

# Offerings to the Discerning Eye

An Egyptological Medley in Honor of Jack A. Josephson

*Edited by*

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A CAT, A NURSE, AND A STANDARD-BEARER:  
NOTES ON THREE LATE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY STATUES

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A love of Egyptian art, the eye of the connoisseur, and scholarly acumen all come together in the work of Jack Josephson, who has greatly advanced our knowledge and appreciation of Late Period sculpture. His long-standing interest in Egyptian art is by no means limited to the last phases of Egyptian civilization, however, and I therefore feel confident that he will take pleasure in reading the following notes on some statues from a much earlier period, presented here as a small token of esteem for his scholarship.

I. *A Cat Statue from the Precinct of Mut at Karnak (Mut 4M.141)*

The first of the three statues I propose to discuss is undoubtedly the least well known. It was briefly mentioned and illustrated with a single photograph in a (privately distributed) preliminary report on the Brooklyn Museum Expedition's first four seasons of work in the Temple of Mut at Karnak (1976–1979),<sup>1</sup> where it is described as “a rare representation of the goddess [i.e., Mut] in the guise of a cat.” A few years later it was used as the starting point for Herman te Velde's article on the cat as the sacred animal of Mut;<sup>2</sup> in it he gave a succinct description and a partial translation of the inscription on the base of the statue, but no illustration. During the 2007 season at Mut, when the contents of the site magazines were moved to new SCA storage facilities outside the precinct, it was possible to re-examine the statue and take a new series of photographs (figs. 1-3). This resulted not only in improved readings of the inscriptions,

but also made it possible to establish the date of the statue, hitherto said to be “uncertain.”<sup>3</sup>

The statue was found on 12 April 1979 in the remains of the approach to the temple, in the area in front of the First Pylon of the Mut Temple, c. 40 cm west of the sixth of the seven columns on the right-hand (west) side of the East Porch, at about pavement level. This was probably not its original location within the Mut Precinct, for the constructions in this area date from the 25th Dynasty and the Ptolemaic Period, while the statue, as we shall see, is much earlier in date. The stonework in which it was found was so damaged, however, that it would be hard to draw firm conclusions from its position within these remains; one might speculate that it may at some point have been reused in the foundations of the pavement between the East and West Porches.<sup>4</sup> The measurements are as follows: the total preserved height, including the base, is 47 cm; the base is 58 cm long, 25 cm wide, and 11 cm high. The maximum width of the animal, measured across its hind legs and tail, is 22 cm, and the width across the front paws is 17 cm. The statue is made of sandstone. The head is missing and so is most of the proper right-hand side, including almost all of the inscription on that side of the base. All four corners are also damaged, again with loss of part of the inscription.

That the animal represented is a cat and not a lioness is made clear by the inscription, but the statue itself, despite the missing head, also looks more like a cat than a lion; it is rather more gracile than the usually much sturdier figure of a lion, although the feet are relatively heavy. The absence of a mane, which would undoubtedly have been

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<sup>1</sup> R. Fazzini et al., *The Brooklyn Museum—American Research Center in Egypt Expedition to the Precinct of the Goddess Mut at Southern Karnak. Preliminary Report* (Brooklyn, 1979), 5 and fig. 32.

<sup>2</sup> H. te Velde, “The Cat as Sacred Animal of the Goddess Mut,” in *Studies in Egyptian Religion Dedicated to Professor Jan Zandee*, ed. M. Heerma van Voss (Leiden, 1982), 127–137.

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<sup>3</sup> I would like to thank Richard Fazzini for permission to publish the statue here and Mary McKercher for providing photographs and additional information on the statue's provenance.

<sup>4</sup> According to the entry in the SCA register, it was found “in (the) remains of (the) floor,” and in the preliminary report (n. 1 above), it is said to have been found “at the level of the foundations of the porch.”

visible on the preserved part of the statue,<sup>5</sup> further confirms this identification. The animal is depicted in what has been called its standard “hieroglyphic” form,<sup>6</sup> sitting upright with its tail curled upwards between its right flank and thigh. Cat lovers will know that cats never actually hold their tails in this fashion, and the famous bronze cats from the Late Period almost without exception have their tails on the ground along their right side, sometimes with the tip curled around the right forepaw. The upward-curling tail may in fact have been borrowed from the images of lions and sphinxes (including the Great Sphinx of Giza), which are almost always shown with their tails held in this way.

The statue is inscribed with a single line of text around all four sides of the base (fig. 4a) and a further short line on the top surface of the base, in front of the cat’s forepaws (fig. 4b). Of the latter text, only the first half is preserved, reading “The beautiful cat of ‘Mut’ (?)...,” confirming that the animal represented is indeed a cat. The identification with the goddess Mut is also obvious from the offering formulae inscribed on the base. This inscription starts at the center of the front with the usual *ḥtp-dī-nsw* and then runs in opposite directions (fig. 5). The formula running from left to right along the front and left sides of the base reads:

“An offering which the King gives (to) Mut [.../...], mistress of the Two Lands, that she may give a happy lifetime in Thebes,<sup>7</sup> and that (my) name may endure in her temple [...]. Made (i.e., dedicated) by the ‘Standard’-Bearer [...].”

The matching formula running from right to left is very incomplete, but although the right side is

almost entirely missing, it continues on the back of the base:

“An offering which the King gives (to) Mut [.../...], that she may give ...] ‘joyfulness’ while following [the king (?)<sup>8</sup> ... ..., to the *ka* of (?) the Standard-Bearer of] / the Great Regiment of Neb-ma<sup>c</sup>at-Re, Pa<sup>r</sup> ser<sup>1</sup>, [justified (?)].”

The religious aspects of the cat as an image of the goddess Mut<sup>9</sup> having been dealt with admirably by Te Velde, all that remains here is to establish the date of the statue. That it stems from the New Kingdom is clear: leaving aside an ephemeral Second Intermediate Period king of that name, the Neb-ma<sup>c</sup>at-Re mentioned in the owner’s title can only refer to either Amenhotep III or Rameses VI. The title *ḥw-sryt* “Standard-Bearer”<sup>10</sup> is not attested after the New Kingdom and neither is the name Paser,<sup>11</sup> although the reading of the latter name is not entirely certain. The offering formulae are also common during the second half of the 18th Dynasty (after the reign of Thutmose III) and the Ramesside Period.<sup>12</sup> Close scrutiny of the inscription reveals the presence of minute traces of blue pigment in some of the signs and, much more clearly, of red in the framing lines. There are no traces of colors other than blue in the hieroglyphs, and since the framing lines show that at least red would almost certainly still be present had it been used, we may safely conclude that the hieroglyphs were originally all painted blue and the framing lines red. This was a popular color scheme for inscriptions at the end of the 18th Dynasty<sup>13</sup> that appears to have gone out of fashion during the Ramesside Period. For this reason alone it is not very likely that the statue belongs to the reign of Rameses VI.

<sup>5</sup> Compare in particular the statue of a seated lion found in the center of the court between the Ninth and Tenth Pylons at Karnak, J.-C. Goyon and C. Traunecker, “Documents de l’Allée des Processions, 2. Statue de lion assis (VII N c 50),” *Karnak VI, 1973–1977* (Cairo 1980), 132–135, pls. XXXVI–XXXVII and the parallels cited there.

<sup>6</sup> J. Málek, *The Cat in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1993), 47–49.

<sup>7</sup> *m-ḥnw W3st* (not *m niwt* “in the precinct,” te Velde, “The Cat as Sacred Animal,” 127 with n. 1). Cf. the statue of the standard-bearer Kenamun (CG 935), also from the Mut Temple: *dī=s ḥ<sup>c</sup>w nfr m-ḥnw W3st*, P. Newberry, in M. Benson and J. Gourlay, with P. Newberry, *The Temple of Mut in Asher* (London, 1899), 328 and *Urk. IV*, 1407, 14.

<sup>8</sup> *ndm-ib ḥr šms nsw*, cf. the inscription of Kenamun.

<sup>9</sup> See now also N. Wahlberg, “Representations of Hathor and Mut in the Hibis Temple,” in *Current Research in Egyptology III: December 2001*, ed. R. Ives, D. Lines, C. Naunton, and N. Wahlberg (Oxford, 2003), 72–73 (I owe this reference to Richard Fazzini).

<sup>10</sup> *Wb. IV*, 192, 13–18.

<sup>11</sup> *ÄPN I*, 117, 12–13.

<sup>12</sup> W. Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel* (Glückstadt, 1968), 126–127, 153–154, 168 (Bitte 151 and 154).

<sup>13</sup> Some examples: tombs of Amenemwia (temp. Amenhotep III–Akhenaten) and Meryneith (temp. Akhenaten–Tutankhamun) at Saqqara, see for the time being A. Zivie, *Les tombeaux retrouvés de Saqqara* (Paris, 1993), 76–81, and M. Raven, “The Tomb of Meryneith at Saqqara,” *EA 20* (2002), 27, fig. at top right, resp.; stelae of Any, from Amarna, see, e.g., R.E. Freed, Y.J. Markowitz and S.H. D’Auria, eds., *Pharaohs of the Sun: Akhenaten, Nefertiti, Tutankhamen* (Boston, 1999), 173, fig. 134; stela of Amenemone, of unknown provenance (temp. Tutankhamun), *ibid.*, 280, no. 259; Thebes: tomb chapel of Maya (TT 338), M. Tosi, *La capella di Maia* (Turin, 1969), unnumbered color plates.



Fig. 1a. Cat statue from the Mut Precinct, Karnak.  
Photograph: Mary McKercher.



Fig. 1b. Inscription on top of base. Photograph: author.



a



b

Fig. 2a. Cat statue from the Mut Precinct, front.  
b. Cat statue from the Mut Precinct, left side. Photographs: Mary McKercher.

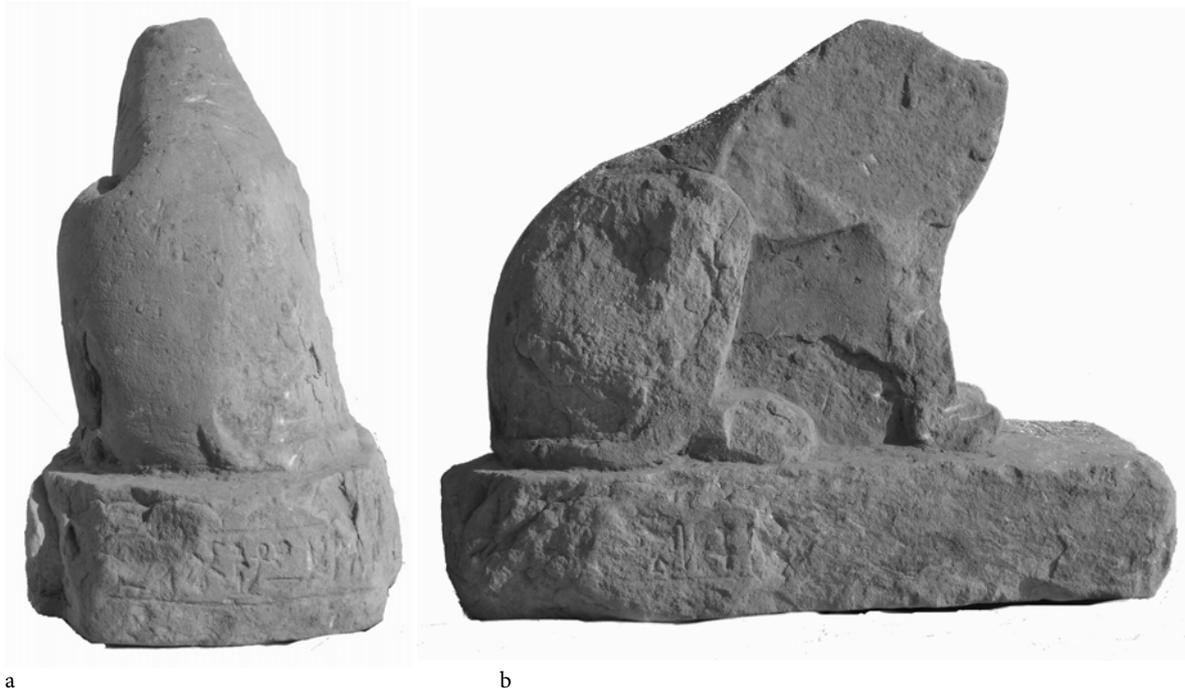


Fig. 3a. Cat statue from the Mut Precinct, back.  
 b. Cat statue from the Mut Precinct, right side. Photographs: Mary McKercher.

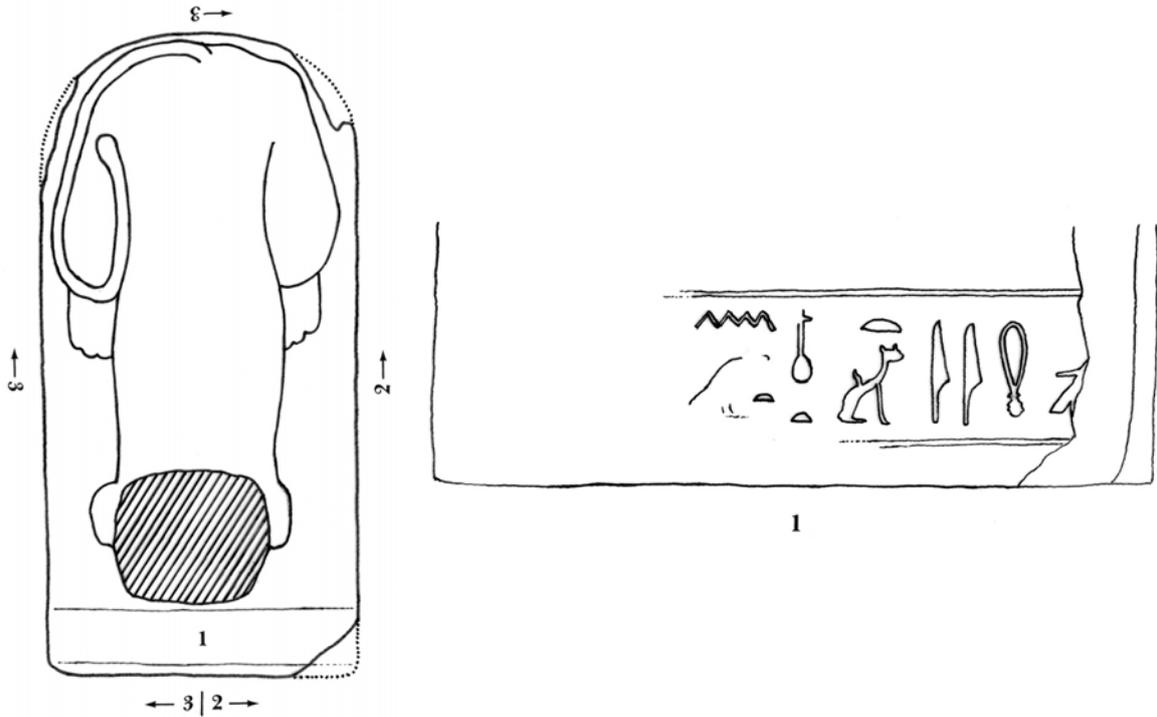


Fig. 4a. Cat statue from the Mut Precinct, Karnak. Diagram showing position of texts.  
 b. Inscription on top of base.



Further indications are provided by the name and title of the owner. The “Great Regiment of Neb-maʿat-Re” is attested elsewhere, albeit anachronistically: in the Theban tomb of Khonsu-Ta (TT 31), which dates from the reign of Rameses II, a “Standard-Bearer of the Great Regiment of Neb-maʿat-Re, Nebmehyt”<sup>14</sup> is mentioned and depicted in a scene that also includes the vizier Usermont and his brother, the priest of Montu Huy, both of whom are known to have lived during the reign of Tutankhamun.<sup>15</sup> This Nebmehyt is called “his father,” meaning either Usermont’s father, who is known from another source to have been called Nebmehyt, or, as Labib Habachi has argued, Usermont’s son, who was the father of the tomb owner’s father Neferhotep, i.e., Khonsu-Ta’s grandfather. In that case, this Nebmehyt lived well after the reign of Amenhotep III, showing that the regiment bearing that king’s name still existed after the Amarna Period. The name of the standard-bearer who dedicated the cat statue to Mut is not Nebmehyt, however, but most probably Paser,<sup>16</sup> and it is perfectly possible that this Paser was a predecessor of Nebmehyt from the time of Amenhotep III himself. On the other hand, a standard-bearer Paser is actually known: he was one of the two sons of Tutankhamun’s Nubian viceroy Huy, mentioned twice in his father’s tomb (TT 40).<sup>17</sup> This Paser was also stablemaster (*hry-ihw*) and overseer of the cavalry (*imy-r ssm*), titles which may have been mentioned in the missing portion of the text preceding the standard-bearer title, or which he

may have acquired later in his career. Be that as it may, a date later than Amenhotep III would agree well with one further indication: the wish, recorded in the offering formula, to let one’s name endure in the temple or the city (rather than the tomb or the hereafter) is not attested before the Amarna Period,<sup>18</sup> in keeping with the shift of the funerary cult from the tomb to the temple under Akhenaten.<sup>19</sup> Thus, although there is at first sight little to go by, it seems reasonably certain that the cat statue from the temple of Mut must be dated to the last decades of the 18th Dynasty.<sup>20</sup>

## II. *The Royal Nurse from the Sacred Animal Necropolis (Cairo JE 91301)*

My second note concerns the by now well-known limestone statue of a nurse and child found by W.B. Emery in the Sacred Animal Necropolis at Saqqara in 1968 and now on display in the Cairo Museum (fig. 7). The date, as well as the sex and identity of the child, has been the subject of debate ever since the statue was published by Elizabeth Hastings in 1997.<sup>21</sup> She dates the statue mainly on the basis of such criteria as the fringed garment worn by the nurse (Middle Kingdom–Dynasty 18 at least) and her enveloping wig (covering both ears and shoulders), which according to Vandier first appeared during the reign of Amenhotep II and continued throughout the New Kingdom. She then quotes Catharine Roehrig, who examined the statue in Cairo in 1985 and was able to read traces

<sup>14</sup> N. de G. Davies, *Seven Private Tombs at Kurnah* (London, 1948), pl. XI; cf. P.-M. Chevereau, *Prosopographie des cadres militaires égyptiens du Nouvel Empire* (Antony, 1994), 113, no. 15.80.

<sup>15</sup> L. Habachi, “Unknown and Little-known Monuments of Tutankhamun and of his Viziers,” in *Glimpses of Ancient Egypt: Studies in Honour of H.W. Fairman*, ed. J. Ruffle, G.A. Gaballa and K.A. Kitchen (Warminster, 1979), 32–41; Boyo G. Ockinga, “Another Ramesside Attestation of Usermont, Vizier of Tutankhamun,” *BACE* 5 (1995), 61–66.

<sup>16</sup> The oblique line of the incomplete sign immediately following *p3* is almost certainly the staff of the *sr* sign (A21), and the traces behind it would suit the seated dignitary holding the flail (A52).

<sup>17</sup> Nina de G. Davies and A.H. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Huy, Viceroy of Nubia in the Reign of Tutankhamun (No. 40)* (London, 1926), pl. XI and (without this title) pl. VI; cf. *Urk.* IV, 2067, 2 and 2065, 9, resp.; cf. Chevereau, *Prosopographie*, 104, no. 15.20 and 47, no. 7.13.

<sup>18</sup> Barta, *Opferformel*, 127, Bitte 154a with n. 7.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. E. Hornung, *Echnaton: Die Religion des Lichtes* (Zürich, 1995), 109–110.

<sup>20</sup> It is worth mentioning here that a similar cat statue was

found in or around Luxor Temple and is now stored in the Chicago House blockyard in the temple precinct (fig. 6). It is roughly the same size as the cat from Mut, but lacking not only its head, but also its base, including any inscriptions that may once have been on it. A considerable number of relief blocks in the Luxor blockyard, mostly from the Kushite and Ptolemaic periods, appear to have come from the Mut Precinct (cf. W.R. Johnson, “The Chicago House Season October 2002 to April 2003: A Monthly Diary,” *Chicago House Bulletin* vol. 14, no. 1 [September 1, 2003], 5; see now also W.R. Johnson and J.B. McClain, “A Fragmentary Scene of Ptolemy XII Worshipping the Goddess Mut and Her Divine Entourage,” in *Servant of Mut: Studies in Honor of Richard Fazzini*, ed. S.H. D’Auria (Leiden, 2008), 134–140), and it is possible that the Luxor cat also originates from the Mut Temple. The animal is depicted in a distinctly more upright posture than the Mut Temple cat, however, and it is therefore very unlikely that the two statues once formed a pair. I am very grateful to Ray Johnson for permission to mention and illustrate this fragment here.

<sup>21</sup> E.A. Hastings, *The Sculpture from the Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqāra 1964–76* (London, 1997), 9–11, 75–76, pls. X–XII (no. 20).

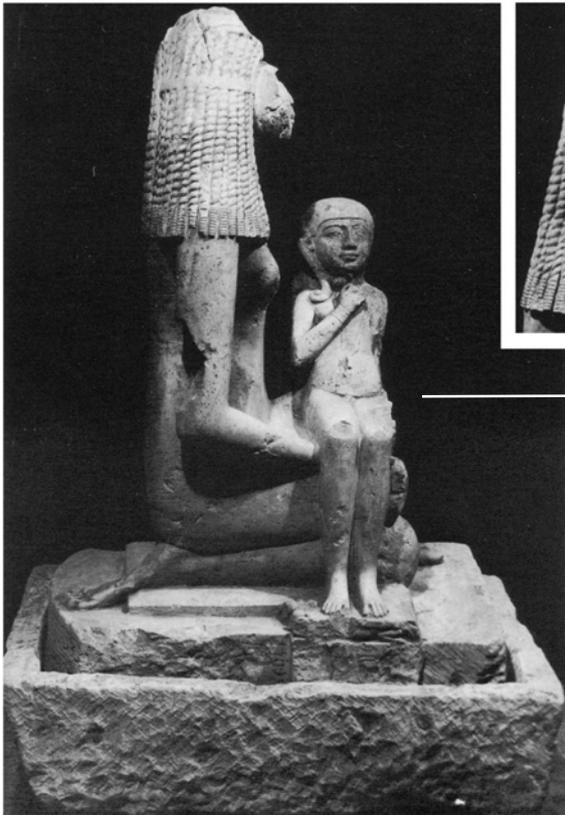


Fig. 7. Nurse statue Cairo JE 91301. From E.A. Hastings, *The Sculpture from the Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqâra 1964–76* (London, 1997), Pls. X (detail) and XI (left).



Fig. 9. Standard-bearing statue Cairo CG 42194. From *Le règne du Soleil: Akhnaton et Nefertiti* (Brussels, 1975), 140–141.

of an inscription reading *n k3 n mn<sup>c</sup>t wrt* and also pointed out that a statue of Sit-Re nursing Hatshepsut already wears a similar wig.<sup>22</sup> Hastings thus tentatively dates the statue to the early (i.e., pre-Ramesside<sup>23</sup>) New Kingdom (Dynasty 18). As regards the gender of the child, she writes that “absence of the genitalia suggests that the baby is female rather than male”; she also says that “the presence of the captives’ heads beneath the baby’s footstool surely implies a royal identity for the child, and that the main figure should be taken as a Royal Nurse.” She suggests that the statue was at some stage “removed from a New Kingdom tomb chapel, and thrown into the vestibule of the Baboon Gallery during one of the periodic destructions of the site” and adds that “it is highly desirable that (the inscription) should be fully transcribed and read.” From H.S. Smith’s

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 11 n. 6.

<sup>23</sup> And not “the early part of the Eighteenth Dynasty,” as Ertman (see n. 7; p. 339) incorrectly interprets her words.

<sup>24</sup> *The Egyptian Museum at the Millennium*. Catalogue edited by C.M. Sheikholeslami (Cairo, 2000), [67] and 114

introduction to her book, and her own text, it is clear that Hastings was able to work only from photographs of the statue.

In the exhibition “The Egyptian Museum at the Millennium,” mounted on the occasion of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists in Cairo in the spring of 2000, the statue was for the first time displayed to the public. In the booklet accompanying the exhibition, the caption to the illustration of the statue describes it as a “limestone statue of [a] nurse holding a prince, perhaps Maia and Tutankhamun,” but no further details are given.<sup>24</sup>

In the Centennial volumes of the Cairo Museum published in 2002, Earl Ertman, in an attempt to find another criterium for dating the statue, discussed the winged scarab worn by the child.<sup>25</sup> He established that the type seen on the

(No. 23). The statue is now back in storage in Sector 3 of the Museum (information kindly supplied by Dr. Janice Kamrin and Mr. Wahid Edwar of the Cairo Museum).

<sup>25</sup> E.L. Ertman, “Types of Winged Scarabs: Tutankhamun’s Use of the H-winged Scarab,” in *Egyptian Museum*

statue is attested from the reigns of Thutmose IV to Psusennes I, and that it appears to have been particularly frequent among the objects, statuary, and paintings in the tomb of Tutankhamun.<sup>26</sup> He shrinks back from identifying the child as Tutankhamun, however, because of the wig worn by the nurse. For this he consulted Joann Fletcher, who, working from photocopies, indicated that “the nurse’s hair/wig style is at least XIX[th] dynasty if not later.” Ertman adds that the wig style “is based on the long, full style so common in the mid-to-late Eighteenth Dynasty, but the outline and slight flaring towards its base and the thickness of the individual braids suggested by the surface decoration makes me suspect it is somewhat later.” As regards the sex of the child, he remains undecided, asking: “Was this meant to represent a boy and the genitals were not carved? That seems a possibility.” Ertman’s concluding statement is that “the style of the nurse’s wig places this object beyond a date in the late Eighteenth Dynasty, and should rule out King Tutankhamun from consideration as the individual represented here.”

In the early spring of 2000, shortly before the statue went on exhibition, I was able to examine it in detail in the reserves of the Cairo Museum.<sup>27</sup> My first aim was to try and read what was left of the inscription in the hope of being able to identify the owner. The base of the statue was cut down at some point in its history, presumably when it was reused in the Sacred Animal Necropolis, in order to fit it into a new hollowed-out block of limestone, and parts of the inscription are either lost or obscured by the gypsum plaster used to cement the statue into its new base. Copying the inscriptions in facsimile<sup>28</sup> was therefore impossible, but with the help of a torch and a mirror I was able to read everything that was there (fig. 8). The text around the base is preserved only on the back

and on part of the proper left-hand side of the statue; on the front, the inscription has been cut away completely, and on the right-hand side, only minute traces survive. There are two lines, both of which somewhat unusually have to be read on each side first before continuing on the adjacent side—in other words, the second line of one side continues with the first line of the adjacent side. The inscription mainly consists of the remains of an offering formula:

(a: 1–2, lost) “[An offering which the King gives to ... and ...], (b: 3) [...] ‘that they may give’... [...bread and] ‘beer’ (?), (b: 4) every [good and pure thing on which a god lives (?)] ... and what heaven gives,] (c: 5) the earth produces and Hapy brings forth from his cavern, inhaling (c: 6) the sweet breeze of the north wind, cool water, wine and milk, the ability to leave (the tomb) as a (d: 7) living *ba* in every form [she] ‘wishes’, [and to drink water from the eddy of] (d: 8) the river, to the *ka* of the Great Nurse of the ‘King of Upper’ [and Lower Egypt ...], NN, justified] / of the ‘King’s’ [Son ..., NN, justified]”.<sup>29</sup>

Unfortunately, the crucial part of the inscription that contained the names of the nurse and the child is irretrievably lost. What is left is part of the nurse’s title, confirming Catharine Roehrig’s reading *n k3 n mn<sup>c</sup>t wrt*. It is followed by what appears to be the top of a *sw* sign, which in this position strongly suggests the beginning of a king’s throne name (*nsw bity*), rather than *nsw* alone, which would have been written before the title (i.e., as *mn<sup>c</sup>t nsw wrt*). Another, perhaps more likely, possibility would be to take it as the beginning of a prince’s title, *s3 nsw* (with honorific transposition).<sup>30</sup> The offering formula contains no surprises—the phrases used are frequent throughout the New Kingdom and provide no dating clues. My impression from the inscription was that the shapes and forms of the individual signs conform

*Collections around the World: Studies for the Centennial of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo I*, ed. M. Eldamaty and M. Trad (Cairo, 2002), 333–343. From the photographs published thus far, Ertman was unable to determine whether the round object held between the lowermost pair of legs of the scarab beetle was a *shen* ring or a sun disk. Examination of the actual statue leaves no doubt that it is a *shen* ring.

<sup>26</sup> Under Tutankhamun, after a temporary eclipse during the Amarna Period, the scarab in general appears to have enjoyed a renewed popularity and to have acquired lunar as well as solar associations, see E. Hornung and E. Staehelin, in *Tutanchamun: Das goldene Jenseits. Grabschätze aus dem Tal der Könige*, ed. A. Wiese and A. Brodbeck (Basel, 2004), 82. It should be remembered, however, that a lack of comparative material from pre-Amarna royal tombs makes it difficult to assess this apparent renaissance.

<sup>27</sup> For permission to do so, I am very grateful to Dr. Mohammed Shimy, then director of the Egyptian Museum.

<sup>28</sup> The accessible part of the inscription was copied in facsimile by G. T. Martin, *The Tomb of Hetepka and other reliefs and inscriptions from the Sacred Animal Necropolis, North Saqqāra, 1964–1973* (London, 1979), 61 and pl. 53 (no. 211). See also the photographs in Hastings, *Sculpture*, pl. XI and her discussion of the inscriptions, pp. 75–76.

<sup>29</sup> A further inscription (e) is found on the footstool on top of which the bound prisoners under the child’s feet are shown and which protrudes beyond the side of the base. All that remains of the text once inscribed on it are two signs reading *rt*... (cf. Hastings’ pl. XI left). Hastings very plausibly suggests that this may be part of *Rt<sup>nw</sup>* “Syria” (op. cit., 75).

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Roehrig’s suggestion quoted by Hastings, *Sculpture*, 76.

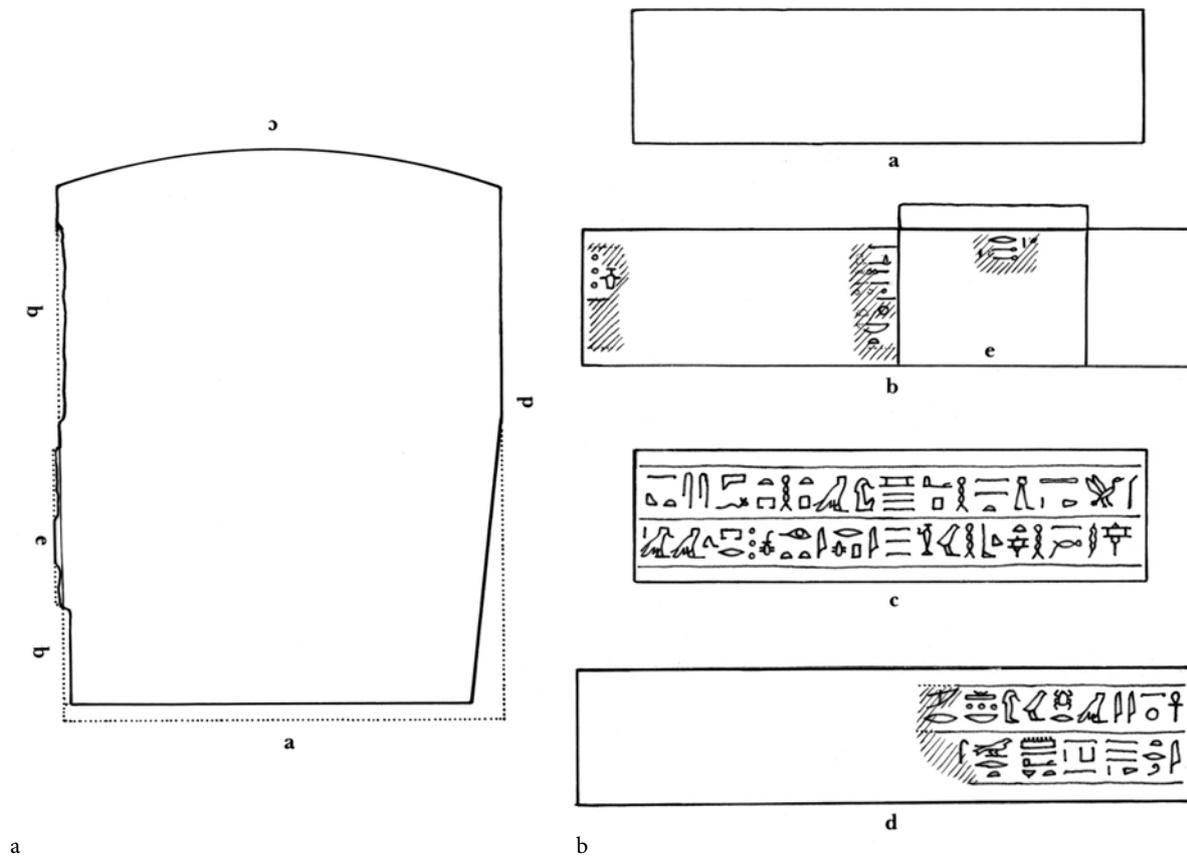


Fig. 8a. Nurse statue Cairo JE 91301. Diagram showing position of texts. b. Hand copies of inscriptions on base.

to the late 18th Dynasty forms with which I have become familiar during two decades of epigraphic work in the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara, and that they are clearly different from the forms encountered in the inscriptions in the Ramesside tombs there.

This impression is further strengthened by the style of the statue itself: the “free,” “naturalistic” treatment of the figure of the nurse, who is shown seated on the ground with one leg raised, is very different from the much more formal statues of female nurses seated on block thrones or chairs from the earlier 18th Dynasty, such as the statue

of Hatshepsut’s nurse Sit-Re<sup>31</sup> or the anonymous statue of a nurse holding four royal children found in recent years at Kafr en-Nahhal near Zagazig.<sup>32</sup> It is true that two statues of male royal tutors of Hatshepsut’s daughter Neferu-Re<sup>33</sup> are shown in this pose, but like many statue types introduced by Senenmut, these remain in many ways exceptional, and even these two statues do not display the same freedom of expression seen in the Saqqara nurse.<sup>34</sup> Apart from two small Late Middle Kingdom bronze statuettes, one of which shows a princess suckling a royal child,<sup>35</sup> the squatting posture of the female nurse from Saqqara is unparalleled.

<sup>31</sup> Cairo JE 56264; C.H. Roehrig, in *Mistress of the House, Mistress of Heaven: Women in Ancient Egypt*, ed. A. K. Capel and G.E. Markoe (New York, 1996), 17 fig. 8b.

<sup>32</sup> Cairo JE 99831; M. Saleh, “Varia from the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, 3. A Lady Nurse and Four Royal Children,” in *Stationen: Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Ägyptens, Rainer Stadelmann gewidmet*, ed. H. Guksch and D. Polz (Mainz, 1998), 358–361, pl. 19.

<sup>33</sup> C.H. Roehrig, in *Hatshepsut: From Queen to Pharaoh* (New York, 2005), 113 figs. 49–50.

<sup>34</sup> In the Saqqara statue, to mention only one significant difference, the child’s body is separated from that of its nurse, whereas in the earlier male statues, the two figures form an integral whole, with no space between the bodies of the tutor and the child.

<sup>35</sup> J.F. Romano, “A Statuette of a Royal Mother and Child in The Brooklyn Museum,” *MDAIK* 48 (1992), 131–143, pls. 28–30.

This informal, “uncanonical”<sup>36</sup> pose suggests, to me at least, a date after the Amarna Period. The face of the nurse, although damaged, still displays the large almond-shaped eyes set at a slight angle that are not found before the reign of Thutmose IV at the earliest, and this also points to a date in the later part of the 18th Dynasty. The enveloping wig, with its rather thick individual braids held together with a fillet at ear level, agrees well with such a date; certainly I see no grounds for Fletcher’s and Ertman’s claim that this wig cannot be earlier than Ramesside. The slender body, long, rather thin legs, and elongated feet of the nurse, which are particularly striking in the side views published in Hastings’ pl. XI, are reminiscent of the figure of the goddess in the limestone dyad of Amun and Mut from the Luxor cachette,<sup>37</sup> which was usurped by Ramesses II but originally belongs to the immediate post-Amarna period. A further detail suggesting a late 18th Dynasty date are the eyes and eyebrows of the royal child, which have been outlined in black in a way strongly reminiscent of the reliefs from the tombs of the vizier Ramose at Thebes (temp. Amenhotep III–IV) and the treasurer Maya at Saqqara (temp. Tutankhamun). The round, slightly protruding belly of the child is a further indication of such a date. I would therefore assign this statue to the late 18th Dynasty, or more precisely to the post-Amarna period.<sup>38</sup>

As far as the gender of the child is concerned, there can be no doubt that it is male. An examination of the statue itself rather than photographs reveals that the genitals are not absent, as stated by Elizabeth Hastings, but merely damaged. The bound prisoners under the feet of the boy, as well as the winged-scarab pectoral on his chest, clearly point to a royal child, that is, a reigning king depicted as a child. This combination of data, plus Hastings’ very plausible suggestion that the statue had been removed

from a New Kingdom tomb chapel before it ended up in the Sacred Animal Necropolis, to my mind strongly suggests that the statue does indeed represent Tutankhamun on the lap of his nurse Maia (or Mutia<sup>39</sup>), whose nearby Saqqara tomb was discovered by Alain Zivie in 1996.<sup>40</sup>

### III. *The Original Owner of the Earliest Nonroyal Standard-Bearing Statue (Cairo CG 42194)*

Among the many masterpieces of Egyptian sculpture to have emerged from the famous Great Cachette discovered by Georges Legrain under the floor of the court to the north of the Seventh Pylon at Karnak in 1903–4<sup>41</sup> is a small greenish breccia or tuff<sup>42</sup> statue inscribed for the High Priest of Amun, Sheshonq, son of Osorkon I and Queen Ma’atkare (fig. 9). Although there are no traces of earlier, erased inscriptions, it has long been recognized that this statue was in fact usurped by Sheshonq, who also added the relief figures of Amun and Osiris on the chest and skirt, and that it originally belonged to a late 18th Dynasty official. Legrain himself, in the text of the *Catalogue Général* volume in which this statue was first published, suggests that the piece was usurped; he dates the inscription alone to the 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty.<sup>43</sup>

In the early 1960s the statue was part of the exhibition “5000 Years of Egyptian Art,” which was shown in several European cities; in the catalogues for Brussels and Amsterdam the anonymous author<sup>44</sup> of the entry on the statue states that it was usurped and that it originally dates from the 18th Dynasty, possibly the reign of Tutankhamun.<sup>45</sup> In the Essen and Zürich catalogues, H.W. Müller takes a somewhat different stance; he dates the figure to Dynasty 22, but says that its style imitates that of the late 18th Dynasty.

<sup>36</sup> Hastings, *Sculpture*, 10.

<sup>37</sup> M. El-Saghir, *Das Statuenversteck im Luxortempel* (Mainz am Rhein, 1992), 58–60.

<sup>38</sup> A pre-Ramesside date is also strongly suggested by the title *mn<sup>c</sup>t wrt* which, as Catharine Roehrig has pointed out, “is normally confined to the Eighteenth Dynasty,” see Hastings, *Sculpture*, 76.

<sup>39</sup> Both forms occur in the tomb, see Zivie, *Les tombeaux retrouvés de Saqqara*, 88; cf. the variants of this name discussed by A.H. Gardiner in Davies, *Seven Private Tombs at Kurnah*, 28–29 (May=Maia=Mutia).

<sup>40</sup> Alain Zivie informs me that the inscriptions in her tomb never actually call her *mn<sup>c</sup>t wrt*, but since these inscriptions, as well as a now-famous relief scene showing her with Tut-

ankhamun seated on her lap, make it abundantly clear that she had been the king’s nurse, this can hardly be considered a major obstacle to the identification proposed here.

<sup>41</sup> *PM II*<sup>2</sup>, 136–167.

<sup>42</sup> Breccia is the material usually mentioned in the literature, but Barbara Greene Aston has suggested to me that the stone should actually be identified as tuff.

<sup>43</sup> G. Legrain, *Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers III* (Cairo, 1914), 3–4, pls. III–IV.

<sup>44</sup> E. Bille-De Mot, cf. *AEB* 60153.

<sup>45</sup> *PM II*<sup>2</sup>, 148 sounds unnecessarily skeptical in citing the Brussels catalogue (“called Dyn. XVIII”).

Pierre Gilbert, in an article about the exhibition in the *Chronique d'Égypte*, states unequivocally that the statue is a masterpiece from the time of Tutankhamun, usurped by Sheshonq during the Libyan Period; he draws attention not only to the face, which he says is “celui de Toutankhamon,” but also to the slightly protruding chest and abdomen, which are derived from the Amarna style.<sup>46</sup> In 1968 the statue was discussed in some detail by Jean Yoyotte,<sup>47</sup> who concluded that it belongs to the end of the 18th Dynasty: “Les proportions, la mode vestimentaire, et surtout un visage dont les traits sont familiers au connaisseur de la sculpture égyptienne, amènent à attribuer la pièce à l'époque de Toutankhamon et d'Horemheb. C'est à côté de la dame Meryet de Leyde et de l'épouse de Nakhtmin que ce document du temps des Chechanq devrait prendre place pour s'en tenir à une simple chronologie de l'histoire de l'art.”

In 1975 the statue came to Europe again, this time for the exhibition “Le règne du Soleil: Akhnaton et Nefertiti” in Brussels;<sup>48</sup> the entry in the catalogue (no. 69) is by Gilbert, who repeats the date given in his earlier article. In the German catalogues,<sup>49</sup> Matthias Seidel writes: “Eine stilistische Analyse der Gesichts- und Körperbildung erlaubt eine eindeutige Datierung der Plastik in der Zeit des Tutanchamun.”<sup>50</sup> In the Swedish catalogue,<sup>51</sup> too, Bengt Peterson speaks of a strong resemblance between the statue's facial features and those of Tutankhamun. Finally, the figure was discussed by Edna Russmann in her magnificent book on Egyptian sculpture;<sup>52</sup> for her, the statue “encapsulates the beguiling charm of post-Amarna sculpture,” and she draws attention to the official's “soft-looking body with its pointy little bosom, and the delicate features of his Tutankhamun-type face.” In short, as this brief and no-doubt incomplete survey shows, there is a

virtually general agreement that the statue belongs to the end of the 18th Dynasty,<sup>53</sup> and more precisely to the reign of Tutankhamun. But whom does it represent?

The total disappearance of the original inscriptions makes it difficult to answer this question with certainty. Apart from the “Tutankhamun-type face,” there seems at first sight little to go on. The dress and wig are of course paralleled elsewhere in statuary of the late 18th Dynasty and do not provide an indication of the identity of the person depicted, and the “gold of honor” collars worn by the man are also found on several high officials of the period. However, an important further clue is provided by the type of statue: it is the earliest known private standard-bearer, hitherto a strictly royal type. Forty-two examples of private statuary of this type are known, but none is earlier than this one.<sup>54</sup> Very few people from the reign of Tutankhamun were in the position to be able to assume this kind of royal prerogative, and the first one who springs to mind is the chief treasurer Maya.<sup>55</sup> As the most important civil administrator of the country, he effectively ruled Egypt in close collaboration with the general Horemheb, who acted as prince-regent during Tutankhamun's early years.<sup>56</sup> As such Maya is given a number of quasi-royal epithets that reflect duties normally carried out by the king himself. Thus he is said to “appease the Two Lands for his Lord” (*sgrh t3wy n nb=f*), a direct reference to the *nebt*y name of Tutankhamun (*nfr hpw, sgrhw t3wy*),<sup>57</sup> and to be the one “who ties the Land together with his plans” (*tsw t3 m shrw=f*).<sup>58</sup> An as-yet unpublished inscription in his magnificent Memphite tomb says that Maya “fosters the Lord of the Two Lands and provides his sustenance” (*rnnw nb t3wy, irw d3w=f*). As the studies by Satzinger and Chadeauf have shown, the “standard” held

<sup>46</sup> *CdE* 36 (1961), 49–50.

<sup>47</sup> J. Yoyotte, *Les trésors des pharaons* (Geneva, 1968), 190–192.

<sup>48</sup> cf. *AEB* 75569.

<sup>49</sup> e.g., *Nofretete–Echnaton* (Berlin, 1976) and *Echnaton–Nofretete–Tutanchamun* (Hildesheim, 1976).

<sup>50</sup> cf. also H. Satzinger, *Der heilige Stab* (cf. n. 54 below), 12: “Die für Tutanchamun typischen Gesichtszüge der Statue erlauben eine Datierung in dessen Regierungszeit oder in die unmittelbar folgenden Jahre.”

<sup>51</sup> *Echnaton och Nefertiti* (Stockholm, 1975), 51, no. 69.

<sup>52</sup> E. Russmann, *Egyptian Sculpture: Cairo and Luxor* (Cairo, 1989), 142–145, no. 66.

<sup>53</sup> Note, however, G. Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (London, 1997), 207, fig. 249, where the statue is dated more generally to “the late Eighteenth or early Nineteenth Dynasty.”

<sup>54</sup> H. Satzinger, “Der Heilige Stab als Kraftquelle des Königs: Versuch einer Funktionsbestimmung der ägyptischen Stabträger-Statuen,” *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 77 [=Sonderheft Nr. 263] (1981), 9–43, gives a catalogue comprising 42 royal statues, 4 belonging to other members of the royal family, and 41 nonroyal statues (of which CG 42194, Satzinger's C 15, is the earliest; see his p. 12). See also C. Chadeauf, *Les statues porte-enseignes de l'Égypte ancienne (1580–1085 avant J.C.): Signification et insertion dans le culte du Ka royal* (Paris, 1982).

<sup>55</sup> J. van Dijk, “The Overseer of the Treasury Maya: A Biographical Sketch,” *OMRO* 70 (1990), 23–28.

<sup>56</sup> van Dijk, “Horemheb, Prince Regent of Tutankhamun,” in *The New Kingdom Necropolis of Memphis: Historical and Iconographical Studies* (Groningen, 1993), 11–64.

<sup>57</sup> van Dijk, “A Statue Base of May(a) in Copenhagen,” *OMRO* 71 (1991), 7–12.

by the statue owner is closely linked to divine and royal power and particularly to the royal *Ka*. A private person holding such an emblem is thus holding a symbol of the divine king's authority. An inscription on a fragmentary statue of Maya in the Louvre actually says that "the Royal *Ka* is in his (Maya's) hands every day (*k3 nsw hr ꜥ.wy=fy rꜥ nb*)."<sup>59</sup> Sacred staffs of this type were carried in procession during religious festivals; they are often depicted underneath the sacred bark of the god.<sup>60</sup> One of Maya's chief titles, mentioned more than once in his tomb, was "Leader of the Festival of Amun in Karnak" (*sšm-ḥb n Ḥmn m Ḥpt-swt*) or "Leader of the Festival of the Lord of the Gods" (*sšm-ḥb n (p3) nb ntrw*); during the period following the collapse of Akhenaten's new religion, he was responsible for the restoration of the traditional cults, and first and foremost of these was that of Amun of Karnak. The statue comes from the temple of Karnak, where it may still have stood

when Sheshonq usurped it. Finally, the statue is of such superb quality that only someone who had access to the best sculptors employed by the royal workshops could have commissioned it. Inscriptions in his tomb record that Maya was in charge of the "Mansion of Gold of the temples of all the gods," the temple workshops where statues of divinities were made and that he "made the temples function again by fashioning the sacred images of the gods (*m mst ꜥšmw nw ntrw*)."<sup>61</sup> As chief treasurer and overseer of works Maya was, moreover, at the heart of the country's economy. The combination of these important functions made him someone who was uniquely placed to enable him to commission a statue of this quality. Thus, although we shall probably never know for certain, I would suggest that, taken together, these indications point to Maya being the now-anonymous original owner of the earliest non-royal standard-bearing statue in Egyptian art.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>58</sup> B. Schlick-Nolte, "Ein weiteres Relief des Schatzhausvorstehers Maya," *OMRO* 72 (1992), 55–60.

<sup>59</sup> J. Vandier, *Revue du Louvre* 18 (1968), 98–99; Vandier, "À propos de deux statues fragmentaires récemment entrées au Musée du Louvre," *Ugaritica* VI (Paris, 1969), 483–499.

<sup>60</sup> Satzinger, "Der Heilige Stab," 20, fig. 11; 24, fig. 13.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. J. van Dijk, "Maya's Chief Sculptor Userhat-Hatiay," *GM* 148 (1995), 29–34, esp. p. 33.

<sup>62</sup> The identification was first suggested briefly in the final paragraph of an article I published several years ago in Dutch, "Elite en goddelijk koningschap aan het eind van de Achttiende Dynastie," *Phoenix* 44 (1998), 7–20.