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Reflections on the ceremonial tail worn by an Egyptian king

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the bull's tail	2

A bull's tail has an upper segment with short fur and a lower segment with long hairs (called the "tail switch") that may extend down to the hind fetlocks. The tail switch makes up about one-fourth to one-third of the tail length (Fig. 1 a, b). It varies in volume depending on the breed of cattle and tapers at the end. Surviving Egyptian depictions of bulls show the tail relatively realistically (Fig. 1 c).

From prehistoric times to the end of the pharaonic period of Egypt, kings (and some princes) and gods, when enthroned and in ceremonial scenes, wore an attribute commonly interpreted as a "bull's tail". It was attached to the waist at the rear side of the

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kilt and is said to be part of the king's regalia as a symbol of strength, virility, fertility,¹ or royal dominion².



Fig. 1: The tail of a bull in art and photography

a) Bos primigenus, aurochs bull³

b) Bos taurus, domestic bull

c) Bull hieroglyph, 18th Dyn.

1 The royal "bull's tail" in archaic times

On the mace head of the protodynastic King Scorpion, the tail is an almost ankle-length, wavy bundle of fringes or a tassel of fur, the ends of which are cut horizontally to the same length (Fig. 2 a). This was not an artistic inaccuracy, for the tail of King Narmer (1st Dynasty) on a ceremonial palette has exactly the same shape (Fig. 2 b). If it is an animal tail at all, it resembles a horse's tail, but horses did not exist in Egypt at that time.⁴ In the incised drawing of King Den on an ivory tag (1st Dynasty), the tail is considerably narrower in diameter than his predecessors' tails (Fig. 2 c). Of course, it is not known from which hair this appendage was made. Only the bushy, tapered tails of the lion hunters on

¹ E.g., Ref 1, p 206; Ref 2, pp 240, 243; Ref 3, pp 54–59; Ref 4, pp 161–162.

² Ref 5, p 168.

³ The aurochs is the extinct ancestor of domestic cattle. The illustration in Fig. 1a is based on a painting from the early 17th century, when aurochses still existed. Photo sources and credits are listed at the end of the article.

⁴ Gustave Jéquier suggested a fantasy tail (*"purement fantaiciste*") or a tail with a deliberate over-emphasis of the switch. Ref 5, p 167.

the Hunter Palette⁵ are clearly the tails of canids (jackals, desert foxes).⁶

Wolfgang Helck interpreted these animal tails as an attempt to take on animal form in order to gain magical power over the game.⁷ For the proto- and early dynastic kings, it may also have been a widely visible badge of the highest rank within the chiefdom or kingdom.⁸ In a 1st Dynasty seal impression, even the hieroglyph representing a catfish, the abbreviation of King Narmer's name, has a tail.⁹ In any case, it bore little resemblance to a natural bull's tail. The interpretation of this appendage as a "bull's tail" or "wild bull's tail" is nevertheless plausible. West African tribal chiefs also wore a tassel made from the hair of a bull's tail switch, which is still considered a symbol of authority, prestige, and wisdom.¹⁰ A Neolithic man who succeeded in capturing or killing a wild bull gained prestige and recommended himself for the role of chief.¹¹ In Egypt in the late fourth millennium BC, domesticated cattle were a novelty in subsistence farming.¹² It provided greater quantities of meat, milk, fat, leather, and horn than sheep and goats ever could. It was therefore a very valuable possession and may have become a status symbol of particular importance to the royal family. Moreover, the bull was and remains a symbol of strength and fertility throughout the world.¹³ Rulers readily claimed these qualities for themselves.

On archaic ceremonial palettes there is the motif of a bull attacking an enemy warrior.¹⁴ It is only logical that most scholars consider the image of the bull to be an embodiment of the king.¹⁵ However, there are some arguments against this. A bull was hunted, slaughtered, or used as a draft animal. This does not fit the image of a chieftain or king. (It

⁵ Hunter Palette (Naqada III), Musée du Louvre E 11254.

⁶ Very stylized also on warriors with maces on a cross-lined jar from tomb U-239 at Abydos. Ref 6, p 674 (fig 2). The tails were not of hunting dogs (as Wolfgang Helck suggested [Ref 8, p 965]), because even then, hunting dogs had narrow, upward curved tails, as numerous petroglyphs prove. Ref 7, p 128 (fig 4.48).

⁷ Ref 8, p 965.

⁸ Ref 9, p 72.

⁹ Ref 10, p 411 (figs 3 a, b).

¹⁰ Ref 11.

¹¹ In prehistoric Egypt, catching a wild bull with a lasso or net seems to have become a ritual that the king had to perform. Ref 8, pp 985–986; Ref 3, pp 34–38. As late as the New Kingdom, Egyptian kings boasted of the killing of wild bulls, e.g., Thutmose III. Ref 12, p 13.

¹² Ref 13, pp 252–264.

¹³ Ref 14.

¹⁴ Narmer palette (1st Dyn.), Cairo CG 14716/JE 32169; Bull palette (Naqada III), Musée du Louvre E 11255.

¹⁵ Ref 2, pp 237–241 (with bibliography); Ref 3, pp 54–66; Ref 4, p 161; Ref 8, pp 969, 973; Ref 15, pp 73–75; Ref 16, p 73; Ref 17, pp 114, 118. Ludwig D. Morenz interpreted the scene as a *Siegeshymnos* (hymn of victory).

was not until the New Kingdom that the Egyptian king was called a "strong bull".¹⁶) On the Battlefield Palette,¹⁷ a lion, which was also a hunted animal,¹⁸ takes the role of the bull in this motif. The running bull on a tag from the reign of King Aha¹⁹ was almost reflexively identified with the king during his *Sed* festival run.²⁰ However, the king is the figure running towards the bull with nets (?), because the royal title, rush and bee, is quite clearly visible to his left.²¹ In the earliest funerary texts, the Pyramid Texts, the king or the gods Geb, Seth, and Osiris were addressed as "bull" when their leadership, powers, wrath or association with the sun god was to be illustrated.²² The sacred bulls of Memphis (Apis), Heliopolis (Mnevis), and Armant (Buchis) also embodied the powers of locally worshipped gods.²³ Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that scenes in which a bull or lion attacks an enemy warrior are not intended to depict the king personally, but his wrath and superiority. For even then there was the unmistakable canonical scene of the "smiting of the enemy (enemies)" as a demonstration of the king's confrontation with his enemies.²⁴ But perhaps the bull or lion attacking enemies was not a metaphor at all, but a real method of execution.²⁵

The question arises why, if ancient Egyptian society wanted to give its ruler the iconography of a "strong bull," it chose the tail of this animal as an attribute. The tail is not the body part that represents a bull's strength and fertility. At most, a bull uses its tail as a weapon against pesky insects. Rather, its horns are a symbol of combat par excellence. However, a headdress with horns was not part of the Egyptian royal iconography. Not even the helmet-like blue crown of the New Kingdom had bull horns attached to it or symbolized on it, although kings at that time included the expression "strong/victorious bull" in their Horus name.²⁶ There is also no depiction of a king wearing bull horns on his

¹⁶ Except for King Nebre (2nd Dyn.) whose prenomen was "bull of the bulls" (leading bull) according to the preserved king lists.

¹⁷ Battlefield Palette (Naqada III), British Museum EA20791.

¹⁸ E. g., wall painting from the Hierakonpolis tomb HK100, upper left corner (Naqada II), Egyptian Museum Cairo; Hunter Palette (Naqada III), Musée du Louvre E 11254.

¹⁹ Ivory tag (ware label) for King Aha (early 1st Dynasty), Penn Museum E9396.

²⁰ Ref 2, pp 233–234, 241 (note 47); Ref 18, p 298.

²¹ See also Ref 8, p 985.

²² Ref 19, e.g., PT 260 §316a; PT 273 §397a; PT 306 §481a-c; PT 320 §516c; PT 365 §625b; PT 480 §998b; PT 480 §998b; PT 572 §1477c. In addition, there was a celestial bull (astronomical constellation?) which the king grabbed by the tail and horns. Ref 19, e.g., PT 336 §547a-b, PT 538 §1302a-c; PT 568 §1432b. See also Ref 20, pp 198–202, 221–225.

²³ Ref 21, pp 751–753; Ref 22, pp 23–34, 38–40, 49–57.

²⁴ E.g., Narmer palette, recto (1st Dyn.), Cairo CG 14716/JE 32169; ivory tag of Den (1st Dyn.), British Museum EA 55586, Fig. 2 c; Ref 23, plts 47, 50, 51.

²⁵ Similar things happened elsewhere and at other times in lions' dens or stadiums to the delight of the spectators.

²⁶ "Bull of Thebes" (Ahmose I), "Bull that conquers the lands" (Amenhotep I) and "strong/victorious bull"

body or in his hands.²⁷ In contrast, a lion with the face of the king (sphinx), was a very popular motif throughout the pharaonic period, although sculptors did not give the lion a mane as a male characteristic until the late 12th Dynasty.

2 The bull's tail in pharaonic times

Perhaps the question as to why the Egyptian king would have wanted to demonstrate his bull-like strength with a bull's tail also puzzled earlier scholars. At the beginning of the 20th century, there was still disagreement about the nature of the king's ceremonial tail. Wolfgang Helck suggested a dog's tail, at least in the case of the proto- and predynastic kings;²⁸ Several authors referred to the tail as a lion's tail.²⁹ The unspecific terms the Egyptians themselves used for it, *menkeret, watjt, khebset,* or *sedyt,* do not allow any conclusions to be drawn about the true nature of the tail.³⁰ One hint comes from Thutmose III who claimed on a stela to have killed twelve wild bulls to obtain their tails "for his backside".³¹

2.1 Representations of the bull's tail through the centuries

The ceremonial bull's tail belonged to the king's kilt,³² not to other ceremonial garments. It was not until the second half of the Old Kingdom that the appendage actually began to resemble the tail of a bovid (or elephant, for that matter). It has a thin upper segment and a widened lower segment that tapers slightly toward the blunt end, representing the tail switch (Fig. 2 h). This shape is also found in the hieroglyph \searrow (Gardiner's sign list F33), which served as a classifier for the tails of all kinds of animals.³³ Captured Libyans on a

⁽all other kings of the 18th to 20th dynasties).

²⁷ At most, the king wore an amulet depicting a sacred bull, a bull's head, a cow-shaped goddess (Bat, Hathor), or ram's horns along with the *atef* or *henu* crown. Ref 24, p 96.

²⁸ Ref 8, pp 965–966; Ref 12, p 13 (note 5), and some modern authors, e.g., Ref 25, p 24; Ref 26. Maybe, they overlooked the fact that the tails of Scorpio and Narmer are partially hidden behind the leg, ending just above the ankle.

²⁹ E.g., Ref 5, p 166; Ref 27, vol 2, pp 22, 30, 32, 35, 99, 101, 122. Ref 28, p 49; Ref 29, pp 6, 14.

³⁰ Ref 30, vol 2, p 91.6; Ref 30, vol 1, p 279.10; Ref 30, vol 3, pp 365.9, 255.11; Ref 31, pp 195 (6914), 362 (13142), 636 (23109).

³¹ Stela of Thutmose III, Month temple of Armant. Ref 12, p 13.

³² Shendyt kilt (a mixture of a short, pleated kilt and a loincloth), a calf-length kilt with a projecting front panel (Figs. 2 s, x), or a knee-length gathered skirt in the late New Kingdom (Figs. 2 q, r).

³³ The corresponding word *sd* was an umbrella term for tails in both the literal and the figurative sense, since it could mean not only "tail", but also "tendril", "wick", "handle", or "stalk". Ref 30, vol 3, pp 363.6–19, 364.1–3; Ref 31, p 853 (31551, 31558–31561). Occasionally, the Sed festival is explained as a festival in honor of the bull's tail (e.g., Ref 5, p 168). However, the bull's tail did not play a specific role in the ritual acts of the Sed festival, which have come down to us through relief decorations on several monuments.

relief fragment from the pyramid temple of King Sahure (5th Dynasty) wear an almost identical tail along with a penis sheath.³⁴

It is doubtful that the ceremonial tail was ever a real tail. More likely, it was a replica with or without the hair of the tail switch of a wild bull.³⁵ Over time, it became increasingly different from its natural counterpart. From the late Middle Kingdom onwards, it seems to have become more and more of a decorative accessory in the form of a braid or pendant made of beadwork. In seated figures it is draped over the knees. In reliefs on temple walls of the 18th Dynasty, it is sometimes so inconspicuous as to be an embarrassment (Fig. 2 o, t). In tomb wall paintings of the late New Kingdom, it has a calyx-shaped knot at the transition to the tail switch, reminiscent of a modern curtain tassel (Fig. 2 s, w, x, y). The switch itself is either yellow with a fine, reddish interior drawing (Fig. 2 w, y) or has a pattern of gold and colors in the repeating sequence red-blue-turquoise-blue, as is the case on the waist belt (Fig. 2 s, x). In contrast, the cultic bulls were depicted only in naturally occurring coat colors.

A bull's tail was not a must for royal sculptures.³⁶ When present, it is usually found between the legs. Contrary to its natural appearance, the tail switch is ribbon-shaped and may be striped horizontally like the ceremonial beard (Fig. 2 j).³⁷ Curiously, kneeling (sacrificing) statues or standing statuettes without back pillars, where the view of the rear waist is unobstructed, usually lack a bull's tail.³⁸

It is somewhat odd that even gods who appeared in defined animal forms, and of whom only Horus was closely associated with the king, wore a bull's tail in semianthropomorphic depictions with a *shendyt* kilt (Figs. 2 t, u, v). This tail could therefore no longer have been a badge of rank, since the gods were superior in rank to humans anyway. But these gods did not have to demonstrate virility and reproductive power either, and no one dared to question their individual strength. However, if the bull's tail was not a symbol of rank or virility, but of divinity, this would explain why both kings and gods wore it.

³⁴ Egyptian Museum Berlin AeM 21782. In Eduard Meyer's view, this is proof of the Egyptians' descent from a Libyan tribe. Ref 29, pp 37–38.

³⁵ See also Ref 5, p 166, 167 (*"fausse queue"* [false tail]).

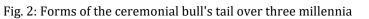
³⁶ Ref 32, vol 2, pp 41–42 (§§ 290–299).

³⁷ Very early on, horizontal stripes were a way of representing hair (see, for example, the dogs' tails on the protodynastic Two Dogs Palette, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, AN1896-1908.E.3924). Examples of royal bull tails with horizontally striped tail switch: Djoser (3rd Dyn.), Ref 33, pp 38, 39 (figs 23, 24); Qahedjet (3rd Dyn.) or Sneferu (4th Dyn.), Louvre E 25982 (Fig. 2 e, this article); Amenemhet II or Senwosret II, 12th Dyn., MMA L.2011.42 (Fig. 2 j, this article). See also Ref 32, vol 2, p 42 (§§ 295, 296).

³⁸ E.g., Pepy I (6th Dyn.), Brooklyn Museum 39.121; Senwroset I (12th Dyn.), Egyptian Museum Berlin AeM 1205; Amenemhat II (12th Dyn.), MMA 14.3.17; Amenhotep III (18th Dyn.), Brooklyn Museum 48.28; Tutankhamun (18th Dyn.), Ref 34, p 35; Ref 35, pp 101, 193, 200.



a) Scorpion, protodynastic





b) Narmer, 1st Dyn.



c) Den, 1st Dyn.



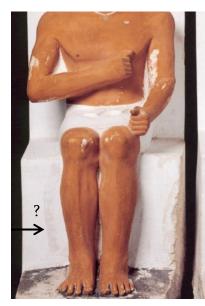
d) Semerkhet, 1st Dyn.



e) Qahedjet, 3rd Dyn., or Sneferu, 4th Dyn.



f) Khafre, 4th Dyn.



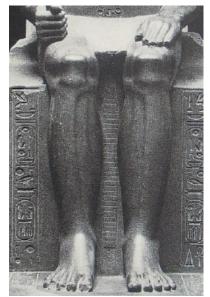
g) Prince Rahotep, 4th Dyn.



h) Niuserra, 5th Dyn.



i) Mentuhotep III, 11th Dyn.



j) Amenemhat II or Senwosret II, 12th Dyn.



k) Royal statue, 12th Dyn.



l) Sebekhotep IV, 13th Dyn.



m) Hatshepsut³⁹ and a bull calf, 18th Dyn.



n) Hatshepsut, 18th Dyn.



o) Thutmose III, 18th Dyn.



p) Amenhotep III, 18th Dyn.



q) Akhenaten, 18th Dyn.



r) Akhenaten, 18th Dyn.

³⁹ Queen Hatshepsut wanted to consolidate her legitimacy with a masculine iconography. Ref 36, pp 96 (fig 41), 140 (cat. 74), 147, 151 (note 7), 160 (fig 66), 168 (cat. 92), 170 (cat. 94).





t) God Amun, 18th Dyn.



u) God Amun, 19th Dyn.



v) God Horus, 19th Dyn.





w) Ramesses I, 19th Dyn

x) Ramesses III, 20th Dyn.



y) Prince Khaemwaset, 20th Dyn.

z) Psammetikh I, 26th Dyn.

aa) Ptolemy VIII, Ptolemaic Period

2.2 The bull's tail as a piece of jewelry

Some preserved ornamental elements are considered to be references to the royal bull's tail. For example, a pendant made of colored beads hanging from the center back of a beadwork apron from the tomb of Senebtisi (el Lisht, 12th Dynasty), is commonly associated with the royal bull's tail (Fig. 3 a).⁴⁰ Senebtisi was an upper-class woman, but as far as is known, not a member of the royal family.⁴¹ If even the wife of an official could wear a bull's tail on certain ceremonial occasions, one must assume that the original meaning of such a tail as a symbol of authority or virility had been forgotten over the course of a millennium. (How many men today know that the necktie was originally a soldier's scarf?⁴²) The cop-out explanation that scholars have offered is that such a beaded apron was intended to link the deceased owner to the deceased king and Osiris.⁴³ Or perhaps the pendant was meant to increase her fertility. Women in the land of Kush (Nubia) used to wear canid tails (possibly fox tails) for this purpose.⁴⁴

More promising for our question are the two specimens of a semi-cylindrical rod Howard Carter found under the thighs of Tutankhamun's mummy at the bottom of the coffin (late 18th Dynasty, Fig. 3 b). It is made of gold sheet and set with tubular beads (lapis lazuli

⁴⁰ Ref 37, p 72. However, the spindle shape of the pendant is a reconstruction, as the beads were found loose. Similar bead aprons were also found in tombs at Dahshur (e.g., the tomb of Sitwerut) and Nubia. Ref 37, pp 71–72.

⁴¹ She had only the title of "Mistress of the House".

⁴² Ref 38, p 147.

⁴³ Ref 39, p 240 (cat. 177).

⁴⁴ Ref 40, p 63.

colored glass and gold in alternation),⁴⁵ with an eyelet at the pointed end. The blunt end is fitted with a golden cap (Fig. 3 c).⁴⁶ Carter described it in his notes as "tail" and noted that it is engraved on the flat side with "wavy lines to represent hair".⁴⁷ The color of these pieces of jewelry is reminiscent of the royal bull's tails in Ramesside tomb paintings. These appear to have consisted of a similar blue and gold rod to which a tail switch was tied with a decorative knot (Fig. 2 s, w–y).

Fig. 3: Ornamental elements of the Middle and New Kingdoms with possible reference to the bull's tail



a) Beadwork apron of Senebtisi, 12th Dyn.



b) Two rod-shaped pendants along with strings of beads at the bottom of Tutankhamun's inner coffin, 18th Dyn.



c) Rod-shaped pendant with eyelet (arrow), Tutankhamun, 18th Dyn.

⁴⁵ Gold or golden yellow and blue was a royal color combination, also on the king's headscarf (*menes*) and on the handles of the crook and flail.

 $^{^{46}}$ $\,$ See also the sketches in Ref 27, vol 2, p 32 and Ref 32, vol 2, p 42.

⁴⁷ Ref 41.

I think it is possible that the loss of the original meaning of the bull's tail had progressed so far by the New Kingdom that it was worn only as a play on words. For *sd k*³ ("tail of a bull") could also mean "garment of the Ka" or "to adorn oneself with the Ka".⁴⁸ The Egyptians loved to play on words that sounded the same or similar, as their language and consonantal script allowed for plenty of scope for it.⁴⁹ However, until the Ptolemaic period, the artistic canon forbade carving or painting a bull's tail on anyone other than male gods, kings, and princes. ⁵⁰ One exception was Queen Hatshepsut, who liked to be depicted in masculine royal iconography.⁵¹

The symbolism of the ceremonial tail on the rear side of the kilt of an ancient Egyptian king or god may be a topic long ticked off by Egyptologists. This article is a reminder that much about this attribute has remained inconsistent and enigmatic.

Abbreviations

AeM: Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung (Berlin); AENAS-AA: Archaeology of Early Northeastem Africa Studies, African Archaeology; AJSHR: American Journal of Social and Humanitarian Research; BC: before Christian era; BIFAO: Le Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéology orientale; CAJ: Cambridge Archaeological Journal; Cat.: Catalog number; CC: Creative Commons; CENiM: Cahiers de l'Ègypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne; CG: Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire; Dyn.: dynasty; Fig.: figure; GM: Göttinger Miszellen; GOF: Göttinger Orientforschung; GZDW: Gegenworte: Zeitschrift für den Disput über Wissen, Berlin; J. Animal Breed. Gen.: Journal of Animal Breeding and Genetics; JARCE: Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt; JE: Journal d'Entrée (du Musée du Caire); JEA: The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology; KAW: Kulturgeschichte der Antiken Welt (Mainz am Rhein); KV: Kings' Valley (West Thebes); MFA: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; MMA: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; No.: number; OBO: Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis (Freiburg/Göttingen); p/pp: page(s); plt/plts: plate(s); PMMA: Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition (New York); PT: Pyramid texts; QV: Queens' Valley (West Thebes); Ref/Refs: reference(s); vol/vols: volume(s).

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⁴⁸ sd "garment"; sd "to be adorned with something" (especially in connection with clothing). Ref 30, vol 3, p 365.1–9; Ref 31, p 854 (31572, 31573).

⁴⁹ Ref 42, Ref 43.

⁵⁰ The "garment of Ka" was also worn by a Ka doppelganger, e.g., White Chapel of Senwosret I (12th Dyn.); Temple of Luxor (Amenhotep II, 18th Dyn.); Tomb of Ay (KV23, 18th Dyn.).

⁵¹ See note 39.

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Fig. 1: a) Colored drawing of an aurochs. Source: Ref 44, p 45 (CC 0).

b) Domestic bull. Photo: https://www.vmt.nl/57529/dodelijk-ongeval-door-aanval-stier-bij-vion-tilburg (courtesy of VMT; accessed March 29, 2025).

c) Bull hieroglyph, Karnak. Photo: Werner Forman for Getty Images, Inc.

Fig. 2: a) Mace head of King Scorpion, 3100–3000 BC, Hierakonpolis, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, AN1896-1908.E.3632. Photo: Ashmolean Museum, https://images.ashmolean.org/asset/10329 (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0; accessed March 30, 2025).

b) Cosmetic palette of King Narmer, 1st Dynasty, Hierakonpolis, Egyptian Museum Cairo CG 32169/JE 14716. Photo: Ref 45, vol 1, p 16 (courtesy of Tregear Publishing Ltd.).

c) Ivory tag with inscription for King Aha, 1st Dynasty, Abydos, British Museum EA55586. Photo: The British Museum, London, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA55586 (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0; accessed March 30, 2025).

d) Relief of King Semerkhet, 1st Dynasty, Wadi Maghara (Sinai). Photo: Ref 23, plt 47 (CC 0).

e) Stela of Qahedjet, 3rd Dynasty, or Sneferu, 4th Dynasty, Dahshur, Musée du Louvre E 25982. Photo: Maurice Chuzeville, Musée du Louvre, Paris,

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f) Seated statue of Khafre, 4th Dynasty, Gizeh, Egyptian Museum Cairo CG 14. Photo: American Research Center in Egypt, https://arce.org/khafre-enthroned (accessed April 12, 2025).

g) Seated statue of Rahotep, son of King Seneferu, 4th Dynasty, Meidum, Egyptian Museum Cairo CG 3. Photo: Getty Images, Inc.

h) Relief of Niuserra, 5th Dynasty, Abusir. Photo: Ref 45, vol 1, p 19 (courtesy of Tregear Publishing Ltd.).

i) Relief of Mentuhotep III, 11th Dynasty, Deir el-Bahari. Photo: Ref 32, vol 1, plt 10 (CC 0).

j) Seated statue of Amenemhat II or Senwroset II (usurped by Ramesses II), 12th Dynasty, Tanis (?), MMA L.2011.42/Berlin Egyptian Museum 7264. Photo: Ref 32, vol 1, plt 64.

k) Seated royal statue (usurped by Thutmose III), 12th Dynasty, Karnak, Egyptian Museum Cairo CG 578. Photo: Ref 27, vol 2, plt 99/578 (CC 0).

l) Sebekhotep IV, 13th Dynasty, Tanis, Egyptian Museum Cairo. Photo: Ref 32, vol 1, plt 144 (CC 0).

m) Relief of Hatshepsut in the Sed festival run, 18th Dynasty, Open Air Museum Karnak. Photo: Vladimir Wrangel (via Shutterstock, Inc.).

n) Seated statue of Hatshepsut, 18th Dynasty, Deir el-Bahri, MMA 29.2.3. Photo: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/544450 (CC 0; accessed April 4, 2025).

o) Relief of Thutmose III, 18th Dynasty, Karnak temple. Photo: Olaf Tausch, https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Schlacht_bei_Megiddo#/media/Datei:Karnak_Tempel_15.jpg (CC BY 3.0; accessed April 2, 2025).

p) Seated colossal statue of Amenhotep III, 18th Dynasty, Kom el-Hetan. Photo: private.

q) Relief of Akhenaten, Tell el-Amarna, The Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology UC401.

Photo: Ref 46, p 211 (Cat. 10).

r) Relief of Akhenaten, 18th Dynasty, Tell el-Amarna, Egyptian Museum Cairo. Photo: Ref 45, vol 2, p 22 (courtesy of Tregear Publishing Ltd.).

s) Wall painting of Haremhab, 18th Dynasty, West Thebes (KV 57). Photo: Ref 47, p 190, plt 155 (courtesy of Weltbild Verlag).

t) Relief of God Amun, top of an unfinished obelisk, 18th Dynasty, Aswan. Photo: Ref 45, vol 2, p 16 (courtesy of Tregear Publishing Ltd.).

u) Relief of God Amun, 19th Dynasty, Temple of Seti I, Abydos. Photo: Ref 45, vol 2, p 43 (courtesy of Tregear Publishing Ltd.).

v) God Horus on the stela of Rama, 19th Dynasty, West Thebes (?), Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AP59. Photo: Rijksmuseum van Oudheden,

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w) Wall painting of Ramesses I, 19th Dynasty, West Thebes (KV 16). Photo: Ref 45, vol 2, p 40 (courtesy of Tregear Publishing Ltd.).

x) Wall painting of Ramesses III, 20th Dynasty, West Thebes (KV 11). Photo: Ref 47, p 26, plt 6 (courtesy of Weltbild Verlag).

y) Wall painting of Khaemwaset, son of Ramesses III, 20th Dynasty, West Thebes (QV 44). Photo: Ref 45, vol 2, p 51 (courtesy of Tregear Publishing Ltd.).

z) Relief of Psammetikh I on the back pillar of a colossal statue, 26th Dynasty, Heliopolis (Matariya). Photo: Dr. Dietrich Raue, University of Leipzig, https://edition.cnn.com/2018/04/20/world/psamtik-colossus-cairo/index.html (accessed April 10, 2025).

aa) Relief of Ptolemy VIII, Ptolemaic Period, Koptos, MFA 24.1633. Photo: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, https://collections.mfa.org/objects/146017 (CC BY-ND-NC 4.0; accessed April 4, 2025).

Fig. 3: a) Beadwork apron of Senebtisi, 12th Dynasty, el Lisht, MMA 08.200.29a. Photo: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/692410 (CC BY 4.0; accessed April 4, 2025).

b) Two rod-shaped pendants along with strings of beads at the bottom of Tutankhamun's inner coffin, 18th Dynasty, West Thebes (KV 62). Photo: Howard Burton (no. p0793), The Griffith Institute, Oxford, http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/php/am-makepage1.php?&db=burton&view=gall&burt=&card=256eee&desc=&strt=&what=Search&s1=i

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c) Rod-shaped pendant, gold, glass, 18th Dynasty, West Thebes (KV 62), Carter archive no. 256eee–2. Photo: Howard Burton (no. p1901), The Griffith Institute, Oxford, http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/php/am-

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