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Servant of Mut

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# Probleme der Ägyptologie

*Herausgegeben von*

Wolfgang Schenkel

und

Antonio Loprieno

28. BAND

Richard A. Fazzini

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# Servant of Mut

## Studies in Honor of Richard A. Fazzini

*Edited by*

Sue H. D'Auria

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# PREFACE

It is both an honor and a pleasure to present this volume of studies as a tribute to Richard A. Fazzini. We, his colleagues, believe his contributions and commitment to the field of Egyptology, as well as his generosity in facilitating the work of others, have earned Richard a unique position among us, and view this Festschrift as a small way of acknowledging and thanking him. The fact that most of his career, first as a curator, and then chairman of the Department of Egyptian, Classical and Ancient Middle Eastern Art in the Brooklyn Museum involved administrative responsibilities which demanded much of his time and energy, particularly in the present-day atmosphere where fund raising is a necessary adjunct, makes his substantial scholarly accomplishments all the more remarkable.

While his interests in Egyptology are far ranging, two are particularly noteworthy. One is centered in his knowledge of the religious iconography of the Third Intermediate Period, an arcane and complicated time about which his book, *Egypt Dynasty XXII–XXV*, clarified many difficult issues. The second is his long-standing excavations at the Mut precinct in Karnak, where he has shed new light on the significance of this important monument. These endeavors, one purely academic, the other "dirt archaeology," demonstrate, in part, his eclectic mastery of the discipline. To this list of Richard's interests, anyone who has had the pleasure of visiting his house would surely add Egyptomania. There, every room is decorated with all manner of things Egyptianizing, ranging from rare Napoleonic medals to pure kitsch, including posters from every Cleopatra movie every produced. Richard and his wife, Mary McKercher, have elevated a hobby to a serious discipline, and both are acknowledged authorities on Egyptian Revival.

Richard's comprehensive knowledge of bibliography is equaled only by that of his former teacher, Bernard V. Bothmer, and his generosity in sharing this knowledge with others is unsurpassed. Richard takes obvious pleasure in assisting anyone who questions him about any Egyptological topic, no matter how obscure or tedious the inquiry might be.

His good humor and easy manner have made him many friends and admirers as well as an "easy mark" for difficult, and often unappreciated, tasks. He was, for example, a board member, member of the Executive Committee, vice president, and president of the American Research Center in Egypt. How he so skillfully managed those activities while running a large museum department and publishing numerous books and articles bears testimony to his extraordinary capabilities and energy.

While serving as ARCE's president, he suffered the first of two life-threatening illnesses, namely lung cancer. Its dire prognosis caused him to resign his ARCE position because he did not expect to survive very long. The second, a brain aneurysm, came close to destroying his remarkable intellect. Although the principal credit for his extraordinary recoveries must be given to his sturdy constitution, an equal amount should be ascribed to his wife, Mary, whose sheer willpower and devotion made it possible for him to regain his mental acuity in record time. We can never forget the remark made by his late friend and colleague, James Romano, after Richard's miraculous recovery from an extremely malignant form of cancer: "In a hundred million years the only survivors left on earth will be cockroaches and Richard Fazzini."

We wish Richard many more years of happiness, good health, discoveries at Mut, and publication, and will always be grateful for the opportunity to have him as a friend and colleague. May the following articles serve as a testament to our admiration of Richard and his accomplishments. We are grateful to Jaap Van Dijk, who was instrumental in obtaining the cooperation of Brill Academic Press, publisher of this volume, and to an anonymous donor who assisted with its funding. Finally, we would thank the editor, Sue D'Auria, who, with great skill and patience, made its publication possible.

Rita E. Freed and Jack A. Josephson

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# RICHARD A. FAZZINI

Mary McKercher

Richard Fazzini was born in the Bronx, New York in 1942. Although he claims he was an indifferent student, he graduated from high school at 16 and went on to earn undergraduate and graduate degrees in art and art history (the City College of New York) and in ancient Egyptian and Near Eastern art and archaeology (Institute of Fine Arts, New York University).

Richard's main Egyptological interests are ancient Egyptian art, religious iconography, and archaeology, particularly of the New Kingdom, Third Intermediate Period and Late Period. He has also developed an abiding interest in the ways Egypt has been viewed by the West from Roman times to the present, known as Egyptomania. He has written extensively on Egyptian art and art history, religious iconography, archaeology and Egyptomania; has taught ancient history and art at the college level; and has lectured in North America, Europe, and Egypt on a variety of Egyptological subjects. He is also a talented artist, designing the Brooklyn Museum's first and very successful hieroglyph t-shirt and the t-shirt for the exhibition *Cleopatra's Egypt*, and contributing line drawings to several publications.

Richard has spent most of his professional life at the Brooklyn Museum, whose staff he joined as assistant curator in 1969. He became curator-in-charge of the museum's Department of Egyptian, Classical and Ancient Middle Eastern Art (ECAMEA) in 1983 and chairman in 1989. In July 2006, he retired as curator emeritus but remains with the museum as director of the museum's archaeological expedition to the Precinct of Mut at Karnak, which he inaugurated in 1976. While he was responsible for significant additions to the Egyptian collection, Richard is equally proud of making the resurrection of important objects from storage a departmental priority. He has overseen several museum installations, including the critically acclaimed 1993 re-installation that incorporated art from the Amarna through early Roman Periods; a thematic gallery, *Temples, Tombs and the Egyptian Universe*, exploring the links between "funerary" and "temple" art; and 31 Gallery Guides on various aspects of ancient Egyptian history, civilization and art, several of which he wrote. He exercised general oversight of the 2003 installation *Egypt Reborn*, for which the late James Romano was coordinator. Richard was the principal author of *Ancient Egyptian Art in The Brooklyn Museum* (1989), showcasing 100 major works in the museum's collection, and has also published a number of scholarly articles on Brooklyn objects.

Over the years, Richard has assisted with or been responsible for many special exhibitions, including *Art of Ancient Egypt. A Selection from The Brooklyn Museum* (Hofstra University, 1971) for which he was curator and catalogue author; *Akhenaten and Nefertiti* (Brooklyn and Detroit, 1973); *Images for Eternity: Egyptian Art from Berkeley and Brooklyn* (San Francisco, 1975) for which he was guest curator and author; *Neferut net Kemit: Egyptian Art from The Brooklyn Museum* (Tokyo, Osaka, Saga and Kagoshima, 1983–1984), of which he was curator-in-charge and the main author; and *Cleopatra's Egypt: Age of the Ptolemies* (Brooklyn Museum, 1988), which traveled to Detroit and Munich. In 1995–1996, he was a consultant and author for the Cincinnati Art Museum's *Mistress of the House, Mistress of Heaven: Women in Ancient Egypt*, and the organizer of the exhibition's 1997 Brooklyn venue.

Richard is also a field archaeologist. He was a member of the New York University-Brooklyn Museum Expedition to Mendes in Egypt's northern Delta (1965, 1966, 1976), and the New York University-Metropolitan Museum of Art excavations at Al-Hiba (ancient Lagash) in Iraq (1975). In 1972, he was field investigator for an American Research Center in Egypt-sponsored "Study of the Reliefs and Paintings of Dynasties XXI–XXIV," and in 1975 was field investigator for a Brooklyn Museum study of the tomb of Ramesses II. In 1976, he initiated the Brooklyn Museum's archaeological expedition to the Precinct of the goddess Mut at South Karnak, a project

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he continues to lead. The Mut Expedition has focused on elucidating the site's history, the interrelationships of its buildings, and the preservation and restoration of its monuments. Since 2001, the Brooklyn expedition has shared the precinct with an expedition led by Dr. Betsy Bryan of Johns Hopkins University. The two expeditions work independently but collaborate on conservation and restoration efforts, thereby increasing the scope of work possible at this important site.

Richard has served as a consultant to several academic institutions and has been active in many professional organizations, most notably the American Research Center in Egypt, on whose board he served from 1982 to 2001. He was elected vice president in 1996 and president in 1999, resigning in the fall of 2001 when diagnosed with lung cancer. During his tenure as vice president and president, Richard spearheaded efforts to reorganize and revitalize the organization. In recognition of his work, ARCE presented him with its Distinguished Service Award in 2004.

Richard has been married twice, first to Barbara Giella, an architectural historian, and then to Mary McKercher, his present wife, whom he first met in 1979 when she was the photographer for the Mut Expedition, a role she continues to fill.

A ruptured brain aneurysm almost killed Richard in 2003, and for awhile it was unclear if he would ever resume a normal life. However, using the same courage, humor, and determination he applies to everything he does, he was able to make a full recovery. He continues to study, write, and work on the Mut Expedition, and is looking forward to many more productive years in the field he loves.

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# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| ÄA | Ägyptologischen Abhandlungen |
| ÄAT | Ägypten und Altes Testament |
| ADAIK | Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo |
| ÄF | Ägyptologische Forschungen |
| AJSL | American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures |
| AOAT | Alter Orient und Altes Testament |
| APAW | Abhandlungen der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften |
| ArOr | Archiv Orientální |
| ASAÉ | Annales du Service des Antiquites d'Égypte |
| AV | Archäologische Veröffentlichungen / Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo |
| BÄ | Bibliotheca Ägyptiaca |
| BASOR | Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research |
| BdÉ | Bibliothèque d'Étude |
| BeitrageBf | Beiträge zur Ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde |
| BIFAO | Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale |
| BiAe | Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca |
| BiOr | Bibliotheca Orientalis |
| BMMA | Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art |
| BSÉG | Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie Genève |
| BSFÉ | Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie |
| CAA | Corpus Antiquitatum Ägyptiacarum |
| CdÉ | Chronique d'Égypte |
| DFIFAO | Documents de fouilles, Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale |
| EA | Egyptian Archaeology, the Bulletin of the Egypt Exploration Society (EES) |
| EtTrav | Études et Travaux |
| FIFAO | Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire |
| GM | Göttinger Miszellen |
| HÄB | Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge |
| IFAO | Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale |
| JARCE | Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt |
| JEA | Journal of Egyptian Archaeology |
| JEOL | Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux |
| JNES | Journal of Near Eastern Studies |
| JSSEA | Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities |
| KÄT | Kleine Ägyptische Texte |
| LÄ | Lexikon der Ägyptologie, ed. Wolfgang Helck, Eberhard Otto, Wolfhart Westendorf, 7 vols., 1972–1992 |
| LD | Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien, ed. Richard Lepsius, 6 vols., 1849–1859 |
| MÄS | Münchner Ägyptologische Studien |
| MDAIK | Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo |
| MDOG | Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft |
| MIFAO | Mémoires publiés par les Membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Cairo |
| MMAF | Mémoires publiés par les Membres de la Mission Archéologique Français au Caire |
| MMJ | Metropolitan Museum Journal |
| NARCE | Newsletter of the American Research Center in Egypt |
| OBO | Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis |
| OEAE | Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt, ed. Donald B. Redford, 3 vols., 2001 |

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| | |
|---|---|
| OIP | Oriental Institute Publications, The University of Chicago |
| OLA | Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta |
| OLP | Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica |
| OLZ | Orientalistische Literaturzeitung |
| OMRO | Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden |
| PAM | Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean |
| PM | *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts*, *Reliefs and Paintings*, ed. Bertha Porter, Rosalind L.B. Moss, and Jaromír Málek, 7 vols., 1960–1981 |
| PSBA | Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology |
| RdÉ | Revue d'Égyptologie |
| RecTrav | Recueil de Travaux |
| SAGA | Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens |
| SAK | Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur |
| SAOC | Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization |
| SDAIK | Sonderschrift, Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo |
| TAVO | Tubinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients |
| UGAÄ | Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens |
| Urk. | Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums, ed. Kurte Sethe et al, 8 vols., 1927–1958 |
| VA | Varia Aegyptiaca |
| Wb. | Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache, ed. Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow, 7 vols., 1926–1931 |
| ZÄS | Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde |
| ZDMG | Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft |

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# A NEWLY DISCOVERED STATUE OF A QUEEN FROM THE REIGN OF AMENHOTEP III

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In January 2006, a statue of a queen (figs. 1–4) was discovered during the clearance of debris in the platform porch of the Mut Temple at Karnak.[1] It was associated with a small amount of Roman pottery and other late debris, and therefore may have been part of the last adjustments to the temple's foundations. Found lying on its face, the statue was first visible only by its back pillar, which carries an inscription of Queen Henuttawy, added in the 21st Dynasty. Only when the headdress was uncovered did the repeated name of Amenhotep III become visible, demonstrating that the statue was made for one of his wives. Richard Fazzini has represented the Temple of Mut for more than three decades now, and his work there and his work on the Third Intermediate Period generally have contributed to a great broadening of our understanding of both. Like Richard, this statue represents both the Temple of Mut and the TIP. It is with affection and admiration that I offer this discussion to him.

## *Style and Iconography of the Mut Temple Statue*

The granodiorite statue of 1.6 meters in height is preserved from the top of the modius to the knee area, although the break is higher in the front than in the back. Thus the back pillar inscription is intact, while the entire lower leg area is missing. Small fragments were retrieved during the clearance, only one joining directly, an uninscribed fragment of the back pillar. A portion of a beautifully worked right foot was recovered some days later to the east of the area where the queen was found. Since the lower legs are missing, this fragment cannot at present be confirmed to belong to this statue, but it can be eliminated from the ubiquitous Sekhmet corpus.

The queen wears a close-fitting dress with a shawl, indicated only by the lack of negative space between the jutting elbow and the body. A comparison for much of the statue in size, material, dress and regalia may be seen on the Vatican statue inscribed for Ramesses II's mother Tuya (Inv. 22, figs. 5–6). That work was recarved in the 19th Dynasty from an image of a royal woman of Amenhotep III and transformed again as late as the eighteenth century CE.[2] The new statue may have depicted the same queen as the Vatican one, but the body types are quite different. The Mut Temple queen has marguerite flowers on her breasts that are surrounded by roughened circles. The likelihood is that both the breast and collar were formerly gilded, and the roughened areas facilitated that application. The swell of the breasts is gradual, and the flowers cover nearly all of them. Although there is no wrinkle line beneath them, the breasts point just slightly downward. In contrast, the breasts of the Vatican queen are distinctly sculpted as separate bosoms, and the marguerites are small and centered as nipples. The marguerites are high on the bosom and emphasize that the breasts are firm. There is an indication of two wrinkle lines beneath the proper right bosom, but this feature appears on the limestone figure of princess Henuttaneb as well and should not be understood as a certain

[1] The statue has been accessioned in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, as JE99281 and was briefly published in an entry by Betsy M. Bryan, in *American Contributions to Egyptian Archaeology*, ed. Gerry D. Scott, III (Cairo: American Research Center in Egypt, 2006), no. 50.

[2] Giuseppe Botti-Pietro Romanelli, *Le sculture del Museo Gregoriano Egizio* (Vatican City: Tipografia Poliglotta Vaticana, 1951), 18–21, no. 28; Jean-Claude Grenier, *Museo Gregoriano Egizio* (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1993), 49, V.8 and pl. 14; Arielle P. Kozloff, "A Masterpiece with Three Lives," in *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson* 2, ed. Peter Der Manuelian (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1996), 477–485. The original crown had the triple uraei, as does the new statue, but Ramesses II converted it to a single cobra.

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age indicator.[3] Thus, the Mut Temple statue has the breasts of a mature woman, while that of the Vatican queen could well portray a younger female.

This is also the case with the two body types. Although both are incomplete, their original parts are preserved quite similarly. Both statues were broken below the knee area and have more proper right leg than left.[4] The Mut Temple queen[5] holds her left arm at a true right angle, such that it cuts the distance between neck and hips nearly in half. On the glazed steatite figure of Tiye from the Louvre, the arm is angled upward, resting over the high-waisted belt just beneath the bosom.[6] Yet the hand still nearly perfectly divides the distance between neck and hip. The Vatican queen also holds the arm at an acute angle, but here it shortens the distance from neck to hand, while the belly down to the hips is lengthened. Seen from the side, the Vatican statue has a higher buttock and thinner thigh than does the Mut Temple statue. Indeed the bodily proportions of young women in sculpture during the reign of Amenhotep III are characterized by short upper torsos, high buttocks, and thighs less thick than mature women. For example, the statue of queen and princess Isis is quite comparable.[7] The proportions of clearly identified representations of Tiye, however, define those of mature females.[8]

On the Mut Temple statue's neck is an elaborate necklace of pendant floral elements terminating in a band of *shuty* plumes, a visual reference to the queen's own crown in its most complete form. A double band above the broad collar is suggestive of the *shebyu*, or gold award collar. It is not bordered by a flat string, as are the necklace segments of the broad collar, and it is therefore likely to be a separate piece of jewelry. A *shebyu* worn above the broad collar would be highly unusual for a queen of Amenhotep III, although the king himself wore the combination.[9] These narrow gold-ring necklaces were, however, worn by women at the end of the New Kingdom and in the 21st Dynasty. They are well paralleled in two dimensions in the Hierakonpolis tomb of Hormose, reign of Ramesses XI, where they are worn by nearly all the women depicted, including Hormose's wife Hent-aa (fig. 7).[10] Like the double rings on the statue, the Hormose examples are small in size, unlike the *shebyu* examples worn by Amenhotep III himself. Given the rarity of women wearing the *shebyu* in the 18th Dynasty, it is perhaps best to see this as a 21st Dynasty addition.

The queen has the almond-shaped and obliquely set eyes so associated with Amenhotep III. These are specifically to be described as either "natural rimmed" or "buttonhole."[11] The relative narrowness of the eye conforms entirely to the group of granodiorite statuary of Amenhotep I termed "Group 1" in Table 4a of *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, being slightly wider than the "Group 2" granitic examples, and far wider than the eyes of the ruler in quartzite.[12] The eyeballs, as on many of the king's statues, are carved to cut back the bottom of the eye more than the top and middle. This is quite visible in profile, but

[3] On the colossus M 610, where the princess has the number JE 33906. It is possible, but not likely, that this was an addition when the statue was retouched for the king's mother Tuya.

[4] The lower leg and socle of the Vatican statue are later restorations.

[5] The reconstructed proportions of the Mut Temple queen are as follows, following the format of Arielle P. Kozloff and Betsy M. Bryan with Lawrence M. Berman, *Egypt's Dazzling Sun: Amenhotep III and his World* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1992), Table 3, 466. 18 grid squares from bottom of foot to hairline: 162 cm. Height of the buttock is 8.55 grid squares; the width of the hips is 4 squares; the shoulders 4.6. The younger female figures combined buttock heights above 9.5 squares with hip measurements of 3.5–4.0. Mature women had lower hips (8.4–9.0 squares) but of similar widths, 3.7–4.0. The visual impression would then be of heavier hips.

[6] Bryan, *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, no. 22, Louvre E25493, 202–203, color plate 16.

[7] Ibid., no. 24 of Princess Isis, 206–208, for specific discussion of the youthful figure. Table 3, 466, for proportions of women generally.

[8] Bryan, *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, no. 22, Louvre E25493, 203, describes the body type. Height of buttock 9.0; width of hips 3.7 squares.

[9] In the round on Durham University Oriental Museum N 496. Bryan, *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, no. 21, 200–202. In relief, eg., east face of the north wing of the Third Pylon at Karnak, illustrated in ibid., 98, fig. IV.20.

[10] Betsy Bryan, "Painters in the Tomb of Hormose," in *Nekhen News*, ed. Renée Friedman (London: Friends of Nekhen, Fall 1999).

[11] Bernard V. Bothmer, "Eyes and Iconography in the Splendid Century: King Amenhotep III and His Aftermath," in *The Art of Amenhotep III: Art Historical Analysis*, ed. Lawrence Berman (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1990), 84–92, esp. 84 and 89, arguably either a "buttonhole" or a "naturally hooded" eye, according to Bothmer. The latter category consists for him only of JE 59880, but the distinction is actually in the size and materials. His "buttonhole" examples are in soft stones and small scaled so that the eyelids are largely incised and do not show any trace of "hooding." Another example will be British Museum 43a, a head of Mutemwiya, discussed further below.

[12] Bryan in *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, 468–469. All facial

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from the front gives the appearance of the statue's downward gaze. As with other traits, the queen's vertical eye profile falls with the granitic statuary.[13] The statue belongs to the Group 1 granite statues generally, since its decorative details rely more on shallow incision than on dramatic surface contrast.[14] The queen's mouth is carefully lined, with the telltale pursed upper lip of the ruler. The mouth turns up slightly.[15] Yet the face, without the enveloping wig entirely framing it, is less rounded than many of the king's own images, and this emphasizes the strong jaw. Although this stubby chin is the striking facial characteristic of the face, it is pure "Amenhotep III," being a physical feature seen on several of his well-known statues, such as Louvre A25, MMA 56.138, and CMA 52.513.[16] There is one granodiorite queen's head that has all of these traits and may well have been carved by the same sculptors as our queen. This is the Cairo statue head CG 609[17] (fig. 8), where we can also see the natural rimless eyes, the slightly smiling mouth, and the stubbed chin, along with the flat raised-relief eyebrows, as here. The triple uraei are also well preserved and detailed in the same manner as on the new statue, although the overall headdress is different. Unfortunately, the body of this statue has not been identified. Its scale is slightly larger than that of the Mut Temple statue. Although CG 609 cannot be well provenanced, the strong similarity of its facial features to the new queen's face does suggest a shared production environment.

As is commonly the case with major royal monuments, the iconography of the Mut Temple statue has been painstakingly designed. The queen's head regalia are unique as combined here—at least for queens of Amenhotep III. For that reason, a careful description follows. On her head, the queen wears the tripartite wig, the vulture headdress with a vulture and two cobra uraei, and a tall modius or cylindrical crown at the top. The wig was also shown with two fillets, one encircling the top of the head and representing hanging lotuses, and the other consisting of a band with marguerites running around the broadest point of the wig. The specific combination we have on this statue is not otherwise known for Queen Tiye or any other queen of Amenhotep III, but parallels exist for several of the elements.

Similar fillet bands may be seen on several queens' statues from the reign, but all are decorating the enveloping rather than the tripartite wig. A small-scale head of a queen now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston,[18] wears both the lotus and the marguerite fillets, but without the

features were minutely measured and the heights of the eye as a percentage of the width were summarized. Heights of Group 1 granitic statue eyes all fell between 28 and 33% as a percentage of width. The new statue's eye height is 32% of the width. CG 609, not included on the appendix that only listed the king's statues, had a slightly wider eye at 36%. This compares to Group 2 granitic, lying between 22 and 27% of width, and Group 1 quartzite eye heights lying between 23 and 27% of width, while the most extreme examples are eye heights in the Group 2 quartzite, between 17 and 22% of width, for those deriving from the king's Theban statues.

[13] The "vertical angles of the eye" were documented in Table 5 of *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, 472–473. Granitic statues of Amenhotep III ranged between 15° and 35°. The queen's angle is 28°.

[14] A description of the groups may be found in Bryan, Chapter 5 essay for *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, 138–146, and is continued in the entries.

[15] Group 1 mouths in granitic stone show the height of mouth as between 28 and 39% of width. The queen statue's mouth height is 32% of the height. The queen's statue head, CG 609, the closest comparison, is at 31%. This compares with Group 2 granitic: 37–43%; Group 1 quartzite at 30–33%, and Group 2 quartzite 27–39%. Indeed, the thicker mouth is one of the characteristics of Group 2 statues. Further, a comparison with other New Kingdom rulers: Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, 26–38%; Ramesses II, 35–44%. One outlier is British Museum EA 15 of Ramesses II, recarved from Amenhotep III. It is at 100%. Ibid., 468–469.

[16] Louvre A25, *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, no. 10, 164–165 and color plate 11, is the most similar example. Slightly rounder but with the same short, stubbed and indented chin are Cleveland 52.513, ibid., 166–167, color pl. 12; and the quartzite example, Metropolitan Museum of Art 56.138, ibid., no. 9, 162–163, color pl. 10. Another example in plastered mud is JE 38597 from the Karnak Cachette. The round childlike face here nonetheless has the short stubby and indented chin.

[17] Ludwig Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten* 2, Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du musée du Caire nos. 1–1294 (Berlin: Reichsdruckerei, 1911–1936). See notes on eye and mouth proportions, 12–15, above. CG 609, overall height of 53 cm, has a facial height, neck to hairline of 24.5, thus indicating an overall height from bottom of foot to hairline of 220.5. (The statue would have stood considerably taller, with 15.5 from hairline to the break at the bottom of the modius, the modius of perhaps another 16–18 cm, plumes, and a socle of some 30 cm.) The complete statue may have stood more than 3 meters. This compares with the new statue as follows: overall height from top of modius to break at lowest point is 1.6 meters. From shoulder to hairline is 18 cm, thus making the bottom of foot to hairline height around 162 cm, plus the height from hairline to modius of 11 cm; of the modius, 11.5, plumes, and a socle of some 30 cm. The complete statue may have stood between 2.5 and 2.75 meters.

[18] BMFA 21.2802 of peridotite, from the Sudan. The regalia here does not include the vulture headdress but a low modius, horns and a sun disk over an enveloping wig with the two fillets. Bryan in *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, no. 15, 175–176.

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vulture headdress. Mutemwiya wears the fillet bands on a small granodiorite head in the British Museum.[19] On the steatite image of Tiye in the Louvre, the queen does wear the vulture addition to the enveloping wig, along with a lotus forehead fillet, topped by a modius and plumes.[20] However, on the Mut Temple statue, the fillet is visible only from the sides, so that the vulture headdress dominates the front view. Like the Louvre figure, however, a slot at the back of the new statue's crown demonstrates that it was once fitted with the double plumes—quite possibly made of a precious metal.

The type of wig is known for Amenhotep III's female family members only rarely in statuary, but it is not uncommon in relief. British Museum 948 is a colossal limestone bust from a queen's statue. It apparently derived from the temple of Merenptah.[21] The poorly preserved statue wears the wig with a single uraeus and a cylindrical modius atop. The identity of the royal woman is unknown, but the association of this wig with goddesses does suggest that the wearer played a divine role. On the southern stela at the king's mortuary temple of Kom el-Heitan, Tiye appears twice, in both cases wearing the tripartite wig topped by the vulture headdress.[22] In this case, a difference is seen in the type of base, or modius, worn. As is seen in several other examples, Tiye wears a short base for the plumes that flares out from bottom to top. Examples in the round include a granodiorite privately owned statue and a small peridotite head in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.[23] On the granite head in a private collection, the queen is shown with the modius, horns, sundisk, and plumes over the enveloping wig.[24] This base appears as a low flaring circle upon which the upper portion of the headdresses rest, while in two- dimensional representations it may resemble a cornice shape.[25] For example, at Soleb, Tiye is shown behind the king at the dais ceremonies that preceded the king's *sed* festival. She is wearing the tripartite wig with the cornice-shaped modius and plumes. She wears the same combination on the west gate, where the central *sed* rituals are depicted.[26] In the tomb of Kheruef, Tiye sits with Amenhotep III in the kiosk at the third *sed*. She appears to wear a larger version of the flaring modius with the tripartite wig, a combination similar to the scenes at Soleb.[27]

The second type of modius, a cylindrical form, was worn by women of royal and non-royal birth during the reign of Amenhotep III, and is attested for the king's female family members by a number of examples.[28] On the new statue, the front of the modius is decorated with a central

[19] EA 43a, probably deriving from a seated figure of Amenhotep III. Gay Robins, *Reflections of Women in the New Kingdom: Ancient Egyptian Art from the British Museum* (Atlanta: Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University, 1995).

[20] Louvre E25493. Bryan in *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, no. 22, 202–203, color plate 16.

[21] Maya Müller, *Die Kunst Amenophis' III und Echnatons* (Basel: Verlag für Ägyptologie, 1988), IV-29, and literature given there, cites Strasbourg IES 965 as another example of the queen in this wig.

[22] Gerhard Haeny, "Die beiden grossen Stelen im Peristylhof," in *Untersuchungen im totentempel Amenophis' III*, ed. Gerhard Haeny, BeiträgeBf 11 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1981), 70–83, pl. 5. Also the head of Queen Tiye in the scene on the left is in the Berlin Museum, Inv. 23270. PM $2^2$, 451. Other examples of Tiye in this wig and headdress occur on the carnelian plaques MMA 26.7.1339–1340. Lawrence Berman, *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, no. 123, 442–444, color plate 16.

[23] Bryan, *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, no. 13, 170–171; BMFA 21.2802, ibid., no. 15, 175–176.

[24] Ibid., no. 13, 170–171. Formerly in the collection of Robin Symes. Present location unknown to the writer.

[25] Ibid., no. 28, Munich ÄS 5873, a gilded wood appliqué of the queen holding the lotus whisk and a small bouquet.

[26] Ibid., fig. IV.30, 109. The Oriental Institute, *The 1905–1907 Breasted Expeditions to Egypt and the Sudan: A Photographic Study* 2 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975), P 3200 and 3237.

[27] Sigrid Hodel-Hoenes, *Life and Death in Ancient Egypt: Scenes from Private Tombs in New Kingdom Thebes*, trans. David Warburton (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), figs. 152–153 (photo); PM $1^2$ 1, 299.

[28] A few examples include a non-royal one from the tomb of Menna, TT 69, showing the daughter of Menna wearing it with gold plumes at the forehead. Photo detail at Arielle P. Kozloff, "Theban Tomb Paintings from the Reign of Amenhotep III: Problems in Iconography and Chronology," in Berman, *The Art of Amenhotep*, fig. 10, pl. 16. The "royal children" in the tomb of Kheruef, TT 192, also wear this modius, but the painted decorative details have disappeared. See Kozloff, no. 57 in *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, 290–291, with context of fragment Berlin 18526, showing two "princesses" with sidelock wigs and modius. Epigraphic Survey, *The Tomb of Kheruef: Theban Tomb 192*, OIP 102 (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1980), pls. 47, 57. A princess wears a tall version on the carnelian plaque MMA 26.7.1340, Berman, *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, 442–444, color plate 62. See also Mutemwiya, mother of Amenhotep III, wearing a slightly shorter form of this modius atop the vulture headdress in TT 226 (now Luxor Museum J 134). On the colossi of Memnon, both she and Tiye wear tall versions as they stand at the chairside of the king. On the newly retrieved quartzite statue of Tiye in similar position from Kom el-Heitan, she wears the shorter form. *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, pl. 27; PM $2^2$, 449. Hourig Sourouzian et al., "The Temple of Amenhotep III at Thebes: Excavation and Conservation at Kom el-Hettan, Third Report on the Fifth Season in 2002/2003," *MDAIK* 60 (2004): pl. 26b.

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*sed*-festival glyph flanked by two *heb*-festival ones. The jubilee kiosk contains two prenomens of Amenhotep III written in a sportive form also known from Malkata during the period of his *sed* festivals, and underlining the king's identification with the sun god.[29] The seated-god glyph, read as "*nb*," is twice shown back to back, as if seated on the two jubilee thrones. As Johnson has noted with respect to the Malkata examples, the identity of the deity (with divine beard) is made apparent by the sun disk (*rʿ*) on the head and the possession of the maat feather (*mɜʿt*), all yielding the prenomen Nebmaatre, but picturing the sun god Re.[30] Continuing around the modius are cartouches containing the prenomen and nomen of Amenhotep III, alternating twice on each side. Yet, the name of Tiye does not appear, nor that of any other queen. Since her name does appear on the small head of Tiye from the Sinai and on the head of Mutemwiya on the Memnon Colossus, as well as on her statue head in the British Museum, it might have been expected on the Mut Temple crown.[31] The modius decoration most similar to that of the Mut Temple statue is found on the limestone colossus M610 in the Egyptian Museum. Although it is damaged on the front of the modius, the cartouches of Amenhotep III also ring this cylinder, apparently without the jubilee glyphs. The queen's name may have been written there, but a similar modius is worn by Princess Henuttaneb on her smaller figure that is part of this colossus. That modius is also ringed by cartouches, but the front appears to continue the names of her father. She wears a single cobra uraeus.[32]

The decoration of this type of modius varies, and it need not include a name.[33] In the tomb of Userhat, Tiye appears in the kiosk beside Amenhotep III. She holds the flywhisk and wears a tripartite wig with modius and plumes above.[34] The modius here is ringed with uraei, and it flares slightly at the top. However, a three-dimensional parallel from the colossal Sekhmet statue in the Mut Temple indicates that this is to be understood as a cylindrical modius with a separate ring of uraei fitted around it.[35]

Tiye's limestone figure on M610 also has an analogous set of uraei to those of the Mut Temple statue. On the colossus, the cobras and vulture are crowned, the proper right in the white and the proper left in the red crown. The central head emerging from the vulture headdress wears the white crown flanked by feathers, apparently invoking the goddess Nekhbet[36] (fig. 9). The Mut Temple statue similarly shows the central vulture crowned, but here with the double crown of Mut. The trio on the Cairo granite head CG 609, referred to above, shows the white crown on the central vulture, with white and red on right and left. On the Louvre steatite figure of Tiye, the heads are uncrowned.[37] Since the vulture in the center is the head for the vulture headdress, it is absent when the queen does not wear that feathered diadem. For example, the queen wears two cobra uraei at the front of a low cylindrical modius over an echeloned wig on JE 38257 from

[29] W. Raymond Johnson, "Images of Amenhotep III in Thebes: Styles and Intentions," in Berman, ed., *The Art of Amenhotep III*, 26–46, especially 38–39, figs. 4–5. William Hayes, "Inscriptions from the Palace of Amenhotep III," *JNES* 10 (1951): 157 ff.

[30] It is interesting to note that the sculptural details of the kiosks and the elements within them suggest that two sculptors were at work on the modius. The figures of the seated god are differently conceived both as to their heads and their sitting positions. More obvious are the two *heb* glyphs. That on the left is curved topped and its central element is the *ʿɜ* pillar, perhaps emphasizing the "greatness" of Amenhotep III. The *heb* shrine on the right is nearly angled at the top and supported by a simple column.

[31] JE 38257, Mohamed Saleh and Hourig Sourouzian, *The Egyptian Museum Cairo* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1987), no. 144; Labib Habachi, in Haeny, ed., *Untersuchungen*, 48; British Museum 43a.

[32] See *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, fig. II.5; Henuttaneb's statue has a separate number, JE 33906. Ibid., 207, figs. 24a,b.

[33] Louvre E 25493: Sourouzian et al., "The Temple of Amenhotep III at Thebes," pl. 26b, c. See also the numerous examples of the cylindrical modius on the chair of Sitamun, where the heads on the throne arms do not include the princess's name. Egyptian Museum CG 51113: André Wiese and Andreas Brodbeck, eds., *L'or de l'au-delà: Toutankhamon: trésors funéraires de la vallée des rois* (Basel: Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig, 2004), no. 33, pp. 196–201. In two dimensions, see above, n. 26; the tomb of Kheruef, Queen Tiye at the first jubilee with the uraei encircling the cylindrical modius. Mutemwiya in TT 226; likewise Ahmose-Nefertari in TT 181 of Nebamun and Ipuki, Norman de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Two Sculptors* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1925), pls. 9–11. Painting in Hannover, Kestner-Museum, 1962.70.

[34] TT 47, Brussels E 2157: Kozloff in *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, no. 56, 289–290. A photograph of the fragment still in situ is also shown in the entry.

[35] For example, see Bryan in *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, 215, fig. VII.2.

[36] Bryan in *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, no. 22 n. 2, mentions the uraei on this statue but concluded incorrectly that there were three cobra uraei and the *maat* feather.

[37] Louvre E25493 and M. 610 and JE33906.

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the Sinai.[38] In the tomb of Userhat, TT 47, the seated figure of Tiye does not wear a vulture headdress, but the cobra uraei nonetheless wear the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt. In this example, Tiye additionally wears a fillet backed by the Horus falcon, over the tripartite wig.[39] Although Tiye frequently wears the double uraei in both relief and statuary, she need not. The new quartzite image of Tiye from the colossus at Kom el-Heitan has a single large uraeus in front of the cylindrical modius.[40] Yet the documentation so far appears to indicate that Tiye was the only royal woman to wear the double cobras in the reign of Amenhotep III. This may not be due solely to her position as major wife of the king, since Thutmose III's mother Isis wore double cobras, crowned with the white and red diadems, below a cylindrical modius on her granodiorite statue now in the Egyptian Museum.[41]

### *Iconography and Significance of the Mut Temple Statue*

It was common for the iconography of Amenhotep III's reign to suggest divine associations, so the intended significance of the Mut Temple statue must consider all the elements presented.[42] The tripartite wig, an archaic and conservative headdress, was less common for Tiye in statuary than the enveloping wigs. However, in relief she appears with it frequently. Normally in those wall scenes, the tripartite wig signals Tiye in a ritualized goddess's role. For example, with this wig she performs as Hathor in the jubilee festivals at Soleb and in the scenes of the third *sed* in the tomb of Kheruef.[43] In those contexts, she accompanies the king as his solar renewal is accomplished. In another Kheruef tomb scene of the first jubilee, Tiye, labeled as being "like Maat following Re," stands behind the seated king and Hathor and wears this wig.[44] Her association alludes to the nightly journey of the sun god, where Hathor was his companion in the boat (here paralleled by the goddess sitting with the ruler), and Maat(y) was his protectress, whose dual nature defined and straightened the sides of the path on which the god traveled. Indeed, the very prenomen of Amenhotep III, Nebmaatre, "the lord of Maat is Re," suggests that Tiye would have been equated with Maat, as the king was identified with Re.

On the mortuary temple's southern stela, Tiye, wearing the tripartite wig, short modius, and plumes, shakes a sistrum as Amenhotep III is granted life by the gods. The double uraei on her diadem wear the disk and horns on the right, before Amun-Re, and a single uraeus the white crown on the left, before Sokar-Osiris.[45] Thus, as Hathor protecting Re, and as Isis protecting Osiris, Tiye provided protection to her husband, assisted by the cobra goddesses. Indeed, this may be understood as the primary purpose of the double uraei in their association with the queen's crowns. The queen mothers and queens shown standing behind the king visually represented the magical rubric, "all protection and life, all stability and dominion behind him like Re forever," and the double uraei may have been another element expressing this apotropaic function.[46] Just as the cobras formed the protection and illumination for the king during his journey through the hours of the netherworld, their appearance on the crowns of his queens signals their divine presence empowering the royal women in their roles.[47] It is not surprising, therefore, that the

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[38] Saleh and Sourouzian, *The Egyptian Museum Cairo*, no. 144.

[39] Brussels E 2157, and n. 34 above.

[40] Sourouzian et al., "The Temple of Amenhotep III at Thebes," pl. 26b, c.

[41] CG 42072, Georges Legrain, *Statues et Statuettes de rois et de particuliers* 1, Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du musée du Caire nos. 42001–42250 (Cairo: IFAO, 1906), pls. 41–42; PM $2^2$, 144.

[42] "Statues of pharaohs were the same kind of hieroglyphic markers, the individual features serving to define the king while the statue pose and insignia identified the role assumed…The line between king and deity as defined by statuary is often blurred, and sometimes it is impossible for us to tell whether a statue with the insignia of a deity but an inscription naming Amenhotep III was intended to represent the god or the ruler temporarily assuming the characteristics of a divinity." Bryan, *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, 126.

[43] For Soleb, n. 26 above; tomb of Kheruef, Hodel-Hoenes, *Life and Death in Ancient Egypt*, figs. 152–153.

[44] Hodel-Hoenes, *Life and Death in Ancient Egypt*, 213, n. 10 and fig. 143.

[45] Berlin 23270 from the southern quartzite stela, Karl-Heinz Priese, no. 136 in Bettina Schmitz, ed., *Nofret die Schöne: Die Frau im Alten Ägypten* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1985), 85.

[46] Hodel-Hoenes, *Life and Death in Ancient Egypt*, figs. 152–153. Between the king and Tiye is the vertical inscription: *s3 ʿnḫ nb ḏd wȝs nb ḥȝ.f nb mỉ rʿ ḏt*.

[47] For example, in Erik Hornung, *Die Nachtfahrt der Sonne: eine altägyptische Beschreibung des Jenseits* (Zürich: Artemis & Winkler, 1991); Erik Hornung and Theodor Abt, *Knowledge for the afterlife: the Egyptian Amduat—a quest for immortality* (Zurich: Living Human Heritage Publications, 2003).

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double uraei are also seen on the diadems of goddesses in their roles of protector of the king and gods. For example, the cylindrical modius worn by the large Sekhmet statue in the Mut Temple Second Court is ringed by uraei topped by sun disks. On the front, however, are the two cobras performing their protective role together with the goddess—who is herself one of the uraeus goddesses. Similarly, at Abydos, two images of Isis depict her wearing double uraei with the vulture headdress topped by the cylindrical modius surrounded by uraei.[48] In the Osiris chapel, on the headdress of the seated goddess, the double uraei are set before the sun disk that fronts the crown's plumes. On a relief outside the chapel, Isis holds a "young" Sety I on her lap to nurture him. There, her crown includes the double uraei with horns and disks hanging at her forehead, together with the vulture of the headdress. The serpent-ringed modius is topped by the horns and disk, with another uraeus hanging down from it. Here the placement of the protective cobras has been carefully determined, so that in the chapel the uraei protect the sun disk itself, that is, the sun god. In contrast, on the relief outside they are placed to hover over Sety I himself, who here is Re-Osiris. These additional hanging uraei further guarantee his care.

The iconography of the Mut Temple statue as analyzed here may suggest that the queen was portrayed in the ritualized role of a goddess in a manner similar to that represented in relief. It is likely that the statue represented Queen Tiye[49] enacting the duties of Mut as she honors and protects Amenhotep III and Amun-Re. The statue's body, face, and iconography emphasize the queen's position with respect to her husband, viz., his loyal follower (facial style); his procreative alter ego (fertile body form); his consort (queen's regalia); his divine protection (divine regalia). Although certainly fashioned in concert with one of the king's jubilees, the statue's creation for the Mut Temple appears likely, given the fashioning of the double crown on the vulture headdress. The ritual event for which the image might have been created cannot be identified, but it certainly encourages further inquiries regarding its connection with the retouched seated statue of Amenhotep III in the Second Court, and the dedication of the Mut Temple Sekhmet statues.[50]

### *Inscription from the Back Pillar*

A presentation of the added inscription is in order here, although no space is available for commentary. It will be seen, however, that the text is entirely compatible with the understanding of the statue's iconography presented above. It may well be that Henuttawy enlarged upon epithets of Tiye that originated on the statue's socle. The back pillar does not appear to have been inscribed before the 21st Dynasty.

It is intriguing to note that the later queen did not remove or change the name of Amenhotep III, but rather was content to add her text on the rear. Henuttawy, a king's daughter (Ramesses XI?) and queen's daughter (Tentamun), wife of Pinudjem I, is considered to be identical with the adoratrice of Hathor Henuttawy who left a dedicatory inscription on a Sekhmet statue at the Mut Temple. She was also mother of the god's wife Maatkare, as well as king's mother (Psusennes I), queen's mother (Mutnodjmet) and greatest of the entertainers of Amun-Re.[51]

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[48] Hedwig Fechheimer, *Die Plastik der Ägypter* (Berlin: Bruno Cassirer Verlag, 1914), pls. 148–149.

[49] In the absence of indications that other royal women were represented with the double uraei during this reign.

[50] PM $2^2$, 259, called Tutankhamun. The eyes of this statue have been recarved in a manner familiar from the Ramesses II images. A cartouche added on the shoulder of this statue was later erased, so even the original reuse cannot be exactly identified. A large corpus of new Sekhmet statues was discovered in 2006 at the king's mortuary temple, following recent finds already published, as in Sourouzian et al., "The Temple of Amenhotep III at Thebes." The association of the emplacement of carefully designed statuary for Amenhotep III with rituals has been discussed by Betsy M. Bryan, "The Statue Program for the Mortuary Program of Amenhotep III," in *The Temple in Ancient Egypt: New Discoveries and Recent Research*, ed. Stephen Quirke (London: The British Museum, 1997), 57–81.

[51] A Sekhmet statue in the First Court of the Mut Temple has a dedication to Mut by the adoratrice of Hathor Henuttawy, and it mentions Pinudjem I: LD III, 249. Niwiński and others identify her as this same woman, but that title does not appear on the new statue, although the other titles are those of the adoratrice: Andrzej Niwiński, "Problems in the Chronology and Genealogy of the XXIst Dynasty," *JARCE* 16 (1979): 49–68, esp. 50–51. Cf. Edward F. Wente, "Chronology of the Twenty-first Dynasty," *JNES* 26 (1967): 155–176, esp. 160–164, with the adoratrice of Hathor Henuttawy as daughter of Smendes and Tentamun. Saphinaz-Amal Naguib, *Le clergé féminin d'Amon thébain* (Leuven: Peeters en Departement Oriëntalistiek, 1990) concludes in agreement with Kitchen, although with further discussion.

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Left column (begins about twenty centimeters lower than right column):

*ḥmt nỉswt wrt smʒyt nỉswt mr.f ḫnmt Ḥr ḥry-ỉb ʿḥ ḥm nṯr Ḥwt-ḥr šmst ỉb n nṯr nfr mrr nỉswt mrr bỉty n rpʿtt m ṗr nỉswt šmst f ḥr ḫʒst nb sʒt-nỉswt sʒt-ḥmt-nỉswt mwt n ḥmt-nṯr ḥmt-nỉswt wrt mr.f mwt-nỉswt*

Right column:

*… n wr-ḥkʒw ḥsw.s mn.ṯ rʿ nb nỉs.t.s m ḫnt r ḫnt n wr n mrt .s n nỉswt ʿʒt n nr ḏsrt ỉdt ỉʿrt sʒwt Ḥr sʒt-nỉswt sʒt-ḥmt-nỉswt mwt n ḥmt-nỉswt wrt wrt ḫnrwt tpt ỉMn*

Left Column:

Great royal wife, consort of the king, beloved of him, she united with Horus within the palace, the priestess of Hathor, she who follows the desire of the good god, whom the king of Upper Egypt loves, whom the king of Lower Egypt loves: for the noblewoman in the royal house, she who follows His Majesty over every (foreign) country, The king's daughter, the queen's daughter,[52] mother of the god's wife, great royal wife beloved of him, king's mother.

Right Column (book roll above col. line):

… for Weret-Hekau. She is favored, enduring every day.[53] She is summoned, entering and going forward because of the greatness of her love for the king; she great of terror,[54] she sacred of dew/fragrance, the uraeus who guards Horus,[55] king's daughter, queen's daughter, mother of the great royal wife, greatest of the first harem of Amun.

The epithets near the end of the statue's inscription refer to several roles of queenship. As the one "great of terror," the queen's power to perform as an agent of Amun and the king is stressed. Her activity is apotropaic, like the instruments associated with her in rituals—the sistrum, the menat, the uraei. Not surprisingly, this same epithet, "great of terror," is applied to the *menat* and the sistrum themselves.[56] The queen is also the king's protection in the form of the uraeus—an undoubted association of the queen with Mut herself, particularly as regards her role as god's mother and god's consort.[57] The queen's epithet as "sacred of fragrance/dew" may be intended to allude to the divine birth episode in which the queen, approached by Amun in the form of her husband, speaks to him, acknowledging his true identity: "You have united my person with your 'akh'; your dew/fragrance (*ỉdt*) having pervaded all my limbs."[58] In this manner the queen's role as potential mother to the next ruler—and literal Hathor or "house of Horus"—is underlined. The statue's epithet indicating the holiness of her fragrance or dew may then suggest the god's semen, which here pervades the limbs of the queen and will bring about the birth of next king. In sum, the inscription clearly reinforces the image of Queen Tiye on the statue proper. Both queens identified with the goddess who was wife, mother, mistress of the two lands and the lady of fear—that is, the goddess Mut.

[52] Georges Daressy, *Cercueils des cachettes royales*, Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, no. 61001–61044 (Cairo: IFAO, 1909), 65, provides an example of Henuttawy as both king's daughter and daughter of king's wife, as she does on the Mut Temple statue.

[53] How to take this incomplete phrase is uncertain. Other possibilities may certainly be considered.

[54] A common epithet for lioness goddess. Christian Leitz, ed., *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen* 2 (Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 61–62 for *ʿʒt nrw*. *Wb*. 2, 278. 4–5, for masculine examples of gods and the king. See also *Wb*. 2, 278, 12 citing the Book of the Dead, *Todb*. Nav. 146, 42 (Lc): *nrwt nbt ỉʒdt*. "The terrible one, mistress of pestilence/dew."

[55] For *ỉʒdt*, see *Wb*. 1, 36, whose conflation with *idt* is an early one; for *ỉʿrt*, *Wb*. 1, 42. 1–4. *ỉdt* and *ỉdw*, *Wb*. 1, 152. *ỉdw* for "pestilence" of Sekhmet is found as well as *ỉdt-nṯr* "divine scene." Intentional mixing of these words is difficult to deny for goddesses such as Sekhmet and Mut.

[56] Leitz, *Lexikon*, 61, B. nos. 21 and 23. See also scenes of Isis with this epithet in scenes of granting necklaces and amulets.

[57] Mut was connected with the uraeus goddesses on the version of the Hymn to the Diadems inscribed on Hapuseneb's statue, and this would have been a common connection for her: Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten* 2, CG 648. *Urk*. 4, 478–480.

[58] Kurt Sethe, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*, 4, Band 1 (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1906), 221:3–5.

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Fig. 1. Cairo JE 99281, Mut Temple queen's statue.

Fig. 2. Proper left showing statue's bodily proportions.

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Fig. 3. Bust of queen's statue. Sportive writing of Amenhotep III premonen on front of modius, and festival glyphs. Vulture head with double crown.

Fig. 4. Inscription on back pillar of queen's statue.

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Fig. 5. Vatican, Inv. 22, recarved statue inscribed for Queen Tuya.

Fig. 6. Side view of Vatican Inv. 22 showing high buttock and long abdomen.

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Fig. 7. Hent-aa, wife of Hormose, Hierakonpolis tomb, reign of Ramesses XI.

Fig. 8. CG 609, Queen of Amenhotep III.

Fig. 9. Detail of Cairo colossus of Amenhotep III and Tiye with daughters. Vulture head at brow wearing plumed white crown of Nekhbet.