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VIOLENT IMAGES OF QUEENSHIP AND THE ROYAL CULT

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In recent years attention has been focused on the role of Nefertiti, her possible association with Akhenaten as ruler and her undoubted importance from the very earliest years of the reign¹. The columned hall from the Karnak temple with its scenes of Nefertiti performing religious rituals without the king is one of the most significant monuments attesting her position. The religious and social features apparent in the reign of Akhenaten are the result of developments in the ideology of Egyptian kingship in the 18th dynasty. There is nothing 'revolutionary' or 'heretical' about this period²: it is the culmination of trends, many of which can be traced back at least as far as the reign of Hatshepsut, and often to the old and middle kingdoms. So far there has been too little emphasis on the reigns of Tuthmose IV and Amenhotep III (and probably Tuthmose III and Amenhotep II) as precursors of the features seen so clearly during the reign of Akhenaten³.

The position held by Nefertiti can usefully be compared with that of Tiye in the previous reign and with that of her successors in the late 18th and 19th dynasties. In the past discussion of Tiye has concentrated too much on personal character judgements which are at best described as inappropriate⁴. Certain features of female royal iconography appear to have been introduced in the reign of Amenhotep III, and have been discussed by Gay Robins⁵. One of the most significant is the addition of the horns and solar disk of Hathor to the modius, vulture headdress and two falcon feathers. The queen is identified with Hathor in many different ways, and thus forms a counterpart to the king's role of Re'. Robins sees the increased number of divine iconographical attributes as an attempt both to emphasise the nature of the queenship and to remove the queen from the mortal sphere. Thus the role of the queen parallels that of the kingship at this time with its increased emphasis upon the many divine attributes of the ruler⁶. This remoteness can only have led to a greater increase in ritual surrounding the daily life of the king and formality in his contacts with his officials. Something of this has already been noted by B. Kemp in his discussion of the layout of Akhetaten, with its ceremonial road connecting the northern residence palace with the main temples and administrative district where the king celebrated the religious rituals and met with his officials and foreign embassies⁷.

Tiye's importance in many ways anticipates that of Nefertiti, but there are several features of her iconography and position which remain largely unrecognised by writers on this period. Tiye is the first *hmt nsw wrt* of the new kingdom to be frequently shown accompanying the king in reliefs and statuary. Of course, this does not mean that earlier queens did not accompany the king in temple rituals or court ceremonies, but it is from this time onwards that they are a regular feature in such scenes. More importantly, Tiye assumes some of the characteristics of kingship.

In the tomb of Kheruef Tiye sits with Amenhotep III under the canopy whilst Kheruef makes a presentation on the occasion of the third jubilee⁸. The queen wears the vulture headdress, modius with falcon plumes, and a fillet with two uraei, wearing the upper and lower Egyptian crowns. She carries the lily sceptre or fly whisk and an ankh, and wears the *wsh*- and *šbyw*-collars. Her throne is an adaptation of that often used by kings at this period, with lion legs and decorated side panels. However, instead of the lion's head bosses there is the head of the queen with modius⁹. The *sm3-t3wy* scene between the chair legs has female captives. On the side panel the queen assumes the form of a female sphinx with falcon markings wearing the modius and uraeus and shaded by the *šwt-fan*¹⁰. She tramples two female enemies, Nubian and Asiatic, underfoot. Behind, on a clump of lilies is a winged serpent with the white crown and the description 'trampling the foreign lands'. The text describes the queen as 'mistress of all lands, united with the king *H'-m-M3't*'. There is an almost exact parallel to this throne used by Amenhotep III in the tomb of Khaemhet, and a very similar example in the tomb of Anen¹¹.

There is much of significance in this scene. Tiye is the first queen shown wearing the *sbyw*-collar, usually given as a part of the 'gold of honour', and as such associated with the *msktw*-, *iw' w*- and *mnfrt*-bracelets. There is clearly a significance attached to this jewellery which is more than pure reward, since from the reign of Amenhotep III the king himself wears it, as indeed, he does in this scene¹². The *šbyw*-collar has been discovered in women's burials¹³, but, with two exceptions, known tomb scenes do not show the reward of women¹⁴. Wives of rewarded officials can, however, be shown wearing the collars.

Perhaps the most important feature of the scene is the representation of Tiye as a trampling sphinx. The female sphinx in statuary and relief occurs from the middle kingdom onwards¹⁵. It is usually couchant and wears the curled wig of Hathor. Tiye herself is shown as a female sphinx on other monuments. However, this is the first time that it is seen in action trampling enemies as the king's sphinx does. Also original is the depiction of female captives, who, although mentioned in texts and shown in processions are not seen trampled or slain by the king¹⁶. Later, Nefertiti's throne dais is decorated with female captives bound in the

traditional way. The queen is also shown as a trampling sphinx and like a king, smiting captives with the scimitar¹⁷.

Tiye is called *hnwt t3w nbw*, 'mistress of all lands' visually rendered by the trampling of the asiatic and nubian women and their binding to the throne. This title is also given to the queen in her temple at Sedeinga and is clearly connected with the action of subjugating foreign countries. It is also suggestive of the epithet *hnwt hmwt nbw*, 'mistress of all women', given later to Nefertiti.

The description of the queen as 'united with the king *H'-m-M3't'*' is itself unusual, and may be compared with similar epithets adopted by kings. Hatshepsut described herself as *hnmt lmn* in her nomen, and Amenhotep III erected a statue at Memphis called *Nb-M3't-R' hnm [t] Pth*¹⁸. The ritual of 'unification with the royal ka' has recently been studied and it is significant that it is with the king's Horus name, the one most closely connected with ka and divine aspect, that Tiye is united¹⁹. Unification with the ka or with a god implies the acquisition of divine power and association with that deity²⁰. Presumably Tiye acquires royal divine power through this association. At Abu Simbel Nefertari is described as *hnmt-ity'* 'united with the sovereign', when she accompanies Ramesses II in a scene of his smiting enemies.

Tiye again appears as a vanquisher of enemies in the tomb of Surer²¹. In this scene Amenhotep III is presented with the products of the workshops including a number of statues of himself and Tiye. One of these shows the queen wearing modius and double plumes, carrying the lily sceptre and standing upon a prostrate enemy. The figure is badly damaged and Davies has restored it in dotted lines so we must rely on the accuracy of his interpretation. However, the scene implies that such statues of Tiye did exist, in which case, her temple at Sedeinga would have been a likely location for them. A standing statue of Amenhotep III in a similar attitude is in the same scene, and one of Tuthmose III seated, his throne placed upon captives, is amongst the statues and temple furniture shown in the tomb of Rekhmire²². Part of a small faience statuette of this type preserves the feet of a king (?) trampling two captives²³.

Nefertiti, sometimes accompanied by a princess, is shown standing behind Akhenaten in scenes of his smiting enemies²⁴. The queen is thus involved in one of the important acts of kingship in a passive way. In one scene she appears to shake a sistrum or extend a *shm*-sceptre, which emphasises the ritual aspect of the event. Ankhesenamun and Nefertari also accompany their husbands in similar scenes, usually with one hand raised in a gesture of worship²⁵.

However, Nefertiti also assumes the role of vanquisher of foreigners, and much attention has been paid to this. Like Tiye she takes the form of a trampling female sphinx and has female captives decorating the base of her throne, but unlike her she smites enemies with the scimitar. Nefertiti thus appears in most of the ritually violent attitudes of kingship²⁶.

Related to these violent images of the queen are the scenes of Ankhesenamun handing arrows to Tutankhamun whilst he shoots birds and fish in the marshes. The scenes have been studied in detail by Alison Roberts, who suggests that the queen may be a manifestation of Sakhmet²⁷.

These violent images illustrate both the divine aspect of the queen and the nature of the queenship itself in the later 18th dynasty. From the reign of Amenhotep III a duality in the ideology of rulership is apparent in which the female principal, if not equal, is given greater prominence. The goddess most closely connected with the queenship is Hathor²⁸, and the religious syncretism of this period identifies the other goddesses important to the ideology of the kingship with her, most often in her form of the eye of Re²⁹. The queen herself acquires elaborate titularies and epithets which include both temporal titles and hathorian elements describing her physical beauty and her role as the one who satisfies the heart of the king³⁰. Tiye and her successors are called *nbt t3wy hnwt Šm' w T3-mhw*, 'lady of the two lands, mistress of the south and north'³¹. Some queens are also *hk3t*, 'the [female] ruler', the female form of the commonest description of the king at this time.

Tiye's divinity is clearly shown in a scene on the back of one of the chairs of Sitamun in which the princess presents lotus flowers to her mother³². A second princess stands behind Tiye holding a *šwt*-fan decorated with a bouquet of lotus, papyrus and poppy flowers. Both princesses carry the *hw*-fan. These two types of fan are closely connected with divinity and kingship. They are carried in the processions of the king and sacred barques, and are used to shade divine statues and sphinxes³³. The fans become a prominent feature of royal ceremonies in the reign of Akhenaten. A solar connotation for the scene is suggested by the placing of the figures in a boat above a frieze of papyrus. The cat under the queen's throne is a symbol of Mut and Hathor, as well as of Re', and the allusion may be both solar, and to the queen as mother.

The *šwt*-fan, usually associated with the divine king, is seen behind Tiye in other scenes³⁴. Also more usually connected with kingship, but in the reign of Akhenaten apparently only with the royal women, was the *šwt-R'*, the 'sunshade' temple, a building in which the king or queen was somehow associated with the sun. Tiye's sunshade temple at Akhetaten was decorated with statues of herself, Akhenaten and *Nb-M3't-R*³⁵.

The divine status accorded to the queen is most clearly demonstrated by the temple-town dedicated to her at Sedeinga in Nubia. The significance of this has usually been disregarded or only mentioned in passing by writers on this period. The town was called the 'fortress of Tiye' or 'residence of Tiye in T3-Sti', a name perpetuated into modern times as Adey³⁶. Unfortunately little of the decoration was recorded by Lepsius and other early travellers and the recent excavations of Schiff Giorgini and Leclant remain largely unpublished. It is impossible to analyse the details of the cult, but it is clear that the queen was regarded as a counterpart of the king, a local patroness and closely identified with Hathor. The decoration of a doorway published by Lepsius associated the queen with the goddess in her several aspects, and one of the temple's Hathor-headed columns still stands.

The entablature from the doorway in the east room is divided into two registers, the lower of which has a central panel with the cartouche of Tiye and those of *Nb- M3't-R'* oriented to face it. The king's cartouches are surmounted by the disk and ostrich plumes, those of the queen by the horns, disk and falcon plumes. The panel is flanked by large uraei with solar disks and by two aegides of Hathor. The upper register also has two aegides of Hathor and two figures of the queen as a striding lioness wearing a crown similar to that later adopted by Nefertiti. The queen thus manifests herself in one of the violent aspects of the goddess, perhaps Tefnut³⁷.

Sedeinga was a parallel foundation to Amenhotep III's own temple-town at Soleb, called after his Horus name *H'-m-M3't*. There he was worshipped in the form of his 'living image', a cult which celebrated the kingship and promoted the ruler as a lunar deity³⁸. He was described as 'lord of Nubia' a title later used by the deified Ramesses II in his temples at Aksha, Amara and Abu Simbel. The cult at Sedeinga probably followed that of Soleb in promoting the queenship, and the relationship of the queen to the king expressed through her association with those goddesses important to the ideology of kingship: Hathor, Isis and Weret-Hekau.

What reasons there were for promoting such a cult of queenship at this time are difficult to ascertain. Clearly it is a complex issue and there were doubtless many contributory factors. Those based upon personality must be disregarded, since we can know nothing of them, however influential they may have been. G. Robins has suggested that the non-royal origins of the queens of the later 18th dynasty led to an emphasis on their cultic role as a counterpart of the king. Certainly, within the context of a divine kingship of the Egyptian type, with its stress on the position of the mother, it is necessary to emphasise the divine nature of a queen, royal or non-royal. At the same time, there may have been strong political motives which led to this ideological expression. However, our knowledge of the families of the queens of this period is insufficient for us to make comments on the extent to which they were the subject of political machinations on the part of factions of the nobility. The image of the nobility's relationship with the king projected by the monuments is one of loyalty, but there are suggestions that this may not have always been the case. How the king controlled the power of the nobility, and how and to what degree factions were able to control rulers is, at present, far from clear. It is therefore necessary to exercise caution when considering the influence of queens' families. C. Aldred³⁸ has suggested that far from being unimportant Tiye and Nefertari were members of an influential collateral branch of the royal house, and that it was through marriage with them that Amenhotep III and Ramesses II consolidated their claims to the throne. Mutemwia and Nefertiti are suggested to belong to the same family. The prominence of these queens would then derive from their political importance. Unfortunately Aldred's theory, tempting as some of his ideas are, is difficult to prove and based on much circumstantial evidence. The divinity of the queenship is more likely to have been a direct result of the emphasis upon the king as a divine ruler in the 18th dynasty. It is, therefore, worth considering more general trends in the 18th dynasty which contributed to the growth of the royal cults and the position of the royal family.

The economic and military expansion of Egypt in the early 18th dynasty wrought enormous changes in the administration and social structure. The bureaucracies of the military, civil, palace, temple and 'colonial' institutions were greatly increased. At the same time a more rigid professional structure began to appear, with a tendency to specialise within one of the institutions. This specialisation and the increased numbers of people involved led to an emphasis upon the hierarchies of the institutions. Within an expanding structure like this the power of the high officials is magnified and this in turn affects the position of the king. A king with a small attendant nobility (especially if a significant proportion comes from his own family) preserves his remoteness. A king confronted by a large and powerful nobility, with another large literate group holding an intermediate place between the nobles and mass of agrarian workers is in a very different situation. This structure requires assertion of the king's uniqueness as a member of both the mortal and divine worlds in order to maintain his position as the major power holder. The 18th dynasty shows this emphasis upon the kingship and the relationship of the king to his officials and the gods. The king is recognised as the source of rank, promotion and reward, life and health. The relationship is direct and explicit. By the end of the dynasty officials serve a similar role for their subordinates and dependents as the

king does for them³⁹. The social structure is thereby reinforced. The king is the intermediary between gods and people, expressed most clearly through the cults of the colossal statues and the 'hearing ear'. The elevation of the queenship is a corollary of this emphasis upon the remoteness and divinity of the ruler.

There is no need to suggest, as some writers have, that the royal cults were 'tried out' in Nubia before their introduction into Egypt. There may have been strong economic and political reasons for using them as the foci of cities⁴⁰. There were in Egypt cults of statues of the living king or his ka, probably from the time of Hatshepsut or Tuthmose III, if not earlier. The role of the king as an intermediary was expressed most clearly through these colossal statues which stood at the entrance or in the forecourts of temples, and through the cult of the 'hearing ear'. At Karnak Tuthmose III built such a chapel against the eastern outer wall of the Amun temple, although Hatshepsut may already have built, or intended, something similar since she erected two obelisks here⁴¹. The shrine itself, a massive block of alabaster, is decorated on the outside walls with reliefs showing the forms of Amun. Inside are carved two large seated statues of the kas of the king and Amun, with a relief showing the royal ka of *Mn-hpr-R'* making offerings to them. This chapel stands at the west end of the 'upper court' of Karnak, which opened directly onto the city of Thebes. The intention, completed in the reign of Tuthmose IV, was to erect a single obelisk in the middle of the court, thereby identifying it as a solar court. This, the largest surviving obelisk, hewn for Tuthmose III and set up by his grandson, now stands in the Piazza San Giovanni in Laterano in Rome⁴². The upper part was originally plated with gold, and has scenes of the king kneeling before Amen-Re' and Amen-Atum, doubtless oriented to the rising and setting sun. The intermediary temple of Tuthmose III was, therefore, directly associated with, or even emphasised the solar aspect of Amun.

Ramesses II built his own 'hearing ear' temple on the axis, and to the east, of that of Tuthmose III, perhaps extending it beyond the precinct wall. It served the same function as his first court at Luxor, and, like Tuthmose III's temple had 'osiride' statues and scenes of jubilee.

The temple which Akhenaten built in the early years of his reign is on the same axis as the Amun temple and stands only a short distance to the east. Possibly, like the tuthmosid temple it was connected with the king's role as an intermediary, with the emphasis upon the jubilee rites and solar cult. The temple certainly contained large statues of the living king of the type found in the royal mortuary temples and the nubian temples of Ramesses II⁴³.

In this light it is interesting to consider the role of Nefertiti as shown in the Karnak temple. A courtyard or pillared hall had scenes of the queen accompanied by a princess making offerings to the disk. Although Tiye had at least one temple dedicated to her, the little that is known of the decoration seems rather to portray the king, and the queen is seen through her relationship to him. However, in this temple Nefertiti has adopted the same role as a king, and there may be an emphasis upon her as an intermediary.

At Amarna the prayer formulae in the tombs usually invoke the disk, the king (often separately as *Nfr-hprw-R'* and as Akhenaten) and the queen, through their ka's. In one instance queen Tiye is similarly invoked⁴⁴. In the tomb of Panhesy⁴⁵ the prayer is that Nefertiti should make a laudation (*i3w*) of the king and grant an entrance to favour. The queen must therefore be acting as intermediary between the official and the king. That she is making a laudation is suggestive of an unequal relationship, but at the same time she is seen as within the same mortal/divine sphere as the king.

This dichotomy is also expressed in the scenes on the golden shrine from the tomb of Tutankhamun. In one panel on the doors Ankhnesenamun adopts the attitude of adoration or glorification. She wears the 'nubian wig', as does the king, and a headdress consisting of the modius surmounted by five (ostrich?) feathers⁴⁶. The same headdress, again with the nubian wig, is worn by the queen on another panel, in which she offers flowers to the king and shakes the sistrum⁴⁷. An almost identical form, also with the nubian wig, has the modius decorated with uraei, and surmounted by an ointment cone with petal garland and four feathers: here the queen anoints the king⁴⁸. This type of headdress is worn by heads of H^hhor in friezes in some of the theban tombs from the late 18th dynasty onwards, surmounting both the curled and heavy wigs⁴⁹. The headdress is also worn by court ladies of Akhetaten on a relief block from Hermopolis⁵⁰. In some of these scenes Tutankhamun raises his hand in a gesture of greeting or acceptance, and in one the couple link their free hands. The offering of flowers is a sign of rejuvenation and is therefore to be linked with the presentation of *mpt*-sceptres shown on the back of the shrine⁵¹. The decoration of these door panels is important since this is what first greeted the officiant. Of the six panels, one shows Ankhnesenamun adoring or praising Tutankhamun, four show the presentation of flowers, once accompanied by the shaking of the sistrum and the remaining panel shows the queen escorting the king. The inside of the doors quite clearly indicates that it is the divine form of the king that is the object of worship⁵². The names of the king within cartouches are shown four times, in all cases resting upon the *nb*-sign. In the upper panels they are crowned with the disk and ostrich plumes, in the lower ones with the solar disk alone. They are flanked by uraei wearing the crowns of upper and lower Egypt (upper panels)

and solar disks (lower)⁵³. The scenes show Ankhesenamun offering flowers and shaking the sistrum before the king. In one scene the king has a solar disk flanked by uraei over his head, another indicator that he is here appearing in his divine aspect⁵⁴. In these scenes on the door panels (and, indeed, on other of the shrines' scenes) the queen acts towards the divine ruler in the same role as that adopted by a king to a god, or to his deified self. In this respect she does act as a priestess, but in the intermediary role of the priest-king. At the same time the texts and iconography identify her with Sakhmet, Hathor and the Weret-Hekau. She is not, therefore, an idealised wife, but an intermediary with, and counterpart of, the ruler.

This emphasis upon the double role of the queen is apparent from the reign of Amenhotep III and the dedication to Tiye of a temple-town in Nubia has been discussed above. Statues were probably set up to her in temples throughout Egypt as they had been for earlier queens, but in addition she may have received worship in another temple dedicated to her as queen. The details of this temple and its cult, at Tahta in middle Egypt, are, at present unclear. In his 11th year Amenhotep III celebrated the 'opening of the basins' at Djaroukha in the same district⁵⁵. This ceremony, and the gift to the Tiye of this land 'in her own town', is recorded on the 'lake' scarabs⁵⁶. The issue of a scarab of this type suggests that the event was particularly important, and perhaps more than the donation to the queen of a new estate. Is it possible that the Djaroukha land, amounting to some 190 acres, was allotted to provide for her temple at Tahta?

The statue of Tiye standing upon enemies depicted in the tomb of Surer has already been noted. In the same scene there are five other statues of an unnamed queen, presumably also Tiye. Three are standing, with vulture headdress, modius, double plumes and heavy wig. They carry the lily sceptre and a lotus flower, and in front of each is an offering stand with *nms*-vessel and censer. Two seated figures have the same headdress and lily sceptre. A problem of identification occurs because the deified Ahmose-Nefertari is depicted in the same way from this time onwards⁵⁷. It seems most likely, however, that the statues are of Tiye, and of the type that would have been set up in the temples of Sedeinga and Tahta, and also in the mortuary temple of Amenhotep III at Medinet Habu.

Tiye was included in the mortuary cult of Amenhotep III, and her statue continues to be depicted into the ramesside period⁵⁸. An estate bearing her name in the *pr 'imn* continued into the reign of Ay, and perhaps longer. It is unclear whether this was part of the mortuary cult or was within the Karnak precinct⁵⁹. Such estates providing the offerings for the cult and income for the priesthood could continue for a long period after the death of the founder, without being absorbed into the endowments of other cults. For example, an estate belonging to a statue cult of Nefertari, wife of Ramesses II is recorded at Aniba as still functioning in the reign of Ramesses VI⁶⁰.

The importance accorded to queens from the later 18th dynasty continues into the 19th dynasty. Ramesses II's own particular developments of the divine aspects of kingship and its cult included his wives, particularly Nefertari. The double chapel attached to the Ramesseum, apparently for the cults of Mut-Tuya and Nefertari, and the latter queen's temple at Abu Simbel, demonstrate their importance. It is also perhaps significant that at some point in the late 18th, or at the beginning of the 19th dynasty, a new necropolis was established for queens and princes in which they, like the kings, had decorated tombs.

The queens from the time of Tiye onwards are promoted as 'unequal equals' to the king. They acquire more elaborate titularies and regalia, and even take over some features of iconography from the kingship itself. Tiye and Nefertiti are, in this respect, the most significant. The dominant feature of the position of the queen, both before and after the reign of Akhenaten, is her association with Hathor.

Although Tiye and Nefertiti are the only queens known to take the form of the trampling sphinx, an involvement in the violent aspect of kingship is allowed to some queens who are shown accompanying the king whilst he smites Egypt's enemies. Ankhesenamun and Nefertari have already been cited in this action. The earliest example known to the writer is the Konosso inscription of Tuthmose IV, in which queen Iaret, carrying the *hd*-club, follows the king who, siezing a group of captives by the hair, brandishes his club over them⁶¹.

These violent images are not perpetuated. Striding female sphinxes adorn the barge of Nodjmet, when it is shown at the Opet festival, in the temple of Khonsu at Kamak. The cabins at the prow and stern of the barge are decorated with figures of the queen as a striding sphinx wearing a feather crown similar to that worn by Ankhesenamun in the golden shrine scenes⁶². Behind each sphinx stands a *šwt*-fan, with another placed behind the cabins. The sphinxes do not, however, trample enemies. The queen herself stands at the back of the barge, her arms raised in adoration of the goddess. The couchant female sphinx continued to be used in statuary until the late period⁶³. Indeed, the god's wives of Amun, who were closely associated with Hathor and Tefnut, adopted, or inherited, many features of the iconography of queenship as established in the later 18th dynasty. They also celebrated coronations and jubilees. As precedents, Tiye and Nefertiti seem to share in the celebration of their husbands' jubilees, and Nefertari is shown being crowned by Hathor and Isis in the small temple at Abu Simbel⁶⁴. However, it is only the

queens of Meroë who are shown smiting enemies after the manner of the king, and this action most probably derives from their own role within that society.

NOTES

This paper originated with several seminars given by the writer at U.C.L. on the subjects of kingship and the royal cults, mainly from a nubian perspective. I would like to thank A.Roberts, L.Boddens-Hosang and M.Karnish for very constructive comments on various aspects of the subject. Particularly I would like to thank Gay Robins for the benefit I have received from her own work on the subject, and from most valuable discussions with her. I hope no ideas have been appropriated without due recognition.

1. Most recently in Redford, D.B., Akhenaten: The Heretic Pharaoh, Princeton, 1984; Samson, J., Neferiti and Cleopatra, London, 1985. However, the ideas of J. Samson and J.R. Harris have not yet found wide acceptance.
2. My major objection to these words is that they are loaded, and I think inapplicable to Egyptology. The only aspect of the 'amarna period' which might legitimately be called 'revolutionary' is its art which certainly does begin to develop along different lines. In religious and social terms, however, it is entirely inappropriate. Similarly, 'heretic' and 'heretical' are not merely loaded, but emotive, and prejudiced. *Heretical*, whilst strictly meaning 'unorthodox' actually has far too many connotations to be applicable to a religion like that of ancient Egypt. It may be relevant to discussion of Christianity, particularly in the early byzantine period, but we cannot apply it to a religion which does not have such an idea of its own. The religion of Akhenaten, at least how I interpret it, is the logical outcome of the development of the solar and royal cults as practised in the 18th dynasty.
3. I have omitted references to Hatshepsut when discussing the assumption of certain kingly attributes by the queens (e.g. sphinxes in action) because of her peculiar role as a female king. It may be, however, that the precedents she set were influential in the development of the iconography of queenship later in the dynasty. I have also avoided discussing the cults of Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari and the degree of their influence on the cults of the living rulers, which, I suspect, is great: on these cults see Černý, J., BIFAO 27, 1927, p.159-203; Gitton, M., L'épouse du dieu Ahmose-Nefertari, Paris, 1975. The influence of the iconography of Tiye upon the cult images of Ahmose-Nefertari is discussed by Aldred, C., 'Ahmose-Nofretari Again' in de Meulenaere, H. and Limme, L., eds., Artibus Aegypti, Brussels, 1983, p.7-12.
4. e.g. Descroches-Noblecourt, C., Tutankhamen, London, 1964 and Hayes, W.C., The sceptre of Egypt II, Cambridge, Mass., 1959, p.259.
5. see Robins, G., 'The royal family of the 18th Dynasty, 1: Queens' in this journal. On the political and economic power of the queens of the early 18th dynasty see Robins, G., 'The god's wife of Amun in the 18th dynasty', in Kuhrt, A. and Cameron, A., eds., Images of women in antiquity, London 1983, p.65-78.
6. There are many studies of divine kingship e.g. Frankfort, H., Kingship and the gods, Chicago, 1948. Habachi, L., Features of the deification of Ramesses II, Gluckstadt, 1969. Hornung, E., Conceptions of god in ancient Egypt: The one and the many, trans. Baines, J.R., London, 1982, especially p.135-42. On iconography see e.g. Giza-Podgórski, T., 'Royal plume dress of XVIII dynasty', MDAIK 40, 1984 p.103-21. The most important recent contributions to the study of divine kingship and its iconography are Bell, L., 'Luxor temple and the cult of the royal Ka', JNES 44, 1985, p.251-94 and Bell, L., 'Aspects of the cult of the deified Tutankhamun' in Mélanges G. Mokhtar, Cairo, 1985, vol 1, p.9-59. This last work was received whilst proof-reading, its results have, however, been incorporated as far as possible.
7. Kemp, B.J., JEA 62, 1976, p.81-99. The impression of a formal relationship is enforced by the tomb scenes of the 18th Dynasty, particularly those of the reign of Amenhotep III (e.g. Kheruef, Surr: and Khaemhet) and the layout of palaces such as Malkata. Within this context the idea of a 'relaxed atmosphere' at the court of Akhetaten is false. The function of the 'domestic' scenes as religious icons and substitutes for the traditional imagery of gods is discussed by Aldred, C., 'Tradition and revolution in the art of the XVIIIth dynasty' in Schmandt-Besserat, D., ed. Immortal Egypt, Malibu, 1978, p.56-8.
8. The Epigraphic Survey, The tomb of Kheruef, OIP 102, Chicago, 1980, pl.49; 52A: first published by Leibovitch, J. 'Une nouvelle représentation d'une sphinge de la reine Tiy', ASAE 42, 1943, p.93-105.
9. This type of head is also found on one of the chairs of Sitamun, see Quibell, J.E., The tomb of Yuua and Thuju, Cairo, 1908, pl.38.
10. She is shown twice as a sphinx with falcon markings on a relief published by Borchardt, L., Der Portätkopf der Königin Teje, Leipzig, 1911, p.22, abb.30. A winged sphinx, probably Tiye, wearing the red crown, appears on a sealing from Malkata; see JNES 10, fig.33, S 102. For the queen as a lioness at Sedeinga, and a sphinx of Tefnut, see below and n.37. The sphinx with falcon markings

- is well illustrated in Davies, N. de G. and Gardiner, A. H., Tutankhamun's painted box, Oxford, 1962, pl. 5.
11. see LD III, Bl. 76b, 77c (Khaemhet); for Anen see Davies, N. de G., BMMA section II Nov. 1929, p. 35-49, fig. 3. Fragmentary panels of the same type were found in the tomb of Tuthmose IV, see Hayes op. cit., fig. 85.
 12. Also on statuary, where he usually carries the *h_k3*-sceptre and wears the *h_{pr}š*-crown, e.g. C.G. 42084 and Berlin 17020 see Schäfer, H., ZÄS 70, 1934 p. 1-25. These statues, and probably the jewellery, are to be associated with the cult of the king. The jewellery is also worn by the figure of Amenhotep I worshipped in Theban tomb 181 (given the features of Amenhotep III) see Davies, N. de G., The tomb of two sculptors at Thebes, New York, 1925, pl. 10.
Akhenaten almost never wears this jewellery, which is perhaps surprising for the reign when the reward scene is most commonly depicted. He is seen with it in the tomb of Ramose, where he is described as Amenhotep IV and portrayed in the 'classical' style. After the change in style (beginning with Ramose's reward scene, where he is still Amenhotep IV) his jewellery consists mainly of cartouches of the 'aten' as armlets, bracelets and pectorals. The *šbyw*-collar is worn by a (royal?) lady in scenes from talatat, see Roeder, G., Amarna-Reliefs aus Hermopolis Hildesheim, 1969, taf. 185, PC 94; taf. 198, PC 185. The *šbyw*-collar is also included in the jewellery given by the king to his daughters e.g. Cairo stela JE 44865 see, Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire, Bruxelles, Le règne du soleil, Akhnaton et Nefertiti, 1975, p. 70, no. 15. I intend to discuss the whole subject of the reward scenes and jewellery elsewhere. On gift-giving in Egypt the only study to date is Janssen, J. J., 'Gift-giving in ancient Egypt as an economic feature', JEA 68, 1982, p. 53-58.
 13. Petrie, W. M. F., Qurneh, London, 1909, pl. 29. Glazed examples were found in the burial of three wives of Tuthmose III.
 14. The exceptions are (1): Davies, N. de G., The rock tombs of el-Amarna VI, London 1908, pl. 29, where Ay and Tiy receive gifts from the window of appearances. However, Tiy is perhaps best regarded as included in her husband's reward-in the sub-scenes it is he alone who appears. (2): Davies, N. de G., The tomb of Neferhotep at Thebes I, New York, 1933, pl. 14-15. (Reign of Ay). Queen Tiy rewards Neferhotep's wife, Meryet-Re', from the window of appearances attached to the 'harim' of the palace. Meryet-Re' is accompanied by her own ladies and a royal steward. The scene is a parallel to that of the reward of Neferhotep himself by Ay and Tiy, (pl. 9).
 15. see e.g. Helck, H. W., MIO 3, 1955, 1-10. A statue of a queen as a couchant sphinx with Hathor wig is shown with other royal statuary presented to Tuthmose III, see Davies, N. de G., The tomb of Rekhmire at Thebes, New York, 1943, pl. 37.
 16. e.g. Davies, Rekhmire, pl. 21; Davies, N. de G., Private tombs at Thebes IV, Oxford, 1963, pl. 22 (Ineni); Brack, A. and A., Das Grab des Haremhab, A. V. 35, Mainz, 1980, pl. 50.
 17. Throne base with captives, Redford op. cit. frontispiece, and Redford, D. B. and Winfield Smith, R., The Akhenaten temple project I, Warminster, 1976, pl. 27.2. Nefertiti as a trampling sphinx and smiting foes, ibid., pl. 23.2; Cooney, J. D., Amarna reliefs from Hermopolis in american collections, Brooklyn, 1965, p. 82-3.
 18. Petrie, W. M. F., Tarkhan and Memphis V, London, 1913, p. 33-35, pl. 79; Gardiner, A. H., Late Egyptian miscellanies, Brussels, 1937, p. 89 (Pap. Sallier IV vs. 1, 8) where 'Ptah who is under his moringa tree of *Nb-M3't-R*' -uniting-himself- with-Ptah' is listed among the deities of Memphis.
 19. Bell JNES 44 op. cit.
 20. On the assimilation of one deity into another while each retains his/her own identity see Hornung, op. cit., p. 93-99.
 21. Säve-Söderbergh, T., Private tombs at Thebes I, Oxford, 1957, p. 39, pl. 36.
 22. Davies, Rekhmire, pl. 37.
 23. Allard Pierson Museum, Egypt eender en anders, Den Haag, 1984, p. 73-4, no. 137.
A statue of Ramesses VI leading a Libyan foe, illus. in Aldred, C., Egyptian art, London, 1980, p. 199, fig. 164, is perhaps a comparable type in stone.
 24. Cooney, Amarna reliefs, p. 81, no. 50. Redford and Smith, Akhenaten temple project 1, pl. 23.3.
 25. Ankhesenamun, see the gold foil fragment from KV 58 illustrated in Desroches-Noblecourt, Tutankhamen, p. 202, fig. 12; and Nefertari in Desroches-Noblecourt, C. and Kuentz, C., Le petit temple d'Abou Simbel II, Cairo, 1968, pl. 33-36.
 26. To date there is no known scene of her (or for that matter Akhenaten) shooting from a chariot, although in tombs at Amarna she is shown driving her own chariot, sometimes with bow-case attached. An interesting sketch of ramesside date shows a queen (or possibly a goddess, although the dress is that usually worn by queens) riding into battle in a chariot firing arrows from her bow and confronting a chariot-borne male opponent. The drawing is difficult to interpret and may perhaps be taken at face value. Alternatively it may be an illustration of either a legend or popular story (with or

- without historical foundation), or be a parody of a traditional kingly motif (the style is not, however, satirical). This ostrakon was discovered in KV 9 and is now in Cairo, CG 25125, see Daressy, G., Os-traca, Cairo, 1901; Peck, W.H. and Ross, J.G., Drawings from ancient Egypt, London, 1978, no.90.
27. On the ivory box, Desroches-Noblecourt, Tutankhamen, p.271, fig.176 and on the golden shrine pl.9a and detail pl.51, see also n.46 below. These scenes have been discussed in detail by Alison Roberts in her doctoral thesis Cult objects of Hathor. I am very grateful to her for discussing them with me, but do not want to pre-empt her publication of her conclusions.
 28. Clearly Nefertiti is not appearing in the role of Hathor—indeed she discards some of the hathorian symbolism. The emphasis in this reign must, therefore, be on the role of the queen as a counterpart of the king. In this case the identification of Akhenaten and Nefertiti with Shu and Tefnut (at least in the early part of the reign) displays an equality which is missing from the complex mother-wife-daughter relationship of the king with Hathor.
 29. So Mut, whose cult was extensively promoted by Amenhotep III is equated with Sakhmet and the eye of Re'. (She is called Mut-Hathor in the Ptah temple of Tuthmose III at Karnak.) Mut is also the mother of the king when he appears as the 'son of Amun'. Other mothers of the king are Hathor (when the king is Re' and Horus, and as 'son of Re"); Isis (as Horus and as Min-Horus-Kamutef who also appears as Amun-Re'-Kamutef); and Sakhmet (as 'son of Ptah'). The goddesses Tefnut and Maat, both eye of Re' are closely connected with Hathor and the king. The Weret-Hekau would also seem to fit into this syncretic scheme.
 30. M.Gitton discusses queens' epithets and titularies in BIFAO 78, 1978, p.389-403.
 31. *nbt t3wy* is both a parallel of the king's *nb t3wy* and an epithet of Hathor.
 32. Quibell, op.cit., pl.36.
 33. On the *šwt-* or *bht-* fan see now the many references in Bell, Mél. Mokhtar, p.33-3 and notes 51-91. On the *hw-* fan see ibid. p.36-37 and notes 140-158.
 34. e.g. Kheruef (above) when a sphinx; on a carnelian plaque now MMA 26.7.1340 one fan is held behind both Tiye and Amenhotep III, who are sitting in the jubilee carrying chair, for refs. see n.37.
 35. see R.Stadelmann, MDAIK 25, p.15-78; Fairman, H.W. in Pendlebury, J.D.S. et al. The city of Akhenaten III, vol.1, London, 1951, p.201-208 and Davies, el-Amarna III, 1905, p.19-25, appendix A, pl.8-12.
 36. On the name see Griffith, F.L.I., Meroitic inscriptions II, London, 1912, p.8. Most of the available material on the site is gathered in PM VII, pp.166-167. A plan and view can be found in LD I, Bl.115 (plan) Bl.114 (view). A brief description of the temple, and work carried out is given by M.Schiff Giorgini in Kush 13, 1965, p.112-115, pl.30 (Hathor capital) and Kush 15, 1967-68, p.266-67.
 37. LD III, Bl.82i (entablature). Tefnut, or, probably, the queen as Tefnut appears on a brown sard plaque MMA 26.7.1342 as a winged sphinx with human arms supporting the cartouche of *Nb -M3't -R'*, and wearing a tall crown with foliage. see A.H.Gardiner in JEA 3, 1916, p.73-5, pl.11 and W.C.Hayes, BMMA 6, 1947-8, p.272-9.
 38. Aldred, Akhenaten, and in CAH II, pt.2, p.81.
 39. Statues of officials also served as intermediaries, and from the mid-18th dynasty there is an increasing number of stelae set up by subordinates to high officials, with prayers for the ka.
 40. The advantages of a temple-based economy as the foundation of the administration of Nubia are discussed by Kemp, B.J. 'Temple and town in ancient Egypt' in Ucko, P.J., Tringham, R. and Dimbleby, G.W., eds., Man, settlement and urbanism, London, 1972, p.657-80, on p.667: see also his article 'Fortified towns in Nubia' in the same volume, pp. 651-656: also the comments of P.J.Frandsen 'Egyptian imperialism' in Larsen, M.T. ed. Power and propaganda (=Mesopotamia 7), Copenhagen, 1979, p.167-190, especially p.169-174. The subject is further discussed in Kemp, B.J., 'Imperialism and empire in new kingdom Egypt' in Garnsey, P.D.A. and Whittaker, C.R., eds., Imperialism in the ancient world, Cambridge, 1978, p.7-57 (Nubia, p.21-43.)
 41. PM II, p.208-218 (M and N); Varille, A., ASAE 50, 1950, p.137-172.
 42. see Barguet, P., ASAE 50, 1950, p.269-280 on the obelisk, and Desroches-Noblecourt, C. ibid., p.257-67, on the temple in the late 18th dynasty.
 43. for osiride statues and the statues of the living king, see C.Lebanc in BIFAO 80, 1980, p.69-90 and BIFAO 82, 1982, p.295-311.
 44. Davies el-Amarna III, p.18, pl.19 in the tomb of her steward Huya.
 45. Davies el-Amarna II, p.31, pl.9.
 46. Eaton-Krauss, M. and Graefe, E., The small golden shrine from the tomb of Tutankhamun, Oxford, 1985, and n.27 above. All scenes are numbered according to the system in that volume. The authors suggest that this scene (AR 1, p.30-1, pl.8) shows the king 'as the omnipotent sovereign, accepting the homage of a subject' and suggest (p.31 n.150) that the wearing of identical wigs by the king and queen is in deliberate contradiction to the gesture. However, the headress of the queen is not

- discussed. The door-panel scenes are discussed by A. Roberts in greater detail than they are here. Our conclusions, independently reached, may, or may not, be the same.
47. AR 5, pl. 8.
 48. DR 1, pl. 18.
 49. Davies, Two ramesside tombs, pl. 18; Davies and Gardiner, Seven private tombs, pl. 7. Figures of Bes and Taweret wear a similar headdress see Quibell, Yuaa and Thuiu, pl. 31 (reign of Amenhotep III).
 50. Roeder, Amarna-Reliefs, Taf. 73, 474 VII.
 51. DR 2, pl. 19: Bell, JNES 44, p. 281-2, discusses the offering of flowers.
 52. pl. 9
 53. Wildung OLZ 68, p. 555. From the reign of Tuthmose III onwards the cartouche of the king, crowned with solar disk and/or feathers and placed on the *nb*-sign, is often found as an object of veneration, particularly on lintels from houses of officials. In the reign of Amenhotep III the queen's cartouche also appears, with the tall plumes, and sometimes the horns and solar disk.
 54. Also in CR 1, 2, pl. 16; see Wildung OLZ 68, 552.
 55. As has already been recognised (e.g. Aldred Akhenaten, p. 45). Tahta and Djaroukha are in the region of Akhmim, where Tiye's parents held religious offices. A stela, probably 21st dynasty records a prophet of *Imn-Tyy*, Pisebkhanu, see Griffith, F. Ll., in Randall-Macliver, D. and Mace, A. C., El Amrah and Abydos, London, 1902, p. 94, pl. 31. See also Nims, C. F., JEA 38, 1952, p. 42-3; Gardiner, A. H., Ancient Egyptian onomastica, Oxford 1947, vol. II, p. 49, no. 360A.
 56. Blankenberg -van Delden, The large commemorative scarabs of Amenhotep III, p. 134-45; Yoyotte, J., 'Le bassin de Djaroukha', Kêmi 15, 1959, p. 23-33.
 57. Säve-Söderbergh, op. cit., pl. 36. Aldred, in Artibus Aegypti see n. 1.
 58. On the cult of Amenhotep III in the 19th and 20th dynasties see Haeny, G. ed., Untersuchungen im Totentempel Amenophis 'III, Wiesbaden, 1981; the comments of E. Graefe in his review JEA 71, 1985, p. 202; Stela B.M. 834 (temp. Tutankhamun/Ay); Hall, H. R., Hieroglyphic texts... in the British Museum VII, London 1925, pl. 21.: Vandier d'Abbadie, J., 'Deux tombes ramessides a Gournet-Mourrai', MIFAO 87, Cairo, 1954, pl. 10, 19.
 59. Statue of an official called Ay, reign of Ay, Brooklyn 66.174.1 see Bothmer, B. V., in Brooklyn Museum Journal 8, 1966-67, p. 84-89; Sauneron, S., Kêmi 18, 1968, p. 66-78. The title he holds is *imy-r pr Imn m pr Tyy m pr Imn*. The domain of Karnak is suggested by Ay's other titles of second prophet of Amun and chief prophet of Mut. The official's mother, Mutemnub, was sister of one of these queens, although it is uncertain which one.
 60. In the tomb of Pennut at Aniba, see Helck, W., Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches, Wiesbaden, (295)-(297).
 61. see LD III, Bl. 69e. The *ḥd*-club is carried by earlier *ḥmt nsw wrt* e.g. Hatshepsut, see Habachi, L., JNES 16, 1957, p. 94, fig. 3.
 62. The Epigraphic Survey, The temple of Khonsu I, OIP 100, Chicago, 1979, pl. 22. It may be significant that the figure of Nodjmet in this scene, and those of Nefertiti both, as a sphinx and smiting, are all on the cabins of barges.
 63. with the Hathor wig, see e.g. Aldred, C., Egyptian art, fig. 181.
 64. see Desroches-Noblecourt and Kuentz, pl. 98-101. This scene perhaps had a precedent in the reign of Amenhotep III, although none is yet known. This particular aspect of queenship is worthy of further investigation.

