

EGYPTIAN CULTURE AND SOCIETY

STUDIES IN HONOUR OF NAGUIB KANAWATI



Preface by

ZAHİ HAWASS

Edited by

**ALEXANDRA WOODS
ANN MCFARLANE
SUSANNE BINDER**



VOLUME II

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THE CULTIC SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SISTRUM IN THE AMARNA PERIOD*

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In the Amarna period, the hathoric significance of the 'naos' sistrum was exploited to visualise the role of Nefertiti in the universe of Akhenaten, demonstrating the unbroken fundamental concept of the origin of the world. In spite of the re-definition of religious concepts and focus on the sun disk, the interaction between Hathor and Ra remained unchanged. At the sed-festival of Amenophis III, the required creative activity in the celestial regions was fuelled by the performance of the royal couple. Likewise during the early years at Thebes, Nefertiti played the role of Hathor vis-à-vis the Aten. This is particularly apparent in the decoration of the 'Nefertiti pillars' where she is depicted without the king.

The more ancient a musical instrument, the more significant the aura that surrounds it. An instrument of a simple construction will often prove to have numerous associations to myth and ritual, far surpassing its acoustic properties. These latter may have accrued in a later phase, or they may be overshadowed by the symbolical message of the instrument. In ancient Egypt, this applies in particular to idiophones such as clappers (known from Predynastic times) and rattles of the type generally known by the Greek designation 'sistra'. Egyptian sistra can be divided into two main categories: the 'arched sistrum', named after its arched upper part, and the so-called 'naos sistrum' which derives its name from the element above the handle taking its inspiration from the shape of a temple portal. In view of the conceptual innovations in the Amarna period, the continued use of a traditional cult instrument such as the sistrum is of particular interest. I am delighted to have the opportunity of presenting this modest musical offering to Naguib Kanawati.

Both types of sistrum abound in museums and other collections as do representations of them, especially from the New Kingdom to Roman times.¹ The arched sistrum (Figure 1) is made of metal, most frequently bronze.² In representations they may be shown as white or yellow, suggesting silver and gold. Extant examples of the 'naos' sistrum, a prototype of which is known from the Old Kingdom, are most frequently made of faience in shades of blue and green, reminiscent of turquoise, a material associated with Hathor. They have a rectangular opening in the middle (the 'door') and holes in the sides to receive metal rods and disks (as in an arched sistrum). The 'naos' element is flanked by volutes (reminiscent of cows' horns), separated from the body of the instrument by 'negative space'. In representations the instrument appears lighter with elegantly

drawn volutes (Figure 2), and, where colour remains, it is yellow (golden), not turquoise. Texts in the Temple of Dendara indicate that in Graeco-Roman times this 'naos' was not in fact seen as a naos, but as a monumental gate (*bhn*) through which the *ba* of the goddess, encapsuled in a statue, would pass on the occasion of the feast of the New Year on its way to the roof of the temple to receive the first rays of the sun.³ This gate or portal thus signals the presence of Hathor. In addition, the handles of both types of sistrum are often adorned with the face of the goddess. The officiant may be shown with either an arched or a 'naos' sistrum in one hand, or a pair of the same, or one of each in either hand.

Lexicographically speaking, the situation is not straightforward. Available determinatives show the arched sistrum, or else a 'naos' sistrum with horizontal upper edge and parallel sides, or even, unlike a real gate, sides expanding towards the top, and including the two volutes.⁴ Both determine the word *sšst*. For the 'naos'-shaped sistrum the word *shm* may be used, this being otherwise a designation of the staff held by high officials and even royalty since the Old Kingdom as a symbol of authority.

A sistrum was used in ritual in order to 'pacify' (*shtp*) a deity with specific reference to an ancient myth known since the New Kingdom, where Hathor as the daughter of the sun god required having her savage lion personality brought under control.⁵ Mission accomplished, Ra placed his daughter (in the shape of a cobra) on his forehead – the uraeus which may also adorn the 'naos' sistrum (Figure 3). Though originally aimed at Hathor/Tefenet, the apotropaic properties of the sistrum appear to have been found beneficial in the cult of other deities as well. The sistrum was most often, though not exclusively, handled by women. In relation to the solar deity and as his counterpart, Hathor had an additional role to fulfil which is re-enacted by female members of the royal family, or perhaps a priestess: according to another myth, she stimulates her father's virility, providing the inspiration and driving force for his lonely, creative work.⁶

The emphasis on the explicit sexual nature of the divine process of creation was of fundamental importance in the concept of the maintenance of the organised world, i.e. the land of Egypt. Through the millennia priests had formulated these thoughts, and artists had given them visual shape within a correct and long established framework. There is a strange paradox in the way in which the texts may be quite unambiguous in the choice of words on the one hand, as for example in theogamy accounts,⁷ when, on the other hand, the accompanying illustrations are veiled in symbolic references. In situations where texts are non-existent or summary, objects held by participants may give the only clues to an understanding of the contents and message of a particular scene. Such is the case in most of the rituals depicted in the Amarna period.

As from the New Kingdom, a sistrum is frequently paired with a *menat*, an object either worn as a necklace with counterpoise, or held in the hand, or even worn

around the neck and being presented at the same time. The counterpoise element is a stylized representation of a female torso, the attached beads being a reference to an abundance of hair, both together being an essential implement in the cult of Hathor, to the extent that the *menat* was at times substituted for a representation of the goddess.⁸ This perhaps explains why the *menat* is nowhere in evidence in the Amarna period. Apart from two examples found at el-Amarna, no doubt heirlooms from a different time and place, the *menat* was abolished, only to be re-introduced in the reign of Tutankhamun.⁹

The sistrum, however, in both its forms survived the innovations of Akhenaten. It became a royal prerogative. In the tombs of high officials, wives were no longer represented with it. In the el-Amarna tombs as well as on talatât from Hermopolis and other reliefs from Akhetaten, the princesses are shown with one arched sistrum each when visiting a sacred area,¹⁰ but never when appearing in the palace, as for example in rewarding scenes.¹¹ The most unambiguous reference to Hathor, her face on the handle of the sistrum, is maintained, but it is often rendered in such a summary fashion that, at a small scale, it may be mistaken for a papyrus umbel which has a similar outline, and which was also used for decorating handles of mirrors. Queen Nefertiti is shown with an arched sistrum in just one small-scale scene in a private tomb at el-Amarna.¹² This is all the more curious as in the tomb of Ay she is described as 'the one who satisfies the Aten with the sweet sound of her two hands, being beautiful (*ʕn*) with the two sistra (*sššt* with two arched sistrum determinatives).'¹³ The 'naos' sistrum is nowhere to be seen in Akhetaten.

At Thebes, the situation was different. Already the scenes in the tomb of Kheruef, dating to the beginning of the reign of Amenophis IV/Akhenaten, but covering also the final years of that of his father, reveal that the 'naos' sistrum was here in the hands of Queen Tiy in the company of her son when officiating before Atum.¹⁴ At the *sed*-festival of Amenophis III it is not the queen who is depicted with the sistrum but 16 anonymous 'royal children', also equipped with *menat*.¹⁵ The occasion is the erection of the *djed*-pillar, and the accompanying texts concern 'satisfying' this *djed* of Osiris. The 'naos' sistrum thus has a prominent place in these rituals of rejuvenation.

On the Karnak talatât, along with the arched sistrum, the 'naos' sistrum is in evidence, being held by Nefertiti as well as by the two eldest princesses. Nefertiti appears in a small-scale representation with a single arched sistrum with a Hathor face and cobra in the company of the king (Figure 5)¹⁶ as well as in a larger format where the context is lost and only the handle of the instrument is visible.¹⁷ In both instances, the queen wears the Hathor crown with two tall feathers inserted between the horns.

The most significant evidence of the use of the 'naos' sistrum comes from the so-called Nefertiti pillars: constructions originally some 10 m high consisting of 18 courses of talatât and decorated on all four sides. The majority of these blocks were

found in 1949, stacked together, not in their original position, but inside the north tower of the Second Pylon at Karnak.¹⁸ There has been a certain amount of debate concerning the original number and placement of the 'Nefertiti pillars'.¹⁹ Here, we shall only deal with the decorative motif as such in that it communicates important information concerning the role of Nefertiti in the universe of her husband. The basic elements of the functions of a queen before and after the Amarna period were well established.²⁰ As with other details in his theological reform, the king extracted the essence of the wisdom of his fathers and formulated it anew.

The inscriptions name the building to which they belonged as Gempaaten. An artist's reconstruction of the building was attempted in 1970 (Figure 6).²¹ However, it is important to refer to photographic and unambiguous evidence.²² The scenes on the tall and narrow panels concern Nefertiti with one or two daughters, without the presence of the king, officiating before the Aten, partly in one, elongated register the entire height of the pillar, partly in four or so smaller registers. In the tall registers we find representations of the queen with clearly chiselled 'naos' sistra (Figures 3-4).²³ Talatât found elsewhere in the area would appear to belong to the same or a similar context. Originally, the background colour on the pillars had a characteristic pale, pink hue which has later faded,²⁴ especially when after their discovery the blocks were stored in the open air.²⁵ The sistra of the princesses are represented with the Hathor face on the handle and volutes on either side.²⁶ One of the large-scale representations of Nefertiti's sistra shows a uraeus with sun disk positioned in the door of the portal. Here, the handle is in the shape of a papyrus plant (Figure 3).

In order to prepare the ground for an interpretation of the use of the sistrum in the early part of the Amarna period, we may draw on a comparison with documentation from much later Ptolemaic temples where the sophisticated language and philosophical reflections may help clarify issues concerning earlier ritual practises. These scenes have been interpreted as a key to an understanding of Hathor's role in her myths, seeing her nature as being that of 'eros', or sexual excitement.²⁷ This is most evident in the fundamental myth of creation centered around the city of Heliopolis and the god Ra-Atum or Atum/Ra who had his dual sanctuary there from time immemorial. In the temple of Hathor at Dendara she is constantly placed as the counterpart of Isis. Isis is the mother goddess par excellence, but totally deprived of earthly sexuality, having conceived her son with her defunct husband. Hathor, on the other hand, represents the necessary eroticism of the living, the biological aspects of maternity. Her emblems, the sistrum and the *menat* (in her crypt combined into one), express her sexual nature, so much so that, in the temple of Hibis, they are shown with a phallus and a hand, the hand that received the seed of Atum when, by masturbation, he created the first divine pair in the world (Figure 7).²⁸ Hathor is never mentioned as mother of these first two children. We only hear of the hand, the 'female principle'; the creator god is always stated to have been on his own. There is no pregnancy, the work is completed in a moment. Hathor embodies the necessary female aspect of the creative force. In her

epithets 'daughter of Ra' and 'eye of Ra' she is conceived as part of his body, able to separate from it (the body) and return to it, placing herself on his forehead in the shape of a cobra.

This relationship between Hathor and the creator god can also be seen encoded in two scenes immediately before and after the Amarna period. In the *sed*-festival represented in the tomb of Kheruef, a scene depicts what may be understood as the sacred wedding celebrations of Hathor and Ra in the guise of Amenophis III and Queen Tiy with Hathor present in the scene as the sexual force uniting the couple. The texts refer to her as Maat. In the queen's body are thus combined the two goddesses upon whose presence creation depends.²⁹ In another scene on the same wall, Amenophis III appears with his queen in the evening bark, like Ra and Hathor and, accompanied by music and dance, on their way to their nightly, creative séance.³⁰

In two of the panels on the golden shrine of Tutankhamun, the king is identified as Ra by the solar disk above his head while, in one of them, the queen plays the part of Hathor with all the necessary regalia, including 'naos' sistrum and *menat*. This is an illustration of the moment prior to creation when Hathor stimulates the sun god, and the chain of events may be followed up in all the other panels until the moment when, on the back of the shrine, Tutankhamun finds himself on the throne of Horus, i.e. the throne of the living.³¹

This 'hathorization' of the queen³² is evidently by no means neglected during the reign of Akhenaten. In some circumstances the King and Nefertiti were identified with Shu and Tefenet, the first created pair.³³ This is expressed on a monumental scale in four Karnak colossi which show Akhenaten as Shu, while one at least depicts Nefertiti, no doubt as Tefenet.³⁴ The equation of Hathor and Tefenet is well known. A queen may identify with both of them, and, in the case of Nefertiti, this is particularly obvious in the demonstration of her equal status with Akhenaten as well as in her hathoric regalia.³⁵

The tomb of Kheruef was decorated when Akhenaten was a young man. He would have been well aware of the concepts expressed in its decoration and the significance of the rites of the *sed*-festival. The presence of Hathor is felt in representations of his own *sed*-festival. Admittedly, there are no longer any explicit representations of the goddess, and her name Hathor is not in evidence, but the musicians and dancers and their accompanying texts on the *talatât* are all repeated from the wall decoration of the tomb of Kheruef (though in a different composition and, in fact, in several versions), and the celebration of 'the coming of the Golden One', as the texts declare, is a clear reference to the goddess without mentioning her proper name. The god described as 'coming forth' can be no other than the solar god, now thought of as the Aten.³⁶

It is during these first years, and no later than year 2 or 3 when Akhenaten and/or the Aten celebrated his first *sed*-festival that Nefertiti appears on the stage, rather suddenly, as a person with an extraordinary status. Regardless of the several interpretations of her background and origin, the name that the queen was given should be considered, notably the *nefer* element which is virtually omnipresent in royal names of the Amarna period. It means neither 'good' nor 'beautiful' or the like, but also 'radiant' and 'dynamic', signalling cosmic and youthful sexual energy. *Nefert-iti* may in fact be seen as an allusion to the coming back from afar of Hathor-Tefenet in the legend of the solar eye, and it is thus a truly meaningful solar name.

To demonstrate the ritual character of his own intimate life, Akhenaten went one step further than his ancestors by depicting the bed where the successful union with his queen was to take place, or had just taken place. The only reason for this private piece of furniture to be exposed³⁷ was the fact that the earthly union of the royal couple, underlined by the gesture of the queen holding the king's elbow, acquired universal significance in that the two parties involved personify the sun god and his daughter: 'There, in the intimate relationship of the royal couple, Nefertiti confirmed with her husband the part that Hathor played with the solar god of creation'.³⁸ Interestingly, the union itself is only suggested. From an iconographical point of view it may have been considered to be too reminiscent of the cohabitation of Isis and Osiris. This union of male and female sexual forces was a prerequisite for the original creation of the world and just as much for the inception of any cycle, be it a day, a month, a year or a reign,³⁹ hence its significance at night, during the *sed*-festival and, by its presence in wall decoration, in perpetuity.

It is possible through the fragmentary documentation to unravel more aspects of this ritual drama in the reign of Amenophis III and during the early years of Akhenaten re-enacted 'according to ancient writings' but with new (explicit) details.⁴⁰ On the pillars where the king is absent, it is the sun god, also known as her mythological father the Aten, whom Nefertiti stimulates by presenting the 'naos' sistra which so clearly herald her ritual identity. The role of the princesses, in the panels of the pillars, also holding 'naos' sistra, would be by their mere presence to personify the result: the offspring who would in due course stimulate their own mythological father. That Akhenaten took this concept literally is often repeated in popular literature.⁴¹

Conceptually, it would be meaningless for Akhenaten to be present in these scenes. The pillars and the scattered talatât where Nefertiti is shown without him visualize a different ritual phase than the scenes where the two are shown together. It is a father-daughter scenario concerning the Aten and Nefertiti with room for no other male body.⁴² The 'proto-Amarna' artists at Karnak have devised a representation where Hathor in the person of the queen extends her 'naos' sistrum to her father, the sun disk. Nefertiti is fulfilling the necessary, female obligations towards the sun god.⁴³

In view of the hathoric and hence the erotic significance of this sistrum, it is not surprising that in the reign of Amenophis III it appears to have played a significant part in the ritual which aimed at consolidating the virility of the king at the Opet Festival which, at his time at least, had as its focus the rejuvenation of the royal *ka* during the procession of Amun-Ra from his temple at Karnak to the newly built premises at Luxor. In the room, where the rejuvenation of the royal *ka* was celebrated,⁴⁴ scenes from the ritual in question decorate the walls. As was the case in earlier representations of this occasion (for example in the Chapelle Rouge of Hatshepsut), an anonymous 'god's wife' is present, though she reveals no details about the role she performed in the ceremony. Taking part in the procession (on the west wall) are a priest with a single, noticeably large 'naos' sistrum (Figure 8) as well as a number of acolytes, some with a *menat* draped around their necks. In front of the priest is written *iw.s iit m htp hsy Imnhtp*, 'it (the sistrum) has come in peace that it may please Amenhotep'.⁴⁵ In a scene higher up on the east wall opposite carrying an equally large 'naos' sistrum in either hand, the King himself performs *irt sššt* 'doing the (rite of the) sistrum' before Amun-Ra (Figure 9). The god addresses him as 'my beloved son, Amenhotep' and grants him at that moment – through the union with his royal *ka* – divinity and millions of years as king of Egypt.⁴⁶ A new cycle has begun.

The symbolic, yet unambiguous significance of the 'naos' sistrum in these important scenes as well as elsewhere is emphasised by the fact that only rarely is it represented with the trimmings that acoustically make it a musical instrument, although surviving instruments have them. Neither on the Karnak blocks, nor in the two spectacular representations in the *ka*-room of Amenophis III in Luxor Temple, nor in the contemporary tomb of Kheruef do we see metal rods and disks which would produce the tinkling sound. The symbolic significance of the objects surpasses its musical properties. In all event, it would appear that, rather than being ignored in the Amarna Period,⁴⁷ during the early, decisive years at Karnak the 'naos' sistrum had a vital part to play in the confirmation of the mythological identity of Nefertiti. At el-Amarna, on the other hand, it is absent. When officiating there, the Queen occasionally carries the *shn* staff, precisely a visual metaphor of the 'naos' sistrum,⁴⁸ or else a bouquet which may be read *ʿnh*, 'life'.

- * The present article is based on a paper read at the Xth International Congress of Egyptologists in Rhodes in May 2008. A related article (in Danish and with limited notes) was published in 2008: L. Manniche, 'Nefertiti – den smukke med de to søstre', in F. Friberg and M. Jørgensen (ed.), *Tidernes morgen. På sporet af kulturens kilder i det gamle Mellemøsten* (Copenhagen, 2008), 128-37. I am indebted to the SCA for allowing me access to the Sheikh Labib storehouse in March 2009.
- ¹ L. Manniche, 'Sistrum', in D. B. Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt III* (Oxford, 2001), 292-93; C. Ziegler, 'Sistrum', in W. Helck, E. Otto, W. Westendorf (eds.) *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, 7 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1975–), V, 959-63; H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin / New York 1971), 716-20. For an initial overview of the cultic significance of the 'naos sistrum', see C. T. de Vartavan, 'The origin, evolution and function of the *shm*, known as the 'naos'-sistrum. Preliminary researches', *Wepwawet* (1986), 26-29.
- ² Two sistra found in the tomb of Tutankhamun are made of gilt wood and bronze: L. Manniche, *Musical Instruments from the Tomb of Tut'ankhamūn* (Oxford 1976), 5-6.
- ³ F. Daumas, 'Les objets sacrés d'Hathor à Dendara', *RdE* 22 (1970), 63-78, esp. 72 with n. 2; F. Daumas, 'Les objets sacrés d'Hathor au temple de Dendara', *BSFE* 57 (1979), 7-18, esp. 17; C. Desroches Noblecourt, *Amours et fureurs de La Lointaine* (Paris, 1995), 109-11.
- ⁴ Gardiner's sign list includes only the 'naos' sistrum (Y8). On the talatât from Karnak around 15 examples of the word *šššt* were found (E. Meltzer, in D. B. Redford (ed.), *The Akhenaten Temple Project*, II (Toronto, 1988), 107; the published drawing (fig. 9:54) shows a determinative in a 'hybrid' form. An excellent example of a 'naos' sistrum with caption and determinative can be seen in the Luxor Temple (see our Figure 9).
- ⁵ E. Chassinat, *Le temple de Dendara*, 2 vols. (Cairo, 1934), I, 100; II, 52; F. Daumas, 'Besänftigung', in *LÄ* I, 724-27. For an overview of the legends involving the eye of Ra, see E. Otto, 'Augensagen', in *LÄ* I, 562-567 and Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, 772-773.
- ⁶ P. Derchain, *Hathor Quadrifrons. Recherches sur la syntaxe d'un mythe égyptien* (Istanbul, 1972), 44-49.
- ⁷ One may compare the name of the goddess Nebet Hetepet whose name means 'lady of the vulva': J. Vandier, 'Iousaâs et Nebet Hetepet', *RdE* 16 (1964), 56.
- ⁸ Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, 450-51; Daumas, *RdE* 22 (1970), 69-70; Daumas, *BSFE* 57 (1970), 9-10; L. Manniche, 'In the womb', *BACE* 17 (2006), 97-112, esp. 100-03. For a picture of a personified *menat* in the temple of Dendara, see Desroches Noblecourt, *Amours et fureurs*, 105.
- ⁹ H. Frankfort and J. D. S. Pendlebury, *City of Akhenaten*, II (London, 1933), pl. 36:3.
- ¹⁰ Princesses with arched sistra (* indicates particularly clear examples): boundary stelae at el-Amarna: W. J. Murnane and C. C. van Siclen, *The Boundary Stelae of Akhenaten* (London and New York, 1993), pl. 18; cp. R. E. Freed, Y. J. Markowitz and S. H. D'Auria (eds.), *Pharaohs of the Sun* (Boston 1999), cat. 38 with colour photo fig. 40*. Private tombs at el-Amarna: N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El-Amarna*, 6 vols. (London, 1903-08), I, pl. 26; II, pls. 5, 18; IV, pls. 15, 23, 31; V, pl. 3; VI, pl. 14. Royal tomb: G. T. Martin, *The Royal Tomb at El-Amarna* (London, 1974), pls. 15, 34, 47 and 48. Talatât from el-Amarna and Hermopolis: Brooklyn Museum 60.197.6 – C. Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti* (New York, 1973), no. 116, colour photo p. 88*; Boston 67.637 – Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, no. 17; cp. Freed, Markowitz and D'Auria, *Pharaohs of the Sun*, cat. 69 and fig. 69); also H. Roeder, *Amarna-Reliefs aus Hermopolis* (Hildesheim, 1969), pls. 6, 7, 10 and 15 (nos. 351-VIII, 826-VIII, 685-VIII). Larger blocks from el-Amarna: Ashmolean Museum Oxford 1893.1-41 – Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, no. 31; Brooklyn Museum 35.2000 – Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, no. 34; Egyptian Museum Cairo 54517 – A.

- Bongioanni, M. S. Croce and L. Accomazzo (eds.), *The Illustrated Guide to the Egyptian Museum in Cairo* (Cairo, 2001), 183; Egyptian Museum Cairo TN 30.10.26.12 – Freed, Markowitz and D'Auria, *Pharaohs of the Sun*, cat. 72; UCL 401 – J. Samson, *Amarna. City of Akhenaten and Nefertiti* (Warminster 1978), 44, pl. 20.
- ¹¹ Contrary to what was the custom in the previous reign: a representation on a carnelian bracelet from the reign of Amenophis III showing this king and Queen Tiy, evidently in the palace, faced by two princesses with arched sistra; D. Arnold, *The Royal Women of Amarna* (New York, 1996), 8, fig. 4.
- ¹² Davies, *Rock Tombs of El-Amarna VI*, pl. 14.
- ¹³ Davies, *Rock Tombs of El-Amarna VI*, pl. 25 (cols. 21–23, upper). I am indebted to J. R. Harris for this revised translation.
- ¹⁴ The Epigraphic Survey, *The Tomb of Kheruef. Theban Tomb 192* (Chicago, 1980), pls. 8, 9.
- ¹⁵ Epigraphic Survey, *Kheruef*, pls. 47, 57.
- ¹⁶ R. W. Smith and D. B. Redford (eds.), *The Akhenaten Temple Project*, I (Warminster, 1976), pl. 3:2.
- ¹⁷ Smith and Redford, *Akhenaten Temple Project I*, pl. 10; now in the Luxor Museum, see Freed, Markowitz and D'Auria, *Pharaohs of the Sun*, cat. 26 and fig. 78.
- ¹⁸ L. Manniche, 'Den 2. pylon i Karnak og Nefertitis piller', *Papyrus* 26/2 (2006), 12-17. For the original reports on the extraction of the blocks, see H. Chevrier, 'Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak', in *ASAE* 49 (1949), 242-49; 52 (1952), 230-36; 53 (1953), 7-12, 21-38.
- ¹⁹ Some suggestions were put forward in L. Manniche, in Friberg and Jørgensen (ed.), *Tidernes morgen. På sporet af kulturens kilder i det gamle Mellemøsten*, 128-37, esp. 134-36. The author proposes a position west of the Third Pylon in the direction of the river, perhaps in the form of a portico (cp. the peristyle buildings of Tuthmosis I, II and IV in front of pylons), in order to reflect the nightly activities of the queen and the deity.
- ²⁰ L. Troy, *Patterns of Queenship* (Uppsala, 1986); G. Robins, *Women in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1993), ch. 1-2. The 'golden shrine' from the tomb of Tutankhamun showing numerous scenes of the queen interacting with the king has been interpreted as a metaphorical representation of the sexual union of the royal couple for the purposes of re-birth: W. Westendorf, ' "Kammer der Wiedergeburt" im Tutanchamungrab', *ZÄS* 94 (1967), 139-50; as a representation of coronation rites: K. Bosse-Griffiths, 'The Great Enchantress in the little golden shrine of Tut'ankhamūn', *JEA* 59 (1973), 100-08; and as a means to perpetuate kingship: M. Eaton-Krauss and E. Graefe, *The Small Golden Shrine from the Tomb of Tutankhamun* (Oxford, 1985), 40.
- ²¹ Also, three-dimensional drawing by Leslie Greener for *National Geographic* 138/5 (November, 1970), 646-47. This drawing has since been reproduced several times: for example, in D. Wildung, *Egypt. From Prehistory to the Romans*. Taschen's World Architecture (Cologne, 1997), 119 (here suitably described as 'an impression'). An architrave appears in a reconstruction in D. B. Redford, *The Heretic King*, (Princeton, 1984), 77 (our Figure 6); cp. C. Loeben, 'Nefertiti's pillars', *Amarna Letters* 3 (1994), 42: Loeben says that this 'probably is not accurate, however, as the piers were likely free-standing without any connecting architectural feature'. D. B. Redford, 'Studies on Akhenaten at Thebes', *JARCE* X (1973), pl. VII, reproduced only two of the restored faces of the pillars in line drawing.
- ²² A certain amount of divergent information exists concerning these pillars which were last studied by Loeben in 1985: *Amarna Letters* 3 (1994), 41-45. A popular article in *Der Spiegel* 17 (1999) 192-96 entitled 'Razzia am Götterhimmel' by M. Schultz gives a reconstruction based on Loeben's information. According to Loeben (confirmed in a

personal communication of 23.11.06) only one of the four faces is decorated with one, tall register, as opposed to the information by Smith, in Smith and Redford, *The Akhenaten Temple Project I*, 34 and Redford, *JARCE X* (1973), 91, n. 94.

23 See also Loeben, *Amarna Letters 3* (1994), 43 (upper left and right).

24 Smith and Redford, *Akhenaten Temple Project I*, 4.

25 Until the 1980s those found in the Second Pylon were stored adjacent to the Open Air Museum. They have now been moved to the Sheikh Labib storehouse. Other blocks with sistra are in the 'Pennsylvania magazine'.

26 Compare also Smith and Redford, *The Akhenaten Temple Project I*, pls. 30 and 31.

27 Derchain, *Hathor Quadrifrons*, 45.

28 N. de G. Davies, *The Temple of Hibis in el-Khargeh Oasis*, III (New York 1953), pl. 4.VI.

29 Epigraphic Survey, *Kheruef*, pl. 24 (right), 25, 26; E. Wente, 'Hathor at the Jubilee', in E. B. Hauser, (ed.), *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson*, SAOC 35 (Chicago, 1969), 83-91. See also Derchain, *Hathor Quadrifrons*, 43.

30 Epigraphic Survey, *Kheruef*, pl. 46.

31 Eaton-Krauss and Graefe, *Small Golden Shrine*, pl. XVI; Westendorf, *ZÄS* 94 (1967), 145-46. The shrine is currently being studied by Gay Robins who also interprets the scenes a celebration of Tutankhamun as creator god.

32 Troy, *Patterns of Queenship*, 127: 'The Amarna period, which in many ways continues to enact the Hathorization of the queenship, particularly as a reference to Tefnut ...'

33 A faience knob in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen underlines this. This little object is about the size and shape of a tangerine. It has the name of Akhenaten, not Amenhotep, and can therefore be dated to after Year 5 or probably a little later, as Nefertiti has her full name Nefernefruaten-Nefertiti. But in the Amarna period, the time frame is so narrow that it is permissible to move ahead a few years for further clarification. The decoration features two solar boats separated by two lotus flowers. In each boat squats a royal figure with arms raised in adoration of a sun disk, one wearing the white crown, the other the crown that we recognise as that of Nefertiti on her famous bust. The interesting thing here is the way in which the two are represented in identical fashion: same size, same posture, equal before the sun god – in fact they are like Shu and Tefnut vis-à-vis the sun god, their creator. Their squatting posture resembles a solar manifestation (a *khepru* in Egyptian) of the child within the solar disk. This little gem of an object thus alludes to the solar nature and completely equal status of the royal couple. See J. R. Harris, 'Et nyt bevis på kongeparrets ligestilling i Amarna-tiden' in *Meddelelser fra Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek*, 33. årgang (1976), 78-84, English version in *The Burlington Magazine* 119 (no. 890) (1977), 340-43.

34 L. Manniche, *The Akhenaten Colossi of Karnak* (Cairo, in press).

35 On the queenly attributes, status and role, see G. Robins, *Women in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1993), ch. 1.

36 C. Traunecker, 'Aménophis IV et Néfertiti. Le couple royal d'après les talatates du IXe pylône de Karnak', *BSFE* 107 (Oct. 1986), 17-44, esp. 23-28. The blocks mentioned above showing musicians of Hathor were found in the Ninth Pylon. As other, scattered blocks with decoration at a smaller scale with the same motif have been found in the Second Pylon, it would seem that the motif was repeated elsewhere, either in the same building or in another. It is therefore not certain that all *sed*-festival scenes come from this temple, but we must assume that at least some of the celebrations took place here; Redford, in Freed, Markowitz and D'Auria (eds), *Pharaohs of the Sun*, 56: 'The scenes on *talatat* identified as coming from the Gempaaten focus on the jubilee or *sed*-festival in the third year of the reign ...'.

- ³⁷ The bed is depicted not only on the Karnak talatât, but also in the tombs at el-Amarna: Davies, *Rock Tombs of El-Amarna* I, pl. 18; VI, pls. 4, 17, 28.
- ³⁸ Traunecker, *BSFE* 107 (1986), 37; referring to the royal couple as Ra and Hathor: 27-28.
- ³⁹ *Hathor Quadrifrons*, 42 with n.51.
- ⁴⁰ See Wente, in Hauser (ed.), *Studies Wilson*, 86; Epigraphic Survey, *Kheruef*, pl. 28. The scenes may be traced back to the Fifth Dynasty.
- ⁴¹ But perhaps one should consider the age of the daughters at the time they supposedly gave birth to their father's children: J. R. Harris, 'En sag om forveksling', *Papyrus* 24/2 (2004), 4-13, esp. 8-9.
- ⁴² A related situation of a queen face-to-face with a deity may be found in theogamy scenes, when the queen 'sees' the god, especially in his 'true shape of god', at the moment of the conception of the new heir, a very intimate experience which cannot be revealed in detail, only by symbolic, pictorial references.
- ⁴³ Sic also N. C. Reeves, *Akhenaten. Egypt's False Prophet* (London, 2001), 95: 'Nefertiti, whose role as the female element in the worship of the Aten was clearly of fundamental importance.'
- ⁴⁴ This room is called the 'bark vestibule' (room VIII).
- ⁴⁵ Could it be that the priest is impersonating the god's wife/god's hand, and that the female pronoun refers to her?
- ⁴⁶ L. Bell, 'Luxor temple and the cult of the royal ka', *JNES* 44 (1985), 251-94, esp. 258. Bell does not mention the sistra.
- ⁴⁷ As claimed by Ziegler, *LÄ* V, 959; Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, 719, mentions the continued use of the sistrum at el-Amarna.
- ⁴⁸ A contextual relationship between the staff and the sistrum is demonstrated by Westendorf, *ZÄS* 94 (1967), 145, providing an answer to some of the questions later raised by Vartavan, *Wepwawet* (1986), 26-29.

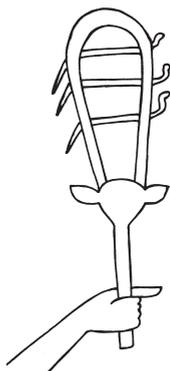


FIGURE 1. Arched sistrum with Hathor head
(Boundary stela S, now in Museum of
Fine Arts, Boston).

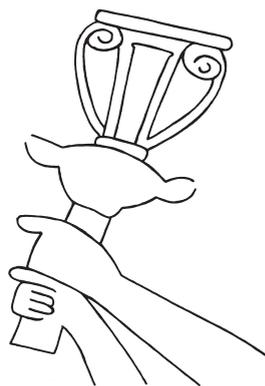


FIGURE 2. 'Naos' sistrum
(Luxor Temple) (cf. Figure 8).



FIGURE 3. 'Naos' sistra of Queen Nefertiti (Sheikh Labib storehouse).
Photograph L. Manniche, with permission of the SCA.



FIGURE 4. Upper part of two 'naos' sistra of Queen Nefertiti (Sheikh Labib storehouse).
Although found on top of the block in Figure 3, the two blocks do not match.
Photograph L. Manniche, with permission of the SCA.



FIGURE 5. Nefertiti with 'naos' sistrum following the king.
Manniche, in Friborg and Jørgensen (ed.), *Tidernes morgen*, fig. 4.

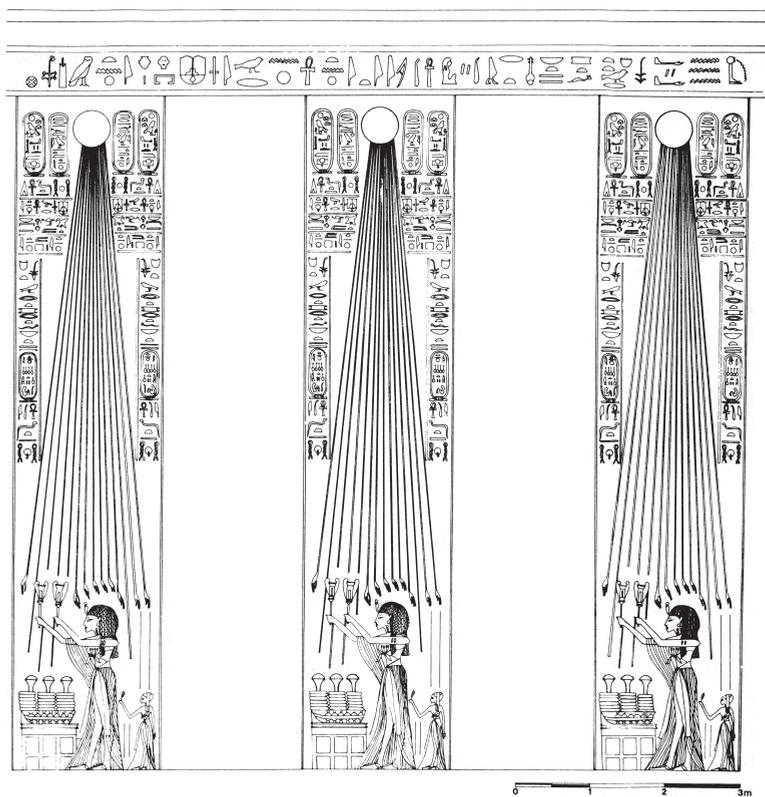


FIGURE 6. Attempted reconstruction of the decoration on the 'Nefertiti pillars'.
D. B. Redford, *The Heretic King*, 77.

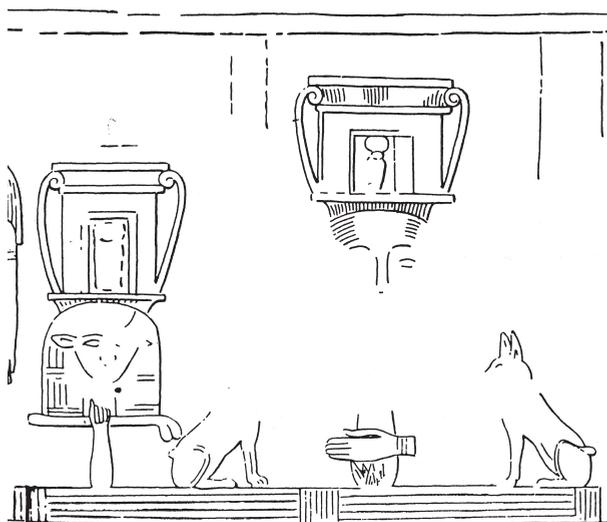


FIGURE 7. 'Naos' sistra with phallus and hand (Hibis Temple, sanctuary).
N. de G. Davies, *The Temple of Hibis* III, 4, VI.



FIGURE 8. 'Naos' sistrum (Luxor Temple).
Photograph L. Manniche.

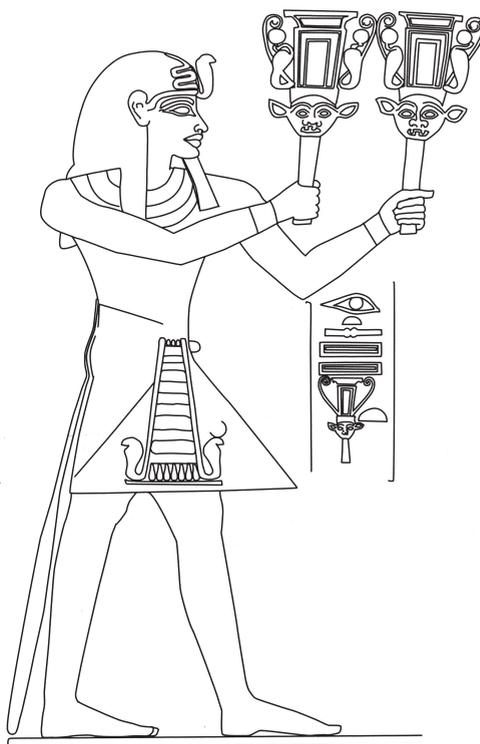


FIGURE 9. 'Naos' sistra (Luxor Temple).
Manniche, in Friborg and Jørgensen, *Tidernes morgen*, fig. 8.

SUPPLÉMENT AUX ANNALES DU SERVICE DES ANTIQUITÉS DE L'ÉGYPTE

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