

COMMUNICATION WITH THE DIVINE IN ANCIENT EGYPT:  
HEARING DEITIES, INTERMEDIARY STATUES AND SISTROPHORES

by

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## **ABSTRACT**

This thesis examines the desire for contact with deities in Egypt, the artistic and textual expression of which can be viewed as characteristic of ‘personal piety’. The attribution of hearing abilities to deities through epithets and phrases is evocative of human attempts to communicate with the divine sphere, and the Egyptian evidence is presented. A case study of so-called ‘intermediary statues’, which claim to facilitate communication between human and god, offers an opportunity to investigate how some members of the elite adapted their artistic output to take advantage of popular beliefs, furthering their own commemoration. Sistrophorous statues (bearing a naos-sistrum) are well-represented in the intermediary corpus, and their symbolism is explored alongside the significance of statue form and temple location in the context of communication with gods. The nature of the authority and power present in the communicative relationships between human, god and statue is considered, in part through the lens of compliance-gaining theory. It is argued that the notion of hearing deities and mediation provided humans with some power over their gods, and statue-owners with a means to maintain elite governance over what were ostensibly more personal and accessible modes of worship.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

ASAE:	<i>Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte</i>
BAR:	Breased 1906-07
BIFAO:	<i>Bulletin de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale</i>
BMFA:	<i>Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts</i>
BMSAES:	<i>British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan</i>
BSÉG:	<i>Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie Genève</i>
BSFE:	<i>Bulletin de la Société française d'Égyptologie</i>
CdÉ:	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i>
CDLI:	Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative, <a href="http://cdli.ucla.edu/">http://cdli.ucla.edu/</a> [accessed 22 March 16]
CG:	<i>Catalogue générale</i> (see Borchardt 1925-1934, Legrain 1914 and Josephson/El-damaty 2009)
ETCSL:	The Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature, <a href="http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/">http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/</a> [accessed 22 Mar 16]
ÉeT:	<i>Études et travaux</i>
GM:	<i>Göttinger Miszellen</i>
JARCE:	<i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</i>
JEA:	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
JNES:	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JSSEA:	<i>Journal of the society for the study of Egyptian antiquities</i>
KRI:	I – Kitchen 1975; III – Kitchen 1980; IV – Kitchen 1982; VII – Kitchen 1989
LÄ:	<i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i>
MDAIK:	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo</i>
MJbK:	<i>Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst</i>
MMJ:	<i>Metropolitan Museum Journal</i>
PM:	Porter, B. and Moss, R.L.B. <i>Topographical bibliography</i> (8 vols.) [superscript numbers indicate second edition]
PSBA:	<i>Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology</i>
RdÉ:	<i>Revue d'Égyptologie</i>
RevEg:	<i>Revue égyptologique</i> (later RdÉ)
RT:	<i>Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes</i>
SAK:	<i>Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur</i>
UCLA EE:	<i>University of California, Los Angeles, Encyclopedia of Egyptology</i>
Urk IV:	Sethe and Helck 1906-1961.
Urk IV	
Übersetzung:	Helck 1961
Wb:	Erman and Grapow 1971
ZÄS:	<i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i>

## **NOTE ON THE CHRONOLOGY**

The dynastic terms and chronology used within this work are mostly based on the conclusions of Hornung, Krauss and Warburton (eds.) 2006: chronology tabulated pages 490-495, and presented here in an adapted and abridged form relevant to the periods primarily discussed (all dates are approximate and BC unless otherwise noted). Unlike Hornung, Krauss and Warburton references to the 'Old Kingdom' in this thesis include the Third Dynasty, and those to 'Late Period' do not include the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, which is instead primarily understood as being part of the 'Third Intermediate Period'. Note that six of the sistrophorous statues compiled in Catalogue B (one of which is also in Catalogue A) can be dated no closer than Twenty-fifth to Twenty-sixth Dynasties; the re-emergence of this statue type is seen as an early Late Period (that is, Saite) phenomenon, but without closer dating of the six statues through cartouches it was felt best to group them separately.

<b>Old Kingdom</b>	<b>2592-2120</b>
Third Dynasty	2592-2544
Fourth Dynasty	2543-2436
Fifth Dynasty	2435-2306
Sixth Dynasty	2305-2118
Eighth Dynasty	2150-2118
<b>First Intermediate Period</b>	<b>2118-1980</b>
Ninth and Tenth Dynasties	
<b>Middle Kingdom</b>	<b>1980-1760</b>
Eleventh Dynasty	2080-1940
Twelfth Dynasty	1939-1760
<b>Second Intermediate Period</b>	<b>1759-1539</b>
Thirteenth Dynasty	1759-1630
Fourteenth and Fifteenth Dynasties	? -1530
Sixteenth and Seventeenth Dynasties	? -1540
<b>New Kingdom</b>	<b>1539-1077</b>
Eighteenth Dynasty	1539-1292
Ahmose	1539-1515
Amenhotep I	1514-1494
Thutmose I	1493-1483
Thutmose II	1482-1480
Hatshepsut	1479-1458
Thutmose III	1479-1425
Amenhotep II	1425-1400
Thutmose IV	1400-1390
Amenhotep III	1390-1353
Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten	1353-1336
Smenkhkare/Neferneferuaten	1336-1334
Neferneferuaten	1334- ?
Tutankhamun	? -1324
Ay	1323-1320
Horemheb	1319-1292

Nineteenth Dynasty	1292-1191
Ramesses I	1292-1291
Seti I	1290-1279
Ramesses II	1279-1213
Merenptah	1213-1203
Seti II	1202-1198
Amenmesses	1202-1200
Siptah	1197-1193
Tawosret	1192-1191
Twentieth Dynasty	1190-1077
Setnakht	1190-1188
Ramesses III	1187-1157
Ramesses IV	1156-1150
Ramesses V	1149-1146
Ramesses VI	1145-1139
Ramesses VII	1138-1131
Ramesses VIII	1130
Ramesses IX	1129-1111
Ramesses X	1110-1107
Ramesses XI	1106-1077
<b>Third Intermediate Period</b>	<b>1076-723</b>
Twenty-first Dynasty	1076-944
Twenty-second Dynasty	943-746
Twenty-third Dynasty	845-730
Twenty-fourth Dynasty	736-723
Twenty-fifth Dynasty	722-655
Piye/Piankhy	753-723
Shabaka	722-707
Shebitku	706-690
Taharqa	690-664
Tantamani	664-655
<b>Late Period</b>	<b>664-332</b>
Twenty-sixth Dynasty	664-525
Psamik I	664-610
Necho II	610-595
Psamtik II	595-589
Apries	589-570
Amasis	570-526
Psamtik III	526-525
Twenty-seventh Dynasty	525-404
Twenty-eighth Dynasty	404-399
Twenty-ninth Dynasty	399-380
Thirtieth Dynasty	380-343
Second Persian Period	343-332
<b>Graeco-Roman Period</b>	<b>332 BC – AD 395</b>

## **INTRODUCTION**

The aim of this study is to investigate communication between human and divine spheres through a variety of different fields, primarily: the written evidence for hearing deities, the functions and forms of statuary, theories of communication and compliance-gaining, and the significance of temple doorways and boundaries. In doing so, I hope to elucidate an area of Egyptian religion in which personal practices are synthesised with pre-existing, elite social structures, artistic traditions and beliefs. Complex relationships exist between the communicative parties, and consequently the balances of authority and power can fluctuate. I will highlight two of these relationships in particular – those between human supplicants and hearing gods, and between statue-owners and human supplicants – and explore the nature of the power held by each party.

### **I.1 Religious concepts**

#### **I.1.1 The purpose of religion and the need for contact with the divine**

Religion can have several purposes, not least explaining the world around us, providing guidance as to morals and lifestyle, and detailing the deity or deities which preside over the world and how followers are to worship them. It can provide comfort to those who fear death or experience times of suffering during life. Humans have an inherent desire to understand and experience their god(s), in order to lend meaning to their religion and thus to their life. For a religion to be successful, therefore, it should be relevant to people's lives, and they should be engaged by it. A religion with a deity by whom few people feel engaged – because of the gods' perceived distance from this world or close connection to kingship and the elite as opposed to the average individual, for instance – is not likely to hold much importance in

people's lives, and they will find other, more accessible methods of exploring their spirituality, perhaps through localised deities or personal gods. We can see this in ancient Egypt; the commonly-stated separation of 'state' and 'personal' religion in the scholarship has arisen from the archaeological separation of the religion of great temples, believed to be largely inaccessible, and the religion of the home and smaller community chapels.<sup>1</sup> Whilst there was no doubt overlap in the mythological basis of both 'state' and 'personal' practices – including the deities worshipped – localised and domestic traditions (and localised and domestic forms of gods) were necessarily more accessible to the residents of that community on a daily basis and thus more relevant to them: they grew out of the residents' needs and therefore could not have been closed to those same people.

Part of the connection and engagement with a religion is through contact with a deity(ies), thereby feeling as if divine being(s) have a direct impact upon one's life. In order to understand other people, animals and things around us, we use our senses to observe and experience them, and by means of these senses, the information is relayed to us so it can be processed; it is contact, therefore, with these people and things that helps us comprehend them. The natural corollary, therefore, is to suppose that contact with a deity will help us comprehend him or her. Methods by which many people attempt to establish some form of contact with their god(s) can be seen in every faith, ancient and modern – in some areas they strive for direct contact between supplicant and god, and the latter is thought to listen directly and respond, and in others a mediator is required.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For instance, Gunn 1916; Brunner 1982b: col. 951; Pinch 1993: 325; Luiselli 2008.

<sup>2</sup> As an example, Sikhism theologically rejects the idea of intermediaries, or at least those who have sole access to the divine, and focuses on the idea of experiencing the divine as an individual (Singh 2009: 3).

### I.1.2 Hearing deities

For Egypt, the differentiation between ‘personal’ and ‘state’ religious practices suggests that certain deities were considered more or less contactable by the general population depending on which of the two aspects of religion provided the primary context for their worship. Not only is it reasonable to assume that people would be able to contact a localised or personal deity directly, and by contrast contact with a ‘state’ deity would require an official mediator (the king or priests), but the latter also implies that fewer people would attempt to contact ‘state’ deities on a regular basis, because it was less easy to do so, and because the personal connection with the god was lessened by the presence of a mediating third-party. As a result the inaccessibility of these state deities would have been self-perpetuating. Nevertheless, it is clear that ‘state’ religions could accommodate ‘personal’ practices and beliefs, and there were times when contacting a major state deity was easier than others – oracular processions during festivals, for instance, allowed ordinary people to approach the image of a god (normally hidden in the temple), although even there it is likely that the image itself was concealed within a shrine, and priests carrying it acted as mediators to transmit the messages, questions and prayers from the people, and the responses from the god.<sup>3</sup>

Chapter One of this thesis will consider another aspect of Egyptian religion where ‘state’ and ‘personal’ coincided – deities ‘who hear prayers’. Epithets involving hearing deities were attached to a large number of gods, with some deities having many more attestations than others (see Appendix One). The concept of hearing deities seems to have developed from a more state- and kingship-based context to being a feature which enabled personal practices within the state sphere.

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<sup>3</sup> Blackman 1925; Stadler 2008: 7-8.

### I.1.3 The concept of mediation

A mediator can be anyone or anything that comes between two or more parties in order to facilitate communication.<sup>4</sup> They may be necessary because communication is difficult – perhaps the relationship between parties is fraught, or alternatively the distance between them is too great and thus a middleman is needed. In a religious context, the latter is particularly relevant, because the parties involved in the communication inhabit earthly and divine spheres, and thus it may be believed that only mediators with the skills to transcend the barrier between these worlds can establish contact. It is not necessary for mediators to proclaim this role themselves in order to be perceived as such. Indeed, even non-human or inanimate objects may be seen as a mediator of some kind – animals and astrological phenomena, for instance – and potentially intangible or abstract entities can also fulfil this purpose, such as sound.<sup>5</sup>

Situations with mediatory aspects are manifold, in both secular and religious contexts. For the former we might think of ambassadors acting as mediators for their own countries in diplomatic relations, or courtiers acting as spokespersons for the king and therefore dealing with petitions and facilitating access to the authorities. For the latter, the religious practices of ancient Egypt offer several examples.

On an ideological level, the king was the ultimate intermediary between humans and gods, but in practice it would have been rare for individuals, particularly those of lower status, to have direct contact with a pharaoh; the mediation being undertaken by the king was done

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<sup>4</sup> I have previously defined their role as ‘relaying back and forth to create a situation in which both parties agree, are content or are reconciled’: Simmance 2014a: 3-4.

<sup>5</sup> Aside from the magical properties of speech (Ritner 1993: esp. 35-38), Manniche (1991: 24) suggested that music was a means of transmitting offerings to the realm of the deceased, thereby acting as a kind of mediator between this world and the next – see also Simmance 2012. The use of sistra in communicating with deities, by invoking and calming them, is a particularly apposite parallel to the importance of music as a mediator.

on behalf of Egypt generally, benefiting the people indirectly. Indeed, the *ḥtp-dī-nsw* ('offering-which-the-king-gives') phrase which often appears in statue and stela inscriptions, although formulaic, nevertheless retains the mediating role of the king within its meaning. Priests were likely to have mediated between humans and gods, receiving offerings and votives from devotees, placing them before the cult image, and possibly engaging in direct communication with visitors, imparting knowledge and advice which would have authority and credibility as a result of their status.<sup>6</sup> During oracular consultations in festivals, the statue of the god was itself an embodiment of the divine, but again the priests carrying it would have clearly fulfilled an intermediary function, both through their direct contact with the statue, and through their interpretations of proclamations or movements of the god in response to petitions.

Deceased relatives could be entreated to use their influence in the afterlife with potentially benevolent gods and malevolent enemies to aid living family members. Animals (and thus their mummies) were physical manifestations of their respective deities, and sculpture such as statuary, reliefs and false-doors could act as physical substitutions for something or someone.<sup>7</sup> Mediatory mechanisms could be less tangible – personal names (discussed in the context of hearing deities, Chapter One) could mediate between gods and humans, bestowing divine favour or protection upon an individual.

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<sup>6</sup> The *ḥm-ntr wḥm* ('reporting god's servant'), a relatively rare priestly class, bears a name that indicates a relationship with the divine, whose words they would repeat, or to whom they would repeat prayers (Kees 1960).

<sup>7</sup> A process of imitative magic, whereby something existing in this world would exist simultaneously in another, is pertinent here.

## **I.2 Intermediary statues**

### **I.2.1 Texts, form and location**

Further evidence of the overlap of ‘state’ and ‘personal’ practices is revealed by the phenomenon of so-called intermediary statues. As with the definition of mediator above, an intermediary statue is one which comes between two (or more) parties to aid communication, in this case earthly (physical) and spiritual or divine (metaphysical) worlds. However, unlike the above definition, for the purpose of this thesis my corpus of intermediaries (see Appendix Two: Catalogue A) only contains those with inscriptions which make this function clear in some way. It is understood that all statues are essentially an intermediary of some kind, and it is likely that even statues without explicit inscriptions were used as mediators between the human and divine worlds.<sup>8</sup> Indeed, wear on statues attests to touching by living individuals as part of their veneration or use as mediators. Kreißl, who has also undertaken research on intermediary monuments, in fact states that written reference to the intermediary function is *not* an absolute indicator of mediating status, since there are statues with wear which do not have such inscriptions.<sup>9</sup> However, I hold that if it was common practice to view any statue as a mediator, then the choice to include such a claim in its inscription must, therefore, be significant, even if in practice only few people could read it – the fact that the person who commissioned the statue<sup>10</sup> dedicated space in the inscription for the statement of intermediary role, as opposed to other texts such as biographical information or offering formulae, implies a deliberate intention to highlight the already inherent function of the statue as a mediator.

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<sup>8</sup> A statue could have functioned as a representation of a deceased individual, through which people could contact them in the land of the dead.

<sup>9</sup> Kreißl 1989: 84. Note that only two of the statues which *do* have these inscriptions have noticeable wear of this type (the statues of Amenhotep son of Hapu, A.1 and A.2).

<sup>10</sup> For ease I will refer to this individual as the ‘statue-owner’ throughout, whilst acknowledging that the individual who is represented and the individual who set it up may have differed, for instance where a son dedicated a statue of his father.

Furthermore, the context in which the mediating function is stated is clearly religious, as opposed to mortuary (the communication is ultimately directed to a god in a temple, not to the deceased): the intermediaries encourage the ordinary people to express their personal beliefs in an elite, state environment. What is especially noteworthy, therefore, is that the statues deliberately aim to create a situation in which a mediator between supplicant and god is essential (otherwise their stated purpose is redundant) – they imply that the only way a deity will hear a worshipper is through the mediation of the statue(-owner).

In order to explore the purpose of mediation via statues in Egyptian religion, three chapters of this thesis (Two, Three and Four) will look more closely into the modest corpus of identifiable intermediaries, focusing on their texts, their forms, and their physical context. As has been made clear, the first of these three is the means by which I classify these statues as intermediaries, and I will explain in more detail the relevant text criteria which can be extracted from the inscriptions.

The examination of statue forms is essential as this would have contributed to the perception of a statue, particularly from the perspective of those who could not read the inscriptions. It will be seen that the majority of the ‘intermediary’ statues are of a ‘sistrophorous’ type – that is, one bearing a sistrum-feature of some kind, usually a naos-sistrum element, on the front of the statue. The sistrum is a cultic rattle,<sup>11</sup> whose basic components are a handle and jangling cross-bars fitted into an upper part shaped either as a simple loop or arch (arched-type, called *shm*), or as a stylised temple doorway (naos-type, called *sš.t*, an onomatopoeic term for the rattling sound that itself replicates the sound of

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<sup>11</sup> Ziegler 1979: 31-62; Ziegler 1984; Manniche 2001.

papyrus stalks as Hathor emerges from the marshes<sup>12</sup>). Commonly the handle takes the form of a goddess's face and neck, and in those cases the upper part acts as her headdress. The sistrum has associations with communication with goddesses and ritual practice. As such, I will survey a variety of statue forms, but will focus on the sistrophore (see Appendix Three: Catalogue B), particularly as it relates to the phenomenon of mediation in Egyptian religion. It will be seen that the identification of the vital feature, the sistrum, is not straightforward as it varies greatly in appearance, but the symbolism is surely shared by different styles, and is especially apposite for a statue attempting to demonstrate a connection with the divine.

The final aspect of statues given above, that of context (location), is more difficult to evaluate, since in most cases the original findspot of statues was not recorded properly (leaving us with only a general area or the name of the temple), or is not known at all. Even where a findspot is recorded, we cannot be certain without corroborating evidence that this was the original site, given that most elite statues are relatively small and portable and could have been moved in antiquity, if not in more recent times. Nevertheless, it is probable that the purpose of intermediary statues is the main clue as to their original, or at least intended, location – a statue purporting to create a communicative bond with the divine sphere on behalf of a human supplicant needs to be accessible to the latter, whilst being in close enough proximity to the deity as to make the perceived bond possible. This implies that accessible areas of a temple would be appropriate, in particular external walls and doorways. The separation between ordinary and consecrated areas as delineated by walls, and the implication of access that is provided by doorways, reflects the function of an intermediary and justifies an analysis of the theoretical concepts of these structures and how they relate to mediation.

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<sup>12</sup> Reynders 1998: 1020. I would argue that *sh̄m* is also onomatopoeic.

### I.2.2 Purpose

Egyptian statues were an elite product with several motivations, including self-presentation and -aggrandisement, and as such they can be used as a case study for an aspect of elite presentation in society. Consequently, *intermediary* statues could prove an informative avenue for assessing elite involvement in personal religious practices. Moreover, as it has been noted, intermediary statues represent an area in which ‘state’ and ‘personal’ religious practices – two purportedly separate facets of Egyptian religion – intersected. It may be fruitful to consider how these two facets influenced each other. It is particularly interesting to me how those involved in governing the ‘state’ aspect (the elite) may have used ideas formed in more personal practices to strengthen their own superior position in society. One aim of this thesis is to explore, in the context of hearing deities and intermediary statues, how religious ideas could have been exploited by the elite in order to reflect and validate social hierarchy. It is also noteworthy that anyone claiming to be a mediator between human and god is taking on a responsibility which was, in an ideal conception, the king’s role. A chronological survey of attestations of hearing deities and of intermediaries may reveal a political dimension to these religious developments, perhaps relating to how the king portrayed himself and how this affected the responsibilities held by the elite. Thus a socio-political analysis of hearing deities and especially of intermediary statues has at least two levels – the relationship between the elite and the people and the relationship between the elite and the king.

To some extent, in making use of religious developments to create and validate hierarchical frameworks, the elite were relying on the continued engagement of the public in order that their goals be executed successfully – without the involvement of the people, the

propagandistic nature of the statues' purpose would be ineffective. This creates a balance of power and authority whereby the statue-owner is superior in terms of status, but the user of the statue is a necessary part of the materiality of the statue,<sup>13</sup> and thus holds a certain amount of power themselves. It is possible that similar, complex power relationships exist between the supplicant and deities, of which hearing epithets and intermediary statues are the manifestation: in giving a god an epithet which denotes his ability to hear prayers, or in having a statue which purports to pass on the prayers of supplicants to the deities, with the implication that they will be heard and will receive a response, we might ask whether this is in fact a way to *ensure* a response from the deity. In other words, the statue, and the people hoping to be heard by the deity, have a level of power over the god, balancing the latter's obvious superiority in other respects. This may open up lines of enquiry into how the Egyptian people viewed the transcendence, omnipotence and efficacy of their gods – if they believed a god to be omniscient, why would they need to emphasise that the gods can hear prayers? Such views, in turn, may reflect the broader conceptions of personal relationships to deities and theodicy in the wake of changing political landscapes and instability, such as that during the Second Intermediate Period.

### **I.3 Communication and persuasion**

The concepts of hearing deities and intermediary statues have intrinsic foundations in the perceived ability to contact and communicate with divine beings, and communication itself involves complex layers of intention, contact and persuasion on one the hand (for the sake of

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<sup>13</sup> Price (2011a: 8-9, and references within) understands 'materiality' to mean 'physical engagement between people and objects'. Whilst I agree to some extent, I would go further to explain it as the *function* of the object, intended or not by its creator, which is enabled through that engagement – only through observation and use is the 'materiality' of an object brought into existence.

simplicity, from the perspective of the ‘speaker’) and reception, interpretation and understanding of the other (the ‘listener’). One area of thought which may illuminate such ideas further is communication theory; if we are to consider the act of communication with deities (and statues), we should also think about what ‘communication’ is, and the role of those involved. Defining ‘communication’ is not a simple task, and it is not the purpose of this thesis to explore this in detail. The field has produced models of varying levels of complexity to visualise the process. The original models, notably Shannon-Weaver,<sup>14</sup> were extremely linear and were clearly a product of mathematics and computer studies. Later developments moved towards more complex and dynamic models that allowed messages to be sent in more than one direction, and also emphasised the multiplicity of messages that can be sent simultaneously, especially since communication can be both verbal and non-verbal.<sup>15</sup> Many communication scholars now prefer to identify characteristics shared by the different cases of communication, or at least try to combine several in their definitions. Neuliep, for instance, explained that communication is a dynamic, transactional, symbolic, contextual and cultural process.<sup>16</sup> A basic, working definition has been suggested which embodies several aspects of the process and will suffice here: ‘communication is the relational process of creating and interpreting messages that elicit a response’.<sup>17</sup>

In the case of religion, a supplicant creates a message which, it is hoped, will be received and interpreted favourably by the god and will result in the desired outcome for the supplicant, in the form of an answered prayer or more general, divinely-bestowed beneficence such as a long life and good burial. The presence of a mediator adds other stages to this relational process between human and god.

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<sup>14</sup> Shannon 1948; Weaver and Shannon 1963.

<sup>15</sup> Bormann 1980: 84-88.

<sup>16</sup> Neuliep 1996: 2-5.

<sup>17</sup> Griffin 2009: 6.

All of the parties involved play specific roles and are necessary for effective communication – evidently communication is not successful if the message is either not created, or not received.<sup>18</sup> As such, there are several ideas connected to the power of both the ‘speaker’ and the ‘listener’, and to the idea of compliance-gaining through communication, which may be illuminating when applied to the Egyptian evidence. These will be briefly surveyed here.

### I.3.1 Communication theory

In §I.1.1, I suggested that humans have a basic need to communicate with their deities in order to feel that the divine world has an impact on their lives. A similar idea has been posited for the motivation of communication generally: the social need for a sense of belonging or affiliation, success and control (including reducing uncertainty).<sup>19</sup> The factors which govern the way we communicate, including shared culture, the communicator’s reliability and their self-perception, are applicable to all instances of communication, ancient and modern.

There are several ways of conceptualising communication, one of which is imagining it as a game (Game Theory itself is very closely linked to communication). No game is perfectly analogous to communication, not least because it is not necessarily the case that one party ‘wins’, and there may be more than one ‘move’ (message) being performed simultaneously. Simple game analogies are also flawed in that they rarely consider the imbalances in authority before communication begins – in my case study one of the players, the god, is clearly superior in terms of status, but they are the ‘listening’ party, so perhaps

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<sup>18</sup> On a similar idea, see Griffin 2009: 8-9. Compare, however, Gass and Seiter 2015: 27 on the possibility that ‘persuasion’, a form of communication, can still exist even if no-one is persuaded.

<sup>19</sup> Griffin 2009: 472-474.

their authority is not so clear cut. A few more comments on the status of a listener will be given below (§I.3.3).

One suggestion to illustrate communication through game theory is table tennis, in which players must switch roles, sending and receiving the ball (the message), and interpreting the passes and reacting accordingly.<sup>20</sup> This too is not perfect, but nevertheless, one unifying feature of game analogies is that one player makes a move with an intention behind it; the other player(s) have to interpret the move and adjust their response. The level to which intention is critical for classifying an act as communication is heavily debated – some believe that communication inherently involves a conscious intent to impact another party's behaviour or attitude.<sup>21</sup> On the other hand, some argue that all behaviour is communicative, and can be meaningful without intention.<sup>22</sup> In the gaming analogy, the first player takes on an active role and the second more passive, in that the first has a level of choice over how they want to make a move; in some respects, the former has the power of knowing their intention and can act in a way to try and influence the response in their favour. They also expect a response, and that expectation places an obligation upon the other player(s), otherwise the game does not continue. Play then passes to the second player, and they hold the power; in other words, throughout the course of a game the party in the active role changes, and so does their level of authority. We may be able to apply these ideas to the various acts of communication that take place in the context of contacting a deity, whereby the players are human supplicants, intermediary statues and the gods.

Intention is a fundamental part of much of the discussion in this project, as I will question what intention there was, for instance, behind the introduction of hearing epithets

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<sup>20</sup> Griffin 2009: 56 – note that Griffin prefers the comparison of charades.

<sup>21</sup> For instance, Miller 1966: 92.

<sup>22</sup> Watzlawick, Beavin and Jackson 1967; on the disagreement over definition, see Burgoon and Miller 1990: 230.

and behind the texts, form and location of intermediary statues. With regard to the latter, we cannot be sure that everything which could feasibly be read from a statue was made that way with intention – the material used, for instance, may be a deliberate indicator of status, or it may simply be what was available or what the individual could afford. Certain ideas intended at their creation may not have been comprehended in the context of a different time – the significance of particular titles, for instance, could change. Nevertheless, intention can be perceived, since decisions would have to have been made regarding which characteristics were to be preserved permanently; once the statue was made, it was not necessarily a simple process to change it. Consequently, it is not unreasonable to assume that a form, inscription or other feature would not be included on a statue arbitrarily – the statue-owner must have believed it would garner a reaction.

### I.3.2 Compliance-gaining and persuasion

I have hinted at the idea of a speaker influencing a response in the previous section. This thesis will use a subset of communication studies – persuasion and compliance-gaining – to consider the possibility of persuasive techniques present in the human–statue–god route of communication. Persuasion and compliance-gaining are related concepts, but are subtly different – persuasion involves an attempt to influence attitude or belief, whereas compliance-gaining relates to changes in *behaviour*.<sup>23</sup> Whilst often they go hand-in-hand, change in attitude is not necessarily a condition for change in behaviour and *vice versa*.

This approach will allow observations on how these three parties could have interacted, to their mutual benefit, and on any motivations governing each party's strategies.

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<sup>23</sup> West and Turner 2007: 175-176.

In the case of hearing deities it is the humans and statues doing the ‘speaking’ and the gods doing the ‘listening’, so there may be aspects of persuasion governing the development of hearing epithets, reflecting attempts by humans to influence the actions of the god.

I have also suggested above that the elite may have exploited personal beliefs for their own gain, an aim which might be discernible through an analysis of their statue inscriptions. Intermediary statues represent a dialogue of ‘speaking’ and ‘listening’ between the monuments and the humans that observe them. A passer-by is initially a ‘listener’, receiving the written and visual messages ‘spoken’ by the statue, but has the potential themselves to become a speaker (probably literally in some cases) *to* the statue. The statue must, therefore, be viewed as an effective ‘listener’, as well as having the potential to be an effective ‘speaker’ before a deity, in order to attract interaction. Although I have proposed that the user of a statue holds a certain amount of power given their vital role in the statue’s materiality, the statue itself can attempt to govern the actions of a passer-by through persuasive techniques in their texts.

Compliance-gaining techniques do have negative connotation. There is a propensity to focus on its coercive nature: as Marwell and Schmitt suggested in their seminal study on compliance, social psychologists can assume social behaviour to be ‘the manipulation of other people to achieve the goals of the actor, and the study of interaction becomes the study of social control.’<sup>24</sup> Some have cautioned against this way of thought, emphasising instead the co-operation and dialogue that can arise from persuasion techniques.<sup>25</sup> In fact, coercion has been suggested to indicate failed communication and persuasion, as it implies force and lack of choice.<sup>26</sup> So, although my suggestion that the elite were using religious ideas for their own benefit has a negative undercurrent, such a view may be tempered through a closer

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<sup>24</sup> Marwell and Schmitt 1967: 350.

<sup>25</sup> See Seiter and Gass 2004: 2-4 on the various attitudes.

<sup>26</sup> Arendt 1961: 93; see also West and Turner 2007: 175-176.

examination of the complexities of communication and persuasion strategies and seeing if they apply to the Egyptian evidence. Since the 1960s there have been numerous efforts towards creating typologies of distinct persuasive techniques – Marwell and Schmitt’s aforementioned work began by providing a list of sixteen. Kellerman and Cole attempted to synthesise the groups of definitions and strategies, resulting in a list of sixty-four, although they recognised that formulating clear, conclusive and exclusive definitions of each was problematic.<sup>27</sup> It is likely that the majority will not apply to the Egyptian sources in question, but it may prove worthwhile nonetheless to use them as a reference point for investigating intermediary inscriptions. As such, I will determine if they can be identified as part of the investigation of intermediary statue texts in Chapter Two.

### I.3.3 Listening

Of the ideas surrounding communication considered here in brief, the majority place the active, authoritative role on the side of the speaker, not least those regarding persuasion or compliance-gaining techniques. However, some theorists have preferred to think about the listener as a powerful figure. For instance, they enable and encourage speech through their attentiveness, indicating that listening should not be considered a passive activity. Alternatively, silence in order to listen could be seen as a strength for the very reason that it is a sacrifice of control.<sup>28</sup> I will consider the silence of a god as part of Chapter One.

Once again, the application of such ideas to the ancient sources might be productive, revealing a power/authority dialogue between worshippers, statues and gods. The balance of speaking and listening and the power inherent in each is particularly interesting in the case of

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<sup>27</sup> Kellerman and Cole 1994.

<sup>28</sup> Muers 2004: 51-52, 55-58.

intermediary statues, which exist *between* the main communicators (humans and gods) and thus necessarily both listen and speak.<sup>29</sup>

#### **I.4 Explaining the compilation of the corpora**

##### **I.4.1 Hearing deities in Egypt**

Attestations of deities with connections to hearing (primarily through epithets such as ‘who hears prayers’) have been compiled from ancient Egyptian culture, and are provided in Chapter One. Because the purpose of this exercise was to contextualise the intermediary statues and sistrophores the chronological span is necessarily much broader than for the latter (see next two sections), covering practically the whole span of pharaonic history – the Egyptian evidence for hearing deities ranges from the Old Kingdom until the Graeco-Roman Period, but is, as expected, concentrated in the New Kingdom and Graeco-Roman Period.

##### **I.4.2 Intermediaries**

Two groups of statues have been collected for this thesis – intermediaries (Catalogue A) and sistrophores (Catalogue B). The textual criteria behind the identification of intermediary statues have already been outlined briefly above. The translations for these statues are also included in Appendix Two, as they are key to the understanding of the statues’ purpose in the context of this thesis. The statues which I deem to be intermediary date from the time of Amenhotep III (most likely in the last decade of his reign as will be discussed in §3.3.2.3.2) until at least the Twenty-seventh Dynasty (see footnote for A.23 in Appendix Two), and their

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<sup>29</sup> This may of course also apply to gods, in that they first listen to prayers, and then they ‘speak’ (either by means of an oracle, or in a metaphorical sense – responding non-verbally by answering prayers).

(probable) sites of origin can be seen on Map 1 – they are concentrated in Upper Egypt, primarily the Theban area (see Map 2). The majority were already collected in the book on ‘chaves d’Hathor’ by Clère,<sup>30</sup> although that study did not consider the intermediary aspects of the texts or the relevance of the sistrophorous type in detail, rather focused on the statues as examples of *is* (‘bald ones’, either in actual appearance – balding heads – or as designated in the texts, or both), whilst including others which have similar texts. That ‘bald ones’ attest to a great number of intermediary statues is covered here in the chapter on statue forms (Chapter Three). The only other study compiling statues with intermediary purpose, and one which does actually focus on this purpose, is the unpublished MA thesis of Kreißl.<sup>31</sup> She follows different selection criteria for her corpus, including statues from the Middle Kingdom. However, she did note that it was yet to be investigated why the private person as a mediator became a tangible role only from the New Kingdom.<sup>32</sup> It is hoped that this thesis goes some way towards addressing this. She avoided including detailed stylistic and iconographic descriptions in her catalogue, since all the statues are well-published;<sup>33</sup> although I acknowledge that the same is true for my catalogue of intermediaries (and the majority of the sistrophores), the greater scope of this thesis allows for a more thorough consideration. Furthermore, she suggested that such details were not particularly relevant to her work (although she does discuss statue form<sup>34</sup>), whereas I feel that the iconography of a statue deserves a more in-depth treatment, being integral to the statue’s reception as well as a potential marker for development over time.

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<sup>30</sup> Clère 1995.

<sup>31</sup> Kreißl 1989.

<sup>32</sup> Kreißl 1989: 72.

<sup>33</sup> Kreißl 1989: vii.

<sup>34</sup> Kreißl 1989: 45-51.

### I.4.3 Sistrophores

Sistrophores are a well-known type, understood to have been conceived under the reign of Hatshepsut, probably by her innovative official Senenmut, in whose name the first examples are known (see Catalogue B.1-4). They were first given proper attention in a brief article, also by Clère,<sup>35</sup> which introduced the group and the variations within it; the full study unfortunately never transpired. It was some time until they were next studied in any depth,<sup>36</sup> and as far as I am aware, no attempt has been made to bring together a full corpus.<sup>37</sup> I have brought together as much information as possible for the catalogue for reference purpose, but because my focus on these statues relates to their form, aside from where a sistrophore has an intermediary text, I have not included translations. It is hoped the catalogue will be of use, nonetheless. The statues are restricted primarily to a time period between the Eighteenth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties (New Kingdom to early Late Period). Map 3 shows their (probable) sites of origin. Like the intermediary types, the vast majority are from Upper Egypt and in particular the Theban area (Map 4), but compared to intermediaries sistrophores have been found in a much greater number of sites across Egypt, including the Sinai peninsula.

### I.4.4 The reasons behind studying statuary

This project has developed from the work undertaken on nine statues of Amenhotep son of Hapu, including the two intermediary scribal statues (Catalogue A.1-2), in an attempt to

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<sup>35</sup> Clère 1970.

<sup>36</sup> Bernhauer 2009; Bernhauer 2010; Konrad 2011a; Konrad 2011-13.

<sup>37</sup> The examples and information collected by Clère himself are now held in the Griffith Institute, Oxford. My thanks go to Elizabeth Fleming, Francisco Bosch-Puche and Cat Warsi for allowing me access to his notes.

explain, in part, his deification after death,<sup>38</sup> and from an interest in how statues reflect religious and political changes. In studying larger groups of statues, I intend to expand upon similar themes, with a particular focus on the New Kingdom and later. This chronological framework is partly due to necessity – it has already been shown that the evidence collected is chiefly from this period – but it will also allow observations on the contribution made by, and the influences upon, statuary within the context of the apparent flourish of personal religious activity from the New Kingdom onwards.

Significant studies on particular types of statuary,<sup>39</sup> time periods,<sup>40</sup> or locations (especially temples)<sup>41</sup> demonstrate the importance of looking beyond the basic descriptions of statues and considering their purpose and development.<sup>42</sup> In addition, large catalogues can distance us from the fact that each statue was set up by an individual, with their own individual intentions, and that each statue was observed individually. In other words, although statues were created to be viewed as part of a community of sculpture stretching back in time,<sup>43</sup> we should not forget that each piece has its own individual story and agency, and they were attempting to stand out from the rest so that they would attract offerings and veneration. Kjølby has conducted research on the significance of statues as actors in their environments, playing their own part in the complex relationships that are formed between statue and, for instance, passers-by, offering-givers, priests and gods. She noted that they can be both ‘patients’ and ‘agentive social actors’, depending on the situation in which the relationship was created.<sup>44</sup> This links well to my suggestions that the levels of power and authority between human, statue, king and god, were varied and complex. It is hoped that the treatment

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<sup>38</sup> Simmance 2014a.

<sup>39</sup> Scott 1989; Schulz 1992.

<sup>40</sup> Bernhauer 2010.

<sup>41</sup> Verbovsek 2004; Price 2011a.

<sup>42</sup> Price 2011a: 8.

<sup>43</sup> Price 2011a: 172.

<sup>44</sup> Kjølby 2009: 41. Note that she uses the example of Amenhotep son of Hapu as an example of an ‘agentive social actor’.

of my corpora will allow me to look at the statues from this more individual-centred viewpoint, as well as providing a broader reflection on the statue-groups as a whole.

## **I.5 Methodological issues**

### **I.5.1 A texts-based approach to material culture**

Statues – physical, visual objects – lie at the heart of this thesis, and it should be clarified why I take a predominantly texts-based approach. This is especially important as I seek to situate this project within the context of ‘personal’ religion, and studies on this subject often emphasise *material* culture as a way to illuminate the otherwise invisible activities of lower class individuals.<sup>45</sup>

It is important not to forget a statue’s function as a visual communication object – the *symbolic*, non-verbal dimension. It has been suggested, for instance, that even the presence of an object or inscription in a sanctuary and its very corporeality is a means through which the monument-owner permanently establishes and demonstrates communication with deities, what has been called the ‘vertical’ aspect of communication. This in turn is a prerequisite for ‘horizontal’ communication with observers of the statue.<sup>46</sup> However, I will repeatedly underline the verbal aspect – that is, the inscriptions – regardless of observers’ ability to read them. The attribution of a monument to a specific individual is less to do with the physical features, which were often idealised, and more the name written on it,<sup>47</sup> demonstrating the crucial part the texts played in identification. Moreover, although clearly the statue did not actually speak itself, I consider the relationship between statue and onlooker primarily as if

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<sup>45</sup> Pinch 1993 is an excellent example of this material-based approach to cultic activity.

<sup>46</sup> Gudme 2012: esp. 9, 12.

<sup>47</sup> The name could change, and thus so would the individual represented, even if the sculpture itself was not altered (James and Davies 1983: 10).

they were two humans speaking together. Undeniably that was the purpose of such a monument – a substitute for an actual individual, with the written word acting as a substitute for their actual speech. This makes sense conceptually, given the significance of words in Egypt, hieroglyphs being *mdw-ntr*, ‘divine words’, and the scribal profession being eulogised in texts like *The Satire of the Trades*,<sup>48</sup> amongst others (scribal bias admitted). One could also think of Memphite cosmogony,<sup>49</sup> in which Ptah pronouncing his thoughts was believed to be the catalyst for the whole of creation. Furthermore, word is inextricably linked to the efficacy of magic.<sup>50</sup> The written word is thus important in itself, but especially in the sense that it represents what is spoken, with its intrinsic power. Intermediary statues are an excellent example of this in that they have chosen to elucidate their connection between earthly and divine realms through the evocative power of words. The statement of intermediary function therefore is in itself a communicative technique, and to some extent persuasive – the statues are distinguishing themselves from others by stating their specific function, rather than relying solely on an implicit understanding that all statues occupied this position. Moreover, they ensure that what they claim is perceived to be true, because in stating it, it comes about, assuring potential worshippers that they are what they assert. It has been suggested that the phonographic quality of inscriptions on monuments contributes to their monumentality (which can be roughly defined as the changing relationships that occur through their reception by others,<sup>51</sup> similar to my use of materiality here), and gives them a performative character.<sup>52</sup> This aligns well with the function of intermediary statues, in that they were created to fulfil a permanent position in a religious performance involving spoken acts by both statue and observer.

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<sup>48</sup> Helck 1970; Hoch 1991-92.

<sup>49</sup> Breasted 1901; Lesko 1991: 95-96; El Hawary 2010.

<sup>50</sup> Ritner 1993: esp. 17, 35-36.

<sup>51</sup> Osborne 2014: 3-4.

<sup>52</sup> Thomas 2014: 66, and references within.

The centrality of textual sources has thus been made clear – I study written manifestations of specific religious beliefs (hearing gods) in order to contextualise and then analyse intermediary statues, for the definition of which texts are key. Only after this are the physical appearance and locations of the statues considered in more detail. Other material evidence relating to communication with gods and hearing deities, such as stelae (particularly the images upon them) and votive offerings, are secondary to the research conducted here; they are mentioned where they complement the discussion of the written evidence, but a fuller survey is not undertaken. The concepts expressed in text and through objects no doubt both have roots in the same theological framework, and the written and archaeological are inextricably linked, especially in cases such as statues where the written source exists on an object which also generates significant non-verbal messages. However, I hope to offer a new perspective on an aspect of ‘personal’ beliefs, demonstrating that even through elite sources we can extract pertinent information as to the mechanisms of ‘personal’ religion and its interaction with the ‘state’ sphere and elite authority.

#### I.5.2 Criticisms of communication theory

There are some methodological problems that should be taken into account. Concerning communication theory, as with all theoretical perspectives that have been formulated in more recent times, one runs the risk of being anachronistic when analysing ancient sources through the medium of a theoretical construct. Moreover, because the communication considered here involves deities or other figures in the metaphysical spheres, the communicative relationships become more difficult to analyse, since they are not formed in a single plane of existence and have no direct interaction between the parties as there would be between humans. On the

other hand, the occurrence of ideas about hearing deities emphasises their human aspects, so perhaps we can comprehend human–divine communicative relationships as being essentially human–human.

Even if viewing these relationships in this way, communication is far from simple to classify: one general criticism of communication theory is that it can in fact be too reductive. Humans communicate on several levels simultaneously, not in a linear or turn-based fashion. Whilst it is possible to identify communicative or compliance-gaining techniques in Egyptian statuary inscriptions and therefore posit particular intentions of the statue-owner, it is unlikely that anyone would be able to comprehend all of the subtle communicative acts between statue and observer, even within their own cultural (and ancient) context.

This cultural aspect leads to another criticism: researchers tend not to explore outside their own cultural framework. Since the majority of communication research has been based in America, others speak of America-centric, Eurocentric or simply ‘Western’ scholarship. Indeed, its traditional roots are often found in the discussions of rhetoric in Classical antiquity. Incidentally, there are indications that the Egyptians held similar opinions of the value of rhetoric as the ancient Greeks and Romans – *The Eloquent Peasant*,<sup>53</sup> for example, is a text which reinforces hierarchical norms to some extent, but also intimates that a well-spoken and persuasive individual is respected, regardless of status, and that speech offers some form of social mobility.

In more recent decades Asian scholars, in particular, encouraged studies stemming from their own background based on how they conceive philosophically of humanity’s position in the cosmos, or have proposed working towards more general, globally-applicable theories of communication.<sup>54</sup> The challenge is trying to understand the ancient Egyptian way

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<sup>53</sup> Parkinson 1997: 54-88 (and references xx-xxi).

<sup>54</sup> Kuo and Chew 2009.

of thought in order to see whether theories from other cultures and time periods are truly applicable.

### I.5.3 Studying ancient religions: the emic and the etic viewpoints

In a similar vein, further difficulties arise because the religion primarily being studied is no longer followed (at least widely); the deities which were part of that religion are now viewed as a construct of humans. Any ‘responses’ from the gods as part of communication are, necessarily, interpreted in the knowledge that it was not actually the response of a god, because it is generally accepted that the god does not, and never did, exist. These issues are illuminated through anthropological or sociological debates surrounding emic and etic approaches, first defined by Pike to conceptualise objectivity and subjectivity in social science.<sup>55</sup> Although the distinction between the terms is not simply a matter of an ‘insider’, ethnographic, focused approach (emic) in contrast to an ‘outsider’, comparativist, broader approach (etic), this basic outline of the different perspectives still highlights the problem of studying ancient Egyptian religion – we look upon ancient Egyptian society as outsiders both culturally and chronologically, and it is impossible to define a culture truly in its own terms when there are no living individuals to provide a first-hand account or corroborate archaeological and written sources. Poor survival of evidence can encourage us to look for comparative material or modern theoretical ideas to fill in gaps, with the potential to draw anachronistic or fallacious conclusions. When analysing developments in ancient Egyptian religion, there is perhaps a tendency to be overly cynical with regard to who created new theological ideas and what their intention was in doing so (since, again, it was not actually the

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<sup>55</sup> Pike 1967.

gods who bore particular qualities – of hearing, for instance – or inspired these ideas). Did the person or persons responsible for these new conceptions actually believe them to be true or divinely inspired?

Research of ancient Egyptian culture is, therefore, inescapably etic at its core, although interpreting the surviving evidence can provide some understanding of their own perspective. There have been moves within sociology to encourage a dual-faceted approach incorporating both emic and etic methods and thereby alleviating some of the concerns about the efficacy and value of each individually.<sup>56</sup> Furthermore, as much as an etic approach risks being too distant from a culture's own views and the forming of conclusions influenced by the researcher's own background, that distance allows analysis of a culture without adopting misconceptions (conscious or otherwise) from within that culturally-bound system,<sup>57</sup> and could make the research more relevant to other fields.

I will use an implicitly emic approach through the gathering and analysis of written evidence for hearing deities, and of intermediary statues and strophes, with a focus on personal religious beliefs and statue-owners' decision-making and motivations. However, my observations will also benefit from an etic standpoint, in that I view this evidence with a broader knowledge of the whole of Egyptian society than most individual ancient Egyptians, and as a non-follower of ancient Egyptian religion. Thus I can interpret the evidence not purely as a religious phenomenon, but as a social or even political development, which may not have been obvious to the ancient peoples themselves. A balanced outlook can open up new possibilities for interpretation.

As an example, the augmentation of religion with ideas about hearing gods could be viewed as an indicator of increased expression of personal religious activities, or even

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<sup>56</sup> For example, Morris, Leung, Ames and Lickel 1999: esp. 783-784 and 789.

<sup>57</sup> Morris, Leung, Ames and Lickel 1999: 782-783.

increasing levels of religious fervour. The surviving evidence gives the impression of a deeply religious society, and although the extent to which this was actually true on a daily basis for individuals is debatable,<sup>58</sup> using the primary sources available to us (as close to an emic perspective as we can get) suggests that hearing gods represent an organic development of personal religious experiences. However, I have stated above that one line of enquiry in this thesis is whether the elite utilised religious ideas about hearing deities to promote themselves and perpetuate their social standing by exploiting the people's need for contact with deities; perhaps it could be postulated, therefore, that such ideas were introduced into personal practices by the elite themselves as a method of controlling their inferiors – a top-down implementation. Evaluating this phenomenon through an etic viewpoint opens up the possibility that not all Egyptians viewed religion solely as a medium of faith. Perhaps this assessment is a little unfair to both elite and non-elites (by assuming the former to be deliberately manipulative and the latter lacking in agency), but it nevertheless provokes thought. We will almost certainly never know exactly how religious ideas emerged in ancient times, and it is likely that conceptions about deities came from various sources – numerous individual experiences, state-endorsed ideas, and perhaps interaction with foreign cultures. This complexity means that the intentions behind any identifiable communication or compliance-gaining behaviour (in the context of hearing epithets and intermediary statues) may be difficult to ascertain.

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<sup>58</sup> Kemp 1995.

## **I.6 General outlook**

All the above issues highlight the importance of attempting to understand ancient concepts from the perspective of the ancients themselves, and not be governed completely by modern theoretical ideas, whilst acknowledging the benefits another approach can bring. These considerations notwithstanding, ideas stemming from communication theory are not often applied to ancient sources. Even if the inherent issues cannot be overcome, it is hoped that a different perspective of Egyptian religious beliefs at least stimulates thought into the phenomenon of communication between humans and deities, including through the use of intermediaries, as well as the complex relationships of power and authority connecting these three parties.

Through the following chapters, it will be shown that the evidence for hearing gods expands, not only in terms of quantity (and involving a far greater number of deities, albeit with a tendency towards the solar), but also contextually – from expression in royal-focused sources towards a much broader range of settings. One of these settings, the phenomenon of intermediary statues, combines several ways to communicate with and influence observers, including through their texts and their physical appearance. It will be shown that sistrophores, which form a significant majority of the intermediaries, are an especially apposite form to demonstrate potential communication with deities, and that doorways in temples are the likely location at which intermediaries were erected, given their efficacy as a place of transition, and thus of communication. Underlining each chapter's discussion are the complex relationships between communicating parties (god, statue and human), and it will be posited that in these

relationships we can identify levels of autonomy and authority, which vary depending on who is the ‘speaker’ and ‘listener’ and on the motivations governing each party’s actions.

Overall, this thesis also hopes to provide useful surveys of hearing deities, intermediary statues and sistrophores, contextualising them to illustrate an area where ‘personal practice’ and ‘state religion’ converge.

**CHAPTER ONE:**  
**THE NOTION OF HEARING DEITIES**

If successful communication is to take place, it is required that at least one of the parties involved presents the information (for instance, by speaking) and the other receives it (by hearing and listening). If one party speaks then the expectation is that the other party listens, and it follows therefore that where one is said to listen, this invites the other to speak and encourages the formation of a communicative bond. We might then view the emergence of, or increase in, evidence in which gods are explicitly described as hearing deities as a development in the expression of religious ideas, whereby devotees have the opportunity to address a receptive god, and indeed are encouraged to do so. Certainly, this does not mean that prior to the evidence for such divine attributes, people did not attempt to communicate with their gods, but an increase in evidence indicates something about how that communication was viewed – it became acceptable to express the idea that gods listened to prayers and petitions, which indicates that it became acceptable to express the idea that individuals were speaking to the gods, particularly within the realms of personal religious practice. It suggests that it became more permissible to present certain types of discourse between man and god,<sup>59</sup> in which the more passive role of the deity as hearer was stated clearly. Perhaps an increase in evidence also suggests the greater importance which was being placed on this communication. Hence, this chapter will explore the Egyptian written evidence demonstrating the ability of the gods to hear or listen to humans,<sup>60</sup> with the intention of elucidating changing perceptions about communication between humans and gods. Although an important act of communication involves speaking, the ability of a *god* to speak will not be covered here. It does, however, offer the potential to map any changes in the prevalence of

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<sup>59</sup> See Luiselli 2011: 238 and n.238.

<sup>60</sup> For brief overview of the topic of hearing, see Schlichting 1977: 1232-1235.

gods speaking, particularly in the context of personal religion, to see if there is any correlation with the rise in hearing epithets.<sup>61</sup>

It is certain that most other societies will express or have expressed similar beliefs. Some may just illuminate a general *human* need for contact with their deities rather than providing material which is directly comparable with ancient Egyptian sources – Abrahamic and Far Eastern religions are perhaps of this type as they are still practised today and, if some of them *were* practiced contemporaneously with Pharaonic culture, would have had little or no influence on Egyptian belief.<sup>62</sup> There is certainly the potential for future comparative investigations into Egypt's contemporaries who were also linked geographically and politically, with whom they were in contact and could possibly have shared theological concepts and even gods: the literate cultures of the ancient Near East. Although this will not be undertaken here, reference will be made to a small number of Near Eastern sources where the parallel is particularly notable.<sup>63</sup>

In a response volume to Marjo Korpel and Johannes de Moor's 2011 study on 'The silent God', Marcel Sarot commented on the lack of historical perspective with regard to the evidence considered by the authors.<sup>64</sup> Korpel and de Moor, in the same volume, defended their approach in view of this criticism, saying that knowledge of the ancient world is so limited that dating the sources is difficult, greatly hindering attempts to trace the development of religious ideas. Instead, they state that they wished to trace the phenomenon itself, not its

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<sup>61</sup> *dd mdw in* ('words spoken by') was especially common, particularly on stelae, and is attested since the Old Kingdom (*Wb* V: 625-626). I know of no studies undertaken specifically on this phrase (see brief comments on its Coptic form in Spiegelberg 1924).

<sup>62</sup> Egypt is unlikely, for instance, to have had direct contact with Far Eastern societies.

<sup>63</sup> As part of the research for this thesis, I have compiled a number of ancient Near Eastern documents, with a view to further study. Only some of them are included here.

<sup>64</sup> Sarot 2013: 140-144.

history.<sup>65</sup> They might, therefore, consider my approach in this chapter to be inherently flawed, in that it will be impossible to know for certain when an idea developed; even where a document is dated to a particular period or reign, it is difficult to ascertain exactly when in that timeframe the idea was first expressed, and furthermore a dated document does not preclude the possibility that the idea occurred before (and was either never expressed in written form or has simply not survived to the present day). Nevertheless a more or less chronological examination of the evidence will offer some insight into the evolution of religious beliefs and practices and will highlight thematic trends which can then be looked at outside of the chronological framework.

### **1.1 Silent deities**

Silence is a prerequisite for communication – one must be silent in order to listen to another, and it should be inferred that where a god is conceived as listening, they must be silent. The idea of *divine* silence, however, is primarily a negative occurrence in the written sources of Egypt and the Near East, indicating that the gods are not responding, *The Admonitions of Ipuwer*<sup>66</sup> and the Restoration Stela of Tutankhamun being examples (cf. Luxor flood inscription, below page 59).<sup>67</sup> A deity's silence also appears to have been a source of frustration in some cases, when an expected response to a prayer was not forthcoming. A Babylonian individual decries his gods' silence: 'speaking, but not being heard, has kept me awake; calling out, but not being answered, has vexed me'.<sup>68</sup> This suggests that whilst divine silence necessitates consideration as to the reasons for the silence (for instance, a deity

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<sup>65</sup> Korpel and de Moor 2013: 176.

<sup>66</sup> pLeiden I, 344. Several translations exist (e.g. Parkinson 1997: 166-199); here I made use of the transcription of Enmarch 2005.

<sup>67</sup> PM II<sup>2</sup>: 10, 52-53; *Urk* IV: 2025-2032; Murnane 1995: 212-214.

<sup>68</sup> Korpel and de Moor 2011: 261-264 (and references within).

angered by some action, or lack of action, which one can then seek to rectify), it may also cause the individual involved to feel aggrieved, clearly believing that he or she was entitled to being heard by the gods.<sup>69</sup> Nevertheless, the fact that divine silence is attested necessarily has the corollary that a deity will at other times speak, otherwise silence would not be specially mentioned.

There is also a marked difference between a deity who is present but chooses to be silent and an absent or non-existent deity.<sup>70</sup> In *The Admonitions of Ipuwer*, the narrator asks, regarding the sun-god, *in iw r=f tny min in iw=f tr sdr m<sup>c</sup>=tn nn m<sup>s</sup>.n=tw b<sup>s</sup>.w*, ‘Where is he today? Is he, pray, asleep? Behold, (his) power is not seen’ (12, 5-6).<sup>71</sup> The paragraph in which this appears is openly critical of the lack of intervention of the sun-god in the time of crisis. The speaker suggests that the lack of response may stem from the god being absent, or asleep, but I suggest that the overt criticism, as opposed to grief which might be prompted by *abandonment* by the gods, actually indicates that the god was believed to be still present (and simply choosing to keep silent) and therefore could be persuaded to return upon hearing the grievances of the speaker. The Restoration Stela of Tutankhamun makes it clear that the gods were styled as unresponsive due to absence, having abandoned their country, rather than being still present but simply choosing not to respond because of their displeasure: the gods are said to *mkh<sup>s</sup>*, ‘ignore, neglect, abandon’,<sup>72</sup> the land and it is said that *ir s:nmh<sup>s</sup>=tw n ntr r nd ih.t m<sup>c</sup>=f nn ii-n=f*, ‘if one appealed to a god to ask of something he did not come’ (a variant of this

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<sup>69</sup> Two texts temp. Muršili II (c.1321-1295 BC) involve the king repeatedly pleading for his gods to listen to him and avert the plague ravaging his country. Like the Babylonian text, there are hints of both desperation and exasperation in his recurring appeals and the statement that the gods have not listened. See Hallo and Lawson Younger Jr 2003a: 159 (translation by G. Beckman).

<sup>70</sup> Korpel and de Moor 2011: xi-xii, 55. See also the response of Burnett (2013: 29 and n.1) on the possibility that a god might choose to be silent (or to speak) but could also choose to be absent (or be present).

<sup>71</sup> Enmarch 2005: 51.

<sup>72</sup> *Wb* II: 163.

phrase involving goddesses then follows).<sup>73</sup> Although *mkhꜣ* could be interpreted as the gods still being present in Egypt but simply choosing to ignore it, as opposed to leaving Egypt entirely explaining their lack of response, the other phrase implies that they have moved far enough away from Egypt not to be heard: the lack of response is described as the gods not *coming* at their being petitioned, rather than not *answering* the petitioners). The more grieving and less belligerent tone of the inscription arguably reflects this, although this may be due to the nature and purpose of the inscription and its location in a temple.

It has been stated that no deity in antiquity was silent by its very nature;<sup>74</sup> the association of Harpocrates with silence was a later misinterpretation of the finger-to-mouth gesture of children (Plutarch *De Iside et Osiride* 68). The Egyptian deity with the closest connection to silence is Meretseger, whose name translates as ‘she who loves silence’,<sup>75</sup> but here it is almost certainly not her own silence which she prefers, but the silence connected to sacred areas (including the Theban necropolis in which she was based) and piety.<sup>76</sup> She is, nonetheless, a deity connected to personal religious practices, particularly in the west of Thebes, and was disposed to listening.<sup>77</sup>

## **1.2 Hearing deities in Egypt**

This section will consider the written evidence for hearing deities, with a focus on situations in which the deity listens to a human. Firstly I will consider examples in which this concept appears as part of the narrative or invocation (beginning with funerary literature and then

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<sup>73</sup> *Urk IV*: 2025-2032.

<sup>74</sup> De Jong 2013: 106.

<sup>75</sup> *Wb II*: 104 translates as ‘sie liebt das Schweigen’, ‘she loves silence’.

<sup>76</sup> On this, see Frandsen 1998. Compare, however, Cariddi 2013, which argues against some of Frandsen’s conclusions. Cariddi also emphasises the moral and even material benefits of silence (particularly in matters that require communication) – 2013: 556-557.

<sup>77</sup> Meskell 2004: 131.

exploring other texts), and secondly I will consider epithets applied to gods in which there is some element of hearing or ears mentioned. It is not my intention to imply a disconnect between these two broad categories of text, as they are both linked to the same core beliefs (and indeed on occasion a narrative phrase or invocation appears within the same text as a hearing epithet), but the number and range of epithets which exist is cause to review them separately for clarity.

The written sources should also not be separated from *archaeological* evidence – connections between ears and hearing deities are of course well attested iconographically in the Egyptian material record through ear-stelae and ear-votives,<sup>78</sup> one idea being that the inclusion of an ear on a stela or as a votive will encourage and facilitate the god's hearing of prayers. The following survey will include some reference to the iconographical evidence where appropriate but, as has been laid out already, this project has textual evidence at its heart given that it underpins the definition of an intermediary statue.

### **1.3 Phrases and invocations referring to hearing deities**

#### **1.3.1 Hearing deities in funerary literature**

Given the significance of funerary literature for our understanding of Egyptian mythology and human interactions with deities, it would not go amiss to consider the evidence they provide for hearing deities. Although this study is primarily occupied with personal religious practices of the living, meaning the relevance of such texts is limited, they can provide some theological context.

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<sup>78</sup> For instance, Schulz 1982; Pinch 1993: 250-253; Morgan 2004. Parallels possibly exist in the Greek and Roman world as well - Oberhelman (2014: 52, 53 fig.4, 56 fig.7, 58) discusses them in a healing context, but notes that there may be a listening aspect as well (50 n.2). The ancient Near East does not furnish us with similar finds – evidence of this nature (which in Egypt is often linked to personal, private and non-elite religious practices) is very rare.

### 1.3.1.1 Pyramid Texts

The ability of gods to hear a human is attested in a small number of Pyramid Texts: Utterances 318 (the ‘seven enneads’, or ‘seven bows’ in one of the three versions, doing the listening),<sup>79</sup> 513 (Atum and his entourage hearing a *nīs*, ‘call’),<sup>80</sup> 517 (ferryman),<sup>81</sup> and 570 (various deities invoked separately in a repeated phrase).<sup>82</sup> In Utterances 318, 513 and 570, it is clear that they are listening to the deceased king. In 517 the ferryman is said to have heard about the good qualities of the king ‘in the houses and...the streets on that day when you were summoned to hear orders’. The deceased also listen to the king: in Utterance 688, for example, those in the netherworld are said to ‘unstop their ears’ when the king speaks.<sup>83</sup> There is also evidence for divine beings listening to each other: for example Utterances 385 (snake listening to his father Geb),<sup>84</sup> 477 (Seth listening to a tribunal of gods, as well as ‘putting in your heart’ the word of Geb),<sup>85</sup> and 659 (the king, in the form of a god, listening to the words of Re).<sup>86</sup> In other spells Osiris is told to listen to his son Horus – Utterances 364,<sup>87</sup> 370,<sup>88</sup> and 482<sup>89</sup> – although in these cases it is to be assumed that Osiris is referring to the deceased king, so this is not strictly a deity listening to another deity or a human, rather two individuals conceived as semi-divine playing the roles they occupy in Egyptian mythology. The semi-divine nature of the king of course is to be taken into account when studying the Pyramid Texts, they being royal, funerary documents. It is fully expected that the king and the gods

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<sup>79</sup> §511 – Sethe 1908: 261; Faulkner 1969: 100 and 101 n.8.

<sup>80</sup> §1174 – Sethe 1910: 115; Faulkner 1969: 189.

<sup>81</sup> §1189 – Sethe 1910: 164; Faulkner 1969: 191.

<sup>82</sup> §1444-1448 – Sethe 1910: 286-289; Faulkner 1969: 223-224.

<sup>83</sup> §2084 – Sethe 1910: 507-508; Faulkner 1969: 297 (Faulkner’s translation used).

<sup>84</sup> §674-675 – Sethe 1908: 368; Faulkner 1969: 127.

<sup>85</sup> §957 and 960 – Sethe 1910: 34, 36; Faulkner 1969: 104.

<sup>86</sup> §1863 – Sethe 1910: 454; Faulkner 1969: 270.

<sup>87</sup> §611 – Sethe 1908: 328; Faulkner 1969: 118. This also says he should *šsp*, ‘receive’, Horus’s words.

<sup>88</sup> §646 – Sethe 1908: 352; Faulkner 1969: 122.

<sup>89</sup> §1007 – Sethe 1910: 65; Faulkner 1969: 169.

interact, even when the former is living. For these reasons, the concept of a god listening to the king as it is found in the Pyramid Texts is not particularly notable or useful for this current study. Nevertheless, it does demonstrate that the gods possessed the faculty of hearing, and they were using it in contexts such as judgement. The king himself, in one spell, is said to have the potential to become a judge, after his senses have been restored, through the unblocking of his mouth, nose and ears (Utterance 407),<sup>90</sup> further stressing the (logical) link between a judge and their ability to be aware of the one being judged.

Hearing and ears are relatively uncommon in the Pyramid Texts, particularly those of gods – they are more commonly associated with the human officiants of funerary rituals or with the semi-divine king. In Utterance 539, several parts of the body are mentioned, including several specific features of the face such as the eyes, nose, mouth and chin, and each is linked individually to a deity before the king states that he will ascend to the sky.<sup>91</sup> The ears are not mentioned, perhaps indicating that they are not considered as important as other aspects, or are not attributable to a divine being. Eyes are more frequently mentioned than ears, which is explained by the significance of the Eye of Horus in funerary mythology and for the protection of the deceased.

In Utterance 523, it is indicated that the king hears the gods' words (perhaps a reference to recited writing<sup>92</sup>) through the left eye of Horus, by which he stands.<sup>93</sup> This presents the concept that proximity to a divine feature facilitates communication with the divine, but is notable in that it is an eye not an ear. Again this is connected to the importance of the Eye of Horus, and has the connotation that the restored eye is shorthand for the restoration of all the senses, including hearing. It is worth noting that from the Sixth Dynasty

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<sup>90</sup> §712 – Sethe 1908: 390; Faulkner 1969: 133. Several texts of course refer to the process of 'opening the mouth' (and the restoration other aspects of the face and body).

<sup>91</sup> Sethe 1910: 227-236; Faulkner 1969: 206-209.

<sup>92</sup> Hays 2012: 155.

<sup>93</sup> Sethe 1910: 195; Faulkner 1969: 196.

and prior to the emergence of anthropoid coffins in the Middle Kingdom, the most distinctive, and often only, decorative feature found on coffins was a pair of eyes on the side facing east, allowing the deceased to look out and be aware of the rising sun and the world of the living.<sup>94</sup> The concept of awareness, therefore, appears to have been connected primarily to the eyes, which is perhaps a contributing factor in the number of deities said to have ears or be listening being relatively low.

### 1.3.1.2 Coffin Texts

The Coffin Texts provide a much greater amount of evidence for deities listening to humans – at least twenty-seven spells mention some form of divine hearing. This is to be expected due in part to their being a larger number of spells, and in part to their wider accessibility, outside the royal family; they reflect a broader range of human needs for the afterlife beyond the requirements of the king's ascension to the divine sphere, and moreover their use by non-royals naturally results in the frequent expression of divine–human (non-royal) interaction. Whilst the deceased were named as 'Osiris N', and thus did have a partially divine nature after death, the afterlife for non-royals retains a distinctly earthly character, thereby upholding to some extent the distinction between human and divine.

A frequent connotation of listening, particularly gods to humans, and ears as they appear in the Coffin Text is one of judgement: Spells 9 (Thoth and his tribunal),<sup>95</sup> 73 (the speech of the deceased, as Osiris, is heard by Geb, he is assisted by Atum and he is vindicated by the Ennead),<sup>96</sup> 89 (tribunal hearing a conflict with an enemy),<sup>97</sup> 277 (the deceased speaking

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<sup>94</sup> See Lapp 1993.

<sup>95</sup> De Buck 1935: 28; Faulkner 1973: 5 and 6 n.4.

<sup>96</sup> De Buck 1935: 305; Faulkner 1973: 68.

<sup>97</sup> De Buck 1938: 56-57; Faulkner 1973: 91.

as Thoth, explaining his efficacy as a judge),<sup>98</sup> 480 (an ear is equated with the ear of a god who judges cases),<sup>99</sup> 908 (deceased heard by a body of judges and Hathor),<sup>100</sup> and 1099 (a request for a divine being in a tribunal to hear the deceased).<sup>101</sup> Spell 37 does not specifically mention a legal context, but requests that Osiris aids the deceased by improving his situation, hearing him and removing any grievances,<sup>102</sup> which has a similar implication. The concept of judgement and the links with the capacity to hear have therefore developed significantly from the brief mentions in the Pyramid Texts.

In two spells, Re is said to listen to the deceased: 302 (deceased becomes a falcon),<sup>103</sup> 1022 (a request to see Re and for him to hear the deceased's words).<sup>104</sup> Spell 320 names Hu, in this case the personification of food.<sup>105</sup> In Spell 494 Sia, the personification of perception and awareness, is an appropriate deity to have the capacity of hearing,<sup>106</sup> but there are no other explicit examples such as this to my knowledge. This spell is also slightly more obscure in that Sia hears the soul of the deceased successfully passing the hazardous terrain of the afterlife, rather than the speech of the deceased. On the other hand, this fits with his nature, in that he has *awareness*, here expressed through hearing (*sdm*). In Spell 1017 the constellation Orion asks the deceased to speak so that he may hear it.<sup>107</sup> Spell 1099, which has already been mentioned above in the context of judgement, also names Thoth as listening to the deceased when the latter worships Re.<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> De Buck 1951: 20-21; Faulkner 1973: 208 and 209 n.12.

<sup>99</sup> De Buck 1956: 45; Faulkner 1977: 125.

<sup>100</sup> De Buck 1961: 112; Faulkner 1978: 59 and n.4.

<sup>101</sup> De Buck 1961: 402-403; Faulkner 1978: 154.

<sup>102</sup> De Buck 1935: 152-153; Faulkner 1973: 28.

<sup>103</sup> De Buck 1951: 54; Faulkner 1972: 222. That the deceased has assumed the form of a falcon suggests that here he has taken on a semi-divine character, with links to the sun-god.

<sup>104</sup> De Buck 1961: 243; Faulkner 1978: 122.

<sup>105</sup> De Buck 1951: 144; Faulkner 1972: 248 and n.1. He is said to hear the 'one who comes', presumably a reference to the deceased.

<sup>106</sup> De Buck 1956: 75-76; Faulkner 1977: 135.

<sup>107</sup> De Buck 1961: 237; Faulkner 1978: 118.

<sup>108</sup> De Buck 1961: 397; Faulkner 1978: 154.

Two texts indicate the possibility that one might *not* be heard: Spell 624 says that Ha, the desert-god, does not listen, in spite of the deceased ‘bringing the horn to him’.<sup>109</sup> The sense of the spell, and thus the context of this statement, is rather unclear, however. Spell 996 seeks to avoid not being heard by stating that it will never be so,<sup>110</sup> but due to several lacunae exactly who is doing the listening, if indeed a specific being is intended, is unknown. In spite of these difficulties, these texts demonstrate the natural consequence of the development of hearing deities: the fear that one might *not* be heard. Moreover, the former of the two spells, 624, suggests that the provision of gifts for the gods would normally be expected to persuade the deities to listen – an element of reciprocity.

Two fairly similar spells, 166 and 181,<sup>111</sup> involving one or possibly two divine figures (in some versions female: the one who hears (*smt.t*) and the one who unstops (ears) (*sšn.t*)) provide evidence of hearing epithets, functioning as a personification with seated female or bearded figures as determinatives. However, this being (or beings) is invoked and also asked to hear and unstop the ears of the deceased. Ears, as in the Pyramid Texts, are fairly rare in the Coffin Texts, and usually do not refer to the ears of the gods. However, there are some developments to this end apparent in the Coffin Texts: Spell 945 is reminiscent of Pyramid Text Utterance 539, in that various body parts, and a few more abstract personal characteristics, are mentioned and each separately associated with a divine figure, indicating that each part takes on a divine character once symbolically reunited in mummification rituals. Unlike the Pyramid Text document, Spell 945 does mention ears, linking them to the ‘Great Hearer’ (*smt wr* – here the deity is male, and has seated determinative with curved beard).

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<sup>109</sup> De Buck 1956: 240; Faulkner 1977: 207.

<sup>110</sup> De Buck 1961: 213; Faulkner 1978: 104.

<sup>111</sup> De Buck 1947: 13-14; Faulkner 1972: 143 and 144 n.1 (Spell 166); De Buck 1947: 74; Faulkner 1972: 152 (Spell 181).

As with the Pyramid Texts, there are examples where gods listen to other gods, for example Spells 32 (Osiris implores the West to listen, so that she may address the deceased, specifically mentioning her two ears (*msdr.wy=s*)),<sup>112</sup> 148 (Isis instructs the gods to hear what Atum has said),<sup>113</sup> 312 (Horus orders gods to be silent so that he can hear Osiris; this text also attests to a hearing epithet),<sup>114</sup> and 326 (enneads hear Re).<sup>115</sup> Spell 658 is spoken by the deceased, explaining how he is to board the bark of Re. In taking the form of Khepri, he expects that the crew on the boat will listen to him.<sup>116</sup>

The Coffin Texts demonstrate the development and greater expression of the concept of gods listening. The connection to judgement becomes much clearer, suggesting that the theological foundation for ideas seen in the New Kingdom and onwards has been laid by the Middle Kingdom. Quite a wide variety of deities are said to listen, such as Thoth, Geb, Hathor and Re as well as groups, especially groups of judges. The Coffin Texts are more useful than the Pyramid Texts for understanding the concept of listening deities as it relates to personal religious beliefs, in that the former has moved beyond just the king's interaction with the divine sphere and involves non-royals as well. These individuals were certainly in the elite sphere, but nevertheless had, at least ideologically and iconographically, fewer direct interactions with deities than the king, so the advances in and greater evidence for the concept of deities who listen to humans demonstrates changes in how people expected to come into contact with gods (in the afterlife), and suggests that non-royals were starting to exert a more authoritative position in relations between deities and humans. Nevertheless, humans are still dependent on deities to listen in order that the former may pass through the afterlife safely and be judged favourably.

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<sup>112</sup> De Buck 1935: 106; Faulkner 1972: 21.

<sup>113</sup> De Buck 1938: 218; Faulkner 1972: 126.

<sup>114</sup> De Buck 1951: 68-71; Faulkner 1971: 229. This text has links to Book of the Dead 78.

<sup>115</sup> De Buck 1951: 160; Faulkner 1971: 253.

<sup>116</sup> De Buck 1956: 279; Faulkner 1977: 229.

### 1.3.1.3 New Kingdom funerary literature

The New Kingdom and onwards attests to a proliferation of funerary literature, and it is not within the scope of this thesis to investigate the whole corpus, nor the whole time-frame. The Book of the Dead (of course) especially represents a continuation of Middle Kingdom Coffin Texts and the related Book of Two Ways, so it is the most pertinent source on which to focus for evidence of hearing deities.

There are several chapters mentioning divine hearing or ears which have their origin prior to the New Kingdom (mostly Middle Kingdom funerary literature): BD 1 (Thoth speaks to other gods asking that the deceased may ‘hear as you hear, see as you see’),<sup>117</sup> BD 29 (the deceased notes that the gods would be affronted should they hear of his heart being taken),<sup>118</sup> BD 42 (linking body parts to deities, here the ears being associated with Wepwawet),<sup>119</sup> BD 64 (falcons who hear cases),<sup>120</sup> BD 78 (gods hearing the voices of followers of Osiris, that is, the deceased),<sup>121</sup> and BD 149 (the deceased ‘speaks as a goose’ until the gods hear him).<sup>122</sup>

The Book of the Dead supplies a relatively small number of new spells with this theme. BD 15AIII praises the rising sun-god, referring to his visibility in the sky, as well as his hearing ability.<sup>123</sup> BD 15BII (setting sun) states that the sun-god hears the prayers of those in the tomb chamber (that is, the deceased),<sup>124</sup> and BD 15BIII (again setting sun) indicates that the sun-god hears other gods, but he also passes judgement on the deceased, once again

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<sup>117</sup> Quirke 2013: 10. Quirke’s volume is an up-to-date collation of the spells and their known sources, hence I refer only to this and not to translations of individual copies.

<sup>118</sup> Quirke 2013: 95.

<sup>119</sup> Quirke 2013: 119.

<sup>120</sup> Quirke 2013: 153; this is known from a single Second Intermediate Period source (a coffin of a king’s wife Mentuhotep, from Thebes).

<sup>121</sup> Quirke 2013: 183.

<sup>122</sup> Quirke 2013: 362.

<sup>123</sup> Quirke 2013: 38. Although new for funerary literature, this idea is attested in the *Instruction for Merikare* (see §1.3.2.2).

<sup>124</sup> Quirke 2013: 43.

recalling the link between hearing and judgement.<sup>125</sup> Chapter 168 addresses the Ennead, demanding that they hear the speaker (the deceased).<sup>126</sup> Chapter 172, in which the deceased is said to triumph over his enemies, states that his words will be heard and orders carried out.<sup>127</sup>

The power of hearing is illuminated in BD 134, where enemies are commanded not to speak or listen around the deceased;<sup>128</sup> the insinuation is firstly that these beings (divine, or at least semi-divine) have the capacity of sight and hearing, and secondly that malign speech and awareness, through hearing, of the deceased will affect the latter's journey through the afterlife.

We might have expected an increase in the number of references to hearing deities, including specific gods (other than the sun-god), corresponding to the increase seen in the Coffin Texts, as a result of the wider accessibility of New Kingdom funerary literature. The correlation between accessibility and the concept of hearing deities as proposed for the Middle Kingdom may therefore be illusory. Nevertheless, the notion that there are lines of communication open between the deceased and gods, and between gods and gods, particularly in the form of messengers and mediators, is certainly more noticeable in funerary spells of the New Kingdom than previously. BD 38 describes the double-lion deity Ruty as one who repeats words from the boat of Re to the populace.<sup>129</sup> In some cases gods are the mediators for other gods: BD 15BII (hymn to the setting sun), notes that the 'lords of the caverns' tell their

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<sup>125</sup> Quirke 2013: 45. Cf. also BD 133, which is partially found in the Book of Two Ways, but only finds this particular form in the Eighteenth Dynasty examples – this includes an exhortation that it is good to see with ears and have two eyes for hearing what is Right (*mꜣꜥ*), a further association of hearing with truth, justice and divine order.

<sup>126</sup> Quirke 2013: 407. None of the small number of examples of this text is from a true Book of the Dead papyrus, but is certainly a related genre. This same text includes a section relating to the caverns in the underworld, the divine entity at the ninth cavern being the 'horned one, hearing the cases of the gods' (Quirke 2013: 411).

<sup>127</sup> Quirke 2013: 425. Again, not a true Book of the Dead text, and only attested in this form twice.

<sup>128</sup> Quirke 2013: 298.

<sup>129</sup> Quirke 2013: 111 (partially attested in CTs 438 and 173, but not in this form until the Eighteenth Dynasty).

petitions to the sun-god;<sup>130</sup> in BD 36 Khnum is the reporter of the gods' messages to Re;<sup>131</sup> the entities who guard the caverns and gates of the underworld report to Osiris, such as in BD 127<sup>132</sup> and BD 144 (note in the latter that one of the guards at the first approach is called *smtw*, 'overhearer').<sup>133</sup> In other cases, it is the deceased which takes on this role, providing parallels for the role of intermediary in religion during life: BD 107 includes a statement by the deceased that he reports in the (sun-)boat of the god;<sup>134</sup> in BD 124, the deceased, in transforming into a *benu*-bird claims to have spoken to the sun-god, repeating to him the words of both people and gods;<sup>135</sup> similarly in BD 136 the deceased sends the words of gods for Ra;<sup>136</sup> BD 130 appears to indicate that a contributing factor for the deceased assuming a the position of transfigured, justified spirit is that he raises up (*s:ꜥr*) 'her' affairs (the individual or god for whom there is a feminine suffix is unclear).<sup>137</sup> Several of the texts are known, at least in part, from Middle Kingdom texts, particularly the Book of Two Ways (see footnotes 125, 133, 136 and 137) which is unsurprising given that this smaller body of spells are a clear precursor to the delineation and illustration of the afterlife in New Kingdom funerary literature. Even so, it appears that the idea of entities (including the deceased who were only semi-divine and not necessarily royal) acting as messenger, raising up words and petitions to superior deities, whilst still a small theme within the entire body of the Book of the Dead, was incorporated into funerary beliefs of the New Kingdom, and in more

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<sup>130</sup> Quirke 2013: 42-43.

<sup>131</sup> Quirke 2013: 109. Quirke suggests this may be a Late Middle Kingdom or Second Intermediate Period composition, but there is no evidence until the Eighteenth Dynasty.

<sup>132</sup> Quirke 2013: 280 (although this is a rare text prior to the Late Period, it may be an early New Kingdom development).

<sup>133</sup> Quirke 2013: 324-325. Several parts of this text, including the name of the guard, are known from the Book of Two Ways, but it is well attested in Eighteenth Dynasty papyri.

<sup>134</sup> Quirke 2013: 237. This is, however, the equivalent of CT 159, and is only known from one source in the Nineteenth Dynasty, four in the Third Intermediate Period and is widespread in the Late and Ptolemaic Periods, so it is not a particular innovation of the New Kingdom, nor was it a popular spell at the time.

<sup>135</sup> Quirke 2013: 268. Not found in this form in the Middle Kingdom, and no fewer than seventeen Eighteenth Dynasty papyri include this spell.

<sup>136</sup> Quirke 2013: 303. Although this part of the text can be found in the Book of Two Ways, BD 136 is not found in this form prior to the New Kingdom (and is attested by twenty-three papyri of the Eighteenth Dynasty).

<sup>137</sup> Quirke 2013: 288. Again, this has its origins in the Book of Two Ways.

documents than it had been previously. Moreover, it is clear that the sun-god (Re) is the primary object of the communicative relationships; his role in the afterlife is undoubtedly a reason for this, but as will be shown below (particularly in the section on epithets) solar deities are often named in the context of hearing deities. The increased number of phrases relating to the transferral of words or petitions, and the prominence of the sun in Egyptian funerary beliefs (and the associated connotations of hearing in order to judge the deceased), conceivably influenced the religious beliefs and activities of the living, or conversely is indicative that religious beliefs of the living influenced their conception of the afterlife, including the relationships with gods and the roles played by individuals, such as being an intermediary.

### 1.3.2 Other phrases and attestations of hearing

Roulin, whose full work on hearing and hearing gods has not (yet) transpired,<sup>138</sup> considered some of the early evidence for hearing in Egypt. His view is that the most relevant document (although he does mention earlier evidence such as the Pyramid Text Utterance 513) is *The Instruction of Ptahhotep* of the Middle Kingdom,<sup>139</sup> in which hearing is explained in the context of the human sphere as being fundamental to education, knowledge and obedience.<sup>140</sup> There are two sides: an inferior is meant to listen to their superior in order to learn and follow instructions; a superior is expected to listen in their role as high official, judge or teacher.<sup>141</sup> The communication is therefore intended to be two-way, but in a system that maintains the

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<sup>138</sup> See Roulin 2002: 465 n.12.

<sup>139</sup> Parkinson 1997: 250-272.

<sup>140</sup> Roulin 2002: 461-462.

<sup>141</sup> We might think of the late Middle Kingdom or early Eighteenth Dynasty *Duties of the Vizier* text, which has several sections referring to the vizier's responsibilities, as part of which he must listen to appeals and cases, for example Van den Boorn 1988: 12-13 (with commentary 24-25 and 40), 120-121, 146-147.

hierarchy. Nevertheless, an authority which does not fulfil its perceived obligations will cause discontent amongst those who are left unsatisfied, so the requirements of the lower classes to some extent dictate and control the actions of the upper classes. These types of human interactions are then mapped onto human–divine relationships.

### 1.3.2.1 Onomastics

Outside of funerary literature, some of the earliest evidence for gods listening comes from personal names. Two women named Nefer(et)sedjemet<sup>142</sup> are attested from the Old Kingdom. Ranke suggested a translation of ‘the beautiful one is heard’ (‘die Schöne ist gehört (erhört?) worden’), if we read the name as *Nfr.t-sdm.ti*. It is not clear to what this refers, but it possibly indicates a goddess to whom the woman’s conception and birth was attributed (perhaps as an answer to a prayer from her parents). Similarly, a man named Nefersedjem is attested in the mid- to late-Fifth Dynasty Giza mastaba 8882 (Wepemneferet), as one of fifteen witnesses to the tomb-owner’s will.<sup>143</sup> Ranke also lists the name *Nfr-sdm=f*, for which the possible translation is ‘it is good when he hears’ (‘es ist gut, wenn er hört’),<sup>144</sup> but the name is written with the tadpole (Gardiner Sign List I8) not the ear (F21).

The Fifth Dynasty false door of Werbau and his wife Khentykawes, in the tomb of his brother Nefer,<sup>145</sup> provides an example of a relevant personal name in which a god’s name is also present: several family members are shown on the false door partaking in the offerings, one of whom is named *Nfr-sdm-Pth*, Nefersedjemptah, the meaning of which Roulin gives as

<sup>142</sup> Ranke 1935: 203.4 and 1952: 370; the wife of Fourth Dynasty official Ankhhaf (PM III<sup>2</sup>, 1: 306 (specifically the two fragments British Museum EA 527 A and B)), and the daughter of Fifth Dynasty Senenu (PM III<sup>2</sup>, 1: 307 (false door British Museum EA 1136)).

<sup>143</sup> Hassan 1936: 190-191, fig.219, pls.74-75; PM III<sup>2</sup>, 1: 282.

<sup>144</sup> Ranke 1952: 299.6 and n.2; Boston MFA 12.1483, a striding statue from Giza 2185, the late Fifth or early Sixth Dynasty tomb of Nefersehefen.

<sup>145</sup> Moussa and Altenmüller 1971: 38, pl.36.

‘Ptah, perfect of listening’, although he believes that this does not demonstrate a personal connection between the deity and the individual.<sup>146</sup> It does, however, show that even at this early stage there some deities were perceived to listen, and perhaps to answer prayers (for children and fertility).

There are a fairly large number of different personal names involving hearing from later periods, many of which include the names of gods. According to Ranke there are no new names of this type until the New Kingdom, and from this period the following are attested: *š-sdm(=f)* (‘the one (or ‘he’) whose call is heard’),<sup>147</sup> *P3-sdm-nḥ.t* (‘he who listens to prayer’),<sup>148</sup> *R<sup>c</sup>-sdm* (‘Ra hears’),<sup>149</sup> *Sdm-Imn* (‘Amun hears’),<sup>150</sup> and *Sdm-Hr-hr(wy)* (‘Horus hears the (‘my’?) voice’).<sup>151</sup> In the Late Period, *P3-di-š-sdm*<sup>152</sup> and *Ir.f-š-n-sdm.t* (‘he who does great things for Sedjemet ’)<sup>153</sup> are newly attested. Greek sources furnish us with five more names: *Hr-sdm* (‘Horus hears’),<sup>154</sup> *T3-šry.t-(n.t)-Dḥw.ty-sdm* (‘the daughter of Thoth who hears’),<sup>155</sup> *Dḥw.ty-(hr)-sdm* (‘Thoth hears’),<sup>156</sup> *Wn-Dḥwty-[hr?]-sdm* (‘Thoth hears(?)’),<sup>157</sup> and *P3-sdm* (‘the one who hears’).<sup>158</sup>

<sup>146</sup> Roulin 2002: 462.

<sup>147</sup> Ranke 1935: 71.9. Compare, however, footnote 152 on the translation of *P3-di-š-sdm*.

<sup>148</sup> Ranke 1935: 117.22. A more accurate reading may be *P3-(n)-sdm-nḥ.t*, ‘the one who bellows to the one who hears prayer’ (pers. comm. M. A. Leahy).

<sup>149</sup> Ranke 1935: 220.5 and 1952: 373.

<sup>150</sup> Ranke 1935: 323.19 and 1952: 389.

<sup>151</sup> Ranke 1952: 318.1.

<sup>152</sup> Ranke 1935: 122.21: ‘the one who gives a call to the one who hears’. On this name, see De Meulenaere 1995; also Thirion 2005: 178 (including the female equivalents, and the related *T3-šry.t-n-p3-di-š-sdm*). This translation does not match Givon (1982: 40) who translates ‘he who gives hearing to a caller’, but this does not follow the usual structure of Late Period names of this type, ‘the one whom [the god] has given’ (Vittmann 2013: 4). This structure would suggest that *š-sdm(=f)* or *=s* is a deity, or more likely a divine epithet, of a hearing deity, ‘he/she who calls the one he/she has heard’ (De Meulenaere 1995: 14 n. 3, 17; compare, however, footnote 147 on *š-sdm(=f)*), giving a translation akin to, ‘The one whom the-one-who-calls-the-one-they-heard has given’ (in other words, the child was provided by a god who responds to things the god hears, in this case presumably the desire of the parents for a child). Cf. *sdm-š* attributed to Heqaib, discussed on pages 60-61.

<sup>153</sup> Thirion 2004: 157.

<sup>154</sup> Ranke 1935: 250.19.

<sup>155</sup> Ranke 1935: 370.9 (the deity being the one who hears).

<sup>156</sup> Ranke 1935: 408.20.

<sup>157</sup> Ranke 1952: 274.3.

<sup>158</sup> Ranke 1952: 283.3.

Giveon uses these names to contextualise four further examples using a Semitic word *šmꜥ*, in place of *sḏm*: *Šrm-šmꜥ* ('Shalim hears'),<sup>159</sup> *Mṯr-šmꜥ* ('Mithras hears'),<sup>160</sup> *Bꜥr-šmꜥ* ('Baal hears'),<sup>161</sup> and *Hwy-šmꜥ* ('Huy hears').<sup>162</sup> These names demonstrate the presence of Semitic peoples in Egypt, creating monuments in an Egyptian style (and, in the case of the fourth name, using an Egyptian deity in their name).

Onomastics can be a fruitful source of information about personal beliefs. We must not assume that *all* parents chose their child's name based on their own experiences or beliefs, as opposed to simple preference, but we can still make at least tentative conclusions about the choice of particular names, in that it might demonstrate which gods the parents found to be most effective and deserving of recognition through their child's name, and might also provide a snapshot into the parents' experiences surrounding the conception and birth of their child (feeling prayers had been answered and naming their child accordingly). There is not an especially large number of names involving hearing and hearing gods. The gods involved, Ptah, Ra, Amun, Thoth and Horus (and Hathor if 'beautiful one' is to be understood as an epithet for a Hathoric goddess<sup>163</sup>) are all connected to hearing epithets and hearing phrases outside of onomastics, and indeed are amongst the most commonly found connected to hearing. One might expect to see attestations of more obscure, local or domestic deities, those that individuals would have felt closer to and interacted with on a daily basis. On the other hand, the naming of a child, as a relatively rare and special event (especially considering that the child would have that name for life), perhaps called for a name which included a deity of more significance. The fact that the gods attested in the evidence explored were all important

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<sup>159</sup> Giveon 1981: esp. 170-171; Giveon 1982: 38-39; Thirion 1985: 126.

<sup>160</sup> Ranke 1935: 167.12 and 1952: 292.25; Thirion 1985: 126.

<sup>161</sup> Ranke 1935: 327.17.

<sup>162</sup> Ranke 1935: 233.26. Huy, Giveon suggests (1982: 39), refers to either Amenhotep I or Amenhotep son of Hapu, both deified sometime after their deaths.

<sup>163</sup> Giveon 1982: 40.

deities could have been a contributing factor to their prominence in this context: they will have been popular choices for names because they were well-known and powerful; furthermore, greater popularity ensures that more evidence survives to the present day.

### 1.3.2.2 Phrases

To my current knowledge, one of the earliest Egyptian documents which clearly refers in some way to the capacity of a god to hear people other than the king and the deceased is *The Instruction for Merikare*, existing in Eighteenth Dynasty (or later) copies, possibly written in the Twelfth Dynasty, or during the First Intermediate Period.<sup>164</sup> It is certainly based in the earlier period, during the reign of the eponymous Herakleopolitan ruler, and written as if in the words of his father.

The creator-deity mentioned in *The Instruction for Merikare*, probably Re, is said to have built a shrine around his people and ‘when they cry, he hears’ (lines 134-135).<sup>165</sup> This appears to be a metaphor for his creating the world, in which he is omnipresent; the whole world thereby acts as his temple (more correctly, temples are a reproduction of the world in a smaller scale<sup>166</sup>), and he hears petitions spoken in that metaphorical temple, here in the form of crying or weeping, because he inhabits every part of this world. The people who do the petitioning or praying are not restricted to royalty or high officials, but rather are named, at the beginning of the stanza, as ‘mankind – god’s cattle’,<sup>167</sup> thus implying that the creator god hears *all* who dwell within his creation. Nevertheless, the text does not explicitly say that the god hears prayers, rather that he is just aware when those whom he created are in distress.

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<sup>164</sup> Parkinson 2002: 316. Parkinson 1997: 216-234 (translation). Demidchik has recently argued for a return to the Herakleopolitan dating (2011: 60-70).

<sup>165</sup> Altenmüller 2009: 24-25.

<sup>166</sup> Brunner 1982a: 42-43.

<sup>167</sup> Lichtheim 1973: 106.

This awareness is underlined in the line preceding ‘when they cry, he hears’: ‘he sails by to see them’. The very fact that the sun(-god) is visible every day in the sky explains why he was believed to have this awareness of humankind – humankind was aware of him. This way of thought is likely corroborated by the attribution of the ‘*sḏm-nḫ.t*’ (‘who hears prayers’) epithet, particularly to Amun(-Re), in the New Kingdom, in evidence to be provided below.

The next clear evidence for listening deities in Egypt comes from the tomb of the vizier Antefiker (TT 60), dating to the reign of Senwosret I, where an inscription pleads ‘that you, Majesty, Golden One, hear (my) supplications. Turn your heart to me.’<sup>168</sup> Here, therefore is the first unequivocal evidence of a deity hearing the petitions or prayers of an individual, who is non-royal (albeit of very high status). The epithet *Nbw*, ‘Golden One’, refers to a goddess, probably Hathor, whose connection to cows is well attested and, interestingly, there is a Sumerian text (modern title ‘Man and his god’) dated slightly before the reign of Senwosret I, around the end or just after the fall of the Ur III Dynasty in the late twenty-first century BC, in which the epithet ‘good cow’, typically of mother goddesses, is given. The personal god of the speaker, probably the same female deity, is said to accept and be pleased by prayer, and the text stresses the merciful qualities of the deity.<sup>169</sup> The literary, philosophical context of the piece is thus rather different in context to the tomb text of Antefiker, but the parallel offered by the Near Eastern text is striking. Cows may also have had connections to awareness in ancient Greek cultures, where the eyes, not the ears, are the centre of understanding and awareness; Hera can be given the epithet *Boōpis*, meaning ‘cow-eyed’.<sup>170</sup>

Of the Near Eastern texts I have collated, *Man and his god* is the first which is not clearly composed by, dedicated by or for the benefit of the king or another member of the

<sup>168</sup> Davies and Gardiner 1920: 24, pl.29; Altenmüller 2009: 29.

<sup>169</sup> Hallo and Lawson Younger Jr 2003a: 573-575 (translation by J. Klein).

<sup>170</sup> Thanks go to Guy Kirkham-Smith for bringing this to my attention.

royal family. The other contemporary Sumerian text of which I am aware is *Lamentation over the destruction of Sumer and Ur*, in which the speaker is a *goddess* who pleads with other deities to listen to supplicants. In other words, *Man and his god* seems to be among the first texts (and is the first of which I currently know) in which a more general, non-royal concept of hearing deities emerges: the Near Eastern equivalent to Antefiker's inscription, from just a few decades later. Whether this is evidence of the sharing of ideas between Sumer and Egypt must remain open for debate, but a more certain conclusion from these texts is that motherly goddesses with cow associations were, from an early period, connected with personal religious beliefs (no doubt the pre-Dynastic origins of cow-goddesses contributed to this popularity<sup>171</sup>), and more specifically were associated with the ability of divine hearing. In Egypt, this association presumably culminated in the strong connection between Hathoric deities and listening attributes, as exhibited on intermediary statues and sistrophores in the New Kingdom and Late Period. Much later, in the Graeco-Roman period, the word *sdm* is found in relation to cows in the Temple of Esna.<sup>172</sup> Given the scarcity of evidence, we must be cautious when drawing any connections between earlier associations of cattle with hearing and later uses of the words, but it does raise questions about the etymology of the Graeco-Roman *sdm*. It may also be significant that the hieroglyph for ear (Gardiner F21) is that of a cow; with regard to the iconography of cow-goddesses like Hathor, when they appear in 'mask' form (flattened face, of the type that is found on columns and sistra)<sup>173</sup> the only bovine features are the ears and the horns, if we are to understand the volutes that often appear in

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<sup>171</sup> Amongst other early evidence, the Narmer palette (Quibell 1900: pl.XXIX) displays cow-figures, alongside other complex images and writing which suggest that these are highly developed and ancient ideas even at this early stage.

<sup>172</sup> Sauneron 1963: 155,2 (*sdm*-cattle) and 191,25 (*sdmwt*). Leitz (2002: VII, 742) translates the latter of these as 'the hearing ones'.

<sup>173</sup> Pinch 1993: 135-159.

naos-sistrum-type decoration as stylised horns.<sup>174</sup> It has been suggested that the size of a cow's ears and the tendency of animals to prick their ears or move them independently is the reason for the use of the cow-ear determinative for ears and hearing words.<sup>175</sup>

It is also worth emphasising the phrase 'turn your heart to me' in Antefiker's inscription, recalling Pyramid Text Utterance 477, which encourages Seth to place the words of Geb into his heart.<sup>176</sup> Whilst the words of ear – *ḥn* and *msdr* – are limited to their nominal meaning and therefore to the sense of hearing,<sup>177</sup> the heart could take a more metaphorical sense, being the centre of thought, understanding and emotion (*ib*).<sup>178</sup> From this stems idiomatic expressions like *ḥw-ib* ('joyful', lit. 'long/wide of heart'), *wḥ-ib* ('patient', lit. 'enduring of heart') and *rdi ib hnt* ('pay attention to', lit. 'place the heart before').<sup>179</sup> Coulon argued for the interpretation of *skm-ib* ('intellectual', lit. 'complete/perfect of heart') in place of the phrase *sdm ib* ('the heart which hears'), on a statue of Amenhotep son of Hapu, Cairo CG 583/835,<sup>180</sup> but despite their different meanings, they rely on the same premise that the heart is active. The concept of a deity's awareness and listening can therefore be linked to the aligning of their heart towards the supplicant.

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<sup>174</sup> Manniche 2001: 293.

<sup>175</sup> Emerit 2011: 63.

<sup>176</sup> §957 and 960 – Sethe 1910: 34, 36; Faulkner 1969: 104.

<sup>177</sup> This can be contrasted with the ancient Near Eastern use of ears in a more general sense of becoming aware of or contemplating something - the Akkadian word for 'ear' has the root *uznu* which, like its Sumerian counterparts *ĝeštug* (more common) and *ĝizzal* (less common), also has other meanings related to wisdom, understanding and planning. For Sumerian and Akkadian vocabulary, reference has been made to the Pennsylvania Sumerian Dictionary: <http://psd.museum.upenn.edu/epsd1/index.html> [accessed 22/03/16]

<sup>178</sup> For the various translations, literal (the sign being pictographic) and otherwise, see Faulkner 1962: 14-15; see Brunner 1977 for the different concepts related to the heart, including metaphorical senses such as a medium through which gods could communicate with humans (cols. 1162-1163).

<sup>179</sup> Brunner 1977: cols. 1159-1162.

<sup>180</sup> Coulon 2009: 71-74.

*The Story of Sinuhe*, originally a Middle Kingdom composition (unfortunately it is difficult to specify a date although early Middle Kingdom seems likely<sup>181</sup>), describes the title character's homesickness, and he begs the god to take pity on him: 'If he is truly appeased today, may he hearken to the prayer of one far away'.<sup>182</sup> It is seen that a) the gods may choose not to listen if they are not happy, and b) they may not only hear, but were perceived to have the ability to hear prayers of an individual in a foreign country, far from Egypt. Whilst it is a literary text and therefore some elements of the story are likely invented to benefit the story and its moral – in this case perhaps to emphasise the power and superiority of Egyptian deities – it is not unreasonable to believe that this was based on actual beliefs; Egyptians who were engaged in travel and trade around the Mediterranean would want the security of knowing their gods could hear them even in foreign lands. The evidence of *Sinuhe*, therefore, suggests that despite the fact that there are only a few surviving texts from the Middle Kingdom which relate to hearing deities, by the time of its composition there was a well-developed concept of a listening deity, which was perhaps only then starting to receive expression in writing and to be used as a literary device.

The Second Intermediate Period, as far as I am aware, has almost no evidence for hearing deities (see below, 'Epithets' for one example from this period).<sup>183</sup> In contrast, a significant amount of the evidence relating to listening deities is from the New Kingdom. An inscription from a monument in the tomb of Iamunedjeh at Sheikh abd el-Gurna (TT 84)<sup>184</sup> (temp. Thutmose III), within a prayer to the sun-god, states *sdm=k n=i iw=i hr dd n=k*, 'May you listen to me (when) I am speaking to you'.<sup>185</sup> The sun-god is recognised as having the

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<sup>181</sup> Parkinson 2002: 298.

<sup>182</sup> Parkinson 1999: 27-53.

<sup>183</sup> Investigation into tomb biographies from this period suggests that it was only the deceased and passers-by who are claimed to hear. (Kubisch 2008: for example, 157 (deceased), 283-284 and 290 (passers-by)).

<sup>184</sup> PM I<sup>2</sup>, 1: 168 (8)

<sup>185</sup> Urk IV, 943: 15.

capacity to hear prayers, and Iamunedjeh as having the ability to address the god directly and implore him to listen. An inscription at the culmination of the funeral procession in the tomb of Paheri at El-Kab entreats Osiris *sdm=k nis=i ir=k dd.wt=i ink w<sup>c</sup> m dw3 tw*, ‘may you hear my call, may you do what I say (because) I am one who worships you’,<sup>186</sup> plausibly in the hope that Osiris will allow Paheri access to the afterlife post-interment. A comparable text can be found a little later, from a niche in the tomb of Menkheper (TT 258) from the time of Thutmose IV.<sup>187</sup> The inscription is an offering invocation to Osiris Wenennefer, and within it can be read: *sdm n=i iw=i hr ʕ n=k*, ‘(may you?) listen to me (when) I am calling to you’.<sup>188</sup> Perhaps it is significant that the individuals asking to be heard by Osiris have entered the semi-divine state of the dead which thereby facilitates their access to the god, offering a similar interpretation to the examples of listening gods in funerary literature. Regardless, that they are asking to be heard demonstrates a certain level of autonomy and control, and it could be interpreted as an attempt to influence Osiris to act in their favour– if they say in the inscription ‘may you listen to me’, those words will, in some ways, exert power over, and guarantee a response from, the deity. The words, furthermore, will be perpetually effective, with the intention that Osiris will listen to that individual for eternity.

From slightly later in the New Kingdom the statue of Kheruef, which held a figure of the divine Amenhotep III and featured a Thoth-baboon, stating *ii.n=i hr=k ntr ʕ3 Dhw.ty...dw3=i hm=k sdm=k nis(?)=i*, ‘I have come before you, great god, Thoth...that I may praise your majesty and that you may listen to my call.’<sup>189</sup> The word here transliterated as *nis*, ‘call’, is formed only of a man with one arm raised. Galán translates it as ‘praise’,<sup>190</sup> despite offering the same translation for *dw3* (star-trilateral and man with both arms raised) which

<sup>186</sup> Tylor and Griffith 1894: 21-21, pl.V.

<sup>187</sup> PM I<sup>2</sup>, 1: 342 (4).

<sup>188</sup> Urk IV, 1643: 9-10.

<sup>189</sup> Formerly Berlin 2293, but destroyed during the Second World War; *Urk* IV 1874: 9-11.

<sup>190</sup> Galán 2002: 228 n.31.

precedes it. Given the difference in spelling, it would seem that some distinction in meaning should be made. The interpretation of the text then changes from being purely a scene of praise which the god receives, to the implication that the praise will be given and then the god will hear and respond to the wishes of the individual in return. The reciprocity indicated is a particularly important part of all human–divine communication, and we can assume that the great majority of cases, if not all, involve an individual attempting to communicate with a deity (using phraseology related to the god hearing or otherwise) in order to receive benefaction in return for offerings and praise. This has already been illustrated in the texts invoking Osiris mentioned above.

Other texts involving listening deities include:

- Inscription of Khaemhat, TT 57, in which visitors are told: *sdm n=tn<n> ntr.w niw.t=tn spr.wt=tn nb(.wt)*, ‘the gods of your town will listen to all your petitions’.<sup>191</sup>
- Cubit-stick of Maya, Louvre N 1538: identical to Khaemhat.<sup>192</sup>
- Stelophorous statue British Museum EA 22557 of Amenemhab, called Mehu, which bears praises to the sun-god on the stela, ending with *sdm=k md.wt=i dw3 tw <i> r< nb*, ‘may you hear my words (when) I praise you every day’.<sup>193</sup>
- Stela Louvre E 11922: *di=k wi m pr=k r< nb sdm=k sprw.t*, ‘may you place me in your house every day (when) you hear the petitions’.<sup>194</sup>
- pCairo 58042, also pBoulaq 4, (‘The Instructions of Ani’): amongst other phrases, the unspecified god is said to respond to a petitioner: *iry=f hr.wt=k sdm=f i:dd.t=k šsp=f*

<sup>191</sup> Eighteenth Dynasty, temp Amenhotep III; *Urk* IV 1845: 18.

<sup>192</sup> Eighteenth Dynasty, temp Tutankhamun-Horemheb; *Urk* IV 2169: 15. Provenance, unfortunately, is not certain.

<sup>193</sup> Eighteenth Dynasty; PM I<sup>2</sup>: 789; Luiselli 2011: 49.

<sup>194</sup> Eighteenth Dynasty; Guglielmi 1994: 57.

w[*dn*].*w**t*=*k*, ‘he will grant (lit. make) your needs, he will listen to what you have said, he will receive your offerings’ (17, 3-4).<sup>195</sup> It is worth noting that immediately prior to this the text also stresses the importance of silence in temples and internal prayer (17, 1-3) presumably indicating that the god can hear prayer even when it is conducted silently.

- Inscription in the Abydos temple stairway corridor, of which there are two copies: Thoth (in the Seti I version only, due to lacunae in the Ramesses II version) says *ī.n=ī m pt ḥnꜥ Rꜥ sḏm.n=ī ḥr.t=k*, ‘I have come from the sky with Ra and I have heard your concerns’.<sup>196</sup> As a royal monumental text, this does not fully belong to this collection of primarily non-royal evidence. However, it has been included here because of the potentially significance of Thoth having to come *down* from the sky, entering the earthly sphere and therefore coming closer to the human world.
- Inscription of Simut-Kyky, TT 409, in which Mut is invoked (and is linked to the sun-disk): *ī Mw.t [ḥnw.t] nṯr.w sḏm sprw=ī*, ‘Oh Mut, mistress of the gods, hear my petition’.<sup>197</sup>
- Stela Turin 50058 of Neferabu, in which he calls to Meretseger, *dī=ī iṣw sḏm iṣ(=ī)*, ‘I give you praise. Listen to (my) call.’<sup>198</sup>
- Libation bowl from Memphis Temple of Ptah:<sup>199</sup> this object, which used to be attached to a kneeling statue, has sides reminiscent of a temple enclosure, with external buttresses, each with an ear on it. The recesses between the buttresses all have

<sup>195</sup> Probably Eighteenth Dynasty composition, known in parts from Nineteenth Dynasty sources onwards, but this copy is from the early Third Intermediate Period; Hallo and Lawson Younger Jr 2003a: 110 (notes by M. Lichtheim, including on original composition date); Quack 1994: 7 (pCairo 58042 dating), 94-95 and 289 (translation and transcription).

<sup>196</sup> Nineteenth Dynasty, temp. Seti I and Ramesses II; *KRI* I: 189.

<sup>197</sup> Nineteenth Dynasty, temp. Ramesses II; *KRI* III: 337: 1-2.

<sup>198</sup> Nineteenth Dynasty, temp. Ramesses II; Tosi and Roccati 1972: 94-96.

<sup>199</sup> Nineteenth Dynasty, possibly early Twentieth, but likely temp. Ramesses II; Jacquet 1958; Wall-Gordon 1958.

inscriptions. The object provides two hearing epithets to be discussed below, but one further phrase can be included here: *s.t pw n.t sdm s:nmḥ*, ‘it is a place of hearing supplication’, referring to the temple wall where the basin was offered. Wall-Gordon saw the inscriptions on the vessel as presenting the three aspects under which Ptah was worshipped (universal, solar god and god of the dead; Memphite god; personal god), with particular emphasis on the third.<sup>200</sup> She suggests the dedication may have been thanks for a fulfilled prayer, but it is also possible that in addition the owner was focusing on the more public, popular side of Ptah in order to ensure that his monument was viewed, and possibly used, regularly by a broad spectrum of people, thus perpetuating his participation in the cultic activities of the temple.

- Hermopolitan stela of Merenptah (‘Festival-song of Thoth’). This text furnishes us with one epithet and two other relevant phrases. First, the day of the festival is described as a *ḥrw(?) sdm spr.wt=k*, ‘[the day] of hearing your petitions’. Second the gods are described as *m-ḥnw ntr ḥr sdm [n]ḥ.w[t]*, ‘in the sacred (shrine), listening to prayers’.<sup>201</sup> Even though this is a royal text and the gods are speaking to the king, the phrases contained within it suggest that on this festival day, the gods are listening to all prayers, royal or not.
- pAnastasi II 8,5-6, in which a prayer to Amun begins *ʾImn imi msḏr=k [n] w<sup>c</sup>.ty m qnbt*, ‘Amun, lend (lit. place) your ear to one who is alone in the *kenbet*-court.’<sup>202</sup>
- pAnastasi II 10,4-5, in which a prayer invoking Re-Harakhte and Atum says *sdm nzy=i smz<sup>c</sup>.w nzy=i s:nmḥ n r<sup>c</sup> nb nzy=i dwz n grḥ nzy=i spr[.w] r rwd m r=i s.wt sdm m pz*

<sup>200</sup> Wall-Gordon 1958: 175.

<sup>201</sup> Nineteenth Dynasty, temp Merenptah; KRI IV 29:12 and 30:4.

<sup>202</sup> Nineteenth Dynasty, temp. Merenptah; Gardiner 1937: 17,11; Caminos 1954: p.56 and 57 (note).

*hrw*, ‘my praises are heard, my supplications of every day and my adoration of the night. My petitions will flourish in my mouth (for) they are heard in the day’.<sup>203</sup>

- Inscription of High Priest Amenhotep, son of Ramessesnakht, at Karnak, a text primarily speaking of how Amenhotep restored parts of the temple, but also mentioning a complaint, for the resolution of which he approaches both Amun-Re and the king. Amun-Re is said to have *sdm mdw=i 3s iw bw pwy=f di.t wdf* [...*Imn-R<sup>c</sup> hr m]3 (n)=i*, ‘heard my appeal quickly without his permitting delay [...Amun-Re took noti]ce of me’.<sup>204</sup>

pAnastasi II 6,1-3 also has one further text which warrants inclusion, exalting the pharaoh Merenptah (and, in an almost exact copy on pAnastasi IV 5,9-11, Seti II): *sdm.tw n=k shr.w n t3 nb iw=k htp m h=k tw=k hr sdm md.wt n t3.w nb.w tw.k hry hh.w msdr.w*, ‘To you is told the matters of the whole land (when) you are resting in your palace. You hear the words of all lands. You possess millions of ears’. The text makes several connections between the king and the sun, even implying that the king is able to see and be aware of more than the sun-disk is. Therefore, although on the surface this text is expressing how well the king fulfils his position as ruler of Egypt, it also gives him divine status and draws parallels between human faculties of awareness and listening and the role of sun-god.

The capacity of a god to hear can also be demonstrated where two gods are communicating, as opposed to human and god, as is the case in the Nineteenth Dynasty mythological text *Isis and the name of Re*, in which Isis is told by Re to ‘give to me your two ears’, implying that Isis is to give the god her attention, so that ‘my name might go forth from my body to your

<sup>203</sup> Nineteenth Dynasty, temp. Merenptah; Gardiner 1937: 18; Caminos 1954: 60 and 61 (note).

<sup>204</sup> Twentieth Dynasty, temp. Ramesses IX; *KRI* VI 538: 2-3.

body.<sup>205</sup> Here her ears are essentially acting as mediators, transferring the information (as sound) from Re to Isis.

These texts are all New Kingdom in date, but hearing deities are unquestionably still a facet of religion in later periods, not least because relevant epithets are still in use. The Luxor flood inscription (temp. Osorkon III) is another example where a deity, Amun, is asked to listen: *mk3.tw hft sdm.tw mi im.yw sp3.wt*, ‘Be attentive and listen, please, to those who are in the nomes’, with regard to exceptionally high flood levels (lines 30-32).<sup>206</sup> The implication of repeated entreaties suggests that they believe them to have been heard but ignored by Amun, and in fact the text appears critical of the god as the flooding appears to be at his behest, and he cannot be convinced to stay the river, even by the resultant deaths (lines 34-35 and 48).<sup>207</sup> This recalls the texts in which gods are said not to listen to prayers, such as *Ipuwer* and the Restoration Stela, but it also retains hope that the god will eventually listen, or be compelled to listen by the request.

One final text which is worth mentioning in this context is a Twenty-first Dynasty ostrakon which preserves a letter to the deceased Chantress of Amun Ikhtay.<sup>208</sup> In it her husband writes not to the lady directly, but to her coffin, requesting that it mediates his enquiry as to how she is. He demands that the coffin ‘Listen to me. Send the message and say to her, since you are close to her’. This unique case demonstrates that the capacity to hear and to speak could be applied to physical objects. That coffins were seen as an embodiment of a the goddess Nut<sup>209</sup> may have been a factor here (although the term used is *fdt*, which is

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<sup>205</sup> pTurin 1993; Hallo and Lawson Younger Jr 2003a: 34 (translation by R. K. Ritner).

<sup>206</sup> Ritner 2009: 416, 418-419.

<sup>207</sup> Ritner 2009: 416 and 419 (30-32) and 417 and 419 (48).

<sup>208</sup> oLouvre 698 (Frandsen 1992; Cooney 2007: 263).

<sup>209</sup> Schott 1965.

normally for secular usage<sup>210</sup>), as could the fact that in most cases after the Middle Kingdom coffins were anthropoid: the coffin is imbued with a divine force which can therefore mediate between the world of the living and the world of the dead, and its human shape (albeit stylised) makes it easier to envisage it with characteristics possessed by humans such as hearing and speaking.<sup>211</sup>

### 1.3.3 Epithets related to ears and hearing

When epithets are applied to humans, they create a unique profile of an individual by referring to (positive) aspects of an individual's character, or conveying status to complement titles. With gods they can work in a similar fashion, in that epithets can distinguish deities from one another, or even the same deity from another aspect of him- or herself.<sup>212</sup> They allow worshippers to focus their religious energies on specific divine features as is applicable to their needs. The emergence of epithets related to hearing, therefore, indicates that there was a need for that aspect of gods, and also that humans responded to what they perceived as answered prayers by adding such epithets to gods' names. Others would then turn to that deity expecting them to bestow them with the same beneficence.

The epithet which is mentioned most frequently in the scholarship in the context of hearing deities and personal religion is *sḏm-nḥ.t*, 'one who hears prayer'.<sup>213</sup> One possibility for the first known example of an epithet of this type is found in the Thirteenth Dynasty attached to the deified Heqaib, the Old Kingdom official for whom a cult developed at

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<sup>210</sup> Goldwasser 1995: 198. Cf. Cooney 2007: 264 on the significance of older words for coffin, including *ḥdt*, for rebirth.

<sup>211</sup> The 'Opening of the Mouth' ritual (Otto 1960; cf. comments in Willems 1996: 81-82) would by this period likely have been performed on the coffin as well as, or perhaps instead of, the mummy (see Hartwig 2013: 85 on the ceremony shown in the tomb of Menna).

<sup>212</sup> Guglielmi 1994: 58. Brand 2007: 60.

<sup>213</sup> Pinch 1993: 251-252; Limme 1998: 1179.

Elephantine during the Middle Kingdom.<sup>214</sup> The text in question is on the statue of the chamberlain Demi (statue no. 52<sup>215</sup>). Habachi read the text as Demi making an appeal to the living to pray for him and promising as a result that Heqaib would hear their supplications.<sup>216</sup> The phrase used, however, is *sdm.f* ʕš.t, ‘he hears the call’, and Franke has an alternative interpretation: in the context of the rest of the inscription this is actually linked to a formulaic and ritualistic phrase ʕš.t *rn.w*, ‘call of the names (of the dead)’.<sup>217</sup> Nevertheless, it has been mistakenly stated that Heqaib is the earliest known individual to whom the epithet *sdm-nh.t*, ‘who hears prayer’ is applied.<sup>218</sup> The correct phrase, even if we are to follow Franke’s translation, does indicate that Heqaib can hear, and that he listens to ritual actions performed by his followers once *they* have performed an offering ritual for Demi.

In spite of the disagreement over the correct interpretation of this phrase, it provides further evidence for the abilities of deities to hear in the Middle Kingdom, and may represent the emergence of the notion of specifically-designated hearing deities. Heqaib was a deified individual with quite a broad outreach (not just significant for officials living in the Elephantine area, but also for those who passed through on Nubian campaigns), and this coupled with the fact that he had lived in this world as a man, thus making him approachable and giving him a personal experience of the human desire for contact with the divine world, no doubt explains why a hearing ability was attached to him.<sup>219</sup>

This invites further consideration of deities who were given explicit hearing attributes via epithets. Although the statue of Demi does not provide the earliest known evidence of

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<sup>214</sup> Habachi 1985; Franke 1994.

<sup>215</sup> Habachi 1985: II, pls.132-135 (Aswan 1380).

<sup>216</sup> Habachi 1985: I, 78-79. See on this also his description of his discovery of the statue in an antiquity dealer’s shop, as cited in Kamil 2007: 143.

<sup>217</sup> Franke 1994: 73, n.250, 135, 146.

<sup>218</sup> Pinch 1993: 251-252. Also Luiselli 2011: 74 (although due to Franke’s dismissal of this translation, she does not pursue this evidence further).

<sup>219</sup> Note that the epithet is not included in Leitz 2002 (although there are several others involving hearing prayers such as ‘the one who calls (ʕš) to him’). This could be an omission, or indicative that this phrase was not in fact considered an epithet by Leitz.

listening deities from Egypt (see above, funerary literature and other phrases from the Middle Kingdom), could the fact that the formerly-*human* Heqaib was said have this ability (and specifically the ability to hear people who pay respects to the statue of Demi) help us understand how fully-divine gods were perceived when they appeared in these ‘listening god’ manifestations? I propose that the capacity to speak and to hear, being modelled on human abilities, served to humanise deities, making them more comprehensible, and bringing them closer to the human sphere. Epithets, consequently, not only made gods more approachable and attractive for a worshipper, but also made the establishment of communicative relationships easier to achieve and to demonstrate – a particular deity or form of deity was already poised to hear prayer.

In order to study the epithets related to hearing, I have used the comprehensive *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen (LGG)*,<sup>220</sup> extracting phrases connected to ears (*msdr*, *nh*) and listening (*sdm*, *ndb*). Doing this allows us to consider the epithets quantitatively – for example, distribution, numbers of attestations per epithet – as well as qualitatively – looking at the epithets themselves and the gods to which they are applied.

In total I identified 127 different epithets from the Old Kingdom until the Graeco-Roman Period, which can be found listed in Appendix One. Of these, eighty (62.5%) are attested by only one piece of evidence, suggesting that these theological concepts were not necessarily all widespread or long-lasting. A different perspective indicates the same: in total there are ninety-three different gods represented, but only thirty-one (33%) of these have more than one epithet and/or are attested by more than one document.

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<sup>220</sup> Leitz 2002.

The majority of the epithets first appear in the New Kingdom (thirty-three) or in the Graeco-Roman Period (sixty-three). Whilst the latter clearly has a much larger proportion of the epithets, it also has a much higher percentage only attested once (73% as opposed to 56% in the New Kingdom), probably indicative of the introduction, under the Ptolemaic and Roman rulers, of new religious ideas and gods (syncretised with Egyptian deities or not), leading to great complexity, but less consistency, in Egyptian religion. This is further indicated by the number of gods or entities represented by the relevant epithets in the Graeco-Roman Period, when compared to earlier eras: the Old Kingdom has one entity; the Middle Kingdom six; the New Kingdom twenty-nine; the Third Intermediate Period eight; the Late Period fifteen; and the Graeco-Roman Period fifty-two. Of course, there is also the consideration of survival of evidence: inevitably, more evidence (and thus more names of gods) is likely to have survived to the present day from the Graeco-Roman Period than earlier periods. The Graeco-Roman Period also represents a relatively long span of time compared to the earlier eras under investigation here. Nevertheless, it is clear that the New Kingdom and the Graeco-Roman Period are the most significant eras for evidence of hearing epithets.

#### 1.3.3.1 Epithets of the Old Kingdom

The earliest epithet identified was from the Pyramid Texts, Utterance 549, in which a baboon deity, Baba, is named ‘the one with red ears’. As this is likely a descriptive term, referring to colours displayed by some baboons,<sup>221</sup> it is not directly relevant to this study. Nevertheless, as it will be seen, many hearing epithets have solar connections, and the solar associations of the

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<sup>221</sup> Keimer 1955: 7-8.

baboon are well known. Furthermore, Thoth, often linked to baboons, is attested several times with hearing epithets in later periods.

### 1.3.3.2 Epithets of the Middle Kingdom

The Middle Kingdom supplies six different epithets. Only three are relevant for understanding communication between humans and gods, all from the Coffin Texts:<sup>222</sup>

- 1) In Coffin Text 75, which speaks of the birth of Shu as part of the Heliopolitan theology, Shu describes himself as ‘the one who is millions and hears the affairs of the millions’.<sup>223</sup> The use of ‘millions’ presumably indicates that Shu listens to everyone, human and god alike, but this is not categorically stated. Regardless, this epithet is one of the earliest examples of a designation of this type. The same text explains that Shu acts as messenger or mediates, as he is ‘the one who transmits the words of the self-evolving god (Atum) to his multitude’, and elsewhere that Shu speaks to the Ennead, commanding them to be silent (with the insinuation that they must listen to him). Shu, therefore plays a role in various aspects of communication, with both humans and other gods. Such a responsibility suits a divine force who is the personification of the air: he is conceived as being eternally between his children sky-goddess Nut and earth-god Geb, keeping them apart to maintain the order of creation, and thus is both omnipresent and in contact with both earthly and heavenly domains. The evidence for

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<sup>222</sup> The remaining three: *š3-ḥr.w-sḏm-ḏꜥd-iꜥr.wt*, ‘the one with many faces, the one who listens to the one who cuts off cobras’ heads’ (implies a divine being who listens to another divine being); *sḏm.w ḥrw ḥppw m smsw wsir*, ‘those who hear the words of those who travel in the following of Osiris’ (the group of gods designated as such hear the word of a semi-divine (at least) entourage of a god); *Skr-m-tp-sḏmw*, ‘Sokar in Tep-Sedjemu’ is a place-name, but whether there is a connection to ‘hearing’ is uncertain.

<sup>223</sup> Faulkner 1973: 199-201.

Shu as a messenger or mediator in this fashion, however, is only attested in this single example, to my current knowledge.

- 2) Coffin Texts 166 and 181 are very similar spells, invoking an entity or two entities whose very names have been understood here as types of epithet: ‘Hearer’ and ‘Unstopper (of ears)’. The deceased hopes that he will be heard and that his ears will be unstopped by these entities. What is significant here is that the term used for ‘hearer’ is a feminine participle of the word *sm.t*.<sup>224</sup> It is a fairly rare term and it is not clear why this was chosen above *sdm*. It is not attested in later epithets.
- 3) Coffin Text Spell 1044 also uses *sm.t* (‘he who listens’). It appears as the designation of a demon in the afterlife. It is one of several spells about demons, and even within this particular spell the *sm.t*-demon is accompanied by others, or at least other aspects of his own character. The majority of these are to do the demons keeping watch: ‘he who is alert, he who is vigilant, he who is sharp-sighted, he who is acute.’ In other words, the listening aspect of this demon represents awareness. The demon(s) must remain alert in order to challenge the newly-deceased on their journey to the afterlife.

### 1.3.3.3 Epithets of the New Kingdom

Thirty-three epithets with overt references to deities hearing are introduced in the New Kingdom, according to the surviving evidence. For the whole list, see Appendix One. Examples include: *msdr-sdm* (the ‘hearing ear’ temple in Karnak),<sup>225</sup> *wb3-nh.wy* (‘the one

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<sup>224</sup> *Wb* IV: 144.

<sup>225</sup> Known from later periods also. Attested for Amun on the objects belonging to a priest of this locality – Habachi 1972.

who opens the ears’),<sup>226</sup> and *sdm-nh.t*, (‘the one who hears prayer’).<sup>227</sup> Some of the ideas discussed above in the phraseology of the Middle Kingdom are found here – *sdm-w3* (‘the one who hears, although (he) is distant’) suggests that deities are able to hear at great distances, as read in *Sinuhe*. This epithet is applied to Amun who, by his very nature, is distant (*imn*, ‘hidden’). Such epithets, therefore, are an important method by which such deities were conceived as being both distant and transcendent, and near and personal. The New Kingdom also sees the emergence of the personification of hearing, *Sdm*, a deity in its own right.<sup>228</sup> Attested in seven separate documents in the New Kingdom, Sedjem is a relatively significant figure, although much more frequently found in the Graeco-Roman Period (twenty-five attestations). He is most often part of a group, and has strong connections with his eye-counterpart, *’Ir*. Both *Ir* and Sedjem are associated with knowledge, appearing in many cases with Thoth (and his animals the baboon and ibis) or scribal palettes.

#### 1.3.3.4 Epithets post-New Kingdom

Some of the epithets which appear in certain periods continue into later periods, alongside newly-attested epithets:

- Third Intermediate Period (nine in total):
  - Four from the New Kingdom: *msdr-sdm*, *sdm-ntr.w*, *sdm-spr.w* and *sdm.t-nb.t*.

<sup>226</sup> Attested once in the New Kingdom (Cairo CG 563, statue of Hetep), but six times in the Graeco-Roman Period.

<sup>227</sup> Attested eighteen times in the New Kingdom, twice in the Late Period and six times in the Graeco-Roman Period. There are also variants, such as *sdm-nh.wt* ‘who hears prayers’, *sdm-spr.w*, ‘the one who hears petitions’, and *sdmt-nh.t*, ‘the (female) one who hears prayer’, and more complex statements such as *ii-hr-ꜥ-sdm-spr.wt-n.t s:nmh-n.f-nb*, ‘the one who comes immediately and hears the petitions of everyone who calls to him’.

<sup>228</sup> Brunner-Traut 1977.

- Five newly-attested: *wr-ᵚnh.wy*, ‘the one with many pairs of ears’, *ᵚnh.wy-n-T3-mhw*, ‘the ears of Lower Egypt’, *nb-sdm* ‘the lord of listening’, *sdm-spr-n=f* ‘the one who hears the one who petitions to him’, *sdm-spr-n=f-m-3t*, ‘the one who hears immediately the one who petitions to him’.
- Late Period (fourteen):
  - Four from the New Kingdom: *sdm-nh.t*, *wᵚb.t-sdm.t-3by*, *sdm.t-nb.t*, *sdm.t-hrw-nb.s-rᵚ-nb*, and *Sdm*.
  - Ten newly-attested: *ᵚš3.t-ᵚnh.wy*, ‘the one with many pairs of ears’, *hnty-hw.t-sdm*, ‘the head of the house of the hearer’, *qn-m-sdm*, ‘the enduring one in hearing’, *sdm-...?* (or restored *sdm-i3kb.t/h3r.t*, ‘the...?...hears’ (or ‘the one who hears the mourners/widow’), *sdm-imy-hw.t-ᵚ3.t*, ‘the hearing one, who is found in the big house’, *ᵚq-Rᵚ-r-sdm-mdw=f*, ‘Re enters in order to hear his word’, *sdm-nh.t-n.t-rhy.t*, ‘the one who hears the prayer of the *rekhyt*-people’, *sdm-hrw-n-s-nb*, ‘the one who hears the voice of every man’, *sdm-spr-n-s-nb*, ‘the one who hears the petition of every man’, *Sdmt*, ‘the (female) one who hears’.
- Graeco-Roman Period (seventy-six):
  - Nine from the New Kingdom: *wb3-ᵚnh.wy*, *sdm-nh.t*, *sdm-spr.w*, *sdm-n-ᵚš-n.f*, *wᵚb.t-sdm.t-3by*, *sdm.t-nb.t*, *sdm.t-nh.t*, *sdm.t-hrw-nb.s-rᵚ-nb*, and *Sdm*.
  - One from the Third Intermediate Period: *wr-ᵚnh.wy*.
  - Three from the Late Period: *ᵚš3.t-ᵚnh.wy*, *qn-n-sdm*, and *Sdm.t*.
  - Sixty-three newly attested: for the sake of space and clarity these will only be listed in the Appendix.

The Graeco-Roman Period also sees the introduction of the word *ndb*, ‘listen’/‘hear’. It is not used in situations where the deity hears *nh.t*, ‘prayer’, and *sdm* is more frequently attested overall. There appears to be no discernible pattern explaining the use of this phrase. Like the Middle Kingdom use of *sm.t*, they appear to be synonyms, and all three words use the ear-hieroglyph in its writing. There may, nevertheless, be subtle differences in use or context which could be the subject of future research.

### 1.3.3.5 Usage over time and the deities represented

Although only few epithets appear to have lasted for long periods of time, and the issues of survival are problematic, there are some observations that can be made. It appears that epithets relating to female entities were fairly frequently retained for long periods of time. It should be noted that *w<sup>c</sup>b.t-sdm.t-ꜣby* (‘the (female?) pure one, who hears the leopard (?)’) and *sdm.t-hrw-nb.s-r<sup>c</sup>-nb*, (‘the (female?) one who hears the voice of her lord every day’), both attested in New Kingdom, Late Period and Graeco-Roman Period Book of the Dead Texts, relate to components of doorways/gates. The word used for gate (*sbh.t*) itself is a feminine noun, which would explain grammatically why the other parts of the epithet agree. However, there is a trend towards greater numbers of female deities being given hearing epithets in later periods. A relatively sizeable number of female deities are attested in the New Kingdom (Hathor, Iusaeus, Nebethetepet, Nekhbet, Taweret, Tjenenet, Sedjemetnebet (personification) and Ahmose Nefetari), but all but Hathor are only attested once, and Hathor herself only has two different epithets applied to her, each only attested once. The Third Intermediate Period and Late Period only have a small number of goddesses mentioned with relation to hearing epithets. The Graeco-Roman Period, on the other hand, has around seventeen different

goddesses (some are unnamed), several of which have more than one epithet and several attestations. Iusaeus, for instance, has two different epithets, attested by six separate documents. Nephthys has three different epithets, represented by four attestations. Hathor has the most significant increase, with eleven different epithets represented by fifteen documents, and another where she and Horus-Behdety together are given an epithet. Of course, this could be explained by the greater number of deities, epithets and documents overall in the Graeco-Roman Period – a variety of male deities also are attested with hearing epithets for the first time, and some in very significant numbers, such as Horus-Behdety (eleven epithets represented by twenty-three documents)<sup>229</sup> and Sobek-Re (seven epithets; seven documents), neither of whom are found in earlier periods. One further explanation for the proliferation of evidence for Horus and Hathor, in particular, is that the temples of Edfu and Dendera, from where much of the evidence has derived, are particularly well preserved. Nevertheless, we might expect in this case for other well-preserved Ptolemaic temples to furnish us with similar numbers of documents. The principal deity of Philae, for instance, was Isis, and yet Isis (although attested as a hearing deity through epithets for the first time during the Graeco-Roman Period) is only attributed with three different epithets, each found only once. It is possible, therefore, that there are also theological reasons governing in part the attribution of hearing epithets to deities.

It becomes clear when looking at the types of deity represented that solar types are the most frequently found. I have defined this as gods who represent the sun, are related to the sun-god, or are fused with Re, represented by a dual name (e.g. Khnum-Re). Sekhmet, for instance, is traditionally the daughter of Re; Horus, though primarily a sky god, has significant connections to the sun as a result and in his falcon form is frequently shown with a

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<sup>229</sup> Furthermore, the number of Horus-type deities (Horus-Re, Behdety, Haroeris, Mekhentienirti) also increases.

sun-disk, or appears in the form Horakhty or the winged disk Behdety. Hathor and other Hathoric deities often carry a sun-disk between the cow-horns on their headdress. In total, there are nineteen different solar entities.<sup>230</sup> This represents only 20% of the total number of entities, but this group represent 48% of the total number of epithets and 50% of the total number of documents. The deities are:

- Amun<sup>231</sup> – eleven epithets; fifteen attestations
- Amun-Re – nineteen epithets; thirty attestations
- Re – seven epithets; eight attestations
- Re-Harakhty – one epithet; one attestation
- Sun-god (unspecified/name lost) – four epithets; four attestations
- Horus – one epithet; one attestation
- Horus-Re – one epithet; one attestation
- Horus-Behdety/Behdety – thirteen epithets; twenty-five attestations
- Horus-Behdety and Hathor together – one epithet; one attestation
- Haroeris/Haroeris-Mekhentienirti/Mekhentienirti – thirteen epithets; seventeen attestations
- Harsomtus – one epithet; two attestations
- Nenwen – one epithet; one attestation
- Khnum-Re – four epithets; four attestations
- Sobek-Re – seven epithets; seven attestations
- Hathor – thirteen epithets; seventeen attestations
- Sekhmet – one epithet; one attestation

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<sup>230</sup> I have counted as one deity references to Horus-Behdety and Behdety, and similarly Haroeris, Haroeris-Mekhentienirti and Mekhentienirti.

<sup>231</sup> Although traditionally not a solar deity, his prominent composite form with Re from the New Kingdom, justifies his inclusion on the list even where not named as a composite.

- Sedjemet-nebet (Hathoric iconography) – one epithet; one attestation
- Unnamed Hathoric goddess – one epithet; one attestation
- Phoenix – one epithet; one attestation

There are a few others which have solar connections, although less directly: deified Amenhotep III and Ramesses II, Iusaeus, Tefnut and Bastet.

Amun is much more commonly found with hearing epithets in the New Kingdom than in the Graeco-Roman Period (and not at all at other times). Amun-Re has the same number of different hearing epithets in the New Kingdom as in the Graeco-Roman period (seven), and only three more documents representing them (fourteen and eleven respectively), as well as a smaller number from the Third Intermediate Period and the Late Period. This seems to suggest the more widespread and long-term relevance of the specific composite Amun-Re than the root Amun-form to be a hearing deity. More research would need to be done to see if this observation could be extrapolated to wider religious beliefs beyond the hearing aspect, although it makes sense that the solarised form of Amun which enjoyed greater prominence as a national deity from the New Kingdom is better attested than the basic Amun-form, which was originally a local Theban god.

It seems that the solar aspect of deities was particularly connected with their ability to hear. The evidence of the epithets corroborates the observations I have already made regarding the possible association between the sun-god and awareness of the world, and thus its suitability to be a hearing deity (see discussion of *The Instruction for Merikare*, §1.3.2.2), as well as the growing importance of the sun-god in communicative relationships involving hearing and mediating (as noted for funerary texts of the late Middle and New Kingdoms, §1.3.1.2 and §1.3.1.3). The emerging new solar theology of the New Kingdom, studied

especially by Assmann,<sup>232</sup> is another element of these developments; it has been suggested that the concepts relating to the sun-god become more ‘anthrocentric’ than in traditional hymns,<sup>233</sup> which is certainly the impression given by the other sources discussed here.

#### 1.3.3.6 Towards a detailed chronological analysis of epithets: difficulties and overall remarks

Looking at the epithets in this way allows us to chart which and how many phrases related to hearing there were at different periods, how many documents attest to these epithets, to which gods they were applied and how many gods in total were attributed hearing aspects as a result. With the necessary caution regarding issues of preservation and the resultant evidence biases, we can come to tentative conclusions regarding the significance of solar deities and the more varied, less focused beliefs of the Graeco-Roman Period. This collection of evidence no doubt also offers further opportunities to analyse the concept of hearing deities. It may, for instance, be beneficial to investigate more closely any evident developments in epithets over time, within more specific periods – a great number of the epithets from the New Kingdom are first, or at least mostly, attested from the early Nineteenth Dynasty.<sup>234</sup> Since the case study of this thesis is centred on intermediary statues which are primarily dated to the New Kingdom, looking at epithets from this period may help to provide further context for those monuments.

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<sup>232</sup> Assmann 1995: particularly the comparisons between traditional and new theology in Chapter Three (67-101).

<sup>233</sup> Altenmüller 2009: 23.

<sup>234</sup> Earlier epithets are: *msdr-sdm* (the Hearing Ear contra-temple in the complex of Amun at Karnak was constructed under Thutmose III – see page 76), *sdm-nh.t* (possibly first attested pCairo 58038, temp. Amenhotep II (Luiselli 2004) or Hatshepsut to Amenhotep II (Munro 1988: 37-38), which itself is developed from a Second Intermediate Period text that does not have this epithet, either through lack of inclusion or lacunae), *sdm-spr.ty* (Catalogue A.5, which may be temp. Amenhotep III), *sdm-sšz* (on a doorjamb of Amenhotep III at Soleb; Schiff Giorgini 1961: 185-186, fig. 3) and *sdm-htp.w* (or *msdr-htp* depending on the reading) (one pre-Amarna stela, JE 41772 (Guglielmi and Dittmar 1992: 131-132) and four scarabs bearing the name Menkheperre, although this may not refer to Thutmose III (Jaeger 1982: §282). The ‘seeing and hearing god’ Ir-sedjem, appears on the fourth pylon of Karnak, constructed by Thutmose I. Note that a version of one of the above, *sdm-nh.wt*, is only attested in the Ramesside period.

Dating is a very significant problem, however – in many cases the objects are dated only broadly on stylistic grounds, and there is also a tendency to assume that any from the Nineteenth Dynasty which we cannot date specifically are probably from the long and prosperous reign of Ramesses II. Whilst this is understandable, it makes the task of looking at the chronological development of hearing epithets very difficult. Even within a reign theological ideas could develop – the reign of Amenhotep III, with the later focus on his divinity and rejuvenation through his *sed*-festivals, is a pertinent example – and thus would require even closer chronological analysis of these phrases and epithets. This extremely complicated task is beyond the scope of this thesis, and here only some more general observations must suffice to contextualise the case study of intermediary statues.

Over time the epithets do get more diverse – not only are there far more different epithets from the Nineteenth Dynasty than there are in the Eighteenth (even if we were just to count only those which are first attested in the later period they outnumber those first attested in the Eighteenth Dynasty by around twenty-one to nine), but they are also more complex. Rather than a relatively simple *sdm-nḥ.t*, which is the preferred epithet of the Eighteenth Dynasty, with a few minor variations, the gods of the later period are said to hear specific people or those who do specific actions, for instance *sdm-nḥwt-nt-dd-sw-md-ib.f*, ‘the one who hears the prayers of the one who places him in his heart’, *sdm-n-š-n.f*, ‘the one who hears the one who calls to him’ or *sdm-nḥ.t-m-pr-Ḥry-š.f*, ‘the one who hears prayer in the temple of Herishef’. Alongside this increase in specificity and complexity, the majority of the epithets are only attested through one document. This has parallels with the situation during the Graeco-Roman period, where there are a large number of epithets involving hearing or ears, but a very large majority of them are only attested once. A more specific epithet is applicable to more specific situations, and thus is appropriate relatively infrequently, whereas

a simple ‘who hears prayers’ can be applied easily to several gods in several situations. I suggest that the increasing complexity of epithets represents a trend towards greater individuality in personal practices, with epithets being created and used according to an individual’s preferences and needs. The growing acceptability of the expression of personal religious practices in the New Kingdom facilitated this.

#### **1.4 Some comments on the significance of hearing deities for personal religious beliefs**

The examination of epithets related to ears and hearing has demonstrated that generally speaking these designations are given to individual deities as opposed to groups. There are occasionally groups or pairs of entities that together have the same epithet or it is implied that a group listens, for instance, the *qn-m-sdm*, ‘the enduring one in hearing’, given to ‘the two *bas* of Amun’,<sup>235</sup> or *m33.w-sdm.w-ìw.tyw-mrḥ*, ‘the seeing and hearing ones without perishing’, applied to the Ogdoad.<sup>236</sup>

We may ask why specific gods were given hearing epithets or associated with phrases referring to them listening. It is very probable that it was assumed that *all* gods had the ability to hear humans regardless of any special designations which were attached to certain deities; if the gods did not have that connection to the human sphere, their effectiveness would be compromised and they would be unable to fulfil their functions on earth where necessary. Nevertheless, there must have been a reason for some gods being given such epithets. In twenty-three cases (eighteen of which are Graeco-Roman) the entities given the epithets are members of groups. This does not necessarily mean that the other gods in the group were believed not to listen, but rather that for some reason, in this situation, the hearing aspect of

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<sup>235</sup> Late Period; Parker, Leclant and Goyon 1979: pl. 43, A 33-34.

<sup>236</sup> Graeco-Roman Period; *Urk* VIII: 95c.

this one deity is being emphasised. This is particularly the case when the groups of deities include various forms of the same god: in the Graeco-Roman Book of Hours, pBM10568, the epithet *sdm-nh.t* is applied to Thoth. He is preceded and followed by a Thoth, with a different aspect as an epithet. Similarly in a Book of the Dead text in the Oriental Museum, Chicago, (OIM 10486), Osiris is given the epithet *Wsir-m-msdrwy*, ‘Osiris in (the town of) the two ears(?)’,<sup>237</sup> and he is preceded and followed by different forms of Osiris. The deities are being recognised for their various characteristics. Why those characteristics are chosen over others is not clear. A closer look at the groups and the wider scenes in which these groups appear may offer some answers if patterns can be deduced in the types of gods listed or their functions in the ritual scenes in which they take part.

Outside of the context of epithets, on occasion, there is a broader implication that all gods had a hearing quality: the inscriptions mentioned above from the tomb of Khaemhat and on the cubit-stick of Maya both say, *sdm n-tn<n> ntr.w niw.t-tn spr.wt=tn nb(.wt)*, ‘the gods of your town will listen to all your petitions’.<sup>238</sup> Here the lack of specificity with regard to the gods may suggest a belief that *all* gods actively listened to prayers, although an alternative interpretation could be that it refers to the primary deities local to the area in which the tomb was located, since a visitor to the tomb was more likely to be local than not. For the tomb of Khaemhat this would be the Theban deities (the Karnak triad, of which Amun and Mut both are recognised as hearing deities, although from the evidence I have so far compiled, the earliest attestation for Mut as a hearing deity is from Ramesses II’s reign, later than

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<sup>237</sup> Leitz 2002: II, 547. It should be noted that the reading is uncertain, but it seems to refer to a locality connected to ears.

<sup>238</sup> TT 57, temp Amenhotep III; *Urk* IV 1845: 18. Cubit-stick (Louvre N 1538), temp. Tutankhamun-Horemheb; *Urk* IV 2169: 15. Provenance, unfortunately, is not certain.

Khaemhat<sup>239</sup>) and the West Theban deities (particularly Osiris and Hathor, who also both have hearing characteristics, though again evidence dates primarily from the later New Kingdom); in Maya's case, his tomb was found in Saqqara,<sup>240</sup> so aside from the mortuary connection to Osiris (as with Khaemhat), the principal god of the Memphite area was Ptah (whose hearing abilities, too, are recognised in other sources). Thus an argument could be made that although this inscription is non-specific with regard to the gods who listen, the main gods in the localities where this text is attested were seen as having the capacity to hear prayers, and thus these gods are implied. This presupposes, however, that the hearing aspects of the gods were known amongst the population in order to have meaning and relevance to anyone who might visit the tomb, or at least, known to those who could read the inscriptions in the tomb.<sup>241</sup> Moreover, knowledge of the listening aspect of deities and the suggestion that gods may listen to an individual's prayers indicates that this divine characteristic played some part in the religious beliefs of these people. Indeed, the epithet *sdm-nḥ.t* in particular has frequently been cited as evidence for personal religious practices, particularly in the context of state religious landscapes and monuments. Oft-mentioned examples are the Eastern Temples at Karnak (originally of Thutmose III, with additions during the reigns of Ramesses II, Taharqa, Nectanebo, Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II and Domitian<sup>242</sup>) and the Eastern High Gate at Medinet Habu, with Amun-Re and Ptah being the hearing deities respectively. Ausec

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<sup>239</sup> The Eighteenth Dynasty, intermediary, sistrophorous statue of Men (Catalogue A.3=B.12) names Mut as the deity in the intermediary relationship, but it does not give her a hearing epithet, perhaps because Men is in this context constructing a condition whereby she listens only to Men, rather than generally to supplicants.

<sup>240</sup> Martin 2012; Raven 2001.

<sup>241</sup> If indeed the cubit-stick was in his tomb, the likelihood that a literate visitor with access to Maya's tomb would read the inscription on the cubit-stick, a fairly unassuming object amongst the rest of his tomb assemblage and decoration, could be questioned, and thus the exact intention of its inscription is difficult to determine. Nevertheless, it does imply an expectation that it could be read; the sentiment remains the same, and the mention of listening deities remains significant.

<sup>242</sup> Barguet 1962: 219-226, 299-306; Guglielmi 1994: 59, 65; Galán 2002: 224-225; Carlotti and Gallet 2007; Ausec 2010: 46.

has expressed doubt at the widely-held opinion<sup>243</sup> that these two monuments were places for the ordinary person to approach the gods in supplication, citing not only the lack of evidence for popular worship in the form of votive offerings and graffiti, for instance, but also the wider textual and iconographical programme of those monuments, which she argues refers to the *sed*-festival of the king.<sup>244</sup> She therefore believes that the gods hear the prayers of the king, as opposed to non-royal worshippers, reinforcing the king's traditional role as sole intermediary between human and god.<sup>245</sup> Whilst her methodology and conclusions have merit, not least because she highlights the necessity of questioning entrenched beliefs surrounding these buildings and the *sḏm-nḫ.t* epithet, I find it difficult to agree entirely. The lack of archaeological evidence for personal practices in the Eastern Temples, for example, of course cannot be stated categorically as evidence that these practices did *not* exist, and our understanding may be hindered by the fact that the surrounding areas have never been properly excavated.<sup>246</sup> Also, I do not think the royal focus of these monuments eliminates the possibility of non-royal personal practices being undertaken there; even if we were to accept Ausec's suggestion that the iconography is evidence of traditional royal prerogative, it is plausible that this itself would attract visitors. The texts set this up as a place where the king communicates with the gods and the gods hear prayers, and therefore it offers a route through which individuals could access deities by means of a mediator (the king). I would go so far as to propose that the iconography and texts were intentionally combined to create a designated space in which this personal religious activity was encouraged, simultaneously enabling the dissemination of concepts of royal and divine authority. This arguably provides parallels with the intermediary statues discussed later in this thesis, which explicitly invite the enactment of

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<sup>243</sup> Particularly since Nims 1957.

<sup>244</sup> For example, Ptah at Medinet Habu is seen as a connection to the *sed*-festival through his manifestation of Ptah-Tatenen (Ausec 2010: 86).

<sup>245</sup> Ausec 2010: *passim*, for example 2, 51, 67, 77, 88-89 and 93.

<sup>246</sup> Gallet 2013: 9.

personal religious rituals and the speaking of prayers, in order for the statue-owner to pass them on to the divine world. In the decoration and inscriptions of the Medinet Habu Eastern High Gate, Karnak Eastern Temples and intermediary statues, the ability of the relevant god to hear prayers is highlighted, indicating that in these locations or in the vicinity of these statues, communication with gods is possible because the god takes an appropriate form. If it is not possible for the ordinary supplicant to contact the gods directly, communication may be facilitated through the monuments themselves.

One aspect of communication which can perhaps be illuminated further through a consideration of hearing deities is the level of power held by the participants. At a basic level, it is undeniable that the god involved is of infinitely higher status than a human supplicant, however the existence of divine epithets related to hearing prayers makes the relationship more complex. A deity's acquisition of an epithet of this nature benefits a petitioner in that god is shown to have the ability to hear. By means of this epithet, which is of course given to them by humans, the god is encouraged to listen and to respond by granting the requests.<sup>247</sup> Consequently, the development of such epithets is in some ways a method by which humans have some control over the deities' actions – if a deity is named as a hearing god, and this is commemorated in a monument, for example, those words will have power for as long as the monument remains intact. The god will therefore be believed to be perpetually imbued with the hearing ability and then be expected to enact that ability. It is probable that epithets of this nature emerged from personal practices, in that an individual whose prayers were answered would then believe the deity to whom they directed their prayers listened. That god then

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<sup>247</sup> Pinch and Waraksa 2009: 3-4.

became known as a ‘hearing god’ and other people would then have the expectation that their prayers would also be answered.

In a similar vein, Pinch believes that the use of ear-votives and -stelae was not an attempt to compel the deity into hearing, but she does nevertheless consider the possibility that there was some *obligation* placed on the gods when one of these items was presented.<sup>248</sup> A deity may have been believed to have overall control over whether he or she would listen and respond, but the balance of authority and power in this communicative relationship was multi-faceted, and both parties had a certain level of power over the other. Both human and god depended on each other: the human on the god for a beneficial response to his or her petitions, and the god on the human for sustenance in the form of offerings. Those offerings may be given prior to the deity’s action as a form of payment, or afterwards in fulfilment of a vow. As has been pointed out, many ear-stelae refer to future requests and benefits;<sup>249</sup> in setting up a stela or presenting an object that refers to or represents future appeals, an individual had the potential to wield constant influence over the deity being invoked – this object could be suitable for continued use whenever that individual had need, and the deity would be obliged to respond.<sup>250</sup>

The idea of this obligation, and to some extent a sense of entitlement on the part of the human devotee, can be seen reflected in the cases where an individual has not received the response expected. Earlier in this chapter, it was seen that in both Egypt and the Near East there is evidence for the frustration felt by humans when the god was thought to be silent and unresponsive; it has been suggested that this was actually a method by which pressure could

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<sup>248</sup> Pinch 1993: 253, 354 (also 258, where she quotes Hayes (1959: 173), saying that stelae and votives were set up by worshippers to ‘assure their being seen and heard by the great tutelary goddess’); Pinch and Waraksa 2009: 4. This also applies to the application of hearing epithets.

<sup>249</sup> Pinch 1993: 252.

<sup>250</sup> See also Wall-Gordon 1958: 168 (on the element of ‘magical persuasion’ embedded in images of ears).

be applied on the god to respond,<sup>251</sup> and as a result the human individual exerted, or attempted to exert, a form of power over the gods.

The relationship between human and god, in particular how humans perceived their relative status in the process of communicating with a god, is somewhat paradoxical. The transcendence of gods was unquestionable, and yet the development of the notion of hearing deities suggests that they became more accountable for their actions, as they then had specific functions which supplicants expected them to fulfil within a more personal sphere of religious activity. Another possible contradiction arises from the emergence of ear-stelae, ear-votives and hearing deities: Pinch suggests, on the one hand, that votives were a result of an increasing desire for, or confidence in, personal contact with the gods, beginning at least from the Eighteenth Dynasty.<sup>252</sup> On the other hand, the ‘one who hears prayers’ epithet could actually indicate that visitors were not entirely confident a deity would hear,<sup>253</sup> hence the epithet was required to provide more assurance. This demonstrates the complexity of the rise in personal religious practices (or the increased evidence for it, particularly from the New Kingdom onwards), for alongside the growing wish to show one’s relationship with the gods, there was possibly a growing fear that gods would not respond. If this fear preceded, and therefore was a possible cause of, the rise in personal religious expression, it becomes more imperative that we attempt to trace the origins of that fear – one could look, for instance, in the pessimistic literature set in the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom – the *The Admonitions of Ipuwer* has been reflected upon, as was the Restoration Stela of Tutankhamun. Funerary literature, as it becomes more accessible in the Middle Kingdom, sees an increase in the number of deities said to listen, perhaps in order to counteract the fear of failing to reach the afterlife which grew as the afterlife itself became more complex and dangerous; in the

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<sup>251</sup> Korpel and de Moor 2011: 135, 261.

<sup>252</sup> Pinch 1993: 259.

<sup>253</sup> Pinch 1993: 349-350.

New Kingdom, when funerary literature became even more accessible (although necessarily remaining within the elite sphere), there is not a recognisable increase in the number of references to hearing deities, but a wider expression, in terms of the phrases and themes used, of communication between gods and between humans and gods (reporting of messages and so on).

Certainly in the Near East we have examples of deities listening (to other deities and to humans) after times of crisis, such as in texts lamenting the destruction of Ur or other city-states. This may go some way to explain why and how the concept of a hearing deity developed. Even if it proved impossible to ascertain the origins of the fear of an unresponsive god, what is likely is that this fear will have contributed to an even greater desire to demonstrate personal piety, as a way to induce a deity into a response, and thus was instrumental in further increasing evidence for personal beliefs.

### **1.5 Final thoughts and conclusions**

The ears are an essential element of hearing. As I have focused on the written evidence less attention has been paid to ear-stelae and votives, which certainly are an important facet of personal piety, and it is significant to note that the ears represented, although of deities, are shaped as a human's – the emphasis is on the human character of the deity. Hearing verbs and ear nouns ordinarily have a cow-ear as a determinative, and as has been seen (and as will be discussed in relation to sistrophores), there are connections between cows and listening. It has been noted that the fact that *ʿnh*, ear, is a homophone of the word for 'life' is significant for the perception of sound in Egypt.<sup>254</sup> The head is naturally a centre for the senses, although

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<sup>254</sup> Emerit 2011: 63-64.

perhaps the importance of the ear should not be overstated – the reinstating of the senses is a crucial element of funerary ritual, but the ears are less frequently mentioned than the eyes and the mouth. This is most notable in the Pyramid Texts, but to a lesser extent is true for later funerary literature.<sup>255</sup> On the other hand, the ear is implicitly involved in cases where people and gods are said to hear.

The concept of hearing deities as attested in phrases and epithets is usually afforded no more than a mention as one of the features of increased evidence for personal piety, and yet it is clear that the exploration of the ‘hearing god’ was a very ancient process, with evidence from at least mid-Old Kingdom.<sup>256</sup> In clearly applying human senses to deities, such phrases served to anthropomorphise deities and give the impression that they were closer to the earthly sphere, and therefore would be able to address the concerns of worshippers more quickly and efficiently. As Meskell has pointed out, hearing is conceptually significant in that it represents a response to human need.<sup>257</sup> The very inclusion of a hearing epithet or an exhortation to be heard within a text lends immediacy to the communication, and ensures the deity is present and engaged in the desired action.<sup>258</sup> Similar suppositions have been made regarding ear-stelae.<sup>259</sup> Instances where the speaker laments or rebukes a god for not being nearby when sought implies, likewise, that a god will be obligated to *resume* listening, the supplicant perhaps hoping to shame the deity for being unresponsive in times of need.<sup>260</sup> Even the gratitude for being heard, which no doubt took the form of the provision of offerings and

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<sup>255</sup> BD 26, 172 and 181 (all at least in part Middle Kingdom compositions), for instance, name body parts but not the ears: Quirke 2013: 89-90, 426 and 465 respectively. BD 181, in particular is a long and somewhat specific list, which makes the omission more notable.

<sup>256</sup> See also Roulin 2002: 461 for similar thoughts.

<sup>257</sup> Meskell 2004: 134.

<sup>258</sup> It could be argued that this is especially true where the god is directly entreated to listen by the worshipper (for example, the text of Iamunedjeh, ‘may you listen to me’, see this thesis pages 53-54), as this sets up a very personal one-on-one relationship in order to guarantee that particular deity focuses on that individual. Similarly, see Hays 2012: 146 on the use of first and second-person pronouns as a method of giving immediacy in time and place to spells.

<sup>259</sup> Emerit 2011: 81.

<sup>260</sup> Bryce 2002: 139 (on similar ideas in Hittite religion).

the erection of monuments (perhaps ear-stelae, unless these were erected as the request to be heard itself) testifies yet further to the somewhat dominant role played by the human participants in the context of hearing deities, since the gods are reliant on the humans for the maintenance of their cults, and thus the latter must be kept contented.

On the other hand the connection of hearing to judgement, whilst of course implying that judges *listen* to cases, shows that the role of the listener is not entirely passive and submissive – the active decreeing of divine justice is the consequence of the act of listening.<sup>261</sup> The interpretation of hearing as active or passive role is hindered somewhat by language; in English the words ‘listening’ and ‘hearing’ have subtly different connotations, the first state being more attentive and reactive, and the second being a physiological fact that does not require conscious awareness. *sḏm* is used for both, although arguably the combination with the *n*-preposition provides a clearer sense of ‘listening’ (to someone or something); where an object for the verb exists – *sḏm-nḫ.t*, for instance – there is no ambiguity despite the lack of preposition. The majority of cases discussed here contain an object, the primary area in which it is missing being personal names (such as *Hr-sḏm*, ‘Horus hears’). Yet, in these cases I am inclined to read these as abbreviated writings in which the object is implied. Indeed, whilst the nuances of the functional ‘hearing’ and dynamic ‘listening’ may be present in certain texts,<sup>262</sup> in the context of deities it seems most likely that ‘listen’ is to be understood; the capacity of gods to listen to others is key to humans establishing relationships with their deities, which, as I argue, is surely the purpose of this characteristic. That *sḏm* can also have the meaning ‘obey’ demonstrates the inherent expectation in a phrase or epithet referring to a hearing god that the deity will respond as the devotee wishes.

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<sup>261</sup> Gallet 2013: 9.

<sup>262</sup> Emerit 2011: 65-66.

This survey of material is intended to provide context for the intermediary statues under discussion in the following chapters. These temple monuments, non-royal and dated to the New Kingdom and later, may appear to have little in common with the concept of hearing deities that appears in the royal funerary literature of the Old Kingdom, and indeed the accessibility and purpose of these sources are very different (similar reservations could be stated for Coffin Texts, for although they can be non-royal texts, they are still funerary). What has been demonstrated, however, is that intermediary statues are one manifestation of an idea which can be traced back to far earlier times – that gods can listen to humans. The Old Kingdom sources mainly relate to gods listening to kings (themselves semi-divine, or arguably fully-divine when deceased), a product, of course, of the fact that these texts are written for the king's benefit, and that at this time only the king was expected to join the gods in a heavenly afterlife.<sup>263</sup> This is in part due to the nature of the surviving sources (Pyramid Texts), but nevertheless indicates that, officially, only the king had a direct connection to divine worlds. As will be seen in a critical analysis of *sistrophores* and their political connotations (§3.3.2.3), there is a case to be made for intermediary statues and *sistrophores* actually reaffirming the traditional role of king as sole mediator between divine and human worlds. Although in that instance I maintain a considerably different position, this royal prerogative should be borne in mind as a potential undercurrent to all human interactions with deities. In doing so, interactions where the king's involvement is not mentioned become worth noting, and in fact it is such occurrences which form a key element of discussions the expression of non-royal, non-elite, direct access to gods and what this means for the development of 'personal religion'.

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<sup>263</sup> As opposed to the non-royals, whose post-death experience was generally conceived as being restricted to the tomb-chamber and the earthly realm, at least until the Fifth or Sixth Dynasties. See Allen 2006.

The only other Old Kingdom sources noted here are a small number of personal names, which could reflect the joy of parents to have been gifted with a child. These appear with far more frequency in the New Kingdom. It has been argued that hearing abilities attributed to gods were a way to induce those gods to respond, perhaps showing that with growing contact with deities came a corresponding growing fear in their silence, or even an uncertainty about their beneficence or power. Accordingly, hearing epithets were also a way to reassure individuals about their gods' abilities. Personal names are an occasion where a less sceptical conclusion can be made – these names were given after a prayer had been responded to, since the child was the result. They are, therefore, more unequivocally a representation of true faith and respect in the god's omnipotence – the grateful parents are not trying to influence the god (unless we interpret the name as a future wish that their child be protected throughout his or her life). Thus this could be extrapolated for other evidence as proof that we need not assume humans were trying to ensure gods responded. Nevertheless, it is not always known whether a votive object was offered as thanks for the god listening, or in anticipation of the event.

With regard to the links between other earlier sources and later evidence for mediation and hearing gods, it has been shown that the Coffin Texts represent a clear demonstration of the idea of judgement in connection to listening. It will be seen that judgement is one of the key aspects of the symbolism of doorways, arguably the intended location of mediating statues. It also is the implied foundation of an intermediary's function – the statue presents an individual's request on the latter's behalf to a god, acting as an advocate, and the god then judges the worthiness of the request. In order to present him- or herself as an effective mediator, the statue-owner is likely to indicate, through its inscriptions, the potential for successful communication with the gods, including that they have a connection to the divine

world and perhaps specific gods, and therefore are likely to gain an audience with a deity. The demonstration of such a connection will be explored in the following chapter.

The notion of hearing deities is a useful case for studying the mechanisms by which Egyptians enacted their beliefs, particularly personal beliefs. Not only does it indicate that they conceived of their gods as being not unlike humans in terms of their faculties, but also that the idea that gods could listen to and fulfil prayers originated in personal experience: an individual perceiving their wishes to have been realised and attributing this to divine benefaction. The desire to achieve *Gottesnähe* ('closeness to a god')<sup>264</sup> undoubtedly facilitated the spread of this idea and gave individuals more outlets for their religious feeling. It also contributed to, or reflects, a growing level of autonomy in the religious activity of individuals, both in their ability to have direct contact with their deities, and also in the power and agency they arguably exerted in the human–god relationship. The god may be superior, but the supplicant is the speaker, demanding to be heard; it is clear that the communicative bond between speaker and listener is complex, and this is all the more so when the parties involved are human and deity.

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<sup>264</sup> Luiselli 2011.

**CHAPTER TWO:**  
**INTERMEDIARY STATUES: TEXTS AND IDENTIFICATION**

**2.1 Introduction: statuary in Egypt and Catalogue A**

Egyptian statues were undoubtedly a mechanism for communication with other beings – Egyptian art’s intrinsically magical character allowed it to mediate between different realms of existence. The innate concept of a statue was that it itself was not living, but provided a physical house in which a spirit, human or divine, could reside and partake in offerings presented to it.<sup>265</sup> Through this physical presence the spirit could participate eternally in activities performed upon earth such as funerary processions, festivals and daily temple rites.<sup>266</sup> The significance of statuary as a means for the (deceased) statue-owner to communicate with the living (and *vice versa*) is particularly evident once the ‘appeal to the living’ was introduced in the Fifth Dynasty, whereby the statue itself actively pursued communication by directly addressing passers-by.<sup>267</sup> All statues, and indeed all works of art, are mediators in a general sense.

As it has been suggested, however, intermediary statues emerged in the New Kingdom as a type within the context of hearing deities (itself a concept which evolved to facilitate communication between humans and the divine in other realms), adapting this religious phenomenon whilst also emphasising the need for an elite individual to assist in the communication. A true intermediary, I therefore propose, is a monument whose inscriptions explicitly claim to occupy a position between earthly and divine worlds: there must be some indication of an interaction between the monument and the divine, and between the

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<sup>265</sup> Kozloff 2001: 218; Hartwig 2015: 48-49.

<sup>266</sup> One example is the proliferation of stelae and statues and other monuments, both royal and non-royal, at Abydos during the Middle Kingdom, where the festival celebrating the resurrection of Osiris was believed to benefit attendees in the same way (Freed 2010: 892-893).

<sup>267</sup> Müller 1975: col. 293.

monument and the people who approach it, as well as a willingness to facilitate communication between the divine and the human spheres as mediator. Ideally the texts describing both monument–divine and monument–human relationships should also indicate the intermediary function, in order to specify the purpose of the relationship being formed.

The work of Jacques Jean Clère, in particular that which was published in an article and a (posthumous) book, presents a relatively small group of statues which are sometimes cited when the concept of intermediaries is mentioned in the scholarship.<sup>268</sup> These, together with the very frequently mentioned scribal statues of Amenhotep son of Hapu and a statue of a woman named Mutsepy/Mutmuty,<sup>269</sup> are arranged in Catalogue A, totalling thirty-one monuments which range in date from the Eighteenth Dynasty until possibly the Twenty-seventh Dynasty, with most dating to the Ramesside Period (Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties).

## **2.2 Intermediary statues (explicit): introduction**

An exploration of the statue inscriptions shows that there are twenty-three statues which are particularly clear in their statements of intermediary function. These will be listed in Table 1 with relevant extracts of their texts in sections numbered (1) relationship monument–divine, (2) relationship monument–human, and (3) willingness to mediate. It will be shown that, for the most part, the three criteria can be matched, and explanations will be sought for circumstances in which they cannot. In §2.2.2, some comments will be made on the texts selected for tabulation from each monument separately. One text criterion can be represented by more than one excerpt; the relationship monument–divine, for instance, can be

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<sup>268</sup> Clère 1968a; Clère 1995. On intermediaries see, for instance, Price 2011a: 7, 148 n.226, 236.

<sup>269</sup> On the difficulty of reading her name, see Kreißl 1989: 29.

demonstrated by several titles and epithets, some of which may have been positions in the priesthood held during life. In these cases, only the titles felt to be most relevant to the intermediary function are included in the table. Statements which are not as obviously related to this function will be included in the table where they are the *only* extracts available, but will be covered in the comments where they corroborate, or add significance to, more relevant types of text. General and shared themes or textual features will be discussed in §2.2.3.

### 2.2.1 Table 1: A.1 – A.23

Cat.	Statue-owner	(1)	(2)	(3)
A.1	Amenhotep son of Hapu	<p><b>Text D, third</b>  <i>ink whm.w n ntr pn</i></p> <p>I am the reporter of this god</p>	<p><b>Text D, first</b>  <i>i rmt n.t Ip.t-sw.t  zbb.yw m33 Imn mi.w  n=i</i></p> <p>Oh, people of Ipet-sut, those who desire to see Amun, come to me</p>	<p><b>Text D, second</b>  <i>smi=i spr.wt=tn</i></p> <p>I will report your petitions</p> <p><b>Text D, fourth</b>  <i>rdi.n wi Nb-m3'.t-R'  r whm dd.wt t3.wy</i></p> <p>Nebmaatre caused me to repeat the words of the Two Lands</p>
A.2	Amenhotep son of Hapu	<p><b>Text D, fourth</b>  <i>ink whm.w n dd nsw  n sdm md.wt n.t  &lt;s&gt;nmh r s:r.t hr.wt  idb.wy</i></p> <p>I am the reporter whom the King has placed for hearing words of supplication (and) in order to cause the affairs of the Two Banks to ascend</p>	<p><b>Text D, first</b>  <i>i Sm'.w Mh.w ir.t nb.t  m3.t itn iw.w m-hd hnt  r W3s.t r s:nmh n nb  ntr.w mi.w n=i</i></p> <p>Oh Upper and Lower Egypt, everyone who sees the sun-disk, those who come downstream and upstream to Thebes in order to make supplication to the Lord of the gods, come to me</p> <p><b>Text D, third</b>  <i>ir.w n(=i) htp-di-nsw  qbh.w n=i m ntt m '=tn</i></p> <p>Perform for (me) the offering-which-the-king-gives. Present</p>	<p><b>Text D, second</b>  <i>smi=i dd(.w)=tn n  Imn m Ip.t-sw.t</i></p> <p>I will report what you say to Amun in <i>Ipet-sut</i></p>

			libations to me with that which is in your hand	
A.3	Men	<b>Text D, line 1</b> <i>wḥm.w n ḥnw.ty=i</i>  (I am) the reporter of my two mistresses	<b>Text D, line 2</b> <i>i n=i</i>  Speak to me	<b>Text D, lines 2-3</b> <i>s:ḥr=i spr.wt=tn</i>  I will cause your petitions to ascend
A.4	Neferrēpet	<b>Text A, lines 4-5</b> <i>ink iḥy n ḥnw.t=i</i> <i>wḥm.w n nb.t p.t</i>  I am the sistrum-player of my mistress, the reporter of the lady of the sky	<b>Text A, lines 5-6</b> <i>spr.t ḥr nb</i>  petition(s) of all	<b>Text A, lines 5-6</b> <i>s:ḥr spr.t ḥr nb n</i> <i>Nbw r-ḥnw n pr=s</i>  the one who causes the petition(s) of all to ascend to the Golden One into the interior of her house
A.5	Tjauy	<b>Text A, lines 1-2</b> <i>ink iḥy n Ḥw.t-Ḥr</i>  I am the sistrum-player of Hathor	<b>Text A, lines 1-4</b> <i>ink iḥy n Ḥw.t-Ḥr sdm</i> <i>spr.ty rwn.t [nb(.t)] nty</i> <i>[m rm] nty grg Ḥw.t-Ḥr</i>  I am the sistrum-player of Hathor who listens to the petitioner and every young girl who is crying and who Hathor is establishing  <b>Text A, lines 4-6</b> <i>imm s:gnn ḥr wp(.t)=i</i> <i>srn r r=i tn wdn[=tn]</i> <i>imm sn.w m-bšḥ&lt;ṯ&gt;</i>  Place ointment upon my forehead, <i>serem</i> -drink in my mouth and bread of [your] offering. Place <i>senu</i> -loaves in (my?) presence	<b>Text A, line 6</b> <i>kz dd(=i) n Ḥw.t-Ḥr</i> <i>sdm n s:nm(h).&lt;nt&gt;</i>  Then (I) will speak to Hathor who listens to your(?) supplication
A.6	Penshenabu	<b>Text A, line 3</b> <i>ink bšk n Ḥw.t-Ḥr</i>  I am the servant of Hathor	<b>Text A, line 4</b> <i>... nb r [pr(?)] ḥnw.t=i</i>  all [those who come(?) to the house(?)] of my mistress	<b>Text A, line 4</b> <i>... nb r [pr(?)]</i> <i>ḥnw.t=i sdm=s&lt;.t&gt;</i> <i>spr.wt</i>  ...all [those who come(?) to the house?] of my mistress (so that) she may hear the petitions

				<p><b>Text A, lines 6-7</b>  <i>iw=i r dd n t3</i>  [Nbw(?)]</p> <p>I will speak to the  [Golden One]</p>
A.7	Sedjemwau	<p><b>Text D, line 1</b>  <i>ink p3 is n Hw.t-Hr</i>  <i>ink iry-(i) n pr-s&lt;.t&gt;</i></p> <p>I am the bald one of Hathor, I am the door-keeper of her house</p>	<p><b>Text D, line 2</b>  <i>s:gnn ndm r t3.y=i is</i>  <i>hnq.t r r=i</i></p> <p>(Place) sweet ointment upon my baldness and beer in my mouth</p> <p><b>Text E, second</b>  <i>ii.y(w) nb r wdn n</i>  <i>Nbw.t</i></p> <p>All those who come to offer to the Golden One</p>	<p><b>Text D, line 2</b>  <i>iw=i r dd n Hw.t-Hr</i></p> <p>(and) I will speak to Hathor</p> <p><b>Text E, first</b>  <i>wlm n nb.t p.t</i></p> <p>(I) will repeat to the lady of the sky</p> <p><b>Text E, third</b>  <i>sdm=s spr.wt ir=tn</i></p> <p>She will listen to the petitions which you make</p>
A.8	Ameneminet	<p><b>Text H, lines 2-3</b>  <i>ink [p3] is n t3 ntr.t</i>  <i>wlm(.w) n hnw.t=f</i></p> <p>I am the bald one of the goddess, the reporter of his mistress</p>	<p><b>Text H, lines 3-4</b>  <i>nty nb spr.wt m di=f dd</i>  <i>[s]w r msdr=i</i></p> <p>Anyone who has petitions he is making, speak [it] to my ear</p>	<p><b>Text H, lines 4-5</b>  <i>k3 wlm(=i) sn n t3.y=i</i>  <i>hnw.t m t3(.y)=s</i>  <i>wnw.t htp.w</i></p> <p>then (I) will repeat them to my Mistress in her hour of peace</p>
A.9	Iuy	<p><b>Text B</b>  <i>is n Hw.t-Hr</i></p> <p>The bald one of Hathor</p>	<p><b>Text C, first</b>  <i>[ii].w nb r wdn n Nbw r</i>  <i>mh r=i m di.wt</i></p> <p>All those who come to offer to the Golden One, fill my mouth with offerings</p>	<p><b>Text C, second</b>  <i>k3 dd=i spr(.w)=tn nb</i>  <i>n t3 nb.t Dsr</i></p> <p>Then I will say all of your petitions to the lady of Djeser</p>
A.10	Inhernakht	<p><b>Text F, lines 8-9</b>  <i>ink hm n nb.t p.t is n</i>  <i>pr Mh.t iry-<sup>c3</sup> n r-</i>  <i>pr=s</i></p> <p>I am the servant of the lady of the sky, the bald one of the house of Mehyt, the door-keeper of her temple</p>	<p><b>Text F, lines 6-7</b>  <i>i rmt n niw.t=i šps.w n</i>  <i>pr Mh.t dd=i n=tn</i></p> <p>Oh, people of my town, noblewomen of the house of Mehyt, I speak to you</p> <p><b>Text F, lines 9-10</b></p>	<p><b>Text F, line 10</b>  <i>wlm=s [n] (n) Mh.t</i></p> <p>{excerpt concerns petitions} ... which are repeated to Mehyt</p> <p><b>Text F, lines 17-18</b>  <i>sdm.s&lt;w&gt; m spr.t</i>  <i>nb(.t) m dd n=s p3 is</i></p>

		<p><b>Text F, lines 10-11</b>  <i>wḥm=s [n] (n) Mh.t</i>  <i>wḥm sw n=i r ḏd sw</i>  <i>nb sḏm spr.w=tn</i></p> <p>{excerpt concerns petitions} ... which are repeated to Mehyt (who) will repeat it to me, saying all of it, listening to your requests</p>	<p><i>sḏm spr.t=tn ḥkz.t nb(.t)</i>  <i>s[... ?] r msḏr.wy=i</i></p> <p>one who listens to your petition(s) and every spell(?) [you make(?)] to my ears</p>	<p>She will listen for every petition which the bald one is saying to her</p>
A.11	Amenmose	<p><b>Text A, line 1</b>  <i>ḥm n pr Nbw wḥm.w</i>  <i>n Hw.t-Hr</i></p> <p>Servant of the house of the Golden One, reporter of Hathor</p> <p><b>Text A, line 2</b>  <i>ink is n t3 nṛ.t</i></p> <p>I am the bald one of the goddess</p> <p><b>Text A, line 10</b>  <i>ink is n pr Nbw</i>  <i>wrš.y m-b3ḥ</i></p> <p>I am the bald one of the house of the Golden One, one who spends the day in (her) presence</p>	<p><b>Text A, line 9</b>  <i>i rmt dmi.t=i šps.y(w)</i>  <i>Tp-iḥw</i></p> <p>Oh people of my town, nobles of <i>Tep-ihu</i></p> <p><b>Text A, lines 11-12</b>  <i>ir ʿq nb ḥr wdn.w r pr</i>  <i>Hw.t-Hr šzʿ[.n=f(?)] n</i>  <i>ḥnw.t=i mi n=i ḥr ph.wy</i>  <i>dd.t n=i m t3 ʿnʿn.t n</i>  <i>tp.t</i></p> <p>As to all those who enter carrying offerings into the house of Hathor, beginning for my mistress, come to me afterwards, giving to me from the best (offerings) remaining</p>	<p><b>Text A, line 14</b>  <i>k3 ḏd=i spr.wt</i>  <i>wḥm.wtn m [...]</i></p> <p>then I will speak (your) petitions, repeating you (them?) in [...]</p> <p><b>Text B, line 2</b>  <i>sḏm spr.ty</i></p> <p>(May you) hear the petitioner</p>
A.12	Khaemipet	<p><b>Text B, lines 5-6</b>  <i>ink p3(.y)=sʿṭ nḥm.w</i></p> <p>I am her proclaimer</p>	<p><b>Text B, lines 2-3</b>  <i>i di.w m p3 wb3 s.t ḥms</i>  <i>n grg ir.t ḥwʿn(?) m-</i>  <i>b3ḥ=ʿṭ rʿ nb</i></p> <p>Oh, those who offer in the open forecourt, the place of sitting of silence(?), make provisions in (my?) presence every day</p> <p><b>Text B, line 5</b>  <i>i rmt nb ʿnh ʿḥr tp t3</i></p>	<p><b>Text B, line 3</b>  <i>iw r p3.y ity.t(?)</i>  <i>msḏr.wy sḏm</i></p> <p>being for the (my) queen whose ears listen</p> <p><b>Text B, lines 5-6</b>  <i>ink p3(.y)=sʿṭ nḥm.w</i></p> <p>I am her proclaimer</p>

			<p><i>nty n ḥnw.t m tp t3 nb imm di.w ḥn m-b3ḥ(=i)</i></p> <p>Oh, all people who live upon the earth, those who (offer?) to the mistress with what is upon every land, give libation(s) in (my) presence</p>	
A.13	Neferhotep	<p><b>Text C, lines 1-2</b> <i>ink is ḥsy n [Nbw] whm(.w) n ḥnw.t=f</i></p> <p>I am the favoured bald one of the Golden One, the reporter of his mistress</p> <p><b>Text C, line 7</b> <i>ink is ḥsy</i></p> <p>I am the favoured bald one</p> <p><b>Text C, line 11</b> <i>b3k n Ḳs.t</i></p> <p>the servant of Isis</p>	<p><b>Text C, lines 2-5</b> <i>n3 n [šp]s.wt n3 n rwn.wt n3 [n g]rg.w- pr.w ḥm.wt nb.(w)t n t3 r-d[r=f ʿ]q.w r m3 ḥnw.t=i</i></p> <p>the one for the noblewomen, the one for the young girls, the one [for the ho]use-wives, all women of the ent[ire] land, [those wh]o enter to see my mistress</p> <p><b>Text C, lines 8-11</b> <i>k3 s:(n)mḥ.t=tn ḥr [wh]m.w s.t mi b3k ḥnw mi-qd=i</i></p> <p>then you will make supplication to the one who repeats it like a servant of the Residence, like me</p>	<p><b>Text C, lines 5-6</b> <i>ink [wh]m.w spr(.w)=tn nb n ḥnw.t m mn.t</i></p> <p>I am [the one who repeats] all your petitions to the mistress daily</p> <p><b>Text C, lines 9-10</b> <i>[wh]m.w s.t mi b3k ḥnw</i></p> <p>The one who repeats it like a servant of the Residence</p>
A.14	Bahy	<p><b>Text A, lines 2-3</b> <i>ink p3 is ḥsy n Nbw whm(.w) n ḥnw.t=i</i></p> <p>I am the favoured bald one of the Golden One, the reporter of my mistress</p>	<p>[ <b>Text A, lines 3-5</b> <i>imm n=i ḥnq.t ḥr dr.t=i srm.t (ḥr) r=i b3q.t ndm [ḥr t3.y]=i mss.t</i></p> <p>Place for me beer upon my hand, <i>srm</i>-drink (in) my mouth, sweet moringa-oil [upon m]y clothing... ]</p>	<p><b>Text A, lines 2-3</b> <i>whm(.w) n ḥnw.t=i</i></p> <p>The reporter of my mistress</p>

A.15	Unknown	<p><b>Text B, line 2</b> <i>ink is ḏd=i n Nbw</i></p> <p>I am the bald one who speaks to the Golden One</p> <p><b>Text B, line 5</b> <i>iry-ꜥ3</i></p> <p>the door-keeper</p>	<p>[ <b>Text B, line 1</b> <i>ꜥq.w nb r pr Nbw mh</i> <i>r=i m di.t=tn</i></p> <p>All those who enter into the house of the Golden One, fill my mouth with that which you give</p> <p><b>Text B, line 3</b> <i>[ḏd] n=tn rmt W3s.t</i> <i>šps.wt mi nmh.yw ii.y</i> <i>nb r wdn.w m [D]sr.t</i> [...]</p> <p>(I?) [speak] to you, people of Thebes, noblewomen like poor women, all those who come to offer in <i>Djeseret [...]</i> ]</p>	<p><b>Text B, line 2</b> <i>ink is ḏd=i n Nbw</i></p> <p>I am the bald one who speaks to the Golden One</p> <p><b>Text B, line 4</b> <i>[...] r ḏ[ḏ] n3.y=t(n)</i> <i>spr.wt n t3 ih n</i> <i>nbw...</i></p> <p>[...] in order to spe[ak] your petitions to the cow of gold {epithets continue }</p>
A.16	Kha	<p><b>Text A, line 1</b> <i>ink hm n [...]</i></p> <p>I am the servant of [her house(?)]</p> <p><b>Text A, line 3</b> <i>ink ḏd(.w) r-ḥ3.t</i></p> <p>I am one who speaks before (her)</p> <p><b>Text A, line 6</b> <i>m ḏ[d.n=s] p3 hm n</i> <i>pr=s hm-ntr n Mn Hꜥ</i></p> <p>according to what she said (to) the servant of her house, the god's servant of Min, Kha</p>	<p><b>Text A, lines 1-2</b> <i>[...] n Mn n Gb.tyw 'Is.t</i> <i>mw.t ntr ink hm n [...]</i> <i>tn r-gs pr Mn</i></p> <p>[Oh, (priests)] of Min of Coptos and of Isis, god's mother, I am the servant of [her house(?)] beside the house of Min</p> <p><b>Text A, lines 2-3</b> <i>rmt nb nty hr wdn n</i> <i>ntr=i niw.t=i imm šsp</i> <i>sn.w m di.t=tn</i></p> <p>Everyone who is offering to my god of my town, cause that <i>senu</i>-loaves be received from what you give</p>	<p><b>Text A, lines 3-4</b> <i>ink ḏd(.w) r-ḥ3.t k3</i> <i>ḏd spr.t=tn m-hnw n</i> <i>pr 'Is.t</i></p> <p>I am one who speaks before (her), then speaks your petition(s) in the interior of the house of Isis</p>
A.17	Raia	<p><b>Text C, line 1</b> <i>ink hm n 'Is.t m</i> <i>Gb.tyw</i></p> <p>I am the servant of Isis in Coptos</p> <p><b>Text C, line 7</b></p>	<p><b>Text C, line 1</b> <i>[i rmt] nb ḥnh(.w) tp t3</i> <i>iy(.w) r m3 nb.t p.t</i></p> <p>[Oh,] all [people], those who live upon the earth, those who come to see the lady of the sky</p>	<p><b>Text C, line 8</b> <i>whm=i s.t n nb.t</i> <i>t3.wy sw hr sḏm</i> <i>nh.t=i</i></p> <p>I will repeat it to the lady of the Two Lands (because) she is hearing my prayer</p>

		<p>[m]k wī m-bzḥ=s ḥr šsp k3=s m tp n mr.n=s ink wḥm(.w) n nb.t p.t tw=i r p3(.y)=s wb3</p> <p>[Beh]old me in her presence, receiving her ka at the head of (those?) she loved. I am the reporter of the lady of the sky and I am in her open forecourt</p>	<p><b>Text C, line 7</b> dd=ṭn n.i spr[.t] [...]=tn</p> <p>You will say to me [your] petition [...] (and?) your [...]</p>	
A.18	Amenemipet	<p><b>Text A, lines 2-4</b> [ink p]3 [i]s n-ṭ nr[.t(?) ...] r p3 [sb3] tpy</p> <p>[I am t]he [bald o]ne of the god[dess ... I am(?)] at the first [doo]r</p> <p><b>Text C, line 1</b> [... i]s wh[m](.w) n Nbw</p> <p>[I am(?) the ba]ld one, the reporter of the Golden One</p>	<p><b>Text C, lines 1-2</b> i [...spr.wty] nb.t nty ib wḥm-s[t(?) n N[bw ...]</p> <p>Oh, [...] all [petitioners], those who wish that it is(?) repeated to the Golden One [...]</p>	<p><b>Text C, line 2</b> nty ib wḥm-s[t(?) n Nbw.w [...]</p> <p>those who wish that it is(?) repeated to the Golden One [...]</p>
A.19	Unknown	<p><b>Text A, line 4</b> ink ḥm n Ḥw.t-Ḥr ink b3k n Nbw.t</p> <p>I am the servant of Hathor. I am the servant of the Golden One</p>	<p>[ <b>Text A, line 6</b> imm s:gnn ndm [r t3].y=i (i)sw.t</p> <p>Place sweet ointment on my baldness</p> <p><b>Text B, lines 2-4</b> [i] rmt [nb] nty [iw.w r q] r pr Ḥw.t-Ḥr iḥ di=tn šsp sn.w</p> <p>[Oh, [all] people [who come to enter] into the house of Hathor, then may you cause that (I) receive <i>senu</i>-loaves ]</p>	<p><b>Text A, line 5</b> iw=i rdi spr.wt nb(.w)t n Nbw.t ḥnw.t=i</p> <p>I am giving all petitions to the Golden One, my mistress</p>
A.20	Montuemhat	<p><b>Text A, line 3</b> ink is ḥnw n Nbw.t sps n ḥnw.t ḥm.wt</p>	<p>[ <b>Text B</b> dr=s ḥ3w-ib in=s 3w-ib n</p>	<p><b>Text A, line 4</b> ink is spr=i n ḥnw.t=f</p>

		<p><i>ink i[s ...]</i></p> <p>I am the bald one, the musician of the Golden One, the tousled one(?) of the mistress of women. I am the bald [one ...]</p> <p><b>Text A, line 4</b> <i>ink is spr=i n hnw.t=f</i></p> <p>I am the bald one (and) I make a petition to his mistress</p>	<p><i>ts nb [...]</i></p> <p>She removes grief and she brings joy to all those who set up [offerings(?) ...]</p> <p><b>Text C</b> <i>s.t nb(.t) tm=s rdi.t n=i sdr=s hr-tp=s nn tzi=s</i></p> <p>Every woman who does not give to me, she will spend the night alone and she will not marry ]</p>	<p>I am the bald one (and) I make a petition to his mistress</p>
A.21	Horudja	<p><b>Text A, lines 2-3</b> <i>ink is [...] n pr=s</i></p> <p>I am the bald [one of Hathor(?)...] of her house</p> <p><b>Text A, line 7</b> <i>whm.w n hnw.t</i></p> <p>The reporter of (my) mistress</p>	<p><b>Text A, line 3</b> <i>ʿq(.w) nb r pr Nbw.t mḥ r=i [m ...]</i></p> <p>All those who enter into the house of the Golden One, fill my mouth [with offerings (?)...]</p> <p><b>Text A, line 7</b> <i>ii(.w) nb r wdn [...]</i></p> <p>All those who come to offer [...]</p> <p><b>Text B, line 2</b> <i>[...]=tn spr.w [...]</i></p> <p>May you [say?] petitions [...]</p>	<p><b>Text A, line 5</b> <i>ink is d[d?]...</i></p> <p>I am the bald one who sp[eaks to the goddess(?) ... ]</p> <p><b>Text A, line 6</b> <i>ink is dd.tw n Nbw.t</i></p> <p>I am the bald one (by whom) it is spoken to the Golden One</p>
A.22	Mutsepy/Mutmut(y)	<p><b>Text A, first</b> <i>šms.t n Mw.t</i></p> <p>Follower of Mut</p> <p><b>Text C, line 1</b> <i>ink hnw.t šms tp t3</i></p> <p>I am the mistress of following upon the earth</p>	<p>[ <b>Text A, second</b> <i>i(.y)=k r sn.t t3 n nb.t p.t imm n.t(?) ht n nty m ʿ.wy=tn [...]</i></p> <p>May you come to kiss the ground before the lady of the sky. Give (offerings) of(?) the things from those in your hands [...]</p>	<p><b>Text C, line 1</b> <i>s:ʿr smi=tn n hnw.t</i></p> <p>causing your report(s) to ascend to the mistress</p>
A.23	Unknown	<p><b>Text A, line 3</b> <i>ink is sš(?) ʿ[.wy]=i [hr] Nbw.t ntr(.t)</i></p>	<p><b>Text C</b> <i>... (?) hm.wt nw [T]pw [r] d[d spr].w(?)=sn r</i></p>	<p><b>Text A, line 2</b> <i>dd=f hr hnw.t=f ʿIs.t ntr.t</i></p>

		<p><i>(rm)ḫ [ink i]s sḏm n(=f) Nb.w[.t ...]</i></p> <p>I am the bald one who spreads(?) my arms before the Golden One, the goddess of the people. [I am the bald o]ne to whom the Golden One listens [...]</p> <p><b>Text A, line 5</b> <i>ink i[s ḏd(?) n=f Nbw].t</i></p> <p>I am the bald o[ne to whom the Golden O]ne [speaks]</p>	<p><i>ḥnh[.wy=i(?) wḥm(?)] spr=sn [...]</i></p> <p>... (?) the women of Akhmim [to say their petitions(?)] to [my] ea[rs, repeating(?)] their petition [...]</p>	<p>He says to his mistress, Isis, the goddess</p> <p><b>Text C</b> <i>[wḥm(?)] spr=sn [...]</i></p> <p>[repeating(?)] their petition [...]</p>
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### 2.2.2 Notes on Table 1

#### A.1 – Amenhotep son of Hapu

The second category (3) text, ‘Nebmaatre caused me to repeat the words of the Two Lands’, is less of a willingness to mediate than a royally-bestowed obligation. Moreover, it suggests a mediating role in a political rather than religious environment. With the context provided by the rest of the texts, however, it can be safely assumed that this relates to the intermediary function of the statue in the temple of Karnak, with links to Amun. All of these extracts come from the inscription around the base (the significance of this is uncertain but it may have been so that it was easier for observers to read<sup>270</sup>). Other texts on this statue do refer to Amenhotep being a royal messenger reporting to the king, indicating that he held a mediating role between the people and the king during his career. Positions held during life which

<sup>270</sup> We must bear in mind, however, the potential difficulty of reading an inscription which continues around the back of a statue if the monument is set up against a wall or in a niche.

complement the intermediary function can be observed on a number of these statues and will be covered below (§2.4.2).

#### A.2 – Amenhotep son of Hapu

Whilst the text in category (1) does not mention the god, the implication is that the statue has been placed by the king (understand: Amenhotep was given permission from the king to place the statue) in the temple, to be a mediator, a ‘reporter’, for the god. This bears similarities with A.1. That this is the intended interpretation seems especially clear given the assertion in the category (3) text that Amenhotep son of Hapu will report to Amun in *Ipet-sut* – the focus of the intermediary relationship is set out here, in fact earlier in the text, while later it is suggested to have been *endorsed* by the king, through him creating the conditions in which a monument–divine relationship can exist (‘placing’ the statue in a temple).

It should also be noted that the category (3) and (1) texts frame the second category (2) text – a request for a *ḥtp-di-nsw* rite and libations to be performed for him. Although requests for offerings and statements of *ḥtp-di-nsw* rites are common on all statues, this corpus being no exception, it seems here that the offerings are requested as a form of payment for his function as a mediator.

#### A.3 – Men

The text under category (2) does not specify who is to call, but it is clear that these are instructions to petitioners, especially given the second person plural suffix in the text under category (3) which follows on immediately after ‘call to me’.

#### A.4 – Neferrenpet

The text of category (2) is also part of the extract listed under category (3). The ‘all’ must, in this case, be human supplicants, and specifically – given the detail that the petitions will ‘ascend’ to the goddess inside the temple – those who do not wish, or do not have the authority, to enter into the more sacred confines of the temple. As such, although this extract is not unambiguously representative of a monument–human relationship, in order for the statue(-owner) to transmit the petitions of ‘all’ these people, it must interact with them, hence the inclusion of this text in category (2).

#### A.5 – Tjauy

The title given in category (1) states that the owner is an *ihy* of the goddess, a term which refers in particular to the son of Hathor who can sometimes be seen with a sistrum.<sup>271</sup> Although it makes no mention of speaking to the goddess or reporting her words, the instrument itself represents one method by which a connection was made between human and divine spheres, and thus this title is entirely suitable for a statue with mediating functions. It can also be found on A.4, there appearing alongside another title (‘reporter’) which suggests more obvious notions of communication. The sistrum and its significance will be considered in the context of statue forms, as several of the statues in Catalogue A are ‘sistrophores’ (bearing a sistrum-like feature).

The monument–divine relationship is also demonstrated on this statue through an address to Hathor, ‘Greetings to the cow of gold’ (followed by more epithets of the goddess).<sup>272</sup> This is not included in Table 1, however, because it does not demonstrate the intermediary function. It does imply that the statue-owner is speaking to the goddess, and

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<sup>271</sup> Teeter 1993: 68.

<sup>272</sup> *ind-ḥr t3 ih.t n nbw*

could therefore be argued as evidence for the potential capacity to pass on petitions; *ind-ḥr*, ‘greetings to’, is a common expression and in most cases has no definitive link to intermediary status,<sup>273</sup> so at best it only complements the role explicitly claimed by Tjauy in other parts of the inscription.

The first extract under category (2) is ambiguous as to who it is that ‘listens to the petitioner and every young girl’. There is no feminine ending to point to Hathor, but participles often do not have the ending marked. If this *is* an epithet of Hathor, then this text in fact does not belong under category (2), and we must find a monument–human relationship elsewhere in the texts; in this case, it must come from the request for *senw*-loaves for the statue – the ritual relationship here is implied; it should also be noted that this request is followed immediately by the category (3) text (in other words, the offerings are given as payment for the statue’s mediation, as mentioned for other monuments). A difficulty arises from the fact that this extract does not form part of an appeal text, nor does any other inscription on the statue indicate the human individuals to whom the texts are addressed, aside from perhaps the crying young girls. It is simply assumed here that the request for offerings is addressed to human supplicants.

#### A.6 – Penshenabu

Although a clear marker of a relationship with the deity, the designation given in category (1) of the table is not obviously intermediary in nature. However, it is not difficult to extrapolate from it the scenario of a servant acting on behalf of his mistress.

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<sup>273</sup> On the other hand, it is perhaps one indication of the growth in personal piety, in that individuals are addressing deities themselves. Franke (2003: 96, 129) understood all texts beginning with *ind-ḥr=k*, or similar, to be hymns which were part of public performances in processions (at least for the Middle Kingdom), which would support the idea that it was part of a growing trend towards direct contact with gods.

The relationship between the statue and humankind is not immediately obvious from the text in category (2) (fuller extract included in category (3)), in part because of the lacunae, but it is substantiated by another part of the inscription in which there is a request for offerings, followed by ‘because the Mistress [loves(?)] that her bald one is satisfied’.<sup>274</sup> There then follows another lacuna, before the second category (3) text, ‘I will speak to the [Golden One(?)]. Even with the breaks in translation, the sense is clear: ‘[all those who come(?) to the temple(?)] of my Mistress’ hoping that ‘she may hear the petitions’ should present offerings to the statue to please Hathor, the reward for which is mediation between human and god. That the statue should be presented with offerings because it will please the goddess (as opposed to a less specific outcome) is fairly common in this type of statue, and is also present where the relationship between monument and human is more explicit (for instance, in A.8).<sup>275</sup>

It is possible to argue, in contrast, that the inscription ‘all [those who come(?) to the temple?] of my mistress (so that) she may hear the petitions’ in fact describes supplicants addressing their petitions directly to the goddess, and intimates that the sole requirements for contacting the deity is one’s presence in the *temple*, rather than the mediation of the statue. Because the lacunae preclude full contextualisation of the extracts, this interpretation cannot be discounted entirely, but I believe my suggestion in the preceding paragraph is the most likely interpretation of the inscriptions. In practice, it may have been that people *did* feel close to their deities inside temple complexes, and thus prayed directly to them without aid, but this would surely not need to be mentioned on the statue – instead the special mediating function is offered to passers-by as an effective method for contacting the gods. In this regard, compare with A.7.

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<sup>274</sup> [...] *ḥnw.t iw p3.y-s<t> is.w s3.w*

<sup>275</sup> §2.4.3.

## A.7 – Sedjemwau

The two titles mentioned in the category (1) text do not refer to the reporting of messages in the way that many other monuments in the table indicate. However, several statues of this type bear similar appellations.<sup>276</sup> *is*, ‘bald one’ is a clear marker of a cultic relationship with the goddess, and given the intermediary context provided by the rest of the inscriptions on this statue and others on which this title appears, it has intermediary connotations. Similarly, *iry-ḥ3*, ‘door-keeper’, potentially also has intermediary associations.<sup>277</sup>

The first category (2) text is followed immediately by the first category (3) text. The requests for offerings for the statue (as well as for Hathor) as payment for the performance of the intermediary role therefore supplements other texts which do not fit as easily into the categories, including the second category (2) text; the latter does not describe a monument–human relationship, but nonetheless implies the actions undertaken by visitors (giving offerings).

This monument also states that Hathor ‘will listen to the petitions which you make’ (category (3), third excerpt). Like the statue of Penshenabu (A.6), at first reading it suggests that supplicants can bypass the intermediary and communicate directly with the god. The statue of Sedjemwau, however, has fewer lacunae than Penshenabu, and the text is unbroken at this point, reading ‘(I) repeat to the lady of the sky. All those who come to offer to the Golden One, she will listen to the petitions which you make’. The connection between the statue speaking to the goddess and the goddess hearing petitions is evident, and therefore it can be stated more decisively than for Penshenabu that it is inconceivable that a statue offering mediating services would render itself redundant by suggesting that supplicants can

<sup>276</sup> For ‘bald one’ see Clère 1995: esp. 15-31; also here A.8, A.9, A.10, A.11, A.13, A.14, A.15, A.18, A.20, A.21 and A.23 in Table 1 and A.25 and A.27 from Table 3.

<sup>277</sup> Clère (1995: 84, including ‘Notes de traduction b)) translates as the abbreviated form ‘guardian’, but suggests the link to ‘door-keeper’.

speak directly to the deity. In other words, this line of inscription should be understood as ‘she will listen to the petitions which you make *to this statue*’. An alternative translation in which the feminine suffix in fact is read as part of *spr.w*, ‘petitions’, and instead an unwritten first-person suffix is understood (‘I will listen’), would actually eliminate the need to explain the implication that the goddess could listen directly to supplicants.

#### A.8 – Ameneminet

The first category (1) text is followed immediately by the category (2) and (3) texts; thus the process of mediation is unequivocally demonstrated in all three categories.

Furthermore, other inscriptions on this statue potentially suggest that offerings should be presented to the statue as payment for his role: the three excerpts are followed by requests for offerings, a declaration of being ‘the bald one of the Golden One’, further requests, and then statements attesting to the moral virtues of Ameneminet. Nonetheless, this is not quite comparable with other occurrences where the offerings are directly connected to a mediating function – for example A.2 and A.7 – the likely intermediary associations of ‘bald one’ notwithstanding.

#### A.9 – Iuy

The designation ‘bald one’ is not necessarily a formal title, rather an indication of purity and connection to the religious sphere. Unlike several monuments in this corpus where it is part of an exclamatory phrase, ‘I am the bald one’, here it is as if it were an official title or epithet, before Iuy’s actual title, *ḥm-nṯr tpy n ’Imn*, ‘first god’s servant of Amun’ in the temple of Thutmose I, and his name. This suggests a more formal conceptualisation of the position of *is* as a title and role in and of itself, relating to a priestly office he held in life. On the other hand,

the inscriptions on the statue are damaged, so it is possible that the designation was mentioned elsewhere in the text in a less formalised way and with a more general connotation. It may, of course, be intended to have this general meaning in the example that survives, and is meant to complement his actual priestly function. Compare with titles on A.11 and A.13.

#### A.10 – Inhernakht

The inscriptions on this statue are a rich indicator of its intermediary status. The second text in category (1), ‘...which are repeated to Mehyt. She will repeat to me all she will say’ (also in category (3) in part), is particularly interesting in that it not only involves the one-way interaction from human/intermediary to god as is normally found in the inscriptions of intermediary statues, but also suggests that the dialogue can go both ways. This further suggests, albeit tacitly, that the response of the goddess is in some way intimated to the supplicant, perhaps in the manner of an oracle facilitated by a member of the priesthood attending to the rituals at the statue.<sup>278</sup>

That there are three different designations used (*hm*, *is* and *iry-ꜥ3*), as shown in the first category (1) text, may be an attempt to emphasise this aspect of his relationship to the goddess, as they all potentially show that the monument–divine relationship involves an element of a mediation (for *b3k* and *hm*, both usually translated as ‘servant’ – see for instance A.6, A.16 and A.19).

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<sup>278</sup> Lanoit (2012: 256) has argued that appeal texts can provide evidence for the differing roles of passers-by: reading aloud (scribe), listening (the *rmꜥ* people) and witnessing (priests).

## A.11 – Amenmose

The first category (1) text is part of his titulary, being followed by ‘overseer of the house of the southern town, Amenmose’.<sup>279</sup> Like a small number of other monuments in this corpus (see A.9 and A.13), this suggests they are possibly perceived as more formal roles, or were actual positions held by the statue-owner. Otherwise, they can be viewed as more general references to the mediating function Amenmose claims.

The first category (2) text, is preceded by the introduction ‘the bald one speaks to his town’,<sup>280</sup> further confirming the monument–human relationship. The second category (2) text, in which Amenmose gives the correct procedure for giving offerings – approaching Hathor first, then coming to his statue – is reminiscent of the practice of ‘reversion of offerings’.<sup>281</sup> Although this suggests some form of direct contact with the goddess, it is only after a description of the offerings to be given specifically to the *statue* that the inscription says ‘then I will speak (your) petitions’ (the first category (3) text).

## A.12 – Khaemipet

The monument–human relationship (category (2)) is represented in my table by two texts related to offerings, but is also indicated elsewhere in the inscription by the promise that scribes who speak Khaemipet’s name will be rewarded with a long life.<sup>282</sup> The latter is not included in the table because the excerpts chosen are more unequivocal with regard to the god–statue–human relationship: they are both directly connected to other extracts included in the table (the first category (2) text is followed immediately by the category (3) text, and the second category (2) text is followed by the category (1) text. This is similar to A.14 in that

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<sup>279</sup> *imy-r pr m niw.t rs.y(t) Imn-ms*

<sup>280</sup> *p3 is dd hr niw.t=f*

<sup>281</sup> Petrie, Wainwright & Gardiner 1913: 33-36.

<sup>282</sup> Compare with A.30 in Table 3, and with the cubit-stick of Maya in §2.8.

there appears to be a connection between the request for offerings and the intermediary function. However, unlike A.14, here the excerpts are each associated to a different aspect of mediation or the goddess listening, so the intermediary implications of each are corroborated by the other.

Whilst the inscription does not clearly state that the statue-owner will speak to the goddess (thus meaning no excerpts fit neatly under category (3)), the combination of the ability of the goddess to listen as well as statue-owner's assertion to be her proclaimer certainly implies that communication would occur between the two. This is the reason for their inclusion together in that part of the table.

#### A.13 – Neferhotep

The first three texts in each category appear consecutively, so illustrating the mediatory process well. It is also worth noting that immediately following them is 'without them being heard by another [one(?) I]like me'.<sup>283</sup> In other words, Neferhotep is making a claim to be sole intermediary to the gods amongst his peers.

The first category (2) text is not entirely explicit with regard to a relationship between human visitors and the statue that pertains to a mediatory status. Nonetheless, it names the individuals at whom the inscription is aimed, suggesting that the statue(-owner) is there to aid them, and the context provided by the rest of the inscription supports this idea. The second category (2) text is more clearly a suggestion that passers-by utilise his mediating services – it suggests the *potential* for a monument–human relationship and is an advocate for the suitability of the statue. Because this also demonstrates his willingness to hear the prayers and repeat them, it can therefore be included in part under category (3) (second excerpt). With the

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<sup>283</sup> *bw sdm.tw n ky [...? m]i-qd-i*

reference to the Residence, an association is possibly being made to formal responsibilities in the royal court, for instance the role of vizier, whose duties included reporting and receiving reports within the palace and administrative buildings.<sup>284</sup>

The third category (1) text has been included because of similarities to other statues in the corpus, despite it not seeming entirely connected to a mediating function. It appears at the end of the inscription, before Neferhotep's main title (*šw.ty*, 'merchant') and name, giving it a more formalised connotation. Compare with A.9 and A.11.

#### A.14 – Bahy

Although suffering only few areas of damage, there is only a small amount of relevant text. This deficiency of examples explains why the only text available for category (3) is one of the designations more appropriately categorised as 'monument–divine relationship' (category (1)). It is not an ideal illustration of 'willingness to mediate', but it does indicate his capacity to transmit messages, which leads to the assumption that he would be willing to do so.

In the case of category (2), it is far more difficult to extract a suitable text from the inscriptions as the texts do not suggest that visitors are coming to see the goddess and thus must approach the statue for help, and they make no reference to petitions, for instance. The relationship between the monument and humans is evidenced instead by the beginning of the appeal text and by requests for offerings, features common to many statues, not just those of an intermediary type. Consequently, the excerpt given here for category (2) does not strictly fall under the definitions given at the start of this chapter (this may of course, be due to the lacunae in the text), hence the square brackets. Compare with A.19. The only possible link to the intermediary function is that the category (2) text follows immediately after the category

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<sup>284</sup> Van den Boorn 1988: for example 54-55 and 77-78 (on the gate and areas in front of buildings as a place of reporting and of judgement), and 12-13 and 146-147 (on the vizier hearing petitioners).

(1) text, indicating a connection between the designations or roles the statue-owner claims and the offerings which are requested (in payment?).

#### A.15 – Unknown

The inscriptions on this statue contain many lacunae, meaning several of the statements cannot be translated and contextualised fully. Nevertheless the overall sense seems to warrant its inclusion in Table 1.

The category (2) excerpts do not fall clearly within the definitions I have given at the start of this chapter in that while these invocations do suggest interaction between monument and human, there is no definite link to the intermediary function. This is, however, perhaps due to the fragmented condition of the inscription.

#### A.16 – Kha

The third category (1) text, which is the last line of the only inscription, seems to indicate that the communication between statue-owner and goddess is two-way. Compare A.10.

#### A.17 – Raia

The texts belonging to all three categories need little further explanation as they bear similarities to other texts described in the notes thus far. The only matter worth noting here is that the second category (1) text, the second category (2) text and the category (3) text appear consecutively, albeit with the short lacuna in the second one, clearly demonstrating the mediatory process.

## A.18 – Amenemipet

This statue is extremely fragmentary and therefore it is likely that some of the important texts are in the lacunae. The category (2) text perhaps continued to advise supplicants to approach Amenemipet or perform some action upon the statue (as we see in several cases: §3.2.3.1). Part of this text is used also in category (3) because there is an implication of willingness to act as mediator in this phrase. Category (3) could also include the designation of *wḥm.w n Nbw*, seen under category (1), as explained for a similar title on A.14. Note the linguistic similarities with the extract in categories (2) and (3), particularly the use of *wḥm*-words and *Nbw*.

## A.19 – Unknown

Once again, finding a relevant text for category (2) is difficult, in part because the statue is damaged. In fact, if the definitions and text categories laid out at the beginning of this chapter were strictly adhered to none of the available inscriptions should be included in this section of the table; the first excerpt is the most likely to link to the mediating role – it does not appear immediately after the category (3) text, but they are separated only by ‘I am the one who pacifies the heart of Hathor in her time [of anger?]’,<sup>285</sup> suggesting that the offerings could be for both the intermediary and pacification roles. The second excerpt given here is reminiscent of appeal texts seen on several of the other statues tabulated here, and further indicates the monument–human relationship (particularly as regards to reciprocity<sup>286</sup>). However, neither the appeal nor the requests for offerings explicitly link this relationship to the intermediary function.

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<sup>285</sup> *ink s:grh ib n Ḥw.t-Ḥr m tri-s [...]*

<sup>286</sup> The idea of reciprocity, whereby a statue requests offerings and promises or intimates that the one doing the offering will benefit as a result, has been discussed at length in Price 2011a (*passim*).

## A.20 – Montuemhat

Being a fragment of only the head and shoulders, this statue is missing much of its inscription which may have provided more information to confirm intermediary status. As it is, the only text which fits in some way under category (2) is the request for offerings and the vow that benefits will be bestowed on those who heed this request (and that misfortune will fall upon those who do not, specifically that women will remain unmarried). This, therefore, does not exactly match my definitions.

The text under category (3) – also under category (1) – only confirms the monument–god relationship, with the potential for human–god mediation, rather than a ‘willingness to mediate’, which is more implicit. In this regard, compare with A. 10 and A.21.

## A.21 – Horudja

It should be noted that the first category (2) text comes after the first category (1) text and is followed fairly closely (but not immediately) by the first category (3) text, giving it an intermediary connotation. Similarly, the second category (1) is preceded by a lacuna in which there was likely a request for offerings based on the surviving words (but is not included in the table), and is followed by the second category (2) text, suggesting the latter has an intermediary connection.

Here also category (3) – the texts of which are located in close proximity to each other (lacunae and a short passage regarding potential benefits for widows and young girls in between) – is not explicit in expressing a ‘willingness to mediate’, but nonetheless shows the ability of the statue to communicate with the god, with the potential for human–god mediation.

## A.22 – Mutsepy/Mutmuty

This statue is the only monument in this corpus to represent a woman (albeit supporting a figure of the king as a child), although the inscription explains that it was set up for her by her son, named Horudja. It is also different from the others in that the word used in the excerpt for text category (3) is *smi*, ‘report(s)’, rather than *spr.w*, ‘petitions’. Only the two statues of Amenhotep son of Hapu (A.1 and A.2) use the former, but in both cases in a *verbal* form. Perhaps this indicates that the statue of Mutsepy/Mutmuty in fact had a different intended purpose to the others in this corpus. Nevertheless, both the use of the word *s:ʿr*, ‘ascend’, and the overall composition of that phrase, bear striking similarities to other intermediary phrases.<sup>287</sup>

As with a number of others in the corpus, this statue does not offer an appropriate category (2) text in that there is no connection to the intermediary function in the monument–human relationship.

## A.23 – Unknown

There are six phrases beginning *ink is*, ‘I am the bald one’, of which the first two and the fifth are given in this table as examples for category (1): these three not only suggest that he is in the presence of the goddess, but also that she listens and speaks to him.

The first text of category (3), and the first of category (1) which directly follows, appear to be part of a speech to Isis by the statue-owner, and therefore perhaps do not strictly establish an intermediary relationship or willingness to mediate. It is also difficult to be certain of the relevance of the category (2) text (a part of which is also in category (3)), as it is

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<sup>287</sup> That the statue was discovered in the Karnak temple of Mut also connects it to other intermediaries: A.3 and A.20.

unfortunately much damaged. Nevertheless, the parallels seen on other monuments suggest we can interpret this statue in the same way.

### 2.2.3 Further comments on the categories in Table 1

#### 2.2.3.1 The importance of the text categories: altering the definition of an intermediary?

What can be seen from these categories is that the most clearly stated attribute of intermediary statues is the monument–god relationship (category (1)). Often this category overlaps with (3) (willingness to mediate), in that the relationship with the god can be expressed through the ability and readiness to communicate with the deity. Regarding category (3), all of the statues, with the exception of A.12, A.14, A.18 and A.23, explicitly state at least once that the statue-owner converses with and/or will report petitions to the deity. The intermediary function on the former three are demonstrated slightly differently, and on A.23 it is likely that it was stated (especially given the category (1) excerpts which indicate the statue-owner and goddess speak and listen to each other), but the text is fragmentary.

With regard to category (2), it can be seen that most of the statues' inscriptions include instructions for visitors, which fall under three types, encouraging them 1) to approach the statue, 2) to address the statue and voice their petitions, and 3) to perform offering rituals as a form of payment so that the statue can mediate.

- 1) Approach the statue: A.1, A.2 and A.11 (the latter connected to the bringing of offerings).
- 2) Address the statue and voice petitions: A.3, A.8, A.13 and A.17. A.21 may have had a comparable instruction, but damage makes it difficult to confirm. A.23 may also have had a similar inscription, possibly with an *r* of futurity (as opposed to the imperative);

the fragmentary nature of the inscription as a whole makes it difficult to translate. The text appears to describe how the human observers will act (speaking to the ears of the statue). Similarly A.10 explains that petitions will be heard by his ears (thereby implying that they should be spoken to him).<sup>288</sup> Neither A.23 nor A.10 have a clear instruction or order for people to come and speak their petitions directly to the statue.

- 3) Perform offering rituals: represented by almost all the statues. Only A.18 has no surviving references to offerings, undoubtedly due to its state of preservation, and the offerings on A.4 are statements rather than being an actual request. Similarly, A.20 and A.23 hint at offerings but does not request them directly.<sup>289</sup> A.14, A.15 and A.19 have requests but they are less evidently linked to the intermediary statements.<sup>290</sup>

Note that on A.3, A.13, A.17 and A.22 as they are currently preserved, the only *ḥtp-di-nsu* rites or requests for offerings that are currently preserved are not directly linked to the intermediary claim, appearing in different inscriptions on the statue, and the request on A.10, although within the same inscription, is not in direct proximity to the intermediary statements.<sup>291</sup>

It will be seen in §2.7.1.4 that the placement of offering requests in relation to the intermediary claims can subtly alter the dialogue, although the idea of mutual benefit is retained regardless of structure.

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<sup>288</sup> The statement that ‘one who listens to your petition(s) and every spell(?) [you make(?)] to my two ears’ hints to the visitor what to do (speak to the statue, perhaps in the direction of its ears), but does not openly command as such.

<sup>289</sup> A.20, Texts B and C notes advantages and disadvantages of giving or not giving offerings; A.23, Text A, line 4 says ‘I am the bald one [who loves(?)] the one who gives’.

<sup>290</sup> A.14 has the closest connection, as the request appears immediately after ‘I am the favoured bald one...reporter of my mistress’, but with no grammatical connector (Text A, lines 2-3).

<sup>291</sup> The offering request (Text F, lines 13-15) appears between promises that the passer-by and his family will be prosperous and the desire of the statue-owner not to be neglected.

So, in many cases, the statues explain how those passing by are to act if their prayers are to be heard in the divine world. However, it has become apparent that the establishing of a monument–human relationship in an intermediary-specific context is the most difficult to identify in the inscriptions. This is in part because, on several of the monuments tabulated, the inscription is not as instructive as those listed above: A.4, A.18, A.20 and A.23 do not have any orders encouraging the visitor to act in certain ways before the statue, and A.10 does not have orders directly related to the intermediary extracts. Similarly A.14, A.15, A.19 and A.22 (and A.20) were those found to have texts which appear to be lacking in definite intermediary connotations, or which cannot be corroborated by other category (2) texts with clearer links to the process of mediation (hence the square brackets in the table).

This therefore totals fourteen monuments whose category (2) texts explicitly set up a monument–human relationship in an intermediary context (including A.6, A.12, A.16 and A.21 which are likely), and nine monuments which do not, being 39% of the twenty-three monuments tabulated, which is a significant minority. This may be a result of fragmentation of the monuments and the resulting lacunae, and indeed, several of the corpus are much damaged or only portions survive – A.15, A.18, A.19, and A.21 in particular. A.18 has, for example, ‘Oh all [supplicants], those who wish it to be repeated to the Goddess [...]’ which could quite credibly have continued with an entreaty akin to ‘come to me’.

Nonetheless, this cannot be assumed, and alternative explanations should be sought for the difficulties in identifying a monument–human relationship. Firstly, the presence of requests for offerings in different inscriptions, or without a direct connection to the intermediary phrases, was perhaps considered enough to create a monument–human relationship, meaning there was no need to state it again juxtaposed with the declaration of intermediary role. This would explain A.4, A.14, A.19 and A.22.

Secondly, it is not implausible to suggest that the very act of viewing the statue would result in the formation of such a relationship. Perhaps this is why extrapolating extracts which fit easily into category (2) is more difficult – there is less need to express this relationship textually because the statue itself and its presence in the temple fulfils this role, as does the fact that anyone reading the inscriptions is already engaging with the statue (a crucial element to the ‘materiality’ of the monument). This is indeed part of its purpose and essence: a *physical*, earthly manifestation of an important man who had a link to the metaphysical; the statue was erected with a view to it being used after death, if he were not already dead (in that case, the statue being erected by a relative),<sup>292</sup> and therefore existing in the spiritual, intangible world. This, it would seem, brings into question the definition of intermediary given above (a monument must explicitly claim, in its inscription, to occupy that position), although this definition should not be viewed as being rendered incorrect. Instead, it should be acknowledged that the most important categories which must feature in the texts are those indicating a relationship monument–divine and a willingness to mediate. Not only are these often very closely linked (hence in several cases they share texts in the table), but these are also the two characteristics which are the least obvious to an observer of any statue – whilst some form of a monument–human relationship is presumably intended for any statue, be it funerary, ideological or religious (or otherwise) in nature, texts fitting into categories (1) and (3) define the *specific* nature of the monument–human relationship and thus statue’s main purpose.

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<sup>292</sup> I have recently argued that Amenhotep son of Hapu may have been alive, although an old man, when his scribal statues were erected at the tenth pylon, but that he envisaged their use beyond his lifetime: see Simmance 2014a: 10-13, esp. 13.

### 2.2.3.2 Deities named in *ḥtp-dī-nsw* rites

Of the twenty-two statues with some mention of offerings, twelve include at least one *ḥtp-dī-nsw* ('offering-which-the-king-gives') formula. A.1 and A.2 are distinct from the rest in two respects: the *ḥtp-dī-nsw* rites are not stated, but rather are requested, and these are the only two cases in which the god to whom this performance should be directed is unnamed (see A.3 in the table below for another example, but note that this is not considered entirely comparable), although it can reasonably be assumed to be Amun of Karnak given his appearance elsewhere in the inscriptions as well as the statues' provenance within the complex of Amun at Karnak temple. In the other ten statues, a variety of deities or groups of deities are mentioned. The following table (Table 2) summarises the deities who appear. Where they are given in a bulleted list, this indicates that the deities are in separate incantations or separate sections of the inscription. In the third column ('Deities mentioned elsewhere in the inscriptions'), the deity listed first is the one which is involved in the intermediary relationship.

Table 2: Comparison of deities in *ḥtp-dī-nsw* formulae with all deities invoked

	Deities in <i>ḥtp-dī-nsw</i>	Deities mentioned elsewhere in the inscriptions
A.3 (Men)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Unnamed (see discussion)</li> <li>- Mut</li> <li>- Sekhmet and Wadjyt</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Mut</li> <li>- 'my two mistresses'</li> </ul>
A.4 (Neferrenpet)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Amun and Hathor</li> <li>- Osiris Khentamentiu</li> <li>- Ennead</li> </ul>	Hathor

A.5 (Tjauy)	Amun-Re and Werethekau	- Hathor - Werethekau [in an epithet of Tjauy <sup>293</sup> ] - Ra, Geb, Atum and Osiris [within an offering incantation <sup>294</sup> ]
A.6 (Penshenabu)	- Amun-Re, [Khonsu] and Hathor - Amun-Re, Mut, Khonsu, Horus, Hathor and ‘all the gods’	Hathor
A.10 (Inhernakht)	Mehyt	- Mehyt - Onuris-Shu - Onuris
A.12 (Khaemipet)	Hathor	Hathor
A.13 (Neferhotep)	- Min - Isis	- ‘Golden One’ - Isis - Lords of Akhmim [single line, related to a table of offerings]
A.14 (Bahy)	Onuris	- ‘Golden One’ (see discussion) - Mehyt
A.17 (Raia)	Isis	- Isis - Horus [as son of Isis]
A.19 (Unknown)	Amun-Re	- Hathor - Amun [in a designation <sup>295</sup> ]

In the inscriptions for A.3, the first *ḥtp-dī-nsw* incantation is performed without the deity being named; this provides a parallel to the statues of Amenhotep son of Hapu, but unlike those statues, this monument has two other rites, in which deities *are* mentioned.<sup>296</sup> In the case of A.17 the rite is described as being performed by the statue-owner Raia himself.<sup>297</sup>

There appears to be no consistency or pattern within the dedications of the *ḥtp-dī-nsw* rites, in terms of the number of deities invoked or which deities these are. It is also of interest that if we compare these *ḥtp-dī-nsw* dedications with the deities mentioned elsewhere in the

<sup>293</sup>  $\epsilon_3 n w_3 b n Wr.t-ḥk_3.w$ , ‘great of purity of Werethekau’. See footnote 298.

<sup>294</sup> Of the form ‘That which is given by [god’s name]: gift’.

<sup>295</sup> The statue-owner is named as a  $b_3 k n 'Imn$ , ‘a servant of Amun’.

<sup>296</sup> It is likely that the first rite is meant for one of the goddesses already named on the statue.

<sup>297</sup> The word *in*, ‘by’, written with the reed and Red Crown, appears where one might expect  $n k_3 n$ , ‘for the *ka* of’.

inscription, in particular the deity connected to the intermediary function, quite often they do not match. So, in A.4 and A.6, Hathor is mentioned in the *ḥtp-dī-nsw* only secondary to other deities, in particular Amun. In A.5 and A.19 she is not mentioned at all.<sup>298</sup> A.14 does not mention the ‘Golden One’ within the *ḥtp-dī-nsw*, although after the deity to which it is dedicated, Onuris, is named, the inscription continues with *sn tꜣ n Mḥ.t*, ‘kissing the ground before Mehyt’. This goddess, therefore, is not included in the ritual as such, but the action of ‘kissing the ground’ suggests respect (and to some extent subservience) and perhaps indicates that she is intended to be the ‘Golden One’ here.

The instances in which the main deity mentioned in an intermediary context *does* match the *ḥtp-dī-nsw* rites are, therefore, the other five from Table 2: A.3, A.10, A.12, A.13 and A.17. In the case of A.3, the ‘two mistresses’ have been suggested to be Mut and Sekhmet.<sup>299</sup> It will be noticed that for A.13, the main deity in the third column of Table 2 is not Isis as in the *ḥtp-dī-nsw* text. However, in this case it is fairly certain that Isis is intended – not only is she named, with epithets, in one of the other inscriptions on the statue, but she is also mentioned at the end of the text in which the intermediary-related phrases are found.

If we leave aside Amenhotep son of Hapu’s statues because of the different form of their *ḥtp-dī-nsw* rites, it is apparent that only in half of the monuments does the formula refer clearly and primarily to the deities involved in the mediating process. It is consequently difficult to postulate any overall connection between *ḥtp-dī-nsw* rites and the intermediary function on these monuments. In cases where the primary deity or deities mentioned in the formulae are *not* those explicitly involved in the intermediary relationship, this raises questions as to how the intermediary aspect of the cult of one deity fitted into the cult of

<sup>298</sup> Werethekau (A.5) can be an epithet of female deities, especially Isis (Mekawy Ouda 2013: 1), and hence this may be intended as an epithet of Hathor (especially given that the statue-owner bears the title *ꜥꜣ wꜣb n Wr.t-ḥkꜣ.w*, ‘Great one of the purification of Werethekau’, suggesting official cult practices).

<sup>299</sup> Clère 1995: 179, ‘Notes de traduction’ c).

another – was the primary deity in the formula considered superior to the one involved in the intermediary relationship (particularly for monuments like A.4 where Hathor appears in the *hṭp-di-nsw* formula, but in a secondary position to Amun)? Several of these statues are suspected to come from sanctuaries of the female deities named in the intermediary context (unfortunately, definite provenance is unknown for most intermediaries), so what might the presence of other deities in the offering formulae and elsewhere in the inscriptions tell us about the balance of divine authority in these sanctuaries, and the interconnectedness of the cults in that region, for instance? Does the goddess hold the superior command in her own sanctuary, or does the newfound accessibility to her through the statue’s mediation affect her and her sanctuary’s standing in the divine rankings, so to speak, she being perceived as less transcendent than other deities mentioned in the inscriptions and thus inferior in comparison? Indeed, this would require us to decide if indeed ‘more accessible’ is equal to ‘less powerful’ – perhaps not in absolute terms (the gods were presumably still believed to have the same divine powers), but relative to the human race, a deity arguably becomes less authoritative and dominant once human beings can interact with it in some way.

The questions asked here are unlikely to have clear-cut answers, but it is important to consider how changes in methods of communication between humans and gods could have affected human perceptions of their deities. I have already embarked upon similar considerations in the chapter on hearing deities, in terms of the power potentially perceived to have been given to humans over their gods through the emergence of divine hearing epithets. Intermediary statues, more so than non-intermediary types, are intriguing in that they offer various levels of authority, involving human passers-by, (semi-)human statues, and deities, all of whom place expectations upon the others to act appropriately (be that providing offerings, transmitting messages or responding to petitions) in order to communicate successfully.

Undoubtedly in complex reciprocal relationships, such as those demonstrated by the intermediaries, it is not easy to state which is the most powerful party.

### **2.3 Intermediary statues (implicit): introduction**

Texts are significant in the attribution of an intermediary role to statues. However, there are other monuments whose texts only *imply* a similar function. It could be argued that an inherent function of any statue is that of mediator, even those without textual indicators for such a role; all occupy a position between this world and a spiritual world, the latter linking to a funerary or divine sphere (the distinctions between which are relatively fluid), or even to the act of remembrance, if this is understood as a type of metaphysical phenomenon. This liminality is achieved through a statue being a physical, tangible object which inspires the creation of intangible aspects: the idea of life beyond the physical and the establishing of memory. A statue's basic purpose, therefore, is to act as the mediator between an observer and an intangible or spiritual manifestation of the represented individual. A particularly good example within the context of this study is the Middle Kingdom statue of Sesh(esh)en-sahathor in Munich,<sup>300</sup> in which he states '(I) am in the following of the great god. (I) will carry out your petitions in the necropolis',<sup>301</sup> as a reward to those who say the correct greeting. This of course bears similarities to some of the statues already considered, not only in the use of the word 'petitions' but also the construction '(I) am' followed by a title, epithet or other phrase which demonstrates the closeness of the individual to a god. There is also an appeal text, and one of the *hṭp-di-nsw* formulae names Hathor, like many in the intermediary corpus.

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<sup>300</sup> Munich ÄS 5361 and 7211; Fischer-Elfert and Grimm 2003; Verbovsek 2004: 360-363.

<sup>301</sup> *iw(=i) m šms(.w) nṯr ʿz iw(=i) r ir.t spr.wt=tn m-m(?) hr.t-nṯr*

This monument also includes another nominal phrase which is of relevance to the consideration of ‘implicit’ intermediaries: *ink sḥ*, ‘I am a *sḥ*’. The key word is most often translated as ‘noble’, or ‘dignitary’, particularly in the context of the dead, and as a fuller phrase, ‘I am a *sḥ* for the one who acts for him’,<sup>302</sup> has been subject to recent study by Price.<sup>303</sup> Inherent in this statement is the idea of reciprocity – that the owner of the monument (statue or stela) will bestow beneficence upon an individual who performs rituals or provides offerings for him. In the case of the Munich statue, for instance, this beneficence is specified as carrying out petitions in the afterlife. Price argues that perhaps one of the best interpretations of the word is ‘intercessor for the living’, linking it to the concept of the effective *ḥ*,<sup>304</sup> which also exists in the context of communication with the deceased.<sup>305</sup>

However, the Munich statue, and others which have some form of the ‘I am a *sḥ*’ statement, are not included in the corpus of intermediaries (even as ‘implicit’ monuments) because their purpose appears to be primarily funerary, providing a link between this world and the world of the deceased (the Munich statue was most probably located in the temple of Ezbet Rushdi for the cult of the deceased Amenemhat I). Whilst this in itself does not preclude it from inclusion in the corpus – indeed several intermediary statues derive from the Deir el-Bahari area – the inscriptions make no reference to the individual or, more importantly, a *god* speaking or hearing the petitions. Furthermore, none of the statues covered by Table 1 bear the phrase ‘I am a *sḥ*’; unlike *is* or *iry-ḥ*, for instance, it does not have intermediary associations through frequent juxtaposition with more obvious statements of intermediary function between human and god, and therefore *sḥ*-statues’ inclusion in the group of ‘implicit’ intermediary statuary cannot be justified through that connection. These

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<sup>302</sup> *ink sḥ n ir n=f*

<sup>303</sup> Price 2011a: 231-238.

<sup>304</sup> Price 2011a: 237-238.

<sup>305</sup> In particular, the *ḥ ikr n R* stela (Demarée 1983). On the ancestor cult more generally, see Fitzenreiter 1994 and Harrington 2012.

*sḥ*-statues are therefore to be understood as representative of the phenomenon of which ancestor worship and letters to the dead are a part. An element of mediation certainly exists, but not strictly in the same fashion that is described for the statues of my corpus (human–statue–afterlife rather than human–statue–god).<sup>306</sup>

There are, however, statues which are much more closely related to the intermediary type. These total eight, and their pertinent texts will be arranged similarly in Table 3 with the same three categories: (1) relationship monument–divine, (2) relationship monument–human, and (3) willingness to mediate. As will be seen (and as is expected), they do not fulfil these criteria as easily or in the same way as the monuments discussed above.

### 2.3.1 Table 3: A.24 – A.31

Cat.	Statue-owner	(1)	(2)	(3)
A.24	Minmose	<p><b>Text C, line 1</b> <i>ʾn-ḥr imm wi m pr=k</i></p> <p>Onuris, place me in your house</p> <p><b>Text C, line 3</b> <i>iw ink p3(.y)=f: iry-ḏ</i></p> <p>it is me, your door-keeper</p> <p><b>Text D, lines 2-3</b> <i>dī.n wi ḥn=kwi n nb=i</i></p> <p>(I) placed myself (here) having approached to(wards) my lord</p>	<p><b>Text D, lines 1-2</b> <i>šsp=i sn.w pr m-b3ḥ mitt šms.w Ḥr</i></p> <p>May I receive <i>senu</i>-loaves which come in the presence likewise of the following of Horus</p>	<p><b>Text C, lines 1-3</b> <i>rwd=kwi ḥr ʿ3 wr ḥtm.tw=f wn.tw=f n ḥr=k</i></p> <p>(so that) I am prospering at the great door, which is closed and is opened before you</p>
A.25	Minmose	<p><b>Text C, lines 3-4</b> <i>ink p3 is n ʾs.t wr[.t] ʿnh=i m wb3&lt;.t&gt;=s</i></p>	<p><b>Text C, lines 4-6</b> <i>wdn.w&lt;t&gt; ʿš3 m šbnw dbbh̄y.t mi nwy ir[p]</i></p>	<p><b>Text C, lines 15-16</b> <i>ḏr.t=f imm.ty ḥr [šsp] n=sn t3.y=i i3b.t(y) ḥr</i></p>

<sup>306</sup> Note, however, that one sistrophore bears this phrase, B.83.

		<p>I am the bald one of Isis the Great. I live in her open forecourt</p> <p><b>Text C, lines 6-7</b>  <i>ḥnw.t=i s:mn m qniw[=i(?)]</i></p> <p>My mistress is supported in [my(?)] embrace</p>	<p><i>hnq.t bn r-<sup>c</sup>=s(n) imm.t ḥr <sup>c</sup>.wy=i</i></p> <p>Numerous offerings in (great) variety, the <i>debehhyt</i>-drink like water, wine, and beer without their limit: place (them) in my arms</p> <p><b>Text C, lines 12-13</b>  <i>[...n]ty nb m p3 wb3 šps.ywt mi bw nb wrh.y m p3 b3k n 'Is.t iw b(3)q n=f r ḥr=f</i></p> <p>[...] all who are in the open forecourt, noblewomen like everyone, do anoint the servant of Isis. Moringa-oil for him is upon his head.</p>	<p><i>s:mn p3 sšš.t šps(.t) n ḥnw.t=f</i></p> <p>His right hand is receiving of them [offerings]; my left (hand) is supporting the noble sistrum of his mistress.</p> <p><b>Text C, lines 16-17</b>  <i>[i]w=s r [r]di.t n p3 nty r di n=f</i></p> <p>She will give to the one who will give to him</p>
A.26	Piyay	<p><b>Text C, lines 1-2</b>  <i>imm wi m pr m-ḥnw=f r<sup>c</sup> nb</i></p> <p>Place me in (your) house, within it every day.</p> <p><b>Text E, line 2</b>  <i>ink p3.y(=k) iry-<sup>c</sup>3</i></p> <p>I am (your) door-keeper</p>	<p>[ <b>Text D, line 1</b>  <i>ḥtp-di-nsw Wr.t-hk3.w</i></p> <p>Offering-which-the-king-gives to Werethekau ]</p>	<p><b>Text C, line 2</b>  <i>imm wd3 ḥr n3.y=f sb3.w</i></p> <p>Give (me) prosperity at its gates</p> <p><b>Text E, lines 1-2</b>  <i>imm msqr=k</i></p> <p>Place your ear</p> <p><b>Text E, line 2</b>  <i>imm mn ḥr šms.w nb b3q3y n3.y=f <sup>c</sup>3.wy</i></p> <p>Cause that (I) remain in the following of the Lord, working (at)(?) his doors</p>
A.27	Amenemhat	<p><b>Text B, lines 1-2</b>  <i>ink p3 is n mr.n [Nb]w</i></p> <p>I am the bald one whom the Golden One loves</p> <p><b>Text B, lines 2-3</b>  <i>ink ḥms &lt;n&gt; pr=s&lt;t&gt;</i></p>	<p><b>Text C, lines 6-7</b>  <i>i rmt nb iy(.w) n Nb[w.t] šs[p=i(?)] sn[.w] m di.t=(t)n [... dd-tm(?)]...</i></p> <p>Oh, all people who come to the Golden O[ne]. May I recei[ve] <i>sen[u]</i>-loaves in your [...?] offering.</p>	<p><b>Text B, lines 1-2</b>  <i>ink p3 is n mr.n [Nb]w dd.wt=i n-s p3 ndm ḥtp-ib=s&lt;t&gt; ḥr dd.wt nb</i></p> <p>I am the bald one whom the Golden One loves (because of?) my speaking to her, the one</p>

		I am the one who sits in her house	[...May you say(?)...]	who is sweet, the one to whose every word she is well disposed
A.28	Ramose	<b>Text A, line 1</b> <i>ink ḥm n nb(.t) p.t iry-ꜥꜣ n pr-s</i>  I am the servant of the lady of the sky, the door-keeper of her house	<b>Text A, lines 1-2</b> <i>imm n=i ḥnq.t ḥr dr.t t ḥr ʕ.wy rʕ nb</i>  Give to me beer upon (my) hand and bread in (my) arms every day	<b>Text A, line 2</b> <i>k(ꜣ) ḥsy tn tꜣ.y(=i) ḥnw.t</i>  then my mistress will favour you
A.29	Unknown	<b>Text A, line 3</b> <i>[ink] ḥm n Ḥw.t-Ḥr</i>  [I am] the servant of Hathor	<b>Text A, line 5</b> <i>[...=t]n rn=i</i>  [if(?) yo]u [speak(?)] my name	<b>Text A, lines 4-5</b> <i>dd [...=t]n rn=i</i>  [I will(?)] speak [...if(?)] yo]u [speak(?)] my name
A.30	Unknown	<b>Text A</b> <i>ḥnw.t=i</i>  My mistress	<b>Text A</b> <i>nb r pr ḥnw.t=i mḥ r=i m di(.t)=tn</i>  All (who come) to the house of my mistress, fill my mouth with your offering(s)  <b>Text B</b> <i>(i)mm s:[gnn] r tꜣ(.y)=i is.t srm-n&gt; r [r=i...]</i>  Place oin[tment] on my baldness and <i>serem</i> -drink in [my mouth...]	N/A  [similarities with A.15]
A.31	Unknown	N/A  (references to Mut in Isheru and other gods)	<b>Text B, lines ~1-2</b> <i>[...]=i [sn].w m di(.t)=tn iry pꜣ nty nb [...] [šsp=i] sn.w m tp tꜣ nb m pr Mw.t [...]</i>  [...Cause that] I [receive] <i>senu</i> -loaves from your offering. As to all those who [...] [Cause that] I receive <i>senu</i> -loaves from upon every land in the house of Mut [...]	N/A  [similarities with A.19]

### 2.3.2 Notes on Table 3

#### A.24 – Minmose

A text suitable for category (2) could only be found in a request for offerings. It is not indicated to whom this request is directed, but it is taken here as suggesting human observers. The text given here in category (3) is clearly not of the same type as many found in Table 1, in that there is no obvious mention of speaking to the deity or transmitting petitions. In fact, it is perhaps more suited to category (1), as it implies a relationship to the temple and to the deity. However, the significance of door-keepers as mediators, the subject of §2.4.4 and especially §4.3.7, is behind the choice of this text here; the statement made under category (1), ‘it is me, your door-keeper’, is a more recognisable declaration of the monument–divine relationship, and shares parallels with the statements of titles and roles as seen in the equivalent part of Table 1 (not only *iry-ꜥ3* itself, but also *hm*, *b3k*, and *is*, for example).

Another reason behind the choice of the category (3) text is that it suggests that the statue is present, ready to act for the god, at all times, regardless of the level of access others have to the sacred space (represented by the open or closed doors); even if the god is hidden behind the doors, the statue remains as his representative to whom people can direct their acts of praise.

#### A.25 – Minmose

Aside from the probable significance of ‘bald one’ for potential intermediary function, his other titles (not included in the table) show he had high priestly status within the cult of Onuris, for instance by being *hm-ntr tpy*, ‘first god’s servant’, of this deity. The second category (1) text, ‘my mistress is supported in [my(?)] embrace’, is likely a reference to the Hathoric element which features on the front of this statue (a ‘sistrophore’), here representing

Isis. That it is a *sistrophore* is testament to the closeness of the monument–divine relationship. In addition, this text is preceded by the first category (2) text, a request for offerings. Here it seems that Minmose wishes to receive the offerings on behalf of his mistress, implying that they will be passed on to her through his mediation.

The first category (3) text is composed to similar effect: Minmose receives offerings with his right hand and maintains the connection to the goddess through his left (this is corroborated by the gesture of the statue itself).<sup>307</sup> This is not ‘willingness to mediate’ according to my definitions, but suggests that Minmose is the connection (physically and metaphysically) between the humans presenting the offerings and the goddess receiving those offerings. The second category (3) text, whilst it also does not suggest that Minmose is willing to speak to the goddess, does indicate some form of awareness on her side, in that she knows when offerings are presented to his statue. In other words, only if visitors approach the statue and perform ritual actions will the goddess respond, and a mediating role can be inferred from this.

It should also be noted that the main inscription of this statue alternates between first person – Minmose speaking about himself, about Isis or to human observers – and second person – presumably a third party speaking to Minmose, since Isis is mentioned in these sections and does not appear to be the speaker.<sup>308</sup> This third party implores Minmose to receive offerings (such as ‘Take for yourself *senu*-loaves and *seremet*-drink to your mouth’<sup>309</sup>), hence indicating that a monument–human relationship (category (2)) is already being enacted. This type of interaction with the statue is not well attested by the inscriptions of the Catalogue A statues, the majority of which are spoken by the statue(-owner) or are *hṭp*-

<sup>307</sup> This is preceded by *mk nb(.t)-i hṭ.y hr dꜣdꜣ-i mksw r hḥ-i m wdꜣw*, ‘Behold, my lady is carved upon my head. Behold, she is upon my neck as a flourishing amulet’ (Text C, lines 13-14).

<sup>308</sup> Note that this inscription also has some pronoun confusion in places, swapping between first and third person (see the first category (3) text, which speaks of ‘his right hand’, but ‘my left’.

<sup>309</sup> *mn n=k sn.w srm.t r r=k* (Text C, line 9).

*di-nsw* rituals with no pronouns. The only other statue in the corpus to display a monument–human relationship through the use of the second person is that of Tjaui (A.5), on which one inscription, not directly connected to the intermediary passages, lists the offerings and divine assistance Tjaui is to receive (for example: ‘Given to you: 4 loaves in Busiris’<sup>310</sup> and ‘May the gods who are on it give to you’<sup>311</sup>).

#### A.26 – Piyay

Of the three main inscriptions on this statue, two are addressed directly to Werethekau and the other is a *htp-di-nsw* offering formula. As such, there is no text which would fit well in category (2). The *htp-di-nsw* offering formula does not form part of an appeal text in which passers-by are entreated to perform this ritual,<sup>312</sup> but nonetheless does indicate some form of human action in relation to the statue. The category (1) texts are comparable to those of Minmose (A.24). Similarly, the first and third category (3) texts are akin to Minmose’s assertion that he is at the door (of the temple).<sup>313</sup>

The second category (3) text, which comes immediately before the second category (1) text and the third category (3) text, is the most interesting. The reference to the ear, probably of the deity, and the imperative verb indicate that Piyay expects the goddess to listen to him. Whilst there is no connection to petitions or human involvement, the text certainly implies that Piyay is a suitable individual for others to turn to as a mediator, since he can speak to the goddess and be heard.

<sup>310</sup> *di.t n-k t 4 m dd.w* (Text B, line 1).

<sup>311</sup> *di n-k ntr.w nty.w im-s* (Text B, line 7).

<sup>312</sup> Cf. the statues of Amenhotep son of Hapu (A.1 and A.2).

<sup>313</sup> Note, however, that the first one, ‘Give (me) prosperity at its gates’, is contextually funerary in nature, as the statue-owner hopes that as a result he *r htp m ‘nh-t3.wy*, ‘will rest in Ankh-tawy’, that is, an area in the Memphite necropoleis.

## A.27 – Amenemhat

The text of category (3) does not express willingness to speak to the goddess on behalf of a passer-by, but seems to show that there is a dialogue present between the statue-owner and the deity from which the speaker (the statue-owner) benefits, thus giving him an incentive to maintain that dialogue. There is potentially a second appeal text after the second category (1) text, but damage to the base of the statue results in the last lines of the relevant inscription being extremely fragmentary.

## A.28 – Ramose

This statue is included in this table primarily because of the reference to the door-keeper role (category (1)), which not only has parallels with the more explicit intermediaries but also, in conjunction with the other excerpts selected, does demonstrate an (albeit implicit) intermediary process: the three extracts appear sequentially in the order of the table (compare A.13 and A.17).

## A.29 – Unknown

Only a small portion of this statue remains. This inscription is very fragmentary and the sense is hard to determine. The lacunae make it difficult to identify any parts of the texts to fit into the categories of the table, which in part explains why the same text appears in both categories (2) and (3). It is not entirely clear to whom the text is addressed, but it seems reasonable that the entreaty for his name to be spoken (or to be ‘caused to endure’, according to the suggested restoration of Clère) is directed towards human observers. This is a plea for the name of the statue-owner to be invoked in order to ensure he lives eternally, thus being an action requested as part of the monument–human relationship. A longer extract of this part of the

inscription is used in category (3), as it is suggestive of the willingness of the statue-owner to speak to the deity if the correct rituals are performed for him. However, given the fragmentation of the text, this is far from certain.

#### A.30 – Unknown

Only part of the base remains. It has been included here because of the reference to baldness, and, as Clère recognised, textual similarities with the other statues.<sup>314</sup> In particular the first category (2) text is seen on another, less fragmentary statue, A.15.<sup>315</sup> It is likely therefore that had this statue been better preserved, it would have been explicitly intermediary.

#### A.31 – Unknown

Only two fragments remain, evidently making it very difficult to extract pertinent texts. It has been included because of textual similarities with the other statues, in particular with A.19. Like A.30, it is likely that this once was an explicit intermediary. The surviving fragments also preserve part of the Hathoric element, showing that this would have been a sistrophore like many others in Catalogue A, and thus it would appear that it was made with same purpose in mind.

### 2.3.3 Further comments on the categories in Table 3

#### 2.3.3.1 Difficulties in identification and the importance of the categories

As was expected, texts which represent the categories used above are harder to identify, in particular (2) and (3) – there are no words involving ‘petitions’ or ‘listening’, for instance.

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<sup>314</sup> Clère 1995: 151.

<sup>315</sup> Text B, line 1. This text has not been included in the relevant part of Table 1; refer to the translations in Catalogue A.

Category (1) is again the easiest to detect, often through the titles held by the statues – *is*, ‘bald one’, *iry-ʿz*, ‘door-keeper’, and *hm* or *bzk*, ‘servant’. These are believed to have intermediary implications given that several appear on the ‘explicit’ intermediaries in Table 1.

Difficulties identifying a monument–human relationship (category (2)) can be explained in a similar way to those dealt with in Table 1: the physical monument and its temple location lessens the need to demonstrate interaction between the human observer and the statue within the texts.

Category (3), as has been seen, is an important type of text in that it narrows down the function of the statue to that of an intermediary. In the Table 3 monuments, this is no longer explicit. Instead, the excerpts mentioning doors (A.24 and A.26) only *suggest* that this monument is a link between outside and in, or accessible and inaccessible, and therefore acts as a mediator. Parallels with the more explicit intermediaries which also have links to doors (A.7, A.10 and A.15) lends this more support but, as they stand, these two statues are not true intermediaries as these have been defined. Other excerpts from category (3) (in A.25, A.27 and A.28) imply that there is dialogue between the statue-owner and the goddess and that a reciprocal relationship exists in which human supplicants may benefit. The latter is of course substantiated by the requests for offerings or ritual performances found in category (2) for all eight of these statues. However, in none of the inscriptions from these monuments does the statue-owner clearly express his willingness to speak to the deity (A.29 is so fragmentary that the category (3) text here should be treated with caution).

When discussing the ‘explicit’ intermediaries in Table 1, it was observed that the majority of the twenty-three monuments (fourteen, or 61%) supplied excerpts under category (2) which could be arranged into three groups, presenting three types of instruction to supplicants. These were 1) approach the statue, 2) address the statue and voice petitions and

3) perform offering rituals as a form of payment.<sup>316</sup> The first type of instruction is not represented by any of the statues in Table 3. As regards to the second types there is a similar dearth of examples, demonstrating how different these eight monuments are (although again preservation is an issue); the only one whose inscriptions retain a hint of ‘addressing the statue and voicing petitions’ is A. 29, ‘[if(?) yo]u [speak(?)] my name’. The damage to the statue makes this problematic – the reconstruction may not be correct, and even if it is, to whom exactly this part of the text is addressed is uncertain. It may be directed to the gods, reflecting the desire of statue-owners to remain in a temple for eternity without being forgotten, due to the beneficence of the temple deities.<sup>317</sup> Invocation of the name is considered to be a type of ritual performance which benefits the individual represented in the monument, just as the provision of offerings sustains him or her. Nevertheless, this statue indicates that the one who ‘speaks his name’ could also benefit: if the partial reconstruction of the text is correct the statue-owner promises to ‘speak’ as a reward if the ritual is performed. This suggests that these statements are not directed towards the gods, but towards passers-by. To whom he will speak in return for the desired ritual is lost, but it could reasonably be assumed to be a deity. In other words, if he receives what he desires from human visitors, he will reward them with his services as a mediator. Of course, this must be interpreted with caution because of the severe damage suffered by the statue.

All but A.29 mention some kind of offerings;<sup>318</sup> in the case of A.25 the second category (2) text instructs ladies in the vicinity to anoint the statue, which bears parallels with several statues which ask for ointment among the food offerings – see A.7 in Table 1 for an example. One of the seven which mention offerings unequivocally states that they are a form

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<sup>316</sup> See above §2.2.3.1.

<sup>317</sup> Compare with the inscriptions of A.26, especially the first category (1) and first and third category (2) texts.

<sup>318</sup> A.29 remains only as a small fragment of the base and left foot, so it is likely that requests for offerings did exist within its texts when it was first erected.

of payment for an action the statue will undertake – the request for offerings (category (2) text) on A.28, as recognised in the initial notes on this monument, is followed immediately by ‘then my mistress will favour you’ (category (3)).<sup>319</sup> This construction suggests that the deity is aware of the welfare of the statue-owner because of their close relationship, and if he receives offerings she responds favourably towards the donor. The statue, therefore, is a type of mediator through whom the deity is connected to human visitors.

Similarly A.25 asks for offerings, particularly beverages, to be placed in his arms, and this request is immediately followed by ‘my mistress is supported in [my(?)] embrace’ (category (1)). This insinuates that offerings given to him are also transferred to the deity with whom he has close contact, with both benefiting. By emphasising the presence of the goddess, perhaps the statue-owner is insinuating to passers-by that she will be aware of their actions and, it could be further supposed, that she will respond favourably to benefactions but will be displeased if anyone walks past and ignores the request. Since the texts are not forthcoming in this regard, this must remain supposition. However, it is supported somewhat by the second excerpt under category (3), ‘she will give to the one who gives to him’.

It is hoped that the preceding comments and discussion shows that the statues in Table 3 cannot be described as true intermediaries but, nevertheless, certain similarities in phrasing and titles indicate that these statues derive from the same context and purpose as the monuments of Table 1; they are clearly more than pieces of commemorative sculpture. The key words that are so distinctive for the ‘explicit’ intermediaries (‘petitions’, for example) are not found, but similar notions can be inferred. It is also notable that the physical form of

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<sup>319</sup> Compare this with A.5, A.8, A.9 and A.11, which all request ritual action, followed by a clause beginning with *k3* (‘then’) to show how the dedicant will benefit.

several ‘implicit’ statues is similar to more ‘explicit’ monuments: A.25, A.26, A.27, A.28 and A.31 are definitely sistrophores, for instance.

### 2.3.3.2 Deities named in *hṭp-di-nsw* rites

As has just been discussed, all but one of the eight statues in Table 3 mention offerings, mostly as requests. Four include *hṭp-di-nsw* rites, which will be arranged in the same format as Table 2 – deities mentioned in the rites in the left column (with bullet points to indicate separate incantations) and deities mentioned elsewhere in the inscriptions in the right column (if applicable, the first goddess listed being the one involved in the mediating relationship)

Table 4: Comparison of deities in *hṭp-di-nsw* formulae with all deities invoked

	Deities in <i>hṭp-di-nsw</i>	Deities mentioned elsewhere in the inscriptions
A.26 (Piyay)	Werethekau	Werethekau
A.27 (Amenemhat)	Hathor	- The Golden One - Hathor - Thoth (in a title) <sup>320</sup>
A.28 (Ramose)	- [possibly other deities] and Khonsu - Hathor, mistress of Ta-henu (named restored based on the epithet) - Hathor - Anubis	‘Lady of the sky’
A.31 (Unknown)	Mut, lady of Isheru (restored based on the epithet)	Mut

The ‘Golden One’ in A.27 and the ‘lady of the sky’ in A.28 are both likely to refer to Hathor. Because so few statues are being considered here, it is difficult to conduct any further

<sup>320</sup> The statue-owner is a *ḥꜣ.t[y] nṯr n Dḥw.ty*, ‘divine officer(?) of Thoth’.

assessment aside from observing that, unlike the statues in Tables 1 and 2, the deities mentioned in the *hṭp-dī-nsw* formulae all appear to match the main deity mentioned elsewhere in the inscription. This is undoubtedly an accident of survival.

## **2.4 Further comments on the monuments of both Tables 1 and 3**

### **2.4.1 Titles: ‘bald one’, ‘servant’, ‘reporter’ and ‘sistrum-player’**

One of the most common ways in which the monument–god relationship is created on the statues of the intermediary corpus is through the titles or epithets of the statue-owner. The association of these titles with the explicit intermediary texts in Table 1 means that parallels can be drawn for the statues in Table 3, and it can be assumed to some extent that they had similar purposes.

In this regard, the most important designation is *is*, ‘bald one’. It appears in some form (either as a nominal statement – ‘I am the bald one’ – or just as a descriptive term elsewhere in the inscriptions) on seventeen of thirty-one statues,<sup>321</sup> and frequently complements the actual physical appearance of the statues’ heads. Several mention ointment, usually *s:gmn*, in conjunction with baldness as an offering to be applied to the head.<sup>322</sup> A.5 does not mention baldness, but does refer to the ointment for the head. The word has been studied extensively by Clère, who notes that it has been considered a name for a specific type of priest.<sup>323</sup> It certainly seems to have been a marker of a cultic relationship with a deity, and an indicator of purity, and because of its prevalence on these statues, appears to have intermediary connotations. The majority of these statues seem to include it as a general statement, not as a

<sup>321</sup> A.6, A.7, A.8, A.9, A.10, A.11, A.13, A.14, A.15, A.18, A.19, A.20, A.21, A.23, A.25, A.27, and A.30.

<sup>322</sup> A.6, A.7, A.8, A.19, A.21 and A.30. A.11 mentions *ṇ.tyw*, myrrh, instead and A.25 mentions ointment for the limbs and *bꜣq*, ‘moringa oil’ for the head.

<sup>323</sup> Clère 1995: 1-69, esp. 12-13.

formal title of a position held during life but, as pointed out in the initial notes on Table 1, A.9 mentions it alongside his actual priestly title (*ḥm-ntr tpy*, ‘first god’s servant’, normally translated as ‘high priest’), giving it a more formal overtone. A.11 and A.13 have comparable texts, combining *ḥm n pr Nb.w wḥm.w n Ḥw.t-Ḥr* and *bꜣk n ’Is.t* with their actual titles (*imy-r pr m nīw.t rs.y(t)*, ‘the overseer of the house in the southern town’, and *šw.ty*, ‘merchant’, respectively). *ḥm* and *bꜣk*, both usually translated as ‘servant’, do not seem to be actual titles as they stand (as opposed to *ḥm-ntr*), rather declarations of status in relation to the deity.<sup>324</sup> A.19 uses both, presumably indicating slightly different aspects of subservience. These two terms in themselves lack a definite indication of intermediary, much like ‘bald one’. However, the context provided by other parts of the inscription suggest otherwise, and being a ‘servant’ is not incompatible with the idea of acting on behalf of one’s master in a mediating role.

Another title which occurs regularly in this corpus is *wḥm.w*, ‘reporter’ (lit. ‘one who repeats’), although it is only found on the Table 1 statues.<sup>325</sup> It is closely interrelated with the concept of repeating petitions to the deity as part of the intermediary process (see, for example, A.7), and is similar in meaning to *nḥm.w*, ‘proclaimer’ (lit. ‘one who shouts’), on A.12. The link between *wḥm.w* and intermediaries was drawn by Kees, who pointed out that *wḥm(.w)* was held by both Apis (for Ptah) and Mnevis (for Re) who, as animals believed to be a terrestrial embodiment of their respective deities, were seen as ideal mediators between this world and the divine.<sup>326</sup>

*iḥy*, ‘sistrum-player’, is attested only twice within the corpus, A.4 and A.5, despite the number which are sistrophores. Neferrenpet (A.4) is also said to be *ꜥ.wy wꜥb ḥr ms n<.s* (*(s)šš.t mni.t*, ‘the one of pure hands when presenting to her the sistrum and *menit*’, suggesting

<sup>324</sup> *ḥm*: A.10, A.11, A.16, A.17, A.19, A.28 and A.29; *bꜣk*: A.6, A.13, A.19 and A.25.

<sup>325</sup> A.1, A.2, A.3, A.4, A.8, A.11, A.13, A.14, A.17, A.18 and A.21.

<sup>326</sup> Kees 1960: 140.

that he not only plays the instrument but it also forms part of offering rituals for the goddess, whilst also linking to the likely sistrophorous form of the statue itself.<sup>327</sup> Likewise, A.25 claims his left hand ‘is supporting the noble sistrum of his mistress’ (while his right receives offerings),<sup>328</sup> a position reflected in the statue’s pose. In this same statue, the determinative for ‘bald one’ appears to be a kneeling figure holding a naos-sistrum, providing validation for the claims that this designation, and the sistrum, bear intermediary associations. I also propose that there is significance in the mother of A.23 having been a sistrum-player herself, indicating one of the potential influences on the statue’s purpose; its poor state of preservation means it cannot be confirmed that it had been a sistrophore.

One final title which recurs in the corpus is *iry-ꜣ*, ‘door-keeper’, but this will be considered in Chapter Four.

#### 2.4.2 Biographical nature of the statuary

Some of the inscriptions on the statues testify to their dual function, both as intermediaries and as commemorative pieces so the owner’s memory and name will survive in perpetuity. The commemorative nature of these statues is suggested by (auto)biographical information, not included in the tables, regarding their careers and, often, their moral integrity in helping the less fortunate.

The two statues of Amenhotep son of Hapu (A.1 and A.2) display biographical inscriptions on their papyri, explaining the roles bestowed on him by the king, including monitoring the estate of Amun and building work.<sup>329</sup> Most significant for this thesis is his

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<sup>327</sup> The object supported on the left knee has broken off, but was probably a fairly small naos-sistrum-feature.

<sup>328</sup> *s:mn pꜣ sšš.t šps(.t) n ḥnw.t=f.*

<sup>329</sup> Text C on both.

responsibility as *wpw.ty nsw*, ‘royal messenger’ in the Theban area.<sup>330</sup> As I have argued elsewhere, such roles may have contributed to the extraordinary veneration Amenhotep son of Hapu received, first as an effective and long-lived official, then as a mediator, then as a god.<sup>331</sup> This is supported by the claims on both statues that the king was instrumental in placing him (the statues) in the temple to receive and report petitions – the king had given him a career during life and in perpetuity. Loeben has further suggested that these statues were not set up where they were discovered at the tenth pylon of Karnak, but at the seventh pylon facing niches within the doorway, in which statues of the king would have been placed; Amenhotep son of Hapu’s statues, erected opposite, would have worked as intermediary for the statues of the king.<sup>332</sup>

Ameneminet (A.8) also benefited from royal patronage and a successful career, or so he claims on his statue – the inscription on the right side details his promotions in the army and then to overseer of royal works. One of the roles he held, like Amenhotep, was ‘royal messenger’, although he was sent abroad as part of this role: ‘I repeated to him (regarding) the foreign lands in all their forms’.<sup>333</sup> This too, like Amenhotep, could serve to enhance his suitability as a mediator, hence why it appears in his inscriptions. Inhernakht (A.10) was also a royal messenger in foreign lands.<sup>334</sup>

A.17 and A.20 both refer to the building and restoration of monuments, the former in the town of *Ta-wer* dedicated to Isis,<sup>335</sup> and the latter an unknown locality in which buildings

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<sup>330</sup> A.1, Text C, line 4.

<sup>331</sup> Simmance 2014a: *passim*.

<sup>332</sup> Pers. comm. C. E. Loeben (July 2016). See also this thesis page 142 and footnote 354. I am not entirely convinced that these statues were intermediaries for the king given the inscriptions which state that they report to Amun, but nevertheless the king certainly played an important part in the establishment of Amenhotep’s statuary at Karnak, continuing posthumously the patronage which had benefited the official during his lifetime.

<sup>333</sup> *wḥm.n(i) n=f ḥꜣs.wt m qī-s(n) nb* (Text G, line 6).

<sup>334</sup> Text F, lines 4-5.

<sup>335</sup> Text C, line 2.

and statues had fallen into ruin.<sup>336</sup> Montuemhat's inscription (A.20) contains lacunae, but seems to emphasise that this is correct behaviour, thereby implying that passers-by should show the same respect towards his own statue.

A.11 and A.13 both detail their generosity and charity through helping those in need: A.13 proclaims he is the one for noblewomen, young girls, house-wives and all women (perhaps indicating the target audience of his intermediary statue),<sup>337</sup> whilst A.11 provides more information regarding his avoidance of lies and wrong-doing, help to new mothers(?), widows, young girls, common people, the old, orphans, and those without children.<sup>338</sup> This occurs between statements of being a 'bald one' and references to offerings which he has received and hopes to receive from passers-by. Such an extensive text is an attempt to justify his position in the temple and prove his suitability for offerings, but it also provides encouragement for those wishing to use his monument as an intermediary. Widows and young girls are mentioned elsewhere in the context of the goddess providing aid (not biographical, but similar themes).<sup>339</sup>

A.23, whilst not strictly (auto)biographical, does make reference to the moral virtues of the statue-owner: 'I am straightforward and honest, happy of disposition and good of character', which appears between the first category (3) and category (1) texts,<sup>340</sup> and 'I do not say detestable (words)(?) [for th]ose who ask for things', which precedes one of his declarations to be a 'bald one'.<sup>341</sup>

The number of statues with biographical texts in this corpus is very small. Once again this may be due to poor state of preservation, but it seems also that the statue-owners

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<sup>336</sup> Text A, line 2.

<sup>337</sup> Text C, lines 2-4.

<sup>338</sup> Text A, lines 3-8.

<sup>339</sup> A.5 (young girls only, Text A, lines 3-4); A.13 (later in Text C, lines 7-8); A.16 (Text A, line 4-5); A.18 (Text B, only traces) and A.21 (young girls only, as preserved, Text A, lines 5-6).

<sup>340</sup> *ink* [*qz*]-*ib ph(z)-h.t wzd qd nfr bi.t* (Text A, line 3).

<sup>341</sup> [*nn dd(?)*]-*i b:z* [*m d*]*bh h.t* (Text A, line 4).

preferred to focus the inscriptions on offering formulae, requests for offerings and the intermediary texts, placing their statues primarily within the cult context of the temples in which they were erected. I infer from this that the majority of these statues are concerned less with commemorating the individual through his own life and achievements, and more with participating in religious activity. Therefore, the mortuary aspect of these statues (preserving an individual in cultural memory after death) is thus achieved through more subtle means than by (auto)biographical boasting.

#### 2.4.3 Placating and pleasing the goddess

The majority of these intermediary statues are connected to a goddess, Hathor being the most common. Hathoric deities are known to be volatile (see §3.3.2.2), with the potential to become angry and dangerous. A small number of statues in this corpus refer to, or at least suggest, her pacification. A.8 assures passers-by that he will transmit their petitions ‘in her hour of peace’.<sup>342</sup> A.15 makes it clear that offerings to the statue will pacify the goddess: ‘if *senu*-loaves are offered to him in his presence, she will not be angry’.<sup>343</sup> The owner of A.19 claims after the statements of his intermediary function that ‘I am the one who pacifies the heart of Hathor in her time [of anger?]’, which is followed by a request for ointment on his head.<sup>344</sup> A.21, in spite of the lacunae which break up the translation, seems to echo A.15, promising that passers-by who offer to the statue will benefit from the deity’s beneficence as opposed to her ire due to their continued presence in the vicinity without benefit to her or the

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<sup>342</sup> *m t3(.y)=s wnw.t htp.w* (Text H, lines 4-5). For an alternative interpretation which does not involve the goddess’s potential anger, see Pinch 1993: 334.

<sup>343</sup> *ir di n=f sn.w m-b3h=f bn qnd=s* (Text B, line 6).

<sup>344</sup> *ink s:grh ib n Hw.t-Hr m tri=s* [...] (Text A, lines 5-6).

statue-owner: ‘She will not be angry, she will not be unwilling, she will not be weary’.<sup>345</sup> Finally, it is possible to deduce the potential for an angry goddess from a text of A.27 which was included in Table 3: she is supposedly ‘well disposed (lit. peaceful of heart)’ towards the words of the statue-owner.<sup>346</sup> The statue-owner thus tries to demonstrate his suitability as mediator by implying that the goddess would not be so pleasant in response to the words of others.

A far less overt suggestion of the goddess’s volatility can be seen on A.14 – it has already been noted above that the *ḥtp-di-nsw* rite to Onuris is followed by the statement ‘kissing the ground before Mehyt’.<sup>347</sup> This act of worship<sup>348</sup> is probably meant to placate Mehyt, especially since her name is written with an anthropomorphic lioness determinative.<sup>349</sup>

A similar concept – pleasing the goddess – is a significant feature of requests for offerings. A.6, A.8, A.15 and A.21 note, with variants in writing, that the goddess likes her ‘bald one’ to be satisfied.<sup>350</sup> We have just seen that A.15 and A.21 also refer to the potential anger of the goddess. Several statues, moreover, indicate that an individual will receive some kind of reward (from the goddess) for their attention to the statue,<sup>351</sup> indicating implicitly that she is aware, and is pleased. It has already been seen above that A.25 and A.28 demonstrate

<sup>345</sup> *bn qnd-s bn ḥqn-s bn kh-s* (Text B, line 5). Clère (1995: 144-145, including ‘Notes de traduction’ 1)) provides the translation for the final part as ‘Elle ne ne [*sic*] sera pas irritée?’ (‘she will not be irritated’) noting that *kh* does not appear in the Wörterbuch and reasoning, understandably, that it is a synonym for the previous two. These he gives as ‘en colère’ (‘angry’) and ‘indignée’ (‘indignant, outraged’). My translation differs slightly, although the general tenor is the same. ‘Weary’ is based upon words with a similar root, relating to weariness (*khw*) and ‘grow old’ (*khkh*), both *Wb* V: 138.

<sup>346</sup> *ḥtp-ib* (Text B, line 2).

<sup>347</sup> Text B, line 1.

<sup>348</sup> Seen on other statues, such as A.5 and A.11, where it is directed to Hathor, A.17, directed to Horus, and as part of a request on A.22, directed presumably to Mut.

<sup>349</sup> Her lioness-form associates her with Sekhmet, who of course can be a form of Hathor (to whom the ‘Golden One’ is often applied as an epithet), and who is sometimes vengeful and destructive. There would thus be a need for her to be calmed to avoid harm coming to the human sphere.

<sup>350</sup> A.6: [...*nb.t(?)*] *ḥnw.t iw p3.y-s<t> is s3.w* (Text A, line 5); A.8: *mr ḥnw.t is s3w* (Text H, line 8); A.15: [*mr... p3*].*y-s is iw=f s3w* (Text B, line 2); A.21: *mrr t3 šps.t iw p3.y-s is s3i* (Text A, line 5).

<sup>351</sup> See §2.7.1.7 ‘Benefit (target)’.

awareness on the part of the goddess of the statue's well-being – in both cases the relevant text implying that those who present an offering will benefit from her rewards can be found in the category (3) section for those statues in Table 3. Whilst neither of these texts say that the statue speaks to the deity, they demonstrate that the statue is connected to the divine realm.

A statue-owner has further motivation for including requests for offerings - ensuring that the individual commemorated is sustained in the afterlife, in the manner of statues in a funerary context. In the case of temple statues, they wished to be sustained in part so that they could live on after death, but also so that they could remain in the temple, close to the relevant deity, for eternity. Here it is possible to go further and say that they wished to remain in the temple so that they could fulfil their intermediary functions forever. In requesting offerings, therefore, they hoped for a cult (even if only on a small-scale) to be perpetuated, probably with the additional benefit that their name would be remembered on earth.<sup>352</sup> The role of mediator provides a greater incentive for passers-by to fulfil the statue-owner's wishes for sustenance.<sup>353</sup>

#### 2.4.4 Doorways

It is worth highlighting that several of the monuments listed in the above tables have strong associations with doorways. Unfortunately, only those of Amenhotep son of Hapu (A.1 and A.2) have a precise provenance, at the doorway of the tenth pylon of Karnak, north face, but this may not have been its original location.<sup>354</sup> The provenances for the rest, if they are recorded at all, are lacking in specificity meaning a direct relationship with a doorway is

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<sup>352</sup> Here refer back to A.12 who wishes scribes will pronounce his name in the presence of the goddess.

<sup>353</sup> On the similar motivations behind the statuary of Amenhotep son of Hapu, not just the two statues discussed here, see Simmance 2014a: 75-77.

<sup>354</sup> I have recently argued against this findspot as its original location, though suggesting that it was indeed a doorway (Simmance 2014b). See footnote 332.

impossible to confirm. Nonetheless, twelve of the monuments do suggest a relationship with areas of the temple, nine of which involve the doors.

A.18 states that ‘[I am(?)] at the first [door]r’ (the determinative for *sbz* remains).<sup>355</sup> A.23 possibly had a comparable phrase on the right side of the back pillar, unfortunately now very damaged with only parts of each sign surviving: ‘because I am (at the door)’.<sup>356</sup> Both A.24 and A.26 request that they prosper at the doors of their temple; for the former, ‘Onuris, place me in your house, (so that) I am prospering at the great door’,<sup>357</sup> and for the latter, ‘Werethekau. Place me in (your) house, within it every day. Give (me) prosperity at its gates’.<sup>358</sup> At another point in the inscription he hopes to be in the following of the god (unspecified, male), ‘working (at) his doors’.<sup>359</sup> Piyay’s wish to be at the *sbz.w* and *ʕz.w* (presumably different doorways or different architectural features of the same doorway) indicates his privilege in terms of a close relationship with the temple and its god, but the declaration that he will be ‘working’ indicates that he will have an active role at the doorway in his role as door-keeper, which does imply an element of mediation.<sup>360</sup> Both Minmose and Piyay name themselves ‘door-keeper’, a designation shared by four others.<sup>361</sup> It is also worth mentioning that the son and husband of Mutsepy/Mutmuty (A.22) both bore the title ‘opener of the two doors of the house of gold’.<sup>362</sup> This does not relate directly to the intermediary role carried out by Mutsepy/Mutmuty’s statue but may have informed it. Door-keeper is a title, along with ‘bald one’ and ‘reporter’, which has intermediary associations in this context, relating not only to proximity to the deity but also control over access to him or her.

<sup>355</sup> [...] *r pʕ [sbz] tpy* (Text A, lines 3-4).

<sup>356</sup> [*n-nt*] *t i[w=i sbz(?)]* (Text B).

<sup>357</sup> *In-ḥr imm wi m pr-k rwd-kwi ḥr ʕz wr* (Text C, lines 1-2).

<sup>358</sup> *Wr.t-ḥkz.w imm wi m pr m-ḥnw=f rʕ nb imm wdʕ ḥr nʕ.y=f sbz.w* (Text C, lines 1-2).

<sup>359</sup> *bʕqʕy nʕ.y=f ʕz.wy* (Text E, line 2).

<sup>360</sup> Clère (1968a: 146) believed Piyay to have held this position during his lifetime, and subsequently chose this responsibility to represent him in monumental form.

<sup>361</sup> A.7\*, A.10\*, A.15 and A.28\*. Clère (1995: 144) suggested that this also be a restoration in A.21\* [asterisks indicate where it is ‘of her house’ (temple)].

<sup>362</sup> *wn ʕz.wy pr Nbw*.

## **2.5 The applicability of the text categories to form and location**

In this chapter, the texts on the statue have been explored through the use of the three text categories. Texts, however, are only part of the process in which someone interacts with a statue – form and location are also important to consider. I propose that the categories applied to the inscriptions can also be applicable to these aspects, and here location will be used as a test. To keep it brief and in general terms, if it is assumed that most if not all of these intermediary statues were set up at temple doorways (following the evidence from the ‘door-keeper’ statues and those of Amenhotep son of Hapu), the following can be noted:

- Category (1) – relationship monument–divine. The positioning at a doorway represents a connection to the temple and the deity within. This relationship is strengthened if the door itself is imbued with a divine force or is associated with a particular deity.<sup>363</sup>
- Category (2) – relationship monument–human. The statue is not hidden within the temple walls, or at least not within the sacred inner chambers, but at a doorway, suggesting that it is visible and that visitors can approach even if they cannot continue through the doorway itself.
- Category (3) – willingness to mediate. The intention of the statue-owner is somewhat more difficult to extrapolate simply from a statue’s location at a doorway, though it could be argued that wherever a statue is erected was probably a deliberate choice by the one responsible. In the case of doorways, a deliberate (and therefore willing) decision has been made to bridge the gap between outside and in.

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<sup>363</sup> MacCulloch 1911: 847-848; Van Gennep 1960: 20. See Chapter Four on doorways in an intermediary context. An Egyptian example of a doorway deity is Ptah-of-the-great door at Medinet Habu (Dils 1995).

The application of the three categories to features other than texts is a little problematic, in that the initial definitions were that the intermediary function had to be *explicit*. By contrast, with location naturally much remains speculative. Nonetheless, this brief exercise shows the potential for using these categories more widely, even if the results are limited.

It should be noted that doorways are not always the location named in the corpus. A.12, A.17 and A.25 state that they are in the *wb3*, normally translated as ‘forecourt’, or similar.<sup>364</sup> Although the translation of the key word here is disputed,<sup>365</sup> it is implied that this is somewhere towards the outside of a temple complex, to some extent accessible. An intermediary statue, therefore, is set up in this area for the use of those unable to enter other parts of the complex. Price notes the use of the similar term, *wsh.t*, ‘courtyard/hall’, in the Thirtieth Dynasty and Ptolemaic period,<sup>366</sup> although these are not intermediary types. Indeed, A.4 mentions the *wsh.t* as a locality in which the statue-owner hopes to reside,<sup>367</sup> and a similar idea is expressed in A.27.<sup>368</sup> Proximity to a deity as well as accessibility of the monument to potential devotees was important for all statues, even if they were not offering their services as a mediator.

## **2.6 Locations of intermediary texts**

Given that the intermediary declarations are arguably the most significant aspects of the inscription, their placement on the monument may have been considered to maximise visibility (regardless of whether the audience could read them). Consequently, it may be

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<sup>364</sup> Respectively, Text B, line 2; Text C, line 7; Text C, lines 3-4 and 12.

<sup>365</sup> Spencer 1984: chapter 1; Shubert 1988: 197-199.

<sup>366</sup> Price 2011a: 180-182.

<sup>367</sup> Text E.

<sup>368</sup> Text C, line 2 (*sh-ntr*).

notable for our understanding of how statues were positioned when erected that there is a tendency for the intermediary phrases to appear on the right side of the statue:

- A.1: beginning on the right of the base, continuing onto the back.
- A.2: beginning on the right, continuing onto the back and left.
- A.4: on the kilt, to the right of the object held on the left thigh.
- A.5: the ‘sistrum-player’ title begins on the front of the legs, to the right of the Hathoric cow-feature; the inscription continues briefly on the left of the feature (‘Hathor who listens to the petitioner’) and then onto the front of the feet and base, the latter of which has another intermediary inscription.
- A.6: on the right side.
- A.7: on the right side and back of the base, probably beginning from the middle of the front.<sup>369</sup> ‘Bald one’ and ‘door-keeper’ appear on the back pillar.
- A.10: on the right side, close to the front (note that this is nevertheless a secondary intermediary phrase – a longer section appears on the back).
- A.12: the inscription is in rows around the sides and back. The ‘proclaimer’ title is on the right side of a row; a phrase referring to the goddess’s listening ears is on the back towards the left. However, it could be notable that not only does each row begin on the right side, but the inscription fills the right side, and each row ends only half way along the left side.
- A.16: on the front, in the central two and furthest right columns.
- A.17: to the right of the Hathoric element on the front.
- A.19: on the right side.

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<sup>369</sup> The inscription around the left side text is damaged, but could also have been intermediary.

- A.21: on the right side; however, other phrases seemed to appear on the left side as well, behind the elbow of the statue-owner.
- A.24: the role of door-keeper occupies the right side; however, the left side mentions the statue being close to or approaching the god, which is also relevant to a mediator.
- A.25: the role of bald one (with sistrum-player determinative) and a claim to support the goddess (implying the Hathoric element) is on the part of the inscription on the right side; another text describing the statue holding the sistrum is in the left part.
- A.26: a reference to a door-keeper role is on the right side; nevertheless, another text of this nature with greater intermediary implications, is on the back pillar.
- A.27: on the right side; the damaged inscription on the left side may also have had relevant texts.
- A.28: the excerpt suggesting a human–statue–god relationship is to the right of the Hathoric element on the front; the title of ‘door-keeper’ is to the left.
- A.31: due to textual similarities to A.19, it seems likely to have been on the right side.

A.11, A.14 and A.29 have their relevant texts on the front,<sup>370</sup> and A.3, A.8 and A.9 preserve their main statements on the left side.<sup>371</sup> A.30 is so badly damaged that we can only speculate that they were around the base. The remaining statues preserve intermediary claims on the back or back pillar:

- A.13: on the two columns within the inscription that are equivalent to the back pillar; nevertheless, ‘bald one’ and ‘reporter’ appear on the right side, and the claim to repeat ‘like a servant of the Residence’ is on the left side.

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<sup>370</sup> A.11 and A.14 only have texts on the front and back (A.29 is too damaged to know if the text on the front was accompanied by any others); A.11 also has an indication of the goddess hearing petitioners on the back pillar.

<sup>371</sup> A.3 between the Hathoric element and the chest of the individual, A.8 near the front, in line with the bent knees, and A.9 around the front left corner of the base.

- A.15: the sides are mostly broken, but the rows of texts extended onto them.
- A.18: a declaration of being a ‘bald one’ at the ‘first door’ is on the right side, however.<sup>372</sup>
- A.20.<sup>373</sup>
- A.22: on the left side of the back pillar.<sup>374</sup>
- A.23: on the main face and the left side of the back pillar; a claim to be at the door is partially preserved on the right side of the back pillar.<sup>375</sup>

## **2.7 Communication, persuasion and compliance-gaining in intermediary inscriptions: introduction**

So far this chapter has looked primarily at the specific inscriptions which elucidate the function of intermediary statues as I have defined them. Inherent in this idea is the fact that they *communicate* their authority successfully. There are several communicative and authority-driven relationships between god, statue and human, and one aim of this thesis is to go some way to conceptualise the complex dialogues between these three parties.

The excerpts extracted and analysed in the preceding sections are especially expressive (and indeed rather unusual), but of course work within the context of the whole inscription on the statue, and are corroborated or fortified by it, demonstrating the authority of the statue over human observers. Their aim appears to be to persuade an observer into acting according to the statue-owner’s wishes, that is approach the statue, speak their prayers and

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<sup>372</sup> The text on the left hand side is almost completely destroyed, but may also had intermediary phrases given the reference to ‘young girls’.

<sup>373</sup> Texts are also preserved on the right and left sides of the back pillar, but none with definite intermediary connotations. Much of the statue is missing below the head and shoulders.

<sup>374</sup> Texts are also preserved on the main face and right side of the back pillar. The base is missing.

<sup>375</sup> The statue is destroyed from approximately waist down.

then provide it with offerings or pronounce the name of the statue-owner, as a type of payment for the mediating function.

It is in this process especially that I can see the authority of the statue, because the statue not only implies that it has a high status and divine connections, but it also implies that worshippers can communicate with gods *only* with their assistance (regardless of whether this was the case in practice). The worshipper feels they will benefit from this as the god will hear their prayer, but arguably the process is of greater benefit to the statue-owner, as it maintains hierarchical norms where the elite control religious activity, and it also provides for the cult of the statue-owner for eternity. Consequently, it is in the interest of the statue-owner that the action be carried out, and thus he needs to persuade the observer to approach his statue specifically, out of what may be a large number in the temple, and then persuade him or her to perform the desired actions. The correct techniques must be used in order to achieve successful communication.

It may be worthwhile, therefore, to investigate the inscriptions on these statues within the framework of communication theory, trying to identify particular persuasive techniques, and in turn this may help us understand more about the decision-making processes of the statue-owner; it is plausible that their full inscriptions were deliberately composed because they were believed to be effective. The statues offer an interesting case study but, nevertheless, communication theory does not have to be restricted to analysis of the intermediary corpus, and it opens up new possibilities for examining the inscriptions of other, non-intermediary types.

The key aspects of communication theory and compliance-gaining research have been presented in the Introduction (§I.3.1). Although it is far from easy to define communication

succinctly or precisely, the basic definition on which I settled is that ‘communication is the relational process of creating and interpreting messages that elicit a response’. Through the text categories discussed above it can be seen that (intermediary) statues are simultaneously involved in communication processes with humans and deities, implying that the latter interpret the messages sent, and potentially respond. However, communication with statues is not as easily conceptualised as between humans, not least because it is not a constantly dynamic and changing process – the statue presents its message, which is then received by a worshipper. This individual responds by performing the stated actions, but the statue cannot then produce a new, perceptible message. The response from the statue is only indirect, in that a worshipper has to have faith that their prayers will be transmitted to the gods and then answered (similarly, of course, the response of the gods is not directly and immediately received)

Since the original message receivers (the human worshippers) leave little trace of their activities,<sup>376</sup> we must analyse the whole communicative process based almost entirely on the original sender of the message (the statue itself). This is in fact sufficient here, because my interest is not whether the communication was successful, but rather the fact that the statue-owner believed that it *would* be successful. The messages in the statue’s inscription were considered sufficiently persuasive in order to govern the actions of an observer.

Persuasion, consequently, is another aspect of communication theory to be considered. Itself the subject of sociological research, it is connected to compliance-gaining, in that both reflect attempts to influence another party through the messages communicated. It is possible that we may be able to identify particular strategies being used by intermediary statues as part of their communication in order to achieve their aims of being used above other statues to

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<sup>376</sup> Only occasionally does this exist, for example in the form of wear on the statues from numerous touches of worshippers hoping to get closer to the statue-owner – see the intermediary scribal statues of Amenhotep son of Hapu (A.1 and A.2).

contact deities, and to have offering rituals performed for their benefit. Persuasion and compliance-gaining are subtly different, the first being a technique to change attitude whereas the latter is to change behaviour. Intermediary statue inscriptions are less concerned with changing the attitudes or beliefs of an approaching individual but rather work with their existing belief system (including the shared cultural understanding of statuary, temple activities and, it has been argued in the first chapter, hearing gods and personal religion) in an attempt to induce them into acting a particular way. Accordingly, ‘compliance-gaining’ rather than ‘persuasive’ is a more accurate description of their inscriptions. On the other hand, the observer has to be persuaded that the statue-owner does indeed have the necessary credentials as an effective messenger to the divine sphere, so in some sense there is an inherent element of persuasion.

I have also suggested elsewhere in this thesis that intermediary statues were a means of controlling religious activity of lower-status worshippers. The impression should not be, however, that this relationship is entirely coercive. As stated in the initial presentation of the concepts of communication and compliance-gaining, emphasis is often placed on its negative, manipulative aspect, although some researchers prefer to focus on its co-operative and dialogic nature.<sup>377</sup> Intermediary statues are distinctly co-operative in nature, and both statue-owner and worshipper are seen to benefit, even if the benefits are ultimately imbalanced. Additionally, Schrader and Dillard have identified secondary goals of persuasive communication, which indicate that the compliance-gaining behaviour of the message is tempered by other concerns of the sender, including how he is perceived by the receiver.<sup>378</sup> In other words, a balance needs to be struck with regard to the strength of compliance-gaining

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<sup>377</sup> Seiter and Gass 2004: 2-3.

<sup>378</sup> Schrader and Dillard 1998.

techniques used so as to preserve a good reputation. As a corollary to that, it is to the statue-owner's disadvantage to be seen to be coercive as it may reduce his audience.

### 2.7.1 Compliance-gaining on intermediary statues

It has already been argued (§2.2.3.1) that the main actions desired by the statues with regard to passers-by are: approaching the statue/saying prayers and providing offerings/speaking the name. In several cases we see assertive or exhortative statements, including the use of imperatives: *zbb.yw m33 'Imn mi.w n=i* 'those who desire to see Amun, come to me' (A.1), *imm n=i hnq.t hr dr.t=i*, 'place for me beer upon my hand' (A.14). However, given the context of the rest of the inscriptions in which the benefits the worshipper will receive are laid out, this technique is tempered (following Schrader and Dillard, see previous section), so it is not purely assertive or forceful. Giving orders or explaining benefits are just two of the techniques at work in the inscriptions. Of the sixty-four compliance-gaining strategies compiled by Kellerman and Cole, it is possible to identify at least eighteen of them within the inscriptions on intermediary statues, although there is some overlap where an extract could be classified as more than one technique.

#### 2.7.1.1 Altercasting (positive)

This refers to the sender suggesting that only a good person would do the action requested. *hsy p3 wdn*, 'praised is the one who offers (to me)',<sup>379</sup> could indicate that praise will be given to those who give offerings (in other words, 'Benefit (Target)'), but it also implies that only good, generous people would give those offerings.

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<sup>379</sup> A.7, Text D, line 2.

### 2.7.1.2 Audience-use

This strategy involves other people being present when the request is offered as a way of inducing the target to comply. This is never unequivocally mentioned in the intermediary statue inscriptions, although appeals to supplicants by addressing groups arguably utilises this idea – the group as a whole is clearly expected to respond to the statue-owner’s requests, and an individual within that group is thereby obligated to conform.<sup>380</sup> Furthermore, these statues were presumably set up in areas with the potential for relatively large numbers of visitors, and an appeal text of this nature could take advantage of this by theoretically compelling passers-by to heed requests for fear of appearing ungenerous, disrespectful or impious to others in their vicinity.

### 2.7.1.3 Authority appeal

This is a self-explanatory strategy, in which the message-giver demonstrates their high status. The statues have several ways of achieving this: titles and epithets, especially those relevant to the function of intermediary such as *is*, ‘bald one’, *ihy*, ‘sistrum-player’, and *whm.w*, ‘reporter’; biographical inscriptions, especially where there is a link to the king, such as the role of *wp.wty nsw*, ‘royal messenger’; and demonstrations of their links to deities (other than in titles or biography), such as *hnw.t=i s:mn m qniw[=i(?)]*, ‘my mistress is supported in [my(?)] embrace’.<sup>381</sup>

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<sup>380</sup> A.1, Text D; A.2, Text D; A.6, Text A, line 4, and Text E and F; A.7, Texts E and F; A.8, Text H, line 3; A.9, Text C; A.10, Text F, line 6-7; A.11, Text A, line 11; A.12, Text B, lines 2, 5 and 6; A.13, Text C, lines 4-5; A.14, Text B, line 2; A.15, Text B, lines 1 and 3; A.16, Text A, lines 1 and 2; A.17, Text C, line 1; A.18, Text C, line 2; A.19, Text B, lines 2-3 and 4-5; A.21, Text A, lines 3 and 7; A.23, Text A, lines 2-3; A.25, Text C, lines 12-13; A.27, Text B, line 3, and Text C, lines 6-7; A.30, Text A; A.31, Text B, line ~1.

<sup>381</sup> A.25, Text C, lines 6-7 – similar ideas are expressed in lines 13-16; other texts noting a link between statue and deity include A.4, Text A, line 7; A.6, Text B, lines 5-6; A.17, Text E (Horus and Isis guarding); A.20, Text A, line 3; A.24, Text D, lines 2-3. In some cases the statue-owner addresses the deity directly: A.5, Text C, A.11, Text B; A.24, Text C; A.26, Texts C and E.

This is by far the most frequently and clearly attested strategy. All but two of the thirty-one statues (A.30 and A.31) have evidence for this, and those two are both significantly damaged. A.30, however, mentions the goddess as ‘my mistress’, which serves the same purpose. A.31 mentions Mut within the offering formula and request, but in its present state of preservation does not demonstrate a proper relationship with the goddess.

#### 2.7.1.4 Bargaining/pre-giving/promise

These three interrelated strategies are also connected to Benefit (target and self), and a crucial aspect is requests for offerings, inferring reciprocity. The statue can:

- state their intermediary role and request offerings (either order) as a kind of negotiation of the benefits each party will receive (bargaining): *imm šsp sn.w m di.t=tn ink dd(.w) r-ḥz.t*, ‘cause that *senu*-loaves be received from what you give. I am one who speaks before (her)’;<sup>382</sup>
- actually offer their mediating function *before* asking for offerings (pre-giving): *iw =i rdi spr.wt nb.(w)t n Nbw.t... imm s:gnn ndm [r t3].y=i (i)sw.t*, ‘I am giving all petitions to the Golden One...Place sweet ointment on my baldness’;<sup>383</sup>
- act as mediator conditional upon the receipt of offerings (promise): *mḥ r=i m di.wt k3 dd=i spr(.w)=tn nb n t3 nb.t Dsr*, ‘fill my mouth with offerings then I will say all of your petitions to the lady of Djeser’.<sup>384</sup> Alternatively, the mediation is promised as a response to the supplicant interacting with the statue: *nty nb spr.wt m di=f dd [s]w r*

<sup>382</sup> A.16, Text A, line 3; also ,A.2, Text D; A.6, Text A, lines 3-5; A.8, Text H, lines 5-8 (alternatively this text is an example of pre-giving); A.12, Text B, lines 5-6 (claim to be a ‘proclaimer’); A.15, Text B, lines 1-4 (fragmentary); A.25, Text C, lines 3-8.

<sup>383</sup> A.19, Text A, lines 5-6; also, A.1, Text D; possibly A.7, Text E (in anticipation of the request on the other side of the base); A.8, Text H, lines 3-7 (note it also includes an aspect of promise and could be argued to continue as a form of bargaining); A.10, Text F, lines 8-16.

<sup>384</sup> A.9, Text C; also A.5, Text A, lines 4-6; A.6, Text A, line 6 (restored); A.7, Text D, line 2; A.11, Text A, line 14; A.29, Text A, lines 4-5; compare A.28, Text A, line 2 (where the promise is that the goddess will favour the individual).

*msdr=i k3 whm(=i) sn n t3.y=i hnw.t*, ‘Anyone who has petitions he is making, speak it to my ear, then (I) will repeat them to my mistress’.<sup>385</sup>

My categorisation depends on the order and phrasing of the content in the inscription (the presence of connectors in key parts of the sentence – in this example, *k3* – is my main method of differentiating ‘Promise’ from ‘Bargaining’), but the overarching idea of mutual benefit, whereby offerings and other rituals are payment for mediation and *vice versa*, is the same for all three; the distinctions between categories are not definite, and moreover in several cases the texts have too many lacunae to attempt categorisation.<sup>386</sup> Moreover, arguably any statue with offerings mentioned somewhere in the inscriptions, even if not within the specific inscription in which the intermediary function is mentioned, fulfils the same purpose of linking offerings with the statue’s role – each inscription does not exist independently. As such, all statues use some form of bargaining or promise strategy.

#### 2.7.1.5 Benefit (other)

This designates a situation where someone other than the message receiver (the worshipper) benefits when the action is performed: *pr=tn grg hr b(w) nfr hrd=tn snb*, ‘your house (will be) established with prosperity. Your child(ren) (will be) healthy’.<sup>387</sup> Benefits for children are further implied where it is said that an attentive worshipper will pass on their office to their children after old age.<sup>388</sup>

<sup>385</sup> A.8, Text H, lines 3-4; see also A.1, Text D and A.2, text D (‘come to me. I will report’), and similar texts in A.3, Text D, line 2 and A.17, Text C, lines 7-8.

<sup>386</sup> A.14, Text A; A.18 (all texts), A.21, Texts A and B; A.22, Text C; A.27, Text B; A.30 (both texts); A.31 (both texts).

<sup>387</sup> A.10, Text F, lines 12-13.

<sup>388</sup> A.19, Text B, lines 5-7; A.31, Text B, line ~3. The long lifetime is the primary benefit, however, therefore is an example of ‘Benefit (target)’.

### 2.7.1.6 Benefit (self)

This strategy emphasises the benefits to be enjoyed by the sender of the message. This is intended by the inclusion of *ḥtp-di-nsw* rites and offering requests for the statue-owner, and the inscriptions can outline the benefit specifically, for example: offerings to the gods so that they cause the statue and its name to remain in the temple;<sup>389</sup> so that the statue-owner lives,<sup>390</sup> and so his *ba* benefits.<sup>391</sup>

### 2.7.1.7 Benefit (target)

Here the receiver themselves will benefit. Aside from the obvious benefit indicated by intermediaries that worshippers' prayers will be transmitted to the god, there are some other benefits of interacting with the statue mentioned.

*šm.t=tn ḥr wꜣ.t m nfr ḥꜥ.w=tn ḥw m ḏ.t*, 'You (will) go upon the way in happiness. Your body (will be) protected for ever(?)'.<sup>392</sup>

Several statues indicate that the goddess will bestow favours upon supplicants in response to their ministrations, which is therefore a combination of the strategies of 'Benefit (target)' and 'Esteem (positive) by others': *[i]w=s r [r]ḏi.t n pꜣ nty r ḏi n=f*, 'she will give to the one who will give to him',<sup>393</sup> *kꜣ ḏi=s ḥꜣi n tꜣ rwn.ty ꜥq.w n tꜣ ḥꜣr.t*, 'so that she may give a husband to the young girl and provisions to the widow',<sup>394</sup> *n nḥm.w ḥm=sn*, 'there is no poor man whom

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<sup>389</sup> A.19, Text A, line 2; A.26, Text D, lines 2-3; A.27, Text C, lines 1-2; A.28, Text B, lines 1 and 2, and Text D (remaining in temple and receiving other benefits, including a good lifetime, burial and the ability to see and hear). Compare with the claim that the gods allow him to reach old age in the temple, without requesting offerings, in A.17, Text C, lines 6-8, and the direct addresses to a deity to be similarly benevolent in A.26, Text C, lines 1-3, and Text E, line 2.

<sup>390</sup> A.11, text B, line 3.

<sup>391</sup> A.25, Text C, lines 7-8 (the *ka* of the goddess also benefits, essentially another example of 'Benefit (other)').

<sup>392</sup> A.10, Text F, lines 11-12.

<sup>393</sup> A.25, Text C, lines 16-17. See also the idea of divine favour in A.28, Text A, line 2.

<sup>394</sup> A.16, Text A, lines 4-5; similar ideas regarding provision for needy members of society can be seen on A.11, Text A, lines 5-8; A.13, Text C, lines 3-4 and 7-8; A.15, Text B, line 5; A.21, Text A, lines 5-6.

they harm’;<sup>395</sup> *dr=s ḥz̄w-ib in=s z̄w-ib n ts nb [...]*, ‘She removes grief and she brings joys to all those who set up [offerings(?)...]’.<sup>396</sup>

The assurance of a long lifetime is a recurring feature which can also be ordained by the benevolent deity: *sš nb n md.w-ntr.w nty iw.w dm rn m bzh=s di=s ntw imm.t n izw nfr*, ‘Every scribe of divine words who are [*sic*] pronouncing (my) name in her presence, she will cause you to be in the west (after) a good old age’.<sup>397</sup> Old age for the supplicant has been also shown in two cases to be an example of ‘Benefit (other)’.<sup>398</sup>

#### 2.7.1.8 Disclaimer (task)

This strategy involves de-emphasising the burden of the request. This is not clearly represented by the intermediary catalogue, but perhaps we can read an indirect application in the phrase, *wn nfr n ḥnq.t imm n=i qbb.w*, ‘If there is no beer, give to me cool water’.<sup>399</sup>

#### 2.7.1.9 Esteem (positive) by others

Some statues stress the attitude of other individuals towards the message-receiver. It has been shown that this notion can be combined with ‘Benefit (target)’, in that the goddess will be generous to one who interacts with the statue.

*imm n=i ḥnq.t ḥr dr.t t ḥr ʕ.wy rʕ nb k(z) ḥsy tn t̄z.y(=i) ḥnw.t*, ‘Give to me beer upon (my) hand and bread in (my) arms every day, then my mistress will favour you’, is comparable, although the nature of this ‘favour’ is not detailed in that specific text.<sup>400</sup>

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<sup>395</sup> A.17, Text E.

<sup>396</sup> A.20, Text B.

<sup>397</sup> A.12, Text B, line 6.

<sup>398</sup> The idea of old age is seen on four statues – the just quoted passage from A.12; A.11, Text A, lines 7 and 8; A.19 and A.31 (for the latter two, see footnote 388 under ‘Benefit (other)’).

<sup>399</sup> A.8, Text H, lines 7-8.

<sup>400</sup> A.28, Text A, lines 1-2.

Intermediary statues in particular emphasise the attitude of the goddess towards the worshipper based on their compliance or inaction: it is said that she loves when the statue-owner is satisfied by offerings, and that she will not be angry if offerings are made – see §2.4.3.

#### 2.7.1.10 Esteem (positive) by the actor

The message-giver indicates that they themselves will have a good opinion of the one who complies.

*ink is [mr(?)] dd(.w) [nn dd(?)]=i b<3> [m d]bh h.t.*, ‘I am the bald one [who loves(?)] the one who gives. I do not say detestable (words)(?) [for th]ose who ask for things.’<sup>401</sup>

#### 2.7.1.11 Invoke norm

This strategy is to emphasise that performing these actions is normal.<sup>402</sup>

*nls.w hr rn=i m hr.t-hrw mi ir.wt n hsy*, ‘Summon my name daily like that which is done for a favoured one’.<sup>403</sup> In this case, not only is it explained how frequently such an action is expected to be performed (daily offerings or rituals are noted on several other statues<sup>404</sup>), but it also clarifies that these rituals are correct or required for one who is in a position of such authority (the statue-owner). This strategy implies a certain level of social conformity, reminiscent of ‘Audience-use’ (see above).

<sup>401</sup> A.23, Text A, line 4; see also A.27 Text C, line 4-5 and to some extent A.6, Text A, line 2, although in the latter case it is clearly the gods who are facilitating the existence of offerings.

<sup>402</sup> Another compliance-gaining strategy, ‘This is the way things are’, is similar but is founded more on rules, laws or customs than common social behaviour. It is somewhat difficult to distinguish the two strategies in this case.

<sup>403</sup> A.1, Text D.

<sup>404</sup> A.3, Text E (Texts F and G also imply daily repetition of offerings, but in those texts the offerings are from the goddess – see also, for example, A.4, Text C, line 2 – whereas in Text E it is in a request to an unnamed recipient, perhaps an observer of the statue); Text A.4, Text D, right side of the basin; A.10, text F, lines 14 and 15-16; A.12, Text B, lines 3-4; A.25, Text C, line 11; A.28, Text A, line 2.

### 2.7.1.12 Nature of situation

This involves making the individual attentive to the situation or circumstances they are in.

I propose that references to the temple come under this category, particularly when referring to a specific area of the complex such as courtyards or doorways.

*i di.w m p3 wb3 s.t hms n grg*, ‘Oh, those who put (this statue) in the open forecourt, the place of sitting of silence(?)’,<sup>405</sup> is particularly relevant as it also indicates the desired conduct within the area. Nevertheless, references to the temple *generally*, followed by requests for offerings, are arguably also evidence of this strategy, as it focuses on the actions appropriate for that location.<sup>406</sup>

One further passage which may be of relevance is *k3 s:(n)mh.t>=tn hr [wh]m.w s.wt mi b3k hnw mi-qd=i*, ‘Then you will make supplication to the one who repeats it like a servant of the Residence, like me.’<sup>407</sup> The context of communication with deities is thus paralleled by the inference of similar activities in an administrative location.<sup>408</sup> As such, the suitability and authority of the statue as an elite individual who receives messages in a state institution is validated.

### 2.7.1.13 Persistence

A straightforward technique whereby the message is repeated until the receiver responds. This can be seen in several forms – in some cases, the intermediary function is stated more than once, albeit with slightly different wording;<sup>409</sup> in other cases, the title ‘bald one’, a priestly

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<sup>405</sup> A.4, Text E.

<sup>406</sup> A.6, Text A, line 4 (restored); A.11, Text A, lines 11-12; A.15, Text B, line 1; A.19, Text B, lines 3-5; A.21, Text A, lines 3-4; A.30, Text A.

<sup>407</sup> A.13, Text C, lines 8-11.

<sup>408</sup> The responsibility of the vizier to receive reports and petitions on behalf of the king is evidenced, for instance, in the *Duties of the Vizier* – Van den Boorn 1988: examples including 12-13, 146-147, 193, 250, 276.

<sup>409</sup> A.2, Text D; A.2, Texts D and E, and possibly F (fragmentary); A.10, Text F, lines 9-11 and 17-18; A.11, Text A, line 14, Text B, line 2 (note that in the latter case, Amenmose speaks to the goddess, but the

designation that has significance in the context of intermediaries, is repeated several times, not only in titulary;<sup>410</sup> in other cases requests for offerings are repeated:

[ii].w nb r wdn n Nbw r mh r=i m di.wt k3 dd=i spr(.w)=tn nb n t3 nb.t dsr imm n=i hnq.t hr d.t=i srm [...], ‘All those who come to offer to the Golden One, fill my mouth with offerings

then I say all of your petitions to the lady of *Djeser*. Give to me beer upon my hand and *serem*-drink...’.<sup>411</sup> In this example, two offering requests frame the intermediary statement.

Perhaps this strategy was used to pre-empt potential reluctance of the worshipper – the statue cannot speak and therefore must repeat its requests from the outset.

#### 2.7.1.14 Personal expertise

Linked to ‘Authority appeal’ (see above), the message-giver stresses their suitability for the position they hold, which in the case of the statues studied here, is the mediatory function.

Other than the experience demonstrated through biographical accounts and titles, this can be achieved through emphasising moral qualities and purity:

w dd=i grg.w m rh=i bw ir sp sn ph.n=i nn [...?] ir.t m3<sup>c</sup>.t tw=i m s.t n m3<sup>c</sup>.ty, ‘I do not speak falsehoods in my knowledge. (I) do not do misdeeds. I reached [...] doing *maat*. I am in

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intermediary function is still represented); A.15, Text B, lines 2 and 4; A.13, Text C, lines 5-7 and 8-11; possible A.21, Text A, line 5, and Text B, line 2 (fragmentary); A.23, Text A, line 5 and Text C (in the former, the goddess is said to speak the statue-owner, but like Amenmose the intermediary role is thus illustrated, and in the latter passage the text is fragmentary so the exact translation is unclear); possibly A.27, Text B, line 2 (Amenemhat speaking to the goddess) and Text C, line 7 (fragmentary, restoration only).

<sup>410</sup> A.7, A.8, A.10, A.11, A.13, A.15, A.18, A.20, A.21, A.23 and A.25. A.6 is likely another example – the lacuna in Text A, line 5, may have referred to baldness. Other may also have had multiple references but have suffered damage – A.9, A.14, A.19, A.20 and A.27.

<sup>411</sup> A.9, Text C; see also A.7, Text E and F (both likely intermediary declarations alongside the requests); A.8, Text H, lines 5-9. Numerous texts make several references to offerings other than direct requests (for example, A.4) or have more than one *htp-di-nsw* formula (such as A.3), serving a similar purpose.

the place of truth(fulness)';<sup>412</sup> *ṣ.wy wṣb ḥr ms n(=s?) (s)šš.t mni.t m-bḫḥ-ṣ psd.t*, 'the one of pure hands when presenting to her(?) the sistrum and *menit* in the presence of the Ennead'.<sup>413</sup>

In one case, the statue-owner implies that he is a superior mediator compared to his peers: *ink [wḥm.w] spr(.w)=tn nb n ḥnw.t m mn.t bw sdm.tw n ky[...? m]i-qd=i*, 'I am [the one who repeats] all your petitions to the mistress daily, without them being heard by another [one(?) I]like me'.<sup>414</sup>

### 2.7.1.15 Surveillance

Here the message-giver notes their vigilance and their monitoring of the receiver's behaviour.<sup>415</sup> Direct addresses (see footnote 380) to passers-by give the impression of the statue's awareness. One statue-owner claims he is, *sdm spr.t=tn ḥkz.t nb(.t) s[...?] r msdr.wy=i*, 'one who listens to your petition and every spell(?) [you make(?)] to my ears'.<sup>416</sup>

### 2.7.1.16 Warning

This strategy indicates that bad events or luck may befall an individual who does not heed the wishes of the statue: *s.t nb(.t) tm=s rdi.t n=i sdr=s ḥr-tp=s nn tzi=s*, 'Every woman who does not give to me, she will spend the night alone and she will not marry'.<sup>417</sup>

This differs from the related strategy 'Threat', whereby the message-sender themselves will cause the bad thing to happen – this is only detectable if we read a veiled

<sup>412</sup> A.8, Text H, lines 9-10 – in the biographical segment of the statue's inscriptions, the owner is said to have been promoted due to his effectiveness, accuracy and usefulness (Text G); other references to morality and good character can be found in A.11, Text A, lines 3-4; A.23, Text A, line 3.

<sup>413</sup> A.4, Text A, lines 7-8 ('pure of hands' epithet also in line 3; Text B, line 2; Text D (front) and Text E); A.5 also refers to purity (including of hands): Text B, line 9; Text C, lines 2 and 9.

<sup>414</sup> A.13, Text C, lines 5-7.

<sup>415</sup> Cf. Price 2011a: 246-250 on the sensory perceptions of statues.

<sup>416</sup> A.10, Text F, lines 9-10; compare A.8, Text H, lines 3-4 and A.23, Text C, for references to the statue's ears.

<sup>417</sup> A.20, Text C.

threat in, [*nn dd(?)*]=*i b<ε>* [*m d]bh h.t.*, ‘I do not say detestable (words)(?) [for th]ose who ask for things’,<sup>418</sup> but am I am unconvinced that this was the intention.

### 2.7.2 Brief observations

It is clear that, even though these statues’ inscriptions are quite short, several techniques can be used in order to influence the behaviour of a passer-by. Given the ideas of Schrader and Dillard mentioned above concerning the tempering of compliance techniques to preserve reputation, it is to be expected that there is only one true example of a negative-based strategy present. In this regard it is worth noting that even when the potential anger of the goddess is mentioned, it is within the context that she will *not* be angry.

The majority of statues use several techniques. For instance, that of Sedjemwau (A.7) only has fairly short inscriptions, and much of the front is damaged, but at least 4 strategies can be detected (‘Altercasting (positive)’, ‘Persistence’ (all three subcategories mentioned above are attested), ‘Surveillance’ (direct address to passers-by) and ‘Bargaining/pre-giving/promise’). It is possible that we can read in this the statue-owners’ concern that their statues will be ignored. However, they were, understandably, also concerned with focusing on positive strategies, in order to maintain a good relationship with observers.

## 2.8 Intermediary texts, or similar, appearing on monuments other than statues

The phrases used on the statues considered here (mainly those within Table 1), particularly those pertaining to ‘listening’, ‘reporting’, ‘petitions’ and ‘ascend’, are found on other monuments, albeit in fairly limited numbers, and mostly in the Eighteenth Dynasty, when the

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<sup>418</sup> A.23, Text A, line 4.

first known intermediary statues appear. Not all of the inscriptions indicate a relationship between god and human, or between god and human via a mediator, but since certain ideas were being expressed, regardless of format or context, these could have developed into the concepts which define the intermediary statues.

An early Middle Kingdom text refers to the possibility of deceased individuals acting as mediators: pBerlin 10482.<sup>419</sup> Like Antefiker this is a text which is funerary in context, although this one is more ritual-based and it includes material that belongs to the sphere of Coffin Texts.<sup>420</sup>

The concept of listening and listening deities is well attested; texts such as those from the tomb of Iamunedjeh at Sheikh abd el-Gurna (TT 84)<sup>421</sup> (temp. Thutmose III), the tomb of Menkheper (TT 258) (temp. Thutmose IV),<sup>422</sup> and the cubit-stick of Maya (Louvre N 1538) (temp. Tutankhamun/Horemheb)<sup>423</sup> have already been mentioned in Chapter One (pages 53-59 and 75). In the first two, the men address a god directly and demand that they are heard. Whilst there is no evidence in these inscriptions that the individual is speaking for anyone other than himself (in other words, he is not mediating), it is significant that he is able to contact the deity. With regard to the cubit-stick, the inscription calls upon priests of an unnamed temple to speak the name of Maya<sup>424</sup> and perform rituals of some kind (not specified, but likely offering rituals), in return for the god listening to them. This bears many similarities with several intermediary monuments, in that reciprocity is promised when the statue is the object of offering rituals. Although Maya does not say that he himself will speak the priests' petitions to the gods, there is still an element of mediation implied here: the gods

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<sup>419</sup> Grapow 1915; Jürgens 1990: esp. 60-61; Luiselli 2011: 74.

<sup>420</sup> Willems 2014: 217-218.

<sup>421</sup> PM I<sup>2</sup>, 1: 168 (8).

<sup>422</sup> PM I<sup>2</sup>, 1: 342 (4).

<sup>423</sup> *Urk* IV, 2169: 15.

<sup>424</sup> A.12 and A.29 ask similar things of observers of their statues.

will respond as a result of their awareness of Maya's welfare, implying that he enjoys a close relationship with them and also that they become aware of other humans only through the latter's interaction with Maya.

A contemporary of Iamunedjeh, Intef, in his funerary stela (from TT 155, Dra Abu el-Naga),<sup>425</sup> writes that he was 'causing to ascend the words of the *rekhyt* and reporting the affairs of the Two Banks'.<sup>426</sup> When we consider one of his titles, 'first reporter of the *ʿrry.t*',<sup>427</sup> his statement can be contextualised. The translation for *ʿrry.t* is uncertain, but may relate to some type of doorway or porch, or perhaps even a 'hall of judgement'.<sup>428</sup> Spencer sees it as a portico and meeting place, originally in front of a building such as a palace or temple, which evolved to become an administrative department in its own right.<sup>429</sup> The word itself has its roots in terms meaning 'to rise up, approach'.<sup>430</sup> In light of this derivation, Intef's title and statement regarding the words of the *rekhyt*<sup>431</sup> and affairs of the land seem entirely appropriate, and *do* suggest that during life he held an intermediary function, at least within a court or administrative context if not religious. In other words, he heard reports and petitions from the populace and taken them to the king. The existence of such responsibilities allows for their transferral to a religious context, in that it would be acceptable for an individual to assume the role of mediator for a god, where once it had been a function seen only for the pharaoh or state – the overriding concept was not an unfamiliar idea. Whilst this may have been a development prior to the New Kingdom, only with the Eighteenth Dynasty can we see

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<sup>425</sup> PM I, 1<sup>2</sup>: 265.

<sup>426</sup> *s:ʿr md.wt n rhy.t smi hr.t idb.wy* (*Urk* IV, 966: 15-16); see Galán 2002: 223, 227 n.22.

<sup>427</sup> *wḥm.w tpy n ʿrry.t*.

<sup>428</sup> Various suggestions can be found for several words which are similarly spelled, for example, in Faulkner 1962: 45 (*ʿrrwt*) and *Wb* I: 209 (*ʿry.t*), 210 (*ʿrw.t*), 211 (*ʿrrw.t*).

<sup>429</sup> Spencer 1984: 147-155.

<sup>430</sup> Spencer 1984: 149.

<sup>431</sup> Who the *rekhyt* are in this context is not clear (are they simply 'common folk' or 'subjects' (Faulkner 1962: 152; *Wb* II: 447-448), though presumably these are individuals who are lower in authority than Intef himself since they can only be heard through him.

statues starting to use the phraseology of funerary and court contexts in order to apply it to a special role within a temple.<sup>432</sup>

An excerpt from stone blocks from the tomb of Sa-iset (temp. Amenhotep III) is possibly similar in character to those of Intef. Sa-iset states: ‘(I) have acted as a true royal scribe, ascending the affairs of the Two Lands to Horus, chief of the *rekhyt*’.<sup>433</sup> The translation of *n Hr* could be disputed, in that it could be better rendered ‘for Horus’, rather than ‘to Horus’. If the ‘affairs’ are directed *to* Horus, this suggests that Sa-iset is acting in a secular role, informing the pharaoh (the incarnation of Horus) about the state of the land. Whilst the official is not said to hear these reports from the *rekhyt*, it is not unlikely that this is the case, in part because the epithet of the pharaoh mentions them, thereby suggesting that they are what concerns Sa-iset and the pharaoh in this circumstance. If, on the other hand, the dative *n* is translated as ‘for Horus’, the meaning of this statement can be reviewed. It could be interpreted in a similar way, that is to say indicating that Sa-iset is performing a role as part of his administrative duties, bestowed on him (directly or otherwise) by the king’s authority. The task of assessing the state of Egypt has been delegated to him by the pharaoh; he undertakes it ‘for Horus’. Alternatively, the elevation of the ‘affairs’ may surpass the pharaoh and instead refer to a link to the divine world. In this case Sa-iset would be communicating with the gods, informing them of (and ‘for’) Horus and the state of the land. I lean towards the former explanation, if indeed the dative is translated as ‘for’ in this case, because the divine connection is less plausible when taking into account Sa-iset’s *administrative* title of ‘royal scribe’: this indicates a secular context for the subsequently stated action. On the other hand,

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<sup>432</sup> A.1, A.2, A.3 and A.4, all from the time of Amenhotep III, are the earliest examples of the intermediary statue type (using similar words or phrases as are discussed here).

<sup>433</sup> *ir.n(-i) sš nsw mꜣꜥ s:ꜥr hr.t tꜣ.wy n Hr hry-tp rhy.t* (Urk IV, 1927: 9). See Galán 2002: 227 n.22.

perhaps instead we are dealing with the genitive *n*, indicating possession (of the Two Lands by Horus) rather than relating to the ascending of affairs.<sup>434</sup>

The tomb of Rekhmire (TT 100, temp. Thutmose III/Amenhotep II) furnishes us with further examples of texts in which the individual is said to receive petitions, apparently in a non-religious context. The deceased is shown receiving visitors,<sup>435</sup> and the event is described, as ‘The coming of the great chief, the chief of instruction, in order to make praise every day and in order to hear the words of the *rekhyt*-people’, whereby Rekhmire is a benevolent and caring official: ‘consider petitions of Upper and Lower Egypt without rebuffing (them) as trifling’.<sup>436</sup> Here it seems is described an event, possibly recurring, whereby Rekhmire would receive petitions from the populace. Aside from the mention of ‘praise’ there is little to suggest that this is connected to a religious sphere, and is more likely describing his responsibility as a mediator between the king and his subjects. Similarly, in another inscription from his tomb,<sup>437</sup> he is described in a list of titles and epithets, as ‘[the one who hears] the words of the people, [making regulations] for those that hear’.<sup>438</sup> This again appears to be describing a role within a court or administrative context. The inclusion of biographical information which substantiates the claim to be a mediator between human and god is attested for some of the statues in my corpus.

An autobiographical stela from the tomb of Menkheperreseneb, called Menkheper (TT 79),<sup>439</sup> also from the time of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II, includes an invocation to the gods in heaven, on earth and in the underworld, with Menkheper seemingly appealing for

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<sup>434</sup> The excerpt from Intef’s inscription, above page 163, uses the genitive *n*, whereas that of Menkheper below has been translated as dative.

<sup>435</sup> PM I<sup>2</sup>, 1: 213 (17).

<sup>436</sup> *pr.t tp-ꜥꜣ tp sbꜣy.t r ir.t ḥss.t m ḥr.t-ḥrw r sdm mdw rhy.t* and [*hnn*] *spr.t šmꜥ.w mḥ.w nn gfn r ktt* (Urk IV, 1139: 13-15).

<sup>437</sup> PM I<sup>2</sup>, 1: 214 (19).

<sup>438</sup> [*sdm*] *md.wt n rhy[.t] [dd tp-rd] n sdm.y[w]* (Urk IV, 1158: 10-11).

<sup>439</sup> PM I<sup>2</sup>, 1: 157 (6).

their help: ‘may my speech ascend to the lord of eternity as a petition of a serva[nt for his lord, his favoured one]’.<sup>440</sup>

All of the above have come from inscriptions in a funerary context, either on the walls of tombs or on stelae found in tombs (the provenance of the cubit-stick of Maya is uncertain). Thus, the emergence of intermediary statues represents an innovation in sculpture in which the concepts developed in the funerary sphere begin to apply to other cultic environments.

## **2.9 Final remarks**

### **2.9.1 The text categories**

This case study has explored how an intermediary statue can be identified, with particular focus on the texts. Three categories were defined, which were seen as necessary to delineate the relationship of human–monument–god and the communication which this could entail, and thus extracts were found within the statue inscriptions which would fit these categories. Whilst the majority of the statues bore inscriptions which were explicit enough to fit within categories (1) and (3), category (2), that of the relationship monument–human, proved more difficult to identify within an intermediary context. Reasons for this have been suggested. It can be concluded, however, that the inscriptions under the other two categories are highly important in specifying – explicitly – the function of the statue as a mediator.

Nevertheless, when looking at a statue it is important to take into consideration more than just its texts, especially since it is likely that few people could read them. The statue form and location must also be taken into account, and it may be possible to apply the three text categories onto these other two features of statues. This was briefly trialled for location, based

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<sup>440</sup> *Urak* IV, 1192: 14-15 (with a parallel text in the tomb of Pekhsuher). *s:ʿr* bears plural strokes. This could be an abbreviated or defective writing of the second person plural suffix *-m* (referring to the gods invoked), thus producing the translation ‘may you ascend my speech...’.

upon the assertion that many of these statues appear to have been associated with doorways. A similar application of the three categories to the physical form of the statue may also be beneficial.

### 2.9.2 The locations of pertinent texts

I suggest that the trend towards the important aspects of the inscription being on the right sides of the statues implies that this side was frequently visible when the statue was erected, and possibly that the intention was for observers to read this section first. In other words, both the composition and placement of the inscriptions were carefully considered in order to best communicate with passers-by. These observations could allow for extrapolation to other, non-intermediary statues, to investigate which of their inscriptions may have been the most significant, as well as the potential order in which inscriptions were to be read in order to construct the desired impression of the statue-owner. The intermediary corpus may therefore prove to be a foundation study on which further research on the locations of inscriptions can build.<sup>441</sup> These considerations also indicate that further work could be undertaken to map accessibility in temple complexes based on iconographic evidence;<sup>442</sup> here the evidence would be supplemented by texts containing intermediary claims or relevant epithets.<sup>443</sup>

Compliance-gaining strategies have been identified with consideration as to how they relate to the intermediary claims of the statues, and thus have been frequently recognised within the same inscription as the latter. Nevertheless, the whole inscription contributes to the

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<sup>441</sup> A paper given at the 4<sup>th</sup> Birmingham Egyptology Symposium, University of Birmingham (17<sup>th</sup> February 2017), by Jennifer Turner, 'The relationship of text and image in Egyptian statuary: the healing statue of a priest of Bastet', presented research on the placement of texts on healing statues, particularly as it relates to interactions with observers and the fulfilment of the magical purpose of the statues.

<sup>442</sup> Examples of such studies include Griffin 2007 and Accetta 2013.

<sup>443</sup> A similar approach was used by Doxey (1995: 210), who makes observations on epithet distribution in tombs and patterns that might indicate to whom they were accessible and visible.

development of the persona desired by the statue-owner and therefore strategies can be attested from various parts of the inscriptions.

### 2.9.3 The implications of compliance-gaining for understanding intermediary statues

The corpus of intermediaries is only small – thirty-one statues, with only twenty-three which preserve fully explicit descriptions of their mediating function. If we are to view this group in light of communication theory, does the fact that there are so few statues indicate that theirs was not a successful technique for ensuring offerings for the statue-owner and was not widely used as a result? Other phrases, such as appeal texts, are more common and are attested from a much greater period of time, suggesting that they were perceived as more effective. Indeed, several of the intermediaries have appeal texts themselves. Perhaps the addition of intermediary texts was an innovation that was found to be unnecessary. However, even if this were the case, this corpus remains an appropriate group to study for the interactions between statue and observer, including the use of compliance techniques. Many of these techniques no doubt exist on non-intermediary types. In looking at the applications of communication and compliance-gaining strategies to ancient statuary we can shed more light on agency, power and authority, as well as the decision-making processes of statue-owners when creating their monuments and inscriptions.

The varied techniques extracted from this corpus, with their focus on the positive, may reflect the concern of statue-owners that their statues would not be attended to and thus the texts were composed in order to maximise positive response. This could suggest, however, that statue-owners had little faith in the efficacy of their inscriptions, which thereby required repetition and complexity; conversely it may demonstrate that *because* of their perceived

effectiveness, statue-owners were adopting a variety of strategies in their attempts at gaining compliance.<sup>444</sup> Although the statue-owners were reliant on the actions of others in order to receive offerings, the employment of compliance-gaining strategies helps to maintain the hierarchy, within this dialogue at least, of superior statue-owner influencing inferior observer. By performing the desired actions an observer themselves also contributes to the maintenance of this structure, submitting to the statue's authority.

#### 2.9.4 The development of intermediaries and their texts

§2.8 explored some of the evidence for monuments and objects which contain wording similar to that of the intermediary statues, especially relating to the 'hearing' and 'ascending' of petitions. It was seen that prior to the first known statue types, aspects of mediation and listening to petitions were present in the textual evidence, usually within a court or administrative situation, that is, an official mediating between populace and king. The examples given here were all Eighteenth Dynasty to present some background for the emergence of the true intermediaries, but the concept of gods listening is attested from the Old Kingdom. Therefore the phenomenon of mediation fits into a much greater framework, since the idea that a god listens is crucial to the efficacy of an intermediary statue.

We can therefore consider how these statues reflected, or alternatively contributed to, religious feeling and experience, and why intermediary statues (as they have been defined here) seem to be a phenomenon confined to the New Kingdom and the late Twenty-fifth/early Twenty-sixth Dynasties. Since statues in temples necessarily belonged to high-status individuals, intermediaries also raise the issue of how involved the elite were in the personal

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<sup>444</sup> Cf. Otto 1954: 61, who considered repetitive inscriptions as a sign of a resignation regarding their effectiveness; Price (2011a: 268-269) takes the view instead that this is a sign of affirmation.

religious practice of the people – from where these ideas stemmed originally, by whom they were promoted, and why. For instance, were these popular ideas which found elite expression, thereby allowing the elite to control popular worship in state religious contexts (that is, the state temples)? This recalls the discussion earlier in this thesis on the significance of hearing epithets, how they developed, and how this affected people's relationship with, and expectations of, their gods and religious institutions.

It is evident that inscriptions did not work in isolation – the potential impact of physical form and location on their reception must also have influenced the decisions made about the statues' creation. These two factors will now be considered in turn in order to get a fuller picture of the purpose of intermediaries.

## **CHAPTER THREE:** **THE IMPORTANCE OF FORM FOR STATUARY**

### **3.1 Introduction**

Thus far, the inscriptions of intermediary statues have been considered in detail, but the statue's design was also a principal factor in how the monument was read and judged,<sup>445</sup> especially but not exclusively for those in ancient Egypt who could not read inscriptions. Platt, although writing of ancient Greek honorific statues, touched upon an important aspect applicable to all statuary: a statue's social function is dependent on its active reception – the image has to be viewed, and has to be read correctly in order to realise its purpose.<sup>446</sup> Clearly, this would not always be the case, especially because as the observer becomes more distant in time from the creation of the image, memory fades and the social and cultural experience changes.<sup>447</sup> Consequently, the choice of form when creating a statue is likely to have been dependent on two main considerations: 1) its intended audience, which involved choosing signifiers with relevance to as wide a group of people as possible, who would hopefully understand the meaning of the statue's attributes due to their shared, collective culture;<sup>448</sup> and 2) its intended function. The intended audience could be any passer-by, but the demographic of these passers-by would have been affected by the levels of accessibility in the location in which the statue was erected. As for function, it has already been argued that a fundamental purpose of any statue is as a mediator between the physical world and the (deceased) individual in a spiritual world (a divine sphere or memory). In having the form of a person, a statue's suitability as a mediator is enhanced, if we compare it to other monuments which

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<sup>445</sup> Bernhauer 2010: 54.

<sup>446</sup> Platt 2007: 250.

<sup>447</sup> Cf. Hodge and Kress (1988: 12) on recognising that texts may not have produced the meanings and effects intended by the author.

<sup>448</sup> Ma 2007: 215.

might have a similar purpose, such as stelae or false doors, since an observer may interact more easily with a monument if the interaction imitates that which might occur between two living persons; a statue aids the visualisation of a communicative bond, and assists the formation of memory. Kjølby goes as far to suggest that interaction with a statue was seen as real communication with the person present, not just a symbolic act.<sup>449</sup>

The individual embodied in the statue, or someone acting on their behalf such as a family member, could choose to represent him- or herself in such a way as to illustrate a particular responsibility held in life or to emphasise a particular characteristic, for instance, and in so doing they would have had some control over the way in which they entered the memory of their community; indeed, a statue's primary purpose, royal or non-royal, tomb statue or temple statue, was to memorialise. For an individual wishing to be commemorated and their existence in this world to be perpetuated, the form taken by the statue could therefore be interpreted as the preferred embodiment of their character for the purposes of their mortuary cult. In this context, the statue's function as a mediator would only extend to the forging of a connection between the observer and the individual represented (the physical statue acting as the mediator). It is possible that the spiritual manifestation of the individual could be called upon to mediate in the afterlife so that the living might benefit in some way (in the manner attested through letters to the dead<sup>450</sup>), but principally the statue would have been intended to commemorate the individual him- or herself rather than demonstrate qualities essential for a mediating function between humans and other entities.

In the context of the intermediary statues I have selected for this thesis based on their texts (as compiled in Catalogue A and Tables 1 and 3) the mediating connection is not just from observer to a spiritual manifestation of the individual, but is clearly intended to go

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<sup>449</sup> Kjølby 2009: 42.

<sup>450</sup> Wente 1990: 210-219.

further – ultimately linking to deities – and thus we can read additional levels of significance in the choice of form; it seems reasonable to believe that, where a decision was made to include an intermediary text in the inscription, thought was also put into the form of the statue in order to complement these texts, especially given the relative rarity of the latter in the history of Egyptian statuary. In other words, the intermediary inscriptions indicate that the person erecting the statue had carefully chosen the content of the texts, and it follows that other aspects of the statue, including the form, would have been similarly considered.

The following discussion will be concerned with potential meaning behind statue forms, especially as it relates to the intermediary function in a religious context as I have defined it earlier in this thesis. The discussion will be divided into two main sections: firstly, general discussion on various statue types exhibited by my catalogues, and secondly, discussion with particular reference to sistrophores, which make up the majority of the statues in Catalogue A, and which are collected as a type in Catalogue B. I understand the term ‘sistrophore’ (adj. ‘sistrophorous’) to indicate that a statue includes in some way the form of a naos-sistrum or Hathoric element (see page 230 on this choice of phrase), regardless of the base statue type on which it appears (block, cross-legged and so on). It has been said that the term ‘sistrophore’ itself does not explain the true and complex nature of this statue type,<sup>451</sup> and some of the varying interpretations of their features and purpose will be considered.

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<sup>451</sup> Perdu 2009: 466.

### 3.2 Comments on statue forms

#### 3.2.1 Seated

Statues showing the individual seated on a chair or stool exhibit a pose which is represented in the hieroglyphic script: Gardiner Sign List A50 and A51, most notably used in words with the root *šps* relating to ‘nobility’, ‘wealth’, ‘beauty’, ‘transfigured’ (as a synonym to *šh*), amongst others.<sup>452</sup> Its connotations are thus firmly within the realms of high status. It evokes the enthroned figures of gods and kings, and indeed amongst the earliest known *royal* sculpture are the seated figures of the Second Dynasty pharaoh Khasekhem.<sup>453</sup> However, it is also a pose well-represented in funerary art, whereby deceased individuals are shown seated with an offering table before them, perhaps being adored by a standing or kneeling relation. The implications of high status inherent in the pose are relative – regardless of that individual’s actual status within the broader setting of Egyptian hierarchy, in the context of that monument the seated pose has been chosen to demonstrate the superiority of the individual relative to others around him or her.

The seated pose, whilst it does not necessarily indicate lack of activity, certainly implies a passive role in that the individual observes the scene before him or her and awaits the approach of another. Bryan has suggested that within statuary this pose was fashioned to receive offerings, as opposed to other types such as striding and kneeling which could indicate some form of cult activity performed by the individual himself.<sup>454</sup> It is also interesting to mention here Bernhauer’s notion, specifically with regard to seated *sistrophores*, that the form

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<sup>452</sup> *Wb* IV: 445-453; see also Seipel 1992: 44.

<sup>453</sup> Ashmolean Museum, Oxford AN1890.1908.E.517 and Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JE 32161. Russmann 1989: 10-13 (Cairo statue); Baines 1995: 143, fig. 3.11 (Oxford statue); Sourouzian 1995: 141-143, pl.51; Dodson 1996: 26-27, n.56.

<sup>454</sup> Bryan 2010: 914.

shows no action, although she went on to state (somewhat contradictorily) that they show cult involvement by presenting the Hathoric element.<sup>455</sup>

Very few statues within Catalogues A (Intermediaries) and B (Sistrophores) are seated:

- Catalogue A supplies two examples: A.9 and A.13 (=B.78) (Fig. 13)
- Catalogue B supplies five examples: B.78 (=A.13) and B.17, B.28 (Fig. 56), B.38 and B.79, with one further possible example, B.31 (may be standing).

This would suggest that this pose was generally not favoured for intermediary and sistrophorous statue types, plausibly because in both cases the statue-owner was not simply waiting for someone to approach, but they themselves needed to engage in some form of action, and the seated position was regarded as somewhat unsuitable to express this potential movement.

### 3.2.2 Standing

Standing or striding poses undoubtedly display a level of authority, and little more needs to be said. Words connected with both old age (therefore wisdom) and officialdom (power) both use signs involving standing men.<sup>456</sup> Standing is also the base attitude for strength and worship, dependent on what is held or done with the arms.<sup>457</sup> The best parallels for the pose as it relates to this thesis, however, are the standard-bearing monuments studied by Chadeffaud.<sup>458</sup>

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<sup>455</sup> Bernhauer 2009: 50.

<sup>456</sup> Gardiner Sign List A19 -21 (A19 and 20 show the individual with a bent back).

<sup>457</sup> Gardiner A24-25 and A28-30 respectively.

<sup>458</sup> Chadeffaud 1982: see figures 1, 2 and 3 for the basic sub-categories of pose.

The two catalogues contain only small numbers of standing statues:

- Catalogue A supplies only one example: A.22 (Fig. 22)
- Catalogue B supplies five examples: B.33 (Fig. 61), B.52 (Fig. 69), B.88, B.99, and B.105, with three further possible: B.31 (may be seated), B.53 (possibly seated, although more likely standing), and B.85 (may be kneeling).

Unlike the seated pose, the standing pose has more connotations of activity. Although its connections with worship and standard-bearing (see below on theophores and naophores) would make it relevant for temple statues, the small numbers attested in the catalogues indicate that statue-owners preferred to emphasise a more approachable nature; they wished to exude power, without forming too much of a hierarchical gap between them and their intended audience.

### 3.2.3 Kneeling

Where an individual is shown kneeling it has been suggested that this, in particular, represents an act of worship.<sup>459</sup> The kneeling pose does indicate an element of submission and of serving another, although Hill has proposed that this basic connotation is only applicable to the Old Kingdom – in later periods the type becomes very complex for both royals and elites (for example, a variety of poses within the kneeling category, and diverse types of arm positions and objects held),<sup>460</sup> suggesting that there are facets of status and action being displayed other than simply subservience, deference and humility.<sup>461</sup> As noted above, Bryan proposed that

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<sup>459</sup> Bernhauer 2010: 54.

<sup>460</sup> Hill 2004: 243, 246.

<sup>461</sup> Hill 2004: 252.

kneeling poses could represent a form of cult activity, in contrast to a seated position,<sup>462</sup> and it has also been interpreted as representing participation in the daily offering rituals of the temple.<sup>463</sup> It is a more active pose than one which is seated, particularly seated on the floor (block pose), as it is less grounded and more conducive to movement, such as leaning forward, presenting an object, or standing up (the latter especially so when the individual is resting on one knee which is well-attested in hieroglyphic signs for human figures<sup>464</sup>).

A very significant number of statues in Catalogues A and B, particularly in the latter, show a kneeling form:

- Catalogue A supplies three examples: A.3 (=B.12) (Fig. 3), A.21 (=B.93), and A.25 (=B.43), with two further possible examples, A.20 (=B.84) and A.23 (=B.100).
- Catalogue B supplies forty-one examples: the three from Catalogue A and B.1 (Fig. 32), B.2, B.3, B.4, B.5, B.6, B.7, B.8, B.9, B.11, B.13, B.14, B.21, B.23 (right leg drawn to chest – see footnote 469), B.24, B.25, B.26, B.29, B.32, B.39, B.40, B.41, B.42, B.51, B.54, B.60, B.62, B.81, B.86, B.87, B.91, B.92, B.94, B.95, B.96, B.97, B.98 and B.103, with ten further possible examples, being the two from Catalogue A and B.10, B.15, B.16, B.20, B.30, B.55, B.85 (possibly standing) and B.101.

The kneeling pose is clearly one of the preferred choices for sistrophores (fifty-one out of 105), so it is not surprising that a few of the intermediary statues display this stance. One probable reason for this is because the earliest known sistrophores, those of Senenmut (B.1-

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<sup>462</sup> Cf. Hill (2004: 251), who asserts that the function of royal kneeling statuary, particularly theophoric types, is perhaps the performance of royal temple ritual, and that this is prominent at least from the Ramesside period onwards.

<sup>463</sup> Seipel 1992: 43.

<sup>464</sup> Gardiner Sign List A1 (kneeling man) and its variant A3 are basic examples, but the majority of hieroglyphic seated figures appear to display this pose, usually with their legs and feet covered by a robe.

B.4), are of this type and thus his innovations became a fashionable and long-lasting choice. The popularity of the kneeling type presumably lay too in the direct contact made with the deity, which would have been seen as desirable, and in two important aspects represented by kneeling sistrophores: the statue-owner is shown supporting the divine feature and is also represented presenting the sistrum-element to an observer. Both of these facets can be interpreted variously – see discussion below on theophores and naophores and on the significance of sistrophores with regard to interaction with and interpretation by passers-by. It is sufficient to observe here that the kneeling pose incorporated an attitude of a deferential ritual performer with a respectable status due to proximity to a deity, whilst also engaging with a human observer.

#### 3.2.4 Cross-legged

This pose, dealt with extensively by Scott, is often characterised as being ‘scribal’, even where there is no indication of writing materials or a hand position that would point to that activity.<sup>465</sup> The pose is indicative of patience and thoughtfulness and, being an individual seated on the ground, has fewer obvious connotations of superiority than an individual on a seat; they are not raised up by the chair, and having the legs tucked underneath the body not only makes the individual smaller, but it contrasts with the implied dynamism seen with other poses and could be construed as more introverted. Unlike kneeling, being cross-legged is less conducive to movement of the upper body, and I view the intended symbolism rather as serenity and steadfastness. Arguably it could show the potential of standing up, which is fairly easily done in one movement from a cross-legged position, although this is perhaps only in

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<sup>465</sup> Scott 1989: 417-418; Perdu 2000: 176; Leahy 2011: 198.

youth and with a certain level of physical fitness, whereas some cross-legged scribes include rolls of stomach fat (including three in my catalogues). If these are associated with old age and its resultant wisdom and experience, or even with low levels of physical fitness (indicative of wealth, status and non-involvement in physical labour) we may have to dismiss the idea that dynamism is embodied in these and other statues which show this feature – kneeling and seated types can also have stomach rolls.

With regard to cross-legged *scribes* – that is, statues with writing equipment and papyrus rolls – the actions of reading and writing add further layers of meaning to the base pose. These are generally agreed to be those of wisdom, intelligence, concentration and the superiority that comes with literacy, as well as being a link to the deity Thoth and to legendary wise men to whom are attributed great deeds and writings.<sup>466</sup> It likely also reflects an administrative position held during life. Furthermore, scribal statues are attested – chiefly in the New Kingdom although seen from the Fifth Dynasty – whose heads are bowed slightly (but not necessarily with the eyes fixed on the papyrus they hold), inferring greater concentration, introspection and humility.<sup>467</sup> The orientation of the text on the papyrus roll (or lap of the individual if the papyrus has not been sculpted) should also be considered, in that a text oriented towards the statue implies the action is being undertaken by the individual, whereas a text facing outwards creates the impression that the individual is less active – having finished their task of reading or writing – and the statue is therefore less dynamic. Alternatively, this orientation encourages interaction with observers in that the statue-owner presents a finished text for assessment.<sup>468</sup>

Very few of the statues collated in my catalogues are cross-legged:

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<sup>466</sup> Bothmer 1949: 44-45; Kreißl 1989: 45-48; Seipel 1992: 43; Tefnin 2001: 238; Leahy 2011: 208.

<sup>467</sup> Bothmer 1949: 44 (on a statue head in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts 42.467); Scott 1989: 290. Simmance 2014a: 62-63. An Old Kingdom example is of Ptahshepses (Cairo, CG 83 – Borchartd 1911: 66-67, pl.19).

<sup>468</sup> Leahy 2011: 200.

- Catalogue A supplies three examples: A.1 (Fig. 1), A.2 (both scribal) and A.4 (=B.19)
- Catalogue B supplies two examples: B.19 (=A.4) and B.18 (Fig. 48).

Kreiβl saw the scribal pose as the most significant for an intermediary position, for from her collection of twenty-three private statues with the function of mediators, seventeen were scribal (ten of these belonging to the treasurer Mentuhotep of the Middle Kingdom<sup>469</sup>), and three other scribal statues, were added after completion of the dissertation.<sup>470</sup> Although the inscriptions on statuary have informed the selection of some of her corpus, my criteria require that a true intermediary must have some textual indicator for this role, so I have not included Mentuhotep's sculpture in my corpus. Conversely, Kreiβl's catalogue (the chronological span of which is from the Middle Kingdom until at least the Nineteenth Dynasty) only includes three sistrophores, whereas mine has twenty. Consequently, her assertion that a scribal statue is the most significant for the intermediary type is not valid according to my criteria. This is not to say that it would not have been a suitable type. Indeed, I have argued elsewhere that it *would* be particularly appropriate, since the scribal pose represents the individual as a wise man with connections to the elite, royal and divine spheres. He is ready to receive instruction from a passer-by, write petitions and prayers on his papyrus roll and act as messenger in both this world and the metaphysical sphere.<sup>471</sup> The scarcity of the cross-legged and scribal types from both catalogues here therefore needs to be explained some other way.

Perhaps there were practical concerns – a cross-legged statue is not particularly conducive to carving large amounts of text in which to include intermediary inscriptions (as opposed to a block statue or one kneeling presenting an additional feature which can also be

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<sup>469</sup> Kreiβl 1989: 45. Four of Mentuhotep's statues (Cairo CG 42036 and Louvre A 122-124) show the variant on the scribal pose with the left leg raised, and two others (CG 42044 and 42045) have another asymmetric variant with the legs folded to the right hand side.

<sup>470</sup> Kreiβl 1989: iii.

<sup>471</sup> Simmance 2014a: 59-62, 70, 74, 77; Simmance 2016: 52.

inscribed) and also does not allow much room for additional elements such as a sistrum (in B.18 it has been rendered rather small). It is surely significant, however, that Amenhotep son of Hapu's two scribal statues (A.1 and A.2) are amongst the first (or perhaps *were* the first) to display intermediary inscriptions in the entire history of Egyptian sculpture. He had much wealth and knowledge at his disposal and was able to innovate, but also seemed keen to maintain his image as a wise man with relatively humble roots.<sup>472</sup> Despite having a large number of statues, most being in Karnak, it seems he made a deliberate decision to include the intermediary inscriptions only on these two scribal statues,<sup>473</sup> implying that he considered this form suitable for this role.

It also remains to be explained why there is an absence of cross-legged intermediary statues from later periods – all are Eighteenth Dynasty. It is surely not the case that the type was no longer seen as an effective medium to demonstrate personal characteristics appropriate for a mediator. We can only presume that it is due to the popularity of the block type in the Ramesside period, and because the majority of intermediary responsibilities were carried out in the cults of goddesses (Amenhotep son of Hapu's statues were linked to the cult of Amun-Re in Karnak), and sistrophores were therefore considered to be more suitable in this context because of their links to Hathoric deities; sistrophores began as kneeling statues and are most efficiently carved in block form, not cross-legged.

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<sup>472</sup> Simmance 2014a: 77.

<sup>473</sup> Simmance 2014a: 25, 28.

### 3.2.5 Block

The block statue (seated on the floor or on a low stool or cushion with the knees drawn up to the chest) has also been the object of extensive study.<sup>474</sup> As the most popular non-royal statue type in Egypt, from its emergence in the Middle Kingdom,<sup>475</sup> in both temples and tombs, it is no surprise that my intermediary catalogue contains nineteen block statues out of thirty.

At first glance, the block statues give the impression of being in a less active, more sedentary position than some other statue types. Tefnin has written that the meaning of the block pose is uncertain beyond it being a position of rest.<sup>476</sup> The position is still exhibited by living people in Egypt today,<sup>477</sup> and it is preferred because it can be held indefinitely.<sup>478</sup> However, the features of block statues offer a variety of interpretations as to their purpose. As a whole they represent the practical need for a durable sculpture which offers much greater space for inscriptions in which the individual can be commemorated,<sup>479</sup> but mythological significance has also been attributed to them by Seipel, who believed they were reminiscent of the dead resurrected from the primeval mound, although without explanation.<sup>480</sup>

Like the cross-legged pose, block statues indicate tranquillity and patience<sup>481</sup> and, like the seated pose, awaits interaction with an observer, but with less evident notions of superiority than an individual on a chair. They combine the attitudes of submissiveness and respect for their surroundings, as suggested by their arms which are regularly portrayed

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<sup>474</sup> Schulz 1992: pages 1-3 for the terminology which has been used to describe them – she prefers ‘kuboid’ – and for criteria by which they are identified.

<sup>475</sup> Particularly popular from the Eighteenth Dynasty until the Graeco-Roman period: Schulz 1992: 5.

<sup>476</sup> Tefnin 2001: 238.

<sup>477</sup> See also an observation 250 years ago by Pococke (1753: 211-212).

<sup>478</sup> Russmann 2001: 96.

<sup>479</sup> Tefnin (2001: 239) noted the utility of the ample space for religious and biographical inscriptions, suggesting nevertheless that this may not have been the principal reason for the design.

<sup>480</sup> Seipel 1992: 348 (on the sistrophore of Khaihapy, Vienna ÄS 64 (B.63)).

<sup>481</sup> Schulz 1992: 690.

crossed,<sup>482</sup> with what Schulz describes as ‘Erzieherfiguren’ (‘tutors’ or ‘father figures’), thus an element of authority and trustworthiness.<sup>483</sup> Schulz also proposes that they became the ideal type for identifying the individual as comparable to a god.<sup>484</sup> Following these interpretations, the block type displays a position in the social structure between higher powers (king and higher gods) and lower status individuals, and as a result the performance of an intermediary function would be particularly apposite. Whilst the impression of a submissive yet simultaneously authoritative person may indeed have been the intention, it is worth asking on what basis these interpretations are made. In particular, the idea that the crossed arms represent respect is logical in that it is not an aggressive stance, but the variety shown in the execution of the arms on block statues complicates interpretation. For instance, statues can show the arms covered by the garment, or with just the hands showing. In other cases, one arm may be resting over the knees but the other is not crossed over it. If the idea was to demonstrate submissiveness, why cover the part which exemplifies this, and why in some cases show the arms uncrossed? It could be conceded that once the statue type was securely embedded in the sculptural canon and was understood to embody certain characteristics, details could be altered without the general impression of the statue being forgotten, such as from the position of the arms. However, there is still cause to question why crossed-arm block statues are read as indicating respect for a higher power. The idea is rational in some ways, and non-block forms, especially crossed-legged types, can be executed with the arms crossed over the chest (for example, CG 42005, showing Intef-aa); plausibly, the crossed arms on block statues are imitating this position but because of the arrangement of the legs are unable to hold the arms against the chest. Nevertheless, it also calls to mind the basic pose of adoration and submission before a deity with the arms and hands raised. This is

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<sup>482</sup> Russmann 2001: 96.

<sup>483</sup> Schulz 1992: 774.

<sup>484</sup> Schulz 1992: 777; also Russmann 2001: 96.

never seen as an aggressive pose, but rather respectful, and is seen occasionally in three-dimensional sculpture.<sup>485</sup> Whilst this does not preclude another arm position – such as crossed – also indicating respect for a higher power, I am more inclined to see the arm position as primarily a stylised rendering of reality: when sitting with the legs pulled up in that way, comfort requires that the arms support the knees, either by hugging them or by tucking the knees in the crooks of the elbows, which is possible when the arms are crossed.

Turning to other features of block statues it may be significant, for the desire of statues to engage with passers-by, that the head protrudes over the surface formed by the knees.<sup>486</sup> Not only does the projecting head above the block-like structure of the rest of the statue draw attention immediately to that feature, but it also gives the individual an alert countenance, once again implying anticipation of interaction and the receiving of instruction. They are also shown to appear aware of their surroundings and thus would be particularly suitable as door-keepers or guards, be they within a temple or a tomb. More will be said below on the use of statues, especially the block type, as door-stops. It will suffice to say here that whilst Tefnin has stated that there is no evidence in ancient art for the block pose where it might be expected (the example given being an individual overseeing workmen in the fields),<sup>487</sup> there is an example of a door-keeper assuming this particular seated position, slouching and resting

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<sup>485</sup> Statue of Amenemheb (Cairo, CG 42120) presenting a stela, with the palms of the raised hands appearing in front of the stela (Legrain 1906: 68-69, Pl.LXX). The statue of Nakhtefmut (Cairo, CG 42229) also shows him supporting a stela with the hands raised, but in this case the effect is slightly different since they are behind the stela so the gesture of adoration may not be intended (Legrain 1914a: 70-71, pls.XXXVI-XXXVII). A statue of a woman (Cairo, CG 222) has her arms raised as if in adoration. Borchardt describes her as a ‘mourning woman’ (‘Klageweib’), but the palms face outwards, not inwards as is more usual for mourning gestures (Borchardt 1911: 147-148, Bl.46).

<sup>486</sup> Schulz (1992: 609-611) noted the variation in the lengths of the neck – none, short (normal), and long to very long. For statues whose purpose is especially defined by interaction with worshippers, one might expect to see attempts to distinguish the head by longer necks, but none of the intermediaries have this feature according to Schulz’s survey; five have short necks (A.6 (=B.34), A.8 (=B.37); A.12 (=B.77), A.18 (=B.65) and A.27 (=B.49)) and three have no neck at all (A.7 (=B.36), A.10 (=B.56) and A.26 (=B.47)).

<sup>487</sup> Tefnin 2001: 238.

his head upon his crossed arms, from a Memphite tomb relief.<sup>488</sup> The weary-looking subject of this relief is a counterpart to the more stylised attitude represented by the corpus of block statues.

In rare cases, the head of block statues is angled upwards.<sup>489</sup> Schulz categorised these in her catalogue under ‘Blickrichtung’ (‘line of sight’) as ‘Schräg nach oben’, ‘Leicht nach oben’, ‘Aufwärts’ (‘slanted upwards’, ‘slightly upwards’ and ‘upwards’, respectively), or similar.<sup>490</sup> Of the statues in my catalogues, A.6 (=B.34) (Fig. 6), B.46, B.48 (Fig. 66) and B.69 (Fig. 79) have this attitude, although for the latter we cannot be certain as it is unfinished. Others have the head slightly raised, such as B.27, A.26 (=B.47), A.10 (=B.56) (Fig. 10), B.70 (Fig. 80), A.12 (=B.77), B.80 and B.90.<sup>491</sup> A.6 (=B.34), B.48, A.10 (=B.56) and B.69 have their right hand to the mouth, and the head has been raised to accommodate the hand underneath the chin. The raised head therefore serves a double purpose in these cases, both practical and iconographical.

Another way to distinguish the head is by having a sloping surface on the top of the block statue, from shoulders to knees. This is clearest in B.48 (also has a raised head), A.27 (=B.49) (Fig. 27) and possibly A.18 (=B.65). A.8 (=B.37) (Fig. 8) and B.57 (Fig. 72) give a similar impression due to the modelling of the shoulders and arms which rest on top of the surface. All of these also have the right hand raised to the mouth.

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<sup>488</sup> Martin 1991: 85.

<sup>489</sup> Bothmer 1970; Price 2011a: 7, 215. Bothmer understood this as the ‘ecstasy of apotheosis’, that is, a connection between the statue and the divine realm. Specifically, he believed the desired object of the gaze to be the sun (Bothmer 1970: 48). Although the interpretation of ‘apotheosis’ is debatable, particularly given how rare the angled head is, Bothmer’s suggestion would link well with the prominence of solar deities as having the capacity to hear and therefore communicate with the statue-owner.

<sup>490</sup> See also her brief analysis: Schulz 1992: 607-608.

<sup>491</sup> Schulz also recognises a very slight incline for B.59 (Fig. 58) and B.63 (Fig. 78) (1992: 178-179 and 531-532 respectively). Note that at the time of his article, Bothmer was unaware of any Ramesside statue with a raised head (1970: 39).

The large number of block statues allows for comments to be made on their connection to wider Egyptian society. The lasting popularity of the underlying shape suggests that it remained relevant and transcended changes in political, ideological and religious spheres,<sup>492</sup> but differences in style and additional features *did* reflect those changes, and allowed for new modes of expression and new contexts of meaning for broader sections of the elite class.<sup>493</sup> Schulz has also proposed that block statues were similar (in overall implication or purpose) to the scribal type in that they were exclusively used for officials and priests, whilst other types such as kneeling figures also appear in the royal canon.<sup>494</sup> This may be true, but the fact that additional features can be common to all types of statue, such as naoi or emblems, would suggest that an underlying meaning of a statue type could be over-ridden by the inclusion of other elements which serve to qualify the function and status of the statue regardless of the pose.

Like the kneeling pose, my catalogues furnish us with many examples of block-formed statues.

- Catalogue A supplies nineteen examples: A.5, A.6 (=B.34), A.7 (=B.36), A.8 (=B.37), A.10 (=B.56), A.11, A.12 (=B.77), A.14, A.15, A.16, A.17 (=B.64), A.18 (=B.65), A.19 (=B.66), A.24, A.26 (=B.47), A.27 (=B.49), A.28 (=B.67), A.29 and A.31 (=B.68), with one further possible, A.30.
- Catalogue B supplies thirty-nine examples: the twelve also in Catalogue A, and B.22, B.27, B.35, B.44, B.45, B.46, B.48, B.50, B.57, B.58, B.59, B.61, B.63, B.69, B.70, B.71, B.72, B.73, B.75, B.76, B.80, B.82, B.83, B.89, B.90, B.102, and B.104, with one further probable, B.74.

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<sup>492</sup> Schulz 1992: 5.

<sup>493</sup> Schulz 1992: 721-727, 774-776.

<sup>494</sup> Schulz 1992: 5.

The block form is particularly well attested in the intermediary corpus. Aside from the pose's prevalence, there are several possible reasons for this, relating to some of the connotations of this form as I have discussed and also because the form permits biographical inscriptions whilst also leaving space for the more unusual declaration or offer of a mediatory role. With regard to sistrophores, although overall the number attested is less than the kneeling type, 40 out of 105 still constitutes a significant portion of the corpus to assume this pose. Sculpting a sistrophorous block-formed statue was potentially easier than others as in general it did not require the production of an almost entirely three dimensional object as can be seen with the kneeling statues – the sistrum-element on block statues could be executed in relief or carved so that the impression was a three dimensional object without it being a distinct part of the statue (for more on the diverse methods of executing the sistrum-element, see below in the sistrophore discussion). In addition, arguably there would be less waste stone from a block form, conceivably reducing production costs.

### 3.2.6 Base size and statues as door-stops

Although some members of the elite could afford to commission near-life size statues, many would be relatively small monuments.<sup>495</sup> If placed on the ground they would be much lower than eye level and this might hinder their ability to engage with passers-by. As has been seen, the head on block statues can be angled upward, looking up to an observer. Most statues, however, block and otherwise, look straight ahead, therefore would only make eye-contact

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<sup>495</sup> Cf. Schulz (1990: 104) who states that Ramesside statuary tended towards the larger monuments, with much fewer smaller statues than in the Thutmoside era. Consideration of heights represented by the sistrophorous corpus will be undertaken below (Appendix Four). The same will not be done for the intermediary catalogue, because many intermediaries are sistrophores, and because many of the intermediary corpus have significant damage, so the number whose heights can be accurately compared is very small (the larger size of the sistrophores catalogue compensates partially for the number damaged). The overall range represented, however, is as follows: 1.30m (A.1 and A.2, cross-legged) to 0.16m (A.24, block) and 0.155m (A.25, block).

with an observer standing at some distance (given that many statues are quite small, this is not really practical), or at a lower level. A high base would elevate the individual and lend the statue prominence,<sup>496</sup> and would also protect the body of the statue from wear due to impact at ground level.

A base above or below 20% of the height of the statue was one of the characteristics noted by Schulz in her study of block statues.<sup>497</sup> Only six statues in my catalogues were classified as having the 'high' base – B.27 (Fig. 55), A.26 (=B.47), B.57 and especially B.63 (Fig. 78) are the most apparent, whereas A.10 (=B.56) and B.59 are closer to the 20% threshold. The bases of A.11 and A.16 (Fig. 16) are not described as high by Schulz, but are both stepped, as if the individual is sitting on a low stool. In both cases the back step of the base is high, which achieves the same effect as an unstepped high base. A.18 (=B.65) (Fig. 18) is included in Schulz's catalogue, but nothing is noted about the base size, most likely because it is severely damaged, and possibly incomplete. As it survives, however, the base is tall. Aside from block statues, others which have high bases are A.4 (=B.19) and potentially B.18, both cross-legged and B.92 (kneeling).

The possibility of statues acting as door-keepers and door-stops was mentioned briefly during the discussion of block statues above. A small number of statues, all block-formed, which have a particularly elongated base, extending from the back of the statues, are known from the Ramesside period.<sup>498</sup> Clère, only aware of the statue of Piyay (the only one of the four extant statues of this type to appear in my catalogues: A.26 (=B.47), could not account for the

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<sup>496</sup> Leahy 2011: 208.

<sup>497</sup> No. 202 (Leiden L.X.3) – Schulz 1992: 353-354 – is particularly notable in that the base is about half of the total height, minus the head, and it was probably inserted into a larger piece, perhaps an offering table – the statue is only 0.30m in height.

<sup>498</sup> Statues of Piyay (Coll. Husson), Penrau (Pelizaeus Museum 5897), Tjanefer (Cairo JE 36974) and Suty (Cairo JE 33263) – see Clère 1968a, Schulz 1990 and Rondot 2011.

unusual base.<sup>499</sup> Schulz hesitantly suggested two solutions to the issue, involving raised platforms and niches into which the statue base slotted so that the statue could participate in cult events and funerary rites in the sanctuary in which it was erected.<sup>500</sup> A statue which could slot into a niche would have the advantage of being visibly part of the building, thereby demonstrating greater social status than those which were not custom-made for that location. Schulz's suggestions also indicate that the statue's position could be elevated, the niche helping to keep both statue and the platform on which it stood in place. Her proposals are somewhat complex and she admits that a lack of architectural evidence in their favour makes them speculative.

Rondot's interpretation is related to the possible use of statues as door-stops.<sup>501</sup> Their solid construction, including a heavy base and durable material, would certainly suffice to hold back door-leaves made of wood, although this would be the case for any block type regardless of their base size.<sup>502</sup> Indeed, the extended base is clearly very rare, so either the use as a door-stop was only limited to a small number of statues during this period, or this was a feature added for a short while or by a particular workshop to complement this purpose (but was subsequently considered an unnecessary addition); acting as a door-stop could conceivably be the case for any statue, especially those with a back pillar, the surface of which would sit parallel to the door-leaf. I have argued elsewhere, including in this thesis<sup>503</sup> that doorways are appropriate locations for statues of an intermediary type in that they would sit in a liminal space both physically and metaphysically, their function in the spiritual world

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<sup>499</sup> Clère 1968a: 139.

<sup>500</sup> Schulz 1990: 105-107.

<sup>501</sup> Schulz has also recognised it in a more recent article (2011: 6).

<sup>502</sup> Rondot 2011: 145.

<sup>503</sup> See the relevant section on block statues in Chapter Three; see also Simmance 2014b.

being replicated visually in this world.<sup>504</sup> Rondot's hypothesis for door-stop statues could therefore be extended so that the wider function of the statue becomes relevant. One possible barrier to accepting these interpretations is that it would seem counter-intuitive for an intermediary statue, which is claiming to provide a certain level of access to an inaccessible space, to hold a door open – the effectiveness of the symbolism of the door as a barrier to the sacred area within would be reduced. On the other hand, an open door does not guarantee entry, and the process of connecting with a deity on a metaphysical level by means of the statue's mediation would still hold true; in holding the door open, the statue's function as a door-stop could parallel its incorporeal responsibilities – a visitor could enter through the doorway only due to the statue's presence, just as they would only have access to the gods through the statue's mediation. Pantalacci and Traunecker have suggested the presence of a system of doorways in the temple of El-Qal'a at Coptos which permitted a visitor to look through one set of door-leaves to the inner areas but would be barred from entering by a secondary door which was lower in height.<sup>505</sup> Such a system could integrate statues as door-stops for the door-leaves which are kept open, and thus the statue's function as a mediator in the physical sense would extend to allowing visitors *visual* access to the temple's more sacred areas rather than allowing actual entry. However, more investigations into temple doorways would need to be conducted to confirm the hypothesis suggested for El-Qal'a, and to ascertain the likelihood of this system being widespread. It should also be recognised that the Piyay statue is very small, at 0.155m. This does not necessarily preclude its use as a doorstop, but could have limited its effectiveness at larger entrances, and caused the statue to be overshadowed by the doorway itself and other monuments around it (larger, perhaps colossal statues, for instance), thereby at risk of being ignored.

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<sup>504</sup> Of course, a location at a doorway emphasises the mediatory function of any statue, within a temple or a tomb, even if they bear no explicitly intermediary texts.

<sup>505</sup> Pantalacci and Traunecker 1993: 380, 382.

Another possible use for a statue at a doorway would be for the statue to hold the door closed and guard it as a door-keeper. An intermediary function would become an essential role in the temple, as access to sacred areas would only be via the statue itself. This presents the issue, of course, that a statue would have to be moved whenever access was required by an individual authorised to enter. One could argue that even where the statue is small, having to move it so that doors could be held open or closed would be fairly inconvenient to undertake on a regular basis. Without further knowledge of how often and for how long temple doors could have been opened, and given the rarity of statues with an extended base, which prevents more successful comparative work, lines of enquiry must remain open as to whether statues could reasonably be used as door-stops, or whether a location *near* a doorway was sufficient for their purpose. It is reasonable to assume that living door-keepers guarding an entrance were not always positioned so as to physically hold the door-leaves open or keep them closed, but more frequently stood or sat (most likely with knees drawn up to their chest in the characteristic block pose) in the vicinity of the doorway, in the manner of the door-keeper shown in the Memphite tomb relief (see footnote 488), and indeed, as it occurs today. It can be imagined that only when someone, unknown or unauthorised to enter, approached the doorway would the door-keeper move to block the entrance. Statues erected in temples near doorways were a way of emulating this, acting as a permanent door-keeper beside the door, rather than within it, in place of a human individual.

### 3.2.7 'Begging gesture'

Another body position which may be significant in understanding the purpose of the statue and how it is interpreted is the presence of the 'begging gesture', or *Bittgestus*,<sup>506</sup> where the right hand is cupped at the mouth (for example, Fig. 6). This gesture clearly relates to provision for the statue-owner after death,<sup>507</sup> and encourages interaction between the statue and the passers-by through a visual clarification of what the statue-owner wants (offerings of food and water). It is not regularly attested, and after the Eighteenth Dynasty it was found almost exclusively on sistrophores.<sup>508</sup>

The sistrophorous statue of Ameneminet (A.8 (=B.37)), the now-broken right hand of which was held to the mouth, has been described as a 'lowly beggar',<sup>509</sup> implying low status and dependence upon others. Ameneminet was clearly not of low status – his titles and epithets attest in particular to his military responsibilities. Nevertheless, the gesture does bear some connotations of humility, requesting that he be permitted to partake in offering rites to sustain him in the afterlife and to cement his position within the cult of the temple in which the statue was erected.<sup>510</sup> I would argue, however, that the social meaning of the gesture depends on the audience: if the begging gesture is made in the presence of a deity,<sup>511</sup> then the individual is shown to be receiving offerings as a result of a superior being's benevolence. Before a human observer of lower status, on the other hand, the gesture is a visual expression of a command, whereby the statue is effectively exerting authority over an inferior individual

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<sup>506</sup> Bernhauer 2002a; Bernhauer 2010: 117-118.

<sup>507</sup> Bernhauer 2002a: 22; Bernhauer 2009: 50.

<sup>508</sup> Bernhauer 2002a: 19, 21. One exception is the naophore of Peraha, British Museum EA 501.

<sup>509</sup> Romano et al 1979: 148-149.

<sup>510</sup> This particular statue was discovered in the temple of Thutmose III at Deir el-Bahari and was presumably a part of a Hathoric cult in this temple or a nearby locality.

<sup>511</sup> Such as the scenes whereby a deceased individual receives libations into his cupped hand or hands from the goddess Hathor in her sycamore manifestation (an example from the tomb of Sennedjem, TT 1, north wall). See Bernhauer 2002a: 18.

so that they provide for the statue-owner; in Ameneminet's case, the gesture complements the appeal text on the left side of the statue which, as has been pointed out, is connected to Ameneminet's offer to perform an intermediary role for supplicants.<sup>512</sup> In this way, the gesture and its inherent authority over a human observer is made ever more meaningful, since the willingness of the statue-owner to communicate with deities as a mediator is shown to be in return for offerings – if an observer wishes to contact deities, they must first satisfy the statue-owner in the way implied by the gesture of the right hand.

The *Bittgestus*, therefore, can be read in at least two ways, causing the statue-owner to appear deferential and grateful in the presence of a deity, and authoritative (though still humble and approachable) in the presence of a human. In a temple context, the gesture fulfils both aspects, and where the begging gesture is combined with an intermediary function the statue-owner hopes to ensure he is provided with sustenance for eternity by offering something explicitly in return. These ideas have been dealt with in the discussion on compliance-gaining and intermediaries.

The *Bittgestus* is fairly well attested within Catalogues A and B:

- Catalogue A supplies twelve examples: A.6 (=B.34), A.7 (=B.36), A.8 (=B.37), A.10 (=B.56), A.11, A.14, A.16, A.18 (=B.65), A.19 (=B.66), A.21 (=B.93), A.25 (=B.43), and A.27 (=B.49),<sup>513</sup> with four further possible examples, A.13 (=B.78), A.20 (=B.84), A.23 (=B.100), and A.31 (=B.68).
- Catalogue B. Supplies sixteen examples: the nine also in Catalogue A, and B.18, B.23, B.48, B.54, B.57, B.69 and B.97, with four further possible examples, being those also in Catalogue A.

<sup>512</sup> Froid 2007: 189. See also this thesis, §3.2.7.

<sup>513</sup> A.11, A.18, A.19 and A.27 have suffered damage to the arms, but it seems likely from traces that the right hand was held to the mouth.

Modest numbers of this feature evidenced from both catalogues demonstrate that overall the *Bittgestus* was a fairly rare addition, but that it fulfilled a specific function. That over a third, possibly nearly a half, of the intermediary corpus display this gesture illustrates the significance of the reciprocal relationship which was intended to be created between statue-owner and observer – the gesture, with its connotations of supply and offerings, complements the intermediary function. It also emphasises the basic funerary aspect of the statue as a monument for commemoration and perpetuation of the statue-owner's spiritual manifestation after death.

Other statue forms illustrate similar ideas, including those incorporating a basin in the monument (for example, CG 42122, a block statue with the basin embedded in the knees, and CG 42123, a kneeling statue with a basin supported on the thighs). The statues of Neferrenpet, (A.4 (=B.19)) (Fig. 4) and of an unknown man (B.14) (Fig. 44) are the only examples in my catalogues. The latter is an unusual sistrophorous type in that the basin is integrated into the Hathoric element, and is somewhat evocative of libation vessels in which the statue-owner (and at times family members also) is shown kneeling beside it and resting his hands – and often chin – on the edge, as well as the vessels which have Hathoric faces as decoration, such as British Museum EA 1386 and the fragmentary Louvre E 11415. The libation bowls of Montuemhat, British Museum EA 1292, Hormenu and his parents, EA 465, and a couple whose names are partially destroyed, Vienna ÄS 50, are examples of monuments with both kneeling individual(s) and Hathor faces. Thorvaldsen Museum H 357 was a libation bowl with a Hathoric face on the inside of the vessel, supported by a kneeling man.<sup>514</sup> (Fig. 103)

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<sup>514</sup> Lillesø 1978: 100-102; PM VIII: 842 (801-752-100); Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list) and 05.06 (photograph). The large size of the Hathoric face (which has a modius headdress, curled wig, and inverted pear-shaped face) makes this piece particularly comparable to sistrophores, no doubt why it was included in Clère's notes.

The recipient of offerings indicated by offering bowls and larger libation basins was no doubt intended to be both the statue- or monument-owner and the goddess, but interpretation could differ slightly depending on the precise form of the monument and the size of the libation vessel. The statue of Neferrenpet indicates that offerings are primarily for him as the small basin sits in front of his legs (this purpose is corroborated by the inscriptions, particularly around the basin). B.14 is more difficult to interpret, as the Hathoric face is in the closest proximity to the vessel's contents, and the form of the statue indicates that the individual is presenting this vessel as a way of contacting and making offerings to the goddess. This would then suggest that large libation bowls where the statue-owner is seen kneeling at the side, particularly where they rest their chin on the side of the vessel, are meant to provide for that individual, but it is more likely that these large vessels are primarily intended for libations for the goddess (the individual may also partake in these offerings, but their primary purpose is as dedicant of the vessel and the offerings in it). In the case of the Thorvaldsen piece, the much finer modelling of the Hathor face compared to the individual's body implies a focus on the connection between goddess and libations, rather than the purpose of supporting the basin.<sup>515</sup>

### 3.2.8 Baldness

The evidence for baldness or partial baldness has been covered in depth by Clère (1995), so comments on interpretation here will be brief. The term most frequently applied to this feature is 'i(z)s', for which Clère himself chose the translation 'chauve' (bald one), with the necessary

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<sup>515</sup> Lillesø 1978: 101.

caution.<sup>516</sup> The *Wörterbuch* lists it as a ‘name of a priest of Hathor’ with no mention of baldness.<sup>517</sup> Clère did acknowledge the existence of various translations (‘priest’, ‘Hathor priest’ or ‘*is*-priest’) but claimed that it did not necessarily relate to a priestly title.<sup>518</sup> Nevertheless, some more recent publications still lean towards the connection with a role within the priesthood, even if the scholar prefers to leave the word itself untranslated.<sup>519</sup> In one case, baldness (‘*qualité de tonsuré*’) was said to assimilate the individual with the status of a lesser god within the entourage of Hathor, thereby allowing him to enjoy the beneficence of the deity during life and after death,<sup>520</sup> though no support was given for this interpretation and, in the light of Clère’s work, it seems unlikely.

As is often hypothesised concerning rolls of fat which can be seen on many statues, baldness does have links to old age and thus carries connotations of wisdom and experience, although the extent to which this feature expresses individuality or realism is debatable.<sup>521</sup> It was certainly a significant characteristic of these statues, deliberately illustrating a particular function and relationship to the deity who is invoked in the inscriptions (invariably a goddess, mostly Hathor).<sup>522</sup> Josephson even saw it, in the case of the well-known Montuemhat of the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties, as a reflection in sculpture of his departure from an ambition to be pharaoh – the balding head shows Montuemhat’s ‘sacred’ persona as opposed to ‘profane’ which is proposed as being evident in other pieces.<sup>523</sup>

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<sup>516</sup> Clère 1995: 12.

<sup>517</sup> *Wb* I: 33, 131.

<sup>518</sup> Clère 1995: 12-13.

<sup>519</sup> For example, Josephson 2002: 624 (‘*is*-priest’).

<sup>520</sup> Foissy-Aufrère 1985: 55 (on Avignon A 35, my A.7 (=B.36)).

<sup>521</sup> Scamuzzi 1965: pl.LXX and Curto 1984: 235 (both on Turin Cat. 3018, here B.54); Clère 1995: 13.

<sup>522</sup> Foissy-Aufrère (1985: 55) also notes that it was certainly deliberate.

<sup>523</sup> Josephson 2002: 625 (discussing Cairo CG 647, A.20 (=B.84)).

It is clearly significant that the majority of the statues in Clère's 'chauve' catalogue<sup>524</sup> bear intermediary texts and thus also form the majority of my own Catalogue A. The cults of goddesses, particularly those with Hathoric characteristics, are most frequently attested as the primary cult in their inscriptions. The connection of the statue-owners with these cults thus appears to have dictated both physical appearance of their monuments as well as the inscriptions on them. Moreover, both baldness and intermediary texts complemented each other in demonstrating the statue-owner's role within the cult to an observing worshipper.

As I have stated, Clère's catalogue was instrumental in the creation of my own catalogues, and as such provides a significant number of monuments which represent the individual as balding. It should be noted here that some of the entries are included on the basis of their texts (the existence of the *is*-title, or some other indication of their baldness), not on the actual appearance of the statues.

- Catalogue A supplies eighteen examples: A.6 (=B.34), A.7 (=B.36), A.8 (=B.37), A.9, A.10 (=B.56) (Fig. 10), A.11, A.13 (=B.78), A.14, A.15, A.18 (=B.65), A.19 (=B.66), A.20 (=B.84) (Fig. 20), A.21 (=B.93), A.23 (=B.100) (Fig. 23), A.25 (=B.43), A.27 (=B.49), A.30 and A.31 (=A.31).<sup>525</sup>
- Catalogue B. Supplies fourteen examples: the thirteen also in Catalogue A, and B.54 (Fig. 70).

A.27 (=B.49) (Fig. 27) provides an example of where the text which describes the individual as an *is* is not reflected in the physical sculpture. The individual wears a wig, on the crown of

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<sup>524</sup> Clère 1995: 73-170 (eighteen monuments of 'chaves'). Pages 177-215 comprise eight monuments with comparable texts, in other words, what I class as intermediary.

<sup>525</sup> A.5 could be added to this list as it refers to ointment for the head, which has similarities to others where baldness is stated clearly.

which is a small circle, what Clère terms ‘une pastille lisse’ (‘a smooth disc’) of around 1.5cm in diameter.<sup>526</sup> The Munich statue of Senenmut (B.3) and another in the same museum, ÄS 29 (a servant of Osiris-Anedjty), also display this feature on the crown of the head. For the latter it has been described as the wig ‘issuing from an undecorated disc’:<sup>527</sup> this is likely not a small bald patch, but the disc at the confluence of the wig which held it together.

### 3.2.9 Theophores and naophores

Some scholars have interpreted sistrophorous statues as a subcategory of the theophoric type – a statue bearing an image or emblem of a deity. A theophore’s intended symbolism rests largely on the deity indicated, for this serves to supply information about context and provides clues to potential interpretations – a theophore with an Osiride figure or emblem is likely to have connotations of funerary beliefs or mortuary ritual, for instance. The naophore, where the individual supports a naos in which is often seen a figure of a deity, is understood as an associated type, with similar meaning. For instance, naophores are often considered to represent a person who was honoured with the responsibility of bearing a divine image or object (a statue or standard) during processions.<sup>528</sup> In other words, the statue-owner is shown supporting a cult object.<sup>529</sup> Bonnet saw this interpretation as relevant for both naophores and sistrophores,<sup>530</sup> implying that he felt these types of statuary were closely connected and could be categorised together. Bryan presented a similar interpretation – that statues of any form

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<sup>526</sup> Clère 1995: 119 and 120 (fig.41).

<sup>527</sup> Bothmer et al. 1960: 97.

<sup>528</sup> Drioton 1944: 93 (supporting this with reference to the inscription on the statue he examines, formerly Coll. Michaelides, whose inscription he interprets as saying ‘I carry Ptah’; the writing of the god’s name appears as *p.t.*, ‘sky’ – see pages 94-95 for commentary); Krauspe 1976: 49. Cf. statues of Senenmut: Brooklyn Inv. 67.68 (with a cryptogram), with an inscription stating that he supports Renenutet and causes her to appear, on behalf of the pharaoh. The sistrophores B.1-3 have similar texts.

<sup>529</sup> Drioton 1944: 91.

<sup>530</sup> Bonnet 1961: 95.

with divine emblems memorialised, and gave permanence to, cult participation.<sup>531</sup> Different poses chosen as the base form for naophores may represent different parts of the procession.<sup>532</sup>

The protective aspect of theophores and naophores is particularly apparent, perhaps more so than the idea that an individual carries a divine object.<sup>533</sup> In comparing naophores to statues of gods holding small figures of the king, Bonnet emphasises the symbolism of protection inherent in both types, although they are very different in meaning.<sup>534</sup> A statue of a god holding an image of a pharaoh indicates that the pharaoh receives protection from the god, and the underlying purpose is likely legitimation. On the other hand, a non-royal individual (and indeed, royal) who bears an image of a deity indicates that the image of the deity receives protection from the statue-owner, but in return the god will protect that individual and act as patron.<sup>535</sup> The statues of gods supporting kings *do* arguably represent a mutually beneficial relationship in that the king shows his allegiance to the god supporting him and his commitment to provide for that god's cult in return for divine protection, but the purpose of the statue is not to indicate the god's desire for such attentions. It certainly does not imply that the god is of lower status than the king,<sup>536</sup> as in non-royal naophores or theophores where the (larger) statue-owner is the inferior or subservient party. Ranke did not view naophores in the same way as Bonnet, believing that the protection is directed only from the larger to the smaller figure.<sup>537</sup> Even if this was the primary purpose of the statue type, it is likely that there were deeper levels of symbolism and a more complex relationship between the two parties being represented.

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<sup>531</sup> Bryan 2010: 938.

<sup>532</sup> Bonnet 1961: 96 (specifically on kneeling and block poses).

<sup>533</sup> Hill 2004: 251.

<sup>534</sup> Bonnet 1961: 91.

<sup>535</sup> Bonnet 1961: 91-92. On statues with protection formulae: Ranke 1943; Otto 1948: 456-457; Pinch 1993: 153.

<sup>536</sup> Bonnet 1961: 96.

<sup>537</sup> Ranke 1943: 109-112, esp. 110.

An alternative suggestion for sistrophores (and thus also applicable to theophores and naophores) is that they are not intended to demonstrate a protective character, but rather depict the individual *receiving* the emblem, and thus securing participation in the cult rituals.<sup>538</sup> This is not entirely inconsistent with the idea that the honour of carrying the cult image would be bestowed upon an individual. However, there is no indication that the act of receiving is the action being shown, whereas there is some evidence that sistrophores represent the individual holding or presenting the sistrum-element: the inscription on the right side of the Hathoric element on the Cairo sistrophore of Senenmut (B.1) says, *rmn=f Hw.t-Hr hr.t-tp W3s.t Mw.t nb(.t) I3rw di=f h<sup>c</sup>=s*, ‘he supports Hathor who is in Thebes, Mut lady of Isheru, and he causes her to appear’.<sup>539</sup>

With reference to sistrophores (and again, applicable to theophores and naophores), Bernhauer suggested that touching the divine element could display an act of devotion on the part of the statue-owner,<sup>540</sup> either at its sides to give the appearance that the individual is supporting it lest it fall or, in the case of sistrophores, holding the handle of the sistrum-feature and thus presenting it as a cult object or using it in its function as an instrument. Furthermore, in being close to the deity represented, the statue-owner ensures that he forges a spiritual connection, particularly where the divine element is held close to body, especially against the chest close to the heart (Fig. 56) – the deity would therefore be close to what was believed, in Egyptian thinking, to be the intellectual centre of the body; for a statue with a mediating role, this would be especially pertinent.<sup>541</sup> None of the statues in Catalogue A have

<sup>538</sup> Meyer 1982: 91; Kreißl 1989: 49.

<sup>539</sup> *Urk IV*: 413; Dorman 1988: 126 (does not include ‘Mut, lady of Isheru’ in the translation); Meyer 1982: 190, 324 (translates as Hathor *and* Mut i.e. two separate goddesses); Bonnet 1961: 96 used this as evidence for sistrophores representing roles during processions. Note that as I translate it, Mut here is assimilated with Hathor, thus appearing in her Hathoric aspect as the sistrum-element. My interpretation is based upon the singular feminine suffix that follows *h<sup>c</sup>*, ‘appear’, in spite of the two divine names mentioned.

<sup>540</sup> Bernhauer 2009: 50.

<sup>541</sup> Konrad 2011-13: 53, 56-58 (Weser, my B.28).

a sistrum-element held against the chest, so there are no such statues with inscriptions which clearly corroborate this intermediary potential. Block statues bearing naophoric or more generally theophoric features most frequently do not touch this image, maintaining the typical crossed arms. Bonnet himself admits the potential difficulties this poses for interpretation, particularly as it relates to the role of image-bearer during processions,<sup>542</sup> although it should not be assumed that just because the statue-owner is not seen to touch the object, this excludes the possibility of their interpretation as image-bearers – an Egyptian observer may have understood this even without an overt representation of it.

Another conceivable motive for erecting a theophore would be to show an affiliation with certain deities, which could reflect one's own personal beliefs or could express other motivations, such as a desire to display political authority or to integrate into the local surroundings by paying homage to a local deity.<sup>543</sup>

Comments have now been made on various statue types and features and their potential meaning. There has been some reference to the significance of the type for intermediary statues and for sistrophores, but the iconography and purpose of the sistrophorous type should be considered in more detail.

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<sup>542</sup> Bonnet 1961: 96-97.

<sup>543</sup> Farid 1983: 65-66 (on my B.38). See Leahy 2011: 209 and 216 on possible motivations, including political considerations, behind the erection of monuments and the composition of their inscriptions, particularly in an area in which the individual was not a local.

### 3.3 Sistrophores (Catalogue B)

It is notable that a significant majority of the statues in Catalogue A (Intermediaries) are sistrophores: nineteen out of the thirty-one monuments tabulated are definite or probable sistrophores. Due to their number within the intermediary corpus, it seems that sistrophores must have been regarded as a particularly suitable statue type for the intermediary role being portrayed. As a type, there are at least 105, first appearing in the name of Senenmut (Hatshepsut's high official) and with the last significant group deriving from the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, but mostly dating to the Ramesside period.<sup>544</sup> These are collated in Catalogue B. Selections of this corpus have been commented upon in short essays, but have never appeared in an in-depth study; J. J. Clère had intended to embark on such a project,<sup>545</sup> but unfortunately this never came to fruition. The main elements of analysis in the scholarship will be covered, but first some comments should be made about the sistrophores and how their features have changed over time.

#### 3.3.1 Features of sistrophores

Specific aspects of the sistrophore and the sistrum-element can be examined individually to provide insight into the variety of styles represented as well as changes over time: overall statue type; overall rendering of the sistrum-element; the goddess's face size and shape; wig type; headdress type, size and additional decoration; jewellery (including other jewellery on the statue); and handle style. Additional iconographical features on the statue related to the sistrum-element or complementing it are also worth noting, as well as the height of the

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<sup>544</sup> Possible very late examples may date from the Twenty-seventh Dynasty or even the Thirtieth (Bernhauer 2010: 49, ns.47-48).

<sup>545</sup> Clère 1970.

sistrophores, the goddess named and the gender of the statue-owner. The quantitative analysis is dealt with in full in Appendix Four, but since several of these features may ultimately impact interpretation of the element as a whole, it would be worth summarising the findings here. This also allows for some additional notes relating to Catalogue A sistrophores specifically.

### 3.3.1.1 Statue type

It has already been noted that a majority of sistrophores (forty-one, with ten possible) take the kneeling pose, followed by the block type (thirty-nine, and one probable), then by considerably smaller numbers of standing, seated and cross-legged statues. The kneeling type is the earliest known and also the predominant type in the Eighteenth Dynasty. The block type was preferred by Ramesside sculptors, but the kneeling form enjoyed a relative resurgence in popularity in the Late Period whilst also not having disappeared entirely from the sistrophorous canon in the Ramesside period. Indeed Russmann suggested that kneeling sistrophores of the Late Period may not be indicative of archaism since both pose and symbol never went out of use.<sup>546</sup>

For intermediary sistrophores the majority are block formed (twelve<sup>547</sup>) with less than half that number kneeling (three, plus two likely<sup>548</sup>), and one each cross-legged and sitting.<sup>549</sup> There are none which stand. The significant difference in the ratio of kneeling to block when compared to the whole sistrophore corpus could be attributed to the need for room for pertinent texts, or an attempt to make the statue durable in anticipation of greater visitor-

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<sup>546</sup> Russmann 2001: 236.

<sup>547</sup> A.6 (=B.34), A.7 (=B.36), A.8 (=B.37), A.10 (=B.56), A.12 (=B.77), A.17 (=B.64), A.18 (=B.65), A.19 (=B.66), A.26 (=B.47), A.27 (=B.49), A.28 (=B.67) and A.31 (=B.68).

<sup>548</sup> A.3 (=B.12), A.21 (=B.93) and A.25 (=B.43), and A.20 (=B.84) and A.23 (=B.100).

<sup>549</sup> A.4 (=B.19) and A.13 (=B.78) respectively.

interaction and high footfall near doorway locations. In terms of dating, the same overall pattern of kneeling and block forms enjoying prevalence, in the Eighteenth Dynasty and Late Period and the Ramesside Period respectively, can be observed for intermediaries. Only two surviving kneeling intermediaries date prior to the Late Period, however: A.3 (=B.12) (Eighteenth Dynasty) and A.25 (=B.43) (Nineteenth Dynasty).

### 3.3.1.2 Overall style of the sistrum-element

It will be seen in §3.3.2 that identification of the sistrum-feature can vary, and it is argued here that the variety is in part due to the differing execution of this component. In some cases it appears to be a three-dimensional object (for example, Fig. 34) and in others it is carved in raised relief (for example, Fig. 76) (in only one instance it is sunken relief – B.27 (Fig. 55)). Kneeling statues, for the most part, clearly exhibit the former style, which is thus very well-represented in the catalogue: the sistrum-feature is usually shown being held in front of the statue-owner, the handle resting on the ground between the knees, although there are five exceptions:

- B.4, which supports the Hathoric element on his lap (Fig. 35)
- B.11, which holds a small sistrum-element at the top of his thighs, slightly to the left, so that it leans against the left of his chest (Fig. 43)
- B.23, which exhibits a half-kneeling position, with the right hand raised to the mouth and with an object held on the left thigh<sup>550</sup> (Fig. 51)
- B.42, which holds the handle of an object at the top of his thighs

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<sup>550</sup> Clère believed this statue to be a sistrophore. See my note in the catalogue entry.

- B.54, which holds a small sistrum-element on his left thigh, so that it rests against his left shoulder (Fig. 70)

Block form is the primary type which displays the other style, with the Hathoric element in raised relief on the front. However, seventeen block sistrophores (and one further probable) have relief so high as to suggest three-dimensionality. Two other sistrophores (B.86, kneeling (Fig. 88), and B.28, sitting (Fig. 56); B.42 may be similar) also execute the sistrum-element in a composite way which complicates identification as an actual object or a symbol.

Even where we might expect a three-dimensional object to be portrayed – that is, where the small size of the feature is more akin to a real sistrum – there is variety in the overall execution. There are thus no obvious trends in the choice of style, and this remains true when considering factors such as time period or goddess named. The variation is also perceptible for the subset of intermediary sistrophores, where high raised relief and three-dimensional Hathoric elements are seen (or reconstructed) on seven statues each,<sup>551</sup> and less prominent relief is seen on four.<sup>552</sup> The tendency towards three-dimensionality arguably reflects the statue-owners' aim to accentuate their connection to the goddess and to highlight the purpose of the statue. It therefore suggests a level of decision-making behind the form.

In general, however, while input from the commissioner cannot be discounted, it appears that execution was probably at the behest of the sculptor. That so few of the block statues clearly resemble each other, beside the fact that there is a Hathoric feature, suggests that sistrophores were a known part of the sculptural canon in various workshops throughout Egypt, but there was no single accepted style. Kneeling statues also show diversity but overall

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<sup>551</sup> Relief: A.7 (=B.36), A.8 (=B.37), A.12 (=B.77), A.17 (=B.64), A.19 (=B.66), A.28 (=B.67) and A.31 (=B.68); three dimensional: A.3 (=B.12), A.20 (=B.84), A.21 (=B.93), A.23 (=B.100), A.25 (=B.43) [all kneeling], A.4 (=B.19) [cross-legged], and A.13 (=B.78) [sitting].

<sup>552</sup> A.6 (B.34), A.10 (=B.56), A.26 (=B.47) and A.27 (=B.49). The style cannot be determined for A.18 (=B.65).

they are a more cohesive stylistic group. Perhaps this can be attributed to the desire to replicate the original form of sistrophores as seen in the sculpture of well-known Senenmut.

### 3.3.1.3 The face of the goddess

It has been mentioned that the sistrum-element can be rendered on a small scale, meaning that the face of the goddess is smaller than that of the individual (Figs. 48 and 50). A small number show her face larger, but for the majority (around 60%), the face is approximately the same size as that of the statue-owner. For the seventeen intermediary sistrophores in which it can be observed, or reconstructed, this percentage is lower at 47% (with 35% smaller and 18% larger), but still comprises the majority.<sup>553</sup> This similarity in size was noted by Keller with regard to one of Senenmut's statues,<sup>554</sup> but no further remarks were made about its potential significance; for how this may be interpreted, see §3.3.2.2.2.

The shape of the goddess's face can be categorised into six main types: triangular (for example, Fig. 81), rhomboid (Fig. 57), oval (Fig. 52), round (Fig. 53), inverted pear-shape (Fig. 37), or pentagonal (Fig. 93), although the first three are often difficult to differentiate. These three are attested from all periods, but the pentagonal shape, attested just once in both Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties, comprises an increased proportion of Late Period sistrophores. Another feature of the pentagonal face in the Late Period is a very flat profile, narrow eyes and a broad nose.

There is probably little or no significance in the shape of the face for intermediary sistrophores. Of the fourteen in which the face can be seen (out of nineteen), all but two are

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<sup>553</sup> Similar size: A.3 (=B.12), A.17 (=B.64), A.18 (=B.65), A.21 (=B.93), A.25 (=B.43), A.26 (=B.47) and A.27 (=B.49); smaller: A.4 (=B.19), A.7 (=B.36), A.8 (=B.37), A.10 (=B.56), A.13 (=B.78) and A.28 (=B.67); larger: A.12 (=B.77), A.19 (=B.66) and A.31 (=B.68). It cannot be determined for A.20 (=B.84) or A.23 (=B.100).

<sup>554</sup> Keller 2005: 125 (CG 579, here B.1).

Ramesside (the exceptions are A.3 (=B.12; Eighteenth Dynasty) and A.21 (=B.93; Twenty-sixth Dynasty), and only the inverted pear-shape is not represented by a Ramesside intermediary monument (only A.3 (=B.12) has this shape); it is, of course, the least attested shape overall.

#### 3.3.1.4 The wig of the goddess

The goddess most frequently wears a wig with straight lappets – the spiral wig is only attested three times (B.6, B.80 and B.89 (Figs. 37, 85 and 90 respectively) and on only one sistrophore the goddess has no wig at all (B.86 (Fig. 88), which is an unusual sistrophore in other ways). The straight wig is normally striated with decorative bands, although a significant minority remain undecorated (unless detail was added in paint). The undecorated types are proportionally better represented in the Late Period than previously, and there is also greater variety in the later era.

Intermediary sistrophore show a similar preference for straight, striated wigs with decorative bands, seen on nine out of the fifteen where the wig is visible.<sup>555</sup> It could be purported that this is to make the goddess more decorative and therefore more conspicuous and realistic, in order to attract attention to the statues' role, but since this is the most common style for sistrophores generally, this analysis is probably overworked. On three intermediaries each is the wig unstriated with bands and undecorated.<sup>556</sup> For the latter, the statues are from each of the main three periods – Eighteenth Dynasty, Nineteenth Dynasty and Twenty-sixth

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<sup>555</sup> A.7 (=B.36), A.8 (=B.37), A.10 (=B.56), A.13 (=B.78), A.17 (=B.64), A.19 (=B.66), A.25 (=B.43), A.28 (=B.67) and A.31 (=B.68).

<sup>556</sup> Unstriated with bands: A.12 (=B.77), A.26 (=B.47) and A.27 (=B.49); undecorated: A.3 (=B.12), A.6 (=B.34) and A.21 (=B.93).

Dynasty – but it is unlikely that there is any significance to be read in this, especially as they are so few in number.

### 3.3.1.5 Headdress: modius and naos

The headdress worn by the goddess is primarily in two parts – the modius (flat-topped cylindrical headdress, alternatively called a *kalathos*) and the naos – and the corpus provides evidence for combinations of the two (Fig. 42), each one individually (Fig. 33, naos-only; Fig. 27, modius-only), or neither (Fig. 74). Most sistrophores, in almost all periods, have both, and the next most common type, modius-only, is significantly less frequent. It is, however, better attested on the block type, presumably because when carving the Hathoric element in relief the space available on the front of the statue was somewhat restricted.

Of the fifteen intermediary sistrophores in which the headdress of the goddess survives or can be reasonably guessed, a slim majority of eight have the combined headdress,<sup>557</sup> compared to six modius-only and one naos-only.<sup>558</sup> The earliest- and latest-dated intermediaries both have the combined headdress, and all three types appear in the Nineteenth Dynasty.

The Nineteenth Dynasty group of sistrophores overall demonstrates the most diversity in headdress, with all variations attested, unsurprising given that the greatest number of sistrophores as an overall type derive from the Ramesside period. It may also reflect changes in attitudes towards the imagery of the sistrum and the importance of its various components, thereby moving away from its function as a musical instrument and focusing more on the

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<sup>557</sup> A.3 (=B.12), A.7 (=B.36), A.8 (=B.37), A.10 (=B.56), A.13 (=B.78), A.21 (=B.93), A.25 (=B.43) and A.28 (=B.67).

<sup>558</sup> Modius-only: A.6 (=B.34), A.12 (=B.77), A.17 (=B.64), A.19 (=B.66), A.27 (=B.49) and A.31 (=B.68); naos-only: A.26 (=B.47).

goddess herself. This would be pertinent for intermediaries emphasising their divine connections with an active deity. Alternatively, it perhaps represents such consistency in the interpretation of the sistrum's use that it could be stylised in sculpture without its symbolism being lost. This is particularly pertinent where we have seen the rise in numbers of modius-only headdresses on sistrophores in the Ramesside period; this effectively removes the sound-producing part of the sistrum, and calls into question whether this is indeed intended to represent a sistrum or is in fact another Hathoric symbol (§3.3.2.1, esp. pages 229-230).

### 3.3.1.6 Headdress: size, naos-shape, and decoration

We can also look in more detail at aspects of the headdress: the size relative to the whole Hathoric element, the shape of the naos-part, and additional features (here called 'decoration', although they can also serve an ideological purpose, to be covered in §3.3.2.3).

The lack of the naos part of the headdress certainly invites thought as to whether the Hathoric element's symbolism as a sistrum is changed, reduced or non-existent, as has been insinuated in the previous section. Perhaps associated with these cases are sistrophores where the naos part exists but appears reduced in height proportional to the rest of the Hathoric element (in other words, it is broader than it is tall), or where the stylistic details on the naos, such as the width of the volutes, give a similar impression. It is not an especially common characteristic. Of the nine intermediary sistrophores in which the naos is sufficiently preserved, two show this feature (Figs. 10 and 26),<sup>559</sup> with a further two where the reduction is slight or the naos appears more square (Figs. 7 and 28).<sup>560</sup> All are Ramesside. That this amounts to almost half of the surviving monuments is not necessarily noteworthy – the

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<sup>559</sup> A.10 (=B.56) and A.26 (=B.47).

<sup>560</sup> A.7 (=B.36) and A.28 (=B.67).

numbers available are, of course, small. When combined with the intermediary sistrophores that have only a modius-headdress (that is, grouping together monuments in which the sound-producing part of the sistrum is non-existent or made less prominent), the total is still not particularly significant statistically.

In most cases where the naos is short, no further decoration appears in the naos-opening, most likely for the practical reasons of less space but also possibly for the same potential reason the whole naos has been executed in this shortened fashion; the reduction in height of the naos, like the cases where the naos is not there at all, places emphasis on the face of the goddess rather than the Hathoric element as a musical instrument. If this is the case, it can be surmised that other details, such as uraei sculpted in the opening of the naos, were not included as part of this emphasis on the face.

Naos of unusual proportions are seen most frequently in the Eighteenth Dynasty, but overall there is no obvious chronological pattern, unlike the increasing proportions of modius-only types during the Ramesside period. This suggests that these styles are not linked as part of an artistic or ideological (religious) development. On the other hand, it may be that they were styles motivated by similar, but independently conceived, thought processes – that the naos could be altered to be less prominent without affecting the symbolism of the object or its association to a Hathoric goddess – and naos with reduced heights just happen to be an earlier-attested manifestation.

The volutes either side of the naos are likely stylised cow-horns, derived from the iconography of the goddess Bat which was incorporated into that of Hathor as she is seen on sistra and similar objects: front-facing, triangular face with cow-ears and inward-curling horns.<sup>561</sup> There are only three sistrophores where the naos-headdress is not framed by volutes

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<sup>561</sup> Manniche 2001 and Fischer 1962.

(B.31, B.50 (Fig. 67) and B.98), and four which have a very small set (B.11, B.14, B.45 and B.75 (Fig. 83)). Their numbers are low enough, particularly compared to the number of statues which do have volutes, to assume that this is just the consequence of an individual sculptor's style. All of the sufficiently preserved intermediary sistrophores with a naos have volutes. In A.8 (=B.37) and A.26 (=B.47) they are noticeably wide-set, and thus are especially reminiscent of horns; on the latter statue in particular they contribute to the impression of a naos being proportionately reduced in height.

Additional decoration is defined here as the presence of uraei, sun-disks and other iconographical images appearing somewhere on the naos. Most common is a single uraeus, with or without a sun-disk headdress, in the naos-opening (Fig. 46). No decoration at all is the next most frequently attested but in significantly lower numbers. This is reflected in intermediary sistrophores, with five definitely having a uraeus in the opening (and two further possible but are either worn or damaged),<sup>562</sup> and two having no decoration (for example, Fig. 26).<sup>563</sup> Four sistrophores, all from the time of Hatshepsut, have a uraeus, with sun-disk and cow-horns, flanked by *ka*-arms (B.2, B.3, B.4 and B.5), this being a cryptogram of the pharaoh's prenomen, Maatkare.<sup>564</sup> That sistrophores after this period do not feature this particular uraeus corresponds well with the ideological distancing from the reign of the female pharaoh.<sup>565</sup>

The fact that the presence of a uraeus or no decoration are the most numerous types mirrors the most common appearance of the naos-opening in naos *sistra* themselves. To my

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<sup>562</sup> A.3 (=B.12), A.8 (=B.37), A.21 (=B.93), A.25 (=B.43) and A.28 (=B.67); possible: A.7 (=B.36) and A.13 (=B.78).

<sup>563</sup> A.10 (=B.56) and A.26 (=B.47).

<sup>564</sup> Meyer 1982: 80-81; Keller 2005: 125, n.1.

<sup>565</sup> Cf. Laboury 2006: 267, where it is argued that the facial features on the sculpture of Thutmose III changes so that they show less resemblance to statues of Hatshepsut after her death.

knowledge there are no sistra surviving with a sun-disk or other feature in the opening.<sup>566</sup> As will be explored in §3.3.2.3.1-2, it is possible that certain aspects of the decoration of sistra on sistrophores were motivated by royal ideology, and in the Eighteenth Dynasty the naos-opening could have represented a means of demonstrating this, but in later periods this was no longer the case. As such, the choice of a uraeus (or nothing) in the opening simply paralleled the usual decoration for sistra, with no ideological foundation. The presence of cartouches is also potentially related to royal ideology and is likewise to be considered below.

A feature which has been understood as a stylistic marker for dating sistrophores is the presence of decoration on the sides of the naos,<sup>567</sup> which includes uraei in niches and papyrus plants bisecting the goddess's wig (Fig. 38). Whilst overall low in numbers, there is a clear preference for such characteristics in the Eighteenth Dynasty on kneeling statues, and it does not seem to have been adopted during the Late Period when kneeling sistrophores were again produced in significant numbers. Most intermediary sistrophores do not show this feature, which is mostly a consequence of the fact that few represent the statue-owner kneeling – A.3 (=B.12) (Fig. 3), the only Eighteenth Dynasty kneeling sistrophore, has side niches with uraei, therefore fitting with the overall pattern. However, it is worth noting that the damaged A.13 (=B.78), which is dated to the Twentieth Dynasty and shows the individual on a seat, also bears traces of side-niches.

The trend for embellishing the naos with any additional feature was strongest in the early history of the sistrophore, although this statement must be tempered a little by the fact that fewer sistrophores from later periods are preserved sufficiently. The Eighteenth Dynasty sees the most variety represented, as well as the most sistrophores with more than one feature

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<sup>566</sup> Late Period arched sistra can have a cat in this part of the headdress. See for instance, Louvre AF 6859 (Ziegler 1979: 35 and 58 (no. 73)). Rarely, two-dimensional representations of naos-sistra can show different animals: a stela showing a Hathoric feature with naos-headdress from Deir el-Bahari has a falcon in the opening, and either side of the naos (Navelle and Hall 1913: pl.XXXII.1).

<sup>567</sup> Bernhauer 2009: 46-47; Bernhauer 2010: 50.

on their naos. From the late Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties we see a reduction in the types of decoration used – in two cases from this period even the volutes are dispensed with, and only rarely is more than one decorative feature used on the naos in the Late Period. There is a small increase in the direct links between the naos and a royal presence in the form of cartouches or relief scenes during the Nineteenth Dynasty, but given the small numbers and the fact that an Eighteenth Dynasty statue also attests to the use of cartouches on the naos, there is probably little that can be gleaned from this.

### 3.3.1.7 Jewellery

Decorative features can appear elsewhere on the Hathoric element. The goddess usually wears a *wesekh*-collar, which can be executed in one of three styles, whereby the collar is indistinctive (Fig. 76), is more visible (Fig. 69), or is notably wide (Fig. 83). On B.75 and B.89 (Fig. 90), the Hathoric element has the appearance of an aegis, comparable to a statue with an aegis of Selket from the Twenty-fifth Dynasty (British Museum EA 514); Clère in fact included this statue in his corpus of sistrophores.<sup>568</sup> Its form recalls the counterpoise of a *menit*-necklace, so it may be related to the corpus, but it is not included in my catalogue. *Menit*-necklaces themselves, more-or-less realistically proportioned, do appear on some sistrophores, being carried by the statue-owner (Fig. 6), so are not directly associated with the Hathoric element but certainly complement the symbolism. For intermediaries, the *menit*-necklace further underlines the statue-owner's position within the cult of the goddess, and lends them more authority to contact her, but only five include one.<sup>569</sup>

<sup>568</sup> Clère 1970: 2 n.6; Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list) and 05.02 ('statue agenouillée avec une ménat au lieu du sistre').

<sup>569</sup> A.4 (=B.19), A.6 (=B.34), A.12 (=B.77), A.18 (=B.65), and A.27 (=B.49). Note that A.5, which is not strictly speaking a sistrophore but has a similar feature on the front, also bears a *menit*-necklace.

Statue B.86 (Fig. 88) is one of the more unusual monuments in the corpus, partly in the technique used to produce the Hathoric element (raised relief on a stela-like block), and partly because of the appearance of the element itself. With the lack of wig and *tit*-knot handle, it resembles Hathoric or Bat necklaces attested on several statues being worn by the individual depicted.<sup>570</sup> It is conceivable that the statue-owner, or the sculptor, drew inspiration from earlier kneeling sistrophores, but that the style was informed by necklaces and amulets.

### 3.3.1.8 Handle

The handle style also attests to a preference for more elaborate characteristics in earlier sistrophores, like the naos decoration: the *tit*-knot is used in place of a straight handle in a small number of cases, five of which are from the early Eighteenth Dynasty (for example, Fig. 41) and two of which are from the Late Period. Like B.86 just mentioned, this is reminiscent of Bat necklaces. Of the rest, a straight handle is seen on a majority of the corpus (and all of the intermediary sistrophores), with a few minor variations.

### 3.3.1.9 Additional features

Some additional iconographical features appearing on individual statues cannot be categorised in the above sections, but serve to decorate and potentially add meaning to the symbolism of the sistrophore.

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<sup>570</sup> For example: British Museum, EA 1726, Cairo CG 606, CG 898, CG 42167 and CG 42211. Some do not have the *tit*-knot handle, such as JE 36992 (straight) and Brooklyn MFA 16.580.186 (strips of cloth(?)). Note that the scholarship usually refers to this as a Bat-emblem (e.g. Wilkinson 1971: 33-36), but in the examples given here, none have Bat's characteristic curved horns. See also non-statuary, such as a block of stone from the tomb of Iryiry, showing the tomb owner lifting a *djed*-pillar whilst wearing a Hathoric amulet: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek ÆIN 45 (Jørgensen 1998: 226).

B.14 (Fig. 44) is a unique statue in the corpus in that the Hathoric element is incorporated into a lotiform basin. B.38, B.39 and B.64 (=A.17) have relief scenes (on the sides of the seat, either side of the handle of the Hathoric element and on the back pillar respectively) showing sistrum and *menit*-players; on B.39 they are male youths labelled with a cartouche, presumably a reference to the ritual responsibilities of prince Khaemwaset, to whom the statue belongs. One of the figures is also captioned *ihī*, making a connection to the role of sistrum-player and Hathor's son Ihy, who himself is a personification of the action of sistrum-playing. On B.37 (=A.8) a scene on top of the naos shows the pharaoh kneeling before a Hathor cow, potentially based on a statue representing a similar arrangement (JE 38574).<sup>571</sup>

I have unfortunately been unable to acquire much information about block statue B.82, but there are divine emblems appearing on the side, including those of Osiris and Mehyt. The latter, therefore, is the deity with whom I have identified the Hathoric element.

Further imagery which is likely to have divine connections is the presence of animals. Uraeus-snakes, of course, are a frequent addition to the headdress of the Hathoric element, but on B.76 there are two further uraei either side of the face of the goddess, the one to her right with the White Crown and to her left with the Red Crown. B.85 has two seated cats either side of the handle of the object being supported (Fig. 87); the presence of the cats makes it likely that this is a Hathoric element because of parallels on other monuments.<sup>572</sup> On B.105 the already elaborate Hathoric features are topped by reclining falcons (Fig. 101) – see §3.3.2.2.1 on animal symbolism.

The only other notable feature exhibited by one of the statues in the corpus is the fly-necklace worn by the statue-owner of B.23 (Fig. 51). This is argued to be a military award

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<sup>571</sup> Romano et al 1979: 149.

<sup>572</sup> Perdu 2009: esp. 460-461.

given during the Eighteenth Dynasty,<sup>573</sup> and thus has little relevance to the corpus of sistrophores other than it provides an indication of this individual's status. The presence of the Hathoric element is only conjectural, and in fact seems to me fairly unlikely – the broken left hand may simply have been resting on the thigh rather than holding an object, perhaps palm up in order to receive offerings. Nevertheless, the statue is shown with the *Bittgestus* pose (the right hand held to the mouth), which is attested on several sistrophores, so it has been included in the catalogue, although with necessary caution.

It is also worthwhile here mentioning the smaller number of inscriptions which are significant in the context of communication with deities. The connection between Senenmut (B.1-3) supporting the Hathoric element, and the resultant appearance of the goddess, with standard-bearing has already been established (see footnote 528). B.76 and B.98 both describe the statue-owner as one who opens the doors of the sky and the temple respectively – in the former this allows the god to be seen, and B.28 and B.54 are both called 'guardians' (*s3.w(ty)*) of the temple. There are undeniable connections with mediation and elite control of religious practices here, providing parallels for the intermediary statues and for their door-keeper function. Finally, B.18 and B.63 both attribute hearing epithets to deities named: in the former, Ptah,<sup>574</sup> and in the latter Iusaeus.

### 3.3.1.10 The heights of sistrophores

I have undertaken a detailed consideration of the heights of sistrophores, including averages and outliers, in the accompanying Appendix. Since only thirty-three of the corpus (less than a

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<sup>573</sup> Marshall 2015: 39-47.

<sup>574</sup> Note, however, that the primary goddess, Hathor, is not given similar epithets.

third) are preserved to their full height, estimates have been required to include those with relatively minimal damage in the figures, so that the sample size is larger.

Notwithstanding the obvious issues with this method, if we were to assume the results are representative, the average statue height is around half a metre or just below. There is a slight decrease in the height of the average statue through the New Kingdom, possibly continuing into the pre- or early-Saite period, followed by a return to Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Dynasty heights in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.

Kneeling and block types both attest to heights from across the size range. It could be argued that standing statues have inherent connotations of height, and yet the three standing statues which are sufficiently preserved include two of the smallest from the corpus. I propose that this goes some way to explain why standing poses are not well attested in the catalogues, in addition to the comments made above in §3.2.2 – in order to make the statues more approachable (and affordable), heights were reduced, but this may have had the effect of contradicting some of the associations of standing or striding poses with authority.

The size of a statue could have had implications for its function and effectiveness as a memorial or intermediary. I have already discussed the potential for statues being used as door-stops and alluded to the height of the base as a means of making the statue more conspicuous as well as protecting it by keeping it further from the ground. The majority of the statues considered here are of a reasonable size to expect that they could have been set up in temples with the intention of interacting with observers and being a noticeable part of the ritual landscape. For much smaller statues, particularly those under 0.20m (B.105, B.98, B.47 (=A.26) and B.71), it is far more difficult to envisage a similar dynamic and interactive function. Note, however, that B.47 is actually one of the statues in my catalogue of

intermediaries (A.26), albeit in the ‘Implicit’ group; A.24 is approximately the same height.<sup>575</sup> As a result there is a discord between their size and their purpose as I have interpreted it from the inscriptions. We can only speculate as to the intended locations and visibility of these statues – perhaps in smaller chapels or raised on altars.

### 3.3.1.11 Goddess named

The sistrum-element on the front of the statue by its very appearance refers to a female deity, with a female, bovine face being the central feature of the element. In most cases this is corroborated by the inscriptions, or can be assumed from the findspot, although in twenty-four cases this is not possible, because of damage to the inscription (or lack of inscription), lack of reference to a goddess, and unknown or uncertain provenance.<sup>576</sup>

Hathor is named in a little under half of the statues and Mut around a quarter. Isis is the next most frequent but with only six known. Hathor is also most frequent on intermediary sistrophores, occurring on ten of the nineteen, compared to four naming Isis and three Mut.<sup>577</sup> Various other goddesses are named including Mehyt (including on one intermediary sistrophore<sup>578</sup>) Nebethetpet, Werethekau (including on one intermediary sistrophore<sup>579</sup>), Sekhmet, Iunit, and Bastet. The Nineteenth Dynasty has the most variety, although the Eighteenth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties also have a relatively large number of goddesses mentioned. Although Hathor is the most prevalent deity in relation to sistrophores overall, there may be a slight increase in preference for Mut instead in the Late Period, although it is

<sup>575</sup> Most other statues in Catalogue A were much taller, being around the averages calculated here or above. A.12 (Khaemipet), also B.77, at 0.28m, is one of the other smaller intermediaries, but is still a reasonable size.

<sup>576</sup> In three cases, B. 81, B.87 and B.104, I have knowledge only of the statue’s existence, but very little detail.

<sup>577</sup> Hathor: A.4 (=B.19), A.6 (=B.34), A.7 (=B.36), A.8 (=B.37), A.12 (=B.77), A.18 (=B.65), A.19 (=B.66), A.21 (=B.93), A.27 (=B.49) and A.28 (=B.67); Isis: A.13 (=B.78), A.17 (=B.64), A.23 (=B.100) and A.25 (=B.43); Mut: A.3 (=B.12), A.20 (=B.84) and A.31 (=B.68).

<sup>578</sup> A.10 (=B.56).

<sup>579</sup> A.26 (=B.47).

difficult to be certain given the comparatively small number of statues which survive. Note that in non-sistrophore intermediaries, Hathor is still the most frequently attested deity (six out of twelve<sup>580</sup>), and also that on the remaining six, half invoke female deities and half male as the primary object of communication.<sup>581</sup>

The statues which are associated with Hathor derive from a great number of different locations, although around half are from the area of the Theban necropolis, whereas almost all of those which mention Mut are from the Karnak temple complex. The use of the sistrophore, therefore, was restricted to the Theban area for the cult of Mut, but not for the cult of Hathor. Given that the sistrum has the strongest associations with Hathor, it is to be expected that sistrophores are connected to various Hathoric cults throughout the country. The greater proportion found in Western Thebes is likely due to the activity of Senenmut in Deir el-Bahari, and also reflects the strong Hathor cult there. Furthermore, it is also suggestive of a particular form of cult whereby sistrophorous statues were seen as particularly relevant; sistrophores make up a significant number of intermediary statues, which facilitate communication between human and divine (the deity invoked by intermediaries is most frequently Hathor). The sistrophore, as it will be argued, is especially suitable for communication with goddesses because of the symbolism of the sistrum. Therefore, the prevalence of sistrophores (not just the intermediary type) originating from Western Thebes points to a popular cult of Hathor in which worshippers believed they could contact the goddess.

The existence of the sistrophore in the cult of Mut in Karnak can be attributed again to Senenmut – B.1, though dedicated to Hathor, or at least Mut in a Hathoric form, was found in the Mut complex – and possibly to an awareness of the existence of sistrophores in Western

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<sup>580</sup> A.5, A.9, A.11, A.15, A.29 and A.30.

<sup>581</sup> Female: A.11, A.16 and A.22; male: A.1, A.2 and A.24.

Thebes. The relevance of sistrophores to the cult of a listening deity is also applicable here: Mut is attested associated with the sistrum-element or intermediary phrases in the inscriptions of intermediary statues, albeit much less frequently than Hathor. Mut's consort in Karnak, Amun, is known to have had a hearing-ear cult (and is invoked by the first two known intermediary statues, A.1 and A.2), so it is reasonable to suggest that the existence of sistrophores in the Karnak cult of Mut is related to communication with that goddess as part of a popular cult in that region.

To a lesser extent there appears to have been similar religious sentiment in the cult of Mehyt (and Onuris) in the Thinite region, and in the temple of Montu at Armant (B.3 and B.38 are both likely from there, but refer to different goddesses). Cases in which goddesses are attested on a single sistrophore, or sistrophores which are the single example from a particular region, are likely not indicative of widespread expression of popular beliefs related to communication with numerous goddesses, but are exceptions – they are occasions where one individual has adopted the sistrophore for their own specific, personal beliefs in connection to a local deity (perhaps their patron or tutelary deity). These include B.18, from Elephantine naming Satet, B.103, from El Kab naming Nekhbet, B.27, naming Bastet and therefore possibly from Tell Basta, and B.97, likely from Mendes and therefore potentially dedicated to Hat-mehyt.

### 3.3.1.12 Female statue-owners

Only two statues in this catalogue depict women (B.31 and B.32). B.32 (Fig. 48) is particularly unusual, being one of only two known kneeling theophoric statues of women.<sup>582</sup>

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<sup>582</sup> Hill 2004: 251 n.72 – the other being CG 42304.

Unfortunately on neither statue from the sistrophore corpus are inscriptions preserved, so we cannot ascertain the statue-owner's status and occupation.

No intermediary sistrophore represents a woman. In my first catalogue only A.22 (Mutsepy/Mutmuty) of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty is female, and even here her son claims to have set it up on her behalf, reducing her own agency. It has been shown in the previous section that female deities are, unsurprisingly, connected to the sistrum-feature on sistrophores, and that they are most often the primary target for communication involving intermediary statues. In the observations on hearing epithets (§1.3.3.5), I noted that there may be some significance in the longevity of epithets with female connotations, and showed that to Hathor is applied a noteworthy number of such appellations, tallying behind only Amun and Horus.<sup>583</sup> The concept of hearing gods and the ability to form a communicative bond with deities seems, therefore, to have manifested in beliefs and cultic activities in which the feminine played a significant part. Predictably, this is not reflected in the statues that relate to these activities – human women in all levels of society are depicted in formal art with far less frequency than men, and normally in a secondary role, as a relative or servant. Their activities in religious contexts also appear less prominent than those of men,<sup>584</sup> and only rarely do they hold high ritual positions.<sup>585</sup> Intermediaries and sistrophores, nevertheless, indicate the potential for future investigations into the role of gender in specific religious activities: hearing gods are both male and female, and indeed most frequently male, but the most common deities invoked by the (primarily male) statues are female. For instance, this may

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<sup>583</sup> As was acknowledged there, the survival of Edfu and Dendera could have had an impact on these numbers (and would also partly explain the prominence of Horus), but nevertheless the intermediary corpus suggests that, well before the floruit of Edfu and Dendera temples, the cult of Hathor was open to the idea that she was a listening deity.

<sup>584</sup> Cf. Szpakowska (2012: 28) who acknowledges that men are shown more often and in a greater range of roles, but suggests that women's roles could have been considered just as important for the efficacy of rituals.

<sup>585</sup> We might think of the God's Wife of Amun, a role introduced in the New Kingdom which enjoyed particular importance in the Third Intermediate Period (Ayad 2009). On women in Egypt generally, see especially Watterson 1991 and Robins 1993.

reveal attitudes towards female deities regarding their importance in personal beliefs and everyday life (as a symbol of the domestic and familiar, perhaps), or determine if their gender had any influence on whether they were perceived as more accessible or receptive to messages.

### 3.3.1.13 Concluding observations on the features of sistrophores and the Hathoric element

This examination of the various features of sistrophores with particular emphasis on a diachronic survey, as properly detailed in the appendix, shows that there is great diversity in the execution of sistrophorous statues, and indeed that few sistrophores are closely alike. Even though they are all connected through the presence of the Hathoric element and there are some overall stylistic trends discernable, the choice of form and the details of decoration vary enormously.

The majority refer to Hathor and Mut, which would suggest a certain level of consistency in the purpose of sistrophores – they are connected primarily to the cults of these two goddesses, partly as a way of being involved in the cult activities, as is argued for theophores and naophores, but also to facilitate a communicative bond with these goddesses. However, the execution of specific details on these monuments seems to have been left mostly to individual preference and individual sculptors, rather than a standardised form, and consequently they represent a particularly personal phenomenon. This provides an explanation for their predominance in the intermediary catalogue: the sistrophorous style was adopted by prospective statue-owners within the context of a popular cult, which was based on the establishment of communicative relationships between individual people and an

individual god; just as the religious practices were grounded in personal behaviour, so was the creation of the statues which inhabited that religious landscape.

The preceding paragraphs, and the accompanying Appendix Four, are based on a quantitative methodology. I will now turn to an examination of and reflection on the many interpretations of this statue type in scholarship.

### 3.3.2 The interpretation of sistrophores

The discussions surrounding sistrophores in the available literature focus on a three main queries, which have some overlap: the identification of the sistrum-like element; the purpose of the statues and the sistrum-like element; and the sistrophore's place within the broader context of Egyptian statuary. These three strands of investigation will be considered in turn.

#### 3.3.2.1 The identification of the sistrum-like element

The first of the three queries centres chiefly on a distinction between the sistrum being either a musical instrument or a divine emblem.<sup>586</sup> A large number of phrases occur in the scholarship to describe this feature, such as the following: 'une stèle ornée d'une tête d'Hathor',<sup>587</sup> 'un emblème hathorien en forme de manche de sistre',<sup>588</sup> 'sistre',<sup>589</sup> 'sistre

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<sup>586</sup> The phrase 'Hathoric emblem' ('emblème hathorique') was coined by Clère (1970) in describing statues, though it was used by Vandier (1964: 83-84) to describe a stela, likely from Deir el-Medina, showing a man and his wife adoring Hathor Nebethetepet in the form of a Hathoric element with naos headdress (previously Coll. Michaelides).

<sup>587</sup> 'A stela [*sic*] adorned with a Hathor head'. Sale catalogue of Hôtel Drouot auction, as cited by Clère 1970: 4 (private collection, formerly W. Talbot Ready, my B.87).

<sup>588</sup> 'A Hathoric emblem in the form of a sistrum handle'. Boreux 1932: 477 (Louvre AF 106 (N 859), my B.52).

<sup>589</sup> 'Sistrum'. Vandier 1964: 83 (Cairo RT 11/4/64/1, my B.77 (=A.12)).

hathorique’,<sup>590</sup> ‘Hathor-headed staff’,<sup>591</sup> ‘tête hathorique’,<sup>592</sup> ‘architectonic element ...[which] forms a cult symbol of Hathor’,<sup>593</sup> ‘Hathor [with a] sistrum on her head’,<sup>594</sup> ‘sistrumförmige Emblem’,<sup>595</sup> ‘sistrumartige(n) Emblem’,<sup>596</sup> ‘un’insegna della dea’,<sup>597</sup> ‘le grand sistre, emblème de la déesse Hathor’,<sup>598</sup> ‘le symbole hathorique qui consiste en la tête de la déesse surmontée d’un sistre à naos’,<sup>599</sup> ‘die stilisierte Form eines Naossistrums’,<sup>600</sup> and ‘Hathor-headed naos-sistrum’.<sup>601</sup>

In some cases the lack of specificity or choice of a particular descriptor (‘sistrum’, ‘emblem’ etc.) may be because in-depth consideration of the feature was irrelevant to the work in which the monument was cited, and therefore perhaps the author’s choice of descriptor should not be over-analysed. This is almost certainly true where one work contains more than one mode of description.<sup>602</sup> However, what should, at least in some cases, be subject to further consideration is the choice of descriptive phrase as it relates to the form attested by sistrophores. Meyer’s description of the Hathoric feature is that it is a Bat-emblem in the form of a naos-sistrum,<sup>603</sup> thus simultaneously encompassing both emblem and instrument, in a fashion similar to Boreux and Gamer-Wallert (see footnotes 588 and 595 respectively). However, she does not differentiate between statues which show variants in the

<sup>590</sup> ‘Hathoric sistrum’. Vandier 1964: 82-83 (Turin 3036, my B.33), 106 (Madrid 2014, my B.90); Vandier 1965: 96 (BM EA 1132/1225, my B.92); Vandier 1968b: 98.

<sup>591</sup> James 1970: 17 and Conner 1983: 12 (BM EA 510, my B.35).

<sup>592</sup> ‘Hathoric head’. De Meulenaere 1973: 27 (MMA 24.2.2, my B.94).

<sup>593</sup> Russmann 1973: 36 (MMA 24.2.2, my B.94). Note that Spencer (2006: 20-21, 29 n.7) also considers the Hathoric element to be derived from an architectural feature – ‘Hathor-sistra columns’ and ‘architectural forms [which] could act as cult emblems’, in reference to Cairo RT 22/11/55/1 and RT 30/5/24/5.

<sup>594</sup> Giveon 1978: 72 (Cairo JE 53833, my B.80).

<sup>595</sup> ‘Sistrum-formed emblem’. Gamer-Wallert 1978: 205 (Madrid 2014, my B.90).

<sup>596</sup> ‘Sistrum-like emblem’. Gamer-Wallert 1978: 210 (Madrid 2014, my B.90); Kreißl 1989: 49.

<sup>597</sup> ‘A sign of the goddess’. Curto 1984: 235 (Turin 3036, my B.33).

<sup>598</sup> ‘The great sistrum, emblem of the goddess Hathor’. Foissy-Aufrère 1985: 55 (Avignon A 35, my B.36 (=A.7)).

<sup>599</sup> ‘The Hathoric symbol which consists of the head of the goddess surmounted by a naos-sistrum’. Clère 1995: 5.

<sup>600</sup> ‘The stylised form of a naos-sistrum’. Krauspe 1997: 68 (Leipzig 1669, my B.10).

<sup>601</sup> Frood 2007: 189 (Luxor 227, my B.37 (=A.8)).

<sup>602</sup> Vandier 1964 (see footnotes 589 and 590) and Gamer-Wallert 1978 (footnotes 595 and 596).

<sup>603</sup> Meyer 1984: 958.

presentation of the sistrum-element; Konrad, by contrast, designates statues with the sistrum-like element on the front of the statue, in relief (for example, Fig. 73), as a *sistrophore* bearing an emblem which acts as an incarnation of the goddess and reflection of her cult image. Conversely, statues with a small sistrum held in the hand or rendered in three dimensions separate to the figure (for example, Figs. 43 and 59) are considered to be of a *sistrum-player*, displaying a musical instrument as insignia of office (musician or singer, depending on the gender of the statue-owner).<sup>604</sup> In other words, true *sistrophores* are considered by Konrad only to be those which bear the sistrum-like element in relief on the front of the statue, an idea which is not inconsistent with earlier classifications.

Vandier distinguished between ‘statues-blocs et pseudo-statues-blocs devant les jambages desquelles on a sculpté, en haut relief, une statue de divinité, un symbole divin ou une stèle: statues présentant un sistre’ and ‘Hommes à genoux, assis sur leurs talons: statues présentant un sistre’.<sup>605</sup> Here the distinction seems to be that in the former type, the sistrum shown on block statues is classified as a divine symbol, whereas in the latter (kneeling statues) it is a sistrum in itself without further qualification. It is unclear if this was a deliberate differentiation; it may reflect a subconscious influence the difference in form has on description, even if the intended symbolism is very similar.

Clère seems to have considered all statues with a sistrum-element (more specifically the *naos*-type of sistrum<sup>606</sup>) to be ‘*sistrophores*’, but nevertheless acknowledged at least some differences between the emblem as a symbol when in relief and as a real object when sculpted

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<sup>604</sup> Konrad 2011-13: 44-45, 59, 74-75.

<sup>605</sup> ‘Block statues and pseudo-block statues before the legs of which is sculpted, in raised relief, a statue of a deity, a divine symbol or a stela: statues presenting a sistrum’ and ‘Kneeling men, sitting on their heels: statues presenting a sistrum’. Vandier 1958: 458, 464.

<sup>606</sup> Clère 1970: 1. This suggests that statues bearing arched-sistra would not be considered by Clère as *sistrophores*. Conversely, Konrad’s ‘*Sistrumspieler*’ category includes both *naos*- and arched-types, showing that they have drawn different distinctions between what constitutes a *sistrophore* and what does not.

three-dimensionally.<sup>607</sup> The latter, however, he still referred to as an emblem and he appears to have believed, regardless of how the sistrum-element was executed, that none represented a sistrum as a musical instrument.<sup>608</sup> Bernhauer followed this line of thought to some extent: she recognised that the borders between cult object, fetish and musical instrument were likely not fixed,<sup>609</sup> and by referring to the sculpted object held by Senenmut and Neferrenpet in their statues as a fetish she implied a distinction between sistrum-element which is shown in relief and one which is sculpted; however in neither case does she suggest that a musical instrument is shown.<sup>610</sup> Both Perdu and Konrad have taken a slightly different approach, describing sistrophores as a category of theophores (where ‘theophore’ would usually indicate a statue in which a deity appears as a secondary element, frequently supported by the individual): the deity on a sistrophore, it is argued, is shown in emblem form as opposed to being depicted as human.<sup>611</sup> In other words, the sistrum is not just a cult object but a cult *image* of the deity.<sup>612</sup> This recalls the suggestions of Bonnet and Bryan, for instance, that sistrophores and naophores are an expression of the responsibilities and participation of the statue-owner during festivals.

It is worth reiterating here that one of the two female statues in my sistrophores catalogue, B.32 was identified by Hill as one of only two theophoric statues of women.<sup>613</sup> The sistrophorous statue, therefore, is being classed as a type of theophore here. However, this

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<sup>607</sup> Clère 1970: 2, especially the monuments listed within his footnotes 4 (in relief the sistrum is ‘une figuration symbolique’, ‘a symbolic representation’) and 5-7 (a variety of forms showing the sistrum as ‘un objet réel, à trois dimensions’, ‘a real object in three dimensions’). Note, however, that one of the statues listed in his footnote 6 (BM EA 514) does not bear a sistrum-element, but rather an aegis, thus it is not included in my Catalogue B.

<sup>608</sup> Clère 1970: 1 – ‘un *emblème* hathorique figurant un sistre’ (‘a Hathoric emblem depicting a sistrum’).

<sup>609</sup> Bernhauer 2010: 50.

<sup>610</sup> Bernhauer 2010: 53.

<sup>611</sup> Perdu 2009: 466; Konrad 2011a: 115.

<sup>612</sup> Note that Konrad has also (2011-13: 58) indicated that where the naos part of sistrum-element is missing (using the statues of Iner, B.57, and Weser, B.26, as the basis for these comments) the iconography of the feature is modified so that it is more akin to a fetish than an instrument and therefore statues of this type are more accurately described as theophoric than others which have the naos part (the sound box of the sistrum) and thus, in her opinion, represent *ihy*-musicians with their instruments or insignia of office.

<sup>613</sup> Hill 2004: 251 n.72.

same statue has also been stated as being one of the very exceptional cases of female sistrophores, alongside B.31.<sup>614</sup> B.32, being of the kneeling type where the individual supports the Hathoric element with both hands, could be argued as a ‘true’ sistrophore, whereas B.31 shows the woman standing or seated on a chair holding a small Hathoric element by her head, what Konrad would define as an *ihy*-musician.<sup>615</sup> For one scholar to categorise B.32 as a female theophore (alongside CG 42304), and another to view it instead as a female sistrophore (along with B.31), clearly demonstrates how the differing appearance of the sistrum-element can result in conflicting categorisation – unless B.31 was unknown to Hill, the implication is that she did not consider it a theophore, despite its holding a similar Hathoric feature.

These categorisations are not without their flaws; I have shown that differentiating between a Hathoric element in raised relief or sculpted three-dimensional is not always a simple task. Vandier’s headings, already noted, appeared to separate the statues into those which are of a block type (presenting a *divine symbol* taking the form of a sistrum in raised relief) and those which are kneeling (presenting a *sistrum*), but statues with such high raised relief as to suggest a three-dimensionally sculpted object beg the question as to whether such distinctions can or even should be made. One could argue instead that a better indicator that it is a real object would be where the individual is shown supporting it with one or both hands, but even then the types bearing this feature display variety in the execution of the Hathoric element. The following are given as examples:

- Rekhmire (B.7), Men (B.12 (=A.3)), and unknown woman (B.32) and Besenmut (B.95) (Fig. 95) are all kneeling supporting the large sculpted sistrum-element in front of them with both hands either side of the Hathor face or naos.

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<sup>614</sup> Clère 1970: 2 n.2.

<sup>615</sup> Konrad 2011-13: 62-65.

- Neferrenpet (B.19 (=A.4)) and Iuny (B.11) (Fig. 43) are both supporting the small, sculpted sistrum-element (now missing for Neferrenpet) on the left thigh. The former is cross-legged and supports it only with his left hand; the latter is kneeling and supports it with his left hand under the handle and right hand on the handle.
- Nebamun (B.38) and Neferhotep (B.78 (=A.13)) (Fig. 13) are both sitting on a seat supporting the separately sculpted Hathoric element; Nebamun supports it in front with both hands and Neferhotep supports it with his left hand to his side.
- Irutertja (B.105) (Fig. 82) stands, with a striding left foot, supporting with both hands two identical, tall Hathoric features which stand immediately next to each other. These features are particularly reminiscent of standards and thus this statuette has similarities to the ‘statue sistrophore composite’<sup>616</sup> of Wenennefer (Athens No. 106) (Fig. 104) who stands supporting a tall sistrum-element with both hands, with two other, taller emblems of a similar nature referring to Osiris and Hathor tucked into the crooks of his elbows. Because of its semi-architectural, pseudo-statue form (as opposed to a proper, three-dimensional statue), I have not considered the monument of Wenennefer as a true sistrophore.
- An unknown man (B.66 (=A.19)) (Fig. 19) is sitting with his knees pulled to his chest – block form – supporting with his left hand the Hathoric element which appears in raised relief before his lower legs. B.69 (unfinished, unknown man) (Fig. 79) may have been planned also to have the left hand supporting the Hathoric element, in this case behind it at the top, but it seems more likely that the intended attitude was akin to the pose exhibited best by Inhernakht (B.56 (=A.10)) (left hand with an offering or open to receive offerings).

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<sup>616</sup> Designation given by Clère in his personal notes held in the Griffith Institute, Oxford (notes: MS 05.04, photograph MS 05.06).

It is perhaps safer to assume, without further information which would suggest the true nature of the Hathoric element,<sup>617</sup> that it matters little how it has been executed for the sculpture.

Konrad has not only drawn a distinction between the small, sculpted naos-types and those in relief, but also between naos-types and arched-types (*sš.t* compared to *šm*), arguing that the latter, particularly when carried by women, is the insignia of a musician.<sup>618</sup> It is easier to accept a different interpretation of the arched-sistra from that of the naos-sistra, because the statues in her study showing arched-sistra are in the minority and the sistra themselves, being very small and held by the handle or the loop, are fairly minor elements which accessorize the individual unlike the distinct and seemingly important naos-type which appears on most statues with a sistrum-element. Furthermore, Pinch has also argued that arched-sistra have fewer direct associations with Hathor, and that an arched-sistrum was possibly not regarded as a form of the goddess.<sup>619</sup> Consequently I agree with Konrad's distinction in this case and, as with Clère, my corpus of sistrophores only includes those whose headdress is a naos-type.<sup>620</sup>

Identification of the Hathoric feature is further complicated by its differing sub-features: the majority show the face surmounted by a naos, reminiscent of the *sš.t*-sistrum, but it has been seen that there are also cases, increasing in number in the Ramesside period, where the goddess only bears a modius-headdress. One might assume that a crucial component of a sistrum would be the sound-producing part, that is, the naos (or arch) through which the jangling sound-bars would be attached, and indeed Konrad argued that in these cases the function of the element as a sistrum is pushed into the background and it represents

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<sup>617</sup> For example, a reference to a career in which the statue-owner's role was to play the sistrum. Neferrenpet (A.4), who probably once held a sculpted sistrum, describes himself as the sistrum-player of his mistress (*ink ihy n hnw.t-i*), but Tjaui (A.5) states this too (*ink ihy n Hw.t-Hr*) and yet does not have a sistrum, the cow-emblem which appears instead being, furthermore, in relief. Chicago E 14662 (B.87) describes the female individual holding a small naos-sistrum against her chest in relief as a singer of Amun. Only in this third example is it likely that this title was held during life as their career.

<sup>618</sup> Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyons 1970-307, Louvre A 62, and Cairo CG 712 (the first two being female). See Konrad 2011-13: 65-69, 71-74.

<sup>619</sup> Pinch 1993: 153-154.

<sup>620</sup> Clère 1970: 1.

more the Hathoric emblem as opposed to an instrument.<sup>621</sup> This could perhaps indicate a moving away from the musical attributes of the sistrum in Hathoric cults, perhaps influenced by so-called ‘Hathor masks’.<sup>622</sup> Strictly speaking the lack of naos hinders its identification as a ‘sistrophore’, but it is likely that there was shared meaning<sup>623</sup> and that Konrad’s distinction between sistrum and emblem is less significant than she supposes. The face is certainly the principal element,<sup>624</sup> and it acts as the unifying feature across all sistrophores. The naos was seemingly not necessary for an observer to understand the symbolism inherent in the sistrum-shape or Hathor face, hence it could be shortened or even non-existent. Arguably, its musical function was so embedded in cultic activity that it was not necessary for inclusion on statuary, allowing for greater flexibility and individualism in sculpture whilst maintaining traditional ideology and sentiment.

The sistrophores represented in Catalogue A display both naos and modius types (but none which have neither, fragmentary pieces notwithstanding), suggesting that the form of the emblem does not necessarily affect the statues’ purpose as intermediaries. Furthermore, both are attested throughout the time period in which sistrophores and intermediaries are found, which suggests that chronological factors also have little, if any, impact on their appearance.

To compensate for the varying interpretations of the feature under discussion, and its varying appearance on the statues, I tend towards naming it a Hathoric- or sistrum-‘element’ or ‘feature’, as opposed to ‘emblem’ or simply a ‘sistrum’, as the latter terms bear particular connotations which may influence interpretation and therefore it is best to disassociate this discussion from them as far as possible. One could argue that ‘Hathoric’ has specific

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<sup>621</sup> Konrad 2011-13: 54.

<sup>622</sup> Pinch 1993: 135-159.

<sup>623</sup> Pinch 1993: 155 (who nonetheless is not convinced that sistra and masks were always interchangeable).

<sup>624</sup> Clère 1970: 2. See also Russmann 1973: 36 n.12.

associations which should also be avoided, but since in the majority of cases the inscriptions on sistrophores identify the goddess as Hathor, the term ‘Hathoric’ is used here as a suitable and convenient shorthand for a cow-eared forward-facing goddess whose attributes are most often those belonging to Hathor, which can be acquired by other deities taking on the same responsibilities. I do not completely agree with a remark made by Perdu that the emblem is not associated with a particular deity<sup>625</sup> – if a goddess is mentioned in Hathor’s place within a sistrophore’s inscriptions, indicating that the sistrum-element represents them, I interpret this as that deity taking on Hathor’s characteristics, and therefore manifesting in the same way as the latter.<sup>626</sup>

### 3.3.2.2 The purpose of sistrophorous statues and the sistrum-like element

As with any statue, one of the basic purposes of sistrophores was to commemorate the statue-owner, ensuring that they were remembered after death, could be sustained in the afterlife by offerings to the statue, and had a physical form to inhabit if their actual body were destroyed. The purpose of statues is governed to some extent by their location – a statue erected in the locality of a tomb will have more mortuary connotations and private significance than one set up within a temple complex – but also by the specific appearance of the statue. In this case the sistrum-element points towards a precise function in addition to those that apply to all statues. The basic form chosen – kneeling, block and so on – would have been meaningful in ways outlined in the first part of this chapter, but the sistrum-element added further layers of meaning which were common to all sistrophores regardless of their form.

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<sup>625</sup> Perdu 2009: 467.

<sup>626</sup> See footnote 539 on Mut appearing in her Hathor aspect.

The sistrum, given its relationship to goddesses such as Hathor, lends a religious facet to these statues – they are not just erected for the purpose of receiving offerings, but also to be a votive statue of a devoted servant giving an offering to his divine master or mistress,<sup>627</sup> and to be involved in the landscape of the temple in which they were erected (note that Pinch believed statues not to be votive gifts for the deity, but physical bodies for the owner<sup>628</sup> – these ideas are not necessarily mutually exclusive and could easily have been intended to apply concurrently). The sistrum was used to invoke deities and likely accompanied chants or songs as part of religious rituals. Its connection to Hathor and associated goddesses such as Sekhmet also point to its use as a tool for pacification,<sup>629</sup> as these deities were volatile. It has even been suggested that the duplication of the face of the goddess which often appears on surviving sistra (and presumably was intended for sistrophorous statues) relates to the fickle and double nature – benign and malign – of the deity.<sup>630</sup> The sistra represented on sistrophorous statues are of the naos type (although it has been shown that the naos is not always present), whose name, *sš.t*, is onomatopoeic, emulating the soothing rattling produced by its cross-bars. Being the original form of the sistrum (as opposed to the later arched, or looped, version, *shm*), it was not only more decorative, but more traditional, which makes it a more suitable choice for a monument, even if the arched-sistrum was more commonly used in actual ritual practice by this time.<sup>631</sup>

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<sup>627</sup> Bruyère 1953: 30 n.1 (on Cairo RT 11/4/64/1, B.72); Meyer 1982: 80-81; Meyer 1984: 958; Kreißl 1989: 49. Foissy-Aufrère (1985: 60) believed that Avignon A 34 (B.39 was no more than a votive, thereby implying that other statues could be (for example, Avignon A 35 (B.35) acting as a door-keeper).

<sup>628</sup> Pinch 1993: xxv.

<sup>629</sup> Pinch 1993: 157; Reynders 1998: 1020.

<sup>630</sup> Pinch 1982: 140.

<sup>631</sup> The arched-sistrum is first mentioned in texts of the Middle Kingdom and was particularly favoured in the Late Period (Manniche 1991: 63).

### 3.3.2.2.1 Animal symbolism

Sistra have associations with several animals – cow-symbolism is present in the ears of the goddess and the volutes of the headdress, reminiscent of horns. More rarely, and later in Egyptian history, sistra have links to ducks as is seen from examples from New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art (Acc. No. 19.5, from the Roman Period) and Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna (KS 3110-11, 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasty to Ptolemaic in date) which both have cross-bars ending in duck heads.<sup>632</sup> There is also evidence for a connection to falcons, for example Cairo CG 69754.<sup>633</sup> The statuette of Irutertja in my sistrophores catalogue (B.105) has a reclining falcon on the top of each sistrum-element. In each case the doubling of the falcon may be a reference to the dual nature of the goddess, or there may be links to Isis and Nephthys as kites.<sup>634</sup>

Cats and snakes have particular associations with sistra. The former connection is known from some surviving examples of arched-sistra, where the cat is shown reclining *en couchant* on the top of the loop,<sup>635</sup> and from sistrophorous representations in monumental form, such as on sistrophores (B.85), stelae,<sup>636</sup> and from other pieces of stone sculpture.<sup>637</sup> The cat, with which the goddess Bastet has association (particularly from the New Kingdom onwards<sup>638</sup>), has calming, motherly attributes which are relevant in supporting the purpose of

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<sup>632</sup> Ducks are also known from other instruments – an erotic scene on Turin papyrus 55001 shows the woman's lyre with duck head decoration. The duck is known to have had erotic symbolism (Manniche 1991: 108, 112).

<sup>633</sup> Hickmann 1949: 103, pl. LXVII (A and B): two falcons with sun disks on the top of the naos; also Pinch 1993: 152.

<sup>634</sup> Anon 1996: 72 (Rinsveld note), with reference to Plutarch *De Iside et Osiride* 63.

<sup>635</sup> For example, both the MMA 19.5 and Bologna KS 3110-11 sistra not only have the duck-head cross-bars (see footnote 632) but also a reclining cat.

<sup>636</sup> British Museum EA 369 (Nineteenth Dynasty), showing the sistrum-element with cats seated close by in the upper register.

<sup>637</sup> Egyptian Museum, Cairo RT 30/5/24/5 (Spencer 2006: 15, 20, 29 n.6 and 7), which is a block of stone showing several tall Hathor sistra in sunken relief, one of which has cat on either side of its column/handle at the base. Images of this block are found in the personal notes of J.J. Clère (Griffith Institute MSS 05.06); see also Vandier 1964: 115-117 (scenes from Hibis and Bubastis).

<sup>638</sup> Vandier 1966: 77, 80.

sistra to assuage an angry deity. It has also been suggested that the composite of sistrum and cats is linked to Heliopolitan creation myths through a connection to the goddess Nebethetepet, who is usually represented by a sistrum, and in some cases, surrounded by cats.<sup>639</sup> The sistrum, therefore, has aspects of creation, birth and the establishment of world order. Bastet is mentioned on only one sistrophore in a context suggesting that she is intended to be represented by the sistrum-element (B.27). Sekhmet, who in some mythological tales is the aggressive counterpart of Bastet,<sup>640</sup> is mentioned in an *hṯp-di-nsw* inscription on the statue of Men (B.1 (=A.3)).

Cats are, however, a relatively rare additional feature of sistra and Hathoric emblems; far more common are snakes. The cross-bars can be shaped as snakes, which is a particularly common attribute of the sistra of the Amarna period, both on actual examples<sup>641</sup> and in scenes of the Amarna royal family worshipping the Aten.<sup>642</sup> Sistra during the Amarna period became plain, arched-types, with no Hathoric face. The snakes added decoration whilst moving away from other symbols which were too obviously connected to the traditional deities.<sup>643</sup> Not only might the use of snakes have referred to the protective nature of the cobra as an image of the sun-god, thus imbuing the sistrum or sistrum-element with an additional benefit, but might also have borne connections with royal iconography. Note, however, that cross-bars are never indicated on sistrophores with naos-sistra, nor even the holes which would have held them. Instead, the front-facing uraeus-snake often seen atop the head of the goddess and, on *sš.ṯ.t-*

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<sup>639</sup> Vandier 1966: 61, 81-82. For comprehensive discussion on Nebethetepet (and her abstract counterpart Iusaeus), see Vandier 1964, 1965, 1966 and 1968a. See also examples of this goddess: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Acc. No. 26.7.845, Museo Egizio, Turin Cat. 0406, and Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna ÄS 4129.

<sup>640</sup> Vandier 1966: 74-75.

<sup>641</sup> See for example, the two gilded wooden and bronze sistra from the tomb of Tutankhamun, CG 69317a and b (see Hickmann 1949: pl.LIII (A, B and C)).

<sup>642</sup> For instance, in the tombs of Apy (entrance, lintel) (Davies 1906: 20, pl.XXXI) and May (entrance, north thickness) (Davies 1908: pl.III). In such scenes it is the princesses who raise the sistra, whilst their parents conduct other ritual activities.

<sup>643</sup> The cobra has solar symbolism, which would be acceptable within the context of Aten worship.

types of sistrum, within the opening of the naos and in niches on the side, are the most relevant – their form corresponds to the snakes on royal and divine headdresses. The snake's aggressive stance indicates that its wearer is protected by the sun-god and hints at the divine aspects of the individual and their authority. In the case of some sistrophores, the uraei in the naos may make direct reference to the king as a demonstration of royal iconography (to be discussed further below). However, it has also been suggested that the cobra adorning the Hathoric face on sistra and sistrum-elements represents the nature of the goddess herself as the angry eye or daughter of the sun-god who is placated by the rattling of the sistrum, whilst the cobras within the naos and side niches simply reinforce its iconography.<sup>644</sup> Cobras in the naos opening in particular could also conceivably represent the emergence of a deity through the doors of heaven in response to the rattling of the cultic instrument, which would be particularly suitable for a sistrophore if the statue is intended to represent communication between human and divine.<sup>645</sup> Since the naos and its associated uraei do not appear on every sistrophore, their inclusion must serve only to emphasise symbolism already apparent in the central aspect of the Hathoric element – the goddess's face.

#### 3.3.2.2.2 The appearance of the goddess's face

With regard to the dual nature of the goddess – at times beneficent and at others vengeful, it is worth mentioning again the double-faced aspect of the goddess. This can clearly be seen on many surviving sistra, and is indicated by several earlier sistrophores where there is decoration on the side of the Hathoric element – primarily a papyrus umbel bisecting the wig and a uraeus in a niche on the side of the naos (see above, 'Headdress: size and shape of the

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<sup>644</sup> Konrad 2011-13: 65.

<sup>645</sup> Cf. statues B.1-3, which all have some reference to the deity being caused to appear (by the actions of the Senenmut lifting the Hathoric element).

naos, and additional decoration’),<sup>646</sup> but also, in one case, simply an incised line down the side of the wig which achieves the same effect (B.94).

The frontal aspect of the face is not only a result of the image’s origins as a Bat- and Hathor-emblem,<sup>647</sup> but also creates a parallel in this case with naophores or statues holding statuettes, where the sculpted image of the deity is shown frontally.<sup>648</sup> An observer thus has eye-contact with both statue-owner and deity.<sup>649</sup> This twofold contact is even more apparent where the goddess face is rendered on a similar scale to the statue-owner, which has been seen to be the case for the majority of sistrophores. Given the Egyptian artistic convention for demonstrating hierarchy through size, it would seem that in such cases the sculptor was attempting to elevate the status of the Hathor face to more than just an object or emblem proffered by the statue-owner and to give it agency in itself. A passer-by is easily engaged, and the eye-contact sets up a basic communicative relationship between an observer and the goddess. The overall size of the statue (since they could often be small) could have hindered direct eye-contact somewhat, as could the height at which it sat relative to an observer (see above, ‘Base size and statues as door-stops’), but nevertheless the statue’s features invite an observer to look at them. The flattened rendering of the face of the goddess on the Hathoric element, particularly where it is executed in relief rather than sculpted, may have lent it the quality of an optical illusion, observed in two-dimensional artwork, where the eyes follow an observer from whichever position they stand. This, of course, remains to be tested (taking into consideration the paint which could have decorated statues and highlighted details) and here remains a playful supposition.

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<sup>646</sup> Bernhauer 2009: 46-47, 48; 2010: 50.

<sup>647</sup> Pinch 1993: 138-139 (on the tendency to conflate Hathor masks, sistra and columns); Russmann 1973: 37 (on the abstract, symbolic quality of the face due to its flattened look).

<sup>648</sup> For example, Vandier 1958: 459-461 (pl.CLIII).

<sup>649</sup> Also argued by Perdu (2009: 463).

It could be argued that, if an observer could interact with the divine image and address the deity directly, this would make the service offered by the intermediary sistrophores redundant, and thus we might look for an alternative explanation for the size of the goddess's face – the preference of the sculptor, or an attempt to make the deity to whom the statue is dedicated immediately obvious. On the other hand, perhaps this basic connection between passer-by and goddess is in fact the *intention* of an intermediary sistrophore, and the size of the goddess's face and its frontality are in fact particularly apposite for a statue with this purpose: in effect, the form of the Hathoric element indicates that the only reason a supplicant is able to make contact with the goddess is because the individual represented by the statue is presenting her to them, acting as the mediator who has the authority to come into direct contact with the deity on both physical and metaphysical levels. The intermediary texts, as has been seen, often make this authority explicit. Both form and text therefore support and complement each other.

The *menit*-necklace, which appears on seven sistrophores, has a similar purpose to the sistrum – it is used in rituals to invoke and placate the deity, and is similarly difficult to categorise, it being a piece of jewellery as well as a rattle and cult object.<sup>650</sup> The *menit* therefore enhances the symbolism and role of the Hathoric feature. Pinch also suggested that they have a connection to rebirth for the deceased,<sup>651</sup> adding to the mortuary and commemorative functions of the statue. However, on these statues, they are always secondary to the sistrum-feature, and do not show the same variation in size and execution as the latter, suggesting there is a less complex and nuanced interpretation of their purpose.

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<sup>650</sup> Bernhauer 2010: 51.

<sup>651</sup> Pinch 1993: 280.

### 3.3.2.3 Political interpretations of sistrophores

Another key part of the discussion surrounding the purpose of sistrophores remains to be discussed: its connection to the political sphere, in particular as it relates to the pharaoh. The Hathoric element itself has elite connotations: the combination of Hathor head and *tit*-sign were markers of distinction for officials from Old Kingdom until the 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.<sup>652</sup> The titles used on the statues indeed suggest that they represented almost invariably the highest social strata.<sup>653</sup> Several scholars have also reasoned that there are clear associations made with the king through the way sistrum-element is formed and in the positioning of cartouches around it. Moreover, the latter has implications in the statues' religious purpose, in that the statues are interpreted as acting in the role of cult participant and mediator, but always with the king's involvement.

#### 3.3.2.3.1 Cartouches and royal mediation

Cartouches, regularly on the right forearm or shoulder, indicated to some extent royal endorsement for the sculpture, as well as the individual's claim to a close relationship with royalty.<sup>654</sup> Bernhauer has also proposed that cartouches within a naos-entrance possibly express the close relationship of the king to the deity invoked, although she concedes that it may simply be, like cartouches on shoulders, labelling to identify the reigning monarch.<sup>655</sup>

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<sup>652</sup> Konrad 2011a: 116 and references within n.15.

<sup>653</sup> Bernhauer 2009: 49; Bernhauer 2010: 52. However, cf. Schulz 1992: 588.

<sup>654</sup> Krauspe 1997: 68 (on Leipzig Inv. 1669, B.10). Both permission from the pharaoh to create the statue and a close relationship to the king can also be supported within the texts, particularly with titles indicating this and with the formula 'given as a gift from the king' (on the latter, see Delvaux 2008).

<sup>655</sup> Bernhauer 2010: 51.

Cartouches are not the only means of acknowledging the pharaoh. The owner of the earliest-known sistrophores, Senenmut, is known for his apparent innovations in statuary, including several forms and styles, and for his invention of cryptograms which represent Hatshepsut's nomen (Khenemet Amun Hatshepsut) and prenomen (Maatkare).<sup>656</sup> The uraeus appearing in the naos opening of one of his sistrophores could also be a subtle reference to her prenomen.<sup>657</sup> He was therefore integrating her political authority into his sculpture with more varied techniques than just the addition of royal titulary and cartouches to the monuments.

Konrad has gone further to discuss the political implications of sistrophores. She too identified an ideological agenda behind the statues of Senenmut, suggesting that they show Hatshepsut as being linked to the emblem goddess (perhaps Hathor) as well as showing characteristics of Amun and Renenutet, whilst also assuming the traditional role of Horus as pharaoh.<sup>658</sup> Similarly, she argued that a statue of Taia (temp. Amenhotep III), in associating the queen Tiye with Hathor of Kom el-Hisn within its texts, reflects the self-deifying ideology of Amenhotep III and his family towards the end of his reign.<sup>659</sup> Other statues also appear, in her view, to emphasise the deification of Ramesses II and III (more on this in §3.3.2.3.2).<sup>660</sup> The position of the cartouches on the statue is believed to be significant for the ideological basis and purpose of the latter: cartouches on the upper arms of a statue are not ideological, whereas if they appear on the *emblem* (the Hathoric element), particularly between the emblem and the statue-owner, this demonstrates the king's function as a mediator between the

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<sup>656</sup> Meyer 1982: 279; Keller 2005: 117 (quoting a text on two of Senenmut's statues, Berlin 2296 and Cairo CG 42114, in which Senenmut claims to have devised these cryptograms himself); Dorman 2014: 2.

<sup>657</sup> Meyer 1982: 80-81; Keller 2005: 125, n.1.

<sup>658</sup> Konrad 2011a: 117. See also Bothmer 1969-70: 136, where he suggests, in discussing Munich ÄS 6265 (B.3) that the sistrum-feature may not actually be connected to a specific goddess, but is rather an emblem of Hatshepsut.

<sup>659</sup> Konrad 2011a: 120.

<sup>660</sup> Konrad 2011a: 122-124.

owner and the represented goddess.<sup>661</sup> The relationship between the king and goddess is often described in epithets appearing on top of the naos or on the sistrum handle,<sup>662</sup> which supports the assumption of the role of intermediary by the king, since he is shown to be in an ideal position relative to the deity in terms of his authority and familiarity with the divine sphere.

There are some issues with these conclusions. Firstly, it was surely clear that kings had special relationships with deities, regardless of whether this was mentioned on a specific area of a statue (the significance of which may not even have been understood by all viewers). Secondly, Konrad's discussion concerning the inscriptions on the statue is rather limited; one example she gives is the statue of Men, CG 901 (my A.3 (=B.12)), which has cartouches of Amenhotep III on top of the naos, and yet she makes no mention of the intermediary aspect of his role as made explicit in the text: '(I am) the reporter of my two mistresses. Speak to me (and) I will cause your petitions to ascend'. If the cartouches on top of the naos are indicative of the pharaoh's role as mediator, this raises questions as to where Men himself features in the communication between human and divine spheres. If we were to follow Konrad's suggestion, supplicants would relate their prayers to Men, who would then be required to pass them to the pharaoh so that he, in turn, may inform the goddess. At first glance this is plausible given the responsibility of the pharaoh to act on behalf of his people to worship and placate the gods.<sup>663</sup> However, the king's role as traditional mediator is well attested and surely would not require this specific mode of emphasis. Furthermore, Men connects himself directly to the gods through his title of 'reporter of my two mistresses'. This inscription is, like the cartouche, closely linked to the sistrum-element, being incised on its left side between

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<sup>661</sup> Konrad 2011a: 125. Specifically, see 118-119 on the statues of Nehy, Rekhmire, an unknown individual and Men.

<sup>662</sup> Konrad 2011a: 125.

<sup>663</sup> Cf. the statues of Senenmut (Brooklyn Inv. 67.68, Kimbell Art Museum AP 85.2, a statue base from Edfu (Dorman 1988: catalogue A.23, as well as my own catalogue B.1 and B.3), in which he is said to act on the pharaoh's behalf.

Hathoric element and statue-owner. It is unlikely that the inscription is meant to be the words of the king, especially given the inscription in the equivalent place on the right side of the emblem, *sš mšꜥ Mn*, ‘the army scribe Men’.

Is the king’s role, hinted by the cartouche placement, simply implicit in the intermediary declaration of Men? If so, this would demonstrate some change in attitude in the way officials could portray themselves and their relationship with the gods in inscriptions, which meant that it was not required for the king to have his involvement explicitly mentioned. Where the statues bearing cartouches on the sistrum-element do *not* have intermediary texts, there is nothing to disprove Konrad’s theory regarding the significance of cartouche placement, but Men’s statue does suggest that non-royal individuals could openly assume a royal responsibility. It also remains possible that the presence of cartouche is not as complex as Konrad suggests, simply being a reference to royal patronage for the statue. This is indeed the stance Kreißl has taken in the case of Men: ‘Auf der Oberseite des Sistrums ist die Kartusche des Königs in Verbindung mit dem Namen der Mut eingraviert...Dies kann als Hinweis auf die königliche Stiftung der Statue verstanden werden.’<sup>664</sup>

The majority of the statues within Catalogue A (and Catalogue B) do not have a cartouche, although damage to and wear sustained by the statues may mean they are simply not preserved. Eight of the thirty-one tabulated monuments in Catalogue A definitely have at least one cartouche (A.1, A.2, A.3, A.7, A.8, A.24, A.25 and A.26). Seven definitely did not have a cartouche (A.5, A.10, A.12, A.14, A.16, A.27 and A.28), and five probably did not (A.4, A.18, A.20, A.21 and A.22).<sup>665</sup> A further seven are so damaged that neither shoulder is

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<sup>664</sup> ‘On the top of the sistrum the cartouche of the king is engraved in connection to the name of Mut...This can be understood as a reference to the royal endowment of the statue.’

<sup>665</sup> A.4 does not have a cartouche on the right shoulder, but the left shoulder and the object held are both broken, and A.18, A.20, A.21 and A.22 do not have any cartouches on the shoulders, but are all damaged to varying extents in the lower part of the statue, so there remains the possibility that a cartouche was somewhere on the

preserved (A.9, A.13, A.15, A.19, A.29, A.30, and A.31) and the remaining four do not have cartouches on the left shoulders, but have damage at least to their right shoulders (A.6, A.11, A.17 and A.23), so for all eleven the existence of cartouches cannot be proven.

Even if we were to follow Konrad's theses that only cartouches on the Hathoric element are ideological and thus those on the shoulders are not, this means that on at least sixteen statues the intermediary relationship between human and god as made clear in the inscriptions does not visibly involve the king at all – they either have cartouches only on the shoulders or no cartouches at all. Only the statues of Men (A.3) and Ameneminet (A.8) have cartouches on the naos (but see below on Konrad's alternative interpretation of the latter, and the image it also bears on top of the naos of the king worshipping a cow-goddess), and the two of Amenhotep son of Hapu (A.1 and A.2) mention the king's indirect involvement in the mediation (by conferring the mediating role upon him) in the inscriptions. The lack of explicit royal participation on a majority of the statues could be significant for our understanding of *non-royal* authority and responsibility in religious spheres. I do not mean to say that in this context the authority of the pharaoh was actually being challenged; as has been argued by Schulz, no contact with a deity is wholly detached from the king. In other words, it is ultimately achieved in conjunction with the pharaoh, even if he is not mentioned explicitly.<sup>666</sup> Instead, I posit that ideas about hierarchy and its presentation in art changed, allowing non-royals to declare their adoption of a role previously closed to them (closed according to the ideals of kingship, if not in practice). The intermediary statues, whichever form they take, and their inscriptions are representative of this change, hence why they are of particular interest. What is also worthy of consideration is that regardless of the presence of cartouches on a statue indicating that the king had granted permission for its establishment, or lack thereof, it

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Hathoric element, if present, or on the base (less likely). A.22 has a cartouche in the inscription, but it is empty and has been interpreted in the translations of Catalogue A as being the word 'name'.

<sup>666</sup> Schulz 1992: 778.

is likely that most statues in a location as official (and to some extent public) as a temple would have been erected with the authorisation of the king or his representatives,<sup>667</sup> and were possibly sculpted in workshops endorsed by the royal estate. Any changes in monumental presentation, including the inscription, were presumably also authorised. It could be put forward, consequently, that changes in non-elite authority as presented on their statuary were likely consistent with royal ideology at the time.

### 3.3.2.3.2 Royal ideology and intermediaries

If we were to study the royal ideology of three main periods in which intermediaries and *sistrophores* are found, this would entail looking more closely at the reigns of Amenhotep III, Ramesses II and Psamtik I. Bryan has proposed that under the reign of Amenhotep III, the elite enhanced their status in parallel to the king's self-advancements.<sup>668</sup> Kozloff suggested the same, with a little more detail: that the self-deification of Amenhotep III towards the end of his reign resulted in non-royal officials rising in status, if not in title, and taking on some of the responsibilities of the now-divine pharaoh,<sup>669</sup> with the effect that Amenhotep son of Hapu, Men and Neferrenpet (A.1-A.4) all assumed the role of intermediary between earthly and divine spheres. Ramesses II, and indeed his father Seti I, certainly embarked on a process of self-deification,<sup>670</sup> and there is evidence that Psamtik I also had a cult which began during his reign.<sup>671</sup> It is posited here that what has been suggested for officials under the reign of Amenhotep III is true also for the reigns of the later pharaohs; the religious climate of these

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<sup>667</sup> Price (2011a: 148) suggests that a reason for the relative lack of emphasis on royal gift formulae during the Ramesside period was that temple authorities themselves acquired the stone.

<sup>668</sup> Bryan 2010: 927.

<sup>669</sup> Kozloff 2012: 197. See on this, Simmance 2014a: 71-72.

<sup>670</sup> Gaber 2013 (on Seti I); Habachi 1969 (on Ramesses II).

<sup>671</sup> De Meulenaere 2011: esp. 127 (Cairo CG 48637), 129 (British Museum. EA 1682) and 132.

periods could have been conducive to the emergence of intermediary statues. Of course, it must also be taken into account that all three of these rulers enjoyed long, prosperous and moderately peaceful reigns – the political and economic environment was particularly suitable for artistic innovation, and may have contributed to the proliferation of *sistrophores* and intermediaries at this time.<sup>672</sup> The elite benefited from this environment as well as from the ideological programme of the king, which authorised them to assume royal functions and display this in their statuary which, in turn, commanded authority over the religious activity of those who entered temples. This has the additional advantage of further ensuring that their memory is preserved in monumental form after death, since the statue is more than just a focus for a cult of the dead, but is also an active agent in religious activity and therefore encourages greater engagement with temple visitors who will then learn about and remember that individual.<sup>673</sup>

Konrad does not follow the same line of argument as she does for other statues in all cases. The statue of Ameneminet (A.8) bears several cartouches of Ramesses II – on both shoulders, on either side of the uraeus within the naos of the *sistrum*, and on top of the naos beside an image of a divine cow standing over the kneeling king.<sup>674</sup> Once again Konrad assumes that the cartouches on the shoulders are simply a sign of royal endorsement for the statue-owner. The cartouche and image of the king on the top of the naos indicate a close relationship between him and the goddess, and given Konrad's earlier comments one would expect her to see this as a means of showing the king as a mediator, yet she follows a different interpretation of this being a reflection of the attempt of Ramesses II to achieve self-

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<sup>672</sup> See Simmance 2014a: 68-74 on both the religious and political attitudes of the reign of Amenhotep III as they relate to all the extant statues of Amenhotep son of Hapu.

<sup>673</sup> For a similar view on the link between popular religion and statues of the elite, see Clère 1968a: 148.

<sup>674</sup> One further cartouche is given within the inscription detailing Ameneminet's career.

deification.<sup>675</sup> Whilst being deified would allow the king even greater access to the divine world and thus perhaps be a more effective mediator, Konrad implies the artwork and cartouche on the top of the sistrum-element is governed by a different, albeit similar, aspect of royal ideology and is accordingly directed towards a different purpose. Nonetheless, it should be conceded that she makes no mention of the cartouches either side of the uraeus within the naos entrance besides acknowledging their existence, and following her main approach these cartouches could be regarded as illustrating the pharaoh's mediating role between statue and god.

The majority of the intermediary sistrophores collected in my catalogue are Ramesside, indicating increased popularity in this type sculpturally as well as in the choice of inscription. Alongside the proposition that changes in royal ideology facilitated the production of intermediaries, another possibility exists that the statues were a reaction to changes in the depiction of religious activity generally, responding to perceived needs during the so-called 'age of personal piety'.<sup>676</sup> More individuals were leaving evidence for their personal religious practices, and thus there is also evidence that more individuals set up statues which would encourage these practices. As has been pointed out, however, this is not to say that the ruler was removed from the process in the post-Amarna and Ramesside periods – indeed, Schulz writes that this is a common misconception – rather that he became a target for communication himself.<sup>677</sup> The existence of royal colossi is one way in which the pharaoh

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<sup>675</sup> Konrad 2011a: 121 (citing Blumenthal 2001: 48-49, 60).

<sup>676</sup> For this term, see Breasted 1912: 344 onwards. Whether personal religious practices existed before the New Kingdom (specifically the Ramesside Period), and there is just no evidence or whether the lack of evidence indicates that it did *not* exist until this point, is an argument which will not be discussed here (note 703). For now, it will be said that whichever interpretation is followed, intermediary statues appear as part of that phenomenon, in other words responding to the needs of this 'age of personal piety' only as they are preserved in the archaeological record.

<sup>677</sup> Schulz 1992: 778.

could direct veneration towards himself, or his deified persona.<sup>678</sup> It has been posited that the statues of Amenhotep son of Hapu were intended to mediate for the colossi of Amenhotep III at the tenth pylon of Karnak (as well as for Amun-Re),<sup>679</sup> and although I have argued against this specific case to some extent for several reasons,<sup>680</sup> one aspect which I do not dispute is the divine character of the pharaoh when in colossal form. Amenhotep I is another appropriate example of a deified king to whom worship was directed, in this case after death, for not only is his posthumous deification at Deir el-Medina well known, but one sistrophore names the divinized pharaoh in cartouches on the front (B.55 (Fig. 71)). He is worshipped alongside the goddess of the emblem (here probably Mut), but also, Konrad argues, as a mediator whose close relationship to the goddess puts him in a perfect position to contact her on behalf of human supplicants.<sup>681</sup> In the former instance, the statue-owner mediates between the worshippers and the king, and in the latter, if this is a true interpretation of Amenhotep I's inclusion on the statue, the statue-owner mediates between human and king, who in turn mediates between the human world (statue, statue-owner and worshippers) and the divine (the goddess). Note the similarity between this and the worshipper-statue-king-god process of communication suggested above for the statue of Men, according to Konrad's line of argument for cartouche placement. During my discussion of Konrad's views, I suggested that in fact this method of communication does not necessarily involve the king, since the inscription on the statue links Men directly to the goddesses. Unfortunately, the statue with Amenhotep I only survives as a fragment and no inscription remains to see if this too bore intermediary phraseology, either excluding the king from explicit involvement or placing him as the intended *recipient* of the messages being communicated.

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<sup>678</sup> Price 2011b: esp. 408-410.

<sup>679</sup> Galán 2002: 225.

<sup>680</sup> Simmance 2014a: 70, n.253; Simmance 2014b: 6-7.

<sup>681</sup> Konrad 2011a: 122.

Sistrophores are also known in the Late Period, mostly the Twenty-sixth Dynasty under Psamtik I. It should be noted that five of the intermediary statues tabulated in this study are believed to be from this dynasty, or slightly before or after (A.11, A.20, A.21, A.22 and A.23). A.21 is a sistrophore (=B.93), and although they are nowadays much damaged, Clère believes that A.20 and A.23 were likely also sistrophorous.<sup>682</sup> Konrad argues that the sculpture of this period was no longer used to express royal ideology, and that the function of the king as a mediator is no longer incorporated (I have contended that this was already true for statues of the Eighteenth Dynasty). In addition, she also suggests that the relationship between the statue-owner and the goddess is also no longer portrayed.<sup>683</sup> I would suggest here first of all that the very *nature* of a sistrophore indicates a relationship between the statue-owner and the goddess, in that the individual interacts physically with the emblem of that deity.<sup>684</sup> Secondly, even if stylistically these statues did not display the man-god relationship or royal ideology in quite the same way as she purports they do in earlier periods, the texts on the three Late Period statues in my table suggest similarities to their earlier counterparts: an intermediary function (and therefore a relationship between human and divine spheres) is being undertaken. Since two are likely to be sistrophores, they demonstrate that, even if to a limited degree, this type of sculpture was still believed to be suitable to represent a close relationship between human and divine by complementing an intermediary inscription.

The purpose of sistrophorous statues and the Hathoric element is undoubtedly very complex, in part because the sistrum itself has multi-faceted symbolism, and in part because the purpose

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<sup>682</sup> Clère 1995: 153 and 159 respectively. A.11 is preserved enough to show that this block statue never had a Hathoric emblem. However, it displays the ‘begging gesture’, which Bernhauer (2002a: 19) showed to have only rarely appeared on statues other than sistrophores from the Ramesside period onward, suggesting that this statue was very similar in purpose to the sistrophores of this period (its inscriptions also clearly link it to the cult of Hathor), and therefore discussion of potential ideological influences are also relevant for this monument.

<sup>683</sup> Konrad 2011a: 124.

<sup>684</sup> A viewpoint shared by Kreißl (1989: 50), who sees this as the reason for a mediatory role.

of sculpture, and its relationship to royal ideology and wider religious beliefs, can be interpreted in many ways. The temporal, cultural and artistic context of statuary is exceedingly important in order to understand its purpose, so it would be beneficial to place sistrophores and intermediaries within this wider background.

### 3.3.3 The place of the sistrophore in the broader context of Egyptian statuary

Thus far discussions of the sistrophorous type have attempted to contextualise it with regard to other statuary and the wider socio-political and cultural milieu, with the aim of identifying the reasons behind its use. It has been noted that sistrophores are attested from the Eighteenth Dynasty until the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, with some possible examples from later periods, and that the majority can be dated to the Ramesside Period. Their relative prevalence in the Ramesside period led De Meulenaere to state that people of this period were those ‘qui aimaient apparemment se faire immortaliser sous cet aspect’ (‘who apparently liked to be immortalised through this aspect’),<sup>685</sup> which is somewhat misleading given the comparatively low numbers of sistrophores within the whole corpus of Ramesside statuary. Nevertheless, there is doubtless some significance attached to their conception in the Eighteenth Dynasty, zenith during the Ramesside Period (and in particular their selection for intermediary statues) and eventual decline in use during the Late Period.

Vandier described the time in which the sistrophore appeared as an ‘époque “de transition”’ (‘era “of transition”’,<sup>686</sup> and indeed the New Kingdom was one in which several new types of statuary were introduced as well as the sistrophore – stelophores, naophores and

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<sup>685</sup> Gubel 1991: 143, in an entry concerning the statue of Ramose (A.28 (=B.67)).

<sup>686</sup> Vandier 1958: 458.

‘tutor’ statues, for example.<sup>687</sup> Bernhauer broke this down by mapping key areas of sculptural development, primarily in the early New Kingdom: innovation involving new types under Hatshepsut and Thutmose III and new combinations of pose and attributes under Thutmose IV and Amenhotep III; preference for older and rarer forms under Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten; development of the pre-Amarna innovations, including enhancement of iconographic attributes, towards the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty.<sup>688</sup> Furthermore Schulz’s quantitative work demonstrates that the percentages of block statues with additional elements – which include the Hathoric element seen on sistrophores as well as items such as jewellery – increase throughout the New Kingdom.<sup>689</sup> The sistrophorous type, therefore, emerges as part of a wider phenomenon of sculptural progress. Not only could this indicate greater wealth, resources and creativity at this time, but surely points towards greater interest being taken in self-presentation. Additional elements must have been requested by the commissioner of a statue, so I would suggest that another factor behind the increased complexity of statue forms in the New Kingdom was that individuals were taking more ownership over their statues, personalising them with further attributes in order to reflect their position in life, or desired position after death, and thus demonstrate via a relatively public medium superiority over their peers and over those of lesser status. In other words, the advances in New Kingdom sculpture were in part motivated by a greater sense of competitiveness. Schulz interpreted the changes similarly, considering them to be a product of increased self-awareness of high officials and priests who wished to translate this into sculpture using class- and function-specific attributes.<sup>690</sup>

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<sup>687</sup> Meyer 1982: 74.

<sup>688</sup> Bernhauer 2002a: 17.

<sup>689</sup> Schulz 1992: 591.

<sup>690</sup> Schulz 1992: 774.

The sistrophore itself was subject to development, not just in the way the Hathoric element itself was executed, but also in the way other elements were incorporated, and in the appearance of the Hathoric feature on monuments which are not true sistrophores, for example:

- B.14 (likely temp. Amenhotep III) has a lotiform basin incorporated into the Hathoric feature. (Fig. 44)
- B.85 (temp. Taharqa – Psamtik I) incorporates two cats either side of the probable sistrum-element ('une sistrophore d'un nouveau genre'<sup>691</sup>). (Fig. 87)
- A block of Nebnefer (Luxor Cat. 123/J 136, temp. Amenhotep III), which is topped by two crocodiles, has a Hathoric element in relief on the front, the handle of which is filled with a sun-disk, *nb*-basket and *mr*-sign (Gardiner Sign List N36); together with ostrich feathers under the terminals of the wig, these form a cryptogram of 'beloved of Nebmaatre'.
- The rebus-boat of Amenhotep III for his mother Mutemwia (BM EA 43) depicts the goddess Mut enthroned in a boat (on a sled). A Hathoric element with naos-headress appears at the prow (note the papyrus umbels bisecting the curled wig, topped by uraei in niches on the sides of the naos). An offering basin is carved into the boat between the throne and the Hathoric element. (Fig. 105)
- The monument of Wenennefer (Athens No. 106, temp Ramesses II) shows the statue-owner standing presenting a Hathoric element, in this case intended to be a standard, which has a reclining jackal on the top of the naos headress, and is accompanied by two other standard-like elements, one of Hathor and the other of Osiris. (Fig. 104)

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<sup>691</sup> 'A new kind of sistrophore'. Perdu 2009.

- Naophores of Tjairy (Leiden AST 6/D 37, likely Twentieth Dynasty) and Horkheb Psamtikemhat (Emory University Inv. 1988.4.1, Twenty-sixth Dynasty<sup>692</sup>) both have a Hathoric element within the naos. (Fig. 106) This may be comparable to monuments related to Nebethetepet, such as the naophore of Tjanefer (Chiddingstone Castle EDECC 01.0492, Thirtieth Dynasty), in which appears the figure of the goddess, wearing a naos-headdress. (Fig. 107)
- The statue of Horkheb (CG 42214, temp Osorkon II – Sheshonq III) presents a shrine decorated with a Hathoric element on the front and a ram head on the top. (Fig. 108)

The sistrophore was therefore part of a wider trend towards complexity and individuality in sculpture, both in its emergence as a type and in the way its own features were treated over time and incorporated into other monuments. However, later examples have also been seen as indicative not of development and innovation but of the *archaism* typical of their time, which could partly explain why sistrophores enjoyed a relative spike in popularity during the early Twenty-sixth Dynasty. The sistrophorous statue of Somtutefnakht (B.91), for instance, has been seen as a possible revival of a New Kingdom style or perhaps even a reused New Kingdom monument.<sup>693</sup> Certain features of the statue of Amenemopetemhat (B.95) have also been highlighted as examples of archaism, even if the style of the Hathoric element itself is clearly Late Period.<sup>694</sup> Russmann understood this phenomenon of the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasty to have been geared mainly towards recreating the purity and strength of Old Kingdom and Middle Kingdom sculpture, and in the case of Amenemopetemhat the idea of the sistrophore may be of the New Kingdom, but the clothing and execution of the

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<sup>692</sup> The cartouche of Psamtik I appears as part of the name of the statue-owner, providing a *terminus post quem*.

<sup>693</sup> Leahy 2011: 222-223.

<sup>694</sup> Russmann 1973: 38.

musculature appear to be inspired by much older styles.<sup>695</sup> As statuary can be read as a reflection of the contemporary political and cultural characteristics of a society, the combination of innovation and archaism seen in Late Period is indicative of the desire to demonstrate individuality (as was also the case in the New Kingdom) whilst also comparing the artistic output to that of prosperous earlier periods, which were regarded as suitable precedents for both art and politics. Bernhauer has recognised the political aim of presenting a reunified and independent Egypt under Psamtik I and II through private sculpture and other monuments;<sup>696</sup> *sistrophores* can be considered one example of this inclination within the wider sculptural canon.

I have commented above on how changes in political and religious thought can affect statuary, in particular how royal ideology and the socio-political background affected non-royal intermediaries and *sistrophores*. A few more remarks can be made to this end for sculpture generally, which can shed further light on the specific context of *sistrophores*.

Meyer has remarked that the artistic creativity seen in New Kingdom sculpture was in part a result of greater independence of individuals from the royal Residence<sup>697</sup> so, although private statuary could reflect the features of royal statuary in term of portraiture,<sup>698</sup> statue-owners were freer to develop new features. This would complement the suggestion that the iconography and inscriptions of intermediary statues were independent of the traditional, ideological role of the king as sole mediator – the non-royal individual became more autonomous in terms of sculptural choices, as well as in the way they portrayed themselves on

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<sup>695</sup> Russmann 1973: esp. 39-42.

<sup>696</sup> Bernhauer 2009: 43-44.

<sup>697</sup> Meyer 1982: 74. Although she does not expand upon this, no doubt this increased independence was the result of, on one hand, the effective split in the capital between Memphis (the administrative centre) and Thebes (the religious centre and origins of the Eighteenth Dynasty pharaohs) during the early New Kingdom and, on the other hand, territorial expansion which would divert the king's attention, thus requiring him to delegate responsibility to local authorities.

<sup>698</sup> Meyer 1982: 66.

those sculptures. Meyer also highlighted the importance of the change of statues from being tomb monuments to being temple monuments.<sup>699</sup> The new religious surroundings of statuary, coupled with new ideas regarding the role statues played in those surroundings as well as changes in religious beliefs, formed a significant part in the scholarship concerning New Kingdom sculptural developments, including the emergence of the *sistrophore*. Tefnin, for instance, noted the importance of the new location, in that from the Middle Kingdom and especially in the New Kingdom, non-royal statues became more obviously the objects of public observation and meditation in temples, and thus, he states, often played the role of intermediary like royal statues.<sup>700</sup> This new situation allowed statues to take on new roles, and thus new forms were developed to embody the statue-owners' newly-granted functions and to distinguish them from others in the same temple – being a recipient of offering rituals directed towards them and a participant in temple rituals and festival processions is reflected in these new sculptural expressions such as *sistrophores* (the interpretation of the *sistrophore* as representing one who could carry sacred emblems during festivals has already been considered in §3.2.9).<sup>701</sup> Due to the more public location, statue-owners would likely have expected a wider audience, and thus needed to cater for more varied degrees of knowledge and literacy. The expansion of forms would have allowed statue-owners to convey a variety of religious and political ideologies visually, regardless of their inscriptions,<sup>702</sup> thus providing several layers of meaning.

The New Kingdom is often seen as a time of heightened religiosity and personal piety or at least of increased evidence for those beliefs.<sup>703</sup> Statues can be perceived to demonstrate this, with Bothmer suggesting the reflective attitude of a bent head (present on some

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<sup>699</sup> Meyer 1982: 74.

<sup>700</sup> Tefnin 2001: 236.

<sup>701</sup> Bryan 2010: 937.

<sup>702</sup> Bryan 2010: 921.

<sup>703</sup> See for instance the work of John Baines (1987; 1991)

Eighteenth Dynasty cross-legged statues) is an example of the New Kingdom desire to express a new relationship between man and god.<sup>704</sup> Wildung saw sistrophores as ‘einen bildliche Ausdruck der Göttergebenheit’ (‘an expression of devotion to god’), evoking a typical New Kingdom religiosity.<sup>705</sup> The lessening importance attributed to certain types of clothing has also been pointed out comparing Middle Kingdom to New Kingdom, when a greater variety is used, one reason for which may be the increasing significance of representing a relationship with, and thus establishing contact with, deities through divine figures and attributes added to statuary.<sup>706</sup> Of course, other motivations could include the desire for individuality and for representing one’s roles and responsibilities through garments.

One final suggestion regarding the impact of religious attitudes on statuary of the New Kingdom concerns intermediary types, as defined by Barbara Kreißl. Her corpus indicates that in the Middle Kingdom and pre-Amarna New Kingdom the preferred type to display intermediary function was scribal statues, whereas intermediaries of the Nineteenth Dynasty show that this preference shifted. The reason suggested is that in a culture based on wisdom literature (the Middle Kingdom) the scribal type was the most relevant and comprehensible, yet the experiences of the Amarna period had so shaken traditional values that after this the focus was transferred to other types in order to reflect new ideas. I cannot entirely agree with Kreißl, partly because her intermediary corpus differs from mine significantly (not least in that mine begins no earlier than the reign of Amenhotep III) and therefore her specific observations are not directly applicable. I also feel her diagnosis of a meteoric shift in values as a result of the Amarna period, characterised almost as a type of trauma, is likely overstated. As momentous as the changes in beliefs and art seem during the reign of Akhenaten, it was

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<sup>704</sup> Bothmer 1949: 45; Simmance 2014a: 62-63.

<sup>705</sup> Wildung 1988: 157-158; Kreißl 1989: 49; Bernhauer 2010: 55.

<sup>706</sup> Schulz 1992: 766 (on the comparison of Middle Kingdom all-covering garments with the variety of clothing from the New Kingdom).

nevertheless a relatively brief aberrant period after which there was a return to many of the traditional values and artistic styles that had existed previously. Furthermore, several of Akhenaten's 'new' ideas were in fact arguably an accrual of concepts that began earlier in the New Kingdom, indicating that although his reign's changes to art and religion were unusual, they had theological and ideological precedents that were not entirely at variance with Egyptian thinking.<sup>707</sup> As a result, I am less inclined than Kreißl to see the Amarna period as the main reason for the proliferation of statue types used for intermediary types. Nevertheless, her suggested correlation between changes in society and ideas reflected in statuary, thus affecting the perceived suitability of certain statue-types for certain roles, is certainly plausible generally.

The sistrophore, then, can be regarded as an individual type and as a part of a wider phenomenon of sculptural change, which mirrors developments in religious and political ideas as well as ideas regarding the purpose of statues and their locations.

### 3.3.4 Sistrophores and intermediaries: Final thoughts

The second main segment of this chapter has been dedicated to exploring the many facets of the sistrum and the sistrophore, endeavouring to identify the key interpretations and to understand more about the significance of the statue type, and contextualise the concept of mediation and the existence of intermediary statues. Of course, not all intermediary statues are sistrophores, but that a significant majority are signifies how relevant sistrophore iconography was to the intermediary type. I also see it as indicative of a trend for intermediary statues within the cult of goddesses such as Hathor, Mut and Mehyt, to whom the inscriptions on

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<sup>707</sup> For instance, the solarisation of Amun (and kingship) during the earlier Eighteenth Dynasty, and Amun's prominence as foremost god of the pantheon, particularly under Amenhotep III – see Baines 1998 for a partial rebuttal of this view.

sistrophores are dedicated, particularly Hathor. The presence of these statues within her cult points to her widespread popularity amongst the general population, which required that there was some way for the ordinary man to contact her even without the authority to approach her directly. It also says something about her perceived attributes as a deity, one who is prepared to enact her ability to hear and respond to the prayers of her supplicants. The development of the idea of hearing gods has already been explored, and it was shown that attestations of epithets for Hathor related to listening are few until the Graeco-Roman period. Intermediary statues and sistrophores provide evidence for her hearing attributes at a much earlier date. Regardless, it is unlikely that we will ever determine whether Hathor's attribute as a listening deity led to the development of a popular cult around her, or a burgeoning popular cult added this feature to her character because it allowed closer contact. Either way, the intermediary statues were a response to it, the elite perhaps taking advantage of a feature of cult worship in order to further their own aims for self-commemoration and the consolidation of their authority by setting up monuments in stone.

### **3.4 Statue forms: overall conclusions**

The expansion in the number of statue types in the New Kingdom, and their subsequent development and increasing complexity, is due to several factors: increased wealth and access to resources, greater self-awareness and desire for individuality, changes in political agendas and the wish for both innovation and archaism. The sistrophore, as one of the new statue types introduced in the Eighteenth Dynasty, was part of the developing sculptural canon, but also was subject to changes within its own type, mainly in the choice of base statue form, varying

execution of the Hathoric element and the addition of other features in combination with the Hathoric element.

The general proposition that sculpture reflects the socio-politico-religious climate of the time can be explored in more detail for particular statue types, and here it has been attempted with regard to intermediaries, sistrophores and the use of sistrophores as intermediaries. The suitability of the form chosen for intermediary statues can be explained by the physical qualities they possess, by the positions held by the statue-owner during life and by the personal qualities the statue-owner wishes to portray. The first part of this chapter explored some of these characteristics, and showed that for intermediary statues (Catalogue A) easily the most common type was the block statue, many of which are sistrophores, and for sistrophores (themselves Catalogue B), the kneeling and block poses were both well-represented. The entire corpus of sistrophores encompasses a variety of base statue forms and therefore can adopt the relevant qualities of any of those statues, but the unchangeable aspect is the presence of the Hathoric element, the purpose of which, it is has been shown, is undeniably manifold. A statue's function is one of memorialisation and provides a focus for funerary-based offering rituals. A statue *within a temple*, as all sistrophores were likely to have been,<sup>708</sup> is connected to cult activity but also serves to demonstrate the statue-owner's status and connection to elite and royal society. A statue bearing a Hathoric element, is imbued with the symbolism and traditions connected to that symbol, which no doubt contributed to the role of the statue.

It has also been determined that although Clère believed that sistrophores form a clear morphological group,<sup>709</sup> there are many opinions as to what constitutes a true sistrophore, with the issue being complicated somewhat by the variety in execution of the sistrum-

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<sup>708</sup> Gamer-Wallert (1978: 206) noted that sistrophores are, without exception, temple statues, not tomb.

<sup>709</sup> Clère 1970: 1.

element. I believe that differences in the appearance of the Hathoric element should have less of an impact on our interpretation than, for instance, Konrad, who sees differences in size of the feature to correspond to different functions; in my view, the symbolism of the sistrum and the purpose of the naos-sistrum-element is shared across the different types of sistrophore.

This chapter has also been concerned with identifying the ideological ideas of the king that governed the features of these statues and indeed the ideological ideas which are expressed *by* those features. This analysis was undertaken in particular with regard to the function of the king indicated by the inclusion of cartouches. Although the sistrophore may have begun as a reflection of Hatshepsut's ideology in Senenmut's sculpture (whatever his motivations were for designing them this way), it was used at a later date for a significant majority of intermediary statues because its features were deemed particularly suitable for that religious context. As discussed, the suggestion that the sistrophore continued to be used as an ideological tool *after* Senenmut (in that cartouche placement illustrated the relationship of the king to the statue-owner and to the goddess represented in the Hathoric element) cannot be upheld in the case of intermediary sistrophores, since the texts on them create a direct relationship between statue-owner and goddess, irrespective of a king's involvement. Indeed, the only examples of intermediaries in which the king is given an explicit role are the two scribal, *non-sistrophorous* statues of Amenhotep son of Hapu: even here the king is not said to act as mediator between human and divine himself, but rather that he places Amenhotep son of Hapu in that position. Consequently, in the case of these two statues at least, it even becomes difficult to argue that the king was involved in mediation implicitly, because the king is shown here to be actively delegating this capacity to his official. One could argue that the very fact the king delegates the role represents involvement – a kind of indirect mediation – on his part, and similarly that the privilege accorded to the individual allowing him to enjoy

high status and to own statues (and, furthermore, to set them up in temples) is, ultimately, bestowed at the discretion of the pharaoh. Therefore, where an individual appears to be acting autonomously as mediator through the medium of statuary, the king's authority over them is still present, being inherent in the very existence of the statue and in the status of the individual represented.<sup>710</sup>

Nevertheless, the final conclusion towards which these observations converge is that just as the ideological stance that the king was sole mediator, as demonstrated by royal inscriptions and art, was presumably not upheld in practice (this role instead being assumed by members of the priesthood), the intermediary status purported to be held by individuals without direct involvement of the pharaoh may not have actually been achieved without his patronage. For the purpose of this study, therefore, what happened in practice matters less than the reality constructed by the statue, that is the position of authority held by that individual in monumental form. This is how they wanted observers to visualise their role in the metaphysical sphere and thus how they wanted to be memorialised for eternity. It assists in the creation of what Hodge and Kress have termed an 'ideological complex' in which relationships of both power and solidarity are maintained, thereby serving the interests of both dominant and subordinate parties (here the king and the elite being dominant and lower status observers of the statues being subordinate).<sup>711</sup>

The significance of the intermediary texts, it has been argued, is not that they necessarily represent a change in the actual status of non-royals in relation to the king during

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<sup>710</sup> The inclusion of *hṭp-dī-nsw* (offering-which-the-king-gives) formulae on several intermediaries could be used as further evidence to this argument, since in its literal reading the formula invokes the agency of the pharaoh so that he advocates (mediates) for the statue-owner in the presence of the gods, presenting them with offerings and thus securing offerings for the statue-owner in return. However, certainly by this period, and probably earlier, this was a standard phrase which had simply become idiomatic.

<sup>711</sup> Hodge and Kress 1988: 3. On the idea that intermediary statues served the interests of the elites and their inferiors and maintained the social hierarchy, see Price 2008: 117 and Simmance 2016: esp. 60-61. Baines and Yoffee (1998: esp. 234-235, 240-251) explore similar connections between high culture and control.

life, but that developments in royal ideology and religious attitudes created favourable circumstances in which changes in statue *inscriptions* could occur. Innovations in statue forms and what they represented were also possible as a result of these broader developments, and consequently intermediaries and sistrophores became significant in the landscape of religion.

**CHAPTER FOUR:**  
**DOORWAYS AS ACTIVE PARTICIPANTS IN RELIGION**

**4.1 Introduction: function and location of intermediaries**

Intermediary statues provided access to a god on a spiritual level by acting as an alternative to the god's image on a physical level – instead of approaching the cult image a god, inaccessible to the majority, a supplicant would approach the intermediary statue. This is presumably reflected in the *physical* situation of an intermediary, which must have been appropriate for the circumstances requiring a mediator, either in general terms (for example, a location within a temple complex dedicated to the god for whom the individual mediates) or more specific (a location at the border within that religious complex between an area accessible to the general public and another, restricted area such as the rooms in which the cult image was kept).

It has already been acknowledged (§2.4.4) that whilst several intermediary statues are associated with doorways in their inscriptions, only A.1 and A.2 (Amenhotep son of Hapu) were found by a doorway – the north (inner) face of the tenth pylon at Karnak (Fig. 109). Although I believe them to have been moved to this location, or at least that this was not the originally-intended site, it is likely that their association with the tenth pylon, even from a later date, is a result of their intermediary inscriptions.<sup>712</sup> Due to the evidence of Amenhotep's statues, the parallels afforded by other statues in Catalogue A, and the very purpose of intermediaries being to facilitate some level of access to a normally inaccessible god, it can be imagined that other intermediaries, the exact provenance of which unfortunately being

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<sup>712</sup> Delvaux (1992: 47-53) made a case for the tenth pylon as being their intended location, but posited that only under Ramesses II were they moved.

unknown, were situated at a barrier protecting a restricted area within the temple dedicated to the god they served.

This invites consideration as to the purpose of doors themselves, and of the barriers in which doors occur. The magnificent pylons of Egyptian temples attested to the greatness of the king as much as that of the god housed within, but they also had a practical and spiritual function, and these ideas are often common to a variety of buildings within ancient Egyptian culture besides temples, as well as to buildings present in other cultures and throughout time. A full presentation is not possible within the limitations of this thesis, but here will follow a survey of some of these ideas.<sup>713</sup> Some of the main principles are illustrated in Fig. 110.

## **4.2 General doorway symbolism**

### **4.2.1 Primary functions of doorways and barriers**

The general roles of a doorway are, for the most part, shared by cultures throughout the world.<sup>714</sup> At a basic, practical level, one can move through from one space to another. These spaces, however ordinary, will usually be for different activities which would not normally occur together. One could go on to say that the door represents a barrier which separates two worlds, where inside is sacred, domestic or familiar and outside is profane, foreign or hostile and chaotic.<sup>715</sup> As such, the doorway is the meeting point for, and attracts, malevolent and benign individuals and forces,<sup>716</sup> and thus has the potential to be a significantly volatile place, this presumably being one reason why doorways often have greater symbolic meaning than

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<sup>713</sup> A recent doctoral dissertation dedicated to temple doorways deals with its physical and metaphysical aspects in more depth: Accetta 2016: especially 35-70. Thanks go to Kelly Accetta for generously allowing me to read her thesis.

<sup>714</sup> Parallels have been drawn between beliefs surrounding Egyptian, Greek and Roman entrances, as well as those in synagogues, mosques and churches (Grimes 1987: 452).

<sup>715</sup> MacCulloch 1911: 846; Van Gennep 1960: 20; Grimes 1987: 452.

<sup>716</sup> Grimes 1987: 452.

simply being a means to move from one place to the next. The doorway itself, however, is a neutral zone, albeit one that is contained within a relatively small space such as the threshold or frame.<sup>717</sup> This neutrality is particularly important in its role as a defensive space and a protective element, for it must judge with an unbiased eye the suitability of those approaching and wishing to pass through.

Apart from standalone portals, such as naturally-formed rock arches and other rock formations, or Roman triumphal arches, a doorway often features as part of a larger barrier, and together they provide that separation between spaces. Brunner, in his comparative study of ancient Egyptian doorways on earth, in heaven and in the afterlife, gives examples of barriers as high walls (a barrier to temple interiors), inaccessible air space (a barrier to the residence of the gods) and the surface of the earth (a barrier to the underworld).<sup>718</sup> A boundary is not necessarily visible or tangible from a human perspective, and neither is a door; even if they are imperceptible, belief in their existence is sufficient. As such, even standalone portals have an associated barrier, albeit invisible – the presence of a doorway alone implies a transition from one space to the next, and invites passage through the portal as the most suitable route for this transition. However, by its very nature, a doorway, whilst being necessary, is a break in the boundary, one which is necessary but unwelcome because of the conflict between interior and exterior spaces.<sup>719</sup> In other words, the doorway can be both a boundary and a way through a boundary. Which aspect an individual finds before them depends on their circumstances, including any rites or demonstrations of moral worth which are needed before access can be attempted.

The primary functions of a door and the barrier in which it appears, therefore, are to regulate and monitor movement, to defend against unauthorised entry and to protect the

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<sup>717</sup> Van Gennep 1960: 17-18

<sup>718</sup> Brunner 1982a: 39.

<sup>719</sup> Brunner 1982a: 37, 42; Brunner 1986: 781.

interior space, especially if this is an area restricted to certain people or which is vulnerable to more abstract dangers, malevolent forces and disorder.<sup>720</sup> The door might be one of several, either within the same doorway space<sup>721</sup> or as a series of doorways, each one perhaps authorising access to fewer people. The multiplicity of doorways is very clear in Egyptian temples, especially Karnak (Fig. 109), where successive pharaohs constructed their own monumental gateways (pylons) which lead towards the inner sanctuary, an area in which only members of the priestly class were allowed. Accessibility to Egyptian temples, whilst not discussed in depth in this thesis,<sup>722</sup> is a debate underpinning the phenomenon of ‘personal piety’ and the existence of intermediary statues. If it were widely known that areas within a doorway were inaccessible to certain groups of people, the doorway itself would become the result of their visit, since that would be as far as they could travel.<sup>723</sup> Not only could a doorway be considered a sufficient representative for the entire building through its monumentality and appearance,<sup>724</sup> but it can also be considered a place in its own right, even having preliminary doors or spaces associated with it and leading towards it. In other words, a doorway can be both pathway and place,<sup>725</sup> a duality dependent on its interaction with varying groups of people, some of whom had access (therefore considering it a pathway) and others who did not (a place, their destination). The terminology used in Egypt to describe doorways and their constituent parts (see §4.3.1) can include terms that refer to the area surrounding the

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<sup>720</sup> Brunner 1982a: 38, 43-44; Brunner 1986: 781; Grimes 1987: 452; Leprohon 1994: 80; Dils 1995: 71; Bell 1997: 133.

<sup>721</sup> As suggested by Pantalacci and Traunecker 1993: 380, 382 (a system allowing the doors to be opened to allow people to see into the sanctuary, whilst still preventing access with low, secondary gate in each doorway); Dils 1995: 74.

<sup>722</sup> See instead Griffin 2007; Accetta 2013.

<sup>723</sup> Dils 1995: 71. In the case of palaces, certain titles of officials suggest that they were the first to receive visitors and controlled their movements: the *imy-r ḥn.wty*, literally ‘overseer of the audience chamber’ (Al-Ayedi 2006: 23-24), perhaps would have taken them to this specific area in which they might approach and petition the king. Other areas in palaces and administrative buildings bore names with roots implying seclusion, such as *kꜣp*, ‘concealed’, ‘hidden’; see Quirke 2004: 26-30 for titles containing such words in the Middle Kingdom.

<sup>724</sup> Grimes 1987: 452. Grimes is here referring to palaces, but the same could certainly hold true for other impressive buildings such as Egyptian temples.

<sup>725</sup> Grimes 1987: 452.

doorway, in which activities took place that was related to the doorway's function. In having such activities, the doorway is elevated further past its basic function as a means of passage and becomes a space bearing special significance in itself.

It is of consequence that anyone approaching a building is likely to come to the doorway. Even for those who do not wish to or who do not have authorisation, this is the point at which one is closest to entering, and at which one has the best chance of seeing what is within. It is also the area of the building where most people will have access. The doorway, and to some extent the external walls of its associated barrier, is thus a medium on which information can be displayed which can then be imparted to those who approach. It can be used to commemorate and memorialise events and individuals, it can notify visitors as to who or what resides within and thus to the nature of the building (and what is required to gain access), and it can attest to the authority of the individual who constructed it, or the one represented.<sup>726</sup> Certain images or texts propagandize but also perform apotropaic functions – the mind turns to the Egyptian depiction of the king 'smiting the enemies' often seen on the outer face of Egyptian temple pylons, illustrating the strength and dominion of the Egyptian ruler over his adversaries or even recording an actual event (albeit in a way that is formulaic and idealised), and serving to repel evil forces from the temple itself as a magical deterrent.<sup>727</sup>

The use of doorways as a communicative feature is one of the main elements of Accetta's research (2016), in that she examined New Kingdom Theban temple doorways for decorative cues that indicate or direct movement. Her conclusion that they were not explicitly attempting to control activity within the space *is* supported to some extent by the subsequent observation that an individual would need to understand the symbolism in order to recognise

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<sup>726</sup> Grimes 1987: 452.

<sup>727</sup> Wildung 1977a: 16; Ritner 1993: 115-116 (see references within both for more detailed surveys of this ideological imagery).

the reference to movement,<sup>728</sup> but it could be argued that the very existence of the doorway is a method of control, regardless of an observer's comprehension of its decoration. A similar concept is intrinsic to the efficacy of a temple statue; its inscriptions would have been indecipherable to most, yet their form and location aided understanding of purpose. Furthermore, I have already indicated that perhaps the true significance of intermediary texts lies in their being inscribed on an elite monument as opposed to their being read – the statement they make in acting as a messenger to the gods, ideologically-speaking a royal role, is given permanence and power through writing and is thus symbolically and metaphysically true. The same could apply to doorway decoration – the movement cues may be subtle, or may not be understood by observers, but they nevertheless reflect ongoing, symbolic control, and from that derive their potency.<sup>729</sup>

#### 4.2.2 Passage through doorways and ritual action

A doorway's impact is fully realised by the act of passing through. There is both a spatial and spiritual transition – one will physically cross the threshold or pass through the door-frame, and become aware of the new space in which one finds oneself and what that space is for, what Van Gennep terms 'uniting with a new world'.<sup>730</sup> As such, this will often have to be done with respect and care in order to prevent unwanted synthesis of outside and in.<sup>731</sup> This might be as mundane as removing shoes before entering someone's home but in other cases involves more special rites. These rituals have various objectives, such as to purify oneself to protect the space into which one will pass (preventing contamination), to celebrate or mark an

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<sup>728</sup> Accetta 2016: 335.

<sup>729</sup> See Price (2011a: 213-215) for similar views on the conceptual significance of inscriptions and location.

<sup>730</sup> Van Gennep 1960: 20, 22.

<sup>731</sup> MacCulloch 1911: 846.

event or individual, to prepare for what will happen once one passes through, or, if someone is coming *out* from the door (in particular royalty or divinity), to greet them.<sup>732</sup> Nevertheless, even in sacred, religious landscapes, rites can be sporadically enacted: not all Christians make use of the holy water stored in stoups near the door of churches of certain denominations, for instance. Even if in sacred spaces the ritual action is gradually forgotten, or becomes unimportant or redundant, when the door was initially created the performance of some form of acknowledgement, such as a prayer, was likely intended.

I disagree with the view that only main doors warrant entrance (and exit) rites whereas other doors do not have the same symbolism.<sup>733</sup> It is more accurate to suggest that doorway symbolism holds true for every door, but the extent to which that symbolism and the associated rites are relevant depends on the use of the space in which the door appears (which may change with time), and of course the beliefs and knowledge of the individuals who make use of the door.

### **4.3 Egyptian doorways**

#### **4.3.1 Door terminology**

Brunner, for his key work on doorway symbolism, made a distinction between small passageways through walls ('Tür', 'door') and other doorways ('Tor', 'gate/door') which he does not specify but presumably refers to larger, perhaps ornamental gateways.<sup>734</sup> A large number of terms exist within the Egyptian language referring to doorways and their

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<sup>732</sup> Grimes 1987: 453; Van Gennep 1960: 20-21.

<sup>733</sup> Van Gennep 1960: 25.

<sup>734</sup> Brunner 1982a: 37.

constituent parts: Spencer undertook a major lexicographical study of the Egyptian temple, in which chapters 5 (porticos) and 6 (doors and gates), are relevant to this discussion.<sup>735</sup>

The three words considered in Spencer's chapter 5, *ʿrry.t*, *hʒy.t* and *sbh.t*, are shown to have been misinterpreted in the past, for they describe a structure or area immediately before a doorway (a porch or portico), not the door itself.<sup>736</sup> Whilst the distinction should be made, the fact that the door and the area immediately in front of it are, necessarily, inextricably linked suggests that past misinterpretation is understandable. The vignettes of the Book of the Dead of Ani, BD 146-147 (Fig. 111), show the guardian demons sitting under structures more akin to Gardiner Sign List O14 ('portion of battlemented enclosure'), which is indeed the determinative of *sbh.t* within the accompanying text.<sup>737</sup> This might depict a roofed building or portico before an entrance. However, regardless of the identity of this sign and interpretation of *sbh.t*, the underlining idea is that of a barrier to be passed after judging. In the upper register of the same section of papyrus, the text refers to the architectural features by which the demons sit as *ʿry.t*, presumably a writing of *ʿrry.t*.<sup>738</sup> These features are depicted as doorway-like structures, more so than the *sbh.wt*. The first group of demons, associated with the most highly-decorated door, are shown underneath, presumably meaning they are outside this gateway. Spencer cites examples where the demons sit outside to support her conclusions that the *ʿrry.t* is the area *in front* of a doorway.<sup>739</sup> However, the other three groups of demons are shown superimposed upon the doorway, as if they are seated within it. It is true that this arrangement allows space for text, and that the guardians are not all positioned in the space demarcated by the door-jambs and lintel (therefore could be argued to

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<sup>735</sup> Spencer 1984.

<sup>736</sup> Spencer 1984: 147.

<sup>737</sup> pBM EA 10470.11; Gardiner 1957: 494.

<sup>738</sup> Note Spencer's (1984: 147, 185) caution regarding the potential confusion between the nonetheless distinct architectural elements: *ʿrry.t* (approach, portico, meeting-place) and *ʿry.t* (door-lintel).

<sup>739</sup> Spencer 1984: 154.

be outside of the doorway), but I remain unconvinced that the word *ʕrry.t* in this case means the ‘approach’ to the doorway (the area in front of it), as opposed to the actual doorway. Perhaps, to compromise, the area and doorway together fulfil the same purpose, and together they are *ʕrry.t* – the name of a doorway depends on someone approaching before passing through, so the surrounding area is just as crucial to the symbolism of transition as the doorway itself.

Spencer covers eleven different terms in chapter 6: *ʕ3* (door-leaf), *ʕ3.wy-r* ((double-leafed) entrance), *ʕry.t* (lintel), *wm.t* (reveal, later gateway), *bnš* (door-jamb), *bhn.t* (temple pylon), *rw.t* ((main) entrance), *htri* (door-frame), *sb3* (door-frame, later door-leaves), *t3y.t* (screen-wall, curtain) and *tri* (various depending on context); the translations given here are generalisations. Many of the terms change in meaning over time, or are only introduced in later periods, and it also seems that there were many terms used for doors and parts of doors in the late New Kingdom (Ramesside Period) that disappear again afterwards. Whilst this could simply be a result of evidential biases (an issue of survival),<sup>740</sup> I also put forward that advances in the public expression of popular religion in the New Kingdom<sup>741</sup> resulted in more attention being paid to the boundaries between accessible and inaccessible space as an element of these beliefs. In this case the doorway would become a prevalent feature in the religious activities of the people and could be viewed as an active participant in those activities, thus necessitating a wider, more specific vocabulary at this time. The apparent, concurrent increase in the number of references to hearing deities as well as individuals claiming to act as an intermediary on behalf of the people parallels these changes. A growing awareness of the religious needs of the ordinary folk in the context of state temples stimulated

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<sup>740</sup> Spencer 1984: 215.

<sup>741</sup> See Baines 1991 on the idea that personal religion was present pre-New Kingdom, but rules of ‘decorum’ governing the expression of these beliefs meant there is little evidence for it until the New Kingdom.

the provision of alternative spaces and images to those which the people could not access. There are also parallels to changes in doorway terminology in the growing complexity of hearing epithets in the Ramesside Period, posited in Chapter One.

On the other hand, the Ptolemaic Period also witnesses a profusion and increased complexity of epithets and yet Spencer maintained that there were fewer doorway terms, with less specific meanings, in the vocabulary of this time.<sup>742</sup> In other words, what could be argued for the Ramesside Period does not hold up for later eras. Nevertheless, the supposed lack of specificity and potentially fewer terms relating to doorways in the Ptolemaic period may represent the different emphasis placed upon doorway functions. The notion that a doorway was a place for judgement will be mentioned below, but it can be noted here that although the precursors for judgement in the legal sense at temple doorways appears to be in the New Kingdom or perhaps earlier,<sup>743</sup> the majority of the evidence for this is from the Ptolemaic period onwards (the *rw.t-di-mꜣ.t*, ‘the door of giving justice’).<sup>744</sup> In the course of these legal proceedings, there may have been more focus on the courts themselves taking place in the area before a doorway than the doorway itself, the idea of judgement contained in the door becoming less important for day-to-day interactions and being viewed in terms of more general symbolism, requiring less specific terminology.

The evidence from the Ptolemaic and Roman periods also presents an ostensible proliferation of deified humans.<sup>745</sup> Whilst this does, in my opinion, have a connection to the phenomenon of intermediaries – a deified individual, much like an intermediary, had an

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<sup>742</sup> For instance, the basic interpretation of *rw.ty* (dual of *rw.t*) is ‘entrance’ particularly the main entrance of a temple or palace, but it seems to become less specific in the Ptolemaic Period – Spencer 1984: 201-202.

<sup>743</sup> Sauneron 1954: 122-123; Van den Boorn 1985 (on judgements at doorways from the Middle Kingdom onwards).

<sup>744</sup> Examples from the temples at Dendera and Edfu and Medamud, studied by Daumas (1952) and Sauneron (1954) are from the Graeco-Roman temples there, though that does not automatically discount the possibility that these replaced similar features.

<sup>745</sup> Von Lieven 2010: 1.

association to both worlds in that they had experienced a mortal life but had risen above this to another sphere – an intermediary is not the direct object of veneration. On the contrary, they receive it on behalf of another and do not claim to be a god themselves, even if they are subsequently deified themselves as in the case of Amenhotep son of Hapu.<sup>746</sup> The great numbers of deified individuals in the Ptolemaic period essentially reduced the need for intermediaries of the type seen in the New Kingdom, since there was almost certainly a local god, the *theos megistos*, possibly a past resident of the area who was posthumously glorified, to whom all had access, as opposed to the ancient, distant state-gods who were serviced by intermediaries in the great temples. Consequently, intermediaries and the concepts surrounding doorways would have become less relevant, and the range of words describing the latter would have reduced accordingly. The greater number of opportunities for personal religious practice through the veneration of deified individuals and personal gods would, conversely, go some way to explain the increase in attested hearing epithets. These hypotheses offer the potential for future enquiry into the connection between religious activity and doorways and how changes visible in the case of one might have affected the other.

#### 4.3.2 Door names

The naming of temples, chapels and smaller elements including doorways was very common practice.<sup>747</sup> The majority relate back to the person who ordered or oversaw the construction of the feature (almost always the king), specifying a relationship with a god, or eulogising their dedication to religious activities. Only very rarely does the name relate to the function of what

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<sup>746</sup> The earliest possible evidence for Amenhotep's deification is in a scene in the Ramesside Theban Tomb 359 (Inherkhau) (Cherpion and Corteggiani 2010: 59-60 and plate 30), though this is not without significant doubt, in my opinion. His cult is firmly established in the Ptolemaic period, after an apparent hiatus in the Third Intermediate Period (Wildung 1977d: 91ff).

<sup>747</sup> The monograph of Grothoff (1996) remains the best full work on this.

it contained within the building.<sup>748</sup> Door-names have been a key point of reference in arguments surrounding the accessibility of the general public to temples (during processions). The oft-quoted eastern door into Ramesses II's peristyle hall at Luxor Temple is called 'the great gateway of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, whom all the *rekhyt*-people adore that they might live', the *rekhyt*-people being equated to the general populace. It is believed by some that this door-name, and other inscriptions involving the *rekhyt*-people, proves that the public had access to the hall, through this door.<sup>749</sup> There are reservations expressed by others regarding this theory, with an alternative proposition being that the *rekhyt*-people were represented not to indicate their actual attendance to ensure their involvement in processions in the spiritual realm, to be re-enacted magically for eternity.<sup>750</sup> The important fact to be extracted is that there was, on some level, the expectation of involvement by the people in religious activities, and that this can be recorded on doorways. This expectation no doubt contributed to the need for methods of contacting the deities within, and thus to the relevance of intermediary statues.

#### 4.3.3 The doorway as a place

Due to the primary nature of the statues considered in the previous two chapters as monuments connected to the cults of deities, I am mostly concerned with temple doorways and their significance in daily religious activities, but aspects of funerary beliefs demonstrate several parallels to temple doorways and therefore most ideas and symbolism are also applicable to tomb doors, so-called false doors<sup>751</sup> and doors in the Egyptian afterlife. Because

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<sup>748</sup> Brunner 1982a: 38.

<sup>749</sup> For example, Baines 1985: 48-49; Bell 1997: 164, 167; Teeter 1997: 4-5.

<sup>750</sup> Griffin 2007: 71-72, and especially 81.

<sup>751</sup> Wiebach 1981.

access to sacred space in Egypt was restricted, doorways to temples and tombs certainly performed several of the roles which have been outlined above as general doorway functions. Doorways were indeed seen as places in themselves – a destination for visitors – where particular activities could happen, including prayer.<sup>752</sup> Since only the priestly class was allowed to enter inner parts of temples, the image of the god, hidden in his shrine in the core of the building, may have seemed quite distant,<sup>753</sup> so a doorway provided a space in which the gods could be made accessible metaphorically and spiritually. There are several examples of doorways where this appears to have been the case, according to the relief scenes which appear upon them.<sup>754</sup> False doors and stelae depicting doorways invite interaction in the same way – there is obviously no way of actually passing through the doorway depicted, and thus the monument itself becomes the focal point for activity.

An outer doorway which is part of a series could also be an especially meaningful place, despite the fact that the distance between exterior and interior spaces is emphasised repeatedly through multiple barriers. I refer in particular to situations in which the series of doorways is visible to an individual standing at the outer portal – Egyptian temples were frequently arranged axially, aligning their doorways to form a processional route (Karnak, again, is a good example). Representations of multiple doorways are also attested in smaller-scale sculpture: an especially illustrative example, Louvre C 281, a Ptolemaic stela from the Serapeum at Saqqara, shows a series of three doorways from the viewpoint of an external observer, which successively reduce in size to reflect the perspective.<sup>755</sup> This artistic technique results in a static monument providing an evocative depiction of movement. The action of standing outside and looking in at the succession of portals, or standing before a

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<sup>752</sup> Brunner 1986: 782.

<sup>753</sup> For similar ideas, see Galán 2002: 225.

<sup>754</sup> Brunner 1982a: 38. For one example a representation of Ptah on the doorway to the temple of Amun at Medinet Habu – see Nims 1957 (page 80 naming some other examples) and Dils 1995.

<sup>755</sup> Étienne 2009: no.264.

stela depicting such a view, enhances the materiality of the outer doorway and causes it to become a dynamic space, suitable for further performances. It represents the potential for movement through it into the more distant zones, even while being itself the final destination for the observer and thus where movement in fact ends.

#### 4.3.4 The doorway as a place of judgement

Egyptian doorways in temples are also known as places of judgement in a legal sense, with court sessions being held in their vicinity.<sup>756</sup> Not only do some door-names point to this occurrence, such as *rw.t-di-mꜣꜥ.t*, ‘the door of giving justice’,<sup>757</sup> but also some titles, such as *smsw h(ꜣ)y.t*, traditionally rendered as ‘elder of the portal’.<sup>758</sup> One aspect of doorways was to be a protective device, and once this purpose had been fulfilled, then individuals could be judged as to whether they were worthy of entering. Thus, the doorway would become a symbol of judgement, a place suitable for legal proceedings.<sup>759</sup> That temple doorways have been allocated this purpose presumably relates to the presence of the god in the vicinity, acting as a divine judge governing the event. An analogous concept exists in the ancient Near

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<sup>756</sup> Brunner 1982a: 45; Helck 1986a: 637; Brunner 1986: 782; Quaegebeur 1993: especially 201-211 (and the many references within).

<sup>757</sup> Dumas 1952: 150-151; Sauneron 1954. See also the similarity (including the orthography) of the term *rw.t*, ‘door’, ‘entrance’, with the word in the title *imy-r rw(y).t*, which Ward 1982: 33 translates as ‘overseer of a law-court’, though it may be a less specific type of administrative building (Erman and Grapow 1971: II, 407).

<sup>758</sup> Erman and Grapow 1971: II, 470, 476. This title is attributed to Wenamun in pMoscow 120 (Simpson 2003: 116-24 (translated by E. F. Wente), and although the nature of this role is not elucidated, there may be some connected to the barque of Amun for which Wenamun is tasked to procure wood – his title may have been, at least traditionally, connected to the processions of divine images. For other references, see for example, Ward 1982: 152 (‘elder of the portal’), 127 (‘chief elder of the portal’); Fischer 1985: 81; Jones 2000: II, 902-904 (‘elder of the (judicial) court’), 813 (‘judicial elder of the court/audience hall’); Sauneron 1954: 122 (in relation to ‘la justice à la porte’). Note Spencer 1984: 155-161, where the meaning of *hꜣy.t* is discussed, with the conclusion being ‘portico’, with reference to the original meaning ‘ceiling’. Whilst not specifically a ‘door’, the relationship of a portico to an entrance is implied.

<sup>759</sup> Brunner (1982a: 45-46, 49) also concludes that the defensive role came first: the door was initially used for *separation*, then a guard position would have been created so that passage through could be more easily *monitored*, and granted or denied where appropriate, then *judgements* of purity were required, leading to connotations of judgement in a broader context. [my emphasis]. See also Brunner 1986: 782.

East, expressed first in a text possibly from the reign of Sumerian ruler Lugal-anne-mundu (c. Twenty-fifth Century BC), therefore long before the time period from which derives much of the Egyptian evidence.<sup>760</sup> The text mentions a temple with seven doors and seven gates, some of which have noteworthy names relating to people bowing, the making of decisions and listening, which provides parallels to the significance of Egyptian doorways in communication with the divine and judgements, and particularly to the concept that doorways are imbued with divine presence.<sup>761</sup> In another, later Sumerian text, *Inanna and Ebih*, the goddess Inanna stands at the ‘Gate of Wonder’ and greets the sky-god An with ‘lend your ear to my words’, hoping (in vain, it transpires) to win his favour in a dispute with the Ebih-mountain.<sup>762</sup> Although the exact identification of the ‘Gate of Wonder’ is unclear, it is seemingly a cultic location, and it is significant that even a deity is subject to divine boundaries delimiting the higher sphere which the superior An inhabits and must use such locations as a place for appeal and judgement.

When judging the worthiness of an individual for access *through* the doorway (not just legal proceedings outside), someone dedicated to that task is also required, and it is possible that the idea of a ‘judge’ was based upon the role of *iry-ε3*, ‘door-keeper’.<sup>763</sup> The efficacy of a doorway in monitoring movement can be due to an actual guard as well as magical, apotropaic and spiritual means.<sup>764</sup> The existence of door-keepers is one of the many comparisons drawn between the doorways in this world and those in the next, whereby the deceased, according to funerary texts must approach a series of doors each guarded by

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<sup>760</sup> *CDLI* no. P450160. It is, in fact, the earliest evidence known to me from Mesopotamian cultures which refers to hearing deities.

<sup>761</sup> See also Nemet-Nejat (1998: 188) on the use of temples for judicial proceedings.

<sup>762</sup> See ETCSL no. 1.3.2; *CDLI* no. P346099 (partial version of the text). This is an Old Babylonian text (c.1900-1600BC) preserved on two tablets in the British Museum (58054 and 82928) – see Leichty, Finkelstein and Walker 1988: 249 and 325.

<sup>763</sup> Erman and Grapow 1971: I, 104, 164; Ward 1982: 61-62; Helck 1986b: 787-789; Jones 2000: I, 312; cf. Al-Ayedi 2006: 234.

<sup>764</sup> Brunner 1986: 781-782.

demons, at which point the deceased must prove their knowledge of the door-guardian and door itself in order to be judged worthy of entry.<sup>765</sup>

#### 4.3.5 Doorways in the afterlife and further connotations of judgement

Doors and similar barriers are common in Egyptian conceptions of the afterlife and in their beliefs regarding the journey of the sun, ideas which are all highly linked. Parallels have been highlighted in particular by Brunner, who compares the appearance at and exit from a temple doorway by the god in processions, the entrance of the deceased into the underworld and the entry of the sun into the underworld (the western horizon) and exit in the morning (the eastern horizon), the transitions of which were all seen to be through some form of portal.<sup>766</sup> Funerary literature is the main source of evidence for these beliefs.<sup>767</sup> The Book of Gates represents the sun's journey through the afterlife, requiring passage through twelve zones (an hour each), all of which have a gate with a guardian, often serpentine.<sup>768</sup> The doorways represent the passage of time and the challenges and enemies which threaten the sun-god, and they also mark the place at which the sun exits one area and enters another, therefore bearing symbolism of rejuvenation and renewal.<sup>769</sup> The series of gates and the sun's journey is reflected and represented by temple architecture – the further one goes into a temple (or into the afterlife), the more doors one has to pass through. The sun's appearance upon the eastern horizon also echoes the exit of the god's image from the inner temple chambers through doorways during

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<sup>765</sup> Brunner 1982a: 49; Assmann 1989: 147 (he prefers the term 'apotropaic gods' for the demonic guardians of the underworld); Leprohon 1994: esp. 82ff; Hornung 1999: 58; Lucarelli 2010. Aufrère 2006 provides a detailed study of such demons as they appear on a temple doorway at Edfu.

<sup>766</sup> Brunner 1982a: 39.

<sup>767</sup> For a brief summary, see Leprohon 1994: 82

<sup>768</sup> Hornung 1999: 57, 59.

<sup>769</sup> Hornung 1999: 59; Brunner 1982a: 42. This also links to each zone's experience of the sun as it enters – just as the rising of the sun in the eastern horizon brings with it the renewal of the day-time, the sun entering the next zone of the afterlife renews that particular hour.

processions.<sup>770</sup> This leads us to recognise another aspect of doorway symbolism: a place of appearance (and, ultimately, of disappearance), where the residents of the interior space appear upon exiting and become known to those who may not have access. This is arguably linked to the halls which doorways and walls enclosed in temples, the *wsh.t*, ‘wide hall’, the *iwni.t*, ‘portico’, ‘pillared hall’ and particularly the *wsh.t h*ʿ*i.t*, ‘hall of appearance’.<sup>771</sup> The processional party including the god’s image, and royal processions during coronation ceremonies, would ‘appear’ at each doorway and then in the hall, progressively leaving the temple until its final ‘appearance’ at the most exterior doorway. Apart from the privileged few granted access, many others would remain outside in order to greet the god or king when he finally came into view, framed and emphasised by the gateway.

The associations of doors and their solar symbolism with personal religious practices is corroborated by the prominence of solar deities as hearing gods, according to the evidence presented in Chapter One. The movements of gods through temples and their appearances at doors, which were associated with public processions and therefore personal practices, reflected solar movement. It is reasonable to surmise that the attribution to solar deities of the capacity to hear was, therefore, grounded in known religious activities and their embedded symbolism.

Similarly, it was proposed in the consideration of sistrophore symbolism that the uraei frequently appearing in the naos of the goddess’s headdress reflected the appearance of a god from the doorway as a response to the shaking of the sistrum, and therefore was a particularly apposite image for an intermediary statue. The uraeus, moreover, has solar connotations, and a small number of sistrophores have a sun-disk in the opening rather than the uraeus. Hathor,

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<sup>770</sup> Brunner 1982a: 42-43. See also Assmann 1989: 149 for the connection between inner temple chambers and the residence of Osiris in the centre of the underworld, and the importance of the seven-gate sequence in Egyptian temples and false-doors, especially in the Late Period.

<sup>771</sup> Arnold 1962: 94-106. Cf. Refai 2002: 393.

whose face is the main feature of the sistrum as it appears on sistrophores, has solarised aspects, and herself could be argued to be a liminal being – although anthropomorphic, she retains the horns and cow-ears. Animals and plants often feature in rituals of liminality,<sup>772</sup> and it should also be recalled that the shaking of the sistrum is said to evoke the sounds of the papyrus stalks. Evidently, the Hathoric goddess and the sistrum-feature as a whole should be regarded as ever more suitable for the role of mediating between human and divine worlds in the context of liminal spaces such as doorways.

Overall, there are a several associations that can be made between doors, solar theology, personal piety and certain forms of temple statue.

Returning to the books of the afterlife, the Book of Gates is primarily royal in tone, but has similarities with literature available to non-royal individuals, most notably the Book of the Dead. In particular, chapters 144-147 and 149-150 document the deceased's journey through areas of the afterlife which have features of a similar nature: gates, mounds and caverns, these being places of supernatural influence which present a challenge to be overcome.<sup>773</sup> They are often presented as consecutive barriers in the vignettes, rather like a line of successive pylons, but it is not actually clear if they are indeed close together, or if they have just been grouped together for their thematic similarity. Whilst the gates, mounds and caverns may have been believed to be actual locations which the deceased visits, they also symbolise the whole journey and its challenges. As Quirke notes, it is not accuracy and spatial geography that is significant, but the 'act of passing' which is represented.<sup>774</sup> The doorways and their guardians are present, just as in life, to monitor passage through the door and protect those within. With reference to the demonic guardians, it has been pointed out that they have the potential to be

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<sup>772</sup> Aguirre, Quance and Sutton 2000: 8.

<sup>773</sup> Taylor 2010: 134. Chapters 127 and 141 also make reference to the gods of caverns.

<sup>774</sup> Quirke 2003: 173; Taylor 2010: 138.

both malevolent and benevolent,<sup>775</sup> and they repel until you have gained access, at which point they become your protector.<sup>776</sup> This dual role can also be attributed to the doorway, which itself is an active participant in the deceased's journey.<sup>777</sup> Similarly, when we think of the high enclosure walls surrounding temples and the grand pylons, they are impressive and intimidating from the outside, but arguably reassuring and protective to those within.

The need to undergo some form of judgement and to demonstrate knowledge and purity, in this life and the next,<sup>778</sup> in order to pass through a doorway, supports Brunner's belief that doorways in Egypt were not redemptive.<sup>779</sup> An individual was *not allowed* to pass through if they showed impurity, lack of knowledge or immorality, let alone using passage through the door as a rite by which they could be cleansed of these shortcomings. Although concepts of vengeful but forgiving gods do appear in the New Kingdom,<sup>780</sup> nonetheless the absence of a redeeming nature in doorway symbolism is compatible with other beliefs at this time, such as those shown in BD 125.<sup>781</sup> The deceased is judged upon his claims as to all the sins he has *not* committed, before he is allowed to enter the chambers of Osiris; being found guilty of one or more of these sins would result in his ultimate obliteration, and in this case there was no hope of redemption. If one was being particular, it could be said that therefore a doorway in Egypt is not a sign of judgement in itself, but instead that this function is assumed by the area in front of, and thus only overseen by, the doorway. An individual would only

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<sup>775</sup> Lucarelli 2010: 86-7, with reference to the objects they can hold – knives, but also *ankh*-signs and vegetal elements.

<sup>776</sup> Assmann 1989: 148; Taylor 2010: 137.

<sup>777</sup> Brunner (1982a: 41) speaks of the dialogues between dead and doors themselves as they appear in funerary texts. See also Brunner 1982a: 48 and Assmann 1989: 145 – the parts of the gate (posts, lintel, leaves, threshold, bolts) refuse to let an individual through until he has named them all, an example of this being in the Book of the Dead, towards the end of Chapter 125 (Lapp 2008: 225-247).

<sup>778</sup> Note Leprohon's proposal that the afterlife offered a type of democratisation, in that only once dead would individuals obtain (through funerary spells) the knowledge to pass through barriers, knowledge which would not, for most, have been available for barriers experienced during their lifetime, such as at temples and palaces (1994: 84).

<sup>779</sup> Brunner 1982a: 52, note 38; Brunner 1986: 782.

<sup>780</sup> For instance, see Lichtheim 1976: 104-110 ('Three penitential hymns from Deir el-Medina'). For general remarks on personal piety in the New Kingdom and the scholarship surrounding it, see Luiselli 2008: 2.

<sup>781</sup> Lapp 2008: 64-149.

enter the door space once the potential risk of contamination of the internal area has been judged to be non-existent. The neutrality of the doorway would thereby remain unsullied, and it would endure as an effective barrier between outside and in.

#### 4.3.6 Heavenly and astronomical associations

The heavenly symbolism of a doorway has been implied in several ways – through association with the sun, with the afterlife, and through divine judgement. Such symbolism is not restricted to Egypt, and more general studies have demonstrated the parallels, where portals across the world have spiritual or divine guardianship, or may be the actual seat of a deity.<sup>782</sup> The latter may be made clear to those who approach through inscriptions or through statues, for example. These monumental guards include Egyptian colossal statues of gods and of pharaohs, themselves deserving of respect and reverence. Like their human counterparts, these monuments could judge an individual's worth, and indeed their greater influence in the spiritual sphere may have a bearing in an individual's standing in the next world.

Astronomical features may also be related to doorways, such as the movements of the stars. It has been noted, citing Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* (5, 64), that this relationship appears in Greek beliefs, at least in one period, where seven city walls with seven doors in Greek Thebes are associated with planetary orbits.<sup>783</sup> It may be telling that Nonnus was an Egyptian native,<sup>784</sup> and although he himself was culturally Greek and Egypt had long been under Roman control when he lived in the fifth century AD (and Christianity had taken hold), it is possible that he was influenced by some of the ancient Egyptian beliefs with regard to the

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<sup>782</sup> MacCulloch 1911: 847-848; Van Gennep 1960: 20.

<sup>783</sup> Grimes 1987: 452. Nonnus' description of the dedication of the gates to specific deities continues through to line 85.

<sup>784</sup> Vian 1976: ix; Hopkinson 1994: 4.

heavenly symbolism of doorways, which had filtered down through centuries of non-Egyptian control of Egypt. On the other hand, planetary symbolism is less prevalent in Egyptian belief and instead solar imagery is dominant.<sup>785</sup>

#### 4.3.7 Door guardians and door-keepers

Nine intermediary statues make some reference to doors in their inscriptions. The only terms used are *sb3* and *3*. A.26 (Piyay) in fact uses both, which should likely be understood as denoting different doors or door-parts.

*iry-3*, ‘door-keeper’,<sup>786</sup> held by six of the intermediaries, is the primary title associated with this function. *iry-3* is an extremely long-lived designation, present in the Old Kingdom,<sup>787</sup> until at least the Late Period, and perhaps into the Ptolemaic Period,<sup>788</sup> and it would be unreasonable to believe that the functions attributed to door-keepers, the contexts in which they worked and their social status remained the same for this entire period of over two millennia. No doubt some performed the task which can be read literally from their title – guarding a door and presiding over an internal space into which perhaps even they were not authorised to enter. The passwords, rites or formulae required of one wishing to enter would be assessed by these individuals, and as such they were the judge of that person’s suitability.

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<sup>785</sup> The winged solar disk, often above doorways above the lintel or on the ceiling of the thickness may have contributed to the defensive nature of the doorway, driving away malevolent demons (‘unclean spirits’) – Erman 1894: 272; MacCulloch 1911: 850. For the sun-disk, as a protective device, see Gardiner 1944: 46. For a general survey of the symbol, see Wildung 1977b (‘Flügelsonne’). Recent research does suggest that astrological phenomena, not just solar, influenced the design of temples – for a summary, see Belmonte, Shaltout and Fekri 2015: especially 955 and 968.

<sup>786</sup> See footnote 763 for references.

<sup>787</sup> Also, references to door- or gate-keepers appear in the Pyramid Texts: Utt. 324 (§520-521, ‘door-keeper’ written as *ir 3rrw.t*: Sethe 1908: 266; Faulkner 1969: 103), Utt. 510 (§1141: Sethe 1910: 137; Faulkner 1969: 186), Utt. 511 (§1151, including an allusion to ‘door-keepers’ - ‘those who are in charge of the parts of the sky open the celestial doors for me’: Sethe 1910: 143; Faulkner 1969: 187. Also §1157: Sethe 1910: 147 and Faulkner 1969: 187), and Utt. 529 (§1252: Sethe 1910: 207; Faulkner 1969: 199).

<sup>788</sup> Jelínková-Reymond 1953; De Meulenaere 1956.

This explains the reasoning for supposing that these guardians gave rise to the use of doorways as places for legal proceedings in front of true judges and councils (see above). It may be that in some periods they bore an administrative function,<sup>789</sup> presiding over storehouses or buildings in which there were sealed goods and monitoring what, rather than who, went in and out, comparable to the suggested original function for someone bearing the title *ḥtm-bi.t*, ‘seal-bearer of the King (of Lower Egypt)’.<sup>790</sup> There are indications that at Deir el-Medina they were responsible for supplying the workmen with tools and rations, oversaw private transactions and legal disputes, and were not necessarily assigned to one fixed location – we would have to view ‘door-keeper’ in a more metaphorical sense.<sup>791</sup> In the Ramesside Period, we know of door-keepers undertaking a civic role, accompanying scribes collecting taxes, carrying sticks in order to beat any unwilling tax-payer.<sup>792</sup> It has been proposed that the purpose of door-keepers in temples was to interact with visitors, reading out inscriptions to the illiterate.<sup>793</sup> In other words, they did not have a strictly religious responsibility and only indirectly participated in the religious activities of visitors. In support of this, Clère suggested that during the Ramesside Period the title did not have religious connotations in the careers of individuals who bore it, rather they were just there to guard the door, which might happen to be in a temple, although he did note that the position had a place in the priestly hierarchy (‘hiérarchie sacerdotale’) of the Late Period.<sup>794</sup> Being a door-keeper, therefore, could encompass various tasks, but all have the underlying principle that there is movement between two spaces, be that physical movement of goods and people, or intangible movement

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<sup>789</sup> Mekawy Ouda 2015: 285, cf. 294 (on its links to kingship and the divine).

<sup>790</sup> Uphill 1975: 250. Cf. Doxey 1998: 178-179 on epithets relating to the controlling of access.

<sup>791</sup> Goecke-Bauer 2003. The varied responsibilities seemingly encompassed by this one title in fact prompts Goecke-Bauer to recommend leaving *iry-ḥz* untranslated to disassociate it from the idea of a fixed institution (2003: 142).

<sup>792</sup> Gardiner 1941: 19-20, 22-25 (translating *iry-ḥz* as ‘janitor’).

<sup>793</sup> Pinch 1993: 346.

<sup>794</sup> Clère 1968a: 142.

such as of knowledge or messages from monuments. This ties in well with the part played by mediating statues in communication. A door-keeper would require a wide skill-set, including good physical health (in order to protect a space or deal with disputes), broad knowledge of the area and its people, and a demonstrable level of trustworthiness.<sup>795</sup> For statues serving as door-keepers, the abilities implied in the role could be demonstrated and complemented by the iconography, and by the inscriptions detailing the statue-owner's character and skills.

Furthermore, the connection between doorways and contact with the sacred sphere, as explained above, makes the role of a door-keeper a suitable choice for an individual creating an intermediary monument. It would have been appropriate for situations in which the individual and the door they guarded *were* active participants in religious activities of others. The role of a door-keeper was an extension (or indeed a personification) of the symbolism existing within the doorways by which they sat – monitoring passage through the doorway and protecting the integrity of the doorway and the spaces within. For another individual approaching the barrier, the human embodiment of doorway symbolism serves to demonstrate this symbolism in a clear, comprehensible fashion, and provides a focal point for interaction – not only does the doorway become a place, but so does, in effect, the door-keeper. It was proposed in Chapter One (§1.3.3, esp. pages 61-2) that hearing epithets served to humanise deities and make communication with them easier to envisage, and in Chapter Three (§3.3.2.2.2, esp. page 236) that the flattened, frontal aspect of the goddess's face on sistrophores is especially suggestive of the communication facilitated by the statue since the observer makes eye-contact with both statue-owner and goddess. In both cases, a communicative relationship is elucidated through a more perceptible medium (respectively, epithets and physical aspect), allowing that communication to be conceived as being

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<sup>795</sup> Goecke-Bauer 2003: 140.

essentially between human parties. The door-keeper is one further example of this mechanism at work, whereby they are the human representation of a doorway, itself symbolic of incorporeal communication. The presence of a door-keeper at a temple, with their human form (be they living or preserved as a statue), provides an individual who approaches the barrier with the opportunity to communicate with the divine in a manner to which they were accustomed on a daily basis: human–human interaction. It could be argued that when a door-keeper is present, they are imbued with the symbolism of the barrier and doorway, and therefore their earthly existence is united with divine authority. This combination of corporeality and status means that, during the period of their attendance at the doorway, they bear greater responsibility and indeed agency over activities in the area than the gods, who do not have the physical means to control the movements of humans as another human does. A door-keeper's importance, therefore, derives from their ability to participate directly in a dialogue with humans, facilitating communication and controlling movement. Where a statue occupies the role, this interpretation is complicated by the fact that the statue is inanimate and has, to some extent, the same physical limitations that incorporeal gods do with regard to their agency. Nevertheless, a statue is a sculpted, permanent manifestation of a human and its inscriptions are representative of an ongoing exchange with others (this is true regardless of whom the statue represents – god, royal or private person). The authority of a door-keeper in real life, as has been presented here, is therefore transferred to a door-keeper statue. This means that such a monument would be the most authoritative figure at a temple door, at least in theory if not in practice; once again I reiterate my remarks from the end of the previous chapter that the primary concern governing the design of the statue and the composition of its texts was not necessarily how they would actually be received, but rather the eternal

preservation of the symbolic reality intended by the statue-owner and constructed by the statue.

#### **4.4 Final thoughts**

A variety of doorway functions have been mentioned in the preceding paragraphs, mostly relating to basic functions of separation, access and defence. The majority are universal to various cultures and eras, although some forms of doorway are not present in Egypt, such as freestanding honorific arches existing in Roman culture – Egyptian doorways, particularly the monumental pylons in temples, provided an opportunity to display power and dominion but were not solely commemorative of specific events, their main function being defensive.<sup>796</sup> It must be understood, however, that ‘defensive’ does not necessarily have a military connotation. It is true that in the event of strife a temple or palace, because of its high, sturdy walls and large doorways, would be an ideal place to take refuge, but the real defensive purpose of these structures was clear delineation and protection of the sacred space. The doorway was both a dividing and joining feature between chaos and order. It has been pointed out that the Egyptians were a people of borders of this type.<sup>797</sup> Physically, they lived on the border between watery abyss (the Nile) and desert wilderness.<sup>798</sup> The sun passed through a door as it reached the horizons, implying that the earth itself was the border between upper and lower worlds. Other concepts of order, limits and boundaries are present, for example, between Upper and Lower Egypt and in the notion of *maat*, ‘truth’, ‘(cosmic) order’, ‘justice’. Mixing separated concepts would violate the order of *maat* and would reflect the chaos of the

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<sup>796</sup> Brunner 1982a: 49-50.

<sup>797</sup> Brunner 1982a: 37.

<sup>798</sup> Bell 1997: 129.

world before creation.<sup>799</sup> In light of the Egyptian people's perception of duality in the world, the prevalence of doorways in life and death is therefore explained. Assmann neatly summarised a doorway's function with relation to the afterlife, but it applies in other cases and cultures: 'The gate is a most pregnant symbol of transition'.<sup>800</sup> Transition can be physical or spiritual, or both, and may not take place actually within the doorway, but the entrance is a convenient all-encompassing symbol for this passage.

With regard to the performance of personal, religious actions, there is some direct evidence that hearing deities were connected to boundaries and doors but, as a general observation, the element of communication whereby messages were transmitted from this world to the divine world would likely to have been facilitated in areas where there was a physical representation of this transition. Although the provenance of most intermediary statues is not known, it seems likely that most if not all bore connections with a doorway; both play an active part in making the inaccessible accessible, whilst also helping to reinforce the boundary. For instance, the doorway and its associated barrier is the physical border. The intermediary statue, encouraging the people to direct prayers towards itself, is a reminder to those people that they do not have access to the restricted space (tangible or otherwise), and must continue to rely on someone who does have that privilege, in other words, the elite mediator. In this respect, both doorway and intermediary are also a political statement, emphasising the dominance of the elite and strengthening the dependency of the lower classes upon them, particularly in the context of Egyptian palaces and temples.<sup>801</sup>

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<sup>799</sup> Brunner 1982a: 50.

<sup>800</sup> Assmann 1989: 147.

<sup>801</sup> See also Pollock (1999: 175) who proposes similar ideas about Mesopotamian monumental buildings as ideological declarations of domination.

## **CONCLUSIONS**

This thesis has explored some of the relationships connecting humans, statues and gods, with particular focus on the communicative interactions between humans/statues and gods, and humans and statues. There are several key ideas which have arisen with regard to the complexity of these relationships and the motivations for pursuing communication.

### **C.1 The implications of hearing gods: human power, authority and comprehension**

A basic premise of communication with the divine is that the gods will have the capacity and willingness to listen to messages from earth, the evidence for which in Egyptian sources was explored in Chapter One. Ears (of the gods) represent the conduit through which words were transferred.<sup>802</sup> Although listening is to some extent an active role, it is nonetheless one in which another party is the primary actor, sending a message with the intention of it being received and prompting a response. I have therefore interpreted the relationship as one where the speaker has a level of authority over the listener. Attributing hearing aspects to deities gives non-divine speakers a certain advantage in the balance of power, which is corroborated by the reliance of gods on humans to sustain them through offerings and other cultic rituals. Moreover, it is argued that the expectation of being heard that is inherent in the communication of a message places an obligation upon deities to respond, further cementing the authoritative position the message-giver occupies within the dialogue. The gods were no doubt dominant, in part because of their intrinsic divine superiority, but also because of their transcendence – distance amplifies power, that is, the higher up the hierarchy one goes, the

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<sup>802</sup> Meskell 2004: 137.

further one becomes from those of lesser status and the greater one's authority relative to them. By creating more direct routes of communication, the distance is reduced.

Power and authority are evidently recurring concepts in this investigation, and whilst it is not my objective to discuss and define these terms<sup>803</sup> their application is worth acknowledging. They are not necessarily interchangeable, in that power is arguably an ability, innate or assumed, whereas authority is earned or given, but they are, of course, interconnected, since power can result in authority, and authority provides and legitimises power. I have tended towards describing the influence exerted by lower-status individuals over their superiors as power (of human supplicants over statues and their gods, for instance), whilst recognising the authority of the latter. Nevertheless, it has just been claimed that a speaker also has *authority* over a listener. This is exemplified in particular through intermediary statues: their inscriptions, form and location demonstrate the authority the statue has when interacting with passers-by, and it is clear that they exert power or influence, however their inscriptions also imply the subsequent transferral of power to observers by encouraging them to speak. This transferral of power is, I propose, concurrent with, or even a result of, a transferral of authority. The statue-owner is authorising the observer to take the active position in the dialogue (speaking). The authority earned by the observer, therefore, is specific to the context of that relationship and necessarily transient.

Another perspective to these considerations is that since humans experience the use of their senses, if such abilities are ascribed to deities the latter are made more comprehensible and more approachable; in absolute terms their divine supremacy is unaffected, but they have a human facet that alters their relationship with their supplicants. The human facet is also the

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<sup>803</sup> An introduction to the concept of power and the difficulties of definition can be found in Lovett 2012.

very essence of the intermediaries discussed in this thesis – the statues have a metaphysical aspect, but are human in physical form and speak through their texts. This eases communication with them as the relationship is framed as a familiar experience between humans. These ideas can be augmented further with reference to the interaction between monuments and their texts: Thomas proposes that buildings without texts do not necessarily have less monumentality, but rather have less *humanity*.<sup>804</sup> I would argue, therefore, that the experience of those monuments by observers is, through the presence of texts, transformed beyond a relationship between human and object (albeit a communicative object in other ways) to one between human and humanised object. The monumentality or materiality which emerges in this physical engagement is thus enhanced by the humanising quality of the text. This is of course a clear parallel to intermediary statues, but is also applicable in the case of hearing gods – we could reason that gods possessing human-like capabilities might be able to act upon this world more effectively (since their abilities would be compatible with the mechanics of the earthly realm), but this is not to say that the perceived impact of the gods on this world is reduced if they are not described with human-like capabilities. Instead, such descriptions simply add *new* aspects to the human experience of the divine; the gods' power, agency and role which emerges in this engagement (effectively their equivalent to 'materiality') is, likewise, enhanced by the humanising quality of their attributes.

The development of hearing deities is a human-led phenomenon – the concept of a god who listens to prayers is devised by those who construct the theology – although this is not to say that changes to deities' characteristics were calculated deliberately without true belief. If humans believed their prayers would be answered because a god was said to be receptive, they would be more likely to perceive that they *had* been answered, vindicating the

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<sup>804</sup> Thomas 2014: 78.

belief in such divine abilities. Thus, a human-made phenomenon benefits the humans themselves in a somewhat psychological, subliminal fashion. Hearing deities also facilitated the practice of contact with gods by making it easier to identify appropriate deities in times of need – if a specific deity was found to answer one individual's prayers, then attributing a hearing epithet to that deity, for example, would allow worshippers in the future to direct their supplications more efficiently.<sup>805</sup> It is unlikely to be the case that deities without attested hearing abilities were considered unreceptive, but the evidence for hearing gods surely helps us understand how particular cults became the focus for popular conceptions of interaction with deities, which were then formalised in textual evidence (epithets and phrases).

## **C.2 Intermediary statues: assisting personal religiosity and maintaining elite control**

The growing prominence of hearing deities, especially in the New Kingdom, is one aspect of the growth of 'personal piety', bringing more people into contact with deities (particularly state deities) than previously. The case study of intermediary statues in Chapter Two has demonstrated how these monuments can be placed in this context. The phrases used in their inscriptions such as *wḥmw* and *s:ʿr* place the statues within the context of hearing gods and traditional procedures such as oracular processions.<sup>806</sup> Parallels are also provided by texts relating to administrative situations such as petitioning the vizier. The changing religious environment offered opportunities for the elite to further their own monuments and cults, as well as maintaining elite authority over worshippers even as the latter were enjoying greater autonomy within their religious practices. To some extent intermediaries are suggestive of 'the maintenance of elites through a common high culture that, although in principle

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<sup>805</sup> Bryce (2002: 134) also suggested that it helped avoid divine wrath.

<sup>806</sup> Morenz 1973: 103.

communicative, subverts communication between elites and others'.<sup>807</sup> That is, their ostensible purpose to help worshippers contact deities reinforces the hierarchical positions and actually makes the gods more distant. Winter also put forward a comparable view, with regard to elite artistic output in the Assyrian empire: 'When the system is highly hierarchical, it *must*, whether by direct reference or by allusion, reinforce those aspects of the hierarchy that keep subordinate social tiers in place; and that means, in one way or another, reinforcing the role(s) at the top of the hierarchy.'<sup>808</sup> On the other hand, this somewhat cynical position discounts the daily religious experience of the worshippers themselves, who likely were appreciative of this means of communication, regardless of any ulterior motives on the part of the elite statue-owners.<sup>809</sup>

Much of my interest surrounding intermediaries is in the *overt* nature of their claims because it suggests a new openness in expressing the religious practices of the people in state temples, and it also indicates some level of change in the authority held by the elite and what this newly-augmented influence entitled them to express. Accordingly I have argued that not only do intermediaries represent a method of retaining elite authority over the lower-status worshippers in response to religious beliefs gaining more traction in the New Kingdom, but that their emergence reflects changes in royal ideology resulting in the elite assuming roles which were traditionally (ideologically) the responsibility of the pharaoh. This supports the idea argued by Baines that the New Kingdom saw changes in 'decorum'.

Communication as a concept has been the subject of study for millennia, although only truly becoming its own discipline in the Twentieth Century. The field of compliance-gaining offers another prism through which to view intermediary statues. It has been shown in

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<sup>807</sup> Baines 2006: 263.

<sup>808</sup> Winter 1997: 376 (emphasis her own).

<sup>809</sup> They were, in fact, likely unaware of the compliance-gaining techniques being worked upon them. See Gass and Seiter 2015: 28.

that the authority of the statues is further exemplified through strategies intended to influence behaviour in line with the statue-owner's desires. As a result, the authoritative aspect of the statue's communication can be categorised using a modern framework, with the necessary reservations regarding anachronism.

It must be acknowledged that a statue's inscriptions are not their sole method of communication – the physical form of the statue and its context are extremely important aspects of their interaction with observers. Chapter Three considered the symbolism behind statue forms with particular reference to the intermediary corpus, considering the suitability of each form for the declared function. The discussion demonstrates how we might understand the statue-owners' intentions and choices when erecting a monument, whereby they move beyond the desire for self-commemoration and eternal participation in temple rituals for their own benefit, and look to be more integrated in to the personal religious activity of others. The *sistrophore*, which is well-represented in Catalogue A and thus compiled as a type in Catalogue B, is an especially evocative monumental representation of communication with the divine, not least because they are an idealised form of a ritual action used to invoke and come into contact with gods – shaking a *sistrum*.

The presence of a *naos*-headdress worn by the goddess on many *sistrophores* also recalls the significance of doorways in transferral of messages. Although the exact provenance of most intermediaries and *sistrophores* is unknown, Chapter Four explored the suitability of doorways as a liminal space which itself could have facilitated communication with the divine sphere, and is therefore an appropriate proposition for the positioning of the statues.

### **C.3 Conceptualising communicative dialogues between humans, statues and gods**

Intermediaries naturally occupy a position between human and divine, enabling communication between them, and they are therefore a participant in various complex relationships. Their authority exists over lower-status worshippers but also over deities in the same way as has been proposed for humans via the medium of gods' hearing abilities.<sup>810</sup> The suggestion that they adopted this authority from the king adds another layer of royal influence and patronage to the balance of power. These statues placed themselves as an indispensable messenger in the search for contact with gods, suggesting to passers-by that only the elite could gain direct access to the divine sphere and thus make the gods accessible to those of lower-status.<sup>811</sup> The idea of facilitating access is clear through the promises to pass prayers on to deities, but also in the symbolism of sistrophores presenting a sistrum-feature.<sup>812</sup> It could be argued that intermediaries were, or at least claimed to be, the most vital element in the communication between human and god, and therefore held the greatest power within the triad. Their being a tangible object lends weight to this: the communication with statues and then with gods was in many respects one-directional,<sup>813</sup> whereby a worshipper had to trust that their petitions would be heard, transmitted and answered without receiving an unequivocal, immediate and tangible response. This lack of direct response is true in communication with both intermediary statue and god, but in the case of the former, a petitioner has a visual target with which to interact and thus as more concrete relationship.

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<sup>810</sup> Indeed some of the intermediaries directly address gods. A.26 says *Wr.t-ḥkz.w hzy imm msqr=k*, 'Werethekau, ho! Place your ear' (Text E), which is a direct exhortation to the goddess so that she listens to him.

<sup>811</sup> Baines (1991: 182-183) suggests a similar argument with reference to my A.15.

<sup>812</sup> A.25 (Text C, lines 15-16) makes reference to this pose. A.21 (Text B, line 3) also states that the statue-owner 'reveals' (or 'makes perceptive') the goddess – see footnote within the translations on the difficulties in this passage.

<sup>813</sup> Compare the idea of communication as control in administrative settings, to the point where it has been claimed to be 'asymmetric' (Kóthay 2013: 505).

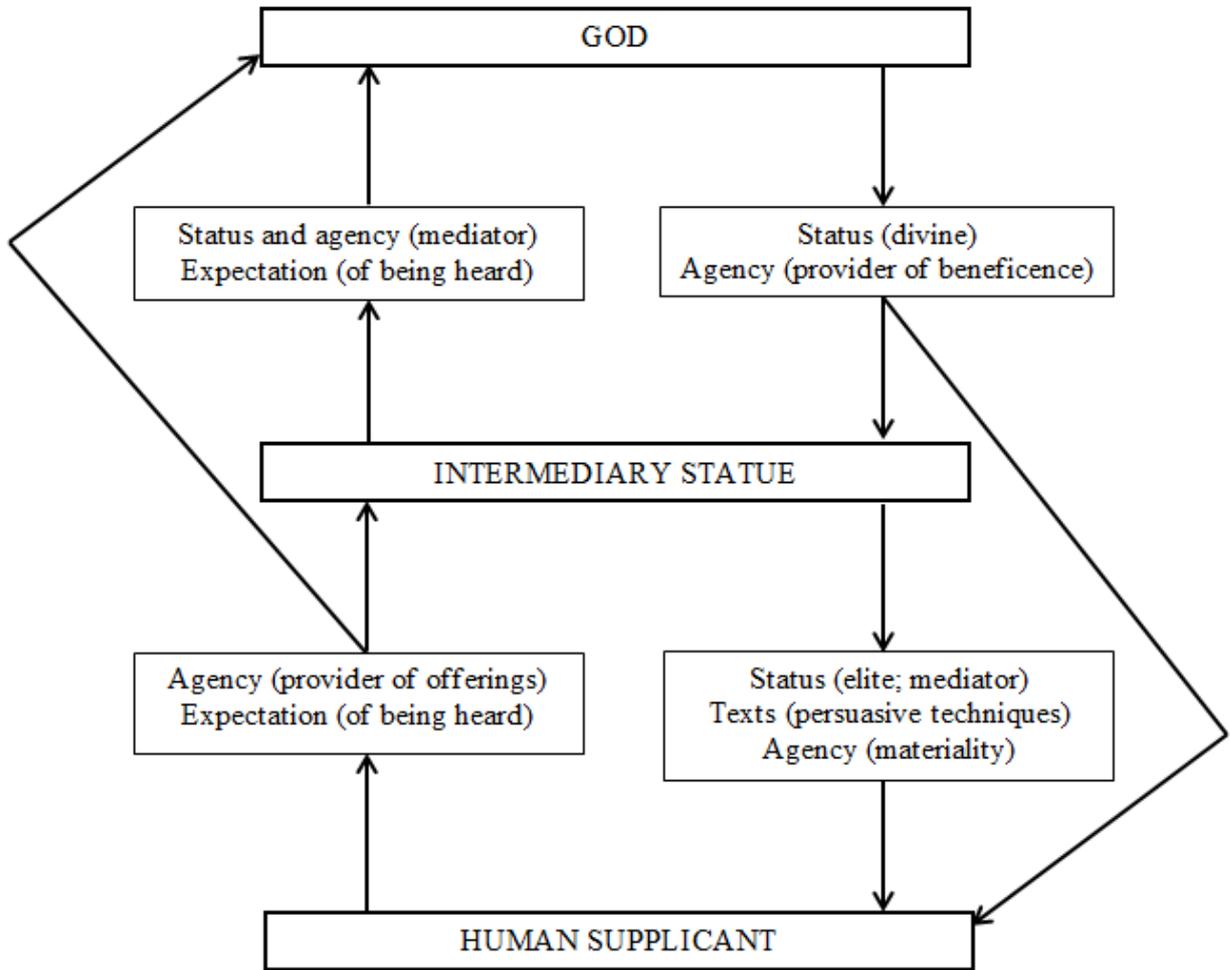
The face of the statue allows for eye-contact and easier visualisation of messages being heard through the ears. Moreover, the inscriptions on the statue substitute for speech. Although this speech never changes, the inscriptions symbolise an ongoing, eternally-repeating dialogue with all other parties, paralleling the desire of statue-owners for eternal commemoration. Nevertheless the text is also grounded in the present through its use of direct addresses and first and second person pronouns,<sup>814</sup> which personalises the communication and was presumably an attempt to induce individual observers of the statue into compliance. It could be argued, in light of the identification of various compliance-gaining techniques, that the inscriptions have been composed to incorporate various stages of dialogue at once, as they cannot be given to a message-receiver throughout the course of a conversation. Compared to a deity, therefore, whose image and associated texts may not have been accessible to supplicants, the materiality of the statue – that is, the function, in this case facilitating communication, enabled through physical and verbal engagement with observers – necessarily gives it more agency.

Communication was a medium through which aspects of power could be enacted by all parties involved. It has been recognised that master and servant, or god and worshippers, rely on each other, and negligence can affect either side,<sup>815</sup> and this is apposite for considering the human–statue–god relationship. The sources of power and authority within the communicative relationships considered in this thesis can be visualised thus:

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<sup>814</sup> Hays 2012: 146-147; cf. Kreißl 1989: 36 (direct speech but inconsistent grammatical structure within her corpus).

<sup>815</sup> Bryce 2002: 139.



This simple diagram demonstrates that each party has both autonomy and dependence. The material evidence discussed in the preceding chapters allows us to explore these connections in more depth. Considering intermediary statues and sistrophores allows us also to think of the individual within this context. We can analyse these multi-layered communicative objects for the messages intended by the creator, and through this, we can hope to understand something about the aim of the individual owners regarding the anticipated purpose, relevance and longevity of their monument.

Intermediaries and sistrophores were developed within the context of theological changes related to communication with deities and were enabled by the need for contact. We can therefore interpret their existence as an innovation incorporating several features of communication which gave the statue-owner some influence over how their statue would be situated and used within a temple. It was an attempt to control their own commemoration, by embracing a position in which they would be eternally active in both earthly and divine realms and also maintain an authoritative position in temple life. Nevertheless, elite statue-owners were not the sole beneficiaries: ultimately, the stated purpose of an intermediary was to benefit human worshippers and gods through forging a connection and aiding communication.

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APPENDICES AND FIGURES

for the thesis

COMMUNICATION WITH THE DIVINE IN ANCIENT EGYPT:  
HEARING DEITIES, INTERMEDIARY STATUES AND SISTROPHORES

by

ELEANOR BETH SIMMANCE

**APPENDIX ONE:**  
**HEARING EPITHETS**

Where applicable, the Leitz 2002 reference (volume and page number) is given below each entry – see details and bibliography within.

**Old Kingdom**

*msḏr*

*dšr-msḏr*: ‘the one with red ears’

Vol. VII, p.572

**Middle Kingdom**

*sḏm/smt*

*š3-ḥr.w-sḏm-ḏd-iṛwt*: the one with many faces, the one who listens to the one who cuts off cobras’ heads

[amongst a group of gods; listening to another deity/non-human subject]

Vol. II, p.219

*Skr-m-Tp-sḏmw*: Sokar in *Tep-sedjemu*

[place name related to hearing?]

Vol. VI, p.675

*ink im ḥḥ.w sḏm md.w ḥḥ.w*: I am the one who is millions and hears the affairs (words) of the millions

[statement made by Shu]

Not in Leitz: Coffin Text 75

*sm.t(t) sšn.t*: Hearer and Unstopper (of ears)

Two attestations [female deity who tends to the deceased]

Not in Leitz: Coffin Texts 166 and 181

*sḏm.w ḥrw ḥpp.w m smsw Wsir*: those who hear the words of those who travel in the following of Osiris

[group of gods; listening to the deceased(?)]

Not in Leitz: Coffin Text 312

*sm.t(w)*: the one who listens

[demon in the afterlife, amongst others to do with vigilance]

Not in Leitz: Coffin Text 1044

New Kingdom*msḏr****msḏr-sḏm*: Hearing Ear**

[designation of a temple in Karnak]

Vol. III p.447

1)

***ʿImn-n-msḏr-sḏm* or *ʿImn-msḏr-sḏm*: Amun of the Hearing Ear**

Four attestations

Vol. I, p.318

2)

***Pth-n-msḏr-sḏm*: Ptah of the Hearing Ear**

Vol. III, p.173

***nb-msḏr*: the lord of the ear**

[Geb]

Vol. III, p.652

***p3-nty-hr-hḥw-n-msḏrw-hr-hḥw-n-irwt*: the one who has millions of ears and millions of eyes**

[Eighth of twelve names of Horus]

Vol. III, p.14

***msḏr-s3ḥ*: ‘the ear of Orion’**[One of the *decans* (groups of stars) equated with the eye of Horus and the Horus child]

Vol. III p.447

*ḥnh****wb3-ḥnh.wy qr wb3-ḥḥ.wy*: the one who opens the ears**

Eighteenth Dynasty: one attestation [Thoth (also ‘the one who opens the eyes’)]

Graeco-Roman Period: five attestations [Amun-Re (x2), Behdety, Khnum (also ‘the one who opens the eyes’) and sun-god]

Vol. II, p.297

*sḏm****sḏm-sš3*: one who listens to prayers**

[deified Amenhotep III]

Not in Leitz: Schiff Giorgini 1961: 185-187 (doorjamb of Amenhotep III, Soleb)

***sḏm-mdw-tpyw-t3*: the one who hears the voices of those who are on earth**

[deceased person; funerary text]

Vol. VI, p.736

***sḏm-nḥ.t*: the one who hears prayer**

New Kingdom: twenty attestations [Amun, Amun-Re (x2), Ptah (x8), Re (x2), Reshep (x2), Haroeris (x2), Atum, Ramesses II (x3, two of which are as Montu)]

Late Period: two attestations [Amun-Re, Herishef]

Graeco-Roman Period: six attestations [Thoth, Amun-Re (x3), Amun, Haroeris-Mekhentiennirti]

Vol. VI, p.736

Not in Leitz(i): Münnich 2013: 91 (Qantir stela, Hildesheim 1100)

Not in Leitz(ii): Munro 1988: 37-38 (Great Hymn of Praise to Amun, pCairo 58038/pBoulaq 17)

Not in Leitz(iii): Catalogue B.18 (statue of Huy, Cairo JE 71897)

***sḏm-nḥ.t-m-pr-Hry-š=f*: the one who hears prayer in the temple of Herishef**

[Ramesses II as a god]

Vol. VI, p.736

***sḏm-nḥ.wt*: the one who hears prayers**

Eight attestations [Iah-Thoth, Amun-Re, Ptah (x5), Haroeris]

Vol. VI, p.736

***sḏm-nḥ.wt-n.t-nṯr.w-rmṯ*: the one who hears the prayers of gods and men**

[Amun-Re; listening to other deities in addition to human subjects]

Vol. VI, p.737

***sḏm-nḥ.wt-n.t-dd-sw-m-ib=f*: the one who hears the prayers of the one who places him in his heart**

[Iah-Thoth]

Vol. VI, p.737

***sḏm-nḥ.wt-n.t-tm.w*: the one who hears the prayers of mankind**

[Ramesses II as a god]

Vol. VI, p.737

***sḏm-nṯr.w*: the one the gods listen to**

New Kingdom: one attestation [Re-Harakhty]

Third Intermediate Period: one attestation [Re-Harakhty]

[listening to other deities; funerary text]

Vol. VI, p.737

***sḏm-rḥy.t*: the one who hears the *rekhyt*-people**

[Ptah]

Vol. VI, p.737

***sḏm-ḥtp.w* (or *msḏr-ḥtp*): the one who hears offerings(?) (or the merciful ear)**

Seven attestations [Amun-Re (x5), Amun of the Nile goose, Ptah]

Vol. VI, p.737

***sḏm-sbh-n-š-nb*: the one who hears the cry of every caller**

[Amun]

Vol. VI, p.737

***sḏm-spr.w*: the one who hears petitions**

New Kingdom: two attestations [Ptah, Thoth(? Restored based on other parts of the text)]

Third Intermediate Period: one attestation [Amun-Re]

Graeco-Roman Period: nine attestations [Amun-Re, Horus Behdety (x3), Behdety, Khnum, Khnum-Re, Sobek, Haroeris-Mekhentienirti]

Vol. VI, p.738

One not in Leitz: *KRI* IV 28:3 (Festal Song of Thoth)

***ii-hr-ᶜ-sḏm-spr.wt-n.t-s:nmḥ-n=f-nb*: the one who comes immediately and hears the petitions of everyone who makes supplication to him**

[Ptah]

Vol. I, p.118

***sḏm-s:nmḥ-n-nty-m-bṯnw*: the one who hears the supplication of those who are in distress**

[Re]

Vol. VI, p.739

***sḏm-s:nmḥ.w*: the one who hears supplications**

[Amun]

Vol. VI, p.739

***sḏm-s:nmḥ.w-n-ᶜš-n=f*: the one who hears the supplication of those who call him**

Five attestations [Amun, Amun-Re (x2), Re, sun-god(? Name lost, but solar disc in a barque shown)]

Vol. VI, p.739

***ᶜn-htp-m-sḏm-s:nmḥ.w-n-ᶜš-n=f*: the one with beautiful rest (mercy?), when he hears the supplications of the one who calls to him**

[Iah-Thoth]

Vol. II, p.121

***sḏm-n-ᶜš-n=f* (or *p3-sḏm-n-ᶜš-n=f* or *sḏm-ᶜš-n=f*): the one who hears the one who calls to him**

New Kingdom: two attestations [Amun-Re (x2)]

Graeco-Roman Period: one attestation [Khnum-Re]

Vol. VI, p.735

***sḏm-w3* (perhaps to be read *sḏm-w3w.w*): the one who hears, although he is distant (or the one who (even) hears that which is distant**

Three attestations [Amun, Amun-Re (x2)]

Vol. VI, p.735

***nṯr.w-sḏm.w-hrw*: the gods, who hear the voice**

[from Book of the Dead text, emerging in Eighteenth Dynasty]

Vol. IV, p.544

***wᶜb.t-sḏm.t-3by*: the (female?) pure one, who hears the Leopard (or to whom the Leopard listens?)**

New Kingdom, Saite Period and Graeco-Roman Period: one attestation each [a component of a *sbḥ.t*-door of *wrḏ-ib*]

[funerary text; listening to another deity/non-human subject]

Vol. II, 293

***sḏm.t-nb.t*: the (female) one who hears everything**

New Kingdom: two attestations [Iusaeus, Hathoric deity (Sedjmet-Nebet)]

Third Intermediate Period: one attestation [Hathor or Sekhmet]

Late Period: one attestation [standing goddess with a scarab(?) on the head, with stick and knife]

Graeco-Roman Period: nine attestations [goddess with Hathoric crown (representing II *peret* 19), Iusaeus (x5), Nephthys, Mut, goddess in 13<sup>th</sup> Lower Egyptian nome]

Vol. VI, p.740

***sḏm.t-nḥ.t*: the (female) one who hears prayer**

New Kingdom: five attestations [Nebethetepet, deified Ahmose Nefertari, Taweret, Hathor, Nekhbet]

Graeco-Roman Period: one attestation [Hathor]

Vol. VI, p.740-741

***sḏm.t-nḥ.w-n.t-bw-nb*: the (female) one who hears prayers of everyone**

[Tjenenet]

Vol. VI, p.741

***sḏm.t-spr.ty*: the (female) one who listens to the petitioner**

[Hathor]

Vol. VI, p.741 (also Catalogue A.5, statue of Tjauy)

***sḏm.t-ḥrw-nb-s-rꜥ-nb*: the one who hears the voice of her lord every day**

New Kingdom, Saite Period and Graeco-Roman Period: one attestation each [a component of a *sbḥ.t*-door of *wrḏ-ib*]

[funerary text; possibly listening to another deity]

Vol. VI, p.741

***Sḏm*: the hearing one** (named deity)

New Kingdom: seven attestations

Late Period: one attestation

Graeco-Roman Period: twenty-four attestations

Vol. VI, p.741-742

**Also compare (not included in the epithet totals):**

1)

***Tr-sḏm*: the seeing one and hearing one** (perhaps two named deities)

Vol. I, 439

2)

***Tr-sḏm-m-ḥw.t-ib.t*: the seeing one and the hearing one in the house of the bird snare(?)**

Two attestations [both as parts of groups of gods]

Vol. I, 439

**Third Intermediate Period*****msḏr***

[continued from earlier epithets related to msDr-sDm (hearing ear temple)]

3)

***ḥry.t-ib-msḏr-sḏm*: the one who is in the middle of ‘the Hearing Ear’**

[Amaunet]

Vol. V, p.424

4)

***ḥry-ib-msḏr-sḏm-m-pr-Imn*: the one who is in the middle of ‘the Hearing Ear in the house of Amun’**

[Amun-Re]

Vol. III, p.332

*ḥnh****wr-ḥnh.wy*: the one with many pairs of ears**

Third Intermediate Period: two attestations [Re, Amun-Re]

Graeco-Roman Period: six attestations [Horus Behdety (x3), Haroeris, Haroeris-Mekhentienirti, Sobek]

In all cases except Sobek, the deity is also called ḥš-*ir.ty*, ‘the one who numerous pairs of eyes’

Vol.II, p.429

***ḥnh.wy-n-T3-mḥw*: the ears of Lower Egypt**

Two attestations

[snake name; reading uncertain]

Vol. II, p.170

*sḏm****nb-sḏm*: the lord of listening**

[Atum]

Vol III, p.745

***sḏm-spr-n=f*: the one who hears the one who petitions to him**

[Ptah-Tatenen]

Vol. VI, p.737-738

***sḏm-spr-n=f-m-3t*: the one who hears immediately the one who petitions to him**

[Amun-Re]

Vol. VI, p.738

Late Period*ḥnh****ḥš.t-ḥnh.wy*: the one with many pairs of ears**

Saite Period: one attestation [month goddess *ʿIp.t-wr.t-m-ḥ.t-n.wt*]

Graeco-Roman Period: two attestations [month goddess *ʿIr.t-tm-mr.t-it-s* (also *nb.t-ḥr.w*, lady of many faces), Hathor]

Vol. II, p.224

*sḏm****ḥnty-ḥw.t-sḏm*: the head of the house of the hearer**

[Thoth, resident in a locality at Heliopolis]

Vol. V, p.839

***qn-m-sḏm*: the enduring one in hearing**

Late Period: one attestation [two *bas* of Amun]

Graeco-Roman Period: six attestations [Horus-Behdety (x6)]

Vol. VII, p.217

***sdm...?* (perhaps to be restored *sdm-iskb.t/h3r.t*) : the...?...hears (or the one who hears the mourners/widow)**

Two attestations [Onuris, Baal]

Vol. VI, p.735

***sdm-imy-hw.t-3.t*: the hearing one, who is found in the big house**

[Re]

Vol. VI, p.735

***3-R-r-sdm-mdw=f*: Re enters in order to hear his word**

[possibly listening to another deity or non-human subject]

Vol. II, p.232

***sdm-nh.t-n.t-rhy.t*: the one who hears the prayer of the *rekhyt*-people**

[Osiris of baboons]

Vol. VI, p.736

***sdm-hrw-n-s-nb*: the one who hears the voice of every man**

[Lord of All (*nb-r-dr*)]

Vol. VI, p.737

***sdm-spr-n-s-nb*: the one who hears the petition of every man**

[Lord of All (*nb-r-dr*)]

Vol. VI, p.738

***Sdmt*: the (female) one who hears**

Late Period: one attestation [goddess with hands raised in adoration]

Graeco-Roman Period: three attestations [listener of Re (another deity), one of the protagonists in the story of Sehen, lion-headed goddess]

Vol. VI, p.740

## Graeco-Roman Period

### *msdr*

***h3h-msdr*: the one with a quick ear**

Two attestations [Sobek-Re, Amun-Re (also the great god of prayer (*nh.t*))]

Vol. V, p.630

***ir-msdr.wy*: the one who creates the ears (=the ability to hear)**

Two attestations [Horus-Behdety; scribal palette]

Vol. I, p.460

***Wsir-m-msdr.wy*: Osiris in (the town of) the Two Ears**

[Osiris within an unknown locality, possibly related to the underworld – funerary text; reading of *msdr.wy* uncertain]

Vol. II, p.547

***nb-msdr.wy*: the lord of the Two Ears**

[Osiris-Khentikhety; also this unknown locality?]

Vol. III, p.652

***msdr.wy-sdm.wy* or singular *msdr-sdm*: the hearing ears [Greek Mestasytmis]  
Three attestations [reference to an ʕ-priest, Mestasytmis himself, Thoth (singular)]  
Vol. III p.447**

***dg3-msdr-n-ir-m3ʕ.t-n-3b-ib=f*: the one who activates the ear for the one who does *maat*  
after his wish  
[Haroeris-Mekhentienirti]  
Vol. VII, p.578**

### ʕnh

***izh.t-ʕnh.wy*: the one with gleaming ears  
[Hathor]  
Vol. I, p.111**

***ʕ3-ʕnh.wy qr ʕ3-hh.wy*: the one with numerous pairs of ears  
Nine attestations [Mekhentienirti, Hareoris (x3), Sobek-Re, Horus-Behdety (x3), sun-god]  
Vol. II, p.215**

***wb3-ʕnh.wy-n-bw-nb qr wb3-ʕnh.wy-bw-nb*: the one with open ears for everyone  
Four attestations [Amun, Amun-Re, Horus-Behdety (x2)]  
Vol. II, p.297**

***wb3-ʕnh.wy-n-mr=f*: the one who opens the ears for the one who he loves (?)  
[Likely Geb]  
Vol. II, p.297**

***hrw-sr-nfr-r-ʕnh.wy=sy*: the one to whose ears is the sound of the beautiful tambourine  
[Bastet]  
Vol. V, p.947**

***sš-ʕnh.wy*: the one who opens the ears (?)  
[Khnum-Re]  
Vol. VI, p.605**

***pr-m-ʕnh-Rʕ*: the one who comes forth from the ear of Re  
[Khonsu-Pairsekheru]  
Vol. III, p.57**

***ʕnh.wy=f-r-šnw-itn*: ‘the one whose ears correspond to the radius of the sun’  
[a living god (*ntr-ʕnh*)]  
Vol. II, p.170**

### *sdm* and *ndb*

***wr-sdm=s*: the (female) one whose hearing is great  
[lion-headed snake/goddess, representing I *akhet* 25 (in compound *wr-sdm=s-nb.t-3h.t*)]  
Vol. II, p.462**

***s<sup>h</sup>-sdm*: the noble who hears (?)**

[Hapy (one of the four son of Horus)]

Vol. VI, p.197

***D<sup>h</sup>wty-sdm*: Thoth, the hearer**

Two attestations [related to an Ibis (x2)]

Vol. VII, p.650

***sdm-[...]nw* (with people as determinative): the one who hears the prayers of sufferers**

[deified Imhotep]

Vol. VI, p.735

***sdm-<sup>s</sup>.tw-n-f-m-pr-ms*: the one who hears when one calls to him in the birthing house**

[Amun-Re]

Vol. VI, p.735

***sdm-m<sup>s</sup>* or ***sdm-m<sup>s</sup>-n-mr-f*: the true listeners (of his love)****

Three attestations [Sobek-Re, Haroeris, Haroeris-Mekhentienirti]

Vol. VI, p.735

***sdm-nis-n-ntr.w-rmt-<sup>3</sup>h.w-mwt.w*: the one who hears the calls of the gods, people, akhu and the dead**

[Re-Harakhty; also listening to deities or non-human subjects]

Vol. VI, p.736

***sdm-n<sup>h</sup>.t-hr-imnt.t-W<sup>3</sup>s.t*: the one who hears prayer in the west of Thebes**

[deified Imhotep]

Vol. VI, p.736

***sdm-n<sup>h</sup>.wt-nt-<sup>s</sup>-n-f*: the one who hears the prayers of the one who calls him**

[Sobek-Re]

Vol. VI, p.736

***sdm-n<sup>h</sup>.wt-n.t-n.twy-<sup>i</sup>w.tyw*: the one who hears the prayers of beings and non-beings**

[Sobek-enpaiw; possibly also listening to deities or non-human subjects]

Vol. VI, p.737

***sdm-n-h<sup>3</sup>-snd-n-b<sup>3</sup>.w-f*: the one who hears the adoration of his power**

[Likely Geb]

Vol. VI, p.737

***tkn-m-sdm-h<sup>h</sup>.w-nb.w*: the one who approaches in order to hear all the millions**

[Khnum-Re]

Vol. VII, p.446

***sdm-h.t-nb.t*: the one who hears everything**

[named deity Sedjem]

Vol. VI, p.737

***<sup>s</sup>.t-ndb*: the (female) one who has begun hearing**

[Hathor]

Vol. VII, p.22

***ndb-ıw.tyw*: the one who hears the non-beings**

[Amun-Re; listening to non-human subjects]

Vol. IV, p.577

***tfn-psđ.t-ıhr-ndb-ırw=s*: the Ennead rejoice over the hearing of her voice**

[designation of Hathor, being heard by the Ennead; listening to another deity]

Vol. VII, p.410

***ndb-spr.w*: the one who hears petitions**

[Sobek-Re]

Vol. IV, p.577

***ndb-n-f-spr.w-n.w-n.tyw-ıw.tyw*: the one who listens for him(?) (to) the petitions of the beings and non-beings**

[Horus-Behdety; possibly listening to other deities and non-human subjects]

Vol. IV, p.577

***ıhp-ıb-s-ıhr-ndb-sns.w*: the one whose heart is satisfied with the hearing of praises**

[Isis]

Vol. V, p.568

***ndb-n-f-shıw*: the one who listens for him(?) to the pleading**

Horus-Behdety

Vol. IV, p.577

***ndb-nıs-n-ıhr-nb*: the one who hears the supplication of everyone**

[Hathor]

Vol. IV, p.577-578

***ndb.t-s:wıđ-ıhr*: the (female) one who hears with glorified face(?)**

[Nephthys]

Vol. IV, p.578

***ıms.t-ıb-ıhr-sđm-spr*: the (female) one who rejoices when hearing the petition**

Two attestations [Hathor (x2)]

Vol. I, 21

***sđm-spr-n-bw-nb*: the one who hears the petition of everyone**

[Horus-Behdety]

Vol. VI, p.738

***sđm-spr-n-mr-ıđ-n-ıhm=f*: the one who hears the petition of those who wish to call his Majesty**

[Nenwen (local god of Kus, later equated with Haroeris)]

Vol. VI, p.738

***sđm-spr-n-ıhr-nb*: the one who hears the petition of every man**

[Mekhentienirti]

Vol. VI, p.738

***sđm-n=f-spr-n-spr.w-m-nıw.t=f*: the one who hears for him(?) the petition of the petitioner in his town**

[a phoenix]

Vol. VI, p.738

***sdm-spr-n-tp.wy-t3*: the one who hears the petition of those who are on earth**

[Tatenen]

Vol. VI, p.738

***sdm-spr.w-m-Iwn.t*: the one who hears petitions in Dendera**

[One of sixty deities (name destroyed) guarding the entrance of the sanctuary of the mammisi]

Vol. VI, p.738

***sdm-spr.w-nw-š-n=f* or *sdm-spr.w-n-nty-š-n=f*: the one who hears the petitions of those who call him**

Four attestations [Thoth, Sobek (x2) and Horus-Behdety]

Vol. VI, p.738

***n.tyw-ḥr-sdm-spr.w-m-wi3*: the ones who hear petitions in the (solar)-barque**

[United *bas* (*b3.w-dmd.w*)]

Vol. IV, p.383

***sdm-spr.w-n.tyw-iw.tyw*: the one who hears the petitions of the beings and non-beings**

[named deity Sedjem; possibly listening to other deities and non-human subjects]

Vol. VI, p.738

***sdm-spr.w-n.w-ntr.w-rmḏ* or *sdm-sprw-nw-ntrw* the one who hears the petitions of gods (and men)**

Five attestations [Harsomtus (x2), Haroeris (x2, one of which is the second writing), Sobek-Re]

Vol. VI, p.738

***sdm-spr.w-n.w-ḥr-nb qr sdm-spr.w-ḥr-nb*: the one who hears the petitions of everybody**

Four attestations [Horus-Behdety, Amun (x2, one of which continues ‘while his ears are open for them’ (*wb3 ḥr.wy=fy n=sn*)), Khonsu-Thoth]

Vol. VI, p.738-739

***sdm-spr.w-n.w-ḥḥ(.w)*: the one who hears the petitions of the millions**

Two attestations [Horus-Re, sun-god]

Vol. VI, p.739

***sdm.w-spr-n-ḥḥ.w*: the ones who hears the petition(s) of the millions**

Two attestations [Horus-Behdety and Hathor together (x2)]

Vol. VI, p.740

***sdm.w-spr.w*: the ones who hear petitions**

Four attestations [United *bas* (*b3.w-dmd.w*)]

Vol. VI, p.740

***sdm.t-nb.t-m-Iwn.t*: the (female) one who hears everything in Dendera**

Three attestations [Nephtys (x2), Iusaeus]

Vol. VI, p.740

***sdm.t-nb.t-m-dd.t*: the (female) one who hears everything in Mendes**

[(Hathoric?) goddess on the pronaos façade, Dendera]

Vol. VI, p.740

***sdm.t-spr*: the (female) one who hears the petition**

Two attestations [Sekhmet, Nebet-uu-menhit]

Vol. VI, p.741

***sdm.t-spr-n-š-n-s*: the (female) one who hears the petition of the one who calls to her**

[Hathor]

Vol. VI, p.741

***sdm.t-spr-n-hr-nb*: the (female) one who hears the petition of everyone**

[Nebet-uu]

Vol. VI, p.741

***sdm.t-spr.w*: the (female) one who hears petitions**

Four attestations [Hathor (x2), Isis (hears petitions of those far and near), Mut]

Vol. VI, p.741

***sdm.t-spr.w-n.w-hh.w*: the (female) one who hears the petitions of the millions**

Four attestations [Hathor (x3), Isis]

Vol. VI, p.741

***m33.w-sdm.w-iw.tyw-mrh*: the seeing and hearing ones without perishing**

[Ogdoad]

Vol. III, p.205

***sdm.w-wd-ntr-ir-m-dw3.t*: the ones who hear divine command made in the underworld**

[Seventy-seven gods of Pharbaitos; listening to other deities or non-human subjects]

Vol. VI, p.739

***sdm.t-w3.w*: the (female) one who hears the one who make evil(?) thoughts**

[Hathor]

Vol. VI, p.740

***sdm.t-nis-n-m3<sup>c</sup>.t*: the (female) one who hears the one who calls to maat**

[Hathor]

Vol. VI, p.740

***sdm.t-hf3-n-sn-s*: the (female) one who hears the homage of her brother(?)**

[Tefnut]

Vol. VI, p.741

**APPENDICES TWO AND THREE:**  
**A NOTE ON THE CATALOGUES**

The catalogues in Appendices Two and Three provide basic information and some comments on the intermediary corpus (including translations) and on all the examples known to me of the so-called ‘sistrophore’ statue.

The practical information given (for example, material and height) is for the most part based on the most recent publication. The heights given are for remaining height, not the proposed height in the case of fragments. For dating, where a cartouche is present on the monument the name of the royal individual is given in brackets with no further qualification; if the dating to a specific reign is based on other grounds, these are given in the footnotes. In catalogue B cartouches are not considered part of the inscription, and are not mentioned within the ‘Inscriptions’ or ‘Notes’ sections unless there is a specific reason for doing so (for example, unusual placement). The terms left and right are used as if from the perspective of the statue as opposed to the onlooker, unless otherwise noted.

For the transliteration and translations, the following are used:

- ( ) Words or signs (for example, endings and suffixes) that are missing in the original text but are intended or are part of the word; in the translation these enclose words added for greater grammatical sense
- [ ] Restorations. In cases where these restorations are more certain, the square brackets are not included in the translation.
- ⟨ ⟩ Signs which are believed to have been written or omitted in error

**APPENDIX TWO:**  
**CATALOGUE A: INTERMEDIARY STATUES**

**A.1 (Fig. 1)**

<b>Name:</b>	Amenhotep (son of Hapu)
<b>Date:</b>	Eighteenth Dynasty (Amenhotep III)
<b>Material:</b>	Black granite
<b>Height:</b>	1.30m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Temple of Amun, Karnak (discovered on north face, east side of tenth pylon)
<b>Current Location:</b>	Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JE 44862 (Luxor Museum J 4)
<b>Statue form:</b>	Cross-legged with papyrus
<b>Notes:</b>	The head of the individual is bowed slightly as if engaged in thought or reading what is being written.
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Innumerable publications cite the two scribal statues of Amenhotep son of Hapu. The bibliographies here are only a small selection. Legrain 1914b: 19-29; Hornemann 1957a: 431; Vandier 1958: 448 n.5, 449, 669; <i>Urk</i> IV: 1834-1835; Varille 1968: 18-25, pl. III; Quaegebeur 1977: 133, n.24; Wildung 1977c: 293-294, 297; Wildung 1977d: 84; Romano et al. 1979: 90-91 (no. 117); PM II <sup>2</sup> : 188; Delvaux 1992; Galán 2002; Simmance 2014b; Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.02 05.06 (photographs), 05.07 (photographs of base) and 18.10 (photographs)

**Inscriptions:**

<b>A: On the right of the chest, cartouche:</b>		
	<i>Nb-mꜣꜥ.t-Rꜥ</i>	Nebmaatre
<b>On the right shoulder, cartouche:</b>		
<b>B:</b>	<i>ʿImn-ḥtp ḥqꜣ Wꜣs.t</i>	Amenhotep, ruler of Thebes
<b>C: On the papyrus, fifteen columns (orientated inwards):</b>		
[1]	<i>dī.w m ḥsw(.t) n.t ḥr-nsw r ḥw.t-nṯr nt</i>	[1] Given as a favour from the King to the temple of
[2]	<i>ʿImn m ʿIp.t-sw.t n r-pꜥ.t r ḥd n Gb</i>	[2] Amun in <i>Ipet-sut</i> for the prince attached to the White Chapel of Geb,
[3]	<i>sš nsw sš nfr.w ʿImn-ḥtp mꜣꜥ-ḥrw sꜣ Ḥpw n Km-wr</i>	[3] royal scribe, scribe of recruits, Amenhotep, true-of-voice, son of Hapu of <i>Kem-wer</i> .
[4]	<i>dd=f iw ir.n=i wpw.ty nsw n ḥm=f m</i>	[4] He says: I have acted as royal messenger of His Majesty namely
[5]	<i>in.t n=f rmt Wꜣs.t wn m nd.wt m</i>	[5] bringing to him the people of Thebes who exist as serfs in
[6]	<i>pr nsw r ḥw st wꜥb r-nḥḥ n ʿImn nb ns.wt tꜣ.wy</i>	[6] the royal estate in order to make it pure forever for Amun, Lord of the thrones of the Two Lands
[7]	<i>m ḥb-</i>	[7] for the first
[8]	<i>sd tpy</i>	[8] <i>Sed</i> -festival
[9]	<i>n ḥm=f</i>	[9] of His Majesty.
[10]	<i>rdi.n w(i) nsw r snhy</i>	[10] The King placed me to record

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| [11] <i>pr Ḳmn dī=i w<sup>c</sup>b.w m</i>                           | [11] the estate of Amun. I set up the wab-priests [lit. I put the wab-priests in the place]     |
| [12] <i>s.t [...] s3</i>   | [12] [...] behind(?)  |
| [13] <i>m t3(?) [...] [dhn].n w(i)</i>                               | [13] on the ground(?) [...] The King [appointed]  |
| [14] <i>nsw r sšm(.w) ḥb(.w) n Ḳmn m ḥb.w=f</i>                      | [14] me as leader of festivals of Amun for all his  |
| [15] <i>nb.w mḥ.n=i ʿ3b.t=f nb.t m ḥr.t-hrw n.t r<sup>c</sup> nb</i> | [15] festivals and I provided all his food daily [lit. in the course of the day, of every day]. |

**D: Around the base:**

*n k3 n r-p<sup>c</sup>.t ḥ3.ty-<sup>c</sup> sš nsw sš nfr.w Ḳmn-ḥtp m3<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw i rmt<sup>c</sup> n.t Ḳp.t-s.wt 3bb.yw m33 Ḳmn mī.w n=i smī=i spr.wt=tn ink wḥm.w n ntr pn rdī.n wī Nb-m3<sup>c</sup>.t-R<sup>c</sup> r wḥm dd.wt t3.wy ir.w n=i ḥtp-dī-nsw nis.w ḥr rn=i m ḥr.t-hrw mī ir.wt n ḥsy*

For the *ka* of the prince and mayor, royal scribe, scribe of recruits, Amenhotep, true-of-voice. Oh, people of *Ipet-sut*, those who desire to see Amun, come to me. I will report your petitions (because) I am the reporter of this god. Nebmaatre caused me to repeat the words of the Two Lands. Perform for (me) the offering-which-the-king-gives. Summon my name daily like that which is done for a favoured one.

**A.2 (Fig. 2)**

- Name:** Amenhotep (son of Hapu)  
**Date:** Eighteenth Dynasty (Amenhotep III)  
**Material:** Black granite  
**Height:** 1.30m  
**Provenance:** Temple of Amun, Karnak (discovered on north face, east side of tenth pylon)  
**Current Location:** Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JE 44861  
**Statue form:** Cross-legged with papyrus  
**Notes:** The head of the individual is bowed slightly as if engaged in thought or reading what is being written.  
**Bibliography:** Legrain 1914b: 17-29; Aldred 1951: pl.91; Vandier 1958: 448 n.5, 449, 515 n.2, 664, 669, pl.CLXXI.3; *Urk* IV: 1832-1833; Varille 1968: 26-31, pl. IV; Quaegebeur 1977: 133, n.24; Wildung 1977c: 293, 297; Wildung 1977d: 84; PM II<sup>2</sup>: 188; Delvaux 1992; Galán 2002; Simmance 2014b; Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.02 and 05.06 (photographs);

**Inscriptions:****A: On the right of the chest:**

*Nb-m3<sup>c</sup>.t-R<sup>c</sup>*

Nebmaatre

**B: On the right shoulder, cartouche:**

*Ḳmn-ḥtp ḥq3 W3s.t*

Amenhotep, ruler of Thebes

**C: On the papyrus, fourteen columns (orientated inwards):**

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| [1] <i>dī.w m ḥsw(.t) n.t ḥr-nsw n r-p<sup>c</sup>.t ḥz.ty-<sup>c</sup> ḥtm-</i>                  | [1] Given as a favour from the King for the prince and mayor, seal-   |
| [2] <i>bī.t smr w<sup>c</sup>(.ty) sš nsw sš nfr.w Ḥmn-ḥtp m<sup>z</sup><sup>c</sup>-ḥrw ḏd=f</i> | [2] bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, sole friend, royal scribe, scribe of recruits Amenhotep, true-of-voice. He says: |
| [3] <i>īw rdī.n w(i) nsw r imy-r k<sup>z</sup>.wt m ḏw n</i>                                      | [3] The King placed me as overseer of the works in the  |
| [4] <i>bīz.t r ḥrp mn.w n it Ḥmn m Ḥp.t-s.wt</i>  | [4] mountain of sandstone, in order to control the monuments of (his) father Amun in <i>Ipet-sut</i>                    |
| [5] <i>īw in.n=i mn.w wr.w <sup>c</sup>z.w m</i>  | [5] I brought about very great monuments, namely  |
| [6] <i>twt.w n ḥm=f m ḥmw.t rh.t</i>  | [6] the statues of His Majesty of skilled workmanship   |
| [7] <i>ḥr pw</i>  | [7] which were carried out  |
| [8] <i>m</i>  | [8] from  |
| [9] <i>Ḥwnw Mḥ.w r Ḥwnw Šm<sup>c</sup>.w</i>  | [9] Heliopolis of Lower Egypt to Heliopolis of Upper Egypt.   |
| [10] <i>ḥtp=sn st=sn ḥr imn.t</i>   | [10] They rest (in) their place in the west   |
| [11] <i>[...] ī</i>   | [11] [...]  |
| [12] <i>nb wī(?) [...] īw</i>   | [12] [...] My   |
| [13] <i>īr.n n=i nb=i sp n zh.t dī.n=f</i>  | [13] Lord performed for me a deed of benevolence: he placed   |
| [14] <i>twt=i m pr Ḥmn rh.n=f wn.n=f n ḏt</i>   | [14] my image in the house of Amun. He knew it would be there for eternity.   |

**D: Around the base:**

*n k<sup>z</sup> n r-p<sup>c</sup>.t ḥz.ty-<sup>c</sup> sš nsw sš nfr.w Ḥmn-ḥtp m<sup>z</sup><sup>c</sup>-ḥrw ī Šm<sup>c</sup>.w Mḥ.w īr.t nb.t m<sup>z</sup>.t itn īw.w m-ḥd ḥnt r W<sup>z</sup>s.t r s:nmḥ n nb ntr.w mī.w n=i smī=i ḏd(.w)=tn n Ḥmn m Ḥp.t-s.wt īr.w n(=i) ḥtp-dī-nsw qbḥ.w n=i m ntt m <sup>c</sup>=tn ink whm.w n dd nsw n sḏm md.wt n.t <s>nmḥ r s:<sup>c</sup>r.t ḥr.wt idb.wy*

For the *ka* of the prince and mayor, royal scribe, scribe of recruits, Amenhotep, true-of-voice. Oh Upper and Lower Egypt, everyone [lit. every eye] who sees the sun-disk, those who come downstream and upstream to Thebes in order to make supplication to the Lord of the gods, come to me. I will report what you say to Amun in *Ipet-sut*. Perform for (me) the offering-which-the-king-gives. Present libations to me with that which is in your hand (because) I am the reporter whom the King has placed for hearing words of supplication<sup>816</sup> (and) in order to cause the affairs of the Two Banks to ascend.

<sup>816</sup> Varille (1968: 31, n.4) reconstructs *snmḥ*; Pinch (1993: 344) offers an alternative translation of *nmḥ*, 'poor man'. This would support the idea that intermediary statues were for the use of lower status individuals. A translation with the sense of 'humble' may be more appropriate, given the fact that the initial part of the appeal is more inclusive of a wider group of people, regardless of status: *īr.t nb.t*. The implication of low status would therefore be seen as relative to the gods, rather than to other humans.

A.3 (=B.12) (Fig. 3)

<b>Name:</b>	Men
<b>Date:</b>	Eighteenth Dynasty (Amenhotep III)
<b>Material:</b>	Granodiorite
<b>Height:</b>	0.53m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Temple of Mut, Karnak
<b>Current Location:</b>	Egyptian Museum, Cairo, CG 901 (JE 11633)
<b>Statue form:</b>	Kneeling with Hathoric element (missing: head and right upper arm)
<b>Notes:</b>	
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Benson and Gourlay 1899: 198-199, 331-335; Borchardt 1930: 145, Bl. 156; Helck 1939: 13, 16; Drioton 1942: 22-23; Hornemann 1957b: 536; Vandier 1958: 465 n.1, 658; Clère 1970: 2, n.6; <i>Urk IV</i> : 1922 (714); <i>Urk IV Übersetzung</i> 17-22: 319; PM II <sup>2</sup> : 260; Clère 1995: 177-180 (Doc. AA); Bernhauer 2010: 237-238 (3.12-19); Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list) and 05.03

**Inscriptions:**

- A: On the top of the naos of the Hathoric element:**  
*Nb-mꜣꜥ.t-Rꜥ ms [n] Mw.t* Nebmaatire, born of Mut<sup>817</sup>
- B: On the handle of the Hathoric element:**  
*Mw.t nb.t Išrw* Mut, lady of *Isheru*
- C: Between the Hathoric element and chest, right side:**  
*sš nfr.w Mn* The scribe of recruits Men
- D: Between the Hathoric element and the chest, left side:**
- |                             |   |
|-----------------------------|---|
| [1] <i>wḥm.w n ḥnw.ty=i</i> | [1] (I am) the reporter of my two mistresses.     |
| [2] <i>i n-i s:ꜥr</i>       | [2] Speak <sup>818</sup> to me (and) I will cause |
| [3] <i>=i spr.wt=tn</i>     | [3] your petitions to ascend.                     |
- E: On the back pillar:**  
*ḥtp-dī-nsw ḥꜣ m ḥ.t nb.t nfr.t wꜥb.t qb* Offering-which-the-king-gives and millions  
*ḥr ḥtp.t rꜥ nb n sš nsw sš nfr.w Mn* of all good and pure things. Pour a libation  
consisting of offerings every day for the  
royal scribe, the scribe of recruits, Men.
- F: Around the base, from the centre of the front and around the right side:**  
*ḥtp-dī-nsw Mw.t nb.t Išrw dī-s prr.t* Offering-which-the-king-gives to Mut, lady  
*nb.t ḥr wḏḥw n rꜥ nb n kꜣ n sš nsw Mn* of *Isheru* (so that) she may give (lit. cause a  
coming of) everything upon her offering  
table every day, for the *ka* of the royal  
scribe, Men.

<sup>817</sup> ‘Mut’ is written here as a vulture with a flail (Gardiner Sign List G15), and Clère (1995: 178) has restored a *nb*-basket underneath.

<sup>818</sup> The usual determinative for this is the seated man with hand to mouth – Faulkner (1935: 183) has identified the writing here, the standing man with right arm raised, in the Book of the Dead, but it is obviously an unusual writing.

**G: Around the base, from the centre of the front and around the left side:**

*ḥtp-dī-nsw Šhm.t Wꜣdy.t dī=sn ḥtp.t  
dfꜣ.w rꜥ nb n kꜣ n mh-ib n nb tꜣ.wy sꜥ  
nsw Mn*

Offering-which-the-king-gives to Sekhmet and Wadjyt (so that) they may give offerings and provisions every day for the *ka* of the companion of the Lord of the Two Lands, the royal scribe, Men

**A.4 (=B.19) (Fig. 4)**

<b>Name:</b>	Neferrenpet
<b>Date:</b>	Eighteenth Dynasty (Amenhotep III) <sup>819</sup>
<b>Material:</b>	Sandstone
<b>Height:</b>	0.49m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Deir el-Bahari <sup>820</sup>
<b>Current Location:</b>	Musée du Louvre, Paris, E 14241
<b>Statue form:</b>	Cross-legged with an object, now missing, on the left thigh (probably Hathoric element); a small basin sits before the knees (two fragments; missing: left shoulder and arm, with damage to right forearm)
<b>Notes:</b>	A <i>menit</i> -necklace rests over the right shoulder and was once held by the right hand.
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Moret 1919: 163-166, pl. 5; Boreux 1933: 11-26, pl. 3-4; Drioton 1933: 20-22, pl. III; Bothmer 1949: 48 (fig. 9); <i>Urk</i> IV: 1856 (672); <i>Urk</i> IV <i>Übersetzung</i> 17-22: 287; Hornemann 1957a: 401; Vandier 1958: 449 n.6, 485, 493 n.13, 496, 517 n.4, 675, pl. CXLVIII.4; Clère 1970: 3, n.14; Geßler-Löhr 1990: 57-60, Tf.1; Kozloff and Bryan 1992: 242 (no. 38); Clère 1995: 181-186 (Doc. BB); Bernhauer 2010: 241-242 (3.16-72); Konrad 2011-13: 45-48; PM VIII: 557-558 (801-629-350); Clère (Griffith Institute) MS 05.01 (in initial list)

**Inscriptions:****A: On the kilt, to the right of the Hathoric(?)-element, eight columns (orientated outwards):**

[1] <i>prr.t nb.t ḥr wdḥw n Ḥw.t-Ḥr</i>	[1] Everything that comes upon the offering table of Hathor
[2] <i>ḥr sm.t n kꜣ n wbꜣ nsw wꜥb</i>	[2] who is at the head of the necropolis for the <i>ka</i> of the royal butler, the one
[3] <i>ꜥ.wy ꜥꜣ n ꜥ.t n nb tꜣ.wy imy-r pr</i>	[3] whose two hands are pure, great one of the chamber of the Lord of the Two Lands, overseer of the house,
[4] <i>Nfr-rmp.t mꜣꜥ-ḥrw dd=f ink iḥy</i>	[4] Neferrenpet, true-of voice. He says: I am the sistrum-
[5] <i>n ḥnw.t=i wḥm.w n nb.t p.t s:ꜥr</i>	[5] player of my mistress, the reporter of the lady of the sky, the one who causes the petition(s)
[6] <i>spr.t ḥr nb n Nbw r-ḥnw n pr=s</i>	[6] of all to ascend to the Golden One into the interior of her house

<sup>819</sup> On stylistic grounds: Bernhauer 2010: 241. Clère MSS 05.01 only gives the broad dating of late Eighteenth to early Nineteenth Dynasty.

<sup>820</sup> After the inscriptions ('Djeseret'): Clère 1995: 181; Bernhauer 2010: 242 n.1.

- [7] *ϵ.wy w<sup>c</sup>b hr ms n(=s?) (s)šš.t* [7] the one of pure hands when presenting to her(?)<sup>821</sup> the sistrum
- [8] *mnī.t m-bzh-ϵ psd.t n k3 n Nfr-rnp.t* [8] and *menit* in the presence of the Ennead, for the *ka* of Neferrenpet.
- B: On the kilt, to the left of the Hathoric(?) -element, three columns (orientated outwards):**
- [1] *šsp sn.w m dbh(.t)-h̄tp hr wdhw n* [1] Receiving of *senu*-loaves amongst offerings upon the offering table of
- [2] *hr.t-tp in.t n k3 n wb3 nsw w<sup>c</sup>b ϵ.wy* [2] the one who is in front of the valley, for the *ka* of the royal butler, the one who is pure of hands
- [3] *ϵ3 n ϵ.t n nb t3.wy imy-r pr Nfr-rnp.t m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw* [3] the great one of the chamber of the Lord of the Two Lands, the overseer of the house, Neferrenpet, true-of-voice.
- C: On the back pillar, three columns:**
- [1] *h̄tp-dī-nsw Imn hn.ty Dsr.t Hw.t-Hr hr.y-tp sm.t dī=sn d3.t r t3 r* [1] Offering-which-the-king-gives to Amun who is in front of *Djeseret* and Hathor who is at the head of the necropolis (so that) they may cause a crossing over land to
- [2] *Ip.t-s.wt r ts-h̄.t r<sup>c</sup> nb pr.t m t3 r m3 Imn m hb=f nfr n in.t šsp* [2] *Ipet-Sut* in order to place offerings every day, and a going out in the land to see Amun in his Beautiful Festival of the Valley,
- [3] *w<sup>c</sup>b h̄bs hn<sup>c</sup> wr.w b<sup>c</sup>h̄ im m p3 th̄ n k3 n wb3 nsw imy-r pr Nfr-rnp.t m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw* [3] (and a) receiving of pure cloths together with great things and abundance therein, in drunkenness, for the *ka* of the royal butler and overseer of the house Neferrenpet, true-of-voice.
- D: On the top of the base, around the offering basin:**
- [right of basin] *šsp k3.w b<sup>c</sup>h̄ dī(.wt) (m) hr.t-hrw n.t r<sup>c</sup> nb* [right of basin] Receiving of food and an abundance of offerings in the course of every day
- [left of basin] *šsp df3.w pr m-bzh hr h3w.t n nb.t t3.wy* [left of basin] Receiving of provisions coming forth in (her?) presence on the offering table of the Lady of the Two Lands
- [front of basin] *in wb3 nsw w<sup>c</sup>b ϵ.wy ϵ3 n ϵ.t n nb t3.wy imy-r pr Nfr-rnp.t m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw* [front of basin] by the royal butler, the one whose two hands are pure, the great one of the chamber of the Lord of the Two Lands, the overseer of the house, Neferrenpet, true-of-voice.
- E: Around the base, from the centre of the front and around the right side:**
- h̄tp-dī-nsw Wsir Hn.ty-ïmn.tyw dī=f h̄tp b3=f m wsh.t tn m s.t nb mr.n=f m* Offering-which-the-king-gives to Osiris *Khentamentiu* (so that) he may cause his *ba* to rest in this courtyard in every place he

<sup>821</sup> See Clère 1995: 184 ('Notes de traduction' d)).

*hpr(.w) mr.n=f mm nb.w 'Iwnw m-s3 d.t  
n k3 n wb3 nsw w<sup>c</sup>b <sup>c</sup>.wy imy-r pr Nfr-  
rnp.t m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw*

wishes and in the form he wishes, among the lords of Heliopolis, following eternity,<sup>822</sup> for the *ka* of the royal butler, the one whose two hands are pure, overseer of the house, Neferrenpet, true-of-voice.

**F: Around the base, from the centre of the front and around the left side:**

*h<sub>1</sub>tp-di-nsw psd.t hrt-ib Dsr di=sn iw  
ms.w=f mn m s.t=f h.t=sn s:mn tp t3 rn=f  
wnn m i3w m-s3 d.t sp sn n k3 wb3 nsw  
imy-r pr Nfr-rnp.t m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw*

Offering-which-the-king-gives to the Ennead who are within *Djeser* (so that) they may cause his children to be in his place, their things are established upon the earth, his name to be in adoration, following eternity again, for the *ka* of the royal butler, the overseer of the house, Neferrenpet, true-of-voice.

A.5 (Fig. 5)

**Name:** Tjauy  
**Date:** Eighteenth Dynasty (Amenhotep III)<sup>823</sup>  
**Material:** Granodiorite  
**Height:** 0.28m  
**Provenance:** Temple of Mentuhotep II, Deir el-Bahari  
**Current Location:** British Museum, London, EA 1459 (10-15/572/1907)  
**Statue form:** Block with Hathoric cow-face (missing: head)<sup>824</sup>  
**Notes:** The arms are crossed over the knees, and the right hand holds a *menit*-necklace over the left knee

**Bibliography:** Naville and Hall 1913: 7-8, pl.IX, A (N.B. drawn with the head of a woman); Schott 1950: 81; Hermann 1959: 110; PM II<sup>2</sup>: 395; Barucq and Daumas 1980: 437-438; Geßler-Löhr 1990: 59-61, pl.4; Schulz 1992: 383-384 (no. 221), Tf. 100a-d; Pinch 1993: 172, 333-334, pl.40; Clère 1995: 200-207 (Doc. FF); Konrad 2011-13: 60-61; Assmann 2005: 328-329; Clère (Griffith Institute) MS 05.01 (in initial list)

**Inscriptions:**

**A: Either side of the Hathoric element and across the feet and front of base, two columns and four rows:**

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| [1] <i>wb3 nsw T3.wy dd=f ink ihy</i>        | [1] The royal butler Tjauy. He says: I am the sistrum-player            |
| [2] <i>n Hw.t-Hr sdm spr.ty</i>              | [2] of Hathor, who listens to the petitioner                            |
| [3] <i>rwn.t [nb(.t)] nty [m rm] nty grg</i> | [3] and every young girl <sup>825</sup> who is crying and who Hathor is |

<sup>822</sup> See Drioton 1933: 21 for the cryptographic reading of this passage and that on the left side.

<sup>823</sup> Schulz 1992: 383; for Nineteenth to Twentieth Dynasties, see Clère 1995: 200 n.29. Geßler-Löhr (1990: 59-61) suggested that Tjauy and Neferrenpet (A.4, also suggested in my catalogue to be temp. Amenhotep III) were brothers.

<sup>824</sup> The divine image on the front of the statue bears similarities with the Hathoric element, most clearly in the existence of a 'handle', and in the flattened appearance of the cow's face. It no doubt had similar connotations, and certainly was linked to Hathor; it is possibly a divine standard or aegis. I do not classify this monument as a sistrophore, in part because I know of no examples of surviving sistra where the face is that of a cow.

- [4] *Hw.t-Hr imm s:gnn hr wp(.t)=i srm* [4] establishing. Place ointment upon my forehead, *serem*-drink
- [5] *r r=i t n wdn[=tn]* [5] in my mouth and bread of [your] offering.
- [6] *imm sn.w m-bzh<t> k3 dd(=i) n Hw.t-Hr sdm n s:nm(h).<nt>* [6] Place *senu*-loaves in (my?) presence then (I) will speak to Hathor who listens to your(?) supplication.<sup>826</sup>

**B: On the right side, including on the base, nine rows:**

- [1] *Wsir wb3 nsw T3.wy m3<-hrw di.t n=k t 4 m Dd.w [t] 8 m 3bdw* [1] The Osiris, the royal butler, Tjauy, true-of-voice. Given to you: 4 loaves in Busiris, 8 loaves in Abydos,
- [2] *t 12 m W-pq.t di.t n=k rd.wy=k r sm.t psd(?)=k r hms(.t)* [2] 12 loaves in *Upeker*. Given to you: your legs to go, your back<sup>827</sup> to sit,
- [3] *db<.w[=k r] šsp.t dd.wt n=k nb.(w)t im=k prsn* [3] your fingers so that (you) will receive everything given to you. May you eat *persen*-loaves
- [4] *m rs.t bi.t pr hr bd3.t di.t n=k ib=k n mw.t=k h3.ty* [4] when waking and *bit*-loaves coming from the pot. Given to you: your *ib*-heart of your mother and your *haty*-
- [5] *=k n wnn=k tp t3 im=k nhn.w sdb=k* [5] heart of your existence upon the earth. May you eat *nekhenu*-loaves and may you taste
- [6] *b3y.w is bnbk=k hr hnky.t* [6] *bayu*-grains. Indeed may you beget upon the bed.<sup>828</sup>
- [7] *di n=k ntr.w nty.w im=s ssm=sn nfr mi ir.wt* [7] May the gods who are on it<sup>829</sup> give to you. May they lead (you) well like that which is done
- [8] *[n ntr nb] n [nt]r.t nb.t [n] Wsi[r] wb3 [nsw] T3.wy [m3<-hrw]* [8] [for every] god and for every goddess. [For] the Osiris, the royal butler, Tjauy, [true-of-voice]
- [9] *n k3=f iw w<b hm-ntr n k3 nsw <nh [..]* [9] and for his *ka*, being pure, and the god's servant of the royal, living *ka* [...]

**C: On the left side, including on the base, nine rows:**

- [1] *rdi.t iz.wt n Hw.t-Hr sn t3 n hry-ib W3s.t nb(.t) Dsr.w* [1] Giving adoration to Hathor, kissing the ground (before) the one who is at the head of Thebes, lady of *Djeseru*
- [2] *in wb3 nsw w<b <.wy <3 n w3b n Wr.t-hk3.w T3w.y m3<-hrw* [2] by the royal butler, pure (of) hands, great of purity of Werethekau, Tjauy, true-of-voice
- [3] *dd=f ind-hr t3 ih.t n nbw nfr.t hr <s3* [3] He says: greetings to the cow of gold,

<sup>825</sup> Literally 'two-thirds woman' – see Clère 1952: esp. 638-639.

<sup>826</sup> If *n.t* is a genitive or dative rather than a miswritten second person plural suffix (see Clère 1995: 204 and 205 'Note de traduction' d)), there is only space for one or two signs for the word following it.

<sup>827</sup> The determinative (Gardiner F51) indicates this is a body part, which pairs well the first phrase, but the reading of the two beginning signs is unclear, particularly the second. *psd* is likely the best fit contextually. Thanks again to Dr Nicki Adderley for her suggestions.

<sup>828</sup> Clère (1995: 205 and 206 'Notes de traduction' r) and s)) reads a negative here ('you do not beget'), but this is unlikely since the surrounding phrases are positive outcomes. It may be a reference to regeneration in the afterlife.

<sup>829</sup> Alternatively the s-cloth is part of *ssm*, and the translation is 'the gods who are there'.

- ḥwn.w*
- [4] *w<sup>c</sup>.t m p.t nn sp-sn=s Ḥw.t-Ḥr ḥry-tp R<sup>c</sup> wn* [4] beautiful of face, numerous of colour  
sole one in the sky without her equal (lit. her repetition), Hathor, who is at the head of Ra,
- [5] *ir.ty hd K3š ḥnw.t wr(.t) Pwn.t ḥnm.t nfr.t n mḥy.t* [5] whose two eyes attacked<sup>830</sup> Kush, great mistress of Punt, beautiful source (lit. fountain/spring) of the north
- [6] *ḥnw.t t3w ndm iw n=t mḥt.t m t3w rsy m špy wsr.w* [6] wind, mistress of sweet breath. The north comes to you in the wind and the south by means of the striking of oars<sup>831</sup>
- [7] *ḥr iw3.w 3pd.w sntr m3<sup>c</sup> m r-pr=t ir Pth isy.w* [7] bearing oxen, geese and incense, which are presented in your temple. Ptah creates (in?) workshops
- [8] *[m<sup>c</sup>.wy=f ir m]s ḥnw n ib[=t(?)] di šsp [s]n.w n wnn m-b3ḥ df3.w* [8] [with his two hands and makes] the abode of [your] heart. Cause that *senu*-loaves are received, existing in (your) presence, and provisions
- [9] *n r-pr=t 9q pr 9wy w<sup>c</sup>b m Tp-dsr.w imn.t W3s.t n k3 n wb3 nsw T3.wy* [9] for your temple. Entering and leaving, the two hands being pure in *Tep-djeser* in the west of Thebes, for the *ka* of the royal butler, Tjauy.

**D: On the back pillar, five columns (final, short column on base only):**

- [1] *ḥtp-di-nsw Imn-R<sup>c</sup> Wr.t-ḥk3.w di-sn t t3w mw 9n.tyw n wb3 nsw* [1] Offering-which-the-king-gives to Amun-Re and Werethekau (so that) they give bread, breath, water and myrrh to the royal butler
- [2] *T3.wy m3<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw di.w n R<sup>c</sup> 3ḥ m p.t n wb3 nsw T3.wy di.w n Gb* [2] Tjauy, true-of-voice. That which is given by Ra: glorification in the sky, for the royal butler Tjauy. That which is given by Geb: dominion on the earth, for the royal butler Tjauy. That which is given (by) Atum: a good burial, (for) the royal butler Tjauy.
- [3] *w3s m t3 n wb3 nsw T3.wy di.w (n) Itm qrs(.t) nfr.t (n) wb3 nsw T3.wy* [3] That which is given (by) Osiris: justification, for the royal butler Tjauy, begotten by Hat, born of the lady of the house
- [4] *di.w (n) Wsir m3<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw n wb3 nsw T3.wy ir n Ḥ3.t ms n nb.t-pr* [4] Ry, true-of-voice.
- [5] *Ry [m3<sup>c</sup>.t-ḥrw]* [5]

<sup>830</sup> Written *h3dw* – see *Wb* II: 505.

<sup>831</sup> *Wb* IV: 444.

A.6 (=B.34) (Fig. 6)

<b>Name:</b>	Penshenabu
<b>Date:</b>	Nineteenth Dynasty (possibly Seti I) <sup>832</sup>
<b>Material:</b>	Limestone
<b>Height:</b>	0.25m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Deir el-Medina (north east corner of the enclosure wall of the Ptolemaic temple)
<b>Current Location:</b>	Egyptian Museum, Cairo (number unknown)
<b>Statue form:</b>	Block with Hathoric element (fragment; missing: lower half; damage to right shoulder <sup>833</sup> )
<b>Notes:</b>	A <i>menit</i> -necklace rests over the left shoulder and forearm. The right hand is held to the mouth
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Bruyère 1952a: 59, 112, pl. XLIII (no. 256); Vandier 1958: 458-459 n.1, 465 n.1, 667, pl. CXXXVIII.6; PM I <sup>2</sup> : II, 712; KRI III: 747; Schulz 1992: 138-139 (no. 060), pl. 23c; Clère 1995: 114-118 (Doc. G); Bernhauer 2002a: 22, 24 (Abb. 9); Konrad 2011-13: 59 n.47; Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list) and 05.03

**Inscriptions:****A: On the right side, nine(?) rows:**

[1]	<i>ḥtp-dī-nsw ḥmn-R<sup>c</sup> nsw [Nt]r.w [Ḥnsw m W3s.t] nfr-ḥtp Ḥw.t-Ḥr ḥr.t-tp W3s.t</i>	[1]	Offering-which-the-king-gives to Amun-Re, king of the [go]ds, [Khonsu in Thebes], beautiful of face, and Hathor who is at the head of Thebes
[2]	<i>dī-sn šsp sn.w pr m-b3ḥ ḥr ḥ3.t n nb ntr.w mī ḥr.wt n m3<sup>c</sup>.ty ḥn sdm-š m s.t</i>	[2]	(so that) they may cause the receiving of <i>senu</i> -loaves, a coming in (their?) presence upon the offering table of the lord of the gods, like that which is done for the true one, by the workman (lit. one who hears the call) in the Place of
[3]	<i>m3<sup>c</sup>.t ḥr ḥmn.t W3s.t Pn-šn<sup>c</sup>-bw m3<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw dd=f ḥnk b3k n Ḥw.t-Ḥr ḥnk</i>	[3]	Truth in the west of Thebes, Penshenabu, true-of-voice. He says: I am the servant of Hathor. I am
[4]	<i>... nb r [pr(?)] ḥnw.t=i sdm=s&lt;.t&gt; spr.wt ḥmm s:gnn r t3(.y)=i</i>	[4]	... all [those who come(?) to the house(?)] <sup>834</sup> of my mistress (so that) she may hear the petitions, place ointment on my
[5]	<i>[is(?)]...[nb.t(?)] ḥnw.t ḥw p3.y=s&lt;t&gt; is.w s3.w</i>	[5]	[baldness(?)]...[the lady(?)] and mistress (loves?) that her bald one is satisfied.
[6]	<i>... [ḥw]=i r dd n t3</i>	[6]	... [(and) I will] speak to the
[7]	<i>[Nbw]...</i>	[7]	[Golden One] <sup>835</sup> ...
[8]	<i>...</i>	[8]	...
[9]	<i>...</i>	[9]	...

<sup>832</sup> Clère 1995: 114 (Yoyotte's note). Schulz (1992: 138) instead suggests Ramesses II, but no reasons are given. A man Penshenabu owned Theban Tomb 322, dated to the reign of Ramesses II.

<sup>833</sup> Note that the images in Clère 1995 show the statue to have sustained much more damage than those in Schulz 1992 and Bernhauer 2002a.

<sup>834</sup> Following Clère 1995: 117.

<sup>835</sup> Or *ntr.t/ḥnw.t*, 'goddess/mistress'.

**B: On the left side, nine rows:**

- |     |  |     |  |
|-----|--|-----|--|
| [1] | <i>ḥtp-dī-nsw Ḳmn-R<sup>c</sup> nb ns.wt t3.wy ḥn.ty</i><br><i>Ḳp.t-s.wt Mw.t wr.t nb(.t) Ḳšrw</i> | [1] | Offering-which-the-king-gives to Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, who is in before <i>Ipet-sut</i> , to Mut the Great, lady of <i>Isheru</i> , |
| [2] | <i>Ḳnsw m W3s.t nfr-ḥtp Ḳr nb 3w-ib</i><br><i>Ḳw.t-Ḳr ḥr-tp W3s.t ḥnw.t</i>                        | [2] | to Khonsu in Thebes, beautiful of face, to Horus, lord of joy, to Hathor, who is at the head of Thebes, mistress of  |
| [3] | <i>idb.wy Ḳr nṯr.w nb.w nḥḥ dī=sn šsp</i><br><i>sn.w pr m-</i>                                     | [3] | the Two Banks of Horus, and to all the gods of eternity, (so that) they may cause (me) to receive <i>senu</i> -loaves, coming in (their?) presence           |
| [4] | <i>b3ḥ ḥr ḥ3.t n nb.w nḥḥ dī.tw n=i ḥtp</i><br><i>df3.w</i>  | [4] | upon the offering table of the lords of eternity. May it be given to me: offerings and provisions  |
| [5] | <i>⟨3⟩ ḥḥ.w n sp ḥn šms Ḳmn ṯnw</i>  | [5] | from <sup>836</sup> the food left over from the offering feast, <sup>837</sup> and (that) I follow Amun every time   |
| [6] | [...] <i>ḥ<sup>c</sup>=f m ḥb=f nb n in.t dī=f [n=i]</i>   | [6] | [...] he will appear in all of his Festival(s) of the Valley. May he give to me  |
| [7] | [...] <i>ḥr-ḥ.t i3w sm3 t3 m sp3.t</i>   | [7] | [a good burial] after old age, being buried (lit. uniting the land) in the necropolis <sup>838</sup>   |
| [8] | [...] <i>wr n W3s.t n k3 n sdm-<sup>c</sup>š m s.t</i><br><i>m3<sup>c</sup>.t</i>                  | [8] | [...] the great [...] of Thebes. For the <i>ka</i> of the servant in the place of truth  |
| [9] | [...] <i>3bw</i>   | [9] | [... Penshen]abu.  |

A.7 (=B.36) (Fig. 7)

- Name:** Sedjemwau  
**Date:** Nineteenth Dynasty (Ramesses II)  
**Material:** Granodiorite  
**Height:** 0.52m  
**Provenance:** Unknown  
**Current Location:** Calvet Museum, Avignon, A 35  
**Statue form:** Block with Hathoric element (fragment; missing: the feet and the front of the base, now restored)  
**Notes:** The right hand is held to the mouth. The individual is wearing a wig or cap, but styled as if he were balding  
**Bibliography:** Moret 1913: 201-202; Clère 1970: 2, n.7; Foissy-Aufrère 1985: 54 (fig. 29), 55, 257-258; Schulz 1992: 56-57 (no. 004), pl. 2c-d; Clère 1995: 81-86 (Doc. B); Bernhauer 2002a: 20, 24 (Abb. 5); Verbovsek 2002: 349 (27A); PM VIII: 600 (801-643-032); Étienne 2009: 368-369; Clère (Griffith Institute) MS 05.01 (in initial list)

<sup>836</sup> The bird is mostly destroyed. Clère's transcription (1995: 115) shows an aleph-vulture, which he believes is an error for the owl (see 1995: 116, 'Notes de lecture' b)). It may be that it was simply a poorly carved owl – the flat head of the owl and vulture could be confused.

<sup>837</sup> *Wb* III: 102. See also A.17 and A.27.

<sup>838</sup> *Wb* IV: 98-99.

**Inscriptions:**

- A: On the right shoulder, cartouche, surmounted by two feathers:**  
*Wsr-M3<sup>c</sup>.t-R<sup>c</sup> stp-n-R<sup>c</sup>* Wesermaatre setepenre
- B: On the left shoulder:**  
 Baboon with sun-disk, holding a knife in each hand
- C: On the handle of the Hathoric element:**  
*Hw.t-Hr [nb.t p.t...]* Hathor [lady of the sky...]
- D: On the back pillar, two columns:**
- [1] *sš šḥw Sdm-w3w dd=f ink p3 is n Hw.t- Hr ink iry-<sup>i</sup> n pr-s<.t* [1] Scribe of recruitment Sedjemwau. He says: I am the bald one of Hathor. I am the door-keeper<sup>839</sup> of her house.
- [2] *s:gnn ndm r t3.y=i is ḥnq.t r r=i iw=i r dd n Hw.t-Hr ḥsy p3 wdn* [2] (Place) sweet ointment on my<sup>840</sup> baldness, beer in my mouth and I will speak to Hathor. Praised is the one who offers (to me).
- E: Around the right side and back of the base:**  
 [...] *Hw.t[-Hr] wḥm n nb.t p.t ii.y(w) nb r wdn n Nbw.t sdm-s spr.wt ir.tn* [...] Hathor. (I) will repeat to the lady of the sky. All those who come to offer to the Golden One, she<sup>841</sup> will listen to the petitions you make.
- F: Around the left side of the base:**<sup>842</sup>  
 [...] *ii.w)t(?) nb m-b3ḥ Hw.t-Hr imm ḥtp.w n is šdm-w<sup>c</sup>w* [...] all [those who com]e(?) in the presence of Hathor, place offerings for the bald one, Sedjemwau.

<sup>839</sup> A reed (Gardiner M17) appears where we would expect to see the door-leaf (O 31), and clearly <sup>c</sup>3 should be read here. Clère (1995: 84) inserted *sic* beside the reed, yet translates only as ‘gardien’, although the link to door-keepers is acknowledged in ‘Notes de traduction’ b). The arm holding a stick determinative for *iry* appears only after <sup>c</sup>3, presumably for reasons of space (the same arrangement can be seen on the statue of Inhernakht (A.10: Text F, Line 9).

<sup>840</sup> Determinative is the seated man with the hand to his mouth (Gardiner A2)

<sup>841</sup> The folded cloth-s may instead form part of the following *spr.wt*, ‘petitions’, thus giving a reading which assumes a first person singular (particularly given that this is similarly omitted after *wḥm*): ‘I (the statue) will hear the petitions’. This may make more sense given the function of the statue and the parallels with others.

<sup>842</sup> The front of the base is now completely broken, but it seems likely that the texts on the sides would have begun in the middle of the front.

A.8 (=B.37) (Fig. 8)

<b>Name:</b>	Ameneminet
<b>Date:</b>	Nineteenth Dynasty (Ramesses II)
<b>Material:</b>	Limestone
<b>Height:</b>	0.685m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Temple of Thutmose III, Deir el-Bahari (north east of the forecourt)
<b>Current Location:</b>	Luxor Museum, Egypt, Cat. 227 (J 141)
<b>Statue form:</b>	Block with Hathoric element (damage to the right hand, much of the face/head, base (now restored), and the back pillar)
<b>Notes:</b>	The right hand is held to the mouth (both damaged). The individual is balding.

An image of the king kneeling before a Hathor cow appears on the top of the naos. Romano et al. (1979) notes that this is probably based on a statue of cow and king from the same temple (JE 38574).

<b>Bibliography:</b>	Dąbrowski 1964: 47; Lipińska 1966: 67, pl.I; Gaballa and Kitchen 1968: 269; Lipińska 1969a: 28-30; Lipińska 1969b: 43-47; PM II <sup>2</sup> : 379; Valloggia 1976: 134-135 (fig.120); Romano, Parlasca and Rogers 1979: 148-149 (fig.120-121); KRI III: 274-75; Bryan 1986: 9 n.3; Lipińska 1984: 21-24; KRI IV: 128; El-Damaty 1990: 7; Schulz 1992: 408-409 (no. 240), Tf. 105a-b; Pinch 1993: 334 (fig.18); Clère 1995: 87-94 (Doc. B'); Bernhauer 2002a: 21, 24 (Abb. 7); Frood 2007: 189-191; Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list, under 'Deir el-Bahari (Mission polonaise)') and 18.10 (photograph)
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**Inscriptions**

- A: On the right shoulder, cartouche:**  
*Wsr-M3<sup>c</sup>.t-R<sup>c</sup> stp-n-R<sup>c</sup>* Wesermaatre setepenre
- B: On the left shoulder, cartouche:**  
*R<sup>c</sup>-mss mry-<sup>2</sup>Imn* Ramesses meryamun
- C: On the top of the naos (linked to scene showing the king kneeling before a divine cow), cartouche:**  
*Wsr-M3<sup>c</sup>.t-R<sup>c</sup> stp-n-R<sup>c</sup>*
- D: On the right side of the uraeus in the naos, cartouche:**  
*Wsr-M3<sup>c</sup>.t-R<sup>c</sup> stp-n-R<sup>c</sup>*
- E: On the left side of the uraeus in the naos, cartouche:**  
*R<sup>c</sup>-mss mry-<sup>2</sup>Imn*
- F: On the handle of the Hathoric element:**  
*Hw.t-Hr nb.t Dsr.t hnw.t imnt.t* Hathor, lady of *Djeseret*, mistress of the west
- G: On the right side (beginning on the front), 11 columns:**
- |   |  |
|---|--|
| [1] <i>ḥsy ʕ3 n nṯr nfr mh-ib mnḥ n nb=f ḥry</i>              | [1] Great honoured one of the good god, the trusted confidant of his lord, the leader of the troops of the numerous armies |
| <i>pḏ.t m mš<sup>c</sup> ʕš3</i>                              |  |
| [2] <i>ʕImn-m-in.t m3<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw s3 s3b ḥm-nṯr tpy n</i> | [2] Ameneminet, true-of-voice, son of the  |

*ʿImn Wnn-nfr m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw dd=f r-nty*

- |      |   |      |  |
|------|---|------|--|
| [3]  | <i>ink šms.w n ḥm=f iw=f m hrd rdi.n=f wi r kdn</i>   | [3]  | I am the follower of his majesty, he being a child. He promoted (lit gave/placed) me to the chariotry  |
| [4]  | <i>hry htr.w iw=f m nb ḥsy.n wi nb=i hr mnḥ=i rdi.n=f</i>   | [4]  | and leader of the chariotry, he being the lord. <sup>843</sup> My lord honoured me because of my effectiveness. He   |
| [5]  | <i>wi r hr pd.t n p3(.y)=f mš<sup>c</sup> ḥs.n wi nb=i hr ip=i</i>  | [5]  | promoted me to leader of the troops of his army. My lord honoured me because of my accuracy.   |
| [6]  | <i>h(3)b.n=f wi r wpw.ty nsw r ḥ3s.wt nb.w(t) whm.n(=i) n=f ḥ3s.wt m qi=s(n) nb</i>   | [6]  | He sent me as royal messenger to all foreign lands. I repeated to him (regarding) the foreign lands in all their forms   |
| [7]  | <i>whm.n.n&gt;=f ḥsy=i hr mnḥ=i rdi.n=f wi r imy-r k3.wt m mn.w=f nb(.w) whm.n=f ḥs.t=i</i>                                       | [7]  | He repeated my honour because of my effectiveness. He promoted me to overseer of works in all his monuments. He repeated my honour   |
| [8]  | <i>hr 3ḥ=i rdi.n=f wi r imy-r k3.wt m ḥw.t=f n.t ḥḥ.w m rnp.wt nsw-bit Wsr-M3<sup>c</sup>.t-R<sup>c</sup> stp-n-R<sup>c</sup></i> | [8]  | because of my usefulness. He promoted me to overseer of works in his temple of millions of years ‘The-king-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt-Wesermaatre-setepenre-in-the-house-of-Amun’. I was the effective and useful sole one of his lord. He promoted me to <i>hem-ka</i> -priest of his image |
| [9]  | <i>m pr ʿImn ink w<sup>c</sup> mnḥ 3ḥ n nb=f rdi.n=f wi (r) ḥm-k3 n twt=f</i>   | [9]  | He promoted me to <i>hem-ka</i> -priest of his image   |
| [10] | <i>ir.n=f ḥ.t=i m šs nb [...] hry pd.t m mš<sup>c</sup> ʿš3</i>   | [10] | He made my things in all cloths [...] leader of the troops of the numerous armies,   |
| [11] | <i>ʿImn-n-in.t m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw ms.t wr.t ḥnr.t n ʿImn-R<sup>c</sup> m Ip.t-s.wt ʿIs.t m3<sup>c</sup>.t-hrw</i>                 | [11] | Ameneminet, true-of-voice, born of [great one of the harem] <sup>844</sup> of Amun-Re in <i>Ipet-sut</i> , Iset, true-of-voice.  |

**H: On the left side (beginning on the front), ten columns:**

- |     |  |     |   |
|-----|--|-----|---|
| [1] | <i>ḥsy ʿ3 n ntr nfr wpw.ty nsw r ḥ3s.wt nb.w(t) hry pd.t m mš<sup>c</sup> ʿš3</i>                  | [1] | Great honoured one of the good god, the royal messenger to all the foreign lands, leader of the troops of the numerous armies |
| [2] | <i>ʿImn-m-in.t m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw s3 s3b ḥm-ntr tpy n ʿImn Wnn-nfr m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw dd=f ink</i> | [2] | Ameneminet, true-of-voice, son of the dignitary, the first god’s servant of Amun, Wenennefer, true-of-voice. He says I am     |
| [3] | <i>[p3] is n t3 ntr.t whm(.w) n ḥnw.t=f nty nb spr.wt m di=f dd</i>                                | [3] | the bald one of the goddess, the reporter of his mistress. Anyone who has petitions he is making, speak                       |
| [4] | <i>[s]w r msdr=i k3 whm(=i) sn n t3.y=i ḥnw.t m</i>  | [4] | [it] to my ear, then (I) will repeat them to my mistress in   |
| [5] | <i>t3(.y)=s wnw.t ḥtp.w imm n=i ḥnq.t hr</i>   | [5] | her hour of peace. Give to me beer upon my  |

<sup>843</sup> The determinative is a falcon carryng a flail, on a standard (a combination of Gardiner G6 and G7).

<sup>844</sup> Lefebvre 1929a: 250.

	<i>dr.t=i srm r r=i</i>		hand and <i>serem</i> -drink <sup>845</sup> in my mouth,
[6]	<i>s:gnn ndm r t3.y=i is m3h w3d r hh=i wdh</i>	[6]	sweet ointment on my baldness, a fresh garland around my neck. Pour
[7]	<i>n=i m irp hr hnq.t ink is n Nbw ir wn nfr n hnq.t</i>	[7]	for me (a libation) in wine and beer (because) I am the bald one of the Golden One. If there is no beer
[8]	<i>imm n=i qbb.w hr-nty rf mr hnw.t is s3.w ttf n=i mw</i>	[8]	give to me cool water, because indeed the mistress loves the bald one to be satisfied. Pour (lit. 'flow') for me water
[9]	<i>hr t3 ink wd3 tp [t3?] bw dd=i grg.w m rh=i bw ir</i>	[9]	upon the ground <sup>846</sup> (because) I am prosperous upon earth. I do not speak falsehoods in my knowledge. (I) do not do misdeeds. <sup>847</sup> I reached [...] doing <i>maat</i> . I am in the place of truth(fulness)
[10]	<i>sp sn ph.n=i nn [...?] ir.t m3c.t tw=i m s.t n m3c.ty</i>	[10]	

#### A.9 (Fig. 9)

<b>Name:</b>	Iuy
<b>Date:</b>	Nineteenth Dynasty (likely Ramesses II) <sup>849</sup>
<b>Material:</b>	Limestone
<b>Height:</b>	0.066m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Unknown, possibly Deir el-Bahari after the texts
<b>Current Location:</b>	University Museum, Strasbourg, Inv. 1599
<b>Statue form:</b>	Sitting (fragment; missing: all but the feet and part of the base)
<b>Notes:</b>	Possibly used to be balding
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Spiegelberg 1906: 176; Spiegelberg 1923: 56; Parlebas 1973: 39 (no. 153), fig.28 (as Late Period); Clère 1995: 95-97 (Doc. C)

#### Inscriptions:

##### A: On the top of the base (around the feet), right side (surviving only at the front):

[...]-šps.t whm ḥnh [his wife...] –shepeset, repeating life.

##### B: On the top of the base (around the feet), left side :

*n k3 n is n Hw.t-Hr hm-ntr tpy n Imn m hw.t 3-hpr-k3-Rc-hnm.t-ḥnh Twy whm ḥnh*  
 For the *ka* of the bald one of Hathor, the first god's servant of Amun in the temple Aakheperkare-khenemet-ankh, Iuy, repeating life.

<sup>845</sup> Helck 1971: 32, 46, 51, 81 and 108; Germer 2005.

<sup>846</sup> The goose hieroglyph is perhaps a reference to the earth-god Geb.

<sup>847</sup> Wb III: 437.

<sup>848</sup> Clère (1995: 92 and 'Notes de traduction' g)) translates 'J'ai atteint la félicité en pratiquant la vérité' arguing that there are traces of an owl-glyph in the gap, whereas Pinch (1993: 334) has 'I reached here [...] doing right'. It may also be possible to read *nn* as 'weariness', perhaps a reference to the attainment of death (and now residence in the place of *m3c.ty*) after a fulfilling and moral life – there is a link between *nnw* and death (Faulkner 1962: 134).

<sup>849</sup> Based on the knowledge of his brother's tomb (TT 31, Khonsu): Clère 1995: 95 n.19.

**C: Around the base:**

[*ii*].w nb r wdn n Nbw r mh r=i m di.wt  
 k3 dd=i spr(.w)=tn nb n t3 nb.t Dsr imm  
 n=i hnq.t hr dr.t=i srm [...]

All those who come to offer to the Golden One, fill my mouth with offerings (lit. that which is given) then I will say all of your petitions to the lady of *Djeser*. Give to me beer upon my hand and *serem*-drink...

**A.10 (=B.56) (Fig. 10)****Name:** Inhernakht**Date:** Late Nineteenth Dynasty<sup>850</sup>**Material:** Black granite**Height:** 0.64m**Provenance:** Unknown likely Nag el-Mecheikh<sup>851</sup>**Current Location:** Östergötlands Museum, Linköping, No. 189**Statue form:** Block with Hathoric element**Notes:** The left hand holds a loaf/cake on the left knee; the right is held to the mouth. The individual is balding**Bibliography:** Clère 1970: 2, n.7; Björkman 1971: 29-32 (no. 189), pls. 4-5; Valloggia 1976: 157-158; *KRI* IV: 375-376 (40); Schulz 1992: 360-361 (no. 207), pl. 93a; Clère 1995: 7-9, 98-103 (Doc. D); Bernhauer 2002a: 20 n.14, 24 (Abb. 4); PM VIII: 613 (801-643-360); Clère (Griffith Institute) MS 05.01 (in initial list)**Inscriptions:****A: On the handle of the Hathoric element:***Mh.t hry-ib Bhd.t*

Mehyt who is at the head Behdet

**B: Underneath the right terminal of the Hathor wig:***In-hr-šw ntr ʿ3*

Onuris-Shu, the great god

**C: Underneath the left terminal of the Hathor wig:***In-hr nb Tny*

Onuris, lord of Thinis

**D: To the right of the Hathoric element:***n k3 n kdn n hm-f hry pd.t In-hr-nht*For the *ka* of the charioteer of his majesty, the leader of the troops, Inhernakht.**E: Across the knees and around the right forearm:**

*hry pd.t In-hr-nht s3 s3b hm-ntr tpy n  
 In-hr Nfr-shr ms n wr(.t) hnr.t n In-hr  
 š3w*

Leader of the troops, Inhernakht, son of the dignitary, the first god's servant of Onuris, Nefersekher, born of the great one of the harem of Onuris, Shau.

<sup>850</sup> *KRI* IV: 375-376 dates the statue to the reigns of Siptah and Tawosret, although no cartouches exist on either of Inhernakht's sistrophores

<sup>851</sup> Schulz (1992: 360) says Abydos, but there is no record of the provenance and the inscriptions indicate at least an intended location in the Nag el-Mecheikh area (Lepidotonpolis).

**F: To the left of the Hathoric element and around the left side, back and right side, eighteen columns:**

- |      |  |      |  |
|------|--|------|--|
| [1]  | <i>ḥtp-dī-nsw Mḥ.t ḥry-ib Bḥd.t nb.t p.t ḥnw.t t3.wy</i>         | [1]  | Offering-which-the-king-gives to Mehyt who is at the head of Behdet, lady of the sky, mistress of the Two Lands    |
| [2]  | <i>dī-s&lt;ṭ&gt; ḥnh wḏ3 snb spd-ḥr ḥs.w r&lt;ṣ&gt; nb qrs.t</i> | [2]  | (so that) she will give life, prosperity, health and vigilance to the one who honours (her?) every day, and a good |
| [3]  | <i>nfr.t m-ḥ.t i3w ḥr imnt.t wr(.t) n.t</i>                      | [3]  | burial after old age in the great west of  |
| [4]  | <i>niw.t=i n k3 n kdn n ḥm=f wpw.ty nsw</i>                      | [4]  | my city, for the <i>ka</i> of the charioteer of his majesty, the royal messenger                                   |
| [5]  | <i>r ḥ3s.t nb ḥry pḏ.t n t3&lt;ṭ&gt; ḥtr.w In-ḥr-nḥt</i>         | [5]  | to every foreign land, the leader of the troops of the chariotry, Inhernakht                                       |
| [6]  | <i>ḏḏ=f i rmt n niw.t=i šps.w n pr Mḥ.t</i>                      | [6]  | He says: Oh, people of my town, noblewomen <sup>852</sup> of the house of Mehyt, <sup>853</sup>                    |
| [7]  | <i>ḏḏ=i n=tn dī=i sdm=tn s:nmḥ n</i>                             | [7]  | I speak to you. I will cause you to hear a prayer for  |
| [8]  | <i>w3d.t k3=s ink ḥm n nb.t p.t is n pr Mḥ.t</i>                 | [8]  | happiness of her <i>ka</i> . I am the servant of the lady of the sky, the bald one of the house of Mehyt,          |
| [9]  | <i>iry-ṣ3 n r-pr=s sdm spr.t=tn ḥk3.t nb(.t) s[...?]</i>         | [9]  | the door-keeper of her temple, one who listens to your petition and every spell(?) [you make(?)] <sup>854</sup>    |
| [10] | <i>r msḏr.wy=i wḥm=s[n] (n) Mḥ.t wḥm sw n=i</i>                  | [10] | to my ears, which are repeated to Mehyt (who) will repeat it to me,  |
| [11] | <i>r ḏḏ sw nb sdm spr.w=tn šm.t=tn ḥr</i>                        | [11] | saying all of it, <sup>855</sup> listening to your requests. You (will) go upon                                    |
| [12] | <i>w3.t m nfr ḥ&lt;ṣ&gt;.w=tn ḥw m ḏ.t pr=tn grg</i>             | [12] | the way in happiness. Your body (will be) protected for ever(?). Your house (will be) established                  |
| [13] | <i>ḥr b(w) nfr ḥrd=tn snb k3.t dī&lt;ṭ&gt;</i>                   | [13] | with prosperity. Your child(ren) (will be) healthy and nourished(?). <sup>856</sup> May you                        |
| [14] | <i>=tn ḥnq.t ḥr ḏr.t=i t ḥr ṣ=i r&lt;ṣ&gt; nb mḥ=tn</i>          | [14] | place beer upon my hand and bread in my arm every day. May you fill  |
| [15] | <i>qnīw(=i) m wdn.w bw wn.t=i m dbn</i>                          | [15] | (my) embrace with offerings. I will not be neglected in the circling   |
| [16] | <i>m tnw ḥb n pr Mḥ.t r ḏf3.w n.t r&lt;ṣ&gt; nb</i>              | [16] | at each festival <sup>857</sup> of the house of Mehyt, to (give) provisions every day. She <sup>858</sup> will     |

<sup>852</sup> Note the female determinative.

<sup>853</sup> On the location *Per-Mehyt* ('house of Mehyt'): Clère 1995: 8 n.19.

<sup>854</sup> Clère 1995: 8 n.25 on the difficulty of this passage given the indecipherable signs.

<sup>855</sup> In the sense that Mehyt will say everything back to the statue-owner in confirmation that she has heard. The single *s* following the first *wḥm* in Line 10 could be read as a singular resumptive pronoun relating to *spr.t* or *ḥk3.t*, but this would be at odds with the use of *sw* dependent pronouns later in the sentence. The *s* is therefore taken as a miswritten plural suffix, to be understood as a passive *sdm=f*. Clère (1995: 8 and 100, 'Notes de lecture' f) translates more freely, but the sense is not altered, and overall the interpretation of the pronouns makes little difference to the meaning. Thanks to Dr Nicki Adderley for her advice here.

<sup>856</sup> 'Nourished' uncertain. Possibly an abnormal writing of the particle *k3*, 'then' (Clère 1995: 9 n.31).

- ḥꜣ*  
 [17] =s<n> m i3.w sp sn(?) bw mrr n bin.t [17] rejoice in adoration again(?), and does not  
 sdm love evil. She will<sup>859</sup>  
 [18] =s<w> m spr.t nb(.t) m dd n=s p3 is [18] listen for every petition which the bald one  
 says to her.

#### A.11 (Fig. 11)

- Name:** Amenmose  
**Date:** Nineteenth Dynasty<sup>860</sup>  
**Material:** Quartzite  
**Height:** 0.46m  
**Provenance:** Unknown, possibly Atfih after the inscriptions  
**Current Location:** Private collection (Australia) (formerly Bruce McAlpine Gallery, London)  
**Statue form:** Block (missing: head and right shoulder, with damage to left arm, feet and base)  
**Notes:** The right hand (now destroyed) is held to the mouth, resting on a podium of stone; the left is palm-up on the left knee  
**Bibliography:** Schulz 1992: 404 (no. 236), Tf. 103d; Clère 1995: 164-170 (Doc. O); Bernhauer 2002: 20, Abb. 6; PM VIII: 627 (801-643-740)

#### Inscriptions:

##### A: On front of the robe and base, sixteen rows:

- [1] ḥm n pr Nbw whm.w n Ḥw.t-Ḥr imy-r [1] Servant of the house of the Golden One,  
 pr m niw.t rs.y(t) Imn-ms reporter of Hathor, overseer of the house in  
 the southern town, Amenmose  
 [2] dd=f ink is n t3 ntr.t bw.t=f ib.t fq3.n [2] He says: I am the bald one of the goddess,  
 he who abhors thirst (lit. his abhorrence is  
 thirst). She  
 [3] =s wi [n] t hnq.t ḥ[n]tyw ḥr tp=i di=s [3] rewarded me with bread, beer and myrrh  
 dd=i bw nfr n ḥs(.t) n=s bw.t[=i] upon my head. She caused that I say good  
 things of praise to her. I am one who  
 detests  
 [4] dd grg mk ḥ3 isf.t ḥ3b.tw(=i) im r s:ndm [4] the speaking of falsehood and turn away  
 t3 ḥ3.ty n ms.t ḥr [...] (from) wrong-doing. I was sent here in  
 order to please the heart of the (birthing)  
 mother upon(?) [...],  
 [5] r rdi.t ḥq t3w [r] tp(=s?) r w3d rnm nfr.t [5] in order to cause breath to enter her head

<sup>857</sup> Wb V: 378. This ‘circling’ is perceived by Clère (1995: 9 n.33) as that of worshippers walking around the courtyards of temples offerings to various statues erected there. It may also refer to indirect participation in the procession of divine images during festivals, or perhaps to the process of the reversion of offerings.

<sup>858</sup> I agree with Clère (1995: 9 n.34) that the plural suffix must be a miswriting of the feminine suffix, given that there is nothing in the text to which a plural could refer.

<sup>859</sup> Davies (2014: 333) suggests this error for the female pronoun may derive from copying a text originally composed for a male deity.

<sup>860</sup> Clère (1995: 164) gives this a ‘pre-Saite’ dating; PM (VIII: 627) notes it as Amenhotep III (attributing the statue to the owner of TT 89). However, I am inclined to agree with Schulz’s (1992: 404) dating of Nineteenth Dynasty based on the style and inscriptions. In particular, the body position and low seat is comparable to that of A.16 (Nineteenth to Twentieth Dynasties).

- n ms n=s r rdī.t hī n h̄zr.wt mrr.y[w]* (nose), in order to cause to flourish good joy of those born to her, in order to give a husband to widows and a lover
- [6] *n rwn.wt (r) ir(.t) hr(.t) n nds.yw m pr r ir.t hr.t=sn r rdī.t s̄z n dbh s(w)* [6] to young girls, in order to make things for the commoners in the house, in order to fulfil their requirements(?), in order to give a son to one who asks it,
- [7] *ḥ sw <n> s h̄z r rdī.t mdw n īz.yw iw̄w n nmh.yw r rdī.t* [7] he being more effective than one thousand men,<sup>861</sup> in order to give a staff of old age and an inheritance to orphans, in order to give
- [8] *qrs.t m-ḥ.t īzw n nty ms.yw=f p̄z is dd hr niw.t=f t̄z n m̄z̄.t* [8] a burial after old age for those without his (own) children. The bald one speaks to his town, land of *maat*,
- [9] *Tp-ih.w hr tw rs i rmt̄ dmi.t=i šps.<y>(w) Tp-ih.w hpr sp tpy p̄zw.ty ḥ̄z̄* [9] *Tep-ihu* to the effect of(?): Oh people of my town, nobles of *Tep-ihu*, which existed at the first time, the primordial town, numerous
- [10] *df̄z.w [ḥ̄q.w?] pw w̄b ḏ̄.wt ink is n pr Nb̄w wr̄š.y m-b̄zh ḥsy[.n]* [10] of provisions, this pure produce from the soil(?).<sup>862</sup> I am the bald one of the house of the Golden One, one who spends the day in (her) presence. [She has]
- [11] *=s wi fq[̄z di=s] ḥs.t m mr n n̄tr ir ḥ̄q nb hr wdn.w r pr Ḥw.t-Ḥr š̄z̄[.n]* [11] favoured me and rewarded(?) (me), one who is favoured with the love of the god. As to all those who enter carrying offerings into the house of Hathor, beginning(?)
- [12] *=f(?) n ḥnw.t=i mi n=i hr ph̄.wy dd.t n=i m t̄z ḥ̄n̄.t n tp.t ink wr̄š(.y)* [12] for my mistress, come to me afterwards (lit. last), giving to me from the best (offerings) remaining (lit. which are brought back).<sup>863</sup> I am awake
- [13] *s nb ḥ̄.w r pr=sn st=i [ḥ̄z̄] r-nḥḥ dd.t n=i ḥnq.t m wp.t ḏr.t=i hr* [13] and every man sleeps at their house. My place is here for eternity. Give me beer in my palm (lit. the opening of my hand) which is prepared
- [14] *=ti r šsp imm ḥ̄n̄.tyw hr wp.t=i k̄z dd=i spr.wt wh̄m.w tn m* [14] to receive. Place myrrh upon my brow then I will speak (your) petitions, repeating you (them?) in [...]
- [15] [... ḥ̄z̄(?) nn ... sdr.t] [15] [...] fighting(?) without ... spend the night]
- [16] [... bin.t ...] [16] [...] evil [...]

<sup>861</sup> Note that Clère 1995: 167, ‘Notes de traduction’ j) appears to have an error, whereby the proposed transliteration here is given as *ḥ sw n.s <r> s h̄z*, with no reasoning, or indeed translation, for the ‘*n.s*’. The reference given (Sethe 1907: 177 n.1) does not provide clarification – the examples given are *ḥ n sw r s̄z nb*, ‘he is more useful to me than every son’ (‘to me’ implied?) and *ḥ n=s Imn [r] ḥḥ n m̄š̄*, ‘Amun is more useful to me than millions of soldiers’, neither of which exactly parallel the phrase on the statue of Amenmose.

<sup>862</sup> On the possible link to a mine or fertile soil: Clère 1995: 167, ‘Notes de traduction’ m).

<sup>863</sup> Presumably a reference to the reversion of offerings – worshippers bringing offerings to the statue of the goddess are instructed to present them to this statue afterwards.

**B: On the back pillar, three columns:**

- [1] [...] *Hw.t-Hr sn t3 n nb.t Tp-ih.w in imy-r pr n nsw m niw.t rs.yt* [1] [Adoration of] Hathor, kissing the ground before the lady of *Tep-ihu*, by the overseer of the house of the king in the southern town,
- [2] [...*dd*]=*f di=i iz.w n hr-t nfr sdm spr.ty* [2] [Amenmose] He [says], I give praise to your beautiful face. (May you) hear the petitioner
- [3] [...] *n r-pr=t nh=i m df3.w<t> hr-ntt rf* [3] [...] of your temple. I live from your provisions because, indeed, you love [...].<sup>864</sup> May my heart live in it.

**A.12 (=B.77) (Fig. 12)**

<b>Name:</b>	Khaemipet <sup>865</sup>
<b>Date:</b>	Twentieth Dynasty (possibly Ramesses III) <sup>866</sup>
<b>Material:</b>	Limestone
<b>Height:</b>	0.28m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Deir el-Medina (great northern pit)
<b>Current Location:</b>	Egyptian Museum, Cairo, RT 11/4/64/1
<b>Statue form:</b>	Block with Hathoric element
<b>Notes:</b>	A <i>menit</i> -necklace rests over the body, held by the right hand (rattling part under the chin). Traces of colour exist on top of the wig of the goddess (red) and the man (black)
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Bruyère 1953: 29-30, pl. IX; Schulz 1992: 325-326 (no. 183), pl. 81c-d; Clère 1995: 187-190 (Doc. CC); Konrad 2011-13: 59 n.49; Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list), 05.03 and 05.05 (photographs)

**Inscriptions:**

- A: On the handle of the Hathoric element:**  
*Hw.t-Hr hnw.t imnt.t m rn-s n Nb(.t)-hpt(.t)* Hathor, mistress of the west, in her name of Nebethetepet.
- B: On the right side, back and half of the left side, six rows:**  
 [1] *hpt-di-nsw Hw.t-Hr hry-ib imnt.t nb.t p.t hnw.t [ntr].w [di]=s nh wd3 snb n k3 n sdm-š-m-s.t-m3c.t P3-šd m3c-hrw s3=f* [1] Offering-which-the-king-gives to Hathor who is at the head of the west, lady of the sky, mistress of the gods, (so that) she may give life, prosperity and health, for the *ka* of the servant in the place of the truth Pashed,

<sup>864</sup> One sign is broken, perhaps a *maat*-feather (Clère 1995: 167).

<sup>865</sup> Bruyère (1953: 29) and Schulz (1992: 315) both attribute this statue to Pashed, who is named within the inscriptions as the father of Khaemipet. On the attribution of the statue to the son rather than the father, see Clère 1995: 187 n.13.

<sup>866</sup> Clère 1995: 187 ns. 13-14. In spite of the fact that a Nineteenth Dynasty man named Khaemipet has a tomb at Deir el-Medina next to another called Pashed, there is doubt that they are in fact father and son given that Pashed's monuments name others as his sons, but not Khaemipet.

- [2] *sdm-š-m-s.t-mš.t H̄-m-ʿIp.t mš-ḥrw* [2] true-of-voice and his son  
*dd=f i di.w m p3 wb3 s.t ḥms n grg* [2] the servant in the place of truth, Khaemipet, true-of-voice. He says: Oh, those who offer<sup>867</sup> in the open forecourt,<sup>868</sup> the place of sitting of silence(?),
- [3] *ir.t ḥw>n(?) m-b3ḥ=<t> r̄ nb iw r p3.y* [3] make provisions<sup>869</sup> in (my?) presence every day, being for the (my) queen whose ears listen, (my) mouth being full with food
- [4] *r̄ nb fnd=i ḥr ḥnm sn-ntr rš.w p3 hn sw* [4] every day, my nose smelling incense. The one who relies on<sup>870</sup> the queen rejoices (when?) he is in festival every day.
- [5] *i rmt nb ḥnh <ḥr> tp t3 nty n ḥnw.t m tp* [5] Oh, all people who live upon the earth, those who (offer?) to the mistress with what is upon every land, give libation(s) in (my) presence. I am
- [6] *p3(.y)=s<t> nhm.w sš nb n md.w-ntr.w* [6] her proclaimer (lit. ‘one who shouts’). Every scribe of divine words who are [*sic*] pronouncing (my) name in her presence, she will cause you to be in the west (after) a good old age. The servant (in) the place of truth, Khaemipet.

**C: On the front of the base:**

*sdm-m-s.t-mš.t P3-šd s3=f H̄-m-ʿIp.t*

The servant in the place of truth, Pashed; his son Khaemipet.<sup>871</sup>

<sup>867</sup> Alternatively: ‘those who are placed’, although there is no passive ending, and furthermore this is a peculiar phrase to describe anything other than monuments, whereas the text is clearly directed to active, living beings. Clère (1995: 189) translates ‘O toi qui m’as place dans l’avant-cour’, reading an implied independent pronoun.

<sup>868</sup> This term also appears on A.17 and A.25. Shubert (1988: 197-199) argues for a reading of *wb3* as an area connected to the temple façade, as opposed to a courtyard within. This would fit well with the idea that this statue was positioned at the boundary between earthly and divine and acted as mediator for the deity within the temple, and provide parallels for the statues which describe themselves as ‘door-keeper’.

<sup>869</sup> Following Clère 1995: 189 ‘Notes de traduction e) – a writing of *iri ḥn.t?*

<sup>870</sup> On the dependent pronoun (*sw*) acting as a reflexive pronoun: Lefebvre 1929b: 8-9.

<sup>871</sup> The handle of the Hathoric element comes between the names. Bruyère (1953: 30) and Schulz (1992: 325) both note that this is a statue of Pashed, dedicated by his son. However, the fact that solely Khaemipet is named at the end of the main text implies that he is the one depicted (and indeed is the one speaking), but that his father also benefits from the anticipated offerings. We could also suppose that the statue represents both men simultaneously.

## A.13 (=B.78) (Fig. 13)

<b>Name:</b>	Neferhotep
<b>Date:</b>	Likely Twentieth Dynasty <sup>872</sup>
<b>Material:</b>	Limestone
<b>Height:</b>	0.275m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Akhmim (from the inscriptions)
<b>Current Location:</b>	Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JE 89783
<b>Statue form:</b>	Sitting with Hathoric element (fragment; missing: head, left shoulder and torso, and part of the back pillar)
<b>Notes:</b>	The right hand may have been held to the mouth <sup>873</sup>
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Clère 1952: 638; Clère 1968b: 174, n.2; Clère 1970: 2, n.3 and 9; Clère 1995: 109-113 (Doc. F); Bernhauer 2002a: 20-21, n.16 and 18; PM VIII: 547 (801-626-220); Clère (Griffith Institute) MS 05.01 (in initial list as 'Eid')

**Inscriptions:**

<b>A: On the handle of the Hathoric element:</b>		
<i>ʾs.t wr.t nb.t p.t ḥnw.t t3.wy ʾr.t [R<sup>c</sup>]</i>		Isis the Great, lady of the sky, mistress of the Two Lands, Eye of Ra who makes his protection
<i>ʾr s3.w=f</i>		
<b>B: On the front of the robe:</b>		
<i>prr(.t) nb.t ḥr ḥ3.t m-b3ḥ nb.w ʾpw</i>		All that comes upon the offering table in the presence of the lords of Akhmim
<b>C: The sides and the back of the seat, including the back pillar, twelve columns:</b>		
[1] <i>ḏd=f ʾnk ʾs ḥsy n</i>	[1]	He says: I am the favoured bald one of
[2] <i>[Nbw] whm(.w) n ḥnw.t=f n3 n</i>	[2]	the Golden One, the reporter of his mistress, the one for
[3] <i>[šp]s.wt n3 n rwn.wt n3</i>	[3]	the noblewomen, the one for the young girls, the one
[4] <i>[n g]rg.w-pr.w ḥm.wt nb.(w)t n t3 r-ḏ[r]</i>	[4]	[for the ho]use-wives (lit. '[for those] who found houses), all women of the ent[ire] land,
[5] <i>=f<sup>c</sup>q.w r m3 ḥnw.t=i ʾnk</i>	[5]	[those wh]o enter to see my mistress. I am
[6] <i>[whm.w] spr(.w)=tn nb n ḥnw.t m mn.t bw sdm.tw n ky</i>	[6]	[the one who repeats] <sup>874</sup> all your petitions to the mistress daily, without them being heard by another
[7] <i>[...? m]i-ḡd=i ʾnk ʾs ḥsy ḥr dd=s ḥi n ḥ3r.ḏ.t</i>	[7]	[one(?)] <sup>875</sup> I]like me (lit. like my form). I am the favoured baldone. She is the one who gives a husband to the widow
[8] <i>grg.t n rwn.t k3 s:(n)mḥ.t</i>	[8]	and a dowry <sup>876</sup> to a young girl. Then you will make

<sup>872</sup> The clothing is clearly Ramesside. The more specific date proposed is given by both Clère (1995: 109) and the PM entry, although reasons are not given.

<sup>873</sup> Given the break-line and the fact that it is not on the right thigh: Bernhauer 2002a: n.18.

<sup>874</sup> Clère (1995: 112, 'Notes de traduction e)) suggests either *ḏd* or *whm* as potential restorations, but the sense is clear either way.

<sup>875</sup> Only a small number of signs are missing.

<sup>876</sup> Literally, 'a foundation', probably related to the founding of a family upon marriage – see Clère 1968b: 174.

- |      |                                      |      |   |
|------|--------------------------------------|------|---|
| [9]  | <i>=tn hr [wh]m.w s.wt</i>           | [9]  | supplication to the one who repeats it                |
| [10] | <i>mī bzk hnw mī-ḡd</i>              | [10] | like a servant of the Residence, like                 |
| [11] | <i>=i ir n bzk n Is.t n(?) šw.ty</i> | [11] | me. Made for the servant of Isis, (for?) the merchant |
| [12] | <i>Nfr-ḥtp</i>                       | [12] | Neferhotep  |

**D: Around the base, from the centre of the front and around the right side:**

*ḥtp(-dī)-nsw Mn Ipw nb nhḥ ḥqz d.t n kz  
n šw.ty Nfr-ḥtp...*

Offering-which-the-king-gives to Min of Akhmim, lord of eternity, ruler of perpetuity, for the *ka* of the merchant Neferhotep.<sup>877</sup>

**E: Around the base, from the centre of the front and around the left side:**

*ḥtp(-dī)-nsw Is.t wr.t mw.t ntr n kz (n)  
šw.ty Nfr-ḥtp n nīw.t*

Offering-which-the-king-gives to Isis the Great, god's mother, for the *ka* of the merchant Neferhotep, of the city.

A.14 (Fig. 14)

- Name:** Bahy  
**Date:** Nineteenth to Twentieth Dynasties<sup>878</sup>  
**Material:** Limestone  
**Height:** 0.33m  
**Provenance:** Nag el-Mecheikh (after the inscriptions)  
**Current Location:** Private collection (formerly J. J. Clère)  
**Statue form:** Block (fragment; missing: feet and base;<sup>879</sup> damage to the top of the back pillar)  
**Notes:** The right hand is held to the mouth  
**Bibliography:** Sethe 1928: 214, (II, §104a); Clère 1995: 104-108 (Doc. E); PM VIII: 626 (801-643-705); Clère (Griffith Institute) MS 05.01 (in initial list as 'Paris: Clère'); Sale record: Pierre Bergé & Associés, 26 Nov. 2013 (lot 37)  
<http://www.pba-auctions.com/html/fiche.jsp?id=3399363&np=&lng=en&npp=150&ordre=&aff=&r=> [accessed 17 Aug 2017]

**Inscriptions:****A: On the front of the legs, six rows:**

- |     |   |     |  |
|-----|---|-----|--|
| [1] | <i>[... mr].yw Bšhy mš<sup>c</sup>-hrw dd=f</i> | [1] | [Overseer(?) of the wea]vers Bahy, true-of-voice. He says        |
| [2] | <i>ink pš is ḥsy n Nbw whm(.w) n</i>            | [2] | I am the favoured bald one of the Golden One, reporter of        |
| [3] | <i>hnw.t=i imm n=i hnq.t hr dr.t=i srm (hr)</i> | [3] | my mistress. Place for me beer upon my hand, <i>serem</i> -drink |

<sup>877</sup> Likely only the determinative (Gardiner A51) is missing here.

<sup>878</sup> For Nineteenth Dynasty, see Clère 1995: 104 n.24.

<sup>879</sup> The images which appear in Clère (1995: 108) show the statue with a base and feet (albeit damaged at the front), which are presumably reconstructions, as the photographs for the 2013 sale of this statue show these parts to be missing.

- |                                    |  |
|------------------------------------|--|
| [4] <i>r=i b3q.t ndm [hr t3.y]</i> | [4] (in) my mouth, sweet moringa-oil [upon m]y |
| [5] <i>=i mss.t ts.w [...]</i>     | [5] clothing, knotted [...]                    |
| [6] <i>[...] r hh [...]</i>        | [6] [...] upon (my) neck [...]                 |

**B: On the back pillar, two columns:**

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| [1] <i>htp-[di ns]w In-hr sn.t-t3 n Mh.t [hr].t-ib Bhd.t i rm[t ...]</i> | [1] Offering-[which the ki]ng gives to Onuris, kissing the ground before Mehyt who is at the head of Behdet. O people [...] |
| [2] <i>[...] nb im n=i t hnq[.t] hr dr.t sr[m ...]</i>                   | [2] [...] all who [come(?)], place for me bread and beer in (my) hand, <i>ser[em-drink ...]</i>                             |

A.15 (Fig. 15)

- Name:** Unknown (male)<sup>880</sup>  
**Date:** Nineteenth to Twentieth Dynasties  
**Material:** Limestone  
**Height:** 0.155m  
**Provenance:** Temple of Mentuhotep II, Deir el-Bahari  
**Current Location:** British Museum, London, EA 41645 (10-14/10/1905)  
**Statue form:** Block (fragment; missing: all but the back and part of both sides)<sup>881</sup>  
**Notes:** Possibly balding after the inscriptions  
**Bibliography:** Naville and Hall 1913: 8, pl.IXB; Budge 1914: 11, pl.40; Spiegelberg 1923: 56; Schott 1950: 81-82; PM II<sup>2</sup>: 394; Schulz 1992: 391 (no. 226), Tf.101d; Pinch 1994: 334-335; Clère 1995: 147-150 (Doc. L);

**Inscriptions:****A: On the right shoulder and upper back:**

- |                                |                        |
|--------------------------------|------------------------|
| [...] <i>s3=s W3t3t3 [...]</i> | [...] her son Watjatja |
|--------------------------------|------------------------|

**B: On the back and sides, six rows:**

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| [1] <i>[...] 3q.w nb r pr Nbw mh r=i m di.t=tn imm [...]</i>                          | [1] [...] All those who enter into the house of the Golden One, fill my mouth with that which you give. <sup>882</sup> Give (me?) [...]          |
| [2] <i>[...] [p3].y=s is iw=f s3.w ink is dd=i n Nbw [...]</i>                        | [2] [...] [she likes that] her bald one is satisfied. I am the bald one who speaks to the Golden One [...]                                       |
| [3] <i>[...] [dd] n=tn rmt W3s.t šps.wt mi nmh.yw ii.y nb r wdn.w m [D]sr.t [...]</i> | [3] [...] (I?) [speak] to you, people of Thebes, noblewomen like poor women, <sup>883</sup> all those who come to offer in <i>Djeseret</i> [...] |

<sup>880</sup> The only indication of a name is a fragmentary inscription surviving on the right shoulder and upper back, ‘...her son Watjatja’, which does not make it clear to whom the statue belongs; it is unlikely to be a woman, and it cannot be confirmed if Watjatja is the owner, with the woman being his mother or a figurative reference to a relationship with the goddess. We might speculate that a mother commissioned this statue for a relation, going some way to explain why there is a direct address to women in the main inscription.

<sup>881</sup> Textual and stylistic similarities with other sistrophores in this catalogue (such as A.10 and A.21) suggest this may have been a sistrophore, but there it is far from certain so is not included in the sistrophores catalogue.

<sup>882</sup> There is only one *t* in the text – here it is understood as for both participle *di.t* and suffix *tn*.

<sup>883</sup> Note that although *rmt* has the usual man and woman determinative, *šps.wt* clearly relates to women (the feminine ending as well as the woman determinative) and similarly *nmh.yw* has only a woman determinative (following the usual seated child with a hand to the mouth).

- [4] [...] *r d[d] n3.y=t(n) spr.wt n t3 ih n nbw t3 nb.t n h̄(w) nfr h̄[nw.t] n t3 fk.tyw(?) t3 nb.t [...]* [4] [...] in order to spe[ak] your petitions to the cow of gold, the lady of good lifetime, the mistress of the *fektyw*-priests(?),<sup>884</sup> the lady [...]
- [5] [...] *ϵ.t iry-ϵ3 di=s tn h̄ms nfr pr pn bw nfr h3 nfr in [...]* [5] [...] house, the door-keeper. May she give you (pl.) a good position (lit. sitting) (in) this temple, goodness, a good husband, bringing [...]
- [6] [...] *sdr=s r rd.wy ir di n=f sn.w m-b3h=f bn qnd=s [...]* [6] [...] she will spend the night on the two legs. If *senu*-loaves are offered to him in his presence, she will not<sup>885</sup> be angry [...]

#### A.16 (Fig. 16)

<b>Name:</b>	Kha
<b>Date:</b>	Nineteenth to Twentieth Dynasties <sup>886</sup>
<b>Material:</b>	Black granite
<b>Height:</b>	0.39m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Coptos
<b>Current Location:</b>	Egyptian Museum, Cairo, CG 930
<b>Statue form:</b>	Block (sitting on a low stool) with an object (now broken) (missing: head) <sup>887</sup>
<b>Notes:</b>	The right hand is held before the mouth, clenched in a fist with a hole in which an object was placed; the left is palm-up on the left knee. The break at the neck has three holes in it, possibly for attaching a head (modern?).
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Daressy 1894: 47-48; Borchardt 1930: 159-160, Bl.157; Clère 1952: 638; El-Damaty 1990: 7; Schulz 1992: 220 (no. 115), Tf. 52a-b; Clère 1995: 208-210 (Doc. GG); Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list, as ‘Statue à sistre rapporté’), 05.02 (including photographs), 05.06 (photographs) and 18.12

<sup>884</sup> The comments in Clère 1995: 149, ‘Notes de traduction’ e) suggest this word (and a similar word on A.21, Text B, line 3 – see footnote 922) should be understood as relating to a group of women, whose function is specifically connected to hair and beauty. This would make sense for a Hathoric deity. Nevertheless, in spite of the discussion of possible or related vocabulary, no mention is made of *f3k*, ‘the bald one’ (*Wb* I: 575) and the priestly title *fk.ty* (*WB* I: 580), which would have links to the role of *is* claimed by the statue – note that on statue A.21 the determinative in Clère’s hieroglyphs is a seated woman, but the break occurs at this point and the sign could plausibly be a seated bearded figure as seen under the entry for *f3k* as a plural form. Pinch (1993: 335) indeed suggested a translation of ‘shaven priests’, although recognised that there are no parallels, and as an alternative posited that it might be a category of priests who danced and shook *menit*-necklaces.

<sup>885</sup> On the negative *bn*, see Junge 2005: 331.

<sup>886</sup> Clère 1995: 208, n.32 (possibly Nineteenth Dynasty). Compare also A.11.

<sup>887</sup> In Clère’s notes, this was included in the initial list of sistrophores, with a question mark. I think it unlikely to be a sistrophore, given the small space between the right fist and where the face would have been, which is where the proposed Hathoric element would have been held.

**Inscriptions:****A: On the front of the legs, six columns:**

- |     |  |  |   |   |
|-----|--|--|---|---|
| [1] | [...]  | <i>n Mn Gb.tyw 'Is.t mw.t ntr ink hm</i> | [1]   | [Oh, (priests)] of Min of Coptos and of Isis, god's mother, I am the servant of [her house(?)] <sup>888</sup> |
|     |  | <i>n [...]</i>                           |   |   |
| [2] | <i>tn r-gs pr Mn rmt nb nty hr wdn n ntr=i</i> | [2]                                      | beside the house of Min. Everyone <sup>889</sup> who is offering to my god of my town,  |   |
|     | <i>n'iw.t=i</i>                                |  |   |   |
| [3] | <i>imm šsp sn.w m di.t=tn ink dd(.w) r-</i>    | [3]                                      | cause that <i>senu</i> -loaves be received from what you give. <sup>890</sup> I am one who speaks before (her), then                      |   |
|     | <i>h3.t k3</i>                                 |  |   |   |
| [4] | <i>dd spr=tn m-hnw n pr 'Is.t k3 di=s h3i</i>  | [4]                                      | speaks your petition(s) in the interior of the house of Isis so that she may give a husband to the young girl and provisions to the widow |   |
| [5] | <i>n t3 rwn.ty 'q.w n t3 h3r.t</i>             | [5]                                      |   |   |
| [6] | <i>m d[d.n=s] p3 hm n pr=s hm-ntr n Mn</i>     | [6]                                      | according to what she said (to) <sup>891</sup> the servant of her house, the god's servant of Min, Kha.                                   |   |
|     | <i>H<sup>c</sup></i>                           |  |   |   |

A.17 (=B.64) (Fig. 17)

- Name:** Raia
- Date:** Nineteenth to Twentieth Dynasties<sup>892</sup>
- Material:** Limestone
- Height:** 0.59m
- Provenance:** Abydos<sup>893</sup>
- Current Location:** Egyptian Museum, Cairo, CG 627
- Statue form:** Block with Hathoric element (fragment; missing: head, with damage to the front corners of the base, the left knee and the right arm)
- Notes:** In sunken relief on the back pillar is a standing woman holding a plant in her right hand and in her left, against her chest, an arched-sistrum and a *menit*-necklace.
- Bibliography:** Daressy 1893: 171, pl. LXIV; Borchardt 1925: 173-175, Bl.115; PM V: 94; Kees 1953: 148; Vandier 1958: 458 n.6, 656; Schulman 1964: 159 (no. 459h); Clère 1970: 2, n.5; Schulz 1992: 195-196 (no. 096), pl. 48a-d; Clère 1995: 192-199 (Doc. EE); Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list) and 05.05 (including photographs)

<sup>888</sup> Based on a title used in line 6. Plausible alternatives are 'the goddess' (see Clère 1995: 209, 'Note de traduction b)), 'lady of the sky' (comparable to A.10 and A.28), or 'Isis' (comparable to A.13 (here *b3k* is in place of *hm*) and A.17; Hathor's name appears in similar constructions on A.6, A.19 and A.29.

<sup>889</sup> Spelled with the head of a vulture (Gardiner H4), loaf-sign and plural strokes.

<sup>890</sup> There is only one *t* in the text – here it is understood as for both participle *di.t* and suffix *tn*.

<sup>891</sup> Clère 1995: 209, 'Notes de traduction' e): the *n*- and *s*-signs are damaged, and could possibly be reversed to read *dd-s n*, 'what she says to'.

<sup>892</sup> Clère 1995: 192 n.21.

<sup>893</sup> Ta-wer is named as the goddess's residence, and given the link between Isis and Osiris, Abydos seems likely; we would expect Mehyt to be mentioned if the statue derived from Thinis. However, Raia himself states 'I am the servant of Isis in Coptos'. Presumably he served the goddess in more than one location, or in more than one of her localised iterations.

**Inscriptions:****A: On top of the Hathoric element:***ʾIs.t wr.t mw.t nṯr [...ḥr?] nb*

Isis the Great, god's mother [...everyone(?)]

**B: On handle of Hathoric element:***ʾIs.t wr.t ṯr.t s3 ḥr sn=s Wsir*

Isis the Great, the one who protects (lit. who makes protection for(?))her brother Osiris

**C: On the front, around the Hathoric element, eight columns:**

- [1] [...*dd=f i rmt*] *nb ḥn(.w) tp t3 iy(.w) r m3 nb.t p.t ink ḥm n ʾIs.t m Gb.tyw* [1] [...He says: Oh,] all [people],<sup>894</sup> those who live upon the earth, those who come to see the lady of the sky, I am the servant of Isis in Coptos.
- [2] [...*iw rd*] *i-kwi r ḥws k3.t m niw.t=s nw T3-wr gm.n=i ʾIs.t iy=<ṯ> ḥ3-tp ṯi s<w>.t* [2] [I was work]ing to build the constructions in her town of *Ta-wer*. I found Isis, she coming around when she
- [3] [...*s:mn=s (wi) n*] *pr=s nḥm* [3] [... she established me in] her temple, protected
- [4] *m* [4] from
- [5] [*dw.t*] *nb.t* [5] every [evil?]
- [6] [*ph*].*n=i i3<t> m ḥtp* [6] I [reached] old age in peace
- [7] [*m pr=s m*] *k wi m-b3ḥ=s ḥr šsp k3=s m tp n mr.n=s ink wḥm(.w) n nb.t p.t tw=i r p3(.y)=s wb3 dd=<t>n n=i spr[.w]* [7] [in her house. Beh]old me in her presence, receiving her *ka*<sup>895</sup> at the head of (those?) she loved. I am the reporter of the lady of the sky and I am<sup>896</sup> in (lit. at) her open forecourt.<sup>897</sup> You will<sup>898</sup> say to me [your] petition [...]
- [8] [...]=*tn wḥm=i s.wt n nb.t t3.wy sw ḥr sdm ḥt.t=i ptr n=tn ṯr.n=s n=i ph.wy i3w m pr=s* [8] (and?) your [...]. I will repeat it to the lady of the Two Lands (because) she is hearing my prayer. See, you, she acts for me, (so that) I am one who reaches old age in her temple.

**D: On the top of the base, around the feet, four columns (very damaged):**

- [1] [*hs*] *b db<sup>c</sup>.w dmd ḥfn.w m mn.w nb n* [1] One who counts tens of thousands, one who totals hundreds of thousands in all monuments of [...]
- [2] *ḥm n ʾIs.t šms.w [k3=s]* [2] The servant of Isis, the one who follows [her *ka*]
- [3] *nb s.t m ḥw.t-nṯr=s sš mš<sup>c</sup> R3-[i3...?]* [3] Lord of the place in her temple, the scribe of the army, Ra[ia...?]

<sup>894</sup> Daressy 1893: 171 saw a seated woman determinative and *rmt* has been assumed (Clère 1995: 194, 'Notes de lecture d').

<sup>895</sup> A less literal rendering, 'à être en contact avec sa personne', has been suggested (Clère 1995: 195). Either way, a close relationship with the goddess is demonstrated.

<sup>896</sup> Using the pronomial compound, Gardiner 1957: 98 (§124).

<sup>897</sup> See footnote 868 (A.12; also on A.25).

<sup>898</sup> The three dots following *dd* are presumably a miswritten third-person plural.

[4] ...only traces, including possibly *nb t3.wy* (Raia's title(?) – see around the base)

**E: Around the front and sides of the base (beginning on the left side):**

*ḥtp-dī-nsw Ἰs.t mw.t ntr ḥr.t-ib T3-wr in  
sš mšꜥ n nb t3.wy Rꜥ-ī3 m3ꜥ-ḥrw dd=f [dī  
ī3] ḥr [...] t3.y=t pḥt ʿ3.t n ḥw wī m ḏw.t  
nb.t dī[=t] pḥ=i ī3w m ḥs.t=t n ḥpr ḏw.t  
r=i nh [wī?] Ḥr mk [wī(?)] Ἰs.t ḥy  
km.n=f [k]y nh(.w) n h[3(.w) n] rdi psd=f  
n=sn n nhm.w hm=sn*

Offering-which-the-king-gives to Isis, god's mother, who is at the head of *Ta-wer*, by the scribe of the army of the Lord of the Two Lands, Raia, true-of-voice. He says: giving praise to [...] your<sup>899</sup> strength and greatness, one who protects me from every evil. [You] have caused me to reach old age in your favour without harm coming to me. Horus protects me(?). Isis guards me(?). How would he add (lit. complete) another protector?<sup>900</sup> There is no one coming (past) placing his back to them and (or 'because?') there is no poor man whom they harm.

**F: On the back of the base, six columns:**

[1] [*r*]dī.t ī3.w n Ἰs.t wr.t

[2] *sn t3 n s3=s Ḥr*

[3] *dī=s rwd twt n<t> it=f*

[4] *mn m [r]-pr=f ḥtp.wt=f*

[5] *w3ḏ rꜥ nb m spy.t ḥr ḥnt*

[6] *in sš mšꜥ n nb t3.wy Ḥri m3ꜥ-ḥrw*

[1] Giving praise to Isis the Great

[2] kissing the ground before her son Horus

[3] May she cause that the statue of my father endures,

[4] established in his<sup>901</sup> temple, (and) his fresh

[5] offerings every day, from what is left over from the offering feast

[6] by the scribe of the army of the Lord of the Two Lands, Hori true-of-voice.<sup>902</sup>

<sup>899</sup> The suffix here is a seated woman. See also A.26.

<sup>900</sup> Translation not certain; perhaps with the meaning of 'why would he (the statue-owner) need any further benefactors besides Horus and Isis?'. See Clère 1995: 196, 'Notes de traduction' o) for a similar suggestion and discussion.

<sup>901</sup> It is possible that the masculine suffix is an error for the feminine, and this would make more sense given that the temple would be for the goddess and not for the statue. However, the following word (offerings) also has the masculine suffix, which raises the question of whether this too is an error – indeed offerings to a statue may well have been part of the process of reversion of offerings, presented to the goddess first before the statue. Alternatively, it may be that 'his temple' is not to be taken in a literal sense, and should be read with the sense 'his *chosen* temple' (for setting up the statue).

<sup>902</sup> Flowers could be used as a substitute for the normal writing of *m3ꜥ-ḥrw* from the Eighteenth Dynasty: *Wb* II: 17. Compare A.22, Text A.

A.18 (=B.65) (Fig. 18)

- Name:** Amenemipet  
**Date:** Nineteenth to Twentieth Dynasties<sup>903</sup>  
**Material:** Limestone  
**Height:** c.0.35m  
**Provenance:** Deir el-Medina (within enclosure wall of the Ptolemaic temple, in the Hathor temple pronaos)  
**Current Location:** Deir el-Medina, Magazine 25  
**Statue form:** Block, possibly with Hathoric element (fragments; worn; missing: much of the base, portions of the front and sides)  
**Notes:** The right hand is held to the mouth; the left arm is now broken, but may have been resting across the knees or with the hand palm-up on the left knee. A *menit*-necklace rests over the left shoulder. The head is raised slightly and the top surface of the statue appears to have been angled down to the knees, emphasising this head position. The individual is shown balding  
**Bibliography:** Bruyère 1952a: 53, 96-97, 132 (no. 219); Schulz 1992: 136-137 (no. 059), Abb. 12; Clère 1995: 124-130 (Doc. I); Konrad 2011-13: 59 n.47; Clère Griffith Institute MS 05.01 (in initial list)

**Inscriptions:****A: On the right side, four rows remaining:**

[1] <i>sdm-š m s.t m3<sup>c</sup>.t 'Imn-m-'Ip.t</i>	[1] Servant in the place of truth, Amenemipet
[2] [ <i>dd=f ink p</i> ]3 [ <i>i</i> ]s	[2] [He says I am t]he [bald o]ne
[3] <i>n.t ntr[.t(?)...]</i>	[3] of the god[dess...I am(?)]
[4] <i>r p3 [sb3] tpy iw</i>	[4] at the first [doo]r, being
[...] [...]	[...] [...]

**B: On the left side, remnants of four further rows:**

Only traces remain, with little translation apart from a reference to young girls (*[m]w.t*)

**C: On the back pillar, two columns:**

[1] [... <i>i</i> ]s <i>wh[m](.w) n Nbw i [...spr.wty]</i>	[1] [I am(?) the ba]ld one, the reporter of the Golden One. Oh, [...]
[2] <i>nb.t nty ib whm=s[t(?)] n N[bw ...]</i>	[2] all [petitioners <sup>904</sup> ], those who wish that it is(?) repeated to the Golden One [...]

<sup>903</sup> Based on findspot and the name of the individual (Clère 1995: 124 n.41); Schulz (1992: 136) and Konrad (2011-13: 59) both suggest Nineteenth Dynasty.

<sup>904</sup> On the difficulty of exact translation (but less so in term of overall sense): Clère 1995: 128, 'Notes de traduction' f).

## A.19 (=B.66) (Fig. 19)

<b>Name:</b>	Unknown (male)
<b>Date:</b>	Nineteenth to Twentieth Dynasties <sup>905</sup>
<b>Material:</b>	Limestone
<b>Height:</b>	c.0.30m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Deir el-Medina (within Ptolemaic enclosure wall, in the Ptolemaic temple)
<b>Current Location:</b>	Unknown <sup>906</sup>
<b>Statue form:</b>	Block with Hathoric element (fragment; missing: base and much of the upper body)
<b>Notes:</b>	The Hathoric element covers almost the entire width of the statue. It is supported by the left hand of the individual; the right hand was held to the mouth
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Bruyère 1952a: 38, 57, 58 (no. 68 ( <i>sic</i> ) <sup>907</sup> ), pl. II, fig. 101 (no. 20); PM I <sup>2</sup> : 713; Schulz 1992: 134 (no. 057), pl. 23a-b; Clère 1995: 131-136 (Doc. J); Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list) and 05.03 (photographs)

**Inscriptions:****A: On the right side, seven rows:**

[1]	<i>ḥtp-dī-nsw Ḳmn-R<sup>c</sup> nsw nṯr.w [...]</i>	[1]	Offering-which-the-king-gives to Amun-Re, king of the gods [and to...]
[2]	<i>[dī]=sn twt=i mn m r-pr=sn ḥr šsp</i>	[2]	(so that) they may cause my statue to remain in their temple, receiving
[3]	<i>dfz.w n dd=sn n kz n sdm-<sup>c</sup>š m s.t m<sup>z</sup>.t [Nb?...]</i>	[3]	provisions of their offering, for the <i>ka</i> of the servant in the place of truth [Neb...?]
[4]	<i>m<sup>z</sup>.-ḥrw dd=f ink ḥm n Ḥw.t-Ḥr ink bzk n Nb.w.t iw</i>	[4]	true-of-voice. He says: I am the servant of Hathor. I am the servant of the Golden One. <sup>908</sup>
[5]	<i>=i rdi spr.wt nb.(w)t n Nb.w.t ḥnw.t=i ink s:grḥ ib n Ḥw.t-Ḥr m tri</i>	[5]	I am giving all petitions to the Golden One, my mistress. I am the one who pacifies the heart <sup>909</sup> of Hathor in her
[6]	<i>=s [...] imm s:gnn ndm [r t<sup>z</sup>].y=i (i)sw.t</i>	[6]	time [of anger(?)...] Place sweet ointment on my baldness.
[7]	[...]	[7]	[...]

**B: On the left side, seven rows:**

[1]	<i>[sdm-<sup>c</sup>š m s.t m<sup>z</sup>.t ...]</i>	[1]	[The servant in the place of truth...]
[2]	<i>[m<sup>z</sup>.-ḥrw...dd=f i]</i>	[2]	[true-of-voice...He says: Oh,
[3]	<i>rmt [nb] nty [iw.w r <sup>c</sup>q]</i>	[3]	all] people [who come to enter]
[4]	<i>r pr Ḥw.t-Ḥr iḥ dī=tn šsp sn.w m</i>	[4]	into the house of Hathor, then may you

<sup>905</sup> Based on findspot (applies to the other statues from Deir el-Medina). Schulz (1992: 134) suggests Nineteenth Dynasty.

<sup>906</sup> It is presumably in Magazine 25, Deir el-Medina, as with several other fragments, but it could not be located by Clère in 1989 (see 1995: 131, n.54).

<sup>907</sup> See Clère 1995: 131 n.55 on the numbering confusion.

<sup>908</sup> No doubt there is some intention behind the use of both *ḥm* and *bzk* in parallel sentences; the nuance of translation is unclear.

<sup>909</sup> Following Clère 1995: 134, 'Notes de lecture c), 135, 'Notes de traduction d).

- di(.t)=tn iry p3 nty nb* cause that (I) receive *senu*-loaves in your offerings. As to everyone who
- [5] *iw r rdi.t šsp=i sn.w m tp t3 nb m pr* [5] causes me to receive *senu*-loaves from upon  
*Hw.t-Hr swd=tn* every land in the house of Hathor, you will pass on
- [6] *i3(.t)=tn n hrd.w=tn hr ʕ.t i3.t mi ir.wt n* [6] your office to your children after a great old  
*p3 nty* age, like that which is done for everyone
- [7] *nb hr dm rn n b3k n ʾImn hr-h.t i3.t dd* [7] who pronounces the name<sup>910</sup> of the servant  
*I[mn m ib=f]* of Amun, after old age, as Am[un wishes  
(lit. as Amun places in his heart)]<sup>911</sup>
- C: On the back pillar:**  
[...nb.t] p.t hnw.t ntr.w nb.w [...] [...lady] of the sky, mistress of all the gods  
[...]

A.20 (=B.84) (Fig. 20)

- Name:** Montuemhat  
**Date:** Twenty-fifth to Twenty-sixth Dynasties (Taharqa – Psamtik I)<sup>912</sup>  
**Material:** Granodiorite  
**Height:** 0.50m  
**Provenance:** Temple of Mut, Karnak (reused as building material in the Ptolemaic enclosure wall)  
**Current Location:** Egyptian Museum, Cairo, CG 647 (JE 31884)  
**Statue form:** Kneeling or sitting(?), possibly with Hathoric element (fragment; missing: all but the head and shoulders, including part of the back pillar)  
**Notes:** Attribution of this statue to Montuemhat is based on parallels for the titles, as the name is not preserved. It is possible that the right was hand held to the mouth.<sup>913</sup> The individual is balding  
**Bibliography:** Gourlay and Newberry 1898: 192; Benson and Gourlay 1899: 357-358; Borchardt 1925: 193, Bl. 119; Hornemann 1957a: 371; Leclant 1961: 97-104, pls. XXV-XXVIII (Doc. 16); Clère 1970: 3, n.16; PM II<sup>2</sup>: 269; Clère 1995: 153-157 (Doc. M); Josephson 2002: 624-625; Bernhauer 2009: 51; Clère (Griffith Institute) MS 05.01 (in initial list)

**Inscriptions:**

**A: On the back pillar, four columns**

- [1] *r-pʕ.t h3.ty-ʕ wr wr.w sʕh smr.w hry-tp* [1] The prince and mayor, the great one of great  
*ʕ3 n t3 dr=f hm-ntr fdnw (n) ʾImn h3.ty-ʕ n* ones, the dignitary of the friends, the great  
*nìw.t imy-r n[sw].t [...]* chief<sup>914</sup> of the entire land, the fourth god's  
servant of Amun, the prince of the town, the  
overseer of Upper Egypt [...]

<sup>910</sup> The determinative is both seated man and woman.

<sup>911</sup> Following Clère 1995: 125, 'Notes de traduction j).

<sup>912</sup> Based on knowledge of this individual from this time period (Leclant 1961).

<sup>913</sup> Bernhauer 2002a: 22 n.26.

<sup>914</sup> For the hair glyph as an alternative for *hry-tp*, see *Wb* III: 139.

- [2] *nfr sw r imi=f hr-h3.t=s k(3) rf wnn=f w3 r* [2] It was more beautiful than that which came  
*w3s k3.wt hy šps.w m tp-šw [in]k [...]* before because, indeed, it had fallen into  
ruin, buildings had fallen, statues were  
worn. I am [...]
- [3] *hy hnw sm3=f hnw.t nn 3b (m) hr.t-hrw* [3] who praises (because) he is united with the  
*ink is hnw n Nbw.t sps n hnw.t hm.wt* mistress without cessation every day. I am  
*ink i[s ...]* the bald one, the musician<sup>915</sup> of the Golden  
One, the tousled one(?) of the mistress of  
women. I am the bald [one ...]
- [4] *wrh=kwi m st.t itn ink is spr=i n hnw.t=f* [4] I will be anointed with rays of the sun disk.  
*qn=s n=f m-tp h3h n[h...]* I am the bald one (and) I make a petition to  
his mistress.<sup>916</sup> She completes<sup>917</sup> for him  
very(?) quickly [his(?)] pray[ers]...

**B: On the right side of the back pillar:***dr=s h3w-ib in=s 3w-ib n ts nb [...]*She removes grief and she brings joys to all  
those who set up [offerings(?)...]**C: On the left side of the back pillar:***s.t nb(.t) tm=s rdi.t n=i sdr=s hr-tp=s nn*  
*t3i=s in pd=s dr(.t) w<sup>c</sup> [...]*Every woman who does not give to me, she  
will spend the night alone and she will not  
marry (lit. her man does not exist),  
(because?) she does not, indeed, stretch out  
a single hand [...]A.21 (=B.93) (Fig. 21)

<b>Name:</b>	Horudja
<b>Date:</b>	Twenty-sixth Dynasty (Psamtik I) <sup>918</sup>
<b>Material:</b>	Granodiorite
<b>Height:</b>	0.35m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Timai el-Amdid (Mendes) <sup>919</sup>
<b>Current Location:</b>	Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, E.31.1973
<b>Statue form:</b>	Kneeling with Hathoric element (fragment; missing : head, lower legs and base)
<b>Notes:</b>	The right hand is placed palm-up on top of the naos, as if being held to the mouth. It is possible that the individual was balding

<sup>915</sup> The determinative is a man holding a naos sistrum.<sup>916</sup> Clère (1995: 156, 'Notes de traduction' h)) comments on the use of suffixes here, suggesting that the masculine singular suffix implies the first person suffix (the stroke following *spr*) should be read as a participle. This would give the sentence more grammatical sense and would remove ambiguity as to the identity of the individual referred to as 'his/him', although the overall meaning is unaffected.<sup>917</sup> Following Clère 1995: 156, 'Notes de traduction' i), which implies that Gardiner Aa9 should be read as Aa8.<sup>918</sup> Based on the knowledge of Horudja from this period: Legrain 1908; Leahy 2016. Clère (1995: 141 ns.66-67) viewed this as a reused Ramesside statue for reasons of the language, spelling and form of the signs, which have parallels on statues from the time of Ramesses II, but the style of the Hathoric element supports a Late Period dating.<sup>919</sup> Bernhauer (2009: 52) suggests instead the site of the main temple enclosure at Mendes, Tell el-Ruba.

**Bibliography:** Clère 1970: 2, no. 7 (as De Young Museum B60, S417); De Meulenaere and Mackay 1976: 197 (no. 44b), pl. 18a-c; Franke 1988: 71; Clère 1995: 141-146 (Doc. K); Bernhauer 2002a: 20, 23 (Abb. 3); Bernhauer 2009: 52, Abb. 4; Clère (Griffith Institute) MS 05.01 (as ‘Zurich = coll. Brundage’)

**Inscriptions:**

**A: On the right side, between Hathoric element and chest, and across thighs, seven columns:**

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| [1] <i>r-p<sup>c</sup>.t ḥz.ty-[<sup>c</sup> ...]</i>               | [1] Prince and may[or]...  |
| [2] <i>ḏd=f ink is...</i>   | [2] He says: I am the bald [one of Hathor(?)...]   |
| [3] <i>n pr=s <sup>c</sup>q(.w) nb r pr Nb.w.t mḥ r=i [m ...]</i>   | [3] of her house. All those who enter into the house of the Golden One, fill my mouth [with offerings(?)...]                                   |
| [4] <i>r ḏr.t=i srm r r=i s:&lt;q&gt;nn nḏm r t3.y=i is.t [...]</i> | [4] in my hand, <i>serem</i> -drink in my mouth, sweet ointment on my baldness [...]   |
| [5] <i>mrr t3 šps.t iw p3.y=s is s3i ink is ḏ[d?] ...]</i>          | [5] (because) the noblewoman loves that her bald one be satisfied. I am the bald one who sp[ea]ks to the goddess(?)...so that she gives(?)...] |
| [6] <i>ḥi n nfr.w ink is ḏd.tw n Nb.w.t imm ḥ[3.t ? ...]</i>        | [6] a husband to the young girls. I am the bald one (by whom it) is spoken to the Golden One. <sup>920</sup> Place (upon) [my forehead(?) ...] |
| [7] <i>Hw.t-Hr whm.w n ḥnw.t ii(.w) nb r wdn [...]</i>              | [7] Hathor, the reporter of the mistress. All those who come to offer [...]  |

**B: On the left side, between Hathoric element and chest, and across thighs, seven columns:<sup>921</sup>**

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| [1] <i>m ḏr.ty[=i ...]</i>  | [1] in [my] two hands [...]  |
| [2] <i>=tn spr.w [...]</i>  | [2] May you [say?] petitions [...]   |
| [3] <i>ḥm.w ḥr pg3 t3 nb(.t) n n3 fk.tyw(?) [...]</i>                           | [3] the servants, who is revealing the lady of the <i>fektyw</i> -priests <sup>922</sup> [...]                                     |
| [4] <i>[...] t3 i ir.tw n=s qn.w r-ḥft-ḥr n R<sup>c</sup> ir t3 n[t]y [...]</i> | [4] [...] <sup>923</sup> the (female) one, indeed, for whom effective things are done in the presence of Re. As to those who [...] |

<sup>920</sup> The translation in Clère (1995: 144) reads ‘Je suis un chauve (grâce à qui) on parle à la Dorée’, which is an elegant summation of the mediating function, but I believe it to be a freer translation than my own.

<sup>921</sup> This appears to be a continuation of the text on the right side.

<sup>922</sup> The translation of this line remains tenuous. Clère (1995: 144-145 and ‘Notes de traduction’ h)) understands two categories of women which are named, the first in a title of Horudja – *ḥm ḥm.w(t)*, ‘servant of women’ (although recognises an alternative reading of ‘servants’), and the second in an epithet of the goddess – *nb.t n3 knf.w(t)*, ‘lady of the *kenfwt*-women’. Although I acknowledge the potential for a parallel of a man and a goddess who both administer to groups of women, the reading is too uncertain to be clear on meaning, and I prefer to read the final word as a type of bald priest, albeit miswritten - see above, footnote 884, on a similar word in A.15 (Text B, line 4). The reading of *pg3* has been understood as the compound *pg3-ḏr.t*, ‘generous’ (Clère 1995: 145, ‘Notes de traduction’ i)), but the sense of ‘reveal’ fits well in the context of the statue mediating between human and god and thereby allowing a form of access of the former to the latter. If indeed it is a compound and it should be read as a participle (‘he who makes generous’), *pg3-ḥr*, ‘perceptive, wise’ (*Wb* I: 562 – ‘scharfsinnig’), would also be suitable: the statue-owner is making the deity aware of matters on earth, and the goddess is willing to listen.

<sup>923</sup> The end of a plural (seated man and plural strokes) remains from the previous line.

- [5] *bn qnd=s bn ḥdn=s bn kh=s ṛr (t)z nty bn iw [...]* [5] she will not be angry, she will not be unwilling, she will not be weary(?).<sup>924</sup> As to those who are not [...]
- [6] *snn.y n pꜣ.y=s is [...]* [6] the likeness of her bald one [...]
- [7] *ṛr wn nfr pw ḥ[qr=f]* [7] As to those who are not hungry [...]

**C: On the back pillar:**

*ḥꜣ.ty-ꜣ imi-ḥn.t wr mꜣ Ṭwnw Ḥr-wdꜣ sꜣ  
ḥꜣ.ty-ꜣ imi-[ḥn.t ...]*

Mayor, *imi-khent*-priest, high priest<sup>925</sup> of Heliopolis, Horudja, son of the mayor, the *imi-[khent-priest]*...

A.22 (Fig. 22)

- Name:** Mutsepy/Mutmut(y)  
**Date:** Twenty-sixth Dynasty<sup>926</sup>  
**Material:** Basalt  
**Height:** c.0.35m  
**Provenance:** Temple of Mut, Karnak  
**Current Location:** Unknown  
**Statue form:** Standing with small royal figure (fragment; missing: lower legs and base)  
**Notes:** The royal figure is a child wearing the double crown. It has been suggested that Mutsepy/Mutmuti was the nurse of a prince (Benson and Gourlay 1899: 274)  
**Bibliography:** Benson and Gourlay 1899: 67, 274, 359-360, fig. 1, pl. xxvii; Bosse 1936: pl. x (no. 188); PM II<sup>2</sup>: 260; Kreißl 1989: 29-31

**Inscriptions:****A: On the back pillar:**

*šms.t n Mw.t nb.t p.t Mw.t-spy mꜣꜣ-ḥrw  
ḏd=s i(.y)=k r sn.t tꜣ n nb.t p.t imm  
n.t(?) ḥt n nty m ꜣ.wy=tn [...]*

Follower of Mut, lady of the sky, Mutsepy, true-of-voice.<sup>927</sup> She says: may you come to kiss the ground before the lady of the sky. Give (offerings) of(?) the things from those in your hands [...]

**B: On the right side of the back pillar:**

*ṛr n=s sꜣ=s r s:ꜣnh rn=s wn ꜣꜣ.wy n pr  
nbw pr n Mw.t Ḥr-wdꜣ sꜣ wn ꜣꜣ.wy pr  
nbw ꜣnh-ḥpy mꜣꜣ-ḥrw ḏd=f [...]*

Made for her (by) her son in order to cause her name to live, the opener of the two doors of the house of gold, the house of Mut, Horudja, son of the opener of the two

<sup>924</sup> The translation of this is uncertain. A similar word, *khw* (*Wb* V: 138), relates to exhaustion.

<sup>925</sup> *Wb* I: 329. Possible literal translation of ‘great one who sees (the god)’. Although likely a generic reference to the access to the divine image in the temple of Heliopolis which the title-bearer had, it corroborates Horudja’s claim to have a close link to Hathor.

<sup>926</sup> The dating has been adopted ever since the original publication. It is not certain, since the cartouche in the inscription is empty, but the name of her son, Horudja, is paralleled in the Saite period (see A.21).

<sup>927</sup> Note that preceding the common signs for *mꜣꜣ-ḥrw* is the clump of papyrus, which replaces the common signs entirely in A.17, Text F, Line 6.

doors of the house of gold<sup>928</sup> Ankh-hepy, true-of-voice. He says: [...]

**C: On the left side of the back pillar, three columns:**

- |     |  |     |  |
|-----|--|-----|--|
| [1] | [empty cartouche] <i>&lt;trn=f hr-ntt ink hnw.t šms tp t3 s:r smi=tn n hnw.t hm.t-k3 hm(.t)=s iw.t(?) h3-tp n r<sup>c</sup> nb [...]</i> | [1] | ... his name(?) because I am the mistress of following upon the earth, causing your report(s) to ascend to the mistress, funerary-priestess of her majesty, it being behind every day[...] |
| [2] | <i>im.t s:w3ht n h.t rdì.t=tn n=t tp t3 n [...]</i>  | [2] | therein(?). An enduring of things you (pl.) are giving to you(?) <sup>929</sup> upon the earth for(?) [...]  |
| [3] | <i>thm sn [mni...]</i>   | [3] | drive them, [herd them(?) ...]   |

A.23 (=B.100) (Fig. 23)

- Name:** Unknown (male)  
**Date:** Twenty-seventh Dynasty<sup>930</sup>  
**Material:** Limestone  
**Height:** 0.52m  
**Provenance:** Possibly Akhmim after the inscriptions (back pillar reused as a threshold)  
**Current Location:** Staatliche Sammlung für Ägyptische Kunst, Munich, no. 62.4871  
**Statue form:** Possibly kneeling, likely with Hathoric element (fragment; missing: all but the head, left shoulder, left of the torso and the back pillar down to the waist)  
**Notes:** The individual is wearing a wig or cap, but styled as if he were balding. It is possible due to parallels elsewhere that the right hand was held to the mouth (or placed palm-up on top of the object held to give the same effect), although there is nothing surviving of the right arm, nor are there any clues within the texts as they are preserved.  
**Bibliography:** Müller 1966: no. 70 [as ÄS 4871]; Clère 1970: 3, n.17; Wildung 1976: 206 no. 126; Altenmüller and Hornbostel 1982: 83, no. 34; Clère 1995: 158-163 (Doc. N); Clère (Griffith Institute) MS 05.01 (in initial list)

**Inscriptions:**

**A: On the back pillar, five columns:**

- |     |  |    |  |
|-----|--|----|--|
| [1] | [... various broken signs, likely titulary]              | [1 | [...]  |
|     |  | ]  |  |
| [2] | <i>ih.t n Mn Nb(.t)-w3d.t m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw dd=f hr</i> | [2 | sistrum-player of Min, Neb(et)-wadjet, true- |

<sup>928</sup> An obelisk-sign follows *nbw*. This may be a determinative, although I know of no precedent for this, or it may be an illustration of the doorway location at which Ankh-hepy performs his duties. It does not, however, follow the identical title listed for Horudja.

<sup>929</sup> The interpretation of the pronouns, first plural (using the loaf-sign for the *t*) and then second singular (using the rope) is not certain.

<sup>930</sup> On stylistic grounds and the name of his mother: Clère 1995: 158 n.81; within Clère's notes (Griffith Institute), the date given is Ptolemaic.

- hnw.t=f'Is.t ntr.t i [...]* ] of-voice. He says to his mistress, Isis, the goddess: Oh, [...]
- [3] *n pr=s ink [ʿqz]-ib ph(z)-h.t wzd qd nfr* [3 of her temple. I am straightforward<sup>931</sup> and  
*bi.t ink is sš(?)ʿ[.wy]=i [hr] Nbw.t ntr(.t)* ] honest, happy of disposition and good of  
*(rm)t [ink i]s sdm n(=f) Nbw[.t ...]* ] character. I am the bald one who spreads(?)  
my arms before the Golden One, the  
goddess of the people. [I am the bald o]ne to  
whom the Golden One listens [...]
- [4] *s:grh(?) ib n ky m [ir] n=s ink is [mr(?)]* [4 one who pacifies<sup>932</sup> the heart of another by  
*dd(.w) [nn dd(?)]=i b<3> [m d]bh h.t ink* ] acting for her. I am the bald one [who  
*is [...]* ] loves(?) the one who gives. I do not say  
detestable (words)(?) [for th]ose who ask for  
things.<sup>933</sup> I am the bald one [...]
- [5] *[...] ink i[s dd(?) n=f Nbw].t [...] n* [5 [...] I am the bald o[ne to whom the Golden  
*nb(.t?) ink is mnh(?) hsy n'Is.t [...]* ] O]ne [speaks] [...] to the lady(?). I am the  
effective bald one, honoured one<sup>934</sup> of Isis  
[...]

**B: On the right side of the back pillar:**

*imz[h(.y) hr ... 'Is.t(?) n-nt]t i[w=i sbz( ?)*  
*...]*

Venerat[ed before ... Isis(?) because I am  
(at the door?) ...]

**C: On the left side of the back pillar:**

*... (?) hm.wt nw [I]pw [r] d[d*  
*spr].w(?)=sn r*  
*nh[w.y=i(?) whm(?)] spr=sn [...]*

...(?) the women of Akhmim [to say their  
petitions(?)<sup>935</sup>] to [my] ea[rs, repeating(?)]  
their petition [...]

A.24 (Fig. 24)

<b>Name:</b>	Minmose
<b>Date:</b>	Nineteenth Dynasty (Ramesses II)
<b>Material:</b>	Black granite with pink veins
<b>Height:</b>	0.16m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Unknown, possibly the temple of Onuris, Nag el-Mecheikh, after the inscriptions
<b>Current Location:</b>	Art Gallery and Museum, Brighton, Inv. Af. 202
<b>Statue form:</b>	Block
<b>Notes:</b>	
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Weigall 1901: 13-15; Legrain 1910: 30; Clère 1968a: esp. 135-138, 141-148, pl. XXI; KRI III: 471; Bryan 1986: 14-15; Schulz 1992: 94

<sup>931</sup> Clère 1989: esp. 69 (for ʿkz-ib ph h.t)

<sup>932</sup> Written *s:qh*, but parallels suggest *s:grh* is the intended reading.

<sup>933</sup> *bz* here is for *bw*. Clère (1995: 160) translates as ‘I do not say no to those who ask for something’; the meaning is essentially the same.

<sup>934</sup> *Wb* III: 157.

<sup>935</sup> Following Clère 1995: 160, ‘Notes de lecture’ j).

(no. 28), Tf. 8c; Effland and Effland 2004: 5 n.1, 6, n.12-13 (I.2); PM VIII: 601-602 (801-643-120)

**Inscriptions:**

**A: On the right upper arm, cartouche:**

*Wsr-m3<sup>c</sup>.t-R<sup>c</sup> stp-n-R<sup>c</sup>*

Wesermaatre setepenre

**B: On the front of the legs, three columns:**

- |     |  |     |  |
|-----|--|-----|--|
| [1] | <i>sš nsw hry-ḥb hr-tp n nb t3.wy imi-is n</i>               | [1] | Royal scribe, lector priest who is at the head of the lord of the Two Lands, councillor (lit. one who is in the chamber/palace) of |
| [2] | <i>Šw Tfnw.t ḥm-ntr tpy n 'In-ḥr Mn-ms</i>                   | [2] | Shu and Tefnut, the first god's servant of Onuris, Minmose,  |
| [3] | <i>s3 s3b imi-is n Šw Tfnw.t ḥm-ntr tpy (n) 'In-ḥr Hr(i)</i> | [3] | son of the dignitary, the councillor of Shu and Tefnut, the first god's servant of Onuris, Hori.                                   |

**C: On the right side, three rows:**

- |     |                                     |     |   |
|-----|-------------------------------------|-----|---|
| [1] | <i>'In-ḥr imm wi m pr=k rwd=kwi</i> | [1] | Onuris, place me in your house, (so that) I am prospering       |
| [2] | <i>hr 3 wr ḥtm.tw=f wn.tw=f</i>     | [2] | at the great door, which is closed and is opened                |
| [3] | <i>n hr=k iw ink p3(.y)=f iry-i</i> | [3] | before you (because) it is me, your door-keeper. <sup>936</sup> |

**D: On the left side, three rows:**

- |     |                                 |     |   |
|-----|---------------------------------|-----|---|
| [1] | <i>šsp=i sn.w pr m-b3ḥ mitt</i> | [1] | May I receive <i>senu</i> -loaves which come in the presence likewise of          |
| [2] | <i>šms.w Hr di.n wi ḥn=kwi</i>  | [2] | the following of Horus. (I) placed myself <sup>937</sup> (here) having approached |
| [3] | <i>n nb=i ntr nb ntr.w</i>      | [3] | to(wards) my lord, the god, lord of gods.   |

**E: On the back pillar:**

*imi-is n Šw Tfnw.t ḥm-ntr tpy n 'In-ḥr Mn-ms*

Councillor (lit. one who is in the council chamber) of Shu and Tefnut, the first god's servant of Onuris, Minmose.

<sup>936</sup> Reed in place of the door-leaf sign: Clère 1968: 137.

<sup>937</sup> Assuming a missing first person suffix and a reflexive use of the dependent pronoun, as in Gardiner 1957: 46 (§45).

A.25 (=B.43) (Fig. 25)

<b>Name:</b>	Minmose
<b>Date:</b>	Nineteenth Dynasty (Ramesses II)
<b>Material:</b>	Red granite
<b>Height:</b>	0.66m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Unknown, possibly Abydos <sup>938</sup>
<b>Current Location:</b>	Egyptian Museum, Cairo, CG 1203 (RT 14/1/25/1)
<b>Statue form:</b>	Kneeling with Hathoric element (fragment; missing: head, base, parts of right arm; large square hole in both sides)
<b>Notes:</b>	The right hand rests palm-up on top of the naos, as if held to the mouth; the left supports the Hathoric element. It is possible the individual was balding. A cryptogram appears on the left upper arm, showing a <i>s3</i> -hieroglyph (Gardiner Sign List V17) and an ithyphallic Min
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Legrain 1910: 33 (no. 31); Borchardt 1934: 103-105; Capart 1936: 429; Hornemann 1957b: 649; Vandier 1958: 465 n.1, 660; Clère 1970: 2, n.7; KRI III: 470-471; Forgeau 1984: 158, 170, 177; Bryan 1986: 20; Clère 1995: 73-80 (Doc. A); Reynders 1998: 1023; Bernhauer 2002a: 21 n.19; Effland and Effland 2004: 6, n.9-11 (I.1), 12; PM VIII: 583-584 (801-635-060); Clère (Griffith Institute) MS 05.01 (in initial list)

**Inscriptions:**

<b>A: On the right upper arm, cartouche:</b>		
<i>Wsr-M3<sup>c</sup>.t-R<sup>c</sup> stp-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>		Wesermaatre setepenre
<b>B: On the handle of the Hathoric element:</b>		
<i>ʿIs.t wr.t mww.t nṯr nb.t [p.t]</i>		Isis the Great, god's mother, lady [of the sky]
<b>C: On the sides (including the wig of the goddess) and back pillar, twenty-one columns:</b>		
[1] <i>ḥ3.ty-<sup>c</sup> imy-r ḥm.w-nṯr n nṯr.w nb.w T3-wr</i>	[1]	Mayor and overseer of the god's servants of the gods, the lords of <i>Ta-wer</i>
[2] <i>imy-is n Šw Tfnw.t ḥm-nṯr tpy n ʿIn-ḥr Mn-ms s3 s3b ḥm-nṯr n ʿIn-ḥr</i>	[2]	councillor of Shu and Tefnut, first god's servant of Onuris, Minmose, son of the dignitary, the first god's servant of Onuris
[3] <i>Hri ir n [In.ty] dd=f ink p3 is n ʿIs.t wr[.t] ʿnh=i</i>	[3]	Hori, born of [Inty]. He says: I am the bald one <sup>939</sup> of Isis the Great, I live
[4] <i>m wb3&lt;.t&gt;=s wdn.w&lt;t&gt; ʿš3 m šbnw dbbh.t</i>	[4]	in her open forecourt. <sup>940</sup> Numerous offerings in (great) variety, <i>debebhyt</i> -drink <sup>941</sup>
[5] <i>mī nwy ir[p] ḥnq.t bn r-<sup>c</sup>=s(n)</i>	[5]	like water, wine, and beer without their limit:
[6] <i>imm.t ḥr ʿ.wy=i ḥnw.t=i s:mn</i>	[6]	place (them) in my arms. My mistress is

<sup>938</sup> Effland and Effland 2004: 15-16 – aside from the offering table from Nag el-Mecheikh and the objects of unknown provenance, all of the known objects of Minmose are from Abydos.

<sup>939</sup> Throughout this inscription, bald one has a determinative of a kneeling man holding a sistrum.

<sup>940</sup> See above, footnote 868 (A.12; also on A.17).

<sup>941</sup> On this unknown drink: Clère 1995: p.77, 'Notes de traduction' b). *dby.t*, likely the same or a similar drink, is made of figs or dates, and is said to burn the throat (Lutz 1922: 18).

- [7] *m qn̄w[=i(?)]* *imm ir.w n* [7] supported<sup>942</sup>  
in [my(?)] embrace. Do (lit. give/place) the  
actions for
- [8] *kz=s n b̄z[=i(?)]* *šsp=k p̄z is n Nbw ʾIs.t* [8] her *ka* (and) for [my(?)] *ba*. You will  
*wr.t [mw.t n̄tr M]n-ms* receive (them), the bald one of the Golden  
One, Isis the Great, god's mother,  
Minmose.
- [9] *mn n=k sn.w srm[.t]* *r r=k* [9] Take for yourself *senu*-loaves and *seremet*-  
drink to your mouth
- [10] *in ʿf.t n m̄z(.t) iny.t t m̄r srm.t* [10] Bring new *aafet*-drink, *inyt*-drink, excellent  
*db(b)·w>(t) n p̄z [...]* bread, *seremet*-drink and *debebhyt*-  
drink<sup>943</sup> of the [...] <sup>944</sup>
- [11] *ms.t d̄i.w r r n Ms m̄z̄-ḥrw n p̄z is n* [11] [of(?)] children(?), which are placed in the  
*ʾIs.t k̄z=tn ʾtnw ḥrw <nb>* mouth of Mose, true-of-voice, of the bald  
one of Isis. You will say every day:
- [12] [... *n]ty nb m p̄z wb̄z šps.ywt m̄i* [12] [...] all who are in the open forecourt,  
noblewomen like
- [13] *bw nb wrḥ.y m p̄z b̄zk n ʾIs.t iw b̄(z)q* [13] everyone,<sup>945</sup> do<sup>946</sup> anoint the servant of  
*n=f r ḥr=f mk* Isis. Moringa-oil for him is upon his head.  
Behold,
- [14] *nb(.t)=i ḥt.y ḥr d̄z̄d̄z̄=i mk sw r ḥḥ=i m* [14] my lady is carved upon my head. Behold,  
*wd̄z̄w* she is upon my neck as a flourishing  
amulet.
- [15] *dr.t=f imn.ty ḥr [šsp] n=sn t̄z.y=i īzb.t(y)* [15] His right hand is receiving of them; my left  
*ḥr s:mn p̄z* (hand) is supporting the
- [16] *sš̄.t šps(.t) n ḥnw.t=f ḥm.t [nsw] mw.t* [16] noble sistrum of his mistress, the royal  
*n̄tr [i]w=s r* wife, the god's mother. She will
- [17] [*r]d̄i.t n p̄z nty r d̄i n=f ī d̄i<z> n=f [ʾIs].t* [17] give to the one who will give to him. Oh,  
Isis the Great will give to
- [18] *wr.t iw=f nri r wdn n=s šs[p](?)* [18] him who comes in time to offer to her and  
receives
- [19] *ḥsy.t=f imm r r=k p̄z is n [ʾIs.t]* [19] his praise. Place in your mouth, the bald  
one of [Isis],
- [20] *s:gnn n ʿ.wt=k qbb(?) irp irt.t n* [20] ointment for your limbs, libations of wine  
and milk for [...]
- [21] *Mn-m-s̄z* (rebus) [21] Menemsa (Minmose)<sup>947</sup>

<sup>942</sup> Alternatively, 'established', although support seems to fit better contextually given the sistrophorous form of the statue.

<sup>943</sup> Although written as *dbhw*, it is likely the same drink as in line 4, so they are rendered the same way.

<sup>944</sup> Only a small lacuna, with space for one or two signs.

<sup>945</sup> This is translated in Clère (1995: 76) as 'femmes du commun' although *bw nb* is gender neutral, with man and woman plural determinative.

<sup>946</sup> Here serving as the translation of *m*, emphasising the imperative (Gardiner 1957: §250).

<sup>947</sup> Clère 1995: 74 n.6, 75 (fig. 27).

## A.26 (=B.47) (Fig. 26)

<b>Name:</b>	Piyay
<b>Date:</b>	Nineteenth Dynasty (Ramesses II)
<b>Material:</b>	Schist
<b>Height:</b>	0.155m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Unknown, perhaps Memphis
<b>Current Location:</b>	Private collection, Lyons (Albert Husson)
<b>Statue form:</b>	Block with Hathoric element (only minor damage)
<b>Notes:</b>	The base of the statue extends out at the back (see Rondot 2011)
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Clère 1968a: esp.138-141, pl. XXII-III; <i>KRI</i> : III, 440; PM III <sup>2</sup> : II, 865; Schulz 1992: 411 (no. 242), pl. 106a-d; Rondot 2011: 141; Clère (Griffith Institute) MS 05.01 (in initial list)

**Inscriptions:**

<b>A: On the right upper arm, cartouche:</b>		
<i>Wsr-m3<sup>c</sup>.t-R<sup>c</sup> stp-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>		Wesermaatre setepenre
<b>B: On the left upper arm:</b>		
<i>Py-i3.y m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw</i>		Piyay, true-of-voice
<b>C: On the right side, four rows:</b>		
[1] <i>Wr.t-ḥk3.w imm wi m pr m-ḥnw=f</i>	[1]	Werethekau. Place me in (your) house, within it
[2] <i>r<sup>c</sup> nb imm wd3 ḥr n3.y=f sb3.w</i>	[2]	every day. Give (me) prosperity at its gates
[3] <i>nn iṯ-in im r ḥtp m ḥnṯ-t3.wy sp3.t n.t ḥs.w</i>	[3]	without being carried away <sup>948</sup> therein, (so that I) will rest in Ankh-tawy, district of favour
[4] <i>n k3 n sdm(-ḥ) Py-i3.y m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw s3 s3b P3-wr</i>	[4]	for the <i>ka</i> of the servant Piyay, true-of-voice, son of the dignitary Pauer.
<b>D: On the left side, four rows:</b>		
[1] <i>ḥtp-di-nsW Wr.t-ḥk3.w nb.t p.t ir.t R<sup>c</sup></i>	[1]	Offering-which-the-king-gives to Werethekau, lady of the sky, the eye of Ra
[2] <i>pr m ḥ<sup>c</sup>.w=f di-s&lt;t&gt; rwd ḥ<sup>c</sup>.wt=i</i>	[2]	which come from his body (so that) she causes my limbs to endure
[3] <i>m šms.w k3=s r wd3.t r s.t</i>	[3]	in the following of her <i>ka</i> and to go out to her
[4] <i>=s&lt;t&gt; r ph.t im3ḥ n k3 n sdm-ḥ Py-i3.y m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw</i>	[4]	place, in order to reach veneration. For the <i>ka</i> of the servant, Piyay, true-of-voice.
<b>E: On the back pillar, two columns:</b>		
[1] <i>sdm-ḥ Py-i3.y m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw dd=f Wr.t-ḥk3.w ḥ3y imm msdr</i>	[1]	The servant Piyay, true-of-voice. He says: Werethekhau, ho! Place your
[2] <i>=k ink p3.y iry-ḥ3 imm mn ḥr šms.w nb b3q3y n3.y=f ḥ3.wy</i>	[2]	ear. <sup>949</sup> I am (your) door-keeper. Cause that (I) remain in the following of the lord, working (at)(?) <sup>950</sup> his doors.

<sup>948</sup> See Faulkner 1962: 34 on this phrase as it relates to disorderly or unceasing movement, particularly back and forth (also *Wb* I: 149).

## A.27 (=B.49) (Fig. 27)

- Name:** Amenemhat  
**Date:** Nineteenth Dynasty (Ramesses II)<sup>951</sup>  
**Material:** Limestone  
**Height:** 0.25m  
**Provenance:** Deir el-Medina, after the titles  
**Current Location:** L'Institut d'Égyptologie, Université de Strasbourg, Inv. 1587  
**Statue form:** Block with Hathoric element (fragment; missing: feet, base, and right forearm; damage to the sides)  
**Notes:** The right hand (now destroyed) is held to the mouth; the left rests across the knees, with a *menit*-necklace hanging over the left shoulder. The individual looks up slightly and the top surface of the status is slightly angled down from shoulders to knees, which emphasises this head position. On the crown of the head is a small undecorated disk from which the locks of hair radiate  
**Bibliography:** Spiegelberg 1906: 176-177; Spiegelberg 1923: 56; Clère 1970: 2, n.7; Parlebas 1973: 37 (no. 137); Schulz 1992: 509-510 (no. 311), pl. 133b; Clère 1995: 119-123 (Doc. H); Konrad 2011-13: 59 n.47; Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list) and 05.03

**Inscriptions:**

- A: On the handle of the Hathoric element:**  
*Hw.t-Hr nb.t p[.t ...]* Hathor, lady of the sky [...]
- B: On the right side, at least six rows:**<sup>952</sup>
- |     |   |     |  |
|-----|---|-----|--|
| [1] | <i>[sdm]-š m s.t mš.t Imn-m-ḥz.t mš-hrw</i>                 | [1] | [Serv]ant in the place of truth, Amenemhat, true-of-voice. He says: I am the bald one whom the Golden                                      |
|     | <i>ḏd=f ink p3 is n mr.n</i>                                |     |  |
| [2] | <i>[Nb]w ḏd.wt=i n=s p3 ndm ḥtp-ib=s&lt;t&gt; ḥr</i>        | [2] | One loves, (because of?) my speaking to her, the one who is sweet, the one to whose every word she is well-disposed. I am the one who sits |
|     | <i>ḏd.wt nb ink ḥms</i>                                     |     |  |
| [3] | <i>&lt;n&gt; pr=s&lt;t&gt; rmt [nb wdn.w(?)] n [Nbw ...</i> | [3] | in her house. [All] people [who offer? <sup>953</sup> ]  |
|     | <i>m-b3h]</i>   |     | to [the Golden One ... in (her) presence(?)]   |
| [4] | <i>nn tnw [...]</i>   | [4] | without number [...]   |
| [5] | <i>hr(w) nb nf[r ...]</i>                                   | [5] | every goo[d] day [...]   |
| [6] | <i>ḥr [...]</i>   | [6] | [...]  |
- C: On the left side, at least seven rows:**
- |     |   |     |   |
|-----|---|-----|---|
| [1] | <i>[ḥ]tp-dī[-nsw] Hw.t-Hr ḥr.y-tp W3s.t</i> | [1] | Offering-which-the-king-gives to Hathor who is at the head of Thebes, lady of the sky, mistress of the Two Lands, (so that) |
|     | <i>nb.t p.t ḥnw.t t3.wy dī=s rn=i</i>       |     |   |

<sup>949</sup> With the obvious sense of preparing to listen. Also, Clère 1968: 139 – ‘prête l’oreille’. The suffix is in the form of a seated woman, referring to the goddess (see also A.17).

<sup>950</sup> Conjectural reading of ‘opening’ suggested by Clère (1968: 141).

<sup>951</sup> Schulz 1992: 509; no reasons are given.

<sup>952</sup> Likely at least seven to match the other side.

<sup>953</sup> Or possibly ‘enter’.

- [2] *mn m r-pr=s šh3 mn m šh-ntr=s iw=tw hr rdi.t* [2] she may cause my name to remain in her temple and (my) memorial<sup>954</sup> to remain in her divine hall. May they(?) give
- [3] *n=i htp.w df3.w nh.w n sp hn ttf.tw* [3] to me offerings, provisions and the food left over from the offering feast. May water
- [4] *n=i mw hr t3 šsp=i sn.w m di.wt nb(.wt)* [4] flow for me upon the ground. May I receive *senu*-loaves in all offerings
- [5] *mi ir.wt n m3c.ty in sdm-cš m s.t m3c.t h3.t[y] ntr* [5] like that which is done for a true one, by the servant in the place of truth, the god's officer(?)
- [6] *n Dhw.ty nb Hmnw Imn-m-h3.t m3c-hrw dd=f i rmt* [6] of Thoth, lord of Hermopolis, Amenemhat, true-of-voice. He says: Oh, all
- [7] *nb iy(.w) n Nb[w.t] šs[p=i(?)] sn[.w] m di.t=(tn) [...dd=tn(?)]...* [7] people who come to the Golden O[ne. May I] recei[ve] *sen[u]*-loaves in your [...?] offering. [...May you say(?)...]<sup>955</sup>

**D: On the back pillar:**

*sdm-cš m s.t m3c.t Imn-m-h[3.t ...]*

Servant in the place of truth, Amenemha[t...]

A.28 (=B.67) (Fig. 28)

<b>Name:</b>	Ramose
<b>Date:</b>	Nineteenth to Twentieth Dynasties <sup>956</sup>
<b>Material:</b>	Grey granite
<b>Height:</b>	0.43m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Possibly Thebes <sup>957</sup>
<b>Current Location:</b>	Private collection (Brussels)
<b>Statue form:</b>	Block with Hathoric element (missing: head; <sup>958</sup> wear around the sides and base <sup>959</sup> )

**Notes:**

**Bibliography:** Khazai 1985: 123-124 (no. 53); Gubel 1991: 143-144 (no. 162, note by H. de Meulenaere); Schulz 1992: 539 (no. 333); Clère 1995: 211-215 (Doc. HH); PM VIII: 629-630 (801-643-910); Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list as 'Maker Gezeiri'), 05.05 (photographs) and 18.12

<sup>954</sup> On this writing, and the use of the block statue as a determinative, see Price 2011: 160-161.

<sup>955</sup> This final line, particularly from *šsp* onward, the text is very fragmentary. The final part is not certain, and would require additional lines of text; the inscription would likely need to continue onto the base.

<sup>956</sup> Gubel 1991: 143, 147; Schulz (1992: 539) suggests the reign of Ramesses II, but without reasoning.

<sup>957</sup> Clère 1995: 211 n.34. The inscription, however, includes the place name *T3-hnw*, known in the Eastern Delta.

<sup>958</sup> The images contained within Clère's notes (Griffith MSS 05.05) show the statue with a head, but this appears not to match the stone of the rest of the statue, and, indeed, the images in Gubel (1991: 143) and Clère (1995: 215) show it without.

<sup>959</sup> Potentially used as a grindstone in antiquity, with grooves in both sides in which a post was inserted: Gubel 1991: 143.

**Inscriptions:****A: On the front of the legs, either side of the Hathoric element, two columns:**

- [1] *sš nsw imy-r pr R<sup>c</sup>-ms m<sup>z</sup><sup>c</sup>-hrw dd(=f) ink* [1] The royal scribe, the overseer of the house, Ramose, true-of-voice. He says: I am the servant of the lady of the sky, the door-keeper of her house. Give
- [2] *n=i hnq.t hr dr.t t hr <sup>c</sup>.wy r<sup>c</sup> nb k(=) hsy* [2] to me beer upon (my) hand and bread in (my) arms every day, then<sup>960</sup> my mistress will favour you
- [2] *tn t<sup>z</sup>.y(=i) hnw.t*

**B: On the back pillar, two columns:**

- [1] *[...hn]sw m W<sup>z</sup>s.t nfr-htp di=sn rn(=i)* [1] [Offering-which-the-king-gives to ... and to Khonsu] in Thebes, beautiful of face, (so that) they cause my name to remain in their temple without making a cessation of their favour, for the *ka* of the overseer of the house, Ramose
- [2] *[...]-hnw di=s <sup>c</sup>h<sup>c</sup>(.w) nfr ib hr ršw.t ir.t* [2] [Offering-which-the-king-gives to Hathor(?), mistress of *Ta*]-*henu*<sup>961</sup> (so that) she may give (me) a good lifetime, that the heart carries joy, that the eye(s) are seeing,<sup>962</sup> that the two ears are hearing, in order to reach veneration, for the *ka* of the overseer of the double granary, Ramose.
- [2] *hr m<sup>z</sup> <sup>c</sup>nh.wy hr sdm r ph.t im<sup>z</sup>h n k<sup>z</sup> n imy-r šnw.ty R<sup>c</sup>-ms*

**C: Around the base, from the centre of the front and around the right side:**

*(nh) htp-di-nsw Hw.t-Hr nb.t [...] di=s*  
*<sup>c</sup>nh wd<sup>z</sup> snb spd-hr hs.wt pr-nsw*  
*[...sn].w(?) n pr=s n k<sup>z</sup> (n) im[y-r n*  
*šnw.ty] imy-r pr wr R<sup>c</sup>-ms m<sup>z</sup><sup>c</sup>-hrw*

Offering-which-the-king gives to Hathor, lady of [...] (so that) she may give life, prosperity, health, alertness, favours of the royal house [... *sen*]u-loaves(?) of her house, for the *ka* (of) [the overseer of the double granary], the great overseer of the house, Ramose, true-of-voice.

**D: Around the base, from the centre of the front and around the left side:**

*(nh) htp-di-nsw Inpw nb T[<sup>z</sup>-h]nw di=f*  
*<sup>c</sup>h<sup>c</sup>(.w) nfr sm<sup>z</sup> hs.w qsr(.t) nfr m-ht izw*  
*hr imn.t wr.t n.t niw.t n k<sup>z</sup> (n) imy-r pr*  
*wr R<sup>c</sup>-ms m<sup>z</sup><sup>c</sup>-hrw*

Offering-which-the-living-king-gives to Anubis, lord of *Ta-henu*, (so that) he may give a good lifetime, a bringing together(?) of favours, a good burial after old age in the great west of the town, for the *ka* (of) the great overseer of the house, Ramose, true-of-voice.

<sup>960</sup> Only the *k*-basket is written, but it is probably an abbreviated writing (Clère 1995: 213).

<sup>961</sup> Following Clère 1995: 213.

<sup>962</sup> Following Clère 1995: 213 and ‘Notes de traduction’ g).

A.29 (Fig. 29)

**Name:** Unknown (male)  
**Date:** Nineteenth to Twentieth Dynasties  
**Material:** Limestone  
**Height:** 0.10m  
**Provenance:** Deir el-Medina (north east of the Ptolemaic enclosure wall)  
**Current Location:** Deir el Medina, Magazine 25  
**Statue form:** Block (fragment; missing: all but a small part of the left foot and left corner of the base)

**Notes:**

**Bibliography:** Bruyère 1952b: 39, fig.26 (no. 88); Clère 1995: 191 (Doc. DD)

**Inscriptions:**

**A: On the front of the legs, remaining only on the feet, at least five columns:**

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| [1] [... (only female determinative remaining)] | [1] [...]  |
| [2] [... <i>m</i> ] <i>s.t mꜣꜥ.t ḥr</i>         | [2] [...servant] in the place of truth in            |
| [3] [... <i>ink</i> ] <i>ḥm n Ḥw.t-Ḥr</i>       | [3] [...I am] the servant of Hathor                  |
| [4] [... <i>pꜣ</i> ]. <i>y=s&lt;t&gt; pr ḏd</i> | [4] [...he]r house. [I will(?)] speak                |
| [5] [...= <i>t</i> ] <i>n rn=i</i>              | [5] [...if(?) yo]u [speak(?)] my name <sup>963</sup> |

A.30 (Fig. 30)

**Name:** Unknown (male)  
**Date:** Nineteenth to Twentieth Dynasties<sup>964</sup>  
**Material:** Limestone  
**Height:** Unknown  
**Provenance:** Deir el-Medina (south of the Ptolemaic temple)  
**Current Location:** Deir el Medina, Magazine 25  
**Statue form:** Unknown, possibly block<sup>965</sup> (fragments; missing: all but two parts of the base)

**Notes:** Parts of the inscriptions show similarities to A.15. Thus the individual may have been balding

**Bibliography:** Clère 1995: 151-152 (Doc. L')

**Inscriptions:**

**A: On the top of the base:**

*nb r pr ḥnw.t=i mḥ r=i m ḏi(.t)=tn*

All (who come) to the house of my mistress, fill my mouth with that which you give.

**B: Around the base:**

[...] *tꜣ nb.t tꜣ.wy (i)mm s:[gmn] r tꜣ(.y)=i*  
*is.t srm<n> r [r=i...]*

[...] the lady of the Two Lands. Place oin[tment] on my baldness and *serem*-drink in [my mouth...]

<sup>963</sup> The translation given in Clère 1995: 191 suggests 'si vous [faites durer] mon(?) nom'. The implication that the statue-owner wishes to be remembered remains the same.

<sup>964</sup> Based on the findspot and similarity to other Ramesside statues in this catalogue.

<sup>965</sup> Based on the prevalence of the block type in this catalogue.

## A.31 (=B.68) (Fig. 31)

**Name:** Unknown (male)  
**Date:** Nineteenth to Twentieth Dynasties<sup>966</sup>  
**Material:** Limestone  
**Height:** 0.10m (approximate size of the larger fragment)  
**Provenance:** Deir el-Medina (inside the enclosure wall of the Ptolemaic temple)  
**Current Location:** Deir el-Medina, Magazine 25  
**Statue form:** Block with Hathoric element (two fragments; missing: all but parts of the sides and back)

**Notes:** That the two fragments belong together is conjectural based on the similarity of style, execution of inscription, provenance and stone (Clère 1995: 138). Note that the image (Clère 1995: 140) shows three fragments; that in the middle has very similar style of inscription, but the height of the registers is much smaller than the other two fragments. Clère has not translated this middle fragment as part of this statue. The inscriptions show similarities to A.19 (=B.66), although that statue mentions Hathor not Mut.

It is possible that the right hand was held to the mouth.

**Bibliography:** Bruyère 1952a: 33, 55 (no. 20 (*sic*)<sup>967</sup>), 59, fig. 144; Schulz 1992: 133 (no. 056); Clère 1995: 137-140 (Doc. J'); Clère (Griffith Institute) MS 05.01 (in initial list)

**Inscriptions:****A: On the right side, at least three rows:**

- |                           |  |
|---------------------------|--|
| [1] [h]tp-di-[nsw] [...]  | [1] [Off]ering-which[-the-king]-gives [... to Mut, lady]                     |
| [2] Ḳšrw ntr.w [nb.w ...] | [2] of <i>Isheru</i> , [(and) to all] the gods [... (that they may give...)] |
| [3] [...]                 | [3] [...]  |

**B: On the left side and back, at least three rows:**

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| [~1] [...] =i [sn].w m di(.t)=tn iry p3 nty nb i [...] | [~1] [...Cause that] I [receive(?)] <i>senu</i> -loaves from your offering. As to all those who [...] |
| [~2] [...] [šsp]=i sn.w m tp t3 nb m pr Mw.t [...]     | [~2] [...Cause that I receive] <i>senu</i> -loaves from upon every land in the house of Mut [...]     |
| [~3] [...] =tn hr -h.t [...]                           | [~3] [...you pass on your office to] your [child]ren after [old age...] <sup>968</sup>                |

<sup>966</sup> Based on the findspot and similarity to other Ramesside statues in this catalogue.

<sup>967</sup> See A.19 (=B.66) on the numbering confusion.

<sup>968</sup> See A.19, Text B, lines 5 and 6.

**APPENDIX THREE:**  
**CATALOGUE B: SISTROPHOROUS STATUES**

**Eighteenth Dynasty**

**B.1 (Fig. 32)**

<b>Name:</b>	Senenmut
<b>Date:</b>	Eighteenth Dynasty (Hatshepsut)
<b>Material:</b>	Sandstone
<b>Height:</b>	1.55m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Temple of Mut, Karnak (southwest corner of the enclosure wall)
<b>Current Location:</b>	Egyptian Museum, Cairo, CG 579 (JE 31693; RT 3/6/24/1)
<b>Statue form:</b>	Kneeling
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	Three-dimensional
<b>Modius:</b>	Yes
<b>Naos:</b>	Yes; uraeus in opening
<b>Handle:</b>	<i>tit</i> -knot
<b>Face:</b>	Triangular, with slightly rounded edges (fairly straight chin)
<b>Wig:</b>	Straight; striated; decorative bands
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	Around the base, on top of the base, between the Hathoric element and the chest, on top of the naos, and on the back pillar
<b>Goddess named:</b>	Mut, in the form of Hathor
<b>Notes:</b>	The inscription on the right side of the sistrum-feature <i>imꜣh.y hr ntr ʕꜣ r mn=f Hw.t-Hr hr.t-tp Wꜣs.t Mw.t nb(.t) ʾIšrw di=f hꜣ=s ts=f nfr.w=s hr-tp ʕnh wꜣꜣ snb nsw-bi.t Mꜣꜣ.t-kꜣ-Rꜣ</i> , ‘venerated before the great god, in order that he supports Hathor who is in Thebes, Mut, lady of Isheru, and so that he causes her to appear and he to worship her beauty before (on behalf of(?)) the l.p.h. of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, <i>Maatkare</i> ’. <sup>969</sup>
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Benson and Gourlay 1899: 299-310, pl. xii; BAR II: §349-58; Bissing 1913: fig. 1; Borchartd 1925: 127-130, Bl. 99; Vandier 1951: 24; Hayes 1957: 84, 86, 88; Hornemann 1957b: 587; Vandier 1958: 465, 483, 493, 505-506, 655; Schulman 1969-70: 40-41; Bothmer 1969-1970: 136-7, figs. 19-20; Clère 1970: 2, n.6; <i>Urk</i> IV: 407-15 (131); <i>Urk</i> IV <i>Übersetzung</i> 5-16: 56-60; PM II <sup>2</sup> : 262; Ratié 1979: 65, 248, 255-258; Meyer 1982: 44 (no. 16), 186-205, 320-326; Dorman 1988: 42, 126-127, 147, 190 (App. 2, no. A.5); Keller 2005: 124-125; Bernhauer 2009: 50, n. 45; Bernhauer 2010: 224-5 (3.1-58); Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list), 05.02 and 05.06 (photographs)

<sup>969</sup> Bernhauer (2010: 53) translates a slightly different way.

B.2 (Fig. 33)

<b>Name:</b>	Senenmut
<b>Date:</b>	Eighteenth Dynasty (Hatshepsut/Thutmose III)
<b>Material:</b>	Black porphyritic diorite
<b>Height:</b>	0.225m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Possibly Western Thebes <sup>970</sup>
<b>Current Location:</b>	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Acc. No. 48.149.7
<b>Statue form:</b>	Kneeling (left part of base damaged)
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	Three-dimensional
<b>Modius:</b>	No
<b>Naos:</b>	Yes; uraeus with sun-disk and cow-horns, flanked by <i>ka</i> -arms in opening
<b>Handle:</b>	<i>tit</i> -knot
<b>Face:</b>	Pentagonal; nose and mouth worn
<b>Wig:</b>	Straight; striated; decorative bands
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	On top of the base (surviving only on the right side), between the Hathoric element and the chest, on top of the naos, and on the back pillar
<b>Goddess named:</b>	Hathor
<b>Notes:</b>	The uraeus and <i>ka</i> -arms within the naos (as also seen in B.3 and B.5) are a cryptographic rendering of the premen of Hatshepsut. The damaged inscription on the right side of the sistrum-feature makes some reference to the goddess appearing ( <i>hꜥ</i> ).
<b>Bibliography:</b>	<i>Description de l'Égypte</i> : V, pl. 69.12-13; Scott 1946: 13, pl. 15; Hayes 1957: 86-88, fig. 4, pl. 12; Vandier 1958: 465, 482, 493, 505-506, 678, pl. CLV.5; Hayes 1959: 106-107, fig. 57; PM I <sup>2</sup> : 791; Bothmer 1969-1970: 234 n.16; Schulman 1969-70: 39 (no. 6); Clère 1970: 2, n.6, 3, n.18; Ratié 1979: 249, 259; Meyer 1982: 45 (no. 17), 205-208, 328-329; Eggebrecht 1987: 158-159 (no. 71, note by P. Dorman); Dorman 1988: 42, 126-127, 151, 194 (App. 2, no. A.16); Keller 2005: 125-126 (no. 67); Bernhauer 2010: 226-7 (3.2-37); Clère (Griffith Institute) MS 05.01 (in initial list)

B.3 (Fig. 34)

<b>Name:</b>	Senenmut
<b>Date:</b>	Eighteenth Dynasty (Hatshepsut)
<b>Material:</b>	Granodiorite with pink-red inclusions
<b>Height:</b>	0.405m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Possibly Temple of Montu, Armant <sup>971</sup>
<b>Current Location:</b>	Staatliche Sammlung für Ägyptische Kunst, Munich, ÄS 6265
<b>Statue form:</b>	Kneeling
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	Three-dimensional
<b>Modius:</b>	No

<sup>970</sup> Keller 2005: 126; Bernhauer 2010: 226

<sup>971</sup> See Keller 2005: 126; Bernhauer 2010: 228 n.1. This would make sense given the reference to the Armant goddess Iunit.

<b>Naos:</b>	Yes; uraeus with sun-disk and cow-horns, flanked by <i>ka</i> -arms in the opening
<b>Handle:</b>	<i>tit</i> -knot
<b>Face:</b>	Triangular, with rounded corners
<b>Wig:</b>	Straight; striated; decorative bands
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	Around the base, between the Hathoric element and the chest (or rather, on the side of the Hathoric element), on top of the naos, and on the sides and main face of the back pillar
<b>Goddess named:</b>	Iunit
<b>Notes:</b>	Iunit is specifically linked to the Hathoric element: Senenmut is said to support the sistrum of Iunit and cause her to appear
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Bothmer 1969-1970: 126, 128-129, 134-138, figs. 6-8, 25; Wildung 1977e: 220-222, Abb. 2; Wildung 1980: 18; Meyer 1982: 50 (no. 22), 219-222, 332-333; Schulman 1987-88: 67-68, figs. 5-6; Dorman 1988: 127-128, 151, 194-195 (App. 2, no. A.17), pl. 20; Keller 2005: 126 (no. 68); Bernhauer 2010: 227-8 (3.3-57); Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.04 (photographs, as Brooklyn, New York, TL 69.284) <sup>972</sup>

#### B.4 (Fig. 35)

<b>Name:</b>	Senenmut
<b>Date:</b>	Eighteenth Dynasty (Hatshepsut/Thutmose III) <sup>973</sup>
<b>Material:</b>	Granodiorite
<b>Height:</b>	0.51m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Temple of Thutmose III, Deir el-Bahari (North west corner of the colonnade hall)
<b>Current Location:</b>	Luxor (Egyptian Department of Antiquities magazine)
<b>Statue form:</b>	Kneeling (fragments; missing – head, left shoulder, hands, knees, toes, top and bottom of back pillar and base)
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	Three-dimensional
<b>Modius:</b>	Yes
<b>Naos:</b>	Yes; uraeus with sun-disk and cow-horns in the opening <sup>974</sup>
<b>Handle:</b>	<i>tit</i> -knot
<b>Face:</b>	Triangular, with rounded edges and corners
<b>Wig:</b>	Straight; striated; decorative bands
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	Some surviving around the base, on the thighs and knees, the sides and the back pillar
<b>Goddess named:</b>	Hathor
<b>Notes:</b>	Unlike Senenmut's other sistrophores, the handle of the feature rests on his thighs, rather than in front of the knees. His palms seem to have been held up in a gesture of adoration behind the goddess's wig <sup>975</sup>

<sup>972</sup> This was in a private collection in New York prior to being obtained by Munich.

<sup>973</sup> The cartouche of Thutmose III appears on the right shoulder. Marciniak (1965: 204, 205) speculated that the cartouche of Hatshepsut would have appeared on the left.

<sup>974</sup> The *ka*-arms that would have completed the cryptogram of Hatshepsut were removed in antiquity (Keller 2005: 127).

<sup>975</sup> Bernhauer 2009: 47. She calls this an exception within the corpus, since the other examples show the individual actively supporting the element.

**Bibliography:** Marciniak 1965; Schulman 1969-70: 41-42 (no. 15); Bothmer 1969-1970: fig. 21; PM II<sup>2</sup>: 379; Ratié 1979: 249; Meyer 1982: 42, 179-183, 318 (no. 14); Dorman 1988: 14-15, 135-137, 152-153, 196 (App. 2, no. A.21); Keller 2005: 126-128 (no. 69); Bernhauer 2009: 47; Bernhauer 2010: 230-1 (3.5-38); Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list, under 'Deir el-Bahari (Mission polonaise)') and 05.06 (photographs)

B.5 (Fig. 36)

**Name:** Djehutynefer  
**Date:** Eighteenth Dynasty (Hatshepsut)<sup>976</sup>  
**Material:** Granodiorite  
**Height:** 0.385m  
**Provenance:** Likely near Asyut<sup>977</sup>  
**Current Location:** Musée du Louvre, Paris, E 5416 (A 118)<sup>978</sup>  
**Statue form:** Kneeling (head worn)  
**Hathoric element:**  
     **Form:** Three-dimensional  
     **Modius:** No  
     **Naos:** Yes; uraeus with sun-disk and cow-horns, flanked by *ka*-arms, in the opening  
     **Handle:** Straight  
     **Face:** Rhomboid, with rounded chin and hairline at the forehead  
     **Wig:** Straight; unstriated; terminals carved out  
**Inscriptions:** On the back pillar  
**Goddess named:** Hathor  
**Notes:**  
**Bibliography:** Pierret 1878: 39; De Rougé 1883: 53; Boreux 1932: II, 463; Vandier 1951: 25; Clère 1970: 2, n.6; Graefe 1980: 47; Graefe 1981: I, 236-237 (P34), Taf. 15\*; PM VIII: 584-585 (801-635-250); Bernhauer 2010: 228-229 (3.4-2); Konrad 2011a: 117; Clère (Griffith Institute) MS 05.01 (in initial list)

B.6 (Figs. 37 and 38)

**Name:** Nehy  
**Date:** Eighteenth Dynasty (Thutmose III)  
**Material:** Granodiorite  
**Height:** 1.19m  
**Provenance:** Elephantine (near the Ptolemaic Satet temple)<sup>979</sup>  
**Current Location:** Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JE 39749 (RT 3/6/24/4)  
**Statue form:** Kneeling (head damaged)  
**Hathoric element:**

<sup>976</sup> Based on the cryptogram of the prenomen of this pharaoh within the naos opening.

<sup>977</sup> Bernhauer 2010: 229 n.1.

<sup>978</sup> Clère has, in the initial list of sistrophores in his notes (Griffith Institute MS 05.01), listed E 698 as a separate statue from that of Djehutynefer. However, E 698 is the number of the archival photograph of accession number E 5416/A 118, so this is likely a misunderstanding.

<sup>979</sup> Bernhauer 2010: 232 n.1.

<b>Form:</b>	Three-dimensional
<b>Modius:</b>	Yes
<b>Naos:</b>	Yes; <i>heh</i> -hieroglyph in the opening, on the head of which is balanced the prenomen of Thutmose III; uraeus with sun-disk and cow-horns, on either side, between the pairs of volutes; large proportional to goddess's face
<b>Handle:</b>	Straight
<b>Face:</b>	Round, with a straight chin – almost an inverted pear-shape
<b>Wig:</b>	Curled; striated; bisected by papyrus stalk on the sides – umbel at the modius, topped by uraeus (see Naos)
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	Around the base, on the handle of the Hathoric element and on the back pillar <sup>980</sup>
<b>Goddess named:</b>	Satet is named on the handle of the Hathoric element. However, only Amun-Re and Anukis are the recipients of offering formulae, so we cannot entirely discount Anukis as being the primary goddess represented
<b>Notes:</b>	
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Newberry 1933: 53-54, pl. 10.1; Hornemann 1957b: 559; Vandier 1958: 465, 663, pl. CLV.6; Bernhauer 2002b: 86, 88; Bernhauer 2010: 231-232 (3.6-56); Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list) and 05.02 and 05.06 (photograph)

#### B.7 (Fig. 39)

<b>Name:</b>	Rekhmire
<b>Date:</b>	Eighteenth Dynasty (Amenhotep II)
<b>Material:</b>	Brown silicified sandstone (quartzite)
<b>Height:</b>	0.32m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Possibly Coptos <sup>981</sup>
<b>Current Location:</b>	Staatliche Museum für Ägyptische Kunst, Munich, GL 87
<b>Statue form:</b>	Kneeling (fragmentary; missing: head)
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	Three-dimensional
<b>Modius:</b>	Yes
<b>Naos:</b>	Yes; sun-disk framed by cow-horns in the opening; uraeus with sun-disk on either side, between the pairs of volutes
<b>Handle:</b>	Straight
<b>Face:</b>	Rhomboid
<b>Wig:</b>	Straight; striated; decorative bands; bisected by papyrus stalk on the sides – umbel at the modius, topped by a uraeus (see Naos)
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	On the handle of the Hathoric element, on top of the naos, between the Hathoric element and the chest, and on the back pillar
<b>Goddess named:</b>	Isis and Werethekau (here likely an epithet of Isis <sup>982</sup> ),
<b>Notes:</b>	

<sup>980</sup> In addition to the cartouches which appear on the shoulders, the space between the Hathoric element and the chest of the individual is filled with very prominent cartouches of the pharaoh; here these are not counted as true inscriptions.

<sup>981</sup> Eggebrecht 1987: 245; Bernhauer 2010: 233 n.1

<sup>982</sup> Eggebrecht 1987: 245.

**Bibliography:** Bissing 1911: 163 (no. 5), Abb. 4; Clère 1970: 2, n.6; Eggebrecht 1987: 245 (no. 176, note by D. Wildung); Schoske, Grimm and Kreißl 1990: 80 (no. 34); Bernhauer 2010: 232-3 (3.7-27); Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list) and 05.06 (photographs)

B.8 (Fig. 40)

**Name:** Thutmose (prince)  
**Date:** Eighteenth Dynasty (Amenhotep II/Thutmose IV)<sup>983</sup>  
**Material:** Limestone  
**Height:** 0.30m  
**Provenance:** Temple of Mut, Karnak (Trench A)  
**Current Location:** Egyptian Museum, Cairo, CG 923  
**Statue form:** Kneeling (fragments; missing: head, shoulders, left upper arm, part of the chest and the front left corner of the base)

**Hathoric element:**

**Form:** Three-dimensional

**Modius:** Yes

**Naos:** Yes; uraeus in the opening; prominent, broad volutes (only left survives)

**Handle:** Straight

**Face:** Round

**Wig:** Straight; unstriated

**Inscriptions:** Around and on top of the base, on the handle of the Hathoric element, and on the top of the naos)

**Goddess named:** Mut

**Notes:**

**Bibliography:** Benson and Gourlay 1899: 328-330; Borchardt 1930: 156; Vandier 1958: 465 n.1, 659; *Urk IV*: 1575; *Urk IV Übersetzung* 17-22: 159; PM II<sup>2</sup>: 260; Bryan 1991a: 43-44, pl. 1; Bernhauer 2010: 233-234 (3.8-24); Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.02 and 05.06.

B.9 (Fig. 41)

**Name:** Kaemwaset  
**Date:** Eighteenth Dynasty (Thutmose IV)  
**Material:** Black granite  
**Height:** 0.663m  
**Provenance:** Unknown, likely temple of Amun or of Mut, Karnak<sup>984</sup>  
**Current Location:** Brooklyn Museum, New York, Inv. 74.97  
**Statue form:** Kneeling (damage to base and left shoulder and arm; missing: head)  
**Hathoric element:**  
**Form:** Three-dimensional  
**Modius:** Yes  
**Naos:** Yes; uraeus in opening; uraeus with double-plumed headdress on the both sides, between the pairs of volutes  
**Handle:** *tit*-knot

<sup>983</sup> Bernhauer 2010: 234 n.1. Bryan (1991b: 203) suggests the earlier pharaoh based on the modelling of the eyes.

<sup>984</sup> Bothmer 1987: 19 (Bryan 1991b: 203 believes that the temple of Mut specifically is a reasonable suggestion); Bernhauer 2010: 235 n.1.

- Face:** Rhomboid, with a rounded chin<sup>985</sup>  
**Wig:** Straight; unstriated  
**Inscriptions:** Around and on top of the base, between the Hathoric element and the chest, and on the back pillar  
**Goddess named:** Mut and Nebethetepet (former is likely the primary goddess if findspot is correct)  
**Notes:**  
**Bibliography:** Bothmer 1987: 16-22 (no. 5); Fazzini, Bianchi, Romano and Spanel 1989: no. 39; Fazzini, Romano and Cody 1999: 86 (no. 41); PM VIII: 583 (801-635-050); Bernhauer 2010: 234-235 (3.9-6). Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.03 and 05.07 (photographs)

B.10 (Fig. 42)

- Name:** Unknown (male)  
**Date:** Eighteenth Dynasty (Thutmose IV)  
**Material:** Brown silicified sandstone  
**Height:** H: 0.31m  
**Provenance:** Unknown  
**Current Location:** Ägyptisches Museum, Universität Leipzig, Inv. 1669  
**Statue form:** Likely kneeling (only Hathoric element and part of the hands remain)<sup>986</sup>  
**Hathoric element:**  
**Form:** Three-dimensional  
**Modius:** Yes  
**Naos:** Yes; curve into the cavetto cornice is particularly prominent; sun-disk in the opening, framed by cow-horns; uraeus on both sides  
**Handle:** Straight  
**Face:** Rhomboid, with rounded angles; narrow eyes  
**Wig:** Straight; striated; decorative bands; bisected on the sides by a papyrus stalk – umbel at the modius, topped by a uraeus (see Naos)  
**Inscriptions:** Survive only on the handle of the Hathoric element (aside from cartouches on the top of the naos)  
**Goddess named:** Unknown - broken  
**Notes:**  
**Bibliography:** Krauspe 1976: 49 (no. 65); Blumenthal 1984: image on title page; Krauspe 1997: 67-68 (no. 119), pl. 60.1-4; PM VIII: 689 (801-655-600); Bernhauer 2010: 235-6 (3.10-14); Konrad 2011a: 119; Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.06 (photographs and correspondence)

<sup>985</sup> The face is rather diamond-shaped, with longer cheeks than forehead edges. See B.33, B.34 (=A.6), B.58, B.63, B.66 (=A.19), B.80 and B.95.

<sup>986</sup> Krauspe (1997: 68) points out the angled position of the hands, but says this could be applicable to both standing and kneeling statues.

B.11 (Fig. 43)

<b>Name:</b>	Iuny
<b>Date:</b>	Eighteenth Dynasty (Thutmose IV/Amenhotep III) <sup>987</sup>
<b>Material:</b>	Greywacke
<b>Height:</b>	0.37m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Abydos, northern enclosure, Kom es-Sultan
<b>Current Location:</b>	Egyptian Museum, Cairo, CG 728
<b>Statue form:</b>	Kneeling
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	Three-dimensional; small
<b>Modius:</b>	Yes
<b>Naos:</b>	Yes; the volutes are poorly defined; reduced in height proportional to the rest of the Hathoric element.
<b>Handle:</b>	Straight; fairly wide (almost the width of the goddess's face)
<b>Face:</b>	Rhomboid, with slightly rounded angles
<b>Wig:</b>	Straight; unstriated
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	On the front of the kilt and on the back pillar
<b>Goddess named:</b>	Unknown – unnamed (only a <i>hṯp-di-nsw</i> formula to Osiris)
<b>Notes:</b>	The Hathoric element is supported on the left thigh.
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Borchardt 1930: 62-63, Bl. 135; PM V: 52; Hornemann 1957b: 644; Vandier 1958: 465 n.3, 466 n.3, 656; Clère 1970: 2, n.8; Bernhauer 2010: 236-7 (3.11-15); Konrad 2011-13: 51-53, Abb. 3; Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list), 05.02 and 05.06 (photographs)

B.12 (=A.3) (Fig. 3)

<b>Name:</b>	Men
<b>Date:</b>	Eighteenth Dynasty (Amenhotep III)
<b>Material:</b>	Granodiorite
<b>Height:</b>	0.53m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Temple of Mut, Karnak
<b>Current Location:</b>	Egyptian Museum, Cairo, CG 901 (JE 11633)
<b>Statue form:</b>	Kneeling (missing: head and right upper arm)
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	Three-dimensional
<b>Modius:</b>	Yes
<b>Naos:</b>	Yes; curve into the cavetto cornice is particularly prominent; no opening is marked, but a uraeus appears in its place; uraeus with incised feathers on both sides, between the pairs of volutes
<b>Handle:</b>	Straight
<b>Face:</b>	Inverted pear-shape – rounded (although worn) chin, straight cheeks and curved hairline at the forehead
<b>Wig:</b>	Straight; unstriated
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	Around the base, on the handle of the Hathoric element, between the Hathoric element and the chest, on top of the naos, and on the back pillar)

<sup>987</sup> Bernhauer 2010: 236; Konrad 2011-13: 51. Previously considered to be Nineteenth Dynasty (Seti I): *KRI* I 355, 14-16.

**Goddess named:** Mut, Sekhmet and Wadjyt (the former is the more frequent, and thus is likely the primary goddess represented)

**Notes:**

**Bibliography:** Benson and Gourlay 1899: 198-199, 331-335; Borchardt 1930: 145, Bl. 156; Helck 1939: 13, 16; Drioton 1942: 22-23; Hornemann 1957b: 536; Vandier 1958: 465 n.1, 658; Clère 1970: 2, n.6; *Urk IV*: 1922 (714); *Urk IV Übersetzung* 17-22: 319; PM II<sup>2</sup>: 260; Clère 1995: 177-180 (Doc. AA); Bernhauer 2010: 237-238 (3.12-19); Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list) and 05.03

### B.13

**Name:** Hery

**Date:** Eighteenth Dynasty (Amenhotep III)<sup>988</sup>

**Material:** Red silicified sandstone

**Height:** 0.17m

**Provenance:** Temple of Thutmose III, Deir el-Bahari, colonnade hall

**Current Location:** Thebes West, magazine(?) Inv. F 2209

**Statue form:** Kneeling (fragment; missing: head, left upper arm, parts of the chest and much of the base)

**Hathoric element:**

**Form:** Three-dimensional

**Modius:** Yes

**Naos:** Yes; uraeus on both sides, between the pairs of volutes; prominent, broad volutes; slightly reduced in height relative to the proportions of the rest of the Hathoric element (although the face of the goddess is also quite compressed).

**Handle:** Straight

**Face:** Rhomboid, with rounded chin

**Wig:** Straight; striated; decorative bands; bisected on the sides by a papyrus stalk – umbel at the modius, topped by a uraeus (see Naos)

**Inscriptions:** On the back pillar

**Goddess named:** Unknown – broken; Hathor likely given findspot

**Notes:**

**Bibliography:** Dąbrowska-Smektała 1968: 98 (no. 1), pl. IV; Lipińska 1984: 30-31, 98 (no. 82-84); Bernhauer 2010: 243-4 (3.17-76).

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<sup>988</sup> On stylistic grounds: Bernhauer 243-244 n.2.

B.14 (Fig. 44)

<b>Name:</b>	Unknown (male)
<b>Date:</b>	New Kingdom (Amenhotep III) <sup>989</sup>
<b>Material:</b>	Granodiorite with red inclusions
<b>Height:</b>	0.55m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Karnak
<b>Current Location:</b>	Egyptian Museum, Cairo, CG 587 (JE 2658)
<b>Statue form:</b>	Kneeling
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	Three-dimensional - basin or altar bearing a lotus incised on the front (with the effect that the basin appears lotiform); Hathoric face extends from the back edge of the basin, against the individual's chest.
<b>Modius:</b>	Yes
<b>Naos:</b>	Yes; reduced in height proportional to the rest of the Hathoric element.
<b>Handle:</b>	Part of the basin; straight
<b>Face:</b>	Round; chin resting on the basin
<b>Wig:</b>	Straight; striated; decorative bands
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	Uninscribed
<b>Goddess named:</b>	N/A
<b>Notes:</b>	
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Borchardt 1925: 142-143, Bl. 105; Hornemann 1957b: 606; Vandier 1958: 485 n.1, 655, pl. CLXXIV.3; Clère 1970: 2 n.12; Bernhauer 2010: 238-9 (3.13-9); Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list), 05.02 and 05.06 (photographs) – 'statue sistrophore composite'

B.15 (Fig. 45)

<b>Name:</b>	Unknown (male?)
<b>Date:</b>	Eighteenth Dynasty (Amenhotep III) <sup>990</sup>
<b>Material:</b>	Serpentine
<b>Height:</b>	0.09m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Unknown <sup>991</sup>
<b>Current Location:</b>	Museum der Universität Tübingen, Inv. 401 (on permanent loan to Landesmuseums Württemberg, Stuttgart, Inv. 123 Krg 17934)
<b>Statue form:</b>	Likely kneeling (fragment; missing: all but the Hathoric element)
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	Three-dimensional
<b>Modius:</b>	Yes
<b>Naos:</b>	Yes; uraeus with sun-disk(?) in the opening; uraeus on both sides, between the pairs of volutes
<b>Handle:</b>	Straight
<b>Face:</b>	Triangular, with rounded chin and slightly rounded hairline at the forehead
<b>Wig:</b>	Straight; striated; decorative bands

<sup>989</sup> On stylistic grounds: Bernhauer 2010: 238.

<sup>990</sup> On stylistic grounds: Brunner-Traut and Brunner 1981: 45-46; Bernhauer 2010: 55.

<sup>991</sup> Possibly discovered as part of the collection of the Kings of Württemberg by Drovetti and Lebolo in 1824, but no definite acquisition history is known (thanks to Dr Nina Willburger of the Landesmuseum Stuttgart for this information).

**Inscriptions:** None preserved  
**Goddess named:** Unknown - broken  
**Notes:**  
**Bibliography:** Brunner-Traut and Brunner 1981: I, 45-46, II, pl. 83; Bernhauer 2010: 55; Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list) and 18.10 (photographs)

B.16 (Fig. 46)

**Name:** Unknown (presumably male)  
**Date:** Eighteenth Dynasty (Amenhotep III)<sup>992</sup>  
**Material:** Limestone  
**Height:** 0.25m  
**Provenance:** Temple of Mentuhotep II, Deir el-Bahari  
**Current Location:** University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia, E 11816 (AES 3740)  
**Statue form:** Likely kneeling (fragment; missing: all but the face and headdress of the Hathoric element, partly damaged)

**Hathoric element:**

**Form:** Three-dimensional  
**Modius:** Yes  
**Naos:** Yes; uraeus in the opening; uraeus on both sides (only right side survives), between the volutes; wide proportional to the height.  
**Handle:** Straight  
**Face:** Oval – wide proportional to the height; narrow eyes  
**Wig:** Straight; unstriated; decorative bands; bisected by a papyrus stalk on the sides – umbel at the modius, topped by a uraeus (see Naos)

**Inscriptions:** None preserved  
**Goddess named:** Unknown - broken  
**Notes:** Traces of the right hand of the individual remain on the side of the wig of the goddess. Significant traces of pigment remain, most noticeably white around and above the naos opening; red within the naos opening and niches, on the modius, and on the decorative bands; green on the papyrus umbel; blue on the wig and uraei.  
**Bibliography:** Naville 1913: 24, pl. XVI.3; Pinch 1993: 139; Silverman 1997: 68-69; Bernhauer 2010: 55, n.75 (incorrectly stated to be in the Dallas Museum of Art); Clère (Griffith Institute) MS 05.01 (in initial list)

B.17 (Fig. 47)

**Name:** Tiay  
**Date:** Eighteenth Dynasty (Amenhotep III – cartouche of Queen Tiye)  
**Material:** Granodiorite  
**Height:** 0.22m  
**Provenance:** Unknown, likely Kom el-Hisn<sup>993</sup>  
**Current Location:** Egyptian Museum, Cairo, CG 1286 (JE 29762)  
**Statue form:** Sitting (fragment; missing: approximately waist upwards)

<sup>992</sup> On stylistic grounds: Bernhauer 2010: 55.

<sup>993</sup> After an epithet given for Hathor (*nb.t Imꜣw*). See also Bernhauer 2010: 240 n.1.

**Hathoric element:**

<b>Form:</b>	Three-dimensional
<b>Modius:</b>	Unknown - broken
<b>Naos:</b>	Unknown – broken; likely no <sup>994</sup>
<b>Handle:</b>	Straight
<b>Face:</b>	Unknown – only chin survives
<b>Wig:</b>	Straight; unstriated; terminals marked by incised line (existence of decorative bands unknown)

**Inscriptions:** Around the base, on the handle of the Hathoric element, and on the sides and back of the seat

**Goddess named:** Hathor

**Notes:** The Hathoric element rests on a pedestal on Tiay's feet.

**Bibliography:** Daressy 1893: 176; Borchardt 1934: 116; Vandier 1958: 464 n.1, 661; Clère 1970: 2, n.3; PM VIII: 546-547; Bernhauer 2010: 239-240 (3.14-28); Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list), 05.02 and 05.06

B.18 (Fig. 48)

<b>Name:</b>	Huy
<b>Date:</b>	Eighteenth Dynasty (Amenhotep III) <sup>995</sup>
<b>Material:</b>	Brown sandstone
<b>Height:</b>	0.30m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Memphis; bought from Loukianoff
<b>Current Location:</b>	Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JE 71897
<b>Statue form:</b>	Cross-legged (missing: head; right hand)

**Hathoric element:**

<b>Form:</b>	Three-dimensional; small
<b>Modius:</b>	Yes
<b>Naos:</b>	Yes, now mostly missing
<b>Handle:</b>	Straight; rather wide (almost the width of the goddess's face)
<b>Face:</b>	Rhomboid, with rounded angles (almost oval)
<b>Wig:</b>	Straight; striated; decorative bands

**Inscriptions:** Around and on top of the base, on the garment and on the back pillar

**Goddess named:** Sekhmet and Hathor – the temple locality *ḥw.t-Shm.t* (written after Hathor's name) suggests that the Sekhmet manifestation of Hathor which is being invoked here.

**Notes:** The Hathoric element is supported on the left thigh by the left hand; the right hand (now destroyed) is held to the mouth. A *menit*-necklace is held in the crook of the right elbow

The inscriptions include three *ḥtp-di-nsw* to Ptah (in one case Ptah-Sokar) and one each for Sekhmet and Hathor of *ḥw.t-Shm.t*. Around the base, Ptah is given the epithet *sdm-nḥ.t*, 'who hears prayers' and on the back pillar the adoration notes that the god listens to supplication (*s:nmḥ*)

<sup>994</sup> Unless the height was reduced proportional to the rest of the Hathoric element, the naos would have extended in front of Tiay's face.

<sup>995</sup> On stylistic grounds: Bernhauer 2010: 241 n.1.

**Bibliography:** Clère 1970: 2, n.7 and 8; PM III<sup>2</sup>: 838 (according to Clère's personal correspondence, the dating here of Ramesses II is an error); Bernhauer 2002a: 19 n.9; Bernhauer 2010: 240-1 (3.15-31); Konrad 2011-13: 48-50; Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list), 05.02 and 05.06 (photographs)

B.19 (=A.4) (Fig. 4)

**Name:** Neferrenpet  
**Date:** Eighteenth Dynasty (likely Amenhotep III)<sup>996</sup>  
**Material:** Sandstone  
**Height:** 0.49m  
**Provenance:** Deir el-Bahari  
**Current Location:** Musée du Louvre, Paris, E 14241  
**Statue form:** Cross-legged with an object, now missing, on the left thigh (see Hathoric element); a small basin sits before the knees (two fragments; missing: left shoulder and arm, with damage to the right forearm)  
**Hathoric element:** Missing (only handle remains); likely<sup>997</sup>  
**Form:** Three-dimensional  
**Modius:** Unknown – broken  
**Naos:** Unknown – broken  
**Handle:** Straight  
**Face:** Unknown – broken  
**Wig:** Unknown – likely straight and striated  
**Inscriptions:** Around and on top of the base, on the kilt and on the back pillar  
**Goddess named:** Hathor  
**Notes:** A *menit*-necklace rests over the right shoulder and was once held by the right hand.  
**Bibliography:** Moret 1919: 163-166, pl. 5; Boreux 1933: 11-26, pl. 3-4; Drioton 1933: 20-22, pl. III; Bothmer 1949: 48 (fig. 9); *Urk IV*: 1856 (672); *Udrk IV Übersetzung* 17-22: 287; Hornemann 1957a: 401; Vandier 1958: 449 n.6, 485, 493 n.13, 496, 517 n.4, 675, pl. CXLVIII.4; Clère 1970: 3, n.14; Geßler-Löhr 1990: 57-60, Tf.1; Kozloff and Bryan 1992: 242 (no. 38); Clère 1995: 181-186 (Doc. BB); Bernhauer 2010: 241-242 (3.16-72); Konrad 2011-13: 45-48; PM VIII: 557-558 (801-629-350); Clère (Griffith Institute) MS 05.01 (in initial list)

<sup>996</sup> On stylistic grounds: Bernhauer 2010: 241. Clère MSS 05.01 only gives the broad dating of late Eighteenth to early Nineteenth Dynasty.

<sup>997</sup> On the basis of the form and inscriptions: Clère 1970: 3.

B.20 (Fig. 49)

<b>Name:</b>	Unknown (presumably male)
<b>Date:</b>	Eighteenth Dynasty (Amenhotep III) <sup>998</sup>
<b>Material:</b>	Granodiorite
<b>Height:</b>	0.13m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Unknown
<b>Current Location:</b>	Private collection
<b>Statue form:</b>	Unknown – likely kneeling, but possibly sitting or standing (fragment; missing: all but part of the Hathoric element)
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	Three-dimensional
<b>Modius:</b>	Yes
<b>Naos:</b>	Yes (mostly lost); uraeus in the opening (only base remains)
<b>Handle:</b>	Unknown - broken
<b>Face:</b>	Rhomboid
<b>Wig:</b>	Straight; unstriated; decorative bands
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	None preserved
<b>Goddess named:</b>	Unknown - broken
<b>Notes:</b>	
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Münzen & Medaillen 1981: 12, pl. 9 (no. 24); PM VIII: 692 (801-655-710); Bernhauer 2010: 55 n.78

B.21

<b>Name:</b>	Mahu
<b>Date:</b>	Mid-Eighteenth Dynasty(?)
<b>Material:</b>	Black granite
<b>Height:</b>	0.445m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Unknown
<b>Current Location:</b>	Unknown; formerly private collection, Basel: Hans Filser
<b>Statue form:</b>	Kneeling (damage to the base)
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	Three-dimensional
<b>Modius:</b>	Yes
<b>Naos:</b>	Yes; presence of uraeus in opening unknown due to poor image quality in Wild's notes
<b>Handle:</b>	Straight
<b>Face:</b>	Triangular with rounded edges
<b>Wig:</b>	Straight; striated; decorative bands
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	Around and on top of the base <sup>999</sup> (very fragmentary)
<b>Goddess named:</b>	Unknown - broken
<b>Notes:</b>	
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Vandier 1958: 465 n.1, 665; Hornung and Staehelin 1984-85: 122-123 (notes of Henri Wild); PM VIII: 585 (801-635-300); Clère (Griffith Institute) MS 05.01 (in initial list)

<sup>998</sup> On stylistic grounds: Bernhauer 2010: 55 n.78.

<sup>999</sup> In the words of H. Wild, 'hiéroglyphes fantaisistes' are found on the top of the front left corner of the base.

B.22 (Fig. 50)

<b>Name:</b>	Ramose(?) <sup>1000</sup>
<b>Date:</b>	Late Eighteenth Dynasty(?) <sup>1001</sup>
<b>Material:</b>	Grey granite
<b>Height:</b>	Unknown
<b>Provenance:</b>	Unknown
<b>Current Location:</b>	Private collection, Austria ('Collection Autriche')
<b>Statue form:</b>	Block (missing: feet and front of base)
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	Raised relief; small
<b>Modius:</b>	Yes
<b>Naos:</b>	Yes
<b>Handle:</b>	Papyriform
<b>Face:</b>	Triangular
<b>Wig:</b>	Straight; striated; decorative bands
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	On the back pillar (fragmentary)
<b>Goddess named:</b>	Unknown – possibly broken if an inscription remained on the front of the base (the framing of the inscription on the back pillar indicates, however, that the back and sides of the base were not inscribed). The only divine name that remains is that of Atum(-Re?), lord of Heliopolis
<b>Notes:</b>	
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Clère 1970: 4, Taf.1.3-4; PM VIII: 629 (801-643-900); Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list as 'Emplacement inconnu' and main notes, including FERE photographs 13648) and 05.06 (photographs)

B.23 (Fig. 51)

<b>Name:</b>	Unknown (male)
<b>Date:</b>	Eighteenth Dynasty <sup>1002</sup>
<b>Material:</b>	Limestone
<b>Height:</b>	0.58m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Edfu (from the inscriptions)
<b>Current Location:</b>	Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JE 49565
<b>Statue form:</b>	Part-kneeling – right leg drawn up to chest (damage to left hand and leg)
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	Missing; possible <sup>1003</sup>
<b>Form:</b>	Three-dimensional
<b>Modius:</b>	Unknown - broken
<b>Naos:</b>	Unknown - broken
<b>Handle:</b>	Unknown - broken

<sup>1000</sup> Named as such in the captions to two of the photographs in Clère's notes – the name itself is fragmentary.

See Clère 1970: 4.

<sup>1001</sup> PM VIII: 629 (801-643-900); Clère (within Griffith Institute notes) himself was uncertain, noting either New Kingdom or Late Period.

<sup>1002</sup> On the basis of the fly necklace which is attested as a royal award during this period (Marshall 2015: esp. 39-45).

<sup>1003</sup> On the basis of the form and inscriptions: Clère 1970: 3. I am less convinced that the form indicates a sistrophore as no other statue in the corpus demonstrates this particularly kneeling pose, and the necklace worn is indicative of a military-focused career. However, the inscriptions do link it to others, as does the gesture of the right hand being cupped at the mouth.

<b>Face:</b>	Unknown - broken
<b>Wig:</b>	Unknown - broken
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	Around the sides of the base and on the back
<b>Goddess named:</b>	Hathor
<b>Notes:</b>	The individual wears a necklace with decorative flies (potentially a military award – see Marshall 2015); the right hand is held to the mouth
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Hornemann 1957b: 529; Clère 1970: 3, n.15; Bernhauer 2002a: 18 n.7, 23 (Abb. 1); Marshall 2015: 39-47; Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list as ‘sistrophe? sistre brisé’) and 05.02

B.24 (Fig. 52)

<b>Name:</b>	Unknown (male)
<b>Date:</b>	Eighteenth Dynasty(?)
<b>Material:</b>	Limestone
<b>Height:</b>	0.185m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Unknown
<b>Current Location:</b>	Museum August Kestner, Hannover, Inv. 1935.200.124
<b>Statue form:</b>	Kneeling (fragment; missing: head and lower part)
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	Three-dimensional
<b>Modius:</b>	Yes
<b>Naos:</b>	Yes; uraeus in the opening; reduced in height relative to the proportions of the rest of whole Hathoric element
<b>Handle:</b>	Straight
<b>Face:</b>	Oval; in effect, also reduced in height relative to the proportions of the whole of the Hathoric element (see Naos); narrow eyes
<b>Wig:</b>	Straight; striated; decorative bands
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	Preserved (fragmentary) on top of the naos
<b>Goddess named:</b>	Unknown - broken
<b>Notes:</b>	
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Clère 1970: 2, n.6; PM VIII: 584 (801-635-100); Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list), 05.03 (photocopy from Kestner room guide) and 05.06 (photographs)

B.25 (Fig. 53)

<b>Name:</b>	Unknown (presumably male)
<b>Date:</b>	Eighteenth Dynasty(?)
<b>Material:</b>	Black granite
<b>Height:</b>	0.20m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Unknown
<b>Current Location:</b>	Victoriamuseet (Museum Gustavianum), Uppsala Universitet, B 214
<b>Statue form:</b>	Kneeling (fragment; missing: head and approximately waist down)
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	Three-dimensional
<b>Modius:</b>	Yes – not visible from the front, but at the side parts of the headdress look akin to a modius

<b>Naos:</b>	Naos; uraeus in the opening; reduced in height relative to the proportions of the rest of the Hathoric element
<b>Handle:</b>	Unknown – broken; presumably straight
<b>Face:</b>	Round
<b>Wig:</b>	Straight; striated; decorative bands
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	Preserved only on the top of the naos and the back pillar
<b>Goddess named:</b>	Hathor
<b>Notes:</b>	
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Clère 1970: 2, n.6; PM VIII: 691 (801-655-635); Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list) and 05.06 (photographs – sides and back only)

B.26 (Fig. 54)

<b>Name:</b>	Unknown (male)
<b>Date:</b>	Eighteenth Dynasty(?)
<b>Material:</b>	Limestone
<b>Height:</b>	Unknown
<b>Provenance:</b>	Thebes West, in the vicinity of a workshop
<b>Current Location:</b>	Unknown
<b>Statue form:</b>	Kneeling (unfinished; fragment; missing: head and parts of base)
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	Three-dimensional
<b>Modius:</b>	Unknown – broken/unfinished; possible
<b>Naos:</b>	Unknown – broken/unfinished; unlikely <sup>1004</sup>
<b>Handle:</b>	Unknown – unfinished; likely straight
<b>Face:</b>	Triangular, with a rounded chin and slightly rounded hairline at the forehead
<b>Wig:</b>	Straight; further detail unknown
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	Uninscribed
<b>Goddess named:</b>	N/A
<b>Notes:</b>	The statue was left unfinished due to a break during creation (Debono 1971: 46)
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Debono 1971: 45-46, pls. CLXXXVI-CLXXXVII; Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.03 (photographs)

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<sup>1004</sup> The naos may have extended in front of the face of the individual, so it is likely that only a modius was intended.

## Eighteenth to Nineteenth Dynasties

### B.27 (Fig. 55)

<b>Name:</b>	Sennefer
<b>Date:</b>	Eighteenth to Nineteenth Dynasties <sup>1005</sup>
<b>Material:</b>	Black granite
<b>Height:</b>	0.46m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Unknown, likely Tell Basta
<b>Current Location:</b>	Ägyptisches Museum, Neues Museum, Berlin, Inv. 21595
<b>Statue form:</b>	Block
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	Sunken relief; small
<b>Modius:</b>	Yes
<b>Naos:</b>	Yes
<b>Handle:</b>	Straight
<b>Face:</b>	Rhomboid, with rounded corners, or slightly oval
<b>Wig:</b>	Straight; unstriated
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	Around the base, on the sides, around the handle of the Hathoric element and on the back pillar
<b>Goddess named:</b>	Bastet
<b>Notes:</b>	
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Roeder 1924: II, 398-399; Hamza 1935-38: 653-654; Helck 1939: 488; Gardiner 1947: II, 121*; Kees 1953: 109, n.6, 110, 324, Helck 1958: 488, n.1; Vandier 1958: 452 n.12, 453 n.2, 454 n.2, 458 n.3, 649; Bonnet 1961: 97, n.5; Wenig 1961: 73; Clère 1970: 2, n.4; Geßler-Löhr 1990: 71-73, Tf.5; Schulz 1992: 80-81 (no. 020), pl. 6c; PM VIII: 601-602 (801-643-080); Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list) and 05.06 (photograph)

### B.28 (Fig. 56)

<b>Name:</b>	(Nakht)weser(?)
<b>Date:</b>	Late Eighteenth to early Nineteenth Dynasty <sup>1006</sup>
<b>Material:</b>	Black granite
<b>Height:</b>	0.62m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Temple of Amun, Karnak (Cachette K 97, CK 81)
<b>Current Location:</b>	Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JE 36719
<b>Statue form:</b>	Sitting (worn; damage to corners of the base)
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	Raised relief; the handle is held along the individual's lap, thus being almost perpendicular to the face and modius of the goddess against the chest
<b>Modius:</b>	Possibly – wear obscures the detail
<b>Naos:</b>	No
<b>Handle:</b>	Straight

<sup>1005</sup> Temp. Amenhotep III: Schulz 1992: 80 and PM VIII: 602 (801-643-080) – this dating has been adopted by the Berlin Museum (thanks to Klaus Finneiser for this information); Ramesside: Kees 1953. Some sources suggest a much later dating, including Wenig 1961: 73 – ‘um 800 v. u. Z’.

<sup>1006</sup> Konrad 2011-13: 76.

<b>Face:</b>	Oval, with a slightly angled hairline at the wig parting
<b>Wig:</b>	Straight; unstriated
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	Between the legs, on the back pillar, and as captions to the images on the sides
<b>Goddess named:</b>	Mut
<b>Notes:</b>	Hathoric element held to the chest; (Nakht)weser is described as a guardian ( <i>sꜣ.wty</i> )
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Hornemann 1957b: 775; Clère 1970: 2, n.3 and 8, 3, n.13; PM II <sup>2</sup> : 147; Verbovsek 2002: 348 (24A); Konrad 2011-13: 56-58; Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list), 05.02 (photograph) and 05.06 (photographs)

B.29 (Fig. 57)

<b>Name:</b>	Maya
<b>Date:</b>	Late Eighteenth to early Nineteenth Dynasties(?)
<b>Material:</b>	Limestone
<b>Height:</b>	0.47m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Unknown
<b>Current Location:</b>	Unknown; seen by Clère at Galerie Argiles, Paris
<b>Statue form:</b>	Kneeling (fragment; missing: all but part of the base, the knees and hands of Maya and the Hathoric element)

**Hathoric element:**

<b>Form:</b>	Three-dimensional
<b>Modius:</b>	Unknown - broken
<b>Naos:</b>	Unknown - broken
<b>Handle:</b>	Straight
<b>Face:</b>	Rhomboid, with rounded chin
<b>Wig:</b>	Straight; striated; decorative bands
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	Preserved around the base, on the handle of the Hathoric element and either side of it
<b>Goddess named:</b>	Hathor
<b>Notes:</b>	
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Clère (Griffith Institute) MS 05.01 (in initial list as 'Paris: Argiles') and 05.02 (including photographs)

B.30 (Fig. 58)

<b>Name:</b>	Maya
<b>Date:</b>	Late Eighteenth to early Nineteenth Dynasties <sup>1007</sup>
<b>Material:</b>	Granite
<b>Height:</b>	0.235m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Unknown, possibly Dendera after the inscriptions <sup>1008</sup>
<b>Current Location:</b>	Musée du Louvre, Paris, E 25984

<sup>1007</sup> The pleated clothing of the individual, including the short sleeves, in particular suggest this date.

<sup>1008</sup> Although note Hari 1974: 158 – the statue bears the same titles as those in a Saqqara tomb of Maya, which may point to a Memphite origin (particularly if, as Hari suggests, there were two people of this name, from the Memphite and Theban regions respectively), but of course does not restrict it to this area.

- Statue form:** Kneeling(?) (fragment; missing: thighs downwards, left shoulder, and head; chest damaged)
- Hathoric element:**
- Form:** Three-dimensional
  - Modius:** Likely – broken, but traces remain
  - Naos:** Likely – broken; probably had a uraeus in a niche on the sides (see Wig)
  - Handle:** Straight
  - Face:** Triangular, with rounded angles and slightly rounded hairline at the forehead
  - Wig:** Straight; striated; decorative bands; bisected on both sides by a papyrus stalk, probably originally topped by a uraeus (see Naos)
- Inscriptions:** Partly preserved on the handle of the Hathoric element and the back pillar
- Goddess named:** Hathor
- Notes:**
- Bibliography:** Vandier 1968b: 98-100 (fig. 7); Vandier 1969: 492-499; Clère 1970: 2, n.6; Hari 1974: 158, n.33; Bernhauer 2010: 240 n.2; PM VIII: 558 -559 (801-629-700); Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list as ‘Sameda’), 05.02 and 05.07 (photographs)

B.31 (Fig. 59)

- Name:** Unknown (female)
- Date:** Late Eighteenth to Nineteenth Dynasties<sup>1009</sup>
- Material:** Red sandstone
- Height:** 0.35m
- Provenance:** Unknown
- Current Location:** Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, Inv. 51.2048
- Statue form:** Sitting or standing (fragment; missing: waist downwards and right hand)
- Hathoric element:**
- Form:** Three-dimensional; small
  - Modius:** Yes
  - Naos:** Yes; uraeus with sun-disk in the opening; no volutes
  - Handle:** Straight
  - Face:** Fairly rhomboid, with rounded chin
  - Wig:** Straight; striated; decorative bands
- Inscriptions:** None preserved
- Goddess named:** Unknown – broken(?)
- Notes:** Hathoric element held before the right shoulder<sup>1010</sup>
- Bibliography:** Varga and Wessetzky 1955: 17, pl. IX.2; Clère 1970: 2, n.2 and 10; Sée 1974: 326 (fig.); Chadeffaud 1982: 98 (PE C.3) (as exhibition no. 111); Nagy 1999: 50-51; PM VIII: 708 (801-674-020); Konrad 2011-13: 62-65; Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list) and 05.06 (photograph)

<sup>1009</sup> On stylistic grounds: Chadeffaud 1982: 98.

<sup>1010</sup> PM VIII: 708 groups this statue amongst those that are ‘Standing holding standard(s)’.

B.32 (Fig. 60)

<b>Name:</b>	Unknown (female)
<b>Date:</b>	Late Eighteenth to Nineteenth Dynasties <sup>1011</sup>
<b>Material:</b>	Schist
<b>Height:</b>	0.365m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Temple of Amun, Karnak (Cachette K 666, CK 602)
<b>Current Location:</b>	Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JE 38028
<b>Statue form:</b>	Kneeling (fragment; missing: base; back pillar damaged)
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	Three-dimensional
<b>Modius:</b>	Yes
<b>Naos:</b>	Yes, now mostly destroyed; the left side has traces of a uraeus which appeared between the pair of volutes
<b>Handle:</b>	Straight
<b>Face:</b>	Triangular, with rounded chin, and a slightly rounded hairline at the forehead
<b>Wig:</b>	Straight; striated; decorative bands
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	None preserved
<b>Goddess named:</b>	Unknown – broken(?)
<b>Notes:</b>	
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Hornemann 1966: 1027; Clère 1970: 2, n.2 and 6; Azim and Réveillac 2004: I, 329, II, 289; Hill 2004: 251 n.72; Bernhauer 2010: 49 n.50; Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list), 05.02 and 05.06 (photographs)

B.33 (Fig. 61)

<b>Name:</b>	Unknown (male)
<b>Date:</b>	Late Eighteenth to Early Nineteenth Dynasties(?)
<b>Material:</b>	Limestone
<b>Height:</b>	0.28m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Unknown
<b>Current Location:</b>	Museo Egizio, Turin, Cat. 3036 (RCGE 5544)
<b>Statue form:</b>	Standing (missing: feet)
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	Three-dimensional; fairly small
<b>Modius:</b>	Yes
<b>Naos:</b>	No
<b>Handle:</b>	Straight; tall; rather wide (almost the width of the goddess's face)
<b>Face:</b>	Rhomboid, with a rounded chin <sup>1012</sup>
<b>Wig:</b>	Straight; striated; decorative bands
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	On the handle of the Hathoric element, on the back between the wig and the back pillar.
<b>Goddess named:</b>	Hathor

<sup>1011</sup> Bernhauer (2010: 49-50, n.50) suggests this is Ramesside based on stylistic grounds, and thus views it as a unique example of a kneeling statue from this period.

<sup>1012</sup> The face is rather diamond-shaped, with longer cheeks than forehead edges. See B.9, B.34 (=A.6), B.58, B.63, B.66 (=A.19), B.80 and B.95.

- Notes:** The Hathoric element is reminiscent of a standard; the statue retains much of its original colour – the individual has brown skin, a black wig and white robe, while the Hathoric element has lost most of its colour, with some preserved on the modius and in the hieroglyphs
- Bibliography:** Erman 1905: 109 (incorrectly labelled as a ‘Frauenstatue’); Clère 1970: 2, n.3 and 9; Chadeaud 1982: 97-98 (PE C.2); Curto 1984: 235, 352; PM VIII: 538 (801-622-400); Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list) and 05.06 (photographs)

### Nineteenth Dynasty

#### B.34 (=A.6) (Fig. 6)

- Name:** Penshenabu
- Date:** Nineteenth Dynasty (possibly Seti I)<sup>1013</sup>
- Material:** Limestone
- Height:** 0.25m
- Provenance:** Deir el-Medina (north east corner of the enclosure wall of the Ptolemaic temple)
- Current Location:** Egyptian Museum, Cairo (number unknown)
- Statue form:** Block (fragment; missing: lower half; damage to right shoulder<sup>1014</sup>)
- Hathoric element:**
- Form:** Raised relief
  - Modius:** Yes
  - Naos:** No
  - Handle:** Broken – likely straight
  - Face:** Rhomboid<sup>1015</sup>
  - Wig:** Straight, unstriated
- Inscriptions:** On the right and left sides and on the counterweight of the *menit*-necklace)
- Goddess named:** Hathor
- Notes:** A *menit*-necklace rests over the left shoulder and forearm; the right hand is held to the mouth
- Bibliography:** Bruyère 1952a: 59, 112, pl. XLIII (no. 256); Vandier 1958: 458-459 n.1, 465 n.1, 667, pl. CXXXVIII.6; PM I<sup>2</sup>: II, 712; KRI III: 747; Schulz 1992: 138-139 (no. 060), pl. 23c; Clère 1995: 114-118 (Doc. G); Bernhauer 2002a: 22, 24 (Abb. 9); Konrad 2011-13: 59 n.47; Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list) and 05.03

<sup>1013</sup> Clère 1995: 114 (Yoyotte’s note). Schulz (1992: 138) instead suggests Ramesses II, but no reasons are given. A man Penshenabu owned Theban Tomb 322, dated to the reign of Ramesses II.

<sup>1014</sup> Note that the images in Clère 1995 show the statue to have sustained much more damage than those in Schulz 1992 and Bernhauer 2002a.

<sup>1015</sup> The face is rather diamond-shaped, with longer cheeks than forehead edges. The chin is rounded, but the strong angles result in an overall effect similar to the pentagonal form on later sistrophores. Compare with B.9, B.33, B.58, B.63, B.66 (=A.19), B.80 and B.95.

B.35

<b>Name:</b>	Paser
<b>Date:</b>	Nineteenth Dynasty (Seti I-Ramesses II) <sup>1016</sup>
<b>Material:</b>	Black granite
<b>Height:</b>	0.31m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Unknown
<b>Current Location:</b>	British Museum, London, EA 510
<b>Statue form:</b>	Block (missing: head, feet and back)
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	Three-dimensional/high raised relief
<b>Modius:</b>	Yes
<b>Naos:</b>	No
<b>Handle:</b>	Straight
<b>Face:</b>	Triangular, with rounded chin and slightly rounded hairline at the forehead
<b>Wig:</b>	Straight; striated; decorative bands
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	Preserved on the handle of the Hathoric element and across the knees
<b>Goddess named:</b>	Werethekau <sup>1017</sup>
<b>Notes:</b>	
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Clère 1970: 2, n.5; James 1970: 16-17, pl. XII.1; <i>KRI</i> III: 33; Conner 1983: 12 (no. 6); Schulz 1992: 370 (no. 213), pl. 95c-d; PM VIII: 614-615 (801-643-390); Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list) and 05.06 (photographs).

B.36 (=A.7) (Fig. 7)

<b>Name:</b>	Sedjemwau
<b>Date:</b>	Nineteenth Dynasty (Ramesses II)
<b>Material:</b>	Granodiorite
<b>Height:</b>	0.52m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Unknown
<b>Current Location:</b>	Calvet Museum, Avignon, A 35
<b>Statue form:</b>	Block (fragment; missing: the feet and the front of the base, now restored)
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	Three-dimensional/high raised relief; small
<b>Modius:</b>	Yes
<b>Naos:</b>	Yes; wear has obscured the uraeus, if it once was sculpted; slightly reduced in height proportional to the rest of the Hathoric element
<b>Handle:</b>	Straight; wide (comparable to the width of the goddess's face)
<b>Face:</b>	Oval
<b>Wig:</b>	Straight; striated; decorative bands
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	Around the base, on the handle of the Hathoric element, and on the back pillar
<b>Goddess named:</b>	Hathor

<sup>1016</sup> Clère MSS 05.01; Schulz prefers the latter pharaoh.

<sup>1017</sup> This may be a reference to the deity in her own right or, as has been suggested (James 1970: 17) an epithet of Hathor.

- Notes:** The right hand is held to the mouth. The individual is wearing a wig or cap, but styled as if he were balding
- Bibliography:** Moret 1913: 201-202; Clère 1970: 2, n.7; Foissy-Aufrère 1985: 54 (fig. 29), 55, 257-258; Schulz 1992: 56-57 (no. 004), pl. 2c-d; Clère 1995: 81-86 (Doc. B); Bernhauer 2002a: 20, 24 (Abb. 5); Verbovsek 2002: 349 (27A); PM VIII: 600 (801-643-032); Étienne 2009: 368-369; Clère (Griffith Institute) MS 05.01 (in initial list)

B.37 (=A.8) (Fig. 8)

- Name:** Ameneminet
- Date:** Nineteenth Dynasty (Ramesses II)
- Material:** Limestone
- Height:** 0.685m
- Provenance:** Temple of Thutmose III, Deir el-Bahari (north east of the forecourt)
- Current Location:** Luxor Museum, Egypt, Cat. 227 (J 141)
- Statue form:** Block (damage to the right hand, much of the face/head, base (now restored), and the back pillar)
- Hathoric element:**
- Form:** Three-dimensional/high raised relief
- Modius:** Yes
- Naos:** Yes; uraeus with sun-disk in the opening; cartouches either side of the opening
- Handle:** Straight; wide (comparable to the width of the goddess's face)
- Face:** Oval; smaller than that of the individual
- Wig:** Straight; striated; decorative bands
- Inscriptions:** On the handle of the Hathoric element, and on the right and left sides. Inscriptions were to be added to the back pillar, but this was left unfinished
- Goddess named:** Hathor
- Notes:** The right hand is held to the mouth (both damaged). The individual is balding.  
An image of the king kneeling before a Hathor cow appears on the top of the naos. Romano et al. (1979) notes that this is probably based on a statue of cow and king from the same temple (JE 38574).
- Bibliography:** Dąbrowski 1964: 47; Lipińska 1966: 67, pl. I; Gaballa and Kitchen 1968: 269; Lipińska 1969a: 28-30; Lipińska 1969b: 43-47; PM II<sup>2</sup>: 379; Valloggia 1976: 134-135 (fig. 120); Romano, Parlasca and Rogers 1979: 148-149 (fig. 120-121); *KRI* III: 274-75; Bryan 1986: 9 n.3; Lipińska 1984: 21-24; *KRI* IV: 128; El-Damaty 1990: 7; Schulz 1992: 408-409 (no. 240) pl. 105a-b; Pinch 1993: 334 (fig. 18); Clère 1995: 87-94 (Doc. B'); Bernhauer 2002a: 21, 24 (Abb. 7); Frood 2007: 189-191; Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list, under 'Deir el-Bahari (Mission polonaise)') and 18.10 (photograph)

B.38

<b>Name:</b>	Nebamun
<b>Date:</b>	Nineteenth Dynasty (Ramesses II) <sup>1018</sup>
<b>Material:</b>	Black granite
<b>Height:</b>	0.47m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Temple of Montu, Armant
<b>Current Location:</b>	Unknown
<b>Statue form:</b>	Sitting (fragment; missing: approximately waist upwards)
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	Three-dimensional
<b>Modius:</b>	Unknown – broken
<b>Naos:</b>	Possible – broken; may have had a uraeus in a niche on the sides (see Wig)
<b>Handle:</b>	Straight
<b>Face:</b>	Unknown – broken
<b>Wig:</b>	Straight; striated; decorative bands (probable; the terminals are marked out); the sides preserve what is possible a papyrus stalk bisecting them, indicating that there may have been a modius (with umbel) and naos (uraeus on the sides between the pairs of volutes) as seen on some earlier sistrophores.
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	Around the base, on the handle of the Hathoric element, on the sides and front of the seat, either side of the legs, and on the back pillar
<b>Goddess named:</b>	Tjenenet-rait-taui
<b>Notes:</b>	Either side of the seat are images of the individual's wife holding a sistrum and a flower (right side) and menit (left side).
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Farid 1983: 60-66

B.39 (Fig. 62)

<b>Name:</b>	Khaemwaset (prince)
<b>Date:</b>	Nineteenth Dynasty (Ramesses II)
<b>Material:</b>	Black granite
<b>Height:</b>	0.42m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Unknown, possibly Saqqara <sup>1019</sup>
<b>Current Location:</b>	Egyptian Museum, Cairo, CG 1201
<b>Statue form:</b>	Kneeling (fragment; missing: waist upwards)
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	Possible – only the handle remains
<b>Form:</b>	Three-dimensional
<b>Modius:</b>	Unknown – broken
<b>Naos:</b>	Unknown – broken
<b>Handle:</b>	Straight
<b>Face:</b>	Unknown – broken
<b>Wig:</b>	Unknown – broken
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	Surviving on the handle of the sistrum
<b>Goddess named:</b>	Hathor – restored from the epithet 'lady of the southern sycamore, who is at the head of the western desert' ( <i>nb.t nh.t rsy hry-tp sm.t imnt.t</i> )

<sup>1018</sup> Early Nineteenth Dynasty, possibly temp. Ramesses II, based on the inscriptions and clothing: Farid 1983:

65.

<sup>1019</sup> Gomaà 1973: 92.

- Notes:** Clère was not certain that this piece is a sistrophore, though a sistrum has been suggested by others as a possible reconstruction (Vandier 1958: 621; Gomaà 1973: 92). Two sistrum- and *menit*-players (with the sidelock of youth) are incised on the handle of the Hathoric element below and either side of the inscription. One is labelled *ih̄i*, associating the playing with Hathor's son Ihy; both are captioned with a cartouche.
- Bibliography:** Borchardt 1934: 102; Vandier 1958: 410-411, n.12, 416 n.6, 621; Gomaà 1973: 92 (no. 89); Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list), 05.02 and 05.06

#### B.40 (Fig. 63)

- Name:** Khaemwaset (prince)  
**Date:** Nineteenth Dynasty (Ramesses II)<sup>1020</sup>  
**Material:** Nummulitic limestone  
**Height:** 0.60m  
**Provenance:** Es-Sheikh Mobarak (Minya)  
**Current Location:** Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JE 66754 (RT 19/6/25/10)  
**Statue form:** Kneeling (fragment; missing: waist upwards)  
**Hathoric element:** Possible – only the base of the handle remains (see Notes)  
    **Form:** Three-dimensional  
    **Modius:** Unknown – broken  
    **Naos:** Unknown – broken  
    **Handle:** Straight  
    **Face:** Unknown – broken  
    **Wig:** Unknown – broken  
**Inscriptions:** Preserved around the base, on the handle of the object and on the back pillar  
**Goddess named:** Hathor  
**Notes:** The object has been suggested (Daressy 1916: 255) to be a Hathoric element ('un sistre à tête d'Hathor'). Gomaà (1973: 86) unequivocally states that the individual holds a Hathor-headed sistrum  
**Bibliography:** Chabân 1907: 223 (IV); Daressy 1916: 255-256; PM IV: 133; Gomaà 1973: 56, 86 (no. 57); Chadeffaud 1982: 99 (PE C.5); Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list), 05.02 and 05.06

#### B.41

- Name:** Ramose  
**Date:** Nineteenth Dynasty (Ramesses II)<sup>1021</sup>  
**Material:** Limestone  
**Height:** 0.29m  
**Provenance:** Unknown  
**Current Location:** Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JE 89072  
**Statue form:** Kneeling (fragment; missing: head and base)  
**Hathoric element:**  
    **Form:** Three dimensional

<sup>1020</sup> Known from the personage, not a cartouche.

<sup>1021</sup> Based on the partially damaged cartouche 'Ramesses meryamun', within a locality that appears as part of Ramose's titulary.

<b>Modius:</b>	Yes
<b>Naos:</b>	Yes; more detail unknown
<b>Handle:</b>	Straight; more detail unknown
<b>Face:</b>	Unknown – possibly round, or triangular with rounded edges; Clère’s sketch is unclear
<b>Wig:</b>	Straight; more detail unknown
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	Preserved on the back pillar (damaged)
<b>Goddess named:</b>	Unknown - broken
<b>Notes:</b>	
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list) and 05.02

B.42

<b>Name:</b>	Amenmesse
<b>Date:</b>	Nineteenth Dynasty (Ramesses II) <sup>1022</sup>
<b>Material:</b>	Black granite
<b>Height:</b>	0.49m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Unknown, perhaps Lower Egypt <sup>1023</sup>
<b>Current Location:</b>	British Museum, London, EA 137
<b>Statue form:</b>	Kneeling (fragment; missing: approximately waist upwards, although with more of the back pillar preserved)
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	Possible – only part of handle remains
<b>Form:</b>	Three-dimensional/high raised relief; small
<b>Modius:</b>	Unknown – broken
<b>Naos:</b>	Unknown – broken
<b>Handle:</b>	Straight
<b>Face:</b>	Unknown – broken
<b>Wig:</b>	Unknown – broken
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	Across the front of the garment and on the back pillar
<b>Goddess named:</b>	Neith <sup>1024</sup>
<b>Notes:</b>	The object is held in the left hand against the chest; it has been described, somewhat vaguely, as ‘no doubt of ritual character’ (James 1970: 59). Clère (1970: 3) believed it was likely a sistrophore from its form and inscriptions, and Seyfried (1990: 286) suggested ‘sistrum(?)’, whereas Konrad (2011-13: 44 n.4) believed that it was probably not.
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Clère 1970: 3, n.13, Taf.1.1-2; James 1970: 59, pl. XLV.2; Habachi 1977: 90 (no. 7), fig. 29; <i>KRI</i> III: 213-214; Seyfried 1990: 286, 299, fig. 185 <sup>1025</sup> ; <i>PM</i> VIII: 584 (801-635-150); Konrad 2011-13: 44 n.4; Clère (Griffith Institute) MS 05.01 (in initial list and in main notes, including photograph)

<sup>1022</sup> Based on evidence from other monuments: James 1970: 59.

<sup>1023</sup> Seyfried 1990: 296. Clère MSS 05.01 has a note (in English) “Taken from the French at the Capitulation of Alexandria, 1801”)

<sup>1024</sup> *KRI* III: 213; Seyfried 1990: 299. Cf. Clère (MSS 05.01) who suggested a restoration of [Mut, mistress of] Isheru.

<sup>1025</sup> Note that an error was made in the figures – the image of fig. 185 should in fact be swapped with that of fig. 184.

B.43 (=A.25) (Fig. 25)

<b>Name:</b>	Minmose
<b>Date:</b>	Nineteenth Dynasty (Ramesses II)
<b>Material:</b>	Red granite
<b>Height:</b>	0.66m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Unknown, possibly Abydos <sup>1026</sup>
<b>Current Location:</b>	Egyptian Museum, Cairo, CG 1203 (RT 14/1/25/1)
<b>Statue form:</b>	Kneeling (fragment; missing: head, base, parts of right arm; large square hole in both sides)
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	Three-dimensional
<b>Modius:</b>	Yes
<b>Naos:</b>	Yes; uraeus with sun-disk (worn) in the opening
<b>Handle:</b>	Straight
<b>Face:</b>	Round
<b>Wig:</b>	Straight; striated; decorative bands
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	Around the Hathoric element on the front of the legs, on the handle of the Hathoric element, on the garment covering the legs, on the back pillar and on parts of the arms
<b>Goddess named:</b>	Isis
<b>Notes:</b>	The right hand rests palm-up on top of the naos, as if held to the mouth; the left supports the Hathoric element. It is possible the individual was balding. A cryptogram appears on the left upper arm, showing a <i>s3</i> -hieroglyph (Gardiner Sign List V17) and an ithyphallic Min
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Legrain 1910: 33 (no. 31); Borchardt 1934: 103-105; Capart 1936: 429; Hornemann 1957b: 649; Vandier 1958: 465 n.1, 660; Clère 1970: 2, n.7; <i>KRI</i> III: 470-471; Forgeau 1984: 158, 170, 177; Bryan 1986: 20; Clère 1995: 73-80 (Doc. A); Reynders 1998: 1023; Bernhauer 2002a: 21 n.19; Effland and Effland 2004: 6, n.9-11 (I.1), 12; <i>PM VIII</i> : 583-584 (801-635-060); Clère (Griffith Institute) MS 05.01 (in initial list)

B.44

<b>Name:</b>	Minmose
<b>Date:</b>	Nineteenth Dynasty (Ramesses II) <sup>1027</sup>
<b>Material:</b>	Red granite
<b>Height:</b>	0.50m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Nag el-Mecheikh <sup>1028</sup>
<b>Current Location:</b>	Brooklyn Museum, New York, Acc. No. 16.206a-b
<b>Statue form:</b>	Block (missing: head, <sup>1029</sup> part of the left knee, and part of the goddess's headdress)
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	

<sup>1026</sup> Effland and Effland 2004: 15-16 – aside from the offering table from Nag el-Mecheikh and the objects of unknown provenance, all of the known objects of Minmose are from Abydos.

<sup>1027</sup> Based on other known monuments of this individual.

<sup>1028</sup> Effland and Effland 2004: 6, n.14 note that this provenance is speculative (see footnote 1026 on the provenance of Minmose's monuments in the catalogue entry B.43 (=A.25)).

<sup>1029</sup> The head is believed to be a Nineteenth Century forgery and is numbered separately (Cooney 1950)

<b>Form:</b>	Three-dimensional/high raised relief; small
<b>Modius:</b>	Yes
<b>Naos:</b>	Yes
<b>Handle:</b>	Straight; wide (comparable to the width of the goddess's face)
<b>Face:</b>	Triangular – only a slightly curved hairline at the forehead
<b>Wig:</b>	Straight; unstriated
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	On the sides and part of the front of the garment, and the back pillar
<b>Goddess named:</b>	Only Onuris, Shu and Tefnut are mentioned, but given the link to Onuris, Mehyt is a possibility.
<b>Notes:</b>	Minmose carries a small object in the right hand, perhaps a standard; <sup>1030</sup> a cryptogram appears on both shoulders, with various elements, including the gods Osiris and Min
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Capart 1936: 427; Cooney 1950: 14 (fig. 3), 16-17; Vandier 1958: 452-453 n.12, 458 n.4, 653; Bryan 1986: esp. 7-20; Schulz 1992: 98-99 (no. 031), pl. 12a-d; Effland and Effland 2004: 6, n.14 and 15, 11 (L3), Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list) and 18.10 (photographs)

#### B.45 (Fig. 64)

<b>Name:</b>	(Roma-)Roy <sup>1031</sup>
<b>Date:</b>	Nineteenth Dynasty (Ramesses II)
<b>Material:</b>	Black granite
<b>Height:</b>	0.88m (original); H: 1.13m (restored)
<b>Provenance:</b>	Temple of Mut, Karnak
<b>Current Location:</b>	British Museum, London, EA 81
<b>Statue form:</b>	Block (missing: base and feet, and the handle of the Hathoric element)
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	Three-dimensional
<b>Modius:</b>	Yes
<b>Naos:</b>	Yes; uraeus with sun-disk in the opening; broad, with a very small opening
<b>Handle:</b>	Straight <sup>1032</sup>
<b>Face:</b>	Rhomboid, although the bulbous chin has a fairly straight bottom line, giving a more pentagonal impression from certain angles
<b>Wig:</b>	Straight; striated; decorative bands
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	Surviving on the back pillar
<b>Goddess named:</b>	Mut
<b>Notes:</b>	
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Vandier 1958: 457 n.1 and 7, 651 (as no. 638); Schulz 1992: 367-368 (no. 211), pl. 95a; Strudwick 2006: 222-223; Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list) and 05.07 (photographs)

<sup>1030</sup> Effland and Effland (2004: 16) discuss his involvement in the cult of Osiris, and his likely active role within cult processions, referring to the title on this statue *r-hry m hn.t Wsir* 'overseer in the (procession)-travel of Osiris', probably the procession from Umm el-Gaab to the tomb of Osiris.

<sup>1031</sup> Only 'Roy' appears in the inscriptions – the longer writing is not present.

<sup>1032</sup> The reconstructed handle is as broad as the width of the Hathoric face – this is likely not true to the original.

B.46 (Fig. 65)

<b>Name:</b>	Unknown (male)
<b>Date:</b>	Nineteenth Dynasty (Ramesses II) <sup>1033</sup>
<b>Material:</b>	Limestone
<b>Height:</b>	0.38m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Unknown, possibly Karnak after the inscriptions
<b>Current Location:</b>	Calvet Museum, Avignon, A 34
<b>Statue form:</b>	Block statue (worn, with large cracks)
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	Raised relief; small
<b>Modius:</b>	Yes
<b>Naos:</b>	Yes; uraeus with sun-disk in the opening
<b>Handle:</b>	Straight
<b>Face:</b>	Rhomboid or possibly oval (very worn)
<b>Wig:</b>	Straight; striated; decorative bands (possible – worn)
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	On the front either side of the Hathoric element and on the back pillar
<b>Goddess named:</b>	Unknown – possibly Mut, as the consort of Amun <sup>1034</sup>
<b>Notes:</b>	Only Amun-Re in Karnak and Osiris are mentioned, as part of two offering formulae
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Moret 1913: 200-201 (plate listed, but not included in volume); Clère 1970: 2, n.4; Foissy-Aufrère 1985: 55, 60, fig. 32; Schulz 1992: 54-55 (no. 003), pl. 2a-b; PM VIII: 600 (801-643-031); Clère (Griffith

B.47 (=A.26) (Fig. 26)

<b>Name:</b>	Piyay
<b>Date:</b>	Nineteenth Dynasty (Ramesses II)
<b>Material:</b>	Schist
<b>Height:</b>	0.155m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Unknown, perhaps Memphis
<b>Current Location:</b>	Private collection, Lyons (Albert Husson)
<b>Statue form:</b>	Block (only minor damage)
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	Raised relief
<b>Modius:</b>	No
<b>Naos:</b>	Yes; simply rendered; reduced in height relative to the proportions of the rest of the Hathoric element
<b>Handle:</b>	Straight
<b>Face:</b>	Triangular, with rounded chin
<b>Wig:</b>	Straight; unstriated; decorative bands; her ears stick out beyond the width of the wig
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	On the left and right sides of the garment, and on the back pillar
<b>Goddess named:</b>	Werethekau
<b>Notes:</b>	The base of the statue extends out at the back (see Rondot 2011)
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Clère 1968a: esp.138-141, pl. XXII-III; <i>KRI</i> : III, 440; PM III <sup>2</sup> : II, 865; Schulz 1992: 411 (no. 242), pl. 106a-d; Rondot 2011: 141; Clère (Griffith Institute) MS 05.01 (in initial list)

<sup>1033</sup> On stylistic grounds: Schulz 1992: 54 n.1.

<sup>1034</sup> Foissy-Aufrère 1985: 60.

B.48 (Fig. 66)

<b>Name:</b>	Unknown (male)
<b>Date:</b>	Nineteenth Dynasty (Ramesses II) <sup>1035</sup>
<b>Material:</b>	Limestone
<b>Height:</b>	0.33m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Unknown, possibly Deir el-Medina(?)
<b>Current Location:</b>	British Museum, London, EA 513
<b>Statue form:</b>	Block (fragments, very worn; missing: much of base)
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	Raised relief
<b>Modius:</b>	Yes
<b>Naos:</b>	No
<b>Handle:</b>	Straight
<b>Face:</b>	Triangular, with a rounded chin and slightly rounded hairline at the forehead; possibly rhomboid (the parting of the wig is no longer preserved)
<b>Wig:</b>	Straight; striated; decorative bands
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	On the sides and the back pillar
<b>Goddess named:</b>	Hathor is named on the right shoulder. However, the inscriptions mention Amun-Re, Mut and Khonsu, indicating a link to Karnak temple
<b>Notes:</b>	The right hand (now damaged) is held to the mouth; a <i>menit</i> -necklace hangs over the left shoulder. The statue-owner looks up slightly and the top surface of the statue is angled down from shoulders to knees, which emphasises this head position
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Clère 1970: 2, n.7; Schulz 1992: 371 (no. 214); PM VIII: 615 (801-643-392); Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list) and 05.06 (photographs)

B.49 (=A.27) (Fig. 27)

<b>Name:</b>	Amenemhat
<b>Date:</b>	Nineteenth Dynasty (Ramesses II) <sup>1036</sup>
<b>Material:</b>	Limestone
<b>Height:</b>	0.25m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Deir el-Medina, after the titles
<b>Current Location:</b>	L'Institut d'Égyptologie, Université de Strasbourg, Inv. 1587
<b>Statue form:</b>	Block (fragment; missing: feet, base, and right forearm; damage to the sides)
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	Raised relief
<b>Modius:</b>	Yes
<b>Naos:</b>	No
<b>Handle:</b>	Straight
<b>Face:</b>	Pentagonal
<b>Wig:</b>	Straight; unstriated; decorative bands

<sup>1035</sup> Schulz (1992: 371) says this is probable, but no reasons are given.

<sup>1036</sup> Schulz 1992: 509; no reasons are given.

- Inscriptions:** On the handle of the Hathoric element, on the sides, and on the back pillar
- Goddess named:** Hathor
- Notes:** The right hand (now destroyed) is held to the mouth; the left rests across the knees, with a *menit*-necklace hanging over the left shoulder. The individual looks up slightly and the top surface of the status is slightly angled down from shoulders to knees, which emphasises this head position. On the crown of the head is a small undecorated disk from which the locks of hair radiate
- Bibliography:** Spiegelberg 1906: 176-177; Spiegelberg 1923: 56; Clère 1970: 2, n.7; Parlebas 1973: 37 (no. 137); Schulz 1992: 509-510 (no. 311), pl. 133b; Clère 1995: 119-123 (Doc. H); Konrad 2011-13: 59 n.47; Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list) and 05.03

B.50 (Fig. 67)

- Name:** Tuer
- Date:** Nineteenth Dynasty (Ramesses II)<sup>1037</sup>
- Material:** Limestone
- Height:** 0.48m
- Provenance:** Unknown, likely Thinis
- Current Location:** Musée du Louvre, Paris, E 17168
- Statue form:** Block
- Hathoric element:**
- Form:** Three-dimensional/high raised relief; small
- Modius:** Yes; tall proportional to the face of the goddess
- Naos:** Yes; uraeus with sun-disk in the opening; no volutes; tall proportional to the rest of the Hathoric element
- Handle:** Straight; wide (comparable to the width of the goddess's face)
- Face:** Oval
- Wig:** Straight; striated; decorative bands
- Inscriptions:** Around the base, on the front of the garment either side of the Hathoric element, and on the back pillar
- Goddess named:** Mehyt
- Notes:**
- Bibliography:** Vandier 1951: 21-26, pl. I-II; Vandier 1952: 45; Vandier 1958: 452 n.12, 453 n.1 and 3, 458 n.4, 485 n.4, 676, pl. CLXVI; Schulz 1992: 461 (no. 275), pl. 122a; PM VIII: 620 (801-643-505); Clère (Griffith Institute) MS 05.01 (in initial list)

<sup>1037</sup> On stylistic grounds: Schulz 1992: 461 n.1 (noting the similarities with the styles of Amenhotep III which were adopted by Ramesses II). Comparisons with other sistrophores which are also dedicated to Onuris and Mehyt supports this early Nineteenth Dynasty dating.

B.51 (Fig. 68)

<b>Name:</b>	Amenemwia
<b>Date:</b>	Nineteenth Dynasty (Merenptah)
<b>Material:</b>	Red silicified sandstone (quartzite)
<b>Height:</b>	0.27m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Unknown <sup>1038</sup>
<b>Current Location:</b>	Unknown; seen in 1881 private collection, Cairo (Baiocchi), by Wilbour
<b>Statue form:</b>	Kneeling (fragment; missing: head and much of the base)
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	Three-dimensional
<b>Modius:</b>	Yes
<b>Naos:</b>	According to Wilbour's sketch, there was certainly a headdress on the goddess's head; he appears to have rendered it as an akhet-hieroglyph (Gardiner Sign List N27), but this may have been a misinterpretation of a naos opening, perhaps with sun-disk framed by cow-horns seen on two other sistrophores, both from the Eighteenth Dynasty <sup>1039</sup>
<b>Handle:</b>	Straight(?)
<b>Face:</b>	Triangular (based on Wilbour's sketch)
<b>Wig:</b>	Straight; striated (based on Wilbour's sketch)
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	Partly preserved on the back pillar
<b>Goddess named:</b>	Hathor Nebethetepet
<b>Notes:</b>	The cartouches were on the top of the Hathoric element
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Clère 1970: 3; Konrad 2011b: 261-263; 272; Wilbour (Wilbour Library) MS Notebook 2c p.7; Clère (Griffith Institute) MS 05.01 (in initial list as 'Emplacement inconnu' and main notes, including an excerpt from Clère's own article)

B.52 (Fig. 69)

<b>Name:</b>	Unknown (male)
<b>Date:</b>	Nineteenth Dynasty <sup>1040</sup>
<b>Material:</b>	Grey granite
<b>Height:</b>	0.22m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Unknown
<b>Current Location:</b>	Musée du Louvre, Paris, AF 106; 'Louvre 859 (?)' <sup>1041</sup>
<b>Statue form:</b>	Standing
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	Three-dimensional
<b>Modius:</b>	Yes
<b>Naos:</b>	No <sup>1042</sup>
<b>Handle:</b>	Straight

<sup>1038</sup> Konrad (2011b: 261-262) suggests Heliopolis, although possibly Memphis.

<sup>1039</sup> B.7 and B.10.

<sup>1040</sup> Based on the clothing worn.

<sup>1041</sup> The information given here is for Louvre N 859.

<sup>1042</sup> A flat surface exists on top of the Hathoric element where the naos would be (the space between this and the wig of the goddess is filled by the modius), but the effect from the front is arguably that of a very squat naos, without the volutes.

**Face:** Triangular, with rounded angles and slightly curved hairline at the forehead; smaller than that of the individual  
**Wig:** Straight; striated; decorative bands  
**Inscriptions:** Uninscribed  
**Goddess named:** N/A  
**Notes:**  
**Bibliography:** Boreux 1932: II, 477; Vandier 1952: 53; Vandier 1958: 462 n.7, 463 n.5, 486 n.2, 533 n.3, 537 n.2, 538, 673, pl. CL.4; Clère 1970: 2, n.3 and 6; PM VIII: 540 (801-623-070); Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list as '= N 859 prob<sup>nt</sup>?') and 05.06 (photographs).

B.53

**Name:** Unknown (presumably male)  
**Date:** Nineteenth Dynasty  
**Material:** Red quartzite  
**Height:** 0.15m  
**Provenance:** Unknown  
**Current Location:** Private collection(?)  
**Statue form:** Standing or kneeling<sup>1043</sup> (fragment; missing: all but most of the Hathoric element, the left hand of the individual, and traces of the right hand)  
**Hathoric element:**  
**Form:** Three-dimensional; small (albeit with tall handle)  
**Modius:** Yes  
**Naos:** Unknown - broken  
**Handle:** Straight; wide (comparable to the width of the goddess's face)  
**Face:** Inverted pear-shape – a curved hairline at the forehead, straight cheeks and a rounded chin  
**Wig:** Straight; striated; decorative bands  
**Inscriptions:** Preserved on the handle of the Hathoric element  
**Goddess named:** Hathor Nebethetepet  
**Notes:**  
**Bibliography:** Charles Ede Ltd 1979: no. 4 (inc. fig.); PM VIII: 691-692 (801-655-670); Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.06 (photographs and correspondence)

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<sup>1043</sup> The former is more likely given the tall handle of the Hathoric element and the lack of traces for the knees or thighs of the individual.

B.54 (Fig. 70)

<b>Name:</b>	Iner
<b>Date:</b>	Nineteenth Dynasty <sup>1044</sup>
<b>Material:</b>	Grey-black diorite
<b>Height:</b>	0.378m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Unknown <sup>1045</sup>
<b>Current Location:</b>	Museo Egizio, Turin, Cat. 3018 (RCGE 5994)
<b>Statue form:</b>	Kneeling (damage to base and right arm)
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	Three-dimensional; small
<b>Modius:</b>	Yes
<b>Naos:</b>	Broken, but unlikely
<b>Handle:</b>	Straight
<b>Face:</b>	Triangular, with rounded chin and hairline at the forehead
<b>Wig:</b>	Straight; striated; decorative bands
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	On the handle of the Hathoric element and the back pillar
<b>Goddess named:</b>	Hathor
<b>Notes:</b>	The Hathoric element is held in the left hand against the left part of the chest or shoulder; the right hand is held to the mouth. <sup>1046</sup> The individual has a balding head. He is linked to the temple of the goddess mentioned – he is said to be a <i>sꜣ.w</i> , ‘guardian’.
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Vandier 1958: 465 n.3, 498 n.7, 680, pl. CLIV.2; Scamuzzi 1965: pl. LXX; Clère 1970: 2, n.7 and 8; Curto 1984: 235, 352; Bernhauer 2002a: 20 n.15, 21 n. 22, 24,(Abb. 8); Verbovsek 2002: 348 (26A); Konrad 2011-13: 53-56; Clère (Griffith Institute) MS 05.01 (in initial list)

B.55 (Fig. 71)

<b>Name:</b>	Unknown (presumably male)
<b>Date:</b>	Likely Nineteenth Dynasty <sup>1047</sup>
<b>Material:</b>	Pink granite
<b>Height:</b>	0.39m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Unknown, possibly Thebes
<b>Current Location:</b>	Private collection; formerly Cranbrook Academy of Art, Bloomfield Hills, Inv. 1940.34
<b>Statue form:</b>	Likely kneeling (fragment; missing: all but part of the Hathoric face and wig, and naos)
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	Three-dimensional
<b>Modius:</b>	Yes
<b>Naos:</b>	Yes; uraeus with sun-disk and cow-horns in the opening

<sup>1044</sup> Scamuzzi 1965: pl. LXX; Curto 1984: 352; Konrad 2011-13: 53.

<sup>1045</sup> Curto (1984: 352) suggests the Hathor temple of Deir el-Medina.

<sup>1046</sup> Scamuzzi (1965) suggests that he may be supporting the Hathoric element on the modius. Whilst this gesture has some parallels, particularly with statues carrying naoi, the way that the remnant of the right hand interacts with the chin seems to indicate that it was cupped before the mouth.

<sup>1047</sup> PM VIII: 686. The fragment bears cartouches of Amenhotep I, but this is probably to be considered to be part of his veneration.

<b>Handle:</b>	Straight(?) – mostly broken
<b>Face:</b>	Oval
<b>Wig:</b>	Straight; striated; decorative bands
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	Survive only within the naos.
<b>Goddess named:</b>	Unknown - broken
<b>Notes:</b>	Traces of the individual's right hand can be seen on the side of the goddess's wig; cartouches of Amenhotep I appear on the front of the naos
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Sotheby's New York 1972: 142-3 (no. 347); Konrad 2011a: 122; PM VIII: 686 (801-655-510); Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list), 05.06 (photograph) and 18.10 (photograph)

B.56 (=A.10) (Fig. 10)

<b>Name:</b>	Inhernakht
<b>Date:</b>	Late Nineteenth Dynasty <sup>1048</sup>
<b>Material:</b>	Black granite
<b>Height:</b>	0.64m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Unknown, likely Nag el-Mecheikh <sup>1049</sup>
<b>Current Location:</b>	Östergötlands Museum, Linköping, No. 189
<b>Statue form:</b>	Block
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	Raised relief
<b>Modius:</b>	Yes
<b>Naos:</b>	Naos; reduced in height relative to the proportions of the rest of the Hathoric element
<b>Handle:</b>	Straight
<b>Face:</b>	Rhomboid, with a slightly rounded chin; somewhat oval
<b>Wig:</b>	Straight; striated; decorative bands
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	On the handle and either side of the Hathoric element, and around the sides and back
<b>Goddess named:</b>	Mehyt (written 'Mehet') of Behdet
<b>Notes:</b>	The left hand holds a loaf/cake on the left knee; the right is held to the mouth. The individual is balding
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Clère 1970: 2, n.7; Björkman 1971: 29-32 (no. 189), pls. 4-5; Valloggia 1976: 157-158; <i>KRI</i> IV: 375-376 (40); Schulz 1992: 360-361 (no. 207), pl. 93a; Clère 1995: 7-9, 98-103 (Doc. D); Bernhauer 2002a: 20 n.14, 24 (Abb. 4); PM VIII: 613 (801-643-360); Clère (Griffith Institute) MS 05.01 (in initial list)

<sup>1048</sup> *KRI* IV: 375-376 dates the statue to the reigns of Siptah and Tawosret, although no cartouches exist on either of Inhernakht's sistrophores.

<sup>1049</sup> Schulz (1992: 360) says Abydos, but there is no record of the provenance and the inscriptions indicate at least an intended location in the Nag el-Mecheikh area (Lepidotonpolis).

B.57 (Fig. 72)

<b>Name:</b>	Inhernakht
<b>Date:</b>	Late Nineteenth Dynasty(?)
<b>Material:</b>	Black granite
<b>Height:</b>	0.37m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Abydos
<b>Current Location:</b>	Egyptian Museum, Cairo, CG 862
<b>Statue form:</b>	Block (missing: most of the head)
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	Three-dimensional/high raised relief; small <sup>1050</sup>
<b>Modius:</b>	Yes
<b>Naos:</b>	Yes; uraeus in the opening; volutes are very wide, giving the impression that the whole naos is reduced in height proportional to the rest of the Hathoric element
<b>Handle:</b>	Straight
<b>Face:</b>	Rhomboid
<b>Wig:</b>	Straight; striated; decorative bands
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	Around the base, on the handle of the Hathoric element, and on the back pillar
<b>Goddess named:</b>	Mehyt
<b>Notes:</b>	The right hand is held to the mouth; the base is tall relative to the rest of the statue – about a third of the preserved height
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Mariette 1880: pl. 39; Borchartd 1930: 126, Bl. 155; PM V: 47; Hornemann 1957a: 482; Vandier 1958: 458 n.6, 658; Clère 1970: 2, n.7; Bernhauer 2002a: 21 n.22; Schulz 1992: 209-210 (no. 105), pl. 51a-b; Yamamoto 2011: 290-291; Clère (Griffith Institute) MS 05.01 (in initial list)

B.58 (Fig. 73)

<b>Name:</b>	May
<b>Date:</b>	Nineteenth Dynasty <sup>1051</sup>
<b>Material:</b>	Limestone
<b>Height:</b>	0.35m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Temple of Mut, Karnak (Trench A)
<b>Current Location:</b>	Egyptian Museum, Cairo, CG 924
<b>Statue form:</b>	Block (missing: head)
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	Raised relief (handle sunken between the legs)
<b>Modius:</b>	Yes
<b>Naos:</b>	Yes; uraeus in the opening; reduced in height proportional to the rest of the Hathoric element
<b>Handle:</b>	Straight
<b>Face:</b>	Rhomboid; <sup>1052</sup> smaller than that of the owner

<sup>1050</sup> The feature covers a large proportion of the front of Inhernakht's legs, so is prominent, but the face of the goddess would have been much smaller than his, had the latter survived.

<sup>1051</sup> Schulz (1992: 218) offers no reasons for this dating. Here it is accepted based primarily on the prevalence of the block type from the Ramesside Period.

<b>Wig:</b>	Straight; striated; decorative bands
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	Around the base, on the front of the legs either side of the Hathoric element, and on the back pillar
<b>Goddess named:</b>	Mut
<b>Notes:</b>	The front of the statue, where the Hathoric element appears, is somewhat concave in appearance, perhaps due to re-carving
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Benson and Gourlay 1899: 333-334; Borchartd 1930: 157; Vandier 1958: 454 n.2, 455 n.4, 659; PM II <sup>2</sup> : 260; Schulz 1992: 218 (no. 113); Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list), 05.02 and 05.06 (photographs)

B.59 (Fig. 74)

<b>Name:</b>	Unknown (male)
<b>Date:</b>	Nineteenth Dynasty
<b>Material:</b>	Sandstone
<b>Height:</b>	0.97m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Temple of Mut, Karnak
<b>Current Location:</b>	Egyptian Museum, Cairo, CG 568
<b>Statue form:</b>	Block (fragment; missing right side, including base)
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	Raised relief; occupies the whole of the front of the statue
<b>Modius:</b>	No
<b>Naos:</b>	No
<b>Handle:</b>	Straight
<b>Face:</b>	Inverted pear-shape – round, with straight chin
<b>Wig:</b>	Straight; unstriated
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	Fragmentary – preserved on the front of the base
<b>Goddess named:</b>	Mut
<b>Notes:</b>	The base also shows the individual with his hands raised in adoration. Schulz (1992: 178 n.1) believes that the statue may have been reused, explaining the difference in style between the face and the sistrum, and especially contrasting with the carving on the base.
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Benson and Gourlay 1899: 55-6, pl. XIV, 2, cf. p.xv, plan. no. 018; Borchartd 1925: 118, Bl. 97; Vandier 1958: 458 n.5 and 9, 534 n.8, 655; Clère 1970: 2, n.4; PM II <sup>2</sup> : 262; Schulz 1992: 178-179 (no. 087), pl. 42a, c; Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list), 05.02 and 05.06 (photographs)

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<sup>1052</sup> The face is rather diamond-shaped, with longer cheeks than forehead edges. If the chin were better defined, the face would have a pentagonal appearance. See B.9, B.33, B.34 (=A.6), B.63, B.66 (=A.19), B.80 and B.95.

B.60 (Fig. 75)

<b>Name:</b>	(?)Nakht <sup>1053</sup>
<b>Date:</b>	Nineteenth Dynasty(?) <sup>1054</sup>
<b>Material:</b>	Limestone
<b>Height:</b>	0.255m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Temple of Mentuhotep II, Deir el-Bahari
<b>Current Location:</b>	University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia, E 11783 (AES 3731)
<b>Statue form:</b>	Kneeling (fragment; missing: head, right side, and much of the lower part of the front)
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	Three-dimensional; large
<b>Modius:</b>	Yes
<b>Naos:</b>	No
<b>Handle:</b>	Straight
<b>Face:</b>	Oval
<b>Wig:</b>	Straight; unstriated; extends down to the base
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	Preserved on the right side, around the base and on the back
<b>Goddess named:</b>	Hathor
<b>Notes:</b>	The carving of the inscription was incomplete, with some remaining only in ink
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Naville and Hall 1923 pl. 14(6); PM II <sup>2</sup> : 395; Clère (Griffith Institute) MS 05.01 (in initial list)

B.61 (Fig. 76)

<b>Name:</b>	Unknown (male)
<b>Date:</b>	Nineteenth Dynasty
<b>Material:</b>	Granite
<b>Height:</b>	0.381m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Unknown
<b>Current Location:</b>	Private collection
<b>Statue form:</b>	Block (missing: feet and base)
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	Raised relief
<b>Modius:</b>	Yes
<b>Naos:</b>	No
<b>Handle:</b>	Straight
<b>Face:</b>	Triangular, with slightly rounded hairline at the forehead and rounded chin
<b>Wig:</b>	Straight; unstriated
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	None preserved
<b>Goddess named:</b>	Unknown – broken(?)
<b>Notes:</b>	

<sup>1053</sup> The name is partially obscured; ‘nakht’ may only be part of it.

<sup>1054</sup> Naville and Hall (1913) name the entire plate ‘miscellaneous sculpture: XIth-XIXth Dynasty’. Although kneeling sistrophores are best known from the Eighteenth Dynasty, the style of this example, for instance the lack of naos headdress, would suggest a later dating. It is comparable to B.59 (Cairo CG 568) which, although a block statue, has a similarly large Hathoric feature with an undecorated wig.

**Bibliography:** Sotheby's New York 1999: 21 (no. 34); PM VIII: 629 (801-643-851)

### Nineteenth to Twentieth Dynasties

B.62 (Fig. 77)

**Name:** Unknown (male)  
**Date:** Nineteenth to Twentieth Dynasties  
**Material:** Schist  
**Height:** 0.24m  
**Provenance:** Unknown, likely Gebelein  
**Current Location:** Private collection (formerly J. J. Clère)  
**Statue form:** Kneeling (fragment; missing: head, most of right arm, and right side of the base)  
**Hathoric element:**  
**Form:** Three-dimensional  
**Modius:** No<sup>1055</sup>  
**Naos:** No  
**Handle:** Straight  
**Face:** Triangular, with rounded edges and a rounded chin  
**Wig:** Straight; striated; decorative bands  
**Inscriptions:** Around the base (broken), on the handle of the Hathoric element and on the back pillar  
**Goddess named:** Hathor  
**Notes:**  
**Bibliography:** Clère (Griffith Institute) MS 05.01 (in initial list as 'Gébélein (Argiles, Clère)'); Sale record: Pierre Bergé & Associés, 26 Nov. 2013 (lot 22) <http://www.pba-auctions.com/html/fiche.jsp?id=3399348&np=&lng=en&npp=150&ordre=&aff=&r=> [accessed 17 Aug 2017]

B.63 (Fig. 78)

**Name:** Khaihapy  
**Date:** Late Nineteenth to early Twentieth Dynasty<sup>1056</sup>  
**Material:** Diorite  
**Height:** 0.495m  
**Provenance:** Unknown, possibly Heliopolis (after the inscriptions)<sup>1057</sup>  
**Current Location:** Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, ÄS 64  
**Statue form:** Block (only minor damage to the elbows); high base (over a third of the total height of the statue)  
**Hathoric element:**  
**Form:** Three-dimensional/high raised relief  
**Modius:** No

<sup>1055</sup> Although the statue is broken at the top of the wig, there appear to be no traces of a headdress and it may have extended too far up in front of the body and face of the individual to be desirable.

<sup>1056</sup> Seipel Étienne 2009: 338 (second half of the Nineteenth Dynasty); PM VII 407 (Twentieth Dynasty).

<sup>1057</sup> Étienne 2009: 341.

<b>Naos:</b>	Yes; no opening indicated; reduced in height relative to the proportions of the rest of the Hathoric element
<b>Handle:</b>	Straight
<b>Face:</b>	Rhomboid, with rounded chin <sup>1058</sup>
<b>Wig:</b>	Straight; striated; terminals marked
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	On the sides, the arms, and the back pillar
<b>Goddess named:</b>	Iusaeus and Hathor Nebethetepet (see Vandier 1964, 1965, 1966 and 1968a)
<b>Notes:</b>	It is likely significant for the purpose of the statue that Iusaeus has been given the epithet <i>sdm-nb</i> , ‘who hears everything’
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Bergmann 1882: 41; Wreszinski 1906: 144, II, 5; Demel 1947: pl. 25; Komorzynski 1952: 107; Vandier 1958: 458 n.6 and 8, 487, 494 n.11, 534 n.8, 682, pl. CLXIII.6; Wildung 1969: 120 n.4; Clère 1970: 2, n.5; PM VII: 407; Rogge 1990: 6, 126-134; Schulz 1992: 531-532 (no. 327), pl. 137c-d; Seipel 1992: 348-350 (no. 138); Satzinger 1994: 4-6; Étienne 2009: 338, 341; Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list), 05.02 (photographs) and 05.06 (photographs)

#### B.64 (=A.17) (Fig. 17)

<b>Name:</b>	Raia
<b>Date:</b>	Nineteenth to Twentieth Dynasties <sup>1059</sup>
<b>Material:</b>	Limestone
<b>Height:</b>	0.59m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Abydos <sup>1060</sup>
<b>Current Location:</b>	Egyptian Museum, Cairo, CG 627
<b>Statue form:</b>	Block (fragment; missing: head, with damage to the front corners of base, the left knee and the right arm)
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	Three-dimensional/high raised relief
<b>Modius:</b>	Yes
<b>Naos:</b>	No
<b>Handle:</b>	Straight
<b>Face:</b>	Triangular, with rounded chin and hairline at the forehead
<b>Wig:</b>	Straight; striated; decorative bands (themselves with a circular motif)
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	Around and on top of the base (including a separate inscription on the back of the base accompanied by an image of an adoring man), and around the Hathoric element
<b>Goddess named:</b>	Isis

<sup>1058</sup> The face is rather diamond-shaped, with slightly longer cheeks than forehead edges. See B.9, B.33, B.34 (=A.6), B.58, B.66 (=A.19), B.80 and B.95.

<sup>1059</sup> Clère 1995: 192 n.21.

<sup>1060</sup> Ta-wer is named as the goddess’s residence, and given the link between Isis and Osiris, Abydos seems likely; we would expect Mehyt to be mentioned if the statue derived from Thinis. However, Raia himself states ‘I am the servant of Isis in Coptos’. Presumably he served the goddess in more than one location, or in more than one of her localised iterations.

- Notes:** In sunken relief on the back pillar is a standing woman holding a plant in her right hand and in her left, against her chest, an arched-sistrum and a *menit*-necklace
- Bibliography:** Daressy 1893: 171, pl. LXIV; Borchardt 1925: 173-175, B1.115; PM V: 94; Kees 1953: 148; Vandier 1958: 458 n.6, 656; Schulman 1964: 159 (no. 459h); Clère 1970: 2, n.5; Schulz 1992: 195-196 (no. 096), pl. 48a-d; Clère 1995: 192-199 (Doc. EE); Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list) and 05.05 (including photographs)

B.65 (=A.18) (Fig. 18)

- Name:** Amenemipet
- Date:** Nineteenth to Twentieth Dynasties<sup>1061</sup>
- Material:** Limestone
- Height:** c.0.35m
- Provenance:** Deir el-Medina (within enclosure wall of the Ptolemaic temple, in the Hathor temple pronaos)
- Current Location:** Deir el-Medina, Magazine 25
- Statue form:** Block (fragments; worn; missing: much of the base, portions of the front and sides)
- Hathoric element:** Likely – broken, but possible traces can be detected on the front of the legs, in particular the handle
- Form:** Raised relief?
- Modius:** Unknown – broken
- Naos:** Unknown – broken
- Handle:** Unknown – broken
- Face:** Unknown – broken
- Wig:** Unknown – broken
- Inscriptions:** Preserved in part on the sides and the back pillar
- Goddess named:** The ‘goddess’ and the ‘Golden One’ – Hathor, given the findspot
- Notes:** The right hand is held to the mouth; the left arm is now broken, but may have been resting across the knees or with the hand palm-up on the left knee. A *menit*-necklace rests over the left shoulder. The head is raised slightly and the top surface of the statue appears to have been angled down to the knees, emphasising this head position. The individual is shown balding
- Bibliography:** Bruyère 1952a: 53, 96-97, 132 (no. 219); Schulz 1992: 136-137 (no. 059), Abb. 12; Clère 1995: 124-130 (Doc. I); Konrad 2011-13: 59 n.47; Clère Griffith Institute MS 05.01 (in initial list)

<sup>1061</sup> Based on findspot and the name of the individual. Clère 1995: 124; Schulz (1992: 136) and Konrad (2011-13: 59) both suggest Nineteenth Dynasty.

B.66 (=A.19) (Fig. 19)

<b>Name:</b>	Unknown (male)
<b>Date:</b>	Nineteenth to Twentieth Dynasties <sup>1062</sup>
<b>Material:</b>	Limestone
<b>Height:</b>	c.0.30m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Deir el-Medina (within Ptolemaic enclosure wall, in the Ptolemaic temple)
<b>Current Location:</b>	Unknown <sup>1063</sup>
<b>Statue form:</b>	Block (fragment; missing: base and much of the upper body)
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	Three-dimensional/high raised relief; large
<b>Modius:</b>	Yes
<b>Naos:</b>	No
<b>Handle:</b>	Straight(?) – broken
<b>Face:</b>	Rhomboid or pentagonal – damage to the chin; former more likely <sup>1064</sup>
<b>Wig:</b>	Straight; striated; one decorative band, at the parting
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	On the right and left sides and on the back
<b>Goddess named:</b>	Hathor
<b>Notes:</b>	The Hathoric element covers almost the entire width of the statue. It is supported by the left hand of the individual; the right hand was held to the mouth
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Bruyère 1952a: 38, 57, 58 (no. 68 ( <i>sic</i> ) <sup>1065</sup> ), pl. II, fig. 101 (no. 20); PM I <sup>2</sup> : 713; Schulz 1992: 134 (no. 057), pl. 23a-b; Clère 1995: 131-136 (Doc. J); Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list) and 05.03 (photographs)

<sup>1062</sup> Based on findspot (applies to the other statues from Deir el-Medina). Schulz (1992: 134) suggests Nineteenth Dynasty.

<sup>1063</sup> It is presumably in Magazine 25, Deir el-Medina, as with several other fragments, but it could not be located by Clère in 1989 (see 1995: 131, n.54).

<sup>1064</sup> If so, the face is rather diamond-shaped, with longer cheeks than forehead edges. See B.9, B.33, B.34 (=A.6), B.58, B.63, B.80 and B.95.

<sup>1065</sup> See Clère 1995: 131 n.55 on the numbering confusion.

B.67 (=A.28) (Fig. 28)

<b>Name:</b>	Ramose
<b>Date:</b>	Nineteenth to Twentieth Dynasties <sup>1066</sup>
<b>Material:</b>	Grey granite
<b>Height:</b>	0.43m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Possibly Thebes <sup>1067</sup>
<b>Current Location:</b>	Private collection (Brussels)
<b>Statue form:</b>	Block (missing: head; <sup>1068</sup> wear around the sides and base <sup>1069</sup> )
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	Raised relief (or arguably three-dimensional <sup>1070</sup> ); small
<b>Modius:</b>	Yes
<b>Naos:</b>	Yes; uraeus with sun-disk in the opening; slightly reduced in height relative to the proportions of the rest of the Hathoric element
<b>Handle:</b>	Straight
<b>Face:</b>	Oval
<b>Wig:</b>	Straight; striated; decorative bands
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	Around the base, either side of the Hathoric element, and on the back pillar
<b>Goddess named:</b>	Hathor
<b>Notes:</b>	
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Khazai 1985: 123-124 (no. 53); Gubel 1991: 143-144 (no. 162, note by H. de Meulenaere); Schulz 1992: 539 (no. 333); Clère 1995: 211-215 (Doc. HH); PM VIII: 629-630 (801-643-910); Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list as 'Maker Gezeiri'), 05.05 (photographs) and 18.12

B.68 (=A.31) (Fig. 31)

<b>Name:</b>	Unknown (male)
<b>Date:</b>	Nineteenth to Twentieth Dynasties <sup>1071</sup>
<b>Material:</b>	Limestone
<b>Height:</b>	0.10m (approximate size of the larger fragment)
<b>Provenance:</b>	Deir el-Medina (inside the enclosure wall of the Ptolemaic temple)
<b>Current Location:</b>	Deir el-Medina, Magazine 25
<b>Statue form:</b>	Block (two fragments; missing: all but parts of the sides and back)
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	Three-dimensional/high raised relief
<b>Modius:</b>	Unknown – broken; likely

<sup>1066</sup> Gubel 1991: 143, 147; Schulz (1992: 539) suggests the reign of Ramesses II, but without reasoning.

<sup>1067</sup> Clère 1995: 211 n.34. The inscription, however, includes the place name *T3-ḥnw*, known in the Eastern Delta.

<sup>1068</sup> The images contained within Clère's notes (Griffith MSS 05.05) show the statue with a head, but this appears not to match the stone of the rest of the statue, and, indeed, the images in Gubel (1991: 143) and Clère (1995: 215) show it without.

<sup>1069</sup> Potentially used as a grindstone in antiquity, with grooves in both sides in which a post was inserted: Gubel 1991: 143.

<sup>1070</sup> The relief is not as high as is seen in other statues, but the impression is still an actual object leaning against Ramose's legs.

<sup>1071</sup> Based on the findspot and similarity to other Ramesside statues in this catalogue.

<b>Naos:</b>	Unknown – broken; unlikely, based on parallels from Deir el-Medina <sup>1072</sup>
<b>Handle:</b>	Unknown – broken; likely straight
<b>Face:</b>	Unknown – broken
<b>Wig:</b>	Straight; striated; decorative bands
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	Surviving on the remaining fragments
<b>Goddess named:</b>	Mut
<b>Notes:</b>	That the two fragments belong together is conjectural based on the similarity of style, execution of inscription, provenance and stone (Clère 1995: 138). Note that the image (Clère 1995: 140) shows three fragments; that in the middle has very similar style of inscription, but the height of the registers is much smaller than the other two fragments. Clère has not translated this middle fragment as part of this statue. The inscriptions show similarities to B.66 (=A.19), although that statue mentions Hathor not Mut. It is possible that the right hand was held to the mouth.
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Bruyère 1952a: 33, 55 (no. 20 ( <i>sic</i> ) <sup>1073</sup> ), 59, fig. 144; Schulz 1992: 133 (no. 056); Clère 1995: 137-140 (Doc. J’); Clère (Griffith Institute) MS 05.01 (in initial list)

#### B.69 (Fig. 79)

<b>Name:</b>	Unknown (male)
<b>Date:</b>	Nineteenth to Twentieth Dynasties
<b>Material:</b>	Limestone
<b>Height:</b>	0.35m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Valley of the Kings
<b>Current Location:</b>	Egyptian Museum, Cairo, RT 6/2/15/32
<b>Statue form:</b>	Block (unfinished; damage to head and right side)
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	Three-dimensional
<b>Modius:</b>	Unknown - likely
<b>Naos:</b>	Unknown - unlikely
<b>Handle:</b>	Straight
<b>Face:</b>	Unknown – round(?)
<b>Wig:</b>	Unknown <sup>1074</sup>
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	None ever inscribed nor outlined.
<b>Goddess named:</b>	N/A
<b>Notes:</b>	The right hand of the individual would have been held to the mouth; the left would have supported the left back corner of the Hathoric element or rested on the left knee (in the manner of Inhernakht (B.56)). Chisel marks are visible on its entirety; guide-lines in red are visible, particularly the vertical line marking the centre of the statue and the features of the hands and face of the individual; it is possible that the face of the individual would planned to be slightly raised.

<sup>1072</sup> B.34 (=A.6), B.48, B.49 (=A.27) and B.66 (=A.19).

<sup>1073</sup> See B.66 (=A.19) on the numbering confusion.

<sup>1074</sup> The side of the Hathoric element curves in towards the face at the point where the wig would have been marked out, but this could indicate a wig with either straight or curled ends.

**Bibliography:** Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list), 05.02, 05.03, 05.06 (photographs) and 05.07 (photographs)

B.70 (Fig. 80)

**Name:** Sementi  
**Date:** Nineteenth to Twentieth Dynasties  
**Material:** Brown-black basalt  
**Height:** 0.44m  
**Provenance:** Nag el-Mecheikh  
**Current Location:** Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JE 46799  
**Statue form:** Block (damage to the base)  
**Hathoric element:**  
**Form:** Three-dimensional/high raised relief  
**Modius:** Yes  
**Naos:** No  
**Handle:** Straight; wide (comparable to the width of the goddess's face)  
**Face:** Round  
**Wig:** Straight; striated; decorative bands  
**Inscriptions:** Around the base and on the handle of the Hathoric element  
**Goddess named:** Mehyt  
**Notes:** Sementi raises his head slightly  
**Bibliography:** Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list), 05.02 and 05.06 (photograph)

B.71 (Fig. 81)

**Name:** Hatiay  
**Date:** Nineteenth to Twentieth Dynasties(?)<sup>1075</sup>  
**Material:** Greenish schist  
**Height:** 0.14m  
**Provenance:** Temple of Amun, Karnak (Cachette K 247, CK 216)  
**Current Location:** Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JE 37433  
**Statue form:** Block (some major wear on and damage to the sides and front of the base)  
**Hathoric element:**  
**Form:** Raised relief  
**Modius:** Yes  
**Naos:** No  
**Handle:** Straight, but follows the curve of the feet  
**Face:** Triangular  
**Wig:** Straight; striated; decorative bands  
**Inscriptions:** On the sides and back – mostly obscured through wear  
**Goddess named:** Unknown - worn  
**Notes:**  
**Bibliography:** Clère 1970; 2, n.4; De Meulenaere 1996: 88 (cited as missing from Schulz 1992); Azim and Réveillac 2004: I, 296, n.25, 316, II, 252

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<sup>1075</sup> Based on the prevalence of the block type in the Ramesside Period, as opposed to the kneeling statue which is more common in the Eighteenth Dynasty and the Late Period.

(mistakenly listed as K 227); Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list), 05.02 and 05.06 (photographs)

B.72 (Fig. 82)

<b>Name:</b>	Unknown (male)
<b>Date:</b>	Nineteenth to Twentieth Dynasties(?)
<b>Material:</b>	Diorite
<b>Height:</b>	0.49m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Unknown
<b>Current Location:</b>	Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, No. 105187
<b>Statue form:</b>	Block (note: the head may be a forgery <sup>1076</sup> )
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	Raised relief
<b>Modius:</b>	Yes
<b>Naos:</b>	Yes
<b>Handle:</b>	Straight; wide (comparable to the width of the goddess's face)
<b>Face:</b>	Triangular, with rounded corners
<b>Wig:</b>	Straight; unstriated; decorative bands
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	Uninscribed
<b>Goddess named:</b>	N/A
<b>Notes:</b>	
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Field Museum (Notes on FM inv. 105187) <sup>1077</sup> ; Clère (Griffith Institute) MS 05.01 (in initial list)

B.73

<b>Name:</b>	Unknown (presumably male)
<b>Date:</b>	Nineteenth to Twentieth Dynasties
<b>Material:</b>	Limestone
<b>Height:</b>	0.16m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Deir el-Medina (North East of Ptolemaic enclosure wall)
<b>Current Location:</b>	Unknown, possibly Deir el-Medina Magazine 25 <sup>1078</sup>
<b>Statue form:</b>	Block (fragment; missing: all but part of the Hathoric element)
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	Unknown
<b>Modius:</b>	Unknown
<b>Naos:</b>	Unknown
<b>Handle:</b>	Unknown
<b>Face:</b>	Unknown
<b>Wig:</b>	Unknown
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	None preserved(?)
<b>Goddess named:</b>	Unknown

<sup>1076</sup> This would explain the unusual modelling of the eyes and the flatness of the top and back of the wig. It has been suggested that the style of the head is based on another piece in the Field Museum, No. 31717 (thanks to Julia Irons of the Field Museum for bringing this to my attention), although if this is the case it has not been particularly well executed (note also that 105187 has a beard whereas 31717 does not).

<sup>1077</sup> Courtesy of The Field Museum: Accession file 1052.

<sup>1078</sup> Clère (Griffith Institute) MS 05.01 includes in his initial list of sistrophores a reference to 'D.el-M, Bruyère', for which the only note is 'Emplacement inconnu'. This presumably refers to several Deir el-Medina statue fragments.

**Notes:** The only information known is from Bruyère's description – 'Fragment d'un masque féminin d'Hathor provenant d'une statue bloc'  
**Bibliography:** Bruyère 1952b: 39 (no. 90)

B.74

**Name:** At least three unknown (presumably male)  
**Date:** Nineteenth to Twentieth Dynasties  
**Material:** Limestone and sandstone  
**Height:** Various  
**Provenance:** Deir el-Medina (north east corner of the Ptolemaic enclosure wall)  
**Current Location:** Unknown  
**Statue form:** Likely block  
**Hathoric element:**  
**Form:** Unknown – broken  
**Modius:** Unknown – broken  
**Naos:** Unknown – broken  
**Handle:** Unknown – broken  
**Face:** Unknown – broken  
**Wig:** Straight; at least one has striations and decorative bands  
**Inscriptions:** None preserved  
**Goddess named:** Unknown – broken  
**Notes:**  
**Bibliography:** Bruyère 1952a: 112, 113, fig. 188 (no. 258)

**Twentieth Dynasty**B.75 (Fig. 83)

**Name:** Bakenkhonsu  
**Date:** Twentieth Dynasty (Ramesses III)  
**Material:** Grey granite  
**Height:** 0.38m  
**Provenance:** Temple of Amun, Karnak (Cachette, CK 1198)  
**Current Location:** Egyptian Museum, Cairo, RT 8/6/24/15 (JE 36653?)<sup>1079</sup>  
**Statue form:** Block (missing: head)  
**Hathoric element:**  
**Form:** Raised relief; small  
**Modius:** Yes  
**Naos:** Yes; uraeus with sun-disk in opening; distinct roof part  
**Handle:** Straight  
**Face:** Triangular, with rounded chin  
**Wig:** Straight; striated; decorative band  
**Inscriptions:** Around the base, on the handle of the Hathoric element and on the back pillar  
**Goddess named:** Mut

<sup>1079</sup> On the remaining doubt regarding the conflation of these accession numbers, see the 'Remarques' in the IFAO record: <http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/cachette/?id=1198> [accessed 28 May 2015].

- Notes:** The Hathoric element has a broad, undecorated *wesekh*-collar, extending beyond the wig and implied neck of the goddess<sup>1080</sup>
- Bibliography:** Clère 1970: 2, n.4 (on JE 36653); Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list as JE 36653), 05.02 and 05.06 (photographs of JE 36653)

B.76 (Fig. 84)

- Name:** Bakenkhonsu
- Date:** Twentieth Dynasty (Ramesses III)<sup>1081</sup>
- Material:** Crystalline limestone
- Height:** 1.24m
- Provenance:** Temple of Mut, Karnak
- Current Location:** Egyptian Museum, Cairo, CG 581
- Statue form:** Block (general wear; damage to the base)
- Hathoric element:**
- Form:** Raised relief; small
- Modius:** Yes
- Naos:** Yes; uraeus with sun-disk in the opening
- Handle:** Straight
- Face:** Triangular, with slightly rounded edges and a rounded chin; two uraei in profile flank her face: that to her right is shown with the White Crown, and to her left with the Red Crown
- Wig:** Straight; unstriated
- Inscriptions:** On the front of the garment around the Hathoric element, and on the back pillar
- Goddess named:** Mut and Bastet; the former is likely to be the primary goddess represented given the findspot
- Notes:** As part of Bakenkhonsu's titulary there is a reference to *wn ʕ3.wy p.t r mʕ [ntr]*, 'opening the double doors of the sky in order to see [the god]'
- Bibliography:** Benson and Gourlay 1899: 343-347; Borchardt 1925: 131-132, Bl. 100; Vandier 1958: 458 n.5, 655; Schulz 1992: 181-182 (no. 089), pl. 42b; Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list) and 05.02.

<sup>1080</sup> See also B.77 (=A.12) and B.89.

<sup>1081</sup> The cartouches are half obscured through wear, but this is the same Bakenkhonsu, High Priest of Amun and son of Amenemipet, as B.68 (=A.31). He is known to have risen through priestly ranks during the reigns of Setnakht and Ramesses III, and is possibly descended from the family of High Priests under Ramesses II and later, which included another Bakenkhonsu. The latter was the brother of (Roma)-Roy, who possessed his own sistrophore (B.45).

B.77 (=A.12) (Fig. 12)

<b>Name:</b>	Khaemipet <sup>1082</sup>
<b>Date:</b>	Twentieth Dynasty (possibly Ramesses III) <sup>1083</sup>
<b>Material:</b>	Limestone
<b>Height:</b>	0.28m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Deir el-Medina (great northern pit)
<b>Current Location:</b>	Egyptian Museum, Cairo, RT 11/4/64/1
<b>Statue form:</b>	Block
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	Three-dimensional/high raised relief
<b>Modius:</b>	Yes
<b>Naos:</b>	No
<b>Handle:</b>	Straight
<b>Face:</b>	Round; prominently carved (plump)
<b>Wig:</b>	Straight; unstriated; decorative bands
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	On the front of the base, on the handle of the Hathoric element and on the garment
<b>Goddess named:</b>	Hathor
<b>Notes:</b>	A <i>menit</i> -necklace rests over the body, held by the right hand (rattling part under the chin). Traces of colour exist on top of the wig of the goddess (red) and the man (black). The Hathoric element has a broad, decorated <i>wesekh</i> -collar, extending beyond the wig and implied neck of the goddess <sup>1084</sup>
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Bruyère 1953: 29-30, pl. IX; Schulz 1992: 325-326 (no. 183), pl. 81c-d; Clère 1995: 187-190 (Doc. CC); Konrad 2011-13: 59 n.49; Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list), 05.03 and 05.05 (photographs)

B.78 (=A.13) (Fig. 13)

<b>Name:</b>	Neferhotep
<b>Date:</b>	Likely Twentieth Dynasty <sup>1085</sup>
<b>Material:</b>	Limestone
<b>Height:</b>	0.275m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Akhmim (from the inscriptions)
<b>Current Location:</b>	Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JE 89783
<b>Statue form:</b>	Sitting (fragment; missing: head, left shoulder and torso, and part of the back pillar)
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	Supported to the left of the individual
<b>Form:</b>	Three-dimensional; small (with a tall handle)
<b>Modius:</b>	Yes

<sup>1082</sup> Bruyère (1953: 29) and Schulz (1992: 315) both attribute this statue to Pashed, who is named within the inscriptions as the father of Khaemipet. On the attribution of the statue to the son rather than the father, see Clère 1995: 187 n.13.

<sup>1083</sup> Clère 1995: 187 ns. 13-14. In spite of the fact that a Nineteenth Dynasty man named Khaemipet has a tomb at Deir el-Medina next to another called Pashed, there is doubt that they are in fact father and son given that Pashed's monuments name others as his sons, but not Khaemipet.

<sup>1084</sup> See also B.75 and B.89.

<sup>1085</sup> The clothing is clearly Ramesside. The more specific date proposed is given by both Clère (1995: 109) and the PM entry, although reasons are not given.

<b>Naos:</b>	Likely – broken; traces of what could be a uraeus or two uraei in a recess between the volutes appear on the left side.
<b>Handle:</b>	Straight; rather wide (almost the width of the goddess's face)
<b>Face:</b>	Oval
<b>Wig:</b>	Straight; striated; decorative bands
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	Around the base, on the handle of the Hathoric element, on the front of the kilt and on the sides and back of the seat
<b>Goddess named:</b>	Isis
<b>Notes:</b>	The right hand may have been held to the mouth <sup>1086</sup>
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Clère 1952 : 638 ; Clère 1968b: 174, n.2; Clère 1970: 2, n.3 and 9; Clère 1995: 109-113 (Doc. F); Bernhauer 2002a: 20-21 n.16 and 18; PM VIII: 547 (801-626-220); Clère (Griffith Institute) MS 05.01 (in initial list as 'Eid')

### New Kingdom

#### B.79

<b>Name:</b>	Nebnetjeru
<b>Date:</b>	New Kingdom
<b>Material:</b>	Grey granite
<b>Height:</b>	0.35m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Temple of Thutmose III, Deir el-Bahari
<b>Current Location:</b>	Unknown
<b>Statue form:</b>	Sitting (fragment; missing: head and legs)
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	Very little detail given in Weigall 1906
<b>Form:</b>	Three-dimensional?
<b>Modius:</b>	Unknown
<b>Naos:</b>	Unknown
<b>Handle:</b>	Straight?
<b>Face:</b>	Unknown
<b>Wig:</b>	Unknown
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	Preserved on the garment and the back pillar
<b>Goddess named:</b>	Hathor
<b>Notes:</b>	
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Weigall 1906: 135 (no. 25); PM II <sup>2</sup> : 428; Clère (Griffith Institute) MS 05.01 (in initial list as 'Emplacement inconnu')

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<sup>1086</sup> Given the break-line and the fact that it is not on the right thigh: Bernhauer 2002a: n.18.

B.80 (Fig. 85)

<b>Name:</b>	Nenkhemsen
<b>Date:</b>	New Kingdom(?) <sup>1087</sup>
<b>Material:</b>	Red sandstone
<b>Height:</b>	0.55m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Hathor temple, Serabit el-Khadim
<b>Current Location:</b>	Egyptian Museum, Cairo JE 53833
<b>Statue form:</b>	Block (unfinished; some damage to the face)
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	Raised relief
<b>Modius:</b>	Yes
<b>Naos:</b>	Yes; it seems that there was never an opening
<b>Handle:</b>	Angled so it increases in width towards the base; has strips of cloth(?) either side
<b>Face:</b>	Rhomboid, with rounded chin; <sup>1088</sup> beneath the chin and beside the cheeks, however, is a negative space before the handle proper starts, which gives the effect that the face is a diamond or long pentagonal shape <sup>1089</sup>
<b>Wig:</b>	Curled
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	On the front of the statue, around the Hathoric element, and on the front part of the sides
<b>Goddess named:</b>	Hathor
<b>Notes:</b>	
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Barrois 1930: 595, pl. XXVI; Leibovitch 1934a: 25-27; Leibovitch 1934b: 1-7; PM VII: 355; Gardiner, Peet and Černý 1955: 203 (no. 369); Clère 1970: 2, n.4; Giveon 1978: 72, fig. 33; Schulz 1992: 315-316 (no. 176), Abb. 39; Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list) and 05.02 (photograph).

B.81

<b>Name:</b>	Unknown
<b>Date:</b>	New Kingdom
<b>Material:</b>	Greywacke
<b>Height:</b>	0.45m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Unknown
<b>Current Location:</b>	Private collection
<b>Statue form:</b>	Kneeling (fragment; detail unknown)
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	Three-dimensional
<b>Modius:</b>	Unknown
<b>Naos:</b>	Unknown

<sup>1087</sup> The unusual appearance of the face of the goddess is reminiscent of the pentagonal form which predominates in the Saite period, however, the block form is more common in the Ramesside period, and the appearance of the goddess may be due partly to the statue being unfinished and partly due to its provenance.

<sup>1088</sup> The face is rather diamond-shaped, with longer cheeks than forehead edges. See B.9, B.33, B.34 (=A.6), B.58, B.63, B.66 (=A.19) and B.95.

<sup>1089</sup> A negative space designating the neck between chin and handle or between chin and *wesekh*-collar is not uncommon for sistrophores and Hathoric masks but this statue is unusual as there is space between the wig and the cheeks as well.

<b>Handle:</b>	Unknown
<b>Face:</b>	Unknown
<b>Wig:</b>	Unknown
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	Preserved on the back pillar
<b>Goddess named:</b>	Unknown
<b>Notes:</b>	
<b>Bibliography:</b>	<a href="http://www.auction.fr/_en/lot/statue-sistrophe-fragmentaire-413671#.WKRXnvJBrIVnIW">http://www.auction.fr/_en/lot/statue-sistrophe-fragmentaire-413671#.WKRXnvJBrIVnIW</a> [accessed 13 July 2017]

### Twenty-second Dynasty

#### B.82

<b>Name:</b>	Unknown (male)
<b>Date:</b>	Twenty-second Dynasty(?)
<b>Material:</b>	Limestone
<b>Height:</b>	0.17m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Abydos (el-Gadra)
<b>Current Location:</b>	Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JE 29414
<b>Statue form:</b>	Block (fragment; damage to face, but details are unknown) <sup>1090</sup>
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	Raised relief(?)
<b>Modius:</b>	Unknown
<b>Naos:</b>	Unknown
<b>Handle:</b>	Unknown
<b>Face:</b>	Unknown
<b>Wig:</b>	Unknown
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	Preserved around the base and on the back
<b>Goddess named:</b>	Mehyt
<b>Notes:</b>	Other emblems appear on the sides, including those of Osiris and Mehyt
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list), 05.02 and 05.06

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<sup>1090</sup> Clère's manuscripts contain no images of this statue and only notes taken from the Journal d'Entrée records.

## Twenty-fifth to Twenth-sixth Dynasties

### B.83 (Fig. 86)

<b>Name:</b>	Montuemhat
<b>Date:</b>	Twenty-fifth to Twenty-sixth Dynasties (Taharqa – Psamtik I) <sup>1091</sup>
<b>Material:</b>	Granodiorite
<b>Height:</b>	0.88m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Temple of Mut, Karnak
<b>Current Location:</b>	Egyptian Museum, Cairo, CG 646 (JE 31883)
<b>Statue form:</b>	Block (missing: head; damage to the back and left side)
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	Raised relief (or arguably three-dimensional <sup>1092</sup> ); small
<b>Modius:</b>	Yes
<b>Naos:</b>	Yes; uraeus with sun-disk in the opening
<b>Handle:</b>	Straight; wide (comparable to the width of the goddess's face)
<b>Face:</b>	Pentagonal
<b>Wig:</b>	Straight; unstriated
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	Around and on top of the base, on the handle of the Hathoric element, on the garment around the front and sides , and on the back pillar
<b>Goddess named:</b>	Mut
<b>Notes:</b>	The inscriptions include the statement <i>ink s<sup>h</sup> iqr n ir n=f</i> , 'I am an effective <i>s<sup>h</sup></i> for the one who acts for him'
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Gourlay and Newberry 1898: 190; Benson and Gourlay 1899: 350-357; Borchardt 1925: 190-192, Bl. 119; Vandier 1951: 24; Leclant 1961: 65-76, Pl. XVI (Doc. 10); PM II <sup>2</sup> : 269; Bernhauer 2009: 52, Abb. 9; Price 2011: 85; Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list), 05.02 and 05.06 (photographs)

### B.84 (=A.20) (Fig. 20)

<b>Name:</b>	Montuemhat
<b>Date:</b>	Twenty-fifth to Twenty-sixth Dynasties (Taharqa – Psamtik I)
<b>Material:</b>	Granodiorite
<b>Height:</b>	0.50m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Temple of Mut, Karnak (reused as building material in the Ptolemaic enclosure wall)
<b>Current Location:</b>	Egyptian Museum, Cairo, CG 647 (JE 31884)
<b>Statue form:</b>	Kneeling or sitting(?) (fragment; missing: all but the head and shoulders, including part of the back pillar)
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	Unknown – broken; likely <sup>1093</sup>
<b>Form:</b>	Unknown – broken
<b>Modius:</b>	Unknown – broken
<b>Naos:</b>	Unknown – broken

<sup>1091</sup> Knowledge of this individual from this time period (Leclant 1961) allows for this general dating. Bernhauer 2009: 62, n.62: style of the eyebrows suggests Twenty-fifth Dynasty, whereas style of eyes, nose and face indicate Twenty-sixth.

<sup>1092</sup> The relief is not as high as is seen in other statues, but the impression is still an actual object leaning against Montuemhat's legs.

<sup>1093</sup> Clère 1970: 3.

<b>Handle:</b>	Unknown – broken
<b>Face:</b>	Unknown – broken
<b>Wig:</b>	Unknown – broken
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	Preserved on the back pillar
<b>Goddess named:</b>	‘Golden One’ (Mut, given the findspot?)
<b>Notes:</b>	Attribution of this statue to Montuemhat is based on parallels for the titles, as the name is not preserved. It is possible that the right was hand held to the mouth. <sup>1094</sup> The individual is balding
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Gourlay and Newberry 1898: 192; Benson and Gourlay 1899: 357-358; Borchardt 1925: 193, Bl. 119; Hornemann 1957a: 371; Leclant 1961: 97-104, pls. XXV-XXVIII (Doc. 16); Clère 1970: 3, n.16; PM II <sup>2</sup> : 269; Clère 1995: 153-157 (Doc. M); Josephson 2002: 624-625; Bernhauer 2009: 51; Clère (Griffith Institute) MS 05.01 (in initial list)

B.85 (Fig. 87)

<b>Name:</b>	Montuemhat
<b>Date:</b>	Twenty-fifth to Twenty-sixth Dynasties (Taharqa – Psamtik I) <sup>1095</sup>
<b>Material:</b>	Grey granite
<b>Height:</b>	0.17m
<b>Provenance:</b>	East of Luxor Temple <sup>1096</sup>
<b>Current Location:</b>	Unknown
<b>Statue form:</b>	Kneeling or standing (fragment; missing: all but the base, the lower part of a pillar or handle of an object and two cats, all badly worn)
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	Likely – broken; handle remains
<b>Form:</b>	Three-dimensional
<b>Modius:</b>	Unknown – broken
<b>Naos:</b>	Unknown – broken
<b>Handle:</b>	Straight
<b>Face:</b>	Unknown – broken
<b>Wig:</b>	Unknown – broken
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	Preserved on the handle of the Hathoric element
<b>Goddess named:</b>	Unknown – broken; possibly Mut, given the associations of the other statues of Montuemhat
<b>Notes:</b>	
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Habachi 1951: 458-460; Leclant 1961: 131-132, Pl. XLIII (Doc. 24); Perdu 2009.

<sup>1094</sup> Bernhauer 2002a: 22 n.26.

<sup>1095</sup> As footnote 1122.

<sup>1096</sup> Perdu (2009: 468-469) suggests its original location was elsewhere, perhaps the Temple of Mut, Karnak. (Habachi (1951: 460) suggests Karnak more broadly (given that several Montuemhat statues are known from that area, not Luxor).

B.86 (Fig. 88)

<b>Name:</b>	Unknown (male)
<b>Date:</b>	Twenty-fifth to early Twenty-sixth Dynasties <sup>1097</sup>
<b>Material:</b>	Greywacke
<b>Height:</b>	0.35m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Unknown
<b>Current Location:</b>	Metropolitan Museum, of Art, New York, Acc. No. 54.28.1
<b>Statue form:</b>	Kneeling
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	Raised relief; appears on a stela-like block
<b>Modius:</b>	Yes
<b>Naos:</b>	Yes
<b>Handle:</b>	<i>tit</i> -knot
<b>Face:</b>	Oval
<b>Wig:</b>	None
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	Uninscribed
<b>Goddess named:</b>	N/A
<b>Notes:</b>	
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Vandier 1958: 465 n.1, 678; PM VIII: 584 (801-635-200); Clère (Griffith Institute) MS 05.01 (in initial list)

B.87

<b>Name:</b>	Unknown (male)
<b>Date:</b>	Twenty-fifth to Twenty-sixth Dynasties(?)
<b>Material:</b>	Grey granite
<b>Height:</b>	0.34m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Unknown
<b>Current Location:</b>	Private collection; sold at Hôtel Drouot in 1919 (previously Coll. W. Talbot Ready of London)
<b>Statue form:</b>	Kneeling
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	Very little detail given in the sale catalogue
<b>Form:</b>	Three-dimensional
<b>Modius:</b>	Unknown
<b>Naos:</b>	Unknown
<b>Handle:</b>	Unknown
<b>Face:</b>	Unknown
<b>Wig:</b>	Unknown
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	On the back pillar
<b>Goddess named:</b>	Unknown
<b>Notes:</b>	
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Clère 1970: 4; Clère (Griffith Institute) MS 05.01 (in initial list as 'Emplacement inconnu' and main notes, including excerpt from auction catalogue) <sup>1098</sup>

<sup>1097</sup> PM VIII: 584 dates this to the mid or late Eighteenth Dynasty, but the Metropolitan Museum dates it to the Kushite period or early Late Period. Given its unusual combination of features – the rendering of the Hathoric element in relief on a stela-like block, the lack of wig on the goddess and the *tit*-knot handle, I am inclined to agree with the later date, viewing this as an example of archaism.

B.88 (Fig. 89)

<b>Name:</b>	Unknown (male)
<b>Date:</b>	Twenty-fifth to Twenty-sixth Dynasties <sup>1099</sup>
<b>Material:</b>	Sandstone
<b>Height:</b>	0.22m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Unknown
<b>Current Location:</b>	Egyptian Museum, Cairo, CG 1008
<b>Statue form:</b>	Standing (fragment; missing: head and lower legs)
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	Three-dimensional
<b>Modius:</b>	Yes
<b>Naos:</b>	Yes; two uraei with sun-disks in the opening
<b>Handle:</b>	Straight; Borchardt's sketch suggests the handle is as wide as the goddess's face
<b>Face:</b>	Triangular, with slightly rounded edges
<b>Wig:</b>	Straight; further detail unknown
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	Preserved (fragmentary) on the back pillar – the left and main faces
<b>Goddess named:</b>	Unknown - broken
<b>Notes:</b>	
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Borchardt 1934: 23 (with sketch); Clère 1970: 2, n.3; PM VIII: 782 (801-732-500); Bernhauer 2009: 53; Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list), 05.02 and 05.06

**Twenty-sixth Dynasty**B.89 (Fig. 90)

<b>Name:</b>	Pa-akhref
<b>Date:</b>	Twenty-sixth Dynasty (Psamtik I)
<b>Material:</b>	Greywacke
<b>Height:</b>	0.48m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Temple of Amun, Karnak (Cachette K 364, CK 326)
<b>Current Location:</b>	Egyptian Museum, Cairo, CG 48642 (JE 37171)
<b>Statue form:</b>	Block
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	Raised relief
<b>Modius:</b>	Yes
<b>Naos:</b>	No
<b>Handle:</b>	Straight; terminates at the hem of the garment, but in effect continues in the space between the ankles and feet (see Inscriptions)
<b>Face:</b>	Pentagonal; fairly small
<b>Wig:</b>	Curled; unstriated

<sup>1098</sup> Sale catalogue (14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> March 1919): p.18, no. 8; the entry says that it was a 'statuette naophore [sic] représentant un home agenouillé tenant devant lui une stele [sic] ornée d'une tête d'Hathor' and attributes it to the Saite period.

<sup>1099</sup> The face itself is not pentagonal as seen on several statues from this period, but it has a similar flatness of the chin and a broad nose, as observed by Bernhauer (2009: 53).

- Inscriptions:** Around the base, on the handle of the Hathoric element which is continued between the ankles and feet on the base, and on the back pillar
- Goddess named:** Unknown – unmentioned; possibly Mut given the associations with Amun-Re, or Aayt (a local Herakleopolitan deity - see Perdu 1989; Pérez Die 2009: 321 (on Libyan Period veneration)) given her appearance in the theophoric name of Pa-akhref's mother
- Notes:** The Hathoric element has a broad, undecorated *wesekh*-collar, extending beyond the wig and implied neck of the goddess<sup>1100</sup>
- Bibliography:** Legrain 1916: 148; Bosse 1936: 89, n.1; Pernigotti 1969: 259-271, pl. I-V; Clère 1970: 2, n.4; Pernigotti 1972: 305-306, no. 4; PM II<sup>2</sup>: 157; Barocas 1974: 131, n.48 and n.54; Spalinger 1977: 235, n.51; Chevereau 1985: 86-87 (Doc. 112.II) (mistakenly numbered as JE 3717); Perdu 1989: 196-197; Russmann 1990: 182-183 (no. 84); Schulz 1992: 589, n.11; Pressl 1998: 171 (B.8.2) (mistakenly numbered as JE 3717); Vittmann 1998: II, 710-713; Bernhauer 2009: 53; Josephson and El-Damaty 2009: 98-100, pl. 42; Zecchi 2010: 141, 168 (doc. 184); Leahy 2011: 209, n.34; Jansen-Winkel 2014: 201 (No. 53.333); Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list), 05.02 and 05.06 (photographs)

B.90

- Name:** Horsematawyemhat<sup>1101</sup>
- Date:** Twenty-sixth Dynasty (Psamtik I)
- Material:** Polished greywacke
- Height:** 0.435m
- Provenance:** Memphis(?)<sup>1102</sup>
- Current Location:** Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid, Inv. 2014 (originally Barcelona)
- Statue form:** Block (minor damage to the face, arms, top of the naos and the base)
- Hathoric element:**
- Form:** Three-dimensional/high raised relief; fairly small
- Modius:** Yes
- Naos:** Yes; no opening marked; extends above the knees, in front of the crossed arms
- Handle:** Straight
- Face:** Pentagonal
- Wig:** Straight; unstriated
- Inscriptions:** Around and on top of the base, on the handle of the Hathoric element, either side of the Hathoric element, and on the back pillar)
- Goddess named:** Neb(et)hetep(et)
- Notes:**
- Bibliography:** PM VII: 420 ('Harkhebi'); Vandier 1964: 106; Vandier 1966: 70, 72; Clère 1970: 2, n.5; Padró Parcerisa, J. 1973; Gamer-Wallert 1974: 195-205; Gamer-Wallert 1978: 204-212, pl. 65-70; Schulz 1992: Tf.144c;

<sup>1100</sup> See also B.75 and B.77 (=A.12).

<sup>1101</sup> Ranke 1935: 250.

<sup>1102</sup> Vandier 1964: 106; Gamer-Waller 1978: 207. Bernhauer (2009: 53) does not suggest a provenance.

Bernhauer 2009: 52-53, Abb. 5; Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list) and 05.02 (including photographs)

B.91 (Fig. 91)

<b>Name:</b>	Semtauitefnakht (Somtutefnakht)
<b>Date:</b>	Twenty-sixth Dynasty (Psamtik I)
<b>Material:</b>	Diorite
<b>Height:</b>	0.385m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Unknown; Herakleopolis Magna(?) <sup>1103</sup>
<b>Current Location:</b>	Musée du Louvre, Paris, E 25388
<b>Statue form:</b>	Kneeling (missing: head; damage to the front of the base, the hands and left arm, and the wig of the Hathoric element)
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	Three dimensional
<b>Modius:</b>	Yes
<b>Naos:</b>	Yes; uraeus in the opening
<b>Handle:</b>	Straight
<b>Face:</b>	Rhomboid, with rounded chin
<b>Wig:</b>	Straight; striated; decorative bands
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	Surviving on the handle, on the right side and back of the base, traces on the left side of the base, and on the (short) back pillar.
<b>Goddess named:</b>	Unknown – broken
<b>Notes:</b>	
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Cenival 1968: 11; Clère 1970: 2, n.6; Bernhauer 2009: 48, 51 (no. 3); Leahy 2011: 211 n.45, 212, 213, 222-223 (I). Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list) and 18.10 (photograph)

B.92 (Fig. 92)

<b>Name:</b>	Nespaqashuty
<b>Date:</b>	Twenty-sixth Dynasty (Psamtik I)
<b>Material:</b>	Granodiorite
<b>Height:</b>	0.74m – total height of the two fragments
<b>Provenance:</b>	Likely Thebes <sup>1104</sup>
<b>Current Location:</b>	British Museum, London, EA 1132 and EA 1225
<b>Statue form:</b>	Kneeling (two fragments making the whole)
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	Three-dimensional
<b>Modius:</b>	Yes
<b>Naos:</b>	Yes; uraeus with sun-disk in the opening
<b>Handle:</b>	Straight; wide (comparable to the width of the goddess's face); bevelled - only a narrow column in the centre bears the inscription
<b>Face:</b>	Pentagonal
<b>Wig:</b>	Straight; unstriated

<sup>1103</sup> Bernhauer 2009; Leahy 2011: 222 suggests the temple of Mut in Karnak.

<sup>1104</sup> The lower fragment of this statue was acquired in Edfu. The bust, however, was found in Thebes, and because of the Theban provenance of Nespaqashuty's other monuments, it is likely that this too came from that area (Russmann 2001: 237); Étienne (2009: 340) believes Edfu to be more plausible given the name of the goddess.

- Inscriptions:** Around and on top of the base, and in the negative space between the Hathoric element and the chest of Nespaqashuty
- Goddess named:** Nebethetepet
- Notes:**
- Bibliography:** PM I<sup>2</sup>: II, 790; Vandier 1965: 96; Clère 1970: 2, n.6; Robins 1997: 227 (fig. 272); Russmann 2001: 234, 236-237 (no. 129); Étienne 2009: 338, 340; Bernhauer 2009: 51, Abb. 7; Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list) and 05.06, originally 05.05 (photographs).

B.93 (=A.21) (Fig. 21)

- Name:** Horudja
- Date:** Twenty-sixth Dynasty (Psamtik I)<sup>1105</sup>
- Material:** Granodiorite
- Height:** 0.35m
- Provenance:** Timai el-Amdid (Mendes)<sup>1106</sup>
- Current Location:** Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, E 31.1973
- Statue form:** Kneeling (fragment; missing: head, lower legs and base)
- Hathoric element:**
- Form:** Three-dimensional
- Modius:** Yes
- Naos:** Yes; uraeus with sun-disk in the opening
- Handle:** Straight; wide (comparable to the width of the goddess's face); bevelled - only a narrow column in the centre bears the inscription
- Face:** Pentagonal
- Wig:** Straight; unstriated
- Inscriptions:** On the right and left sides and the back pillar
- Goddess named:** 'Golden One'; Hathor can be restored securely in at least one other instance
- Notes:** The right hand is placed palm-up on top of the naos, as if being held to the mouth. It is possible that the individual was balding
- Bibliography:** Clère 1970: 2, no. 7 (as De Young Museum B60, S417); De Meulenaere and Mackay 1976: 197 (no. 44b), pl. 18a-c; Franke 1988: 71; Clère 1995: 141-146 (Doc. K); Bernhauer 2002a: 20, 23 (Abb. 3); Bernhauer 2009: 52, Abb. 4; Clère (Griffith Institute) MS 05.01 (as 'Zurich = coll. Brundage')

<sup>1105</sup> Based on the knowledge of Horudja from this period: Legrain 1908; Leahy 2016. Clère (1995: 141 ns.66-67) viewed this as a reused Ramesside statue for reasons of the language, spelling and form of the signs, which have parallels on statues from the time of Ramesses II, but the style of the Hathoric element supports a Late Period dating.

<sup>1106</sup> Bernhauer (2009: 52) suggests instead the site of the main temple enclosure at Mendes, Tell el-Ruba.

B.94 (Fig. 93)

<b>Name:</b>	Amenemopetemhat
<b>Date:</b>	Twenty-sixth Dynasty (Psamtik I) <sup>1107</sup>
<b>Material:</b>	Polished meta-greywacke (green schist)
<b>Height:</b>	0.64m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Likely Temple of Ptah, Memphis (Mit Rahina) <sup>1108</sup>
<b>Current Location:</b>	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Acc. No. 24.2.2
<b>Statue form:</b>	Kneeling (missing: head, much of right arm, and some of left)
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	Three-dimensional
<b>Modius:</b>	Yes
<b>Naos:</b>	No
<b>Handle:</b>	Straight
<b>Face:</b>	Pentagonal
<b>Wig:</b>	Straight, with slight waves; striated; bisected on both sides by an incised vertical line
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	Around the base and on the back pillar
<b>Goddess named:</b>	Sekhmet <sup>1109</sup>
<b>Notes:</b>	
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Clère 1970: 2, n.6; De Meulenaere 1973; Russmann 1973; Dorman 1987: 78-79; PM III <sup>2</sup> : 866; Bernhauer 2009: 51, Abb. 8; Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list) and 05.06 (photographs)

B.95 (Fig. 94)

<b>Name:</b>	Besenmut
<b>Date:</b>	Twenty-sixth Dynasty (Psamtik I) <sup>1110</sup>
<b>Material:</b>	Granodiorite
<b>Height:</b>	0.238m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Temple of Amun, Karnak (Cachette K 72, CK 60)
<b>Current Location:</b>	Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JE 36743
<b>Statue form:</b>	Kneeling
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	Three-dimensional
<b>Modius:</b>	No
<b>Naos:</b>	Yes; uraeus with sun-disk in the opening
<b>Handle:</b>	Straight; the handle flares as it reaches the base; beneath the terminals of the goddess's wig the sculpture extends either side of the handle, in a fashion reminiscent of the <i>tit</i> -knot
<b>Face:</b>	Rhomboid, with a rounded chin <sup>1111</sup>
<b>Wig:</b>	Straight; unstriated; decorative bands
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	On the back pillar

<sup>1107</sup> On stylistic grounds: De Meulenaere 1973: 27-28.

<sup>1108</sup> De Meulenaere 1973: 27.

<sup>1109</sup> The part mentioning this deity was seemingly deliberately damaged.

<sup>1110</sup> On stylistic grounds: Bernhauer 2009: 52.

<sup>1111</sup> The face is somewhat diamond-shaped, with slightly longer cheeks than forehead edges. The overall effect is not pentagonal, however, because of the rounded chin. See B.9, B.33, B.34 (=A.6), B.58, B.63, B.66 (=A.19) and B.80.

**Goddess named:** Unknown – unmentioned (possibly Mut given the findspot)  
**Notes:**  
**Bibliography:** Clère 1970: 2, n.6; Pernigotti 1972: 304-308, pl. 1; Bernhauer 2009: 52; Jansen-Winkel 2014: 1042 (no. 60.530); Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list), 05.02 and 05.06 (photographs)

B.96

**Name:** Horpa(en)amun  
**Date:** Twenty-sixth Dynasty (Psamtik I)<sup>1112</sup>  
**Material:** Greywacke/diorite  
**Height:** 0.195m  
**Provenance:** Unknown  
**Current Location:** Musée des Beaux-Arts, Grenoble, E 1941 (also 169)  
**Statue form:** Kneeling (fragment; missing: all but the Hathoric face and some of the left knee and hand)  
**Hathoric element:**  
**Form:** Three-dimensional  
**Modius:** Yes  
**Naos:** No  
**Handle:** Straight  
**Face:** Pentagonal  
**Wig:** Straight; unstriated  
**Inscriptions:** Preserved (fragmentary) on the top of the modius and the handle of the Hathoric element  
**Goddess named:** Unknown - broken  
**Notes:**  
**Bibliography:** Tresson 1932: 178, 180-181 (no. 7); Tresson 1933: 90-91 (no. 102, as 'Registre d'entrée': no. 169<sup>143</sup>); Clère 1970: 2 n.6 (as E 169); Kuény 1977: p.[13] (no. 102); Kuény and Yoyotte 1979: 51 -52 (no. 30); PM VIII: 833 (801-749-300); Bernhauer 2009: 52; Clère (Griffith Institute) MS 05.01 (in initial list, as E 169)

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<sup>1112</sup> On stylistic grounds: Bernhauer 2009: 52, n.57. Clère MS 05.01 only cautiously suggests the Saite Period, but the strongly pentagonal and flat face of the goddess is comparable with other sistrophores of this period.

B.97 (Fig. 95)

<b>Name:</b>	Unknown (male) <sup>1113</sup>
<b>Date:</b>	Twentieth-sixth Dynasty (Necho II?) <sup>1114</sup>
<b>Material:</b>	Granodiorite
<b>Height:</b>	0.425m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Unknown, likely Mendes <sup>1115</sup>
<b>Current Location:</b>	Private collection (sold in 1984)
<b>Statue form:</b>	Kneeling (fragment; missing: all but part of the right side and the Hathoric element, heavily damaged)
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	Three-dimensional
<b>Modius:</b>	Yes
<b>Naos:</b>	Yes; uraeus with sun-disk in the opening
<b>Handle:</b>	Straight(?) – broken
<b>Face:</b>	Pentagonal
<b>Wig:</b>	Straight; unstriated
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	Preserved on the back pillar
<b>Goddess named:</b>	Unknown – broken; possibly Hatmehyt given the probable provenance
<b>Notes:</b>	The right hand of the individual, now damaged, is held to the mouth
<b>Bibliography:</b>	De Meulenaere and Mackay 1976: 197 (no. 45); Bernhauer 2002a: 22 n.26, 23 n.35, 24 (Abb. 10); Bernhauer 2009: 52, Abb. 6; Sotheby's New York 1984: 162A; Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list as 'Paris: Orient-Occident), 05.03 (photographs) (as ANT-65-7), 05.06 (correspondence and photographs) and 05.07 (photographs)

B.98 (Fig. 96)

<b>Name:</b>	Userhap
<b>Date:</b>	Twenty-sixth Dynasty
<b>Material:</b>	Granodiorite
<b>Height:</b>	0.14m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Unknown
<b>Current Location:</b>	Museo Gregoriano Egizio, Vatican, Inv. 22751 (no. 205)
<b>Statue form:</b>	Kneeling (fragment; missing: head, right leg and right of the base)
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	Three-dimensional
<b>Modius:</b>	Yes
<b>Naos:</b>	Yes; Botti and Romanelli (1951: 59) note that there appears to be an image of Isis in the opening, much worn today; uraei with sun-disks(?) in shallow niches on either side; no volutes are present
<b>Handle:</b>	Straight
<b>Face:</b>	Triangular, with slightly rounded chin and hairline at the forehead

<sup>1113</sup> The name of Nesatum which appears on the statue refers to the father of the individual (De Meulenaere and Mackay 1976: 197; Bernhauer 2009: 52).

<sup>1114</sup> The cartouche on the left shoulder has been understood as of Necho II (De Meulenaere and Mackay 1976: 197). The Sotheby's catalogue notes that the cartouche on the left shoulder is partially illegible and that the cartouche of Psamtik II or III on the right shoulder was added later – the statue is dated as Nineteenth Dynasty, although this is unlikely given the style of the goddess's face.

<sup>1115</sup> De Meulenaere and Mackay 1976: 197; Bernhauer 2009: 52. Both the *Kha*-nome and Mendes are mentioned in the surviving inscription.

<b>Wig:</b>	Straight; striated; decorative bands; bisected by stylised papyrus stalk on the sides – umbel at the modius, topped by uraeus (see Naos)
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	Around the base and on the back pillar
<b>Goddess named:</b>	Unknown – broken, and possibly unmentioned (the offering formula is dedicated to Ptah-Sokar-Osiris)
<b>Notes:</b>	Userhap is named as the ‘opener of the doors of the temple of Ptah’
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Marucchi 1899: 229 (Armadio 7, no. 4); Botti and Romanelli 1951: 58-59, Tav.XLI (no. 99); PM VIII: 833 (801-749-350); Bernhauer 2009: 52; Clère (Griffith Institute) MS 05.01 (in initial list)

B.99 (Fig. 97)

<b>Name:</b>	Unknown (male)
<b>Date:</b>	Twenty-sixth Dynasty(?) <sup>1116</sup>
<b>Material:</b>	Unknown
<b>Height:</b>	Unknown
<b>Provenance:</b>	Unknown
<b>Current Location:</b>	Unknown <sup>1117</sup>
<b>Statue form:</b>	Standing (fragment; missing: left and part of right legs, and base)
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	Three-dimensional
<b>Modius:</b>	No <sup>1118</sup>
<b>Naos:</b>	No (see footnote 1118)
<b>Handle:</b>	Straight; wide(?) – most of the handle has broken off, but what remains indicates that it may have been the same width as the goddess’s face
<b>Face:</b>	Triangular; very flat; smaller than that of the individual
<b>Wig:</b>	Straight; striated; decorative bands
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	None preserved(?)
<b>Goddess named:</b>	Unknown
<b>Notes:</b>	Crudely carved. The goddess has a very flat face, reminiscent of sistrophores from the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (but triangular in shape rather than the more usual pentagonal)
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.06 (photograph)

<sup>1116</sup> Based on the flattened rendering of the face of the goddess.

<sup>1117</sup> The only detail known of this statue is from the label shown in the photograph, which bears the number ‘255’.

<sup>1118</sup> A flat block on top of the Hathoric element possibly exists in place of a naos, and the space between this and the wig may be intended to represent a modius. Alternatively, this block is part of a tall modius headdress.

## Twenty-seventh Dynasty

### B.100 (=A.23) (Fig. 23)

<b>Name:</b>	Unknown (male)
<b>Date:</b>	Twenty-seventh Dynasty <sup>1119</sup>
<b>Material:</b>	Limestone
<b>Height:</b>	0.52m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Possibly Akhmim (after the inscriptions)
<b>Current Location:</b>	Staatliche Sammlung für Ägyptische Kunst, Munich, No. 62.4871
<b>Statue form:</b>	Possibly kneeling (fragment; missing: all but the head, left shoulder, left of the torso and the back pillar down to the waist)
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	Likely – broken <sup>1120</sup>
<b>Form:</b>	Unknown – broken; three-dimensional(?)
<b>Modius:</b>	Unknown – broken
<b>Naos:</b>	Unknown – broken
<b>Handle:</b>	Unknown – broken
<b>Face:</b>	Unknown – broken
<b>Wig:</b>	Unknown – broken
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	Preserved on the main face and two sides of the back pillar
<b>Goddess named:</b>	Isis (also named as ‘Golden One’)
<b>Notes:</b>	The individual wears a wig or cap which gives an impression of balding. It is possible due to parallels elsewhere that the right hand was held to the mouth (or placed palm-up on top of the object held to give the same effect), although there is nothing surviving of the right arm, nor are there any clues within the texts as they are preserved.
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Müller 1966: no. 1966: no. 70 [as ÄS 4871]; Clère 1970: 3, n.17; Wildung 1976: 206 no. 126; Altenmüller and Hornbostel 1982: 83, no.34; Clère 1995: 158-163 (Doc. N); Clère (Griffith Institute) MS 05.01 (in initial list)

<sup>1119</sup> Clère 1995: 158 n.81 (editor’s note) – the statue has also been dated as Twenty-second/third Dynasty or Ptolemaic, the former dating being a suggestion by Bothmer, although he also noted that the clothing had parallels in the Ptolemaic period, and the latter otherwise based on the prevalence of the statue-owner’s mother’s name in this period.

<sup>1120</sup> After the inscriptions: Clère 1995: 159.

**Late Period****B.101 (Fig. 98)**

<b>Name:</b>	Werdjehuty
<b>Date:</b>	Late Period <sup>1121</sup>
<b>Material:</b>	Black schist
<b>Height:</b>	0.15m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Temple of Mut, Karnak (Trench B)
<b>Current Location:</b>	Egyptian Museum, Cairo, CG 1009
<b>Statue form:</b>	Kneeling(?) (two fragments; missing: all but parts of the Hathoric element)
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	Three-dimensional
<b>Modius:</b>	Yes
<b>Naos:</b>	Yes; uraeus with sun-disk in opening
<b>Handle:</b>	Straight(?); flares as it meets the base
<b>Face:</b>	Unknown - broken
<b>Wig:</b>	Unknown – broken
<b>Inscriptions:</b>	Preserved (fragmentary) on the front, top and either side of the Hathoric element
<b>Goddess named:</b>	Mut
<b>Notes:</b>	
<b>Bibliography:</b>	Borchardt 1934: 23; PM II <sup>2</sup> : 261 (as Serdḥout); Bernhauer 2009: 46 n.29; Bernhauer 2010: 49, n.49; Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list), 05.02 and 05.06

**B.102 (Fig. 99)**

<b>Name:</b>	Unknown (male)
<b>Date:</b>	Likely Late Period <sup>1122</sup>
<b>Material:</b>	Serpentine
<b>Height:</b>	0.165m
<b>Provenance:</b>	Memphis (Mit Rahina)
<b>Current Location:</b>	University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia, No. 29-75-531 (M 12203)
<b>Statue form:</b>	Block (fragment; missing: head, much of shoulders and arms, feet and base, with damage to the Hathoric element)
<b>Hathoric element:</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	Raised relief; small
<b>Modius:</b>	Yes
<b>Naos:</b>	Yes, mostly destroyed
<b>Handle:</b>	Straight, mostly destroyed; the vestiges of the handle suggest it was rather wide (almost the same width as the goddess's face)
<b>Face:</b>	Triangular, with rounded edges, or possibly oval
<b>Wig:</b>	Straight; unstriated

<sup>1121</sup> Bernhauer (2009: 46 n.29) notes that De Meulenaere dates this statue to the Thirtieth Dynasty or later. See also Gamer-Wallert 1978: 206 n.13.

<sup>1122</sup> PM III<sup>2</sup>: II, 859 – no reasons are given. Stylistically there are similarities with several Ramesside block sistrophores.

**Inscriptions:** Surviving on the front, either side of the Hathoric element  
**Goddess named:** Unknown - broken  
**Notes:**  
**Bibliography:** PM III<sup>2</sup>: II, 859; Clère (Griffith Institute) MS 05.01 (in initial list)

B.103 (Fig. 100)

**Name:** Unknown (male)  
**Date:** Late Period(?)  
**Material:** Limestone  
**Height:** 0.155m  
**Provenance:** El Kab  
**Current Location:** Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JE 87263  
**Statue form:** Kneeling (fragment; missing: part of the thigh upwards)  
**Hathoric element:** Likely – broken  
     **Form:** Three-dimensional  
     **Modius:** Unknown – broken  
     **Naos:** Unknown – broken  
     **Handle:** Straight – only part can be seen  
     **Face:** Unknown – broken  
     **Wig:** Unknown – broken  
**Inscriptions:** Around the base and on the handle of the object  
**Goddess named:** Nekhbet  
**Notes:**  
**Bibliography:** Clère (Griffith Institute) MSS 05.01 (in initial list), 05.02 and 05.06

B.104

**Name:** Ptahmose(?)<sup>1123</sup>  
**Date:** Late Period(?)  
**Material:** Grey granite  
**Height:** Unknown  
**Provenance:** Unknown (acquired in Luxor)  
**Current Location:** Museo Egizio, Florence 6263  
**Statue form:** Block (missing: head)  
**Hathoric element:**  
     **Form:** Raised relief(?)  
     **Modius:** Detail unknown  
     **Naos:** Detail unknown  
     **Handle:** Detail unknown  
     **Face:** Detail unknown  
     **Wig:** Detail unknown  
**Inscriptions:**  
**Goddess named:**  
**Notes:**

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<sup>1123</sup> The list in Clère's notes indicate that he may have known of two possible sistrophores in Florence – '(Phahmôsé [*sic*] – sistrophore?)', then on the next line '(petite statue-bloc)' – although perhaps these two notes are for the same statue. The information in this entry is based on the Topographical Bibliography entry, which does not mention the name Ptahmose.

**Bibliography:** Schiaparelli 1887: 472 (no. 1741); PM VIII: 847( 801-755-175); Clère (Griffith Institute) MS 05.01 (in initial list)

### Late Period or later

B.105 (Fig. 101)

**Name:** Irutertja  
**Date:** Late Period or Ptolemaic<sup>1124</sup>  
**Material:** Serpentine; traces of gilding  
**Height:** 0.195m (restored)  
**Provenance:** Unknown, likely Abydos  
**Current Location:** Museum aan de Stroom, Antwerp, AV.1924.001.001 (formerly Museum Vleeshuis)  
**Statue form:** Standing, with striding left foot (missing: left upper arm and shoulder)  
**Hathoric element:** Two, identical  
    **Form:** Three-dimensional  
    **Modius:** Yes  
    **Naos:** Yes; uraeus in each opening; uraei in niches on the outer sides (the right side of the right Hathoric element and the left of the left); topped by reclining falcon  
    **Handle:** Tall; straight; bisected on the outer sides by a papyrus stalk, with the umbel just below the wig (see Wig), flanked by two further stalks with buds; between the two handles at the front is another identical group of papyrus plants  
    **Face:** Triangular; smaller than that of the individual  
    **Wig:** Straight; striated; decorative bands; the wig is bisected by a papyrus stalk, with the umbel just below the modius (for another papyrus stalk feature, see Handle)  
**Inscriptions:** On the back pillar – top broken  
**Goddess named:** Unnamed – possibly Isis intended, given the connection to Osiris  
**Notes:** The head and body have traces of gilding; the statue seems to have been reworked, particularly around the head and neck, and possibly the garments worn  
**Bibliography:** De Wit 1959: 25, pl. II (no. 2, head only); Anon 1996: 72-74 (no. 9, notes by B.V. Rinsveld); PM VIII: 782 (801-732-490); possibly Clère (Griffith Institute) MS 05.01 (mentioned in initial list as ‘Anvers’) and 05.06 (photograph)

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<sup>1124</sup> On stylistic grounds (particularly the head shape): Anon 1996: 72 (Rinsveld note)

**Five further potential sistrophores, unknown location**

- Seen by Clère in the possession of an art dealer, Cairo (H. Ismail L. Shaer): Clère (Griffith Institute) MS 05.01 (in initial list)
- Seen by Clère at Galerie Le Corneur et Roudillon, Paris: Clère (Griffith Institute) MS 05.01 (in initial list) - noted as 'ANT-57-2 (nég A. 146/) and ANT 68, but I was unable to locate these negatives during my consultations of Clère's manuscripts.
- Two statues seen by Clère with a dealer, Hassani Abd-el-Galil: Clère (Griffith Institute) MS 05.01 (in initial list)
- Mayer 1801: plate facing p.51; Clère Griffith MS 05.01 (in initial list as 'Emplacement inconnu'). A kneeling sistrophore, seen by Mayer with Carlo Rosetti (Sr), Venetian consul in Cairo. Mayer has rendered the sistrum-element inaccurately, with the face of the goddess seemingly replaced by a flower-like design. (Fig. 102)

**APPENDIX FOUR:**  
**FEATURES OF SISTROPHORES: A QUANTITATIVE AND CHRONOLOGICAL**  
**SURVEY**

The following pages detail specific aspects of sistrophores and their defining feature, the Hathoric element. This information is intended to complement the catalogue in the previous appendix, as well as the discussion on the purpose and interpretation of sistrophores in Chapter Three, where a summary of the findings is given together with some additional thoughts on any visible trends.

**App.4.1 Statue type**

Kneeling sistrophores are the most numerous type (forty-one example, with ten possible). The next most common form is the block type, there being thirty-nine examples, with one further probable. There are five standing (three additional statues which are possible, of which one is very likely) and five seated (three additional possible, but other poses are also suggested), and two cross-legged (only one of which definitely includes a sistrum-element).

Kneeling sistrophores are the first to be attested in the reign of Hatshepsut (Fig. 32), and are the dominant type in the Eighteenth Dynasty: twenty-six statues in my catalogue are dated to this period (by cartouches or for stylistic reasons), and all but three are kneeling or could be interpreted as so being. Seven further statues are dated to the Eighteenth to Nineteenth Dynasty, and three of these are likely to be kneeling.

The first of the block types is B.22 (Ramose) (B.50), which I have dated here as Late Eighteenth Dynasty, but which could be much later; B.27 (Sennefer) is dated in the more recent publications, including by Regina Schulz (1992), as from the time of Amenhotep III,

but no explanation is given. This statue is in fact unique in that the Hathoric element is executed in sunken relief on the front (Fig. 55), so this aspect at least cannot be compared with others. Regardless of these two possible earlier examples of block sistrophores, it is indisputable that the block sistrophore dominates the Ramesside period, with eleven dated to the reigns of Seti I and Ramesses II (only two for the former, and these are just suggestions). Twenty others are probably Nineteenth or Twentieth Dynasties (B.67 (=A.28) has been suggested to be temp. Ramesses II,<sup>1125</sup> and B.56 (=A.10) and B.57 have been dated to the reign of Siptah or Tawosret).<sup>1126</sup> B.80 is likely also New Kingdom, but precise dating is difficult, partly owing to its unfinished state and also to its potentially unique character, being the only sistrophore from outside Egypt proper (Serabit el-Khadim) (Fig. 85).

Five kneeling statues are securely or fairly securely dated to the reign of Ramesses II, and one to the reign of Merenptah, with four more of uncertain dating but likely to be Nineteenth or Twentieth Dynasties. One additional kneeling statue – B.81 – is likely to be New Kingdom, but not enough is known of the monument to allow for greater accuracy.

The Third Intermediate Period represents a hiatus in the catalogue of sistrophores (not necessarily unexpected given the comparative lack of material overall from this period). Bernhauer remarked that there seemed to be no extant sistrophores from the Twenty-second and Twenty-third Dynasties.<sup>1127</sup> The *Journal d'Entrée* records for B.82 (Cairo JE 29414), which is block formed, put forward a tentative dating of the Twenty-second Dynasty, but unfortunately I have too little information to corroborate or refute this suggestion.

The time leading into the Late Twenty-sixth Dynasty sees the reappearance of the sistrophorous type, and once again the kneeling pose is predominant: two of Montuemhat's statues (B.84 (=A.20) and B.85) are possibly kneeling, six are more securely dated to the

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<sup>1125</sup> Schulz 1992: 539.

<sup>1126</sup> *KRI* IV: 375-376.

<sup>1127</sup> Bernhauer 2009: 46.

early Twenty-sixth Dynasty, particularly the reign of Psamtik I, one possibly to Necho II, and three others broadly dated to the Twenty-fifth or Twenty-sixth Dynasties. B103 is Late Period (more specific dating not possible without further study), and two other possible kneeling sistrophores, B.100 (=A.23) and B.101 have been variously dated, the former either as Twenty-seventh or Ptolemaic, and the latter as Thirtieth Dynasty or Late Period generally.

Comparing these numbers with the block form sistrophores, there are only five from this period (three of which are dated Taharqa to Psamtik I and two of which are dated only roughly to the Late Period).

With regard to other forms, the numbers are far too small to notice any significant patterns – there are standing sistrophores from the Eighteenth or Nineteenth Dynasties and the Twenty-fifth or Twenty-sixth, as well as one which may be Ptolemaic (B.105). Seated statues are only testified from the New Kingdom (B.84 (=A.20), Montuemhat, is more likely to be kneeling), and the only two cross-legged types are Eighteenth Dynasty, one being dated by cartouche to the reign of Amenhotep III (B.19 (=A.4)) and the other suggested to be from the same period (B.18).

The overall trend is therefore clearly that the kneeling sistrophore was preferred in the early New Kingdom, whereas the block form was the favoured type of the Ramesside period. The appearance of some block sistrophores in the Late Period suggests that that Ramesside types could be a point of reference for sculptors. Given that there was a notable reduction in the proportion of kneeling sistrophores in the Ramesside period in favour of the block statue, and around double the number of kneeling sistrophores as block are extant from the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties, it appears that Eighteenth Dynasty sculpture was the primary influence, at least for this specific subset of statuary.

## **App.4.2 Appearance of the Hathoric element**

### **App.4.2.1 Overall workmanship: three-dimensional object or relief**

The overall execution of the Hathoric component varies depending on the basic form of the statue, and we see cases where it is three-dimensional and others where it is in relief. The former is primarily attested on kneeling types (where the three-dimensional, discrete appearance of the feature is often corroborated by the positioning of the left or both hands supporting the object at its side, such as for B.12 (=A.3), B.43 (=A.25) and B.100 (=A.23)), whereas the latter is more common on block types. Unsurprisingly, therefore, the three-dimensional Hathoric element is most frequently seen during the Eighteenth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties.

In some cases it is clear that the individual presents a three-dimensionally sculpted object. Aside from most kneeling statues,<sup>1128</sup> other forms exhibit this – for example, the seated statue B.78 (=A.13) (Fig. 13), where the object is supported to his left, on a separate column. For other statues, categorising the Hathoric element as in relief or as a three-dimensionally sculpted object is not so simple: B.86 is a solitary example where the statue-owner is shown kneeling, but presents a stela-like block on the front of which is a Hathoric element in raised relief (Fig. 88) – presumably the intended impression was that he presented a three-dimensional sistrum-feature, but it has been executed in this unusual fashion.<sup>1129</sup> B.28 shows the individual seated holding the Hathoric element against his chest (Fig. 56). It appears in raised relief, but the handle is held with both hands in his lap, suggesting he has a

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<sup>1128</sup> These usually display the sistrum-feature supported in front of the kneeling individual with the handle coming between the knees. The exceptions are B.4, B.11, B.23, B.42 and B.54, which exhibit variations of the feature being supported on the thighs.

<sup>1129</sup> We could perhaps see parallels here to a Twenty-second Dynasty statue of Horkheb, Cairo CG 42214, where the Hathoric element appears in relief on the front of a block (on which there is a ram's head), conceivably a type of shrine, presented by the kneeling owner (Fig. 108).

three-dimensional object in his hands, rather like B.11, B.54 (both kneeling) or B.18 (cross-legged). This was likely also similar to B.42 (kneeling), but the probable Hathoric element is now broken aside from a small piece of the handle where it is being held.

For block statues, which depict the Hathoric element in raised relief (aside from B.27 where there is sunken relief and B.45 where the object is three-dimensional), the element can be made an integral part of the individual's form in that it is unequivocally in relief, such as B.47 (=A.26) and B.56 (=A.10). However, there are seventeen block sistrophores preserved well enough to show the Hathoric element in such high relief on the front that it gives the impression of a sculpted object: B.35, B.36 (=A.7),<sup>1130</sup> B.37 (=A.8), B.44, B.50, B.57, B.63, B.64 (=A.17), B.66 (=A.19), B.67 (=A.28), B.68 (=A.31), B.70, B.77 (=A.12), B.83,<sup>1131</sup> B.89, B.90, B.102. Additionally, B.69 should probably be counted, as even in its unfinished state the intended relief of the Hathoric feature looks markedly raised. This represents around 45% of the total number of block sistrophores (thirty-nine or forty).

Thirteen of these statues are Ramesside (the remaining four being from the Late Period), representing 42% of the thirty-one block sistrophores from this period. Similarly, of the most securely dated early Nineteenth Dynasty block sistrophores (B.34 (=A.6) – B.37 (=A.8) and B.44 – B.50), just under half of them (five) have this feature. Of the twelve or more certain or likely block sistrophores which at this time cannot be dated more precisely than Nineteenth or Twentieth Dynasties (B.63 – B.74), six have the very high relief, or seven if B.69 is counted. B.65 (=A.18), B.73 and B.74, the latter in fact being fragments from at least three sistrophores, are too damaged to know how the Hathoric element was carved. Once again, therefore, around half of these block sistrophores demonstrate very prominent raised

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<sup>1130</sup> Of the group this probably has the lowest relief, but the headdress of the goddess is particularly distinct and the lack of inscription surrounding it on the front of the legs serves to highlight this feature even further.

<sup>1131</sup> Like B.36 (=A.7) this is not especially high relief, and in this case there *are* inscriptions either side of the Hathoric element. However, the face and wig of the headdress of the goddess, in particular, are notably raised.

relief. In the Late Period, the five block statues in my catalogue for which I have sufficient information all have high raised relief.

Overall, there are just under half of the block statues in Catalogue B where this characteristic is evident, as opposed to less distinct raised relief. This proportion is fairly closely reflected in the Ramesside group of block sculpture, although this was anticipated given that the majority of block statues are from the Ramesside period. In the Late Period all block statues were executed in this fashion, but of course the small number surviving from this period – partly due to the preference for kneeling statues – has an effect on the value of this observation. There is no clear reason why certain sistrophores were sculpted this way, and indeed in the case where we have two block statues probably from the same man – B.56 (=A.10) and B.57 (Inhernakht), the Hathoric element has been finished in different ways, the former having normal raised relief and the latter having a very high raised relief/three-dimensional aspect.

The size of the Hathoric element, particularly the size of the face of the goddess, appears to make very little difference – on several sistrophores of various forms it is rendered small, so that the face of the goddess is significantly smaller than that of the statue-owner, which perhaps alludes to a sistrum-rattle held in the hand and therefore might be expected to be sculpted three-dimensionally. This is made particularly clear where the sistrum is held by the chest or shoulder (B.11, B.54 and B.18 have already been mentioned in this regard; the female statue B.31 is the best illustration of this (Fig. 59)), but it can also be seen on block statues with the element on the front: B.22 (Fig. 50), B.36 (=A.7), B.37 (=A.8) (Fig. 8), B.46, B.50, B.56 (=A.10), B.57, B.72, B.75, B.76, B.80, B.83 and B.90 are the clearest instances. However, B.36 (=A.7), B.37 (=A.8), B.50, B.57, B.83 and B.90 show the Hathoric element in high raised relief/three-dimensionally, whereas the other seven examples are done in normal

raised relief, so not all instances of statues with a small Hathoric element have notably high relief style. Similarly, not all of the eighteen block sistrophores which have or are likely to have had very high relief have a small Hathoric element: the face of the goddess on B.35, B.63, B.64 (=A.17), B.66 (=A.19), B.68 (=A.31) and B.70 would have been approximately the same size, or even larger in the case of B.66 (=A.19) (Fig. 19) and probably B.68 (=A.31), than that of the statue-owner.

There are no discernible patterns elsewhere either which might explain the prominent relief, nor indeed the size of the Hathoric element. Provenances and the goddess named across this subset of sistrophores are varied. Moreover, the way the Hathoric element is sculpted even within this group with high raised relief does differ in the details, such as the type of headdress worn, the shape of the face of the goddess, the depth of the relief, and so on. There appears to have been no conventional style, and design was likely the decision of each sculptor and statue-owner. Only B.66 (=A.19) and B.68 (=A.31) are almost certainly made in the same style, possibly by the same sculptor. The other main form of sistrophores, kneeling statues, do show diversity in style, but there are often far greater similarities, or at least less noticeable differences, with regard to the components of the Hathoric element than between block statues.

#### App.4.2.2 Face: size and shape

The size of the face of the goddess can, as it has been alluded to above, be smaller than that of the statue-owner: in total around thirty-seven examples (35% of the corpus), including five which are only probable. More rarely, it can be bigger: B.59, B.60,<sup>1132</sup> B.66 (=A.19) and

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<sup>1132</sup> This is a kneeling statue, but the size of the face and lack of naos headdress allows comparison with the others listed here, which are all block statues.

probably B.68 (=A.31). The goddess's face in B.77 (=A.12) is also larger (thereby giving a proportion of the corpus of 5%), but it is not due to this that it is especially conspicuous, but rather due to its round, plump appearance (Fig. 12). However, on the majority of sistrophores the goddess's face appears more or less the same size.

Variety is also evident in the shape of the goddess's face. They can be identified as triangular, rhomboid, oval, round, inverted pear-shape (where the chin is straight or slightly rounded, the cheeks are fairly straight and the forehead is round), or pentagonal (where there are strong angles in the centre of the forehead and at the ears, and a straight chin). The face is normally delineated by the wig and by the start of the handle or the collar, thus its edges and corners in the middle of the forehead, at the ears and the chin, can be slightly curved. The first three types of face-shape, therefore, are sometimes difficult to categorise separately. The numbers of each type, from the sistrophores of whose face shape we can be certain or fairly certain, are as follows:

- Twenty-seven primarily triangular: B.1, B.3, B.4, B.15, B.21, B.22, B.26, B.30, B.32, B.35, B.44, B.47 (=A.26), B.51, B.52, B.54, B.61, B.62, B.64 (=A.17), B.71, B.72, B.75, B.76, B.88, B.98, B.99, B.102, and B.105
- Twenty-three rhomboid: B.5, B.7, B.9, B.10, B.11, B.13, B.18, B.20, B.27, B.29, B.31, B.33, B.34 (=A.6), B.45, B.46, B.56 (=A.10), B.57, B.58, B.63, B.66 (=A.19) (likely), B.80 (rather pentagonal overall appearance – see below), B.91, and B.95
- Eleven oval: B.16, B.24, B.28, B.36 (=A.7), B.37 (=A.8), B.50, B.55, B.60, B.67 (=A.28), B.78 (=A.13), and B.86
- Six round: B.8, B.14, B.25, B.43 (=A.25), B.70, and B.77 (=A.12)
- Four inverted pear-shape: B.6, B.12 (=A.3), B.53, and B.59.

- Ten pentagonal: B.2, B.49 (=A.27), B.83, B.89, B.90, B.92, B.93 (=A.21), B.94, B.96, and B.97.

Triangular, rhomboid and oval are seen from all periods (unfortunately the shape of B.82, potentially Twenty-second Dynasty, is unknown to me<sup>1133</sup>), but in much smaller proportions from the Late Period. Instead, the pentagonal shape becomes far better attested: eight of the sixteen Late Period statues where the face shape is known are pentagonal. The shape is first seen on one of the statues of Senenmut, B.2, and is next attested once during the Nineteenth Dynasty on the statue of Amenemhat, B.49 (=A.27) (the statue of Roma-Roy, B.45, has a face which tends towards the pentagonal, but I have categorised it as primarily rhomboid because of its bulbous chin). The goddess's face on the statue of Nenkhemsen, B.80, is not itself pentagonal, rather is rhomboid, but the negative space between the cheeks and chin and the wig and collar give a fairly pentagonal impression overall.

Strong angles at the forehead ears and squared chin are characteristic of the pentagonal shape, but similarly strong angles are seen on other shapes: *B.7, B.9, B.10* (Fig. 42), *B.11, B.13, B.20, B.29* (Fig. 57), *B.31, B.34* (=A.6), B.57, B.58 (rhomboid), and *B.71* and *B.99* (triangular). Italicised numbers here indicate where the goddess has narrow eyes, complementing the distinctive moulding of the face as a whole. B.16, B.24, B.55 (oval) and B.62 (triangular) also have narrow eyes.

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<sup>1133</sup> The naophorous statue of Horkheb, Cairo CG 42214, which is from this period, shows the goddess with a rhomboid face with rounded chin.

### App.4.2.3 Wig

The majority of sistrophores show the goddess with a straight wig, which here means the lappets or terminals are straight. Only B.6 (Fig. 37), B.80 and B.89 are the only known examples where the wig ends in a single spiral,<sup>1134</sup> B.6 being the only one with striations. It is possible that B.69 was intended to have this wig, since the unfinished side of the Hathoric element curves inwards, but this could also conceivably be for a straight wig, since this can also exhibit a slight curve inwards (for example, B.27, B.71 (Fig. 81), B.92 (Fig. 92) and B.96). Of the rest, forty-seven have a straight, striated wig with decorative bands (often at the parting, just above and below the ears and at the terminals), with two probable (B.38 and B.51<sup>1135</sup>), representing 59% of the eighty-three sistrophores for which we know or are fairly certain of all of the detail about the goddess's wig.<sup>1136</sup> B.38 only preserves the ends of the wig, but there are bands at the terminals which are stylistically similar to those which can be seen on better preserved wigs which have several bands. On the other hand, there is one statue with a striated wig where the band definitely appears only at the terminals (B.63). Only one has striations but no decorative bands, and furthermore the goddess's wig is unique in that it has a slight wave (B.94). Another unique case is B.64 (=A.17), which has striations and the bands, but the bands at the parting and at chin level have a circular decoration. Other statues may have had similar details added in paint.

The second most common straight wig type is unstriated and with no decorative bands, in other words, a plain wig. Nineteen sistrophores show the goddess with this wig, with one

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<sup>1134</sup> Designated as 'Schneckenperücke' ('snail-wig') by Bernhauer 2010: 231. It is interesting to note that the only known individual block statue showing a woman, Petrie Museum, London, UC 16570 (not a sistrophore), has the curled wig.

<sup>1135</sup> B.51 is less certain, as I have only seen a sketch which clearly shows the striations, but only hints at bands above and below the ears.

<sup>1136</sup> B.26, B.41 and B.88 definitely showed the goddess with a straight wig, but no further detail about it is known, so they are not counted in the totals here.

further probable, representing 24% of the statues where the details of the wig are known. A far smaller number lack striations but have the decorative bands – seven (8%) – and two have the only terminals marked out, B.5 (Fig. 36) and B.17. The former has the ends carved out a little, possibly indicative of a female wig where the ends are tight curls (see the statue-owners' wigs in B.31 and B.32, for instance), and the latter only preserves the bottom part of the wig, so it is possible there were other bands in addition to the one marked by an incised line at the terminals.

Only one sistrophore shows the goddess without a wig at all (B.86 (Fig. 88)) – this statuette has been mentioned before as an unusual case in terms of how the Hathoric element has been sculpted, and it will be seen below that the handle of the Hathoric element is also unusual for sistrophores from the time period to which it is dated. In other words, this sistrophore is an outlier in several ways.

There is therefore a very large majority of straight wigs compared to curled wigs, and a large number that have decorative bands or decorated ends compared to those which do not (fifty-nine compared to twenty-one, or 71% to 25%). Chronologically, there are few patterns that can be detected. In the New Kingdom, there are significantly more sistrophores with the straight, striated and banded wig (including those with only marked terminals) than others:

- the Eighteenth Dynasty group comprise fourteen of these compared to four each unstriated and unstriated and banded (and one curled, striated wig);
- the Eighteenth to Nineteenth Dynasty group has five compared to two unstriated;
- the Nineteenth Dynasty group has sixteen compared to six unstriated and two unstriated and banded;
- the Nineteenth to Twentieth Dynasty group has nine compared to one unstriated and banded;

- the Twentieth Dynasty group has two compared to one each of the unstriated types.

During the Late Period there may be a slight reversal in the trend of striated and banded wigs compared to unstriated and unbanded: the Twenty-fifth to Twenty-sixth Dynasty group has one unstriated and one with no wig at all; the Twenty-sixth Dynasty group has the most variety of wig types, with five unstriated, three striated and banded and one each striated, unstriated with bands and one curled (unstriated). The more general Late Period or later groups have one each unstriated and striated with bands. Of course, because of the low numbers of sistrophores from the later periods where the wig is known, numbers are likely to be skewed.

#### App.4.2.4 Headdress: modius and naos

There are eighty-seven sistrophores in which we know enough of the headdress to be at least fairly certain of the overall type of headdress (seventy-six of these are definite, the other eleven probable).

Fifty-five of these comprise a modius topped by a naos, with three further probable (B.30, B.38 and B.53<sup>1137</sup>), being 67% of the statues. In the cases of B.32 and B.78 (=A.13), although the naos has been mostly destroyed, traces of uraei in niches on the side of the naos are visible, a feature on several sistrophores (see below). B.63 has both components of the headdress but the modius part is extremely short so that it is almost imperceptible (Fig. 78). B.51 has been counted in this total despite it being possible that it may not have a naos

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<sup>1137</sup> B.30 has a papyrus stalk on the side of the wig, which is a common feature of several early New Kingdom sistrophores with modius and naos headdress. B.38, of which only the ends of the wig, has a similar feature, although it cannot be identified with such certainty. B.53 certainly has a modius, and the size of the hands of the statue-owner which support the Hathoric element indicate that there would be space for a naos on this kneeling statue.

headdress; it is known only from a sketch and a few notes in Wilbour's notebooks,<sup>1138</sup> and the drawing shows a kneeling statue with a Hathoric element that has a modius headdress with another component surmounting it (Fig. 68). Wilbour has interpreted this as a block with an *akhet*-hieroglyph (Gardiner Sign List N27) on the front, which would be unique in the corpus of sistrophores. However, it is very possible that this was in fact a naos with a sun-disk framed by cow-horns in the opening on the front, which is a feature seen on two Eighteenth Dynasty sistrophores (B.7 and B.10 (Fig. 42)).

The next most numerous headdress type, which is nevertheless represented by a significantly smaller number of sistrophores, is a modius headdress only, totalling fifteen statues, with seven probable (B.17, B.26, B.52, B.54, B.68 (=A.31), B.69 and B.99<sup>1139</sup>), being 25% of the total. There are five which have a naos only (B.2, B.3, B.5, B.47 (=A.26) and B.95), or 6%, and one which has no headdress at all (B.59), with one possible (B.62<sup>1140</sup>), or 2%.

In all periods bar the Nineteenth to Twentieth Dynasty group, the combination modius and naos type is the most common – the Ramesside period sees a fairly significant increase in the number of sistrophores where the goddess only wears a modius. This type of headdress is attested from the Eighteenth Dynasty only through a supposition that if there had been a naos it might extend before the statue-owner's face, which would not be ideal (B.17 and B.26). The

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<sup>1138</sup> Wilbour (Wilbour Library) MS Notebook 2c p.7. Thanks to Deidre Lawrence and Roberta Munoz for providing me with scans.

<sup>1139</sup> B.17, B.26 and B.54 I have counted as likely only having modius because they are broken where the naos would be, but if indeed they had a full-sized naos the headdress might come high enough so as to obscure the face of the statue-owner, which seems unlikely. However, there are times in which the naos has been reduced in height and it should not be discounted that this was the case for these statues. B.68 (=A.31) has been included here because the statue bears similarities to B.66 (=A.19) which only has a modius. B.69 is an unfinished statue but the outline of the Hathoric element seems to suggest that only a modius was planned. B.52 and B.99 are unusual in that that headdress is not obviously either modius or naos, both having a flat block on the top, with the space between it and the goddess's wig possibly acting as a modius. This block may be a stylised naos, or indeed the whole piece may be a stylised modius.

<sup>1140</sup> The part above the wig is broken, including the area at the parting of the goddess's wig, so this is far from definite.

Eighteenth to Nineteenth Dynasty group include the first two where it is clearly only a modius. This likely supports the suggested dating of both statues to the later part of the Eighteenth Dynasty or more the early Nineteenth Dynasty. In the Nineteenth Dynasty group, although there are still more statues with the combination headdress, the proportions have changed in favour of the modius-only type: whereas in the Eighteenth Dynasty group there are nineteen combination headdresses compared to two modius-only (and again, these are only potentially so), the Nineteenth Dynasty has 15 and 8 respectively. The Nineteenth to Twentieth Dynasty group appears to continue this trend, notwithstanding the small number of statues, as there are only three with the combination headdresses compared to six (four with two possible) modius types. On the other hand, once again there are more modius and naos types in the Twentieth Dynasty group, with three statues compared to one modius type. The Twenty-fifth Dynasty onwards then sees a return to the preference for the combination type, with thirteen compared to only three modius-only type sistrophores in total. This reflects once more the archaising tendencies of the Late Period, which appears to have taken much inspiration from the early New Kingdom.

Naos-only types are, it has already been noted, far less frequent. There are three attested in the Eighteenth Dynasty (B.2, B.3 and B.5), one from the Nineteenth (B.47 (=A.26)) and one from the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (B.95). B.2 has been seen as a miniaturised version of another of Senenmut's sistrophores (B.1),<sup>1141</sup> but the latter has the modius and naos headdress. This discrepancy may be due to the much smaller size of B.2, although this has not precluded other details being carved, including the uraeus within its opening. In fact the larger statue has only a uraeus in the opening, whereas the smaller statue has a uraeus with a sun-disk and cow-horns, flanked by *ka*-arms. This is a feature shared by B.3, also smaller than

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<sup>1141</sup> Keller 2005: 125.

B.1, but a little larger than B.2. This may indicate that B.2 and B.3 were in fact carved from the same plan, which may have been influenced by Senenmut's large statue but not as a direct copy of its features. Conversely, the face-shape of the goddess on B.2 is pentagonal, whereas on the other two statues in question it is triangular, and B.2 and B.3 are dedicated to distinctly different goddesses – Hathor and Iunit respectively – and likely were set up in different places – Thebes and Armant.<sup>1142</sup>

The only sistrophore where there is indisputably no headdress at all, B.59 (Fig. 74), from the Nineteenth Dynasty, is unusual in several ways and therefore there is probably little of worth that can be hypothesised. The goddess's face has been rendered very flat, and is the rarer 'inverted pear' shape. It is also one of the few sistrophores where the face of the goddess takes up almost the whole of the front surface of the statue-owner's legs (also B.60 (Fig. 75), B.66 (=A.19) and probably B.68 (=A.31), all of which show the goddess only bearing a modius), and indeed it is because of this that there is no space for a headdress. It has been suggested that this statue was actually the product of reuse, which would explain its unusual features, particularly the very flat face of the goddess, which may have resulted from the need to remove the original feature on the front so it could be re-carved, inhibiting the sculptor from executing higher relief.

#### App.4.2.5 Headdress: size and shape of the naos, and additional decoration

Turning to specific aspects of the naos component of the headdress, there are fifty-eight sistrophores for which we know or can be fairly certain of the size, shape, and additional features.

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<sup>1142</sup> B.1 is dedicated to Mut, but in her form as Hathor, and both B.1 and B.2 were likely erected somewhere in the Theban landscape.

The lack of naos may have parallels symbolically in cases where the naos part exists but appears reduced in height proportional to the rest of the Hathoric element. Seven sistrophores in my catalogue attest to this characteristic, being 12% of the fifty-eight: B.11, B.14, B.24, B.47 (=A.26), B.56 (=A.10), B.58 and B.63, where B.11 (Fig. 43), B.14 (Fig. 44) and B.63 are the most discernible.

Eight further statues (14%) have naos proportions that are not so clearly shortened compared to the rest of the Hathoric element, but have a similar effect: on B.4, B.16, B.25, B.36 (=A.7) (Fig. 7) and B.75 (Fig. 83) the naos is overall quite square, but the ‘roof’-part comprises a substantial portion of the overall height and thus the lower ‘wall’-part, in which the opening is found and to which the eye is drawn, appears quite short compared to its overall height. This is particularly noticeable on B.75. The naoi of B.67 (=A.28) and B.72 are all slightly wider than they are tall, even including the ‘roof’-part but it is primarily the wide volutes (the spiral either side of the naos) which contribute to the effect of this part of the headdress being reduced in height proportional to the rest of the Hathoric element. Similarly, B.57, the naos of which is overall square in shape, has extremely wide-set volutes (Fig. 72). The wide volutes of B.16, B.24, B.25, B.47 (=A.26) and B.58, simply add to the impression of the naos being reduced in height.<sup>1143</sup>

It is likely no coincidence that with regard to the first group, where the naos is most perceptibly reduced in height, on all bar B.24 and B.58 there is nothing sculpted in the naos opening (B.11, B.47 (=A.26) and B.63 have no opening marked).<sup>1144</sup> It should be noted, however, that from the second group, all bar B.36 (=A.7) and B.72 *have* a uraeus sculpted in the opening.

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<sup>1143</sup> The face of the goddess on B.16 and B.24 also somewhat wide, as if that too is reduced in height.

<sup>1144</sup> B.11, B.47 (=A.26) and B.63 do not even have the opening marked out.

B.45 (Fig. 64) has not been counted in the above lists for oddly-proportionally naoi, because its naos is not entirely out of proportion to the rest of the Hathoric element. However, the naos is slightly wider than it is tall, even including the ‘roof’. It also has a very small opening for a naos of its size and almost imperceptible volutes, which may add to the impression that it is out of proportion; in this case, it seems somewhat too big and square.

No sistrophores with naoi of irregular proportions are attested after the Ramesside period, and only one is definitely Twentieth Dynasty in date (B.75). Of those with distinctly shortened naos, the earliest are likely to be from the time of Thutmose IV and Amenhotep III (B.11 and B.14). Of the other types, one belongs to Senenmut (B.4 – large ‘roof’), whose other sistrophores do not have this feature.<sup>1145</sup> There is no palpable chronological pattern for their occurrence, in contrast to the fairly substantial increase of modius-only sistrophores in the Ramesside period.

It is clear that the volutes can have an impact on the apparent proportions of a naos headdress. Aside from the examples given above, there are several sistrophores whose volutes are especially wide and therefore particularly reminiscent of horns: B.2 (Fig. 33), B.3, B.5, B.8, B.9, B.13, B.27, B.37 (=A.8), B.46, B.55, B.76, B.95, B.105. There appears to be no chronological pattern for this feature. The vast majority of sistrophores where the goddess has a naos headdress include the volutes, with only three which do not: B.31, B.50 and B.98 (Fig. 96). A few others have only a very small set: B.11, B.14, B.45, and B.75, all four of which have been mentioned above with referene to unusually-proportioned naoi. Non-existent or small volutes also seem not to be governed by time period.

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<sup>1145</sup> Note that B.4 is also unusual in the execution of the pose – the Hathoric element is held on the thighs, rather than resting on the floor as in Senenmut’s other three sistrophores.

I have already mentioned the possibility that additional ‘decoration’ could appear on the naos. These are uraei appearing in the opening of the naos or in niches on the sides (which themselves can have different headdresses), sun-disks, the *hh*-sign (Gardiner Sign List C11), cartouches, papyrus plants and potentially a figure of Isis.

A uraeus appears in the opening at the front of the naos, a parallel to uraei at the forehead of deities and royalty, on thirty-four of the fifty-eight statues (59%), across all periods.<sup>1146</sup> B.88, from the Twenty-fifth to Twenty-sixth Dynasties, in fact has two (not shown in Fig. 89). Of the thirty-four, seventeen show the uraeus (or uraei) with a sun-disk headdress, again attested across all periods.<sup>1147</sup> A further five have a sun-disk framed by cow-horns – B.2, B.3, B.4 (Fig. 35), B.5 and B.55. The latter is Nineteenth Dynasty, whereas the others are of course some of the earliest attested sistrophores, including three of Senenmut. On these four from the Eighteenth Dynasty the whole uraeus is flanked by *ka*-arms, together forming a cryptogram for the prenomen of Hatshepsut, Maatkare.

The Eighteenth Dynasty attests to the greatest variety of entities within the naos opening – not only do the uraei appear without headdress, with a sun-disk and with the sun-disk, cow-horns and *ka*-arms, but there are two examples where there is a sun-disk, both framed by cow-horns (B.7 (Fig. 39) and B.10), and a *hh*-sign (supporting a cartouche) (B.6), as well as nothing at all (B.11, B.13, B.14 and B.22). The Nineteenth Dynasty supplies a possible example of the sun-disk with cow-horns, if I have interpreted Wilbour’s sketch of B.51 correctly (see above, page 450), and a statue from the Twenty-sixth Dynasty may have a figure of Isis within the naos (B.98), although this is no longer clear.<sup>1148</sup> Otherwise, all other

<sup>1146</sup> The ‘New Kingdom’ group of statues only supplies one entry where detail about the naos is known, and no uraeus appears, but of course the Eighteenth to Twentieth Dynasty groups do have known instances.

<sup>1147</sup> Similar to the previous note, the ‘Late Period or later’ section comprises only one statue, B.105, which has a uraeus without a headdress, but other groups within the Late Period do attest to the uraeus with sun-disk.

<sup>1148</sup> Botti and Romanelli 1951: 59.

sistrophores from other periods only have either a uraeus (with or without sun-disk) or nothing within the naos opening.

An undecorated naos opening is attested by twelve sistrophores of the fifty-eight, with a further three possible (26%), a significantly smaller proportion than the uraeus-types, but nevertheless attested from almost all periods:<sup>1149</sup> B.11, B.13, B.14, B.22, B.27 (Fig. 55), B.47 (=A.26), B.56 (=A.10), B.63, B.72, B.80, B.86 and B.90, with B.36 (=A.7), B.44 and B.102 possible. Five of these have already been noted to have a naos which is reduced in height proportional to the rest of the Hathoric element.

Cartouches are another element of ‘decoration’. They appear in direct relationship to the naos in only four cases: on top of the naos on B.10 (Eighteenth Dynasty) and B.51 (Nineteenth Dynasty) and on the front of the naos, either side of the opening, on B.37 (=A.8) and B.55 (Fig. 71) (Nineteenth Dynasty). B.37 (=A.8) also has a scene on top of the naos, showing the king kneeling before the Hathor cow.

Decoration the side of the naos can simply be a uraeus in a niche, often between a pair of volutes, or a more complex form involving a papyrus stalk bisecting the goddess’s wig, terminating in the umbel at or just below the modius headdress, and topped by a uraeus in a niche on the side of the naos, between a pair of volutes. A total of twelve are known, with two further possible (24%): B.6 (Fig. 38), B.7, *B.9*, B.10, *B.12* (=A.3), B.13, *B.15*, B.16, *B.32*, *B.78* (=A.13), B.98 and B.105, and B.30 and B.38 [italics indicating where there is no papyrus stalk bisecting the wig]. This can only occur where the Hathoric element is three-

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<sup>1149</sup> Only the Twentieth Dynasty and Late Period or later groups do not supply any examples, but as before we have examples from groups which encompass these dates – Nineteenth to Twentieth and Twenty-fifth to Twenty-sixth Dynasties. Moreover, there are only a small number of surviving sistrophores with a sufficiently preserved naos from after the Nineteenth Dynasty (aside from the Twenty-sixth Dynasty group).

dimensional, so it is primarily seen on kneeling statues, although two are seated (B.78 (=A.13) and B.38), and one is standing (B.105). The two sistrophores for which this feature is possible have been identified as such because there is something bisecting the wig on the side but the naos no longer survives: B.30 has a papyrus stalk and B.38 likely a papyrus stalk although only the very base of the stalk can be seen.

B.105 is unique in the corpus for the number of papyrus plants decorating the Hathoric features (Fig. 101). Not only do they bisect the wig of both goddesses in the manner described above, on the outer sides of the statue, but there are also groups of three papyrus plants (two still in buds form a central umbel) on the outer sides of the handles, as well as another group of three between the two Hathoric elements.

In five cases the uraei in the niches have headdresses. Those on B.6 have the headdress of sun-disk with cow-horns most characteristic of the early Eighteenth Dynasty sistrophores. Those on B.7 and possibly B.98 have just a sun-disk, and on B.9 and B.12 (=A.3) they have a double-plumed or -feathered headdress. The rest have a uraeus only.

Although overall few in number, the majority of these types of sistrophores derive from the early Eighteenth Dynasty. One might expect the preference for kneeling statues and influence by Eighteenth Dynasty sculpture in the Late Period to have resulted in more examples of decoration on the side of the Hathoric element from this period, but it is relatively rare, at least based upon the sistrophores whose naos has been preserved.

Only seventeen of the fifty-eight statues (29%) with preserved naoi which have been commented on in the previous paragraphs combine at least two characteristics connected to the naos:

- Uraeus in the opening and decoration on the sides: B.9, B.12 (=A.3), B.15, B.16 (also has naos of reduced height/unusual proportions) and B.105
- Uraeus in the opening and noticeably reduced height/unusual proportions: B.24 and B.58<sup>1150</sup>
- Uraeus in the opening and no volutes: B.31 and B.50
- Uraeus in the opening and cartouches either side of the opening: B.55
- Uraeus in the opening and cartouches either side of the opening, and a scene showing the pharaoh kneeling before a cow: B.37 (=A.8)
- Sun-disk in the opening and decoration on the sides: B.7
- Sun-disk (possibly) in the opening, cartouches on the top of the naos: B.51
- Sun-disk in the opening, cartouches on the top of the naos, and decoration on the sides: B.10
- *ḥḥ*-sign and decoration on the sides: B.6
- Isis (possibly) in the opening, decoration on the sides and no volutes: B.98
- Nothing within the naos opening but decoration on the sides: B.13

#### App.4.2.6 Jewellery: *wesekh*-collars and *menit*-necklaces

The goddess is often seen wearing a *wesekh*-collar, which in most instances spans the distance between the lappets of the wig. B.33 (Fig. 61), B.36 (=A.7) and B.52 have modified it so that the collar curves down from the terminals of the wig and is therefore more visible. B.77 (=A.12) is similar, except the collar extends slightly beyond the width of the wig. B.75 (Fig.

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<sup>1150</sup> The goddess's face on B.24 is also reduced in height so that it appears wide and oval, with somewhat narrow eyes. The Hathoric element on B.58 overall has a peculiar appearance, including the slightly concave aspect of the front surface (due to recurving, perhaps), the angular, diamond-shaped face and the handle sunk between the legs.

83) and B.89 are the most distinctive, both having an undecorated collar which clearly spreads beyond the width of the wig.

*Menit*-necklaces are attested seven times in the corpus of sistrophores (B.18, B.19 (=A.4), B.34 (=A.6) (Fig. 6), B.48, B.49 (=A.27), B.65 (=A.18) and B.77 (=A.12)),<sup>1151</sup> but are not directly connected to the Hathoric element, rather being carried by the statue-owner. Unlike the Hathoric element, the *menit*-necklaces are realised in far more true-to-life proportions.

Statue B.86 (Fig. 88) exhibits a Hathoric element reminiscent of a Hathoric or Bat necklace, as it has no wig and a *tit*-knot handle. This may indicate that the sculptor was influenced by the overall form of kneeling sistrophores as well as the details of necklaces or amulets.

#### App.4.2.7 Handle

The *tit*-knot handle is a feature found on seven sistrophores: B.1, B.2, B.3 (Fig. 34), B.4, B.9, B.86 and possibly B.95 (Fig. 94). The first five are from the early Eighteenth Dynasty, and the latter two from the Twenty-fifth or Twenty-sixth Dynasties. B.95 is perhaps a stylised *tit*-knot, since the main part of the handle is flanked by two sculpted sections under the terminals of the wig, and it flares as it meets the base of the statue, but the folds of cloth typical of the knot are not marked out in the usual way.

The majority of other sistrophores, where the handle is preserved, have a straight handle, which often bears an inscription identifying the goddess represented. In two cases the straight handle follows the curve of the body – B.28 (seated statue where the Hathoric

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<sup>1151</sup> Cf. the statue of Tjauy (A.5), which also has a *menit*-necklace. Whilst not a sistrophore, it is certainly a Hathoric statue.

element rests against the body yet the handle is held in the lap, sculpted almost perpendicular to the head of the goddess<sup>1152</sup>) and B.71 (block statue with Hathoric element in relief, with the handle following the curve of the feet) (Fig. 81). On B.89 the handle effectively ends at the hem of the garment above the feet of the statue-owner (Fig. 90), and therefore only has space for the beginning of his titulary, *r-p<sup>c</sup>.t*. The inscription continues between his ankles and feet.

Only infrequently are other shapes attested. The two fragments of B.101 indicate that the handle flared as it met the base (Fig. 98), but the top of the handle no longer survives to ascertain whether this was another with the *tit*-knot style. B.22 (Fig. 50) has a papyriform handle, and B.80's handle echoes those on Hathoric necklaces which have strips of cloth in place of, or attached to, a handle (see §3.3.1.7, esp. footnote 570) (Fig. 85). B.92 (Fig. 92) and B.93 (=A.21) have the same bevelled handle, comprising of a narrow, front-facing surface and a surface either side angled towards the legs of the statue-owner, which then end in a front-facing surface again as it meets the knees. The strong angles complement the pentagonal appearance of the Hathoric face.

#### **App.4.3 Additional features of the statues**

This subheading comprises aspects of particular statues, decorative and iconographical, which cannot be categorised in any of the sections thus far: a basin (B.14 (Fig. 44)); relief scenes (B.38, B.39 and B.64 (=A.17)); divine emblems (B.82), animals in addition to the uraei discussed above (B.76, B.85 and B.105) and a fly-necklace (B.23). Because this concerns features that only appear on individual monuments, there is no need for quantitative analysis. See §3.3.1.9 for greater detail.

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<sup>1152</sup> An inscription which appears between the legs on the front of the statue is in effect a substitute for an inscription on the handle of the Hathoric element.

#### **App.4.4 Height of the sistrophores**

With regard to the height of sistrophores, unfortunately only thirty-three in my catalogue are sufficiently preserved that the original height is known. These range from 1.55m (B.1) to 0.14m (B.71), with a mean average of 0.498m and a median of 0.445m (the value for B.21). The mid-point between the two limits is 0.845m; only three statues are taller than this (B.1, B.76 and B.59), so if we were to consider these as outliers, revised averages would be: a mean of 0.423m, and median of 0.438m (average of B.70 and B.90).

Twenty-one sistrophores in the corpus are missing just their head or base (in some cases only part of the head is missing). As part of her study into block statues, Schulz analysed the shape and height of statue bases and for the latter split it into two overall groups – those which are under 20% of the overall height, and those which are over.<sup>1153</sup> Generally, more statues have the shorter base, but for my purposes, I assume here that the base takes up around one-fifth of the statue's height, and similarly the head. As such, I have approximated the original heights of the twenty-one additional sistrophores, in order to compare with the average heights of the thirty-three full statues. The range is from 1.25m (B.6, surviving height 1.19m) to 0.175m (B.98, surviving height 0.14m), and the group has a mean of 0.543m and median of 0.475m (B.75, surviving height 0.38m). If revised for two tall outliers (B.6 and B.83), the mean is 0.482m and the median is 0.46m (B.32, surviving height 0.365m). The slightly larger numbers compared with the averages of the better preserved statues are likely due to over-compensation in my approximations, but they are not too divergent.

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<sup>1153</sup> Schulz 1992: 647-649.

Taking the entire group of fifty-four together, there is a mean of 0.515m (or revised excluding outliers to 0.446m), a median of 0.46m (B.32 and B.37 (=A.8); revised to 0.44m, B.70), and a mode of 0.48m (B.50, B.61, B.89 and B.91).

It is clear, consequently, that the majority of sistrophores are around or just below half a metre in height, and exactly half have heights or approximate heights within the 0.30-0.50m range, compared to around a quarter 0.50-0.80m. The five especially tall statues, all significantly above 0.80m, would no doubt have been expensive and even Senenmut, one of whose statues is the tallest (B.1), had other statues much more modest in size (B.2 and B.3, 0.225m and 0.405m respectively).

Conducting comparative, chronological analysis of heights is problematic, for the same reasons as other aspects of sistrophores - low numbers which are sufficiently preserved for each period, and the lack of specificity in dating for many. The averages for each period group (not including the tallest five) are as follows:

- Eighteenth Dynasty (twelve statues): 0.464m
- Eighteenth to Nineteenth Dynasty (four): 0.478m
- Nineteenth Dynasty (fourteen): 0.44m
- Nineteenth to Twentieth Dynasty (seven): 0.429m
- Twentieth Dynasty (two): 0.378m
- New Kingdom (one): 0.55m
- Twenty-fifth to Twenty-sixth Dynasty (one): 0.35m
- Twenty-sixth Dynasty (seven): 0.478m
- Late Period or later (one): 0.195m

If the results are representative, there is a small decrease in the average height through the New Kingdom and possibly the pre- or early-Saite period, followed by an increase again in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.

With regard to the association between height and statue form, overall there is a fairly even spread of kneeling and block statues across the height range.<sup>1154</sup> The single seated statue preserved well enough to be considered here is above average in height (B.28, 0.62m), which is unsurprising given that it is in an upright position raised on a seat. The only two cross-legged statues in the entire corpus are preserved sufficiently to know their original heights, being around average and below (B.18 and B.19 (=A.4), 0.375m and 0.49m). Interestingly, while we might expect standing statues to be amongst the tallest due to their pose, of the three standing sistrophores included in these calculations two are amongst the smallest statues (B.52 and B.105, 0.22m and 0.195m), and the third is below average (B.33, 0.37m).

#### **App.4.5 Goddess named**

For the great majority of entries in my catalogue the goddess represented is certain or can be suggested from a restoration in the text or the likely findspot – eighty-one statues (77%).

With regard to those which are more problematic, B.10, B.15, B.20, B.21, B.22, B.24, B.31, B.41, B.55, B.61, B.88, B.91, B.96 and B.99 are too damaged to know the entire inscription and the provenance is unknown. For once of these, B.22, the inscription mentions only Atum(-Re?) and it seems the goddess was unnamed – the base of the statue is mostly

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<sup>1154</sup> The tallest are kneeling statues (B.1 and B.6) and the shortest two block (B.47 (=A.26) and B.71), but it would be misleading to insinuate anything from this given that the third tallest is a block statue one centimetre shorter than the second tallest, and the third smallest is a kneeling statue two centimetres taller than the second smallest.

broken; it also seems that the back and sides were not inscribed, so it is possible that the front of the base was not either. B.52, B.72 and B.86 are uninscribed with provenance not noted. B.102, damaged, was discovered in the Memphite area of Mit Rahina, so a potential candidate is Sekhmet (as in B.94), but other goddesses named on statues possibly from Memphis are Werethekau (B.47 (=A.26)) and Nebethetepet (B.90). B.98 mentions Ptah-Sokar-Osiris in the broken inscriptions, again suggesting a Memphite origin, but this is uncertain. B.11 and B.105 both do not mention a goddess in the inscriptions but are from Abydos (this is likely for B.105) and mention Osiris (B.11) or make reference to his cult (B.105). It is possible therefore that Isis is the goddess represented, but Mehyt is also named on or likely for statues from the Abydene region (B.57 and B.82). Finally, I have discovered too little information about B.81, B.87 and B.104 to know details about the inscriptions or findspot.

Of the eighty-one better preserved and documented sistrophores, Hathor is the goddess named most frequently, there being thirty-one instances, with six possible (46%). Only one of these is dated to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (B.93 (=A.21)), and the rest are New Kingdom: eight and three possible from the Eighteenth Dynasty, three from the Eighteenth to Nineteenth Dynasty, eleven from the Nineteenth, five and three possible from the Nineteenth to Twentieth Dynasty, one from the Twentieth, and two further from the 'New Kingdom' group.

Mut is the next frequently attested, named by thirteen statues and possibly eight more (26%). Four and one possible are Eighteenth Dynasty, one and one possible from the Eighteenth to Nineteenth Dynasty, three and one possible from the Nineteenth, one and one possible from the Nineteenth to Twentieth Dynasty, two from the Twentieth Dynasty, one and two possible from the Twenty-fifth to Twenty-sixth Dynasties, two possible from the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, and one from the 'Late Period' group.

Isis is attested in much smaller numbers, with only six statues definitely bearing her name (7%), all of which are from the New Kingdom groups of sistrophores aside from B.100 (=A.23) (possibly Twenty-seventh Dynasty). Mehyt is named four times, with two possible (B.44 based on the findspot and B.82 based on emblems of the goddess which appear amongst others on the sides of the statue). These are Nineteenth or Nineteenth to Twentieth Dynasty, aside from B.82 (possibly Twenty-second Dynasty). Nebethetepet (named twice, both Twenty-sixth Dynasty) and Werethekau (once, from the Nineteenth Dynasty) may in fact be intended as epithets of different goddesses – the former appears in connection to Mut (B.9) and Hathor (B.33, B.51, B.53, B.63, B.77 (=A.12)) and the latter to Mut (B.7). Similarly Sekhmet, named once in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (B.94), is a secondary goddess on B.12 (=A.3) and B.18.<sup>1155</sup>

Other goddesses are named only once – Iunit (B.3), Satet (B.6),<sup>1156</sup> Bastet (B.27), Tjenenet-Rait-Taui (B.38), Neith (B.42; possible - restored), Hat-mehyt (B.97; possible based on findspot) and Nekhbet (B.103).

The Nineteenth Dynasty group has the most diversity attested – seven different goddesses are attested, if they have been identified correctly (Hathor, Mut, Mehyt, Isis, Werethekau, Tjenenet-Rait-Taui and Neith). Unsurprisingly, the Eighteenth Dynasty and the Twenty-sixth Dynasty show the next most variety, with five different goddesses in each group (Hathor, Mut, Isis, Iunit, Satet; and Hathor, Mut, Nebethetepet, Sekhmet, Hat-Mehyt(?)). Bastet is attested in the Eighteenth to Nineteenth Dynasty group. In other words, earlier sistrophores seem to have been a feature, albeit rare, in the cults of several deities, but primarily Hathor and to a lesser extent Mut. Whilst we must acknowledge the potential bias

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<sup>1155</sup> On the latter a *hṯp-dī-nsw* rite is dedicated to Sekhmet and another to Hathor. It may be that Hathor is appearing in her form of Sekhmet, and therefore needs calming by the rattling of the sistrum.

<sup>1156</sup> Satet and Anukis are mentioned. Anukis is the recipient of an offering formula, but Satet is named on the handle of the Hathoric element, and the statue was found near the Satet temple.

from the small numbers of surviving statues, there may be a slight increase in the preference for Mut as opposed to Hathor in the Late Period. Alternatively, the two Twenty-sixth Dynasty statues naming Nebethetepet may be associated implicitly with Hathor, rather than Nebethetepet as a goddess in her own right.

The majority of statues mentioning Mut have a provenance in the Karnak temple complex, either in Mut temple or the Amun temple (several were found in the Cachette, so were possibly moved from the Mut temple). Only B.68 (=A.31) was indisputably from a different location (Deir el-Medina).

By contrast, the statues where Hathor is the primary goddess come from far more wide-ranging locations. Around half derive, or are likely to, from the Theban necropolis area, mostly Deir el-Bahari (temples of Mentuhotep II and Thutmose III) or Deir el-Medina. Of the others, a diverse set of provenances is represented, either from actual findspots or based upon the inscriptions: Asyut (possibly B.5), Kom el-Hisn (possibly B.17), Memphis (B.18), Edfu (B.23), Dendera (B.30), Saqqara (possibly B.39), Minya (B.40), Heliopolis (possibly B.51 and B.63), Gebelein (B.62), Serabit el-Khadim (B.80) and Mendes (B.93 (=A.21)).

#### **App.4.6 Female statue-owners**

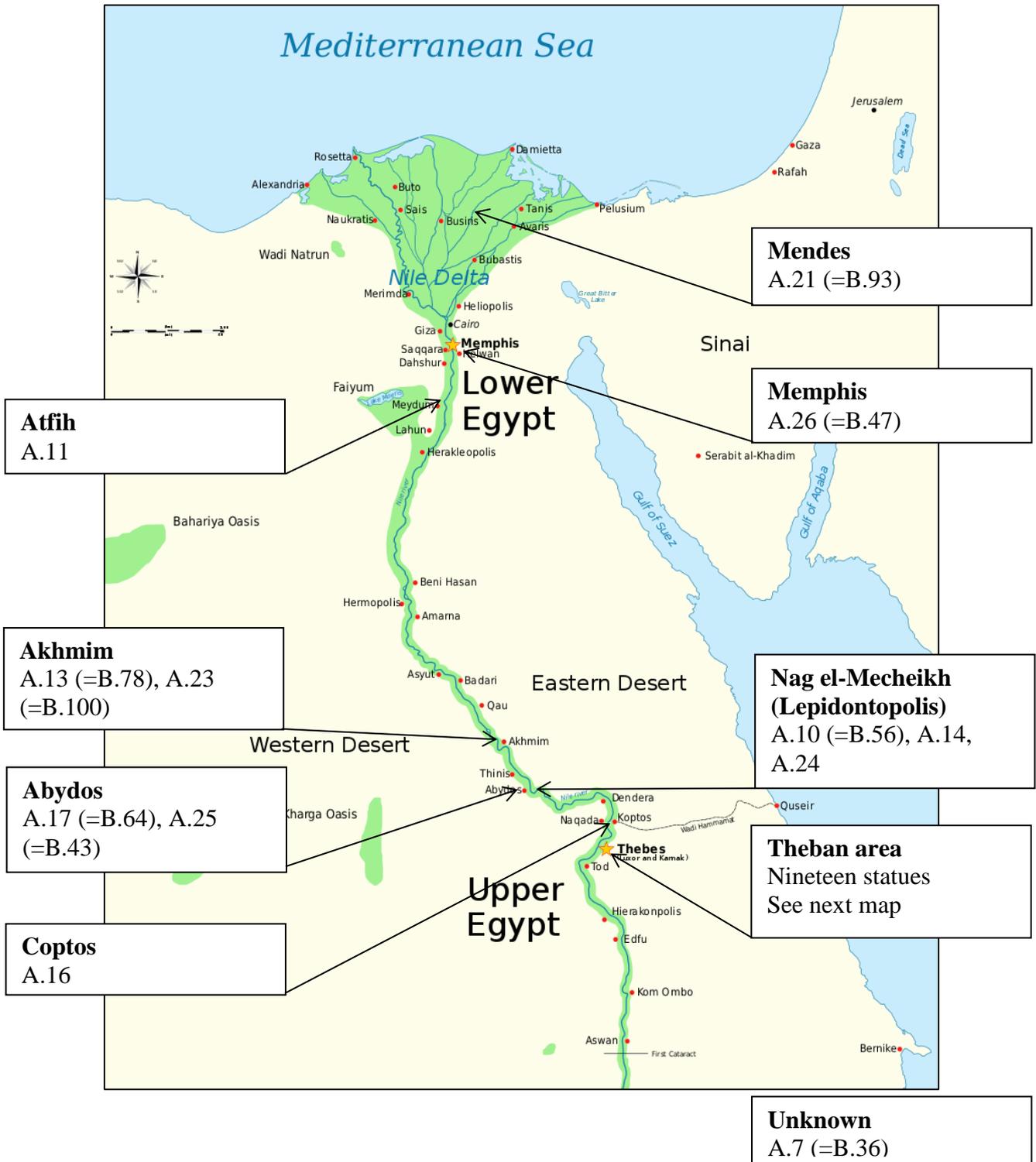
Of the 105 entries in my catalogue, two show women with the Hathoric element, B.31 (standing or sitting) (Fig. 59) and B.32 (kneeling) (Fig. 60), both dated to the Eighteenth or Nineteenth Dynasties. B.31 is perhaps akin to statues showing women with arched-sistra, and therefore representing them as musicians in a cult. However, the use of the naos-sistrum here is seen as appropriate for inclusion in the sistrophores catalogue.

#### **App.4.7 Concluding remarks on the components and characteristics of the Hathoric element**

It is clear that the design of sistrophores shows significant variety, both over time and within certain periods. There are broad trends for kneeling and block statues, and there are some aspects of the decoration which show changes over time (for example, decoration on the sides of the naos being more frequent on earlier sistrophores, an increased number of modius-only headdresses in the Ramesside period, and the pentagonal shape of the goddess's face being more common on Late Period sistrophores). It is also evident that the sistrophore was most common in the cults of Hathor and Mut, which is to some extent reflected in the intermediary corpus compiled in Catalogue A.

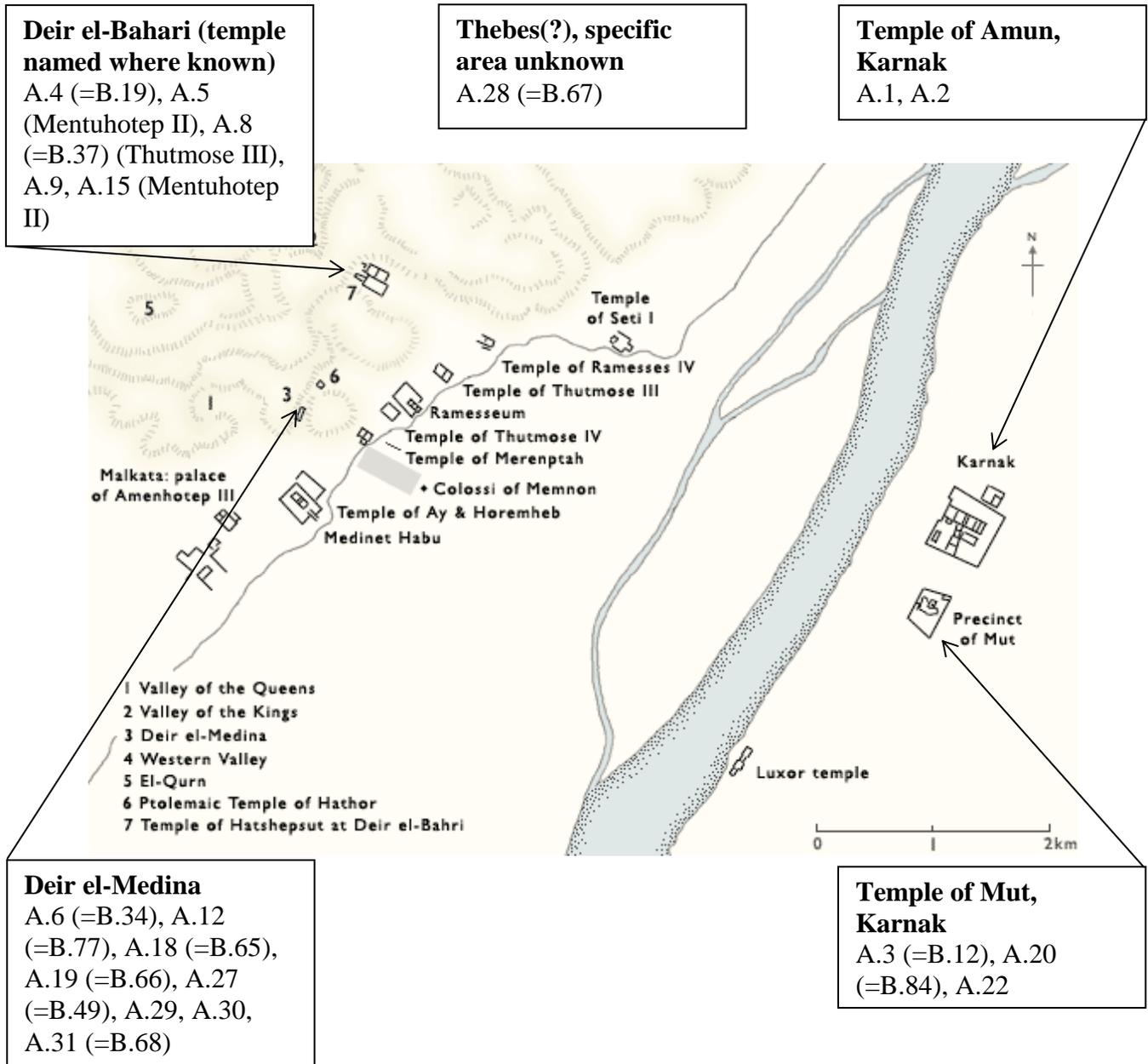
The numbers and percentages given here must be tempered by the fact that in some periods there are significantly fewer sistrophores (or several which are damaged so as to hinder identification of their features), so the value of quantitative analysis is limited. Furthermore, many of the statues can only be given a broad dating, so we cannot be fully confident that apparent chronological trends indeed existed. This is, of course, only one method for investigating statuary, and Chapter Three also uses a more qualitative approach, considering the numerous interpretations of the sistrophore and its features, with the aim of explaining further their prevalence in the intermediary corpus.

**MAPS**



**Map 1**

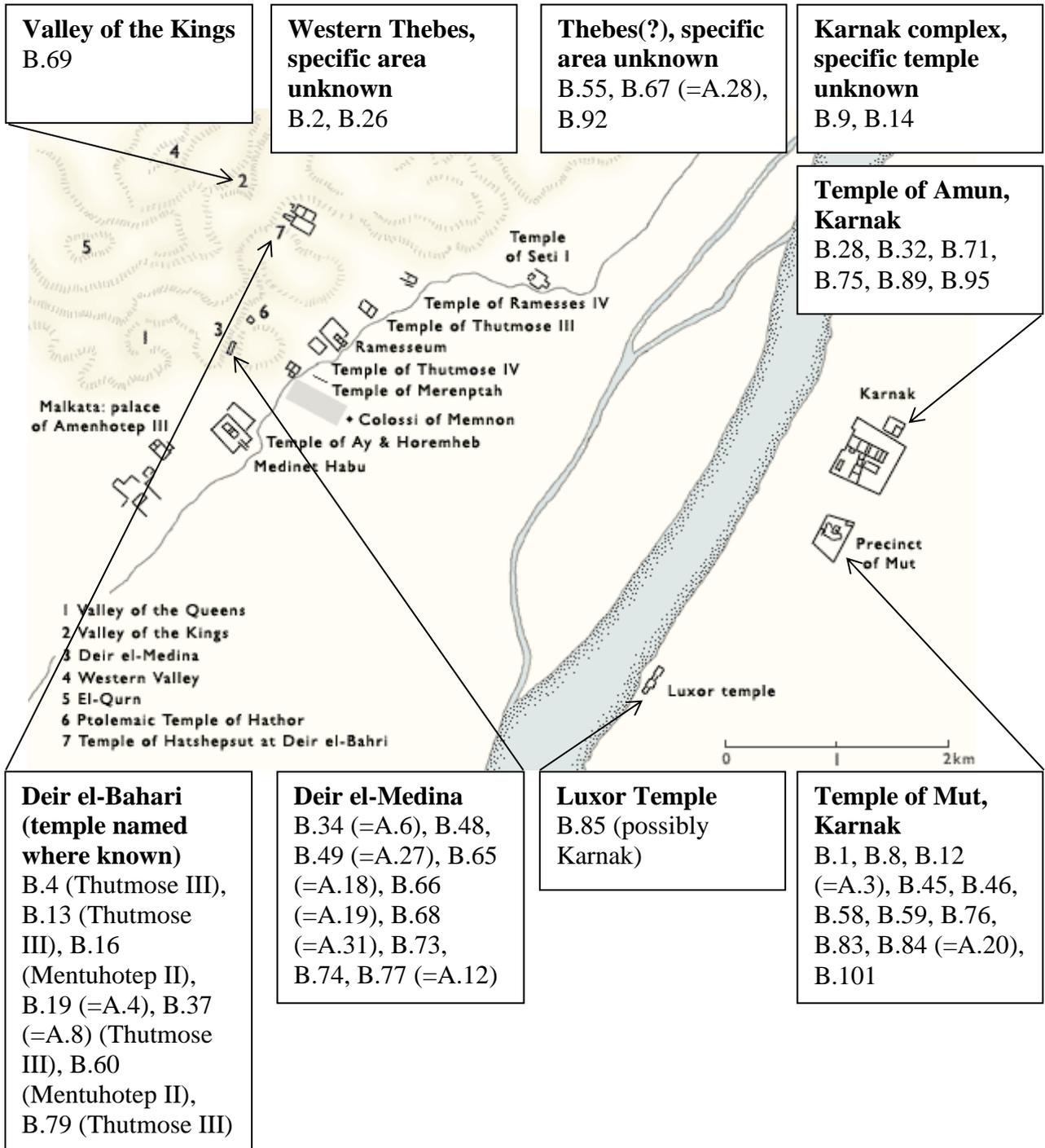
The known or likely sites of origin of intermediary statues (arrows indicating approximate locations of towns).



**Map 2**

The known or likely sites of origin of intermediary statues, Theban region.

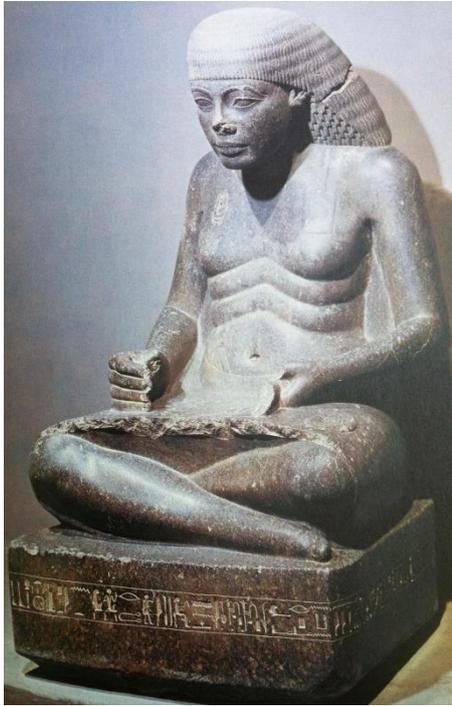




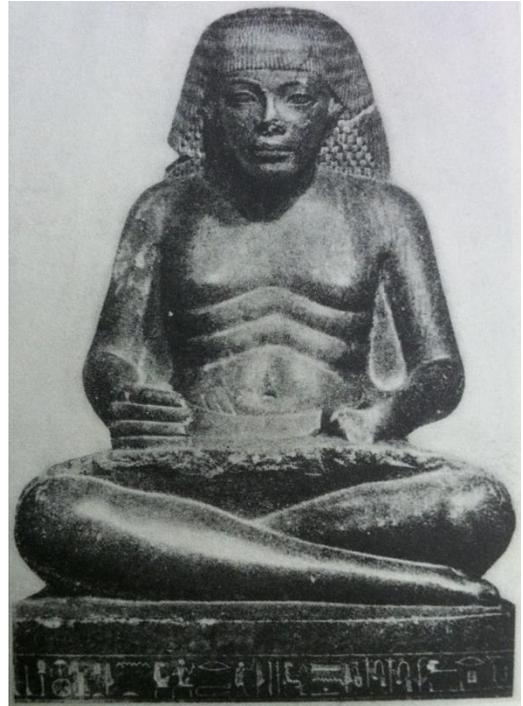
**Map 4**

The known or likely sites of origin of sistrophorous statues, Theban region.

**FIGURES**



**Fig. 1** A.1 (Amenhotep son of Hapu)



**Fig. 2** A.2 (Amenhotep son of Hapu)



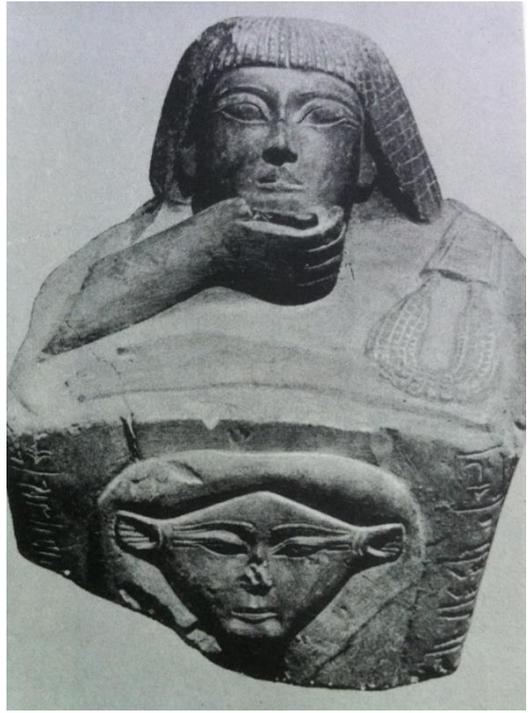
**Fig. 3** A.3 (=B.12) (Men)



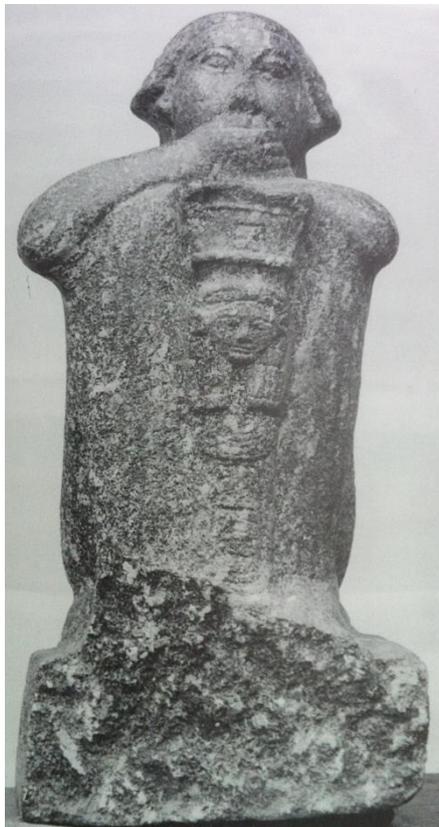
**Fig. 4** A.4 (=B.19) (Neferrenpet)



**Fig. 5** A.5 (Tjaui)



**Fig. 6** A.6 (=B.34) (Penshenabu)  
N.B. Further damage has been sustained since this photo was taken



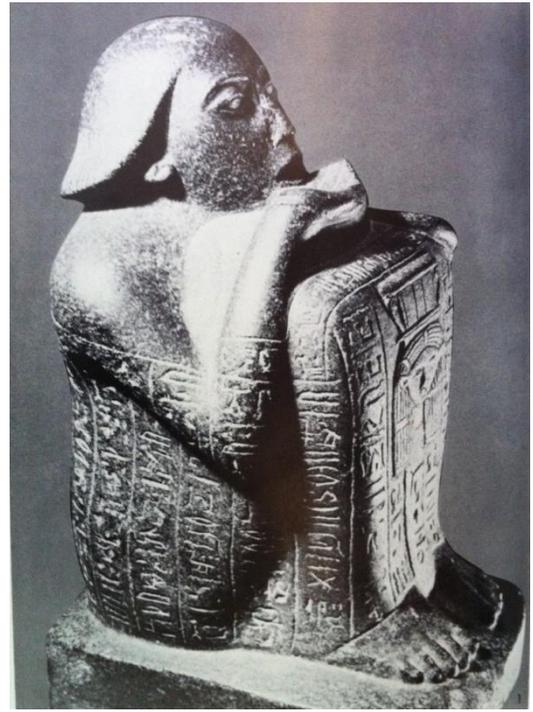
**Fig. 7** A.7 (=B.36) (Sedjemwau)



**Fig. 8** A.8 (=B.37) (Ameneminet)



**Fig. 9** A.9 (Iuy)



**Fig. 10** A.10 (=B.56) (Inhernakht)



**Fig. 11** A.11 (Amenmose)



**Fig. 12** A.12 (=B.77) (Khaemipet)



**Fig. 13** A.13 (=B.78) (Neferhotep)



**Fig. 14** A.14 (Bahy)



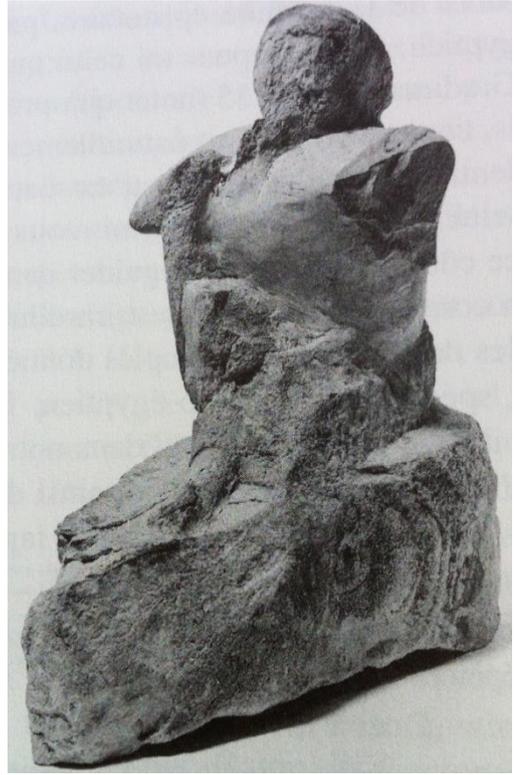
**Fig. 15** A.15 (Unknown) (back view)



**Fig. 16** A.16 (Kha)



**Fig. 17** A.17 (=B.64) (Raia)



**Fig. 18** A.18 (=B.65) (Amenemipet)



**Fig. 19** A.19 (=B.66) (Unknown)



**Fig. 20** A.20 (=B.84) (Montuemhat)



**Fig. 21** A.21 (=B.93) (Horudja)



**Fig. 22** A.22 (Mutsepy/Mutmuty)



**Fig. 23** A.23 (=B.100) (Unknown)



**Fig. 24** A.24 (Minmose)



**Fig. 25** A.25 (=B.43) (Minmose)



**Fig. 26** A.26 (=B.47) (Piyay)



**Fig. 27** A.27 (=B.49) (Amenemhat)



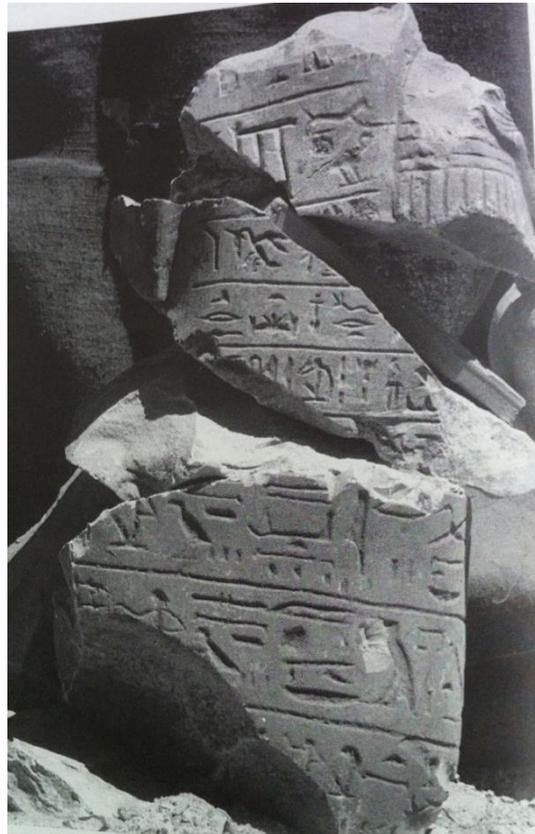
**Fig. 28** A.28 (=B.67) (Ramose)



**Fig. 29** A.29 (Unknown)



**Fig. 30** A.30 (Unknown)



**Fig. 31** A.31 (=B.68) (Unknown)



**Fig. 32** B.1 (Senenmut)



**Fig. 33** B.2 (Senenmut)



**Fig. 34** B.3 (Senenmut)



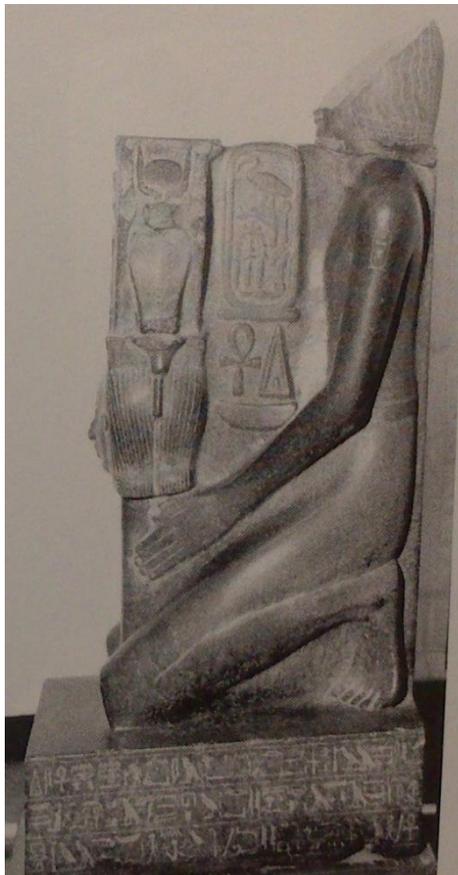
**Fig. 35** B.4 (Senenmut)



**Fig. 36** B.5 (Djehutynefer)



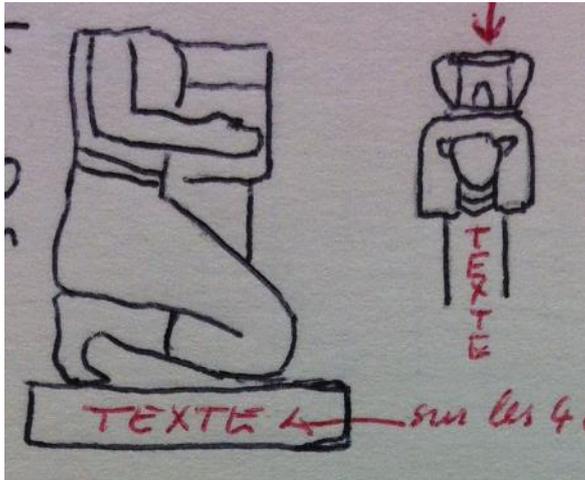
**Fig. 37** B.6 (Nehy)



**Fig. 38** B.6 (Nehy), side view



**Fig. 39** B.7 (Rekhmire)



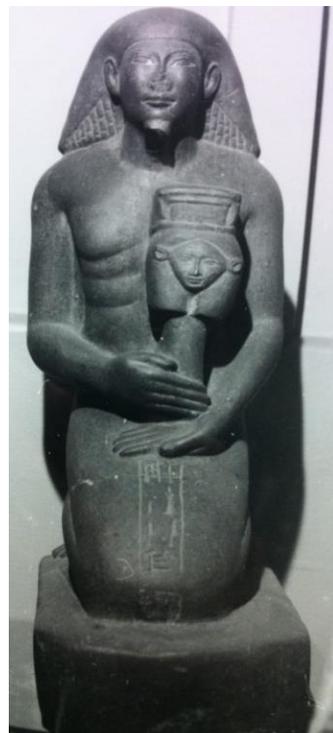
**Fig. 40** B.8 (Thutmose)



**Fig. 41** B.9 (Kaemwaset)



**Fig. 42** B.10 (Unknown)



**Fig. 43** B.11 (Iuny)



**Fig. 44** B.14 (Unknown)



**Fig. 45** B.15 (Unknown)



**Fig. 46** B.16 (Unknown)



**Fig. 47** B.17 (Unknown)



**Fig. 48** B.18 (Huy)



**Fig. 49** B.20 (Unknown)



**Fig. 50** B.22 (Ramose(?))



**Fig. 51** B.23 (Unknown)



**Fig. 52** B.24 (Unknown)



**Fig. 53** B.25 (Unknown)



**Fig. 54** B.26 (Unknown)



**Fig. 55** B.27 (Sennefer)



**Fig. 56** B.28 ((Nakht)weser(?))



**Fig. 57** B.29 (Maya)



**Fig. 58** B.30 (Maya)



**Fig. 59** B.31 (Unknown (female))



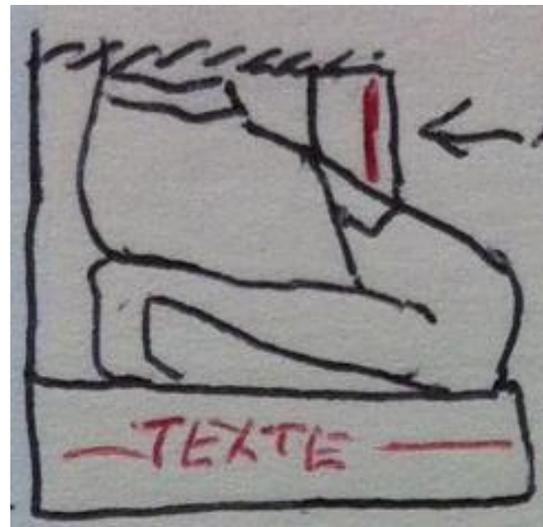
**Fig. 60** B.32 (Unknown (female))



**Fig. 61** B.33 (Unknown)



**Fig. 62** B.39 (Khaemwaset)



**Fig. 63** B.40 (Khaemwaset)



**Fig. 64** B.45 ((Roma-)Roy)



**Fig. 65** B.46 (Unknown)



**Fig. 66** B.48 (Unknown)



**Fig. 67** B.50 (Tuer)



**Fig. 68** B.51 (Amenemwia)



**Fig. 69** B.52 (Unknown)



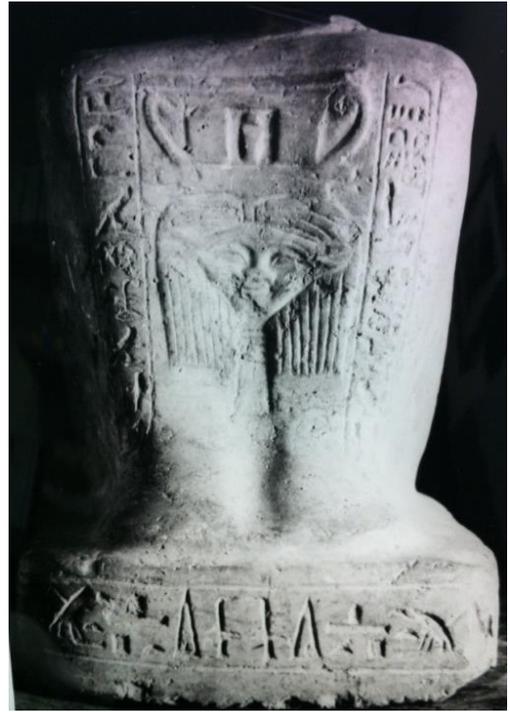
**Fig. 70** B.54 (Iner)



**Fig. 71** B.55 (Unknown)



**Fig. 72** B.57 (Inhernakht)



**Fig. 73** B.58 (May)



**Fig. 74** B.59 (Unknown)



**Fig. 75** B.60 (?)Nakht



**Fig. 76** B.61 (Unknown)



**Fig. 77** B.62 (Unknown)



**Fig. 78** B.63 (Khaihapy)



**Fig. 79** B.69 (Unknown)



**Fig. 80** B.70 (Sementi)



**Fig. 81** B.71 (Hatiay)



**Fig. 82** B.72 (Unknown)



**Fig. 83** B.75 (Bakenkhonsu)



**Fig. 84** B.76 (Bakenkhonsu)



**Fig. 85** B.80 (Nenkhemsen)



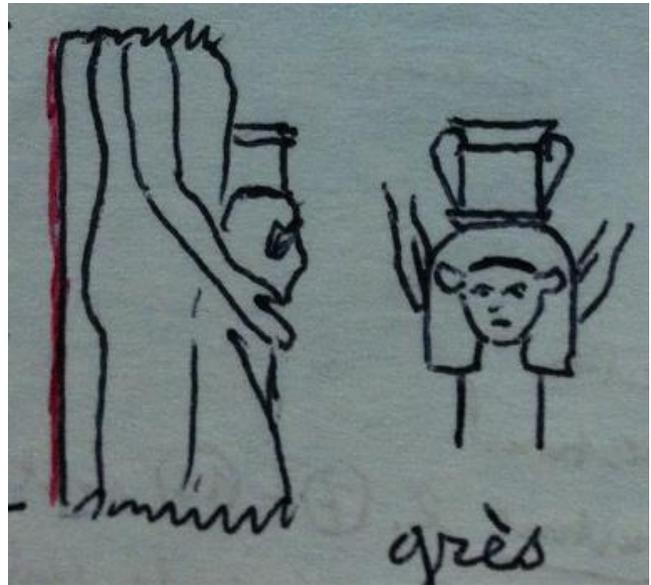
**Fig. 86** B.83 (Montuemhat)



**Fig. 87** B.85 (Montuemhat)



**Fig. 88** B.86 (Unknown)



**Fig. 89** B.88 (Unknown)



**Fig. 90** B.89 (Pa-akhref)



**Fig. 91** B.91 (Somtutefnakht)



**Fig. 92** B.92 (Nespaqashuty)



**Fig. 93** B.94 (Amenemopetemhat)



**Fig. 94** B.95 (Besenmut)



**Fig. 95** B.97 (Unknown)



Fig. 96 B.98 (Userhap)



Fig. 97 B.99 (Unknown)

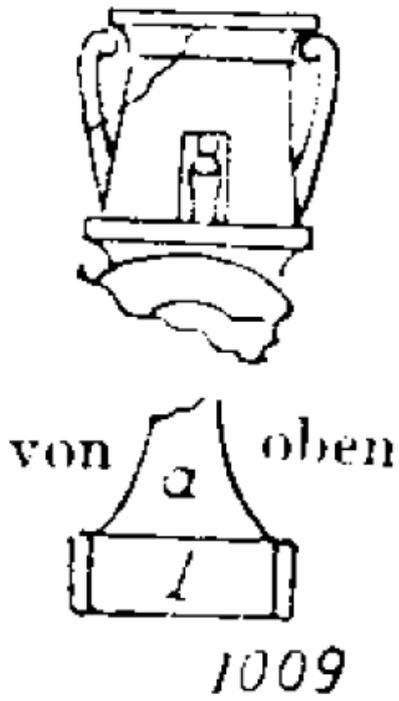
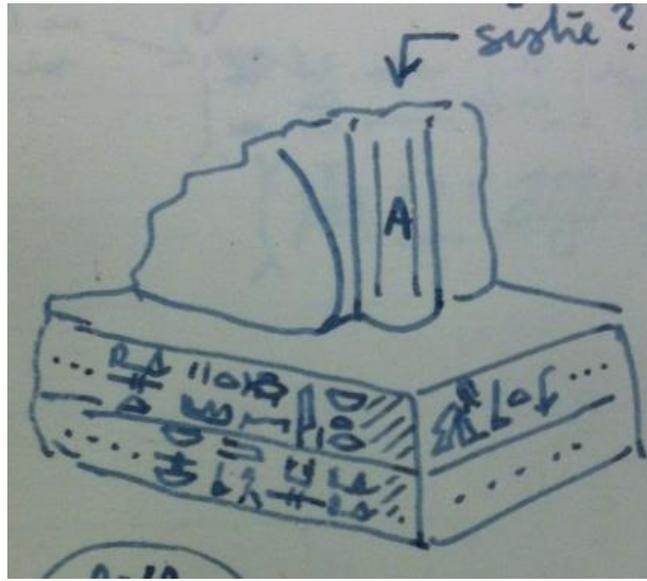


Fig. 98 B.101 (Wer-Djehuty)



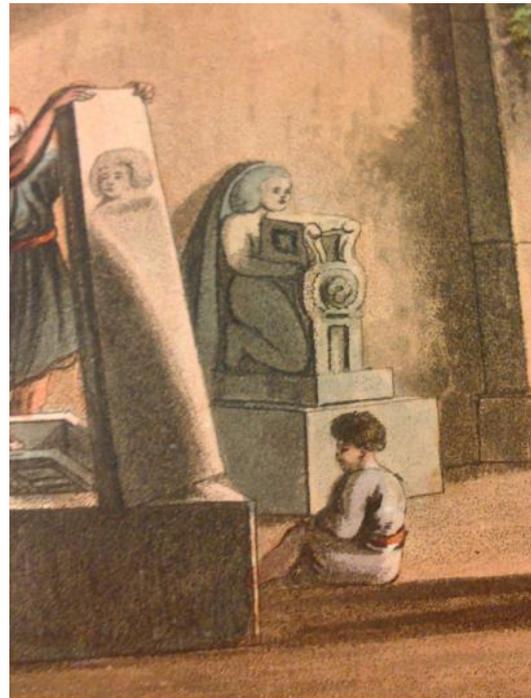
Fig. 99 B.102 (Unknown)



**Fig. 100** B.103 (Unknown)



**Fig. 101** B.105 (Irutertja)



**Fig. 102** Sistrophore of unknown identity or location



**Fig. 103** Libation vessel of Peftuaemwesy



**Fig. 104** Statue or architectural sculpture of Wenennefer



**Fig. 105** Rebus boat of Mutemwia



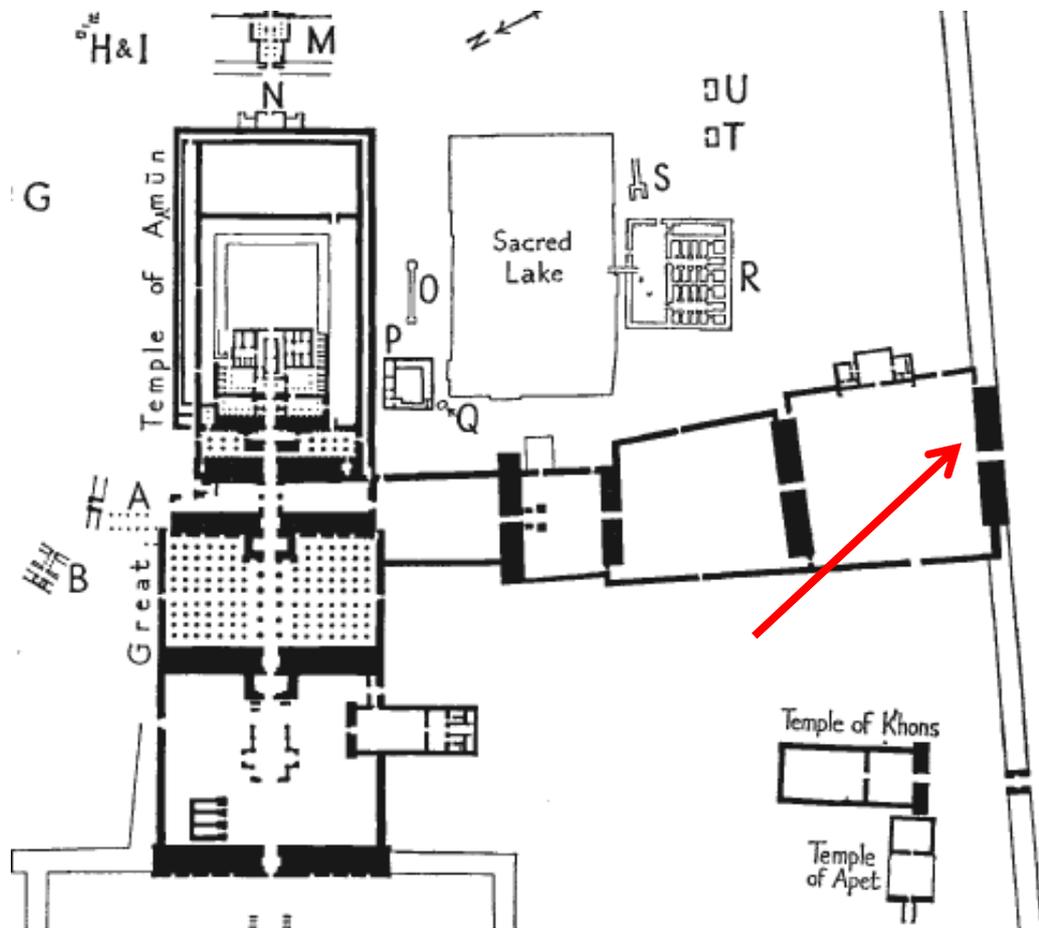
**Fig. 106** Naophore of Horkheb Psamtikemhat



**Fig. 107** Naophore of Tjanefer

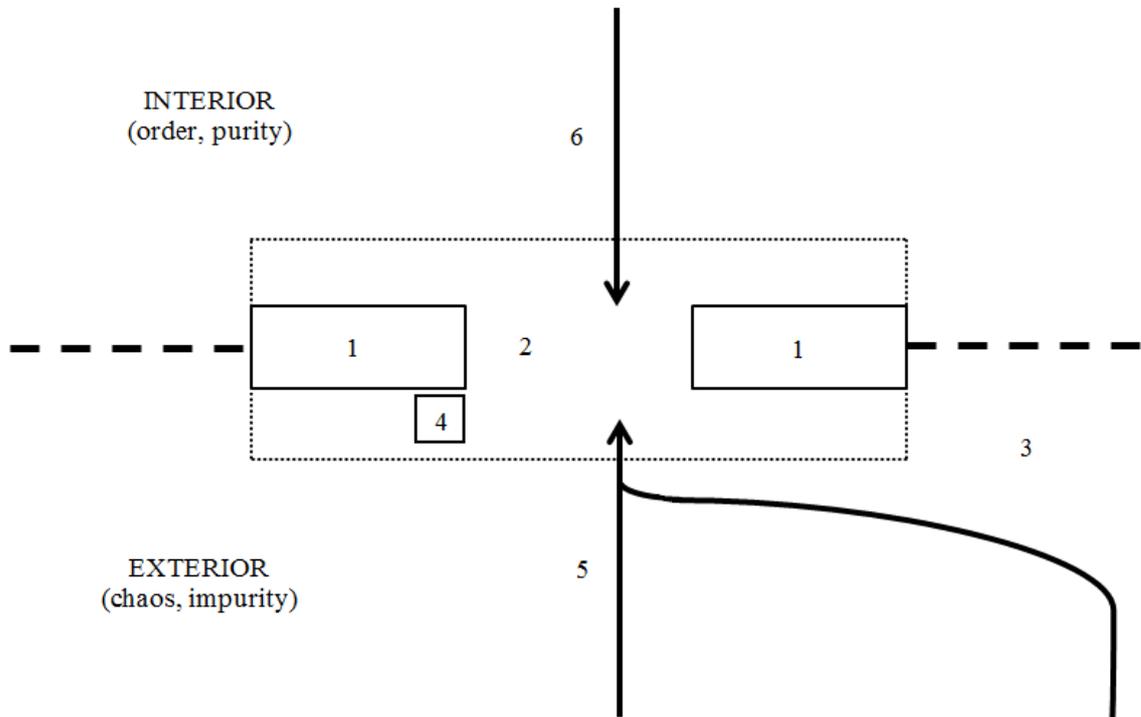


**Fig. 108** Naophore of Horkheb



**Fig. 109** The temple of Amun, Karnak.

The red arrow shows the findspot of the intermediary statues of Amenhotep son of Hapu (A.1 and A.2), beside the Tenth Pylon.



**Fig. 110** Basic principles of doorway symbolism

1. Door-frame.
2. Doorway (and the representative area within dotted line). A transitional space: an area of volatility where exterior and interior meet, and neutrality where movement through is judged.
3. Barrier (visible or implied; dashed line). Doorway encourages and controls movement through the space.
4. Possible door-keeper. Monitoring and judging movement.
5. Movement towards and through doorway to interior space = doorway as a pathway; meeting place of two worlds = doorway as a place.
6. Emerging through doorway to exterior space = doorway as a place of appearance.



**Fig. 111** The Book of the Dead of Ani, Chapters 146-147.

Compare the different structures in which the demons are sitting: *sbh.t* in the lower register, and *ry.t* in the upper register, and how the demons are arranged in relation to these spaces.