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1. On the Identity and Role of the God's Wife of Amun in Rites of Royal and Divine Dominion¹

Mariam Ayad


Abstract

In a striking scene from the Building of Taharqa by the sacred lake at Karnak, a slender athletic-looking woman draws a long, wide-feathered arrow through a double-curved bow. She aims at four round targets represented at the periphery of the scene. Next to her, a male figure uses his pear-headed mace as a bat with which to strike four balls. The male figure is identified as King Taharqa, the penultimate king of the 25th Dynasty. The female archer, on the other hand, is simply identified as a God's Wife. Her name is not mentioned. Both the king and the God's Wife partner in the "rites of protection at the cenotaph." Together, they aim to avert the malign forces of the universe. This paper addresses the omission of the God's Wife name in this scene and aims to contextualize her role in this and similar rites of royal or divine dominion.

Key words

God's Wife of Amen, God's Wife, Edifice of Taharqa, Rites of Protection at the Cenotaph, Rites of Divine and Royal Dominion, archery, female archer, Elevation of the *Tjst*-column, Shepenwepet II, Taharqa, Cenotaph of Osiris

This paper is dedicated to the late Professor N. B. Millet, who first introduced me to Egyptian Iconography in his wonderful seminar on the subject in 1995-1996, and whose profound knowledge of all things Egyptian continues to inspire me.

On a lintel embedded in the eastern wall of subterranean room E in the Building of Taharqa by the sacred lake at Karnak, a striking scene survives (**Figure 1-1**).² A slender, athletic-looking woman draws a long, wide-feathered arrow through a double-curved bow. Shown in profile, the archer's face is turned to the viewer's left.³ Right foot slightly forward, the barefoot archer takes aim at the uppermost of four doughnut-shaped targets depicted at the far left of the scene. Arrows still in place, three of the targets have been shot already. Of the original four targets, only the central two survive. The targets, which are turned to face the viewer, resemble the *nwt*-sign  (O 49).⁴ Above the scene, five short columns of text provide a caption for the event taking place in this scene: ¹*hmt ntr šsp. 2.n.s iwnty* ³*r rsy mhw* ⁴*imntt izbt* ⁵*r tnw.f rdi.n.f n.s* "1the God's Wife has grasped ²the bow ³against the South and the North, ⁴the West and the East ⁵ in return for what he has given her."

The bare-footed archer dons a long, form-fitting, sheath dress that falls down to her ankles. Starting just below her breast and going up and over her right shoulder, a diagonal strap holds the dress in place. A broad collar adorns her neck. She wears no other jewelry.

A skull cap, secured in place by a tied ribbon, covers her hair. Of unequal lengths, the loose ends of the ribbon fall behind the God's Wife's head, brushing past her left shoulder and reaching down to her left elbow.

Behind the archer, a single column of text separates her from an acacia-surmounted mound.⁵ Under the tree, a rectangular structure encloses a crypt. A hieroglyphic inscription reading *ist wsir* and carved within the enclosure clearly identifies the curved-topped crypt as the "mound of Osiris."⁶ The group schematically represents the *hn*-cenotaph of Osiris, whose mythic location was at Kom Djeme on the west bank of the Nile. The small temple at Medinet Habu was thought to be a mythic location of the Mound of Djeme. It was here that Amen-Re was brought once every ten days during the Decade Festival. Because the mound was surrounded by Nun, the primordial life-giving waters, Amen-Re's visit to this "well-spring of life," rejuvenated him and renewed his energies.⁷

On the other side of the cenotaph is a male figure. His costume and regalia (the short tri-partite *šndwt*-kilt, the ceremonial bull's tail attached to his belt, the *ibs*-headband and the diadem on his head) clearly indicate his status as a king of Egypt. Represented in profile, his face is turned to the right, the barefoot king extends his left leg forward in a wide stride.⁸ Like the God's Wife, the sovereign turns away from the cenotaph. His right calf flexed, his right heel arched up above the register line with only the toes touching the ground,⁹ the king is shown running towards the outer limits of the lintel.

In his upraised arm, the king holds a pear-headed mace,¹⁰ with which he strikes four balls represented above his head, one next to the other. The balls are shown at the exact moment of their release from the king's hand, his grip still cupping the fourth.¹¹ The sovereign takes aim at targets depicted at the far-right. While the targets are not preserved, hieroglyphic texts serving as captions and engraved next to each target, relate each of the targets to a geographic designation, and accordingly, to the four cardinal points. It is toward those targets that the king seems to be running. While the king may have performed four successive runs towards each of the four cardinal points, "throwing one of the four balls in each direction,"¹² in this scene, the four runs are conflated into one.

Behind the king, in the triangular space created between his upraised right arm, his flexed calf, and the acacia tree, are three D-shaped emblems. The emblems resemble similarly-shaped structures associated with the *sed*-festival.¹³ In scenes of the *sed*-festival, similarly shaped signs symbolically marked the "the extent of the king's domain"¹⁴ and triplicate signs would appear on either side of the king.¹⁵ It is possible that three similar symbols were depicted in the damaged area in front of the king.¹⁶

Above the lintel, elements of Taharqa's *prenomen* are partially preserved in a cartouche, inscribed vertically directly above the central part of the scene. A pair of rearing cobras holding *shen*-signs flanks the cartouche. With the exception of an over-sized sun disk inscribed at the top of the cartouche, the signs inside the cartouche had been hacked out probably under Psammetichus II. The disk, probably constituted an element of Taharqa's *prenomen*: Nefertum-Khu-Re.¹⁷

This unique scene depicts what has become known in Egyptological literature as the "Rites of Protection at the Cenotaph." These rites were "aimed at averting any malign forces from the path or procession of a god."¹⁸ Turning their backs to the cenotaph at the center of the scene, both the king and the God's Wife are orientated toward the outer limits of the

lintel. While their outward orientation may initially seem surprising, it is consistent with their actions. Both the King and the God's Wife protect the cenotaph by engaging in acts of aggression: shooting arrows and batting balls. Fischer notes that "[i]n attacking his adversary, either human or animal, the king usually faces outward from the rear of the temple (or from the longitudinal axis) as though defending the divine 'Lord of Maat' from the forces of chaos."¹⁹ Likewise, both the king and the God's Wife are orientated away from the center of this scene in their efforts to defend the crypt of Osiris and combat the forces of evil.

Both the iconography and role of the God's Wife in this scene are quite extraordinary. Not only is she depicted at the same scale as the king, but she is shown engaged in a rigorous, militaristic activity: archery. In doing so, she *actively* partners with the king in protecting the *hn*-cenotaph of Osiris. As a deified human, it was normal for the king, indeed expected of him, to partake in such a ritual, for it was his part of his royal duties to preserve *Maat* and to sustain the gods and their cults. But why would a God's Wife, a mere mortal, be involved in such a sacred ritual?

Moreover, the fact that both the king and the God's Wife are represented at the same scale seems to indicate that their respective roles in this ritual were equally important. But whereas a cartouche, horizontally carved above the king's figure, clearly identified him as king Taharqa, the penultimate ruler of the Egyptian Twenty-fifth dynasty, the identity of the God's Wife is obscured. Nowhere is her name mentioned.²⁰ Likewise, a shorter and more generic form of her title is used: *hmt ntr* "God's Wife." In this scene, she is not linked to her divine consort, the supreme solar deity Amun, whose name constituted an integral part of the fuller form of her title *hmt ntr n 'Imn* "God's Wife of Amun." The suppression of Amun's name further intensifies the mystery surrounding her identity. In fact, the omission of both her name and the god's is quite startling. To an Egyptian, a person's name constituted an integral aspect of his or her personality. Such identification was so strong that caving a person's name on a statue transferred the whole essence of that person onto the statue and provided the person with an "alternative physical form' that could serve as a permanent substitute for his/ her body."²¹ For this reason, only the names of enemies were omitted or hacked out.²² Clearly, this was not the case here.

Drawing on parallels with another rite of "divine and royal" dominion, the ritual elevation of the *ts.t*-support, this paper expounds on the role of the God's Wife in the Rites of Protection at the Cenotaph and proposes to identify the God's Wife depicted in the Edifice of Taharqa as Shepenwpet II. It will be further argued that the inclusion of the God's Wife name, or any reference to a particular deity in this scene would have effectively prevented the God's Wife from enacting the mythical component of this ritual. The omission of her name, as well as the suppression of Amun's, were the result of a deliberate decision, not a matter of oversight.

The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake at Karnak

The scene described above occurs on a lintel above a doorway in the eastern wall of a subterranean chamber in the Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake at Karnak. The

chamber, labeled E, is one of three underground chambers in the poorly preserved sandstone building erected near the northwestern corner of the Sacred Lake at Karnak.²³ Room E, where our scene occurs, is the penultimate room of the underground level. It is sandwiched between rooms D and F (**Figure 1-2**). Presentation of offerings and adoration to the nocturnal forms of the sun dominate the decorative theme of Room D, the first room of the subterranean level,²⁴ while “depictions of the souls (*bꜣw*) of Amun”²⁵ are found in room F, the innermost room of the substructure.

A descending staircase connected the underground level to a superstructure, which no longer survives.²⁶ The walls of the descending corridor are adorned with scenes dedicated to Re. Re’s nocturnal forms occupy the eastern wall (= right, when descending), while his solar forms appear on the opposite, western wall.²⁷ Because it is not possible to reconstruct the superstructure’s plan, it is extremely difficult to ascertain the exact function and purpose of this building. Nonetheless, it has been suggested that the “subterranean chambers of Taharqa’s edifice can be linked to a crypt; and in that sense even a tomb,”²⁸ and that the entire building had the very specific function of celebrating (and perhaps even aiding) the “reunion of Amun demiurge with the elements of his creative power and the mystical union of Amun with various forms of the sun-god and with Osiris (= the night sun), and Amun’s rebirth as the Sun.”²⁹

Representations of the God’s Wife at the Edifice of Taharqa

Representations of the God’s Wife in the Edifice of Taharqa are confined to chamber E. She features prominently on two walls of that chamber: on the eastern wall, where the scene described above occurs, and on the southern wall, where the entire length of the wall is occupied by scenes representing the Ritual Elevation of the *ꜥs.t*-column. While the God’s Wife participates in the rituals depicted on the other two walls, she appears there only as a minor figure. On the western wall, she appears in the Rites at Djeme, while on the northern wall, the God’s Wife takes part in the Rites of Divine Reentrance, where she is depicted last in two processions that were part of this ritual.

The Elevation of the *ꜥs.t*-support

An unidentified God’s Wife appears as the main officiant in the “Rite of the Elevation of the *ꜥs.t*-support” (**Figure 1-3**). The rite, depicted on the southern wall of room E, is enacted four times, for four different gods: Dedun, Soped, Sobek, and Horus. In each instance, the deity is shown atop a horizontal *ꜥs.t*-sign, which serves as platform on which the god stands. A different priest helps the god’s wife shore up the *ꜥs.t*-support in each instance. Together, they lift up the *ꜥs.t*-support, their hands meeting under the central knot of the *ꜥs.t*-sign.³⁰

Their faces shown in profile, the four deities, as well as the God’s Wife, are orientated toward the viewer’s right (= West). Facing the God’s Wife, the priests are orientated toward the viewer’s left.³¹ Dividing the episodes is a single column of descriptive texts. With the exception of the name of the god mentioned, the texts are identical. The orientation of the hieroglyphs in the columns and lines of text below the scene suggests a

right-to-left reading of this scene. The scene thus starts with the westernmost episode depicting the elevation of Dedwen and ends at the easternmost episode enacted for Horus.

The four gods carry identical insignia, wear similar costumes and assume the same posture. Standing atop the *ts.t*-support, left leg extended forward, each of the four deities is represented in a striding posture, a *wꜣs*-scepter in the left hand, an *ꜥnh*-symbol in the right. Each wears a short kilt, tied at the waist with a ceremonial tail suspended at the back of the kilt. The tail hangs vertically, parallel to the legs.

Of the four deities represented, Dedwen is only one shown wearing an upper-body garment. Dedwen dons a tight fitting garment that covers his chest and shoulders, its straps narrowing gradually as they near the god's neck. Although the figure of Dedwen is damaged, (the head with its identifying gear does not survive), the accompanying texts clearly identify him by name. The texts further link Dedwen to Nubia.³² This deity was one favored and honored by Taharqa, who (re-)dedicated the temple at Semna West to Dedwen and transferred his worship to Napata.³³ Scenes from the temple at Semna West depict Thutmose III "receiving his kingship and rule over foreign countries from Dedwen."³⁴ Below Dedwen's feet, the *ts.t*-support is damaged at the far right (western end). The God's Wife wears a tight-fitting sheath, a short wig held in place by a knotted band, whose ends are depicted hanging loosely behind her head. She is barefoot. Precisely under the knot dissecting the *ts.t*-sign, the hands of the god's wife and the priest meet. The priest has the title of "opener of the doors of the sky" (*wn nwy ꜥꜣwy-pt*), a title occasionally held by the High Priest of Amun.³⁵

The next episode is enacted for the god Soped. Shown in anthropomorphic form, Soped wears a ceremonial beard and a *nms*-headdress, which is surmounted by two tall plumes. He wears a short belted kilt from which hangs a ceremonial tail at the back. He assumes the same posture as Dedwen, left foot forward, *wꜣs*-scepter and *ꜥnh*-symbol in hand. While the figure of the God's Wife is somewhat damaged in this instance, she seems to assume the same posture and costume as in the previous instance of the ritual. This time, however, she partners with a *smꜣty* priest. The bald-headed priest wears "a long kilt and a sash across his bare chest."³⁶ The accompanying texts declare that Soped is "Lord of the East" (col. 8), and associate him with Asia.³⁷

Crocodile-headed Sobek is represented in the third episode of this ritual. Assuming a similar attitude and costume as the preceding two deities, he is elevated by a God's Wife and a priest. In this instance, the figures of the god's wife and the priest are quite damaged. Only the head of the priest and the hemline of his long kilt survive. The accompanying texts (col. 14) link Sobek to Libya.³⁸

Finally, the ritual is performed for Horus. Falcon-headed, Horus assumes the same posture as the other three gods. Horus was one of the gods whose worship Taharqa actively promoted by dedicating temples to his cult at Buhen and Qasr Ibrim.³⁹ Horus is attended by a *hm snty-wr*, a "prophet of the *snty-wr*," a priesthood that is poorly attested and, therefore not fully understood yet, but may have served in a section of the Amun temple at Karnak that was associated with the mound of creation.⁴⁰ Horus, the King of the Living, is here elevated to scare Upper and Lower Egypt (cf. col. 16).⁴¹

In each of the four instances, a single column of text points to the identity of the God's Wife. In the first two instances (coll. 8 and 12), it reads: *hmt ntr n ntr pn*, "the God's Wife of this God." The inscription is damaged in the third instance, while in the fourth instance, she is identified as *hmt ntr drt ntr* "the God's Wife, the God's Hand," adding on one of her other religious titles.

The consistent presence of the God's Wife in all four enactments of the ritual, has led Leclant to write:

"Puisque la Divine Adoratrice est l'épouse d'Amon par excellence, c'est donc que chacun de ces quatre dieux est assimilé à Amon; chacun d'eux étant lié à une répartition spéciale de l'espace, comme s'il était territorialement le substitut ou l'hypostase d'Amon pour ce secteur. Car, . . . c'est Amon qui, par essence et de la façon suprême, donne la victoire."⁴²

His suggestion was accepted and the four gods depicted in this ritual are now thought to be "four geographic forms assumed by the universal god, Amun."⁴³ The ritual was performed in order to assert Amun's supreme universal authority. His rule over Egypt, *and* the entire universe, is here symbolically represented by the presence of Horus, whose authority was over Upper and Lower Egypt, and the three other deities, whose presence signified their authority over three specific localities situated to the South, East, and West of Egypt. For it was only through such universal divine rule that the king was "assured of protection."⁴⁴ Thus, once more, we find that the God's Wife features as a main officiant in a rite of cosmic significance. Here, as well as in all her representations in room E, she is only identified by an abbreviated form of her title, and her name is, once again, omitted. So who might the woman represented in these scenes be?

The Identity of the Figures Represented in the Rites of Protection at the Cenotaph

During the reign of Taharqa (690-664 BC),⁴⁵ two Nubian God's Wives were in office as incumbent and heiress apparent: Shepenwepet II, daughter of Piye, who had been appointed sometime during the reign of Shebitku (702-690 BC), and Amenirdis II, Taharqa's own daughter.⁴⁶ It seems more likely that Shepenwepet II is the God's Wife represented in the Edifice of Taharqa. There is little evidence to suggest that Amenirdis II ever went beyond her status as the "heiress apparent" or "God's Wife of Amun Elect." The text of the Nitocris Adoption stela indicates that both Shepenwepet II and Amenirdis II were in office when the transition to Saite rule occurred. While both women may have adopted Nitocris in office in 656 BC,⁴⁷ the adoption of Nitocris effectively prevented Amenirdis II from assuming full responsibility as God's Wife of Amun. In rites as ritually important as the Rites of the Protection at the Cenotaph, and the Elevation of the *ts.t*-support, one would expect that the more senior of the two women to have had the privilege of performing with the king.

I suggest that the God's Wife represented in the two rituals discussed above is Shepenwepet II, daughter of king Piye and, more pertinently, Taharqa's sister. In the rites of Protection at the Cenotaph, the God's Wife appears as the king's peer. She is represented at the same scale as the king, and seems to be equally engaged in defending the sacred abode

of Osiris. Their parallel representations imply an equal, lateral relationship, rather than a hierarchical one. A lateral relationship allowed them to impersonate the roles of Shu and Tefnut, who rid Re of his enemies, the “Children of the Rebellion” (*msw bds*).⁴⁸ As his “sister,” (Egyptian: *snt*) Shepenwepet II was also Taharqa’s “(female) equal” and “(female) companion.”⁴⁹ She was also able to embody the role of the ultimate sister-wife: Isis.

Conclusions

In the Rite of Protection at the Cenotaph, both the king and his female companion face the outer limits of this lintel, turning their backs to the cenotaph represented at the center of the scene. In their effort to protect the crypt of Osiris, his *hn*-cenotaph, they actively combat the forces of evil.⁵⁰ By aiming her arrows at the four geographic location of the world in the Rite of Protection at the Cenotaph, the God’s Wife, partnering with the king, averted danger from the Lord-of-All’s way and cleared the way for him to re-establish his universal authority. A similar purpose was also behind the rite of the Elevation of the *ts.t*-support. Through her participation in elevating four different geographic manifestations of the god Amen, the God’s Wife, once again, played an integral role in asserting Amun’s power “over the four extremities of the world.”⁵¹

Perhaps an essential question to address is why did the God’s Wife, a mere mortal, assume such a prominent role in these cosmically important rites? The answer may lie in one of the most enduring of all Egyptian myths: the myth of the Isis and Osiris. In this myth, Isis, the loyal sister-wife, and the aggrieved widow, sought out and collected the dismembered body of her husband, put the corpse back together, and managed to revive him just long enough to conceive Hours.⁵² I suggest that, in the rituals represented in the Edifice of Taharqa, a shortened version of the God’s Wife title was used to allow for her full identification with the goddess Isis. The name of Amun had to be suppressed, indeed omitted, from her title in order to enable the female officiant to be fully identified as the wife of the god of the cenotaph, Osiris. For it was only in her capacity as the Divine Consort *par excellence*, Isis, that she was able to fulfill her mythic role and protect his cenotaph.

That in the Late Period, Isis assumed a protective role toward her husband (and not only her son), can be gleaned from an exquisite small statue currently in the British Museum (EA 1162).⁵³ The 81.3 cm. high grey siltstone statue features Isis as a winged woman, who spreads her wings protectively around the much-smaller statue of Osiris placed in front of her. Osiris, here represented as the King of the Dead, carries his royal insignia, the crook and flail and dons the *atef*-crown and a tightly wrapped cloak that envelops his entire body (Figure 1-4).⁵⁴

As in the ancient myth, the purpose of the ritual elevation of the *ts.t*-support was to energize and rejuvenate the god (here, Amun’s four geographic manifestations). In the ritual Elevation of the *ts.t*-column, the female officiant is identified explicitly as *hmt ntr n ntr pn*, “the Wife of this God.” While the addition of *n ntr pn*, “of this god,” to the God’s Wife title in the caption accompanying this scene led Leclant to suggest that the four gods represented in this ritual were merely four geographic manifestation of Amun,⁵⁵ it is more likely that this

phrase was added here in order to relate, very explicitly, the God's Wife to each of the gods represented in this ritual. For, much like Isis in the ancient myth, it was only in her role as the wife of *this god* that the God's Wife was able to rejuvenate the gods represented in this ritual.

Including Amun's name would have prevented the God's Wife from being associated with Osiris (in the rites of the protection), or Amun's four geographic manifestations (Dedwen, Sobek, Sobed, and Hours) in the rite of the Elevation of the *ts.t*-support. It would thus have effectively prevented her from fulfilling her mythic role in protecting and rejuvenating these gods. In both rites, the God's Wife was able to carry out her protective and regenerative roles *only* through her capacity as the wife of that particular god.

Likewise, for similar reasons, Shepenwepet's identity was intentionally obscured. In discussing the importance that Egyptians ascribed to a person's name, Allen notes that "[w]riting a person's name on a statue or next to a carved image could identify the image with that individual."⁵⁶ Likewise, "the mention of an individual's name can bring to mind a picture of that person, even if he or she is no longer living."⁵⁷ Including Shepenwepet's name next to the depiction of the God's Wife shooting arrows, or in the rite of the elevation of the *ts.t*-column would have definitively, and permanently, identified the officiant in both rites with the mortal administrator/ princess that Shepenwepet was. Such a complete and permanent identification would have effectively eliminated the potency of these rituals.

The suppression of Shepenwepet's identity as well as the omission of Amun's name from her titles, were both the result of a conscious decision and not a matter of oversight. Both omissions enabled the God's Wife to fulfill her mythic role in these rituals more effectively.

NOTES


1. A version of this paper was presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities, Toronto, 2005.

2. R. Parker, J. Leclant, and J-C. Goyon, *The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake of Karnak*. Brown Egyptological Studies 8 (Providence: Brown University Press, 1979), pl. 25.

3. See H. Schäffer, *Principles of Egyptian Art*. Trans. J. Baines (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 2002), 302, for the suggestion that this was also how an Egyptian would have "distributed right and left."

4. A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*³ (Oxford: The Griffith Institute, 1957), 498. The similarity stems from the cross created on the surface of the target by the four curved arches that originate, and end, at the perimeter of each target. However, the cross depicted on these targets is less angular than the one formed by the crossroads of O 49.

5. The text identifies the tree as a *šndt n hnw*, "a Nile Acacia tree." See R.O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1988), 270.

6. Although the M 18 sign  is used here (a combination of the reed leaf and the walking legs), this is probably a misspelling of *ist*, the word for "mound," rather than the verb to "come." See Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, 7 for *ist* and 10 for *ii*. See also Parker, et al. *Edifice of Taharqa*, 64, n. 32. Cf. WB I, 26.

7. R. Fazzini, *Egypt: Dynasty XXII-XXV* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1988), 22; and K. Cooney, "The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake: Ritual Function and the Rule of the King," *JARCE* 37 (2000): 15-47, at 34-36.
8. Left and right with respect to the viewer.
9. Schäffer, *Egyptian Art*, 16: ". . . Egyptian art indicates even a very swift running pace merely by showing a longer stride with raised back heels and front toes placed on the ground."
10. Probably a *ḥd* (=white) mace, T3. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*³, 510.
11. Parker et. al, *Edifice of Taharqa*, 62, and pl. 25; J. Leclant, *Recherches sur les monuments thébains de la XXV^e dynastie dite éthiopienne* (Cairo: IFAO, 1965), pl. xlvii; and Fazzini, *Dynasty XXII-XXV*, 23 and pl. xxvi.
12. Parker et. al, *Edifice of Taharqa*, 62.
13. Parker et. al, *Edifice of Taharqa*, 62, and pl. 25.
14. A. J. Spencer, "Two Enigmatic Hieroglyphs and Their Relation to the Sed-festival," *JEA* 64 (1978): 52-55, at 55.
15. Spencer, "Two Enigmatic Hieroglyphs," 52.
16. Parker et. al, *Edifice of Taharqa*, 62, n. 15.
17. See T. Eide, T. Hägg, R. H. Pierce, and L. Török, *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum: Textual Sources for the History of the Middle Nile Region between the Eighth Century BC and the Sixth Century AD. Vol 1: From the Eighth to the Mid-Fifth Century BC* (Bergen: University of Bergen, Department of Classics, 1994), 129-130; and K. A. Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100-650 BC)* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1995), 388.
18. Fazzini, *Dynasty XXII-XXV*, 23. See also M. Étienne, *Heka: Magie et envoûtement dans l'Égypte ancienne* (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 2000), 36-39, for the rite of casting the four balls as an Osirian rite.
19. H. G. Fischer, *Orientation of Hieroglyphs – Part 1: Reversals* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1977), 46.
20. Parker et. al, *Edifice of Taharqa*, 61, n. 2 and 80.
21. James P. Allen, *Middle Egyptian: An Introduction to the Language and Culture of Hieroglyphs* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 81.
22. E.g., the names of Hatshepsut and Akhenaton were omitted from king list precisely because the reign of each constitute such a clear break from Maat.
23. PM II, 219-221, plan 6 on 558; R. A. Schwaller de Lubicz, *Temples of Karnak* (Inter Traditions International, 1999), diagram 18. Conventionally attributed to Taharqa (690-664 BC), the structure may have been erected by King Shabaka (716-702 BC) whose name survives of a number of reused blocks. Alternatively, the site may have been occupied by another, earlier structure dedicated by Shabaka. See Parker et al., *Edifice of Taharqa*, 80.
24. Fazzini, *Dynasty XXII-XXV*, 23.

25. Fazzini, *Dynasty XXII–XXV*, 23.

26. Only parts of the external walls of the superstructure survive. The few recovered blocks that belonged to the superstructure are too few and fragmentary to allow for the proper reconstruction of the superstructure.

27. See Fazzini, *Dynasty XXII–XXV*, 23; and Parker et al, *Edifice of Taharqa*, 82, for the suggestion that “[d]uring the descent of the stairway Amun-Osiris became also the setting sun, and in room C he met again the Heliopolitan gods of creation, who would accompany him on his night trip.”

28. Cooney, “Ritual Function,” 19.

29. Fazzini, *Dynasty XXII–XXV*, 23.

30. Sign # S24, a “girdle knot.” See Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*³, 506.

31. Parker et. al, *Edifice of Taharqa*, 65, and pl. 26.

32. Parker et. al, *Edifice of Taharqa*, 67, and pl. 26, col. 5: “Beware, Nubia.”

33. L. Török, *The Kingdom of Kush: Handbook fo the Napatan-Meroitic Civilization* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 176 and n. 333.

34. Török, *Kingdom of Kush*, 176, n. 333.

35. Parker et. al, *Edifice of Taharqa*, 67, n. 24.

36. Parker et. al, *Edifice of Taharqa*, 66, and pl. 26.

37. Parker et. al, *Edifice of Taharqa*, 67, and pl. 26, col. 8. Col. 10 reads: “Beware, Asia.”

38. Parker et. al, *Edifice of Taharqa*, 68, and pl. 26; and Leclant, *Monuments thébains*, pl. xlvihi.

39. Török, *Kingdom of Kush*, 176.

40. Parker et. al, *Edifice of Taharqa*, 68, n. 39; H. Kees, *Das Priestertum im ägyptischen Staat vom Neuen Reich bis zur Spätzeit*. Leiden : Brill, 1953, 209-10.

41. Parker et. al, *Edifice of Taharqa*, 68, and pl. 26.

42. Leclant , *Monuments thébains*, 299.

43. Parker et. al, *Edifice of Taharqa*, 69.

44. Parker et. al, *Edifice of Taharqa*, 69.

45. Regnal Dates for Taharqa follow Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, 387.

46. Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, 387 and 391.

47. Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, 403-404, and n. 945. See also R. Caminos, “The Nitocris Adoption Stela,” *JEA* 50 (1964): 71–101, on 78, the adoption decree reads: *rdi.i n.s s(y)* “I gave her to her,” and on 79, for a discussion of Psammetichus I’s assertion: “I will not do what in fact should not be done and expel an heir from his seat.”

48. Parker et al., *Edifice of Taharqa*, 61-62 and pl. 25, coll. 14-15.

49. See J. Reves, "The Metaphorical Use of the Kingship Term *sn* 'Brother,'" *JARCE* 40 (2003): 123-131, at 124, where he points out that, from the 18th dynasty onwards, a wife (*hmt*) was generally referred to as *snt* "sister," and further that, the plural *snw* "brothers" "can refer to people of equal status;" and on 125, for the suggestion that the relationship between Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III may best be understood in view of the metaphorical use of the term *snt nsw* as defining an equal, harmonious, and balanced, relationship between two individuals of "identical status." Reves, 127, further argues for a "complementary duality" between brothers. For *sn* as "equal," see Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, 230.

50. See note 19 above.

51. Parker, *The Edifice of Taharqa*, 69.

52. Convenient summaries of this myth may be found in: L.H. Lesko, "Ancient Egyptian Cosmogonies and Cosmology," in B. Shafer, ed., *Religion in Ancient Egypt*. (London: Routledge, 1991), 92-93; and D. Meeks and C. Favard-Meeks, *Daily Life of the Egyptian Gods*. Trans. G. M. Goshgarian (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), 165-166.

53. The statue was most recently published in Nigel C. Strudwick, *Masterpieces of Ancient Egypt*. (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 2006), 270-71. It was also discussed in: John H. Taylor and Nigel C. Strudwick, *Mummies: Death and the Afterlife in Ancient Egypt* (Santa Ana, Ca: 2005), 13.

54. The protective potency of this gesture/ attitude/ posture was frequently evoked in Egyptian art and iconography. Arguably the most famous examples of this posture those found on objects recovered from the tomb of Tut-ankh-Amen. On his sarcophagus, as well on the golden shrines, winged goddesses spread their wings protectively along the sides of the sarcophagus and the shrines. See, for example, K. R. Weeks, *Valley of the Kings: The Tombs and Funerary Temples of Thebes West* (New York: Friedman/ Fairfax, 2001), pl. 146. Likewise, in the tomb of Nefertari, Isis and Nephthys, both represented as human females standing on either side of the nocturnal ram-headed Re, extend their hands toward the god in a protective embrace (pl. 129).

55. See note 42 above.

56. Allen, *Middle Egyptian*, 80.

57. Allen, *Middle Egyptian*, 80.