

Constructing royal authority in New Kingdom towns in Nubia: some thoughts based on inscribed monuments from private residences

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Abstract

The practice of decorating private residences with scenes of adoring the ruling king, represented by his cartouches, and with corresponding texts giving praise to the king is well attested in the Egyptian New Kingdom. From the reign of Thutmose III onwards, there are examples from officials of various ranks and with diverse duties at sites located in both Egypt and Nubia. These scenes and texts – like other sources – clearly illustrate that for an Egyptian official, loyalty to the king was the key to general well-being and promotion. In exchange for granting favours to his officials, the power of the king was guaranteed within the domestic quarters and the ruler was also addressed as a deity from the mid-18th Dynasty onwards. This paper highlights a number of aspects of royal authority and its construction in the New Kingdom temple-towns of Nubia, which were built on behalf of the living ruler within a ‘foreign’ landscape.

Introduction

Representative elements of architecture in the settlement sphere and other well-visible monuments such as rock inscriptions are, in general, well-suited to demonstrate one’s loyalty to the king in ancient Egypt.¹ In addition, it is well known that the king acted as mediator for the worship of deities – adoring the ruler who is the living Horus on earth is consequently also closely related to the devotion of gods.² As Heike Guksch could show, in the 18th Dynasty the

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- 1 For general aspects of loyalty expressed towards the king in the New Kingdom, see H. Guksch, *Königsdienst: zur Selbstdarstellung der Beamten in der 18. Dynastie*, SAGA 11, Heidelberg 1994, passim. For depictions illustrating the relations between king and officials in the 18th Dynasty: A. Radwan, *Die Darstellungen des regierenden Königs und seiner Familienangehörigen in den Privatgräbern der 18. Dynastie*, MÄS 21, Berlin 1969; for scenes of adoring the royal names: C. Spieser, *Les noms du Pharaon comme êtres autonomes au Nouvel Empire*, OBO 174, Friburg and Göttingen 2000; C. Spieser, *Les cartouches divins*, in: ZÄS 129, 2002, 85-95; C. Spieser, *Cartouche*, in: *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, 1-9, <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/3g726122>; for monuments in the settlement sphere: J. Budka, *Der König an der Haustür. Die Rolle des ägyptischen Herrschers an dekorierten Türgewänden von Beamten im Neuen Reich*, *Beiträge zur Ägyptologie* 19, Vienna 2001.
 - 2 See A. Radwan, *Ramesses II as mediator*, in: E. Bleiberg and R. Freed (eds.), *Fragments of a shattered visage: the proceedings of the international symposium of Ramesses the Great, Memphis, TN 1991*, 221-225; P. Pamminger, *Magistrale Intervention: der Beamte als Mittler*, in: SAK 23, 1996, 282; Budka, *Der König an der Haustür*, 59; L. Troy, *Religion and cult during the time of Thutmose III*, in: E. H. Cline and D. O’Connor (eds.), *Thutmose III: a new biography*, Ann Arbor 2006, 130.

focal point in self-representations by officials was clearly the relationship to the king; gods only played peripheral roles.³ Loyalty to the king was thus the general key to well-being and promotion during the New Kingdom, but seems to have been especially relevant in areas outside of Egypt like Nubia.⁴ The latter does not come as big surprise. After all, the Egyptians sent to Nubia in the 18th Dynasty were living in towns set up by the state authority, i.e. the king. It seems perfectly natural then that they were consequently also putting their faith in the king to arrange a safe burial, common health and most importantly, their return back to Egypt.

In light of this it is important to stress that the deification of Egyptian kings during their lifetime goes back in Nubia to the late Middle Kingdom (Amenemhat III)⁵ and is especially common in the New Kingdom (Thutmose III, Amenhotep III and Ramesses II).⁶ Several scholars have argued that the worship of the living ruler as god was easier to install outside of Egypt as the evidence in both Lower and Upper Nubia seems to indicate.⁷ Military success and the extension of the Egyptian empire during the New Kingdom have also favoured the new kind of ruler cult as attested in particular for Thutmose III and Ramesses II during their lifetimes.⁸ Interestingly, Nubian examples from the New Kingdom show specific features of the adoration of kings which can be interpreted as reflecting historical developments, corresponding to administrative patterns and local hierarchies. In this respect, one of the key aspects is that from the mid-18th Dynasty onwards, the power of the king was embodied in Lower and Upper Nubia by the viceroy of Kush, later enforced by his two deputies.⁹ In the following, some aspects of the construction of royal authority at domestic sites in Nubia, based on selected

3 Guksch, *Königsdienst*, 3.

4 Budka, *Der König an der Haustür*, 99-101.

5 A. Radwan, Amenemhat III. als Gott. I: Göttlichkeitsstufen eines Monarchen zu seinen Lebzeiten und kurz danach, in: M. C. Floßmann-Schütze, M. Goecke-Bauer, F. Hoffmann, A. Hutterer, K. Schlüter, A. Schütze and M. Ullmann (eds.), *Kleine Götter – große Götter: Festschrift für Dieter Kessler zum 65. Geburtstag*, Vaterstetten 2013, 381-402. For the cults of Senwosret I and Senwosret III in Nubia, at least attested from the Second Intermediate Period onwards, see H.S. Smith, *The Fortress of Buhen. The Inscriptions, Forty-eight Excavation Memoir*, London 1976, 91-91.

6 L. Habachi, *Features of the Deification of Ramesses II*, *Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo* 5, Glückstadt 1969; M. Schade-Busch, *Bemerkungen zum Königsbild Thutmosis III. in Nubien*, in: R. Gundlach (ed.), *Selbstverständnis und Realität. Akten des Symposiums zur Ägyptischen Königsideologie in Mainz* 15.-17. 6. 1995, *ÄAT* 36,1, Wiesbaden 1997, 211-223; A. Radwan, *Thutmosis III. als Gott*, in: H. Guksch and Daniel Polz (eds.), *Stationen: Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Ägyptens*, Rainer Stadelmann gewidmet, Mainz am Rhein 1998, 339; Budka, *Der König an der Haustür*, 53-54.

7 T. Säve-Söderbergh, *Ägypten und Nubien. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte altägyptischer Aussenpolitik*, Lund 1941, 202-203; Budka, *Der König an der Haustür*, 54.

8 R. Gundlach, *Weltherrscher und Weltordnung – Legitimation und Funktion des ägyptischen Königs am Beispiel Thutmosis III. und Amenophis III.*, in: R. Gundlach and H. Weber (eds.), *Legitimation und Funktion des Herrschers vom ägyptischen Pharaos zum neuzeitlichen Diktator*, Stuttgart 1992, 36-37; Budka, *Der König an der Haustür*, 53.

9 See I. Müller, *Die Verwaltung Nubiens im Neuen Reich*, *Meroitica* 18, Wiesbaden 2013; J. Budka, *The Egyptian "Re-conquest of Nubia" in the New Kingdom – Some Thoughts on the Legitimization of Pharaonic Power in the South*, in: F. Coppens, J. Janák and H. Vymazalová (eds.), *Royal versus Divine Authority. Acquisition, Legitimization and Renewal of Power*, 7th Symposium on Egyptian Royal Ideology, Prague, June 26-28, 2013, *Königtum, Staat und Gesellschaft früher Hochkulturen* 4,4, Wiesbaden 2015, 63-82.

finds, will be discussed. The textual records will be presented within their archaeological and historical context, proposing some new thoughts on the perception of the divinity of Egyptian kingship in New Kingdom Nubia, and its reception/reflections in Egypt proper.

Doorways of private residences and the role of the ruling king in the New Kingdom

The Egyptian doorway built in stone with inscriptions and relief decoration is a status symbol within the domestic mudbrick architecture and functioned during the New Kingdom as a representative monument (Fig. 1).¹⁰ In 1966, the text and scenes of New Kingdom doorways have been interpreted by William Ward as follows: “In reality, the Egyptian practice of decorating private residences with religious texts is of the same nature as the religious statuettes, pictures, and even small household shrines found in Christian homes of our own age. There is very little difference in the psychology motivating a hymn to Re on an ancient Egyptian doorway or a statuette of the Virgin on a modern mantelpiece.”¹¹ Commenting on this in 2001, I modified this interpretation slightly, stressing that the king as a specific divine being, mostly represented by the cartouches and the royal *ka*, is the actual focal point:¹² “Die ägyptische Haustür eines hohen Beamtenwohnhauses des Neuen Reiches, die für einen jeden Passanten öffentlich sichtbar war, kann somit als repräsentatives und vor allem hochgradig politisches Zeugnis von Königsloyalität und Herrscherverehrung bezeichnet werden.”¹³

In fact, the practice of decorating entrances of private residences with scenes of adoring the ruling king, represented by his cartouches and Horus names (Fig. 1), and with corresponding texts giving praise to the king is in this period better attested than references to gods.¹⁴ The lintels most often show the owner of the houses adoring the cartouches; the door jambs usually give prayers to gods and/or the king or his *ka*.¹⁵

In the reign of Thutmose III, there are examples from the highest official of the Nubian administration, the viceroy of Kush, from sites in Lower and Upper Nubia (Aniba and Sai). In Egypt, no cartouche scenes pre-dating the Amarna Period are attested on domestic buildings. After the Amarna Period, and in particular during the reign of Ramesses II, the cartouche scenes become standardised and officials of various ranks and with diverse duties from sites located in both Egypt and Nubia are well traceable (Table 1).

That the earliest evidence for such lintels under Thutmose III was found in Nubia needs to be underlined.¹⁶ In the residence area of Aniba in Lower Nubia, several lintels showing viceroy Nehy in adoration of the cartouches of Thutmose III were documented (see below, Fig. 2).¹⁷

10 Budka, *Der König an der Haustür*, 3-6 with further references.

11 W. A. Ward, *The Egyptian inscriptions of Level VI*, in: F. W. James, *The Iron Age of Beth Shan. A Study of Levels VI-IV*, Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 1966, 163.

12 Budka, *Der König an der Haustür*, 99. See also Radwan, in: Guksch and Polz (eds.), *Stationen*, 339.

13 Budka, *Der König an der Haustür*, 101.

14 Budka, *Der König an der Haustür*, 99.

15 Budka, *Der König an der Haustür*, 99-100.

16 Budka, *Der König an der Haustür*, 11 and 53 with further references.

17 Budka, *Der König an der Haustür*, 109-111 with further references. See also F. Thill, Saï et Aniba: deux centres administratifs du vice-roi Nehy sous Thoutmosis III, in: *CRIPEL* 30, 2013-2015, 263-304.

Lintels with identical design, texts and decoration were also found on Sai Island in Upper Nubia (see below).¹⁸ It is unlikely to be a coincidence that adoring royal cartouches appear for the first time as motif on lintels of magazines, other domestic building and rock shrines under exactly the ruler who had overthrown the Kingdom of Kerma.¹⁹ One can propose that the divine kingship under Thutmose III reflects specific political changes and the now altered power structures in Nubia. Only by his reign, Pharaonic authority was secured south of the Second Cataract, contrasting with what is traceable in the early Eighteenth Dynasty.²⁰ The deification of the king is the materialisation of the ‘re-conquest’ of Nubia which was continuously modified until the end of the New Kingdom.

In Egypt, the scenes on doors of private residences with the adoration of the king only started during the Amarna age and are connected with the specific kingship of Akhenaten (see below).²¹ The post-Amarna kings developed this further, especially Ramesses II, and the scenes are now attested at all places, both in Egypt and Nubia.²² In the Ramesside era, there was another major development which is relevant for scenes and texts on door jambs and lintels of houses: in the heyday of the so-called ‘personal piety’, almost every deity could be addressed in the private sphere.²³ References to gods of one’s hometown now became common.²⁴ Door jambs from Elephantine and Aniba attest that Theban officials made it very clear in their ‘home away from home’ that they wanted to return to their hometown, to see the gods there and to participate in the local festivals.²⁵ As will be discussed in the following, using similar wishes and formulae on door frames, the king is characterised as ‘personal god’ in several New Kingdom settlement sites in Nubia.

The scenes and texts on the door lintels and jambs illustrate – like other sources, e.g. the

18 Budka, *Der König an der Haustür*, 114; Thill, *CRIPEL* 30, 2013-2015, 263-304.

19 For activities of Thutmose III in Nubia see A. Spalinger, *Covetous Eyes South: The Background to Egypt’s Domination over Nubia by the Reign of Thutmose III*, in: E. H. Cline and D. O’Connor (eds.), *Thutmose III: A new biography*, Ann Arbor 2006, 344–369; L. Török, *Between Two Worlds: The Frontier Region between Ancient Nubia and Egypt 3700 BC - 500 AD*, PdÄ 29, Leiden 2009, 212-228.

20 Budka, in: Coppens, Janák and Vymazalová (eds.), *Royal versus Divine Authority*, 65. See also Spalinger, in: Cline and O’Connor (eds.), *Thutmose III*, 344-369.

21 Budka, *Der König an der Haustür*, 54-58.

22 Budka, *Der König an der Haustür*, 59-60.

23 A. Stevens, *Private Religion at Amarna*, BAR International Series 1587, Oxford 2006, 19. For a recent account of the ideas about ‘personal piety’ see M. M. Luiselli, *Personal Piety*, in: *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/49q0397q>; M. M. Luiselli, *Die Suche nach Gottesnähe: Die persönliche Teilnahme an der Religion in Ägypten von der 1. Zwischenzeit bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches*, ÄAT 73, Wiesbaden 2011.

24 See J. Budka, *V. Bauteile des Wohnsitzes einer thebanischen Beamtenfamilie in Elephantine*, in: G. Dreyer et al., *Stadt und Tempel von Elephantine*, 33./34./35. Grabungsbericht, in: *MDAIK* 64, 2008, 95 with references; J. Budka, *Between Thebes and Elephantine: busy lives of Egyptian officials*, in: A. J. Serrano and C. von Pilgrim (eds.), *From the Delta to the Cataract. Studies Dedicated to Mohamed el-Bialy*, *Culture and History of the Ancient Near East* 76, Leiden and Boston 2015, 12-23.

25 Budka, *Der König an der Haustür*, 113; M. Bommas, *Heimweh nach Theben vor dem Hintergrund kultureller Lebensform*, in: *Göttinger Miscellen* 193, 2003, 42 (Aniba); Budka, *MDAIK* 64, 2008, 96 (Elephantine).

famous Horbeit-stelae²⁶ – that for an Egyptian official, loyalty to the king was the key to general well-being and promotion. In exchange for granting favours to his officials, the power of the king was guaranteed within the domestic quarters by loyalty and the worship of the ruler.²⁷

The case of Nubia: re-contextualising the adoring royal cartouches scenes

In the following, I will argue that the scenes of adoring the king represented by his cartouches on door lintels of domestic buildings is strongly linked in its evolution to the Egyptian sacred landscape which was created in Nubia after the successful ‘re-conquest’ of Kush. I propose that these scenes are linked to royal statue cult and deifications of living kings – phenomena which were during the mid-18th Dynasty primarily restricted to the Nubian region.²⁸

It was already mentioned that the deification of Egyptian rulers was a common practice in Nubia, going back to the Middle Kingdom and Amenemhat III.²⁹ The most important deified kings during the New Kingdom are Thutmose III, Amenhotep III and Ramesses II who all built several shrines and temples focusing on their own worship.³⁰ The following survey concentrates on the site of Sai Island, located between the Second and Third Cataracts.³¹ The fortified temple-town of the New Kingdom set up in the early 18th Dynasty on the island yielded both material for the deification of Thutmose III in the local temple and for the adoration of the king represented by his royal cartouches in the settlement area.

At present, one stone temple is known within the town of Sai.³² The so-called Temple A was built in several stages. The best documented phases are enlargements conducted by viceroy Nehy on behalf of Thutmose III.³³ Royal decrees and foundation deposits allow a very precise dating of the building: it was erected by viceroy Nehy in year 25.³⁴ Some additions were

26 See D. Wildung, Ramses, die grosse Sonne Ägyptens, in: ZÄS 99, 1972, 33-41; D. Wildung, Göttlichkeitsstufen des Pharaos, in: OLZ 68, 1973, 549-565; A. I. Sadek, Popular Religion in Egypt during the New Kingdom, HÄB 27, Hildesheim 1987, esp. 11-16, 261-262; Budka, Der König an der Haustür, 95-98.

27 For the complex structure of the so-called “*hzwI*-Gefüge” see Guksch, Königsdienst, 39-45.

28 For royal statue cult in Nubia see Radwan, in: Floßmann-Schütze, Goecke-Bauer, Hoffmann, Hutterer, Schlüter, Schütze and Ullmann (eds.), Kleine Götter – große Götter, 390-396.

29 Radwan, in: Floßmann-Schütze, Goecke-Bauer, Hoffmann, Hutterer, Schlüter, Schütze and Ullmann (eds.), Kleine Götter – große Götter, 381-402.

30 Török, Between Two Worlds, 215-262. See also Radwan, in: Guksch and Polz (eds.), Stationen, 329-340. For a list of temples, see Müller, Die Verwaltung Nubiens, 89-96, Tab. 1.3.

31 For general information on the island during the New Kingdom see J. Vercoutter, Préface: l’archéologie de l’île de Saï, in: B. Gratien, Saï I. La nécropole Kerma, Paris 1986, 7-17; J. Budka, The Pharaonic town on Sai Island and its role in the urban landscape of New Kingdom Kush, in: Sudan & Nubia 19, 40-53.

32 For the quite likely presence of another, second temple which was not yet identified archaeologically, see most recently I. Adenstedt, Reconstructing Pharaonic Architecture in Nubia: the case study of SAV1, Sai Island, Contributions to the Archaeology of Egypt, Nubia and the Levant 3, Vienna 2016, 43-44, fig. 14.

33 M. Azim and J.-F. Carloti, Le temple A de l’île de Saï et ses abords, in: CRIPEL 29, 2011-2012, 11-65; L. Gabolde, Réexamen des jalons de la présence de la XVIII^e dynastie naissante à Saï, in: CRIPEL 29, 2011-2012, 115-137. The building phases of the 18th Dynasty are primarily associated with Thutmose III, Amenhotep II, Thutmose IV and Amenhotep III.

34 Azim and Carloti, CRIPEL 29, 2011-2012, 44-46; Gabolde, CRIPEL 29, 2011-2012, 136.

undertaken by viceroy Usersatet during the reign of Amenhotep II.³⁵ Amenhotep III was responsible for the final construction and decoration phase of Temple A.³⁶

The temple was primarily dedicated to Amun-Ra.³⁷ However, not only Amun-Ra, but also ‘Horus the Bull, Lord of Ta-Seti’³⁸ was adored within Temple A. The identity of ‘Horus the Bull, Lord of Ta-Seti’ has been discussed by several scholars.³⁹ Following Florence Thill, I believe that this deity is not a local Horus deity but rather a manifestation of Thutmose III himself,⁴⁰ therefore showing a close connection of the temple cult on Sai to kingship and the living ruler. The general invocation of divine royalty and the cult of royal ancestors are evident at Sai from the very beginning of the New Kingdom – *heb-sed* statues are known from Ahmose II and Amenhotep I.⁴¹ Although the architectural context of these statues is unknown, a small mudbrick chapel, most likely a *ḥwt-k3*, is possible.⁴²

In respect of a deified version of Thutmose III, the temple of Sai finds a close parallel on a near-by site: The rock-shrine of Gebel Doshā, located approximately 5km north of Soleb, was dedicated by Thutmose III to Senwosret III, ‘Horus the Bull, Lord of Ta-Seti’ and Hathor.⁴³ As was proposed for Sai, this Horus deity is probably a divine manifestation of the king. This could also explain why the king is the central figure of the three seated cult images within the shrine.⁴⁴

In addition to evidence from temples and shrines,⁴⁵ there are also important sources from domestic quarters for the cult of Egyptian kings in Nubia.⁴⁶ The most relevant question in this respect is whether Nubia was a special case as I have proposed in 2001.⁴⁷ It seems as if the king was even more important than the gods in these settlements located in ‘colonialised’ Egyptian territory outside of Egypt proper.

In particular the scenes of adoring the royal cartouches found on lintels of private houses in

35 Azim and Carlotti, CRIPEL 29, 2011-2012, 46-47; Gabolde, CRIPEL 29, 2011-2012, 137.

36 Azim and Carlotti, CRIPEL 29, 2011-2012, 47, pl. XVI-b.

37 Müller, *Die Verwaltung Nubiens*, 49; Budka, in: Coppens, Janák and Vymazalová (eds.), *Royal versus Divine Authority*, 69.

38 See Thill, CRIPEL 30, 2013-2015, 263-304.

39 Török, *Between Two Worlds*, 227 mentions ‘Horus Lord of Nubia’ and ‘Amun-Re’ as the gods of the temple on Sai.

40 Thill, CRIPEL 30, 2013-2015, 263-304.

41 Budka, in: Coppens, Janák and Vymazalová (eds.), *Royal versus Divine Authority*, 76-80.

42 Budka, in: Coppens, Janák and Vymazalová (eds.), *Royal versus Divine Authority*, 77.

43 Müller, *Die Verwaltung Nubiens*, 95. For recent work at Gebel Doshā see W.V. Davies, *Recording Jebel Doshā: the chapel of Thutmose III, Decoration and inscriptions*, in: *Sudan and Nubia* 20, 2016, 22-27. For the Horus god, note that he is depicted with a falcon head and the epithet “who dwells in Thebes”, Davies, *Sudan and Nubia* 20, 2016, 25, pl. 16.

44 Davies, *Sudan and Nubia* 20, 2016, 25.

45 ‘Horus the bull of Ta-Sety’ is also attested in the shrine of Ellisiya; see Thill, CRIPEL 30, 2013-2015, 297.

46 See Budka, *Der König an der Haustür*, 53-54 with further references.

47 Budka, *Der König an der Haustür*, 100: “In auswärtigen Stützpunkten und Grenzstationen des ägyptischen Reiches (Nubien, Kanaan, Grenze nach Libyen) dienen Kartuschenverehrungsszenen an Türstürzen repräsentativer Bauten verstärkt der Demonstration von Königsloyalität und -nähe beziehungsweise allgemein der Darstellung der Herrschaftsgewalt des Königs selbst.”

Nubia attest to the fact that the ruling king was addressed within the domestic sphere for various aspects. Interestingly, several inscribed doorways from Nubian sites of the Ramesside era testify that officials wanted to see the king in his bark – thus, to participate in festivals in honour of the king.⁴⁸ A bark and statue cult for the living king is also attested thanks to other documents in both Lower and Upper Nubia.⁴⁹

Viceroy Nehy at Aniba and Sai

At this point, I would like to come back to the first attestation of adoring the royal cartouches by officials on lintels of domestic building. They derive from Aniba and Sai and show the viceroy of Kush Nehy. As viceroy, he was responsible for the religious building activity in the name of Thutmose III, among others also at Aniba and Sai. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that several door lintels from Sai show Nehy in adoration before the cartouches of Thutmose III.⁵⁰ Two lintels of Nehy from Aniba in Lower Nubia are better preserved and allow reconstructing the fragmented ones from Sai.⁵¹ The lintels from both sites show Nehy in worship before the royal cartouche of Thutmose III (Fig. 2 bottom) and giving incense and libation to the harvest goddess Renenutet (Fig. 2 top).⁵²

The following interpretation can be proposed for these lintels which are the earliest scenes of adoration of the king or a goddess by officials on doorways of domestic buildings. First, the worshipping of the king represents the framework of the complete setting, building and site: Thanks to the loyalty of Nehy to the king and because of the successfully installed royal authority at the sites, the viceroy was able to realise one of his major tasks – the storing of goods in the magazine areas of Sai and Aniba. This storing is furthermore sanctioned by a goddess, who receives in turn cultic acts and offerings. Renenutet is responsible for the protection of the magazine and contents and Nehy worships her in exchange for this favour.⁵³ This all corresponds to the architectural setting of the lintels – the ones from Aniba are coming from the so-called “Gehöft”,⁵⁴ the ones from Sai from the southern part of the New Kingdom town, most probably from the magazine area in the western part of the site.⁵⁵ Thill has also convincingly proposed that one of the titles of Nehy given on the lintels and corresponding door jambs stresses the association of the scene with storage: *jmj-r3 rwyt*, overseer of the gateway/magazine.⁵⁶ A new find by AcrossBorders at sector SAV1 East is here highly relevant: a clay seal of Nehy (SAV1E 2326) was found in a large cellar within an administrative building and

48 See, e.g., Budka, *Der König an der Haustür*, 187, fig. 56 (Buhen, Fig. 4 of this paper). Ramesside tombs in Thebes sometimes depict scenes with Thutmose III and his bark, see Radwan, in: Guksch and Polz (eds.), *Stationen*, 333 with note 39.

49 See Müller, *Die Verwaltung Nubiens*, 61-62 and 232-233 (general references in Nubia); Budka, in: Coppens, Janák and Vymazalová (eds.), *Royal versus Divine Authority*, 78 (for Sai).

50 Well-comparable to lintels from Aniba, see Budka, *Der König an der Haustür*, 109-113.

51 Thill, *CRIPEL* 30, 2013-2015, 263-304.

52 Most recently about these blocks: Thill, *CRIPEL* 30, 2013-2015, 267-273.

53 Thill, *CRIPEL* 30, 2013-2015, 294.

54 G. Steindorff, *Aniba II, Glückstadt, Hamburg and New York 1937*, 31-33; Budka, *Der König an der Haustür*, 91-92. See most recently Thill, *CRIPEL* 30, 2013-2015, 263-304.

55 Adenstedt, *Reconstructing Pharaonic Architecture in Nubia*, 44.

56 On this title, which was interpreted and translated in various forms, see Thill, *CRIPEL* 30, 2013-2015, 290-291.

gives the same title, *jmj-r3 rwyi*.⁵⁷ Thill's proposed connection of the title with magazines is here archaeologically confirmed.⁵⁸

Recent fieldwork in the New Kingdom town of Sai has illustrated the importance of Sai as an administrative centre during the time of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III.⁵⁹ In light of this, the interpretation by Thill, based on the monuments by Nehy discussed above, of Aniba as northern and Sai as southern residence for the viceroy of Kush seems very likely.⁶⁰

Hornakht on Sai

The other Egyptian official who we can trace in Sai, thanks to inscribed door jambs and lintels is a high official dating to the Ramesside Period – Hornakht was deputy of Kush during the reign of Ramesses II.⁶¹ He is well attested from Sai and also from Amara East and Abri⁶², being named on five door jambs found out of context or re-used in modern houses. A fragment of a lintel showing Hornakht with his wife is especially remarkable (Fig. 3); it was recovered from one of the modern villages on Sai in 2003.⁶³ It falls into Type IV in my categorisation of lintels: showing the owner seated with various offering, often accompanied by his wife or other relatives.⁶⁴ For all of these blocks associated with Hornakht a precise reconstruction of the origins of the worked stones was not possible, but because of the function of Amara West as residence for the *jndw n K3š* from Seti I onwards, a provenance from Amara seemed likely.⁶⁵

In this respect, new finds by AcrossBorders in cemetery SAC5 on Sai are of prime importance. Besides fragmented door jambs giving the name of Hornakht, a sandstone pyramidion inscribed with his name and title was found at the base of the shaft of Tomb 26.⁶⁶ Only one side has survived quite well and shows Hornakht in a kneeling position, both hands raised in adoration, looking towards the right. A single line of hieroglyphs in front of him identifies him as *jndw n K3š Hr-nḥt mꜛꜥ hrw*, *the deputy of Kush, Hornakht, justified*.⁶⁷

This is the first New Kingdom pyramidion found on Sai Island and allows us to reconstruct Hornakht's tomb monument as a Ramesside tomb of a type well attested at Aniba and other

57 Budka, *Sudan and Nubia* 19, 2015, 45.

58 Thill, *CRIPEL* 30, 2013-2015, 298.

59 Budka, *Sudan and Nubia* 19, 2015, 51.

60 Thill, *CRIPEL* 30, 2013-2015, 298.

61 K. A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*, Vol. III, Oxford 1980, 117-118; Budka, *Der König an der Haustür*, 210-212; Budka, *Sudan and Nubia* 19, 2015, 49-50.

62 A. Fouquet, *Deux hauts fonctionnaires des Nouvel Empire en Haute-Nubie*, in: *CRIPEL* 3, 1975, 133-137; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions III*, 117-118; Budka, *Der König an der Haustür*, 210-212; Müller, *Die Verwaltung Nubiens*, 454-457.

63 F. Geus, *Sai 2003-2004*, in: *CRIPEL* 29, 2011-2012, 170, fig. 21; Budka, *Sudan and Nubia* 19, 2015, 49.

64 Budka, *Der König an der Haustür*, 15-20 (with discussion of similar scenes from tomb chapels and an association with festivals).

65 Budka, *Der König an der Haustür*, 87.

66 Budka, *Sudan and Nubia* 19, 2015, 49.

67 Budka, *Sudan and Nubia* 19, 2015, 49.

sites with a courtyard, a chapel and a pyramid.⁶⁸ With the finds from Tomb 26 in SAC5, it is now clear that Hornakht was buried on Sai in the early 19th Dynasty. The fresh information indicates that the architectural blocks found outside of Tomb 26 on Sai (three door jambs and one lintel)⁶⁹ were not brought from Amara West, but were originally from the island. Without a proper provenance, the types of door jambs and lintels do not allow a precise attribution to a domestic or funerary building.⁷⁰ However, based on the discoveries in Tomb 26, I think that one pair of door jambs once belonged to the residence of Hornakht in the town.⁷¹ Another pair of jambs (naming also his father) plus the lintel showing the official with his wife (Fig. 3) probably derives from his funerary chapel which functioned as a family monument.

Hornakht's career was quite unusual – as son of the *jdwn* Hatiai, he probably received some training in Egypt as a royal messenger before himself assuming the title of *jdwn n K3š*.⁷² It is likely that Hornakht was born in Nubia and belonged to a native community on Sai (see below). Completely Egyptianised by the early Ramesside Period, this family was on top of the local hierarchy and held the most important offices within the Egyptian administration. The new evidence for the use of SAC5 for burials of high officials of the Egyptian administration in the early 19th Dynasty⁷³ is also of great importance for understanding the connections between Sai and Amara West during this period.⁷⁴

The viceroy as mediator

Another interesting feature of scenes with the adoration of the royal cartouches on door lintels is that two subtypes of this tableau are only known from Nubia. Type Ic (two standing adoring figures) and Type Id (two kneeling adoring figures) are both restricted to sites in Nubia, located between Faras and Amara West.⁷⁵ Type Ic is known for the viceroy Hui at Faras – the official is depicted with his wife.⁷⁶ Two more examples are known from Amara West, from the Ramesside Period. Another viceroy, Hekanakht, is depicted with the *jdwn n nb t3.wj*.⁷⁷ Paser, *jdwn n K3š*, was accompanied by someone whose figure is now lost.⁷⁸ Type Id, the kneeling adoring figures flanking the royal names, is solely attested for viceroys from

68 Superstructure Type 3 of A. Minault-Gout and F. Thill, Saï II. Le cimetière des tombes hypogées du Nouvel Empire (SAC5), FIFAO 69, Cairo 2012, vol. 1, 8-9, fig. 2.

69 Fouquet, CRIPEL 3, 1975, 135-137, doc. 8, 9 and 10 (jambs); Geus, CRIPEL 29, 2011-2012, 170, fig. 21 (lintel).

70 See Budka, *Der König an der Haustür*, 7-10 for difficulties contextualising inscribed door jambs and lintels found out of context.

71 One of the jambs was discovered in the Ottoman fortress (Fouquet, CRIPEL 3, 1975, 136-137, doc. 10), thus close to the 18th Dynasty governor's residence, SAF2.

72 Müller, *Die Verwaltung Nubiens*, 201.

73 See also shabtis with names and titles of three less high ranking officials from the early 19th Dynasty found in Tomb 2; Minault-Gout and Thill, Saï II, vol. 1, 414.

74 Cf. Budka, in: Coppens, Janák and Vymazalová (eds.), *Royal versus Divine Authority*, 67-68 for some remarks on the relations between Sai and Amara West in the early Ramesside period.

75 Budka, *Der König an der Haustür*, 12.

76 Budka, *Der König an der Haustür*, 227-228, cat. 227.

77 Budka, *Der König an der Haustür*, 202-203, cat. 179.

78 Budka, *Der König an der Haustür*, 203, cat. 180.

sites in Nubia (Buhen and Serra).⁷⁹ Only three examples date from Ramesses II (viceroy Hui) to Ramesses III (viceroy Hori, Fig. 4) and Ramesses IX (viceroy Wentawat).⁸⁰ Hui and Hori are depicted with the relevant mayors from Buhen, whereas Wentawat precedes a kneeling priest. The latter with the name of Hornakht holds the title *ḥm-nṯr tpy n Wsr-M3^ct-R^c*, was thus engaged in the cult for the deified Ramesses II.⁸¹ Lintels with two adoring figures obviously meant to associate the second adoring person, who is the one with the lower rank, with the viceroy/deputy of Kush. The lower ranking local officials were supposed to profit from the direct link of their superior to the royal sphere and the king – the higher-ranking official acts as mediator.⁸² A corresponding interpretation can be proposed for stelae with two adoring figures.⁸³ Therefore, these lintels and stelae illustrate both the authority of the viceroy/deputy in Lower and Upper Nubia and the loyalty of the local potentates.⁸⁴

Furthermore, I believe that there might also have been a political and practical dimension: One can propose that officials with Nubian background and of indigenous origin were introduced to the Egyptian administrative system by making direct contacts with Egyptian officials – and here, the viceroy functioned as mediator. He was the representative of the Egyptian king and at least partly present in Nubia, other than the king himself. With establishing personal connections and giving ‘good examples’, not only was the hierarchy demonstrated, but also a somehow abstract reference to the ruler in far-away Egypt was replaced by a real association with the highest-ranking official on site/in Nubia. The case of Hornakht, the *ḥm-nṯr tpy n Wsr-M3^ct-R^c* depicted together with Wentawat, literally stresses the mediator function of the viceroy. High officials in the role of mediators are also well attested in Ramesside Egypt, especially in the Theban region.⁸⁵ Similar functions like the one described for the viceroys in Kush are attested for viziers in Egypt, in particular during the reign of Ramesses II.⁸⁶

There are also sources which can be interpreted as evidence that high officials presented subordinates with small gifts expressing their favour: rectangular plaques showing the high official adoring the royal cartouches were obviously presented to lower ranking persons as proof of favour – they acted as “impersonal” mediators.⁸⁷ Interestingly, one of these small plaques was also found on Sai. In Tomb 3 of pyramid cemetery SAC5, a faience plaque showing the viceroy Ramessesnakht (reign of Ramesses IX) in adoration before the cartouche of Ramesses III was found.⁸⁸ It probably belonged to one of Ramessesnakht’s contemporaries who was

79 However, the earliest scene on a lintel is attested in the tomb of Aye at Amarna, see Budka, *Der König an der Haustür*, 12.

80 See Pamminger, SAK 23, 1996, 296.

81 Budka, *Der König an der Haustür*, 182, cat. 137.

82 See Pamminger, SAK 23, 1996, 288-298.

83 BM EA 1784, a stela from Amara West dedicated by deputy Paser, shows him behind his viceroy; M. L. Bierbrier, *Hieroglyphic texts from Egyptian stelae, etc.*, in the British Museum, Part 12, British Museum Publications, London 1993, pls. 16-17. See also Pamminger, SAK 23, 1996, 284-285, 296.

84 Budka, *Der König an der Haustür*, 187 with further literature.

85 Pamminger, SAK 23, 1996, 288-298.

86 Pamminger, SAK 23, 1996, 288-296.

87 Pamminger, SAK 23, 1996, 300.

88 Minault-Gout and Thill, *Sai II*, vol. I, 35, vol. II, pl. 117, T3Ca87. See also Pamminger, SAK 23, 1996, 300, fig. 2.

buried on Sai – no names or titles are preserved from the tomb, but ceramics attest to burials from the 20th Dynasty. The faience plaque and its use in Tomb 3 might also be explained by the fact that Sai was no longer a residence of viceroys in late Ramesside times – the site had diminished significantly in influence. Plaques like the one from Tomb 3 therefore evoked the presence/favour of viceroys, contrasting strongly with the monuments of Nehy from Thutmoseid times which commemorated the actual presence of the highest officials of Kush at Sai.

Decorated door lintels and royal divinity in Nubia

The use of decorated door lintels from the New Kingdom is in some respects remarkable: The earliest scenes with officials adoring the royal names are attested from Nubia (Table 1). Specific variation of this adoration scene (comprising two instead of one adoring figure, Types Ic and Id after Budka 2001) are only known from Kush and were never used on doorways in Egypt proper. As I will argue in the following, this seems to be connected with the character of the sites in Nubia. As planned temple-towns they were set up in ‘foreign’ territory – void of earlier Egyptian settlement structures and lacking a strong local priesthood as was the case in the urban centres in Lower and Upper Egypt. Setting up these towns in Nubia, the viceroy as representative of the king was deeply involved in the planning and layout. This explains why besides the most important Egyptian gods (especially Amun and local forms of Horus), the king himself was of prime importance for the occupants within their newly fashioned domestic surrounding in these temple-towns.⁸⁹ At Sai, this is traceable from the beginning of the 18th Dynasty: Ahmose II Nebpehtyra and Amenhotep I both commissioned *heb-sed* statues in a predecessor of Temple A, possibly a *ḥwt-k3*, located within the town area.⁹⁰ A divine manifestation of Thutmose III, ‘Horus the Bull, Lord of Ta-Seti’, was later adored together with Amun-Ra in Temple A.⁹¹ Also at other temples in 18th Dynasty Nubia (e.g. the rock shrine at Gebel Doshā), close connection between local deities and deified kings (Senswret III, Thutmose III) with regards to kingship and royal/divine authority are traceable, supporting the findings in domestic buildings and the adoring of the royal cartouches there. The first heyday was clearly at the end of the 18th Dynasty with the cult for Amenhotep III at Soleb, which was then overshadowed with the aftermath of the Amarna Period by Ramesses II and his building activity in Nubia which also focused very much on the king.⁹² During the reign of Thutmose III and in Ramesside age, references to the Egyptian ruler and the public display of loyalty towards him were frequently found on door jambs and lintels on domestic buildings and magazines.

89 Budka, *Der König an der Haustür*, 62.

90 Budka, in: Coppens, Janák and Vymazalová (eds.), *Royal versus Divine Authority*, 76-80.

91 Azim and Carlotti, *CRIPEL* 29, 2011-2012, 11-63; Thill, *CRIPEL* 30, 2013-2015, 263-304.

92 I. Hein, *Die ramessidische Bautätigkeit in Nubien*, GOF IV., Bd. 22, Göttingen 1991; M. Ullmann, *Von Beit el-Wali nach Abu Simbel. Zur Neugestaltung der sakralen Landschaft Unternubiens in der Regierungszeit Ramses' II*, in: *Der Antike Sudan. MittSAG* 24, 2013, 23-37.

	early 18 th Dyn.	Thutmose III	Amenhotep III	Amenhotep IV/Akhen- aten	Rameses II	Late Ramesside
Cartouche scenes on doorways in Nubian towns		Aniba, Sai	-	- (Tutankhamun: Faras; viceroy with wife)	Buhen, Aksha, Amara West (incl. two examples with two adoring figures); in general: standardised and very common	Buhen, Serra (one or two adoring figures, with viceroy)
Royal aspects in temples/ shrines	Statue cult (Sai)	Divine manifestation (& statue cult?) Thutmose III	Divine manifestation & statue cult Amenhotep III	Sesebi (divine Amenhotep III under Amenhotep IV)	Divine manifestation & statue cult Rameses II	Lintel from Serra: viceroy with <i>hm-ntr tpy n Wsr-M3r-Rr</i>
Examples (in brackets shrines and temples)	Sai	Aniba; Sai (Gebel Dosh; Ellisya)	(Soleb)	-	Buhen, Aksha, Amara West (Abu Simbel, Derr, Wadies Sebua etc.)	Buhen, Serra, Quban
Cartouche scenes in Egypt		shrines Gebel Silita	-	Amarna – town and tombs	Pi-Rameses; all towns (standardised types for lintels)	Towns well attested (but never two adoring figures on doorways in Egypt)

Table 1: Evolution of cartouche adoring scenes on doorways in Nubia.

Discussion

The demonstration of loyalty to the king was the general key to well-being and promotion,⁹³ but was of specific relevance for those Egyptians sent to Nubia in the 18th Dynasty living in towns set up by the state authority. Although there is a gap in evidence for decorated and inscribed door jambs and lintels from settlements from Amenhotep II until Tutankhamun in Nubia, the changing social stratification at the sites as well as the modified royal ideology (starting with Amenhotep III, fully advanced with Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten) have to be considered. Recent work on Sai and other sites has proposed that there was a major change regarding the inhabitants of Egyptian sites in Nubia and the officials of the Nubian administration in the mid-18th Dynasty. Whereas the highest officials were always returning back to Egypt during the early to mid-18th Dynasty, this might have changed at that point. Ingeborg Müller has proposed a specific development concerning the mayors in Nubia⁹⁴ – at the beginning of the 18th Dynasty, mayors of the towns can be identified as Egyptians who returned to Egypt after their mission in Nubia.⁹⁵ By the mid-18th Dynasty, holders of the title mayor are known to have been buried in Lower and Upper Nubia⁹⁶ – thus these persons may be either Egyptians who decided to stay away from home, or, and this seems to be more likely, they are Egyptianised Nubians who were working as ‘Egyptian’ officials at the Egyptian sites.⁹⁷

It seems reasonable to assume that the Egyptian authorities in Nubia had to include from the beginning of the 18th Dynasty representatives of the local elite and that much administration rested after a while on local officials who were strongly Egyptianised, as demonstrated by their statues, stelae and other monuments. These local (and also mixed, after intermarriage), families gained power throughout the New Kingdom, well-illustrated by the fact that in the Ramesside Period Nubia was a suitable burial ground for the highest officials like viceroys and deputies of Kush. For Sai, the pyramid tomb of the deputy Hornakht, probably a local inhabitant from the island, can be named.

To conclude, it is likely to be no coincidence that the first public display of the adoration of the living king comes from Nubia (Aniba and Sai). It was easier to install these scenes in newly founded towns far away from and conceptionally outside of Egypt then back home. Furthermore, the display of royal authority, but also direct relations to the representative of the Egyptian king in Kush, the viceroy, was essential to create loyalty among the inhabitants of the towns. A similar situation can be found some generations later in Egypt proper: Akhenaten founded his new residence at Amarna, with new types of temples, far away from former urban centres and priesthoods. Starting with the reign of Akhenaten the type of adoring royal cartouches on door lintels of private houses was introduced in Egypt.⁹⁸ This is again not a coincidence but the outcome of a new royal ideology which was much easier to install at a new site with partly new people than in sites with long-lasting traditions and established

93 Budka, *Der König an der Haustür*, 99-101.

94 Müller, *Die Verwaltung Nubiens*, 47-48, 209.

95 See Budka, in: Coppens, Janák and Vymazalová (eds.), *Royal versus Divine Authority*, 74-75.

96 Especially at Aniba and Soleb; see Minault-Gout and Thill, *Sai II*, 413-418.

97 Müller, *Die Verwaltung Nubiens*, 48.

98 Budka, *Der König an der Haustür*, 54.

networks. The new kind of royal cult under Ramesses II and manifold references to the king within towns and domestic contexts in Ramesside times in both Egypt and Nubia are in many respects a legacy of the Amarna age and of the new mediator role of Akhenaten.⁹⁹

All in all, much speaks for a complex evolution of the display of loyalty to the king in the New Kingdom towns in Nubia, which is directly linked to changing power structures and a developing social stratification at the sites. Despite the royal planning and clear administrative outline, there seems to be quite a high degree of diversity from site to site and a complex mixture of local and Egyptian elements.¹⁰⁰ Despite of all these local and regional aspects, I would like to propose that the establishment of royal authority and loyalty to the king, as introduced by Thutmose III in town areas in Nubia, was of crucial importance for Akhenaten: when the ‘heretic king’ designed his new town at Amarna, the situation was in some aspects similar to the temple-towns in Nubia: within a new home away from home and especially far away from long-established priesthoods, the king could develop the earlier model of divine kingship further. In both cases – the Nubian temple-towns and Amarna –, the authorities felt it necessary and feasible to raise the importance of the demonstration of royal power of the Egyptian king within domestic quarters to a new level.

Acknowledgements

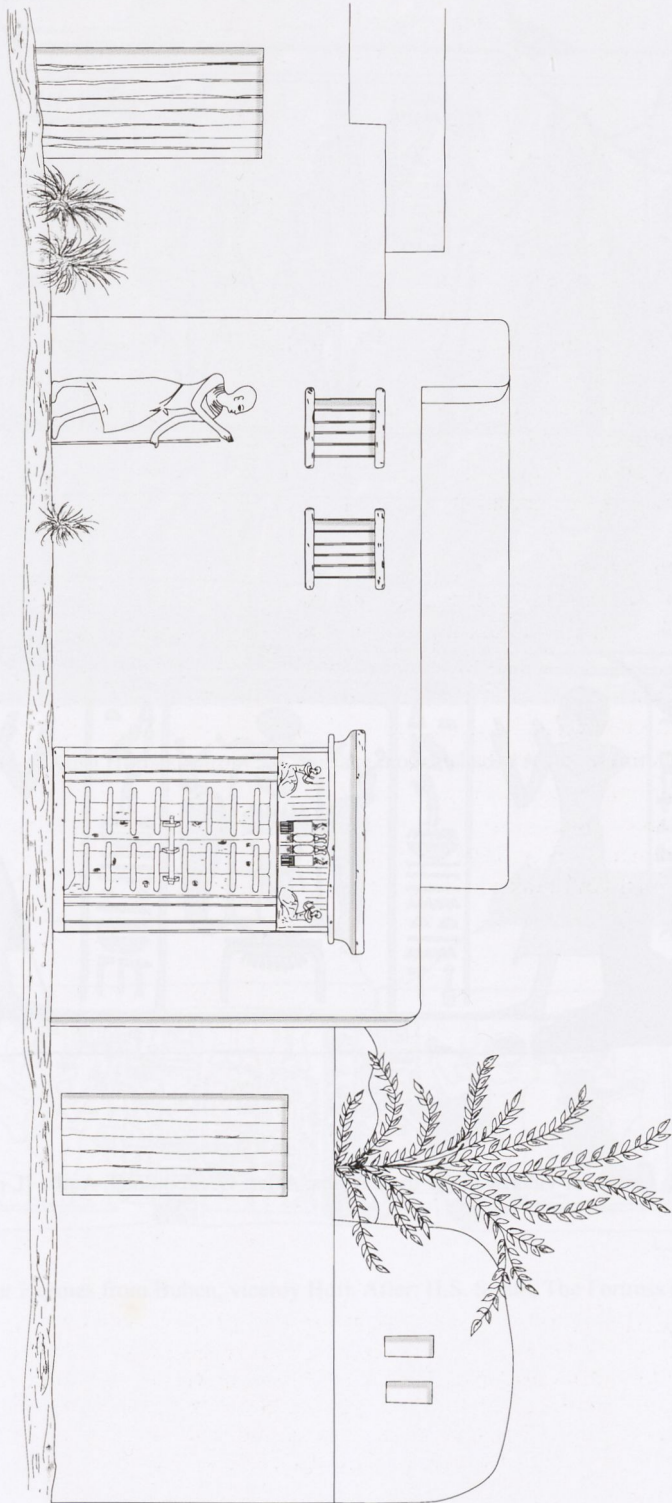
This paper was written within the framework of the author’s European Research Council project (ERC Starting Grant no. 313668) and the Austrian Science Fund project (START Y615-G19). Recent fieldwork on Sai Island was enabled by the approval of the former (Didier Devauchelle; UMR 8164 HALMA-IPEL, University Charles-de-Gaulle Lille 3, France) and current concession holder (Vincent Francigny; SFDAS, Khartoum) and the kind permission of the National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums, Sudan (NCAM) and its Director General Abdelrahman Ali Mohamed. I am grateful to all team members, especially to the Sudanese group of workmen. For improving the written English of this paper and very useful comments, many thanks are due to Kenneth Griffin. Figures 1-2 and 4 were kindly prepared by Oliver Frank Stephan; Figure 3 by Martin Fera.

99 For Akhenaten as “most celebrated mediator”, see Radwan, Ramesses II as mediator, 221.

100 See R. Morkot, From conquered to conqueror: the organization of Nubia in the New Kingdom and the Kushite administration of Egypt, in: J. C. Moreno García (ed.), *The Administration of Egypt*, *Handbuch der Orientalistik* 104, Leiden 2013, 936-937; St. T. Smith, Editorial essay: Nubia, coming out of the shadow of Egypt, in: *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 6:1, 2014, 1-4. For examples from Sai see Budka, *Sudan and Nubia* 19, 2015, 50-51.

Figures:

Fig. 1: Reconstruction of a typical New Kingdom house facade with door lintel showing the adoration of the royal names.
Original drawing: Erico Peimner; digitalisation: Oliver Frank Stephan.



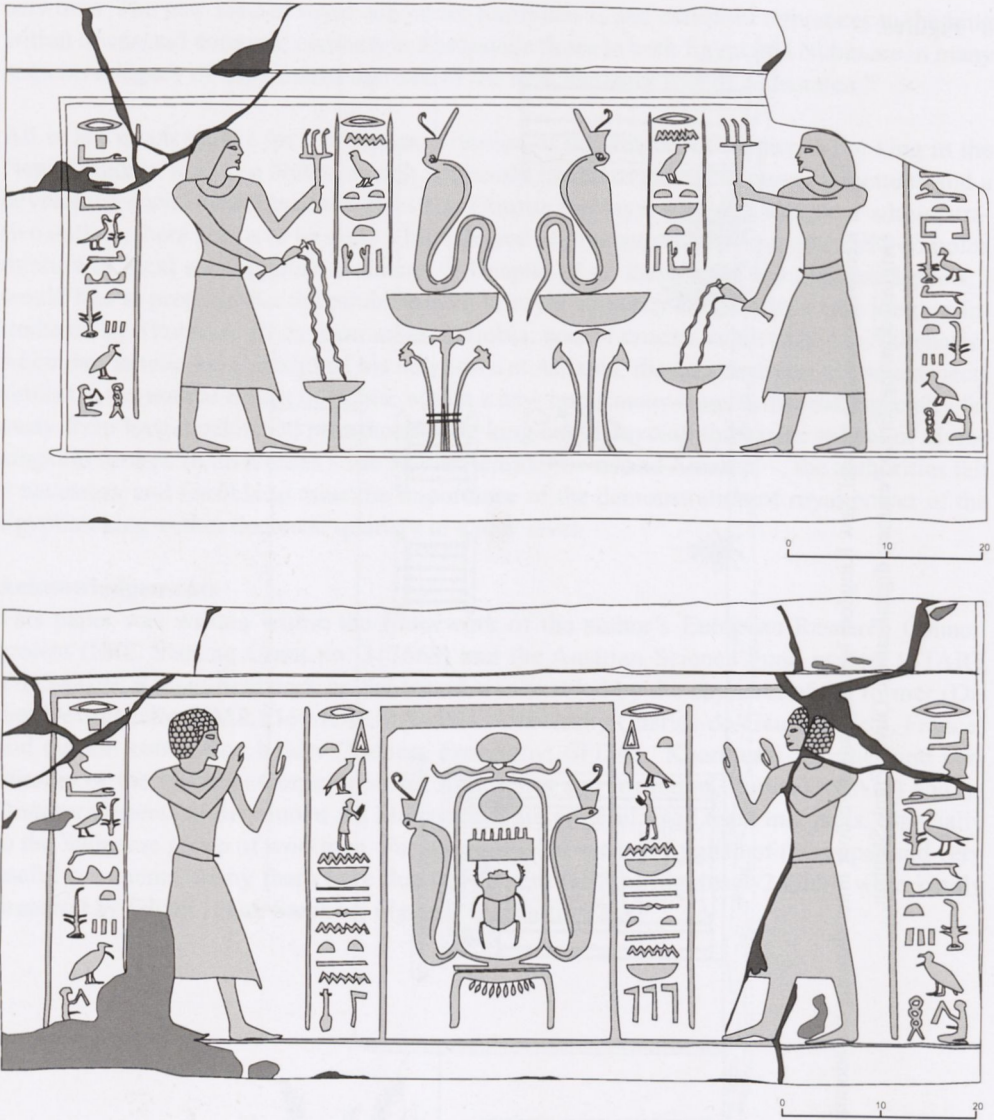


Fig. 2: Lintels of viceroy Nehy from Aniba. After: G. Steindorff, *Aniba II*, pl. 18.1 and 18.2

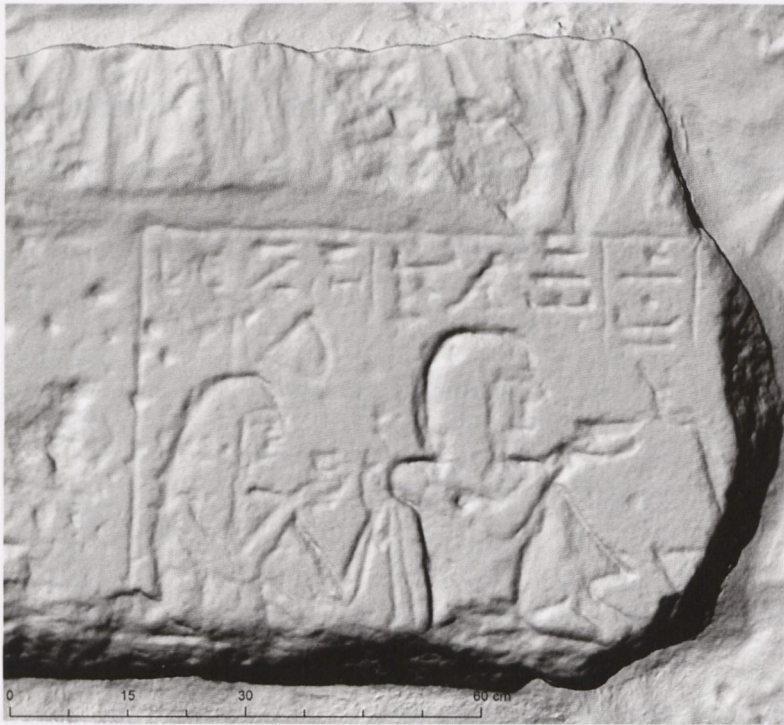


Fig. 3: Lintel of deputy of Kush Hornakht from Sai. Surface model, shaded relief, Martin Fera 2015.

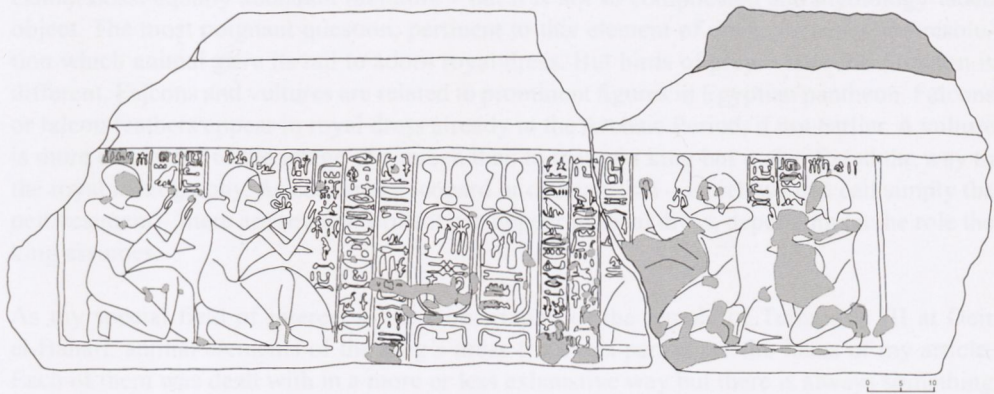


Fig. 4: Lintel of mayor Hormes from Buhen, viceroy Hori. After: H.S. Smith, *The Fortress of Buhen*, pl. XXV:1.