

# Features of creativity and innovation in the insignias, forms, and dresses of the statues of the middle kingdom kings

## Abstract

This research focuses on the insignias, forms, and dresses newly introduced in the statues of the Egyptian kings of Middle Kingdom. Through study and analysis, approximately thirty-nine distinct postures, dresses, and emblems were identified as innovations specific to the Middle Kingdom. These elements were absent from earlier statues, from Early Dynastic Period until the end of the First Intermediate Period. These new features continued to appear in subsequent eras. The research reviews the earliest examples of statues that displayed these features. The adoption of these innovations began during the Eleventh Dynasty, though they were relatively rare, with most of them emerging during the Twelfth Dynasty. King Amenemhat III stands out as the most innovative ruler in terms of the variety of postures, emblems, and dresses in his statues, followed by Kings Senusret I, Senusret III, and Mentuhotep II.

**Keywords:** statues, middle kingdom, osirian form, sed festival, sma-tawy, amulet, ankh, double crown, khat, triangular kilt, cobra, bull's tail, nine bows, outstretched hands, naos, standard, offering basin

Volume 10 Issue 1 - 2025

## Saleh Soleiman

Egyptology Department, Faculty of Archaeology, Damietta University, Egypt

**Correspondence:** Saleh Soleiman, Egyptology Department, Faculty of Archaeology, Damietta University, Egypt, Email saleh\_suleiman82@yahoo.com

**Received:** June 29, 2024 | **Published:** January 30, 2025

## Introduction

The Middle Kingdom is the period that followed the First Intermediate Period, which represents an era of weakness and political and artistic decline. It begins from the middle of the Eleventh Dynasty (the reign of Mentuhotep II when he reunified the country) and continues until the end of the Twelfth Dynasty, according to some Egyptologists, or until the middle or end of the Thirteenth Dynasty, or even until the end of the Fourteenth Dynasty from other perspectives.<sup>1</sup> We will study the topic until the end of the Twelfth Dynasty, due to the concentration of emerging symbols and forms during that specific period, and because all statues from the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Dynasties resemble those of previous kings, with no innovation except for a wooden statue of Hor Awibre, 170 cm high, found in the burial chamber of the king at Dahshur. It belongs to the Thirteenth Dynasty and is preserved in the Egyptian Museum under the inventory number JE 30948. The statue depicts the king standing with his left leg forward, with the mark of the ka spirit above his head as the first example of this style.<sup>2</sup> The Eleventh Dynasty includes the kings Mentuhotep I and his sons Intef I and Intef II, then Intef III (son of Intef II), followed by his son Mentuhotep II. It was with Mentuhotep II that the Middle Kingdom began, during which there was a temporary truce that collapsed in his reign, leading to renewed hostility between Thebes and Herakleopolis. Mentuhotep II attacked Herakleopolis, overthrew it, and extended his rule over all of Upper Egypt, gradually expanding his control to Lower Egypt as well. Thus, the king succeeded in restoring stability and political calm to the country, which had been missing for a long time. He was the first ruler of the Eleventh Dynasty that ruled unified Egypt. Some Egyptologists consider his reign as the beginning of the dynasty, and he was succeeded by his sons Mentuhotep III and then Mentuhotep IV. Thebes was the capital of the country, and the dynasty witnessed military campaigns to secure and expand the borders eastward, westward, and southward. Many temples were built for various deities.<sup>3</sup> The Twelfth Dynasty included eight kings: Amenemhat I, Senusret I, Amenemhat II, Senusret II, Senusret III, Amenemhat III, Amenemhat IV, and Sobekneferu. The

capital city, Itjtawy or Lisht, was established near Memphis because of its geographical location between the north and the south, and it was a period of prosperity, stability, agricultural development, and administrative organization. The kings of this dynasty led military campaigns southward and eastward, built castles and fortresses, and extended Egypt's borders to the second cataract in the south and Canaan to the east, attaining sanctity after their deaths.<sup>4</sup> The country witnessed an architectural and artistic renaissance as evidenced by the funerary collections, sculpture, and minor arts of that period. The Twelfth Dynasty was considered the golden age for art and literature, reaching its peak during the reign of Senusret III. This era saw several new trends in the depiction of the king, aimed at highlighting him, facilitated by the proliferation of temples of gods and their need for engravings and statues that expressed innovative ideas.<sup>5</sup>

## Royal statues of middle kingdom

Most statues of the kings of the Eleventh Dynasty were carved from sandstone available in quarries near Thebes, a stone that despite being polished and smoothed appears unpolished.<sup>6</sup> A few were carved from alabaster and limestone. In contrast, most statues of the kings of the Twelfth Dynasty were carved from red and black granite, limestone, basalt, diorite, and a few from alabaster, gneiss, graywacke, quartz, slate, gneiss, sandstone, and wood.<sup>7</sup> Some of these stones are hard and difficult to shape, such as diorite, quartz, granite, and gneiss, while others are easier to shape, like limestone and alabaster.<sup>8</sup> Some of these stones were brought from quarries close to the Nile valley and some from remote quarries deep in the desert like those of graywacke and gneiss. The color and durability of the stone played a role in its selection and preference.<sup>9</sup> Most statues of the kings in the Middle Kingdom were placed in the original layout of the owner's funerary complex<sup>10</sup> or in the secular temples built for the worship of deities, whether in the capital or the provinces.<sup>8</sup> The seated statues received offerings while the standing and kneeling statues performed specific rituals and ceremonies,<sup>11</sup> thereby acting as receivers or performers of rituals or representing the gods on Earth.<sup>5</sup> These statues were small, life-sized, or huge, and these huge statues were coveted

for reuse in later periods by the kings in Tanis and Tell Basta. These later statues could be divided into five groups, with the first group being those statues found in Tanis that had been moved from their original location to Avaris during the Hyksos era, then to Pi-Ramesses in the period of the Ramessides, and then to Tanis in the Twenty-first Dynasty and were re-engraved. The second group was similar to the first but without any additions in writing or change in artistic features. The third group was moved from their original location in the period of the Ramessides and was re-engraved. The fourth group was similar to the third but had additions of inscriptions and changes in features. The fifth group includes those statues found in Tanis that were directly moved from their original location during the Third Intermediate Period and were re-engraved and their features were changed.<sup>12</sup> It seems the time it took a sculptor to carve a royal statue was short, taking just several days, and evidence to support this is a stela for the official Sehetepibre from the reign of Amenemhat II found in Abydos, preserved in the British Museum in London EA 569, which mentions the carving of fifteen statues in less than two months for King Amenemhat II intended for his funerary complex at Dahshur.<sup>13</sup> It is uncertain whether one sculptor alone did the carving or if more than one person was involved, one shaping, another engraving, and a third polishing.<sup>8</sup> There is a similarity in the artistic features among some kings of the Twelfth Dynasty due to their co-regency, which reflected on the artistic school where the same sculptor or his student who followed his methods carved statues of the co-regent kings.<sup>14</sup> In the Twelfth Dynasty, there were three artistic schools: the Idealistic School characterized by the statues of Amenemhat I and Senusret I showing youth, vitality, and a slight smile with no wrinkles on their faces; the Classical School characterized by the statues of Amenemhat II and Senusret II combining idealistic and realistic features, showing personal features without exaggeration; and the Realistic School characterized by the statues of Senusret III and Amenemhat III, depicted with raised eyelids, well-defined eyes, wrinkles below the eyes, prominent cheeks, mouth muscles, large ears, thin lips, and a frown. These artistic schools did not limit themselves to royal statues but also influenced individual statues, some carved by the same royal sculptors influenced by royal art.<sup>15</sup> The most represented king of the Middle Kingdom in terms of statues was King Senusret III with about 111 statues, followed by Amenemhat III with about 92 statues, and King Senusret I with about 90 statues.<sup>5</sup> These statues belong to several artistic schools, not just four as previously thought (the Fayoum School with the idealistic style, the Delta School with the traditional style, the Memphis School with the realistic and true style, and the Southern School).<sup>16</sup> Some statues of the kings of the Middle Kingdom were found intact, complete and in good condition and high quality while others were broken and missing the upper or lower part due to natural factors such as earthquakes, storms, and floods or due to human factors such as wars, conflicts, fires, and demolition of structures. There are some statues that lost specific parts like the nose, mouth, and arms, and the cobra, deliberately damaged as a form of vengeance against the person himself. The loss of parts of these statues or their complete destruction in the ancient Egyptian periods or in the eras of monotheistic religions due to the paganism of these statues, or in modern times by artifact traders who cut specific parts of these statues like the head or upper part to sell them.<sup>17</sup>

### Created and innovated insignias, forms, and dresses of the statues of the kings of the Middle Kingdom

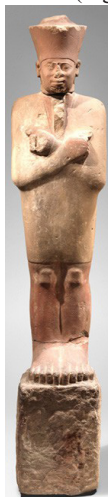
After examining all the statues of kings from the Early Dynastic Period until the end of the Middle Kingdom, we can say that some

royal statues in the Middle Kingdom were traditional models of the statues of Old Kingdom kings, imitating them in insignias, postures, and forms. This imitation shows the extent of the Middle Kingdom's influence by the old Kingdom, which is also observed in the new Kingdom that was influenced by both the old and middle Kingdoms. This imitation is due to no king believing in the ideology of letting the Old Kingdom end and the Middle Kingdom start.<sup>18</sup> The imitation was a means of connecting with the grandeur of the past.<sup>11</sup> The relocation of the capital near Memphis played a role in this imitation and influence by the art of the Old Kingdom. Artists from the south traveled to Memphis to gain expertise, or others from Memphis traveled to Thebes to work and teach their local artist counterparts since the Heracleopolitan Period onwards.<sup>19</sup> Other statues appeared in the Middle Kingdom with artistic styles, postures, and insignias that differed from their counterparts in the Old Kingdom. These postures and features were introduced in the Middle Kingdom era and had not appeared before then, but continued to appear afterward in the New Kingdom. The goal of this novelty was innovation, change, renewal, and a desire for a variety of costumes, insignias, postures, and royal appearances, or perhaps it was the result of ideological, cultural, and intellectual change or the influence of local artistic traditions and styles that were known in the Theban region, the original homeland of the Middle Kingdom kings, and were not known in Memphis. The studies that described the statues of the kings of the Middle Kingdom are numerous and varied and have been utilized in research. However, most of these did not discuss the date of the postures, the clothing, or badges held by the statues, nor did they mention whether such features were new or had appeared before and when they appeared, except for a few studies that might mention one posture and its date. One of the most important and comprehensive of these studies is Freed's study on the art of sculpture in the Middle Kingdom, which only mentioned the date of about five innovative postures and forms in the Middle Kingdom.<sup>19</sup> A critique of this study is that it mentioned that a certain form first appeared in the Middle Kingdom, but upon reviewing statues from the Old Kingdom, we found that this form was already known then. This is confirmed by what Freed mentioned that the pleated nemes headdress with evenly spaced pleats, featuring both raised and sunken carvings, had appeared since the reign of Amenemhat I.<sup>20</sup> However, it is observed that this type of nemes appears in the kneeling statue of Pepy I at the Brooklyn Museum, and therefore it does not fall into the category of newly created garments. Additionally, a study by Haney on the depiction of sharing in governance: exploring the relationship between the royal image and co-regency during the time of Senusret III and Amenemhat III. It mentioned the date of some postures and forms from the reigns of Senusret III and Amenemhat III. We tried in our study here to conclude a list of approximately thirty-nine forms, between new postures and newly introduced insignias. They are listed as follows:

### Standing with arms crossed over the chest and hands empty and clenched

This position shows the statue of the king standing with crossed arms over the chest and hands empty of anything and clenched. The crossed arms over the chest resembled the statues of the king celebrating the Festival of Sed, which symbolized the renewal of the king's youth.<sup>21</sup> It seems that this pose (the king standing with crossed arms over his chest and empty clenched hands) has been apparent since the Eleventh Dynasty in statues along the ascending causeway of the funerary complex of King Mentuhotep II at Deir el-Bahri, which was unusually exposed compared to what was customary since the Old Kingdom. This causeway included, at equal distances on each side, statues of the king standing wearing a Sed festival dress with crossed

arms over the chest and hands clenched and empty. The statues on the south side are shown with the white crown of Upper Egypt and the statues on the north side are shown with the red crown of Lower Egypt.<sup>22</sup> These statues continue on both sides of the causeway inside the temple's funerary courtyard, up to the ascending slope leading to the temple's upper level.<sup>23</sup> Twenty-two statues in total were found. Some of them were found, mostly shattered. The base is rough and rectangular and inserted into the ground. Among these statues is a sandstone one, 180 cm high, discovered in 1825 AD, preserved now at the Metropolitan Museum.<sup>3,24</sup> The king is depicted wearing the Red Crown of Lower Egypt and a woven knee-length robe,<sup>25</sup> and a beard (now broken), which was probably curved and represented the king's divinity.<sup>26</sup> The statue shows the king standing with crossed arms over his chest and empty clenched hands (Figure 1).



**Figure 1** Statue of mentuhotep II, sandstone, cause way or court of the funerary temple, Deir el-Bahri, metropolitan museum.

(Source: The Metropolitan Museum of Art website).

### Sitting with arms crossed on the chest and hands empty and clenched

This situation depicts a statue of the king seated with his arms crossed over his chest and hands empty of anything and clenched. It appears from the Eleventh Dynasty in the statues at the funerary complex of Mentuhotep II at Deir el-Bahri. There used to be along the slope leading to the second level, a row of sycamore trees,<sup>23</sup> under each of which was a statue of the king seated with his arms crossed over his chest<sup>27</sup> and hands empty and clenched (Figure 2). This posture is associated with the Sed festival and differs from previous statues that represent the king seated celebrating the same festival and wearing the same garment, which is a knee-length cloak that appeared at the beginning of dynasties. This garment displayed the king's hands, with one arm above the other on his chest, the right arm over the left, while in the statue of Mentuhotep II, the hands are crossed over his chest<sup>28</sup> and while the positioning of one hand over the other is characteristic of the god Ptah, here at the statue of Mentuhotep II, the hands are empty whereas in the Early Dynastic Period, the left hand grasped a flail and the right held a nekhekh.<sup>29</sup> The statues of Mentuhotep are similar to previous statues that represent the king seated celebrating the same festival and wearing the same garment which appeared in the Old Kingdom at statue of King Pepy I with the crossing of the hands over the chest, while they differ in that Mentuhotep II's hands are empty (Figure 2), whereas Pepy I's left hand grasped a flail and the right held a nekhekh.<sup>30</sup>



**Figure 2** Statues of mentuhotep II, sandstone, court of the funerary temple, Deir el-Bahri, metropolitan museum.

(Source: The Metropolitan Museum of Art website).

### The King standing alone with joint legs

This pose shows the king standing alone in his statue with joint legs, rather than stepping forward with the left leg as was customary in royal statues in the Old Kingdom. It seems that this posture emerged since the Eleventh Dynasty in the Twenty-two statues of the ascending causeway and the courtyard of the funerary temple of Mentuhotep II in Deir el-Bahri.<sup>30,31</sup> Some of these statues are broken and buried in the ground in their original position or moved nearby. It appears that these statues were carved in the middle of his reign.<sup>32</sup> These statues differ from the group of statues found by the Japanese mission in the northwest of Saqqara, preserved now in the Egyptian Museum, and belong to King Khufu and King Pepy I with a deity in the form of a lioness,<sup>33</sup> likely goddess Sekhmet due to Saqqara's proximity to Memphis, the center of Sekhmet's worship. The difference lies in the fact that Mentuhotep II's statues are individual, depicting him on a large scale and celebrating the Sed festival (Figure 1), while the statues of Khufu and Pepy I were group figures depicting them as a child on a small scale with the deity and under her protection.<sup>34</sup>

### The connection of the cobra with the upper Egypt crown

This pose shows the king in his statue wearing the crown of Upper Egypt decorated with a cobra. The connection of the cobra with the crown of Upper Egypt appears to have emerged since the Eleventh Dynasty in a sandstone head of a broken statue belonging to King Montuhotep II, 77 cm high, from Deir el-Bahari, preserved in the British Museum EA720.<sup>24,32</sup> The king wears the white crown of Upper Egypt and the cobra. The crown is colored white and the cobra in yellow.<sup>35</sup> It was part of a statue of the king celebrating the Sed festival (Figure 3). It seems logical for the cobra to appear with the crown of Upper Egypt during the reign of Montuhotep II because it symbolizes the north and represents the protective goddess of the Delta, Wadjet, and this king unified Egypt, controlled the north, and adopted its symbols like the red crown and the cobra.



**Figure 3** Head of statue of mentuhotep II, sandstone, British museum.

(Source: The British Museum website).

## Wearing the king's robe from which only his head and hands appear

This posture depicts the king in his statue with a robe resembling mummy wrappings, from which only his head and hands appear. The body wrapped in this robe is similar to the depictions of the deities; Osiris (the most important deity and god of resurrection, agriculture and vegetation, the afterlife and dead), Ptah (the creator god and the patron of craftsmen and architects.), Min (god of fertility, sexuality, and Eastern Desert, and the patron of traveling caravans), and Khonsu (god of the moon who lights the sky and keeps the travelers safe at night, god of time who adds new days to the year, god of fertility and healing), and these deities are associated with meanings of transformation, change, creation, resurrection, and birth, and the statues wrapped in robes express the same meanings.<sup>21</sup> It seems that this form (the king wearing a robe from which only his head and hands appear) appeared since the Eleventh Dynasty in eight similar statues of King Sankhkare Mentuhotep III, which were at the Temple of Montu in Armant and were buried in the ground during the renovation of the temple in the Greco-Roman period. They were discovered by the Sir Robert Mond mission belonging to the Egypt Exploration Society in 1938 AD and are now preserved in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts 38.1395.<sup>36</sup> One of these statues is made of sandstone, 213 cm high, depicting the king standing in the Osirian form with an Upper Egypt crown, arms crossed on his chest with holes in the hands that likely held the flail (*nbb*) and the hook staff (*hbk*) and a long, tight robe from which the hands are shown outside and the legs are joined. There is a knee-length dress hardly noticeable beneath the robe. It was adorned with a long, curved beard attached to the chest.<sup>37</sup> Merneptah (the fourth pharaoh of the Nineteenth Dynasty) reused the statue by removing the beard and inscribing a line of hieroglyphic texts on the body that includes his epithets, birth and coronation names, and a prayer for eternal life (Figure 4). Most of the eight statues of the same group are not inscribed.<sup>37</sup> Some Egyptologists believe that this king, namely Mentuhotep III was the first to erect statues in the full Osirian form, where the person is represented standing in a robe resembling mummy wrappings, with only his head and hands appearing out of the dress, his arms crossed on his chest, and his legs joined.<sup>11,38</sup> Therefore, the previous statues before this king's reign, which depict the king in a cloak revealing his legs and hands crossed on his chest, and that some scholars interpreted as Osirian statues, are actually statues of the king celebrating the Sed festival and not Osirian statues.<sup>19,25</sup>



Figure 4 Statue of mentuhotep III, sandstone, armant, metropolitan museum.

(Source: The Metropolitan Museum of Art website).

## The multi-coiled cobra

This pose shows the king in his statue adorned with the multi-coiled cobra, which may have appeared since the Eleventh Dynasty on the head of a statue likely representing King Mentuhotep III made from limestone, 18 cm high, from Thebes, preserved at the Metropolitan Museum with number 66.99.3. The statue features a plump face, thick eyebrows, narrow long eyes, and a smiling mouth.<sup>39</sup> The king is wearing the Nemes and the multi-coiled cobra, which amounts to six coils (Figures 5&6). The multi-coiled cobra certainly appeared in the statues of the kings of the Twelfth Dynasty starting from the reign of Amenemhat I, where the number of cobra coils in his statues reached thirteen coils or loops.<sup>5</sup>



Figure 5 Head of statue of mentuhotep III? limestone, thebes, metropolitan museum.

(Source: The Metropolitan Museum of Art website).



Figure 6 Head of statue of mentuhotep III? limestone, thebes, metropolitan museum.

(Source: The Metropolitan Museum of Art website).

## Standing in a size much larger than life-size

This pose shows the king in his statue standing in a size many times larger than life-size, a phenomenon that spread in the modern state. There are no standing and intact statues or in good condition of preservation of the kings from the Early Dynastic Period or the Old Kingdom in a size exceeding the natural size. Therefore, the oldest model in good condition dates back to the Twelfth Dynasty, which includes the statues of Senusret I at the Amun-Ra temple at Karnak, including a statue of the king made from limestone 470 cm, preserved in the Grand Egyptian Museum GM 11295. The statue represents the king standing in the Osirian form. He wears the Upper Egyptian crown with a hole for fixing the cobra and wears the curved beard,<sup>2</sup> with arms crossed over the chest (Figure 7).

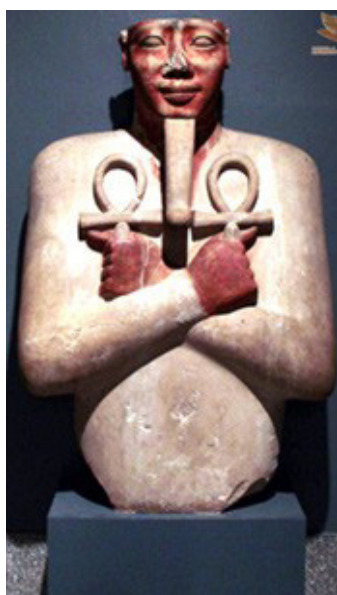


**Figure 7** Statue of senusret I, limestone, karnak, grand Egyptian museum.

(Source: Photo by the author).

### Holding ankh signs with both hands

This position shows the king in his statue in the Osirian form, holding an Ankh sign in each hand, symbolizing the Osirian resurrection.<sup>25</sup> This form appeared since the Twelfth Dynasty in statues of Senusret I at the temple of Amun-Ra in Karnak, including a limestone statue preserved in the Grand Egyptian Museum, previously mentioned GM 11295 (Figure 7). There is an upper part of a limestone statue of the same king, 158 cm high, at the Luxor Museum J174,<sup>40</sup> in the same aforementioned form (Figure 8).



**Figure 8** Part of statue of senusret I, limestone, karnak, luxor museum.

(Source: Luxor Museum website).

### Wearing the bull's tail

This pose depicts the king in his statue wearing a bull's tail hanging from the back of the shendyt belt. This appearance seems to have emerged since the Twelfth Dynasty in the statues of King Senusret I in the cache at Lisht, where Gautier discovered a cache on 21-12-1884 AD in the courtyard northwest of the funerary temple between the columned courtyard and the second pyramid of the two small pyramids located northeast of the funerary temple and belongs to the queens.<sup>41</sup> It includes ten limestone statues of the king, larger than life-size,<sup>23</sup> with heights reaching 194 cm. These statues were placed in that location to protect them from theft, usurpation, or destruction during a period of unrest and anxiety, possibly during the Second Intermediate Period and the Hyksos era, so the priests wanted to protect them by hiding them in that cache.<sup>42</sup> These statues were in the Egyptian Museum at Tahrir Square, cataloged as CG 411-420, and were transferred to the Grand Egyptian Museum near Giza Pyramids. The king is depicted seated on a chair with a short backrest. The king wears the royal headdress known as the nemes and the royal shendyt garment, with the cobra placed on the forehead. The arms are bent on the knee, with the left hand open and the right hand holding a handkerchief. A bull's tail is attached to the shendyt and carved in relief on the chair between the king's legs (Figure 9).<sup>43</sup>



**Figure 9** Statue of senusret I, limestone, lisht, grand Egyptian museum.

(Source: Photo by the author).

### Decorating the throne with the gods of the Nile standing, unifying the country

This characteristic shows decoration of the throne on which the king sits in his statue with the northern and southern Nile gods, Hapi of the North and Hapi of the South, standing as they unify the country by tying the plants of papyrus and lotus around the unity symbol, Sema.

It appears that this representation emerged from the Twelfth Dynasty in five statues of King Senusret I at the Lisht cache, where the seat was inscribed on both sides with the Sema-tawy, meaning the unification of the two lands. The Sema glyph represents the windpipe and the lungs, topped by the birth or coronation name of the king, with the Nile gods, Hapi, in human form with a full body and curved beard, standing to the right and left.<sup>2</sup> Above their heads are the papyrus plant (Hapi of the North) or the lotus plant (Hapi of the South).<sup>7</sup> Each god holds a stem of a papyrus or lotus flower. These stems emerge from a bundle of three flowers placed in a basket on the ground, attempting to tightly tie them around the Sema symbol, expressing the Nile gods' aid in uniting the country for King Senusret I (Figure 10 left).<sup>44</sup> The aim of depicting the unity scene was to show the kings' power and ability to control the country from north to south.<sup>7</sup> This portrayal, depicting the Nile gods standing as they unify the country, differs from the one seen in the Old Kingdom during the time of Menkaure, where the Nile gods are depicted kneeling, not standing, in the act of unification. This image was found on the lower part of an alabaster statue of the seated king, discovered at the Valley Temple in 1909 and preserved at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston 09.202.<sup>45</sup>

### Decorating the throne with Horus and Set standing, working to unify the country

This feature shows the throne's decoration, on which the king sits in his statue with Horus and Set standing, unifying the country by tying the papyrus and lotus plants around the Sema unity symbol. It seems that this form appeared since the Twelfth Dynasty in five statues of Senusret I at the Lisht cache where the seat is engraved on both sides with Sema-tawy, which is Sema with the king's birth or coronation name above it, flanked either by Horus (symbolizing the Delta, depicted with a human body and falcon head) or Set<sup>2</sup> (symbolizing Upper Egypt, depicted with a human body and a jackal or dog head). Each god is depicted with a double crown, holding a stalk of papyrus symbolizing the Delta or lotus symbolizing Upper Egypt. Each one is trying to tie it strongly around the Sema sign to express the assistance of Horus and Set in unifying the country for Senusret I (Figure 10 right).<sup>43</sup>

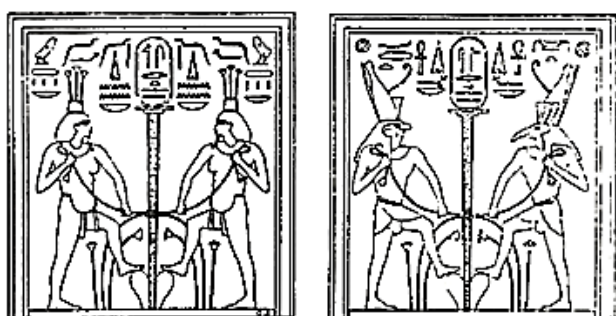


Figure 10 Decoration of the throne of the statues of senusret I, lisht, grand Egyptian museum.

(Source: Gauthier JE, Jequier G. Fouilles de Lichte, MIAFO 6, Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale; 1902: figs. 29, 33.).

### Standing while holding the long crook (ḥkꜣ) in front of the body

This position shows the king in his statue standing forward, left leg in front and left arm bent at the front of the body gripping a long stick representing the crook (ḥkꜣ), a long curved stick symbolizing authority, leadership, and governance, originally derived from the

shepherd's staff.<sup>7</sup> This posture might have appeared in the copper statue of Pepy I, 177 cm high, from the Sixth Dynasty, discovered at Kom El-Ahmar, preserved in the Egyptian Museum JE 33034. It shows the king standing, beardless, leading with the left leg forward.<sup>2,46</sup> He was probably holding the and other possible items like a scepter or staff, but these items have been lost. We do not know for certain what the king was holding. It is suggested that this posture (standing and holding the long crook in front of the body) certainly appeared as the earliest complete model in two painted wooden statues of King Senusret I, 56 cm and 58 cm heights, suggesting their small size meant they were carried in processions and celebrations. They were found in the tomb of a contemporary noble to the king named Imhotep, who was a high priest in Heliopolis. His tomb was located east of the mortuary temple of King Senusret I at Lisht.<sup>41</sup> They were excavated by A. Lythgoe for the Boston Museum of Fine Arts in 1914 AD. These statues are not inscribed. The full-length crook misses its lowest part in one of these statues. It seems that this priest used these statues in the funerary rites and put them in his tomb or tried to protect these statues from theft or destruction by moving them to his tomb from the funeral complex of the king,<sup>25</sup> which was a target for every vandal and thief, or they were a gift from the king to Imhotep.<sup>7</sup> Each statue depicts the king standing, left leg forward. The left arm is extended forward and bent, clutching a staff called. The right arm hangs by the side with the hand formerly holding possibly a whip, scepter, handkerchief, papyrus, piece of fabric, or leather. The king wears a knee-length kilt, painted white, and a white Upper Egypt crown in one statue, and a red Delta crown in another.<sup>47</sup> The skin is painted a dark reddish-brown. The feet are attached to a wooden rectangular base. This base was probably planned to be inscribed with the titles and names of the king.<sup>48</sup> The statue with the white crown is preserved in the Egyptian Museum (Figure 11), and the one with the red crown is in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 12).



Figure 11 Statue of senusret I, wood, lisht, Egyptian museum.

(Source: Photo by the author).



**Figure 12** Statues of senusret I, wood, light, metropolitan museum.

(Source: The Metropolitan Museum of Art website).

### Wearing the single amulet

In this context, the king appears in his statue wearing an amulet hanging from a chain around his neck, dangling over his chest. It is a small symbol worn for protection from a certain danger or to bring some benefit. These amulets took the form of deities' symbols, royal symbols, and general symbols.<sup>49</sup> It seems that the amulet that the king wears, represents the heart amulet, which is an essential element in the personality and plays a crucial role in the judgment in the afterlife, where it testifies to what a person did in their life. The practice of the king wearing the amulet in his statues seems to have appeared since the Twelfth Dynasty. However, it is difficult to determine the beginning of this idea, as it was found in the statue of Senusret I CG 384, Amenemhat II, and Senusret II CG 430, 432.<sup>41,43</sup> These statues were usurped by Kings Ramesses II<sup>50</sup> and Merneptah, so this amulet may have been added to the statue in the Nineteenth Dynasty by these kings who reused these statues. The oldest definite and known example of this amulet may date back to King Senusret II, where it appeared on the upper part of a statue of the king carved from black granite, 24.8 cm high, preserved in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Austria (Figure 13). The king wears the Nemes, the cobra, and the amulet.<sup>51-53</sup> This amulet continued to be used thereafter in some statues of King Senusret III and Amenemhat III.<sup>47</sup> It is notable that it is associated with statues wearing the Nemes.



**Figure 13** Bust of statue of senusret II, black granite, light, kunsthistorisches museum.

(Source: The Global Egyptian Museum website).

### Wearing the double amulet

This mode shows the king in his statue wearing an amulet with two pendants hanging from a chain around his neck and dangling onto his chest. It seems that wearing this double amulet appeared since the Twelfth Dynasty, during the reign of Senusret II, where it appeared in the upper part of a statue of the king carved from black granite from Mit Rahina, preserved at the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen AEIN 659 (Figure 14). The king wears the nemes, the cobra, and the two-pendant amulet.<sup>19</sup> Despite the lack of inscriptions, this piece is attributed to Senusret II based on the broad face and small mouth, which are artistic traits of the statues of this king.<sup>25</sup>



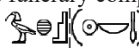
**Figure 14** Bust of statue of senusret II, black granite, memphis, ny carlsberg glyptotek museum.


(Source: Freed R. Sculpture of the middle kingdom. In: Lloyd A, editor. A companion to ancient Egypt 2, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd; 2010: 897, fig.39.9).

### Standing with arms extended on the kilt in a worshipful and respectful posture

This position shows the king in his statue standing with the left leg extended forward and the arms extended along the body with hands spread on the apron in a worshipful posture. It seems that this posture appeared since the Twelfth Dynasty in seven statues of Senusret III found in the funerary temple of Mentuhotep Nebhebet-Ra at Deir el-Bahari, five of which are missing the lower part, the sixth has only the torso, and the seventh has only the feet, carved from black granite.<sup>24</sup> Each statue is about 150 cm high. One statue is preserved in the Egyptian Museum, Temp. No. 18.4.22.4<sup>54</sup> (Figure 15), four statues are in the British Museum 684-686, 768<sup>55</sup> (Figure 16), and the remains of two statues at their location at the temple of Mentuhotep II.<sup>5</sup> Each statue depicts the king standing wearing the Nemes headdress, a pectoral amulet, and a belt apron with two cobras hanging from it and a cobra on the forehead. The arms are extended and the hands are spread on the apron.<sup>35</sup> Each of the five statues loses the lower part (from knee to feet) and most of the arms. These statues represent the king at different stages of age despite being sculpted at the same time.<sup>25</sup> The position of these statues in the funerary complex of Mentuhotep II at Deir el-Bahari was Senusret III's desire to link himself to his illustrious predecessor, the unifier of the two lands, and his desire to serve as a powerful propaganda for him and to instill fear and awe with his stern face in the hearts of people.<sup>19</sup> These statues represent the king in a worshipful posture.<sup>36</sup> We believe that this posture expresses respect, reverence, and glorification of King Senusret III for certain deity as if he were in his presence or as a glorified king from the ancestors. This statue was found with Mentuhotep's collection at Deir el-Bahari and was perhaps placed in that temple during the Twelfth Dynasty to express his respect for Amun and Mentuhotep II, who were worshipped in this temple, where

the funerary complex of Mentuhotep was known by two names:

 *ḥb-sw-t-nb-hpt-rꜥ* which means: "Thrones, seats, or shrines of Nebhebet-Ra are illuminated or beneficial and useful."<sup>24</sup>

 *ḥb-sw-t-ꜣmn* which means: "Thrones, seats, or shrines of Amun are illuminated or beneficial and useful."<sup>24</sup>

The latter name came about due to the use of the rear part of the second level of the temple as a place for Amun's rituals.

### Wearing a triangular-shaped kilt with a decorated front band ending with two cobras

This appearance shows the king in his statue wearing a triangular-shaped kilt with pleats, decorated with a long front band ending with two cobras. This appearance has been evident since the Twelfth Dynasty in the statues of Senusret III in the Mentuhotep Nebhepetre complex at Deir el-Bahari<sup>19</sup> previously mentioned (Figures 15&16). It is noteworthy that this kilt is associated with statues that show the king standing with his hands extended over the cloak in a posture of worship, respect, and veneration. This appeared in six statues of the aforementioned Senusret III and also in four statues of Amenemhat III in the same posture from Karnak cache, preserved in Egyptian museum CG 42020, 42016, 42015, 42014.

### Depiction of the king as an elderly man

This appearance shows the king in his statue as an elderly man with high eyelids, defined eyes, and wrinkles under the eyes, prominent cheeks, mouth muscles, large ears, thin lips, and a frown. These features were characteristic of the realistic school.<sup>57</sup> These appearances depict the king as a human acting independently, not as a deity, showing signs of fatigue and the burdens of responsibility,<sup>58</sup> with concerned, stern, worried, and prematurely aged faces. These aged faces were the prevailing style in the statues of King Senusret III (Figures 15&16). They perhaps express the true features of the king as a result of the administrative restructuring of the provinces, his military campaigns on Nubia, the king's attention and devotion to his subjects, and reflect the mood and emotions of melancholy, tiredness, and the pressures of royalty, or the king's desire to create a new image of himself as a pious vicar or saint. His large ear was meant to express that he was a good listener and communicator.<sup>5</sup> This continued in the statues of his successor, Amenemhat III.



Figure 15 Statue of senusret III, black granite, Deir el-Bahari, Egyptian museum.

(Source: Photo by the author).



Figures 16 Statues of Senusret III, black granite, Deir el-Bahari, British museum.

(Source: The British Museum website).

### Wearing the double crown

This pose depicts the king in his statue wearing the Double Crown, which is the Red Crown topped by the White Crown. It seems that this first stance appeared since the Twelfth Dynasty in the pink granite statue of Senusret III, 3m, found at the Karnak, preserved at the Egyptian Museum CG 42012.<sup>59,60</sup> It is also found in the head of a statue made of the same material and from the same location, preserved in the Luxor Museum J.34.<sup>61,62</sup> These two statues show the king in his middle age.<sup>5</sup> The first statue represents the king standing with the left foot forward, wearing the Double Crown, the cobra, the amulet, the straight beard, and the shendyt.<sup>63,64</sup> The base and the top of the crown are missing (Figures 17&18).

### Decorating the double crown with the cobra

The royal statue is shown with the double crown on its head, adorned with a cobra, which is shown at the front of the bottom crown (the red one). It seems this initial form appeared as early as the Twelfth Dynasty in the statue of Senusret III CG 42012<sup>59</sup> above-mentioned (Figures 17&18).



Figure 17 Statue of senusret III, red granite, karnak, Egyptian museum.

(Source: The Karnak Cachette database).





Figure 18 Statue of senusret III, red granite, karnak, Egyptian museum.

(Source: The Karnak Cachette database)

### Standing and holding the Mekes and the handkerchief

This position shows the king in his statue standing, holding the Mekes in one hand and the handkerchief in the other. It seems that this initial form appeared since the Twelfth Dynasty during the reign of Senusret III, with examples like his previous statue made of pink granite CG 42012 (Figures 17&18), where he holds the handkerchief with his right hand and the Mekes with his left hand.<sup>65</sup> This pose differs from the poses of Old Kingdom statues that show the king standing, holding the Mekes in both hands and there is no handkerchief. Examples include:

- Selim Hassan discovered a lower part of the statue of the king made of diorite next to the Valley Temple of King Khafre in Giza, preserved in the Egyptian Museum.<sup>66</sup> The statue represents the king standing, wearing the shendyt and holding the Mekes while advancing the left leg.<sup>67</sup>
- Reisner found a triad of schist for King Menkaure, Hathor standing, and the representative of the fourth nome of Upper Egypt "Waset", preserved in the Egyptian Museum JE 40678, as well as another triad for King Menkaure, Hathor standing, and the representative of the Jackal's nome, preserved in the Egyptian Museum JE 40679,<sup>2</sup> as well as a group statue of the king and his wife made of schist in the Boston Museum 11.1738.<sup>68</sup> The king appears in each statue standing with the crown of Upper Egypt, wearing the shendyt, advancing the left leg, with arms extended at his sides, holding the Mekes in both hands.
- Pseudo-group statue of King Niuserra made of calcite, 71.8 cm, in the Egyptian Museum of Art in Munich Kunst, AS 6794. The statue represents the king standing twice, wearing the nemes and royal diadem and the shendyt, with the left leg advanced. The arms are extended by his sides and each hand holds the Mekes.<sup>69</sup>
- Quibell discovered a statue in the tomb east of King Teti's pyramid in Saqqara, made of pink granite, preserved in the Egyptian Museum JE 39103. The statue is standing with the left leg advanced, the arms extended alongside his body, and the hands holding the Mekes. He is wearing the white crown and the shendyt. We do not know the identity of the owner of the statue as the base that contained the titles and names of the king is missing. Quibell attributed it to King Meri-Ka-Re from the Second Intermediate Period,<sup>70</sup> while Smith suggested its attribution to King Teti of the Sixth Dynasty due to its proximity to the pyramid

and the quality of craftsmanship, which is not available during the Intermediate Period.<sup>45</sup>

### The King standing, trampling the nine bows

This pose shows the king's statue standing with the left leg forward, stepping on the nine bows with both feet. It appears that this feature emerged during the Twelfth Dynasty, as evidenced by the remains of a statue consisting of a base and feet of King Senusret III standing in black granite from the temple of Mentuhotep II at Deir el-Bahari, preserved in the British Museum under number EA 768.<sup>71</sup> The nine bows are divided into two groups: one group beneath the left foot and another beneath the right foot.<sup>5</sup> This characteristic continued during the reign of his successor, as there is a statue of King Amenemhat III made of black granite, 110 cm high, from the Karnak cache, previously preserved in the Egyptian Museum CG 42014,<sup>59,72</sup> and later transferred to the Luxor Museum. The king is depicted standing on a base with the left leg advanced, wearing the royal headdress known as the Nemes, and a kilt with a front triangular apron. The face is stern, and the ears are large. The cobra on the forehead symbolizes the king's protection. The hands are laid flat on the kilt<sup>73,74</sup> in a gesture of respect, reverence, and glorification, as if standing in the presence of a deity. This statue was discovered in Karnak, suggesting it might have been placed in the temple buildings during the Twelfth Dynasty, where the king, with his hands extended, expresses his respect for Amun-Ra. Supporting this interpretation is the inscription on the statue, stating that he is "beloved of Amun-Ra, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands." The king steps on the nine bows, with five bows beneath the left foot and four beneath the right foot (Figure 19).



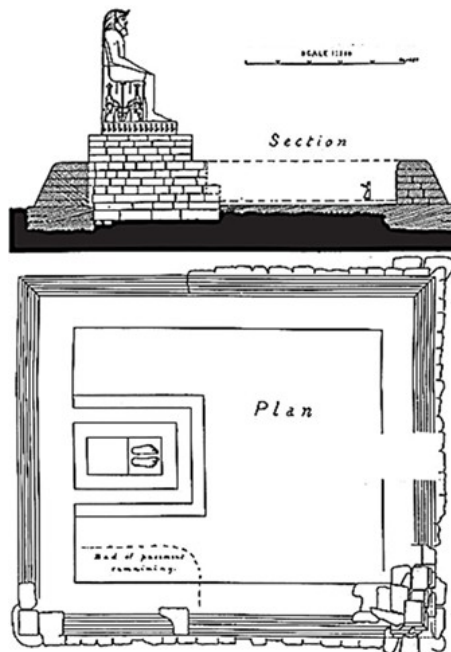
Figure 19 Statue of Amenemhat III, black granite, karnak, luxor museum.

(Source: Luxor Museum website).

### Wearing the Khat

This depiction shows the king in his statue wearing a headdress known as the Khat, which is simpler than the Nemes and has no pleats or stripes, hanging open at the back. It seems that this style first appeared during the Twelfth Dynasty in a headless statue of King Senusret III made of granodiorite, which was 60 cm high. It was found in the tomb of Hekaib, QH 30, at Elephantine and is preserved in the Château de Boulogne in France E 33099.<sup>75,76</sup> The statue depicts the

king seated, wearing the Shendyt, the amulet, and the Khat.<sup>8</sup> The best clear example of the Khat in that dynasty appears in the naos statues of King Amenemhat III, which will be mentioned later (Figures 22&23). Each naos includes a statue of the king standing to the left, wearing the Khat, the cobra, and the Shendyt.<sup>77</sup> The Khat headdress was rarely used.



**Figure 20** Reconstruction of statue of Amenemhat III, quartz, biahmu in fayoum. (Source: Petrie WF. Hawara, Biahmu and Arsinoë, London: Field and Tuer; 1889: pl. xxvi).



**Figure 22** Naos statue of Amenemhat III, red granite, hawara, Egyptian museum. (Source: Photo by the author).



**Figure 21** Statue of Amenemhat III, limestone, hawara, Egyptian museum. (Source: Photo by the author).



**Figure 23** Naos statue of Amenemhat III, red granite, hawara, Ny Carlsberg museum. (Source: Jorgensen M. Catalogue Egypt I. (3000-1550 B.C), NY Carlsberg Glyptotek. Copenhagen: NY Carlsberg Glyptotek; 1996: fig. no 69.).

## Sitting in a giant size

This position depicts the king in his statue seated in a large and massive size, reaching ten times his natural size or more. It seems that this form first appeared during the Twelfth Dynasty in two statues of King Amenemhat III, found in Biahmu at Fayoum, made of quartz on a limestone base.<sup>78</sup> The statues were approximately 18m high, with the base measuring 6.40m. Only the base and the feet remain from these statues today.<sup>19</sup> This is the biggest sitting statue of a king in complete human form, in contrast to the Great Sphinx in Giza, which represents the king's head combined with the body of a lion.<sup>5</sup> These statues were a magnificent work of art, serving as a symbol and a landmark for the Fayoum region (Figure 20). The material used in sculpting them, quartz, had qualities of shine, yellowish luster, and brilliance, which are solar attributes. When partially submerged by floodwaters, they resembled the moment of the creation story, as the sun rises above the mound in the primordial watery chaos.<sup>11</sup> These statues inspired Amenhotep son of Hapu's idea for the Colossi of Memnon, which are placed in front of the destroyed and largest mortuary temple in the West Bank of Thebes that belongs to King Amenhotep III.<sup>72</sup> The statues of Biahmu depict the king sitting on a throne.<sup>79</sup> The purpose of erecting them was to guard the road that passed between them, serve as a front for a temple of Sobek, commemorate the king in the area near the capital, Shedet, or to memorialize the reclamation of barren land in that region so that people wouldn't forget what the king had done for their land and on their behalf.<sup>80</sup> The motivation behind carving these massive statues was the diminishing concept of the divine king among the populace, a feeling of insignificance and weakness among the people, and a sense of turmoil and problems in governance. Consequently, the king resorted to such displays to express his strength and divinity, including sculpting colossal statues.<sup>7</sup> There are some examples of larger-than-life statues from the Old Kingdom, including:

- a) A head made of pink granite, 54.3 cm high, from an unknown location. It is believed to date from the end of the Third Dynasty to the reign of Menkaure since it resembles the features of the statues of Djoser and Khufu. This piece is preserved in the Brooklyn Museum under the inventory number 46.167. The head belongs to a larger-than-life statue, with a wide face, stern facial expressions, and deep lines around the mouth. The king is depicted wearing the Upper Egypt crown. The cloak's upper edge appears below the neck, and this cloak was used during the Sed Festival. The statue is not polished, and remnants of white paint can be seen on the crown. The identity of the statue's owner is not definitively known. Some attribute it to King Huni, while others ascribe it to one of the Fourth Dynasty kings, possibly Khufu.<sup>81</sup>
- b) In the valley temple of Menkaure at Giza, an alabaster statuette, 234.8 cm high, was found and is preserved in the Metropolitan Museum. The king is depicted seated on a throne without a backrest, wearing the nemes headdress with a cobra, the striped straight beard attached to the nemes with two straps, and the shendyt-kilt. The statue includes a black ink mustache. The arms rest on the knees, with the right hand clenched over a handkerchief and the left hand open. The statue was restored, with most parts completed.<sup>82</sup>
- c) A pink granite head of a statue was found in the colonnaded courtyard of the funerary temple of Userkaf at Saqqara,<sup>83</sup> 75 cm high. This head belonged to a statue that was approximately 5m high, making the head three times larger than its natural size. It is now preserved in the Egyptian Museum at Cairo JE 52501.

The king is depicted wearing the nemes without detailed features and the cobra.<sup>45</sup> The eyes and eyebrows are slightly prominent, and it is believed the statue represented a seated figure.

Accordingly, larger-than-life statues were somewhat known during the Old Kingdom, but their size did not exceed 5 meters. Therefore, the statues of Biahmu are considered the largest in size up until the Middle Kingdom.

## Sitting on the throne with hands spread out on the knees

This posture shows the king in his statue seated on the throne, with arms bent and hands spread out on the knees. Before the reign of this king, Amenemhat III, it was customary for the right hand to be clenched. Spreading both hands was an innovation during his reign, and this posture continued until the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty.<sup>5</sup> It seems that this innovative form first appeared during the Twelfth Dynasty in a limestone statue of Amenemhat III, 160 cm high, which was discovered during the digging of the Wahbi Canal at Hawara.<sup>80</sup> It was placed in his pyramid complex at the same area and is preserved in the Egyptian Museum CG 385.<sup>2</sup> The king is depicted seated on a chair with a short backrest, wearing an amulet, and the royal insignia appear in the statue, represented by the royal headdress known as the nemes, the cobra, the amulet, and the royal kilt known as the shendyt (Figure 21). Attached to it and hanging between the king's legs is the tail of an animal, perhaps a bull.<sup>84</sup> The hands are spread out on the knees<sup>43</sup> in a gesture of respect, reverence, and devotion.<sup>56</sup> The ears are large, symbolizing heightened awareness, alertness, and readiness to maintain the security, stability, and borders of the country he inherited from his father. The smile on the face reflects satisfaction with the prosperous economic situation of the country during his reign.<sup>80</sup> The presence of the smile and the reduction of wrinkles and frowning may indicate that the statue was sculpted at the beginning of the king's reign to represent him as a young man.<sup>85,86</sup>

## Naos statues

This style depicts the king in his statue sculpted inside a naos. It seems that this form appeared during the Twelfth Dynasty in two naos statues of King Amenemhat III made from pink granite, measuring 220 cm high, which were found near the southern side of his pyramid at Hawara.<sup>87</sup> One statue is preserved in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo JE 43289 (Figure 22), while the other is in Copenhagen at the Ny Carlsberg Museum No. 148241 (Figure 23). Each naos contains two curved statues. Both statues portray the King standing with royal symbols and dress.<sup>88</sup> The lower right part of the Copenhagen statue is missing, and there are no inscriptions identifying the owners of the statues. It is possible that both statues represent the same person, Amenemhat III, depicted as king of Upper Egypt with the nemes headdress and as king of Lower Egypt with the khat headdress, or portrayed as a king with outstretched arms in a worshipful pose and a deity holding the ankh.<sup>7</sup> Alternatively, the statues may represent King Amenemhat III with his father King Senusret III or his son King Amenemhat IV, in which case he is shown granting him life and depicted as his regent. It appears that the carving of this group belongs to the period of joint rule between the two kings.<sup>5</sup>

## Offering the ankh

This pose shows the king in his statue standing while holding the ankh, symbol of life, and attempting to present it to the adjacent king. This posture first appeared during the Twelfth Dynasty in the two previous red granite naos statues of Amenemhat III (Figures 22&23).

In each naos, the king is carved standing on the left with his right arm bent against his body and holding the ankh in his right hand, trying to offer it to the neighboring king.<sup>89</sup> It is noticeable that from the time of Amenemhat III onward, holding the ankh was no longer exclusive to the gods; the kings shared this practice as well.<sup>5</sup>

### The King in the form of the Nile god presenting an offering basket

This scene depicts the king in his statue in the guise of the Nile god, presenting an offering basket. It appears that this representation emerged during the Twelfth Dynasty in three groups. Each group consists of two twin statues carved from a single block, portraying King Amenemhat III made of black granite. These were found in Tanis. Two groups are in the Egyptian Museum CG 392 and CG 531,<sup>41</sup> measuring 160 cm and 30 cm, one of which is damaged, while the third is in the Rome Museum under catalog number 8607. The presence of the cobra on the Rome group indicates the royal ownership of the piece.<sup>5</sup> Each statue portrays the king appearing twice, symbolizing either the King of Upper Egypt and the King of Lower Egypt, the king and his ka, the king as a mortal and as a god,<sup>90</sup> the king and his father,<sup>91</sup> the king and his successor sharing the rule,<sup>19</sup> the king in the guise of the swamp deity,<sup>12</sup> or the king in the form of the Nile gods, Hapy of the South and Hapy of the North. The statues depict the king standing with his left leg forward, wearing a wig and a strange beard associated with enemies and captives, while each figure presents a basket filled with fish surrounded by Nile plants, symbolizing the gifts and blessings of the Nile for all the Egyptians gods, kings, and people (Figure 24). The twin statue has lost some of its parts.<sup>43</sup> It was moved from its original location to Tanis and was appropriated by King Psusennes I.<sup>12</sup> Initially, scholars attributed these statues to one of the Hyksos kings due to their unusual representation. However, Engelbach believes these statues were sculpted for King Amenemhat III based on stylistic features.<sup>92</sup>



Figure 24 Statue of Amenemhat III, black granite, Tanis, Egyptian museum

(Source: Photo by the author).

### Wearing a wig with large braids

In this depiction, the king is shown in his statue wearing a triple wig with large braids that extend down to chest level. This wig is unique among kings, as it is associated with King Amenemhat III and appears in his granite group statues in the form of the Nile god offering a basket of offerings from Tanis. They are now preserved in the Egyptian Museum CG 392, 531 and the Rome Museum 8607,<sup>5</sup> above-mentioned (Figures 24,25 &26). The thick wig with large braids points to features associated with archaic gods from the Early Dynastic Period. It combines both masculine and feminine traits.<sup>93</sup>



Figure 25 Statue of Amenemhat iii, black granite, Tanis, Egyptian museum.

(Source: Photo by the author).

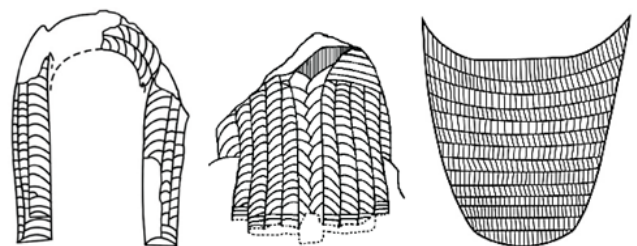


Figure 26 Line drawing of the wig and beard of statue of Amenemhat III, black granite, Tanis, Egyptian museum.

### Wearing a wide and thick beard

In this depiction, the king is shown in his statue wearing a broad and thick beard with parallel lines. This beard is unique among kings, as it is associated with King Amenemhat III and appears in his granite statues in the form of the Nile god offering a basket of offerings from Tanis, now preserved in the Egyptian Museum CG 392, 531<sup>72</sup>, above-mentioned (Figures 24&26). The broad beard with parallel lines suggests features associated with archaic gods from the Early Dynastic Period.<sup>2,19</sup>

## Advancing the right leg forward

In this posture, the king is shown in his statue standing with his right leg advanced forward, contrary to the usual traditions and conventions of Egyptian art, where the left leg is typically advanced. It appears that this posture first appeared during the Twelfth Dynasty, in a double statue of King Amenemhat III preserved in the Egyptian Museum CG 392, showing him in the form of two Nile gods offering a basket of offerings, as above-mentioned (Figure 25). In this statue, the right leg of the figure on the left was advanced to achieve symmetry, balance, and stability for the statue.<sup>19</sup>

## The King in the form of a sphinx with a lion's thick and broad mane

This form shows the king in his statue as a sphinx with only the king's face, but featuring thick and broad hair, along with the ears and head of a lion. This form differs from the representation of the sphinx with the body of a lion and the full head of the king (not just the face), which first appeared in the reign of Djedefre in the statue located in the Louvre Museum E 12626,<sup>45,66</sup> where the lion's mane replaced the nemes headdress. It also differs from the form of the sphinx with the body of a lion, the king's face, and a light and slender mane, as seen in a statue of King Merenre I preserved at the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow.<sup>94</sup> A fragment of stone, part of the head of a statue of either King Amenemhat II<sup>52</sup> or Senusret II,<sup>85,95</sup> in the form of a sphinx with a lion's mane, was found in Matariya and is now preserved in the Berlin Museum 22580. However, it lacks sufficient details to determine whether the lion's mane resembles that in the statue of Merenre or those of Amenemhat III. If the latter is the case, this would be the earliest example of a lion's mane with thick and broad hair in such statues. The oldest complete and well-preserved example of a sphinx statue with thick and broad lion's hair dates back to the reign of Amenemhat III. Thirteen statues of this kind exist, made of black granite, limestone, and obsidian, with average dimensions of 150 cm in height, 225 cm in length, and 75 cm in width. Eight of these were discovered in Tanis,<sup>41</sup> while the rest were found in Tell Basta and El- Kab. Some of them are preserved in the Egyptian Museum CG 394, CG 393, CG 391, CG 530+1243[1], CG 1243[2], JE 37468, JE 37469, RT 8/2/21/3, RT 8/2/21/4, while others are held in Munich ÄS 7132, ÄS 7133 and the British Museum EA 65506.<sup>5</sup> These statues show the king in the form of a sphinx (Figure 27), characterized by the body of a reclining lion and the lion's head (ears and mane), except for the face, which shows the king's face with a straight beard and topped with the royal cobra (or uraeus).<sup>96</sup> This form seems to enhance the expression of the king's invincible power and authority.<sup>90</sup> These statues were relocated from their original site to Tanis and were subsequently appropriated multiple times by erasing the original owner's name and inscribing the names of later kings on the base and body of the statues.<sup>12</sup> The usurpers included King Apophis from the Second Intermediate Period, King Ramesses II, King Merneptah of the Nineteenth Dynasty, and King Psusennes I of the Twenty-First Dynasty.<sup>92</sup> Due to this unusual form, some Egyptologists attributed the statue to foreign occupiers.<sup>25</sup> However, scholars have been able to determine its original owner as King Amenemhat III, based on the artistic features of these statues.<sup>90,92,97,98</sup>

## The King in a priestly form, holding the standard

This representation shows the king in his statue standing in a priestly form, wearing a leopard skin and holding two long standards as tall as his body, which are attached to him and topped with a symbol

of the deity. It seems that this appearance first appeared during the Twelfth Dynasty in a granite statue of King Amenemhat III, standing 100 cm high, from Mit or Kiman Faris, housed in the Egyptian Museum CG 395.<sup>41</sup> Only the upper part of the statue remains, showing the king wearing an unusual wig, a beard, a leopard skin, and a menat necklace.<sup>25,43</sup> Wearing the leopard skin was indicative of the priestly attire and the king's role as a priest of the deity. It also represented his right to inherit the throne, legitimizing his reign, and symbolized resurrection and immortality.<sup>80</sup> Some Egyptologists have attributed the statue to the Hyksos, but based on artistic features, the statue belongs to the realistic school characterized by a grim demeanor, frowning expressions, and wrinkles akin to statues of Amenemhat III.<sup>7</sup> However, the features are less severe and less wrinkled than those of his father. The king carries two standards topped with a falcon's head, symbolizing the deities Horus, Soker, and Ra-Horakhty (Figure 28). The standards bearing the deity's symbol highlight the king's role as a priest in the service of the deity and as a mediator between the deity and humans.<sup>2</sup> This statue is considered the earliest example of statues carrying the standard topped with a deity symbol,<sup>19</sup> which became more associated with the New Kingdom.<sup>99</sup>



Figure 27 Sphinx statue of Amenemhat iii, black granite, Tanis, Egyptian museum.

(Source: Photo by the author).



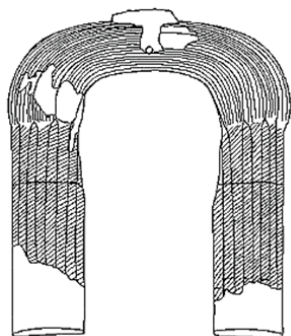
Figure 28 Upper part of statue of Amenemhat III, black granite, kiman faris, Egyptian museum.

(Source: Photo by the author).

## Wearing the dense triple wig

In this form, the king appears in his statue wearing a triple wig with a dense and robust central part. Its strands start very wide at

the top and transition near the eyes into much narrower rings. The wig extends over the chest from the top of the shoulders and down the back of the neck. Some Egyptologists attribute this style to the Early Dynastic Period, while others believe it has Libyan origins.<sup>80</sup> It was unique to kings and is associated with King Amenemhat III, as it appears in his granite statue from Kiman Faris, preserved in the Egyptian Museum CG 395, as previously mentioned (Figures 28& 29). The wig also appeared in depictions of deities in the Early Dynastic Period.<sup>5</sup>



**Figure 29** Line drawing of the wig of statue of Amenemhat iii, black granite, kiman faris, Egyptian museum.

### The king seated on the throne holding an offering table or basin on his knees

This position shows the king in his statue seated on the throne, holding an offering table or basin on his knees with his hands. It appears that this posture first appeared during the Twelfth Dynasty in two statues of King Amenemhat III made of limestone. These statues were discovered in the temple at Medinet Madi, which was dedicated to the worship of gods Sobek, Isis, and Renenutet. One of these statues was preserved in the Egyptian Museum JE 66322 and was later moved to the Beni Suef Museum B 1611.<sup>80</sup> The other statue is preserved in the Egyptian Museum at Castello Sforzesco in Milan, Italy E0.9.40001.<sup>100</sup> The king is shown seated on a throne with a short backrest, wearing the nemes headdress, the cobra, and the shendyt kilt, holding the offering basin on his knees with his hands (Figure 30). It is thought that these statues were placed at the entrance to the temple's hall of columns.<sup>101</sup>



**Figure 30** Statue of Amenemhat iii, limestone, medinet madi, beni suef museum.

(Source: Photo by the author).

### The double sphinx statue

This statue shows the king in the form of a double sphinx, where there is a dual statue of two sphinxes side by side in a single stone block, featuring the face of the king and the lion's mane. It seems that this double form first appeared during the Twelfth Dynasty in a black granite statue of Amenemhat III, 90 cm in length and 66 cm high (Figure 31). The statue was discovered in the Temple of Tell Basta and is preserved in the Egyptian Museum JE 87082.<sup>52</sup> It is believed to have been sculpted during the co-regency of Amenemhat III with his father Senusret III and represents both kings.<sup>91</sup>



**Figure 31** Double sphinx statue of Amenemhat iii, black granite, tell basta Egyptian museum.

(Source: Haney LS. Visualizing coregency: an exploration of the link between royal image and co-rule during the reign of Senwosret III and Amenemhat III, Ph Dissertation. Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV; 2020: pl. xxviii).

### A quintuple group statue

This pose shows the king in his statue accompanied by four deities, differing from the triads of King Menkaure and the remnants of Djoser's statue in the Heb-Sed temple. Menkaure's triad featured three figures, while Djoser's included four, but here, the group consists of five figures (Figure 32). It appears that this quintuple statue first emerged during the Twelfth Dynasty in a statue of King Amenemhat III made of red granite, located at its site in Hawara.<sup>5</sup> This statue was housed in a chamber of the king's mortuary temple.<sup>69</sup>



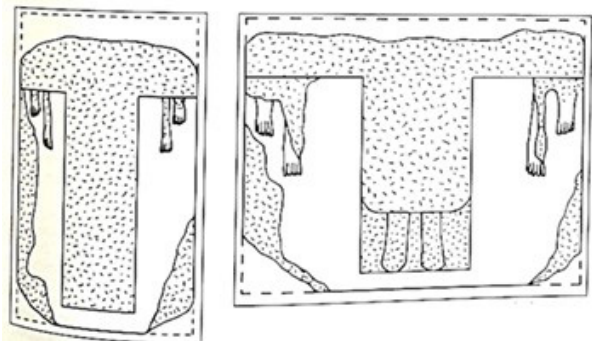
**Figure 32** Remains of statue of Amenemhat III, red granite, Hawara.

(Source: Haney, Visualizing coregency, pl. xxxii).

### The appearance of two successive kings together

This pose shows two successive kings together in a single statue. This form appears to have emerged during the Twelfth Dynasty in several statues of King Amenemhat III, such as the king represented

as the Nile gods offering a basket of offerings, the previously mentioned double sphinx statue (Figures 24&31), and a damaged double statue preserved in the Egyptian Museum JE 66322,<sup>102</sup> as well as in the Milan Museum RAN E0.9.40001. Additionally, remnants of three triads from the Medinet Madi temple depict Amenemhat III, Amenemhat IV, and one of the deities of Fayoum, such as Sobek or Renenutet (Figure 33).<sup>103</sup>



**Figure 33** Remains of group statue of Amenemhat III, Amenemhat IV, and one of the deities of Fayoum, Medinet Madi.

(Source: Seidel M. Die königlichen statuengruppen I, Die denkmäler vom alten reich bis zum ende der 18. dynastie, Hildesheim: Gerstenberg; 1996: figs. 29, 30.).

### Showing the King celebrating the Sed festival with family members beside him

The statue shows the king, wearing the Heb-Sed festival robe, holding the crook (heka) and flail (nekhekh), and accompanied by two princesses, one on his right and the other on his left. It seems that this depiction showing family members participating with the king in celebrating the Heb-Sed festival first appeared during the Twelfth Dynasty in a black granite statue of Amenemhat III. This statue was discovered in Kom el-Hisn and is now preserved in the Egyptian Museum JE 43104.<sup>104</sup> The king is depicted seated, wearing a long robe with his arms crossed over his chest, holding the crook and flail. Two standing princesses wearing long tight-fitting garments and with their arms extended alongside their bodies flank him, with their hands open (Figure 34). Ramses II later reused this statue.<sup>5,104,105</sup>



**Figure 34** Group statue of Amenemhat III family members, black granite, kom el-hisn, Egyptian museum.

(Source: Haney, Visualizing coregency, pl. xxxvii).

### Wearing Amun's crown

The statue shows the king wearing the crown of the chief Theban deity Amun on his head. It seems that this style first appeared during the Twelfth Dynasty in a statue of King Amenemhat III preserved in the Egyptian Museum RT 13/4/22/9.<sup>106</sup> Additionally, a head of a broken statue of King Amenemhat III made of black granite, measuring 10 cm, was found at Hu. It is now preserved in the Philadelphia Museum E 6623 (Figure 35). The crown is adorned with a cobra.<sup>107</sup> It is noticeable that Amun was the main deity of the Twelfth Dynasty, as the founder of this dynasty came from Thebes, and some of the dynasty's kings included Amun in their names.



**Figure 35** Head of statue of Amenemhat III, black granite, Philadelphia museum.

(Source: Haney, Visualizing coregency, pl. xlix).

### Conclusion

The study of the statues of Middle Kingdom kings reveals the following:

- Some royal statues from the Middle Kingdom emulated the traditional styles of Old Kingdom statues, imitating their insignias, postures, and forms. This imitation illustrates the extent to which the Middle Kingdom was influenced by the Old Kingdom, a phenomenon also observed in the New Kingdom, which was influenced by both the Old and Middle Kingdoms. Such imitation served as a way to connect with the grandeur of the past, and relocating the capital from Thebes to Lisht near Memphis played a role in this artistic imitation and the influence of Old Kingdom art.
- Other statues from the Middle Kingdom introduced artistic styles, postures, and features that differed from their Old Kingdom counterparts. These innovative and new features appeared for the first time in the Middle Kingdom and became prevalent later in the New Kingdom. These new styles were aimed at innovation, change, and renewal, seeking variety in royal robes, insignias, postures, and forms. Alternatively, the emergence of these new styles may have been the result of ideological, cultural, or intellectual transformations, or they may have stemmed from local artistic traditions and styles known in Thebes, the native land of the Middle Kingdom kings, which were unfamiliar in Memphis.
- Around thirty-nine postures, features, and insignias were identified as appearing for the first time during this period. These newly introduced forms and insignias are:

1. Standing with arms crossed over the chest and hands empty and clenched: Appeared during the reign of Montuhotep II.
2. Sitting with arms crossed on the chest and hands empty and clenched: Appeared during the reign of Montuhotep II.
3. Standing alone with joint legs: Appeared during the reign of Montuhotep II.
4. The connection of the cobra with the Upper Egypt crown: Appeared during the reign of Montuhotep II. It seems logical for the cobra to appear with the crown of Upper Egypt during Montuhotep II's reign, as it symbolizes the north. This king unified Egypt, controlled the north, and adopted its symbols, such as the red crown and the cobra. Notably, the cobra does not appear with the Delta crown alone in either the Old or Middle Kingdoms.
5. The king wearing robe that reveals only his head and hands (the Osirian form): Appeared during the reign of Montuhotep III. Consequently, statues predating this king, which show the king in a cloak showing his legs and hands on his chest, previously interpreted by some scholars as Osirian statues (like the statues of Khasekhemwy, Zoser, Pepy I, and all the statues of Montuhotep II), are in fact representations of the king celebrating the Heb-Sed jubilee, not Osirian statues.
6. The multi-coiled cobra: Likely appeared during Montuhotep III's reign if the head preserved in the Metropolitan Museum numbered 66.99.3 is reliably attributed to him. This feature is definitively seen in the statues of Twelfth Dynasty kings, starting with Amenemhat I, where the cobra's coils reached up to thirteen loops.
7. Standing in a size much larger than life-size: Appeared during the reign of Senusret I.
8. Holding ankh signs with both hands: Appeared during the reign of Senusret I.
9. Wearing the bull's tail: Appeared during the reign of Senusret I.
10. Decorating the throne with the gods of the Nile standing, unifying the country: Appeared during the reign of Senusret I.
11. Decorating the throne with Horus and Set standing, working to unify the country: Appeared during the reign of Senusret I.
12. Standing while holding the long crook (heka) in front of the body: Appeared during the reign of Senusret I.
13. Wearing the single amulet: Certainly appeared during the reign of Senusret II, and it is notable that it is associated with the nemes headdress.
14. Wearing the double amulet (with two lobes): Appeared during the reign of Senusret II.
15. Standing with arms extended on the kilt in a worshipful and respectful posture: First appeared during the reign of Senusret III, representing devotion and reverence, as though the king is in the presence of a deity or an ancestor king.
16. Wearing a triangular-shaped kilt with a decorated front band ending with two cobras: First appeared during the reign of Senusret III, often associated with statues showing the king standing with hands laid flat on the kilt in a posture of respect and worship.
17. Depicting the king as an elderly man: First appeared during the reign of Senusret III and continued during the reign of Amenemhat III.
18. Wearing the double crown: Appeared during the reign of Senusret III.
19. Decorating the double crown with the cobra: Appeared during the reign of Senusret III.
20. Standing and holding the Mekes and the handkerchief: Appeared during the reign of Senusret III.
21. The king standing, trampling the nine bows (enemies): Appeared during the reign of Senusret III.
22. Wearing the "khat" headdress: Appeared during the reign of Senusret III.
23. Sitting in a giant size: Appeared during the reign of Amenemhat III.
24. Sitting on the throne with hands spread out on the knees: Appeared during the reign of Amenemhat III.
25. Statues within a naos: Appeared during the reign of Amenemhat III.
26. Offering the ankh: Appeared during the reign of Amenemhat III.
27. The king in the form of Nile gods presenting an offering basket: Appeared during the reign of Amenemhat III.
28. Wearing a wig with large braids: Associated with the reign of Amenemhat III.
29. Wearing a wide and thick beard: Associated with the reign of Amenemhat III.
30. Advancing the right leg forward: Appeared during the reign of Amenemhat III.
31. The king in sphinx form with a lion's thick and broad mane: Appeared during the reign of Amenemhat III.
32. The king in a priestly form, holding the standard: Appeared during the reign of Amenemhat III.
33. Wearing the dense triple wig: Associated with the reign of Amenemhat III.
34. The king seated on the throne holding an offering table or basin on his knees: Appeared during the reign of Amenemhat III.
35. The double sphinx statue: Appeared during the reign of Amenemhat III.
36. The quintuple group statue: Appeared during the reign of Amenemhat III.
37. The appearance of two successive kings together: Began appearing during the reign of Amenemhat III.
38. Showing the king celebrating the Sed festival with family members beside him: Appeared during the reign of Amenemhat III.
39. Wearing Amun's crown: Appeared during the reign of Amenemhat III.
- d) Innovations in royal statues of the Middle Kingdom began during the Eleventh Dynasty and were few. Most of the innovations came in the Twelfth Dynasty.
- e) King Amenemhat III is considered the most innovative in the forms and insignias of his statues, followed by Kings Senusret III, Senusret I, and Mentuhotep II. The abundance of innovations



during the reign of Senusret III and Amenemhat III seems to be due to their co-regency for a long period, during which they sought to express this shared period through sculpture. Thus, these diverse and creative dual statues were the best expression of the concept of shared rule. Furthermore, the idea of co-regency was new at the beginning of the dynasty and was not represented by any sculptures at the time. However, as the practice of co-regency continued, sculptors began to create statues that expressed this era and this custom.

- f) A single royal statue may include one or more new insignia, form, or dress.

## Acknowledgments

None.

## Conflicts of interest

The author declares no conflicts of interest.

## References

1. Franke D. Middle Kingdom. In: Redford D, editor. *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt II*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; 2001:393–400.
2. Bongioanni A, Sole Croce M. *The Illustrated Guide to the Egyptian Museum in Cairo*. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press; 2001.
3. Grimal N. *A History of Ancient Egypt*. New York: Barnes & Noble Books; 1997.
4. Vogel C. From Power to Reputation and vice versa: The Relationship between Thutmosis III and Senusret III reconsidered. In: Bács T, Beinlich H, editors. *8. Symposium Zur Ägyptischen Königsideologie/ 8th Symposium on Egyptian Royal Ideology: Constructing Authority, Prestige, Reputation and the Perception of Power in Egyptian Kingship. Budapest, May 12–14, 2016*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag; 2017:267–280.
5. Haney LS. *Visualizing Coregency: An Exploration of the Link between Royal Image and Co-Rule during the Reign of Senwosret III and Amenemhet III*, Ph Dissertation. Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV; 2020.
6. Ossian C. Sandstone. In: Redford D, editor. *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt III*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; 2001:174–176.
7. Omran, RMM. *Statues of Kings and Individuals in Middle Egypt in the Middle Kingdom*, Ph Dissertation in Arabic (unpublished). Fayoum: Fayoum University (Egypt); 2007.
8. Connor S. Sculpture Workshops: who, where and for whom? In: Miniaci G, García J, Quirke S, Stauder A, editors. *The Arts of Making in Ancient Egypt*. Leiden: Sidestone Press; 2018:11–30.
9. Connor S. Stones and Statues: Symbolism and Hierarchy in the Late Middle Kingdom. *International Congress of Egyptologists XI, Florence (Italy), August 23rd – 30th 2015, Museo Egizio Firenze, Florence Egyptian Museum, Paper and Poster Abstracts*. Florence: Livorno; 2015:30.
10. Bryan B. Towards the Contexts of Statuary from the Mut Temple in Thebes. In: *Abstracts: Statues in Contexts Production, Meaning and (re)uses, The Annual Egyptology Colloquium, Wednesday 13 July and Thursday 14 July 2016*. London: British Museum; 2016:1.
11. Hartwig M. Sculpture. In: Hartwig M, editor. *A Companion to Ancient Egyptian Art, Blackwell Companions to Art History Series*. Boston & Oxford: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd; 2015:192–218.
12. Hill M. Later Life of Middle Kingdom Monuments Interrogating Tanis. In: Oppenheim A, Arnold D, Arnold, D, Yamamoto K, editors. *Ancient Egypt Transformed the Middle Kingdom*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; 2015:294–305.
13. British Museum. Dept. of Egyptian Antiquities, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae in the British Museum II*. London: Trustees of the British Museum; 1912.
14. Fay B. Thoughts on the Sculpture of Sesostri I and Amenemhat II inspired by the Meket-re Study Day. In: Miniaci G, Grajetzki W, editors. *The World of Middle Kingdom, Egypt (2000–1550 BC) I. MKS 1*, London: Golden House Publications; 2015:81–84.
15. Brandl H. Late Middle Kingdom or Late Period? Re-Considering the “Realistic” Statue Head, Munich ÄS 1622. In: Miniaci and Grajetzki, *The World of Middle Kingdom*, 43–56.
16. Lorand D. The ‘Four Schools of Art’ of Senwosret I: Is It Time for a Revision? In: Kóthay K, editor. *Art and Society: Ancient and Modern Contexts of Egyptian Art: proceedings of the International Conference held at the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, 13–15 May 2010*. Budapest: Museum of Fine Arts; 2012:47–55.
17. Connor S. Who destroyed them and why? Killing Egyptian Statues. In: *Abstracts: Statues in Contexts Production, Meaning and (re)uses, The Annual Egyptology Colloquium, Wednesday 13 July and Thursday 14 July 2016*. London: British Museum; 2016:3–4.
18. Fay B. Let the Old Kingdom end and the Middle Kingdom begin!. In: Hudáková L, Jánosi P, and Kahlbacher A, editors. *Change and Innovation in Middle Kingdom Art, MKS 4*. London: Golden House Publications; 2016:19–36.
19. Freed R. Sculpture of the Middle Kingdom. In: Lloyd A, editor. *A Companion to Ancient Egypt II*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd; 2010:882–912.
20. Freed R. An Addition to the Corpus of Statuary of Amenemhet I. In: Jasnow R, Cooney KM, editors. *Joyful in Thebes: Egyptological Studies in Honor of Betsy M. Bryan*, Atlanta: Lockwood Press; 2015:131–144.
21. Oppenheim A, Arnold D, Yamamoto K. *Ancient Egyptian Transformed: Middle Kingdom*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; 2015.
22. Hayes WC. *The Scepter of Egypt I, A Background for the Study of the Egyptian Antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; 1953.
23. Lehner M. *The Complete Pyramids*. Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press; 2004.
24. Porter B, Moss R. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings II, Theban Temples*. Oxford: Clarendon Press; 1972.
25. Aldred C. *The Middle Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt*. London: A. Tiranti; 1950.
26. Pirelli R. Statue of Mentuhotep Nebhepetre. In: Tiradritti F, editor. *Egyptian Treasures from the Egyptian Museum in Cairo*. New York: Harry N. Abrams; 1999: 103–104.
27. Winlock H. *Excavations at Deir El Bahari 1911–1931*. New York: The Macmillan Company; 1942.
28. Dreyer G, Josephson, JA. Royal Sculpture of the Predynastic and Archaic Periods. *Journal of American Research Center in Egypt*. 2011;47:45–70.
29. Simpson WK. A Statuette of King Nyneter. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*. 1956;42(1):45–49.
30. Robins G. *The Art of Ancient Egypt*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press; 1997.
31. Winlock HE. The Egyptian Expedition 1925–1927: The Museum’s Excavations at Thebes. *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*. 1928;23(2):3–58.
32. Lorand D. Did the “reunification style” affect the production of Middle Kingdom royal statuary production? *Change and Innovation in Middle Kingdom Art*. 2016:83–94.

33. Yoshimura S, Kawai N, Kashiwagi H. A Sacred Hillside at Northwest Saqqara: A Preliminary Report on the Excavations 2001–2003. *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*. 2005;61:390–396.
34. Hawass Z, El Saddik W, Yoshimura S, Kawai N. *Excavating in Egypt for 40 Years, Waseda University Expeditions 1966–2006*. Tokyo: Waseda University; 2008.
35. Naville E. *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir El-Bahari I*. London and Boston, MA: Sold at the offices of the Egypt Exploration Fund. 1907.
36. Porter B, Moss R. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings V, Upper Egypt: Sites*. Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum; 1974.
37. Osiride Statue of King Mentuhotep III, re-inscribed for King Merenptah. *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*. 2025.
38. Sourouzian H. Sculpture, Pharaonic Egypt. In: Bagnall R, Brodersen K, Champion C, Erskine A, Huebner S, editors. *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History*. Oxford: Wiley; 2013.
39. Head of a King, Possibly Seankhkare Mentuhotep III, Middle Kingdom. *The Metropolitan Museum of Art*. ca. 2000–1988 B.C.
40. Lauffray J, Sauneron S, Traunecker C. La tribune du quai de Karnak et sa favissa. *Compte rendu des fouilles menées en 1971-1972 (2e campagne). Karnak*. 1975;5:43–76.
41. Porter B, Moss R. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings IV, Lower and Middle Egypt*. Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum; 1968.
42. Verner M. *The Pyramids: The Mystery, Culture, and Science of Egypt's Great Monuments*. New York: Grove Press; 2001.
43. Borchardt L. *Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire Nos 1–1294, Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum von Kairo II, Text und Tafeln zu Nr.381–653*. Berlin: Reichsdruckerei; 1925.
44. Gautier JE, Jequier G. *Fouilles de Lichte*. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale. 1902.
45. Smith W. *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom*. Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Harvard University Press and Oxford University Press. 1946.
46. Tiradritti F. *The Illustrated Guide to the Egyptian Museum in Cairo*. Vercelli: Vmb Publishers, an imprint of White Star. 2003.
47. Soleiman S. *Encyclopedia of Ancient Egyptian Antiquities II, Antiquities of the Middle Kingdom I, Architecture and Arts of Kings and Individuals*. Damietta: Nancy Library (Arabic). 2018.
48. Johnson SB. Two Wooden Statues from Lisht: Do They represent Sesostri I?. *Journal of American Research Center in Egypt*. 1980; 17:11–20.
49. Abou Bakr GA. *Minor Pharaonic Arts*. Cairo: Anglo-Egyptian Bookshop; (Arabic). 2013.
50. Elsharnouby R. The Middle Kingdom Seated Royal Statues Reused By King Ramses II. *International Journal of Tourism and Hospitality Management*. 2018;1(2):61–97.
51. Fay B. Amenemhat V - Vienna/Assuan. *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*. 1980; 44: 67–77.
52. Fay B. *The Louvre sphinx and royal sculpture from the reign of Amenemhat II*. Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern; 1996.
53. Brigitte, JD. *Statuen des mittleren reichs und der 18. dynastie*. Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum. Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern; 1987.
54. Naville E. *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir El-Bahari III*. London, Boston, Mass: Sold at the offices of the Egypt. 1913.
55. British Museum. Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities. *A guide to the Egyptian collections in the British Museum*. London: order of the Trustees; 1909.
56. Connor S. Développement stylistique et « ateliers ». La sculpture du Moyen Empire tardif. In: Hudáková L, Jánosi P. and Kahlbacher A, editors. *Change and Innovation in Middle Kingdom Art, MKS 4*. London: Golden House Publications; 2016: 1–17.
57. Smith W. *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt*. London: Harmondsworth, Middlesex, Penguin Books. 1958.
58. *Luxor Museum of Ancient Egyptian Art*. Cairo: Egyptian Antiquities Organization, Arab Republic of Egypt. 1978.
59. Legrain G. *Statues et Statuettes de Rois et de Particuliers I*. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale. 1906.
60. Barbotin C, Coquinot Y, Camagna SP. La “tête Salt”: un chef-d'œuvre de la sculpture égyptienne du Moyen Empire. *RevLouvre*. 2012; 1:34–45.
61. Russman ER, Finn D. *Egyptian sculpture: Cairo and Luxor*. Austin: University of Texas Press; 1989.
62. El-Shahawy A, Atiya F. *The Egyptian museum in Cairo, a walk through the alleys of ancient Egypt*. 2010.
63. Grimal, N. Les ancêtres de Karnak. *Comptes rendus de l'académie des inscriptions et Belles-lettres*. 2010;154:343–370.
64. Jambon E. La cachette de karnak. *Étude analytique et essais d'interprétation. Bibliothèque d'Étude*. 2016; 161:89–129.
65. Wildung D. *Sesostris und Amenemhet: Agypten im Mittleren Reich*. Munich: Hirmer; 1984.
66. Porter B, Moss R. *Topographical bibliography of ancient egyptian hieroglyphic texts, reliefs, and paintings iii, memphis i. Abû Rawâsh to Abûsîr*. Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum; 1974.
67. Hassan S. *Excavations at Giza 1936–1938 IX*. Cairo: Antiquities Department of Egypt; 1960.
68. Ziegler Ch. King Menkaure and a queen. In: Various Authors, *The Metropolitan museum of art, Egyptian art in the age of the pyramids*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art; 1999, 268–271.
69. Seidel M. *Die königlichen statuengruppen i, die denkmäler vom alten reich bis zum ende der 18. Hildesheim: Gerstenberg*; 1996.
70. Quibell JE. *Excavations at saqqara (1906–1907)*. cairo: institut français d'archéologie orientale; 1908.
71. Wildung D. *L'age d'or de l'egypte: le moyen empire*. paris: presses universitaires de france; 1984.
72. Freed R. Another look at the sculpture of amenemhat iii. *Revue d'Égyptologie*. 2002; 53:103–135.
73. Freed R. Un autre regard sur la sculpture d'amenemhat iii. *Bulletin de la Société française d'Égyptologie; Réunions trimestrielles, Communications archéologiques*. 2001;151:11–34.
74. El-Shahawy A. *Luxor museum, the glory of ancient thebes*. cairo: farid atiya press; 2005.
75. Delange E. *Les fouilles françaises d'éléphantine (assouan). 1906–1911: les archives clermont-ganneau et clédât*, Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres/De Boccard; 2012.
76. Habachi L. *Elephantine iv, the sanctuary of heqaib*. Mainz am Rhein: P. von Zabern; 1985.
77. Mogensen M. *La Collection Égyptienne I*. Ny Carlsberg: Levin und Munksgaard; 1930.
78. Habachi L. The monument of Biahmu. *Annals du Services der Antiquités de l'Égypte*. 1940;40:721–732.

79. Hirsch E. *Kultpolitik und Tempelbauprogramme der 12. Dynastie: Untersuchungen zu den Gottertempeln im alten Ägypten*. Berlin: Achet Verlag; 2004.
80. Abdelmaqsoud E. *A study of the arts [sculpture -engraving - painting - minor arts] in Fayoum during the periods of prosperity in ancient Egypt up to the end of the new kingdom*. MA dissertation in Arabic (unpublished) Giza: Cairo University (Egypt); 1990.
81. Fazzini R, Bianchi R, Romano J, et al. *Ancient Egyptian art in the Brooklyn Museum*. Brooklyn: Brooklyn NY; 1989.
82. Colossal statue of King Menkaura (Mycerinus)
83. Porter B, Moss R. *Topographical bibliography of ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic texts, reliefs, and paintings iii, Memphis ii, Saqqāra to Dahshūr*. Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum; 1978.
84. Delange E. *Catalogues des statues égyptiennes du Moyen Empire 2060-1560 avant J.-C.* Paris: Ministère de la culture et de la communication; 1987.
85. Evers HG. *Staat aus dem Stein, Denkmäler, Geschichte und Bedeutung der ägyptischen Plastik während des Mittleren Reichs I*. München: F. Bruckmann; 1929.
86. Vandier J. *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne III*. Paris: A. et J. Picard; 1952.
87. Polz F. Die Bildnisse Sesostris' III und Amenemhets III: bemerkungen zur königlichen Rundplastik der späten 12. Dynastie. *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*. 1995;51:301–336.
88. Petrie WF, Wainwright GA, Mackay E. *The Labyrinth, Gerzeh and Mazghuneh*. London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt; 1912.
89. Uphill EP. *Pharaoh's gateway to eternity: the Hawara Labyrinth of King Amenemhet III*. London: Kegan Paul International; 2000.
90. Saleh M, Sourouzian H. *The Egyptian Museum Cairo: Official Catalogue*. Mainz: Phillip von Zabern; 1987.
91. Habachi L. The so-called Hyksos monuments reconsidered. *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur*. 1978; 6:79–92.
92. Engelbach R. The so-called Hyksos monuments. *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*. 1928;28:13–28.
93. Vittozzi GC. Amenemhat III a Roma. *Etudes et Travaux*. 2012;25:51–63.
94. Romano J. Sixth dynasty royal sculptures. In: Grimal N, editor. *Les critères de datation stylistiques de l'Ancien Empire*. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale; 1997:235–303.
95. Evers HG. *Staat aus dem Stein, Denkmäler, Geschichte und Bedeutung der ägyptischen Plastik während des Mittleren Reichs II*. München: F. Bruckmann; 1985.
96. Lange K, Hirmer M. *Egypt: Architecture, Sculpture, Painting in the Three Thousand Years*. New York: Phaidon Publishers Inc.; 1985.
97. Golenisheff W. Amenahā III et les sphinx de San. *Rec Trav*. 1893;15:131–136.
98. Schoske S. Ein mahnensphinx Amenemhets III: neuerwerbung der Münchener Ägyptischen Sammlung erweitert bestände des mittleren Reichs. *Antike Welt*. 1994;25:359.
99. Kraus M. Concerning standard bearing statues. *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur*. 1976;4:69–73.
100. Donadoni S. Nuovi testi di Medinet Madi. *Prolegomena*. 1952;1:3–14.
101. Laboury D. Le portrait royal sous Sésostri III et Amenemhat III: un défi pour les historiens de l'art égyptien. *Égypte, Afrique & Orient*. 2003;30:55–64.
102. Krysztof R. The iconography of the ear in statuary of Sesostris III and Amenemhat III. *Göttinger Miszellen*. 2004;202:85–95.
103. Fay B. Missing parts. In: Goring E, Reeves, N. & John Ruffle J. editors. *Chief of seers: Egyptian studies in memory of Cyril Aldred*. London: Kegan Paul International; 1997: 97–112.
104. Roth S. *Die Königsmutter des Alten Ägypten: von der Frühzeit bis zum Ende der 12. Dynastie*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz; 2001.
105. Stunkel, I., Royal women: ladies of the two lands. In: Oppenheim A, Arnold D, Yamamoto K. editors. *Ancient Egypt transformed the middle kingdom*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; 2015; 92–95.
106. Müller M. Egyptian aesthetics in the middle kingdom. In: Eyre CJ, editor. *Proceedings of the seventh international congress of Egyptologists, Cambridge 3-9 September 1995*. Leuven: Peeters; 1998: 785–792.
107. Connor S. *Images du pouvoir en Égypte à la fin du Moyen Empire et à la deuxième période intermédiaire*. Ph Dissertation. Bruxelles: Université Libre de Bruxelles (Belgium); 2014.