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A cast-off Egyptian royal from Amarna at Enkomi

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Abstract

This is the story of a remarkable statue associated with two of the most important cities of the ancient Eastern Mediterranean, Enkomi and Amarna. Made during the Amarna period of various materials, including bronze, it was at some point shattered in pieces, one of which ended up at Enkomi as scrap metal. From an Egyptian point of view, this work makes an impression through its high quality and association with the art of the Amarna period, its connection to the royal family, its symbolic value and the historical circumstances that led to its creation and destruction. From a Cypriot point of view, it stands out as one of the most important imports on the island, even if in a ruined condition.

Introduction*

The bronze fragment discussed here is of some importance for both Egyptian and Cypriot archaeology. It was found in 1960 at Enkomi (**Fig. 1**) and published in a brief note several years later (Courtois 1984: 35, no. 311, fig. 9.2, pl. I/3, not pl. III/3 as indicated). Karageorghis (1986: 46–51, fig. 3, pl. X.4) drew further attention to it, as did E. and J. Lagarde (1986: 68, pl. XVIII.10). Its excavation record is very imprecise. It was found in Quartier 3E (the Northeast sector of the town), at ‘point topographique 370, à 0,30 m de profondeur’. No stratigraphic observations are given and no associated finds are mentioned. Courtois suggested a date at the end of LC III, no doubt taking into consideration the stratigraphy of Enkomi and the latest possible date, especially as it was found close to the surface.

The object was made with the lost wax method. It is broken all around and has an irregular outline with rough edges, except for the lower left part that preserves a

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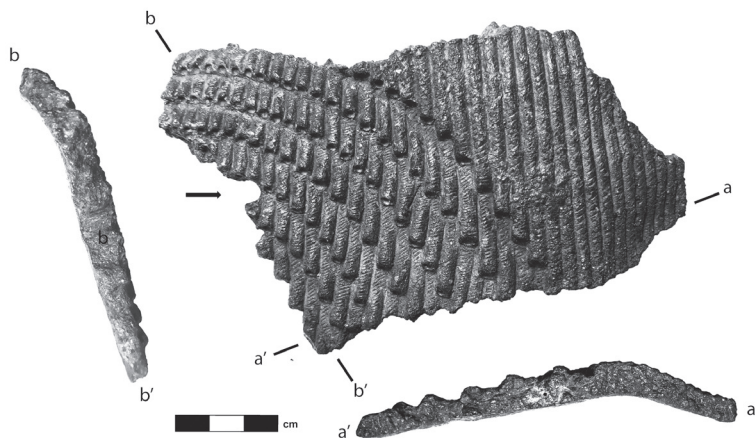


Figure 1. Fragment of a bronze wig from an Egyptian composite statue, found at Enkomi. Cyprus Museum ENK. Fr. Exc. Inv. No. 126, 1960 (front and section views); arrow indicating the perforation. Photos by the author with the permission of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus

stepped contour. It is held by the Cyprus Museum, Nicosia (ENK. Fr. Exc. Inv. No. 126, 1960). Its maximum width is 16cm and its maximum height 8cm. It is of substantial thickness, 0.7–1.2cm, and relatively heavy, at 648g. Its rear is plain, relatively uneven and slightly concave. It is somewhat corroded and covered with a dark green patina.

There can be no doubt that this fragment comes from the head of a statue and specifically from its wig, as recognised by Courtois (1984: 35). The surface is covered by orderly clusters of curls arranged in an arched outline. Six narrow layers of tubular braids overlap, radiating from a cap-like part covering the top of the head, itself equipped with longer, dense strip-curls. These layers extend over the forehead in an almost concentric arrangement and appear to continue down to frame the face in vertically arranged layers. The lowest row narrows towards the forehead and probably did not reach it (as Aldred 1973: 110, no. 24; Kozloff 1977: 289, fig. 3). On most examples, in the round or in relief, the hair coils tilt slightly towards the front (Figs 2–3). This was probably the case also on the Enkomi fragment. The braids are evenly covered with fine, densely-spaced, slightly oblique striations, made on the wax model. Each curl was separately modelled and carefully placed in high relief against a slab of wax that formed the inner wall of the head (Schorsch 2007a). The relief was then meticulously articulated with a sharp tool. The lower part of every coil is slightly hollowed out, an effect that creates additional depth and an interplay of light and shadow. An exact parallel appears in wood on a coffin from the late 18th Dynasty from Tomb 55 in the Valley of the Kings (hereafter KV 55) (Ertman 1995: 112, 114, pls III–IV). The Enkomi fragment would have covered the upper right part of the head (from a viewer's perspective) towards the forehead, the temple just above the right ear and a small section of the upper right part of the head (Fig. 3, right). To judge from iconographic parallels, the layers over the brow and at the side of the face would have continued with a curvature towards the back or fallen vertically to frame the face and neck, depending on whether it was a short or longer wig (see below).

Considerable force would be needed to break the complete bronze wig. The fragment is in fact described as intentionally flattened during breakage (Karageorghis 1986: 47; Schorsch 2007a: 33), but this is not the case. As evident in side view and on



Figure 2. Relief from Karnak on painted sandstone showing Nefertiti. The Cleveland Museum of Art, purchase from the J.H. Wade Fund 1976.4. Photo © The Cleveland Museum of Art

the rear, the part showing the overlapping strands in front is indeed relatively flat, but at the point where this section meets the longer curls from the top of the head the surface bends at an obtuse angle towards the rear (**Fig. 1**, section a–a'). This indicates the adjustment of the wax model to the curvature of the head. In addition, the upper part of the fragment on a vertical axis curves slightly inwards, to form the skullcap.

The style and quality of this piece affirm that the statue was made in Egypt (cf. Cenival 1986: 47–48; Karageorghis 1986: 47; Lagarce & Lagarce 1986: 68; Hill 2007a: 24; Schorsch 2007a: 33–34). It is not made of Cypriot copper, as ascertained by Lead Isotope Analysis, which suggests the use of copper from the Taurus Mountains (Karageorghis 1986: 49–50; Stos-Gale & Gale 2010: 394, table 2, 'Bronze statue G').

A view into Egypt

Cenival (1986: 47–49) promptly recognised the exceptional character of this find and stated that it has no parallels in metal. He was able, however, to identify it as part of a 'Nubian wig'. This hairstyle appeared during the latter part of the reign of Amenhotep III and became fashionable for both men and women of all social classes in the Amarna period and up to the end of the 18th Dynasty (Kozloff 1977: 290). It was still in fashion during the reigns of Tutankhamun, Ay and Horemheb, but became rarer in the 19th Dynasty and is found only sporadically under Sethi I (Aldred 1957: 142–144; Eaton-Kraus 1984: 504). On the basis of the hairstyle and the high quality of the fragment, Lagarce and Lagarce (1986: 68) concluded that the original statue must have represented the king himself or a member of the royal family of the Amarna period, or, less probably, an equivalent of the 19th or early 20th Dynasties.

The fragment undeniably comes from a statue of large dimensions (Hill 2007a: 24; Schorsch 2007a: 33). Cenival (1986: 48) estimated an original height between 1.20 and



Figure 3. Left: lid of an alabaster canopic jar in the shape of a head, Tomb KV 55. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Photo © The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Art Resource/Scala, Florence. Right: the Enkomi wig fragment adjusted on a rough digital image based on the canopic jars from the same tomb (lid not in scale, its size amended to fit that of the bronze fragment)

1.50m, considerably larger than any surviving Pharaonic bronze statue. The open, lengthwise curve of the fragment (**Fig. 1**, section a–a') certainly indicates that the wig was of a substantial size. These wigs often have a 'bushy appearance' (Aldred (1957: 142) and some examples are very voluminous, such as on the coffin of KV 55 (Ertman 1995: 112, 114, pls III–IV). Experiments to graphically place this fragment on Egyptian heads with the same hairstyle, such as the example chosen by Cenival (1986: 47–48, fig. 4) (**Fig. 3**), are not entirely conclusive, since this would be better done on three-dimensional representations. In any case they show that the statue would have been approximately of life size. This is supported by the observation that most statues constructed with the same technique in the same period (see below) were close to life-size or slightly smaller (Thompson 2012: 168).

The first hollow, large-size casts appeared in the late Middle Kingdom (Hill 2007b: 8–9). New Kingdom texts, paintings and reliefs also testify to the large number of metal statues of gods and kings in temple treasuries (Hill 2007a: 23–24). The Enkomi fragment does not, however, come from a statue cast entirely in bronze. Its lower left edge preserves the original stepped outline of the hair mass (**Fig. 1**), making it clear that there was no continuation of the bronze surface there. Cenival (1986: 49–49) thus ingeniously concluded that the fragment belonged to a category of Egyptian statuary called 'Composite' and cited examples of wigs in faience, stone and wood. This technique, amply represented at Amarna, refers to statues composed of separate body parts, often in different materials, which were assembled to form the figure.

In sum, the chronology and provenance of this find, its high artistic and technological quality, its association with large-scale, composite statues, its royal connotations and its relevance to the art of Amarna have all been recognised. What, then, remains to be said? To answer this question, we need to consider the Amarna period, its art and religious system, practices of desecrating sacred images and hoarding and, in particular, Egyptian hairstyles and symbols.

Akhenaten and Amarna: city, religion and art

The Amarna period occupies an immensely important interlude of 17 years in Egyptian history, that witnessed upheavals in theology, sociopolitical structures and art. Information for this period is primarily provided by dismantled buildings and shattered sculptures from the Karnak temple complexes and the new capital city of Amarna (see, recently, Kemp 2002; Chappaz & Vandenbeusch 2008; Gabolde 2010; Redford 2013; Dodson 2014).

The Pharaoh Akhenaten, son of Amenhotep III, began his reign in the mid-14th century BC, at a period of great prosperity, under the name Amenhotep IV (Redford 1984; Laboury 2010). The epigraphic and artistic evidence reveals a pioneer thinker, who overturned some of the age-old traditions of Pharaonic Egypt in the most radical way. Old Egyptian gods were persecuted, their images destroyed, their temples neglected and their cults terminated. Akhenaten replaced them with a new belief system, the most important aspect of which was the concept of a single god. This system united traditional Egyptian solar theology with a pervasive new concept of the light shining in the disc of the sun, called the *Aten* (Assmann 1995). Although at first this new god was portrayed as a falcon-headed man, in Amenhotep's IV third or fourth regnal year this image was discarded. From then on, the god was depicted only through the symbol of the sun disk (Laboury 2010: 126). Amenhotep IV declared that all deities but the Aten had ceased to exist (Redford 2013: 14–15), and in Year 5 began to attack inscriptions and images of other gods throughout the country, targeting in particular the divine family of Amun, Mut and Khonsu. At the same time, the king changed his name from Amenhotep ('Amun is Content') to Akhenaten, which probably means 'Effective for the Aten'. His queen's name also changed to Neferneferuaten Nefertiti, which means 'Beautiful Are The Beauties of the Aten, The Beautiful One Has Come' (Aldred 1980: 172–183; Allen 1996; Kemp 2002: 17–21; Bryan 2005: 369–373; Laboury 2010: 199–200).

One of Akhenaten's most radical decisions was to establish a place where Aten could be worshipped, free from previous human occupation or any other divine associations. Early in Year 5 of his reign, he chose for this purpose a desert plain on the east bank of the Nile in Middle Egypt, now known as Tell el-Amarna. Akhenaten called the place *Akhetaten*. The quantity and scale of buildings, sculptures and paintings used for the embellishment of this city must have been astounding. In 12 years perhaps as many as 20 or 30,000 people had come to live in the city (Kemp 2002: 271–272; Hanus 2012: 35–36). Akhenaten's experiment came to an end during the reign of Tutankhamun, who was probably his son. Within 20 years from the foundation of the city and following Akhenaten's death, people abandoned it. Somewhat later, gangs of workmen dismantled the stone temples and transported the blocks away for reuse (Kemp 2002: 17–21; Arnold 2012).

To communicate his ideas, Akhenaten instigated a novel style of art which left its imprint in the ruins of Amarna. The gods of Karnak were excluded from the new imagery (Assmann 1995; Hornung 1999; Bryan 2006: 369–373) and the emphasis on the royal couple and the proscription of divine images left Akhenaten and Nefertiti alone under the Aten's rays. There are many depictions of the royal family in paintings, reliefs and statues (Aldred 1973, 1980: 173–175; Allen 1996; Arnold 1996a, 2012: 148–150). For the latter, Amarna artists developed the technique of composite statues.

Composite statues

Sculptures of the Amarna period are among the masterpieces of Egyptian art and composite statues form an important group (Arnold 1996b: 52–65; Bodziony 2007: 1–2). They consist of separately made body parts, mainly of stone, which were assembled to form complete figures. Parts were attached on the tenon-and-mortise principle. Head and neck were carved together and equipped with a long tenon beneath the neck that was inserted into a matching opening in the torso. Gravity and weight worked to keep these parts in place. Yet another tenon was shaped on top of the head to accommodate the headgear, whether a crown or wig. Hands and feet were also fixed to the torso with tenons. The evidence consists largely of unfinished sculptural elements found at the estate of the ‘Chief Craftsman and Sculptor’ Thutmose at Amarna, made of quartzite, limestone or plaster. Most heads are life-size and several represent Nefertiti (Arnold 1996b; Seyfried 2012). No complete composite statues survive and not a single portion of a statue in which fragments remain attached to each other has been discovered (Phillips 2004: 212; Thompson 2012: 164).

The various parts of these statues could be made in contrasting materials. Yellow, red or brown quartzite was used for the hands, feet and heads; gray and black diorite and granodiorite for hair. Heads had hollowed-out features to receive inlays of contrasting materials: of black obsidian for the irises, white limestone and quartz crystal or glass (Arnold 1996b: 62; Phillips 2004: 202; Bodziony 2007: 3–5). In the case of the Enkomi fragment, the shining bronze wig would have been attached to a head made in another material, probably stone. A stone head from Amarna in Berlin (Aldred 1973: 176, no. 103) provides a possible comparison. It has a recessed, flat area on top, while the ears were not carved at all, as the wig would have concealed them.

Royal symbols: wigs and uraei

Wigs added to the visual impact of a figure, as they were indicative of high social rank (Haynes 1977; Robins 1999). In composite statuary, wigs were made of various materials, including faience, wood and stone. Samson (1973: 56, pl. XXVIII) published a fragment of a stone wig (**Fig. 4**), which shows an identical hairstyle, with six successive layers of thick, short curls under a top part with longer strip-curls. Samson points to the confusion sometimes caused by the term ‘Nubian wig’ and rejects its use for the sophisticated wigs with overlapping layers framing the face, as on the Enkomi fragment. In fact, this wig type has at least three versions, a shorter and two longer ones. A short one is worn by Tutankhamun on the back of his golden throne (Aldred 1957: 142–144). In the first of the longer versions, often worn by male dignitaries at Amarna, the hair layers extend to the shoulders (Aldred 1957: 142–145; Ertman 1995: 330). The most common version is the second of the longer



Figure 4. Fragment of a stone wig from a composite statue (25.5x13.5cm). Photo courtesy of the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, University College London (UC076)

ones, such as that worn by Ankhesenamun on Tutankhamun's golden throne and by Tutankhamun himself on other representations (Ertman 1976: 89–90). In sculpture in the round and in reliefs, especially when worn by women, this type is shown with two pointed ends that fall to the clavicles at the front, while at the back it is cut to a peak exposing the nape of the neck (**Fig. 3**). The front part of the wig is fashioned as an arc framing the face and articulated in overlapping layers of gradually diminishing length towards the exterior (Arnold 1996c: 116–118, fig. 16). For this type of wig Samson (1975: 264) suggested the term 'pointed wig', whereas Werner (1979: 327) proposed 'pointed Nubian wig'. It is perhaps more convenient to refer to these wigs simply as Nubian, provided that they are structured in layers radiating from the top of the head. Neither the long nor the short versions are recorded with any consistency before or after the 18th Dynasty (Aldred 1957: 142–144).

The Enkomi fragment once formed part of either the short version, or, most probably, the longer version of such a wig, with pointed ends. This hairstyle was frequently worn in the Amarna period and shortly thereafter by soldiers, court attendants, princesses, kings and queens in statuary and reliefs (e.g. Aldred 1973: nos 9–10, 23–24, 27, 61, 67, 105, 126, 139–140). Despite its military origin (Harris 1973: 9), it was very common among men and women of the royal family. When worn by persons of high rank such wigs are much more sophisticated and often have three to six overlapping layers of braids, while those worn by courtiers or army officials are usually less ornate with one, two or three layers at most (Samson 1973: 56). In the royal family, this wig is worn, albeit rarely, by Queen Tiye, the mother of Akhenaten, and more often by Nefertiti and her daughters (e.g. Arnold 1996a: figs 37, 77). In the Tomb of the vizier Ramose at Thebes, before the move to Amarna, a relief shows Nefertiti wearing the Nubian wig with a uraeus at the front. Thereafter she was often represented with this particular hairstyle (**Fig. 2**), whereas the king himself was rarely, if at all, depicted this way (Aldred 1957: 145–146; 1973: 113, no. 27; Ertman 1994: 87–88). Another royal woman who appeared frequently in this headdress was Kiya (Arnold 1996a: 38), a secondary wife of Akhenaten. She is depicted on several monuments with the king, even participating in rituals for the Aten (Robins 1993: 54; Arnold 1996c: 105–107). However, she was never named a queen and, unlike Nefertiti, was not allowed to carry the uraeus (Tyldesley 1998: 129, fig. 5). She disappeared before Akhenaten's death (Harris 1974a; Reeves 1988) and her name and figure were changed on almost all her monuments to those of a daughter of Nefertiti (Krauss 1986; Dodson 1994; Arnold 1996c: 87–88, 106, 116–117). The princesses were also depicted wearing this wig when they reached adolescence, but without a uraeus (Aldred 1957: 145).

Given the widespread use of this type of wig, it would appear impossible to identify the person portrayed in the statue from a small fragment. There is, however, another piece of information. At the mid-point of the left edge there is a small, circular perforation, 0.7cm wide, just below the fourth layer of braids, in line with the fifth layer (**Fig. 1**). Only part of the perforation survives, as the fragment is broken at this point. Karageorghis (1986: 47) thought it was not part of the original work, but made later, perhaps during breakage. The smooth inner walls, however, slightly scored by vertical, narrow facets, show that it was made by piercing through wax, not metal (**Fig. 1**, section b–b', mid-point). Schorsch (2007a: 33) thought that it was used to fix the wig on a core support. It was, however, meant for a different purpose and is instrumental in establishing the identity of the person depicted.

The position of the perforation corresponds to the right part of the forehead (from a viewer's point), just above and to the right of the eyebrow (see **Fig. 3**). Many statues and statuettes showing kings and queens, whether made with the composite technique or in one piece, had added fixtures, often in different materials, such as headgear and other symbols of royalty (Robins 2005: 5–6). One of these, reserved only for royals and divine images, was the uraeus, which in stone statuary could be carved on the headgear or made in another material and attached above the forehead by a hole drilled for that purpose. In some cases, such a hole is the sole remaining trace of a uraeus (e.g. Aldred 1957: 142; 1973: 65, fig. 42; Arnold 1996b: 78, fig. 71). Because of the importance of this symbol, it was often made in metal (Bell 1990: 101, no. 4; Ertman 1995: 112, 114, pls III–IV). Of course, the emblem could as easily be removed or added to heads that initially did not have one, in those cases where an existing image of a non-royal had to be converted to a royal representation.

There is plenty of evidence for all of the above. For example, this is what appears to have happened in the case of Tomb KV 55. Finds from this tomb offer important evidence for the style, date and fate of the statue whose story came to be associated with Enkomi. They include a coffin in gold and cloisonné with a voluminous wooden wig that duplicates the style of the Enkomi fragment, originally plated in gold, and four identical canopic jars with lids in the shape of a human head. The tomb also contained a dismembered shrine inscribed for Tiye and Akhenaten (Davis *et al.* 1910; Reeves 1990; Helck 2001). The coffin was initially made for a person of high status, but probably not for a king or queen, as the bronze uraeus with gold decoration seems to have been added later, at the same time as other changes effected on the grave goods, especially the canopic jars (Ertman 1995: 115; Gabolde 2009: 113–117) (**Fig. 3**). The original owner of these vessels has been convincingly shown to have been Kiya, the secondary wife of Akhenaten (Strauss 1986; Ertman 1995: 115), and the coffin, in its original form, has also been attributed to her (Gabolde 1998: 237–255). At some point this identity was erased and a new one created, and her belongings seem to have been used for the burial of another person of even higher status. At this point, a uraeus, now missing, was added on each head on the canopic jars, in a hole drilled above the centre of the forehead (Aldred 1957: 147).

Let us return to the Enkomi fragment. It is clear that the perforation is not centrally placed above the forehead, but above the eyebrow. A second perforation would have been symmetrically positioned on the other side of the head. This can only mean that there was a second emblem, most probably a second uraeus. Although on wigs in reliefs and in the round the uraeus appears attached directly on the hair, this is not the case. In fact, it was fixed on a brow-band, usually made of gold in statuary and probably in real life as well (Ertman 1995: 108–111, 115–116). The combination of a gold brow-band with a wig of some type became very common in the later New Kingdom, when rulers were often shown in wigs without crowns (Ertman 1995: 109). Amenhotep III and Tiye wear the gold band in many representations and there are also many examples showing Nefertiti wearing one (e.g. Aldred 1973: 35, fig. 17, 104–105, no. 18; Kozloff 1977: 289, fig. 3; Ertman 1995: 109, 117, n. 18). What this means is that a gold brow-band may have been added just under the wig on the forehead of the statue of which the Enkomi fragment once formed part, accommodating a double uraeus which could have been made in the same material.

What does this evidence have to offer for the identification of the figure once wearing the Enkomi wig? To answer this question, we need to consider the symbolic

value of the uraeus, in association with this particular type of wig, as well as some peculiarities of the Aten cult; then we need to bring into the discussion the fate of almost all of the Amarna monuments.

The use of the uraeus as a major royal and solar symbol dates back to the earliest depictions of Pharaohs in the Old Kingdom. It consisted of a hairband or a crown decorated at the front with the head of the snake. Despite formal variations, it invariably took the shape of a rearing cobra, devised to demonstrate royal power and communicate a message of protection and the annihilation of enemies (Robins 1993: 23–24). Although its physical appearance was explicitly linked to the cobra goddess of Lower Egypt, Wadjet, it was also associated with the sun god, Re, around whose disk it was coiled, and identified as the solar eye. Because of its role in solar mythology it was also worn by other major goddesses, themselves closely related to Re, such as Hathor, Nephthys and Isis (Russmann 1997: 272).

The only persons other than the Pharaoh entitled to this royal insignia were his principal wife and his mother, if herself married to a Pharaoh. The uraeus became one of the queen's emblems in the 5th Dynasty, but was more common in the Middle and New Kingdoms and from then on was worn by queens down to Cleopatra VII (Kleiner 2009: 140). As the most emblematic mark of kingship, its assumption by queens may have emphasised their preeminent position next to the Pharaoh. In addition, since it was originally associated with female deities, it might have hinted at their divine aspect, linking them to Wadjet and in particular to Hathor (Ertman 1993: 43; Russmann 1997: 271). So closely was the uraeus associated with royal power that it was left untouched by Akhenaten's reforms, perhaps as a result of its association with solar mythology (Robins 1993: 23–24).

In the 18th Dynasty, queens began to wear two uraei side by side, a combination called the double uraeus (**Fig. 2**). It probably referred to two female deities, Wadjet and Nekhbet, the vulture goddess, protectress of Upper Egypt. These deities were often symbolically combined, as a pair of vultures or cobras on the foreheads of queens as a double uraeus. Like the single uraeus, the double uraeus had a solar connotation, as it referred to the eyes of Re and appeared in association with other goddesses, such as Sekhmet and Isis, in their role as guardians of the king (Bryan 2008: 38).

From the 18th Dynasty on, several elaborate combinations of headdresses developed. Queen Tiye introduced composite crowns, among them the double uraeus worn with the double feather crown and occasionally the triple uraeus (Arnold 1996a: 31, fig. 24; Green 2000: 62; Bryan 2008). The famous wooden head in Berlin showing this queen (Arnold 1996a: 31–32, fig. 23) probably represents her with the double uraeus (missing but with traces of its presence) and the *nemes* headdress, adorned with two additional uraei at the sides. In the reign of Amenhotep III, Tiye was the only royal woman to wear the cobras—single, double or triple—and she occasionally combined a pair of cobras with a vulture head (Bryan 2008: 37).

In theory, the off-centre position of the perforation on the Enkomi fragment and a symmetrically-placed perforation on the opposite side would leave enough space for juxtaposing up to three cobras, or even two cobras and a vulture head, as worn by Tiye. On the wooden head in Berlin, for example, the two snakes of the double uraeus are placed much closer to the centre of the forehead. On the other hand, there had to be some space on the Enkomi wig to accommodate the two serpents with their expanded hoods. A combination of a single uraeus with a vulture head is also possible, as worn by Tutankhamun on his golden mask (Russmann 1997). Could,

then, the fragment from Enkomi have belonged to an image of Queen Tiye, or even Tutankhamun? Because of the size of this fragment, it would perhaps be unreasonable to insist too much that it did not, but there is evidence to the contrary (see below).

Thanks to the idiosyncracies of the Amarna religion, we can dismiss straightaway the possibility that the statue in question represented a deity. When Akhenaten proscribed the old gods, he expelled almost all traditional imagery from Egyptian temples (Aldred 1980: 172–181) and also rejected cult statues, which had served since earliest times as ritual intermediaries between man and gods (Robins 2005: 4).

An Egyptian *damnatio memoriae*

Akhenaten died early in the 17th year of his reign. An enigmatic king named Smenkhkare or a queen named Neferneferuaten reigned for a short period and was succeeded by the young Tutankhaten and his sister Ankhesenpaaten from the royal line, perhaps overseen by Ay and Horemheb (Allen 2009). The latter figures may have been responsible for the decision to initiate the progressive abandonment of the Aten cult and reversion to the old gods (Hanus 2012: 37). During the first years of Tutankhaten's reign the cultic function of the Aten temples was maintained, but it was not long before the king set up restoration decrees for the old religion (Robins 2005: 3). In approximately Year 3 of this couple's reign, they changed their names to Tutankhamun and Ankhesenamun, demonstrating their reversion to the most important state god, Amun, and, as a final act, the royal court left Akhetaten and returned to Memphis (Kemp 2002: 301).

The inhabitants of Amarna had a chance to remove their valuables, but the most revered objects in the temples and palaces could not be taken and reused because of their associations with the religion of Akhenaten (Kemp 2002: 301). Objects that had no economic value or served no ideological or political purpose were left behind. At this point, however, they were not mutilated (Seyfried 2012: 180–185). Only in the latter years of the 18th Dynasty were the Amarna monuments destroyed. When Horemheb ascended the throne at the end of the 14th century BC, he made it his mission to erase all memory of the 'heretic' Pharaoh. A wave of persecution in the form of a *damnatio memoriae* resulted in the mutilation of inscriptions, paintings, reliefs and statues related to Akhenaten. At Amarna, his name and that of his queen were removed from monuments and even from the lists of legitimate kings, their statues shattered in pieces, and their constructions at Karnak and Amarna were reduced to rubble (Ben Tor 2006: 12–13; Bryan 2006: 369–373).

Statues, scrap metal and international exchanges

The real question is whether the Egyptian statue represented by the fragment from Enkomi reached the island as a complete artefact or as a fragment. Karageorghis (1986: 47) and Schorsch (2007a: 33) recognised that it was destined to be recycled for its metal, but where and when was it broken?

Karageorghis (1986: 51) and Lagarce and Lagarce (1986: 68) suggested that the statue might have been an official portrait sent as a gift from the Pharaoh to his 'brother' the king of Alashiya through the diplomatic channels illustrated in the

Amarna Letters (Moran 1992: 104–113). Such texts show that statues were occasionally exchanged between rulers. In EA 26 (Moran 1992: 84–86), for example, Tushratta, the king of the Mitanni, writes to Queen Tiye to complain that, although Amenhotep III had promised to send him two statues of solid gold, her son, Amenhotep IV (i.e. Akhenaten), sent two wooden ones plated with gold. In EA 27 (Moran 1992: 86–90) we are told that these statues should be made to represent the king himself and his daughter Tadu-Heba, who was married to Amenhotep III. Tushratta addresses his complaints to Amenhotep IV and insists that the Pharaoh should keep his father's promise. It is evident that these statues were entangled in a diplomatic dispute and that the king of the Mitanni insisted on them for political, not purely economic reasons, perhaps as a token of Egyptian support (Güner & Druckman 2003: 69–71).

The statue in question, however, probably did not arrive on the island intact. Such a statue, rare or even unique in Egypt (Cenival 1986: 47) and of such high quality, would not just be sent to Cyprus—especially by a king who neglected his diplomatic obligations even with the powerful king of the Mitanni. The evidence presented above for the fierce attack on the monuments of Akhenaten accounts best for the destruction of the statue associated with the Enkomi fragment, since its style and type anchors it in this period. Consequently, this piece probably arrived on the island already as scrap metal. Mutilated stone statues would have been left behind by the desecrators at Amarna, but not the remains of bronze statuary or of composite statues with metal parts, which could be recycled.

When this piece of scrap metal reached Cyprus is difficult to establish. It could have arrived soon after the statue was broken or circulated in Egypt for some time before it was brought to the island. Although the peak period for Egyptian exports to Cyprus was LC IIC–IIIA, some finds reveal earlier exchanges, during LC IIA–IIB (see Jacobsson 1994: 90–92; Karageorghis 1995; Steel 2007: 473–475). Enkomi Tomb 93, the richest tomb of Late Bronze Age Cyprus, contained two exceptional Egyptian gold necklaces, a silver ring engraved with the name of Amenhotep IV and a scarab with the name of Tiye (Keswani 1989: 63). In reverse, Cypriot pottery continued to be imported to Egypt in some quantities during the 18th Dynasty and in lesser amounts in the 19th Dynasty (Eriksson 1995, 2001). Peltenburg (1986), based on the evidence from faience finds, has also argued for post-Amarna links between Egypt and Cyprus. A faience sceptre-head with the cartouche of Horemheb was found in an early 12th century BC context at Hala Sultan Tekke (Åström 1979), showing that Egyptian artefacts could occasionally reach Cyprus a long time after their manufacture. This brief overview shows that it is not possible to determine when the Enkomi fragment entered the Cypriot record. In any case, it most probably does not bear witness to diplomatic relations at the highest level, but only to small-scale trading ventures responsible for the diverse range of imports and exports from Egypt to Cyprus and *vice versa* (Sherratt 2000: 88–89; 2016; Monroe 2009: 151–157).

To make this point clear, the superb gold collar with cloisonné decoration from Enkomi Tomb 93 (Jacobsson 1994: 58–59, no. 320, 84, pl. 36) is of a type called *ousekh* (Lagarce & Lagarce 1986: 109–111, pl. 21.1). These collars were an important royal gift, reserved only for the upper class of Egyptian society (Craig Patch 2005: 192–194), and are rarely found outside Egypt. The example from Enkomi may be contrasted with the pottery exports between Cyprus and Egypt, as much as the vast quantities of Cypriot copper sent to Egypt (Knapp & Kassianidou 2008: 135) contrast with the trading of scrap metal. In cases such as the wig fragment from Enkomi, and all pieces

that were once part of elaborate bronze artefacts, there is an immense difference (or 'social distance', see Knapp *et al.* 1988: 238–239) not only between the two states of the same artefact, complete and fragmented, but also between the proprietor of the object before it was broken and the holder/s of its fragmented remains. The wig fragment had lost its symbolic significance and royal connotations already in Egypt, when the statue to which it belonged was destroyed. All that was left was the value of its metal.

From a piece to the whole: who is the person in the statue?

The discussion so far offers valuable points of reference for the identity of the person depicted. In fact, the exceptional, royal features still discernible on this fragment inexorably link this statue to a female member of Akhenaten's family. I am aware that it is ambitious to claim that a specific person may be identified by a strand of hair, especially since this hairstyle was so common in the Amarna period. However, the quality, size and, most importantly, the double uraeus and type of wig bring us close to one of the most prominent women of ancient Egypt.

Although this type of wig was worn by royals and non-royals, the seven overlapping layers (counting the top part) of the Enkomi fragment are indicative of very high rank (Samson 1973: 56). In fact, no depiction of this wig type shows more than seven layers. In addition, statues of private people are extremely rare at Amarna, whereas images of members of the royal family embellished temples, chapels and palaces in their hundreds (Aldred 1957: 146). The material used for the hair, which has no surviving parallels in Egyptian statuary, is also suggestive of a person from the highest echelons of Egyptian society. Most importantly, the double uraeus explicitly exposes its royal character.

Tiye, one of the most celebrated queens in Egyptian history, is an option for the person depicted here, because of the date and the double or triple uraeus often shown above her forehead. However, this queen is not commonly depicted with the Nubian wig (Bryan 2008). Possibly the only depiction of Tiye with this wig is on a stela carved during the reign of her son, Akhenaten (Aldred 1973: 10–11, fig. 3), verifying the association of this wig type with his reign. Tiye can perhaps also be excluded as a candidate for another reason. Because of her intimate association with Amenhotep III, the last ruler that Horemheb acknowledged as legitimate before his own reign (Coleman Darnell & Manassa 2009: 56), she seems to have been spared the persecution undertaken by her son's successors. Her name remained untouched on her dismantled shrine in KV 55, for instance, whereas that of her son was erased (Bell 1990: 122–123, 130–131; Ertman 1995: 108). Assuming there would be no other reason to shatter the statue into small pieces, one of which ended up at Enkomi, other than that it was destroyed following Akhenaten's death, it cannot have shown Tiye.

Similarly, it cannot have shown Tutankhamun, Ankhesenamun, Ay, Horemheb or any other royal person of the 19th Dynasty, when this hairstyle was still current. Horemheb commissioned a limited number of statues of himself and is only rarely shown with the Nubian wig (Eaton-Kraus 1984: 503–504, pls 23–25). In addition, although he was the first to launch a program of annihilation of Akhenaten's monuments and even erased Ay's and Tutankhamun's names from the royal lists, he does not seem to have destroyed any monuments created by this Pharaoh (Coleman Darnell & Manassa 2009: 56–57, n. 223). Tutankhamun was, after all, the first to restore

the religious centre of Thebes and promote the old religion. Thus, although this hairstyle was in vogue during the reign of Tutankhamun and Tutankhamun himself appears to wear different types of the Nubian wig (Ertman 1976: 89–90), such an attribution would again not easily explain the forceful destruction of the statue.

The double uraeus once worn on the Enkomi wig points to a woman. She cannot have been one of the daughters of Akhenaten and Nefertiti, since they were not allowed to wear a uraeus. The same applies to Kiya, the secondary wife of Akhenaten. This figure must have been no less than a queen and this inevitably leads us to Nefertiti.

The Nubian wig is one of five types of headdresses worn by Nefertiti, occurring in about 20% of her depictions (Kozloff 1977: 292–293). At Karnak, she is the only person of her time to wear this wig, an exclusivity taken as indicative of her high status (Aldred 1973: 110, no. 24, 126, no. 48; Ertman 1976: 88; Tyldesley 1998: 63, 105–106). Redford (in Smith & Redford 1976: 81) concluded that the queen wore this wig only when she was not accompanied by the Pharaoh, whose presence perhaps dictated one of the feathered crowns. At Amarna, however, she does appear in this wig together with Akhenaten (Kozloff 1977: 290–292). Most importantly, Akhenaten is almost never shown wearing the Nubian wig at Karnak or Amarna or indeed any wig, as he preferred crowns (Smith & Redford 1976: 77; Werner 1979: 326; Ertman 1994: 88, n. 7; 1995: 111).

The second key iconographic element is the double uraeus. Harris (1977: 8, n. 25) notes that a number of queens of the 18th and 19th Dynasties are shown wearing the double uraeus, but over two-thirds have been identified as Tiye, Nefertiti and the wife of Ramesses II, Nefertari. The latter, however, is commonly shown with other types of wig (e.g. Aldred 1980: 192, fig. 159). On the contrary, the Nubian wig was often combined with a brow-band and the double uraeus in images of Nefertiti (e.g. Aldred 1973: 35, fig. 17, 104–105, no. 18; Ertman 1995: 109, 117, n. 18; Tyldesley 1998: 59, fig. 2.4) (**Fig. 2**). She also wore a variety of crowns, common to other queens, such as the double feather crown and the horns and solar discs, with a different type of wig, or her characteristic cap-crown (Ertman 1976), where no emphasis is given to her hair (e.g. Aldred 1973: 11, fig. 2, 57, fig. 35, 69, fig. 45, 102–103, nos 16–17, 114–116, nos 28–31). One common element is the cobras. Several reliefs from Amarna and even more from Karnak show Nefertiti's characteristic crown with two cobras (Eaton-Kraus 1981: 247–248; Rammant-Peters 1985: 36), and in some examples she added a further pair at each side of her face (Ertman 1976, 1993; Robins 1993: 54).

Although Nefertiti also appears with a single uraeus on her crown (e.g. Aldred 1973: 63, fig. 39), the double uraeus occurs, with the rarest of the exceptions, only on the queen's forehead. Akhenaten commonly appeared with a single uraeus, but there is no definite evidence that he ever wore a double one (Harris 1977: 8; Kozloff 1977: 290, n. 16; Werner 1979: 327). During the entire New Kingdom, the distinction between the queen's double uraeus and the king's single one was entirely consistent, and the duplication of such features, such as the cobra and vulture on Tutankhamun's mask, was a rarity in male images (Rusmann 1997: 271). It took centuries for any Egyptian Pharaoh to appear with a double uraeus and this happened only under the much later 25th Dynasty (Robins 1993: 23–24).

If the fragment from Enkomi belonged to a statue of Nefertiti, who was so close to Akhenaten, the force used to destroy it and cut the wig into pieces is easily explained. Apart from the ideological motivation, the economic value of the pieces of the wig or of the added uraei, which could have been made in a contrasting metal, such as gold,

must have played a role, at least for the ensuing story of these fragments and their use as scrap metal. A comparison, without the economic benefit, can be drawn with the mutilated figure of Nefertiti on a relief from the tomb of Ramose in Thebes, showing her with Akhenaten at the Window of Appearances in their palace. Nefertiti wears her Nubian wig here, barely discernible because of the extreme vandalism targeted particularly on her face (Ertman 2009: 89–90, fig. 5).

To conclude: this small fragment started its life as part of an exceptional, sculptural image of a foremost member of the Egyptian royal family of Amarna and ended up as scrap metal at Enkomi, destined to be recycled, deprived of all its prestige and symbolic value, retaining only an economic one. It arrived on Cyprus after the statue to which it belonged had been desecrated, smashed into pieces and dispersed because of its association with a period that later generations tried to forget. Little would the ancient inhabitants of Enkomi have known of the importance it once held for the residents of Amarna and for their king and queen in particular.

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