes, New Kingdom and Coptic pottery, a basket, and a copper ewer.⁹¹³ The mixture of New Kingdom and Coptic material suggests that, though the stela may have come from these tombs, it had been disturbed or reused in a later period.

The current whereabouts of this stela are unknown. Bruyère notes that Schiaparelli may have taken some previously discovered fragments of the stela back to Turin;⁹¹⁴ however, I have been unable to locate any fragments matching the stela.

⁹¹¹ Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir El Médineh*, fig. 37, pg. 118.

⁹¹² See my translation in Appendix 4.

⁹¹³ Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir El Médineh*, 118–120.

⁹¹⁴ Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir El Médineh*, footnote 1 on page 118.

5.2.6 Stela in Chapel C (Cat.1.50)

The stela in Chapel C of the Sanctuary of Ptah and Meretseger depicts five figures in the top register above several lines of text. Starting on the viewer's left, Re-Horakhty presents the *heb-sed* staves toward the goddess Meretseger standing and nursing Ramesses III (identified in the text). The goddess wears the double feathers, and the king wears a cap and kilt, holding the crook. Next, Ramesses III is shown offering a scythe to Amun (Figure 55). The stela remains largely intact *in situ* with some damage to the text, though it has suffered further damage since the photographs and line drawings done by Bruyère (Figure 56).⁹¹⁵

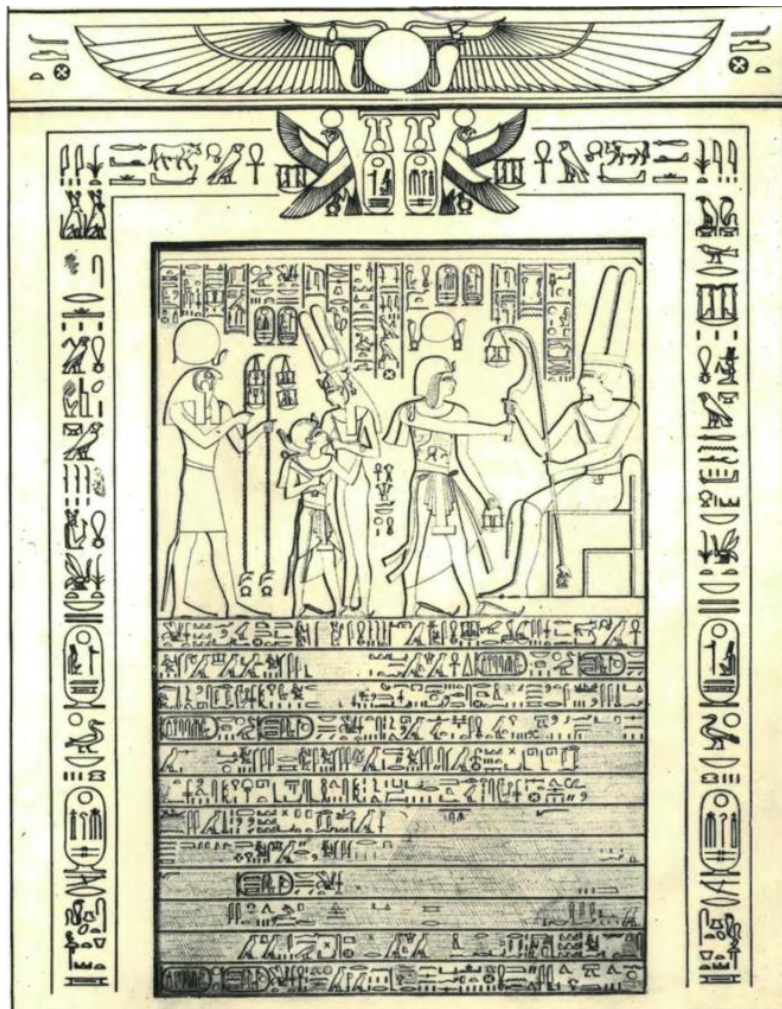


Figure 55. Stela from Chapel C (Bruyère, Mert Seger à Deir El Médineh, pl. iv)

⁹¹⁵ Martha Demas et al., *Valley of the Queens: Assessment Report. Volume 1, Conservation and Management Planning: A Collaborative Project of the Getty Conservation Institute and the Supreme Council of Antiquities, Egypt*, vol. 1 (Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Institute, 2012), 368.

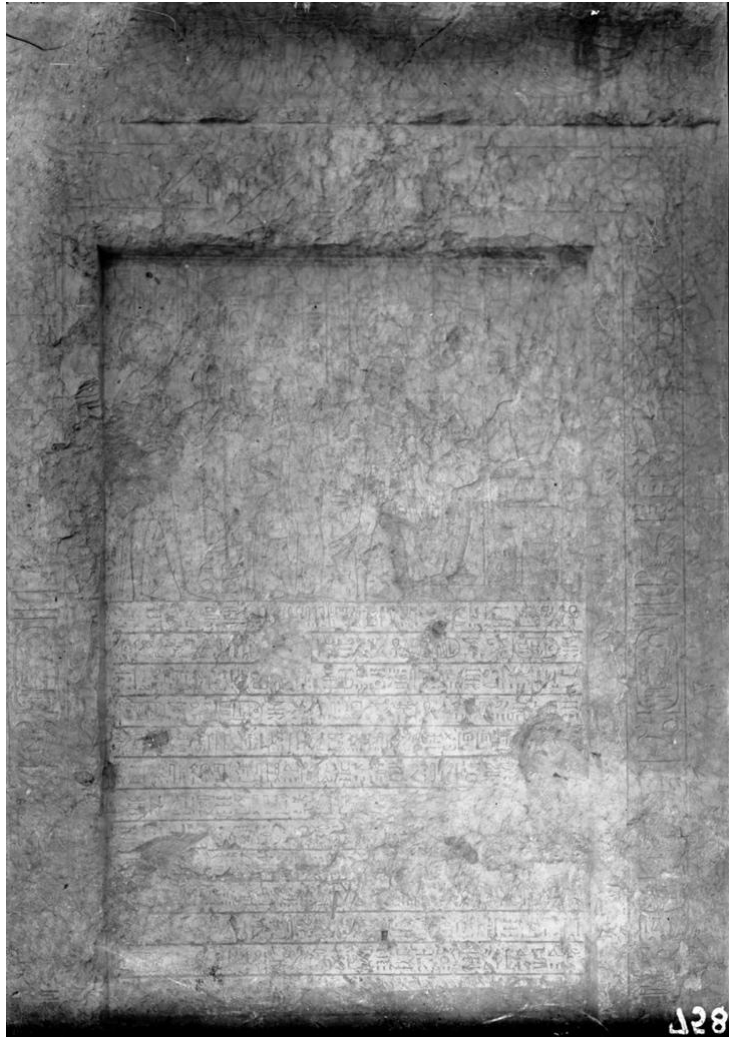


Figure 56. Photograph of Stela from Chapel C (Plate C00758, 1905–1914, Museo Egizio, accessed 16 January 2025, <https://archiviofotografico.museoegizio.it/en/archive/theban-region/rock-cut-sanctuary-of-ptah-and-meretseger/rock-cut-sanctuary-of-ptah-and-meretseger/>)

5.2.6.1 Text

Text is located around the edge of the stela, above the figures in the upper register, and

filling the bottom register (Figure 55).⁹¹⁶ The top register includes the speeches of

Meretseger and Amun-Re to the king, identifying the king as Ramesses III with Meretseger

⁹¹⁶ The translation of the stela found in Appendix 4 is based on the hieroglyphs recorded in the line drawing by Lepsius, *LD*, III, 218c., the line drawing and hieroglyphs included in Bernard Bruyère, *Mert Seger à Deir El Médineh* (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1929–1930), 34–37; Kenneth A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical*, V (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983), 90–91. The translation was aided by those of Ksenia F. Karlova and Alexander V. Safronov, “Риторическая стела Рамсеса III: перевод и комментарий,” *Вестник Московского областного университета. Серия: История и политические науки* 94, no. 32 (2019): 121–132; Kenneth A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions: Translated & Annotated: Translations*, V (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008), 68.

as his nurse. The lower register consists of the titulary of Ramesses III and a text documenting the king's power over and domination of various foreign peoples (see Appendix 4 for my translation of both registers). This is of particular interest given the association of divine nursing with domination at Amada in Chapter 3.

5.2.6.2 Provenance

This stela is *in situ* on the rear wall of Chapel C of the Sanctuary of Ptah and Meretseger, sometimes referred to as the Oratory, located between Deir el-Medina and the Valley of the Queens. The Sanctuary consists of seven chapels (labeled A-G by Bruyère). Accompanying the stela were and are many other stelae depicting viziers, deities, and kings. Some are carved into the walls of the chapels, others placed in niches in the walls, and still more were set up or placed in and around the chapels. For example, a stela on the southwest wall shows a vizier offering incense and libations to Meretseger.⁹¹⁷

The other chapels contain similar stelae, though many have been taken to various museums. Schiaparelli removed some to the museum in Turin in 1906.⁹¹⁸ To name a few, primarily *in situ*, Chapel A contains two stelae dedicated by a vizier also depicting Ramesses III. In Chapel B, there is a stela of Ramesses III and a vizier as well as images of Amenhotep I, Ahmose Nefertari, and a vizier on the jambs and lintel. Chapel D contains a stela showing a vizier before Amun-Re and Hathor and the king with a vizier offering incense to Re-Horakhty and Ptah. Chapel E, which will be discussed more in the following section, includes a stela of the vizier Setnakht with Mut and Hathor and receiving *heb-seds* from Amen-Re and Ptah as

⁹¹⁷ Bruyère, *Mert Seger à Deir El Médineh*, 34.

⁹¹⁸ Bruyère, *Mert Seger à Deir El Médineh*, 6; Demas et al., *Valley of the Queens: Assessment Report*, 1, 358.

well as two nursing scenes. Chapel F contains two niches for votive stelae as well as a stela with Min, Re-Horakhty, and possibly Hathor in a niche in the rear wall. Finally, Chapel G has niches for votive stelae as well as a stela of the king with a vizier and foreman.⁹¹⁹ Many other stelae have been found in the area depicting Meretseger and other deities along with individuals from Deir el-Medina.⁹²⁰ Thus, the stela under discussion here was part of a larger cultic landscape and dialogue with the many stelae dedicated in these chapels by the workers from Deir el-Medina and as part of larger cultic practice here (See, for example, those in Figure 57).⁹²¹ The dating of these chapels will be discussed in 5.2.7.2.



Figure 57. Sanctuary of Ptah and Meretseger (Plate C00748, 1905–1914, Museo Egizio, accessed 16 January 2025, <https://archiviofotografico.museoegizio.it/en/archive/theban-region/rock-cut-sanctuary-of-ptah-and-meretseger/rock-cut-sanctuary-of-ptah-and-meretseger/>)

⁹¹⁹ Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, II, 707–708.

⁹²⁰ See for example, “stela,” British Museum EA278, accessed 13 January 2025, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA278; “Stela of Amennakht, dedicated to the Peak of the West,” Museo Egizio Cat. 1521, accessed 13 January 2025, https://collezioni.museoegizio.it/en-GB/material/Cat_1521/?description=&inventoryNumber=1521&title=stela&cgt=&yearFrom=&yearTo=&materials=&provenance=&acquisition=&epoch=&dynasty=&pharaoh=&searchLng=en-GB&searchPage=1.

⁹²¹ McDowell, *Village Life in Ancient Egypt*, 15–17.

5.2.7 Stela in Chapel E (Cat.1.51)

The second stela from the Sanctuary of Ptah and Meretseger is a round-topped stela in Chapel E composed of two registers (Cat.1.51). The top depicts five figures: in the middle of the register is the king wearing the *Khepresh* crown and full regalia, holding the crook and flail, accepting *heb-seds* from Amun on the left; the mummiform Ptah on the right; and on the left, behind the king stands Mut and Hathor, holding *heb-seds*. The lower register is very fragmentary and only survives in the line drawing published by Bruyère (Figure 58).⁹²² This register depicts a seated goddess wearing the solar disk and horns with the king standing beside her. Based on their placement and the king's hand positions, this can be reconstructed as a divine nursing scene. Before them, a small amount of text is preserved along with the legs of three approaching figures, two men and a woman, two of whom hold *ankhs*. One of the male figures wears a long kilt with uraei, suggesting this may have been another depiction of a king.

⁹²² Demas et al., *Valley of the Queens: Assessment Report*, 1, 370.

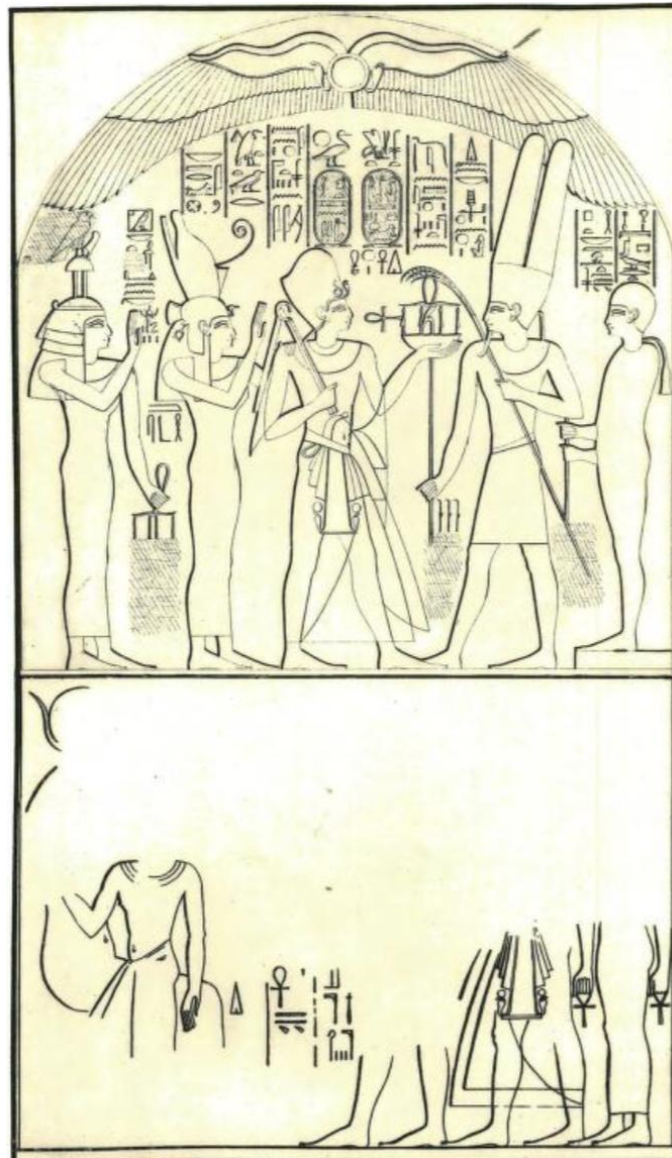


Figure 58. Stela from Chapel E (Bruyère, Mert Seger à Deir El Médineh, pl. vi)

5.2.7.1 Text

Most of the preserved text is from the upper register with only a few hieroglyphs preserved with the divine nursing scene (see Appendix 4 for my translation). One of the cartouches identifies the king in the upper register as Setnakht, while the other matches that of Seti II. Dodson has noted this contradiction and observes that the cartouches appear to have been carved over, and suggests they were originally of Amenmesse,⁹²³ making him the original

⁹²³ Aidan Dodson, "Amenmesse in Kent, Liverpool, and Thebes," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 81 (1995): 121.

king shown nursing and approaching the nursing pair. However, the scene was later reimagined and used for Setnakht and Seti II. A king making an offering to an image of himself being nursed is not unknown in divine nursing scenes (for example, those from the Hathor chapel at Deir el-Bahari Cat.2.9–12 and stela ÄM 21561 (5.2.4).

The text does not identify the goddess nursing the king. Mut and Hathor appear in the register above, and the stela was discovered in a chapel of Meretseger. Thus, the goddess is likely one of these three. The stela's location suggests Meretseger. She is shown nursing the king on stela Cat.1.50, located in the nearby Chapel C. This would mean all three divine nursing scenes (two stelae and the fragment) known from these chapels highlight a relationship between the king and Meretseger. However, Mut and Hathor are both known from similar scenes, Mut being especially popular in those scenes of the goddess seated while nursing a standing king (e.g. Cat.1.29, Cat.1.30, Cat.1.36, Cat.1.49). Further, small portions of the double horns and solar disk are visible, a headdress frequently worn by Hathor, though not exclusively. In all images of Mut seated and nursing the standing king, apart from Cat.1.50, she is shown in her typical Double crown, not the double horns and solar disk. Thus, the crown might identify the goddess as Hathor. While this area of the chapel is dedicated to Meretseger, many images of Hathor appear as well.⁹²⁴ She is one of the most popular goddesses in the region, especially Deir el-Medina, where the creators of the stela originate. Further, the stela form also resembles that of stela Cat.1.54 (Figure 53). Thus, though a case can be made for all three goddesses, I would suggest that it is Hathor.

⁹²⁴ Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, II, 707–708.

5.2.7.2 Provenance

The stela is cut into the back wall of Chapel E in the Sanctuary of Ptah and Meretseger and is one of two rock-cut stelae recorded by Bruyère in this chapel. The second was of a man named Bai.⁹²⁵ Along with these two stelae, a fragment of a stela or pillar with another nursing scene was found. The image on this fragment is very similar to that found on the stela in question, preserving the lower portion of a seated goddess and standing king in a kilt. A small portion of a mummiform figure, likely Ptah, stands before them (Cat.1.48).⁹²⁶ The exact purpose or original form of this fragment is difficult to determine. However, it is significant as it places the current stela not only in dialogue with the many other stela in the chapels but also with another divine nursing scene. This may suggest that images and stelae depicting the divine nursing motif were more common than surviving evidence suggests.

Dodson's research on the cartouches of in the stela's text dates it to Amenmesse.⁹²⁷

The recarving of his cartouche attests to its continued use by later kings of the New Kingdom. As most of the stelae in these chapels date to the reign of Ramesses III, it was potentially during his reign that the chapels saw their greatest usage.

5.3 New Kingdom Stelae

Before analyzing the seven stelae that are the focus of this chapter, stelae as an object type must first be considered. Studies have proposed a range of functions for stelae and how their imagery should be understood, resulting in differing interpretations and methods for

⁹²⁵ Bruyère, *Mert Seger à Deir El Médineh*, 39–40.

⁹²⁶ Bruyère, *Mert Seger à Deir El Médineh*, 40–42.

⁹²⁷ Dodson, "Amenmesse in Kent, Liverpool, and Thebes," 115–128.

using them in the reconstruction of various aspects of ancient Egyptian culture and society.

For this case study, several questions regarding stelae must be addressed:

- First is the question of context. In what contexts do stelae appear? What other objects would have been associated or found with them?
- Second is the question of function. How were stelae used, and what were they meant to do? This includes where these stelae would have been placed and issues of audience.
- Finally is the question of stelae as a source for modern scholars. How have scholars used them to reconstruct the past? To what extent can they be interpreted as representing real events or more idealized images? What are the origins of the scenes they display?

The following section will explore how research has addressed these questions, which often overlap, with a special focus on the stelae covered by this case study.

5.3.1 Initial Remarks on Middle Kingdom Stelae

Though earlier than those stelae considered in this thesis, in general, Middle Kingdom stelae are more frequently the subjects of stela research, especially those from (or attributed to) Abydos.⁹²⁸ A few of those studies will be examined to establish a foundation for stela usage in the New Kingdom, as it is from Middle Kingdom traditions that New Kingdom traditions emerged. In his examination of Middle Kingdom stelae in the British Museum, Franke

⁹²⁸ See for example, Detlef Franke, *Egyptian Stelae in the British Museum from the 13th–17th Centuries* (London: British Museum Press, 2013); Kasparian, “La condition des nourrices,” 109–126; Leire Olabarria, “Coming to Terms with Stelae: A Performative Approach to Memorial Stelae and Chapels of Abydos in the Middle Kingdom,” *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 49, no. 117–178 (2020): 117–178; Alexander Ilin-Tomich, *From Workshop to Sanctuary: The Production of Late Middle Kingdom Memorial Stelae* (London: Golden House Publications, 2017).

suggests that each stela is “a microcosm of the culture,” not in the sense that they are a perfect reflection of reality but rather are the result of “conscious and unconscious cultural codes, of the intentions and agreements of customers and artists, and of material limitations.”⁹²⁹ He further suggests the concept of “input,” the idea that the form of stelae was determined by “social, scribal, religious, iconographical, stylistic and technical realities” as well as individual opinions.⁹³⁰ Thus, according to Franke, stelae encapsulate the many layers and influences at play in Egyptian society at the moment of their creation. In this way, stelae could illustrate an individual’s inclusion in various social networks and groups based on the patterns followed. Franke concludes that the stelae were meant as objects of commemoration and remembrance for individuals as well as groups.⁹³¹

Olabarria’s research has emphasized the importance of considering a stela’s context in interpretations, including the other objects, architecture, and rituals that would have accompanied them.⁹³² She also points to stelae as evidence for the beliefs and choices of those who made and commissioned them, much like Franke.⁹³³ Olabarria goes on to state that by virtue of their nature as objects of display, stelae could serve as actors in their contexts, “shaping networks of relationships that include monuments, people, and landscapes.”⁹³⁴ Thus, stelae were not intended to be exact reflections of reality but part of a larger ritual or performance of commemoration.⁹³⁵ Both Franke and Olabarria conclude that

⁹²⁹ Franke, *Egyptian Stelae in the British Museum*, 2.

⁹³⁰ Franke, *Egyptian Stelae in the British Museum*, 2.

⁹³¹ Franke, *Egyptian Stelae in the British Museum*, 2.

⁹³² Olabarria, “Coming to Terms with Stelae,” 50.

⁹³³ Olabarria, “Coming to Terms with Stelae,” 29.

⁹³⁴ Olabarria, *Kinship and Family*, 118; Olabarria, “Coming to Terms with Stelae,” 29.

⁹³⁵ Olabarria, “Coming to Terms with Stelae,” 138.

stelae reveal more about shared beliefs, how individuals and groups sought to be remembered, and social norms than actual day-to-day reality.

Ilin-Tomich takes a different approach to Middle Kingdom stelae, in his examination of private funerary monuments and workshops during the Late Middle Kingdom to Second Intermediate Period. While focusing primarily on criteria for dating and determining their original and intended locations, he asserts that funerary stelae were erected for two purposes: 1) to guarantee the owner offerings via the rituals held in the areas in which they were erected and 2) to ensure the owner's continued participation in the region's processions.⁹³⁶ In terms of their content, Ilin-Tomich characterizes them as a "snapshot of an official's professional and family connections and household."⁹³⁷ This is rather similar to the perspective taken by Franke and Olabarria, but does not engage with the idealized or created nature of the stelae, likely as this is outside the purview of his research. These themes, identified in Middle Kingdom stelae, become central to our understanding of the later New Kingdom stelae.

5.3.2 Context of Stelae

Traditionally, stelae have been displayed in museums as one would a painting – on their own as a static image of the past. This ignores that originally stelae existed in the context of many other objects, including other stelae, statues, wall reliefs, and smaller objects. It downplays the agency and active role that they originally held in their respective spaces and contexts.

⁹³⁶ Ilin-Tomich, *From Workshop to Sanctuary*, ix.

⁹³⁷ Ilin-Tomich, *From Workshop to Sanctuary*, xiii.

They were placed in locations that changed and developed and in which people could interact with and view them.

Based on the provenance of the stelae in this case study, stelae from domestic, funerary, and temple contexts will be discussed. Though these three contexts represent most stelae, others, like boundary markers, will not be addressed. Yet, it is very possible, and in some cases likely, that the stelae were originally erected or placed somewhere and then moved any number of times before ending up where archaeologists or collectors found them. Such mobility must be considered when examining a stela's use as its movement may have been part of the stela's original function or evidence of later reuse and reinterpretation. When and where these movements took place can heavily influence how scholars understand the usage of such stelae. Thus, we should not tie ourselves too firmly to any interpretation based on a single context for these stelae.

5.3.2.1. Temple Stelae

Stelae from temple contexts are found within the walls of or closely associated with the grounds of a temple or shrine. These can be large, state-run temples or smaller local shrines and chapels. Stelae may have been erected by individuals, offered as votives (5.3.3.1), or erected by the king and his administration. Pinch suggests that in large state temples, stelae would have been placed in areas more open to the public, like forecourts or outside enclosure walls, while in more local shrines, they may have been placed in sanctuaries.⁹³⁸ This places stelae in publicly accessible areas – viewable to the dedicator and those visiting the temple as well as the deity and their priests, though it would depend on the building as

⁹³⁸ Geraldine Pinch, "Votive Practices," in *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, ed. Jacco Dieleman and Willeke Wendrich (2009), 6.

to who this “public” may have included (3.5). Times when greater numbers of people may have been permitted into the temple space like festivals and processions would then become times for greater interaction with stelae. On the other hand, Wells suggests that the reason so many New Kingdom stelae focused on festivals and processions was due to the limited access to temple complexes and spaces,⁹³⁹ expanding which stelae might be considered as associated with temples to include those referencing temple-based events.

In the temples and shrines, stelae became part of the larger decorative and ritual landscapes of these sacred spaces. In Deir el-Bahari, the stelae featuring a nursing goddess were accompanied by stelae bearing Hathoric imagery, painted votive, faience plaques, statues and statuettes, fertility objects, and various other images of the goddess, individuals, and the king.⁹⁴⁰ In turn, these objects would be set in the context of the temples’ reliefs, statuary, priests, festivals, and rituals. Likewise, those from the Sanctuary of Ptah and Meretseger would have been accompanied by many stelae, rock-cut and free standing, depicting individuals, gods, goddesses, and the king. These stelae would have been an integral part of a larger landscape of objects, representing shared cultural ideas.

5.3.2.2 Domestic Stelae

Domestic stelae, those found within houses or related areas, are largely believed to have been placed within niches in the walls of homes and associated with objects like altars, statues/statuettes, and ancestor busts.⁹⁴¹ In this way, they, too, become part of a larger

⁹³⁹ Eric Ryan Wells, “Display and Devotion: A Social and Religious Analysis of New Kingdom Votive Stelae from Asyut” (PhD University of California, Los Angeles, 2014), 58–59.

⁹⁴⁰ Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, 13–25.

⁹⁴¹ Sadek, *Popular Religion in Egypt during the New Kingdom*, 78; Iria Souto Castro, *Personal Religion in Domestic Contexts during the New Kingdom: The Impact of the Amarna Period* (Oxford: Archaeopress 2023), 29, 36–38.

assemblage of objects, creating a complex ritual space and decorative context. Several stelae have been found in excavated houses.⁹⁴² In Deir el-Medina, a large cultic area was found in a room of House NE XV and various objects related to the royal cult in House NE XII.⁹⁴³ Weiss points out that, overall, far fewer stelae are found in domestic contexts than in temples or elsewhere, to the point that she describes their “virtual absence in homes.”⁹⁴⁴ However, even if stela ÄM 21561 (Cat.1.54) was not from within a home, its discovery among homes distinguishes it from those found in temples and tombs, placing it in conversation with different objects, rituals, and surroundings.

5.3.2.3 Funerary Stelae

Funerary stelae are defined by their association with tombs and necropolises. Some have been identified as funerary based on their decoration, including depictions of funerary deities like Anubis, images of the deceased, and offering formula texts.⁹⁴⁵ However, many lack an archaeological context. Such identification assumes that funerary iconography means an originally funerary context.⁹⁴⁶

In general, it is believed that funerary stelae were erected outside of tombs or within the tomb chapels to ensure the funerary cult of the deceased, including the continuation of

⁹⁴² Souto Castro, *Personal Religion in Domestic Contexts*, 97.

⁹⁴³ Weiss, *Religious Practice at Deir el-Medina*, 36–38, 162–163.

⁹⁴⁴ Weiss, *Religious Practice at Deir el-Medina*, 163.

⁹⁴⁵ Manal Affara, “A New Kingdom Stela in the National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden,” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 46 (2010): 149; Exell, *Soldier, Sailors and Sandalsmakers*, 6.

⁹⁴⁶ For example, Affara, “A New Kingdom Stela,” 147–157; Mansour Boraik, “A Private Funerary Stela from the Excavations in front of Karnak Temples,” in *Archaeological Research in the Valley of the Kings and Ancient Thebes: Papers Presented in Honor of Richard H. Wilkinson*, ed. Pearce Paul Creasman ([Tucson, Arizona]: University of Arizona Egyptian Expedition, 2013), 89–99; Mona Zuheir El-Shaieb, “The New Kingdom Funerary Stela CG 34081 – Cairo Museum,” *The Journal of the Faculty of Archaeology* 25 (2022): 27–44.

offerings.⁹⁴⁷ In her research into the practices of a family from Deir el-Medina, Panaite convincingly reconstructs a portion of the funerary complex of Qaha and his family, which contains three tombs, around which were erected stelae of varying sizes, depicting members of the family and deities. Panaite demonstrates the way in which the stelae created a larger narrative and encapsulated a large proportion of the family, pointing out that the whole family would have been involved in the funerary cult.⁹⁴⁸ Once again, stelae were not isolated, but part of a ritual program of objects and images that all worked together.

5.3.3 Function of Stelae

Scholars largely attribute four primary functions to stelae: the establishment of relationships, self-presentation, communication, and the continuation of ritual. As will be demonstrated throughout the discussion, these functions vary and overlap depending on the scholar and context.

5.3.3.1 Stelae as Votives

One of the areas of greatest overlap between these four functions is stelae as votives, a topic which has arisen throughout this thesis. Stelae from a variety of contexts have been identified as votives, including some of those in this case study. Thus, before proceeding, I will present a brief discussion on votive offerings to establish a foundational understanding by which to understand the role of those stelae identified as such.

⁹⁴⁷ Andrzej Ćwiek and Marta Kaczanowicz, "Gates to the Hereafter: Funerary Stelae and their Significance in the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period Theban Burials," in *Knowledge and Memory: Festschrift in Honour of Ladislav Bareš*, ed. Filip Coppens, Jiří Janák, and Květa Smoláriková (Prague: Charles University, Faculty of Arts, 2022), 115; Elena Panaite, "A Brief Insight into the Cult Practice of a Family of Deir el-Medina: The Qaha Example," *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 39 (2023): 232.

⁹⁴⁸ Panaite, "Cult Practice of a Family," 231–242.

Votives are objects dedicated to a specific deity with the intent of establishing a relationship.⁹⁴⁹ The votive offering creates a dialogue between the dedicator and deity. Price summarizes this when he defines a votive as “anything donated to a god in hope of divine response.”⁹⁵⁰ Stelae can and should be regarded as votives when they have been created and/or dedicated for this purpose. Further, this may have been only one aspect of a stela’s intended purpose. Such a function spans a variety of intentions and circumstances. It can often be difficult to ascertain the intention behind a votive offering. Scholars have suggested they were made with the intent of making a request, offering thanks, appeasing the deity, or seeking favor.⁹⁵¹ A stela’s role as a votive can be theorized based on its text and iconography, which include appeals, praise, or other indicators of a relationship with deity;⁹⁵² association with other votive objects; context in areas associated with the offering of votives; or a combination of these.

Votives take many forms, from stelae to painted cloths to figurines.⁹⁵³ Scholars have pointed out an apparent uniformity in style and subject across votive offerings. Pinch even

⁹⁴⁹ See a similar definition in Pinch, “Votive Practices,” 1. Budka, however, defines votives as objects having been “deposited in the context of ritual acts,” made for a ritual purpose, or intentionally left in a sacred place, Julia Budka, “Re-awakening Osiris at Umm el-Qaab (Abydos): New Evidence for Votive Offerings and Other Religious Practices,” in *Perspectives on Lived Religion: Practices - Transmission - Landscape*, ed. Nico Staring, Huw Twiston Davies, and Lara Weiss (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2019), 17. Likewise, Pinch refers to votives as “the surviving part of an act of worship,” but she acknowledges that it is difficult to know what actions and ideas would have accompanied these votives, Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, 339. Determining whether a votive was part of a ritual act is frequently impossible as such acts rarely leave traces. Thus, though this definition may reflect the use of votives, it does not serve well as a definition for identifying such objects.

⁹⁵⁰ Campbell Price, “Votive Practice in Ancient Egypt,” in *Gifts for the Gods: Ancient Egyptian Animals Mummies and the British*, ed. Lidija McKnight and Stephanie Atherton-Woolham (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2015), 21.

⁹⁵¹ Pinch, “Votive Practices,” 2; Harco O. W[illems], “Sacrifice, Offerings, and Votives: Egypt,” in *Religions of the Ancient World: A Guide*, ed. Sarah Iles Johnston (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004), 325.

⁹⁵² See the discussion by Wells, “Display and Devotion,” 35–38.

⁹⁵³ See Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*; Susan Redford, “Placating the Gods: Egyptian Votives,” in *Life and Death in Ancient Egypt: The Diniacopoulos Collection*, ed. Jane E. Francis and George W. M. Harrison (Montreal: Concordia University, 2011), 63; Teeter, *Baked Clay Figurines*.

sorts the subjects of votive offerings to Hathor into three categories: representations of deities or their qualities, cult objects, or images associated with fertility.⁹⁵⁴ In general, the texts and dedications on the objects were formulaic,⁹⁵⁵ perhaps implying mass production or state/royally controlled production. Bußmann suggests that the standard nature of the objects and their imagery indicates that the votive's form did not always reflect its intended purpose. Instead, what mattered more was the act of dedication and the "display of their identity."⁹⁵⁶ He goes on to state that votives "belong to broader streams of iconographic traditions, embedded in different social contexts" and that "meaning does not reside in objects but is ascribed to them through practice."⁹⁵⁷ Though much of their meaning likely came from ritual, some scholars have noted patterns in the types of votives offered and their contexts or presumed purposes. For example, those offered in Deir el-Bahari tend to depict Hathor or Hathoric imagery,⁹⁵⁸ and the nude female figurines discussed in 2.1.2 appear to be tied to ideas of general fertility and health.⁹⁵⁹

Votive offerings dedicated at temples were likely offered and/or displayed in the forecourts or just outside the walls,⁹⁶⁰ areas most often accessible to the public. Pinch notes that during the New Kingdom, individuals appear to have been allowed to leave votives in certain areas of temples or shrines, suggesting they were an official part of the building's function.⁹⁶¹ Based on finds of votives in temple's inner shrines and similar locations, areas

⁹⁵⁴ Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, 5.

⁹⁵⁵ Bußmann, "Practice, meaning and intention," 80.

⁹⁵⁶ Bußmann, "Practice, meaning and intention," 80.

⁹⁵⁷ Bußmann, "Practice, meaning and intention," 83.

⁹⁵⁸ See the catalogues in Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*.

⁹⁵⁹ Teeter, *Baked Clay Figurines*, 27.

⁹⁶⁰ Pinch, "Votive Practices," 6.

⁹⁶¹ Pinch, "Votive Practices," 1, 4.

which would have been accessibly only to temple priests and staff, she suggests that many were probably offered during religious festivals and then taken further into the temples by priests.⁹⁶² Thus, though offered by private individuals and groups, the influence of the king and priesthood may still have been present in votive practices.

5.3.3.2 *Stelae and the Creation of Relationships*

Much like votives, stelae, in general, could establish relationships: between dedicator and deity, dedicator and king, or the individuals depicted on the stelae. Souto Castro suggests exchange as the basis for this relationship: a stelae for the deity and favor for the dedicator.⁹⁶³ Wells goes so far as to say that stelae expressed a relationship with the deity to gain “social capital” for the dedicator.⁹⁶⁴ Kings could forge and showcase their relationships with deities through commissioning stelae,⁹⁶⁵ while individuals could create relationships with the king and/or deity through their stelae. Pérez-Accino suggests that in the imagery the king could act as an intermediary for individuals seeking to establish a relationship with a deity.⁹⁶⁶ Exell points out that by the Ramesside period, this intercession by the king appears less frequently with individuals approaching deities themselves.⁹⁶⁷ However, the visual aspects of the stelae meant it could create a range of relationships. Sometimes, the

⁹⁶² Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, 345; Pinch, “Votive Practices,” 6. Pinch 2009, 6; Pinch 1993, 345.

⁹⁶³ Iria Souto Castro, “La religión personal a través de algunas estelas votivas de Deir el-Medina: un ejemplo para el estudio de la iconografía y el texto,” in *Estudios sobre orientalismo y egiptología: nuevas aportaciones de la investigación española*, ed. Juan Luis Montero Fenollós and Lucía Brage Martínez (Sevilla: Editorial Universidad de Sevilla, 2021), 418.

⁹⁶⁴ Wells, “Display and Devotion,” 58–59.

⁹⁶⁵ José Ramón Pérez-Accino, “The Framework of the Meeting Narrative Uses of Stelae in Egyptian Literary Texts,” *Trabajos de Egiptología - Papers on Ancient Egypt* 8 (2017): 291.

⁹⁶⁶ Pérez-Accino, “The Framework of the Meeting Narrative,” 294.

⁹⁶⁷ Exell, *Soldier, Sailors and Sandalmakers*, 21.

relationship forged and presented was intended between those depicted on the stelae. Beyond family and kin, individuals could depict themselves with those of higher rank in order to forge and demonstrate these beneficial relationships. Likewise, stelae could be erected in relation to or near other stelae and monuments to create a connection with those individuals represented on these other monuments based on spatial proximity. Wells suggests that such relationships were often in order to raise one's own status.⁹⁶⁸ Thus, these relationships become a part of one's creation of self or self-presentation.

5.3.3.3 *Stelae as Self-Presentation*

One of the most discussed purposes for stelae is that of self-presentation, a concept explored in 4.3.7. Wells suggests that "certain votive stelae were created not only to serve a religious function, but also with the intention of conveying a lasting, material form of self-presentation (i.e., communicating identity, status, privilege, and religious access) that could be displayed to the larger community for eternity."⁹⁶⁹ He maintains that they were meant to represent the ideal version of its subject(s) – what they *should* be.⁹⁷⁰ This idea shares much with Olabarria's observations regarding public display, Franke's on the input of social ideals, and Rickal's on the private vs. public self (4.3.7 and 5.3.4). Weiss states, "the evidence identifies the stelae's primary function as expression of status and prestige through exhibition of an individual's cultic participation."⁹⁷¹ The interpretation of stelae as presentations of the ideal relies heavily on their nature as objects of display.

⁹⁶⁸ Exell, *Soldier, Sailors and Sandalmakers*, 21.

⁹⁶⁹ Wells, "Display and Devotion," 1.

⁹⁷⁰ Wells, "Display and Devotion," 6.

⁹⁷¹ Weiss, *Religious Practice at Deir el-Medina*, 163.

Scholars have applied this self-presentation to stelae of kings as well. In her examination of New Kingdom stelae from Deir el-Medina, Exell suggests stelae depict real events such as festivals and royal visits or cult images and can be used to reconstruct these events and levels of religious access.⁹⁷² Based on this idea, she links stela imagery to Ramesses II's "manipulation," promoting his kingship and role as intermediary between humankind and the gods. She goes on to suggest that this resulted in non-royal individuals using similar tactics on stelae to promote themselves. Therefore, the primary purpose of stelae becomes one of "self-promotion."⁹⁷³ However, her analysis does not consider the decorative or ritual context in which these stelae were erected, the range of locations in which stelae could be used, and the various types of stelae created. Exell is able to identify events for only a small portion of stela imagery, and such a limited dataset is not enough to conclude the same is true for *all* stelae from this time and place. Further, this does not consider a stela's active role in its environment, something that Olabarria acknowledges in her study of Middle Kingdom stelae⁹⁷⁴ or the "cultural codes" noted by Franke.⁹⁷⁵ According to Exell, stelae were snapshots demonstrating what was seen or what one wanted to be seen. Though self-promotion was a factor in their creation, this does not reflect their entire purpose and life as an object.

⁹⁷² Exell, *Soldier, Sailors and Sandalmakers*, 21, 30, 66–67.

⁹⁷³ Exell, *Soldier, Sailors and Sandalmakers*, 138.

⁹⁷⁴ Olabarria, *Kinship and Family*, 29; Olabarria, "Coming to Terms with Stelae," 118.

⁹⁷⁵ Franke, *Egyptian Stelae in the British Museum*, 2.

5.3.3.4 *Stelae as Means of Communication*

In considering a more active role for stelae, scholars often look at stelae's ability to communicate and their role in various communications. In examining votives from Deir el-Medina, Souto Castro suggests that votive stelae were private objects meant to communicate between an individual and a deity, expressing beliefs and devotion to a deity of their choice.⁹⁷⁶ However, this does not engage with the implications of the public display of stelae, though it may have been that individuals wished to showcase their devotion to a specific deity and Souto Castro acknowledges that the stelae could have served as symbols of status and individuality,⁹⁷⁷ overlapping with their role in self-presentation, discussed above.

The communicative abilities of stelae continue in discussions of domestic stelae, in large part based on the other ritual objects found in homes, such as altars, busts, and false doors.⁹⁷⁸ Harrington suggests that stelae in the home were meant to “provide an interface for two-way communication between the living and the dead.”⁹⁷⁹ Presumably, this idea of communication would apply to images of deities as well. Souto Castro agrees and states that stelae, together with other artifacts of domestic worship, were a means by which one could communicate with the gods and that by being placed in niches along with other objects, stelae could aid in the offering of prayers and the recitation of sacred texts.⁹⁸⁰ Thus, communication aids in the formation of relationships (5.3.3.2).

⁹⁷⁶ Souto Castro, “La religión personal,” 408–409.

⁹⁷⁷ Souto Castro, “La religión personal,” 409.

⁹⁷⁸ Nicola Harrington, “Funerary Furniture Made to Order? Stela UC 142228,” in *Sitting Beside Lepsius: Studies in Honour of Jaromir Malek at the Griffith Institute*, ed. Dianna Magee, Janine Bourriau, and Stephen Quirke (Leuven: Peeters; Departement Oosterse Studies, 2009), 229.

⁹⁷⁹ Harrington, “Funerary Furniture Made to Order?,” 229.

⁹⁸⁰ Souto Castro, *Personal Religion in Domestic Contexts*, 28–29.

In her examination of a group of stelae from Deir el-Medina, Panaite likewise suggests communication as a purpose for funerary stelae. She points out that the texts on the two of the stelae are addressed to visitors, with the appeals for libations (found on many stelae), and thus were expected to be read and interacted with. The family of those depicted on the stelae, as well as participants in the processions in Thebes, may have been the intended audience.⁹⁸¹ However, the number of people who would have been able to interact with the stelae's text in this way would have been limited due to the low literacy rates in ancient Egypt. While it is possible that stelae's texts were read aloud or understood based on their formulaic nature, it is still unlikely texts were the primary focus for the stelae's audience. This text/image dynamic will be discussed further in 5.5.4. Further, in her reconstruction of the tomb courtyards of the family of Qaha, Panaite notes the interaction between the various stelae of a single family's program.⁹⁸² Though Panaite does not take this idea as far as to explore the exact dialogue or interplay between the stelae, her acknowledgment of such a stela corpus within a space leads one to consider the possibility of such dialogue. Similarly, Colin suggests that the mortuary stela of Tetiankh, an 18th dynasty stela found within the walls of TT 33 showing Tetiankh before various family groupings, is part of a larger series of stelae that demonstrate piety and social networks across generations.⁹⁸³ The analysis of stelae dedicated by those of the same family demonstrates the interchange, similar themes, and reciprocity between them.⁹⁸⁴ Though these stelae may not all be together physically, Colin understands them to still be in

⁹⁸¹ Panaite, "Cult Practice of a Family," 238.

⁹⁸² Panaite, "Cult Practice of a Family," 232–234.

⁹⁸³ Frédéric Colin, "The Mortuary Stela of Tetiankh: Family Piety and Social Network," *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 120 (2020): 130.

⁹⁸⁴ Colin, "The Mortuary Stela of Tetiankh," 130–140.

dialogue, further alluding to the agency of objects and imagery in the ancient Egyptian worldview, as discussed previously in 1.4.2.

5.3.3.5 Stelae and the Continuation of Ritual

Finally, as touched on throughout this chapter, stelae were associated with ritual, and it has been proposed that they were a means of continuing those rituals, something Ilin-Tomich states is a primary purpose for the Middle Kingdom stelae in his corpus.⁹⁸⁵ Souto Castro suggests that stelae, along with the other objects in the home, “function as portraits of reality facilitating the domestic cult performance as downscale replicas of the cultic apparatus used in temples and mortuary contexts.”⁹⁸⁶ However, this ignores the essential differences between home, temple, and mortuary settings, and thereby, the differences in the rituals performed in each. It assumes that temples and mortuary contexts would have similar cultic environments and that they would and could be replicated in the home. Thus, it is too general to state they were replicating temple *and* mortuary contexts but could perhaps be creating environments with similar features and purposes. Further, this ignores the inherent originality and essential differences that existed between mortuary or temple ritual and domestic ritual performance. This does not discount that the display of objects of devotion like stelae was, in part, meant to create the appropriate environment for worship,⁹⁸⁷ but this was likely an environment unique and suited to the home.

Weiss adds to this discussion when she includes stelae in what she terms “written speech acts,” defined as writing meant to ensure “ongoing speech in places otherwise

⁹⁸⁵ Ilin-Tomich, *From Workshop to Sanctuary*, ix.

⁹⁸⁶ Souto Castro, *Personal Religion in Domestic Contexts*, 28.

⁹⁸⁷ Souto Castro, *Personal Religion in Domestic Contexts*, 28.

inaccessible to the living.”⁹⁸⁸ By the inclusion of text, the act of speech, which was essential to the ritual, could be continued indefinitely.⁹⁸⁹ In this way, the object gains a level of independence, acting on behalf of its dedicator. Yet, this once again privileges a stela’s text over its images. As noted previously, in a largely illiterate society, the images were likely the primary means by which most individuals experienced stelae. Many stelae contain mostly imagery with little text. So, when considering the ways in which these objects functioned, it is essential not to prioritize their textual elements. Regarding funerary stelae, Ćwiek, too, attributes an active role to the stelae: securing offerings for, commemorating the life and identity of, and aiding in the coming and going of the deceased individual.⁹⁹⁰ He suggests that certain themes and commonalities existed among stelae of every period, namely that they served as a means of “transfer,” by which the deceased could leave their tomb to receive offerings and return.⁹⁹¹ Unfortunately, in Ćwiek’s discussion, little evidence comes from the New Kingdom, with the majority dating to the Middle Kingdom and Third Intermediate to Late Periods, as it attempts to cover a wide span of objects, making it difficult to assess for those of the New Kingdom. Further, his conclusions are limited to those stelae with a funerary nature or related to a deceased individual. However, his research acknowledges that stelae were meant to serve an active ritual purpose beyond just a representation of the deceased, a deity, or an event. Here, stelae communicate *and* provide for the continuation of ritual, similar to the function and purpose of visual images discussed in 1.4.2, specifically that suggested by Nyord.

⁹⁸⁸ Lara Weiss, “The Power of Voice,” in *The Workman’s Progress: Studies in the Village of Deir el-Medina and Other Documents from Western Thebes in Honour of Rob Demarée*, ed. Ben J. J. Haring, Olaf E. Kaper, and René van Walsem (Leuven: Peeters, 2014), 297–298, 301.

⁹⁸⁹ Weiss, “The Power of Voice,” 297–298.

⁹⁹⁰ Ćwiek and Kaczanowicz, “Gates to the Hereafter,” 115–116, 125.

⁹⁹¹ Ćwiek and Kaczanowicz, “Gates to the Hereafter,” 125.

Though I have chosen here to divide conversations on stelae functions into categories – the establishment of a relationship, self-presentation, communication, and the continuation of ritual – these categories often overlap and merge. It is very unlikely that ancient Egyptians would have categorized stelae in this fashion. Rather, stelae were likely to have had a range of functions, being actors within their spaces, and having their function determined by their context.

5.3.4 Stelae as Sources

Over the years, scholars have used stelae to answer a variety of questions about ancient Egyptian culture and history: questions regarding kinship,⁹⁹² personal piety,⁹⁹³ patterns of worship,⁹⁹⁴ religious festivals and events,⁹⁹⁵ political and religious offices, and specific individuals.⁹⁹⁶ In light of these many studies, it is important to consider how stelae have and

⁹⁹² Olabarria, *Kinship and Family*; Souto Castro, “La religión personal,” 411–412.

⁹⁹³ Terence DuQuesne, “Individualism in Private Religion during the Egyptian New Kingdom. The Question of Amarna Influence on Votive Stelae from Asyut,” in *Hephaistos Themenband Persönliche Frömmigkeit. Funktion und Bedeutung individueller Gotteskontakte im interdisziplinären Dialog. Akten der Tagung am Archäologischen Institut der Universität Hamburg (25.-27. November 2010)*, ed. Wiebke Friese et al. (Hamburg: LIT, 2011), 51–62; Sasca Malabaila, “Cults and Worship in Deir el-Medina,” in *Deir el-Medina: Through the Kaleidoscope. Proceedings of the International Workshop, Turin 8th–10th October 2018*, ed. Susanne Töpfer, Paolo Del Vesco, and Federico Poole (Turin: Museo Egizio; Franco Cosimo Panini, 2022), 747–759.

⁹⁹⁴ Colin, “The Mortuary Stela of Tetiankh,” 129–170; Panaite, “Cult Practice of a Family,” 231–242; Wells, “Display and Devotion.”

⁹⁹⁵ Karen Exell, “The Senior Scribe Ramose (1) and the Cult of the King: A Social and Historical Reading of Some Private Votive Stelae from Deir el-Medina in the Reign of Ramesses II,” in *Current research in Egyptology 2004: proceedings of the fifth annual symposium which took place at the University of Durham January 2004*, ed. Rachael Jane Dann (Oxford: Oxbow, 2006), 51–67; Exell, *Soldier, Sailors and Sandalsmakers*.

⁹⁹⁶ Aisha M. Abdalaal, “A New Kingdom Stela from Memphis,” in *Echoes of Eternity: Studies Presented to Gaballa Aly Gaballa*, ed. Ola El-Aguizy and Mohamed Sherif Ali (Weisbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010), 127–132; Affara, “A New Kingdom Stela,” 147–157; Boraik, “A Private Funerary Stela,” 89–99; Gina Criscenzo-Laycock, “A New Ramesside Stela from Deir el-Medina,” in *Ramesside Studies in Honour of K. A. Kitchen*, ed. Mark Collier and Steven Snape (Bulston: Rutherford, 2011), 123–126; Mansour El-Noubi, “A Ramesside Votive Stela from the Theban Area,” *Göttinger Miszellen* 202 (2004): 11–17; El-Shaieb, “The New Kingdom Funerary Stela,” 27–44; Ahmed Adel Hamden, “An Unpublished Stela of Kharu and his Wife Ty in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (Temp. No. 11.1.25.7),” *The Conference Book of the General Union of Arab Archeologists* 20 (2017): 1–20; Abdel Wahid Ibrahim, “ملاحظات على لوحة با سر، رقم ٤٣٦٤٩ بسجل الدخول بالمتحف المصري بالقاهرة / Observations on Paser Stela no. 43649 in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo,” *Abgadiyat* 7 (2012): 15–24; Marwa Kafafy, “Two Ramesside Stelae at

can be used by researchers as sources, especially as here they are examined in the context of understanding the usage of divine nursing imagery.

One of the first questions scholars must grapple with when using stelae as sources is whether stelae reflect reality or ideals. When it comes to stelae, a publicly displayed object in many cases, this question becomes more nuanced: how much idealism is present? What *can* be learned from their depictions regarding aspects of Egyptian culture and society? These questions become more difficult when one considers the variety of images and decoration that appear on stelae. For example, when looking at stelae for insights into religious practice, one must consider whether stelae are meant to show an accurate record of events or hopes for and expected eventual interaction with the deity. Further, rules of decorum may have played an important role in what could be and was depicted. In the end, the question is the extent to which the texts and images can be taken at face value.

Before going further, it is necessary to address the topic of personal piety – the active relationship between an individual and a deity⁹⁹⁷ – and its relationship with decorum. Based on the stelae and ostraca from Thebes that record prayers and texts addressed to various deities, some authors, such as Breasted, Černý, and Assmann, have suggested that the Ramesside period marks the start of personal piety in Egyptian religion in reaction to the

the Grand Egyptian Museum (GEM 9295 & 9444),” *Shedet* 8 (2021): 38–59; Rickal, “Les Epithets dans les Autobiographies du Nouvel Empire.”

⁹⁹⁷ John Baines, “Practical Religion and Piety,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 73 (1987): 79; John Baines and Elizabeth Froom, “Piety, Change and Display in the New Kingdom,” in *Ramesside Studies in Honour of K. A. Kitchen*, ed. Mark Collier and Steven Snape (Bolton: Rutherford, 2011), 3–4. See also the discussion on the defining of personal piety in Maria Michela Luiselli, *Die Suche nach Gottesnähe: Untersuchungen zur persönlichen Frömmigkeit in Ägypten von der Ersten Zwischenzeit bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2011), 9–11; Luiselli, “Personal Piety in Ancient Egypt,” 105; Maria Michela Luiselli, “Les différentes formes de piété personnelle à Deir el-Medina,” in *À l’œuvre on connaît l’artisan...de Pharaon! Un siècle de recherches françaises à Deir el-Medina (1917-2017)*, ed. Hanane Gabler, Laure Bazin Rizzo, and Frédéric Servajean (Silvana, 2018), 209–210.

changes made by Akhenaten during the Amarna period.⁹⁹⁸ However, Baines points out that there are many acts that could be defined as personal piety for which there is evidence prior to the New Kingdom, such as festivals and the consultation of oracles.⁹⁹⁹ Instead, Baines suggests that the New Kingdom marked a change in decorum that allowed greater freedom in the depiction of certain rituals, images, and texts and that it is this change that might look like a surge in personal piety to modern scholars.¹⁰⁰⁰ During the New Kingdom, direct and indirect evidence for personal piety can be found in textual sources in which individuals refer to their interactions with and closeness to gods as well as archaeological material attesting to personal practice and ritual.¹⁰⁰¹

Personal beliefs are always difficult to postulate from sources like stelae and scholars disagree as to the level to which they depict personal feelings or social ideals. For example, Franke defines stelae as a display of personal piety;¹⁰⁰² however, Wells considers it a more complicated matter, suggesting stelae demonstrate who could afford and, was allowed, to express piety. He argues that personal beliefs vary by individual and are impossible to know based on stelae, and, instead, when stelae include texts regarding “religious sentiments,” they demonstrate one’s nearness to a deity instead.¹⁰⁰³ Presumably, this includes one’s

⁹⁹⁸ Breasted appears to have been the one to coin the term “age of personal piety” in reference to the Ramesside period, James Henry Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt* (Cosimo Classics, 2010 [1912]), 344, 349. Assmann agrees and adds the phrase “new religiosity” to describe this period, Jan Assmann, *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt*, trans. David Lorton (London: Cornell University Press, 2001), 224, 228, 241; Jan Assmann, *The Mind of Egypt: History and Meaning in the Time of the Pharaohs*, trans. Andrew Jenkins (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), 229. Though Černý does not use the phrases “piety” or “religiosity,” he does cite a “change of attitude” following the Amarna period that reflected a turning point in Egyptian religion, Jaroslav Černý, *Ancient Egyptian Religion* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1957), 68–69.

⁹⁹⁹ Baines, “Practical Religion and Piety,” 86–97.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Baines and Froud, “Piety, Change and Display in the New Kingdom,” 7–17.

¹⁰⁰¹ Luiselli, *Die Suche nach Gottesnähe*, 144–243; Luiselli, “Personal Piety in Ancient Egypt,” 106–107.

¹⁰⁰² Franke, *Egyptian Stelae in the British Museum*, 2.

¹⁰⁰³ Wells, “Display and Devotion,” 39–45.

participation in the known approaches to religiosity and common practices of the period. In contrast, Exell believes stelae do *not* demonstrate personal piety at all but were controlled by the king and their administration to promote the king.¹⁰⁰⁴ Colin, on the other hand, chooses to consider “family piety,” looking at a family’s collection of stelae that share various features and existed in a shared space.¹⁰⁰⁵ Most scholars land somewhere in the middle of this spectrum, admitting a level of choice and piety in the creation of the stelae, but in the context of social decorum and expectations.

In examining autobiographies of individuals from the New Kingdom, Rickal engaged with stelae as a source of autobiographical information. When describing the types of information gleaned from autobiographies, Rickal differentiates between the public and private self, referenced earlier, stating that many may be tempted to look at autobiographies, including those on stelae, as evidence of the private self, though they are more likely depictions of the public self. She points out that the public self is often changeable and adapted to the circumstances in which the self is being portrayed.¹⁰⁰⁶ Because of this, these public selves, such as on stelae, are often an expression of the social order in which one lives and how one integrates oneself into the mold of a good individual as defined by society. However, Rickal does suggest that “traces” of the private self might be found in the application of social molds.¹⁰⁰⁷ Rickal further states that the social molds and roles in which people portrayed themselves were often in terms of relationships to others.¹⁰⁰⁸ Considering the material in Chapter 2, wet nurses are often identified on stelae

¹⁰⁰⁴ Exell, *Soldier, Sailors and Sandalmakers*, 66–67, 97.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Colin, “The Mortuary Stela of Tetiankh,” 129–170.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Rickal, “Les Epithets dans les Autobiographies du Nouvel Empire,” 41.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Rickal, “Les Epithets dans les Autobiographies du Nouvel Empire,” 39, see also 105.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Rickal, “Les Epithets dans les Autobiographies du Nouvel Empire,” 105.

by the title *mnꜥt*, a title that identifies them by their relationship with someone else – their nursling. According to Rickal’s observations, this would then place her within the social mold of “wet nurse” to viewers of the stelae. Thus, reconstructing day-to-day reality from these sources must be done with the utmost caution as it bases people’s identities on social roles and the relational aspects of one’s identity that have been chosen to be depicted by those commissioning the stelae rather than unique traits.

Frood also includes stelae in her study of biographical texts from the Ramesside period. She emphasizes the importance of context in understanding these texts: “They are thus context-bound, functional, and not intended for general dissemination. They present an idealized image of the individual that is oriented to maintaining self and memory after death through mortuary cult in tomb and temple.”¹⁰⁰⁹ She engages with them as objects with distinct and active purposes,¹⁰¹⁰ reflecting the stelae purposes outlined in 5.3.3. Thus, like Rickal’s public self, Frood emphasizes that stelae were to represent an ideal of an individual by nature of their function. Olabarria, Kubisch, and Luiselli have also engaged with stelae as sources for biographical (or autobiographical) information across the Middle Kingdom, Second Intermediate Period, and New Kingdom. Looking at those stelae associated with the chapel of Ikhnofret at Abydos, Olabarria demonstrates that the stelae function less as a narrative about a single life but more as a record of relationships, a shared event, and various perspectives.¹⁰¹¹ Kubisch notes that biographies, including those on stelae, were monumental in nature, meant to be displayed and, therefore, to assert one’s achievements,

¹⁰⁰⁹ Frood, *Biographical Texts from the Ramesside Egypt*, 2.

¹⁰¹⁰ Frood, *Biographical Texts from the Ramesside Egypt*, 1–8.

¹⁰¹¹ Leire Olabarria, “Monumental Lives: The Chapel of Ikhnofret as a Distributed Biography,” (in press).

qualities, and good character.¹⁰¹² Luiselli asserts that votive or “personal piety” stelae “certainly aimed at providing a frame for self-presentation within the local community and the recalling of personal religious experience.”¹⁰¹³ Luiselli uses stelae along with other textual and archaeological sources as a source of autobiographical information in her exploration of personal piety and religious experience during the First Intermediate Period to New Kingdom.¹⁰¹⁴ She advocates for an interpretation which considers the agency in a stela’s creation and the personal experiences they depict.¹⁰¹⁵ As scholars have sought to use stelae for biographical information on ancient individuals and communities, they have needed to acknowledge the purpose of the stelae and account for the fact that these were public displays, representations of ideals, and not bound by our modern ideas of biographical text.

In her examination of New Kingdom stelae, Exell uses stelae to reconstruct and understand the events, rituals, and processions witnessed by the individuals or community by whom they were commissioned. In this way, she seeks to demonstrate the access individuals had, or were said to have had, to various religious and/or political events.¹⁰¹⁶ Though Exell’s research has already been discussed, especially relevant to this discussion is that this analysis takes the imagery on stelae as realistic depictions of events. This should be taken with caution as, though Egyptian art does often depict “real” events, it was generally

¹⁰¹² Sabine Kubisch, *Lebensbilder der 2. Zwischenzeit. Biographische Inschriften der 13.-17. Dynastie* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 7–9.

¹⁰¹³ Maria Michela Luiselli, “Living a Religious Life: The Display of Religious Experience in Egyptian Autobiographies,” in *Ancient Egyptian Biographies: Contexts, Forms, Functions*, ed. Julie Stauder-Porchet, Elizabeth Froom, and Andréas Stauder (Atlanta: Lockwood Press, 2020), 314.

¹⁰¹⁴ Luiselli, “Personal Piety in Ancient Egypt,” 106–107; Luiselli, “Living a Religious Life,” 314. Many stelae are included in her catalogue of autobiographical sources, Luiselli, *Die Suche nach Gottesnähe*, 244–420.

¹⁰¹⁵ Luiselli, “Personal Piety in Ancient Egypt,” 112.

¹⁰¹⁶ Exell, *Soldier, Sailors and Sandalmakers*, 14.

not the primary function of the art.¹⁰¹⁷ Baines notes that no object is created to be a true, honest reflection of life, but rather, there is always a purpose behind its creation, influencing its design.¹⁰¹⁸ Olabarria asserts that reliefs on stelae “are not *representing reality*, they are actively *creating a reality*.”¹⁰¹⁹ Exell’s conclusions remove individual or private motivations. Though most agree stelae were not entirely objects of personal piety, personal and social agency influenced choices of stelae contents and form.

In contrast to Exell’s conclusions, Wells states that “regardless of whatever internal sentiments they may have held, an analysis of the representations of individuals on votive stelae allows us to determine the socially established roles society expected each individual to play in a public, religious setting.”¹⁰²⁰ Based on Baines’s research and Wells’s own identification of social groups among the stelae, Wells suggests stelae can be used as a source of information on social organizations and expectations, such as the influence and limitations of wealth and decorum on what could be depicted on one’s own stela, adding another layer to the selection of imagery.¹⁰²¹ Wells’s corpus of stelae consists of New Kingdom votive stelae from Asyut, a small and provincial town, very different from the cultic centers of Abydos and Thebes where many other studies focus.¹⁰²² Wells determines the social class of the votive dedicator in part based on the idea that greater variation and “artistic agency”

¹⁰¹⁷ See for example the text and imagery in Ramesses II’s depictions of the Battle of Kadesh differ, and Ramesses III’s reliefs of the Battle of Kadesh, a battle that was fought by Ramesses II, Erik Hornung, *Idea into Image: Essays on Ancient Egyptian Thought* (Timken, 1992), 154–155; Ronald J. Leprohon, “Ideology and Propaganda,” in *A Companion to Ancient Egyptian Art*, ed. Melinda K. Hartwig (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2015), 313–314. See also Baines, *Visual and Written Culture*, 294; Hornung, *Idea into Image*, 163; Pieke, “Lost in Transformation,” 260.

¹⁰¹⁸ John Baines, “Egyptian Letters of the New Kingdom as Evidence for Religious Practice,” *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions* 1 (2001): 4.

¹⁰¹⁹ Olabarria, *Kinship and Family*, 22.

¹⁰²⁰ Wells, “Display and Devotion,” 5.

¹⁰²¹ Wells, “Display and Devotion,” 42.

¹⁰²² Wells, “Display and Devotion,” 60.

was a sign of greater social power and higher status.¹⁰²³ Wells further suggests that the form of the god shown on a stela may have been determined by the levels of accessibility of the individual, some forms being more accessible than others.¹⁰²⁴ Wells's analysis suggests much can be learned about the individuals who commissioned stelae, their social groups, and the social expectations regarding position and self-presentation as well as the significant amount of agency in the creation of stelae. It must be acknowledged that Wells's method of identifying social groups is not based on the self-identification of the stela subjects. However, the extent to which decorum and social expectations interacted with individual preference is hard to determine from the stelae themselves.

Also considering the stelae from Asyut, DuQuesne sees a high level of individualism or personal choice in the creation of stelae. He states that the stelae were "[o]bjects illustrating the tension between canonical requirements and the need for self-expression and spiritual engagement" and "combine canonical and idiosyncratic modes of artistic expression."¹⁰²⁵ How much this personal expression may have been a universal part of stela creation in the New Kingdom or a unique feature of an area like Asyut is difficult to determine. DuQuesne acknowledges this and suggests that unique features on the Asyut stelae could be a result of local rather than individual choices.¹⁰²⁶ Studies of Middle Kingdom stela workshops have noted the influence of local traditions and styles on stela creation along with larger trends across Egypt.¹⁰²⁷ In regard to the seven stelae in this case study,

¹⁰²³ Wells, "Display and Devotion," 112.

¹⁰²⁴ Wells, "Display and Devotion," 47–48.

¹⁰²⁵ Terence DuQuesne, "Private Devotion and Public Practice," in *A British Egyptological Tribute to Alan Lloyd*, ed. Thomas Schneider, Kasia Maria Szpakowska, and Alan B. Lloyd (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2007), 60.

¹⁰²⁶ DuQuesne, "Individualism in Private Religion," 52.

¹⁰²⁷ Il'in-Tomich, *From Workshop to Sanctuary*, 155–158.

these questions of personal choice must be considered, as they feature a uncommon motif in stela art: whether depicting the divine nursing motif was a unique choice, communicated something specific about the commissioner and their relationship to the king and/or goddess; were part of a larger local tradition; or represent a mass-produced scene.

When considering what can be learned about a stela's dedicator through personal choice, the hand of the artist must also be acknowledged. Even if an individual commissioned a stela, they were not the one creating it. This was a craftsman, presumably working with known images, techniques, and, possibly, an existing repertoire, though little is known about the process. Harrington has examined the process of commissioning and creating stelae in New Kingdom workshops. In her examination of a 20th dynasty stela, she notes that the presence of ink on the stela suggests the sculptor carved the stela prior to its purchase, suggesting a level of pre-production with later personalization and thus only partial customization,¹⁰²⁸ a production process similar to some Books of the Dead.¹⁰²⁹ This might imply a greater influence of canonical requirements and social expectations in the final appearance of the stelae, especially with the imagery on stelae also being found on other votives and reliefs. However, there is evidence from Deir el-Medina of commissioners requesting specific elements for their stela. A 20th dynasty ostrakon records a request for an image of Montu on a throne and a scribe kissing the ground before him.¹⁰³⁰ Here the

¹⁰²⁸ Harrington, "Funerary Furniture Made to Order?," 229–231. Further studies have been done on stelae workshops of the Middle Kingdom, see Rita E. Freed, "Stelae Workshops of Early Dynasty 12," in *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson, Volume 1* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, Department of Ancient Egyptian, Nubian, and Near Eastern Art, 1996), 297–336; Ilin-Tomich, *From Workshop to Sanctuary*; Danijela Stefanović, "A Note on the Late Middle Kingdom Stelae 'Workshop' at Thebes," in *Egypt 2015: perspectives of research: proceedings of the Seventh European Conference of Egyptologists, 2nd-7th June 2015, Zagreb, Croatia*, ed. Mladen Tomorad and Joana Popielska-Grzybowska (2017), 71–75.

¹⁰²⁹ Allen, *Going Forth by Day*, 3; Ursula Verhoeven, "Writing Book of the Dead Manuscripts: Tasks and Traditions," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Egyptian Book of the Dead*, ed. Rita Lucarelli and Martin Andreas Stadler (New York: Oxford University Press, 2023), 163.

¹⁰³⁰ Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, 139, no. 175.

commissioner may show a high level of personal choice. However, it is possible that the images the author was choosing came from a known selection. Hence, the one commissioning the piece was simply able to request Montu on a throne with little additional detail. It is likely that the personal choice of the commissioner and artists in stelae creation varied across regions, occasion, stelae type, and cost.

When considering issues of personal choice, decorum, and realism in stelae scenes it can be enlightening to consider Old Kingdom scenes of “daily life” from elite tombs. Like stelae of the New Kingdom, certain scenes were shared across tombs with variations between them. Staring summarizes his questions regarding these images as whether “the steps in the realization of a tomb actually do reflect the choices made by the tomb owner, or whether these, to speak in Baines’s words, are led by ‘rules of decorum.’”¹⁰³¹ Using statistics, both Staring and van Walsem discovered a selection of scenes that were necessary for a tomb to function, such as offering scenes and offering tables. In addition, there appeared to be a range of optional scenes one could choose to include or not. However, both do note that even the choice of these scenes would have been determined and influenced by factors like the size of the tomb and its walls.¹⁰³² Thus, there is once again a spectrum between canon and personal choice, and a close interaction between personal choice, utility, and decorum. This is potentially very similar to what is seen on stelae from the New Kingdom. There are repeated images and texts, as well as customization and variation. Further, as mentioned above, even in workshops, there is the potential for the co-existence of mass production and commission. Therefore, I would suggest that, like the elite tombs of the Old

¹⁰³¹ Staring, “Fixed Rules or Personal Choice?,” 258.

¹⁰³² Staring, “Fixed Rules or Personal Choice?,” 258–269; van Walsem, *Iconography of Old Kingdom Elite Tombs*, 51–61.

Kingdom, stelae represent the interaction of decorum and functionality with personalization and choice. Some of the features used by van Walsem and Staring to determine which scenes were a personal choice can aid in determining similar features in stelae. For example, the more infrequent a scene, the more likely it was a personal choice. Additionally, the choice of features within a scene (the inclusion of a specific object or not) may depend on some amount of personalization. Divine nursing was *not* a common stela subject: the stelae in this chapter are the only seven known to date. This could be evidence of personal choice in the creation of these stela but could also be an issue of preservation. Further, even across these seven stelae, there is variation in goddesses, figure positions, and image features, suggesting further personal choice.

5.4 Divine Nursing Decorative Traditions: Relief, Statuary, or Other “Source” Material for Imagery

All seven images of divine nursing found on stelae find precedent in earlier known divine nursing scenes, some more so than others. This collection of stelae is unique as it represents the changes and adaptations of divine nursing outside the temple sphere. Here, I will consider the possibility of sources, references, or traditions for the images as they appear on these stelae as well as their place within the context of the larger divine nursing motif.

The idea that the imagery on these stelae is a replication of a specific statue or two-dimensional temple relief, an “original,” is likely too simplistic. Considering divine nursing as a “core motif,” does not mean that divine nursing scenes were merely copies of one another,¹⁰³³ but adaptations of specific features to specific spaces and purposes. While

¹⁰³³ Billing, “The Secret One,” 51.

knowledge of the divine nursing motif would be needed to create the scene, examples from the reuse of other motifs demonstrate that ancient Egyptian artists made changes to their representations when adapting them to new settings and functions.¹⁰³⁴ Laboury challenges the long-held misconception that ancient Egyptian art was repetitive and unchanging. Through an examination of tomb decoration, he states, the differences in details show an “individual level of personal choices and interpretation(s) of the tradition(s) made by the artist (alongside his order-giving patron, of course), thus even allowing some kind of an artistic profiling of the image maker(s).”¹⁰³⁵ It is often difficult to distinguish between decorum, the agency of the creator, artist choice, and personal preference. However, as demonstrated with the image from the tomb of Paser, in moving from a royal temple space to a more public space, the changes made to divine nursing scenes illustrate the interpretation of these images by non-royals, the role they played in their community, how their creators and viewers perceived them, the purposes they had in new spaces, and the way they were seen to fit into the king and goddess’s public identity. Bács has suggested that by using existing motifs, the artist could tie together traditions, ideas, and places to new settings, creating layered meanings, as seen with the nursing cow-goddesses in Chapter 4.¹⁰³⁶ Therefore, I do not seek an exact match for the images on the stelae, but rather, to identify possible inspirations or points of reference for these images as well as the intended links to other settings, traditions, and images created by such.

¹⁰³⁴ Tamás A. Bács, “When Ancient Egyptians Copied Egyptian Work,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Egyptian Epigraphy and Paleography*, ed. Vanessa Davies and Dimitri Laboury (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020), 153–154; Laboury, “Tradition and creativity: Toward a Study of Intericonicity in ancient Egyptian Art,” 235, 247; Pieke, “Lost in Transformation,” 280.

¹⁰³⁵ Laboury, “Tradition and creativity: Toward a Study of Intericonicity in ancient Egyptian Art,” 251.

¹⁰³⁶ Bács, “When Ancient Egyptians Copied Egyptian Work,” 147–162.

5.4.1 Nursing Cow-Goddess on Stelae

Two of the stelae considered here are of the nursing cow-goddess type. Having discussed these in depth in Chapter 4, I will be brief here. Their provenance and imagery place them well within the decorative program of Deir el-Bahari alongside many other representations of this motif. As the nursing cow-goddess scene appears to have reached the height of its popularity during the New Kingdom when the divine nursing motif was moving outside the temple, it can be understood to be following this trend.

To adapt an image, it must first be accessible to the artist or commissioner.¹⁰³⁷ Thus, the stelae attest that the reliefs or statues of the motif were accessible, either physically or via artistic renderings, to non-royal commissioners and dedicators, not just to royalty or high officials like Paser. Considering the reliefs are located within restricted shrines and sanctuaries, the statues are the most likely candidates for those seen by the public. These statues (or renderings of them) being the inspiration for these stelae further supports the proposal made in Chapter 4 that the statue of Hathor and the king were approachable by those other than the priests (at least on certain occasions), perhaps being involved in a procession or festival. Otherwise, the nursing cow-goddess may have been part of a “catalogue” of motifs and scenes from which those commissioning stelae could choose. This catalogue image could still have been based on the existing statuary. However, in this case, the depiction of the nursing cow-goddess could not then be relied upon as evidence that the commissioner or artist had seen the statue themselves. It would instead imply the existence of additional representations of the motif and represent further access to the scene, just by

¹⁰³⁷ Bács, “When Ancient Egyptians Copied Egyptian Work,” 152.

different means. Yet, their uniqueness among stela and Hathoric votives would suggest they were, at some level, personalized and specifically chosen by their commissioners (5.3.4).

Likewise, the stelae represent the creative practice of layering motifs, as discussed in Chapter 4. EA689 is not only a divine nursing scene but also an image of Hathor emerging from the mountains, as attested by the presence of the mountain slope as her background. In this way, the stela serves as both images. The combination of motifs may also reference the statue of Amenhotep II more directly, a divine nursing scene that literally emerged from its mountain shrine.

5.4.2 Seated Goddess with Standing King on Stelae

Divine nursing scenes of the goddess seated with the standing king are some of the least common divine nursing scenes in reliefs and yet represent three of the stelae discussed in this case study (Cat.1.49, Cat.1.51, Cat.1.54). The earliest known depictions of this form of divine nursing are two images of Amenhotep III from Luxor (Cat.1.29-30). The next, and better known, is that of Seti I at his temple in Abydos (Cat.1.36; Figure 52). After the three stelae here and the fragment from Chapel E (Cat.1.48), the form does not appear to be used again for images of the king and goddess though it does appear for child-deities.¹⁰³⁸ Thus, of the approximately 100 surviving divine nursing scenes, this form represents only a handful, of which three are stelae.¹⁰³⁹

¹⁰³⁸ See for example the image from Philae where a nude figure nurses from a goddess, George Aaron Bénédict, *Le Temple de Philae* (Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, 1893), pl. ii. It is difficult to determine if this was intended to be the king or a child-deity, as were becoming more popular.

¹⁰³⁹ See Appendix 1.

As with the cow-goddess images, there are indications that the images on these stelae may be meant to represent statuary. On all three stelae, the king and the goddess are the subject of adoration or offerings by approaching individuals. In MH 29.363 (Cat.1.49), members of Sennedjem's family approach the goddess and king. In ÄM 21561 (Cat.1.54), the king approaches the image of the goddess and himself with an offering. Although fragmented, the stela from Chapel E (Cat.1.51) preserves the feet of three approaching figures, likely also making offerings or adoration. Further, there are indications of statuary features similar to those found in the nursing cow-goddess images. A base is present beneath the image of the goddess and king in ÄM 21561. Noting the plinth or base beneath the goddess, king, and offering table on MH 29.363 (Cat.1.49), Teeter states the nursing pair should be understood as a cult image, "perhaps a relief" or a cult statue, like that depicted in TT 73.¹⁰⁴⁰ Interestingly, in the similar image of Seti I from his temple at Abydos (Cat.1.36; Figure 52), the goddess's seat is on a similar raised platform while the king stands beside her. Thus, though only two-dimensional images of this motif subtype remain, it is possible they were reflective of existing statuary.

5.4.3 Standing Goddess and King on Stelae

Although it is by far the most common and oldest form of the divine nursing motif, only the stela from Chapel C (Cat.1.50) shows both the goddess and king standing.¹⁰⁴¹ The use of this "traditional" form of divine nursing is not unexpected given the context. The text on the stela, as well as the inclusion of the king's titulary and the winged-solar disk at the top,

¹⁰⁴⁰ Teeter, "A Stela of the Family of Sennedjem," footnote 32 and page 316.

¹⁰⁴¹ See catalogue of divine nursing scenes in Appendix 1.

indicate that this stela was of royal origin. Therefore, it is not surprising that it would depict the scene in its most common royally commissioned temple form. Further, like other nursing scenes, the scene is associated with the bestowal and renewal of *heb-seds* (3.8). This similarity in iconography, form, and theme might suggest that the divine nursing scene on the stela was intended to serve a similar function to those in royal temples, but in a smaller commemorative stela format. This may also explain why there is so little adaptation to the form of the image from those in temple contexts.

An ostrakon from Deir el-Medina might also depict this form of divine nursing. The ostrakon (Cat.1.53) preserves the heads of the goddess and king, along with two empty cartouches. The alignment of the figures appears to be slightly off – the king’s head well below the goddess’s breast; however, the placement of her arm around his shoulders and their body positions suggest it was likely meant as a nursing scene. Yet, with the bottom of the scene missing, there is the possibility that it was a scene of the seated goddess and standing king (5.4.2). Though it is possible that this image was a final product, the alignment of the figures and empty cartouches make it more likely that this was a practice, reference, or unfinished piece. As such, this represents a possible reference image for other images of divine nursing, such as the ones found on stelae. A second ostrakon (Cat.1.47) does show the king and goddess both standing and is preserved in full color with the cartouche of Ramesses II. This may also be a final product, a practice piece, or a reference for artists. Based on the presence of a short text and the central placement of the image on the ostraca, I am inclined to believe it was a finished piece. Unfortunately, the provenance of this ostraca is unknown, though Deir el-Medina has been suggested.¹⁰⁴² It is possible that it

¹⁰⁴² Marie Vandenbeusch, Aude Semat, and Margaret Maitland, eds., *Pharaoh: King of Ancient Egypt* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 2016), 53.

fulfilled similar purposes to the stelae discussed in this chapter, as a votive offering, commemoration, or means of forming a relationship with the king and goddess. Either way, the two ostraca, like the stelae in this chapter, attest to greater access to and presence of this “traditional” form in areas like Deir el-Medina and possibly represent the references from which the stela was created.

5.4.4 Nursing Tree-Goddess on Stelae

Only two images survive of the tree-goddess nursing the king: the stela under consideration here (Cat.1.46) and the image from the tomb of Thutmose III (Cat.1.24; Figure 59), though fragments of an unidentified nursing tree-goddess scene also survive.¹⁰⁴³ Though other images of the tree-goddess do not show her nursing, there are references to nursing in some of the texts and images of the motif. In the tomb of Kenamun (TT 93), the tree-goddess Nut bestows life through her milk: “...I allow you to drink from my milk and to live to have nourishment from my two breasts...”¹⁰⁴⁴ In relief Hannover 29333, Nut’s milk is referenced in the text while she is shown as a tree with human arms and breasts.¹⁰⁴⁵ In Berlin 7322 from Abusir, the tree-goddess’s only human features are her arms, with which she gives food and water, and breasts.¹⁰⁴⁶ Billing suggests that the appearance of breasts on tree-goddesses,

¹⁰⁴³ Kazimierz Michalowski, *Art of Ancient Egypt* (New York: Harry H. Adams, 1969), 36. Though there are no details to suggest the identity of the nursling, it does represent another instance of nursing in parallel with the tree-goddess.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Translation from Othamar Keel, *Das Recht der Bilder gesehen zu werden. Drei Fallstudien zur Methode der Interpretation altorientalischer Bilder* (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag; Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992), 66. See also Nils Billing, *Nut: The Goddess of Life in Text and Iconography* (Uppsala: Department of Archaeology and Ancient History, Uppsala University, 2002), 277; Davies, *Tomb of Ken-Amun*, pl. xlv-xlvi.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Billing, *Nut: The Goddess of Life*, fig. C.43 and page 227.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Nils Billing, “Writing an Image: The Formulation of the Tree Goddess Motif in the Book of the Dead,” *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 32 (2004): fig. C.44; Ludwig Borchardt, *Die Aegyptische Pflanzensäule* (Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth, 1897), fig. 72.

especially when the goddess's only other human feature are arms, references her role as a nurse.¹⁰⁴⁷ Thus, though nursing does not appear frequently in these images of the tree-goddess, it was likely an understood connotation of the motif. Perhaps for reasons of decorum or by reason of the king's divine nature, only the king could be *shown* nursing from the tree-goddess.



Figure 59. Divine Nursing Scene from tomb of Thutmose (KV 34)
(Theban Mapping Project Image #15620, accessed 15 June 2024,
<https://thebanmappingproject.com/index.php/images/15620jpg?site=5754>)

To better understand these divine nursing scenes and the role of nursing on the stela of Ramesses II (Cat.1.46), it is essential to explore the function and meaning of tree-goddess

¹⁰⁴⁷ Billing, *Nut: The Goddess of Life*, 277.

imagery during the New Kingdom. As a comprehensive examination of this motif falls outside the scope of this thesis, I will provide a brief overview of the research and current understanding.¹⁰⁴⁸ The image of the tree-goddess comes in three forms: a female figure with or without a tree on her head, a goddess emerging from a tree from the torso up (like the stela of Ramesses II, Cat.1.46), or a tree with arms and, sometimes, breasts (like the scene from Thutmose III's tomb, Cat.1.24).¹⁰⁴⁹ When identified, the goddess is most often Nut, Isis, or Hathor.¹⁰⁵⁰ The tree-goddess became a common funerary motif starting in the 18th dynasty,¹⁰⁵¹ appearing in tombs, coffins, funerary texts, and stelae.¹⁰⁵²

Scholars have often remarked on the scene's connection with funerary texts. The tree-goddess first appeared in the 18th dynasty in combination with Book of the Dead Chapter 61 in two tomb reliefs from Memphis and then in TT 215 with Book of the Dead Chapter 63A.¹⁰⁵³ The oldest surviving image of the personified tree-goddess is that from Thutmose III's tomb (Cat.1.24),¹⁰⁵⁴ where the nursing tree-goddess appears in the context of funerary texts. What has been identified as the tree-goddess spell, Book of the Dead Chapter 59, states, "O thou sycamore of Nut, mayest thou give me water and the breath that

¹⁰⁴⁸ More comprehensive studies can be found in Billing, *Nut: The Goddess of Life*; Billing, "Writing an Image," 35–50; Keel, *Das Recht der Bilder gesehen zu werden*.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Azza Ezzat, "The Symbolism of Drinking from Tree-Goddesses in Connection with Pools: Selected Examples from the NK Theban Tombs," *Journal of the Hellenic Institute of Egyptology* 5 (2022): 40–41.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Taher Abdelhamid, "Tree Goddess Scenes in the New Kingdom Private Tombs at Thebes," *International Journal of Heritage, Tourism and Hospitality* 11, no. 3 (2017): 111–112; Allam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult*, 104; Ezzat, "The Symbolism of Drinking from Tree-Goddesses," 39; Keel, *Das Recht der Bilder gesehen zu werden*, 68, 82.

¹⁰⁵¹ Billing, "Writing an Image," 36. See also Abdelhamid, "Tree Goddess Scenes," 104–108.

¹⁰⁵² Abdelhamid, "Tree Goddess Scenes," 104; Allen, *Book of the Dead Documents*, (Chapter 59) 135; Billing, "Writing an Image," 36. For lists of the scene's appearances in tombs see Abdelhamid, "Tree Goddess Scenes," 104–108; Ezzat, "The Symbolism of Drinking from Tree-Goddesses," 42–45.

¹⁰⁵³ Billing, "Writing an Image," 44.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Billing, "Writing an Image," 40; Keel, *Das Recht der Bilder gesehen zu werden*, 64.

is in thee.”¹⁰⁵⁵ Quirke suggests that the text was adapted in the Ramesside period to the image of the tree-goddess from earlier versions of the related chapter, which appear as early as the 13th dynasty without mentioning the sycamore goddess.¹⁰⁵⁶ Keel has likewise noted a close relationship between the images of the tree-goddess and her textual appearances, suggesting that Book of the Dead Chapters 58–60 and 62–63B were influential in the image’s development during the 19th dynasty when it became more focused on the giving of water rather than food.¹⁰⁵⁷

Interpretations of the tree-goddess center around a few predominant themes: mother goddesses, the goddess of the garden, the horizon and rebirth, and provisions for the deceased. The association with mother-goddesses is likely based on the nursing scene in the tomb of Thutmose III, which Billing interprets as “a means of binding together the divine motherhood of Isis with the king’s earthly mother of the same name.”¹⁰⁵⁸ Interestingly, the tree-goddess is more frequently identified as Nut than Isis, as in the stela considered here. Billing notes that Nut’s maternal nature is based on her attributes of space and water and that the “tree goddess becomes a dominating iconographic realization of the maternal from the New Kingdom.”¹⁰⁵⁹ Nevertheless, we must be careful with the word “maternal,” as the identification of maternal roles based on the provision of food and water may be grounded in modern expectations. As discussed in 2.4, Olabarria has observed the formation of ancient Egyptian kinship generally through reciprocity, including the provision of funerary

¹⁰⁵⁵ Translation by Allen, *Book of the Dead Documents*, (Chapter 59) 135. See also Billing, “Writing an Image,” 36.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Quirke, *Going out in Daylight*, 145.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Keel, *Das Recht der Bilder gesehen zu werden*, 75–78.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Billing, “Writing an Image,” 40.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Billing, *Nut: The Goddess of Life*, 185.

offerings, food, and nourishment.¹⁰⁶⁰ Mothers are not the only ones referenced as the ones nursing children, especially in divine spheres (Chapter 2). Thus, it may be more accurate to state that the actions of the tree-goddess reflect those duties and responsibilities of the deceased's kin and related individuals, not just "mothers."

Based on the goddess's frequent appearance in scenes of gardens, ties have also been made between her and the goddess of the garden. Keel believes it is from garden scenes that scenes of the tree-goddess originated.¹⁰⁶¹ The tree-goddess may even be understood as a personification of a garden,¹⁰⁶² where the deceased hopes to thrive and find rest beneath the trees.¹⁰⁶³ In this way, the scenes become a hope and promise of rest, rejuvenation, and well-being in the next life.

Scholars have further connected the images of the tree-goddess with the sycamores on the horizon, where Re is reborn each day. Though there are no tree-goddesses in the Pyramid Texts, portions refer to a single or pair of sycamore trees in the eastern sky, a place where the gods sit.¹⁰⁶⁴ It is from the sycamores of turquoise that Re emerges in both the Coffin Texts and Book of the Dead.¹⁰⁶⁵ Tomb scenes depict these two sycamores in order to

¹⁰⁶⁰ Olabarria, *Kinship and Family*, 90–93, 193, 200–201; Olabarria, "A Question of Substance," 93–98.

¹⁰⁶¹ Keel, *Das Recht der Bilder gesehen zu werden*, 93.

¹⁰⁶² Billing, "Writing an Image," 37; Keel, *Das Recht der Bilder gesehen zu werden*, 71–72; Joachim Spiegel, "Die Entwicklung der Opferszenen in den Thebanischen Gräbern," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 14 (1956): 203–205.

¹⁰⁶³ Billing, "Writing an Image," 39, 42–43; Ezzat, "The Symbolism of Drinking from Tree-Goddesses," 45. For discussions of funerary gardens, see Marie-Francine Moens, "The Ancient Egyptian Garden in the New Kingdom: A Study of Representations," *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 15 (1984): 42–51; Alix Wilkinson, *The Garden in Ancient Egypt* (London: The Rubicon Press, 1998), 97–118; Jean-Claude Hugonot, *Le Jardin dans l'Égypte Ancienne* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1989), 169–221.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Allam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult*, 103; Allen, *Pyramid Texts*, 131, 179 (Utterances 470, 568); Billing, "Writing an Image," 39.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Allam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult*, 108; Allen, *Book of the Dead Documents*, (Chapter 109) 183; Billing, "Writing an Image," 39; Faulkner, *Coffin Texts*, 137–138 (Spell 159).

define the horizon space.¹⁰⁶⁶ The trees represent a place of rebirth (for Re and the deceased) as well as a transitory space, a place where deities dwell (horizon). Like the Hathor-cow (Chapter 3), the tree-goddess sits at a point of transition between death and rebirth and helps the deceased in that passage. Perhaps this role of the tree-goddess is the reason for the combination of the tree-goddess with the image of Hathor emerging from the mountains in the Book of the Dead fragment of P. Ramose cited in 4.2.5.¹⁰⁶⁷ Both goddesses represent points of transition for the deceased. It is interesting that, both motifs were also elsewhere combined with divine nursing, as seen in this thesis. This situates nursing at moments of transition, something that may harken back to its natural occurrence after birth but also its use in “Scènes de Gynécées” and other birth related iconography (Chapter 2).

Lastly, the tree-goddess provides food, water, shade, and air to the deceased and is often shown holding or surrounded by food and/or water.¹⁰⁶⁸ These offerings are exemplified in the speech of Nut as a tree-goddess from the tomb of Paser (TT 106), where she holds water and food out to Paser’s relations:

Words spoken by Nut, the great, splendid in this her name of the sycamore: Take to yourself this cool water that your heart might be cooled by it, by this water that comes out from your pool in the estate of Western Thebes. Receive to yourself the offerings of food as a sacrifice [...] which come out of my flesh. May your *ba* dwell in my shade as he drinks the water of its desire.¹⁰⁶⁹

¹⁰⁶⁶ Billing, “Writing an Image,” 40.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Cambridge E.2.1922, frag. R04.9 (Previously cited).

¹⁰⁶⁸ Ezzat, “The Symbolism of Drinking from Tree-Goddesses,” 46. See, for example, “Cartonnage Fragment,” Egypt Centre EC490, accessed 13 January 2025, <https://egyptcentre.abasetcollections.com/Objects/Details/3660>; “stela,” British Museum EA796, accessed 13 January, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA796; “shabti-box,” British Museum EA35648, accessed 13 January 2025, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA35648; or the scene from the tomb of Paser (TT 106), Champollion, *Monuments de l’Égypte et de la Nubie*, 2, I, pl. clxxxiv.

¹⁰⁶⁹ My translation, see Appendix 3.

She provides not only nourishment but also rest and refreshment. The phrase “which comes out of my flesh (*hʿ*)” is intriguing, as the idea of nourishment coming from one’s body is paralleled in the act of breastfeeding. By providing these things, “the deceased is provided with the life that generates within her.”¹⁰⁷⁰ Billing considers the motif a “body-centered metaphor” used to associate her with rebirth as she gives water and space.¹⁰⁷¹ The body-centered metaphor is especially apt when considering the scene’s undercurrent of breastfeeding. From her body, the goddess provides the deceased with life’s necessities at a moment of birth (the horizon), reminiscent of Leclant’s observation that nursing was required upon rebirth.¹⁰⁷²

This raises the question as to why images of nursing tree-goddesses are not more common. It is always possible that it is an issue of preservation, but it is also possible that it was a matter of decorum. As nursing places the nursling and nurse within similar social and kinship circles, with the nurse becoming part of the nursling’s social identity (Chapter 2), it might have been fitting for only the king to be shown in such a pose. Thus, once again, this incorporation of nursing into an existing decorative tradition, like the nursing cow-goddess, reflects the king’s unique nature and relationship with deity.

Despite the stela’s depiction of the king, its discovery among the tombs of Deir el-Medina implies it was not dedicated by a king for a royal burial and places it within a non-royal burial context.¹⁰⁷³ Billing notes that after its appearance in the tomb of Thutmose III, the image of the tree-goddess leaves royal art and enters the sphere of private art,¹⁰⁷⁴ thus

¹⁰⁷⁰ Billing, “Writing an Image,” 36.

¹⁰⁷¹ Billing, “Writing an Image,” 47.

¹⁰⁷² Leclant, “Coronation Rites,” 144.

¹⁰⁷³ Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir El Médineh*.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Billing, “Writing an Image,” 40.

the motif's appearance on a potentially non-royal stela is not unexpected. However, if the purpose of these scenes was to guarantee nourishment and life for the deceased, why depict the king rather than the deceased? The divine nursing scene is likely fulfilling some of the same functions as the others discussed in this thesis, including binding together the king and goddess; however, this does not explain why a private individual chose it for a funerary stela in a non-royal necropolis. Without the missing fragments of text, it is difficult to determine who dedicated the stela or who else may have been depicted on it, facts that would make this investigation potentially clearer. Therefore, I cannot say for certain at this time why a private individual chose to depict the king, rather than themselves, on a funerary stela or why the scene type is so rare.

5.5 Divine Nursing in the Context of Stelae

Having examined the stelae's images within the context of the divine nursing motifs, I will now consider their role as stelae and the functions for which they were intended. I will explore the purposes of the stelae as set out in 5.3.3 (namely, in terms of stelae as votives and their role in establishing relationships, self-presentation, communication, and the continuation of ritual), the way divine nursing functions within these roles, and what this can tell us regarding the meaning of divine nursing to the stelae's creators and viewers.

5.5.1 Divine Nursing Stelae as Votives

I would suggest that four of the seven stelae in this case study can be identified as having votive purposes – Cat.2.3, Cat.2.13, Cat.1.49, and Cat.1.54. The clearest examples are the two depicting the nursing cow-goddess (Cat.2.3, Cat.2.13). First, their provenance places

them alongside many other votive offerings and in associated areas. Pinch notes that “[t]he ones [phalli] inside the speos covered its floor and would have made it difficult to approach or walk round the cult statue.”¹⁰⁷⁵ Phallic objects in stone, wood, faience, and clay have been found as offerings to Hathor at Deir el-Bahari, Mirgissa, Timna, and Gebel Zeit.¹⁰⁷⁶ Pinch suggests that they may have been offered during a festival, perhaps meant to celebrate the union of Re-Atum and Hathor,¹⁰⁷⁷ where they were placed in the shrine, later to be removed by the priests and deposited elsewhere. Whatever their intended function, the stela’s discovery amongst so many phalli suggests that it, too, was an offering to the goddess. Further, thousands of votive offerings have been found in Deir el-Bahari, where both stelae were found, attesting to the popularity of votive offerings of all sorts. Thus, the votive function of these two stelae can be assumed with relative confidence.

As suggested by Teeter, MH 29.363, the stela found at Medinet Habu (Cat.1.49), may also have served a votive function. Teeter bases her conclusion, in part, on the identity of the family on the stela, who have multiple stelae in Deir el-Medina, and the portability of the stela (5.2.3.2), suggesting it was originally placed with other votive stelae in a chapel in Deir el-Medina.¹⁰⁷⁸ Thus, in this case, it does not just represent the desire for a relationship between Mut and its dedicator but rather a relationship between Mut and the entire family. Further, the stela’s format, with depictions of members of the family worshipping a deity

¹⁰⁷⁵ Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, 244–245.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, 235–238.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, 244.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Teeter, “A Stela of the Family of Sennedjem,” 317.

along with text identifying those shown, is similar to other dedicated votive stelae and cloths.¹⁰⁷⁹

Stela ÄM 21561 (Cat.1.54) poses a more difficult question of identification. Though it does not depict or reference any non-royal individuals by name, the text, including only the goddess's name and epithets, is very similar to that of the stela of the Hathor-cow (Cat.2.3), which has been identified as votive. Stelae found in the same area have also been identified as votive (see, for example, ÄM 21565).¹⁰⁸⁰ Its location among houses may suggest it served as a household stela, dedicated by private individuals to the goddess. This fragment may merely be the top register of the stela as it was not uncommon for New Kingdom votive stelae to depict the king with deities at the top and text with images of themselves below. The stela of Bakenra (National Museums Scotland A.1908.361) shows the king offering to an image of Ptah and Sekhmet in the top register with a depiction of Bakenra appearing below in a pose of adoration (Figure 60). However, it is also possible that the scene of the king offering to the goddess was the only imagery on the stela, like the 19th dynasty stela of Seti I before Hathor at the National Museums Scotland (A.1907.632; Figure 61) or the stela of Amenhotep II before Amun at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA 25.184.4; Figure 62).¹⁰⁸¹ Without further information, it is hard to know who dedicated this stela, and it is even possible that it was royally dedicated.

¹⁰⁷⁹ See for examples Pinch's discussion of stelae and votive cloths, Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, fig. 7–12, pl. 16–25, pg. 81–134.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Anthes, "Die deutschen Grabungen," 60.; "Stele der Ubech(t)," Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung ÄM 21565, accessed 14 January 2025, <https://smb.museum-digital.de/index.php?t=objekt&oges=245>.

¹⁰⁸¹ "Stela of Amenhotep II Offering to Amun," Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 25.184.4, accessed 14 January 2025, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/554522>.



Figure 60. Stela of Bakenra (National Museums Scotland A.1908.361, accessed 18 October 2024, <https://www.nms.ac.uk/search-our-collections/collection-search-results?entry=300316>)



Figure 61. Stela of Seti I before Hathor (National Museums Scotland A.1907.632, accessed 18 October 2024, <https://www.nms.ac.uk/search-our-collections/collection-search-results?entry=300442>)



Figure 62. Stela of Amenhotep II before Amun (Metropolitan Museum of Art 25.184.4, accessed 18 October 2024, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/554522>)

Before discussing the significance of the divine nursing imagery on these four votive stelae, that I have detailed above, I will briefly address why I do not classify the other three stelae in this case study as votives. Though the two stelae found in the Sanctuary of Ptah and Meretseger (Cat.1.50, Cat.1.51) were found in the company of many votive stelae and thus are in clear dialogue with them, they themselves do not indicate such a purpose. Instead, the texts and images commemorate the *heb-seds* of the king. While this does not mean they were not royally commissioned votives, their focus appears to be more on memorializing and ensuring *heb-seds* for the king. Next, the stela of Ramesses III and the tree-goddess (Cat.1.46) share much more in common with tomb reliefs and the imagery on coffins and funerary texts, reflecting a funerary function rather than an offering. Thus, these three will not be considered as having votive functions for the purpose of this study.

Having identified those stelae that can be termed votive, we can now consider the divine nursing imagery. I would once again suggest that in each of these votive stelae, the image of the nursing goddess is meant to represent a statue or relief (4.2.1 and 5.4.2). Their appearance on these stelae and objects like the votive cloth (Cat.2.23) would indicate both the existence of public-facing images of the goddess nursing and its use in the making of a request of goddesses and/or the king. The fact that all the stelae in this case study come from the Theban area may further signify that worship of divine nursing images was focused in this area. However, monuments like stelae were likely more expensive than other smaller object types; thus, the evidence likely comes from a largely elite dataset.¹⁰⁸² Therefore, though access to these images of the king and goddess was *greater* than it had been in

¹⁰⁸² In her book, Pinch includes a discussion regarding the cost of votives and what this might mean regarding social class and votive production. There are many unknowns and much is still debated on this issue, Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, 326–332.

earlier periods, it is unclear how widespread this access was. Once offered, the stelae would have likely accompanied a large number of votives, each displaying imagery of the goddess in her various forms. This places them not only in public view, but also as part of the landscape surrounding the worship of goddesses like Mut and Hathor. Accompanying hundreds of other offerings with images of the goddess, the stelae illustrated one of the many aspects of the goddess's identity and integrated the king into her outward facing character. Based on this context, the focus shifts from the king to the goddess. The offering was for her and in her context. In this way, the king represented something about her, just as she did the same for him. It appealed to her role as a source of power and life for the king, a powerful and essential role. By offering votives displaying an image of the goddess nursing the king, dedicators were choosing to establish a relationship with this specific form of the goddess, perhaps, in part, due to her intimate relationship with the king.

5.5.2 Establishment of Relationships Through Divine Nursing Stelae

Each stela in this chapter has elements by which social, and perhaps personal, relationships are established and demonstrated. Across the stelae, a variety of relationships are created, renewed, and sustained. At a foundational level, the stelae establish a relationship between the king and the goddess through the divine nursing imagery, just like each of the divine nursing scenes examined in this thesis. The depiction of this relationship on public-facing objects like stelae, beyond the traditional temple spaces, means that the relationship was something understood by or at least communicated to the wider public. This may place it in what Bickel refers to as the "royal discourse" of Egyptian kings, or the program texts and images which situated the king into the Egyptian worldview, which she suggests was largely

shaped and promoted by the officials and elites serving the king.¹⁰⁸³ This further emphasizes the need to understand and consider the social and cultural perspectives of breastfeeding during the New Kingdom (Chapter 2). Nurses were understood to be part of one's social identity and circle. By being nursed by a goddess associated with a specific cult or region, the king was considered related, potentially kin-like, with that goddess and her cult as well as the region with which she was associated. In turn, his appearance among her many images, places him within her own social presentation. In the case of the stelae from the Sanctuary of Ptah and Meretseger (1.50 and 1.51), this may be a commission from the king, but for the other stelae, these were likely elite individuals who were or wished to be associated with the goddess and king themselves.

As noted, those stelae identified as votives (5.5.1) forged a relationship between the dedicator and the specific form of the goddess. Perhaps it was due to her relationship with the king or the goddess's nurturing and care-giving nature, exemplified in the image of the nursing tree-goddess (Cat.1.46), that individuals sought a relationship with her. By forging a relationship with such a goddess, one may have hoped to ensure her care for oneself, whether in this life or the next. The establishment of relationships with a goddess is especially clear in the stela of Sennedjem (Cat.1.49), as Sennedjem's family had a fondness and special relationship with the goddess Mut. The family commissioned various stelae to commemorate their visit to the temple of Mut at Karnak.¹⁰⁸⁴ Thus, on a family level, they sought through votives (like this stela), visits, and worship to establish a close relationship with Mut specifically.

¹⁰⁸³ Bickel, "Kings as Gods in the New Kingdom," 39; Susanne Bickel, "Worldview and royal discourse in the time of Hatshepsut," in *Creativity and Innovation in the Reign of Hatshepsut* ed. José M. Galán, Betsy M. Bryan, and Peter F. Dorman (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2014), 30–31.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Teeter, "A Stela of the Family of Sennedjem," 316, 319.

Stela ÄM 21561 (Cat.1.54) with its focus on the king offering to the nursing pair, may have instead sought a more direct relationship with the king. Here the king is the one approaching the goddess, rather than the dedicator as on the stelae of Sennedjem. Such a depiction may have been intended to ensure the king would act as intercessor for the dedicator, as Pérez-Accino suggests (5.3.3.2).¹⁰⁸⁵ In this way, the image of the king approaches the goddess on behalf of the dedicator, forging a chain of relationships.

5.5.3 Self-Presentation on Divine Nursing Stelae

Interestingly, only one of the seven stelae in this case study contains any information or representations of non-royal individuals – that of Sennedjem (Cat.1.49). As noted by Teeter, the stela takes on greater meaning when considered as part of a family tradition and practice. Teeter concludes that it “commemorates members of the family of Sennedjem and their worship of the goddess Mut.”¹⁰⁸⁶ As part of this larger dialogue, the stela established Mut as part of the family’s public identity and further defined membership of that family circle. It could demonstrate the family’s temple access (one of the attributes mentioned by Wells), such as the commemoration of the family’s visit to the Mut’s temple in Karnak in the tomb of Khabekhnet.¹⁰⁸⁷ Therefore, the use of a divine nursing scene demonstrates experience with the imagery of Mut and further commemorates the family’s participation in her cult. This establishes a community identity for the family as well-off, well-connected, and privileged, one that is united in its worship and access to the goddess. To be presented with *this* image of Mut may have been especially appealing as the dedicator established his

¹⁰⁸⁵ Pérez-Accino, “The Framework of the Meeting Narrative,” 294.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Teeter, “A Stela of the Family of Sennedjem,” 319.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Teeter, “A Stela of the Family of Sennedjem,” 316.

access to imagery of and potentially access to the king as well, much like the motif's unique inclusion in the tomb of Paser (4.3.7).

Limited access to images of the nursing goddess may explain why it was not as popular as other motifs. Staring and van Walsem point out that, in some cases, the rarer a scene the more likely it is evidence of personal choice.¹⁰⁸⁸ The fact that divine nursing is relatively uncommon and comes in so many forms across these few stelae may, thus, indicate it was not a mass-produced scene but rather a more personalized depiction.

Though I would not go so far as to say the stelae's images can be identified with a specific ritual or festival, the depiction of a certain statue or image may indicate they were meant to commemorate an interaction or event involving the image, attendance at a festival, or the possibility of an interaction (5.3.3–5.3.4). In this way, an individual could demonstrate their piety, access, and involvement in the cults and events of these goddesses in Thebes through the inclusion of divine nursing. This all served to demonstrate one's integration into the community's memory and tradition, much as in the tomb of Paser (4.3.7) or the stelae at Abydos.¹⁰⁸⁹ As part of that landscape, these stelae became part of the social memory of the site and integrated the dedicator's self-fashioned image into that landscape.¹⁰⁹⁰ It also served to incorporate aspects of the royal discourse into one's own self-presentation, perhaps demonstrating one's adherence to *ma'at* or appealing to the king as an intermediary with the gods.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Staring, "Fixed Rules or Personal Choice?," 258–269; van Walsem, *Iconography of Old Kingdom Elite Tombs*, 51–61.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Olabarria, "Coming to Terms with Stelae," 138.

¹⁰⁹⁰ See Jimenez-Higuera's discussion of cultural memory and landscape in terms of the necropolis in Ángeles Jiménez-Higueras, *The Sacred Landscape of Dra Abu El-Naga*.

This is especially notable when considering the stela of Ramesses II and the tree-goddess (Cat.1.46). Not associated with the tomb of Ramesses II, the inclusion of the king on a private stela in an area of non-royal tombs may have served to demonstrate the individual's relationship with the king, especially in those tombs along procession routes visited during the Beautiful Festival of the Valley and other such events tied to the renewal of kingship. With the king as the recipient of the nourishment of the tree-goddess, perhaps the intention was that he would act in an intercessory role, providing nourishment to the deceased as he had received it from the goddess, similar to the discussion of his appearance making offerings in ÄM 21561 (Cat.1.54).

Those stelae of royal origin (Cat.1.50–1.51) from the Sanctuary of Ptah and Meretseger serve a similar purpose of self-presentation, though as they were likely commissioned by the king, they became part of a much larger royal discourse. Like other divine nursing scenes, the inclusion of divine nursing serves to highlight the king's relationships with deities and his reception of life and power from them. By being placed in these frequented and relatively accessible spaces, this presentation of the king's nature was not only ensured through its representation but also demonstrated to visitors (1.4.2).

5.5.4 Communication through Divine Nursing Stelae

The communicative role of these stelae can be considered in terms of communication with the divine, the viewer, and other stelae. For all the stelae, this included aspects of self-presentation and relationships discussed previously. Therefore, to avoid repetition, this section considers communication beyond aspects of self-presentation. Further, for those stelae identified as having votive functions (5.5.1), the act of dedication would have been

intended as communication, as the deity needed to be aware of the dedicator's gesture and intentions.

At least in the case of the stela from Chapel C of the Sanctuary of Ptah and Meretseger (Cat.1.50), the text contains communication from a deity to the king. Re-Horakhty speaks and bestows *heb-seds* and kingship upon him. Meretseger declares that she will give him the throne, kingship, protection, and life.¹⁰⁹¹ The text itself is very similar to other divine nursing scenes, with the gods promising vital and powerful attributes to the king.¹⁰⁹² This power is highlighted in the text below the scene where various foreign peoples are placed under the control of the king. Though the text is written as communication from the gods to the king, the stela's placement in a chapel accessible to many from Deir el-Medina implies that the words of Re-Horakhty and Meretseger were intended for those worshipping here as well. Though those of Deir el-Medina had an uncommonly high level of literacy, many were also unlikely to be able to read this text (5.3.3.4). Bryan observes that with varying literacy levels, viewers could have different experiences and interpretations of monuments, receiving messages that were complimentary or even different, though on the same topic. Further, she demonstrates that royal monuments may have been purposely created to communicate separate messages for those able and unable to read the accompanying text.¹⁰⁹³ Though it may have been read aloud at some point, for the majority of visitors it is the images that were likely the most communicative – those of the king

¹⁰⁹¹ See my translation in Appendix 4.

¹⁰⁹² See for example the scene of Ramesses II from Beit el-Wali Cat.1.41 where the king is offered *heb-seds* from nursing and that of Horemheb from Gebel Adda Cat.1.34 where the king is offered strength, youth, and life.

¹⁰⁹³ Betsy Bryan, "The Disjunction of Text and Image in Egyptian Art," in *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, ed. Peter Der Manuelian (Boston: Department of Ancient Egyptian, Nubian, and Near Eastern Art, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1996), 162–167.

receiving *heb-seds* and being nursed by the goddess to which the chapel was dedicated. For those more literate, and thus likely of more elite status, this would have been accompanied by the king's domination over foreign peoples.

Carved into the back walls, the three stelae from the Sanctuary of Ptah and Meretseger were focal points of the chapels. Along with these royal stelae, the chapels contained many votive stelae from private individuals at Deir el-Medina dedicated to various deities, especially Meretseger. Thus, Cat.1.50 and Cat.1.51 must also be considered in the context of their relationship with these stelae. Cat.1.50 and Cat.1.51 appear to have been created close to when the sanctuaries were established near the end of the 19th dynasty, as they include the names of Ramesses III and possibly Amenmesse.¹⁰⁹⁴ Thus, they could represent the royal establishment of these spaces for the worship of Ptah and Meretseger, which resulted in the dedication and erection of votive stelae by non-royal worshippers. On the other hand, it could also be seen as the king making his mark in a space frequently used by the royally employed and privileged members of Deir el-Medina. In this way, he participates with them by demonstrating his relation to the deity they worship, in a similar way to the nursing cow-goddess imagery at Deir el-Bahari (Chapter 4). While others make votive offerings to her, the king is accepted and raised through the goddess's care. As such, it created a bond between the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina and their king while also establishing the king's divine nature and authority over the people.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Dodson, "Amenmesse in Kent, Liverpool, and Thebes."; Alexander J. Peden, *The Graffiti of Pharaonic Egypt: Scope and Roles of Informal Writing* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 175.

5.5.5 Divine Nursing Stelae and the Continuation of Ritual

Like those in temples and tombs, each image of divine nursing was meant to be understood in such a way – a continual act of nursing which provided eternal nourishment and ensured the king would remain among the gods and they a part of his identity. Likewise, the stelae from the Sanctuary of Ptah and Meretseger (Cat.1.50–51) and the stela of the tree-goddess (Cat.1.46) can each be understood to ensure the continuation of the rituals depicted.

As mentioned above, both stelae from the Sanctuary of Ptah and Meretseger (Cat.1.50–51) are associated with the bestowal of the *heb-sed*. Through its depiction here in both text and image, the king is ensured eternal *heb-seds* and the renewal and authority that comes with them. The incorporation of the nursing image assures that the king will continue to receive the nourishment of her milk and acceptance into the divine sphere. This is a function shared with the scene from the temple of Amada in Chapter 3.

When considering the stela of Ramesses II and the tree-goddess (Cat.1.46), we see similar intent. Billing discusses tree-goddess imagery on stelae, stating, “The funerary stelae served as guarantee of the perpetual cultic service of the deceased through his integration in the world of the gods” and that through the inclusion of the scene “the tree goddess is integrated into the funerary cult of the deceased.”¹⁰⁹⁵ Thus, the stela ensured Ramesses II would continue to receive the milk (nourishment and rest) of the tree-goddess. Based on its funerary nature, it is likely that this nursing was meant to take place after his death. However, like many of the other divine nursing scenes discussed in this thesis, it may not be so limited and may have ensured a more continual nursing in both life and death. Such repetition or continuation of events was the intent of various rituals, texts, and images

¹⁰⁹⁵ Billing, *Nut: The Goddess of Life*, 280.

associated with the king, such as the king conquering his enemies.¹⁰⁹⁶ Hornung has suggested that “historical” events were not as important to the ancient Egyptians as the continuation of rituals (or events) from king to king.¹⁰⁹⁷ Events of the past were understood to repeat in the present, while those in the present would be repeated in the future.¹⁰⁹⁸ It is possible that the repetition of divine nursing from king to king, as well as within a king’s lifetime, was understood as one such event, part of an ongoing cycle. In this way, the king is never truly weaned, as he is promised in the Pyramid Texts.¹⁰⁹⁹

This brings us back to a question asked earlier in this chapter: why would a private individual depict the king? Why not ensure such care for oneself? In the context of self-presentation and relationships, depicting the king may have lent the individual status and position. In terms of the continuation of ritual, how might this be understood? It may have placed the king in an intercessory role, similar to Frood’s suggestion regarding the appearance of the king in the tomb of Paser (4.3.8). It would have then ensured the continuation of this intercession on their behalf. Through the depiction of the king, the deceased hoped to be cared for and ensure their needs in the next life.

Additionally, those stelae that may have commemorated festivals or rituals, like the stelae of the nursing cow-goddess, served to ensure the continuation of not just the festival or ritual but the benefits and gifts associated with those events. Much like the hopes expressed in tombs of the same period (4.3.6), offering such stelae may have been another means of ensuring one’s continued participation in the cultic landscape, festivals, and

¹⁰⁹⁶ Hornung, *Idea into Image*, 154, 163. See also Assmann’s discussion of cyclical versus linear time and its ritual characteristics, Assmann, *The Mind of Egypt*, 18–19, 73, 207–208, 242–243.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Hornung, *Idea into Image*, 154–155.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Assmann, *The Mind of Egypt*, 242, 248; Hornung, *Idea into Image*, 154.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, 184, 211 (Utterances 508, 548).

traditions as well as the stability and renewal of the king, perpetuating *ma'at*, which the festival guaranteed.

5.6 Conclusion: Divine Nursing on Stelae

Analyzing these stelae allows us to address several often-overlooked topics when considering divine nursing imagery: 1) the adaptation and spread of this imagery outside its original temple contexts, 2) public interpretations and understandings of divine nursing, and 3) different purposes for divine nursing.

Evidence suggests that during the Middle Kingdom and especially in the New Kingdom, divine nursing imagery became more varied in form, medium, and context. No longer was the image limited to scenes of the king and goddess standing side-by-side. At the same time, the image begins to appear in more public spaces like tomb chapels (4.3.7), votives, statues, and stelae, making it more accessible than ever to the many without access to restricted temple spaces. This may have occurred due to a change in decorum, with images of the nursing king being more acceptable outside of the temple perhaps because of royal adaptation and expansion of the scene. The act of divine nursing and the “core motif” of the divine nursing scene was being used to tie the king to specific goddesses along with their cults and functions. In the stelae explored in this chapter, not only do we see images of the Hathor-cow but also the king with the tree-goddess and Mut of Karnak. In each case, the act of breastfeeding incorporates the king into a known motif (tree-goddess) or an existing cult (Mut) through changes to the existing “core motif.” Thus, divine nursing serves as a way of establishing or maintaining a relationship between the king and a goddess. This

relationship would bring with it the goddess's geographical ties (Chapter 3), cult power (Chapter 4), and ritual functions (5.5.5).

The scenes representing statues or reliefs attest to a wider usage of divine nursing imagery and likely a greater number of scenes and statues that have not survived. Whether in the iconography (like stela Cat.1.49) or by their nature as publicly-viewed objects, we see divine nursing becoming an image that could be venerated, offered to, or approached. The images could be interacted with and could themselves interact with individuals.¹¹⁰⁰ It attests to a greater worship of goddesses and kings in this form during the New Kingdom and the role divine nursing played in the worship of these goddesses. Beyond seeing the images, private individuals used and adapted the image to their own contexts and self-images, establishing relationships between themselves and the goddess and king while also obtaining the goddess's care and favor.

When considered that these stelae were placed among *many* images of the goddesses, many more than there were images of her nursing, it also changes the perspective on the dialogue around the images and draws our attention to the goddess herself. Much of the offering and dedication mentioned throughout this chapter is to the goddess, not the king. In this way, divine nursing becomes one aspect of a goddesses' complex public understanding and image – a few strokes in her public portrait. The king as her nursling was just one aspect by which she was understood and expected to function. As Nyord suggests regarding the *sema-tawy* images (3.2.3),¹¹⁰¹ this change in focus illustrates that it is the goddesses who are the actors, the ones who unify or ensure life for the

¹¹⁰⁰ Brand discusses the worship of temple reliefs by non-royal individuals in Brand, "Veils, Votives, and Marginalia," 51–84.

¹¹⁰¹ Nyord, *Seeing Perfection*, 59.

deceased, not the king. He is the recipient of the benefits of their actions. The inclusion of divine nursing into existing images of goddesses, like the cow- or tree-goddess, demonstrates that this relationship with the king was an understood part of who she was by at least the New Kingdom.

6. Conclusion: Functions of Divine Nursing and Approaches to the Motif

This thesis has investigated the function and meaning of divine nursing during the ancient Egyptian New Kingdom across a variety of scene types and mediums. I have aimed to reconstruct, as best as surviving evidence allows, the various layers of contexts surrounding the creation and use of this imagery to assess how the images functioned and were understood within the ancient Egyptian worldview.

Each case study has examined the use of divine nursing in a different context and, therefore, for different audiences and purposes. Further, the case studies have explored the many forms the motif took during this period, considering the relationship between form and purpose. Chapter 3 examined the use of divine nursing by Egyptian kings in Nubia during a time of Egyptian control, as well as creativity in the adaptation of double nursing. Chapter 4 considered a specific subtype of divine nursing – the nursing cow-goddess – and its unique geographical and iconographic ties. This discussion explored issues of accessibility and the active involvement of the motif in festivals and celebrations. Chapter 5 considered the use of divine nursing on the more accessible and, in some cases, portable stelae. These images represented a variety of forms as well as creators and commissioners, allowing the discussion to consider how different groups were utilizing the image and to what ends.

In addition to exploring often overlooked divine nursing scenes (i.e., on tomb walls, stelae, and small objects), placing these images within a social context of breastfeeding in the New Kingdom is one of this thesis's most unique contributions to the discussion of divine nursing. Chapter 2 explored how breastfeeding functioned in New Kingdom society and the

meanings it may have held for viewers and creators at this time. It revealed nursing's association with birth and growth as well as the power attributed to breastmilk and the act of nursing itself. Further, it demonstrated the role of breast feeders in the lives of their nurslings, including their role in shaping an individual's social identity. By placing each case study within this context, I aimed to recover some of the nuance and social impact these images of the king would have held for ancient viewers. Bringing together these case studies and considering the themes that weave throughout their discussions, several conclusions can be made regarding the development and use of divine nursing during the New Kingdom.

6.1 Expansion and Adaptation in the Use of the Divine Nursing Images in the New Kingdoms

Though the large number of divine nursing scenes from the New Kingdom compared to other periods might be attributed to an accident of preservation, the increased popularity of the image is further attested by the expansion in the forms and contexts in which it was found. During the Old Kingdom, divine nursing scenes were limited to images of both goddess and king standing, accompanied by Khnum and perhaps another deity. The goddess could have the head of a woman or a lion. During the Middle Kingdom, images of Hathor as a cow appear. In the New Kingdom, new scene types are developed, including the goddess seated with the king standing beside her. Goddesses also appear in the form of snakes and trees. Further, scenes are adapted to include multiple nurses, like the scene of Ramesses II from Abydos (Cat.1.43) or the double nursing from the temple of Amada (3.2.3). A level of creativity and adaptation emerges in the motif, unlike prior periods, attesting to its popularity and the Egyptians' willingness to use and adapt it to specific purposes. Before the

New Kingdom, divine nursing imagery was, with few exceptions, limited to the walls of temples;¹¹⁰² however, during this period, the imagery appeared in royal and non-royal tombs, on privately commissioned stelae, votive offerings, and statuary, further attesting to the image's rise in popularity and usage during this period in both royal and non-royal spheres.

A portion of this increased popularity may have been due to a more widespread worship of goddesses, such as Hathor, Mut, and Meretseger, in the form of the king's nurse. As demonstrated in Chapters 4 and 5, more statues and reliefs of the motif must have existed than survive today. These images served as focal points of worship. Statues or reliefs of Hathor and Mut as nurses to the king appear to have been accessible during certain times as part of the worship of the goddesses at their major cult centers. Such worship can be seen in the stela of Sennedjem (Chapter 5) and the votive cloth Cat.2.23, where private individuals and their relations approach to worship the goddess in this form. Though there are no direct references to these statues being used in festivals or processions, visual elements like sledges and the images' shared themes with festivals, like the Beautiful Feast of the Valley, suggest they were likely involved in similar events or rituals. During the New Kingdom, nursing scenes became a more common feature of the worship of goddesses in Thebes.

The wider usage of divine nursing imagery by non-royal individuals indicates accessibility to these images in, at least, elite and influential spheres. The stelae at the Sanctuary of Ptah and Meretseger (Cat.1.50-51), likely commissioned by the king, place the image well within the sphere of the non-royal workers of Deir el-Medina. Paser and

¹¹⁰² See for example the possible statues of Amenhotep I, Cat.1.15–16; statue of Khufu, Cat.1.17; and pectoral of Amenemhat III, Cat.2.2.

Sennedjem, both well-known and influential figures in their areas, along with the other unknown and unnamed individuals on whose stelae and objects the motif appears were free to use the image on their own monuments. In both cases, these monuments – tomb and stela, respectively – were created, at least in part, for public viewing and interaction (Chapters 4–5). Two divine nursing scenes survive on ostraca (Cat.1.47, Cat.1.53), at least one of them from Deir el-Medina. Whatever their purpose, they, too, confirm wider access to divine nursing scenes during the New Kingdom and their increased use by non-royal individuals. So, though the reliefs and statues from temples may have been the inspiration for those on stelae and in tombs during this period, the image grew beyond these, becoming part of the larger decorative traditions of regions like Thebes and the goddesses located there.

With the expansion in form and context, divine nursing scenes were adapted to fit and serve new purposes. While the oldest scenes, those of the Old Kingdom, appear exclusively in funerary temples,¹¹⁰³ those of the Middle and New Kingdom expand out from this context and appear in the monumental discourse around living kings as well. Through this shift, divine nursing took on additional meanings – going from part of the transition and rebirth after death to something the king was understood to benefit from throughout (and possibly even before) his reign. Divine nursing appears associated with “living” events like birth narratives (Cat.2.5, Cat.2.18) and *heb-seds* (Chapter 3), as well as images that suggest a more perpetual process, like the statuette of the nursing cow-goddess in Chapter 4. In addition, the scenes take on additional geographical implications, not just representing

¹¹⁰³ See Appendix 1 and Borrego Gallardo, *Las Escenas de Amamantamiento*.

Upper and Lower Egypt.¹¹⁰⁴ The choice of goddess drew connections between the king and a specific geographic area like Nubia (Chapter 3) or Deir el-Bahari (Chapter 4).

Overall, the New Kingdom was a time of popularity and creativity for divine nursing imagery. Commissioners and artists adapted and experimented with the image to fit a wider range of contexts. Existing features were changed and altered to create new connections for the king and additional nuances of meaning. Likewise, the scene was applicable to a wide range of goddesses, like Hathor, Mut, and Nut, becoming part of the worship of a variety of goddesses. In contrast to Leclant's interpretation,¹¹⁰⁵ the goddesses' identities are key to understanding the relationships and associations being established.

6.2 Revisiting Leclant: Coronation, Birth, and Domination

Over the course of the three case studies in this thesis, I have continued to explore and test Leclant's conclusions regarding the purpose and meaning of divine nursing scenes and many have continued to be relevant and applicable to the scenes under examination. However, various aspects of his analysis have needed to be reevaluated and reconsidered as I have explored "outlying" scenes, those from non-temple contexts or of "non-traditional" forms. As suggested by Leclant and indicated by the context of many of the scenes examined in this thesis, divine nursing scenes were often associated with the bestowal of *heb-seds* and crowns and, thus, coronation as well.¹¹⁰⁶ These gifts of the gods are explicitly mentioned in the texts, as in the temple of Amada (Chapter 3) where Werethekau references the bestowal of the uraeus and Khnum the *heb-seds*, and are included in the imagery, as in the stelae

¹¹⁰⁴ Borrego Gallardo, *Las Escenas de Amamantamiento*, 180.

¹¹⁰⁵ Leclant, "Coronation Rites," 143.

¹¹⁰⁶ Leclant, "Coronation Rites," 263–265.

from Chapel C where beside the divine nursing Amun hands the king *heb-seds* (Chapter 5).

The frequent appearance of divine nursing in these contexts, even outside of temple reliefs, supports divine nursing's role in these processes.

While the images of divine nursing are associated with the *event* of the *heb-sed* or coronation, they also appear related to the intended perpetual nature of these rituals. Even kings who would have never celebrated the 30-year *heb-sed*, like Thutmose IV, use the divine nursing imagery with reference to the *heb-sed*. Further, as Nyord points out, the creation of an image was not merely commemorative but also a means by which to ensure something would occur and be perpetuated.¹¹⁰⁷ In this case, the king would become and continue to be the nursling of the goddess, continually receiving her milk and maintaining the relationship between them.

Likewise, the case studies in this thesis support other observations made by Leclant in his study of divine nursing scenes. First is divine nursing's association with (re)birth, closely tied to the rebirth of the *heb-sed* and coronation. Leclant poses this interpretation in the form of his three births at which the king needed to be breastfed – birth, coronation (and *heb-sed*), and after death.¹¹⁰⁸ Associations with each of these moments have been attested over the course of this thesis. The divine birth sequences demonstrate its place at birth, though, in these cases, it is a narrative crafted to demonstrate a semi-mythical origin for the king. Many scenes are found in the context of coronation and the *heb-sed*, as mentioned above. Finally, images of the nursing cow-goddess, as well as that of the tree goddess (Cat.1.46), find direct links with rebirth after death. However, I propose that, though divine nursing was part of these events, the intent was not to commemorate these

¹¹⁰⁷ Nyord, *Seeing Perfection*, 58–63.

¹¹⁰⁸ Leclant, "Coronation Rites," 144; Leclant, "Sur un contrepoids de menat " 283.

occasional moments of nursing but rather to showcase an ongoing relationship created and exemplified in the action of nursing. The incorporation of the image into cult imagery like that of Hathor and Mut takes the scene beyond just these events and into the standard or every day. Statues of the gods represented aspects of who they were and their attributes. Thus, divine nursing became an integral part of who the king was and the royal discourse around his nature and relationship with the gods. Further, it illustrated who the goddess was. It showcased her power and authority as well as her place in royal discourse. If the statues played a role in festivals, as I propose they did, this idea would have been further illustrated as the goddess continued to nurse the king throughout these celebrations. The king's inclusion in these statues ensured that nursing was always taking place.

Second, as noted by Leclant,¹¹⁰⁹ divine nursing imagery could be associated with ideas of domination. The scene of Thutmose IV from the temple of Amada (Chapter 3) and the stelae from Chapel C of the Sanctuary of Ptah and Meretseger (Chapter 5) are both linked with the domination of foreign peoples. This emphasis is included within the divine nursing image at the temple of Amada with the references to foreign lands in the speech of the Khnum and the presence of the *rekhyt*-bird in the king's hand. The exact relationship between nursing and this assurance of domination is not made entirely clear in the image or texts, and thus, we must look elsewhere for a possible explanation. I make two suggestions. First, I suggest that the idea of domination is directly tied to the geographical implications of being nursed by a goddess, an action by which the king became tied to the goddess's associated geographical region with cultic and, in some cases, political implications. For the scene at Amada, it demonstrated and ensured the king's power and authority over Nubia.

¹¹⁰⁹ Leclant, "Sur un contrepoids de menat " 266–267.

For the scenes of Hathor as a cow, it linked the king to a region associated with a popular cult of the goddess. The goddess's actions solidify the king's authority over that region. In the case of foreign peoples, this would include victory over such groups. Second, as mentioned in Chapter 3, the domination operates similarly to the idea of unity in the *sema-tawy* motif. Nyord points out that when the king is present in this image, it emphasizes that the unity is not the king's doing but the gods'.¹¹¹⁰ Similarly, I would suggest that the divine nursing scene does not give the king the *ability* to dominate or be victorious but rather gives him the domination and victory already achieved by the gods. Thus, through his relationship with the goddess, he accepts a unified Egypt and authority over foreign peoples. In both cases, it is a matter of relationship, something that was created through the act of nursing.

Therefore, while Leclant's primary conclusions remain relevant and applicable to our understanding of divine nursing scenes, my examination of scenes from a range of contexts lends important nuance and a wider scope to our understanding of divine nursing scenes' role and function. The scenes become less commemorative and event-focused than Leclant would otherwise suggest. Further, Leclant's focus on the king as the primary actor and subject overlooks the important implications and role of the goddess and, thus, the nuanced relationship between these scenes and geographic areas.

6.3 Divine Nursing and Relationships

As has become apparent throughout these case studies, relationships are at the core of divine nursing imagery. By considering their imagery and usage in the context of beliefs around breastfeeding and breast feeders in ancient Egypt, the scenes take on a connecting

¹¹¹⁰ Nyord, *Seeing Perfection*, 59–60.

and relational role. This relationship is sometimes hinted at when scenes include the phrase “I am your mother,”¹¹¹¹ but as has been demonstrated, this relationship is not limited to one of mother-son. Breastfeeding served to connect children and caregivers. A wet nurse became part of one’s social identity, while breastfeeding duties may have been taken on by other female relatives (see Chapter 2 for full discussion). Whatever the situation, relationships and identity were formed through the bonds of breastfeeding. The more we examine these images of divine nursing, the more central the relationships between goddess and king become, perhaps suggesting the potency of breastfeeding as an image in ancient Egypt more generally.

Divine nursing served to make, communicate, and ensure the king was made part of the divine sphere, either as a relation or kin. As indicated in Chapter 2, nursing and childcare in general fell within the sphere of one’s relations. Wet nurses are found alongside sisters and mothers as key in a child’s growth and upbringing. Research into Egyptian kinship terms only serves to expand relations who may have been called “sister.”¹¹¹² Thus, even among divine caregivers, the duties of child-rearing fall to multiple goddesses, seemingly often divided between “mother” and “wet nurse(s).” Thus, there is no contradiction between multiple goddesses stating they are the king’s “mother” or with him being nursed by more than one goddess. Caregivers were complementary, not isolated or replacements for one another. When considering the Egyptian household and relations in this way, we see a more complex dynamic, one in which many are involved in raising (and feeding) a child. Thus,

¹¹¹¹ This phrase appears in scene of Ramesses II from Karnak (Cat.1.45); Hatshepsut from Inner Sanctuary at Deir el-Bahari (Cat.2.10); Seti I from Abydos (Cat.1.36); Amenhotep III from Luxor (Cat.1.29); Ramesses II from Beit el-Wali (Cat.1.41). See also Caßor-Pfeiffer, “From Ritual to Role Description,” 261, 271–275.

¹¹¹² See Olabarria’s discussion of Egyptian kinship terms in Olabarria, *Kinship and Family*, 57–74.

these wet nursing goddesses, like human wet nurses, were understood to be a part of the divine kin group in which the king took the role as a child under their care.

Placing the king in such a divine kin group may have served as a means of understanding the king's divine nature and relationship with the gods. It is difficult to know for certain whether these scenes were meant to inform viewers of the king's nature or to demonstrate a known concept. Bickel argues that, in the New Kingdom, the king's divine nature was an accepted concept.¹¹¹³ Given that the images began in funerary temples with little accessibility, it is likely they began as a means of ensuring these relationships for the king. As the images moved from temple walls to statuary, stelae, votives, and tombs, it entered the realm of what Bickel calls the "royal discourse."¹¹¹⁴ Consequently, divine nursing found itself as part of a larger decorative program meant to demonstrate the stability and continued divine involvement with the king. This encapsulated the many divine relationships the king then had – king as Horus, king as son of Osiris, and so on. Assmann has suggested that "constellations," or the relationships between individuals (human and divine), were the basis of *ma'at*, the order that was the king's responsibility to maintain in the cosmos. These "constellations" tied together various deities as well as the king to deities. He further asserts that in the Egyptian worldview the self was based in these "constellations" or relationships.¹¹¹⁵ Divine nursing can be seen as a means of forming or representing these essential "constellations," which defined the king and goddess's selves and the relationships between deities and the king.

¹¹¹³ Bickel, "Kings as Gods in the New Kingdom," 47.

¹¹¹⁴ Bickel, "Kings as Gods in the New Kingdom," 39.

¹¹¹⁵ Jan Assmann, "Dialogue Between Self and Soul: Papyrus Berlin 3024," in *Self, Soul and Body in Religious Experience*, ed. Albert I. Baumgarten, Jan Assmann, and Guy G. Stroumsa (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 386, 401; Jan Assmann, "Magic and Theology in Ancient Egypt," in *Envisioning Magic: A Princeton Seminar & Symposium*, ed. Peter Schäfer and Hans Gerhard Kippenberg (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 5; Assmann, *The Mind of Egypt*, 133–134.

As imagery of divine nursing expanded into other media, this breastfeeding relationship allowed the king to be incorporated into statuary (like those of Hathor and Mut), which served as focal points of worship, as mentioned in the prior chapters. By means of his inclusion, the king was then able to participate in the rituals and festivals of which the goddess was a part. Further, such a publicly accessible image attests to the general understanding of the king's relationship with the goddess. Its use by non-royal individuals like Sennedjem (Cat.1.49), Paser (Cat.2.20), and Tja-nefer (Cat.2.23) might demonstrate the acceptance of this imagery of the king and, therefore, of the relationship it depicted.

Divine nursing did more than just connect the king to his goddess nurse. This bond also forged a relationship between the king and the regions of the goddess in Egypt and elsewhere. Through the identity and jurisdiction of his nurse, the king gained influence and power in that region – her region. This may be especially significant as Luiselli has observed that in New Kingdom biographies, an individual's relationship with a deity is frequently determined by geographical location.¹¹¹⁶ Thus, the geographical relationships of divine nursing may seek to replicate these more personal devotions or appeal to them. Similarly, just as these divine nursing scenes tied the king to the goddesses and regions, like Hathor and her cult at Deir el-Bahari, it may have served to connect him to prior kings. Though evidence for milk-sibling relationships is limited in ancient Egypt, there is evidence for the connection of individuals and kin-groups based on the breastfeeding of children (Chapter 2). Kings may have sought to draw connections between themselves and prior kings through a shared wet nurse or simply by also having a goddess nurse. These connections formed a larger royal narrative, one of all kings related to the goddesses and, therefore, to each other.

¹¹¹⁶ Luiselli, *Die Suche nach Gottesnähe*, 121.

For example, considering the images of the nursing cow-goddess, kings may have been referencing the images of Mentuhotep II, who appears to have been the first to use this form of divine nursing.¹¹¹⁷ This is supported by Mentuhotep II's appearance on a New Kingdom votive cloth (Cat.2.23), created well after he had passed. The simultaneous usage of the motif by living and deceased kings tied together the generations, demonstrating and ensuring the continual line of divine kings in Egypt. It further indicated the king's continued support of the cult of Hathor at Deir el-Bahari and her perpetual care for him. Kings were nursed and related to the goddess in life and in death. Through nursing, in any of her forms, Hathor ensured a long line of strong, victorious kings who would be granted life and power through her milk and care. This is the same connection employed by the divine nursing scenes of Seti I and Ramesses II at Gurnah (Cat.1.37, Cat.1.44), which represent Seti I as king and Ramesses II as his heir, both nursed by goddesses. This is the only depiction before the Late Period in which someone, not a king (either living or deceased), is shown nursing from a goddess.¹¹¹⁸ Their presence together demonstrates the connection between them as father-son and king-heir as well as nurslings to the goddesses. Together, they represent the status of their dynasty, a continuity confirmed before gods and viewers through divine nursing. In this way, the generations of kings were drawn together through a goddess's breastfeeding.

Finally, being breastfed by a goddess impacted the king's identity and personhood, just as breastfeeding a king impacted the identity and public understanding of the goddess.

The evidence in Chapter 2 demonstrated the ways in which, by means of their role as a

¹¹¹⁷ See Appendix 1 and Tables 1–2.

¹¹¹⁸ See for example the Third Intermediate Period of the God's Wives of Amun shown in divine nursing scenes: "SITH: Projet Karnak," (14 January 2025), KIU 2243/Cfeetk 192641, <http://sith.huma-num.fr/karnak/192243>. <http://sith.huma-num.fr/karnak>; "SITH: Projet Karnak," KIU 2245/Cfeetk 192643, <http://sith.huma-num.fr/karnak/192245>; Anne K. Capel and Glenn Markoe, eds., *Mistress of the House, Mistress of Heaven: Women in Ancient Egypt* (New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1996), 117–118.

breast feeder, wet nurses became part of their nursling's self-image and social identity. Ideologically, the act set the king apart and defined him as part of the divine sphere. The king's divine attributes and relationships with the gods, or "constellations," are crucial to Egyptian kingship, the king's self, and his maintenance of *ma'at*.¹¹¹⁹ Divine nursing was another way by which this was represented. The king's divine nursing either incorporated him into the divine sphere *or* represented that he was already part of that sphere. It is difficult to determine which. If the act was one of transformation, then the act of breastfeeding brought the king in. However, if the king were already divine, then it would be natural for his divine "relations" to care for him. Concerning the goddess, as divine nursing images moved outside temple spaces and were incorporated into her own decorative tradition and landscape, they added to the many roles and guises in which she appeared. Just as she illustrated something about the king's nature, he illustrated something about hers. She was part of the royal discourse, the power and authority behind the king. She was related to the king and ensured that he had the power to rule. In this way, his image became part of a larger and wider publicly accepted and expected image of the goddesses in areas like Thebes.

6.4 Approaching Divine Nursing Scenes

In placing the divine nursing scenes within their various layers of context, we see a motif with much more nuance, adaptability, and functionality than otherwise supposed. Though the images look relatively uniform in many ways from the Old Kingdom to the Late Period, those of the New Kingdom attest to Egyptian artists' creativity and modification of the scene

¹¹¹⁹ Assmann, *The Mind of Egypt*, 133–134, 184; Assmann, "Dialogue Between Self and Soul," 395, 401.

to give it additional functionality or to emphasize specific parts of its meaning. This is particularly apparent at Amada, where ideas of coronation and geographic dominance, present to a lesser extent in other divine nursing scenes, are pronounced and directed at its specific Nubian location. Existing features like double nursing were adapted for this more intentional impact and purpose. In the case of the nursing cow-goddess scenes, considering them as part of Deir el-Bahari's decorative traditions, it becomes apparent that they are more than simply variations of other divine nursing scenes, but images in dialogue and relation with many others of the goddess. These connections informed their role and purpose beyond being just a divine nursing scene. In each case, considering the context is crucial for understanding the scenes' function and the reason behind the variation between scenes.

Additionally, the social context of the image – breastfeeding culture and the role of breast feeders – further aids in our understanding of the scene's function. As an image and act, breastfeeding had meaning in ancient Egyptian society. It was a sign of health and growth. It bound people together. Those creating and viewing divine nursing imagery brought with them this understanding and context. In this way, this thesis has sought to answer the question: why breastfeeding? As has been demonstrated throughout this thesis, it was about relationships, social identity, and growth.

Reliance on later sources, like the Roman wet nurse contracts, and modern biases have often clouded our understanding of breastfeeding and wet nursing in the New Kingdom and led to assumptions and interpretations that rely more on modern perspectives than ancient evidence. Assumptions that the goddess must have been understood as the king's mother (or her substitute) in every case rely on a modern Western perspective of childcare

falling almost solely on the shoulders of a child's mother.¹¹²⁰ Associations with the popular and later *Isis lactans* imagery often limit interpretations of the scenes, by not considering how changes in the identity of the nursing goddess or context might affect the image. Thus, just as important as it is to consider the layers of ancient context, it is essential to consider influences from our own perspectives on breastfeeding, motherhood, and associated imagery.

Having examined many divine nursing scenes across the course of the case studies here, I propose that it is more effective to consider divine nursing not as a repeated motif but rather as an act that could be incorporated and adapted to fit in various contexts and alongside existing motifs and images. This takes us away from considering them as a monolithic category but as something more dynamic in its usage. Though many of the images are inspired by older versions of the scene and share many of the same features, during the New Kingdom, they change. As demonstrated, greater differences appear between the various versions as contexts and forms expand. With this expansion, divine nursing became its own *act*, not just a motif. It became something that could be incorporated into existing motifs and images to create connections between the king, goddess, and her cult; demonstrate the king's authority over various regions; and represent his growth and rebirth. This is especially apparent in its use in the images of Hathor as a cow and the tree-goddess. In the course of this analysis, it became more effective to consider divine nursing as something that had been incorporated *into* these existing iconographic spaces. With this shift, the relationship between the king and the goddess became more apparent, and the nuances of the scene became clearer. Instead of divine nursing scenes, we

¹¹²⁰ Hays, *The Cultural Contradictions of Motherhood*, 32.

see rather the entanglement of motifs, the creative combination of images to design something of layered meaning to fit a specific context and function.

If considered in this way, divine nursing becomes a dynamic act that can be utilized and adapted to fit the many contexts attested in this thesis. It allows the different scenes to be considered independently from one another more easily, allowing the contexts to inform our understanding and, therefore, allow us to see more easily the choices made to fulfill specific purposes. Further, many of the “contradictions” regarding its use become less important: deceased versus living king, child versus adult. Instead, it becomes a way for *all* kings to be linked to specific goddesses and those in her related group (including other kings) in a way befitting their divine nature and ancient Egyptian ideas of kingship. Conversely, as a divine being, the king could be nursed by many goddesses as they were all part of his related group and, therefore, some of his caregivers. The king’s eternal rebirth meant he was always in need of their care and always entitled to it as king. This cycle of rebirth and nursing means he remains as a nursling of the goddesses, continually receiving their care, relationship, and protection.

Divine nursing continues to appear after the New Kingdom but not with the same frequency. Studies of later images of divine nursing will reveal additional changes and adaptations of the motif, such as the use by God’s Wives of Amun, the first non-kings (or royal heirs) to be shown in such imagery.¹¹²¹ By approaching divine nursing as an act and considering its layers of contexts, future research will be able to understand more fully the way these scenes are created and the choices behind their adaptation.

¹¹²¹ See, for example, the 22nd dynasty images of Shepenupet I nursed by Hathor (KIU 2243, CFEETK 192641) and Isis (KIU 2245, CFEETK 192643) at Karnak cited in footnote 1118.

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Appendix 1: Divine Nursing Scene Catalogue

The following catalogue represents each image of divine nursing (a king depicted nursing from a goddess) I have been able to identify. Each entry is accompanied by the name of the king, goddess, location, dynasty, medium, whether a mirrored image is present, a brief description, the scene's current location, citations for photos or line drawings, and a select bibliography. The catalogue is divided into two parts: 1) divine nursing scenes where the goddess appears as a human or with human features (i.e., arms, breasts, or head) and 2) divine nursing scenes where the goddess appears in the form of a cow.

In the body of this thesis, individual scenes will be referred to by their catalogue number for easy reference. Catalogue reference numbers will be formatted as Cat. + section number + scene number. For example, the Old Kingdom scene of Sahure from his Funerary Temple at Abusir is Cat.1.1.

Asterisks (*) mark scenes that have not been completely confirmed as divine nursing images but have been identified as king and goddess. These have been included as there are features to suggest the goddess may be nursing the king.

1. Anthropomorphic Goddess (or those with human features) Nursing Scenes

1	King: Sahure Goddess: Nekhbet Location: Funerary Temple of Sahure, Abusir Dynasty: 5 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: Unknown Description: Both Nekhbet (as a woman) and Sahure stand with Sahure on the right. The goddess wraps her left arm around the king's shoulders and the king holds her right arm. Sahure appears as a shorter adult wearing the <i>Nemes</i> headdress, fake beard, and kilt. The goddess wears a long shift dress, necklace, and Vulture cap. Khnum stands behind the goddess holding a staff. A lost figure stood behind the king as evidenced by the arm around the king's waist. Text is located above the figures and before Khnum. Current Location: Cairo Museum, JdE 39533; JdE 39532–3 Photos/Line Drawings: Borchardt, <i>S'ahu-Re</i>, I, pl. 15; II, pl. 18 Select Bibliography: PM III/1, 331 (a); Borrego Gallardo, <i>Las Escenas de Amamantamiento</i>, 31–33.
2	King: Niuserre Goddess: Lion-headed goddess (Bastet?) Location: Mortuary/Valley Temple of Niuserre, Abusir Dynasty: 5 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: Unknown Description: Based on their positions, both Niuserre and goddess (lion-headed) are standing. The king, as a shorter adult, holds the goddess's left arm as she offers her breast. Her right arm wraps behind his head. The king wears what is

	likely the <i>Nemes</i> headdress and necklace. The goddess wears a shift dress pinned at the shoulders and necklaces. Current Location: Berlin Museum ÄMP 17911 Photos/Line Drawings: Borchardt, <i>Ne-user-Re</i>, 39–41, figs. 21, 23. Select Bibliography: PM III/1, 335; Borrego Gallardo, <i>Las Escenas de Amamantamiento</i>, 35–36
3	King: Unas Goddess: Unknown Location: Upper Temple of Unas, Saqqara Dynasty: 5 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: Unknown Description: Based on their positions, the goddess (as a woman) and Unas are likely standing. The fragment preserves Unas's head and shoulder. He wears the <i>Nemes</i> headdress and a necklace and appears as a shorter adult. The goddess wears a shift dress, necklaces and long wig. She holds her breast with her left hand. Her right arm wraps around the king's head. Current Location: Cairo Museum, JdE 39133 Photos/Line Drawings: Labrousse, <i>Ounas</i>, pl. xxxix, fig. 54; Smith, <i>A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting</i>, fig. 54 [b]. Select Bibliography: PM III/2, 421 (a); Labrousse, <i>Ounas</i>, 84, doc. 28; Borrego Gallardo, <i>Las Escenas de Amamantamiento</i>, 38-39.
4	King: Pepi I Goddess: Unknown Location: Funerary of Temple of Pepi I, Entrance Hall, Saqqara Dynasty: 6 Medium: Relief

	Mirrored Scene: Borrego Gallardo suggests that all Old Kingdom scenes had mirrored scenes originally (Borrego Gallardo, <i>Las Escenas de Amamantamiento</i>, 178-180). Description: Based on their positions, the goddess and king are likely standing. The king appears as a shorter adult wearing the <i>Nemes</i> headdress and necklace. The goddess wears a shift dress. Her left hand holds her breast and right arm wraps around the king's head onto his chest. The goddess is not preserved above the shoulders or below the chest. Current Location: Perhaps a warehouse in Saqqara (Blocks E-1483 & 2067) Photos/Line Drawings: Labrousse, <i>Pepy Ier</i>, pl. xiib, fig. 35, 40. Select Bibliography: Cassor-Pfeiffer, "From Ritual to Role Description," Cat. 4.
5	King: Pepi I Goddess: Unknown Location: Funerary Temple of Pepi I, Staircase to statue chamber, Saqqara Dynasty: 6 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: Borrego Gallardo suggests that all Old Kingdom scenes had mirrored scenes originally (Borrego Gallardo, <i>Las Escenas de Amamantamiento</i>, 178-180). Description: The relief is a series of fragments that show a goddess's right hand at her breast and the goddess's hand on the king's chest. The king wears at least a necklace. Current Location: Perhaps a warehouse in Saqqara as Block E-1868 (Labrousse, <i>Pepy Ier</i>, 121). Photos/Line Drawings: Labrousse, <i>Pepy Ier</i>, fig. 79. Select Bibliography: Labrousse, <i>Pepy Ier</i>, 121-122; Borrego Gallardo, <i>Las Escenas de Amamantamiento</i>, 42, 156, fig. 7.
6	King: Pepi II Goddess: Hathor?

	Location: Funerary Complex of Pepi II, staircase niche, south wall, Saqqara Dynasty: 6 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: Cat.1.7 Description: The scene is reconstructed by Jequier from fragments of the king's head and goddess's breast, legs, and parts of text. The goddess's right hand to her breast. The king appears to wear a cap, wears a kilt, and holds an ankh. The feet reveal a figure standing closely behind the king and another standing further behind the goddess with a staff. Current Location: Unknown Photos/Line Drawings: Jéquier, <i>Pepi II, Band 2</i>, pl. 32, 33. Select Bibliography: PM III/2, 427 (20); Borrego Gallardo, <i>Las Escenas de Amamantamiento</i>, 46.
7	King: Pepi II Goddess: Unknown Location: Funerary Complex of Pepi II, staircase niche, north wall, Saqqara Dynasty: 6 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: Cat.1.6 Description: The scene is reconstructed by Jequier from fragments of the goddess's hand and breast, the goddess's hand on the king's chest, and legs. The goddess wears a necklace and shift dress. The king wears the <i>Nemes</i> headdress, necklace, and kilt while holding an <i>ankh</i> in his right hand. The feet indicate a figure standing close behind the king and a second figure standing further behind the goddess holding a staff. Current Location: Unknown Photos/Line Drawings: Jequier, <i>Pepi II, Band 2</i>, pl. 30, 31. Select Bibliography: PM III/2, 427 (21); Borrego Gallardo, <i>Las Escenas de Amamantamiento</i>, 51.

8	King: Pepi II Goddess: Unknown Location: Funerary Complex of Pepi II, Saqqara Dynasty: 6 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: None survives Description: The scene is reconstructed from fragments of the king's hand on a goddess's arm, a god holding the arm of the king, and bits of text. The king holds the goddess's right arm with his right hand in a gesture unique and specific to nursing scenes. A falcon-headed god stands behind the king holding his arm. The goddess's left-hand rests on the king's shoulder. Current Location: Unknown Photos/Line Drawings: Jequier, <i>Pepi II, Band 3</i>, 38. Selected Bibliography: Borrego Gallardo, <i>Las Escenas de Amamantamiento</i>, 169.
9	King: Pepi II Goddess: Unknown Location: Funerary Complex of Pepi II, Saqqara Dynasty: 6 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: None survives Description: The scene is reconstructed from a fragment of the king in a kilt holding an <i>ankh</i> in his right hand standing very close to a goddess in a shift dress. All that is preserved are the knees of the goddess and the thighs and right hand of the king. Its identification as a nursing scene is based on the proximity of the king to the goddess in a position that matches the other known nursing scenes of this time period. Current Location: Unknown Photos/Line Drawings: Jequier, <i>Pepi II, Band 2</i>, pl. 29.

	Selected Bibliography: Borrego Gallardo, <i>Las Escenas de Amamantamiento</i>, 43–47.
10	King: Mentuhotep II Goddess: Hathor Location: Ka Chapel or Hathor Shrine of Mentuhotep II, Dendera Dynasty: 11 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: No Description: The king and Hathor are both standing. The king appears as a shorter adult wearing a kilt and feathered headdress. The goddess wears a shift dress and horns with the solar disk. The goddess's left hand holds her breast as her right arm wraps around the king. A falcon-headed Horus-Horakhty stands behind the king with a staff and right hand on the king's crown. A mummiform god, possibly Min, stands behind the goddess in front of an offering table. Current Location: Cairo Museum, JdE 46068 (Whole chapel) Photos/Line Drawings: Habachi, "King Nebhepetre Mentuhotep," fig. 8. Selected Bibliography: PM VI [1991], 106; Habachi, "King Nebhepetre Mentuhotep," 19–28; Cassor-Pfeiffer, "From Ritual to Role Description," 259; Daressy, "Chapelle de Mentouhotep III," 226–236; Budin, <i>Images of Women and Children</i>, 56.
11	King: Mentuhotep III (possibly) Goddess: Tjenenet (suggested by Borrego Gallardo, <i>Las Escenas de Amamantamiento</i>, 176, footnote 526) Location: Temple of Montu, El-Tod Dynasty: 11 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: None survives Description: The scene survives in only a fragment. Based on the figures' positions, both the king and goddess are standing. The fragment preserves the

	right elbow of the goddess as well as a portion of her feathered shift dress. The hand of the king, wearing a bracelet on the arm, holds onto the goddess's arm. This is a position unique and specific to nursing scenes. Current Location: Unknown Photos/Line Drawings: Bisson de la Roque, <i>Tôd</i>, fig. 54. Select Bibliography: Borrego Gallardo, <i>Las Escenas de Amamantamiento</i>, 176, footnote 526.
12	King: Amenemhat I (possibly) Goddess: Tjeneret (potentially) Location: Armant Dynasty: 12 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: None survives Description: The scene is reconstructed from fragments. A fragment preserves the chest of a goddess wearing a shift dress and long wig. Her left-hand cups her breast, offering it in a way specific to nursing. Another fragment preserves text that identifies it as a nursing scene and is similar to those texts associated with other divine nursing scenes. Current Location: Unknown Photos/Line Drawings: Mond and Myers, <i>Temples of Armant: Plates</i>, pl. 98 (9) Select Bibliography: Mond and Myers, <i>Temples of Armant: Plates</i>, pl. 98; Mond and Myers, <i>Temples of Armant: Text</i>, 170.
13	King: Amenemhat I/Sesostris I Goddess: Unknown Location: Courtyard, Karnak Dynasty: 12 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: None survives

	Description: Only a block of the scene survives. The block depicts the right arm of the king holding something (perhaps an <i>ankh</i> based on other nursing scenes). The goddess's arm can be seen over the king's shoulder and resting on his chest. Amun, identified by the name of the belt buckle, stands behind the king wearing a kilt, placing his hand on the king's right arm. The scene's similarity to surviving divine nursing scenes is what has allowed it to be identified as such. Current Location: Unknown Photos/Line Drawings: Carlotti, Czeny, and Gabolde, "Sondage Autour de Plate-Forme en Grès de la 'Cour du Moyen Empire," fig. 4c, 5, 6a–b. Select Bibliography: Gabolde, Carlotti, Czerny, "Sondage Autour de Plate-Forme en Grès de la 'Cour du Moyen Empire," 114–117, 160–162; Borrego Gallardo, <i>Las Escenas de Amamantamiento</i>, 176.
14	King: Sesostris I Goddess: Nekhbet (suggested by Caßor-Pfeiffer); Hathor (suggested by Habachi) Location: Temple of Amun, Karnak Dynasty: 12 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: None survives Description: The king and goddess both stand as the goddess wraps her right arm around the king's head and rests her right hand on his chest. The king wears a kilt and bull tail, holding an ankh in his right hand. Amun stands behind the king holding the king's right arm. Fragments of text survive above the figures. Current Location: Luxor Museum Photos/Line Drawings: Habachi, <i>The Second Stela of Kamose</i>, fig. 17. Select Bibliography: PM II, 37 (133); Habachi, <i>The Second Stela of Kamose</i>, 28–31; Habachi, "Preliminary Report on Kamose Stelae," 195–202; Caßor-Pfeiffer, "From Ritual to Role Description," 262.

15*	King: Amenhotep I Goddess: Mut, Lady of Asher Location: Temple of Mut, Karnak Dynasty: 18 Medium: Statue Mirrored Scene: None survives Description: This is a fragmentary statue depicting a small figure sitting on the lap of a woman. It is suggested that this was once a nursing scene. The goddess might be Mut, Lady of Asher, based on the location of the statue as well as the text on the side dedicating it to Mut. The king may be Amenhotep I as the cartouche and figure of Sat-amen appears on one side with a young girl appearing on the other. Current Location: Unknown Photos/Line Drawings: Benson and Gourlay, <i>Temple of Mut in Asher</i>, pl. xi [1]. Select Bibliography: PM II, 261; Benson and Gourlay, <i>Temple of Mut in Asher</i>, 150–151.
16*	King: Amenhotep I Goddess: Renenutet Location: Abydos Dynasty: 18 Medium: Statue Mirrored Scene: None survives Description: This is a heavily damaged statue of a small figure sitting on the lap of a goddess. The goddess's body is preserved but the king on her lap is destroyed. Thus, the breasts of the goddess and head of the king that would have confirmed this as a nursing scene have been lost. The goddess wears a long shift dress and wig. The cartouches of the king are preserved on either side of the goddess's legs. Current Location: Cairo Museum, JdE 39376

	Photos/Line Drawings: Daressy, <i>Statues de divinités (CGC 38001–39384)</i>, lam. lxiii Select Bibliography: Daressy, <i>Statues de divinités (CGC 38001–39384)</i>, lam. lxiii; Rodríguez-Berzosa Gómez-Landero, <i>La Lactancia en el Antiguo Egipto</i>, 70; Budin, <i>Images of Women and Child</i>, 60.
17	King: Khufu Goddess: Werethekau Location: Great Temple, Cachette, Karnak Dynasty: 18 (4?) Medium: Statue Mirrored Scene: None survives Description: This statue depicts a small figure of the king, named Khufu in the cartouche on the back of the statue, sitting on the lap of the goddess Werethekau, also named in the text on the back. The goddess's face is missing but a slot in the head likely held this. This could mean she had a snake head. She wears a long shift dress. Her left-hand rests on the king's head and her right appears to reach to her breast, likely offering it to the king. This may be a New Kingdom version of an earlier statue (as suggested by Legrain) or made for the cult of the Old Kingdom king. Current Location: Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JdE 42022) Photos/Line Drawings: Legrain, <i>Statues et Statuettes</i>, pl. I; Mekawy Ouda, "Werethekau and the Votive Stela of P3-n-'lmn," fig. 6. Select Bibliography: PM II [1972], 161; Legrain, <i>Statues et Statuettes</i>, 2; Mekawy Ouda, "Did Werethekau 'Great of Magic' have a Cult?" 106–107.
18	King: Thutmose III Goddess: Hathor Location: Djoser-Akhet temple of Thutmose III, Room D, Deir el-Bahari Dynasty: 18 Medium: Relief

	Mirrored Scene: None survives Description: The scene is fragmentary. The fragments preserve portions of the head of Thutmose III wearing the <i>Nemes</i> headdress as well as his arm holding Hathor's as it reaches across her chest. A fragment also preserves Hathor's right hand as it offers her breast to the king. Hathor's left-hand rests on the king's chest. The arms of another figure, behind the king, are preserved – one hand goes to rest on the king's shoulder as the other holds his waist. Hathor wears the solar disk and horns. Current Location: Unknown Photos/Line Drawings: Dolinska, "Temple of Thutmosis III at Deir el-Bahari, Seasons 2010–2011," fig. 1, pg. 212. Select Bibliography: Dolinska, "Temple of Thutmosis III at Deir el-Bahari after 30 Years of Research," 57–62; Dolinska, "Temple of Thutmosis III at Deir el-Bahari, Seasons 2010–2011," 211–212; Dolinska, "The Temple in the Valley," 79–84.
19	King: Thutmose III Goddess: Amaunet Location: Great Temple, Barkshrine (destroyed), Karnak Dynasty: 18 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: No Description: Thutmose III sits on the lap of Amaunet as she nurses the king. The king wears a sidelock. In front of the goddess, another figure of the king wearing the white crown kneels before Amun. It is nearly identical to the scene of Philipp Arrhidaeus (Cat.1.77). Current Location: Unknown Photos/Line Drawings: I was unable to find any. Select Bibliography: PM II, 99 (4); Barguet, <i>Le Temple d'Amon-Rê</i>, 316.
20	King: Thutmose III Goddess: Termuthis

	Location: Great Temple, Cachette of royal statues, Karnak Dynasty: 18 Medium: Statue Mirrored Scene: No Description: Little has been found on this statue other than Legrain's identification of it as a statue of Rannouit (or Termuthis) nursing Thutmose III and PM's identification of the statue as the king nursed by Termuthis. Current Location: Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JdF 306) Photos/Line Drawings: I was unable to find any. Select Bibliography: PM II, 138 (s); Legrain, <i>Répertoire généalogique et onomastique du Musée du Caire</i>, no. 135.
21	King: Thutmose III (originally Hatshepsut?) Goddess: Hathor Location: Great Temple of Amun, Palace of Ma'at, Room XVII, Karnak Dynasty: 18 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: None Description: Hathor, wearing the horns, nurses Thutmose III, who wears a wig and kilt, before Amun and Khnum. Hathor is heavily defaced. Current Location: <i>in situ</i> Photos/Line Drawings: "Epigraphic Survey Negative 8460," Records of the Epigraphic Survey, accessed 11 December 2024, https://isac-idb.uchicago.edu/id/85485ffb-48b2-4254-8af0-21d47250669e. Select Bibliography: PM II, 105 (316A); Barguet, <i>Le Temple d'Amon-Rê</i>, 20.
22	King: Thutmose III Goddess: Hathor Location: Festival Temple, Rooms of Sokar (Room XXII), Karnak Dynasty: 18 Medium: Relief

	Mirrored Scene: No Description: Thutmose III and Hathor both stand as the king nurses. Thutmose III wears the white crown, a necklace, and a kilt while holding an ankh in his left-hand. His right-hand grips Hathor's right arm as her right hand offers her breast to the king. Hathor's left hand reaches up behind the king's crown. She wears the solar disk between horns with a uraeus on a small modius. Another figure of Hathor as well as Seth stand in front of the goddess. Another falcon headed god stands behind the goddess. Current Location: <i>in situ</i> Photos/Line Drawings: LD III, pl. 35b Select Bibliography: PM II, 117 (380); Barguet, <i>Le Temple d'Amon-Rê</i>, 186–187.
23	King: Thutmose III (possibly) Goddess: Unknown Location: Southern Temple, Vestibule, Buhen Dynasty: 18 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: No Description: The bottom portion of the scene is preserved. A goddess in a long shift dress stands close to a king, one arm extended to him. The king is nude and stands with one arm reaching to the goddess's right arm. His left arm hangs at his side. A male figure wearing a kilt and bull tail stands behind the king holding the king's left arm with his left hand. Small portions of text are preserved. Though the act of breastfeeding is not preserved, the stance and position of the figures confirm it as such. Current Location: <i>in situ</i> Photos/Line Drawings: Caminos, <i>The New-Kingdom Temples of Buhen 1</i>, pl. 48. Select Bibliography: PM VII, 136 (13); Caminos, <i>The New-Kingdom Temples of Buhen 1</i>, 55–56.

24	King: Thutmose III Goddess: Isis (tree-goddess) Location: Tomb of Thutmose III (KV 34), Burial Chamber, Valley of the Kings Dynasty: 18 Medium: Paint Mirrored Scene: No Description: Isis, identified in the text, is represented as a tree with a breast and arm. Her hand offers her breast to the king. Thutmose III, identified by his cartouche, nurses from the tree. Both of his hands hold Isis's arm. The king wears a cap with uraeus and kilt. Behind the king is a scene of the king and royal women walking toward the nursing scene. The register above depicts the king and his mother (Isis) in a boat. Current Location: <i>in situ</i> Photos/Line Drawings: "KV 34," Theban Mapping Project, accessed 15 January 2025, https://thebanmappingproject.com/tombs/kv-34-thutmes-iii; Winter, <i>Frau and Göttin</i>, pl. 460. Select Bibliography: PM I/2, 553 (a); Winter, <i>Frau and Göttin</i>, 438–439.
25	King: Thutmose IV Goddess: Hathor and Werethekau Location: Temple of Re-Horakhty and Amun-Re, Hypostyle Hall, Amada Dynasty: 18 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: It is a double nursing scene (3.2.3) Description: Thutmose IV stands between Hathor and Werethekau. Hathor wears a tight shift dress and a solar disk and horns. She holds her breast to the king with her right hand and her other arm wraps around the king's shoulders. Werethekau stands behind the king in a long shift and solar disk. Her left hand holds an ankh and offers her breast to the king. The king wears the sidelock and kilt. He holds Hathor's arm in his right hand and a rekhyt-bird in his left. Behind Hathor and in front of the king, Khnum stands with a staff.

	Current Location: <i>in situ</i> Photos/Line Drawings: Gauthier, <i>Le Temple d'Amada</i>, pl. xxxvii; Aly, Abdel-Hamid, Dewatcher, <i>Le temple d'Amada</i>, IV, C6; "Amada Temple," Virtual Mid East, https://egymonuments.gov.eg/news/a-virtual-tour-through-the-temple-of-amada/, accessed 28 August 2023. Select Bibliography: PM VII, 68 (15); Gauthier, <i>Le Temple d'Amada</i>, 163–164; Chapter 3 of this thesis.
26	King: Thutmose IV Goddess: Unknown Location: Unknown Dynasty: 18 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: None survives Description: The fragment preserves the legs of the sitting goddess and her right arm wrapping around the small king. Thutmose IV is shown small, nude and wearing a necklace and sidelock. He sits on the goddess lap facing her. The arms of a figure holding a staff and supporting the king's cartouche stand in front of the goddess. Though the act of breastfeeding is not shown, the pose of the figures and its comparison with other similar nursing scenes confirms its identification as such. Current Location: Unknown Photos/Line Drawings: Bryan, <i>The Reign of Thutmose IV</i>, fig. 39. Select Bibliography: Bryan, <i>The Reign of Thutmose IV</i>, 206.
27	King: Thutmose IV Goddess: Renenwetet Location: Tomb of Amunhotep (TT 416), el-Khokha-Qurna, Thebes Dynasty: 18 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: None survives

	Description: Thutmose IV, identified by fragments of his cartouche, wears the <i>Kheprresh</i> crown and is shown as an infant nursed by Renenwetet with a snake head. Current Location: <i>in situ</i>? Photos/Line Drawings: None Select Bibliography: Mentioned in EANES Seminar in Oxford, 24 January 2023 by Hisham el-Leithy, American University in Cairo.¹¹²²
28	King: Amenhotep III Goddess: Unknown Location: Roman Vestibule, Luxor Temple Dynasty: 18 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: No Description: Very fragmentary, the scene shows the king, identified in a fragmentary cartouche behind him, as an infant in a braided sidelock holding a crook. The goddess left arm holds her breast to the king who nurses. Her right arm wraps around the king. Based on their position and relative sizes, the king sits on the goddess's lap. Current Location: <i>in situ</i> Photos/Line Drawings: Bell, "The New Kingdom 'Divine' Temple," fig. 3 Select Bibliography: PM II, 321 (123, III, 2); Bell, "The New Kingdom 'Divine' Temple," 263–266.
29	King: Amenhotep III Goddess: Mut (potentially) Location: Room XI, Luxor Temple Dynasty: 18 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: No

¹¹²² Thank you to Elizabeth Frood for making me aware of this scene and sharing the details of the seminar.

	Description: The goddess, potentially Mut, wears the Double crown on a Vulture cap and sits on a throne. With her left hand she offers her breast to the king as her right arm wraps around him. The king wears a sidelock and holds a crook. Based on his height, the king is most likely standing beside the seated goddess. In front of the goddess the king makes an offering of natron to Amun. It is debated as to whether this second scene is to be considered as part of the nursing scene. Current Location: <i>in situ</i> Photos/Line Drawings: “Epigraphic Survey Negative 8286,” Records of the Epigraphic Survey, accessed 15 January 2025, https://oi-idb.uchicago.edu/id/43014090-6234-4ae9-8d1b-2525068dede0; “Epigraphic Survey Negative 9182,” Records of the Epigraphic Survey, accessed 15 January 2025, https://oi-idb.uchicago.edu/id/24d4f966-2784-4e5f-b529-f3dc50839e2c; Schwaller de Lubicz, <i>The Temple of Man Vol. 2</i>, pl. 100. Select Bibliography: PM II, 324 (138); Waitkus, <i>Untersuchungen zu Kult und Funktion des Luxortempels Teil I</i>, 47, 53; <i>Teil II</i>, 66–67.
30	King: Amenhotep III Goddess: Mut Location: Room XI, Luxor Temple Dynasty: 18 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: No Description: Very fragmentary, Mut sits on a throne and offers her breast to the king with her left hand. Amenhotep III stands next to the throne nursing. Current Location: <i>in situ</i> Photos/Line Drawings: “Epigraphic Survey Negative 9426,” Records of the Epigraphic Survey, accessed 15 January 2025, https://oi-idb.uchicago.edu/id/78d1e971-0c83-4e42-ba22-73cbcd656971. Select Bibliography: PM II, 324 (138, II); Waitkus, <i>Untersuchungen zu Kult und Funktion des Luxortempels, Teil I</i>, 45–46; <i>Teil II</i>, 61.

31	King: Amenhotep III Goddess: Renenwetet Location: Tomb of Amenemhat (TT 48), Thebes Dynasty: 18 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: No (Perhaps the pair of figures behind is meant as a parallel) Description: Amenhotep III wears a wig/cap with uraeus and a kilt. He sits on Renenwetet's lap and appears as a small child. Renenwetet is snake-headed and wears the double feathers, solar disk, and horns atop a modius as well as a long shift dress. She offers her breast to the king with her left hand as her right arm wraps around the king. Before the goddess are bouquets, a Hathoric column, and offering tables. Behind the nursing goddess, another figure of the goddess appears as a snake in the same headdress. A second figure of the king stands in front of the snake-goddess wearing the <i>Nemes</i> headdress and kilt. Though the king is not identified as king in the nursing pair, I have identified him as the king due to his identification by cartouche in the parallel pair behind. Current Location: <i>in situ</i> Photos/Line Drawings: Säve-Söderbergh, <i>Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs</i>, pl. xlii Select Bibliography: PM I/I, 88 (3.3); Säve-Söderbergh, <i>Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs</i>, 42.
32	King: Amenhotep III (possibly) Goddess: Unknown Location: Room XIV, Luxor Temple Dynasty: 18 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: No Description: The bottom half of the scene is preserved. It shows the king nude and holding the <i>rekhyt</i>-bird in his right hand. The king's left arm can be seen reaching toward the goddess's arm, likely to hold it. The goddess stands next to

	him in a long shift dress. Her right arm wraps to the other side of the king. Though the act of nursing is not preserved, the position of the figures and comparisons to other nursing scenes confirms it as such. Current Location: <i>in situ</i> Photos/Line Drawings: “Epigraphic Survey Negative 9153,” Records of the Epigraphic Survey, accessed 15 January 2025, https://oi-idb.uchicago.edu/id/a8d86583-6224-4979-acbd-72f8ef2c4bee; Barguet and Leclant, <i>Karnak-Nord IV. Fascicule 2 (Planches)</i>, fig. 115; Schwaller de Lubicz, <i>The Temple of Man</i>, Vol.2, pl. 99. Select Bibliography: PM II, 328 (157); Barguet and Leclant, <i>Karnak-Nord IV. Fascicule 1 (Texte)</i>, 108 (note 4); Waitkus, <i>Untersuchungen zu Kult und Funktion des Luxortempels</i>, Teil I, 86; Teil II, 118.
33	King: Tutankhamun Goddess: Werethekau Location: Tomb of Tutankhamun (KV 62), Small Gold Shrine, Valley of the Kings Dynasty: 18 Medium: Gold pendant Mirrored Scene: No Description: This gold pendant shows Werethekau as a snake with a woman’s head, arms, and breast. Werethekau offers her breast to the king with one hand as her other arm wraps around the king’s shoulders. She wears the solar disk, double feathers and horns on a modius on top of a Vulture cap. Tutankhamun is shown as a small figure wearing the <i>Khepresh</i> crown and kilt. A short text beneath the two figures identifies them as Tutankhamun and Werethekau. Strands of beads are wrapped around the neck/head of both the goddess and king as well as the king’s feet. Current Location: Cairo, Egypt Museum JdE 61952 Photos/Line Drawings: Mekawy Ouda, “The Golden Pendant of Tutankhamun,” fig. 1.

	Select Bibliography: PM I/2, 583 (108); Mekawy Ouda, “The Golden Pendant of Tutankhamun,” 1–4.
34	King: Horemheb Goddess: Anukis Location: Temple of Abu Huda, Rock-Temple of Amun-Re and Thoth, Gebel Adda Dynasty: 18 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: No Description: Both standing, Anukis offers her breast to Horemheb with her right hand as her left arm wraps around his shoulders. She wears a long shift dress and Anukis’s traditional headdress. Horemheb wears a cap and sidelock and kilt while holding a crook across his chest in his right hand and the <i>rekhyt</i>-bird at his side in his left hand. In front of Anukis and on the other side of some text stands Khnum. Current Location: <i>in situ</i> Photos/Line Drawings: P 2369, “Oriental Institute Digital Archives,” accessed 15 January 2025, https://oi.uchicago.edu/gallery/gebel-adda#I5B11_72dpi.png; Champollion, <i>Monuments de l’Égypte et de la Nubie</i>, I, pl. II [1]; LD III, pl. 122b. Select Bibliography: PM VII, 121 (2); Thiem, <i>Speos von Gebel es-Silsileh I</i>, 340–342, Nr. 97.
35	King: Horemheb Goddess: Tawaret Location: Cave Temple, Gebel el-Silsileh Dynasty: 18 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: No Description: Both standing, Tawaret offers her breast to Horemheb with her right hand as her left arm wraps around her around his shoulders and chest.

	She wears a long shift dress and the solar disk and horns on a modius of uraeus on a wig with curled ends. Horemheb wears the <i>Kheprsh</i> crown with kilt and bull tail. His right hand grips the goddess's arm. Behind the goddess stands Khnum holding a staff. Behind the king/in front of the goddess are Amun-Ra and Sobek each with staffs. Current Location: <i>in situ</i> Photos/Line Drawings: Champollion, <i>Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie</i>, II, pl. cix [3]; Thiem, <i>Speos von Gebel es-Silsileh II</i>, Nr. 88. Select Bibliography: PM V, 211 (33); Thiem, <i>Speos von Gebel es-Silsileh II</i>, 316–317, Nr. 88.
36	King: Seti I Goddess: Mut Location: Temple of Seti I, Second Hypostyle Hall, Between chapel of Re-Harakhty and Amun-Re, Abydos Dynasty: 19 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: No Description: Mut sits on a throne as Seti I stands beside her. She wears the traditional Double crown atop a Vulture cap and a long, textured shift dress. Her left hand offers her breast to the king as her right arm wraps around the king's shoulders and onto his chest. The king wears the <i>Kheprsh</i> crown and kilt with bull tail. His left hand grips the goddess's arm and in his right he holds a rectangular object. Current Location: <i>in situ</i> Photos/Line Drawings: Calverley, <i>The Temple of Sethos I at Abydos IV</i>, pl. 23; David, <i>Temple Ritual at Abydos</i>, 86. Select Bibliography: PM VI, 9 (93); David, <i>Temple Ritual at Abydos</i>, 84.
37	King: Seti I Goddess: Hathor

	Location: Memorial Temple of Seti I, Transverse Hall, Gurnah, Thebes Dynasty: 19 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: Cat.1.44 Description: Both standing, Hathor offers her breast to the king with her right hand as her left arm wraps around the king's shoulders and onto his chest. She wears a long shift dress and the solar disk between horns. The king wears the <i>Khepresh</i> crown and kilt. His right hand grips the goddess's arm while his left hand holds the crook at his chest. Current Location: <i>in situ</i> Photos/Line Drawings: LD III, 131 f. Select Bibliography: PM II, 410 (26); Brand, <i>The Monuments of Seti I</i>, 233, 236–238.
38	King: Seti I Goddess: Hathor (possibly) Location: Gurnah or Mit Rahineh (potentially) Dynasty: 19 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: None survives Description: Very fragmentary, the block preserves the head of the goddess wearing the solar disk and horns on a modius atop a Vulture cap. She bends slightly and the uraeus can be seen pointing up toward the goddess. The cartouche of Seti I appears above the king. Though no more of the scene survives, the goddess's pose and the position of the uraeus identify it as a nursing scene. Current Location: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York L.1996.46 Photos/Line Drawings: Sotheby's, <i>Fine Greek, Roman, Etruscan, Egyptian, and Near Eastern Antiquities</i>, 39. Select Bibliography: Brand, <i>The Monuments of Seti I</i>, 298–299; Sotheby's, <i>Fine Greek, Roman, Etruscan, Egyptian, and Near Eastern Antiquities</i>, lot. 39.

39	King: Seti I Goddess: Sekhmet Location: Chapel of Seti I, Ptah Chapel, Mit Rahineh Dynasty: 19 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: Unknown Description: Not much is known about these scenes as I have been unable to find photos or line drawings. Brand mentions nursing scenes appear in the side rooms and exterior walls of the Chapel of Ptah. At least one of the scenes depicts Sekhmet as the nursing goddess. Current Location: <i>in situ</i> Photos/Line Drawings: None Select Bibliography: Brand, <i>The Monuments of Seti I</i>, 299 note 734.
40	King: Seti I Goddess: Hathor Location: Tomb of Merneptah (KV 8), Valley of the Kings Dynasty: 19 Medium: Painting Mirrored Scene: No Description: According to Budin, the image depicts both Hathor and Seti I standing as the goddess offers her breast the king. Seti I wears the <i>Kheprsh</i> Crown and holds a scepter. Current Location: <i>in situ</i> Photos/Line Drawings: I was unable to find any. Select Bibliography: Budin, <i>Images of Woman and Child</i>, 82; Rodríguez-Berzosa Gómez-Landero, <i>La Lactancia en el Antiguo Egipto</i>, 98.
41	King: Ramesses II Goddess: Anukis Location: Temple of Ramesses II, Western Wall of Sanctuary, Beit el-Wali

	Dynasty: 19 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: Cat.1.42 Description: Both standing, Anukis leans over slightly while offering her breast with her right hand to Ramesses II. Her left arm wraps around the king's shoulders and onto his chest. She wears a long, textured shift dress and jewelry as well as her traditional headdress. Ramesses II wears the <i>Khepresh</i> Crown, necklace, and kilt. He holds a mace and <i>ankh</i> in his left hand as his right grips the goddess's arm. Current Location: <i>in situ</i> Photos/Line Drawings: P2732, "Oriental Institute Digital Archives," accessed 15 January 2025, https://isac.uchicago.edu/gallery/beit-el-wali#I3G4_72dpi.png; "Epigraphic Survey Negative 11398," Records of the Epigraphic Survey, accessed 15 January 2025, https://oi-idb.uchicago.edu/id/fdedec20-b483-4348-a6b4-848ec94e4002; Champollion, <i>Monuments de l'Egypte et de la Nubie</i> I, pl. lxi [1]; Ricke, Hughes, and Wente, <i>The Beit el-Wali Temple</i>, pl. 40A. Select Bibliography: PM VII, 27 (40); Ricke, Hughes, and Wente, <i>The Beit el-Wali Temple</i>, 31, pl. 40A; Habachi, "Divinities Adored in the Area of Kalabsha," 172–174.
42	King: Ramesses II Goddess: Isis Location: Temple of Ramesses II, Western Wall of Sanctuary, Beit el-Wali Dynasty: 19 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: Cat.1.41 Description: Both standing, Isis leans over slightly while offering her breast with her left hand to Ramesses II. Her right arm wraps around the king's shoulders and onto his chest. She wears a long shift dress and jewelry with no headdress. Ramesses II wears the <i>Khepresh</i> Crown, necklace, and kilt. He holds a mace and <i>ankh</i> in his right hand as his left grips the goddess's arm.

	Current Location: <i>in situ</i> Photos/Line Drawings: “P 2731,” Oriental Institute Digital Archive, accessed 15 January 2025, https://isac.uchicago.edu/gallery/beit-el-wali#I3G4_72dpi.png; “Epigraphic Survey Negative 11391,” Records of the Epigraphic Survey, accessed 15 January 2025, https://isac-idb.uchicago.edu/id/5ddd6d37-a1c9-4564-be95-dcdcc625b801; Champollion, <i>Monuments de l’Égypte et de la Nubie</i>, I, pl. lxi [2]; Ricke, Hughes, and Wente, <i>The Beit el-Wali Temple</i>, pl. 40B. Select Bibliography: PM VII, 26 (37); Ricke, Hughes, and Wente, <i>The Beit el-Wali Temple</i>, 31, pl. 40B; Habachi, “Divinities Adored in the Area of Kalabsha,” 172–174.
43	King: Ramesses II (originally Seti I?) Goddess: Hathor (x4) Location: Temple of Seti I, First Hypostyle Hall, Abydos Dynasty: 19 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: The four goddesses are likely meant to mirror each other within the scene itself. Description: Four figures of the goddess Hathor, all with different epithets, each nurse a separate depiction of Ramesses II. They wear long shift dresses and Vulture caps topped with a modius of uraei. The Hathors stand beside the king offering him their breasts with their right hands. Their left hands support the king’s crowns. Each of the depictions of Ramesses II wears a different crown. Starting on the right, he wears the White crown, Red crown, <i>Atef</i> crown, and <i>Nemes</i> headdress. To the right of the Hathors, a figure of Isis in a long shift dress and solar disk and horns atop a Vulture cap holds a small (infant) figure of the king on her left arm. She places her right hand under his chin. The king wears the <i>Khepresh</i> crown in this scene. Current Location: <i>in situ</i> Photos/Line Drawings: Mariette, <i>Abydos. Description des Fouilles</i>, I, pl. 25; David, <i>Temple Ritual at Abydos</i>, 55.

	Select Bibliography: Capart, <i>Abydos, le temple de Séti Ier</i>, 16–17; Goebis, <i>Crowns in Egyptian Funerary Literature</i>, 135, footnote 335; Fairbairn, “Communicating Power through Text and Iconography”
44	King: Ramesses II Goddess: Mut Location: Transverse Hall, Temple of Seti I, Gurnah Dynasty: 19 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: Cat.1.37 Description: Both standing, the goddess offers her breast to Ramesses II with her left hand as her right arm wraps around his shoulders and onto his chest. She wears a long dress as well as the Double crown atop the Vulture cap. The king wears a cap with uraeus. His left hand grips the goddess’s left arm as his right hand holds her right arm at his chest. Current Location: <i>in situ</i> Photos/Line Drawings: LD III, 150b. Select Bibliography: PM II, 410 (21).
45	King: Ramesses II Goddess: Hathor Location: Great Hypostyle Hall, Temple of Amun, Karnak Dynasty: 19 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: No Description: Both standing, Hathor leans over slightly while offering her breast to the king with her left hand. Her right arm wraps around the king’s shoulders and onto his chest. Her head is not preserved. The king wears the sidelock and kilt. His left hand holds onto the goddess’s arm while in his right he holds the <i>rekhyt</i>-bird. Current Location: <i>in situ</i>

	Photos/Line Drawings: “CFEETK 136359,” SITH: Projet <i>Karnak</i>, accessed 15 January 2025, https://www.cfeetk.cnrs.fr/archives/?n=136359; Brand, Feleg, and Murnane, <i>The Great Hypostyle Hall</i>, I, part 3, pl. 67. Select Bibliography: PM II, 48 (159.6); Brand, Feleg, and Murnane, <i>The Great Hypostyle Hall</i>, I, part 2, 128; Barguet, <i>Le Temple d'Amon-Rê</i>, 67; “Allaitement Scène 107 - KIU 650,” SITH: Projet <i>Karnak</i>, accessed 15 January 2025, http://sith.huma-num.fr/karnak/650.
46	King: Ramesses II Goddess: Nut (tree-goddess) Location: Houses between tombs 1444 and 1448, Deir el-Medina Dynasty: 19 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: No Description: The scene is composed of a few fragments of a stela. It preserves portions of a tree. In front of the tree or coming out of the tree, a goddess offers her breast to the king with her right hand. The king wears a wig with uraeus and holds the crook and flail. Fragmentary columns of text are preserved behind the king. Current Location: Unknown Photos/Line Drawings: Bruyère, <i>Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir El Médineh</i>, fig. 37. Select Bibliography: PM I/2, 700; Bruyère, <i>Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir El Médineh</i>, 94, 111–119; Chapter 5 of this thesis.
47	King: Ramesses II Goddess: Unknown Location: Unknown Dynasty: 19 Medium: Paint on ostraca Mirrored Scene: No

	Description: The scene depicts a goddess in a long, red, textured dress as well as a diadem and jewelry. She stands and leans over slightly offering her breast to the king with her right hand as her left goes behind the king. The king stands next to the goddess in a kilt and full, transparent robe as well as the <i>Khepresh</i> crown. He holds the crook and flail in his left hand as his right hand is held palm up toward the goddess. The king's cartouche appears behind him and a very small amount of text is located in the lines below the scene. Current Location: Cleveland Museum of Art 1987.156 Photos/Line Drawings: "Ostrakon: Ramesses II Suckled by a Goddess," Cleveland Museum of Art 1987.156, accessed 1 September 2023; https://www.clevelandart.org/art/1987.156; Ziegler, <i>The Pharaohs</i>, fig. 44. Select Bibliography: Turner, "The Year in Review for 1987," 37, 46; Capel, <i>Mistress of the House</i>, 118; Ziegler, <i>The Pharaohs</i>, 403; Vandenbeusch, <i>Pharaoh: King of Ancient Egypt</i>, 52–53.
48	King: Ramesses II/Ramesses III Goddess: Meretseger (potentially) Location: Sanctuary of Ptah and Meretseger, Chapel E, Deir el-Medina/Valley of the Queens Dynasty: 19/20 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: None survives Description: This fragment preserves the bottom half of a scene of the goddess seated on a throne with the king standing beside her. She wears a long dress while the king wears a kilt. Another female figure stands behind the king facing away. The scene is identified as a nursing scene as the goddess sits with her right foot partially raised so that only her toes resting on the ground. This is a feature unique to nursing scenes where the goddess is seated (Gabler, "News from TT217," 8). Current Location: Stored in TT 217

	Photos/Line Drawings: Bruyère, <i>Mert Seger à Deir El Médineh</i>, fig. 20; Gabler, “News from TT 217,” (unpublished), fig. 3. Select Bibliography: Bruyère, <i>Mert Seger à Deir El Médineh</i>, 40–42; Gabler, “News from TT217,” (forthcoming), 6–13.
49	King: Ramesses II (potentially) Goddess: Mut (potentially) Location: Medinet Habu rubbish heap Dynasty: 19/20 Medium: Stelae Mirrored Scene: None Description: In the top register of the stela appears a goddess wearing a long dress seated on a throne on a plinth. Standing beside the throne with his right arm raised is a king wearing a collar necklace and long kilt. The placement of the figures indicates it is a nursing scene despite the top of the figures being lost. Also, on the plinth and in front the goddess is an offering table and lettuce. Off the plinth in front of the goddess are preserved the feet of a male figure. Current Location: Unknown Photos/Line Drawings: Teeter, “A Stela of the family of Sennedjem,” fig. 1–2; Figure 50–51 of this thesis. Select Bibliography: Teeter, “A Stela of the family of Sennedjem,” 309–319; Chapter 5 of this thesis.
50	King: Ramesses III Goddess: Meretseger Location: Sanctuary of Ptah and Meretseger, Chapel C, Deir el-Medina/Valley of the Queens Dynasty: 20 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: No

	Description: Above twelve rows of text at the bottom of the stela is a scene of five figures. On the left, Meretseger stands leaning slightly over the king offering him her breast with her left hand. With her right hand she holds the back of the king's head. She wears a long shift dress as well as the solar disk, horns, and double features atop a Vulture cap. The king wears the cap and uraeus as well as the kilt and bull tail. His left-hand grabs Meretseger's arm while his right hand holds the crook at his chest. Behind the king stands Horus holding two staffs of millions of years. Behind the goddess, another figure of the king stands before Amun offering a scythe. Current Location: in situ Photos/Line Drawings: LD III, 218c; Bruyere, <i>Mert Seger à Deir El Médineh</i>, pl. iv, fig. 17; Figures 55–56 of this thesis. Select Bibliography: PM I/2 [1964], 707; Bruyere, <i>Mert Seger à Deir El Médineh</i>, 34–37; Chapter 5 of this thesis.
51	King: Setnakht, Seti II, and/or Amenmesse Goddess: Unknown Location: Sanctuary of Ptah and Meretseger, Chapel E, Deir el-Medina/Valley of the Queens Dynasty: 20 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: No Description: The stela is composed of two registers. The nursing scene is fragmentary and located on the bottom register. The goddess sits wearing the solar disk between horns. The king stands beside her in necklace and kilt. His left arm hangs at his side while his right arm reaches up to the goddess. Three figures stand before the goddess with <i>ankh's</i> in their hands. Though the act of nursing is not preserved, the posture of the figures is unique to and matches other nursing scenes. Current Location: <i>in situ</i> (heavily damaged)

	Photos/Line Drawings: Bruyere, <i>Mert Seger à Deir El Médineh</i>, pl.vi; Figure 58 of this thesis. Select Bibliography: PM I/2, 708; Bruyere, <i>Mert Seger à Deir El Médineh</i>, 39–40; Chapter 5 of this thesis.
52	King: Ramesses IV Goddess: Isis Location: Temple of Khonsu, Corridor around sanctuary, Karnak Dynasty: 20 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: No Description: The goddess and king both stand. The goddess wearing a long dress and solar disk with horns leans over slightly offering her breast to the king with her left hand. Her right arm wraps around the king and onto his chest. The king wears the White crown and kilt. In his right hand he holds an <i>ankh</i> and the crook while his left hand holds the goddess's arm. Behind the king and in front of the goddess, a falcon-headed god sits on a throne reaching out to the king and offering the staff of millions of years. Current Location: <i>in situ</i> Photos/Line Drawings: Schwaller de Lubicz, <i>The Temples of Karnak</i>, pl. 261. Select Bibliography: PM II, 236 (40).
53	King: Unknown Location: Deir el-Medina Dynasty: New Kingdom Medium: Painting on ostrakon Mirrored Scene: No Description: A goddess wearing the solar disk and horns atop a modius and Vulture cap reaches around the shoulders of the king with her left arm. Her left breast faces the king. The king wears the <i>Khepresh</i> crown. In the upper right corner are two cartouches with no names inside. Though the face of the king

	does not align with the goddess's breast as would be expected, the position of the figures and the arm of the goddess around the king suggests this was a divine nursing scene. The awkward proportions may suggest it was a practice or trial piece. Current Location: Unknown Photos/Line Drawings: Vandier D'Abbadie, <i>Catalogue des Ostraca Figures de Deir el Medineh</i>, #2593. Select Bibliography: Vandier D'Abbadie, <i>Catalogue des Ostraca Figures de Deir el Medineh</i>, 121–122, #2593.
54	King: Unknown Goddess: Hathor Location: Village houses, Deir el-Medina Dynasty: Unknown Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: No Description: The stela fragment preserves three figures. On the right, Hathor sits on a throne wearing the solar disk in horns atop a Vulture cap. She offers her breast to the king with her left hand while her right arm wraps around the king's shoulders and onto his chest. The king stands beside the throne wearing the <i>Khepresh</i> crown and kilt. His right arm holds the goddess's arm on his chest. His left hand has been lost. Behind the king and in front of the goddess, another, larger figure of the king approaches Hathor offering two jugs. He wears the <i>Nemes</i> headdress and kilt. Current Location: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin - Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung ÄM 21561 (also appears under ÄM 22730) Photos/Line Drawings: Figure 53 of this thesis¹¹²³ Select Bibliography: PM I/2, 706; Anthes, <i>Die deutschen Grabungen</i>, 1943, 60; Roeder, <i>Aegyptische Inschriften</i>, ii, 394, 397; Chapter 5 of this thesis.

¹¹²³ I would like to thank Dr. Caris-Beatrice Arnst from the Berlin Museum for the information on this scene. (1 June 2023). Photos in Staatliche Museen zu Berlin - Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Inv. No. ÄM 21561, Photographer: unknown.

55*	King: Unknown Goddess: Isis? Location: Thebes Dynasty: 18-20 Medium: Amulet Mirrored Scene: No Description: A faience amulet, a goddess stands wearing the solar disk and horns and leaning slightly toward the king. She offers her breast to the king with her right hand. The king stands beside her wearing the white crown and kilt. His left arm hangs at his side as his right hand holds the goddess's arm Current Location: Archaeological Museum at Johns Hopkins (2050 D) Photos/Line Drawings: "Isis Nursing a King," Archaeological Museum website https://archaeologicalmuseum.jhu.edu/staff-projects/ancient-egyptian-amulets/isis-nursing-a-king/, accessed 1 September 2023. Select Bibliography: See website above.
56	King: Shoshenq I Goddess: Mut Location: Portico of the Babstides, East Pilaster (Bottom Register), Temple of Amun, Karnak Dynasty: 22 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: Cat.1.57 Description: Only the top of the scene is preserved. It shows the goddess standing offering her breast to the king with her right hand as her left arm wraps around the king's shoulders onto his chest. She wears the Double crown and Vulture cap. The king stands before her holding her wrist with his right hand. His left arm hangs at his side. He wears the White crown. Behind the king is preserved a hand holding a sistrum. Current Location: <i>in situ</i> Photos/Line Drawings: Epigraphic Survey, <i>Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak</i> -

	<i>Volume III</i>, pl. 11A; “CFEETK 52933,” SITH: Projet <i>Karnak</i>, accessed 15 January 2025, https://www.cfeetk.cnrs.fr/archives/?n=52933. Select Bibliography: PM II, 36 (130); “Allaitement Scène nord - (KIU 3359),” SITH: Projet <i>Karnak</i>, accessed 15 January 2025, http://sith.huma-num.fr/karnak/3359.
57	King: Shoshenq I Goddess: Hathor Location: Portico of the Babstides, West Pilaster, Temple of Amun, Karnak Dynasty: 22 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: Cat.1.56 Description: Both the king and goddess are standing. The goddess wears a long shift dress along with the solar disk and horns atop a Vulture cap. She offers the king her breast with her right hand. Her left arm wraps around the king’s shoulders and onto his chest. The king wears the Double crown, a long necklace, and kilt. He holds the goddess’s wrist with his right hand and holds an <i>ankh</i> at his side in his left hand. Behind the king and in front of the goddess stands the king’s son dressed as a priest offering something that has been lost. Current Location: <i>in situ</i> Photos/Line Drawings: Epigraphic Survey, <i>Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak - Volume III</i>, pl. 10A; “CNRS-DFEETK 175609,” SITH: Projet <i>Karnak</i>, accessed 15 January 2025, https://www.cfeetk.cnrs.fr/archives/?n=175609. Select Bibliography: PM II, 36 (131); “Jouer des sœurs et allaitement Scène nord - (KIU 3356),” SITH : Projet <i>Karnak</i>, accessed 15 January 2025, http://sith.huma-num.fr/karnak/3356.
58	King: Osorkon I Goddess: Hathor Location: Portico of the Babstides, East Pilaster (Second Register), Temple of Amun, Karnak

	Dynasty: 22 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: No Description: Both the king and goddess are standing. The goddess wears a long shift dress along with the solar disk and horns atop a modius with uraeus. She offers her breast to the king with her left hand as her right arm wraps around the king's shoulders onto his chest. The king wears a cap with uraeus and kilt with bull tail. He grips her wrist with his left hand as his left arm holds an <i>ankh</i> at his side. Behind the king and in front of the goddess, another figure of the king, wearing the Red crown and holding a rectangular object, stands in front of Khnum who offers life to his nose. Current Location: <i>in situ</i> Photos/Line Drawings: Epigraphic Survey, <i>Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak - Volume III</i>, pl. 14; "CNRS-CFEETK 202869," SITH: <i>Projet Karnak</i>, accessed 15 January 2025, http://www.cfeetk.cnrs.fr/archives/?n=202869. Select Bibliography: PM II, 36 (129); "Porte sud des bubastites - Chéchonq Ier - KIU 3371," accessed 15 January 2025, http://sith.humanum.fr/karnak/3355.
59*	King: Unknown Goddess: Isis (according to MMA) Location: Cyprus Dynasty: Third Intermediate Period Medium: Clay amulet Mirrored Scene: No Description: The amulet depicts the king and goddess standing. The goddess wears a long shift dress and the solar disk between horns atop a modius and Vulture cap. She offers the king her breast with her right hand as her left arm wraps around the king's shoulders and onto his chest. The king wears the Double crown and kilt. His right hand grips the goddess's wrist. His left arm hangs at his side holding the <i>ankh</i>.

	Current Location: The Metropolitan Museum of Art (74.51.4533) Photos/Line Drawings: “Faience Amulet plaque of Isis nourishing a pharaoh,” Metropolitan Museum of Art 74.51.4533, accessed 7 September 2023, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/243801. Select Bibliography: Myers, <i>Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus</i>, 452 (no. 4533).
60	King: Unknown Goddess: Unknown Location: Temple of Mut/Khonspekhrod, Karnak Dynasty: 19-22 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: None survives Description: The fragment preserves a small figure of the king seated on the seated goddess’s lap. The goddess wears a long dress. The king wears a necklace, cap, and possibly a sidelock. The goddess offers her breast to the king with her right hand as her left arm wraps around the king. The king holds the goddess’s arm with his right hand. Current Location: Unknown Photos/Line Drawings: Nagel, “Decoration d’un Temple de Mout a Karank,” pl. vi [fig. 2] Select Bibliography: PM II, 271 (8); Nagel, “Decoration d’un Temple de Mout a Karank,” 93–95; Brunner, <i>Die Geburt des Gottkönigs</i>, 8–9 [d].
61	King: Unknown Goddess: Sekhmet-Mut/Bastet Location: Unknown Period: Third Intermediate Period Medium: Amulet Mirrored Scene: None

	Description: The blue amulet depicts the king standing beside a lion-headed goddess wearing a long shift dress and the Double crown. She offers the king her breast with her left hand as her right arm wraps around the king's shoulders and onto his chest. The king wears a cap, necklace, and kilt. His left hand holds the goddess's arm as he holds the crook in his right hand. Current Location: British Museum EA11314 Photos/Line Drawings: "amulet," British Museum EA11314, accessed 18 September 2023, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA11314; Quirke, <i>Ancient Egyptian Religion</i>, fig. 16. Select Bibliography: Quirke, <i>Ancient Egyptian Religion</i>, 32; Andrews, <i>Amulets of Ancient Egypt</i>, 23.
62*	King: Unknown Goddess: Hathor Location: Unknown Dynasty: 21-25 Medium: <i>Menat</i> Mirrored Scene: No Description: Both the goddess and king are standing. Hathor offers her breast to the king with her right hand as her left wraps around his shoulders. She wears the horns and solar disk. The king holds her arm and wears the Double crown with sidelock. He is likely shown nude. The goddess is identified in the text at the top. Current Location: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (MET X.144.10) Photos/Line Drawings: "Menat fragment showing goddess nursing king," Metropolitan Museum of Art X.144.10, accessed 14 March 2025, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/553755. Select Bibliography: See link above.

63	King: Taharqa Goddess: Ra'ttau Location: Temple of Montu, Karnak Dynasty: 25 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: Cat.1.64 Description: The fragments depicts both the goddess and king standing. The goddess wears a long shift dress. The king wears the <i>Atef</i> crown and may be nude as no evidence of a kilt is present and its mirroring scene shows the king nude. The goddess's right arm wraps around the king. The king's right-hand hangs at his side empty. Current Location: Unknown Photos/Line Drawings: Barguet and Leclant <i>Karnak-Nord IV. Fascicule 2 (Planches)</i>, pl. xciv (a), xcv (b); Leclant, "Sur un contrepoids de menat," fig. 2b. Select Bibliography: PM II, 5 (13); Leclant, "Sur un contrepoids de menat," 251–284; Leclant, <i>Recherches su les Monuments Thebains</i>, 88–89.
64	King: Taharqa Goddess: Ra'ttau Location: Temple of Montu, Karnak Dynasty: 25 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: Cat.1.63 Description: The fragment preserves the king and goddess standing beside each other. The goddess wears a long shift dress and Vulture cap. She offers the king her breast with her right hand as her left arm wraps around the king's shoulders and onto his chest. The king wears the Double crown and sidelock. He wears a necklace but is otherwise nude. The king's left arm hangs at his side with his hand empty. Current Location: Unknown

	Photos/Line Drawings: Barguet, <i>Karnak-Nord IV. Fascicule 2 (Planches)</i>, pl. xciv (b), xcv (a); Leclant, “Sur un contrepoids de menat,” fig. 2b Select Bibliography: PM II [1972], 5 (13); Leclant, <i>Recherches su les Monuments Thebains</i>, 88–89.
65	King: Taharqa Goddess: Unknown Location: Temple T, Kawa Dynasty: 25 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: None survives Description: The fragments preserve the feet of a woman standing in front of a male figure. Based on leg size, the male figure was smaller. Based other breastfeeding scenes, the overlap and position of the feet indicate it is likely a nursing scene. Current Location: <i>in situ</i> Photos/Line Drawings: Macadam, <i>The Temples of Kawa II. Plates</i>, pl. xvi [a], li [b] Select Bibliography: PM VII, 188 (36); Macadam, <i>The Temples of Kawa II. Text</i>, 83.
66	King: Taharqa Goddess: Bastet (lion-headed) Location: Unknown Dynasty: 25 Medium: <i>Menat</i> Mirrored Scene: No Description: The scene appears on the upper portion of the <i>menat</i>. It depicts both the king and goddess standing. The lion-headed goddess wears a long shift dress and a solar disk with uraeus atop her head. She offers the king her breast with her right hand as her left arm wraps around the king’s shoulders and onto

	his chest. The king wears the Double crown and necklace. Other than this, he appears nude. He holds the goddess's arm with his right hand as his left hand hangs at his side empty. Current Location: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 41.160.104 Photos/Line Drawings: "Menat of Taharqo: the King Being Nursed by the Lion-Headed Goddess Bastet," Metropolitan Museum of Art 41.160.104, accessed 18 September 2023, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/544882. Select Bibliography: Leclant, "Sur un contrepoids de menat," 251–284.
67	King: Unknown Goddess: Unknown Location: Stores, Karnak Dynasty: 25 possibly Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: None survives Description: The relief depicts the king and goddess both standing. Most of the details of the goddess are lost. Her right arm drapes down across the king's chest. The king wears the <i>Nemes</i> headdress but is otherwise nude. The king holds the goddess's arm with his left hand as his right arm hangs at his side holding nothing. Current Location: Unknown Photos/Line Drawings: Leclant, <i>Recherches su les Monuments Thebains</i>, pl. lxxiv(c). Select Bibliography: PM II, 297; Leclant, <i>Recherches su les Monuments Thebains</i>, 127.
68	King: Unknown Goddess: Unknown Location: Unknown (collected by Gustave Jéquier) Dynasty: 26–30 Medium: Relief

	Mirrored Scene: None survives Description: The block preserves the heads and shoulders of the figures in the scene. A goddess wearing an uraeus nurses a king in the <i>Kheprsh</i> crown. Details below the king's head and goddess's chest are lost. A falcon-headed god stands in front of the goddess facing her. Nothing of the context or surrounding imagery is preserved. Current Location: Unknown (sold in 2018) Photos/Line Drawings: "An Egyptian Quartzite Relief," Christie's, accessed 18 September 2023, https://www.christies.com/lot/an-egyptian-quartzite-relief-late-period-26th-30th-6178691/?intObjectID=6178691&lid=1. Select Bibliography: see link above.
69	King: Darius I Goddess: Mut Location: Hypostyle Hall (N), Temple of Amun of Hibis, Oasis of El-Kharga Dynasty: 27 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: No (However, the scene opposite is an embracing scene and may be meant to mirror the divine nursing scene to some extent.) Description: Both standing, the goddess offers her breast to the king with her left hand as her right arm wraps around his shoulders and drapes onto his chest. She wears the Double crown on the Vulture cap, a necklace, and long shift dress. The king wears a cap and uraeus with a sidelock as well as a necklace and kilt. His left hand holds the goddess's arm as his right arm hangs at his side. In his right hand he holds the crook and <i>rekhyt</i>-bird. No other figures appear in the scene. Current Location: <i>in situ</i> Photos/Line Drawings: Davies, <i>The Temple of Hibis. Part III</i>, pl. 39 Select Bibliography: PM VII, 280 (37); Davies, <i>The Temple of Hibis. Part III</i>, 27; Cruz-Urbe, <i>Hibis Temple Project. Volume 1</i>, 145.

70	King: Darius I Goddess: Neith Location: Second Hypostyle Hall, Temple of Amun of Hibis, Oasis of El-Kharga Dynasty: 27 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: No Description: The scene depicts both the king and Neith standing alongside Hathor. Neith wears the red crown, necklace, and long shift dress. She offers her breast to the king with her left hand as her right arm wraps around his shoulders and onto his chest. The king wears the <i>Khepres</i> crown, necklace, kilt with bull tail, arm bands, brace laces, and ankle jewelry. He holds the goddess's arm with his left hand and the <i>rekhyt</i>-bird in his right. Behind the king stands Hathor. She wears the double feathers, solar disk, and horns. She holds her right hand out over the king's crown while her left hand holds his right arm. Current Location: <i>in situ</i> Photos/Line Drawings: Davies, <i>The Temple of Hibis. Part III</i>, pl. 13. Select Bibliography: PM VII, 282 (71); Davies, <i>The Temple of Hibis. Part III</i>, 17; Cruz-Urbe, <i>Hibis Temple Project. Volume 1</i>, 66–67.
71	King: Darius I Goddess: Neith Location: Room North of Sanctuary, Temple of Amun of Hibis, Oasis of El-Kharga Dynasty: 27 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: No Description: The scene depicts both Neith and the king standing. Neith wears the red crown, necklace, and a long shift dress. She offers her breast to the king with her left hand as her right arm wraps around the king's shoulders and onto his chest. The king wears the <i>Khepres</i> crown and kilt with bull tail. In his right hand he holds the <i>rekhyt</i>-bird. The scene is part of a series of scenes. To the left the king receives millions of years and to the right the king makes offering to a

	god. It is interesting to note that in the register above and to the left, the king is shown being created. Current Location: <i>in situ</i> Photos/Line Drawings: Davies, <i>The Temple of Hibis. Part III</i>, pl. 27. Select Bibliography: PM VII [1975], 287 (121-123); Davies, <i>The Temple of Hibis. Part III</i>, 22–23; Cruz-Uribe, <i>Hibis Temple Project. Volume 1</i>, 108.
72	King: Nectanebo I (possibly) Goddess: Semset/Hathor (potentially) Location: Palace of Apries (originally from tomb), Mit Rahina Dynasty: 30 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: None survives Description: Both standing, the goddess offers the king her breast with her left hand as her right wraps around his shoulders and onto his chest. She wears a long green dress and necklace but no crown. The king wears a blue cap and stripped kilt. With his left hand he holds the goddess's arm while his right holds what appears to be a folded cloth. Current Location: Fitzwilliam Museum E.5.1909 Photos/Line Drawings: "Limestone doorjamb," The Fitzwilliam Museum E.5.1909, accessed 18 September 2023, https://data.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/id/object/51003. Select Bibliography: PM III/2, 831.
73	King: Nectanebo II Goddess: Mut Location: East Gate, Temple of Amun of Hibis, Oasis of El-Kharga Dynasty: 30 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: No

	Description: Both Mut and king are shown standing. Mut wears at least the Vulture cap. The scene above her head is destroyed. She wears a long shift dress and necklace. She offers her breast to the king with her left hand as her right arm wraps around the king's shoulders. The king wears the <i>Khepresh</i> crown with the sidelock. He may be nude, but it is difficult to tell due to damage. His left hand holds onto the goddess's arm and his right hand appears to be holding something. It is identical to the Darius I scene from Hypostyle N (Cat.1.69). Current Location: <i>in situ</i> Photos/Line Drawings: Davies, <i>The Temple of Hibis. Part III</i>, pl. 70. Select Bibliography: PM VI, 279 (15-16); Davies, <i>The Temple of Hibis. Part III</i>, 33; Cruz-Urbe, <i>Hibis Temple Project. Volume 1</i>, 180.
74	King: Unknown Goddess: Unknown Location: Unknown Dynasty: Unknown Medium: Scarab Mirrored Scene: No Description: The scarab shows the king and goddess standing beside each other. The solar disk appears above the goddess's head. The king wears the Double crown and holds the crook and flail. Current Location: Louvre E 25898 Photos/Line Drawings: "scarabée," Louvre E25898, accessed 18 September 2023, https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010006687#. Select Bibliography: unpublished
75	King: Unknown Goddess: Unknown Location: Tunah Dynasty: Unknown

	Medium: <i>Menat</i> Mirrored Scene: No Description: This scene is composed of three figures. The goddess and king stand beside each other. The goddess wears the solar disk between horns atop a modius and potentially a Vulture cap. She offers the king her breast with her right hand. The king wears the Red crown (potentially the Double crown) and kilt. Behind the kings stands a god (possibly Khnum) holding a scepter. Current Location: Egypt Museum, Cairo JE 31391 Photos/Line Drawings: Leclant, "Sur un contrepoids de menat," fig. 4; Reisner, <i>Amulets II</i>, pl. xxiv. Select Bibliography: Reisner, <i>Amulets II</i>, 26.
76	King: Unknown Goddess: Isis possibly Location: Unknown Dynasty: Unknown Medium: Bronze Statuette Mirrored Scene: None Description: Both standing, this is the only example in which the figures clearly standing face to face as is only possible in three-dimensional form. The goddess, identified as Isis but with no indication as to why she has been identified as such, wears a modius of uraei on a Vulture cap and a long shift dress. The king wears a cap with uraeus but is otherwise nude. The king stands facing the goddess. She holds her breast with her right hand as her left arm wraps around the king's back. The king holds the goddess's right arm with his left hand. Current Location: Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, 8288 Photos/Line Drawings: Ziegler, <i>The Pharaohs</i>, fig. 43; Winter, <i>Frau and Göttin</i>, pl. 408. Select Bibliography: Ziegler, <i>The Pharaohs</i>, 403.

77	King: Philip Arrhidaeus Goddess: Amaunet Location: Red Granite Sanctuary (previously bark-shrine of Thutmose III), Great Temple, Karnak Period: Hellenistic Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: No Description: The scene is part of a larger coronation sequence. Amaunet sits on a throne with the infant king on her lap. She wears the Red crown, necklace, and long shift dress. She offers her breast to the king with her left hand as her right arm wraps around the king's shoulders. The king is nude and wears the side lock. He holds the goddess's arm with his right hand and holds nothing in the left. In front of the goddess, Amun-Re crowns Philip Arrhidaeus. This scene is nearly identical to that of the Thutmose III scene from Cat.1.19. Current Location: <i>in situ</i> Photos/Line Drawings: Leclant, "Sur un contrepoids de menat," fig. 3; Bell, "The New Kingdom 'Divine' Temple," fig. 54 Select Bibliography: PM II, 100 (290); Leclant, " Sur un contrepoids de menat," 262–263; Barguet, <i>Le Temple d'Amon-Rê</i>, 139.
78	King: Ptolemy I Soter Goddess: Unknown Location: Sanctuary, Temple of Soknebynis, Tebtynis Period: Ptolemaic Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: None survives Description: The scene is fragmentary and preserves the middle portion of the scene. The goddess stands beside the king. She wears the Vulture cap, which may be topped with the solar disk as evidenced by the uraeus above the vulture's head. She offers her breast to the king with her right hand as her left arm wraps around his shoulders. The king wears what might be a cap and holds

	the goddess's arm with his right hand. In front of the goddess stands Sobek-Re-Horakhty who holds the king's arm with his right hand. Current Location: Unknown Photos/Line Drawings: Rondot, <i>Tebtynis II</i>, pl. 57, fig. 28. Select Bibliography: Rondot, <i>Tebtynis II</i>, 93–95.
79	King: Harsiesi Goddess: Isis Location: Room VIII, Temple of Apet, Karnak Period: Roman Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: No Description: The only description of the scene comes from Porter and Moss (PM) and simply indicates that Isis is nursing Harsiesi. Current Location: <i>in situ</i> (?) Photos/Line Drawings: I was unable to find any. Select Bibliography: PM II, 249 (28).

2. Nursing Cow-Goddess Scenes

1	King: Mentuhotep II Goddess: Hathor (cow-form) Location: Hathor Shrine or Funerary Temple of Mentuhotep II, Deir el-Bahari Dynasty: 11 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: None survives Description: A small fragment of the scene survives. It shows the king with black skin wearing a black cap with uraeus and necklace. He holds the goddess's udder in his left hand. The body of the goddess is yellow/gold and the scene is

	on a black background. The goddess is identified based on the tradition of Hathor as a cow-goddess in Deir el-Bahari where the scene was discovered. Current Location: Museum August Kenster in Hannover, 1935.200.82 Photos/Line Drawings: Beaux, <i>La Chapelle d'Hathor planches</i>, fig. 43; Figure 30 of this thesis. Select Bibliography: PM II, 397; Arnold, <i>Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep. Band I</i>, 83–84.
2	King: Amenemhat III Goddess: Hathor, cow-form (likely) Location: Byblos (Potentially from the Royal Necropolis of the Kings of Byblos, see Jidejian, <i>Byblos through the Ages</i>, 26–29) Dynasty: 12 Medium: Pectoral Mirrored Scene: Two nursing scenes on pectoral may be meant to mirror each other. Description: Two mirroring versions of the scene appear in the bottom half of the pectoral. The king appears beneath the goddess as a cow. He wears a cap as he holds the goddess's udder, potentially shown nude. The goddess wears bands of ribbons around her body and a solar disk between horns. The goddess on the right also wears a sistrum around her neck. A space exists for a sistrum at the neck of the goddess on the left, but this may have broken off. A second figure of the king stands before the goddess, facing her with his hand under her chin. He wears a cap and is shown nude. The rest of the pectoral depicts a solar disk in the center surrounded with snakes, <i>ankhs</i>, and Wadjet eyes. The king's cartouche appears above the goddesses' backs. Current Location: Beirut National Museum Photos/Line Drawings: Jidejian, <i>Byblos through the Ages</i>, pl. 61. Select Bibliography: Jidejian, <i>Byblos through the Ages</i>, 26–29; Pinch, <i>Votive Offerings to Hathor</i>, 175.

3	King: Amenhotep I (possibly) Goddess: Hathor (cow-form) Location: Funerary Temple of Mentuhotep II, Deir el-Bahari Dynasty: 18 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: No Description: This scene appears on a stela. The king appears underneath the goddess in the shape of a cow. He wears the <i>Khepresh</i> crown and holds a crook. Beneath his head is broken. A second figure of the king stands beneath the goddess's chin wearing the <i>Nemes</i> headdress. The goddess wears the double feathers and solar disk between her horns as well as a <i>menat</i>. A small bit of text is located above her. Remnants of what may be mountains appear above the break in the stela in front of the goddess. Current Location: British Museum EA689 Photos/Line Drawings: "stela," British Museum EA689, accessed 17 August 2023, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA689; Figure 43 of this thesis. Select Bibliography: See link above; Naville, <i>The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari, Part I</i>, pl. xxv (e); Pinch, <i>Votive Offerings to Hathor</i>, 85; Chapters 4–5 of this thesis.
4	King: Amenhotep I Goddess: Hathor/Nekhbet (cow-goddess) Location: Temple of Nekhbet, Annex of Hypostyle Hall, El-Kab Dynasty: 18 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: None survives Description: The lower half of the relief survives. The goddess appears as a cow and the king kneels beneath her at her udders. The goddess stands on the ground line, not a barque or platform. The second figure of the king, usually appearing under the chin of the goddess, is not evident.

	Current Location: <i>in situ</i> Photos/Line Drawings: Capart, <i>Fouilles de el Kab: Documents</i>, pl. 44a Select Bibliography: Capart, <i>Fouilles de el Kab: Documents</i>, 101.
5	King: Hatshepsut Goddess: Hathor (cow-headed) Location: Funerary Temple of Hatshepsut, North Portico, Second Terrace, Deir el-Bahari Dynasty: 18 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: The two goddesses in the scene mirror each other. Description: The scene is part of a larger divine birth narrative program. This description will focus on the two areas in which divine breastfeeding takes place. In front of the Hatshepsut's mother sit two goddess's each nursing an infant Hatshepsut wearing the sidelock and nude. The goddess's and mother of the queen all kneel on a bed. Beneath this register, two small nude figures of Hatshepsut nursing from two separate cow-goddesses. The cow-goddesses wear a sun disk between their horns and instead of a second figure underneath her chin, the goddesses turn back to look at Hatshepsut as she nurses. To the right of both of these groups, 12 gods hold small figures of Hatshepsut, nude with a sidelock. Current Location: <i>in situ</i> Photos/Line Drawings: Naville, <i>The Temple of Deir el-Bahari 2</i>, pl. LIII Select Bibliography: PM II, 349 (19); Brunner, <i>Die Geburt des Gottkönigs</i>, 122–130 (includes a translation).
6	King: Hatshepsut Goddess: Hathor (cow-form) Location: Hathor Chapel, Second Hypostyle Hall, Deir el-Bahari Dynasty: 18 Medium: Relief

	Mirrored Scene: No Description: Fragmentary, the scene shows Hatshepsut, wearing the <i>Khepresh</i> crown with necklace and kilt, kneeling beneath Hathor as a cow. A second figure of the king stands under the goddess's chin. The group stand in a shrine upon a barge on sledges being pulled by a line of men toward an offering table. On the other side of the offering table stands a much larger figure of the king making offerings. A line of men moving toward the offering table stand above those pulling the sledge. Fragments of other figures survive from the registers from above the nursing scene exist, but not enough to reconstruct more. Current Location: <i>in situ</i> Photos/Line Drawings: Beaux, "La chapelle d'Hathor," fig. 10–11, 15; Beaux, <i>La Chapelle d'Hathor planches</i>, pl. 16a; Figure 33 of this thesis. Select Bibliography: Beaux, "La chapelle d'Hathor," 16–24.
7	King: Hatshepsut Goddess: Hathor (cow-form) Location: Hathor Chapel, First Hypostyle Hall, North Wall, Deir el-Bahari Dynasty: 18 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: Cat.2.8 Description: A figure of the king (heavily fragmentary) stands before a pile of offerings. In front of the offerings is a shrine atop a platform. Within the shrine, a small figure of Hatshepsut wearing the <i>Khepresh</i> crown kneels beneath Hathor as a cow nursing from her udders. Fragments show a second figure of the king standing beneath the goddess's chin. Current Locations: <i>in situ</i> Photos/Line Drawings: Beaux, <i>La Chapelle d'Hathor Planches</i>, pl. 9 Select Bibliography: PM II, 350 (25).
8	King: Hatshepsut Goddess: Hathor (cow-form)

	Location: Hathor Chapel, First Hypostyle Hall, South Wall, Deir el-Bahari Dynasty: 18 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: Cat.2.7 Description: Figure of the king, potentially Thutmose III (fragmentary), stands before a pile of offerings. In front of the offering table is a fragmentary image of Hathor as a cow within a shrine atop a platform. The goddess wears the solar disk between her horns. The legs of Hatshepsut show her kneeling beneath the goddess at her udders. The feet of another figure of Hatshepsut can be seen under the goddess's chin. Current Locations: <i>in situ</i> Photos/Line Drawings: Beaux, <i>La Chapelle d'Hathor Planches</i>, pl. 8. Select Bibliography: PM II, 350 (28).
9	King: Hatshepsut Goddess: Hathor (cow-form) Location: Hathor Chapel, Inner Sanctuary, North Wall, Deir el-Bahari Dynasty: 18 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: Cat.2.10 Description: The scene shows Hatshepsut and Thutmose III kneeling and offering milk and water respectively. Before them are offering tables and piles of offerings. In front of the tables stands Hathor as a cow on a small platform. She wears the solar disk and uraeus between her horns and wears a sistrum around her neck. A small figure of Hatshepsut kneels under the goddess nursing while wearing the cap/wig and kilt. Another figure of Hatshepsut stands under the chin of Hathor wearing the Double crown and kilt. Current Location: <i>in situ</i> Photos/Line Drawings: Beaux, <i>La Chapelle d'Hathor Texte</i>, fig. 40; Beaux, <i>La Chapelle d'Hathor Planches</i>, pl. 40. Select Bibliography: PM II, 353 (53); Beaux, <i>La Chapelle d'Hathor Texte</i>, 156–162.

10	King: Hatshepsut Goddess: Hathor (cow-form) Location: Hathor Chapel, Inner Sanctuary, South Wall, Deir el-Bahari Dynasty: 18 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: Cat.2.9 Description: The scene shows Hatshepsut and Thutmose III kneeling and offering milk and wine respectively. Before the two kings is an offering table. In front of the offering table, Hathor as a cow stands on a small platform with a solar disk and uraeus between her horns. She wears a sistrum around her neck. A small figure of Hatshepsut in cap/wig and kilt kneels beneath the goddess nursing. Another small figure of Hatshepsut in the double feather crown and kilt stands beneath the goddess's chin. Current Location: <i>in situ</i> Photos/Line Drawings: Beaux, <i>La Chapel d'Hathor Texte</i>, fig. 4k; Beaux, <i>La Chapel d'Hathor Planches</i>, pl. 39; Naville, <i>The Temple of Deir el-Bahari 4</i>, pl. cv; Figure 31 of this thesis. Select Bibliography: PM II, 353 (52); Beaux, <i>La Chapel d'Hathor Texte</i>, 149–156.
11	King: Hatshepsut Goddess: Hathor (cow-form) Location: Hathor Chapel, Outer Sanctuary, North Wall, Deir el-Bahari Dynasty: 18 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: Cat.2.12 Description: A destroyed figure of the king stands before a pile of offerings. Ihy stands shaking a sistrum by the king's legs. On the other side of the offerings, Hathor as a cow stands in a shrine atop a barque on sledges on a platform. Hathor wears the solar disk and uraeus between her horns as well as a <i>menat</i> collar. A small figure of Hatshepsut, destroyed, kneels under the goddess nursing at her udders. Another figure of Hatshepsut, wearing the <i>Nemes</i>

	headdress, stands under Hathor's chin. Hathor's <i>menat</i> collar wraps around the king. Current Location: <i>in situ</i> Photos/Line Drawings: Beaux, <i>La Chapel d'Hathor Planches</i>, pl. 32; Naville, <i>The Temple of Deir el-Bahari</i> 4, pl. civ. Select Bibliography: Beaux, <i>La Chapel d'Hathor Texte</i>, 128–137; Pinch, <i>Votive Offerings</i>, 176.
12	King: Hatshepsut Goddess: Hathor (cow-form) Location: Hathor Chapel, Outer Sanctuary, South Wall, Deir el-Bahari Dynasty: 18 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: Cat.2.11 Description: King stands making offerings before a pile of various offerings. A small figure of Ihy stands next to the king shaking a sistrum. On the other side of the offerings, Hathor as a cow stands in a shrine on a barque on a sledge. Hathor wears the solar disk and uraeus between her horns as well as a <i>menat</i> collar. A destroyed figure of Hatshepsut kneels under the goddess nursing. Another figure of Hatshepsut, also destroyed, stands under the goddess's chin wearing the <i>Nemes</i> headdress. The goddess's <i>menat</i> collar wraps around the king. Current Location: <i>in situ</i> Photos/Line Drawings: Beaux, <i>La Chapel d'Hathor Planches</i>, pl. 31; Figure 32 of this thesis. Select Bibliography: PM II [1972], 352 (48); Beaux, <i>La Chapel d'Hathor Texte</i>, 115–128.
13	King: Unknown Goddess: Hathor (cow-form) Location: Hathor Shrine of Djeser-Akhet, Speos, Deir el-Bahari

	Dynasty: 18 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: No Description: This stela is described in Naville. Hathor is shown as a cow issuing from the mountains as the king nurses at her udders. Another figure of the king stands beneath her chin. Noted as being of the same type as that at the British Museum (Cat.2.3) Current Location: Unknown Photos/Line Drawings: None Select Bibliography: Naville, <i>The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari, Part I</i>, 65; Pinch, <i>Votive Offerings to Hathor</i>, 85; Chapter 5 of this thesis.
14	King: Thutmose III Goddess: Hathor (cow-form) Location: Akh-menu of Thutmose III, Pillared Hall, Karnak Dynasty: 18 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: None survives Description: Fragmentary, the scene depicts Hathor as a cow in a shrine in a barque. Thutmose III kneels beneath her nursing. He wears a kilt and potentially a cap or wig. A second figure of the king stands beneath Hathor's chin in a kilt and on a separate, slightly higher platform. A larger figure stands behind the barque in a long kilt. Based on other fragments, it appears to have been part of a larger procession scene. Current Location: Unknown Photos/Line Drawings: Pécoil, <i>L'Akh-menou de Thoutmosis III à Karnak</i>, pl. 82; "Epigraphic Survey Negative 8066," Records of the Epigraphic Survey, accessed 15 January 2025, https://isac-idb.uchicago.edu/id/a5333212-a713-41b0-a2d1-ee21bef168c9.

	Select Bibliography: PM, 110 (332, 1); Barguet, <i>Le Temple d'Amon-Rê</i>, 167–178; “Procession de la barque d’Hathor Scène 3.s - (KIU 6012),” SITH: Projet Karank, accessed 15 January 2025, http://sith.huma-num.fr/karnak/6012.
15	King: Thutmose III Goddess: Hathor (cow-form) Location: Hathor Shrine, right wall, Deir el-Bahari Dynasty: 18 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: Cat.2.17 and Cat.2.18 Description: Hathor as a cow is depicted standing on a platform within a shrine. A red and white veil makes up the back of the shrine. The goddess wears the solar disk between her horns and a <i>menat</i> collar. A figure of the king kneels beneath the goddess wearing a cap/wig and white kilt holding the goddess’s udders as he nurses. A second figure of the king stands beneath the goddess’s chin wearing the <i>Nemes</i> headdress and kilt. Hathor’s <i>menat</i> collar wraps around the king. Before the goddess the king approaches making offerings. Two princesses follow the king in making the offering. Current Location: Cairo, Egypt Museum JdE 38574 Photos/Line Drawings: Portions in Naville, <i>The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari, Part I</i>, pl. 28 B & C; Figure 34 of this thesis. Select Bibliography: PM II, 380; Naville, <i>The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari, I</i>, 63–67; Saleh, <i>Official Catalogue. The Egyptian Museum Cairo</i>, no. 138.
16	King: Thutmose III (Amenhotep II) Goddess: Hathor (cow-form) Location: Hathor Shrine, left wall, Deir el-Bahari Dynasty: 18 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: Cat.1.16 and Cat.2.18

	Description: Hathor as a cow is depicted standing on a platform within a shrine. A red and white veil makes up the back of the shrine. The goddess wears the solar disk between her horns and a <i>menat</i> collar. A figure of the king kneels beneath the goddess wearing a cap/wig and white kilt holding the goddess's udders as he nurses. A second figure of the king stands beneath the goddess's chin wearing the <i>Nemes</i> headdress and kilt. Hathor's <i>menat</i> collar wraps around the king. Before the goddess the king and his queen approach making offerings. Current Location: Cairo, Egypt Museum JdE 38574 Photos/Line Drawings: Particularly in Naville, <i>The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari, Part I</i>, pl. 28A; Figure 34 of this thesis. Select Bibliography: PM II, 380; Naville, <i>The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari, I</i>, 63–67; Saleh, <i>Official Catalogue The Egyptian Museum Cairo</i>, no. 138.
17	King: Amenhotep II Goddess: Hathor (cow-form) Location: Hathor Shrine of Thutmose III, Deir el-Bahari Dynasty: 18 Medium: Statue Mirrored Scene: It is mirrored in the wall scenes Cat.2.15 and Cat.2.16 Description: The large statue shows the goddess Hathor as a cow emerging from papyrus, which are shown at her shoulders and face forward. The goddess wears the solar disk, uraeus, and double feathers between her horns. The goddess is a yellow color with a black clover design. On the left side of the statue a figure of a nude Amenhotep II kneels and holds the goddess's udders as he nurses. A second figure of the king stands underneath the goddess's chin wearing the <i>Nemes</i> headdress and kilt. The king beneath the goddess is of a reddish-brown color while that under her chin has black skin. Current Location: Cairo, Egypt Museum JdE 38574–5 Photos/Line Drawings: Lange and Hirmer, <i>Egypt: Architecture, Sculpture, Painting in Three Thousand Years</i>, pl. 142–143; Figure 29 of this thesis.

	Select Bibliography: PM II, 380; Naville, <i>The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari, Part I</i>, pl. xxix–xxxi; Saleh, <i>Official Catalogue of the Egyptian Museum Cairo</i>, no. 138; Naville and Hall, “Excavations at Deir el-Bahari 1905–1906,” 4–5, fig. 7–11.
18	King: Amenhotep III Goddess: Hesat/Sekhat-Hor Location: Birthing Room, Luxor Temple Dynasty: 18 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: The two goddesses in the scene mirror each other. Description: The scene is part of a larger divine birth narrative program. This description will focus on the two areas in which divine breastfeeding takes place. In front of the Amenhotep III’s mother sit two goddess’s each nursing an infant Amenhotep III shown nude and wearing the sidelock. The goddesses and mother of the queen all kneel on a bed. Beneath this register, two small nude figures of Amenhotep III nursing from two cow-goddesses. Instead of a second figure underneath her chin, the goddesses turns back to look at Amenhotep III as he nurses. To the right of both of these groups, nine gods hold small figures of Amenhotep III, nude with a sidelock. The scene is nearly identical to that of Hatshepsut’s (Cat.2.5). Current Location: <i>in situ</i> Photos/Line Drawings: “Epigraphic Survey Negative 9126,” Records of the Epigraphic Survey, https://isac-idb.uchicago.edu/id/420b35ab-5f2b-40e2-8fef-aea2f1c48575, accessed 15 January 2025; Gayet, <i>Le temple de Louxor</i>, fig. 185; Winter, <i>Frau and Göttin</i>, pl. 407. Select Bibliography: PM II, 326 (152).
19	King: Horemheb Goddess: Hathor (cow-form) Location: Iseo Campense, Rome

	Dynasty: 18 Medium: Statue Mirrored Scene: No Description: The back portion, stomach and back legs, of Hathor as a cow survives. The king kneels with one knee up and one down underneath the goddess. His kilt appears to be ankle length. He wears a wig and holds the goddess's udder in his right hand. His left hand remains in a fist at his chest. A portion of the text survives along the base of the statue. Current Location: Florence, Museo Egizio, 5419 Photos/Line Drawings: Brunner, <i>Die Geburt des Gottkönigs</i>, pl. 24b; Zeigler, <i>The Pharaohs</i>, fig. 47. Select Bibliography: Schiaparelli, <i>Museo Archeologico di Firenze</i>, pg. 152–154; Zeigler, <i>The Pharaohs</i>, 405; Pinch, <i>Votive Offerings to Hathor</i>, 175.
20	King: Seti I Goddess: Hathor (cow-form) Location: Tomb of Paser (TT 106) Dynasty: 19 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: No Description: The scene depicts Hathor as a cow, preserved from the shoulders back, standing within a shrine. Seti I kneels beneath her in the <i>Khepresh</i> crown and kilt holding her udders with his left hand and nursing. In his right hand he holds the crook at his shoulder. Behind the goddess and king is a red and white beaded veil. Current Location: Fragment exists in Walters Art Museum 22.121 (for the identification of this fragment with the scene in question see discussion in Chapter 3) Photos/Line Drawings: LD III pl. 173, a; Burton MSS 25638, 68 verso (British Library); Hay MSS 29822, 81 (British Library); "Relief Displaying the King Suckled by the Hathor-Cow," Walters Art Museum 22.121, accessed 31 August 2023,

	https://art.thewalters.org/detail/25775/relief-displaying-the-king-suckled-by-the-hathor-cow/; Figures 36 and 44 of this thesis. Select Bibliography: Marohn, “Grab des Veziers Paser (TT 106),” 63–66; Schiaparelli, <i>Museo Archeologico di Firenze</i>, 154; Chapter 4 of this thesis.
21	King: Ramesses II Goddess: Hathor (cow-form) Location: Temple of Ramesses II, Room IV/Chapel H, Abydos Dynasty: 19 Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: No Description: The scene depicts Hathor as a cow standing in a shrine on a barque on sledges. The goddess’s head is not preserved. The bottom portion of a <i>menat</i> collar can be seen at her neck. Beneath her the king kneels holding her udders with his right hand and the crook and flail in his left. He wears a cap/wig with uraeus and a kilt. A second figure of the king in the <i>Nemes</i> headdress and kilt stands underneath her chin. A larger female figure stands behind the barque. A larger figure of Ramesses II in the <i>Khepresh</i> crown and kilt stands in front of the barque in front of piles of offerings. He holds a staff in each hand – his right hand holding it up to the goddess and the left at his side. Current Location: <i>in situ</i> Photos/Line Drawings: Iskander, <i>The Temple of Ramesses II in Abydos</i>, pl. 4.1.9–12 (pg. 280–283) Select Bibliography: PM VI, 36 (35); Zayed “Statuette of a Cow from Sheik Abbada,” 139–140, fig. 5.
22	King: Ramesses II Goddess: Hathor (cow-form) Location: Sheikh Abbada Dynasty: 19 Medium: Statue

	Mirrored Scene: No Description: This statue of Hathor as a cow preserves the majority of her body but is missing her head. It shows her standing in the marshes, represented by the papyrus reeds shown between her legs. On the left side of the statue, Ramesses II kneels holding her udder with his right hand and nurses. He wears the sidelock and kilt. In his left hand he holds the crook. Current Location: Cairo, Egypt Museum JdE 89613 Photos/Line Drawings: Zayed, "Statuette of a Cow from Sheik Abbada," fig. 1–4. Select Bibliography: Zayed, "Statuette of a Cow from Sheik Abbada," 137–142.
23	King: Mentuhotep II Goddess: Hathor (cow-form) Location: Ancient rubbish mound, Deir el-Bahari Dynasty: Ramesside Medium: Painted votive cloth Mirrored Scene: No Description: Hathor as a cow stands on a barque in a shrine. The shrine is decorated with a beaded, red veil and garland of leaves. The barque is set in papyrus reeds. Beneath the goddess the king kneels with splayed legs holding and nursing from the goddess's udders. A second figure of the king stands under the goddess's chin. In front of the goddess the priest Tja-nefer approaches with his family adoring the goddess. The family hold papyrus reeds. Current Location: On loan to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2022. 32 Photos/Line Drawings: de Rustafjaell, <i>The Light of Egypt</i>, pl. 25; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 2022.332, accessed 1 September 2023, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/591133; Figure 35 of this thesis. Select Bibliography: de Rustafjaell, <i>The Light of Egypt</i>, 47–51; Pinch, <i>Votive Offerings to Hathor</i>, 111; Sotheby, Wilkinson, & Hodge, <i>Catalogue of the Remaining Part of the Valuable Collection of Egyptian Antiquities Formed by Robert de Rustafjaell</i>, 50–51.

24	King: Augustus Goddess: Hathor (cow-form) Location: Typhonium, Edfu Period: Roman Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: No Description: Hathor as a cow stands in a shrine in a barque. A second figure of the king kneels beneath her nursing from her udders. A second figure of the king stands beneath the goddess's chin wearing the <i>Khepre</i> crown and kilt. He holds the flail across his chest in his right hand and the crook at his side in his left hand. Current Location: Unknown Photos/Line Drawings: LD IV, 70f. Select Bibliography: I have been unable to find further sources for this scene.
25	King: Unknown Goddess: Hathor (cow-form) Location: Serabit el-Khadim Dynasty: unknown Medium: Relief Mirrored Scene: None survives Description: Though fragmentary the scene shows Hathor as a cow atop a barque with papyrus stalks in background. The king kneels beneath the goddess toward her udders though the act of nursing is not preserved. Current Location: Unknown Photos/Line Drawings: Černý, <i>The Inscriptions of Sinai. Part I</i>, pl. lxxxi (no. 337) Select Bibliography: Černý, <i>The Inscriptions of Sinai. Part II</i>, 201 (no. 337); Pinch, <i>Votive Offerings to Hathor</i>, 175.

Appendix 2: Translation of Temple of Amada

Hypostyle Hall

This is a translation of the hypostyle hall of the temple of Amada, incapsulating sections C, D, E, and F on the map of the temple in Figure 24.

South Wall

***First Recessed Pillar*¹¹²⁴**

sꜣ rꜥ nb jrt rꜥ ḏḥwtj-msw ḥ'j-ḥ'w kꜣ nb tꜣ-sty ḥr wꜥst [...]

Son of Re, Lord of the Eye of Re, Thutmose Kha-khau, Bull, Lord of Nubia in Thebes [...]

***Nursing Scene*¹¹²⁵**

Above Hathor

ḥwt-ḥr nbt jbšk

Hathor, Lady of Ibshek

¹¹²⁴ Based on the inscription as recorded in El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, III, C10; IV, C10; Gauthier, *Le Temple d'Amada*, 162.

¹¹²⁵ Based on the inscription as recorded in El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, III, C6; IV C6; Gauthier, *Le Temple d'Amada*, 164–165. See Figure 19. Some of the hieroglyphs have been damaged and reconstructed

Above and behind Werethekau

[*dd mdw*] *jn wrt-ḥkꜳw* [...] *rn.tw* [...] *nswt* [...] *ḥꜳst nb[t]* *ḏḥwty-ms j[w]* *ḥrjt-tp n rꜥ mn.tj m tp.k*
gm.n.s r rwt.s ḥn.s st.s

[Words spoken] by Werethekau: [...] was nursed [...] King of Upper Egypt [...] every foreign land, Thutmose. The one who is upon Re has been established on your head having found the way to her gate so that she might alight upon her throne.

Above and behind Khnum

dd mdw jn ḥnmw nb ynj šsp.n.k mndwy [...] [*ḥwt-ḥr*] *bnrwy jr[tt]* [...] [*s*] *mꜳ(w).j ꜳw.k m ḥb-sd*
[*ḥꜳst*] [*n*] *bt ḥr(y)* [*ḥꜳst*] [...] *ḥr(y) m ksw n bꜳw ḥm.k ‘nḥ.t(j) mj rꜥ*

Words spoken by Khnum, Lord of Yeni: Having received the breasts [...] [Hathor]. How sweet is the milk [...] I will renew¹¹²⁶ your extent [...] by means of the *heb-sed* festival. All upper foreign lands and lower foreign lands bow to the power of your majesty, living like Re.

At top:

*nḥbt ḥḏt dj wꜳs*¹¹²⁷ *mj rꜥ ḏt*¹¹²⁸

Nekhbet, the white one, given domination like Re forever

¹¹²⁶ Rodríguez-Berzosa Gómez-Landero suggests the reconstruction of these hieroglyphs as [*s*] *mꜳ(w)-j*, Rodríguez-Berzosa Gómez-Landero, “La Lactancia en el Antiguo Egipto,” 83.

¹¹²⁷ The record of the hieroglyphs records this as ‘*nḥ*’ rather than *wꜳs* as in the line drawing, El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, 6.

¹¹²⁸ *mj Rꜥ ḏt* phrase is not in line with the rest of the text but lower down.

Above and in-line with King:

nsw bjtj nb jrt rꜥ mn-[ḥprw]-rꜥ sꜥ rꜥ n ḥt.f¹¹²⁹[ḏḥwtj]-msw

Dual King, Lord of the Eye of Re, Men-heperu-Re, Son of Re of his body, Thutmose

Ished Tree Scene: Second Recessed Pillar and Second Inset Wall Scene¹¹³⁰

Words of Thoth:

*ḏḏ mdw j[n] ḏḥwtj [...] sꜥ rꜥ ḏḥwtj-msw ḥ'j-ḥꜥw sndm¹¹³¹ r.k ḥr tntꜥ¹¹³² jrj.n.j rn[.k¹¹³³] smn[.n.j]
gnw.k [...] ḥꜥ.tj m ḥr kꜥ-nḥt-twt-ḥꜥw ḏt*

Words spoken b[y] Thoth [...] Son of Re, Thutmose Kha-khau: Rest yourself on the dais, I
having made your name and establish your annals appearing as Horus, Ka-nakht-tut-khau
forever.

Words of Atum:

ḏḏ mdw jn rꜥ-ḥrḥty-jtmw [...] mn-[ḥprw]-rꜥ [...] tw [...] šnj.t̄¹¹³⁴ [...] nfr(w) ḥfnw [...] ḥb-sd [...] tp(y)-tꜥ

¹¹²⁹ sꜥ rꜥ n ḥt.f – “of his body, his bodily son,” Erman and Grapow, *WB*, III, 357.

¹¹³⁰ El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, C7; Gauthier, *Le Temple d'Amada*, 167. Marazzi translation consulted, Marazzi, “The Ritual of the iSd Tree,” 121–122.

¹¹³¹ “make fragrant, refresh,” Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary*, 235. + r “sit in place,” Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch*, 726; Erman and Grapow, *WB*, IV, 187.

¹¹³² “throne, dais,” Erman and Grapow, *WB*, V, 384.

¹¹³³ k is suggested by Marazzi, “The Ritual of the iSd Tree,” 121–122.

¹¹³⁴ With this determinative being to “encircle, surround,” Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch*, 824..

Words spoken by Re-Horakhty-Atum [...] Men-heperu-Re [...] one [...] you surround [...]

100,000s of beautiful [...] *Heb-sed* [...] who are upon earth.

***Hathor Embraces the King: Third Recessed Pillar*¹¹³⁵**

Above King:

nṯr nfr mn-ḥprw-rꜥ dj ʿnh

Beautiful god, Men-heperu-Re, given life.

Above Hathor:

ḥwt-ḥr nbt jbšk

Hathor, Lady of Ibshek

***Around Doorway*¹¹³⁶**

Right side of the door:

nṯr nfr mn-ḥprw-rꜥ mr(y) rꜥ-ḥrḥty-itmw nb pt dj ʿnh

Beautiful god, Men-heperu-Re, whom Re-Horakhty-Atum, Lord of the Sky, loves, given life.

¹¹³⁵ El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, C8; Gauthier, *Le Temple d'Amada*, 168.

¹¹³⁶ El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, E1–6; Gauthier, *Le Temple d'Amada*, 169–170.

To the Right of the Door:

ḥr k3-nḥt-twt-ḥ'w

Horus, Ka-nakht-tut-khau (is embraced¹¹³⁷)

Left side of the Door:

s3 r' ḏḥwty-msw [ḥ'j]-ḥ'w [mr¹¹³⁸] ḥr nb mj'm¹¹³⁹ ḏt

Son of Re, Thutmose Kha-Khau, whom Horus, Lord of Aniba, loves forever.

To the Left of the Door:

ḏd mdw ḏj.n(.j) n.[k] nst,j j3wt jtmw¹¹⁴⁰ ḥ'stw nb ḥr tbtwy.k [ḏj] r' ḏt

Words spoken: I have given you my throne, the office of Atum, and every foreign land under your sandals like Re forever

Above Lintel:

3 nṯr [bh]dt 3 nṯr [bh]dt

Great god of Edfu, Great god of Edfu

¹¹³⁷ Sign appears underneath the name.

¹¹³⁸ Gauthier notes a missing sign.

¹¹³⁹ nb mj'm – Christian Leitz, *Lexikon der Ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen. Volume III* (Leuven, Paris: Uitgeverij Peeters en Departement Oosterse Studies, 2002), 643–644. City name – Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch*, 163.

¹¹⁴⁰ j3wt jtmw – Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch*, 23.

Lintel above Door:

s3 r' ḏḥwty-msw ḥ'j-ḥ'w mry r'-ḥr3ḥty

Son of Re, Thutmose Kha-Khau, whom Re-Horakhty loves

ḥḥ

Life

nṯr nfr mn-ḥpr.w-r' mry jtmw

Beautiful god, Men-heperu-Re, whom Atum loves

Running with the Oar: Scene Above Doorway¹¹⁴¹

Title:

*jṯj ḥpt*¹¹⁴² [...] *jtmw*

Bringing the oar [to] Atum

Words of the King:

s3 r' n ḥt.f ḏḥwty-msw ḥ'j-ḥ'w ḏj ḥḥ nb

¹¹⁴¹ El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, E1–6; Gauthier, *Le Temple d'Amada*, 171.

¹¹⁴² *jṯj ḥpt* in Erman and Grapow, *WB*, I, 150 (a); Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch*, 114.

Son of Re of his body, Thutmose Kha-khau, given all life

Words of the god:

*ḏ[ḏ mdw] [...] njnj¹¹⁴³ sꜣ mry nb tꜣwy mrr rꜥ ḏj.j wr(t) šfyt.k m nbw ḥpr.j nꜥr ꜣ ḏj.f [wꜣs] [...] n
wrt-ḥkꜣ[w] šmꜥt*

Wo[rds spoken] [...] Greetings, beloved son, Lord of the Two Lands, beloved of Re: May I
make great your majesty among the lords, while Khepri, the great god, gives dominion [...]
Werethekau of Upper Egypt

Nothing Remains of the Scene from Innermost Portion of South Wall Except Feet¹¹⁴⁴

North Wall

First Recessed Column¹¹⁴⁵

nswt-bjtj ḥr mꜣꜥty mn-ḥprw-rꜥ mr(y) nb šḥm-ḥ'j-kꜣw-rꜥ ꜥnh ḏt

Dual King, Horus of Ma'at, Men-heperu-Re, whom the Lord of Semna-West loves, life
forever.

¹¹⁴³ Erman and Grapow, *WB*, II, 203; Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch*, 392.

¹¹⁴⁴ El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, F16.

¹¹⁴⁵ El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, C9; Gauthier, *Le Temple d'Amada*, 154.

Welcoming/Adoring Scene¹¹⁴⁶

At Top:

bḥd[t] nṯr ʿ dj ʿnh wʿs

He of Behedet, the great god, given life and dominion

In Front of Re-Horakhty/Title:

dwʿ nṯr sp fdw

Adoring the god four times

Above the king:

nṯr nfr nb ʿwt-jb¹¹⁴⁷ nb tʿwy nb jrt-rʿ mn-ḥprw-rʿ mj rʿ dt ʿnh wʿs

Beautiful god, Lord of Gladness, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of the Eye of Re, Men-heperu-

Re, life and dominion like Re forever

Above Satis:

ḏd mdw jn stt nbt pt mj mʿ n.k¹¹⁴⁸ (j)t.k ḏj.f n.k [n]ḥḥ

¹¹⁴⁶ El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, C2; Gauthier, *Le Temple d'Amada*, 156.

¹¹⁴⁷ Leitz, *Lexikon der Ägyptischen Götter III*, 559–560.

¹¹⁴⁸ Erman and Grapow, *WB*, II, 9 (I–II).

Words spoken by Satis, Lady of Heaven: Come!¹¹⁴⁹ May your father see you, so that he might give you eternity.¹¹⁵⁰

Above Re-Horakhty:

dj.n.j n.k ḥw wꜣs nb ꜥnt nḥt¹¹⁵¹ rꜥ-ḥr-ꜣḥty

To you I have given life, dominion, strength, and the victory of Re-Horakhty

Second Pillar and Inset Scene¹¹⁵²

With King on Pillar:

sꜣ rꜥ dḥwty-msw ḥ'j-ḥ'w nb ḥpš¹¹⁵³ stp (j)n Rꜥ

Son of Re, Thutmose Kha-khau, Lord of power, chosen by Re

Before the King:

wnn m-bꜣḥ šsp ḥb-sdw

Coming into the presence to receive the *heb-seds*.

¹¹⁴⁹ Erman and Grapow, *WB*, II, 35.

¹¹⁵⁰ Eissa and Abdel-Whab translates it as “Words spoken by Satet lady of heaven, I brought you to see your father, may he give you eternity,” Eissa and Abdel-Whab, “Royal Adoration Reliefs,” 127.

¹¹⁵¹ *ꜥnt nḥt* – from a god to the king, against the enemies, Erman and Grapow, *WB*, V, 46 (BI).

¹¹⁵² El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, C3; Gauthier, *Le Temple d'Amada*, 158.

¹¹⁵³ Leitz, *Lexikon der Ägyptischen Götter III*, 714–715.

Words of Thoth

ḏḏ [mdw] jn ḏḥwty ms sbꜣ n ḥkꜣ nꜥr ꜣ nb pt ḥnty tꜣ-ztj jjwy

[Words] spoken by Thoth, who creates the ruler's star, great god, lord of heaven, foremost of Nubia: Welcome!

ḏḏ mdw m n.k ḥḥ ḏḏ wꜣs r fnd.k tjt snt

Words spoken: Take to yourself life, stability, dominion into your nose, the image of breath.

Held in the god's hand

nb ḥḥ šn šn

Lord of millions who encloses millions

Words of Amun:

nꜥr nfr nb tꜣwy mn-ḥprw-rꜥ rdj.n n.k (j)t.k jmn nb nswt tꜣwy¹¹⁵⁴ꜥnt nḥt nb jmn-rꜥ nswt nꜥrw [...]

ḥr tꜣwy ḏj.f ḥḥ wꜣs nb ḥr.f n sꜣ.f mr.f nb tꜣwy ḏḥwty-msw ḥ'j-ḥ'w ḏj ḥḥ

Beautiful god, Lord of the Two Lands, Men-heperu-Re. To you, your father Amun, lord and king of the Two Lands, has given all strength and victory. Amun-Re, king of the gods [...] upon

¹¹⁵⁴ Erman and Grapow, *WB*, I, 85.

the Two Lands that he might give all life and dominion he had¹¹⁵⁵ to his son. He will love the Lord of the Two Lands, Thutmose Kha-khau, given life.

***Third Recessed Pillar*¹¹⁵⁶**

Above King:

mn-ḥprw-rꜥ dj ḥnh dd wꜣs nb

Men-heperu-re, given all life, stability, and dominion

Above Isis:

ꜣst wrt sḥtp.s jb

Isis, great one, who satisfies the heart

***Around the Doorway*¹¹⁵⁷**

Right Side of the Door

sꜣ rꜥ [mn-ḥpr]w-[rꜥ] [mr]y [j]mn dt dj [ḥnh mj] rꜥ

Son of Re [Men-heper]u-[Re] whom [A]mun [loves] forever, given [life like] Re

¹¹⁵⁵ Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch*, 610.

¹¹⁵⁶ El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, C4; Gauthier, *Le Temple d'Amada*, 159.

¹¹⁵⁷ El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, D1–4; Gauthier, *Le Temple d'Amada*, 160–161.

Left Side of the Door

nswt bjtj [mn]-ḥprw-[rʿ] ḥr-ḥty [mr]y dj ʿnh dj ʿnh [mj] Rʿ

Dual King [Men]-heperu-[Re], whom [Re]-Horakhty loves, given life [like] Re

Nothing Remains of the Scene above the Doorway

Final Scene at Back of Hall: Left Panel¹¹⁵⁸

Above King:

nṯr nfr mn-ḥpr-rʿ sṯ rʿ ḏḥwtj-msj

Beautiful god, Men-heperu-Re, son of Re, Thutmose

Above Amun:

[...]f nb ḏd wṯs nb ḥr.f [...]

He [...] all [...] all stability and dominion from him [...]

Final Scene at Back of Hall: Right Panel¹¹⁵⁹

¹¹⁵⁸ El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, F14–15; Gauthier, *Le Temple d'Amada*, 161–162. Restored in 1909, the base is only portion *in situ*.

¹¹⁵⁹ El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, F14–15; Gauthier, *Le Temple d'Amada*, 162. Restored in 1909, base is only portion *in situ*.

Title:

jrt snṯr kbḥ

Carrying out the consecration of the libation vessel

Above King:

[nsw bjtj ʿ]-ḥprw-[rʿ] sꜣ rʿ jmn-ḥtp nṯr-ḥkꜣ-jwnw sꜣ(y).n rʿ pḥty.f dj ʿnh dt

[Dual King Aa]-heperu-[Re], son of Re, Amenhotep Neter-kheka-Amun. Re having magnified his strength, given life forever.

nb [pt]

Lord of [Heaven]

East/Back Wall

No Text Survives from King Between Two Gods: Left Panel of North Side of Doorway¹¹⁶⁰

King Between Anukis and Re-Horakhty: Right Panel of North Side of Doorway¹¹⁶¹

¹¹⁶⁰ El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, F18.

¹¹⁶¹ El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, F19; Gauthier, *Le Temple d'Amada*, 174.

Above Anukis:

*ḏd mdw jj.n(.j) ḥꜥj.kw n mrwtꜥk¹¹⁶² wn.n(.j) ḥm m sꜥ ḥꜥw.k ꜥwy(.j) ḥꜥ.k m ꜥnh wꜥs [...] nꜥrw nb
nt¹¹⁶³ Rꜥ-ḥrw-ꜥḥty ḏj.f n.k ꜥnh ḏd wꜥs ꜥwt jb nb ḥr.f ꜥnhꜥt mj Rꜥ*

Words spoken: Having come, I have become joyful for the love of you. Indeed, I am as protection of your body. My arms are around you with life and dominion [...] all gods of Re-Horakhty, who gives you all life, dominion, and all joy under him, life like Re.

In front of Anukis's Face:

[...] sꜥ mr(y) [...]

[...] beloved son [...]

Above Re-Horakhty:

[...] sḥtp.f [...]

[...] may he satisfy [...]au

Behind Re-Horakhty:

[...] ḥb-sd ḥr st-ḥr nt ꜥnhw mj wḏ.n(.j) jr(t) st ḥm.k ꜥnh ḏt

¹¹⁶² Erman and Grapow, *WB*, II, 103.

¹¹⁶³ Unclear as to why there is a feminine ending on genitival adjective.

[...] *heb-sed* on the royal throne of life as I commanded the creation of it, your majesty, life forever.

***King before Khnum: Right Panel on Right Side of Doorway*¹¹⁶⁴**

Above King:

[...] *mn-[ḥpr]-r*

[...] Men-[heper]-Re

Above god:

[...] *ḏd wꜣs* [...] *nb snb nb* [...] *ḥnt* [...]

[...] all stability, dominion, and [...], all health [...] out of [...]

***Thutmose III Standing Before a god: Middle Panel on Right Side of Doorway*¹¹⁶⁵**

Title:

nṯrw dwꜣ

Adoring the gods

Above King:

¹¹⁶⁴ El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, F20–22; Gauthier, *Le Temple d'Amada*, 175.

¹¹⁶⁵ El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, F20–22.

[...] *mn-hpr-[rʿ]* [...] [*dḥwty*]-*msj* [*n*]*fr-hpr* [...] *nsyt.f tp* [...] *ḥʿ* [...] *mj Rʿ*

[...] Men-heper-Re [...] [Thut]mose [N]efer-kheper [...] his kingship upon [...] appear in glory
[...] like Re.

***Thutmose III? Before Amun: Left Panel on Right Side of Doorway*¹¹⁶⁶**

Above King:

[*mn-hp*]*r-[rʿ]*

[Men-hep]er-[Re]

Behind god:

[...] *ḏt mj (j)t.k rʿ t3w nbw ḥr tbtwy.k ʿnh.tj rʿ mj ḏt*

[...] forever like your father Re. All lands are under your sandals, life like Re forever.

Functionary Worshipping the Cartouche of King: Left Side of First Register Around

***Doorway*¹¹⁶⁷**

Before worshipper:

nb t3wy 3ḥ-n-rʿ stp.n-rʿ nb ḥʿw sʿ-ptḥ mrj.n-ptḥ

¹¹⁶⁶ El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, F20–22.

¹¹⁶⁷ Gauthier, *Le Temple d'Amada*, 107–109.

Lord of the Two Lands, Akh-en-Re Setepen-Re, Lord of appearances, Siptah Mery-n-Ptah

Above worshipper:

[...] *t3.tj smr wꜣy jmy-r ḥtm mwyt-r3 3w.f b3y mꜣ ḥrw*

[...] vizier, only friend,¹¹⁶⁸ steward of the seal, spit¹¹⁶⁹ of his duration, Baj¹¹⁷⁰ true of voice

Behind worshipper:

jrt n tꜣw sw ḥr jmnt pꜣt n k3š [p]j3y¹¹⁷¹ mꜣ ḥrw

Son of the fanbearer, he upon the west, bow of Kush, Piay, true of voice.

Offerings to Re-Horakhty: Left Side of Second Register Around Doorway¹¹⁷²

Title:

šwꜣb wḏḥw rdjt m3ꜣt ḥtpw k3w 3pdw

Purifying the offering table, offering *ma'at*, and offering of oxen and fowl

¹¹⁶⁸ *smr wꜣy* – “only friend,” Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch*, 708.

¹¹⁶⁹ *Saliva, spit* – Erman and Grapow, *WB*, II, 53; Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary*, 105; Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch*, 330.

¹¹⁷⁰ Name suggested by Gauthier, *Le Temple d'Amada*, 108.

¹¹⁷¹ Name suggested by Gauthier, *Le Temple d'Amada*, 108.

¹¹⁷² Gauthier, *Le Temple d'Amada*, 110.

King:

nswt bjtj ʕ-ḥprw-rʕ s ʕrʕ jmn-ḥtp nṯr-ḥkꜣ-jwnw tjt rʕ ḥnt tꜣ(?) dj ʕnh dd wꜣs nb mj rʕ dt

Dual King, Aa-heperu-Re, Son of Re, Amenhotep Neter-kheqa-Amunu, the image of Re, foremost of the land(?), given all life, stability, and dominion like Re forever.

Re-Horakhty:

mry rʕ-ḥrw-ʕḥty nb pt

Beloved of Re-Horakhty, Lord of Heaven

Functionary Worshipping Cartouche of King: Right Side of First Register Around

Doorway¹¹⁷³

In Front of Woman:

[...] ḥmt-nṯr nsw wr nbt tꜣwy tꜣ-wsrt mrj.n-mwt mꜣḥ ḥrw

[...] god's wife, great king, Lady of the Two Lands, Tausret Mery-n-Mut, true of voice

Behind Woman:

jrt n tꜣw sw ḥr jmnt pꜣt n kꜣš [p]jꜣy mꜣḥ ḥrw ḥtp

¹¹⁷³ Gauthier, *Le Temple d'Amada*, 109.

Son of the fanbearer, he upon the west, bow of Kush Piay, true of voice satisfied

***Right Side of Second Register Around Doorway*¹¹⁷⁴**

Title:

dj ḥt nbt [...] wʿb.t [...] sꜣ [jw] nbt r pr pn

Everything is given [...] pure [...] son, come to the entrance of this house

Of King:

[nṯr nfr] mn-ḥpr-rʿ sꜣrʿ dḥwty-msj ḥkꜣ-mꜣʿt nḏtj mr nṯrw dj ʿnh ḏd wꜣs mj rʿ ḏt

[Good god] Men-heper-Re, Son of Re, Thutmose Kheqa-Maʿat, protector, who the gods love,
given life, stability, and dominion like Re forever.

With god:

[...] mr[y]

[...] who [...] loves

***Lintel above Doorway*¹¹⁷⁵**

¹¹⁷⁴ Gauthier, *Le Temple d'Amada*, 110.

¹¹⁷⁵ Gauthier, *Le Temple d'Amada*, 111.

wnn [...]

The one who [..]

ḏj [...]

Given [..]

s3 rꜥ [...]

Son of Re [...]

nṯr nfr [...]

Beautiful god [...]

ḏj ḥnh [...]

Given life [...]

3wt jb [...]

Joy [...]

rꜥ-ḥrw-[ḥty] [...]

Re-Horakhty [...]

ḥ nṯr [...]

Great god [...]

ḏḏ mdw ḏj [...]

Words spoken: given [...]

ḏḏ mdw ḏj [...]

Words spoken: given [...]

ḥ nṯr [...]

Great god [...]

rꜥ-ḥrw-[ḥty] [...]

Re-Horakhty [...]

šnb [...]

Health [...]

dj ꜥnh [...]

Given life [...]

ntr nfr [...]

Beautiful god [...]

sꜣ rꜥ [...]

Son of Re [...]

dj ꜥnh [...]

Given life [...]

wnn [...]

The one who [..]

Entrance and West/Front Wall

***Worshipping Figure: Left Lower Relief of Exterior Façade*¹¹⁷⁶**

*j3w*¹¹⁷⁷ *n nṯr nfr nb t3wy [...]* *jn k3 nsw s3 n k3š m[sw]y*¹¹⁷⁸ *m3ꜥ ḥrw*

Praise to the good god, Lord of the Two Lands [...] so says the ka of the king's son of Kush,
Mesuy, true of voice

***Thutmose III Wearing White Crown: Left Upper Relief of Exterior Façade*¹¹⁷⁹**

Top:

[...] [nb]t pt ḥnt nṯrw dj snb

[...] [Lady] of the Sky, Mistress of the gods, given health.

King:

*nswt bjtj nb jrt ḥ.t*¹¹⁸⁰ *3-ḥpr.[w]-rꜥ dj ʿnh mj rꜥ*

¹¹⁷⁶ El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, B2; Gauthier, *Le Temple d'Amada*, 181.

¹¹⁷⁷ Eрман and Grapow, *WB*, I, 28 (I).

¹¹⁷⁸ Some missing glyphs supplied by Gauthier

¹¹⁷⁹ El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, B1; Gauthier, *Le Temple d'Amada*, 183.

¹¹⁸⁰ *nb jrt ḥt* – the king is not normally listed as recipient of this epithet, Leitz, *Lexikon der Ägyptischen Götter III*, 586.

Dual King, Lord of Sacrifice, Aa-heperu-Re, given life like Re

Re-Horakhty:

[*ḏd mdw j*]n rꜥ-ḥrw-ḥty [*ḏj.n(.j) n.k*]¹¹⁸¹ tꜣw nb(w) ḥꜣst nb ḥr tbt[wy].k

[Words spoken b]y Re-Horakhty [Having given you] all lands, all foreign lands are under your sandals.

Worshipping Figure: Right Lower Relief of Exterior Façade¹¹⁸²

jꜣw n nꜥr nfr nb ḥ'w [...]mr jn kꜣ nsw sꜣ n kꜣš mswy mꜣꜥ ḥrw

Praise to the good god, Lord of Appearances [...] so says the ka of the king's son of Kush,
Mesuy, true of voice

Thutmose III Wearing Red Crown Before Re-Horakhty: Right Upper Relief of Exterior Façade¹¹⁸³

Top:

wꜣḏyt nb(t) štp

¹¹⁸¹ Suggested by Gauthier based on other scenes.

¹¹⁸² El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, B2; Gauthier, *Le Temple d'Amada*, 181.

¹¹⁸³ El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, B3; Gauthier, *Le Temple d'Amada*, 182.

Wadjet, Lady of Schetpet

King:

nb t3[wy] mn-ḥpr-r' dj 'nh mj r' dt

Lord of the [Two] Lands, Men-heper-Re, given life like Re forever

Re-Horakhty:

dd mdw jn r'-ḥrw-ḥ[ty] dj.n(.j) n.k t3w nb ḥ3st nb hr tbtwy.k

Words spoken by Re-Horakh[ty]: Having given you all lands, all foreign lands are under your sandals.

Upper Register of Embrasure in Doorway on right¹¹⁸⁴

Top:

w3dt

Wadjet

¹¹⁸⁴ El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, B7. Embrasures decorated by Seti I and Ramesses II are not translated here but can be found in El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, B5–6, B9–10.

King:

nsw bjtj nb t3wy [3]-hprw-r' 3 mj jt(.f) R' h' wn[n] s3 R' jmn-htp ntr-hk3-jwnw h'w hr-hr jt(.f) 3w-jb [...] dj 'nh mj r'

Dual King, Lord of the Two Lands, Aa-heperu-Re, who is great like [his] father Re, who appears in glory. He is the son of Re. Amenhotep Neter-kheqa-Aunu, who appears in glory under the supervision of his father, joyful [...], given life like Re.

Montu:

dj 'nh nb dd w3s mntw hr šmt jwt¹¹⁸⁵ swt bs m(?)[...]n r'-hrw-3hty dj.f n.k 'nh dd w3s 3wt jb nb hf(t) 'nht mj r' r' nb¹¹⁸⁶

Given all life, stability, and dominion. Montu is coming and going (in) Upper Egypt, the secret with [...] of Re-Horakhty. May he give you all life, stability, dominion, and joy according as the life like Re everyday.

Re-Horakhty:

dd mdw jn r'-hrw-3hty [...] dj.n(.j) [n.k] 'nh dd w3s nb n s3 n ht(.j) mr(y) nb t3wy jmn[-htp ntr-hk3-jwnw] m-hnt [...] n [nfr] [...]

¹¹⁸⁵ Fischer, *Egyptian Studies II*, §41, pg. 115.

¹¹⁸⁶ Erman and Grapow, *WB*, II, 402(a).

Words spoken by Re-Horakhty: [...] To you I gave all life, stability, and dominion to the son of (my) body, Beloved, Lord of the Two Lands, Amenhotep Neter-kheqa-Aunu, in front of [...] of [good] [...]

***Left Upright of Interior Façade*¹¹⁸⁷**

ḥr k3-nḥt ḥꜥ-m-w3st nsw-bjtj nb t3wy mn-ḥpr-rꜥ rꜥ-ḥrw-ḥ[ty nb pt mr]y nbty w3ḥ-nsyt-mj-Rꜥ-m-pt s3 Rꜥ mr(y).f dḥwtj-msj nfr-ḥpr dj ꜥnh dd w3s mj Rꜥ dt

Horus, Ka-neket-kha-m-wast, Dual King, Lord of the Two Lands, Men-heper-re, Re-Horakh[ty, Lord of Heaven, Beloved], Two Ladies, Wah-nesyt-mi-re-m-pet, Son of Re, whom he loves, Thutmose Nefer-heper, given life, stability, and dominion like Re forever.

***Right Upright of Interior Façade*¹¹⁸⁸**

ḥr k3-nḥt 3-phḥtj nsw-bjtj nb t3wy 3-ḥprw-rꜥ rꜥ-ḥrw-ḥty nb pt mry nbty wsr-f3w sh'j-m-w3st s3 rꜥ mr(y).f jmn-ḥtp ntr-ḥk3-jwnw dj ꜥnh dd w3s mj rꜥ dt

Horus, Ka-neket Aa-pehty, Dual King, Lord of the Two Lands, Aa-heperu-Re, the one who Re-Horakhty, Lord of Heaven loves, Two Ladies, User-fau Sekha-m-waset, Son of Re who loves Amenhotep Neter-heka-iunu, given life, stability, and dominion like Re forever.

¹¹⁸⁷ El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, B12; Gauthier, *Le Temple d'Amada*, 189.

¹¹⁸⁸ El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, B11.

Pillars & Columns

Pillar 1: North Face¹¹⁸⁹

sꜣ Rꜥ n ḥt.f mry.f ḏḥwty-ms(w) ḥꜣj-ḥꜣw [...] n[b] [s]ṯṯ¹¹⁹⁰ mr(y) mj rꜥ ḏt

Son of Re of his body, whom he loves, Thutmose Kha-khau whom [...], Lord of Asia, loves like
Re forever.

Pillar 1: East Face¹¹⁹¹

sꜣ rꜥ n ḥt.f ḏḥwty-ms(w) ḥꜣj-ḥꜣw sṯṯ nb(t) ꜣbw mr(y) ḏj ꜣnh

Son of Re of his body, Thutmose Kha-khau, whom Satis, Lady of Elephantine, loves, given life.

Pillar 1: South Face¹¹⁹²

Top:

bḥdt nṯr ꜣ nb pt ḏj.f ꜣnh wꜣs snb mj rꜥ

¹¹⁸⁹ El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, C15; Gauthier, *Le Temple d'Amada*, 134.

¹¹⁹⁰ This epithet appears in locations like Medinet Habu, Kiosk of Nectanebo, Leitz, *Lexikon der Ägyptischen Götter III*, 744.

¹¹⁹¹ El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, C14; Gauthier, *Le Temple d'Amada*, 134.

¹¹⁹² El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, C11–13; Gauthier, *Le Temple d'Amada*, 136.

He of Behdet (Edfu), great god, Lord of Heaven, gives you life, dominion, and health like Re

Above Anukis:

*ḏd mdw jn ‘nḳt nb(t) pt ḥrt-jb ʔbw n sʔs mr.s [nb] tʔwy mn-ḥprw-r‘ jnk mwt.k mst ḥm.k rn [...] t
n.k ḳnt nḥt*

Words spoken by Anukis, Lady of heaven, who dwells in Elephantine to her son, whom she loves, [Lord] of the Two Lands, Men-heperu-Re: I am your mother who fashioned your majesty and name [...] to you valor and power.

Above King:

nṯr nfr n wn mʔ‘ jty n j‘b jm.f s ʔr‘ n ḥ[t].f ḏḥwty-ms(w) ḥ‘j-ḥ‘w nb ḥpš s‘š ʔbw-sd jr.f ‘š ʔrt

Good god of reality, sovereign of the ones united therein, Son of Re of his body, Thutmose Kha-khau, Lord of power, who multiplies *heb-seds*, who is made very great.

Below figures:

mry ḏj ‘nḥ wʔs [...] sp-tpy wḥm ḥb-sd [...]

The one who is loved, given life, dominion [...] The first occasion repeating the *heb-sed* [...]

Lowest Scene:

rdjt jʔw n r‘-ḥrw-ʔḥty ḏj.k nswt wsr-mʔ‘t-r‘ stp.n-r‘ ḏj.k n.f nḥḥ m ‘nḥ wʔs jr (j)n sʔ nsw n kʔš

Give praise to Re-Horakhty! May you establish the king User-ma'at-Re Setepen-Re. May you give him eternity with life and dominion. Constructed by king's son of Kush.

Pillar 2: South Face¹¹⁹³

Top:

nḥbt nb(t) pt ḥnwt ntrw dj ḥw snb

Nekhet, Lady of heaven, mistress of the gods, given life and health

Nḥbt

Nekhet

Above Khepri:

*dd mdw jn ḥprj ntr ʕ ḥr(y)-jb dpt pt.f n s3.f mr(y).f nb t3wy nb jrt r' dḥwty-ms(w) ḥj-ḥw mr n
jmn nsw nb m n.k ḥw w3s nb snb nb*

Words spoken by Khepri, great god, who dwells in his heavenly barque to his son, whom he loves, the Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of the Eye of Re, Thutmose Kha-khau, who is loved by Amun, king of Upper Egypt and Lord: Take to yourself all life, dominion, and health.

¹¹⁹³ El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, C17–18; Gauthier, *Le Temple d'Amada*, 141.

Above king:

*nsw-bjtj šm(w) mḥwj nb n ḥst nb mn-ḥpr.w-[r] ḥj mj [r] dj ḥn s R n ḥ[t].f mr(y).f [ḏḥwtj]-
ms [ḥj]-ḥw mr(y) ḥprj dt*

Dual king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of every foreign land, Men-heperu-Re, appearing in glory like Re and given life. Son of Re of his body whom he loves [Thut]mose [Kha]-khau, whom Khepri loves forever.

Below figures:

mry dj ḥn dd w s mj r dt sp-tpy whm ḥb-sd jr(w).f š wrt

Beloved, given life, stability, and dominion like Re forever. The first Occasion repeating the *heb-sed*, it has been made very great.

Pillar 2: East Face¹¹⁹⁴

ḥrw nbw wsr-ḥpš ḏḥwtj-ms(w) ḥj-ḥw ḥrw nb mj m mr(y) [dj] ḥn dt

Golden Horus, User-hepesh, Thutmose Kha-khau, whom Horus, Lord of Aniba, loves, [given] life forever

Pillar 2: North Face¹¹⁹⁵

¹¹⁹⁴ El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, C19; Gauthier, *Le Temple d'Amada*, 139.

¹¹⁹⁵ El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, C20; Gauthier, *Le Temple d'Amada*, 139.

nṯr nfr nb ʔwt-jb mn-ḥprw-rʕ ʔst mwt nṯr mr(y) ḏj ʕnh

Good god, Lord of happiness, Men-heperu-Re, whom Isis, mother of the gods, loves, given life.

Pillar 2: West Face¹¹⁹⁶

nsw-bjtj nb tʔwy nb jrt-rʕ mn-ḥprw-rʕ rʕ-ḥrw-ʔḥty mr(y) rʕ ḏt

Dual King, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of the Eye of Re, Men-heperu-Re, whom Re-Horakhty loves, like Re forever.

Pillar 3: South Face¹¹⁹⁷

Top:

wʔdyt nb(t) pt ḥnwt pr ḏj ʕnh ḏd wʔs mj rʕ

Wadjet, Lady of heaven, mistress of the house, given life, stability, and dominion like Re

Above god:

*ḏ[ḏ mdw j]n jtm(w) [nb] [jw]nw nb tʔwy sʔj mr(y) mn-ḥprw-rʕ jr.n.k mnw n ms[...]t mj rdj.tʔf
n.k knt nḥt*

¹¹⁹⁶ El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, C16; Gauthier, *Le Temple d'Amada*, 140.

¹¹⁹⁷ El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, C22–23; Gauthier, *Le Temple d'Amada*, 145.

Wo[rds spoken b]y Atum [Lord] of Heliopolis, Lord of the [Two] Lands (to) my beloved son,
Men-heperu-Re: Having made the monument for the children¹¹⁹⁸ [...] as he gave to you valor
and strength.

Above king:

[...] *nb tꜣwy nb jrt rꜥ* [...] *r nswt mn-ḥprw-rꜥ dj ḥn [sꜣ rꜥ] n ḥt.f* [...] *[dḥwty]-ms(w) [ḥꜣj]-ḥꜣw* [...] *nb jwnw ḏt*

[...] Lord of the two lands, Lord of the eye of Re [...] to the King of Upper Egypt, Men-heperu-
Re, given life, [Son of Re] of his body [...] [Thut]mose [Kha]-khau [...] Lord of Heliopolis
forever.

Bottom:

mry dj ḥn ḏd wꜣs snb mj rꜥ ḏt sp-tpy wḥm ḥb-sd jr(w)ꜣf ḥꜣ wrt

Beloved, given life, stability, and dominion like Re forever. The first Occasion repeating the
heb-sed has been made very great.

Pillar 3: East Face¹¹⁹⁹

nsw-bjtj šmꜣ(w) mḥwj mn-ḥprw-rꜥ bꜣstt ḥn nbt tꜣwy mr(y) ḥn ḏt

¹¹⁹⁸ Could also be *mst* for mother, Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary*, 116.

¹¹⁹⁹ El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, C24; Gauthier, *Le Temple d'Amada*, 143.

Dual king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Men-heperu-Re, whom Bastet, life, Lady of the Two Lands, loves, life forever.

Pillar 3: North Face¹²⁰⁰

sꜣ rꜥ n ḥt.f ḏḥwty-ms(w) ḥꜥj-ḥꜥw ḥwt-ḥrw nb(t) jbšꜥ ḥnh ḏt

mr(y) jmn nb nswt tꜣwy ḥnh ḏt

Son of Re of his body, Thutmose Kha-khau, Hathor, lady of Ibshek, life forever

whom Amun, lord of the throne of the Two

Lands, loves, life forever.

Pillar 3: West Face¹²⁰¹

nbty ḏd-nsyt mn-ḥprw-rꜥ stp.n-rꜥ ḥrw nb bꜣk¹²⁰² mr(y) ḏj ḥnh

Two Ladies, Djed-nesyt, Men-heperu-Re Setepen-Re, whom Horus, Lord of Quban, loves, given life.

Pillar 5: South Face¹²⁰³

¹²⁰⁰ El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, C25; Gauthier, *Le Temple d'Amada*, 144.

¹²⁰¹ El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, C21; Gauthier, *Le Temple d'Amada*, 144.

¹²⁰² Leitz, *Lexikon der Ägyptischen Götter III*, 619–620. (cites the Temple of Amada).

¹²⁰³ El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, C30; Gauthier, *Le Temple d'Amada*, 131.

nsw-bjtj hnmt shmtj nb n hꜣswt mn-hprw-rꜥ nsw bhꜣdt mr(y) dj ꜥnh

Dual King, who puts on the Double crown, lord of foreign Lands, Men-heperu-Re, King of Behedt (Edfu), beloved, given life.

Pillar 5: East Face¹²⁰⁴

nꜥr nfr jr mnw nb tꜣwy mn-hprw-rꜥ mr(y) hnmw hr(y)-jb ꜣbw mj rꜥ dt

Good god, who erects a monument, Lord of the Two Lands, Men-heperu-Re, who Khnum who dwells in Elephantine, loves, like Re forever.

Pillar 5: North Face¹²⁰⁵

Top:

Nhb[t] [...] hnwt šmꜥw dj snb ꜥnh

Nekhbe[t] [...] Mistress of Upper Egypt, given health and life.

¹²⁰⁴ El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, C29; Gauthier, *Le Temple d'Amada*, 131.

¹²⁰⁵ El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, C26–28; Gauthier, *Le Temple d'Amada*, 133.

Above Khnum:

*ḏd mdw jn ḥnmw [...] [kbḥ] ḥr(y)-jb ḥnḥt (j)n sꜣ.f nb tꜣwy mrr rꜥ ḏḥwtj-ms(w) ḥꜥj-ḥꜥw nfrwy
jr.n.k n mswt ḏj.f n.k kntw r ḥꜣst nb*

Words spoken by Khnum [...] refresh who dwells in the West, to his son, Lord of the Two Lands, whom Re loves, Thutmose Kha-khau: How beautiful are you created of form, he gives you power over every foreign land.

Above King:

*nṯr nfr nb ꜣw[t]-jb nb ḥꜥw nb jrt rꜥ mn-ḥprw-rꜥ ḏj ḥnḥ sꜣ rꜥ mrw nṯrw wꜥf ḥꜣst nb ḏḥwty-ms(w)
ḥꜥj-ḥꜥw ḏt*

Good god, Lord of happiness, Lord of appearances, Lord of the eye of Re, Men-heperu-Re, given life, Son of Re whom the gods love, the one who conquers all foreign lands, Thutmose Kha-khau forever.

Bottom:

mry ḏj ḥnḥ snb mj rꜥ ḏt sp-tpy wḥm ḥb-sd jr(w).f ꜥꜣ wrt

Beloved, given life and health life Re forever. The first Occasion repeating the *heb-sed*, it has been made very great.

Lowest Scene:

*rdj.t jꜣw n rꜥ-ḥrw-ḥty ḏj[k] nsw wsr-mꜣt-rꜥ stp.n-rꜥ ḏj.k n.f nḥḥ m ḥnḥ wꜣs jr (j)n sꜣ [nsw] n kꜣš
ḥkꜣ nḥt[w] [...] mꜣꜥ ḥrw*

Give praise to Re-Horakhty! May you appoint the king User-ma'at-Re, Setepen-Re. May you give him eternity with life and strength. Constructed by King's son of Kush, ruler, strength [...] true of voice.

Pillar 6: South Face¹²⁰⁶

ḥrw nbw wsr-ḥpš dḥwtj-ms(w) ḥj-ḥw mn.tw ḥr(y)-jb jwny¹²⁰⁷ mr(y) mj rꜥ dt

Golden Horus, User-khepresh, Thutmose Kha-khau, who is established and who dwells in Armant, beloved of Re forever.

Pillar 6: East Face¹²⁰⁸

nṯr nfr nb tꜣwy mn-ḥprw-rꜥ mr(y) ḥrw nb bhn dj ꜥnh

Good god, Lord of the Two Lands, Men-heperu-Re, whom Horus, Lord of Buhen, loves, given life.

Pillar 6: North Face¹²⁰⁹

¹²⁰⁶ El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, C35; Gauthier, *Le Temple d'Amada*, 137.

¹²⁰⁷ Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch*, 1301.

¹²⁰⁸ El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, C34; Gauthier, *Le Temple d'Amada*, 137.

¹²⁰⁹ El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, C32–33; Gauthier, *Le Temple d'Amada*, 138–139.

Top:

w3dyt nb(t) pt dj snb ʿnh w3s 3wt-jb

Wadjet, Lady of heaven, given health, life, dominion, and joy

Above god:

[...] [mn-ḥpr.w]-rʿ [...] m ḥtp [...] nb.t [...]y nfr.k dj.j n.k ʿnh dd w3s nb knt [...]

[...] [Men-heperu]-Re [...] with offerings [...] all [...] your beauty so that I might give you all
life, dominion, and victory, valor [...]

King:

*[ntr] nfr [...]t ḥrw m3ʿ 3 ḥpš r nsw-bjtj mr-[ḥprw]-rʿ [mj] Rʿ s3 [Rʿ] n ḥt.f mr(y).f nb n ḥ3stw nb(w)
ḏḥwty-ms(w) ḥʿj-ḥʿw [ḏ]t*

Good [god] [...] Horus, the right one, the one of great power, Dual King, Men-[heperu]-Re
[like] Re, Son of [Re] of his body, whom he loves, Lord of all foreign lands, Thutmose Kha-
khau, forever.

Bottom:

mry dj ʿnh snb 3wt-jb.f sp-tpy whm ḥb-sd jr(w).f ʿš3 wrt

Beloved, given life and health, and his joy. The first Occasion repeating the *heb-sed* has been
made very great.

Pillar 6: West Face¹²¹⁰

sꜣ rꜥ n ḥt.f nb ꜥwt-jb dḥwty-ms(w) ḥꜥj-ḥꜥw [...] mr(y) rꜥ ꜥnh ḏt

Son of Re of his body, Lord of happiness, Thutmose Kha-khau [...] beloved of Re (given) life forever.

Pillar 7: South Face¹²¹¹

[nṯr] nfr ḥkꜣ ḥkꜣw mn-ḥprw-rꜥ mr(y) bꜣtꜣ¹²¹² nb sꜣkꜣ¹²¹³ ḏj ꜥnh

[Good] god, ruler of rulers, Men-heperu-Re, whom Bata, Lord of Sako, loves, given life.

Pillar 7: East Face¹²¹⁴

sꜣ rꜥ shꜥy n.f dḥwty-ms(w) ḥꜥj-ḥꜥw mr(y) pth nb mꜣꜥt mj rꜥ ḏt

Son of Re, who causes him to appear, Thutmose Kha-khau, whom Ptah, Lord of *ma'at*, loves like Re forever

¹²¹⁰ El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, C31; Gauthier, *Le Temple d'Amada*, 137.

¹²¹¹ El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, C40; Gauthier, *Le Temple d'Amada*, 142.

¹²¹² Bata – Leitz, *Lexikon der Ägyptischen Götter II*, 747–748.

¹²¹³ Sako – Leitz, *Lexikon der Ägyptischen Götter III*, 726.

¹²¹⁴ El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, C39; Gauthier, *Le Temple d'Amada*, 141.

Pillar 7: North Face¹²¹⁵

Title:

dwꜣ nꜥr sp fdw

Adoring the god four times¹²¹⁶

Top:

bḥdty nꜥr nfr sꜣb šwt nb pt [...]

He of Edfu, good god, many-colored of plumage, lord of heaven [...]

Above god:

[...] pth [...] nfr ḥr nb [...] jj.tj¹²¹⁷ n ḥꜥj.tj sꜣj mr.j [...] skj nḥbj [...] tp(y)-tꜣ mj (j)t.f rꜥ hrw nb

[...] Ptah [...] beauty upon the Lord [...] Welcome to rejoicing my loved son [...] that Nekhby may pass [...] who is on earth like his father Re every day.

Above King:

[...] nb tꜣwy smnḥ mnw pn jr.n.f ntꜥ rꜥ dj.f ꜥnḥ dd wꜣs nb [...] dḥwty-ms(w) ḥꜥj-ḥꜥw [js]w nn

[jr].n.f ḥḥ pn rnpw

¹²¹⁵ El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, C37–38; Gauthier, *Le Temple d'Amada*, 143.

¹²¹⁶ Eissa and Abdel-Whab, “Royal Adoration Reliefs,” 123. 3

¹²¹⁷ Erman and Grapow, *WB*, I, 38.

[...] Lord of the Two Lands, who erected this monument that he made. The day belongs to him, who gives all life, stability, and dominion [...] Thutmose Kha-khau, the reward for which made for him this millions of years.

Bottom:

mry dj 'nh dd w3s mj r' dt sp-tp(y) whm hb-sd jr(.w).f 'š3 wrt

Beloved, given life, stability, and dominion like Re forever. The first Occasion repeating the *heb-sed* has been made very great.

Pillar 7: West Face¹²¹⁸

nsw-bjtj nb jrt-r' dhwtj-ms(w) h'j-h'w mr(y) hnmw nb snmt 'nh(w) dt

Dual King, Lord of the Eye of Re, Thutmose Kha-khau, whom Khnum, Lord of Bigge,¹²¹⁹ loves, living forever.

Column 1¹²²⁰

By goddess:

nbt htp

¹²¹⁸ El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, C36; Gauthier, *Le Temple d'Amada*, 142.

¹²¹⁹ Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch*, 1381.

¹²²⁰ El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, F1–2; Gauthier, *Le Temple d'Amada*, 149.

Lady of offerings

Titulary:

*ḥrw kꜣ-nḥt [wr]-pḥtj nsw-bjtj nb tꜣwy nb jrt-rꜥ [ꜣꜥ-ḥprw]-rꜥ sꜣ [rꜥ] n ḥt.f mr.f jmn-ḥtp nṯr-ḥkꜣ-
jwnw jr.f [...]*

Horus Ka-nakht, [great] of strength, Dual King, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of the Eye of Re, [Aa-heperu]-Re, Son of [Re] of his body, who he loves, Amenhotep Neter-kheqa-iuna, who made [...]

Column 2¹²²¹

*ḥrw kꜣ-nḥt wr-pḥtj nṯr nfr nb ꜣwt-jb jr hrwt nṯrw ḥr[.s]¹²²² nsw-bjtj nb tꜣwy nb jrt-Rꜥ [ꜣꜥ-ḥprw]-rꜥ
[...]^f jmn-ḥtp nṯr-ḥkꜣ-jwnw mry rꜥ-ḥrw-ꜣḥty nṯr ꜣ nb pt dj ꜥnh dt*

Horus, Ka-nakht Wer-pehety, good god, Lord of happiness, happy to do what pleases the gods, Dual King, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of the Eye of Re, Aa-heperu-Re [...] him, Amenhotep Neter-kheqa-iuna, who Re-Horakhty, the great god, lord of heaven, loves, given life forever.

¹²²¹ El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, F3; Gauthier, *Le Temple d'Amada*, 150.

¹²²² Hieroglyphs may also be šn, but it has been reconstructed as .s based on Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch*, 495.

Column 3¹²²³

Titulary:

*ḥrw [...] nb jrt-rꜥ mn-ḥpr-rꜥ sꜣ rꜥ n ḥt.f [mr].f ḏḥwtj-ms ḥꜣꜣ-mꜣꜥt jr.n.f m mnwꜣf ntj rꜥ-ḥrw-ḥty
jr.t(w) n.f jwnyt špsj jr(.t).f ḏj [ꜥnh]*

Horus [...] Lord of the Eye of Re, Men-heperu-re, Son of Re of his body, whom he [loves],
Thutmose Kheqa-ma'at. His monument, he has made. He is Re-Horakhty when the pillared
hall was made by him. His eye is splendid, given [life].

By goddess:

[...] jw.s ꜣ.s [...] ḥrt-jb [...] jwnw

[...] she comes, she is great [...] joy [...] Heliopolis

Column 4¹²²⁴

Titulary:

*[ḥrw ꜣꜣ-ḥt ḥꜥ]-m-wꜣst nꜥr nꜥr [...] m nḥt nsw-bjtj nb tꜣwy mn-ḥpr-rꜥ sꜣ rꜥ n ḥt.f ḏḥwtj-ms ḥꜣꜣ-
mꜣꜥt mr(y) jmn-rꜥ nb nstw tꜣwy ḏj [ꜥnh] ḏt*

¹²²³ El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, F1–2; Gauthier, *Le Temple d'Amada*, 148.

¹²²⁴ El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, F6–7; Gauthier, *Le Temple d'Amada*, 147.

[Horus, Ka-nakht, rising] in Thebes, the good god [...] with strength, Dual king, Lord of the Two Lands, Men-heper-Re, Son of Re of his body, Thutmose, ruler of *ma'at*, whom Amun-Re, Lord of the thrones of the two lands, loves, given life forever.

Above goddess:

šḫmt mr.ty pth

Sekhmet, whom Ptah loves

Lintels

Architrave 4, South Face¹²²⁵

*ḏd mdw jn ḏḥwtj nb mdw-nṯr n psḏt ʿt ḥrt-jb hrw rʿ mj mʾ.tn mnw pn ʿ wʿb rwd mnḥ ḥwt-nṯr
nṯ ḥḥw m rnpw jr.n nsw-bjtj mn-ḥprw-rʿ n (j)t.f rʿj tm nṯr ʿ pr m ʾḥt jr.f ḏj ʿnh mj rʿ ḏt*

Words spoken by Thoth, lord of sacred writing to the great Ennead, who are in the house of Re: Come! May you see this great, pure, enduring, and splendid monument, a house of god of millions of years, after the Dual king, Men-heperu-Re made for his father Re-Atum, the great god, who ascends from the horizon, which he made, given life like Re forever.

Architrave 4, North Face¹²²⁶

¹²²⁵ El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, C42; Gauthier, *Le Temple d'Amada*, 152–153. Consulted translation in Ullmann, *König für die Ewigkeit*, 115.

¹²²⁶ El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, C43.

‘nh ntr nfr 3wt-jb nb h‘w mry ntrw nsw-bjtj mswy jr-r‘ 3hw smnh mnw rs hr-tp hr (j)t.f r‘ s3 r‘
mr(y) ntrw nb t3wy dhwtj-ms(w) h‘j-h‘w dj ‘nh dd w3s 3w-jb.f hn(‘) k3.f mj (j)t.f R‘ hrw nb

Life, good god, joyful one, Lord of appearances, beloved of the gods, born of the dual goddesses, power of the Eye of Re, who restored the monument, who has awakened, the one who is upon the head of his father Re, Son of Re, who the gods love, Lord of the Two Lands, Thutmose Kha-khau, given life stability, dominion, and his joy with his ka like his father Re every day.

Architrave 8, South Face¹²²⁷

‘nh hrw k3-nht-twt-h‘w nbty dd-nsyt mj-jtm hrw nbw wsr-hpš dr-pdt-9 nsw-bjtj mn-hprw-r‘ s
3r‘ dhwtj h‘j-h‘w mr(y) jmn-r‘ dj ‘nh mj r‘ dt

Living Horus, Ka-nakhat-tut-khau, Two Ladies, Djed-nesyt Mi-Atum, Golden Horus, User-khepesh Der-pedjt-9, Dual King, Men-heperu-Re, son of Re, Thutmose Kha-khau, whom Amun-Re loves, given life like Re forever.

Architrave 8, North Face¹²²⁸

¹²²⁷ El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, C44; Gauthier, *Le Temple d'Amada*, 153.

¹²²⁸ El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, C45; Gauthier, *Le Temple d'Amada*, 153.

‘nh ntr nfr kn n wn mꜥ dr kꜣš jnj drw smj nty n hpr nsw knj hr hpš.f mj jmnw shm jb¹²²⁹ m ꜥšwt
hbhb ꜥhwt mn-hprw-rꜥ stp.n-rꜥ

Living good god, who is truly strong, who subdues Kush, who vanquished those who report
that which the king did not make happen, who is strong upon his arm like Amun, the one
who is mighty of heart among the people who traverses the horizons, Men-heperu-Re
Setepen-Re

Architrave 12, North Face¹²³⁰

‘nh hrw kꜣ-nht-twt-hꜥw nbty dd-nsyt mj-jtm hrw nbw wsr-hpš dr-pdt-9 nsw-bjtj nb tꜣwy mn-
hprw-rꜥ sꜣ rꜥ n ht.f dhwtꜣ-ms hꜥj-hꜥw mry rꜥ-hrw-ꜥhty jr.f n.f dj ꜥnh dd wꜣs ꜥw-jb.f mj rꜥ dt

Life of Horus, Ka-nakht-tut-khau, Two Ladies, Djed-nesyt Mi-Atum, Golden Horus, User-
kepreshe Der-pedjt-9, Dual King, Lord of the Two Lands, Men-heperu-Re, Son of Re of his
body, Thutmose Kha-khau, whom Re-Horakhty, who created him, loves, given life, stability,
dominion, and his joy like Re forever.

Architrave 16, South Face¹²³¹

¹²²⁹ shm jb - “brave,” Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch*, 39. “the one with a mighty hearth,” Christian Leitz, *Lexikon der Ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen. Volume VI* (Leuven, Paris: Uitgeverij Peeters en Departement Oosterse Studies, 2002), 524.

¹²³⁰ El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, C41; Gauthier, *Le Temple d'Amada*, 153.

¹²³¹ El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, C46; Gauthier, *Le Temple d'Amada*, 153.

nsw nsyw ḥkꜣ ḥkꜣw jty n jꜥb jm.f nsw-bjtj mn-ḥprw-rꜥ jtj.n.f tꜣ nb ḏḥwtj-ms ḥꜥj-ḥꜥw mry j[mn-rꜥ]¹²³² nsw nṯrw ḏj ꜥnh ḏḏ wꜣs ꜣw-jb.f ḥnꜥ kꜣ.f mj rꜥ ḏt nhḥ

King of kings, ruler of rulers, prince of those united in him, Dual King Men-heperu-Re after he conquered every land, Thutmose Kha-khau, whom Amun-Re, king of the gods, loves, given life, stability, dominion, and his joy with his ka like Re forever and eternally.

Architrave going into transverse hall¹²³³

nṯr nfr nb tꜣwy mn-ḥprw-rꜥ jnm-rꜥ nb nst.w tꜣwy [...] mj [...]

Good god, Lord of the Two Lands, Men-heperu-Re, Amun-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands [...] like [...]

nṯr nfr mn-ḥprw-rꜥ mrt sḥmt mr(y) pth [...]

Good god, Men-heperu-Re, whom Sekhmet loves, whom Ptah loves [...]

Architrave coming out of the transverse hall¹²³⁴

bḥdt nṯr ʕ

¹²³² Suggested by Gauthier, *Le Temple d'Amada*, 153.

¹²³³ El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, F9–10.

¹²³⁴ El-Achirie et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, F11–13.

He of Behedet, great god

nsw-bjtj ʕ-ḥprw-rʕ sꜣ rʕ jmn-[ḥtp] ḥkꜣ-wꜣst mr(y) jmn-rʕ dj ʕnh dt

Dual King, Aa-heperu-Re, son of Re, Amen[hotep] Kheqa-wast, whom Amun-Re loves, given
life forever.

bḥdt nṯr ʕ

He of Behedet, great god

nsw-bjtj ʕ-ḥprw-rʕ sꜣ rʕ jmn-ḥtp ḥkꜣ-wꜣst mr(y) rʕ-ḥrw-ꜣḥty dj ʕnh dt

Dual King, Aa-heperu-Re, Son of Re, Amenhotep Kheqa-wast, whom Re-Horakhty loves,
given life forever.

Appendix 3: Translations from the Broad Hall of the Tomb of Paser (TT 106)

Scenes in this section are organized according to the notations and order found in PM. See Figure 45 for wall numbers, pillar letters, and scene locations. The translations follow many of the reconstructions suggested by Kitchen. The source for the hieroglyphs and surviving images are recorded in the footnotes.

Wall 5

Reward of Paser before Seti I¹²³⁵

Above enthroned king

bḥdtj nṯr ʔ nb pt nb msn dj ʿnh wʔs

bḥdtj nṯr ʔ sʔb šwt dj.f ʿnh wʔs mj rʿ

Behedetj, great god, Lord of heaven, Lord of Mesen, given life and dominion.

Behedetj, great god, multi-coloured of feathers, may he give life and dominion like Re.

njswt bjtj mn-mʔt-rʿ sʔ rʿ stḥy-mrj.n-ptḥ dj ʿnh mj rʿ mry jmn-rʿ nb nstw tʔwy nb pt

¹²³⁵ Translation based on hieroglyphs as recorded in Wilkinson MSS ii. 36 and Kenneth A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions Historical and Biographical, I* (Oxford: B. H. Blackwell Ltd, 1975), 291–293. Kitchen’s translation can be found in Kenneth A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions: Translated & Annotated: Translations, I* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993), 238–239.

Dual king, Men-ma'at-Re, Son of Re, Seti, Mery-n-Ptah, given life like Re, beloved of Amun-Re, Lord of Throne of the Two Lands, Lord of Heaven.

Behind king's throne

[...] *ḏd wꜣs nb snb nb ḥꜣ.f nb mj rꜥ ḏt*

[...] all stability and dominion, all health, all are in attendance on him like Re forever.

With Pe and Nekhen

jr.t hnw jn bꜣw p bꜣw nḥn

Making praises by the souls of Pe and the souls of Nekhen.

Text of Ma'at

ḏd mdw jn mꜣt sꜣt rꜥ wy[.j] ḥꜣ.[k] mn nḥ wꜣs ḏj.j ꜣw-jb.k ḥr st wrt pr-wr ḏt

Words spoken by Ma'at, daughter of Re: My arms are around you with life and dominion. I will give you joy upon the great seat of the temple forever.

Text over Paser

rpꜥ ḥꜣtꜥ sꜣb tꜣ r nḥn ḥm nṯr jmy-r njwt tꜣt[y] njwt pꜣsr mꜣꜥ ḥrw jmnt wꜣst ḥsy nṯr jmy.s

Hereditary noble, mayor, chief justice, mouth of Nechen, prophet, one who is over the city, vizier of the city, Paser, true of voice, upon Western Thebes, who is favored by the god who is in it.

Main Text over Paser

[*dd mdw jn rpꜥ ḥꜣtꜥ njswt*] *tꜣt[y] pꜣsr mꜣꜥ ḥrw dd.f jnd ḥr[k] [...] n kmt rꜥ n pdt 9 njsw bjtj mn-mꜣꜥt-rꜥ ḥr ḥꜥm wsr [...] km ḥꜣty rh nty mn ht hnm pw [...] [rm]t kd nmḥw tsw mꜣjr [...] bwꜣw pꜣ ḥpy mr [...] tꜣ [...] d[j] sw m jb.f dj.k snj.j [...] dꜥtt [...] [tpj-]ꜥw dd.wt.n.j nty m jb nn wn mn [...] j tw m-bꜣḥ jty r mꜣ ḥm.f m dꜣsrw [...] ꜣw šꜣꜣw jw srw smrw r rwtwy [...] bꜣḥ nn smj.tw nn [...] jr ḥr ḥꜣt.j ḥst.tw njsw m ḥꜥ.j n ꜣ.w.j stp.n.f wj m-ḥnt nty ḥḥ.w jw.f rh nfr.j ḥr jb.f jnk smr n(t) šḥpr.n.f sbꜣ.tw.f n ḥt.j šḥrw nb jp ḥr jb[j] sꜣs.kw m nn jr.n.f n.[j] stꜣ r [...] nfr [...] n wꜣdyt.f sꜣšw jt.k [...] sꜣ rꜥ stḥy-mrj.n-ptḥ dj ꜥnh¹²³⁶ mꜣw ht [šꜣꜣ?] n [...] j jm dj.f jry.j ꜥḥꜥ.w.j m wsr ḥr[w] [...] phwy nn n(y) nmꜥ(?) nfrt ḥr dꜥtt ḥꜣst ḥft-ḥr [...] ḥb [...] ḥr-ntr r gs[k]¹²³⁷ [...] nbw šbn.w.n.j wrw tp-ꜥw ꜣw jꜣrw kꜣ dd.n.j jmw dwꜣt jj.w m ḥtp sp jw jr.n.k mꜣꜥt n nb wꜣst [s]wꜣd¹²³⁸.f n.k jmnt n kꜣ n wsjr sꜣb tꜣty r nkꜣn ḥm nꜥr mꜣꜥt njwt pꜣt pꜣsr mꜣꜥ ḥrw*

[Words spoken by the hereditary noble, mayor of the city], vizier Paser, true of voice, he says: Hail to you [king¹²³⁹] of Egypt, Re of the 9 bows, Dual King Men-ma'at-Re, Horus, who approaches Thebes [...] who knows the heart, who knows that which is in the body.¹²⁴⁰ He is

¹²³⁶ Here there is a disagreement between Kitchen and Wilkinson. I have chosen to follow Wilkinson MSS ii. 36.

¹²³⁷ Kitchen reconstructs this sign as a *nb*; however, I have chosen to follow Frood's reconstruction of it as your (=k), Frood, *Biographical Texts from the Ramesside Egypt*, 156.

¹²³⁸ Frood and Kitchen both suggest translating what appears in the hieroglyphs as *wꜣd* as *swꜣd*. Frood, *Biographical Texts from the Ramesside Egypt*, 156; Kitchen, *RITA I*, 239.

¹²³⁹ Suggested by Frood, *Biographical Texts from the Ramesside Egypt*, 155.

¹²⁴⁰ Kitchen suggests "in the people's mind," Kitchen, *RITA I*, 238.

Khnum [for¹²⁴¹] people, who fashions the poor, who raises up the wretched, who [...] the respected, this Hapy of the river [...] land [...] the one who places it in his heart. May you cause that I pass by [...] magistrates [...] ancestors, so that I may be told that which is in the heart, there is no [...] in the presence of the sovereign in order to see his majesty in the holy place [...] secret doors. The officials and friends are at the two gates [...] in the presence without being announced. There is not [...] do before me, the favor of the king is in my flesh because of my greatness(?). He chose me before millions as he knew my goodness in his heart. I was a friend who he raised, that which he taught was in my body, all [his] counsels are reckoned in [my] heart. I became wise by these which he did for [me] brought to [...] goodness [...] of his two serpent goddesses. Your father [...] son of Re, Seti Mery-n-Ptah, given life, the one who sees the [wise?] body [...] of my [...] therein. May he cause that I spend my lifetime wealthy in da[ys] [...] end of this sleep(?). Perfection in the estate of the desert in the presence of [...] festival [...] necropolis at your side all [...], so that I may be mixed with the great ones, ancestors and the excellent *ankhs*, so those in the Duat say to me, 'Come in peace! Come in peace! You have done *ma'at* for the Lord of Thebes so that he may assign to you the west. For the ka of Osiris, dignitary, he of the curtain, mouth of Nekhen, priest of Ma'at, city mayor, Paser, true of voice.

Text of three attendants

jmy-ḥnt p:twm^c

Chamberlain Patuma

¹²⁴¹ Suggested by Frood, *Biographical Texts from the Ramesside Egypt*, 155–156.

jmy-ḥnt pthmꜣy

Chamberlain Ptahmay

jmy-ḥnt mry-rꜣ ḏd n.f [...]nwr

Chamberlain Meryre, who is called [...]nur

Wall 6

Upper Register: Paser Shown a Statue of Seti I¹²⁴²

Words of Paser

*[jmy-r] tꜣty pꜣsr mꜣꜣ ḥrw ḏd.f ḥsy.t pth pꜣ sꜣnh nfrwy pꜣ twt n nb nsw jr.n.k jmj ḥpr.f mj pꜣ jsy
ḥr.tw m ꜣ pr.wy ꜣnh [w]dꜣ s[nb] ḥr jr.tw ḥry jw ḥpš.wy.f [...] mntw*

[Overseer of the city], vizier, Paser, true of voice, he said: May you be favored by Ptah, this sculptor. How good is this statue of the lord, king, which you made. Seize that which he made like those of ancient times, as is said in the great house – life, prosperity, and health. Thus, one should make that which is pleasing. His two arms [...] Montu.

¹²⁴² Translation based off the hieroglyphs as recorded in Kitchen, *KRI I*, 293–295. Kitchen’s translation can be found Kitchen, *RITA I*, 239–240.

Label of statue

njswt bjtj mn-mꜣt-rꜥ

Dual King Men-ma'at-Re

First man's text

jrt [s]ww rdj n pꜣ [...] sꜣnh [jr?]¹²⁴³ ḥꜣj pꜣ twt n pꜣ nbj

Making the dates for placing of this [statue¹²⁴⁴] so that the sculpture might leave this statue for this gilding.

Second man's text

*[...] ḡd.f j[r] pr rt nb m r.k hry ḥm.f ḥr.f ntk jrwy n njsw msḡrwy n [bjtj] [...] ḥr mnḥ n nb.f wn.k
jb n jꜣt nb sbꜣ.t.k pḥr [m] [ḥmtw] prw*

[...] he says: That which comes from your mouth, may His Majesty be pleased with it. You are the eyes of the king and the ears of [the dual king] [...] face, potent of his lord, so that you may open the [heart] of every official. May your teachings pervade the [craftsmen] of the temples.

¹²⁴³ Reconstruction suggested by Kitchen, *KRI I*, 293.

¹²⁴⁴ Here I agree with the reconstructions of this word in both Kitchen, *RITA I*, 239; Xiaodong, "Connecting Past and Future," 72.

Lower Register: Rows of Craftsmen¹²⁴⁵

Bottom Row, Man at right

tꜣy bsnt nfr-sḥrw ḏd.f ḏj.w.n.j tꜣt pꜣy [...] ḥr-ꜥ.j

Metal worker, Neferscheru, he says: I have made this statue [...] under my hand.

Bottom Row, Man at left

*nḃj nfr-ḥr.j ḏd.f jmn ssnb ꜣ prwy ꜥnh [w]ḏꜣ s[nḃ] jmy wn pꜣsr m ḥst.f ḏj.f n.j pꜣy wsf [...] šm r ptr
jmn*

Goldsmith, Nefer-her, he said: May Amun preserve the great houses – life, prosperity, and health – Cause that Paser be in his favor. May he give me my vacation¹²⁴⁶ [...] go to behold Amun.

Middle Row: Two Men at Left¹²⁴⁷

wꜥb n mꜣꜥt sꜣ.t rꜥ ḥwy

Purification of *ma'at*, daughter of Re, Huy

¹²⁴⁵ Wilkinson MSS ii. 36 [right]; Kitchen, *KRI I*, 293–295; Kitchen, *RITA I*, 239–240.

¹²⁴⁶ Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch*, 215.

¹²⁴⁷ For this section and the next (Middle Row: Two Men at Left and Over Man with Scales), Kitchen and Wilkinson differ in their record of the texts. My translation follows the hieroglyphs as recorded by Kitchen who, among other sources, used the MMA photos Series T, Kitchen, *KRI I*, 293.

Middle Row: Over man with scales

[...] *ḏd.f* jmy ḥr.k [...] n m [...] w ḏ [...] nḥḥ [*njsw.t bjtj*] mn-mꜣ't-rꜥ ḥrw n [...] m ḥḏwy n njswt
nḥt [...] n tꜣty

[...] he said: Place your face [...] prosperous [...] eternally. [Dual King] Men-ma'at-Re, day of
[...] in the two chapels of the strong king [...] of the vizier.

Middle Row: Accompanying Text

šsp ḥnw n ḥtp n nbw ḥḏ jr.n njswt bjtj mn-mꜣ't-rꜥ ḏj.w r ḥwt nṯr nt jmn jpt-swt jn jmy-r njswt
pꜣsr mꜣ' ḥrw ḏd.f jr.n m [...] ḥꜣ [...] m mḥꜣt

Receiving the jars of offerings of gold and silver made for the Dual King Men-ma'at-Re given
to the temple of Amun of Karnak by overseer of the city Paser, true of voice. He says: Made
from [...] on the balance.

Top Row: Texts Between Two Men with Crowns and Sphinxes

njswt bjtj mn-mꜣ't-rꜥ sꜣ rꜥ stḥy mrj.n-ptḥ ḏj ꜥnḥ ḏt mn mnw m jpt-swt jmn-rꜥ nb nstw tꜣwy

Dual King, Men-ma'at-Re, Son of Re, Seti Mery-n-Ptah, given life forever, who established the
monument in Karnak of Amun-Re, Lord of the thrones of the two lands.

Top Row: Artist at right

sꜥnḥ ḥwy sꜣ n sꜥnḥ [tꜣ] [...] shpr.t m-bꜣḥt r [...]

Sculptor Huy, son of sculpture Tja [...] who created in the presence of [...]

Top Row: Over men at left

wꜥb ꝓn wꜥm ꜥnh mk jj.n.nw ꝓth mk tꜥ(ty) jw sꜥnh ḏd.f [...]f smn [...]

Wab-priest Quen, live again. Indeed, we came, Ptah. Here the vizier comes. The sculptor, he said [...] establish [...]

Top Row: Man below left

wꜥb ꝓn

Wab-priest Quen

Top Row: Man below center

šs jmn-sk-sw

Scribe Amun-sek-su

Top Row: Text over left side

*sꜥw n ḥwt nbw nfr-rnꝓt ḏd.f nꜥ [...] ḥmww nꝓm jb.tn jnꜥ kꜥ mn snw(?)¹²⁴⁸ [...] ꜥꝓ m ḥtp jw.f ḥs
mrw [...] nfr ḥr.j ḏd.f jmn ꝓꜥ sꝓm [...] n ḏj sw m jb.f r ꝓḥt.f jmnt*

¹²⁴⁸ The hieroglyphs here are entirely clear, Kitchen, *KRI I*, 294.

The guard of mansion of gold (or sculptor's workshop), Nefer-renpet, he says: [...] craftsmen, may you be joyful. I am established twice(?) [...] enter into peace. He is favoured and loved [...] Neferhre, he says: Amun is who listens [...] to the one who places in his heart (or the one who prompts him) to reach the west.

Wall 7

PM record the scenes as an image of Paser entering and going from Rosetau.¹²⁴⁹ I was unable to find photos or drawings of the scene and its text. Photographs of the wall do exist in the MMA Photos Series T held at the Griffith Institute.

Wall 8

Duties of the Vizier¹²⁵⁰

[...] *m nsw-pr ntj sbj knbtyw* [...] *ntj sdm m ḥṯy-ꜣw [ḥkꜣ.w]* [...] *ḥṯ[kw] n dꜣtt nb n[tf]* [...] *ḥtw nb n[tf]* [...] *m njwt rswt* [...] *ꜣ.w r-gs.f ntj sdm* [...] *ntj wn ḥr ḥtm* [...] [...]

[...] in the palace. He is the one who sends the magistrates. He is the one who hears the mayors and [rulers] [...] plunderer of every estate. H[e] [...] all fields. H[e] [...] in the southern city [...] provisions beside him. He is the one who listens [...] He is the one who opens the seal [...]

¹²⁴⁹ Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, I/1, 221.

¹²⁵⁰ Kitchen, *KRI I*, 290–291; Kitchen, *RITA I*, 237–238.

Wall 9

PM record the scenes as an image of a *sem*-priest making an offering to Paser.¹²⁵¹ I was unable to find photos or drawings of the scene and its text. Photographs of the wall do exist in the MMA Photos Series T held at the Griffith Institute.

Wall 10

Scene of the Solar Barque¹²⁵²

Over Hathor and Thoth in Barque

jrt mꜣkt wjꜣ jn nb ḥmnw ḥt-ḥr m ḥꜣt mꜣꜥt

Being the brave one of the sacred barque by the Lord of Hermopolis, Hathor is in front of Ma'at.

Over the king

jmj mꜣꜥt n jt.s nṯr nfr mn-mꜣꜥt-rꜣ s ʔrꜣ stḥy mrj.n-ptḥ

Offering *ma'at* to her father, Great god, Men-ma'at-Re, Son of Re, Seti Mery-n-Ptah

Over Atum

jtm m ḥtp.f nfr

¹²⁵¹ Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, I/1, 221.

¹²⁵² Wilkinson MSS ii. 37 [upper]; Kitchen, *KRI I*, 295; Kitchen, *RITA I*, 240.

Atum in his good rest

Over two figures and Horus

k3 jwntt k3 j3bty jrt hmw m m'ndt jn hr s3 wsjr

Ka of the west, ka of the east, acting as steersmen in the day barque by Horus, son of Osiris

Above figures before barque

*jrt [...] r jwnt nfrt jnp ntr 3 hnw nst h3tt ntr pn m ht htp.f mnw dd mdw jn httw srwy r'j jy m
htp tm sr r htp m ht mwt.k*

Being [...] to the good west, Anubis, great god. Praising the throne of this foremost of god(s)
after he rests in the monument(?) Words spoken by the adorers and announcers of Re:
Come in peace. May the nobleman be complete in peace in the body of your mother.

Paser and Family Make Offerings to the Gods¹²⁵³

Main text above Paser and his family

*[jrt] [s]ntr [n jmn] nb nstw t3wy n r'-hr-3hty n jtm [n] sw ntrw [...] f n dt.f [...] f n mhnyt wr(t)
jmy [...] f n [...] t n dhwtj [...] n wrt-hk3w n [ht?] ntrw 3 n ht ntrw n dst hwy.sn njsw [mn-m3't-r']
m 'nh dd w3s nb [jw hr šms.f] h'.w.j swd3 r ph.j t3 n m3't r gs nbw dw3t jn w' jkr w'b 'wy s3b t3ytj
r nhn hm-ntr m3't jmy-r njwt t3ty p3[sr m3' hrw] s3 s3b [hm-ntr tpy n] jmn sm [m hwt-ptḥ] jmy-r*

¹²⁵³ Wilkinson MSS ii. 37 [lower]; Kitchen, *KRI I*, 295–296; Kitchen, *RITA I*, 241.

ḥm-nṯr [šmꜥ(w) t3-mḥw] nb-nṯrw mꜥḥrw ḏ[d.n.f] trj [mꜥḥrw] ms.n [wr]t [ḥnrwt] n jmn jmꜥ[ḥy
nfrt n] wsr mr[yt]

[Cens]ing [to Amun], lord of the thrones of the two lands to Re-Horakhty (and) to Amun, ruler of the gods, his [...] in his body and his [...] to the coiled one Mehenet-weret who is on his [brow] to [...] to Thoth [...] to Werethekau to the great [...] of the gods to the lesser [...] of the gods, that they might protect the king [Men-ma'at-Re] with all life, stability, and domination. [I am following him], my body being kept safe until I reach the land of *ma'at* beside the lords of the Duat by the excellent one, pure hands, dignitary, the shrouded one (or grand judge), mouth of Nekhen, priest of Ma'at, overseer of the city, vizier, Pa[ser, true of voice], son of the dignitary, [high priest of] Amun, *sem*-priest [in the temple of Ptah], head of the priests of the [South and North], Nebneteru, true of voice, who was call[ed Turi,] [true of voice], (and) [chief of the musical performers]¹²⁵⁴ of Amun, [beautiful honored one of] Thebes, Meryte]

¹²⁵⁴ For discussions regarding the debate and issues around translation of *ḥnr* as well as its translation as “musical performers” rather than “harem” (Erman and Grapow, *WB*, 297–298.), see Dana Bělohoubková, “Musical Performers of an Ancient Egyptian Harem? Aspects of Continuity, Discontinuity, and Change in Relation to the Word *ḥnr*,” *Archiv orientální* 90 (2022): 1–23; Izold Guegan, “The *ḥnrwt*: A Reassessment of their Religious Roles,” in *Women in Ancient Egypt: Revisiting Power, Agency, and Autonomy*, ed. Mariam F. Ayad (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2022), 205–226; Jennifer Helling, “The Questions of the Maidservant and the Concubine: Re-examining Egyptian Female Lexicology,” in *Dust, Demons and Pots: Studies in Honour of Colin A. Hope*, ed. Ashten R. Warfe et al. (Leuven: Peeters, 2020), 269–278; Del Nord, “The Term *ḥnr*: ‘Harem’ or ‘Musical Performers’?,” in *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan: Essays in honor of Dows Dunham on the occasion of his 90th birthday, June 1, 1980*, ed. William Kelly Simpson and Whitney M. Davis (Boston: Department of Egyptian and Ancient Near Eastern Art, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1981), 137–145; William A. Ward, “Reflections on Some Egyptian Terms Presumed to Mean ‘Harem, Harem-Woman, and Concubine’,” *Berytus* 31 (1983): 71.

Text with Paser's Family

s3.f hr(y) hb(t) n 'mn hr s3 tpy w' b 'ny [...]

s3.f pt jhw tp n hm tjtj3

s3.t.f hsty nt pr nsw wr.t hnrwt n jmn tjtj

snt.s šm'yt n 'mn 'mn n3j3

His son, lector priest of Amun in the first company, *wab*-priest, Any [...]

His son, first master of the stables of his majesty, Titia

His daughter, favorite of the palace, chief of the musical performers of Amun, Tiya

Her sister, singer of Amun, Naia

Lower Register: Singers and Others¹²⁵⁵

šsp¹²⁵⁶ nfr nb ntrw 'mn m wsr bjk ntry s3b šwt bhdtj 'š3 jnw n [...] hrt jb.k bnr m r htp m ht
mwt.k [...] jb.s 3wj m'ndt hr ršršk jmyw wj3 m h'jwjt jswt r' m hb m3.sn [...] 3tm m m3'w.f nfr r
hnm m dw [...] r'.f sf šsp.f 3bt n wdn [...] wt.f ssnb.n.f nsw mn-m3'-r' [...] jmj n.f dt m hb-sd nhh
m jmt-pr [...] shb.f jr hr mw.f [...] n p3[sr] [...] jmj hnm [...much lost...] n m3'ty r-ks nbw nhh

Receive beautiful things, lord of the gods, Amun of Thebes, divine falcon of dappled
plumage, Behedeti of many colors of [...] sky with your sweet heart to rest in the body of
your mother [...] its heart is glad, the day barque is joyful. Those who are in the barque are in
rejoicing. The crew of Re are in festivity. May they see [...] Atum on his good breeze in order

¹²⁵⁵ Kitchen, *KRI I*, 296; Kitchen, *RITA I*, 241. *KRI I*, 296; *RITA I*, 241

¹²⁵⁶ Kitchen includes the sign D58 here as well, but its translational value is unclear.

to unite with the mountain [...] his place of yesterday. May he receive a heavy pile of offerings [...] his [...]s he having preserved King Men-ma'at-Re [...] Give to him forever with *heb-seds* and eternity in the will [...] May he adorn those who are devoted to him [...] to Pa[ser] [...] Grant that [...] unite [...] to the just beside the lords of eternity.

Men behind singers

[...] šsp nn ḥsj nn pꜣ jmy-r njwt rw

[...] receive these which we have sung, O Head of the City, utterances

Paser and his Parents Receive Invocations from a Priest¹²⁵⁷

n kꜣ n rpꜣt ḥꜣty-ꜣ bjt(j) sdꜣw ꜣ m pr nsw ḥ ḥꜣwty n srw m ḥwt ḏdwt n.f nty m jb nn wn jmnwt rf mḥ ꜣ msḏrwy ḥr m mꜣꜥt hrwt ḥr prwt n r.f sꜣb tꜣty r nḥn ḥm-nꜥr mꜣꜥt¹²⁵⁸ jmy-r jmjw-ḥnt n nb tꜣwy ḥm nꜥr tpy n wrt-ḥkꜣw tꜣy-ḥw ḥr wnmy nsw jmy-r njwt tꜣty pꜣ[-sr] mꜣꜥ ḥrw ḥr jmnt wꜣst ḥsy nꜥr jmy-s sꜣ [sꜣb] [ḥm-nꜥr tpy] n jmn m jwnw šmꜣw [nb nꜥrw] ḏd.n.f trj mꜣꜥ ḥrw [...] wrt ḥnrwt n jmn m jpt[-swt] ḥsy n mwt nbt jšrw nbt pr mryt mꜣꜥ ḥrw

For the *ka* of the hereditary noble and mayor, seal-bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, great one in the palace of the king, foremost of the noblemen in the palace, he to whom they speak what is in the heart and he for whom nothing is hidden, the one who fills the ears of Horus with *ma'at*, dignitary, vizier, mouth of Nekhen, priest (of *ma'at*), head of the

¹²⁵⁷ Kitchen, *KRI I*, 297; Kitchen, *RITA I*, 242.

¹²⁵⁸ Kitchen has T8 but notes it should be understood as H6, Kitchen, *KRI I*, note 4a on pg. 297.

chamberlains of the Lord of the Two Lands, high priest of Werethekau, fan-bearer on the right hand of the king, head of the city, vizier, Paser, true of voice, in Western Thebes, favored of the god in it, son of [the dignitary] [high priest] of Amun in Thebes of Upper Egypt [Nebnetru] who was called Turi, true of voice [...] [born of] the leader of the musical performers of Amun in the Temple of Karnak, favored of Mut, lady of Asheru (the Mut precinct of Karnak), lady of the house, Merytre, true of voice.

Paser, Parents and Family with Tree-Goddess¹²⁵⁹

Speech of the Tree-Goddess

*ḏd mdw jn nwt wrt ʔḥt m rn.s twy n nht m n.k ḳbḥw jpṇ ḳbb jb.k jm.f m mw pwy pr m š.k ḥr
ḏʔtt jwnt wʔst šsp n.k ḥtpt ḏfʔt m prt [...] pr m ḥ.j ḥmsj bʔ.k n šwyt.j swr.f mw n ʔbb.f*

Words spoken by Nut, the great, splendid in this her name of the sycamore: Take to yourself this cool water that your heart might be cooled by it, by this water that comes out from your pool in the estate of Western Thebes. Receive to yourself the offerings of food as a sacrifice¹²⁶⁰ [...] which come out of my flesh. May your *ba* dwell in my shade as he drinks the water of its desire.

¹²⁵⁹ Wilkinson MSS ii. 40; Kitchen, *KRI I*, 297; Kitchen, *RITA I*, 242–243.

¹²⁶⁰ Though a word has been lost this may be *prt-r-ḥrw* in reference to a funeral sacrifice, offering, or invocation, Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary*, 90; Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch*, 286.

Text of Paser and Upper Row of People

*n k3 n jmy-r njwt tꜣty pꜣsr mꜣꜥ ḥrw [sꜣ] sꜣb ḥm nꜥr tpy n jmn nb nꜥrw ḡd.n.f [tꜣrj mꜣꜥ ḥrw ms n wrt
ḥnrwt n jmn-rꜥ mryt mꜣꜥt ḥrw ḥr jwnt wꜣst wšd.s nꜥr.s jmy.s wsr ḥm nꜥr tp(y) n jmn m jwn sw
nb nꜥrw ḡd.n.f tꜣrj mꜣꜥ ḥrw ḥmt.f wrt] ḥnrwt nt [j]mn-rꜥ mryt sꜣ.f mr.f ḥry jḥw tp(y) n ḥm.f [...]
tꜣ [...] [sꜣ.f] ḥ[r](y) [ḥbt] n jmn [j]ny sꜣt.f ḥsty nt sw šmyt n j[mn] tꜣy*

For the *ka* of the leader of the city, vizier Paser, true of voice, [son] of the dignitary, high priest of Amun, Nebnetru, who was called [Turi, true of voice, born of the head]] of the musical performers of Amun-Re, Mereyt, true of voice, in the west of Thebes. She addresses her god who is in there. The Osiris, high priest, true of voice, his wife, chief] of the musical performers of [A]mun-Re, Mereyt. His beloved son, first headman of the stables of his majesty, [...] [Ti]tia [...] [His son], [lector priest] of Amun, [A]n[y]. His daughter, favorite of the king, chantress of A[mun], Tiȳ.

Texts over lower row of people

jt jt.f wsjr tꜣtꜣ mꜣꜥ ḥrw

ḥmt.f tꜣtwjꜣ

wꜣb ḥry-ḥbt jny

ḥmt.f šmꜣyt n jmn ntꜣjꜣ

[...] nyy [...]

His grandfather, the Osiris Tatia, true of voice

his wife Tatuia

wab-priest and lector priest, Any

his wife, chantress of Amun, Netaja

[...] Aniy [...]

Wall 11

PM indicate that the image was one of Paser coming to see Osiris.¹²⁶¹ I was unable to find photos or drawings of the scene and its text. Photographs of the wall do exist in the MMA Photos Series T held at the Griffith Institute.

Wall 12

PM report two registers both of which depicted Paser before deities.¹²⁶²

Pillar A

PM record the scenes of the four faces of the pillar as: A) Paser led to Osiris by Horus and Paser adoring Hathor, B) Paser with staff going forth, C) Paser before a god and Hathor and a priest before Paser, and D) Paser adoring possibly Osiris and possibly a boat.¹²⁶³ I was unable to find photos or drawings of the scene and its text. Photographs of the wall do exist in the MMA Photos Series T held at the Griffith Institute.

Pillar B

Face A – Paser and Seti I

¹²⁶¹ Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, I/1, 222.

¹²⁶² Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, I/1, 222.

¹²⁶³ Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, I/1, 222.

Upper Register¹²⁶⁴

[...] [mn-mꜣꜣ-r]ꜣ [...] [stj-mr-n]-pth dj ꜣnh mj rꜣ dt

ṯꜣy-ḥw ḥr [sw n jmnt] jmy-r njwt ṯꜣty [s]šm ḥb n jmn pꜣsr mꜣꜣ ḥrw dd.f jnd-ḥr.k nfr nṯr ḥr ḥꜣ m
wꜣst m [...] n [...] dw.f pw n ꜣnh [...] jry ḥm.k pꜣy.f ꜣḥꜣ dj.k ḥtp bꜣk jm mḥnw.f mj ḥm ꜣḥ n nb.f jmj
dd srw smrw wꜣdwy ḥpr n.f sp nfr n šms ḥm.k wd.k n.j dj.k ph.j jmnt wꜣst mj ḥsy.k nb n kꜣ n
jmy-r njwt ṯꜣty pꜣsr mꜣꜣ ḥrw

[...] [Men-ma'at-Re] [...] [Seti Mer-n-Ptah] given life like Re forever.

Fanbearer on [the right hand] of the king, overseer of the city, vizier, who [le]ads the festival of Amun, Paser, true of voice, he says: Hail to you, good god, Horus, appearing in Thebes in [...] of [...] This is his mountain of life [...] your majesty will spend his lifetime. May you grant (your) humble servant rest in it as a servant profitable to his lord. Let the nobles and friends of the king say: How happy is what happened to him. A good event for one who follows your majesty, which was assigned to you. May you cause that I reach West Thebes like all of your favored ones. For the soul of the overseer of the city, vizier, Paser true of voice.

Lower Register: Hymn to Seti I

For translations see *RITA I*, 243–244 and Frood, *Biographical Texts from the Ramesside Egypt*, 148–151.

Face B – Paser Before a Deity and a Priest Anointing Paser¹²⁶⁵

¹²⁶⁴ Kitchen, *KRI I*, 298–299 (g); Kitchen, *RITA I*, 243.

¹²⁶⁵ Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, I/1, 222–223.

I was unable to find photos or drawings of these scenes.

Face C – Paser before Osiris and Isis and Priest Offering Libations to Paser¹²⁶⁶

I was unable to find photos or drawings of these scenes.

Face D – Workshop and Family Cult¹²⁶⁷

Upper Register – Paser offering Incense to Amenhotep I and Ahmose Nefertari

nfr ntr [ḏsr-kʿ-rʿ] sꜣ rʿ[jmn-ḥtp ntr] ḥm[tt mwt ntr swt ḥm(t) wr(t)] nbt [tꜣwy] jʿḥ-ms-nfrj-try

Good god, [Djoser-ka-Re], Son of Re, [Amenhotep] (and) the [god's wife, mother of the god, royal great wife], lady of the [two lands], Ahmose-Nefertari

*jrt sntr ḳbhꜣw [n rʿ m wbn(.f) n ꜣtm] m ḥtp.f n [mꜣʿt m ḥꜣt wjꜣ n ḏḥwty n ꜣst n wrt-ḥkꜣw n sw kꜣ n
jmn-ḥtp n ḥmt ntrmḥt ntr wrt ḥnrwt n jmn jʿḥ-ms-nfrj-ty] ḏj.sn šsp.j snw pr m-[bꜣḥ.sn] snm.j
ḥtpt ʿḳw ḥr wdḥw n [nbw] wꜣst jw jr.wt n-j st m wjꜣ [hrw] ḥnt dwꜣ-ntr n kꜣ n jmy-r njwt tꜣty
pꜣ[sr mꜣʿ ḥrw]*

Making incense and libation [to Re when (he) rises, to Atum] when he rests, to [Ma'at at the prow of the barque, to Thoth, to Isis, to Werethekau, to the royal ka of Amenhotep, (and) to

¹²⁶⁶ Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, I/1, 223.

¹²⁶⁷ Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, 2, I, pl. clxx[1]; Kenneth A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical*, III (Oxford: B. H. Blackwell, 1980), 4–5; Kenneth A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions: Translated & Annotated: Translations*, III (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), 3–4.

the god's wife, mother of the gods, chief of the musical performers of Amun, Ahmose Nefertari]. May they cause that I might receive the offerings that issue [out of their presence]. May I consume the offerings and provisions on the offering table of the [lords] of Thebes. May a place be made for me in the barque (on) the [day] of rowing the morning-god. For the *ka* of the overseer of the city, vizier, Pa[ser, true of voice].

Lower Register – Paser's brother makes an offering to Paser and his mother

[Wsjr jmy-r njwt tꜣty pꜣsr mꜣꜥ ḥrw sꜣ sꜣb ḥm-nꜥr tpy n jmn nb nꜥrw mꜣꜥ ḥrw ḏd.n.f trj mꜣꜥ ḥrw mwt=f wr(t) ḥnrwt n jmn-rꜥ mryt]

[The Osiris, overseer of the city, vizier, Paser, true of voice, son of the dignitary, high priest of Amun, Nebnetru, true of voice, who was called Turi, true of voice, and his mother, chief of the musical performers of Amun-Re, Meryet]

Over Paser's Brother

[kꜣḥw jpn n wsjr jmy-r njwt tꜣt pꜣsr mꜣꜥ ḥrw mwt.f wrt ḥnrwt] n jmn [mryt] mꜣꜥ ḥrw pr ḥr sꜣ.[...] prw ḥr ḥrw [jj.n.j jnj n.k] jrt ḥr kꜣb ḥ[r.k] tꜣwt m n.k mw rwd [pr jm.k] jmj prwt [n.k ḥry] prwt n.k ḥry wꜣb sp 4 sn.f tꜣtj [mꜣꜥ ḥrw]¹²⁶⁸

[These libations are for the Osiris, overseer of the city, vizier, Paser, true of voice (and) his mother, chief of the musical performers] of Amun, Meryet, true of voice. (Oh),¹²⁶⁹ the one

¹²⁶⁸ The hieroglyphs as recorded in Kitchen appear to have a variation of M16. Based on the context and other scenes from this tomb like Pillar C, Face C, I have interpreted it as referring to the phrase *mꜣꜥ ḥrw*.

¹²⁶⁹ Kitchen, *RITA III*, 4.

that comes for with [her] son, [...] the one that comes forth with Horus: [I have come bringing to you] the eye of Horus, [your possessions] have doubled (at) your sandals. Take to yourself the enduring water [which issues from you]. Come! One comes forth [for you under,] one comes forth for you above, pure repeated four times, by his brother Taty, [true of voice].

Pillar C

Face A ¹²⁷⁰

Bottom Register – Paser and a woman before emblem of Anubis

*jrt sntr kbḥw jmy-wt [...] ʿ nṯr [...]t sh nṯr ḥry sšṯ n wn-nfr dj[.f] [...] wḏḏ ḥṯ ḥnʿ wj rwd m ḥr(t)-
nṯr jr.tw n.j mjtt nn (jr.)n.k¹²⁷¹ n ntj ḥr mr(y).k jmj jwf.j ḥr ʿwy wtw [...] wʿbt [...] n [...] sn.t.f mr.f
[...] wrt ḥnrwt n jmn tjy (mʿ ḥrw)¹²⁷²*

Making incense and libations (to) He-who-is-in-the-Embalmeries [...] great god [...] booth of the god, head of the secrets of Wen-nefer. May [he] cause that [...] the corpse be uninjured and the mummy endure in the necropolis. May the same as this be done for me, after you (did) for who you love. Cause that my flesh be in the arms of the embalmers [...] place of

¹²⁷⁰ Kitchen, *KRI I*, 300; Kitchen, *RITA I*, 244–245.

¹²⁷¹ Kitchen notes a small mark here without further notation. I suggest it might be understood as *jr* based on the sentence composition.

¹²⁷² The hieroglyphs as recorded in Kitchen have M2. Based on the context and other reliefs from this tomb like Pillar C, Face C, I have interpreted as meaning *mʿ ḥrw*.

embalming [...] of [...] his sister who he loves [...] chief of the musical performers of Amun, Tiy, true of voice.

Face B – Paser adores Osiris and Isis & priest censes and libates before Paser and mother¹²⁷³

I was unable to find photos or drawings of these scenes from which to translate.

Face C – Paser's brother offers to Paser¹²⁷⁴

*rpꜥt ḥꜣt-ꜥ tꜣty sꜣb r nkn ḥm-nꜥr mꜣꜥ ḥm-nꜥr tpy n wrt-ḥkꜣw jmy-r njwt tꜣty pꜣsr mꜣꜥ ḥrw jrt sntr
ꜣbḥw ḥt nbt nfꜣrt wꜣbt m t ḥnꜣt kꜣw ꜣpdw wꜣb sn 2 n kꜣ.k hrww jn sn.f ḥry jḥw tꜣtj mꜣꜥ ḥrw*

Hereditary noble, mayor, he of the shroud, dignitary of Neken, priest of Ma'at, high priest of Werethekau, leader of the city, vizier, Paser, true of voice. Making incense and libations and all good and pure things made of bread, beer, oxen, and fowl. Pure, pure for your *ka* (for) days¹²⁷⁵ by his brother, head of the stables Taty, true of voice.

Face D¹²⁷⁶

Upper Register: Divine Nursing Scene

¹²⁷³ Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, I/1, 223.

¹²⁷⁴ Kitchen, *KRI I*, 300; Kitchen, *RITA I*, 245.

¹²⁷⁵ Kitchen understands this as “daily,” Kitchen, *KRI I*, 245.

¹²⁷⁶ Kitchen, *KRI I*, 300; Kitchen, *RITA I*, 245.

nṯr nfr nb t3[wy] [...]

njswt nḥt jr mn[w] [...]

ḡd mdw jn ḥt-ḥr jnk mwt(.k) [...]

ḳm3t nfr.k snḳ(.j) n.k m jrṯt(.j) [...]

Good God, Lord of the [Two] Lands [...]

Strong King, who made the monument [...]

Words spoken by Hathor: I am (your) mother [...]

who creates your beauty. (I) create you by means of (my) milk [...]

mn-m3t-rḥ nfr nṯr jmn [...] bhḏt nṯr 3 s3b šwt bhḏt(y) nṯr 3 s3b šwt nb pt

Men-ma'at-Re, good god, Amun [...] Behedet, Great God, Many-coloured of feathers,

Behedet, Great God, Variegated of Feathers, Lord of the Sky

Lower Register: Barque of Sokar

nb t3wy wsr-m3t-rḥ stp.n-rḥ

nb ḥw rḥ-msj-sw mrj-jmn

mrj skr-wsjr

Lord of the Two Lands, User-ma'at-Re, Setep-en-Re

Lord of Appearances, Ramesses, Mery-Amun

Beloved of Sokar-Osiris

pth-skr-wsjr nb p[...]t j[...]

Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, Lord of [...]

Pillar D

Face A – Paser adoring Osiris and Ma'at¹²⁷⁷

Over Paser

*dwꜣ wsjr hnt jmnt wnn-nfr hkꜣ dt jn jmy-r njwt tꜣty pꜣsr mꜣꜥ hrw dd.f jj.n(.j) hr.k hr.j hr mꜣꜥt nn
jsftw m ht.j nn dd.j grg m rh.j nj jr(.j) sp sn*

Adoring Osiris, foremost of the Westerners, Wennefer, ruler of eternity by the overseer of the city, vizier, Paser, true of voice, he says: My face has come near to you possessing *ma'at*. There is no falsehood in my body. I do not speak a lie as I know. (I) will not act.¹²⁷⁸ Repeated twice.

Over Deities

wsjr nb dsr hꜣst hry-jb tꜣ-wr [...] hnt jgrt

Osiris, Lord of the land of sacred lands, who is in the midst of Abydos [...] lady of the land of the dead

¹²⁷⁷ Kitchen, *KRI III*, 5; Kitchen, *RITA III*, 4.

¹²⁷⁸ The translation of this final part is not entirely clear.

Face B

According to PM, the upper register shows Paser and his mother and the lower register possibly shows Paser's brother before Paser.¹²⁷⁹ I was unable to find photos or drawings of these scenes from which to translate. It may appear in MMA photos T. 2941–2943.

Face C

According to PM, the upper register shows Paser before Re-Horakhty and Ma'at and the lower shows Paser's son, Taty censuring and libating before Paser.¹²⁸⁰ I was unable to find photos or drawings of these scenes from which to translate. It may appear in MMA photos T. 2941–2943.

Face D – Going Forth to the Valley Festival¹²⁸¹

rn prt m hrw r sꜣb rꜥ jrt hprw m hp[r] [...] tꜣy-hw hr wnmy nsw jmy-r njwt tꜣty pꜣsr mꜥ hrw sꜣ sꜣb
hm tpy ntr n jmn nb-ntrw mꜥ hrw dd.w.n.f trj mꜥ hrw jr.n wrt hnrwt n jmn mryt dd.f j wbn jrk
jmn-r-hr-ꜣhty hꜥ.t m jtn.k psd.[t] m rꜥ wbn.t m nswt ntrw dj.k mꜣ.j [...] s [twꜣ] nfr.w.k jry.j hnw
n [...] shꜥtp.j wd [...] jr.n(.j) n.k mꜥt dj sꜣt.k pw ꜥnh.k jm.s wnn.s [...] r.j [...]nt šm.s r.j hpt.n
hmt.s šnbt.j dj.j hnm.j st n mꜥty [...] r-gs nbw nhꜥ prw hr bꜣ.j hft njs.n.f r šsp hꜥtp dfꜣw dd.f j

¹²⁷⁹ Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, I/1, 223.

¹²⁸⁰ Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, I/1, 223.

¹²⁸¹ Kitchen, *KRI III*, 6; Kitchen, *RITA III*, 4–5; Scrivens, “Goddesses in Ramessid Egypt,” 74–77; Siegfried Schott, *Das schöne Fest vom Wüstentale. Festbräuche einer Totenstadt*, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozial-wissenschaftlichen Klasse, Jahrgang 11, (Mainz, Wiesbaden: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur; Kommission Franz Steiner Verlag, 1953), 869 [810].

*nb.j ntr.j njwt.j jmn nb nst t3wy dj.k wn.j m-m tp-ww 3hw jkrw dw3.j hm.k hnm.k d3tt jmnt hft-
hr-nb-s jw.j m tp n nty me šms.w.k m hb.k nfr n jnt šsp.j w3b hbs fh.j ky mj hsy.k nb n k3 n wsjr
ššm hb n jmn jmy-r njwt t3[ty p3-sr m33 hrw]*

Name of going out in the day to adore Re and to transform oneself into [...] fan-bearer on the right of the king, overseer of the city, vizier, Paser, true of voice, son of the dignitary, high priest of Amun, Nebnetru, true of voice, who was called Terj, true of voice, begot of the chief of the musical performers of Amun, Mereyt, he say: O! Shining, Amun-Re-Harakhty as you appear in your disk as you gleam like Re as you shine like the king of the gods. May you cause that I might see [...] [praise?]¹²⁸² your beauty and that I might make jubilation for [...] May I satisfy the command [...] I have done right (*ma'at*) for you. It means that your daughter causes you live. May she be [...] me [...] [without]¹²⁸³ her going to me. Her majesty has embraced my breast. May she cause that I join the place of truth [...] beside the lords of eternity, a procession for my *ba* when it was summoned in order to accept food offerings. He says: O! My lord, my god of my city, Amun, lord of the throne of the two lands. May you cause that I be among the ancestors and excellent transfigured ones. May I praise your majesty (when¹²⁸⁴) you enter the western estate, Cheft-her-neb-es. I am at the head of those who are following you in your Beautiful Festival of the Valley. May I receive a pure garment so that I might get rid of another like all your favored ones. For the *ka* of the Osiris, leader of the festival of Amun, overseer of the city, viz[ier, Paser, true of voice].

¹²⁸² Kitchen, *RITA III*, 5.

¹²⁸³ Kitchen reconstructs this as a possible negation (*nn*) but the hieroglyphs are unclear, Kitchen, *RITA III*, 5.

¹²⁸⁴ Kitchen, *RITA III*, 5.

Pillar E

Face A

According to PM, the upper register shows Paser adoring Re-Horakhty and the lower register Paser and his mother adoring. I was unable to find photos or drawings of these scenes from which to translate. It may appear in MMA photos T. 2951–2954.

Face B

For the hymn to Osiris see *KRI* III, 6–7 and *RITA* III, 5–6.

Face C

According to PM, the upper register shows Paser and his mother adoring Osiris and the lower register Paser being purified. I was unable to find photos or drawings of these scenes from which to translate. It may appear in MMA photos T. 2951–2954.

A portion of the text associated with Paser is recorded in MS. Wilkinson dep. e.59, fol.273:

Left column

dwꜣ wsjr ḥnt jmtt wnn-nfr ḥkꜣ ḏt jn jmy-r njwt tꜣty pꜣsr mꜣꜣ ḥrw

Adoring Osiris, foremost of Thebes, Wenn-nefer, ruler of eternity (by) the overseer of the city, vizier, Paser, true of voice

Right column

dwꜣ wsjr sꜣ nwt wtt gb rpꜥt nb nb.w njswt njswtw

Adoring Osiris, son of Nut, begotten of Geb, the hereditary noble, lord of lords, king of kings

Face D

For a translation of the hymn to Seti I see *KRI* I, 245–246; *RITA* I, 300–301.

Pillar F

Face A

I was unable to find any record of what appears on this face of the pillar.

Face B

According to PM, this face contains a text from the Book of the Dead. I was unable to find photos or drawings of these scenes from which to translate.

Face C

Selection of the Book of the Dead and the titles of Paser¹²⁸⁵

Face D

Song of the Harper¹²⁸⁶

Pillar G

Face A

For a translation of the hymn to Ramesses II see *KRI* III, 8–9; *RITA* III, 7–8, and Frood, *Biographical Texts from the Ramesside Egypt*, 151–153.

Face B

According to PM, the upper register shows Paser and his mother adoring Osiris and Isis and the lower register Paser and possibly his mother offering.¹²⁸⁷ I was unable to find photos or drawings of these scenes from which to translate. It may appear in MMA photos T. 2961–2964.

¹²⁸⁵ Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, I/1, 223–224. See an image in Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, 2, I, pl. clxx[2].

¹²⁸⁶ Kitchen, *KRI* III, 7–8; Kitchen, *RITA* III, 6–7.

¹²⁸⁷ Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, I/1, 224.

Face C

According to PM, this face shows Paser with a staff going forth. I was unable to find photos or drawings of these scenes from which to translate. It may appear in MMA photos T. 2951–2954.

Face D

According to PM, this face shows Paser and mummy of this father.¹²⁸⁸ I was unable to find photos or drawings of these scenes from which to translate. It may appear in MMA photos T. 2951–2954.

Pillar H

Face A – Paser before Mertseger¹²⁸⁹

Upper Register

*jrt sntr n mrt-sgr n wrt-ḥꜣw ḥrt-tp m pr-ns[r] shmt sp 2 sꜣt sp 2 ḥtpyt sp 2 ḥw.tw nswt mn-
mꜣt-rꜣ m ḥnḥ ḡḡ wꜣs nb jn rpꜣ ḥꜣty-ꜣsꜣb n wꜣḏty ḥm-nꜥr tpy n wrt-ḥꜣw jmy-r njwt tꜣty pꜣsr mꜣꜣ
ḥrw*

¹²⁸⁸ Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, I/1, 224.

¹²⁸⁹ Kitchen, *KRI I*, 301; Kitchen, *RITA I*, 246; Scrivens, “Goddesses in Ramessid Egypt,” fig. 9, pg. 74–77. Lower portion of the scene only appears in Scrivens thesis.

Offering incense to Meretseger to Werethekau, head over Per-neser, Sekhmet, repeated twice, Fire, repeated twice, Peaceful one, repeated twice, so that the king Men-ma'at-Re may be equipped with all life, stability, and dominion by the hereditary, mayor, dignitary of the two serpent goddesses, high priest of Werethekau, overseer of the city, vizier, Paser, true of voice.

Lower Register

*jrt sntr n nbt pt n jrt n jrt r' dd mdw 'bw(.j) bw[.tj]¹²⁹⁰ [s]ntr.t(j) wrt-ḥkꜣw wꜣdyt nbt pr wr
 ḥnwt pr-nsr shmt nsrt wꜣdy(t) dp p wnwꜣt mnḥyt [njw]t š.s ḥwt wrt rsnt mḥnt nbt sšntj nbt
 [ḥꜣbs] nbt-ḥtpt tꜣyt [...] ḥkn [...]f] ḥr jt.s 'bw.tj 'bw mjb dm.n mj' n' b¹²⁹¹ shdw-pt¹²⁹² 'bw.tj 'bw
 ḥꜣbt dmj.n ḥꜣbt shd pt 'bw.k ḥr sntr.k sth 'bw.tn ntrw-tꜣyw sntr.tn ntr.wt ḥmwt¹²⁹³ stp.tn [sꜣ].tn
 ḥr wrt-ḥkꜣw shmt nsrt [...] shtp.tj ntr nb ntrt nb(t) 'wy.sn mḥ mrwt.tj ḥtp ḥrt nfr [n] njwt bjtj
 nb tꜣwy nb jr(t) ḥt wsr-mꜣ't-r' stp-n-r' sꜣ r' nb ḥ'w r'-mss mry-jmn dj 'nh nfr [m...] jn wsjr (j)r(j)-
 p't ḥꜣt-ḥtmw jmy-'m pr-nswt ḥꜣtwꜣt n sr(w) wꜣs(t) m 'ḥ dd.tw.n.f n [...]t] m [...] jmnwt r.f mḥ
 'nhwy n [ḥr] m mꜣ't hry.tw ḥr prw n r.f sꜣb ḥꜣy [...] jmy-r jmyw n nb tꜣwy ḥm ntr tpy n wrt-ḥkꜣw
 [...] tꜣy-ḥw ḥr wnmy [nsw] jmy-r njwt tꜣty pꜣsr [ms mryt]*

Offering incense to the lady of the sky for the uraeus, for the eye of Re. Words to speak¹²⁹⁴:

My purification is your purification. May you be censured Werethekau, Wadjet, lady of the Per-

¹²⁹⁰ Reconstruction based on Scrivens's translation.

¹²⁹¹ Scrivens translates the words I understood as *mjb*, "axe," as *mjbst* and *mjsbj*, translated as the "miset-crest" or the back portion of the red crown, Scrivens, "Goddesses in Ramessid Egypt," 79.

¹²⁹² Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch*, 739.

¹²⁹³ See Scrivens, "Goddesses in Ramessid Egypt," footnote 17.

¹²⁹⁴ Scrivens reconstructs *sp* 3 here adding "spoken three times," Scrivens, "Goddesses in Ramessid Egypt," 76.

wer, mistress of Per-neser, Sekhmet, Nesert, Wadjet of Dep and Pe, Wenut, Menhyt of the [cit]y of her pool, the one of the Hut-weret,¹²⁹⁵ the one of Resent and Mehnet, Nebetseshet, Nebet[khabes], Nebethetepet, Taitet, [...] praised by her father. You have become pure. The axe is pure. The axe pierced the shining sky. You have become pure. May the curl be pure. The curl has touched the shining sky. May you be pure, Horus. May you be censured, Seth. May you be pure, gods. May you be pure, goddesses. May you protect Werethekau, Sekhmet, the fiery one [...] You are satisfied (by) all gods and all goddesses. Their arms are filled (with?)¹²⁹⁶ what you love. May your beautiful face be gracious [to] the Dual King, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of action, User-ma'at-Re Setep-en-Re, Son of Re, Lord of Appearances, Ramesses Mery-Amun, given life and beauty [in...] by the Osiris, regent, count, seal keeper, overseer in the palace, the first of the officials of Thebes in the palace, he to which it is said [...] hidden from him, who fills the ears of [Horus] with *ma'at*, the one who pleases with what comes from his mouth, dignitary of the altar, [...] overseer of those who are in (the chamber)¹²⁹⁷ of the Lord of the Two Lands, high priest of Werethekau [...] fan-bearer on the right hand of the king, overseer of the city, vizier, Paser, [born of Meryt].

¹²⁹⁵ See Scrivens, "Goddesses in Ramessid Egypt," footnote 8.

¹²⁹⁶ Scrivens, "Goddesses in Ramessid Egypt," 76.

¹²⁹⁷ This is supplied by Scrivens, "Goddesses in Ramessid Egypt," 77.

Face B

PM record that this face shows Paser's mother embracing him.¹²⁹⁸ I was unable to find photos or drawings of these scenes from which to translate. It may appear in MMA photos T. 2965–2969.¹²⁹⁹

Face C – Paser going out to Rosetau¹³⁰⁰

[...] sšm ḥtp r rstꜥw dd mdw jn wsjr jmy-r njwt tꜥty [...photo cuts off...] ms [...] wrt šḥm [...] wnn.tn n.j [...] ḥr(t)-nꜥr jnk s ḥ [...] ʿrk n bꜥ n [figure of a deity] r šn [...]mn mr jmntt wꜥst [...] nꜥr swt(?) mꜥꜥ.f nb.f [...] m nb(?) .f n [...] dj.f n [...] tꜥw(?) r ḥtp m st mr.t(?) .f jmy-r njwt tꜥty pꜥ[sr mꜥꜥ ḥrw]

[...] lead offering to Rosetau, words spoken by the Osiris, overseer of the city, vizier [Paser, true of voice] [...] born of [Meryt?] chief [...] You exist for me [...] necropolis. I [...] swear to the *ba* of [deity] to bind [...] beloved of [...] Western Thebes [...] goods of Upper Egypt(?). May he see his lord(?) of [...] May he give to [...] sail(?) to the altar in the place of his love(?), overseer of the city, vizier, Pa[ser, true of voice]

¹²⁹⁸ Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, I/1, 224.

¹²⁹⁹ Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, I/1, 224.

¹³⁰⁰ The only record of this pillar I could find is the photograph, "Schott Photos," Schott 3570. Though the top portion of the text is lost, much of the remaining is still present in the photo but difficult to read. I have done my best to translation those hieroglyphs that are legible in the photo.

Face D

PM record that this face shows Paser censuring and libating over offerings. I was unable to find photos or drawings of these scenes from which to translate. It may appear in MMA photos T. 2964–2969.

Architraves

PM records that an image of baboons adoring the Barque of Re appears between Pillars D and E and text appears elsewhere.¹³⁰¹ I was unable to find photos or drawings of these scenes from which to translate. According to PM, portions appear in MMA 2933, 2937, 2941, 2951, 2961, 1965, 2946, 2950-2951 and Burton MSS 25644, 76, 79.¹³⁰²

¹³⁰¹ Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, I/1, 224.

¹³⁰² Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, I/1, 224.

Appendix 4: Translations of Stelae for Chapter 4

Stelae EA689 (Cat.2.3)¹³⁰³

ḥwt-ḥr nbt dsr ḥr-jbt ʾḥ-st ḥnwt nṯrw

“Hathor, lady of Djeser, within the Akh-aset, Lady of the Gods.”

Stelae Fragment from Medinet Habu MH 29.363 (Cat.1.49)¹³⁰⁴

In front of goddess

mwt wrt nbt jšrw nbt pt ḥnwt nṯrw nbw

Mut, the great, Lady of Ishru, lady of the sky, mistress of all the gods

Above figures

sdm-š m st mʾt sn-nḏm

s3.f sdm-š m st mʾt ḥnsw [...]

mwt.f nbt pr jyy-nfṛt [j?]

¹³⁰³ Translation based on photograph on British Museum website, “stela,” British Museum EA689, accessed 14 January 2025, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA689.

¹³⁰⁴ Translation based primarily on Teeter, “A Stela of the Family of Sennedjem,” fig. 2. See also Teeter’s translation in Teeter, “A Stela of the Family of Sennedjem,” 312–313.

Servant in the Place of Truth, Sennedjem

His son, Servant in the Place of Ma'at, Khonsu [...]

His mother, lady of the house, Innofret [...]

Stela from Houses at Deir el-Medina, ÄM 21561 (Cat.1.54)¹³⁰⁵

ḥwt-ḥr ḥrj-tp wꜣst

Hathor who is over Thebes

Stela of Tree-Goddess and Ramesses II (Cat.1.46)¹³⁰⁶

dj[...]w n nwt mwt mst nṯrw snḳ tꜣ n wsjr-wn-nfr

njsw.t bjtj wsr-mꜣt-rꜥ [stp.n-rꜥ] sꜣ-rꜥ rꜥ-msj-sw mrj-jmn

[...] nfr [...]

Given [...] by Nut, mother who bore the gods, nurse of the land of Osiris Wennefer

Dual King, User-ma'at-Re [Setep-en-Re] Son of Ra Ramesses Mery-Amun [...] beautiful [...]

¹³⁰⁵ Translation based on Figure 53, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin - Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Inv. No. ÄM 21561, Photographer: Unknown.

¹³⁰⁶ Translation based on Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir El Médineh*, fig. 37, page 118.

Stelae in Chapel C (Cat.1.50)¹³⁰⁷

Upper register

njsw.t bjtj nb t3.wy wsr-m3't-r' mry-[jmn] s3-r' nb h'w r'-msj-sw hk3-jwnw

dd mdw jn r'-hr-3h.ty ntr 3 nb p.t dj.n(=j) n=k hb-sd.w n r' nswyt n jtm m jwnw

Dual King, Lord of the Two Lands, User-ma'at-Re Mery-[Amun], Son of Re, Lord of Appearances, Ramesses, heka-junu

Words spoken by Ra-Harakty, great god, Lord of the Sky: I have given you the *heb-sebs* of Re, the kingship of Atum in Heliopolis.

dd mdw jn mrt-sgr hnt jmnt dj.n.j n.k t3tn¹³⁰⁸ t3-tnn nswjt hr m p s3 'nh h3.f nb mj r'

Words spoken by Meretseger, mistress of the west: (I) have given you the throne of Tatenen, the kingship of Horus in Buto, and all protection, life, and around him like Re

wsr-m3'-r' mry-jmn r'-msj-sw hk3-[jwnw] mj r' dt

User-ma'at-Re Mery-Amun, Ramesses heka-[junu] like Re forever

dd mdw jn jmn-r' njsw ntrw nb pt hk3 ws(r) dj.n(.j) n.k 'h'w n r' hpš.k r pdtw

¹³⁰⁷ Translations based on Bruyère, *Mert Seger à Deir El Médineh*, 34–37, pl. IV; Lepsius, *LD*, III, 218c; Kitchen, *KRI* V, 90–91; Kitchen, *RITA* V, 68–71.

¹³⁰⁸ Erman and Grapow, *WB*, V, 384–385; Karlova and Safronov, “Риторическая стела Рамсеса III,” 125.

Words spoken by Amun-Re, king of the gods, Lord of the Sky, ruler of Thebes: (I) have given you the lifetime of Re, that your arm may be greater than the bows.

User-ma'at-Re Mery-Amun, Ramesses Heka-iunu like Re forever.

Lower register

ḥḥ ḥr k3-nḥt ʿ3-nsyt nbty wr-ḥbw-sd-mj-t3-tnn ḥr nbw wsr-rnpwt-mj-jtm [j]ty mʿ.k kmt wʿf
ḥ3stw njsw bjty nb t3wy wsr-m3ʿt-rʿ mry-jmn s3 rʿ nb ḥʿw rʿ-msj-sw ḥk3-jwnw dj ʿnḥ ḥʿk.n.f ḥ3st
[...] rbj mšwš

May he live, Horus, Ka-nakht-aa-nesyt; Two Ladies, Wer-habu-sed-mj-ta-tenen; Golden
Horus, User-renput-mj-Atum, Sovereign who possesses Egypt, who subdues foreign lands;
Dual King, Lord of the Two Lands, User-ma'at-Re Mery-Amun; Son of Ra, Lord of
Appearances, Ramesses Heka-iunu given life. He has captured the foreign lands [...] (of) Reby
and Meshwesh.

dj.f d3y.w jtrw jnj r kmt st jr.w m nḥt pr nsw nḥt sdm.w mdt rmt ḥr šms nsw jry.f swḥ.t mdt.sn
p[...]f nsw.w šm.w ḥr t3 mjt jwty ḥ3j st

He has caused them to cross the river and be brought Egypt. They are made strong into a
strong home of the strong king, and they hear of the words of the people following the king.
He has caused their words to disappear. He has [...] their tongues. They went on the way that
they had not descended.

*njsw bjtj nb t3wy wsr-m3't-r' mry-jmn, s3 r' nb r'-msj-sw h3j-jwnw [...] jry.f hbhb h3stw t3 šmw m
n3syw tr3šy jrm dj.f kn.sn m [...] ph.w jw.sn d'tt nsw st jr.w(j) m kr'w kd'n.w šmsw hbs-bhtw hr
šmsw nswt*

Dual King, Lord of the Two Lands, User-ma'at-Re Mery-Amun, Son of Re, Lord of
Appearances, Ramesses Heka-iunu [...] He caused to be driven out of the southern lands the
Nubians, Tiriwayu¹³⁰⁹ and Aram. He caused them to cease from [...] their end. They came to
the estate of the king and they were made into shield-bearers, charioteers, retainers, and
fan-bearers in the retinue of the king.

*[...] [r'-msj-[sw] h3j-[jwnw] hr h3rw jry.f ptpt h3stw jw d3y n [...] f [...] [ht3]w prst trš m hr-jb p3
ym [...] m [...]*

[...] [Ra]mes[ses] Heka-[iunu] against Khor (Syria), He caused to be trampled the foreign
lands and isles who run over his [...] [...] sail the Pelest and the Turscha in the midst of the
sea [...] from [...]

*njsw bjtj nb t3wy wsr-m3't-r' mry-jmn s3-r' [...] [r'-msj-[sw] h3j-[jwnw] [...] [...] jry.f sksk [...] m r
km[t] djt jw.sn hr p3dw n h3ryt [...] sgn pdt.f h3st bštw jr.f tš [...] r jrt n.f jnj.f sn h'k r kmt sd.f n3y
3g3[p] [...] ht.w šm hr jj m n[3] dmjw htp dj.f kn.sn pr r bnr r wh3 n.sn 'nh njsw bjtj wsr-m3't-r'
mry-jmn s3-r' r'-msj-sw h3j-jwnw*

¹³⁰⁹ Kitchen translation but I have been unable to find reference to this word anywhere else, Kitchen, *RITA V*, 70.

Dual King, Lord of the Two Lands, User-ma'at-Re Mery-Amun, Son of Ra [...] [Ra]mes[ses]
heka-[lunu] [...] [...] He caused [...] to be destroyed [...] to Egypt, causing that they come on
their knees with dread [...] His troops weaken the rebellious foreign lands. He has caused [...]
to be smashed in order to prepare for it. He has brought them whom he captured to Egypt.
He has broken the inhabitants of the clouds(?)¹³¹⁰ [...] They retreat going and coming from
the towns in peace. He caused them to stop going outside to seek for themselves life. Dual
King User-ma'at-Re Mery-Amun, Son of Re, Ramesses Heka-iunu.

Stelae in Chapel E (Cat.1.51)¹³¹¹

Upper register

*njswt bjtj wsr- ḥꜣw-rꜣ stp.n-rꜣ mrj-jmn sꜣ-rꜣ stḥy mrj.n-ptḥ jmn-rꜣ njsw nṯrw mrj mwt wrt nb(t)
tꜣ jtrw ḥwt-ḥr nbt jmnt dj.n n.k ḥḥw m ḥb-s(d)*

Dual King, User-khau-Re Setepen-Re Mery-Amun, Son of Re, Seti Mery-n-Ptah, beloved of
Amun-Re, king of the gods, Mut the great one, lady of the land of Itru, (and) Hathor, lady of
the west, who have given you millions of *heb-seds*.

ḡḡ mdw jn jmn-rꜣ njsw nṯrw dj.n n.k ḥꜣw n rꜣ ptḥ nb pt njsw tꜣwy nfr ḥrj st wrt

¹³¹⁰ For further discussion on the possible translation of this word see Karlova and Safronov, “Риторическая стела Рамсеса III,” 127. For the word *ḡḡp* see Erman and Grapow, *WB*, I, 22, 140.

¹³¹¹ Bruyère, *Mert Seger à Deir El Médineh*, pl. VI.

Words spoken by Amun-Re, king of the gods, who has given you the lifetime of Re (and)

Ptah, Lord of the Sky, king of the two lands: The one upon the throne is good.

Lower register

[...] ʿnh [...] tɜwy [...] s[t] nṯr ʿ hk nṯrw

[...] life [...] two lands [...] throne, great god, ruler of the gods