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*Two Votive Plaques from Edfu*

In the course of excavations at Tell Edfu in 1932 the French Mission led by M. Alliot found three limestone ‘modèles de sculpteurs’ in the vicinity of the ‘salle à colonne’, to the west of the Ptolemaic temple.<sup>1</sup> Two of them are now in the National Museum in Warsaw.<sup>2</sup> In the long discussion concerning purpose and meaning of such objects – whether they were sculptors’ studies or votives – various opinions have been submitted and different solutions proposed.<sup>3</sup> However, till now there is no satisfying answer, explaining all aspects of these enigmatic objects and pertaining to all of them. Perhaps there is no such answer and we deal with several different categories of objects. Not being able to provide new facts and offer still another explanation, I will confine myself to the analysis of interesting details represented on Warsaw plaques and I hope that Karol Myśliwiec, also a participant of the above-mentioned debate, will find some pleasure in this small article.<sup>4</sup>

**First plaque**, Inv. No. 141276 MNW, is decorated on both sides. On one side (**Fig. 1a**) we see the upper part of a king, turned right and offering *nw*-vases. He wears *nemes*, broad collar and kilt. The kilt is fastened by a belt decorated with a sort of block-border ornament. The king can be either kneeling or standing – both attitudes are attested on plaques – unfortunately the plaque is broken right under a belt. In front of the king is a rectangular shape, with a row of vertical incisions under the upper edge – an altar, perhaps. The top edge of the plaque preserves a characteristic ledge in the right corner; all other edges are irregular and probably accidental.

The king’s *nemes* displays some interesting features. Alternating raised and sunken bands indicate pleating of the headcloth. R. Bianchi observed that this kind of treatment of kilts and headdresses, with contours sculpted perpendicularly to the surface of the plaque,

<sup>1</sup> M. ALLIOT, Rapport sur les fouilles de Tell Edfou (1932), *FIFAO* 9/2, Cairo 1933 [= Tell Edfou 1932], p. 26, Pls XXIII–XXIV.

<sup>2</sup> Inv. Nos 141276 MNW (two-sided plaque, H. 7.5cm; W. 11.4cm) and 140746 MNW (unfinished plaque, H. 15.3cm; W. 19.7cm). They arrived to Warsaw in 1939 as a gift from IFAO, together with objects from the last campaign of Franco-Polish excavations.

<sup>3</sup> C.C. EDGAR, Sculptors’ Studies and Unfinished Works, Nos. 33301–33506, *CGC*, Cairo 1906; L. BORCHARDT, Ein Bildhauermodell aus dem frühen Alten Reich, *ASAE* 28, 1928, pp. 43–50; B.V. BOTHMER, Ptolemaic Reliefs IV: A Votive Tablet, *BMFA* 51/286, December 1953, pp. 79–84; E. VARGA, Les modèles de sculpture de Basse Epoque dans la collection égyptienne, *BMH* 18, 1961, pp. 3–19; E. YOUNG, Sculptors’ Models or Votives? In Defense of a Scholarly Tradition, *BMMA* 22, March 1964, pp. 247–256; A.R. SCHULMAN, Ex-votos of the Poor, *JARCE* 6, 1967, pp. 153–156; R. BIANCHI, Ex-votos of Dynasty 26, *MDAIK* 35, 1979, pp. 15–22; T. LIEPSNER, s.v. Modelle, B, *LÄ* IV, 169–180; P. STANWICK, Portraits of the Ptolemies: Greek Kings as Egyptian Pharaohs, Austin 2002; N.S. TOMOUM, The Sculptors’ Models of the Late and Ptolemaic Periods: A Study of the Type and Function of a Group of Ancient Egyptian Artefacts, Cairo 2005; M. HILL, Snake Charting: Situating the Sculptors’ Model / Votives of the Late and Ptolemaic Periods, [in:] D. Magee, J. Bourriau, S. Quirke (Eds), *Sitting beside Lepsius. Studies in Honour of Jaromir Malek at the Griffith Institute*, *OLA* 185, Leuven-Paris-Walpole, MA 2009, pp. 237–256.

<sup>4</sup> K. MYŚLIWIEC, Egipskie modele rzeźbiarskie okresu ptolemejskiego, *Meander* 7–8, 1968, pp. 319–326; Id., O niektórych egipskich modelach rzeźbiarskich z Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie, *RMNW* 14, 1970, pp. 63–76; Id., Towards a Definition of the “Sculptor’s Model” in Egyptian Art, *EtudTrav* VI, 1972, pp. 71–75.



a



b

1. Plaque 141276 MNW: a – side one, b – side two (Phot. Z. Doliński, © Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie).

is characteristic to the Saite Period.<sup>5</sup> However, this play of alternating surfaces can be found much earlier, e.g. in the Chapelle Rouge.<sup>6</sup> There are, nevertheless, some features differing this *nemes* from earlier examples. First, the vertical line of the lappet continues above the temple and joins the arched line of pleating above the forehead, forming a sort of a triangle. This feature, which more correctly renders the flattened surface above ears, appeared in relief in times of Seti I, as far as I know.<sup>7</sup> Second, the lappet runs behind the ear, in contrast to the earlier forms where lappet started from the lower tip of the ear. This is perhaps the earliest occurrence of this new arrangement.<sup>8</sup> The uraeus raises from the forehead, without any coils.

The collar consists of three striped bands and an outer row of tear-shaped beads, plastically rendered. The neck is almost non-existent – a fault often present on this kind of plaques<sup>9</sup> – and the right king's arm seems too long. The delicate plumpness of the face is indicated by a fleshy chin. The *nw*-vases are also slightly incorrectly placed – above hands, not encircled by thumbs, as it should be.

Bronze images of kneeling (or standing) kings offering *nw*-vases, the category which emerged in the reign of Thutmose III,<sup>10</sup> became especially popular from the eighth century BC.<sup>11</sup> and perhaps relative popularity of the same kind of images sculpted on votive or ritual plaques was some reflection of this phenomenon.<sup>12</sup> Offering of ritual *nw*-vases could represent not only gift of wine or other liquid but stand for other royal gifts, especially Maat, associated with any other offering.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> BIANCHI, *MDAIK* 35, 1979, pp. 18–19: *The treatment of the kilts and headdresses [...] as a series of raised plastic planes separated by sunken surfaces, is an easily recognizable characteristic also found on other examples. This interplay of raised surfaces and sunken planes can also be found in sculpture in the round from the Saite Period.*

<sup>6</sup> F. BURGOS, F. LARCHÉ, *La chapelle Rouge. Le sanctuaire de barque d'Hatshepsout. I. Fac-similés et photographies des scènes*, Paris 2006.

<sup>7</sup> E.g., A. CALVERLEY, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos I*, London-Chicago 1933, Pl. 32.

<sup>8</sup> From the reign of Apries we have examples of the older form of *nemes*, see e.g. a donation stela from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 04.2.11 (<http://www.metmuseum.org/collections/search-the-collections?ft=04.2.11> (accessed 10.06.2013)).

<sup>9</sup> Cf. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 21.6.24 (<http://www.metmuseum.org/collections/search-the-collections?ft=21.6.24> (accessed 10.06.2013)) or The Walters Art Museum Baltimore, 22.285 (G. STEINDORFF, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore 1946* [= *Catalogue Walters*], No. 326, Pl. LXI).

<sup>10</sup> M. HILL, *Royal Bronze Statuary from Ancient Egypt, Leiden-Boston 2004*, pp. 17, 255.

<sup>11</sup> E.g. a statuette of Amasis, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 35.9.3, in: M. HILL (Ed.), *Gifts for the gods. Images from Egyptian Temples*, New Haven-London 2007, cat. No. 47 and Fig. 55. According to M. Hill, it could be a reflection of renewed attention being paid by rulers to religious practice: *ibid.*, p. 56.

<sup>12</sup> Kneeling king: The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, 22.285 (see n. 9); The Smithsonian's Museums of Asian Art, Freer and Sackler Galleries, F1909.142 (<http://www.asia.si.edu/collections/singleObject.cfm?ObjectNumber=F1909.142> (accessed 10.06.2013)); Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City (<http://www.nelson-atkins.org/collections/objectview.cfm?Start=1&ret=1&objectid=20612&bead32b99b332f4b-2E78C8BF-0568-9BB0-CCF0261231F3F613> (accessed 10.06.2013)). Standing king: The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, 22.266 and 22.269 (two nearly identical plaques, STEINDORFF, *Catalogue Walters*, Nos 324–325, Pl. LX).

<sup>13</sup> Inscriptions on kneeling statues of Hatshepsut, presenting *nw*-vases, concern offering of Maat, fresh plants etc. see C. KELLER, *Hatshepsut Offers Maat to Amun*, [*in:*] C. Roehrig, R. Dreyfus, C.A. Keller (Eds),

The other side of the plaque reveals the identity of the king – it is Amasis (**Fig. 1b**). This time the figure is accompanied by a line of text with the prenominal and we can assume that both royal figures represent the same person. The text states [...] *nfr hnmw-ib-R<sup>c</sup> ʕnh dt*; we have also a sign *dw3* – meaning ‘to adore’ and referring to the next figure placed behind the king, with only forearms preserved, raised in adoration gesture. The king is also depicted with arms raised in worship, in a manner of *rekhyts* or baboons. His chin is rather plump and generally his face is fleshy. He wears a *khat* headdress (with a strange circular bulb instead of a normal triangular ending under his arm), an upper garment with one knotted strap (as a matter of fact, only the presence of this strap indicates that there is any upper garment) and a tightly pleated kilt with a triangular apron at the front, adorned with a vertical ornamental panel with two uraei at the bottom and kept by a belt with a diamond pattern. No collar is indicated, no cosmetic line at the eye, a simple uraeus is placed at the forehead. The play of raised and sunken surfaces can be observed on the kilt.

The most intriguing figure is the one in front of the king – turned to the right, like all of them. It is a creature with the body of a bird – certainly a falcon<sup>14</sup> – but with a head of another species, crowned with horizontal ram horns. Two possibilities come into play: it could be either human or animal head – in the second case most probably that of a ram. The upper part of falcon’s body is decorated with a massive necklace made of seven rows of vertically-strung narrow beads. On the back is preserved a part of a tightly pleated headdress – *nemes*(?) – or of a striated wig. Now very interesting possibilities appear:

- 1°. If we have a falcon with a human head in royal headdress than we could deal with a special, very rare sort of royal statue.
- 2°. If the falcon wears a wig, than we should seek for other creatures, probably with animal head. The wig is there an ideal way of masking the juncture of body and head of different species.

Let us analyze the first possibility – more attractive but, unfortunately, less probable, as striations on creature’s head resemble more strands of hair than pleats of a *nemes*. However, considering the fact that there are many inaccuracies in depicting details, the first possibility cannot be completely dismissed. This kind of royal falcon statue and relief is known generally from the middle of Eighteenth Dynasty – reigns of Thutmose III through Thutmose IV – but there is also one small faience figurine dated to the Late or Ptolemaic Period,<sup>15</sup> so the idea of a king merged in a statue with a falcon was not altogether

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Hatshepsut. From Queen to Pharaoh, New Haven-London 2005, pp. 168–169. Cf. also E. TEETER, The Presentation of Maat. Ritual and Legitimacy in Ancient Egypt, *SAOC* 57, Chicago 1997, p. 82.

<sup>14</sup> Erroneously called a criosphinx by BIANCHI, *MDAIK* 35, 1979, p. 17, and Khnum by ALLIOT, Tell Edfu 1932, p. 26.

<sup>15</sup> Altogether there are less than ten such statues attested: T. HARDWICK, CH. RIGGS, The King as a Falcon: A “Lost” Statue of Thutmose III Rediscovered and Reunited, *MDAIK* 66, 2010, pp. 107–119, with previous literature on the subject, especially H. BRUNNER, Der König im Falkenkleid, *ZÄS* 83, 1958, pp. 74–75; ID., Nochmals der König im Falkenkleid, *ZÄS* 87, 1962, pp. 76–77; P. KRIÉGER, Une statuette de roi-faoucon au Musée du Louvre, *RdE* 12, 1960, pp. 37–58; D. VALBELLE, Le faoucon et le roi, [*in*:] L’impero Ramesside. Convegno Internazionale in onore di Sergio Donadoni, *VicOr* 1, Rome 1997, pp. 205–220; D. LABOURY, La statuaire

forgotten. As regards the relief depiction – there is known only one example, dating back to the reign of Thutmose IV.<sup>16</sup> On the wall of the pillared court of this king, reconstructed in the Open Air Museum in Karnak, among depicted royal statues there is one presenting the king as a striding statue with folded wings, wearing nemes with a double crown and a *shendyt*-kilt. The *nemes* is not much detailed, except the coiled cobra at the forehead. As a matter of fact, that a *nemes* is meant – actually, only its front part – can be deduced from the comparison with three-dimensional images where the head of a king is invariably covered by *nemes* visible only from the front, the back being covered to a greater or lesser degree with feathers. In the relief representation no feathers are depicted anywhere on the back or the head of the figure and we cannot be sure what solution was meant. It is worth mentioning that of all examples cited by T. Hardwick and Ch. Riggs only in the Late Period/Ptolemaic figurine the tied queue of the *nemes* is depicted over the feathered back. Perhaps on Warsaw plaque similar solution was adopted. A ram horn visible on preserved fragment could be an element of an *atef* or other feather crown.

This possibility is attractive because it would be the second known example of a relief depiction of a falcon king ('the king with wings', as Hardwick and Riggs put it), the two-dimensional visualization of the idea of the special relationship between the god Horus and the king, in excess to the several – but still very few – three-dimensional images. The king manifested himself as incarnation of Horus on earth, whose legitimization and divine character of his royal power was confirmed by the god and who could be worshipped in the falcon form.

Nevertheless, the second possibility seems to me more convincing, namely that the figure depicts a falcon with animal – presumably ram – head and in this case the creature would be the solar *ba* – 'Ba of Re'. Combination of a ram head with horns and a falcon body can be found in several places and in two main variants:

1. Head in profile, a bird body in frontal (or rather back) view with outstretched wings – depicted in several royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings, in the concluding scene of the Sixth Division of the *Book of Caverns* – a giant figure of regenerated *Ba* of Re, ready to emerge from the underworld in the morning;<sup>17</sup> or on breasts of some coffins and cartonnages of the Third Intermediate Period.<sup>18</sup>
2. Figure in profile, like on the Warsaw plaque, with or without hands raised in adoration.

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de Thoutmosis III: essai d'interprétation d'un portrait royal dans son contexte historique, *ÆgLeod* 5, Liège 1998, cat. Nos A11 and P7, pp. 442–443; A. BOLSHAKOV, Royal Portaiture and "Horus Name", [in:] Ch. Ziegler (Ed.), *L'art de l'Ancien Empire égyptien*, Paris 1999, pp. 311–330; H. SOUROUZIAN, Thoutmosis III-faucon, [in:] M. Eldamaty, M. Trad (Eds), *Egyptian Museum Collections around the World: Studies for the Centennial of the Egyptian Museum*, Cairo, Cairo 2002, pp. 1123–1132.

<sup>16</sup> B. LETELLIER, La cour à péristyle de Thoutmosis IV à Karnak, *BSFE* 84, 1979, pp. 33–49; EAD., Thoutmosis IV à Karnak. Hommage tardif rendu à un bâtisseur malchanceux, *BSFE* 122, 1991, pp. 36–52.

<sup>17</sup> E.g. in the tomb of Merenptah, KV 8 and in the tomb of Tauseret and Sethnakht, KV 14.

<sup>18</sup> See e.g. Galeria Sztuki Starożytniej: Egipt, Bliski Wschód. Przewodnik, Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie, Warszawa 2007, p. 105 (Cartonnage 147801 MNW); E. LIPTAY, Coffins and Coffin Fragments of the Third Intermediate Period. Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, *Catalogues of the Egyptian Collection* 1, Budapest 2011 [= Coffins Budapest], Pls 13 and 15 (Coffin 51.1995/1).

This form appears in several types of scenes:

a) in the *Litany of Re*, enclosed in the disc, without hands:

– as one of the figures of the *Great Litany* (No. 9a in the Hornung's numbering of figures in the tomb of Seti I);<sup>19</sup>

– protected by Isis and Nephtys in the form of kites, with an address to *Djeba-demedj*;

– 'the United *Ba* (of Re-Osiris)' in the central scene of the *Litany*, on the ceiling of some royal tombs.<sup>20</sup> The same figures appear in decoration of sarcophagi of the Late Period, where the excerpts from the *Litany of Re*, as well as from other netherworldly books, were widely used.<sup>21</sup>

b) in the *Enigmatic Book of the Netherworld* carved on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, also enclosed in the disc, with hands raised in adoration.<sup>22</sup> The ram-headed bird symbolizes the dead sun travelling through the Netherworld and appears four times in this book. These figures of the *Ba* of Re are connected with the motif of rebirth of the sun and allude to the regeneration of Osiris through his union with Re.<sup>23</sup>

c) in the scene of Separating of Heaven and Earth on coffins and papyri.<sup>24</sup> In this scene the god Shu supports the arched body of Nut over the recumbent figure of Geb. Shu is assisted usually by one or two *ba*-birds, by two goddesses, two falcons or by two or more ram-headed creatures, either with human or falcon body. They can be understood as *Bas* of Re, forms of the solar god, present and operative in the creation, or as *bas* of dead persons, identified with Re, or else as just various *bas*. Perhaps the most developed scene of this kind is depicted on the Greenfield Papyrus.<sup>25</sup> There, apart from two ram-headed human figures supporting arms of Shu, there are no less than five other similar criocephalic figures, two rams and two human-headed *bas* with and without

<sup>19</sup> E. HORNING, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen (Sonnenlitanei) nach den Versionen des Neuen Reiches II*, Geneva 1977, p. 59.

<sup>20</sup> ID., *The Ancient Egyptian Books of Afterlife*, London 1999 [= *Books of Afterlife*], p. 143. The *Address to Djeba demedj*, as a part of the Third Litany, appears on the pillar in the tomb of Thutmose III and on ceilings in tombs of Ramesses II, Merneptah, Seti II, Amenmesse, Siptah, and Ramesses III. The exact meaning of this name is still debated, a convincing translation offered already by A. PIANKOFF, *The Litany of Re*, New York 1964, p. 11, runs: *The substituted one of the united one* which describes the unified form of Re-Osiris, cf. B. RICHTER, *The Amduat and Its Relationship to the Architecture of Early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty Royal Burial Chambers*, *JARCE* 44, 2010, pp. 87–89.

<sup>21</sup> C. MANASSA, *Late Egyptian Underworld: Sarcophagi and Related Texts from the Nectanebid Period*, Wiesbaden 2007, *passim*, esp. pp. 386–388.

<sup>22</sup> HORNING, *Books of Afterlife*, pp. 77–82; J.C. DARNELL, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity: Cryptographic Compositions in the Tombs of Tutankhamun, Ramesses VI, and Ramesses IX*, *OBO* 198, Göttingen 2004 [= *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*], Pls 4 and 6.

<sup>23</sup> DARNELL, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 384.

<sup>24</sup> H. TE VELDE, *The Theme of the Separation of Heaven and Earth in Egyptian Mythology*, *StudAeg* III, Budapest 1977 [= *Separation*], pp. 161–170. Examples can be found e.g. in A. NIWIŃSKI, *21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty Coffins from Thebes. Chronological and Typological Studies*, *Theben* 5, Mainz a/Rhein 1988, Fig. 38, Pls XVIIA (Case Cairo 26195), XVIIA (Case Odessa 52976); ID., *The Second Find of Deir el-Bahari (Coffins)*. N° 6069–6082 II/1, *CGC*, Cairo 1999 [= *CGC 6069–6082*], Figs 13 (Case CG 6081), 25 (Case CG 6079), 38 (Case CG 6214), 58 (Case CG 6183), 108 (Case CG 6188), 124 (Case CG 6190), 132 (Case CCG 6153); LIPTAY, *Coffins Budapest, Pl. 18* (fragment 51.325).

<sup>25</sup> E.A.W. BUDGE, *The Greenfield Papyrus*, London 1912, Pls 105–107.

hands, as well as six other figures (including the dead owner of the papyrus, priestess Nestanebetisheru, daughter of Pinudjem II). Although in this case ram-headed birds are substituted by criocephalic humans, both forms often appear in this scene. Interestingly enough, there is almost exact copy of this scene cut in stone – in the Memphite tomb of Sheshonq, son of Osorkon II, with the same figures and nearly exact captions.<sup>26</sup> This multitude of *bas* – *B3 šps*, *B3 ikr šwt*, *B3 šhnt dmd*, *B3 it b3w*, *B3y*, [*B3*] *i3w in psdt*, *B3 hpri*, *B3 ikr imy pt*, *B3 šsp*, *B3 s<sup>r</sup>.f*, *B3 h<sup>c</sup>* – illustrates the most characteristic aspect of the *ba* – capacity to assume various forms, representing manifestations of the god – Re, Amun or other cosmic god – which animate and organize the world.<sup>27</sup> In the Greenfield Papyrus and in the tomb of Sheshonq we have a veritable ‘litany of *Ba*’.

And this is perhaps the clue to the meaning of figures depicted on the Warsaw plaque. We have here three figures in a row: the first one with a falcon body (impossible to say, with or without hands), the second one – that of the king adoring – and the third one, with arms upraised in worship, but not like those of the king but rather like those of birds with human arms, e.g. *rekhyts* or *bas*, the second possibility being more plausible, as *rekhyt* birds usually are depicted in reduced scale. They proceed one after another like figures of the same status – e.g. various manifestations of a god or rows of divinities in late temples or on coffins.<sup>28</sup> And this status must be quite elevated, considering the fact that the first figure represents probably the *Ba* of Re. Could it be that the king here stays for another manifestation of Re? The Ramesside hymn to Amun enumerates his ten *bas* and the royal *ka* is one of them, representing the *ba* of humans,<sup>29</sup> so it is not totally unthinkable that Amasis (or his *ka*) could appear here in this role.

**Second plaque**, Inv. No. 140746 MNW, is unfinished (**Fig. 2**). The fact that these two plaques were found together should be taken into consideration, while trying to guess the purpose and meaning of them. Perhaps the place where they (and the third one, mentioned above) were found was simply an atelier where these objects were manufactured.

In the case of this plaque the scene depicted is quite common: adoration of the divine child by two protective goddesses in the form of winged uraei. Uraei are placed on high rectangular pedestals resembling naoi, with rounded upper corners and vertical division in the middle (visible only on the left pedestal, there are no details carved on the right side of the plaque). Uraei are in upright, rearing position, with a tail arched behind the back and falling down along the edge of the pedestal. Each uraeus is equipped with two

<sup>26</sup> A. BADAWEY, Das Grab des Kronprinzen Scheschonk, Sohnes Osorkon's II. und Hohenpriesters von Memphis, *ASAE* 54, 1956, pp. 169–170, Pl. X. This is the only one example of the occurrence of this scene executed in more durable material than papyrus or wood (TE VELDE, Separation, pp. 166–167), although, as it happens, the state of preservation of this tomb is worse than that of the Greenfield Papyrus.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. J. ASSMANN, *Egyptian Solar Religion in the New Kingdom. Re, Amun and the Crisis of Polytheism*, London-New York 1995 [= *Egyptian Solar Religion*], pp. 142–147.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Coffin of Cleopatra with rows of bird-shaped divinities with various heads and arms raised in adoration, British Museum EA 6706 (N. STRUDWICK, *Masterpieces of Ancient Egypt*, London 2006, pp. 308–310).

<sup>29</sup> ASSMANN, *Egyptian Solar Religion*, pp. 145–147.



2. Plaque 140746 MNW (Phot. Z. Doliński, © Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie).

*shen*-rings – one placed on the pedestal and one between the wings, with the *uas*-sceptre attached and placed vertically in front of the pedestal. The right (unfinished) uraeus wears an *atef*-crown, the upper part of the left, finished figure is not preserved.

The child is seated in normal pose, turned right, with marked upper edge of the kilt. Just one detail is not so common: position of arms. Normally we would expect the left-hand finger to mouth. Here, a flail is hold in the right hand and probably a sceptre in the left, supported on the knee.

Similar – but not exactly the same – arrangement of figures can be found on the Third Intermediate Period small faience objects: chalices, spacers, amulets etc. One of them is a small necklace spacer with two winged cobras and a young god squatting on a lotus flower.<sup>30</sup> The child has probably regalia in his hands. On another example, the so-called Osorkon's talisman,<sup>31</sup> the arrangement is very similar but this time the young god, seated on a lotus

<sup>30</sup> British Museum EA 26233 (G.A.D. TAIT, The Egyptian relief chalice, *JEA* 49, 1964, p. 130, Pl. XXIV).

<sup>31</sup> Louvre E 10943 (G. ANDREU, entry 'Talisman of Osorkon', [in:] G. Andreu, M. Rutschowskaya, Ch. Ziegler (Eds), *L'Égypte ancienne au Louvre*, Paris 1997, pp. 182–183).

flower and with a crooked staff in his right hand, extends finger to mouth. The uraei are placed on small naoi. There are many variants of this scene, the most popular being the infant squatting on a blue lotus flower, with hand to mouth – evidently the young sun god reborn in the morning. Protective cobras can represent Hathor and Maat, Isis and Nephtys or tutelary goddesses, Nekhbet and Uadjet.

The squatting figure, equipped sometimes with regalia, appears also in quite different context: in the scene of weighing of the heart from the *Book of the Dead*. The enigmatic figure is interpreted as the dead person about to be reborn. It can be found on papyri and coffins from the Third Intermediate Period;<sup>32</sup> there is also a carved version in the Ptolemaic temple at Deir el-Medina – the squatting young god seated on a *heka*-sceptre, with a flail in each hand, behind the Devourer and in front of Thot,<sup>33</sup> so in the context of the weighing of the heart scene also. In any case the dominant accent here is laid on regeneration – of the god, of the king or just of any dead.

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<sup>32</sup> E.g. NIWIŃSKI, CGC 6069–6082, Figs 39 (Case CG 6214), 74 (Case CG 6216 – named Re), 111 (Case CG 6188).

<sup>33</sup> P. DU BOURGUET, *Le temple du Deir al-Médîna*, Le Caire 2002, p. 57, phot. 58.