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Creativity and Innovation in the Reign of Hatshepsut

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Upper row, from left to right: W. Vivian Davies, Tamás Bács, Charles Bonnet, Dominique Valbelle, Catharine Roehrig, Susanne Bickel, Luc Gabolde, Jean-Luc Chappaz, Betsy M. Bryan.
Lower row, from left to right: Barbara Engelmann-von Carnap, Dimitri Laboury, Ellen Morris, Eberhard Dziobek, JJ Shirley, José M. Galán, Jose M. Serrano, Zbigniew Szafrański.

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OCCASIONAL PROCEEDINGS OF
THE THEBAN WORKSHOP

Creativity and Innovation in the Reign of Hatshepsut

edited by

José M. Galán, Betsy M. Bryan, *and* Peter F. Dorman

Papers from the Theban Workshop 2010

STUDIES IN ANCIENT ORIENTAL CIVILIZATION • NUMBER 69
THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
CHICAGO • ILLINOIS

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Library of Congress Control Number: 2014950434
ISBN-13: 978-1-61491-024-4
ISSN: 0081-7554

The Oriental Institute, Chicago

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Published 2014. Printed in the United States of America.

Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 69

Series Editors
Leslie Schramer and *Thomas G. Urban*
with the assistance of
Rebecca Cain

Series Editors' Acknowledgment
Brian Keenan assisted in the production of this volume.

Cover Illustration
The god Amun in bed with Queen Ahmes, conceiving the future Hatshepsut. Traced by Pía Rodríguez Frade (based on Édouard Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari*, Part 2, London 1896, pl. 47)

Printed by through Four Colour Imports, by Lifetouch, Loves Park, Illinois USA

The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of American National Standard for Information Services — Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1984.

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Preface

José M. Galán

The Theban Symposium dedicated to discuss the Creativity and Innovation in the Reign of Hatshepsut took place in May 2010, in Granada, Spain, at the Institute for Arabic Studies of the Spanish National Research Council (CSIC). The meeting was sponsored by Fundación Caja Madrid, the foundation of a Spanish bank that was at that time sponsoring the Spanish-Egyptian mission working at the tomb-chapels of Djehuty and Hery (TT 11–12) in Dra Abu el-Naga, Luxor.

Through the span of more than three millennia of ancient Egyptian history, only few women managed to reign as pharaoh. Among them, Queen Hatshepsut is probably the one better documented, followed only by Cleopatra VII. Nevertheless, the abundance of written and material sources still leaves crucial information gaps and plenty of room for interpretations and discussion.

The peculiar family circumstances surrounding the struggle for control of the government at that time, during the first three decades of the fifteenth century B.C., added curiosity to her figure: daughter of an inspiring and active king (Thutmose I), the widow of his successor (Thutmose II) after a relatively short and transitional reign; and lacking a male descendant (she was mother of a single daughter, Neferura), she became the queen-regent of a boy-king (Thutmose III), the offspring of a secondary royal wife (Isis), to end up after seven years crowning herself king of Upper and Lower Egypt, acting then as coregent, but in fact holding the reins of the country. Indeed, the character of widow to her own stepbrother and at the same time coregent stepmother overshadowing the legitimate boy-king has awoken the imagination of many, who have built up on shaky grounds a wide variety of hypotheses to reconstruct the factual history and sketch her psychological portrait (see Laboury's *Introduction* in this volume).

Official written sources tend to avoid direct references to controversial situations, but in this case it is striking how explicit some of them are. Indeed, due to their veiled intentionality, one has to be cautious about their objectivity and veracity. But it is through their biased and distorted recreation of reality that we can approach the ideology that generated the message transmitted, and even catch a glimpse of the situation at issue. Ineni, who was already a veteran of the Theban administration when Hatshepsut gained control over the government, after briefly referring to Thutmose II's death ("having ascended to heaven, he joined with the gods"), describes the resulting internal political situation in the biographical inscription of his tomb-chapel (TT 81; Dziobek 1992):

> His son (Thutmose III) stood in his place as king of the Two Lands.
> He rules upon the throne of his progenitor,
> while his sister, the god's wife Hatshepsut, is carrying out the affairs of the land.
> The Two Lands are under her plans,
> one works for her, as Egypt bows the head.
> She is the beneficent seed of god, who has come forth from him,
> the prow-rope of the South, the mooring-post of the Southerners,
> the excellent stern-rope of the Delta.
> Lady of commands, excellent of plans,
> who satisfies the Two Shores with her words.
> (*Urk.* IV 59.16–60.11)

Ineni's view corresponds perfectly well with the official message in support of Hatshepsut's merits in the early years of her regency, but regarding Thutmose as the legitimate heir. Later on, her retrospective

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"Coronation inscription" carved in her funerary temple would go a step further, proclaiming her as the legitimate heir and exhorting the subjects to be loyal to her, by using the prestigious figure of Thutmose I, and reproducing a supposed speech he would have addressed to the courtiers and people gathered in the audience hall:

> She is my daughter, Khenemetamun Hatshepsut — live! —
> I have appointed her in my place, so that she is upon my throne.
> Indeed, it is she who shall sit on the magnificent dais,
> she shall command the people from every place of the palace.
> She shall lead you, and you shall proclaim her word,
> you shall be united at her command.
> He who shall praise her shall live,
> he who shall speak evil in slander of her majesty shall die.
> As for everybody who shall proclaim complete the name of her majesty,
> he shall enter immediately into the king's chamber,
> as it was done in the name of my majesty
> (...)
> As for anybody who loves her in his heart and who praises her every day,
> he shall boost, he shall flourish more than anything.
> As for anybody who shall speak (evil) in the name of her majesty,
> the god shall determine his death immediately
> by the gods who are in charge of the protection behind her every day.
> (*Urk.* IV 257.6–258.1; 260.8–14)

While the phraseology used to exalt Hatshepsut's figure is quite drastic, the reality must have been more complex and varied. In this line, it has to be stressed that the civil calendar referred always to Thutmose's accession date as the only legitimate king, and never to Hatshepsut's (Chappaz 1993, pp. 93–102), despite her coronation. The regency first and coregency later were certainly not free from frictions and ambiguous situations, but the unstable equilibrium managed to last almost twenty-two years. In the present volume JJ Shirley reviews the high officials in office just before, during, and right after the coregency between Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, trying to elucidate who could have encouraged and supported Hatshepsut's aspirations, who got promoted as reward for their loyalty, and who continued in office during the sole reign of Thutmose III. Indeed, the biographical references recorded in their monuments do not offer a dated, complete, and precise chronicle of their careers, but the selected data they include allow us to recreate the elite's power-net and the sociopolitical atmosphere within which Queen Hatshepsut ended up acting as king. Despite the unusual (but not unknown) and even paradoxical nature of a female pharaoh, it seems there was no major crisis in the administration, but a smooth transition that would unavoidably include certain preferences in choosing and promoting the officials in charge of the administration.

While it is true that Hatshepsut has attracted to herself most of the attention, not only of laymen, but also of scholars (Desroches-Noblecourt 2002) and museum exhibitions (Roehrig 2005), she was surrounded by a group of personal advisors, palace courtiers, state bureaucrats, and administrators of the temples' domains (Ratié 1979; Bryan 2006; and now Shirley in this volume), who were in many cases also intellectuals, artists, and brilliant engineers. They must have played an active role in the creativity displayed under Hatshepsut's reign and so deserve to be credited for it in as much as the sources allow us to learn about and identify their activity.

It is uncertain up to what point they were conditioned by the uncommon circumstance of having to work and please a female pharaoh. Women had been influential and powerful within the monarchy for many years, and without any trace of underestimation high officials had been assigned to the state or at the service of a king's mother, wife, and/or daughter (living or already dead), such as Hery (TT 12) and Kares (CG 34003), both associated to Queen Ahhotep in the reign of Amenhotep I. That was no novelty. Moreover, there are other factors that should be considered when trying to identify the ingredients that intervened

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in the melting pot of the creative atmosphere that was Egypt under Hatshepsut's rule. The relative internal stability for more than half a century, together with the increasing contacts with and Egyptian presence in the surrounding foreign territories favored the growth of wealth, the expansion of the administration, and the sophistication of the social elite.

The successful return in year 9, that is, two years after Hatshepsut's (self-)coronation, of the fleet that was sent to Punt, loaded with raw materials, exotic products, and luxury goods, must have been a high point in the economy and social life in Thebes. The inscription accompanying the descriptive scenes carved on the second terrace of Hatshepsut's funerary temple explains the background and reason for the trade venture and underlines its ground-breaking character by placing in the god Amun's mouth the following words:

> No one has trodden the myrrh terrace that the people ignore.
> It was heard from mouth to mouth as the stories of the ancestors,
> that marvels and products were brought from therein (Punt) by your forefathers,
> the kings of Lower Egypt one after the other,
> since the times of the predecessors,
> the kings of Upper Egypt that existed since the beginning,
> in exchange of numerous payments,
> since they were not attained except by your merchants/intermediaries.
> Now, I will cause your troop to tread them.
> (*Urk.* IV 344.7–17)

Such an event must have generated a positive atmosphere and a sense of self-esteem among the Theban officials that would have spread over their cultural manifestations and artistic challenges. Contacts with neighboring foreign lands seem to have resulted also in a gradual technological development in various arts and crafts, which became apparent in the Near East at the beginning of the Early Bronze Age (Bourriau and Phillips 2004; Feldman 2006; Wilde 2011).

Figurative representations of upper-class individuals and social events show a gradual refinement in the clothing, jewelry, furniture, banquet service, and entertainments, etc. But the sophistication included also an appreciation and development of the plastic arts, music, and literature. High officials of the administration treasured culture and knowledge, and the search for both made them turn their eyes to the past, enter temple archives, and unroll the oldest books, visit monuments already regarded as ancient, and adopt models from which to learn and get inspiration to reinterpret them according to the current mentality and taste. Thus, Senenmut boasts in one of his statues placed at the temple of Mut: "I have access to every book of the priests, I do not ignore what has happened since the beginning of time" (*Urk.* IV 415.14–15).

The Twelfth Dynasty seems to have received special attention five hundred years later, at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty, exercising a noticeable influence on the ideology, both political and religious, and the language to communicate them, both written and artistic (architecture, sculpture, and painting). In a similar way high officials searched for inspiration among the monuments and testimonies of their ancestors, Hatshepsut found her role model in Queen Neferusobek (or Sobekneferu), who reigned by herself for three years at the very end of the Twelfth Dynasty (Callender 2002, p. 34; Pignattari 2008, pp. 69–83).

Creativity and innovation can be regarded as characteristic features of Hatshepsut's reign (though not exclusively), but that does not imply that the conception of an idea, of a particular design or composition, happened from scratch. There is always a previous reference feat/milestone that, combined with suitable contemporary environmental/cultural conditions, makes possible and prompts the creativity and innovation of one or more individuals. Peter Dorman, in the introductory article of the present volume, surveys the innovative features that emerge in different cultural and artistic expressions. He evaluates private and royal statuary, architecture, burial customs and puts special emphasis in the emergence of the Book of the Dead and other underworld literature, and in Hatshepsut's relationship with the god Amun. The whole issue of what the term "innovation" implies, the various types that can be identified today and how these criteria may be applied back in the early Eighteenth Dynasty sources, is refreshingly discussed by Eberhard Dziobek.

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The tendency to reinforce tradition, permanence, and stability, was repeatedly altered in ancient Egypt, as in any other society, by variations and minor changes, which most of the time consist of details and subtleties that in the course of time describe a gradual evolution rather than ruptures with the past. But those apparently insignificant gestures may actually reflect a deeper ideological transformation, a conscious intention to modify an aspect of the worldview. In this line, Susanne Bickel analyzes the insertion of a new passage into spell 335 of the Coffin Texts when it turned into chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead, which she explains as a sign of a new ideology of kingship, lavishly expressed through the phraseology employed in royal inscriptions. Consequently, she reviews concepts and themes such as the "love" between Hatshepsut and Amun, their "knowledge" of each other's nature and actions, and the effective communication channels that overcome spatial and temporal gaps, as expressed through royal discourse. A similar approach is adopted by Luc Gabolde, who extracts from Hatshepsut's inscriptions at Karnak information concerning her close relationship with the god Amun, which started with her divine birth and was based on reciprocity.

Figurative representations of Hatshepsut also reflect her particular view of kingship. Dimitri Laboury even detects variations through time by identifying and analyzing in detail the differences in style of her sculptures and two-dimensional portraits. He substantiates how a progressive masculinization of her image can be perceived shortly after her coronation, which coincides with the reintegration of Thutmose III into royal iconography after a brief absence.

While statuary aimed to capture the essence of an individual and, at the same time, embody the rank, prestige, and character of the office/position he or she held, monumental architecture became the ideal means to display the power and resources that an individual was able to manage, all the more so if it was the king. Thus, the major temples in Thebes and in other sites underwent considerable reforms and extensions, the personnel attached to them increased, and the cultic practices seemed to have developed significantly during the flourishing two decades of the coregency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III. Betsy Bryan presents some of the new material unearthed in the excavations she directs at the temple of Mut since 2004, including limestone blocks coming from a dismantled gateway of Hatshepsut, preserving her figure and face undamaged, and a group of sandstone column drums of a hall of drunkenness, five of them inscribed. She discusses then the evidence, written and figurative, for festivals of drunkenness in the Eighteenth Dynasty and later, examining the requirements of such ceremonies, which include inebriation from beer or wine and sexual behavior.

On the west bank of Thebes, the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut became a showcase for creativity and innovation in the overall architectural design, as well as in small decorative details. Catharine Roehrig offers a new look at the eleven foundation deposits that have been found so far, examining their varied contents and relocating one of them. Although two groups of deposits may be distinguished, it seems that they were all laid down after the building of the temple was begun, probably to be related to her coronation in year 7. A Polish-Egyptian mission has been working in the temple now for several decades, and Zbigniew Szafrański describes some of their recent discoveries and interpretations. He discusses the design of an elevated platform accessed by a monumental ramp as a possible Minoan influence; the alleged first avenue of sphinxes — more than a hundred — ever built, flanking the processional approach; and a second processional axis oriented north–south in the upper festival courtyard, leading to her mortuary complex. Through the representation of her daughter, Neferura, at the entrance of the main sanctuary of Amun-Ra in the upper festival courtyard, it seems that Hatshepsut was paving the way for her daughter to become queen/king, which could have prompted the rejection of the idea of the female kingship and eventually her *damnatio memoriae*.

Moving north to Middle Egypt, to the province of Hermopolis, one of the most singular cult places is the rock-shrine known as Speos Artemidos, dedicated to the local leonine goddess Pakhet. The upper half of the façade (pediment) bears a long inscription celebrating the re-establishment of order by Hatshepsut, signalling her as the one who drove out the Hyksos, and who restored the main shrines of that area. Jean-Luc Chappaz participated in a Swiss epigraphic mission back in the 1980s, which enables him now to bring forward some remarks concerning its original design under Hatshepsut, and the later alterations under King Seti I.

The temples and other official buildings built or enlarged under royal patronage leave almost no chance for authorship signatures. Nevertheless, as mentioned above, one has to imagine high officials of

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the administration participating in the design and development of such complex projects, but we only know about their responsibilities through their titles and biographical references in their private monuments, such as statues, stelae, tomb-chapels, and inscribed funerary equipment (Shirley in this volume). At the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty tomb-chapels of the elite members started to be decorated again, after a lapse of more than a century corresponding to the Second Intermediate Period. It is in the layout and decoration of their mortuary monuments where the knowledge/culture and the creativity of high officials could be expressed in full-scale. The tomb-chapel of Djehuty (TT 11) is a good example of the possibilities that the walls of a rock-cut chapel offered to the artist and to the scribe. Djehuty, overseer of the Treasury and overseer of works under Hatshepsut, presented himself as an enlightened scribe, acquainted with the long-standing religious and funerary texts, and intended to impress and challenge his contemporaries with unusual inscriptions. Two hymns written in cryptography were carved on one of the side walls of the open courtyard, and have been thoroughly analyzed in the present volume by Andrés Diego Espinel, who approaches their innovative character by setting them in their socio-cultural context. At the inner part of the monument, on the right-hand wall of the corridor, Djehuty displayed a large tableau of the Opening of the Mouth ritual, including thirty-five scenes composed of small vignettes and texts, whose analysis and first conclusions are presented by Jose M. Serrano. Moreover, the walls and even the ceiling of Djehuty's burial chamber were also fully covered with texts, in this case a selection of passages from the Book of the Dead. José M. Galán offers a description of the re-discovery of the chamber, the contents of the text, and a first assessment of its contribution to the study of the Book of the Dead and to the understanding of the intellectual atmosphere that surrounded and developed within the elite members of Hatshepsut's administration.

Puiemra, second prophet of Amun, was probably buried a few years after Djehuty, and also built for himself an extraordinary tomb-chapel (TT 39). The significance of the unusual orientation of its layout, and unusual location of the common decorative themes, to be connected with the processional causeway and funerary temple of Hatshsepsut, is threshed and analyzed in detail by Barbara Engelmann-von Carnap. Puiemra is one of those high officials whose administrative career developed during the coregency, outlived Hatshepsut, and was able to continue high up in the social scale in the sole reign of Thutmose III.

The scenes that decorate the inner walls of the elite officials' tomb-chapels may offer information about certain aspects of the society and economy in a particular moment and place. Ellen Morris, for instance, focuses upon a distinctive group of laborers that started being depicted during the joint reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III. She argues for their identification with warriors from Naharina/Mitanni that were captured in the Syro-Palestinian campaigns of Thutmose I and Thutmose III, and who were employed in temple workshops fashioning chariots and composite bows, dealing with animals, working in the swamps, fields, and vineyards. Their depiction may reflect a taste for the exotica and a celebration of the Egyptian dominion over foreign lands. Within a few generations they gradually disappeared from view as they began to assimilate into Egyptian society.

Due to the volume and nature of the sources presently available, our perception of the early Eighteenth Dynasty tends to be Theban-centered. However, the documentation from other sites is crucial to get a wider and more balanced view in order to approach an understanding of any aspect of Egyptian society in that or any other given moment. So-called "local temples," like the above-mentioned Speos Artemidos, as well as "provincial cemeteries," were not islands, isolated areas disconnected from the major events and trends going on at the court, but most of them were firmly integrated in a thick religious, political, and social net. Actually, it can be argued that some provinces were the point of origin of certain ideas and cultural trends that later on were adopted by more conservative and orthodox court members. A clear example of this are the tomb-chapels at Elkab, whose owners and the decoration of their rock-tombs show a close relationship with Thebes at the early Eighteenth Dynasty. Among them, the monument of Ahmose-Pennekhbet, distinguished soldier, administrator, and tutor of Hatshepsut's daughter, is particularly interesting, but had never been properly recorded and published. A British Museum team, led by Vivian Davies, put up in 2009 a research and documentation program that has already yielded fresh information, particularly by integrating his two known inscribed statues into a broad study.

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Now, considering the Egyptian presence south of its natural border, over Nubia, the identity of those who were appointed as overseer of the southern foreign countries under Hatshepsut and Thutmose III is still open to debate. Recent archaeological discoveries and the re-examination of written sources are shedding new light on the subject. Tamás Bács relates the discovery of the tomb of Penre, an overseer of the southern foreign lands under Hatshepsut's regency and early years of her coregency. The analysis of his funerary equipment seems to indicate that he must have acted as viceroy of Kush. He was buried in western Thebes, but a fragment of what seems to be an inscribed statue of his was found in 2004 at Kerma/Dukki Gel (Pnubs).

A joint Swiss mission, led by Charles Bonnet and Dominique Valbelle, has been working at Dukki Gel, about 150 kilometers south of the Third cataract, now for a decade. Building activity is attested under Thutmose I, Thutmose II, and Hatshepsut-Thutmose III. Among other inscriptional material, two fragments of Hatshepsut's cartouches have been found. On the other hand, the remains of two Nubian sanctuaries have been unearthed. From the archaeological evidence, it seems that under Thutmose II and Hatshepsut a Nubian rebellion was put down. Investigations are still in progress.

Needless to say the studies included in the present volume constitute only a selective glance at some of the issues and problems posed by the joint reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III. Still, the ensemble pretends to be representative of the ongoing debate, recent discoveries, new research strategies, and contributions to the better understanding of a fascinating period of Egyptian history.

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List of Abbreviations

GENERAL

BD	Book of the Dead
BM	British Museum, London
Brooklyn	Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn
ca.	*circa*, approximately
CG	Catalogue Général of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo
col(s).	column(s)
JdE	Journal d'Entrée of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo
cf.	*confer*, compare
cm	centimeter(s)
col(s).	column(s)
CT	Coffin Text
et al.	*et alii*, and others
e.g.	*exempli gratia*, for example
esp.	especially
etc.	*et cetera*, and so forth
fig(s).	figure(s)
FM	Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago
ibid.	*ibidem*, in the same place
i.e.	*id est*, that is
KV	Valley of the Kings
lit.	literally
m	meter(s)
MMA	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
n(n).	note(s)
NN	personal/royal name
no(s).	number(s)
O.	ostracon
OIM	Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago
P.	papyrus
pers. comm.	personal communication
p(p).	page(s)
pl(s).	plate(s)
PT	Pyramid Text
TT	Theban Tomb
var.	variant, variation
vol(s).	volume(s)

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KRI	Kenneth A. Kitchen. *Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical*, 8 volumes. Oxford: B. H. Blackwell, 1975–1990.
KRITA	Kenneth A. Kitchen. *Ramesside Inscriptions: Translated and Annotated*, 5 volumes. Oxford: B. H. Blackwell, 1993–2008.

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LÄ	Wolfgang Helck et al. *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*. 6 volumes and indexes. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1972–1992.
L.*D.*	Carl Richard Lepsius. *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien*. 6 volumes. Berlin: Nicolaische Buchhandlung, 1849–1859.
L.*D. Text*	Carl Richard Lepsius. *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien, Text.* 5 volumes. Edited by Édouard Naville. Berlin: Nicolaische Buchhandlung, 1897–1913.
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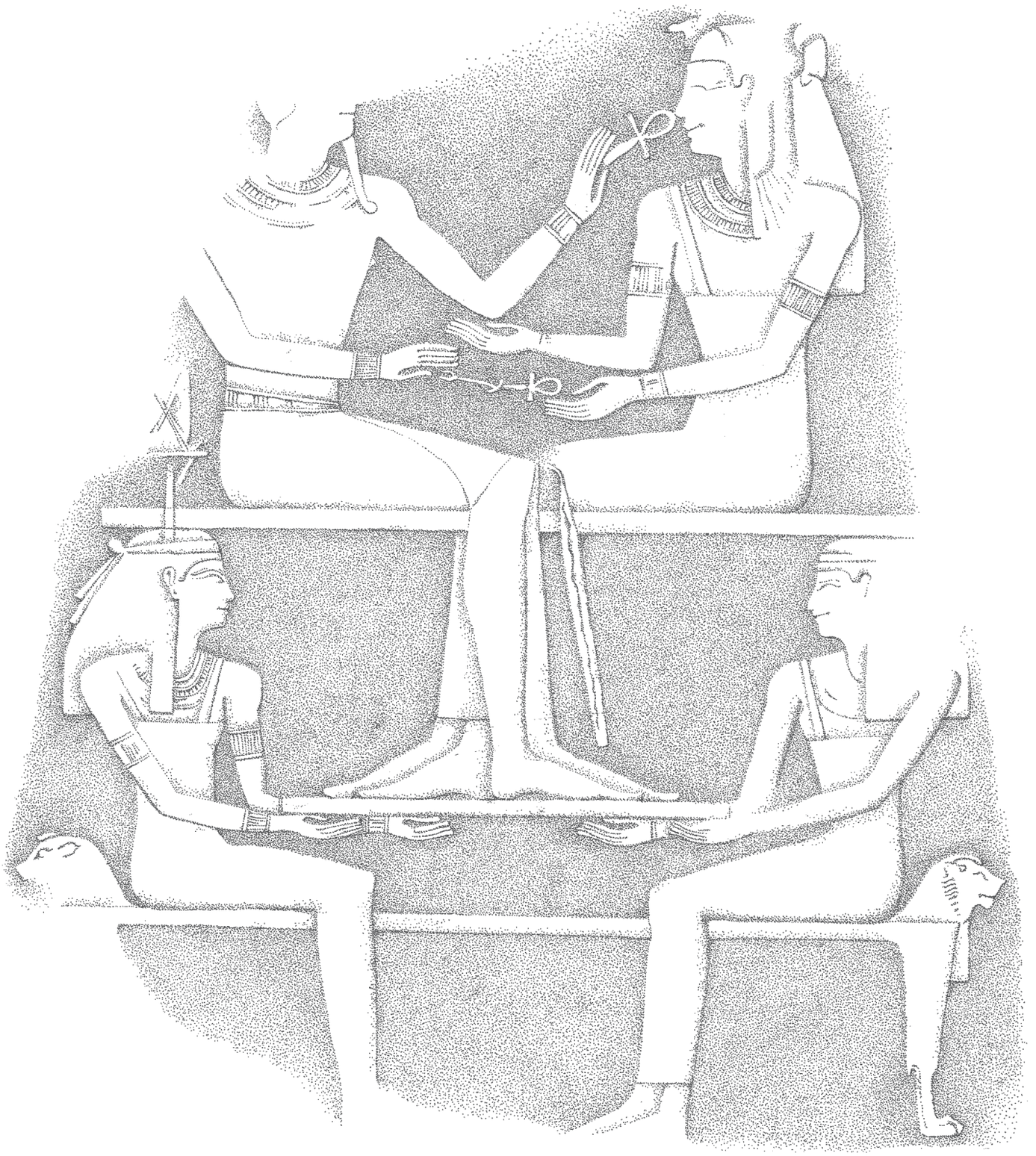

The god Amun in bed with Queen Ahmes, conceiving the future Hatshepsut. Traced by Pía Rodríguez Frade
(based on Édouard Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari*, Part 2, London 1896, pl. 47)

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Innovation at the Dawn of the New Kingdom

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I am grateful to have been asked by the co-organizers of this symposium to offer some remarks on a topic of special relevance — the phenomenon and nature of innovation at the onset of the New Kingdom — in order to provide some context to the reign of Hatshepsut, which is the true focus of this gathering. Indeed, the most I am able to do in this space is to outline broadly some of the novel changes that may be said to characterize the early New Kingdom itself, and of course only in the most summary way. It is ironic that, for a workshop devoted to the theme of innovation, my introductory comments will be the least innovative of all, by comparison to the reasoned and more detailed studies offered here by my colleagues.

One reads in many general works on Egyptian history, art, and culture that pharaonic civilization was one of the most conservative in the world, and that craftsmen, kings, commoners, and scribes looked constantly back toward older periods for their inspiration in maintaining what was most essential for cultural perpetuation: the ideals of right behavior, a proper balance between humankind and the gods, correct religious observance, proportional standards in human representation, and preparation for the eternal world of the afterlife. In contrast to this apparent tendency to seek permanence and validation through the imitation of past practices, innovation, to paraphrase any number of dictionary references, is defined as "the introduction of new things or methods." So in many ways the very concept of innovation, involving the willing embrace of perfectly novel elements or trends, would seem to be quite antithetical to the self-ingrained culture of ancient Egypt. At the same time, it is true that there is no monolithic tradition that imposes itself over the broad expanse of Egyptian history, which we know to be embellished by inevitable alterations in the monumental arts, funerary customs, and objects of daily life. Yet the urge to innovate must be recognized as something more drastic than minor variations played upon existing models. And in actuality, Egyptian culture is charged throughout with the innovative impulse.

In this symposium, we shine a special light on the kingship of Hatshepsut, a reign close to the founding of the Eighteenth Dynasty, although whether contemporaries thought of it as a new dynasty may be argued; the connectedness to the Seventeenth Dynasty is all too obvious, even to us. Nonetheless, the early New Kingdom as a historical period, if we may broaden our scope to include the entire reign of Thutmose III, coincides with the beginning of a distinctly new expression of national self-awareness, coupled with the intensified re-engagement of Egypt — newly risen to be one of several great powers — in the ancient Near Eastern world, the urge to exalt universal kingship through the physical expansion of temple architecture, the broadening of cultural appetites and trends, and the refinement of funerary practices to embody newly introduced interpretations regarding the afterlife. Whether this new self-awareness, coupled with numerous concrete alterations in cultural expression, was a factor in the later recognition by posterity that a historical threshold had been crossed, and a "kingdom" thus born, is not an issue that needs discussion here. But several other interesting questions remain regarding the phenomenon of innovation at the onset of the Eighteenth Dynasty: how did such a marked agglomeration of novelties come to be introduced within a relatively brief span of time, who or what impelled them, for what reasons were they sustained, and to what extent did these become adopted or allowed to slip into obscurity by subsequent generations?

Let us begin with one of the glories of Egyptian art: royal and private sculpture. The inception of a new realm unified by the Theban royal house presumably brought together artistic traditions of the north and south that had hitherto been separated by compulsion, and unification is often presumed to have led to the development of a consistent promulgated royal style. By itself, such an assumption discounts the possibility

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of sustained regionalism in sculptural forms. Yet the late James Romano (1976) has demonstrated the persistence of local sculptural workshops located on the east and west banks of Thebes, respectively, during the reign of Amenhotep I, a remarkably proscribed geographic area. On the one hand, his observations legitimately raise the question of whether local artistic traditions could long be maintained as individual isolates, or whether a centralizing royal mandate would eventually subsume regional variations. On the other hand, later reigns of the Eighteenth Dynasty seem to show remarkable consistency in style over time and space, which presupposes the ability of monarchs to communicate artistic and ideological trends effectively to workmen's ateliers located throughout the Nile Valley. Too little is yet known about the prevalence of regional artistic endeavors at the dawn of the New Kingdom as opposed to a unifying mandated royal style and how the latter may have been widely and uniformly promulgated.

The early New Kingdom is also a time in which private statuary shows a remarkable fecundity in the development of new sculptural forms. Christine Meyer (1982, p. 279) has emphasized cogently that Senenmut, as an individual innovator in the true sense, may be regarded as the conceptual creative force behind a series of unprecedented votive sculptural forms, since all the earliest known examples belong to him: the naophorous statue, the sistrophorous pose, the "tutor" statue,[1] the "field surveyor" statue, and the cryptographic statue presenting the rebus of Maatkara. Her argument for individual innovation in this case is bolstered by Senenmut's own explicit claim of having invented the well-known cryptograms representing the two cartouches of Hatshepsut, which, according to him, were not to be found in the writings of the revered past — and, indeed, they are found only on his private statues (Drioton 1938a). Thus, despite the tendency of Egyptians to seek inspiration or validation from their ancient forebears, such innovations not only exist but are also publicly claimed as notable inventions, at the same time betokening a studied awareness of ancestral precedents.

Another distinctive feature of the early New Kingdom is the reconceptualization of preparations for the afterlife. Notably, these show a marked transition away from centuries-old burial practices — which entailed a box-like wooden coffin containing the mummy wrapped in layers of linen and adorned with a mask — toward a variety of practices that affect almost every aspect of the preservation of the soul. The rectangular box coffin remained the standard outer form throughout the Thirteenth Dynasty until after the emergence of the Theban Seventeenth Dynasty, when this architectonic protective casing was refashioned as the anthropomorphic *rishi* coffin, a form conceptualized as a human body enveloped with wings, usually painted in multi-color fashion, from which the head alone emerged. Other human-shaped coffin variants were soon to appear, imitating more closely the wrapped mummy itself, wearing an all-covering mask and secured by transverse and longitudinal bands inscribed with the names of the deceased as well as those of funerary deities. These banded forms were decorated in two essential color schemes: a white coffin with yellow bands and occasionally vignettes added in the vacant spaces between bands, and another version, with yellow or gilded bands, but with the body itself covered with a black pitch-like paint. The latter had a relatively short shelf life as an anthropomorphic type, although black and gold continue to appear as an established color scheme on wooden sarcophagi. To be sure, certain elite burials would add an outermost sarcophagus (often of stone) that, for the most part, retained a rectangular form, but never as a pure imitation of the late Middle Kingdom coffins. The shift to anthropomorphism signals the innovative idea that the outer wooden covering of the mummy should be a durable imitation of the wrapped body itself, rather than an architectonic housing for it.

Moreover, the older Middle Kingdom coffins are inescapably intertwined with the funerary literature of the period, since selected utterances from the Coffin Texts corpus were lavishly inscribed on their flat surfaces. The adoption of an anthropomorphic coffin shape inevitably entailed alterations in the way that literature was transmitted during the early New Kingdom (Grimm and Schoske 1999, pp. 2–18). In this case, it is not just a matter of text paired with a changed mode of transmission: while a number of Book of the Dead

[1] The series of tutor statues represents a range of innovations even within this subgroup, which shows Senenmut holding the princess Neferura seated on a throne, standing, squatting on the ground, and as a "block" statue. The first two poses are unique to Senenmut in statuary. Tutor statues are confined in chronological extent in any case, coinciding with the heyday of the title in the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty; see Roehrig 1990, pp. 330–44.

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chapters derive directly from their Coffin Texts antecedents (or indeed from earlier Pyramid Texts examples), others are newly composed treatises. Independent textual inventions appearing in the early New Kingdom begin with the Amduat, the Book of What Is in the Netherworld, a composition that maintains its own existence outside the Book of the Dead and, though consistently associated with royal tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty, was occasionally employed by private officials as well.[2] In terms of overall content, one of the major thematic differences between funerary literature of the Middle Kingdom and that of the New Kingdom is a greater preoccupation with the topography of the netherworld and the divisions into which it is organized.

The New Kingdom corpora of mortuary treatises deal with the geography and cosmography of the afterlife. There is a concerted attempt to articulate, in multiple ways, the landscape and population of the netherworld, a preoccupation that manifests itself on both royal and private levels. The well-known compositions from the Valley of the Kings would eventually include, other than Amduat, the Book of Caverns, the Book of Gates, the Book of Nut, and the Books of Night and Day, all of which attempt to elucidate the hours in which the solar deity traverses the underbelly of the universe, during the nighttime hours that are hidden to the human eye.[3] In the private realm as well, several Book of the Dead chapters are devoted to the listing of deities and portal elements that frame the gates of each division of night: BD 145, 146, 149, and 150, the latter providing a physical outline of each "mound." To be sure, the earlier Book of Two Ways (and its later counterpart, BD 110) is to be classified among this category of "topographical" spells, and while this book derives from the coffin tradition of the Middle Kingdom, the more deliberate elaboration of netherworld geography on a systematic scale appears only beginning with the Eighteenth Dynasty.[4]

The specificity with which the underworld is now depicted is striking: the ascending and descending pathways, the names of the guardians and denizens of the deep, the numbers of the hours and the names of each mound or gate, what activities transpire within each one, and even the appearance of the residents of the nocturnal divisions and what powers they are supposed to possess. The common caption accompanying the figures of netherworld beings in Amduat, literally rendered as "this is the condition in which they are," is to be understood more plainly as "this is what they look like," reflecting a new curiosity, even a preoccupation, with the visual aspect and dimensions of every feature of the underworld. Nor can the appearance and physical placement of the earliest royal compositions, Amduat and the Litany of the Sun, be understood independently from the architectural development of the early New Kingdom royal tombs in western Thebes (Richter 2008).

Within this more explicit unearthly space, the narrative cosmography of the afterlife is made plainer as well, with the bark of the solar deity ushered through the consecutive hours of darkness, bringing temporary (though recurrent) light to the subdivisions of the caverns through which it sails. There is also a palpable fascination with the moment and the mechanisms by which the sun god is rejuvenated in the final hour of night, through his unification with Osiris or through his self–re-creation as the newborn Khepri just before dawn on the eastern horizon (Dorman 1999). These concurrent elaborations cannot be traced to the inspiration of an individual, and while the realization of such themes do not appear fully formed until the end of the New Kingdom, the general trend of these funerary treatises is clear already by the coregency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, with the earliest glimmers dating to the reign of Thutmose I (Mauric-Barberio 2001).

The appearance of the quintessential Book of the Dead papyrus roll during the New Kingdom may be viewed as another innovation and is due in part to the physical reconceptualization of the coffin, previously the medium on which funerary texts were passed along. The compositional framework of the typical New Kingdom Book of the Dead papyrus is characterized by vertical columns of retrograde cursive hieroglyphs and compartmentalized vignettes that illustrate the spells, yet despite its familiarity we must acknowledge it as a mongrel creation not inherently suited to the medium of papyrus, which would normally be filled by

[2] The burial chamber of the Theban tomb of the vizier User, TT 61; see Dziobek 1994, pp. 44–47, color pls. 9–16, pls. 28–33. Notably, Amduat also appears together here with the Litany of the Sun, demonstrating that these texts were not the exclusive domain of royalty.

[3] For early antecedents to New Kingdom mortuary iconography, though in isolated form, on Middle Kingdom apotropaic wands, see Roberson 1999.

[4] To judge by linguistic evidence, the date of composition for Amduat is unlikely to precede the Middle Kingdom (Jansen-Winkeln 2012). Considering that the comprehensive "geographic" sensibility shared among the underworld compositions and in several of the Book of the Dead spells is only sporadically attested earlier than the New Kingdom, Amduat may not long predate the time of its first appearance in the tomb of Thutmose I.

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"pages" of horizontal hieratic writing. The transition to that mongrel creation is a tangled one. The earliest examples of recognizable Book of the Dead spells appear on the now-vanished rectangular coffin of Queen Mentuhotep (Geisen 2004). But unlike Coffin Text progenitors written in cursive hieroglyphic texts, these spells are inscribed in pure hieratic, arranged in sections of horizontal writing that are a perfect imitation of pages of a hieratic scroll, and there is no doubt that a papyrus roll was the prototype from which the queen's texts were literally copied onto her coffin. It is worth asking, therefore, why the typical New Kingdom Book of the Dead rolls did not simply continue in this vein, utilizing the scribal tradition already at hand and maintaining hieratic as the textual medium. The question is especially pertinent, since several hieratic Books of the Dead do exist from the early New Kingdom, the most notable belonging to Senenmut's mother, Hatnofer, who possessed the last clearly dated example (Lansing and Hayes 1937, p. 20). Between the hieratic copies of Queen Mentuhotep and Hatnofer, there are intermediate stages to be recognized as carriers for spells of the Book of the Dead, including the mask of Sitdjehuty (Grimm and Schoske 1999, pp. 16–18) and an impressive series of linen shrouds, sheets that are adorned with either cursive hieroglyphs or hieratic writing.[5] But it is on the shrouds that one can first identify the trend toward compartmentalized vignettes combined with retrograde writing in vertical columns, harking back to Middle Kingdom coffin usage, and it is likely that the shrouds thus offer us the immediate compositional antecedent for the New Kingdom Book of the Dead papyrus scrolls (Dorman forthcoming).

The creation of these New Kingdom Books of the Dead is thus to be viewed as a series of innovative responses to necessity, one worked out over the long term, adapting to the constraints of changing funerary practices and ultimately utilizing the capacity of papyrus to encompass not only considerable amounts of text but also a more integrated inclusion of representational vignettes than hieratic writing alone was able to do. If we cannot identify an individual who spurred this invention, we can suggest the rough date at which hieratic Books of the Dead were abandoned, as well as the waning use of inscribed linen sheets for this purpose: the coregency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III.[6]

The early New Kingdom is also a period for experimentation in different architectural forms for both the royal and private tombs, including the exploitation of unused areas of the western Theban necropolis and an attempt to enhance the security of the burial chamber through its separation from the location of the personal chapel or royal cult.[7] While there are a number of new phenomena to be seen in Theban tomb architecture of the time, we can actually identify one court official as a true innovator in the area of tomb construction: the architect Ineni.

In general, evidence that individuals were behind innovations is scant, and if Ineni indeed worked on one of the earliest secluded royal tombs at Thebes, that of Thutmose I, we have no way of knowing if it was his own idea. I refer rather to his co-optation of an earlier Eleventh Dynasty portico tomb for his own sepulchre, converting its open portico into an interior space by partially filling in the gaps between pillars with mudbrick walls. Windows were left open to give light into the new transverse corridor, and the added walls provided plenty of space for his detailed biography as well as representational paintings (Dziobek 1992, pp. 19–20). Eberhard Dziobek has pointed out that this model was immediately copied by two other major officials, Senenmut and Useramun, both of whom closely imitated Ineni's niched façade in tombs that were freshly carved in the Theban bedrock. But within a single generation, the model itself progressed to a T-shaped chapel that eventually came to embody one of the typical funerary plans for private persons at Thebes. Ineni may be seen as the forebear of this development, but it is unlikely he could have foreseen the long-range impact of his creative adaptation; in this case he is an unintentional innovator. Ineni does typify one other aspect of so many creative impulses: they are never entirely new but are often based on earlier and often concrete forms, and they come about in response to current perceived necessity. As for perceived

[5] For useful compilations of linen shrouds, see Munro 1987, pp. 274–96 (scattered among the papyrus and leather examples); Ronsecco 1996, pp. xxxviii–xliii; and Ockinga 2006, pp. 185–86.

[6] Ironically, Books of the Dead of the post–New Kingdom period would irrevocably revert to hieratic writing, the script for which papyrus was naturally suited.

[7] For a Middle Kingdom antecedent for the separation of tomb/cenotaph from its memorial temple on the edge of the cultivation, see Wegner 2009, where it is also argued that the subterranean architecture of the Senwosret III burial passages at Abydos suggests that the complex is to be interpreted as an Amduat-tomb, with the further inference that the composition of Amduat itself may be situated within the Middle Kingdom.

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necessity, I cannot avoid addressing the main theme at the heart of this workshop: the kingship of Hatshepsut, which again can only be attempted in a generalized fashion.

One portentous change, if not an entirely new phenomenon, may be categorized under the heading of "divine authority in the service of the state." Hatshepsut's kingly self-presentation is accompanied, to a degree previously unattested, by the intervention of various gods at specific points in her autobiography, advertised more than once at Deir el-Bahari and on other monuments. Because of the mythic level on which these events are obviously framed, the stories pertaining to her girlhood were not intended to be taken literally, but only as illustrative of the divine grace and authority bestowed on her from the earliest stage of her life — or even before she was born. The scenes relating her divine birth unroll in episodic fashion, including one of the most serene and chaste representations of sexual intercourse ever devised by man, but the only human presence other than Hatshepsut herself is her mother, Ahmose (Naville 1896, pls. 46–55). From the upper terrace of the Deir el-Bahari temple comes the *Légende de la jeunesse*, a palpably false acclamation of her future kingship in the presence of her father, Thutmose I, and a convocation of deities (Naville 1898, pls. 56–64). Other proclivities to trumpet divine favor are found in Hatshepsut's retrospective recounting of oracles that foretell her unexpected rise to the throne, a number of which are at historical odds with what is known of her girlhood.[8] And yet, accuracy notwithstanding, she set a precedent for self-validation on public monuments that later pharaohs would find useful for their own reasons, beginning almost immediately with Thutmose III on her own demise. The broad sweep of her youthful story spawned a burgeoning experiment in public narrative art, notably in the Punt reliefs that not only relate the journey to and from that land of exotic produce, but also are topographically anchored to imitate the orientation of the journey, a geographical schema utilized later, as in the Opet reliefs at the Colonnade Hall of Luxor Temple and in Ramesside battle scenes (Gaballa 1976, pp. 50–53, 94–124; Epigraphic Survey 1994, pp. xviii–xix).

Many of the texts that accompany Hatshepsut's monumental scenes are unusually obscure in grammatical usage. They are not composed in the monumental Middle Egyptian idiom of the time, but are consciously artificial, using compound determinatives in imitation of archaic texts, for example, apparently to lend an obscurantist veneer of primeval authority to the often banal content. It may be no accident that a sudden interest in cryptography, on both royal and private monuments,[9] can also be traced to her reign, including her own distinctive Maatkara rebus that was to be imitated closely several reigns later by Nebmaatra Amenhotep III, another king known to have looked to the past for inspiration for his royal self-image.

With the reign of Hatshepsut, oracular propaganda is paired with an expansive use of monumental backdrops at Thebes against which ceremonies could be played out, notably her vast funerary temple, ostentatiously placed precisely opposite the temple of Amun-Ra at Karnak despite the necessity of carving away vast portions of the western cliff face. The processional way leading south to Luxor was newly marked by six way stations for the god's bark, the northern end anchored by a stunningly ambitious creation, the *Chapelle Rouge*, unique in construction, decoration, and the combination of granite and quartzite materials (Lacau and Chevrier 1977, 1979; Burgos and Larché 2006–2008, vol. 1). Hatshepsut's building projects were to set precedents for the subsequent elaboration of Theban temples far beyond the scale of Middle Kingdom ambitions.

There is finally the issue of her remarkable gender-bending pharaonic depictions, which entailed the gradual adoption of kingly regalia and titulary and resulted in the formal presentation of a female ruler in the body of a man — a facet of her reign that continues to remain controversial in scholarly circles and that, if undoubtedly innovative, was also short-lived (Dorman 2006). The truly novel nature of that contrived public image is the transparency of this particular sleight-of-hand, for Hatshepsut's male figures are consistently accompanied by texts referring to her as female, with all the appropriate feminine endings and pronouns.[10]

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[8] A number of these events are to be found in the "historical" text of the *Chapelle Rouge*; see Lacau and Chevrier 1977, pp. 92–153.

[9] As in the Theban tomb of Djehuty, for which see Galán 2007c, p. 781; idem 2009a, p. 168. On the broader uses of cryptography in the New Kingdom, see Darnell 2004, pp. 14–34 and Diego Espinel in this volume.

[10] The disconnect between image and text must at times have been startling to visitors to her monuments, as in the codicil to the Punt expedition, showing Hatshepsut offering Punt-imported myrrh to Amun, "myrrh being upon all her limbs, her fragrance being that of a god, her aroma mingling with (that of) Punt, (as if) her skin were fashioned from electrum, glittering in the festival hall in the presence of the entire land" (*Urk.* IV 339–40). Even her ancient readers must have wondered if the anatomical shape of her glistening shirtless torso was accurate as rendered.

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The gender shift was intentionally partial after all, and this must be taken into account in any explanation of the purposes that impelled such a hybrid creation.

Let me conclude with a few general observations:

First, if the notion of innovation may seem to some extent contrary to a pharaonic civilization that was keenly conscious of its ancestral past and looked to its legendary forebears for its moral and social ideals, it is always possible to trace new directions, and occasionally an individual impetus, that sets in place processes leading to genuinely new cultural phenomena. Generally speaking, Egyptians were hardly immune from a willingness to break the mold and to explore new possibilities, often using older models as inspiration. Some of these proved to be short-lived, while others became deeply embedded in contemporary practice, often in unintended ways. One area that would seem relatively immune from individual experimentation is the communal organization of artisan workshops, involving multiple hands and talents in the creation of single works of statuary, carved relief, or wall paintings. Yet even in this realm, we can find an example not only of individual creativity, but also of a self-conscious recognition of the importance of such an endeavor. For example, the scribe Meryra left the following text in the tomb of Setau at Elkab (Spiegelberg 1902):

> It is with his own fingers that he accomplished these drawings after he came to decorate the tomb of the high priest of Nekhbet, Setau. As for the scribe of the archives, Meryra, he is not a draftsman; it is his own intelligence that must direct him, since there is no master who gave him instruction — he is a clever scribe, skillful with his fingers, capable in everything there is.

Clearly, whatever the "conservative" bent of pharaonic civilization, it did not exclude individuals from exploring pathways that exceeded their formal ken and training.

Second, it is worth asking whether innovation in one area spurs contemporary inventiveness in related areas, either through necessity or through the creative stimulus itself. In this respect, periods of newly centralized organization are potentially fertile periods, when innovation can spread uniformly and with significant impact through royal fiat, as with the kingly portrayal of Hatshepsut, or through consensual adoption, as with anthropomorphic coffins. But the creative possibilities of the "Intermediate" periods should not be discounted, as these are times in which regional workshops and individuals experiment with new standards, having been separated from either rigorous training standards or access to centralized mandates.

Third, when all is said and done, it is rare that creativity can be ascribed to the agency of an individual, though I have noted a few exceptions in the private sphere: Ineni, Senenmut, and Meryra. The manipulation of Hatshepsut's evolving royal image and protocol must be counted among these, along with the concomitant support of her temple imagery; neither could have been implemented without her consent, if not her guiding hand. The other obvious exception in the Eighteenth Dynasty is the reign of Akhenaton, which need not be discussed here at length. The sudden interjection of a state religion based on the worship of a single god manifest as the physical sun, with the king as mediator between Aton and the remainder of humanity, who also acts as the sole interpreter of divine intentions, and the apparent negation of an afterlife for the common herd, all speak to an individualistic interpretation of religious belief. Moreover, the Amarna period is also a prime example of demonstrating the inescapable intertwining of art, architecture, religion, and the monumental textual idiom, in which major innovations undertaken in any one of these spheres imply interrelated — and perhaps inevitable — alterations in the others. The prompt demise of the central Atonist belief system at the end of Akhenaton's reign, together with many of its associated manifestations, also illustrates the extent to which the Amarna innovations were personalized ones.

Finally, it should be kept in mind that innovations develop and play themselves out within an existing cultural context, and, for that reason, the search for precedents and for later legacies is as fascinating as identifying the phenomenon of creative adaptation itself, whether traceable to an individual or flowing out of more general cultural change. At all times we are reminded, perhaps without too much overstatement, that everything old is new again; and everything new is old.

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The Paradigms of Innovation and Their Application to the Early New Kingdom of Egypt

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It is a generally accepted truth that the early New Kingdom was an exceptionally creative and innovative period in Egyptian history. Heike Guksch (1994) has highlighted this fact through her analysis of the royal civil servants' biographies of this period. Innovativeness is one of the terms that she uses as part of the proud paradigm by which the elite of the time define themselves.[1] She offsets these ethics and ambitions against the biographies of the Amarna period, when innovativeness and independent thinking had ceased to be an ideal of the loyal civil servant and had been replaced by assertions that the only innovator in the country was the king himself.

"Innovation" has since the first publications of Joseph Schumpeter almost exactly a hundred years ago been considered one of the central paradigms of the industrialized world.[2] To find the same applied to the Egyptian Late Bronze Age immediately raises the question whether it is just an inadequately used modernizing term, or if indeed we might be talking the same language across the millennia. My paper therefore focuses on the following question: Can we apply some of the various terms under which innovation is discussed today to the culture and society of the early Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt? Does this help us better understand the system of ancient innovation strategy?

1. Categories of Modern-day Innovation Work

For easier reference, I first describe a few relevant terms that are commonly used in the literature.

1.1. Fields of Innovation		*1.2. Types of Innovation*
• Product Innovation • Process Innovation • Marketing Innovation • Organizational Innovation • Perspectival Innovation	executed as:	• Open Innovation • Closed Innovation • Lead User Innovation • Disruptive Innovation

The relation of 1.1. Fields of Innovation and 1.2. Types of Innovation is that of Subject and Adjective: the Fields of Innovation are executed as Types of Innovation. For example, a Product Innovation can be the result

* I owe much gratefulness to Marcus Müller and to Andrea Gnirs for giving generously of their time to read my manuscript and suggest valuable improvements.

[1] Some very illustrative examples for New Kingdom innovations are quoted in Guksch 1994, pp. 92ff.

[2] Schumpeter 1964, chapter 2: "Das Grundphänomen der wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung" and esp. p. 100, where he defines the terms of economic development ("Entwicklung"). See also pp. 322ff., where Schumpeter deals with the impact of unplannable "Entwicklung" (i.e., innovation) as the reason for economic crisis.

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of Open Innovation or of Closed Innovation; it can be the result of Lead User work and it can be a Disruptive Innovation at the same time. To drill down further:

1.1. Fields of Innovation

The Oslo Manual, developed jointly by Eurostat and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and currently in its third edition, defines innovation as "the implementation of a new or significantly improved product (good or service), or process, a new marketing method, or a new organizational method in business practices, workplace organization or external relations." It differentiates among four types of innovations, namely "Product Innovation," "Process Innovation," "Marketing Innovation," and "Organizational Innovation."[3]

Most publications look at innovations strictly from an economic point of view. It is where innovations matter most. However, this may not always be sufficient; at all times, new perspectives on the world and the universe have driven imagination and innovative impulses. The words "... or external relations" used in the definition above hint at this additional facet. We shall have to consider this when trying to match definitions of innovations with ancient Egyptian reality. I would therefore like to add "Perspectival Innovation" as a fifth to the list of innovation definitions.

Another aspect is also not usually part of the definition: This regards the "first claim to invention" question. Quite often innovative ideas make their first appearance long spans of time before they actually receive their awards — not rarely the inventor never sees his success. An idea may therefore be, chronologically speaking, old; but it is usually counted into the time of its broad acceptance. In the case of ancient Egypt, a good example is of the early forms of New Kingdom "*Persönliche Frömmigkeit*" appearing already during the Middle Kingdom (Assmann 1984, pp. 206ff.).

1.2. Specific Types of Innovation

"Open Innovation"[4]

Open Innovation is a paradigm that assumes that firms can and should use external ideas as well as internal ideas, and internal and external paths to market, as the firms look to advance their technology (Chesbrough 2003b, p. xxiv). To use another definition: "Open Innovation describes a strategy in innovation management that nowadays has become a leading theorem for many companies. Instead of relying only on the internal qualities of their own researchers and developers, external problem-solvers are integrated into the innovation process. This is done not in the form of established research cooperation or by commissioning engineering firms, but by addressing an open network of actors to cooperate for a given development theme" (Reichwald et al. 2009, p. 307).

Open Innovation is new inasmuch as it means moving away from the classic principle of keeping new ideas confidential and single property. It can mean that departments within a company are encouraged to exchange ideas and staff for innovation projects, or it can mean that companies invite other companies to seek external know-how or even that they extend specific research questions throughout the whole web community. In such instances, for example, anybody competent is requested to find solutions for a specific research issue — a new cohesive, a new surgical material, a new paint — each with specific requirements. There is a deadline attached to the suggestions and a reward defined for the winner, and an intermediate company brokers the information to and from both sides, to screen the input and to protect the interests of both sides.[5] Other companies like Glaxo[6] and Reckit[7] host their own Open Innovation web pages.

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[3] See the following sources: http://global-innovation.net/innovation/index.html (Research Project Global Innovation by Hamburg University of Technology [TUHH] with further references). For the Oslo Manual itself, see http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/35/61/2367580.pdf.

[4] Synonymously, the term "Interactive Innovation" is used (Reichwald et al. 2009, pp. 115ff.).

[5] InnoCentive is a company specialized in partnering Global Companies with the web community; see Reichwald et al. 2009, pp. 115ff. See also http://www.land-der-ideen.de/innovationskraftwerk/plattform/innovationskraftwerk-deutschlands-erste-ganzheitliche-open-innovation.

[6] http://innovation.gsk.com/.

[7] http://www.rb.biz/site/RBID/Templates/Home.aspx?pageid=1.

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In its extreme, Open Innovation means including virtually the whole client (web) community to design a new fashion item like Svarowsky watches or a retro-design car like the new Fiat 500.[8] Another form of Open Innovation might be to refer an innovator to a competitor if one feels unable to do the new idea justice — through the assumption that the market will always benefit from useful new ideas, wherever they come from. "Open Innovation" is therefore also termed "Interactive Innovation."

In all of these environments, Open Innovation is considered the only possible answer to the permanent desire for innovation that drives modern economy — modern referring to economy in the widest sense of the word, following Schumpeter's definitions. With the speed of innovation increasing continuously, any possible resource must be used, wherever it is found.

On the whole, Open Innovation is today viewed as the answer to the new information society, when the explosion and accumulation of knowledge become so overwhelming that it appears impossible to keep it under control. The only chance seen to master this challenge is to open the doors and let the information find its own new formations. This is true for companies as well as national and ethnic societies, where the wireless communities are forming new alliances and formations at rapid speed and only this open web society itself will be able to define its future moves. To quote Henry Chesbrough, the inventor of the term, "The boundaries between a firm and its environment have become more permeable, innovations can easily transfer inward and outward. The central idea behind open innovation is that in a world of widely distributed knowledge, companies cannot afford to rely entirely on their own research, but should instead buy or license processes or inventions (e.g. patents) from other companies" (Chesbrough 2003a).

"Closed Innovation"

There appears to be no explicit literature on the concept of Closed Innovation. The definition is created *ex negativo* of Open Innovation: "The paradigm of Closed Innovation says that successful innovation requires control. A company or organization should control (the generating of) their own ideas, as well as production, marketing, distribution, servicing, financing, and supporting."[9]

Indeed, most organizations or groups have a tendency to lead their innovation discussions only within themselves because they argue that only they have the competence to improve their own processes. Hence Open Innovation is often met with deep distrust, and innovative ideas from outside are rejected on the base of "not invented here" mechanisms.

The followers of Open Innovation tend to dismiss this attitude as the classic speed bump to innovation. However, to businesses like the car industry or software houses, intellectual, creative, and artistic property — and thus also Closed Innovation — can be a question of survival. This controversy does not preclude the reality that both forms of innovation types — Closed Innovation and Open Innovation — may coexist within the same company, applied only in different fields or tasks.

"Lead User Innovation"

The term "Lead User Innovation" was coined by MIT researcher Eric von Hippel. "Lead Users" have been defined as (1) "Consumers who face needs that will be general in a marketplace but they face them months or years before the bulk of that marketplace encounters them," and (2) "Lead Users are positioned to benefit significantly by obtaining a solution to their needs" (von Hippel 1988).

Relevant new technology, products, tastes, and other innovations tend to diffuse "top down" through a society, often over many years, rather than impact all members simultaneously. The time span involved can be quite long, often no less than twenty years. The importance of Lead Users therefore lies in their spearhead function; but much more than that, they design innovation by themselves because they want to use it (von Hippel 1988, p. 107).

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[8] "Crowdsourcing" is the specific term often used for this kind of Open Innovation. See www.openInnovators.net/list-open-innovation-crowdsourcing-examples, for several examples of applied crowdsourcing; also Reichwald et al. 2009, pp. 72ff. For further examples, see www.socialnetworkstrategien.de/2009/08/12-gelungene-crowdsourcing-projekte/.

[9] From http://en.Wikipedia.org/wiki/Open_innovation.

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A central term to be explained is "Design Spaces," coined by von Hippel:

> A *design space* is the name given to the abstract territory in which design search takes place. Speaking informally, a Design Space includes all possible variants in the design of a class of artifact—such as a rodeo kayak. The design of a *particular thing* corresponds to a single point in the design space. For example, a red kayak and a blue kayak with the same hull design are two points in the kayak design space. Their designs differ on a single dimension—color. (Bell and Newell 1971, Shaw and Garlan 1996, Baldwin and Clark 2000, Murmann and Frenken 2006.)
>
> The following sequence of events takes place in a new design space. First, the new space opens up. Then user-innovators search in this space for new and better designs. As they search, the design space gets "mapped," that is, the searchers come to understand the properties of a large number of design alternatives. Eventually, the design space may be "mined out," and search in that space will stop. (Our assumption that the relevant design space is finite and so can be mined out holds up well in the case of rodeo-kayaking, as we will show below. Sometimes, however, innovators exploring a design space may decide to alter or expand the space as they explore....)[10]

Classic examples of Lead User Design Spaces are found in sports gear: highly involved users of kite-surfing kits, snowboards, rodeo kayaking (Silverthorne 2006), rollerskates, and so on often show a tendency to (a) closely interact in peer groups and (b) customize their gear to their individual needs. The same appears also among professional groups from CAD-designers to long-range truck drivers when they change their drivers' cabins into rolling command bridges-cum-living quarters.[11]

In each case, small communities of interested people join their efforts to develop and improve the material they are finding on the market and to tune it to their own needs. As an example, they would combine kites and surfing equipment to start their own new sport, kite-surfing; or they would deconstruct and rebuild rodeo kayaks to fit their individual preferences and body sizes; they would exchange their own CAD software designs and improvements; or — as in the case of truck drivers — they will improve the designs of their drivers' cabins for greater comfort and trade these ideas with other colleagues on the road.

Lead Users are extremely valuable to the industry as they are trendsetters and idea generators of the highest description. If the producing industry manages to find them and to involve them in their own innovation programs, then we have a typical situation of Open Innovation in conjunction with Lead User management. This method is applied regularly within many branches of industry and commerce.

"Disruptive Innovation"

The term "Disruptive Innovation" describes new ideas and products that are initially considered irrelevant to the main marketplace, but over time begin to grow their own unsuspected client bases and eventually push aside — or disrupt — the prevailing traditional technologies. Schumpeter has discussed these "unplanned" innovations as the true reason behind economic crises (Schumpeter 1964, pp. 322ff.), but the term itself stems from the publications of Harvard professor Clayton M. Christensen (Christensen and Bower 1995).

Classic examples of Disruptive Innovations are numerous, and they resemble Hans Christian Andersen's story The Ugly Duckling: when they first appear, they are dismissed by most specialists and by established businesses as irrelevant and considered only fit for niches because of their technical shortcomings. Steamboats, for example, were initially only considered useful for river transport because of their technical vulnerability and their enormous need for fuel; the first transistors for radios offered such a low quality that it was thought they would never match the tubes of high-end amplifiers; and small personal computers at their first appearance seemed hopelessly inferior to the existing huge mainframes. Only very few contemporaries saw the potential in each of these ideas or how powerful they would become and what it would need to grow them to success.

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[10] Baldwin, Hienerth, and von Hippel 2006, p. 1298. See also Hyysalo 2007.

[11] Daimler-Benz and Scania researchers reported that they seek out truck drivers' meeting places to investigate these personalized design spaces and to make them useful for the next generation of trucks.

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What often hinders the traditional powers most from accepting the potential of new ideas is their very traditional and short-term return-on-investment thinking, inhibited either by investor pressure or by their own day-to-day worries. Any new idea is first weighed from a point of view of short-term profitability (often no more than three years are granted to the break-even point), and this is why disruptive innovations are often disregarded by the traditional market powers. Some examples:

- Steamboats became successful as ocean-going vessels as soon as their machines became safer and coal became available, being a fuel that needed less storage space and offered higher energy levels. Their advantage was not speed but reliability: schedules could be planned, and this proved far more valuable to their owners than the potential speed of clippers.
- Bell's telephone was offered to Western Union as a technology for local calls — which at the time was no considerable source of business compared to expensive long-distance telegraphs. In 1876 Western Union declined the offer to buy the patent for $100,000 because they could not envision the existence of telephone lines in private households.
- Transistors found their first successful applications away from huge bulky appliances in small, inexpensive radios. Such little gears then became available to a new group of customers — especially younger people, with smaller budgets but with a great need to listen to their music everywhere, or to an even broader customer base in third-world countries.
- Small personal computers profited from the fast development of storage capacity and again from the underrated demand for the simple task of formatted writing — letters, manuscripts, papers — which not even the most expensive electronic typewriters could fulfill. A special extra was their potential to be used everywhere and to exchange data via floppy disks.

In each case — and hence the name "Disruptive Innovations" — the traditional dominating products became relegated to niches within a very short time, and not seldom whole industries became unhinged because of the sudden drop in demand: sail-ships vanished from the seas within less than thirty years, tube amplifiers are almost no longer built, and the cheapest laptops today outpace any of the huge room-filling mainframes used only twenty years ago.

2. Can We Apply the "Fields" and the "Types" of Modern Innovation Work to Ancient Egypt and to the Early Eighteenth Dynasty in Particular?

2.1. Fields of Innovation in the Early New Kingdom

2.2. At first view, the modern "Fields of Innovation," namely "Product-," "Process-," "Marketing-,"[12] "Organizational-," and "Perspectival-Innovation," appear not to be too far fetched from ancient Egyptian reality.

Product Innovation

A "product" in modern terms can be anything from real hardware to a new intellectual concept as long as it has an exchange value and thus the potential to impact the economy (Homburg and Krohmer 2009). Hence material and immaterial things that begin to change Egyptian society can be sorted under this heading. As one example for material product, the new architecture of the Valley of the Kings may be quoted for which we have even the builder's testimony. Ineni's new constructions in the Valley of the Kings (and elsewhere) are even accompanied by his own claim to originality and newness in the biographical description of his works. He — and others of the time — use specific terms like "I was not instructed by an elder" and "this was a work which had not been performed since the time of the ancestors" (Guksch 1994, pp. 92ff.).

[12] Admittedly, "Marketing" still is a term reserved to modern consumer perception, therefore, I do not include it in the following discussion. But it would be interesting to research the question whether "Marketing" would be a better word for "Propaganda," which has been applied rather too happily in Egyptological discourses.

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New religious concepts make their breakthrough. The "*Persönliche Frömmigkeit*," although there are predecessors in the Middle Kingdom, becomes the new style of interaction between king and gods (and consequently also of the rest of the people). The Amduat becomes the official interpretation of the Netherworld, and the sun cult with its hourly incantations arrives as the new definition of the king's responsibility in the universe. The oldest source for the new sun cult is documented in the temple of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari (Assmann 1970).

The northeast border "*ỉnb.w ḥkȝ*" that Sinuhe mentions, and which was at least as much a defense line as it was a border to keep people from leaving Egypt, disappears and is replaced by forward army posts — we see the end of defense and the beginning of a concept of political hegemony over the Near East. This hegemony is a matter of systematic development and no longer just the occasional expedition across the border.[13]

Process Innovation

Process Innovations is found in more than one respect during the first part of the Eighteenth Dynasty. One of the most striking examples is the Deir el-Bahari description of how the two Hatshepsut obelisks were hewn out and transported in record time (*Urk.* IV 367). The Punt expedition as a project is in itself an even more complex example of process innovation.[14]

Organizational Innovation

The administration of the nomes, cities, and temples is reorganized in the late Seventeenth and early Eighteenth Dynasties (Polz 2007, pp. 304ff.; van den Boorn 1988, pp. 334, 351ff.).

Perspective Innovation

A new quality in foreign relations can be observed: while there is the idea of dominating the Near East as a political (and military) concept, another new perspective on the world appears: the genuine sense of curiosity for the unknown.[15] This new vision appears to me particularly significant and needs to be explained further:

Of course, foreign people have always been depicted in Egyptian art. But from the Sahura temple reliefs and the Unas causeway to the Beni Hasan traders, and from the Semna stela to the Annals of Amenemhat and the recently discovered Seventeenth Dynasty inscription in Elkab (W. V. Davies 2003c), these foreigners had been shown as mostly from lower social strata, which made any comparison easy to win.[16] Sinuhe represents the one more differentiated example, and it may have been significant that the Sinuhe novel became most popular during the early New Kingdom. The disrespectful and ironic words that Sinuhe's host, the Syrian chief, uses to describe the Egyptian Pharaoh's limited influence in spite of Sinuhe's boastful words will not have been lost on the contemporary audience.[17]

In opposition to these earlier views, images in Theban tombs of the early Eighteenth Dynasty show a different view of what foreigners could be like: here we see chiefs of other countries, sometimes even in their own surroundings, such as the "Chief of Lebanon" outside his fortress in the middle of a large wood.[18] These chiefs are always referred to as *wr.w,* and only some of them were in reality subjected to Egyptian overlordship; Cretans, Libyans, and the "*menenu*" (from Asia Minor?) were people from different political horizons.[19]

Instead of interpreting these scenes as another example of Egyptian "*Allmacht-phantasies,*" I would like to suggest a more pragmatic interpretation. What we see is not chiefs of countries begging for mercy through their gifts, but much rather high-ranking state visitors seeking good relations with a new superpower. The Amarna correspondence shows that these chiefs felt likewise entitled to reciprocal and generous gifts from the Egyptian state.

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[13] Galán 1995, as a general reference.

[14] See n. 21, below.

[15] Cf. the interesting thoughts of Gertie Englund (1999).

[16] For an excellent overview of how Egyptians saw their neighbors, see the introduction to the catalog by Manfred Bietak (1994, pp. 17ff.)

[17] Sinuhe B 75–77. Compare Loprieno's commentary (1988, p. 56).

[18] TT 42 of Amenmose (Davies and Davies 1933, pl. 4).

[19] TT 39 of Puiemra (Davies 1922, pp. 90ff., pl. 33); TT 85 of Amenemhab (N. de G. Davies 1934, pp. 185ff., pl. 25); *Urk*. IV 907–08.

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Finally, and almost as an epitome of the new view of foreigners, there is the case of Benja, owner of Theban Tomb 343. Here we have a successful foreigner in Egypt who proudly announces his hereditary background by quoting the foreign names of his parents in full transcription (Guksch 1978, pp. 21, 43ff.).

Egyptian armies or expeditions had come very far south already in earlier times, but their interest in foreign cultures had been limited to practical issues or matters of curiosity such as the dancing dwarf in the time of Pepi II (*Urk.* I 122ff.). To go out and describe what had been encountered, and to assert that the world outside could look entirely different from one's own, is innovative in the most true sense of the word. The careful and detailed description of foreign people, animals, and products in the private tombs is one example, while the botanical garden in Karnak is another (*Urk.* IV 776).

Most particularly the Punt expedition with its almost ethnological approach appears to prove this case. Its novelty is expressed also through the mouth of the Puntites in the accompanying texts: when the Egyptian expedition arrives at the shore of Punt, the local inhabitants ask a most revealing question when they say, "Why (*ḥr sj jšst)* have you come here (*r ḫ3s.t tn ḫm.t n rmṯ.w*)?" (*Urk.* IV 324). It is true that this sentence is reminiscent of the Shipwrecked Sailor,[20] apparently a favorite source at the time (Dziobek 1992, p. 53 n. 173). We may speculate why this quotation was chosen — maybe the wondrousness of this journey was to be illustrated, or it was to show that this time the Egyptian sailors came as victors, not as victims. But the similarity in the quotation goes not very far, and I would rather see this sentence as a rhetorical figure: the author lets the locals ask a question that may very well have been asked by no few Egyptians at the time: "What do we need this costly expedition for? Why travel so far and at such effort when you can get everything from Punt via the standard overland routes?" The authors of the Punt narrative must have chosen their words carefully. Hence this phrase may have been full of implications: "Primitive," that is, in our sense of the word, "non-innovative" people — whether native Africans or backward Egyptians might ask such a question. Their thinking is restricted to practical everyday purposes.

The Hatshepsut expedition, however, was driven by much more advanced concepts.[21] To them, the encounter and exchange with strange cultures and countries was part of their new innovative paradigm.

There is also a new view of historic matters: we see for the first time visitors' graffiti in Saqqara, Abusir, Asiut, Thebes, Medum, and Beni Hassan left by educated people who had come to visit their ancient national monuments (Málek 1992; Navratilova 2006; Kahl 2006; Gardiner 1920; Spiegelberg 1917, pp. 98ff.). It may be the same "Perspective Innovation" at work that sent people abroad: except that here the curiosity is directed at the past and its messages.

2.2. Types of Innovation in the Early New Kingdom

The Types of Innovation, namely, Open Innovation, Closed Innovation, Lead User Innovation, and Disruptive Innovation, are perhaps more challenging to translate into ancient Egyptian reality. To facilitate the analysis I now discuss some of the types — especially Open Innovation — with regard to four levels of social and economical interaction:

(a) Egypt and its foreign neighbors

(b) The Pharaoh and the gods

(c) The Pharaoh and his leading civil servants

(d) The leading civil servants among themselves

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[20] *n-m jnj.n.tw r t3 pn n wꜣḏ-wr* "who brought you to this island in the sea?" (Blackman 1932, pp. 44, 84 [line 1]; translation in Parkinson 1997, pp. 93ff.). The phrase is actually used three times in the text, two of them inserting the word *nḏs* "little one" (lines 69 and 81 in the text).

[21] The incredible logistical performance of the Punt project remains dazzling to this day. We still can only guess how the ships were brought to the Red Sea or how the other nautical and logistical problems were solved. And certainly not every member of the administration can have been ready to support the huge investments this all demanded. To document its success on the wall of her temple must therefore have also been a demonstration of the innovative power of the Hatshepsut administration and a memento to certain die-hards.

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Open Innovation

If we translate the formal definition of Open Innovation (or "Interactive Innovation") more freely, as the "publicly declared desire to seek improvement and new ideas in interaction with formerly separate other parties," then it soon becomes clear that it is a fitting term to qualify many innovations in our period. The New Kingdom was seeking to expand and improve its standing in the "New World Order" that was emerging from the troubled times of the sixteenth and fifteenth centuries B.C.; it was seeking innovations in any of the four fields quoted above: products, processes, organization, and perspective. And it did not hesitate to make free use of improvements and new ideas, wherever they came from.

(a) Egypt and Its Foreign Neighbors

The exchange of products, processes of technology, marketing, and perspective between Egypt and its neighbors during the early New Kingdom are well known. What makes them special and fitting into a defined concept such as Open Innovation is the obvious desire to seek exchange. Wolfgang Helck in his study *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien* (1971) has shown — and new evidence is coming forth all the time, the latest being from the excavations at Qatna — that behind the old rhetoric of Egyptian overlordship, there was in fact now a very lively interest of one culture in the other and a common desire to exchange goods, concepts, terminology, and technology.[22] To quote some examples:

- Not only do the defense borders fall and Middle Kingdom isolation ends as the Hyksos are driven out and a new horizon opens up. In fact, the whole formal process of written diplomatic exchange between Egypt and the other countries begins only in the Second Intermediate Period and in the early New Kingdom (*LÄ* I, 1096; Gundlach and Klug 2004, pp. 6ff., 14).[23]
- Horses and chariots, their origins being in the Near East, find their way to Egypt, where local workshops begin to build chariots and amend their technology (Wilde 2003, pp. 114ff.; Herold 2009; Helck 1971, pp. 417ff.). The terminology may have depended on their Hittite origin (Schneider 1999).
- The so-called sickle-shaped sword is imported from Asia and gets adapted to local needs, receiving a new Egyptian name (Wolf 1926, pp. 66ff.).

When Thutmose I travels north with his first expedition (which seems the more appropriate term given the speed, range, and lack of major military encounters; Hoffmeier 2004, pp. 125ff.), he is reported to have hunted elephants, a feat that Egyptian kings had never done before. His grandson Thutmose III copies him in this. In so doing, they both do more than simply try out a new kind of sport. Rather, they assume a local royal pastime: elephant breeding and hunting was a prerogative of the local kings in city-states like Qatna, where elephant bones and tusks were found as decoration in the royal palace (al-Maqdissi, Morandi Banacossi, and Pfälzner 2009, pp. 190ff.). Probably also at this time, the Sumerian term "hand" for the elephant's trunk was adopted into Egyptian.[24] So we see the king expanding his appearance as master of the world by adopting a foreign royal habit.

Deities are exchanged. Ishtar and Baal arrive in Egypt (Helck 1971, pp. 446ff.) and either are kept as they are or get fused with local goddesses or habits (al-Maqdissi, Morandi Banacossi, and Pfälzner 2009, pp. 90ff.), Horus and Hathor get exported to the Near East (ibid., pp. 222ff.), and the temple that Thutmose III builds in Avaris follows Near Eastern patterns by the way the main god Horus is introduced into the audience chamber and royal cult (ibid., pp. 247ff.). Local versions of Hathor become a popular decorative motif in the Near East, as finds from Qatna and other places prove (Luciani 2006, pp. 27ff.). Another quote stems from a slightly later period: Amenhotep II is described to be "storming like Reshef through the waters." Reshef is

[22] For a general overview and very good reference, see Wilde 2003.

[23] Thomas Schneider has drawn attention to Sinuhe's "Fürstennotiz" in a remarkable article. He offers a new translation that would support the view of earlier diplomatic ties between Egypt and the eastern Levant; this would constitute another example of early innovation predecessors: see Schneider 2002. Note that the focus point here is the exchange of goods, not of messages.

[24] AM.SÌ "the ox with the hand"; al-Maqdissi, Morandi Banacossi, and Pfälzner 2009, pp. 190ff.; cf. *Urk.* IV 893.14–894.2.

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an Asian god of speed and horses, and hence something the Egyptians had no appropriate terminology for yet. So they borrowed the term from their northern neighbors.[25]

Decorative motifs are exchanged. The local adaptation of foreign designs and motifs is found everywhere.[26] Adapted Minoan decorative elements are found not only in Avaris (al-Maqdissi, Morandi Banacossi, and Pfälzner 2009, p. 248; Bietak, Marinatos, and Palivou 2007, pp. 49ff.) but also in Theban private tombs (Wachsmann 1987).

The botanical garden was constructed — and its contents were depicted on the walls of the Karnak temple — with the pointed desire to show every detail,[27] including foreign animals such as the "bird that gives birth daily," which had been imported to add to the local livestock.

The Punt expedition as I have interpreted it above fits the same pattern: while previous expeditions had been seeking the unfamiliar only for booty or for victory — Pepi's dancing dwarf is more a travel souvenir or a fabulous exotic plaything — the Egyptian expedition to the land of Punt appears to have been motivated by categorically different concepts. To them, the encounter and exchange with strange cultures and countries itself were part of a new cultural and innovative paradigm.

The journey to Punt was not only documented in written form: as an innovation, the journey and its encounters, the land, and the people were documented extensively in artistic imagery for "everyone" to see. If the sole aim of the expedition had been — as in previous expeditions — to import incense trees and gold directly, possibly to become less dependent on the overland trade, there would have been no need to show from where and whom these goods came. The insistence on this detail appears to be another example of seeking ideas from anywhere and anyone and hence to be a good example of Open Innovation.

(b) The Pharaoh and the Gods

To what extent did the Pharaoh and the gods share a relation of Open Innovation? The king as the virtual reality of the gods on earth and the gods themselves become faced with new questions at the inception of the New Kingdom. As new horizons are explored in many respects, a new cosmic model is needed to answer questions like "Where does the sun go when it sinks behind the horizon?" and "How can we be sure it will return the next morning?"[28] Even the whereabouts of migrating birds become a question.[29]

Royalty and theology appear to enter what I would call a classic case of Open or Interactive Innovation. The living king enters the realm of the gods — and especially the realm of the creator/sun god — in the new role of a facilitator. He must raise his prayers at every hour of the day and the night to make sure the sun does not get stuck or gets overwhelmed by its enemies. Without his efforts the sun would not continue its movement. The closeness of this interactive process is made visible as the king tows the sun god's boat or is part of his entourage (Assmann 1970, pp. 67ff.).

The case can at least be made for Amun/Amun-Ra, who becomes representative for the Eighteenth Dynasty as no other god does. Amun is the first god who enters the world on a regular basis.[30] The new rising star of the Egyptian pantheon becomes a god with political interests who interacts with the king on a personal level: he begets his own children and lets Hatshepsut hear his voice and wishes as she meets him in the temple or outside her palace (*Urk.* IV 342f. (b); Assmann 1984, pp. 225ff.). As the world of the New Kingdom is created, both god and the kings participate in its design. In other words, both parties give up their secluded remoteness and begin to interact toward a publicly defined mutual goal. Where seclusion used to reign, the exchange of concepts becomes the rule, which is why I would like to define this as another example of Open Innovation.

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[25] Helck 1971, pp. 450, 472, where he adds some more examples of Near Eastern deities exported.

[26] Helck 1971, pp. 408ff. (vessels), 416 (clothes), 503 (daggers). For the adaptation of Egyptian motives in Minoan culture, see Phillips 2006.

[27] "Every strange plant and every beautiful flower [...] plants that His Majesty had found in the mountains of Syria" (*Urk.* IV 776ff.)

[28] Assmann makes an interesting point when he says, "Nicht Konkurrenz sondern Innovation erzeugt den Druck, der zur Theologischen Explikation führt" (Assmann 1984, pp. 224–25).

[29] Assmann 1984, pp. 77ff., where he quotes a passage from the Book of Nut. Interestingly, the first depictions of human-headed *ba*-birds are found in the tomb of Thutmose III in the King's Valley (see Hornung in Dziobek 1994, p. 44).

[30] The story of the divine birth in papyrus Westcar is now dated almost by common consent into either the Second Intermediate Period or the Seventeenth Dynasty. See Morenz 1996, pp. 108ff., nn. 476, 486; and Burkard and Thissen 2003, pp. 177ff.

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(c) The Pharaoh and His Civil Servants

Heike Guksch has devoted much of her book on *Königsdienst* to the new quality of exchange (Guksch 1994, p. 60). The *Königsnovelle* in its contemporary form but also the private biographies are a witness to this new relation between the tangible king and his entourage. Either in the election of the new vizier (Useramun) under Hatshepsut, or in the Battle of Megiddo account, the Pharaoh asks his officials for their assessment of the situation. Either he follows their advice or they follow his (Dziobek 1994, pp. 3ff. and esp. 18ff.). We hear of an officer who describes how he saved his majesty's life — for example, in an elephant attack (Guksch 1994, pp. 60ff.). And we hear of architects who constructed tombs and temples for their king to ensure his afterlife (*Urk.* IV 54.10f.; Dziobek 1992, pp. 48, 52; Guksch 1994, p. 97) and engineers who produce and transport obelisks in record time, or invent a clock, or who design unheard-of kinds of statues (Guksch 1994, p. 92).

And hence does not only the king give life, well-being, and health to his people, but his people themselves ensure the life, well-being, and health for their king in the most literary sense of the word.

Other discussions must have evolved around tomb architecture, again with the king and his entourage as partners in dialogue. The decorated burial shaft or subterranean chambers are another new shared concept of the time. Both parties experiment with decorated subterranean rooms — eventually this element goes to the king. The pyramid, on the other hand, is in use for kings until Thutmose I, after which time it is transferred to private tombs (Dziobek 1989).

Recessed panelling as a tomb-front decoration — hitherto a royal symbol — is tried out by private persons (Useramun, Puiemra, Senenmut, and Ineni); eventually neither the royal house nor private tomb owners pursue this element any longer until the Late Period (Dziobek 1989, pp. 110ff.).

I would like to think that not only can we transfer the models of Innovation Processes from our times to antiquity, but also that there are accompanying terms in the language of ancient Egypt. Guksch explains how a whole new terminology evolves around the new relationship between officials and king, culminating in the term *jmj jb* (Guksch 1994, pp. 37ff.), which describes a particular status of trust and exchange based on common personal history. Other than *mḥ jb* "he who follows the heart of the king," which describes the trust that the king puts in someone to fulfill a particular task, the term *mḥ jb* is therefore also used in the time of Akhenaton, whereas *jmj jb* is only used during early Eighteenth Dynasty and is not found in the time of Akhenaton's reign. To quote Guksch, "To whom the king 'opens his heart', with whom he confers privately, must be someone whom he trusts — a trust that can have arisen out of working together closely or from the experience of shared enterprises" (ibid., p. 38). The term is witness to the fact that king and officials were equal partners in a new kind of project, namely the innovation of Egypt, to be ready for the challenges of the Late Bronze Age. This innovation was put into action by means that had not been used for a long time — if indeed it had ever been used before.

(d) The Leading Civil Servants among Themselves ("Lead Users")

Open Innovation as the exchange of ideas must have existed among the elite of the civil servants also. Tomb architecture is the one field where this point is made easiest. In fact, here we see such an intensive discourse that it is appropriate to apply the term "Lead Users" to this group and their interaction.

Lead Users are the people who choose "Design Spaces" (Baldwin, Hienerth, and von Hippel 2006; von Hippel 1988, p. 107) and fill them with their creative potential. They drive innovation in exchange among themselves, for their own personal benefit. And most of all, they "face needs that will be general in a market place — but they face them years before the majority."

If we choose just the field of private tombs, then it appears that there is a typical case of Lead Usership at work.[31] The would-be tomb owners of the time found that they had a variety of un-met needs toward their resting places for eternity:

[31] Melanie Wasmuth (2003, p. 203) offers a very helpful overview of various "Gestaltungsformen."

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- Their expanding personality concept resulted in the need for an expanding room concept (Guksch 1994, pp. 11ff.).
- The new sun theology with its mortuary cult implication demanded new architectural solutions.
- The constant work on new architectural elements in the temples and the royal cemetery asked for reflection in private environments.
- The growing diversity and inventory of ideas about contents of tomb decoration proper, biographical, religious, and rite de passage needed physical space.

Middle Kingdom private tomb architecture left behind in Thebes provided no satisfying answers to all these new demands. *Saff*-tombs and corridor-tombs provided too little room and space for the numerous new ideas that needed to be tried out. What remains remarkable is that there must have been a desire to discuss and structure all the new demands with the aim to find common and binding concepts. It seems to prove our case that we have more than just a group of wealthy patrons at work but that these were closely interacting — as typically Lead Users will do.[32] Hence the leading civil servants of the time began using the Middle Kingdom tombs as a first platform for further interactive development:

- *Tomb-front design* begins to get very focused attention. There are niches, recessed panels, windows, stela(e), and even an imitation of the Deir el-Bahari temple, often protected by high walls of very varied description (Kampp 1996, pp. 61ff.; Polz 2007, pp. 279ff.). The common denominator of this activity must have been a much-expanded concept of the "Beautiful Feast of the Valley" with its elaborate processions along the necropolis.
- *The room concept* of the transverse hall evolves within the period, from the early New Kingdom to Amenhotep II, through a number of steps and with various solutions — either by closing the spaces between the *saff*-façades of older tombs, or by designing rooms with windows; by raising the ceiling, or by designing closed dark halls with only the door as a source of natural light — all ending in the same result, namely a newly found room. This room offered the necessary frame for the various new forms of the autobiography, written or painted (Guksch 1994, pp. 11ff.; Kampp 1996, pp. 111ff.).

Another example, the shape of ceilings, which until the end of the Middle Kingdom had always been flat, undergoes a particular phase of transition (Kampp 1996, pp. 45ff.): shrine shaped, tent shaped, vaulted, or gabled (Senenmut's tomb being the epitome of all of them, but also Puiemra has various ceiling shapes[33]). The "*Neue Grundform*" of the New Kingdom Theban private tomb is found toward the end of the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty (Engelmann-von Carnap 1999, p. 61).

- *The funerary chambers* undergo a particularly varied design process. The sloping passage disappears, and the now-vertical shaft is moved from the inner chapel to the transverse hall or the court (Kampp 1996, p. 85). It may even be located outside the tomb precinct proper, as, for example, TT 87 and possibly TT 81 (Polz 2007, p. 250). In a number of instances, the burial chambers are decorated: with the Amduat (TT 61), the Book of the Dead (TT 11, 82, 87, 353, 96), a zodiac (TT 353) (Dorman 1991, pp. 99ff.), and fancy decoration as the famous wine leaves of TT 96. Why the tradition of the decorated burial chamber was not pursued any further we can only guess; maybe the sheer cost of the undertaking prohibited further experimenting, or the king withdrew his permission.
- *The superstructures* of the tombs equally undergo a process of experimenting. Façades are adorned with sun-cult niches or pyramids or statue chapels (Dziobek 1989; Kampp 1996, pp. 108ff.). In the end, a simple façade with some high adjustment and a sun-cult niche above the entry become the rule.

[32] Alfred Hermann was the first to point this out; Hermann 1940, pp. 13ff.

[33] For further examples of ceiling forms, see Kampp 1996, pp. 45ff., and esp. Dorman 1991, p. 27, fig. 2. In general, one cannot help feeling that Senenmut was the leading character in this "Lead User" group of tomb builders.

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- *The canon of wall decoration* develops among complicated conditions of social stratification and content-specific discourse: biographical (Guksch 1994, pp. 11ff.), representation of the king, representation of the gods, offering and feasting, and burial rites each undergoes its own development (Engelmann-von Carnap 1999, pp. 377ff.).
- *Building technology* is mentioned by Ineni in his biography. One interpretation of the "fields of clay" is that they describe the grounding of tomb walls with Nile mud, which is then covered with a thin layer of lime for painting. Initially, this technology seems to have been only used by tomb owners of lower social strata (the very elite preferred pure lime), later all tombs are found to be using this inexpensive yet solid technology (Dziobek 1992, pp. 139ff.).

To conclude, this interactive creative process in its most active phase stretches over a period of about twenty-five years, between the time of Thutmose I and Thutmose III, after which the creativity of variation begins to slacken. The "Lead Users" of the time have set the standards, and it appears that the desire for innovative change is significantly reduced from now on.[34] Once the standards are set and no further room for innovative movement is seen, the key players leave the field. The next generation will go elsewhere to develop their innovative potential.

"Closed Innovation"

Of course, not every innovation in Egypt at that time was the result of Open or Interactive Innovation. There were indeed very private innovation processes. Ineni even provides us with a term for an innovation that is not shared: *n mȝ n sḏm*.[35] The invention of the new royal cemetery was thus the result of Closed Innovation.

Another field of closed idea exchange regards the new textual interpretation of the underworld. Not only is the name itself, *zs n ꜥ.t jmn.t* "the writings of the hidden chamber," fitting for Closed Innovation, but also in its treatment there is no hint of a detailed public discourse: the Amduat and the Litany of the Sun in its first versions are split between the burial chambers of Thutmose III and his vizier Useramun.[36] Nowhere else do we find any similar representation.[37]

"Disruptive Innovation"

It is the kind of innovation that is first considered irrelevant to the "big players" in the market — until they notice that this very innovation has found its own new market and is beginning to pull the carpet from under them. The reason for this failure is usually that the traditional and highly profitable products are beginning to lose their client base. The numerous examples quoted above are easy to identify in the history of the last four centuries because of the interest that modern Western European historiographers have always had in such "David versus Goliath" events. The often total state control over written history in ancient societies makes it harder for us to identify examples of disruptive innovation. The discovery of writing may have been such a case, which at its first invention may have been considered a tool that only administration clerks would be using to count their sacks of grain;[38] the famous invention of Ineni might have been another case of Disruptive Innovation: a technology that he and his peers would not use but maybe "poorer" people should — until everybody adopted the technology.

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[34] Polz (2007, p. 310) comes to a similar conclusion.

[35] *Urk.* IV 57.4–5; Dziobek 1992, pp. 137ff., with two further occurrences of the phrase.

[36] Both must have used a common document, as Eric Hornung has shown (Hornung in Dziobek 1994, pp. 44ff. and specifically p. 46 with regard to the Litany of the Sun.

[37] This is the first architectural representation of the astronomical sky (Dorman 1991, pp. 140ff.).

[38] Cf. the interesting thoughts that Orly Goldwasser has published (2010) on the origins of the proto-Sinaitic alphabet, a synthetic alphabet using only the first letters of the images that they chose for letters.

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Conclusion: Can Modern Definitions Help Us Understand an Ancient Society and How Did Innovativity Feel in the Era of Hatshepsut?

Our notion of history tends to ride a high horse because we use bicameral thinking: "the present" is our own time, and it is usually identical with the perception that nothing has ever been as modern as the present — given the enormous progress of technology and insight everywhere around us. "The past" is a different entity and totally removed from our grasp — often even within our own lifetime. Therefore, cultures that have existed in the past and have had to organize their lives without the blessings of modern knowledge are often called "amazing" — as if nobody could ever have expected anything much from people with means less than ours. This insight has never been formulated more beautifully than by Pulitzer Prize–winning author Dave Barry in his column "The Right Stuff" (1994).[39] In one of his weekly (humorist) columns, Barry discusses medieval siege technologies and imagines the following dialogue between a contemporary couple:

> HUSBAND: Hi honey! I'm home from my medieval job in the field of crossbow sales! What's for dinner?
>
> WIFE: Your favorite! A nice big mutton...
>
> *(a dead horse comes crashing through the ceiling, spewing maggots everywhere)*
>
> HUSBAND: Actually, I'm not hungry.
>
> WIFE: I cannot wait for the Renaissance.

It would be a lot fairer and easier if we could try to think of ourselves, too, as a culture of the past: while we consider ourselves as the spearhead of modernity, people two generations from now will look at us and think of us as "amazing — given all the restrictions they had!" Maybe this would enable us to slip into the mindset of those early Eighteenth Dynasty makers I have tried to describe:

- As Egypt opened to the world in the Late Bronze Age, it did so in a concentrated effort. The spirit in which this happened was one of competition and pressure, on all levels within and without.
- The pharaoh needed to prove that he and his dynasty really were the new leaders of his people — and not just a warlord among others.
- Theology needed a new definition that diverted the focus from the question whether the ancient gods might be responsible for the humiliation suffered at the fall of the Middle Kingdom.
- The elite of the land competed among themselves for material and immaterial success.
- And all of the system was in a tight competition with the rest of the foreign world.

The moment is also defined by an ecological equilibrium that characterizes the scene: the global and local political players were either tired of physical fighting or unable to apply enough of it; at any event a temporary roof of pragmatic political stalemate came into existence, both on a local and on a global level, that offered the chance for a free exchange of ideas and powers.

This — relative — peace and openness did not last for long as the various bases of power regrouped and results became manifest one or two generations later.

- The Egyptian kings perfected the concept of the divine birth, excluding almost anybody else from their power base.
- The global scenery became cleared by the appearance of the Hittites.
- The ones to lose out were the Egyptian officials whose political and spiritual independence was getting narrower by the increasing dynastic dominance since Amenhotep II, and by the offensive against the *Persönliche Frömmigkeit* under Akhenaton.

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[39] My deep appreciation goes out to Judi Smith, assistant to Dave Barry, for finding this passage and answering my request in record time!

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- The others to lose much if not all were the small city-states of the Levant, with Qatna as a most depressing example of political and military violence in the contemporary Near East.

However, all this had not yet become reality during the period we have been looking at. For one short moment in history, everything seemed possible; nothing had been decided, and nobody could claim total ownership of ideas or power. There was enough room for countless players to bring their ideas to the marketplace, and what we would today describe as an Open Innovation environment and Lead User Design Spaces came into being. In a rare effort of history, many competitors had their chance to contribute to the unique and typical yet highly differentiated cultural horizon of the late Bronze Age in the Mediterranean world.

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3

Worldview and Royal Discourse in the Time of Hatshepsut

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Ancient Egyptian civilization very early on developed a detailed mental mapping of humanity's natural and cosmic environment. Not only was nature observed and described, but the main purpose seems to have been to explain various natural processes. The endeavor to make the natural environment comprehensible within a semantic system was pursued with several descriptive strategies. Among the most important of these was the personalization of most natural phenomena through which the functioning of the world could be understood as actions undertaken in a mythical setting. Various conceptions — mostly formulated in the metaphorical language of myth — offered plausible explanations for natural and cosmic phenomena. These mythological descriptions amounted to a worldview — a coherent system of sense and order — that in its turn served as conceptual background and was constitutive to many aspects of Egyptian culture. Most importantly, the definition of kingship and its relation to both human and divine society were intimately linked to the way in which nature and cosmos were understood. Although the main outlines of this general worldview remained valid during millenaries, the semantic range of most of the conceptions it included was not entirely immutable.

Just as political and social realities are susceptible to change in every civilization, so the fictions that give sense to the world and the cultural realities are bound to evolve. In Egypt, changes and evolutions of conceptions were generally not expressed through radically new ideas or the refutation of existing ones, but rather more subtly, and always within the same frame of mythological language, through shifting emphasis. Certain concepts were emphasized during particular periods because they were considered especially relevant and more closely in correspondence with actual situations or prevailing ideas on other levels of thought.

A Shift in Worldview

In the Egyptian religious system, shifts in emphasis could be expressed either through subtle modifications in existing texts, through the insertion of explicative glosses, as in the example presented below, or through new formulations and compositions that were gradually set next to older ones or replaced them. Changes of the context in which a text was mobilized can also indicate conceptual shifts. In contrast to this relative openness and wide range of possibilities, the religions of the book (Judaism, Christianity, Islam) have to express conceptual changes on the periphery of their core text in the form of interpretations.

In our extant documentation, worldview and cosmological conceptions are prominently present in funerary literature. Thanks to its fairly coherent tradition, this corpus allows us to observe shifts in emphasis and the emergence of concepts that were less salient in preceding periods. A particularly clear example is provided by the insertion of a new passage with its corresponding explanation into a Coffin Text spell taken over into the very early versions of the Book of the Dead.

The frequently attested version of Coffin Text spell 335 (CT IV, 184b–189a) begins with the following sentences:

> Here comes into being a speech by me, Atum, who was alone. I am Ra at his first appearings, when he arose from the horizon. I am the great one, the self-created.

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When this spell was integrated into the text of what we now call the Book of the Dead chapter 17, its initial passage underwent a profound rewriting. New thoughts were set into the traditional text:

> Here comes into being a speech by me, Atum, who was alone in the Nun. I am Ra at his first appearings when he began to rule what he had made.
>
> What does mean "Ra when he began to rule what he had made"?
>
> It is Ra who began (to act) as king of what he had made before the Supports of Shu had come into being [...]
>
> I am the great one, the self-created. (Lapp 2006, pp. 8–19)

In the early versions of the Book of the Dead, this spell was often placed at the beginning of the sequence of spells. The new elements that were inserted into the first paragraph must thus have been particularly prominent and significant. The textual change and its explicative gloss must have expressed ideas that were considered of great importance and relevance. The editorial process took place in a period between the Thirteenth and the very early Eighteenth Dynasties. The beginning of Book of the Dead chapter 17 is first attested, to our present knowledge, on at least one shroud and on a papyrus that, based on archaeological context and textual analysis date, from before the sole reign of Thutmose III and from a milieu that consists of royal relatives and high officials (Franco 1988; Munro 1995).

Two ideas are salient in this change in the textual tradition. They are both expressed in mythological terms and formulated as actions undertaken by the creator god Atum/Ra at some specific moment in the course of the world's past. First comes the statement that Ra began to rule as king. The following phrase asserts that Ra had made the world "before the Supports of Shu had come into being," a metaphor denoting a period before heaven and earth were separated. The inserted passage refers (1) to the concept that there was an original phase of creation before the separation of heaven and earth, and (2) that the secondary and actual state of the world is characterized by the rule of Ra as king. Both ideas are hardly noticeable in Old or Middle Kingdom texts; they seem to have emerged and gained relevance during the time span mentioned above of the mid-eighteenth to mid-sixteenth century B.C. (Thirteenth to early Eighteenth Dynasties). For reasons that are difficult to establish, these two concepts seem to have become such a crucial aspect of the worldview, at a certain point in history, that they were integrated into one of the most frequently used funerary spells in order to update and actualize the text.

The phrase "Ra ... began (to act) as king of what he had made before the Supports of Shu had come into being" refers to the awareness that there was a state of the world's creation before the actual one. The image implies the concept of a phase where heaven and earth, and gods and men, existed together, and it explains the actual cosmic structures as secondary and as the result of a separation. The concept of a secondary state of creation contains two major implications: the perception of a temporal distance between the present and the original, ideal state of creation, on the one hand, and the notion of a spatial divide between actual earthly existence and the abode of the gods in heaven, on the other hand. Both the temporal and the cosmic spatial dimensions were perceived as altered and as exceedingly extended.

A kind of nostalgia might have been the consequence of this conception. It might have led to an attitude of longing and looking back to a more original and ideal time, and to the research of strategies through which heaven and earth could be related and symbolically reunited. Yet another line of thought was to look for the reasons that had brought the gods to change the world structure; this line of thought is most prominently developed in the myth of the Heavenly Cow or the Destruction of Mankind (Hornung 1982; Bickel 2013).

The second major concept that had become central concerns the character of the creator god. The older texts describe this deity as being mainly concerned with creation, its setting up, and its sustainment. The new conception, however, gave the creator god an active role within the world. Since the beginning of his attested existence, Amun was considered the protector and guarantor of kingship, and his temple at Karnak was set up to stage many rites of royal empowerment (Gabolde 1998, pp. 145–57). A very decisive shift of the god's role can, however, be observed under Hatshepsut. Henceforth, the god not only acted as supreme

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guard of the institution of kingship,[1] but also engaged in active rulership. Ra and with him Amun-Ra was considered as being himself king, and as such he intervened with his command and his actions within the created world (J. P. Allen in Roehrig 2005, pp. 83–85). This idea was developed in terms of mythology and worldview (very prominently in New Kingdom hymns) as well as in terms of royal discourse and politics.

From their insertion into the beginning of Book of the Dead chapter 17, we can deduce that these conceptions existed during the time of Hatshepsut, that they were part of the prevailing worldview, and that they were highly meaningful within the sphere of the intellectual and leading elite. It is the purpose of the following lines to investigate how the new perception of creation and cosmos affected the sphere of political thought and the presentation of kingship and royal action.

Hatshepsut's Royal Discourse

Since very early pharaonic times, the concept of kingship was closely interwoven with concepts of worldview. The ideology of kingship, which was expressed through royal discourse,[2] was an integral part of the system of thought through which the world's structures and functioning were conceived.

Looking at the relatively rich documentation of so-called official or historical texts from the time of Hatshepsut, it is interesting to observe that the royal discourse that was developed to describe and promote this specific ruler contains a series of significant and frequently repeated topics and ideas that were either new or given new prominence and significance in this kind of text compared to earlier periods.

The principal extant compositions — those published in the *Urkunden* (namely the birth legend, the Punt inscription, the Karnak obelisks, and the Speos Artemidos inscription), as well as the coronation inscription from the *Chapelle Rouge* (Lacau and Chevrier 1977) — all integrate these salient topics. Through their consistency and evident intertextuality, they show that a coherent rhetoric was developed and applied to the different contexts and genres.[3] Some of these topics stand in clear relation to the actualized worldview sketched above. They seem to have been promoted in order to respond to the current views on the state of creation. They also illustrate the conceptual unity that existed between those contexts that used entirely mythological terms and others that applied the language of royal discourse.

Among the topics that appear with conspicuous frequency in Hatshepsut's texts, and that seem to stand in clear relation to the prevalent worldview, I concentrate on the following selection:

- Love and intimate understanding between Amun and Hatshepsut; some twenty passages refer to this theme.
- Thought and knowledge; this central aspect appears in about thirty mentions.
- Hatshepsut's obedience to Amun's order or wish is expressed in at least twelve passages.
- The topic of prophecy, according to which Hatshepsut's kingship was foreseen already in remote times, appears in six prominent text passages.
- Hatshepsut's actions for the future are in the center of at least eleven passages.
- Hatshepsut addresses mankind in order to explain and promote her program in five occurrences.

Traditional themes of royal discourse, such as the warrior character and domination of foreign regions, also appear regularly in Hatshepsut's texts but rather in the form of stock phrases and general, almost self-evident customary characteristics of the ruler.

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[1] It is rather in this sense of protector and with little active political implication that Amun carries occasionally the royal epithet *nb t3.wj* or the more specific *nsw t3.wj* from the Twelfth Dynasty onward (Lacau and Chevrier 1956–1969).

[2] I will use the term "royal discourse" rather than "royal ideology" or "royal dogma." For the notion of "*Herrschaftsdiskurs*," see el-Hawary 2010, pp. 348–61. For a general approach to the type of texts termed "historical inscriptions," see Eyre 1996.

[3] For the compositional coherence of the birth legend and the Punt expedition, or even of the entire decoration of the second terrace of Deir el-Bahari, see O'Connor 2009 and Barbotin 2004.

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Another current theme, namely the description of the king's divine or godlike character and appearance, is developed several times. This subject has clear Middle Kingdom antecedents, but it is, in Hatshepsut's texts, set into new words and given a new relevance within the entire concept of royal discourse.

Bridging the Spatial Distance

One central component of the concept, which was used to promote Hatshepsut's kingship, is the very traditional idea of filiation. Since the Second Dynasty, kings were considered the sons of the gods, in particular of the sun god (Kahl 2007, pp. 45–46). The idea was definitely not new, but the innovation consisted in the central place it assumed in the concept of Hatshepsut's kingship. The so-called birth legend takes a prominent space in the decoration program of the Deir el-Bahari temple. This text also underlies several passages in other inscriptions and seems to function as a kind of core narrative for numerous intertextual references. It constitutes the basis of the entire concept and communication strategy that was developed to foster the intended understanding of Hatshepsut's reign. The composition of the birth legend was perhaps not entirely an innovation of Hatshepsut's period, as elements of birth-related scenes appear to have been identified in the funerary complex of Senwosret III (Oppenheim 2011). However, Hatshepsut's intellectuals certainly emphasized this composition. One might also hypothesize that the explicit historicization of this motif, in the form of the union of the mythical sphere of Amun with the historical sphere of Queen Ahmose, was their invention. Older concepts rather seem to imagine the ruling king as the offspring of a god and a goddess (Re and Hathor, e.g., in Old Kingdom funerary temples; Voß 2004, pp. 163–64). Divine descent ran parallel to human descent; they are, however, not known to have been combined in historical contexts, although this idea is already present in the fictional setting of papyrus Westcar (Jenni 1998; for the probable origin in the Second Intermediate Period, see Parkinson 2002, pp. 295–96). Whether the idea of the union of the god and the actual human queen-mother really was a new feature in this particular context or not, it clearly expressed a central notion of Hatshepsut's royal discourse. The union of Amun and the queen served as a lively testimony of how intimately the sphere of men was related to the sphere of the gods through the actual kingship of Hatshepsut.

The Theme of Love

The remarkable frequency of the topic of love and intimacy between the god and the sovereign is directly based on the concept of filiation. One can wonder whether this topic of filial love and understanding was considered particularly suited to combine an old and central concept of royal ideology with the fact that the king was female, but nonetheless the child and heir of the god.

We have to remember, in this context, that the Egyptian concept of love, *mrw.t*, differs quite radically from modern views.[4] Rather than referring to an emotion or subjective feeling, *mrw.t* primarily stresses the fact that love is a dynamic force, a bond and binding power that emanates from the one who loves (Mathieu 1996, pp. 168–72).

Hatshepsut's texts go far beyond traditional epithets like *mry Jmn* "beloved of Amun" (or any other deity), in discursive phrases like "My (Amun's) heart lives for the love of you" (*Urk.* IV 347.15 –Punt), or Amun "loves his daughter Maatkara more than the kings who existed before" (*Urk.* IV 320.11–12, 322.12–13 –Punt).

The intimate understanding between the god and Hatshepsut is emphasized in several texts where she is called "darling," literally "the one who is in my heart" (*jmj.t jb=j*): "sweet daughter, my darling, king Maatkara, ... who fills my temple with the contemplation (*sḫ3*) of her love" (*Urk.* IV 343.6–9 –Punt), and "He (Amun) has announced me as his darling" (*Urk.* IV 353.11 –Punt). Building upon this expression *jmj.t jb*, the texts repeatedly state that Hatshepsut has access to Amun's heart and that she knows what is in his heart (i.e., his mind) and what he wishes: "I entered the wishes of his heart" (*Urk.* IV 363.15 –obelisk), or "He desires me as

[4] For the social aspects, see Münch and Moers 2005.

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his darling, (because) I know all he wishes" (*Urk.* IV 353.11–12 –Punt). In return Amun says, "You please my heart all the time" (*Urk.* IV 343.13 –Punt).

The relation of father and daughter is also alluded to in a paraphrase of the idea that the god set the king on his throne: "he made me appear on his own arms, I was brought up (*rnn*) as king (strong-armed Horus) as he made me sit on the Supports of Horus" (Lacau and Chevrier 1977, p. 136 –coronation). Through the description of this fatherly gesture, this passage of the coronation inscription establishes a clear reference to the birth scene.

All these statements underline a reciprocal bond and an intimacy of understanding between father and daughter, a relation of harmony and complicity.[5] This intimacy is of course also expressed in the epithet "united with Amun," which is regularly affixed to Hatshepsut's name and was, according to the birth legend, chosen by the god himself (*Urk.* IV 221.7). This epithet finds its illustration and confirmation in these text passages. It has to be stressed, however, that the intimacy described is always the one of father and daughter. Unlike Hatshepsut's previous sacerdotal role as "god's wife, his beloved," no sexual connotation appears in the descriptions of her relation with Amun while she was pharaoh.

Visual illustrations of this ethos of harmony also existed, other than in the birth legend. In the context of the Punt expedition, a statue is described so precisely that it was perhaps of a new typology, designed to stress the unity of god and king: "she made a statue of this god united (*snsn*) with a statue of King Maatkara, it was made out of one single block of granite" (*Urk.* IV 319.12–14 –Punt). One is reminded of the type of seated statues of Amun holding a figure of the king standing or kneeling in front of him. This type of statue is probably depicted in the tomb of one of Hatshepsut's officials (whose name is lost, TT 73; Säve-Söderbergh 1957, pl. 9; Seidel 1996, p. 128); it is perhaps also referred to in the iconography of coronation shown on the left wall of the Speos Artemidos (Bickel and Chappaz 1993, pp. 98–100), on top of the obelisks, and also in the aforementioned tomb (Säve-Söderbergh 1957, pl. 3). This type is so far attested as actual statues from the reign of Amenhotep II onward. It has, however, a counterpart in contemporaneous private statuary where the motive of embrace appears for the first time and very prominently, in statues depicting Hatshepsut's male officials embracing symbols of her name.

The Theme of Knowledge

A salient theme in Hatshepsut's texts concerns knowledge and thought. This topic is sometimes paralleled with the one of filial love. Amun and the king are united by common knowledge: they govern the world through mutual acquaintance and consideration. This insistence on an intellectual approach of governance again applies to both Amun and Hatshepsut. They are both described as being aware of the other's capacities and their direct impact on the management of the country.

> "Amun knows her efficiency." (*Urk.* IV 350.16 –Punt)
>
> "God knows this about me; he gave me the dominion over Egypt." (*Urk.* IV 368.7 –obelisk)
>
> "He has handed over to me what is with him, because he knew that I would conduct it for him." (*Urk.* IV 368.13–14 –obelisk)
>
> "Oh my father who has thought of it all; what do you wish to happen? I will do what you command." (Lacau and Chevrier 1977, p. 99 –coronation)

Thinking and knowing are faculties particularly often attributed to Hatshepsut. Many passages insist on her knowledge, her meditation, and her very conscious actions: "Listen you [...] I have done this by the thought of my heart" (*Urk.* IV 390.1–2 –Speos Artemidos).

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[5] Hatshepsut and Amun also unite through their *nfr.w* "beauty," a concept related to *mrw.t* "love" (Lacau and Chevrier 1977, pp. 136–39).

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Middle Kingdom texts already state that the king uses his thought as decisional power, or that he reflects and considers certain matters (Blumenthal 1970, pp. 325–28). The Semna stelae of Sesostris III, the loyalist texts, and the hymns to the king's diadem clearly attest this feature of royal discourse. In Middle Kingdom sources, however, the king's knowledge and thought are unidirectional, and they mainly serve his decision making. In Hatshepsut's texts, by contrast, the intellectual capacities are primarily mentioned to describe her all-pervading relation either to Amun or to her people.

> "Hatshepsut thought (*sḫȝ*) about the one who has created her." (*Urk.* IV 364.17 –obelisk)
>
> "I know his character; I am aware of his strength; (my) heart is content with his dispositions." (Lacau and Chevrier 1977, p. 137 –coronation)
>
> "I have magnified Maat he loves, for I know that he lives on it." (*Urk.* IV 384.15–16 –Speos Artemidos)
>
> "I do not forget anything of what he has ordered, for my majesty knows that he is divine." (*Urk.* IV 363.5–6 –obelisk)

The topic of knowledge and consideration of each other was used as a further means of expressing the proximity of the god and the king, their complicity, and the reciprocity of their actions.

One may question whether the ritual text known as The King as Sun-priest (Assmann 1970) should also be read in this context. Knowledge is a key feature of this text, where the affirmation of the king's acquaintance with the cosmic process of sunrise is combined with a definition of the sovereign's ritual functions as guarantor of this same process. This text is first attested at Deir el-Bahari, and — whether it is an earlier composition or not — it was certainly considered to be relevant to the concept of kingship in Hatshepsut's time, demonstrating how knowledge united the divine and earthly spheres.

Knowledge also connected Hatshepsut to her people. In exchange for her intense effort of communication and explanation of the guiding concepts of her leadership, adhering understanding and comprehension were requested from her people. "Listen you! [...] My majesty has announced this to you so that the entire land may see, and that the ignorant and the knowing will know" (*Urk.* IV 367.13, 368.1 –obelisk). The same obelisk inscription also states, "Beware of saying 'I do not know, I do not know why these were made'" (*Urk.* IV 365.10–11 –obelisk). Hatshepsut's very specific way of integrating people into her program of government and communication is discussed below.

As mentioned above, one salient aspect of the theological and cosmological concepts attested in the time of Hatshepsut was that the separation between heaven and earth was defined as a secondary state of the world, a correction of the original creation. The direct implication of this concept was a new perception of the respective spheres of gods and men. The gods were probably always considered to reside in heaven, but this situation was now envisaged as an altered state, as a retreat of the gods to enforce a separation from men.

The royal discourse of Hatshepsut seems to have made every possible endeavor to demonstrate that this distance was being bridged through her existence and action. Mutual love and intimate knowledge linked the main god to the representative of men. One may speculate whether the obelisks, the height of the Eighth Pylon, and perhaps even the step construction of Deir el-Bahari were designed to the same purpose of expressing the effort to overcome the distance and to (re)connect heaven and earth.

Divine and Royal Kingship

Royal discourse of Hatshepsut's time also seems to respond to and expand upon the concept of the kingship of the creator god that was emphasized by contemporaneous theological texts (funerary and hymnic) and was not prevalent in earlier times.[6] The keyword of this topic is *wḏ*, the divine "order" that expresses the ruling power of both god and king. Many passages speak of Amun leading Hatshepsut and her acting according to his orders.[7] A few examples will suffice:

[6] The partial version of papyrus Boulaq 17 on a statue of the Seventeenth Dynasty (BM 40959) might be one of the earliest traces of this concept (Luiselli 2004, pp. xviii–xix, 49).

[7] This phenomenon is treated in detail by Luc Gabolde in the present volume.

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> "I am king upon the order of my father from whom I came forth." (Lacau and Chevrier 1977, p. 147 –coronation)
>
> "I act under his order; it is he who guides me." (*Urk.* IV 363.7–8 –obelisk)[8]
>
> "Her heart is compliant to what he has ordered." (*Urk.* IV 350.11 –Punt)
>
> "I (Hatshepsut) let you (people) know what has been ordered to me. I obey my father." (*Urk.* IV 252.16–17 –Punt)
>
> "I (Amun) will instruct you so that you can conduct on my behalf." (Lacau and Chevrier 1977, p. 126 –coronation)

Almost as in a modern government, the land was described as being conducted by a legislative and an executive force. The legislative force — that which gives orders and thus acts typically like a king — is the god. The theological definition of Amun as king who governs the world gave Hatshepsut the opportunity to characterize her actions as executions of the god's orders.

The themes of orders and guidance, and of intellectual perception and love, were combined several times. An elaborate example is a passage in one of the obelisk inscriptions: "I act according to his order; he is the one who guides me. I would not have thought of construction work without his acting. It is he who gave instructions [...] my heart is Sia/perception concerning my father" (*Urk.* IV 363.7–14 –obelisk).

Under the reign of Hatshepsut, very particular and radically new procedures were designed to make the god Amun express his will and order directly on earth. The coronation inscription describes how Hatshepsut's election to kingship was commissioned through an impressive *bjȝj.t*-oracle (Lacau and Chevrier 1977, Gillen 2005, M. Müller 2005). The Punt expedition was reportedly also undertaken upon the god's explicit assignment. The god's orders were not only revealed to the king through their intimate mutual understanding, but they were also materialized and enacted through organized oracles (*nḏ.wt-rȝ*): "The king himself, the king Maatkara, the majesty of the palace came to the terrace of the lord of the gods to hear the order in the sanctuary (great seat), the oracle of the god himself (saying): 'Seek the ways to Punt [...]'" (*Urk.* IV 342.9–13 –Punt).

If Hatshepsut needed to legitimize her rule beyond the traditional forms of legitimating royal power (Baines 1995), then the concept of her joint government with the supreme deity would probably have been a potent argument. Despite the common assumption that many of her texts reflect strategies of justification, no contemporaneous sources give us any indication whether, or for what reason, Hatshepsut in particular would have needed specific legitimation and justification. She was certainly not the only ruler who was confronted with political tension, which is frequently alluded to in the inscriptions (Gnirs 2006). The way with which textual and visual representations integrate her femininity does not point to any gender problem. We cannot even be certain that gender issues rather than political or other reasons were responsible for the later persecution of her memory.

The rhetoric of the joint government was probably rather intended to demonstrate, once more, the closeness of the divine king and the human king. It was a way of illustrating how the divine order was revealed and realized on earth through Hatshepsut. All these topics of the royal discourse might have been designed to counter the feeling that the gods had retreated from human preoccupations and to bridge the conceptual divide between earth and heaven.

As the more event-oriented "historical texts" of Hatshepsut's predecessors and even more of her successors, the official compositions of her reign corroborate the reestablishment of Maat through her deeds (expedition to Punt, erection of obelisks, restoration of temples). The concept of Maat is closely related to the vision of the world's original and ideal state, which had to be reactivated by every king's actions. In addition to the emphasis on actions and achievements, Hatshepsut's inscriptions seem to concede a particular effort in demonstrating the close relation of the actual time of her reign and the original phase of creation.

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[8] The same expression, "Amun who guides me," occurs in the much-damaged historical text from Deir el-Bahari concerning Hatshepsut's northward journey (Popko 2006, pp. 166–71).

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Bridging the Temporal Divide

The worldview, which considered the actual state as an adaptation of creation, also implied the feeling of a temporal distance and of an unfortunate separation between the present and the origin of creation, which was always considered the ideal condition of the world.

The Themes of Prophecy and Action for the Future

This temporal aspect also seems to have been consciously dealt with in royal inscriptions. The main argument in this respect was the motive of prophecy.

> "I have been foretold for ages of years as the one who originated to take possession." (*Urk.* IV 390.13 –Speos Artemidos)
>
> "I (Amun) have prophesied this (the Punt expedition) long ago, I have looked at this for ages until now, countless years." (*Urk.* IV 344.2–4 –Punt)
>
> Hatshepsut says, "I want to enrich the one who begot me like he has prophesied." (*Urk.* IV 350.3 –Punt)
>
> "Her majesty acted according [...] to what her father prophesied for her long ago." (*Urk.* IV 320.5 –Punt)

The verb *sr* "prophesy, foretell" is conspicuously frequent in Hatshepsut's texts[9] and is clearly to be understood as a divine foresight. A number of passages very explicitly link her reign to extremely remote times when the gods had decided to bring her someday to the throne (Assmann 2009). The phenomenon of a beneficent reign being foretold was also treated in the form of narrative literature, in the Words of Neferti. The good king Ameny is described as somebody who was not predestined for kingship in the traditional form of linage, a theme that was perhaps felt to recall the situation of Hatshepsut's reign (Gnirs 2006; Stauder 2013, pp. 337–433). Whatever the date of its composition, the presence of several copies of this work from the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty points to its relevance and the interest the writers and readers found in its content, which they could relate to the prevailing royal discourse.

One can hypothesize that Hatshepsut's unconventional situation gave her an intense sense of mission (Assmann 2006, p. 71), though it is not certain that this was the central idea of the topic of prediction. The discourse, which relates Hatshepsut's reign to divine plans in the distant past, could also have been a means of establishing a strong correlation between the present and primeval times in order to enhance the conceptual connection with the origins and to overcome the perception of a break in the course of time.

Hatshepsut's reign was not only tied into the dimension of the mythological past, but was also shown to encompass the entire time range. Her action as king was ostensibly directed toward the future.

> "I will cause that one will say in the future: 'How good is what has come into being through her.'" (*Urk.* IV 350.8–9 –Punt)
>
> "I announce to humanity who will exist in the future (*ḥntj*), who will think about this monument [...] who will see it in future times (*n m-ḫt*) [...]." (*Urk.* IV 364.11–15 –obelisk)
>
> "The laws which I commission for the future are excellent." (Lacau and Chevrier 1977, p. 136 –coronation)

In the coronation inscription, Amun asks that his temple be restored and "made excellent for the future" (Lacau and Chevrier 1977, pp. 124–25 –coronation) and continues with the rhetorical question "Would I abrogate the writings of the future?" (ibid., p. 125 –coronation). In the same composition, a long speech of Hatshepsut ends with the words "I say all this in order to explain it to the future" (ibid., p. 136 –coronation). The Speos Artemidos inscription (J. P. Allen 2002) states, "My divine heart searches for the future (*n m-ḫt*); the royal heart is thinking of eternity (*nḥḥ*)" (*Urk.* IV 384.12–13). Concerning the obelisks, the following

[9] In broken context also in *Urk.* IV 348.1, 370.2.

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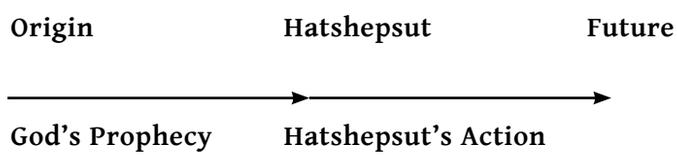
speech is attributed to Hatshepsut: "My heart was thinking about the words of those people who will see my monument in future years [...]" (*Urk.* IV 365.7–8).

These passages are further examples of how several central topics were combined: the concern for the future was part of the intellectual approach through which Hatshepsut's governance was characterized.

Construction work, laws, and her entire royal action were presented as being oriented toward the future. All of Hatshepsut's enterprises were shown as being relevant to those who will come. This discursive strategy does not only serve the "prospective remembrance" inherent in many Egyptian historical texts (Assmann 1992, p. 169), it seems principally destined to convince the contemporary public of the centrality and significance of the current period.

The royal discourse tied Hatshepsut's reign — the present time — into the entire time span of creation: she was foreseen since the beginning, and she has acted for the future and eternity. This argument strategically positioned the reign of Hatshepsut in the center of the entire temporal extent; it was upheld as the crucial moment of the world's existence.



Hatshepsut's Communication

A further prominent aspect in the discourse developed for Hatshepsut is the importance attributed to communication. In almost every one of the longer inscriptions, the sovereign takes the initiative to address her people and all mankind in order to explain her program and to integrate people into her plans. "Listen you all, elite and multitude of commoners. I have done this by the plan of my heart. I do not sleep forgetting, but I have restored what was ruined [...]" (*Urk.* IV 390.2–5 –Speos Artemidos).

> "Listen you! My majesty has announced this to you so that the entire land may see, and that the ignorant and the knowing will know." (*Urk.* IV 367.13–368.1 –obelisk)
>
> "I make you hear; I shine for you over the land of life." (*Urk.* IV 351.1–2 –Punt)
>
> "I announce to humanity (*ḥnmmt*) [...]." (*Urk.* IV 364.11 –obelisk)

As mentioned above, a long passage of the coronation inscription is formulated as a public speech in which Hatshepsut describes her miraculous enthronement and comments her address as a necessary explanation:[10] "I say all this in order to explain it to the future" (Lacau and Chevrier 1977, p. 136 –coronation).

Such passages suggest that official communication was used in order to stimulate people's adherence to Hatshepsut's person and to her projects.[11] Rather than wondering who actually heard or read these public appeals, we should consider them as yet another rhetorical device to express the idea of total integration and solidarity, and as a way of showing that the entire world and everybody was to participate in the adventure of living at the central point of creation.

[10] The term used is *sḫḏ*, lit., "make clear"; cf. German "*erklären.*"

[11] This strategy was also used in the time of Thutmose III; see, e.g., Eyre 1996.

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Conclusion

Without losing sight of the exquisite literary quality and individual specificity of the various compositions written to present Hatshepsut as the ideal ruler, this brief analysis of a selection of prominent topics already reveals a marked coherence of the entire production of royal discourse in her name. Most of these topics are — if at all existent — not central in earlier compositions of this type. They were apparently chosen and emphasized by the text producers for their suitability and their accordance to the current situation.

The intertextuality of all these compositions relies on a common set of ideas and values. Although the compositions develop different themes in various genres, they all center on a global concept and a common semantic system. All the texts promote the crucial message that Hatshepsut's reign conformed with Maat through a number of common ideas, similar phrasings, and key words. This conceptual coherence points to a unified strategy of communication, which drew on and combined a wide range of discursive, literary, and iconographic possibilities.[12]

Furthermore, most compositions seem to develop a direct answer to and a positive interpretation of the prevailing worldview, which considered the present state of the world as detached from the ideal origins. Probably from the end of the Second Intermediate Period or the very early Eighteenth Dynasty onward, the divide between men and gods and between the actual time and the world's origin was articulated with increasing intensity. The communication of Hatshepsut deployed every effort to overcome this feeling of distance and to demonstrate the exact contrary: an intimate link between men and gods was established through her person, and her reign was presented as the central point within the eternal time span. It is for Hatshepsut's reign that the gods have waited since the origin of time, and this current period was decisive for the future.

This rhetoric of bridging the spatial and temporal distance must have had a very high communicative potential. It not only positioned the pair Hatshepsut and Amun at the center of the cosmos, but it also tied in all contemporaries and conveyed the sense of living in a crucial era. Through her communication, Hatshepsut constructed historical time and promoted the awareness of a very special era.

This discourse was presumably designed to favor adherence and stimulate a sense of solidarity. It was conceived in such a global way, integrating heaven and earth, past and future, that there was hardly any argument to oppose. The discourse shaped for Hatshepsut by her officials was aimed at eliminating all opposition.[13] In doing so, the argumentation was not so much based on a political or military level, but in a more intellectual way, it appealed on people's knowledge and understanding and rooted its line of reasoning in theology and world perception. It ostensibly displayed proof of the reestablishment of Maat and the primordial conditions and offered a positive answer in reaction to a rather pessimistic worldview. This worldview probably evolved gradually and for political, social, and other reasons that are now impossible to reconstruct in any detail. It instigated a set of perceptions, feelings, and ideas of a lost better world, to which Hatshepsut's royal discourse reacted with a forceful demonstration of the interaction between Amun and her, which led the country to an ideal state and placed it in a central position within the entire world scheme.

Much more than instruments of legitimation, the central themes of Hatshepsut's royal discourse seem to have constituted means of reassurance.

Through a number of artfully constructed inscriptions, combining tradition and innovation, Hatshepsut's intellectuals conceived a discourse that was conceptually and phraseologically coherent and responded to this nostalgia of a world closer to the gods and a state where the creator would actively rule.

The fact that those men who were, for the sake of their own careers, most interested in promoting Hatshepsut's kingship were all active within the precinct of Amun offers a probable explanation for the coherence of theological reflection and the presentation of royal power. Hatshepsut's men constituted a task

[12] It would be worthwhile to consider in more detail whether Hatshepsut's royal discourse and its written expression underwent any changes comparable to the evolution that seems observable in her iconography (Tefnin 1979, p. 165; Laboury, this volume).

[13] This idea is even made explicit in statements like "I have no foes in all countries, all foreign countries are my people" (*Urk.* IV 368.9–10).

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force that conceived a global concept of thought and communication. This concept was obviously destined to promote the cultural coherence of the entire country. Amun as supreme deity and divine partner in kingship was established during her reign in many regional temples.[14] It is noteworthy that the only longer text from the time of Hatshepsut that we know from outside the Theban area, the Speos Artemidos inscription in Middle Egypt, conveys exactly the same central messages of royal discourse as the Theban compositions, although it also refers to local deities and temples.

Probably only a few theologically trained and politically involved men conceived a concept of remarkable connectivity of thought by merging preoccupations of worldview and of the current political situation in order to promote the kingship of Hatshepsut as a divinely foreseen and guided phenomenon, which was profoundly rooted in tradition and religious norm, but at the same time also driven by a dynamic spirit of innovation.

[14] From Elephantine in the south to Sema Behedet in the north (Guermeur 2005, pp. 202–03, 312–13, 546).

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Hatshepsut at Karnak: A Woman under God's Commands

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Due to the specific and exceptional circumstances that led Hatshepsut to assume royal prerogatives, the queen has provided us with abundant and developed texts that record the process of her accession to pharaonic status and its justification.

Prolegomena

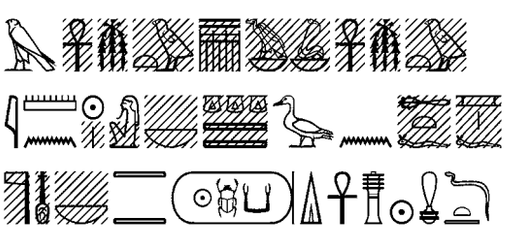
First it has to be stressed that we must keep from considering these texts as pure propaganda, which would be full of exaggerations, boasts, or lies. On the contrary, these compositions must be considered exact witnesses of what happened, even though the filter of the religious faith and of the specific mentality of the Egyptian society of the Eighteenth Dynasty has adorned the speech with a poetic breath and a mystic inspiration. We have to keep in mind that these texts were not accessible to a great number of people: they were intended for posterity and, overall, for the gods, who are supposed to see deep into the consciences. One cannot lie to a deity, and therefore we can consider as truth the numerous claims for the veracity of Hatshepsut, carved on walls of temples, bark chapels, and obelisks.

Now, it is a matter of fact that when we attempt to compare the specific building texts with the architectural remains they are supposed to be related to, we note that they fit extremely well with each other: what the queen says is obviously true and can be checked. Consequently, a similar confident reception must be given to the other records of the queen not related to such concrete elements as architecture.

The Divine Descent

From the Fifth Dynasty onward, it is well known that kings were born of a god (specifically of Ra and of a mortal woman), as it has been described in the tales of the papyrus Westcar. This is the core of their claim to the throne, of their legitimacy to rule Egypt.

In the Theban area, Sesostris I, who founded anew the temples of Karnak, mentions several times that he is the son of the dynastic god of Karnak, Amun:



"<The One who is> of Amun-Ra [Lord of the thrones of the Two Lands] the son [of his body, his beloved]." (Gabolde 1998, p. 38, §57)[1]

[1] Other mentions in the *Chapelle blanche*: Lacau and Chevrier 1956, p. 73, §§169, 170; p. 75, §180, among many occurrences.

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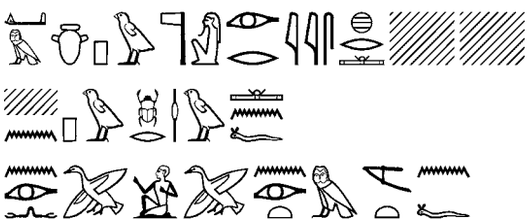
He also declares at Tôd that he usually acts under the god's command:



"What had been decided by the God is that I should accomplish his will [...] and it is what happened, as it is to me that he had given order to act, nobody having (previously) acted as he wanted." (Tôd, col. 31; Barbotin and Clère 1991, p. 9)

Subsequently, when Hatshepsut became a pharaoh, she also claimed, as the basic principle of her legitimacy, that she was the offspring of Amun. The famous "theogamy" text of Deir el-Bahari precisely describes her conception as the result of the union of her mother, Queen Ahmose, with the god Amun:

"[He made] his shape in that of the Majesty [of] her husband, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Aakheperkara (Thutmose I)." (*Urk.* IV 219.11)

Then a record of the god's decree concerning Hatshepsut is given:

"She will exercise the beneficent kingship in the entire land ...

(she will) rule the Two Lands and lead all the living ones." (*Urk.* IV 221.9, 15)

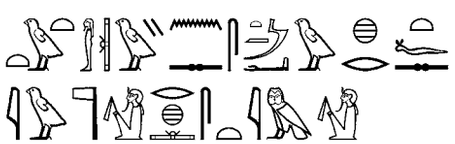
Here Amun is considered the source of Hatshepsut's existence and of her kingship. This recognition of Amun as the origin of her legitimacy requires, in return, that the queen act as a very considerate child toward her father.

Reciprocal Gratitude

James P. Allen (in Roehrig 2005, p. 84) has already shown that the queen's gifts to Amun were seen not merely as a duty but as a privilege granted by the god himself. The dedicatory inscription carved on one of Hatshepsut's obelisks at Karnak expresses this view eloquently.

Wadjyt obelisks, east face, speech of the queen for the people in the future (fig. 4.1):

"... rather say:



'How like her it is, the (present) gratifications toward her father,' as my god (= Amun) knows them well, which (come) from me.

So, Amun, the lord of the thrones of Two Lands, he made me rule the Black Land and the Red Land as a reward for them." (*Urk.* IV 368.4–8)

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In fact, it appears that there is a double stream of gratitude, which constitutes a perfect illustration of the basic principle of exchange between the god and the humans in Egyptian religion: *do ut des* "I give in order that you give."

- First stream: actions of gratitude of the queen toward the god; claiming that it is her duty to act for her father, she decides to renew the offerings, to build the temples, in a long enumeration of all the duties of a king.

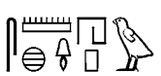
Chapelle Rouge, speech of Amun to the queen:

"May your Majesty (= Hatshepsut) make them perfectly accomplished.

You shall create for me (= Amun) functions/offices,

filling up the granaries, providing the altars with offerings,

introducing the *wab*-priests into their duty,



improving the laws,

establishing the rule, making greater the offering tables, increasing the portions,

making more than what was done previously,

enlarging the places of my treasury which enclose the marvels of the Two Shores." (Lacau and Chevrier 1977, pp. 124–27)

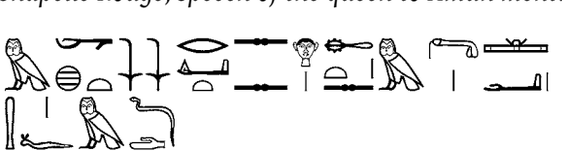
- Second stream: actions of gratitude of the god toward the queen; Amun first created her, and then on a second occasion, he promoted her to the royal status of pharaoh.

Chapelle Rouge, speech of the queen (suite):

"I am king, by order of my father of whom I am issued." (Lacau and Chevrier 1977, p. 147, §186)

Hatshepsut appears clearly as the tool, the instrument of the god's will. She is the medium on earth, through which god's wishes shall be accomplished.

Chapelle Rouge, speech of the queen to Amun mentioning the oracle:



"After this, she (= Hatshepsut) placed herself laying on her belly, in front of his Majesty (= Amun), saying:

'How greater is this than the (other) projects of your Majesty (= Amun's).

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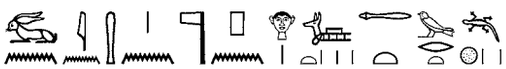
It is you, my father, who planned all what exists.

Anything you would like it happens, I shall make it.'



And the Majesty of this god gave very great oracles, numerous and important." (Lacau and Chevrier 1977, pp. 99, 101)

So, the queen pledges to accomplish any wish of the god, and the oracle is the privileged way for the god to express these wishes. These oracular manifestations of the god's will occur very early in the regency of Hatshepsut. In year 2 of Thutmose III (who is not mentioned, on purpose, by the queen in her record of the scene), an oracle was delivered during the Opet festival at Luxor temple.

Chapelle Rouge, oracle of year 2:

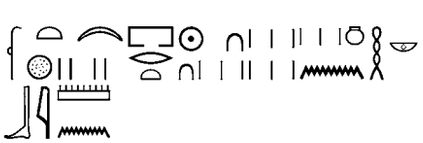
"[...] very great [oracles/miracles] in the presence of this perfect god (= Thutmose III),

in order to foretell to me the kingship of the Two Lands,

Upper and Lower Egypt (being) under my threat,

in order to attribute to me every country,

in order to enlight the victories of my Majesty (= Hatshepsut).



In year 2 (of Thutmose III), second month *peret*, day 26, 6th day of the festival of Amun,

corresponding to the 2nd day of the litanies of Sekhmet,

as the Two Lands were foretold to me in the courtyard of Luxor temple.

Lo, his Majesty (= Amun) was giving oracles in the presence of this perfect god (= Thutmose III).

(at the) processional apparition of my father in his beautiful festival, Amun who is at the head of the gods." (Lacau and Chevrier 1977, pp. 133–34, §179)

We understand here that in these very early years of the regency, Hatshepsut rules effectively. And, even though there is no attempt to deny the existence of Thutmose III (who is alluded to, though not named), it is nevertheless quite significant that, retrospectively, she omitted or avoided mentioning his name.

However, this was not the case in the early representations in Semna, though dated to year 2, 2nd month of *shemu*, day 8, only a few days after the aforementioned oracle (Caminos 1998, vol. 1, p. 43, pl. 24), or in the

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Netjery-menu at Karnak (Gabolde 2005, p. 10, §12; pp. 172–73) — reliefs that are contemporaneous to these early events and not retrospective records — where Thutmose III is very present as the reigning king.

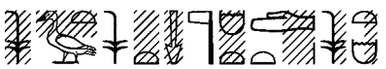
This last monument, the *Netjery-menu*, was founded in the early years of Thutmose III's reign, as recorded in the *Texte de la jeunesse* (*Urk.* IV 166.7–15; Gabolde 2005, pp. 21–26) and was probably located to the east of the *Akhmenu*. The representations of the queen on this building are accompanied by captions that make a clear allusion to the oracles.

Netjery-menu, wall 2 recto, over the queen:

"The noble one, great of favors and of charm, queen of the entire Land,

[the one that this god(?) has placed(?)] at his own places,

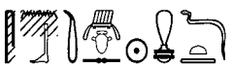
the one for whom the miracles/oracles are great in the house of her father,



the king's [daughter], king's [sister], god's [wife] and hand, the great king's wife,

his beloved, the queen of the Two Lands, Hatshepsut,

living, stable, strong,

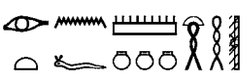


healthy, her heart rejoicing, like Ra, eternally." (Gabolde 2005, p. 33, §39, pls. III–III*)

Another wall of the same building reveals what was precisely one of the aims of the oracles, to allow the queen to act as a king.

Netjery-menu, wall 3 verso, over the queen:

"[...] The one (= Hatshepsut) whose mind is vigilant to what concerns [him (= Amun)],



the one who makes for him enduring monuments

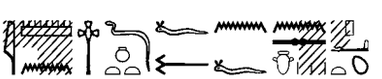
as the manifestation of a king of Upper and Lower Egypt." (Gabolde 2005, p. 44, §44, pls. VII–VII*)

Significant here is the evocation of the building activity of the queen, as we know now that it is the privilege of a king to build monuments to the god.

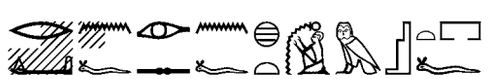
A third scene of the same monument makes more explicit the content of these royal prerogatives.

Netjery-menu, wall 7 recto, over the queen:

"The noble one, great of favors and of charm, queen of the South and of the North, who is [under the <protection> of the] fear



Which Amun <generates>, his protectress: he has subdued [for her the] hearts of the human being;



he has caused her to perform for him the purification rites in his devoted place,

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<she>, the king's daughter, king's sister, god's wife,

great king's wife, Hatshepsut,

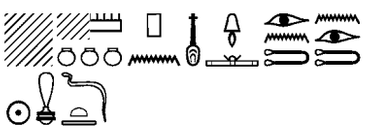
living, stable, her heart being rejoiced, like Ra eternally."
(Gabolde 2005, p. 59, §61, pls. XIII–XIII*)

By accomplishing the "purification rites" in the god's "sacred place," it must be understood that Hatshepsut was considered responsible for the daily and solemn rituals in the temple of Amun at Karnak. This is precisely the role devoted to a ruling sovereign.

Another building of Karnak, which was probably erected in the very last years of the reign of Thutmose II, shows clearly that the queen was already prepared to play this prominent role.

On this monument, which preceded the *Chapelle Rouge* as a bark shrine, Hatshepsut was systematically following her husband-brother while performing the rites. After year 7 of Thutmose III, Hatshepsut, whose status had changed, ordered her representations and titulary to be modified into male ones. The queen was represented alone on one register of the façade. She then introduced a dedication formula that clearly shows that she considered herself as the dedicating ruler. This recalls the role of builder of a sovereign already evoked in the *Netjery-menu*.

Bark shrine, façade, right side, upper register:

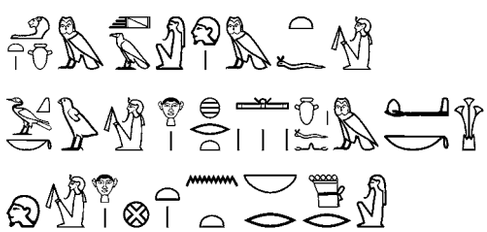


"[My (= Amun's) heart rejoices] of this perfect and achieved monument which you (fem. = Hatshepsut) have made for me, <it is what> you (fem.) have done, like Ra, eternally." (Gabolde 2005, p. 108, §120)

A Direct Access to the God's Thoughts

It has been shown above that the main way for the god to express his will was through oracles — a way that later on was also widely used by Thutmose III[2] — but it is not the only one. Hatshepsut claims also, several times, that she has had direct access to the god's thoughts.

Northern Wadjyt obelisk, west face (entrance face):



"My heart was perceiving (the projects) before my father (had emitted them),

as I could (directly) enter the concerns of his heart/mind. I didn't, <then>, turn my back to the town of the Lord of the Universe" (*Urk.* IV 363.6–17).

[2] See the *Texte de la jeunesse* (*Urk.* IV 157.13–159.2), the text of the Seventh Pylon (*Urk.* IV 180.10–12), and the foundation stela of the *Akhmenu* (von Beckerath 1981).

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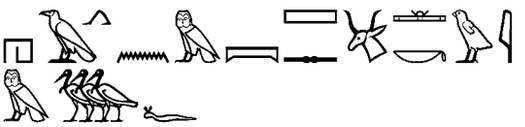
Northern Wadjyt obelisk, south face (pathway):

"I have done this with a permanently loving heart/spirit for my father, Amun,

having myself got access to his mysterious revelation of the primeval origins,

having myself experienced his magic efficiency. I have not neglected to take into account what he has decided." (*Urk.* IV 363.2–5)

Chapelle Rouge, speech of the queen (suite):



"... I came back from the sky, having acknowledged his magic power,

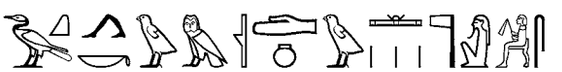
knowing occurrences (of his will), as he had informed me that

I would take possession of this land, submitted,

having been elevated myself as I was a young-future-king.

My power, it makes tremble the far-South, the far-North is under my steps." (Lacau and Chevrier 1977, p. 147, §186)

Deir el-Bahari, oracle of Punt:



"Having myself entered the schemes of the venerated god." (*Urk.* IV 350.13)

Demanding Requests of the God: Destructive Actions Are Required

So, through oracles or by a direct access of the queen to the god's intimate thoughts, there is a revelation of the wishes of the deity. These wishes are, in fact, mandatory and could be very demanding: the queen shall order actions requiring efforts and eventually destructions. Without the god's order, they could appear blasphemous. Interesting enough are the different elements of the argumentation put forward by the queen:

- It is necessary to destroy and rebuild what has decayed and is presently in a ruined state. It is necessary not only to replace, but also to enlarge and embellish.
- There are precedents, as other kings have already destroyed in order to rebuild.
- It is mandatory, it is a submission to the god's will.

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Ruined State of the Existing Structures and the Need of Larger Ones

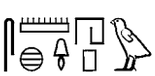
For the first point, the necessity to rebuild and enlarge, there is an eloquent text in the *Chapelle Rouge*, a speech of Amun to the queen:

"May your Majesty (= Hatshepsut) make them perfectly accomplished.

You shall create for me (= Amun) functions/offices,

filling up the granaries, providing the altars with offerings,

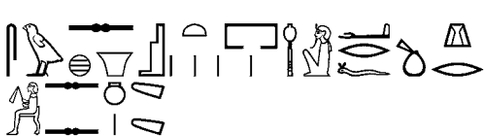
introducing the *wab*-priests into their duty,



improving the laws,

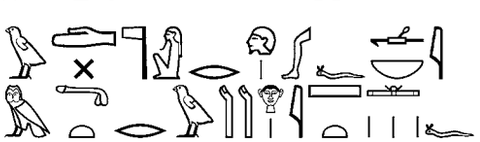
establishing the rule, making greater the offering tables, increasing the portions,

making more than what was done previously,

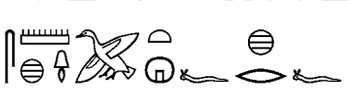


enlarging the places of my treasury which enclose the marvels of the Two Shores.

Arrange (on the contrary) monuments in the sanctuaries!



Set <there> the god, following his rule, each one being in adequation with his belongings!



Improve his original state, as required by him,

because it the god's joy the improvement of his laws!

Be it (= a monument) mutilated, then my heart is transpierced at its thought;

so, you shall embellish the temples of the gods, more than what the predecessors had (even) conceived!

So, I declare: 'I hand over (for you) this land,

I order you to conduct (it) on (my) behalf.'" (Lacau and Chevrier 1977, pp. 124–27)

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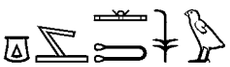
A speech of the gods, transcribed at Deir al-Bahari, echoes this last:

Be twice welcome, O daughter of Amun,

you have supervised your instructions in the country,



you reorganize it,

you make flourish (anew) what had decayed,

you make your memorial of your (*sic*, read "our") temples,

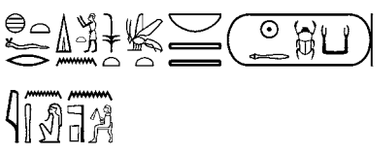
you provide in offerings the altars of the One who generated you." (*Urk.* IV 247.12–17)

Precedents

For the second argument, the existence of precedents, three texts can efficiently attest this point. The first one is of high interest because it is supposed to be a quotation of the speech of Amun.

Northern obelisk of the Wadjyt hall, east face I, main vertical inscription:

"Horus 'Powerful of *ka*s,' king of Upper and Lower Egypt Maat-ka-Ra, beloved of Amun-Ra. Her Majesty has caused the name of her father to be established on this enduring monument,



inasmuch as praise will be so given to the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the Two Lands, Aa-kheper-ka-Ra, on behalf of this venerated god (= Hatshepsut).

Accordingly, two great obelisks have been erected by her Majesty in a first occasion. Behold what was told by the Lord of the Gods (= Amun):

'Isn't it your father, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Aa-khepre-ka-Ra,

who (first) gave instructions for establishing obelisks? And your Majesty (= Hatshepsut) should renew <these> monuments.' You acted <then>, being alive, eternally." (*Urk.* IV 358.2–10)

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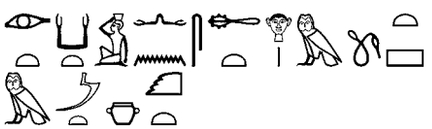
A second text, from the *Chapelle Rouge*, explains the circumstances that must prevail for the destruction and the reconstruction.

Chapelle Rouge, speech of Amun to the queen:

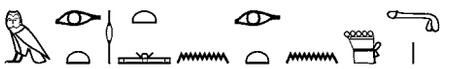


"<You shall> undertake works without rest, with sandstone and black granite.

<And concerning> my temple <it shall be> made anew for it what had (previously) been created in beautiful white limestone,

<it shall be> made for the future something perfect of this work.

Didn't kings act (in the past) as a tempest/turmoil, in order to agree the wishes of my Majesty (= Amun)

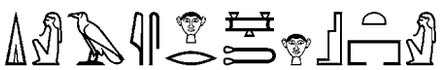


that should be made (anew) what I (= Amun) had ordered the predecessors to make?

Would I discard, really, your laws that I inspired?

Would I ruin, really, the prophecies (to be accomplished) in the future?

Would I disturb, really, the rules I have determined/conceived for you?



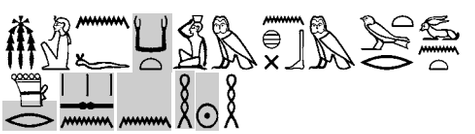
Would I really cause you to turn <your attention> away from my seat?" (Lacau and Chevrier 1977, pp. 124–27)

A third text makes another reference to the requirement of following previous examples.

Chapelle Rouge, speech of the queen (suite):

"I am one who distinguishes the one from whom he is issued.

Knowing myself what he likes to happen,



I created for him works (of art) in accordance with precedent examples (models), so that they will last eternally." (Lacau and Chevrier 1977, p. 150, §188)

As can be seen from these quotations, the precedent provided by glorious ancestors is a good excuse for dismantling and rebuilding.

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The God's Will

Support for such important operations is provided by the fact that these actions are the direct result of the god's will.

Chapelle Rouge, speech of the queen:

"I have accomplished the plans of the one who created me." (Lacau and Chevrier 1977, p. 144, §184)

Text from the Speos Artemidos (end), speech of the queen:

"These are the instructions of the father of my fathers." (*Urk.* IV 390.17)

Chapelle Rouge, speech of the queen:

"It is you, my father, who has conceived all that exists.

Whatever you wish to be realized, I shall do it,

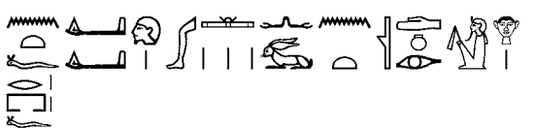
as you ordered it (to be done)." (Lacau and Chevrier 1977, pp. 99–101; idem 1979, pl. 184)

Northern obelisk of the Wadjyt, west face (entrance face), speech of the queen:

"My Majesty (= Hatshepsut), knowing his (permanent) ability to be divine,

I acted, then, under his order as it is he who guided me.

I couldn't plan a work without his own action.



It was him who was giving the instructions, <so that> I had no rest for his sanctuary.

I couldn't stray from what he had ordered.

My heart was perceiving (the projects) before my father (had emitted them),

as I could (directly) enter the concerns of his heart/mind. I didn't, <then>, turn my back to the town of the Lord of the Universe,

on the contrary, my head was placed toward it (for acting for it = the town)." (*Urk.* IV 363.6–17)

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Hatshepsut Acts for Posterity

By accomplishing the god's wishes and erecting magnificent monuments, Hatshepsut manifests her intention to act for posterity. In that respect she innovates: previous kings were focused on infinity and eternity (*nḥḥ* and *ḏt*), whereas she has in scope the future and the future generations in a more historical perspective.

Chapelle Rouge, speech of Amun to the queen:

"<And concerning> my temple <you shall> make anew for it what had (previously) been created in beautiful white limestone;

<you shall> make for the future something perfect of this work." (Lacau and Chevrier 1977, pp. 124–27)

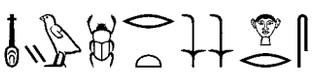
This preoccupation was already present when the queen had received, through an oracle, the order to organize an expedition to the Land of Punt.

Deir el-Bahari, oracle of year 9 concerning Punt, speech of the queen:

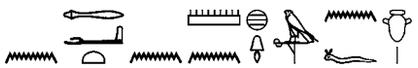
"I shall make great things for the Lord of eternity,

I shall do more than what was done previously,

I shall really cause that one to say in the future:



'How splendid is what she caused to happen.'



Because of the excellence of my wishes for him,

my heart shall organize more than he could expect,

because I am his glory." (*Urk.* IV 350.6–10)

What Happens to Hatshepsut Is Exceptional and Never Happened Before

Hatshepsut is quite conscious of her exceptional destiny. In a long and poetic passage on the *Chapelle Rouge*, she insists on this aspect of her promotion, and there is no doubt that her claim is intentionally ambiguous: her fate was exceptional because she had been promoted to the rank of a pharaoh and had diverted the usual masculine line of transmission of the regalia, but she transformed this originality into an extraordinary result of the god's specific solicitude toward her, reversing more or less the cause and the effect.

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Chapelle Rouge, speech of the queen, under oath, to the courtiers; affirmation of exactness and sincerity:

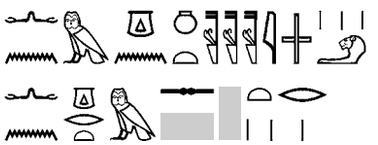
"Such a thing had not been heard, since the primeval times, when this land raised from the primeval waters.

Not the like had happened to kings of Upper and Lower Egypt, previously, in the first generations.

Such a thing had not been heard, as sweet speech, in the time span of mankind or (even of) the gods.

It never occurred that it happened since the (early) time of Mankind.

It never occurred that it was heard since the time of the (primeval) god.



It has never (been recorded) in the annals of the predecessors, neither had it been recorded as oral [tradition(?)],

except in my case, being (myself) beloved of my genitor, as he has acted for me when I was (still) in the nest of Khemnis." (Lacau and Chevrier 1977, pp. 136, 138)

There Is No Renunciation

As a reward to Amun for this exceptional destiny, Hatshepsut undertook, in a compulsive way, the construction of particularly exceptional and precious monuments, providing so, herself, the proof of her divine election: six pairs of granite obelisks, four of them covered with figures and texts, the *Chapelle Rouge* exquisitely carved with reliefs and texts. The message is clear: the more she builds, the more she shows the loving approbation of Amun. This resulted in a colossal amount of work, and, even though the task may appear difficult, the queen affirms she would have never given up.

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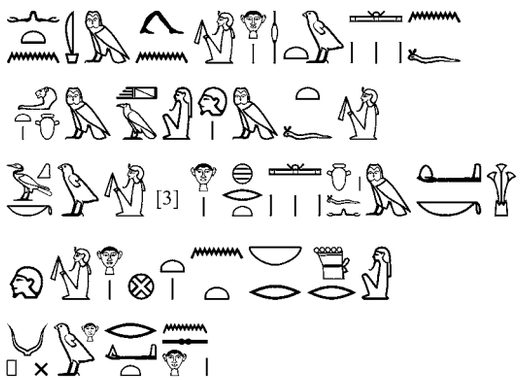
Wadjyt obelisks, west face (entrance face), speech of the queen:



"I couldn't stray from what he had ordered. My heart was perceiving (the projects) before my father (had emitted them), as I could (directly) enter the concerns of his heart/mind. I didn't, <then>, turn my back to the town of the Lord of the Universe, on the contrary, my head was placed toward it (for acting for it = the town)." (*Urk.* IV 363.6–17)

Chapelle Rouge, speech of the queen:

"And so I declare (as an oath): 'I shall reveal (this) for the future.

(And if) I abandon, I should not be united with his aura/magic power,

as these events are too important to be hidden/ concealed!'" (Lacau and Chevrier 1977, pp. 136, 138)

Exactness and Sincerity: There Is No Lie, No Boast, No Exaggeration

The immediate continuation of this affirmation of tenacity is a statement of sincerity. This statement must be credited at face value, as I already said in my prolegomena. I have no answer to the theological debate questioning the existence — or non-existence — of the god Amun, but I would follow Erik Hornung (1986, p. 22) in considering that the important fact for this debate is that we can take for granted that Hatshepsut did believe in him. Therefore, any text composed for the god must really be considered as deprived of "lie, boast, or exaggeration." The claims of honesty of the queen read as follows:

Chapelle Rouge, speech of the queen, under oath, to the courtiers; affirmation of exactness and sincerity:

"Keep from saying 'It is not the case!' I give exact testimony by [...]

The one who crosses the sky and who cares for the earth

judges without bias

and provides the truth for which I rejoice,

so that she (= the truth) dwells on the prow of his bark.

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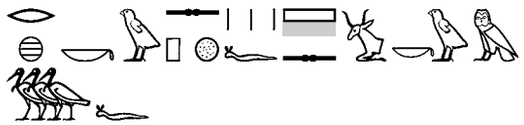

I know his behavior,
I am aware of (experimented in) his powerful aura/ magic power,

my heart is pleased with his rectitude (uprightness).

All this has really happened.

There is no lying/untruthful speech therein." (Lacau and Chevrier 1977, pp. 136, 138)

Northern Wadjyt obelisk, east face, speech to the living:

"O you who shall hear this, keep from saying that what I say is boast ... rather say:

'How like her it is, the (present) gratifications toward her father.'" (*Urk.* IV 368.4–8)

Conclusions

As has been shown, Hatshepsut declared on numerous occasions that all that happened to her was a god's initiative and that all her deeds were intended to give him satisfaction: as the god himself created her in order that she reign as a pharaoh, subsequently, all the building activity she undertook could be considered as ordered or inspired by the god, either through oracles or through the direct access she had to his intimate thoughts. It is not she who acts, but the god who acts through her.

Consequently, all her deeds reflect the god's will. Therefore, all her deeds are free from criticism, including, first of all, her accession to the throne, a promotion whose legitimacy cannot be questioned. It was not a cynical attitude of the queen: she seems to have been truly convinced of her election by the god. She indeed shows a great faith in the deity for whom she acts and a great submission to the expressions of his will.

There is indeed a sort of mystical dimension in the action of Hatshepsut, which is sensible in the evocation of her journey to heaven: "... I came back from the sky, having acknowledged his magic power, knowing occurrences (of his will), as he had informed me that I would take possession of this land, submitted" (Lacau and Chevrier 1977, p. 147, §186). This mystical dimension is found to be almost identical with Thutmose III: "[He opened] for me the door leaf of heaven, he opened for me the gates of its horizon, I flew up to the sky like a divine falcon in order to see his mysterious image which is in the sky, in order to adore his Majesty, etc." (*Urk.* IV 159.11–15).

This is a prefiguration of the intense theological speculations that flourished later on at the head of the state. It resulted finally in the personal involvement of Amenhotep III in the ascent of the solar cult and in the worship of his deified person. It resulted too in the maturation of Akhenaton's Atonist theology, who could say in the same intellectual stream, "Nobody knows you except your beloved son Neferkheperura Waenra, the one you instructed in your intentions and your power" (Sandman 1938, pp. 16–17).

Another interesting contribution of Hatshepsut is the way she uses architecture to legitimate her position: she argues that she builds by mandatory order of the god and in order to give him satisfaction. It is a

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very subtle component of the process of legitimation: the more she builds, the more she accomplishes the divine wishes; abundance of monuments is the obvious proof of the god's approval.

This seems especially true of monuments of high quality like the obelisks, which are essentially symbolic and have very little "practical" use: they are overall monuments of propaganda and constitute by themselves, for the queen, gigantic proof of Amun's satisfaction and agreement. In that respect Hatshepsut could be considered more or less a precursor, claiming openly her faith, her mystical submission to the god's will, and the use of architectural activity as realization of it.

Today at Karnak, despite the erosion of time and the damage caused by human activity, we can still admire the results of her extraordinary determination. They confirm the legitimate pride with which she could have taken the great achievements of her reign, even though she modestly credits the god with this responsibility.

Figure 4.1. Text of the basis of the eastern face of the northern *Wadjyt* obelisk of Hatshepsut at Karnak (photo by A. Chéné, © CFEETK)

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5

How and Why Did Hatshepsut Invent the Image of Her Royal Power?

Dimitri Laboury, FNRS–University of Liège

Introduction

Pharaoh Hatshepsut is indubitably one of the most debated characters of ancient Egyptian history. The nature of her royal power and the significance of her assumption of the throne seem to have become nowadays the subjects of endless discussions and controversies, often contaminated by the modern reception of her reign and the preconceived ideas or ideological orientations of the commentators.[1] The dispute about the interpretation of Hatshepsut's reign can be summarized by two basic issues: on the one hand, the masculine iconography of the queen during most of her reign, and on the other hand, her relationship with Thutmose III on a political level.

Both issues can — and actually must — be addressed through the investigation of the iconography of the reigning queen, through the analysis of the political discourse expressed by the official iconography of the central power of that time. Indeed, both are fundamentally iconographical issues, that is, matters that were managed by Hatshepsut on an iconographical level and directly related to the official image of the royal power. Thus, even if she decided to be depicted on the walls of her newly built temples as a male king, there is absolutely no doubt that Hatshepsut appeared during the inspection or the inauguration of those monuments with the guise and garments of a female pharaoh. Likewise, when her young coregent, King Thutmose III, was represented — or not — participating in the exercise of the cult behind her, it does not mean at all that such was the actual situation in the temples, nor that they were ruling Egypt together, side by side, as is usually inferred. So it is clearly the official image of the power, and not the reality of the actual political situation — and in such matters, it might be even more interesting to know and investigate what was meant, instead of what really was. Moreover, given the very nature of Egyptological material (mainly derived from temples or more or less sacred monuments, without any proper historical records), the analysis of this ideological discourse in images constitutes almost our only means to address that kind of historical and political question. And ultimately, it also offers a magnificent opportunity to demonstrate that sometimes, and quite often in ancient history, and especially in ancient Egyptian history, history can be made out of art.[2]

In this context, the aim of the present article is to examine how Hatshepsut gradually constructed the image of her kingly authority, where she found sources of inspiration, and when and how changes did occur. And, as usual, the question of how will lead us to the question of why.

[1] For this Hatshepsut's *Rezeption* history within the history of Egyptology, see, notably, Keller in Roehrig 2005, pp. 294–97; Dorman 2001; Laboury 1998, pp. 623–24; Chappaz 1993, p. 87; Teeter 1990; and Dorman 1988, pp. 1–17.

[2] For this perspective, see Laboury 1998, as well as the pioneering work of Tefnin 1979.

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The Necessity of a Diachronic Approach

Both addressed issues, namely the masculine iconography of Hatshepsut during most of her reign and her relationship with Thutmose III on a political level, need to be considered from a diachronic point of view.

It is indeed clearly indisputable that the official image of King Hatshepsut evolved from a purely female iconography to a definitely masculine one. There is of course not a single doubt about the actual femininity of the queen who was married to the male king Thutmose II and gave birth to their daughter, Princess Neferura. She started her kingly career as a female sovereign, consistently and systematically depicted and referred to as a female sovereign (i.e., with royal titulary and traditional regalia, but also with female dress and anatomy),[3] whereas on every late monument of her reign (and, in fact, on the majority of her royal productions), she appeared as a male pharaoh, with no more iconographical hint of her sexual identity and mixed feminine and masculine titles, epithets, and pronouns. As R. Tefnin was able to demonstrate (1979),[4] her statuary evolved gradually in the sense of a progressive and irreversible masculinization, and the same holds true for two-dimensional representations. For instance, in the sanctuary of her "temple of millions of years" at Deir el-Bahari, that is, in the earliest decorated part of this monument, a set of reliefs depicted the queen as Pharaoh Maatkara, in full regalia, including the royal kilt (and consequently a bare chest), and with a merely allusively feminine anatomy: with slender arms[5] and legs and a faint but nonetheless still perceptible female breast, all painted in pink-like light ochre, so a tone halfway between the traditional yellow for women and red for men (fig. 5.1). Later on, those figures were repainted in dark red, probably during Hatshepsut's own reign, as A. Ćwiek convincingly suggested.[6] Such slender androgynous images of the reigning queen are also visible in the relief decoration of the temple of Buhen in Nubia, but here, in at least two cases, they were clearly recut from older female depictions wearing dresses, though with unusually elongated stride (fig. 5.2:a).[7] And wherever it has been possible to identify representations of Hatshepsut altered by herself during her own reign, the modifications always go in the same direction: from a female figure toward a masculinized iconography (fig. 5.2), and never the other way around.[8] Moreover, this evolution "from female to male" is only one aspect — indubitably the most obvious one — of a global iconographical metamorphosis that involved a very patent and absolutely systematic physiognomic evolution, attested on different types of statues of various kinds of material and sizes, as well as on two-dimensional representations.[9]

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[3] See a fragmentary symmetrical scene from Karnak (Chevrier 1934, p. 172, pl. 4), a graffito in Sinai (Gardiner, Peet, and Černý 1952–55, no. 177, pl. 56), the seated statues MMA 30.3.3 and 29.3.3 (Tefnin 1979, pp. 1–36, pls. 1–3a; Roehrig 2005, fig. 65 and cat. no. 95), all made when Hatshepsut had already — but recently — assumed fully royal titulary (see below, section 2.3.1), as well as the monuments analyzed below, in section 2.2 of this article, dating to the end of the regency period.

[4] For a complete reassessment of his demonstration, which proved to be the only defensible one, see Laboury 1998, pp. 592–608.

[5] The significance of this detail for the queen is demonstrated by the clearly visible enlargement of her stature on secondarily masculinized reliefs, such as the one illustrated in fig. 5.2b.

[6] On those reliefs, see the recent and thorough study of Ćwiek 2007. They were already singled out in the middle of the previous century by Gilbert 1953. Whether the original color of these figures is to be described as orange or pink seems quite insignificant, since it technically consists of a mixture of red ochre and calcium carbonate (Ćwiek 2007, p. 8) and thus clearly constitutes a voluntarily lighter variant of red ochre, traditionally used for men, and a variant distinct from the yellow ochre for — normal — women.

[7] For the other scenes where Hatshepsut caused her own self-depictions to be modified, see Caminos 1974, vol. 2, pls. 20, 26, 38, 49, 61, 68, 77, and 82; Karkowski 1978; Laboury 1998, p. 606.

[8] For other examples from the monument illustrated in fig. 5.2b, see Gabolde 2005, pp. 100–22, pls. 35–37. In their publication of another shrine decorated at the very beginning of Hatshepsut's assumption of truly royal power (see below, section 2.3.1), L. Gabolde and V. Rondot noted that the only surviving representation of the queen, with *atef*-crown and masculine stature, resulted from the rework of a previous relief, adding that "L'aspect original de la reine est difficile à retrouver sous la modification et les martelages" (Gabolde and Rondot 1996, p. 182). A close examination of the block in question in the open-air Museum of Karnak nevertheless revealed clear remains of yellow pigment in the incisions of the carved face of the reigning queen, indicating that she was originally depicted as a woman. As Gabolde suggested (Gabolde 2005, pp. 17, 131), the unaltered female representations of Hatshepsut on official monuments (i.e., excluding the expeditions' graffiti, like in Sinai or in the quarries of Aswan) were probably not masculinized because the buildings on which they appeared were dismantled before the queen decided to be depicted as a male pharaoh.

[9] See above, n. 4, and below, sections 2.3.2–3 of the present article.

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Figure 5.1. Depiction of Hatshepsut offering to Amun in androgynous guise, in the first scene of the southern wall of the second room in the main sanctuary of her temple at Deir el-Bahari (author's photo; courtesy of the Polish-Egyptian Mission of the Temple of Hatshepsut)

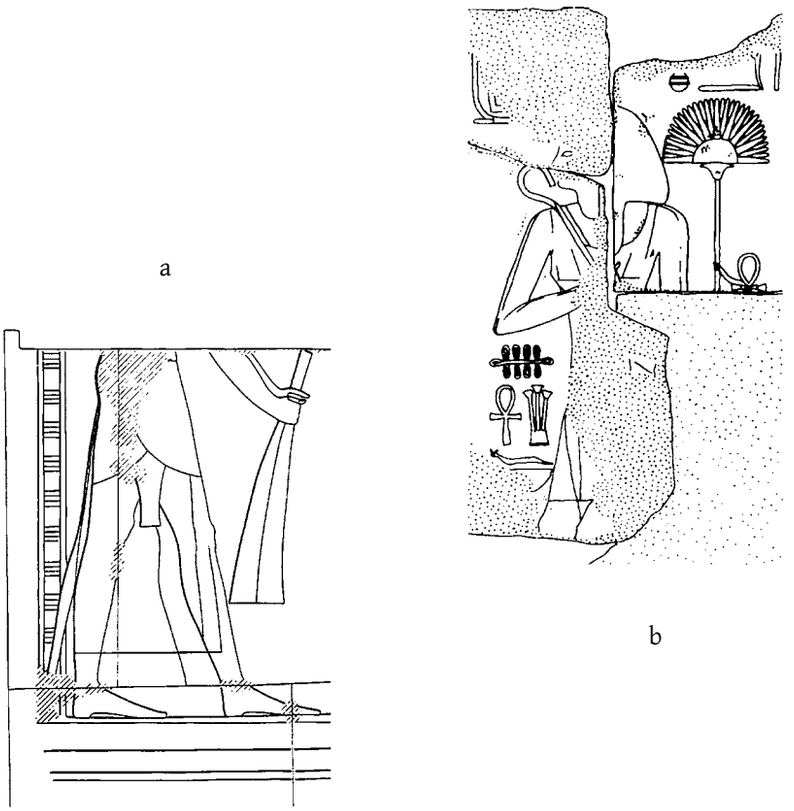

Figure 5.2. Reliefs depicting Hatshepsut originally represented as a woman and later masculinized, in the inner sanctuary of the southern temple of Buhen and on the upper register of the northern external wall of her Tura limestone bark shrine at Karnak (*a*: after Caminos 1974, vol. 2, pl. 82; *b*: after Gabolde 2005, pl. 36)

Regarding the political relationship between Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, as E. Teeter (1990, p. 4) wrote, "In the course of the last half-century, many historians have painted the queen with a brush evoking images of a wicked stepmother and an overly ambitious, scheming woman" who took advantage of the youth of her royal nephew. Nowadays, this historiographic trend seems to be reversed, and there is a clear tendency to focus on or at least to stress the "politically correct" attitude of the reigning queen vis-à-vis her young nephew and coregent.[10] The main argument used to support this new conception of the relationship between Hatshepsut and Thutmose III is the fact that "on monuments of the time they frequently appear together as twin male rulers distinguished only by position (Hatshepsut usually takes precedence) or, occasionally, by regalia" (fig. 5.3) (Keller in Roehrig 2005, p. 96).[11] If we just consider this purely iconographical issue

[10] This inversion in the appraisal of Hatshepsut by Egyptologists is well emphasized by the title of Dorman's 2001 article, "Hatshepsut: Wicked Stepmother or Joan of Arc?" For this new trend, see, among other references, Teeter 1990; Dorman 2001 and 2006; the different contributions in Roehrig, ed., 2005; V. Davies 2004; Vandersleyen 1995, p. 276, who comments on what he calls "la correction du comportement de la reine"; and Chappaz 1993.

[11] For a good example of this reading, see V. Davies 2004. Another argument, notably used by P. Dorman (2001), is the late date of the proscription or *damnatio memoriae* of Hatshepsut, ordered by Thutmose III some twenty years after his aunt's disappearance, a fact that, indeed, "does not easily support the idea of personal and long-anticipated revenge on the part of the younger king against his stepmother, whatever the degree of her wickedness. Vengeance will not easily abide a delay of two decades" (Dorman 2001, p. 2). But if vengeance cannot be the real or the sole motive for Hatshepsut's posthumous persecution (for an interpretation of this *damnatio memoriae* within the broader policy of Thutmose III during the last dozen of years of his reign, see Laboury 1998, pp. 483–512; for a summary in English, see Laboury 2006, pp. 263–66), it does not imply at all that the queen would have necessarily been kind, protective, or even politically correct vis-à-vis her young nephew during the coregency. A political rather than an emotional reason seems to be more appropriate to explain such a context.

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— without any assessment of the historical conclusions that are usually inferred from them — a few details need to be heeded. First of all, when both coregents are depicted together, Hatshepsut always precedes her nephew,[12] even if he was chronologically the first king of the reigning couple, crowned almost seven years before his aunt. During the coregency, in a sequence of ritual scenes, Thutmose III could, sporadically, appear alone in front of the gods[13] — in complementary but inequitable distribution with Hatshepsut[14] — but he was systematically excluded from images of strong political significance, such as coronation scenes (fig. 5.4)[15] — as he was from dedicatory inscriptions.[16] Moreover, from a simply statistical point of view, she was depicted (or referred to in monumental inscriptions) much more often than her royal nephew, appearing in temple decoration approximately four times more frequently than her young coregent[17] and, therefore, fundamentally incarnating the image of the royal power of the time. As a matter of fact, even on a strictly iconographical level, the so-called sharing of kingship imagery, so much emphasized by commentators in the last years, was plainly more apparent than actual. But, above all, it is characteristic for the second — and longest — part of the coregency; and evidence from the first phase of Hatshepsut's reign clearly demonstrate that this was not the official image of the royal power when the regent queen decided to assume full kingship.

Thus, on some blocks of a monument from Karnak initiated in the name of King Thutmose III during the regency, L. Gabolde has found titularies of the boy sovereign that were erased and replaced by those of Hatshepsut or Thutmose II, obviously by order of the queen (figs. 5.5 and 5.14; Gabolde 2005, pp. 10–13). According to the iconography of these blocks, this tentative eviction — or at least obliteration — occurred during the transition from the regency to the real reign of Hatshepsut (for further details, see below, section 2.2). Moreover, in their study of a shrine of Hatshepsut reused at Karnak North, one of the few monuments

[12] Vanessa Davies (2004, pp. 62–63) suggests, "Because of the conventions of Egyptian art, a scene showing one king behind the other could be intended to indicate that they were positioned side by side," concluding that "these scenes accentuate equality rather than the dominance of one partner over the other." But in such a hypothesis, how can one explain that it is always the same one who was depicted in front of the other and that the latter was four times less represented than the former? (See below.)

[13] Among the hundreds of royal depictions that survived from the coregency down to us, V. Davies (2004, p. 62) was able to gather forty-two scenes that display Thutmose III alone, which constitute 62 percent of the total number of representations of Hatshepsut's young coregent (72 occurrences). To gauge the ratio of Thutmose III's images to those of Hatshepsut at that time, we can consider the case of the so-called *Chapelle Rouge* from Karnak (see the new and sumptuous publication of this monument, Burgos and Larché 2006–08, vol. 1): out of the 226 royal figures preserved from this monument that surely date back to Hatshepsut's kingship (i.e., excluding the last — mostly upper — scenes that were made at the very beginning of Thutmose III's sole reign), 201 depict the reigning queen, whereas only twenty-five are in the name of her royal nephew (i.e., ca. 11%), among which ten (i.e., ca. 0.5%) are to be found in scenes where Thutmose III is represented alone in front of a deity.

[14] See, for instance, the sequencing or the rhythm of appearances of each coregent in the depiction of the Opet procession on the third course — or register — of the southern external wall of the *Chapelle Rouge* (Burgos and Larché 2006–08, vol. 1, pp. 46–53) or in the set of offering scenes of the fourth and sixth registers of the same wall, where, despite the fragmentary state of preservation of the courses in question, it is usual to encounter three figures of Hatshepsut before finding one of Thutmose III (ibid., pp. 56–58, 68–73). In other rather well-preserved sections of the decoration of this chapel, like in the second, third, fifth, and sixth registers of the southern internal wall of the vestibule, almost completely preserved, every royal figure is labeled Hatshepsut (ibid., pp. 173–77, 179–83); and in the sanctuary of the monument, everything is in the name of the reigning queen, except the latter additions completed after her demise by her ex-coregent, namely the last or eighth register and the blocks belonging to the doorframes (ibid., pp. 197–258).

[15] See, for instance, the seventh course — or register — of the external wall of the *Chapelle Rouge*, which comprises depictions of the offering of monuments to Amun and coronation scenes by the latter, all in the sole name of Hatshepsut; see Burgos and Larché 2006–08, vol. 1, pp. 76–84, 124–28. The two coronation scenes of Thutmose III, on top of equivalent depictions with Hatshepsut, on the eighth course of the western façade of the *Chapelle Rouge*, were made, like the decoration of the doors and the upper levels of the monument, at the very beginning of Thutmose III's sole reign (ibid., pp. 7, 12–13, 140–41; Lacau and Chevrier 1977, pp. 64–65).

[16] See, for instance, for various kinds of monuments, *Urk.* IV 294, 301–02, 312–13, 356–74, 381–91; Burgos and Larché 2006–08, vol. 1, pp. 46–52; Dreyer 1984; Wallet-Lebrun 2009, pp. 67–77.

[17] For instance, on the complete and well-preserved northern obelisk of Hatshepsut in the *Wadjyt* of Karnak, there are twenty-six images of the reigning queen, eight of Thutmose III, and four of Thutmose I, which means that the young coregent was represented in 21 percent of the royal imagery of the monument (L.*D.* III, pls. 22–23). For the *Chapelle Rouge*, only partly preserved, see above, n. 13. For the *Djeser-djeseru* temple at Deir el-Bahari, see the remarks of Murnane 1977, p. 56 nn. 99–100, about the doorframes of the temple (42 mention the name of Hatshepsut/10 Thutmose III, i.e., ca. 19%); those of Tefnin 1979, p. 56 n. 1, about the pillars of the middle portico (18 pillars in the name of Hatshepsut/4 in the name of Thutmose III, i.e., ca. 18%); and now the complete iconographical analysis made by Sankiewicz 2011. Even on small and symmetrical surfaces to decorate, like doorframes or double or symmetrical scenes, the distribution of references to both coregents was far from being always balanced; see, e.g., Epigraphic Survey 2009, pls. 26–29, 31, 40–45, 58–71.

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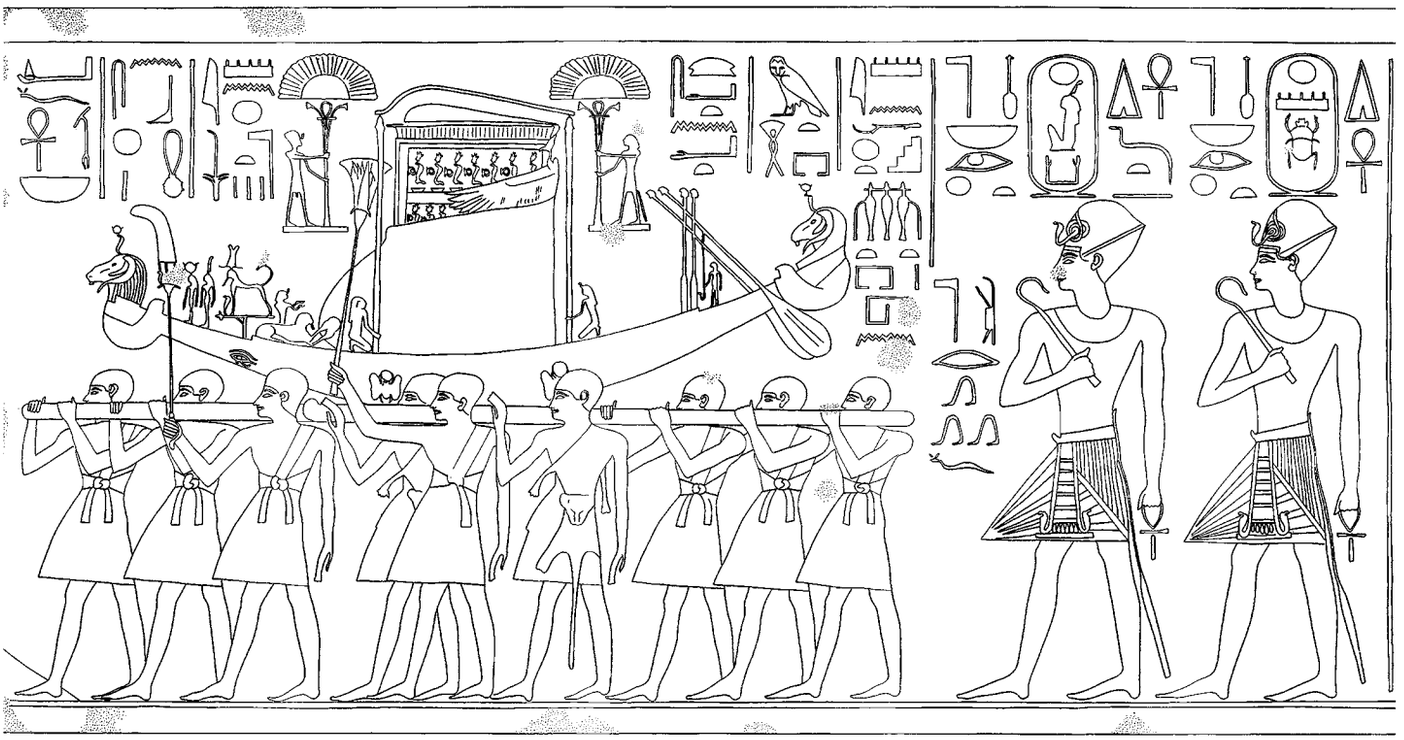

Figure 5.3. Representation of the procession of Opet with the portable bark of Amun followed by Hatshepsut and Thutmose III as coregents, on the third course of the southern external wall of the *Chapelle Rouge* at Karnak (block 26; after Burgos and Larché 2006–08, vol. 1, p. 51)

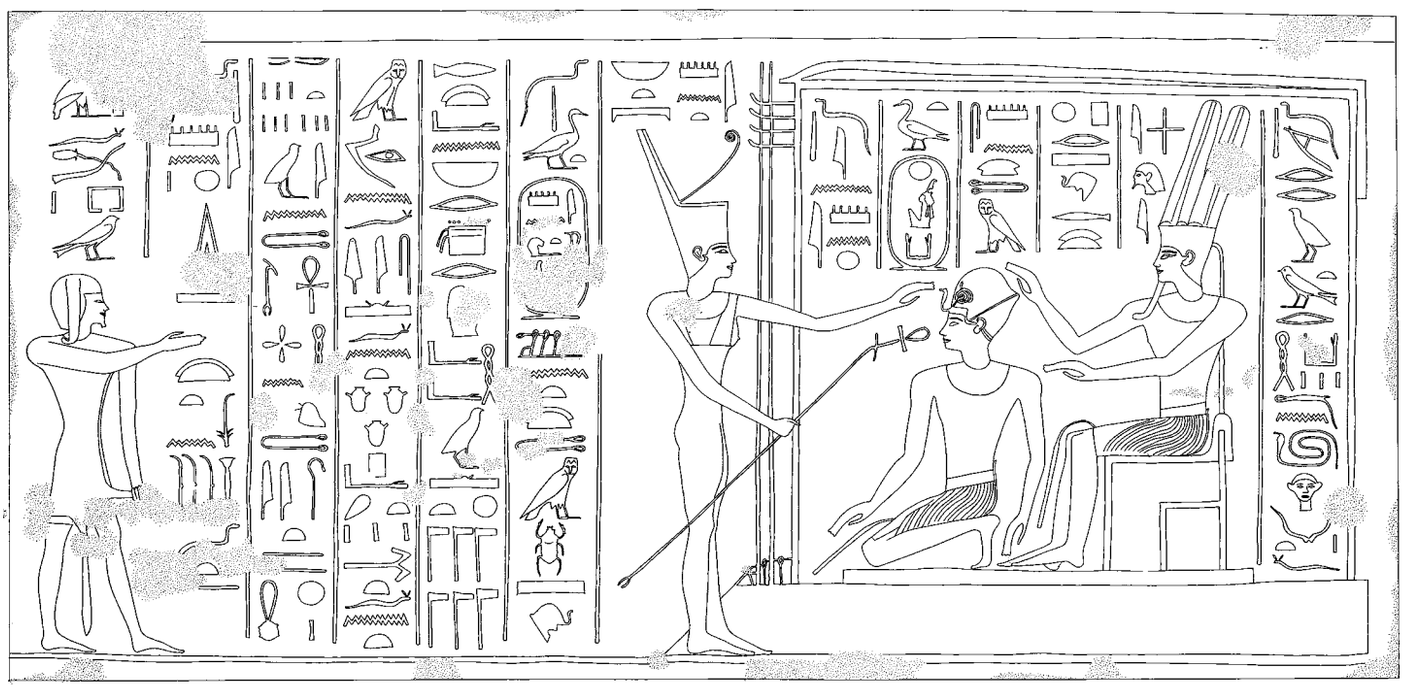

Figure 5.4. Coronation scene on the seventh register of the southern external wall of the *Chapelle Rouge* at Karnak (block 23; after Burgos and Larché 2006–08, vol. 1, p. 80)

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whose decoration was surely completed just after the official assumption of full kingship by the regent queen, L. Gabolde and V. Rondot (1996, p. 214) emphasized the total absence of any reference to Thutmose III in the inscriptions and reliefs of that building:

> Le décor de la chapelle (…) est encore remarquable dans la mesure où Thoutmosis III n'y est nulle part figuré ni même mentionné. La reine exerce à ce moment le pouvoir seule et considère apparemment le rôle de l'héritier légitime comme négligeable. Cette "mise à l'écart" de Thoutmosis III — qui est pourtant roi en titre — semble particulière au début de la corégence, du moins à Karnak.[18]

The obelisks of Hatshepsut in the eastern part of Karnak, which were erected at the beginning of the queen's reign,[19] also exemplify this attitude vis-à-vis the boy-king, since blocks in the name of Thutmose II and Thutmose III were found reused in their foundations.[20] This epigraphic, iconographic, and archaeological evidence undoubtedly show that the so-called politically correct attitude of the reigning queen vis-à-vis her royal nephew and young coregent was some kind of window dressing and, even more importantly, that it resulted from a process of evolution.

The investigation of the official image of the royal power when Hatshepsut ruled Egypt thus clearly needs to be considered in a diachronic perspective.

2. The Chronological Development

2.1. The Regency

As is well known, the reign of Thutmose III started with a period of regency under the leadership of the widow of his father, the latter's half sister, Queen Hatshepsut. Given the apparent brevity of Thutmose II's reign, this situation was most probably induced by the young age of his heir.

Thutmose III was crowned on day 4 of the first month of *shemu*.[21] The event is alluded to in the biographical inscription displayed in the Theban tomb of one of the most powerful and favored courtiers of the time, "the director of the double granary of Amun, the director of all sealed items [i.e., the treasurer] in Amun's domain, the overseer of all works at Karnak, the mayor of Thebes," Ineni:[22]

> Gone to heaven, he (King Thutmose II) united with the gods. His son stood in his place as king of the Double Land and it is upon the throne of the one who begat him that he assumed rulership, while his sister (the one of Thutmose II), the god's wife Hatshepsut, was conducting the affairs of the country, the Two Lands relying on her guidance. With Egypt in obeisance, one was working for her, the god's beneficent seed who has come forth before him (the god), the prow-rope of Upper Egypt, the mooring post of the southerners. It is (she who is) the excellent stern-rope of Lower Egypt, mistress of command, excellent of her counsels, the one who pleases the Two Banks when she talks. (*Urk.* IV 59, 13–60.11)

[18] More recently, L. Gabolde came back to this evidence and nuanced their assertion by underlining that Thutmose III was attested on the gate of the precinct in which the chapel might have stood (Gabolde 2005, p. 13 n. 19). But one has to note here that the connection between the blocks of the gate and those of the chapel under discussion is a pure hypothesis, inferred from a common context of reuse in Karnak North in the time of Amenhotep III. And moreover, in any case, those two monuments of Hatshepsut were definitely not made at the same time, since the figures of the queen were masculine from the beginning on the different parts of the gate (and especially the running figure on the lintel; see Gabolde and Rondot 1996, pp. 201, 206–08, 223, 225, 227), whereas those on the walls of the chapel needed to be masculinized in a second phase of decoration and are, thus, undoubtedly older.

[19] For the precise dating of these obelisks, see Laboury 1998, pp. 554–55.

[20] Varille 1950, pl. 5.2; Laboury 1998, p. 555 n. 1602; Gabolde 2005, pp. 78–80, 89–90, pls. 19 and 31.

[21] This date is established by four different and converging sources: the festival calendar at the end of the *Texte* or *Légende de la jeunesse,* at Karnak (*Urk.* IV 177); the coronation inscription of the king on the Seventh Pylon of the same site (*Urk.* IV 180.15); the account of the battle of Megiddo in the Annals, again in Amun's precinct at Karnak (*Urk.* IV 648.9); and a stela of the king from Buto (Bedier 1994, p. 50, fig. 5, pl. 6).

[22] On this personage, who was also the brother-in-law of the vizier Ahmose Aametju, see Dziobek 1992, and for his contextualization within his familial and professional network, see Shirley 2010b, and her contribution in this volume.

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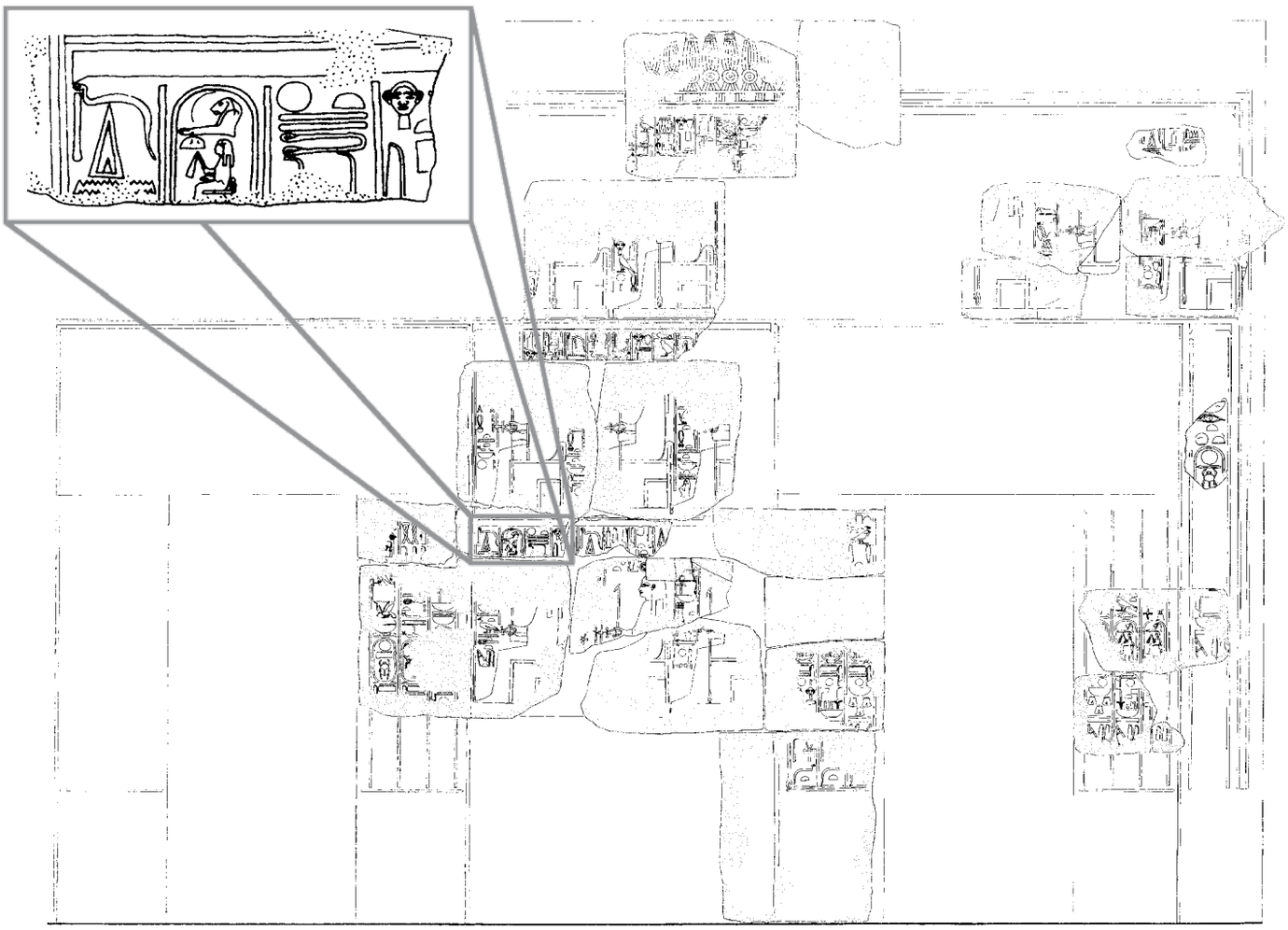

Figure 5.5. Detail of an inscription originally carved in the name of Thutmose III and later usurped for Hatshepsut still as regent, on an inner wall of the presumed *Netjery-menu* (after Gabolde 2005, pl. 16)

This extract is often taken as historical evidence that illustrates — if not demonstrates — the exceptional power the queen would have already enjoyed at the very beginning of Thutmose III's reign. Nonetheless, one has to bear in mind that it is part of a biographical text, whose focus is the tomb owner's life and achievements. Here, Ineni, who was closely tied to the royal household of his time, insists on Hatshepsut's authority because in the very next sentences he will deeply emphasize how much she rewarded him at what was to be the final stage of his long and fruitful career:

> Her Majesty favored me, she got to love me, she got to know my excellence in the Palace, she enriched me with properties, she made me great and she filled my dwelling with silver and gold, with any beautiful linen from the King's House. (*Urk.* IV 60.12–17)

But moreover, this text is surely retrospective and was in all likelihood composed almost seven years after the events it recounts, since it quotes very specific passages of official eulogies that appeared on the queen's monuments when she was in the process of assuming full kingship.[23] Thus, on a block published by L. Habachi, that — as Gabolde and Rondot demonstrated — comes from a shrine erected by the queen when she was experimenting with her first attempts of really royal titulary, one can read the following description

[23] For the dating of this process, see below.

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of Hatshepsut (italics marking of the formulae common to both texts) (fig. 5.6):[24]

> [...] the protectress of Kamutef, *the [god's] beneficent seed who has come [before him]* [...] eternity, the one who makes the laws, *excellent of (her) counsels,* the divine [one] who has come from the god, the one who gives orders, the one [...] in fear, the Nubian land *in obeisance*, (for her) *the* excellent *prow-rope of Upper Egypt, the excellent stern-rope of [Lower Egypt ...].*

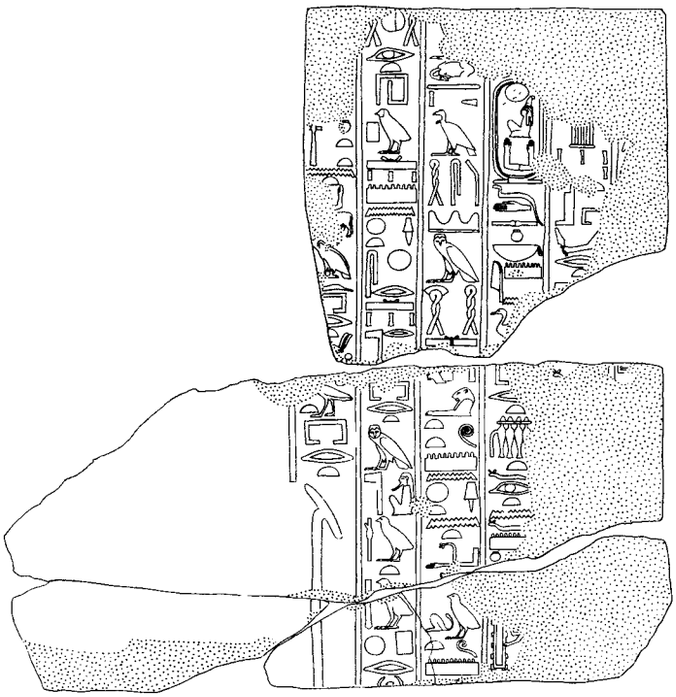

Figure 5.6. The so-called Labib Habachi block, from a chapel decorated in the name of Hatshepsut at Karnak just before her coronation (after Gabolde and Rondot 1996, p. 210)

If most of these epithets are quite frequent in royal — but not queenly— eulogies, the nautical metaphors of the "prow-rope of Upper Egypt" and "stern-rope of Lower Egypt" are really exceptional,[25] and their co-occurrence in such a context cannot be fortuitous, especially given the very close connection of Ineni to the royal power. So it is plain to see that this text pertains more to the situation when the queen had just become Pharaoh Maatkara or was about to do so (i.e., when the biography of Ineni was probably composed) than to the very beginning of the regency (i.e., to the time it alludes to) and thus cannot be used as a proof for an alleged exceptional authority Hatshepsut would have already enjoyed at the death of her husband. Quite the contrary, sources contemporaneous with the first years of the regency in the early reign of Thutmose III converge to give the impression that the boy-king was the nominal pharaoh, in whose name everything was officially done and ordered.

As Peter Dorman (2006, p. 42) noted,

> The earliest document of the reign is a visitor's graffito from the Step Pyramid complex at Saqqara, left by one Ptahhotep, which begins "regnal year 1, fourth month of *akhet*, day 5, under the Majesty of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt *Mn-ḫpr-rᶜ* (Thutmose III)." It then describes the king's benefactions in Thebes and concludes with Thutmose III's titulary, without mention of Hatshepsut. The graffito was inscribed only seven months into the new reign.[26]

The image of royal power that is given on a more official monument ordered six months later, on day 7 of the second month of *shemu* — so in the thirteenth month of the reign — is exactly the same. On this date, a royal command was issued to perpetuate divine offerings for the deified king Senwosret III on the site of modern Semna, in lower Nubia. The project consisted in building a small temple or shrine dedicated to the Middle Kingdom pharaoh and to the local god Dedwen, on one of the external walls of which the royal decree was immortalized (fig. 5.7):

> Regnal year 2, second month of *shemu*, day 7, under the Majesty of the Horus "Victorious bull arising in Thebes," the (one of the) Two-Ladies "Enduring of kingship," the golden Horus "Holy of appearances," beloved of Dedwen, foremost of Nubia, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperra, the son of Ra, Thutmose, given life. What was said in the Majesty of the Palace (life, prosperity and health)

[24] See Habachi 1957, pp. 101–04; Gabolde and Rondot 1996, pp. 196–67, 210–15; Gabolde 2005, pp. 141–44, 156–57, pl. 44.

[25] Gabolde (2005, p. 144) only mentions two more or less close parallels from the reign of Amenhotep III (*Urk.* IV 1649.16–17) and Sety I (Rondot 1997, pp. 28, 29 n. e, 53).

[26] For the graffito, see Firth and Quibell 1935, p. 80 (D); Navratilova 2007, pp. 85–86.

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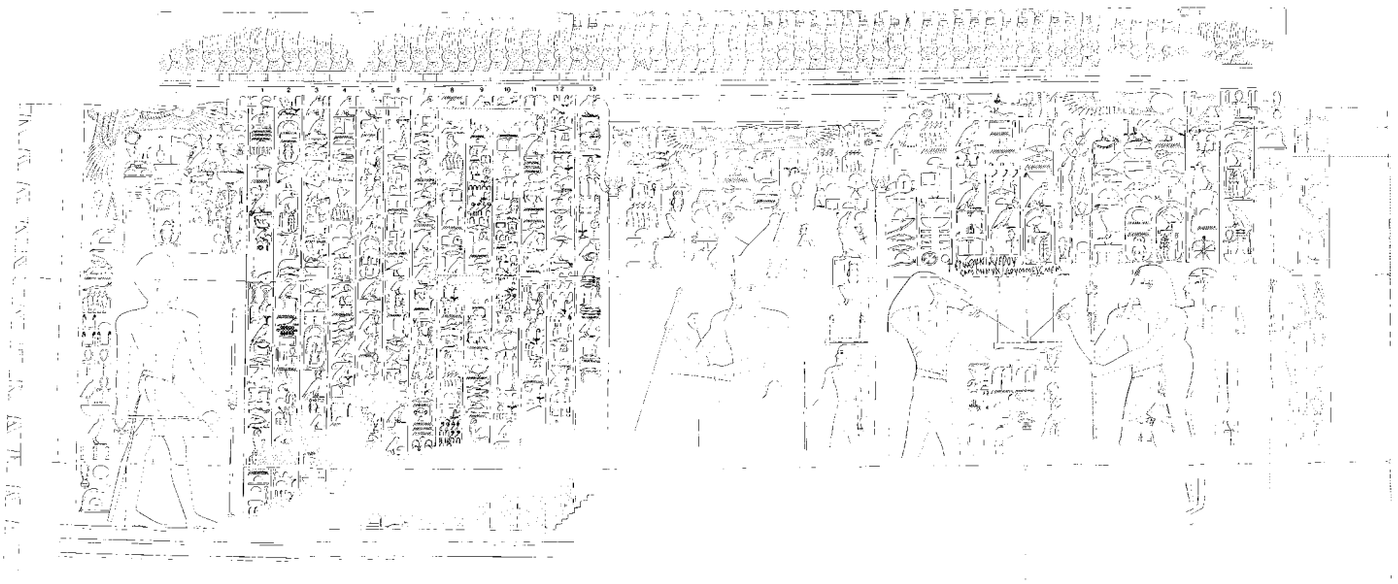

Figure 5.7. Decoration of the eastern external wall of the original temple of Thutmose III at Semna, with the foundation decree of the king (after Caminos 1998, vol. 1, pls. 24–27)

> to the seal-bearer of the king of Lower Egypt, unique friend, [king's] son and [overseer] of southern lands [Seni]:[27]
>
> "Have the divine food offerings, which the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of ritual Khakaura (Senwosret III), the Horus divine of forms, made for all the gods [...] inscribed in the temple of his father, Dedwen, foremost of Nubia." (Then follows a short panegyric of Senwosret's deeds for the gods.)
>
> It was His Majesty (i.e., Thutmose III) who instituted those divine food offerings anew [... that] his [memory might endure (?)] in the house of his father Dedwen and in order that his name might be mentioned in the house of his father Khnum who opposes the bows, the smiter of bubals. (Then follows a description of the aforementioned offerings; Caminos 1998, vol. 1, pp. 43–47, pl. 25.)

It has sometimes been argued that the formulation "what was said in the Majesty of the Palace" might have been an euphemistic allusion to the fact that the boy-king Thutmose III was too young to give the order himself, implying that it was certainly issued in his name by regent queen Hatshepsut. However, as Dorman (2006, p. 43) underlined, "In any case, there is no mention or portrayal of Hatshepsut on this wall." And, as a matter of fact, the text is absolutely explicit, beginning with the full five-name titulary of Thutmose III, just before the expression at issue, and reckoning the offerings for the deified Senwosret III and his wife, Queen Meretseger, after the sentence "It is His Majesty (Thutmose III) who instituted those divine food offerings (...) anew."[28] Furthermore, on the entrance door (fig. 5.8), as well as on external and internal walls of the temple, on seven occasions, monumental inscriptions make perfectly clear that it is King Thutmose III "who has made" the monument (Caminos 1998, vol. 1, pls. 13, 20, 38, 40, 48, 57). So, the sentence "what was said in the Majesty of the Palace" appears as an elaborate or literary wording to introduce the royal command — after the full titulary of the king[29] — and should not be over-interpreted, whoever really gave the order to the king's son of Kush. Even if it seems very tempting or logical to think that such a command

[27] For the identification of the dignitary, see W. V. Davies 2008, pp. 46–47.

[28] The expression "anew" (*m mỉw.t*) leaves absolutely no doubt regarding who "his Majesty" is, that is, Thutmose III and not Senwosret III, the original instigator of the Egyptian cult at Semna to the local Nubian gods, as explained by the text itself; see above and Caminos 1998, vol. 1, pp. 43–44, pl. 25.

[29] Instead of the more traditional and usual infinitive form *rdỉ.t m ḥr n* (with the name of the dignitary in charge).

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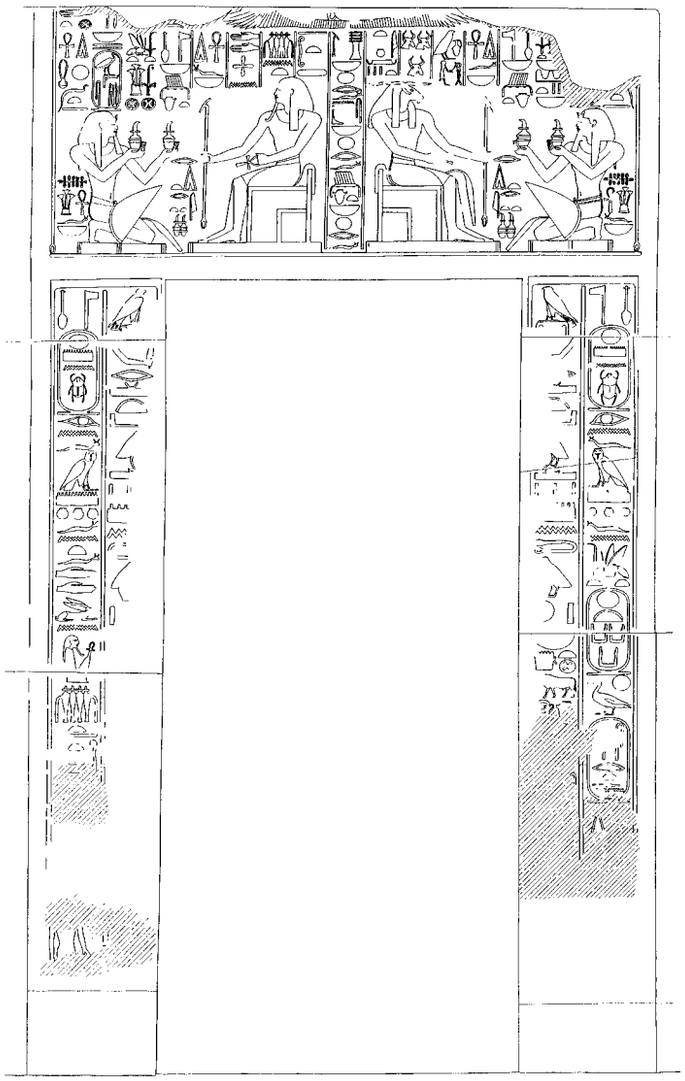

Figure 5.8. Façade doorframe of the original temple of Thutmose III at Semna, with dedication inscriptions in the name of the king (after Caminos 1998, vol. 1, pl. 20)

was managed and issued by the regent queen, given the supposed young age of her royal nephew, the text does not make any allusion to such a situation and, on the contrary, offers an official version of the event that accords with the ideology of kingship and the fact that Thutmose III was the nominal king.

Though the temple of Semna was subjected to different modifications through time,[30] it is clear that its original decoration was made in the sole name of the boy-king Thutmose III: in every scene or inscription from this first stage in the history of the monument, the young pharaoh appears as the only interlocutor of the gods (including the deified Senwosret III). Nevertheless, there seemed to be one exception to this principle: on the exterior western wall, at each extremity of a large coronation scene that depicts the god Dedwen affixing the crown of the king of Upper Egypt on the head of "his bodily and beloved son" Thutmose III and affirming the latter's kingship (fig. 5.9), appeared a panel of text, later erased, with the titulary of the regent queen Hatshepsut. On the northern — or left-hand side — end of the scene:

> [the hereditary noble,] great of favor and charm, gr[eat of love…] the god's wife and great king's wife, Hatshepsut, she has made (this temple) as her monument for her father Dedwen, foremost of Nubia, that she might be living for ever.

And at the other extremity of the same wall (figs. 5.9–10):

> Words spoken: "your beloved [daughter, Hatshepsut], your efficient heir, the god's wife, the great king's wife, she is your daughter, who has come forth from your [limbs]. With a loving heart you have brought her up. She is your [bodily] daughter. She made a monument for you and her reward from you is all health and all stability."

It is also clear that, at some point, Hatshepsut was depicted under this last inscription, turned to the left — in front of the deified Senwosret III — and thus apparently attending the coronation of her young nephew.

This notable exception to the principle that structured the decoration of the temple — assigning the king's role only to young Thutmose III — has sometimes been used as an argument to assert that, since the beginning of the regency, the queen could be represented on temple walls alone in front of the gods, almost like a king, that is, according to what was pharaoh's prerogative in ancient Egyptian iconography.

The presence of Hatshepsut on this wall is, however, clearly secondary and resulted from an alteration of the original decoration of the temple. This is quite strongly suggested by the very content of both texts relating to the queen, which patently contradict all the other dedicatory inscriptions of the monument (see

[30] For an overview of the history of the monument, see Caminos 1998, vol. 1, pp. 12–15.

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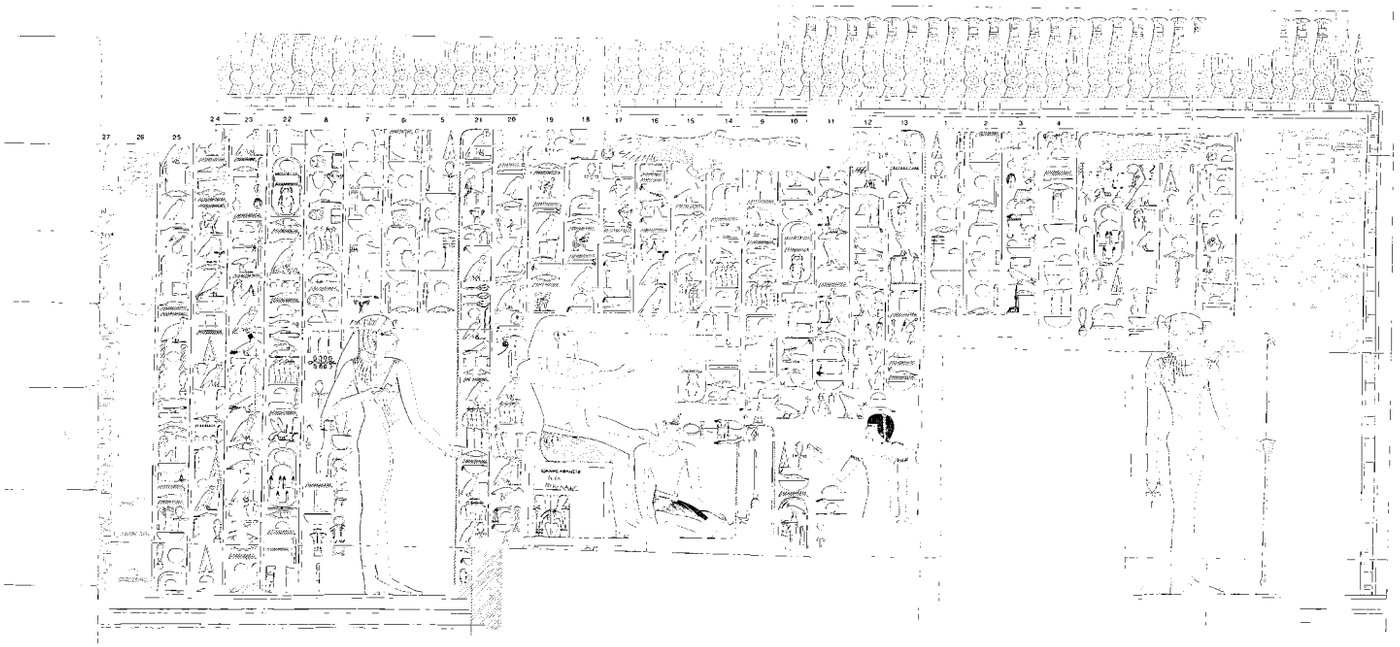

Figure 5.9. Current state of preservation of the decoration of the western external wall of the original temple of Thutmose III at Semna (after Caminos 1998, vol. 1, pls. 38–40, 42)

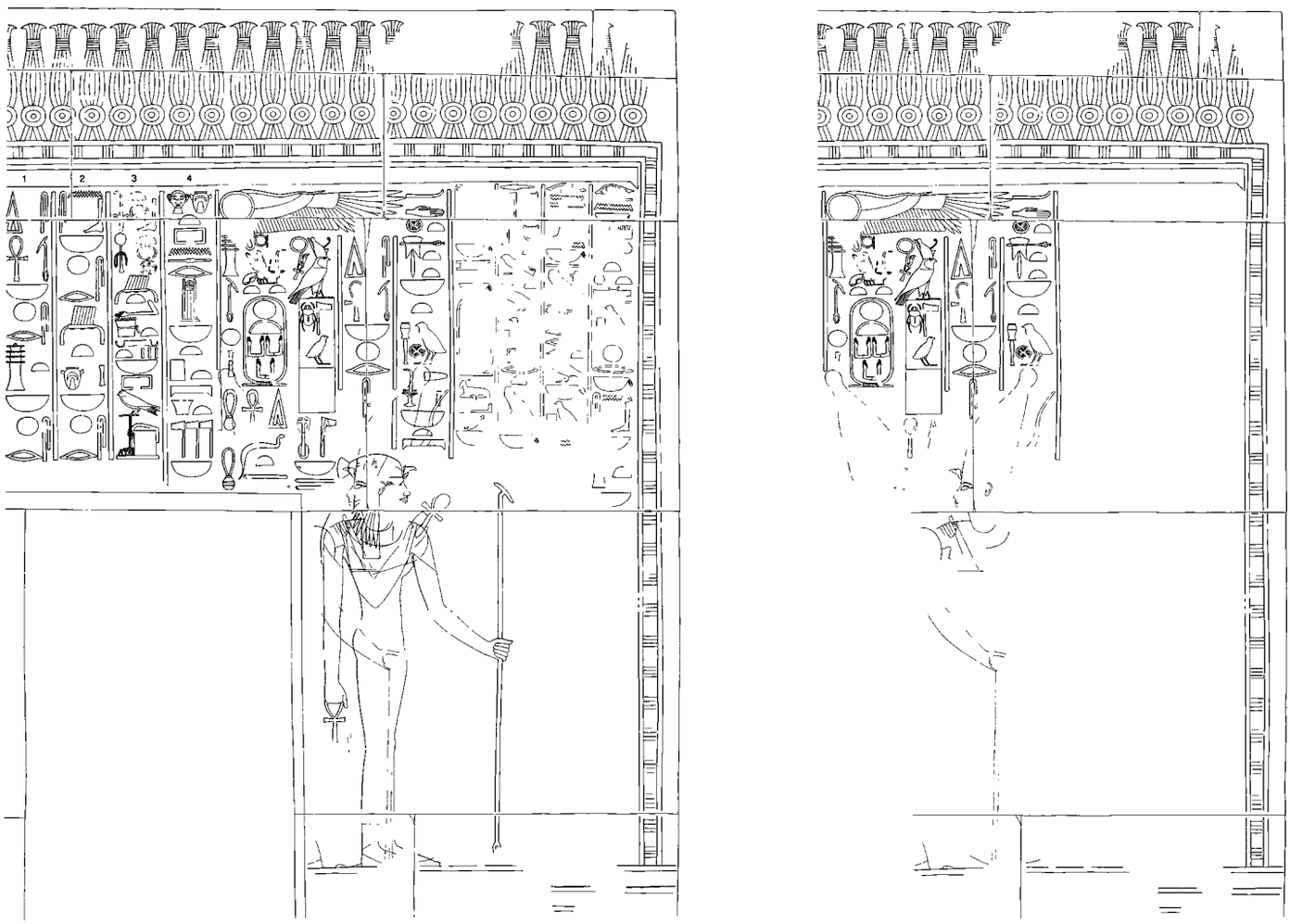

Figure 5.10. Present state of conservation of the southern scene of the western external wall of the temple of Thutmose III at Semna and remaining traces of its original decoration (after Caminos 1998, vol. 1, pl. 42)

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above), and also by the fact that those two inscriptions mirror, in an abbreviated version, the inscriptions of the main scene depicting the coronation of Thutmose III:[31]

> BEHIND WADJET, NEXT TO DEDWEN: "The perfect god Menkheperra, *he has made as his memorial for his father, Dedwen, foremost of Nubia*, and for the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khakaura, the making for them of a temple of fine white sandstone of Nubia, after (my) Majesty had found it in bricks and very ruined, as a son does *with a loving heart* for his father, who ordained for him the Two Banks and *brought him up* to be the Horus lord of this land. The god put in my heart that I should make monuments (for) him, that I should cause him to be powerful as he caused me to be powerful, and that I should cause his house to be solid for eternity, in keeping with his being great compared to any god. He has given to me all life, stability and dominion like Ra for ever."
>
> AND IN THE WORDS OF THE IUNMUTEF PRIEST: "To Dedwen, the foremost of Nubia, the great god, lord of heaven: 'Your beloved son, Menkheperra, he rests upon your seat, he inherits your throne and he acts as king of Upper and Lower Egypt in this land. There will be none to repeat him forever. Put his power and create awe of him in the hearts of the Bowmen and the Bedouins, in reward of this beautiful, solid and excellent monument he has made for you.'"

But more importantly, Ricardo Caminos established that the panel in front — or on the right— of this central coronation scene (fig. 5.10) originally depicted King Senwosret III, standing to the right and holding a stick, in front of the goddess Satet, wearing her typical tall crown, who was followed and held in a "loose embrace" (Caminos' words) by an enigmatic figure whose forehand is still visible on the front shoulder of the goddess (Caminos 1998, vol. 1, pp. 80–81). In such an iconographical context, this figure holding Satet from behind must have been a deity — most probably the god Khnum of the First Cataract, traditionally paired with Satet[32] — but not Hatshepsut, since when a royal figure, whether a king or a queen, was represented embracing a deity, he or she always faces and never follows the latter.[33]

As for the other inscription referring to Hatshepsut, on the left-hand side end of the coronation scene, the last preserved column of text (number 27 on Caminos' drawing) is clearly amputated, although it appears on the very edge of the original wall of the temple, as is implied by the floor slabs under the original rear and perpendicular wall (fig. 5.11). This shows, without any possible doubt, that the text of Hatshepsut was inscribed in a later phase, when the western wall of the temple had already been extended, that is, in a secondary stage in the making of the monument.

So, the presence of the queen on this wall was the result of an alteration of the original decoration of the temple, an alteration that occurred after the date of the royal order to make — anew — the temple of Semna, in regnal year 2, but before Hatshepsut assumed full kingship, since it is still her queenly titles that were used in this modification. Consequently, the entire decoration of the temple of Semna, commanded at the beginning of year 2, was definitely made — some time later — in the sole name of young King Thutmose III.

This iconographical solution, that is, with Thutmose III depicted as the official and only king, seems to have remained unaltered until at least year 5. Four documents can be related to that regnal year: a papyrus now in Turin (P. Turin 1878), which contains the beginning of a formal account of the appointment of Useramun as vizier by Thutmose III (*Urk.* IV 1384; Helck 1955); a stuccoed tablet with a list of official offerings made

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[31] The disposition of the text is also much denser and less well organized than the one of the original inscriptions, relating to Thutmose III; in this context, note the abnormally flattened sign for *mnḫ* at the top of the second column, just above Hatshepsut's titles of *ḥm.t-nṯr ḥm.t-*(*ny-*)*zw*(*.t*) *wr.t* (Caminos 1998, vol. 1, p. 81).

[32] Given the spare wall space behind Satet, it is quite probable that it was the complete divine triad, that is, Satet, Khnum, and Anuket, that was depicted in front of the deified king Senwosret III. Caminos was not absolutely sure of the date to ascribe to the forehand laid on Satet's shoulder, but if it had been added when the figure of the goddess had already been redone to the right, so in a second stage of the history of this relief, the five fingers would have protruded from under her wig, which is quite unusual (in such circumstances, the hand is normally depicted on the shoulder, beyond the limit of the wig; see, for instance, Aly, Abdel-Hamid, and Dewachter 1967, scenes C 17, H 11, J 9, L 5, L 12, R 2, compared to scene C 22 or H 12). And in any case, the fact that the original depiction — and description — of Satet and the panel of text referring to Hatshepsut were oriented in the same direction implies a most incongruous iconographical composition and clearly shows that the queen's figure was added later.

[33] One should probably also note — even if it is an argument *ex silentio* — the total absence of any trace of a divine protective bird that one would expect above the queen's figure in such a monumental context (see, on slightly more recent monuments, Gabolde and Rondot 1996; Gabolde 2005).

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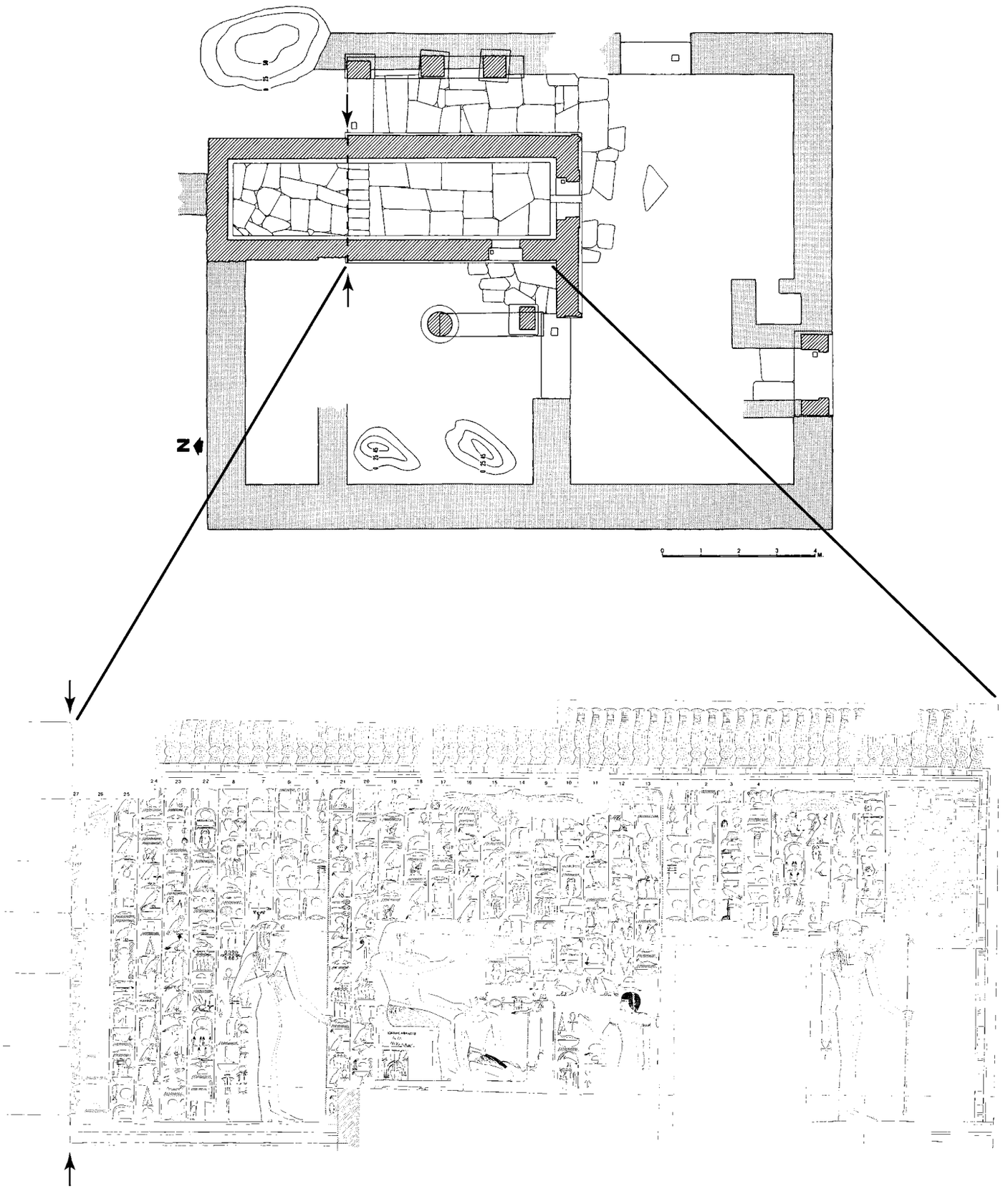

Figure 5.11. Position of the decoration of the western external wall of the original temple of Thutmose III at Semna on a plan of the monument showing the pavement slabs (after Caminos 1998, vol. 1, pls. 3, 38–40, 42)

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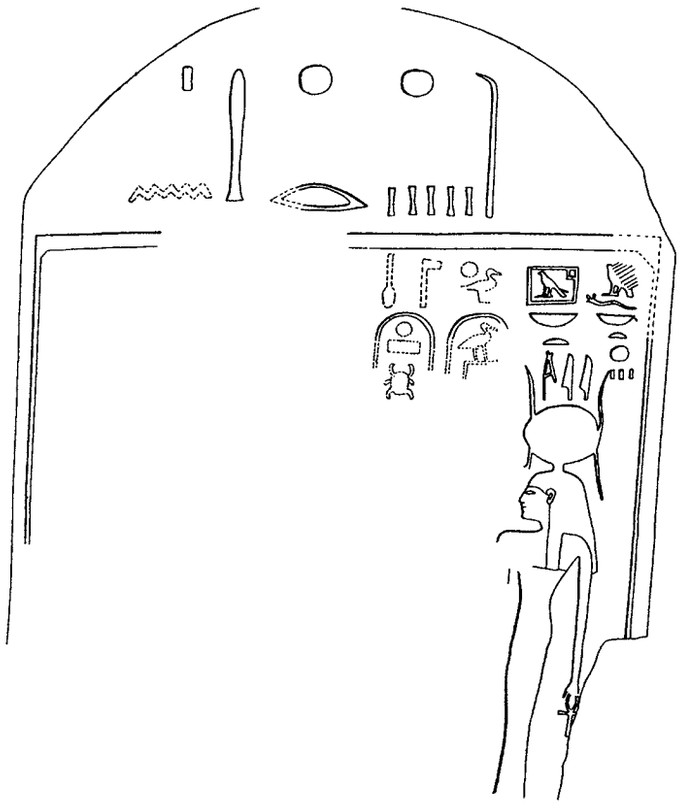

Figure 5.12. Rock-cut stela dated to year 5 of Thutmose III in Serabit el-Khadim, Sinai (after Gardiner, Peet, and Černý 1952–55, nos. 175–76, pls. 56–57)

by some dignitaries and some institutions, including the vizier Useramun and the Palace (*pr-ꜥ3*) (Vernus 1981); and two stelae in the temple of Hathor at Serabit el-Khadim, in Sinai (fig. 5.12). The account tablet attests that Useramun was surely vizier in the last months of year 5 (precisely on day 26 of the second month of *peret*, i.e., sixty-nine days before the beginning of year 6), but, as Dorman noted, the Turin papyrus seems to be — again — retrospective and cannot be used as historical evidence to prove that the young king Thutmose III did really appoint the new vizier himself (Dorman 1988, pp. 33–34; Dorman 2006, p. 46),[34] nor that this nomination was officially presented in his name at that time — even if it seems more than likely. On the contrary, the two stelae in Sinai depicted Thutmose III apparently alone and, in any case, directly in front of the divine mistress of Serabit el-Khadim, thus continuing the traditional and normal imagery of kingship that we have seen in use since the beginning of the regency.

The evidence discovered by A. Lansing and W. C. Hayes in their excavation of the Theban tomb of Senenmut and his parents (TT 71) implies that Hatshepsut assumed royal status, with real kingly titles, during year 7. Dorman, editor of the funerary complex of Senenmut in the Theban necropolis, conveniently summarizes their demonstration as follows:

> The burial chamber of Senenmut's parents, Ramose and Hatnofer, was discovered in excavations undertaken on the hillside of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna in 1935–36 by the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Located just below the tomb chapel of their son (Theban Tomb 71), the chamber had been buried below the artificial terrace of the chapel, a construction formed by three retaining walls and an enormous mass of limestone chips pouring directly from the excavation of tomb 71—and therefore dated to the beginning of tomb construction. The chamber contained several amphoras bearing dates and seals that the excavators, Lansing and Hayes, immediately recognized had a bearing on the date of Hatshepsut's accession. One amphora bore a hieratic docket on its shoulder: "year 7, second month of *pr.t*, day 8," a date that must have preceded the sealing of the tomb; a second amphora, also bearing a hieratic docket of simply "year 7," was sealed with a jar stopper bearing the stamp of "the god's wife Hatshepsut." Two others bore seals with the royal prenomen: "the good goddess *Mꜣꜥ.t-kꜣ-Rꜥ*." The amphora date of year 7, 2 *pr.t* 8, provides only a *terminus post quem* for the sealing of the tomb; the *terminus ante quem* is apparently indicated by an ostracon found by Norman de Garis Davies in the forecourt of tomb 71, referring to the beginning of construction "in this tomb" in year 7, fourth month of *pr.t*, day 2, after which limestone chips from the tomb would have begun covering the hillside just below. Lansing and Hayes deduced that Hatshepsut's accession therefore took place in year 7 between 2 *pr.t* 8 and 4 *pr.t* 2; and, while this date range (less than two full months) may be too narrow for most scholars, year 7 is universally accepted as the latest possible limit for Hatshepsut's assumption of royal titles. (Dorman 2006, pp. 48–49)

[34] The text on P. Turin 1878 starts with the date of day 1 of the first month of *akhet* of year 5, i.e., new year's day in the ancient Egyptian calendar. Whether this date is accurate or not for the designation of the new vizier, one has to take notice that Useramun was surely attested as vizier in the list of offerings inscribed on the stuccoed tablet dated to day 26 of the second month of *peret* of the same year, i.e., almost six months later; see Vernus 1981, pp. 108, 110, 122.

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Actually, if the tomb made for Hatnofer and Ramose was surely sealed between day 8 of the second month of *peret* of year 7 and day 2 of the fourth month of the same season, that is, between one and three months before the change to year 8, the jar stoppers with the queenly title of Hatshepsut as god's wife could have been stamped before this time span. Since one of these stoppers is still fastened to a jar bearing the mention of year 7, one can be sure that the end of the regency, with the assumption of kingly titulary by Hatshepsut, occurred in the course of year 7, before the last month of that regnal year.

A few monuments, identified and studied mainly by Luc Gabolde (2005), need to be situated just before this important and official political change, since their decoration offers an image of the royal power in which Hatshepsut now appears and plays a part normally devoted to a king, but still as a regent queen, with queenly titles and attributes. Those representations invite us to distinguish at the end of the regency a pre-coronation period, during which, on an iconographical level, Hatshepsut started to behave like a pharaoh, but still as the regent queen.

2.2. The Pre-coronation Period

The first monument to consider here is the one Gabolde convincingly suggested to identify with the *Netjery-menu*, referred to in few texts of the time. It was obviously a quite large monument almost completely made of local limestone (from el-Dababeya quarries)[35] and dedicated to Amun in the precinct of Karnak (most probably in the eastern part of the site; Gabolde 2005, pp. 20–21). Only a few rooms or walls (some of them adjacent) are preserved, through incomplete series of blocks (in total 204). The most striking characteristic of those preserved parts of the monument is the depiction of Queen Hatshepsut officiating in front of Amun just like the king, either following the latter, or alternating with him, or even alone (fig. 5.13). The second remarkable feature of these blocks is the fact that they bear quite numerous traces of recarving and palimpsestic inscriptions; indeed, among different barely perceptible signs of reworking of the reliefs,[36] in at least two decorated panels, the titulary of Thutmose III was scrupulously but surely recarved into the one of his deceased father, Thutmose II (fig. 5.14), and in a nearby inscription, it is the name and pronouns of Queen Hatshepsut that replaced the ones of her royal nephew (fig. 5.5; Gabolde 2005, pp. 10–13). Gabolde underlined the extreme carefulness of these recarvings, suggesting that they might have been more numerous than it seems now:

> Ces étonnantes regravures des noms de Thoutmosis II à la place de ceux de Thoutmosis III ont été repérées de manière certaine en deux endroits, dans une légende de figure sur la paroi 2 v° et sur les montants d'une porte (paroi 8 v°). Elles sont néanmoins si soigneusement exécutées qu'en certains points les traces, visibles sur un bloc de la paroi, ne sont plus décelables sur les blocs adjacents où la titulature se poursuivait. Il est par conséquent bien possible que, sur d'autres reliefs, toute la titula-

[35] As is quite usual in stone architecture of that time, the supporting part of the lintels were often — if not always — made in sandstone (Gabolde 2005, p. 9).

[36] For instance, it is plain to see that, on wall 2 v° (Gabolde 2005, pl. 4), where the titulary of the king was altered, the legend of the god was also retouched (see the expression *ḫr.i*), as well as — at least — the end of the text relating to the royal figure (the sign *ḏ* in the expression *mi Rᶜ ḏ.t*) and the titulary of the queen in the next scene (see the curved sign visible under the expression *ḥnm.t nfr*, i.e., the white crown); the same holds true for the title of Amun on block MPA 6 from scene 3 v° (ibid., pl. 7); the cartouche of Thutmose II on wall 5 r° is also a palimpsest (ibid., p. 53, pl. 10); the vertical inscription on block 87 CL 96 — tentatively positioned by Gabolde at the right end of wall 8 r° — was obviously more than reversed, as can be seen through the remains of a previous sign under the basket hieroglyph in the expression *nb ir.t ḫ.t* (ibid., pl. 16). In this context, and given the exquisite quality of the carving of these blocks, one should also note some oddities in their decoration, like the extreme closeness of certain signs in the text describing Hatshepsut on wall 7 r° (scene on the left, especially in the expression *ir.s n.f*; ibid., pl. 13) or the surprising narrowness of the hieroglyphs in the legend behind the queen on wall 3 r°, compared to those in the mirror inscription at the back of the king's figure (ibid., pl. 5). A close examination of the blocks themselves — now reassembled and partly re-erected in the open-air museum of Karnak by the Centre Franco-Égyptien d'Étude des Temples de Karnak (www.cfeetk.cnrs.fr/index.php?page=programme-2) — also revealed some strange features, like the incompleteness (or reworking?) of the two signs for *snṯr* (surrounded by traces of chiselling) on the block 87 CL 255 from wall 7 r° (ibid., pl. 13) or the unexpectedly poor quality — or again the incompleteness — of the carving of the headgear, ear, and part of the chest of the figure of Hatshepsut, compared to her face, on wall 5 v° (ibid., pl. 11).

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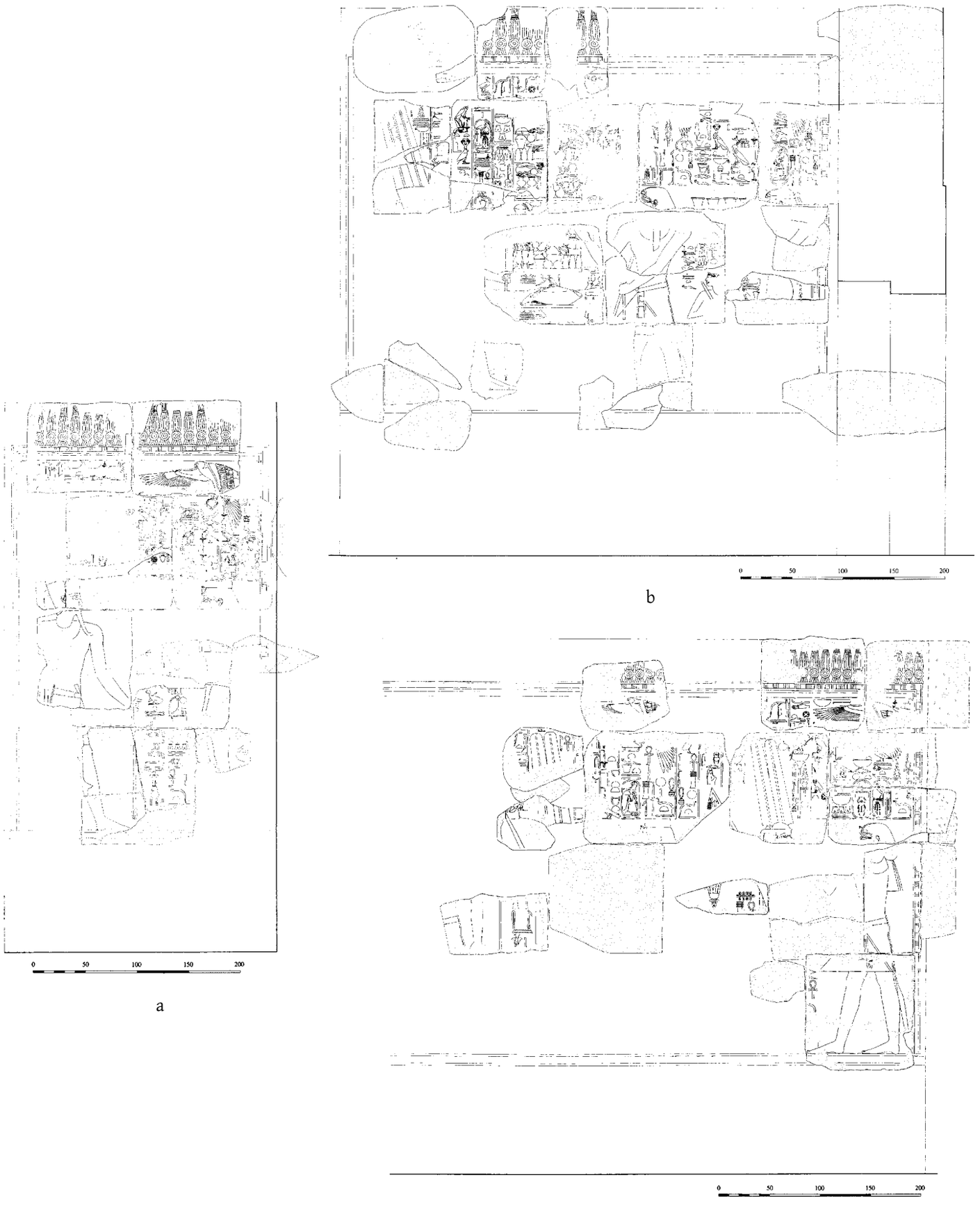

Figure 5.13. Scenes from the presumed *Netjery-menu* depicting regent queen Hatshepsut performing the royal cult of Amun alone, following the king or alternating with him (after Gabolde 2005, pls. 13, 3, 15)

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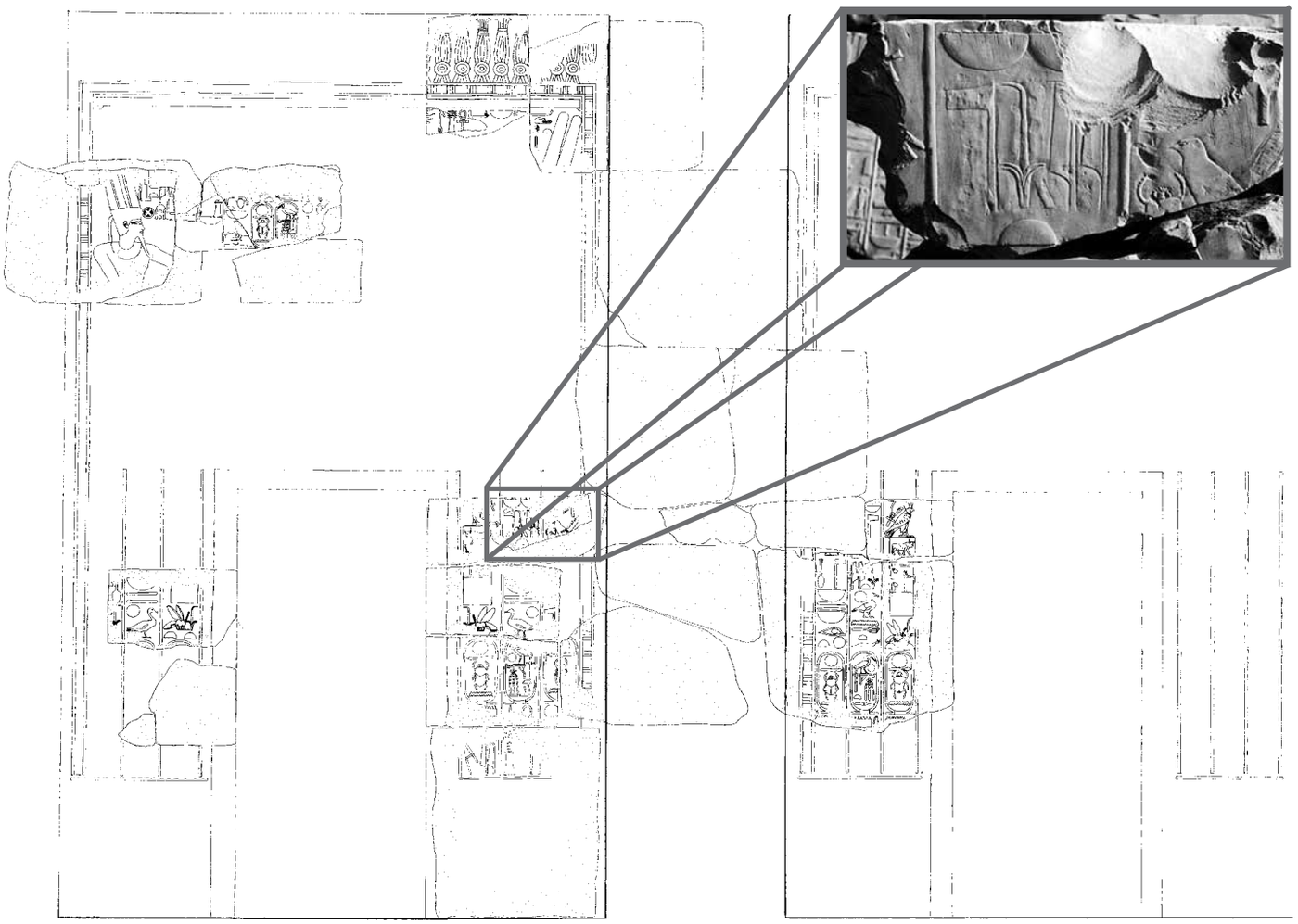

Figure 5.14. Detail of an inscription originally carved in the name of Thutmose III and later on usurped for Thutmose II by order of Hatshepsut, on an inner wall of the presumed *Netjery-menu* (after Gabolde 2005, p. 199, pl. 17)

> ture de Thoutmosis II ait remplacé celle de Thoutmosis III, mais que ces retouches n'aient pas laissé de témoin repérable. (Gabolde 2005, p. 11)[37]

Despite the consequently rather important presence of Thutmose II on these blocks, Gabolde (2005, pp. 10–17) perfectly established that the monument under discussion was initiated during the early reign of Thutmose III, that is, during the regency of Hatshepsut, and eventually modified by the latter.[38] The regent

[37] A clue pointing in this direction is the case of wall 2 in the publication of Gabolde, where, on one side (2 r°), the remains of the titulary of Thutmose II appear un(re)touched and original, whereas on the opposite side of the very same blocks (2 v°), they result from an alteration of the name and titles of his enthroned son; see Gabolde, 2005, p. 15 (§22), pls. 3–4.

[38] In the hypothesis persuasively advocated by L. Gabolde to identify this monument with the *Netjery-menu* (Gabolde 2005, pp. 21–25; also Laboury 1998, pp. 556–60), the foundation ritual of the temple might have been accomplished by Thutmose III in person, since he claimed, in the so-called *Texte de la jeunesse*, to be the one "who did it himself with his two hands" (*Urk.* IV 166.10), and the building process would have been then supervised by the high priest of Amun Hapuseneb, as the latter recalled in the inscription of his statue Louvre A 134 (Gabolde 2005, p. 22; Delvaux 1988, p. 57, pl. 2, fig. 3). At least three campaigns of modification of the monument by Hatshepsut can be distinguished: firstly, definitely before assuming full kingship, she ordered the replacement of references to Thutmose III with the name of Thutmose II or with her own one; later on, but before adopting a completely masculinized iconography, she decided to dismantle part of the building, including almost all the blocks gathered by L. Gabolde from this monument; and lastly, a block found reused in the foundation of the *Akh-menu* attests that the older representations of the regent queen were finally adapted to her new status, titles, and iconography (Gabolde 2005, pp. 10–17). Of course, we are only dealing here with the first of these three phases of alteration of the presumed *Netjery-menu*.

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queen seems to have been depicted actively participating in the cult of Amun from a very early stage or even the very beginning of the decoration process of the temple. This new iconography of the central power on sacred monuments, which extends to the queen what was traditionally pharaoh's exclusive prerogative of direct interaction with the gods, clearly reveals the royal ambitions of Hatshepsut. Equally explicit are her epithets in these scenes: alongside normal titles for a queen of ancient Egypt at that time (like "mistress of the Double Land," "mistress of Upper and Lower Egypt," "wife, daughter, and sister of the king"),[39] she is described as "the one who is great of omens in her father's (the god's) house" (*ꜥ3.t bi3.wt m pr it.s*; Gabolde 2005, pp. 33–34, pl. 3), the one for whom "he (the god) has caused that she performs for him the rites of purification in his sacred place" (*rdi.n.f ir.s n.f ḫ.*(*w*)*t wꜥb m s.t.f ḏsr.t*; ibid., pp. 59–60, pl. 13), or "the one who is watchful over what concerns him (the god), the one who makes enduring monuments for him as the one who has become king of Upper and Lower Egypt" (*rs.t-tp ḥr ḫr.t.f ir.t n.f mnw wꜣḥ m ḫpr* [*ny-*]*zw.t bit*[*.y*]; ibid., p. 44, pl. 7). Thus, with this new official image of pharaonic authority, Hatshepsut plainly emphasized her very close, personal, and traditionally royal relationship with the god of kingship, Amun.

In this context, it is certainly not irrelevant to note that the regent queen is — so far as we can see — systematically presented on these blocks as "the god's wife of Amun."[40] One also has to remember here that the so-called historical inscription — later — displayed on the second register of the *Chapelle Rouge* and in the façade portico of the upper terrace of the *Djeser-djeseru* temple at Deir el-Bahari relates the exceptional promotion of the queen by describing how Amun selected her as his god's wife and how she moved from that very position to the status of "efficient king." During an extraordinary processional appearance of Amun in his portable bark, the god is reported to have behaved in a very unusual and unexpected way and headed to the Karnak palace of the time. Then,

> The mistress of the Double Land[41] came out from the splendors of her Palace and started to worship the lord of the gods, while approaching him. After that, she put herself on her belly in front of his Majesty, saying:
>
> "How great this is compared to the (other) plans of your Majesty! It's my father, who conceived everything that exists. What is it that you want it to happen?"
>
> Then the Majesty of this god started to make extremely great omens, very numerous and very grandiose. After that, he put her under his prow and advanced her to the great Palace of Maat, and she seized the insignias (*ḫkr.w*) of her Majesty, her equipment of god's wife, which (i.e., the equipment) is in his temple.
>
> Then the Majesty of the Lord-of-All started to multiply the omens for this, next to her mother, the one who created her perfection, Hathor, who presides over Thebes (…). (Lacau and Chevrier 1977, pp. 99–100)

[39] For queenly titularies, see the now classic article of Gitton 1978. One can note the attestation of an interesting variation of the title *ḥnw.t t3.wy* into *ḥnw.t t3 r-ḏr.f* (Gabolde 2005, pp. 33–34, pl. 3; Gitton 1978, pp. 391–92), i.e., on the model of the well-known royal epithet *nb* (*n*) *t3 r-ḏr.f*.

[40] There is a clear emphasis on this title of the regent queen. It often occurs before the traditional designation as "king's wife" (Gabolde 2005, pls. 1, 3–4, 11, 13, 15), like in the titulary of the very influential god's wife of Amun Ahmose Nefertary, which was obviously of some inspiration for Hatshepsut's official behavior in this phase of her career. As noted by Gitton (1984, p. 63), in the inscriptions of the first sarcophagus of Hatshepsut (from the cliff tomb of the Wadi Siqqet Taqa ez-Zeid), still as a regent queen, *ḥm.t nṯr* is attested twelve times, with only six occurrences of *ḥm.t n*(*y*)*-zw.t wr.t*, two of *ḥm.t n*(*y*)*-zw.t*, four of *z3.t n*(*y*)*-zw.t*, and four of *sn.t n*(*y*)*-zw.t*. From this phase on, when the scarcity of space induced a choice in the queen's titulary, it is the only title that was selected to introduce Hatshepsut's name (Gabolde 2005, pl. 41, for the niches structure discussed below; see also Roehrig 2005, pp. 95, 143, 209, 217, for smaller objects, like scarabs or even kohl jars; or *Urk.* IV 34.15, 60.1, 396.11 and 14; 398.8, 403.2, 418.16, for references to her in private inscriptions). Since there is not a single reference to Hatshepsut securely datable to a period preceding this late and last stage of the regency (for the stela Berlin 15699, often considered of the time of Thutmose II, and the problem of its authenticity, see Krauss and Goedicke 1998), it is impossible to determine when the queen acquired this obviously very important dignity of god's wife of Amun. Therefore, one can perfectly imagine that such an event only took place during the regency, and even maybe at a quite late stage into the latter.

[41] One has to note the multivalence of the title used here, *nb.t t3.wy*, which is appropriate to the status of Hatshepsut before as well as after her assumption of full kingship. On the use of this title by Hatshepsut, see the remarks of Robins 1990, p. 218.

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And when the queen was eventually enthroned,

> The crowns (*ḫ^{c}.w*) [*sic*] of the god's wife were removed and she wore the insignias (*ḫkr.w*) of Ra, the Southern crown and the Northern one being united on her head. (Lacau and Chevrier 1977, p. 116)

This sacerdotal function of god's wife of Amun probably offered Hatshepsut the opportunity to be depicted as a direct interlocutor of the god of kingship, so just like pharaoh.

In at least one scene from the so-called *Netjery-menu*, the title of "god's wife [and (god's) hand] of Amun" was borne by Hatshepsut as well as her daughter, Princess Neferura (Gabolde 2005, p. 55, pl. 11). The latter, presented as "the king's eldest[42] and beloved daughter," can appear with both of her parents (fig. 5.13b; Gabolde 2005, pl. 3) or accompanying only her officiating mother (ibid., pls. 7, 11, and 13).[43]

This unusual importance of the princess' depictions, together with the addition of the presence of Thutmose II in the temple decoration, clearly indicates an emphasis put on Hatshepsut's branch of the family, to the detriment of the nominal king who occupied the entire iconographical public space since the beginning of the regency, that is, to the detriment of Thutmose III.[44] And, as a matter of fact, the recarving of the mentions of the latter imposes us to distinguish two successive steps in this early evolution of the queen's iconographical behavior: first, she found her way in temple imagery by associating herself with the official king in the representation of the royal exercise of divine cult, sometimes alongside Thutmose III, sometimes — maybe later — in his stead; and subsequently, she decided to connect herself in this typically and fundamentally royal function not so much — or not anymore — to her royal nephew, but rather to her deceased husband, King Thutmose II, inevitably and even actively and explicitly (through these recarvings) to the detriment of the official pharaoh of the time, Thutmose III.[45] In any case, from this phase on, we do not encounter — in the current state of preservation of the monuments — any new reference to Thutmose III until the inception of the real coregency (see below, sections 2.3.2 and 2.3.3).

Another Karnak building studied by Luc Gabolde is to be dated to this second phase of the queen's iconographical ascension to kingship: the so-called niches monument (Gabolde 2005, pp. 129–40, 155–56, 160–62, 191–93, pls. 41–43). It consists of seven blocks — again of local limestone — dismantled from a structure composed by a series of niches (at least three),[46] certainly intended to house royal statues. Given the dimensions of the walls of these statue niches (from 96 to 137 cm), each scene of their decoration displays a single royal figure at a time, interacting with the gods. The preserved parts of this monument — probably associated with the series of similar statue niches built a few decades earlier by Amenhotep I for the royal cult in Karnak temple (ibid., pp. 130–31, 156, 160–62) — thus bear depictions of Hatshepsut, Thutmose II,

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[42] In such a monumental and official context, contrary to the suggestion of Gabolde (2005, p. 35), I do not think that this systematic epithet of "king's eldest daughter" (*z^{3}.t wr.t*) alludes to the existence of a younger sister of Neferura born to Hatshepsut and Thutmose II. It seems to me more likely that it has here a quite polemical meaning regarding Thutmose III, just like the description of Hatshepsut on one of the blocks referred to above: "the one who makes enduring monuments for him (Amun) as the one who has become king of Upper and Lower Egypt" (*ir.t n.f mnw w^{3}ḥ m ḫpr* [*ny-*]*zw.t bit*[*.y*]; ibid., p. 44, pl. 7).

[43] In the iconography of these blocks, the princess seems to be systematically depicted holding the *ḥts* scepter of the god's wife, but she never takes part in the exercise of the divine ritual and merely attends the performance of her mother.

[44] The idea that all this would have been done in order to readjust the temple decoration according to the actual implication of Thutmose III and Hatshepsut in the making of the monument (Gabolde 2005, p. 173) seems unsustainable given the iconographical solution in use during the first part of the regency. Moreover, such a readjustment would be absolutely unprecedented and abnormal in the context of ancient Egyptian temple decoration and, in any case, would bear a strong political meaning. And in this hypothesis, how can one explain the unusual presence of Neferura and the recarving of the names of Thutmose III into the ones of his deceased father? The fact that this recarving process was not completed everywhere in the preserved parts of the temple does not imply at all a wish of "fair" readjustment (ibid., p. 172), since those very parts of the monument were eventually dismantled before the queen had the time to adapt her titulary and her iconography according to her new status of effective king (see above, n. 38), as she did for all her other official representations (see nn. 7, 8).

[45] It seems reasonable to think that it is during this stage of reworking earlier decoration from the regency period that the queen decided to add her presence in the reliefs of the temple of Semna, as seen above (n. 32).

[46] Gabolde (2005, p. 130) underlined the fact that the block MPA 344 belonged to a dividing wall between two adjoining niches, but also that those two niches had slightly different sizes (the one for Thutmosis II being larger and deeper). Since the fragments of rear walls (ibid., pls. 42–43) come from two different panels of exactly the same dimensions (96 cm wide), the preserved blocks necessarily imply the existence of at least three niches (one large niche and two smaller ones).

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and Neferura. The princess, greeted by Amun and a cow-headed goddess called "the divine mother who resides in Karnak,"[47] is designated as "the king's daughter and the king's sister," a title that securely dates the monument to the reign of Thutmose III, who is nonetheless — in the present state of conservation of this niches structure — totally absent.[48] The two preserved textual references to Thutmose II appear devoid of any trace of recarving and are therefore most probably original. The deceased king is depicted on a side wall of a larger niche just as if he were still alive and active, but — maybe significantly (ibid., pp. 129, 134) — crowned by "Osiris [...] who resides in Karnak" and his consort "Isis of *Netjeret*." On the other side of the same wall, so in the next niche, "the god's wife Hatshepsut" is represented receiving life and dominion — like or as if she was a king — from Seth of Ombos "who presides at Upper Egypt" and his divine spouse Nephthys "who presides at Karnak" (fig. 5.15).

Hatshepsut appears again in conjunction with her royal husband Thutmose II on what remains of a prestigious bark shrine made in Tura limestone for Amun in Karnak (Gabolde 2005, pp. 99–128, pls. 35–40).[49] Only thirty-two blocks or fragments from this important monument have come down to us or can be identified. In their current state of preservation, they systematically display the queen in large ritual scenes following her royal husband, either attending his religious action (fig. 5.16) or participating in the exercise of the divine cult (fig. 5.17), with the exception of the façade of the shrine, where the surface available for the decoration was too narrow and only allowed for a single royal figure in front of the god. In this case, Thutmose II (on the lower register) or Hatshepsut (on the upper register) was depicted in interaction with Amun. If the mentions of Thutmose II do not present any visible trace of reworking and therefore appear original, the figures and titles of the queen were later modified[50] according to her new royal status, that is, during her actual reign, and all her depictions were thus masculinized (figs. 5.16–17, and above, 5.2b). So in the initial decoration of the monument, Hatshepsut was represented as a queen, systematically assisting her royal husband in the performance of the cult to the god of kingship. The inner door of the shrine — or at least what is preserved of its jambs — was apparently decorated in the sole name of Thutmose II and dedicated in his name (Gabolde 2005, pp. 122–26, pls. 38–39), but on the upper register of the façade, Amun was depicted embracing the queen and thanking her for "this beautiful and efficient monument thou (feminine pronoun) has done for me, may thou (feminine pronoun) act like Ra for ever" (ibid., pp. 108–09, pl. 35).

Given the available evidence, there seem to be two options for dating this imposing bark shrine. As Luc Gabolde argued, one can be tempted to ascribe it to the reign of Thutmose II, assuming that the quoted inscription on the façade of the monument would have been added when the queen adapted her depictions and descriptions to her new fully royal status (Gabolde 2005, p. 100). But in such a hypothesis it becomes quite difficult to explain the very unusual role granted to the queen on these reliefs.[51] Indeed, this iconography of the queen systematically partaking in the royal exercise of divine cult would be without any parallel among the different monuments securely datable to the reign of Thutmose II (from the latter's large festival courtyard that marked the entrance of Karnak temple and the fragments from his temples in Nubia or Sinai to small objects like scarabs or other faience wares), monuments that, actually, never make a single reference

[47] See the very interesting comments and interpretation of this goddess suggested by Gabolde 2005, p. 139.

[48] A fragmentary scene from the rear wall of a niche, preserved by only two joining blocks from its lower part, depicted a king standing between two masculine deities (one with wrapped legs, like Osiris; Gabolde 2005, p. 140, pl. 43). Unfortunately, the complete loss of its upper section — with the inscriptions — renders the definite identification of the king in this scene impossible, and one could argue that it was Thutmose II, patently honored in this monument, or his son.

[49] As Gabolde perfectly established, the outer doors of the monument were made in another stone, indubitably a precious material like granite, diorite, or even quartzite, and the shrine was divided in two inner rooms, in contrast to the architectural typology of processional bark shrines of the time, but just like the *Chapelle Rouge* and the granite bark shrine of Thutmose III (and its later reproduction by Philip Arrhidaeus), two major monuments that might have replaced the building under discussion.

[50] Again, like on the walls of the so-called *Netjery-menu*, those recarvings were very carefully done, and, undoubtedly, some of them have now become invisible (see, e.g., Gabolde 2005, p. 116 [here fig. 5.16], about the *Mꜣʿ.t-kꜣ-Rʿ* cartouche, without any remains of the previous inscription, but accompanying a figure of the queen clearly masculinized).

[51] The composition of the scenes clearly implies that the figures of Hatshepsut were part of them from the very beginning of the decoration process and could not have been added later on. Of course, as stressed by Gabolde (2005, p. 166), in the iconography of the time, a queen could be sporadically depicted alongside her royal husband in a temple scene; what is really exceptional here is the fact that Hatshepsut appears systematically in conjunction with her officiating royal husband.

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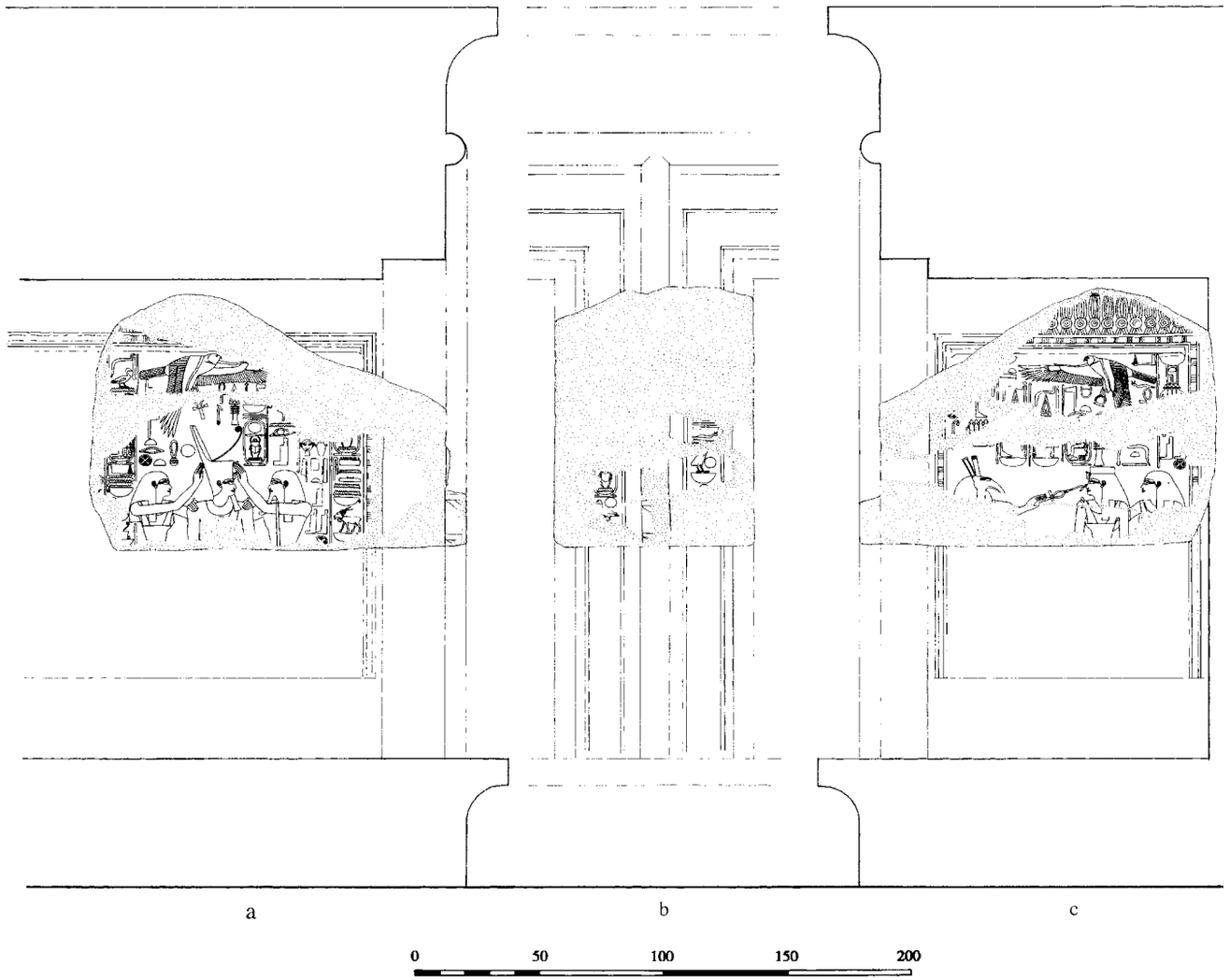

Figure 5.15. Decoration of a block from a niches structure erected by Hatshepsut in Karnak at the end of the regency period (after Gabolde 2005, pl. 41)

Figure 5.16. Detail of the preserved decoration of the upper register of the northern external wall of the Tura limestone bark shrine erected by Hatshepsut at Karnak (after Gabolde 2005, pl. 36)

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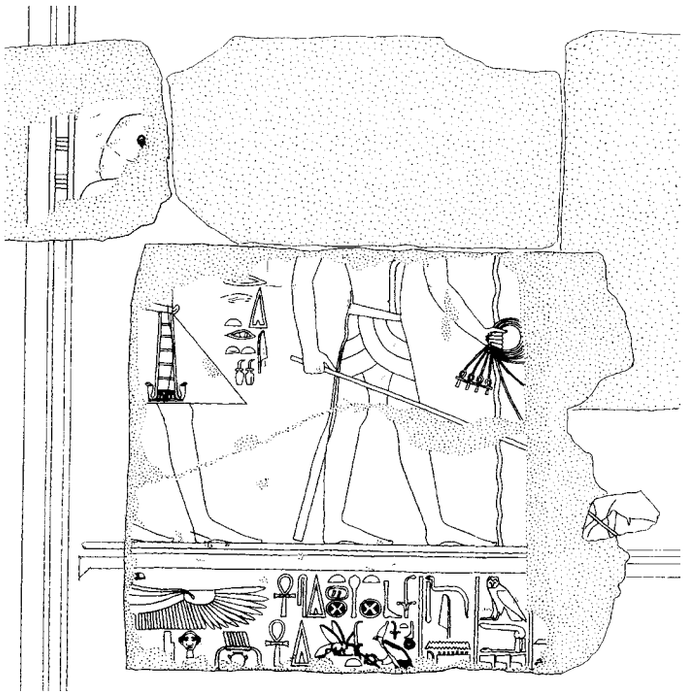

Figure 5.17. Detail of the preserved decoration of the upper part of the northern internal wall of the Tura limestone bark shrine erected by Hatshepsut at Karnak (after Gabolde 2005, pl. 37)

to Hatshepsut in the present state of our documentation.[52] Moreover, if the position of the queen was already so royal and close to that of the king at the end of her husband's reign (as suggested in Gabolde 2005, pp. 151–72, 185), how can we understand that — as we have seen above — she completely withdrew from the official image of royal authority during the first years of the regency, when she was in charge of "conducting the affairs of the country," to eventually come back into kingship imagery before the end of year 7 and her own coronation? Her iconographical behavior would appear very erratic and it seems, on the contrary, much more likely and coherent to date this Tura limestone bark shrine to the second phase of her pre-coronation period, exemplified by the introduction of Thutmose II in the decoration of the so-called *Netjery-menu* and the niches structure discussed above.[53]

Another illustration of the kingly behavior of the queen before her formal coronation is also given by the famous graffito of Senenmut in the granite quarries of Aswan, at el-Mahatta (fig. 5.18). The dedicator of this rock-cut graffito, that is, "the noble, the count, the great confidant of the god's wife, who pleases the mistress of the Double Land with what comes from (lit. what is on top of) his mouth, the seal-bearer of the king of Lower Egypt, the great steward of the king's daughter Neferura — may she live — Senenmut," caused to have himself depicted in a gesture of reverence in front of his mistress. The latter appears with queenly garb, including a double-feather headdress and a mace that could fit for a god's wife of Amun as well as for a king.[54] Again, the inscriptions accompanying the image of the regent queen leave no doubt about her official status and, at the same time, her royal ambitions at that moment of her career: "the noble, the great of praise and charm, the great of love, the one to whom Ra has given the kingship righteously in the opinion of the Ennead,[55] the king's daughter, the king's sister, the god's and king's great wife, [the mistress of Upper and Lower Egypt (?)] Hatshepsut — may she live — beloved of Satet mistress of Elephantine, beloved of Khnum lord of Elephantine." As explicitly royal or — better — oriented toward an assumption of real kingship is the action of the queen, who is referred to as the one who has charged Senenmut to cut "two great obelisks of eternity" in Aswan quarry, the commissioning of such monuments being, once more, an exclusive kingly prerogative in ancient Egypt, here performed by the queen on her own.[56]

[52] See n. 40 as well as Gabolde 2005, p. 165.

[53] If, as suggested by Gabolde (2005, pp. 103, 152), this exceptional Tura limestone bark shrine was replaced by the *Chapelle Rouge* at the end of the coregency and thus stood at the same place in the temple, i.e., in the middle of the festival court of Thutmose II (Laboury 1998, pp. 27–28), it could have been part of a project of the regent queen to complete the parvis of Karnak temple as it was built by her late husband, a project of completion that certainly started at the very end of the regency and was finalized by the erection of two obelisks at the beginning of the coregency (Gabolde 1987a; Gabolde 2003; and the discussion of these obelisks in this article, below).

[54] For the multivalence of the title of "mistress of the Double Land" in this context, see above, n. 41.

[55] For this translation of *di.n n.s Rᶜ ny(.t)-zw.t mɜᶜ ḥr-ib n psḏ.t*, see Niedziólka 2001, followed by Gabolde 2005, p. 119. Note that this very telling epithet also occurred in the inscriptions of a shrine erected at the very beginning of Hatshepsut's true reign (Gabolde and Rondot 1996, p. 191; and here below) and perhaps also on the Tura limestone bark shrine discussed above (Gabolde 2005, p. 119 [lines 8 and 9 need to be inverted]).

[56] The contrast with the case of the small temple erected in the name of Thutmose III at Semna in year 2 (discussed above) is in this respect very eloquent.

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Figure 5.18. Rock-cut graffito of Senenmut in the granite quarries of Aswan, at el-Mahatta (after Habachi 1957, p. 94)

Though the graffito does not specify the temple in which this pair of "great obelisks" was to be erected,[57] it is very tempting — and it seems reasonable — to identify them with one of the two sets Hatshepsut made in her early reign for Amun's precinct in Karnak, and more probably with the earliest one, meant to stand in the middle of the festival courtyard of Thutmose II, at the main entrance of the temple.[58] In this hypothesis, and given the time needed to extract the *Wadjyt* obelisks in the same quarry at the turn of year 15 to year 16 (i.e., 7 months; *Urk.* IV 367.3–5), the regent queen would have commissioned Senenmut to produce those two "great obelisks" during the very last months before her official assumption of real kingship.

According to the evolution of the queen's iconographical behavior we have just considered, this shift from regent to pharaoh was, at that moment of the reign, merely a question of titles and titulary — granted, of course, during some ritual ceremonies.[59] In this context, one should note that the last attested step before the official coronation as king was the addition to the name of Hatshepsut, inside her cartouche, of the epithet *ḥnm.t ʾImn* "the one who's united with Amun,"[60] so a qualifier that was one of the central concepts of her royal ideology — and legitimation discourse — and, once again, put emphasis on the very close relationship that united the reigning queen and the god of kingship.[61]

[57] I wish to thank here S. Biston-Moulin for drawing my attention to this undisputable fact (pers. comm.). It is quite usual that such graffiti do not provide the name of the site for which the obelisks were intended, even if the information can sometimes be stated; for a slightly more recent example, see Hawass 2009, pp. 147–48, figs. 22–24.

[58] For the bibliography of this pair of obelisks, see n. 53. L. Gabolde is currently preparing an atlas of the obelisks of Karnak, but, in the meantime, about Hatshepsut's obelisks on this site, one can refer to the very good synthesis of Gabolde 2000. If the so-called obelisks portico of Deir el-Bahari temple displays the dedication of two pairs of obelisks by Hatshepsut to Amun (Naville 1908, pl. 156), the connected river transportation scene depicts a single barge with only two obelisks (under the supervision of other dignitaries than Senenmut, namely "the steward of the queen's domain, the scribe Tetiemra, the chief of the double granary Minmose and the Prince of This Satepihu"; ibid., pl. 154); there is therefore no reason to assume that these two sets of obelisks, definitely datable to the early reign of Hatshepsut, were brought to Karnak together. According to their respective decoration schemes (notably the original presence of Thutmose III's name on fragments from the eastern obelisks) and to the fact that the eastern obelisks of the reigning queen were erected after a partial dismantling of the presumed *Netjery-menu* (Gabolde 2000, pp. 43, 46; idem 2005, pp. 9, 17, 20, 26, 76, 89, 96, 155), it is clear that the large granite needles erected in the middle of the festival court of Thutmose II were the firsts of Hatshepsut in Karnak. In this context, there might have been a very coherent monumental program conceived by Hatshepsut regarding the main building of her late husband at the entrance of Karnak precinct (see n. 53), a program that would fit particularly well with the iconographical and political trends we have just seen.

[59] The event is recalled in detail by the so-called coronation or pseudo-historical inscription from the *Chapelle Rouge* and the Deir el-Bahari temple of Hatshepsut, in a highly formalized and ideologically (as well as mythologically) oriented way; see Yoyotte 1968; Lacau and Chevrier 1977, pp. 92–153.

[60] This is clearly demonstrated by the small kohl jar MMA 26.7.1437, in the name of "the god's wife Hatshepsut-united-with-Amun, may she live like Ra for ever" (Roehrig 2005, pp. 216–17, cat. no. 140). From that time on, i.e., from this very last stage of the regency period, the birth name of Hatshepsut will always be complemented with the epithet *ḥnm.t ʾImn.*

[61] Many productions of her reign — from group statues to hieroglyphic compositions — express this concept one could define as some sort of a consubstantiation between Hatshepsut and Amun.

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2.3. The Actual Reign

2.3.1. The Coronation Period or the Beginning of the Official Assumption of Kingship

Before the last month of year 7 (of the reign of Thutmose III), as the above quoted coronation inscription from the *Chapelle Rouge* and the *Djeser-djeseru* commemorated, "the crowns (*ḫꜥ.w*) of the god's wife were removed and she wore the insignias (*ḫkr.w*) of Ra, the Southern crown and the Northern one being united on her head." A few monuments — or fragments of monuments — unequivocally demonstrate that Hatshepsut started this new kingly career with the iconography of a female pharaoh.

This might have been the case with a stela found in Serabit el-Khadim (fig. 5.19). Just like in the graffito of Senenmut in Aswan quarries (fig. 5.18), Hatshepsut is depicted with her queenly gown and a double-plumed headdress on top of her wig, embodying alone the royal authority, as she performs the cult directly — and on her own — in front of the local divinity, "Hathor, mistress of turquoise" (compare with fig. 5.12, above). She is followed by two dignitaries, most probably in charge of the expedition to Sinai the stela was supposed to recall. The figure of the officiating queen is labeled with an incompletely preserved panel of hieroglyphs in front of her head, where her two cartouches occur, behind the title of "king of Upper and Lower Egypt": her birth name (including the recently added epithet "the one who's united with [Amun]") and, behind, her coronation name (or so-called prenomen), Maatkara. As Dorman (2006, p. 50) pointed out,

> Oddly, they are carved in reverse order, the prenomen following the nomen, and each cartouche is followed by the same epithet, "may she live." Is this an indication that the prenomen was added at a later time, to a relief already in existence, or is the stela an early witness to her new royal titles?[62]

A clearer image of the newly crowned reigning queen appears on the fragments of a symmetrical scene rediscovered by H. Chevrier in Karnak in 1933–34 (fig. 5.20).[63] Hatshepsut, described as "the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the mistress of the rites, Maatkara, may she live," is represented with female garments and anatomy, wearing a rounded short wig that seems to be suitable for a god's wife (fig. 5.21; Szafrański 2007; idem 2008, pp. 280–83) as much as for a king (the *ibes* wig), but complemented here with a definitely royal double-feather headdress.[64]

The same combination of royal insignia with clearly female iconography was also in use for the first statues of Hatshepsut in her temple at Deir el-Bahari. The diorite sculpture MMA 30.3.3, apparently the oldest preserved seated statue of King Maatkara from the site of Deir el-Bahari (Tefnin 1979, pp. 1–31), presents Hatshepsut in a fully feminine guise, with a sheath dress, different pieces of jewelry, a pose, and a plastic treatment all inspired from Middle Kingdom art. As Roland Tefnin noted, it is the only statue that displays the complete five names royal titulary of the female sovereign, with a constant use of feminine gender endings throughout (Tefnin 1979, p. 3; Roehrig 2005, p. 159, fig. 65). According to the tradition of royal iconography, her throne is decorated with the *sema-tawy* motif on its lateral sides, and her feet rest on the nine bows, conventional symbol for the enemies of the nation. The choice of her headgear, the *khat*, is quite interesting since this headcloth — not very frequent in statuary until then — could, again, be worn by male and female members of the royal family, as well as by some goddesses (Tefnin 1979, p. 21; Eaton-Krauss 1977).

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[62] Such oddities can also be found in inscriptions of the time of Thutmose III at Serabit el-Khadim (Gardiner, Peet, and Černý 1952–55, nos. 162 and 203, pls. 60, 65A), implying that it is very difficult to use this argument in order to choose between the two options Dorman put forward.

[63] Since these fragments were reassembled by Chevrier during a sorting operation carried out in what he designated as the "Magasin sud" (most probably the so-called Sheikh Labib magazine) of Karnak, their archaeological context and, therefore, their architectural origin cannot be certified. As is usually assumed, the block they once formed was most probably part of a constructed lintel on top of a proper lintel (from a technical point of view), perhaps made in another material, like in the *Netjery-menu* (see Gabolde 2005, p. 9, pls. 18–19). As Dorman (2006, p. 65 n. 82) perfectly noted, "Although the scene to the left is no longer extant, the probability of an identical pendant scene of Hatshepsut is strong; the end of a shoulder and upper tip of a rear plume are visible at the edge of the break." This symmetrical royal figure was certainly not masculine, for the *sed* tale of the king, that always projects beyond his rear shoulder, is not visible here. Given the parallel one can draw with the preserved remains of the *Netjery-menu*, the orientation of the royal and divine figures suggests that the scene was initially displayed on the inner side of a door (see Gabolde 2005, pl. 17; maybe from an extension or a later decorated part of the *Netjery-menu* itself).

[64] This combination occurs as a determinative of the word *ibs* in the expression *ibs šw.ty wr.ty* on Amenhotep II's sphinx stela (*Urk.* IV 1277.20). For another depiction of Princess Neferura with the insignia of the god's wife of Amun and the *ibes* wig, see Ćwiek 2007, p. 36, fig. 6.

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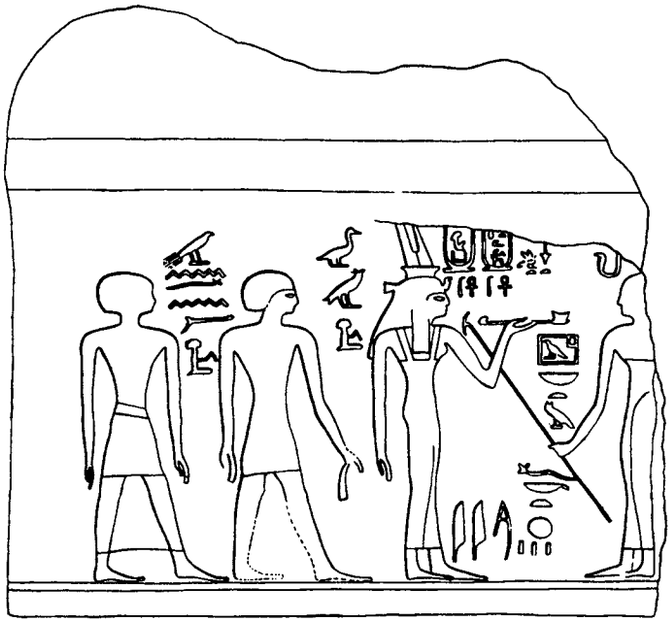

Figure 5.19. Rock-cut graffito in the name of Hatshepsut recently crowned as king, in Serabit el-Khadim, in Sinai (after Gardiner, Peet, and Černý 1952–55, no. 177, pl. 56)

Figure 5.20. Fragmentary limestone lintel from Karnak depicting the female pharaoh Hatshepsut offering to Amun (Luxor Museum J 771; after Chevrier 1934, p. 172, pl. 4)

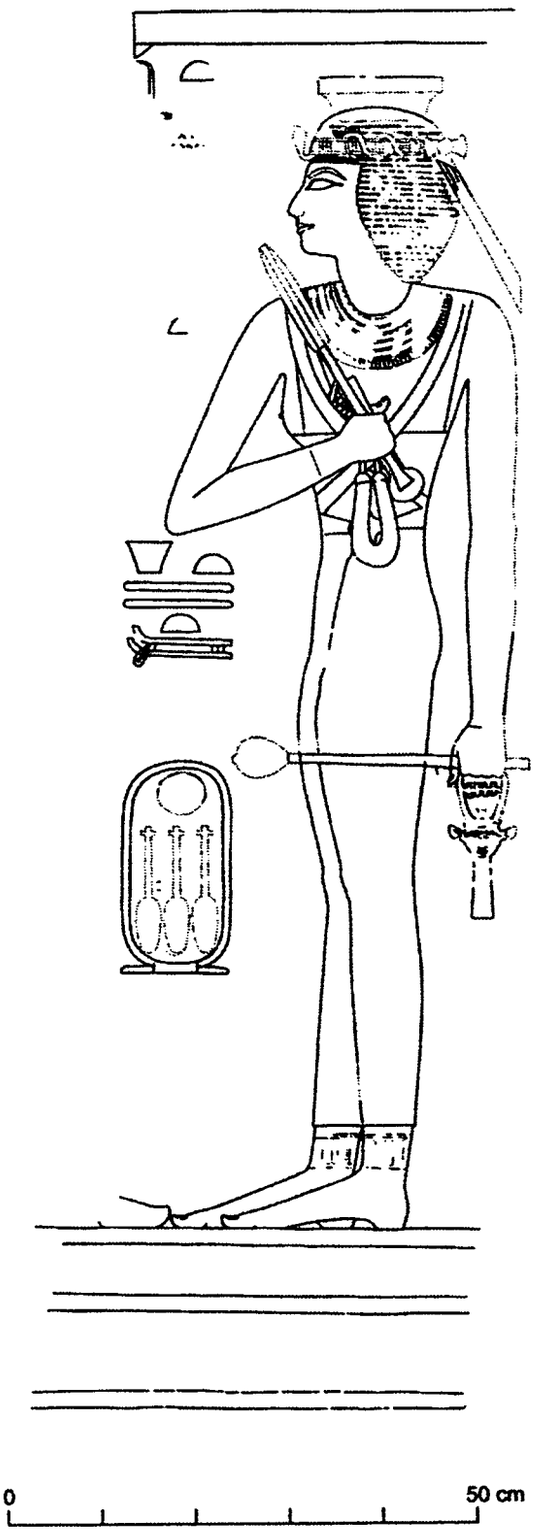

Figure 5.21. Figure of Princess Neferura in the guise of god's wife of Amun on the western wall of the upper courtyard of her mother's temple at Deir el-Bahari, on the south of the entrance to the main sanctuary (after Szafrański 2008, p. 282)

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Among the very early statues of King Hatshepsut made for her royal complex at Deir el-Bahari, there was also a large series of sandstones sphinxes[65] and a set of four Osiride colossi (the Osirides A in the classification of R. Tefnin) that adorned each corner of the bark room, in front of the temple's main sanctuary (Tefnin 1979, pp. 37–70, 121–28). Those two very specific types of royal statuary, fundamentally masculine, were adapted to the femininity of the newly crowned pharaoh. The body shape of the lion, as well as the one of the cloak-wrapped standing king, was apparently considered impossible — or very problematic — to feminize,[66] but all these sculptures were systematically painted with yellow complexion, that is, with the traditional and conventional color for women's skin in ancient Egyptian art. And if some of the sandstone sphinxes were certainly designed with the usual and expected *nemes* headgear, on most of the chest and head fragments preserved from this series, Hatshepsut wears the *khat* — again — or the tripartite feminine or divine wig (Tefnin 1979, pp. 124–25).[67]

As mentioned above (at the end of section 1), in their study of the blocks reused in the foundations of the temple of Amenhotep III at north Karnak, Gabolde and Rondot were able to identify some elements from a limestone shrine also definitely datable to this very first phase of Hatshepsut's actual reign (Gabolde and Rondot 1996). No more than eleven blocks could be singled out as belonging to this small temple, apparently very similar in shape and dimensions to the one erected at Semna and commissioned in the sole name of Thutmose III at the beginning of year 2 (see above, section 2.1, and figs. 5.7–11). The structure might have been initiated just before the official assumption of kingship, for another block persuasively connected to this set by both authors, the so-called Labib Habachi block (fig. 5.6), was decorated with an encomium in which the birth name of the queen was later recarved into her coronation name, Maatkara.[68] In the different scenes those fragments allow to reconstruct (at least twelve), only one single figure of Hatshepsut survived. She appears now as a hacked masculine silhouette, wearing the *atef* crown, in front of Amun (fig. 5.22). But if the relief was obviously damaged during the proscription of Hatshepsut by order of Thutmose III, Gabolde and Rondot perfectly established, through the recarving of the fan behind the queen and the unusual repositioning of the plural strokes of the word *ʿnḫ.w* in front of her crown, that the royal figure was first altered by Hatshepsut herself, who decided — notably — to have her headgear modified (Gabolde and Rondot 1996, p. 182). The clear remains of yellow pigment in the incisions of her carved face (fig. 5.23) doubtless reveal that she was originally represented as a woman,[69] while her kingly titles were left untouched, certifying that her appearance was, here again, that of a female pharaoh.

This wall decoration allowed for longer textual developments, and the possibility was intensively exploited on the long external lateral sides of the shrine: the reigning queen's titulary was indeed — partly — inscribed in hieroglyphs and columns smaller than those relating to the god, and, being more extensive than usual, it was also complemented by elements of eulogies that recall the ideological themes of that moment

[65] Agata Smilgin, in charge of the study of this series within the Polish-Egyptian Mission at Deir el-Bahari (Smilgin 2012), kindly informed me that it is possible to estimate the number of those sphinxes to about seventy units. It is a real pleasure for me to express here my warm thanks to her for sharing information about those statues.

[66] Leblanc (1980) has demonstrated that the so-called Osiride statue type was, functionally and morphologically, connected to the thematic of the *Heb Sed* and the renewal of kingship and cycles, in general. In this context, one can note that the only preserved *Heb Sed* statue of a queen, made during the autonomous reign of Thutmose III for his chief queen Satiah (JdE 37638; Sourouzian 1994, p. 518, no. 37), shows a jubilee cloak that almost completely conceals the body and therefore presents a neutralized — i.e., a masculine — anatomy, without any indication of feminine features, like female breast or hips. With this very formalized statue type, the sexual identity of the depicted personage was, it seems, only to be expressed by the inscriptions, the wig (here the so-called Hathoric one) and the scepters held by the queen.

[67] Fragments that can be surely attributed to the type of sandstone sphinxes with the *nemes* headcloth are actually very few, and R. Tefnin could pinpoint only one incomplete face of them (Berlin 2301). According to his analysis, this sphinx and maybe the subseries it was part of could have been made later than the other sandstone sphinxes wearing the *khat* or the tripartite wig (Tefnin 1979, pp. 126–28). For queenly sphinxes with the tripartite wig, see the examples of Nefertiti studied by Traunecker (1986, pp. 20–22).

[68] In their initial publication, Gabolde and Rondot (1996, pp. 196–67, 210–14) suggested that the Labib Habachi block came from a twin shrine, which was part of the same architectural project. Later, Gabolde (2005, p. 141) came back to the subject and assumed that all these blocks could come from one and the same monument. In any case, the typology of their decoration, both in terms of content and form (including the proportions and dimensions of the columns of hieroglyphs), strongly substantiates the connection advocated by Gabolde and Rondot.

[69] See n. 8.

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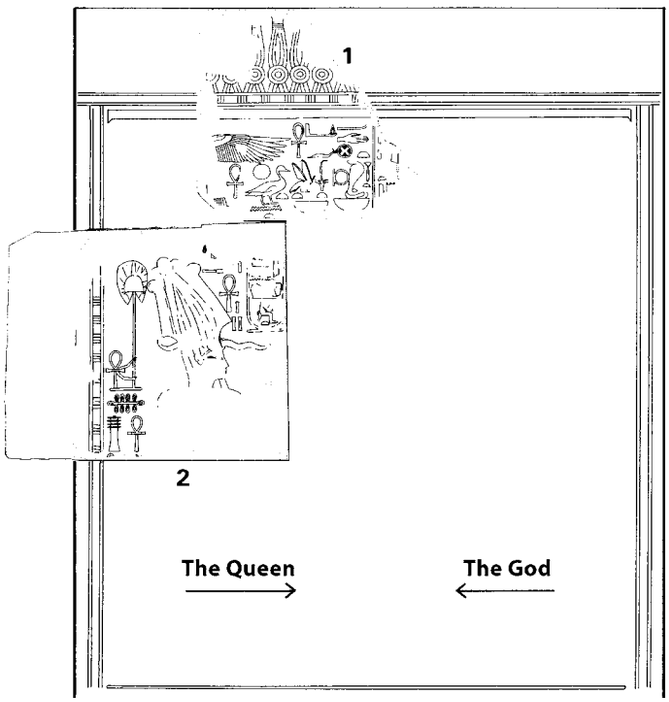

Figure 5.22. Current state of preservation of the decoration of the rear inner wall of a shrine erected for Amun in Karnak by Hatshepsut at the very beginning of her reign (after Gabolde and Rondot 1996, p. 183)

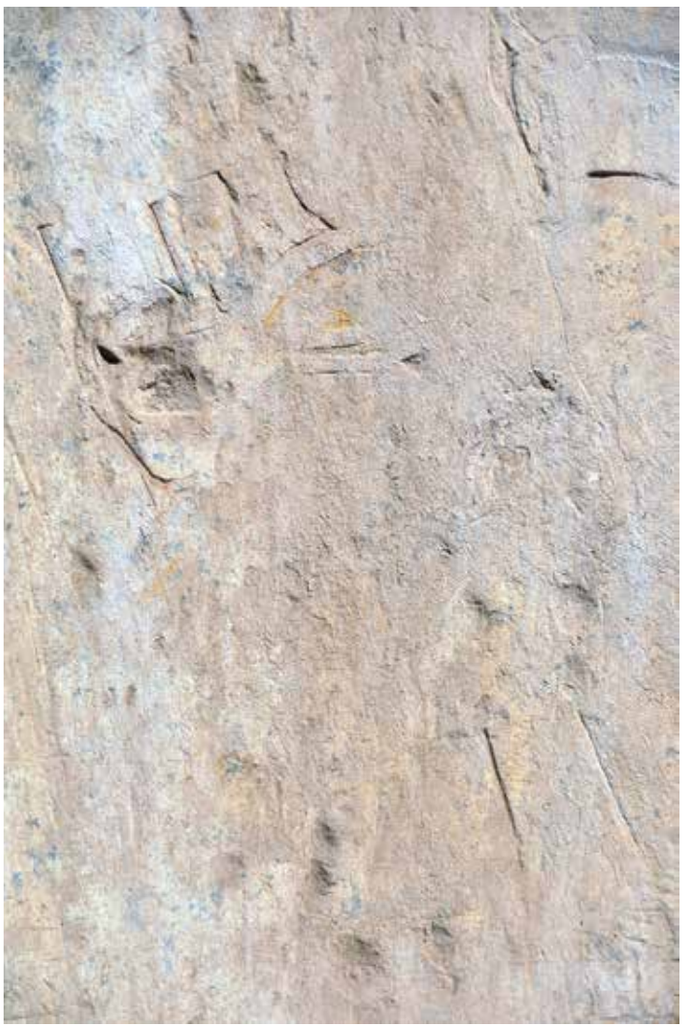

Figure 5.23. Detail of the head of Hatshepsut in the scene illustrated in figure 5.22 (author's photo)

of the reign.[70] This is how, for instance, we encounter one more time the epithet "the one to whom Ra has given the kingship righteously in the opinion of the Ennead," already attested in the graffito of Senenmut in Aswan quarries, referred to above (fig. 5.18).[71]

So, all the monuments securely datable to the very beginning of Hatshepsut's official assumption of full kingship display a clear and coherent image of her power, combining the explicit expression of her femininity[72] with the one of her newly acquired kingly status, in a well-controlled and recurrent discourse, as is evidenced by the phraseological repetitions in the inscriptions of the time and by the subtle choices of the reigning queen's headgears. We also have to note the total absence — in the present state of our documentation — of Thutmose III in this new image of royal authority, since, from the graffito in Sinai to the temple wall decoration in Karnak, every preserved ritual scene now depicts Hatshepsut directly and entirely alone in front of the gods.[73]

[70] In this respect, see above, in section 2.1, the comments about the Labib Habachi blocks and the biography of Ineni.

[71] See n. 55.

[72] The female guise of Hatshepsut in this first iconography of her reign is mirrored on a textual level by the systematic use of feminine gender endings for any word relating to her, so far as one can judge from the state of preservation of the monuments commented in this section of the present article. G. Robins (1996) has also underlined the fundamentally feminine dimension of Hatshepsut's royal titulary, in terms of both form and content. Of course, this titulary was conceived for the inception of her reign.

[73] For instance, on the shrine reconstructed by Gabolde and Rondot, each time it is possible to identify the royal figure interacting with the image of the god (i.e., in nine scenes; Gabolde and Rondot 1996, pp. 183, 185, 189, 192, 198–99, 210), the names are always the ones of Hatshepsut (concerning the hypothesis that this small temple would have been erected within a precinct accessible through a gate where Thutmose III was represented; see above, n. 18). From a statistical point of view, if we consider the situation attested before (in the Semna temple or the *Netjerymenu*) and after (during the actual coregency; see above, nn. 12–17), the total absence of Thutmose III on the monuments of Hatshepsut's coronation period cannot be fortuitous.

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2.3.2. The Progressive Masculinization

After this very first phase of the reign of Hatshepsut, when she represented her royal power through the iconography of a female pharaoh, the still recently crowned sovereign started to explore new means of expressing her exceptional status, notably, as is well known, in the sense of a progressive and irreversible masculinization. The successive steps of this evolution are fixed in the iconography of different monuments.

This is the case of the southern temple of Buhen, in lower Nubia, apparently commissioned soon after Hatshepsut's accession to full and official kingship — or even slightly before.[74] Four consecutive stages in its decoration process are still epigraphically preserved and — therefore— perceptible (fig. 5.24).

First: At least one scene testifies that the cutting of the reliefs started with the just described model of a female pharaoh, represented with her queenly gown and, according to the tradition of ancient Egyptian art, with her feet set close together (Caminos 1974, vol. 2, pl. 65).

Second: On two reliefs of the nearby inner sanctuary, the reigning queen was originally still depicted garbed in a feminine dress but with an unusually elongated stride, between the one of women and the one of men (Caminos 1974, vol. 2, pls. 74, 82).[75]

Third: Two other scenes clearly portrayed the female sovereign with the same posture but this time wearing a royal kilt, on a slender — androgynous — anatomy, that was later on enlarged and "further masculinized" (Caminos 1974, vol. 2, pls. 49, 68).

Fourth: Finally, some reliefs showed from the beginning — it seems[76] — the reigning queen in a fully masculine guise (Caminos 1974, vol. 2, pls. 12, 29, 36, 41, 69, 79), while all her previously carved figures were, probably at the same time, altered to display the same image of a virile pharaoh, with larger stride and stature (ibid., pls. 20, 25, 26, 49, 61, 74, 77, 81, 82; Karkowski 1978). Many of these reworked depictions were simply smoothed and recarved, as usual. But in quite a number of cases, the surface of the wall was deeply cut out (on about 15 cm), following a rectangular frame all over the queen's figure, and the regular hole or niche (to use Caminos' words) thus produced was then filled with a new slab of stone (cemented with plaster), ready for a new decoration (Caminos 1974, vol. 1, pls. 9–10; vol. 2, pls. 2–4, 6, 10–11, 20, 23, 26, 29, 34–35, 38–39, 43–44, 62).[77]

In this final stage of the decoration of Buhen temple during the reign of Hatshepsut, it seems that the masculinized images of the reigning queen were displayed in more or less complementary distribution with the figures of a male pharaoh. Even if the situation is now blurred by the present state of conservation of the

[74] Since the upper courses of the temple are now lost (see below, n. 78), with the upper part of most of the scenes, where the titularies and crowns of royal figures appeared, the official status of Hatshepsut when she was still depicted as a woman cannot be surely established, though the majority of preserved original images of the queen on the temple walls supports a date after the formal coronation.

[75] Such a pose was already attested for the depiction of Queen Ahmose Nefertary in the time of her husband, King Ahmose, on the famous Karnak "donation stela" (Harari 1959, pls. 1–2), a monument that Hatshepsut must have been aware of. On the plausible inspiration the latter might have found in the role assumed by her very influential and close predecessor Ahmose Nefertary, see above, n. 40, and below in section 3. From a typological point of view (within ancient Egyptian artistic conventions) and given our knowledge of what will happen next, it is highly tempting to characterize this wider stride as a more masculine pose. It should nevertheless be noted here that, in the bark room of the temple of Buhen — i.e., only a few meters away — a scene showing the king conducted by the gods depicts a walking goddess with exactly the same stride, so in an iconographical context where any masculinizing intention appears simply unthinkable (Caminos 1974, vol. 2, pl. 56). Thus, the problem might have been more complex than the simple dichotomy male/female, and it could have included a dimension relating to dynamicity, or even something else.

[76] Once again, the ancient recarvings of these reliefs were so carefully done that it is sometimes difficult to be sure that the now visible decoration is truly original. A good case is given by scene 16 (Caminos 1974, vol. 2, pl. 29; Karkowski 1978): the running figure of Thutmose I, with its identifying panel of inscriptions, looks perfectly untouched and, therefore, original, whereas some corrected feminine endings in the words spoken by the goddess Satet or in the protection formula behind the king demonstrate, without any possible doubt, that the scene initially depicted Hatshepsut!

[77] This second unusual and more time-consuming technique might have been chosen because the modification of the initial decoration was too important or too difficult to achieve on the original surface. In any case, it reveals the importance of the modification to be done in the eyes of the one who ordered it, i.e., undoubtedly Hatshepsut herself.

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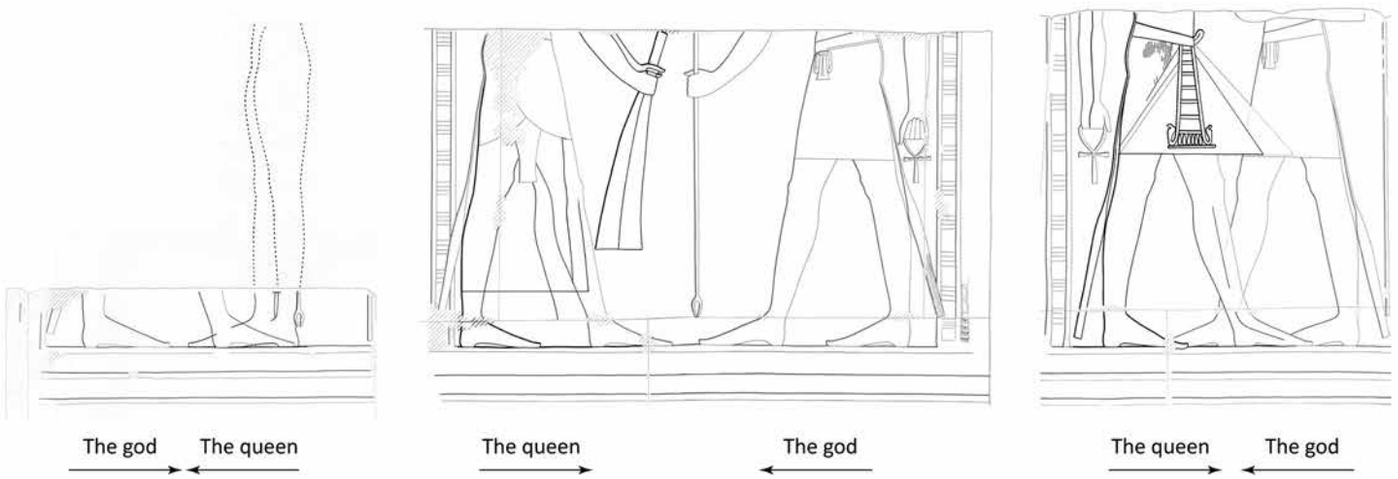

Figure 5.24. Successive steps in the masculinization process of Hatshepsut's royal image in the reliefs of the southern temple of Buhen: the sovereign depicted as a woman (later erased), as a woman with an elongated stride (later fully masculinized), and garbed in a male kingly ritual loincloth (with triangular apron) but still with androgynous anatomy and stride (later enlarged) (after Caminos 1974, vol. 2, pls. 65, 82, 49)

monument (whose upper courses are lost)[78] and by the reworking of the decoration after Hatshepsut's death (at the beginning of the sole reign of her ex-coregent and during her proscription),[79] it is clear that, at that moment, Thutmose III was back in the iconography of kingship on temple walls, at least on five occasions in this monument (Caminos 1974, vol. 2, pls. 27, 47, 55, 57).[80] But, at the same time, his father, Thutmose II, still occupied a very prominent place in the iconographical discourse and therefore in the ideology of the yet recently crowned queen Hatshepsut. As Caminos explains,

> In our monument not less than eleven records are explicitly commemorative of him in one way or another; in seven of them his name is a later interpolation, in four of them his name is undoubtedly original. (Caminos 1974, vol. 2, p. 4)

And this includes an exceptionally well-preserved scene where the deceased king — though presented as if he was still alive and active ([*dỉ ꜥnḫ*] *ḏd wꜣs* [*mỉ-Rꜥ*] *ḏt*) — appears facing the local god, Horus of Buhen, in the innermost part of the temple's sanctuary (fig. 5.25).[81] But, despite this apparent sharing of temple decoration with one or another male king, every dedicatory inscription of the monument was engraved in the sole name of Hatshepsut (Caminos 1974, vol. 2, pls. 42, 63 [3–4]).

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[78] At least a part of them was dismantled and reused in the Arab citadel of Faras; see Godron 1971; Karkowski 1972 and 1981.

[79] Caminos (1974, vol. 2, pp. 100–02) gives a very convenient overview of the different alterations of the initial temple decoration. As he stressed (ibid., p. 4), the presence of Thutmose I is always secondary.

[80] In scene 8 (Caminos 1974, vol. 2, pls. 17, 18), the cartouche of Thutmose III appears to me dubious because of the very unexpected position of the sign *ḫpr* vis-à-vis the three plural strokes just below, and the general layout of the elements of the cartouche reminds the one of *Ḏḥwty-ms-nfr-ḫꜥ.w*, i.e., Thutmose II. The two other occurrences of Thutmose III are the result of later modifications (Caminos 1974, vol. 2, pls. 10, 35).

[81] He might also have been depicted on the façade of the temple, attending the coronation or the establishment of the records of his royal consort, but the name of this unusual royal figure is now lost; see Caminos 1974, vol. 2, pl. 9. The importance of the original presence of Thutmose II in the temple wall decoration might have induced the idea of reattributing the monument to his credit during the proscription of Hatshepsut (ibid., pl. 42; for this reattribution policy within the context of Hatshepsut's persecution, see the references given above, n. 11). As far as one can figure out now, it seems that Thutmose II was very present in the decoration of the two innermost rooms of the temple (ibid., pls. 66, 76), plausibly the earliest decorated ones (i.e., where the two first iconographical phases are attested), and maybe also on the façade of the monument (as suggested in this note and the previous one), whereas some sort of an alternation between Hatshepsut and Thutmose III prevailed in the front rooms, i.e., the vestibule, the bark room, and the north side room (ibid., pls. 47, 55, 57), and the majority of the scenes on the external wall of the temple (except for the façade) were in her sole name (including some panels on the south wall with the depiction of a masculine pharaoh followed by a smaller female figure, perhaps princess Neferura [?]; ibid., pls. 33, 35[?], 37).

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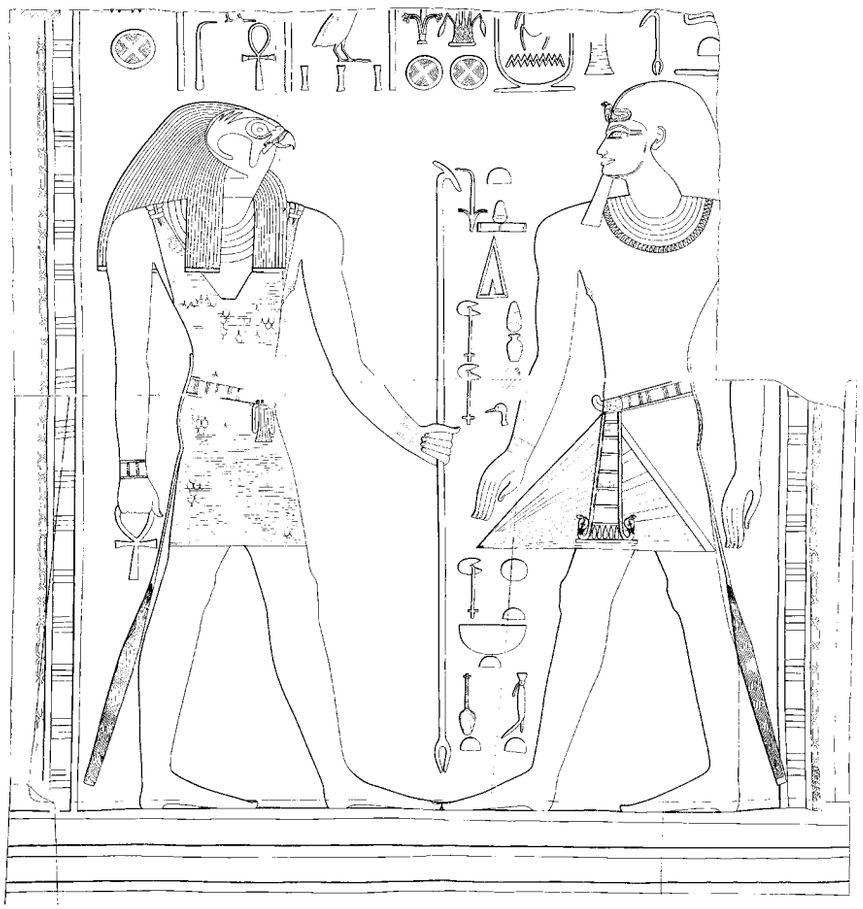

Figure 5.25. Depiction of Thutmose II in front of Horus of Buhen on the rear (or northeastern) wall of the inner sanctuary of the southern temple of Buhen (after Caminos 1974, vol. 2, pl. 76)

Another — much more important — monumental project of the female sovereign in this early period of her reign was, of course, her temple of millions of years, the *Djeser-djeseru* at Deir el-Bahari. Evidence from this site perfectly corroborates the different trends and characteristics highlighted by the decoration history of the southern temple of Buhen.

In this case, the initial architectural works were considerably more significant, and they no doubt took much more time. This is probably why, in wall decoration, only the last stages of the evolution of royal iconography attested at Buhen can be found in Deir el-Bahari. Indeed, as evoked above, P. Gilbert (1953), R. Tefnin (1979, pp. 59–60, pl. 14b), and, more recently, A. Ćwiek (2007) drew attention to the androgynous aspect of Hatshepsut's depictions in the main sanctuary of the temple, in all likelihood the earliest decorated part of the monument. Just like in phase 3 of Buhen temple's decoration, she is portrayed in full regalia, with the short ritual kilt of pharaohs, a naked chest, and a gracefully thin anatomical rendering, plainly more slender than the one of men in ancient Egyptian artistic conventions. And, maybe more importantly, substantiating this reading, Ćwiek has demonstrated that these androgynous figures — still with allusively feminine breast — were originally painted in pink-like or orange light ochre, that is, a hue willingly halfway between the traditional yellow for women and red for men (see fig. 5.1).[82] And like in Buhen, again, Thutmose III has now

[82] On the intentional dimension of this coloring, see above, n. 6. Ćwiek (2007, p. 25) also found another figure of the reigning queen with pink/orange complexion later repainted with red outside the main sanctuary: in the southernmost of the small niches of the western wall of the upper courtyard, whereas "In all other niches and throughout the remaining parts of the temple, Hatshepsut is depicted with 'male,' red colour of the body." For the early date of the decoration of this part of the monument, see below, the discussion about the Osirides B, in the large niches of the same wall, alternating with those small niches.

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made his reappearance in the official imagery of royal authority: indeed, if such androgynous representations of Pharaoh Maatkara performing daily cult rites in front of (the statue of) Amun occupied the walls of the southern half of the main sanctuary (Ćwiek 2007, pp. 37, 39, 41, 42; Barwik 2010),[83] the decoration of the latter's north wall was composed by two scenes — around a door with a double dedicatory inscription in the sole name of Hatshepsut (!) — depicting the young king Thutmose III engaged in a ritual action that complemented the one of his aunt on the opposite wall (Ćwiek 2007, pp. 37–40).[84] As for Thutmose II, he was also portrayed — twice — just next door, in the previous room, the so-called bark hall (most likely decorated soon after),[85] under a panel with a similar image of his father, Thutmose I, the latter's wife, Queen Ahmes, and Princess Neferubity (apparently a deceased sister of Hatshepsut; Ćwiek 2007, pp. 32–35), all of them turning their backs to the sanctuary, as guest deities in the temple of Amun.

The analysis of the statuary program of the *Djeser-djeseru* temple allows for an even more precise characterization of the evolution of Hatshepsut's official image. The late R. Tefnin devoted his doctoral dissertation to the subject and was able to demonstrate that this evolution took place in three main phases (with two intermediate stages), which need to be distinguished: a first feminine phase, that is, with the iconography of a female pharaoh, for the inception of the reign (see above, section 2.3.1); then an androgynous step, when the reigning queen considerably reduced the iconographical explicitness of her femininity and, at the same time, put forward the insignias of her royal status; and, finally, a definitely masculine phase, with a fully masculinized image of her power, until the end of the coregency (Tefnin 1979; Laboury 1998, pp. 592–608). But, more significantly, he showed that this evolution involved an important physiognomic metamorphosis that we have to consider closely.

The first face of Hatshepsut's depictions was actually a feminine — or feminized[86] — version of the official physiognomy of her three direct predecessors (Tefnin 1979, pp. 37–40, 49–70, 139–45, pls. 8–9; Laboury 1998, pp. 585–90, 604; fig. 5.26), which was itself deeply inspired by — not to say copied from — the iconography of Senwosret I (Laboury 1998, pp. 478–81; idem 2013), conceived some five centuries earlier. This is a quite neutral — or unpersonalized — visage, with a rather strong angular jaw, that determines a more or less square face when seen from the front, well opened eyes under almost horizontal eyebrows, a slight but clearly perceptible smile, and a straight nose. This facial type is systematically attested on all the monuments from the regency period, including the Semna temple in the name of Thutmose III, the so-called *Netjery-menu*, the niches structure from Karnak, the Tura limestone bark shrine from the same site, and so on, but also on all the preserved faces from the original decoration of the southern temple of Buhen or on the just discussed Hatshepsut's reliefs of the main sanctuary in Deir el-Bahari. In statuary, the best examples are provided by the series of the Osirides A (fig. 5.26), from the four corners of the bark room, just before the main sanctuary.

Shortly into Hatshepsut's reign, this pseudo-genealogical mask nonetheless started to change into a previously unattested and very personalized triangular face, with more almond-shaped feline eyes under curved eyebrows, a small mouth, narrower at the corners, and an ostensibly hooked nose (fig. 5.27). The successive steps of this transformation were materialized in the early statuary of the reigning queen from Deir el-Bahari. The first physiognomic modifications can be detected on the set of sandstone sphinxes discussed above (section 2.3.1), which depicted the sovereign still as a woman, as is clearly signified by the yellow color of her skin, but already with more elongated[87] eyes under curved eyebrows. These feline eyes appear again on the two seated statues of Pharaoh Maatkara wearing a female dress (fig. 5.28). The first of those sculptures, MMA 30.3.3, is almost completely defaced,[88] but the second one, MMA 29.3.3, presents new

[83] It's a pleasure for me to express here my deepest gratitude to Z. E. Szafrański for allowing me to visit in January 2010 this part of the Polish concession at Deir el-Bahari in the best possible conditions one could hope.

[84] A similar situation apparently occurred in the bark room of the southern temple of Buhen (Caminos 1974, vol. 2, pls. 55–63).

[85] This is evidenced by the "early style" of the architectural statues of this room, the Osirides A (discussed in the previous section of this article and hereafter), as well as by the remains of androgynous depictions of the reigning queen in the reliefs of the side niches of the hall (Tefnin 1979, pp. 59–60, pl. 14a).

[86] In the sense that her complexion was painted yellow; see above, section 2.3.1.

[87] Those new eyes give the impression of being more elongated, but, actually, their length remains the same, while their height or openness was reduced.

[88] Though the shape and position of her left eyebrow vis-à-vis the eye are plainly visible.

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a b c

d

Figure 5.26. Comparison of the official portraits of Hatshepsut's direct predecessors. (*a*) CG 42051: Thutmose I (author's photo); (*b*) JdE 52364: Thutmoses II (after Gabolde 2000, pl. 23a); (*c*) RT 14/6/24/11: Thutmose III, regency period (author's photo) with (*d*) her first Osiride colossi (A) from Deir el-Bahari (MMA 31.3.154–55 [author's photos])

features: the chin is now considerably lessened and the maxillary has lost its importance, giving a distinctive triangular shape to the face; the modeling of the visage has been simplified, with an extremely flat facial plan and a very geometric nose, whose profile is nevertheless still perfectly straight; and the mouth is small and narrow at the corners of the lips. The famous seated statue MMA 29.3.2 (Tefnin 1979, pp. 6–11, 19–31, 139–46, pls. 1b–3a) — known as the "white Hatshepsut" — shows a very similar physiognomy, but its nose is now clearly hooked. More strikingly, on this sculpture, the reigning queen emphasized her royal insignias, wearing a broader *nemes* headgear[89] and having exchanged her female gown for the *shendjyt* loincloth of traditional — male — pharaohs, while her anatomy is only allusively feminine, with still slim limbs but a faint, barely perceptible breast (figs. 5.27a and 5.28c). Exactly the same visage appears on the heads from the Osirides B (fig. 5.27b), initially carved in the large niches of the western wall of the upper courtyard of the temple (Tefnin 1979, pp. 41–43, 49–70, 139–46, pls. 10, 11). Mirroring the androgynous anatomy of the seated indurated limestone statue MMA 29.3.2, their complexion is painted in orange, that is, between the yellow of women and the red of men.[90]

[89] The *nemes* will become even wider on the next statue, MMA 27.3.163 (Tefnin 1979, pp. 16–31, pl. 6; see fig. 5.28d).

[90] On the Egyptological problem of the chromatic description of these different hues, see the interesting comments of Ćwiek 2007, pp. 24–25. Beyond the — rather pointless — question of vocabulary, the really important thing here is the intentionality behind these color choices, and, linked to it, their relative contrast, i.e., their contrast within the palette used by the painters of those different sets of sculptures. For instance, the pictures now accessible on the website of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (www.metmuseum.org) perfectly allow the contrastive comparison between the tone of the queen's complexion and the red of the Lower Egyptian crown or the clear yellow and red of the uraeus on her forehead.

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a b

Figure 5.27. (*a*) MMA 29.3.2 (author's photos), and (*b*) head of Osiride colossi B MMA 31.3.164 (after Roehrig 2005, p. 140, cat. no. 74)

a b c d

Figure 5.28. Seated statues of Hatshepsut from Deir el-Bahari, in chronological order: (*a*) MMA 30.3.3, (*b*) MMA 29.3.3, (*c*) MMA 29.3.2, and (*d*) MMA 27.3.164 (author's photos)

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So, this second step in the evolution of Hatshepsut's royal iconography — when the reigning queen decided to enhance the explicitness of her kingly status to the detriment of the one of her sexual identity — was characterized and even initiated by a progressive but not less patent physiognomic change (compare figs. 5.26 and 5.27) that consists in a clear departure from the dynastic model inherited from her three direct predecessors, including the young king Thutmose III during the regency period, to introduce an unprecedented and very individualized face, presumably inspired by her actual facial appearance.[91] As a matter of fact, as R. Tefnin perfectly stressed, this iconographical experimentation expressed the sovereign's desire to assert her own personality as a king.

The study of two-dimensional representations (in Buhen as well as in the main sanctuary of Deir el-Bahari temple) led us to notice that, with the properly androgynous phase, that is, when the stylistic continuity with the predecessors had been broken and the actual process of masculinization really engaged,[92] Thutmose III was reintegrated into the official image of royal authority, in some sort of a complementary distribution with his kingly aunt. The statuary of the young king seems to corroborate this observation: although not a single piece of sculpture in the round with his name could be connected to the *Djeser-djeseru*, three fragmentary statues attributable to Thutmose III — on epigraphic or stylistic grounds — show the strong and obvious influence of this second physiognomic type of Hatshepsut and were therefore probably made during this phase of her iconographical evolution (MMA 08.202.6, CG 578, and MMA 66.99.22; Laboury 1998, pp. 208–11, 295–97, 363–64, 609–17; idem 2006, pp. 275–77).[93]

Indeed, the metamorphosis resumed rather quickly and ended in a definitely male royal image of Hatshepsut, with explicitly masculine musculature, red skin, and, again, a new visage, which, as R. Tefnin rightly underlined, appears as a synthesis of her two first official faces, that is, a compromise between her very individualized previous portrait — plausibly inspired by her own facial appearance — and the conventional iconography of her three male predecessors (fig. 5.29). Thus, the distinctive triangular shape of the face when seen from the front (in phase 2) is considerably reduced through an augmentation of the cheeks, which recalls the plastic solution adopted for the Osirides A of phase 1, despite a very flat facial plan; the chin has become broad again, as well as the corners of the mouth, which is more smiling and pleasant; the intensity of the stare is lessened by the flattening of the curve of the eyebrows and the wide opened and less

[91] See Tefnin 1979, pp. 10, 14–16, 42–43, 66–70, 133, 139, 146. On the issue of portrait in royal sculpture, see Laboury 2010b. In this case, the question whether this second official visage of Hatshepsut actually reflects the real physiognomy of the queen or not is quite irrelevant; the significant fact in the present context is definitely that the female sovereign decided to free herself from her previous official portrait references to search for a new plainly individualized image of her power. In this sense, there is a clear personal assertion from a political point of view.

[92] The statues that manifest the process of transition from the first official face of King Maatkara to her second physiognomic type — i.e., the sandstone sphinxes, the two small limestone sphinxes, the seated statues MMA 30.3.3 and MMA 29.3.3 — clearly display an unambiguous expression of her femininity (through the color of the skin or definitely feminine dress and anatomy), which only started to vanish when the new visage was fully shaped, with the "white Hatshepsut" (MMA 29.3.2) and the Osirides B.

[93] The over–life-size seated statue CG 578 and the small quartzite sphinx MMA 08.202.6 bear inscriptions with an original titulary of Thutmose III and were therefore assuredly made to represent that king, while the head MMA 66.99.22 can only be dated on stylistic criteria, first brilliantly advocated in Fay 1995, pp. 12–13. The Cairo statue was found in Karnak (almost certainly by A. Mariette), whereas the New York sphinx is presumed to come from the same site, and the broken head MMA 66.99.22 has no known provenance. The closest parallel to those sculptures of Thutmose III in the statuary of Hatshepsut is certainly the latter's granite sphinx Berlin 2299, which was persuasively dated by Tefnin to the transition between phases 2 and 3 of the queen's iconographical evolution (Tefnin 1979, pp. 103–07, 115–20, 135–46, pl. 28; for the comparison, see H. W. Müller 1953, p. 73 n. 12; Laboury 1998, pp. 611–13). Despite what I initially thought (Laboury 1998, pp. 609–11; idem 2006, pp. 275–76), and taking into account the size of the piece (height of the face: 4.6 cm), the rather wide-opened eyes of the small New York sphinx are probably to be interpreted in the same way, i.e., as a sign of transition between phases 2 and 3. The reliefs depicting Thutmose III at that moment of the reign also suggest a quite late date for the iconographical reintegration of the young king during the masculinizing process of Hatshepsut's iconography, i.e., during phase 2: in Buhen, the original representations of Thutmose III are to be found in the front — and probably later — parts of the temple (see above, n. 81), where only one single androgynous figure of the reigning queen is attested (Caminos 1974, pl. 49), all her other depictions being masculine from the beginning, it seems; in Deir el-Bahari, the only preserved face of Thutmose III in the main sanctuary (Ćwiek 2007, p. 38) was already carved in the last style of Hatshepsut's iconographical history, whereas at least one of the queen's portraits in the same room, with androgynous guise, was still in the first style (ibid., p. 37). For the delay with which a new physiognomic style elaborated in statuary was implemented in two-dimensional representations, see Laboury 1998, p. 607 n. 1828.

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almond-shaped eyes; nonetheless, the profile of the nose remains hooked, though with a smoother break at the nasal bone.

2.3.3. The Masculinized Rulership and the Inception of the Real Coregency

The thorough analysis of Hatshepsut's portrait sculptures conducted by R. Tefnin revealed a dimension of the evolution of the queen's iconography that transcends the rather simple — and maybe simplistic — question of male versus female depictions: the issue of the (necessarily political) references to predecessors and their official image. In this respect, the emergence of the new, definitely masculine iconography of Hatshepsut's power was accompanied by two ideologically very important changes: on the one hand, the reintegration of Thutmose III, who had disappeared from the imagery of royal authority since the pre-coronation ascension of the then regent queen (see above, the second phase described in section 2.2), and, on the other hand, the soon replacement of Thutmose II by Thutmose I as the legitimizing ancestor of the female sovereign. As we have seen, the decoration of the main sanctuary of the *Djeser-djeseru* at Deir el-Bahari substantiates the existence of a transition period, during which both kings, the late husband and the deceased father, coexisted in the ideological discourse of the reigning queen — in the context of a selective family commemoration.[94] But later on, that is, on any other monument or part of a monument decorated after, the former vanished and the latter became the one and only royal legitimizing reference of Hatshepsut.

Figure 5.29. Faces of Hatshepsut's Osiride colossi A (MMA 31.3.154–55), B (MMA 27.3.163), and C (JdE 56259A–56262), from Deir el-Bahari (after Saleh and Sourouzian 1987, no. 129, and author's photos)

This apparently progressive switch might be of interest to estimate the chronology of the evolution we have just considered. First of all, the actual coregency, that is, with Hatshepsut and Thutmose III representing royal authority together, was certainly effective at the end of year 12, for the oldest preserved dated inscription in both of their names is a rock graffito in Tangur commemorating a military expedition in Nubia and beginning with the mention of that regnal year, "third month of *peret*, day 12, under the Majesty of the perfect god Maatkara — may (s)he be given life — (and) under the Majesty of the perfect god Menkheperra — may he be given life—" (Reineke 1977; Morkot 1987, p. 32; Hintze and Reineke 1989, no. 562, pl. 239). Moreover, Tefnin (1979, pp. 66–67, 69, 143)

[94] According to its style, the *Heb Sed* statue of Thutmose II dedicated by Hatshepsut (Elephantine Museum no. 1086; Dreyer 1984) was made quite early in the latter's reign, and certainly before the masculinizing or androgynous phase 2. As for the block with the cryptogram for Maatkara connected by L. Gabolde with the memorial temple dedicated to Thutmose II on the west bank of Thebes (the *Hut-shesepet-ankh*; Gabolde 2005, pp. 175–76), nothing in the available documentation allows us to date this initial stage in the history of the construction of the monument (which was considerably modified by Thutmose III at the beginning of his independent reign; see Laboury 1998, p. 561). Furthermore, Gabolde does not provide the information that demonstrates the relation between this fragment and the monument in question, except for the fact that all their preserved elements are stored together in the same magazine at Deir el-Medina.

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gathered some arguments suggesting a rather quick process. And, indeed, about two-thirds of the statuary of the *Djeser-djeseru* belong to the last, fully masculinized, iconographical phase,[95] as well as the overwhelming majority of the two-dimensional decoration of the temple. The statues and reliefs actually datable to the second — androgynous and physiognomically individualized — style are not very numerous,[96] and the fact that different successive stages are attested within quite small monumental spaces (in the main sanctuary area in Deir el-Bahari as well as in the temple of Buhen), again, hints at a rather fast evolution. But the most precise clue is perhaps to be sought in the graffito left by Senenmut in Aswan quarries (fig. 5.18). As we have seen (at the end of section 2.2), this graffito dates back to the very end of the regency period, when the queen behaved — iconographically, as well as in her actual commands — like a king, adopting epithets such as "the one to whom Ra has given the kingship righteously in the opinion of the Ennead," so almost certainly during year 7. Though the inscription does not give any explicit information about the destination of the two obelisks Senenmut was commissioned to produce, those two monoliths are in all likelihood to be identified with the first pair of obelisks erected by King Hatshepsut in Karnak, in the middle of the festival courtyard of Thutmose II, at the monumental entrance of the temple.[97] If the project was evidently connected with the memory of Thutmose II, by its architectural context as well as by inscriptions,[98] a fragment from this pair of obelisks — pulled down during the construction of the Third Pylon under Amenhotep III — still preserves the remains of a dedicatory inscription by Hatshepsut to Thutmose I (Gabolde 1987a, pp. 146–47). This implies that those two obelisks were decorated — probably in the same phase as the bark hall of the *Djeser-djeseru* — when style 3 was already established, Thutmose III reintegrated in royal iconography and the proper coregency initiated. In the hypothesis that the obelisks of the festival court were the ones supervised by Senenmut, the parallel with the history of the *Wadjyt* obelisks — extracted eight years later in the same quarries, at approximately the same moment of the calendar, and in a period of seven full months (*Urk.* IV 367.3–5)[99] — suggests that the complete metamorphosis of King Hatshepsut, from regent queen on the brink to be officially crowned pharaoh with an entirely masculinized iconography reintegrating her young coregent, would have occurred within a few months or less than a full year, that is, within regnal year 8.[100]

So, the evolution of royal iconography during the first eight years of the reign of Thutmose III can be described and summarized by the following table:

[95] See Laboury 1998, p. 608 n. 1834. The calculation was made on the catalog established by Tefnin 1979. As Do. Arnold (in Roehrig 2005, pp. 270–76) undisputably showed, the numbers were even bigger.

[96] If we consider the statues that properly illustrate the real phase 2 of Tefnin's classification, there are the two seated statues MMA 29.3.2 and MMA 27.3.163, and the series of the Osirides B, with initially ten colossi (even if only three heads out of them are well preserved). In this context, one may wonder whether this style 2 deserves to be qualified as a real phase or whether one should consider it an important stage within a broader evolution from style 1 to style 3.

[97] On these obelisks and the project they seem to have been part of, see above, nn. 53 and 58.

[98] According to Gabolde 1987a, p. 143, at least one reference to Thutmose II in the inscriptions of these obelisks is original and not palimpsest on the name of Hatshepsut. The preserved fragments of these texts also mention the making of a new Userhat bark for Amun (Gabolde 2003), i.e., the river processional bark of the god, which was almost certainly depicted in the decoration of the Tura limestone bark shrine (Gabolde 2005, pp. 109–11), described above. For a possible connection between this monument and the pair of granite needles erected by Hatshepsut in the festival courtyard, again, see above, nn. 53 and 58.

[99] According to the iconographical and textual content of Senenmut's graffito, the great steward was sent to Aswan some time before the last month of *peret* of year 7 — i.e., the *terminus ante quem* for the coronation of his mistress — whereas the extraction of the *Wadjyt* obelisks started on the "second month of *peret*, day 1" (*Urk.* IV 367.3), apparently in haste, since the way Hatshepsut recounts the event suggests that the complete extraction procedure within seven months constituted some sort of an exploit, probably in order to be able to use the Nile flood for the transportation of the granite monoliths (for this latter idea, see Barguet 1962, p. 99 n. 6). If the obelisks supervised by Senenmut were the ones destined for the eastern area of Karnak's precinct, the chronological deductions are the same, since those monoliths were decorated with original cartouches of Thutmose III next to those of Hatshepsut, i.e., when the true coregency had already been initiated; see n. 58.

[100] A shorter period of time is probably not thinkable, given the number of statues sculpted before the final establishment of style 3, and especially the series of about seventy sandstone sphinxes for the causeway of Deir el-Bahari temple (see n. 65), which, as far as one can tell, were all feminine, i.e., with yellow complexion.

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1. The beginning of the reign of Thutmose III and the regency period (years 1–5/7): Thutmose III is the nominal king, in whose sole name everything is officially done. The style expresses a perfect continuity with the preceding reigns.

2. The pre-coronation period (between year 5 and the end of year 7): Using systematically her title and status of god's wife of Amun, Hatshepsut appears in royal iconography in a role normally restricted to the king, through two successive steps:

    2.1. The association with Thutmose III in the depiction of the official practice of divine cult.

    2.2. The beginning of the references to and association with Thutmose II, to the detriment of Thutmose III, actively (i.e., through recarvings) and, later on, passively (i.e., through the latter's subsequent total absence for a while in kingship imagery). With this disappearance, the regent queen insists on her own branch of the royal family, giving an unusually important iconographical place to Princess Neferura.

3. The actual reign of Hatshepsut (years 7–20/21):[101]

    3.1. The coronation period (end of year 7–beginning of year 8 [?]): Hatshepsut is depicted alone, as a female pharaoh.

    3.2. The search for new means of expressing her royal authority (year 7/8): rather quickly, the reigning queen initiates a metamorphosis in her iconography, starting to modify her official portrait according to a new unattested and very personalized visage (style 2), and, in a second step, entering into a process of masculinization of her own image. In a last stage of this experimentation, when this new visage is fully shaped and the appearance of Hatshepsut already androgynous, Thutmose III is reintegrated into royal iconography.

    3.3. The fully masculinized rulership imagery and the inception of the actual coregency (years 8–20/21): With the reintegration of Thutmose III in the official image of royal authority, the female pharaoh appears in a definitely masculine guise, with a new portrait style, synthesizing the two previous ones. And, at the same moment, Thutmose I starts to replace Thutmose II as the legitimizing ancestor of King Maatkara.

This evolution induces a few factual conclusions. First of all, as mentioned above, there is a plain and unavoidable co-occurrence of three very significant iconographical events at the beginning of the true coregency: first the invention of the so-much-debated fully masculine iconography of Hatshepsut, which actually took place within a broader metamorphosis, involving a new physiognomic style that appears as a compromise between the official Thutmoside mask and a very personalized face the reigning queen experimented in a process of asserting her own authority as king. Second, the reintegration of Thutmose III in kingship imagery, after an episode of — apparently — total disappearance. And third, the replacement of Thutmose II by Thutmose I as the legitimizing ancestor of King Hatshepsut. In addition to the simple chronological link between those three phenomena, the observed evolution implies also a semantic connection. Indeed, the third and last physiognomic style of Hatshepsut's portraits corresponds to an adaptation of her highly individualized visage to the official face of her three direct predecessors, including Thutmose III, who is precisely reintegrated in the image of royal authority at the same moment. As for the exceptional place granted to Thutmose II in kingly imagery of the time, it is also inevitably related to the iconographical situation of his son, since the former replaced the latter during the pre-coronation process.

By resurrecting her late husband iconographically, the regent queen used his memory to justify her kingly behavior and claims (acting "as the one who has become king of Upper and Lower Egypt"), while emphasizing the royal dimension of her own branch of the family, including notably their daughter, Princess Neferura. With such an iconographical strategy, she still legitimized herself like a queen, and not yet like a

[101] For the date of Hatshepsut's disappearance and probable demise, see Laboury 1998, pp. 29–30.

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real king, referring to her royal father, as she will do later, with the inception of the coregency and the emergence of the masculinized style 3. From an ideological point of view, when the father replaced the husband in the legitimizing discourse of Hatshepsut, the queen became a full pharaoh, according to the tradition.

The phenomenon of disappearance and reappearance of Thutmose III in the image of royal authority, precisely around the coronation of Hatshepsut as pharaoh, cannot be fortuitous, of course, and even strongly suggests a tension between the young king and his regent aunt. The fact that she alternates with him or replaces him — again, sometimes through recarvings — in the evocation of the royal relation with the gods, as well as the epithets of the queen (such as "the one who makes enduring monuments for him as the one who has become king of Upper and Lower Egypt"), and perhaps also of her daughter,[102] at the same moment of the reign, indicates a definitely polemical dimension in the attitude of Hatshepsut vis-à-vis her royal nephew, officially crowned and recognized as the legitimate king almost seven years earlier.

Finally, shortly into the queen's own reign, and thus soon after the shading or the iconographical obliteration of the role and status of the young king Thutmose III, a crisis clearly occurred in the image of Hatshepsut's pharaonic authority, a crisis in which the female sovereign tried to affirm her personality as pharaoh and that eventually led her to completely waive the iconographic expression of her sexual identity, that is, of one of the most basic defining criteria of any human being.

Investigating the sources of Hatshepsut's inspiration in her gradual ascension to the supreme power will help us to interpret and understand these different correlated facts.

3. Sources of Hatshepsut's Inspiration

As we have seen (in section 2.2), the earliest preserved royal claims of Hatshepsut in the current state of the documentation that came down to us consist in her assumption — or usurpation — of iconographic prerogatives of the king, that is, being depicted in the official exercise of divine cult. In this new iconographical behavior — actually her first attested one — the regent queen systematically and quite prominently used her title of god's wife of Amun, which corresponds to a sacerdotal function that might have empowered her to be represented as a direct interlocutor of the god of kingship, so just like Pharaoh. If such was the case, Hatshepsut was probably influenced in this preliminary stage of her future royal career by the very important role Queen Ahmose Nefertary played just a couple of decades earlier, precisely as god's wife of Amun.[103] Their titularies are indeed composed in very similar — if not identical — ways[104] and a more precise hint to this possible inspiration is perhaps to be found in the famous "donation stela" of King Ahmose, which depicts the latter's wife and sister, Queen Ahmose Nefertary, with an unusually elongated stride (Harari 1959, pls. 1–2) that reappeared in the decoration of the southern temple of Buhen, when Hatshepsut started to experiment with new means of expressing her royal authority (see above, section 2.3.2, and figs. 5.2a, 5.24).[105]

But, as often underlined, the most inspiring predecessor for Hatshepsut was indubitably the female pharaoh Sobekkara Neferusobek, at the very end of the Twelfth Dynasty. As V. G. Callender (1998, p. 236) perfectly showed, "It is clear (...) that Sebekneferu provided a number of models which Hatshepsut later imitated and developed in her own efforts to establish herself as pharaoh." The political and historical parallel one can draw between both reigning queens is indeed striking: Neferusobek assumed pharaonic power after the demise of King Amenemhat IV, who was apparently her husband and (half-)brother (ibid., p. 228); she legitimized her sovereignty by associating herself rather systematically with the reign of her father,

[102] See n. 42.

[103] It is very likely — and even almost sure — that as a child Hatshepsut met and knew personally Ahmose Nefertary, since the queen of King Ahmose I is attested in the upper part of a series of coronation stelae of Thutmose I (actually the monumentalization of a royal command addressed by the newly crowned king to the viceroy of Kush, Turi, known by three copies, from Wadi Halfa, Kuban, and Aswan; see *Urk.* IV 79–81), probably as a legitimacy guarantee for the transition between the reign of Amenhotep I and the enthronement of the father of young Princess Hatshepsut. Like Ahmose Nefertary, Hatshepsut transmitted her obviously very significant office of god's wife of Amun to her daughter, Princess Neferura, and even shared it with her at the very end of the regency (see above, section 2.2).

[104] See n. 40.

[105] See n. 75.

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King Amenemhat III, handling the latter's commemoration in his funerary complex at Hawara, the so-called Labyrinth, that she seems to have completed (ibid., pp. 230–31);[106] and she developed, in texts as well as in iconography, an image of her royal authority that integrated traditional insignias of kingship with her femininity (Staehelin 1989; Callender 1998). Even her coronation name (or prenomen), Sobek*kara*, is reminiscent of the formula that the daughter of Thutmose I was to adopt some three centuries later: Maat*kara* (Staehelin 1989, p. 152).

Besides, clear evidence demonstrates that Hatshepsut and her elite knew very well the monuments of the late Twelfth Dynasty and even took inspiration from them (Laboury 2013, pp. 19–21). This is, for instance, the case of the first sarcophagus of Hatshepsut (JdE 47032), made when she was still "god's wife of Amun," that is, during the regency,[107] an uncommon quartzite sarcophagus that actually replicated in stone a typological model of wooden Middle Kingdom coffins (Hayes 1935a, p. 39), with a very rare inscriptional scheme, only otherwise attested on the fragments of the middle coffin of Princess Neferuptah (Grajetzki 2005), a daughter of Amenemhat III and — probably — a sister of Neferusobek, who enjoyed the exceptional privilege of having her name written within a cartouche, unlike most of the princesses of her time.[108] W. Grajetzki, who brought to light the connection between the two funerary sets, concludes,

> ... it is clear that Hatshepsut as "great king's wife" copied for her sarcophagus the form and the textual programme of one or more coffins of the late Middle Kingdom. Most of the texts on New Kingdom coffins have their roots in traditions of the Middle or even Old Kingdom (Pyramid Texts), but there are not many monuments which seem to have followed their prototypes so closely in form as well as inscription. [...] The Neferuptah coffin inscriptions confirm how extensively and how closely the Eighteenth Dynasty explored the works of an earlier period, in this case the late Middle Kingdom, a feature well-established in other branches of art. (Grajetzki 2005, pp. 60–61)[109]

The inspiration that King Maatkara obviously found in the reign of her last female predecessor on "the throne of Horus" is particularly interesting for it reveals, by an effect of contrast, the specificity of Hatshepsut's royal imagery from an ancient Egyptian point of view. Indeed, in her study of the iconography of female sovereigns in ancient Egypt, E. Staehelin (1989) emphasized that Hatshepsut was the only one who decided to resort to the iconographical fiction of being depicted as a fully masculine pharaoh. The plainly inspiring precedent of Neferusobek — as well as the case of Hatshepsut's Nineteenth Dynasty follower, the reigning queen Tauseret (Staehelin 1989, pp. 153–55; Callender 2004) — shows beyond doubt that this masculinization of the image of King Maatkara was not theoretically nor ideologically needed. In this context, and given the evolution of the official image of royal power that led to such an unusual and unexpected solution, it becomes clear that this iconographical fiction was directly related to the presence of the young king Thutmose III.

4. The Political Relationship vis-à-vis Thutmose III

From a historical point of view, this time, the specificity of Hatshepsut's reign lies precisely in the fact that she is the only ancient Egyptian queen who ruled as pharaoh while a king was already — or still — there,

[106] For a comparison of the few concepts that structured the legitimation discourse of both female pharaohs, see Laboury 2013, p. 20, n. 60.

[107] See n. 40.

[108] This will also be the case, later on, for the almost homonymous daughter of Hatshepsut, Princess Neferura.

[109] As Grajetzki (2005, p. 61) made perfectly clear, "Hatshepsut or her 'sarcophagus designers' cannot have seen the coffin of Neferuptah," whose tomb was found undisturbed, it seems, in 1956 by N. Farag and Z. Iskander (1971). Instead, the queen and her consultants might have used an intermediate document, like a model transcribed on papyrus in royal archives, or anything alike. In any case, the extreme rareness of the selected set of inscriptions highlights the knowledge Hatshepsut obviously had about this specific period of the late Twelfth Dynasty, as well as her use of it since the regency period, at least. Iconographical as well as textual elements suggest that this inspiration lasted beyond the masculinization process or the inception of the true coregency; see Laboury 2013 (notably p. 21, n. 66, and pp. 19–21, the analysis I proposed of a pendant necklace typical of the late Twelfth Dynasty, only attested twice in the statuary of the New Kingdom, on two statues of Hatshepsut, including the fully masculine kneeling statue MMA 29.3.1).

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alive, and officially crowned for more than half a dozen years. The analysis of the evolution of "Hatshepsut's use of Tuthmosis III in her program of legitimation" — to quote the title of a contribution of Vanessa Davies (2004) — shows that she completely changed her attitude toward her young royal nephew around years 7 to 8.[110] As we have seen (in sections 2.2 and 2.3), after a short period of associating herself with him in the depiction of the royal exercise of divine cult, Hatshepsut iconographically discarded Thutmose III to — later on — monopolize the entire imagery of kingship,[111] being also officially enthroned as pharaoh; but, rather quickly, it seems, she started to search for new means of asserting her own personality as a king and eventually reintegrated him in the image of royal authority, precisely within a process of integrating her individual iconography with characteristics of his own official iconography, that is, his official physiognomy (in use during the entire regency period) and his masculine appearance or sexual identity.

These facts, of course, induce the question of why, in a double sense: firstly, if Hatshepsut started to rule without any reference to young King Thutmose III, why did she subsequently feel the need to reintegrate him — in such a significant manner — in the image of her royal power, especially in the polemical context we have noticed (and just underlined at the end of section 2.3)? And secondly, why, in the sense of what was the purpose of this kind of fusion of their different iconographies as king, a fusion in which the reigning queen decided to attenuate her very individualized — official — face, not to mention the waiving of one of the most basic defining criteria of any human being: her sexual identity?

The answer to the first question is of course implicit. If, in a process of asserting her own identity as a king, Hatshepsut finally decided to reintegrate the political partner she has precisely — and willingly — obliterated, it means that she was forced to do so. This implies the existence of some sort of a balancing power within ancient Egyptian government, a role that could only be played by the leading elite on which the king had to rely in order to exercise his (or her) own power.[112] As is well known, and despite the fact that ancient Egyptian sources continuously tended to blur this reality, there is no king without subjects. And for the time of Hatshepsut, the researches led by E. Dziobek (1995, 1998) revealed the existence of such a coterie that supported the ascension and authority of the queen and benefited a lot from this situation. These people are well identified by their own monuments, as well as, sometimes, by the monuments of Hatshepsut herself (for instance, Naville 1898, pls. 79, 86; idem 1908, pl. 154); and evidence, like the topographical concentration and distribution of the commemorative chapels of some of them on the site of Gebel es-Silsilah (Caminos and James 1963), clearly demonstrate that they were closely connected to each other. There is no doubt that these extremely powerful courtiers took part in the important political decisions of the regime. Among them, one can cite, for instance, the vizier Useramun, who succeeded to his father, Ahmose Aametju, in this utmost function of pharaonic state, although he was just "a scribe of the divine seal in the temple of Amun" (Dziobek 1994, pl. 81; idem 1998).[113] As we have seen (in section 2.1), the event took place in year 5, that is, under the regency of Hatshepsut and shortly before the beginning of her ascension to kingship, and it was immortalized by an impressive scene in Theban Tomb 131, with a long inscription that clearly states that this very important royal decision was made at the suggestion of the elite, "the entourage of Horus in his palace, to advise the king" (Dziobek 1994, pl. 81; idem 1998). Another very influential — if not the most influential — personage in the circle of King Maatkara was, of course, the great steward of the estate of Amun Senenmut. In the inscriptions of one of his earliest statues, surely made when Hatshepsut was still god's wife of Amun (BM EA 1513), he described himself as a dignitary particularly close to his king, that is, to Thutmose III:

> [one] who has followed the king in his journeys since his (the king's) youth, King's Confidant who attends upon him, perceptive in the way of the palace, [...] who has access to the marvelous character

[110] At that moment of the reign, the boy-king was probably becoming a teenager, a fact that implies that his political role could no longer continue to be merely the one of the nominal pharaoh, as we have seen in section 2.1, devoted to the analysis of the monuments of the regency period.

[111] As we have seen, in this process, the regent queen iconographically resuscitated her late husband, King Thutmose II, to replace the royal support initially played — maybe not willingly (?) — by Thutmose III in her ascension into the image of pharaonic power.

[112] For another case in ancient Egyptian history where the elite obviously played an important role in the evolution of pharaoh's policy, see Laboury 2010a.

[113] On the unavoidable and tremendously important family of Useramun and Ahmose Aametju, see Shirley 2010b and her contribution in this volume.

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> of the Lord of the Two Lands, the Chamberlain who speaks in privacy, [...] one who finds a solution every single day, [...] Overseer of the Council Chamber, [...] Senenmut. (C. Keller in Roehrig 2005, p. 299)

So it seems perfectly plausible that some members of the leading elite of the time, even among the closest to the reigning queen, could have prevented Hatshepsut from going too far in her will to assert her own personality as pharaoh to the detriment of the already crowned king Thutmose III, and persuaded her to find a solution that allows reintegrating her royal nephew in the official image of kingly authority, at least.

What was the meaning of this solution to the iconographical crisis that plainly arose at a very early stage of the queen's true reign? If there is, at the end of the process of evolution, a patent concession to Thutmose III — by the simple fact of reintegrating him, but also by the adaptation of the female sovereign's image to his official physiognomy and, even more noticeably, to his masculine appearance — the new image of the central power, that is, the iconography of the coregency, allows above all, as S. Schoske emphasized, a single and unified picture of kingship:

> Die Darstellung von Hatschepsut und Thutmosis III. im Relief — zumindest auf den Blöcken der Chapelle Rouge— stimmt also weitgehend überein. [...] Es gibt *ein* Königsbildnis, das je nach Bedarf entweder durch Hatshepsut oder Thutmosis III. besetzt werden kann. Die Person, das Individuum tritt hinter das Amt des Königs zurück. (Schoske 1990, p. 88)

This iconographical solution Hatshepsut ended up assuming indeed permitted, on the one hand, the apparently needed reintegration of Thutmose III into the imagery of royal authority, but also, on the other hand, a common representation in which the young coregent could merge with his royal aunt — and even, in some way, be absorbed into her depiction, for their figures were almost interchangeable (see below, fig. 5.31) — while, at the same time, she might continue to fundamentally embody the image of kingly power, since she was represented four times more often than him.[114] Such a multiple — and politically subtle — goal could of course not be achieved if Hatshepsut had kept on being depicted as a female pharaoh.

Clues supporting this interpretation of a common iconography fitting for both co-rulers are provided by the composition of scenes of the coregency imagery that obviously played on the complementarity of the duplicated representation of royal authority. This is the case, for instance, of a figured rock graffito made by a certain Kheruef at Maghara, in Sinai, in year 16: the two coregents appear depicted back to back, around a single protection formula (oriented according to Hatshepsut's image), the female sovereign, on the right-hand side, facing the local god Sopdu, while the male king, on the other side, meets the goddess "Hathor, mistress of turquoise," in an undoubtedly constructed chiasmus of genders (fig. 5.30). Even more interestingly, in the sanctuary of the *Chapelle Rouge*, where Thutmose III is totally absent in the original state of the decoration, there occurred at least two symmetrical scenes in which the figure of the king is again doubled, but, whereas the first one bears — as expected — the designation "the perfect god [...] Maatkara," the second

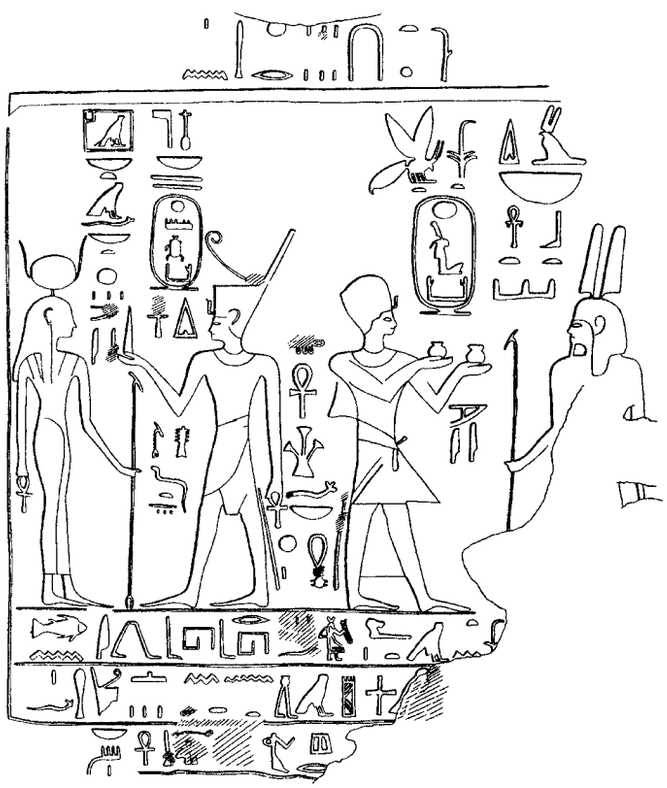

Figure 5.30. Rock-cut graffito of Kheruef dated to year 16 of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III at Maghara, Sinai (after Gardiner, Peet, and Černý 1952–55, no. 44, pl. 14)

[114] See above, section 1, and notably nn. 12–17.

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Figure 5.31. Block from the northern inner wall of the sanctuary of the *Chapelle Rouge* at Karnak depicting the cult to the processional bark of Amun performed by a doubled royal figure with the sole names of Hatshepsut (block 31; author's photo)

is labeled as "the bodily son of Ra Hatshepsut-*khenemet-Imen*" (fig. 5.31; Burgos and Larché 2006–08, vol. 1, pp. 222, 248).[115] Clearly, the duplicated image of pharaoh corresponds to some sorts of separated — but complementary — avatars of the same reality of royal power, mainly and fundamentally incarnated by the figure of Hatshepsut, though Thutmose III was also — theoretically, at least — encompassed into it.

Conclusion

Despite the innumerable theories and speculations about the significance of Hatshepsut's assumption of royal dignity, it is a matter of fact that the documentation that came down to us from this extraordinary episode of ancient Egyptian history is of really (and equally) exceptional quality. Indeed, if taken in its original function, that is, not as a properly historiographical material but as an ideological discourse (mostly displayed in images), it allows reconstructing on a factual, and thus very firm, basis the precise succession of events that took place within a very short period of time — compared to the time span that separates them from us. Expressed in an ideological discourse, these events pertain more to the sphere of ideology than to the one of historical actions, but they provide the best material to assess the evolution of the queen's policy and political self-definition. In this respect, as we have seen, the diachronic analysis of the political discourse transcribed in the official iconography of the central power of the time proved to be extremely important in order to avoid melting in a single — and inevitably simplistic — historiographical representation the different successive stages of the evolution that led to the actual coregency, on which most of the commentators have focused, or sometimes over-focused. And this methodological approach revealed a complete change in the iconographical behavior of Hatshepsut, as well as in her iconographical attitude vis-à-vis her royal nephew, that is, an evolution that cannot be neglected if we want to understand the meaning of this coregency and of its unusual iconography.

[115] A similar iconographic composition was probably also used on the block from the same location illustrated in Burgos and Larché 2006–08, vol. 1, p. 247, since both royal figures were hacked together and because of the presence of a feminine suffix pronoun *.ṯ* in the legend behind the second image of a king, the first one being identified as *nṯr nfr nb ỉr(.t) ḫ.t* [*Mꜣʿ.t-kꜣ*]-*Rʿ*.

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The unique metamorphosis we have observed was driven by a unique political situation: when a regent queen decided to seize the throne already officially occupied by her royal nephew. Hatshepsut's total absence in the imagery of kingship during the first years of the regency, the strategy of her gradual ascension into this iconography, with the active obliteration of the official king Thutmose III, the iconographical crisis she encountered shortly after her formal coronation as a female pharaoh, and the final resolution of this crisis through the fully masculine and common — or even absorbing — image of both coregents, all this forbids us, I think, to keep on dispensing naive visions of her reign. As P. Dorman (1988, 2001, and 2006) perfectly stressed, Hatshepsut was neither mean nor gentle, simply because those ethical categories are irrelevant in such a political matter. The historical and evolutive context of the emergence of her specific kingship and of the latter's iconographic expression compels us to recognize that, in the end, what she did was nothing other than a usurpation. As Hatshepsut herself said in her own account of her assumption of the throne of Horus, "I became conscious of myself as efficient king, and I seized what he (Amun) has put in front of me" (*ỉp.n(.ỉ) ḏ.t(.ỉ) m n(y)-zw.t mnḫ ỉṯ.n(.ỉ) rdỉ.t.n.f m ḥr.ỉ*; Lacau and Chevrier 1977, p. 144).

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6

Hatshepsut and Cultic Revelries in the New Kingdom

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A Limestone Gate of Hatshepsut and Its Contemporary Context in the Mut Precinct

In 2004 during excavation of the porch before the Mut temple's stone platform (fig. 6.1), limestone blocks and sandstone column drums were discovered at a depth approximately 1.5 meters beneath ground surface (Bryan in Roehrig 2005, pp. 181–83). Six blocks of a limestone gate were found representing parts of both the left and right jambs (figs. 6.2–6). The blocks display a slight batter, as is indicated in figure 6.5. On these blocks the figure and name of Mut were original: they had not been damaged during the Amarna era and thus had been placed beneath the temple porch earlier in the Eighteenth Dynasty. The jamb blocks were rough on their wall-joining faces, and, although this could indicate that they had been set into a mudbrick wall, the blocks were also damaged when the gate was dismantled, as chisel marks on finished surfaces demonstrate

Figure 6.1. Aerial view of the Mut temple with indication of area of finds beneath the porch (photo by James Van Rensselaer IV, October 2005)

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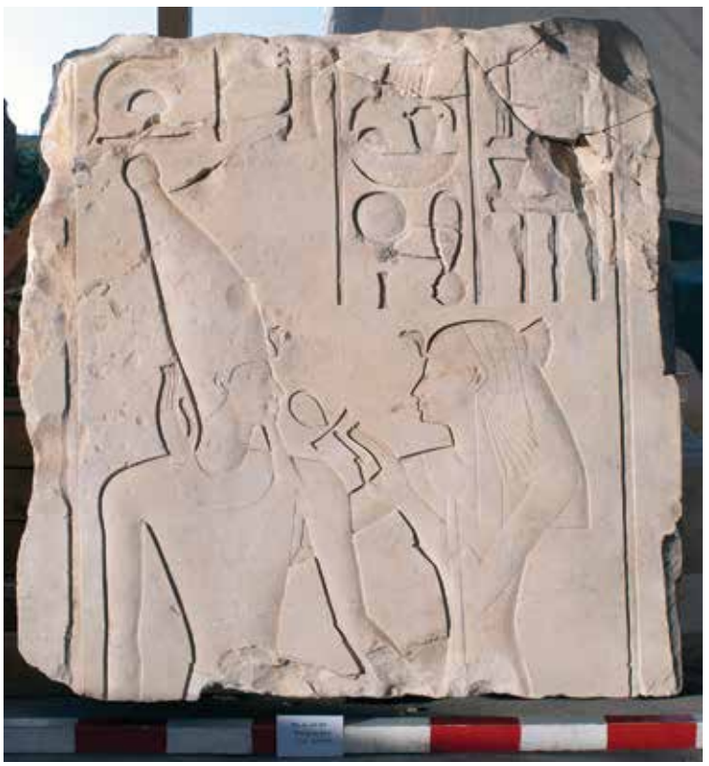

Figure 6.2. Portion of the limestone left gateway jamb of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III found in 2004 beneath the porch of the Mut temple

Figure 6.3. Upper portion of the limestone right gateway jamb of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III found in 2004 beneath the porch of the Mut temple

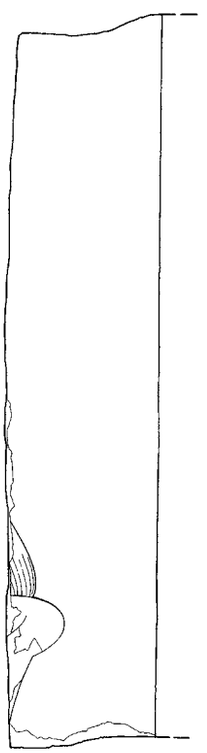

Figure 6.4. Thickness of the right gateway jamb of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III showing the head and partial shoulders of an incised figure, likely Senenmut

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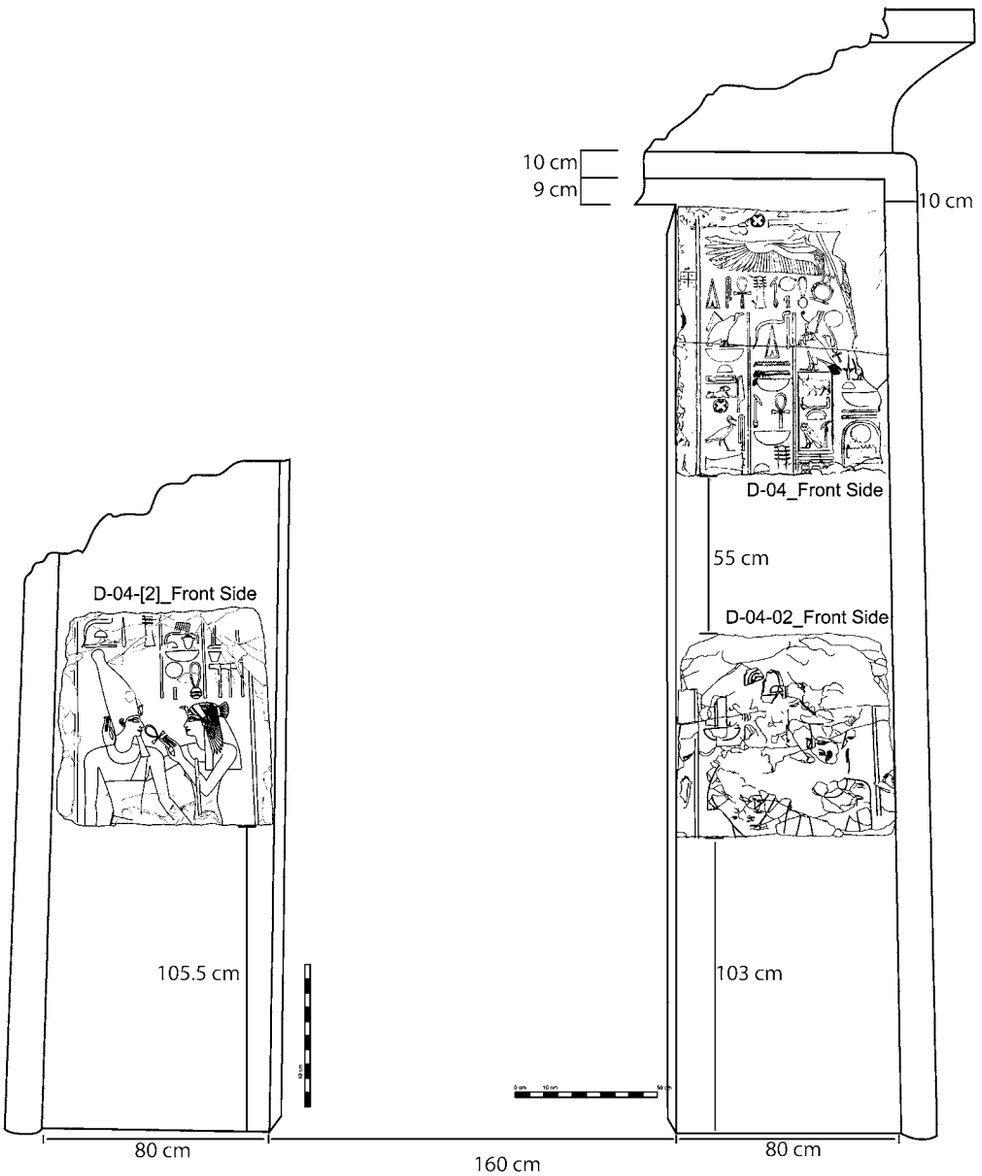

Figure 6.5. Limestone gateway of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III by (reconstruction by Lotfi Hassan)

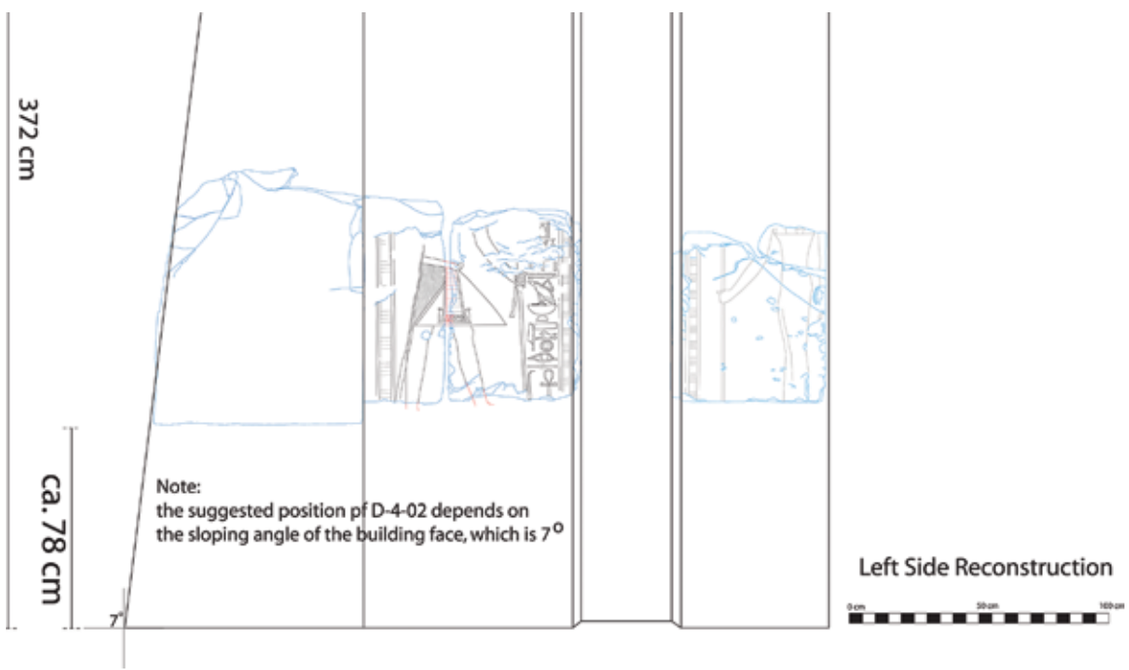

Figure 6.6. Inner thickness of left jamb of gateway (reconstruction by Lotfi Hassan)

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(fig. 6.3). It is, nonetheless, likely that the thickness of the inner jambs, some 2.3+ meters, suited a thick brick wall or pylon more than the doorway to a limestone shrine. In addition, only the interior face of the thickness blocks is decorated, and this suggests it was not visible from the exterior, as were the walls of the Karnak bark shrines, for example. Compare also the walls of the recently published and reconstructed *Nṯry-mnw* multi-room monument of Thutmose II and Hatshepsut. Its blocks are decorated on both sides, and the walls appear to be vertical on the exterior (Gabolde 2005, p. 19, fig. 1).

The left jamb carved in sunken relief depicted the goddess anthropomorphically wearing a simple vulture headdress and identified her as *nbt pr wr ḥnwt nṯrw* "the lady of the Per-Wer and mistress of the gods" (figs. 6.2, 6.5). The raised-relief inner thickness of this wing showed the ruler approaching the goddess: "[presenting] offerings to Mut, the lady of Isheru. She performs, she being alive" ([*ms*] *ḥtpw-nṯr n Mwt nbt ʾIšrw ỉr.s ꜥnḫ.tỉ*). Color bars are carved behind and before the ruler and before the goddess, defining the sanctuary space leading perhaps to the Per-Wer referred to (fig. 6.6). Although the name of Hatshepsut is not present on any of the limestone blocks, the thickness inscription must refer to her by the feminine forms used. Compare the parallel at Deir el-Bahari: "Directing the exotics products of Punt ... to Amun-Re lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, foremost one of Karnak, on behalf of the l.p.h. of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Maatkara. She performs, being alive, being stable, her heart being open as she rules the Two Lands like Re forever" (*ỉr.s ꜥnḫ.tỉ ḏd.tỉ ꜣw.ỉb.s ḥḳꜣ.s tꜣwy mỉ rꜥ ḏt*; Naville 1898, pl. 77).[1]

Hatshepsut is known from private inscriptions of the era to have built at the Mut temple. Senenmut's Mut temple statue, CG 579, refers to the steward as director of all royal works in "... the Per-Mut in Isheru" along with other of the queen's monuments (Borchardt 1925, pp. 127–30; pl. 99; Benson and Gourlay 1899, pp. 57–59, 299–310, pl. 12). A kneeling sunken-relief image on the right thickness of the limestone gate preserves the head and shoulders of a figure that was likely also Senenmut (fig. 6.4). In addition, the enclosure gate of sandstone that was built during the Hatshepsut and Thutmose III coregency at the northwest corner of the precinct may have also preserved a reference to Senenmut; a very damaged and erased panel in the thickness of the gateway still shows the prenomen of Hatshepsut and other traces. The names of the rulers have been altered on the gate jambs so that now it identifies Thutmose II and Thutmose III (Fazzini 1984–86). More pertinent to the limestone gate is the statue donated by Puiemra, the second priest of Amun under Hatshepsut and Thutmose III (CG 910; fig. 6.7). The kneeling statue holds two hemispherical bowls, and its base inscription refers to Puiemra's work in the precinct (Borchardt 1930, pp. 148–49, pl. 157; Benson and Gourlay 1899, pp. 315–16):

Figure 6.7. Kneeling figure of second priest of Amun Puiemra found in Mut temple. CG 910 (Borchardt 1930, pl. 157)

[1] Understanding the phrase as part of an ongoing "quid pro quo" exchange using a circumstantial form, although it is also possible that *ỉr.s* is a prospective form. *ꜥnḫ.tỉ* is understood in either case as a stative. Compare the formula at Deir el-Bahari with Amun-Ra in association with Hatshepsut.

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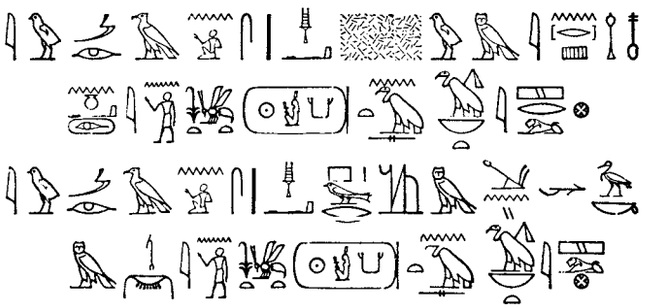

I oversaw erecting [monument]s[2] of good white limestone of Tura by the king of Upper and Lower Egypt [Maat]kare for her mother Mut, the lady of Isheru. I oversaw erecting the Per-Wer of ebony worked with electrum by the king of Upper and Lower Egypt for her mother Mut, the lady of Isheru.

The first stone chapels in the temple were of limestone erected on a sandstone platform and were surely associated with Hatshepsut (fig. 6.8; Fazzini 1984–86). What remains today are the roots of one of these shrines on the west; it stood until its stone was quarried in the somewhat recent past. While the Mut temple proper was still in use, reuse of this chapel would have necessitated that it be entirely removed or left intact. Limestone bits were still visible along the east side of the platform in the 1980s, but the chapels (one or two) were entirely removed (Fazzini 1984–86). Ancient reuse of one shrine can be otherwise attested: figure 6.9 is a drawing of a limestone corner block now forming the northwest corner of Chapel D, a Ptolemaic monument being studied by Richard Fazzini (Fazzini and Peck 1983). The original raised-relief decoration is preserved on the rear exterior of Chapel D and very likely formed part of a wall from one of the Hatshepsut limestone chapels (fig. 6.10).

Figure 6.8. View of Mut temple from south showing roots of limestone walls of Hatshepsut-era shrine (photo by James Van Rensselaer IV)

[2] The signs have been erased, but the words end with a quail chick. There is room for the *mn* and *nw* pots, and the erasure would have been common in the Amarna-era haste to erase (Der Manuelian 1999). So also Davies 1922, p. 21; Davies and Davies 1923, pl. 65)

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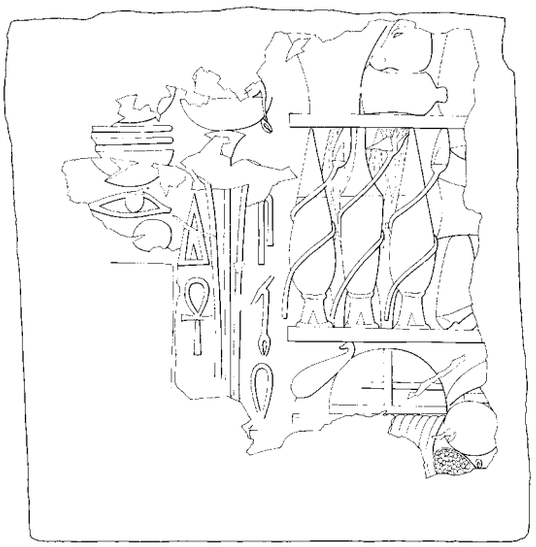

Figure 6.9. Drawing of limestone blocks originally from a Hatshepsut-era shrine and now forming part of Mut temple's Chapel D (drawing by William Schenck)

Figure 6.10. View of northwest corner of Chapel D at Mut temple showing the limestone blocks reused in the Ptolemaic era (photo by Betsy M. Bryan)

The limestone gate whose blocks were found in 2004 was likely part of a mudbrick wall or pylon that provided entrance to limestone chapels and the gilded ebony Per-Wer. Its sunken-relief exterior face indicates that the gate was not shaded by a porch, peristyle, or other roofed structure. Compare the north chapel façades of the *Akh-menu* with sunken-relief faces and those of the shaded south chapels (Schwaller de Lubicz 1999, pls. 173, 196–97). The batter displayed by the entrance jamb blocks is also seen on the pylon gate of the Ptah temple, which, however, joins a stone pylon rather than a brick one (ibid., pls. 302–03, 307). In 2007 a fragment preserving a sunken-relief Horus falcon from an inscription was excavated a half meter to the east of the platform, on a line with the existing limestone wall remains on the west, and may indicate another doorway (see fig. 6.11 for location). In front of the platform, a large mudbrick structure was found to underlie the northern area of the stone porch foundations including the stone foundations for the square Thutmoside pillars and the vegetal columns that replaced them (most likely in the late Eighteenth Dynasty). In 2006 the roots of mudbrick walls in the shape of a gate flanking the central axis were discovered at the rear of the larger brick expanse (figs. 6.12–13). Although it is by no means possible to be certain, these brick features may be the remains of an entrance pylon through which the limestone gate was placed — centrally or to the side.[3] The mention of Mut as the lady of the Per-Wer suggests that this doorway led to that shrine that housed a cult statue of the goddess during the reign, in the same manner as the Red Chapel depicted a statue of Amun-Ra within the Per-Wer at Karnak (Lacau and Chevrier 1979, pl. 11; figs. 6.1, 6.11, 6.14).[4]

[3] One might compare the elaborate foundations of Hatshepsut's Buhen temple as described by H. Smith (Emery, Smith, and Millard 1979).

[4] Even in the last stone version of the temple, the porch had a second doorway to the east of the central entrance, and excavation of the porch north wall revealed the jambs of at least three sandstone doorjamb sets in the name of Thutmose III. One set was in sunken relief on a single face, but two full sets were in raised relief on both decorated surfaces and must have been sheltered by the porch represented by square pillars also discovered reused in the porch wall.

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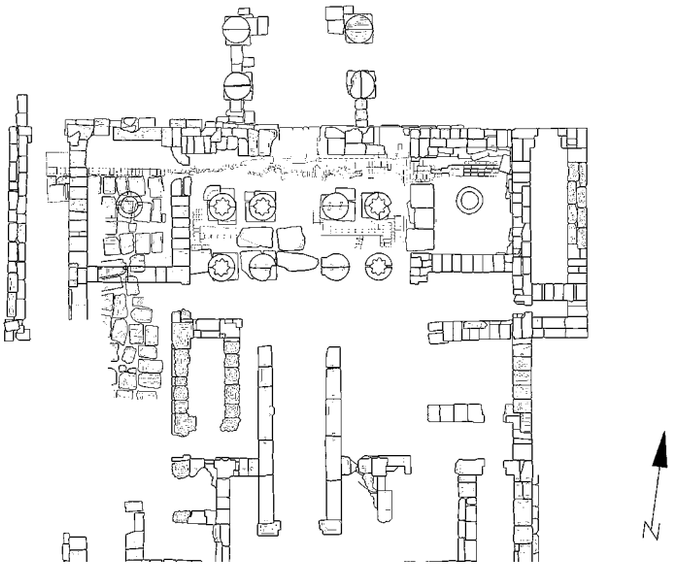

Figure 6.11. Drawing of front portion of the Mut temple showing underlying mudbrick walls and area of stone subpavement along west side upon which sandstone columns and limestone blocks were placed (drawing by Violaine Chauvet)

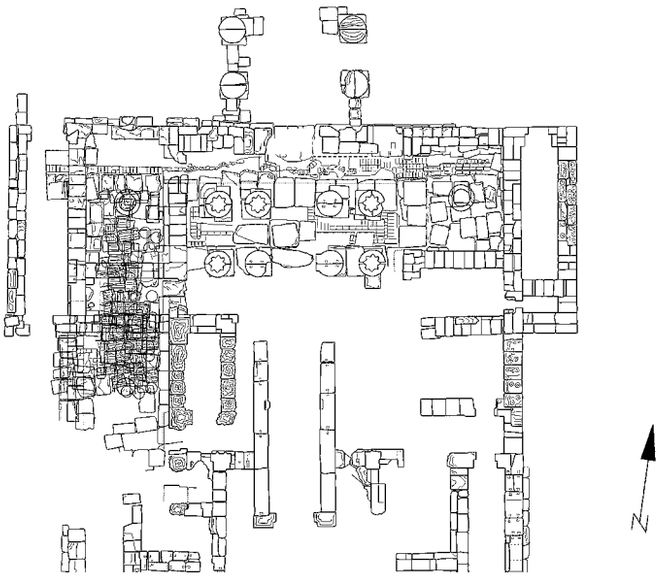

Figure 6.12. Drawing of front portion of the Mut temple showing underlying brick and limestone blocks and sandstone column drums (drawing by Violaine Chauvet)

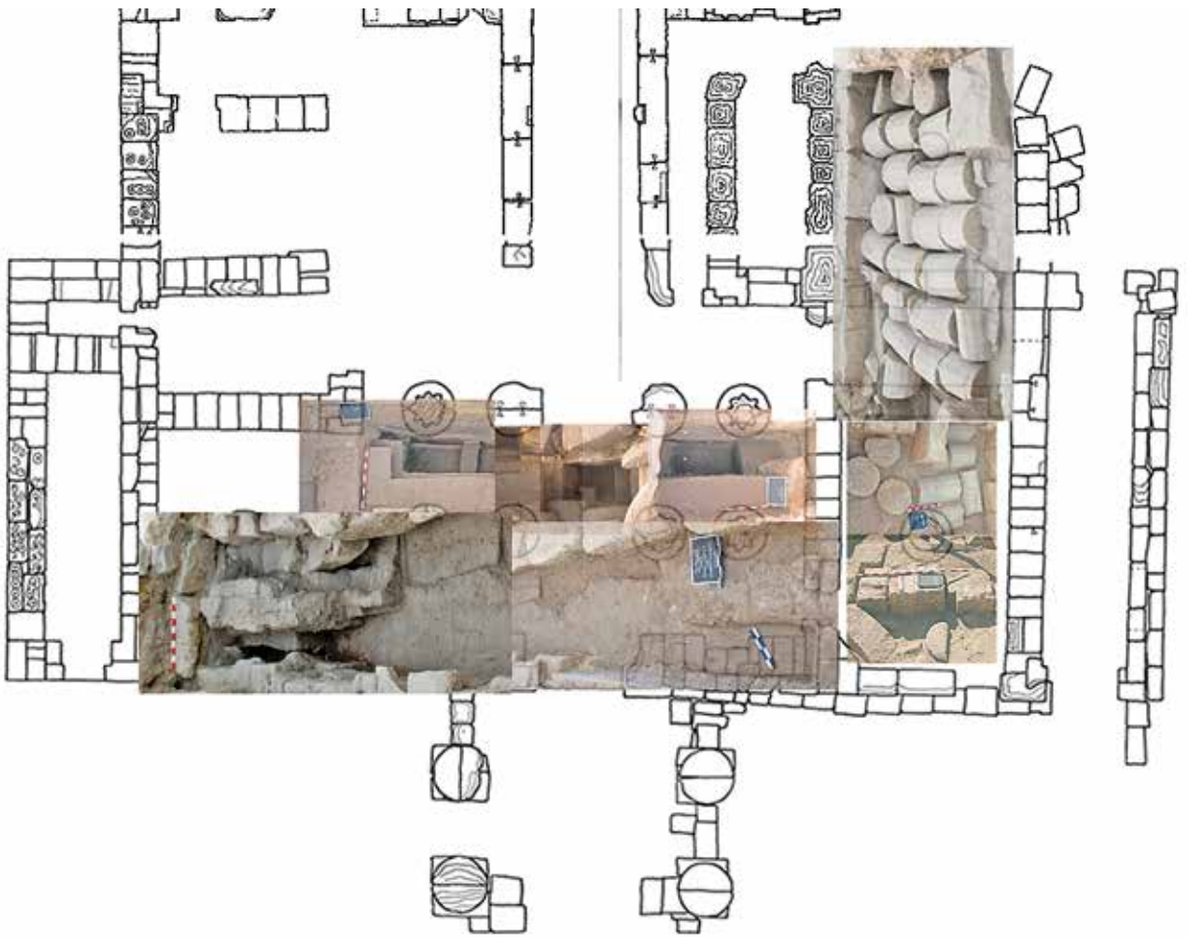

Figure 6.13. Drawing of front portion of the Mut temple overlying photos showing brick and stone elements beneath

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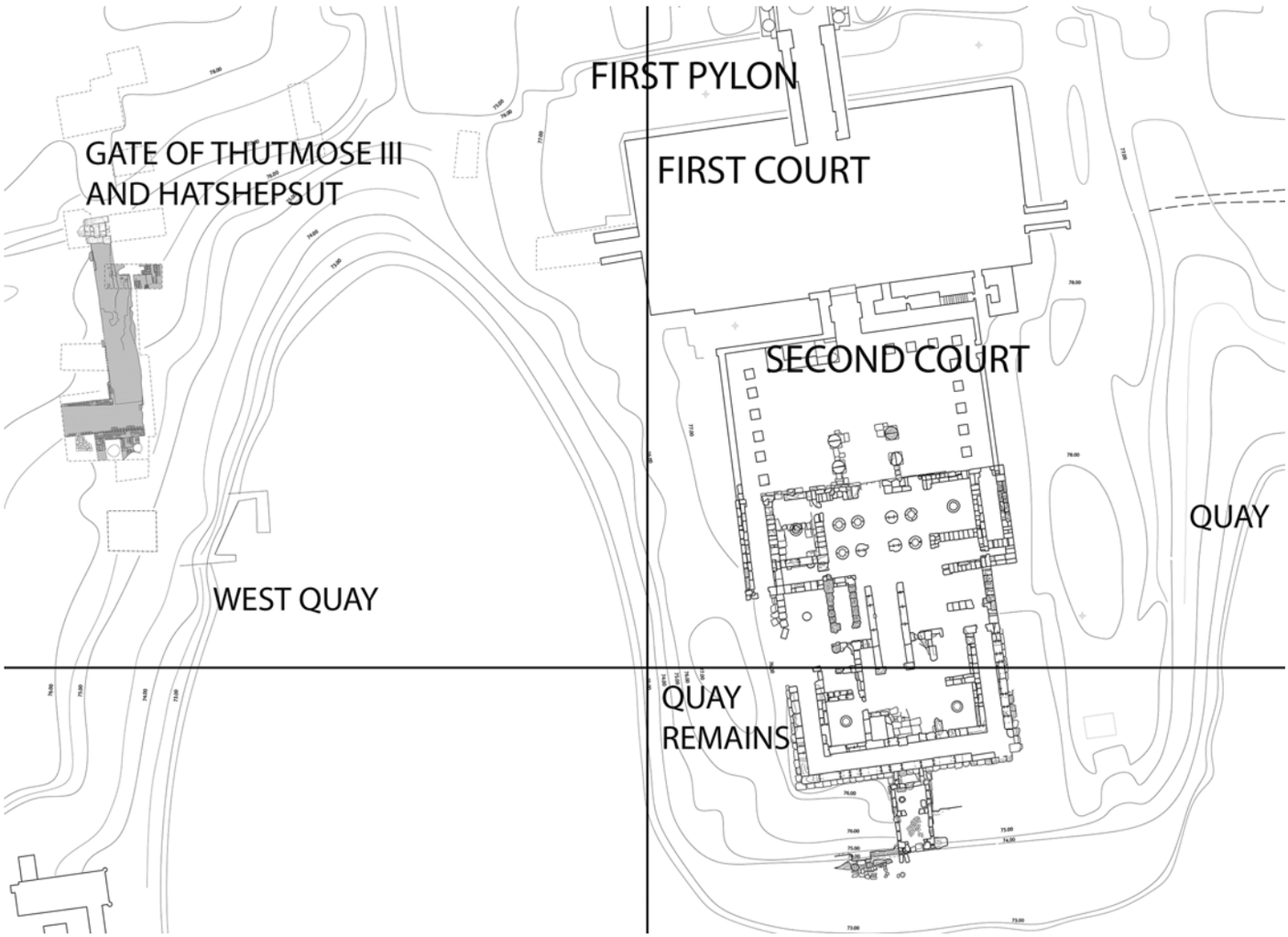

Figure 6.14. Map of the Mut Temple showing spaces accessible to New Kingdom revelers

The Goddess of the Early Temple

It is certain from the inscriptions on the right gate jamb (naming Thutmose III) that Mut was syncretized to Bastet in this early stone temple; however, based on contemporary non-royal monuments, other leonine goddesses were likely melded with them on the doorway. "Mut, the lady of Isheru-Bastet," was followed by a break where the name of Sakhmet or the uraeus goddesses may have been. On the statue of high priest of Amun Hapuseneb from the Mut temple (CG 648), the dedication is to "[Mut, lady of Isher]u-Sakhmet, the great lady of the Two Lands-Bastet, lady of Ankh-tawy that *she* might give all produce from *her* offering table…" and demonstrates the fusion of the deities into one in the reign of Hatshepsut (fig. 6.15) (Borchardt 1925, pp. 194–95, pl. 119). The hymn on Hapuseneb's statue is an adaptation of a hymn to the uraei that names Hatshepsut at its end and equates Mut with the sun god's fiery protectresses including Nesret, Bastet, Wadjet, Menhet, and Sakhmet. Its text, which is discussed below, invokes these goddesses to awaken and requests that Sakhmet act against the enemies of the ruler.

A third monument that mentions several goddesses syncretized to Mut is not explicitly dated to the reign of Hatshepsut but very likely should be of that era: the statue of Mena, royal scribe and scribe of recruits, was found during restoration of the west wall of the temple in 2007 in a small trench (figs. 6.16–17). We have since learned that this was the second finding of this statue and that it was first excavated in 1950 by Henri Chevrier during his search for blocks of Hatshepsut's Red Chapel (Chevrier 1951, pp. 559–60). Chevrier did not mention in his short entry that the statue had been left in the trench; he only noted that while trenching on the west side of the Mut temple he had found "la partie dorsale inférieure de la statue d'un certain

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Menna, scribe des recrues" (ibid., p. 560). The statue in question, much of whose inscription is difficult to read, bears the following dedication on the proper right side of the seat.

> A gift which the king gives to Mut, the lady of Isheru, the lady of the sky, the mistress of the gods who protects her city,[5] the mistress of [*ḥ3w* = power][6] the bold one (lit. powerful of heart,) Sakhmet-Bastet-Wadjet, the first of Atum, who strews the Two Lands with the electrum of her [face].[7] Everything which goes forth upon their offering tables every day, when they receive bread from her temple and from the offerings of her Majesty, from the cult acts and smells of the brazier which go forth in front from the arms of the *wab* priests and the *hem* priests for the *ka* of the sole one, true of heart who has no fault, who does not do any bad thing to any one, one good of character, whom the people love, the royal scribe, the scribe of recruits, Mena, vindicated.

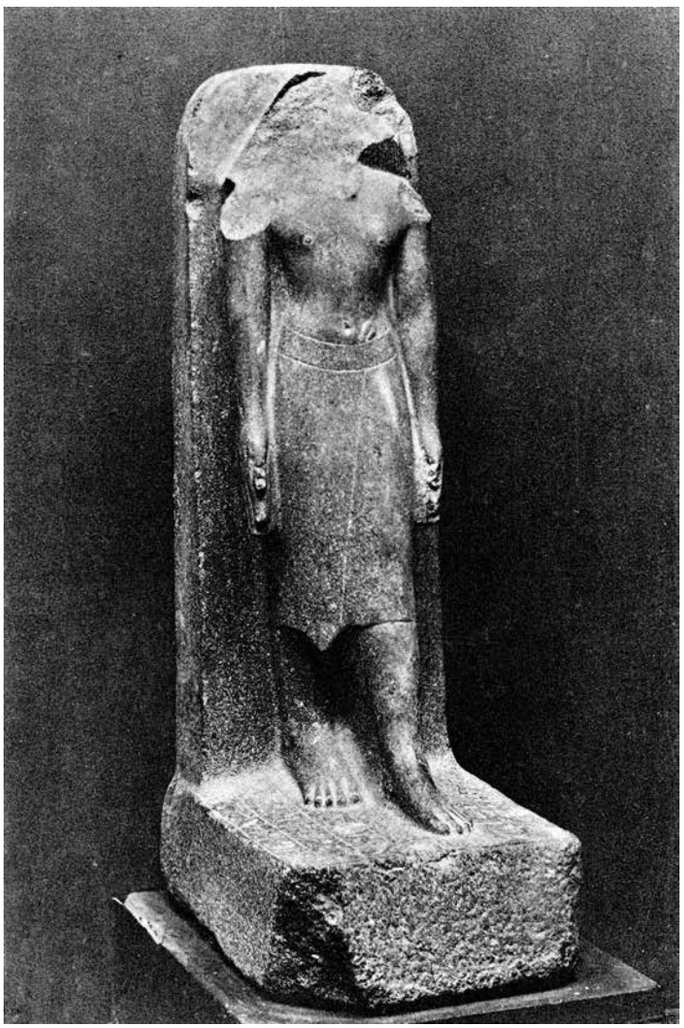

Figure 6.15. Striding statue of high priest of Amun Hapuseneb, CG 648, found in Mut temple, with dedication to Mut-Sakhmet-Bastet and hymn to uraeus goddesses (Borchardt 1925, pl. 119)

Although it is not certain that "her Majesty" refers here to Hatshepsut, the classifier does depict a seated female with a uraeus, while the female epithet for *tpt-ʾỉtm* has no uraeus. An ambiguous usage of "her Majesty" also occurs at Deir el-Bahari and may here be intended to elevate the status of the ruler alongside the goddess of the temple (*Urk.* IV 245–46). The statue was attacked during the Amarna era, but only Mut's name and epithet were damaged.

The goddesses named associate Mut, first, with her Theban cults, then with the uraeus goddesses Sakhmet-Bastet-Wadjet, and finally with Hathoric forms, such as *tpt-ʾỉtm* "the first of Atum, who strews the Two Lands with the electrum of her [face]," the first element being a compound determined with a female classifier and found in connection with Hathor (*LGG* VII, p. 400). The designation as *tpt* was used as an epithet of several goddesses, invoking particularly the cobra (*LGG* VII, pp. 398–400). Hathor was thus included as a deity to be provided with offerings from the Mut temple and the temple of "her Majesty," perhaps indicating Deir el-Bahari as a source.

[5] "Mistress of the gods who protects her city" (see *LGG* V, p. 668), associated with Mut on a Late Period block from the Mut precinct, with Menhit at Esna, and with Satis at Elephantine.

[6] Only the *f* after *nbt* is readable (*LGG* IV, p. 68). An alternative would be *nbt fᶜg* (*LGG* IV, p. 68), which is better attested, but the association of the "mistress of power" with Mut is particularly compatible with the epithet "the bold one."

[7] The classifier for Sakhmet has a sun disk on its head. This might be unexpected in the reign of Hatshepsut; the example attested on the column drums found between 2004 and 2007 has no disk.

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Figure 6.16. Statue of royal scribe and scribe of recruits Mena found in Mut temple in 2007 (photo by James Van Rensselaer IV)

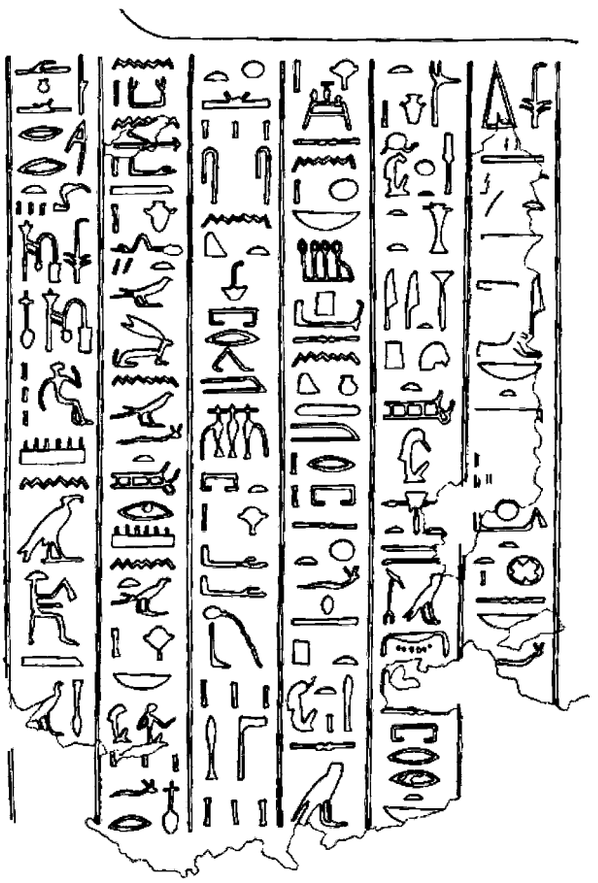

Figure 6.17. Text of the proper right side of the seat of the statue of Mena (drawing by Keli Alberts)

Similarly, Senenmut's Mut precinct statue is profoundly Hathoric in its emphases, not only by its form as a sistrophore but by the text on the side of the sistrum:

He carries Hathor, the chieftainess of Thebes — Mut, the lady of Isheru, that he might cause her appearance.... He lifts up her beauties on behalf of the l.p.h. king of Upper and Lower Egypt Maatkare, who lives forever. (Borchardt 1925, p. 130)

Further, Senenmut's statue appears to connect the building activities of Hatshepsut in the Theban region such that work at the Mut temple is associated with that at Deir el-Bahari. On the back pillar he refers to his offices as follows:

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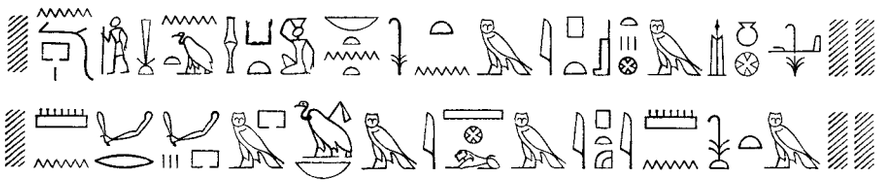

... for the great steward Senenmut, director of royal works in Karnak, in the southern Heliopolis ... [A]men of Djeser-djeseru, in the Per-Mut in Isheru, in the southern Ipet of Amun .... (Borchardt 1925, p. 128)

As will be seen below, constructions at Deir el-Bahari and the Mut temple during the reign may have satisfied festival ritual associations just as they did for Karnak and Luxor temples. It would not be surprising, therefore, if a Hathoric manifestation was associated with the early Mut temple's doorway or shrines.

Sandstone Columns: A Porch or Hall of Drunkenness

Behind the limestone blocks found in 2004, a group of sandstone column drums appeared. When these were removed, others were seen behind them running south as a foundation beneath the porch and the area west of the Mut temple sandstone platform. The drums had been set in mud plaster on the north and pure sand farther south (figs. 6.12, 6.13, 6.18). All were placed atop a rough stone pavement, and their positioning formed a westward extension of the porch and the front of the central sandstone platform. Although some column drums were missing, there were elements of twelve uncovered. Elements of several drums have so far defied proper placement, and the re-erected columns have been left to allow for possible future placement (fig. 6.19). Ten columns' inscriptions name Hatshepsut and two Thutmose III. Five columns bear a text[8] indicating the type of structure from which the columns derived: *nsw-bity Mꜣᶜt-kꜣ-rᶜ ir.n.s m mnw.s n mwt.s Mwt nb*[*t*] *ʾIšrw irt n.s wꜣḫ*(?) *n tḥ m mꜣwt ir.s di ᶜnḫ mi rᶜ ḏt* "The king of Upper and Lower Egypt Maatkara. She made (it) as a monument for her mother Mut, the lady of Isheru, making for her a columned hall/porch of drunkenness anew, that she might do 'given life' like Re forever"[9] (fig. 6.20). The word here proposed to be read *wꜣḫ* is an ideogram on all examples but shows no feminine ending. The masculine words for porch or hall are limited, but the two most likely are written with the same radicals: *wꜣḫ*; *wḫꜣ* (*Wb.* I 259.12–13, 352.13–17; Wilson 1997, p. 198). *ʾIwnw* "columns" has been omitted from consideration because its writings are so consistently written with the *iwn* pillar, while here all five examples show columns carrying cornice or architrave. *ʾIwnw* was used of contemporary columned structures elsewhere, particularly to describe peristyle courts (P. Spencer 1984, nos. 34–35, 37, 41; *Wb.* I 53.10–11). In this instance the ideogram may have designated a columned hall or porch that accompanied rather than fronted the temple. For example, to the east of the southern part of the large columned hall of the *Akh-menu* at Karnak was an eight-columned porch set up before three chapels associated with the Sokar festival (Barguet 1962, pp. 182–86). At Semna was a side porch of fluted columns supporting a flat roof, and at Deir el-Bahari side columned halls are found to the north and south (Hathor shrine) of the temple's middle colonnade (Caminos 1998, vol. 1, pl. 4:2; Naville 1898, pl. 3). Although there is no certainty, the presence of a stone pavement beneath these columns suggests that they were dismantled and laid above their original place of erection where they would have formed a porch or hall to the west of the limestone temple and the small sandstone platform.

A hall of drunkenness (*wꜣḫ/wḫꜣ n tḥ*) is not so far otherwise attested, although a *st tḥ* is identified in the Medamud hymn concerning the festival of drunkenness discussed by J. Darnell (1995, pp. 49–59). Darnell has commented that "places of drinking" should be understood as kiosks along the river bank akin to those beer kiosks referred to in love songs. He likened them to the *mswr* referred to in drinking songs from the

[8] It is likely that six had this text, but only the lower drum section remains in one case with the very end of the column inscription.

[9] "She" refers to Hatshepsut based on the parallels elsewhere. See above.

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Figure 6.18. Column drums from the porch or hall of drunkenness in situ along west side of Mut temple. Limestone shrine wall of Hatshepsut era behind columns (photo by James Van Rensselaer, 2007)

Figure 6.19. View of Second Court of Mut temple and re-erected columns of the porch or hall of drunkenness (photo by Betsy M. Bryan, May 2010)

Processional Colonnade's Opet Festival reliefs at Luxor temple (ibid., p. 59 nn. 66–67; Epigraphic Survey 1994, pp. 12–14, pls. 26, 97). However, the *st* (*n*) *tḫ* in the Medamud hymn is a parallel term for the hall of traversing the marshes associated with temple courts with papyriform columns emulating the fertile aquatic place of creation: *mi.ṯ swtwt m st tḫ wꜣḫy pfy n sꜣb sšw* "Come the procession is in the place of drunkenness, that hall of traversing the marshes" (Darnell 1995, pp. 50–52; DePauw and Smith 2004, pp. 82, 88–89). DePauw and Smith compared the *wꜣḫ* to a hypostyle such as the columned hall of the Hathor temple at Philae where a song described a festival of drunkenness (DePauw and Smith 2004, p. 89). As such the *st* (*n*) *tḫ* should be distinguished from drinking kiosks; it was a place of drunkenness, that is, the result of drinking — and it was ritually specific given its clear identification on the columns. At Dendera and Edfu, the composite *st-tḫ* was determined with a city sign, apparently to refer to the Hathor temple generally where that goddess was experienced by means of inebriation (*Wb.* V 324.16). The Mut porch/hall of drunkenness should also be understood as a location for the ritual result of a festival of drunkenness — the viewing of the goddess' statue and an ecstatic vision of the deity.

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Figure 6.20. Sandstone column drum found in 2004 beneath porch of Mut temple with portion of inscription dedicating the porch or hall of drunkenness (photo by James Van Rensselaer IV)

Figure 6.21. One of two Hathoric capitals of the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty found reused in foundations of the Mut temple porch, 2004 (photo by James Van Rensselaer IV)

S. Cauville has described the ritual path of the Dendera Festival of Drunkenness that included both a visit to the roof of the temple and a visitation to the participants gathered outside the western side door of the appearance hall and led toward the Sacred Lake (Cauville 2002, fig. 15). It is proposed here that Hatshepsut's *wꜣḫ/wḫꜣ n tḫ* was the "appearance hall" for the statue of Mut used in the ritual and the site of anticipated epiphanies (DePauw and Smith 2004, pp. 84–86; Jasnow and Smith 2010–11, pp. 17–18, 36–40). It is likely, however, that the court before the temple, bounded by the mudbrick Second Pylon and east and west enclosing walls, housed the sequences of the festivals that began earlier in the evening, including the procession of participants, lighting lamps, prodigious drinking, and sexual behavior as described for the goddess Rattawy in the Medamud hymn, the demotic ostraca published by DePauw and Smith, and the Mut hymn recently published by Jasnow and Smith (Darnell 1995, DePauw and Smith 2004, Jasnow and Smith 2010–11). This liminal area of the temple was rightly identified by Darnell with the *ḏrit* border referred to in the rather bawdy drinking song from the tomb of Amenemhet (TT 82) that he retranslated (Darnell 1995, pp. 59–60). The distinction made here between the interpretations of Darnell and DePauw and Smith is that Hatshepsut's hall set to the side of the temple proper — like the Hathor chapel and the viewing area at Dendera — was intended for the last periods of the ritual when the goddess joined the drunken reawakened revelers. In Hatshepsut's reign the earlier evening activities consisting of drinking and musical entertainment must have rather taken place in the forecourts (equivalent to the courts behind the current First and Second "pylons"). These spaces within the New Kingdom precinct were at that time delimited by the gate associated with a northern mudbrick wall (now enlarged into the First Pylon) and the Hatshepsut-era sandstone gate at the northwest corner of the same gate (fig. 6.14). It is worth noting that in the papyrus published by Jasnow and Smith, the "third story" that includes an "inclination of the heart to Mut," that is, a commitment to the goddess, the participant is to be in the presence of the goddess, identified as Mut-Sakhmet-Bastet-[Wadjet], as well as *šsmtt*, the lady of Isheru (Jasnow and Smith 2010–11, pp. 10–11, 32–34). Within the Mut temple, this

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intimate encounter and avowal may have taken place before the *wꜣḫ n tḥ* in Hatshepsut's reign and therefore also within the court before the Mut temple proper (fig. 6.1, Second Court). It is unknown whether there were many columns or pillars in that court, but it should be noted that the excavation of the front porch in 2004 and 2006 unearthed parts of two double-faced Hathoric capitals of the reign of Hatshepsut, and these may have stood before the temple porch in the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty based on their findspots together with Thutmoside and Ramesside pillar sections from the court and porch (fig. 6.21) (Bryan 2010).

The intact nature of Hatshepsut's inscriptions — as well as the absence of Amarna-era mutilations — argues that the columned hall was dismantled as early as the coregency and as late as the fourth decade of Thutmose III's sole reign. The blocks recovered from excavation of the temple porch's north foundations, built by Taharqa, contain Thutmoside square pillar sections original to Hatshepsut and altered for Thutmose III as well as some naming only the latter ruler. The limestone chapels of the Mut temple built on the sandstone platform were closed with sandstone blocking, and decoration in the name of Thutmose III is associated. The sequence of alterations from the limestone chapels of the coregency to the broader temple with sandstone additions is uncertain, but the hall of drunkenness was no longer standing by the period of Hatshepsut's proscription (visible in a view from the south; fig. 6.8).

After the hall of drunkenness was dismantled, the celebration of the festivals of drunkenness, including the vision of the deity, likely took place in the Mut temple's forecourts — the First and Second Courts in the New Kingdom and perhaps the Third Intermediate Period, suggested by the text of Henuttawy and Pinedjem added to a Sakhmet statue on the west side of the First Court (Benson and Gourlay 1899, pp. 29–30, 245; PM II², 257 (6)). Incised reliefs in the tomb of Khabekhnet at Deir el-Medina (TT 2) may represent elements of such a festival within these courts. Participants are shown atop the pylon as well as at the quays on the east and west of the temple (fig. 6.22). The significance of the "navigation" of the goddess on the Isheru lake, as referred to on the propylon inscriptions, was apparent as early as the reign of Ramesses II as the Khabekhnet scene shows (te Velde 1989). The surcharged inscription of Pinedjem and Henuttawy on a First Court Sakhmet may suggest the use of this forecourt by the Twentieth Dynasty if not earlier (Cabrol 1995, pp. 55–56). From the Twenty-fifth Dynasty onward, the porches before the First Pylon would have housed the festivals, and the location of Chapel D, associated with "Hathoric" females known from the drunkenness festival texts to the west side of the front court, may likewise imply one gathering place (Fazzini and Peck 1983; Fazzini 2011).

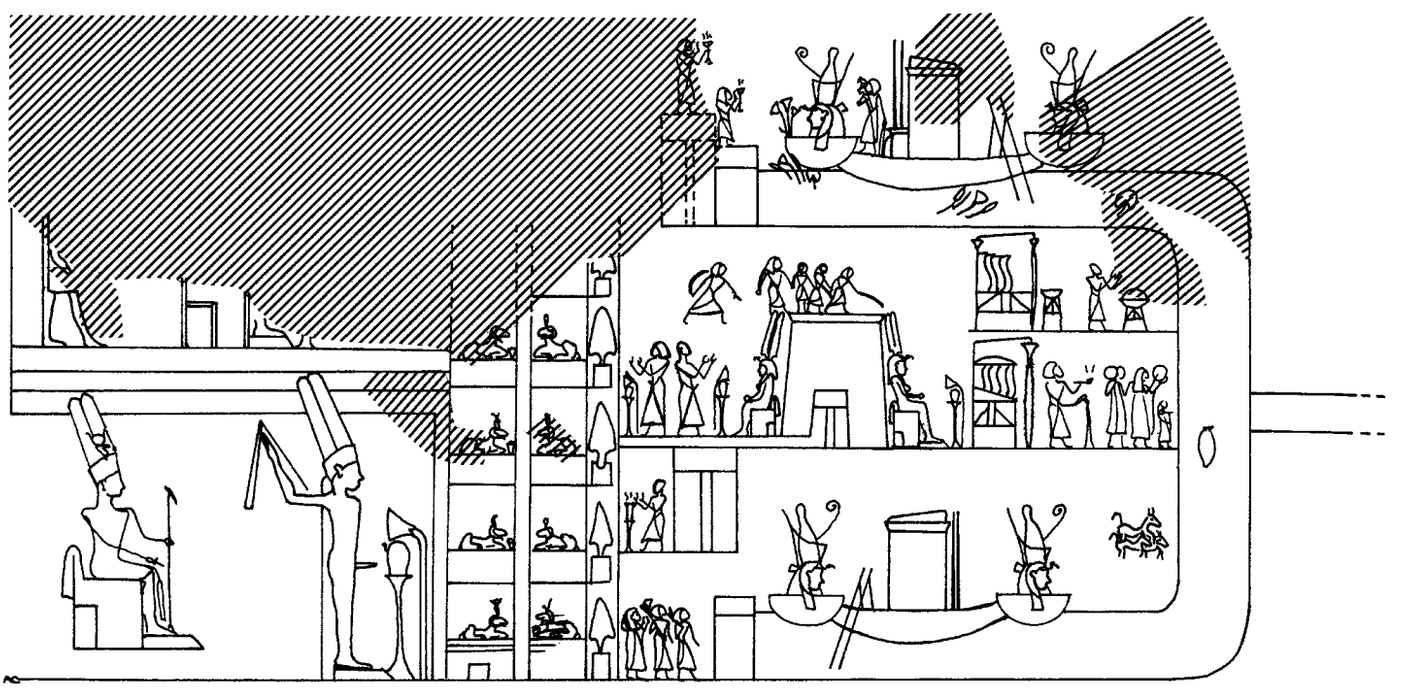

Figure 6.22. Mut temple depiction in TT 2 of Khabekhnet (after Cabrol 1995, pl. 5)

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Comparison of Festivals of Drunkenness in the Eighteenth Dynasty and Later

Although it is now rather certain from the Mut temple column inscriptions that festivals of drunkenness took place there in the reign of Hatshepsut, the content of those rituals is not known from that site. It is perhaps relevant to note that in the sand beneath one of the column drums was found a shattered faience drinking bowl (fig. 6.23), which was the only object left with the stone. Was this an intentional deposit or only an accidental remnant from the ceremonies? To evaluate whether the Eighteenth Dynasty festivals of drunkenness resembled those of the Ptolemaic and Roman eras, it is necessary to look more broadly for evidence. To begin, we can identify the required organizational principles of the late-era feasts as revealed in the textual materials. These are presented not as ritual sequences but as elements necessary to effective outcomes (Cauville 2002, Darnell 1995, Daumas 1968, Daumas 1972, DePauw and Smith 2004, Jasnow and Smith 2010–11, Montserrat 1996). It will be seen that the overall structure of these ceremonies was quite different from those of the primary temple rites — in the makeup and roles of participants, the manner of divine communication, and the means to achieve it. The general requirements of festivals of drunkenness in the late texts include:

1. association with a leonine and/or Hathoric goddess as the Eye of Re who maintains, protects, or avenges the sun god's cosmic order;
2. communal ritual activity;
3. inebriation from beer or wine to gain an altered state, not social drinking;
4. both drunkenness and sexual behavior (DePauw and Smith 2004, Jasnow and Smith 2010–11);
5. an epiphany, that is, visual ecstasy, of the goddess;
6. a request of the deity during the epiphany.

Each of these components is examined below to evaluate whether the evidence from the Eighteenth Dynasty is comparable. Due to the absence of explicit inscriptions or liturgies for festivals of drunkenness in the reign, the evidence to be presented must be eclectic and drawn from several types of sources, including temple scenes and texts, tomb scenes, statues, and, of course, the inscriptions from the Mut hall of drunkenness. To begin, there are two yearly festivals that are the focus below. In addition, other rites of drunkenness depicted in tomb scenes, but perhaps not associated with the Beautiful Feast of the Valley, are included in the discussion, most significantly the well-known scenes from Pahery's chapel in Elkab, very likely in connection with the New Year's festival (Jasnow and Smith 2010–11, pp. 44–45). It is notoriously difficult to ascertain whether banquet tomb scenes of New Kingdom Thebes relate to the Valley Feast or are conflations of the drinking environment associated with the New Year and a variety of rituals (Lichtheim 1945, pp. 181–87; Bryan 2009). Clearly these relate to funerary gatherings and the Hathoric role in the cemetery (Preys 2007). A. Gutbub has discussed evening gatherings depicted in tomb scenes as part of funerary rites where drunkenness was part of the burial offerings given to the deceased at the time of major festivals (Gutbub 1961). We also consider the possible role of New Kingdom religious associations in rituals of drunkenness.

Figure 6.23. Faience drinking bowl found crushed beneath a sandstone column drum of Hatshepsut's porch or hall of drunkenness, 2007. Diameter ca. 15 cm. Reconstructed by Mrs. Nakhla Shawgi Habib and Kent Severson

Two yearly festivals of drunkenness are attested for the Mut temple in the late eras and are known to have been celebrated earlier as well. The calendar of

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Mut temple festivals on the Ptolemaic gate identified the traditional Festival of Drunkenness on the 20th of Thoth and the Beautiful Feast of the Valley in II *šmw* as follows (Sauneron 1968a, Spalinger 1993):

- The Festival of Drunkenness: *tḫ* (*Wb.* V 325.20; Wilson 1997, p. 1150)[10]

  When she comes forth as a vulture, then her wings are deployed embellishing Karnak in peace. Her divine bark was sailed to (?) Bringing to (?) ... since/ when she came forth from Nekhen as Hathor, the Great One, presenting offering(s) to the One-Whose-Name-Is-Hidden: a *hbnt* vase of drunkenness, a chest of *idḥw*-cloth, ... A drinking vessel is brought to her in the *ꜣᶜ-meret* barge together with Opet, the Great, on the water. A cry of joy is made to the Golden One in her feast of *tḫy* in the temple of Mut (of) Karnak. (Spalinger 1993, pp. 166–67)

- The Beautiful Feast of the Valley (Schott 1953)

  Beer tinted with *dỉ dỉ* is abundantly poured for her at these occasion(s) of the Valley Feast, it being more precious/sublime (?) than blood, being the work of the beer goddess (= beer) in order to appease her heart in her anger. (Spalinger 1993, p. 176)[11]

The Deities Associated with Festivals of Drunkenness in the Eighteenth Dynasty and New Kingdom

In the Eighteenth Dynasty the feast of *tḫy* had already existed since the Middle Kingdom; it is listed in an Illahun papyrus for the 20th day of the first month of Akhet (Schott 1950, p. 82). However, nothing is known of its form of celebration at this era. Now that it is known that the festival was part of the Mut temple liturgies in the reign of Hatshepsut, we must acknowledge that there is likewise no information about *how* that or other festivals of drunkenness were celebrated at the temple. The deity named on the column inscriptions as Mut, the lady of Isheru. One column text identifies *Mwt nbt Bꜣstt ḥrt-ỉb ỉꜣšrw* "Mut, the lady-Bastet resident within Isheru." I have noted above the strong connection between Mut and the faraway goddesses such as Sakhmet and Bastet and also Hathor on private monuments from the reign. Senenmut's statue inscriptions in particular stress Hatshepsut's and his own devotion to Mut and to Hathor, and the text on the right of the statue sistrum also alludes to the goddesses as a single deity in a processional context — perhaps implied between the Mut temple and Deir el-Bahari. "He carries Hathor, the chieftaness of Thebes — Mut, the lady of Isheru, that he might cause her appearance. ... He lifts up her beauty on behalf of the l.p.h. king of Upper and Lower Egypt Maatkara, who lives forever" (Borchardt 1925, p. 130).

In tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty, the deity most associated with banquets in which drunkenness was explicit or implied was Hathor, with Mut being named on occasion (Schott 1953). At Elkab, in the tomb of Pahery, the goddess Nekhbet was named with Hathor of the cemetery in the bandeau text above the scene of drunken banqueting (fig. 6.24). It was certainly the Hathoric aspects of Nekhbet that are relevant here, as the brazier scene in the same tomb indicates with priestesses shaking sistra with menats toward the offering table (fig. 6.25). Note the association of the vulture goddess of Nekhen to Hathor in the Mut Calendar text cited above and to rites of the desert valleys and likewise Darnell's identification of Second Intermediate Period Hathoric rites in the Hierakonpolis desert region (Spalinger 1993, Darnell 1995, Friedman et al. 1999).

Features of the festivals of drunkenness in the reign of Hatshepsut may be observed in Deir el-Bahari's Hathor chapel. Although Gutbub identified the riverine procession on the north wall of the front court there as representations of a festival of drunkenness, he did so on the basis of what he termed "vases d'ivresse" depicted above the boats (Gutbub 1961, p. 47). The assumption that any vessel was a certain symbol of drunkenness is likely an over-interpretation in the absence of inscriptional or other evidence. Therefore these reliefs are not considered as other than confirmatory to the processional crossings during festivals (here

[10] The Belegstellen reference, *Wb.* V 325.20, from the Euergete gate south of the Khonsu temple: *ỉr.n.s ỉt.f rᶜ ḥb.s tḫ ỉr m tp ꜣḫt m-ḫt pr.s m ỉmntt* "Her father Ra made for her her festival of drunkenness, performed at the beginning of Akhet after she came forth from the west."

[11] Compare the "work of beer/beer goddess" with the caption to the king offering wine at Philae: *snḏm.f ḥr ỉr tḫy* "He causes that she is gracious by making drunkenness (or, because of doing drunkenness)."

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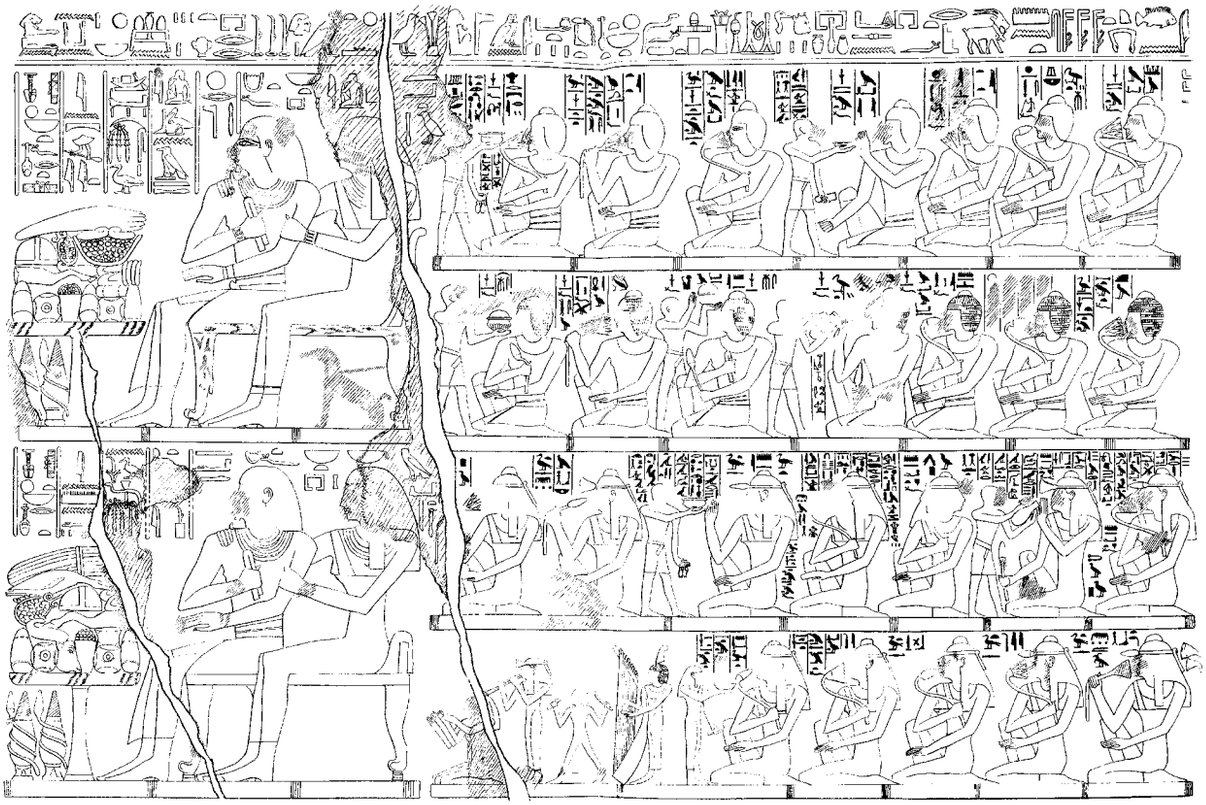

Figure 6.24. Tomb of Pahery, Elkab. Central portion of east wall with banquet scene and conversation between servers and banquet participants (Tylor and Griffith 1894, pl. 7)

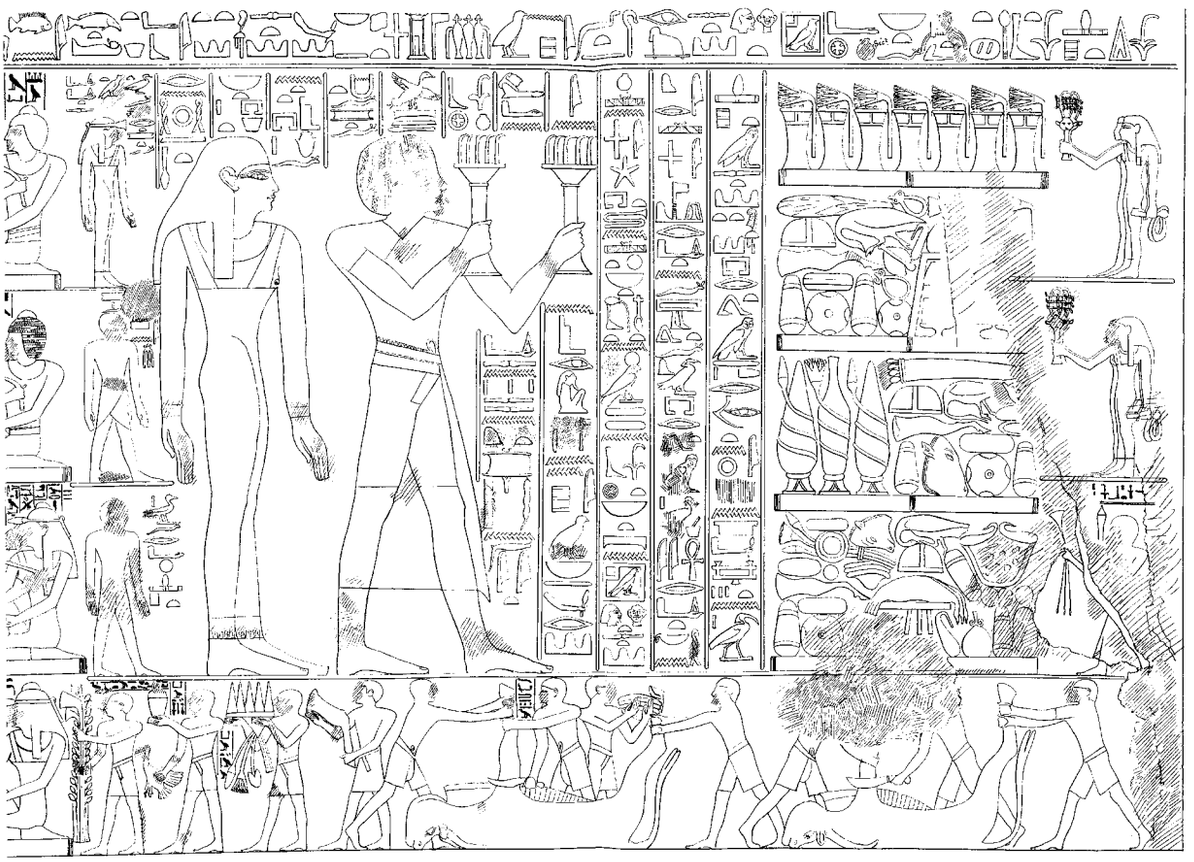

Figure 6.25. Tomb of Pahery, Elkab. South end of east wall with brazier scene (Tylor and Griffith 1894, pl. 8)

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identified with the *tpy rnpt*) including drunkenness rites. However, there is one scene within the chapel that is highly correlated with the Festival of Drunkenness of Hathor at Dendera. In the entrance hall on the east wall of the Hathor chapel is the scene of *sḳr ḥmȝ* "striking the balls" (fig. 6.26). Deir el-Bahari's is the earliest known depiction of this ritual associated with balls or pearls that represent the pupils or eyes of the enemies of the sun god (fig. 6.27). The ritual is associated with the Festival of Drunkenness explicitly at Dendera for the 20th of Thoth, and most examples of this rite are represented before Hathor or, as Borghouts as noted, a goddess representing the eye of the sun god (as here, Dendera, and Philae; Cauville 2002; *LÄ* I, col. 609; Borghouts 1973, pp. 122–40).

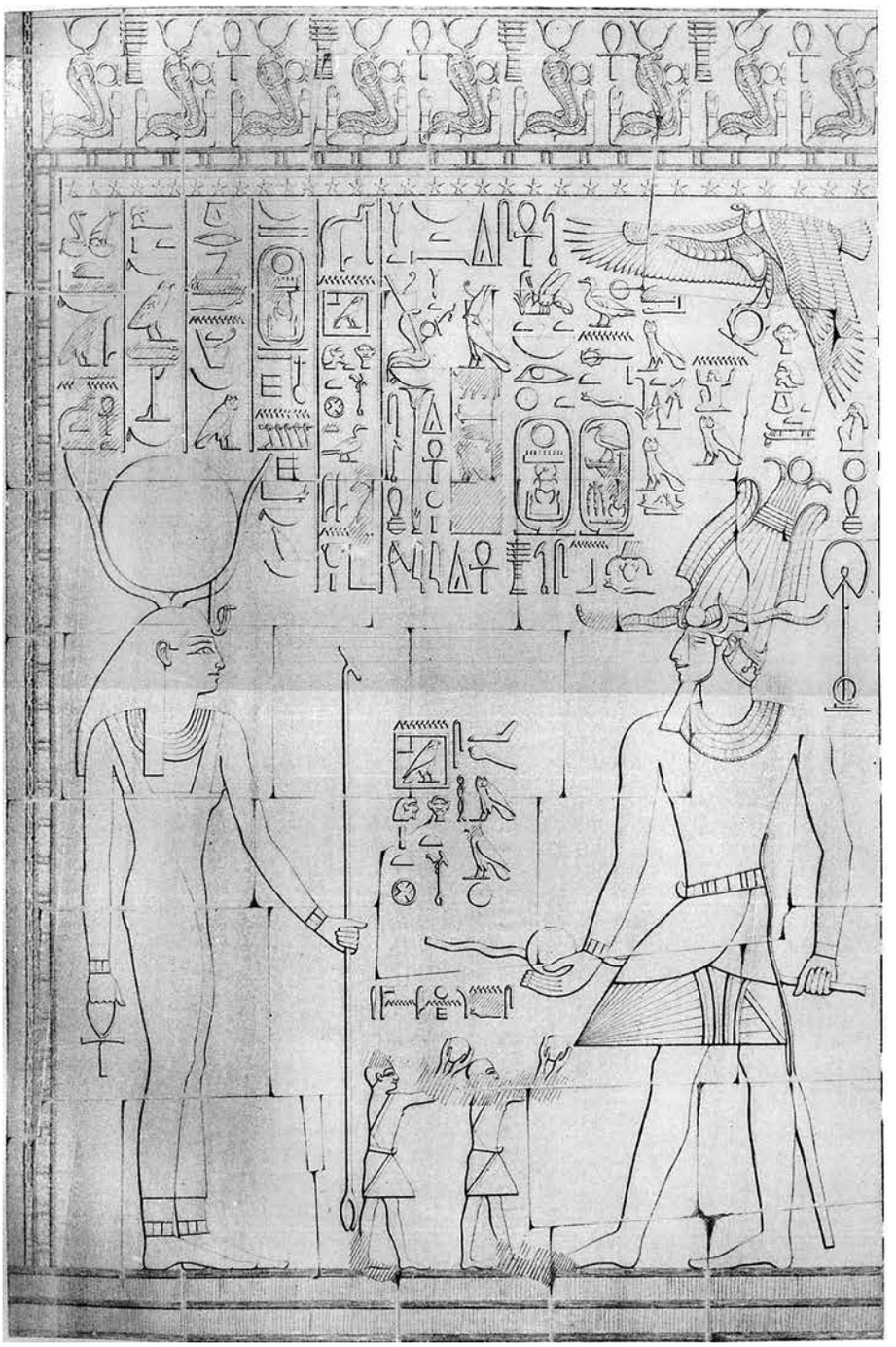

Figure 6.26. Scene of "striking the balls" from Deir el-Bahari Hathor chapel of Hatshepsut (after Naville 1901, pl. 100)

Figure 6.27. Faience ball representing the pupil of the Eye of Re. Eton College Myers collection (ECM) 847. Diameter ca. 5 cm

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The function of the *sḳr ḥm*ʒ ritual is to enable the king to destroy the enemies of the goddess and god. At Luxor temple Amenhotep III performs the ritual in the Mut chamber before Sakhmet, the goddess most closely associated with avenging the sun god (Gayet 1894, pl. 68; *Wb.* III 93.12). Because its result was to make a request directly to the goddess as the sun god's agent, the Festival of Drunkenness had a strong connection to this ritual. As DePauw and Smith have pointed out, these deities had dual personalities and could be requested to act either benevolently or violently on behalf of the god and the ruler. In the demotic ostraca that they discussed, DePauw and Smith identified the two goddesses — Ai and Nehemanit — with the violent and favorable aspects of the Eye of Re, respectively (DePauw and Smith 2004, pp. 84–85). The context of the "striking the balls" ritual suggests the vengeful role of the Eye (*LÄ* I, cols. 608–09 s.v. "Ball, Schlagen des"), and one might expect that other scenes could present a more gracious role for the deity.

The king's involvement in the festivals of drunkenness is depicted in a highly ritualized fashion, as might be expected. In the Deir el-Bahari *sḳr ḥm*ʒ ritual, the ruler is divine assistant to the Eye in defeating the enemies of the sun god; in return Hathor offers to her the crowns and the uraei, indicating that the uraeus goddesses will protect her just as they protect the sun god. In addition to performing *sḳr ḥm*ʒ, at Dendera the ruler presents the offering of inebriating beverages to the goddess (Sternberg-El-Hotabi 1992; Cauville 2002). This type of scene may summarize all the drinking done in the festival and present the festival as a normative temple ritual — with the ruler as high priest. The king does not participate, however, in the evening activities described in the Medamud hymn, although royal children were among those who did.

Communal Nature of the Rituals

As Gutbub, Schott, Darnell, and others have indicated, festivals of drunkenness at all eras began with night gatherings in the temples. In the case of the Beautiful Feast of the Valley, these were followed by visits to royal funerary temples (Deir el-Bahari being primary in the Eighteenth Dynasty) and elite tomb chapels (Gutbub 1961, Schott 1953, Darnell 1995). Drunkenness was central to the New Kingdom Valley Festival gatherings and was the subject of both tomb banqueting scenes and the associated texts — including songs. The aim of these rites was to assist in the regeneration of deceased ancestors by means of a vision of the goddess. Alcohol — in the case of the Valley Festival, wine — was the facilitator of the divine experience, and the connection of this liquid to the coming inundation underlined this potential renewal. As the faraway goddess returns, she brings the promise of new life (Friedman et al. 1999; Darnell 1995; Schott 1953, p. 842).[12]

The late-era texts demonstrate that the gatherings included both men and women: in the Medamud hymn, this was defined as follows (Darnell 1995, pp. 53–54; Drioton 1926, pp. 27–28):

> *sḥtp twṯ msw-nsw m mr.t ḥry.w-tp.w ḥr ḳʒb n.ṯ wdb.w sḳʒ twṯ ḫry-ḥb m sḫp ḥkn rḫy-ḫt m šd ḥb.w wšʒ n.ṯ sḥn m gʒw(t).f [ḫ]ry.w tbt m ṯʒ sr msḫ n.ṯ rnn.wt m wʒḥ.w ḥwn.wt m ṯs ṯbṯb n.ṯ nwḥ.w m sḳbbwy sm n.ṯ srs.w*
>
> The royal children propitiate you with what is desired, the chief officiants doubling the offerings for you. The lector exalts you with the praise of a hymn, as the liturgist recites the rituals. The preparer distributes (lit. pours out) from his bundles of plants, while the drummer is taking up the tambourine. The young women[a] rejoice for you with banquet-garlands, the girls[b] with fillets. As the drunken ones drum for you in the cool of the night, those who are awakened bless you.[c]

a. *rnn.wt* is here understood simply to refer to young women of marriageable age, not "virgins" as Darnell takes them. They are described as placing the *wʒḥ* collars on the participants as we frequently see in tomb banquet scenes (*Wb.* II 435.18) = "junges Mädchen; Jungfrau" (Bell 1987).

b. *ḥwn.wt* is likely not the word *ḥnw.t* assumed by Darnell (1995, p. 56 n. 54) but rather the common word for youth found in Hathoric rites and derived from a root meaning "young one" (*Wb.* III 53–54). *ḥwn.wt* designates young maids and women and is as often applied to goddesses, particularly Hathor and

[12] A similar view is expressed in the love song from papyrus Harris 500: "... Give me my sister tonight! The river is as if of wine, its rushes are Ptah, Sakhmet is its foliage, Iadet its buds, Nefertem its lotus blossoms. [The Golden] is in joy when earth brightens in her beauty..." (Lichtheim 1976, p. 189).

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the uraeus goddesses. It is possible that in this guise the young ladies act to "crown" the goddess and the participants with their fillets.

c. Compare the translations of Darnell and Drioton (Darnell 1995, p. 54; Drioton 1926, p. 27). The differences are largely in the translation of the words *gꜣwt, ṯb*[*n*]*t, sr, rnn.wt, ḥwn.wt*. I suggest that the reference to the *sr* "tambourine or hand drum" indicates that the "drum bearer" is behaving like the other drunken partcipants. The hand drum was a Hathoric instrument normally held by women (DePauw and Smith 2004, p. 71 nn. 20–21). Here these are likely among the *nwḥw* "drunken ones" who drum. Compare the scene in the tomb of Neferhotep where a similar orchestra appears, and the tambourinists (or hand drummers) are all female musicians (fig. 6.28).

The demotic ostraca discussed by DePauw and Smith and the Mut hymn published by Jasnow and Smith not only confirm that both genders were present at the gatherings, but also confirm that there was sexual behavior between the participants (DePauw and Smith 2004; Jasnow and Smith 2010–11). In the ostraca the officiants were not identified; *ḥsw* and *wꜥb*-priests of *tꜣyy* "who makes joyful the countenance of all who come to worship Nehamanit in the temple" are mentioned in Ostraca 1, lines 1–2 (DePauw and Smith 2004, p. 70). Whether the priests performed the role of the lector and/or the liturgist (*ḫry-ḥb*; *rḫy-ḫt*) is uncertain. DePauw and Smith point out that in papyrus Carlsberg there was an officiant who spoke to the whole congregation (ibid., p. 87), and they wonder whether this master of ceremonies might have been singled out for sexual behavior. That appears to be counter to the citations they provide themselves wherein men and women refer to "traveling the marshes" — that is, indulging in sexual behavior at drunkenness feasts, and also to the need to care for the participants. Rather the phrases "Let him drink, let him eat, let him have sexual relations…" are probably to apply to all participants who meet the specifications that follow: "'*tꜣyy, tꜣyy*' he says, namely he who desires a companion, he who multiples divine offerings as he invokes *tꜣy*" (ibid., p. 75).[13] In the ostraca, congregants other than the singers and priests were not described by clerical titles. Some members of the corporation (*ḫ.t*) were, however, entrusted with the safety of others in a "place of seeking," perhaps the *wꜣḫ* columned forecourt mentioned above (ibid., pp. 74–75). Yet it is the community as a whole that requests the visual ecstasy (Ostracon 2, line 1), and, according to Ostracon 1, lines 3–4, all who worship Nehemanit "when they are drunk, they will see the goddess by means of the *mr.t*-vessel" (DePauw and Smith 2004, pp. 69–70). The festival celebration and consequent epiphany of the goddess were thus described as communal by both the Medamud hymn and the demotic texts, even if it they were guided by ritual specialists.

In the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty, scenes of banqueting accompanied by orchestra songs that invoked drunkenness began to increase (Lichtheim 1945, pp. 181–87). It has been noted elsewhere that depictions of the gatherings are often dominated by the offering of drink with little food (Manniche 1997; *LÄ* VII, col. 773 s.v. "Trunkenheit"; Schott 1953). The group experience in the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty was most frequently depicted with the genders separated, but all participants were offered wine. Later in the dynasty, there are couples shown together in some cases, as in the famous banquet scene of Nebamun preserved by paintings in the British Museum; however, in the tomb of Neferhotep (TT 49) from the end of the dynasty, there are still indications of gender segregation (see below, fig. 6.31) (Parkinson 2008). A number of the orchestra songs shown in Eighteenth Dynasty tombs accompany depictions of the communal experience of inebriation (Schott 1953, pp. 832–42). One from the tomb of Horemhab (TT 78) from the reign of Thutmose IV best communicates the ritual context of the tomb chapel banquet (figs. 6.28–29). The song from the musicians is directed to the tomb owner seated to their left, but the rightmost lutist turns to the banqueters opposite and addresses them using *tk* rather than *tn* for the pronoun: *n kꜣ.tk nꜣw ḥryw-pḏt n ḥm.f ir hrw nfr m bꜣḥ pꜣ sš-nsw mꜣꜥ mr.f* "For your *ka*(s) O chiefs of bowmen of his majesty. Make festival in the presence of the true royal scribe, his beloved."

[13] It might be inquired whether *pꜣ mr iry* is simply "the one who desires thereof" in reference to seeing the face of Ai daily (DePauw and Smith 2004, pp. 75–76).

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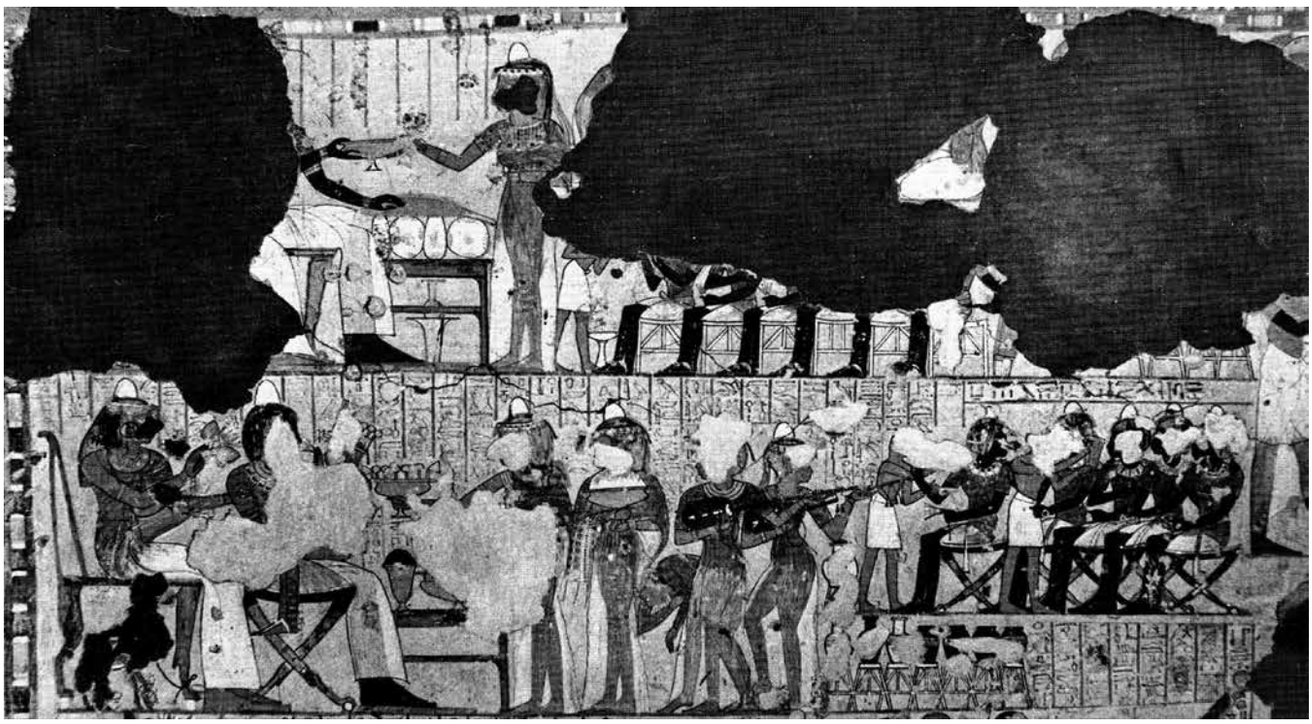

Figure 6.28. Theban Tomb 78 scene of Horemhab and wife receiving golden vessels for drinking and "lapis lazuli" wine container on table before them (after Brack and Brack 1980, pl. 32a)

n kꜣ.k ỉr hrw nfr m pr.k nfr n nḥḥ m s.t n ḏt m ḏrt.k bnt nfr ṯs wꜣḥ.w wrḥ.w tp.w smꜣ hrw nfr ỉb.k nḏm ḥꜣty.k mršw ỉw mꜣꜣ.k ỉmn dỉ.f wnn.k m ḥnmmwt ḥsy m tꜣ n ʿnḫw Mwt ỉỉt[ỉ] m ps(ḏ).t ḥr nfr n mrt n rdỉ (n)ḥ(r)ḥr ṯꜣt.s sššwt ḥr ꜣbb tḫ m kṯ?n nbw ỉw.f ḳd m mỉty n ḫsbd mḥ m w... (*Urk.* IV 1591)

For your *Ka*! Make festival in your beautiful house of endlessness, in the place of timelessness, while in your hand is a beautiful harp. Tie on *wah*-collars and rub on fine ointments. Join the festival, your desire (*jb*) being sweet, your heart (*ḥꜣty*) in joy. As you behold Amun may he cause that you be among the sun people, being a praised one in the land of the living. Mut has come as the glowing one[a] of the beautiful face, in order to cause her sistrum players[b] to be joyful[c] desiring[d] drunkenness from a goblet[e] of gold, while its pouring container is the likeness of lapis lazuli filled with /// [a liquid].[f]

a. *Ps.t* written for *psḏ.t* without determinatives. This is an epithet for Hathor as the sun's eye. Also used as a verb describing the goddess as the solar eye (*Wb.* I 558.5, 557.10).

b. *Wb.* V 348.7–8.

c. *nḥrḥr* (*Wb.* III 150.8; *Wb.* II 299.1).

d. *ꜣbb* (*Wb.* II 7.6) is a reduplicated form of *ꜣbỉ* "to desire" and not, as some have translated *ꜣbḫ* "to mix." Rather it is written with the *sp-sn* and two strokes, probably to emphasize the reduplicated *ꜣbb* (Brack and Brack

Figure 6.29. Musicians from banqueting scene in the tomb of Horemhab (TT 78) showing rear lutist turned to sing to seated guests. Portion of choral song above lutists (photo by Betsy M. Bryan)

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1980, Text 11d, p. 30). The same word occurs in a similar context in TT 100 of Rekhmira: *ỉn ỉw mꜣꜥt m pꜣy.s ḥr ꜣbb.w tḏ.w*, where its meaning cannot be "to mix" (N. de G. Davies 1943, pl. 64).

e. *Wb.* V 148.9–10. This translation is dependent upon the ideogram that depicts a lotiform chalice.

f. This phrase is very difficult and may reflect an error. Here the word *ḳd* has been interpreted to refer to a class of vessel painted blue in the scene to the south of this one, which continues the banquet. Brack and Brack understood it to derive from *ḫd* "umgeben," although this writing has no walking legs classifier. Their interpretation that the word must refer to the vessel does, however, seem correct, but I would prefer the source to be from the meaning of "clay" and "to form from clay" (Brack and Brack 1980, p. 30, pls. 30, 37; *Wb.* V 72–78). The final word begins with *w* and ends with three water signs, given as *wgꜣ* by Brack and Brack. It is noteworthy that Hathor could be termed "the lapis lazuli one." The gold chalice is offered to Horemhab and his wife in the scene, while the blue vessel is offered above (Brack and Brack 1980, p. 30).

The orchestra song, although addressed in a primary sense to the tomb owner, refers to the drunkenness of the sistrum players — in a manner similar to the Medamud hymn: "The young women rejoice for you with banquet-garlands, the girls with fillets. As the drunken ones drum for you in the cool of the night, those who are awakened bless you." Likewise the song alludes to two vessels presented in different scenes and thus applied to multiple participants. What is most notable is the similarity in phrasing between this song and that of the demotic Ostraca 1: "The singers will come, the priests of *t̲ꜣyy* who renders joyful the countenance of all who come to worship Nehamanit within the temple. Nehamanit who dwells in the marsh. When they are drunk, they will see the *mrt* goddess by means of the vessel" (DePauw and Smith 2004, p. 70).

In both songs the joyousness of the congregants is stressed before indicating the centrality of drunkenness from the cups. In the Eighteenth Dynasty version, the "glowing one" was associated with the gold chalice in a manner strongly analogous to the vision provided by the *meret*-vessel in the demotic ostracon. Thus, in both cases the deity is personified in the vessel itself. The association between the vision and intoxication is indeed implied in the orchestra song wherein both Amun and Mut are treated as solar deities available to the revelers, but they are experienced differently. The attachment of the ritual result to actual inebriation is connected to Mut as the solar eye, an immediate agent of the sun, while Amun is a heavenly body — remote but experienced on earth through viewing. Compare the hieratic graffito from the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty left at the Hathor chapel where the sun god metaphorically influences the worshiper: "O Amun, come in peace that I might see the beauty of your face, the beautiful face of Amun who views the entire world. Men behold you (*mꜣꜣ*) until drunkenness, until all good complexion"[a] (O. Cairo 12202; Posener 1975).

a. *ʾIwn* is used of a reddened skin tone and often indicated heightened sexual desire in the love poetry and was also an epithet of the sun god (*Wb.* I 52.10–19).

Likewise in a later sun hymn from TT 27: "You illuminate, Re Horakhty. You have ruled the land and netherworld. Love [of you] ... with your beauty. Everyone is drunk through seeing you. There is no one who is sated with you" (Assmann 1969, p. 35).

That these scenes represented communal festivals of drunkenness is further confirmed by the indicators of social criticism within the representations and texts. As DePauw and Smith and now Jasnow and Smith have emphasized, there was ample indication of disapproval of these rites in the late eras texts (DePauw and Smith 2004, pp. 89–93; Jasnow and Smith 2010–11). Recently I presented the evidence that similar concerns about drunkenness were expressed in the Eighteenth Dynasty both by gestures of refusal from banqueters and by the lyrics of a song in the tomb of Rekhmira, where the musicians' song asks, "is it *mꜣꜥt* in her sight desiring drunkenness?" The name of the goddess Maat has been written in reverse direction from the rest of the inscription indicating, as Henry Fischer pointed out, that the goddess herself was responding to the query affirmatively. Drunkenness was indeed *mꜣꜥt* (Bryan 2013; Fischer 1977b, p. 90, figs. 94–95).

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Inebriation through Beer or Wine

The significant point to be established here is that drunkenness was an essential element of these rites. Inebriation was the means of accessing the deities; that is the point made in the ostracon: "When they are drunk, they will see the *mrt* goddess by means of the vessel." In the Medamud hymn, drunkenness was achieved in the context of music, dance, and enhanced fragrance from flowers and scented oils. By the early morning hours, the celebrants were asleep after inebriation was achieved and at that point other participants awakened them by drumming (Darnell 1995, pp. 57–58). The epiphany with the goddess then followed, her own awakening resulting from that of the celebrants (DePauw and Smith 2004). In the ostraca the songs specify that drunkenness was instrumental: "Drink truly, eat truly, drink, eat, sing, get drunk." Ostracon 2 contains the promise of the participant(s) as follows: "I do not neglect your vessel, *ṯ3yy*. I will drink, I will eat, I will sing, I will become drunk, I will see the face of Ai daily" (DePauw and Smith 2004, pp. 70–71, 75–76).

The desire to be drunk rather than slightly "high" from alcohol distinguishes the drunkenness festivals from social gatherings. Compare rituals in societies of the Americas, the Pacific, and Japan, as well as those elsewhere in the ancient Near East. The communal drunkenness or extreme drug consumption allows the participants to experience the divine through participation in behavior that would ordinarily dangerously tempt a loss of civilization (approaching chaos in the Egyptian context). In several comparative instances, a loss of consciousness follows the period of imbibing and precedes the epiphanies. Normal rules of social behavior were deliberately set aside in these rituals such that not only promiscuous drunkenness and sexuality occur, but also sometimes violence, which is nonetheless excused (Sherratt 1995, Schnell 1997, Conrad 1999, Schwartz and Romanucci-Ross 1974, Stahl 1986).

Tomb scenes frequently depict all banqueters holding or being offered wine cups, but just as frequently no food is set before them. Some scenes emphasize the quantity being consumed by showing revelers tossing back whole pouring jars. In the tomb of Puiemra (TT 39), such a scene shows a male banqueter drinking from a jar (fig. 6.30), while in the tomb of Neferhotep (TT 49) a woman is shown doing likewise (fig. 6.31).[14] Another means of emphasizing that inebriation was the intent of the participants was to show the banqueters vomiting. Brussels E2877 is a painting fragment showing a man vomiting into the lap of the guest next to him, while a woman is shown doing similarly in the tomb of Neferhotep (fig. 6.31) (Werbrouck 1934, pl. 42). Over-imbibing would certainly have resulted in vomiting for some participants, but the addition of herbs and plants to the alcohol mixtures would have increased the emetic effects of the drinks — just as it would have enhanced feelings of disorientation and sleepiness. The onset of sleep, referred to in the Medamud hymn, may have been encouraged by the addition of soporific herbs and plants to the beer and wine recipes. Certain it is that both the hymn for 20th day of Thoth at Dendera and various medical texts prescribe the addition of numerous herbs and plants to brews. The former includes a number of additives for the *menu*-brew:

> *ḏd sḥtp ḥwt-ḥr ḫrt-hrw nt rᶜn b... ḥwt-ḥr nbt t3wy nbt t ỉr ḥnk(t) m ḳm3t.n ỉb.s m ỉrt m ᶜwy.s m smw nfr pr m gbm ᶜntyw pr m npy nfr.wy sw mnw pn... stwt.ỉ n.ṯ 3ḫw n mnw pn ḫnm ỉbr m ỉs-sḫkr-nṯr... stwt.ỉ n.ṯ ḫ3w n mnw pn ᶜntyw ḥtp m ỉry.f sḥtp.f ḏw-ỉb n ḥḥ.s ....*
>
> Utterance: Propitiate Hathor daily.... Hathor, mistress of the Two Lands, the lady of bread who makes beer with what her heart created, with what her two arms have done, with the perfect herbs that go forth from Geb, with the incenses[15] that go forth from grain. How perfect is this brew! ... I collect for you provisions (?)[16] for this brew which smell of *ỉbr*-unguent from the chamber of decorating the god... I collect for you the aromatic ingredients[17] for this brew and the incense which is offered in relation

[14] Note that in the Neferhotep wall scene the seated banqueters have no food at all, while in the Puiemra scene the food is set only before the first two male guests, one of whom gestures to refuse the wine but reaches for food. Surely this was an intentional depiction.

[15] Cauville translates "wort" or "fermentation liquid." Wilson notes that *ᶜntyw* can be an incense of any concoction (Cauville 2002, p. 71; Wilson 1997, p. 164).

[16] Cauville translates "levure?" but there seems little to support this etymologically. *3ḥ* has the *snw*-breadloaf determinative, and perhaps we have the word *3ḫw* meaning grain provisions (Cauville 2002, p. 73; Wilson 1997, p. 14).

[17] Wilson (1997, p. 702) notes that the words may refer to powdered aromatic leaves as suggested by the granule determinatives.

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to it. It propitiates the sadness of heart of the one who seeks/strays[18] from her. (Cauville 2002, pp. 70–73, pls. 1–3)

The ingredients that are brought for the brew indicate the combination of grains, plants/herbs, and resins to produce the desired *menu*-brew. The *ibr* unguent has been identified with ladanum by some, but this is not certain (Westendorf 1999, vol. 1, p. 495; Charpentier 1981, §110). However, the substance does occur

Figure 6.30. Scene from the tomb of Puiemra (TT 39) with banqueters shown drinking from the pouring jars (after Davies 1922, pl. 41)

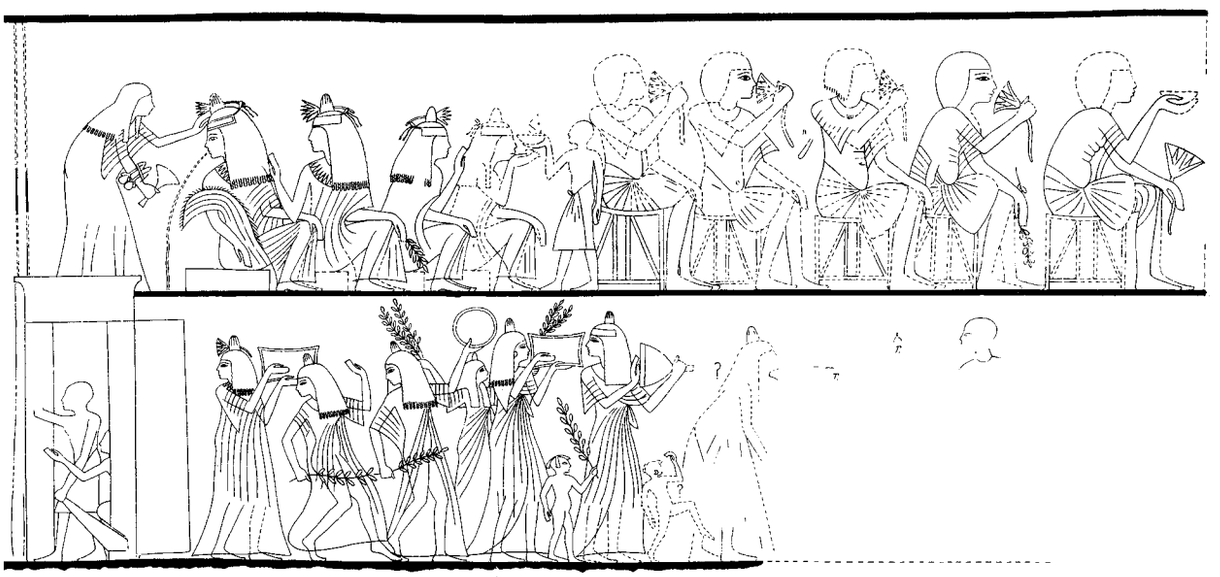

Figure 6.31. Banqueting scene from the tomb of Neferhotep (TT 49) showing female guest vomiting after prodigious drinking and possible reaction to herbal additives (after N. de G. Davies 1933, pl. 18)

[18] Reading *ḥꜣḥꜣ.s* (Wilson 1997, pp. 616, 673–74).

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in the medical recipes for treatment of headache and demons, suggesting it aided in relaxation and sleep. Papyrus Ebers 298 prescribes it for "a man who suffers at the front of his head or pustules/swellings on his neck." It was made into a rub with plant, tree, incense, eye paint, ochre, and oil and was bound to the head with a bandage (Wilson 1997, p. 60; Grapow 1958, pp. 69–70; Westendorf 1999, vol. 2, pp. 602–03). A magical text prescribes a beer that cures demonic behavior: "This *ḏsrt* beer of Horus of *ꜣkh-bit* which was brewed in *Pe* and mixed in *Dep*: drink it yourself and the dregs. The *sem* priest is waiting at his duty. You are the design of the snarer who pours out *inset*-plants, unguent, and lotus leaf. Drink the beer! I have brought it in order to drive out the evil action of a god, a dead man or a dead woman that is in this body. Et cetera" (Grapow 1958, p. 536; Westendorf 1999, vol. 1, pp. 534–35; Borghouts 1978, p. 47, no. 76,). The presence of the goddess then enabled a corporate request from the spiritual community.

That drunkenness was a true aim of the funerary banquet gatherings depicted on tomb walls in the Eighteenth Dynasty is expressed in the orchestra song already cited from TT 78 of Horemhab but is also found in other tomb texts: TT 21 (time of Thutmose II or Hatshepsut) of the steward of Thutmose I, User, includes a song depicted in two scenes as follows: "for your *Ka*! Drink, become perfectly drunk! Make festival with what your lord [Amun-Ra] who loves you has given for you/var. with what your lord Aakheperkara who loves you has given for you. O noble who loves wine and who is praised of myrrh, you shall not lack in refreshing your heart within your beautiful house" (N. de G. Davies 1913, pls. 25–26; Schott 1953, p. 889; Lichtheim 1945, p. 183). In Theban Tomb 130 of May, the harper song contains this song:

n kꜣ.k wrt.f mrt.f nfrw ḥr.t ṯḥnw wbn.t ỉw.t ỉỉ.tỉ m ḥtpw tḫw tw n pꜣy.t ḥr nfr nbw ḥwt-ḥr

For your *Ka*! O his beloved Great One [*sic*],[a] your face is dazzling as you rise. You have come peacefully, that one might be drunk at your perfect sight, O Golden one, Hathor! (Scheil 1894, p. 549)

a. Perhaps *wrt* written for *sꜣt*, but elsewhere the Scheil texts distinguish the pintail duck in writings of "son" (Scheil 1894, p. 543).

This song represented in the context of the guests' revels appears again to signal the direct association between drunkenness and the viewing of the goddess.

The thirst for inebriation is best expressed in the tomb of Pahery at Elkab, where family members of the mayor have a conversation centered on their communal drinking, probably as part of a New Year's festival. In the third register of banquets, all the participants are female being served by a young butler. The first name is broken: "///-pu," followed by "her daughter Nebuemheb." The server speaks to "her daughter Sitamun" and holds a bowl up to her face. From his lower hand dangle two tiny handled vessels: Sitamun's hand is up with the palm against the bowl. The server says, "For your *ka*: drink until you are drunk. Make festival! Listen to what your relative says: Do not be unfairly inactive." The next guest, "the daughter of the sister of the mother of his mother, Nebuemiyhy," says "Give me 18 jars of wine. To be drunk is what I continually desire. The place within me is of straw." Next to her is "his nurse Hepu," who turns her head back to see the exchange between the server and another female. The unnamed servant speaks to "the nurse Senisenebt," who refuses the drink. "He says: drink! Do not sip! Look! I will not leave you."[19] Behind and last in the row is "the nurse Tjupu," who says, "Drink! Do not be irksome. Drink! Then let the cup reach me. Look! It is from the mayor for drinking" (fig. 6.24; for commentary, see Bryan 2013). From this set of exchanges (another appears in the top register), the urgency to become inebriated as a participant in the banquet is startling.

[19] An exceptional use of *nn* plus the third future. See this example quoted in Gardiner 1957, §468, 4.

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These female family members and associates include those of an older generation than Pahery himself; perhaps they were deceased but depicted with the living as well. Yet all are in attendance at a banquet where drunkenness was the aim joining the tomb owner's closest relatives who face Pahery and wife. The brazier scene to the right (fig. 6.25) ties the banquet to the resultant response from the goddesses and other deities. There at the far right females shake sistra and hold menats facing the offerings as Pahery with his family requests the fragrances and sweetness of the north wind from several deities including Nekhbet and Hathor. The wall as a whole links the drunkenness rituals with both the regeneration of the deceased and the rise of the inundation in the south of Egypt as expressed in the bandeau text by requesting the excess offerings of the New Year, *tp-rnpwt*, as well as daily offerings of the gods (fig. 6.24; Jasnow and Smith 2010–11, p. 44). It is perhaps noteworthy in that context that three of the women depicted at the banquet have names that invoke the Golden One and refer to these associations: Nebuemheb, Nebuemiyhy, Nebuemnekhbet: "The Golden One is in festival; the Golden one is in the marsh plants[20]; the Golden One is in the lotus bloom" (fig. 6.24).

One unusual aspect of the conversations on Pahery's banquet wall is the presence more than once of the server urging the guests to drink and become drunk and saying that "I will keep you safe," and also once "Behold I will not leave you"[21] (fig. 6.24, registers 1 and 3). Not only does this indicate that there was sufficient drunkenness in the ritual to prepare for potential dangerous behaviors, but this element was also a concern in the late drunkenness festivals. It is hardly coincidence that in demotic Ostracon 2 it is expressly noted that the participants "in the place of seeking" were in the hands of the corporation (*ḫt*) and that they took care of them *iw=w wbꜣ=w n-dr.t ḥ.t=s* (DePauw and Smith 2004, pp. 74–75). Perhaps because of the uninhibited behaviors of drunken participants, as already noted drunkenness was criticized in Egyptian society and was apparently in debate among the elite. This controversy was apparently even more open and energetic in the late eras, as Jasnow and Smith have pointed out (Bryan 2013, Jasnow and Smith 2010–11). Such criticism is yet another indicator of the level of inebriation that characterized these festivals.

Sexual Behavior

Both direct and elliptical allusions to sexual behavior during the festivals of drunkenness are attested in the post–New Kingdom documentation, as for example in demotic Ostracon 2: *swr=f wnm=f nḳ.f m-bꜣḥ tꜣy* "Let him drink, let him eat, let him make love before *tꜣy*" (DePauw and Smith 2004, pp. 74–75). Likewise in the Florence papyri fragments published by Jasnow and Smith: *wnḫ wrḥ smt tmmy* "Don clothing, anoint (yourself), adorn the eyes, and enjoy sexual bliss" (Jasnow and Smith 2010–11, pp. 17–18, 22 n. d). There are no explicit directions of this type for the Eighteenth Dynasty festivals, but there are also no parallel documents that provide an outline of the ritual activities for the period. We rather must look at tomb scenes and songs as we did for drunkenness. Darnell has pointed to a harpist's song from TT 82 of Amenemhet dating to the early sole reign of Thutmose III. One of two songs that refer to the temple of Karnak in personified form has highly erotic overtones and appears to equate Ipet-Sut with the goddess Mut herself: "How well it goes for the temple of Amun-Ra, she who spends the day in festival, with the king of the gods within her.... She is like a drunken woman, seated outside the dwelling place (*r-rwy ḏrit*), her braids falling upon her beautiful [breasts]. She has linen and sheets" (Darnell 1995, pp. 60–62; Davies and Gardiner 1915, pl. 15). As with the Medamud hymn that alludes to "that hall of traveling the marshes" and other later texts that refer to "traveling the marshes" as a drunken behavior, the location of sexual activity in the Eighteenth Dynasty song is set in the liminal space outside the temple proper and probably within a court (Darnell 1995, p. 62; DePauw and Smith 2004, pp. 72, 80–82). Similarly, guests at the drunkenness banquets of the Beautiful Feast may have found tomb chapel courts inadequate in some instances and found other unoccupied spaces in the Theban cemeteries. Representations of sexual intercourse are known from mid-Eighteenth Dynasty ostraca and graffiti and, although not textually connected to the drunkenness festival, are best understood in context. One drawing (now lost) was discovered in the tomb of Puiemra, who served as second priest of Amun in

[20] *Nbw-m-iyḥ* rather than Nebumehy as Griffith translated (Tylor 1894, p. 25).

[21] The verb *wꜣḥ* not infrequently has the meaning of "to keep safe" (Caminos 1977, p. 61).

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the coregency and sole reign of Thutmose III and in whose chapel was represented a heavy-drinking banqueter as noted above (Manniche 1977, p. 17 n. 57). The strong erotic urgency indicated in Davies' drawing on wood (fig. 6.32) is compatible with the abrupt arousal and abandonment of inhibitions brought on by heavy drinking of alcohol, and the findspot is suggestive. Another tomb type of environment that has produced erotic imagery contemporary with the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty is the Deir el-Bahari unfinished tomb discussed by Romer, Wente, and others (fig. 6.33) (Romer 1982, pp. 157–60; Wente 1984). Different styles and types of erotic drawings appear on the north wall, along with a large inked stela-shaped inscription (Romer 1982, p. 159; Manniche 1977, p. 21, fig. 4). In response to Wente, I have argued that the scene of sexual intercourse is spatially and stylistically separate from the small figure shown with enlarged and erect phallus (Bryan 1996). The mating couple was drawn by a different hand than the two figures to the east on the wall — and very likely at a different date. The Valley Festival would have been a time when celebrants sought privacy in such sheltered openings, and both types of erotic graffiti may well have been left during long nights of overindulgence (Bryan 1996). Manniche also published a line drawing of one other ostracon perhaps to be dated to the later Eighteenth Dynasty by style and paleography, British Museum 50714, although the British Museum website assigns it to the Ramesside era (Manniche 1977, p. 20, fig. 3).

Figure 6.32. Erotic drawing on wood found in the tomb of Puiemra (TT 39) depicting sexual encounter of banqueter and musician, perhaps during the revelries of a drunkenness festival. New Kingdom but precise date uncertain. Original lost (after Manniche 1977, fig. 1)

The dictate to conduct sexual activity cannot be confirmed from the New Kingdom evidence, but the stela of Kenherkhepeshef from the Twentieth Dynasty, and dedicated to Hathor, does claim that the dedicant was conceived in the court of the Hathor chapel at Deir el-Bahari, presumably during nighttime festivities:

> *ms.i m pꜣy wbꜣ pꜣ rwty r-gs ḏsrt r sꜣḥ r Mn-st iwnm.i pꜣwt ḫryw-ḥbt r-gs ꜣḫw ꜥꜣw swtwt.i m st-nfrw <ḥr> swḫꜣ m pꜣy wbꜣ <ḥr> swri mw whb.ti ḥr p(s)dt m pꜣy wbꜣ n Mnt*
>
> I was conceived in the forecourt, the portal beside Djesert (Deir el-Bahari) down toward Meniset. I ate the offering bread of the lector priests beside the great *Akhu*-spirits. I strolled in Set-Nefru (Valley of the Queens). I spent the night in the forecourt. I drank the water, and the sight of the glowing one was transmitted[a] in the forecourt of Menet. (BM 278; Bierbrier 1982, pl. 86)

a. *whb* (*Wb.* I 340.7) "to transmit," used of the sun's rays that are dispersed into the earth in Medinet Habu. Amun says, "Behold my rays that are transmitted into the earth and circulate in your noble temple."

Kenherkhepeshef's stela appears to describe not only his own conception within the context of the Beautiful Feast but also his experience of nightly festivities on the west bank of Thebes during the same festival.[22] It is interesting to note that he refers to Hathor as the glowing one, *psḏt*, using the same designation seen above in the song from Horemhab's tomb, TT 78.

[22] Might one consider whether Kenherkhepeshef's privileged status in his mother Naunakhte's will could have arisen from his unusual conception during the festival? It is of course not possible to say, but his stela does suggest that his involvement with Hathor and her festivals was profound (Černý 1945, pp. 45–47).

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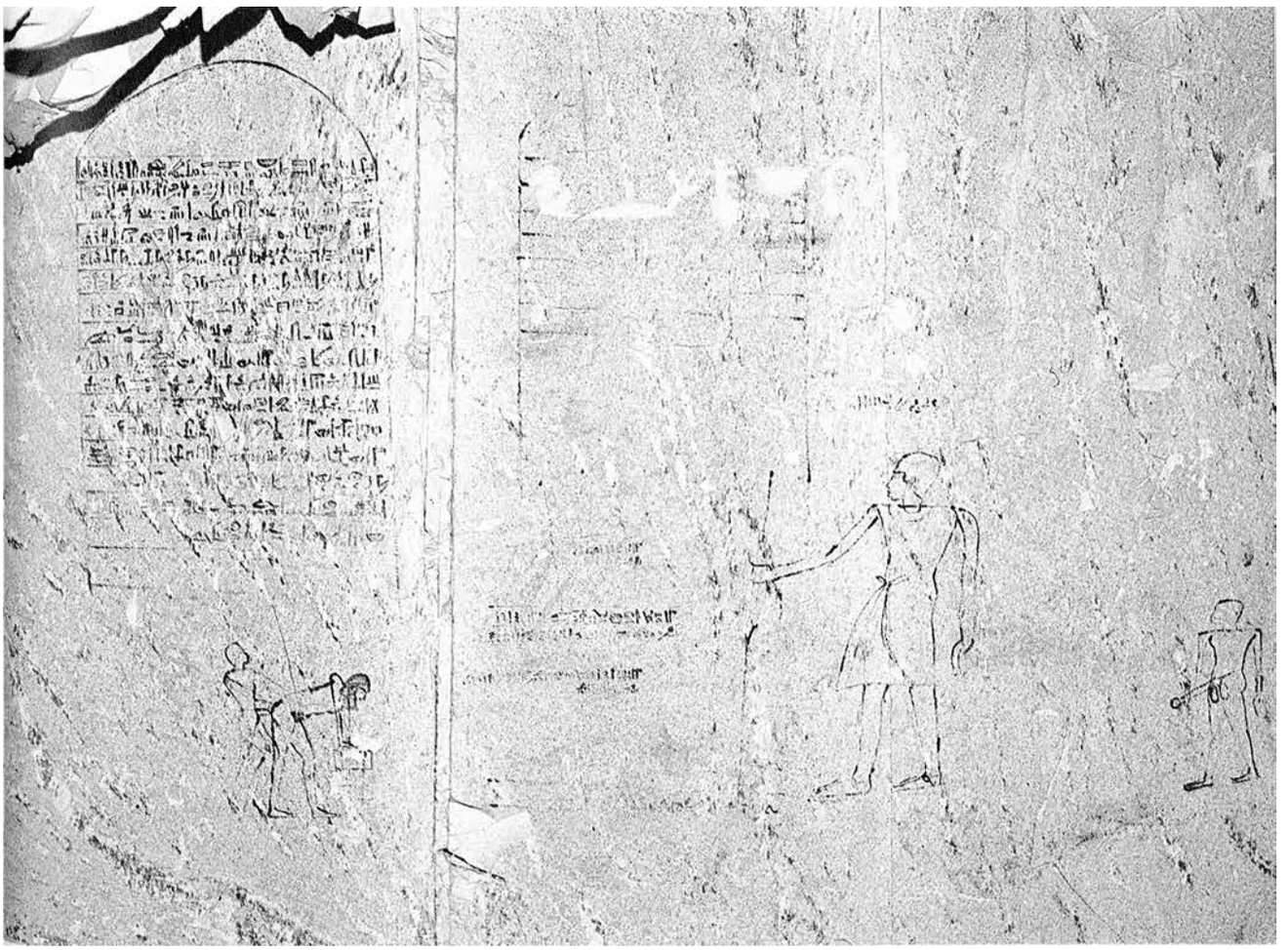

Figure 6.33. Erotic drawings on unfinished tomb above Deir el-Bahari showing mid-Eighteenth Dynasty couple and aroused figure of similar style and proportion. Large figure of different style and date (Romer 1982, p. 159)

Epiphany of the Goddess and Corporate Request

Late-era documents have already been cited with regard to the appearance of the goddess by means of the cup. Likewise, Eighteenth Dynasty parallels have been cited above, particularly from the Theban tomb of Horemhab. Further, the stela of Kenherkhepeshef from the Twentieth Dynasty refers to the visible presence of the goddess in the forecourt of Hathor's chapel at Deir el-Bahari. A Florence demotic papyrus text, particularly dedicated to Mut, includes requests to the deity within several devotions following the appearance of the goddess' statue: "[...] mistress, when my heart is (in) sorrow. May she cause my heart to see, full of joy...." Another: "[... M]ake for me protection(?)...[...]... these against me! Mut is my protection, for I am entrusted to Mut ...[....]" (Jasnow and Smith 2010–11, pp. 18–19).

Thematically the desires for the goddess to turn sorrow into joy (for herself and others) and to provide protection against enemies or critics are found in other late sources. The Dendera Litany for the 20th of Thoth illustrates both of these requests:

> *i nbwt nfr.wy snsw ỉpn mỉ snsw n ḥr ḏs.f ỉw nsw-bỉty pr-ꜥ3 s3 rꜥ nb ḫꜥw pr-ꜥ3 m snsw ns-sw šmsw nṯf sḏt ỉhy n ỉw n.f m t nn nh n.f m ḫ3w.t ib.f ꜥḳ3 ḫt.f pḫ3.tw n snḳ m ḥ3ty bwt.f pw snm n k3.t bwt.f pw ḥḳr ib m bwt.f pw št3 ỉtnt.*
>
> O Golden, how beautiful are these praises like the praises of Horus himself. The king of Upper and Lower Egypt Pharaoh, the son of Re, lord of appearances, Pharaoh, is in the praises of the followers. He is the child Ihy/he is the child who plays music. He does not cut off the bread; he does not do away

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> with your provisions. His heart is exact (lit.), and he sincere (lit. open of belly),[23] without a shadow in his heart. His abomination is the sadness of your *ka*; his abomination is hunger and thirst; his abomination is the sadness[24] of the female sun disk. (Cauville 2002, pp. 72–73, pl. 4)

The second request also occurs in the Litany for the 20th of Thoth:

> *nfr.wy ḫpr.t n.t ḥr.t nḥm.t nswt-bity nb tꜣwy pr-ꜥꜣ sꜣ rᶜ nb ḫᶜw pr-ꜥꜣ ꜥnḫ ḏt m-ᶜ iḫt nbt ḏwt nt hrw pn*
>
> How beautiful is what your Horus creates for you. May you save the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the lord of the Two Lands, the Pharaoh, the son of Re, the lord of diadems, the Pharaoh living forever, from every evil thing of this day. (Cauville 2002, pp. 70–71, pl. 1)

As will be seen, similar requests surfaced in the hymns and songs of the Eighteenth Dynasty, but it is also the case that the timing of the "vision" and consequent petitions may have required that the participants remain through the night. The appearance of the "Golden One" may well have awaited the rising of the sun after a long night of inebriation and sleep following which a cult statue of the goddess was brought among the celebrants (DePauw and Smith 2004, p. 86). The early morning sighting thus required the awakening of the crowd, as the Medamud hymn indicates.

Hymns and Choruses

In reviewing the evidence for the activities of the drunkenness festivals, the vast majority derives from hymns, litanies, and choral songs, whether of the New Kingdom or the later eras. By means of orchestra songs, drinking songs, processional hymns, divine litanies, and morning hymns, groups of participants might act together in these rituals settings. The omnipresence of musical groups in the scenes and descriptions also underlines the congregational participation. In contrast to the hymns of solar mysteries, inaccessible by meaning, location, and actors, as described by Assmann, these are communal songs whether sung by clergy or by members of religious corporations. Yet, like the solar mystery hymns, the musical compositions for the drunkenness feasts could contain both requests and implied performative responses, including strongly apotropaic ones that called for the destruction of the gods' enemies (Assmann 1995, pp. 30–35). The performance of these rituals might act in parallel to the solar mysteries as described by Assmann: "Their function was to keep the solar journey going, which was the same as preserving both cosmic order and the life of the king and mankind. Only the king was authorized to perform them, but in practice he delegated the authority to a priesthood." In the milieu of the drunkenness feast, however, the corporation took on the role of the king (ibid., p. 36).

One final mid-Eighteenth Dynasty monument mentioned above will summarize what may be said of the epiphany and request phase of the Drunkenness Festival ritual in the temple of Mut in the reign of Hatshepsut. CG 648, a headless granodiorite statue dedicated by the high priest of Amun Hapuseneb, was discovered in 1897 by Benson and Gourlay in Trench B (fig. 6.15) (Benson and Gourlay 1899, pp. 312–15; Borchardt 1925, pp. 194–95, pl. 119; fig. 20). The striding image of the priest is inscribed on the socle's upper flat surface bounding the feet on three sides. The sides of the socle are roughened, perhaps suggesting that this statue was inserted into another base or was part of a larger group. The hieroglyphs for only the rear text are included below.

Socle text:

> [A gift that] the king gives [to Amun-ra] lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, that he might give invocation offerings of every good and pure thing that goes forth upon the offering table in Karnak daily, for the *kᶜ* of [A gift which the king gives to Mut mistress of Isher]u-Sakhmet the great, mistress of the Two Lands-Bastet, mistress of Ankhtawy, that she might give all produce upon their offering tables,

[23] The phrases are common in texts concerning drunkenness: Wilson notes that the condition of *pḫꜣ-ḫt* is the absence of impurity or confusion brought on by drunkenness, while *ꜥḳꜣ ib* is used as a parallel (Wilson 1997, pp. 364, 182).

[24] Perhaps a corruption of *šntyt*, the mourning goddess and thus a sadness. Otherwise *štꜣ* may be something evil that must be dispelled (Wilson 1997, p. 1036).

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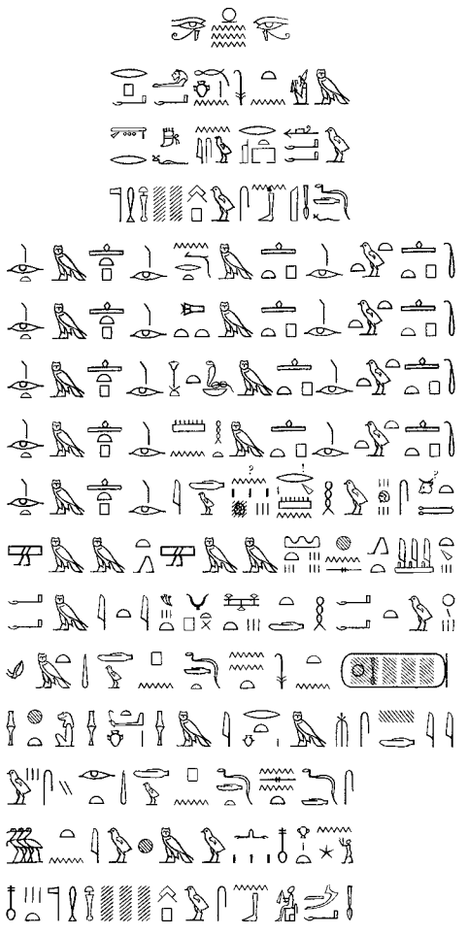
for the *kᶜ* of the hereditary noble and mayor, the sealer of the king of Lower Egypt, the High Priest of [Amun], Hapuseneb, vindicated.

Back pillar text:



The hereditary noble and mayor, the confidant of the king in the entire land who is summoned to the place of privacy, the High Priest of [Amun], Hapuseneb, vindicated, says:

May you awaken propitiated; may the Nesret uraeus awaken propitiated.

Your awakening is peaceful.

May you awaken propitiated; may Bastet awaken propitiated.

Your awakening is peaceful.

May you awaken propitiated; may Wadjet awaken propitiated.

Your awakening is peaceful.

May you awaken propitiated; may Menhet awaken propitiated.

Your awakening is peaceful.

May you awaken propitiated. May the saliva/dew/pestilence which is upon [your] mouth and the *menhu-froth or slaughter*[25] which is upon your lips awaken. As you (continually) go, the Nine Desert countries go. You travel the fields of *Aamyt* plants. You open the ways of the *Dehawt* plants.

May you hear this matter which the king of Upper Egypt [Maat-kara] has said to you.

O Sakhmet, may you be bold. Be bold indeed with those who hate her. As you act (on) this matter which she has said to you so she may speak your renown to those who are ignorant. The sight of you is perfectly complete through the adoration of your beauties: the high priest of [Amun], Hapuseneb, vindicated.

The text of Hapuseneb's hymn is a variant of the Morning Hymn to the Lower Egyptian Crown from the Second Intermediate Period papyrus published by Erman (1911, pp. 24–33). It is shortened for the statue but also made specific to Hatshepsut rather than Sobek of Crocodilopolis, the focus of the papyri hymns. Erman noted the structure of the hymns that varied imperative, *sdm.f*, and stative forms as part of the awakening invocations (ibid., pp. 18–20). As Assmann has noted for the solar apotropaic hymns, this structure carried with it the magical performance and its result, the stative forms achieving what he termed "crisis overcome" in speeches of dual intentions. The presentation of the awakening lion goddesses in Hapuseneb's hymn does exactly as Assmann says of his text: it "praises the uraeus snakes and spits at Apophis." The hymn then presents the awakening of the goddess in Mut temple as part of the mysteries associated with "cosmic maintenance" (Assmann 1995, pp. 34–35).

Hapuseneb's hymn concludes with the spoken request to the awakened and apparent goddess. Like in the solar mystery hymns, the defeat of the god's enemies is sought, but here Hatshepsut is invoked rather than Re. Just as in the context of the festival of drunkenness at Deir el-Bahari's Hathor chapel where the *sḳr ḥmȝt* ritual repelled the enemies of the ruler and the god, in this hymn Sakhmet is charged with the task. Like the demotic papyrus fragments and the Litany for the 20th of Thoth, at her appearance the goddess is requested to act against enemies of the deity, the king, and her worshipers. The final line may well refer to the actual epiphany with the goddess at the end of the long night of drink, revelry, and sleep: a vision of her

[25] *ʾIdw* can have all of these valences and is certainly intended to indicate the spittle of the ravenous lion (*Wb.* I 152). *mnḥw* likewise can mean "froth" but compare also (*i*)*mnḥ* "slaughter/butcher" (*Wb.* II 83–84).

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is perfectly complete through the adoration of her beauties — perhaps both her rising as the sun and the introduction of her statue into the midst of the festival participants.

Conclusion

Excavation at the temple of Mut has demonstrated that a festival of drunkenness took place there in the Eighteenth Dynasty, and relief scene evidence from Deir el-Bahari suggest that, as in the Ptolemaic era, both the 20th Thoth feast and the Beautiful Feast of the Valley were celebrated as drunkenness feasts first at the Mut temple and then in west Thebes. The New Year festival may well also have included drunkenness rituals, as indicated by the tomb of Pahery at Elkab and the exterior boat processional scenes from the Hathor chapel at Deir el-Bahari.

The various types of evidence for drunkenness rituals in the New Kingdom confirm that the same elements characterized these early feasts and the latest ones: (1) Association with a leonine and/or Hathoric goddess as the Eye of Re who maintains, protects, or avenges the sun god's cosmic order. (2) Communal ritual activity: choral songs best preserve elements of these drunkenness feasts and likely represent such group participation in the early and later eras. (3) Inebriation from beer or wine to gain an altered state: the extremity of the drinking is well attested in Eighteenth Dynasty tombs at Thebes and Elkab just as it is described in the Medamud hymn. The need to protect the celebrants during this potentially dangerous activity was found in both the demotic ostraca and the texts from Pahery's Elkab tomb. (4) Both drunkenness and sexual behavior, as are strikingly clear in the demotic literature (DePauw and Smith 2004; Jasnow and Smith 2010–11). The New Kingdom evidence is more inferential but is particularly evident from Eighteenth Dynasty tomb graffiti and ostraca depicting sexual acts, as well as one probable conception at Deir el-Bahari during the Valley Feast revelries. (5) A visual ecstasy of the goddess followed by a request of the deity during the epiphany, frequently invoking joyfulness and dispelling sadness and/or requesting punishment of enemies. The consistency of these requests in the late literature and the association of the *sḳr ḥmȝt* ritual with the festival of drunkenness suggest that the hymn to the uraeus goddesses on Hapuseneb's Mut temple statue illustrates the corporate response at the epiphany and their request to Mut-Sakhmet-Bastet in the early morning following the night of revelry.

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7

The Exceptional Creativity of Hatshepsut

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An explosion of artistic creativity by Hatshepsut is exemplified in her temple at Deir el-Bahari. Landscape, terraced architecture, and sculpture created one of the great architectural wonders of the ancient world. It is a masterpiece of pharaonic temple architecture. An architect who had definite ideas that molded the project, perhaps even Hatshepsut herself,[1] designed an innovative and original monument. It seems that Hatshepsut did not follow any earlier idea of temple arrangement. She created the building from the start (Spence 2007), and its design was never repeated.

For several decades, the Polish-Egyptian Mission has undertaken renewed study of the temple; major breakthroughs were made in understanding and restoring its overall decorative and architectural program. The original and innovative building illustrates the exceptional creativity of Hatshepsut, who broke with the tradition of copying recognized prototypes.

East Mediterranean International Style

The temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, with its processional path, and its Valley Temple in the eastern part of the Asasif Valley, formed one of the most important sacred areas of ancient Thebes. The monuments linked up to form a kind of ritual network in western Thebes, a ritual landscape (Ullmann 2007)[2] of ceremonial monuments and places.

Natural factors (the natural components) contributed to the location of the temple precinct of Hatshepsut. The physical characteristics of the great bay of cliffs at Deir el-Bahari, and the relative proximity of cliffs and floodplain to the Deir el-Bahari–Asasif area, permitted the builders of the complex to use this landscape as a topographical frame for the constituent elements. Looking from the location of Karnak temple, the Deir el-Bahari area possessed a bay, a pronounced rounded profile that sets it out against the wider lines of the cliffs, by "the mountain of Djeseru" (fig. 7.1).[3] The place, with the dominating peak, el-Gurn[4] (489 m above sea level), a "natural pyramid"[5] (Szafrański 2001b, p. 181), had been chosen by early Middle Kingdom rulers. Besides Montuhotep II Nebhepetra, perhaps Amenemhat I had started preparations for building his temple directly at the foot of el-Gurn (Do. Arnold 1991). A similar idea was reflected at South Abydos, where the mortuary complex of Senwoseret III had been positioned at the base of the cliff promontory, at a "natural

* My thanks go to Dorothea Arnold for her kind permission to use Winlock's notebooks stored in the archives of the Department of Egyptian Art, Metropolitan Museum Art, New York, and for her helpful comments. I would like to express my gratitude to Cynthia May Sheikholeslami for her comments and for correcting my English. All the illustrations, except fig. 7.2 © Manfred Bietak, are from the archives of the Hatshepsut Mission, University of Warsaw, directed by Zbigniew E. Szafrański.

[1] See Wysocki 1992, p. 244: "Hatshepsut became patron of a new spatial plan," however, p. 254: "there were many builders involved in raising the temple"; see also Dieter Arnold in Roehrig 2005, p. 135.

[2] In addition, see Jadwiga Iwaszczuk's forthcoming Ph.D. thesis, "Ritual Topography of Thebes in the Time of Hatshepsut."

[3] See Hayes 1960, p. 32, pl. 9; MMA negative no. CM 25 (ostracon from Deir el-Bahari).

[4] Or el-Gurna (الڤرنة) (the Arabic consonant – ق is pronounced like the English hard "g" in Upper Egypt; Elias 1979, p. vii.

[5] See Sampsell 2003, p. 78.

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pyramidial peak."[6] The temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari was positioned on terraces at the base of the basin of cliffs (Szafrański 2001b, pp. 180–85, 266, 267). The landscape relates to the overall design of the temple complex, and the temple was integrated into the landscape.

It seems that Hatshepsut and her architects were aware of contemporaneous Minoan architecture, which spread widely through the Mediterranean cultures; new features were known to Egyptian architects of the time. Integration into landscape, elevated platforms, monumental staircases, and colonnades open toward light were characteristic features of Minoan palace architecture. Dieter Arnold (in Roehrig 2005, p. 135) suggested that "it seems possible that a kind of 'international style' spread widely through the Mediterranean cultures about 1500 B.C." The dynamics and interrelationship at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age societies of the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean are visible in art as well as in the transfer of techniques and knowledge (Smith 1998, pp. 121–23; Bietak, Marinatos, and Palivou 2007). Some scholars have brought out Hatshepsut's wider ideological and personal Cretan background: due to her possible ancestral line on the female side, she could have inherited a special Cretan-Minoan cultural tradition (Hermann 1959, pp. 38–39).

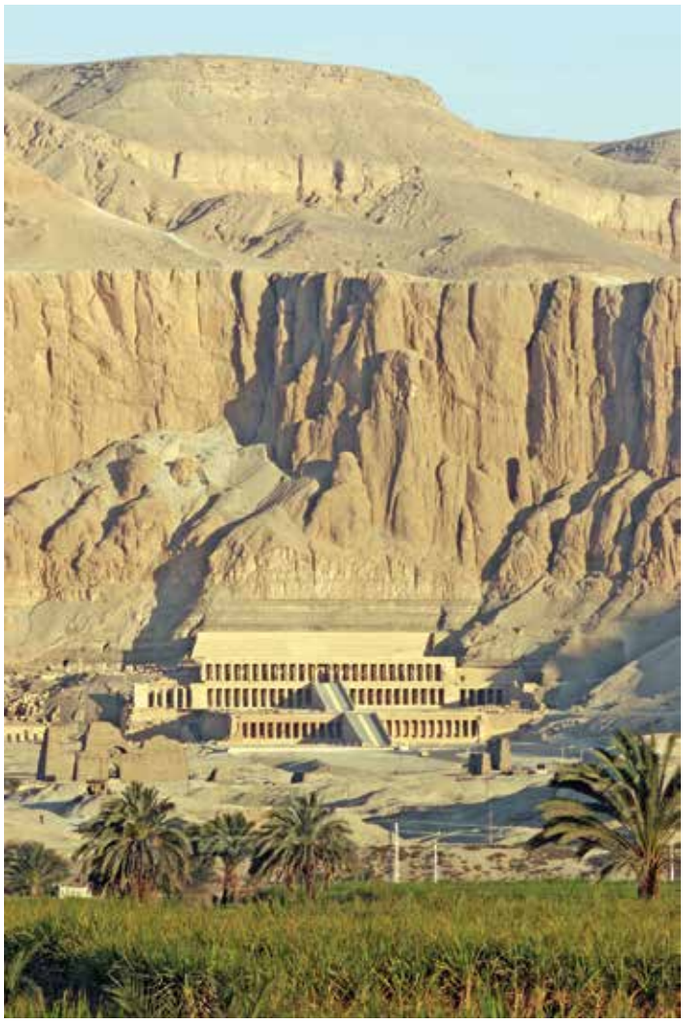

Figure 7.1. Landscape as a topographical frame for the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari (photo by M. Jawornicki)

This east Mediterranean international style of the mid-second millennium B.C., which came from the Minoan sphere through the Levant to Egypt, influenced the features of palace structures at Tell el-Daba–Avaris and at Deir el-Ballas. King Thutmose I was responsible for building a huge palace compound, circa 5.5 hectares, at Avaris (Area H), in approximately 1500/1490 B.C. (Bietak, Marinatos, and Palivou 2007, p. 39). King Ahmose was the builder of the "Northern" and "Southern Palaces" at Deir el-Ballas, at the site of his temporary residence and headquarters, during his war against the Hyksos (Lacovara 1997, pp. 81–83, figs. 1–4, 19; Smith 1998, pp. 159–61, figs. 275–77). The use of the site dates back to King Seqenenra Tao II, or even earlier (Polz 2007, pp. 76–77). The builders positioned the Northern Palace at the center of a large semicircle formed by the limestone cliffs of the desert plain, taking advantage of the local topography (Lacovara 1997, p. 81, fig. 1).

Among the palaces in Avaris, the major Palace G (fig. 7.2), with its open colonnades, was constructed on an elevated platform over 7 meters high, accessed by a monumental ramp; a huge courtyard open to light was lined on both sides with colonnades, and its rear portico was constructed with three rows of columns; there were rows of columns in the vestibule, in and behind the throne room (Bietak 2005, pp. 144–49, fig. 11; Bietak and Fostner-Müller 2005, pp. 71–73, fig. 7; Bietak, Marinatos, and Palivou 2007, fig. 22a). Judging from Manfred Bietak's reconstruction of Palace G, there were 110 columns (and/or pillars) on the upper floor

[6] This *gebel* was designated by Wegner as a divine toponym: *ḏw-'Inpw* "Mountain-of-Anubis," and called a "natural pyramidial peak" or "natural gebel 'pyramid'"; see Wegner 2007, pp. 16–26, figs. 7–10; see the *gebel* at Deir el-Bahari, with its peak el-Gurn. However, it seems that the place at the base, located directly below el-Gurn, by the foot of the "pyramid," had already been prepared for an early Middle Kingdom temple.

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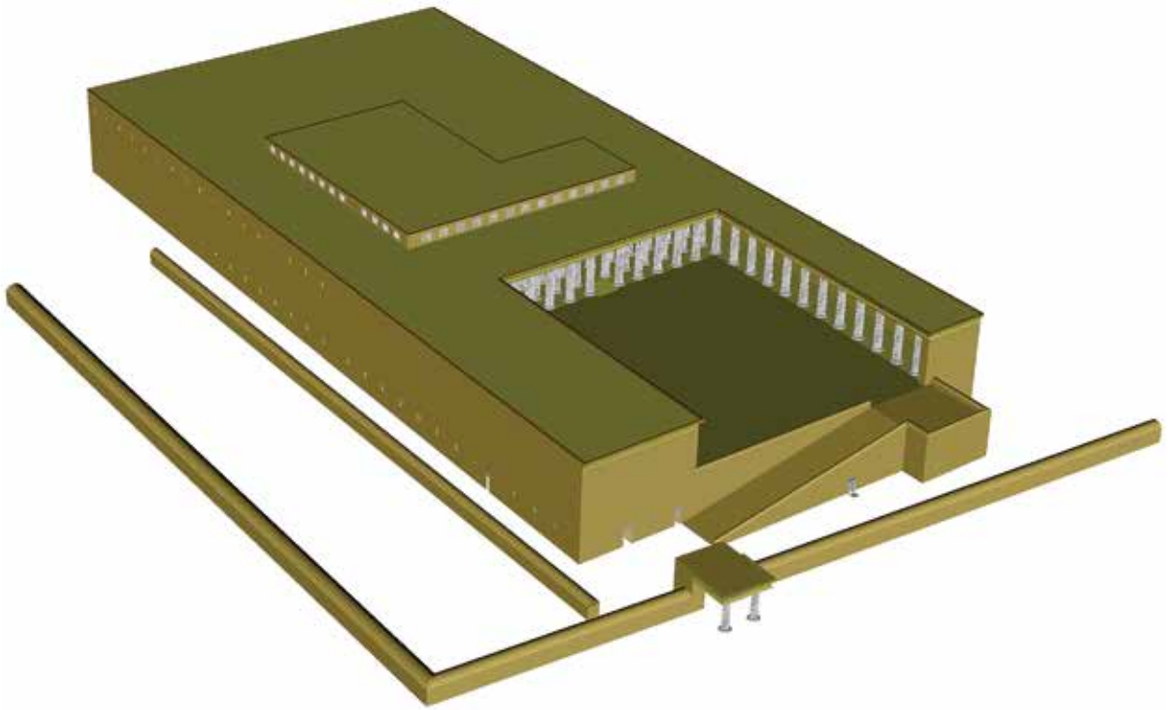

Figure 7.2. Avaris, Palace G (© M. Bietak/M. Math; courtesy of Manfred Bietak)

of the building. In Bietak's reconstruction of the Northern Palace at Deir el-Ballas, over 270 columns are placed on its two floors (Bietak 2005, pp. 161–62, fig. 19; see also Lacovara 1997, figs. 2, 4). There were over 280 columns and pillars[7] in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, at the end of her reign.

The shrines of Hathor and Anubis on the middle terrace of Hatshepsut's temple were distinguished by rows of columns. Dieter Arnold (in Roehrig 2005, p. 139) observed that the "use of colonnades anticipates their function in the columned roads of Hellenistic cities." Capart and Werbrouck (1926, p. 201), describing the northwestern corner of this terrace, that is, the North Colonnade and the hypostyle hall of the Lower Shrine of Anubis, noticed that "their appearance is so 'classical' that many travelers are led into error by them to speak of the 'Greek Temple' at Thebes." Indeed, the colonnade façade of the Anubis shrine and, to its right (north), the Northern Colonnade, create an impression of a Greek temple. The peripteros-like small temple of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III at Medinet Habu is another example of this idea. Note that the Lower Shrine of Anubis possessed all the functional elements of an independent divine temple set into the temple at Deir el-Bahari (Witkowski 1989, pp. 433–35; Nutz 2010, p. 284). This was one more innovative idea of Hatshepsut.

The palaces at Deir el-Ballas and those at Avaris were positioned on platforms. An off-axis entrance was a fairly fixed conception among the essential components of the upper-floor buildings. The palace compounds were surrounded by common, not high, enclosure walls. The compounds were not fortress-like structures, but open indefensible buildings.[8] The same applies to the enclosure of Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahari: the proportionally low wall surrounding the building did not interfere with a view of the architecture. This was a new tendency in architecture that started perhaps in the reign of Thutmose I, or even earlier. Hatshepsut actively developed and spread this east Mediterranean international style widely through Egypt throughout her reign.

[7] Total: 281 columns and pillars at the end of the Hatshepsut's reign. Initially, there were 197 columns and 76 pillars, but two columns were removed from the southern rows, and (at the same time?) a row of ten columns was added in the eastern part of the Upper (Festival) Courtyard (Kwasnica 2001, pp. 94–97; Szafrański 2001a, pp. 192–93, figs. 4–5).

[8] In contrast, some years (one generation) earlier, there were massive enclosures around of the palace compounds at Deir el-Ballas; it should be pointed out that the structures functioned as palace-headquarters compounds. A massive wall was unearthed to the east of the so-called terrace temple of Ahmose at South Abydos (see C. T. Currelly, in Petrie 1904, pl. 53).

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Twin Processional Axes

The central axis of the temple of Hatshepsut was oriented to true east, in the direction of the Karnak temple complex located on the other side of the river. The axis is closer than four minutes (to north) to the main sanctuary of Amun-Ra, and circa two minutes (to north) to the Eighth Pylon,[9] which was erected during the coregency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, in fact during the regency of Hatshepsut. It seems that the architect had intended to direct the main axis of the temple at Deir el-Bahari to the Eighth Pylon (same observation by Ann Macy Roth in Roehrig 2005, p. 150) rather than to the sanctuary of Amun-Ra.

The Eighth Pylon was one of the examples of Hatshepsut's exceptional creativity, and — as pointed out by Cathleen Keller (in Roehrig 2005, p. 161) — it was one of her "grandest construction projects, larger than any pylon previously erected at Karnak." At that time, the pylon served as the new and main entrance to Karnak temple (L. Bell 1998, pp. 159–60 with n. 107, p. 293; Roehrig 2005, pp. 150, 161). The pylon, aligned with the main sanctuary of Amun-Ra, faced south toward the Mut temple. The monumental gate was built on

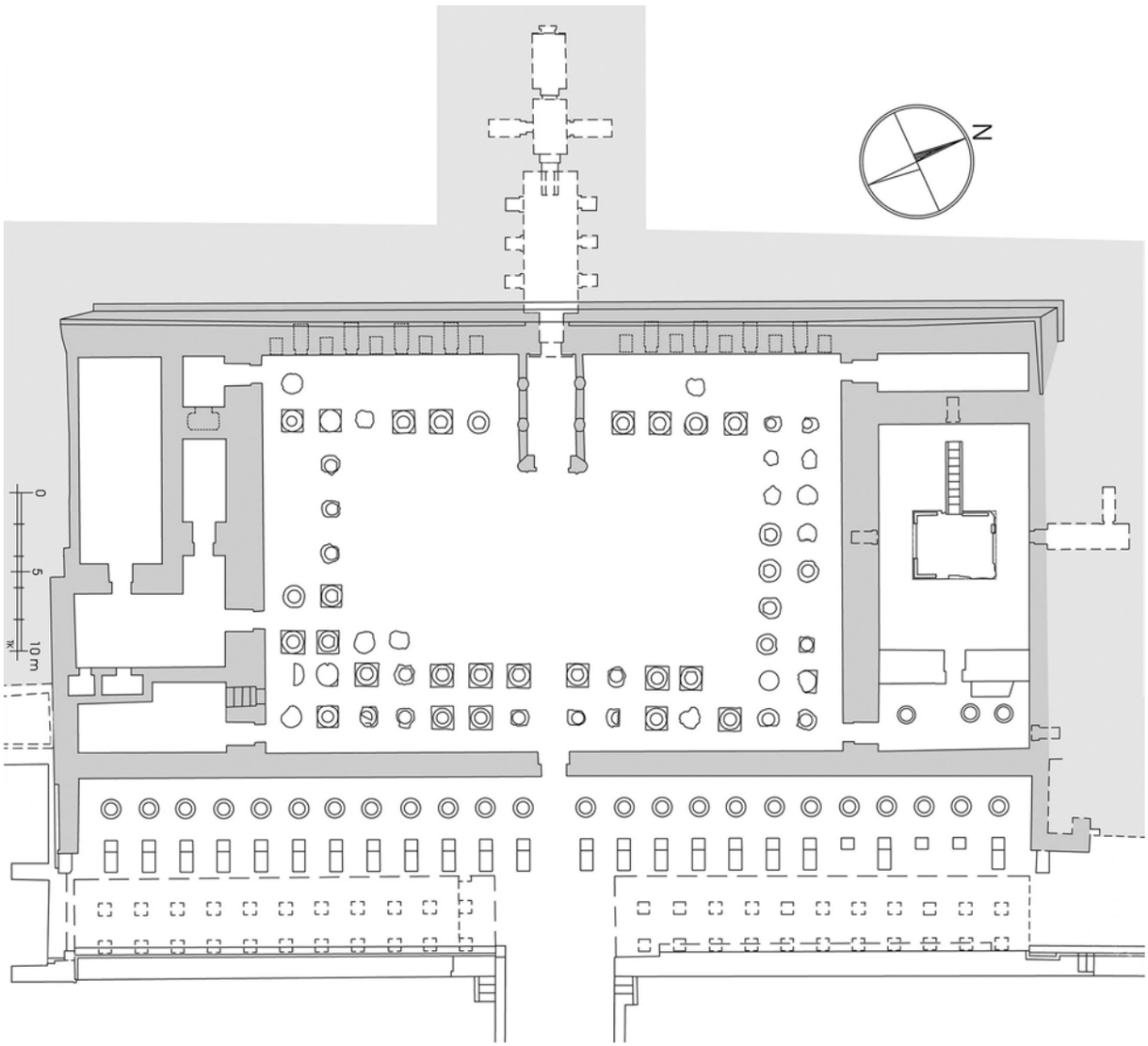

Figure 7.3. Upper terrace of the temple. The new third row of columns on the east side of the Festival Courtyard, added to two existing rows, marks the second (north–south) axis and the entrance to the Complex of the Royal Mortuary Cult (drawing by A. Kwasnica)

[9] See Weeks 2005, fig. 1 (map showing TMP Traverses).

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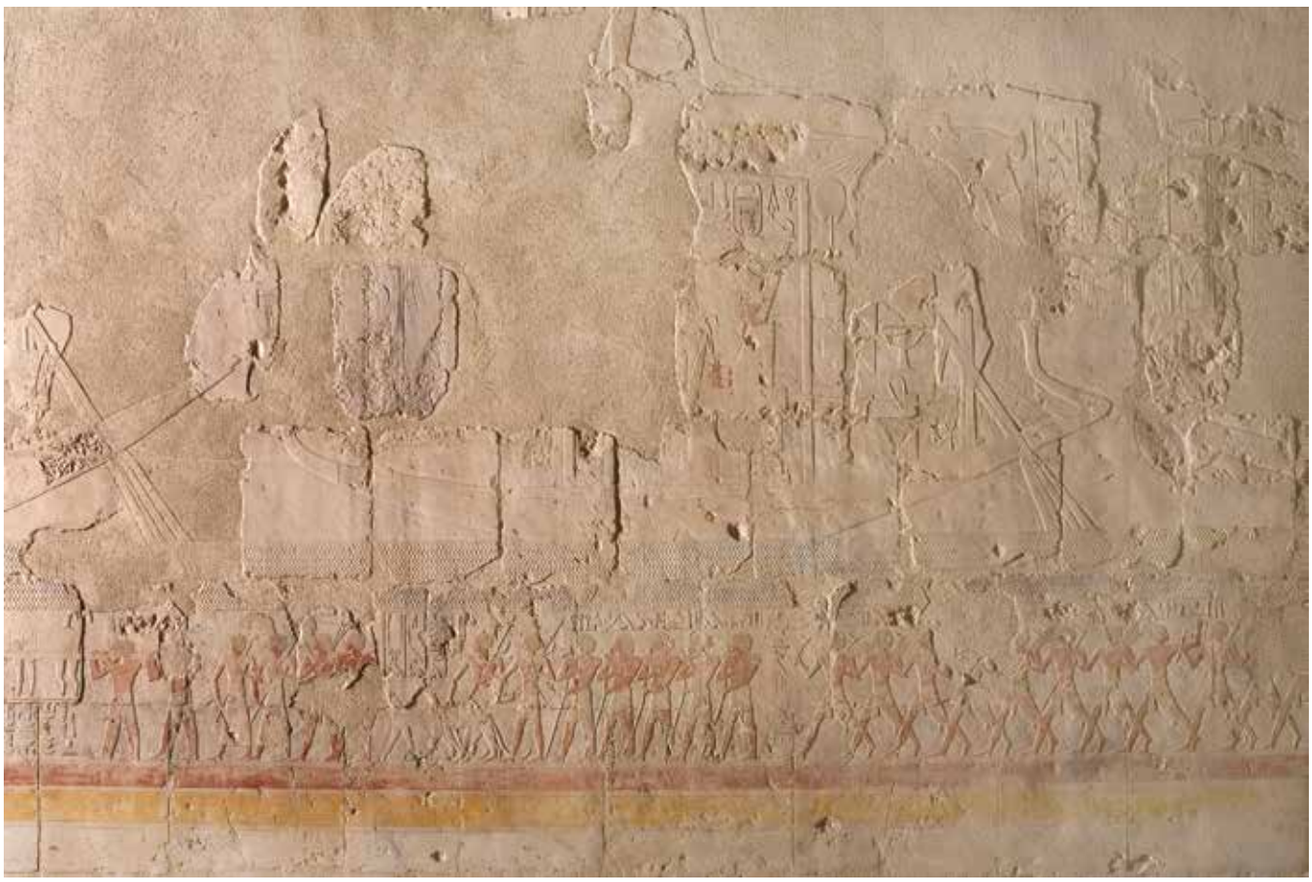

Figure 7.4. Royal bark in one of the scenes of the Opet Festival: journey back, by the river, from Luxor to Karnak (photo by W. Wojciechowski)

the processional path between the sanctuary of Amun-Ra and the Luxor temple. It seems that the path was constructed with the Opet Festival in mind (L. Bell 1998, p. 158; Waitkus 2008, pp. 223–35, 256–67, fig. E-1), six stations alongside the path were constructed by Hatshepsut, and she was the first who established this processional way and this is an element of her exceptional creativity (L. Bell 1985, p. 290; idem 1998, pp. 161, 299 n. 116). The festival merged the divinity of Amun-Ra and the divine kingship of Hatshepsut or the cult of her royal *ka* (L. Bell 1985, p. 290; Keller in Roehrig 2005, p. 161 n. 26; Ullmann 2007, p. 12; Waitkus 2008, pp. 263–67).

The Eighth Pylon accommodated the Karnak temple complex's twin processional axes, north–south and east–west (L. Bell 1998, p. 158; Carlotti 2005, pp. 170–73, pls. 1–3, 6–7). The north–south axis was formed by the Opet Festival processional path (L. Bell 1985, p. 151).

Hatshepsut was the first (known) to portray the Opet Festival (Lacau and Chevrier 1977, pp. 152–68; Bell 1985, p. 290; idem 1998, p. 161; Karkowski 1990, p. 356, fig. 7). At Deir el-Bahari, in the Upper (Festival) Courtyard of the temple's third terrace, King Hatshepsut created a new, north–south axis directed to the Complex of the Royal Mortuary Cult (fig. 7.3), and to her/his cult chapel located inside this complex, the biggest chamber in the temple. A third row of columns was added to two existing rows in the eastern part of the courtyard in order to mark the second axis of the temple (Kwasnica 2001; Szafrański 2001b, pp. 73–74, 195–98, 205, 262, figs. 17, 17A). This was a new processional path leading to the complex. The temple, on its upper terrace, accommodated the twin processional axes: the north–south axis and the east–west one. The scenes of the Opet Festival were depicted on the east wall of the courtyard, on its southern wing (fig. 7.4; Karkowski 1990, p. 356, fig. 7; Pawlicki 1999, pp. 128–30, fig. 6). Thus, behind three rows of columns, scenes narrating the journey of Amun's bark from Karnak to Luxor and back — by the river — were visible on this wall. The scenes of the Opet Festival were placed alongside the second (north–south) axis of the Upper (Festival) Courtyard. This was a deliberately planned sacred area, the area related to that of eastern Thebes (Karnak-Luxor) by means of architecture and ritual, by means of the parallel celebration of divine and royal cult.

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The Statuary of Hatshepsut

Hatshepsut introduced many innovative features to her statuary program in Egypt. Types, forms, themes, and unusual attributes of her sculptures testify to her exceptional creativity.

Since the Old Kingdom, there had been sculptures where the miniaturized king had been shown on the lap of his mother or a goddess; this manner of depicting the young king was reserved only for another royal person or a deity. Hatshepsut invented a new type of sculpture. She, a child, is shown on the lap of the royal nurse Sitra, called also Inet (Roehrig 2005, p. 161). The high official, the Steward of Amun Senenmut, "nurtured the eldest princess (King's Daughter), the God's Wife, Neferura, alive,"[10] which was depicted in several statues presenting Senenmut caring for Neferura; the princess is shown seated on his lap; there was also a representation of a guardian of the princess, Senimen, holding her (Roehrig 2005, fig. 50). This is a unique pose. Catharine Roehrig has observed that in these sculptures several principal and general conventions of Egyptian art were abrogated, and Hatshepsut brought about a revolutionary idea: a royal person is represented at a smaller scale than and is touched by a non-royal individual (ibid., p. 113). In these unprecedented sculptural representations, where a royal person interacts in a direct way with a person of lower rank, we may see some kind of democratization of social and religious relations in Egyptian society. However, in this respect, Hatshepsut's innovation was unsuccessful; this idea had no continuity after Hatshepsut's time.

The stylistic and iconographic development forms the basis for a chronology of Hatshesut's statuary in the study published by Roland Tefnin (1979). The statues of Hatshepsut in the temple at Deir el-Bahari constitute the largest corpus of her images (Tefnin 1979; Budzanowski 2003; Roehrig 2005, p. 158). In the colossal Osirides from the Upper and the Lower Porticos, Hatshepsut's kingship image is fully manifested (Szafrański 2001b, pp. 188–91, 214–16, 218). This transformation is embodied in a single, new type of representation of the ruler in the form of Osiris; these are figure types A.7 and A.10 in Christian Leblanc's typology (Leblanc 1980, pp. 72–75). Among the innovative features of Hatshepsut's temple statuary, those attributed to this new type of Osirides should be highlighted. Entirely unique are the implements held in the fists of these colossal limestone statues: in the left fist the *wꜣs*-scepter and the *ḥkꜣ*-crook, and another two, the *nḫꜣḫꜣ*-flail and the *ꜥnḫ* in the right one. For the first time, Hatshepsut's Osirides grasp four implements, and this is a creative innovation introduced by her (Leblanc 1982, p. 301). The elements render the sculptures unique (Szafrański 2001b, pp. 215–16).

In a recent, new arrangement of the Osirides, the colossi[11] located in the southern wing of the porticos wear the white crown (Leblanc's type A.7), while those in the northern wing are depicted wearing the double crown (Leblanc's type A.10) (fig. 7.5). The arrangement reflects a geographical orientation, that is, Upper and Lower Egypt, respectively. This Old Kingdom idea is shown in royal iconography of the scenes in almost all places of the temple.[12] All the statues are restored at the same size, about 5 meters high.[13]

The same geographical arrangement of the crowns is attested in the two colossi placed at the southern and northern edges of the Lower Portico. A recently restored colossal head[14] (Szafrański 2001b, p. 219), wearing the double crown (fig. 7.6), comes from the northern colossus. The body of this colossus was restored by Herbert Winlock (1929, p. 13, fig. 16) at the northern edge of the Lower Portico. However, on top of the

[10] Translation by James P. Allen, in Roehrig 2005, p. 116.

[11] The figures were restored by Wojciech Myjak.

[12] Our previous reconstruction of the Osirides did not reflect this idea. In the earlier reconstruction, the Osirides in the Upper Portico wore the double crowns. The then-existing material favored that reconstruction. From the ideological point of view and knowing the "exceptional creativity" of Hatshepsut, the Osirides wearing the double crowns and presented in the façade of the Upper Portico seemed possible. I am very obliged to the late Roland Tefnin for discussions and for his insistence on helping me with the search for a possible existing fragment of the Osirides' white crown; when Andrzej Ćwiek found such a fragment, I decided to change the previous reconstruction arrangement of the Osirides' crowns. However, in the previously discovered and examined material, Winlock (Notebook VII, p. 75) wrote, "the crown was not visible but which must have been White."

[13] Herbert Winlock suggested that four statues were a little larger and "these four statues came from the same topmost porch, one on each end of the colonnade and one on each side of the central passage at the top of the stairway" (Winlock 1928, pp. 20, 22; see also Winlock, Notebook VII, pp. 68B, 69, 73, 74). It seems that in the material existing in the 1960s the fragments identified by Winlock were not found (Lipinska 1968, pp. 140–41). The previous reconstruction of the Osirides followed the studies by Waldemar Poloczanin (Poloczanin 1980, pp. 87–89).

[14] The head was restored by Andrzej Sosnierz.

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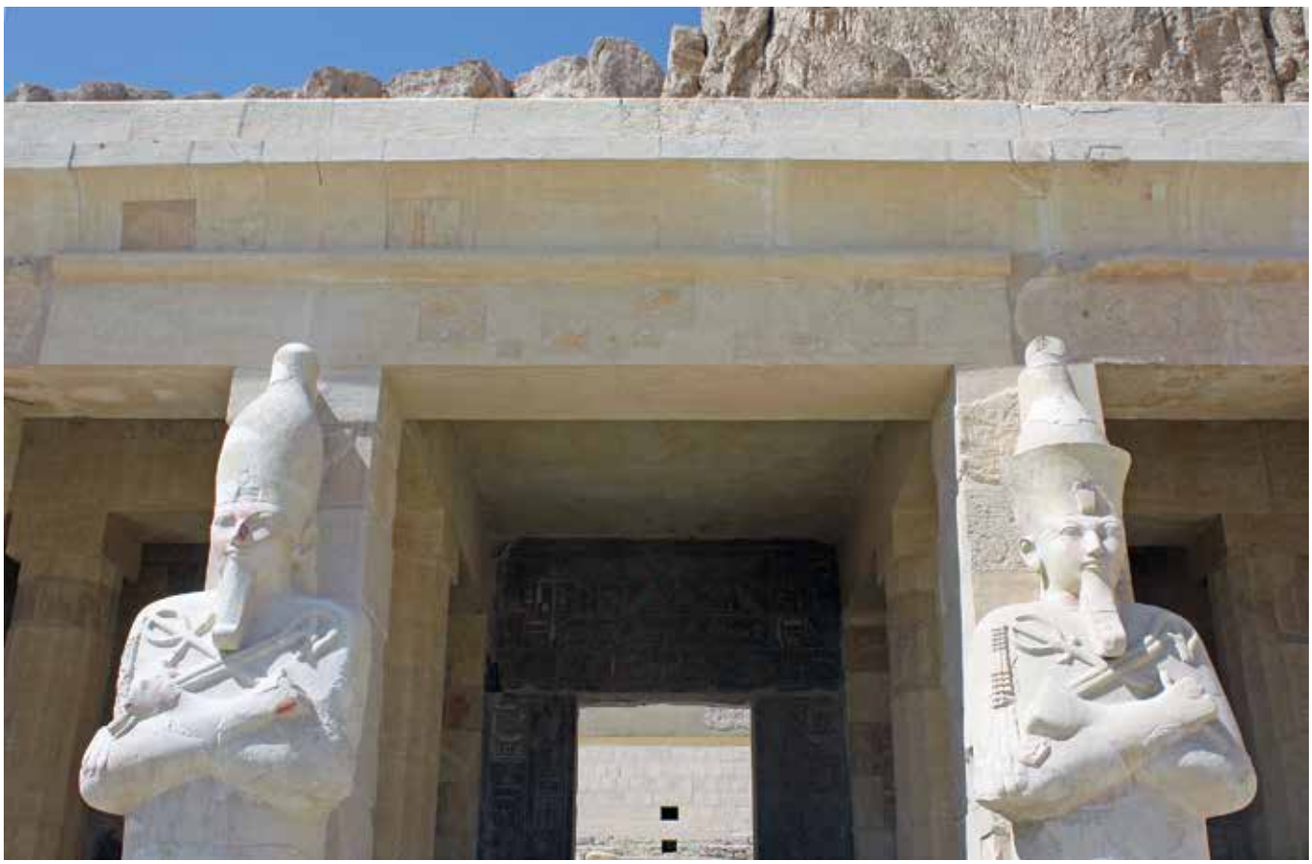

Figure 7.5. Restored Osirides located to the south (left) and north (right) of the main (east–west) axis of the temple (photo by M. Jawornicki)

restored body, he put a head wearing the white crown; this head belongs to the southern colossus (not restored yet), and fragments of its body have been collected in the lapidarium at Deir el-Bahari.

The new type of limestone Osiride statues from Hatshepsut's temple were broadly modeled on two prototypes at Deir el-Bahari, namely on the cloaked statues of Montuhotep II Nebhepetra and the statues of Amenhotep I in the form of Osiris. A statue of this last type was found in the 1980s by the Polish-Egyptian Mission at the Temple of Hatshepsut, in the Asasif (Szafrański 1985). This sandstone Osiride of Amenhotep I, which wears a jubilee cloak and a double crown and has mummiform lower body and legs (Leblanc's type A), has recently been restored (fig. 7.7; Szafrański 2011, pp. 199–200, fig. 7).[15] There are holes, 16 millimeters in diameter, in each fist of the restored statue; this means that the

Figure 7.6. Restored head of the colossal Osiride located at the northern edge of the Lower Portico (photo by M. Jawornicki)

[15] The statue, almost complete, had been cut up and buried in a trench on the nearby causeway of the temple of Montuhotep II. The head was faceless, although much of the crown was preserved; thanks to Dieter Arnold's information, almost half of the statue's face was found. The statue has been restored by Wojciech Myjak. My thanks go to Dieter Arnold for his helpful comments and information.

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Figure 7.7. Restored statue of Amenhotep I in the form of Osiris (photo by W. Wojciechowski)

Osiride grasped two implements, at least. Two *ʾnḫ*-implements (Leblanc's type A.9) or the *nḫꜣḫꜣ*-flail and *ḥḳꜣ*-crook are expected. This new type of Amenhotep I Osiride appeared much earlier than the examples enumerated by Leblanc (1980, pp. 72–75, fig. 1).

The colossal Osirides from the Upper Coronation Portico and the kneeling figures of King Hatshepsut are examples in which her male aspect is expressed (Roehrig 2005, p. 160). The colossal granite figures showed the king kneeling and offering spherical *nw*-jars. Following recent research by Dorothea Arnold on Hatshepsut's temple statuary (ibid., p. 275 n. 9), the statues were placed in two rows flanking the processional way across the middle terrace (ibid., pp. 168–69, 270). The well-over–life-size statues were intended to "impress viewers from a distance" (ibid., p. 160). They are a uniquely expressive rendering of Hatshepsut's originality. During the recent years of our activity in the temple, more fragments of the kneeling statues of the king have been found or rediscovered (over 1,500 in number); some of these fragments were known to Winlock (Notebook VIII, pp. 190–204). With the application of computer animation, three new kneeling statues of Hatshepsut have been hypothetically restored by Aliaksei Shukanau (2013). One of the restored statues, with double crown *(pshent),* was made of Egyptian basalt[16] (granodiorite), two others were made of red granite, with *nemes*-headcloth and double crown (fig. 7.8). All the restored over–life-size statues show the king offering spherical *nw*-jars; they were most probably placed on the middle terrace. Recent excavations in the Lower Courtyard of the temple, alongside the processional path leading to the Lower Ramp, have brought to light red granite fragments of statues deposited in the trenches which have been unearthed. Preliminary results of geo-radar investigations conducted in the temple area are very promising. The mission continues searching for more fragments of Hatshepsut's sculptures.

Avenue of Sandstone Sphinxes

The creativity of Hatshepsut is manifested in the idea of an avenue lined by two rows of sphinxes, over a hundred in number. In the first avenue of sphinxes ever built in Egypt (Hornung 1992, p. 121; Roehrig 2005, p. 137), the painted sandstone sphinxes in the king's image were placed alongside a processional path.

Dorothea Arnold, following Winlock's discoveries (Notebook VIII, pp. 103–26), has located sandstone sphinxes, which wore *khat*-headdresses and tripartite wigs, "along the central axis of the first terrace" (Roehrig 2005, p. 270). Some years ago, over 4,500 fragments of sandstone sphinxes were rediscovered, deposited (by Winlock?) in wooden chests, in the tomb of Harwa (TT 37) in the Asasif. Among the rediscovered material,

[16] Based on Michal Wasilewski's geological expertise.

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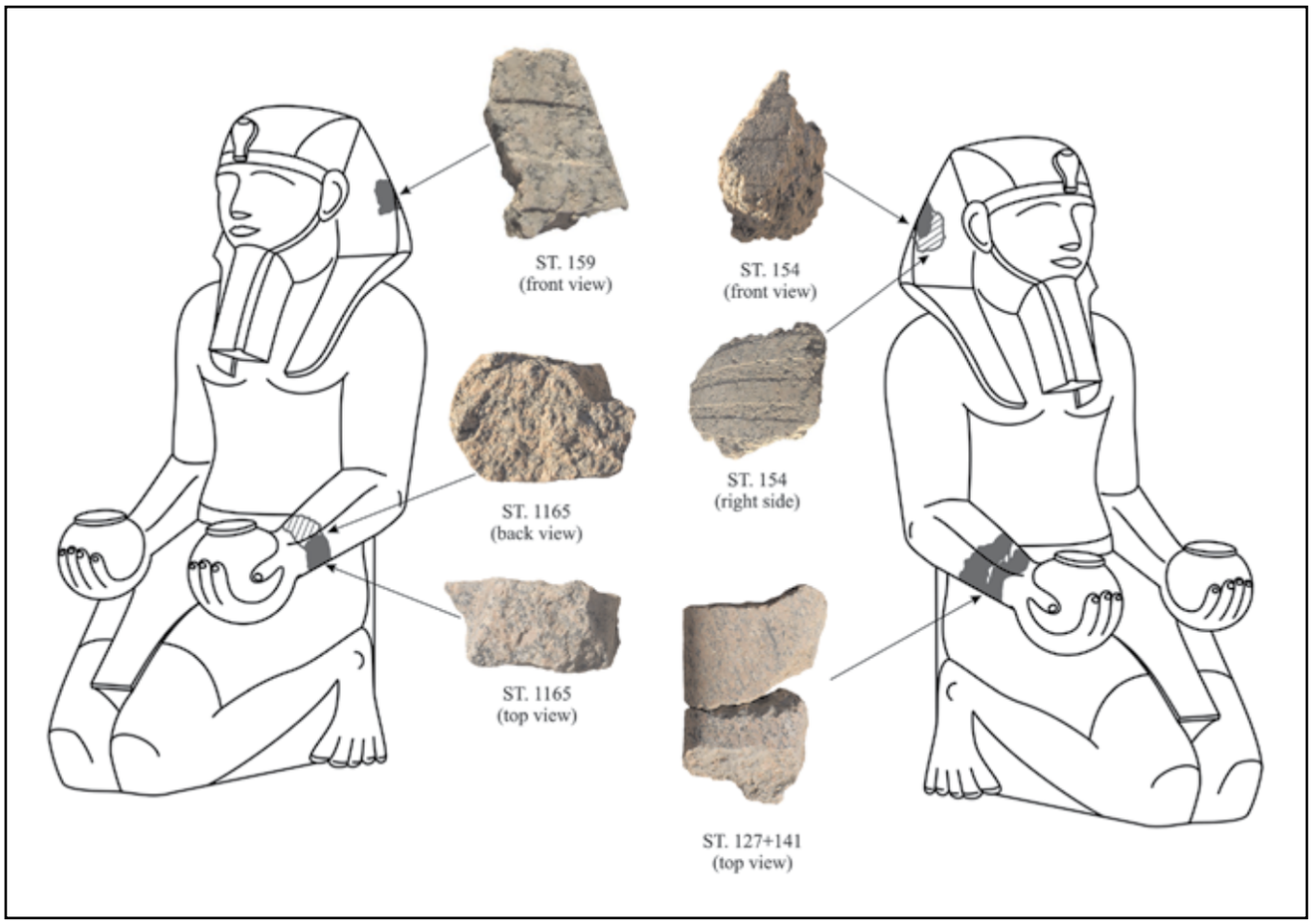

Figure 7.8. Restored red granite statue of Hatshepsut, with *nemes*-headcloth (digital restoration by A. Shukanau)

there are three types of the sphinxes' headdresses: those with the *nemes,* the tripartite wigs (fig. 7.9), and the *khat* (Szafrański 2011, p. 201, fig. 8). There are also fragments of inscribed bases. The mission plans to restore three or four sphinxes[17] (fig. 7.10) and to place them on the first terrace, alongside the processional path. The restored arrangement will testify to a pioneer idea of the queen's, which was repeated by Egyptian rulers following Hatshepsut and quickly became the norm.

Neferura, King(?) of Egypt

Hatshepsut was extremely innovative in her decision that Neferura, her daughter, might eventually inherit the throne of Egypt. Neferura, as the only child of Thutmose II and Hatshepsut, was groomed from an early age to play an important role in the family. After the death of Thutmose II, the queen intended from the outset that her daughter would become pharaoh. The figure of Neferura, her name in a cartouche, was depicted on both sides (southern and northern) of the entrance to the main sanctuary of the Upper Courtyard (fig. 7.11); the figure and name were later changed into those of Queen Ahmose, Hatshepsut's mother (Szafrański 2007, pp. 140–45, figs. 1–3). The scenes are an element of the earliest stage of Hatshepsut's

[17] Preliminary restoration and study by Andrzej Sosnierz. Egyptological study on the sphinxes by Agata Smilgin (2012).

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Figure 7.9. Head of one of Hatshepsut's sandstone sphinxes (field no. ST.323) wearing the tripartite wig, to be restored on the lower terrace of the temple (photo by M. Jawornicki)

Figure 7.10. Preliminary study restoration of one of Hatshepsut's sandstone sphinxes, to be placed on the lower terrace (photo by W. Wojciechowski)

decorative program for the courtyard's western wall. In the southern scene, at its bottom, only the big toe of a figure, painted yellow and facing the princess, has been preserved (fig. 7.12). Depicted in front of Neferura was a figure double in size, which might be the representation of a goddess, probably Hathor. Neferura was depicted as a priestess of Hathor (fig. 7.13), holding the Hathor sistrum in her left hand (fig. 7.14). In this scene, behind the goddess, there is enough place to depict one more persons, at least, and most probably there was a representation of Hatshepsut.[18] Neferura had been placed standing in front of the sanctuary (of Hathor?), receiving visits from two important personalities. Hatshepsut's innovative idea and message are very clear: this is Neferura who is created as pharaoh, as the follower of King Hatshepsut.

In the Upper Chapel of Anubis, called also "the Chapel of the Parents" (Witkowski 1989), there are two representations of Egyptian kings accompanied by their mothers (not by their fathers). King Thutmose I is depicted with his mother, Senebseni, and King Hatshepsut is represented in the company of his mother, Ahmose. Again, the message of Hatshepsut is clear: kings of Egypt are represented with their mothers, with women. This is an echo of matriarchy, a recollection of the times in the late Seventeenth Dynasty when queens played an important role in the recovery of the Egyptian state, in the time of Egyptian transformation and transition from the Second Intermediate Period to the New Kingdom. It seems that Hatshepsut wanted to state that women occupied an important place and played an important role in royal families, and hence it was possible to have a woman on the throne of Egypt. This was another innovative and pioneering idea, but this one was unacceptable. It was her unsuccessful and strange idea in a traditionally patriarchal society, and it was not acceptable in Egypt at that time. Hatshepsut, a great innovator, was a great loser in this respect.

[18] See a different interpretation by Pawlicki (2007, pp. 120–21, fig. 7), but he did not know (did not see) the bottom of the scene showing remains of the yellow painted big toe of a female person facing Neferura and the Hathor sistrum held by the princess in her left hand.

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Figure 7.11. Figure of Princess Neferura/ Queen Ahmose located to the south of the granite gate of the Main Sanctuary of Amun-Ra (photo by M. Jawornicki)

Figure 7.12. Recently fully uncovered lower part of the figure of Princess Neferura and remains of a toe, painted yellow, of a goddess's figure then standing in front of the princess (photo by M. Jawornicki)

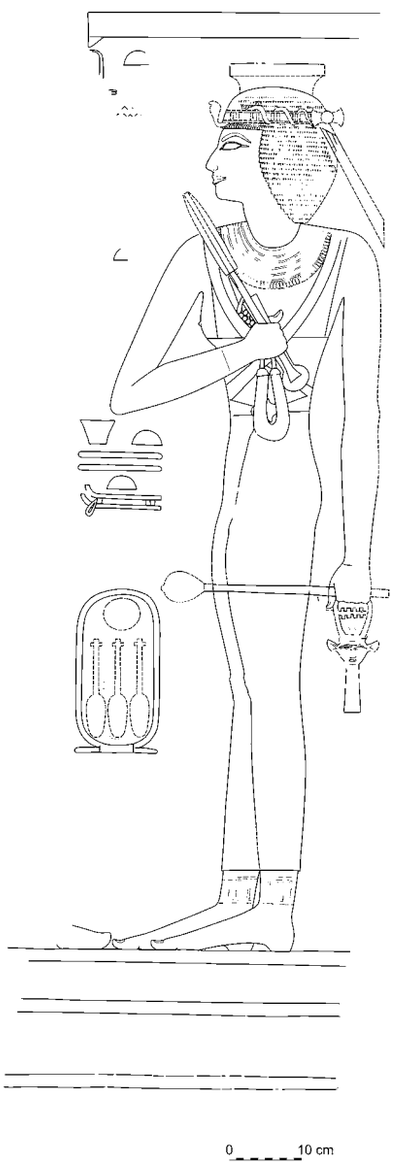

Figure 7.13. Restored figure of Princess Neferura (drawing by Z. E. Szafrański, J. Iwaszczuk, and A. Stupko-Lubczynska; digital drawing by M. Puszkarski)

Figure 7.14. Hathor sistrum held by Princess Neferura; the sistrum was later changed into an *ankh* (photo by M. Jawornicki)

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The God Amun-Ra Adores the God(?) Hatshepsut

Some of the Hatshepsut's innovations are very subtle with regard to their political and theological meaning. There are two vaulted niches (the southern and the northern one) of the statue room of the Main Sanctuary of Amun-Ra. In the niches, there are two interesting scenes, located above the entrance, on the tympanum walls. The scenes are not visible from the Statue Room, that is, a person who goes inside the niche must turn back to see the scenes. The northern tympanum of the southern niche consists of two sandstone blocks. The Sanctuary, and the whole temple, was built of limestone blocks; it seems that this sandstone tympanum replaced a limestone one. Hatshepsut, perhaps at the end of her reign, had decided to remove limestone (already decorated?) blocks of the tympanum and to replace them with two sandstone ones. In each of the scenes, Hatshepsut's prenomen is placed between the names of Amun-Ra (fig. 7.15). A similar idea had been attested earlier. In the case of the scenes located in the two niches, the names of Amun-Ra were depicted with determinatives of a sitting god. All in the writing of the god's name is correct: hieroglyphs, a determinative, and typical epithets following the name of Amun-Ra. The determinative signs are very well executed and painted: this is Amun's figure wearing the *atef*-crown, and holding the ankh-attribute placed on his knees. The god's figure flanks and faces the name of Hatshepsut. This is the first observation of an onlooker. However, the next glance shows that in the god's name, the determinatives are much bigger than other hieroglyphs in these inscriptions; the height of the god's determinative reaches half of the cartouche's height. One may have the impression that the figures of Amun-Ra adore the name of Hatshepsut, and furthermore,

Figure 7.15. Prenomen of Hatshepsut adored by figures of Amun-Ra. Sandstone tympanum in the southern niche of the statue room in the Main Sanctuary of Amun-Ra (photo by Z. E. Szafrański)

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that she herself is adored by the god: the god Amun-Ra adores the god Hatshepsut. This is a significant theological message, and it seems that this was what Hatshepsut wanted to express. The information is not overt; it is very subtle, intellectual, and theologically sophisticated. However, Gay Robins (1999b, p. 107) has suggested that in one of the Hatshepsut's names, "the Foremost Noblewoman who is united with Amun," she emphasized her own claim that the god Amun was her physical father. In the opinion of Gae Callender (2002, p. 37), "united" has "an additional overtone" and refers to "the symbolic sexual role she played as God's Wife of Amen."

Hatshepsut was exceptionally creative; in some of her ideas, she was even too far innovative. Her creativity might be one of the reasons why she suddenly disappeared, after almost twenty-two years of her creative reign. Hatshepsut was ahead of her time. Generations had to pass before her ideas were reborn, some of them after two centuries, in the time of Ramesses II, "for time is the greatest innovator."[19]

[19] After Francis Bacon, *Of Innovations* (1625).

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8

The Foundation Deposits of Hatshepsut's Mortuary Temple at Deir el-Bahari

*Catharine H. Roehrig, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York**

Eleven foundation deposits can be associated with Hatshepsut's mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahari. Most of these were discovered intact during archaeological excavations and were reasonably well documented. The objects were deposited in pits, all of which are approximately 1 meter in diameter and 1.8 to 2.0 meters in depth (fig. 8.1). Those that were dug into compact *tafl* or debris were unlined; those dug into softer material were lined with mudbricks (fig. 8.2).[1]

Figure 8.1. Workmen clearing foundation deposit 4 (neg. no. M5C 71)

* Unless otherwise noted, all the black and white photographs in this article were taken by Harry Burton for the Egyptian Expedition of the Metropolitan Museum of Art and are printed with the permission of the Museum. My thanks go to Dorothea Arnold, Marsha Hill, Diana Craig Patch, Ann Macy Roth, and Nicholas Reeves for their helpful comments and suggestions, and to Gustavo Camps for his help with the illustrations. Special thanks to José Galán for organizing the Theban Symposium in Granada, and to the participants, many of whom asked relevant questions and made useful comments when this subject was presented.

[1] As will be seen below, deposits 2a–c and 11 had both a well-defined pit and subsidiary groups of objects that were placed in less well-defined holes dug into loose sand and debris.

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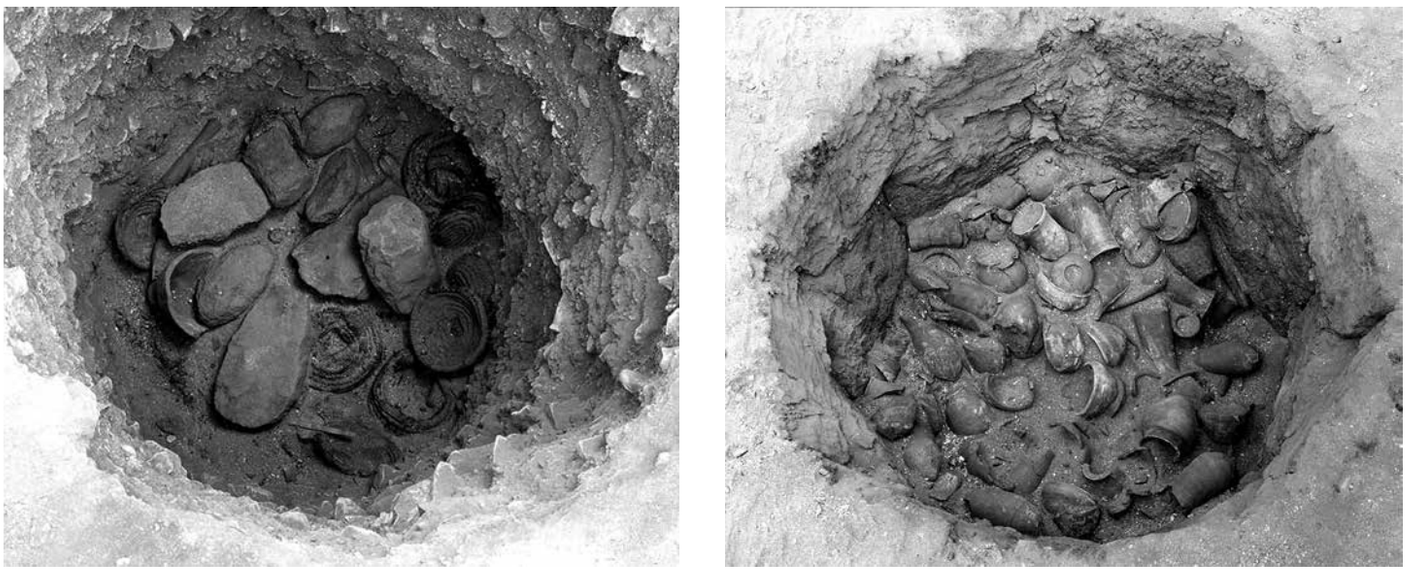

a b

Figure 8.2. (*a*) Third layer of foundation deposit 4 (neg. no. M5C 78); (*b*) Top layer of foundation deposit 5 (neg. no. M5C 72)

Édouard Naville discovered the first deposit during his 1894–1895 field season (Naville 1908, p. 9, pl. 168). Two more were found in excavations sponsored by the 5th Earl of Carnarvon: one in 1910, by Cyril Jones; the second in 1911, by Howard Carter (Carnarvon and Carter 1912, pp. 30–33, pls. 21, 22, 24). Eight more deposits were excavated by Herbert E. Winlock and members of the Egyptian Expedition of the Metropolitan Museum of Art during three field seasons between 1922 and 1927 (Winlock 1922, p. 29; 1924, p. 16–18; 1926, pp. 16–18; 1928, pp. 24–30; 1942, pp. 52–53, 89–90, 107–08, 132–35).[2]

After his 1926–1927 field season, during which the last three foundation deposits were found, Winlock studied the distribution of all eleven deposits and came to the conclusion that they were associated with an earlier design and construction phase for the temple that differed substantially from what stands today. As shown by the dot-and-dash lines in figure 8.3, he suggested that the first design was intended to be a copy of the neighboring Eleventh Dynasty temple of Nebhepetra Montuhotep II. Winlock calculated that Hatshepsut's original structure was designed using a 5:7 ratio and would have been almost 30 percent smaller than Montuhotep's temple (Winlock 1928, pp. 28–30; 1942, pp. 32–35).[3]

Winlock discovered his foundation deposits over a number of years and gave them a variety of designations. As a result, he decided it would be less confusing to assign them letters in his publications. Unfortunately, he gave them two different sets of letters: first in the *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* (Winlock 1928, fig. 29; with additions in Winlock 1942, inside back and front covers; fig. 8.3 in this article), and later in an article in the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* (Winlock 1932, fig. 2). For this reason, the current article will use the numbering system that identifies the deposits on drawings, photographs, and notes in the Egyptian Expedition archives that are preserved in Metropolitan Museum's Egyptian Department (fig. 8.4). In these records, each deposit has been given a number from one to eleven, including those found by Naville (1) and Carnarvon (10, 11).[4]

[2] The most complete treatment of foundation deposits as a whole was written by James Morris Weinstein (1973). In this invaluable study, Weinstein discusses the deposits for Hatshepsut's temple and gives a general idea of their contents, but does not discuss the distribution of objects within the deposits (ibid., pp. 151–64). After the text of this article was written, I became aware of another article on Hatshepsut's foundation deposits written by Kate Spence (2007). Neither Dr. Weinstein nor Dr. Spence had access to all of the unpublished documents on the foundation deposits that were discovered by Winlock.

[3] For Winlock, this 5:7 ratio worked perfectly with the Egyptian measuring unit, the cubit, which includes seven palms.

[4] Winlock's deposits L–N in fig. 8.3, which help to define his proposed original plan for the temple, are purely conjectural. No numbers were ever assigned to these.

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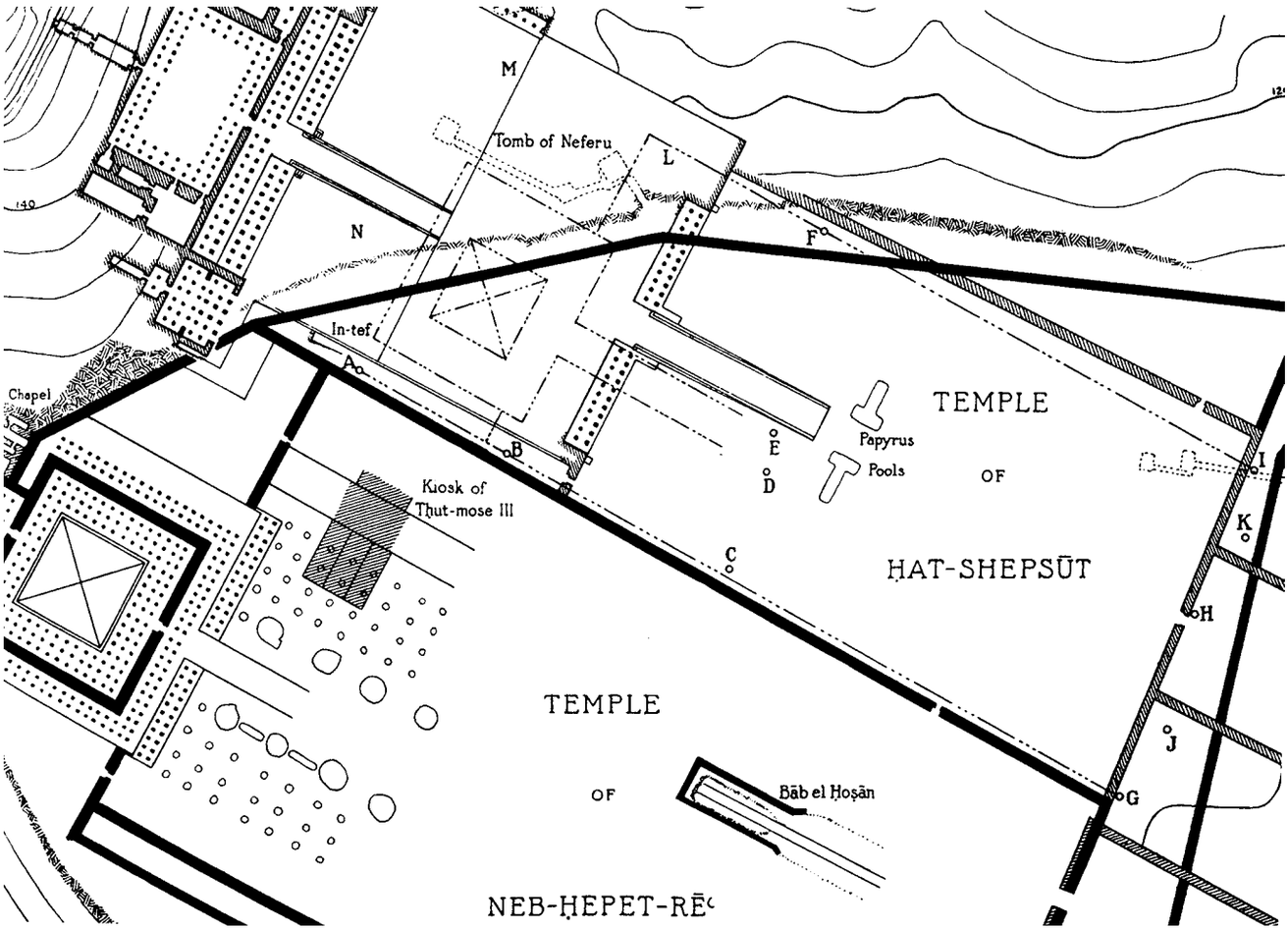

Figure 8.3. Plan of Deir el-Bahari temples showing Winlock's foundation deposits identified with the letters A–N (after Winlock 1942, inside front and back covers)

Locations of the Foundation Deposits

Of the eleven known foundation deposits associated with Hatshepsut's temple, six (numbers 6–11 in fig. 8.4) are located on two detailed 1:100 scale drawings done in the field and now in the Egyptian Department archives. The locations of three more (numbers 3–5) can be verified in photographs. Foundation deposits 1 and 2 are more difficult to locate with certainty.

Before Naville's work on Hatshepsut's temple, the majority of temple foundation deposits had been discovered beneath walls or pavements, near some architectural feature such as a corner or an entrance (Weinstein 1973, passim). For this reason, when Naville happened upon foundation deposit 1, he was surprised at the location. Many of the objects in the pit were inscribed with the names Hatshepsut and/or Maatkara, sometimes accompanied by the name of the temple itself, so there was no question about what building the deposit commemorated. However, instead of being buried beneath a wall, the pit was in the middle of a corridor that runs between an enclosure wall and the southern retaining wall of the temple's middle terrace.[5]

[5] In the Luxor area, the Nile is understood to flow from south to north, and, by local reckoning, Hatshepsut's temple faces east rather than southeast. For the purposes of this paper, unless otherwise stated, directions are based on local north rather than due north or magnetic north.

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This corridor is aligned with Hatshepsut's Hathor shrine. For this reason, Somers Clarke, the architect who was working with Naville, suggested that the foundation deposit marked the beginning of a ramp (no longer preserved) that had provided access to the shrine above (Naville 1908, p. 9). However, on Naville's plan the deposit is aligned more closely with two features on the middle terrace of the temple itself: the shallow step that runs across the terrace from north to south, and the eastern end of the terrace's northern portico (ibid., pl. 172). On Winlock's plan, the deposit (fig. 8.3:A) is set a few meters farther west than on Naville's plan, which leaves the exact location of this deposit in question.

Foundation deposit 2 is also difficult to locate with certainty. On Winlock's plan, this deposit (fig. 8.3:B) is placed more than 10 meters west of the entrance to the corridor mentioned above. Winlock's excavation notes indicate that the deposit consisted of three groups of objects that were buried within a few meters of

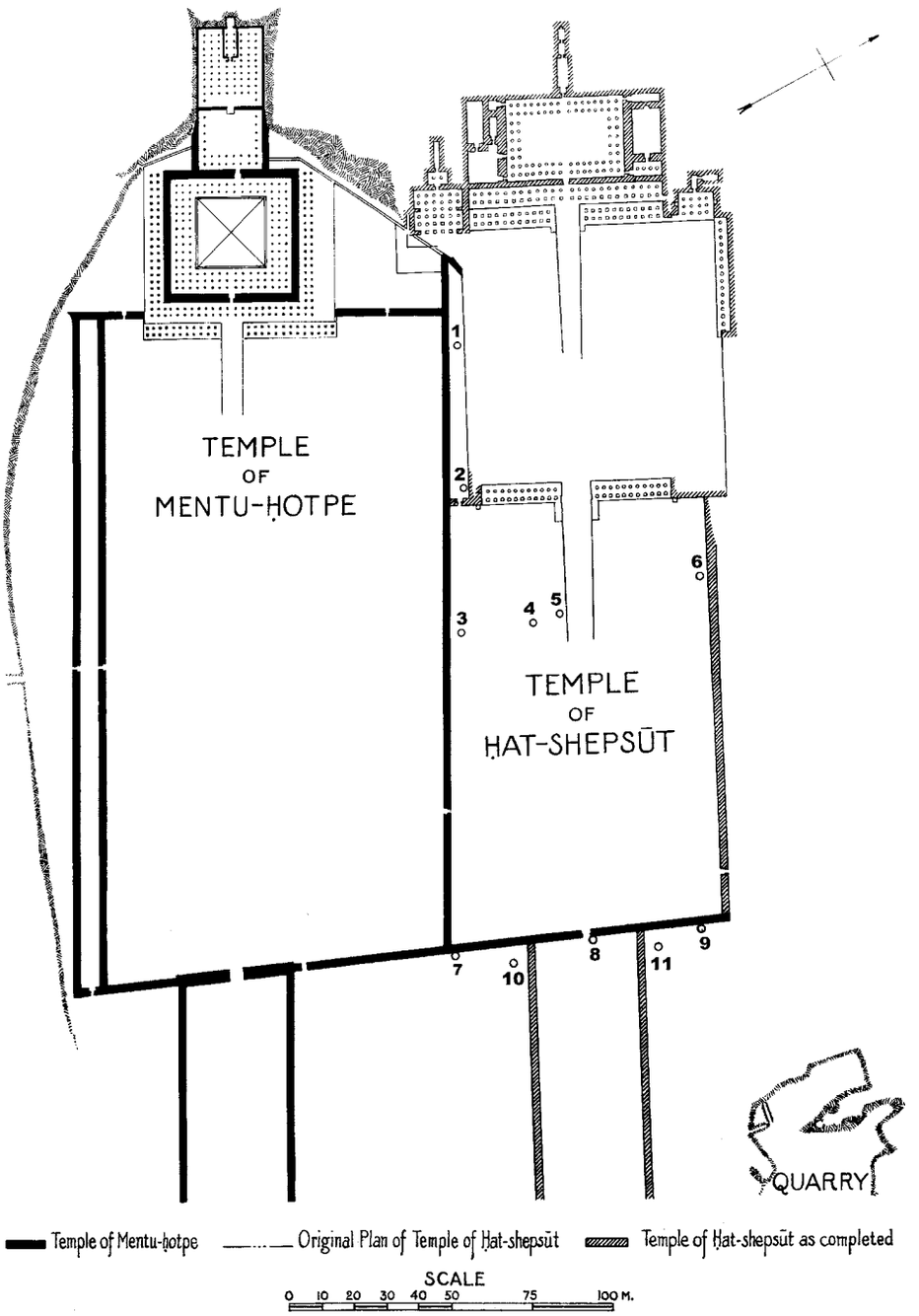

Figure 8.4. Actual positions of foundation deposits numbered 1–11 (after Winlock 1928, fig. 29)

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one another. In the excavation notes, these are designated 2a–c. A photograph of deposit 2a shows that it was approximately 2 meters west of the entrance to the corridor (fig. 8.5).[6] Another photograph shows that deposit 2b was near the temple retaining wall some two to three meters northwest of deposit 2a (fig. 8.6). A sketch on one of the excavation notecards (card 5292, fig. 8.7) indicates each element of the deposit with an X and designates two nearby "pits" as A and B.[7] It seems likely that when Winlock wrote his discussion of the foundation deposits in 1928, six years after finding deposit 2a–c, he was misled by this sketch into identifying the two pits A and B as the foundation deposit group and the X's as the nearby pits. Whatever the explanation, the location of this deposit on all of Winlock's plans is 8 to 10 meters too far west.

In 1979–1980, Zygmunt Wysocki of the Polish Academy of Sciences, as part of his architectural study of Hatshepsut's temple, decided to relocate both of the deposits in the corridor leading to the Hathor shrine.

Figure 8.5. Location of foundation deposit 2a (neg. no. M3C 62)

Figure 8.6. Location of foundation deposit 2b (neg. no. M3C 63)

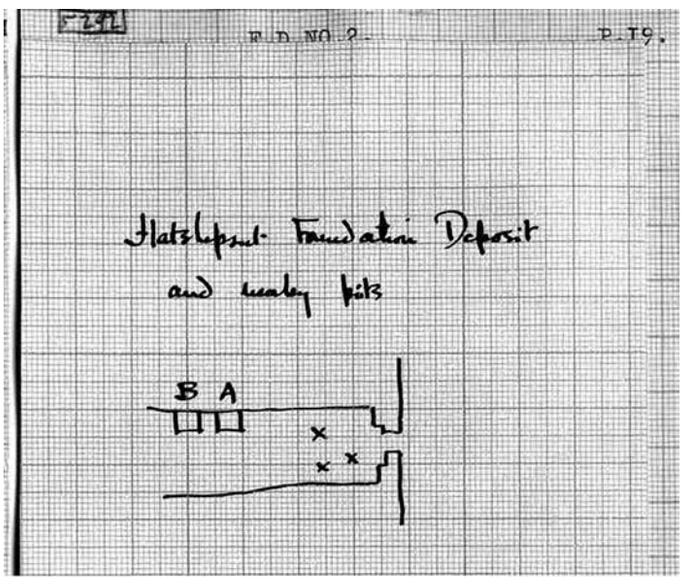

Figure 8.7. Sketch on card 5292 showing location of foundation deposits 2a–c (3 X's at right) and two nearby pits (labeled A and B)

[6] No obvious pit is visible here as the pit was dug into sand and debris and was not lined with mudbrick. However, the objects were laid on top of a large flat stone suggesting that this is an original deposit, not simply a group of objects that have been displaced from their original position. As will be seen below, foundation deposit 11 had more than one element, a lined pit and a smaller, unlined pit.

[7] One of these pits was a tomb shaft that Winlock did not excavate.

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Like Winlock, Wysocki discusses them as deposits A and B (Wysocki 1985b, pp. 293–98).[8] After considerable searching, he thought he had relocated both pits (k/2 and l/2 in ibid., fig. 1). However, misled by Winlock's faulty placement of foundation deposit B (2a–c), Wysocki believed he had also found an entirely new deposit near the entrance to the corridor (ibid., fig. 1, letter t). In fact, he appears to have found the lined pit of deposit 2b. On Wysocki's plan, the pit is aligned with the back wall of the porticos that front the middle terrace on the east. Thus, deposit 2b appears to mark the eastern retaining wall of the middle terrace as it exists today.

The corrected location of Winlock's deposit B (2a–c) is significant as his theory that Hatshepsut's first temple plan copied the plan of Montuhotep's temple at a 5:7 ratio is entirely based on the locations of the foundation deposits. Without deposit B, the arguments in favor of this theoretical plan fall apart.[9]

Contents of the Foundation Deposits

Hatshepsut's foundation deposits contained masses of pottery of various types (see fig. 8.2b).[10] Many of the small bowls contained offerings of bread, fruit (fig. 8.8), grain, fat, and natron. There were also offerings of small birds and frequently the head, foreleg, and three ribs of a young bullock (fig. 8.9).

A number of model tools were included in most of the deposits (fig. 8.10). Many of these appear to be carpenter's tools: adzes, chisels, axes, and saws,[11] but others include rockers (fig. 8.11), picks (fig. 8.12), crucibles (fig. 8.13),[12] grinding stones, and what may be polishing stones. There are also mallets and spikes

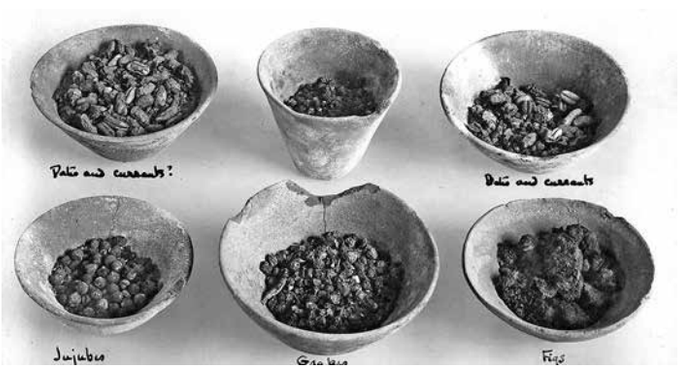

Figure 8.8. Food offerings from foundation deposit 5 (neg. no. M6C 416)

Figure 8.9. Meat offering at the bottom of foundation deposit 5 (neg. no. M5C 75)

[8] Wysocki gives no scale on his fig. 1, but, estimating from the scale of similar drawings on his fig. 2, I would suggest that he has drawn Winlock's deposits A and B almost 2 meters west of where they appear on Winlock's plan. Thus, Wysocki's k/2 "the actual location of the deposit pit 'A'" is exactly where Winlock placed it. A small pit some 3.75 meters northeast of k/2 is aligned with the step in the terrace above. This pit is much too small to have been Naville's foundation deposit, but it is exactly were he locates the deposit on his plan (Naville 1908, pl. 172). Naville's publication came out thirteen years after he discovered foundation deposit A, and it seems possible that he and Somers Clarke were confused by the existence of more than one pit in the same area.

[9] For a number of years, Winlock's focus had been on the Eleventh Dynasty in general and on Montuhotep's temple in particular. Thus the earlier temple seems to have influenced Winlock's thinking in this matter to a far greater extent than it had actually influenced Hatshepsut and her architects 3,400 years earlier.

[10] A superficial look at the pottery types and their distribution in the foundation deposits has yielded no obvious patterns, but further study of this and other aspects of the deposits will be conducted in future.

[11] Some of the adzes and chisels appear to be real tools, but the blades of many adzes are too thin to be used.

[12] These have also been called bread molds, but Winlock's suggestion of crucibles seems more likely. The crucibles appear in the same deposits as tools that may be associated with the foundation ceremony (mallets and stakes; brick molds and sieves), so perhaps these crucibles are also part of the ceremony.

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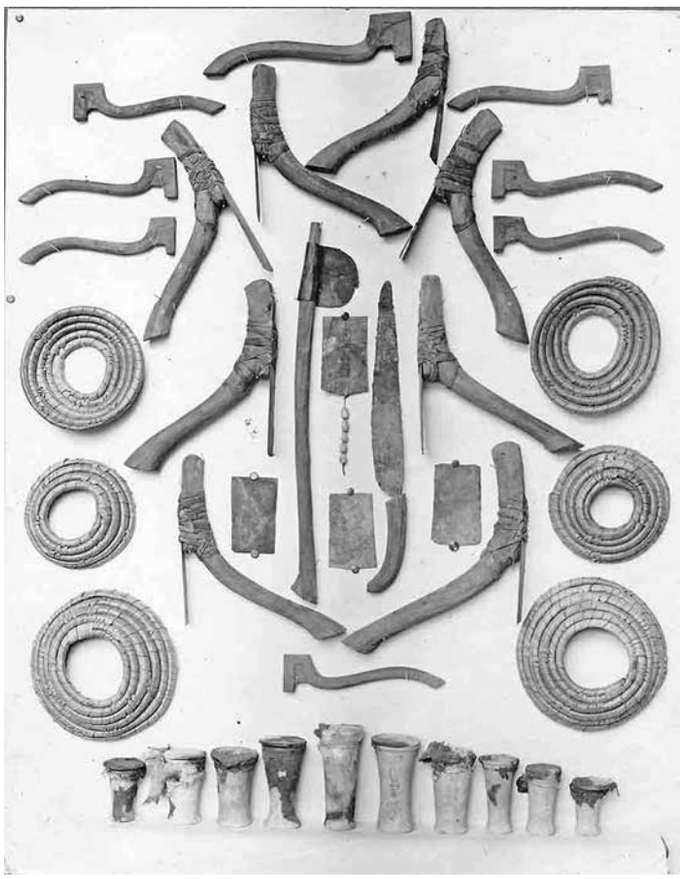

Figure 8.10. Tools from foundation deposit 1 (Howard Carter)

Figure 8.13. Crucibles, malachite, and galena from foundation deposit 4 (neg. no. M6C 411)

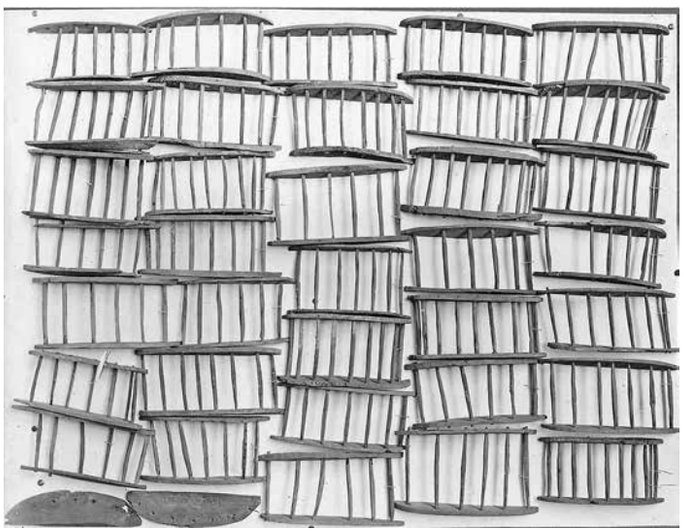

Figure 8.11. Rockers from foundation deposit 1 (Howard Carter)

Figure 8.12. Picks from foundation deposit 1 (Howard Carter)

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as well as brick molds and sieves, tools that may symbolize the actual "stretching of the cord" part of the foundation ceremony.[13] Other ceremonial or ritual objects include rectangular plaques of copper alloy or faience (fig. 8.14),[14] *meskhetyu*-instruments (the ceremonial adzes used for the "Opening of the Mouth") (fig. 8.15), ointment jars (fig. 8.16), *ṯs* or knot-amulets (fig. 8.17, left), and objects made of Egyptian alabaster that have variously been referred to as "ovals," "bivalves," or "clams" (fig. 8.17, right). The designation "bivalve" seems most appropriate, as these objects mimic the shape of the unionid (sometimes called a freshwater mussel), a species of which is found in the Nile.[15] A few deposits contained carnelian, metal and/or faience beads and amulets (fig. 8.18), and three of the deposits held a total of 299 inscribed scarabs and other types of seal amulets (fig. 8.19).

The majority of the tools and ceremonial objects listed above are inscribed: occasionally with the personal name, Hatshepsut, accompanied with masculine and feminine titles and epithets; more often with the throne name, Maatkara, again accompanied with both masculine and feminine titles and epithets; rarely (on the *meskhetyu*-implements and the knot-amulets) with Hatshepsut's Horus or *Nebty* name; and sometimes with a text referring to the foundation ceremony.

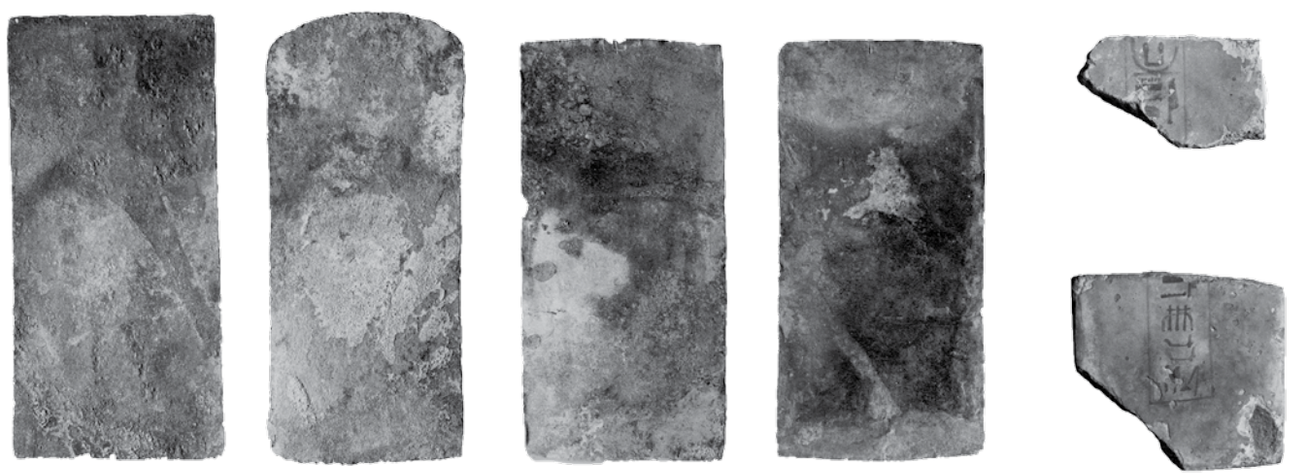

Figure 8.14. Metal plaques from foundation deposit 3 and faience plaque fragments from foundation deposit 6 (neg. nos. M6C 400, 415)

Figure 8.15. *Meskhetyu*-instruments from foundation deposit 3 (neg. no. M5C 241)

[13] In the foundation ceremony as depicted at Edfu temple (Weinstein 1973, p. 6) the king not only stretches the cord (hence the mallet and stake), but molds the first brick (brick mold), and pours sand into the trench (hence the sieve?).

[14] Such plaques were placed at the corners of a temple during the foundation ceremony; see Weinstein 1973, p. 6.

[15] My thanks to Diana Craig Patch for this information.

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Figure 8.16. Ointment jars from foundation deposit 3 (neg. no. M6C 395)

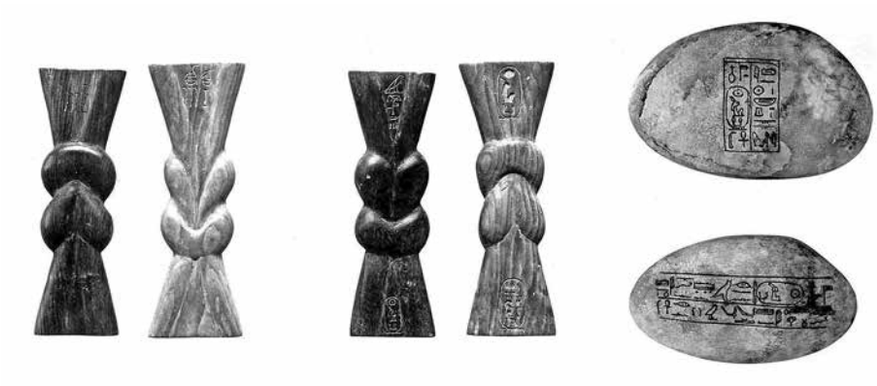

Figure 8.17. Foundation deposits 7 and 9: (*left*) Knot-amulets of ebony and ivory and (*right*) Egyptian alabaster bivalves (neg. nos. M8C 239, 235)

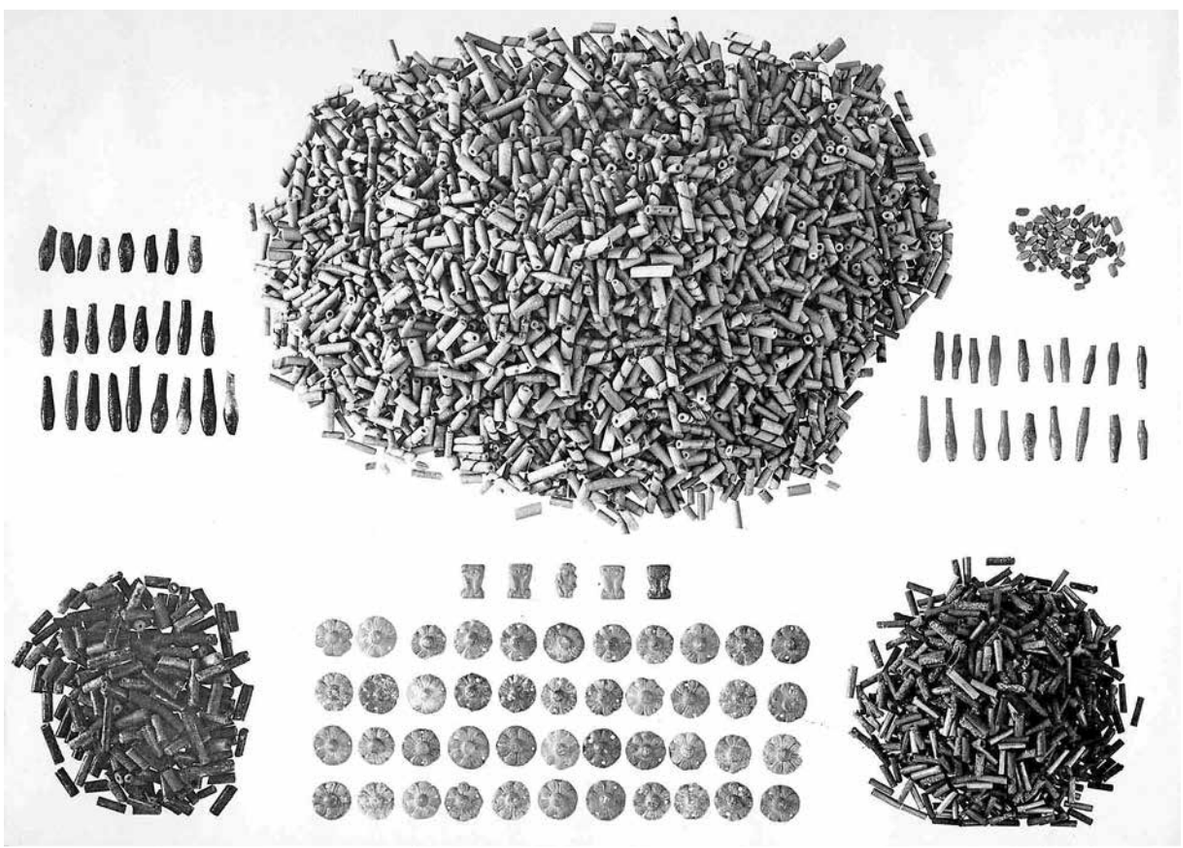

Figure 8.18. Beads and amulets of faience, gold, and silver from foundation deposits 7–9 (neg. no. M8C 245)

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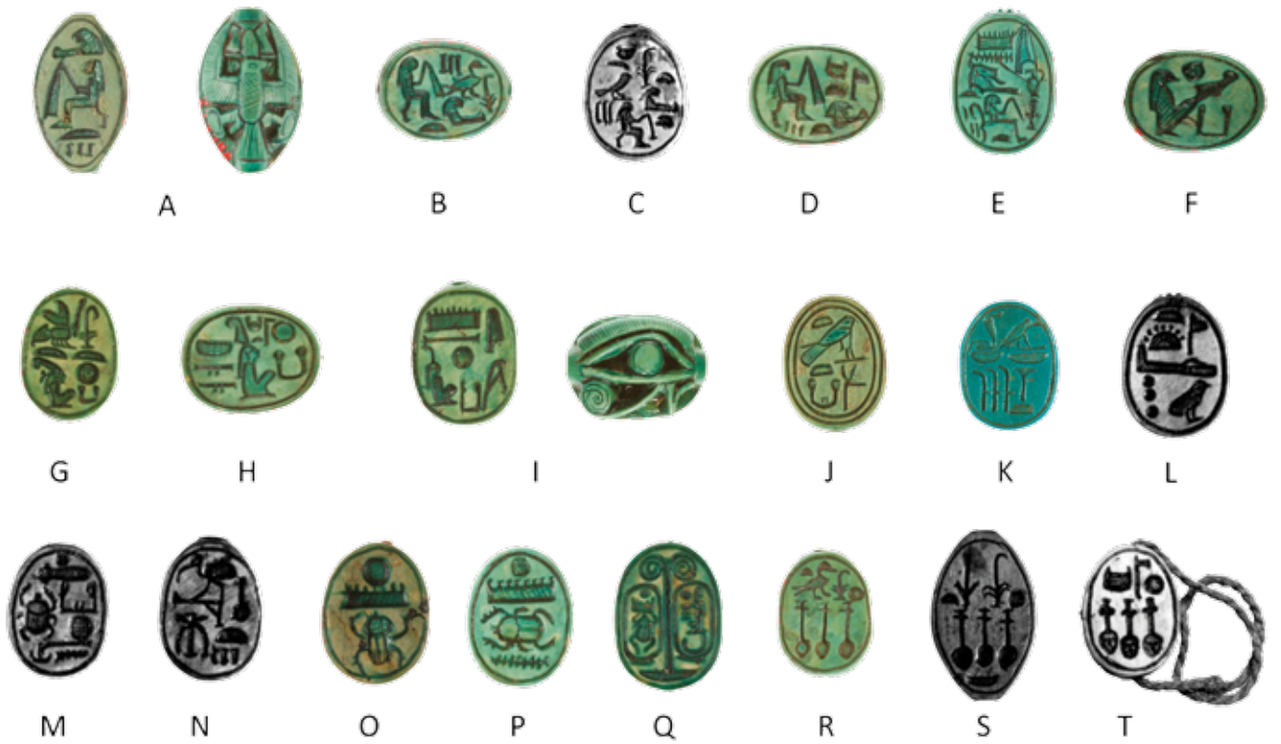

Figure 8.19. Seal-amulets from foundation deposits 7–9. Examples C, L, M, N, and S are now in Cairo (color photographs by William Barrett, black & white from neg. nos. M8C 402–404, M12C 366)

Distribution of the Objects in the Foundation Deposits

A survey of the objects found in each of Hatshepsut's foundation deposits suggests that there were two distinct groups of deposits. All of them contained pottery and most contained at least some tools. However, the numbers and types of tools differ to some extent, as do the types of ceremonial objects.

Group 1: Foundation Deposits 1, 3–6

Deposit 1

In his discussion of the watercolor plate illustrating the contents of foundation deposit 1, Naville briefly describes the pit and enumerates the 150 or so objects found therein (Naville 1908, p. 9, pl. 168). These included the following model tools: fifty picks, fifty rockers, eleven basketry rings, eleven adzes, one saw, one ax. He also found the following ceremonial objects: ten *meskhetyu*-instruments, ten alabaster ointment jars, four copper-alloy plaques inscribed with Hatshepsut's name.[16] The bulk of these contents are illustrated in three photographs given to Herbert Winlock by Howard Carter, who had taken them while he was working with Naville (figs. 8.10–12).[17]

[16] In his publication, Naville (1908, p. 9) lists the picks as hoes and calls the saw a knife. He also suggests that the basketry rings are molds for making bread, but this seems unlikely. They have no mesh in the center, so they are not sieves. Another possibility is that these are a type of pot stand.

[17] These photographs are in the Egyptian Department archives with Winlock's field notes on the foundation deposits. In the photograph of the metal tools and ritual instruments (fig. 8.10), there appears to be a string of five scaraboids dangling like a tail from one of the metal plaques. They are simply carved, with only the wing cases of the beetles delineated. They bear no resemblance to the scarabs discovered later by Winlock in deposits 7–9 (illustrated in fig. 8.19). These scaraboids are not mentioned by Naville.

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In this deposit, the high ratio of picks and rockers (100) to bronze tools (13) is remarkable. It is repeated in the contents of Winlock's foundation deposit 3, which also had similar numbers of other tools and the same types of ceremonial objects as deposit 1.

Deposit 3

The Egyptian Expedition notes on foundation deposit 3 list about fifty picks (some were broken), fifty hoes, ten basketry rings, eight adzes, one ax, one saw, eight *meskhetyu*-instruments (called *setep*-instruments), nine alabaster ointment jars, and four copper-alloy plaques (uninscribed).[18] There were also food offerings, including the head, right foreleg, and three ribs of a young bullock.

Judging from their contents, it is clear that foundation deposits 1 and 3 are closely related to each other, and looking at figure 8.4, one finds that foundation deposits 1, 2, 3, and 7 are fairly well aligned along the southern side of the temple. However, deposits 2 and 7 contained no hoes, no rockers, no *meskhetyu*-instruments, and no copper-alloy plaques.

Deposit 6

The foundation deposits with contents most similar to deposits 1 and 3 are numbers 4–6 — the three that angle across the temple's lower court. In this group, deposits 1, 3, and 6 appear to represent three of the four corners of a building site or design phase, and these three might be expected to have the same ritual objects and the same numbers and types of tools. Of the eleven known foundation deposits that can be associated with Hatshepsut's temple, deposit 6 is the only deposit that had been robbed. According to Winlock, the plundering had taken place in ancient times (card 5328).[19] Nonetheless, sixteen picks, three basketry rings, and fragments of two faience plaques were found in the pit, and part of an inscribed *meskhetyu*-instrument was discovered in the debris of a nearby tomb. Winlock assumed that this object had originally come from deposit 6, and there seems no reason to doubt this interpretation.

The fragmentary faience plaques in deposit 6 are of a size and shape similar to the four copper-alloy plaques found in deposits 1 and 3 — such plaques are found in no other deposits connected with Hatshepsut's temple. *Meskhetyu*-instruments are also otherwise found only in deposits 1 and 3, and they were most probably placed in deposit 6. Thus it does appear that these three deposits were laid down at the same time to mark three corners of a large area associated with some significant phase of the planning and construction of Hatshepsut's temple.

Foundation Deposits 4 and 5

Foundation deposits 4 and 5 did not contain the *meskhetyu*-instruments or the faience or metal plaques associated with deposits 1, 3, and 6. However, they included many of the same metal tools and food offerings, and they are located along the imaginary line that can be drawn between deposits 3 and 6. Thus it is likely that they are part of the same group as deposits 1, 3, and 6.

Deposit 4 contained two picks, four brick molds, eight basketry sieves, four crucibles and chunks of malachite and galena, four pairs of grinding stones, four mallets and four spikes (perhaps symbolizing the "stretching of the cord" ceremony), twelve chisels, four adzes, four saws, and four axes. The food offerings included loaves of bread, two small birds, two heads and a right foreleg of young bullocks.

Deposit 5 contained eight chisels, four adzes, three axes, and four ointment jars, bread, fruits, and the head, right foreleg, and three ribs of a young bullock.

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[18] It is worth noting that, in Carter's photographs of the contents of foundation deposit 1, there are eight adzes, eight *meskhetyu*-instruments, and ten ointment jars, numbers that conform even more closely with those found in deposit 3.

[19] Winlock was an experienced and observant excavator by this time, and his assessment must be taken seriously. According to Naville, Ippolito Rosellini acquired a number of objects that were probably from a foundation deposit of Hatshepsut's temple, some of which are now in Florence. It is possible that these are from the scattered remains of the original deposit 6 (Naville 1908, p. 9).

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Group 2: Foundation Deposits 2, 7–11

Deposit 2

It has been suggested that, with its three components, foundation deposit 2 may have been disturbed in ancient times (brief comment on card 5321; Weinstein 1973, p. 157). However, foundation deposit 11 (see below) had two distinct components: one contained food and ceremonial implements; the other contained tools. The distribution of objects in 2a–c suggests three distinct groups of objects. Deposit 2b contained only pottery and a few model tools: one adze, two chisels, one ax, one brick mold, two basketry sieves (these have mesh in the center), one pick, one mallet, and one spike. The metal in the model carpenter's tools would have had intrinsic value in ancient times, and one would not expect to find them in a deposit that had been robbed. Deposit 2c contained some charcoal, some pottery, and food offerings, including bread, dates, jujube fruits, and a small bird (but no beef).[20] Deposit 2a contained charcoal, pottery, and food, including bread, grapes (or perhaps raisins), jujube fruits, and grain. This deposit also contained an inscribed alabaster bivalve and two knot-amulets, one of cedar and one of ebony.

Deposit 7

Unlike foundation deposit 2, the contents of deposit 7 included no tools, with the possible exception of a small, polished, dark stone pebble — perhaps a polishing stone. The pit contained a rectangular block of sycamore wood, but no charcoal. There were offerings of bread, grain, figs, grapes (or raisins), grease (or butter), and natron. This deposit also included an inscribed alabaster bivalve and two knot-amulets, one of cedar and one of ebony. In addition, there were large numbers of faience beads, gold and silver tubular beads, three faience beads in the form of the Hathor emblem, one faience Bes amulet (fig. 8.18), and 197 inscribed scarabs.

Deposit 9

Not surprisingly, foundation deposits 7 and 9, at the northeast and southeast corners of the temple precinct, have similar contents. In deposit 9, as in deposit 7, there were no tools except for a small, polished, dark stone pebble. There was a rectangular block of sycamore wood, and there were offerings of bread, grain, figs, grapes (or raisins), jujube fruit, and grease (or butter). The deposit also included an inscribed alabaster bivalve and two knot-amulets, one of cedar and one of ebony. There were also a large number of faience beads, gold and silver tubular beads, one faience Hathor emblem, and ninety-one inscribed scarabs. At the top were two large bowls that had contained mortar for the bricks that lined the deposit.

Together, foundation deposits 2, 7, and 9 appear to mark three corners of a different phase in the planning and building of Hatshepsut's temple. They are connected with one another principally by the presence in each of an alabaster bivalve and two knot-amulets of cedar and ebony — objects that are not included in any of the deposits in Group 1.

Deposit 8

The location of foundation deposit 8, which lies roughly halfway between deposits 7 and 9, just outside the eastern wall of the temple precinct, suggests that it was laid down in the same foundation ceremony. Its contents differ somewhat from the other two deposits: unlike deposits 7 and 9, foundation deposit 8 contained meat offerings of two heads and two forelegs of young bullocks, and four pigeons. It also contained ten alabaster ointment jars and a small alabaster dish inscribed with a text similar to those on the alabaster bivalves in deposits 7 and 9. Like deposits 7 and 9, foundation deposit 8 contained a large number of faience

[20] It is possible that 2a and 2c, which have similar contents, are part of the same accidentally disturbed component of deposit 2. Unfortunately, the exact location of 2c cannot be determined from either the excavation photographs or notes. I suspect that the large stone found in the bottom of 2a (fig. 8.5) was probably placed in the bottom of pit 2b before it was refilled after excavation, and that it was later found there by Wysocki.

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beads, gold and silver tubular beads, and eleven inscribed scarabs. This combination of beads and inscribed scarabs was found only in deposits 7, 8, and 9, supporting the idea that they are part of the same group.

Deposits 10 and 11

Foundation deposits 10 and 11 were discovered in two succeeding seasons of Lord Carnarvon's excavations in Assasif. Deposit 11, which was discovered first, had two components: according to the description, one contained tools, and one contained food offerings and ritual objects. Deposit 10 is described as having only one pit that contained the same objects as deposit 11, suggesting that it included tools as well as food offerings and ritual objects.

The contents of the tool deposit, 11b, included one adze, two chisels, one ax, one brick mold, two basketry sieves, one pick, one mallet, and one spike. Deposit 11a contained a head and foreleg of a "cow,"[21] bread, grain, jujube fruit, and other unidentified foodstuffs. There were also a block of wood,[22] an inscribed alabaster bivalve, and two knot-amulets of cedar and ebony.

The objects found in deposit 11a–b are very similar to those found in deposit 2a–c, suggesting that they are part of the same group of deposits. In particular, the presence of an inscribed alabaster bivalve and two knot-amulets of cedar and ebony makes a good case for arguing that deposits 2, 7, 9, and 11 (and 10 if it was, in fact, identical to 11) were laid down in the same ceremony to mark out the front courtyard and the causeway of the temple.

Possible Explanations for the Two Groups of Foundation Deposits

Group 1

As demonstrated above, the distribution of objects in Hatshepsut's foundation deposits suggests that there are two distinct groups: deposits 1, 3–6; and deposits 2, 7–11. The first group marks out an area with an eastern border that angles sharply across the lower court of the temple (fig. 8.4). Winlock suggested that this odd angle was intended to be parallel to the angled eastern enclosure wall of Montuhotep's temple, but a glance at figure 8.3 shows that this is not the case. Winlock also believed that Hatshepsut's original temple complex was designed to include within its open front court the entrance of the Eleventh Dynasty tomb belonging to Queen Neferu (top center in fig. 8.3).

Winlock's previous concentration on the early Middle Kingdom appears to have blinded him to the existence in the same area of an early Eighteenth Dynasty structure that probably held more significance for Hatshepsut than an early Middle Kingdom queen's tomb. This was a small chapel built with mudbricks that were stamped with the names of Amenhotep I or with that of his mother, Ahmose-Nefertari.

Although Winlock himself had discovered the foundations and standing walls of the chapel during the 1923–1924 field season, he appears not to have recognized it as a possible factor in Hatshepsut's temple design. In his words, "So far as could be seen the chapel of Amen-ḥotpe I had been a small, adobe-brick structure which Ḥat-shepsūt's architect, Sen-Mūt, had cleared away without compunction" (Winlock 1924, pp. 15–16; 1942, p. 88). However, drawings in the Egyptian Expedition archives (used in Di. Arnold 1979, pl. 44) suggest that a line drawn between deposits 4 and 6 would have run along the eastern wall of this building (fig. 8.20). Thus it appears that Hatshepsut's focus was on the chapel of Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari, two of her great Eighteenth Dynasty predecessors,[23] who were already the patrons of the Theban necropolis.[24]

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[21] One suspects that this was the same type of young animal as found in the deposits discovered by Winlock.

[22] Probably like the rectangular blocks of sycamore wood found in deposits 7 and 9.

[23] Perhaps even her maternal ancestors, though this connection is still being debated.

[24] In her article on the foundation deposits, Kate Spence (2007, pp. 360–65) also suggests a connection between deposits 3–6 and the earlier chapel, but her interpretation of this connection differs.

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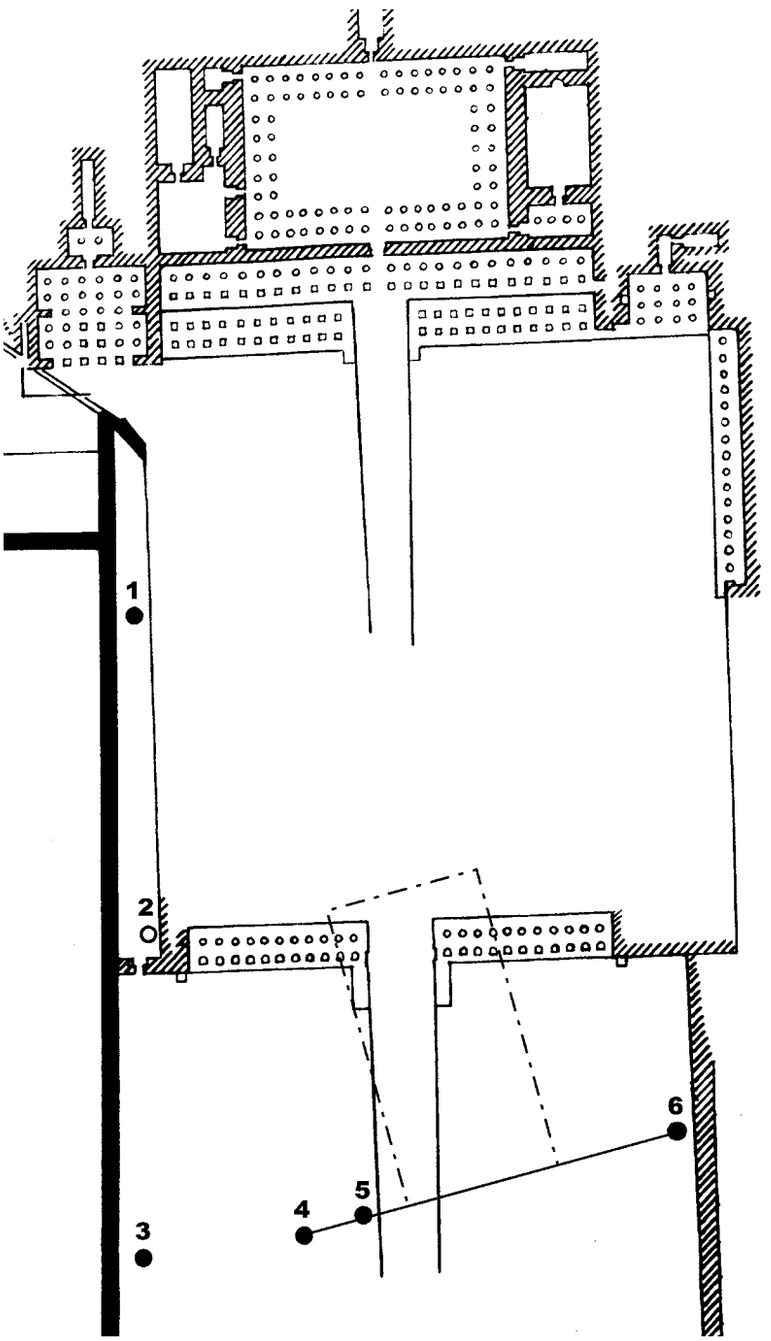

Figure 8.20. Position of the chapel of Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari (after Winlock 1928, fig. 29)

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But what was Hatshepsut's purpose in placing her deposits here? One possibility is that the foundation deposits in Group 1 are indicating an early design that was intended to include the temple of Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari in the front court of Hatshepsut's temple. Another possibility is that this set of deposits was intended to commemorate the existence and location of the earlier chapel before it was partially removed to make way for the completion of Hatshepsut's temple as we see it today.[25] Thus, foundation deposit 1, which is aligned with features on the middle terrace (the eastern end of the northern portico and the step that crosses the terrace), and deposits 3–6, which indicate the east wall of the earlier chapel, could be seen as tying the two structures together symbolically and eternally.[26]

Group 2

The deposits in Group 2 are all associated with features of the temple as it exists today. Deposit 2 aligns with the eastern retaining wall of the middle terrace (i.e., the back wall of the lower porticos), deposits 7–9 are along the front of the eastern wall of the lower court, and deposits 10 and 11 are on either side of the causeway leading to the temple's entrance. At first glance, this group appears to describe the front court of the existing temple. However, another explanation presents itself. Deposits 7–9 also trace the foundations of part of the eastern enclosure wall of Montuhotep's greater temple complex which Hatshepsut incorporated into her own temple. Thus, it seems possible that, just as Group 1 may have linked Hatshepsut's temple to that of Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari, Group 2 may have linked her temple with that of Montuhotep.[27]

Comments on the Foundation Deposits as a Whole

a. As stated above, when Édouard Naville discovered foundation deposit 1, he was surprised to find it beside, instead of beneath, a temple wall. In fact, as may be seen in the figures accompanying this article, none of the known deposits is located beneath the temple as it exists today. This suggests that they were not laid down as part of the original foundation ceremony for the temple. It further suggests that deposits from the original ceremony may still lie buried beneath the existing structure.[28]

b. Foundation deposits 1, 2, 10, and 11 appear to be associated with specific features of the structure as it stands today: 1 is aligned with the eastern end of the portico along the northern side of the middle terrace, 2 marks what is essentially the front of the middle terrace (the back wall of the porticos), and 10 and 11 are on either side of the causeway that leads to the temple's entrance. This suggests that these deposits were laid out after at least some of the work on the temple had been started.

c. All eleven of the deposits contained objects that were inscribed with Hatshepsut's names, titles, and epithets as king, indicating that they were all laid down after her official accession to the throne as ruler.[29] This suggests that the deposits were intended, at least in part, as a rededication of the temple in the name of the pharaoh Maatkara Hatshepsut.

d. In general, Hatshepsut's foundation deposit pits measure approximately 1 meter in diameter at the top and between 1.8 and 2 meters deep, and they were either cut into hard-packed *tafl* (fig. 8.2a) or were lined with mudbrick (fig. 8.2b). According to Winlock, the bricks were often reused Eleventh

[25] Winlock found walls of the mudbrick chapel preserved to "a considerable height" beneath the northeastern corner of the middle terrace and the ramp leading up to it; Winlock 1924, p. 15; 1942, p. 88.

[26] The entrance to the tomb of Neferu was also preserved beneath the middle terrace, and access to the tomb was provided by a stairway constructed when the terrace was built. Thus it is clear that Neferu's tomb did hold some importance for Hatshepsut, though presumably not as much as the chapel of Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari.

[27] Of course, the southern enclosure wall of Hatshepsut's temple was also shared with Montuhotep's complex.

[28] Although I am now of the opinion that the temple was built solely by Hatshepsut (and her architects), it would be interesting to know if original deposits exist and if their contents name Hatshepsut as queen regnant.

[29] Even the plundered foundation deposit 6 contained a fragmentary faience plaque with her throne name, Maatkara.

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Dynasty bricks. In the case of foundation deposit 9, however, he mentions that some of the bricks were Eighteenth Dynasty bricks stamped with the name of Amenhotep I. This small detail may indicate that the ceremony during which the foundation deposits of Group 2 were laid down took place after the chapel of Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari was partially dismantled to make way for the completion of the middle terrace and the ramp leading to it.

Observations on the Scarabs from Deposits 7–9

The scarabs found along the front of the temple in foundation deposits 7–9[30] are particularly interesting because the names, titles, and epithets on these small seal-amulets appear to record Hatshepsut's life up to the time when the deposits were laid down. Of the 299 seal-amulets found in these three deposits, 167 refer to Hatshepsut herself. Her personal name, Hatshepsut, is written alone (A in fig. 8.19), but also as "king's daughter Hatshepsut" (B), "king's great wife Hatshepsut" (C), "god's wife Hatshepsut" (D), "lord/lady of the Two Lands Hatshepsut," "god's wife, lord/lady of the Two Lands Hatshepsut," and "Hatshepsut-united-with-Amun" (E). Her throne name Maatkara is written alone (F), but also as "king of Upper and Lower Egypt Maatkara" (G), "lord/lady of the Two Lands Maatkara," "god's wife, lord of the Two Lands Maatkara" (H), "perfect god/goddess Maatkara," and "Maatkara beloved of Amun" (I). There are scarabs that record her Horus name (masculine and feminine), *Wosret-kaw* (J); her *Nebty* name, *Wadjet-renput* (K); and her Golden Horus name (masculine and feminine), *Netjeret-khaw* (L). She is also accorded the epithet *Segerhet-tawy* — "One (feminine) who pacifies (or perhaps satisfies) the Two Lands."

Royal family members who played significant roles in Hatshepsut's life are also named: one scarab refers to her father by his throne name, Aakheperkara; another records the name Thutmose-*nefer-khaw*, which probably refers to her husband, Thutmose II (Gauthier 1912a, pp. 228–32). Thirty scarabs refer to Hatshepsut's co-ruler Thutmose III by his throne name, sometimes using the common spelling Menkheperre, sometimes using the less common Menkheperenra. He is accorded the epithets "perfect god," and "ruler of Thebes," but none of his scarabs records the titles "king of Upper and Lower Egypt" or "lord of the Two Lands," and his Horus, *Nebty*, and Golden Horus names are not recorded. On one scarab, the throne names of Thutmose III and Hatshepsut appear together (Q in fig. 8.19).

Hatshepsut's daughter Neferura is named on eighteen scarabs with the titles "king's daughter," "god's wife," and "king's sister." The god Amun is named on another eighteen scarabs, and sixty-three are inscribed with geometric patterns, protective mottos, or heraldic designs.

Of the 299 seal-amulets, one is carnelian, fewer than twenty are Egyptian blue,[31] and the rest are glazed steatite. Of the latter, perhaps two dozen have a shiny bluish glaze,[32] and the rest are a deep matte green that looks almost like a stain but is actually glaze.[33] The latter are so uniform that they appear to have been fired, if not at the same time, at least using the same materials at the same workshop. Although the scarabs found in the deposits show no signs of wear and seem to have been made specifically for use in the deposits, it is possible that a few from the same group were given to individuals with a close connection to Hatshepsut and her family.[34]

[30] A more in-depth study of the scarabs is being done by Daphna Bentor and will appear in a later publication.

[31] In the notes, these scarabs appear to be described as "very fine blue faience." Seven of these came to the Metropolitan Museum in the division of finds and the rest remained in Egypt.

[32] Judging from the seal-amulets in the Metropolitan Museum's collection, these appear to be those described in the notes as "blue glazed steatite" or "very fine blue glaze."

[33] My thanks to conservator Ann Heywood of the Museum's Antonio Ratti Center for Objects Conservation, who confirmed this for me.

[34] A scarab inscribed for the "god's wife Neferura" (MMA 31.3.97, T in fig. 8.19), and closely resembling similar scarabs in the foundation deposits, was discovered by the Museum's Egyptian Expedition in an anonymous burial below Senenmut's tomb chapel (TT 71).

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Summary

A preliminary study of the Hatshepsut's foundation deposits and their contents suggests the following:

1. Assuming, as I now do, that it was Hatshepsut who founded the temple, the original foundation ceremony seems to have occurred before she took on the titulary of king, and one might expect to find a group of original deposits somewhere beneath the terraces of the existing temple.
2. The eleven known deposits were laid down after the building of the temple was begun and probably commemorated the official accession of Hatshepsut to the throne.
3. There are two distinct groups of deposits: 1, 3–6 and 2, 7–11.
4. The deposits in Group 1 indicate the position of the eastern wall of the mudbrick chapel of Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari, and either incorporate it into an earlier plan for Hatshepsut's temple, or commemorate the chapel's location before its removal to make way for Hatshepsut's temple complex as we know it today.
5. Group 2 either indicates the second (and final) plan of the temple, or symbolically links Hatshepsut's temple with the complex of Montuhotep as Group 1 may symbolically link her temple with that of Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari.

This article represents a work in progress. Only the most obvious associations have been made based on the most easily analyzed objects found in the foundation deposits. There is still a great deal to be gleaned from the Metropolitan Museum's excavation records. In particular, the distribution of pottery needs to be studied carefully. Finally, a number of foundation deposit objects that are inscribed with Hatshepsut's name and the name of the temple, but are apparently not from any of the known deposits, must, if possible, be placed in their proper context.[35]

[35] For example, objects found by Rosellini and noted in Naville 1908, p. 9; a bivalve, two knot-amulets of ebony and ivory, and a number of scarabs similar to those from deposits 7–9 which were brought to Winlock's attention in 1930; and a bivalve in Liverpool referring to Hatshepsut's "father" Montuhotep (Dodson 1989).

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9

Remarques sur l'architecture du Spéos Artémidos

Jean-Luc Chappaz, Museum for Art and History, Geneva

Connu par deux sources tardives d'époque romaine (*Itinéraire d'Antonin*, route 167; *Notitia dignitatum, Oriens*, chap. 28),[1] le Spéos Artémidos fut formellement identifié par l'expédition franco-toscane de Jean-François Champollion[2] et Ippolito Rosellini,[3] qui en publièrent quelques scènes. À leur tour, Richard Lepsius et ses collaborateurs s'y arrêtèrent: ils relevèrent quelques scènes, fournirent un plan sommaire du monument et signalèrent la grande inscription d'Hatchepsout gravée sur le fronton, qui paraît avoir échappé à l'attention de leurs prédécesseurs (L.*D.* III, pl. 27.7, 138h, m; L.*D. Text*, II, pp. 108–12). On doit la première édition de ce texte important pour comprendre l'idéologie royale dans laquelle s'inscrivait le règne de la reine à Wladimir Golénischeff (Golénischeff 1882, 1885; Naville 1906, pp. 67–68; *Urk.* IV 383–91; J. P. Allen 2002, pls. 1–2). Il fallut attendre le milieu du XXe siècle pour que Herbert Fairman et Bernhard Grdseloff (1947) livrent à la science une copie intégrale des textes inscrits à l'intérieur du temple et un schéma général de la décoration. En marge de leurs travaux, Norman de Garis Davies réalisa une nouvelle copie de l'inscription extérieure de la reine Hatchepsout, que publia et commenta Alan H. Gardiner en 1946. Plus récemment, James Allen (2002) repris l'étude de ce texte et en a proposé une nouvelle traduction.

Creusé dans le flanc sud du Batn el-Baqara, région de carrières (Klemm et Klemm 2008, pp. 77, 79, 80), au débouché probable de pistes venant de la Mer rouge, le Spéos Artémidos fut sans doute mis en œuvre à la suite d'inondations dévastatrices qui empruntèrent ce *ouadi*, et dont le texte gravé sur le fronton présente quelques échos (col. 19–21; *Urk.* IV 386.16–27; Gardiner 1946, pl. 6, col. 19–21; J. P. Allen 2002, pl. 1, pp. 19–21). Le Spéos Artémidos comprend trois espaces principaux (fig. 9.1): (1) une salle barlongue (pronaos) dans laquelle huit piliers, groupés en deux rangées, ont été réservés. La première rangée forme la façade actuelle du monument. Au centre de la paroi sud, une porte à chambranles donne accès à (2) un couloir (corridor), dont le plafond s'élève régulièrement, desservant (3) une salle rectangulaire (sanctuaire), dont le mur sud est percé d'une niche cultuelle (naos). En amont de ce monument (à environ 1,5 km à l'est), une petite chapelle fut creusée au fond du *ouadi* (Fakhry 1939), au pied d'une cascade, confirmant la relation avec la fureur des flots découlant des orages. Ces deux lieux de culte sont dédiés à la déesse-lionne Pakhet, maîtresse de la Vallée.

Le Spéos Artémidos et la déesse Pakhet: épigraphie et chronologie

Pour Fairman et Grdseloff (1947), l'ensemble des décors et des inscriptions du pronaos devait être attribué à l'époque de la reine Hatchepsout, dont les textes auraient été corrigés et modifiés sous le règne de Séthi Ier, sans exclure toutefois l'intervention d'autres souverains entre ces deux repères chronologiques extrêmes.[4] Ce faisant, ces deux chercheurs sous-entendaient que, quel que fût son degré d'inachèvement, la disposition architecturale de cette partie du monument était l'œuvre des artisans du début de la XVIIIe dynastie. La

[1] On y ajoutera un papyrus d'el-Hibeh (Drew-Bear 1979, p. 74).

[2] Champollion 1835–45, pl. 310.1, pl. 385.1 et 4; Champollion 1844–68, vol. 2, pp. 322–34; lettre du 6 novembre 1828 (Hartleben 1986, p. 139), voir aussi le *Journal de voyage* (ibid., pp. 128–29).

[3] Par exemple lettre du 9 mars 1832 à Celestino Cavedoni, reprenant les déductions de Champollion (Piacentini 1990, pp. 15–16).

[4] Ces deux chercheurs se montraient plus réservés quant à la datation des autres espaces, qu'ils attribuaient *de facto* à Séthi Ier (Fairman et Grdseloff 1947, p. 13).

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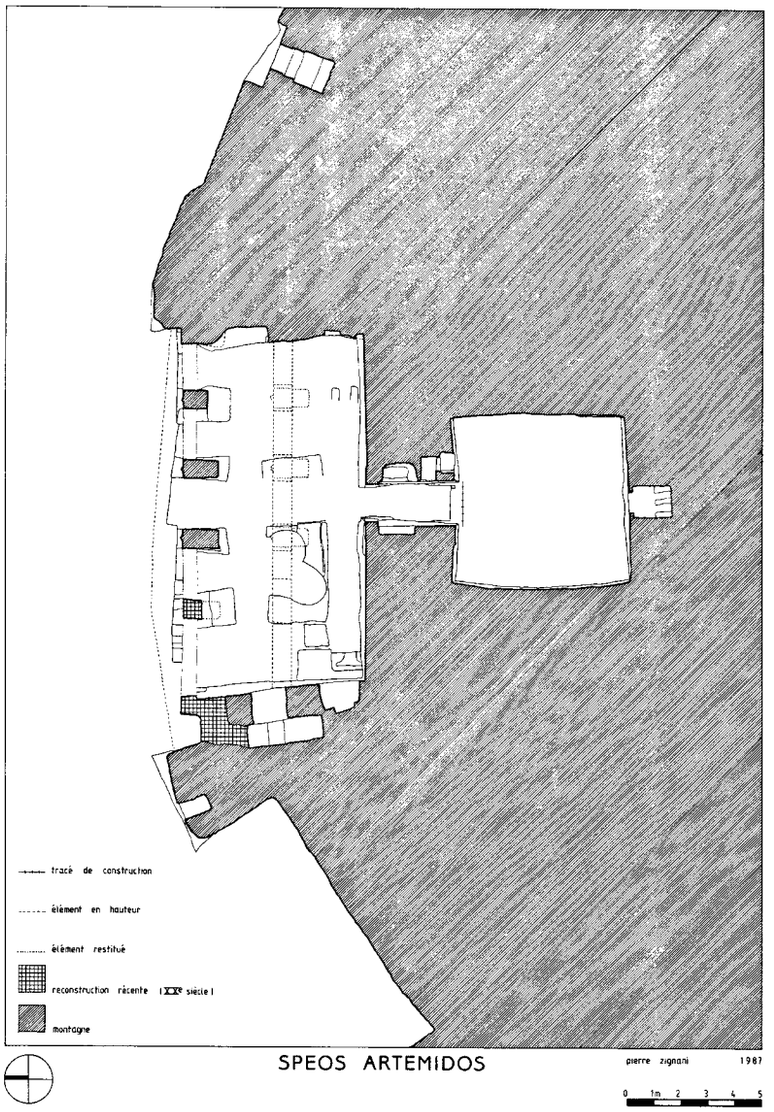

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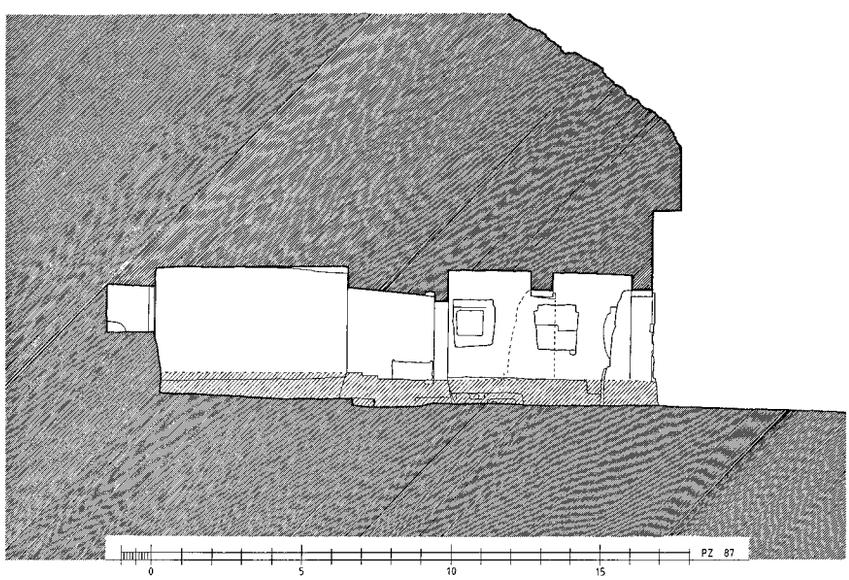

b

Figure 9.1. (*a*) Plan (*b*) Coupe du Spéos Artémidos, paroi ouest (levé et dessin Pierre Zignani, 1987)

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reprise de l'étude du Spéos Artémidos par une mission du Fonds de l'Égyptologie de Genève, dans les années 80, invite à relativiser leurs conclusions (Bickel et Chappaz 1988, 1993, 2000). L'examen épigraphique attentif des parois et l'apport de la documentation externe permettent de proposer en effet plusieurs étapes de réalisation qui, d'une certaine façon, minimisent les interventions attribuables à la XVIIIe dynastie.

1. Moyen Empire

(1) Mention d'un culte de la déesse Pakhet et d'un sanctuaire (*pr P*^{3}*ḫ.t*) dans les tombes des nomarques à Beni Hassan (*Urk.* VII 24.18; 25.2, 6; 26.13; 38.7, 9; 39.4, 16; 42.17), mais son emplacement précis n'est pas identifié sur le terrain.

2. XVIIIe dynastie (jusqu'au règne conjoint d'Hatchepsout et Thoutmosis III)

(2.a) Sous le règne conjoint d'Hatchepsout et Thoutmosis III, une petite chapelle est creusée au fond de la Vallée du Batn el-Baqara, au pied d'une cascade (Fakhry 1939). La princesse Néfrourê est représentée sur ses parois.

(2.b) Une grande inscription de quarante-deux colonnes, célébrant la royauté d'Hatchepsout, est gravée sur le fronton (ou ce qui deviendra le fronton) du Spéos Artémidos. Une allusion à Pount peut être évoquée pour dater la rédaction de ce texte après l'an 9, date attribuée à l'expédition décrite à Deir el-Bahari (*Urk.* IV 349.10), pour autant que la mention de ce toponyme dans l'inscription du Spéos Artémidos ne relève pas de la pure phraséologie propre à ce type d'eulogie royale.

(2.c) Deux scènes, illustrant les rites du couronnement, sont gravées dans la partie orientale du pronaos. La bénéficiaire en est exclusivement la reine Hatchepsout.

Les interventions conservées, attribuables avec certitude au règne d'Hatchepsout, se limitent à ces trois témoignages (2a–c). L'intervention suivante peut être considérée comme contemporaine ou légèrement plus tardive:

(2.d) La titulature de Thoutmosis III est inscrite, par deux fois, sur les actuels piliers de façade (pilier II, face est; pilier III, face ouest; Fairman et Grdseloff 1947, pl. 6 n° 10, 13).

3–4. XVIIIe dynastie: après le règne d'Hatchepsout

(3) Martelage des noms de la reine Hatchepsout, qui ne paraissent pas voir été remplacés (*damnatio reginae memoriae*).

(4) Martelage du nom et de l'image du dieu Amon (proscription amarnienne).

5–6. XIXe et XXe dynasties

(5.a) Les textes des deux scènes de la partie orientale du pronaos sont adaptés au protocole de Séthi Ier (gravure en creux sur du bas-relief levé), dont les artisans restaurent les destructions des iconoclastes atonistes et **modifient l'orientation de l'image du souverain** (Bickel et Chappaz 2000), mais ne corrigent pas les désinences du féminin.

(5.b) Trois scènes, relatives au don de la royauté à Séthi Ier par la déesse Pakhet-Ourethékaou ou par Thot, sont gravées dans la partie ouest du pronaos. Les cartouches du pharaon ramesside de même que l'ensemble de cette paroi sont modelés en bas relief levé. Les textes et les figures sont originaux et ne présentent aucune trace de modifications d'un décor préexistant.

(5.c) Les chambranles de la porte d'accès au sanctuaire sont décorés (en bas relief levé) de scènes au nom du roi Séthi Ier, dont le cartouche est original.

(5.d) Décoration originale du corridor d'accès au sanctuaire (deux scènes en bas relief levé et un texte gravé en creux), au nom de Séthi Ier (Fairman et Grdseloff 1947, pls. IV, 5–7 et VII; *KRI* I 41–43).

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(5.e) Le cadre de la niche cultuelle du sanctuaire est inscrit aux cartouches de Séthi Ier.

(5.f) Les piliers de façade reçoivent la titulature de Séthi Ier (gravure en creux), dont les artisans respectent toutefois les deux inscriptions au protocole de Thoutmosis III déjà existantes (mentionnés en 2.d), auxquelles aucune modification n'est apportée (Fairman et Grdseloff 1947, pl. 6 n° 8–9, 11–12; *KRI* I 43.15–44.2). À l'intérieur, les piliers (aujourd'hui détruits) conservent les bribes d'un protocole royal que la paléographie permet d'attribuer à Séthi Ier, et non à la XVIIIe dynastie (cf. *infra*).

(6) On recense de rares mentions de Pakhet sur des sites extérieurs au Batn el-Baqara: la déesse est nommée sur la stèle abydénienne Leyde AP 12 (*KRI* VII 28.4; Kruchten 1992, p. 111), dans un hymne à Thèbes victorieuse gravé à Karnak (Legrain 1915, p. 277, col. 8A, p. 281; Epigraphic Survey 1981, pp. 54–55, n. hh, pl. 179); son sanctuaire est signalé à Abydos (Gauthier 1925, p. 78); elle est représentée comme une femme à coiffure hathorique sur une colonne du temple de Ramsès II à Cheikh Ibada (Gayet 1897, p. 32, pl. 6). Son rôle dans les textes funéraires est attesté, mais demeure très discret (Livre des Morts, chap. 164 et Amdouat, 3e heure, 2e registre).

7. Troisième Période intermédiaire

(7.a) Quelques traces d'un décor peint subsistent sur les deux tableaux intérieurs de la porte du Spéos Artémidos donnant accès au corridor qui conduit au sanctuaire: symétrique, chaque panneau représentait, à l'est et à l'ouest, le roi Pinodjem Ier, une canne à la main, pénétrant vers le saint des saints.

(7.b) Sur la face sud du pilier intérieur VI, on observe les traces d'un cartouche royal incomplètement conservé, ajouté à la gauche de la couronne d'une statue osiriaque inachevée, qui se réduit en l'état à l'épithète (... *mry Jmn*), élément qui peut convenir au protocole de plusieurs rois des XXIe et XXIIe dynasties.

(7.c) La "grande des recluses d'Amon Nestanebetichérou" jouissait de prébendes liées au culte de Pakhet, selon les titres qu'elle affiche sur le papyrus Greenfield (Budge 1912, pp. 2–3, pl. 1; 4, pl. 2 l. 4; Kitchen 1986, p. 276, §232).

8. Fin de la Basse Époque / début de la domination romaine

(8.a) Une inscription copiée à Hermopolis atteste l'existence d'une prêtrise liée à la "chatte vivante de Pakhet" (Gabra 1932, pp. 74–75; Roeder 1959, pp. 22 §19, 92 §26, 188 §48).

(8.b) Une nécropole abritant des myriades de momies de chats est établie sur le flanc méridional du Batn el-Baqara et un hypogée est affecté à ces ex-votos dans l'immédiate proximité du Spéos Artémidos (directement à l'ouest). Le linteau donnant accès à ces salles est inscrit au nom d'Alexandre II/IV et contient des représentations de la déesse-lionne Pakhet (PM IV, 165).

(8.c) Le nom de Pakhet (déesse ou toponyme [*P^{3}ḫ.t < pr P^{3}ḫ.t*]) est attesté à Dendara, Edfou (Gauthier 1925, p. 148; Bickel et Chappaz 1988, p. 11 n. 25) et el-Qala (Pantalacci et Traunecker 1998, p. 111, sc. 231) où la déesse est représentée sous la forme d'une lionne Tefnout-Pakhet.

(8.d) Pakhet est mentionnée dans quelques papyrus religieux ou magiques tardifs, notamment le papyrus Jumilhac (IV, p. 7), le papyrus Bremner-Rhind (IX, pp. 5–7) ou le papyrus magique Harris (V 2/1–2/9).

9. Époque romaine tardive

(9) L'itinéraire d'Antonin et la *Notitia dignitatum* attestent l'existence d'un poste militaire, qui paraît avoir été un point de contrôle sur la route conduisant en Haute Égypte.

10. Époque copte

(10) De nombreux graffiti, dans le spéos même, mais aussi dans les falaises environnantes prouvent la présence d'anachorètes dans la vallée du Batn el-Baqara (Holthoer 1976).

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7–10. Époques indéterminées

(7–10.a) Proscription de l'image de Seth dans les cartouches de Séthi Ier.

(7–10.b) Le sol du Spéos Artémidos est abaissé d'environ 80 cm, comme le prouvent les traces de reprise de la taille au bas des murs. Ce surcreusement ne peut être daté qu'entre deux repères extrêmes: la XIXe dynastie et l'époque copte. En effet, cette opération a fait disparaître les trois marches du corridor décoré sous le règne de Séthi Ier (le surcreusement est donc postérieur) et les graffiti coptes se situent tous à hauteur de l'œil humain depuis le sol actuel (contrairement aux rares graffiti pharaoniques qui sont tracés à un niveau plus élevé).

Ce rapide survol chronologique (fig. 9.2) amène à la conclusion que le Spéos Artémidos, tel qu'il se présente aujourd'hui, fut initié au plus tard sous le règne d'Hatchepsout et largement transformé sous celui de Séthi Ier (Brand 2000, pp. 54–56) et au cours des siècles qui suivirent. Son plan actuel est toutefois celui qu'on rencontrait déjà sous le règne du souverain ramesside. Mais les interventions de ce pharaon sont d'une telle ampleur, en ce qui concerne la décoration du monument, qu'elles obligent à poser une question fondamentale quant à l'architecture du monument. L'actuelle distribution des espaces était-elle le projet formulé à la XVIIIe dynastie? En d'autres termes, le spéos a-t-il été creusé selon son plan actuel dès le règne d'Hatchepsout? Ou, au contraire, faut-il mettre au crédit des artisans de Séthi Ier non seulement les modifications et les compléments apportés à la décoration du monument, mais également sa transformation architecturale? Comme nous allons le voir, s'il est bien clair que l'originalité thématique due à Hatchepsout (grande inscription et scènes du couronnement) est innovante, mais non sans parallèles contemporains, les innovations architecturales que comporte ce monument seraient, à bien des égards, révolutionnaires s'il était possible de les attribuer avec certitude à la reine, ce qui est loin d'être démontré.

À ce stade, une remarque méthodologique doit être formulée. Il est relativement "simple" de comprendre l'évolution d'un bâtiment construit, dans la mesure où tout agrandissement ou toute transformation prend appui sur l'existant et que l'état postérieur se superpose en général à l'état antérieur. Dans un monument

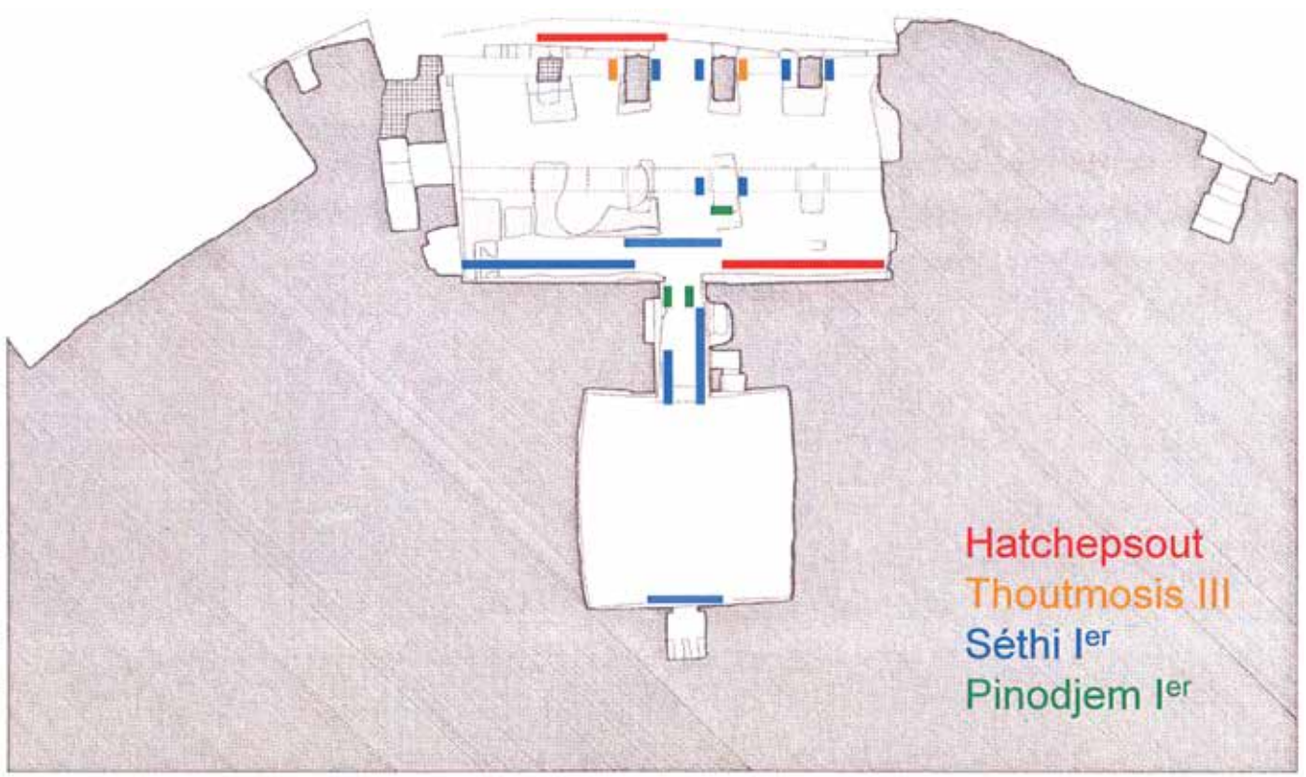

Figure 9.2. Répartition chronologique des textes et des décors

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rupestre, tel que le Spéos Artémidos, toute transformation des espaces et des volumes implique une destruction de l'état antérieur, qui ne peut pas laisser de traces de l'aspect plus ancien dès lors que la transformation est profonde.[5] Par définition, le vide ne relève rien: au mieux autorise-t-il à admettre l'existence préalable et hypothétique d'éléments détruits, qui ne peuvent être reconstitués, voire imaginés, que par la comparaison avec d'autres structures similaires. Cette observation vaut bien naturellement pour tous les monuments qui seront cités en parallèles dans les pages qui suivent, dans la mesure où la plupart d'entre eux sont les résultats de volumes produits par soustractions successives de matière arrachée aux contours naturels du terrain.

Principaux spéos du Nouvel Empire

Si des tombes rupestres sont bien attestées dès l'Ancien Empire, les temples rupestres, qui relèvent de la même technique de creusement, ne semblent pas apparaître avant le Moyen Empire, du moins en l'état de la documentation conservée. Une niche cultuelle rectangulaire est aménagée dans la montagne à l'ouest du temple de millions d'années de Montouhotep Nebhepetrê (Di. Arnold 1974, pls. 19c–d, 26). Quelques siècles plus tard, dans un contexte éloigné de toute préoccupation funéraire, deux sanctuaires sont creusés côte à côte pour Hathor et Ptah sur le site minier de Sérabit el-Khadim sous le règne d'Amenemhat III. Le plus spacieux présente, en son centre un large pilier de soutènement. Les parties excavées adoptent une forme rectangulaire et comprennent des niches (Valbelle et Bonnet 1996, pp. 84–91).

Il faut attendre le règne d'Hatchepsout pour retrouver ce type de monuments, tant dans un contexte "funéraire" (temple de Deir el-Bahari) que "civil" (carrières et pistes du Batn el-Baqara et Qasr Ibrim).[6] À Deir el-Bahari, deux salles rectangulaires oblongues sont excavées dans la montagne à hauteur de la troisième terrasse; dans cette chapelle centrale sont ménagées des niches latérales (Naville 1908, p. 25), de même que dans d'autres parties du monument, telle la chapelle de Thoutmosis Ier. Dans ce temple, deux autres chapelles rupestres retiennent l'attention. À hauteur de la terrasse médiane, un sanctuaire pourvu de plusieurs niches latérales est dédié à Hathor, et comprend deux colonnes qui forment une petite salle hypostyle (ibid., pp. 22–24). C'est dans ce sanctuaire qu'on rencontre, pour la première fois semble-t-il, des colonnes de type "hathorique". La seconde chapelle, dédiée à Anubis, est originale dans la mesure où elle suit un plan coudé, impliquant deux changements d'axe pour atteindre le sanctuaire (ibid., p. 21). Ces chapelles rupestres témoignent d'un soin particulier mis à leur exécution et à leur finition du point de vue de la réalisation architecturale et de l'exécution du programme décoratif, caractéristiques que nous ne retrouvons que partiellement dans les trois autres spéos datables du règne de la reine Hatchepsout.[7] Deux se situent au Batn el-Baqara. Outre le Spéos Artémidos, à l'architecture étrangement développée dans son état final, une petite niche cultuelle fut creusée au fond de la vallée, au pied d'une cascade (Fakhry 1939). Elle se présente comme une minuscule salle rectangulaire. En Nubie, à Qasr Ibrim (Caminos 1968, pl. 17), une unique salle allongée, de plan trapézoïdal, permet de dégager, contre le mur oriental, quatre statues incluses dans la paroi.

On retrouve ce dispositif (une salle, mais trois statues et une niche latérale) à l'époque de Thoutmosis III dans le même lieu (Qasr Ibrim), si ce n'est que les angles des murs sont à peu près droits (Caminos 1968, pl. 6). À Ellesiya, sous le règne du même souverain, le plan présente un développement important: le sanctuaire a la forme d'un "T" inversé, et une salle barlongue précède donc une chapelle rectangulaire (Curto 1970, Tav. VIIa–c; Hein 1991, p. 190, pl. 10). Ce plan est également celui adopté au Gebel Docha (règne de

[5] Le Spéos Artémidos conserve cependant une trace indiscutable de telles transformations, situées à la "surface" des parois intérieures actuelles. L'abaissement du sol, général dans le monument, peut être mesuré assez précisément dès lors que les carriers ont surcreusé le sol en dessous d'une paroi lissée, sans chercher à masquer la "reprise." C'est ce qui révèle, par exemple, trois marches d'escalier dans le corridor menant au sanctuaire.

[6] L'évolution de l'aspect architectural des temples rupestres a fait l'objet d'une étude détaillée, malheureusement dépourvue d'illustrations, due à Jean Jacquet (1967).

[7] Dans cet article, il n'est pas tenu compte des chapelles-cénotaphes du Gebel es-Silsila (Caminos et James 1963), qui paraissent relever d'un contexte différent, plus probablement dues à l'initiative de particuliers qu'à l'établissement d'un culte royal. Il est cependant probable que les caractéristiques architecturales de ces monuments ne contrediraient nullement le propos développé dans ces lignes.

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Thoutmosis III; PM VII, 146, 167). Les artisans d'Amenhotep II reviennent pourtant à une salle rectangulaire unique, avec trois statues sculptées à même la paroi à Qasr Ibrim (Caminos 1968, pl. 23), peut-être sous l'influence des modèles antérieurs voisins.

Comparable de par sa situation aux sanctuaires de Sérabit el-Khadim et du Batn el-Baqara, au centre de carrières et d'exploitations minières, le spéos d'el-Salamouni, près d'Akhmim, fut aménagé quelques décennies plus tard sous le règne d'Ay (Kuhlmann 1979, p. 167). L'édifice est complexe avec ses nombreuses salles adjacentes. On retiendra, dans l'axe principal, une antichambre donnant accès à un sanctuaire en "T" inversé, et le fait que, dans la succession chronologique, ce monument est le premier temple rupestre à présenter des salles nettement séparées (par des murs et des portes) les unes des autres (à l'exception, il est vrai, des chapelles d'Hathor et d'Anubis au temple de Deir el-Bahari). Les espaces sont aussi clairement délimités au Gebel ech-Chems, que l'on peut également attribué au règne d'Ay (PM VII, 120, 122–23).

Cette évolution se confirme sous le règne d'Horemheb. Le spéos d'Abou Hoda présente un plan régulier cruciforme, dont les trois pièces sont desservies par un vestibule au plafond "soutenu" par quatre colonnes (PM VII, 119–21). Au Gebel es-Silsila, quasi contemporain, le sanctuaire présente un plan en "T" inversé, distinguant trois espaces: une salle barlongue, un corridor et le sanctuaire (PM V, 206–13). Pour la première fois, on constate la présence de quatre piliers (carrés) dégagés en façade, dans la falaise.

Ce dispositif est enrichi au Ouadi Miâh (Schott 1961, pp. 133–34, pls. 6–9, 18), ordonné par Séthi Ier. Il s'agit certes d'un hémispéos, dont la façade construite comprend bien deux piliers élevés, mais dont l'aménagement intérieur prévoit l'accès par une seule porte taillée dans la falaise, qui donne sur un vestibule "soutenu" par quatre piliers carrés. Trois chapelles s'ouvrent au sud, flanquées de deux niches latérales. De part et d'autre de la porte principale de ce vestibule, deux statues "osiriaques" ont été sculptées dans la roche, à même la paroi naturelle, encadrant ainsi l'accès vers les sanctuaires.

Sous le règne de Ramsès II, cette distinction des espaces s'observe dans tous les temples nubiens (Jacquet 1967, Hein 1991), à une exception près (Qasr Ibrim). De même, le choix de piliers osiriaques paraît devenir systématique. À Derr, deux salles à respectivement douze piliers (dont quatre osiriaques, orientés face au nord) et six piliers distribuent trois sanctuaires (PM VII, 74 (plan); Blackman 1913, pls. I–III; Hein 1991, p. 189, pl. 9). À Ouadi es-Seboua, une salle hypostyle de douze piliers, dont six osiriaques orientés selon l'axe du monument, donne accès à une antichambre qui dessert cinq chapelles (PM VII, 56; Gauthier 1912b, pl. A; Hein 1991, p. 187, pl. 7). Constructions complexes également à Gerf Hussein, avec des piliers osiriaques dans l'axe (el-Tanbouli et Sadek 1974, pl. 1, 14; Hein 1991, p. 182, pl. 2) ou au grand temple d'Abou Simbel (el-Achirie et Jacquet 1984, pl. 64; Hein 1991, p. 192, pl. 12). Relevons toutefois des structures plus simples à Beit el-Ouali qui possède cependant plusieurs salles distinctes et colonnes (PM VII, 22 (plan); Roeder 1938, p. 139, pl. 8, 10–11; Hein 1991, p. 181, pl. 1), de même qu'au petit temple d'Abou Simbel (Hein 1991, p. 193, pl. 13). On retrouve cependant le plan "primitif" à Qasr Ibrim, se limitant à une salle rectangulaire dans le sanctuaire de Ramsès II (Caminos 1968, pl. 12), ou, sous le règne de son successeur, à es-Sirrirya (sanctuaire de carrières, consistant en une salle rectangulaire, avec peut-être un avant-corps bâti (Sourouzian 1983, p. 210, fig. 1).

De l'examen de tous ces parallèles, il ressort que le plan du Spéos Artémidos est exceptionnel pour l'époque d'Hatchepsout, de même que ses dimensions. Quoi qu'il en soit de l'inventivité dont témoignent les architectes pour la réalisation des chapelles rupestres de Deir el-Bahari, il faut reconnaître que la distinction physique de trois espaces (pronaos, corridor, sanctuaire) apparente davantage le Spéos Artémidos aux modèles ramessides qu'aux exemples contemporains du milieu de la XVIIIe dynastie. La présence de piliers osiriaques le ferait remonter au plus tôt à l'époque de Séthi Ier, et tant le nombre des piliers que le fait de les retrouver en façade de la partie conservée du monument le rattache plus volontiers à deux modèles plus tardifs (Horemheb/Séthi Ier) qu'au règne de la reine.

On peut donc postuler que Séthi Ier ne s'est pas contenté de modifier et d'enrichir le décor du monument, mais qu'il y a fait apporter de profondes modifications architecturales. En suivant les observations épigraphiques, et à ce stade de la réflexion, il est plausible d'admettre que le corridor, le sanctuaire et la niche cultuelle ont été creusés sous son règne, d'une part parce que ces éléments constituent autant d'espaces distincts, d'autres part parce qu'ils portent tous des gravures ou des peintures (y compris la porte du corridor) originales attribuables au plus tôt au règne de ce souverain. Cette solution pragmatique ne résout

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Tableau récapitulatif des principales caractéristiques architecturales des spéos du Nouvel Empire

Monuments	*Date*	*Plan*				*Piliers*			
		salle unique	*enfilade*	*"T" inversé*	*espaces distincts*	*nombre total*	*en façade*	*hathoriques*	*osiriaques*
Deir el-Bahari	Montouhotep	X							
Sérabit el-Khadim (Hathor)	Amenemhat III	X				1			
Sérabit el-Khadim (Ptah)	Amenemhat III	X							
Deir el-Bahari (sanctuaire)	Hatchepsout		X						
Deir el-Bahari (Anubis)	Hatchepsout		X[a]						
Deir el-Bahari (Hathor)	Hatchepsout				X	X (2)		X (2)	
Batn el-Baqara	Hatchepsout	X							
Spéos Artémidos	Hatchepsout (?)				X	X (8)	X (4)	X (8)	X (8)
Qasr Ibrim	Hatchepsout	X							
Qasr Ibrim	Thoutmosis III	X							
Ellesiya	Thoutmosis III			X					
Gebel Docha	Thoutmosis III			X					
Qasr Ibrim	Amenhotep II	X							
Akhmim	Ay			(X)	X				
Gebel esh-Shems	Ay				X				
Abou Hoda	Horemheb				X	X (4)			
Gebel es-Silsila	Horemheb				X	X (4)	X (4)		
Ouadi Miâh[b]	Séthi Ier				X	X (4/8–9)	X (2)		X (2)[c]
Derr	Ramsès II				X	X (18)			X (4)
Ouadi es-Seboua	Ramsès II				X	X (12)			X (6)
Garf Hussein	Ramsès II				X	X (20)			X (6)
Abou Simbel, grand temple	Ramsès II				X	X (12)			X (8)
Abou Simbel, petit temple	Ramsès II		X			X (6)		X[d]	
Beit el-Ouali	Ramsès II		X			X (4)			
Qasr Ibrim	Ramsès II	X							
Es-Sirrirya	Merenptah	X							

[a] Coudé.

[b] Le nombre de piliers/colonnes diffère selon qu'on prend en compte, ou non, l'avant-corps de cet hémispéos.

[c] Pour être exact, il faut parler d'images, plus que de piliers, puisque les figures osiriaques sont "engagées" dans la paroi.

[d] Pour être exact, il faut parler d'images, plus que de piliers, puisque les figures hathoriques sont "engagées" dans la paroi.

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cependant pas toutes les questions, notamment celles que soulèvent le nombre de piliers, le type osiriaque de ces derniers ou leur présence en façade du monument. S'il est bien clair que l'inscription extérieure et les deux scènes orientales gravées dans le pronaos sont bien datées du règne d'Hatchepsout (ils en conservent suffisamment de traces, à commencer par les marques du féminin dans tous les textes), il reste légitime de s'interroger sur la part que prirent les artisans de Séthi Ier non seulement dans le décor original d'une partie du pronaos et des piliers, mais également dans la création de l'espace architectural proprement dit à l'intérieur du pronaos. Ceci nous amène à discuter de façon plus détaillée trois aspects: les piliers, l'implantation du monument et les descriptions textuelles qui le caractérisent.

Les piliers

La datation des piliers est complexe. Carrés, ils sont répartis en deux rangées, quatre en façade, et quatre à l'intérieur du pronaos. Cette dernière rangée est largement détruite: il ne reste en place que les abaques de trois d'entre eux, et la partie supérieure des "chapiteaux." Ces éléments sont toutefois suffisants pour affirmer qu'ils présentaient exactement le même aspect et les mêmes degrés (ou étapes) d'inachèvement que les quatre piliers réservés dans la façade du spéos. Cet inachèvement correspond à trois phases distinctes du travail des carriers.

Sur la face nord est sculptée une colonne-sistre, de type hathorique, tel qu'il se développe sous le règne d'Hatchepsout (Bernhauer 2005, pp. 53–55). Le travail principal de sculpture est achevé (forme générale), mais le détail des chapiteaux (visage de la déesse et sistre-palais entre les cornes) n'a jamais été mené à son terme (fig. 9.3). Il convient de relever que le motif hathorique est projeté de quelques centimètres en avant du champ principal du pilier, mais également de la façade du fronton du monument (avec l'inscription d'Hatchepsout sur sa partie occidentale) ou du soffite ménagé à l'intérieur du pronaos. Leur aspect est donc

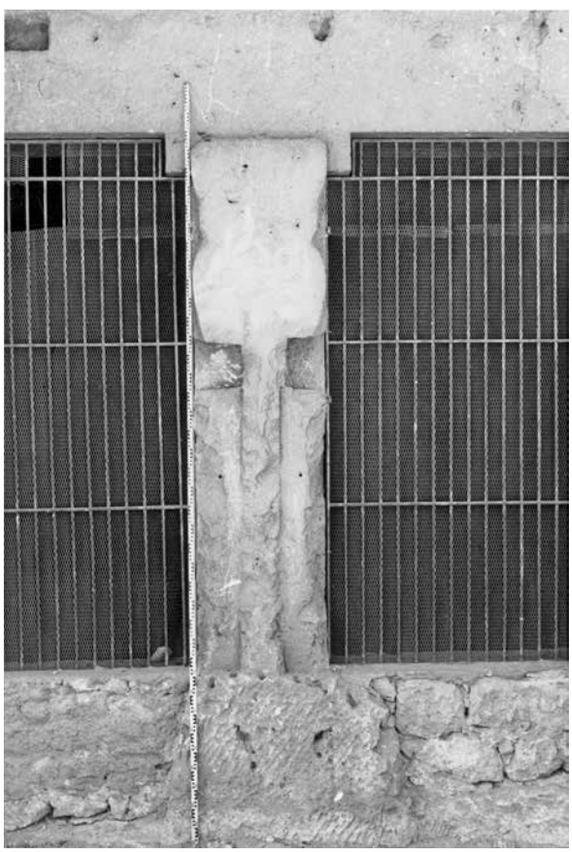

Figure 9.3. Pilier I (façade), face nord (sistre hathorique)

Figure 9.4. Pilier III (façade), face sud-ouest (pilier osiriaque)

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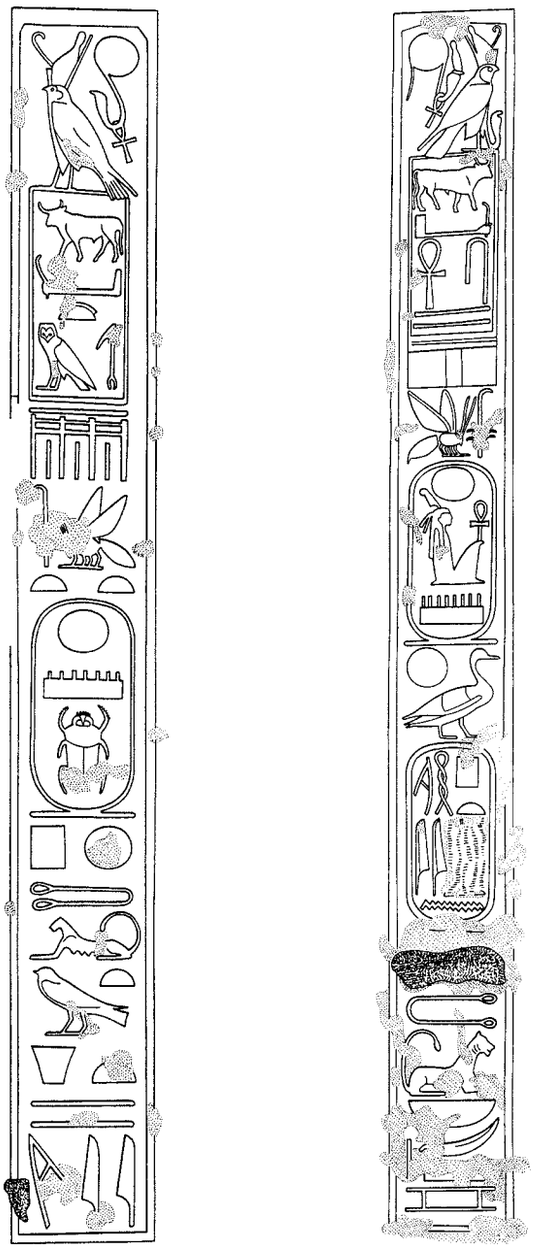
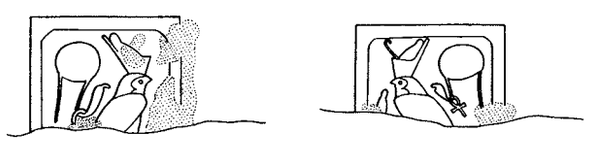


a b

Figure 9.5. Pilier II (façade), (*a*) face est, inscrit au protocole de Thoutmosis III, et (*b*) face ouest, inscrit au protocole de Séthi Ier (dessin Luce Chappaz-Pache)



a b

Figure 9.6. Pilier VI (intérieur), bribe du protocole royal inscrit sur les face (*a*) est et (*b*) ouest (dessin Luce Chappaz-Pache)

celui de colonnes-sistres engagées dans une partie du monument.

La face sud est constituée des ébauches, à peine dégrossies, de figures osiriaques (fig. 9.4), qui contrastent très fortement avec l'état d'avancement des colonnes-sistres hathoriques. Comme on vient de le voir *supra*, la présence de piliers oririaques dans les temples rupestres est un trait propre aux spéos ramessides, ce qui incline à en dater l'initiative au règne de Séthi Ier. Dimitri Laboury nous fait cependant observer que, dans la chapelle d'Hathor à Deir el-Bahari, de minuscules statues osiriaques ont été sculptées à la jonction des deux faces hathoriques des chapiteaux. C'est dire que la relation entre Hathor, l'image momiforme d'Osiris et les spéos avait déjà été entrevue par les architectes d'Hatchepsout. Auraient-ils donc été novateurs dans l'utilisation de ce vocabulaire architectural? Sans pouvoir totalement exclure cette hypothèse, on relève cependant la contradiction entre les dimensions de ces représentations (à Deir el-Bahari et au Spéos Artémidos), et surtout la différence dans l'état d'avancement du travail entre les faces nord et sud de ces piliers, ce qui sous-entend que ces faces relèvent de phases différentes dans la mise en œuvre du chantier.

Les parties les plus déconcertantes sont pourtant les faces latérales, parfaitement achevées! Le premier étonnement tient dans le fait que les soffites qui enjambent les piliers sont parfaitement horizontaux et qu'ils représentent les seules parties parfaitement orthogonales du monument. La seconde singularité tient dans l'inscription qui parcourt ces piliers (une colonne avec titulature royale et mention de la déesse Pakhet). Sur les face extérieures des deux piliers centraux (pilier II, face est et pilier III, face ouest), on lit le protocole original de Thoutmosis III (fig. 9.5a). Sur les autres faces des piliers de façade (pilier I, faces est et ouest, pilier II face ouest = axe du monument, pilier III, face est = axe du monument [les textes du pilier IV ne sont pas conservés]) fut gravée la titulature de Séthi Ier, sans qu'il soit possible d'observer la moindre trace de ravalement ou de regravure par dessus un texte antérieur (fig. 9.5b). Le seul pilier intérieur qui conserve des bribes d'inscription (pilier VI) est indiscutablement à attribuer au règne de Séthi Ier, ce qui se déduit d'une subtilité paléographique (fig. 9.6). Le signe du soleil qui surmonte l'écriture du nom d'Horus du souverain est entouré d'un cobra, dont la queue est bien indiquée par les artisans de la XIXe dynastie ( ), alors que ce détail est absent des titulatures

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de Thoutmosis III. De ce fait, cela exclut l'idée que les protocoles de Thoutmosis III — dont la paléographie est par ailleurs fondamentalement différente — aient pu être gravés *a posteriori* lors de la prise de possession du monument par les artisans de Séthi Ier.

L'implantation du monument

En façade, les distances entre la paroi est les piliers, comme celles mesurées entre les piliers, présentent une très grande régularité pour la partie orientale et centrale du monument, mais une brutale irrégularité dans la partie occidentale.

Paroi est — pilier I: 1,72 m

Pilier I — pilier II: 1,92 m

Pilier II — pilier III: 1,73 m (= "axe" du monument)

Pilier III — pilier IV: 1,92 m

Pilier IV — paroi ouest: 3 m

Cet élargissement vers l'ouest possède son corollaire à l'intérieur du pronaos. Les deux scènes décorées sous le règne d'Hatchepsout dans la partie orientale occupe une longueur de 4,91 m, alors que les trois scènes décorées sous le règne de Séthi Ier, à l'ouest, ont une longueur de 5,27 m. Cette différence est certes relativement faible par rapport à celle qu'on observe pour l'entre-axe des piliers et ne serait à elle seule être significative. Elle entraîne toutefois une troisième irrégularité dans ce monument.

La falaise (ou front de taille) dans laquelle s'inscrit le monument présente une forte déclivité vers l'ouest, dont les lapicides qui recopièrent l'inscription extérieure d'Hatchepsout ont largement tenu compte pour disposer élégamment le texte. Mais la partie occidentale du pronaos est creusée sous cette déclivité, à l'extérieur des limites théoriques que suggère en façade le fronton sur lequel la grande inscription d'Hatchepsout a été gravée. Cette nouvelle irrégularité surprend, puisqu'elle conduit à créer une ouverture importante en-dessous et à l'ouest du fronton qui coiffe le Spéos Artémidos (fig. 9.7). De plus, le quatrième pilier de façade (aujourd'hui restauré et dont seul l'abaque est original) est taillé à quelques décimètres à l'ouest du

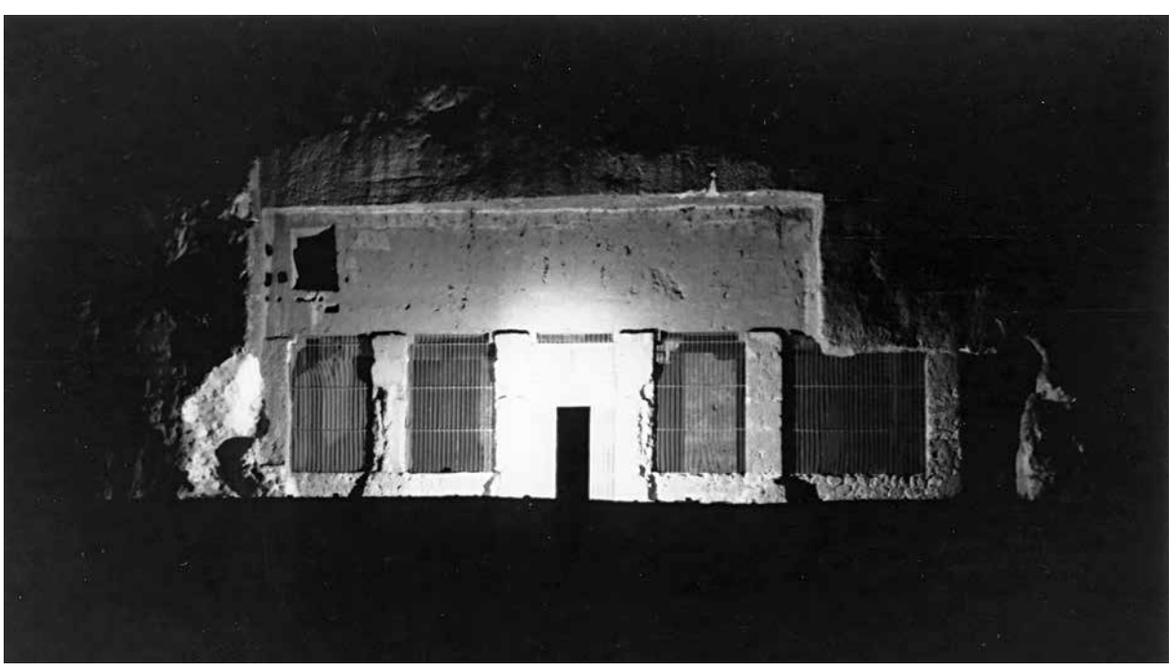

Figure 9.7. Façade du Spéos Artémidos

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quadrilatère défini par le fronton, donc hors des limites théoriques suggérées par cet élément. Dans l'hypothèse d'un plan réfléchi et concerté, il aurait été facile de résoudre ce problème, soit en creusant un monument un peu plus petit, soit en en déplaçant l'axe principal légèrement vers l'est. Cela n'a pas été entrepris. L'explication la plus probable est que des structures préalablement existantes ont contraint les architectes qui donnèrent leur aspect final au Spéos Artémidos à les intégrer dans leur projet.[8]

Un dernier élément est susceptible d'apporter quelques lumières à cette question: la porte donnant accès au corridor menant vers le sanctuaire. Percée dans la paroi sud du pronaos, son chambranle et son linteau sont situés quelques centimètres (env. 2,5–3 cm) en avant du champ des parties est et ouest du mur de cette salle. Son emplacement a donc été réservé. Sur la gauche (est), la gravure est parfaitement nette, ce qui nous assure que cette porte est bien taillée dans le calcaire environnant; sur la droite (ouest), des reprises en plâtre sur le bord — partiellement écaillées sur leur tranche — attestent de repentirs pour obtenir une verticale, mais nous assurent également que le jambage et le linteau ont été réservés dans le calcaire de la paroi. Comme il a été relevé *supra*, le décor de cette porte, en bas relief levé (étape 5c), conserve les cartouches originaux de Séthi Ier. Du point de vue architectural, la situation de cette porte n'en est pas moins paradoxale. Elle s'inscrit parfaitement dans l'axe des piliers centraux (piliers II et III de la façade; piliers VI et VII de la rangée intérieure). Elle n'en demeure pas moins totalement désaxée par rapport à la symétrie de l'ensemble du bâtiment et du pronaos. À supposer que cette porte ne fût qu'ébauchée ou peinte à l'époque d'Hatchepsout, rien ne vient expliquer la dissymétrie qu'elle provoque par rapport à la délimitation théorique définie par le fronton et la régularité observée dans la disposition des piliers orientaux, si ce n'est la maladresse des architectes.[9] À supposer que cette dissymétrie soit l'œuvre d'artisans de Séthi Ier, tentant de récupérer l'orientation des reliefs gravés sous le règne d'Hatchepsout, et chargés de graver dans le pronaos les reliefs complémentaires à la célébration du couronnement du pharaon, cette nouvelle interprétation de l'axe du bâtiment, en prenant pour points de référence l'apparence extérieure de la majorité des piliers, et non l'ensemble du temple, serait au mieux un pis-aller dicté par l'état antérieur du monument.

Vraisemblablement, un certain nombre d'aménagements antérieurs au règne de Séthi Ier (spéos d'Hatchepsout dont les contours exacts restent inconnus, inscription sur le fronton, chapelles ou stèles rupestres, détruites lors de la reprise des travaux sous la XIXe dynastie) ont obligé les architectes du souverain ramesside à insérer leur projet dans des structures déjà existantes — sans doute beaucoup moins spacieuses —, en tirant le meilleur parti possible de celles-ci, mais en détruisant fatalement l'aspect initial de ces structures et sans parvenir à intégrer le monument dans l'espace naturel qui l'environne, ni dans les délimitations théoriques que pouvait suggérer le fronton.

La question des vantaux de porte et autres enseignements textuels

Les textes gravés sur l'ordre des deux souverains sont peu diserts sur l'apparence du Spéos Artémidos: il en est fait mention à une reprise dans la grande inscription d'Hatchepsout, et par deux fois dans les textes de Séthi Ier.

La précision la plus curieuse figure dans deux textes parallèles gravés en soubassement des scènes du pronaos, selon une disposition de symétrie axiale (Fairman et Grdseloff 1947, pl. 3–4; *KRI* I 44.4–7). Séthi Ier, dont le protocole complet est développé, affirme avoir agi (fig. 9.8) "pour sa mère Pakhet, la grande, Maîtresse de la Vallée du Couteau, dans son temple (*m ḥw.t-nṯr=s*) de la vallée secrète (*jn.t štȝ.t*) qu'elle a

[8] Il faut exclure la présence antérieure d'éventuels piliers de soutènement laissés dans l'exploitation d'une carrière souterraine, dans laquelle le temple aurait été aménagé postérieurement. La régularité des piliers dans les parties orientale et centrale rend peu probable cette hypothèse, de même que la proximité des piliers entre eux, bien éloignée des exemples des carrières connues par ailleurs: Gebel es-Silsila (PM V 221; Klemm et Klemm 1981, p. 10, fig. 6), et el-Dabâbia (PM V 170; Daressy 1888, p. 134).

[9] L'emplacement du pilier VIII, le plus occidental de la rangée intérieure, aurait peut-être pu permettre d'affiner la solution du problème. Malheureusement, il est totalement détruit, et les traces conservées au niveau du soffite ne permettent pas de vérifier s'il s'alignait, ou non, dans le prolongement du pilier IV, à l'ouest de la façade.

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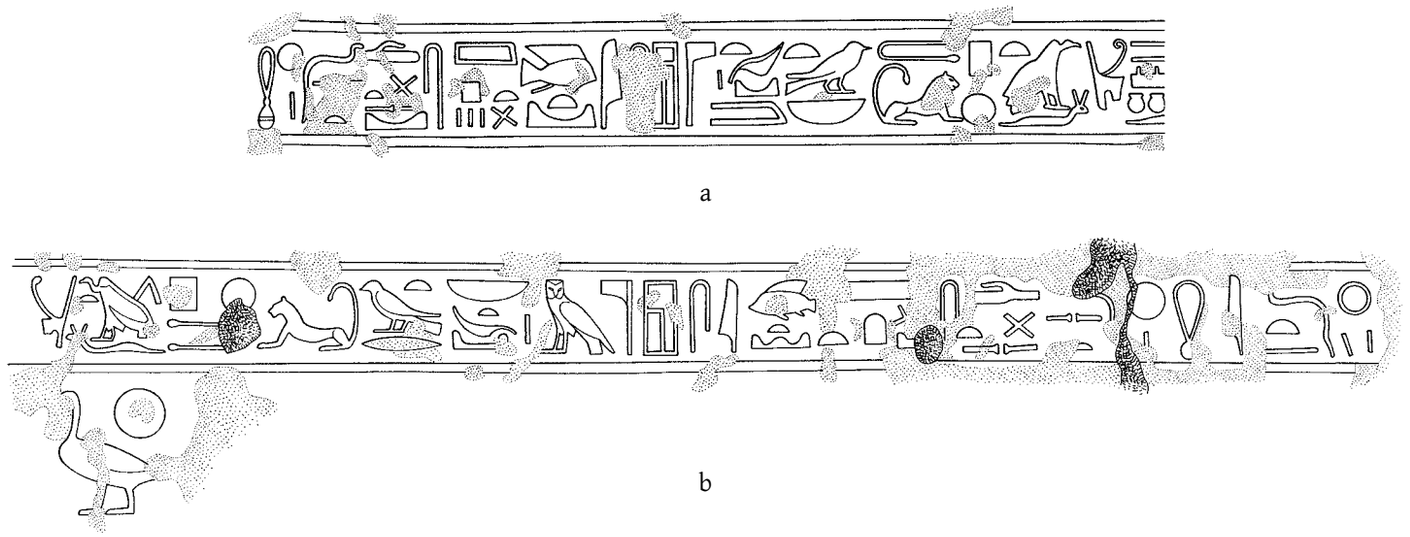

a

b

Figure 9.8. Extraits des textes de dédicace gravés sous le règne de Séthi Ier sur les parois (*a*) est et (*b*) ouest du pronaos, mentionnant le temple de Pakhet (dessin Luce Chappaz-Pache)

creusé(e?) elle-même (*sd.t=s ḏs.t*)." L'expression *m ḥwt-nṯr* suggère bien des travaux entrepris dans un monument antérieur, mais c'est bien l'ambiguïté de la forme relative (*sd.t=s ḏs.t*) et de son antécédent qui mérite une attention particulière. Tant *ḥw.t-nṯr* que *jn.t* sont des substantifs féminins. On peut donc comprendre que l'action de la déesse concerne la vallée (*jn.t*), dont elle serait la créatrice, ou qu'elle se rapporte au temple proprement dit (*ḥw.t-nṯr*). Dans ce dernier cas, on peut postuler l'existence préalable d'une cavité naturelle, œuvre de la déesse. Cette affirmation pourrait être le témoignage d'une tradition locale plus ancienne, qui présenterait le premier sanctuaire de Pakhet comme une grotte aménagée, notamment sous le règne d'Hatchepsout — et peut-être dès le Moyen Empire —, que Séthi Ier aurait fait transformer en temple, suivant un plan plus "orthodoxe."

Le second texte daté de Séthi Ier est la longue inscription qui fut gravée à l'entrée du corridor (fig. 9.9). On y apprend, colonne 14 (Fairman et Grdseloff 1947, pl. 7, 18; *KRI* I 43.1–2), que "sa majesté renouvela alors son [= de Pakhet] temple à nouveau (*wn.jn ḥm=f ḥr sm3<wj> ḥw.t-nṯr=s m-m3wt*), en y établissant des portes, comme le grand siège des maîtres de la Vallée du Couteau (*smn ꜥ3.w ḥr=s mj s.t wr.t n nb.w Ds.t*)." Non seulement, Séthi Ier donne l'ordre de restaurer le sanctuaire, mais il prévoit sans doute l'installation du culte de divinités associées, dont nous n'avons pas directement trace dans le monument, si ce n'est la mention de nombreuses déesses-lionnes et d'autres divinités dans le texte cité ou les représentations d'Amon, de l'Ennéade et de Thot dans le pronaos.

Un des intérêts de cette brève citation est de rappeler que l'achèvement des travaux est — comme souvent dans de tels contextes — signifié par la mise en place de portes (au pluriel) dans le monument. Les vestiges en place montrent en effet que la petite niche creusée dans le fond du sanctuaire était close par une porte à double vantail (les logements des crapaudines sont encore bien visibles) et que le corridor se fermait par une porte à vantail unique, dont le logement du verrou est conservé à l'est et celui de la crapaudine supérieure à l'ouest. La question de savoir s'il y avait, au devant de la façade, une enceinte ou même un avant-corps[10] reste ouverte.

Il est également question de portes dans le texte gravé à l'époque d'Hatchepsout (fig. 9.10). Aux colonnes 20 et 21 (centre de l'inscription), la reine précise à l'égard de la déesse (Gardiner 1946, pp. 20–21, pl. 6; *Urk.*

[10] L'érosion du sol de la vallée est profonde. Si une telle construction a existé, elle aura été entièrement emportée par les flots des inondations.

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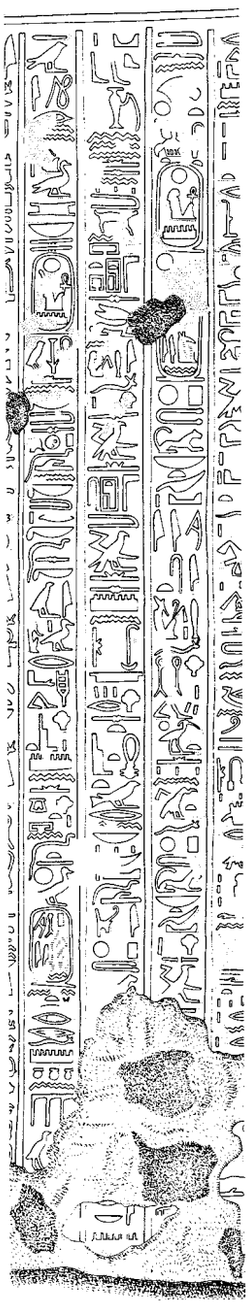

Figure 9.9. Extrait de l'inscription gravée sous Séthi Ier sur la paroi est du corridor, mentionnant la restauration du temple de Pakhet (dessin Luce Chappaz-Pache)

Figure 9.10. Extrait de l'inscription gravée sous Hatchepsout sur le fronton, mentionnant l'achèvement du temple de Pakhet (dessin Luce Chappaz-Pache)

IV 387.1–4; J. P. Allen 2002, pl. 1, col. 20–21): "J'ai fait sa [= de Pakhet] demeure en creusant … pour son Ennéade (*jr.n=j ḥw.t=s m šꜣ<d> /// /// /// n psḏ.t=s*), les portes en acacia bardées de cuivre d'Asie (*ꜥ.w m šnd.t ndb.w m ḥmtj <jm>y.t* (?))." À nouveau, l'expression *ꜥ.w* est employée au pluriel, mais à la nuance — dès lors où le creusement du corridor et du sanctuaire sont attribués au règne de Séthi Ier —, qu'on ne trouve aucune trace de la moindre porte sur le terrain. On imagine volontiers une enceinte ou un avant-corps fermé, mais, bien plus probablement, le Spéos Artémidos pourrait avoir été réduit, à cette époque, à une chapelle relativement modeste, accessible par un couloir — peut-être coudé — clos par une ou plusieurs portes.

En guise de conclusion

Tant la division des espaces que le nombre et le type des piliers rattachent nettement l'architecture du Spéos Artémidos, dans son état actuel, aux modèles ramessides des temples rupestres. Les dysharmonies et dissymétries dans l'aspect de la façade et l'implantation des piliers montrent une reprise en profondeur de l'architecture du monument. Ces différentes modifications et l'observation de ces mêmes éléments dans le développement architectural des autres temples rupestres du Nouvel Empire correspondent bien à la chronologie qui a pu être établie lors de l'examen épigraphique des scènes gravées dans les divers espaces du Spéos Artémidos. Les descriptions textuelles du sanctuaire, pour succinctes qu'elles soient, confirment les transformations entreprises sous la XIXe dynastie.

À l'époque d'Hatchepsout, il faut très vraisemblablement restituer, en accord avec les chapelles rupestres contemporaines, une façade pleine, avec sans doute des colonnes-sistres hathoriques engagées contre celle-ci[11] et rythmant le monument. Le spéos de Pakhet se réduisait probablement à une salle oblongue (grotte sanctuaire?), le long de l'actuelle paroi orientale du pronaos, à laquelle on accédait par un couloir probablement coudé. L'entrée devait sans doute être flanquée d'une ou deux niches,[12]

[11] Un exemple comparable est fourni par les deux "piliers" osiriaques sculptés dans la paroi naturelle, de part et d'autre de la porte du spéos de Kanais/Ouadi Miâh (Schott 1961, pl. 7).

[12] À l'est du Spéos Artémidos subsiste une telle niche, restée inachevée et anépigraphe.

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dont l'un des côtés était inscrit de la titulature de Thoutmosis III, que les artisans de Séthi Ier purent intégrer au décor des faces latérales de deux piliers. La grande inscription de la reine surplombait l'ensemble. On peut imaginer d'autres installations (stèles rupestres, petites chapelles à l'ouest, en-dessous du fronton). Les artisans de Séthi Ier auront détruit cet ensemble en perçant les ouvertures et en y établissant les piliers, mais en préservant les titulatures de Thoutmosis III qui figuraient en façade. En décorant la partie occidentale du pronaos, ils choisirent des scènes cultuelles qui répondaient parfaitement au thème développé dans les scènes d'Hatchepsout (couronnement; Chappaz 1994, pp. 24–25), tout en étant obligés d'intervertir l'orientation de ces dernières, tout en étant obligés d'intervertir l'orientation de ces dernières, mais furent gêné dans la mise en place de ce décor par le manque de place, ce qui les conduisit à rompre la symétrie du monument en l'étendant vers l'ouest. En creusant l'intérieur du pronaos, ils ont obligatoirement fait disparaître toute trace non seulement de l'aspect initial du Spéos Artémidos, mais également de l'accès au sanctuaire établi par la reine Hatchepsout.

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10

The Power of the Elite: The Officials of Hatshepsut's Regency and Coregency

*JJ Shirley, Journal of Egyptian History**

The death of Thutmose II[1] left a young Thutmose III as his heir and a powerful God's Wife of Amun, Hatshepsut, as the queen-regent. What happened next was (almost)[2] unprecedented: after at least two years as queen-regent for her young nephew and stepson, and probably after year 5, Hatshepsut began the process of assuming the kingship as coregent. She was coronated no later than Thutmose III's year 7, essentially ruling Egypt as king for the next fifteen years (Dorman 1988, pp. 18–45; Schneider 1994, p. 130; Laboury 1998, pp. 19–29). Royal art, architecture, imagery, and inscriptions produced during this period illustrate the

* The title is not meant to suggest that what is presented here is a full accounting of the officials of the regency through coregency period. This would require a much longer, proper monograph, which is indeed greatly needed. The intention here is to present a sampling of those men who are best known and/or can perhaps provide insight into the workings of the court and government during this period, and the role they may have played in Hatshepsut's assumption of kingship.

I would like to thank José Galán for the invitation to attend the Theban Symposium, held in the beautiful setting of Granada, and to include my paper in this publication. Thanks also go to Cathy Cunniff for accompanying me and my then eight-month-old son Xavier, thus making it possible for me to participate in the conference. Dimitri Laboury carefully and thoughtfully read and commented upon an earlier draft, and this paper is much improved on account of his efforts. Raphael Cunniff tirelessly edited the final drafts, for which I am extremely grateful. I must also thank the countless individuals who helped see this paper through to completion, chief among them Betsy Bryan and José Galán for providing unending patience and support. All remaining mistakes are purely my own. While my colleagues may not have entirely agreed with some of the conclusions I drew in my presentation in Granada, it is my hope that the interpretations presented here will at the very least provide additional elements for consideration.

[1] The only certain date for Thutmose II is for year 1, though he is credited with as few as three and as many as fourteen years. On this subject, see Gabolde 1987b, esp. p. 75, and idem 1993 and 2005, pp. 147–49, where the argument for three years is made. Also in favor of the shorter reign are Laboury (1998, p. 5) and Dorman (in Roehrig 2005, p. 87; 2006, p. 40 with nn. 12–14).

For a longer reign, see, e.g., Wente and Van Siclen 1977, pp. 226–27; von Beckerath 1990; 1994, pp. 110–12; 1997, p. 121. In addition, during the discussion of this topic at the Granada conference, Valbelle and Bonnet asserted that a reign of only four years was not enough to account for the work of Thutmose II in Nubia, particularly at Dokki Gel.

Although the question is clearly still open, for the purposes of this article, I have adopted the shorter reign of three to four years. While the arguments of von Beckerath with regard to Ineni's statement that Thutmose II being called a "hawk in the nest" implies he was very young at his accession have merit, they do not mean he has to have been so youthful that he was not able to father a child. This is rather different from the statement made by Amenemheb-Mahu that he knew Amenhotep II when the king was "in the nest" (*Urk.* IV 897.12). The tenure of Amenemheb-Mahu's service as primarily an official under Thutmose III, but continuing into the reign of Amenhotep II, and the veracity of this statement are confirmed by the fact that Amenemheb-Mahu's wife Baky was a wet nurse to Amenhotep II. Baky is depicted suckling the young prince and bears the epithets "chief (*wrt*) royal nurse," "one who nurtured (the flesh of) the god" (*šdt* (*ḥʿw*) *nṯr*), and also "Horus having united of her breast" (*ḫnm.n Ḥr šnbt.s*), indicating that she and her husband must have been roughly a generation older than Amenhotep. Quite compelling for a shorter reign is the fact that Ineni does not receive any further promotions from Thutmose II, but rather "attains old age" and is favored through gifts of food and drink (*Urk.* IV 58.14–59.14). This is such stark contrast to the lengthy detailing of his career under Amenhotep I and especially Thutmose I that a shorter reign for Thutmose II seems necessary, even if we should also understand that Ineni had already reached the pinnacle of his career. A shorter reign is also suggested by the fact that Useramun, when appointed to (co-)vizier in year 5, gives his primary title as scribe of the divine seal, a position to which he was appointed by Thutmose I. If Thutmose II had reigned for longer than three or four years, it seems likely that Useramun would have attained a higher post before becoming vizier and would have recorded it in this significant scene.

[2] Although much earlier in time, Hatshepsut did have several role models, in particular the Middle Kingdom queen/king Sobekkara Sobeknefru (Bryan 1996, pp. 27–30; cf. Habachi 1952; Matzker 1986, pp. 18–20, 40; Callender 2000, pp. 170–71; A. M. Roth in Roehrig 2005, pp. 9–15).

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ideological means through which Hatshepsut effected this transfer of power (see, e.g., Gabolde 2005; Laboury, this volume). Likewise, texts found on the monuments of contemporary officials such as Ineni and Senenmut demonstrate Hatshepsut's essentially gradual textual and iconographic evolution from queen to king (see Dorman 2006, pp. 41–53; Roehrig 2005, pp. 112–16). Although we can trace the visual and titular progression, the political route to her kingship, namely how and why it occurred, is still incompletely understood. Our lack of knowledge about the political situation surrounding Hatshepsut's ascension is, one the one hand, remarkable given that Hatshepsut presumably would have needed at least the tacit approval of the highest officials in order to execute her iconographical transformation, ideological message, and building program. Yet we must also keep in mind that in ancient Egypt the king was — next to the gods — the power supreme, and thus to display his (or her) rule as anything other than executed with complete control and divinely ordained was anathema to the ancient Egyptians. Nonetheless, the reality was that there was of course a bureaucracy and hierarchy of officials, some of whom wielded enormous power and thus must have played a role in ensuring a king's effective rule.

This paper addresses the issue of Hatshepsut's rise to power and the subsequent transition (back) to Thutmose III by re-evaluating the careers and families of several high-level officials who functioned during this period. As Hatshepsut broke new ground in the visual and titular portrayal of herself as king, did she do the same with her officials? Who took the reins in this process, Hatshepsut or the officials? If Hatshepsut, did she surround herself with a new cadre of men who were then rewarded for helping her? Or did she reward or bribe an established elite to facilitate her rise? Or was it a combination thereof? Did Hatshepsut utilize her power as God's Wife of Amun to obtain the support of a particular elite, thereby stabilizing her reign and creating a "support and reward" situation? Or did several officials, believing that a crisis could occur when Thutmose II's death left a very young Thutmose III as the new king, determine the best way to proceed was to have Hatshepsut assume power, effectively cementing their own power as well as their indispensability to her? Considering that during the coregency several officials were promoted or had their duties greatly expanded, and the Amun precinct administration witnessed a significant rise in personnel, to what extent was this Hatshepsut's doing, or the internal creation of a cabal? Or, despite the apparent ingenuity of Hatshepsut's reign, was the transition of officials in fact simply "business as usual" within the Egyptian government?

These questions are not new, and several scholars have already contended with them to a greater or lesser degree. For example, W. Helck (1994, pp. 36–42) and E. Dziobek (1995, pp. 132–36; 1998, pp. 144–48) have suggested that there was a contingent of officials who transitioned from Thutmose II into the early years of Hatshepsut and were instrumental in her rise to the throne. L. Gabolde (2005, pp. 164–68; see also Vandersleyen 1995, p. 265 with n. 2) has drawn attention to the role that Hatshepsut's position as God's Wife of Amun must have played for her kingship.[3] The following discussion of officials who formed the upper elite of the period represented by the reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III attempts to further elucidate the interplay and political relationships between the officials and Hatshepsut over the course of her regency and reign, as well as Thutmose III's (re-)ascension as sole king.

To explore these questions, the officials are grouped into the following categories, which are not mutually exclusive: (1) officials whom Hatshepsut inherited and retained; (2) those who rose in power or significance during her tenure as queen-regent and king, and were appointed or promoted by her; and (3) those who remained in their position after Thutmose III became sole king, as well as those whom he installed. The fate of officials who were retained by Thutmose III, that is, how long they remained in power and who was chosen to replace them, will be briefly examined for clues as to the manner through which Hatshepsut assumed and maintained her kingship.

The review below suggests that overall Hatshepsut utilized an existing administrative framework to assist and secure both her queen-regency and her reign, but that within this are two over-arching features of her administration. During the regency she further rewarded those officials whom she inherited in order to

[3] Other works that deal more broadly with this issue include Aksamit 1997 and Dorman 2006.

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ensure that her regency proceeded smoothly; these were men she needed due to their high level of power under her predecessors. At the same time, however, Hatshepsut also began a program of promotion for officials who promised and/or demonstrated their loyalty and commitment to the royal program during the regency and early years of her kingship. This process resulted in the first characteristic feature of her reign: a central group of extremely powerful officials, and an extended group of prominent, though slightly less powerful, officials. While some of these men may have assisted her rise, most were appointed following her assumption of kingship and thus formed a select cabinet of reliable courtiers. Remarkably, a re-evaluation of Useramun's role in Hatshepsut's transition to king has resulted in the conclusion that rather than assisting in her rise, she may well have increased her power despite him. The second major element is that neither the Amun precinct nor the God's Wife estate seem to have figured prominently in Hatshepsut's selection of elite to promote beyond two of her top officials: Senenmut and Hapuseneb. Rather, the Amun domain functioned largely as a means for Hatshepsut to further reward her chosen elite, while the burgeoning priesthood and expansion of administrative positions (Eichler 2000, pp. 9–24, 215–18; Haring 2013, pp. 619ff.) created by her building program afforded the elite opportunities to place additional family members in positions of power, thereby increasing their own wealth. The prominent connection between officials and the Amun precinct under Hatshepsut is one that came as a result of her kingship, not one that had a role in creating it. Hatshepsut's administration, while reflecting a unique sociopolitical environment, was nonetheless founded on a proven model and followed its basic principles. That Thutmose III followed a similar program of retaining several officials promoted by Hatshepsut, and rewarding and in some cases promoting them, while also installing a new group of elite officials later in his reign, further supports the conclusion that Hatshepsut's administration was a variation on a theme, rather than a revolution.

1. Officials Hatshepsut Inherited and Retained

The group of officials discussed below are those who were certainly in positions of power when Hatshepsut became queen-regent for her young stepson/nephew and who continued to serve in their posts during the regency and, in some cases, into the coregency. These are officials who were already in their highest positions when Hatshepsut became queen-regent for Thutmose III. They were thus all nearing the end of their careers and died or left office during the coregency, if not earlier. Because these men were already installed in influential offices when Hatshepsut became queen-regent, they presumably would have had sufficient power to have installed her as king, or at the very least facilitate her rise. Given the ancient Egyptian ideology of kingship that, particularly in the New Kingdom, saw the king not only as divinely chosen but also as a semi-divine being — the son of Amun and the chief queen — it would perhaps be surprising if this kind of power were overtly displayed. Nonetheless, some individuals did play prominent roles in the administration of their kings, or were the actual power behind the throne. Discovery of such circumstances often requires reading between the lines of the pertinent textual and iconographic evidence. For example, we can see this in the reign of Ahmose and the role his mother Ahmose-Nefertari played from the imagery and inscriptions of her own monuments and those of her officials (Bryan 1996, pp. 30–33; 2003, pp. 1–6), or later with regard to Tutankhamun and his "advisors" Ay and Horemheb (Kawai 2010). The following survey of Hatshepsut's inherited officials suggests that the already heightened status of these men meant that Hatshepsut needed to curry favor with them during her regency, and that as a result there was a very delicate balance of power at play between the queen-regent and her officials. This is particularly evident in the case of the family of the vizier Ahmose-Aametu, but can be argued for others as well.

1.1. Powerful Officials when Hatshepsut became Queen-regent

The officials in office when Hatshepsut became queen-regent include some of the most powerful in the country, and all were likely at the end of their respective careers: the vizier Ahmose-Aametu, his brother-in-law the mayor of Thebes and head of the Amun precinct administration Ineni, the overseer of the seal

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Ahmose-Pennekhbet, the viceroy (and former mayor of Thebes) Seni/Senires, the mayor of Thinis Satepihu, and the steward and tutor of Neferura Senimen.[4]

Ahmose-Aametu, Vizier

When Hatshepsut became queen-regent, she had as her vizier Ahmose-Aametu, an aged and experienced official who, as Dziobek (1998, p. 111) has shown, likely began his tenure under Thutmose I and was nearing sixty when Thutmose II died.[5] As the maternal grandson of Ahmose I's viceroy Ahmose-Satayt and nephew of Satayt's successor as viceroy Ahmose-Tjuro, Ahmose-Aametu belonged to an elite family whose origins reached back to the late Seventeenth Dynasty. He also married into the prominent Theban family of Ineni (see below), cementing his power and that of his descendants (Shirley 2010b, pp. 75–98; see also Bács 2002). While Aametu continued to serve during Hatshepsut's regency, his son Useramun took over as vizier in year 5 (see below) — before Hatshepsut was definitively ruling as king. As the second in command after the king, whoever held the vizierate post wielded a great deal of power, perhaps particularly so given that the structure of the Eighteenth Dynasty administration was still developing (see Shirley 2013a, pp. 570–77; Polz 2007, pp. 304–07). It seems plausible that Hatshepsut would have needed the backing of the vizier in order to effect her rise to power, and that Aametu could have made a shrewd deal to ensure that this powerful position stayed in the hands of his family. The fact that the transfer of office from father to son occurred in year 5, when Hatshepsut was transitioning from queen-regent to coregent/king, suggests that we can perhaps see the appointment of Useramun as part of an agreement to support Hatshepsut during this process.

Ineni, Mayor of Thebes and Amun Precinct Administrator

Hatshepsut's possible need for the support of her vizier Aametu takes on additional significance when we take into account that Aametu had married the sister of the most important Theban official of the day — that of the mayor Ineni (Shirley 2010b, p. 91; cf. Dziobek 1992, pp. 142–44). In addition to being the architect of Thutmose I's tomb and successor to Seni/Senires (see below) as mayor of Thebes, Ineni also held numerous upper-level posts within the Amun precinct administration and concerning the construction carried out at Karnak: overseer and director of works at Karnak, overseer of the double granaries of Amun, overseer of all offices in the house of Amun, and overseer of all sealed things in the house of Amun, and his title of overseer of the silver houses may also be related to the Amun precinct (Dziobek 1992, pp. 37ff., 122–23;[6] Eichler

[4] It is possible that Hatshepsut inherited one Minmose as her overseer of the silver houses (Helck 1958, p. 396; 1994, pp. 39–40 n. e). He is known only from an inscription in the Sinai (Gardiner, Peet, and Černý 1952–55, vol. 1, no. 233, pl. 67) where he gives his titles as "overseer of the *pr-ḥḏ*, controller (*ḫrp*) of … of the God's Wife." This latter portion suggests he served Hatshepsut when she was God's Wife of Amun, and it seems plausible then that he would have continued during her regency and into her coregency. The fact that he left an inscription in the Sinai suggests that he was there fulfilling a mission for Hatshepsut, though when is unknown. It is also possible that we should understand his role as an overseer of the silver house as referring to the estate of the God's Wife, rather than a more central office, in which case he could have continued to function into the coregency alongside other men serving as overseer of the silver and gold houses of the state or the temple. Though not impossible, there is nothing to suggest that this individual should be identified with the overseer of the double granary Minmose known from his inclusion in the obelisk transport scene at Deir el-Bahari (see below). The same can be said for the official named on the year 5 accounts tablet who may be called [Min]mose, but whose title is lost; see Vernus 1981, pp. 109, 115, 123.

[5] The assertion by Polz (2007, p. 284) that Aametu was born at the end of the Seventeenth Dynasty and built his tomb late in the reign of Ahmose or early Amenhotep I, while not impossible, does not seem likely as this would place him at an extremely advanced age in year 5 of Hatshepsut/Thutmose III, closer to eighty-five, assuming a long reign for Thutmose II and seventy-five assuming a short reign, if we assume he was born around the same time as King Ahmose, who was about ten when he took the throne. In addition, the writing of Ahmose-Aametu's name, with the moon sign turned downward, points to a birth later than King Ahmose's year 18. Polz's suggestion also presents difficulties for the intra-familial chronologies of Ahmose-Aametu, Ineni, and Ahmose-Tjuro (for this, see Shirley 2010b, pp. 84–88). It seems more plausible that Ahmose-Aametu was roughly of the same generation of Ineni, whose sister he married. Ineni began his career under Amenhotep I but was awarded most of his upper-level offices by Thutmose I, suggesting he was born toward the end of King Ahmose's reign (cf. Dziobek 1992, p. 123).

[6] According to Dziobek's reconstruction (1992, pp. 122–23), under Amenhotep I Ineni was placed in charge of all crafts and offices of Amun, as well as festivals, and may have been given some role with regard to the treasury. Thutmose I placed him as overseer of the silver and gold houses of Amun, overseer of the granaries of Amun, overseer of all works of Amun and overseer of every seal of Amun; placed the fields of the Amun, domain in his charge; and also made him mayor of Thebes and leader of the work on his royal tomb.

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2000, no. 144, pp. 27–28, 122ff., 211ff.).[7] From his tomb inscriptions, it is clear that Ineni, like Aametu, was a powerful official reaching the end of his career when Thutmose II died (*Urk.* IV 53–67; Dziobek 1992, pp. 44–59, 122–41; see also Dorman 2006, p. 40). Indeed, Ineni's prominent status is further evidenced by his use of official royal language, similar to that found on Hatshepsut's own monuments, in his autobiographical text (compare Gabolde and Rondot 1996, pp. 191, 194, with *Urk.* IV 59.1, 60.5).[8] Ineni also received additional favor from Hatshepsut, including the gold of honor — one of only two known officials who were so rewarded by her (*Urk.* IV 60.12–17; Binder 2008, pp. 151–54). S. Binder has suggested that Hatshepsut awarded the gold of honor to Ineni because she "had perceived an achievement out of the ordinary and therefore of equal importance to a military honour" (ibid., p. 238); the earlier recipients were military men, which supports Dorman's suggestion that Ineni gained the personal favor of Hatshepsut (Dorman 2006, p. 47). Given that Ineni's favored status and power continued during Hatshepsut's regency, one wonders if the "achievement" Hatshepsut recognized might have been related to his instrumental role in her transition from queen-regent to king.

Whether Ineni continued into the early years of the coregency is uncertain, but his tomb at least was complete before the transition,[9] and if he did survive he must have died fairly early, as his tomb was not altered to reflect Hatshepsut's status as king. Although Ineni does not appear to have had any children who could have benefitted from his favored status, perhaps his brothers and nephews-by-marriage did — all of whom are spread throughout the Theban Amun domain in a variety of priestly and administrative positions. And Useramun, as vizier, also became mayor of Thebes, so it is clear that several of Ineni's positions found their way into the hands of his descendants-by-marriage (Shirley 2010b, pp. 91–95). As with the viziers Aametu and Useramun, Ineni's apparent capacity to ensure placement of his family into positions of power is a further indication of the family's influence and suggestive of a role in Hatshepsut's rise to king.

Ahmose-Pennekhbet, Overseer of the Seal

The overseer of the seal (*imy-r ḫtmw*) and first royal herald (*wḥm tpy nsw*) when Hatshepsut began her regency was Ahmose-Pennekhbet, who was certainly at the end of his career with his long tenure in the military finishing during the reign of Thutmose II. He was rewarded with the gold of honor for his military service by Amenhotep I, Thutmose I, and Thutmose II (Binder 2008, pp. 148–49) and likely joined the ranks of the civil administration following this, becoming overseer of the seal and herald under Thutmose II.[10] In his tomb autobiography, Ahmose-Pennekhbet relates that "the God's Wife repeated favors for me, the great royal wife, Maatkara, *mꜣʿ ḫrw*. I nurtured (*šd*) her eldest child, the king's daughter, Neferura, *mꜣʿ-ḫrw*, when she was as a child upon the breast (*imy mnḏ*)" (*Urk.* IV 34.15–17), thereby implying that he became a tutor to Neferura. The question is: who made this appointment, Thutmose II or Hatshepsut? The combination of the God's Wife and Maatkara titles for Hatshepsut is problematic, since her prenomen of Maatkara designates her position as king, following year 7, when she was no longer the God's Wife. However, the reference to Neferura's youth implies that that Ahmose-Pennekhbet's appointment as her tutor occurred early on, perhaps while Neferura was still an infant, and likely before she was much older than three or four (cf. Roehrig 1990, pp. 50–51), and thus at the cusp of Hatshepsut's regency.[11]

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[7] It should be noted that Eichler (2000, pp. 115–21) argues that the creation of a "treasury" directly connected to Karnak did not occur until the reign of Amenhotep II and that any earlier references to such an institution should be understood as meaning the "treasury" of Thutmose I at Karnak-North; cf. Haring 2013, pp. 620–21.

[8] I would like to thank D. Laboury for pointing this out to me.

[9] Laboury (1998, pp. 5–6, 603 n. 1807; and this volume), suggests that it was written in the same time frame as Hatshepsut's transition from queen-regent to coregent/king, that is, around year 7, rather than at the beginning of the regency, as is usually assumed. Although biographical texts can, of course, contain information about earlier stages of an official's life and career, since they are written toward the end of that career, generally the latest information presented is contemporary with the writing of the text. Thus, in Ineni's case, based on the titulary recorded for Hatshepsut, she would be queen-regent, and not yet ruler, though precisely when in the regency the text was composed is not certain. Laboury makes an interesting argument, one that if correct places Ineni's text as composed toward the end of the regency period, which is certainly possible, though I do not think it can be placed any later, as otherwise Ineni would surely have used Hatshepsut's royal titulary.

[10] I would like to thank W. Vivian Davies for many productive conversations about this official and his career path. See also Shirley 2011, p. 292 n. 6.

[11] This is following a shorter reign for Thutmose II. However, Ahmose-Pennekhbet was potentially given this post by Thutmose II if his reign lasted closer to thirteen or fourteen years.

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Helck (1958, p. 346) suggested that because no mention was made in Ahmose-Pennekhbet's tomb of Hatshepsut's ascension to the throne, nor is any sense given that she is ruling the land, as in Ineni's tomb, Ahmose-Pennekhbet must have died quite early in the regency. Dorman (1988, pp. 37–38) suggested that the use of Hatshepsut's prenomen may indicate the text was composed, or at least finished, close to her becoming king in year 7. However, W. V. Davies' recent work on Ahmose-Pennekhbet's tomb (Elkab no. 2; W. V. Davies and O'Connell 2011b and 2012; W. V. Davies, this volume) has shown that the tomb was at least decorated by, if it did not in fact belong to, Ahmose-Pennekhbet's "brother" — probably a great-grandnephew — sometime during the reign of Amenhotep III. Therefore, discerning and interpreting the events given in his tomb autobiography must take into account its later composition and the fact that it was likely copied from a longer original, and perhaps altered or abbreviated. Indeed, the fact that a significant portion of the text as given in the tomb and on the known, fragmentary, statues of Ahmose-Pennekhbet bear remarkable similarity to each other further attests to this (cf. *Urk.* IV 32–39).[12] Thus the reference in Ahmose-Pennekhbet's autobiography to being favored by Hatshepsut must be understood in this context, particularly since this portion of the text only appears in the tomb.[13] It is possible that the inclusion of her prenomen Maatkara was done only by the composers of the later inscription, particularly as Neferura is also referred to as *mꜣᶜ-ḫrw*, and thus we should not necessarily see Ahmose-Pennekhbet as having served under Hatshepsut as king. But even if the use of the prenomen was original, the fact that Hatshepsut still bears the God's Wife title and Neferura does not would place the text's original composition in the regency period. In this light we should probably understand the text as indicating that Ahmose-Pennekhbet's appointment occurred before Hatshepsut became king. The stress Ahmose-Pennekhbet places on Neferura being Hatshepsut's daughter ("her eldest child")[14] suggests that it was Hatshepsut, as God's Wife, who appointed Ahmose-Pennekhbet to his role as Nefurera's tutor probably during the regency (cf. Laboury 1998, pp. 507–08; Roehrig 1990, pp. 50–51).[15]

Ahmose-Pennekhbet's service under Hatshepsut's predecessors indicates he was an official who already had a close relationship with the royal court, and his appointment as Neferura's tutor marks him as one of Hatshepsut's most trusted officials during the regency period. As with Ineni, no linear descendants are known, though his collateral family, who retained provincial importance for several generations, holding the position of "first king's son of Nekhbet" for four generations, may have benefitted from his favored status. The findings of the Elkab tomb demonstrate that not only was Ahmose-Pennekhbet still a well-known and honored ancestor, but was likely viewed by his descendants as the family's ancestor par excellence.[16] Given Ahmose-Pennekhbet's importance, we might understand his retention as overseer of the seal and first royal

[12] These are a statue base in the Louvre (C 49; Lepsius 1842), and a statue fragment found by Finlay (Maspero 1883, §XLIV, pp. 77–78). Maspero in fact notes that the text on the granite statue is a duplicate of the Louvre statue.

[13] The accounts on the statues give Ahmose's participation on the campaigns of Ahmose through Thutmose II, and the rewards he was granted by these kings. Only the tomb provides a "summary" of these events and includes also the names of Thutmose III and Hatshepsut. Given the fragmentary state of the statues, it is of course possible that they once contained this portion of the inscription as well.

[14] A parallel is perhaps provided by Senenmut on his statue FM 173800, which has similar wording: "... I nurtured the king's eldest daughter, the God's Wife Neferura, *mꜣᶜ-ḫrw*. I was given to her as *ỉt nṯr* because of my effectiveness on behalf of the king (Hatshepsut)." The statue's text was composed after year 7 given Neferura's title of God's Wife, but apparently refers to earlier events and promotions. See Roehrig 1990, p. 74; Roehrig 2005, pp. 115–16. See also below in the discussion of Senenmut.

[15] Laboury suggested that the text refers to an event that occurred during the regency of Hatshepsut, but was composed after she had assumed the throne and was thus known as Maatkara. Neferura's identification as "king's daughter" could in this case refer to either Thutmose II or Hatshepsut or both. The inclusion of Thutmose III in the autobiography is less helpful, as it could assist in either interpretation. That is, it could indicate either a later composition at which time Thutmose III was of course a deceased king and thus included, or that the reference to Thutmose III demonstrates that the text was composed in the early regency, when Thutmose III was still the nominal pharaoh and included in all official documents (though this would still not explain the use of Hatshepsut's prenomen). Our own difficulties with understanding and interpreting this passage are perhaps an excellent example of just how unusual this time period was, and no doubt the officials themselves also were experimenting with how best to refer to queen-regent Hatshepsut.

[16] This is true whether the tomb belonged to Ahmose-Pennekheb's descendant, or was originally Ahmose-Pennekheb's. If the first case, then this later descendant afforded an extremely prominent place to Ahmose-Pennekheb, essentially memorializing him. If it is a case of extended use by the same family, then it is telling that Ahmose-Pennekheb, as the original owner, was so revered that he continues to be included in the text and imagery in a significant manner and is not overwritten by the later descendant.

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herald, and further appointment as tutor, as part of an effort to secure the support of the Elkab elite for Hatshepsut's regency and transition to king.

Seni/Senires, Viceroy

Although the viceroyalty during this period is still incompletely understood, it appears that Hatshepsut inherited the viceroy Seni from her father. Seni is known from his ex-voto inscriptions at Kumma, which have a *terminus a quo* of Thutmose II based on their proximity to inscriptions of this king (Caminos 1998, vol. 2, pp. 22–25, pls. 20–23; Bács 2002, pp. 56–57 n. 25). In addition, the re-examination by W. V. Davies (2008, pp. 45–47, pls. 15–16) of the year 2 Semna temple inscription of Thutmose III (Caminos 1998, vol. 1, pp. 14, 41–47, pls. 23–26) makes it clear that the viceroy Seni was still in office during the regency. As T. Bács noted (2009, p. 36), this confirms Seni as the unknown viceroy who left a biographical inscription detailing his service from the reign of Ahmose through that of Thutmose II found on the exterior south wall of the Semna temple (*Urk.* IV 39–41; Caminos 1998, vol. 1, pp. 14, 27–33, pls. 18–19; Valbelle 2007b, p. 162 (e) n. 11, pp. 173–75).[17] This inscription details Seni's appointment to an overseer of something (title lost) under Ahmose, promotion to overseer of the granary of Amun and controller of work at Karnak by Amenhotep I, and viceroy[18] by Thutmose I, with additional favors and a commission by Thutmose II. The promotion to viceroy marks the high point of his career, as indicated by his receiving the gold of honor at this time, and like Ineni he was rewarded for loyalty and excellent service under several kings (Binder 2008, pp. 149–51, 238). In conjunction with his titles relating to the Amun precinct, Seni was quite possibly also the mayor of Thebes, known from his monuments as Senires (cf. Helck 1958, pp. 419–20; Dziobek 1992, p. 125; Eichler 2000, no. 494, pp. 31 n. 135, 212ff.; Bács, this volume).[19] Seni/Senires, like the other officials discussed here, was an influential and aged official when Hatshepsut became queen-regent. The apparent lack of monuments connecting him specifically to Hatshepsut suggests that he probably died or was replaced around year 2, making it unlikely that he played any significant role in her transition to king, though as a prominent member of the Theban elite, his initial retention may have been necessary.

Satepihu, Mayor of Thinis

From among the provincial elite, the mayor of Thinis and overseer of *ḥm*-priests in Thinis Satepihu may have already been in power when Hatshepsut became queen-regent and would have been known to her not just as an important Thinite official, but also because his wife was the royal nurse Tanetiunet (Shirley 2005a,

[17] Since Ahmose-Tjuro was still in office in year 3 of Thutmose I (Habachi 1981, p. 33, nos. 1–2, fig. 6-Inscr. 1, 82–84; Shirley 2010b, pp. 79–82), this provides a *terminus post quem* for Seni's assumption of office (Helck 1958, pp. 419–20; cf. Dziobek 1992, p. 125; Bács 2002, p. 57). If we conjecture that he was at least twenty when he was first promoted by Ahmose (so born at the beginning of Ahmose's reign, or earlier), he would have been in his late thirties or early forties when promoted to viceroy by Thutmose I, and around sixty in year 2 of Thutmose III (assuming a short reign for Thutmose II, nearer seventy if a long reign).

[18] The inscription preserves only the title "king's son," and while it is possible that the lacuna contained *tpy n ỉmn* rather than *ỉmy-r ḫ3swt rsyt*, making Seni a first king's son of Amun, both the placement of the inscription at Semna and the existence of other inscriptions at Semna, Kumma, and in his Theban funerary cones (Davies and Macadam 1957, nos. 342, 343) in which he is referred to with the full title "king's son, overseer of southern foreign countries" make the priestly reconstruction unlikely. For the priestly title, see Schmitz 1976, pp. 278–81.

[19] Although it is generally assumed that he would have held the mayoralty in conjunction with his Amun precinct titles and prior to becoming viceroy, it seems at least possible that it was this post with which he was awarded by Thutmose II, and which is now lost in his Semna temple inscription. If correct, we might see in this a sinecure awarded to him. Whether or not Senires should be considered the same official known from TT 317 is unclear. According to the preliminary publication of TT 317, Senires may have been the original owner of the tomb, co-owner with his son Djehutynefer, or a later user of the tomb; no filiation between the two men is preserved. Senires and his wife Amen... called Taiyt are the receipients of offerings by both their son Djehutynefer (Wall 3, fig. 120) and another son, or perhaps grandson, Amunhotep (Wall 6, fig. 121), while the jambs of the passage entrance contain only the titles of Djehutynefer (fig. 122). In addition, the Japanese team dates TT 317 to the reign of Amenhotep II (contra Kampp 1996, p. 573, who dates it to Hatshepsut/Thutmose III), meaning that if Senires is the tomb's owner, he is unlikely to be the same Senires who was the much earlier mayor of Thebes. The two might still be equated if Senires and Djehutynefer were father and son, and the tomb was in fact Djehutynefer's, who depicts his parents prominently in his tomb. See Yoshimura et al. 2003, p. 126 with table 9, p. 128 with figs. 57–61, 243–44.

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pp. 202–04; Bryan 2006, p. 98). The two are depicted, without kinship affiliation, on a stela from Abydos (CG 34080), the lunette of which shows the stela's owner Inay, along with his father and wife, offering to Osiris followed by the God's Wife Ahmose-Nefertari and a prince Ahmose (Mariette 1880, no. 1080, pp. 393–94; Lacau 1909, pp. 127–29, pl. 41; Vandersleyen 2005, p. 34). C. Roehrig (1990, pp. 14–15) suggested that Tanetiunet was a nurse for Prince Ahmose, a son of King Ahmose, and thus had to be Satepihu's mother. However, S. Harvey (2007, p. 352) interprets the monument as a votive stela demonstrating the posthumous cult of the royal family at Abydos, in which case Tanetiunet's nursling was not necessarily the young prince depicted on the stela.[20] This seems a more likely interpretation, and the identification of Tanetiuent as Satepihu's wife likewise corresponds to the remainder of the register, which depicts seated couples identified as husband and wife. Who Tanetiunet's nursling was is unknown, though it seems at least plausible that it could have been Neferura, or even Hatshepsut herself.

Additional monuments of Satepihu place him as at least a coregency official, but could suggest he was in power earlier. For example, the feminizing style of his block statue, on which he is called a follower of Horus, mayor and overseer of *ḥm*-priests of Thinis (*Urk.* IV 517–20, esp. 519.12, 520.12–13), suggests that it was completed during the late regency or early coregency (UPenn E9217; Randall-MacIver and Mace 1902, esp. pp. 65, 71, 84–85, 94–95, 97, pls. 32–33; Keller in Roehrig 2005, pp. 104–05, 158–59; cf. Laboury 2006, pp. 272–75). In addition, on a doorjamb from Satepihu's Abydos tomb, he is called "one praised (*ḥsy*) of the lord Wadjetrenput." This has generally been interpreted as a reference to Hatshepsut's *Nebty* name and thus an indicator that the tomb was completed during the coregency (tomb D9; *Urk.* IV 517.1–2; Randall-MacIver and Mace 1902, esp. pp. 65, 71, 85, 95, 97, pl. 34). However, it is also possible that this in fact refers to one of the Golden Horus names of Thutmose I (Leprohon 2010, pp. 17–18; Robins 1999b, p. 104; see below in discussion of Wadjrenput). If this is accurate, then Satepihu's tomb construction would have begun during the reign of Thutmose I, and Tanetiunet might have been a nurse to Thutmose II, or even Hatshepsut. Satepihu's apparent inclusion in the Deir el-Bahari obelisk reliefs attests to his favored status under Hatshepsut and indicates that he took part in overseeing, or at least witnessing, the transport of one pair of obelisks to Thebes that were erected early in her reign, most likely in eastern Karnak, but perhaps already quarried by Thutmose II (*Urk.* IV 517.6; Naville 1908, p. 4, pl. 154).[21] In addition, Satepihu is likely the same "mayor Satepihu" found on an ostracon from Deir el-Bahari that also names the stewards Senenmut and Rau, and Tjenuna of the house of the divine adoratrice (O. Leipzig 13; Gardiner and Černý 1957, p. 11, pl. 36:2, lines 5–6).[22] Whether Satepihu was favored due to his wife's status, his own promise of loyalty and that of the Thinite region, or because he played an active part in Hatshepsut's transition from queen-regent to king is uncertain, but by keeping on a prominent provincial official like Satepihu and including him as one of the individuals connected with carrying out her building program, Hatshepsut presumably assured his support.

Senimen, Steward and Tutor of Neferura

While the steward and tutor of Neferura Senimen, owner of TT 252, could also be discussed below since he was promoted to his final position by Hatshepsut at the outset of the coregency, he is included here because

[20] Roehrig (1990, p. 15 n. 29) does mention this possibility.

[21] On the dating of Hatshepsut's obelisks and their placement in Karnak, see Laboury 1998, pp. 21–25, 552–55; and this volume; Gabolde 1987a; 1987b; 2000; 2003; 2005, pp. 9, 17, 20, 26, 76, 89, 96, 155; Niedziólka 2002). Laboury (this volume) reconstructs that in year 7/8 Senenmut quarried and oversaw the erection of the obelisks Hatshepsut placed in the festival court of Thutmose II, with those Djehuty was responsible for dating to year 15/16 and erected in the *Wadjyt* hall. Senemut's obelisks are thus one pair of those depicted in the obelisk scene at Deir el-Bahari, while the other pair represent the ones begun by Thutmose II but finished by Hatshepsut, and erected in eastern Karnak. His argument is convincing, but it is important to note, as Laboury does, that the time frame works whether one follows this placement of the obelisks or the one suggested by Gabolde, that Senemut's obelisks are those of the festival hall and Thutmose II's were placed in eastern Karnak.

Even if Satepihu's name and title were inscribed over another official's, this does not alter the fact that he must have had royal permission to be included in the reliefs.

[22] An unnamed "mayor of Neferusy" is also included in line 9, perhaps the mayor of Neferusy Pa-ahuwty, whose son Iamnefer succeeded him in office during Thutmose III's reign, and whose grandson Suemniut was royal butler under Amenhotep II (cf. Bryan 2006, pp. 100–01). The ostracon is clearly a work account, with numbers following many of the officials' names, presumably indicating amounts of goods or labor they brought to the building project. For comparative examples, see Gardiner and Černý 1957, pl. 16:6, pl. 17:2, pl. 20:4–5, and pl. 56:5; Hayes 1960, pp. 31–32, no. 2.

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during the regency he was an aged official and already an important part of the royal household and God's Wife estate. Senimen grew up in the court of Ahmose, based on his title *ḫrd n kꜣp n Nb-pḥty-Rᶜ*, implying he was at least middle-aged when Hatshepsut became queen-regent (Davies and Macadam 1957, no. 120; Roehrig 1990, pp. 57–58). On the funerary cone that bears this title, Senimen is also called keeper of the divine body (*ꜣtw ḥᶜw nṯrt*)[23] of the God's Wife Neferura, tutor of the daughter of the God's Wife Hatshepsut, and steward of the king's daughter.[24] Although the use of simply Hatshepsut, without "united with Amun" and instead of Maatkara, implies that Hatshepsut was not yet king when the cone was made, the fact that Neferura holds the title God's Wife seems to belie this, as she only became God's Wife following Hatshepsut's coronation (Dorman 1988, pp. 119, 122). This is not as problematic as it seems, since the funerary cones of many officials give a variety of their rank and duty titles, all clearly significant ones, and generally — though not always — those held in their latest years, but not necessarily simultaneously.[25] We should perhaps understand Senimen's titles as depicting his overall career, indicating that he was first appointed as steward and tutor for Neferura when Hatshepsut was God's Wife and continued to serve as Neferura's guardian once she herself became God's Wife. Given Senimen's advanced age by the reign of Thutmose II, it seems likely that it was Thutmose II who appointed him as steward for the princess, and that the king is obliquely referred to by Neferura's title "king's daughter."[26] This is supported by the titles Senimen reports in TT 71, where he is called "steward and tutor of the king's daughter" (Roehrig 1990, pp. 52–55).[27] Senimen's final title on the cone demonstrates that he was appointed as *ꜣtw ḥᶜw nṯrt* of the God's Wife Neferura around year 7, thus by Hatshepsut, and likely continued to serve at least into the early years of the coregency (contra Roehrig ibid., pp. 58, 64). The continuation of his service into the coregency is further supported by Senimen's own relief statue, carved in the hillside near TT 252, where he holds Neferura and gives his title as steward and tutor of the God's Wife (ibid., pp. 59, 280–81, pl. 5; Roehrig 2005, fig. 50).

Clearly Hatshepsut wanted to keep one of her most trusted officials within the God's Wife estate. However, since he was likely advanced in age by year 7, Hatshepsut also needed to find his replacement. Despite her appointment of Ahmose-Pennekhebt as Neferura's tutor during the regency, he too was an aged official, and, as we have seen, this post was likely to guarantee his support for her regency, so he cannot be considered as a replacement for Senimen; in fact, he probably predeceased Senimen (cf. Laboury 1998, p. 498 n. 1374; Roehrig 1990, pp. 51 n. 149, 342). Senimen's successor as steward and tutor for Neferura was likely Senenmut, who was probably appointed during the regency by Hatshepsut (see below),[28] and thus would have shared his role with Senimen for a short time, both before and after Neferura became God's Wife.

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[23] On this difficult title, see Roehrig 1990, pp. 357–59, who suggests it should perhaps be understood as *rdwy* "attendant." On the other hand, we might see it as a variation of the better known *šdt ḥᶜw nṯr* — one who nurtured the body of the god — held by several nurses and tutors, including Senenmut. See ibid., pp. 327–29.

[24] Despite Senimen's inscriptions being corrected by Roehrig, Senimen is still sometimes referred to as a steward and tutor of Hatshepsut, two positions he never held; see, e.g., Bryan 2006, p. 98, citing Helck 1958, p. 478. Indeed, even Roehrig seems to imply that Senimen was also a steward of Hatshepsut (1990, p. 326 n. 69), but in fact none of his preserved monuments bears this title, unless we are to understand his title of steward of the king's daughter as referring to Hatshepsut and not Neferura, which seems unlikely. The text in TT 71 clearly indicates that Seimen was the "steward and chief tutor of the king's daughter" (Roehrig 1990, pp. 52–55). In addition, based on parallels to Senenmut's inscriptions, it is evident that Senimen held both of these titles with regard to Neferura, and not to Hatshepsut.

[25] This occurs, for example, on a funerary cone of Senenmut (Davies and Macadam 1957, no. 84), where he is both steward of Amun and steward of the king's daughter Neferura. Similarly, Amenhotep II's chief steward and chief steward of Perunefer Qenamun is called a foster brother of the king only on his shawabtis and funerary statuettes (*Urk.* IV 1403–04) despite the fact that his mother, a nurse of Amenhotep II, is featured prominently in Qenamun's tomb.

[26] This would make Senimen a predecessor of Ahmose-Pennekhbet in the post, contra Roehrig 1990, pp. 51, 58, though she does note the possibility that they held the position simultaneously (n. 149).

[27] It is perhaps also possible that the intentional separation of Senimen's tutor and steward titles on the funerary cone indicates that Senimen was appointed as tutor by Thutmose II and steward by Hatshepsut during the regency, though the tomb inscription makes this seem less likely than that both appointments were made at about the same time, and by Thutmose II.

[28] Senenmut's monuments that include his title as steward or great steward of the princess, with or without Neferura's name, are BM EA1513 (early regency) BM EA174 (regency), Sehel graffito (late regency), CG 42116 (cusp of the coregency), Silsilah shrine (probably coregency), tomb sealing no. 84 (coregency), and Neferura's Serabit el-Khadim stela of year 11. In addition to steward, he is also named as tutor of the princess on BM EA1513, and tutor of the princess and God's Wife on three coregency statues: Berlin 2296, CG 42114, and JdE 47278. Finally, on FM 173800 (coregency statue), he states that he "nurtured" the princess and God's Wife Neferura and became the Goddess' father. See also n. 52, below.

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Although Roehrig and Dorman (1987; also Roehrig 1990, pp. 52–55) demonstrated that Senimen was not Senemut's brother, it is possible that the two men were relatives of some sort. Senimen's tomb (TT 252) is located quite close to that of Senenmut's upper tomb (TT 71), and the two also bear architectural similarities to each other (Kampp 1996, pp. 527–30, type Vb; Polz 2007, pp. 286–90, 301–02). In addition, Senimen and his mother Senemiah are depicted receiving offerings in Senemut's tomb (TT 71; PM I², 141 (9); see *Urk.* IV 418.8–10, Roehrig 1990, pp. 52–55). This type of scene is seen in other mid-Eighteenth Dynasty tombs, for example, that of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III's vizier Useramun, who is offered to along with his wife and parents in the tomb of Useramun's brother Neferhotep (TT 122; Shirley 2010a).[29] It is also conceivable that Senimen's appearance in TT 71 is due to being an honored colleague of Senenmut, in the style of Useramun's vizier Amenemhat, who depicts both Useramun and his father Ahmose-Aametu in his tomb (TT 82) because he served each of them as deputy. In either case, Senimen's inclusion in Senenmut's tomb seems to suggest that Senimen played some role in advancing Senenmut at the court, perhaps even ensuring that he became his successor as steward and tutor (cf. Roehrig 1990, p. 64). Indeed, if Senenmut was from humble beginnings, perhaps Senimen helped further Senenmut's position in the royal court from an early stage. Senimen would thus be not only an aged and important official whom Hatshepsut retained and promoted, but also likely one who played a role in determining who became part of her inner circle.

1.2. Summary of Officials Hatshepsut Inherited

When Hatshepsut began her regency, she inherited several aged, experienced, and presumably well-connected officials who, as indicated by the fact that several of them grew in power during her queen-regency, and a few perhaps even during the early years of her kingship, may have played roles (if only passively) in her ascension. These officials were the vizier Ahmose-Aametu, head of Thebes and the Amun precinct administration Ineni, overseer of the seal Ahmose-Pennekhbet, viceroy Seni/Senires, mayor of Thinis Satepihu, and Neferura's steward and tutor Senimen. Four of these men came from powerful and well-established Theban, Abydene, and Elkab families (Ahmose-Aametu, Ineni, Satepihu, and Ahmose-Pennkhbet), while Seni/Senires and Senimen may also have stemmed from the elite of the Theban region.[30] In addition, there is a clear and significant connection between these officials and the Amun precinct. Both Seni/Senires and Ineni were overseers of Amun's granaries, directed construction work at Karnak, and were mayors of Thebes (likely successively). Ineni's extended family, including that of Ahmose-Aametu, is spread throughout a variety of mid- and upper-level priestly and administrative positions in the Amun domain. Although Ahmose-Pennekhbet's family does not hold a clear Theban or Amun connection, it was prominent in the cult of Nekhbet, with at least four generations — except Ahmose-Pennekhbet — bearing the title "first king's son of Nekhbet" (see Schmitz 1976, pp. 258–60, 263, 276–78). Concerning Senimen, too little is known to say whether he also had an Amun connection, but he was clearly a member of the royal court from his youth, while Satepihu was also a regular at court, as his wife was a royal nurse.

The familial links between Ahmose-Aametu and Ineni; passage of the vizierate from Ahmose-Aametu to his son; ability of Ineni to use royal phraseology in his autobiography; Ahmose-Pennekhbet's, Satepihu's, and Senimen's court and familial status; and Senimen's possible role in Senenmut's career all speak to their favored place and power vis-à-vis Hatshepsut. That certain officials are favored by the kings they serve is not new to the Egyptian system of government, but we must also consider the unusual circumstances surrounding Hatshepsut's rise. Hatshepsut's position as God's Wife of Amun while she was queen and the Amun precinct connection found among these officials are of importance in this regard. The Amun domain had become a powerful institution already by the reign of Thutmose II, when Hatshepsut was God's Wife of Amun, and thus it seems certain that the wealth and power that came with being a God's Wife of Amun was

[29] It might also be worth noting the case of Amenhotep II's vizier Amenemopet and his cousin the mayor of Thebes Sennefer, who were also long erroneously identified as brothers. Sennefer appears in Amenemopet's tomb (TT 29), and also in the tomb of his uncle, Amenemopet's father, Ahmose-Humay (TT 224), and both men also appear in Sennefer's upper tomb (TT 96). See Shirley 2005a, pp. 240–59; Laboury 2007.

[30] Seni/Senires' pre-viceroy career in Thebes is suggestive of a familial origin in this region. Senimen's Theban origin was suggested by Roehrig (1990, p. 51).

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a component in Hatshepsut's rise to king (so already referred to or suggested in Vandersleyen 1995, p. 265; Gabolde 2005, pp. 164–68 (66); Bryan 1996, pp. 31–33). In addition, as a result of the power wielded by the Amun domain, an upper-level position within it — which the officials discussed above almost universally held — would have given its bearer great economic wealth and influence. However, it is important to point out that Hatshepsut did not choose these officials from out of the Amun precinct for higher office; they had already been placed in power by her predecessors. What is possible, even probable, is that because of the Amun connection, Hatshepsut was better able to cultivate a sense a loyalty from them.

While it is not clear that these officials formed part of a "cabinet" who decided to install Hatshepsut, it is perhaps possible to suggest that, due to already being favored and powerful when she became queen-regent, they formed an important cadre of men whom Hatshepsut needed to smooth her transition from queen-regent to king. And in exchange for their support, their personal status was further enhanced, the benefits were passed on to their descendants, and in some cases they were able to choose their successors. In this sense, these men, through their cooperation — by choice or bargain/bribe (or at the very least, apparent lack of objection) — might have played a part in Hatshepsut's path to kingship. In the case of Ahmose-Aametu and Ineni, a more "active" role in Hatshepsut's ascension to power is perhaps suggested by the fact that they not only retained control of the vizierate and Thebes, but also — via posts in the Amun domain — gained additional wealth throughout the coregency. For this family, at least, there is the sense that they facilitated her rise, though it would be presumptuous to suggest that they actually installed her.

Indeed, as shown below, Hatshepsut's ability to appoint officials during the regency, and introduce essentially her own "cabinet" of men by about year 9 of the coregency, also indicates that she wielded a fair amount of power in her own right and was not "controlled" by the group of officials discussed above, even if she needed their support initially. The fact that Useramun, though his family was certainly powerful, is relatively unknown during the coregency compared to Hatshepsut's other major officials, suggests that while she couldn't remove him, she did not have to entirely kowtow to him either.

2. Officials Hatshepsut Installed and/or Promoted

This category includes those men who achieved their highest positions under Hatshepsut, having been promoted or appointed by her. During the regency and earlier part of the coregency it is probable that many of these men were already at about the mid-stage of their careers, suggesting that individually they would not have had sufficient power to install Hatshepsut as king. Collectively, however, they might have provided a core mid-level elite who would support Hatshepsut's transition from queen-regent to king and ensure that, once she was ruling, her programs were carried out. Part of the issue revolves around when they were promoted, and thus what kind of support — active or promised — they could offer. If these men were promoted to the highest positions in the land during her regency, when Hatshepsut was effectively ruling Egypt but not yet crowned as king, then they would have had the ability not only to support her kingship, but also perhaps to help place her on the throne. And indeed, an early appointment could be seen as tied to this promise. On the other hand, if they were promoted to their highest positions only after Hatshepsut was ruling as king, then we might see in this evidence for their promised support of her de facto assumption of royal power. In either case, however, it is possible that the promotions were granted — at least in part — as rewards for their loyalty, and pledges to see her ideological program carried out. For those officials promoted during the regency, some sort of assurance that they would not contest Hatshepsut's coronation, or perhaps even a promise that they could bring the support of their subordinates, family, or home region, may also have been needed as part of their appointment.

The following section is subdivided into three sections: (1) men who achieved their highest post during the regency, (2) those who were in power by year 9 of the coregency, and (3) those who were promoted later in the coregency. Although it can be difficult to ascertain precisely when officials were promoted to their highest office, there are at least a few for whom the evidence clearly shows that they achieved their highest post while Hatshepsut was still queen-regent, or at the cusp of the coregency. In addition, the style of references to Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, as well as mention of particular events, found in their private

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inscriptions and tombs often helps to elucidate their tenure of service.[31] For example, an administrative accounts tablet dated to year 5 of Hatshepsut's regency (Vernus 1981) indicates that several of Hatshepsut's key officials were already in power. Year 9 forms a chronological anchor due to the Punt expedition, with which many of Hatshepsut's highest officials were involved in some fashion. For some of these officials, it seems likely that their appointment occurred around, or even just before, Hatshepsut's coronation in year 7. However, the lack of certainty about the timing of their promotions precludes them being included as "regency" officials. Some of the men included in the final section are successors or co-holders in office to those appointed in the regency and earlier coregency, and some continued into the sole reign of Thutmose III, even becoming favored by him.

Although the timing of an official's promotion largely organizes this section, another factor that needs to be taken into consideration when elucidating the role that mid-level officials played in Hatshepsut's rise to kingship is whether the Amun domain — which saw a great expansion of positions and officials during her reign — played any part in this. That is, was Hatshepsut favoring officials for high office who had started their careers in the Amun precinct? Or did the Amun precinct become a means for rewarding favored officials? Or perhaps a combination of the two? We might also ask whether the Amun domain was largely running the show, rather than Hatshepsut herself. While this scenario is a possibility, the power and wealth that Hatshepsut held as God's Wife of Amun would seem to speak against this.

2.1. Regency Officials

Based on the evidence, it seems that at least four officials were certainly promoted by Hatshepsut during the regency: vizier Useramun, first royal herald Intef,[32] viceroy Penre, and the steward and tutor of princess Neferura and steward of the Mistress of the Two Lands Senenmut. Useramun and Penre replaced officials Hatshepsut inherited, while Senenmut likely held his post alongside his predecessor Senimen. In addition, only Senenmut is part of what we generally think of as Hatshepsut's favored, and powerful, elite, and his apex clearly came at or after year 7, when he became steward of Amun.

Useramun, Vizier

As noted above, the vizier who succeeded Ahmose-Aametu during Hatshepsut's regency was his son, Useramun. According to the appointment text (*Berufungstext*)[33] in Useramun's tomb (TT 131), when he was a scribe of the divine seal he was made a *mdw ỉ3w* or "staff of old age" for his father at the behest of Thutmose III's officials (see translation, commentary, and discussion in Dziobek 1998, pp. 3–21). The meaning of the term *mdw ỉ3w* is not well understood (see Blumenthal 1987; McDowell 1998; Janssen and Janssen 1996; Shehab el-Din 1997), and in some cases it seems to denote a successor, while in others the person named as *mdw ỉ3w* appears to act as a deputy or assistant (Shirley 2005a, pp. 64–69). In Useramun's case, it would appear that he was installed as co-vizier alongside his father for at least a short period of time (Dziobek 1998, pp. 100–01). This is suggested by the fact that in the appointment text Thutmose III speaks to Aametu as vizier and states that he will appoint Useramun to act as a *mdw ỉ3w* for him, and in the accompanying scene, we also see Ahmose-Aametu as the vizier while Useramun is a scribe of the divine seal at Karnak being presented to the king as the choice of the court. In addition, there is a second installation text (*Einsetzungstext*), where the accompanying scene shows Useramun as vizier, standing alone before Thutmose III. The two scenes are placed on facing walls of the transverse hall (PM I², 246 (8) and (12), respectively), with the installation text on the focal wall. The inclusion of both scenes, while other viziers — including Useramun's successor and nephew Rekhmira — have only an installation text and scene, implies that two different events are being chronicled. The depiction of Useramun as vizier leading the royal procession to the temple gates (at PM I²,

[31] The work of D. Laboury (this volume) on defining the process by which Hatshepsut created her royal image has been very helpful in this process. I would like to thank Dimitri for sharing his contribution with me prior to publication, as well as for many productive discussions.

[32] It is possible that Intef was already royal herald when Hatshepsut became queen-regent.

[33] This is different from the installation text (*Einsetzungstext*), which is also found in TT 131.

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246 (9), adjacent to the appointment text) could be seen as commemorative of his full assumption of the vizierate, particularly since the "teaching" text of his father, which instructs Useramun on how to be an effective vizier, is placed below this. Although no year dates are given in the tomb for these activities, both papyrus Turin 1878 (*Urk.* IV 1384; Helck 1955; cf. discussion in Dorman 1988, pp. 33–34; Dorman 2006, pp. 45–46; Laboury 1998, pp. 18–19; Dziobek 1998, pp. 98–99) and an accounts tablet (Vernus 1981, pp. 108, 110, 122; cf. Dziobek 1998, pp. 96–97) seem to indicate that by year 5 Useramun is acting as full vizier. Thus it would appear that if this interpretation of Useramun's tomb scenes and inscriptions is correct, Useramun was co-vizier for a very short time at the very beginning of the regency before completely taking over for his father in year 5.

Although Useramun served as vizier under Hatshepsut for over fifteen years, his work on her behalf is not well known. While we can presume that he oversaw or was involved with at least some of her extensive building program, other officials under Hatshepsut seem to have been given more direct control of her projects. Indeed, Useramun is not known from any of the Deir el-Bahari ostraca, or from the Valley Temple name-stones on which Hatshepsut's most favored officials appear.[34] This is all the more telling as there are several ostraca that bear the name of his successor as vizier under Thutmose III, Rekhmira, who was in charge of construction at *Djeser-akhet* (Hayes 1960, pp. 44–47, 51, nos. 17–20, pls. 12–13, 12a–13a). Useramun continued to serve Thutmose III for at least six and probably eleven years,[35] and it was during this time that his tombs were built and decorated; thus they refer only to his activities under Thutmose III.[36] Only his shrine at Gebel es-Silsilah (no. 17; Caminos and James 1963, pp. 57–63, pls. 45–47) seems to contain a reference to Hatshepsut, judging from the intentional defacement on what is left of the shrine's outer lintel. The fact that it is one of the group of six coregency and sole reign shrines clustered together,[37] several of which belonged to Hatshepsut's most favored officials, is, however, indicative of his high-level status under her.

On the one hand, Useramun's appointment as Ahmose-Aametu's successor and installation as vizier could not have occurred without the consent of Hatshepsut as queen-regent. On the other hand, the nature of the appointment text, which is in the style of a *Königsnovelle* but presents the king as essentially agreeing to the choice of his courtiers, implies that the elite of the court were in fact making the decision (cf. Dziobek 1995, pp. 138–37; 1998, pp. 16ff.). Even if this were only in part true, given Thutmose III's young age, it still reflects on the power of this family vis-à-vis Hatshepsut as queen-regent, and of Thutmose III since the tomb was finished sometime in the third or fourth decade of Thutmose III's reign. Ahmose-Aametu's ability to install his own son demonstrates the power of this family during this politically tumultuous time, both among the elite and with regard to the queen-regent and the king. In addition, the fact that at the time of his appointment Useramun was likely still a mid-level official in the Amun precinct, apparently still functioning in a position that Thutmose I had appointed him to (Dziobek 1998, p. 100; Eichler 2000, nos. 175, 127–28, 136),[38]

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[34] Though interestingly he might be the unnamed vizier who appears on an ostracon from Senenmut's TT 71, which details men sent by various officials to work on the tomb; Hayes 1946, p. 23, no. 83.

[35] Rekhmira succeeded Useramun sometime between year 28, Useramun's last attested date, found on the tomb stela of his steward Amenemhat (TT 82; Davies and Gardiner 1915, pp. 70–72, pl. 25; *Urk.* IV 1043), and year 32, Rekhmira's first attested date, found on P. Louvre E 3226 (Megally 1971, p. 18; 1977, pp. 245, 278–79). Laboury (1998, pp. 39–40) suggests that the transition occurred in year 33.

[36] Although the tombs of Ineni (TT 81) and Ahmose-Aametu (TT 83) were certainly constructed and essentially finished before Hatshepsut became king, those of Useramun (TT 61, 131) and his brothers Neferhotep (TT 122) and Amenmes (TT 228), as well as Rekhmira's (TT 100), were finished during Thutmose III's reign. The family's power vis-à-vis their kings can also be seen in the clearly planned nature of their tomb locations; see Shirley 2010a, pp. 290–93; 2010b, pp. 98–107; contra Dorman 2003, pp. 37–39.

[37] It is next to that of Senenmut (no. 16) and forms the last in the cluster of shrines that are directly adjacent to each other; shrine no. 18, belonging to an unknown owner, is 10 meters farther along the rock cliff.

[38] This assumes that Useramun acquired his upper-level Amun precinct titles (overseer of the granaries, all works and the sealers of Amun, overseer of the scribes in the house of Amun, and one who seals all precious things in Karnak) only after becoming mayor of Thebes and vizier. For an ordering of his titles, see Dziobek 1998, pp. 100–01; see also the discussions in Shirley 2005a, pp. 80–81, 97–98; 2010b, pp. 91–98. Note, however, that Eichler (2000, p. 31 n. 133) thinks it "not likely" that his title of overseer of Amun's granaries came as part of being vizier, and (ibid., p. 165) that it is not really possible to say that his title of overseer of scribes likewise came after becoming vizier, rather than before, especially given Useramun's title of scribe of the divine seal. See also Eichler's discussions, ibid., pp. 122ff., 151–52, 205ff.

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makes his promotion to the highest official in the country rather remarkable and also fits the theory that Ahmose-Aametu may have guaranteed the active and continued support of the vizierate for Hatshepsut's kingship in exchange for retaining familial control of the position.

Intef, Great Royal Herald

The great royal herald Intef is generally considered an official who served during the coregency into the sole reign of Thutmose III, largely based on his autobiographical stela (Louvre C 26; Hermann 1940, pl. 4b; *Urk.* IV 963–975.11), which mentions following an unnamed king to north and south and being involved in tax and tribute collection in foreign countries. However, it seems more likely that Intef was either already in place as herald when Thutmose II died, or installed there by Hatshepsut during her regency, and it is possible that he served only briefly into Thutmose III's sole reign. There are several items that suggest this earlier dating. First, Intef seems to be included in the same accounts tablet of year 5 that mentions the vizier Useramun and steward Senenmut, where he is called "herald Intef" (Vernus 1981, pp. 107, 113, 122).[39] The location and construction of Intef's Theban tomb, TT 155, also suggest an earlier dating for him. Intef's tomb is located in Dra Abu el-Naga, an area that is more commonly used in the earlier Eighteenth Dynasty, before Sheikh Abd el-Qurna became an increasingly chosen tomb site during the reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III. Architecturally, Kampp (1996, pp. 21–22, 144, 441–43, type IVb; cf. idem 2003, pp. 3–6) places it on the earlier side of the Hatshepsut-Thutmose III time frame, while according to Polz's re-examination of early Eighteenth Dynasty tombs, it falls into the category of tombs newly constructed as a variation of the *saff* type during the reign of Hatshepsut. He places it chronologically firmly in the reign of Hatshepsut, but developmentally between those of Hapuseneb and Useramun's first tomb, TT 61 (Polz 2007, pp. 291–93, 301–02, 310–11). Finally, stylistically, though very damaged, the tomb bears greatest parallels to that of Ineni (TT 81), which was finished sometime during the late regency.[40]

Although the damage to TT 155 is too great to say whether Hatshepsut was depicted in the tomb, she was named or referred to at least twice, and possibly four times, on the outer jambs and thicknesses of the doorway leading into the passage (PM I², 265 (7); Säve-Söderbergh 1957, pp. 18–19 pls. 18A–B, 19A). At the lower part of the outer jambs, Intef stands before the Horus name of the king, denoted by the Horus-falcon standing atop a serekh. The northern outer jamb was not published by Säve-Söderbergh, and its current state preserves only the very bottom of the serekh and legs of Intef. On the south side, however, the full figure of Intef and some of the accompanying text are still extant. Although the text above Intef does read "… his lord who is in the palace, the great herald, Intef," this does not preclude the referent being Hatshepsut (contra Säve-Söderbergh 1957, p. 19), though it would indicate that the tomb's decoration was finished after her coronation in year 7. The thicknesses depict Intef standing before a type of pavilion, the lower portion of which is decorated with a scene commonly found on the throne bases of kings: the *sema-tawy*, to which is linked, on the south side, two bound Nubians, and on the north two bound Asiatics. The inscriptions accompanying these scenes indicate that Hatshepsut is the king referred to on the north ("… Horus on her great throne in the Palace of Gold…"), and this was likely true of the south as well where there is a lacuna in the exact spot that the pronoun falls. If the assumption that Hatshepsut is the king referred to in both these scenes is correct, which seems likely, then the mixing of masculine and feminine pronouns, combined with the use of her Horus name, indicates that the tomb was being finished in the early years following her coronation. While it cannot be stated with certainty that the tomb was not changed to reflect Thutmose III's (re-)ascension to the throne, based on the features just discussed, it seems most likely that the tomb should be dated to the period before Thutmose III's sole reign.

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[39] Perhaps even the writing of Intef's title of first (royal) herald, which differs from later coregency officials, is a marker of his earlier tenure in the post. On his Louvre stela, it occurs as *wḥm tp n nswt* with "*tp*" written using the head and *p* signs, while on his funerary cones, it is simply *wḥm nswt* (see *Urk.* IV 964.9, 975.16–17). In contrast, his title of "first herald of the *ʿrryt*," likely a later title, is written with "*tpy*" as a single tri-lit sign: *wḥm tpy n ʿrryt* (see *Urk.* IV 965.5, 969.11).

[40] Although not included in Englemann-von Carnap's study (1999), which focused only on tombs in Sheikh Abd el-Qurna and Khokha, based on her criteria, TT 155 would seem to fit with those tombs given a dating in the reign of Hatshepsut.

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This earlier dating of Intef's tomb also results in the need to re-evaluate his tenure of service as great herald. The main reason that Intef has been placed as an official under Thutmose III are the statements found at the very end of his autobiographical stela (Louvre C 26; *Urk.* IV 974.12–16; cf. Redford 2003, p. 180). Intef says, "I accompanied the king of the Two Lands, I followed his footsteps upon [southern and northern] foreign countries; [I reached the south] of the land, I having arrived at its northern end while I was under the two feet of his Majesty, l.p.h." Although the restoration of "southern and northern foreign countries" is likely to be correct, as it fits both the lacunae and is a common phrase in other similar inscriptions, this does not necessarily mean that Intef was in Syria-Palestine with Thutmose III, as has generally been assumed. It is clear from the text of the stela as well as the scenes and inscription of Intef's duties found on the left (southern) focal wall of the hall (PM I², 263 (3)–(4); Säve-Söderbergh 1957, pp. 13–15, pls. 11–13) that Intef was not an actual soldier, but rather was an official attached to the administration of the court and king. In these scenes Intef is shown presiding over the recording of deliveries from within Egypt and the Thinite nome, as well as from the Oases and other foreign lands. And, according to the last lines of his stela (*Urk.* IV 975.2–11), Intef served his king outside Egypt in his adminsitrative capacity, setting up and provisioning the royal palace in foreign lands, organizing and instructing troops, and levying and receiving tribute (*inw*) (Shirley 2011, pp. 300–02; Redford 2003, p. 181). Although the text does bear similarity to others who served under Thutmose III, Bryan (2006, pp. 90–91, 100) notes the distinct possibility that Intef served his king in the western desert and Oasis regions, rather than farther afield, based in part on his titles of mayor of Thinis and chief (*ḥry-tp*) of all the oases.[41] In addition, officials like Hatshepsut's viceroy Inebny/Amenemnkhu (see below), who was probably only involved in her Nubian campaigns, use the same language. This suggests that while Intef may have continued into the reign of Thutmose III, he likely carried out his activities mainly under Hatshepsut, focusing on "foreign" areas closer to home. In this light, perhaps we should understand the end of his stela as reflecting his service as royal herald under both kings.

Little remains to inform us about Intef's family. His Thinite titles, which seem to be held in conjunction with that of royal herald, suggest he may have originated in this region.[42] His wife, whose name is lost, was depicted standing behind him in the hall (PM I², 263 (4); Säve-Söderbergh 1957, p. 13, pl. 11A) and likely was included in other areas as well. In the fishing and fowling scene and hippopotamus spearing scenes (PM I², 263 (5); Säve-Söderbergh 1957, pp. 15–16, pl. 14A–B), Intef is depicted with his son Amenu… and his son the royal (?) scribe of the temple Teti. Teti is also known from the Louvre stela, where he appears on the left side of the lunette offering to his father as the *wʿb*-priest and scribe of the temple (*Urk.* IV 964.10–13; Hermann 1940, pl. 4b). In the other half of the lunette's double scene, Intef's brother, the scribe Ahmose, presents the offerings (*Urk.* IV 964.2). Both men also appear as Intef's assistants in his duty-related scenes (PM I², 263 (3)–(4); Säve-Söderbergh 1957, pp. 14–15, pls. 11–13) on the left (southern) focal wall of the hall, which depict the delivery of taxes from within Egypt and tribute from foreigners, including Syrians, Keftiu, and the oases regions. Here Ahmose is called "overseer of horns, hoofs, feathers, and scales, scribe of counting the bread of Upper and Lower Egypt,"[43] making him a likely subordinate of Intef, who elsewhere in the stela reports the additional titles of great herald of the *ʿrryt* and overseer of the granaries[44] and calls himself an "excellent scribe (best of counting)" after describing his duties regarding the setting and delivery of taxes and tribute (*Urk.* IV 972.15–973.4, 968–969.14). As nothing else is known about Intef's family, we cannot say with certainty what benefit Intef's descendants may have gained from his status under Hatshepsut. Judging from his titles, Intef himself, whether inherited as herald or, as seems more likely, promoted by Hatshepsut during the regency, would have been a powerful official within the palace. In his role as a royal herald in the

[41] Although (great) herald is certainly Intef's most ubiquitous title, he carries the title mayor of Thinis on the right inner jamb of the passage, while on his stela he is both mayor of Thinis and chief of all the Oases (Säve-Söderbergh 1957, p. 19; *Urk.* IV 963.12–15); in both cases these titles precede that of herald. It is also possible that these titles appeared in the now damaged texts where Intef oversees the bringing of taxes within Egypt and those form the Oases and foreign lands (PM I², 263 (4) and (3), respectively).

[42] Perhaps he was the successor to Satepihu as mayor of Thinis?

[43] See Quirke 1996 for the title in the Middle Kingdom.

[44] On Intef's unclear placement in the chronology of overseers of granaries, see Helck 1958, p. 386, and Bohleke 1991, pp. 72–78. However, he likely held this title in conjunction with being royal herald and in charge of deliveries, rather than as it being one of his primary titles; cf. Bryan 2006, p. 91.

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per-nesu, and specifically with regard to the *ʿrryt*,[45] Intef controlled who was admitted, and how, to the inner palace for an audience with the king, and it is presumably in this capacity that we should also understand his function as chief steward. Intef thus would have been an important ally in Hatshepsut's transition from queen-regent to king.

Penre, Viceroy

Determining who exactly were the viceroys during the reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III has long presented difficulties due to multiple names and uncertain dates of service (see most recently Gasse and Rondot 2003; Valbelle 2007b; W. V. Davies 2008; Bács 2009). As noted above, Seni/Senires served until at least year 2, while one Inebny/Amenemnekhu was in office at least by year 18 (see below). It now seems likely that the "(first) king's son and overseer of southern foreign countries" Penre,[46] whose burial shaft was discovered by T. Bács (2002, 2009, and this volume), was the viceroy during at least some of the intervening years. The material accorded to Penre includes not only a large burial assemblage from the shaft, but also funerary cones (Bács 2002; cf. Davies and Macadam 1957, no. 134) and (tentatively) two statue fragments from the Ramesseum (OIM 1568; Quibell 1898, no. 40, pl. 27:1; Bács 2009, pp. 35–36) and Dokki Gel (Valbelle 2006, p. 50; 2007b, pp. 157–66, 173; Bács 2009, pp. 34, 36). The Dokki Gel statue, if correctly attributed, was found in a context that places it as erected prior to Thutmose III's sole reign, while among the burial equipment is a Canaanite amphora bearing a date of year 10. Thus Penre would have functioned only during the regency and early coregency, and likely died around year 10 of Hatshepsut (Bács 2009, p. 36). On both Penre's funerary cones and canopic jars, Penre's father is named as one Sekheru, who bore the titles of *sꜣb* and "king's son." As S. Whale (1989, pp. 260–61) noted, the designation of *sꜣb* should not necessarily be taken to denote an individual of lower status, as in many cases men who are known to have other titles are stilled called *sꜣb* (e.g., Hapuseneb's father Hepu) and yet are often only called *sꜣb* on their sons' monuments. Indeed, the title of "king's son" can perhaps be seen as a marker of elite status, rather than denoting a particular office or function; an honorific that was commonly bestowed on officials in the late Seventeenth and early Eighteenth Dynasties (Shirley 2013a, pp. 548, 553–56, 576–77; cf. Polz 2007, pp. 58, 305–04; Schmitz 1976, pp. 255–66). It would thus appear from his father's elite status, and Penre's own claim to have been a "follower of the king since his (Penre's) childhood" (Ramesseum statue), that Penre was selected by Hatshepsut to fill the post of viceroy from among an established court family. Perhaps this is evidence for Hatshepsut's need to secure the backing of the court elite during her regency — offering promotion to high office for a promise of loyalty. While nothing further is currently known about Penre, as viceroy already in the regency he would have been able to assist in Hatshepsut's transition to coregent/king by ensuring that her control over Nubia and its gold remained secure.

Senenmut, Steward and Tutor of Neferura, Steward of Hatshepsut, Steward of Amun

Senenmut was certainly among Hatshepsut's most favored officials and wielded enormous power during her reign, to judge from the array of titles he was accorded; even if many were honorary, they conferred status and rank. Probably from a mid-level elite family from Armant (Dorman 1988, pp. 165–69; Roehrig 2005, pp. 107, 118, 126),[47] there is some debate over whether Senenmut began his career as a military official, following an unknown king on campaign to Nubia, and was subsequently rewarded with the gold of honor (cf. Dorman in Roehrig 2005, p. 107; Binder 2008, pp. 151–53).[48] If this interpretation is correct and Senenmut's activities

[45] On Intef's duties as herald of the *ʿrryt,* see Helck 1958, pp. 67–69; Pardey 1997, pp. 387–89; Bryan 2006, pp. 90–91.

[46] I refer the reader to the discussion in Bács 2009, pp. 34ff., and in this volume on the issues involving Penre's use of the title "first king's son" and its implications for our understanding of Penre as a viceroy.

[47] In their tomb equipment and on Senemut's monuments, his parents are only called the *sꜣb* Ramose and *nbt pr* Hatnofer; see also Dorman 2003, pp. 32–33; Roehrig 2005, pp. 91–95. The Armant origin is suggested by the fact that he dedicated three statues (Brooklyn 67.68, Fort Worth 85.2, Munich ÄS 6265) to the temple there. For the statues, see Roehrig 2005, figs. 52–53 and cat. nos. 68–72. But see Whale 1989, pp. 260–61, on the uncertainty of equating a *sꜣb* title with humble origins.

[48] Although Dorman (in Roehrig 2005, p. 107) notes that none of Senenmut's many titles reflects military involvement, Binder (2008) makes a convincing case based not only on the fragmentary scene and inscription in his Theban tomb 71, which includes soldiers and the mention of Nubia and making captures, but also on the texts of his statue CG 579, where he mentions

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in Nubia pre-date Hatshepsut, then his military career must have shifted to a civil one at least by the reign of Thutmose II.[49] However, the fact that the references to military activity occur only in his Theban tomb (TT 71) and on statue CG 579, both of which are firmly dated during the coregency, combined with evidence that during Hatshepsut's reign there were at least two and possibly four campaigns into Nubia (Redford 1967, pp. 57–64; Spalinger 2006, p. 354),[50] make it at least possible — and perhaps more probable — that Hatshepsut was the king whom Senenmut followed in Nubia, as just one part of his wide-ranging career during her reign.

A possible military beginning notwithstanding, scholars have generally assumed that Sennemut began his civil career as a palace official attached to the royal court as an overseer of the *ḫnwty*-chamber, perhaps as early as Thutmose I, and that it was Thutmose II who promoted him to be the tutor and steward of his daughter Neferura, while Hatshepsut placed him as her own steward when still functioning as, or at least utilizing, her God's Wife titles (Dorman 1988, pp. 169–71; Roehrig 2005, pp. 107, 112). However, as Dorman points out (2006, p. 63 n. 60), despite having an enormous number of monuments, "not a single one can be dated with any certainty to the reign of Thutmose II, and the strong presumption is that his earliest statues belong to the regency period." While this means it is possible that it was Hatshepsut who promoted Senenmut to the several positions he reports already in the regency, it seems unlikely that he did not hold at least some of them before this. Indeed, it should be noted that while the — seemingly sudden — appearance of Senenmut and his statuary during the regency is indicative of his extremely favored status under Hatshepsut, it does not mean that he was not a member of the royal court before this. In fact, the sheer number of titles he reports on his four (or five) earliest monuments (statues BM EA1513 and BM EA174, a graffito at Aswan, and possibly statue CG 42116 and his shrine at Gebel es-Silsilah, no. 16; see Dorman 1988, pp. 113–22), his inclusion on the year 5 accounts tablet as "steward" (Vernus 1981, pp. 107, 113, 122), and the fact that on one early statue (BM EA1513) he notes that he "followed the king (Thutmose III) in his journeys since his (i.e., the king's) youth," and reports in this same section several titles related to the court and palace,[51] imply that he was a well-placed official already during the reign of Thutmose II, perhaps due in part to Senimen (see above).

As Dorman has already noted (1988, pp. 110–13, 120–22), attempting to ascertain the progression of Senenmut's career before Hatshepsut's coronation from these monuments is difficult due both to their varied nature and placement, and thus function, as well as to the damaged nature of the shrine, where many of Senenmut's titles could be lost. Laboury's recent work (2006, pp. 272ff., 280–81, and this volume) on distinguishing the titular and iconographic phases of Hatshepsut's shift from queen-regent to king does not greatly assist in this endeavor.[52] In reviewing the material, this author finds three items that stand out with

being a follower of the king (*šms nsw*) in foreign lands and states that he was "one to whom the gold of praise was given." Binder suggests that the award must have come from before Hatshepsut's reign because Senenmut is never depicted wearing the gold of honor. For a recent translation of CG 579, see Keller in Roehrig 2005, pp. 299–300.

[49] Although less common from the reign of Thutmose III onward, during the early Eighteenth Dynasty, military careers could sometimes lead to civil ones, as in the case of Ahmose-Pennekhbet, and it is thus possible that Senenmut was given civil positions following his military service; cf. Shirley 2011.

[50] For example, the overseer of the silver and gold houses Djehuty (TT 11; see below) was involved with booty gotten from Kush, the overseer of the seal Ty (see below) was part of an expedition to Nubia for Hatshepsut, the viceroy Inebny/Amenemnekhu (see below) refers to a Nubian campaign in year 20, and a graffito at Tangur West dated to year 12 of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III commemorates a Nubian campaign (Reineke 1977; Morkot 1987, p. 32; Hintze and Reineke 1989, vol. 1, p. 173, no. 562, vol. 2, pl. 239).

[51] Senenmut is called here the king's confidant, chamberlain (*imy-ḫnt*), overseer of all works of the king, overseer of the *ḫnwty*-chamber, and great steward and tutor of the king's daughter Neferura, as well as bearing epithets indicating his access to the king. See most recently Keller in Roehrig 2005, pp. 121–22, 299.

[52] Following from the work of Dorman (1988, chapter 5, A.3) and Laboury (this volume), by combining Hatshepsut's titulary and iconography with the titles accorded to Senenmut on these monuments, it is perhaps possible to more firmly place their relative chronology during the regency period. The two British Museum statues (BM EA1513 and BM EA174) appear to be the earliest, as on both Hatshepsut is referred to by her God's Wife title, and Senenmut is steward of the king's daughter Neferura, as well as tutor on BM EA1513. On both of these statues, Hatshepsut is also referred to as the Mistress of the Two Lands when her actions in relation to Senenmut are being referred to. Likewise the oblique references to Thutmose III on BM EA1513 place it in the regency period.

The Aswan (el-Mahatta) graffito, which combines the God's Wife title and female iconography with clearly royal activity — commanding Senenmut (as great steward of the king's daughter Neferura) to quarry two obelisks as "the one to whom Ra has given the kingship … king's daughter, king's sister, god's and king's great wife, Mistress of Upper and Lower Egypt (restored)" and "God's Wife, Mistress of the Two Lands" — places this graffito at the very end of the regency; the obelisks are likely the first pair erected by Hatshepsut in Thutmose II's festival hall at Karnak (see n. 21 above; Laboury, this volume). Following a sugges-

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regard to Senenmut's career as presented on these monuments. The first is that, according to BM EA1513, Senenmut was already a palace official,[53] overseer of royal works, and the great steward and tutor of the king's daughter Neferura, when Hatshesput, as God's Wife, appointed him to be the chief spokesman (*r-ḥry*) for both her own estate and the *pr-nsw* generally, as well as *wḏ*^{c}*-ryt* for the entire land. Thus it is clear that Hatshepsut — as queen-regent — had the ability to appoint and promote officials, and wielded it. In this case giving Senenmut supervision over the royal household and the ability to act as her representative generally (Dorman 1988, pp. 117–18), and perhaps even with particular duties if we can understand his title of steward of the Mistress of the Two Lands (CG 42116) as a reflection of this promotion (see further below). The wording of the inscription also suggests that Senenmut was placed as the steward and tutor of Neferura before this appointment: it is given as his highest title in the section where Thutmose III is obliquely referred to and again right before he mentions his promotion by Hatshepsut. While this could mean that it was Thutmose II who gave him these positions, a later statue of Senenmut's (FM 173800) seems to imply that it was in fact Hatshepsut who placed him as the tutor and steward of her daughter during the regency (cf. Roehrig 1990, pp. 64, 74; see also above in the discussion of Senimen). We could perhaps then view Senenmut's title of

tion made by Laboury in reference to BM EA174 (see below, nn. 53–55), the use of "Mistress of the Two Lands" in reference to Hatshepsut on all three inscriptions indicates that they should be placed in the later regency, during the transitional time when Hatshepsut is beginning to drop her use of the God's Wife title in favor of her purely kingly identification.

Dorman (1988, pp. 119–20) places CG 42116 in the regency period based on Senenmut holding the title "steward of the king's daughter Neferura" and also the somewhat unusual title of "steward of the Mistress of the Two Lands," presumably Hatshepsut, as she also uses this epithet on the statues mentioned above and in the Sehel graffito. As noted above, this title of Hatshepsut's likely places the statue in the later regency/coronation period. It may also mark when Senenmut was promoted to steward of Amun, as this appears to be the earliest occurrence of the title, which he holds along with several other, likely newly acquired, Amun precinct titles. Thus, this statue seems to fall at the very end of the regency, probably after the Aswan graffito, and perhaps even on the cusp of Hatshepsut's coronation. This assessment could also argue in favor of placing Senenmut's Sheikh Labib statue in this transitional pre-/post-coronation phase, as here too he is called great steward of the Mistress of the Two Lands. This statue has been discussed at length due to the several unusual titles that Senenmut's holds, which have been argued to reflect either his participation in her coronation in year 7 or in her *heb-sed* in year 16 (see Dorman 1988, pp. 129–33). If the interpretation of Senemut's steward title suggested here is correct, then it should be seen as a record of Senenmut's role in Hatshepsut's actual accession (see also n. 54 below), and thus the statue would belong to the transitional pre-/post-coronation period.

Finally, the Silsilah shrine is so damaged that its relative placement can only be tentative. One the one hand, the fact that Senenmut carries his titles of "great steward of the king's daughter" (so Neferura; east wall, north side; Caminos and James 1963, p. 54, pl. 41) as well as "great steward of the God's Wife" (assumed to be Hatshepsut; restored on the left entrance jamb, intact on the left side of the west wall; ibid., pp. 53, 55, pl. 40, 44) makes it seem that the shrine's decoration was begun during the last years of the regency. I would like to point out that on the right entrance jamb, as on the right side of the west wall, Senenmut's title is simply "great steward." There is no room for the restored "God's Wife," which Caminos and James (ibid., pp. 53, 56, pl. 44) suggest for the entrance jamb. Yet on the lintel Hatshepsut is referred to as "first king's daughter" (restored), signifying that she is emphasizing her relationship to Thutmose I rather than her husband, while the remains of the iconography demonstrate that she is depicted as a male king, despite the use of feminine endings in the texts, and this places the decoration of the shrine into the post-coronation period. Although the apparent lack of "united with Amun" on the lintel could suggest that the inscription should date to the regency period, the destruction of the second line means that she may have used her God's Wife title here, included "united with Amun" after her name, or even had her prenomen inscribed. It should also be noted that Senenmut's title of "controller of all offices of the goddess" (north and south walls; ibid., pp. 54–55, pl. 42–43) would seem to imply Hatshepsut as king (unless it should rather be understood as "overseer of all divine offices"). Although the only Amun precinct title Senenmut bears is "overseer of the granaries of Amun," (left entrance jamb; ibid., p. 53, pl. 40), which he may have held in the late regency period based on its inclusion on BM EA1513, it is entirely possible that additional Amun-related titles were originally reported in the Silsilah chapel and are no longer extant. While it is possible that the decoration of the chapel spans the transitional period from pre- to post-coronation, it seems perhaps more likely that it should be seen as a post-coronation monument. This would make Neferura the unnamed God's Wife, with Senemut still carrying his stewardship title for her as king's daughter. While according to Dorman this does not occur (see Dorman 1988, pp. 119–22), as Roehrig (1990, pp. 72–73 with n. 217) pointed out, Senenmut is called "her steward" in reference to the God's Wife Neferura on her year 11 Serabit el-Khadim stela. In addition, Senemut is called steward of the king's daughter Neferura on one of his funerary cones (Davies and Macadam 1957, no. 84; *Urk.* IV 403.10); see also the discussion of Senimen's funerary cones above).

[53] In addition to the titles he holds on BM EA1513, on BM EA174, which Dorman suggests is nearly as early, Senenmut bears the titles overseer of silver and gold houses and overseer of the sealers (*ḫtmtiyw*). He may have been appointed to these posts by Thutmose II or Hatshepsut during the regency. See Dorman 1988, pp. 169–70; Bryan 2006, pp. 78–79. For BM EA174, see Hall 1914, pp. 9–10, pls. 30–32; Dorman 1988, pp. 118–19, 212; Roehrig 2005, p. 115; cf. Laboury 2006, p. 289 n. 149, who places the text in the late regency but the completed statue in the coregency based on stylistic assessment.

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"steward" on the year 5 accounts tablet as an abbreviation for his role as steward of Neferura. If correct, then his appointment to this post was made no later than year 5, while the promotions referred to on BM EA1513 presumably would have occurred between years 5 and 7.[54] Another point of interest is that although on the Sehel graffito Senenmut is charged by Hatshepsut, as queen-regent but acting as a king, with cutting two obelisks from the Aswan quarry on her behalf, he bears only the title of great steward of the king's daughter Neferura. This suggests that he was not yet steward of Amun, as surely if indeed Senenmut already bore this more significant and relevant title, it would have been listed in this inscription — relating as it does the quarrying of obelisks destined for Karnak.[55] Perhaps then we could suggest that it was following his completion of this work that Senenmut was rewarded with the promotion to steward of Amun. This would place his promotion at the very cusp of her coronation, a time frame that seems to be supported by Senenmut's CG 42116 statue, which likely dates to the late regency/coronation period (Dorman 1988, pp. 119–20). On this statue, Senenmut, still steward of the king's daughter Neferura, is also called steward of the mistress of the Two Lands, presumably as the proper title relating to his role as the spokesman of Hatshepsut's estate (see n. 52, above). In addition, for the first time Senenmut not only reports the steward of Amun title, but is also named overseer of the granaries of Amun, overseer of *ʿḥwt* of Amun, overseer of *mnmnt*-cattle of Amun, and chief of retainers of Amun, all of which likely were part of his function as steward of Amun (so also Dorman 1988, p. 121; Eichler 2000, no. 505, pp. 11ff., 17ff., 54ff., 81ff., 216ff.). Interestingly, on this statue Senenmut also reports that he had a duty relating to the Amun-Userhat bark, which is mentioned on the inscriptions of the obelisks that Senenmut quarried, and was likely made during the regency or early coregency (see below in the discussions of Djehuty and Hapuseneb). BM EA174 includes a reference to the bark as well, further supporting the placement of CG 42116 in Hatshepsut's transitional pre- to post-coronation period.

Eichler (2000, pp. 11ff., 17ff., 217) suggested that the steward of Amun post was specifically created for Senenmut, and while its official creation may date to this time, it should be noted that the role of Ineni, for example, as the head of several areas of the Amun precinct suggests that as a concept the steward position likely existed earlier (cf. Haring 2013, pp. 619–20).[56] Nonetheless, it is clear that with his promotion to steward of Amun, a position that carried with it great economic benefit, Senenmut becomes essentially the most important and powerful official in Hatshepsut's bureaucracy. The question is why.

It is generally assumed that the "discrepancy in burial provisions between Ramose and Hatnofer" indicates that Senenmut experienced "a relatively sudden increase of household wealth by year 7" and thus "that it was Hatshepsut during her regency, rather than one of the earlier Thutmoside kings, who appointed Senenmut to his most lucrative offices" (Dorman 1988, pp. 170–71).[57] However, while this discrepancy demonstrates that by year 7 Senemut had acquired significantly more means, it does not necessarily follow that this occurred quickly and only in the period covered by the regency. Without knowing when exactly his father died and the length of time between his original, poorer, burial and his more elaborate re-internment alongside his wife with her own wealthy burial assemblage, we can only state that Senenmut had more wealth at his disposal by the time his mother died in year 7. But how and when this occurred is not at all certain. Dorman (1988, p. 171) asserts that during the regency Hatshepsut must have appointed Senenmut to his "most lucrative offices (which) would include at the very least the stewardship of both her personal estate and the temporal wealth of Amun." He bases this on Senenmut's promotion by Hatshepsut to chief spokesman of her

[54] It is possible that the stewardship referred to on the year 5 tablet is that of Hatshepsut, as "mistress of the Two Lands" (the title found on CG 42116), with Senenmut functioning as such in his role as chief spokesman of her estate and the *pr-nsw*. However, in this scenario, then, all of Senenmut's promotions, and the statues that report them, would date before year 5. Laboury (1998, pp. 613–16; 2006, p. 289 n. 149) concludes that the use of "Mistress of the Two Lands" in reference to Hatshepsut on CG 42116 and BM EA174 indicates that both statues date to just before Hatshepsut's coronation, when she was still using the God's Wife title but also taking on royal prerogatives, which fits perfectly with the suggestions made here, though perhaps better with promotions occurring both before and after year 5.

[55] It should be noted that Senenmut also does not carry his "overseer of all works of the king" title, which would also be relevant to the job at hand. See n. 21 above for a discussion of where in Hatshepsut's building program these obelisks fall.

[56] Ineni was the overseer and controller of all work in Karnak, overseer of every seal (*ḫtmt*), and overseer of all offices (*iꜣwt*) in the house of Amun (*m pr ʾImn*), as well as overseer of the granaries of Amun, and quite possibly overseer of the silver and gold houses of the Amun precinct, rather than the palace. See Dziobek 1992, pp. 123–41.

[57] For the burial of Ramose and Hatnofer, see Lansing and Hayes 1937; cf. Hayes 1957, pp. 79–81; Roehrig 2005, pp. 91–95.

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estate (BM EA1513) and the Amun precinct duties listed on CG 42116. As already stated above, Senemut's promotion to chief spokesman may indeed indicate that at this time he also became queen-regent Hatshepsut's steward, which would have increased both his status and his relative wealth. However, the locus of CG 42116 was Karnak, and thus it is natural that it would bear more Amun-related titles than other statues. In addition, the increase in Amun precinct responsibilities is almost certainly related to his promotion as steward of Amun and so cannot be taken as indicative of access to the "temporal wealth of Amun" before the very end of Hatshepsut's regency/coronation period — precisely when the burial chamber of Senenmut's parents was sealed. What this does suggest is that Senenmut owed his ability to provide a wealthy burial for his mother, and re-inter his relatives, directly to Hatshepsut's favor. The presence of jar stoppers in the tomb giving her titles as God's Wife Hatshepsut and the good goddess Maatkara (Hayes 1957, pp. 78–80, fig. 1B–C; Roehrig 2005, p. 92; Dorman 2006, pp. 48–49) further indicate that she, and her estate, had a direct role in providing for this burial, and that this was occurring even as her own titulary was evolving.

As shown above, Senenmut's pre-coronation titles are all indicative of his close palace connections, as well as the beginning of a role administering the Amun domain, while the tasks entrusted to him, statuary given to him, and at least one promotion by Hatshepsut — to chief spokesman of her estate and the royal house, essentially her steward — demonstrate that already during the regency he was one of her most trusted and valued officials. Yet rather than being a particularly powerful official during this period in the manner of the vizier or viceroy, Senenmut's favored status most likely came from his closeness to the queen and her daughter — a relationship that had evolved beginning before her regency. Presumably he was the most certain official upon whom Hatshepsut could rely for support as she transitioned from queen-regent to king and was repeatedly rewarded with ever more significant positions, in terms of both status and economic wealth, for his continued support. In addition, by placing him essentially at the head of the Amun domain, and granting him enormous roles — even if only in a supervisory manner — over her building projects,[58] Hatshepsut could be assured that her ideological program would be carried out according to her wishes. Indeed, his inclusion in her Punt reliefs (where he is titled as steward of Amun; *Urk.* IV 355.2; Naville 1898, p. 21, pl. 86), portrayal in the niches at Deir el-Bahari, and gifting of several statues by Hatshepsut on which he records the various monuments he was involved with (Dorman 1988, pp. 171–73) are all indicative of his favored status, while his apparent involvement with so many of her major works combined with the lack of precision over his precise duties (ibid., pp. 175–76) give credence to his role as a supervisor ensuring that what she wanted was carried out. In addition, the fact that even late in his career Senenmut continues to report his position as Neferura's steward seems indicative of the close relationship he retained with the royal family.[59]

Regarding the end of Senemut's tenure as steward of Amun, his last known date in office is year 16 (based on an ostracon; see Hayes 1960, pp. 39–41, no. 13, pls. 11, 11a), and it is generally assumed that he did not live much past year 18 or 19 (Dorman 1988, pp. 176–77;[60] cf. Hayes 1960, pp. 42–43). However, Burgos and Larché have shown that work on the Sith Pylon at Karnak was begun during the coregency, and several graffiti of Senenmut confirm that he was involved with its construction (Burgos and Larché 2006–2008, vol. 1, pp. 90, 109–10, 144, 235–36). As the erection of the pylon was finished by Thutmose III, it is at least possible that Senenmut lasted into the early years of Thutmose III's sole reign, when another official became Thutmose III's primary steward of Amun (Rau; see below). Indeed, Dorman (1988, pp. 134–37, 178–79) notes that three statues could possibly be dated into the reign of Thutmose III: CG 42117, which names Neferura and Thutmose III; a statue with the cartouche of Thutmose III on the shoulder and found in situ at *Djeser-akhet*; and the Naville fragment found at Deir el-Bahari but which also references *Djeser-akhet*. While it is possible

[58] Senenmut became overseer of all works of Amun, of works of Amun in *Djeser-djeseru*, and of works of Mut in Isheru.

[59] Despite some assertions to the contrary, it seems clear that Senenmut continued to function to some degree as her steward (and probably tutor) at least until year 11, based on his presence and title as "her steward" on Neferura's Serabit el-Khadim stela (cf. Roehrig 2005, p. 108, fig. 46; Roehrig 1990, pp. 72–73; contra Dorman 1988, p. 171).

[60] See Dorman 1988, pp. 134–37, 177–81, for a discussion of the monuments and the issues determining Senenmut's demise and death. As Dorman (ibid., p. 137; in Roehrig 2005, p. 108) has pointed out, all of the monuments are problematic, and none is conclusive either way.

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that the Naville fragment indicates that work on the temple started earlier than circa year 42 as is generally assumed,[61] it is perhaps more likely that the *Djeser-akhet* referred to is the solar court of Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahari (Laskowski 2006, p. 209). The first two monuments, however, could certainly attest to Senenmut's continuation into Thutmose III's reign.[62] Regardless, however, Senenmut is clearly one of Hatshepsut's officials, and even if he did continue into Thutmose III's reign, his importance under the sole king was minimal and short lived compared to his power under Hatshepsut.

2.2. Officials Promoted by Year 9[63]

As noted above, the mention or depiction of Punt often serves as a *terminus ante quem* for the promotion of officials, indicating they were in power by year 9. This is the case for at least four of the officials discussed here: the (northern) overseer of the seal Nehesy, overseer of the silver and gold houses Djehuty, high priest of Amun Hapuseneb, and second priest of Amun Puiemra. Some of these men could perhaps be included in the previous section, as the indication is that they were promoted earlier, probably around or just before year 7. Also promoted around year 7 was Hatshepsut's chief steward of the king Amenhotep, who likely took on this post when Senenmut became steward of Amun (see above). For the overseer of the silver and gold houses Senemiah, the Punt expedition forms an important part of his career, marking his awarding of further duties, and he is thus included here even though his final promotion by Hatshepsut likely came after year 9. Finally, the first royal herald and overseer of the *gs-pr* Duawyneheh was probably in power by year 9, despite an apparent lack of reference to Punt, while the overseer of the double granary Minmose, who was in power at least by year 10, is also included here; his likely co-holder in the post, Nebamun, about whom very little is known, is placed in the next section. Some of these individuals were already mid-level officials when Hatshepsut promoted them and did not (long) outlast her reign, while a few others continued to serve Thutmose III, for at least a short period. The fact that among these men we find several of Hatshepsut's most powerful officials suggests that, perhaps not surprisingly, she was reordering her main "cabinet" around year 7.

Nehesy, (Northern) Overseer of the Seal

Although Ahmose-Pennekhbet was the overseer of the seal at the beginning of Hatshepsut's regency, the official who likely replaced him early on was Nehesy (Helck 1958, pp. 346–48, 467 no. 4; Dziobek 1995, p. 132; 1998, p. 134).[64] When, precisely, this occurred is unclear. Previous scholars have suggested that Nehesy could have been in place as early as year 2, based on the erroneous idea that Hatshepsut was coronated in year 2 and likely began work on her temple at Deir el-Bahari at that time (Hayes 1960, pp. 29, 38; 1957, pp. 78–79). However, it is possible that Nehesy was in place as early as year 5, if he is obliquely referred to in an accounts tablet that includes the "house of the overseer of the sealers" (*pr imy-r ḥtmw*; Vernus 1981, pp. 107, 113, 121). This phraseology is again seen in two undated ostraca found at Deir el-Bahari, which mention the "overseer of sealers" and "house of overseer of sealers" (Hayes 1960, pp. 34–36, nos. 6 and 8, pl. 10 and 10a), and perhaps we might see Nehesy again as the unnamed official referred to. This would indicate that he, like several of Hatshepsut's most prominent officials, was also involved in the construction of her mortuary

[61] Ostraca referring to the work on *Djeser-akhet* date between years 43 and 49 (Hayes 1960, pp. 43–52, pls. 12–13; Lipińska 1977, p. 62 nn. 110–12), and Dorman (1988, p. 178) points out that as the ostraca refer to "the dressing of blocks … the commencement of new construction on the site might be placed several years earlier." However, based on a stylistic analysis of the statuary, Laboury (1998, pp. 45–47, 51, 457–81) places it as belonging to the phase that began around year 42 of Thutmose III's reign. For a useful summary, see Laskowski 2006, pp. 208–10.

[62] Although the statue with Thutmose III's cartouche found in *Djeser-akhet* could suggest that Senenmut continued into the fourth or fifth decade of Thutmose III's reign, such a lengthy continuation into Thutmose III's sole reign does not seem likely given the clearly unfinished nature of TT 351, and the presence of his sarcophagus in TT 71, even though the chapel's decoration was not completed. See Dorman 1988, pp. 80–109; 1991, pp. 161–63; in Roehrig 2005, p. 108.

[63] Although in the previous two sections the officials were ordered more or less by general administrative area, here the grouping is slightly different, and based instead on similarity in timing of promotion.

[64] Whether the position was divided between north and south so early is uncertain, but in any case Nehesy can be seen as Ahmose-Pennekhbet's successor. See further below, in the discussions of Ty and Senneferi.

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temple at least between years 10 and 20, but perhaps as early as year 7.[65] Nehesy was at the very latest the overseer of the seal by year 9, when he was charged with sending the army to Punt (*Urk.* IV 354.15–17; Naville 1898, p. 21, pl. 86). Although this is generally interpreted to mean that Nehesy led the expedition himself, this is by no means certain, and indeed it seems more likely that he was in charge of the organization and send-off rather than the actual mission, particularly because it is an unnamed "king's messenger" who is cited as the official with the army once in Punt (*Urk.* IV 323.14–324.1; Naville 1898, pp. 14–15, pl. 69).[66] Thus while the earliest secure date is that of year 9, by comparison with others whom Hatshepsut appointed, it seems likely that Nehesy was put into place by her during the regency.

Very little is known about Nehesy's career as overseer of the seal, and almost nothing of his origins or the end of his tenure. It was noted above that Nehesy was probably active in the construction of Deir el-Bahari, and from his Saqqara tomb (Bubasteion I.6; Zivie 1984, 2007) we learn that Nehesy was in charge of the items that came into the palace from throughout Egypt (*smiw bȝk(w)t tȝwy ḫrp(w)t Šmᶜ Mḥw*), and that he was a close confidant of his king (*mdw n nsw m wᶜw mḥ ᶜnḫwy Ḥr m Mȝᶜt*). Zivie has also suggested that he may have been involved with Hatshepsut's jubilee in year 16, based on his title of *ḥȝty-ᶜ ḫrp nsty* (Zivie 1984, pp. 247, 249). In addition, Zivie has dated Nehesy's tomb, which although of modest size did not suffer destruction as did tombs belonging to some of Hatshepsut's officials, into the late coregency/sole reign of Thutmose III (ibid., pp. 247, 249). Nehesy also built a shrine (no. 14) at Gebel es-Silsilah, and although all that remains are the texts on the outer entrance jambs, which give only Nehesy's "overseer of the seal" title, the lintel preserves the effaced remains of Hatshepsut's cartouches as well as those of Thutmose III (Caminos and James 1963, pp. 40–41, pls. 26–27, 32). The presence of both kings, combined with its location between those of Hatshepsut's high priest of Amun Hapuseneb and Thutmose III's overseer of the seal Senneferi (see below), suggests that it was built during the middle to late coregency period when Thutmose III formed part of the official decorative program. Finally, Nehesy is perhaps also the individual referred to as the "overseer of sealers" in an ostracon found near Senenmut's Theban tomb (TT 353) (though this could be Ty as well; see below). Hayes (1960, pp. 41–43, no. 14, pls. 11–11a) tentatively dates this ostracon to after year 16. Thus, it would seem that rather than "disappearing" around year 18,[67] Nehesy was likely the northern overseer of the seal until at least the end of the coregency, if not into the very beginning of Thutmose III's sole reign.

Despite our general lack of knowledge about Nehesy's path to overseer of the seal, it does appear likely that he was appointed during the regency, probably in year 5 but at least by year 9, and rapidly became one Hatshepsut's top officials. In addition, Nehesy, if not at the outset, at some point during his tenure likely shared his position as overseer of the seal with Ty.[68] Given his Saqqara tomb, it is most likely that Nehesy was the northern official (cf. Dziobek 1998, p. 134 n. 107),[69] while Ty was in charge of the south (contra Bryan

[65] Hayes attempts to place the eleven ostraca in relatively chronological order based on the type of work being listed. The second ostracon carries the year 10 date and the last one the year 20 date. Concerning the ostraca on which Nehesy seems to be referred, nos. 6 and 8, ostracon 6 provides a list of men brought to work at Deir el-Bahari under the aegis of various departments or towns, while ostracon 8 seems to list officials who witnessed the crossing and arrival of, perhaps, the bark of Amun.

[66] Binder (2008, p. 238, no. 141, without the overseer of the seal title) accords Nehesy the gold of honor based on the identification of Nehesy as the anonymous "royal messenger" depicted throughout the Punt reliefs, and who wears the gold collars. The comparison drawn between Nehesy and the overseer of the seal Ty who was part of an expedition to Nubia as a *wpwty nsw* (see, e.g., Zivie 1984, pp. 250–51 n. 21) seems to me incorrect. Ty's inscriptions clearly states that he was on the expedition primarily in his role as a royal messenger, even if he was charged with counting booty as part of his duties as overseer of the seal. This is quite different from Nehesy and the Punt reliefs, and it seems strange that Nehesy would not be named if in fact he was the royal messenger sent on the expedition. The better comparison is to Ty's Serabit el-Khadim stela, where the text appended below that of Thutmose III refers to the mining expedition carried out by the royal messenger Si-Montu, presumably under Ty's authority (cf. Bryan 2006, pp. 79, 92–93). See further below, under the discussion of Ty.

[67] The idea that he was succeeded in office in year 18 has been repeated in the literature (see Zivie 1984, p. 251 n. 28, citing Helck 1958, pp. 348–52, and Helck 1981), but it is unclear why this year in particular has been suggested.

[68] On the division of the overseer of the seal position in the early Eighteenth Dynasty, at least by the reign of Thutmose III, but probably earlier, see Bryan 2006, p. 77; van den Boorn 1988, pp. 20–21, within his discussion of the division of the vizierate (see also pp. 18–22, chapter 4, passim, cf. pp. 162–63, 215, 256, 335), and on the relationship between the vizier and the overseer of the seal, ibid., pp. 61–62, 70–73. The supposition that the overseer of the seal worked in tandem with the vizier on a daily basis necessitates the division of the overseer of the seal office to match that of the vizierate.

[69] I do not take the view suggested by Dziobek (1998, p. 134) that Nehesy's northern tomb represents a type of "punishment."

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2006, p. 79; see below). Nehesy's inclusion in the Punt reliefs, his Deir el-Bahari ostracon, and Gebel es-Silsilah shrine are all indicative of his extremely favored status. This might thus suggest, in parallel to other officials who rose very quickly to prominence during the regency and early coregency of Hatshepsut, that the reason for Nehesy's seemingly rapid rise is due to a promise of loyalty to the queen-regent Hatshepsut.

Djehuty, Overseer of Silver and Gold Houses

Two men are generally understood to have served as Hatshepsut's overseers of the silver and gold houses, Djehuty (TT 11)[70] and Senemiah (TT 127), in that order (Helck 1958, pp. 347, 397–401; Dziobek 1998, p. 135). However, while both of these men did serve Hatshepsut, were promoted by her, and can also be counted among her favored officials, I would like to suggest here that they served roughly contemporaneously but in different capacities, and with Senemiah's tenure most likely ending before that of Djehuty's. Senemiah is discussed in full below, but, in sum, I propose that Senemiah's earlier career as a royal scribe and official primarily concerned with the counting of goods continued even once he became overseer of silver and gold houses, that he may have been connected to the Amun precinct in this capacity, and that, although he was probably promoted after year 9, he served only during the coregency. In contrast, Djehuty's duties should be seen as connected largely to the palace and the state, and focused on monument building, rather than the temple per se, with his tenure in office lasting throughout the coregency, and quite possibly into the very beginning of Thutmose III's sole reign.

Djehuty is securely attested in office between years 9 and 16, based on his involvement in the Punt expedition[71] and inlaying — with gold/electrum — Hatshepsut's second set of obelisks for Karnak. Although it is unlikely that Djehuty was already promoted in year 2, as suggested by Helck (1958, p. 399),[72] it does seem probable that he was placed in office around the time of Hatshepsut's coronation, and quite possibly just before. This is suggested by combining the details of Djehuty's career that he provides on his two tomb stelae, the so-called Northampton and "second" autobiographical stelae, where he chronicles his involvement with Hatshepsut's building projects at Karnak and Deir el-Bahari.[73] On the second stela, Djehuty records that he was given the position of *šnt* (sheriff, custodian, placed in the entourage?) by a command of the king, and

[70] As the tomb is currently under investigation by José Galán and the Proyecto Djehuty, it is possible that the suggestions made here will need to be revisited pending future findings. The current state of knowledge is presented on the project's website (http://www.excavacionegipto.com), and also in the contributions by Galán, José Serrano, and Diego Espinel in this volume.

[71] His involvement in the Punt expedition is mentioned on one of his tomb stelae — the so-called Northampton stela (PM I², 22 (9); *Urk.* IV 419–31, esp. 428.5–429.14; Spiegelberg 1900; 1908, pp. 15–17, pl. 1). The veracity of Djehuty's account is proven by his inclusion in the Deir el-Bahari Punt reliefs, where he stands recording a heap of myrrh as the scribe and overseer of the silver house Djehuty. Although Naville (1898, p. 17, pl. 79) reports the title as scribe and steward, and this is followed in *Urk.* IV 336.2, there is clearly some erasure of the text, as of the figure, and there is enough room for Djehuty's proper title of overseer of the silver house to appear before his name. Otherwise we are left with the title of steward, which is unknown for Djehuty. Djehuty may well also be the third official, following Nehesy and Senenmut in another portion of the reliefs; Naville 1898, pl. 86; *Urk.* IV 354.10–355.2.

[72] Helck's suggestion that Djehuty was promoted to overseer of the silver and gold houses already in year 2 was based on Djehuty's inclusion on the Valley Temple name stones (Hayes 1942, pp. 45–46) and an erroneous understanding of when Hatshepsut was coronated and began work on the Deir el-Bahari temple. The name stones of Hatshepsut include hieratic labels naming a variety of her top officials, and Hayes viewed them as a type of ex-voto. However, although Hayes (ibid., p. 46) states that the labels are dated, he does not publish them or give any further information. As far as I have been able to find out, mostly based on images available from the website of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/100018150), while month and day are sometimes given, the year is not (see, e.g., MMA 32.3.271). I must also thank Dimitri Laboury for his recollection that the name stones are not in fact year dated.

[73] Since Djehuty specifically states at the beginning of the second stela that it was the monuments for Amun at Karnak that he witnessed being constructed, it is likely that the details given in the remainder of the text are probably to be understand as only those connected to the Karnak precinct, and not Deir el-Bahari. This helps to explain why the order is slightly different from that presented on the Northampton stela. In addition, based on similarities of description, it seems possible that the third and fourth monuments listed on the Northampton stela — before the Deir el-Bahari list begins — are also chronicled on the second stela. Although Djehuty is known from the Valley Temple name stones, neither his name or office is mentioned on the Deir el-Bahari ostraca, which mention several of his contemporaries (Hayes 1960). He may, however, be the "lord Djehuty" referred to on a papyrus letter from Deir el-Bahari, in which he is admonished for insulting one Ptahsokar, who was part of a northern workforce sent from Heliopolis to work at the temple. See Hayes 1957, pp. 89–90; MMA 27.3.560.

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as such he seems to have been responsible for recording the annual tribute that came in from foreign lands, and of "placing the seal" (*ḫtm.n(.i) ḥr*) upon them, as well as for counting the yearly *bꜣkw* that came in from Egyptian mayors (*Urk.* IV 436.3–13).[74] Following this, Hatshepsut "repeated favors" for Djehuty, placing him in charge of sealing the double silver house after she had promoted (*sḫnt*) him to be the head of all craftsmen (*Urk.* IV 436.14–17).[75] Although Djehuty does not explicitly state that he was made overseer of the house of silver and gold, we can perhaps infer this from both the descriptive nature of the text and a similar text in the tomb of Ineni, which is placed adjacent to a scene in which Ineni does report the title overseer of the double silver house (of Amun).[76] After this chronicling of positions, Djehuty enumerates the Karnak projects he "saw the making of" (*mꜣꜣ.n.i irt*).[77] Similarly, on the Northampton stela, Djehuty emphasizes that he acted as the chief spokesman (*r-ḥry*) and led the craftsmen to work before each monument he mentions. It thus seems likely that Djehuty became overseer of craftsmen before he was assigned any oversight of Hatshepsut's monuments, and that it was his performance on his first projects that resulted in his further promotion to overseer of the silver and gold houses.

Niedziólka (2002, p. 411) suggested that the monuments Djehuty lists on the Northampton stela were placed in chronological order. This seems all the more probable, as the first item mentioned is the sacred bark Amun-Userhat, which is likewise the first construction on Djehuty's "second" stela (cf. *Urk.* IV 421.2–5 and 437, 3–7).[78] This bark was mentioned by Hapuseneb,[79] is included on the obelisks quarried by Senenmut and erected in Karnak at the end of the regency/beginning of the coregency, and is depicted in the Tura limestone bark shrine.[80] Thus its construction most likely began during the late regency as well. Since Djehuty was at the very least promoted to overseer of all craftsmen by Hatshepsut before being assigned a role in the construction of this bark, his first promotion by Hatshepsut occurred no later than this. It seems likely that he was rather quickly promoted to his primary position of overseer of the silver and gold houses. However, the lack of his name or office in the year 5 accounts tablet may indicate that his promotion occurred after this, perhaps at the cusp of Hatshepsut's coronation, as seems to have been the case with many of Hatshepsut's favored officials.

Based on the Northampton stela, Djehuty's final projects for Hatshepsut seem to have been the quarry and erection of the *Wadjyt* obelisks in year 15/16 for her jubilee (Niedziólka 2002; Laboury 1998, pp. 21ff.)[81]

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[74] As Djehuty specifies not only the foreign lands, but also their respective products (*inw* of the *ḫryw-šʿy*, gold of the Amu, silver and bronze ...), perhaps Punt or Nubia was also included in this list, falling where there is now a lacuna. In the Northampton stela, Punt is included in a similar section (*Urk.* IV 428.5–10), while at the end of the second stela, Djehuty recounts that he "saw the measuring of booty that this king seized in vile Kush" (*Urk.* IV 438.10). Like the overseer of the seal Ty, who also "saw" what Hatshepsut did on a Nubian campaign in his role as a royal herald, Djehuty was clearly involved in his capacity as the overseer of the silver and gold houses and as the one responsible for receiving and counting foreign tribute. Which campaign is uncertain, but if it is to be understood as chronologically occurring after the monuments listed, then it might be possible to suggest that it occurred before year 16 and the quarrying of the obelisks, as these do not seem to be mentioned on the second stela.

[75] The order of promotions, with Djehuty being placed in charge of the craftsmen first, is suggested by the use of the stative form for the second clause. Djehuty states, *wḥm ḥm.f ḫswt rdi.n.f* (*wi*) *ḫtm pr.wy-ḥḏ... sḫnt.kwi r imy-r ḥmwt nbt* "His Majesty repeated praises, he caused that I seal the double silver house... I having been promoted to overseer of all craftsmen."

[76] Ineni states, "the double silver house was under his command and the double gold house under his seal as one who seals all that which is sealed in the house of Amun"; *Urk.* IV 68.8–12; Dziobek 1992, pp. 77, 80, 122–23. In addition, Dziobek (ibid., pp. 37–38) reconstructs the title "overseer of the Treasury in Karnak" in a scene where Ineni is involved with inspecting items for the treasury. For a different view, see Eichler 2000, pp. 115–21.

[77] Again the comparison to Ineni's text can be drawn, as Ineni notes that after being made mayor and overseer of the granaries, he "saw the great monuments which he (Thutmose I) made in Karnak, the erection of ...." What follows is a series of sentences in which he records the monuments which he saw built; *Urk.* IV 55.13–57; Dziobek 1992, pp. 51–53.

[78] This is still true despite the fact that on the Northampton stela the monuments are overall apparently grouped by location, first those at Deir el-Bahari followed by those at Karnak, since the bark and another two monuments are mentioned before these groupings begin.

[79] It appears on Hapuseneb's Louvre stela (A 134) as the second in the list of monuments he oversaw (*Urk.* IV 476.4; see also below). In fact, the listing of items on Djehuty's Northampton stela, where each item is meant to be read as preceded by the vertical line of text where Djehuty relates that he was the chief spokesman, is a device also used on Hapuseneb's statue.

[80] See Gabolde 2003, pp. 422–28; 2005, pp. 109–11. Gabolde (2005, p. 100) dates the bark shrine to the reign of Thutmose II, though Laboury (this volume) places it in the second stage of Hatshepsut's "pre-coronation" period. Whether the bark itself was for an older construction or a new one, it is possible to date the construction of the bark to the late regency.

[81] These are her second, western, obelisks erected in the *Wadjyt* festival hall between the fourth and fifth pylons. See Niedziólka 2002, and n. 21, above.

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and the construction of the *Chapelle Rouge*, which began after year 17 but was only finished at the beginning of Thutmose III's sole reign (Burgos and Larché 2006–2008, vol. 2, pp. 81–83, 87–88, 103–22; Gabolde 2005, pp. 103 and 152; Laboury 1998, pp. 24–25, 29, 32, 35, 55–56, 540–42; cf. Laskowski 2006, pp. 184ff.).[82] This indicates both that Djehuty was still in office in the last years of the coregency and that the decoration of his tomb was not complete until sometime after the work started. While there is little to definitely place Djehuty's end in office on one side or the other of the coregency, several factors suggest that a later dating is perhaps more fitting. For example, Galán's work has demonstrated that in his tomb Djehuty and his family also suffered a *damnatio memoriae* (see this volume). Although we cannot know the precise reasons for this, it seems more likely that this would have occurred if Djehuty continued to serve Thutmose III and was then removed from power, than if his career ended before Hatshepsut's reign ended. In addition, although the Dra Abu el-Naga location is fitting for an official of Hatshepsut, architecturally (cf. Kampp 1996, pp. 25–26, 144, 190–92, type Vd) and stylistically,[83] the tomb could still have been finished in the early years of Thutmose III's sole reign,[84] at the very least it was the end of the coregency. The fact that the cartouches of Hatshepsut were merely erased most likely indicates that Djehuty was not a functioning official beyond the middle of Thutmose III's sole reign at the latest, while the apparent lack of any work carried out on Thutmose III's behalf does suggest that he likely did not continue in office much beyond the first years of Thutmose III. However, as the next known overseer of the silver and gold houses is one Benermerut, attested in office in year 45 of Thutmose III (Helck 1958, pp. 401, 509; Hayes 1960, pp. 46, 51–52, pls. 12, 12a), it seems possible that he was Djehuty's successor in the post, and that Benermerut gained his position earlier in Thutmose III's sole reign. An earlier start date for Benermerut as overseer of silver and gold houses seems especially likely given that Benermerut was, along with the vizier Rekhmira, in charge of Thutmose III's constructions at Deir el-Bahari. Although Thutmose III's work at Deir el-Bahari only began in about the fifth decade of his reign (see n. 61), Rekhmira was in office by year 33, and it seems plausible that Benermerut could have been as well. Admittedly this is a purely hypothetical reconstruction, but since otherwise we are left with an extended gap for which we have no documented overseer of the silver and gold houses, a possible but perhaps unlikely scenario, it seems reasonable to consider that Djehuty continued into Thutmose III's early years and was replaced by Benermerut sometime in the late second or early third decade.[85]

Djehuty's tomb and the titles and activities recorded therein as well as his inclusion in the Punt reliefs and presence on one of her Nubian campaigns are testament to his favored status under Hatshepsut. In addition, his use of royal phraseology in his own inscriptions[86] as well as his decorated burial chamber indicate that he must have been one of her most powerful officials. How Djehuty achieved his prominent place among

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[82] Possibly as a replacement of the earlier Tura bark shrine in Thutmose II's festival courtyard.

[83] While Djehuty's decorated burial chamber bears parallels to those of both Senenmut (TT 353) and Useramun (TT 61), as well as Minnakht (TT 87) and Amenemhat (TT 82), it is also innovative (see Galán, this volume) and thus cannot be easily used for dating purposes. The decorative comparisons with TT 20 of Montuherkhepeshef (see Serrano, this volume, and the Theban Tomb 11 season report, Galán 2007b) are equally problematic, as this tomb, though apparently early, is itself an anomaly in the necropolis.

[84] I would further point out the marked contrast in the autobiographical inscriptions of Djehuty and Senemiah. In the tomb of Senemiah (see below) only Hatshepsut's name is found throughout his tomb and primarily feminine endings are used, while in Djehuty's case Thutmose III's name is included in the lunettes of both the Northampton and second stelae alongside that of Maatkara (erased), with both kings again mentioned in the Northampton stela's first line (*Urk.* IV 420.1–9; Galán, this volume), and consistently male pronouns are used when referring to Hatshepsut in the main body of text on both stelae. According to Galán (paper delivered at the Granada conference and published in this volume), it is likely that the stela at PM I², 22 (3) on the opposite side of the forecourt also contained the cartouches of both kings; see Sethe 1908. The fragments of the stela that once graced the west wall of the transverse hall (PM I², 22 (8); *Urk.* IV 441–44) are too inconclusive to say whether the names of both kings occurred.

[85] Admittedly, we could still have another official functioning between Djehuty and Benermerut, and for whom we are simply missing all documentation. However, the fact that another Djehuty, owner of TT 80 and TT 104, became overseer of the silver and gold houses under Thutmose III and served into the reign of Amenhotep II further suggests that Benermerut can be dated to earlier in Thutmose III's sole reign.

[86] In the Punt section of the Northampton stela, the section following his detailing of sealing duties may well be an elaboration of Djehuty's work on the obelisks, based on the mention of something (the word is lost) that Hatshepsut ordered made "in electrum of the best of the deserts within the festival hall" (*wḏ ḥm.f ỉrt /// m-ḫnw wsḫt ḥbyt*) and that seems to have been measured in *ḥekat* (*Urk.* IV 429.9–11). This latter portion is similar to the language used by Hatshepsut on the northern of the two *Wadjyt* obelisks, where she mentions having measured the electrum in "*ḥekats* like grain" (*Urk.* IV 367.14–15).

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Hatshepsut's officials is not clear. Despite his apparent detailing of the progression of his career, it begins with him already in a fairly important position (as a *šnt* in charge of tribute and taxes), with no indication of what came before this. He likely stemmed from Hermopolis, based on his titles of "great leader in Her-wer," "great of five in the temple of Thoth," "overseer of *ḥm*-priests in Hermopolis," and "overseer of *ḥm*-priests of Hathor, mistress of Cusae" (*Urk.* IV 421.7, 434.2–3, 441.5–6). However, nothing is known of his parents beyond their names: the *sꜣb* Ibuty and his wife Dediu.[87] They appear throughout the tomb with Djehuty, including in his burial chamber decoration (see Galán in this volume), and also flank him in his tomb statues, indicating that Djehuty was likely unmarried and childless. It is perhaps possible to suggest that Djehuty owed his prominence on the one hand to Hatshepsut's need to curry favor with the elite of Middle Egypt, and on the other to an effort to bring members of the less prestigious or well-connected (non-Theban) elite into her court. In both cases, there would presumably be an assurance that the reward of promotion would ensure that her rule would be recognized and uncontested outside of the Theban domain, and her ideological program carried out.

Hapuseneb, High Priest of Amun

Hatshepsut's high priest of Amun Hapuseneb, like Nehesy, Djehuty, and Senenmut, to a certain extent seems to appear rather suddenly in his powerful position. He has generally been regarded as one of Hatshepsut's most prominent officials based on the breadth of Amun precinct titles he carried (Eichler 2000, pp. 10–11, 81, 122ff., 185, 216ff., no. 433), his — probably honorary — post as vizier (Helck 1958, pp. 286ff.; Delvaux 1988, pp. 63–66; Dziobek 1998, p. 138; Bryan 2006, pp. 73, 107),[88] the bestowal of the new title of overseer of *ḥm*-priests of Upper and Lower Egypt (Bryan 2006, p. 107), and the numerous building projects at Karnak and Deir el-Bahari with which he was involved. In addition to his titles and the duties he carried out on behalf of Hatshepsut, Hapuseneb's favored status is indicated by his statues, Theban tomb, Gebel es-Silsilah shrine, and other monuments.[89] The shrine, which bears only the cartouches of Hatshepsut, is situated between those of Nehesy and Senenmut, two of his powerful contemporaries, and was certainly completed during the coregency, perhaps relatively early on. Hapuseneb's tomb, although generally viewed as a recarved *saff*-tomb (Kampp 1996, pp. 28, 144, 289–92, type VIa), is better understood following Polz's (2007, pp. 290, 301–02, 310–11) characterization of it as a newly constructed tomb modifying the *saff*-type and purposefully done in imitation of Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahari, particularly given its placement on the slope adjacent to Deir el-Bahari and clear orientation toward this temple.

Hapuseneb, like Djehuty, has traditionally been placed in office as high priest at least from years 2 through 16 (so Helck 1958, pp. 288–89 with nn. 1, 3) based on three ostraca from Deir el-Bahari and a name stone from Hatshepsut's Valley Temple (Hayes 1960, pp. 34–37, 39, nos. 6, 7, and 9, pls. 10, 10a, 11, 11a; and Hayes 1946, p. 46).[90] However, none of these documents bears year dates, and ostracon 9, which details offerings being brought to Deir el-Bahari on behalf of Hapuseneb by his wife, does not necessarily need to date after construction was complete on the temple (so Helck 1958, p. 288; Hayes 1960, p. 37), but only after it was

[87] According to Galán (Granada conference and this volume), Ibuty has three variations in orthography: *ʾIbw*, *ʾIbty*, and *ʾIbwty*, with the latter being the most common. Schneider (1992, p. 20 N14, and pers. comm.) suggests that the name could be either Egyptian or foreign, though not likely Near Eastern/Semitic, depending on the orthography.

[88] The vizier title appears only on his Louvre statue (A 134; *Urk.* IV 471–77), where it is placed among a list of titles preceding a short biography of his career and work as high priest of Amun. However, this is the only monument on which it appears, and it is placed in the midst of titles such as "great chief in Upper Egypt" and "overseer of temples." In addition, Delvaux (1988, p. 60) has clearly shown that the vizier title seems to be rather squeezed into the inscription, suggesting it may have been a late addition. On his monuments, Hapuseneb consistently stresses his position of high priest of Amun and the activities related to it, indicating that this was the title he considered as his most important.

[89] These include three funerary cones (Davies and Macadam 1957, nos. 21, 517, 518), three ostraca from Deir el-Bahari, and at least one name stone from the Valley Temple, four statues (Louvre A 134, CG 648, Bologna 1822, JdE 39392), and a canopic jar (Turin 3304). In addition to this, Hapuseneb is also mentioned on the statue he dedicated, along with his brother Sa-amun, to their father Hapu (Turin 3061), the statuette of the steward Amenemhab (CG 42112), and in an inscription in the tomb of Userhat, TT 51.

[90] Hapuseneb is only named on ostracon 9; as is common among these documents, only the title is given on ostraca 6 and 7. In addition, although Hayes (1946, p. 23) suggests that Hapuseneb might be the unnamed vizier on an ostracon from Senenmut's TT 71, it is more likely that this refers to Useramun.

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complete enough to begin functioning (so Dziobek 1998, p. 137). The erroneousness of the year 2 date has already been discussed (see n. 32, above), and Hapuseneb's omission from the year 5 accounts tablet — by name or title — could suggest that it was only after year 5 that he became high priest of Amun. The remains of a scene preserved in his tomb (TT 67; PM I², 133 (1)), which depicts the felling of myrrh trees, probably commemorates Hatshepsut's year 9 expedition to Punt, and it thus seems likely that he was at least in office by then. However, a date for Hapuseneb's promotion to high priest before the time of Hatshepsut's coronation is suggested by Hapuseneb's Louvre statue (A 134), and by comparison to his contemporary Djehuty, discussed above.

The dating of Hapuseneb's Louvre statue, which was certainly made during the regency (Delvaux 1988, pp. 66–67; Laboury 1988, p. 557), relies on the originality of the royal names and events chronicled on it. Delvaux concluded that while most of the cartouches bearing the name of Aakheperenra (Thutmose II) were re-inscribed over that of Maatkara, in three significant places this is not the case. Although the statue was gifted by Hatshepsut for Hapuseneb to erect in the Amun temple at Karnak, it appears as though he does in fact chronicle his career under Thutmose II before continuing to enumerate his work under Hatshepsut. Notably, Delvaux reads as original the name of Thutmose II in lines 7–9 where Hapuseneb states that he was rewarded by Thutmose II while already a temple official and was given oversight of the construction of his tomb, and then made chief (*ḥry*) in Karnak and in the Amun temples generally (*Urk.* IV 472.9–473.2). Given the parallel with contemporary officials (e.g., Djehuty, Senenmut) who report being a "chief spokesman" (*r-ḥry*) with regard to construction projects, I would suggest that this is the same for Hapuseneb. Following this he relates his duties under Hatshepsut, including the list of her building projects on which he was involved as the "leader (*ḫrp*) of work" (*Urk.* IV 473.2–476.16). The several lacunae in the last lines of the front side leave open when exactly he was promoted to high priest of Amun, though it seems likely that this did occur under Hatshepsut, and probably during the regency. The early date is suggested by the fact that the second monument that Hapuseneb mentions is the sacred Amun-Userhat bark (after something wrought in gold), while the second-to-last project is Hatshepsut's *Netjery Menu*, the construction and modification of which likely began during the regency and continued into the coregency (Gabolde 2005, pp. 5–98, esp. pp. 10–17, 22–23, 153ff.; Laboury 1998, pp. 556–60, and this volume; but cf. Laskowski 2006, pp. 186–92, for a later dating[91]). The list is remarkably similar to that given by Djehuty in his Northampton stela inscription (including in the inscription's phraseology), and it thus seems likely that here too the projects are given in roughly consecutive order, meaning that if the earlier dating of the monuments is correct, Hatshepsut was undertaking several projects already during the late regency, with Hapuseneb as high priest spearheading them. Thus, as with Djehuty and Senenmut, it seems likely that Hapuseneb received his highest promotion sometime between years 5 and 7, and perhaps right on the cusp of her coronation. The fact that Hapuseneb does not seem to mention involvement on the *Chapelle Rouge*, construction of which began after year 17 (see discussion above for Djehuty), potentially suggests that his tenure as high priest ended before work on this building began.

The re-evaluation of the cartouches on Hapuseneb's statue demonstrates that rather than appearing suddenly, Hapuseneb was already a recognized official of the Amun precinct under Thutmose II. In addition, he came from an established elite family clearly and firmly tied to the Amun cult, and possibly from Thebes. His father Hepu was a *sꜣb*, *ḥm*-priest of his local god (*nṯr nỉwty.f*), and third *ḫry-ḥb*-priest of Amun in Karnak, while his brother Sa-amun was a scribe and first divine sealer of Amun (Helck 1958, pp. 286–89; Bryan 2006, p. 107; Eichler 2000, p. 218, nos. 430 and 471), and his mother was a *ḫkrt nswt* (*Urk.* IV 485.9).[92] It thus seems likely that despite reporting essentially only upper level titles, many of which he held in connection with his highest post, Hapuseneb in fact rose through the temple ranks before being promoted to high priest (so

[91] Laskowski questions the identification of the *Netjery Menu* as a predecessor of the *Akh-Menu* based on the former's inclusion in the *Texte de la jeunesse*, which details activites that occurred around year 15.

[92] Hepu is the owner of a statue in Turin (Turin 3061; *Urk.* IV 469–70), and he is named on Hapuseneb's Bologna statue (Bologna 1822; *Urk.* IV 485.9), in Hapuseneb's tomb, TT 67 (PM I², 133 (4); *Urk.* IV 471.3, 488.9–10), and in his Silsilah shrine, no. 15 (*Urk.* IV 471.2, 486.5; Caminos and James 1963, p. 45, pl. 38). Hapuseneb's mother Ahhotep is likewise known from the Bologna statue (Bologna 1822; *Urk.* IV 485.9), TT 67 (PM I², 133 (4), and Silsilah shrine no. 15 (Caminos and James 1963, p. 44, pl. 37). Hapuseneb's brother Sa-amun also dedicated the Turin 3061 statue (*Urk.* IV 470.17), but is not otherwise known.

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already Helck 1958, p. 287; cf. Eichler 2000, pp. 10–11, 218). This shows that Hatshepsut was promoting up out of the Amun priesthood for the high priest position, not picking an unknown elite.

In this light, we could perhaps view the lack of reporting earlier titles seen on Hapuseneb's coregency monuments as indicative of Hatshepsut's role in his promotion during the regency. His elevated status came from the queen-regent, and judging from his Louvre statue, it was she who not only made him high priest of Amun but also gave him oversight over all the priests of Egypt and many of her building projects. The connection between Hapuseneb's promotions and Hatshepsut's favor is also suggested by the fact that Hatshepsut is the only king mentioned on any of his monuments, including on the lintel of his Gebel es-Silsilah shrine, which bears double-facing cartouches (no. 15; Caminos and James 1963, p. 42, pl. 35). Thus while Hatshepsut utilized the priesthood to fill her high priest of Amun post, it is possible that the selection of Hapuseneb and his resulting significance in her broader administration and building program was due in part to a promise, and follow-through, of loyalty.

Although Hapuseneb's end date in office is uncertain, it seems most likely that he served only Hatshepsut and died before, or only shortly into, the sole reign of Thutmose III (cf. Dziobek 1995, p. 133; 1998, pp. 137–38). It is also possible that his power was tied to Hatshepsut's, and he was not able to retain it following her death and the (re-)ascension of Thutmose III, as for example happened with the vizierate (see above). Although Hapuseneb's children were active in the temple domain,[93] none of them succeeded him as high priest of Amun. As discussed below, this includes his son-in-law Puiemra, who was married to Hapuseneb's daughter, the divine adoratrice Seniseneb, and who continued to serve under Thutmose III as second priest of Amun while another, familially unrelated, individual became high priest.[94]

Puiemra, Second Priest of Amun

To a certain extent, the origins of Hatshepsut's second priest of Amun, Puiemra, are quite clear. He was the son of the chief royal nurse Neferiah, probably a nurse of Thutmose II (Roehrig 1990, pp. 28–31), and calls himself at least twice "(foster-)child of the king (*sḏty nswt*)" (Davies 1922, p. 36, pl. 9; Davies and Davies 1923, p. 44, pl. 69). This title implies that while not of the same age as his mother's charge, Puiemra was raised at the court alongside the royal children,[95] which likely contributed to his appointment as second priest.[96] In addition, at some point Puiemra married the divine adoratrice and chantress of Amun Seniseneb,[97] a daughter of Hatshepsut's prominent high priest of Amun Hapuseneb, and a powerful official in her own right, as

[93] His several children are known from his Silsilah shrine (no. 15; Caminos and James 1963, pp. 44–45, pls. 37–38). Only one son bears a title: Aakheperkaraseneb, who was a high priest in the funerary temple of Thutmose I, and also a second lector priest possibly in the same temple. Three of Hapuseneb's daughters were chantresses of Amun, and a fourth was the divine adoratrice of Amun Seniseneb who married the second priest of Amun Puiemra.

[94] The next known high priest of Amun is Menkheperraseneb, owner of TT 112 and son of Thutmose III's royal nurse Taiunet (contra Dorman 1995, pp. 147–54). As the son of Thutmose III's nurse, he likely grew up at court, and his sister Nebetta carried the title "foster sister of the king," signifying that she was raised alongside Thutmose III. All of Menkheperraseneb's titles are related to the high priesthood, and it seems most likely that prior to his promotion to high priest, he was primarily a court official, a very different situation from Hapuseneb. Although in TT 112 both *Djeser-djeseru* and *Henket-ankh* are mentioned, this does not necessitate that Menkheperraseneb was in office already in the coregency, especially as *Djeser-djeseru* certainly continued to function as an important temple after Hatshepsut's death, even if its place of primacy was usurped by other monuments. These factors suggest that Menkheperraseneb did not attain the office of high priest of Amun until the sole reign of Thutmose III, and that he was in large part promoted to this post due to his close family connection to the king. For the re-evaluation of the two high priests named Menkheperraseneb, owners of TT 112 and TT 86 and uncle and nephew, and who both served Thutmose III, as well as the role their family connections played in their assumption of high office, see Shirley 2005a, pp. 110–122, 200–204; cf. Bryan 2006, pp. 108–09; Eichler 2000, nos. 260–61; Roehrig 1990, pp. 16–22, 44–48. However, I should point out that while originally I suggested that Menkhepperresoneb of TT 112 might have been appointed to office in the late coregency (although perhaps by Thutmose III), I have modified that conclusion here based both on my re-evaluation of Hapuseneb, above, and on the work of M. Gathy (D. Laboury, pers. comm.), who has reason to believe that these two high priests of Amun named Menkheperraseneb are in fact the same person, rather than uncle and nephew, and functioned only during Thutmose III's sole reign.

[95] Roehrig (1990, pp. 308–14) discusses the title "foster brother/sister of the king," but does not mention this variation.

[96] This is contra Eichler (2000, p. 218), who views Puiemra as one of Hatshepsut's "new men" from the lower elite.

[97] She bears her divine adoratrice title both in her father's Silsilah shrine, in Puiemre's tomb (Davies 1922, pp. 35–36, 54 with n. 1, 61, pls. 8, 9, 42; Davies and Davies 1922, pp. 38–40, pls. 62, 64), and on his false door (CG 34047; Lacau 1909, p. 80, pl. 28; Davies and Davies 1923, p. 9, pls. 48, 51; Berman 2002).

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the role of the divine adoratrice was to "substitute for the God's Wife in the Karnak rituals" (Bryan 2003, p. 5). Seniseneb could have been either Puiemra's first or his second wife,[98] and whether the marriage occurred before or after Puiemra became second priest, as well as its role in his promotion to second priest, is unknown. Nonetheless, his marriage into such a prominent family certainly attests to his place among Hatshepsut's officials. Puiemra also had at least two sons, one of whom was Menkheper, a *ḥm-nṯr* priest of Amun in Thutmose III's funerary temple, *Henket-ankh* (Davies and Davies 1923, p. 16, pl. 30:1; Eichler 2000, no. 256). Despite our knowledge of Puiemra's family, we are relatively ignorant of his early career. All his known titles seem to relate to his position as second priest (Eichler 2000, no. 225),[99] and the extant portions of his autobiographical texts shed little light on his career path.

As second priest of Amun under Hatshepsut, Puiemra, like many of his favored contemporaries, was given charge of various aspects of Hatshepsut's building program. His statue from the Mut precinct indicates that he was involved with the erection of an ebony shrine and limestone doors for Hatshepsut's constructions there (*Urk.* IV 520.15–522.10; Roehrig 2005, pp. 181–82). In addition, he is among the officials whose names appear on the so-called name or tally stones from Hatshepsut's Valley Temple (Hayes 1946, p. 46; MMA 12.181.305; Roehrig 2005, cat. no. 77), though when precisely he oversaw work there is uncertain. Like his colleague and father-in-law Hapuseneb, Puiemra oriented his tomb, TT 39, toward Deir el-Bahari and modeled the façade on the temple's terraces, attesting both to his elevated status under Hatshepsut and likely to his role in her temple building (see Engelmann-von Carnap, in this volume). From the scenes in his tomb, TT 39, we see that Puiemra was responsible for recording foreign goods and tribute destined for the Amun temple treasury, as well as for overseeing the production of items intended for Karnak under both Hatshepsut and Thutmose III (Davies 1922, pls. 8, 12, 15, 20, 22–23, 28, 30–32, 35–43).

Although Puiemra's autobiographical inscriptions are too damaged to allow a clear reconstruction of his path to the second priesthood, it is generally assumed that Puiemra was in office by year 9. This is based on a scene in TT 39 where he receives Puntite tribute (PM I², 72 (11)). While there is some comparison between Puiemra's Punt scene and the Punt scenes of Deir el-Bahari (Davies 1922, p. 87; cf. Naville 1898, pls. 76–79),[100] the similarity only signifies that Puiemra's tomb was being decorated after the completion of the temple scene, and thus no earlier than year 9. Nonetheless, the apparent inclusion of the year 9 date (Davies 1922, p. 84) in the accompanying inscription above the myrrh piles would seem to indicate that he was already second priest by this time. Puiemra's appellation as a "(foster) child" of the king (i.e., Thutmose I), rather than foster-brother, indicates that while he was raised alongside the royal family, he could have been either younger or older than Thutmose II. Hence, while Puimere may have achieved at least some positions prior to the regency, particularly as in one of his autobiographical texts he states that he was "an excellent leader while still a youth" (PM I², 71 (4); Davies 1922, pp. 32–33, pl. 29), it seems likely that his post as second priest was granted during the coregency by Hatshepsut.

Puiemra continued as second priest into the sole reign of Thutmose III and continued to be a favored official. The scene in TT 39 that is usually mentioned in connection with Puiemra's service under Thutmose III is found on the rear wall of the hall (PM I², 72 (12)), where Puiemra sits before a depiction of a pair of obelisks inscribed for Thutmose III, and generally assumed to be those erected early in his reign (Habachi and Van Siclen 1977, p. 72; Bryan 2006, p. 109; but see further below). The length of Puiemra's tenure under Thutmose III is perhaps suggested by fragments in his autobiographical stela that indicate he was appointed to a new position and sometime thereafter followed an unnamed king through Retenu and later witnessed victories in Ta-Nehesy/Takhsy (Davies 1922, pp. 32–34, pl. 29, cols. 21, 25–29). This latter portion bears similarities

[98] In addition to Seniseneb, Puiemra includes in his tomb his wife Tanofret, of uncertain lineage. The two women seem to be given equal representation in the tomb; Davies 1922, p. 36 with n. 1; Davies and Davies 1923, p. 38.

[99] Puiemra counts among his titles those of overseer of cattle and fields of Amun, second god's father of Amun, chief of secrets of divine words in the temple of Amun, god's father, chief of secrets at Karnak, overseer of the province (ʿ) of southern Egypt (*Šmʿw*), overseer of the *gs-pr* of the temple, and overseer of the *sḫt ḥtp* in Karnak.

[100] Davies' assertion that in the adjacent scene (PM I², 72 (12)) of recording electrum, Puiemra "copied" the texts relating to the recording of electrum from his contemporary Djehuty, does not seem likely (Davies 1922, pp. 89–90). Note also that the scene at Deir el-Bahari to which Davies refers in fact relates to Djehuty's recording of the myrrh piles from Punt, not electrum.

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to inscriptions of some of Thutmose III's other officials who report accompanying him on campaign, and whether the text should read Nubia or a region of Syria, the implication is that we are dealing with the later years of Thutmose III.[101] Puiemra was rewarded for his participation on these campaigns, which was most likely not military in nature, but rather involved administering the collection of booty, perhaps on behalf of the Amun temple.[102] Finally, from remnants of the text inscribed on stela A of the façade (PM I², 71 (portico stela A); Davies 1922, tablet A, pp. 39–41, pl. 66, lines 26–29), Puiemra seems to mention incense trees, then a foreign land, possibly Kush, then being a man of fifty-four years. Since Puiemra was a youth in the court of Thutmose I, he must have reached the age of fifty-four years during the sole reign of Thutmose III.[103]

In addition, several alterations were undertaken to Puiemra's tomb, particularly along the rear wall of the hall, which added references to Thutmose III. These changes have generally been attributed to the proscription (so Davies 1922, pp. 23ff.; Roehrig 2005, cat. no. 51). However, most tombs that bear proscription-related changes have only the name of Hatshepsut erased, sometimes with the name of Thutmose I, Thutmose II, or Thutmose III inserted. Puiemra's tomb, on the other hand, was significantly altered, and a re-examination of the relevant scenes suggests that these should be viewed as an immediate result of Puiemra's continuation as second priest under Thutmose III. The changes should thus be seen as an attempt by this official to include his new sovereign in tomb scenes that were either partially or completely finished.

Nearly all the scenes along the tomb's rear wall can be interpreted as having been modified to include a reference to Thutmose III. Thus we see on the very northern end of the rear wall (PM I², 72 (11); Davies 1922, pp. 24, 79–87, pls. 30:4, 31–32) and the lower part of the southern end (PM I², 71 (5) lower; Davies 1922, pp. 102–04, pls. 42:1 and 3, 43) scenes that were finished at different times. At the northern end, where in two registers Puiemra oversees the recording of items brought by Retenu, Watet-hor, and the oases, as well as items from Punt and Ta-netjer and captives, Puiemra's figures have been altered to incorporate the *ka*-standard of Thutmose III. However, on the southern end, there is no indication that the figure of Puiemra was altered, and thus it is possible that the cartouche of Thutmose III figured somewhere in the now mostly lost inscription, and the scene was finished during Thutmose III's sole reign (cf. Davies 1922, p. 25).

The middle portion of the rear wall, which is divided into the two main focal walls by virtue of the entrance to the central chapel (PM I², 72 (6) on the south and (12) on the north), reflects this even more clearly, as here one can see that specific parts of the scenes were begun/finished both during the coregency and after Thutmose III became sole king (Davies 1922, pls. 40, 42, 33, and 35–38). On the south side (PM I², 72 (6); Davies 1922, pl. 42:2), the remnants of the upper scene indicate that Puiemra was being presented with goods destined for the temple, and the cartouche of Thutmose III has been inserted in an entirely incongruous location relative to the scene. As second priest of Amun Puiemra oversaw the production of various temple items, and in the bottom register we find a list of the fifteen temples that would receive these objects (ibid., pp. 92–96, pl. 40; cf. Dziobek 1992, pp. 39–40). Although the figure of Puiemra in the lower register seems to have been erased and later restored, there is no inclusion of the *ka*-standard of Thutmose III, as seen elsewhere. Perhaps this is because the list of temples includes Thutmose III's mortuary temple (*Henket-ankh*), which was started during the coregency[104] and was in use at least by year 24, as the first evidence we have for an operational cult at *Henket-ankh* dates to the time just after Thutmose III's first campaign.[105]

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[101] Whether the land at the bottom of col. 28 should be read as Ta-Nehesy, so Nubia, or Takhsy, in Syria, is uncertain. See, e.g., Redford 2003, pp. 169–73, for a discussion of the Takhsy campaign found in the text of Thutmose III's soldier Amenemheb-Mahu and engineer Minmose.

[102] On the topic of civil officials in the foreign military theatre, see Shirley 2011.

[103] This is the case even with a longer reign for Thutmose II, as even if Puiemra had been born at the outset of Thutmose I's reign, he would only be approaching his fifties at the beginning of Thutmose III's sole reign.

[104] It is mentioned on the *Chapelle Rouge*, on a grano-diorite block on the first course of the exterior of the south wall (block 290, scene 12; Ricke 1939, pp. 3–5; Burgos and Larché 2006–2008, vol. 2, pp. 19, 312, 315, 325, 381), which bears the cartouche of Hatshepsut on a vertical side. Although Thutmose III in fact finished the *Chapelle Rouge*, including the doors, it is clear that the initial course was done during the late coregency. See Burgos and Larché 2006–2008, vol. 2, pp. 14, 30, 59–60, 81–83, 87–88, 103–22.

[105] This does not mean that the temple must have been finished by then, just that it was operational (cf. Ricke 1939, pp. 5–7, 17–19). An ostracon from Deir el-Bahari demonstrates that Thutmose III was still undertaking work on the temple in year 49 (Hayes 1960, pp. 47–48, no. 21; cf. Redford 2003, p. 149, for a possible mention dating to year 50). The temple is also included in the text on the southern, east face of the Sixth Pylon at Karnak, where it is noted that a victory feast was held there as part of the Beautiful Feast of the Valley following Thutmose III's first

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Correspondingly, in the lower scene on the north side (PM I², 72 (12), Davies 1922, pls. 35–39), the figure of Puiemra has been altered to make way for the standard of Thutmose III, in the same way as was done on the northern end of this wall (PM I², 72 (11)), while in the upper scene the cartouche of Thutmose III was apparently added to the inscription accompanying Puiemra (Davies 1922, p. 25 with n. 1), possibly resulting in a slight modification of the text. This is all the more interesting as both scenes refer to obelisks; in the lower scene electrum is being measured out for their construction, while in the upper scene the obelisks are depicted, inscribed with the titulary of Thutmose III. As noted above, these have generally been assumed to refer to one of the pairs of obelisks that Thutmose III erected at Karnak, likely for his first jubilee. However, I suggest that in fact the scene was intended originally to refer to Hatshepsut's year 16 obelisks, and was then altered/finished to attribute them fully to Thutmose III. This conclusion is supported by four pieces of evidence. First, the two scenes seem originally to have been designed as components of the same event, with the lower scene giving the details of Puiemra's role in supervising the obelisks' construction and the upper their erection.[106] Second, although not clearly mentioned in the text by Norman de Garis Davies (*Puyemrê*, vol. 1, pp. 97–98, pl. 39), the color plate shows the obelisks as colored in the same fashion as that seen in the tomb of Hatshepsut's chief steward Amenhotep (TT 73, see below) and implied in the description by her overseer of the silver and gold houses Djehuty (TT 11, see above) — a bi-color split of red and yellow/gold indicating that more than just the pyramidion was sheathed in electrum. Third, Puiemra seems to record the same number of *hekat*s of electrum as Djehuty mentions at the end of his Northampton stela (*Urk.* IV 429.12–13; see above) in reference to electrum presented to Amun, and both use similar language to that of Hatshepsut with regard to electrum designated for her *Wadjyt* obelisks (*Urk.* IV 367.14–15; cf. Davies 1922, pp. 87–90). Finally, further supporting this re-interpretation is the fact that in the upper scene of temple items, following the depiction of the obelisks, are two chapels, one of which bears the cryptogram frieze of Maatkara, and the other a modified version that includes a sphinx. Larché (in Burgos and Larché 2006–08, vol. 2, p. 102) has already posited that these might represent the *Chapelle Rouge*, perhaps in its original construction under Hatshepsut and then as modified by Thutmose III. The difficulty Larché faced with squaring his suggestion with a representation of the two obelisks of Thutmose III is removed if we understand the obelisk scene as originally representing the year 16/17 obelisks of Hatshepsut. In this scenario, the items presented in the adjoining registers all also originally dealt with Hatshepsut's constructions at Karnak around the time of her jubilee and slightly later, and the shrines could easily represent the *Chapelle Rouge* as constructed by Hatshepsut, and later modified/finished on Puiemra's wall during the sole reign of Thutmose III.

This new interpretation of the scenes along the rear wall of Puiemra's tomb, combined with the use of language like that seen in Djehuty's tomb (TT 11) and at Deir el-Bahari itself, would place Puiemra as second priest of Amun at least by year 16 of the coregency, but probably as early as year 9, and continuing at least until Thutmose III's second jubilee in year 34, for which he likely had his first pair of obelisks erected before

campaign in year 23 (*Urk.* IV 741.3–6). Burgos and Larché have shown that work on the pylon was begun during the coregency, and that Senemut was involved with it, but finished in the sole reign by Thutmose III (Burgos and Larché 2006–2008, vol. 2, pp. 90, 109–11, 118ff.). Also included in the Sixth Pylon text is the *Akh-Menu*, the daily offerings for which were doubled following the first campaign, though the structure was certainly not begun until the sole reign of Thutmose III. While the pylon inscriptions likely date to year 42, the activities described nonetheless seem to be accurate representations of years 23/24 (Redford 2003, pp. 137ff.). References to *Henket-ankh* are also found on the statue of the royal butler Neferperet, who carried off cattle and milk destined for *Henket-ankh* after a campaign of Thutmose III (which one is not certain), and Amun of *Henket-ankh* figures in the statue's offering formulae (CG 42121; Redford 2003, pp. 166–67; *Urk.* IV 1019–21.10).

[106] The first part of the inscription that accompanies Puiemra in the lower scene (Davies 1922, pp. 24, 87–88, pl. 35) reads, "Witnessing the measuring of electrum counted in true *hekat*s (of grain), which the sovereign dedicated for his father Amun-Ra, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, for the work on the two great obelisks." The corresponding inscription of the upper scene (ibid., pp. 25, 96–98, pl. 37) reads, "Witnessing the great and excellent monuments which the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Menkheperra made for his father Amun of Karnak, consisting of silver, gold and every precious stone." N. de G. Davies (ibid., p. 25 with n. 1) notes that the cartouche of Thutmose III is in the inscription and the figure of Puiemra left untouched, which occurs in two other scenes as well (ibid., pls. 30, 42), while in nearby scenes that do not include the king's cartouche, Puiemra's figure is altered. In all three cases it appears that Thutmose III's cartouche is a later addition to the scene, one that Davies (ibid., p. 25) suggests was carried out by Puiemra. Note that this is despite the fact that on the plates the cartouches are labeled with an asterisk, which according to Davies (ibid., p. 24 with n. 1, and pl. 6) indicates a Ramesside restoration; cf. ibid., pp. 22–26.

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the Seventh Pylon at Karnak (Laskowski 2006, pp. 195–96; Redford 2003, pp. 124–25, 141; cf. Habachi and Van Siclen 1977, pp. 72ff.). The significant changes undertaken following Thutmose III's (re-)ascension also imply that Puiemra continued in office long enough to make it both feasible and necessary to carry out these alterations. Thus, if we understand the fragmentary references in his tomb as referring to his participation on some of Thutmose III's later campaigns, it may well be that Puiemra served as second priest of Amun into the fourth decade of Thutmose III's reign. Indeed, the fact that he mentions achieving the age of fifty-four years on stela A of the façade, and lived to see at least two grandchildren born (Davies and Davies 1923, p. 40, pls. 63–64), further supports the idea that he served until the later years of Thutmose III. As a clearly favored official of Hathsepsut, Puiemra's continuation so long into the reign of Thutmose III makes him one of a very few men who made this transition. Although the reason for this is not certain, it is possible that Puiemra, whose position as second priest carried a great deal of wealth and power, meant that he was more important for Thutmose III to woo than to oust. In addition, his probably lengthy service under Thutmose III suggests that even if Puiemra's inability to attain the high priest of Amun position, held by his father-in-law Hapuseneb during the coregency, is indicative of Hapuseneb's (waning) power at the end of the coregency, Puiemra's continuation as second priest may well reflect his own power. This may be especially true given the position's connection to the estate of the God's Wife (see, e.g., Bryan 2003, pp. 1–6), and also Puiemra's evident responsibilities over so many diverse areas of the Amun precinct administration (Eichler 2000, pp. 58, 120–21, 126, 129, 151–52, 195). Puimre's ability to place his own children in temple positions may also be indicative of his status under both Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, especially as his son Menkheper was a priest in *Henket-ankh* (see also n. 235, below). One wonders also if his connection to the court of Thutmose I through his mother may have played a role in his continued favored status.

Hatshepsut's Stewards

As noted in the previous section, in the period before Hatshepsut's coronation, Senenmut was appointed "steward of Neferura," a position he initially held jointly with Senimen and then continued to hold in some capacity throughout Hatshepsut's reign. During the regency period, it also seems that Senenmut became "steward of the mistress of the Two Lands" (so Hatshepsut), and after Hatshepsut's coronation became "steward of the king."[107] While I do not think it accurate to say that Senenmut's role in, or connection to, the royal household was "diminished" (so Dorman 1988, p. 171),[108] it seems clear that once he was appointed as steward of Amun, it was this position, and through supervisory roles over Hatshepsut's building projects, that Senenmut had his greatest influence.

In addition, we know of at least two, and possibly four, individuals who seem to hold the title of (chief) steward of the king during the coregency period, and thus concurrently with Senenmut: Amenhotep and Wadjetrenput, and possibly Djehutyhotep and Meryra.[109] Amenhotep's and Wadjetrenput's overlap with Senenmut, and possibly each other, is certain as Amenhotep was given charge of Hatshepsut's year 16 obelisks as well as other building projects, while the steward Wadjetrenput appears on an undated ostracon from Deir el-Bahari that also names the steward Senenmut (Hayes 1960, pp. 35–36, 38–39, pls. 10, 10a:8). Two other

[107] Senenmut is "steward of the mistress of the Two Lands" on CG 42116, which likely dates to the coronation period; see above, nn. 52–54. He holds the "(great) steward of the king" title on CG 579, MMA 48.179.1, Munich ÄS 6265, cylinder seal in the Petrie Museum, name stone no. LVIII, and in TT 353 (Dorman 1988, p. 205). Although Dorman (ibid., pp. 171–72) notes that there is some difficulty with determining which king — Hatshepsut or Thutmose III — is being referred to, the fact that Senenmut only bears the title on objects clearly dating to his floruit under Hatshepsut would seem to put the matter to rest.

[108] As reflected in the discussions of both Senimen and Senenmut above, I disagree with the general assertion that Senenmut ceded responsibility for the stewardship of Neferura and her estate once he became steward of Amun. One must take into account the original locale of so many of his monuments being Karnak or at least the Theban environ, and thus the titles listed reflect this. The fact that the stewardship titles still appear on the following coregency monuments — a funerary cone (Davies and Macadam 1957, nos. 84, 88), in the year 11 stela of Neferura; three statues (Berlin 2296: unknown, but perhaps Karnak; CG 42114: Karnak cachette; JdE 47278: North Karnak) — and are referred to on another statue (FM 173800: Karnak), not to mention the several "tutor" statues of Senenmut's from Karnak, indicate their continued importance for him. See the convenient bibliography in Dorman 1988, pp. 188–202 (A.2). See also nn. 52 and 59, above.

[109] I should point out that the first royal herald Intef (TT 155, see above) also carries this title once on his Louvre stela (*Urk.* IV 972.16), but it should likely be understood as a reflection of his general status and position within the royal palace.

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stewards, Djehutyhotep and Meryra, are also known from the Deir el-Bahari ostraca, but their identification as stewards of the king is less certain. The steward Djehutyhotep, known from an ostracon dated to year 20, may or may not be the same as the chief steward of the good goddess (so Hatshepsut) Djehutyhotep known from other objects (ibid., pp. 37–38, pls. 10, 10a:11; cf. Dziobek 1998, p. 142; Helck 1958, pp. 363, 478).[110] The steward Meryra is included on an undated ostracon along with several unnamed high officials, and it is just possible that he is the same as the chief steward of the king Meryra who served Thutmose IV (Hayes 1960, pp. 34–35, 38–39, pls. 10, 10a:6; Bryan 1991, p. 255).[111] Finally, the steward Rau, also named on these ostraca, can be identified with the steward of the God's Wife Ahmose-Nefertari and later steward of Amun Rau (Hayes 1960, p. 37, pls. 10, 10a:10; see below).

Although on the ostraca the officials are universally referred to simply as "steward," we should probably understand these as abbreviated titles. In Senenmut's case, while we might presume that he was functioning as the "steward of Amun," the title could in fact have a double meaning — both steward of Amun and steward of the king — especially as Senenmut clearly utilized both titles in his CG 579 statue, which provides an extensive list of Hatshepsut's monuments he was involved with, including Deir el-Bahari. Indeed, even if Senenmut was functioning here in his capacity as steward of the king, this is not really problematic, as in his case it is clear that he held several titles concurrently with other officials, and this was a marker of his favored status as much, or more than, an indication of the many responsibilities with which Hatshepsut entrusted him. The other "stewards" named on these ostraca can thus likely be seen either as stewards of the king, or, in the case of Rau, as steward of Ahmose-Nefertari (see below). In any case, because all of these men were involved in some way with Hatshepsut's monuments, it does not seem probable that they served different royal households, as Glanville (1928, p. 308)[112] suggested for Amenhotep (as the steward of Hatshepsut) and Wadjetrenput (as the steward of Thutmose III). The lack of precise dates for these officials makes it difficult to arrange them chronologically, though perhaps it is not completely necessary to do so. Indeed, stewards likely managed and oversaw various affairs of the king, and thus it should not be surprising that there might be several holding office at any given time, perhaps given charge over different aspects of the king's household, and even acting as the king's representative, with the ability to speak for the king or issue his orders. The occurrence of several stewards functioning at one time might also indicate a type of hierarchy, in which eventually some become "chief stewards" while others remain as basic stewards.[113]

As it seems possible that Wadjetrenput continued into the sole reign of Thutmose III, and Amenhotep was considerably favored by Hatshepsut, however, we could perhaps view Amenhotep as becoming the primary holder of the office during the earlier coregency, with Wadjetrenput as Amenhotep's contemporary and successor, appointed later in the coregency, though presumably before year 20 (cf. Helck 1958, pp. 364–65; 1994, pp. 39–40 n. b; Dziobek 1998, p. 142; for Wadjetrenput, see below). Even if accurate, we must understand that both were serving while Senenmut was still functioning as steward of Amun/steward of the king, and that other men likely also concurrently held the office of steward of the king.[114]

Amenhotep, Steward of Hatshepsut

Based on the above review, we can perhaps see the chief steward (of the king) and brave one of the king Amenhotep as becoming Hatshepsut's primary chief steward around the time of her coronation, or shortly thereafter. It seems likely that Amenhotep would have been chief steward by year 9 at the latest, when

[110] These are a knife in the MMA, 48.105.3; Hayes 1948, p. 60; and a shawabti in Trieste. Helck (1958, p. 363) considered him as Senenmut's successor, though if he held office in year 20, then he would have also overlapped with both Sennemut and Amenhotep, and perhaps even Wadjetrenput.

[111] Due to our lack of information beyond what is stated above, these two officials have been left out of the ensuing discussion.

[112] Glanville draws this distinction between Wadjetrenput and Senenmut based on the use of the phrase "of the king" in Wadjetrenput's title, which at the time was not known for Senenmut. In addition, Amenhotep also carries the fuller version "chief steward of the king" in his tomb, and it is clearly Hatshepsut who is referred to.

[113] As seems to occur, for example, with (royal) butlers during the Eighteenth Dynasty and particularly the Ramesside period. See Shirley 2013b; Schulman 1976 and 1986; see also Spalinger 1980.

[114] Perhaps the steward of the good goddess Djehutyhotep could be seen as primarily a palace official, while Amenhotep and Wadjetrenput had a broader range of duties and responsibilities.

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Senenmut is clearly functioning primarily as steward of Amun, based on his inclusion in the Punt reliefs as the "steward of Amun Senenmut" (*Urk.* IV 355.2; Naville 1898, p. 21, pl. 86).[115] Amenhotep is known from both his Theban tomb (TT 73; Säve-Söderbergh 1957, pp. 1–10, pls. 1–9; Habachi 1957, pp. 91–92; *Urk.* IV 455–63), and his graffiti in the Sehel region and Bigeh Island (de Morgan 1894, nos. 140, 143; Habachi 1957, pp. 89–99; Gasse and Rondot 2007, pp. 131–34 [SEH 236–39]). Although the tomb is damaged and unfinished, it is clear that Amenhotep was placed in charge, generally, of supervising the production of objects for Hatshepsut's jubilee. On the rear right focal wall of the tomb, Amehotep stands before Hatshepsut presenting the gifts to her, and at the end of the wall (far right), he appears again, inspecting the bringing of gifts. The scene continues onto the adjacent (north) wall, where Amenhotep is again depicted before the objects (PM I², 143 (3)–(2); Säve-Söderbergh 1957, pp. 2–8, pls. 1–6, 9; *Urk.* IV 455.9–456.2 and 459.13–16). From his tomb inscriptions and these graffiti, we also learn that Amenhotep was entrusted with overseeing the quarrying of a pair of obelisks for Hatshepsut. These are now generally presumed to be her second set, quarried in year 16, largely sheathed in electrum,[116] and the same ones detailed in the tomb of the overseer of silver and gold houses Djehuty (contra Habachi 1957, pp. 98–99; see above). For this task Amenhotep was given the special title(s) "director/overseer of works on the two great obelisks (for the house of Amun)." As with Djehuty, Amenhotep's work on the obelisks was a significant event in his career — in addition to the graffito, the obelisks are represented in his tomb at the end of the depiction of New Year's gifts. There are two texts on this wall, one that details the gifts brought for the New Year's festival, and one that accompanies the figure of Amenhotep and recounts his involvement with the obelisks (PM I², 143 (2); Säve-Söderbergh 1957, pp. 6–8, pls. 6, 9A; *Urk.* IV 459.10–461.10). In the latter text, Amenhotep reports that he carried out the work on the "two great obelisks in the temple of Amun at Karnak" and was rewarded for his efforts with silver, gold, and favor of the king (*Urk.* IV 461.11–462.2).[117]

Habachi (1957, p. 98) suggested that Amenhotep only became chief steward following his successful completion of work on the Karnak obelisks because Amenhotep only reported the overseer title in his Sehel graffiti (de Morgan 1894, no. 140; Habachi 1957, pp. 89–91, 98, fig. 1, pl. 16 B; Gasse and Rondot 2007, p. 132 [SEH 236]), and not that of chief steward, which Habachi assumed to be the more important one. Given the placement and wording of the text in the tomb, this is certainly possible, even though this portion of the text is largely restored, and whether or not the king's favor amounted to a promotion is lost; what remains is that 50 *deben* of silver were given to Amenhotep by the king. In addition, where the tomb inscriptions are extant and both titles are given, his title of chief steward seems to regularly follow that of overseer of works on the two great obelisks (*Urk.* IV 456.9–10, 459.7–8, 460.4–5; Säve-Söderbergh 1957, pls. 2, 5, 6). Amenhotep's promotion following work on the obelisks would also be in parallel to that of Senemut, who, as suggested above, became steward of Amun following his quarrying of obelisks in year 7. However, it is also possible that given the space allotted for the rock inscriptions, Amenhotep used the title relevant to the task with which he was entrusted. The latter view is perhaps supported by his second Sehel graffito (de Morgan 1894, no. 143; Habachi 1957, pp. 96–97, fig. 4, pl. 17 A; Gasse and Rondot 2007, pp. 132–33 [SEH 237]), where Amenhotep carries the title "director of works in the great house/naos of red granite," clearly relating to another task that he was given by Hatshepsut. In addition, in both of these inscriptions, Amenhotep also carries priestly titles related to local deities — high priest of Khnum, Satet, and Anukis (no. 140), and high priest of Anukis (no. 143) — so it would seem that he intentionally included only titles significant to the region in which the inscriptions were carved. Although Habachi (1957, p. 97 with n. 35) suggested that the enigmatic "house/naos of red granite" signified the quarry or quarry region Amenhotep utilized for his activities and was hence

[115] Amenhotep's lack of inclusion in the obelisk reliefs depicted at Deir el-Bahari, the erection of both sets of which date to the very start of coregency (see n. 21, above), also suggests that his assumption of the post occurred between years 7 and 9.

[116] In Amenhotep's tomb the obelisks themselves are "painted pink with blue dabs to imitate granite"; Säve-Söderbergh 1957, p. 7. However, the obelisks that form part of his title on the northwest wall (PM I², 143 (3)) are apparently colored approximately half in red and half in yellow/gold. See *Urk.* IV 456.9 with note c., and 459.7 with note b, but this is not mentioned or indicated in Säve-Söderbergh 1957, pp. 2, 6, pls. 2, 5.

[117] He is not included in Binder's study (2008) on the gold of honor, and while it is possible that he was rewarded by Hatshepsut with this, the depictions of Amenhotep in his tomb are too damaged to say whether they fulfill the criteria established by her.

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placed in charge of, he also implies that it refers to an otherwise unknown construction of Hatshepsut in the region (ibid., p. 92). Gasse and Rondot seem to follow the latter interpretation, further noting (2007, p. 133) that the order of the titles, which is different from that of the obelisk graffito, implies that Amenhotep served as priest and director of work in the same structure, and thus the structure must be located in the cataract region. However, since the only known shrines or temples of Hatshepsut's in the region are of sandstone,[118] not granite, it seems quite possible that the shrine in question refers rather to her *Chapelle Rouge*. This identification is perhaps supported by the fact that in Amenhotep's tomb a number of the group statues that he presents as part of the New Year's gifts have parallels to those depicted in her *Chapelle Rouge* (Roehrig 2005, p. 162; cf. Laboury 2000, pp. 86–87). Hatshepsut is herself depicted in this scene, where Amenhotep offers a necklace to her, with the statue groups laid out behind him (PM I², 143 (2)–(3); Säve-Söderbergh 1957, pp. 2–4, pls. 1–3; Habachi 1957, pp. 91–92, fig. 2; cf. *Urk.* IV 458.3–13). Habachi also noted Amenhotep's role in producing statues, suggesting they were meant for a shrine that Hatshepsut built in Elephantine, but based on their depiction on the walls of the *Chapelle Rouge*, it seems possible that the statues were intended for the Amun temple. If Amenhotep was placed in charge of quarrying stone for Hatshepsut's *Chapelle Rouge*, and he lived to see the statues for it made (as his tomb scene implies), then he remained in office at least into the last years of the coregency period, and perhaps even into the early years of Thutmose III.

Of further interest is that one of these statue groups seems to depict Hatshepsut smiting an enemy and a reference to "all foreign countries," while included among the registers of New Year's gifts are a chariot and bow from "vile Kush" (Säve-Söderbergh 1957, pp. 3–4, pl. 3; *Urk.* IV 457.5–7). These seem to allude to campaigns carried out in Nubia and booty gained from them. Amenhotep may well have been involved in some way, as he also reports the titles of "brave one of the king," "confidant of the king at the head of his [army]," and "confidant/follower of the king at the head of the army [on his marches] upon northern and southern foreign lands" (Säve-Söderbergh 1957, pp. 2, 7, pls. 2, 6; cf. *Urk.* IV 456.13, 460.12–13), and based on the reference to an unknown "follower of the king on his marches" who stands behind Amenhotep in the offering scene (Säve-Söderbergh 1957, p. 9, pl. 7). Because the statues form part of the New Year's gifts, we can presume that the campaign(s) referred to must have taken place before Hatshepsut's jubilee and thus could be booty gained from the Tangur West campaign in year 12 or the campaign Ty was involved with, which may have been earlier than year 12 (see Ty, below).

Although nothing is known of Amenhotep's origins, it is possible that he stemmed from the area of Heracleopolis in Middle Egypt. This origin is suggested by the title of his brother Nebem, who was a *wʿb*-priest, overseer of cattle, and an overseer of granaries of Herishef, a deity whose cult was centered in Heracleopolis (Säve-Söderbergh 1957, p. 8, pl. 7). Amenhotep's father was Teti, whom Eichler (2000, no. 098) also accords the general elite title of *sꜣb* as there is just enough room for this title in the damaged area before his name (Säve-Söderbergh 1957, p. 7, pl. 6; *Urk.* IV 461.10).[119] The name of his mother is lost in this scene, and although his wife's name is also lost in the tomb, she is identified as Amenemipet on one of his Sehel graffiti (Gasse and Rondot 2007, pp. 132–33 [SEH 237]).[120] Two additional graffiti likely belonged to two of their sons,

[118] These are the temples of Satet/Satis and Khnum at Elephantine; see, e.g., the various reports in *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo*, most recently Raue et al. 2011 and literature cited therein: Kaiser 1993, Jaritz 1980, Dreyer 1986, Seidlmayer 2006.

[119] In this inscription Amenhotep seems to report a second name: "... overseer of the cattle of Amun, chief steward, brave one of the king, [Amenhotep] called (*ḏd.n.f*) ///t///"; the suggestion that it is the same as the father's can be neither proved nor disproved (Säve-Söderbergh 1957, p. 7, pl. 6).

[120] Although Pumpenmeir (1998, esp. pp. 80–81) suggested that Amenhotep was the father of Amenhotep II's chief steward and steward of Perunefer Qenamun (owner of TT 93), based on the name of Amenhotep's wife and Qenamun's mother both being Amenemipet, and Qenamun's unknown father being a steward, this is unlikely for two main reasons. First, since Qenamun's mother was clearly a wet nurse for prince Amenhotep (II), it seems rather unlikely that his father was already an elite official whose tomb was completed during the late coregency of Hatshepsut/Thutmose III, twelve or more years before Amenhotep was even born circa 1446 B.C. (ascended the throne at age eighteen in circa 1428 B.C.). In addition, my own investigation of TT 93 determined that N. de G. Davies incompletely copied and described a scene in the tomb that relates to the identity of Qenmaun's father. Located at PM I², 190 (7) (cf. N. de G. Davies 1930, p. 44, pl. 25; *Urk.* IV 1406.18–19), the very damaged scene in fact depicts Qenamun (lost) seated with both of his parents, whose images are completely defaced. This is certain due to the inscriptions above the figures, which in the extant eight columns name them as: ...(x+3) *imy-r pr wr n nswt* (x+4) *ṯ*ꜣ*y ḫw n nb t*ꜣ*wy* (x+5) [*Ḳn-*ʾ*Imn mꜣʿ-ḫrw*]. (x+6) *it.f imy-r pr* [*n* ʾ*Imn*] (x+7).... (x+8–9) [*mwt.f mnʿt wrt šdt nṯr* ʾ*Imn-m-ipt*] (x+10)... *mꜣʿt-ḫrw ḫr nṯr nfr* = "... chief steward of the king, fan-bearer of the lord of the Two Lands [Qenamun, *mꜣʿ-ḫrw*]. His father, steward [of Amun(?)]...

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Neferhotep and Amenemhat, both of whom were high priests of Anukis like their father (Gasse and Rondot 2007, p. 134 [SEH 238–39]; Valbelle 1981, p. 15 nos. 123–24), and could perhaps testify to a familial connection to the Elephantine region.

The ability of Amenhotep to depict Hatshepsut in his tomb, and the extensive representation of New Year's gifts, which spans two walls (PM I², 143 (2)–(3); Säve-Söderbergh 1957, pp. 2–8, pls. 1–6, 9a), is indicative of his extremely favored status under her.[121] In addition, the remains of the text running above the depiction of burial equipment suggests that Hatshepsut gifted Amenhotep with items for his burial (Säve-Söderbergh 1957, p. 6, pls. 6, 9a). As with several of Hatshepsut's most trusted officials, Amenhotep was involved with a Nubian campaign, the erection of one pair of obelisks, and the production of objects for her jubilee. In addition, he reports the title "overseer of cattle of Amun" and in this capacity was responsible for counting the cattle for the Opet festival, an activity that he details in his tomb directly above and adjacent to the depiction of cattle (ibid., pp. 4–6, pls. 4–5, 9:1; *Urk.* IV 458.16–459.9, 463.13–17). This position, while certainly important for the duties it entailed, is nonetheless seemingly unconnected to his other posts. Because it would have carried with it access to the wealth of the Amun precinct, perhaps Amenhotep was given this position as a reward for a promise of loyalty to Hatshepsut. Whether he originated in Middle Egypt or the cataract region, his presence as one of Hatshepsut's favored officials could indicate a need to curry favor with the elite of the provinces and/or a desire to promote from out of a different set of elite than her predecessors used.

Although the only secure dates for Amenhotep's tenure in office occur around the time of Hatshepsut's jubilee, I have suggested that he was promoted to his position of chief steward of the king at or just after her coronation as king. This early date is also supported by the location of Amenhotep's tomb quite close to that of Senenmut (TT 71), as well as by its round-columned transverse hall, which resembles those in the tombs of Senenmut and Nebamun, Hatshepsut's overseer of the granary and scribe of royal accounts (TT 65; Bács 1998, pp. 55ff.; cf. Engelmann-von Carnap 1995 and 1999, passim; Kampp 1996, pp. 285–87, 298–302, 306–07, type VIIa; see below). In addition, perhaps Amenhotep is the unnamed "chief steward of the king" referred to on an ostracon found outside TT 71 that details men sent by various officials to work on the tomb (Hayes 1946, p. 23, no. 83; though this could also be Wadjetrenput; see below). Amenhotep's tomb is unfinished, and thus we cannot state with certainty that Thutmose III did not appear in it. It seems most likely, however, that Amenhotep's tenure as chief steward ended with the coregency, or at the very most continued only slightly into the sole reign.

Senemiah

As noted above, the overseer of the silver and gold houses Senemiah has traditionally been viewed as Djehuty's successor in this post during the coregency. In the discussion of Djehuty, I argued for Djehuty's placement as a contemporary of Senemiah, rather than being his predecessor, or successor, with Djehuty's duties involving the palace and state and focused on various building projects carried out by Hatshepsut. Senemiah, in contrast, was an official whose duties were primarily concerned with the counting and recording of goods, and who may have been connected to the Amun precinct, and thus perhaps could be considered as overseer of silver and gold houses (of Amun). Although Senemiah likely achieved his final title of overseer of the silver

[His mother, chief royal nurse who nurtured the god (or a version of this) Amenemipet], *mꜣʿt-ḫrw ḥr nṯr nfr*." The use of the feminine epithet in the last column clearly indicates that the final figure was female, and thus most likely to be Qenamun's mother. The proposed reconstruction of the father's title as a steward of Amun is suggested by the nature of the defacement, which accords well with the destruction of this group of signs, and by what appears to be the very top of the *mn*-sign still extant above the destruction. There is enough room in the lacuna, which encompasses the end of column x+6 as well as the next column (x+7), for both a longer title and the individual's name, and perhaps even a further title (Shirley 2010b, pp. 265–68). One might also add the fact that although Amenhotep of TT 73 was married to a woman named Amenemopet (based on his Sehel graffito), the name is not so uncommon that two different women could not have held it.

[121] It is also likely, particularly given his connection to work carried out in the cataract region, that Amenhotep is the owner of one of the unknown shrines at Gebel es-Silsilah. Based on location and lintel inscriptions, possible candidates might be no. 7, next to that of the coregency official Ahmose (no. 6), who was a scribe of the nome and high priest of Nekhbet as well as other deities, or shrine 22, adjacent to shrine 23 of the overseer of double granaries Minnakht (see Caminos and James 1963, p. 26, pl. 20, and p. 73, pl. 25).

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and gold houses only toward the end of his career, after year 9, he is included here because he seems to have been already a middle-aged official with some power who began his career under Hatshepsut's predecessors and had already started his tomb when he was further promoted by her following the Punt expedition.

This new understanding of Senemiah is supported by several pieces of evidence. First, it is clear from the inscriptions and decoration that Senemiah's tomb (TT 127) was finished during the early coregency, and perhaps begun during the regency. While other (later) coregency officials often include at least the name of Thutmose III in their inscriptions, particularly in the lintel of the autobiographical stelae, this is not the case with Senemiah. Senemiah's autobiography (PM I², 242 (9)), which contains many areas where Hatshepsut's cartouches were erased and often employs feminine pronouns in reference to the king (e.g., *Urk.* IV 500.12, 500.17, 501.13, 502.12, 502.16, 503.1, 503.3), indicates that the texts were being composed during Hatshepsut's reign. It is also clear from the autobiography that Senemiah carried out many tasks under Hatshepsut, for which he was praised and rewarded by her (*Urk.* IV 506.6 — *fḳꜣw n ḥswt* "rewards of praise"; cf. Binder 2008, pp. 12–13). This resembles more the inscriptions found in tombs of late regency and early coregency contemporaries such as Intef and Duawyneheh, and is different from, for example, those found on the autobiographical stelae in the tomb of the overseer of the silver and gold houses Djehuty. Second, while architecturally Senemiah's tomb can be dated generally to the reign of Hatshepsut (Kampp 1996, pp. 25–26, 144, 417–18, type Vd), stylistically it belongs on the earlier side of the coregency period. In addition, the fact that Thutmose III's name is not found at all in the tomb, while Hatshepsut's was erased throughout, but never re-inscribed, argues for Senemiah's tenure ending before the end of the coregency, or at the very latest just into Thutmose III's sole reign (cf. Dziobek 1995, pp. 134; 1998, p. 135), and as a result he is unlikely to have been Djehuty's successor (contra Helck 1958, pp. 347, 400–01; 1994, pp. 39–40).[122] In fact, the issue of succession is perhaps not a relevant question here. It is perhaps better that we view the tenures of Djehuty and Senemiah as somewhat overlapping but also functioning in slightly different capacities, especially since Senenmut also held the title of overseer of the silver and gold houses under Hatshepsut (cf. Bryan 2006, pp. 84–86).

The damage to Senemiah's autobiography — in which the beginning of nearly every line is lost — means that we cannot state with certainty when he was promoted to be overseer of the silver and gold houses. However, several factors suggest that Hatshepsut was responsible for this promotion, and that it occurred after year 9. As noted above, it is clear that Hatshepsut is the sole king referred to based on the prevalent use of feminine pronouns. In addition, at the very beginning of the biographical portion of Senemiah's tomb stela inscription, Senemiah states that when he was an "excellent servant of his lord" *biꜣyt* ("marvels") arrived in Thebes for the first time (line 11; *Urk.* IV 500.4–10). The implication here is that Hatshepsut's Punt expedition is being referred to, and that this formed a major event of Senemiah's career. In the following lines Senemiah relates that he was noticed by Hatshepsut, here referred to as "the daughter of Amun, of his body," from among the officials (lines 11–12; *Urk.* IV 500.13–15). Not only does the text mention Punt, but Senemiah also describes witnessing the king performing rituals using myrrh (lines 13–14; *Urk.* IV 501.9–502.5). In fact, the phrasing used here is remarkably similar to that used by Hatshepsut herself at Deir el-Bahari (cf. *Urk.* IV 339.4–13) and is indicative both of Senemiah's high status under Hatshepsut and that the inscription was not finished until the Punt reliefs were. In the remainder of the autobiographical section, similarly to that of Intef's Louvre stela (see above), Senemiah recounts his career in descriptive terms reporting on the various things he was asked to do, presumably by Hatshepsut, including measuring the myrrh taken in as taxes (*ḥtr*) each year. Senemiah's promotion to overseer of the silver and gold houses is not mentioned (or at least not preserved) in the stela, a fact that accords well with the inscriptions and titles that accompany the duty-related scenes in his tomb, which seem to revolve around counting, measuring, and instructing other workers. It would thus seem that the Punt expedition may have formed a pinnacle moment in Senemiah's

[122] I wonder if we might use Laboury's discussion (this volume), to suggest that when Senemiah's tomb was decorated it was not politically expedient to include reference to Hatshepsut's younger coregent and thus was perhaps predominantly finished before year 12, by which time it seems that Thutmose III is once again regularly part of the official record; cf. also Laboury 1998, p. 626; 2006, pp. 273ff.

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career, one in which his involvement with the items that were brought back resulted in his promotion to overseer of the silver and gold houses after year 9.

Although there is no depiction in his tomb that can be clearly associated with Punt or the arrival of myrrh in Thebes (another factor suggesting a relatively early start to the tomb's décor), Senemiah does show himself dealing with (the verb is lost) the dues (*gꜣwt*) from southern and northern oases (PM I², 241 (2)), and receiving (*šsp*) *bꜣkw* from *Tꜣ-mḥw* (PM I², 242 (6)) and *inw* from vile Kush (PM I², 242 (7); *Urk.* IV 512.12–13). In all of the associated inscriptions, Senemiah is called a scribe and bears titles related to counting.[123] In fact, his earlier titles, all of which are related to the counting or management of goods (wine, bread, grain, fish, and fowl; cf. Eichler 2000, no. 496), place him as an official of the agricultural domain generally, and it is the title of royal scribe that appears most prominently in the front portion of the tomb, along with epithets connecting him to the king, including "favorite (*mḥ-ib*) of the king/lord of the Two Lands" and "one whose name the king knew on account of his excellence (*rḫ.n nswt rn.f ḥr mnḫ.f*)."[124] Senemiah's title of overseer of the houses of silver and gold does not appear until inscriptions found in the rear chamber, where it usurps the title of royal scribe as his chief position.[125] In the rear of the tomb, Senemiah also reports epithets indicating a continued, or perhaps elevated, degree of closeness to the king: "favorite of the king in all offices (*iꜣwt*)" (PM I², 243 (20); cf. *Urk.* IV 514.1–2 (d)), and "two ears of the king" (PM I², 243 (17); cf. *Urk.* IV 513.12–14 (c)). Thus, while it is clear that Senemiah's main duties revolved around counting and collection, it is not at all necessary that these were carried out as part of his duties as an overseer of the silver and gold houses. Indeed, the implication is rather that this title came toward the end of his life and career and as a result was only included in the offering scenes of the rear chamber, and not in the duty-related scenes placed at the front of the tomb. This is in fact quite similar to the case of Duawyneheh, discussed below. The only other places the overseer of the silver and gold houses title appears are on two of Senemiah's funerary cones, where he is also called a steward of Montu in Heliopolis (*ʾIwnw*) and scribe who counts cattle (of Amun) (Davies and Macadam 1957, nos. 446 and 447; cf. *Urk.* IV 516.7–9), and on his statue from the Mut precinct (CG 925; *Urk.* IV 515.1–516.2). Other than this title, on the statue Senemiah mostly reports epithets and descriptive "titles" that indicate his closeness to the king, as well as general priestly titles. The latter may be in part a result of the statue's original location within the Amun precinct. However, two titles may be suggestive of a connection to the temple treasury: "one who seals the treasures of the king of Upper Egypt and the precious things of the king of Lower Egypt, one who inspects the temple."

We might then draw the conclusion that Senemiah was promoted to overseer of the silver and gold houses sometime after the Punt expedition, but that prior to this he was already a valued official, connected perhaps to the treasury in his capacity as a counter of various items. This would account for Senemiah's ability to begin construction on a tomb before becoming overseer of the silver and gold houses and also explain why this last title only appears at the back of the tomb, when one would expect it to feature prominently in the front. The prominence of the reception of goods from throughout Egypt and foreign lands combined with an apparent lack of mention of any of Hatshepsut's monuments would also seem to indicate that he was not overly involved with her building program, as were many of his favored contemporaries, including Djehuty (cf. Bryan 2006, p. 86).

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[123] PM I², 241 (2): scribe of the table of offerings, who counts breads, who counts clothes and cereals … who gives the food-supply (*sš wḏḥw ḥsb tw ḥsb ḥbs it /// dd snmw*); cf. *Urk.* IV 514.3–5 (e). PM I², 242 (6): only the scribe title is preserved, but the lacuna before it leaves room for *nswt*. PM I², 242 (7): scribe who counts the bread of Upper and Lower Egypt (*sš ḥsb t n Šmʿw Mḥw*); cf. *Urk.* IV 512.12–13 (b). This last title is also found on one of Senemiah's funerary cones (Davies and Macadam 1957, no. 494).

[124] In addition to the titles listed in the note above, Senemiah was the overseer of feathers and scales (*imy-r šwt nšmt*), overseer of the place of wine (*imy-r st irp*), and overseer of all market products (*imy-r rnpwt nbw*). He bears these titles in varying combinations in the scenes located at PM I², 241–43 (2), (3), (5), (8), (14), and (15), as well as in text band above (7), on the false door stela at (4) and the outer doorjambs of (12); cf. *Urk.* IV 513.15–17 (d) and 514.3–11 (e)–(g). He is called favorite of the king or lord of the Two Lands at PM I², 241–42 (3), (4), (7), and (12), and also named as great of praises in the palace in the text band above (10); cf. *Urk.* IV 514.14–17 (i).

[125] The overseer of two silver houses title appears in every extant inscription in the rear chamber, PM I², 243 (17)–(22); cf. *Urk.* IV 513 (a) and (c), which are found at PM I², 243 (18) and (17), respectively. The second half of the inscription recorded as *Urk.* IV 513–14 (d), namely the portion that is 514.1–2, is in fact a separate inscription, located at PM I², 243 (20); the first half, namely 513.15–17, is found at (15).

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The phrase "of Amun" is found in direct connection with Senemiah's titles only once in his tomb, where he is called a *mnỉw* of the divine offerings of Amun (*Urk.* IV 512.10–11),[126] while on two (or three) of his five funerary cones, he is the scribe who counts the cattle of Amun (Davies and Macadam 1957, nos. 447, 556; cf. *Urk.* IV 516.7–11).[127] However, it is possible that he was connected to the Amun precinct in his duties. While, as Eichler notes (2000, pp. 92–94), the majority of Senemiah's titles do seem to connect him to the civil administration, other officials who held the title "scribe who counts the cattle of Amun" were all part of the Amun administration. So either Senemiah was an exception to this (so Eichler, ibid., pp. 93 n. 435, 129 n. 581), or his titles should be understood as referring, at least in part, to the Amun domain. If the latter is accurate, then Senemiah may perhaps have been a subordinate to Ineni, as Ineni also likely functioned within the Amun precinct in this capacity (cf. ibid., pp. 115–33). This would then mean that Senemiah was a mid-level official, possibly also attached to the Amun precinct during the reign of Thutmose I and Thutmose II, while Hatshepsut was God's Wife of Amun, which was perhaps how he came to Hatshepsut's attention. However, even if Senemiah's career should be understood as carried out at the state level, rather than the temple, he should still be viewed not as Djehuty's successor, but rather as holding office roughly contemporaneously with him. Even though it is likely that Senemiah gained the post after year 9, this does not necessarily mean he was Djehuty's successor, especially as Senemiah was likely an older official by the time he received the promotion. Rather, it seems that while co-holders they functioned in different capacities for Hatshepsut.

Although Senemiah's involvement with Punt and his well-executed and substantial tomb demonstrate his elite status, it is not possible to state with any certainty what role he may have played in Hatshepsut's rise to king. However, if his earlier duties centered on the Amun precinct, we might see in Senemiah the intentional promotion of an official who had proven himself loyal and trustworthy and would help to oversee Hatshepsut's control of wealth between the palace and the temple. Because we know nothing of Senemiah's family beyond the names of his parents, two wives, and paternal grandmother,[128] it is also not possible to say what benefit, if any, Senemiah's descendants might have gained from his service under Hatshepsut.

Duawyneheh, First Royal Herald and Overseer of the gs-pr *of Amun*

The first royal herald and overseer of the *gs-pr* of Amun Duawyneheh represents an Amun precinct official who was likely at a mid-level stage of his career when Hatshepsut's regency began. A reassessment of the titles and decoration of Duawyneheh's tomb suggest that during the coregency he became one of her more favored officials, one connected both to the Amun precinct and the palace. In addition, new evidence suggests that when the decoration of his tomb was largely complete, he was promoted to the position of chief steward of the king, and that this occurred at the outset of Thutmose III's sole reign. Indeed, compared to some of the coregency officials, the importance of Duawyneheh has perhaps been underestimated.

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[126] In a scene labeled "seeing the cattle by the herdsman/guardian (*mnỉw*) of the divine offerings of Amun Senemiah." I should note that I was unable to locate this inscription in Senemiah's tomb. For the title, see Eichler 2000, p. 94.

[127] On a third cone (Davies and Macadam 1957, no. 446), the title is "scribe who counts cattle," though perhaps the "of Amun" was left out for space reasons. On both this cone and Davies and Macadam 1957, no. 556, Senemiah is also called "overseer of the *gs-pr*," and one wonders whether this was connected to the Amun precinct as well; cf. Eichler 2000, no. 496. In addition, on three cones he is also named as a steward of Montu in Heliopolis, a title only known from his funerary cones (Davies and Macadam 1957, nos. 446, 447, 514; cf. *Urk.* IV 516.7–9, 516.12).

[128] Senemiah's father is only given the title of *sꜣb* in the tomb, leaving it equally uncertain where the family originated and whether they had any hand in Senemiah's rise (see Whale 1989, pp. 260–61, on the uncertainty of equating a *sꜣb* title with humble origins). It is possible that Senemiah's title "steward of Montu in Heliopolis" reflects an origin in that area. His wife Tetiseneb appears in the usual places throughout the tomb, labeled as "*snt.f*" except in one scene. In the rear chamber, in the offering scene at PM I², 243 (21), she is called both *ḥmt.f* and *snt.f* in the same inscription: *ḥmt.f nbt pr snt.f mrt.f Tti-snb mꜣʿt-ḫrw*. This may have been done in opposition to the scene on the facing wall at PM I², 243 (18), where Senemiah is depicted in an offering scene with *ḥmt.f nbt pr Sn-snb*, the only time this woman appears in the tomb. The implication is that Senseneb was his first wife, who likely died early on, and as a result is included only once in the tomb. According to Whale (1989, pp. 251–53), this may represent the earliest use of *snt* to mean wife, and the fact that Tetiseneb is called both *ḥmt* and *snt* in the same inscription would seem to support this.

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Duawyneheh's tomb, TT 125 (Kampp 1996, pp. 25–26, 144, 415–16, type Vd), although very damaged,[129] nonetheless presents several clues as to his tenure of service and place among the coregency elite. Architecturally and stylistically, the tomb bears many similarities with that of his contemporary Senemiah (TT 127; see above). In addition to the effaced nomen and prenomen of Hatshepsut appearing on his autobiographical stela (PM I², 239 (8)) and elsewhere, feminine genitival pronouns and endings are frequently used in Duawyneheh's texts and titles (e.g., at PM I², 239 (2)–(3), *Urk.* IV 454.12); PM I², 239 (5), *Urk.* IV 454.5 and 7; PM I², 240 (14) outer, *Urk.* IV 452.13; PM I², 240 (16), (18)). Significantly, Thutmose III's name does not appear on the stela lintel, which is the usual place for both kings' names to appear in the tombs of later coregency officials. These factors all speak to the tomb's construction and decoration falling largely in the early coregency. Yet, according to Champollion (1844–69, vol. 1, p. 515; cf. *Urk.* IV 452.17), Thutmose III's prenomen appeared in the corridor. He did not give any details regarding its precise location, but based on my examination of the tomb, the only possible, and indeed likely, setting is within a text of the funerary scene at PM I², 240 (10), where the name of the king is now lost due to removal of the wall blocks. The text of this scene is discussed below as it has significant implications for our understanding of both Duawyneheh's career and the position of Hatshepsut's favored officials under Thutmose III. However, at this point it should be noted that the erasure of Hatshepsut's name throughout the tomb without any re-inscription for Thutmose III, combined with an apparent lack of additional alterations to the tomb — as, for example, occurred in Puiemra's tomb (see above) — suggests that Duawyneheh's tenure ended not long into Thutmose III's sole reign (contra Dziobek 1995, p. 134; 1998, p. 142).

Determining the progression of Duawyneheh's career and when it began is difficult, as we are lacking nearly the entire top portion of his autobiographical stela (PM I², 239 (8); *Urk.* IV 1379–80).[130] However, according to the end of his autobiography, after functioning (as a controller of work?)[131] in *Heri-her-meru-Amun*, he was promoted (*dhn*) to his overseer of the *gs-pr* position because he had done what Hatshepsut asked with regard to carrying out work on behalf of both Amun and the king. In this capacity he is placed in charge of overseeing everything given or endowed to the Amun temple on Hatshepsut's behalf. Duawyneheh then gives his three main titles as overseer of the *gs-pr*, overseer of the double granaries, and first royal herald (*Urk.* IV 1379.5–1380.7). The mention of the enigmatic temple *Heri-her-meru-Amun* could suggest that Duawyneheh was already functioning in a mid-level position prior to Hatshepsut's reign. Although little is known about this temple, it appears (as *Heri-her-Amun*) in the temple lists of both Ineni and Puiemra (Dziobek 1992, pp. 39–40; Davies 1922, pp. 93–96, pl. 40; Davies and Davies 1923, pp. 79–84). N. de G. Davies (*1922*, p. 95) proposed that it was the "earliest part of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple at Deir el-Baḥri," while Hayes (1960, p. 48 n. 9, citing Otto 1952, pp. 62–63), notes that it "appears to have been a designation of Dēr el-Baḥri as a whole." However, its location in these lists — last in Ineni's and as the first west bank temple in Puiemra's — makes it possible that it was built before *Djeser-djseru* and may represent a shrine or small temple built under Thutmose I or II, and perhaps elaborated upon by Hatshepsut.[132] Whether it was started under Hatshepsut's predecessors,

[129] I viewed this tomb in 2002, and while very damaged, the inscriptional information presented in the *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie* is very incomplete. Particularly of note is that the inscriptions are presented as if complete, when in fact the majority of the text recorded is missing. In addition, the first royal herald title occurs as frequently as that of overseer of the *gs-pr* of Amun, and additional titles, such as royal steward, also appear.

[130] Only the end is recorded in the *Urkunden*; however, the lintel and first six lines of the stela are also extant, if damaged, and seem to record the usual offering formulae and mention of festivals. Hatshepsut is the only king mentioned in the lintel. Duawyneheh refers to the king using the feminine pronouns once in the bottom section, where he calls Amun "her father," and it is certain that Hatshepsut's name was erased in line x+6 of the bottom half. My record of the bottom portion of the stela essentially confirms that found in the *Urkunden*; cf. Hermann 1940, pp. 35*–36*, pl. 9c.

[131] The beginning of the line is restored in *Urk.* IV 1379.6 ([*iw ḫrp.n.i kꜣwt nbt m*] *pr pn špsy* [*ʾImn*]-*ḥr-ḥr-mr*), but as there is no mention of this temple elsewhere in the tomb, the title associated with it is purely conjecture.

[132] To my knowledge, additional mentions of this temple are few. In TT 85 of the *idnw* of the army Amenemheb-Mahu (reigns of Thutmose III–Amenhotep II), a high priest in *Heri-her-amun* is mentioned (*Urk.* IV 916.8), and in TT 181 of Ipuky and Nebamun, craftsmen in the reign of Amenhotep III, Nebamun was a master of secrets (*ḥry sšṯꜣ*) in *Heri-her-meru*, while Ipuky's father Senenetjer was a controller of craftsmen (*ḥry ḥmw*) in *Heri-her-meru* (N. de G. Davies 1925b, pls. 5, 17). Prior to becoming the high priest of Amun, one Nebwenenef (TT 157, reigns of Seti I–Ramesses II) was the high priest of Onuris at Thinis, Hathor at Dendera, and "overseer of priests of all gods to his south as far as *Heri-her-Imn* and to his north as far as Thinis" (*KRI* III 283.5–7, no. 146; *KRITA* III, p. 202, no. 146). There are also two late stelae that mention a cult for "Nefertari of *Heri-her-Amun*" (Davies and Davies 1923, pp. 83–84). These titles could imply that *Heri-her-meru/Heri-her-Amun* was its own structure, and not a component of another temple, though admittedly there were temple struc-

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or during the late regency/early coregency by Hatshepsut, the fact that Duawyneheh had already been functioning there in some capacity, likely a supervisory one, suggests that as with Senemiah, Duawyneheh's career began earlier than her reign and that his promotion to overseer of the *gs-pr* by Hatshepsut occurred relatively early in the coregency.

Additional information about Duawyneheh's career can be gleaned from the remainder of his tomb inscriptions and scenes. Bryan (2006, pp. 84, 92) suggested that as royal herald Duawyneheh should not be considered an official of the *pr-nsw* in the way that the royal herald Intef was, and that Duawyneheh's duties as overseer of the granaries and craftsmen, and perhaps other titles as well, were likely tied to his title of role as overseer of the *gs-pr* of Amun (so also Eichler 2000, pp. 22ff., 67 n. 285, 216, no. 560; cf. Helck 1958, p. 386). On the other hand, Dziobek (1998, p. 142) posited that as overseer of the granaries and overseer of craftsmen, Duawyneheh was tied to the palace,[133] and his role as royal herald was perhaps a duty performed for both Hatshepsut and her mother Ahmose, whose name and person also appear in his tomb. However, a compilation of all the titles listed in the tomb indicates that in fact Duawyneheh, like many of Hatshepsut's favored officials, straddled the spheres of Amun precinct and palace administration. Based on context and qualifiers, his role as overseer of the *gs-pr* of Amun probably encompassed his duties as overseer of the granaries, cattle, fowl, and fish,[134] while that of royal herald, as well as his overseer positions relating to offices, craftsmen, and work, connect him to the king and palace.[135] While Duawyneheh may have, to a certain extent, succeeded Intef as royal herald, it is also clear that, as with Senemiah and Djehuty discussed above, Duawyneheh and Intef almost certainly overlapped as royal heralds and as such functioned in different capacities for Hatshepsut.

Lest we divide Duawyneheh's positions too stringently, however, it should be understood that while much of the work Duawyneheh would have supervised was carried out in relation to the Amun temple, it was done on behalf of Hatshepsut and involved other projects as well. Thus we find him included, for example, on the so-called name stones found at Hatshepsut's Valley Temple (Hayes 1942, p. 46), which likely indicates a role in the construction of her funerary monuments in his function as overseer of all works of the king. In addition, a scene in Duawyneheh's tomb demonstrates how, in his role as both overseer of the *gs-pr* and royal herald, he carried out duties related to temple construction. On the western focal wall of the transverse hall, at PM I², 239 (6), Duawyneheh stands supervising the construction of various items, including a fluted column (fig. 10.1), which was certainly destined for a temple. Although Porter and Moss state that he is "going forth to see the tomb," in fact the entire inscription and related scene clearly indicate it is a temple workshop that Duawyneheh is concerned with, and that functioning as overseer of the *gs-pr* of Amun and royal herald he was able to take money from the house of silver and gold (presumably of the Amun precinct) in order to equip the craftsmen in his charge (*Urk.* IV 453.6–12; L.*D. Text* III, pl. 26 1a).[136]

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tures within a larger complex that carried their own names (cf. Laskowski 2006, pp. 208–09 with n. 159).

[133] Bohleke 1991, pp. 59–60, mentions both possibilities and suggests that the title of overseer of the double granaries of the good goddess was "the formative step in forging a central bureau."

[134] Duawyneheh is called overseer of the granaries on the stela (PM I², 239 (8), and it is included twice on the false door at (4)). Although there is damage to the title, it is clear that only Duawyneheh's name follows it; there is not room for a qualifier like "of Amun." It is also found once on a fallen block along (7), and while here an *n* is just visible, the remainder of the title is missing, though we could possibly restore "of Amun." The restoration of the title "overseer of the granaries of the good goddess" found in *Urk.* IV 454 b (cf. Dziobek 1998, pp. 141–42), and which belongs to the second and third columns of inscription in the top register of PM I², 239 (5), while possible, is by no means certain. All that remains of these two columns are the very tops: (2) *imy-r gs-* //// (3) *n nṯr nfr* ////. In fact, it may be better to restore here "overseer of all offices of the good goddess" as a title similar to this is found at PM I², 241 (20), and is the only time this qualifier is used. However, a fallen block along PM I², 239 (7) does have "... of Lower Egypt," and so it is at least possible that in fact the longer title should read "overseer of the granaries of Upper and Lower Egypt." At PM I², 240 (9) Duawyneheh is called "overseer of cattle of the king of Upper Egypt, overseer of cattle of the king of Lower Egypt, overseer of hoof, feather, and scale."

[135] Duawyneheh is called "overseer of all work of the king" only once (at PM I², 239 (2)), "overseer of all craftsmen /overseer of all craftsmen of the king" a handful of times (at (2), (4), (14), (16), (20), and possibly at (5), where the title is listed in *Urk.* IV 454 (b), but should be understood as restored: "overseer of [all craftsmen of the king]"). Duawyneheh also bears the title "overseer of all offices/overseer of all offices of the goddess" at PM I², 241 (20) and "overseer of all offices of the palace, l.p.h." at (18).

[136] The inscription reads, "Going forth to see (inspect) the workshop (lit. "chamber of work": *is n kꜣt*), in order to open the double house of silver and gold, in order to equip all the craftsmen, in order to fashion all the work which came about under the authority of the overseer of the *gs-pr* of Amun, excellent herald of the king, Duawyneheh. Entering bringing what is good to the lord of the Two Lands and coming out praised and loved." For a

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Figure 10.1. Theban Tomb 125, PM I², 239 (6), west end

Figure 10.2. Theban Tomb 125, fallen blocks along PM I², 240 (9), detail

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A palace connection is also suggested by the fact that Duawyneheh likely functioned in some capacity for Hatshepsut's mother Ahmose. This is indicated both by the inclusion of her cartouche preceded by the title "great royal wife" on the right side of the outer lintel of the passage (PM I², 240 (14); *Urk.* IV 452.12–13), where they appear opposite those of Hatshepsut (effaced),[137] and by her depiction in his tomb. According to Porter and Moss, the scene at PM I², 240 (9) originally showed Duawyneheh offering to Queen Ahmose, and although all that remains on the wall is the right-hand side where Duawyneheh stands, fallen wall fragments along PM I², 240 (9) include the top of a royal kiosk (fig. 10.2). In addition, fallen blocks along PM I², 240 (13), and which do not belong to the scene there, depict a line of offering bearers who give the recipient as "for the king's sister/wife/mother Ahmose" (each title is used); based on the directionality of the figures, they likely belong to the scene originally depicted at PM I², 240 (9) (fig. 10.3). Interestingly, nowhere in the tomb does Duawyneheh bear a specific title connecting him to Queen Ahmose, including in the text at PM I², 240 (9), where Duawyneheh relates the various gifts he has brought, as commanded to Hatshepsut by Amun. In fact, the titles he reports here are singular occurrences: "overseer of the cattle of the king of Upper Egypt and Lower Egypt, overseer of horn, hoof, feather, and scale, great confidant of the mistress of the Two Lands."[138] The text, which includes the mention of "your (fem.) father Amun," suggests that Hatshepsut may also have been represented here, though as with the figure of Ahmose, no blocks depicting this are known.

However, fallen block fragments in the passage demonstrate that a seated king, god, and woman (queen or goddess?) formed part of the tomb's decoration (fig. 10.4).[139] Based on the directionality of the fragments, all these figures belong to an as yet unidentified scene, or scenes, in the tomb. Given the presence of Queen Ahmose in the tomb and the near lack of any mention of Thutmose III, it seems most likely that the seated king should be identified with Hatshepsut, in male guise. The most likely candidate for the lost scene(s) is at PM I², 239 (7), the front right wall of the tomb, which is completely destroyed and certainly could have held more than one scene.[140] However, it is also possible that there was a double scene at PM I², 240 (9), with Hatshepsut (as king) seated back to back with Ahmose. Because the figures on the fallen blocks face the opposite direction as the scene at PM I², 239 (7), it would mean that the more important figures were at the mid-portion of the wall, rather than at the central axis, which would be an unusual, though not unknown, placement (cf. Hartwig 2004, pp. 16ff., 51–52).[141] In either case, these blocks, and the scene(s) they represent, are indicative of Duawyneheh's favored status under Hatshepsut.

Duawyneheh was likely promoted from an overseer of works for the king, in which guise he carried out projects related to the Amun precinct, to being in charge of the *gs-pr* and granaries of Amun, placing him in control of some of the most important economic aspects of the entire Amun domain. Such a promotion certainly brought with it both power and wealth for Duawyneheh. While he stresses that he was promoted

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tracing of parts of the scene, see "Theban Tomb Tracings Made by Norman and Nina de Garis Davies," http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/4TT125.html.

[137] What exactly Duawyneheh's role was in relation to Ahmose is uncertain. Dziobek (1998, p. 125) suggests that he served Ahmose in the same capacity as he served Hatshepsut, as a royal herald, presumably connected to her estate.

[138] The text above Duawyneheh is as follows: (1) *r* //////////// *w* [plural] (2) *msi̯ nḏt-ḥr m ḥḏ nbw ḥsbd* (3) *mfkt nbt* ///// *ꜥnt* (4) /[*tiw* ?] ////// *n pr-* ꜣ[*mn*] *m ḫ*ꜣ*t* (5) *pn n rnpt wḏ.n n.t it.ṯ* //[ꜣ*mn* ?]// *ḥsy* (6) *imy-r mrw nswt imy-r mrw bity* (7) *imy-r* [*ꜥb*] *wḥmt šwt* [*nsmt*] *mh-ib* ꜥ *n nbt tꜣwy Dwꜣwynḥḥ mꜣꜥ-ḥrw*; see http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/gif-files/Davies_10_41_04.jpg for a tracing.

[139] The king wears a gold and red striped *shendyt*-kilt, holds a *was*-staff and possibly an *ankh* (a rounded part of the top is preserved), and is seated on a typical throne seat with overlapping feather pattern and inset yellow square, presumably where the *shema-tawy* was depicted. The god can be identified by the divine beard and holds in one hand an ankh while the other arm is outstretched, and likely held a *was*-staff. The female figure is seated on a striped seat with backrest and inset yellow square and also holds a *was*-staff. There are nine block fragments, but three of them belong to the king and clearly join, while two are part of the god. In addition, three of the blocks (the seated torso, outstretched arm, and toe with Duawyneheh [probably] before her) likely all belong to the seated woman. The final block, which depicts the toe of a male figure holding a *was*-staff being offered to by Duawyneheh, identified by inscription, may also belong to the god. There seem to be architectural, or dividing, elements behind the seats of both the king and the woman, so it is possible that these blocks represent multiple scenes, or at least that they did not directly sit one after the other.

[140] The description given for PM I², 239 (7) is that of an agricultural scene, but there is certainly space for more than one scene on the wall. The seated king, god, and queen/goddess would be placed closer to the tomb's entrance.

[141] This type of composition occurs, for example, in TT 56 of the *idnw* of the royal herald, royal scribe, and *ḫrd n kꜣp* Userhat. The western half of the transverse hall's focal wall comprises three scenes: at the far west end (PM I², 112 (9)), Userhat offers to Amenhotep II seated in a kiosk, while at the middle and east end, i.e., those closer to the central axis of the tomb, he depicts his role as a royal scribe functioning within the military setting. See Beinlich-Seeber and Shedid 1987 for the tomb.

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a

b

c

Figure 10.3. Theban Tomb 125, fallen blocks along PM I², 240 (13), but likely part of the scene at PM I², 240 (9), but likley part of the scene at PM I2, 240 (9), details

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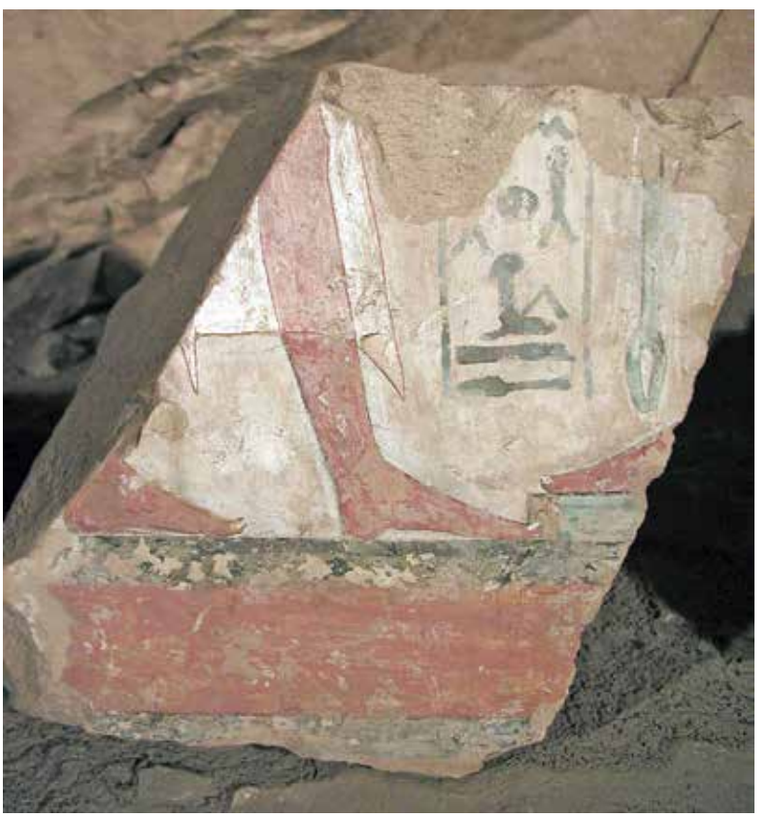
a

b



c

Figure 10.4. Theban Tomb 125, fallen blocks in passage, (*a*) overview and (*b*–*c*) details

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for his excellent service, we might also read in his statement of "doing what the king asked" that there was an element of not just reliability but the promise to continue as such, ensuring that the prosperity of the Amun domain was at Hatshepsut's disposal. In addition, he was a (first) royal herald, a position that connected him to the palace and indicated that he had the ability to speak on the king's behalf. Of note in this regard is that Duawyneheh's title of (first) royal herald, when qualified, almost always uses the phrase "of the mistress of the Two Lands."[142] As this phrase appears throughout the tomb, and in conjunction with titles that are qualified by "of the king," it seems most likely that the qualifier serves a dual purpose. On the one hand, it is indicative of Duawyneheh's closeness to Hatshepsut (cf. Guksch 1994, pp. 35ff., 102–03),[143] while on the other hand, is perhaps suggestive of his role as herald being, at least in part, directly tied to Hatshepsut's estate, and thus slightly different than Intef's role as a royal herald of the palace.

While overseer of the *gs-pr* and (first) royal herald are by far Duawyneheh's most common titles, at the back of the tomb a new title appears: (chief) steward of the king. That it is only found in the funerary scenes at PM I², 240 (10), in the rear chamber at (15) and (18), and on his statue (PM I², 241 (21), center figure), implies that this was the last title that Duawyneheh received. It is possible that at this time he also became overseer of all offices of the king, perhaps in connection with becoming chief steward, as this title also only appears in the rear chamber (PM I², 240 (18) and 241 (20))[144] As noted above, according to Champollion the name of Thutmose III appeared once in the tomb, and my own investigations have determined that the only logical place is in the scene at PM I², 240 (10), which depicts the funeral procession to the Western Goddess, including the Abydos pilgrimage, and the making of funeral equipment. Specifically, it must have appeared at the end of the text that accompanies the Abydos pilgrimage in the bottom register at the south end of the wall (fig. 10.5). The text as preserved states that the voyage is being undertaken by "... of praise, great of love, one who fills the two ears of Horus in ... who comes forth under praises ... who goes out (as) one for whom the king does noble things (?), one on the right-side of the king ... chief steward of the king ... festival-leader [of Amun] in ... of eternity on behalf of the l.p.h., king of Upper and Lower Egypt //[Menkheperra]//."[145] If this restoration is correct, which seems likely,[146] then the fact that the name of Thutmose III appears in conjunction with the chief steward title and other titles indicating Duawyneheh's high level of access to the king suggests not only that it was Thutmose III who appointed him to this last post, but also that Duawyneheh was a significant part of Thutmose III's inital court.

In addition, given the ubiquitous occurrence of the "chief steward" title throughout PM I², 240 (10) — the only place outside of the rear chamber where it occurs — this wall must have been finished at the very end of Duawyneheh's career/life. It is marked contrast to PM I², 240 (11), at the north end of the same wall, where Duawyneheh adores Osiris as "first herald of the mistress of the Two Lands."[147] In addition, this version

[142] The *n nbt t3wy* qualifier is found with the following titles: (first) royal herald: PM I², 239–41 (3), following the title overseer of all work of the king, (11), (14), and (16); overseer of all crafts: (14) (also as overseer of all crafts of the good goddess) and (20); controller of the *rs-tp*: (14); and also attached to the honorific "great favorite": (9) and (18).

[143] The use of this in Duawyneheh's tomb is different from that seen on Senenmut's regency statues (CG 42116 and BM EA174) and Aswan (el-Mahatta) graffito (see above, nn. 52–54), as here it is a qualifier of Duawyneheh's title, while in Senenmut's case it forms part of Hatshepsut's titulary.

[144] In fact, the appearance of this title only on the eastern half of the rear chamber, while on the western half Duawyneheh reports the titles overseer of the *gs-pr* of Amun (PM I², 240 (16) and (17); cf. *Urk.* IV 453.16–454.3), first royal herald of the Mistress of the Two Lands (PM I², 240 (16)), and of all craftsmen (16) could suggest that the two walls were finished at different times. Of particular interest in this regard is that on the western wall at both PM I², 240–41 (18) and (20) the royal herald title is used *without* the feminine marker: first royal herald of the lord of the Two Lands.

[145] There are four rows of inscription, the ending of each of which, including where the king's name was, is now lost due to removal of the adjacent scene (to the south). (1) /// *ḥtp r 3bḏw r nṯr* /// *m ḥbw.f nw ḏt m* ///// (2) ... *ḥs ꜥ m mrt mḥ ꜥnḫwy Ḥr m* /// (3) /// *prì ḫr ḥswt* /// *ì[w.]f ir n.f nswt špsw rmn nsw* /// (4) /// *imy-r pr smsw n nswt r* /// *sšm ḥb* [*Imn*] *m* /// *nw ḏt ḥr-tp ꜥnḫ wḏ3 snb nswt-bity* ///[*Mn-ḫpr-rꜥ*]///).

[146] Although unlikely, I should mention that it is just possible that Champollion was incorrect and that in fact Hatshepsut is the king referred to here and that instead of a promotion by Thutmose III we should understand this as the place in the tomb that preserves an additional level of Duawyneheh's service to Hatshepsut and perhaps by extension also her mother Ahmose.

[147] The mummy ritual scenes on the opposite wall at PM I², 240 (12) are too damaged to say whether the chief steward title appeared here, and the same could be said for the adjacent double banquet scenes at (13), where, however, the titles that are preserved include only those of first royal herald and overseer of the *gs-pr* of Amun.

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Figure 10.5. Theban Tomb 125, PM I², 240 (10), south end, bottom detail

of the royal herald title also occurs prominently on the outer doorjambs to the rear chamber, the lintel of which bears the names of Hatshepsut and Ahmose, while on the inner lintel the only title used is overseer of the *gs-pr* of Amun.[148] Finally, on Duawyneheh's statue (PM I², 241 (21)), the title appears *after* his name and seems unfinished: "... Duawyneheh /// for the lord of the Two Lands, /// chief steward of" (fig. 10.6).[149] Thus I would suggest that while Duawyneheh was promoted to his final position(s) by Thutmose III, it happened at the very end of Duwayneheh's career and life, and although the tomb could be finished including this new title and Thutmose III's name, additional alterations to the décor were not undertaken,[150] unlike in the tomb of Puiemra (see above), which was extensively altered to reflect his lengthy tenure of service under the new king.

As a result of this information, a secure connection can now be made between Duawyneheh of TT 125 and the owner of an unfinished stela re-used in the mortuary temple of Amenhotep II, and now in the Petrie Museum (UC 14462; *Urk.* IV 1480.8–1482.19).[151] Although generally attributed to a like-named[152] chief steward (of the lord of the Two Lands) during the reign of Amenhotep II (Helck 1958, pp. 367, 481; Der Manuelian 1987, p. 134), stylistically the stela can certainly be dated to the Hatshepsut-Thutmose III period. From a historical perspective, there are now three reasons to equate these two men. The first is that they both held the title of chief royal steward. Second, eight of the nine of the siblings included on the stela match those

[148] The near complete damage to the doorway leading into the corridor precludes us from making any statements about whether a king's name appeared here, or what titles Duawyneheh bore.

[149] The text on the statue's lap is nearly destroyed, with only a few signs remaining, while that on the legs is damaged in all the wrong places: (lap) //// //// //// (legs) *Dwꜣwynḥḥ* //*r* (?)// *n nb tꜣwy* /// *ỉmy-r smsw nsw n*, and there it abruptly ends due to lack of space — the final *n* sign is only slightly above the hem of the garment.

[150] The name of Thutmose III in the tomb and Duawyneheh's promotion by him also open the possibility that the male king depicted in the tomb is Thutmose III rather than Hatshepsut.

[151] For the stela, see Petrie 1897, pp. 5, 28–29, pl. 15, and the Petrie Museum website, http://petriecat.museums.ucl.ac.uk/; a useful drawing can be seen at Digital Egypt, http://www.digitalegypt.ucl.ac.uk/thebes/stela.jpg.

[152] The orthography differs slightly: *Dwꜣ-r-nḥḥ* on the stela as opposed to *Dwꜣ.wy-nḥḥ* in the tomb.

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Figure 10.6. Theban Tomb 125, PM I², 241 (21), deceased statue, front detail

Figure 10.7. Theban Tomb 125, PM I², 241 (21), detail

known from TT 125.[153] Third, and perhaps most significantly, the name of the mother given on the stela can now be equated with the woman named as Duawyneheh's mother in his tomb. Although Porter and Moss state that the tomb statues placed at the back of the rear chamber (PM I², 241 (21)) depict Duawyneheh and two women, in fact they are of the tomb owner and his parents (fig. 10.7). The statue inscriptions are quite damaged, and seemingly intentionally defaced, but it is clear that they are called "his father" and "his mother."[154] In addition, the name of the mother given on the statue is not Tarunet,[155] the name reported by Porter and Moss, but rather Mesutiuy (fig. 10.8). Although the orthography is different,[156] this is likely the same name given as the mother of the chief steward Duawyerneheh on the stela, who names his parents as

[153] Those found both in the tomb (at PM I², 139–40 (3), (5), (13), (18), and (19)) and on the stela are the brothers Useriah, Ra, and *wʿb*-priest Nebimes, and the sisters Seninefer, Senseneb, Wepetrenpet, Iny, and Iahmes. The orthography of the names in both places is the same, including the reading of a sister named "Seninefer," as opposed to "his sister, Nefer" with a mistake in the writing of *snt.f*. Only the sister Ruty, named on the stela, is not known from the tomb.

[154] The figures of offering bearers depicted along the sides of these statues must thus be Duawyneheh's brothers and sisters. They are clearly adult offerers and not children, as suggested by Bohleke (1991, p. 60). Although the inscriptions on the statues flanking Duawyneheh are difficult to read, the "his mother" and "his father" that begins each line of inscription is still clear.

[155] Porter and Moss based the mother's name on Lepsius' (L.*D. Text* III, pl. 26, no. 1d; cf. *Urk.* IV 454.4–8) record of the inscription at PM I², 239 (5), which is largely no longer extant. Only the very beginning of each column now remains, and while Lepsius transcribed the number of columns incorrectly, it is possible that the mother's name was given as Tarunet. The text as it exists today is given here, with column numbers in ( ) and the portion now lost noted in [ ]: (1) *iry-pʿt* [*ḥ3ty-ʿ sḏ3wt bity smr wʿty mḥ-ib ʿ3*] *n nbt t3wy* (2) *imy-r gs*-[*pr n ʾImn imy-r šnwty*] (3) *n nṯrt nfr*[*t imy-r ḥmt nbt*] (4) *nt* [*nswt*] (5) *Dw3*[*wy*-] (6) *nḥḥ* [*m3ʿ-ḫrw*] (7) *mwt*[*.f mrt*] (8) [*.f Tw*-] (9) *r*[*wnt m3ʿt-ḫrw*]. If this is correct, then we should perhaps understand his mother's name as called Mesuti/Mesutiuy, also called Tarunet.

[156] In the tomb the name is given in an extended, phonetic, format: *Mʿ-sw-ti-ii*, while on the stela it is in a much simpler form: *Ms-w-ti*. According to Schneider (pers. comm.), both Benia and Mesuti/Mesutiuy are likely to be Egyptian names, with Mesutiuy as a "playful (syllabic) variant."

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Benia[157] and Mesuti. While it seems likely that titles were once recorded for Duawyneheh's parents, nothing remains today.[158]

With regard to Duawyneheh's transition to and promotion under Thutmose III, particularly of interest is the focus in the Petrie Museum's stela's inscription that Duawyerneheh was appointed (*dhn*) to high steward by the king "on account of the excellence of his heart, in order to act in accordance with his (the king's) utterances," followed the king on southern and northern countries, and "did all that which he (the king) said excellently, and was promoted (*sḫnt*) among all my equals, and placed (*rdi*) at the front of his courtiers." The reference to following the king on foreign countries suggests that the promotion occurred following at least the first of Thutmose III's campaigns, while the use of only masculine pronouns in reference to the king accords well with what is seen in the rear chamber of TT 125, where Duawyneheh's titles, when qualified, only use "lord of the Two Lands," rather than "mistress," as is found in the front portions of the tomb.

Figure 10.8. Theban Tomb 125, PM I², 241 (21), female statue, top front detail

While Duawyneheh benefitted from his loyalty to Hatshepsut, becoming a favored official under her, it is now also clear that he was able to transition and serve under Thutmose III. Although this service may not have lasted long, the fact that Thutmose III promoted Duawyneheh to chief royal steward, a post that gave him even more access to the king than he would have had as royal herald, suggests that Thutmose III may have been securing the loyalty of some of Hatshepsut's favored officials through promotion early on. Duawyneheh's control over the wealth and power of Amun precinct as overseer of the *gs-pr* of Amun would have also meant that Thutmose III could be assured that his own projects related to the Amun precinct, which would often alter those of Hatshepsut, would immediately be carried out.

[157] The father's name is not preserved in the tomb, but is probably not to be identified with Benia called Paheqamen, owner of TT 343, whose tomb most likely dates to Thutmose III. Although the official may have also served under Hatshepsut, he was apparently unmarried (Guksch 1978, pp. 41, 43, 46). Guksch (ibid., pp. 40–46) also notes the inability to securely identify the tomb owner with another Paheqamen known from an ostracon at Deir el-Bahari (Hayes 1960, pp. 34–35, no. 6, pls. 10, 10a), or a man named Benia mentioned in papyrus BM 1012, a letter from one Mentuhotep to the scribe Ahmose (deputy) of Peniaty, though for both of these she notes that the possibility that they are all the same man is strong. Glanville (1928, pp. 297–302) dates the letter to the coregency period, so unless the date of the letter is earlier, which is possible given that Ahmose's superior Peniaty served from Amenhotep I into the coregency, this Benia is also not likely to be Duawyneheh's father.

[158] Of the father's line of text, all that remains is *it.f mr*[*.f n*] *st* [*ib.f*] "his father, his beloved, of the place of his heart." The same wording is found on the mother's inscription, where more is preserved: *mwt.f* [*mr.f n*] *st* [*ib.f*] //// *sw nbt-pr Mˁ-sw-tiw-ii mɜˁt-ḫrw ḫr nṯr ˁ*ɜ "his mother, his beloved, of the place of his heart ... mistress of the house, Mesutiuy, *mɜˁt-ḫrw* before the great god." I should note that the writing of the name is somewhat restored, as only the top of *sw* and *tiw* signs (M23 and G4) and the bottom of the double reed leaf signs (M17a) are preserved (Gardiner 1957).

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Minmose, Overseer of the Double Granary

As with the vizierate and the overseer of the seal, the position of overseer of the double granaries was likely divided sometime during the coregency.[159] From the earlier part of the period, it is clear that several of Hatshepsut's officials held this title, although apparently in different capacities. As already noted, the royal herald Intef (see above, with n. 44) reported this title in conjunction with his duties at the palace and *ʿrryt*, while the first royal herald Duawyneheh (see above, with nn. 133–34) likely held it as part of his duties in the Amun precinct.[160] Among those who count overseer of the double granary as their main title during the coregency period is the overseer of the double granary Minmose (Bohleke 1991, pp. 101–06).[161] Minmose was included in the Deir el-Bahari reliefs alongside the mayor of Thinis Satepihu (see above) and the overseer of the *gs-pr* of the king's wife and scribe Tetiemra, who were all involved in some way with Hatshepsut's erection of Thutmose II's obelisks early in her reign (Naville 1908, p. 4, pl. 154).[162] His only other certain attestation comes from offerings he donated to the burial of Hatshepsut's nurse Sitra, who was awarded with a tomb in the Valley of the Kings (KV 60; Roehrig 1990, pp. 31–39; Ryan 2010; 2000, p. 24). Roehrig suggested that the inscriptions on Sitra's funerary equipment, where she is called "great nurse, one who nurtured the royal children," indicate that her tomb was being prepared during the regency.[163] If correct, then it is possible that Minmose was already in place before year 7; at the latest he was in place in the early coregency.

Minmose should perhaps also be identified with a certain untitled Minmose known from two Deir el-Bahari ostraca who, in year 10, was supervising workmen on the construction of the temple (Hayes 1960, pp. 31–32 with n. 2, p. 39, ostracon no. 2, pls. 9, 9a; Winlock 1942, p. 80). According to Hayes (1960, p. 31 n. 2), he is also on one of the name stones from Hatshepsut's Valley Temple as "he of the granary."[164] Finally, he may also be the owner of a pit tomb, MMA 59, located alongside the edge of the courtyard before the Deir el-Bahari temple, in which coffin fragments for "Minmose, called Denergi" were apparently found (ibid., p. 31 with n. 2; Winlock 1924, p. 22; 1942, pp. 93–94, fig. 81).[165] If this is the same man, then perhaps rather than a pit tomb, we should understand this tomb as intended to be something akin to the one that Senenmut built at the very front corner of Deir el-Bahari. However, if Minmose was the owner of this tomb — a site that would attest to his favored status under Hatshepsut — this would imply that, like Senenmut, he did not live long following her death, if at all.

[159] Based on P. Louvre E 3226, there were two overseers functioning by year 28, so either Thutmose III instituted this change once he re-gained the throne, or Hatshepsut did; see Megally 1977, pp. 274ff.

[160] On the overseers of the granary of Amun, see the discussion in Dziobek 1992, pp. 124–31. To this could be added the father of the high priest of Mut, Qen, owner of TT 59 and whose brother was the scribe of the overseer of double granaries Wesy and is likely the same official mentioned in P. Louvre E 3226 as an assistant to Minnakht; see Megally 1971, p. 33, pl. 44. Qen's father's name is not preserved, but during my examination of the tomb in 2002, I copied what could be seen of the inscription relating to his father at PM I², 121 (3), which give the additional epithets "revered in Karnak and praised in the house of [Amun ?]," while the extended lacuna following his overseer of granaries title makes it likely that it should be read "overseer of granaries of the house of Amun"; see Shirley 2005a, pp. 182ff.; cf. Bohleke 1991, pp. 55–56.

[161] As noted above, he is probably not to be identified with the like-named overseer of the silver houses, and it is equally tenuous to view him as the official named on the year 5 accounts tablet who may be called [Min]mose, but whose title is lost (Vernus 1981, pp. 109, 115, 123), particularly as this name occurs several lines below the entries belonging to officials of the upper administrative departments. I would also note that I do not follow Bohleke's reconstruction (1991, p. 105) that Minmose succeeded Intef as overseer of the double granary and then was himself succeeded by Iamunedjeh. Intef held this post in relation to his other duties, rather than as a self-contained title (see above), while Iamunedjeh, if he succeeded anyone, followed Tjenuna as (southern) overseer of the double granary; cf. Bryan 2006, pp. 82–84.

[162] Even if Minmose's name and title were inscribed over another official's, this does not alter the fact that he must have had royal permission to be included in the reliefs. On the quarrying and erection of these obelisks, see above, n. 21.

[163] There is also a tutor statue of Sitra and Hatshepsut from Deir el-Bahari (JdE 56264), which was made "by a favor of Maatkara" and on which Sitra is labeled as "the one who nurtured the mistress of the Two Lands" (Roehrig 1990, pp. 32–35). This statue either indicates that Sitra survived into the coregency, or that it was made posthumously (so Roehrig 1990, p. 9).

[164] This attribution is uncertain as the citation and MMA accession number given by Hayes are incorrect, and I was unable to find it in the MMA online database. He was perhaps also included on a work ostracon from Senenmut's tomb, TT 71; see Hayes 1942, p. 25, no. 115.

[165] The original report by Winlock states that the pit tomb, which contained the Third Intermediate Period coffins of the chantress of Amun Henettawy, was originally used by the overseer of the granary Minmose, but he does not give his reasons for this identification; Winlock 1924, p. 22, figs. 7, 22. On the Metropolitan Museum of Art website this identification is also found in the descriptions of Henettawy's coffins, MMA 25.3.182–.184: http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/100050417?rpp=20&pg=1&ft=minmose&pos=2.

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Although we cannot state precisely how Minmose became one of Hatshepsut's overseers of the double granary, he did become a prominent official under her. If he is to be understood as Minmose called Denergi, then he may have been of foreign origin (el-Sayed 2011, pp. 305–04; Zibelius-Chen 2011, p. 280).[166] His appointment no later than year 10, and quite possibly earlier, and connection to Hatshepsut's building program suggest that at the very least he promised his support for her reign and was rewarded accordingly. Minmose was likely replaced early in the sole reign of Thutmose III by Minnakht or Tjenuna (see below).

2.3. Officials Promoted during the Coregency, but Likely, or Certainly, after Year 9

Although the majority of Hatshepsut's main officials were appointed by the early years of the coregency, there are a few for whom a post–year-9 promotion seems most likely.[167] Yet only one of these men was a successor to an earlier office holder: the viceroy Inebny/Amenemnekhu, who was replaced once Thutmose III's sole reign began. Three others were co-holders in office: the (southern) overseer of the seal Ty, for whom there is no clear evidence for his appointment before year 12, and who continued into the early years of Thutmose III's sole reign; the chief steward of the king Wadjetrenput, who served alongside Senenmut and Amenhotep, but seems to have outlasted them both; and the little-known overseer of the double granary Nebamun. The final individuals discussed here are perhaps the most interesting, as, while they are all clearly important coregency officials, their final promotion occurred after Thutmose III (re-)ascended the throne as sole king: the royal butler (later royal herald) Djehuty, the northern supervisor (later southern overseer of the seal) Senneferi, the overseer of the northern Amun granaries (later southern overseer of the double granaries) Minnakht, the *ḥry mrw* of the divine adoratrice (later northern overseer of the double granaries) Tjenuna, and the steward of the God's Wife Ahmose-Nefertari (later chief steward of Amun) Rau.

Inebny/Amenemnekhu, Viceroy

As noted above, early in the regency Hatshepsut placed one Penre in the office of viceroy, as successor to Seni. Penre's tenure ended around year 10, and the next individual that Hatshepsut appointed to this position was likely Inebny/Amenemnekhu (see also T. Bács, this volume). Although previously thought to be two different men, the recent work of W. V. Davies (2008) on the year 20 inscription of Thutmose III at Tombos has shown that Inebny and Amenemnekhu are in fact one person — the viceroy Inebny also known as Amenemnehku. A combination of the monuments belonging to this viceroy (see most recently W. V. Davies 2008) place him securely attested in office from years 18 (Amenemnekhu at Shalfak; Hintze and Reineke 1989, vol. 1, p. 90 no. 365; vol. 2, pl. 122:365) through 20, and he probably remained there until year 22/23 when Nehy was appointed by Thutmose III. However, as Penre seems only to have served until year 10, and without any other known viceroys of the coregency period, we can perhaps make the assumption that Inebny/Amenemnekhu became viceroy in year 10 and stayed there through the remainder of the coregency.

In addition to eight (or perhaps nine) rock inscriptions stretching from Sehel to Dal in Nubia, Inebny/Amenemnekhu is known from a Theban statue (BM EA1131; *Urk.* IV 464–65) and is the likely owner of both a stela, probably from Buhen (BM EA1015), and an ex-voto in the temple at Kumma, where the names of the viceroy are effaced but the likely candidate is the double name of Inebny/Amenemnekhu (W. V. Davies 2008, pp. 44–46). Although the ex-voto is placed below the figure of Thutmose III, and it is clear that changes to the temple were made late in his sole reign, during the proscription of Hatshepsut, and the majority of his images seem to date to the coregency period (Laskowski 2006, p. 211; Hinkel 1998, pp. 109–11). Both the statue and stela bear the double cartouches of Hatshepsut (effaced) and Thutmose III, and the statue, like the Tangur year 12 record of a Nubian campaign by Hatshepsut (Hintze and Reineke 1989, vol. 1, p. 172 no. 563; vol. 2, pl. 239), gives Hatshepsut's cartouche primacy; it is placed before that of Thutmose III. On the statue Inebny/Amenemnekhu is called "king's son, commander (*ḥry*) of bowmen, overseer of weapons (*ḫʿw*) of the king" (*Urk.* IV 465.3). The "king's son" title, coming before the others, suggests that this should be seen as a marker

[166] I would like to thank Schneider (pers. comm.) for these references.

[167] As in the previous section, the officials discussed here are grouped based on similarity in timing of promotion and length of service.

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of his status and ability to speak for the king, rather than indicating he was viceroy already. The statue also makes a general reference to campaigns in which Inebny/Amenemnekhu participated,[168] suggesting that it was after these, and perhaps due to his performance on them, that he was promoted to viceroy. Finally, a tenure of service beginning by year 12 or earlier is supported by the context of Inebny/Amenemnekhu's inscriptions at Tangur, which are near those of the year 12 inscription, making him likely to be the viceroy during this time (Hintze and Reineke 1989, vol. 1, pp. 171 and 173, nos. 558 and 562; vol. 2, pls. 237 and 240).

Concerning Inebny/Amenemnekhu's family, only his brother is known, from a second rock inscription at Shelfak adjacent to the one mentioned above, where he is called "his brother, his *ỉdnw* (deputy),[169] overseer of the *gs-pr*, Saimau" (Hintze and Reineke 1989, vol. 1, pp. 90–91, no. 366; vol. 2, pl. 122:366). Clearly then his family was involved in the administration of Nubia, at a time when Nubian elite were also serving under the Egyptian viceroys as deputies and chiefs of particular regions.[170] Inebny/Amenemnekhu's own promotion, apparently up from/through the military, is also in keeping with his earlier predecessor Ahmose-Tjuro and several of his successors (see Shirley 2010b, pp. 81–82, 89 n. 65). His replacement at the advent of Thutmose III's sole reign, combined with numerous, if unsystematic, effacements of both his name and image could suggest that he was forced out of office by Thutmose III, which would in turn imply a close relationship with Hatshepsut (cf. Roehrig 2005, pp. 45–46).

Ty, (Southern) Overseer of the Seal

During the coregency two different overseers of the seal are known: Nehesy (see above), and Ty. A re-evaluation of their chronology was begun above in the discussion of Nehesy, where it was posited that we could perhaps view Nehesy as the northern and Ty as the southern official during most of the coregency period. Ty is known from only three documents: a rock inscription at Sehel that includes the cartouche (effaced) of Hatshepsut (Habachi 1957, p. 100, fig. 6; Gasse and Rondot 2003, pp. 41–43, fig. 3; idem 2007, p. 135 [SEH 240]), an undated letter that is contextually dated to the coregency (P. Louvre 3230(b); Peet 1926; Glanville 1928, pp. 294–95, 309–11; Wente 1990, p. 92, no. 117), and a stela from Serabit el-Khadim dated to year 25 of Thutmose III, and on which Ty stands behind the king (*Urk.* IV 885–89 [886.5–11]; Gardiner, Peet, and Černý 1952–55, vol. 1, pl. 64; vol. 2, pp. 159–60 no. 196). In addition, Ty may be the individual referred to as the "overseer of sealers" in an ostracon found near Senenmut's TT 353, which Hayes (1960, pp. 41–43, no. 14, pls. 11–11a) tentatively dated to after year 16 (though he attributed it to Nehesy; see above).

From these it is clear that Ty served during the coregency into at least the early years of Thutmose III's sole reign. When exactly Ty was appointed as overseer of the seal (in the south) is uncertain, but it must have been before year 20, and likely by year 12, though it may have occurred even before year 12. This is based on dated inscriptions referring to Nubian campaigns during the coregency.[171] An inscription of the viceroy Inebny/Amenemnekhu (W. V. Davies 2008, pp. 40–44; see below) dated to year 20 refers to Nubian activity and names only Thutmose III in the inscription, likely indicating it was he who in fact led the campaign. However, in the Nubian campaign referred to by Ty in his Sehel inscription (Hintze and Reineke 1989, vol. 1, p. 172, no. 563; vol. 2, pl. 239), Ty relates that he witnessed Hatshepsut in action against the *Iwntyw* and in the land of *Nehesy* in his role as a "royal messenger" and "overseer of the seal of the booty," the two main titles he reports. Dziobek (1998, p. 134) suggested that the latter title should be seen as separate from the regular "overseer of the seal" title. However, I would posit that it should rather be seen as a clarification related to his precise activities on the Nubian campaign and thus *ḫfʿt* becomes a descriptive epithet attached to the main title. The fact that on the Serabit el-Khadim stela Ty uses only his main title "overseer of the

[168] *Urk.* IV 465.2: "follower of his lord on his marches upon southern and northern foreign countries."

[169] Perhaps better understood here as lieutenant-commander; cf. Gnirs 1996, pp. 134ff.

[170] Most well known from the coregency period are the deputy of the king's son Ruiu, known from his tomb at Toshka and the statues found therein, and the family of another Ruiu, chief of Tekhet, whose sons Djehutyhotep and Amenemhat consecutively inherited this post during the coregency and are known from their statues, stelae, and tombs at Debeira East and West, respectively. See W. V. Davies in Roehrig 2005, pp. 54–55, and the literature cited there.

[171] It has been argued that Hatshepsut carried out at least four Nubian campaigns during her reign; see the summarized discussion in Spalinger 2006, p. 354.

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seal," despite there being room for the more expanded version in the lunette, supports this contextualization. Because in Ty's Sehel inscription only Hatshepsut — as Maatkara — is mentioned, the campaign must have occurred before year 20, and W. V. Davies (2005, pp. 52–53; contra Bryan 2006, p. 79) suggests that it may have taken place before the year 12 campaign known from a Tangur rock inscription, and which names both Hatshepsut and Thutmose III (Hintze and Reineke 1989, vol. 1, p. 172, no. 563; vol. 2, pl. 239).[172] Both Ty's and Inebny/Amenemnekhu's inscriptions refer to actions that the respective kings personally undertook against the Nubians. Thus the inclusion of only Maatkara in Ty's inscription combined with the use of masculine pronouns, while not conclusive, seems to imply that we should understand the campaign as occurring during a time frame in which Hatshepsut alone would have been referred to, namely the year(s) just after her coronation.[173]

Whether the year 12 or earlier dating is correct or not, it is clear that Ty served as overseer of the seal during the coregency period into the sole reign of Thutmose III. This means that he also held his post alongside that of Nehesy, for at least some period of time, and thus most likely functioned as the southern official. Without any further information about Ty or his family, it is difficult to state why he was chosen as the southern overseer of the seal by Hatshepsut, or whether he was particularly favored by her. Because his Serabit el-Khadim stela indicates he continued to function as overseer of the seal into the sole reign of Thutmose III, we can at least state that Ty was not immediately replaced. In addition, because Ty functioned as southern overseer of the seal for nearly the entire coregency, it seems likely that his replacement was due to the natural end of his career or life, as opposed to an attempt by Thutmose III to peremptorily replace him with an official of his own choosing.

Wadjetrenput, Chief Steward of the King

As has already been noted, several chief stewards of the king are attested during this period, with Senenmut and Amenhotep being the most well known, and clearly favorites of Hatshepsut. However, the chief steward of the king Wadjetrenput is also known from this period. He appears as steward on an undated ostracon from Deir el-Bahari along with the steward Senenmut (Hayes 1960, pp. 35–36, 38, pls. 10, 10a:8) and is also known from the name stones found in the debris below Senenmut's TT 71, on which he is additionally titled as overseer of works in the Amun temple (Hayes 1946, p. 45; Eichler 2000, no. 166, but p. 152 n. 682).[174] Like the chief steward of King Amenhotep, Wadjetrenput as chief steward was also sent on quarrying missions by Hatshepsut, as a graffito in Gebel Hammam that names both Hatshepsut and Thutmose III demonstrates (de Morgan 1894, pp. 206–07; *Urk.* IV 394.9–395.3). The final attestation of Wadjetrenput comes from a letter addressed to him as "chief steward of the king" by one Ahmose of Peniati, who was a scribe and *ỉdnw* of the overseer of work in Hermonthis and in the temple of Amun during the coregency (papyrus BM EA10104; see Glanville 1928, pp. 295–97, 307–09, pls. 34–35; *Urk.* IV 51.13–53.4).[175]

The precise dating for Wadjetrenput's tenure as chief steward is uncertain, and it is not really possible to say whether he served only during the coregency or continued into the sole reign of Thutmose III. Although his name, which replicates Hatshepsut's *Nebty* name, has generally been used to suggest that he was born only after Hatshepsut became king in year 7 (cf. Glanville 1928, p. 308), this would make him at the oldest fifteen at the end of Hatshepsut's reign — an unlikely age to have achieved the post of chief steward of the king. Since we know that Wadjetrenput functioned alongside Senemut and was already chief steward during

[172] Possibly in support of an earlier campaign is the unusual inscription of the high priest of Osiris Nebwawy, whose career apparently spanned from Hatshepsut's regency into the early years of Amenhotep II. At the end of his Abydos statue, he relates that sometime between years 6 and 9 he was given a new appointment, and after year 9 he "conducted the work on the ship. I repulsed him that rebelled against her majesty" (*Urk.* IV 209.16–17).

[173] This would also accord with the study of Laboury (this volume) on the omission and re-insertion of Thutmose III from official inscriptions.

[174] These may have come from Wadjetrenput's own, unidentified, tomb in the necropolis. Two of them are housed in the MMA, accession nos. 36.3.250, 36.3.251: http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/100005786 and http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/100005787.

[175] Although Bryan (2006, p. 94) implies that Wadjetrenput is known from two Louvre letters, and that the overseer of the seal Ty is also on one of them, this is not the case. Ty is only known from one Louvre letter (3230b), and a different Teti on another (3230a), while Wadjetrenput appears on neither of these.

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the coregency, he must therefore have been born earlier. Indeed, Hatshepsut's *Nebty* name was borrowed from her father Thutmose I's titulary. Leprohon's study of royal titulary (2010) demonstrated that the Eighteenth Dynasty kings often modeled their titulary on that of earlier kings. In Hatshepsut's case, her *Nebty* name replicates one of her father's Golden Horus names. While Thutmose I's original Golden Horus name was *nfr-rnpwt sʿnḫ ibw*,[176] the obelisk erected before the Fourth Pylon at Karnak includes several other versions of his titulary, including, on the north side, the Golden Horus name *ꜥ-pḥty wsr-ḫpš wꜣḏ-rnpwt m ḥwt-ꜥt mꜣʿt* (Leprohon 2010, pp. 17–18; *Urk.* IV 94.6). Thus we should perhaps see the chief steward Wadjetrenput as named after Thutmose I and likely born during Thutmose I's reign. This would make it possible for Wadjetrenput to become Hatshepsut's chief steward during the coregency.

While it seems that Wadjetrenput became chief steward of the king during the coregency, and thus was promoted by Hatshepsut, none of his monuments gives us a precise clue as to when this occurred. Nonetheless, as with Amenhotep, we might assume that it was after year 7, when Senemut's primary title was steward of Amun. Wadjetrenput's label as "steward" on the Deir el-Bahari ostracon could certainly be short for either steward of the king or chief steward of the king, and the date of the ostracon falls somewhere between years 10 and 20 (Hayes 1960, pp. 30, 38–39). His Gebel Hammam graffito, since it bears the cartouches of both kings, could perhaps date to after year 12, when it seems that Thutmose III is once again regularly part of the official record (Laboury 1998, p. 21; 2006, pp. 278ff.; and this volume; see also in the discussion of Ty, above), and might at least provide a *terminus post quem* for his tenure. At the other end of Wadjetrenput's career, it has generally been thought that he continued into the sole reign of Thutmose III based on the incorrect assumption that he was born during Hatshepsut's reign and an apparent misunderstanding about who appears on papyrus BM EA10104 with him (so Glanville 1928, p. 308; Helck 1958, pp. 364–65; cf. Bryan 2006, p. 94; Dziobek 1998, p. 142). An earlier birth and start to his official life means that Wadjetrenput may not have outlived the coregency, or at least not continued into Thutmose III's reign as long as has been previously thought. Wadjetrenput's continued service under Thutmose III is perhaps supported by the verso of papyrus BM EA10104, on which there is an accounts list that Glanville (1928, pp. 311–12, fig. 1) suggested is roughly contemporary with the recto. Included on the verso is a "Senneferi of the overseer of sealers," who can perhaps be identified with Thutmose III's overseer of the seal Senneferi (see below). If this is correct, then the date of the verso would fall in Thutmose III's reign and be slightly later than the recto, a situation not impossible given that the two sides are written in very different hands (Glanville 1928, pp. 309, 312).[177] While the apparent death of Ahmose's "boss" Peniaty during the coregency precludes us from dating the recto of the letter beyond the coregency, it is at least possible that Wadjetrenput continued under Thutmose III and was perhaps contemporary with the overseer of the seal Senneferi on the verso. If Wadjetrenput did continue under Thutmose III, he was quickly replaced by, or jointly held the post with, Duawyneheh (see above). One or both of these men may have been succeeded by the chief steward Kenna, as he appears with the (same) overseer of the seal Senneferi[178] standing behind Thutmose III on the entrance pylon of the Hathor temple at Serabit el-Khadim (*Urk.* IV 548.5–16; Gardiner, Peet, and Černý 1952–55, vol. 1, pl. 63; vol. 2, pp. 158–59 no. 194; cf. Bryan 2006, pp. 80, 94–95).

Nebamun, Overseer of the Double Granary

As noted above, the overseer of the double granaries was held by two officials during the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty, with Minmose functioning during the coregency. Also from this period is the little-known owner of TT 65, the overseer of the granary and scribe of the royal accounts Nebamun (Bács 1998; Bohleke 1991, p. 62).

[176] As Leprohon (2010, p. 17) notes, Thutmose I modeled *nfr-rnpwt* on his predecessor Amenhotep I's Golden Horus name, *wꜣḥ-rnpt.*

[177] Though Glanville suggests the two sides are of the same date, it is not clear why he thinks this.

[178] For the full discussion of Senneferi, see below. Senneferi is known in office in year 32 from papyrus Louvre E 2336, which records grain deliveries to Thebes during years 28–35. It is probable that Senneferi was in office during the entire span covered by the papyrus and likely came to power only shortly before this. Megally 1971 and 1977, esp. pp. 279–81; Shirley 2005a, pp. 340–42.

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Where precisely Nebamun's tenure in office should be placed is unknown. His tomb, which was unfinished and usurped in the Ramesside period, probably dates to the reign of Hatshepsut. It is one of the larger tombs in Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, with architectural parallels to the tomb of his contemporaries Senenmut (TT 71) and Amenhotep (TT 73), and is placed quite near that of Hapuseneb (Bács 1998, pp. 55–59; cf. Englemann-von Carnap 1995; Kampp 1996, pp. 285–87, type VIIa). Despite our lack of knowledge about this official and his career, given these parallels, it seems plausible to suggest that Nebamun was a coregency official serving alongside Minmose and at the very most survived just into the sole reign of Thutmose III, at which time he was likely replaced by Minnakht or Tjenuna (see below).

Djehuty, Royal Butler (Later Royal Herald)

The royal butler and royal herald Djehuty, owner of TT 110, was another important official of the royal household during the coregency. His tomb, which is located on the northern end of the lower slope of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna and borders on the Khokha hillside, faces east toward Deir el-Bahari, as do those of his contemporaries Senenmut, Hapuseneb, and Puiemra (Kampp 1996, pp. 390–92, type VIa; PM I², 227–28).[179] Although it is unclear when Djehuty began his favored service under Hatshepsut, the fact that Punt is only referred to with regard to the fresh myrrh of Punt (*ʿntiw wꜣḏ nw Pwnt*) that is part of the offerings Djehuty presents to Hatshepsut (PM I², 228 (9); N. de G. Davies 1932, pp. 281–82, pls. 35, 41), combined with little or even no mention of Hatshepsut's construction projects, could suggest that he came up among her officials after year 9, and perhaps relatively late in the coregency. In addition, some elements of the tomb's decoration seem to suggest that it was being finished during Thutmose III's sole reign, and thus Djehuty served for some time under Thutmose III. This is particularly seen in the transverse hall, where the names and images of both kings are found. In fact, Djehuty represents an especially intriguing case as not only are both Hatshepsut and Thutmose III mentioned in his autobiographical stelae, and their original cartouches found throughout the tomb, but they are also depicted on the focal walls of the transverse hall of his tomb (Thutmose III at PM I², 228 (4) and Hatshepsut at (9)). Although it is not uncommon to have both kings named in the stelae, or even to have the name of Thutmose III inserted during his sole reign (see Puiemra, above), among the coregency officials the decoration of Djehuty's tomb is unique and bears some discussion.

For example, while on the lunettes of both stelae it is clear that Hatshepsut was the named pharaoh, with Thutmose III later inserting his nomen in only one instance,[180] on the lintel of the doorway into the passage (PM I², 228 (10), outer), the four incised cartouches of Thutmose III are original. More striking, perhaps, is that on the focal walls the figure of Djehuty offering to Hatshepsut seated in a kiosk (PM I², 228 (9)) is entirely carved, while on the opposite side (PM I², 228 (4)), that of Djehuty offering to Thutmose III is painted (N. de G. Davies 1932, pp. 280–83, pls. 35, 41, 43c).[181] In addition, the name of Thutmose III is original to the inscription that accompanies Djehuty on the north side of the transverse hall's front wall, and thus across from the scene of Djehuty offering to Hatshepsut. This scene (PM I², 228 (5)) comprises the fairly typical offering of braziers to Amun-Ra, here done by Djehuty[182] "on behalf of the l.p.h., king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperra" (N. de G. Davies 1932, p. 284, pl. 43c). The text, while painted, is original, indicating that Thutmose III must have been sole king when it was finished. Presumably then, the change to Hatshepsut's

[179] The tomb is currently being excavated, conserved, and recorded as part of a project run by American Research Center in Egypt at Luxor, and I thank them for their generosity in sharing information and photos with me.

[180] On the south stela (PM I², 228 (2)), Hatshepsut's nomen and prenomen are almost completely defaced, but there do not appear to be any signs of re-carving, though the feminine ending of *mry.t* likewise shows signs of erasure. In contrast, on the north stela (PM I², 228 (7)), Thutmose III replaced Hatshepsut's nomen with his prenomen, as evinced by the rough carving on a clearly lower surface, and while there is erasure damage to her prenomen, it is still relatively intact. Here too the feminine ending of *mry.t* shows signs of erasure. See N. de G. Davies 1932, pp. 286, 288, pl. 38b–c, confirmed by my own examination in 2001 and 2002.

[181] The images of both Djehuty and Thutmose III are nearly destroyed due to burning and the resulting cracks in the wall, however, enough remains of their figures and the text to indicate that the scene was painted, the only apparent carved details being the rilled wig of Djehuty and crown of Thutmose III.

[182] Here titled as "offerer *(wdnw)* of Amun, bearer of the brazier of the lord of the gods, and royal herald."

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cartouche in the north stela lunette also took place at around the same time, though the erasure of her figure and other cartouches without replacing her names may still be a result of the proscription.[183]

Some significance might also be taken from the headdresses worn by Hatshepsut and Thutmose III in the kiosk scenes, as well as from the differences in the accompanying inscriptions. Although erased, the outlines of Hatshepsut's crown clearly indicate that she wears the *šwty* headdress, with double-plumed curved ostrich feathers (possibly with a sun disk) resting on ram horns, and with a uraeus fillet (Collier's "*šwty* over *sšd*" type; see Collier 1996, pp. 56 (II), 63–68, 177; N. de G. Davies 1932, p. 282, pls. 35, 41). According to Collier, this crown seems to have connections to the living king, through an association with Horus, as opposed to the deceased or divine king, as well as, perhaps, to coronation (Collier 1996, pp. 53–61, 67–68). In the texts accompanying these scenes, there is an emphasis on Hatshepsut's reception of the Amun bouquet and a variety of sweet-smelling plants initially dedicated as offerings to Amun in the Amun temple.[184] Before Hatshepsut is a column of damaged text that can likely be restored as "making an appearance on the great throne and receiving a bouquet of Amun." The presentation of the Amun bouquet, with its life-giving connotation, in conjunction with a bouquet held by an anthropomorphic ankh-sign, adds additional emphasis to the "life-giving" fragrance of the Amun bouquet. That Djehuty acts here as the intermediary who offers "life" to Hatshepsut by means of this bouquet is clearly stated in the text above Djehuty: "Dedication of offerings and bringing of provisions … to the good nose of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Maatkara, by the offerer (*wdnw*) of Amun, Djehuty. Presentation of all the offerings in the temple of Amun … and all that which has been offered to the king of the gods for the nose of his daughter, his beloved, Hatshepsut United-with-Amun, *ʿnḫ ḏt*, by the royal butler, pure of hands …." Taken as a whole, we might understand the composition as demonstrating Djehuty's role as an offerer of Amun and his status in the palace as a royal butler — his two primary positions under Hatshepsut — while at the same time stressing Hatshepsut's right to the throne as Amun's daughter and his beneficiary through her active participation in temple ritual, and perhaps also making an oblique reference to her jubilee.

On the opposite focal wall, in the scene of Djehuty before Thutmose III, the king in contrast wears the *ḫprš*, or so-called blue crown, the interior of which is decorated with raised circles, with a circlet and a uraeus at the front, and possibly with a ribbon hanging down at the back (N. de G. Davies 1932, p. 283; cf. Collier 1996, pp. 231–32).[185] Although often defined as the "war crown," according to Hardwick it is worn in a wide range of contexts, including those related to coronation and inheritance, and is perhaps better understood as emphasizing "the position of the king in this world by being closely associated with the physical duties of kingship" (Hardwick 2003, pp. 118–21; cf. W. V. Davies 1982, pp. 75–76; Collier 1996, pp. 107–26, 231–32). The inscriptions accompanying Djehuty perhaps shed light on the particular meaning that the crown, and the entire scene, is meant to evoke.[186] As on the opposite wall, Djehuty stands before Thutmose III offering him a bouquet, but here the text carries a different emphasis, stressing rather that the bouquet is being offered to ensure that Amun grants the king a long and prosperous reign. Djehuty again acts as the intermediary, offering the bouquet of Amun "for your (Thutmose III's) *ka*, a bouquet of your father [Amun, lord of the thrones] of the Two Lands, that he (Amun) might give to you l.p.h. and the making of millions of years in … that he might give to you valor and victory over all lands, all foreign lands in their entirety being under your sandals …." Djehuty's titles mirror the royal emphasis, as he eschews his religious and palace titles in favor of military ones, acting as the "follower of the king upon all foreign lands and royal herald."[187] The composition thus suggests that the scene was completed only after Thutmose III became sole king, and

[183] Unless the proscription did in fact begin much earlier than the now generally accepted latter years of Thutmose III. On this, see also Burgos and Larché 2006–2008, vol. 2, pp. 81–89.

[184] I have used N. de G. Davies 1932, pp. 281–82, pl. 41, in conjunction with my own notes on the tomb for the texts reported here.

[185] This is based on my observation of the scene in 2001 and 2002. A. Bednarski (pers. comm.) has confirmed the existence of the uraeus and circlet, though that of the fillet or ribbon extending from the crown is less certain. Based on photos ARCE Luxor generously shared with me, however, there does seem to be a line for the ribbon.

[186] I have used N. de G. Davies 1932, pp. 282–83, pl. 43c, in conjunction with my own notes on the tomb, for the texts reported here.

[187] *šms nsw ḥr ḫ3swt nbt* [*wḥm*] *nswt*. This is contra N. de G. Davies (1932, p. 283), who restores "royal butler." The *wḥm* sign is a better fit based on the traces still extant.

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after at least one of his campaigns had occurred, but quite likely early on, given the apparent concern with a successful reign.[188] Given the nature of the texts, it is perhaps possible to interpret the blue crown worn by Thutmose III as having both a military and coronation connotation, and one that intertwines these two aspects of kingship.

Although Djehuty's stelae do not provide us with a chronicling of his career per se, nonetheless clues as to his career progression can be found in the tomb's decoration and inscriptions. The significance of his position as a royal butler under Hatshepsut is clearly demonstrated on the south side of the front wall of the transverse hall (PM I², 228 (1); N. de G. Davies 1932, pp. 285–86, pl. 44b), where his duties in this post are described and depicted. Likewise, after the first few lines of offering formulae, the text of the northern stela (PM I², 228 (7); N. de G. Davies 1932, pp. 286–88, pl. 39) uses a variety of descriptive phrases to give an account of Djehuty's favored position within Hatshepsut's royal household and court, as well his personal connection to the king.[189] Also stressed here are his religious duties as an offerer of Amun in Karnak, an action carried out on behalf of Hatshepsut and Thutmose I, as well as Amun and the Ennead. Along with that of royal butler, these are the only specific titles that he reports in the stela.[190] That there are so many phrases detailing his preferred position and access to the king suggests that as a royal butler Djehuty held a place of particular importance, a scenario further supported by his ability to depict Hatshepsut in his tomb. As it is not possible to discern whether Djehuty was a royal butler first and given priestly duties later, or vice versa, we cannot say whether Hatshepsut promoted him from the temple domain into the palace, or rather that he was given temple duties, which carried additional wealth, in recognition of his significance at court. In either case, however, it is another example of the ties that existed among the central administration, palace, and Amun domain among Hatshepsut's officials.

According to the last lines of the opposite stela (PM I², 228 (2); N. de G. Davies 1932, pp. 288–89, pl. 40), Djehuty likewise served as an offerer of Amun for Thutmose III,[191] and based on a damaged inscription in the offering scene on the northern front wall of the transverse hall (PM I², 228 (6), lower; N. de G. Davies 1932, p. 285, pl. 43e), he may also have served as a priest in Thutmose III's temple *Henket-ankh*.[192] While both of these duties may have occurred already during the coregency, an indication of Djehuty's further career under Thutmose III is provided by the text of the kiosk scene. As noted above, Djehuty reported military epithets and his title of royal herald, rather than religious or palace titles. In fact, an examination of the

[188] A comparison could perhaps be made with a scene in the tomb of Rekhmira, TT 100, where the original text at PM I², 213 (17) was re-inscribed to document the trip that Rekhmira made upon the accession of Amenhotep II "in order to present a bouquet to the king, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Aakheperrura" and thereby recognize his right to rule; see N. de G. Davies 1943, vol. 1, pp. 63–64; vol. 2, pl. 70.

[189] For example, Djehuty is "foremost of station in the house of the king, one who is summoned at every hour, [one who knows the] rank upon the noble throne, who keeps silent in the place of silence, [one who hears the words of] the great good and sovereign, l.p.h., when he ensures wonderful (things), who is cool of mouth in the presence, who bends the arm, who touches the excellent sandal" (lines 6–8: *ḫnt nt st m pr-nswt nisw r-ṯnw wnwt* [*rh st-*]*rd ḥr ḫndw špsy ḥ3p ḫt m st sgrḥ* [*sḏ*]*m* [*mdw*] *nṯr nfr ỉty ʿnḫ wḏ3 snb ỉr.f m*[*ḫrw b*]*ỉ3*(*y*)*t qb r m-b3ḥ ḥ3m rmn dmỉ ṯbt ỉḳr*). For the phrase *ỉr.f mḫrw*, see *Wb.* II 135.1–3. N. de G. Davies' translation of this as "takes exceptional measures" is perhaps too provocative, though it is tempting to read into this an allusion to the uniqueness of Hatshepsut's rule.

[190] Line 11: "the offerer of [Amun] in Karnak on behalf of the l.p.h., king of Upper and Lower Egypt, [Maatkara]... Djehuty" (*... wdnw n* [*ỉmn*] *m ỉpt-swt ḥry-tp ʿnḫ wḏ3 snb nswt-bity /// ḏt Ḏḥwtỉ m3ʿ-ḫrw*) and in lines 13–15: "[leader] in the daily festival in Karnak, pure of hands when he does what is praised and when he bends his arm to the great throne, the offerer of [Amun], of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Aakheperkara, of the Ennead of Karnak, of the [gods] of the western desert, the butler of the king, [offerer of Amun], Djehuty" ([*sšm*] *ḥb rʿ m ỉpt-swt wʿb ʿwyw ỉr.f ḥsswt kʿḥ.f ʿ.f r st-wrt wdnw n* [*ỉmn*] *n nswt-bity* (*ʿ3-ḫpr-k3-rʿ*)| *n psḏwt ỉpt-swt n* [*nṯrw*] *ḏsrt ỉmntt wb3 n nswt* [*wdnw n ỉmn*] *Ḏḥwtỉ*). The last part is contra N. de G. Davies (1932, p. 288), who restores "who offered the cup to the King [Ma-ke-rēʿ], Teḥuti." Although the area is damaged, there is neither room for a cartouche, nor any indication that a cartouche was here. It is perhaps better to restore Djehuty's title of offerer of Amun, for which there is room, which makes sense given the nature of the entire inscription, and which would have been defaced during the Atenist erasures.

[191] Lines 14–15 of the stela read, "for the *ka* of the follower of the king on all foreign lands, favorite of the good god, festival leader of [Amun] pure of hands when he does what is praised, offerer of [Amun], bearer of the brazier in Karnak on behalf of the l.p.h., king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperra, during the course of every day, royal herald, Djehuty, one unique and excellent for the lord of the Two Lands, who does not neglect a matter that was placed in his face, the offerer of [Amun, Djehuty]."

[192] The very damaged text at PM I², 228 (6) seems to read, "... in *Henket-ankh* daily, the royal butler pure of fingers, offerer of [Amun]... beloved (?) of the lord of the Two Lands, royal [herald], Djehuty."

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tomb reveals that the royal herald title only appears in scenes or texts associated with Thutmose III, or with neither king, but never with Hatshepsut alone.[193] This suggests that Djehuty was promoted by Thutmose III to royal herald, perhaps in conjunction with, or as a result of, Djehuty's service on campaign.[194] This is in many ways in keeping with other officials who accompanied Thutmose III on campaign, including the royal herald Iamunedjeh, who was likewise promoted by the king after having served under Hatshepsut as a controller of the king/of works, and following his role in erecting Thutmose III's obelisks in Egypt and stelae in Syria-Palestine, as well as perhaps the rampart (*sbty*) at Qadesh (Shirley 2005a, pp. 352–62; 2011, pp. 306–08). In addition, several of Thutmose III's royal butlers accompanied him on campaign (Bryan 2006, pp. 95–96), since, as we saw with Intef, the king required his palace away from home to be staffed as well.

The fact that Djehuty not only continued under Thutmose III, but was further promoted by him to the post of royal herald, which carried with it the ability to speak on the king's behalf, and was subsequently able to depict this king in his tomb, is indicative of Djehuty's status at court. However, unlike the scene of Djehuty before Hatshepsut, which is carved, that of Djehuty before Thutmose III is painted, as are all the remaining scenes of the tomb.[195] This, combined with the original presence of Thutmose III's cartouche rather than Hatshepsut's in various parts of the tomb,[196] suggests that the tomb might have been begun toward the end of the coregency, when Djehuty was at his height under Hatshepsut, but still unfinished when Thutmose III's sole reign began. How long into Thutmose III's reign Djehuty served is uncertain, and thus we cannot state with certainty whether Thutmose III willingly, or out of necessity, kept him on beyond the first few years of his reign. However, the fact that he was both further promoted and highly favored by Thutmose III, given his ability to depict the king in his tomb, would seem to suggest that Djehuty proved valuable to Thutmose III and was rewarded accordingly.

Senneferi, Northern Chief Spokesman and Supervisor of the šnᶜ *(Later Southern Overseer of the Seal)*

Although the overseer of the seal Senneferi, owner of TT 99, is generally discussed as a coregency official (Dziobek 1998, pp. 134–35; Bryan 2006, p. 80), in my opinion it is more likely that he succeeded Ty as southern overseer of the seal during Thutmose III's sole reign, sometime between years 25 and 28. As noted above, year 25 is the last secure date for Ty, while papyrus Louvre E 3226, which spans years 28–35 (Megally 1971, 1977), mentions the overseer of the seal Senneferi in year 32, as does a stela from the Serabit el-Khadim temple that also depicts Thutmose III and includes year 33 (Gardiner, Peet, and Černý 1952–55, vol. 1, pl. 65:199; vol. 2, pp. 161–62, no. 199). It seems probable that Senneferi was the southern overseer of the seal for the entire period documented by the papyrus, so until year 35, especially as Sennefri's tomb includes the account of his trip to the Lebanon to procure cedar for Amun's temple at Karnak, an event that Redford (2003, p. 175; cf. Shirley 2011, pp. 302–03) suggests could have been the cedar used for the flag staves Thutmose III placed in front of the Seventh Pylon in years 33–34. This would provide a *terminus a quo* for the tomb's decoration in year 34.

The main reason for placing Senneferi as a coregency official has been his Gebel es-Silsilah shrine, no. 13, on which the cartouches of Hatshepsut were changed to read Thutmose III (Caminos and James 1963,

[193] "Royal herald" is included among Djehuty's titles on the southern stela (PM I², 228 (2), where Hatshepsut is mentioned at the very beginning within the *ḥtp-dỉ-nsw* formula, but only Thutmose III at the very end, and in the context of Djehuty's titles), the kiosk scene before Thutmose III (PM I², 228 (4)), the brazier scene ((5), in which Thutmose III is mentioned), the banquet scene ((6), where he is also a follower of the king on all his marches), possibly the entry to the passage ((10), or he may have been called royal butler twice), the funerary procession ((11), where he is again a follower of the king on all his marches), possibly the inspection scene ((12), or it reads royal butler, the traces are unclear), and the entrance to the rear chamber (13). He does not bear it on the false door, but he is called "follower of the king." Significantly in the text of the northern stela (7), where Hatshepsut and Thutmose I are named (but not Thutmose III, except in the changed cartouches of the lunette), Djehuty bears only his religious titles and that of royal butler, while in the Hatshepsut kiosk scene (9), he likewise only bears religious titles and that of royal butler.

[194] Djehuty could perhaps been seen as Duawyneheh's successor as royal herald when Thutmose III promoted him to chief steward; see above.

[195] Besides the kiosk scene with Hatshepsut, the only areas that are carved in relief are the two stelae, false door, and texts along the doorways to both the passage and the rear chamber.

[196] In addition to the kiosk scene at PM I², 228 (4), Thutmose III's cartouche is original, and appears twice, in the brazier scene at (5), and in the double inscription on the lintel text above the doorway to the passage. There is also the possible reference to *Henket-ankh* at (6), and the reference to Thutmose III but not Hatshepsut in the titles Djehuty reports at the end of the stela inscription at (2).

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pp. 35–36, pls. 26–29); in all of his other monuments where a king is referenced, it is Thutmose III. Although Helck's argument (1981) that Senneferi could not be a coregency official because there were not joint overseers of the seal is incorrect, his discussion of the shrine (ibid., pp. 40–41) brings up valid points (cf. Roehrig 1990, pp. 99–100; Redford 2003, p. 175). The name of Hatshepsut is defaced on nearly all the shrines that mention her (nos. 6, 7, 15, 16, 22[?], 23, and 30; only on Nehesy's shrine, no. 14, is her name untouched, while on shrine no. 22 the damage is not clearly "malicious"; Caminos and James 1963, p. 73), yet Senneferi's is the only one for which her name is actually replaced.[197] Admittedly, we should not expect a re-carving for shrines 15 and 16, which belonged to Hapuseneb and Senenmut, respectively. However, neither Useramun's shrine (no. 17), nor Minnakht's earlier shrine (no. 23), has her name replaced, despite the fact that both of these men continued to serve Thutmose III in their respective positions as vizier and overseer of the double granaries (though for the special case of Minnakht, see below). Although this type of altering of the shrines is unique, it is not unknown in the tombs of officials who continued under and/or were promoted by Thutmose III, as for example in TT 125 of Duawyneheh, TT 39 of Puiemra, and TT 110 of Djehuty. While it may not be possible to conclusively state whether the shrine was usurped or original to (but also altered by) Senneferi, the evidence seems to favor that he re-carved his shrine to reflect his prominence under Thutmose III.[198] In this case we might understand Senneferi as receiving his final promotion to overseer of the seal by Thutmose III, with his tenure in office dating well into Thutmose III's reign. This would fit well with the chronology of the next two office holders, Min and his son Sobekhotep, as Min likely served from late in Thutmose III's reign into the reign of Amenhotep II, and his son was in the position under Thutmose IV (Bryan 1990b, p. 82; 1991, pp. 244–46).

Senneferi's other monuments, as well as the placement of his tomb, TT 99, in an area surrounded by officials who served Thutmose III and Amenhotep II also speak to a later dating for his service as overseer of the seal.[199] Importantly, his tomb autobiography (*Urk.* IV 528.11–531.15) provides a relative chronology of service, giving his "first office" as a *r-ḥry* (chief spokesman) and one in charge of supervising the filling of *šnᶜ*, likely in the north near Watet-Hor, where his father Khaytepdjehuty was "overseer of the *st*."[200] He was then brought to Thebes and became overseer of the seal and in conjunction with this was given the title "overseer of the double granaries." It thus seems plausible that Senneferi was already a valued official under Hatshepsut, functioning as a supervisor for an important way-station or depot center and was noticed by Thutmose III on his campaigns north, where the king would have stopped to re-supply before heading into Syria-Palestine. As seen in the discussion of Senemiah (above), an official whose first significant title was "royal scribe" and whose duties revolved around counting and management of goods, officials with these types of duties could be valued members of Hatshepsut's court, despite having little connection to her building program. It thus seems possible that Senneferi likewise was favored by Hatshepsut even before becoming overseer of the seal, and granted a shrine in Silsilah on which construction began at the end of the coregency but was finished during the sole reign, thus necessitating its conversion to a shrine given by Thutmose III.

Senneferi's early northern service, combined with the fact that his father Khaytepdjehuty was likewise a northern-based official, suggests a northern origin for the family. Their mid-level elite status is further demonstrated by Senneferi's mother's title of *ḫkrt nswt*, attesting to Hatshepsut's use of elite from outside of Thebes in her administration. If the above evaluation of Senneferi's career is correct, then we have an

[197] Senneferi's shrine is placed at the northern end of the cluster of coregency/sole reign shrines, between that of the coregency overseer of the seal Nehesy (no. 14) and the overseer of double granaries Minnakht's sole reign shrine (no. 12). If we understand Senenmut's and Hapuseneb's shrines (nos. 15 and 16) as forming the Hatshepsut core of the group, then to both north and south the shrines become later in date, since the last shrine (no. 17) is Useramun's.

[198] All that remains of the shrine's decoration today is the entrance, where the titles that are extant on the left jamb are "overseer of the seal, brave one" and "overseer of the [seal], royal herald," which likewise provide no clues as to the king he held them under.

[199] On Senneferi and his monuments, see Strudwick 2013; Shirley 2005a, pp. 333–51; 2011, pp. 302–03; Bryan 2006, pp. 79–81, 83–84, and the literature cited therein.

[200] The father is mentioned on Senneferi's statue, BM EA48. See Edwards 1939, pp. 4–5, pl. 5; *Urk.* IV 547.5–5. Exactly what *st* refers to is uncertain. It may simply mean a "station" (so Bryan 2006, p. 80), or may be an abbreviation for a longer title that specifies what kind of station or chamber Khaytepdjehuty was in charge of (cf. Eichler 2000, no. 389; Guksch 1995, pp. 18–19, in reference to Minnakht).

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example of an official whose early service under Hatshepsut was recognized by Thutmose III and resulted in a more elevated career.[201] Not only was he made overseer of the seal, but at the end of his career, Senneferi received his third set of offices, which placed him in charge of several southern towns as mayor and chief of mayors, in addition to priestly titles at the relevant temples, perhaps as an extension of his duties as overseer of the seal (Bryan 2006, p. 80). Probably near the end of his career, Thutmose III also placed Senneferi as "father and tutor" over a royal prince (Roehrig 1990, pp. 102–03). Senneferi's significance and power under Thutmose III are further demonstrated by the fact that his daughter, the chantress of Amun Renen, also became a royal nurse (ibid., pp. 109–11), and her husband Amenhotep served under Senneferi as an "*idnw* of the overseer of the seal" (PM I², 457, tomb C.3; Piehl 1886, vol. 1, pls. 142–43, vol. 2, p. 111; Strudwick 2013; Shirley 2005a, pp. 348–51).

Minnakht, Northern Amun Granary Official (Later Overseer of Southern Double Granaries)

Like the overseer of the seal Senneferi, the overseer of double granaries Minnakht has generally been considered a coregency official based on the effaced cartouche of Hatshepsut appearing on one of his Gebel es-Silsilah shrines (no. 23; Caminos and James 1963, pp. 35, 74). The only secure dates for Minnakht's tenure come from papyrus Louvre E 3226, where Minnakht, or at least his subordinates, appear recording grain deliveries to Thebes between years 28 and 35 of Thutmose III (Megally 1977, pp. 113–22, 274–75; Bryan 2006, pp. 82–83). His tomb equipment, if not the tomb itself (TT 87), was a gift from Thutmose III (Guksch 1995, pp. 52–53, scene 10),[202] and stylistically his tomb decoration belongs in the later part of Thutmose III's reign. In addition, his son Menkheper(raseneb) succeeded him in office, possibly at the end of Thutmose III's reign, but at the latest in the early years of Amenhotep II (Guksch 1995, pp. 13–15, 122–23; Bryan 2006, pp. 82, 84; cf. Der Manuelian 1987, pp. 142, 150; Helck 1958, pp. 388–89). These factors suggest that Minnakht might in fact not have been promoted to overseer of the double granaries until the sole reign of Thutmose III (contra Guksch 1995, pp. 15, 20).

Minnakht's Silsilah shrines present problems, and possibly alternative scenarios regarding when Minnakht became overseer of the double granaries. He is the only official thought to have two shrines; that both should be awarded to him seems likely based on the similarity of titles. The earlier, coregency, shrine (no. 23) is not situated among the high elite of this period, but rather farther north, and adjacent to another coregency shrine (no. 22).[203] In this shrine Minnakht's most prominent title is not overseer of the double granary, but rather overseer of the *st*, royal scribe, and *ḥry mrw* of Amun; traces of the granary title only appear on the statue and possibly on the inner west jamb (Caminos and James 1963, pp. 74–77, pl. 56–59). While admittedly the title could have appeared on the outer doorjambs, which are completely destroyed, it nonetheless appears as though the shrine was constructed and at least mostly finished before Minnkaht received his promotion to overseer of the double granaries. This scenario would help to explain why Minnakht built another, larger, shrine at Silsilah during Thutmose III's sole reign (no. 12), and located it next to that of his contemporary and colleague the overseer of the seal Senneferi, at the northern end of the "elite group" of six shrines. Here Minnakht gives his main titles as "royal scribe, overseer of the double granaries of Upper and Lower Egypt, overseer of the granary of Amun"; with the exception of royal scribe, the earlier titles do not appear. Interestingly, while in both shrines Minnakht reports titles demonstrating his elite status and relationship to his king, the emphasis is different. In shrine 23 he is the "friend great of love, praised of the good god, who does what is beneficial for the lord of the palace." In shrine 12, however, not only is the list

[201] In addition to becoming overseer of the seal, Senneferi was sent on a mission to procure cedar from Lebanon, for which he was likely awarded the title of royal herald, allowing him to speak on the king's behalf; he is even titled "mouth of the king" in his tomb. Senneferi was also the "overseer of the gold lands of Amun," reflecting his role in expeditions to procure gold and precious metals from the eastern desert and the Sinai, where his presence is reflected in inscriptions from the Hathor temple there. See Bryan 2006, pp. 80–81; Shirley 2005a, pp. 342–48; 2010a, pp. 302–03; Eichler 1998; Strudwick 2013; Giveon 1974, pp. 106–07; Gardiner, Peet, and Černỳ 1952–55, vol. 1, pls. 63, 65; vol. 2, pp. 158–59, 161–62, nos. 194 and 199.

[202] The text and scenes are nearly completely destroyed, and Guksch has restored it based on parallels to the son's tomb; see below.

[203] The damage to shrine no. 22 is so extensive that nothing can be said of its owner, though it may have been unfinished; Caminos and James 1963, p. 73, pl. 55.

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longer, but it seems to stress that it was the king who made Minnakht so great: "sole friend, who the king of Upper Egypt made great (*sʿꜣ*), who the king of Lower Egypt extolled (*sḳꜣ*), whose fortune (*kꜣ*) the lord of the Two Lands made."[204] Similarly, in Minnakht's tomb (TT 87), the overall emphasis is not on duty-related scenes or inscriptions, but rather on stressing his connection to the king, and the wealth and gifts that were bestowed on him (Bryan 2006, p. 84; Guksch 1995, pp. 38–71, passim). This suggests not only a change in status of Minnakht, but also that he in some more direct way owed his promotions and resultant increase in stature directly to the king. This apparent change in attitude also supports the idea that Minnakht was only promoted to overseer of the double granary by Thutmose III.[205]

Like his colleague Senneferi, Minnakht likely functioned in the north prior to becoming overseer of the double granaries. According to Guksch (1995, pp. 17–20; cf. Helck 1958, pp. 387–88), Minnakht started in positions connected to overseeing the production of foods and materials, particularly of the Amun precinct.[206] Two of his (earlier) granary titles demonstrate the northern connection: overseer of the granaries of Amun in the northern region (*ʿ mḥti*), and overseer of granaries of the watery areas (*ḫꜣwt*) of the Two Lands. This seems to suggest that rather than functioning at Karnak, Minnakht's duties were centered at an Amun temple located near Memphis (cf. Guksch 1995, pp. 18–19). Thus Minnakht, like Senneferi, was an important northern official connected to the management of goods who was favored by Hatshepsut with the ability to begin construction on a shrine at Silsilah. In addition, during this time Minnakht may have been able to place his sons in priestly positions. His son and future successor Menkheper(raseneb) was a *wʿb*-priest of Amun and scribe of the divine offerings of Amun in Thutmose III's temple *Henket-ankh* (Der Manuelian 1987, p. 142; Eichler 2000, no. 264; Guksch 1995, pp. 122–23), while his other son Amenhotep, known from a palette in the British Museum (BM EA12786; Glanville 1932, pp. 55–56), was also a temple official as the royal scribe, chief of the offering table, and *rmn m ḥꜣt* of Amun (Eichler 2000, p. 171 no. 130; Guksch 1995, p. 16).[207] It also seems likely that Minnakht's northern service is what prompted Thutmose III to promote him further to overseer of the double granaries of Upper and Lower Egypt, and makes it probable that in this capacity he was responsible for northern Egypt, rather than southern. The scene of Minnakht in his tomb "receiving the products (*inw*) which are of the Ways of Horus" (Guksch 1995, pp. 44–45, scene 6), even though it is placed in a funerary context in which Minnakht is remembering or recalling his life (the inscription starts with *sḫmḫ-ib*), nonetheless perfectly complements Minnakht's role as the overseer of double granaries based in the north.

Although overseer of the double granaries appears to be Minnakht's last position, it is clear that Thutmose III continued to bestow favors on him. As noted above, Minnakht's tomb may have been a gift of the

[204] See Guksch 1994, pp. 35ff., 39ff., 73ff., 84ff., and passim, for the self-representation of officials as expressed in relation to their king.

[205] In Shirley 2005a, pp. 126–28, I make the argument that the two shrines may also have served different functions. The earlier shrine (no. 23), in which Minnakht is depicted with his mother Sennu on the west wall and his father Sendjehuty on the opposite wall, likely served as a memorial chapel for them as well as for Minnakht. Despite being at an earlier phase of his career, his ability to construct a shrine marks Minnakht's favored status under Hatshepsut, and thus he may have wanted to construct a monument that also commemorated his (possibly) mid-level elite parents. In the later shrine, although Minnakht is again depicted with a woman on one wall and a man on the other, I would argue that rather than his parents we should understand these individuals as his wife Meret (only known from Minnakht's statue, CG 613; Guksch 1995, pp. 15–16) and son Menkheper(raseneb). The difference in how Minnakht and the women are represented between the two shrines, with a more distant embrace with his mother and a closer one with the unnamed woman, implies a closer relationship between Minnakht and the woman in the later shrine, leading to the possibility that she is his wife rather than mother. On the opposite wall the depiction of Minnakht with an unnamed man could certainly still be his father, though it seems at least possible that it could also be his son Menkheper. While a depiction of a father followed by his son is not common, there are comparative examples for Theban tombs, for example in TT 93 of Amenhotep II's steward Qenamun, where he is seated behind his parents (PM I², 194 (23); N. de G. Davies 1930, p. 48, pl. 54; Shirley 2005a, p. 266 with n. 1200; contra Whale 1989, p. 155, cf. p. 38 with n. 29, 240ff., 259ff.).

In addition, a similar situation exists in shrine no. 21 of the queen's steward Menkh, where on one wall he is depicted with his wife and on the opposite with his parents (Caminos and James 1963, pp. 68–72, pls. 51–55). Likewise the shrine of Usersatet (no. 11) seems to be designed for him, his wife, his mother, and his mother's parents, who are depicted or mentioned along the bottom of at least two walls; all five are represented in the rear statues (ibid., pp. 30–34, pls. 22–25; see Shirley 2005a, pp. 229–37; and 2005b for the new interpretation of the shrine's date and function).

[206] Minnakht's earlier titles, based on his shrines and tomb, are chief (*ḥry*) of weavers of Amun, head (*iry*) of the (food) chamber of Amun, overseer of the *šnʿ* of Amun, overseer of the wine chamber, and also royal scribe. See also Eichler 2000, no. 389, with her discussion of the *šnʿ* of Amun on pp. 108ff., and her discussion of the *imy-r st n irp* title on pp. 66ff., 181ff.

[207] Whether Amenhotep held office in the north or in Thebes, and already during the coregency or only later, is unknown.

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king (Bryan 2006, p. 82). When precisely his son Menkheper(raseneb) succeeded him as overseer of the double granaries of Upper and Lower Egypt is uncertain. Menkheper(raseneb) continued to function in this capacity under Amenhotep II, so while his promotion could have occurred before the end of Thutmose III's reign, it also may have been bestowed by Amenhotep II (cf. Helck 1958, p. 388; Guksch 1995, pp. 122–23). However, Menkheper(raseneb) also carries the titles "steward of *ʾIwnw*," "overseer of the granaries of Atum in *ʾIwnw*," and "overseer of the double granaries of the lord of the Two Lands in *ʾIwnw*." This suggests that when Minnakkht moved from his local, northern post to head of the granaries for northern Egypt, Menkheper(raseneb) may have assumed the local northern role from his father, which would certainly have occurred during Thutmose III's reign, attesting to Minnkaht's stature at this time. As in his father's tomb (and perhaps modeled on it), Menkkheper(raseneb) is depicted overseeing the bringing of Delta products, possibly a reflection (*sḫmḫ-ib* is again used) of this part of his career (Guksch 1995, pp. 149–50, scene 6). Menkheper(raseneb)'s own tomb, as well as the funerary equipment, was gifted by the king, as indicated by a scene in the tomb where Menkheper(resoneb) sits with his parents and two children inspecting the items (ibid., pp. 162–66 [esp. p. 165], scene 10). According to Guksch (ibid., pp. 13–15, 123–25), who views Menkheper(raseneb)'s tomb as already well advanced when his father's was completed, the tombs may well have been planned very close in time, suggesting that Menkheper(resoneb)'s tomb was also a gift from Thutmose III, rather than Amenhotep II. In addition, it is clear that Minnakht made some architectural additions that stressed both their hereditary ties and succession of office (Dorman 2003, p. 40; Shirley 2008; Guksch 1995, p. 13; Kampp 1996, p. 342).[208]

Tjenuna, Divine Adoratrice Official (Later Northern Overseer of Double Granaries)

Minnakht's co-holder as overseer of the double granaries, at least between years 28–35 based on papyrus Louvre E 3226 (Megally 1977, pp. 274–78), was Tjenuna. Although we know little about him,[209] it seems likely that he should be equated with a Tjenuna who served in the house of the divine adoratrice (Megally 1977, p. 276). This man was the owner of both an ostracon from Deir el-Bahari and a funerary papyrus, where he is called "Tjenuna of the house of the divine adoratrice" and the "*ḥry mrw* of the God's Wife, scribe," respectively (O. Leipzig 13, Gardiner and Černý 1957, p. 11, pl. 36:2, line 2; P. Louvre E 3074, Naville 1886, pp. 98–100, Pc).[210] If these attributions are correct, then they secure Tjenuna as an official attached to the divine adoratrice estate during the coregency, as the ostraca also mentions the stewards Senenmut and Rau (see below) as well as the mayor of Thinis Satepihu (see above with n. 23). The house of the divine adoratrice was essentially the estate of the God's Wife,[211] and while not at its head — this role belonged to the steward (Bryan 2003, p. 2; Graefe 1981, p. 96) — Tjenuna might well have been known to both Hatshepsut and the coregency God's Wife, Neferura, making him a not insignificant coregency official.[212]

As Minnakht was most likely the northern overseer of the double granaries under Thutmose III, this would make Tjenuna the southern office holder. Whether Tjenuna was promoted at the end of the coregency or early in Thutmose III's sole reign is unknown, but it seems reasonable that the two men might have been appointed at about the same time, that is, in the first year of Thutmsoe III's sole reign. Tjenuna would

[208] Most significantly, Menkheper(raseneb) located a burial shaft in his courtyard that runs under his father's tomb and provides access to his burial chamber.

[209] As Megally (1977, p. 276) notes, we have no monuments attributed to this official, though he certainly had a tomb, and it is possible that he could have been the owner of a Silsilah shrine, perhaps even no. 22, which dates by the lintel to the coregency and is directly adjacent to the earlier shrine of his colleague Minnakht (Caminos and James 1963, p. 73, pl. 55), though shrines 7 and 30 are likewise unattributed and date to the coregency. See also Bryan 2006, p. 84; 1991, pp. 255–57, for the differentiation between this Tjenuna and the like-named chief steward and steward of Amun under Thutmose IV.

[210] He might also be the untitled Tjenuna named on another Deir el-Bahari ostracon that also includes the name of the steward Rau and bears the date month 4 of *prt*, day 21 (O. Gardiner 10; Gardiner and Černý 1957, p. 7, pl. 20:5).

[211] It is the second entry in the year 5 accounts tablet, placed between that of the *pr-ꜥ*, l.p.h. and (probably) the house of the royal wife. See Vernus 1981, p. 107.

[212] This is in fact the reason for Tjenuna's inclusion in this section, rather than being discussed as an official of Thutmose III. The (perhaps slight) difference is that while many of Thutmose III's officials would have had their early careers during the coregency, only a few of them were clearly important officials under Hatshepsut, or connected in some way to her building program, or an office that likely put them in direct contact with her; the latter is true for Tjenuna.

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then also be an official who not only made the transition from the coregency to the sole reign, but was subsequently promoted to a higher position, in this case from an area that would have brought him in close contact with Neferura as God's Wife. This is not perhaps as unusual as it might sound, since it may be that Neferura continued as God's Wife at least for a few years until Thutmose III handed the office to his wife Meritra (Bryan 2003, p. 6; cf. Dorman 1988, pp. 78–79, 134–35; Gabolde 1990, p. 639; Laboury 1998, pp. 506–09; Dodson and Hilton 2004, pp. 131–32).

Rau, Steward of the God's Wife Ahmose-Nefertari (Later Chief Steward of Amun)

Although the end of Senenmut's tenure as steward of Amun is uncertain, it is likely that he was succeeded in office by one Rau (Eichler 2000, pp. 11, 14–15, 19, no. 398), who is known as a "steward" from the verso of a Deir el-Bahari ostracon that on the recto mentions "the scribe of the steward Senenmut" (Hayes 1960, p. 37, pls. 10, 10a:10). No date is given on the ostracon, though Hayes (ibid., p. 38) places it near the latter end of the group, in part based on the assumption that, since it details offerings being brought, Deir el-Bahari was likely nearly complete. Both stewards are also mentioned on a second ostracon from Deir el-Bahari, along with yet another steward named Nebes, the mayor of Thinis Satepihu, and Tjenuna of the house of the divine adoratrice (O. Leipzig 13; Gardiner and Černý 1957, p. 11, pl. 36 no. 2, lines 7–8; see also n. 23, above), while a third ostracon again mentions the steward Rau, along with an untitled Tjenuna (O. Gardiner 10; Gardiner and Černý 1957, p. 7, pl. 20 no. 5; see above with n. 210). The other monuments attributed to Rau are two limestone doorjambs said to be found in Dra Abu el-Naga, suggesting that they belong to his tomb, which was probably located in this part of the necropolis (Hayes 1959, pp. 128–29, fig. 67; MMA 26.2.54, 26.2.55).[213] On the jambs Rau is titled (great) steward of Amun and steward of the god's wife Ahmose-Nefertari. As noted above in the discussion of stewards of the king, it seems likely that the steward titles are often abbreviated on ostraca, and thus we might understand Senenmut as acting in his capacity as steward of Amun, and perhaps also as steward of the king. As Rau does not seem to hold the title "steward of the king," three possibilities exist for his position as recorded on the ostraca: (1) Rau was functioning as a (lesser) steward of Amun, perhaps subordinate to Senenmut; (2) Rau and Senenmut jointly held the chief steward of Amun position at some point in Senenmut's career; or (3) Rau is functioning on the ostracon as steward of the God's Wife. There is no evidence to suggest that there were multiple "stewards of Amun" under Hatshepsut, and this, combined with Senenmut's preeminent position, makes it unlikely that this office had more than one person attached to it. This suggests that Rau was either a subordinate of Senenmut or steward of the God's Wife during the coregency.

The doorjamb texts also indicate that Rau was a particularly favored official of Thutmose III, as his tomb was "given as a favor/reward of the king … at the time of the founding of *Djeser-akhet*."[214] Because *Djeser-akhet*, the temple Thutmose III constructed at Deir el-Bahari between those of Hatshepsut and Montuhotep III, was likely begun later in his reign (see n. 61, above), it seems likely that Rau's tomb, or at least the decoration of it, can also be dated to this time.[215] Given the apparently late date of his tomb construction,

[213] For the doorjambs, see http://metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/100005586 and http://metmuseum.org/collections/search-the-collections/100005587. The paleography of Rau's (*Rꜣw*) name is not known from any other finds or inscriptions associated with tombs in the Theban necropolis. Although the MMA website lists TT 72 as a possibility, this tomb, which is in Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, was owned by an official named Ray (*Rʿ*), the son of Ahmose of TT 121, who served during the reign of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II and was the high priest of Amun in *Henket-ankh*, *Djeser-set*, *Djeser-akhet*, and *Men-iset*, as well as high priest of Hathor in *Henket-ankh* and overseer of the mansion of gold of the estate of Amun. See Piccione 1999.

[214] The outer column of the right jamb reads *ḏiw ḥswt nt nswt ḫr m snt r* (*m*)*ʿḥʿt mtyt in nṯr nfr nswt-bity* (*Mn-ḫpr-rʿ*)| *n imy-r pr wr n ʾImn mꜣʿ ib Rꜣw.*

The outer column of the left jamb reads *wḏ ḥm.f rdit is pn m snt r is mtyt ḫft snṯ Ḏsrꜣḫt mi irwt n ꜣḫw ḥsyw nṯrw r* (?) /// *iwt* (?) *r-ḥꜣt n imy-r pr n ʾImn Rꜣw.*

[215] Rau may not have continued as steward of Amun much beyond this time, as an ostracon dating to year 43 (O. Berlin 10615; *Urk.* IV 1374.5–14) mentions work undertaken at *Djeser-menu* by the overseer of granaries of Amun Sendjehuty. On two other monuments, Sendjehuty is called both overseer of the granaries of Amun and steward of Amun. These are TT 294 of the overseer of the granaries of Amun Amenhotep, likely Sendjehuty's grandson (Strudwick 1996, pp. 7–15, esp. pp. 10–11; Kampp 1996, pp. 563ff.; Eichler 2000, no. 092), and Sendjehuty's statue in the Ptah temple at Karnak (CG 42123; *Urk.* IV 1206.9–1207.11). See Eichler 2000, no. 507; Bryan 2006, pp. 82, 111; Helck 1958, p. 498 (though not to be identified as the father of the overseer of the double granaries Minnakht [TT 87]; Guksch 1995, pp. 15–16; cf. Dziobek 1998, p. 140).

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it is tempting to suggest that Rau was promoted by Thutmose III to the position of chief steward of Amun, replacing Senenmut, after already functioning as steward of the God's Wife during the coregency. This would make Rau, as an important coregency official connected to Hatshepsut's construction projects, one of a few officials who not only continue under Thutmose III, but become favored members of his court, as was also seen for the royal butler turned herald Djehuty and royal herald turned chief steward Duawyneheh.

2.4. Summary of Officials Hatshepsut Appointed/Promoted

The foregoing review has demonstrated several important features of Hatshepsut's administration during the regency and early years of her reign. First, although during her queen-regency Hatshepsut retained some officials who served under her father, the majority of men who formed the core of her administration were appointed or promoted beginning around year 5 and in place by the end of her first decade as king, and many were likely installed right around her coronation in year 7. Second, the officials Hatshepsut promoted to high office came from varied elite backgrounds and were "new" only in the sense that most of them did not belong to families who formed the administrative core of Hatshepsut's predecessors. Third, the majority of these officials, whether directly or indirectly, had some role in the various construction projects that Hatshepsut undertook. Fourth, with the exception of Useramun and Hapuseneb,[216] Hatshepsut did not choose officials for high civil office from the temple administration, with whom she may have interacted as God's Wife, though she certainly rewarded her officials with positions connected to the Amun precinct. Finally, although previously it has been the general consensus that Hatshepsut's primary officials all died or disappeared from the political scene around year 18, this now appears incorrect. Rather, many continued into the early years of Thutmose III's reign. Admittedly, these conclusions are based in part on reading between the lines of documents couched in official formulas and phrases, a perhaps dangerous course, but one that is necessary if we are to try and understand what was happening during this period.

The first feature that stands out about Hatshepsut's officials is that many of her most powerful leaders were installed in their positions by year 9, and several of them were likely promoted in year 7/8, with a few in place already in the regency. Among the regency officials it becomes clear that a very delicate balance was being struck by Hatshepsut. As was seen above in section 1, Hatshepsut utilized those officials she inherited to help shore up her queen-regency, while at the same time beginning to bring up her own men. Although Hapusenseb, Senenmut, and Useramun are usually thought of as Hatshepsut's core regency officials, in fact Senemut and Intef seem to be more significant. They may have assisted in managing access to the queen-regent, and, given their closeness to Hatshepsut, we might envision them even playing a role in determining who it would be helpful for her to appoint as she moved toward kingship. Hapuseneb, who was certainly a known and prominent official during Thutmose II's reign, may have been "on the rise" already during the regency, but it is clear that he only achieved true supremacy after year 7. Useramun was promoted to vizier in year 5, as successor to his father, and the ability to retain the vizierate within the family is generally seen as a smart — probably necessary — political move on Hatshepsut's part. It is further assumed that Useramun would have likely been actively involved in Hatshepsut's transition to kingship. Yet, that Useramun seems to have been overshadowed by his colleagues seems to belie this. It is telling that on the year 5 accounts tablet he is listed after the herald Intef, steward Senenmut, and the house of the overseer of seal, who are themselves preceded only by royal establishments: the *pr-ꜥ*, house of the divine adoratrice (house of the king's wife), and house of the *wrt ḫnryt* (Vernus 1981, pp. 107–08). Indeed, perhaps the claims of Senenmut and Hapuseneb to being vizier carry more weight than has previously been assumed. Granting them these titles would effectively allow Hatshepsut to replace Useramun in relative power if not in actual position. The nature of Usermaun's tenure under Hatshepsut thus suggests that despite having to accept Useramun as her vizier as part of stabilizing her queen-regency, once in full power Hatshepsut was able to grant power to officials she had a more direct hand in choosing and thereby relatively sideline Useramun. In fact, one wonders if Useramun's real influence came only after Thutmose III became sole king (for further on this, see below).

[216] Senenmut represents the opposite direction. He was a court-based official, and one close to Hatshepsut as steward and tutor of her daughter, as well as her own steward, whom she promoted to the highest civil position in the Amun domain.

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The promotion of men at the very beginning of the coregency should not be surprising given that presumably one of any king's first acts would be a cabinet reshuffle. However, the fact that so many of the positions represent the highest in various areas of administration — civil, religious, palace, regional — also suggests some sort of understanding between queen-regent Hatshepsut and her prospective administrative elite. The officials most likely in place at or before the beginning of the coregency in year 7/8 include the viceroy Penre, northern overseer of the seal Nehesy, overseer of the silver and gold houses Djehuty, steward of Amun Senenmut, high priest of Amun Hapuseneb, and chief steward of the king Amenhotep, while by about year 9 — or perhaps earlier — we have in place the overseer of the double granaries Minmose, second priest of Amun Puiemra, and quite likely the first royal herald and overseer of the *gs-pr* of Amun Duawyneheh and royal scribe (later overseer of the silver and gold houses) Senemiah. In addition, several officials were in office by the middle of the coregency: the viceroy Ienebny/Amenemnekhu, southern overseer of the seal Ty, and probably the chief steward of the king Wadjetrenput, overseer of the granaries Nebamun, and royal butler Djehuty, and at some point in the (later) coregency, four men who would be significant officials under Thutmose III became important under Hatshepsut: Senneferi and Minnakht were both northern officials, likely of northern origin, who were connected to the distribution of goods, possibly in connection to the northern Amun temple, Tjenuna was an official of the God's Wife estate, and Rau was the steward of the God's Wife Ahmose-Nefertari. The concentration of promotions focused on some of the most influential administrative positions right around her coronation also suggests that rather than having a direct role in Hatshepsut's assumption of kingship, the men who attained these offices may rather have provided a core group who would promote her agenda. In this case, we might see them as officials who, on promise of their support, were rewarded with influential positions in her administration.

Second, these men came from a variety of elite backgrounds, stretching from the north (Nehesy), through middle Egypt (possibly Senenmut, Djehuty, possibly Amenhotep), to Thinis (Intef) and Thebes (Useramun, Hapuseneb, Puiemra), and south to the cataract region (possibly Amenhotep), as well as being part of the royal court (Penre, Puiemra, possibly Senenmut through Senimen), and a few may have been of foreign extraction or origin (possibly Djehuty and Minmose). The majority of these officials began their careers under her predecessors, meaning not only that Hatshepsut was shrewdly favoring a new mid-level elite, but also that she would have available to her officials who already knew and understood the inner workings of the administrative areas for which they were responsible, and could perhaps also assure Hatshepsut that her kingship would proceed unchallenged. Indeed, men such as the royal herald and mayor of Thinis Intef, who likely came from the Thinite region and replaced Satepihu as mayor there, demonstrates that Hatshepsut was both keeping the elite of this region as part of her court while at the same time choosing new family lines to favor. Similarly, although the viceroy Penre's origin is unknown, he seems to have been part of the court elite, further supporting the idea that very early on Hatshepsut was trying to build a new inner circle by choosing, in part, men who, although predominantly from established families, nonetheless represented a new cohort.

Third, the majority of these officials, whether directly or indirectly, had some role in the various construction projects that Hatshepsut undertook. While perhaps not surprising, it should also be noted that their level of involvement was not universal, nor did not being in charge of a project necessarily mean one was a less favored part of Hatshepsut's administration. It seems that duties related to the reception and recording of the various items coming into Egypt, many of which were (re-)distributed to the temple, was seen as equally important as being an "overseer of work" for the king or temple. Although not universal, that so many had roles connected to Hatshepsut's projects — whether building or goods — also suggests that this was a component of the officials' promised support and may have contributed to their promotion. This is perhaps something of a "chicken-and-egg" situation, as certainly Hatshepsut's large-scale temple projects necessitated several officials to manage them during and after construction, and, as Eichler (2000, p. 217) has shown, resulted in an increased temple bureaucracy, particularly at the upper levels.

This leads to the fourth point: with the exception of Useramun and Hapuseneb, Hatshepsut did not choose officials from the temple administration, with whom she may have interacted as God's Wife, for high civil office. Rather, Hatshepsut's officials primarily only became connected to the Amun precinct following their promotion by her, suggesting that a position within the Amun precinct became a means of rewarding

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favored officials, rather than a place from which to promote them. A role in the Amun precinct also had the added benefit of providing a place for these men to employ their family members and thereby increase their own wealth (Useramun, Intef, Hapuseneb, Puiemra, Amenhotep). The pre-exisiting importance of the Amun domain, combined with the fact that a position within it became a marker of status as well as the degree of overlap among the officials' responsibilities, as for example with Senenmut, Hapuseneb, and Djehuty, could further indicate that officials lobbied to be given responsibilities that involved the temple, with those especially favored by Hatshepsut receiving the widest array of duties. For Hatsehpsut, this would have the added advantage of ensuring her building and ideological programs were carried out.

As already noted, Useramun was promoted out of the Amun administration to vizier, but as he succeeded his father in this post, the promotion more likely demonstrates the power of this family and Hatshepsut's need for their support, rather than an example of Hatshepsut choosing an Amun official as her vizier. Indeed, in this regard it is noteworthy that Useramun, as southern vizier and also mayor of Thebes, does not seem to have played a significant role in Hatshepsut's temple constructions in comparison to his contemporaries, despite also having several Amun-related titles.[217] While it is true that in TT 131 Useramun is depicted inspecting the storehouses and treasuries of Karnak, duties that may relate to his titles of overseer of the granaries and silver and gold houses (PM I², 245 (3); Dziobek 1994, pp. 92–93, scene 131–14; Dziobek 1998),[218] this tomb, which depicts Thutmose III and makes no reference to Hatshepsut, was clearly completed during Thutmose III's sole reign.[219] Thus while Useramun may well have functioned in this manner under Hatshepsut, we have no clear evidence for it,[220] and I would argue that Useramun may not have truly flourished until Thutmose III's sole reign.

Hapuseneb is thus the only pre-existing Amun official promoted by Hatshepsut to high office — to high priest of Amun. Although at first glance this may seem an obvious choice, Hapuseneb's significant role in Hatshepsut's building program and the number of additional titles he was granted mark a significant change in the nature of the high priesthood. His predecessors Djehuty (reign of Ahmose) and Minmonth (reigns of Ahmose–Amenhotep I) were high priests with little or no additional duties (Eichler 2000, nos. 561, 247; cf. Barbotin 2008, pp. 106–08), while the contemporary Theban mayors Sen/Senires and Ineni were the ones placed in charge of managing the Amun estate and constructions (Eichler 2000, pp. 211–15). Indeed, Eichler (ibid., pp. 214–15, 217) suggested that Ineni and Hapuseneb, who both held the title "overseer of all offices of the *pr-ʾImn*," were effectively early stewards of the Amun domain. It would thus seem that by promoting a temple official like Hapuseneb to the position of high priest Hatshepsut was also consciously attempting to change the hold that the local (Theban) administration had over the Amun domain.[221] That many of her highest civil/state officials were given supervisory titles and duties related to Theban temple building — both royal and divine — suggests that this was intentional.

Finally, although previously it has been the general consensus that Hatshepsut's primary officials all died or disappeared from the political scene around year 18, this now appears incorrect. Only the viziers Penre and Inebny/Amenemnekhu can definitively be understood as having careers that ended before the

[217] His titles seem to be essentially connected to the record-keeping aspects of the Amun precinct (overseer of the granaries of Amun, overseer of all works of Amun, one who seals all precious things in Karnak, overseer of the sealers of Amun, overseer of the scribes in the *pr-ʾImn*), though when precisely they were granted is not entirely certain; see above, n. 38.

[218] While it is possible that these formed part of his duties as vizier, in the inscription that accompanies this scene in Useramun's tomb, he reports, in addition to his vizerate title, the titles "overseer of the houses of silver and gold, and one who seals the precious things of all the lands in the temple of Amun." In addition, in the tomb of Useramun's successor in office Rekhmira, who held similar Amun-precinct titles, we find that in the scenes in the hall and passage where Rekhmira inspects temple constructions and workshops and oversees temple deliveries, he does sometimes report, in addition to his mayoral and vizierate titles, his Amun-related titles, such as superintendent of the workshop of Amun/of works, administrator of the altars of Karnak, and controller, and is also assisted by mid-level temple administrators; N. de G. Davies 1943, vol. 1, pp. 38–39, 43, 48–49, 54; vol. 2, pls. 36, 38, 41, 50–52, 55, 58–62.

[219] In fact, while construction of both TT 61 and TT 131 may have been started toward the end of the coregency, they were clearly not being decorated until Thutmose III's sole reign.

[220] Useramun's Silsilah shrine, his only coregency monument, is not helpful in this regard since the scenes are purely funerary in nature.

[221] Apparently unsuccessfully, given the ubiquity of Useramun's extended family throughout the Amun temple and administrative precinct, and the significant role Useramun's nephew and successor as vizier Rekhmira played with regard to the Amun domain; see Shirley 2010b, pp. 89–98.

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coregency was over, while the chief royal steward Amenhotep, and royal scribe and overseer of the silver and gold houses Senemiah, also likely left office before Thutmose III's sole reign. The majority of the officials, in fact, seem to have continued at least into the earliest years of Thutmose's reign: the northern overseer of the seal Nehesy, overseer of the silver and gold houses Djehuty, and chief steward of the king Wadjetrenput, while the royal herald Intef, high priest of Amun Hapuseneb, and even the steward of Amun Senenmut may also have bridged this transition. In addition, we know of at least five officials who certainly continued to serve Thutmose III, some well into his sole reign: the vizier Useramun (until between years 28 and 32, likely year 32), southern overseer of the seal Ty (at least year 25), second high priest of Amun Puiemra (at least year 34), overseer of the *gs-pr* of Amun and royal herald Duawyneheh (uncertain end date), and royal butler Djehuty (uncertain end date).[222] The last two are also remarkable because not only were they retained, but Thutmose III further promoted them: Duawyneheh to chief steward of the king, and Djehuty to royal herald. To this we can add the overseers of granaries Minnakht and Tjenuna (at least years 28–35) and the overseer of the seal Senneferi (at least year 32, likely years 28–35), and steward of the God's Wife Ahmose-Nefertari and steward of Amun Rau (at least into the fifth decade), whose coregency careers had already drawn them to Hatshepsut's attention, while their highest promotions, and further favors were bestowed by Thutmose III. Indeed, four of these officials (Useramun, Senneferi, Minnakht, Rau) were clearly decorating, if not constructing, their tombs only during the sole reign.

This high retention of Hatshepsut's officials demonstrates that Thutmose III kept on the men who formed part of the court and administrative elite during his youth, perhaps a pragmatic necessity stemming from Thutmose III's need to effect a stable transition to assuming the mantle of kingship, as much as due to the influence of officials who had been in office for a lengthy period of time and (collectively) wielded significant power. The continued tenure and further promotion of some of the men suggest that Thutmose III may have needed to tread lightly in installing a new cabinet upon (re-)assuming the kingship. Since many of these men had careers that started before the coregency, they were likely approaching their middle and later years during the first decade of Thutmose III's sole rule and therefore might have been replaced gradually, at natural times, rather than "ousted" by the new king. This perhaps makes sense given that Thutmose III would have grown up surrounded by these officials and may have wanted to draw upon their expertise as he transitioned into sole rule, and also may not have had the clout to throw them out of office immediately. However, this does not mean that Thutmose III did not make changes.

3. Officials Thutmose III Inherits and Installs

The next topic, then, is what happened within the administration once Thutmose III became sole king. Which officials remained in power, for how long, and who was chosen to replace them? Did involvement in Hatshepsut's projects or the Amun precinct affect the fate of the participants, or the level of responsibility awarded to their successors? Can we ascertain the degree to which Thutmose III had the ability to change his "cabinet" and how quickly this might have occurred, which would indicate his level of power relative to Hatshepsut's officials? That is, is there a sense that he was "forced" to retain men, or was this pragmatic, and voluntary, on his part?

As discussed above, it is clear that Thutmose III did not engage in a wholesale transformation of the administrative structure. This is indicated by his retention of several officials who were already prominent, and in some cases quite powerful, under Hatshepsut, as well as by a few being further promoted by Thutmose III to high, or higher, office, and becoming part of his favored elite. This suggests that overall Hatshepsut's officials were replaced once they reached the natural end of their careers and/or lives, and not as a result of any disfavor. However, as suggested by the evidence discussed below, it appears that the structure of the administration during Thutmose III's reign did change in three major ways: the decrease in relative

[222] Both Duawyneheh and Djehuty participated in some fashion on Thutmose III's campaigns, and the lack of any mention of the year 33 Euphrates crossing, an event recorded by all of Thutmose III's officials who participated in it, may provide a *terminus ad quem* for the end of their service.

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importance of the officials who ran the Amun domain and concomitant increase in power of the vizierate, and the installation of new officials following the successful completion of campaigns, many of whom were from outside Thebes.

When the officials who came into power during the first and second decades of Thutmose III's sole reign are researched, it becomes clear that with a few exceptions none of the men Thutmose III chose demonstrates any prior connection to the Amun precinct. The Amun domain did not lose power under Thutmose III, rather it gained in wealth, yet under Thutmose III there was a shift in the relative power of the high priest of Amun, local Theban government, and vizier, whereby more supervisory control over the Amun domain was placed in the hands of the vizier. This seems to indicate that Thutmose III may not have been able, or willing, to force men out immediately, but that when the opportunity arose, he made a conscious effort to bring in a new elite that overall would be unconnected to Hatshepsut, through either her building program or the expanded Amun administration. In addition, it would seem that many of Thutmose III's officials were put in place following his first few Near Eastern campaigns, suggesting that, in addition to bringing home wealth, Thutmose III returned with a higher degree of power (and respect), which gave him the ability to begin changing his administration.

To elaborate briefly on these points, it has generally been suggested that keeping on so many top officials was "smart politics" on Thutmose III's part (so Dziobek 1995, pp. 5ff.; 1998, pp. 144ff.). Given his essentially constant campaigning during the first decade of his sole reign, retaining men with experience would have offered a degree of stability for the country during a period that found Thutmose III away from Egypt much of the time. However, the fact that several of these officials mention or depict Thutmose III on their monuments in a manner connected to their highest position(s) (Useramun, Puiemra, Duawyneheh, Djehuty [TT 110], Senneferi, Minnakht, and Rau), and at least two were gifted by the king with funeral equipment or tombs (Minnakht and Rau; Minnakht was also likely "gifted" with his [second] shrine), indicates not only a lack of hostility toward officials who came to power during the reign of Hatshepsut, but also that they gained favored status under Thutmose III. In addition, in the tombs of these men, we see both kings represented, albeit in different ways. Djehuty represents both Hatshepsut and Thutmose III (nearly) equally, Puimre and Duawyneheh added references to Thutmose III in their tombs, while four (Useramun, Senneferi, Minnakht, and Rau) constructed their tombs during Thutmose III's sole reign, and thus he is the only king mentioned in the tomb, despite the fact that they all functioned and were prominent under Hathsepsut. In Useramun's case this is particularly remarkable given that he was vizier for the entirety of Hatshepsut's reign and perhaps suggests that he was not as powerful under her as has generally been assumed (see further below). With the possible exception of Rau, all of this activity most likely occurred prior to the proscription of Hatshepsut. So it was not merely a matter of keeping on officials, but also of elevating them further. This situation would have both given Thutmose III the skilled courtiers he needed and ensured their (active) support for his sole reign.

Perhaps of greatest significance for understanding the difference between Thutmose III's chosen, sole-reign, administration and the one he inherited from Hatshepsut is what happens with regard to the Amun precinct — both the running of its priestly and administrative components and the general role it played in officials' careers. As we have seen, all of Hatshepsut's highest officials were connected to the Amun precinct through the work they carried out or duties they performed on her behalf, and this became an important component of elite identity during her reign. During the coregency, Hatshepsut's high priest of Amun Hapuseneb and the steward of Amun Senenmut were both incredibly powerful officials, Hapuseneb over both the staff and property of the temple as well as relevant construction projects, with Senenmut awarded a new title and likewise in charge of overseeing work connected to the Amun precinct, perhaps in part as Hatshepsut's palace liason. Both men also claimed to function as vizier — Hapuseneb boasting the actual title, though only on one monument (Louvre statue A 134), and Senenmut through related titles and epithets.[223] Useramun was the contemporary vizier under Hatshepsut, and while he served in the Amun precinct prior

[223] "Judge of the gate of the entire land" implies he could usurp the vizier's authority (van den Boorn 1988); "the one relating to Nekhen, the priest of Maat" are both vizier epithets. See Bryan 2006, p. 94.

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to becoming vizier, and as vizier and mayor of Thebes also took on some supervisory roles there, overall his authority in this area seems dwarfed by his colleagues.

Under Thutmose III, Useramun not only continued as vizier but also seems to have flourished, building two tombs that clearly incorporated what were already, or would become, royal elements (TT 61: decorated and separated burial chamber; TT 131: *Königsnovelle*, niched façade, pyramid). Once Hapuseneb and Senemut were no longer in power, it may well be that Useramun's role with regard to the Amun precinct expanded, especially given that — due to his father's marriage into Ineni's family — Useramun's extended family was spread throughout the Amun precinct at various mid-levels of priestly and administrative authority (Shirley 2005a, pp. 95–100; 2010b, pp. 89–98). Certainly this occurred when Rekhmira succeeded his uncle as vizier around year 33. Rekhmira, as demonstrated by his titles as well as the scenes and inscriptions in his tomb, had intricate involvement in the daily operations of Karnak temple. The various "overseer" positions are vastly increased,[224] while phrases such as "one who lays down instructions for the *ḫm*-priests and guides the *wʿb*-priests in their duties" also appear accompanying depictions of Rekhmira performing these duties.[225] Rekhmira was also awarded the title "steward of Amun." While it was not his most common title, it would appear that his execution of the office was not unlike Senenmut's (contra Dziobek 1998, pp. 140–41), given the Amun-precinct–related scenes in his tomb and his clear participation in Thutmose III's projects at Karnak. Indeed, Rekhmira's duties in this office would have overlapped with those of both Rau and Rau's successor Sendjehuty, suggesting that more and more responsibility was being ceded to the vizier during Thutmose III's reign.

In contrast to Hapuseneb, the next known high priest of Amun, Menkheperraseneb (TT 112), seems to have duties that centered primarily on his role as high priest. In his tomb, which was completed during Thutmose III's sole reign, Menkheperraseneb reports only titles related to his post as high priest of Amun and other court-based honorifics; no duty-related scenes were carved.[226] In addition, Menkheperraseneb was the son of Thutmose III's nurse and prior to becoming high priest seems to have been primarily a court official (see n. 94, above). Thus, with Menkheperraseneb we have a court official promoted to high priest who seems to have a smaller scope of power than his predecessor in office. By year 33 Menkheperraseneb seems to have ceded office to his like-named nephew, the owner of TT 86.[227] This is based on the mention of the Euphrates crossing in TT 86, which occurred as part of Thutmose III's eighth campaign in year 33. As high priest of Amun, Menkheperraseneb (ii)'s duties are expanded from those of his uncle; his supervisory titles and tomb scenes demonstrate that in addition to his religious functions, he dealt with the actual production of goods for the temple and received foreign tribute and products destined for the temple.[228] Like Rekhmira, Menkheperraseneb (ii) was also involved in building monuments at Karnak, but while he may have overseen work on Thutmose III's granite naos at Karnak (so Dorman 1995, p. 151) and a portal of electrum, overall his building activity seems relatively insignificant compared to Rekhmira's (see Shirley 2005a, pp. 110–22, 200–04).

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[224] Such as overseer of all work (*imy-r kꜣwt nbt*), controller of all work in Karnak (*ḫrp kꜣwt nbt m ỉpt-swt*), overseer of craftsmen (*imy-r ḥmwt*), overseer of all craftsmen of Amun (*imy-r ḥmwt nbt nt ỉmn*), and steward of Amun (*imy-r pr n ỉmn*).

[225] Also "one who establishes rules for the temples of Upper and Lower Egypt," and "letting every man know his routine, by virtue of his office of superintendent of works." From scenes of temple inspection in the passage; cf. N. de G. Davies 1943, vol. 1, pp. 49, 54.

[226] For the titles, see Dorman 1995, p. 152; Eichler 2000, no. 260; Davies and Davies 1933, pp. 18–26. Dorman (1995, p. 151) mentions that there is a reference in his tomb to Menkheperraseneb carrying out work at Karnak, but I was unable to locate this inscription. Nonetheless, this is in clear contrast with Hapuseneb's numerous priestly and administrative positions.

[227] As mentioned above (n. 94), if in fact the two high priests of Amun named Menkheperraseneb, currently viewed as uncle and nephew and successors in office, should rather be understood as a single high priest of Amun (so D. Laboury, pers. comm.), this analysis will have to be revisited. However, even if the two men are one-in-the-same, it does not change the fact that Thutmose III appointed a court official to high priest of Amun, effectively replacing priestly officials connected to Hatshepsut with one of his own men.

[228] For the titles, see Dorman 1995, p. 152; Eichler 2000, no. 261; Davies and Davies 1933, pp. 1–17. He was "overseer of the granaries of Amun," "overseer of weavers of Upper and Lower Egypt," "overseer of craftsmen," "chief of the overseers of craftsmen," "overseer of the silver and gold houses." His *ḫrp nsty* title may indicate involvement in the jubilee (Dorman 1995, p. 151 n. 49; Davies and Davies 1933, pl. 15). He is also not the same Menkheperraseneb identified on a statue (BM EA708) as a second priest of Amun (Dorman 1995, p. 151; Eichler 2000, no. 262), who was in fact a son of Rekhmira and who also held the title scribe of divine offerings of Amun (Shirley 2005a, pp. 99–100; 2010b, p. 93 with n. 76; cf. Eichler 2000, nos. 262–63).

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As vizier and steward of Amun, Rekhmira's responsibilities in the Amun precinct appear to be more significant than those recorded by his colleague. This apparent rise in the vizier's Amun-related responsibilities, at least under Rekhmira if not earlier, coupled with a seeming decrease in the overarching role of the high priest of Amun, seems to suggest that Thutmose III was moving to change the nature of these two positions, and to tamp down the power of the high priest of Amun that grew under Hatshepsut. Admittedly, one might question how much of this was Thutmose III's doing and how much was a result of the power of the vizierate family, which had by now retained control over the post for three generations and more than forty years. However, during Thutmose III's sole reign, a change in the relationship of other high officials to the Amun precinct can also be seen, suggesting that Thutmose III was taking the lead in these efforts, when the opportunity presented itself.

When Hatshepsut's officials were replaced, Thutmose III awarded most of the positions to new men, among whom there is a dearth of Amun-precinct–related titles. This suggests that Thutmose III intentionally chose not to connect his top administrators to (or promote them from) the Amun precinct in the way Hatshepsut did. Under Thutmose III we have the vizier Rekhmira, viceroy Nehsy, overseer of the seal (south) Senneferi,[229] overseer of the silver and gold houses Benermerut,[230] overseers of the double granaries Minnakht and Tjenuna, first royal herald Iamunedjeh, royal butler Montuiywy, royal deputy Minmose, second priest of Amun and overseer of the *šnᶜ* of Amun Neferhotep,[231] high priest of Amun Menkheperraseneb (ii) (TT 86), and steward of Amun Rau. When we consider that the early careers of these successors to high office largely occurred during the coregency, when a connection to the Amun precinct was very prestigious and might have been considered a mark of status, the general lack of Amun-related titles is all the more striking.[232] Out of the above, there are only five officials who have a clear connection to the Amun precinct: Rekhmira, Senneferi, Minnakht, Neferhotep, and Menkheperraseneb (ii).[233] For Rekhmira and his uncle Neferhotep, this link comes from their family, which was spread throughout the Amun administration during the coregency and sole reign (Shirley 2005a, pp. 75–100, esp. pp. 95ff.; 2010b, pp. 89–98; cf. Eichler 2000, no. 409). While many of Rekhmira's upper-level duties were probably granted when he became vizier and mayor of Thebes, titles such as chief scribe of divine offerings of Amun and overseer of the *šnᶜ* of Amun may pre-date his tenure as vizier (Eichler 2000, pp. 104ff., 165–66).[234] Menkheperraseneb (ii), as the nephew and successor of the like-named high priest, probably also owed his position to his family (Shirley 2005a, pp. 110–22; cf. Dorman 1995, pp. 147–54; Dziobek 1995, pp. 137–39). Though Senneferi and Minnakht functioned within the Amun administration under Hatshepsut, they did so in the north, so in them we might see an intentional transfer of power by Thutmose III to officials with administrative knowledge, but no Theban connection. They were outsiders, essentially "new men," when brought to Thebes.

[229] The only other known overseer of the seal under Thutmose III is Min, who, given his northern origin, may have functioned in the north as Nehesy's successor, rather than being Senneferi's successor in the south as is usually assumed. Min is known from his Gebel es-Silsilah shrine, no. 5 (Caminos and James 1963, pp. 19–21, pls. 13–15), a funerary cone (Davies and Macadam 1957, no. 499), and primarily his son and successor Sobekhotep's monuments (TT 63). See Bryan 1990b, pp. 81–88; Shirley 2005a, pp. 152–57.

[230] If he succeeded Djehuty earlier than year 45, as proposed above.

[231] It is possible that Neferhotep was a second priest of Amun in Deir el-Bahari, rather than the successor to Puiemra at Karnak. See Shirley 2010b, p. 92 n. 72, p. 97 nn. 82–83; 2010a, passim; cf. Eichler 2000, no. 370; Helck 1994, pp. 39–40.

[232] Although several of them did begin their careers during the coregency, they seem to have no connection to Hatshepsut, based both on her lack of mention on their monuments, and on their general lack of connection to her building program. This is perhaps most clear in the case of Iamunedjeh, who was a controller of the king in year 15 and chronicles his involvement in restoration projects on one of his tomb stelae (*Urk.* IV 940.3–7), yet there is no mention of, or even reference to, Hatshepsut on any of his monuments. Indeed, immediately following this he records that as controller of all works he witnessed the erection of three sets of obelisks, certainly those erected by Thutmose III between years 30 and 40. Iamunedjeh stresses his relationship to Thutmose III and his work for him in Syria-Palestine throughout his monuments. See Shirley 2005a, pp. 352–67; 2011, pp. 306–08; cf. Hayes 1933; Habachi and Van Siclen 1977, pp. 73, 165; Polz 1991, esp. pp. 282–83.

[233] While one might add Rau and Tjenuna to this list, I have excluded them because rather than being Amun officials per se, they were God's Wife of Amun officials, Rau for Ahmose-Nefertari, and Tjenuna attached to the estate.

[234] Rekhmira's "career" before becoming vizier is not well understood. In his tomb (TT 100), he mostly stresses his court connection to Thutmose III with epithets such as *sḏty nswt* (foster child of the king of Upper Egypt) and *šms bity* (follower of the king of Lower Egypt), suggesting he was raised at court, probably alongside royal children. See Helck 1958, pp. 45ff.; Shirley 2005a, pp. 92–93, 99–100; cf. Dziobek 1998, pp. 100–01.

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It seems that Thutmose III's officials are much less connected to the Amun precinct, either before attaining high office, or as part of their duties once promoted. This is quite different from what was seen under Hatshepsut. Under Thutmose III the power of the high priest of Amun over the wider arena of the Amun precinct is greatly reduced in comparison to Hatshepsut's reign. Likewise, the men whose primary office was as steward of Amun may have found their roles and responsibilities curtailed since it seems that the viziers carried a high level of power related to the management of the Amun precinct, beginning with Useramun and culminating with Rekhmira. Noticeably, among Thutmose III's officials when priestly positions appear, there seems to be a connection to the king's own funerary constructions.[235] In addition, although Rekhmira, the overseer of works Benermerut, and overseer of the double granaries Sendjehuty appear on ostraca detailing work on *Djeser-akhet*, Thutmose III's temple at Deir el-Bahari (Hayes 1960, pp. 43–52), these are the only high officials mentioned in relation to this work, quite a reduction compared to Hatshepsut. While this may be in part due to favoritism by the king, during Thutmose III's reign, a connection to the Amun precinct and west bank temples seems largely to serve as a means of increasing a family's wealth and providing positions for sons and daughters (cf. Shirley 2010b, p. 97),[236] rather than as a marker of power and prestige as it certainly functioned under Hatshepsut. The power and economic importance of the Amun domain in Thebes by and during the reign of Thutmose III (Eichler 2000, pp. 218ff.; Haring 2013, pp. 617–22), combined with Thutmose III's impressive building programs, particularly in Karnak, makes the lack of an Amun-precinct connection among Thutmose III's upper-level officials particularly significant.[237]

Why would these changes have occurred? One factor must have been the great deal of wealth and power that had been subsumed within the offices of high priest and steward of Amun under Hatshepsut. By changing not only the officials, but also the relative power of the positions, particularly with regard to the vizierate, these areas could be brought firmly under control.

As noted above, Useramun's visibility under Hatshepsut seems minor when compared to the role he played in Thutmose III's building program and the Amun administration. One wonders, then, whether Useramun seized the opportunity of a new king in power to raise his own profile, perhaps even helping Thutmose III in the process of his own transition to king. As we know from the Duties of the Vizier, the vizier did have some control over appointments, even if done on the king's behalf, and thus perhaps we might see Useramun's hand, as much or more than the king's, in this re-alignment of power within Thebes. Nonetheless, that Usermaun's nephew succeeded him as vizier under Thutmose III, rather than one of his sons, suggests that by the end of Thutmose III's first decade of sole reign, Usermaun may not have had as much power to dictate the course of the vizierate as had his father, even if the familial retention still demonstrates a high degree of overall influence by this family.

Although with few exceptions we cannot be sure of the exact timing of the transition from coregency to sole reign officials, it seems that several changes were instituted within the first five to ten years of Thutmose III's sole reign. This suggests that, even if "forced" to do so, it may have benefitted Thutmose III to keep on officials during his early campaigning years. This further implies that Thutmose III's success in extending

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[235] For example, the northern overseer of double granaries Minnakht, whose son and successor Menkheper(raseneb) was a *wᶜb*-priest and scribe of divine offerings of Amun in *Henket-ankh*, and his brother Amenhotep was chief of the offering table and *rmn m ḫꜣt ỉmn*, while Menkhper(raseneb)'s own son Nebenmaat was a scribe in the temple of *Henket-ankh* (cf. Eichler 2000, nos. 264, 130; Der Manuelian 1987, p. 142; Guksch 1995, pp. 122–23; Shirley 2005a, pp. 132–34, 137). Similarly, a brother of the royal herald Iamunedjeh was Khaemwaset, the *ḫry-ḥb* and *wᶜb*-priest of Aakheperkara (Thutmose I) in *Henket-ankh*, while Iamunedjeh's nephew Mery was also a first *ḫry-ḥb* and *wᶜb*-priest of Amun, possibly in *Henket-ankh* (Eichler 2000, no. 275; Shirley 2005a, pp. 363–66). Senneferi's daughter Renen was a chantress of Amun and royal nurse, while Senneferi was a royal tutor (Roehrig 1990, pp. 95–104, 109–11; Shirley 2005a, pp. 348–51). Similarly, Minmose became a tutor, and his daughter Sharyti was a chantress of Amun and royal nurse, while his son and grandson, both also named Minmose, were high priests of Osiris (Roehrig 1990, pp. 89–95, 179–82; Shirley 2005a, pp. 410–17). Even Puiemra's son Menkheper was a priest of Amun in *Henket-ankh* (Davies and Davies 1923, pp. 16, 38–39, pls. 30, 64; Eichler 2000, no. 256).

[236] Indeed, while some families, like that of the viziers Useramun and Rekhmira, are spread throughout the Amun domain and west bank in priestly and temple positions, this is largely due to that family's power, even under Hatshepsut.

[237] This is not to suggest that Thutmose III's officials and their descendents never held positions in the Amun precinct, but it seems clear that the emphasis found under Hatshepsut is no longer there. In addition, overall only the vizier and high priest of Amun demonstrate a connection to Thutmose III's work at Karnak through their titles.

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Egypt's influence brought him greater respect — and power — at home, affording him the ability to bring in new elite to run the various administrative areas of the government. As soon as opportunities presented themselves he was able to replace Hatshepsut's men with those of his own choosing. That Thutmose III grew in domestic power as a result of his campaigns is further suggested by the fact that participation on Thutmose III's campaigns became the major component of elite identity during the sole reign. Despite the fact that the Amun domain benefitted greatly from the wealth Thutmose III brought home, the officials stressed their connection to their king and their participation, in battle or otherwise, in the Syro-Palestinian theatre. The military campaigns were as central to elite identity as they were to Thutmose III's power and image as king (Shirley 2005a, pp. 444–49; 2011; 2013a, pp. 585–86).

4. Final Summation

Despite the unusual nature of her kingship, Hatshepsut used an existing administrative framework to create her own administration. She both inherited officials who continued through her regency and installed her own officials once she assumed kingship, much in the same way Thutmose III did upon his (re-)ascension of the throne. That is not to say that there were not characteristics that differentiate Hatshepsut's administration from those of her predecessors and successors.

Based on the foregoing review, two central features of Hatshepsut's administration have emerged. The first is that while there was a central group of extremely powerful officials (Hapuseneb, Senenmut, and to a lesser degree Useramun), and an extended group of prominent though slightly less powerful officials (Intef, Penre, Nehesy, Djehuty [TT 110], Puiemra, Amenhotep, Senemiah, Duawyneheh, and Minmose), nearly all gained their highest post following year 7. This suggests that rather than being a "cabal" that orchestrated her rise to the throne, they formed a cabinet who had likely promised their support in exchange for promotions and favors. While none of the officials Hatshepsut inherited individually seems to have had this power, the fact that these men (Ineni, Ahmose-Pennekhbet, Seni/Senires, Satepihu, and Senimen), despite being at the end of their careers, were all favored by Hatshepsut, suggests that as a group they were a powerful force and were likely needed by Hatshepsut to ensure stability for her queen-regency and transition to king. In addition, the inclusion of both Senenmut and Intef on the year 5 accounts tablet, and their duties regarding access to the queen-regent, makes it seem likely that they may have played a significant role in Hatshepsut's transition to king. Although less clear for Intef, certainly in the case of Senenmut we see him already carrying out missions on Hatshepsut's behalf just prior to year 7, suggesting he was already a powerful official even before becoming steward of Amun. Although it at first would seem that Ahmose-Aametu's ability to ensure that his son succeeded him as vizier implies an active role for this family in terms of Hatshepsut's transition to king, the reality of Useramun's career under Hatshepsut seems to belie this. In comparison to his contemporaries, Useramun seems to have relatively little involvement with Hatshepsut's ubiquitous building program. Perhaps one might see in this that Hatshepsut, though forced to accept Useramun as vizier as part of securing her rise to the throne, was able to essentially sideline him once in full power. Indeed, that his extended family is found throughout the Amun precinct, but never in the highest positions, also seems to suggest that Useramun's influence under Hatshepsut was dwarfed by Hapuseneb and Senenmut. Useramun's tombs, replete with "royal" features, and the *Königsnovelle* setting of Useramun's Installation text, certainly demonstrates the family's influence and achievement in retaining hereditary control of the vizierate. But their construction and decoration occurred during Thutmose III's sole reign, and I would argue that this may rather reflect Useramun's later rise to power under Thutmose III, perhaps even as a result of facilitating *his* (re-)accession of the throne.

The second overarching feature is that neither the Amun precinct nor the God's Wife estate seems to have figured prominently in Hatshepsut's selection of elite to promote. Rather, she was choosing from among mid-level and court elite from throughout Egypt with only Useramun and Hapuseneb truly demonstrating any pre-Hatshepsut Amun connections, and only Senemut with a God's Wife connection. This suggests that while Hatshepsut's own wealth and power as God's Wife of Amun was likely significant, its role in her choice of officials was limited to the top three and did not carry over into her broader contingent

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of officials. However, since these men were essentially her closet advisors and most powerful officials, this connection suggests that, at least for Hapuseneb and Senenmut, Hatshepsut consciously chose men whom she had dealt with as God's Wife, and therefore knew she could place her trust to assist in carrying out her building program and ideological message, and the dominant role that Hapuseneb and Senemut had in her building program supports this. Overall, however, the significance of the Amun precinct under Hatshepsut comes from the fact that it functioned as the way in which officials demonstrated their prestige and status and defined their relationship to Hatshepsut as king. In addition, Hatshepsut's need to create and express an ideological message that established her divine right to rule led to a combined Amun-/royal-centric building program that resulted in a burgeoning Amun temple administration, both priestly and secular. The enlarged Amun administration provided Hatshepsut with a way to further reward her officials — by bestowing more titles and project oversight duties — and for officials to increase their own wealth by tapping into the ever-increasing Amun temple revenues. The common thread of the Amun precinct seen in Hatshepsut's officials is thus one that came as a result of her kingship, not one that had a role in creating it.

In sum, what we have under Hatshepsut is an administrative structure that was largely created on an existing framework, a "business as usual" model personalized to a certain extent by the king and the environment in which she reigned. Hatshepsut's promotion of a variety of new and old elite follows a pattern seen throughout the Eighteenth Dynasty — subsequent kings also promoted or favored particular officials for one reason or another: personal connections, family ties, or even merit (Shirley 2005a, passim; 2013a, pp. 570–606). There is no doubt that under Hatshepsut we have — at first glance — the seemingly unusual situation of an enormously powerful small group of officials who seem to have taken advantage of their situation to promote their own influence and power. However, as evinced by their involvement in her building program and promulgation of her ideological message, this power and influence were granted by Hatshepsut herself, in recognition of their services to her, not taken without approval.

This is not the only time in the New Kingdom that a group of elite grew to become influential. If we examine New Kingdom administration through the lens of "interconnecting circles of power" (Cruz-Uribe 1994), rather than as an overly structured vertical hierarchy, we see that the shifting relationships between king and elite during all periods are often dependent on broader sociopolitical circumstances and reflected in the make-up of the bureaucracy. For example, in the early Eighteenth Dynasty, the elite of Thebes, Elkab, and Edfu played an unusually prominent role in the reinstitution of the Eighteenth Dynasty government, no doubt stemming from their role in assisting Kamose and Ahmose in reuniting Egypt. These families were favored and promoted, retaining regional importance and gaining high-level state or central offices both because Ahmose and his successors needed them and because they were able to guarantee their regions' support for the fledgling government (Shirley 2013a, pp. 576–82). Similarly, at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty, following the Amarna period, Ay and Horemheb played crucial roles in the kingship of Tutankhamun, later of course becoming kings themselves. In addition, during this period (and even earlier) the elite of Akhmim (Ay's base) dominated the bureaucracy, while under Horemeheb his own military background clearly influenced his selection of military men for civil office, and under all three kings, there was a large degree of inheritance of office across a range of administrative areas, both secular and religious (Shirley 2013a, pp. 601–06).

While Hatshepsut's ability to transition from female queen-regent to male king was certainly unique, it was not without precedent (Bryan 1996, pp. 27–30). And in the same way, though her "mantle of coregency" may demonstrate some unorthodoxy (Dorman 2006, p. 58), overall her administration, while reflecting this shifting sociopolitical environment, was founded on tried and true principles, an underlying structure that provided the stability for her unusual reign not only to exist, but to flourish.

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11

The Inscribed Burial Chamber of Djehuty (TT 11)

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Djehuty, Owner of Tomb-chapel TT 11

The owner of TT 11, Djehuty, is only known through the inscriptions and scenes depicted on the walls of his funerary monument. So far, no statue of his has been found at Karnak or at any other temple, it seems he did not have a shrine or dedicatory inscription at Gebel es-Silsilah, and there is no object associated with him in any museum or private collection, aside from a few funerary cones. TT 11 is, thus, the only source of information at hand to approach this high official who served under the joint reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III.[1]

When approaching the possible date of the tomb-chapel, the first clue is offered by a pair of royal cartouches, one of Hatshepsut and the other of Thutmose III, standing side by side, that was carved several times on the walls. On the lunette and on the first line of the biographical inscription known as the Northampton stela (fig. 11.1, no. 5), inscribed on the monument's façade, it is clearly visible how Hatshepsut's prenomen *Maat-ka-Ra* was intentionally hacked out, while that of Thutmose III, *Men-kheper-Ra*, was left untouched (Spiegelberg 1900; Galán 2009a). On line 22, when Djehuty refers to his duty weighting and registering electrum in the court of Karnak temple, there is a single royal cartouche with the name erased, which can be assumed to be Hatshepsut's. It seems to be also the case in the closing inscribed column, at the upper left side of the stela, above the standing figure of Djehuty.

The combination of the two royal cartouches was most probably carved also at the other side of the entrance to the inner part of the monument, on the mirror stela (fig. 11.1, no. 3) displaying a hymn to Amun-Ra and whose upper half was at some point intentionally damaged. Actually, a fragment of Thutmose III cartouche was found during excavation of the courtyard and has been placed back in the lunette.

At the northern[2] end of the transverse hall, there is a second biographical inscription (fig. 11.1, no. 12). It was partially broken relatively soon after it was finished,[3] and about half of its text is now lost.[4] Nevertheless,

[1] There are a number of known individuals named Djehuty who lived during the coregency of Hatshepsut-Thutmose III. A few of them are known through their tomb-chapels, like the cup-bearer owner of TT 110 (N. de G. Davies 1932), but others are only known through inscribed statues and funerary equipment. Some of these objects have been mistakenly assigned to the owner of TT 11, as for instance the gold and silver plates now in the Louvre Museum (E 4886, N 713), mentioned in PM I², 23–24, as coming from TT 11, but argued otherwise by Lilyquist (1989). See also the block-statue of Djehuty now in the Champollion Museum in Figeac (formerly in Guimet Museum, no. 2706, and in the Louvre, E 20205), suggested to be the same person as the owner of TT 11 by Dewachter (1986, p. 45), and in PM VIII, no. 801-643-280, but refuted by Serrano (2003).

[2] References to the cardinal points for orientation do not follow here the magnetic north, but the ideal or ideological north, which implies that the tomb's axis is theoretically oriented east–west no matter its geographical orientation.

[3] A hole was opened in the wall to connect the tomb-chapel of Djehuty with the neighboring tomb-chapel -399- (Kampp 1996, pp. 190–92, 769; Galán 2007c, 2009a), probably when they were both reused in the Twenty-first Dynasty and later. The blocks that have been recovered in the excavation of the courtyard are in quite good condition, most of them preserving traces of the original red/ochre color filling the hieroglyphic signs. When demotic graffiti were written on the walls of the corridor in the second half of the second century B.C. (under study by Richard Jasnow and Christina Di Cerbo), the surface was already worn out due to water and wind running through the holes opened in various places of the monument, indirectly pointing out that the holes were opened much earlier.

[4] One hundred and eleven inscribed fragments have been identified by Andrés Diego Espinel as coming from this stela.

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the remaining visible section preserves the cartouches of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III on the lunette, and while the damaged surface does not permit us to know more details about the former, the latter was again left untouched. The main text mentions a royal name at least twice, one still in situ and the other partly preserved in a loose fragment copied by Spiegelberg in his *Fundjournal* of 1898–1899 (now in the archives of the Griffith Institute) but now lost (Spiegelberg *Fundjournal* 1899, p. 93, no. 104; Northampton, Spiegelberg, and Newberry 1908, pl. 34, fragment o). In both cases the name inside the cartouche has been intentionally erased, but it certainly was Hatshepsut's. Actually, the first one is followed by a feminine reference, *sꜣt ỉmn mrrt.f* "daughter of Amun, his beloved one." It seems that Thutmose III was not mentioned in the main text of the inscription.

Two cartouches are also preserved on the right-hand wall of the corridor (fig. 11.1, no. 16), at the beginning of a long inscription running inward on top of the scenes decorating it. The names in both of them have been erased, and the feminine nature of the first one is indicated by the epithet that follows, *sꜣt rᶜ n ḫt.f* "daughter of Ra, of his body."

It thus seems that when a single king is mentioned, it is Hatshepsut's name that was inscribed. The presence of her cartouche (albeit erased) and its predominance over that of Thutmose III seem to indicate that Djehuty probably did not outlive Hatshepsut, and that his funerary monument was considered finished at some point during the last years of her rule.[5]

The biographical inscription carved on the façade (fig. 11.1, no. 5) mentions in lines 17–18 that Djehuty was in charge of registering in writing the marvels brought from Punt and directed to Amun of Karnak in year 9. In the same stela, through the monuments on which he says he acted as chief, giving instructions and leading the craftsmen, the date of his funerary monument can be narrowed down. He refers to *Djeser-djeseru*, the temple of Millions of Years, enhancing its great doors with copper and electrum.[6] He directed a similar task in the nearby temple of *Kha-akhet*,[7] and at the other side of the river in Karnak temple. He inlaid in gold Amun's sacred bark *Userhat* (Gabolde 2003, pp. 423–28) and in electrum the noble portal "Presentation of

[5] In the tomb-chapel of one of Djehuty's colleagues, the royal herald Duawyneheh (TT 125; *Urk.* IV 452–54), Hatshepsut also gained predominance over Thutmose III; but the cup-bearer Djehuty opted differently in his tomb-chapel (TT 110; N. de G. Davies 1932) and gave Thutmose III a slight preponderance over Hatshepsut, and so did Puiemra (TT 39; Davies 1922), and Ahmose Pennekheb in his tomb-chapel at Elkab (*Urk.* IV 34–39). Other high officials, like Montuherkhepeshef in his tomb-chapel at Dra Abu el-Naga (TT 20; N. de G. Davies 1913), preferred to avoid naming the king under whom they served. Anyhow, most of the officials that outlived Hatshepsut and continued in service for several years under the sole reign of Thutmose III were inclined to carve only the latter's name in their monuments, like the vizier Useramun (TT 61, 131; Dziobek 1994) and his assistant Amenemhat (TT 82; Davies and Gardiner 1915), or the steward of the royal wife Nebtu called Nebamun, whose Dra Abu el-Naga tomb-chapel (TT 24; *Urk.* IV 150–51) adjoins that of Montuherkhepeshef, both located only 50 meters north of TT 11. The *damnatio* that Hatshepsut's name suffered afterward in TT 11 was inflicted in an aggressive and ostentatious manner, similarly to how Djehuty's own name was erased, and thus should not be understood as an attempt to alter *in extremis* the identity of the royal person in favor of Thutmose III, as it was done by Senneferi in his Gebel es-Silsilah shrine, no. 13 (Caminos and James 1963, p. 37, pl. 30), or in favor of Thutmose I, as in the Brooklyn Museum statue no. 61.196 (Sauneron 1968b) of Ahmose Ruru. Indeed, one has to be very cautious when using the presence of one cartouche or the other, or the combination of the two, as dating criteria for a monument, or when trying to arrange Hatshepsut-Thutmose III high officials in a chronological sequence. For instance, the overseer of the granaries, Nakhtmin (also known as Minnakht), includes the two cartouches on a doorway lintel in his shrine at Gebel es-Silsilah (no. 23; Caminos and James 1963, p. 74, pl. 57), but in his tomb-chapel it seems he only mentions Thutmose III (TT 87; Guksch 1995, pp. 47–48).

[6] An official called Djehuty is the addressee of a letter written on papyrus and found at Deir el-Bahari (Hayes 1957, pp. 89–90, fig. 1 O, pl. 13). The name is written with an extra final *yod*, , which is the same spelling as attested on an ostracon found below the upper tomb-chapel of Senenmut (Hayes 1942, p. 23, pl. 16:81). Hayes (1957, p. 89 n. 7) believes that these two occurrences refer to the same man, who should be identified with the owner of TT 11, whom he describes as "treasurer and architect." However, note that the name of the owner of TT 11 is never spelled out with an extra final *yod*, but consistently as , and above all it has to be kept in mind that he did not act as architect, but he was involved in the monuments' decoration. On the other hand, the name "Djehuty" ending in a reed sign (Gardiner 1957, signlist M17) instead of the characteristic two diagonal strokes (signlist Z4) for the final *yod* can be found once in TT 110, (N. de G. Davies 1932, pl. 39, line 11), while in the rest of the occasions, it is written there without it.

[7] See Brovarski 1976, pp. 71–73; el-Ayun Barakat 1981, pls. 4–5. Dorman (1988, pp. 135–37) argues that Hatshepsut's temple *Kha-akhet* was rebuilt and renamed *Djeser-akhet* by Thutmose III. Maruéjol (2007, p. 77) refers to *Kha-akhet* as a second temple of Millions of Years built by Hatshepsut, and located between *Djeser-djeseru* and the funerary temple of Thutmose III, *Heneket-ankh*, following a list in the tomb of Puiemra (TT 39).

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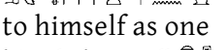
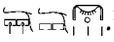
Maat."[8] He also inlaid in electrum two great obelisks, "108 cubits high,"[9] probably those erected between Karnak's Fourth and Fifth Pylons, in year 16.[10] Taking into account these data, Djehuty might have died at the very end of Hatshepsut's reign, between years 17 and 20.

Djehuty's main administrative titles and duties seem to have been noble, leader, seal bearer of the *bit*, overseer of the Treasury, and overseer of works (see table 11.3). The position of "seal bearer of the *bit*," , is most times mentioned right after the introductory high-rank markers "noble, leader," , and it is followed indistinctively by the epithet "sole friend" or "great friend," / , which pretends to signal someone on close terms with the king. Exceptionally, in the Northampton stela (line 15), "seal bearer of the *bit*" is followed by what may be considered a brief notation about Djehuty's actual task: "overseer of all the handicrafts of the king,"  . In the same inscription, he refers to himself as one "who seals the noble things in the king's house," (line 4).

The title "overseer of the Treasury," , seems to be the one that better characterizes Djehuty's administrative duty, and thus it is the most prominent one. It is at least four times preceded by the more general, professional, and social marker "scribe," .[11] In the Northampton stela (line 2), it is once replaced by what may be considered its longer version: "overseer of the double house of silver and overseer of the double house of gold,"  .[12]

In the biographical inscription carved in the façade (Northampton stela, line 5), Djehuty insists that he was the one who informed the craftsmen what to do, and underlines, "I acted as a director who gives

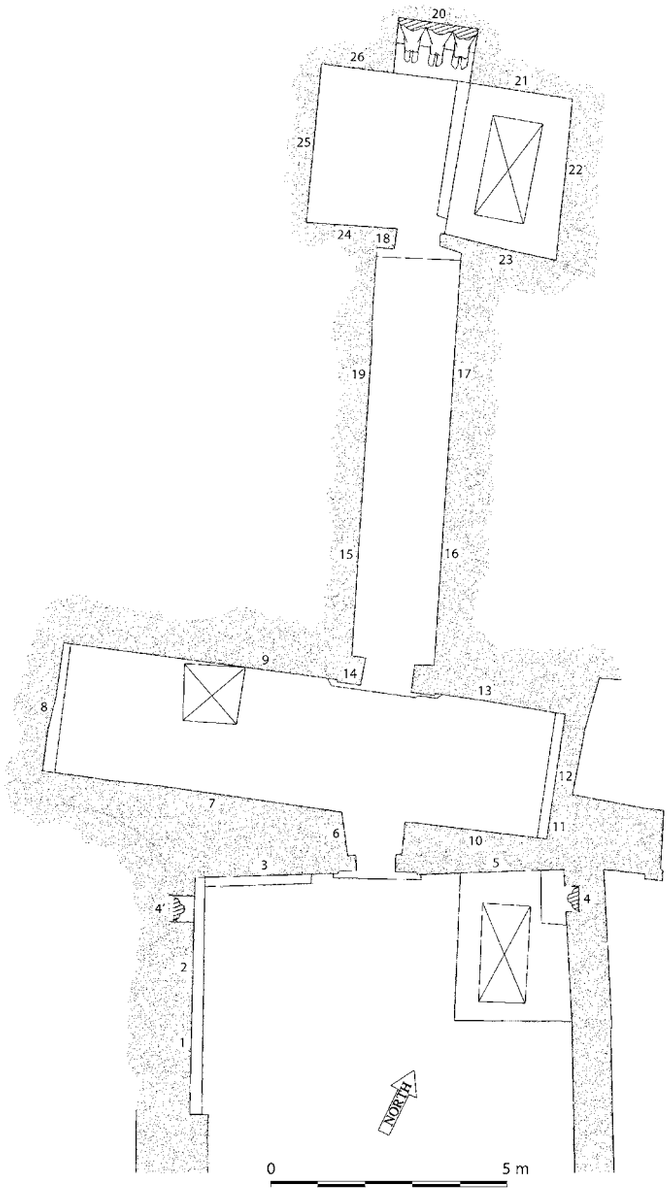


Figure 11.1. Layout of the inner section of the chapel of Djehuty (TT 11)

[8] The name refers to a ritual act; cf. *Urk.* IV 1540.15. The rooms at both sides of the bark shrine of Amun were called "the great domain of Maat," and it seems that they were dedicated in year 17 (Maruéjol 2007, p. 70). Niedziólka (2009), however, argues for its location in Deir el-Bahari, at the monumental entrance to Amun's sanctuary.

[9] The measurement indicated has to be taken as the addition of the height of the two obelisks, so that each obelisk would have been 54 cubits high, that is, slightly over 28 meters; see Breasted 1906, p. 156, n. h; Niedziólka 2002, pp. 407–08; Diego Espinel 2007, p. 104.

[10] Hatshepsut apparently ended up erecting six obelisks. Four of them were set up in a short period of time: before the Fourth Pylon a pair belonging to her father Thutmose I, transported from Aswan to Thebes by Ineni, and a second pair belonging to her husband Thutmose II, supervised by Senenmut (as attested in a graffito on Sehel Island), mentioning Hatshepsut as great royal wife and God's Wife, but with the pyramideon decorated with her coronation by the god Amun. The third pair was erected between the Fourth and the Fifth Pylons, in the *wadjyt* court, in year 16. It is likely that the latter would have been the one inlaid in electrum by Djehuty, while Iamnedjeh and Puiemra would have taken part in those erected by Thutmose III years later. See Gabolde 2000, 2003; Niedziólka 2002; Maruéjol 2007, pp. 66–69, 228–29.

[11] In the Northampton stela (line 16), the title "scribe" is rendered as an epithet: "excellent scribe who acts with his arms/hands."

[12] Bryan 2006, pp. 77, 85. Although in the case of Djehuty the title "overseer of the Treasury" is associated with the king, as shown below under the discussion of his burial chamber, it has to be noted that when he describes his task in the lower half of the Northampton stela (lines 20–22), the action takes place in the temple of Karnak. See Eichler 2000, pp. 115ff.

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instructions, as I led the craftsmen to work according to the (specific) tasks (to be done) in ...," and then enumerates every monument in which he intervened. However, the title "overseer of work(s)" is not explicitly recorded in the stela. It is at the innermost room of the tomb-chapel (fig. 11.1, no. 22) where Djehuty is referred to as "overseer of every work of the king," , in another instance he is said to be the one "who directs every work of the lord of the Two Lands," (fig. 11.1, no. 24), and yet in a third scene of the same room he is referred to as one "who directs the work(s) in Karnak," (fig. 11.1, no. 25).

The titles "overseer of the Treasury" and "overseer of works," , are mentioned together in one of the two seals stamped on the funerary cones that supposedly adorned the upper part of the façade of Djehuty's monument.[13] A brief description of the specific tasks he carried out as holder of these two offices was carved on the façade, on the Northampton stela, as the core of his administrative curriculum under Hatshepsut-Thutmose III (Helck 1958, pp. 397–400; Ratié 1979, pp. 271–72). Although the visual display of the inscription aims to clearly separate the two responsibilities, the text reveals that they were related in as much as Djehuty was involved in the collection of revenues inside and outside Egypt and in the "withdraw of precious materials from the treasuries to use in making monuments" (Bryan 2006, p. 86). He was in constant contact with metals, such as silver, gold, electrum, copper, and bronze, and with the metal workmen in charge of inlaying significant elements of the most prominent monuments: the sacred bark of Amun, a pair of obelisks, doors, thrones, shrines, altars, chests, and so on.[14] Through his hands also passed fine cedar wood (from Lebanon), ebony (from Nubia), and all kind of semiprecious stones (from Sinai and other quarries).

The inscriptions on the façade focus on Djehuty's civil duties, mentioning only once a religious title: "overseer of priests in Khemenu," .[15] This reference to Hermopolis (el-Asmunein) is geographically related to other religious titles that are mentioned at the inner part of the funerary monument, namely "high priest/great of five in the house of Thot," ,[16] and "overseer of priests of Hathor, lady of Qis" (= Cusae), .[17] The toponyms of Djehuty's religious duties are related to his office at the local administration "governor in the town of Herwer," ,[18] and all of them associate him with the 16th, the 15th, and the 14th nomes of Upper Egypt, what may be considered an indication that his homeland may have been the area of Hermopolis.[19]

Hatshepsut mentions in the Speos Artemidos inscription that "the temple of the lady of Qis had been left abandoned, the earth having swallowed its noble sanctuary and children dancing on its roofs." James Allen (2002, p. 15) suggested that Djehuty might have been the one responsible for its restoration. The fact that he does not mention any such activity in his biographical inscriptions carved in TT 11 may be explained by considering that the latter were addressed to a Theban audience and thus focus on Djehuty's activities in Thebes. On the other hand, it is interesting to note that the one detail offered by the Speos Artemidos inscription about the precise work undertaken in the temple of the lady of Qis is the fashioning in gold of a statuette of a "leading serpent," probably to be attached to a processional bark, what fits well with the description of Djehuty's tasks as overseer of works in Thebes, where he presents himself as "the one who

[13] The Spanish-Egyptian mission working at TT 11 and the surrounding area has found so far 230 funerary cones of Djehuty, by chance 115 legible samples of each of the two different seals used (for a report on funerary cones found on the first five seasons, see Galán and Borrego 2006, pp. 198–99).

[14] Bryan 2006, p. 86: "Several men who served under Hatshepsut claimed to have overseen the same monuments Djehuty refers to, including Hapuseneb, high priest of Amun, and Puiemre, second priest of Amun, Senenmut likewise had responsibility for the materials that entered storehouses (...). Senemiah (...) was also overseer of the silver and gold houses for Hatshepsut <but> his responsibility appears to have been that of accountant." Ibid., p. 87: "Hapuseneb should be understood to have been principally responsible for the construction, while Djehuty was responsible for the valuable materials used."

[15] This title is mentioned in the Northampton stela (line 3), and a second time at the inner room (fig. 11.1, no. 22).

[16] Twice on the second biographical inscription (fig. 11.1, no. 12, lines 7, 30), and three times at the inner room (no. 22 and twice in no. 24).

[17] Second biographical inscription (fig. 11.1, no. 12, line 30).

[18] Twice on the second biographical inscription (fig. 11.1, no. 12, lines 7, 30), and three times at the inner room (fig. 11.1, nos. 21, 22, 24). In one of them (24) the title is preceded by "overseer of the priests," .

[19] A summary of Djehuty's civil and religious career in Hermopolis and in Thebes can be found in Kees 1953, pp. 54–55; Helck 1958, pp. 397–400; Ratié 1979, pp. 271–72; Bryan 2006, p. 86; Maruéjol 2007, p. 303. In year 33 of Thutmose III, the high priest of Thot was a certain Sennefer, who was also governor of the 15th Upper Egyptian nome (Luft 2010). About the region, see Montet 1961, pp. 146–56; Kessler in *LÄ* II, cols. 1137–47 s.v. "Hermupolis magna"; Kessler 1981; Gomaà 1986, pp. 287–329.

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gave instructions and led the craftsmen" working with metals to embellish monuments and their furniture. Moreover, since Djehuty was also "high priest in the house of Thot," he could have supervised as well the craftsmen who made and delivered an "offering table in silver and gold, and a chest with cloths" for this god, and who inlaid "the door-leaves in bronze of Asia, the reliefs in electrum" in his house/temple, as mentioned also in the Speos Artemidos inscription.[20]

"Overseer of the cattle of Amun," , is the main title of the second seal stamped on the funerary cones bearing the name of Djehuty.[21] However, although one may think that this office would have played a major role in Djehuty's status in Thebes,[22] it is otherwise only mentioned at the second biographical inscription (fig. 11.1, no. 12, lines 25, 30).

Djehuty's name, repeatedly and consistently inscribed on the walls of his funerary chapel as , was afterward systematically chiseled out, and so was the face from his relief images, from his two life-size standing statues carved at both sides of the façade, and from a seated statue at the rear end wall of the monument. The purpose of this violent action was to obliterate his identity, and by doing so to drastically end his expectations to be remembered and live a meaningful eternal life in the hereafter.[23] Paradoxically, the seal impressions stamped on the funerary cones, made of fired clay and displayed in the most visible and vulnerable spot of the funerary monument, that is, at the upper part of the façade, have preserved his name perfectly.[24]

Djehuty's relatives represented in his funerary monument also got their names and faces chiseled out. The banquet scene in the transverse hall (fig. 11.1, no. 10) includes in the lower register a row of two male and three female figures sitting on the floor, smelling a lotus flower. Despite the erasures, it can be gathered that at least two of the women had their names introduced by the qualifier "his beloved sister."[25] In the tomb-chapel decorative program, there is not a single indication that the owner had a wife and/or children, a feature that Djehuty seems to share with a few other high officials that served under Hatshepsut.[26] Thus, when receiving offerings he is shown instead accompanied by his parents.

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[20] The Speos Artemidos inscription mentions (1) the restoration and embellishment of the temple of the lady of Qis, (2) the embellishment of the temple of the great Pakhet and the re-establishment of the offering-calendar, (3) the sanctification of the shrines in Herwer and in Unu (Hermopolis ?; Gardiner 1947, vol. 2, pp. 79*–82*, nos. 377, 377A; Gomaà 1986, pp. 291–96), and finally, (4) the embellishment and multiplication of offerings in the temple of Thot. The inscription remarks that it was "the great/senior Thot (...) who proposed/revealed to me (= Hatshepsut)" these pious actions. One cannot avoid thinking that behind the mythological setting of the god Thot/Djehut counseling Hatshepsut could stand the overseer of the Treasury and overseer of works, Djehuty. The parallelism and interference between the divine and the mundane spheres through a word and/or image play between the god Thot/Djehut and the man Djehuty reminds one of the panel carved in the second terrace of Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahari that shows the weighting of the *antyw* that arrived in Thebes from Punt, which was simultaneously registered by the god Thot/Djehut and by a scribe whose name and figure have been intentionally erased, but Édouard Naville (1898, p. 17, pl. 79) was able to read "the scribe, overseer of the Treasury, Djehuty."

[21] See above, n. 13.

[22] Eichler 2000, pp. 78ff.

[23] Occasionally, the aggressor(s) went a step further and erased his whole figure. In a few instances, they also erased his title "overseer of the Treasury." The god's name "Djehut/Thot," in his title "great of five in the house of Thot," was once taken for the owner's name and erased. Years later, the name of the god Amun also suffered *damnatio memoriae*, but it was inflicted in a quite inaccurate manner, leaving the god's name unaltered on several occasions through the monument, while, on the other hand, erasing the first two signs of the word *mnḫ* by mistake (cf. Der Manuelian 1999).

[24] A possible reason for this may be that the stamped cones had fallen down already and were dispersed all over the court's floor when the aggressor(s) came in, and thus it was not considered worth collecting them and damaging them one by one. Coincidently, the stamped cones were also left untouched at the upper tomb-chapel of Senenmut (TT 71), while his name was consistently damaged inside (Dorman 1991, pp. 26, 68, 69, no. 10, pl. 29).

[25] On the opposite wall (fig. 11.1, no. 13) there is a scene showing Djehuty fishing and fowling in the marshes, accompanied by seven smaller figures, four male and three female. Their faces have been intentionally erased, but it seems that they were never identified by name. There is a second banquet scene depicted at the inner room (fig. 11.1, nos. 24–25), whose lower register is taken by twelve figures, male and female, each one smelling a lotus flower and sitting on the floor behind an offering table. Some of the figures are very damaged or still covered with a thick layer of mud (cleaning and consolidation is underway), and others were robbed in the nineteenth or very early twentieth century. It seems the figures did not have names carved next to them, and, maybe because of it, their faces were left untouched and remained in good condition until the robbers came in.

[26] Whale 1989, pp. 244–45, 263; A. M. Roth 1999, table 3.

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Figure 11.2. Name of Djehuty's father carved on the thickness of the first doorway

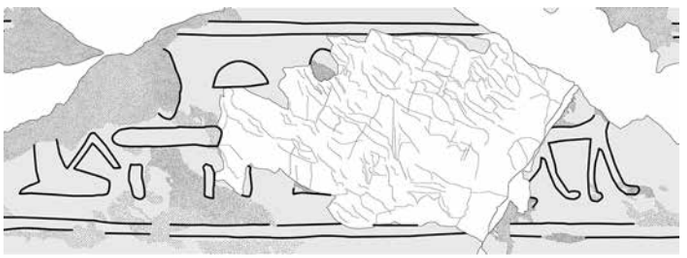

Figure 11.3. Name of Djehuty's father carved on the second biographical inscription

The *damnatio memoriae* that Djehuty's parents suffered throughout their son's monument is intriguingly uneven. The mother's name, "the lady of the house Dediu," ,[27] was left untouched in the banquet scene of the transverse hall (fig. 11.1, no. 10), in the statue niche at the rear end wall of the chapel (fig. 11.1, no. 20), and in one of the two banquet scenes represented at the innermost room (fig. 11.1, no. 22).[28] While the damage inflicted on her face is kept to a minimum, the father's figure was ferociously attacked, showing even more rage than against Djehuty himself.[29] On the left thickness of the entrance to the inner part of the monument (fig. 11.1, no. 6), the name of the father was chipped, leaving only traces of the signs and making its reading uncertain (fig. 11.2). His name was also inscribed and later erased (fig. 11.3) at the bottom line of the second biographical inscription (fig. 11.1, no. 12).[30] The spellings of the name certainly differs from one another, but it seems that the sound of both readings would have been similar, close to */Abty/*.[31] The title *sꜣb*, , "dignitary," the only one that Djehuty's father shows in his sons' monument, was frequently used to introduce the name of the owner's father in Theban tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and it seems to be more a status label than anything else.

The Shrine and Djehuty's Funerary Shaft

The Spanish-Egyptian mission started working in TT 11 in January 2002. At that time, the inverted T-shape funerary chapel was cleared only as far as halfway of the central corridor. The innermost room, the shrine, was filled with debris almost to the top. The rubble had fallen inside through two big holes in the ceiling connecting with two tomb-chapels hewn into the hillside less than a meter above Djehuty's, that is, at the second level of tomb-chapels. Once the cone of rubble was removed from above, the innermost room could finally be excavated in 2007. The debris was mostly sand and small stones mixed with straw, goat excrement, and corncobs, indicating that the room had been used as stable in modern times. The nineteenth- and twentieth-century waste included small boxes of cigarette papers, fragments of porcelain, a scrap of a Swedish newspaper,[32] a sponge, an iron lock, a coin of Sultan Abdelaziz Khan (Cairo, 1870), and another one of Sultan Abdel Hamid II (Cairo, 1895). Through the notebook kept by Charles G. Jelf, assistant of Robert Mond

[27] Parallels in Ranke 1935, vol. 1, p. 402, nos. 7, 13; PM VIII, no. 801-643-540.

[28] The second banquet scene at the inner room (fig. 11.1, no. 25) has part of her name still legible.

[29] Maruéjol (2007, p. 94) argues that the *damnatio memorae* carried out in some private tombs against the owner reflects nothing other than private quarrels, family frictions that are difficult to trace and reconstruct.

[30] This part of the inscription was preserved on two loose fragments that were recovered in the excavation of the courtyard (Galán 2009a, p. 170). The name of Djehuty's father was also written in the middle section of the inscription, but it is totally unreadable.

[31] For possible similar writings, see Ranke 1935, vol. 1, p. 1, nos. 18, 22, 23; p. 21, no. 22. The group writing can be read as the phoneme */t/*, but in some cases it stands for the god's name Djehut(y), as discussed in Gardiner 1957, p. 531, signlist X1, 2; Parlebas 1975; Fischer 1996, pp. 201–05; Morenz 2002–03. The spelling variants of the name of Djehuty's father seems to indicate that in this case it stands for the sound */ta/* or */ti/*.

[32] It has no date, but it probably has to be related to Säve-Söderbergh's visit to Djehuty's tomb-chapel in the winter of 1952/53, although he does not mention any activity inside the innermost room during his epigraphic work there (Säve-Söderbergh 1958).

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in the preservation of Theban tombs, we know that part of the debris inside the inner chamber fell down on December 10 or 11, 1909, while he was supervising the clearing of the interior.[33]

The walls of the innermost room, decorated in high-quality raised relief, became visible again (see fig. 11.16). Their state of preservation is uneven, as some areas are very much worn out or have large losses, while others still preserve its original polychromy. The scenes display the most significant moments of Djehuty's idealized funerary rituals, which are very similar in content, composition, and style, to those carved on the left-hand wall of the central corridor of the nearby tomb of the fan-bearer under Hatshepsut-Thutmose III, Montuherkhepeshef (TT 20; N. de G. Davies 1913, pp. 12–19, pls. 2–10, 14).[34] On Djehuty's wall (fig. 11.1, no. 21), a ritual involves an embalmer trying to drag a catafalque toward the north and a *hem-ka* priest dragging it to the south. In the lower register, a set of weapons is being injured with a knife, and traces of a ceremony concerning the "opening of the ground four times" can still be identified. On the next wall, no. 22, the upper register is devoted to the dragging the *tekenu*, here embodied in an officiant who is carrying a hide or *meska*-skin (Serrano 2011). Below, bovines are being sacrificed, their heads and thighs cut off, and in the lower register a couple of Nubian captives are been strangled by *sekhem*-officiants. The panel on wall no. 23 shows a procession of offering bearers, supposedly from the "land of Kenmet," each one holding an unguent bowl, and below there is a group of officiants opening a pit in the ground to throw in the *tekenu*-hide, a thigh and the heart of a sacrificed bovine, together with one or more locks of hair. The scene includes also a group of officiants throwing unguents and incense inside a pit on fire, and others sacrificing a bovine and placing its thigh and heart on an offering table. At the other side of the entrance (fig. 11.1, no. 24), the ritual continues around one or more pits holding inside viscera, a bound bull, unguents, and incense. More bovines and goats are been sacrificed on wall no. 26, following a large panel on no. 25 representing a banquet scene and a menu list above the guests.

The room measures 3.43 × 5.40 × 2.25 meters. At the rear wall, aligned with the central corridor, there is a niche (1.62 m wide × 1.10 m deep × 1.62 m high, risen above the floor 45 cm), with three seated statues facing outward, representing Djehuty flanked by his parents, ready to receive the established offerings (fig. 11.1, no. 20).[35] The right side of the room is 0.65 meters wider than the left side, and it is entirely taken by a funerary shaft.[36] Its mouth, 2.03 × 1.06 meters, is centered within the area, and its 60/50-centimeter-wide rock-cut curb is elevated 45 centimeters above the floor. Three sides of the curb are touching one of the walls, while the free longer side has a small step (10 cm high × 25 cm wide). The shaft has a very solid appearance, meant to be perceived as an outstanding feature of the shrine.

The excavation of the shaft began in January 2008. The filling resembled very much that of the shrine: gray sand with small- to medium-size stones, pottery sherds, and fragments of funerary equipment of mixed chronology; corncobs; small iron objects; and so on. The last 3 meters, however, did not contain any modern objects, and the material was less abundant, aside from pottery sherds of the Ramesside, Third Intermediate, and Saite periods. The shaft goes down vertically 8.15 meters. Its four sides are well cut, and the surface has been smoothed to a certain extent. At the center of the larger sides there are mirror holes (ca. 14 × 16 × 7 cm) every half meter to facilitate going up and down. At the bottom, in the eastern short side, there is an entrance (1 × 1 m) to a broad chamber, to which one has access by descending a rock-cut step of 45 centimeters.

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[33] Charles G. Jelf notebook, p. 18. Griffith Institute archive, Oxford.

[34] For convenience, the scenes are described following the order proposed by Davies (1913, p. 13, pl. 14) for Montuherkhepeshef, although he pointed out that "there is little or no sign of any continuity of action, a beginning or an end." The scenes, arranged following the same sequence, were repeated years later in the tomb-chapel TT 29 of Amenemope, vizier of Amenhotep II (ibid., pp. 16–19, pl. 43), now being studied and restored by a Belgian mission from the Université libre de Bruxelles and the Université de Liège (Tefnin and Perier-d'Ieteren 2002; Bavay 2007).

[35] The side walls of the niche include an offering list and a priest performing the invocation.

[36] TT 11 comprises three funerary shafts (fig. 11.1). The other shaft that was part of the original layout of the monument is located at the open courtyard, touching the façade where the Northampton stela was carved and at the feet of one of the standing statues of Djehuty (fig. 11.1, nos. 5 and 4, respectively). It has a rock-cut curb 30 centimeters high, its mouth has the standard dimensions (2.02 × 0.98 m), and, after descending 9.16 meters, it reaches a small burial chamber (2.50 × 4.20 × 1.05 m), which opens toward the west. The third shaft, at the left side of the transverse hall, was probably opened in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. The mouth (1.20 × 1.10 m) has no curb, descends 5.40 meters, and ends in two slightly vaulted burial chambers, with a hole in the floor to fit in a canopic wooden box.

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The chamber is 5.30 × 3.47 × 1.55 meters. It was filled with debris up to 1 meter high. When it was excavated in 2009, a newspaper fragment, dated to "[...] the month of *Abeb*, year 1614," which corresponds to the period between July 8 and August 6, 1898,[37] was found on the floor, indicating that the shaft and the chamber had been cleared then, or a short time later, probably during Northampton's excavation between January 21 and February 10, 1899, and it was afterward filled again. The walls are well cut though not smoothed, and most of the surface is blackened by smoke resulting from one or more big fires lit inside,[38] some areas having a thin crust of a burnt bituminous substance that seems to have been intentionally spread over the walls.

A collection of painted coffin fragments and pottery sherds mostly of the Twenty-first Dynasty were scattered through the chamber, mixed up with a large quantity of human bones. The material gathered might not have been deposited here originally, but could come from other interments in the area that were plundered and their funerary equipment broken into pieces, ending inside the tomb due to human activity shifting the debris outside and inside the funerary monuments (Galán 2007a, pp. 95–100, 114–15). There are, however, certain objects that, considering their degree of completeness, could have been placed inside the chamber at some point. Such is the case of a group of eight jars of the Twenty-first Dynasty type, which are almost complete after reassembling their pieces, and of an almost complete Nineteenth Dynasty storage jar secondarily used to trace two sketches of a pharaoh: one standing figure offering wine in red and the other showing just the head in black.

Among the objects found inside the chamber, there is a group of six fine marl clay jars with painted decoration in a style characteristic of Hatshepsut-Thutmose III's reign (four jugs and two squat carinated jars), together with two large ovoid, round-base Nile silt jars, and two smaller ones with a black band decoration over a red background, which could have been part of Djehuty's funerary equipment, or at least are contemporary. Although few, there are coffin fragments with black background and figures and inscriptions painted in yellow, which can also be dated to the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty. The wood is much more solid than the coffin fragments of a later date. Probably associated with an Eighteenth Dynasty coffin, we found small twisted pieces of gold leaf that originally would have covered the face of an anthropoid lid or a mummy mask, having the eyes and eyebrows painted in black and white.

Contrary to what would have been expected, considering that the chamber had been reused at least in the Twenty-first Dynasty and that it was cleared at the very end of the nineteenth century, six gold earrings of early Eighteenth Dynasty style were found: a pair of thin spiral-shaped wire earrings, a pair of penannular ribbed earrings, a pair of ribbed earrings chained together, and a sedge-blossom ribbed earring that was once inlaid with a semiprecious stone (Lilyquist 2003, pp. 162–63, 224, fig. 154:113; Roehrig 2005, p. 201, cat. no. 118b, d).[39] Moreover, six wallet spacers of a girdle, probably to be associated with the earrings, were also found: four carnelian, one turquoise, and another one made of gold (Lilyquist 2003, pp. 174–75, 234, fig. 167:135; Roehrig 2005, pp. 202–03, cat. no. 119; Andrews 1990, pp. 140–43). They all have three holes piercing laterally the piece to be threaded. The whole set has been on display in Luxor Museum since January 2013.

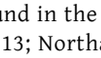
While it is tempting to associate the Eighteenth Dynasty material (decorated pottery, black background coffin fragments, earrings, and girdle) with Djehuty's burial, one has to be cautious, not only because girdles were commonly worn by women and not by men,[40] but also because out of the only two Eighteenth Dynasty objects that partly preserve the owner's name, none is Djehuty. One of them is the foot end of an anthropoid black coffin lid, beautifully carved on both sides, whose inner inscription preserves part of a petition for protection and help addressed to the god Geb by a man called Inena, .[41] Was Djehuty ever buried

[37] According to the information facilitated by the restorers Ahmed Bahdady and Iman Wasfi.

[38] The tomb-robberies papyri describe how the Twenty-first Dynasty thieves operating mainly in Dra Abu el-Naga and Deir el-Bahari, after removing what they considered of any value, particularly gold and silver, set fire to the coffin and the rest of the funerary equipment by night inside the tombs (P. BM 10054, rev. II, 11; Peet 1977, p. 61, pl. 6).

[39] On spiral and penannular ribbed earrings, see also Andrews 1990, pp. 109–16.

[40] On the other hand, earrings were also worn by men in Thebes at least since the early Eighteenth Dynasty, as attested in the tomb of Tetiky (TT 15; Carnarvon and Carter 1912; N. de G. Davies 1925a; Hofmann 2011).

[41] Concerning the name Inena, note that a statue of a certain  was found in the area, inside a pit (Spiegelberg *Fundjournal* 1899, p. 13; Northampton, Spiegelberg, and Newberry 1908, p. 11; Jankhun 1969, p. 69; see also *Urk.* IV 130.1–4). The name and titles of the owner of a canopic set found broken into pieces are blurred in the one jar that has the inscription partly

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in his tomb? Unfortunately, it remains uncertain.[42] There is evidence that seems to indicate that the big fires inside the chamber were lit before the Twenty-first Dynasty material got in, since most of the black background coffin fragments were partially or totally burnt, while none of the later ones has traces of fire. The pottery seems to corroborate this hypothesis, since only one Hatshepsut-Thutmose III marl clay painted jug got blackened by fire. As for the human remains, some of the many bones found scattered through the chamber were burnt while others not. A striking feature is that not even a small piece of linen was found. Papyrus fragments are also lacking.

At the rear end of the chamber there is a second shaft, laid out perpendicularly to the first one. The mouth is 2.10 × 1.00 meters, has no curb around, and was found surrounded by big limestone blocks piled on its edge up to 1 meter high. It is 3 meters deep, and its walls are well cut and do not show signs of fire. There was about 1 meter of debris at the bottom, and it was here where most of the gold leaf fragments, earrings, and wallet spacers were found, except for one of the wire earrings that was found up in the chamber, indicating that they were all deposited in the chamber and rolled and fell down the shaft. The shaft's bottom end is not horizontal, but it has an inclination toward the southern shorter side, where there is an entrance to a second chamber (figs. 11.4–6).

The Burial Chamber and Djehuty's Book of the Dead

The entrance to the second chamber is very similar to that of the first. The gap is 0.80 meters wide × 1.00 meter high, the top being approximately at the same level as the chamber's ceiling, and to get inside one has to descend a 45-centimeter rock-cut step. The two chambers have the same height and almost the same width, but the second one is 1.65 meters shorter, measuring 3.65 × 3.50 × 1.55 meters. Originally, the chamber was designed even smaller, 2.70 × 2.60 meters, and the entrance was centered in the north wall; but at some point the rear/south wall and the left/east wall were pushed back almost 1 meter, leaving the entrance off center (fig. 11.6). The stonemasons never got to finish the extension, leaving the new surface rough and a pile of small limestone chips in the corner. The floor was also left unfinished. Actually, while the surface of the southern wall and that of the extension of the western wall were left rough, the eastern wall was already smoothed and was partially leveled with a thin layer of mortar, as if it was being prepared to be plastered and eventually painted. The other two walls that were part of the original structure, that is, the west and the north, remained untouched. They got their surface lowered, then smoothed, and finally covered with a layer of mortar and a layer of stucco.[43] The area of the ceiling corresponding to the original layout was also finished in this way. A pottery bowl and a jar containing mortar leftovers were abandoned by the craftsmen inside the chamber, which never got completely cleared and cleaned.

As it stands today, the original length of the west and the north walls, that is, before the extension, as well as the original area of the ceiling, are fully covered with passages from the Book of the Dead (Galán 2013a). The text is written in columns from left to right, in retrograde direction.[44] It starts from the left end of the west wall, continues on to the north wall, and finally jumps up to the ceiling (fig. 11.7). The first set

preserved, but it is certainly not Djehuty. The four jars were molded in fine Nile silt clay with the outer surface painted with wavy red lines over a white background, imitating the veins of a hard stone, similar to one found recently by the Hungarian mission in shaft 3 of TT 65 (Bács et al. 2009, pp. 80–81), dated to the early Eighteenth Dynasty. Part of one of the lids has the shape of a baboon head for the god Hapy.

[42] This is a quite common feature in contemporary tomb-chapels. See for comparison the narrative description of TT 82 burial chamber and the total absence of any trace of its owner, Amenemhat, in Davies and Gardiner 1915, p. 110.

[43] The mortar contains no straw, and it is made of 50 percent gypsum, 30 percent calcite, and 15 percent quartz (sand), while the stucco is almost pure gypsum.

[44] Goelet (2010) describes the difficulties that a New Kingdom scribe, trained in writing horizontal hieratic script from right to left, would have met when writing hieroglyphs in vertical columns from left to right and following a retrograde orientation. Acquiring such a skill by copying, the author relates the Book of the Dead to the Book of *Kemyt*. In this respect, it might be worth pointing out that in the excavation of Djehuty's open courtyard, a wooden board with a writing exercise consisting of the first paragraph of *Kemyt* was found broken into pieces, probably coming from a nearby tomb dating to the reign of Hatshepsut-Thutmose III, among which TT 11 is the best candidate (Galán 2007a).

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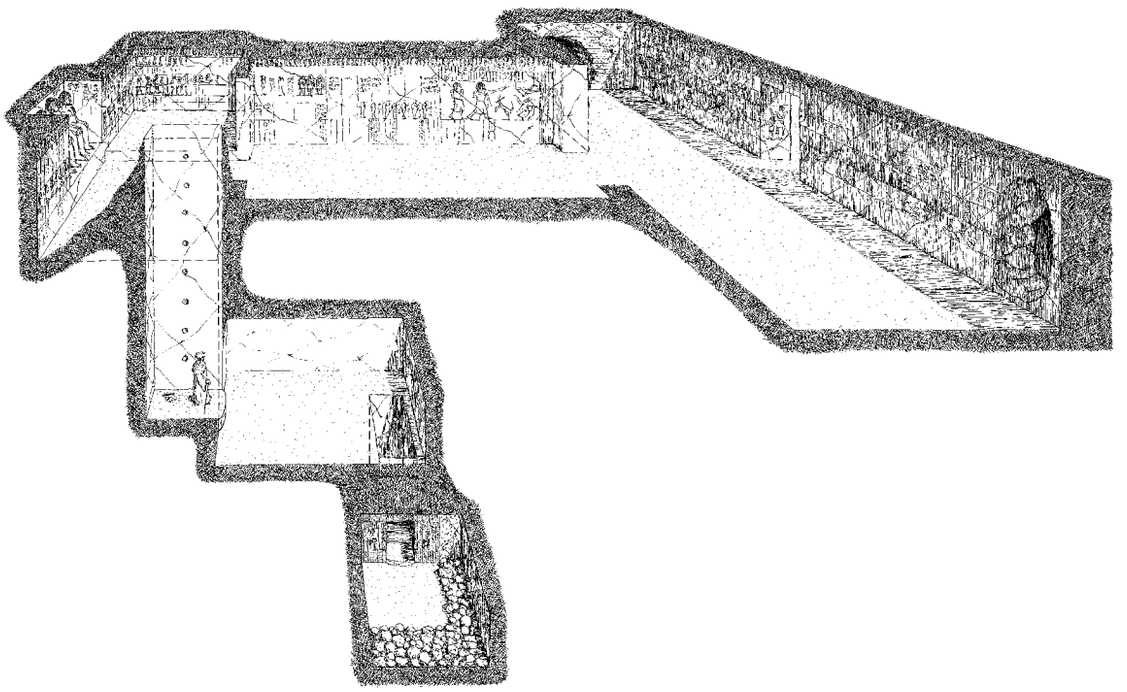

Figure 11.4. Reconstruction of Djehuty's chapel and tomb

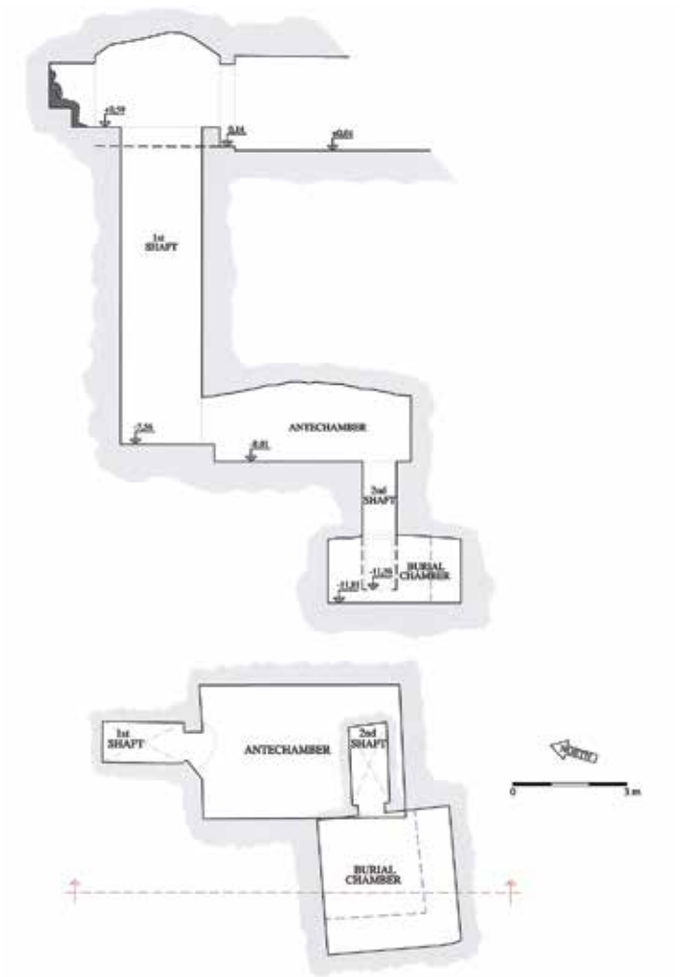

Figure 11.5. Funerary shaft: section and layout

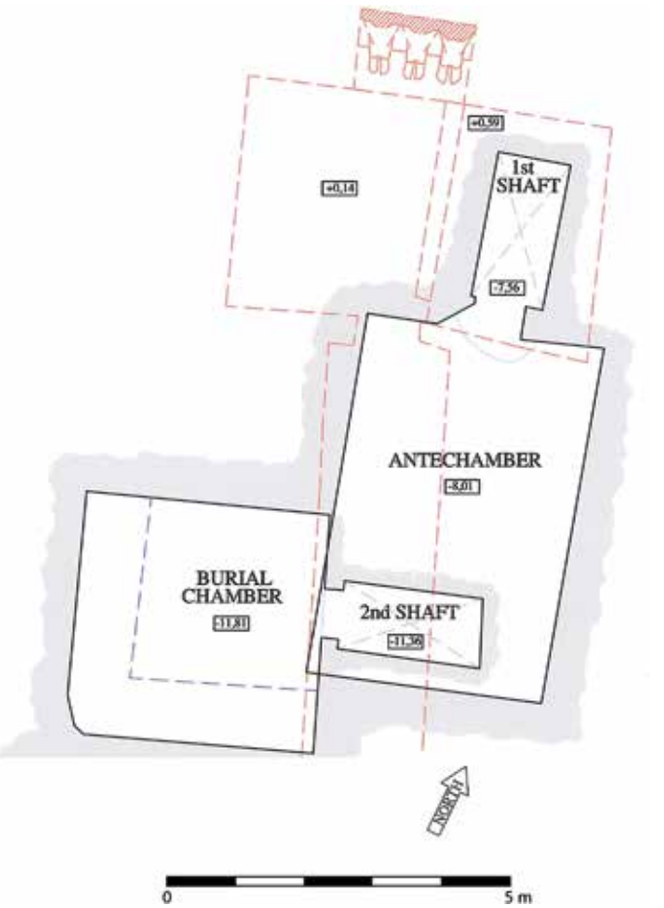

Figure 11.6. Layout of the shaft and chambers in relation to the upper chapel (in red)

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of chapters consists of the so-called transformation spells (Lapp 2004, pp. 46–49; Servajean 2004; Lüscher 2006; Quirke 2013, pp. 179–204), which were meant to grant the deceased the capability to transform himself into different beings, and by doing so obtain their qualities to overcome different kinds of dangers, enemies, obstacles, and adverse circumstances that he would encounter in his night travel to the hereafter. The first one, which only preserves the last fifth of the chapter's length, was supposed to transform Djehuty into a divine falcon (BD 78), the next one into a swallow (BD 86), then into a lotus flower (BD 81A), a crocodile (BD 88), and finally a snake (BD 87). Each spell has the title written in red ink and is introduced by a vignette on top of it, showing the appearance of the chosen being into which Djehuty would eventually be transformed (figs. 11.9–10), except for BD 78, which does not preserve it. Significantly, out of this group of five chapters, only BD 86 is commonly found in early Eighteenth Dynasty compilations (see table 11.1; Munro 1994, p. 15).

Following the transformation spells are four chapters referring to Djehuty's aspirations to join the solar god Re in his underground journey. The first one is labeled "Bringing a ferryboat" (BD 99B), transcribing in red ink the question addressed by each constituent part of the boat, "tell me my name," and below Djehuty's correct answer, inserting a vignette showing him holding a papyrus roll in his hand (fig. 11.9; Lüscher 2009; Quirke 2013, pp. 218–20). The next two are very brief; one identifies Djehuty with Osiris and exhorts him to raise and go round about the sky with Ra (BD 119), and the other identifies the deceased with Atum to protect him from the poisonous action of Apophis' coil (BD 7). Finally, the chapter entitled "Going Aboard the Bark of Re" (BD 102) includes a vignette at the top showing Djehuty already on board, standing behind the falcon-headed sun god crowned by a solar disk and uraeus (fig. 11.11). Related to the bark of Re, the Day-bark, and the bark of the just, the next chapter (BD 38A) grants Djehuty the possibility to "live in it on air," to "live after death." This one is usually followed by spell 27, a request to keep the heart and to be free from any reproach, but Djehuty's version skips it and right away pictures him begging for mercy to the lords of justice (BD 14). Spell 27 was actually written within another sequence coming right after.

The next chapter starts a set of nineteen spells that are commonly found in the same order in early Eighteenth Dynasty compilations (table 11.1; Munro 1995, p. 11; Lapp 1997, pp. 36–37). After obtaining a mouth to speak in the presence of the gods of the netherworld (BD 22),[45] BD 23 aims to have it opened; BD 24 brings magic to him; BD 25 states that he has received a name through which he will be remembered; BD 26 asserts that he has an active heart, mouth, legs, arms, and eyes; BD 28 and BD 27 prevent against whoever may take away his heart, BD 43 against whoever may take his head away; and BD 30A stops Djehuty's heart from creating opposition against him.

The sequence continues without interruption or spell jump from the west to the north wall. This continuity is clearly shown in the lower register, where chapter BD 149, the list of the fourteen mounds of the netherworld and the appropriate words to be pronounced in each of them, runs along both walls, integrating them into a single unit. This chapter is usually followed by spell 150, and it is placed at the end of the manuscript when written on papyrus (Quirke 2003; 2013, pp. 357–66), but here it takes the lower register of the walls to be spatially closer to the underworld, revealing a meaningful location for at least some of the chapters. Each mound was represented in a single vignette placed on top of the text referring to it, but most of them are now lost.

On the north wall, following right after BD 30A comes BD 31, which was supposed to be useful to drive off a crocodile coming to take away Djehuty's magic (granted to him previously, in BD 24), and then a group of very short spells to drive off harmful snakes, BD 33, 34, and 35, which are significantly written close to the entrance. The last two chapters are extremely blurred, but traces of the titles' rubric permit to postulate their presence.

The entrance to the burial chamber opens a gap in the wall (fig. 11.7b), and the sequence continues at the other side with BD 74, which asserts Djehuty's capability for striding despite being inert, and BD 45 against the putrefaction of the body. Chapter BD 93 warns about the negative consequences if Djehuty is

[45] Early Eighteenth Dynasty versions have spells 17 and 18 preceding chapter 22, but they are missing in Djehuty's Book of the Dead.

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ferried back to the east, and BD 91 turns him into an equipped spirit that will not be restrained at any gate of the west. At this side of the entrance, the text columns do not start at the very top of the wall, since the upper half is taken by a large vignette including Djehuty's father and mother enjoying a funerary meal (fig. 11.12). The scene, unfortunately much damaged, goes well with the last chapter written on the wall, BD 41, which is entitled "Spell for preventing the slaughter which is carried out in the necropolis," but whose final words concern the invocation of offerings. It seems, however, that the end of chapter 41 is missing, that the scribe ran out of space at the eastern end of the northern wall, and it does not seem likely that he would have continued on the eastern wall since the text then jumps up to the ceiling.

In the standard early Eighteenth Dynasty sequence, BD 41 is systematically followed by BD 42, "Spell for preventing the slaughter which is carried out in Heracleopolis" (Backes 2010; Quirke 2013, pp. 117–21). No traces have been identified on the wall or on the recovered fragments of the title and first paragraph, and on the ceiling chapter, BD 42 begins by enumerating the eighteen parts in which the human body was vertically divided, from the hair down to the toes, associating each one of them with (the corresponding body part of) a specific deity (fig. 11.14).[46] Each column of text constitutes an independent statement that repeats the same structure, ending with a divine name and its elaborated, iconic determinative, twice the size of the rest of the signs. The columns alternate a reference to Djehuty's paternal and maternal filiation (except for three columns that omit any such reference, probably for lack of space), in an attempt to break the monotony of the passage. The number of scribal mistakes in such an easy, repetitious passage, getting wrong Djehuty's title in seven columns, indicates that the text was written in haste, and most probably by more than one scribe.

The original area of the ceiling is divided into five registers, written from left to right and from top to bottom, starting from the area adjoining the west wall (figs. 11.7c, 11.13). While the chapters written on the walls follow quite closely two sequences of chapters frequently attested in early Eighteenth Dynasty Book of the Dead compilations on linen shrouds and papyri (table 11.1), the chapters written on the ceiling of Djehuty's burial chamber do not seem to have been very common until then. This is the case of the next group of chapters, BD 114, 112, 113, 108, and 109, concerning the "knowing the souls/powers" of the holy towns of Hermopolis, Pe, and Nekhen, and of the westerners and easterners in the sky.[47] Following them is BD 125, in which the deceased enters the hall of justice. On papyri, with the passing of time, the latter tends to be written toward the end of the manuscript, probably as a way of stressing a crucial moment in the process of obtaining eternal life. Here it occupies the most important spot in the chamber, the middle register of the ceiling, at both sides of the large size central figure of the goddess Nut. As far as we can tell, the burial chamber of Djehuty is one of the earliest preserved compilations of the Book of the Dead that includes this chapter (Lapp 2008), together with the quartzite sarcophagus of Senenmut, which had BD 125 carved along the interior sides (Dorman 1991, pp. 70–76, pls. 30–34) and was found broken into pieces in his upper tomb (TT 71).[48] Indeed, shortly after it would become very popular: the steward of the vizier, Amenemhat (TT 82), who lived at least until year 28 of Thutmose III (Davies and Gardiner 1915, pl. 25; Bryan 2006, p. 73), also

[46] DuQuesne 2002. It is interesting to note that the number of body parts in BD 42 coincides with the number of grid squares in which artists conventionally divide the height of a human body to depict it according to conventional proportions, that is, eighteen (Robins 1994), although their distribution along the body does not match.

[47] Munro 1987, pp. 220–21, Liste 6; Lapp 1997, p. 45; Quirke 2013, pp. 235–59. Barbara Lüscher is preparing a synoptic new edition of the chapters concerning the "knowing of the souls," to be published in the Basel series Totenbuchtexte. She has been of great help identifying some of the Book of the Dead spells written in Djehuty's burial chamber and revising a draft of this article, for which I remain deeply grateful. Lucía Díaz-Iglesias, while transcribing the text using VisualGlyph (for which we thank Günther Lapp), was able to identify on the walls three very damaged chapters: BD 119, 33, and 45.

[48] The Brussels papyrus, which includes BD 125, has an uncertain date. It was first assigned to the Middle Kingdom (Capart 1934), but has recently been re-dated to the late Seventeenth or early Eighteenth Dynasty (Munro 1995, pp. 191, 278–79, 329, nn. 625–31). In the tomb-chapel TT 99, belonging to Senneferi, overseer of the seal and overseer of the granaries, one of the three papyri written for him that Nigel Strudwick found in the burial chambers with Book of the Dead spells, include BD 125 (http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/tt99/finds/papyri_D18.html). It is well documented that Senneferi lived at least until year 33 of Thutmose III (Bryan 2006, p. 80), and thus the papyrus was probably written after Djehuty's burial chamber. For more references, see the Totenbuch-Datenbank of the University of Bonn, at http://www.totenbuch-projekt.uni-bonn.de/totenbuch-datenbank.

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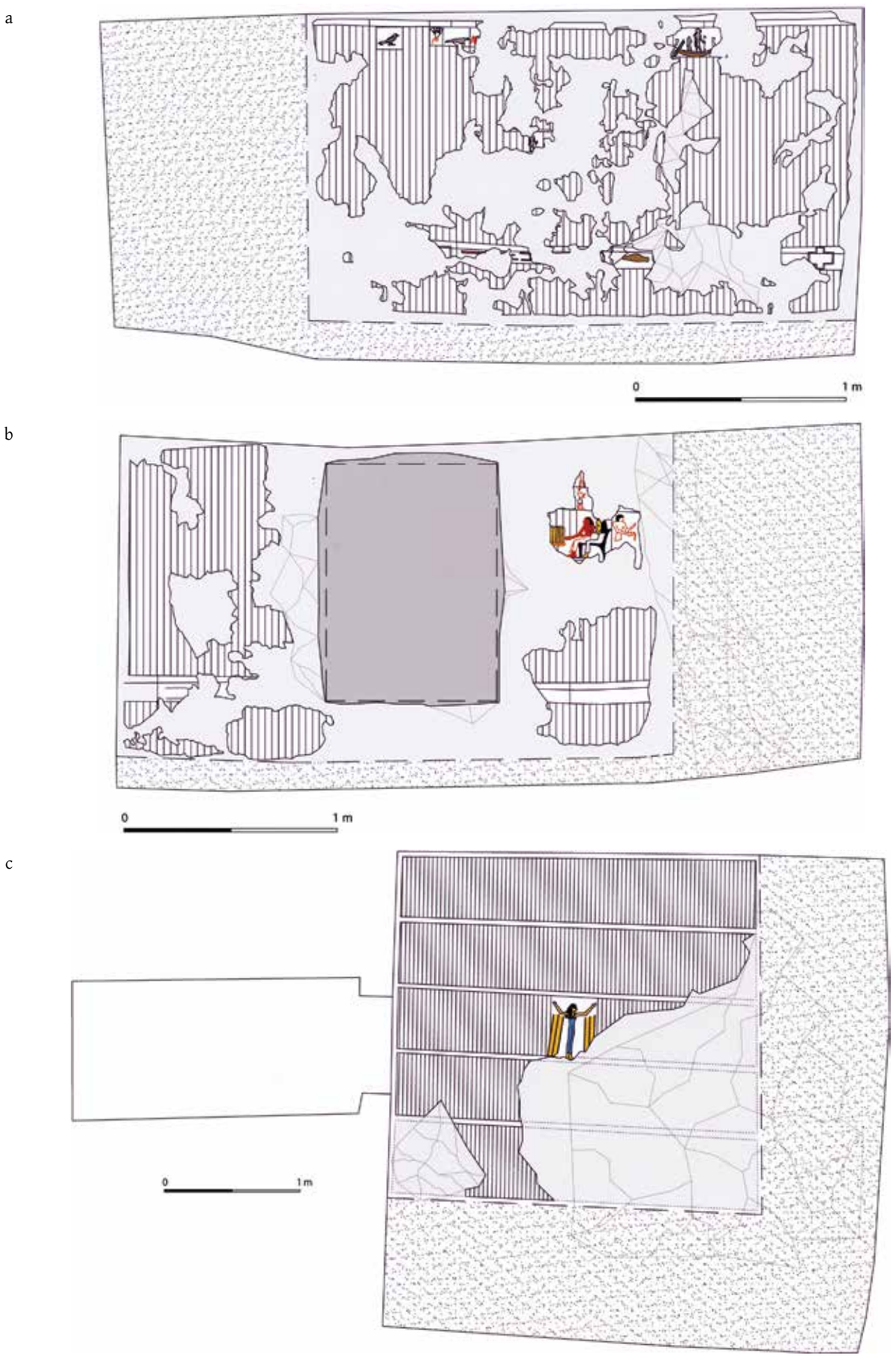

Figure 11.7. TT 11 burial chamber, (*a*) west wall, (*b*) north wall, and (*c*) ceiling

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Figure 11.8. West wall of the burial chamber before excavation

Figure 11.9. Detail of the west wall (left/first half)

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Figure 11.10. Vignettes of the transformation spells

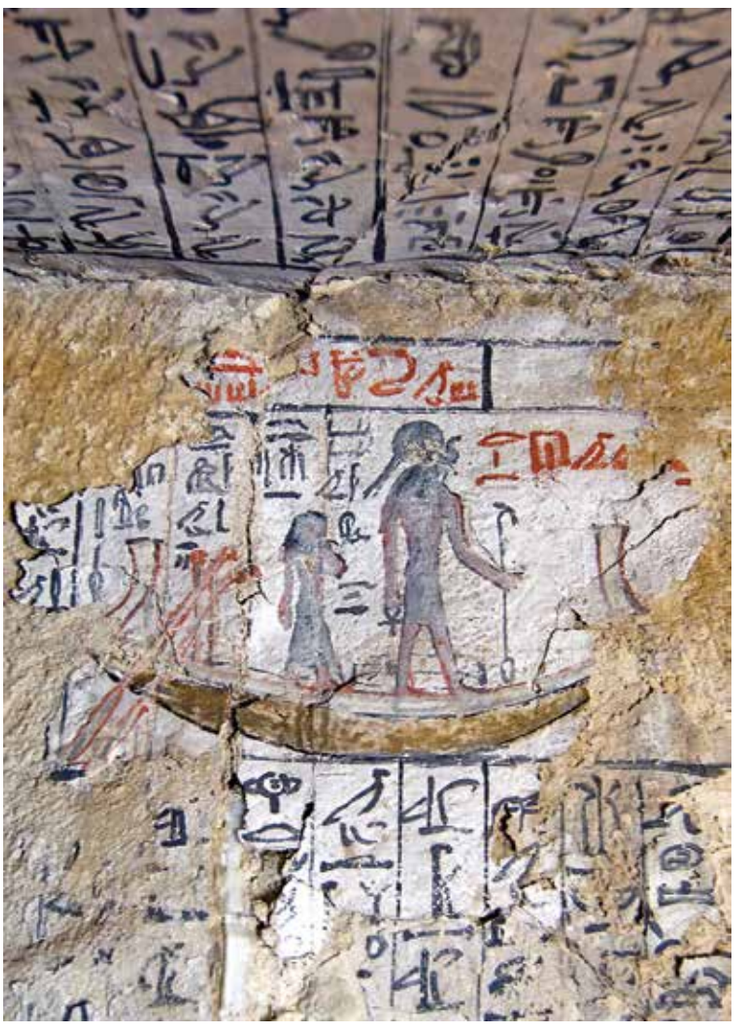

Figure 11.11. Vignette introducing BD 102, showing Djehuty on the solar bark

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Figure 11.12. Djehuty's parents enjoying offerings, depicted on the north wall

Figure 11.13. View of the better-preserved written section of the ceiling

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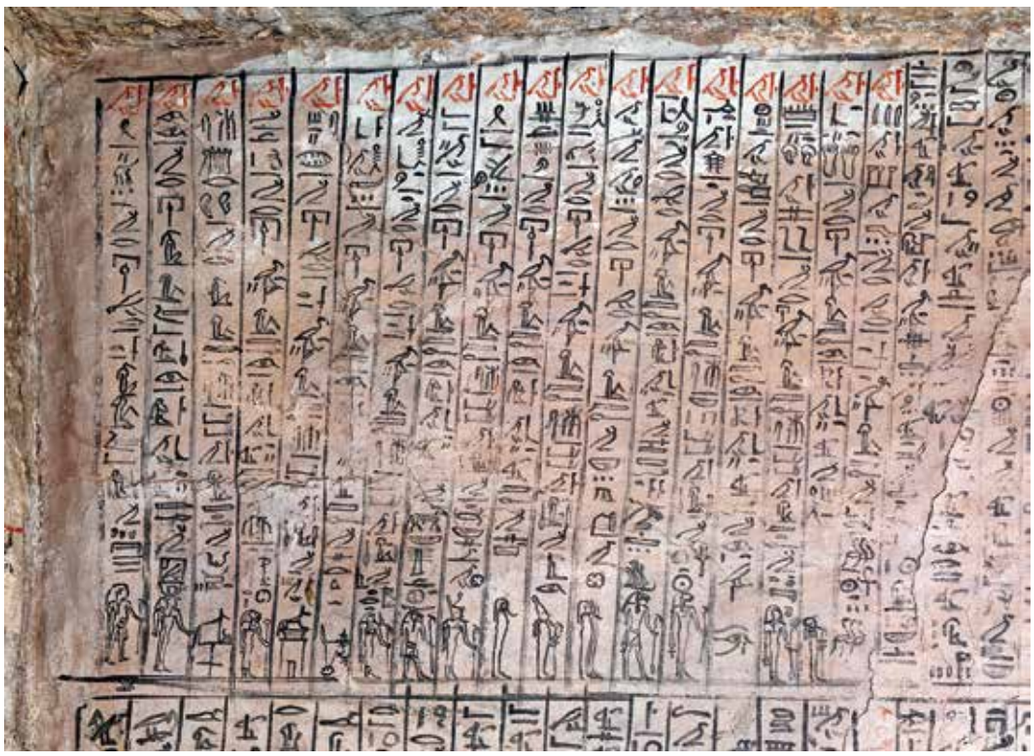

Figure 11.14. Eighteen parts of Djehuty's body listed in BD 42, with which the text written on the ceiling begins

Figure 11.15. The night sky goddess Nut represented in the central spot of the ceiling

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had it written down in his burial chamber,[49] and the linen shroud of King Thutmose III includes it too (J. H. Taylor 2010, p. 66). Indeed, most of the Eighteenth Dynasty Book of the Dead papyri dating to the reign of Amenhotep II onward contain a version of chapter 125. On the ceiling of Djehuty's burial chamber, sections BD 125A, B, and C spread over the end of registers 2, 3, and 4. Unfortunately, the second half of register 4 is missing. Among the fragments that had fallen from the ceiling and were found on the floor (fig. 11.8; and see n. 53, below), traces have been identified as pertaining to the vignette showing four squatting baboons and braziers on each side of the Lake of Fire, which belongs to chapter BD 126 and is sometimes depicted right after BD 125 without the spell.

Most of register 5 is also gone, preserving only a small section, approximately one-fifth of its surface, with the beginning of BD 64, which pretends to be a kind of summary that could stand for the whole compendium of spells and, due to its length, could have well occupied most of the register.

Table 11.1. Book of the Dead chapters attested in the burial chamber of Djehuty (TT 11) compared with frequent sequences of chapters in shrouds and papyri of the early Eighteenth Dynasty
(bold indicates chapters that coincide)

Early Eighteenth Dynasty Sequence 1 (Munro 1994, p. 15; Lapp 2004, pp. 46–49)

*124–83–84–85–82–77–***86–** **99B–119–7–102–38A–***27–***14–***39–65–116–91–***64–**

---

east–south wall> west wall >

[...–153–...] 78–**86**–81A–88–87– **99B–119–7–102–38A–** **14**–(*22*–)

149– (lower register >)

DJEHUTY
TT 11 north wall > / door / ceiling >

(*–14*)**–22–23–24–25–26–28–27–43–30A–31–33–**[34–35]**–74–45–93–91–41–42–**114–112–113–108–109–125A, B, C [–v126–...]**–64**

–149– (> lower register) [–149...–150–...] (> lower register east–south wall)

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*17–18–***22–23–24–25–26–28–27–43–30A–31–33–34–35–74–45–93–91–41–42–***14–68**

Early Eighteenth Dynasty Sequence 2 (Munro 1995, p. 11; Lapp 1997, pp. 36–37)

Moreover, it can be deduced that the four walls of the original chamber were all written, of which two are now missing.[50] The southern corner of the west wall (fig. 11.7a, left end) starts with the end of the long transformation spell BD 78, whose beginning, title, and vignette must have been written on the adjoining and perpendicular south wall of the original layout, which is now entirely missing. Actually, a block with traces of eleven columns of text from this spell was found among the stones and rubble on the floor. Chapter BD 149, which runs along the lower register listing the fourteen mounds of the netherworld, seems to have started at the right end of the southern wall (the first mound is missing), continuing along the west and north walls and reaching as far as the tenth mound, which implies that the texts and vignettes of the last four mounds must have been written and depicted on the adjoining and perpendicular eastern wall of the original layout, which is now gone. Contrary to what happened in the lower register, the text on the upper register of the north wall did not continue on the eastern missing wall, but jumps from here up to the ceiling (BD 41–42 sequence). These details of the preserved text suggest that the original composition and spell

[49] In the burial chamber of Amenemhat (TT 82), BD 125 is written at both sides of the niche that opens at the north wall (most probably, as in TT 11 burial chamber, to be understood as the west wall; Davies and Gardiner 1915, pp. 107, 110 n. 3), being the most important and outstanding spot. It is also the case in Djehuty's burial chamber, where it is written at both sides of Nut's figure at the center of the ceiling and above the place where the coffin was supposed to rest. In Senenmut's sarcophagus it literally wrapped the deceased's body when lying inside, which confirms that a highly meaningful location was reserved for BD 125.

[50] It is puzzling, though, that the edge of the layer of stucco does not present a more irregular, flaky cut.

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sequence written on the upper register of the four walls must have started at the northern corner of the now missing east wall,[51] and it went all around the chamber and then finished on the ceiling.

It is difficult to figure out which are the missing chapters, since Djehuty's recension is one of the earliest and there was some fluctuation at the beginning (see fig. 11.17).[52] Working with the fallen fragments that were recovered in the excavation of the burial chamber,[53] in 2013, Lucía Díaz-Iglesias identified the opening rubric of chapter BD 150, which must have followed after BD 149 along the lower register, as the description of underworld landscape. She has also been able to put together several fragments of chapter BD 153A, which provides the necessary knowledge to escape from the net of the fishermen who catch the inert ones and the wonderers (Quirke 2013, pp. 378–80). This very long chapter, uncommon in early copies of the Book of the Dead, was written on one of the two missing walls, probably on the southern one (before BD 78), which seems to have been the last one to be broken and pushed back, since it was left rough while the other one was smoothed and leveled with mortar, and the fallen stones and written fragments probably cleared away in an early stage. The study of the fragments confirms that the two missing walls were entirely written before they were broken to enlarge the burial chamber.

A figure of Nut, goddess of the night sky, wearing a tight dark blue dress, takes up the very central spot of the ceiling (figs. 11.7c, 11.13, 11.15). She keeps her arms raised and stretched open in a protective pose, as if she was to embrace Djehuty's coffin and mummy lying beneath her. The texts at either side of her body express Djehuty's wish that this situation will actually happen: (A) "Words spoken by the overseer of the Treasury of the king, Djehuty: '[Oh mother] Nut, spread yourself over me, may you place me among the imperishable stars which are in you, as I shall not die.' (B) 'Raise me up. I am your son. Remove the weariness from me. Protect me from he who shall act against me.'" A figure of Nut in an identical attitude was represented on the lid of coffins and of royal sarcophagi at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and similar texts were written next to her. The two brief petitions that Djehuty implores are not taken from the Book of the Dead, but from formulas written on coffins, as is also the case for the embracing figure of Nut. To stress this point, the texts were not displayed following a retrograde direction, and their background was painted in yellow, highlighted in this way over the creamy white background used for the rest of the ceiling and walls. The choice of color may be a reflection of the different materials on which the texts were originally written, wood versus linen or papyrus. The yellow background probably evoked also the first sun rays penetrating the tomb-chapel and illuminating the night sky at dawn (Galán 2013b).

The Book of the Dead written for Djehuty had at least forty-one chapters, and thus it is one of the earliest long compilations of spells. It bears one of the earliest versions of the "final judgment" as dramatized in chapter BD 125, and this is also the case for the "knowing the souls" spells and for BD 153A. Its relevance increases due to its archaeological context and quite precise dating, that is, at the end of the joint reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III.[54] Since most of the earlier Eighteenth Dynasty Books of the Dead were written on linen shrouds (Ockinga 2006, pp. 185–86; Müller-Roth 2008b, pp. 149–53), they tend not to include vignettes,[55] and therefore Djehuty offers one of the earliest illustrated compositions, although it has to be pointed out that it was probably copied from an illustrated papyrus acting as model (Parkinson and Quirke

[51] In the burial chamber of Senenmut (TT 353), the texts should be read starting from the east toward the west wall, and this is also the case in Amenemhat's (TT 82), although the east wall is here labeled "south wall" in Davies and Gardiner 1915, p. 104 (but see ibid., p. 110 n. 3, and n. 2, above).

[52] Possible missing chapters that could have been written on the south wall would be those that precede BD 86 in early Eighteenth Dynasty versions: BD 124–83–84–85–82–77. The opening chapters of the composition were written on the east wall, and the introductory spells BD 17–18 and BD 1 were much preferred in the early Eighteenth Dynasty redactions. On the other hand, the insertion of spells from Pyramid and Coffin Texts should not be ruled out, as it is the case in other burial chambers (TT 353, TT 82, TT 87; see below).

[53] About five hundred fragments of various sizes were recovered in 2010; they have been photographed and are now under study. While most of them come from the gap in the ceiling, and thus pertain to chapters BD 125 and 64, others were part of the original two missing walls.

[54] A survey and partial study of Book of the Dead chapters in New Kingdom Theban tombs, mostly Ramesside, can be found in Saleh 1984.

[55] The linen of Princess Ahmose and of *sa-nesu* Ahmose, found in the Valley of the Queens and dating to the end of the Seventeenth or early Eighteenth Dynasty, preserve traces of the vignettes pertaining to BD 149–150 (Turin 63001, 63002; Ronsecco 1996). The vignette accompanying BD 100 is preserved on another linen shroud belonging to a woman named Tany (Ockinga 2006). Of an early date also is an exceptional linen shroud now in the British Museum with Book of the Dead spells illustrated by large vignettes (EA73808; J. H. Taylor 2010, p. 67).

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1992; Kahl 1999, pp. 283–323; Goelet 2010). Being written on the walls and ceiling of the burial chamber, Djehuty's Book of the Dead offers a rare three-dimensional display of the spells.

The burial chamber of Djehuty is, moreover, one of the earliest Eighteenth Dynasty decorated burial chambers that has been preserved. Indeed, there was a long tradition going back to the Old Kingdom (Dawood 2005; Kanawati 2005, 2010). However, looking for Djehuty's possible sources of inspiration, it might be of significance to recall how high officials of the time of Hatshepsut-Thutmose III visited earlier monuments in the Theban necropolis, mostly of the Twelfth Dynasty, moved by a religious and intellectual interest in the arcane and a taste for old forms regarded as classical and taken as models (Ragazzoli 2011 and in press). They entered into funerary chapels and left testimony of their visit, as well as of their recognition and appreciation, by writing their names on the walls, as it happened in Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, in the tomb-chapel of Senet (TT 60), wife(?) of Intefiker, vizier under Senwosret I, where there are more than thirty-six graffiti, five of them mentioning a certain "scribe Djehuty" (N. de G. Davies 1920, pp. 27–29, pls. 35–37).[56] It seems it was also the case for the chapel belonging to Neferu (TT 319), wife of King Montuhotep-Nebehepetre, in Deir el-Bahari, whose walls were also scribbled with early Eighteenth Dynasty graffiti (Penden 2001, pp. 68–69, 71–72). If visitors' curiosity had pushed them farther down, they would have learned that the walls of Neferu's burial chamber resembled the interior of a sarcophagus or coffin, depicting a frieze with funerary equipment, offering lists, and most important of all (and unlike earlier Old Kingdom private burial chambers) including Pyramid and Coffin Texts.[57] Similar burial chambers, decorated with funerary texts, were also built for contemporary high officials, such as Meru (TT 240), overseer of sealers of Montuhotep-Nebhepetra, in Asasif,[58] and Khety (TT 311), seal-bearer of the king of Lower Egypt, in Deir el-Bahari.[59] It might be possible that Djehuty got from them the inspiration to write on the walls of his burial chamber a selection of funerary texts and adapted the idea to the new afterlife concepts and priorities by making use of the more current redaction, the Book of the Dead, at that time commonly written on mummy shrouds.

Needless to say, other Twelfth Dynasty monuments, or inscribed funerary equipment such as coffins, might have also influenced early Eighteenth Dynasty scribes and draughtsmen in the decoration of burial chambers (table 11.2). The inner side of certain coffin lids bearing diagonal star clocks (Willems 1996, pp. 327–37, 485, pls. 34–38) might have inspired the more complex astronomical ceiling of Senenmut's lower tomb (TT 353; Dorman 1991, pp. 138–46, pls. 84–86), which seems to be the only burial chamber, together with Djehuty's, that was decorated while Hatshepsut was still ruling. Although Senenmut might have outlived Hatshepsut, his lower tomb might have been designed before year 16 (Dorman 1988, pp. 177–79), carved with funerary liturgies and a selection of spells from Pyramid Texts and the Book of the Dead. Out of its ten Book of the Dead spells (Dorman 1991, pp. 113–38, 168–69), Senenmut shares with what is preserved of Djehuty's composition only two, BD 149 and 150.

Years later, during the sole reign of Thutmose III, three decorated burial chambers are known. Amenemhat, scribe and steward of the vizier Useramun, lived at least until year 28, which probably implies that the decoration of his burial chamber (TT 82) took place a few years after Djehuty's. Its design and style are similar to Djehuty's composition, as its walls are also covered with a layer of stucco and fully written in cursive hieroglyphs, arranged in columns to be read in retrograde direction from left to right. The text includes funerary liturgies, eight spells from Pyramid Texts, and thirty-three Book of the Dead chapters, out of which he shares ten with Djehuty: BD 26, 27, 28, 30A, 38A, 45, 93, 102, 119, and 125A, B, C (table 11.3; Davies and Gardiner 1915, pp. 102–09; Munro 1987, p. 296).[60] While Djehuty's chapters follow two of the standard

[56] Gardiner registered thirty-six graffiti, dating to the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Those five mentioning the "scribe Djehuty" (N. de G. Davies 1920, nos. 7, 15, 24, 29, and 31) seem to have slightly different handwritings, which increases the chance that one of them would have been the owner of TT 11. In 2010 Ragazzoli copied traces of thirty-one more, which she plans to publish in the near future (see Ragazzoli and Frood 2013, p. 31).

[57] PM I², 392; Naville 1898, no. 31; M.6.C 358–59, M.7.C 61–79. I am grateful to Dorothea Arnold for letting me consult the Metropolitan Museum of Art photo archive in spring 2008. In February 2010 I had the chance to visit Neferu's burial chamber by courtesy of Zbigniew Szafrański and Chloé Ragazzoli.

[58] PM I², 330; MMA excav. no. 517; photos M.6.C. 32–7.

[59] PM I², 387; MMA excav. no. 508; photos M.4.C. 110–13.

[60] Lüscher pointed out to me that in TT 82, what Gardiner identified as BD 108 is actually BD 111, a shorter version of the former. She also remarked that in three occasions Amenemhat combined together two chapters into a single spell, that is, under one title: BD 96/97, 117/118, and 141/142 (with the cow vignette similar to that of BD 148).

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sequences in early Eighteenth Dynasty Book of the Dead (leaving aside the "new" ceiling chapters), Amenemhat's displays an unattested sequence for most of the composition. The ceiling was not decorated, but it was carefully coated with the same layer of stucco and left blank.

The vizier Useramun was in office in year 28, but probably lasted until year 33 of Thutmose III (Dziobek 1994, p. 100; Bryan 2006, p. 72), and he decorated the burial chamber of one of his two tomb-chapels (TT 131) with part of the Litany of Re and of the Book of the *Amduat* (Hornung in Dziobek 1994, pp. 42–47).[61] The overseer of the granaries of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nakhtmin (known also as Minnakht), lived at least until year 34 of Thutmose III (Guksch 1995, pp. 14–15, 88), and, while the walls of his burial chamber (TT 87) look slightly similar to those of Djehuty and Amenemhat, he shows a preference for Coffin and Pyramid Texts rather than for the Book of the Dead, of which he only copied two spells, BD 60 and 174, not present in any of the previously mentioned tombs (Guksch 1995, p. 75).

Finally, there is a sixth decorated burial chamber belonging to Amenemhab called Mahu (TT 85), a military officer of Thutmose III who died under Amenhotep II (Bryan 2006, 105–06). Unfortunately, there is very little preserved of it (Gnirs, Grothe, and Guksch 1997, pp. 80–81, pl. 9c; Heye 2008, pp. 266–67).

Table 11.2. Book of the Dead chapters of Djehuty (TT 11) compared with funerary texts written in burial chambers of the time of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III (bold indicates chapters that coincide)

Djehuty (TT 11): in office until year 17 or 20(?): 41 BD chapters + ?
BD [...153...]–78–86–81A–88–87–99B–**119**–7–**102**–**38A**–14–
–22–23–24–25–**26**–**28**–**27**–43–**30A**–31–33–[34–35]–74–45––**93**–91–41–42–
–114–112–113–**108**–109–**125A,B,C** ///–v126...–64///;///**149**–**[...150...]**///

Senenmut (TT 353): in office until year 20 or more(?): 10 BD chapters > 2 in common with Djehuty
BD 110, 136A–B, 137B, 144, 145, 146, 148, **149**, **150**
+ funerary liturgies + astronomical ceiling

Amenemhet (TT 82), in office at least until year 28: 33 BD chapters > 10 in common with Djehuty
BD 8, 17, 18, **26**, **27**, **28**, 29, **30A**, **38A**, **45**, 50, 56, 62, 63B, 65, 66, 80, **93**, 94, 95, 96/97,
102, 105, 111, 117/118, **119**, **125A,B,C,D**, 131, 132, 133, 134, 141/142, 188
+ PT 220, 221, 222, 593, 356, 357, 364, 677 + funerary liturgies

Useramun (TT 131), in office at least until year 33: 0 BD chapters
Litany of Re + Book of the *Amduat*

Nakhtmin (TT 87), in office at least until year 36: 2 BD chapters > 0 in common with Djehuty
BD 60, 174 + CT 154, 155, 179, 335, 349, 353, 451 + PT 269A–275F

Another possible source of inspiration for Djehuty's decision to decorate his burial chamber could have come from the scribal and religious milieu of his most probable place of origin, the area of Hermopolis. There is circumstantial evidence that seems to indicate that the funerary culture of this region during First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom exercised a strong influence on the Second Intermediate Period and early Eighteenth Dynasty Theban necropolis (Gestermann 1998; Kahl 1999, pp. 283–323), which may

[61] Useramun's Book of the Dead papyrus follows very closely the standard early Eighteenth Dynasty sequence of chapters (Munro 1990), thus standing in sharp contrast with the initiative of displaying part of the Litany of Re in his burial chamber and sharing the composition with that of Thutmose III, and also contrasting with the uncommon sequence of Book of the Dead chapters written in the burial chamber of his assistant Amenemhat (TT 82), who claims to have been involved in the decoration of the vizier's tomb (*Urk.* IV 1048.1–6).

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apply also to Senenmut's lower tomb[62] and Puiemra's tomb-chapel (TT 39).[63] As mentioned above, Djehuty was at some point related to the clergy of Hermopolis and to the local government of Herwer, but he was also overseer of priests of Hathor, lady of Qis/Cusae, a location situated at mid-distance between Hermopolis and Asyut, 45 kilometers north of the latter. In this vein, it might be worth pointing out that his contemporary Montuherkhepeshef, buried only 50 meters northeast from him, and whose chapel was decorated with the same peculiar funerary rituals as those carved on the walls of Djehuty's shrine (see above), came also from that broad area, as he was governor of the 10th Upper Egyptian nome, whose main center was Tjebu (Qaw el-Kebir), 45 kilometers south of Asyut (N. de G. Davies 1913, p. 12).

Going back to Djehuty's origins, and tracking down the possible circumstances that might have played a role in his creative and innovative reinterpretation of funerary written traditions, we turn once more to his parents. It was already mentioned how Djehuty's name and that of his relatives represented on the walls of the chapel, particularly his father's, suffered *damnatio memoriae*. Fortunately, the aggressors did not reach the burial chamber, and thus the names of Djehuty and his father and mother were found here intact. Even those who set fire(s) in the antechamber, some time between the Eighteenth and the Twenty-first Dynasty, did not seem to have descended the second shaft and entered into the burial chamber, since there is no trace of smoke here. In the chapel above, Djehuty's name was consistently written as (later erased), while down the shaft it alternates with and .[64] Now, by looking at how the personal names and titles are written in the burial chamber, it can be deduced, as it was already pointed out when describing the Book of the Dead, that more than one scribe was involved in the task, and that it was carried out in haste, in the final stage of the monument's decoration. Djehuty's main title "overseer of the Treasury," , is also commonly written in the burial chamber as and expanded into "senior overseer of the Treasury of the king," , with variants (table 11.3). It was once mistakenly written "senior overseer of the Treasury of Amun," . This is the only title that precedes Djehuty's name in the burial chamber, except for one instance in which he is also referred to as "senior overseer of the double house of silver of the king, overseer of the cattle of Amun and leader," .

The name of the mother, qualified only as "lady of the house," is preserved in the upper chapel four times, consistently written . In the burial chamber, however, her name, now traced in cursive hieroglyphs, changes the final *-w* for an *alif*, , in all its twelve attestations, except for one occasion where the ending is omitted, that is, .

Djehuty's father, whose only title is "dignitary," , is a more complex case. It was shown above (see figs. 11.2–3) how his name, only partially preserved, was written in the chapel at least in two different ways, although their sound could have been similar: /*Abty*/. In the burial chamber, it was spelled out with alphabetic signs, confirming the reconstruction of the hypothetical sound. The fact that in the burial chamber the name is written with three new spellings, // // , may reflect not only the presence of more than one scribe working down the shaft (and these being different from the scribes responsible for the inscriptions up in the chapel), but also that they were writing his name by ear, trying to transcribe a sound close to /*Abuty*/, /*Abty*/, /*Abu*/ (Ranke 1935, vol. 1, p. 20 no. 22, p. 415 no. 2). The phonetic writing of the name as *Abuty* is attested fifteen times, while the rest of the variants occur only once. The circumstance of having five different spellings in a single monument, together with the phonetic writing of the name, suggest the possibility that the name might not be Egyptian, but foreign. If this is so, it is tempting to identify a Semitic root behind the anthroponim Abuty (cf. Schneider 1992, p. 16, N4, p. 20, N14; Schneider 2003, pp. 125–26). Now, if Abuty is a Semitic name, the implications of a possible Semitic origin for Djehuty's father and, by extension, for Djehuty himself, are difficult to grasp, and it is far beyond the scope of this preliminary study of the inscribed burial chamber of TT 11. Nevertheless, it is an intriguing piece of evidence for consideration, when analyzing the highly educated figure that Djehuty certainly was and the elaborated inscriptional program of his funerary monument, as well as the peculiar features of his family and the use and

[62] The vignette of chapter BD 110, a representation of the Field of Reeds, which Senenmut includes on the south wall of his lower tomb, has its precedent on ten el-Bersha coffins (Álvarez Sosa 2009).

[63] See Engelmann-von Carnap and Diego Espinel in this volume.

[64] It is an unusual form for writing a personal name, but not unique; see Ranke 1935, vol. 1, p. 407, no. 2, p. 408 nos. 5, 6, 15.

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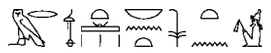
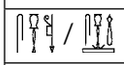
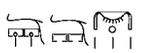
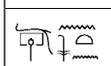
Table 11.3. Titles and offices assigned to Djehuty in TT 11, with variants, their location and number of attestations

		Façade	*Hall*	*Corridor*	*Shrine*	*Burial Chamber*	***TOTAL***	*Cones*
	noble	17	1	2	4	—	**24**	—
	leader	17	1	2	6	1	**27**	x
	seal bearer of the *bit*	3	1	1	5	—	**10**	—
	overseer of all the handicrafts of the king	1	—	—	—	—	**1**	—
	who seals the noble things in the king's house	1	—	—	—	—	**1**	—
	sole/great friend	3	1	—	4	—	**8**	—
	scribe	1	2	1	2	—	**6**	—
	overseer of the Treasury	1	2	8	3	15	**29**	x
	overseer of the double house of silver	—	—	—	—	14	**14**	—
	overseer of the double house of silver and overseer of the double house of gold	1	—	—	—	—	**1**	—
	senior overseer of the Treasury	—	—	—	—	2	**2**	—
	senior overseer of the double house of silver	—	—	—	—	6	**6**	—
	overseer of the Treasury of the king	—	—	—	—	1	**1**	—
	senior overseer of the Treasury of the king	—	—	—	—	9	**9**	—
	senior overseer of the double house of silver of the king	—	—	—	—	4	**4**	—
	senior overseer of the Treasury of Amun	—	—	—	—	1	**1**	—
	overseer of work(s)	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
	overseer of every work of the king	—	—	—	1	—	**1**	—
	who directs every work of the lord of the Two Lands	—	—	—	1	—	**1**	—
	who directs the work(s) in Karnak	—	—	—	1	—	**1**	—
	overseer of the cattle of Amun	—	2	—	—	1	**3**	x
	governor in the town of Herwer	—	2	—	3	—	**5**	—
	overseer of the priests in Khemenu (= Hermopolis)	1	—	—	1		**2**	—
	high priest/great of five in the house of Thot	—	2	—	3	—	**5**	—
	overseer of priests of Hathor, lady of Qis (= Cusae)	—	1	—	—	—	**1**	—

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abuse of his funerary monument after his death. It somehow reflects the complex puzzle that conformed the Theban society at the beginning of the fifteenth century B.C., when *a priori* opposites entered in contact and mixed together, southerners and northerners, Egyptians and Semites (*aamu*), traditions and innovations, thus shaping a particularly stimulating atmosphere in which creativity flourished and manifested in many ways.

The tomb-chapels of the elite members of the Theban society who carried out their administrative duties under Hatshepsut all seem to have their singularities, what seems to reflect not only the lack of a standard layout and design (Heye 2008), but also the desire of the individual to have a unique funerary monument, different in some way from those of his contemporaries. One gets the impression that high-rank officials must have visited one another's monuments under construction and tried to incorporate innovations in theirs by re-creating classical ideas and forms, by imitating certain features of royal monuments, or by taking advantage of the monument's strategic location and physical milieu (see Engelmann-von Carnap in this volume). This is by no means restricted to the reign of Hatshepsut, but since so few decorated tomb-chapels have survived from the Seventeenth and earlier Eighteenth Dynasty, one gets the impression that it is in this time period when the creativity present in every monument becomes more evident.

Djehuty, the Hermopolitan, the royal scribe who became overseer of the Treasury under Hatshepsut, and who was also in charge of directing the craftsmen, tried hard to make of his funerary monument a very special place to rest for eternity, where the written message played a mayor role. In Ragazzoli's words (in press), "the walls of his tomb gather what we could call a compendium of the written culture of the time." Djehuty was a highly skilled scribe, or at least he presented himself as such, drawing the attention of those who visit the necropolis by building a long courtyard, and by carving on the façade a detailed biographical inscription, a long hymn to Amun-Ra, and a pair of religious texts written in cryptography. The inner walls were decorated with a tableau of the Opening of the Mouth divided into thirty-four inscribed vignettes, and a set of uncommon scenes describing the rituals that ought to be performed in his funeral. Down the funerary shaft, the burial chamber was turned into the maximum expression of a literate and cultivated Theban

Figure 11.16. Back shrine and funerary shaft of Djehuty (TT 11), after excavation

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official. Only someone devoted to writing, well acquainted with traditional funerary texts, but at the same time seeking innovative ways to display them in harmony with the architecture of the monument, would have been able to create such an intellectual and artistic masterpiece of his time.

Appendix

The Marquis of Northampton's excavations in Dra Abu el-Naga, in the area of TT 11, conducted by Spiegelberg and Newberry, lasted until February 9, 1899. The excavators remained at the site for slightly over a month writing the final report, which would be the basis for the final publication nine years later (Northampton, Spiegelberg, and Newberry 1908). Concerning the tomb-chapel of Djehuty, the report offers only a translation of the biographical stela on the façade (thus called the Northampton stela), Kurt Sethe's reconstruction of the second biographical inscription of the transverse hall, and his study of the two cryptographic texts inscribed on a side wall of the courtyard. And that is all. Spiegelberg's *Fundjournal* of 1898–1899, kept at the Griffith Institute archive (Galán 2009a), refers to the objects found in the course of the excavation and keeps silent about the inscriptions. Sporadically, he mentions that Newberry was keeping a parallel record. The Griffith Institute keeps a notebook written by Percy E. Newberry in 1899, but it is more concerned with the visits paid and received during the excavation, correspondence sent out and received, accounts of the money spent, and workmen's wages. However, reading thoroughly through his notes,[65] the entry for "January 1899, Gurneh, Saturday 21," mentions "the tomb of Tahuti one of Hatshepsuts officials." Three days later, he states, "explored the tomb of Tahuti finding in it important scene of human sacrifice." Surprisingly, among various irrelevant comments, the entry for February 9 includes the following reference: "... Arranged things to the photographers: then to Tahuti well filled with Book of Dead." On Friday 10, he indicates, "... then back to Gurneh to down pit of Tahuti to copy." The next day he mentions that he went "back to tomb," which may be assumed to be Djehuty's. The last reference to the tomb-chapel of Djehuty occurs on March 15: "Measured up Nebamun and demotic tomb and made notes of Tahuti. Finish packing and move everything to Ahmed Sulimans house." Unfortunately, the other more scientific notebook(s) of Newberry remain unlocated.

It is, indeed, quite disturbing that Newberry and Spiegelberg never published a word about the existence of Djehuty's inscribed burial chamber and his Book of the Dead. Now, the above-mentioned newspaper fragment dated in the summer of 1898 and found in the antechamber can be related to Newberry's presence down the shaft six months later. Moreover, Newberry's activity inside the burial chamber, copying Djehuty's Book of the Dead, has to be related to the odd circumstance of finding a number of stone blocks that had fallen from the ceiling carefully aligned on the floor with the plastered written surface facing up. It cannot be said whether part of the ceiling collapsed before Newberry went in, or if it happened as a consequence of their activity down there, but it seems very likely that it was Newberry and his people who piled the large unwritten stone blocks toward the undecorated walls, leaving the text on the west wall completely visible for him to copy, and carefully placing the written fragments in the empty space left in front of it (see figs. 11.8 and 17).

The debris filling the antechamber, the shaft, and the shrine came down through the two big holes in the latter's ceiling shortly after Northampton's Egyptologists closed the campaign in March 1899, and yet again in December 1909 (Jelf notebook, p. 18). When we cleared the shaft and unblocked the entrance to the antechamber about a century later, the temperature inside was over 27 degrees Celsius, and the humidity reached up to 80 percent. The high humidity level down the shaft is due to the proximity of the current water table, since the burial chamber is 12 meters below ground level and the monument is quite close to the fertile lowlands that are now irrigated.[66] The successive processes of wetting/drying along episodes of

[65] Andrés Diego Espinel and I, with the assistance of Alison Hobby.

[66] Checking the nilometer of the nearby temple of Sety I, the geologist and the topographers of the mission, S. Sánchez Moral, S. Cuezva, J. Ivars, and C. Cabrera, calculated that the water table would be most of the time about 1–2 meters below the floor of the burial chamber and could have even reached the floor level in high Nile flooding. The monitoring of the environmental conditions of the monuments, and particularly of Djehuty's burial chamber, was conducted by the geologists, who have also been responsible for reconstructing the geological column of the stratigraphic sequence of TT 11–12.

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rise and fall of the Nile River, and particularly the opening of the burial chamber in the past, caused the re-activation of the limestone salts and their migration to the surface of the walls, pushing out the layer of stucco. This is particularly so in the lower level of the walls, where the variation of rock moisture content is more intense and the layer of stucco thinner. While, on the one hand, short-term changes in humidity have favored the detachment of large areas of stucco from the walls, on the other hand, the relatively stable thermo-hygrometric conditions have helped to prevent dehydration of gypsum plasters and subsequent cracking. The critical air relative humidity for gypsum stability in temperature range of 25–30 degrees Celsius is above 75 percent.

To maintain stable environmental conditions, the burial chamber is kept closed, and it is only opened when a specific task needs to be carried out inside. When opened the humidity quickly falls down to 25 percent, and when it is closed again, it slowly rises up to 65 percent. Therefore, the chamber needs to remain closed as much as possible. Temperature and humidity fluctuation does not directly affect the big gap and cracks that the ceiling has, but it is vibration, mostly produced by human activity outside, in the area around the monument, that endangers the stability of the chamber's structure. To prevent more blocks from collapsing, an iron structure was set up inside the chamber. In January 2011 a full high-quality orto-photo documentation was conducted, and consolidation is in progress.

Figure 11.17. Burial chamber of Djehuty (TT 11) as found, before excavation

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The Composition of the Opening of the Mouth in the Tomb-chapel of Djehuty (TT 11)

Jose M. Serrano, University of Seville

The Spanish-Egyptian archaeological mission in Dra Abu el-Naga (West Bank, Luxor) has been working in the tomb-chapel of Djehuty (TT 11) since 2002. The 2010 campaign has seen the conclusion of the excavations in its interior, allowing for a first appraisal of the monument as a whole and it is now finally opened for further study and investigation.[1] Among other things, it has been possible to prove that the decorative program of TT 11 offers a rich and complex iconographic and literary repertoire, with some rare representations and texts. On the right wall of the corridor leading to the inner chamber devoted to funerary rites, there is a remarkable copy of the ritual of the Opening of the Mouth (fig. 12.1). This is its usual place in Theban tomb-chapels dating from the Eighteenth Dynasty.[2]

The existence of a version of the Opening the Mouth in the tomb of Djehuty has been known since its discovery.[3] However, probably due to its apparently poor state of preservation, it has not been taken into account in the classical studies on this ritual.[4] It is true that large sections of the wall have literally disappeared, and that the erosion that largely affects the wall's surface has partly deteriorated the rest. In addition to this, a hard and consistent layer of mud covers the scenes, which impeded a clear reading of the texts.

Fortunately, these conditions have now partly changed. The excavation of the courtyard has recovered more than sixty fragments from this section of the corridor's wall, many of them well preserved and with text. The first steps of the restoration and cleaning of the layer of mud have proven very successful, and the use of lateral lighting allows the copying of many previously hidden scenes and texts. Moreover, Spielgelberg's *Fundjournal* of 1898–1899 (now in the archives of the Griffith Institute; see esp. pp. 83, 87, 93, 99) holds the drawing of many fragments that are now lost, and which certainly originate from this section of TT 11. The tracing of preliminary drawings has now become possible, and a first study is here presented (fig. 12.2).

[1] This research has been done in the scope of the Spanish-Egyptian mission at Dra Abu el-Naga. We would like to thank all members of the team for their ideas and support and, in particular, José M. Galán, director of the mission, for reading through the manuscript and providing most valuable comments. We would also like to thank Andrés Diego Espinel for his special contribution to this work. The responsibility for possible errors is, nevertheless, entirely mine.

[2] For a general disposition of the Opening of the Mouth within the scenes and the iconographic repertoire in the tomb-chapels of the Theban necropolis, see Muhammed 1966, pp. 170–72; Barthelmess 1992, pp. 93–97; and, primarily, Engelmann-von Carnap 1999, pp. 227–30.

[3] Even though there exist accounts of it since Lepsius (L.*D.* III, 27, 10), the tomb was first excavated at the very end of the Nineteenth century (Northampton, Spiegelberg, and Newberry 1908, pp. 15–17). From Newberry's diaries and unpublished field notebooks, and especially from Spiegelberg's *Fundjournal*, we know that the Northampton team entered all chambers in TT 11, including the inner chapel, the funerary shaft, and Djehuty's burial chamber. Nevertheless, they published just a small part of the reliefs and texts that decorated it, especially the known Northampton stela, carved on the external façade, which contained the biography of Djehuty (Spiegelberg 1900; Breasted 1906, pp. 153–58).

[4] Porter and Moss's *Topographical Bibliography* (PM I², 23) only mentions "rites before mummy." In the important and still useful study by Otto (1960, vol. 2, p. 174), the only reference made of the tomb-chapel of Djehuty clearly discards its value as a document for the comprehension of the ritual of the Opening of the Mouth: "Ursprünglich ausführliche Ritualdarstellung mit Sarkophag als Objekt an der rechten Wand des Längsräumes des Grabes. Text und Darstellungen stark zerstört."

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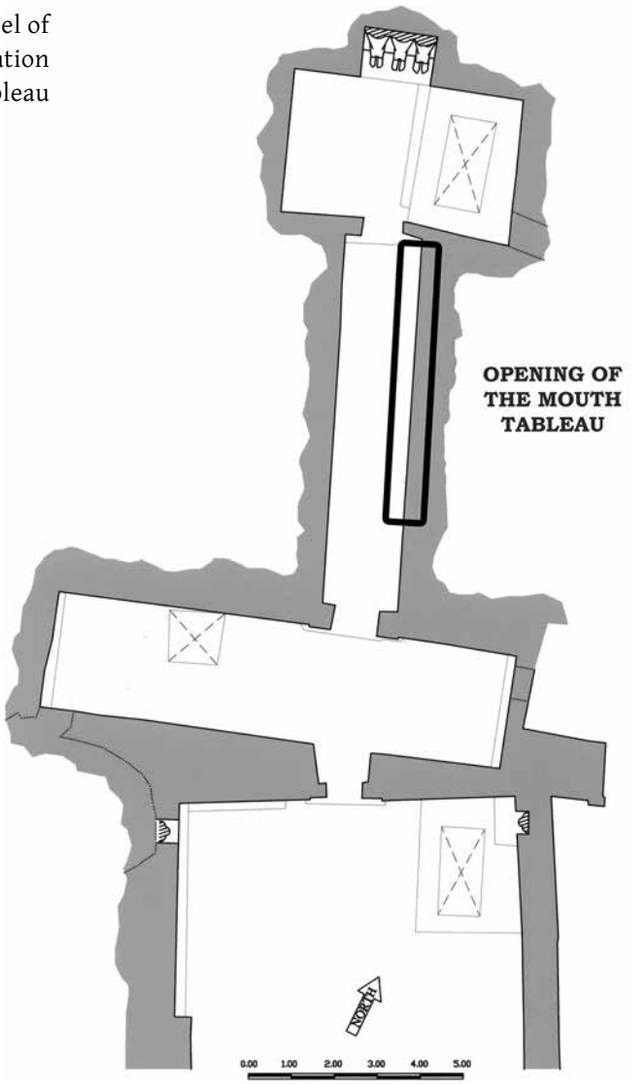

Figure 12.1. Plan of the tomb-chapel of Djehuty (TT 11), showing the location of the Opening of the Mouth tableau

Figure 12.2. Preliminary drawing of the Opening of the Mouth in the tomb-chapel of Djehuty (by Ana de Diego, 2005), before cleaning and when debris was still occupying the inner part of the corridor

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An Early Copy of the Ritual

The copy of the ritual found in the tomb-chapel of Djehuty is one of the earliest of the Eighteenth Dynasty. It is well known that we have epigraphic and archaeological evidence of the Opening of the Mouth from the beginning of the Old Kingdom and even earlier (Otto 1960, vol. 2, pp. 1–2). But it is not until the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty that this ritual is recorded in extended versions, when other creative innovations were introduced in Egyptian funerary beliefs and practices. According to Otto, it is quite possible to date in this period the creation of a canonical and extended version of the ritual, recovering old elements and introducing new ones (ibid., pp. 2ff.).[5] A relatively complete text of the Opening of the Mouth coming from the Nineteenth Dynasty coffin of Butehamon states that it is merely a copy of an original from the times of Amenhotep I.[6] Even if this type of attribution must be taken with caution,[7] it is also true that Otto found significant coincidences between the Opening of the Mouth and other liturgical or ritual texts dating back to the times of Amenhotep I.[8]

The fact is that the first developed copies of our ritual appeared in the times of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, for example, in the tomb-chapels of Benia (TT 343),[9] Duawyneheh (TT 125), Senemiah (TT 127), Amenemhat (TT 53), and, of course, Djehuty himself (TT 11), whose tomb can be dated sometime between years 16 and 22 of Thutmose III.[10]

It must be underlined that TT 11 (Djehuty) predates TT 100 (Rekhmira), the latter dating from the end of the reign of Thutmose III.[11] The tomb-chapel of Djehuty is roughly contemporary with that of User (TT 21), which includes one of the oldest versions of the Opening of the Mouth preserved from the Eighteenth Dynasty. User was Thutmose I's butler, but his tomb-chapel was built after the death of this king, and in terms of structure and style could be chronologically much closer to the early reign of Hatshepsut-Thutmose III.[12] Furthermore, the copy found in the tomb-chapel of User, not well preserved as it is, followed a very schematic pattern both in image and text.[13] It is worth mentioning that in some of the tomb-chapels recently discovered in Hierakonpolis, from the early Eighteenth Dynasty, copies of the ritual were included. They

[5] The bibliography on the Opening of the Mouth is relatively abundant and, apart from the works already mentioned, it is worth noting: Baly 1930, Bjerke 1965, Helck 1967, Finnestad 1978, A. M. Roth 1992 and 1993, Goyon 1972, Fischer-Elfert 1998, Lorton 1999, Quack 2006, Smith 1993 and 2009.

[6] The coffin of Butehamon is one of the seven copies that Otto collects in its integrity for his canonic reconstruction (1960, vol. 2, passim, esp. p. 173). This text explicitly mentions Amenhotep I on the title and on scene 55:A (both are included in the TT 11 version, but mention to this sovereign has not been preserved).

[7] Amenhotep I becomes a mythical character in the New Kingdom and, later, a godlike figure that will end up receiving special attention among the deceased pharaohs. Seen as the royal ancestor *par excellence*, he was imbued in the charisma of a founding hero, to whom was attributed the origin of many of the innovations in this period, such as the foundation and commencement of the activity of the artisan village of Deir el-Medina. There are other important texts, alternatively, that are attested for the first time in the Thutmoside period, and which could have originated in the initial stages of the Eighteenth Dynasty, as is the case of the Duties of the Vizier (van den Boorn 1988, pp. 333ff., for a dating of this text at the end of the reign of Ahmose. See also Quirke 2004, pp. 18–24).

[8] Otto (1960, vol. 2, p. 158) underlines the relation between some passages of the sequence of the offering in the Opening of the Mouth, precisely scene nos. 58, 59:C, 62, 65:C, 67, and 70:B–C, with the so-called Liturgy of Amenhotep I. For the latter document, see Bacchi 1942 and Nelson 1949. Otto leaves the matter open: "Ob es tatsäglich auf Amenophis I zurückgeht … bleibt dabei fräglich. Eine Untersuchung hierüber müsste bei den Totenopferdarstellungen der Gräber der 18 Dyn. ansetzen." Though it is not our main concern here to carry out an investigation of this nature, it is curious that the action in scene 70:C, the cleaning of the trail of the officiant's footprints with a brush or sweeper, appears again in the iconographic repertoire of the funerary rituals precisely in the times of Hatshepsut-Thutmose III (Naville 1901, pls. 109, 112; Davies and Gardiner 1915, pp. 93–94, pl. 18).

[9] For the dating of Benia under Thutmose III, see Guksch 1978; Bryan 2006, p. 96.

[10] Year 16 of Thutmose III is taken as the date of the erection of the obelisks that Djehuty mentions in the Northampton stela, while in year 23 the references to Hatshepsut in official documents stop.

[11] The name of Amenhotep II inside TT 100 "cannot date the tomb, since this was quite possibly a late addition to the completed monument" (Bryan 2006, p. 75).

[12] The tomb of User is usually considered to date from "the earliest Eighteenth Dynasty" (Kozloff 2006, p. 304). But N. de G. Davies, who published this monument, indicates that it was probably completed between Thutmose II and Hatshepsut: "As the name of the king is written in the tomb without the usual prefix and with the addition of *maakheru* and *neter*, he seems to have been dead when the tomb was completed. In any case the tomb can scarcely be later than the reign of Hatshepsut, though its affinities, I think, bring it down a considerable distance from the early years of Thotmes I" (N. de G. Davies 1913, p. 27).

[13] Ibid., pl. 20, n. 4.

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belong to the period of Thutmose I and they display relatively short versions that follow the same schematic design found in TT 21 and in other tomb-chapels from the times of Thutmose I.[14]

A Long and Complex Copy of the Ritual

The first relevant feature of the Opening of the Mouth in TT 11 is its unusual display, with a large tableau, 6.01 meters long, including approximately thirty-five scenes represented as small vignettes. Of these, twenty-nine have been clearly identified, while the rest may be to some extent reconstructed on the base of parallels, and in the light of what is already known about the development and customary rules for the representation of this ritual.[15]

Besides the special case of Rekhmira, with its over fifty scenes (N. de G. Davies 1943, vol. 2, pl. 96–107; Otto 1960, vol. 2, pp. 184ff., pl. 1), the versions of the Opening of the Mouth in the tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty count between ten and twenty (table 12.1), whenever it is possible to determine the number of scenes of the original composition. Among the longest preserved versions, TT 53 (Amenemhat), TT 127 (Senemiah), and TT 48 (Amenemhat-Surer) have approximately twenty scenes, considerably less in number than the copy in Djehuty's funerary monument.[16] Additionally, after the Amarna parenthesis, we find important changes in the recording of the Opening of the Mouth coming from the tomb-chapels of the Ramesside period. From this point onward the representation of this ritual in a single vignette becomes common practice: one or two officiants, that is, the lector-priest and the *sem*-priest, appear in front of a table holding the offerings and all necessary tools and elements for the Opening of the Mouth. The representation, moreover, seems to be integrated in the ceremonies that are carried out as the cortège reaches the necropolis and in the open courtyard at the entrance of the tomb, as the culmination and end of the funeral procession.[17] In any case, it is important to keep in mind the fact that during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties, and even in the Late Period, only a reduced number of singular monuments equal or exceed the extension and number of scenes found in TT 11.[18]

[14] Friedman 2001. We express our gratitude to Renée Friedman for providing us with information and drawings of this ritual.

[15] The identified scenes are nos. 1, 4, 5, 6, 19, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 31:I–II, 32, 33, 34, 36, 41, 43, 44, 46, 47, 48, 50, 50:B, 55:A, 69:B–C, 73, and 74. In the tableau's remaining space there is room for an additional five or six scenes or passages, whose nature can be easily deduced (see below, under *Display and Composition of Scenes*).

[16] In TT 127 (Senemiah) the scenes are nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 25, 38, 47, 50, 55, 63, 69:B–C, 74, and another three or four difficult to identify (Otto 1960, vol. 2, pp. 174–75). In TT 48 (Amenemhat-Surer) the scenes preserved are nos. 15, 26, 27, 33, 43, 45, 46, 48, 50, 50:B, 55:I, 69:A–B, 70, 73, 74:A–B, 75, and a few more regrettably destroyed (Säve-Söderbergh 1957, pp. 43–44, pls. 47–49). In TT 53 (Amenemhat) we can identify scene nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 25, 26, 32, 33, 36, 50, 69:C, and 73 (though there exist doubts on many of them), out of a total of fifteen to twenty scenes (Otto 1960, vol. 2, pl. 2a–c).

[17] For the representation of the ritual of the Opening of the Mouth in the Ramesside period, see Barthelmess 1992, pp. 93, 97ff., and the relevant study by Assmann (2005, pp. 310–29).

[18] The main monuments that can be included in this group belonged to: (1) Sety I (KV 17), with the representation of approximately fifty-five scenes of the Opening of the Mouth (Otto 1960, vol. 2, pp. 173, 189–90); (2) Nebsumenu (TT 183), with some forty scenes (Assmann 2003); (3) Djehutymes (TT 32) with around forty scenes (Fábián 1995, 2004); (4) Tausret (KV 14) with twenty-six scenes (Otto 1960, vol. 2, pp. 173, 189–90; Altenmüller 2009); (5) Amenirdis' shrine in Medinet Habu (Otto 1960, vol. 2, pp. 173, 189–90; Ayad 2003, 2004); (6) Petamenofis (TT 33), with over fifty scenes (Otto 1960, vol. 2, pp. 173 and 189–90); (7) Harwa (TT 37), with more than forty-five scenes (ibid., pp. 173, 189–90). On the fact that all these exceptional funerary monuments represent the Opening of the Mouth over the statue of the dead, see below.

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Table 12.1. Number of scenes represented in the tableau of the Opening of the Mouth in tomb-chapels of the Eighteenth Dynasty

Tomb No.	*Tomb Owner*	*Date*	*No. of Scenes*
TT 11	Djehuty	Hatshepsut-Thutmose III	ca. 35
TT 100	Rekhmira	Thutmose III	52
TT 53	Amenemhat	Thutmose III	ca. 20
TT 343	Benia	first half Eighteenth Dynasty	9
TT 81	Ineni	Hatshepsut-Thutmose III	10
TT 82	Amenemhat	Thutmose III	ca. 20
TT 127	Senemiah	Hatshepsut-Thutmose III	ca. 20
TT 78	Horemheb	Thutmose III	ca. 20
TT 26	Nebamun	Amenhotep II	21
TT 80	Djehutynefer	Amenhotep II	ca. 10
TT 92	Suemniwet	Amenhotep II	ca. 15
TT 69	Menna	Thutmose IV	11
TT 147	?	Thutmose IV	8
TT 247	Samut	Eighteenth Dynasty	ca. 16
TT 48	Amenemhat-Surer	Amenhotep III	more than 20
TT 169	Senna	Eighteenth Dynasty	more than 15

A second significant element of the Opening of the Mouth in the tomb-chapel of Djehuty is its relatively complex aspect and structure. The common situation in the Eighteenth Dynasty is to display a very simple iconographic version of the tableau and scenes, with one single priest facing the mummy or image of the dead person, accompanied by a brief text, normally the title of the scene.[19] Moreover, in many tomb-chapels, like in Menna's (TT 69), there is no text (fig. 12.4).[20] But in TT 11 virtually every scene consists of an image and a text, clearly differentiated one from the other, filling separate squares within the vignette (fig. 12.3). The image visually reproduces the ritual action, often with many details, and almost always including the representation of the mummy and one or more officiants. As is usual in this kind of ritual, the text is written in columns and in retrograde orientation. With this disposition, the hieroglyphs are oriented toward the mummy of Djehuty, and also toward the inner chamber of the tomb-chapel, where the shaft leading to the burial chamber is located. Similarly, the words that come out from the mouth of the lector-priest and accompany the actions of the officiant are oriented in the same direction as their figures.[21] The text is rather lengthy, providing this version of a higher literary quality than most of the other copies. Again, with the exception of Rekhmira, this differs with its counterparts from the Eighteenth Dynasty.

It is true that the version on Djehuty's tomb-chapel is, of course, briefer and less impressive than that on Rekhmira's (TT 100). However, in comparing both tombs and the details presented in them, it becomes evident that the Opening of the Mouth in Djehuty presents relevant additions, and that TT 11 can complete TT 100 in many aspects. Firstly, there are scenes that are included in Djehuty but not in Rekhmira: nos. 34, 48, 55:A, and 69:C. In the case of some of these scenes, it is the first time that their presence can be accounted

[19] This is the case in TT 82 (Amenemhat), TT 127 (Senemiah), TT 125 (Duawyneheh), TT 81 (Ineni), TT 343 (Benia), TT 26 (Neb amun), and TT 53 (Amenemhat), all of them roughly contemporary with TT 11.

[20] Hawass and Maher-Taha 2002, pls. 65–66. The same occurs in TT 121 (Ahmose Humay), TT 84 (Iamnedjeh), and TT 92 (Suemniwet); Bryan 2001, pl. 24:1.

[21] Cf. Fábián 2004, p. 92.

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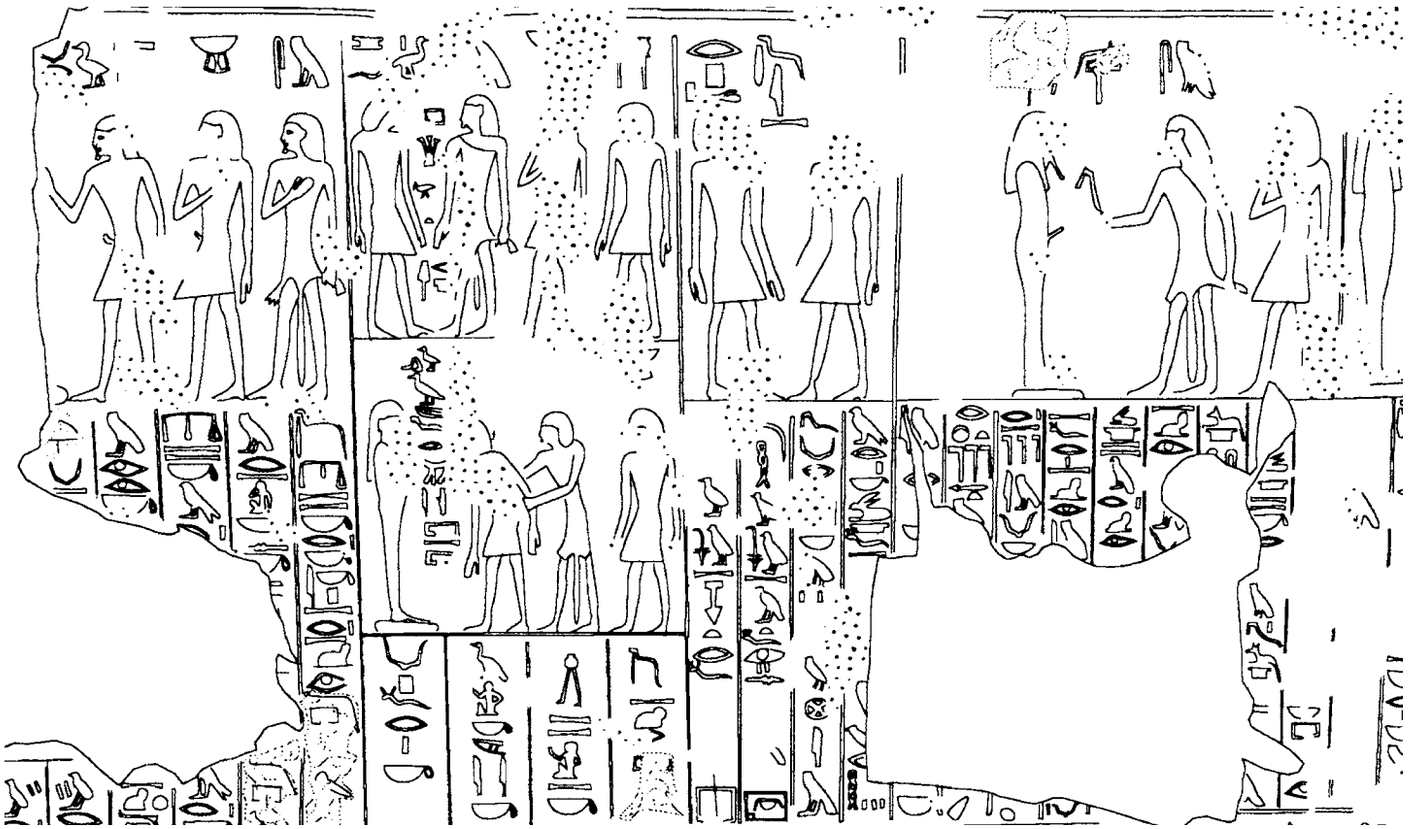

Figure 12.3. Scenes 26, 28, 31:I–II, and 32 of the Opening of the Mouth of Djehuty (preliminary drawing by Ana de Diego)

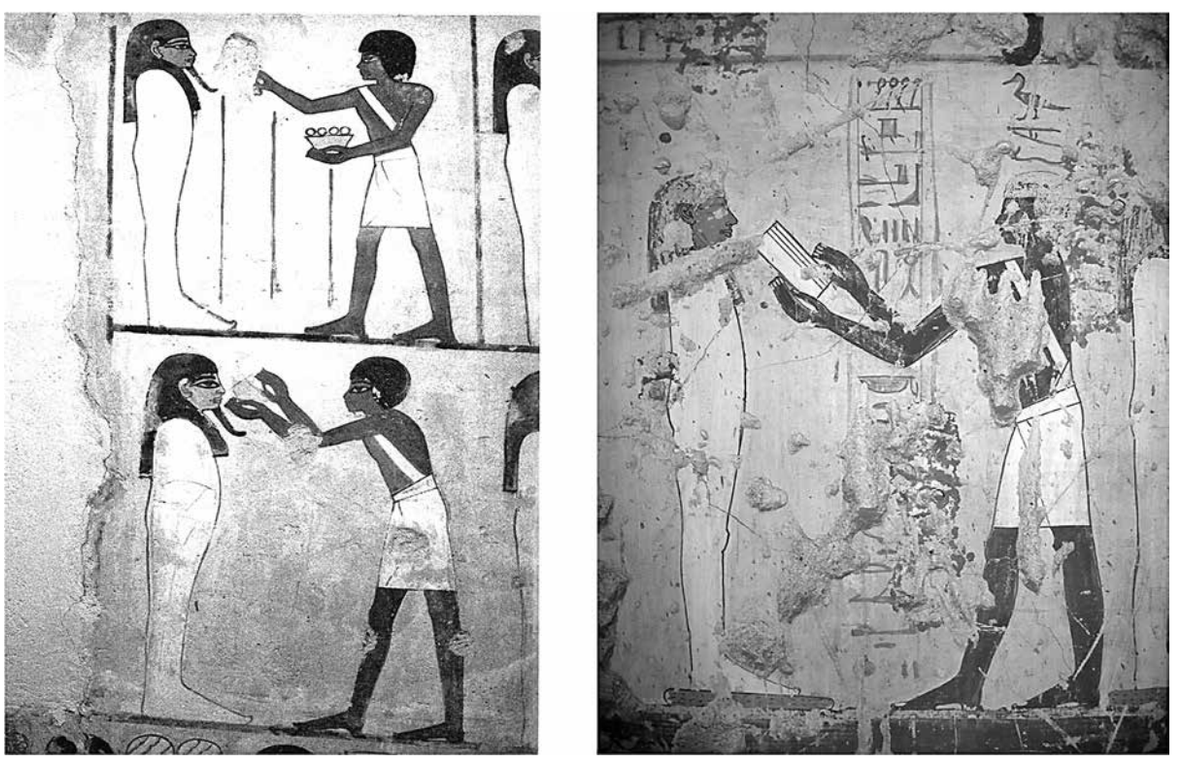

Figure 12.4. Details from the tomb-chapels of (*left*) Menna (TT 69) and (*right*) Amenemhat (TT 82)

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for in the ritual of the Opening of the Mouth (as in no. 34). Secondly, there are several scenes with longer texts than in TT 100: nos. 4, 6, 26, 31:I, 32, 33, 41, 47, and 69:B.

Display and Composition of the Scenes

The Opening of the Mouth is represented at its proper place within the iconographic program of the tomb-chapel of Djehuty, that is, on the right wall of the corridor leading to the inner chamber. The incorporation of the religious message that it wants to convey into the architectonic space of the tomb is an aspect that has received little attention and that has not been adequately studied until recently.[22]

One of the main contributions of the TT 11 version comes from the external features and the structure of the composition. Special attention must be paid to the relation between text and image, the sequence and grouping of scenes, as well as to the location of each one of them within the tableau. All these should be apprehended from the internal reading of the ritual and its performance.

Djehuty's Opening of the Mouth is displayed in two horizontal registers read from right to left, oriented toward the inside of the tomb and the inner shrine for the cult of the dead. Reading proceeds from top to bottom, contrary to the common practice in the tomb-chapels of the Eighteenth Dynasty, for instance, in Rekhmira.[23]

In the case of Rekhmira, it is possible to derive the order and sequence of scenes from the very structure of the tomb, in particular from the corridor and its end-wall. The corridor, with a ceiling of increasing height, naturally imposes a bottom-to-top reading on the observer. In addition, its end-wall, which reaches the maximum corridor's height inside TT 100, presents on its lower section a false-door stela, and above it a niche for a statue of the owner, now lost. Rekhmira's Opening of the Mouth has the statue of the deceased as its object, most probably this missing statue in particular. Thus, the ordering of the scenes is arranged in such a way, following a bottom-up sequence, to conclude at the nearest point to this statue.

In the tomb-chapel of Djehuty, the top-to-bottom order follows this explanatory model, as the lower and final register finishes in an image of the deceased, carved in relief, which represents him sitting at a replete offering table (fig. 12.2). The image is situated just before the door accessing the inner chapel, presided by the cult statues of Djehuty and his parents (see below).

Another interesting element found in the TT 11 version of the Opening of the Mouth is that, in the great majority of scenes, text and image appear clearly separated in independent spaces:[24] the image is above, accompanied only by the title and the identification of the officiants, while the text is written in columns below (fig. 12.3). In the tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty it is common to place both elements juxtaposed in the same register, so that the text and the representation of the deceased and the officiants share the same space (fig. 12.5).

It is important to note that in this respect, TT 11 is very similar to what is found in Sety I, Tausret, and some private Ramesside tomb-chapels, like Nebsumenu (TT 183) or Djehutymes (TT 32) (see above, n. 18). Thus, it seems possible to identify different artistic traditions, trends, or manners of recording the Opening of the Mouth on the walls of the tombs. It seems that Djehuty's version may better be grouped with samples of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties (fig. 12.6), rather than with those of the Eighteenth, as would be expected. Djehuty's model seems to pay special attention to the text, creating "literary" versions of the ritual.

[22] For the tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty, a first approach was conducted by Barthelmess (1992, pp. 93–97). There are only a limited number of studies on singular monuments, mainly Ayad 2004 and Fábián 2004. For the grouping of scenes in sequences with an internal logic, see Helck 1967 and Fischer-Elfert 1998, pp. 74ff. In Otto's classic study (1960), the position occupied by the Opening of the Mouth within the funerary monument is not taken into consideration, and neither are the visual and plastic features of its representation.

[23] In addition to TT 100 (Rekhmira), this order is followed in TT 81 (Ineni), TT 92 (Suemniwet), TT 82 (Amenemhat), TT 127 (Senemiah), TT 26 (Nebamun), TT 69 (Menna), and TT 78 (Horemheb). It is rare to find an arrangement of the Opening of the Mouth from top to bottom, as is the case in TT 343 (Benia) or in TT 53 (Amenemhat).

[24] Except scenes 19, 23, 24, 43, 44, and 69:B–C.

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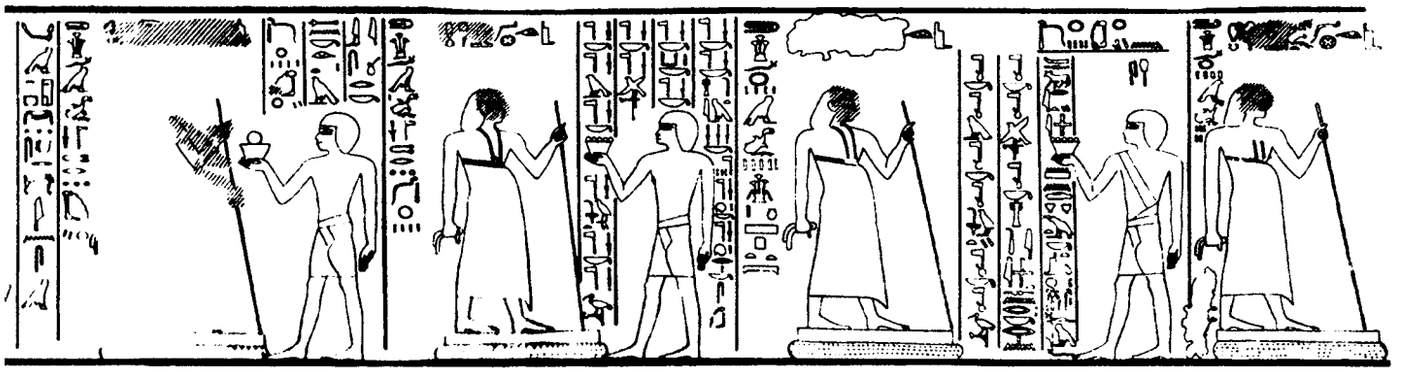

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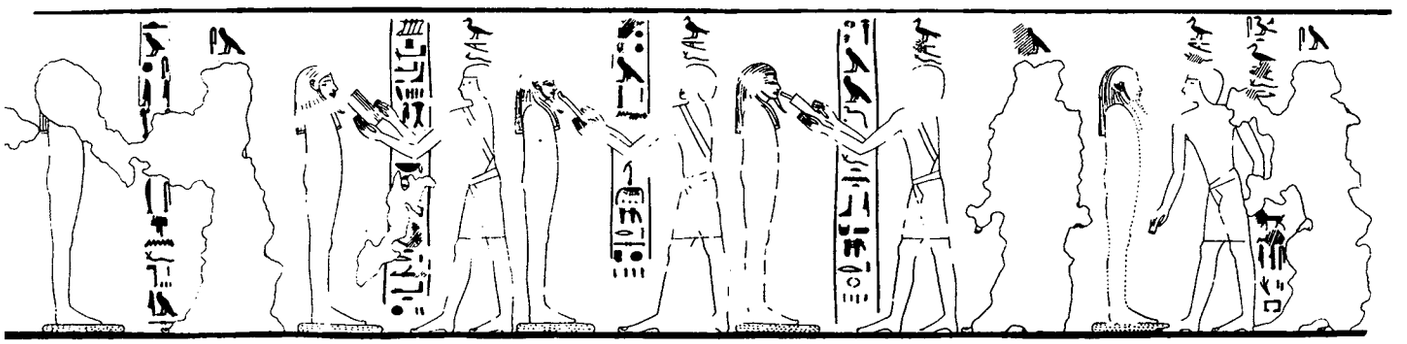

b

Figure 12.5. Distribution of text and image in the Opening of the Mouth: (*a*), Rekhmira (TT 100; after N. de G. Davies 1943, pl. 106); (*b*) Amenemhat (TT 82; after Davies and Gardiner 1915, pl. 17)

It is reasonable to think that the Opening of the Mouth in Djehuty's tomb-chapel may be a relatively accurate copy on stone of an original model on papyrus. Copies on papyrus of the Opening of the Mouth must have certainly existed, not only serving as models for the artists that worked in the tomb-chapels, but also as reference texts for the lector-priest, one of the main officiants in the ritual. At times, it is precisely the lector-priest that is shown beginning to unroll a papyrus scroll where the title that opens the ritual has been inscribed (*irt wpt rᶜ* "Performance of the Opening of the Mouth").[25] This reminds us of the copies of funerary texts on papyrus, such as the Book of the Dead, that started to proliferate at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty.[26]

Even considering the new approaches on the ritual's structure and the grouping of scenes, Otto's ideal reconstruction of the Opening of the Mouth in seventy-five scenes continues to be useful (1960, vol. 1, pp. 8–10). It offers a logical and ordered sequence, allowing the identification of groups of ritual steps. The version of TT 11 fits well in Otto's outline. We present the sequence as displayed in the tomb of Djehuty, moving from right to left, toward the inner chamber, and from top to bottom (fig. 12.7):

Upper Register (Right to Left)

First Group: The Beginning of the Ritual (Scenes 1, 47, 4, 5, 6, [x])

In the upper register, after the title and the introductory text (scene 1), we come across several preparatory scenes,[27] the purification of the mummy through water, natron, and incense. These are scenes 47, 4, 5, 6, and another one which possibly was number 2 or 3. All of them offer the same composition, with the image

[25] See N. de G. Davies 1925b, pl. 19.

[26] See Galán in this volume.

[27] For the special position of scene 47 at the beginning of the ritual, see below.

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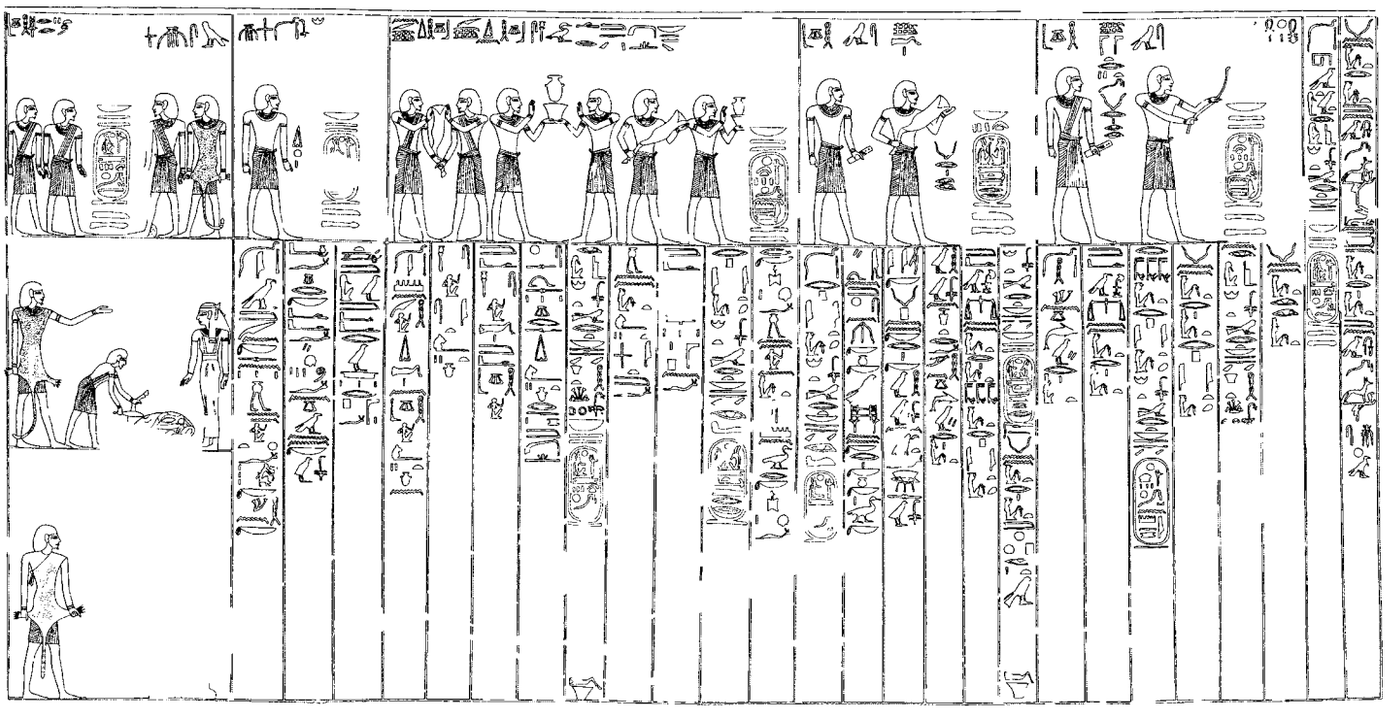

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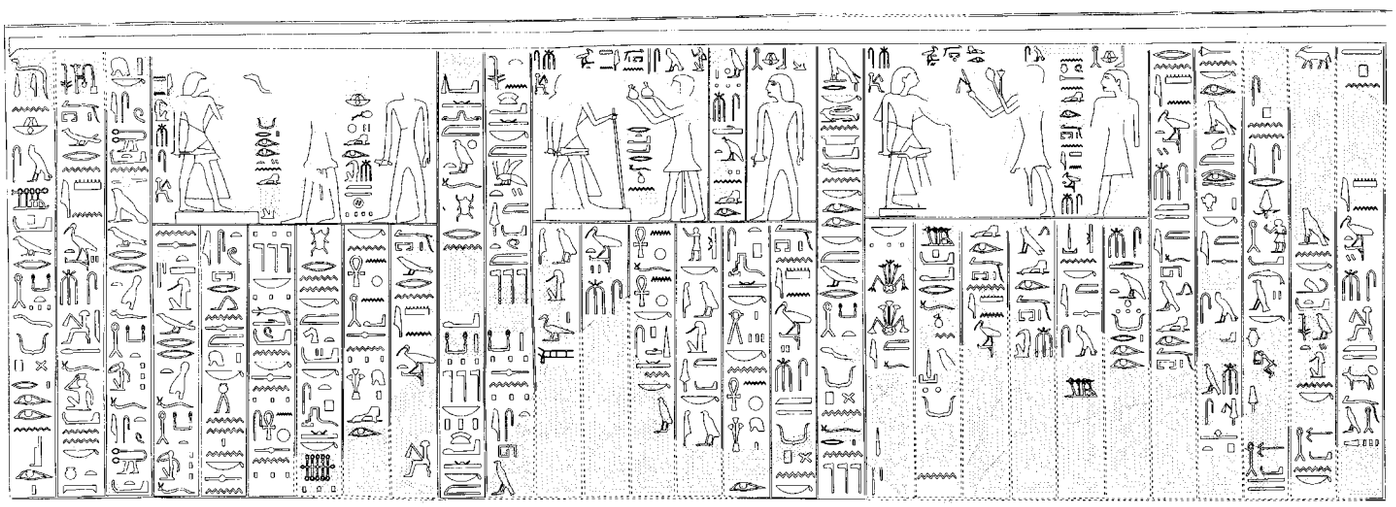

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Figure 12.6. Distribution of text and image in the Opening of the Mouth: (*a*) Tausret (KV 14; after Altenmüller 2009, fig. 4); (*b*) Djehutymes (TT 32; after Fábián 2004, p. 124)

on top and the text below. Its long development is due to their importance for the correct accomplishment of the ritual. This explains why this group of scenes is one of the most frequent in the representations of the Opening of the Mouth in tomb-chapels from the Eighteenth Dynasty, such as Rekhmira (TT 100), Amenhemhat (TT 53), Benia (TT 343), Ineni (TT 81), Senemiah (TT 127), Nebamun (TT 26), Djehutynefer (TT 80), Suemniwet (TT 92), Menna (TT 69), and Senna (TT 169). The title and scene 1 form a single column, covering the height of the register, without an image, marking here a clear separation with the tableau to the right.[28]

[28] To the right, toward the entrance of the corridor, the hunting in the desert scene is to be found, and on top of it an offering-list.

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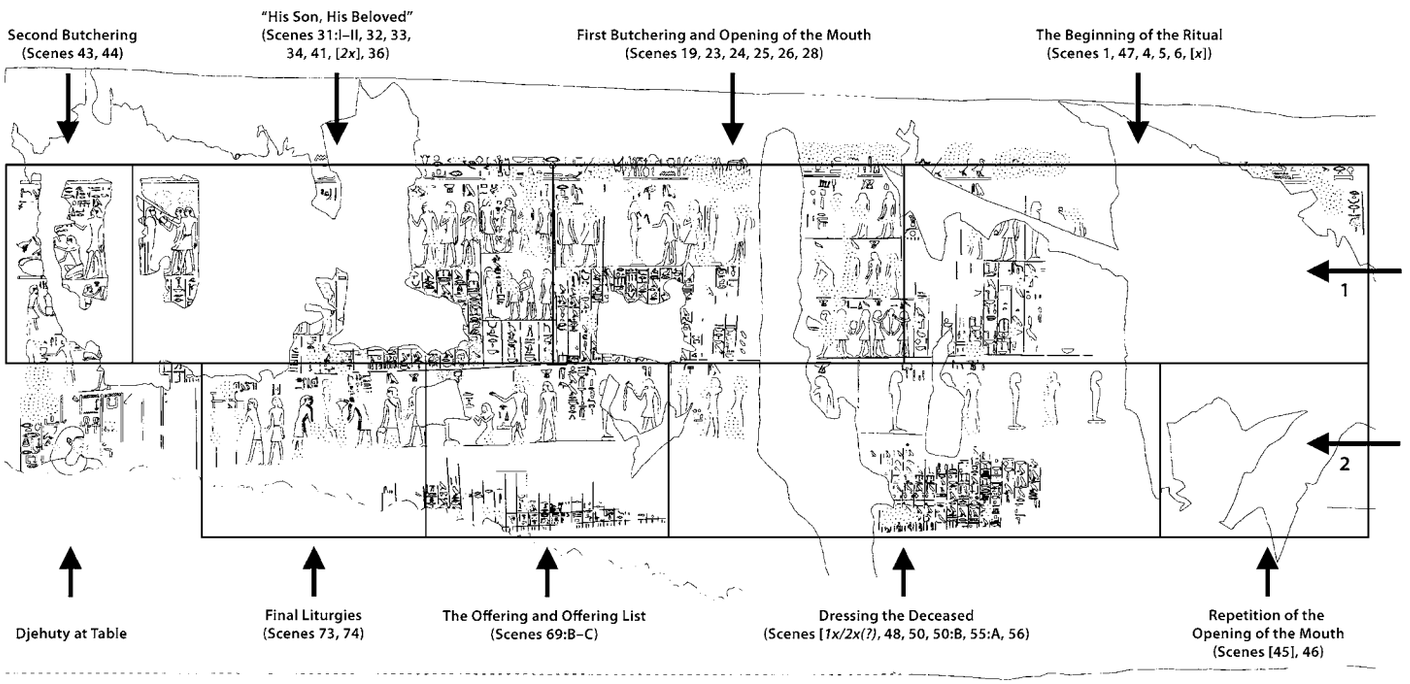

Figure 12.7. Distribution and grouping of scenes in Djehuty (TT 11; drawing by Ana de Diego)

Second Group: First Butchering and Opening of the Mouth (Scenes 19, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28)

Moving farther to the left, the register is subdivided in three, the scenes arranged vertically. The breaking of the horizontal succession of scenes with two or three that form a vertical column is particularly frequent in Ramesside tomb-chapels, with an Opening of the Mouth version very similar to that of Djehuty, as mentioned above (n. 18). This visual device was meant to separate groups of scenes and to emphasize the connection between scenes that are closely connected in the performance of the ritual. In the first one of the set (scene 19) are the *sem*-priest, one of the main officiants of the ritual, dressed up in a panther skin, ready to conduct the sacrifice of the bull (scene 23), the butchering scene, and the presentation of its foreleg and heart to the mummy (scene 24). Next comes the opening of the mouth itself, first with the foreleg of the animal, the choicest piece of the sacrifice (scene 25, deteriorated but easily recognizable), and then with the small adze (scene 26). This sequence is probably the most important of the ritual. It is not by chance that it appears in the middle of the upper register, dividing it into two sections of practically the same extension.

Third Group: "His Son, His Beloved" (Scenes 31:I–II, 32, 33, 34, 41, [2x], 36) (fig. 12.8)

The reconstruction of the next section of the wall is more difficult as it is badly damaged. However, a new group of scenes can be identified, whose common link is the priest called "his son, his beloved," *s3.f mr.f*, that will be the main officiant of this phase of the ritual, repeating again the opening of the mouth of the deceased. The sequence shows an internal coherence that starts with scenes 31:I–II, fetching and introducing this priest to the mummy. These are shown again in a vertical display, so indicating the beginning of another phase of the ritual, in the same way as in the preceding sequence. Scenes in this group, following their order of appearance, are 31:I–II, 32, 33, 34, 41, and 36. Between the last two there is a gap for one or two scenes, now totally destroyed, but possibly were numbers 37 and 39.

Fourth Group: Second Butchering (Scenes 43, 44) (figs. 12.8, 12.10)

The upper register ends with the repetition of the fundamental passage of the bovid's sacrifice, its butchering, and the offering of the foreleg and heart. Scenes 43 and 44 are a duplicate of 23 and 24 of the second group. The two scenes are arranged vertically to make clear their connection in the performance of the

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Figure 12.8. Upper register, scenes 25–44
(photo by J. Latova)

ritual. Their location at the end of the register, next the entrance to the inner shrine, is here again closer to Ramesside and later models of the Opening of the Mouth, as there was a tendency then to locate these sacrifice scenes also at accesses or doors, as is the case in the tomb of Tausret (Altenmüller 2009, pl. 4), the private tomb-chapels of Nebsumenu (TT 183; Assmann 2003, fig. 2) and Djehutymes (TT 32; Fábián 2004, p. 89), and even in the chapel of Amenirdis in Medinet Habu (Ayad 2004, p. 117).

Returning to TT 11, the convenience of this position for the butchering scene is reinforced by the fact that, once through the door, we come across the decoration of the inner shrine, offering an exceptional collection of rituals, clearly dominated by the sacrifice of bulls.[29] Even if we believe that there is no direct liturgical connection between these sacrifices and the Opening of the Mouth, it is a fortunate coincidence that may have tried to reinforce the intense religious and funerary sense of the slaughter of the bovid.

Lower Register (Right to Left)

Fifth Group: Repetition of the Opening of the Mouth (Scenes [45], 46)

As we proceed to the lower register, the right end is totally lost, as was the case with the upper register. Counting back from the first preserved scene (48), there is space for approximately three or four scenes. Fortunately, among the fragments gathered by Spiegelberg there is one that surely comes from this area, preserving part of scene 46.[30] Most likely, following the canonical order of the ritual, after scenes 43 and 44, closing the upper register, 45 and 46 would follow, with the second opening of the mouth with the foreleg and the adze. The arrangement would have the advantage of making the opening of the mouth the first thing that the visitor of the tomb-chapel would see in the lower register. The prominence and relevance of the location of scenes 25–26 (see above) or 45–46 is something common in the models of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties. Even in shorter versions, these scenes are also highlighted, as they are the main steps of the ritual.[31]

Sixth Group: Dressing the Deceased (Scenes [1x/2x(?)], 48, 50, 50:B, 55:A, 56)

Following the second opening of the mouth there is a collection of scenes in which the *sem*-priest offers to the mummy several liturgical objects, mainly different sorts of cloth and other elements of the image's sacred garment. The mummy is anointed in oils (scene 55:A) and also receives make-up (scene 56). It is possible that

[29] Serrano 2012; Galán in this volume.

[30] Spiegelberg *Fundjournal* 1899, p. 99, no. 122. There is no other space for this fragment in the entire lower register, and scene 46 must be positioned here, precisely at the opening of the lower sequence of scenes.

[31] In the short versions of the ritual, when for reasons of space one had to select only a limited set of scenes (around a false-door stela, or on the frame of an access or door), usually these are numbers 25 and 26 (or 45 and 46). The same happens in the synthetic versions of the ritual typical of the Ramesside period (see below); type 2 in Otto 1960, vol. 2, p. 29.

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the missing scene or scenes from the beginning of this group, separating it from the preceding 45(?) and 46, might have been 50:C, 51, or 51:A, as these integrate the group in other versions with their corresponding iconographic representation. On the other hand, it seems wise to discard scenes 49, 52, 53, and 54, because they appear only in copies of the ritual on papyrus, in hieratic, and lacking iconography (Otto 1960, vol. 2, pp. 110ff.).

This group of scenes refers to a new sequence of liturgical actions, which possibly come from the regular temple rituals[32] and are especially well developed in the tomb of Djehuty, at least if we compare them with other Eighteenth Dynasty versions.

Seventh Group: The Offering (Scenes 69:B–C)

Following on, a significant episode of the Opening of the Mouth is the scene of the offering (scene 69:C), preceded, according to the canonic sequence of the ritual, by the libation (scene 69:B). As it is well known, one of the main purposes of the whole ritual is to allow the dead to be nourished with the offerings. The regular lineal sequence of the lower register is here broken, and the text of the scenes is exceptionally integrated in the vignette. The main reason for this might have been to leave a large space below for the offering list integrated in the Opening of the Mouth, in its most suitable position (just below the offering scene). Moreover, from this point onward all frames for scenes disappear, as had been the case up until now. It seems that these scenes constitute a sequence of liturgical acts that lead, like a final *continuum*, to the conclusion of the ritual.

Eighth Group: Final Liturgies (Scenes 73, 74)

What remains toward the left end of the wall are the closing ceremonies. The influence of the rituals and liturgies of the temples is especially evident here. The "Nine Companions" move the mummy to its resting place inside the shrine (scene 73). At its entrance, an officiant seems to be completing the last rites before closing the door (scene 74; fig. 12.9).

The figure at the end of the panel of the Opening of the Mouth represents a seated Djehuty reaching out toward a table laden with all sorts of foods. Djehuty is not portrayed in this occasion as a mummy, as is the case in all previous scenes that compose the two registers of the ritual. Rather, he is in a blessed state, alive and ready, thanks to the ritual, to benefit from the offerings of his funerary cult. It is not by chance that this image is situated at the very entrance of the inner shrine, the main place for the funerary cult, which holds the cult statue and the shaft leading to the burial chamber, the final resting place of Djehuty.[33]

Internal Analysis

The analysis of the different scenes and the internal study of the texts underline the significance of the TT 11 version. It would be cumbersome to enumerate all the many valuable details of the complex text of Djehuty's Opening of the Mouth. Therefore, a summary of its main aspects and a few examples of the contributions that can be drawn from this special document will be outlined.

To start with a general assertion, we must now say that the upper register accumulates the majority of scenes, over twenty, doubling the quantity of the lower one, displaying a more complex and elaborated visual configuration. In addition, it clearly concerns the opening of the mouth itself and the related sacrifices that go with it, in accordance with the funerary purpose of the ritual. On the other hand, the lower register displays a more lineal and regular order, and a lesser number of scenes, around twelve. Furthermore, here all scenes but 45 and 46 (at the beginning) are recreations of temple rituals and the daily liturgy. It seems, therefore, that the upper register was reserved for burial purposes, and the lower register was closely connected

[32] For the links between the Opening of the Mouth and temple rituals, see Otto 1960, vol. 2, pp. 1–2; and for the sequence of "dressing the deceased" in particular, see ibid., pp. 110–30.

[33] It is common to find a representation of the deceased, standing or sitting, frequently accompanied by his wife and other relatives, closing the scenes from the Opening of the Mouth. This is the case in the tomb-chapels of Nebamun (TT 17; Säve-Söderbergh 1957, p. 31), Senemiah (TT 127), or Rekhmira (TT 100; N. de G. Davies 1943, vol. 2, pl. 108).

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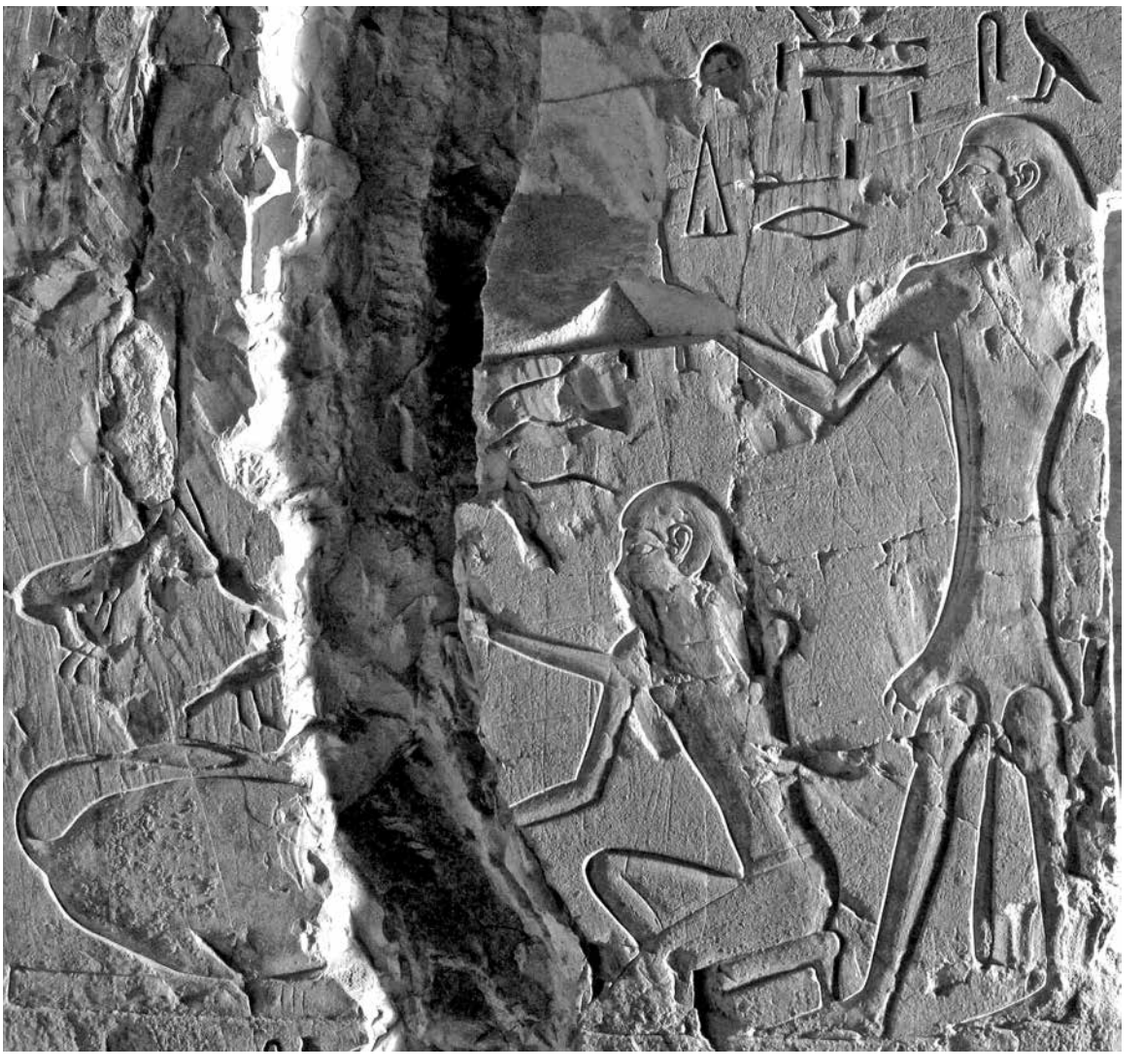

Figure 12.10. Upper register, scene 43 (photo by Jose M. Serrano)

to the liturgical needs of the cult. This is a good example of the complex structure of the ritual, including sections and passages with different origins, from a wide variety of rituals, including the consecration of the statue, the offering, the embalming, the burying, the sacrifice and from various temple liturgies.[34]

Djehuty's Opening of the Mouth includes new texts, unparalleled in the rest of the known versions. Such is the case of scene 36,[35] or scene 69:B, the libation before the Offering in the lower register, taken possibly from the liturgy of the temples.[36] There are also original details in the figurative composition, as in scene 43, which includes the representation of the decapitated goat and goose (fig. 12.10). From the texts we knew

[34] Cf. Otto 1960, vol. 2, p. 2; Sethe 1934, passim.

[35] This is one of the scenes portraying the presentation of the four *ꜥbt* to the mummy, together with scenes 35 and 40:B, but with a rather long text (4 columns), which does not coincide with any known version. Scene 35 is only a brief presentation of this stage of the ritual, and 40:B is a repetition of 36, only attested in the late version of Petamenofis (TT 33). See Otto 1960, vol. 2, pp. 95–97, 100.

[36] The identification of this scene is practically beyond doubt, initially based on the place where it appears, next to the Offering (69:C), integrated in the same ritual sequence without scene frames, found also in Rekhmira (TT 100; Davies 1943, vol. 2, pl. 101). The performing priest, the *ḥm-nṯr*, also contributes to its identification. In the words of Otto 1960, vol. 2, p. 13, "der 'Gottesdiener' taucht nur in solchen Szenen auf, die im Tempelkult geformt und für das Mundöffnungsritual äusserlich adoptiert sind."

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that the sacrifice included a goat and a goose together with the main victim, a bull, but this detail is hardly ever represented.[37]

Many scenes of the Opening of the Mouth come from texts belonging to former cultic and funerary repertoires, like the Pyramid Texts or the Coffin Texts. The texts of TT 11 are more complete and closer to these originals than the rest of versions of the New Kingdom, including the longest among them, such as Rekhmira or Sety I. The text in scene 47, though it may go back to the Pyramid Texts, is very close to Coffin Texts VI, spell 530. It is not only considerably longer than the versions of the Opening of the Mouth in Rekhmira and Sety I, but also closer to the original text (see below). A similar analysis can be made with the texts from scenes 4, 6, 25, 26, 41, 50, 73, and 74. In the latter scene, text 74:C is integrated in the ritual for the first time, with details that connect it with the antecedents in Pyramid Texts spell 600 and the Dramatic Ramesseum Papyrus (Sethe 1928, pp. 141–42).

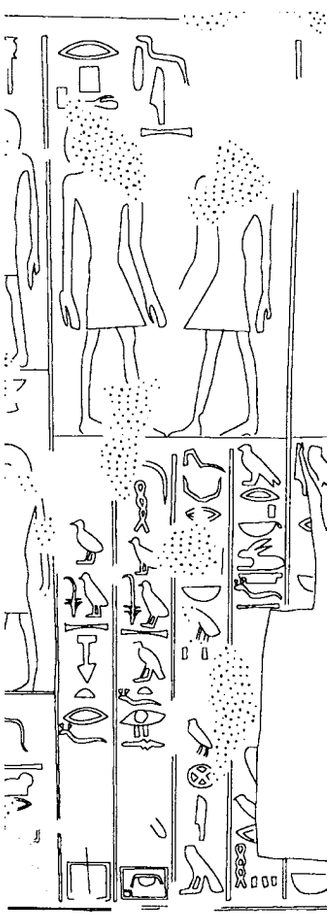

Figure 12.11. Upper register, scene 28 (preliminary drawing by Ana de Diego)

The Opening of the Mouth in TT 11 is one of the oldest, preserved, extended versions, very close in time to the re-elaboration of this ritual, which probably generated a canonical version with the incorporation of texts and liturgies of diverse origin. This happened at the initial stage of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Therefore, there are ritual and liturgical elements in Djehuty's version that may be related with sources or documents from the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty, or more precisely from the time of Hatshepsut-Thutmose III. In this manner, the origin of certain passages and texts can be determined, and the way they were finally incorporated to the Opening of the Mouth.

This is the case of scene 28, which first appears in the Opening of the Mouth in TT 11 (fig. 12.11). Otto (1960, vol. 2, p. 88) points out its relation with liturgical sequences from the Eighteenth Dynasty temple of Medinet Habu, contemporary with TT 11.[38] Scene 28 refers to the giving of the statue to the priest *ỉry-pʿt.* It is the only time he participates in the entire ritual. This character seldom appears in funeral contexts, although he is mentioned in relation to the *sem*-priest in some documents from the Old and Middle Kingdoms.[39] It is worth noting that the *ỉry-pʿt* is represented together with the *sem*-priest also in the funerary shrine of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari, and in some tomb-chapels from the same time or slightly later, as in TT 82 (Amenemhat).[40] Scene 50, concerning the presentation of the *mnḫt*-cloth, which is found for the first time in the Opening of the Mouth of Djehuty, seems to be connected too with the rituals preserved in the temple of Medinet Habu, also from the time of Hatshepsut-Thutmose III (Otto 1960, vol. 2, p. 114).

A short offering list for the deceased (type C in Barta 1963, pp. 111ff.) is carved in the space below scene 69:B–C. This type appears by the beginning of the Middle Kingdom, becoming widely used at this time. It was still very common in the New Kingdom, when it is often linked to the Opening of the Mouth (ibid., p. 114). The first instances from the Eighteenth Dynasty come again from Deir el-Bahari (Naville 1895, pls. 6–7),[41] and from tomb-chapels

[37] Another two exceptional parallels from the Eighteenth Dynasty, though later than TT 11, can be found in the tomb-chapels of Suemniwet (TT 92; Bryan 2001, pl. 24:1) and Amenemhat-Surer (TT 48; Säve-Söderbergh 1957, pl. 48).

[38] This text actually derives from the ritual of the dedication of the statue as it appears in the temple of Medinet Habu (Sethe 1934).

[39] For the role of the *ỉry-pʿt* in the Opening of the Mouth, see Otto 1960, vol. 2, p. 12. The relation between this officiant and the *sem*-priest appears in Pyramid Text spell 848c, and in inscriptions of the Middle Kingdom; cf. *Wb.* Belegstellen II/2, 615, 18.

[40] These, however, are not scenes from the Opening of the Mouth ritual. In Deir el-Bahari, in a large funerary offering tableau, the *sem*-priest, the *ỉry-pʿt* and the lector-priest are depicted following a kneeling officiant behind an offering table (Naville 1901, pls. 110, 112). In TT 82 the *sem*-priest and the *ỉry-pʿt* are shown together with other officiants commanding the dead to raise after receiving the offerings (Davies and Gardiner 1915, pl. 13).

[41] Thutmose III frequently uses it in Karnak (Barta 1963, p. 117). It only appears at later times in royal monuments and in the tomb of Sety I (see below).

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approximately contemporary of Djehuty: Ineni (TT 81), Senemiah (TT 127), Pahery (Tylor 1895, pl. 10), Puiemra (TT 39), and Amenemhat (TT 82) (Barta 1963, pp. 164–65). In any case, TT 11 is one of the first instances where this type of offering list is related to the Opening of the Mouth. It is also worth noting that at the top of each column is a sentence with a word-play on the name of the offering written below. This is something new, and its closer parallel comes again from the Opening of the Mouth depicted in the tomb of Sety I.[42]

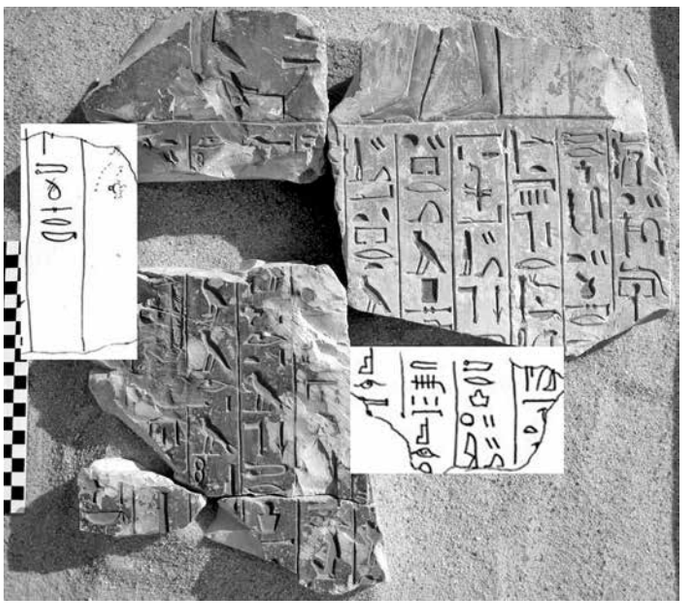

Figure 12.12. Fragments of scene 47 found in the courtyard of TT 11, completed with two fragments recorded by Spiegelberg (*Fundjournal*)

Scene 47, which concerns the act of purification by incense burning, is a good example of recovering a lost scene. In addition, it clearly shows the versatility of liturgical and funerary texts at the beginning of the New Kingdom. In fact, some of these texts were incorporated in the longer versions of the Opening of the Mouth. In the case of Djehuty's tomb-chapel, scene 47 is actually not preserved on the wall, but can be reconstructed by means of five fragments that were recovered during the excavation of the courtyard, and with two more fragments recorded by Spiegelberg (*Fundjournal* 1899, p. 87, no. 42; p. 93, no. 100) (fig. 12.12). The scene presents a twelve-column text and includes a vignette showing the *sem*-priest censing the mummy of Djehuty. It is probably the longest text of the entire ritual in the TT 11 version.[43] Furthermore, as far as we know it is the longest copy preserved of the scene 47 of the Opening of the Mouth from the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties (fig. 12.13).

Its position at the beginning of the upper register deserves further comment as it was probably located immediately after the title and the scene 1 rather than in the lower register, between the scenes 46 and 48, as would be expected. Interestingly, we know that scene 47 enjoys certain flexibility in terms of the location it may hold in the sequence of the Opening of the Mouth ritual.[44] Moreover, it is a purification passage, which means that it can accommodate adequately to the initial section of the ritual, possibly substituting the similar scene 7, which has been therefore explicitly suppressed in Djehuty's version. Thus, in the Opening of the Mouth of Djehuty, scene 47 certainly takes an outstanding spot at the beginning of the upper register, just after the title. This location, and the development it shows in the tradition of the ritual, can possibly be associated with a particularly accentuated religious and magical purpose. In fact, Otto (1960, vol. 2, p. 109) states that scene 47 conveys not only a rite of purification but also the transformation of the dead into a blessed one ("Verklärung des Toten"). In fact, in columns 1 and 2 of the text, Djehuty's name appears qualified as "scribe" and "overseer of the Treasury." However, in the second half of the chapter, after the purification has taken place (cols. 4–6), Djehuty is referred to twice as "the Osiris Djehuty," which is a significant change that shows the new religious status achieved by the deceased.

In addition, scene 47 in Djehuty's version adds new evidence concerning the origin of the scenes and texts included in the Opening of the Mouth at the beginning of the New Kingdom as well as the means by which such a transfer occurred. It is well known that this scene derives from spell 530 of the Coffin Texts VI (Otto 1960, vol. 2, p. 109). There is no other copy from this time closer to the original than Djehuty's version, not only by its length, but also by the order of the sentences (fig. 12.14). It is also interesting to note that the appearance of the text of scene 47 in tomb-chapels is roughly contemporary of Djehuty. In these cases,

[42] The offering list type C with this word-play is found on several private tomb-chapels of Amenhotep III's period, after which time it is not found until Sety I's tomb was decorated (Barta 1963, p. 112 n. 4).

[43] Scene 26 also has a large text, eleven columns long.

[44] In several versions of the Opening of the Mouth it occupies position number 61, due to the fact that scenes 58, 59, and 60 form a group dealing with the burning of incense.

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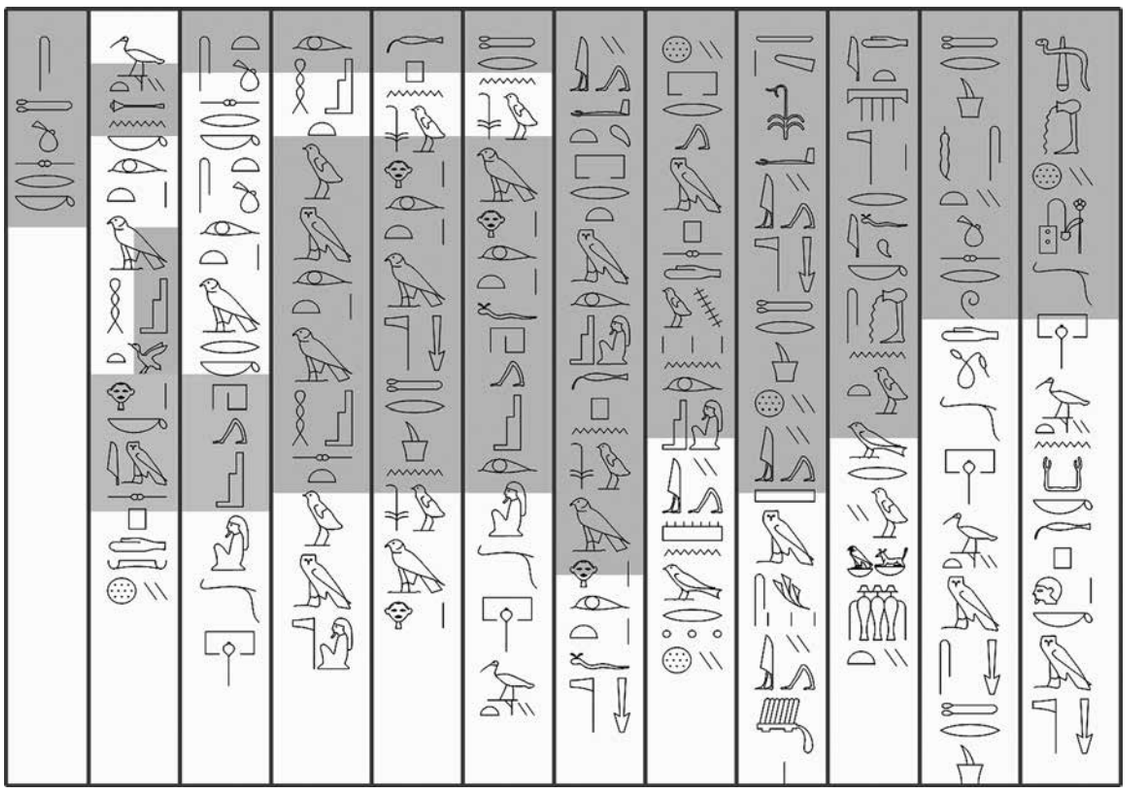

Figure 12.13. Text of scene 47. Text preserved in TT 11 is in gray

Figure 12.14. Text of scene 47 in TT 11 and in CT 530. The parts that are absent in the spell of the Coffin Texts are in gray

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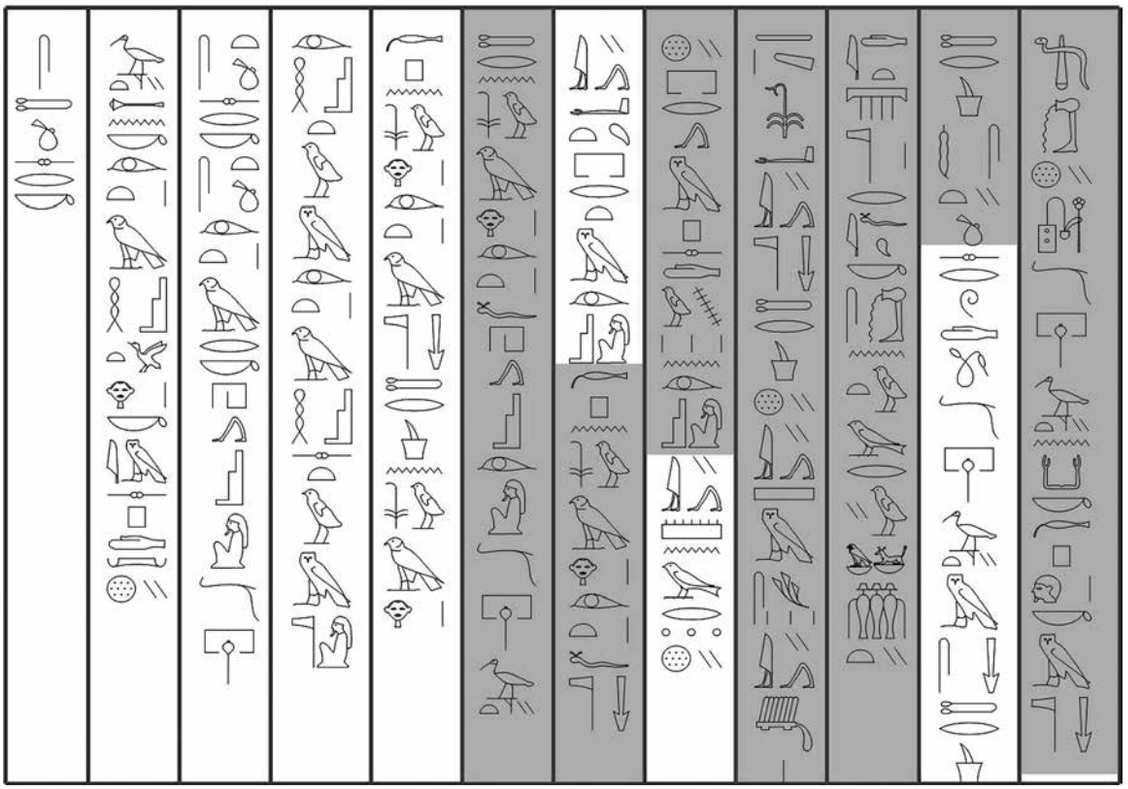

Figure 12.15. Text of scene 47 in TT 11 and in the burial chamber of Amenemhat (TT 82). The passages written in TT 82 are gray

Figure 12.16. Text of scene 47 in TT 11 and in the Opening of the Mouth tableau of Rekhmira (TT 100). The passages written in TT 100 are gray

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Figure 12.17. Text of scene 47 in TT 11 and in the funerary meal of Rekhmira (TT 100). The passages written in TT 100 are gray

it appears in different places and contexts, not necessarily in the Opening of the Mouth. For instance, in the tomb-chapel of Amenemhat (TT 82) the text is found in the burial chamber, which is exceptionally decorated and inscribed. Here it is located in a relevant position, below the access to the niche. The version is shorter than Djehuty's, but it significantly transcribes the first half of the text, which includes the performance of the censing rites (Davies and Gardiner 1915, pl. 46 bottom) (fig. 12.15). The case of Rekhmira is more complex, as the text of scene 47 is repeated twice. It appears in its most typical context, the Opening of the Mouth, but much more briefly than in Djehuty's version (N. de G. Davies 1943, vol. 2, pl. 103) (fig. 12.16). It is also written in a more extended manner accompanying one of the funerary meals for the dead. Here, the purpose of the text is just to purify the table and the offerings, and apparently has nothing to do with the Opening of the Mouth. Rekhmira and his wife are represented behind a table full of offerings, and in front of them there is a *sem*-priest and, at his right, a long text copying almost word by word that of Djehuty's version (ibid., pl. 96, 1) (fig. 12.17).

In summary, scene 47 is a text of sanctification and purification for the dead and his offerings, with evident antecedents, apparently highly appreciated and used in many funerary contexts in the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty. At a given time, it was integrated into the Opening of the Mouth. The scene at Djehuty's tomb-chapel reveals the long-lasting development of this rite and constitutes by now the earliest attestation in the Opening of the Mouth ritual.

It is unfortunate that only two columns out of seven or eight from scene 55:A are preserved. The text itself has no known parallel, neither in the preceding funerary corpora nor in the liturgy of the temples. It is one of those passages of the Opening of the Mouth that in the Ramesside period was specifically ascribed to the supposed original model dating back to Amenhotep I. It is worth emphasizing that this scene is missing in the longer copies of Rekhmira, Sety I, and Tausret, appearing for the first time in the coffin of Butehamon, from the Ramesside period. In this way, it is again Djehuty who offers the oldest version. Otto (1960, vol. 2, pp. 124–26) had difficulties in the reading and interpretation of the text belonging to this scene, a matter in which the version in TT 11 could be of assistance.

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Between TT 11 and the other great text of the Opening the Mouth from the Eighteenth Dynasty, that of Rekhmira, there is a similitude in the number of scenes and their order, which is actually not far either from other developed copies of the New Kingdom, such as that in the tomb of Sety I. Moreover, contrary to what would be expected, from the internal analysis of the texts and their variations, we can conclude that there are slightly more coincidences between Djehuty and the Sety I version, from almost two centuries later, than with Rekhmira, separated in time by roughly two decades. The texts of the Opening of the Mouth of TT 11 are particularly close to those of Sety I in scenes 6, 23, 24, 31:I–II, 33, 34, 43, 44, 48, 55:A, and in the offering-list below scenes 69:B–C. They are similar to Rekhmira's version (TT 100) just in scenes 5, 25, 26, 32, 41, 50, and 50:B. In addition, the iconographic structure of the scenes in TT 11 is close to Sety I's composition, and stands in clear contrast with Rekhmira's.

The Opening of the Mouth Performed on the Mummy

Finally, what will be underlined is the contribution of TT 11 to a central question: the differences between the versions of the Opening of the Mouth depending on the object on which the ritual was performed. It is well known that this ritual could be performed over the mummy/coffin, or a statue, or a building (a temple, a shrine, and even a tomb). In fact, Otto (1960, vol. 2, pp. 29–30) establishes a basic classification of the ritual depending on the presence of the statue or the mummy. Some valuable contributions have been made, relating the choice of the object of the ritual to its place in the iconographic repertoire of the tomb-chapels (Barthelmess 1992, pp. 94–96). However, not enough attention has been paid to the variations in the sequence and the choice of scenes, or to the differences between the texts, depending on whether the ceremony is performed on the statue or the mummy (fig. 12.5). It has even been argued (Bjerke 1965, pp. 204–05) that it is not possible to detect differences in the scenes of the rituals that evolve around the statue of the deceased versus those that have the mummy has its object, both in what refers to the selection of scenes or images and the text that illustrate them. The opposite is argued in the following lines.

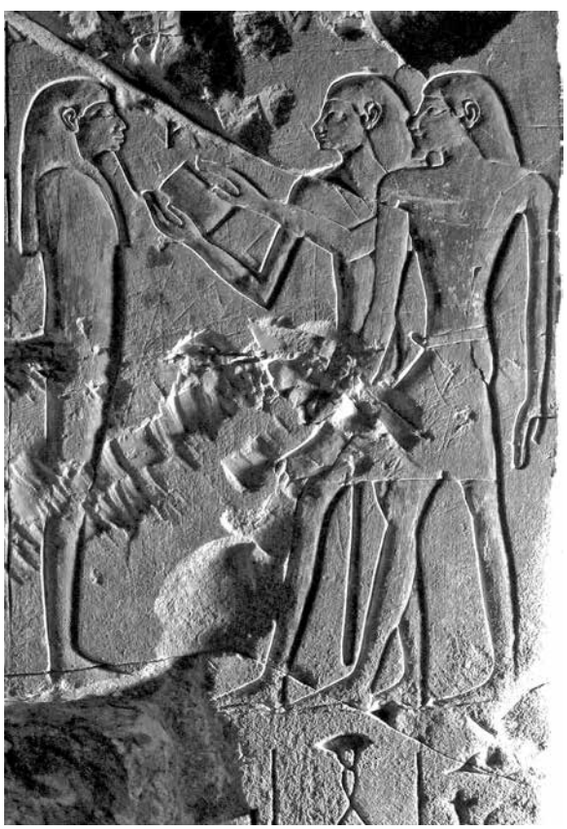

Figure 12.18. Upper register, scene 36 (photo by Jose M. Serrano)

The Opening of the Mouth of Djehuty is carried out on the mummy (fig. 12.18), the most common practice in the Eighteenth Dynasty, in contrast with some of the other long and well developed versions, such as that of Rekhmira, Sety I, Tausret, or in some private Ramesside tomb-chapels, all of these with the statue as object. Starting with the very general title that opens the ritual, there is a significant divergence: while Rekhmira, Sety I, and Tausret specified that the Opening of the Mouth is performed on the statue, *twt*, in Djehuty's version it is omitted (fig. 12.19). This is not a coincidence: revising the textual variations of the title included in Otto's corpus, the majority of the versions in which the word *twt* is used, the ritual is performed over the statue, whereas those that omit it are generally carried out on the mummy or coffin.[45] In fact, along the thirty-five scenes preserved in TT 11, any mention of the statue is carefully avoided, being often substituted by the expression *wsir* "Osiris," more appropriate for a mummy's

[45] Otto 1960, vol. 1, p. 1, mentioning *twt* in scenes 1, 2, 3, 48, and 64 (all of them with the ritual performed on the statue), but omitting *twt* in scenes 4, 59, 65, 66, and 83 (rituals performed on the mummy/coffin).

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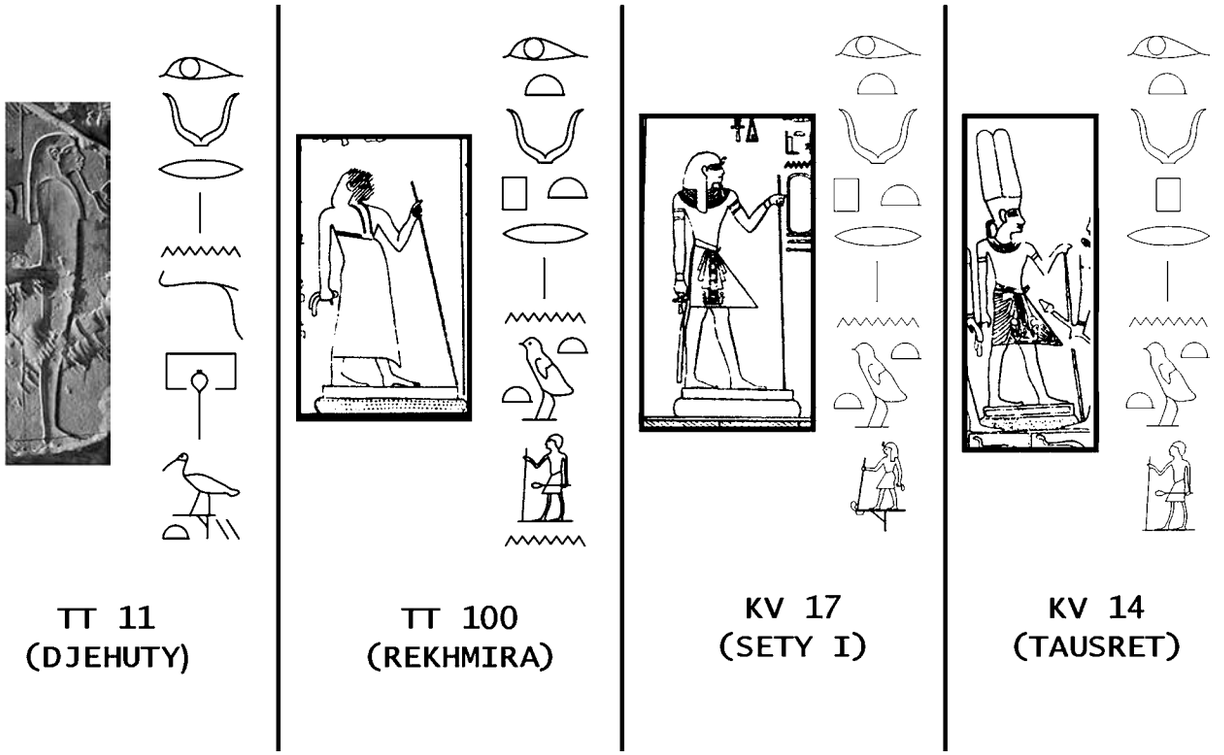

Figure 12.19. Title of the Opening of the Mouth in the funerary monuments of Djehuty (TT 11), Rekhmira (TT 100), Sety I (KV 17), and Tausret (KV 14)

figure. In many of such scenes, however, the version of Sety I, whose text is very close to Djehuty's, repeatedly employs *twt* (in scenes 25, 26, and 31:II).

Furthermore, it is of greater significance that Djejuty's version carefully excludes the group of scenes that go from number 8 through 18, what has become known as the Ritual of the Animation of the Statue, which introduces the artisans who craft the image of the dead. This part of the ritual includes the sleeping of the *sem*-priest, in a controversial sequence of scenes that has been studied by Helck (1967), Fischer-Elfert (1998), and Altenmüller (2009). This particular sequence of scenes is of high relevance in the version of Rekhmira (TT 100), Sety I (KV 17), Tausret (KV 14), Amenmose (TT 42), Amenemhat-Surer (TT 48), Nebsumenu (TT 183), and Djehutymes (TT 32), and many others that mention and show the statue as its object. On the other hand, these scenes are not present in Djehuty (TT 11), Amenemhat (TT 82), Senemiah (TT 127), Nebamun (TT 26), Amenemhat (TT 53), Horemheb (TT 78), and others that have the mummy as the center of attention. Another piece of evidence in support of the differentiation is that TT 11 omits scenes 29 and 30, which again introduce the artisans that work on the statue or image of the deceased, which are nothing but a duplicate of 16 and 17. These do appear in the versions of Rekhmira and Sety I, both with the statue as the object of the ritual. In the versions of the Opening of the Mouth on papyri from the Late and Greco-Roman periods, exclusively done to accompany the mummy, all these chapters that make reference to artisans and the elaboration of the statue are carefully excluded (Quack 2006, p. 132; Smith 2009, pp. 355–56). It must be noted, however, that this pattern is not so strictly followed in every copy of the Opening of the Mouth on tomb-chapels from the New Kingdom, and the question undoubtedly deserves a complete and deeper study.

Conclusion

The Opening of the Mouth in the tomb of Djehuty has been known for a long time, but that has not been adequately valued as a historical source. The main reason for this lack of attention has been its poor state of preservation and the subsequent difficulties for its reconstruction and study. The combination of archaeological

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and epigraphic work, together with an integral restoration plan (figs. 12.20–22), allow for the retrieval of a text and an iconographic program that seemed to be lost for historians.

The significance of this record is enhanced if it is taken into account that we are dealing with one of the oldest copies still preserved, which in addition is a long and well-developed version. The current knowledge of the ritual of the Opening of the Mouth still relies mainly on the excellent but now outdated synthesis by Otto (1960). This work is chiefly based on seven documents, serving as canon and reference models. In order to renovate this classic study, the first step is to account for new versions of the ritual, especially those soundly illustrated that are accompanied by long texts. This is the case of TT 11.

A preliminary study of Dhejuty's Opening of the Mouth has rendered relevant results, which may be extrapolated to a general perspective. On the one hand, the structure and complexity of the composition in TT 11 is a contribution in itself, which shows the adaptation of the religious message composed of image and text to its corresponding architectonic space in the tomb-chapel. The relationship between the location within the monument and the iconographic program is a matter that still requires a deeper analysis.

Moreover, Djehuty's Opening of the Mouth fits well in the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and certainly helps in the understanding of the origin and development of the "long version" of the ritual. However, it also presents undeniable resemblance to Sety I's and the Ramesside copies in general, separating it from Rekhmira and other contemporary versions. This points out the need to be cautious when establishing the characteristics of the great ritual texts and the images that go with them according to each particular period. And in the case of the Opening of the Mouth, different trends or customs were followed at the time of its inclusion in the decorative programs of the tomb-chapels of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties.

One of the most relevant contributions of the study of the Opening of the Mouth in the tomb-chapel of Djehuty is to show the relation between the object upon which the ritual is executed and the selection of scenes, and even the coherent composition of the text. That is to say that, depending on whether the represented figure is the mummy or a statue of the deceased, the selection of texts, images and of the very structure of the ritual would be different.

The presence of such a long and complex text goes well with other architectonic, epigraphic, and religious peculiarities of TT 11: the cryptographic texts of the façade, the nearly unique sacrifice rituals that decorate the walls of the inner chapel for the cult to the deceased, or the existence, at the bottom of the shaft, of a burial chamber decorated with one of the oldest long copies of the Book of the Dead. Djehuty is thus presented as a cultivated character of refined thought. Within the spirit of artistic, ideological, and cultural renovation of Hatshepsut's reign, his own will might have possibly had something to do with the novelties and original elements found in his tomb-chapel.

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Figure 12.20. Detail of the final liturgies showing the removal of the mud stuck to the wall in process

Figure 12.21. Removal of the mud in process, and a gap in the wall due to a missing fragment

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Figure 12.22. Panel cleaned, and fallen fragment found in the excavation of the open courtyard back in its place

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13

Play and Display in Egyptian High Culture: The Cryptographic Texts of Djehuty (TT 11) and Their Sociocultural Contexts

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Cryptography as a Sign of Innovation and Tradition

Cryptography has been included among the many features of the reputed creative joint reign of Thutmose III/Hatshepsut (Callender 2002, p. 36). Different artistic manifestations, written records, and material data suggest that this moment was a sort of cultural milestone where many artistic, literary, and religious innovations were set up and developed.[1] However, as any other historical and cultural event, this assumption can be diverted by many nuances. Actually, behind the idea of an innovative era, such as the joint reign of Thutmose III/Hatshepsut, there is often a fuzzy reality whose borders, origins, and later influences cannot be traced clearly. For example, the alleged novelty of cryptography was preceded by different forerunners (see below) which dilute the temporal limits of this innovative trend in contiguous reigns.

Identification of real "innovations" (i.e., "the action or process of innovating" or "a new method, idea, product, etc.")[2] in ancient Egyptian history is a difficult task. Data are extremely partial and fragmentary and, therefore, any possible reconstruction of creative processes and their diffusion along time and space is always friable and weak. Supposed innovations can be a mirage, being part of older traditions currently out of sight to scholars because of capricious archaeological evidence. Furthermore, real innovations can go unnoticed since in ancient Egypt changes were embedded easily in previous cultural traits that researchers have frequently labeled as expressions of "archaism" (i.e., "the use or conscious imitation of archaic — very old or old-fashioned — styles or features in language or art"),[3] or much more rarely as part of "tradition." In fact, "innovation" cannot be considered as a separate reality from "archaism" and, above all, from "tradition." As shown below, the first two notions, despite their apparent antagonism, would form part of the latter one. In order to clarify this assertion it is necessary to define the nuance of "tradition" in the following pages, since the word has been blithely employed by historians and archaeologists. Ancient Egyptians

* I particularly wish to thank José M. Galán (CCHS-CSIC, Madrid) for permitting me to study the cryptographic inscriptions and for his comments and corrections on the preliminary draft of this text which was previously enriched and modelled by some lectures and papers presented at Miraflores (Madrid), Seville, and La Laguna (Tenerife) (Diego Espinel 2009). I should also like to thank Vivian W. Davies (British Museum) for letting me study Sobekhotep's cryptographic texts in his tomb at Elkab; Jaromir Málek (Griffith Institute, Oxford), for permission to publish Barns' copy of the sun hymn kept in the archives of the institute; Chloé Ragazzoli (Oriental Institute, Oxford) for allowing me to read some of her papers in press; Julia Sánchez García and Mª Luisa Jiménez Alcaraz (Unidad de edición digital y diseño gráfico, CCHS-CSIC, Madrid), for scanning the acetates with the drawings of the cryptographic hymns; and Ana García Martín for the drawings. Furthermore, I am very grateful to the rest of the participants of the Granada conference for comments, corrections, and inspiration.

[1] These alleged innovations are attested in different cultural fields. Recent studies, not necessarily uncontested, have detected them, for instance, in religious practices (Régen 2002, Mauric-Barberio 2001), in *belles lettres* (Gnirs 2006, Ragazzoli in press), or in different artistic facts such as the recuperation of ancient artistic subjects (Bács 2006) or the creation of new ones (Roehrig 2002; Hallmann 2006, pp. 316–17; Bernhauer 2010, pp. 109–11).

[2] See http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/innovation [accessed 13/09/2010].

[3] See http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/archaism; http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/archaic [accessed 14/09/2010].

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did not explicitly embody this notion in precise terms.[4] "Tradition" has usually been identified as a group of long-established practices, customs, beliefs, or techniques that are transmitted from one generation to another, and that are expected to be repeated and respected in the future. Despite this general description, which can be easily related to the idiosyncrasy of Egyptian culture, "tradition" has been rarely defined and studied by Egyptologists, who have usually been more interested in other concepts such as the aforementioned "archaism" or the Egyptian conceptions of the past.[5]

According to Osborne (2008), "tradition" is different to (or, I dare to say, wider than) Bordieu's *habitus* (Bordieu 1972),[6] or to concepts of implicit cultural trends or enduring traits. It is an explicit form of knowledge and, therefore, is a conscious act which draws attention to their links with the past in order to emphasize distinctiveness in the present. Traditions are selective and are vehicles for some kind of hegemony. Subsequently, they follow clear aims by their authors or promoters. According to Robb (2008), tradition is both invented and inherited. Quoting Gell's ideas, "transmission of a tradition involves the recapitulation of a collectively held ideal model. Moreover, this works over time; the prototype of which each new creation is an index summarizes the collective memory and acts as a guiding plan for future examples" (ibid., p. 341). It is "a historical process of continuity of rule-governed practice of knowledge" and "arises from specific fields of action" (ibid., p. 348).

Tradition, therefore, should not be equalled to a mere repetition of past achievements and customs. It may be defined as a conscious cultural action where past and innovative traits mix, in order to achieve precise aims such as emphasizing the superiority or legitimacy of their promoters (kings, courtiers, provincial elites, etc.);[7] or, in a less sociopolitical context, finding new ways of artistic expression. In this sense, as stated below, traditional features of Egyptian culture were related more to the *Hochkultur* than to wider, that is, "popular," ideas of culture, as tradition implies dynamism, creativity, and innovation, and also the revival of past achievements and customs that initially were just at the disposal of the elites. On the other hand, it usually generates authoritative or prized works; in other words, canonical examples which serve as referential models and guidelines of present and future developments (Ragazzoli in press).

This notion of tradition comprises other phenomena, some of them clearly opposites, such as "permanence," "archaism," "conservatism," "antiquarianism," "innovation," "invention," or "creativity." The conception, creation, and development of a tradition would initially follow conscious guidelines or aims dictated by its promoters but, because of emulation and competition among the elite members, its final result should be considered as an homeostatic phenomenon where directed and spontaneous elements join. The same can be applied to its temporal limits. As a conscious action, any "tradition" could originally be considered as an isolated and well-defined cultural episode. However, since traditions serve as hegemonic tools, they are quickly repeated, improved, or enriched, either by epigones or capable emulators that broaden the aims and diversify their features and ways of display. Furthermore, since "tradition" collects past achievements and its evidences are partial, it is difficult to assert its precise moment of creation. Moreover, the idea of "tradition" is rather flexible, comprising both great cultural phenomena (e.g., the Amarna style or the Middle Kingdom literature), very precise facts, either in a wider area and/or period (e.g., the New Kingdom *ꜣḫ ỉḳr*-stelae), or in a very limited place and/or span of time (e.g., the use of written vessels in late Old Kingdom funerary equipment from the Elephantine area).[8]

Back to the subject of cryptography, this paper focuses on the study of this phenomenon through the analysis of two cryptographic hymns carved in the Theban funerary chapel of Djehuty (TT 11; PM I², 21–24),

[4] The closest word would be *hp*, a polysemic term that comprises meanings such as "law," "order," "justice," "rule," "convention," "expectation," "norm," or "custom"; see Bontty 1997, pp. 34–61, 260–71.

[5] The term is dealt with briefly by E. Henfling in *LÄ* VI, cols. 737–41 s.v. "Traditionswebußtsein." Recent studies by Wasmuth (2003); Seiler (2005); Silverman, Simpson, and Wegner (2009); Bernhauer (2010); Wegner (2010); and Wilde (2011) refer in their titles to these phenomena, particularly to "innovation," "archaism," and "tradition," but they do not go deeper into their definition. Alternatively, J. Kahl has approached the shift between "tradition" and "archaism"; see Kahl 1999, pp. 349–55; 2010, with further bibliography. See also Assmann 1992 for a different idea of tradition in connection with other concepts such as *Kulturelles Gedächtnis* or *Kanon*.

[6] For some studies on dynamic traditions, see Hobsbawn and Ranger 1983.

[7] For a possible use of tradition as means of legitimacy in a political context, see Welvaert 1996.

[8] On *ꜣḫ-ỉḳr* stelae, see Griffin 2007; on Elephantine written vessels, see el-Din 1994 and Höveler-Müller 2006, with further bibliography.

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a prominent courtier during Thutmose III/Hatshepsut's joint reign. These inscriptions will be considered as part of an older tradition and not, as mentioned above, as an innovative feature of this period. No doubt, creative aims were implicit to these texts but, at the same time, they were already rooted in a young but well-developed tradition possibly created during the Second Intermediate Period or earlier, which in this case combined both innovative and archaistic traits. Because of these intermingled features, Djehuty's texts can be an eloquent study case for making a diagnosis on how "innovative" and/or "traditional" they were and, considering other coetaneous cultural phenomena, for assessing "innovation" and "tradition" during the reign of Hatshepsut. These cryptographic hymns and their contents will be studied having in mind their innovative features and past inspirations, their aims and their possible authors, and the sociocultural context where they were created. Along the same line of discussion, it is necessary to keep in mind that cryptography was an extremely marginal practice, a restricted erudite *divertimento*, developed by an extremely reduced number of scribes mainly belonging to the exclusive elite circles which adopted it as part of their cultural tools for a distinction of class (Bourdieu 1979).

Finally, a brief explanation on the meaning and use of the term "cryptography" is necessary. "Cryptographic texts" in ancient Egypt (also termed "enigmatic") usually did not intend to be strictly cryptographic or, in other words, to be efficient tools for hiding information. As some authors have already pointed out, Egyptian cryptography, particularly on private documents, followed in many instances the opposite direction, since it intended "mostly to add meaning to short texts or interest to stereotyped formulae" (Baines 1983, pp. 581–82). In any case, as is underlined below, this was a rather complex phenomenon that, inspired by a wide range of aims and interests, included in some cases real "cryptographic" intentions (Darnell 2004, pp. 471–82). The use of this adjective in the following pages is just conventional and will be alternated with the term "enigmatic" in order to refer to a wide range of sportive and visual-poetic ways of writing derived from the normal hieroglyphic system and the usual conventions of Egyptian art.[9]

Location and Iconographic Context of Djehuty's Cryptographic Texts

The cryptographic texts under study were carved on a side-wall of the courtyard of the funerary chapel of Djehuty, an official who was, among other administrative titles, "overseer of the Treasury," "overseer of works," and "overseer of the cattle of Amun" (Galán in this volume). He also held some religious titles such as "overseer of priests in Khmenu (Hermopolis)," "overseer of priests of Hathor, lady of Qis (Cusae)," "overseer of the priests and governor in the town of Herwer (Hur)," and "great of five in the house of Thot," which permit us to suppose a Middle Egyptian origin and, more precisely, a close attachment to the Hermopolitan province (cf. Galán in this volume). On the other hand, the names of his father and some of his sisters carved in his chapel suggest a possible Asiatic background (Galán in this volume). The peak of his career was probably during the beginning of the joint reign of Thutmose III/Hatshepsut since he was in charge of reckoning the products coming from Punt in year 9 of Thutmose III (*Urk.* IV 428–30, no. 3), and the cartouches of both kings were carved in different parts of the tomb.

Djehuty's mortuary monument was built in Dra Abu el-Naga, contrary to the chapels of other contemporary elite members, placed mainly in Asasif and Sheikh Abd el-Gurna. The reasons for this choice are not clear and could comprise different possibilities, such as a royal decision, family preferences, professional corporatism (Hartwig 2004), visual connection either with the temple of Amun at Karnak or with the procession of the "Beautiful Feast of the Valley," or the wish to rest in an "atavic" landscape shaped by previous private funerary monuments of the First Intermediate Period to the early New Kingdom, and by a royal cemetery of the Second Intermediate Period and, possibly, beginning of the New Kingdom.[10] Actually, some deviations in the plan of the monument, along with other features of the neighboring tombs — not yet excavated completely — permit to suspect that Djehuty was particularly interested in building his mortuary chapel in this already highly crowded area of the Theban necropolis.

[9] Recent introductions to cryptography are, for example, Darnell 2004 and Morenz 2008.

[10] Excavations in the courtyard have revealed some burials dated to the Eleventh Dynasty; see Galán 2009b and forthcoming. For an overview of the history of Dra Abu el-Naga, see Miniaci 2009.

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As it happens with other chapels, the great part of the features of the layout, decoration, and building techniques of TT 11 are already attested separately before conforming a deep-rooted tradition. The combination of these elements with some new ones, however, renders it as an "innovative" building (Wasmuth 2003, Heye 2008). This fact is evident, for example, in the external features of Djehuty's monument. Excavations by the Spanish-Egyptian mission at Dra Abu el-Naga, directed by José Galán (CSIC, Madrid), have uncovered an unexpectedly long and narrow courtyard which, at present, is the longest one known of a New Kingdom funerary chapel in Thebes. It is 34 meters long, almost doubling in distance the length of the courtyards of other important private funerary monuments in Thebes which, in many cases, are still awaiting complete excavation and study (Galán 2009c). On the contrary, it is only 6.3 meters wide at its entrance, and 7.6 meters wide at the façade. The narrowness probably was emphasized by the building of 3-meter-high walls flanking the courtyard.[11]

Despite the limited surface at disposal, the façade of the tomb was planned in a monumental fashion. Following other innovative coeval tombs in the necropolis, it was decorated mixing both common and original features.[12] The entrance had inscribed doorjambs and lintel carved in limestone. At either side of the entrance, two large stela-shaped inscriptions were carved following a symmetrical arrangement. This setup, possibly emulated by Puiemra at TT 39, could have followed similar parallels in temples or royal monuments but no actual examples have been found in situ. The dimensions and decoration in their lunettos are very similar, but their contents and text line-ups are — as it usually happens in ancient Egypt — rather different.[13] The stela at the left of the entrance, severely damaged, displayed a hymn to Amun-Ra arranged in twenty-five vertical columns, while the one at the right, the so-called Northampton stela, included a biographical text written in twenty-five horizontal lines, part of them interrupted by two vertical columns (see below).

The monumentality of the façade was emphasized by building a masonry wall at the top, on the djebel rock, which increased its height at least 2 meters, making a total of about 5 meters. Only the rear side of this wall has remained, but following some remains it is possible to suggest that its front was decorated with friezes of large carved hieroglyphs painted in yellow ochre, what would have rendered the façade more visible and impressive.[14] This wall, unattested in other coetaneous chapels,[15] was possibly conceived to stop debris from falling down into the courtyard as a result of excavation of tombs in the upper levels of the mountain.

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[11] Mudbrick walls followed an innovative technique that is not recorded in J. A. Spencer 1979 or Kemp 2000. The bricks have a standard size (35/39 cm long × 16/18 cm wide × 10/12 cm high), but include on one of their long sides a quadrangular bulge that sticks out 0.5/1.0 cm. Possibly, they were molded in order to regularize the gaps among the bricks to be filled with mud or mortar.

[12] Concerning innovative elements in the exterior of the funerary chapels, the most remarkable examples are the chapels of Senenmut (TT 71), with an apparent *saff*-tomb façade, an alternation of palace-niche motifs and square windows, and possibly crowned by a niche sheltering a cube-statue (Kampp 1996, pp. 298–300; windows are also attested in -177-; see ibid., pp. 721–22); one of the chapels of Useramun (TT 131), with a more elaborated palace-niche façade crowned by a pyramid on a palace-niched pedestal (ibid., pp. 419–21); the chapel of Puiemra (TT 39), located at the feet of el-Khokha natural "pyramid" (Pérez-Accino 2009, p. 125), which combines a palace-niche façade with two symmetrical stelae and an external columned portico (Kampp 1996, p. 230; some of these features were emulated at the end of the reign of Thutmose III by Min (TT 109); ibid., pp. 389–90). Other tombs of this period included external decoration, such as the chapel of Intef (TT 155), a *saff*-tomb with palace-niche motifs on the pillars (ibid., pp. 441–43); the chapel of Hapuseneb (TT 67), which could have held a niche statue in the courtyard (ibid., p. 289), but whose external decoration cannot be currently ascertained. Other examples dated during the joint reign of Thutmose III/Hatshepsut, or at least during the sole reign of Thutmose III, are the tomb of Intef (TT 164), with some similarities with the chapel of Djehuty such as external decoration and two niches confronting one another (ibid. pp. 453–54); the tomb of Ahmes-Humay (TT 224), with a rock-cut courtyard with niches and stelae and with a decorated façade with figures of the owner in praising attitude and large inscriptions (ibid. pp. 498–500); or the chapel of Senimenu (TT 252), with an undecorated façade, but crowned with a triple mudbrick chapel holding statues (ibid. pp. 527–30). Another possible example could be the tomb of Nebamun (TT 146), possibly dated in the reign of Thutmose III, with a rare example of a *saff*-tomb façade built in mudbricks with an arcade possibly decorated with painted stucco (ibid., pp. 430–32). Decorated façades in contemporary tombs are also attested at other necropolises. That is the case of the tomb of Paheri at Elkab, with a large number of columns of text carved on the façade and a side-wall with a kneeling figure of Paheri addressing a religious hymn to Nekhbet (PM V, 177 (1–3)).

[13] Cf. Hornung 1985.

[14] It is not possible to ascertain if it contained a niche for holding a stela or a statue.

[15] Presence of elevated walls or *umgreifende Fassadenmauern* on rock-cut façades are usual in private tombs (see Kampp 1996, pp. 65–66). However, they were generally made either of mud-plastered rubble masonry or mudbricks. Examples of these walls during the joint reign of Thutmose III/Hatshepsut are self-evident in TT 71, TT 73, TT 131, and TT 164.

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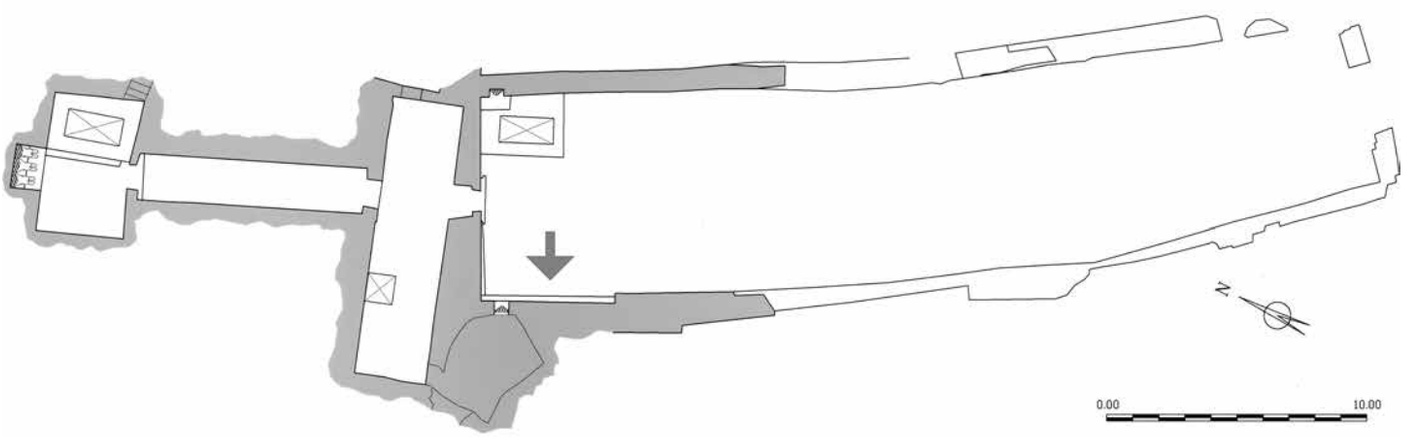

Figure 13.1. Location (marked by the arrow) of the panel with cryptographic writing in TT 11 (plan by Carlos Cabrera and Joan Ivars)

It could have been inspired by the great wall at the rear part of Hatshepsut's temple of Deir el-Bahari. According to later depictions of funerary chapels, Djehuty's wall was possibly crowned by a frieze of funerary cones formed by two different kinds of impressions (Nina Davies 1938; Zenihiro 2009, pp. 12–15) and also "three-pronged" cones and "corner brick-formed" cones. The Spanish-Egyptian mission has recovered more than two hundred cones so far (Galán and Borrego 2006, pp. 198–99).

Another particularity of Djehuty's courtyard is the presence of two niches on the side-walls. Each one included a standing life-size statue of Djehuty carved into the bedrock and painted in bright colors. They were disposed symmetrically, confronting one another, very close to the façade. Again, symmetry was not complete since the statues had different postures. The northern figure shows Djehuty in a praising gesture. The southern one, severely damaged by later interventions at the tomb, possibly depicted him holding a staff. Life-size statuary outside the tombs is rarely attested during this period[16] and could respond not only to a desire for monumentality and originality, but also serve as substitutes for false doors, placed in the courtyards of some chapels of this period (TT 24, TT 224, TT 262), and which are absent in Djehuty's monument.[17]

The cryptographic texts under study are located on the south side-wall, on a wide panel carved into the hillside, close to the currently destroyed statue, forming a shallow recess (fig. 13.1).[18] This tableau contains four scenes distributed in two registers. Its subject and arrangement outside of a funerary chapel constitutes presently an *unicum* in the courtyards of the Theban necropolis (fig. 13.2). The lower register is divided in two scenes (fig. 13.2c–d), the first showing Djehuty seated, receiving linen and unguents brought by servants, accompanied by a harpist and two women holding sistra and menats. The second records another offering scene carried out by a *sem*-priest in front of another seated image of Djehuty.[19] The upper register is formed by two symmetrical scenes that follow a common scheme: two standing figures of Djehuty with raised arms — destroyed by *damnatio memoriae* — in front of a set of offerings placed in two registers (fig. 13.2a–b).[20] The

[16] On possible examples, see Kampp 1996, p. 75.

[17] Some Ramesside private tombs replaced false doors by statues at the right and left ends of the transverse hall; cf. Fukaya 2007, p. 107. A similar substitution or equivalence between statues and false doors happened earlier with the placement of statues at the inner chamber of the chapels. For examples during the reign of Thutmose III, see TT 81, TT 125, and TT 343 (where a false door is attested in the transverse hall), TT 145, or even TT 11. For false doors at the inner chamber, see, e.g., TT 71, TT 39, TT 100, and TT 121.

[18] Another strange feature located at the left of this recess is an irregular niche carved crudely into the rock, which could be interpreted as the remains of a tomb of the First Intermediate Period that was destroyed when limestone strata were hewn to create the courtyard of Djehuty.

[19] Some red inked grid lines painted in the space separating both figures suggest that additional decoration, possibly a carved text, was projected.

[20] It is possible to hypothesize that this panel could comprise a decoration initially conceived to decorate two different walls, the one which contains currently the scenes and the opposite one. However, as the rock of the northern side-wall is badly abraded and does not permit any kind of carved decoration, the artists could have decided to concentrate the reliefs on the southern side-wall.

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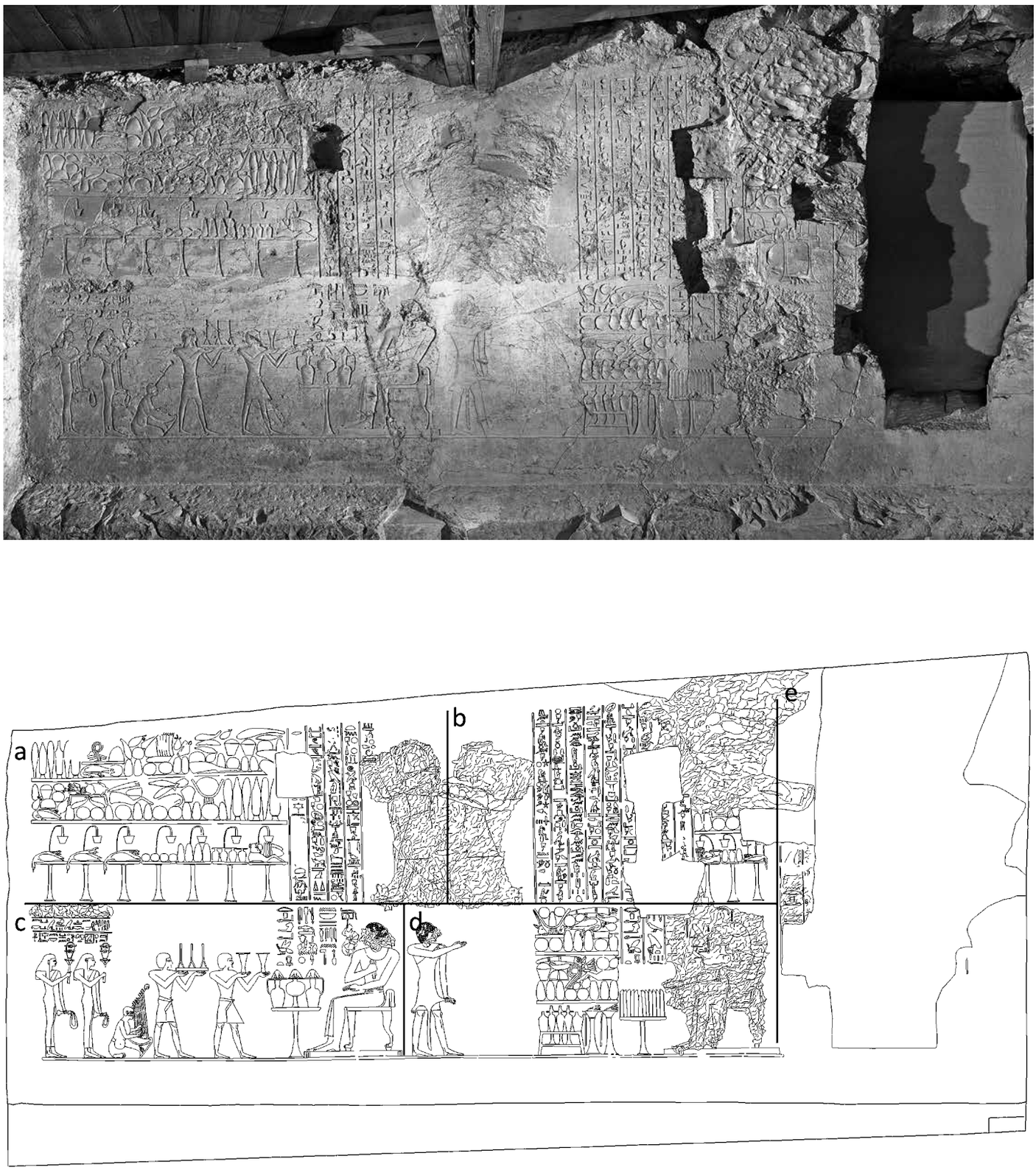

Figure 13.2. Reliefs in the south side-wall of the TT 11 courtyard and their different sections, possibly depicting the Beautiful Feast of the Valley: (*a*) Praising scene with cryptographic sun hymn; (*b*) Praising scene with cryptographic chthonic hymn; (*c*) singers, harpist, and offering bringers approaching Djehuty; (*d*) *sem*-priest making invocation offerings to Djehuty; (*e*) niche with statue (now destroyed) (photo by José Latova, drawing by Ana de Diego)

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lower one includes different tables on high stands or altars, while the upper one includes a great variety of food placed on mats. Djehuty and the offerings are separated by columns of texts containing the cryptographic hymns. The left scene, the largest one, is oriented right to left. Here Djehuty is looking leftward and outward (to the ideal east, following the ideal orientation of a funerary chapel), behind seven offering tables. The right scene shows Djehuty looking rightward and inward (to the ideal west), behind three tables.

The arrangement of the scenes recalls vaguely the ones depicted in the central chamber of the funerary chapel of Puiemra (TT 39) related to the Beautiful Feast of the Valley (Schott 1953).[21] Djehuty's panel would be a synthetic representation of that festivity too.[22] For example, offerings brought to the tomb owner or the presence of musicians singing "[...] may music be played for you and may you enjoy the things/rites given to you by Amun-Ra and Hathor, who preside in Thebes. May they give you the sweet breath of life," are good hints for such an interpretation. Actually, the cryptographic texts and the praising figures of Djehuty could form part of this festival as hymns and petitions addressed to Amun, Hathor, and other gods such as Osiris and other chthonic deities,[23] among others. Furthermore, the offering scenes and the altars with braziers before the praising images of Djehuty in the upper register could recall that festivity (Hays and Schenck 2007, p. 97 n. 1), which, apparently, was not depicted in any other part of the tomb (the walls of the left side of the transverse hall still await cleaning and study).

Previous Studies of the Cryptographic Texts

The panel including the hymns was discovered during the excavations of the Marquis of Northampton in the winter of 1898/99 (Galán 2009a). Other parts of the tomb façade were already known by Egyptologists, particularly its northern half. In the autumn of 1844 Lepsius made a very general description and copied some parts of the Northampton stela, which were partially published in the plate volumes of his *Denkmäler*.[24] Even though he mentioned the statue and the stela, he never referred to the entrance or to the rest of the decoration in the southern half of the façade. Subsequently, the unearthed parts of the tomb were possibly buried again under debris falling from the upper part of the hill, until the façade was exhumed completely by W. Spiegelberg and P. E. Newberry on January 21, 1899 (Galán 2009a, p. 159).

A photograph possibly taken shortly after the discovery shows that the hymns were practically intact except for the upper part of the first columns of the chthonic hymn, which were hacked out in ancient times (fig. 13.3). Notes recorded in Newberry's diary, currently at the archive of the Griffith Institute, indicate that both Spiegelberg and himself copied several inscriptions of the tomb during the season, and several pictures were taken. According to these notes and the report published in 1908, at least a drawing of the cryptograms and a picture of the cryptographic inscriptions were taken (Northampton, Spiegelberg, and Newberry 1908, pls. 1, 10–11; see below, figs. 13.3, 13.4b, and 13.7b). Possibly there were further pictures, notes, and preparatory drawings but, if so, they are currently unlocated.

The study of the cryptographic texts to be included in the publication was entrusted to Kurt Sethe at an imprecise moment. He could initially work with the documentation provided by the excavators, but it is clear that he visited the tomb personally in 1905,[25] and he mentions that he studied "die beiden Texte nach meinen eigenen Abschriften" (Sethe 1908, p. 4*). However, his time in TT 11 was possibly devoted mainly to the recording of the biographical inscriptions at the façade and at the interior of the chapel in order to be included in the *Urkunden* (*Urk.* IV 417–51, nos. 136–42).[26]

[21] See Davies 1922, pls. 53–54; Louant 2000, pp. 98–107, 169–70; Engelmann-von Carnap 1999, pp. 389–90, and also in this volume.

[22] Actually, the decorated wall has a long, carved step which could serve as a bench for the visitors while celebrating that feast. The curb of the funerary shaft at the north of the courtyard, just opposite that wall, could be used in the same way.

[23] See Davies 1922, pl. 54, lower register.

[24] L.*D.* III, pls. 27, 10–11, wrongly identified as "Inschriften aus dem Asasif-Tempel" (i.e., Deir el-Bahari).

[25] According to *Urk.* IV 419.17.

[26] He also published a reconstruction of a second biographical stela of Djehuty; see Northampton, Spiegelberg, and Newberry 1908, pl. 34, and unnumbered page between pp. 40 and 3*.

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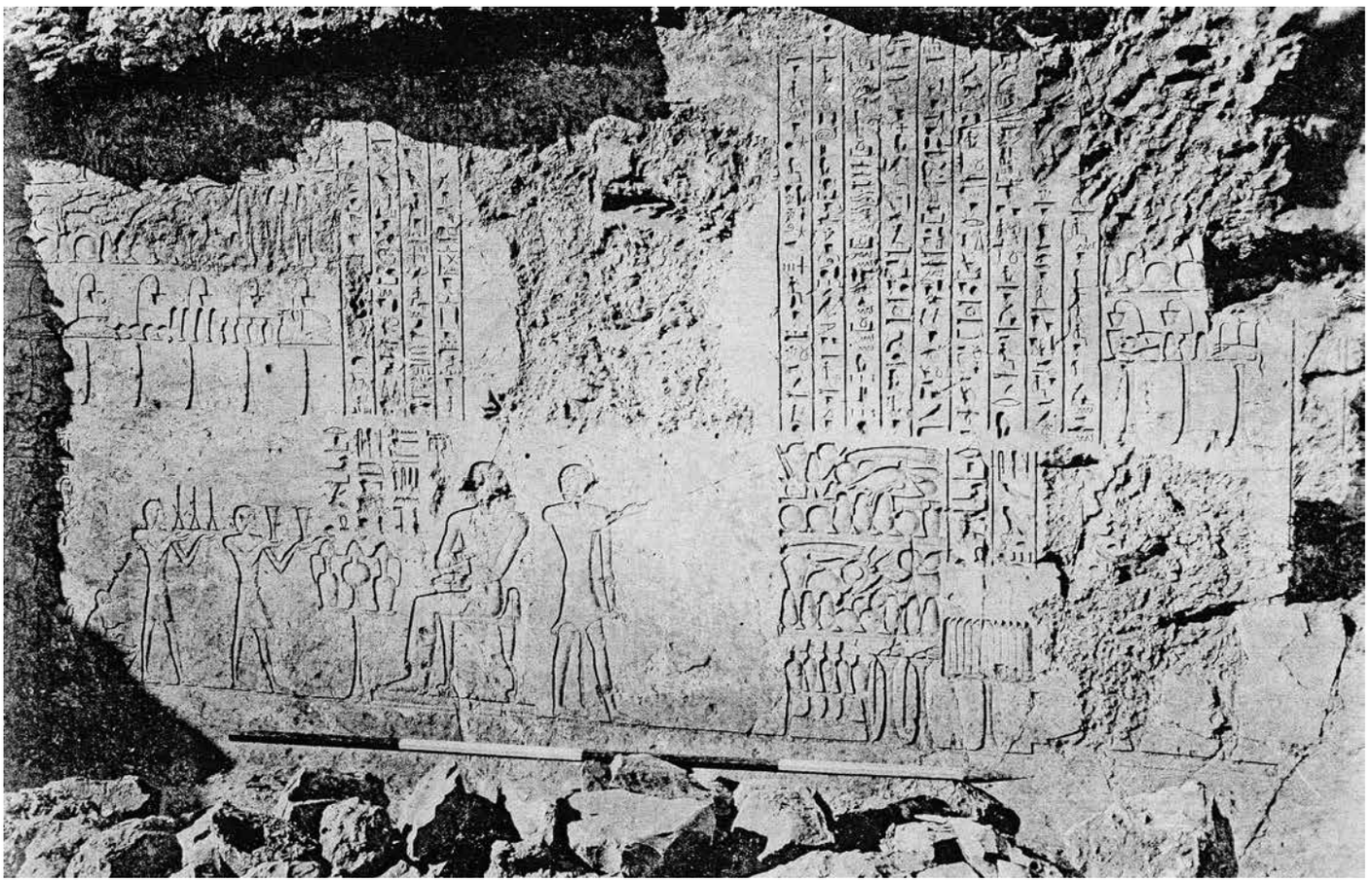

Figure 13.3. The panel on the south wall of the TT 11 courtyard showing its original state a few days after its discovery (Northampton, Spiegelberg, and Newberry 1908, pl. 10)

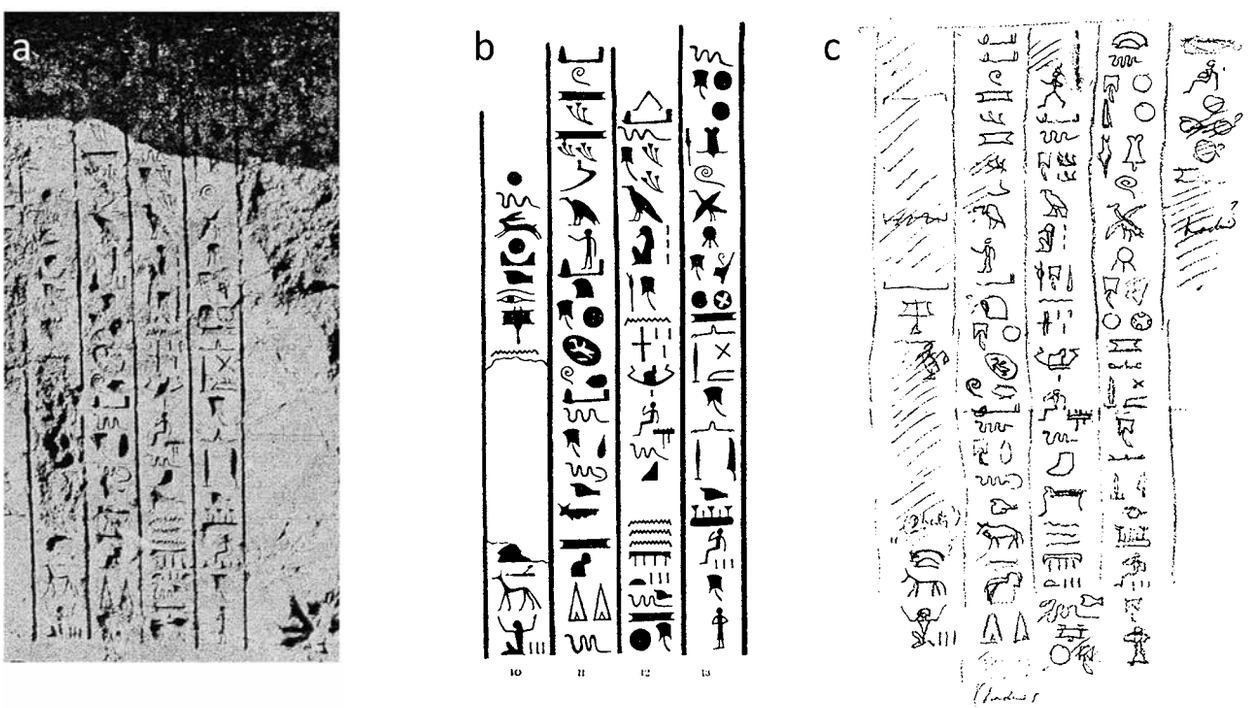

Figure 13.4. Sun hymn. (*a*) Detail from figure 13.3 showing the original state of the inscription after its discovery in winter of 1898/99. (*b*) The inscription according to an unknown epigraphist (Northampton, Spiegelberg, and Newberry 1908, pl. 11). (*c*) Copy of the inscription by John Barns in the winter of 1952/53 (Barns MSS 2.3.32; courtesy of the Griffith Institute, Oxford)

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The edition of the hymns as an appendix in the report of Northampton's excavations (Sethe 1908) shows some faults and incongruities that can be explained by a neglected recording, or partial loss of the notes Sethe could take on the field.[27] On the one hand, as stated above, the photograph published in the report, probably made immediately after the discovery of the wall, shows the complete panel (figs. 13.3, 13.4a–b, and 13.7). The shadow projected by the protruding cornice at the top of the wall does not permit the viewer to appreciate the signs of the uppermost portion of the columns, particularly in the sun hymn, where the fifth column is completely illegible. The line drawing included in the same publication omitted also some signs of the upper part of the texts (figs. 13.4b and 13.7b), but the number of signs unrecorded here is fewer than the illegible ones in the picture. Thus one may suspect that the drawing was copied from a different and unpublished picture. Unfortunately, it is not possible to know if the drawing was traced by Spiegelberg and Newberry or, less possibly, by Sethe himself. On the other hand, the text edited and translated by Sethe (1908) included signs obviated or not visible neither in the picture nor in the drawing. This fact suggests, as Sethe stated, that he copied or collated the inscriptions directly. Nevertheless, some mistakes can be detected again in his edition; the omission of the fifth column of the sun hymn is the most evident. Despite these problems, Sethe's study, made when knowledge about cryptography was scarce and not well developed, turned out to be a significant progress in the understanding of the so-called "normal" or "ordinaire" cryptography (Darnell 2004, p. 14; Drioton 1934, p. 10) and would attain an unexpected importance since considerable parts of the text were subsequently lost.

Possibly soon after Sethe's visit, the tombs of Djehuty and Hery (TT 12) were entered by thieves who removed several fragments from the walls.[28] In the case of TT 11, some blocks were taken from the façade, particularly from the Northampton stela and the cryptographic texts. They were not extracted by sawing the rock as was the common practice, but by taking out ancient inserted limestone blocks that were attached to the wall with mortar. The damage affected the beginning of the sun hymn, where a block was extracted, and the beginning of the chthonic hymn, where three joining blocks were removed (figs. 13.2 and 13.3). Part of one block was subsequently discarded by the thieves and abandoned 20 meters to the north of its original place, by the tomb of Baki, where it was rediscovered in 2003.[29]

Because of these and similar episodes, by the end of 1906 the Antiquities Service, under the auspices of his Upper Egypt inspector in chief, Arthur Weigall, A. H. Gardiner, and R. Mond began to secure the tombs by locking them and protecting their most sensible external parts (Gardiner and Weigall 1913, pp. 7–8). According to the notebook kept for 1909–1910 by Weigall's assistant, Charles Gordon Jelf, work in TT 11 took place during December of 1909 and January of 1910, building a roofed structure to protect its external decoration and close the tomb.[30] Between the extraction of the blocks and the protection of the façade, some pictures were taken (Galán 2009a, pp. 179–80), and one of them (Griffith Institute AHG/28 651), shows that the state of the southern wall hasn't changed during the last century.

Despite their length, antiquity, and interest, Djehuty's cryptographic texts have not attracted the attention of researchers after Sethe's study. Deterioration of the reliefs, restricted access to the tomb, and the aforementioned problems detected in the *editio princeps* could explain that apparent disinterest. In fact, Étienne Drioton, who improved considerably the understanding of Egyptian cryptography, barely mentioned these hymns. In his 1933 article on private cryptography of the Eighteenth Dynasty, he considered Sethe's interpretation as "magistrale" but, at the same time, regretted "l'absence dans sa publication [i.e., Northampton's report], d'une bonne photographie de l'inscription" (Drioton 1933a, pp. 1, 2 n. 3). If it had existed, or if he had the chance to visit the tomb, he would have included it in his study. Actually, in the same article, Drioton suggested a different reading for a sign attested in both hymns (ibid., p. 37 n. 1).

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[27] Mistakes are also evident in the edition of the stela with a hymn to Amun-Ra in *Urk.* IV 444–47.139. In this case, Sethe didn't take personal notes, and used those taken by Spiegelberg; see Galán 2009a, p. 166.

[28] On the robbers' activity in TT 12, see Galán and Menéndez 2011, pp. 162–66.

[29] Currently labeled DAN-TT11/12-03/13/2-15HOO-1.

[30] "Notebook containing notes on work in Theban Tombs, financed by Sir Robert Mond, 1909–10," p. 37. This document is currently kept at the Griffith Institute, Oxford (see also Betrò 2009, pp. 59–60, fig. 34). I am very grateful to the Griffith Institute for permitting me to consult it.

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Visits to the tomb-chapel by different scholars such as N. de G. Davies in 1926, S. Schott in 1937, or T. Säve-Söderbergh in 1956 did not add new insights to these texts (Galán 2009a, pp. 169–71). There is only one exception: in the winter of 1952/53, Josef Janssen and John Barns worked briefly at the tomb, and the latter made some sketches of several inscriptions, including the complete text of the sun hymn, which is currently kept at the archive of the Griffith Institute (fig. 13.4c). Subsequently, Djehuty's hymns have not received further attention. They have not been included in any anthology of religious hymns, nor have they been seriously revisited in the recent studies on Egyptian cryptography by John C. Darnell (2004) and Ludwig Morenz (2008).[31]

Recent work in the tomb-chapel by the Spanish-Egyptian Mission at Dra Abu el-Naga has allowed us to appreciate that both texts deserve a new edition, even more so as the study of the cryptographic writing has developed considerably since Sethe's days, and it has been possible to read some signs omitted or badly recorded. Furthermore, it seems reasonable to analyze them as part of a wider iconographic context (fig. 13.2). For example, the left hymn, addressed to a solar deity, is connected to the offering altars and the praising figure of Djehuty oriented eastward (and outward) of the tomb. On the contrary, the right hymn, devoted to Osiris and Ptah-Ta-Tjenen, relates to similar iconographic elements oriented westward (and inward).

The Cryptographic Hymns

A. The Sun Hymn (Sethe's "Zweiter Text")

Sethe's interpretation of the sun hymn (figs. 13.4, 13.5, 13.6) has been considerably improved since he misread, omitted, or simply did not translate some of the signs (Sethe 1908, p. 7*). The following translation needs, in any case, an explanation. As stated below, cryptography is considered here mainly as a writing tool devoted to show the wit and capabilities of authors. Consequently, it was a convenient arena for displaying phrases and puns with double meaning. The possibility of different readings has been considered but, for the sake of clarity, only two possibilities have been included, relegating others to subsequent notes.

> 1| *ỉnḏ-ḥr=(k) ỉmn/rʿ*[a] *ỉrr ʿwt ḫꜣs.(w)t*[b] *m mꜣꜣ*[c] *ʿn[ḫ.w (?)]*[d] *[...]*[e] *ḫʿw (m) ỉꜣbt*[f] *ḥḥ.w/nḥḥ* 2| *dd(w) wn=ỉ šw m nr(w) ỉm*[g] *ʿḫm sꜣb ḥḏ(?)*[h] *ỉmy (ỉ)wnw*[i] *mfk(ꜣ)t(y)*[j] *prỉ m knst*[k] *rdỉ n=f* 3| *ḏwꜣ ỉn*[l] *mfk(ꜣ)ty.w*[m] *wḏ=k mdw*[n] *n ỉmy.w wỉꜣ ḫsf=sn sḏr*[o] *n ỉꜣdt/nšnt=f*[p] *m wꜣt=k* 4| *ḫʿ=k ns(w)t/ḫt=k*[q] *nsrt sḫm*[r] *ṯnw ḥḏ/psḏ=k*[s] *n*[t] *nnw*[u] *n ḏꜣỉ ỉm=k n ḏꜣỉ m šms(w).w=k*[v] *ỉnk*[w] 5| *šms(w) rʿ n nnw*[x]

xxx Text currently lost but recorded by Sethe and visible in Northampton's picture.

xxx Text not recorded by Sethe but currently visible.

> 1| Hail to (you) Amun/Ra, who creates the wild of the deserts, watching the living [beings] [...]; who appears in the East millions (of times)/for ever; 2| who permits that I exist being free from fear therein; the colorful and bright divine image who is in Heliopolis; he of the turquoise, who came out from Kenset. May be said to him 3| praises by those of the turquoise. You command the words of those who are in the ship. They prevent to be exposed to his (evil) influence/rage in your way. 4| Your crown/fire (is) the flame of the powerful one. Every time you illuminate/brighten the primaeval waters no one opposes against you. No one opposes against your followers. I am (indeed) 5| a follower of Ra in the primaeval waters.

a) The beginning of the hymn sets out some problems. According to Northampton, Spiegelberg, and Newberry 1908, pls. 10–11, there was no trace of signs on the wall at the moment of its discovery. Sethe (1908, p. 7*) did not register any sign either but a lacuna, as Barns also did later. A direct observation of the inscription

[31] Darnell (2004, pp. 5, 17–18, 21–27) groups some private cryptographic or enigmatic texts from tombs as "Dra Abu el-Naga texts," but barely mentions the hymns from TT 11.

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confirms an unexpected blank in the upper part of the column. Some accidental traces create a shape similar to , but its irregular outline and faint incision discards a deliberate carving. Therefore, the space was left blank on purpose. Since the inscription was carved on limestone (*inr ḥḏ*), the author may employ the phonetic value of this type of rock with cryptographic intention. For other examples of materiality as a means of cryptography, see Seidlmayer 1991, pp. 323–24; Eldamaty 2005, 2010. It could be thus read as:

a.1) "So I say to the brilliant one" (*in*(*=i*) *r ḥḏ*). On *i/in* "to say," see Faulkner 1935, p. 180 n. 4, where the relation between the verb and the preposition *r* in the Pyramid Texts is underlined. However, this reading seems rather unusual and less plausible than the following alternative.

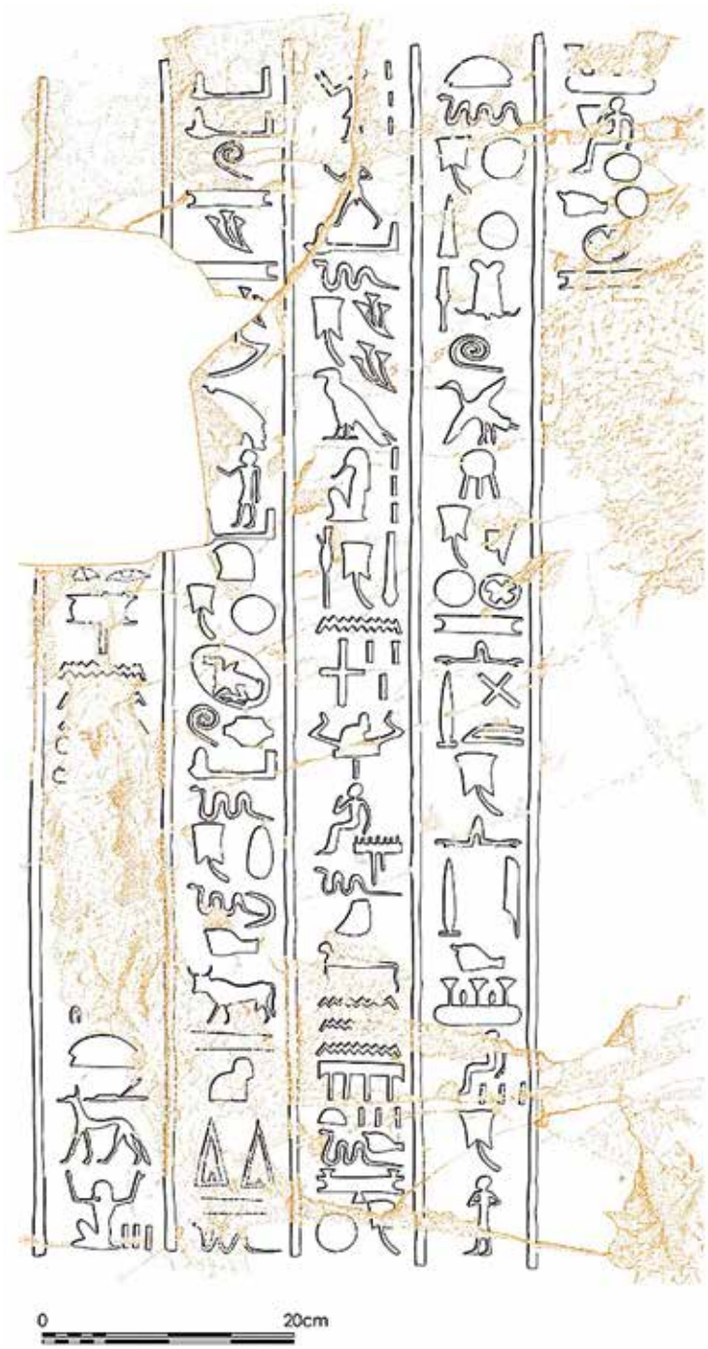

Figure 13.5. The sun hymn in 2009 (drawing by Ana García Martín)

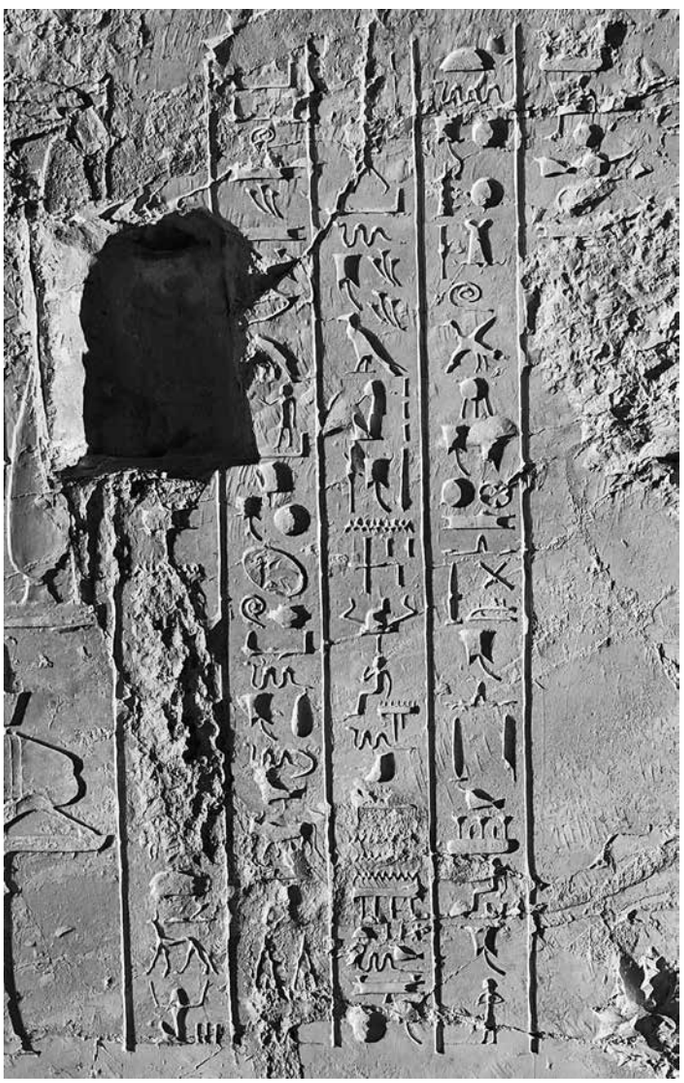

Figure 13.6. The sun hymn in 2011 (photo by José Latova)

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a.2) "Hail to you, Amun/Ra" (*ỉnḏ ḥr=(k) ỉmn/rꜥ*). *ỉnr ḥḏ* could be read as a metathesis of *ỉnḏ ḥr=(k)*, the usual opening formula of many religious hymns, as the one in the façade of Djehuty's chapel. Concerning the addressee of the dedication, the blank could suggest two possible deities. The first one is, obviously, Amun, "the hidden one," as his name has not been written out. However, since it is a blank surface, the rock itself could be also read as *ỉnr ḥḏ šw* "empty limestone" (cf. Eldamaty 2010), *šw* being a writing for "sun, sunlight" (*Wb.* IV 430.6–431.12), and, therefore, an indirect reference to Ra.

b) These signs, carved on a block embedded on the wall which is currently lost, were recorded in Sethe's study. They permit several alternative readings:

b.1) Sethe (1908, p. 7*, nos. 147–50) proposed the reading "[...]*t=f wn ḥr ḫꜣst/ḏw*, seine..., der eilt über die Fremdländer." Despite being the simpler solution, this interpretation creates some difficulties. First, the total absence of previous signs that could complete the alleged gap [...]*t=f*; and second, the value of ○ as *ḥr*, unattested elsewhere.

b.2) "Who jumps the mountain(s)" (*tft ḏw.(w)/ḫꜣs.(w)t*), that is, "who rises behind the mountains." The jumping hare would be here a semagram for *tfỉ*, which has been occasionally translated as "aufschnellen" (*Wb.* IV 298.10). However, this meaning is rare and its occurrences point to its intransitivity. Moreover, the use of *tfỉ* in sun hymns or in divine epithets is unprecedented. If this reading is correct, the final ○ is possibly a *t*-phonogram indicating an active participle of a 3ae-inf. verb.

b.3) "Who creates the animals of the desert/mountain" (*ỉrr ꜥwt ḫꜣst*). This reading seems to be the most plausible one despite being an unexpected beginning (on the role of the sun god as creator of the living beings, see, for example, P. Boulaq 17 = CG 58038, 1.6; 8.2; Luiselli 2004). The active participle of the verb *ỉr* is written as *ỉr* + *r* (○ + 𓈖) (Drioton 1933a, p. 38, no. 39 and p. 43, no. 103; Darnell 2004, p. 509, D12 and pp. 602–03, I14). The hare, currently lost, could actually be a jumping oryx, goat, or gazelle whose horns, carved on the gypsum, took the appearance of hare ears.

c) Sethe (1908, p. 7*, no. 152) recorded 𓂋, and Barns overlooked them; but signs 𓂋 𓂋 are still legible on the wall despite being carved on a very badly eroded gypsum surface. This usual and old writing of *mꜣꜣ/ptr* (Morenz 2008, pp. 170–71) appears in the form of two *wḏꜣt*-eyes in the neighboring, and probably coetaneous, tomb of Mentuherkhepeshef (TT 20; N. de G. Davies 1913, pl. 7).

d) The interpretation of these signs, left untranslated by Sethe (1908, p. 7*, nos. 153–54), is preliminary, since the following hieroglyphs are currently illegible. There are two alternatives:

d.1) "Living/the living ones" (*ꜥn[ḫ]/ꜥn[ḫ.w]*). 𓏏 could be read as *ꜥ* (Drioton 1940, pp. 323–24, 427, no. 185). That reading fits well with the following signs. After the sail, Sethe (1908, p. 7*, no. 154) reads 𓈖, but on the wall there are clear traces of the group-sign 𓈖, *mw*, which has the value *n* in the third column of this hymn.

d.2) "The totality" (*tmw*). The mast could also be read as *t/ṯ* after *ṯ(ꜣw)*, according to the cryptographic text of the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus dated to the end of the Seventeenth Dynasty (Morenz 1996, p. 196). Furthermore, a similar expression, "seeing the totality" (*mꜣꜣ/ptr tmw* (?)), is attested in CT VI 399h = spell 768 (T1L).

e) This part of the wall had several cracks, which were plastered with gypsum and subsequently carved with some cryptograms. Currently this plastered surface is severely eroded. It is difficult to determine if it was intentionally hacked or not. Just few traces of signs are discernible, especially at its bottom, but they do not permit any clear restoration (maybe a *wꜣs*-scepter and a kneeling figure?). In his sketch of the hymn (fig. 13.4c), Barns wrote "(*ḏḥwty*)" in this part of the lacuna, but he didn't offer any explanation for the restoration.

f) Sethe (1908, p. 7*, nos. 156–57) translated this passage as "... *ḫꜥw wꜥ sb ḥḥw*, [herrlich] an Erscheinung, der eine, der sendet Millionen." The sign 𓂋 is read in other inscriptions as *w* from *w(ꜥ)* (Drioton 1933a, p.

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48, no. 160). Here, however, it could have an unprecedented value, as the preposition *m* from *m*(*sny*) "he of the harpoon" (*Wb.* II 144.4–7). Concerning as *i*ꜣ*bt*, see Darnell 2004, p. 32 n. 86, p. 594, E17. Barns wrote a question mark after ; the sign is, however, clearly legible.

g) The first sign, , was omitted in Northampton, Spiegelberg, and Newberry 1908, pl. 11, and it is not visible in the published picture. However, Sethe (1908, p. 7*, nos. 158–64) recorded rightly . He read: "*djj wn inj*(*j*) *ḳmꜣ nr fꜣi* ꜥ, der veranlaßt das Sein (?), der Heliopolitaner, der schafft Schrecken, mit erhobenem Arm." However, a reading *dd*(*w*) *wn*=*i šw m nr*(*w*) *im* seems more plausible. The second could be read by substitution of shape as *š*, since, conversely, can be read as *m* after , *m*(*r*) (Drioton 1933a, p. 46, no. 129). could have the value *m* (for this value in later periods, see Schneider 1992, pp. 376–77; Daumas 1988, p. 691, no. 2492). The published picture and drawing in Northampton, Spiegelberg, and Newberry 1908, pls. 10–11, permits to guess that there was no additional hieroglyph at the left of , even though Sethe (1908, p. 7*, no. 163) filled the blank with , suggesting a lost or illegible sign. could be read in different ways. Here, a value *i* is probable (Drioton 1933a, p. 36, no. 8). The following sign (according to Sethe 1908, p. 7*, no. 164) turns out to be , since remains of the bread on the hand are visible on the wall. Its phonetic value would be *m* (Drioton 1933a, p. 39, no. 47). An alternative reading of the two last signs is *dwꜣ m* "who rises early as."

h) The interpretation of this passage is particularly evasive. Sethe (1908, p. 7*, nos. 165–66) read "*bik ḥr*, der Falke ?" The identification of the first sign as seems clear. It could be read indistinctly, following a *pars pro toto* identification, as *bik* "hawk," or as *ꜥḫm*/*ꜥḥm* "divine image." The following signs, , do not offer a clear meaning. The group recalls the cryptographic epithet related to the god Ihy on a statue of the prince Khaemwaset (Nineteenth Dynasty) (Gomaà 1973, pp. 86, 123, fig. 23, no. 58; *KRI* II 889.2, Kitchen 1999, p. 594, §1080.D). *LGG* II 208 reads it cautiously as "*ꜥḫm sꜣb wbn n itf*=*f*, das bunte Götterbild, das für seinen Vater aufgeht." The signs in Djehuty's hymn could be read similarly, being a derivation of shape from , *sꜣb* "many colored," and a sun disk, as an allusion to any word expressing "bright/shiny" (*wbni*, *ḥḏ*, *stt*) or, maybe, "sun disk" (*itn*) (see Goldwasser 1997, pp. 80–81). The epithet of the sun god as "variegated in color" (*sꜣb*) appears, for example, in the fourth hour of the *Amduat*, first attested to the joint reign of Thutmose III/Hatshepsut. There, Khepri "lingers in his forms of a god of variegated feathers" (*ḥtp*=*f m ir.w*=*f n nṯr zꜣb šw*) (Hornung 1992b, p. 382, no. 326; Minas-Nerpel 2006, pp. 161–62, n. 501).

i) Sethe (1908, p. 7*, nos. 167–68) translated as "*imyw ꜣbw*, die Bewohner von Elephantine (?)." Having in mind the solar context of the composition, *imy* (*i*)*wnw* is more convincing, considering as a substitution of kind for , because it recalls the Heliopolitan roots of the sun god. Furthermore, a sentence in singular fits better than one in plural.

j) Sethe (1908, p. 7*, no. 169) read *mfki* (?), leaving the word untranslated. The symbolism of this mineral is related to the sun regeneration and to the lunar raising phase (Aufrère 1991, pp. 489–517). Turquoise recalls the rays of sun at dawn, as it is stated in a variant of chapter 15 of the Book of the Dead (var. A2b; see T. G. Allen 1974, pp. 17–18), where this mineral is related to Punt, a region considered one of the places where the sun regenerated daily. A hymn from the tomb of Amenemhat (TT 53; PM I², 102–04, reign of Thutmose III) begins: "hail to you [Ra, who appears] as turquoise" (*inḏ-ḥr*=*k* [*rꜥ wbn*] *m mfkꜣt*) (Assmann 1983, pp. 98–99, no. 66:1, n. a). On this epithet and its plural, see *LGG* III 278.

k) Sethe (1908, p. 7*, nos. 170–74) left this passage partially untranslated: "*prj m kꜣ … …*, der hervorkam aus/als e. Stier." Having in mind the solar content of the text, the most feasible reading is "who goes out from Kenset" (*pr.w m knst*) (*LGG* III 96). would have the value *k* from *k*(*ꜣ*) "bull." The throne ( ) would be a variation of shape for , *st* (Darnell 2004, p. 612, Q12; Drioton 1940, p. 426, no. 177). The epithet is very convenient within the religious context of the hymn, since it evokes the rising sun coming up from a distant eastern region. It appears both in the Pyramid Texts and in the Coffin Texts, where it is placed in the geographic sphere connected to the ascending of the sun (PT §§920a–c; §§1244a–45d), and it is related to a sacrificed bull and to several shared offerings given to the bull, the sun, and Osiris (PT §§121a–d; and particularly CT III 53a–d, where the bull is in charge of the distribution of offerings to the sun and Osiris). Later

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texts place it in the East, as a transitional area between night and day (Žabkar 1975, pp. 24–35; idem 1980; Inconnu-Bocquillon 2001, pp. 199–200). It is also mentioned in the *Sonnenlitanei* already in the early stages of the reign of Thutmose III. In that composition "Ra appears from the interior of the Duat and the Bull of Kenset rejoices" (*ḫᶜ rᶜ m ḫnt dwꜣt nm rf kꜣ m knst*) (Hornung 1975, p. 81, no. 157; idem 1976, p. 134, nn. 368–69).

l) These signs were not recorded by Sethe (1908, p. 7*, no. 178). Barns coied . They were carved on gypsum and currently are badly eroded, but a close examination permits a sure reading.

m) Sethe (1908, p. 7*, no. 179) read *mf*(?)*kỉ ỉw*, but he didn't offer any translation. A reading as "those of turquoise" (*mfkꜣty.w*) seems clear. The signs probably indicate a *nisba*-form, which is underlined by the following *-tyw*-sign. While *mfkꜣty* in the second column refers to the sun god when rising (possibly Khepri), its plural refers to his retinue and the inhabitants of the easternmost liminal zone between the underworld and the human world. It appears seldom in religious compositions. It is already attested in the Coffin Texts, where the *mfkꜣty.w* are related to the *msktt*-ship (the night ship) of Ra (CT VI 269a–d). In some religious texts possibly created in Djehuty's lifetime there are references to the "turquoise gods" or the "gods of those of the turquoise." The Book of the Day, a composition which might date back to the Second Intermediate Period (but whose first attestations date to the second half of the Twentieth Dynasty; Müller-Roth 2008a, pp. 543–44), mentions the term at the initial stages of the text in connection with the raising of Ra in the horizon: "making *hnw*-gestures and praising Ra by the turquoise gods, coming out from the thighs of Nut, raising from the eastern door of the horizon and appearing in the eyes of the *henmemet*" (*ỉrt hnw dwꜣ rᶜ ỉn nṯr.w mfkꜣty.w pr*(*t*) *m rꜣ.wy nwt wbn m r*(*ꜣ*) *ỉꜣbty ꜣḫt ḫᶜt m ỉr.ty ḥnmmt*). This text is followed by another passage that also recalls the hymn of Djehuty, since it mentions "the lords over the fields of turquoise under the persea tree which is in the middle of Heliopolis" (*nb.w ḥr sḫt mfkꜣt ḫr išd m ḥr-ỉb ỉwnw*) (ibid., pp. 164–73, Beischriften E and F respectively). The Book of Amduat also mentions both the turquoise gods and "those of turquoise" during the last hour of the night in relation with the impending rising of the sun. Here "those of the turquoise acclaim Ra after he is settled in the sky. He appears to the sight of the *henmemet*" (*ddỉ mfkꜣtyw hnw rᶜ m-ḫt ḥtpw m pt ḫᶜ.f m ỉr.ty ḥnmmt*) (Hornung 1963, vol. 1, p. 196; vol. 2, pp. 187–88; 1994, pp. 813–14, no. 833). A more indirect relation between the turquoise and the rising of the ship of Ra also appears in chapter 109 of the Book of the Dead, which was actually written in the burial chamber of Djehuty (Galán in this volume): "I am a sailor without rest in the ship of Ra and I know these two sycamores of turquoise between which (Ra) has come out/gone up" (*ỉnk ḫny n wrd wn=f* (?) *m wiꜣ n rᶜ ỉw rḫ.kỉ nh.ty ṯwy nty m mfkꜣt prrt* (*rᶜ*) *ỉmy.wt=sny*).

n) The sign , clearly visible on the wall, was omitted in Northampton, Spiegelberg, and Newberry 1908, pl. 11, but is noticeable in the picture on ibid. pl. 10, and it was recorded in Sethe 1908, p. 7*, no. 181.

o) The sign , visible despite being carved on gypsum, was also omitted in Northampton, Spiegelberg, and Newberry 1908, pl. 11. Sethe (1908, p. 7*, no. 186) included it.

p) The expression *sḏr n ỉꜣdt=f* seems clear. According to *Wb.* IV 391.2–3, it means "to be exposed to his medicine dews all night long." In the present case the "dew" (*ỉꜣdt*) would be the evil influence of Apep. Actually, the phonogram for *ỉꜣdt* can also be read as *nšn.wt*, possibly "storms" or "rage" (*Wb.* II 341.17). Sethe (1908, p. 7*, nos. 185–88) read "*ḫśf-śn śḏr mw ỉꜣdt-f*, daß sie verhindern, daß nachts sich lege das Wasser seines (deines Gegners) Thaus." There is a similar expression in Djehuty's funerary chamber. This evil deity appears in the "Spell for passing the dangerous sandback (*ṯs w ḳsn*) of Apep," or chapter 7 of the Book of the Dead, significantly placed between chapters 99B and 102, which are connected to the sun boat.

q) is omitted in Northampton, Spiegelberg, and Newberry 1908, pl. 11, even though it is clearly visible on the wall. Sethe (1908, p. 7*, nos. 191–95) read this passage either as "*ḫᶜr-k*?/*ḫᶜj r-k*?, du wütest?/erscheine du?" A translation "your crown/your fire" (*ḫᶜ=k*/*ḫt=k*) as the initial part of a nominal sentence seems, however, preferable. would be a semagram of *ḫᶜ* "crown" (*Wb.* III 242.6); or a *t*-phonogram for *ḫt* "fire" (Darnell 2004, p. 602, I9; p. 603, I14).

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r) Signs were read by Sethe (1908, p. 7*, nos. 192–95) as "*ḥr śpd ḥr śḫm*, indem du bereit, indem du mächtig bist." A better solution is *nsrt sḫm/nsrt rᶜ sḫm*. The initial would be an *n*-phonogram, as it happens in the sentences following (Drioton 1933a, p. 38, no. 39). would have the phonetic value *srt* or *sr*, from , *srt* "spin" (*Wb.* IV 190.24–191.2). The sign was omitted in Northampton, Spiegelberg, and Newberry 1908, pl. 11, and it was misread by Sethe (1908, p. 7*, no. 193) as , *śpd*, probably because of the crack that breaks horizontally the sign. has to be related either to the *nsrt*-flame, being "the powerful one" (*sḫm*), or to the previous , which could be read as "the image of Ra" (*sḫm rᶜ*) (*Wb.* IV 244.21–23). Therefore, the passage would refer to the effectiveness of Ra's uraeus against his enemies.

s) The following sentence can be read, again, in two different ways:

s.1) "Every time you illuminate/brighten" ([*r*] *ṯnw sp psḏ/wbn/s.ḥḏ=k*). would be read as *ṯn*, being a *pars pro toto* representation of god Ta-Tjenen (Drioton 1933a, p. 47, no. 156). could be read as *sp* "time, occasion," from , *sp*(*ỉ*) "to let fly" (*Wb.* IV 100.21). Since *r ṯnw sp* is not used at the beginning of a sentence, it would be subordinated to the previous nominal sentence.

s.2) A more feasible reading is, as Sethe (1908, p. 7*, nos. 196–97) suggested, *ṯnw psḏ/wbn/s.ḥḏ=k*. These signs offer different alternative readings. Firstly, would be the phonogram *p* from *p*(*ỉ*), being an auxiliary phonogram of , which would be used here both as a logogram and semagram for *psḏ*. Secondly, the bird and the sun disk could also be read as *s.ḥḏ*, being an alternative writing of , which was used with the phonetic value *sḥ* (e.g., , *sḥwy* "summary"; *Wb.* IV 212.6–15). The cryptographic value of as *wbn* "to appear" (where would have the value *w*; see Darnell 2004, p. 600, G40), is attested in roughly coeval royal funerary texts, where it is also used for *ḥḏ* "to bright" (Grapow 1936b, p. 26). All these verbs employ, although rarely, the preposition *n*, commented on in the following note.

t) Sethe (1908, p. 7*, no. 198) read , *św*. In Northampton, Spiegelberg, and Newberry 1908, pl. 11, it is recorded as . The sign, however, is clearly , being an *n*-phonogram (Drioton 1933a, p. 47, no. 154; Hornung 1983, p. 34).

u) Sethe (1908, p. 7*, no. 198) read as "*ḥr nwnw*, auf dem Nun." As it has already been stated, reading *ḥr* for should be discarded (see n. b.1, above). The whole group could be read *nnw*. probably has the value *nw* (which is not attested in any other cryptographic text, where it usually has the value *p*; Drioton 1933a, p. 46, no. 138; Satzinger 1985, p. 32; Darnell 2004, p. 611, O49). is perhaps used as a semagram in substitution of .

v) The reading *šmśw-k* by Sethe (1908, p. 7*, no. 207) seems right. has different values (Drioton 1933a, p. 36, no. 7; Darnell 2004, p. 588, A17; p. 29, n. 72). In Djehuty's cryptographic texts the sign had the phonetic values *ms* and *ḫ*. The former is not attested in any other New Kingdom text but it became common in later times (Daumas 1988, p. 15, no. 237; p. 16, no. 239). The "followers" are clearly the followers of Ra, well attested in religious texts from the Old Kingdom onward (*LGG* VII 87, 90–91).

w) was read by Sethe (1908, p. 7*, no. 208) as *ḏt* "eternally," since "zweimal am Schluß eines Spruches, also vielleicht *ḏt*, 'ewig' (ibid. p. 8*)." However, its value, having in mind that the hymn continues in the following column, has to be *ỉnk*, from *ỉnḳ* "to wrap" (Drioton 1933a, p. 37, no. 11, n. 1, where he rightly felt that this sign at the end of Djehuty's text was written "pour amorcer une phrase qui devait se continuer dans la partie martelée de la paroi").

x) Inexplicably, the last column of the text was omitted in Sethe's study. The signs, along with the previous *ỉnk*, form a nominal sentence whose content is emphasized by *ỉnk* at the bottom of the fourth column. I read them as *šmsw rᶜ m nnw*. Barns recorded all the signs and described the following space as a "hacked ?" lacuna. The erasing corresponds, however, to the praising figure of Djehuty related to the hymn.

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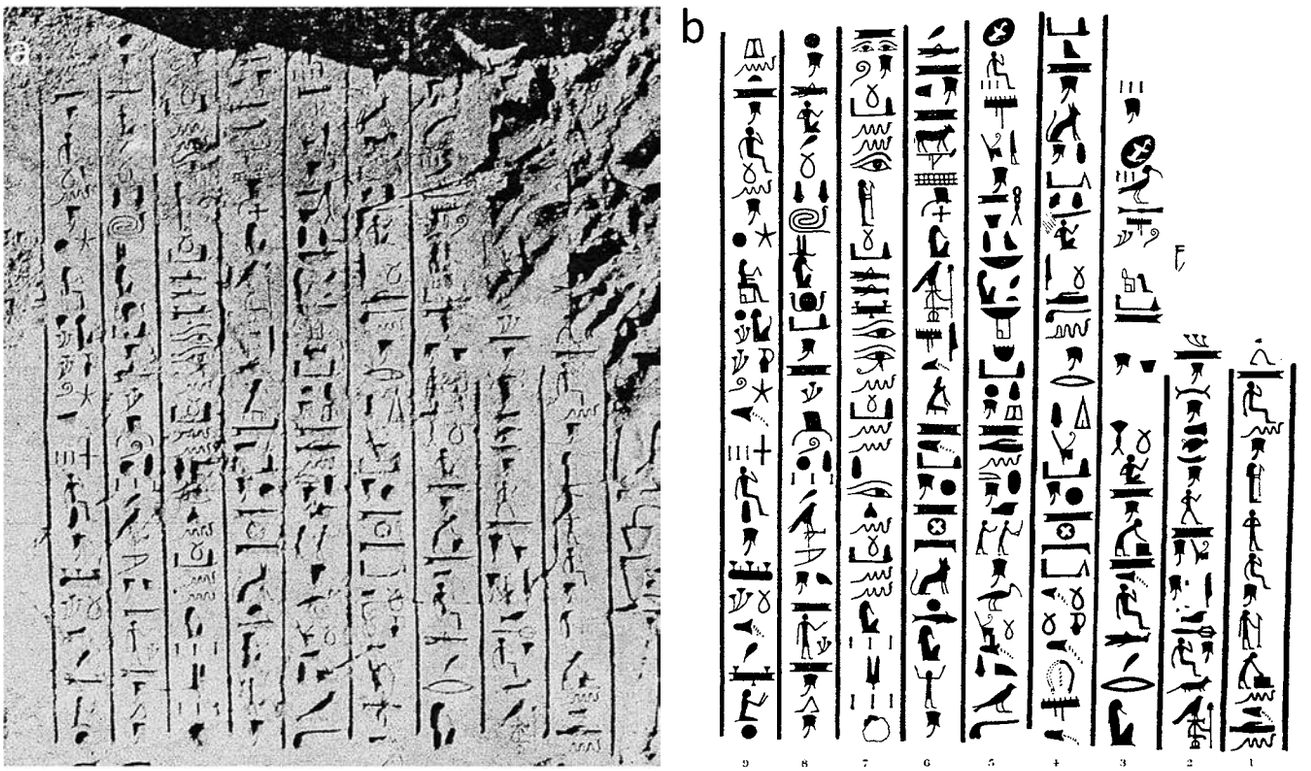

Figure 13.7. The chthonic hymn. (*a*) Detail of figure 13.3 showing the original state of the inscription after its discovery in the winter of 1898/99. (*b*) The inscription according to a drawing by an unknown illustrator (Northampton, Spiegelberg, and Newberry 1908, pl. 11)

B. The Chthonic Hymn (Sethe's "Erster Text")

Despite its length, this text (Sethe 1908, pp. 4*–6*; figs. 13.7–9) is easily readable, as its first half is formed by different passages taken from the Pyramid Texts. Sethe, who was studying that corpus during the same period, analyzed the cryptographic texts and identified almost all the passages (ibid., pp. 4*–5*). Subsequently, Jochem Kahl (1996, p. 21) and Harold Hays and William Schenk (2007, p. 97 n. 1) have confirmed and increased the number of identifications. Furthermore, some new passages have been detected below. The up-to-date sequence beginning at the end of the first column and stopping at the middle of the sixth column follows the pattern PT [x(?)] + §§835b–c (utterance 450) + [§§1626/776a–b (utterance 592/426)] + §§1627a–b + §§1628a–c + §§1629a–c + §§1630a–d (utterance 593) + §776b (utterance 426) + §1703a (utterance 609).[32]

Apparently, this "copy and paste" composition, which describes the reassembling of Osiris' corpse and his regenerative power, mixed different sections from the so-called *Spruchfolge* C (passages from utterances 450 and 426), attested in the pyramids of Pepy I, Merenre, and Pepy II, as well as in several Middle Kingdom coffins; and *Spruchfolge* D (passages from utterance 593) also documented in Middle Kingdom coffins (Altenmüller 1972, pp. 47–50). The subsequent columns form a different and unprecedented composition addressed to Ptah and Ta-Tjenen, two other chthonic deities.

The beginning of the hymn is lost. The first signs were severely hacked out in the past, and it is impossible to ascertain if they were cancelled by the systematic *damnatio memoriae* against Djehuty (Galán in this volume), by the Amarna iconoclasm (Der Manuelian 1999), or/and by later interventions. Furthermore, some legible parts disappeared when several blocks were stolen from the wall. The whole text is arranged in nine vertical columns. A remarkable feature is the absence of vertical dividing lines between the upper

[32] Underlined passages indicate new passages detected by the author; brackets [ ] indicate a passage with the same content but different words from the original Pyramid Text.

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Figure 13.8. The chthonic hymn in 2009, with block DAN-TT11/12-03/13/2-15HOO-1 placed in its original position (drawing by Ana García Martín)

half of the first (?), second, and third columns. This omission was consciously done, since there is no trace of preparatory lines or unfinished carvings. The function or interpretation of this "unruled" part of the hymn is unknown but, in any case, it apparently does not permit an independent reading, that is, a smaller hymn inside the bigger one.

The current translation of the hymn is close to the one made by Sethe, but there are some additions and minor new readings:

[1]| [...][a] [...][b] *iw.n=(i) ḥr=k ḥrw*[c] *ink*[d] *ms/sꜣ=k*[e] *ḥrw nḏ=f tw ḏd=f*[f] [2]| PT 835a? *[...] n=k*[g] [...] PT 835b[*iᶜb(?)*]*=i*[h] *n=[k] ks.w=k*[i] *dmḏ=i*[j] *n=k n=k*[k] *ᶜwt=k* PT 835c*in=(i) n=k i[b]=k m ḫt=k* Similar in content to PT 1626 & PT 776a–b *ḥᶜ (?) kꜣ/twt=k*[l] [3]| *imy(tw) [imn?]ty.w*[m] *sḫm/ḥrp=k imy.(w) ꜣḫ.w tz ḥꜣ/ṯsw r* (?) *wsir/nṯr* (?)[n] PT 1627a*rdi=(i) n=k ᶜ=k ᶜḥᶜ=i*[o] PT 1627b*sk=i*[p]

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n=k PT 1628a*nḏ=n tw ḥr m r(ȝ) nṯr.(w)*q ⁴| PT 1628b*dỉ=sn n=k ḥfty=k* PT 1628c*ḫw=sn wt=f sỉḏ=(f) r=k* PT 1629a*ṛdi.t(y) n mwt=k nwt ḫw=s tw* PT 1629b*ḫnm=s tw inḳ=s tw* ⁵| PT 1629c*ỉmy ms.w=s* PT 1630a*ỉỉ.n=k ḥnᶜ sn.t(y)=k ȝst nbt-ḥwt* PT 1630b*ḥm=sn (i)m*r *ḥr=k* PT 1630c*nḏr=sn m=k m ḥw=k gm=sn tw* PT 1630d*km.tỉ wrt* ⁶| *m rn=k pw n km-wr* PT 776b*sḫm m nṯr.w kȝ.w(=sn) ỉst*s PT 1703a*ms=n tw mwt=k nwt m rs-wḏȝt* (?) *ḥᶜ.k* ⁷| *n mȝȝ=k w(i)*u *mỉ mrr=(i) mȝȝ ptḥ* (?)v *mỉ mrr ḥrw mȝȝ ỉrt=f mỉ mrr st(ḥ)*w *mȝȝ ḫr.wy=f mỉ mrr nṯr.w ḫᶜ.w/šwyt=sn*x ⁸| *ỉr=k rf/iry=ỉ*y *m mỉtt ḏt (ptḥ tȝ)-tnn*z *ny-swt bity*aa *dỉ=k*ab *n=ỉ ȝwt m mr nṯr/mry nṯr* (?)ac *sḏm=k n nis/mdw/iȝw/dwȝ=ỉ n=k ᶜnn=k* ⁹| *ḫr/ḫr*ad *ḏ(d)t=ỉ n=k/ḏ(d).t(w) n=k ḫsr/ḫsf=k dwȝt/sk*ae *sḫmt*af *iryt=ỉ ḫnm=ỉ dwȝ.w tw ỉmy.w-ḫt=k šȝst/nmỉt m wȝt ỉmnt/ m ḥrwt.*ag

xxx Text currently lost but recorded in Northampton, Spiegelberg, and Newberry 1908, pl. 11, and Sethe 1908

xxx Text currently lost, copied in Sethe 1908, but not recorded in Northampton, Spiegelberg, and Newberry 1908, pl. 11

xxx Text not recorded by Sethe.

xxx Pyramid Text reference

xxx Passage similar in content, but not in form, to Pyramid Text spells

¹| [...] I have come before you. Horus, I am your son Horus, he avenges you. He (?) places (?) ²| [...] to you [...] I [join] to you your bones. I unite to you, to you, your limbs. I put (lit. bring) to you your he[ar]t in your body. Your royal form appears ³| among the [...] ones and your power/you command among the *akhu*. I join/tie Osiris/the god. (I) give your arm to you, I stand up and I wipe you. "We protect you" so it is said from the mouth of the god(s). ⁴| They give to you your enemy. They prevent that he spits saliva against you. You are given to your mother Nut. She protects you and she takes care over you. She embraces you, ⁵| who is among her children. You have come with your sister(s) Isis and Neftis. They seat in the place you are. They take you in their search for you. They find you. You are very black ⁶| in this name of yours of "Great Black" who is powerful among the gods and their *ka*s as well (because) your mother Nut has begotten you as "the awaken one/the undamaged awaken one." I rejoice ⁷| because you see me as I wish to see Ptah, as Horus wishes to see his eye, as Seth wishes to see his testicle(s), as the gods want (to see?) their crowns/sacred figures/equipment. ⁸| May you act (concerning me?) in a similar way eternally. (Ptah Ta)-Tjenen, Dual King, may you give me gifts as a beloved of god/as far as a god wants. May you hear my praise to you, (and) may you bring (it) back ⁹| with (all) I have asked you/with all what has been said to you. May you put aside the dawn/pain of Sekhmet in whatever have to do with myself, (because) I join those who are praising you, your followers who travel by the roads of the West/who traverse heaven.

Figure 13.9. The chthonic hymn in 2011, with block DAN-TT11/12-03/13/2-15HOO-1 placed in its original position (photo by José Latova; minor block photo by the author)

a) Unfortunately, neither the picture and drawing in Northampton, Spiegelberg, and Newberry 1908, pls. 10–11, nor Sethe 1908, p. 4*, offer hints for restoring the initial words of the hymn. Direct observation of the wall has permitted identification of the first sign of the hymn at the very top of the first column as a fist, , which is followed by tiny remains of other signs, maybe depicting a seated individual followed by an apparently square-shaped sign. Since the text is clearly a parallel composition of the sun hymn, a similar beginning is to be expected, but the remaining traces do not allow an identification of the *ỉnḏ-ḥr=k* formula. The fist could be read, following a substitution of shape, as a *d*-phonogram, , being an initial writing for *dwȝ* "praising/praise to"

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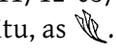
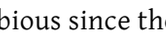
(this phonetic value is, however, unattested in other New Kingdom cryptographic compositions). A more plausible reading would be *ḏ* from *ḏrt* "hand" (Drioton 1933a, p. 39, no. 49), being the beginning of the formula *ḏd mdw* "words to be said (by)." This beginning fits well with the following columns, built up with several passages from the Pyramid Texts, generally introduced by this rubric.

b) The first discernible signs after the lacuna are the leftmost remains of some hieroglyphs on the block DAN-TT11/12-03/13/2-15HOO-1. Sethe (1908, p. 4*, no. 1) read the remains of the first legible sign, when still in situ, as . However, a recent inspection of its traces points to  (actually, the group is clear). The remains of the following signs, visible in Northampton, Spiegelberg, and Newberry 1908, pls. 10–11, are more dubious since they are currently lost. Sethe (1908, p. 4*, no. 1) restored it cautiously as (?), and left the whole group  without translation. The last two signs, , read as *i̯w.n=*(*i*), are connected to the following ones in the sentence, "I have come to you, Horus" (*i̯w.n=*(*i*) *ḥr=k ḥrw*). These words appear in some passages of the Pyramid Texts (PT §§963b–c, 964a, 966a, 967a, 968a, 1328a). Unfortunately, they do not offer any convincing interpretation for the preliminary readable signs.

c) The sign , holding with his hands a *wȝs*-scepter, is clearly a mummiform deity with falcon head. It recalls Sokar but the context suggests that it is either Horus or, less possibly, Osiris.

d) See sun hymn, note w).

e) Sethe (1908, p. 4*, no. 5) read as *sꜣ* "son." This value, as well as the value *ms* (cf. sun hymn, note x), is apparently not attested in any New Kingdom cryptographic text. The sign can be read here indistinctly with both values.

f) The lower signs of the first column are currently lost. Fortunately, all these signs were recorded in Northampton, Spiegelberg, and Newberry 1908, pls. 10–11. Sethe (1908, p. 4*, nos. 6–9) misidentified this part of the text with PT §835a. Since the beginning of the second column is barely legible, the interpretation of the last two signs remains hypothetical. Sethe's reading "(*w*)*d*(*i*)*=f*, er legt" is possible, but *ḏd* or, by haplography, *ḏd=f*, seem also feasible (would have the value of *d/f*; see Drioton 1933a, p. 43, no. 102). The hand would be *ḏ* from *ḏ*(*rt*) "hand"; see ibid., p. 39, no. 49.

g) The upper part of the column is damaged, but some traces of signs not recorded previously are discernible. Unfortunately, they do not permit any clear interpretation. The only sure reading is [...] *n=k* at the very end of that group of traces. The upper signs are too fragmentary (maybe and / /) for proposing any coherent interpretation. Having in mind that the text following was copied from PT §835b, one can expect an expression close to the final part of PT §835a: "she puts/gives your head to you" (, *wdi̯=s n=k tp=k*). The traces, however, do not permit a restoration in this direction.

h) , *i̯ꜥb* or any similar verb for "uniting" is expected, as Sethe (1908, p. 4*, no. 10) already suggested, because of the close similarity of the following lines with PT §835b.

i) DAN-TT11/12-03/13/2-15HOO-1 confirms Sethe's reading as "*n-k ḳśw-k*." Despite the small space between *n* and *ḳs.w* it is possible to fill the gap with .

j) The sign ○, as *dmḏ*, by means of a *pars pro toto* derivation, was recorded by Sethe (1908, p. 4*, no. 13) but is not legible in Northampton, Spiegelberg, and Newberry 1908, pls. 10–11.

k) According to Sethe (1908, p. 4*, no. 14, n. a): "Zwischen den beiden *n-k* ist vielleicht ein Glied ausgefallen. Oder ist etwa als Wiedergabe von inq, aufzufassen, das P. 693 [= PT §1514b] und P. 204 + 16 (unpubl.) [= PT §1035c] von den Gliedern gebraucht, belegt ist?"

l) This sequence of signs, currently lost, was not translated by Sethe (1908, p. 4*, no. 22). According to the equivalencies of , *ḫ/ms*, and , *ḥ*, they should be read as *ḫḥ*, *msḥ*, or *ḫḥ*. That reading, however, has no sense. A reading *ḫꜥ* "appear," seems possible. The sign could be actually a shrew (/, *ꜥmꜥm* / *ꜥlꜥl*) and, by the consonantal principle, could be an *ꜥ*-phonogram. These signs and the ones at the top of

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the third column can be read as "your royal image appears among the [...] ones. You command the *akhu*." Sethe (1908, p. 4*, no. 25, n. c) underlined the similarity of the passage with PT §758b (= P 13) and §839b (= P 113), but, curiously, he did not notice its closer resemblance (concerning the content, not the form) to other sentences such as PT §§776a–b: "words to be said: Osiris-N, you have appeared as Dual King because you command the gods and their *ka*s as well" (*ḏd-mdw wsir* N *ḥꜥ.n=k m ny-swt bity n sḫm=k m nṯr.w kꜣ.w=sn isṯ*); and PT §1626: "you appear as Dual King. You command all the gods and their *ka*s as well" (*ḥꜥ.ti m ny-swt bity m nṯr.w nb kꜣ.w=sn isṯ*). On other similar expressions, cf. PT §§1792i, 1899b–d.

Regarding , Sethe 1908, p. 4*, no. 23, interpreted it as *ka*, in view of the translation of the same sign in ibid., p. 6*, no. 84 (cf. note s, below). However, in this occurrence, which is probably copying PT §1626, it would have the meaning of "King of Upper and Lower Egypt," or at least as "royal *ka*/image." The figure, which copies the representations of the royal *ka*s in the temples (Spieser 2000), recalls vaguely the so-called cryptograms or monograms of Senenmut (see below) and, more closely, earlier parallel compositions (cf. Sethe 1928, pp. 250–51, pls. 5 and 16, "Bild 11").

m) The initial part of the column is very damaged. Sethe (1908, p. 4*, no. 24) interpreted it as a lacuna, but he read it as "*imy...w*, der ist unter den...." After an initial , a kind of bird is legible over three plural strokes. Whether it is a *nisba*-form (*-tyw*) or not is difficult to determine since it could also be , as *w* (Darnell 2004, pp. 596–98, G1). A possible reading, having in mind the presence of the word *akhu* below, would be "the living ones" (*ꜥnḫ.w*) (cf. PT §§1899c–d). Other possibilities such as "the Western ones" (*imnty.w*), or "the kings" (*ny-swty.w*), cannot be excluded.

n) This passage is rather obscure. As Sethe (1908, p. 5*, no. 28) did, the first signs have to be read *ṯz*, being a determinative. The sign permits a double reading. Here its value as the suffix pronoun (*=i*) matches with Horus' previous direct speech. Another possibility is *ḥꜣ* for (Darnell 2004, pp. 604–05, M2). In this case the signs could be read as "I weave protection around Osiris/the god" (*ṯs=(i) ḥꜣ wsir/nṯr*). The seated figure, now lost and apparently very damaged when the wall was discovered, should represent a god, probably Osiris. Kahl (1996, p. 12 n. 4) has seen in this passage the preceding title for the sequence PT §§1627a–1630d, which is recorded on a Late Period coffin (Kahl 1996, p. 9 document Sq 13 Sq) as *s.ꜣḫ wsir* NN *pn*. Here, according to Kahl, "der kryptographische geschriebene Text ist vermutlich *čꜣs śꜣḫ Wśir* [*ṯz s.ꜣḫ wsir*] zu lesen." This reading, however, seems improbable, since *s.ꜣḫ* cannot be read in the recorded signs.

o) The lines following are a quotation from PT §§1627a–1630d. While the first sentences of the Pyramid Texts version begin with imperatives: "stand up, give your arm to Horus" (*ꜥḥꜥ rdi.n=k ꜥ=k n ḥrw*), in the chthonic hymn the imperative is possibly transformed into a *sḏm=f* form, either with a first- or third-person singular as subject: "I/he give(s) you your arm" (*rdi=(i/f) n=k ꜥ=k*). Sethe (1908, p. 5*, nos. 33–34) read the text as an indirect speech. I rather take it (cf. note n, above) as a direct speech. In the lines following the ambiguity continues, since , visible in Northampton, Spiegelberg, and Newberry 1908, pl. 10, can be read either *=f* (Sethe 1908, p. 5*, no. 33), or *=i* (Drioton 1933a, p. 36, no. 8). Another possible reading of this passage would be "your arm is given to you," with *rdi,* a passive verb.

p) As in the previous note, could be read either as a personal pronoun *=i* (Drioton 1933a, p. 36, no. 1), or *=f*, (Sethe 1908, p. 8*, no. 34).

q) Sethe 1908, p. 5*, nos. 38–41. Curiously, *m r(ꜣ) nṯr.w* is written in the same way as the name of Osiris in the contemporary Book of Amduat (Grapow 1936b, p. 29; for identical or similar writings in earlier examples, see Lorand 2008, p. 23, p. 26 n. b; *LGG* II 528–34). Actually, the words were possibly written in this way intentionally, to render a double sense to the phrase. However, I have not been able to find any coherent and uncontrived interpretation for an alternative reading *nḏ=n tw ḫr/ḥr wsir.*

r) Sethe (1908, p. 5*, no. 66) did not read ○. According to PT §1630b, the sign should indicate a place: "they have seated there, in the place where he is" (*ḥm.n=sn m bw ḫr=k im*). The sign should probably be read as (*i*)*m* (Drioton 1933a, p. 45, no. 122, and n. 7). It could be a rebus of *m bw*, being a direct representation of a spot

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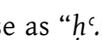
or place (*bw*). Actually, it serves as a semagram for the word , *bw* "portion/part" (*Wb.* I 452.11), during the Late Period.

s) This passage is obscure. Sethe (1908, p. 5*–6*, nos. 81–85) tentatively read it as "*imꜣḫ*?/*sḫm*? *nḏ*?/*m*? *nṯrw kꜣ.w=sn*, Geehrter, Schützlig der (?)/Mächtiger über die (?) Götter nebst ihren *Ka*'s." Phonetic or ideographic values for and are problematic. As the following words coincide in great degree with PT §776b, a reading *sḫm* for these signs is expected, as Sethe also intuited. Any identification of the signs with this phonetic sequence is, however, difficult. could be read here as a phonetic combination of two different signs similar to by means of substitution of shape: , *sḫt* and , *sm* (Grdseloff 1952, pp. 484–86). Concerning , it could be a substitution of shape from , and, therefore, an *m*-phonogram by means of the consonantal principle.

t) was read by Sethe (1908, p. 6*, no. 90) as *ḫfty* "enemy," following the same phonetic value as in the fourth column. Gramatically, however, neither that word nor the homophonic preposition has any sense here. Thus I am more inclined to read the sign as *m* (or even as *mr/mi*), by consonantal principle from *m*(*iw*) "cat." This value, although not attested in similar texts, where the cat is read either as *f* (Darnell 2004, p. 594, E13;), or *tf* (Drioton 1933a, p. 40, no. 63), is known in cryptographic compositions on scarabs (cf. Drioton 1957, p. 16, no. 3; p. 19, no. 31).

Concerning the signs following, a reading *rs* for is plausible. Therefore, the following could have the value *wḏꜣ*, as a representation of an "intact" or "complete" person (later writings of *rs wḏꜣ* as , or reinforce the idea). The notion of the "awaken and intact one" is clearly related both to Osiris from the Old Kingdom, and to Ptah-Ta-Tjenen from the reign of Thutmose III (altar Moscow, Pushkin Museum, I.1.a.6888 [4083]; Hodjash and Berlev 1982, p. 102, pp. 104–05, col. III, line x + 3). On the epithet, see van de Walle 1972; *LGG* IV 711–12, 713–15. This reading, which fits well with the general content of the hymn, has to be taken with caution, since is not well preserved on the wall as it was carved on friable gypsum. Actually, the beard is not visible and it could also have been a feminine representation referring to Nut, or acting as a feminine indicative. If the text follows *à la lettre* PT §1703b, the whole passage should be read as "your mother Nut has begotten you in the west (*m imnt*)." However, I am not able to discern any convincing way of reading *imnt* from or  .

u) Sethe (1908, p. 6*, nos. 92–99) read the phrase as "*ḥᶜ.k*(*wi*) *n ptr=k … mi mrr=*(*i*) *mꜣᶜ ptḥ*, Ich freue mich dich zu sehen … wie ich liebe zu sehen den Ptah." A simpler solution at the beginning of the sentence is to consider , *w*, as an abbreviated dependent pronoun *w*(*i*): "I rejoice because you watch me that I want to see Ptah …." *ḥᶜ=k* "you rejoice" is also possible.

v) The reading of holding a *wꜣs*-scepter as Ptah is hypothetical, and it is based exclusively on its appearance in the last columns of the hymn as Ta-Tjenen. The sign shows clearly a long curved beard, not worn by this god. It could indicate another god such as Osiris, even though the iconography of this god with a *wꜣs*-scepter would be unusual too.

w) Currently, the name for Seth and the eye below it are badly preserved because they were carved in gypsum. However, in Northampton, Spiegelberg, and Newberry 1908, pl. 10, the signs are rather clear. In ibid., pl. 11, was omitted.

x) Sethe (1908, p. 6*, no. 113) did not transliterate the sign of the crown. It offers different possibilities. The two tall feathers (*šw.ty*) could be a reference both to this kind of crown as symbol of power and to the images of the gods, since *nṯr šwyt* (*Wb.* IV 433.1–3) means "sacred figure/image." This could be also the same if the sign would be read *ḫᶜ.w/ḫᶜw*, since that word means "diadem," "appearance," and also "weapons," "equipment" indistinctively.

y) Sethe (1908, p. 6*, no. 114–15) read this passage as "*irj-k r-f*, mögest du thun." There are at least two possible readings for these signs. The first one is considering as the enclitic particle *rf*, following *sḏm=f* in expressions of wish. Another option, less probable, is considering the same signs as "concerning me" (*iry=i*)

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with a different writing from in the last line, where it is written , *ỉryt=ỉ*, since "against me" (*r=ỉ*) does not fit well with the general nuance of the hymn.

z) Sethe (1908, p. 6*, no. 119) read the divine figure as Ptah. Its crown, however, seems to indicate a more precise deity, Ptah Ta-Tjenen, since the same headdress was used in some later cryptographic texts with the value *ṯn* (Drioton 1933a, p. 47, no. 156).

aa) The sun disk with two uraei was read in later periods as *ny-swt bỉty* "Dual King" (Daumas 1988, pp. 379–80, nos. 491, 493, 495, 499, 507, and 511).

ab) , inscribed on gypsum, is currently illegible, but it is visible on Northampton, Spiegelberg, and Newberry 1908, pl. 10.

ac) The reading of the signs seems to be clear: = *nṯr* (Drioton 1940, p. 412, no. 39); = *mr*. Since there is a possible honorific transposition, these signs can be read either as "beloved of god" (*mry nṯr*), or as "the god wants" (*mr nṯr*). I am more inclined for the first option.

ad) On the equivalence of as *ḫr*, see Darnell 2004, p. 613, T28.

ae) Different readings, all of them with similar meanings, are possible here: can be read as "dawn" (*dwꜣw*), being a determinative; it can be also read as "odor/smell" (*st*), having the value *s* (Drioton 1933a, p. 45, no. 124). Another possibility is reading the star as *sk* (see ibid.) and the complete word as *skt*, meaning either "passing" (*Wb.* IV 313.15), "pain" (*Wb.* IV 313.14), or "destruction (?)" (from *Wb.* IV 312.18–313.10, *skỉ* "to destroy"). The star could be also read as *ḫˁ* according to a later cryptographic equivalence (Drioton 1940, p. 409, no. 3), meaning "appearance" (*ḫˁyt*) (Meeks 1980, p. 272, no. 77.3011; Meeks 1981, p. 212, no. 79.2160). In any case, the nuance seems clear: Djehuty is asking the god to be away from the destructive wrath of the *déesse lointaine* (see note af, below).

af) The figure shows clearly a goddess with a lion head. She should be identified with Sekhmet as Ptah's wife, or any other goddess related to the *déesse lointaine* myth, such as Tefnut or Hathor.

ag) The last signs express a similar idea by means of two possible and synonymous readings. can be read either as *šꜣst*, having the phonetic value *s*(*w*), or *nmỉt* (for as *n*; cf. Darnell 2004, p. 606, M8); , *ỉ*, would be a phonetic complement of , *mỉ*. can be read either as *wꜣt ỉmnt* (as *ỉmn*, and as *t*) or, possibly, as *ḥrwt*, if = *ḥr*, as it occurs in the seventh column; and = *w* (Drioton 1940, p. 421, no. 122). This passage is, no doubt, the best example of the ambiguity and multiplicity of readings displayed in these cryptographic texts.

Sociocultural Contexts of the Cryptographic Texts

The location, nature, functions, and contents of these hymns follow different but closely connected objectives. They are analyzed below in two different sections according to their religious and sociopolitical agential motivations and aims.[33] Of course, this division is artificial and biased by current ideas, not by ancient Egyptian perceptions and experiences.

A. The Hymns in the Religious Sphere

Both hymns share some common religious features and aims. First, the iconographical context where they were inscribed suggests, as already stated, their possible relation with the Beautiful Feast of the Valley, when religious hymns were addressed to different deities (Schott 1953).

[33] On agency in ancient Egypt, particularly in the creation of private funerary monuments, see, for example, Vischak 2006.

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Second, the hymns hold hints that indicate that Djehuty had access to ancient and new restricted religious knowledge (Baines 1990). While some passages in both hymns bring to mind ancient traditions and ideas, other features reflect ideas that were developing and shaping in exclusive cultural circles during the joint reign of Thutmose III and Hatshepsut. The solar hymn is a good example of this. As it becomes common from this moment on in this kind of composition, it is mainly built up by the juxtaposition of different eulogies (Assmann 1995, pp. 111–20).[34] On the other hand, allusions to the dawn in expressions such as "he/those of the turquoise," or "who came out from Kenset," recall aforementioned passages from the Pyramid and Coffin Texts but, above all, from the royal-addressed Amduat and *Sonnenlitanei*. These compositions were displayed for the first time during this period along with other ones such as the second hour of the Book of the Night, the Theological Treatise, and the Hymn of the Baboons Who Announce Ra, which were inscribed in the sun altar of Deir el-Bahari (Karkowski 2003, pp. 157–224), or the *Stundenritual*, which was carved in the chapel of the funerary cult of Hatshepsut in the same temple (Naville 1901, pls. 114–16), in the memorial temple of Thutmose III (Ricke 1939, pls. 8–10), and possibly also at Karnak (Graefe n.d.).[35]

Ideas and literal passages from these new compositions inspired and formed part of the so-called *Sonnenreligion* trend (Hegenbarth-Reichardt 2006, pp. 45–47). For example, a kneeling statue of the "scribe of the overseer of the treasure" (*sš imy-r pr ḥḏ*) Sety, who could have been an assistant of Djehuty himself, contains a sun hymn composed partially by the beginning of the first hour of the day of the *Stundenritual* (Brooklyn 37.263E; James 1974, p. 75, no. 176).[36] A particularly eloquent example is the presence of the exclusive royal funerary texts of the Amduat and *Sonnenlitanei* in the burial chamber of one of the funerary chapels of the vizier Useramun (TT 61) (Hornung 1961; Hornung in Dziobek 1994, pp. 42–47), possibly emulating texts in the royal tombs of Thutmose I (KV 38) and Hatshepsut (KV 20).[37] Furthermore, the creation of similar burial chambers with religious texts by other officials such as Djehuty (Galán in this volume), could be following — with due respect — the path marked by the kings whom they served, or by the vizier.

While official compositions no doubt served as model for coetaneous private hymns,[38] some influences could follow the opposite direction, from the private, or at least court sphere, to the royal one, since these different fields of action were tightly connected by means of private individuals acting as instigators, creators, copyists, or archivists both of official and private religious texts.[39] For example, the hours of the night of the *Stundenritual*, attested in Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahari, were formed by a sort of collage from different chapters of the Book of the Dead (at least chapters 17, 22, 24–26, 28, 42, 59, 67–68, and 71–74), which were already reproduced independently in different private and court funerary texts (Barwik 1998, p. 114; Graefe n.d., contra Quirke 2001, pp. 57–58).[40] On the other hand, some traditions could emerge simultaneously both in royal and official spheres during this period, as it apparently happened with the protective magical bricks (Régen 2002, p. 992 n. 8; Davoli 2004, pp. 62–63, doc. no. 1; Franzmeier 2010),[41] or, *mutatis mutandis*,

[34] The hymn to Amun-Ra carved on the façade of Djehuty's tomb-chapel can be included in the same kind of composition.

[35] The Deir el-Bahari *Stundenritual* is currently under study by Miroslav Barwick.

[36] Some palaeographic features of Sety's inscription suggest that he copied the hymn from a hieratic original (James 1974, p. 75). Was it the same one that served as model for the temple inscription?

[37] On the decoration of KV 38 and KV 20 with the Amduat, see Mauric-Barberio 2001; Roehrig 2006, p. 245, p. 256 n. 47, contra Hornung 1999, p. 27. Another tomb which possibly was planned to be written with this composition was KV 42 (Hatshepsut-Merytra's tomb?); see el-Bialy 1999, p. 163. The burial equipment of TT 61 also included the first examples of magical bricks found so far, maybe along with the tomb of Puiemra (TT 39; see Kampp 1996, pp. 232–33). They could antedate the first examples in royal tombs dated to the sole reign of Thutmose III (KV 34).

[38] On the royal influence on private art during this period, see, for example, Bernhauer 2002.

[39] A similar situation can be observed in art, with some artistic workshops active both in royal and private monuments; see Delvaux 2009.

[40] For example, chapters 22, 24–26, and 28 were written on the walls of the burial chamber of Djehuty (TT 11; cf. Galán, in this volume); chapter 22 was written in JdE 96810 (Ahmes-henut-Tjemehu, early Eighteenth Dynasty; Munro 1994, pp. 1–11); and Louvre E.1105 (Ahmes, early Eighteenth Dynasty) (Munro 1995), which also contained chapter 42. Torino cat. no. 65003 (Ahmes, Seventeenth Dynasty) included chapter 71 (Ronsecco 1996, pp. 136–40). Chapter 42 is also mentioned in some papyri of the joint reign of Thutmose III/Hatshepsut (Mesemnetjer, Louvre E.21324; Hatnofret, Cairo TR 25/1/55/6; Hepres, London UC 71000); see Tarasenko 2009, p. 242.

[41] See n. 37, above. Since the first private bricks come, again, from the tomb of Useramun (TT 61), the statement in the main text could, however, be shaded.

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with the so-called name stones, only attested during the joint reign of Thutmose III/Hatshepsut (see, e.g., Hayes 1942; Iwasczuk 2009).

The chthonic hymn is, on the contrary, a clear example of knowledge and reuse of ancient texts, particularly the Pyramid Texts, which were also displayed in contemporary and later tombs (Hays and Schenck 2007). Generally speaking, this sort of antiquarianism, particularly on religious material, is well attested through the Egyptian history, and Hatshepsut's reign was no exception. A visible paradigm of it (and more extensively of the tradition phenomenon) during this period is the architecture of the queen's temple at Deir el-Bahari that emulated the neighboring temple of Montuhotep II which, at the same time, was inspired by the previous royal *saff*-tombs of the early Eleventh Dynasty. Furthermore, the iconographic program of Hatshepsut's temple also re-created subjects and models from older royal funerary complexes and temples, such as the Punt reliefs or the *Krönungsrituale* (A. M. Roth in Roehrig 2005, pp. 147–57).[42]

The chthonic hymn is just one example among others on the recovery and appreciation of the past during this period. Kings and officials shared and showed that interest by its reproduction or recreation in their monuments. For example, late Twelfth Dynasty models, particularly related to Amenemhat III (Roehrig 2005, p. 166, cat. no. 89 n. 3), Princess Neferuptah (Grajetzki 2005) and, above all, Queen Neferusobek (Callender 2002), served as inspiration for royal titles, iconography, mortuary elements, and ideas in order to ground Hatshepsut's legitimization as king. She was also related in some objects to some venerated "founders" of Egyptian history such as Montuhotep II or even Menes himself.[43] On the other hand, Middle Kingdom texts and ideas created or kept at Asyut apparently inspired or were copied by courtiers such as Senenmut (TT 353) and Puiemra (TT 39) in the decoration and maybe, in the case of the latter, in the layout of the funerary chapel (Kahl 1999, p. 321).[44] Furthermore, several Pyramid and Coffin Texts spells, along with other religious compositions, were also reproduced in some royal buildings and, possibly because of emulation, in private funerary chapels. That is the case, again, of Puiemra's tomb, where different Pyramid and Coffin Text utterances were copied *à la lettre* from the cult chapel of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari (PT spells 204–05, 207, 209–12; and CT spell 607; Gestermann 2002, pp. 236–38).[45]

Antiquarianism as part of the tradition phenomenon surely implied, as the former examples suggest, the consultation of papyri kept at archives, as Senenmut's assertion could recall: "now, I have penetrated into every writing of the priests and I am not ignorant of (everything) that happened from the first occasion in order to make flourish my offerings" (*Urk.* IV 415.14–16; Morenz 2002, p. 134).[46] Parallel "archaeological" activities are also documented in this period by *Besucherinschriften* on several venerable monuments throughout Egypt (Navratilova 2007, Verhoeven 2009, Ragazzoli 2011). They are not evidences of precocious tourism, but examples of erudite and pious scribal practices possibly connected to the celebration of individuals and achievements from the past, and the searching of ancient motifs and ideas such as the aforementioned Pyramid and Coffin Texts. A well-known example in the Theban area is the group of early Eighteenth Dynasty graffiti left on the funerary chapel of Senet (TT 60; Gardiner in N. de G. Davies 1920, pp. 27–29),[47] or other contemporary inscriptions written in the tomb of Princess Neferu at Deir el-Bahari (Helck 1952, pp. 44–45).

As a whole, Djehuty's hymns are therefore clear examples of Egyptian archaism but, above all, of "traditionalism" since, as stated above, they reflect ancient ideas from old texts displayed in an innovative way

[42] On their ancient counterparts;, see el-Awady 2009, pp. 155–83, pls. 5–6; and Roeder 1913, p. 268, respectively. See also, for example, Pawlicki 1990 (feast of the white hippopotamus); Egberts 1995 (rituals of driving the calves and consecrating the *meret*-chests); Ćwiek 2003, pp. 246–48 (ritual of hitting the ball). On other possible similarities, particularly between the temples and tombs of Hatshepsut and Montuhotep II, see Polz 2008.

[43] On Hatshepsut's evidences on devotion to Montuhotep II, see el-Enany 2003, p. 181, docs. 34–35. A scarab at the Metropolitan Museum (not numbered) links the prenomina of Thutmose III and Hatshepsut with a cartouche mentioning King Menes (Jaeger 1982, p. 127, §1023, fig. 324; p. 298 n. 291).

[44] On the recovery of a Middle Kingdom expression (*pr m ḥsw*) by Senenmut, see http://www.digitalegypt.ucl.ac.uk/seals/2inter4.html [accessed 23/11/2010].

[45] Puiemra's chapel was decorated with chapter 148 of the Book of the Dead, also attested in Hatshepsut's cult chapel (Louant 2000, p. 89). Furthermore, Puiemra's false door integrated some parts of CT Spell 467 on the false door of the northern chapel (ibid., p. 91 n. 393).

[46] Similar expressions from this period are mentioned in BM EA 1513 and tomb TT 110; see Ragazzoli in press.

[47] Some texts wrongly identified the monument with the tomb of queen Neferusobek (Parkinson 2009, p. 176). The graffiti of the tomb are currently under study by Chloé Ragazzoli.

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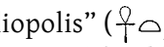
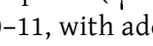
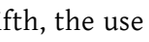
by mixing different canonical texts, by putting them in connection with other new ideas, and by displaying them in new forms (cryptography) and places (in the southern wall of the courtyard).

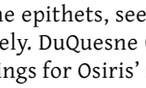
Third, the closing sections of both hymns indicate that their final aim was the securing of divine favor by establishing a *do ut des* relationship. In both cases Djehuty defines himself as a member of the followers of both groups of deities, Amun/Ra and Osiris/Ptah, and consequently he asks them for protection and power against the enemies in a religious dimension. Similar statements come from other coetaneous funerary chapels. The funerary monument of Senenmut at Deir el-Bahari (TT 353) includes a sun hymn with a final sentence that recalls Djehuty's wishes: "(Ra), who knows the roads in the Duat, plentiful in crossing the sky, shall cause Apopi to go astray every time. Words spoken by the great steward Senenmut: 'I have (indeed) overthrown your enemi(es), oh Ra'" (Dorman 1991, p. 134, C7–12). Another example from the provinces is attested at the tomb-chapel of Paheri at Elkab, where the owner ended a rather conventional hymn to Osiris with the following words: "I have come before you, my lord, in peace. May you satisfy me! The offerings are for you. Listen to my petitions! May you act according to what I have said (since) I am one of those who adore you!" (Baines 1991, p. 174 n. 144).

These early manifestations of "personal piety" (Luiselli 2008) express an underlying trend that possibly dates back to the beginning of the Egyptian religion (Baines 1987, 1991), and it is evident in the pre-Amarna Eighteenth Dynasty through some phenomena of imprecise date such as religious hymns in tombs, on ostraca and papyri (Assmann 1995, pp. 102–32; Franke 2010), praises and petitions to Amun written on limestone chips (Posener 1975) and rock inscriptions (Darnell 2010), or different votive objects addressed to deities (Pinch and Waraksa 2009).

Fourth, the reference in the same context to solar and chthonic divinities recalls vaguely the Solar-Osirian conjunction ideas developed particularly in later reigns, but whose forerunners date back to the Old and Middle Kingdoms (DuQuesne 2006; Darnell 2004; Spalinger 2009, pp. 100–02). During the lifetime of Djehuty this concept was clearly expressed in the aforementioned *Sonnenlitanei* and chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead (Lapp 2006), attested in early Eighteenth Dynasty private and royal examples (e.g., the shroud of Thutmose III), and being a later development of a previous spell from the Coffin Texts (spell 335; DuQuesne 2006, pp. 27–30). Attestations for the connection Osiris-Ra are also present at the entrance to the inner chamber of the funerary monument of Djehuty, where Osiris is mentioned with the epithets "who is alive (?) in Heliopolis" (), "the great god in Heliopolis" (), and "representative of Ra" () (*Urk.* IV 450.10–11, with additions and corrections from collating the original).[48]

Fifth, the use of cryptography in both hymns can be explained in religious terms. Despite its primary sportive aim, cryptography was considered, as stated previously, a religious tool too. On the one hand, it could be a way for hiding restricted knowledge. This inaccessible kind of information is attested in several compositions under the reign of Thutmose III. An incomplete passage of the *Texte de la jeunesse* at Karnak mentions, in connection to the king's access to some divine knowledge, some data or objects "which are hidden to the faces of the people and are hidden in the hearts of the gods [...] they are unknown and they haven't been revealed" (*Urk.* IV 159.5–17). Similar expressions referring to writings in hidden chambers — maybe the royal tomb — or secret writings that provide restricted knowledge unknown to any human are mentioned at the beginning of the *Langfassung* (Hornung 1987, pp. 100–09) and at the end of the *Kurzfassung* (ibid. pp. 94–96) of the contemporary Amduat, which included, possibly in connection with this alleged secrecy, some cryptographic passages (Hegenbarth-Reichardt 2006, pp. 59–99).

On the other hand, both writing and decoding cryptographic hymns could strengthen their religious contents and potential magical performativity. Actually, cryptography was apparently related to solar regeneration and, therefore, to life and effectiveness (Hornung and Staehelin 1976, pp. 173–80; Darnell 2004, pp. 479–81), which is referred to continuously in Djehuty's hymns. This could also explain the coeval popularization of some cryptographic formulas such as the trigrams of Amun (Drioton 1957) carved on the back

[48] On the epithets, see *LGG* II 136, *LGG* IV 400, and *LGG* VI 68, respectively. DuQuesne (2006, pp. 31–32) mentions  as writings for Osiris' name in several Twenty-first Dynasty papyri. I wonder if this cryptographic use could be inspired by the epithet *sti r*ᶜ, written similarly in TT 11.

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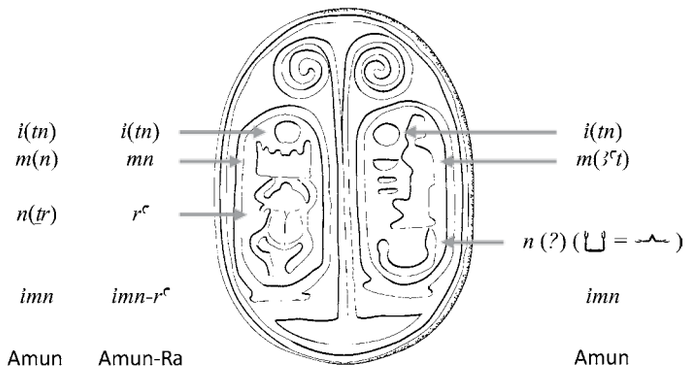

Figure 13.10. Two probable trigrams of Amun (and maybe another one of Amun-Ra) in the prenomina of Thutmose III and Hatshepsut (the reading of the epithet "lord of the Two Lands (*nb tꜣ.wy*)" inside Hatshepsut's cartouche has been obviated). Scarab discovered in one of the foundation deposits of Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahari (MMA 27.3.320; drawing by Ana García Martín after a picture in the Metropolitan Museum of Art online collection database, http://www.metmuseum.org/collection [accessed 28/01/2011])

of scarabs, where the name of this god, literally "the hidden one," acquired a special magical power, since in this way the very meaning of his name was emphasized. A thorough study on the precise date of their creation is missing, but in any case Thutmose III's prenomen — and possibly Hatshepsut's too (fig. 13.10) — were among the first examples (Hornung and Staehelin 1976, pp. 173, 175–76; Jaeger 1982, p. 94, §§415–16; pp. 168–69, §§1214–15).[49]

Finally, the location of Djehuty's hymns close to the entrance of the tomb-chapel could also be explained through the connection of "regenerative" cryptography to liminal spaces such as doors or architectural frames, as Darnell (2004, pp. 479–81) has underlined. This feature dates back at least to the Middle Kingdom, but the main examples date to the Nineteenth Dynasty in door frames and courtyards of royal temples.[50] The decoding of cryptographic texts in these spaces (i.e., the area close to the entrance) could be linked incidentally to some sort of "intellectual rite of passage" for entering properly in a religious place.

B. Intended Aims of the Texts in the Sociopolitical Sphere

Djehuty's hymns can also be approached from a sociopolitical point of view, as their unusual writing and valuable content also followed more worldly, but not less important aims. Before explaining them, it is necessary to refer the backgrounds of TT 11 cryptographic texts. This kind of writing, the so-called "normal/ordinary cryptography," was not created *ex novo* by Djehuty or by his contemporaries. Some of its signs were already used sporadically during the Middle Kingdom, both in religious and mundane compositions, written in conventional hieroglyphs (Faulkner 1981; Darnell 2004, p. 23 n. 41; Lorand 2008, p. 26 nn. b and d).[51] Texts written entirely in "normal" cryptography date back at least to the Seventeenth Dynasty. Curiously, they are mainly connected to statements concerning wits and capabilities and, furthermore, they do not originate in the Theban court. The oldest example has been recently discovered by the British Museum team directed by Vivian Davies in the tomb of Sobeknakht at Elkab. It is a short cryptographic text, possibly an invitation: "enter in my monument and offer praises to Sobeknakht!"; or, according to another reading, a sort of challenge for the visitors: "tremble (in front of) my images/writings and offer praises to Sobeknakht!"[52] Whatever the translation would be, it can be related to another text in the same tomb where Sobeknakht states: "May you be friendly and sit in this tomb without impatience (?) and may you praise to Thot, the scribe of his [...], without rush while you hear these useful words and good traditions/advices (*hpw.w*) that I have created over the earth."[53]

[49] For a clear example of a trigram of Amun from the reign of Hatshepsut, see also MMA 27.3.393, discovered in one foundation deposit from the queen's temple at Deir el-Bahari. The back of this scarab contains the inscription , which can be read as "Amun": = *i*(*tn*); = *m*(*ꜣi*); = *n*(*b*). Information from the Metropolitan Museum of Art online collection database, http://www.metmuseum.org/collection (accessed 16/11/2010). Earlier trigrams of Amun suggested by Drioton (1957 and 1958), dated back to the Old Kingdom, should be considered with extreme caution.

[50] See, for example, Drioton 1936; 1940, pp. 315–28 (nos. 2–3); a previous example is the cryptographic inscription carved on two vertical columns framing a scene in the tomb of Khety at Beni Hasan; see Newberry 1894, pl. 14.

[51] See also Fischer 1987, pp. 35–39. Some signs were also employed during the Old Kingdom, as it is the case of A27 in Gardiner's signlist with the phonographic value *in* (Gardiner 1957).

[52] I am grateful to Vivian Davies for letting me study Sobeknakht's cryptographic text. On the tomb, currently under study, see W. V. Davies 2010b.

[53] Tylor 1896, pl. 7, lines 4–5; Kubisch 2008, p. 290 (El Kab 4c).

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Another early occurrence of "normal" cryptography is a short colophon written at the end of the well-known Rhind Mathematical Papyrus.[54] This document, dated to the very end of the Second Intermediate Period and apparently coming from Thebes, was a copy of a text dated to the reign of Amenemhat III, originally written somewhere within the Hyksos political realm. The colophon, possibly later than the original Middle Kingdom text, is arranged in two columns. As Sobeknakht's example, it was written as a playful statement on scribal proficiency in connection to both the cryptographic text itself and the mathematical exercises described on the papyrus: "May you translate the strange things that the scribe placed [...], whoever say it accordingly, then, he knows it!" (Morenz 2006a; 2008, pp. 127–31).

Summing up, these examples show that the code and the semiotic mechanics involved in the development of "normal" cryptography were consciously created and used in the Second Intermediate Period — and even earlier — and were spread all over Egypt, trespassing the Theban-based royal court circle — actually, they could have been created by scribes in the provinces. Djehuty's texts, therefore, follow a previous tradition, possibly not older than a few centuries, which was developed by, and for, scribal schools. The hymns of TT 11 are particularly interesting because they are the oldest documents in normal cryptography attested in the Theban area, they are one of the longest examples in a private context, and they are exposed in a public place.

Furthermore, their composition during the joint reign of Thutmose III/Hatshepsut is significant, since, as shown below, they form part of a cultural trend of that period where cryptography was displayed in private and royal spheres in an unprecedented — but still extremely restricted — way. Of course, it does not mean that cryptography was not used in previous reigns. As stated above, there is a heterogeneous group of earlier examples indicating that this tradition came from individual wits and, therefore, it wasn't tightly linked either to any single context and moment or to any precise religious and/or worldly state-based objective. Previous cryptography comprises both private and royal documents. Along with Sobeknakht's text and the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus, there are examples, mainly from provincial southern Upper Egypt, of the use of brief ornamental and normal/ordinary cryptography for writing some words and personal names,[55] or as a revival of Middle Kingdom cryptographic formulas.[56] On the contrary, royal examples come from Thebes, or to be precise, from Karnak. One of them is an example of "ornamental cryptography" on an ostracon depicting the royal titles and names of Thutmose I (Drioton 1940, pp. 377–83, no. 6); another one is a cryptographic composition (ornamental? normal?) on an architectural element possibly recording some royal epithets or names of that king and Senwosert I (Krauss 1992, pp. 86–87).[57]

Leaving aside Djehuty's hymns, during the joint reign of Thutmose III/Hatshepsut, normal/ordinary cryptography is rarely attested. Some examples are documented in the funerary compositions of the Amduat preserved in the royal tombs and in the burial chamber of Hatshepsut's vizier, Useramun (TT 61). Both the Amduat and Djehuty's cryptographic hymns share several monoconsonantal phonograms and sign-making procedures that suggest a common background. Despite these coincidences, comparisons between their respective sign-catalogs clearly indicate that they were designed by different scribes rendering two diverse enigmatic writing codes. Amduat cryptography is restricted to brief statements, it is mixed with normal hieroglyphs, it is essentially monoconsonantal, and their phonetic values are consistent along the text (Grapow 1936b, pp. 23–29; Werning 2008).[58] On the contrary, Djehuty's texts are long, entirely cryptographic, and display a more varied and richer catalog of signs (see *Appendix*).

Along with these examples, attestations of cryptography in the joint reign of Thutmose III/Hatshepsut are diverse and rich enough to consider that during this period it was promoted both by the kings and by officials from the court scribal circles. In fact, according to contemporary and later evidence, cryptography

[54] P. BM 10057–58. For further bibliography, see Morenz 2006a; Barbotin 2008.

[55] The tomb of Bebi at Elkab (Seventeenth Dynasty) included two cryptographic writings of the god Nepri and of the *shemu*-season; see Morenz 2006b; Kubisch 2008, pp. 278–79, lines 3–3/4a. At the tomb of Sataimau at Hagr Edfu (reign of Ahmose, early Eighteenth Dynasty), the owner employed a monogram for writing one of his names: *ḥwt-ḥr m wi̯ȝ/ḫbȝt*; see W. V. Davies 2009b, p. 29.

[56] A stela from Esna (Louvre C41, Seventeenth/early Eighteenth dynasty) records a cryptographic writing of *mȝʿ-ḫrw* already attested in the Middle Kingdom; see Geßler-Löhr 1990, pp. 25–26, Beleg 2; Kubisch 2008, pp. 298–301, Esna 2.

[57] Cairo TR 27.3.25.4. On this text, not yet satisfactorily translated, see also Carlotti 2004, pp. 84–85.

[58] According to Hornung (1983, pp. 33–34), Amduat cryptography inspired later royal funerary texts such as the Book of Gates and other books of the afterlife.

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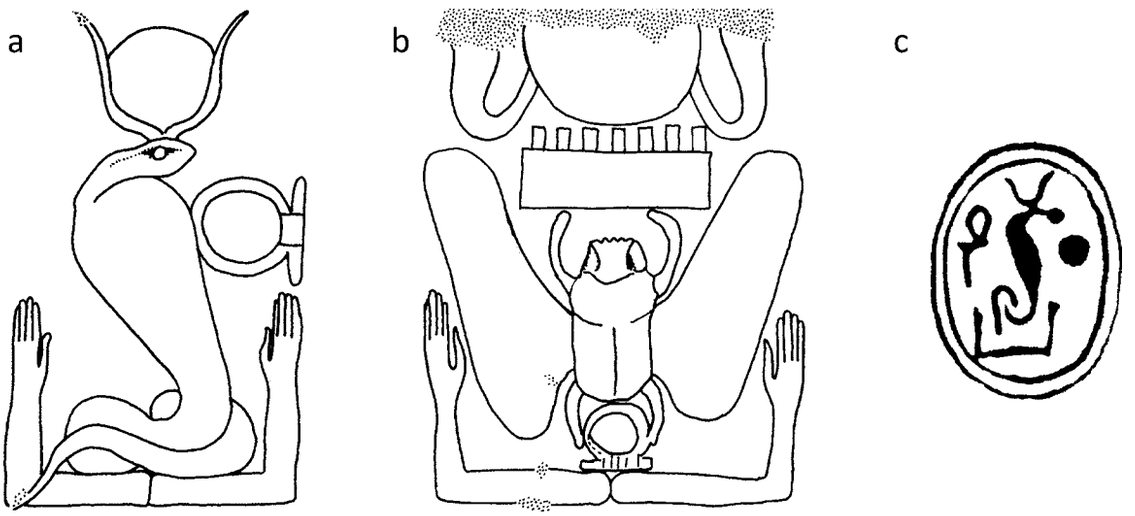

Figure 13.11. Royal monograms containing the prenomina of (*a*) Hatshepsut and (*b*) Thutmose III in their memorial temples. (*c*) depicts a similar composition of Hatshepsut's prenomen on a scarab (JdE 37074) (*a*: author's drawing after his own photo; *b*: author's drawing after Ricke 1939, pl. 1; *c*: after Drioton 1938a, p. 243, fig. 22)

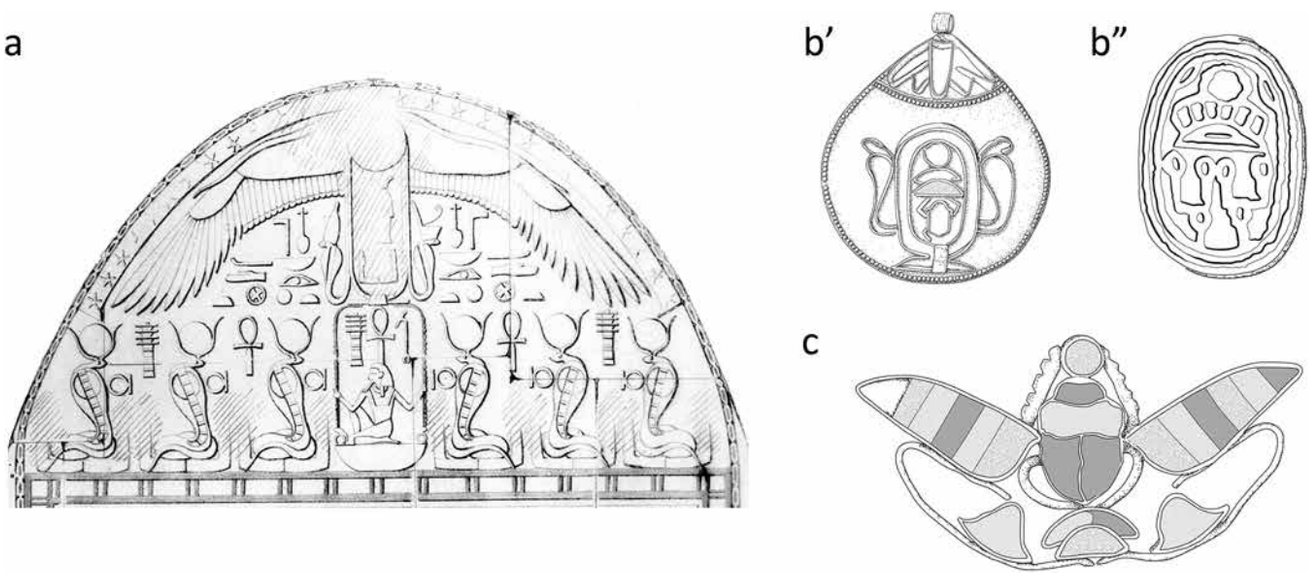

Figure 13.12. Possible inspirations for Hatshepsut "heraldry." (*a*) Wall of Hatshepsut's memorial temple at Deir el-Bahari showing different "heraldic" compositions, such as the queen's prenomen inserted in the winged disk (above), and a frieze with royal monograms (below) (Naville 1901, pl. 106). (b′–b″) Middle Kingdom examples of royal prenomina inserted in winged disks; (*b′*) is a gold shell pendant with Senwosret II's prenomen (Dashur? MMA 26.7.1353), (*b″*) is a steatite scarab containing the prenomen of Amenemhat II (unprovenanced, UC 11293). (*c*) Gold inlaid ornament of unknown provenance depicting the prenomen of Senwosret II (BM EA 54460). Illustrations *b′*, *b″*, and *c* by Ana García Martín after pictures from (*b′* and *c*) the Metropolitan Museum of Art online collection database (http://www.metmuseum.org/collection), and (*b″*) the Petrie Museum online database (http://petriecat.museums.ucl.ac.uk/search.aspx), all accessed 28/03/2011

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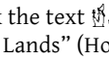
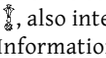
formed part of a wider phenomenon of highly competitive display of intellectual capabilities among the elite members, which gave rise to many "innovative" cultural achievements.

Still in a royal sphere, there are several attestations of the so-called "ornamental" cryptography related to the kings and, particularly, to Hatshepsut's names. The first example is, of course, the well-known queen's "monogram" depicting her prenomen (fig. 13.11a).[59] It served as a decorative pattern in some temple buildings in Thebes, but it was also incorporated into some statues of Senenmut and another individual called Djehutynefer (see note 66, below), and in the tomb of Puiemra (TT 39) (Sankiewicz 2008). It was probably created along with another monogram embodying the prenomen of Thutmose III attested in the mortuary temple of the king in western Thebes (fig. 13.11b).[60] They were emulated by later kings such as Amenhotep III, Sety I, and Ramesses II among others. Despite their apparent innovative conception, these monograms and other "heraldic" creations developed during this period were probably inspired by Middle Kingdom compositions from jewels and, particularly, scarabs, which demanded innovative and synthetic solutions due to the limited space available for writing (fig. 13.12). Actually, the royal monograms were attested, although rare, on scarabs (fig. 13.11c). Their creation seems to be related to other coetaneous ornamental cryptographic compositions on the back of some scarabs discovered in the foundation deposits at Deir el-Bahari (Hornung and Staehelin 1976, p. 173 n. 4).[61] Another alternative origin could be the motifs of branding irons or special monograms for signalling geographical provenances of cattle or materials, as is suggested by some Middle and New Kingdom evidence.[62]

These and other examples, such as the aforementioned royal prenomina as a way of writing Amun trigrams, possibly inspired or, conversely, emulated other initiatives from the private sphere. That would be, of course, the case of the TT 11 hymns, and Hatshepsut's monograms created by Senenmut (Drioton 1938a and 1938b; Roehrig 2005, p. 117). The latter were carved on the shoulders of some cube-statues of that important official that were possibly placed in prestigious public spaces like temple courtyards or entrances.[63] They were proudly displayed by Senenmut as, according to his own words, "images (*tw.wt*) that (I) created from my own idea(s) and (my) own work (*sm<t>*), which haven't been found in the writing of the ancestors" (Grdseloff 1952, pp. 485–86). These monograms are of small dimensions and, therefore, could pass unnoticed. Senenmut's boastful statement suggests, however, that, notwithstanding their dimensions, inscriptions from small private monuments could be carefully examined and studied by contemporaneous and later visitors at the temples and other locations.[64] On the other hand, despite his claim for innovation, Senenmut's figures

[59] The monogram has been read in several ways, but it is unanimously considered as Hatshepsut's prenomen; for a state of the art on the question, see Sankiewicz 2008. Note the unnoticed close connection of the monogram with the *šn*-sign, which could stand for the prenomen cartouche. It also appears in several Thutmose III and Amenhotep III monograms. The similarity of the queen's emblem with some later depictions of the goddess Renenutet, and some texts from Senenmut's statues holding it, suggest that the name strengthens the identification of Hatshepsut with the goddess; see Robins 1999b, pp. 108–10. This connection is also suggested by several epithets of the queen related to her role as provider of food and *aromata*; see Drioton 1933b, p. 42.

[60] For dating the temple during the coregency, see Ricke 1939, p. 36 (15). The king's monogram depicts a prenomen variation, *mn-ḫpr-kȝ-rᶜ*, common during the first years of his reign. This name, however, was not restricted to those years; see Laboury 1998, pp. 64–65. The name of his temple, *ḥnḳt-ᶜnḫ*, was also written occasionally as a sort of emblematic or composite hieroglyph; see Fischer 1977a, p. 16.

[61] Scarab MMA 27.3.291 depicts at the back the text  which can be read as "Dual King, lord of the Two Lands" (Hornung and Staehelin 1976, p. 173). A similar composition is scarab MMA 27.3.296, which contains the epigraph  , also interpreted as "Dual King (and lord) of the Two Lands." Information from the Metropolitan Museum online database (accessed 16/11/2010).

[62] See, for example, signs in the Ramesseum Onomasticon (Gardiner 1947, pp. 11–12) and P. Reisner II (Simpson 1965, pp. 44–47; Andrássy 2009). A similar sign, probably employed as branding iron, is mentioned and depicted in the Ramesside P. Varzy (Loffet and Matoïan 1996).

[63] The text was carved in several cube-statues of Senenmut holding princess Neferura: CG 42114, Berlin 2296, JdE 47278; see Dorman 1988, p. 188 (A.1); pp. 190–91 (A.6); pp. 192–93 (A.11).

[64] On New Kingdom private statues set up in temples, see Kjølby 2007, esp. pp. 171–76 and 211–15. A parallel to Senenmut's statues is the cube-statue of Tety (BM EA 888) from Karnak and dated to the final years of Thutmose III. It shows on and between the hands some small signs which exhibit a cryptographic composition; see Fischer 1976, pp. 126–27, figs. 2–3; Russmann 2001, pp. 124–25, cat. no. 47. Other examples are the cube-statue of Hotep (CG 563), from Ehnasya el-Medina, possibly dated to the early/mid-Eighteenth Dynasty, which displays a brief normal/ordinary cryptographic inscription in front of the hands of the donor (Borchardt 1925, pp. 111–13), and a fragment of a cube-statue of Neferka from Tell Basta dated to the reign of Amenhetep III, which contains on a remaining shoulder two columns of normal/ordinary cryptographic signs (Bernhauer in Bakr, Brandl, and Kalloniatis 2010, pp. 176–79, cat. no. 53). A recently discovered object from Abydos, however, shows that cryptography was occasionally beyond worldly exhibition. A small slab placed at the votive area of Umm el-Qaab (Dreyer et

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could form part of an older tradition, since they were possibly inspired by previous parallels, such as a personification depicted in the Dramatic Papyrus from the Ramesseum.[65] Senenmut's allegedly innovative skills on cryptography could go even further, as he included in several of his statues the queen's monogram.[66] Moreover, some tri-dimensional representations showing him taking care of Neferura, Hatshepsut's daughter, could be an ingenious and subtle rebus for depicting his own name as *snw-n-mwt* "the equal/counterpart of the mother."[67]

Senenmut's claim for personal wit, unprecedented originality, and own effort, offers an explanation for the presence of cryptography in the tomb of Djehuty and, in a more general way, for understanding the diffusion of cultural and artistic innovations during this period. Similar and roughly coetaneous claims, but from different deeds, are recorded in other biographies. The best example comes from Ineni's biography at his funerary chapel (TT 81; Dziobek 1992). Concerning his achievements as architect, he mentions: "I have thought [these deeds] for my successors. It was a creation of my heart, my success from knowledge. It wasn't given as an instruction by an elder" (*Urk.* IV 57.13–58.1; Goedicke 1986). In a less explicit way, a fragmentary biographic inscription by Amenemhat (PM 1², 457, tomb C.2), who lived during the reigns of Ahmose to, possibly, Thutmose I, can be another good example of a "tradition" maker, since he mentions the creation of a *mrḫyt*-clepsydra underlining that "never had the like been made from the primeval times," but stating, at the same time, according to the incomplete text, that he had in mind previous astronomical studies.[68]

Summing up, Djehuty's hymns, along with other features of his mortuary monument, possibly pretended to express similar values to the ones stated by Senenmut, Ineni, or Amenemhat. By means of the architectural and iconographic features of his tomb-chapel, along with his biographical compositions, Djehuty probably wanted to portray a prestigious image of himself by stressing his sociopolitical status, his economic wealth, as well as his original creativeness. His cryptographic compositions underlined this last fact. By putting them on the exterior of his funerary monument, Djehuty displayed his writing capabilities in two hymns whose form and content recall both recent and old traditions coming from the most restricted spheres of knowledge. Cryptography here, as in many other cases during the pharaonic period, served both as Djehuty's "business card" for the most educated visitors, and as a lure for trained scribes ready to face up to, or play in, an intellectual challenge. The enigmatic writing would here be a way, among many others, of strengthening the collective identity and internal communication of the scribal group by means of a sort of ludic expression.[69] At the same time, it would be a tool for distinctiveness, not just setting apart literate and illiterate people but, above all, discerning well-educated scribes (such as Djehuty) from mediocre or awkward ones.

Cryptography as a manifestation of personal capabilities is attested in different ways during the New Kingdom. It is found in texts on actual and model scribal palettes mainly of the Eighteenth Dynasty.[70] This

al. 1998, p. 129, fig. 20 and pl. 8; Effland and Effland 2004, pp. 13–16) shows at both sides two different cryptographic writings of the name and titles of Minmose, a Ramesside official who left one of these writings of his name on two statues (Bryan 1986, p. 20). There is a clear connection between the two different cryptographic compositions of the name of Minmose at both sides of the Abydene slab and a statement at its edge: "may his name endure inside Ro-Setau." Obviously, this votive object had the intention of showing both the wit and piety of this official to Osiris exclusively, and reinforcing magically the name of the donor.

[65] See chthonic hymn, note l, above. The same mechanism in similar but simpler emblems is well attested from the first dynasties; see Fischer 1972 and 1976.

[66] See, for example, Roehrig 2005, pp. 122–28, with cat. nos. 65–69. The monogram in Senenmut's statuary has been interpreted by some scholars (Drioton 1938a, pp. 238–39, Sankiewicz 2008, pp. 203–04) as evidence for considering it as a possible invention of this individual. The monogram, however, is also attested in other private objects like a scarab (see fig. 13.11c) and a statue of the official Djehutynefer (Louvre E.5416).

[67] See examples in Roehrig 2005, pp. 112–16, cat. nos. 60–61.

[68] Brunner 1956; Lull 2004, pp. 134–37. For similar coetaneous examples, see Ragazzoli in press.

[69] On another example of officials' collective identity by means of a funerary "monumental discourse," see Hartwig 2004, pp. 121–25; on scribal identity, see Ragazzoli 2010.

[70] See Drioton 1933a, pp. 14–20 (MMA 30.7.1, end of Eighteenth Dynasty); Cleveland Museum of Art 14.680 (Eighteenth Dynasty); Drioton 1944, pp. 18–26 (Louvre, formerly at Musée Guimet, no number, it is connected to a scribal set numbered E.1048–1049); Seidlmayer 1991 (Städtische Galerie Liebieghaus/Frankfurt am Main inv. no. IN 1899). The last two palettes and the scribal set are dated to the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty and were owned by the same scribe. In a similar way, palettes were suitable objects for holding expressions celebrating the proficiency of their owners or their kings (Goedicke 1988; Berlin inv. no. 7798, Fifteenth Dynasty), or praises and offerings to the god of writing, Thot (Bull 1932, p. 130, fig. 1; MMA 30.7.1; or Louvre N 3023, end Eighteenth Dynasty, information from Louvre "Atlas" database at http://cartelfr.louvre.fr/cartelfr/visite?srv=crt_frm_rs&langue=fr&initCritere=true [accessed 17/11/2010]).

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kind of writing compositions on scribal tools clearly indicates that the tomb owners wanted to mirror, and maybe exhibit in front of their colleagues their abilities.[71] On the other hand, the carving of cryptographic texts on statues, tomb walls, or stelae was possibly a way, among many other artistic and literary options, of underlining the sophisticated and "high-cultured" tastes of their donors and owners or, at least, of showing some glittering examples of originality and erudition that were a defining feature of a scribal culture of distinction.

Long enigmatic compositions, such as the hymns studied here or other well-known compositions (Drioton 1933a and 1933b; Kampp 1994, pp. 185–86, pl. 26b; Darnell 2004, pp. 21–26, pl. 1);[72] and even other shorter examples such as ancient or new cryptographic renderings of administrative titles (Silverman in Boston Museum of Fine Arts 1982, pp. 287–88, cat. no. 398) and personal names (Parlebas 1975; Morenz 2002–03; and note 55, above), possibly acted in this propagandistic way too.[73] In other cases cryptography could also be the result of mere amusement by their creators (note 70, above; Drioton 1944, pp. 23–25). However, there are other circumstances more difficult to explain. Brief cryptographic texts, usually expressing common formulae (Sethe 1924, Clère 1955, Selim 2003), inserted in conventional hieroglyphic texts, could also be due to some of these aforementioned reasons or, maybe in the case of some unusual compositions, to other idiosyncratic features or marks of artistic workshops — or "workcrews" (Quirke 2009, pp. 119–22) — or their related scribes.

Djehuty as Cryptographer

Egyptian cryptography combined "visual poetry" and originality in order to strengthen and possibly make more effective the performativity of the meanings and intended functions of its texts. Simultaneously, it emphasized the scribal skills and the religious and writing erudition of its authors. Therefore, it was, above all, a changing tradition, where every single scribe tried to sophisticate the mechanics and rules of conventional hieroglyphic writing according to his genius and his knowledge of similar older examples. Djehuty's hymns, as the emblems used by Senenmut, for example, were created by himself taking older and coetaneous examples into account. Actually, notwithstanding the lack of evidences on the way an owner participated in the layout and decorative program of his tomb-chapel, there are some glimpses for involving Djehuty in the conception of his cryptographic hymns. Firstly, his name and some of his titles are closely connected to the god of writing, Thot, and to his main residence, Hermopolis. Secondly, as a whole, his funerary monument is far from being conventional. Actually, besides the peculiarities of its courtyard and its façade decoration, the mortuary chapel displays an exquisite decorative repertoire, which included several rather unusual religious texts. There was, for example, a fairly complete version of the *Mundöffnungsritual* (Serrano 2009 and in this volume); a set of ceremonies depicted in the internal chapel which are only attested in another contemporary and nearby tomb (TT 20; N. de G. Davies 1913, pls. 6–10, 14), and in the later chapel of vizier Amenemope (TT 29; reign of Amenhotep II); an offering list with 122 cells carved in the same room, which is possibly the longest of its kind attested during this period;[74] an unusual sequence of titles of epithets at the entrance of the corridor, including some brief expressions written cryptographically;[75] and the decoration of the burial chamber with a wide selection of Book of the Dead chapters (Galán in this volume). Thirdly, the

[71] In this line, note a later advice to court scribes by the Egyptian writer Ahmad al-Qalqashandi (A.D. 1355/56–1418) in the second volume of his *Ṣubḥ al-aašā:* "it is necessary for the scribe to do his utmost to adorn the pen-box to make it excellent and to look after it."

[72] Another example is a fragmentary cryptographic inscription at the tomb façade of Amenhotep/Huy (TT 368, late Eighteenth Dynasty); see Kampp 1996, p. 593.

[73] Reuse and creation of composite hieroglyphs could be included in this innovating writing trend; see Fischer 1977a, pp. 14–16, §8.

[74] It is a variant of Barta's list A/B (Barta 1963), and is very similar and a bit larger than the one reproduced in the tomb of Ineni (TT 81); Dziobek 1992, pp. 74–77.

[75] The same sequence, or a very similar one (both are incomplete), is also attested in the tomb of Montuherkhepeshef (TT 20). See N. de G. Davies 1913, pl. 13, A–B; *Urk.* IV 450.5–8. Re-examination of the inscriptions in TT 11 and the excavation of its courtyard is permitting a clearer, but yet incomplete, idea on the content of the inscription.

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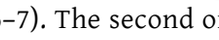
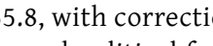
mortuary complex also includes some scriptural and compositive frills closely related to the scribal practice, such as the cryptograms themselves, or the use in the Northampton stela of two vertical columns of text, which, as mesostic and teleostic columns, intersect the horizontal lines of the upper section and serve as refrains (Grapow 1936a, pp. 37–51).[76]

The exhibition of cryptography and/or restricted knowledge on the walls of the funerary monument is related to Djehuty's claim to his expertise as "scribe" or "able scribe" ; (*Urk.* IV 427.12, 448.5). Furthermore, tomb inscriptions also yield two unusual epithets in this line. The first one is written in a horizontal frieze on the right wall of the corridor: "the one who knows every secret of the palace and who keeps silence on what <his> eyes see,"  (*Urk.* IV 449.6–7). The second one, carved on a second biographical stela, at the northern wall of the transversal corridor, records: "the one who can untie the writings of the secret house (?) [...],"  (*Urk.* IV 435.8, with corrections from collating of the original).[77] While the first passage could refer to more mundane and political facts, for example to secret affairs and matters from the royal palace,[78] the second epithet is related to the acquisition of some kind of restricted knowledge. *wḥˁ* means in this context "to untie," "translate," "decipher," and here it could be referring to either the cryptographic texts or the religious material which was hidden or out of reach. Among the scribes, epithets such as "who unties the knots" (*wḥˁ ṯss.wt*), or "who unties/deciphers the difficult parts (of a text)" (*wḥˁ ỉtn.w*), were connected since the Middle Kingdom to proficiency in deciphering ancient, foreign, or, possibly, enigmatic texts (Russo abd El Samie 2002, pp. 37–38; Morenz 2006b).[79] On the other hand, the word *drf* "writings" was sometimes employed for underlining scribal skills at understanding difficult texts (Schott 1990, pp. 412–13, no. 1780). This epithet probably relates Djehuty to his cryptographic texts, since it appears again in a similar context in the tomb-chapel of Khaemhat (TT 57; reign of Amenhotep III), where cryptographic texts were displayed too (Drioton 1933a, pp. 1–14, A).[80] Khaemhat's epithet is mentioned in an inscription, not far from the enigmatic composition, which is addressed, among others, to "every scribe who can untie the writings and is proficient in hieroglyphs, who enjoys entering into the knowledge" (Varille 1941, pl. 65, lines 1–2). The same epithet, preceded by the expression "able scribe," is also attested among the attributes of Intef, a contemporary of Djehuty, on a stela (Louvre C26) from his tomb at Dra Abu el-Naga (TT 155; *Urk.* IV 969.14).

Djehuty's text includes another element in his epithet which is unattested so far. *drf*-writings are linked genitivally to "the secret/hidden house" (*pr ḥ3p*).[81] This office is unknown elsewhere but, according to its name, surely refers to a department where restricted knowledge was kept.[82] Therefore, "the writings of the hidden house" are possibly the sources and/or the inspiration for the contents and shape of the cryptographic texts and, maybe, of other religious materials displayed on the tomb-chapel.

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[76] A close parallel is to be found in the tomb of Amenemhat (TT 82; reign of Thutmose III); see Davies and Gardiner 1915, pl. 25.

[77] The inscription is badly eroded and *wḥˁ* is illegible but for the last two signs, which permit, as Sethe already did, a plausible restoration of the verb.

[78] The epithet probably is related to a statement of Djehuty in the Northampton stela: "He (Hatshepsut) knew my actions and words. I remained silent on the matters of the palace and he put me in charge of the direction of the palace" (*sḏ3.n=f wỉ m ỉrw ḏdtw ḥˁp-r=ỉ ḥr ḫrt ˁḥ=f*) (*Urk.* IV 429.2–3).

[79] Kares, who was an overseer of the Treasury under Amenhotep I, was "a noble who unties the knots (i.e., the difficult passages of a text or speech)" (CG 34003; *Urk.* IV 45.12). Curiously, he included in this inscription a cryptographic monogram. On the knowledge by this individual of Middle Kingdom literary texts, see Ragazzoli in press. For other Eighteenth Dynasty examples, see Morenz 2002, p. 134 (statue Berlin 20001; Roeder 1924, p. 55; and Osing 1992, p. 46, pl. 35, col. 3 (tomb of Nefersekheru at Zawyet Sultan, quoted by Ragazzoli in press).

[80] See also http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/gif-files/gisqueeze_4_48.jpg [accessed 18/11/2010]. This text, currently lost, was placed inside the mortuary chapel. It was a cryptographic rendering of the initial part of chapter 85 of the Book of the Dead.

[81] On *ḥ3p*, see van Dijk 2005, pp. 420–21.

[82] The term also appears in the stela of Kares (cf. n. 79, above), who states that he is "one to whom secret words are said" (*ḏdw n=f mdwt ḥ3pt*) (*Urk.* IV 46.15).

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Conclusion

The cryptographic hymns synthesized the religious knowledge and scribal expertise of Djehuty. Their location in the most public place of the tomb-chapel underline that these compositions were created not only because of their religious value and their connected performativities, but also as a witty exhibition of the intellectual skills and restricted knowledge of Djehuty to a select audience. In this sense, these compositions can be regarded as a good example of a general trend not restricted to Hatshepsut's reign but as a permanent leitmotif in ancient Egypt history: the enrichment of deep-rooted and of relatively new Egyptian cultural traditions, by means of new transformations and/or ancient revivals modelled by personal initiatives, in order to claim and to express originality, intelligence, and superiority over past, present, and future peers.[83]

Appendix: List of Cryptographic Values

The following list presents the different signs used in TT 11 hymns with their phonetic, semagramic, or logogramic values. The signs are presented following the order of Gardiner's (1957) signlist and the subsequent addenda by D. van der Plas for Winglyph computer program. The majority of the signs are rather common in hieroglyphic writing. Regarding the occurrences, they have been indicated by means of acronyms: H1 = sun hymn; H2 = chthonic hymn, followed by the column where they appear. The numbers in brackets indicate the number of occurrences in every column. Question marks (?) indicate dubious values or readings.

Sign		*Value*	*Derivation and Comments*	*Occurrences*
	A1	*f*	Substitution of value (suffix pronoun *=i* becomes *=f*)	H2: 4, 8 (?)
		i (?)	Usual value as suffix pronoun (*=i*)	H2: 3, 8 (?)
	A4C	*imn*	Direct representation and/or partial representation of the logogram , *imn* "to hide"	H2: 9
	A17	*ḫ*	Consonantal principle from , *ḫy* "child" > *ḫ*	H1: 3; H2: 1, 2, 3, 9 (2)
		ms	Direct representation of , *msw* "child"	H1: 4, 5; H2: 1, 5
	A24	*ḥ*	Consonantal principle from , *ḥwi* "to strike" > *ḥ*	H2: 5 (2)
	A26	*i*	Direct representation of interjection , *i*	H1: 2 (?)
		dwꜣ / mdw / ꜥš / nis / ḏwi / iꜣw / kꜣi / ḥꜥi / ḥknw	Direct representation/substitution of kind with	H1: 2 (?), 3 (?); H2: 8 (?)
	A27	*in*	Direct representation of *in.w* "messengers"	H1: 2; H2: 2
	A28	*ḥꜥ*	Direct representation of *ḥꜥ* "to uplift"	H2: 6
(?)	A30	*dwꜣ*	Direct representation of *dwꜣ* "to praise," or similar values (see A26)	H1: 3 (?)
	A36	*nḏ*	Direct representation of , *nḏi* "to mill"	H2: 1, 3

[83] A century and a half later, not far from Djehuty's tomb-chapel, the official Parennefer carved two cryptographic hymns at the thicknesses of the entrance to his mortuary monument at Dra Abu el-Naga (Kampp 1996, pp. 713–716, tomb -162-; Darnell 2004, pp. 21–26), suggesting the possible existence in the area of a "cryptographic" tradition whose first attestation are the hymns from TT 11.

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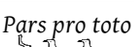
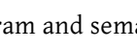
Sign		*Value*	*Derivation and Comments*	*Occurrences*
	A40	[DEITY]	Direct representation	H1: 3; H2: 6
		nṯr	Direct representation	H2: 3, 6, 7
	A47	*ỉry*	Direct representation of *ỉry* “keeper”	H2: 9
	A359	*ỉnk*	Derivation from direct representation and phonetic interchange of *ḳ* > *k* from , *ỉnḳ* “to embrace”	H1: 4; H2: 1
	B1	[DEITY]	Direct representation	H2: 4
	B4	*ms*	Direct representation	H2: 6
	C18	*ṯnn*	Direct representation	H2: 8
	C11 without *rnpt* on the head	*ḥḥ*	Direct representation	H1: 1
	C19	*pṯḥ* (?)	Direct representation	H2: 7
	C70 var.	*ḥrw*	Direct representation	H2: 1
	C65A	*ḥrw*	Direct representation	H2: 1
	A51D / C98E	*nṯr* / *wsir* (?)	Direct representation	H2: 3
	A51A with lion head	*sḫmt* (?)	Direct representation	H2: 9
	D7A	*mỉỉ*	Direct representation of , *mỉỉ* “to see”	H2: 7 (3)
	D140	*mỉỉ* / *ptr*	Direct representation	H1: 1; H2: 7
	D10	*ỉrt* / *wḏỉt*	Direct representation	H2: 7
	D12 / N33 / N5	*ṯ*	Substitution of kind of phonogram , *t*	H1: 1 (?), 3; H2: 3, 6, 9 (3)
		m	*Pars pro toto* and consonantal principle from  , *m*(*ỉỉ*) “to see”	H2: 5
		r (?)	*Pars pro toto* and consonantal principle from , (*i*)*r* “to do/make”	H2: 6
		ỉr	*Pars pro toto* from , *ỉr*	H1: 1 (?); H2: 8
		[FOOD]	Substitution of kind of , a kind of bread	H2: 8
		rᶜ / *ỉtn* (?)	Direct representation of sun disk	H1: 1 (?), 5
		n	Substitution of kind of , *n*, from consonantal principle *n*(*ỉwt*) “city”	H1: 4 (2), 5
		dmḏ	*Pars pro toto* of logogram , *dmḏ*	H2: 2
	D19 / F63	*sn*	As ideogram and semagram in  , *sni* “to smell”	H1: 3; H2: 4 (2), 5 (3), 7
	D21	*r*	Usual value as phonogram *r*	H2: 3, 4
	D26A	*t*(*w*) / *ṯ*(*w*)	Consonantal principle from , *tf* “saliva”	H2: 3, 4 (2), 5, 6 (2), 9 (2)

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Sign		*Value*	*Derivation and Comments*	*Occurrences*
	D35A	*n*	Usual value as ideogram and phonogram *n*	H1: 4 (2)
	D37	*rdi* / *di*	Usual value as ideogram and phonogram *rdi* / *di*	H2: 3
	D38	*rdi*/ *di*	Substitution of kind for	H2: 4, 8
		m	Consonantal principle from the imperative , *im* "take!"	H1: 2, 3; H2: 4, 5, 6, 7 (4)
		d	Substitution of kind and consonantal principle from , *di* "to give"	H1: 2 (2)
		n (?)	Substitution of kind from as substitution of kind of , *n*	H1: 2
		r (?)	Substitution of kind from , ꜥ, as derivation use of for *r*; or substitution of kind and consonantal principle from , *r*(*di*)	H1: 2
	D43	*ḫw*	From its use as ideogram and semagram of , *ḫw* "to protect"	H2: 4 (2)
	D46	*wd*(*i*) (?)	From its use as consonantal phonogram of , *wd*(*i*) "to put"	H2: 1
		di (?)	Substitution of kind from , and *pars pro toto* from .	H2: 1
		d	Usual value as phonogram *d*	H2: 4
		ḏ	Consonantal principle from , *ḏ*(*rt*) "hand"	H2: 5
	D49	*m*	Consonantal principle from , *ꜣmmt* "to grasp"	H1: 1, 5; H2: 2, 5
	D52	[LIQUID EJECTION]	Usual value as semagram	H2: 4 (2)
		t	Consonantal principle from , *ṯꜣy* "male," and phonetic interchange of *ṯ* > *t*	H2: 5
(?)	D54	*iw*	Usual value as ideogram and semagram for , *iw* "to come"	H2: 1
	D55	*ꜥnn*	Usual value as semagram for , *ꜥnn* "to turn back," "to return"	H2: 8
(?)	D58	*b*	Usual value as phonogram *b*	H2: 2
	D200	*inḳ*	Substitution of kind of semagram D32 in , *inḳ* "to embrace"	H2: 4
	E2	*k*	Consonantal principle from *k*(*ꜣ*), "bull"	H1: 2
	E13	*ḫft*	Indirect representation of the Apep snake, the enemy (*ḫfty*) of Re, by means of the cat which kills it	H2: 4
		m	Consonantal principle from , *miw* "cat"	H2: 6
	E17	*iꜣb*(*t*)	Direct representation of the jackal as a bearer of the sun disk from the east to the west	H1: 1
	E34 (jumping hare)	[HARE]	Direct representation of a jumping hare, which serves as semagram for *tf*(*i*), , "to jump"	H1: 1 (?)
		ꜥwt	Substitution of kind for	H1: 1 (?)
/	E83 / E263	ꜥ	Dubious. Acrophony from ꜥ(*mꜥm*)/ꜥ(*lꜥl*), "shrew" (?)	H2: 2

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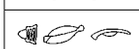
Sign		*Value*	*Derivation and Comments*	*Occurrences*
	—	*km wr*	Substitution of kind for , as symbol of the 10th province of Lower Egypt	H2: 6
	F21	*sḏm*	Usual value as phonogram/ideogram *sḏm*, "to hear"	H2: 8
	F27	*k*	*Pars pro toto* from *kꜣ*, "bull"	H1: 2 (+1?), 3 (3), 4 (4); H2: 1 (2), 2 (6), 3 (3), 4 (4), 5 (4), 6 (3), 7 (1), 8 (5), 9 (4)
		sꜣb (?)	Substitution of shape for , *sꜣb* "many colored"	H1: 2
		nm (?)	Consonantal principle from (*i*)*nm*, "skin"	H1: 2
	F32	*ḫ*(*t*)	Usual value as phonogram *ḫ* and ideogram *ḫt* "body"	H2: 2
	F39A	*sḫm* (?)	Unknown	H2: 6
	F40	*ꜣw*	Usual value as phonogram *ꜣw*	H2: 8
	F43 + F44 + F42	*ꜣwt*	Direct representation	H2: 2
	F51	*m*	Unknown	H2: 3, 6, 8, 9
	F181	*ḫr.wy*	Direct representation	H2: 7
	G1/ G4	*tyw*	Usual representation of phonogram and logogram	H1: 2
	(G7)	*nṯr* (?)	Direct representation	H2: 8
	G14	*nr*	Direct representation	H1: 2
	G25	*ꜣḫ* (?)	Usual representation of phonogram and logogram	H2: 3
	G28	*gm*	Usual representation of phonogram and logogram	H2: 5
	G36	*wr*	Usual representation of phonogram and logogram	H2: 5
	G40	*sp* (?)	Consonantal principle and phonetic change from , *spꜣ* "to let fly"	H1: 4
		p (?)	Consonantal principle from phonogram , *pꜣ*	H1: 4
		sḥ (?)	Substitution of shape of rare phonogram , *sḥ*	H1: 4
	—	*ḫᶜ*.(*w*) (?)	Unknown. Probably direct representation of *ḫᶜ.w* "image," "statue"	H2: 2
		kꜣ.w	Direct representation of royal *ka*	H2: 6
	H8	*ꜣs*	Substitution of shape of phonogram , *ws*/*ꜣs*	H2: 5
	H10	*bik* (?)	*Pars pro toto* from logogram , *bik* "falcon"	H1: 2
		ᶜḫm (?)	*Pars pro toto* from logogram , *ᶜḫm* "divine image"	H1: 2
	H34	*imy* / *im*	Direct representation of a bird inside (*im*) an egg: "the one who is inside (*imy*)"	H1: 2; H2: 3 (2), 5
	I6	*km*	Usual value as phonogram *km*	H2: 5

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Sign		*Value*	*Derivation and Comments*	*Occurrences*
	I14	*r*	Consonantal principle from *r*(*ꜣ*), "snake"	H1: 1 (?); H2: 1, 4, 5, 7 (6)
		f	Substitution of shape of phonogram , *f*	H1: 1 (?), 2 (2), 3 (3); H2: 1 (2), 7 (2), 9
		ḏ	Substitution of shape of phonogram , *ḏ*	H2: 9
		[CROWN]	Possible semagram for the word *ḥᶜ* "crown"	H1: 4 (?)
		t	Consonantal principle and association of meaning with *t*(*ꜣ*) "earth"; phonetic interchange of phonogram *ḏ* > *t*; or hieratic confusion between the logogram *tꜣ* and the phonogram *f*	H1: 4 (?)
	I75	*ḏt*	Uroboros (?)	H2: 8
	I126	*pr*	Direct representation of verb *pr*(*i*) "to go out"	H1: 2
	K2	*s* (?)	Dubious. Direct representation of Late Egyptian *s* "fish" (?)	H2: 6
	L4	*r*	Unknown	H2: 1, 3, 6, 7 (2), 8
	M2	*i*	Substitution of kind for phonogram , *i*	H1: 2; H2: 1 (?), 2 (2), 8 (2), 9 (2+1?)
		r	Substitution of kind for phonogram , *i*, and phonetic interchange *i* > *r*	H2: 3 (?)
		sw (?)	Substitution of kind for phonogram	H2: 9 (?)
	M2 + M2	*w*	Phonetic interchange between *i*/*y* and *w*	H1: 2 (?)
		ꜣ / *y* (?)	Phonetic interchange between *i*/*y* and *ꜣ* (?)	H1: 3
	M8	*š*	Consonantal principle of usual phonetic value *š*(*ꜣ*)	H1: 4, 5; H2: 9
		n	Substitution of kind with phonogram , *n*	H2: 9
	M17	*i*	Usual value as phonogram *i*	H1: 4; H2: 2, 4, 6
	M18	*ii*	Usual value as logogram *ii* "to come"	H2: 5
	M44	*sr* / *srt*	Usual value as logogram *srt* "thorn"	H1: 4
	N1	[CELESTIAL]	Usual semagram for *nwt*, "the goddess Nut"	H2: 4, 6
	N4	*iꜣdt* / *nšn.wt*	Usual semagram for the respective words	H1: 3
	N6B	[ROYALTY]	Direct representation of the sun crowned with two *uraei*	H2: 8
	N8	*psḏ* / *s.ḥḏ* / *wbn*	Usual semagram for the respective words	H1: 4
	N14	*dwꜣ*	Direct representation and usual value as phonogram and logogram of *dwꜣ*, "star"	H2: 9 (1+1?)
		s	Consonantal principle from *s*(*bꜣ*) "star"	H2: 9 (?)
		sk	Direct representation of the *sk*-star, constellation, or asterism mentioned in the Pyramid Texts	H2: 9 (?)
	N26	*ḏw*	Direct representation and usual value as phonogram and logogram *ḏw*	H1: 1 (?)
		ḫꜣst	Substitution of shape with , *ḫꜣst*	H1: 1 (?)

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Sign		*Value*	*Derivation and Comments*	*Occurrences*
	N28	*ḫ*ᶜ	Usual value of phonogram *ḫ*ᶜ “to appear”	H1: 1, 4 (?)
		ḫ	Consonantal principle from *ḫ*(ᶜ)	H1: 4 (?)
	N31	*wꜣt*	Direct representation and usual value as phonogram and logogram *wꜣt*.	H1: 3; H2: 9
		ḥr(*w*)	Direct representation of *ḥr*(*wt*) “way, road”	H2: 7
	N35	*n*	Usual value of phonogram *n*	H1: 3
	N35A	*n*	Substitution of shape from , *n*	H1: 1 (?), 3
	N36	*n*	Substitution of kind from , *n*	H1: 2 (2); H2: 1, 2 (2), 3 (3), 4 (2), 5 (2), 6 (4), 8 (3), 9
		š	Reversal of cryptic use of by , since the last one is used to write the first sign	H1: 2
		wꜣt	Substitution of shape from , *wꜣt*	H1: 3
		[WATERY AREA]	Substitution of shape and kind from and/or	H1: 4, 5
	N41	*ḥm*	Usual value as phonogram	H2: 5
	O9	*nbt-ḥwt*	Usual value as logogram and phonogram	H2: 5
	O39	*š*	Substitution of shape from , *š*	H2: 7
	O49	*nw*	Substitution of kind from , *nw*	H1: 4, 5
		t	Substitution of shape from , with cryptographic value *t*	H2: 4, 6
	P5	ᶜ (?)	Acrophony from ᶜ(ꜣ) “mast”	H1: 1
		t (?)	Consonantal principle from *ṯꜣw* “wind,” and phonetic change *ṯ* > *t*	H1: 1
	P6	ᶜ*ḥ*ᶜ	Usual value as phonogram ᶜ*ḥ*ᶜ	H2: 3
	P30	*wiꜣ*/ *dpt*/ *mᶜnḏt*	Direct representation	H1: 3
	Q7E	*m*	Substitution of shape from , *imy* and consonantal principle (*i*)*m*(*y*)	H2: 6
	Q12A	*st*	Substitution of kind and shape from , *st*	H1: 2
	Q18	*sḏr*	Substitution of kind and shape from logogram , *sḏr*	H1: 3
	R24	*n*	Consonantal principle from *n*(*t*) “the goddess Neit”	H2: 2
	S3	*n*	Consonantal principle from *n*(*t*) “red crown”	H2: 4, 5 (2)
	S9	*ḫ*ᶜ*w*	Substitution of kind from , *ḫ*ᶜ “crown”	H2: 7
		šwyt	Slight phonetic alteration from *šw.ty* “(the crown of) two feathers,” to *šwyt* “the sacred figure”	H2: 7
	S24	*ṯs*	Usual value of phonogram and logogram *ṯs*	H2: 3
	S28	*s*	Substitution of kind from , *s*	H2: 3, 5, 6
	S42	*sḫm*	Usual value of logogram *sḫm*	H1: 4; H2: 3 (?)
	S43	*mdw*	Usual value of logogram *mdw*	H1: 3

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Sign		*Value*	*Derivation and Comments*	*Occurrences*
	S55	*n*	Substitution of kind and shape of cryptogram , *n*	H1: 4
	S77	*ṯnw*	*Pars pro toto* from , *ṯnn* “the god Tjenen”	H1: 4
	T19	*ḳs.w*	Usual value of the logogram , *ḳs*	H2: 2
	T21	*m*	Consonantal principle from , *m*(*sn*) “the harpooner,” and substitution of kind by the *wᶜ*-harpoon.	H1: 1
	T28	*ḫr*	Usual value as phonogram	H2: 5
		ḫr	Phonetic alteration from *ḫr* to *ḫr*	H2: 9
	U1	*m*	Consonantal principle from *m*(*ꜣ*)	H1: 2
	U7	*mr*	Usual value as phonogram	H2: 8
	U28	*ḏꜣ*	Usual value as phonogram	H1: 4 (2)
	V1 / Z7	*w*	Intended confusion of shape between V1 and Z7, having the value of V1 as the hieratic writing of phonogram , *w*	H1: 2 (2), 4; H2: 3, 7, 8, 9
	V6	*mi̯*	Substitution of shape of phonogram , *mi̯*	H2: 7 (4), 8, 9 (?)
		s	Consonantal principle from *s*(*š*)	H2: 3, 4 (3), 5, 9 (1+1(?))
	V25	*wḏ*	Usual value as phonogram	H1: 3
	V28	*ḥ*	Usual value as phonogram	H2: 5
	V29	*sk*	Usual value as phonogram and logogram	H2: 3
	V31	*k*	Usual value as phonogram	H2: 5
	W7	*nw* (?)	Substitution of kind from , *nw*	H1: 2
	W9	*ḫnm*	Usual value as phonogram	H2: 4, 9
	W10	*ᶜ*	Acrophony/phonetic value from , *ᶜ* “vase”	H2: 3, 5
	X1	*t*	Usual value as phonogram	H1: 4; H2: 5, 9
		d (?)	Phonetic alteration or change of dentals *t* > *d*	H2: 9 (?)
	X2 / X3	*t*	Substitution of kind from , *t*	H2: 4 (2), 5, 7, 8 (3), 9
		ti̯	*Pars pro toto* from the group writing , *ti̯*	H2: 5
	X8	*ḏi̯*/ *rdi̯*	Usual value as phonogram	H1: 2 (2); H2: 4
	Z1	[LOGOGRAM]	Usual value as semagram denoting a “logogramic” value for the sign that it determines	H1: 3
	Z2 / Z2B / Z3	[PLURAL]	Usual values as semagrams	H1: 1, 3 (3), 4; H2: 3 (2), 7 (2), 8, 9
	Z9	[TRESPASSING]	Usual value as semagram	H1: 4
	Z11	*imy*	Usual value as phonogram	H1: 3
	Aa2	*wt*	Usual value as phonogram and logogram	H2: 4
	Aa16	*m*	Usual value as phonogram	H1: 4; H2: 5

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14

Unconventional Versions: The Theban Tomb of Puiemra, Second Prophet of Amun under Hatshepsut

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It is quite tempting to attribute a special role to Hatshepsut, because she is one of the few women who ascended the Egyptian throne. She is extremely well represented through her building activities, above all, in Thebes, and not only at and around the temple of Karnak (obelisks, *Chapelle Rouge*, temple of Mut, etc.), but also on the west bank. The temple *Ḏsr-Ḏsrw* at Deir el-Bahari was located, so to speak, right in the heart of the necropolis, where the goddess of the western mountain was worshipped, and at the destination of the Beautiful Festival of the Valley.[1] Daniel Polz (2008) would also like to see her even as the "inventress" of the Valley of the Kings, because — following the footsteps of her great predecessor in the Middle Kingdom, Montuhotep II — she not only planned the more impressive and, above all, much larger temple in the immediate vicinity of his temple, but — according to Polz — also oriented her tomb (KV 20) immediately on that of the Middle Kingdom pharaoh, that is, beside it.

It also seems — until one looks more closely into the necropolis at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna — as if, here too, it was Hatshepsut, that is, her party, who had developed this hill at the foothill of the western mountain, and chose it as a cemetery for her officials (fig. 14.1). Such high-ranking contemporaries of the queen as the first prophet of Amun Hapuseneb (TT 67), the vizier Useramun (TT 131), and Hatshepsut's favorite official Senenmut (TT 71), built their tombs there. In fact, before the queen's reign, in the early Eighteenth Dynasty — if one leaves aside the Middle Kingdom tombs — the findings here are quite sparse.[2]

However, on closer look, the tomb of the vizier of her predecessor, that of Aametju/Ahmose (TT 83), is the first monumental tomb located here. He is probably the one who inaugurated this site as the burial ground for the high officials of the Eighteenth Dynasty by setting his tomb on a prominent place high up on the hill in the middle of the cemetery.

If one distinguishes the older from the younger tombs, it becomes clear that those of Hatshepsut's contemporaries are located farther north, and that the pillar-façade tomb is still customary among the highest officials, although the intercolumnium was either completely or partially walled up. The older tomb TT 83 is probably the only one here that has an open pillar façade.

The tombs not attributed to the officials of Hatshepsut's time lie farther south, and the monumental ones no longer have either a pillar façade or façade decoration, as, for example, the tomb of the vizier Rekhmira (TT 100) (fig. 14.2). It represents the simple "T-type." While the northern group seems rather to be oriented toward the queen's temple at Deir el-Bahari, the southern group is possibly oriented toward the temple of *Henket-ankh*.

As is well known, the tombs of Hatshepsut's contemporaries are not limited to the necropolis of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, but are grouped around el-Asasif as a whole, that is, the causeway leading to Queen

[1] She also left her mark at Medinet Habu, another sacred place on the west bank; see Murnane and Weeks 1980, p. 77.

[2] The necropolis, however, is far from being exhaustively explored and investigated. On new tombs of the early New Kingdom, see, among others, Bács and Schreiber 2009; and on numerous unpublished tombs in Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, Kampp 1996, plans 2 and 3.

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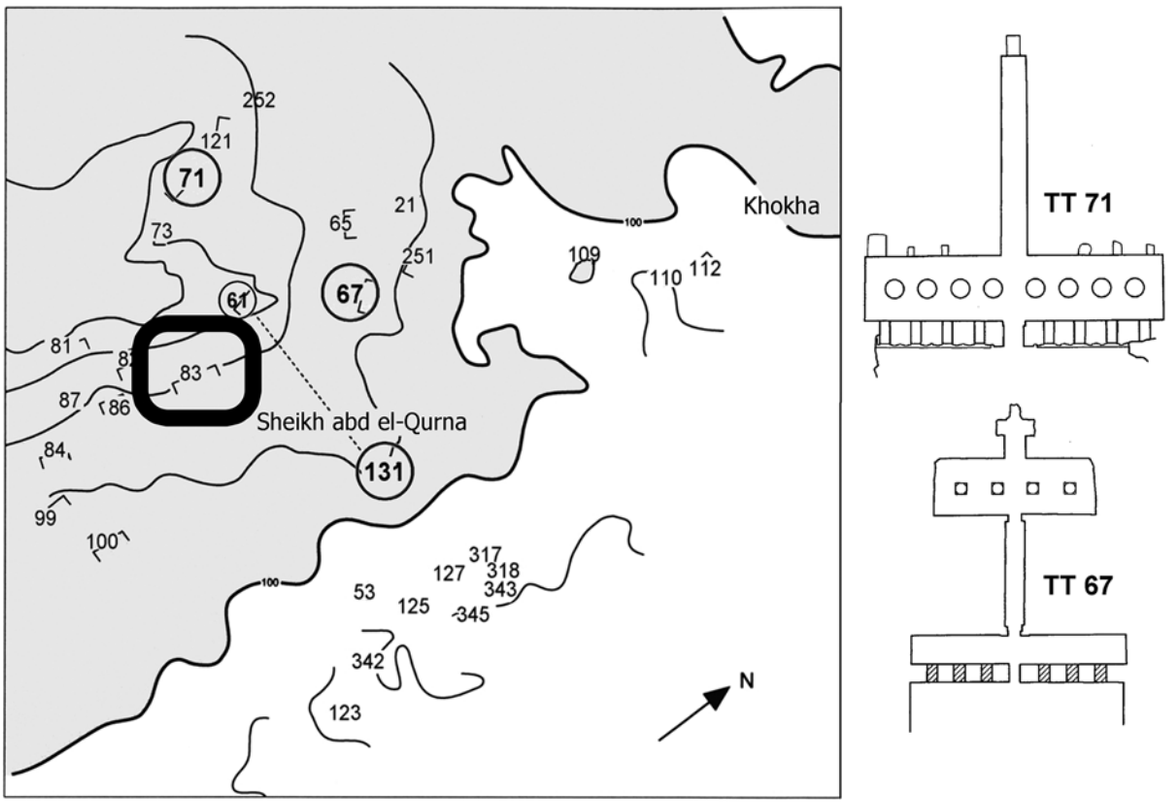

Figure 14.1. Sheikh Abd el-Qurna North, monumental tombs of Hatshepsut's high officials and of the vizier Aametju/Ahmose (TT 83) (illustration by O. Nehren)

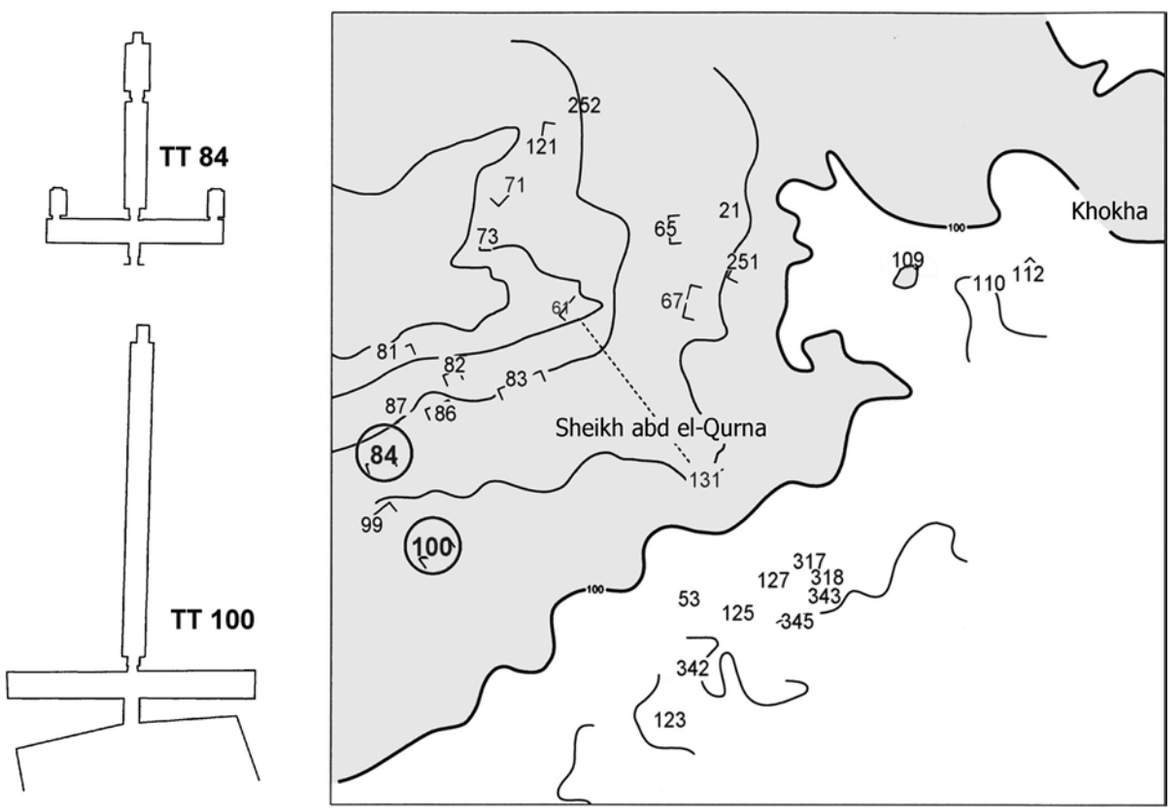

Figure 14.2. Sheikh Abd el-Qurna South, monumental tombs of high officials of Hatshepsut's successor, for example, the tomb of the vizier Rekhmira (TT 100) (illustration by O. Nehren)

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Hatshepsut's temple, the route of Amun's procession. A second group lies in Dra Abu el-Naga, to the right, or north, of the processional road.[3] It is there where the older necropolis for monumental tombs — together with the lower Asasif — is probably to be found.[4] This has been confirmed by the discovery of the tomb of the high priest of Amun Minmontu (TT 232; Polz 2009), and by the — possibly correct — identification of Djehuty's tomb in el-Asasif (Winlock's "tomb 1"). Both of them, Djehuty and Minmontu, were probably the first high priests of Amun, both holding their office under Ahmose.[5] The cemetery that comprises the tombs of the highest officials (e.g., vizier and high priest of Amun) of Hatshepsut's reign is certainly Sheikh Abd el-Qurna.

Among the decorative scenes that enable a relative dating of the officials' tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty are the voyage to Abydos and the depiction of the tomb owner fishing and fowling. These depictions are "chronologically sensitive," which means that, as a rule, the motif changes its "organization," that is, its placing and orientation, with the change of reign. For example, in TT 82 (fig. 14.3) the departure is set in the lower register, and is oriented into the tomb, toward the west. Above is the return trip, oriented out of the tomb, toward the east.

In the organization of the voyage to Abydos, three types of depictions can be made out in the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty, in Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (fig. 14.4). Type 1 dates to the time before Hatshepsut-Thutmose III, and it can be seen in TT 81 (Ineni) and in TT 21 (User). Type 3 dates to the final phase of Thutmose III's reign, the time of Hatshepsut's proscription in year 44, for example, TT 343 (Benia-Pahekamen). Type 2 stands for the main phase, the coregency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, the sole reign of the later, and probably to the beginning of Hatshepsut's proscription, for example, TT 71, 39, 125, 127, 123, etc. Therefore, the change probably took place at the beginning of Hatshepsut's rule, but the depiction doesn't change with the beginning of Thutmose III's sole reign, but at least twenty years later, when Hatshepsut's proscription begins.

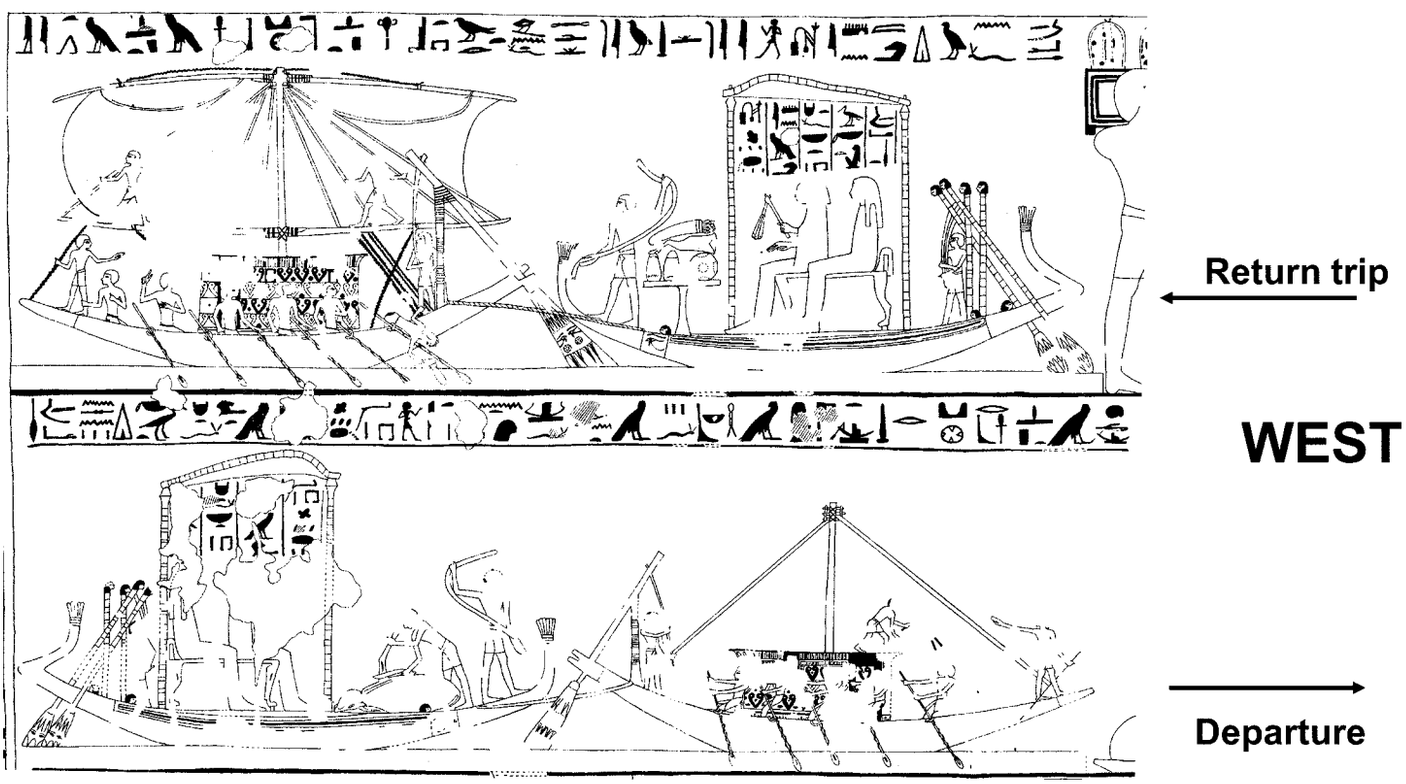

Figure 14.3. Journey to Abydos of Amenemhat, TT 82 (Davies and Gardiner 1915, pl. 12)

[3] E.g., TT 11: Galán 2007c; and TT 155: Polz 2007, pp. 291–92.

[4] At least as far as the prophets of Amun and the temple personnel are concerned.

[5] Polz 2009, pp. 340–41. Both tombs have a pillar façade. Unfortunately, nothing is known about the rock-cut rooms of "tomb 1."

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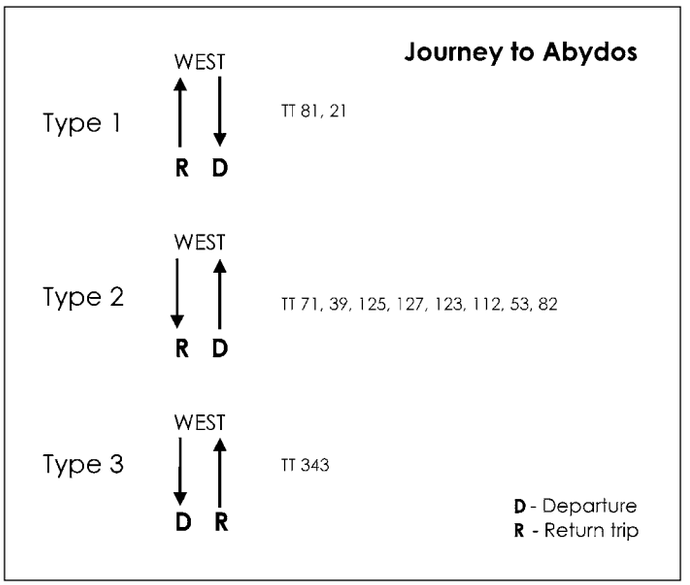

Figure 14.4. Three types of representations of the journey to Abydos (Engelmann-von Carnap 1999, p. 149)

The case of the fishing and fowling scene (fig. 14.5, table 14.1) is very similar (Engelmann-von Carnap 1998). Here too, the older tomb TT 81 stands out as Type 1. The period of Hatshepsut's coregency with Thutmose III and the sole reign of the latter form a unit (Type 2), as in TT 39, 65, and 73. And here too, the younger tombs TT 84 (Iamunedjeh) and TT 109 (Min) reverse the composition, and change from fishing and fowling to fowling and fishing (Type 3) (ibid., pp. 250–51, and fig. 4a), a newer version that, under Amenhotep II, becomes the norm (ibid., pp. 251–52, 254, figs. 6a, 8).

The fact to be stressed here is that the tombs that officially date to the rule of Thutmose III are either a continuation of the Hatshepsut-period type (Type 2), or belong to the Amenhotep II-period type (Type 3), but there is no specific Thutmose III-type. The change in the scenes does not take place at the beginning of his sole reign, but with the proscription of Hatshepsut, and the new type (3) continues under Amenhotep II (table. 14.1).

If we examine the decoration program and general conception of the private tombs dating to the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty in Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, those of Hatshepsut's contemporaries stand out through unusual, original, and also cleverly thought-out and varied tomb concepts — in architecture as well as in decoration — so that one is inclined to assume that there could have been nothing comparable in the early Eighteenth Dynasty. But only future work can decide on this issue, if and when more information about the

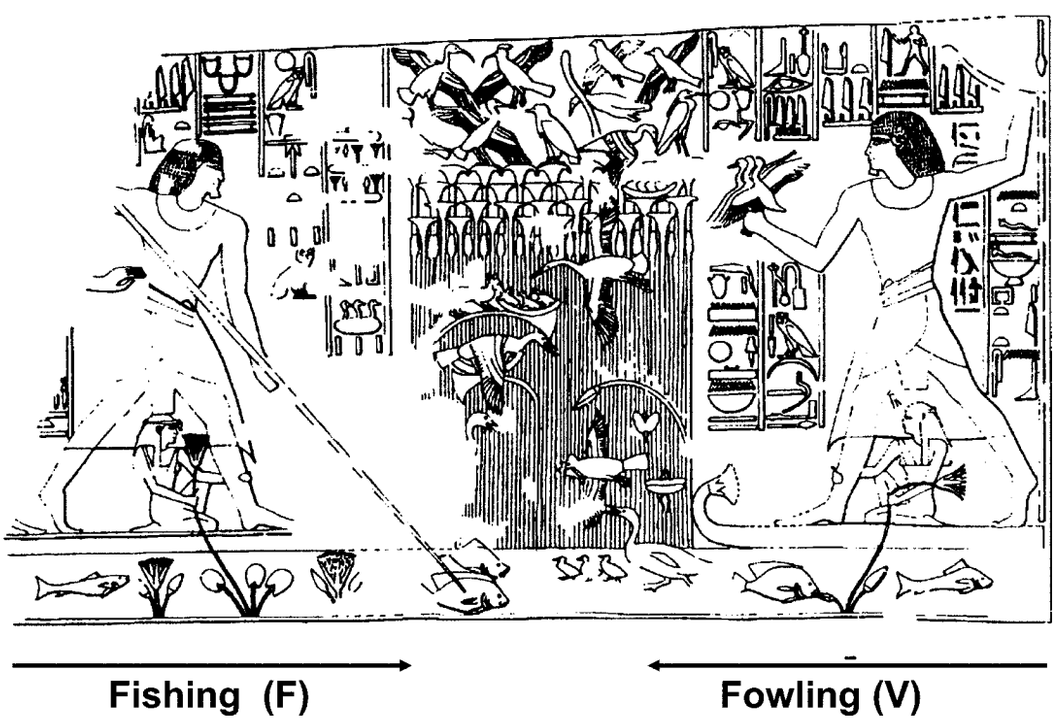

Figure 14.5. Fishing and fowling in TT 127 (Engelmann-von Carnap 1998, p. 247)

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Table 14.1. Pilgrimage to Abydos and fishing and fowling scenes

		Pilgrimage to Abydos	*Fishing and Fowling*
Thutmose I/II	Type 1	TT 81, 21	TT 81
Hatshepsut/Thutmose III Thutmose III	Type 2	e.g., TT 71, 39, 125, 127, 123, 112, 53, 82, 100	e.g., TT 39, 65, 73
Thutmose III, Hatshepsut-proscription	Type 3	TT 343	TT 84, 109
Amenhotep II	Type 3	—	TT 72, 92, 96
Thutmose IV	Type 4	—	e.g., TT 63, 77, 78

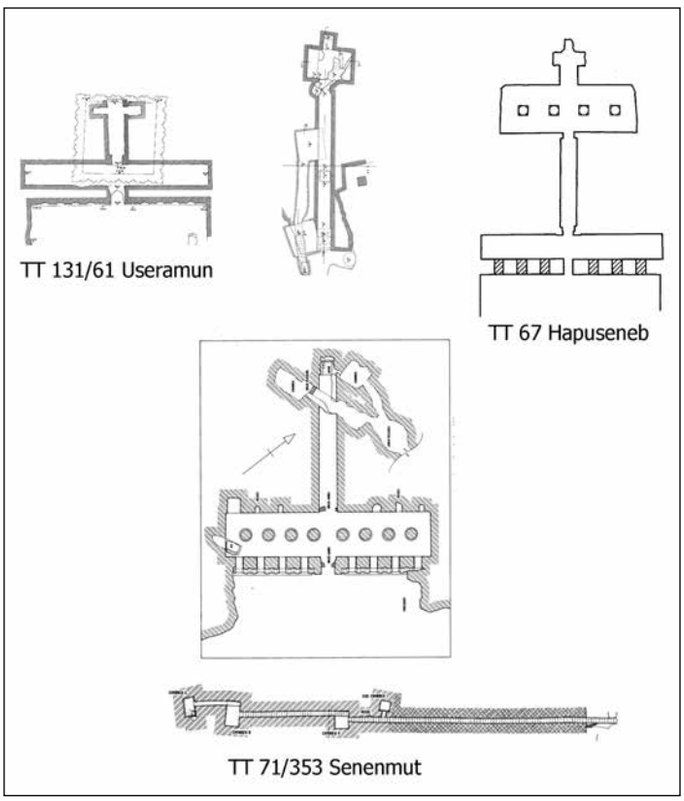

Figure 14.7. Monumental tombs of high officials under Hatshepsut: TT 71, 131, and 67

officials' tombs of the early Eighteenth Dynasty is gained in Dra Abu el-Naga and in el-Asasif.

In any case, tombs of Hatshepsut's officials in the Sheikh Abd el-Qurna cemetery stand out with such unconventional solutions in design, in architecture, and in decoration as, among others, that of Senenmut (TT 71 and 353), of the vizier Useramun (TT 131 and 61), and possibly also that of the first prophet of Amun Hapuseneb (TT 67), which has unfortunately not been published to date[6] (fig. 14.7).

In the case of Senenmut's TT 71, published by Peter Dorman (1991), one can only guess the exceptional features the tomb's decoration once had, since the decoration of the hall has been obliterated to a great extent. Its architecture and the unusual decoration of his burial chamber TT 353 — located immediately beneath the terrace of Hatshepsut's funerary temple, with an astronomical ceiling, etc. — invite us to expect original ideas in the decoration of TT 71 as well.

The tombs of the vizier Useramun (TT 131 and 61), who was still in office under the sole rule of Thutmose III, published by Eberhard Dziobek (1994 and 1998) are a similar case. Here, too, there is an unusual, original, and unconventional pictorial program,[7] with few stereotyped depictions. In addition, we have again the division in two tombs, one of them with royal tomb decoration, including the Amduat and the Litany of Ra (Dziobek 1998, pp. 152–56).[8]

Unfortunately, the tomb of such an important official as the high priest of Amun Hapuseneb (TT 67) remains unpublished. Here, important questions, such as how did one design pillar-façade tombs under

[6] The tomb is now being studied by Tamás Bács (pers. comm.).

[7] So, e.g., *Die Berufung des User* on the left entrance wall in the hall of TT 131 (Dziobek 1994, pp. 73–75, 3.6 scenes 131–35).

[8] A decoration motif specifically reserved for royal tombs and that had probably just been "invented" at this time. On the relationship between Useramun's Litany of Ra text and that of Thutmose III, see Dziobek 1998, p. 154; on the relationship to Hatshepsut, see ibid., p. 156.

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Hatshepsut, could be clarified.[9] And now also the tomb of Djehuty (TT 11), to be published by José Galán (2007c), certainly belongs to the series of unconventional tomb designs in Hatshepsut's time. The tomb of Djehuty in Dra Abu el-Naga distinguishes itself from the group of the younger and older private tombs through a decorated forecourt, including cryptographic text, and, above all, through its decorated burial chamber.

The Tomb of Puiemra (TT 39)

An outstanding example among the unusual, novel, and unconventional tombs of Hatshepsut's contemporaries is the tomb of the second prophet of Amun Puiemra, TT 39. In contrast to the tombs previously mentioned, most of which are badly damaged, and, as in the case of TT 67 and others, remain unpublished, we have much information about the architecture and decoration of TT 39 due to its good state of preservation. TT 39 had also been partly destroyed, but much could be restored. Another fortunate circumstance is the excellent publication by Norman de Garis Davies (Davies 1922), and the state of our knowledge will soon be even further improved by the results of the Mexican mission's work.[10]

The tomb owner was second prophet in the temple of Amun. He was able to retain his position even under the sole rule of Thutmose III (Roehrig 2005, p. 103, cat. no. 51). His relationship with Queen Hatshepsut has been documented in various ways. Among other things, stones with his name and priestly titles written in ink were found in the Deir el-Bahari temple. Further, stones with the *Maat-ka-ra* cartouche found at Hatshepsut's valley temple in el-Asasif have hieratic inscriptions with the names of well-known high officials, such as Senenmut, Hapuseneb, Djehuty, and also Puiemra. It is to be assumed that all four of these officials were involved in the construction of Hatshepsut's temple.[11]

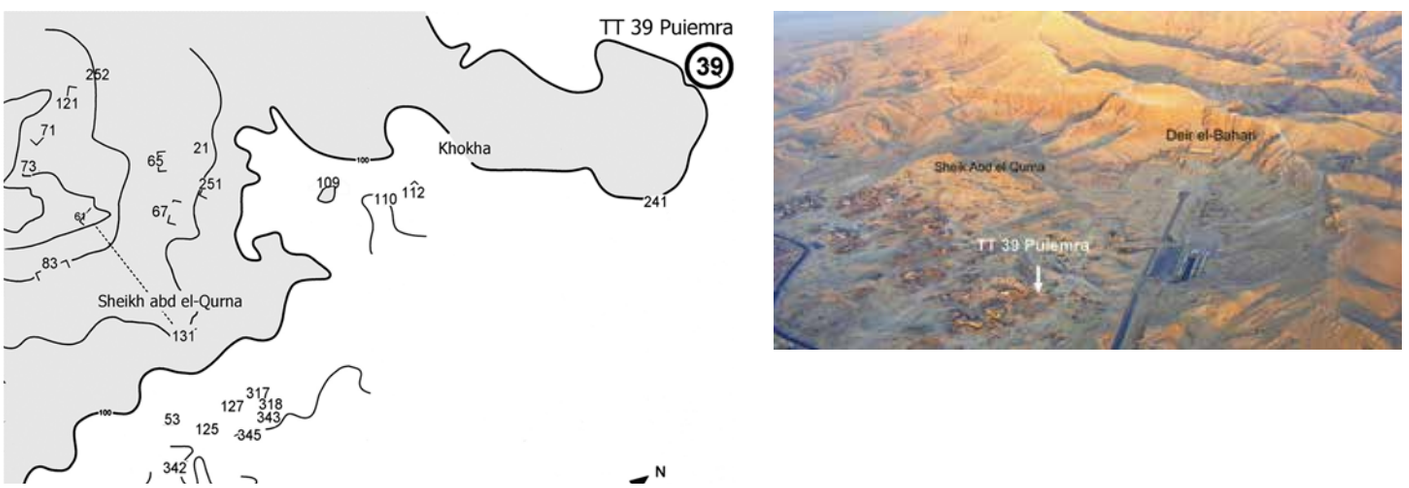

Figure 14.8. Location of the tomb of Puiemra (TT 39), in el-Asasif (photo after Google Earth)

[9] Was it built as a pillar-façade tomb under Hatshepsut and the intercolumniations then completely or partially closed with "*Lehmziegeln und Bruchsteinen*"? (see the description in Kampp 1996, pp. 289–92), or could it be an older, usurped tomb? In any case, the tomb shows some alterations on the portal jambs (the entrance to the gallery) and on the columns/pillars in the last room. In addition, the plan of the tomb is conspicuous because of the unusual proportions (Engelmann-von Carnap 1999, p. 71). The question poses itself, why the early tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty in Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, as, for instance, TT 81 (among other features, raising the hall's ceiling; ibid., p. 21) and TT 67 (see above), in contrast to the later tombs, as for example TT 100, and to the earlier ones, such as TT 232, show so many corrections and changes in their plan? Is it a matter of a certain fondness for experimentation or for re-using older tombs (Middle Kingdom, Seventeenth Dynasty) that experienced alterations? Further clarification could be provided by investigating the tomb of Hapuseneb. In addition, the proportions of the pillar-façade tombs of the Middle Kingdom, and of the Seventeenth and early Eighteenth Dynasties have to be clearly distinguished.

[10] See also Louant 2000. The Mexican Mission belongs to the Universidad del Valle de México.

[11] Roehrig 2005, p. 146, cat. no. 77. On construction activities by Puiemra in the Mut temple in Karnak, see Bryan 2006, pp. 181–82.

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The location and the ground plan of TT 39 are unusual. The tomb is located — in contrast to the other tombs of high officials under Hatshepsut and Thutmose III — not in Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, not in the northern slope of the hill, but farther north, by the processional road to Deir el-Bahari (fig. 14.8), along which the bark of Amun, among others, was carried during the Beautiful Festival of the Valley, when it was brought to Deir el-Bahari. Puiemra built his tomb in the immediate vicinity of his queen's temple — not as close as Senenmut, but nonetheless very near to Hatshepsut's valley temple.

Furthermore, the ground plan of Puiemra's tomb (fig. 14.9) seems to

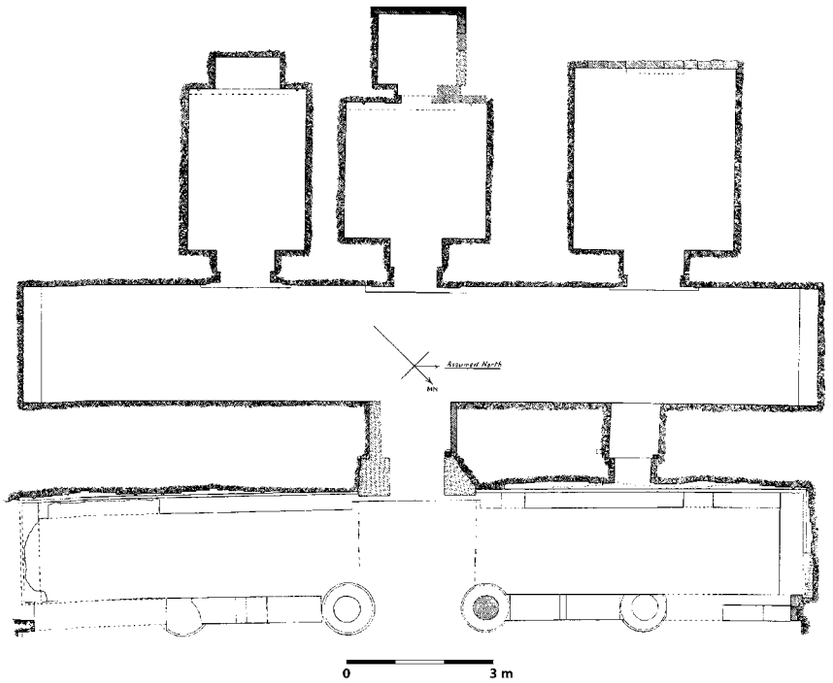

Figure 14.9. Plan of the tomb of Puiemra, TT 39 (after Davies 1922, pl. 4)

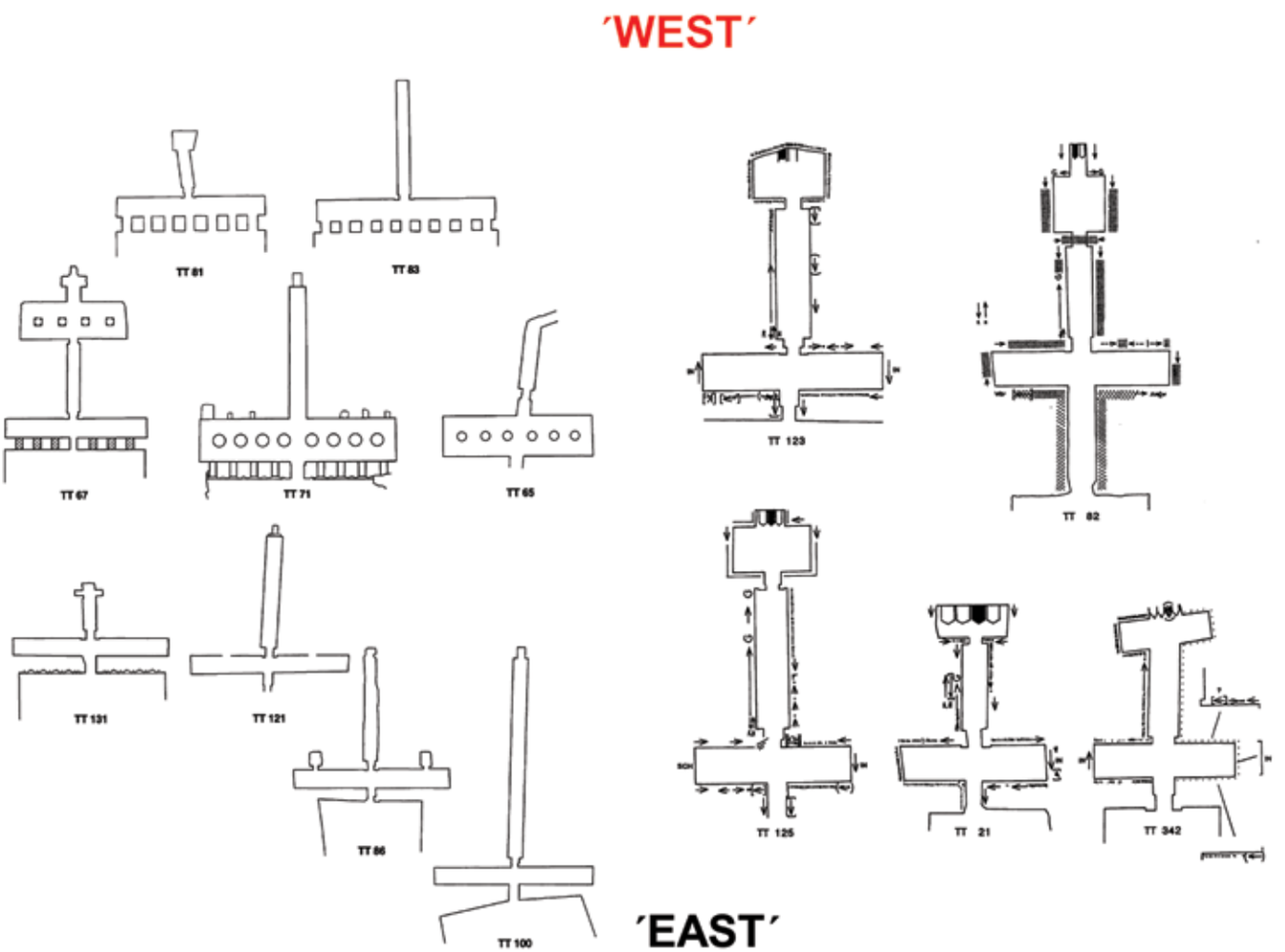

Figure 14.10. "T-type" tombs oriented east–west

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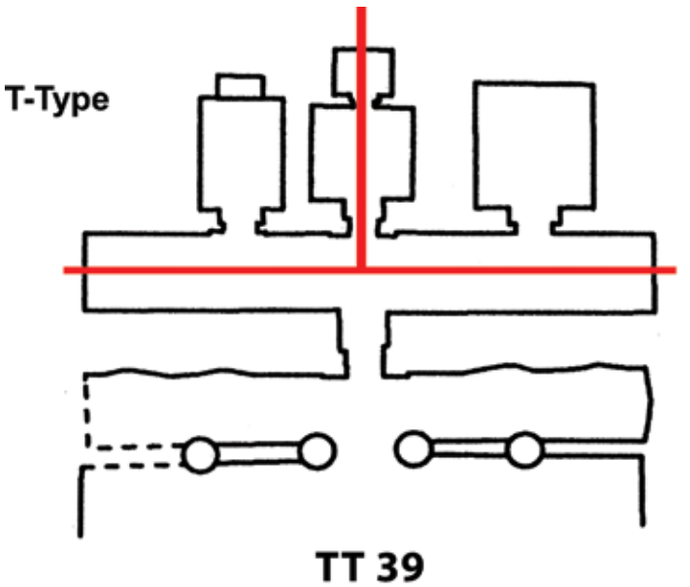
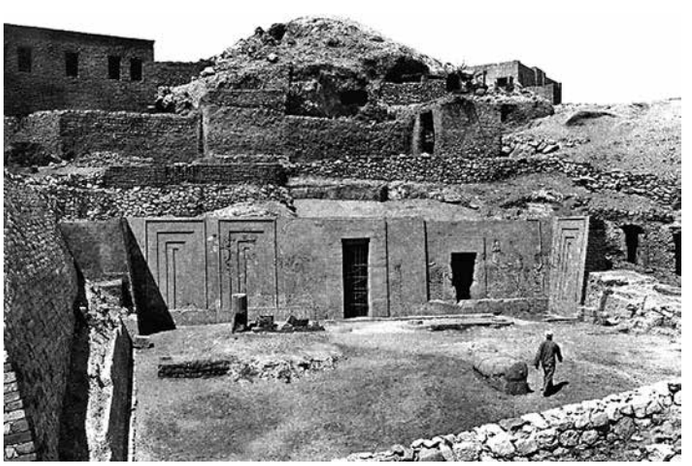
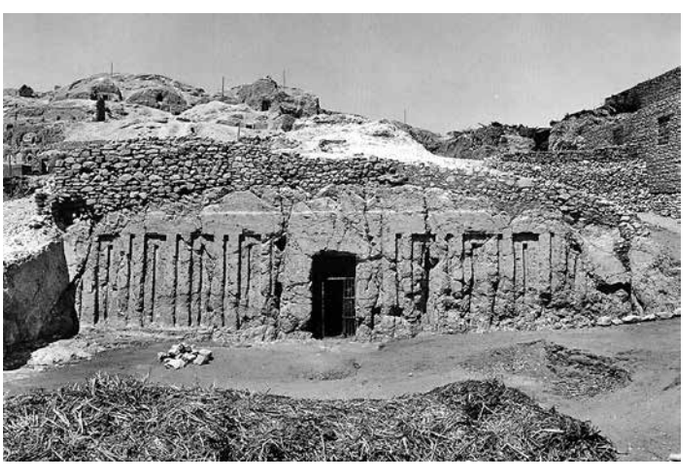


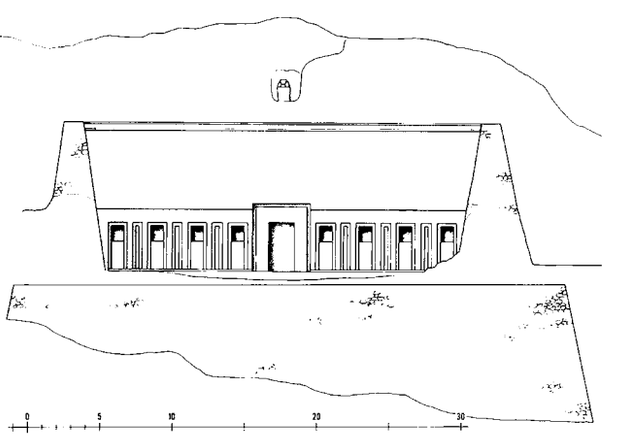
Figure 14.11. The tomb of Puiemra (TT 39)
as a "T-type" tomb



TT 39, Puiemra



TT 131, Useramun



TT 71, Senenmut

Figure 14.12. Walled-up pillar façades of TT 39, 131, and 71

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differ completely from — and to resist any comparison with — contemporary, younger, and older tombs. The other tombs in Sheikh Abd el-Qurna are "T-types." Ideally, their entrance lies in the east and opens onto the cultivated land, and the gallery leads to the west, that is, into the rock of the western mountain (fig. 14.10).

If we take a closer look, the T-type can also be made out in the ground plan of Puiemra's tomb (fig. 14.11): it has a transverse hall with the usual proportions, and perpendicular to it a central axis, accentuated by two rooms, extending beyond the length of two side chambers.

However, it is an unorthodox T-type for various reasons. First, the central axis is relatively short, less than half of the hall's length, unlike the majority of contemporary tombs, whose gallery is between three-quarters and half of the hall's length.[12] Second, because its entrance is oriented toward the processional way, the rear part of the tomb is not directed toward the mountain, to the west, but to the south.[13] This could be the reason why the central axis, which normally leads from east to west, is not as long as usual. Further, the two side chapels are striking. They occur in the well-known *saff*-tombs in el-Tarif, and subsequently appear occasionally in officials' tombs.[14] This is, therefore, traditional. However, contrary to the norm, the side chapels in TT 39 are not equal in size, but the one to the right is much larger than that to the left of the central axis. This, too, can be explained by the unusual orientation of the tomb, since — other than in younger tombs and *saff*-tombs — only the chamber on the right side lies on the west. This accentuation is also confirmed by its decoration.

The façade of Puiemra's tomb seems to be a relic of the walled-up pillar façade (fig. 14.12). Parallels are, among others, the façades of Useramun's and Senenmut's tombs.[15]

Puiemra's tomb does not belong to the monumental tombs of the first category, "Group 1," to which that of the first prophet of Amun Hapuseneb (TT 67) and of his successor Menkheperraseneb (TT 86) belong, and also the monumental tombs of the viziers, TT 83, 131, and 100, as shown in the diagram below on size relations (fig. 14.13; Engelmann-von Carnap 1999, pp. 64–66, 403, fig. 271). Senenmut's tomb, TT 71, stands out clearly. While the first prophets' tombs belong to Group 1 (at the top of the diagram), TT 39, as the tomb of a second prophet of Amun — and in this respect it conforms — belongs to Group 2.

Puiemra, however, evades the size limits by adding a portico to his tomb (figs. 14.9, 14.14). The hall of TT 39 does, in fact, have the expected dimensions for a second prophet of Amun in Group 2, but, by

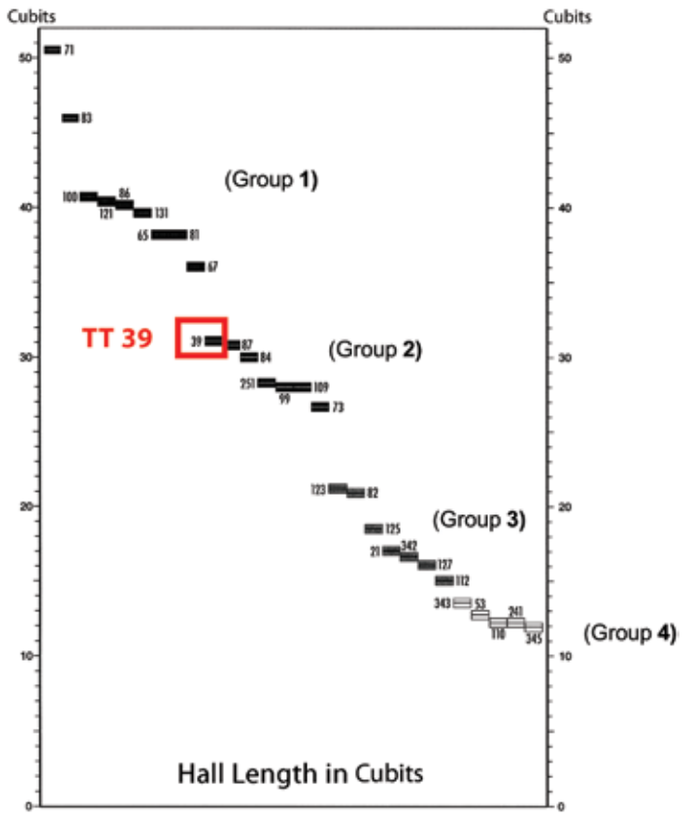

Figure 14.13. Diagram of tomb sizes
(Engelmann-von Carnap 1999, p. 65, fig. 44A)

[12] On the proportions of the tomb ground plans of the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty in Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, see Engelmann-von Carnap 1999, pp. 56–63. On the relationship between hall length and gallery length, see ibid., pp. 58, 7b, fig. 40A.

[13] With "west," the orientation toward the mountain range is meant, the orientation of the processional causeway (Engelmann-von Carnap 2003, p. 39).

[14] Saff el-Dawaba (Di. Arnold 1976, pl. 1). On the side chambers, see Engelmann-von Carnap 1999, p. 35.

[15] For TT 39 façade: Davies 1922, p. 4, pl. 3; TT 131 façade: Dziobek 1994, p. 51, pl. 36; TT 71 façade: Dorman 1991, pp. 25–26, pls. 1–2. Predecessor in the early Eighteenth Dynasty is the tomb with a pillar façade, see, e.g., TT 83 in Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, and TT 232 in Dra Abu el-Naga. The intercolumniations had been walled up in the following period, as in, e.g., TT 81 and TT 67(?), or partially walled-up in TT 71. On this point, see Polz 2007, pp. 279ff. The façade decoration of TT 39, 71, and 131 is strikingly similar. Could also TT 39, like TT 71 and 131, have had a superstructure?

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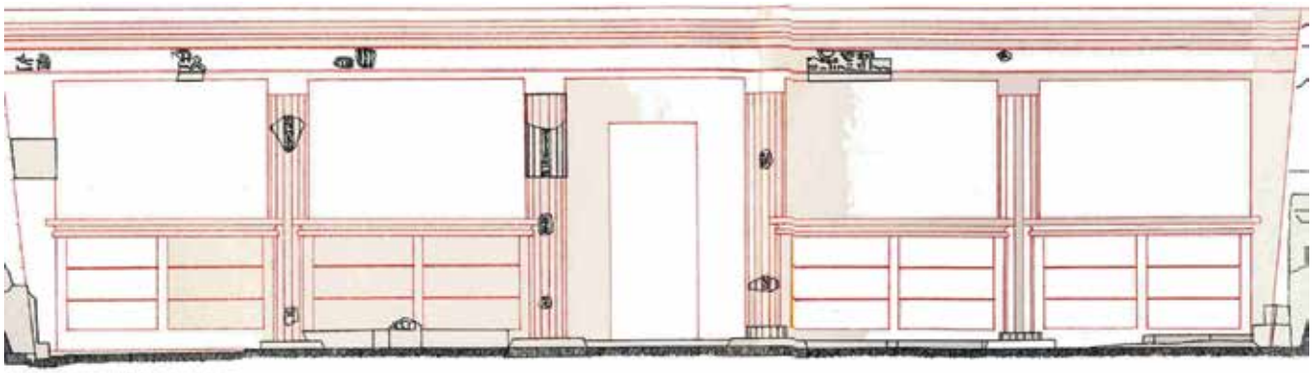

Figure 14.14. Portico of TT 39, according to Davies and Davies 1923, pl. 75

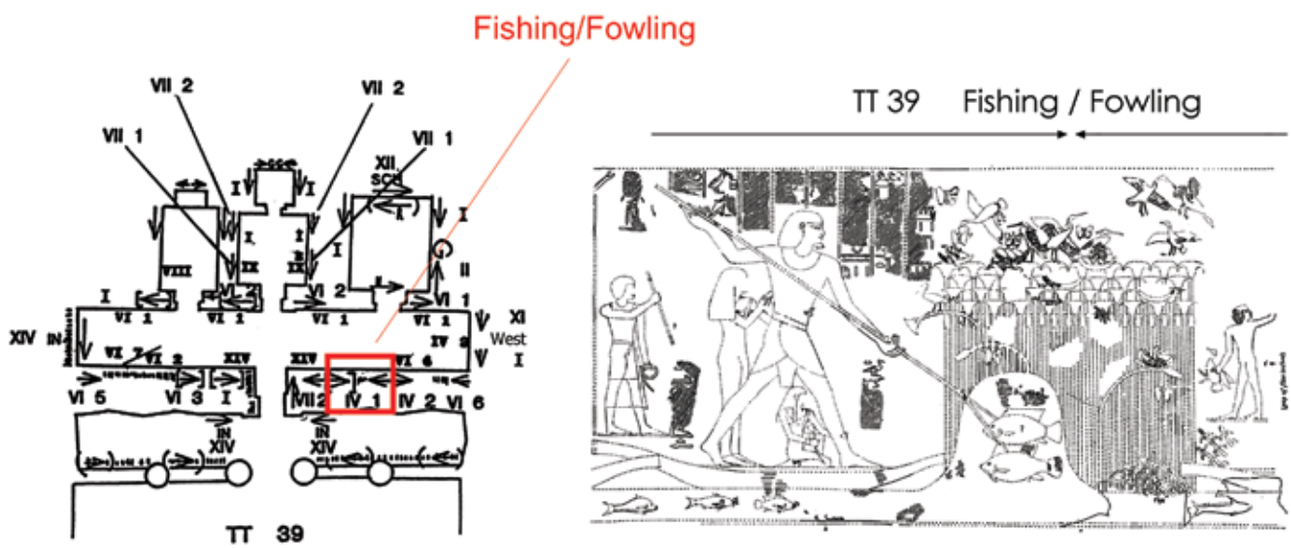

Figure 14.15. Fishing and fowling scene in TT 39 (Davies 1922, pl. 9)

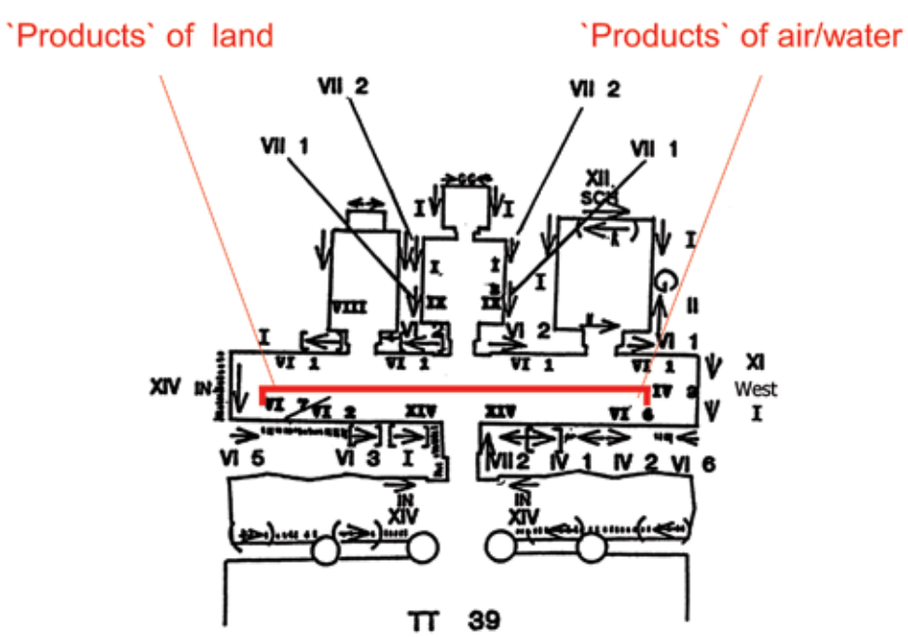

Figure 14.16. Acquiring “products” of the land and “products” of the air/water in TT 39

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the addition of a portico, that is, a second "hall," the surface for decoration is nearly doubled.[16] If Davies' reconstruction is correct, its design strongly recalls that of the station chapels, which were normally built along processional roads.

The decoration of the hall in Puiemra's tomb shows no peculiarities at first glance. The room has the usual measurements and proportions. In most cases, the scenes have been placed on the walls on which they ought to be, at this time and/or in the tomb of a representative of Group 2. A few examples will suffice. The entrance wall has, on the right wing of the hall, as usual, the "Delta scene," Puiemra fishing and fowling (fig. 14.15), which is the classical place for Group 2 (Engelmann-von Carnap 1999, pp. 232, 234, figs. 136–37). The distribution of fishing to the left and fowling to the right corresponds also to the dating, Type 2, as already noted (see table 14.1).

The acquisition and receipt of produce from the Delta is here too, as so often, set opposite to the scene of acquiring agricultural products (Engelmann-von Carnap 1999, pp. 285–91, figs. 181–83) (fig. 14.16). That is, acquiring the "products" of the air (birds) and of the water (fish), fishing and fowling, shown on the right wing. And on the hall's left wing, among other things, the acquiring of products of the land (grain), that is, agricultural activities, is represented (ibid., pp. 387–88).

They form the classical "bracket" on the entrance wall. A parallel can be found, among others, in the tomb of Senemiah, TT 127 (Engelmann-von Carnap 1999, p. 286, figs. 181, 287, 183). The fishing and fowling scene is still combined with spearing the hippopotamus (fig. 14.17), which is evidence for a relatively old decoration date. Parallels in monumental tombs can be found only in TT 81 and 83 (ibid., p. 239).[17]

Fishing and fowling and spearing the hippopotamus are followed, as so often, on the right-hand narrow wall by the hunting in the desert scene (fig. 14.18). Consequently, all three hunting scenes are together on the right wing of the hall.

The left-hand narrow wall of the hall presumably showed, as customary, the tomb owner's "biography," which unfortunately has been seriously damaged (Engelmann-von Carnap 1999, p. 366).

On the hall's back wall, one searches in vain for the depiction of the pharaoh. There, it is customary in Group 2 to depict the tomb owner before the ruler's kiosk (Engelmann-von Carnap 1999, pp. 245–53, figs. 146–47). In TT 39 it is missing. This may be due to a critical situation: had the queen died in the meantime? Instead, the tomb owner receives the tribute of the foreign countries, exceptionally, without the presence of the queen/king. Thutmose III is mentioned in the text, but the activities referred to, such as receiving tribute from Punt and setting up obelisks, are rather associated with Hatshepsut. A standard with a cartouche of Thutmose III was carved, but only as a later addition. The depiction of the pharaoh doesn't seem to be necessary, inasmuch as the queen — because the tomb lies on the processional road to the Deir el-Bahari temple — is, in this particular case, present through her temple and her tomb in the immediate vicinity. If we leave out of consideration the missing representation of the pharaoh, the hall shows no astounding peculiarities. The scenes are, in general, located on the walls on which they have to be for this period and/or for a tomb of Group 2.

Only the second scene on the right-hand narrow wall of the hall is particularly striking. The desert hunt scene has been moved downward, to make room for a more important scene above it. Here again, the tomb's unusual orientation plays a role. This wall is not only to be equated with the right-hand narrow wall in the hall of a T-type tomb, but also with the back wall of the T-type gallery (fig. 14.19). The position to the west is common to both. The right-hand narrow wall of TT 39 is — as a west wall — comparable to the back wall of the gallery, which leads to the west. In fact, here are — in reality not three-dimensionally, as in the T-type, but as a painting — the statues of Puiemra, his wife, and parents (fig. 14.20). The fact that these representations are supposed to be statues is made clear by the pedestal on which the couples are depicted; otherwise, it would have been a mat (Engelmann-von Carnap 1999, p. 157 nn. 9–10; p. 158, fig. 78; pp. 356–57). The combination of the parents together with the tomb owner and his wife as statues at the end of the gallery is quite canonical (ibid., p. 350).

[16] Engelmann-von Carnap 1999, p. 296 n. 6. On the portico, see Davies and Davies 1923, pp. 4–6, pls. 75, 71, 72.

[17] For a similar distribution of scenes on the left entrance wall of TT 39, see TT 73 and 65; Engelmann-von Carnap 1999, p. 308 n. 2.

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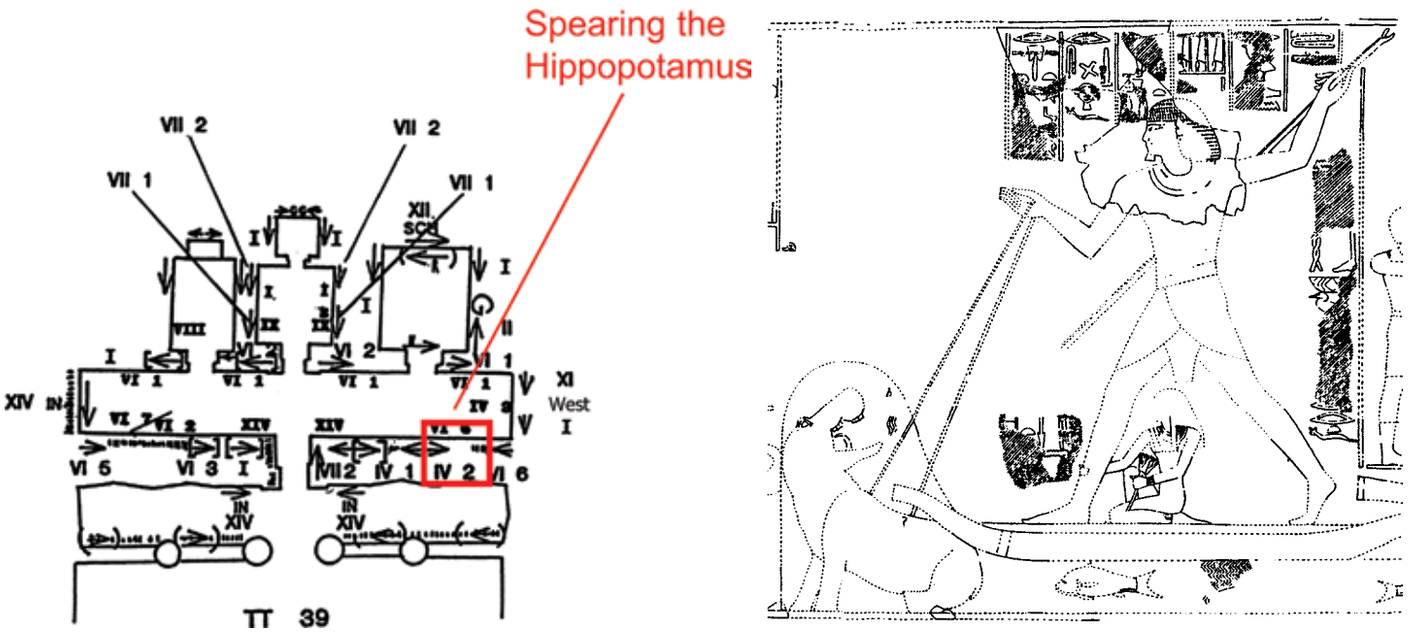

Figure 14.17. Spearing the hippopotamus scene in TT 39 (Davies 1922, pl. 9)

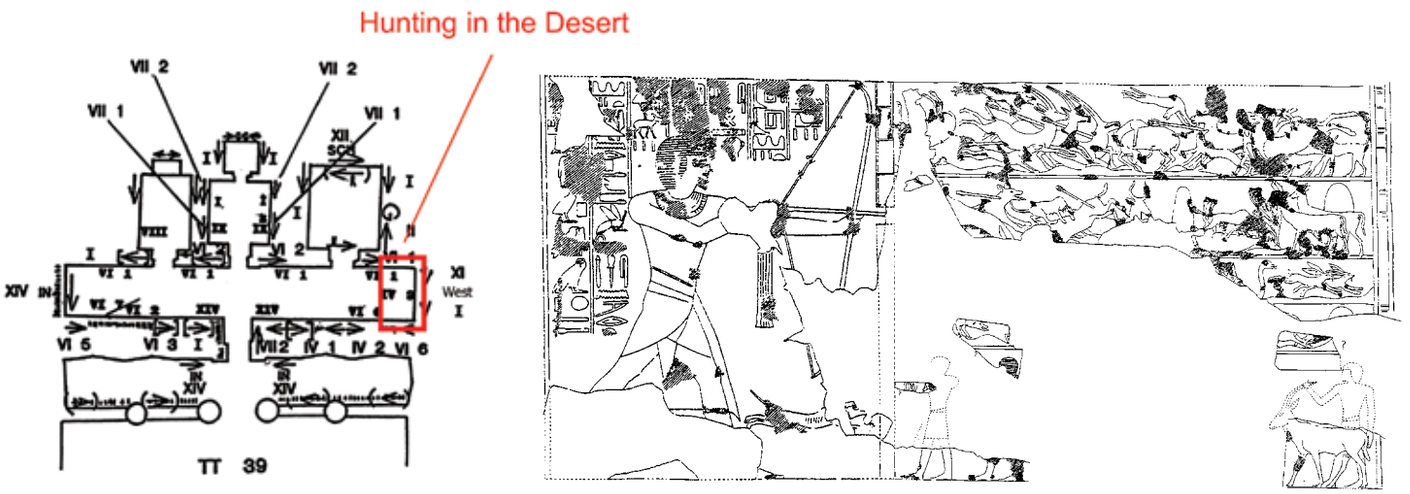

Figure 14.18. Hunting in the desert scene in TT 39 (Davies 1922, pls. 8:1, 7)

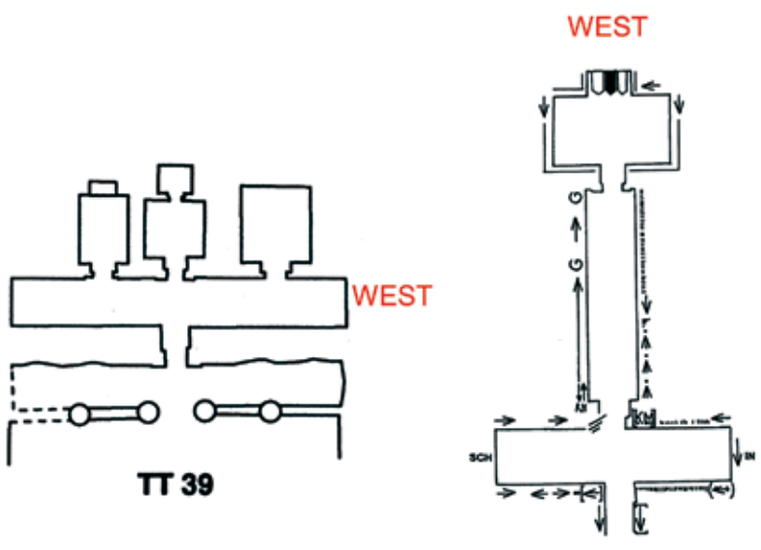

Figure 14.19. The “west” in TT 39 and in TT 125

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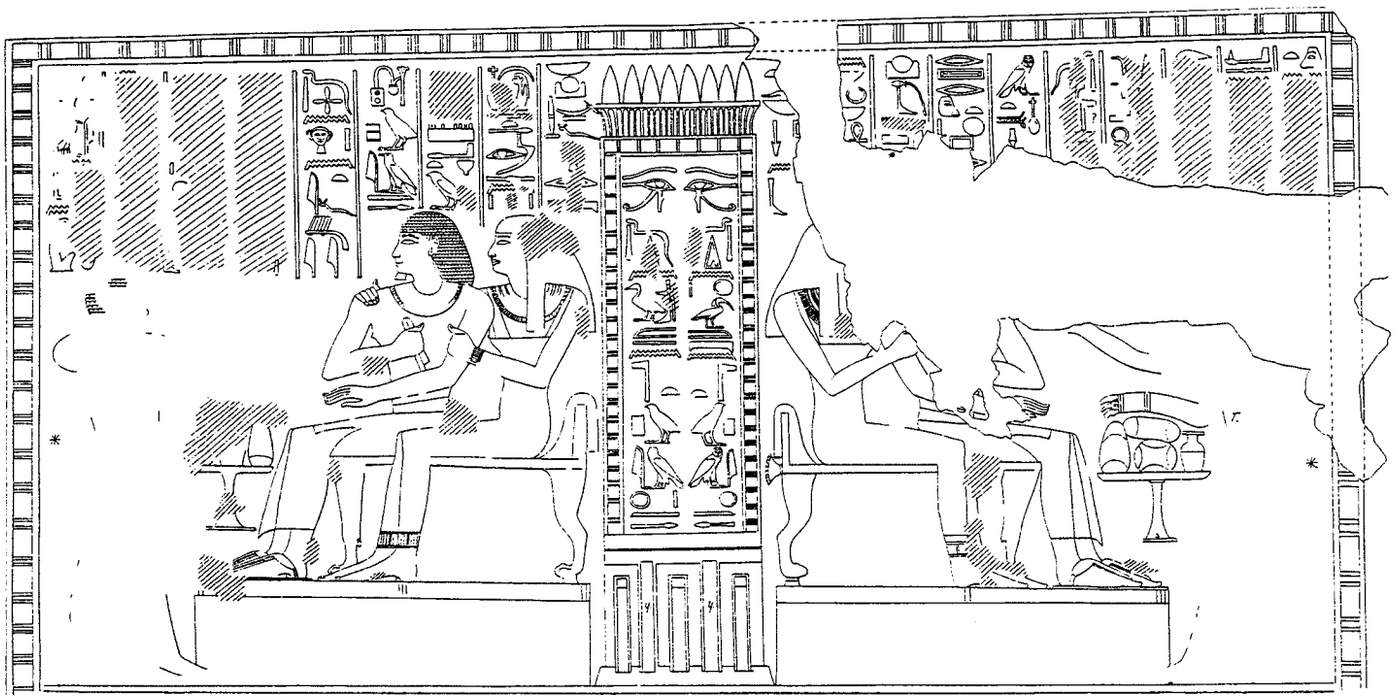
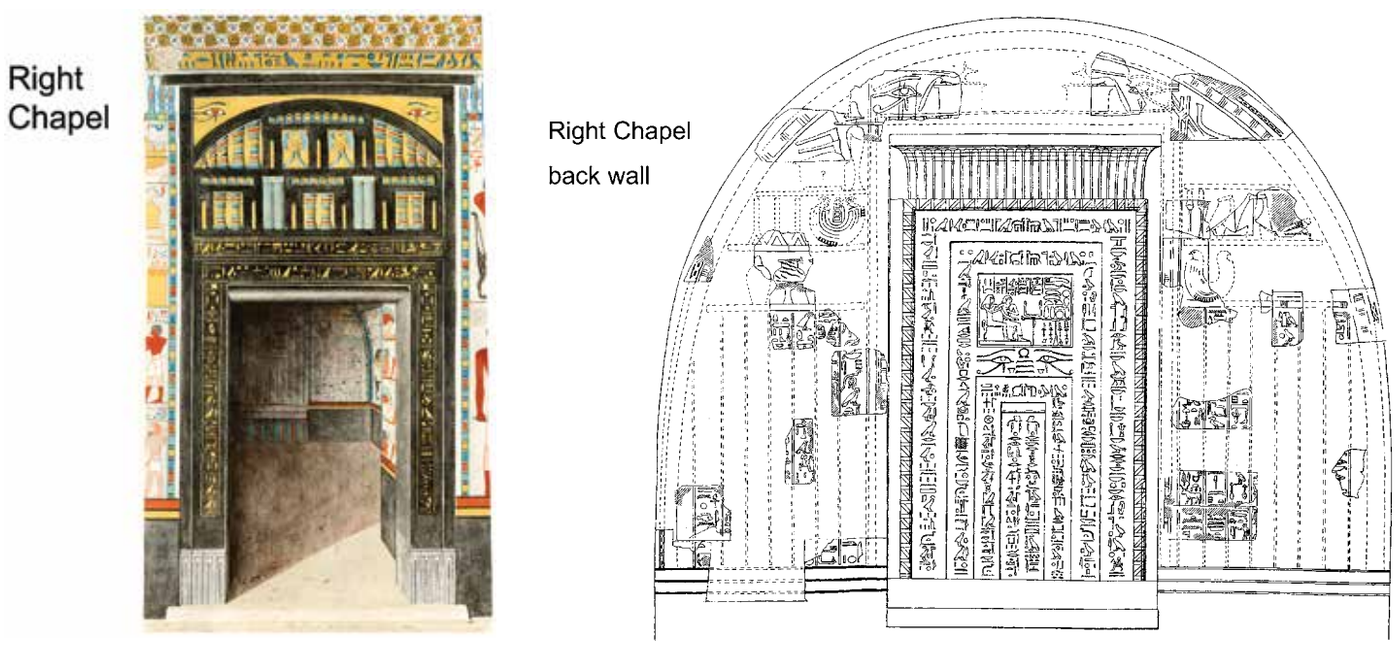


Figure 14.20. Statues of Puiemra, his wife, and parents depicted on the right narrow wall of the transverse hall in TT 39 (Davies 1922, pl. 6)



a b

Figure 14.21. (*a*) Entrance door and (*b*) back wall of the right chapel in TT 39 (Davies and Davies 1923, pls. 44, 48)

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It is interesting to take a closer look at the back or southern part of Puiemra's tomb, because it has an uncommon characteristic. On the one hand, as seen above, the architecture corresponds to the T-type: a transverse hall and, perpendicular to it, a central gallery, in this case distinguished by two chambers behind one another, which extend beyond the side chambers. The right-hand chapel, however, is emphasized by its conspicuous size, and it can only be due to the fact that it is the room that lies nearest to the west. This is confirmed by other observations. The room is entered through a door with an entablature (fig. 14.21a),[18] and the ceiling is vaulted (fig. 14.21b).

The rear wall has been provided with a false door, which is also a classical element of the back wall of the tomb, the back wall of the gallery, and parallels can be found, among others, in the tombs of Senenmut and Rekhmira (Engelmann-von Carnap 1999, p. 356, fig. 234).[19] Accordingly, Puiemra's burial chamber lies behind the false door (fig. 14.22).

If we take a look at the side-walls of the western chamber, here again, an asymmetry becomes evident, and again a preference of the right over the left wall. Even formally, this can be recognized on the number of scenes. While the right side has been provided with two scenes, the left side has only one (fig. 14.23). There is no symmetry on the room axis, but an emphasis on the right or western side of the tomb, as opposed to the left or eastern side.

An important element of the decoration in this chapel is the funeral procession (Engelmann-von Carnap 1999, pp. 226–30), which in the T-type is depicted, as a rule, on the left wall of the gallery, leading to the west (fig. 14.24). Its destination is, in general, the goddess of the West (indicated by the letter G). In TT 39, the goddess has her place on the chapel's right side-wall, a convincing placing: the western wall of the western chapel.

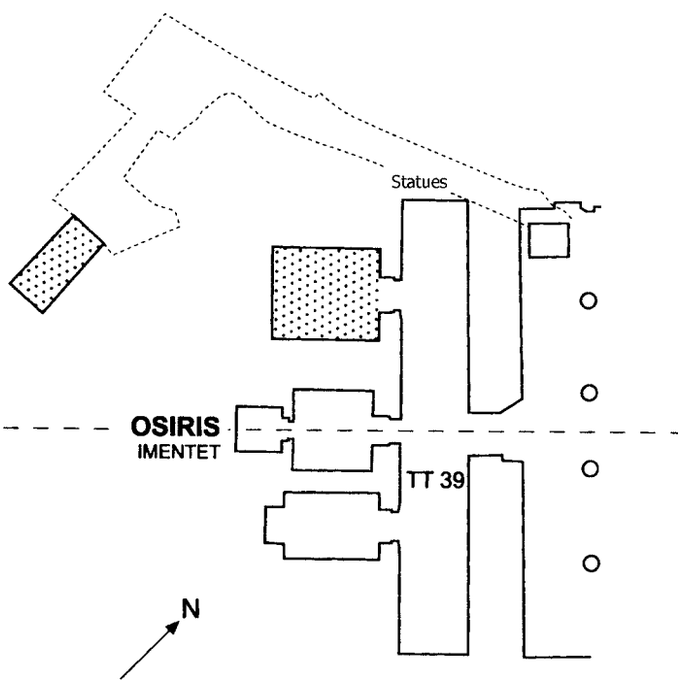

Figure 14.22. Location of the burial chamber behind the western chamber in TT 39

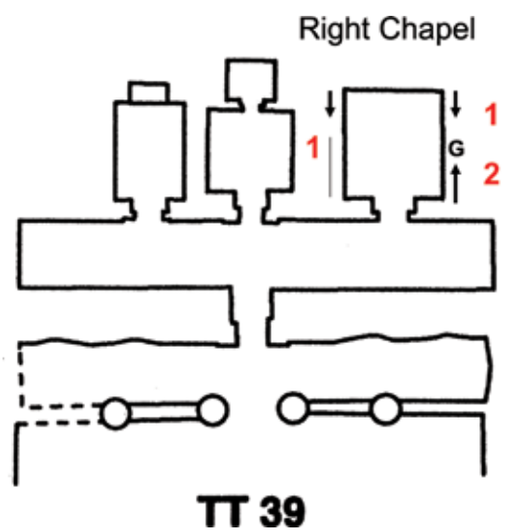

Figure 14.23. Right chapel, side-walls

[18] Entablature: the window, the transom, which is set even today above doors in Egypt, and which is popular above the statue niche at the western end of the tomb; see, for instance, Davies and Gardiner 1915, pl. 27. The entrance door to the left chapel in TT 39 probably had also such a window, remains of which are shown in Davies and Davies 1923, pl. 62.

[19] Among other decoration motives, objects of the burial equipment frame the false door in TT 39 (Davies and Davies 1923, p. 9). Allusions to BD 141 and 148 can be seen further on the back wall (Hays and Schenk 2007, pp. 99–100). In general, a high concentration of religious texts, Pyramid Texts, Book of the Dead spells, and other religious texts can be observed in the right side chapel, which particularly accentuates this room of the tomb.

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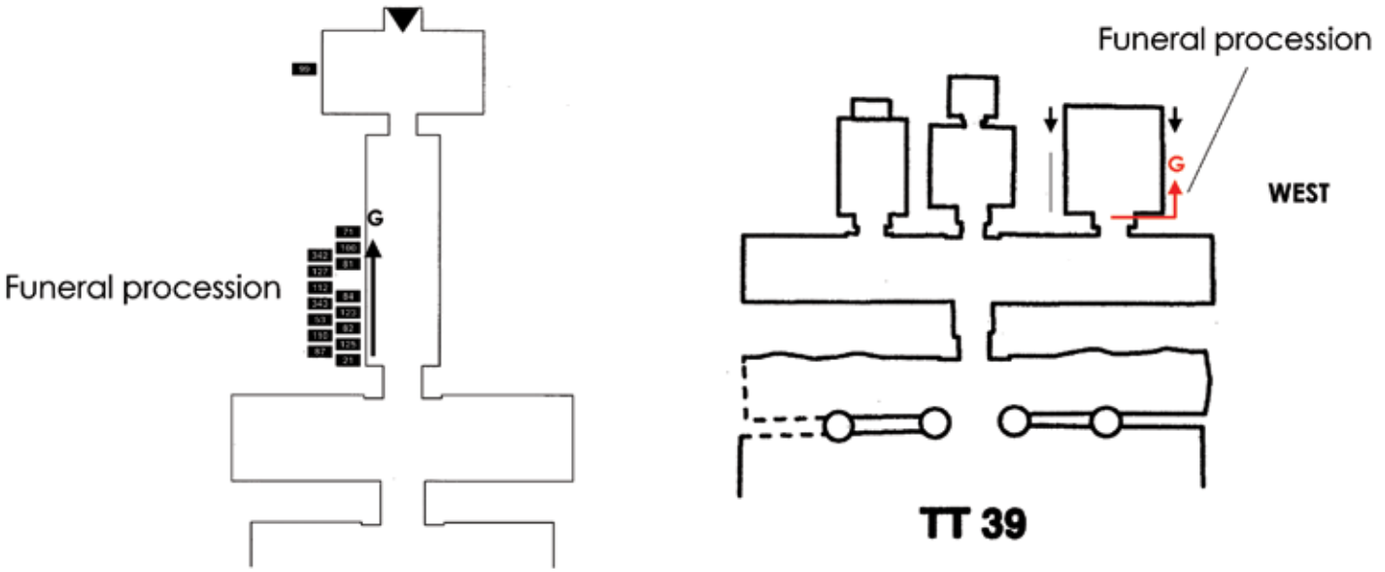

Figure 14.24. Location of the funeral procession

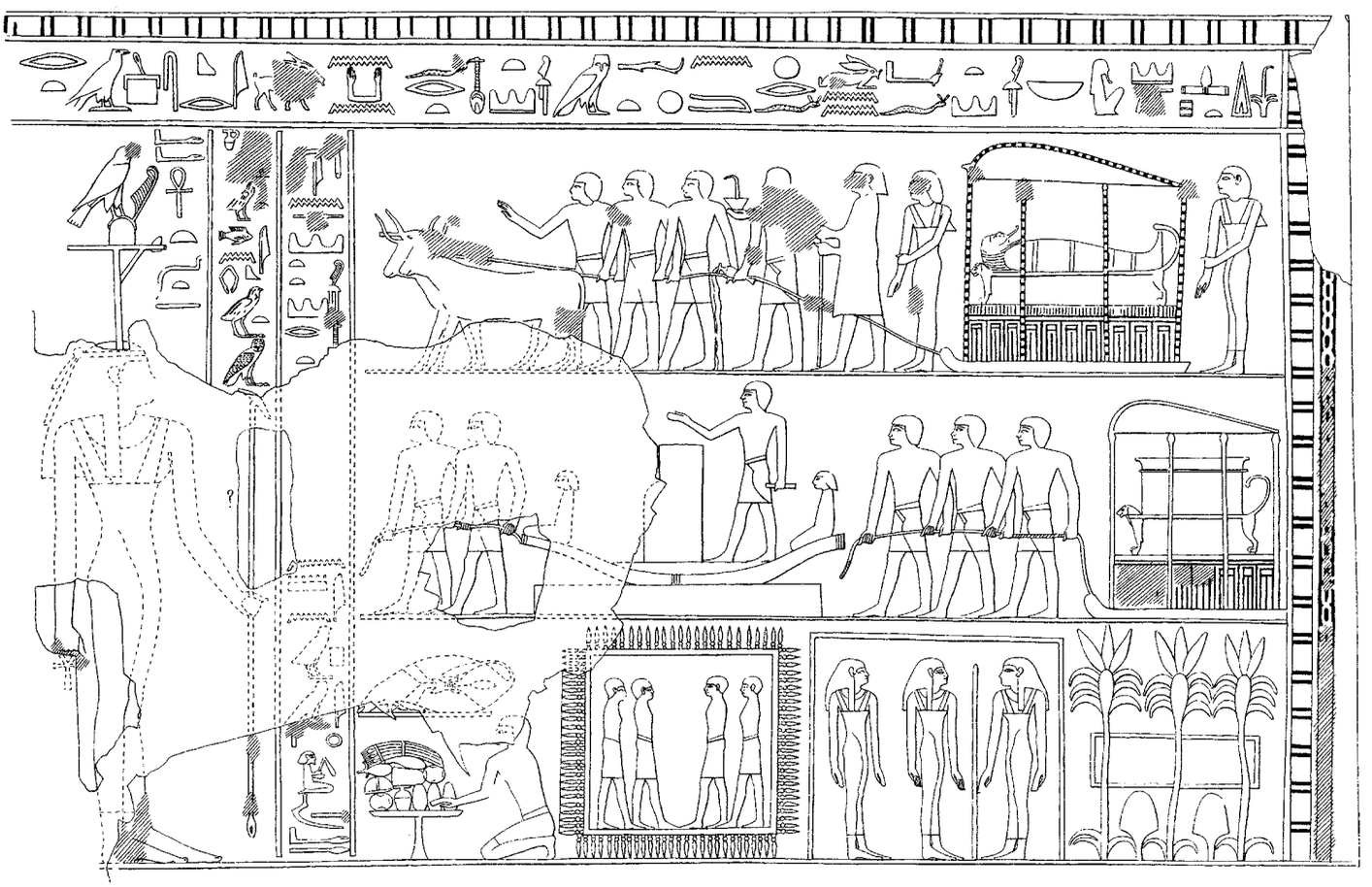

Figure 14.25. Funeral procession in TT 39 (Davies and Davies 1923, pl. 47)

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The dragging of the coffin begins, as usual, in the east. It begins on the entrance wall of the chapel, and continues onto the right side-wall, where it is received by the goddess of the West (figs. 14.24, 14.25).

The depiction of the voyage to Abydos makes clear how painstakingly one thought over the placing and orientation of the decorative elements according to the cardinal directions. In a standard T-type tomb, the scene is combined with the funeral procession on one wall and precedes it. In the tomb of Duawyneheh (TT 125), a typical representative of the Hatshepsut-era (fig. 14.26), the departure to Abydos is directed toward the west (letter D) and the return trip toward the east (letter R).

Although at first glance the display of this scene looks completely different in the case of Puiemra, it follows the same pattern: the voyage to Abydos is shown immediately next to the funeral procession. Here, it is distributed over the entrance wall and the back wall of the chapel, and just as it is normal otherwise, the departure to Abydos is oriented toward the west and the return trip toward the east.[20] If we orient both tombs toward the "west,"[21] the correspondence becomes more obvious, and shows that TT 39 clearly belongs to Type 2.[22] And the statues in Puiemra's tomb are now also in the "right" place.

The rest of the chamber is decorated with classical offering scenes (fig. 14.27), two offering scenes, classical "west scenes" (which also belong in the gallery; Engelmann-von Carnap 1999, pp. 217–19, fig. 125), on the left side of the room connected with the greater offering list and texts (fig. 14.27b), which are to be found in the temple of Deir el-Bahari with the same wording.[23]

We should now look at some of the scenes of the tomb's central axis (fig. 14.28). The walls of the central chapel show scenes which belong thematically in a transitional zone — and there they are also logically placed — between the tomb's hall and its back part, between hall and shrine. These are scenes which belong to the representation of status, that is, which illustrate the tomb owner's position on earth — Puiemra as

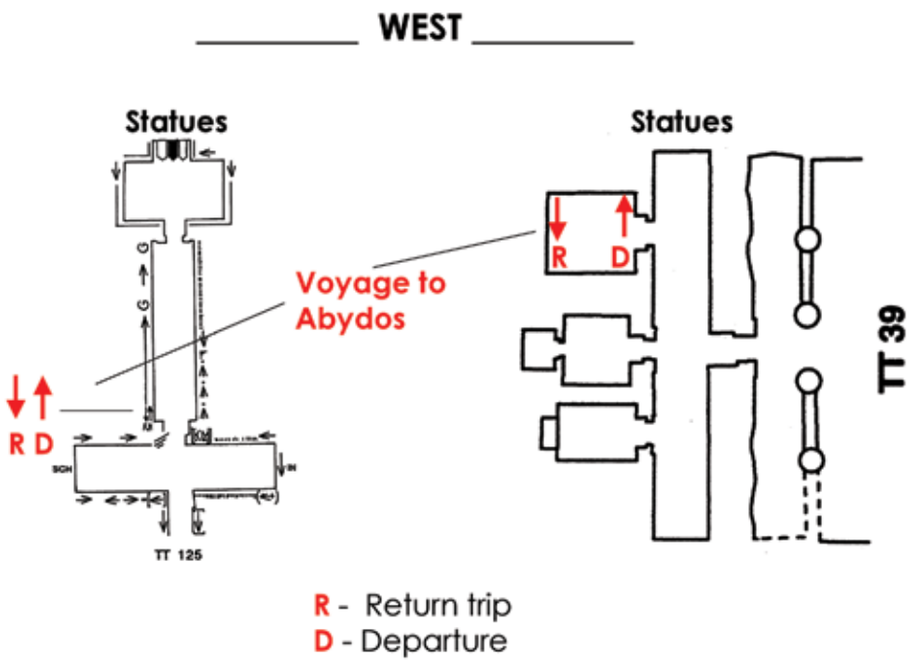

Figure 14.26. Voyage to Abydos in TT 125 and TT 39

[20] On the depiction of the voyage to Abydos, see Davies and Davies 1923, pls. 46, 48. The return trip from Abydos was later destroyed, and was replaced by emblems (ibid., p. 8). Traces are, however, still recognizable.

[21] With "west," the orientation on the mountain range is always meant here.

[22] See above, table 14.1. TT 39 is also Type 2 regarding the fishing and fowling scene.

[23] Davies and Davies 1923, pp. 10–11 n. 3. On the texts, see also Hays and Schenk 2007, p. 99. One would expect to find the Opening of the Mouth ritual on the left wall as it is normally depicted opposite the funeral procession, (Engelmann-von Carnap 1999, p. 229, fig. 133). There were possibly depictions of the Opening of the Mouth ritual on the portico of TT 39 (Davies and Davies 1923, p. 5).

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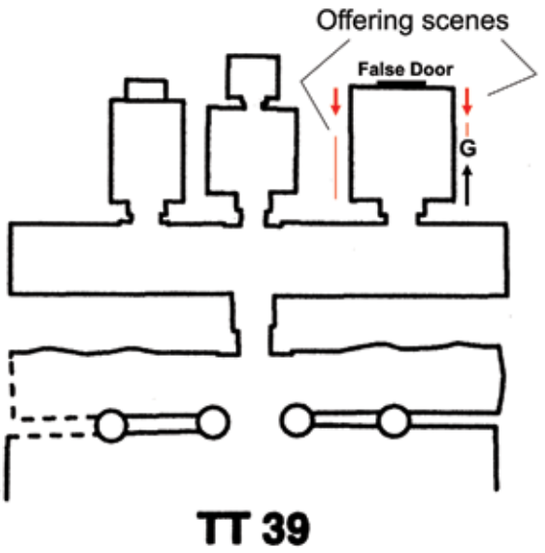

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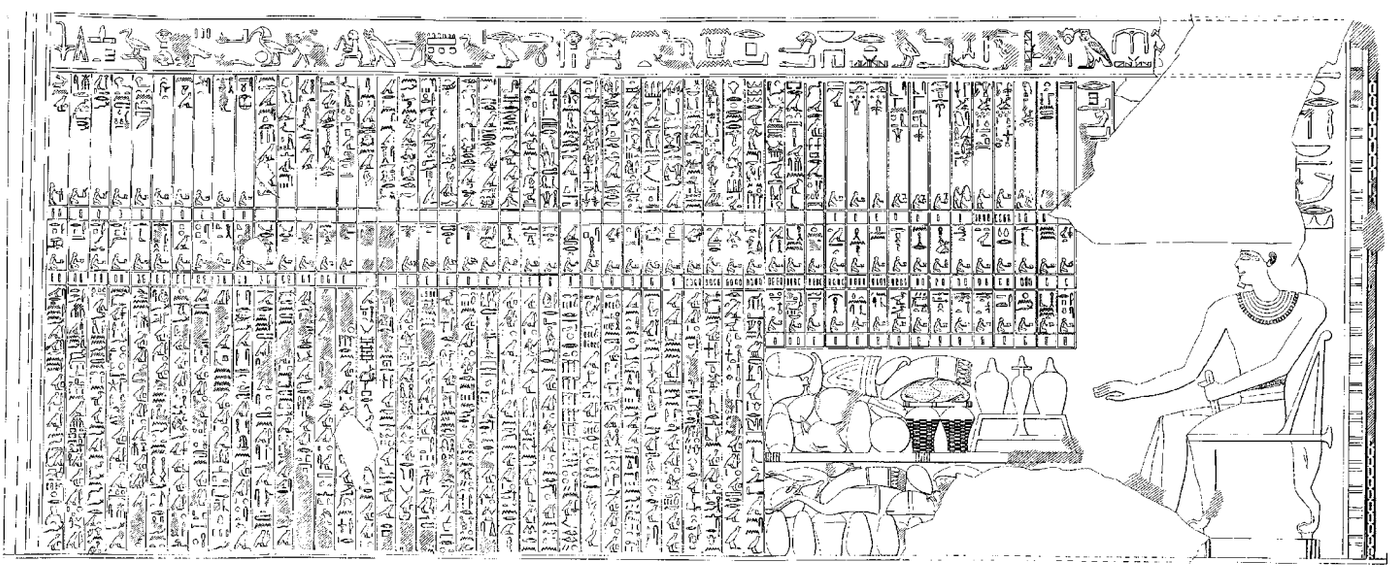

b

Figure 14.27. (*a*) Location of the offering scenes in the right/western chapel. (*b*) Offering scene on left wall (Davies and Davies 1923, pls. 49–50)

a priest (in monumental tombs, normally depicted in the hall); and they also belong to the realm of the mortuary cult — Puiemra as a recipient of offerings (in monumental tombs, usually depicted in the gallery). The scenes have, in addition, also been placed between "east and west," so that one could say: there, where both of the tomb's axes cross, the central and the east–west axis. It is therefore apparent that these scenes have a very special significance in this tomb, and, in this choice and combination, they are unique in the Theban necropolis.

The room looks like a chapel dedicated to the tomb owner and to his intimate relationship with the gods, first of all Amun, but also Hathor and Osiris. The scenes are first dedicated to the service of Amun: *m-ḫt jrt ḥsst ỉmn-Rᶜ* "after doing what pleases Amun-Ra" is written there (Engelmann-von Carnap 1999, p. 334 n. 3), after Puiemra has carried out sacrifices for the gods. The tomb owner,[24] second prophet of Amun, has brought a burnt offering (fig. 14.29).

[24] The name of the officiant on the right wall is not preserved. The neighboring scene, however, identifies him as Puiemra (otherwise Davies and Davies 1923, p. 19). On burnt offering scenes in general, see Engelmann-von Carnap 1999, pp. 331–38.

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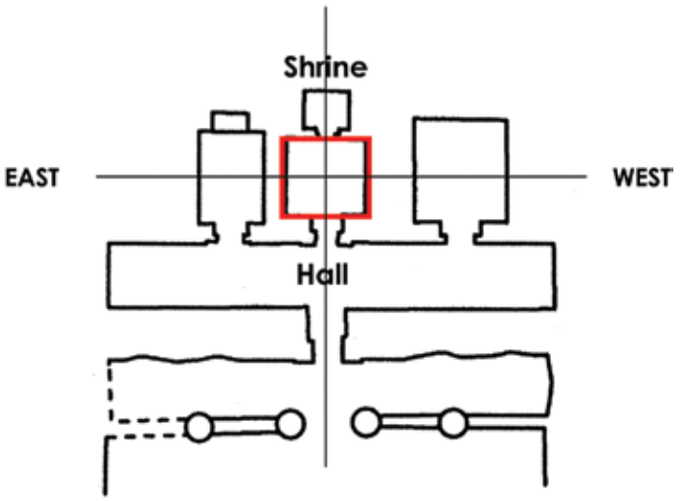

Figure 14.28. Central chapel of TT 39, between the hall and the shrine

The deities addressed are — as is usual for the burnt offering at the entrance — not depicted. The tomb owner, sacrificing, is in both scenes turned toward the tomb's entrance. The sacrifices are for, among others, the sun, the sun god Amun-Ra, the sunlight coming through the tomb's door, and in the case of Puiemra particularly because the tomb's entrance opens onto the procession way, also for the deities transported in the procession.

On the chapel's side-walls, delegations from the temple approach the tomb owner, second prophet of Amun (fig. 14.30).[25] It is noted, among other things, that they are coming from Hatshepsut's temple in Deir el-Bahari, from *Ḏsr-Ḏsrw*.[26] The priests approach Puiemra with offerings and bouquets of Amun, and the Hathor-priestesses present sistra and menats to the tomb owner.

Following them, on the entrance wall (fig. 14.31), above the doorway, strides a choir of singing and

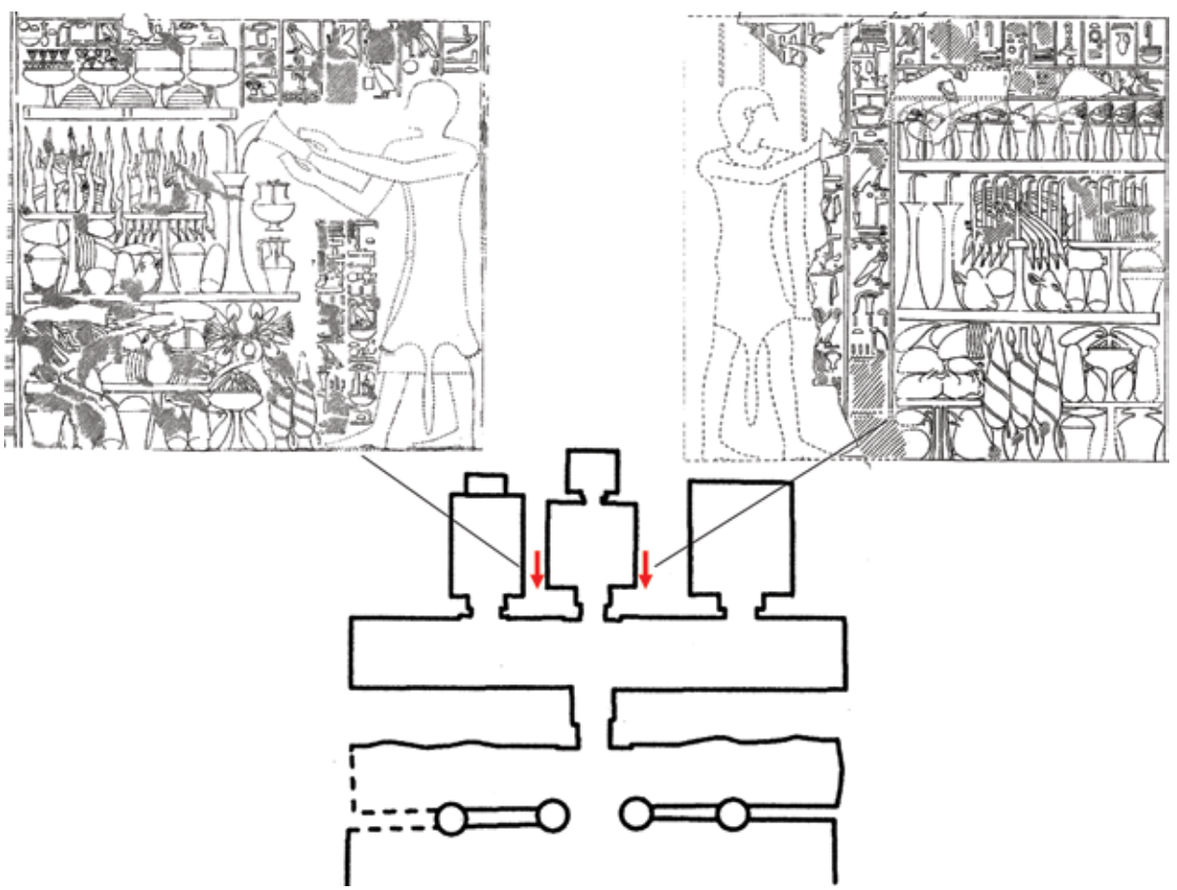

Figure 14.29. Burnt offering scenes in TT 39 (Davies and Davies 1923, pls. 53–54)

[25] These scenes are found primarily in the tombs of priests (Engelmann-von Carnap 1999, p. 302 (5), p. 309 (5).

[26] See Davies and Davies 1923, p. 24, pl. 53.

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clapping men. Below, butchering scenes on the occasion of the festival(s) are shown. His son enters the room with a bouquet (fig. 14.32). Hathor is consequently named throughout *nbt tḫt* "mistress of drunkenness."

In the lower registers of the side-walls (fig. 14.30), the tomb owner is shown receiving offerings. These are standard scenes related to the mortuary cult, and already point to the next room in the central axis, the shrine,[27] which is to be identified as a room for the mortuary cult. The "offering-list" ritual takes the shrine's side-walls. On the back wall of this last room on the central axis, the "worship of the gods" is depicted (Davies and Davies 1923, pp. 26ff., pl. 59; Engelmann-von Carnap 1999, p. 344) (fig. 14.33).

The divinities worshipped by Puiemra are Osiris and Imentet, the goddess of the West. Both deities are shown standing next to one another, both standing for the West. But the "more important" one, Osiris, is not depicted to the right of the "less important" one, Imentet, as would normally be the case, but vice versa. This, too, can only be explained by the tomb's special orientation, which emphasizes the right side of the tomb over the left side. Osiris naturally occupies the tomb's right side, the one facing the west.[28] The right side is oriented toward the western mountain, to Hatshepsut's house of Millions of Years, her tomb, and to the destination of the procession of Amun, and, among other things, to Hathor's realm. Thus, the tomb's right side is accentuated by: (a) the representation of Osiris, (b) the larger side chapel with depictions connected with the west, (c) the burial chamber behind it, and (d) the statues on the hall's right-hand wall (fig. 14.34).

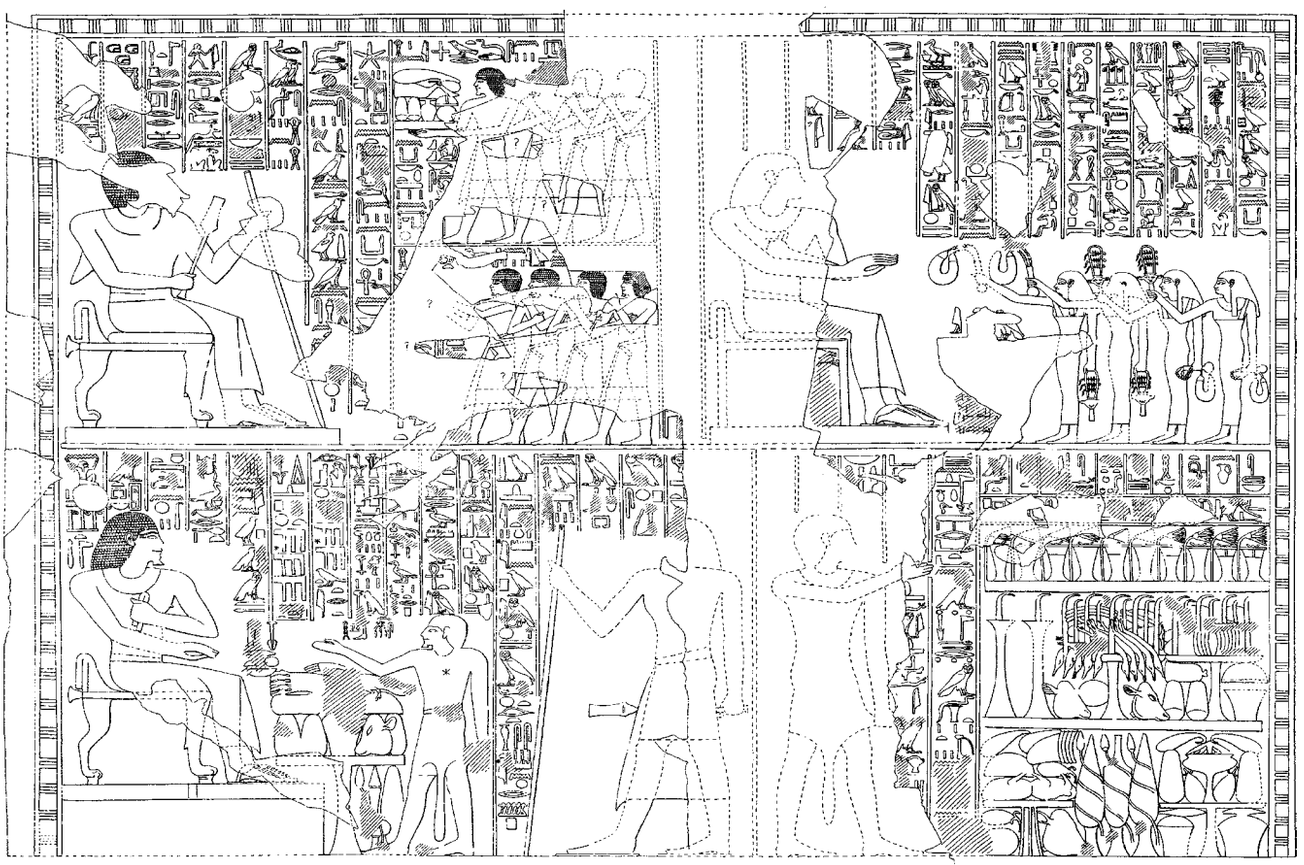

Figure 14.30. Central chapel, right side-wall (Davies and Davies 1923, pl. 53)

[27] Puiemra is depicted on a pedestal (fig. 14.30; Davies and Davies 1923, pls. 53, 54), presumably an allusion to his statue that stood in the shrine. There is no entrance to the shrine, but only a window. The design of the back wall of the central chapel (ibid., pl. 77:B) recalls the rear wall of the upper terrace in Deir el-Bahari with statue niches (Werbrouck 1949, pl. 24).

[28] On the rules for distributing the representations of the gods in the tomb, cf. Engelmann-von Carnap 1999, pp. 381–83, 419.

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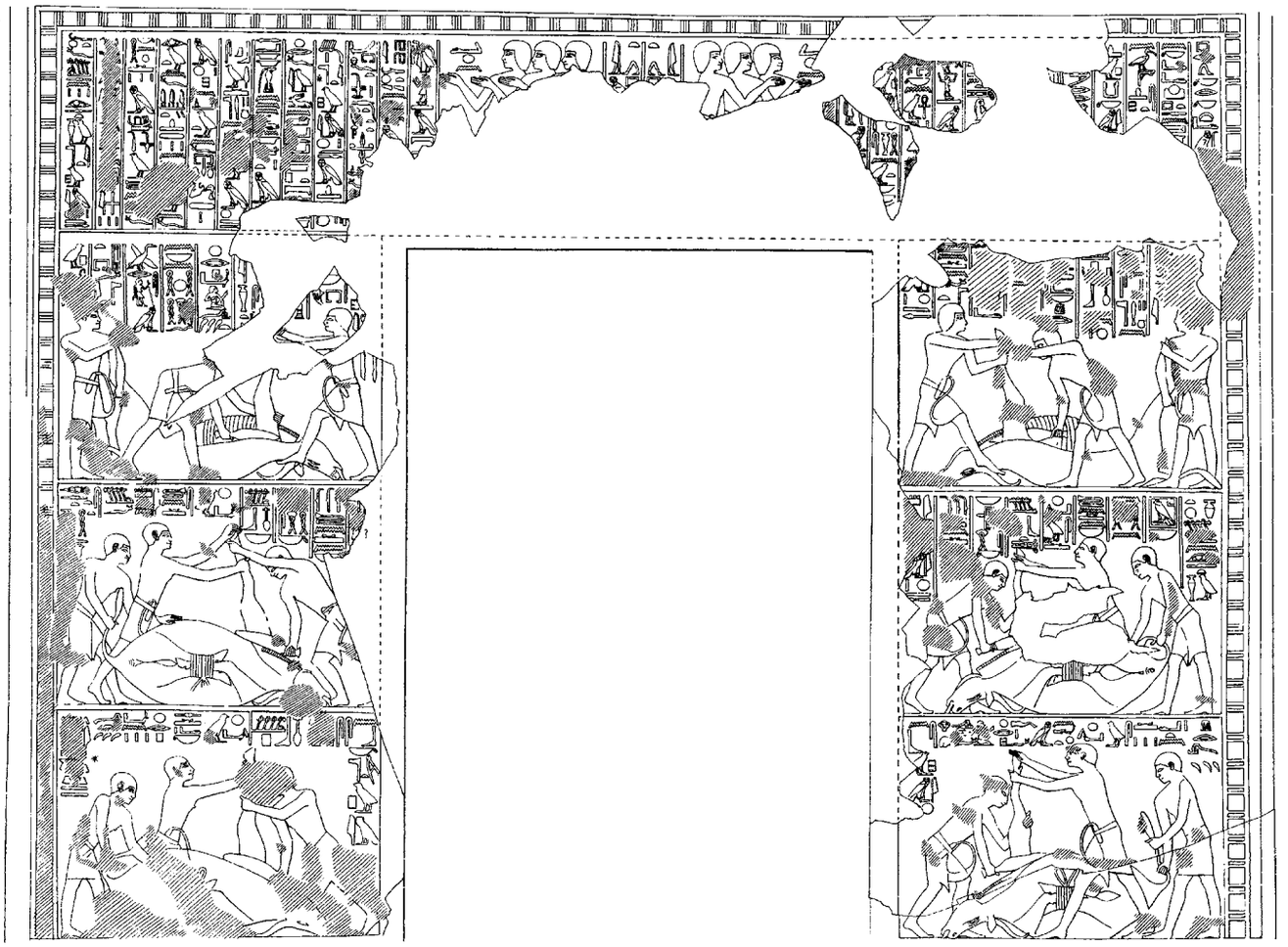

Figure 14.31. Central chapel, entrance wall (Davies and Davies 1923, pl. 52).

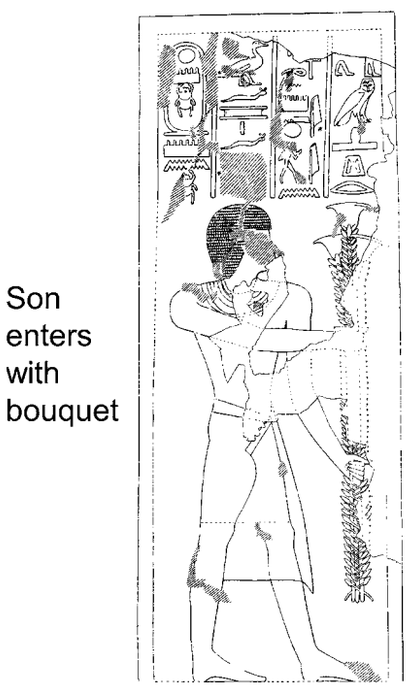

Figure 14.32. Entrance to central chapel, left thickness (Davies 1922, pl. 30:1)

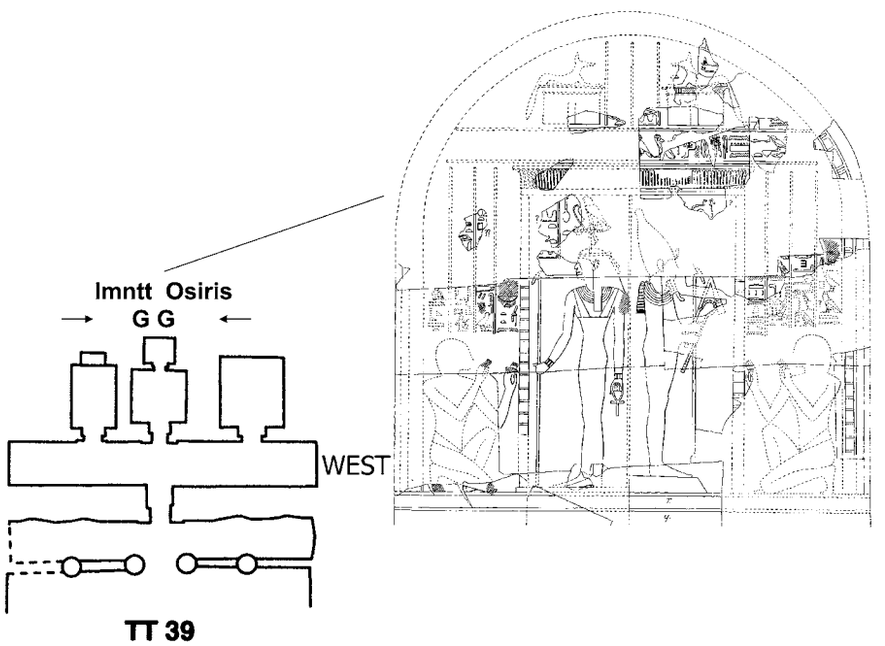

Figure 14.33. Osiris and Imentet depicted on the back wall of the shrine (Davies and Davies 1923, pl. 59)

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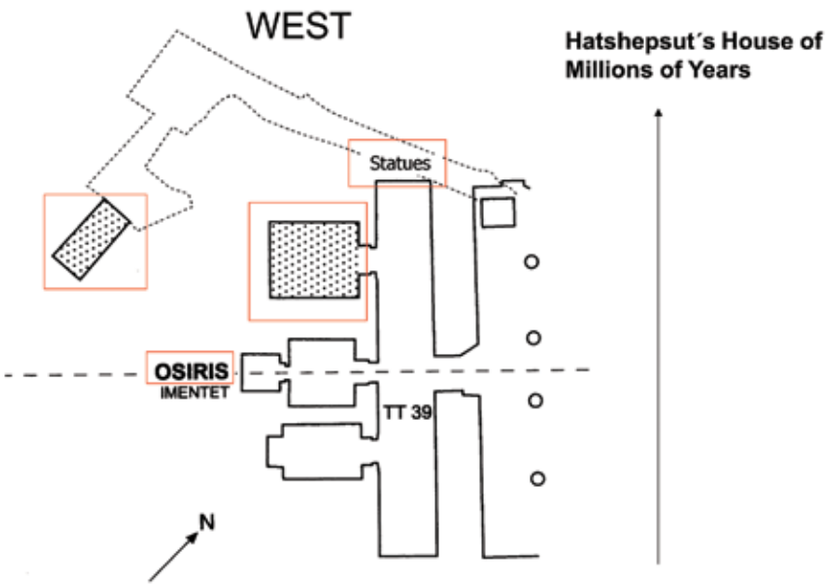

Figure 14.34. The right side of TT 39 associated to the west, oriented toward Deir el-Bahari

The significance of the rooms, therefore, can already be recognized on their architecture, on the tomb's ground plan. On the one hand, there is an emphasis on the central axis (comparable to the T-type; see fig. 14.11), and, on the other hand, on the "western area," which is especially accentuated by the large side chamber, by the place of burial, and by the location of the statues (fig. 14.34). In the intersection of the two axes (fig. 14.28) one finds the "festival chamber," the "gods' chamber" for Puiemra's "private pleasure." The left chamber, on the other hand, looks stunted, small and without particularly meaningful depictions (Davies and Davies 1923, pp. 37ff., pl. 63).

The parallelism between the right chapel of Puiemra's tomb with Hatshepsut's offering chapel in her temple of Deir el-Bahari is remarkable: the vaulted ceiling, the false door at the rear-wall, the offering list on the side-wall,[29] and the location of the room at one side of the central axis (fig. 14.35).[30] It would certainly be worthwhile to investigate more on to the tomb's relationships with Hatshepsut's temple, but it is beyond the scope of this article.

Even if Puiemra outlived Hatshepsut and still retained his priestly office under Thutmose III, his tomb nonetheless stands for the creative and innovative era under Hatshepsut, to whom he is attached beyond her death, among other things, through the reference to her temple. According to our present knowledge, there is no other tomb with such an unconventional and original architecture, and such an original decoration program, neither in the following period, nor, to date, earlier in the history of the private tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty in Thebes.

The ground plan of the older tomb TT 83 (vizier Aametju/Ahmose) and of the more recent one TT 100 (vizier Rekhmira) look strikingly monotonous in comparison with that of the tomb of Puiemra (fig. 14.36). Although Rekhmira's decoration program is relatively unconventional, the architecture is still orthodox (Engelmann-v. Carnap 1999, p. 397 n. 4).

[29] On the vaulted ceiling and the false door at the rear wall of Hatshepsut's offering chapel in the Deir el-Bahari temple, see Werbrouck 1949, pl. 26; PM II², 360–61 (101). On the offering list on the side-walls, see Naville 1901, pls. 109–10, 112–13.

[30] The parallels between the architecture and decoration of *Ḏsr-Ḏsrw* and of TT 39 have been repeatedly addressed. See on this topic, Roehrig 2005, p. 103 n. 5; and above, nn. 23, 27. The original depiction of Puiemra in the bark on his return trip from Abydos, depicted above the false door in the right chapel of TT 39 (Davies and Davies 1923, p. 8, pl. 48), also recalls Hatshepsut on the sun bark above the false door in the queen's offering chapel (Naville 1901, pl. 115; Louant 2000, p. 93).

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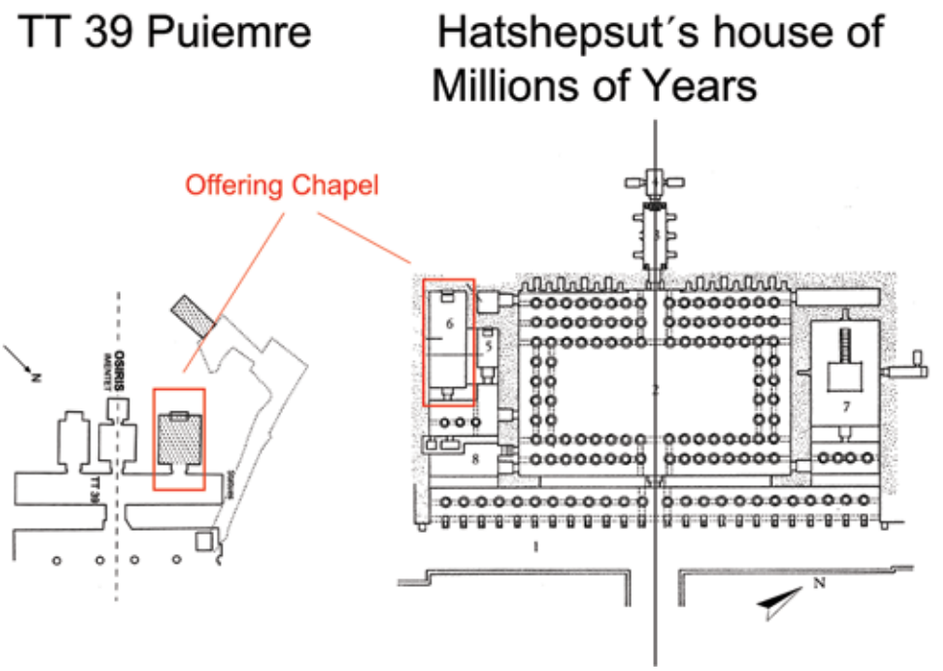

Figure 14.35. Offering chapels of Puiemra in TT 39 and of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari

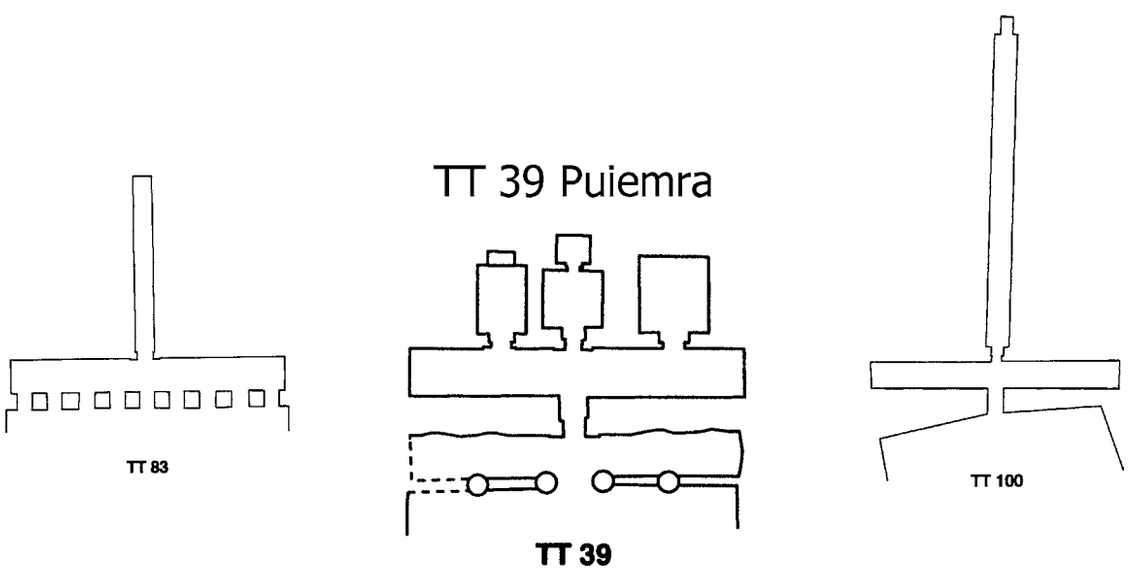

Figure 14.36. Comparative layout of TT 83, 39, and 100

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The tombs of the officials, like that of Senenmut and Puiemra, among others, just as the queen's building program (as, among other things, her tomb and temple, which she planned in the holy of holies, *Ḏsr-Ḏsrw*, of the Theban necropolis) stand for an extremely self-conscious, creative period, in which unconventional and innovative concepts could be developed. But the clever decoration programs of smaller tombs, such as, for example, that of TT 110 (Djehuty) and TT 127 (Senemiah), make it clear that it was not a phenomenon and privilege reserved exclusively for influential high officials, but it was typical for Hatshepsut's contemporaries (Engelmann-von Carnap 1999, p. 368 n. 7, p. 416). In contrast, the more modern small tomb of Benja-Pahekamen (TT 343), which dates to the time of Hatshepsut's proscription, seems, in comparison, strangely meaningless and unimaginative.

Nevertheless, we can only judge the role and significance of Hatshepsut's era when that of her predecessors has been clarified. We still know far too little about the buildings from the reign of Thutmose I, about those before him and, above all, about the decoration programs of the Seventeenth and early Eighteenth Dynasty tombs in Thebes. Hatshepsut's importance can only be determined and understood against the background of her predecessors' legacy, and we still know too little about this period.

The words which Winlock noted when he directed the excavations in Hatshepsut's temple of Deir el-Bahari seem to be quite revealing in this connection: "... we found that Hatshepsut's wall had fallen away like a curtain and behind it stood walls of Amenhotep's to a considerable height."[31]

[31] Wysocki 1985a, p. 51 n. 17 (citing Winlock 1924, p. 14).

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15

Mitanni Enslaved: Prisoners of War, Pride, and Productivity in a New Imperial Regime

Ellen Morris, Barnard College

The early to mid-Eighteenth Dynasty can be considered a transformational moment in Egypt's social history. The first true northern empire was forged gradually over the course of a century — first through the vengeful conquests of Ahmose, then through the ambitious and exploratory expeditions of Thutmose I, and finally via Thutmose III's relentless annual campaigning. The last stage, perhaps already anticipated during the joint reign with Hatshepsut,[1] took place over the better part of two decades in the middle of the fifteenth century B.C. and occasioned such an influx of prisoners of war that the citizens of the imperial center at Thebes found themselves surrounded by foreign slaves.

Prior to the New Kingdom, slavery and systems closely akin to slavery were known in Egypt. As in most state societies, there were people who worked plots of land that they did not own but who were effectively tied to the land and were transferred along with it in royal donations or private wills. Such serfdom is not slavery per se, but inasmuch as it renders vulnerable individuals into transferable belongings, it comes close. Corvée labor is also not slavery exactly. Yet when the penalty for choosing not to participate in an assigned public work project was the permanent loss of one's own freedom and the enslavement of one's family, the differences seem mostly temporal. True slaves in Old and Middle Kingdom Egypt appear to have consisted in the main of tax-evaders, their unlucky families, and a motley assortment of those found deserving of punishment or irrecoverably in debt.

By the Thirteenth Dynasty, people originally sent to work in labor camps could be transferred to private ownership. Intermingled among this population of native Egyptians in one instance was a sizeable number of Syro-Palestinian individuals (Hayes 1972, pp. 92–109), which is the first time a preponderance of foreign slaves is witnessed in documentary evidence. Such a situation, however, seems to have been a reflection of the greatly increased numbers of northerners settled within the country, rather than of any otherwise unattested military activity.

To Moses I. Finley, who has written extensively on ancient slave-systems, the slave is analogous to a stranger and a foreigner even within in his own society. Divested of his rights and unable to put his family and community first or to be supported by them in times of trouble, the slave is an isolated entity who is at the absolute mercy of his master (Finley 1998, p. 143). Perhaps it is not surprising, then, that Egypt's first foray into large-scale slaveholding occurred in the context of war. The notion that slave societies develop in the wake of war is an old one, espoused by Heraclitus and Marx and Engels, among others (Blackburn 1988, p. 267). The transformational moment for Egypt — in which slaves moved from the realm of the anomalous to that of the commonplace — was occasioned by the onset of an extremely aggressive imperial project. The northerners imported into Egypt in shackles were already estranged and already foreign and therefore, like the quintessential slave described by Finely, especially suited to their new station.

The fact that the importation of foreign slave labor coincided with the most elaborate building projects known in Egypt since the Great Pyramids is almost certainly no accident. The employment of erstwhile enemies as slaves allowed the burden of corvée labor to be significantly lightened for Egyptian citizens at

[1] Joint cartouches found on a few storage jars at sites in the Sinai and southern Canaan suggest that the groundwork for Thutmose III's intensive campaigning may have been laid during the co-regency (Morris 2005, pp. 40, 65).

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the same time as awe-inspiring monuments to Egypt's power were being erected at an unprecedented pace. "Slaves" (*ḥmw*) now were foreigners, almost exclusively, while unfree Egyptians were "servants" (*bꜣkw*) and thus allowed to maintain — semantically at least — a modicum of dignity (Loprieno 1997, p. 209).

In this transformational moment, then, Egypt's economy was radically reworked, such that much of the hard labor on state projects and institutional land was now undertaken by a new population. But the point that I argue in this essay and illustrate through one specific case study is that this new population was in and of itself symbolic of a new world order. Now, thanks to this glut of foreign chattel, Egyptians of even relatively modest status could view themselves as microcosms of the state — as literal or symbolic masters over an enslaved enemy.

The foreign prisoners of war whose entrance and acculturation into Egyptian society are traced in this essay are first depicted at work on the estates of some of Hatshepsut's most esteemed nobles. To the best of my knowledge, images of these highly recognizable men appear in Egyptian art abruptly during this reign, although admittedly the numbers of decorated tombs constructed prior to this point in the early Eighteenth Dynasty is small. They reach the zenith of their numbers in the sole reign of Thutmose III and gradually disappear from view over the next two generations.

In this essay, it is first argued that among the great mass of prisoners that entered Egypt at this time a distinct foreign population is indeed identifiable in these tombs. Second, the dissemination and eventual assimilation of this cadre of prisoners, turned slaves, is charted. Finally, the case is mustered that these men were, in all likelihood, Hurrian warriors fighting on behalf of Mitanni and that the commemoration of their enslavement reflected both a historical reality and at the same time a celebration of Egypt's newfound and hard-won position of dominance over its neighbors to the north.

A Distinct Population of Prisoners of War Can Be Identified in Theban Tombs

The individuals included in this case study appear in their most distinctive form in the sole reign of Hatshepsut, in their greatest numbers in tombs dating to Thutmose III's reign, and can still be recognized in Egyptian art, albeit in much reduced numbers, in tombs of individuals whose careers spanned the reigns of Thutmose IV and Amenhotep III. The tombs in which they appear are listed below.

- Ineni (TT 81), overseer of the granary of Amun. Contemporary of Amenhotep I through Hatshepsut (Dziobek 1992, pls. 10b, 61, 62).
- Puiemra (TT 39), second priest of Amun. Contemporary of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III (Davies 1922, pls. 9, 12, 15, 23, 28).
- Intef (TT 155), great herald of the king, quartermaster-general. Contemporary of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III (Säve-Söderbergh 1957, pl. 10).
- Senemiah (TT 127), overseer of produce. Contemporary of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III (PM I², 242 (7, 8, 13)).
- Sennefer (TT 99), overseer of sealbearers, overseer of the gold-land of Amun. Contemporary of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III (PM I², 205 (5)).
- Paheri (Elkab), nomarch of Nekheb, superintendent of the grain-land of the South District. Contemporary of Thutmose III (Tylor and Griffith 1894, pls. 3 and 4).
- Nebamun (TT 145), head of bowmen. Contemporary of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III (Helck 1996, pls. 16–18).
- Amenemhat (TT 53), administrator in the temple of Amun. Contemporary of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III (PM I², 103 (4 and 7)).
- Ahmes (TT 121), first lector-priest of Amun. Contemporary of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III (PM I², 235 (2)).

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- Ahmes (TT 241), supervisor of the mysteries in the House of the Morning, scribe of the god's book. Contemporary of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III (Shorter 1930, pl. 15; PM I², 332 (6)).
- Amenemhat (TT 82), counter of the grain of Amun, scribe of the vizier. Contemporary of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III (Davies and Gardiner 1915, pls. 2 and 6).
- Menkheperresonb (TT 86), high priest of Amun. Contemporary of Thutmose III (Davies and Davies 1933, pls. 8, 11, 12).
- Nebamun (TT 24), steward of a royal wife. Contemporary of Thutmose III (PM I², 41 (3)).
- Baki (TT 18), chief weigher of the gold of Amun. Contemporary of Thutmose III (PM I², 32 (6)).
- Tati (TT 154), butler. Contemporary of Thutmose III (Davies 1913, pl. 39).
- Rekhmira (TT 100), vizier. Contemporary of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II (Davies 1943, pls. 39, 45–46, 48, 53–55).
- Djehutynefer (TT 80), overseer of the Treasury, royal scribe. Contemporary of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II (PM I², 158 (8)).
- Unknown (TT 143), titles unknown. Contemporary of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II (PM I², 255 (4)).
- Khaemwaset (TT 261), *wab*-priest of Amenhotep I. Contemporary of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II (Mackay 1916, pl. 14; PM I², 344 (1)).
- Amenemhab (TT 85), lieutenant-commander of soldiers. Contemporary of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II (Wreszinski 1914–36, vol. 1, pl. 85; PM I², 174 (26)).
- Kenamun (TT 93), royal steward. Contemporary of Amenhotep II (Davies 1930, pl. 61).
- Menna (TT 69), scribe and overseer of the estate of the king, field overseer of Amun. Contemporary of Thutmose IV and Amenhotep III (Hawass and Maher-Taha 2002, pls. 16a–b, 25a–b, 49a, 67a).

Possible acculturated members of the same population are evidenced in the tombs of Nakht and Hepu — both dating to the reigns of Thutmose IV and Amenhotep III (Davies 1917, pl. 26; Davies 1963, pl. 8).

Although there are, no doubt, other comparable individuals lurking in unpublished or poorly published tombs or else in funerary monuments I have simply overlooked, the twenty-two tombs so far identified include roughly 120 of these individuals[2] and provide a workable sample. Let me here express my gratitude to J. J. Shirley, who generously allowed me access to her collection of images from the Theban tombs, which she amassed during fellowships funded by the American Research Center in Egypt and the Washington, D.C., Explorers Club between 2000 and 2002. Perusing her photographic trove alerted me to the presence of a number of individuals in tombs that were otherwise inaccessible to me.

The men under consideration are recognizable above all by their hairstyle, which usually begins at the midsection of the head and virtually always falls sloppily down around the nape of the neck. Where preserved the hair color is either blond or black. In addition to their unusual coiffure, these men may be distinguished by one or more of the following mostly un-Egyptian features: namely, a small tuft of hair protruding at the front of the head, a thin beard extending from the chin, and a particularly curvaceous manifestation of stomach fat, which swoops down over the belt in a manner previously restricted almost solely to fertility gods and the occasional overindulgent musician. As stated, these men are at their most recognizable — with half-shaved head combined regularly with beard and occasionally also with tuft and voluminous belly — in the tombs of Hatshepsut's officials, particularly those of Puiemra, Senemiah, Amenemhat (TT 53), and Nebamun (TT 145) (figs. 15.1–4, 15.11, 15.14). Paheri's tomb, which appears to date slightly later, also possesses figures that incorporate most of these features (figs. 15.5, 15.6, 15.12).

[2] This number includes some figures who are slightly damaged but who appear to share the same characteristics as other identified figures in the same tomb.

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Figure 15.1. Marsh-workers, tomb of Puiemra, TT 39 (after Davies 1922, pl. 19)

Figure 15.2. Foreign bird-catchers, tomb of Senemiah, TT 127 (photo courtesy of JJ Shirley)

Figure 15.3. Foreigner tending cattle, tomb of Amenemhat, TT 53 (photo courtesy of JJ Shirley)

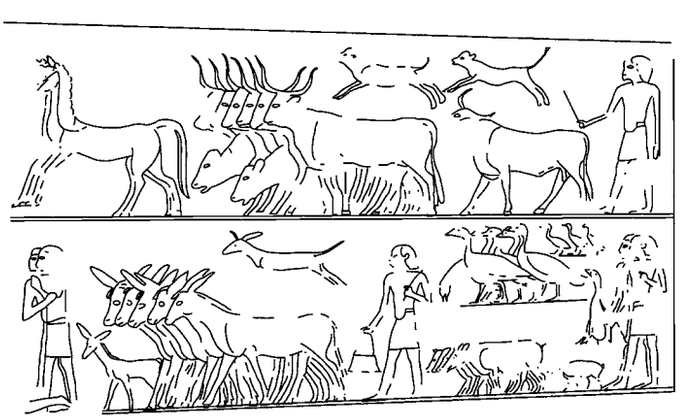

Figure 15.4. Foreigners tending animals, tomb of Nebamun, TT 145 (after Helck 1996, fig. 18)

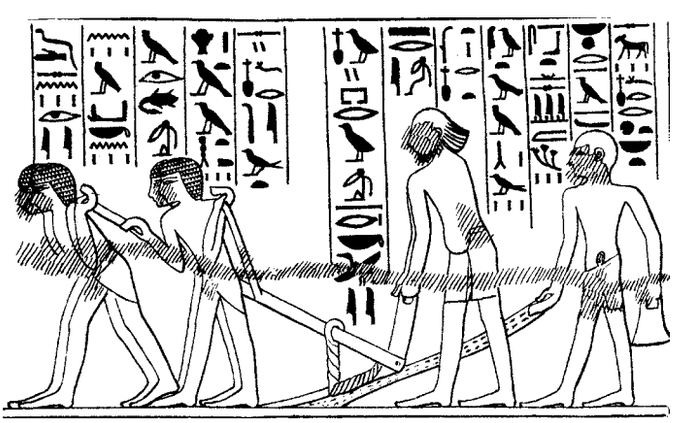

Figure 15.5. Foreigner plowing, tomb of Paheri in Elkab (after Tylor and Griffith 1894, pl. 3)

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The Men in Question Are Prisoners of War, Not Old Men

Certain of these individuals from the tombs of Paheri, Puiemra, Amenemhat (TT 82), Intef, and Rekhmira have been identified by the scholars publishing their tombs as old men (Tylor and Griffith 1894, pp. 12, 13, 17; Davies and Gardiner 1915, p. 42; Davies 1922, p. 73). Norman de Garis Davies articulates this position well, stating that the identifying attributes of these figures are "in fact, nothing more than an unusual stress on the signs of old age, viz., the failure of the hair on the crown, an inclination to slovenliness which lets the beard and back hair grow long, and a tendency to flabbiness" (Davies 1922, p. 63). Davies therefore concludes that "the artist, from whose pictures age and idiosyncrasies are usually banned, has delighted to sum up in these old starvelings, perhaps not without a scribe's contemptuous pity for the yokel, the peasant's last appearance on the human scene" (ibid., p. 75). This same view has been espoused by Patrick Houlihan in his recent book *Wit and Humor in Ancient Egypt* and also by Gay Robins in her article "Hair and the Construction of Identity in Ancient Egypt, c. 1480–1350 B.C." (Houlihan 2001, pp. 41, 55; Robins 1999a, pp. 62–63).

There are, however, three major flaws with the assumption that the population under consideration is comprised of old men. Least damaging, but important for argument, is the subjective qualm involving timing. These men make their appearance in Egyptian art in the reign of Hatshepsut, flourish in the sole reign of Thutmose III, and disappear half a century later. The rationale behind such a short-lived artistic craze for elderly laborers would be difficult to fathom. Likewise, while it might be theoretically possible to argue for the equivalent in the mid-fifteenth century B.C. of today's baby-boomer generation — this too is unlikely.

More problematic to Davies' thesis, however, is the presence of stubble, which can be discerned on the head of some of these men, suggesting that their unusual hairstyle was the product of a razor and not the natural aging process (e.g., Davies 1943, pl. 46; Davies and Davies 1933, pl. 12; Hawass and Maher-Taha 2002, pl. 67a). Although the stubble has been argued by Davies in support of his thesis to in fact represent the thinning hair of old age, the inclusion among our corpus of two little boys debunks this notion. In the tomb of Paheri, one of these boys winds string for an older companion who appears to be in the process of making a net. Although the face of the boy is unfortunately damaged, his distinctive long hair combined with the company he keeps strongly suggests that he is a member of the population with which we are concerned (fig. 15.6). The other little boy, who clearly possesses a short fuzz of blond stubble like that of his older compatriots, is found in the tomb of Menna following behind a couple who are quite probably his parents (fig. 15.7). He brings a small donkey and a kid to the party of surveyors who are about to assess the year's taxes.

Incidentally, it is quite interesting that this scene in the tomb of Menna in fact does include a well-marked elderly man. This stooped individual conforms to the hieroglyphic determinative for *smsw* "elder" (A20 in Gardiner 1957) in the fact that his posture is bent and that he grasps a forked staff for support. The addition of the child who likewise steadies him is therefore somewhat gratuitous but proves the point that this older gentleman needed all the support he could get. Although the hair of the old man begins at the midsection of his head and falls like that of our subjects, it is distinguished from theirs by color. Likewise, he is paunchy, but his fat is distributed differently than that of our figures with their distinctive round bellies. Clearly, the artist in the tomb of Menna was at some pains to make sure that the features of the old man — included presumably because the scope of the man's memory served to validate the proper placement of boundary stones — would not be confused with the identifying markers of the population we are examining.

By far the most convincing argument that we are dealing with prisoners of war and not old men, however, is the existence of two scenes of blond, half-shaved men being frogmarched by soldiers in the tombs of Sennefer (TT 99; PM I², 205 (5)) and TT 143 of unknown ownership (PM I², 255 (4l)) (fig. 15.8). In Sennefer's tomb, which dates to the reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, we see a much damaged scene of a bowman delivering two blond men, one of whom appears to have the same pointy beard observed on our figures in other contexts. In TT 143, the captive arrives with his arms tied behind his back to the estate of his new owner. Although the scene is too damaged to identify whether or not his escort was armed, in neither tomb is there any ambiguity as to the fact that the men were prisoners. Further, the presence of the bowman in Sennefer's tomb strongly suggests that the military were responsible both for the capture and the disbursement of these individuals.

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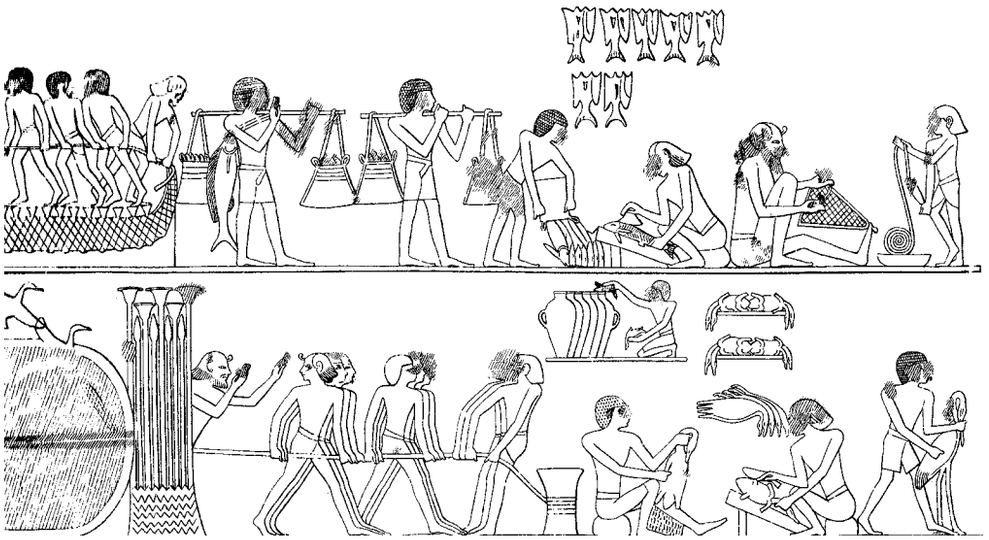

Figure 15.6. Boy (top right) working with foreigners, tomb of Paheri at Elkab (after Tylor and Griffith 1894, pl. 4)

Figure 15.7. Tenant family of foreigners and the noble's chariot, tomb of Menna, TT 69 (after Wilkinson and Hill 1983, no. 46)

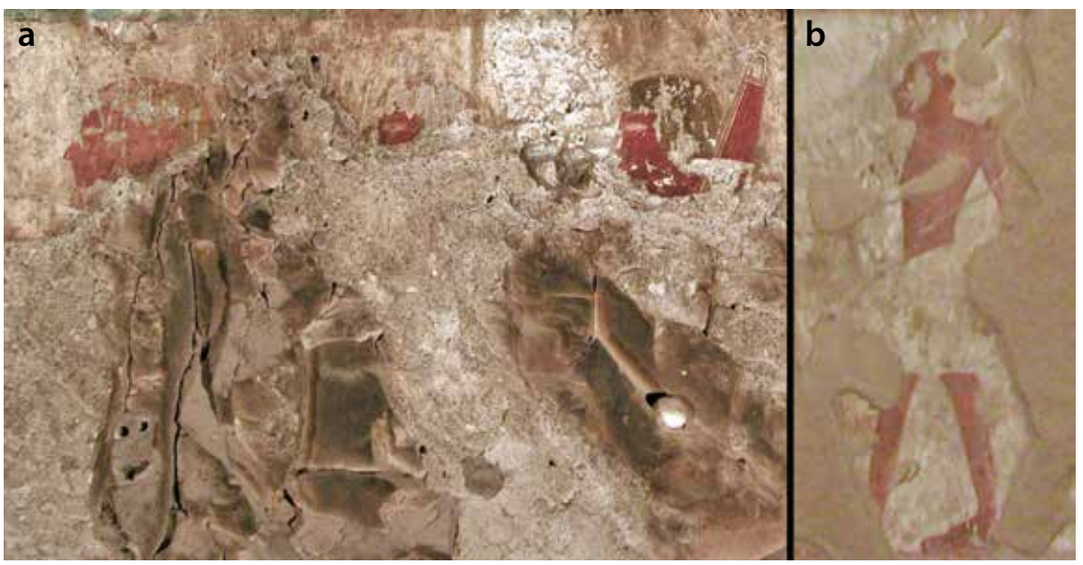

Figure 15.8. Prisoners of war about to be resettled in (*a*) the tomb of Sennefer (TT 99), and (*b*) TT 143 (ownership unknown) (photos courtesy of JJ Shirley)

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Over the years, a few scholars have believed the men from these tombs to have been foreign rather than elderly, however, their attempts at identification have not been numerous or satisfying. Flinders Petrie and Eduard Meyer concluded that certain of the figures in the tombs of Puiemra and Paheri were foreigners, however, neither elaborated on his suppositions (Petrie 1917, no. 672; Meyer 1913, pls. 116–18, 635, 780, 787). Indeed, to my knowledge, only a few Egyptologists have attempted to assign these men specific ethnic identities. Gaston Maspero suggested that the men from the tomb of Paheri might have been assimilated Hyksos, while Walter Wrezinski believed the figures in the tomb of Puiemra to be Libyans (Maspero 1896, p. 58; Wrezinski 1914–36, vol. 1, pls. 30, 54). The drawback to these theories is the same as that of Davies' "old men" hypothesis, for the question remains as to why the figures appear in such profusion so suddenly. The Hyksos had ceased to be a force to be reckoned with nearly a hundred years before, despite the grandiose claims published on the walls of the Speos Artemidos (Breasted 1906, pp. 125–26, §303). Moreover, the Libyans in Hatshepsut's reign were a perennial but not a particularly pressing problem. Neither of these populations, certainly, was captured in large numbers by Hatshepsut, her father, or even her nephew.

When the physical appearance of these men, their sudden, dramatic entrance into tomb art, and the nature of the activities they engage in is taken into account, the most satisfying explanation for their appearance is that they entered the country in shackles after the campaigns of Thutmose I and then again — perhaps in a new wave — following those of Thutmose III. In Egypt's New Kingdom evidence for the seizure of prisoners of war abounds. The boast of stocking temple workshops with prisoners of their sword's captivity is found in the inscriptions of most kings, and the totals of such human booty were meticulously enumerated on stelae. While the practice is attested from the very beginning of the New Kingdom, however, it reached an unprecedented pitch of intensity under the Thutmosid kings, precisely at the point that the individuals under consideration appear in tomb art with startling regularity. Thutmose III campaigned for roughly two decades on a nearly annual basis, and during this time foreign captives were routinely taken from Syria-Palestine to Egypt to labor on state building projects and on temple, palace, and private estates. According to a necessarily rough tabulation of the figures in his incompletely preserved annals, this king returned from his campaigns with upward of 6,589 prisoners total. Extrapolating likely figures from the missing data, Donald Redford has estimated that the total count would have been in excess of 7,300 people (Redford 1990, p. 38). Thutmose III's son, Amenhotep II, is likewise notable for the prodigious numbers of foreign prisoners that he claimed to have captured in foreign lands and transported back to Egypt.

The Men in Question Perform the Types of Work Typically Assigned to Prisoners of War

In his annals, Thutmose III states that over the course of his career he donated 1,588 captives to the temple of Amun in Thebes in order "to fill his work-house, to be weavers, to make for him byssos, fine linen, white linen, *shrw*-linen, and thick cloth; to be farm-hands to work the fields to produce grain to fill the storehouse of the divine endowment" (Redford 2003, pp. 138–39). This latter assignment of prisoners to be field hands on temple estates is significant in that Puiemra, Rekhmira, Menkheperresonb, Amenemhat (TT 53), Amenemhat (TT 82), Ineni, Menna, Sennefer, Ahmes (TT 121), and Baki all bore titles of some responsibility in the management of the estate of Amun at Thebes (PM I², 32, 71, 102, 159, 163, 175, 204, 235). The tombs of these officials, moreover, account for over half of the 120 figures so far identified. Thus, many of the scenes in which the figures are particularly prevalent showcase labor that likely occurred on temple estates and workhouses. Indeed, Amun's ownership of these environments is often clearly stated.

Considering Thutmose III's specific reference to temple workhouses, it is notable that roughly 13 percent of our figures are depicted laboring in the workhouses of the temple of Amun (Davies 1922, pl. 21; Davies 1943, pls. 48, 52–55; Davies and Davies 1933, pls. 11–12). Indeed, a heading in the tomb of Rekhmira, which portrays many of our figures at work in this setting, reads "[making an inspection of the workshop] in Karnak [and the serfs (*mrt*)] whom his majesty [had brought away] from his victories in the southern and northern lands as the pick of the booty" (Davies 1943, p. 47). Another heading in the same tomb reads, "making an

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inspection of the serfs of the temple property (?) [of Amun] and also the workshop of the temple property, whom the king had brought away as living captives" (ibid., p. 47).

The donation of foreign prisoners en masse to temple workshops seems to have been expected of pharaohs, judging from the fact that virtually every known ruler from the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties claims to have offered the gods — and especially Amun — this type of simultaneously pious and warlike gift. Further, it is not unusual to hear about settlements of northerners established in the vicinity of various New Kingdom temples. Under Thutmose IV, for instance, a settlement of people from Gezer existed near this king's mortuary temple, and the same sort of arrangement may well account for the presence at Memphis in the reign of Ay of a "Field of the Hittites" nestled firmly in land otherwise owned by various mortuary temples (Redford 1992, p. 225). Given that work rosters demonstrate that foreign chain gangs often aided in the erection of New Kingdom temples, such settlements no doubt provided the labor for a temple's construction and then, later, housed much of its workforce.

The *shena*, or workhouse, where a king typically placed so many of his captives, was the ancient equivalent to a factory. The temple received raw materials in bulk from donations and taxes, and within the *shena* these materials would be transformed into finished products, often of the highest quality. These products would then be stored in temple treasuries and magazines and thereafter would be used to beautify state buildings or for trade, rewards, or rations. The figures of interest to us are involved in a variety of tasks ranging from those demanding relatively skilled labor (such as carpentry and stone vessel manufacture) to the patently low-status work involved in leather-processing and the mass production of pottery. Such various tasks were presumably doled out to prisoners following a preliminary assessment of whether each individual possessed certain skills that could be of particular benefit to the state. Along these lines, then, it is important to highlight the fact that among our figures, nine of the fifteen craftsmen are depicted gainfully employed in temple workshops fashioning chariots, composite bows, and arrows (Davies 1922, pl. 23; Davies and Davies 1933, pls. 11–12).

Chariots and composite bows, of course, had originally been introduced to Egypt from the north, and it may have been felt that northerners themselves possessed special technical skills useful in their manufacture. Certainly, it is notable that nearly 7 percent of the entire corpus of known Syro-Palestinian words incorporated into the Egyptian language had to do with chariots and their constituent parts (Hoch 1994, p. 462). Four of the figures in the tombs of Rekhmira and Menkheperresonb are depicted as engaged in the same preliminary tasks of creating composite bows (fig. 15.9). The fashioning of these intricate — yet extremely powerful — weapons demanded a great deal of skill, and their manufacture, which could take the better part of a year, was undoubtedly entrusted to specialists.

Figure 15.9. Foreigners at work making weapons in the tomb of Menkheperresonb (photo courtesy of JJ Shirley)

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Given that Egyptian armies frequently commandeered Syro-Palestinian weaponry after a successful battle and later emulated it, northern military technology seems to have been especially sought after. Indeed, these originally northern weapons were gifts fit for kings in the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty. At a New Year's festival depicted in the tomb of Kenamun, for instance, presents sent by foreign dignitaries to Amenhotep II included composite bows, other weapons, coats of armor, and two chariots. One of these chariots was specifically labeled to suggest use in warfare, and the other — which had a pile of Syrian-style helmets below it — was glossed with an inscription stating that it had been constructed with wood from Naharin, the polity better known as Mitanni (Davies 1930, pl. 22).

The employment of foreigners in the weapons industry makes a great deal of sense. But for the less skilled prisoners, the future awaiting them in Egypt may have been a bit more malodorous. The other tasks which our figures are seen performing are certainly unpleasant enough to qualify as chores we know or might suspect to have been doled out, where possible, to foreign prisoners. Roughly 45 percent of the jobs, for example, consist of catching, killing, transporting, cleaning, or herding birds, fish, cattle, goat, or swine (Säve-Söderbergh 1957, pl. 10; Tylor and Griffith 1894, pl. 4; Davies 1922, pls. 9, 12, 15; N. de G. Davies 1930, p. 58, fig. 9, pl. 61; Davies and Gardiner 1913, pl. 6; Davies 1943, pl. 46; idem 1913, pl. 39; Hawass and Maher-Taha 2002, pp. 16a, 20a, 49a, 67a; PM I², 32 (6), 41 (3), 103 (4 and 7), 161 (9), 174 (26), 242 (7 and 8), 331–32 (1 and 6); Helck 1996, pls. 17, 18; Dziobek 1992, pl. 61). Of these, the category of cowherd is perhaps the most interesting, for thousands of head of cattle are noted among the items of seizure and tribute in Thutmose III's annals (Redford 1990, p. 50). Thus it is possible to speculate that captured foreigners were deemed especially apt at tending to their own native breeds or that the Egyptians simply liked the thought of them doing so (figs. 15.3, 15.4, 15.10). Significantly, the only titled member of our population was a "guardian of cattle" discovered in the tomb of Tati (Davies 1913, pl. 39).

Swamp-work, like the cleaning of fish and duck carcasses, may have been yet another profession that the majority of Egyptians were happy to cede to foreign newcomers. Such work is, of course, the target for a barb in the Satire of the Trades, where the self-satisfied scribal author observes, "The reed-cutter travels to the Delta to get arrows. When he has done more than his arms can do, mosquitoes have slain him. Gnats have slaughtered him. He is quite worn out" (Lichtheim 1975, p. 186). Reed-cutting and rope-making are just two of the occupations, aside from those of catching birds and fish, at which our figures toil in the marshes, but no doubt the others were equally enervating (figs. 15.6, 15.11, 15.13).

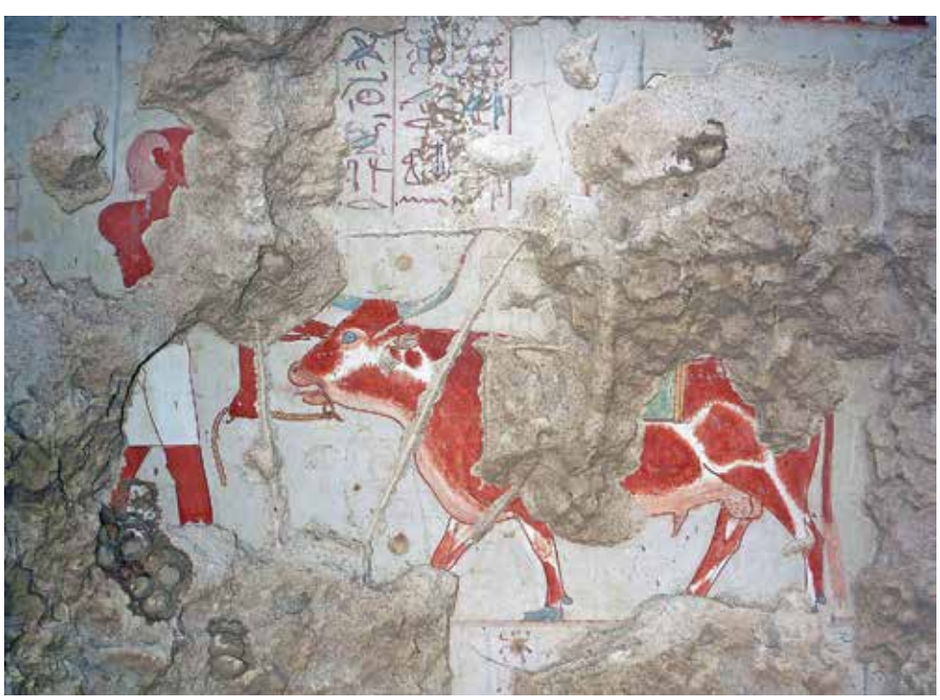

Figure 15.10. Foreign cowherd, from the tomb of Amenemhat, TT 82
(photo courtesy of JJ Shirley)

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Figure 15.11. Foreigners working in a marsh environment in the tomb of Puiemra (after Davies 1922, pl. 18)

Agricultural work (the occupation of about 15 percent of the figures under consideration) is likewise derided by the same snide scribe, who states, "The field hand cries out forever. His voice is louder than the [raven's]. His fingers have become [ulcerous] with an excess of stench" (Simpson 2003, p. 434; for figures engaged in fieldwork, see Davies 1922, pl. 28; Tylor and Griffith 1894, pl. 3; Davies 1943, pl. 39; Shedid 1988, p. 16; PM I², 41 (3), 103 (4), 255 (4); Hawass and Maher-Taha 2002, p. 16a–b). In Thutmose III's annals, the only other employment in addition to making linen, which Thutmose III specifically mentioned as the future destiny of prisoners of war, was "to work the fields, to produce grain to fill the granary of the god's offering" (Redford 1992, p. 223). Given that state institutions could obtain the largest percentage yield on land that they directly owned and which was worked for them by unfree individuals, there would presumably have been an extremely high incentive to place prisoners of war on institutional land. Further, the gift of such slave laborers to key nobles — so that they too might reap the maximum yield possible on their own lands — would in the end have added up to a far more valuable gift than the numerous gold baubles and flies of valor usually bestowed upon worthies in public reward ceremonies.

Papyrus Bologna 1086, a letter addressing the case of a Syrian field hand who should have been delivered to the "House of Thoth" but was instead unlawfully commandeered, for example, meticulously calculates the potential value of this slave's labor on a per day basis. In assessing his cumulative losses, the writer calculates that one working man was capable of bundling 200 *khar*-measures of grain in a day. One *khar*-measure of wheat amounted to about 75 liters and constituted a fairly generous month's rations for one unmarried laborer (Eyre 1987, p. 178). So, if the scribe's assessment is correct, one man could be expected to reap a great deal of revenue for a landholder in a single day. The sale and rental rates for slaves corroborate the high value placed on their work. The cost of buying a slave averaged around 180 grams of silver, and the rental price of four days of a female slave's labor in one text was able to earn her owner an extra ox (Hayes 1973, p. 376).

Keeping the income-generating power of a slave in mind, the macho boast of one of our figures (fig. 15.12) to the Egyptian bringing him stacks of flax is particularly impressive. The man brags: "If you bring me 11,009 (such stacks), I am the one who will comb them." The Egyptian, who is portrayed in this tomb as significantly slighter in build than either of the two fat foreigners flanking him, snaps: "Quick, do not talk so much, you old, bald field hand" (Tylor and Griffith 1894, p. 14, pl. 3). Just as an aside here, lest I be charged with dodging the issue, one of the figures is specifically referred to as "old and bald" by the Egyptian, though

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this man is in fact clearly still hale and healthy judging from his build and from his boast even if only a fraction of it were true. Given that this tomb dates from very early in the sole reign of Thutmose III, however, and that the depiction of the men bears a strong resemblance to those portrayed in the tombs of Hatshepsut's nobles, it is likely that the man had been captured in the reign of Thutmose I and thus had indeed advanced in age at the time of this imagined encounter.

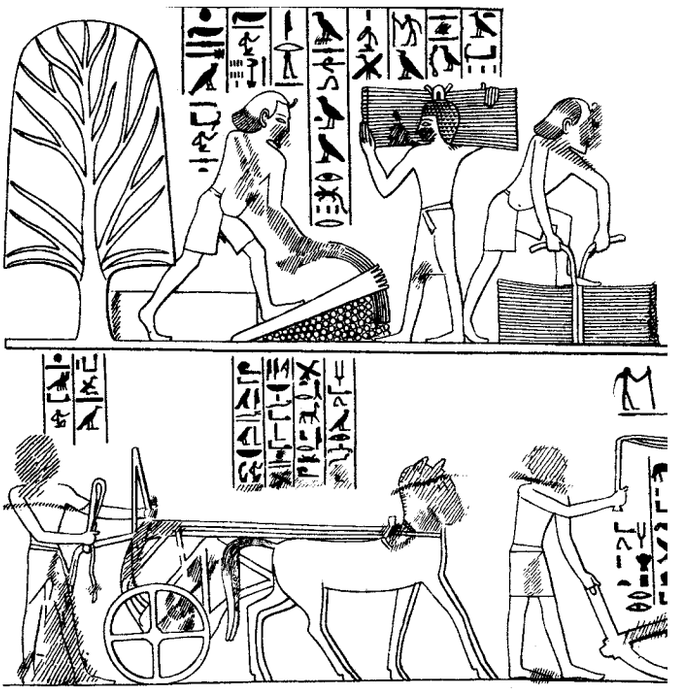

Figure 15.12. Foreigners working flax and Paheri's chariot and compound bow, tomb of Paheri, Elkab (after Tylor and Griffith 1894, pl. 3)

The final environment in which the proposed population appears in significant numbers is in the vineyard, where 9 percent of the figures labor (Dziobek 1992, pl. 1; Davies 1943, pl. 45; Mackay 1916, pl. 14; PM I², 32 (6), 103 (7)). This is perhaps not surprising in view of the fact that northern wine was especially prized by Egyptian connoisseurs and kings alike. During the course of his many campaigns, Thutmose III requisitioned well over 12,500 jars of wine, and the Egyptians assumed direct control over the lucrative local wine industries at Aphek and Tell es-Sa'idiyeh in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties (Morris 2005, pp. 582, 764). Moreover, excavators discovered forty-five wine amphorae as well as fragments of an ivory plaque depicting an Egyptian official in the act of savoring such stores in the remains of an Egyptian governor's residence at Tell el-Far'ah South (Morris 2005, pp. 746–47).

Certainly, judging from numerous wine dockets discovered at Malkata, Amarna, and at other locales as well, when the Egyptians could not or did not import their wine, they preferred to patronize those vineyards that were overseen by northerners. Indeed, the state even transported Syro-Palestinian vintners down to Nubia to help set up vineyards in the southern regions (Vercoutter 1959, pp. 126–27). The use of northern prisoners as vineyard workers dates all the way back to the very dawn of the empire, when Kamose hurled abuse at his Hyksos rival during the siege of Avaris. Amidst the insults designed to humiliate his opponent was the taunt: "See, I am drinking the wine of your vineyard which the Asiatics whom I have captured press for me" (Simpson 2003, p. 349).

These New Foreign Slaves Were a Novelty and a Point of National Pride

Kamose's insult brings up a second facet of the scenes in which foreign prisoners of war labor in the vineyards. Not only did northerners know wine — and apparently produce a superior product — but their presence as laborers working for Egyptian masters spoke powerfully of Egypt's newfound position in the world at large. One feature of note in the vineyard scenes of Khaemwaeset (fig. 15.13) and perhaps also in the tombs of Nakht and Rekhmira as well, is that a northerner and a Nubian are depicted laboring together in the service of the Egyptian state. It may well be that the artists at the time of Thutmose III and his immediate successors were simply recording what they saw, namely scores of foreign prisoners of war hard at work on Egyptian estates, and that the inclusion of these men in so-called daily life scenes at this time accurately reflected daily life. In specifically juxtaposing the northerner and the southerner under the graceful arcs of the vines, however, the Egyptian artist also celebrated in shorthand version the vast extent of his country's new empire.

Certainly, it is no coincidence that the depiction of foreign prisoners of war on private estates and in the fields and workhouses of Amun coincided with the relatively sudden appearance in Egyptian art

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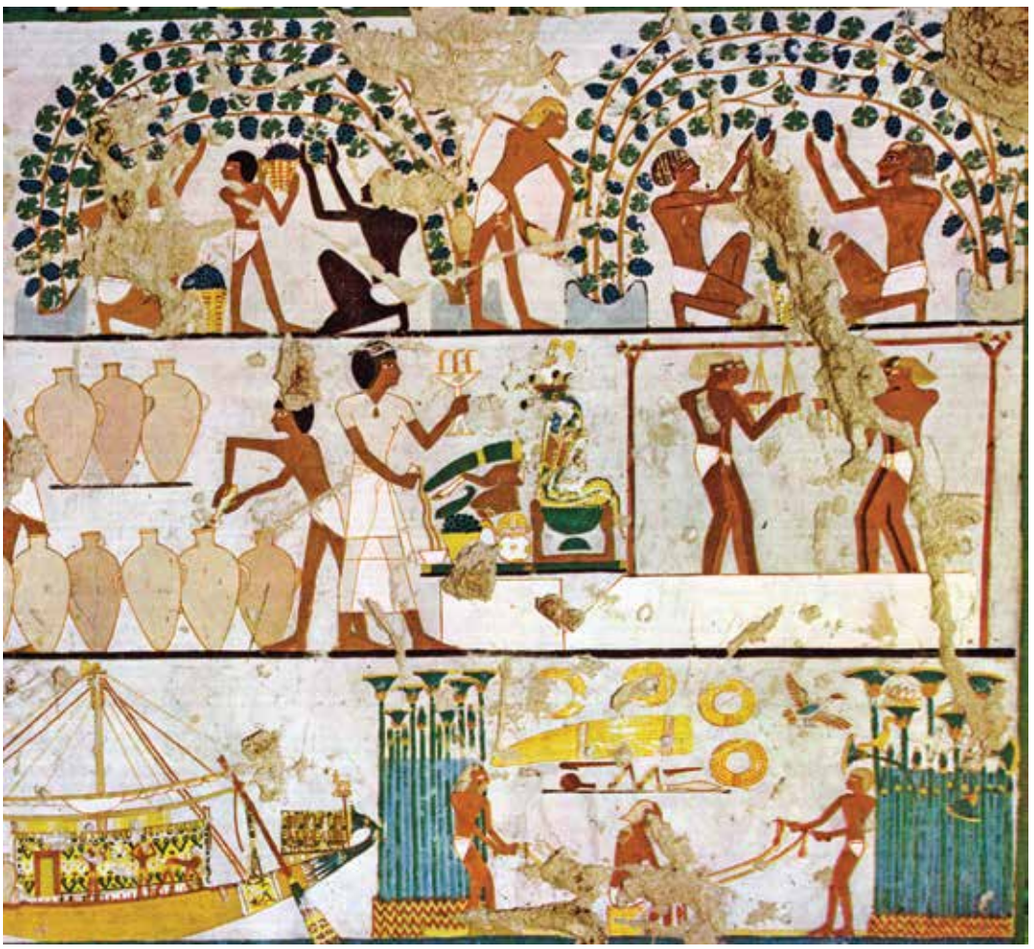

Figure 15.13. Foreigners at work in the vineyards and marshes, tomb of Khaemwaset, TT 261 (after Mekhitarian 1978, p. 19)

Figure 15.14. Foreigners and a horse, in the tomb of Nebamun, TT 145 (after Helck 1996, fig. 16)

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of processions of foreigners, each depicted in loving ethnographic detail, loaded down with the choicest products of their regions to offer before the king. Indeed, five of our own cadre of tomb owners — Ineni, Menkheperresonb, Rekhmira, Puiemra, and Intef — incorporated scenes of foreign offering bearers in the decorative program of their tombs (PM I², 72 (12), 161 (5), 177 (8), 207 (4), 263 (3)).

Further, many of our tomb owners and their contemporaries alike also made certain that their horses and chariots — and even their composite bow in the case of Paheri — were memorialized for all eternity (figs. 15.7, 15.12). The possession of this equipment immediately signaled the tomb owner's exalted status, but the real joy in owning this form of equipment and parading it around one's estate was likely its great novelty. Indeed, one senses that the artists themselves were at this point still somewhat flummoxed as to how to accurately render such a strange animal as the horse in two dimensions. The depiction of one of our figures leading and interacting with a horse in the tomb of the military commander Nebamun (TT 145) is therefore particularly notable (fig. 15.14).

This taste for owning or indeed domesticating a bit of the empire extended even to gardens — for tomb owners such as Ineni now proudly displayed such foreign plants as pomegranate trees and mandrakes in and among the sycamore, acacia, and palm trees that ornamented their private estates. Pomegranates are depicted in Thutmose III's botanical garden at Karnak and thus likely had come back with the warrior scholars who took part in Thutmose's second campaign and perhaps also with the soldiers who participated in early Eighteenth Dynasty expeditions (Manniche 1989, p. 139). Taking all this into account, it can be safely stated that foreign flora, fauna, peoples, and products must have been at their peak of exoticism at the time of the empire's first real expansion, and thus such imports were far more celebrated than they were to be after the empire had persisted for centuries. Certainly, it would seem apparent that the large number of northerners in Egypt — present this time not as overlords, as the Hyksos had been, but rather as slaves to Egyptians and to Egyptian gods — would have been a phenomenon worth memorializing for eternity.

It may also have been worth satirizing. Mention has been made above of the comparatively large frames of the figures when viewed beside the uniformly gracile Egyptians they labored among (figs. 15.5, 15.11, 15.12). There is also the matter of their oftentimes pendulous stomachs (figs. 15.1, 15.5, 15.7, 15.9, 15.12). The great size and bulk of these figures are features reduplicated in enough contexts to suggest that what the Egyptian artist was attempting to convey was something akin to an ethnic stereotype or joke made at

Figure 15.15. Detail from a *namban-jin* "southern barbarian" screen (after Okamoto 1972, no. 94)

Figure 15.16. Obese foreigners in the tomb of Amenemhab, TT 85 (after Davies 1934, p. 191)

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the expense of the lumbering, heavy-set men the Egyptian fieldworkers now found themselves living amidst. One might compare such unflattering representations of foreigners in Egypt with the delight obviously taken by Japanese artists in depicting enormous, and oftentimes enormously fat, Portugese traders (fig. 15.15). These men, with their bulbous noses and their attendant animals, appear rather suddenly in the *namban-jin* or "southern barbarian" screens, which were a popular artistic genre as Japan emerged from an extended period of isolationism in the sixteenth century A.D. (see Okamoto 1972). Clearly, in a reversal of traditional Egyptian and Japanese norms, there were some instances in which size did not equal status. Indeed, it is important to note that this same stereotype of the grotesquely fat foreigner is explicitly depicted in the tomb of Amenemhab (TT 85), dating from the reign of Thutmose III, in which two of our own figures are discovered laboring (fig. 15.16). The contrast between the trimness of the Egyptians and the obesity of their prisoners is likewise highlighted in the tomb of Horemheb at Memphis (Gilroy 2002, p. 41).

Depictions of the Men Become Rarer after the Reign of Amenhotep II, as Their Living Counterparts Began to Assimilate into Egyptian Society

Postulating, then, that the abrupt appearance of these figures upon the Egyptian artistic scene may be satisfactorily explained by the military policies of the Thutmosid kings and by the desire of their closest officials to celebrate the empire — as well as their own positions of authority over its spoils — still leaves us to account for the gradual disappearance of these figures within the span of several decades. It seems, however, that this fading from view may have been a direct result of the documented treatment of prisoners of war in Egypt.

Orlando Patterson in his book *Slavery and Social Death* has noted that in societies worldwide the transformation of a formerly free person into a slave is one that is fraught and which needs to be properly managed by virtue of a rite of passage that effectively divests the person of his or her former individualized identity. Patterson argues that the death of the free agent and the birth of the slave is frequently marked figuratively by the bestowal of a new slave-name and quite literally by the imposition on the body of a slave-mark (Patterson 1982, p. 52).

The vast majority of prisoners of war in Egypt's New Kingdom upon crossing the border were renamed. A ship's captain named Ahmose in the early Eighteenth Dynasty had nineteen foreign prisoners of war who he personally had captured and who the king had allowed him to retain as a reward for his bravery; only one was allowed to keep her name (Drower 1973, p. 479). Typically the new names of prisoners of war indicated their status (such as "Settled-in-Thebes"), celebrated the pharaoh under whose reign they were captured (e.g., "Ramesses-is-strong," "Ramesses-endures," etc.), or honored the official that now owned them (Bresciani 1997, p. 242).

We know from texts of Ramesses III that after their arrival in Egypt and their official registration, captives were branded — or rather "cartouched," as the verb (*mnš*) is actually written — with the name of the king they served. The treatment of prisoners of war in this regard was exactly the same as that meted out to Levantine cattle (*LÄ* I 850–51). A second stage in processing new captives and in divesting them of their former selves is also described by Ramesses III. His Libyan captives were "placed in strongholds of the victorious king that they might hear the speech of the (Egyptian) people (be)fore following the king. He made a reversion of their speech, re[ver]sing their tongues that they might go upon the road, which (they) had not descended (before)" (Morris 2005, p. 700). Thus while the foreignness of prisoners of war seems to have been exactly what made them ideologically valuable to the nobles who showcased them on their walls, foreignness was not, in fact, what was valued in the long term. Obedience and acculturation were.

To the Egyptian mind, teaching a foreigner to speak Egyptian was viewed as highly unnatural but also as akin to the process of domesticating a wild animal. The metaphor is made explicit in the Instructions of Ani, which states: "the savage lion abandons his wrath, and comes to resemble the timid donkey. The horse slips into its harness, obedient it goes outdoors. The dog obeys the word and walks behind its master. The monkey carries the stick, though its mother did not carry it. The goose returns from the pond, when one comes to shut it in the yard. One teaches the Nubian to speak Egyptian, the Syrian and other foreigners

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too" (Lichtheim 1976, p. 144). Clearly, a quick acculturation of foreign slaves into Egyptian society — a quick domestication of what was foreign — was desirable.

Judging from a text of the royal barber Sibastet, who lived during the time of Thutmose III, this process of acculturation could be significantly helped along by intermarriage with Egyptian citizens. Sibastet writes: "The ... slave belonging to me .... I obtained him because of my strength-of-arm while I was following the ruler.... I have given him my niece, Nebetta, to wife .... She has shared with [my] wife and (my) sister likewise. [He] goes forth and he is not in need .... If he assigns services to my sister, he shall not be interfered with by anybody forever" (Bakir 1952, p. 83). Evidence for intermarriages between foreign men resident in Egypt and typically Egyptian women are not difficult to discover in the textual, archaeological, or artistic record from the First Intermediate Period onward. Further, as the betrothal of Sibastet's niece to his foreign slave demonstrates, such mixed marriages occurred even at the highest levels of Egyptian society. Such unions were no doubt more common in situations in which a slave had been awarded to an individual and had then been to some degree incorporated into the family. In such instances, the male or female slave was typically freed and their children were accepted as free-born Egyptians. Even on large estates, however, it is perhaps likely that foreign male slaves would form unions with the daughters of field hands and other low-wage or subsistence laborers.

It is perhaps to be wondered if such an intermarriage and acculturation of a prisoner of war is not in fact precisely what is being witnessed in the tomb of Menna, which dates to the time of Thutmose III's grandson (fig. 15.7). In this tomb we find a blond man and his, to all appearances, Egyptian wife greeting a group of surveyors with presents. The scene of gift-giving by a tenant to a surveying party is not uncommon in Egyptian tombs, and the gifts may well have been an attempt by the tenant to butter up the officials who would soon reckon his taxes. In this agricultural scene, two other of our figures appear. One is the boy mentioned previously, and the second is a man in the lower register who offers Menna beverages, perhaps as a further goodwill gesture. Here, then, it is tempting to find a family of foreigners in the process of acculturation into Egyptian society. Bearing this possibility in mind, it should be noted that the hair of the tenant appears to have grown in significantly, while the heads of the other of our figures in the tomb are still covered with blond stubble.

Given that the unusual hairstyle of these figures is their principal identifying marker, it follows that when this population acculturated and wore their hair as much like Egyptians as was possible, they become far more difficult to detect. Certain individuals in the tombs of Hepu and Nakht — officials who, like Menna, lived in the reigns of Thutmose IV and Amenhotep III — I have tentatively identified as candidates for acculturated members of the same population (Davies 1917, pl. 26; Davies 1963, pl. 8). This is due to the fact that their shaggy, often cowlicked hair resembles a grown-out version of the hair of the figures in question and that the types of labor they perform (vineyard work, poultry processing, and chariot-making) are the same as the duties that had been assigned to our prisoners of war just a generation or two previously.

Just what the original hairstyle meant, however, is an important question. One possibility is that it was a special haircut, used by Egyptians to render slaves easily recognizable at a glance, such as was occasionally used in Mesopotamia, for instance. One of Hammurabi's laws states that "If a barber shaves off the slave-hairlock of a slave not belonging to him without the consent of the slave's owner, they shall cut off that barber's hand" (M. T. Roth 1995, p. 124). The shaving or partial shaving of the head of a slave is yet another common feature in many slave-owning societies as it serves to aid in divesting the slave of his former identity as well as in readily identifying him in case of flight (Patterson 1982, p. 60). While the partially shaved hair of our figures might well be interpreted as a slave haircut, the limited span of time during which evidence of this hairstyle is observable, the absence of this hairstyle among some individuals we know to have been foreign slaves, together with the total lack of references to slave hairstyles in the numerous New Kingdom texts that deal with Egyptian slaves, renders it unlikely that the hairstyle of the figures in question was a marker of their unfree status.

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The Population in Question Likely Constituted a Class of Warriors Who Had Fought for the Kingdom of Mitanni

The other cross-cultural context in which the hair of men is typically altered is the military. Uniform haircuts subvert individual identity to a new corporate identity, and they also render soldiers (like slaves) immediately recognizable should they opt to desert. To my mind a more persuasive suggestion, then, is that the hairstyle of our figures was that worn by the soldiers of a particular foreign group that the Thutmosid kings had vanquished in battle. Certainly, we know that partial head-shaving was practiced by Hittite warriors, as can be seen in representations of participants in the Battle of Kadesh at Abydos, Luxor, Karnak, and the Ramesseum (fig. 15.17). While this head-shaving is indeed intriguing, in all cases the Hittite warriors wear their hair much longer than the figures in question do, and none sport beards. The timing is also all wrong, considering that armed encounters with the Hittites did not occur during the reigns of the Thutmosid kings.

That the figures in question are not Hittites, however, might best be argued by the presence of a typical Hittite leader in a long line of other bound foreigners at the base of one of Ramesses II's colossal statues at Abu Simbel, as this Hittite appears in the same lineup as a representation of a person who looks very much like our figures had when they first arrived in Egypt (fig. 15.18).[3] Unfortunately, there are no labels on this relief to identify the figure. Likewise, to my knowledge, no labeled parallels exist. In his article devoted to this particular line of captives, Flinders Petrie (1917, p. 61) puts forth a tentative suggestion that the man is a Shasu bedouin. Petrie's identification is not particularly convincing, however, as William Ward (1972, p. 60) noted in his study of the Shasu that members of this population "have only a single identifying feature, the head cloth, and even this does not always apply." Indeed, identifying unlabeled ethnic groups represented in Egyptian art is no easy task — period. As Norman de Garis Davies (1934, p. 191) put it, the Egyptian artist "could not distinguish between Syrians of the mountain and of the plain .... Everything northern was Syrian to him."

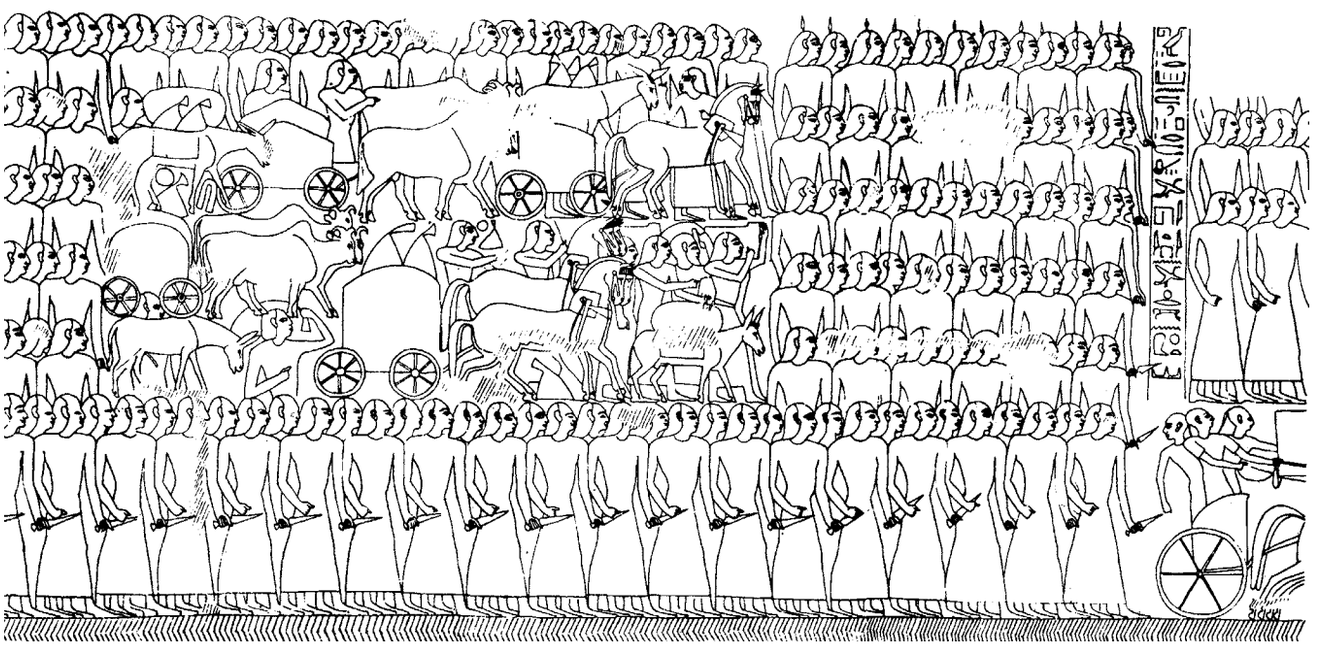

Figure 15.17. Hittite warriors with partially shaved heads (after Wreszinski 1914–36, vol. 2, pl. 23)

[3] The beard of the figure was restored by Petrie based on a sketch made by W. Golenischeff before a crack in the wall obscured it (Petrie 1917, p. 61).

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Adding to this inherent difficulty in identifying types of foreigners in Egyptian art is the fact that Thutmose III and Ramesses II were Egypt's two most energetic warrior kings, engaging in numerous battles with foes who had amassed allied armies from all over Western Asia. Thutmose III brags, for example, that the taking of Megiddo was the taking of a thousand towns (Redford 2003, p. 31). While this is surely hyperbole, the topographic lists enumerate 350 polities that participated in the battle (Aharoni 1967, p. 143). Likewise, at Ramesses II's Battle of Kadesh, sixteen powerful rulers — each with their own subject territories — supplied warriors to the king of the Hittites. This army, Ramesses states, "were like the locust by reason of their multitude; He (i.e., the king of Hatti) left no silver in his land, he stripped it of all its possessions and gave them to all the foreign countries in order to bring them with him to fight" (Gardiner 1975, p. 8).

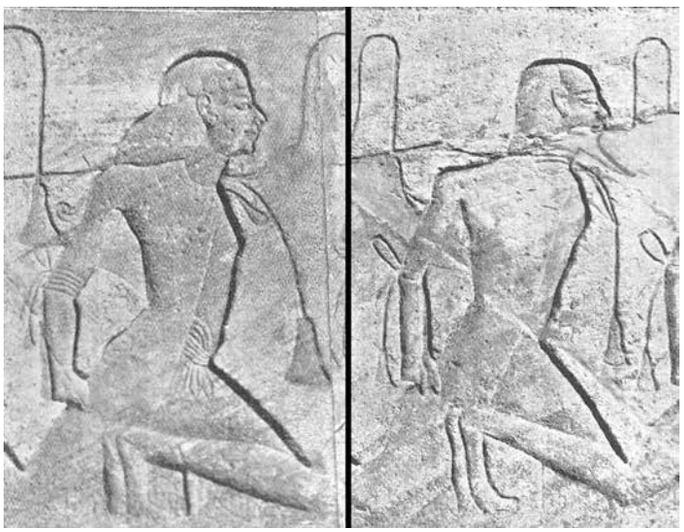

Figure 15.18. Line of foreigners at the base of Ramesses II's colossal statues at Abu Simbel (after Petrie 1917, p. 61)

Among the sixteen polities enlisted by the Hittite king in his battle against Ramesses II at Kadesh, however, was Naharin — or what was left of the Mitanni kingdom (Gardiner 1975, pp. 8, 29). This is of paramount importance for the issue of timing given that throughout the early and mid-Eighteenth Dynasty, Mitanni had dominated the entirety of northern Syria and constituted Egypt's most dangerous — and therefore most illustrious — opponent. Hurrian soldiers who fought for Mitanni were captured by the warriors of both Thutmose I and Thutmose III, as evidenced by personal narratives, and they were encountered by Thutmose III in his first, eighth, tenth, and seventeenth campaigns (Redford 2003, pp. 14, 74, 83–84, 95). Thutmose III was particularly proud of his eighth campaign, in which he met Mitanni forces on their own territory east of the Euphrates. The Euphrates River represented the farthest distance from Egypt that any pharaoh had ever penetrated northward, and to celebrate his achievement, Thutmose III erected a stela beside that of his grandfather, Thutmose I (ibid., p. 74).

In this eighth campaign alone Thutmose III claimed to have taken over 719 Mitanni prisoners of war (Redford 2003, p. 74). At least three of these men were captured by Amenemhab, whose tomb scenes include six of the figures in question. Amenemhab states, "when His Majesty arrived in Naharin I brought the three men as captures therefrom, that I might set them before His Majesty as prisoners-of-war" (ibid., p. 167). Thutmose III's victory against Naharin is also celebrated in the inscriptions of Menkheperresonb. This noble, who like Amenemhab integrated the figures in question among his tomb laborers, praises his sovereign, stating, "You have laid waste the lands of Mitanni; you have razed their towns, and their chiefs have taken to the caves" (after Davies and Davies 1933, p. 5).

If the figures appear in Egyptian art very soon after Thutmose I's initial encounter with Mitanni and reach a point of saturation during the reign of Thutmose III, who made his name fighting this enemy superpower, the timing for the gradual disappearance of these figures also meshes with the political situation vis-à-vis Mitanni. In the succeeding reign of Amenhotep II, after a series of aggressive campaigns to the north, this king records that the ruler of Naharin sent an embassy to him in order "to plead for peace from his Majesty" (Cumming 1982, p. 32). While such statements should not always be taken seriously in Egyptian royal inscriptions, it is certainly the case that following this statement Amenhotep II seems to have retired from the battlefield, and it would not be until the end of the Amarna period that Egyptian pharaohs would again send major campaign armies northward. Further, even when full-scale campaigns resumed under Tutankhamun, Mitanni did not again appear as an active foe of Egypt until the reign of Ramesses II, when "Maryan-warriors of Nahrin the wretched" number among the captives taken at the Battle of Kadesh (Gardiner 1975, p. 44). The timing of Egypt's feuds with Mitanni, therefore, correlates well with the sudden and brief entrances of our foreigners into Egyptian art. Moreover, the fact that the rare and often quite variable

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appearance of labeled Mitanni leaders do not show persons closely resembling our figures should not be taken as damning, for a difference in the appearance between a leader and his warriors is found also in the case of the Hittites (compare fig. 15.17 with fig. 15.18, for example).

This point may also be illustrated with reference to an embassy of Mitanni nobles depicted in the tomb of the veteran and standard-bearer Nebamun (fig. 15.19). Although Nebamun decorated his tomb in the reign of Thutmose IV, he boasts that he had once accompanied his sovereign from Naharin to Karoy (Davies 1923, p. 26, pl. 28), a feat that could only have been accomplished in the reign of Thutmose III. In his tomb, Nebamun depicts the arrival of a foreign embassy to the king bearing horses, fabulous bowls of golden objects, and other items (including quivers). The scene is labeled as if spoken by Nebamun to the king: "For your *ka*, you good god, the spoil [of the countries?] chastised and the sons of the chiefs of Nahary (*sic*)" (after ibid., p. 33). Significantly, many of these Mitanni envoys exhibited blond clubbed hair, pointy beards, and even strange cowlicks or tufts at the front of their hair.

The men who offer their horses and gifts stand immediately behind a shackled mass of prisoners of war, who are themselves linked by ropes ultimately grasped by the oversized standard-bearer, Nebamun. Considering what we know of international politics in the reign of Thutmose IV and also the Egyptian proclivity to represent balanced diplomatic encounters as imbalanced extractions, it is likely that the scene represents a high-level embassy from the court of Mitanni, perhaps bringing with it an installment of a dowry for the Mitanni princess destined to become Thutmose IV's bride (Bryan 1991, pp. 118–19). This delivery would in its turn be reciprocated by the Egyptians with payments of bride-price before the Mitanni princess would make the long journey toward her new home. As for the prisoners of war, a strong parallel in Amarna Letter 17 makes it quite likely that these men were sent to Egypt by the Mitanni king as his Egyptian ally's cut of the booty obtained in a recent battle (Moran 1992, p. 42, lines 36–38).

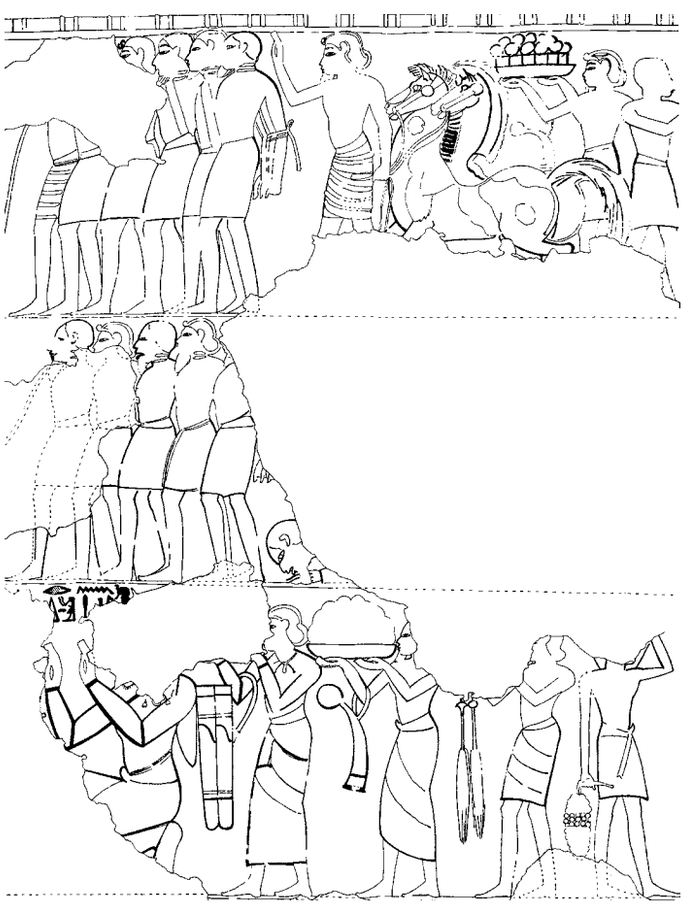

Figure 15.19. Embassy from Mitanni depicted in the tomb of Nebamun (after Davies 1923, pl. 28)

More interesting yet is a figure in the register below who bows low to the ground immediately behind another mass of prisoners and shares the peculiar half-shaved hairstyle and pointy beard of the population we have been tracing. This individual is obviously part of the embassy but was neither an offering bearer nor the most illustrious member of the group. This honor would have gone to the larger-scale figure in the bottom register. The groveling stance of the former individual, however, should not be mistaken for an indication of his humble status. "Kissing the earth" was one of an elaborate series of deliberately humbling prostrations that made up a greeting ritual that foreign ambassadors and elite Egyptian officials alike performed when ushered into the king's presence (Morris 2006). Thus, the fact that the figure had been afforded the opportunity to prostrate himself and was commemorated doing so is, in fact, an ironic attestation of his considerable dignity and importance.

By the time that Ramesses II decorated Abu Simbel, Mitanni was no longer a mighty force to be reckoned with. Assyria and the Hittites had partitioned the kingdom and left it effectively powerless. If our suggestion as to the ethnic identity of this figure is correct, his inclusion among far more formidable foes on the walls of the temple may simply have been in the interest of bulking up Ramesses' line of

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subdued foreigners. In the reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, however, Mitanni prisoners of war would have been portrayed by Egyptian nobles on their tomb walls with far more pride of place. At that time, Mitanni warriors were the most exotic and the most prestigious foe in the entire ancient Near East. Their physical presence in Egypt, performing the most menial of tasks for their new Egyptian overlords, without a doubt spoke volumes as to Egypt's recently acquired preeminence on the international scene. Just as the savage lion had eventually abandoned his wrath and came to resemble the timid donkey, Mitanni — incredibly — had been tamed and rendered subservient to her new Egyptian master.

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16

A View from Elkab: The Tomb and Statues of Ahmose-Pennekhbet

W. V. Davies, British Museum, London

Introduction

Honored soldier, senior administrator, tutor to Queen Hatshepsut's daughter Nefrure, the elite official Ahmose-Pennekhbet[1] is familiar to Egyptologists through his autobiographical inscriptions (*Urk.* IV 32–39) preserved on a wall in his tomb-chapel at the site of Elkab and on two similar statues, one of which comes from the same site, as very probably does the other. Remarkably, although all three monuments have been known to scholarship since the nineteenth century (PM V, 176–77 and 191), they still await fully co-ordinated publication and study, and a number of questions concerning their relationship and date remain to be answered.[2] I describe here the first results of a program of research and documentation on the tomb-chapel undertaken by a British Museum team,[3] drawing also on unpublished archival material, the residue of the earlier work of J. J. Tylor,[4] which includes images of the decoration taken in the 1890s,[5] when the tomb was in a better state of preservation. This new study of the tomb-chapel has yielded much fresh information but, as the project of recording is ongoing, the treatment here is selective. The primary concerns are to confirm the identity of the owner of the tomb and to establish the nature and date of its decoration. Included also is a provisional consideration of the two statues and of the relationship between the various sets of autobiographical inscription.

[1] Pending further, more detailed consideration, I follow here the traditional reading of the second name as *Pn-Nḫbt*, (*P*(*ỉ*)*-n-Nḫbt*), "Pennekhbet" (Ranke 1935, vol. 1, p. 109, no. 5; Vandersleyen 1971, p. 22), while noting that the name is written "Pennekheb" (without a *t* and with the town-determinative) in one instance on the façade of the tomb (see below, and Davies and O'Connell 2011a, pp. 104, 119, fig. 16; idem 2011b, p. 12, fig. 8). On Ahmose-Pennekhbet's titles, career, receipt of the "gold of honor," etc., see, variously, Vandersleyen 1971, pp. 42–45, 89–91, 101–02; Ratié 1979, p. 279; Baines 1986, pp. 45–47, 49; Roehrig 1990, pp. 48–51; Dziobek 1998, pp. 132, 134–36; Morris 2005, pp. 29, 31–35, 71–72; Bryan 2006, pp. 70, 78, 91–92, 97–98, 101; Binder 2008, pp. 27–32, 148–49, 287 [008]; Shirley 2011, p. 292 n. 6. Note that there is no evidence among the surviving inscriptions that he held the title *ỉmy-r mnfyt*.

[2] The most recent study of the inscriptions is that of Popko 2006, pp. 50 and 207–20, a useful treatment but disadvantaged by the author's evident lack of access to the original sources.

[3] For preliminary reports on the work, see Davies and O'Connell 2011a, pp. 103–04 and 114–19, figs. 9–16; Davies and O'Connell 2011b, pp. 2–3, 8–14, figs. 1–10. The project has been carried out with the permission of the Permanent Committee of the Supreme Council of Antiquities (SCA) and the help of the senior officials in the Aswan and Edfu offices, Dr. Mohammed Bialy and Zanaan Noubi Abdelsalam respectively. The team working in the tomb of Ahmose-Pennekhbet over the last two seasons (2009–10 and 2010–11) comprised Vivian Davies (director/epigrapher), Lamia El-Hadidy (senior conservator), Claire Thorne (artist, who inked in the epigraphic drawings published here), Günter Heindl (surveyor/architect, responsible for mapping the tomb-chapel), James Rossiter (photographer), and Ossama Ismail Ahmed and Ramadan Hassan Ahmed (SCA inspectors), both of whom facilitated the work. I am very grateful to José Galán for the invitation to deliver a paper at the Granada conference, and to Renée Friedman for invaluable assistance in preparing this paper (much extended) for publication.

[4] Housed in the archives of the Department of Ancient Egypt and Sudan, the British Museum.

[5] Cf. Raven 2009, pp. 209–10.

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The Tomb (Elkab No. 2)

Location

The largest tomb-chapel in the main rock-cut necropolis, Elkab no. 2 is located immediately to the southeast of the tomb of Pahery (Elkab no. 3), though situated at a considerably lower level (figs. 16.1–2).[6] Our new, preliminary ground plan is shown in figure 16.3.[7] From an exterior courtyard, a doorway in the center of the façade leads into a long rectangular chamber, on a north–south axis, about 10 meters in length, with high arched ceiling (fig. 16.4).[8] The thicknesses of the entrance are rebated, as if to accommodate a door. There is a smaller rectangular niche at the inner end of the chapel, badly damaged by the collapse of its ceiling evidently weakened by the presence of a chamber located immediately above it, part of a complex of chambers once entered through a doorway (now blocked) located in the east wall of the tomb-chapel of Pahery (Tylor and Griffith 1894, p. 1, pls. 1 [plan] and 6; Tylor 1895, p. 1, pl. 17 [plan], and 23).[9] Because of the collapse, it is not yet possible to confirm that rock-cut statues were once present in the rear of the niche, as, for example, in the tombs of Pahery and Reneny (PM V, 177–81, no. 3 (19) and 183–84, no. 7 (15)).[10] There has been much flaking away of the surface of the walls and the ceiling. The floor is carpeted with a thick layer of sand and debris, and the walls toward the rear are covered in what appears to be black soot. The location of the original substructure remains to be ascertained. Two low doorways cut into the east wall lead into spaces, now filled with rubble, which need further investigation.

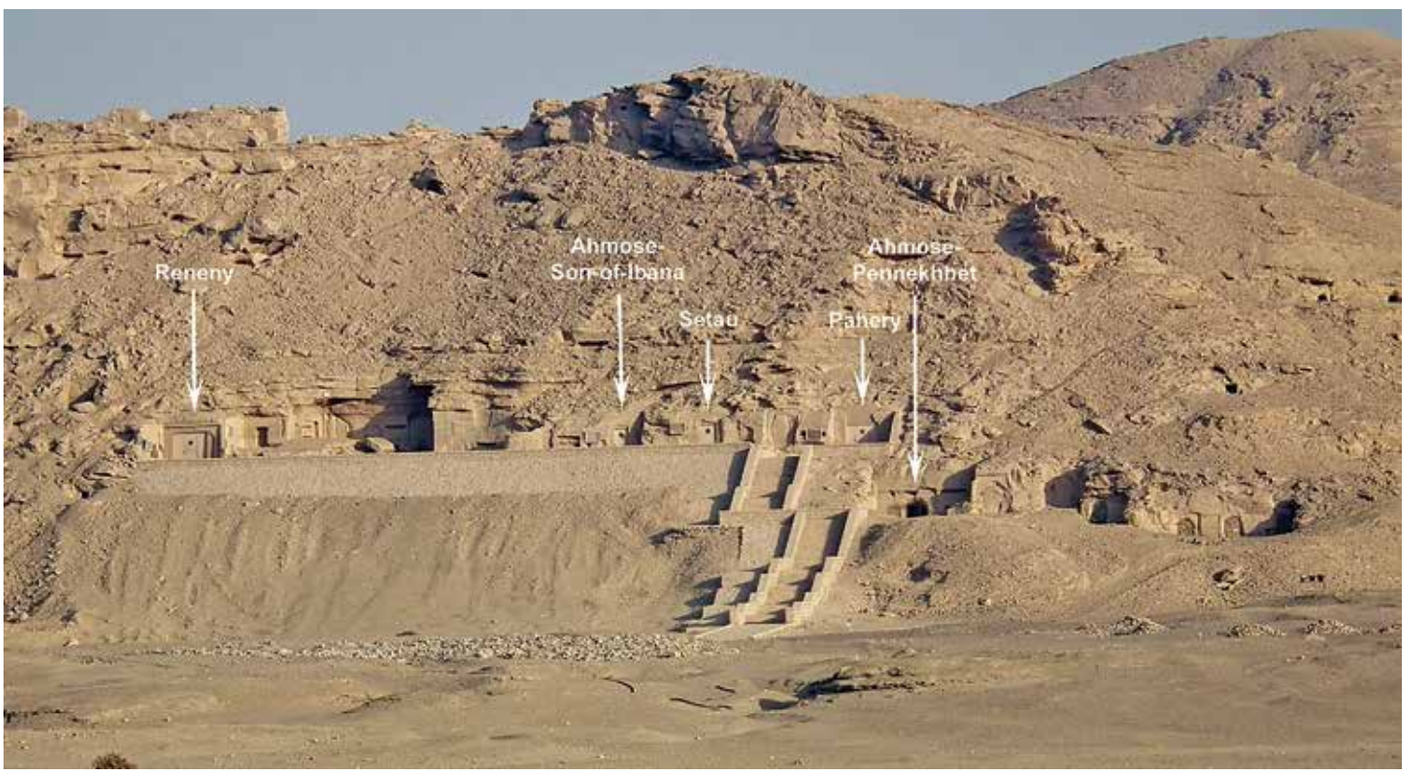

Figure 16.1. Elkab necropolis: the major New Kingdom tombs (all photos by W. V. Davies unless indicated otherwise)

[6] Cf. W. V. Davies 2010b, p. 223, pl. 38; Kruchten and Delvaux 2010, p. 16 n. 47.

[7] Cf. Davies and O'Connell 2011a, pp. 103, 114, fig. 9.

[8] Cf. ibid., pp. 103, 114, fig. 10.

[9] Cf. Kruchten and Delvaux 2010, p. 20; Davies and O'Connell 2012, pp. 53, 65, figs. 15–16.

[10] Cf. the plans of the niched tomb-chapels at neighboring Hierakonpolis (Friedman 2001, pp. 106–08, fig. 2, and p. 110, color pls. 35:2 and 37:1) and Hagr Edfu (W. V. Davies 2009b, pp. 27–29, fig. 5, and p. 35, fig. 11; idem 2010a, pp. 130, 135, fig. 5), all originally containing rock-cut statues.

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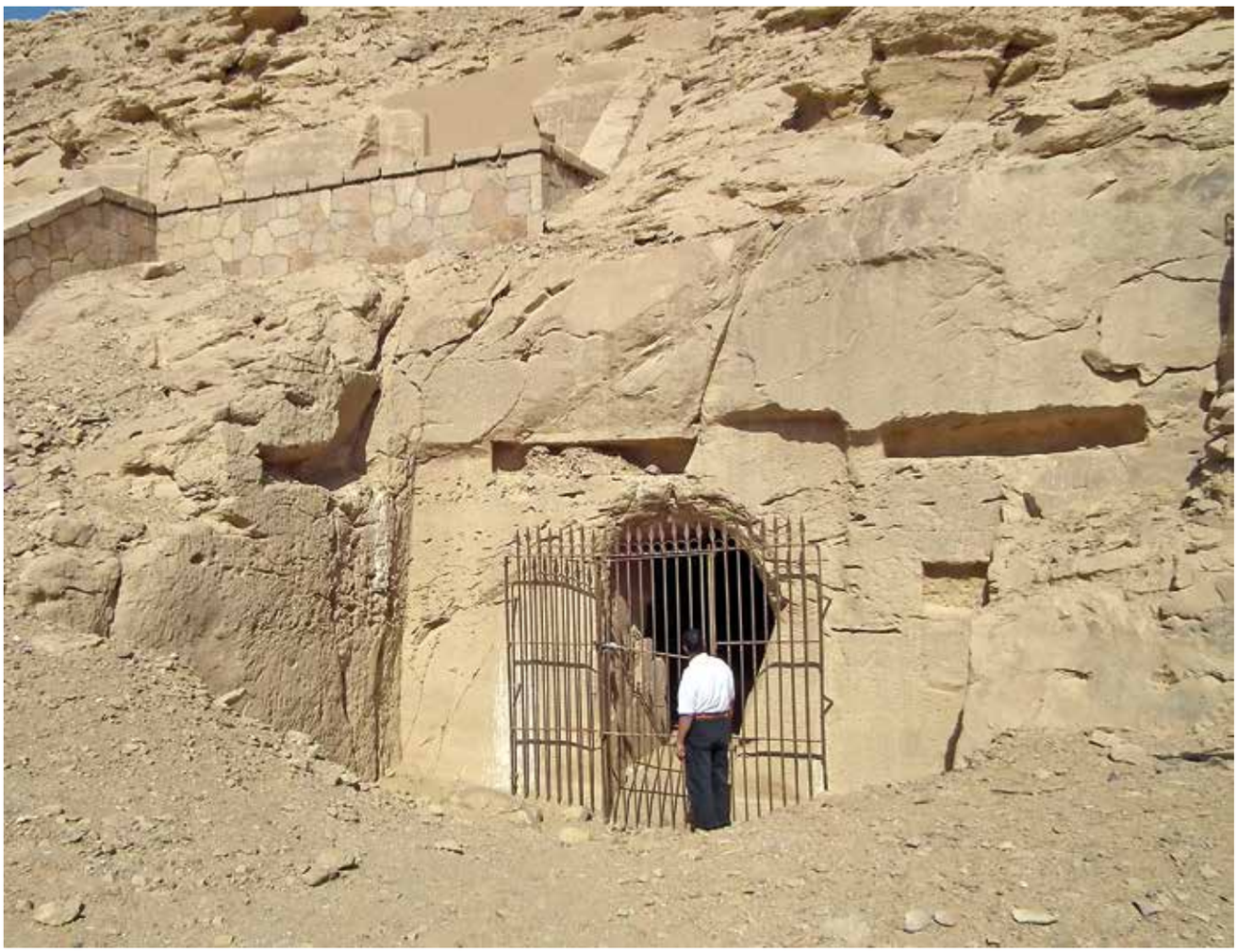

Figure 16.2. Tomb of Ahmose-Pennekhbet, façade with old gate

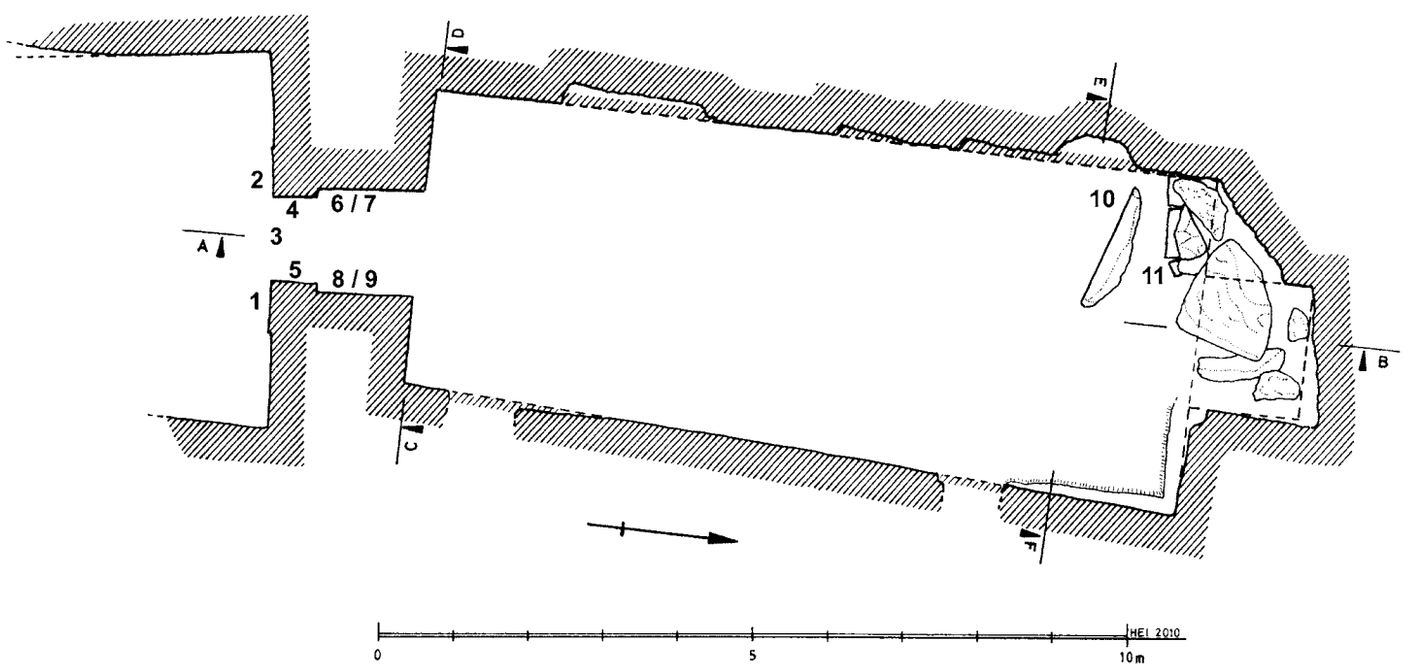

Figure 16.3. Tomb of Ahmose-Pennekhbet, ground plan (drawing by Günter Heindl)

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Figure 16.4. Tomb of Ahmose-Pennekhbet, interior

Decoration

There is considerably more decoration than has previously been indicated (PM V, 176–77, no. 2 (1–4)). The façade and the entrance-doorway are fully decorated with scenes and inscriptions. Decoration is also present within the chapel, at the north end of the west wall, at the bottom left corner of the west façade of the niche, and on a group of now loose blocks fallen from the same façade. Though the walls were prepared, the rest of the interior appears to have been left undecorated. The numbers on the plan (fig. 16.3) indicate the location of the areas of decoration.[11]

Façade

There are scenes and inscriptions on both jambs (hitherto unpublished), as well as on the lintel, all done in fine sunk relief now much damaged (fig. 16.5).[12] They identify Ahmose-Pennekhbet as the owner of the tomb and "his brother" named "Amenhotep called Hapu," a senior priest in the temple of Nekhbet, as the one "who causes to live his name." The two principals are shown together in all three surviving scenes on the façade.

No. 1. (figs. 16.5–7) At the bottom of the east jamb is a scene showing the seated figure of Ahmose-Pennekhbet facing left before a table of offerings, holding a stave and scepter and wearing a shoulder-length wig, short beard, and a long skirt (figs. 16.6–7).[13] Appropriately for a recipient of the "gold of honor," he is adorned with a *shebyu*-necklace (left undetailed) placed over a broad collar.[14] Facing right on the other side of the

[11] In the descriptions below, I follow the chapel's magnetic north–south orientation (cf. W. V. Davies 2009a, pp. 139–40, n. 3; Kruchten and Delvaux 2010, p. 1). Note that, among other considerations, the north–south axis here means that the tomb-entrance looks out toward the Nile, the town of Elkab, and the temple of Nekhbet.

[12] Figure 16.5 is a recent photograph (March 1, 2011) of the façade taken after the removal of the old metal gate (see fig. 16.2; cf. Davies and O'Connell 2011a, pp. 103, 115, fig. 11) and before the installation of a new one (see idem 2011b, pp. 2–3, 8–10, figs. 1–5). The height of the decorated area of the façade is approximately 3 m.

[13] Cf. Davies and O'Connell 2011b, pp. 2–3, 11–12, figs. 6–7. The height of the seated figure is approximately 40 cm.

[14] See Binder 2008, pp. 6, 218, fig. 13.8.

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offerings is a standing figure, the top end now missing, shown wearing a double skirt (long over short) and sandals, reciting an offering-formula arranged in five columns: "Making a *hotep-di-nesut*, pure, pure, by his brother (*sn*) who causes to live his name, first king's son of Nekhbet, assistant [for every phyle, one with right of entry, chief of (the great seat of)] Nekhbet, [Amenhotep called] Hapu."[15]

Above the scene there are four columns of large hieroglyphs (two badly damaged), each comprising an offering-formula for the benefit of Ahmose-Pennekhbet, three ending with the first name, "Ahmose, justified," and one with the second name, written "Pennekhebet, justified." They include the titles "hereditary nobleman, governor, treasurer" (in sequence, twice), "god's father beloved of the god, first royal herald" (in sequence), and the epithets "eyes of the king of Upper Egypt, ears of the king of Lower Egypt" (again in sequence).

Figure 16.5. Tomb of Ahmose-Pennekhbet, façade and doorway

No. 2. (figs. 16.5 and 16.8) The west jamb, also now incomplete, bears similar decoration arranged in opposite orientation, with the standing figure here leaning forward proffering a bouquet of flowers. There was no inscription accompanying the figure in this case. The names and titles of Ahmose-Pennekhbet are arranged as on the right, though with the epithet "efficient confidant of the lord of the Two Lands" substituted in the third column; note in the second column the spelling of the second name as "Pennekheb" (*Pn-Nḫb, P*(*ꜣ*)*-n-Nḫb*) with no final *t* and with the town-determinative (fig. 16.8).[16]

No. 3. (figs. 16.5 and 16.9) The lintel (PM V, 177 (1–2)) once bore two antithetical scenes, each again showing Ahmose-Pennekhbet and his "brother" (name lost, but certainly to be identified as Amenhotep-Hapu) standing facing inward with arms upraised in adoration of a deity, Anubis on the right and perhaps Osiris on the left.[17] The left scene is now vestigial with only part of the outline of the rear figure still visible.[18] The right scene is better preserved (fig. 16.9). Although the figure of Ahmose-Pennekhbet is largely gone, several columns of his inscription remain at the top right and the rear figure, the details of which were not quite finished, is reasonably intact.

The text at the top briefly highlights, in relatively standard autobiographical language, the tomb-owner's record of virtuous conduct, loyal and effective military service, and reward from the king (at the same time anticipating the longer narrative exposition displayed within the doorway; see below). The text is well known, though a little more of it survives than has previously been recorded.[19] It reads: "(x + 1) [vestige only of sign at the top ...] [on] (x + 2) account of [his] effectiveness [...] (x + 3) one in whom [not] any fault [of his]

[15] The inscription is fully restorable from a photograph taken by the Tylor expedition when the scene was intact. The full form of the last title, abbreviated here, is *ꜥ n st wrt n Nḫbt*, as attested elsewhere in the tomb (see below, fig. 16.9, façade, lintel [damaged]; and fig. 16.19, doorway, inner east thickness, upper scene, inscription, cols. 8–9). For the possible location of the *st wrt* "great seat," "bark-sanctuary" in the Eighteenth Dynasty temple of Nekhbet at Elkab, see Van Siclen 1999, pp. 415–16 (further recent observations on the temple-site include Hartmann 1993, pp. 80–90, 98–110; Grallert 2001, pp. 202–04; Laskowski 2001; Eder 2002, pp. 7–9; Laskowski 2006, pp. 220–21; Limme 2008, pp. 16–19; and Vanlathem 2009). On the term *st wrt* in general, see P. Spencer 1984, pp. 108–14; Konrad 2006, pp. 267–68; McClain 2007, pp. 88–89.

[16] See n. 1, above; Davies and O'Connell 2011b, p. 12, fig. 8.

[17] Cf. Assmann 2005, pp. 196–97; Robins 2010, p. 134.

[18] Note that the figure is not shown holding a censer as PM V, 177 (1). What was understood as a censer is actually a horizontal crack in the stone surface.

[19] Cf. *Urk.* IV 32.6–12.

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Figure 16.6. Tomb of Ahmose-Pennekhbet, façade, east (right) jamb, offering scene

Figure 16.7. Tomb of Ahmose-Pennekhbet, façade, detail of tomb-owner's figure

Figure 16.8. Tomb of Ahmose-Pennekhbet, façade, west (left) jamb, inscription

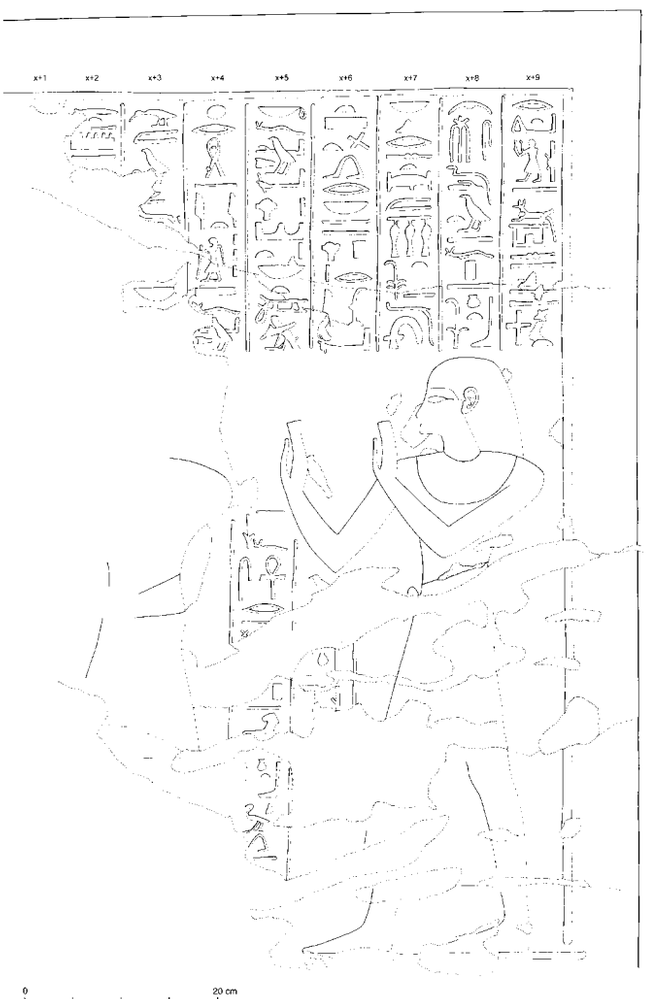

Figure 16.9. Tomb of Ahmose-Pennekhbet, façade, lintel, copy of scene and inscriptions

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was found (x + 4) before the council, one who fought (x + 5) and captured in every land, who was not (x + 6) absent from the lord of the Two Lands on the battlefield,[20] (x + 7) possessor of burial as a favor of the king,[21] treasurer, (x + 8) Ahmose called[22] Pennenekhbet, (x + 9) giving praise to Anubis, doing obeisance to the one who is in the place of embalming." The rear figure, shown wearing a shoulder-length wig, a collar, and a double skirt with wide belt tied at the waist, was identified in two columns of inscription placed before him: "(1) It is his brother who causes to live his name, [fir]st [king's son] before Nekhbet, one with right of entry, chief of the (2) great [seat of [Nekhbet], [...], scribe of the divine book, [.....], [Amenhotep called Hapu]."

That Ahmose-Pennekhbet functioned as "treasurer" (*ỉmy-r ḫtmt* "overseer of what is sealed") is long established[23] but newly attested on the façade (and confirming his elite status in the administration and at court) are the titles "god's father beloved of the god" (*ỉt-nṯr mr(y)-nṯr*)[24] and "first royal herald" (*wḥmw-nswt tpy*),[25] the latter possibly reflecting a career progression.[26] The title of "first king's son of Nekhbet" (*sꜣ-nswt tpy n Nḫbt*), held by Amenhotep-Hapu, was probably instituted at Elkab in the early Eighteenth Dynasty as part of a program of regional patronage by the new Theban regime, evidenced also in a series of endowed statue-cults, the existence of which is recorded elsewhere in the tomb.[27] Charged with leading the processional cult of the goddess Nekhbet, the office appears to have been monopolized by the senior males of this one family. It may have been hereditary or transferable within the clan; whether more than one person could hold it simultaneously is unclear. Ahmose-Pennekhbet may have been an early, if not the first, incumbent.[28] On present evidence, his "brother," Amenhotep-Hapu, was the last.[29] Occurring only in the latter's lintel inscription, the related title [*sꜣ-nswt t*]*py n ḥꜣ*[*t*] *n Nḫbt* "first king's son before Nekhbet," previously unattested, may represent a fuller, variant form.[30]

Quite remarkably, despite the overall damage, the seated figures of Ahmose-Pennekhbet on the jambs, including the head in each case, are intact. The facial features comprise a large, sloping, almond-shaped eye, thick lips, and a slightly upturned nose (figs. 16.7–8), a distinctive iconography, diagnostic of the chapel's date of decoration (see further below).

Doorway

The doorway (figs. 16.10–19) comprises an outer and inner thickness (caused by the rebate) on both sides, with all four surfaces decorated in relief[31] with scenes appropriate to the location: the tomb-garden, the

[20] Guksch 1994, pp. 66, 203 (085)05. Cf. statue Louvre C.49, left side, line 5; see fig. 16.26; Guksch 1994, pp. 66, 202 (085)01; Ritter 1995, p. 99.

[21] Guksch 1994, pp. 42–43, 168 (053)01; cf. Binder 2008, p. 1.

[22] Cf. Gardiner 1957, p. 295 n. 2. The form *ḏd.tw n.f* replaces the preferred earlier form *ḏdw n.f* (Vernus 1971, p. 197; Vernus 1986, p. 82) in the double-name formula throughout the tomb's inscriptions.

[23] Dziobek 1998, pp. 132, 134; Bryan 2006, p. 78.

[24] Attested at Thebes for a number of high officials; see Eichler 2000, pp. 194–98; J. A. Taylor 2001, pp. 76–77, nos. 698–99.

[25] On the office, see Bryan 2006, pp. 89–92. The title is appropriate for one who repeats "the word [of] the king to his nobles" (*Urk.* IV 38.7; statue Louvre C.49, left side, line 3; see fig. 16.26); cf. the description of "first royal herald Intef" as "the tongue which speaks for the one who is in the palace" (*Urk.* IV 968.7; Bryan 2006, p. 91). See also Shirley 2011, p. 292 n. 6.

[26] Elsewhere he is referred to simply as "herald" (*wḥmw*) (see, e.g., fig. 16.14, lower left text, col. 1, main text, col. 20; fig. 16.25, line 2; fig. 16.28), though the latter could, of course, represent a generic usage.

[27] Doorway, inner east thickness, upper scene inscription, cols. 6 and 9–11; see fig. 16.19. For a regional parallel, see the early Eighteenth Dynasty statue-cult endowed by and for King Ahmose in the temple of Edfu (W. V. Davies 2009b, pp. 32–34, fig. 10 and p. 36, fig. 12; idem 2013, pp. 54–55, 76, fig. 18).

[28] See below (with fig. 16.29) for the possible occurrence of the title "king's son of Nekhbet" on one of his statues.

[29] On this title and the other priestly titles held by Amenhotep-Hapu and members of his family, see Gauthier 1910, pp. 193–200; Kees 1953, pp. 21–22, 49–50, 301; Helck 1958, pp. 223, 345; Kees 1960, pp. 47–49; Helck 1961, p. 156, no. 24, pp. 193–94, nos. 3–4, pp. 227–28, no. 11; Vandersleyen 1971, p. 22; Schmitz 1976, pp. 260, 276–78; Graefe 1981, vol. 1, pp. 38–40, 183–84; vol. 2, pp. 52–53; Nagy 1983, pp. 6–8; Dewachter 1984, p. 92; Der Manuelian 1987, p. 104; Hartmann 1993, pp. 303–06, 341–44. The corpus is now further increased by additional titles attested in previously unrecorded decoration located in the lower registers of the inner thicknesses of the doorway and in the interior of the chapel (see below). A fully updated treatment of the corpus is in preparation.

[30] Cf. the titles *sꜣ-nswt tpy n ỉmn* (var. *sꜣ-nswt n ḥꜣt ỉmn*) and *sꜣ-nswt tpy n ḥꜣt n ỉmn* respectively of the Theban officials Nakht and Pairy (time of Amenhotep III) (Kees 1960, p. 46, nos. 7–8; Schmitz 1976, pp. 278–81; Dewachter 1984, pp. 91–92; Eichler 2000, pp. 63 and 270, no. 203, and p. 299, no. 387).

[31] The figures are sunk on the outside thicknesses and raised on the inner. The hieroglyphs are all sunk. Substantial traces of paint survive in the inner thicknesses (e.g., blue in the hieroglyphs, red in the register lines and on the male bodies, white on the dress).

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Figure 16.10. Tomb of Ahmose-Pennekhbet, doorway, west outer thickness, garden scene

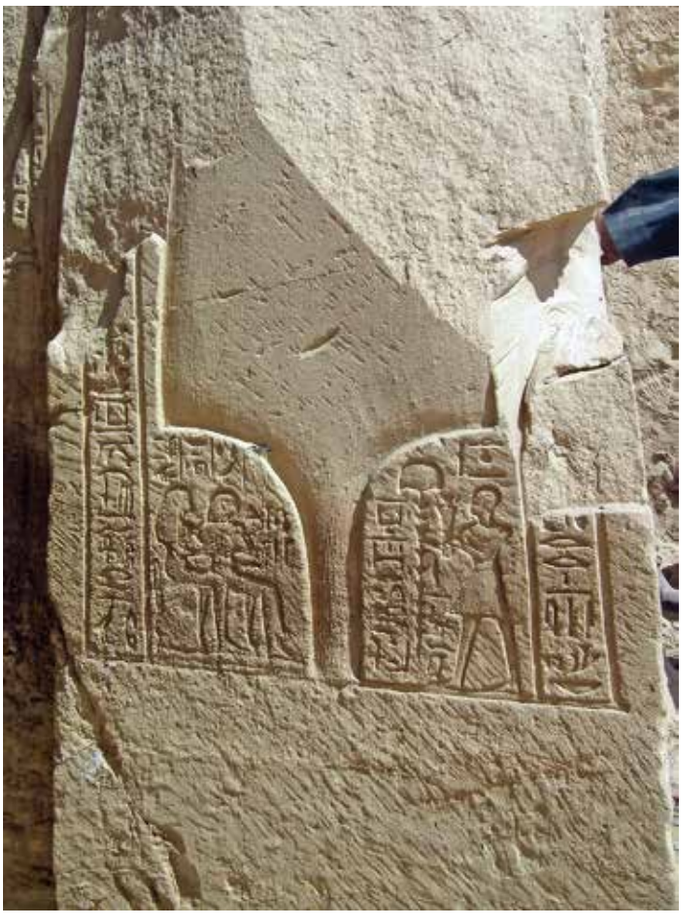

Figure 16.11. Tomb of Ahmose-Pennekhbet, doorway, east outer thickness, garden scene

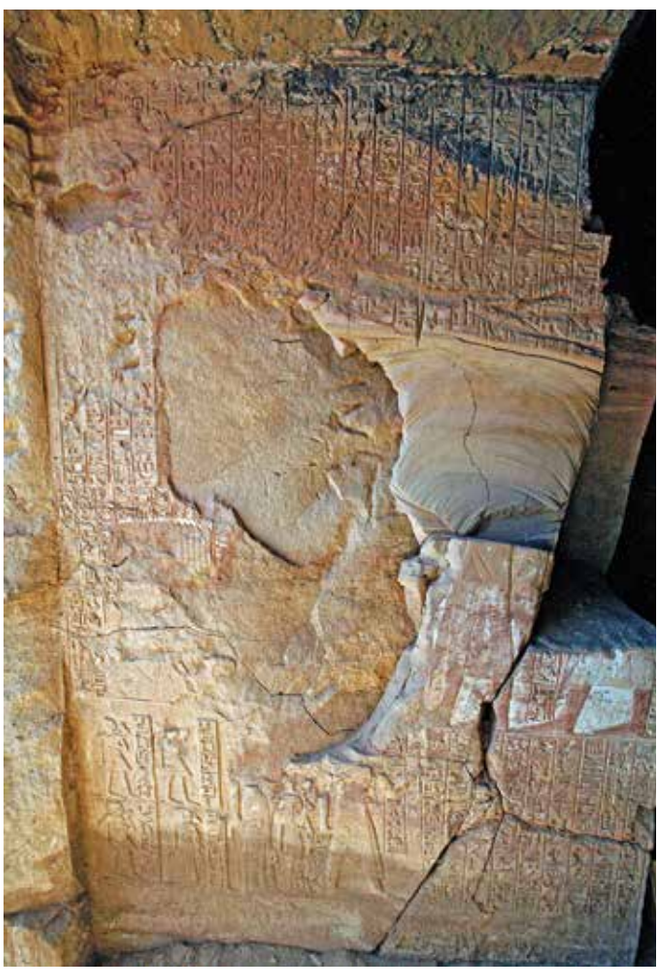

Figure 16.12. Tomb of Ahmose-Pennekhbet, doorway, west inner thickness, upper and lower scenes (photo by J. Rossiter)

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adoration of the sun god, and the going forth and coming back of the deceased.[32] The decoration on the inner thickness is divided into two horizontal registers, the taller, upper register in each case bearing a major scene featuring large-scale figures of the senior members of the family.[33] Now badly damaged (figs. 16.12 and 16.16),[34] both thicknesses are shown in a more complete state in a set of photographs taken by the Tylor expedition, which are reproduced here (figs. 16.13 and 16.17, in each case a montage of photographs, slightly misaligned), together with one of Tylor's drawings (fig. 16.14).[35] From these doorway-scenes, it now becomes clear that the tomb had more than one owner.

Nos. 4 and 5. (figs. 16.10–11) The outer thicknesses bear similar garden-scenes,[36] each centered on the representation of a huge sacred sycamore tree (the top half now missing), the two trees possibly to be understood as marking the opposite limits of the horizon.[37] The scene on the west (no. 4; fig. 16.10) shows (Amenhotep-) Hapu and "his sister (= wife),[38] mistress of the house, [Mutnesut]," her head now mostly gone, standing under the right side of the tree, facing outward toward a figure of "his son, beloved of him, Djehutymose," who stands under the left side of the tree, proffering a stand with offerings.[39] The inscription accompanying Hapu describes him as *swtwt ḥr mnwy.f* "strolling under his tree(s)."[40] The equivalent scene on the east (no. 5; fig. 16.11) shows the same pair seated under the left side of the tree, each holding a lotus to the nose, the wife wearing a distinctive wig of the broad enveloping type (more detailed representations of which occur on the inner thicknesses; see below). They face outward toward a standing figure holding various plant offerings, with the legend "for your *ka*s a coming forth before Nekhbet, by his son, *wab*-priest Ked."[41] The scenes are flanked by columns of inscription (now incomplete), facing outward on the east and inward on the west, probably representing words recited by the sycamore-goddess.[42]

Nos. 6 and 8. (figs. 16.12–13 and 16.16–18) Occupying roughly the same wall level as the garden-scenes, the lower registers of the inner thicknesses again bear funerary scenes featuring Amenhotep-Hapu, his wife, and children. On the east thickness (no. 8; figs. 16.16–18) he is shown proceeding outward, holding portable braziers before a pile of offerings, followed by his wife, "songstress (*ḥsyt*) of Hathor, mistress of the house, [Mutnesut]," his daughters, "chantress (*šmʿyt*) of Nekhbet, Usy," and "chantress of Nekhbet, Henutnefret" (holding a Hathor-sistrum and *menit*-counterpoise),[43] and his sons, "*wab*-priest of Nekhbet, Seked," "*wab*-priest of Nekhbet, Khaemuaset," and "*wab*-priest of Nekhbet, Djehutymose." He is described in the first column of the accompanying inscription as "Going forth to see Nekhbet, mistress of heaven ...." In the corresponding west scene (no. 6; figs. 16.12–13), the group is shown proceeding inward, as confirmed in the inscription

[32] Cf. Robins 2010, p. 136.

[33] The decorated area on each thickness is ca. 2 m in height.

[34] Cf. Davies and O'Connell 2011a, pp. 103 and 116–17, figs. 12–13. Some of the damage was inflicted quite recently.

[35] The drawing was made from the photographs.

[36] On tomb-gardens, see Baum 1988, pp. 28–34; Hugonot 1989, pp. 169–205; Assmann 2005, pp. 221–25; Rizzo 2005, pp. 6–7, 10–11.

[37] On the double tree-goddess motif, see Baum 1988, pp. 62–67; Billing 2002, pp. 201–23. Cf. the well-known representation in TT 93 (N. de G. Davies 1930, pp. 45–46, pl. 46) for a similarly "gigantesque sycomore" (Baum 1988, pp. 34–36, fig. 8; cf. Billing 2002, pp. 254, 257–58, 360, fig. C.4), there a manifestation of the goddess Nut.

[38] Cf. Robins 1979, pp. 203–04; Robins 1999a, p. 67; Toivari-Viitala 2001, pp. 29–30; Shirley 2010a, pp. 279–80.

[39] The height of the figure of Amenhotep-Hapu is 19.5 cm.

[40] Cf. *Urk.* IV 73.7–9 (Dziobek 1992, p. 61, text 13a, pls. 15 and 64:a); *Urk.* IV 1064.6–8 (Davies and Gardiner 1915, p. 102, middle northern band, pl. 27); Baum 1988, pp. 1–3 and 31–32; Rizzo 2005, pp. 7 and 11. For *mnw* (here unusually written *mnwy*) meaning "trees," "plantation," "grove," see Fischer 1978, p. 131 with n. 1; Baum 1988, pp. 29, 31 n. 71, and 351; Hugonot 1989, p. 14, no. 7; Aufrère 2005, pp. 52–53.

[41] Cf. Davies and O'Connell 2011b, pp. 3, 13, fig. 9. This is an abbreviated writing of the name Se-ked (*S-ḳd;* cf. Ranke 1935, vol. 1, p. 337, no. 9); the full form of the name labels the representation of the son in the family scenes on the inner thicknesses, lower registers (figs. 16.13, 16.17–18). The height of the son's figure here is 19 cm.

[42] See Baum 1988, pp. 34–38; Billing 2002, pp. 211–12 and 247–54. The two outer columns end with words addressed directly to the deceased: on the east, "[all things] good and pure at the entrance of your tomb"; on the west, "your heart is not weary under them" (or "let not your heart be weary under them"). The inner column on the east consists of the end of an offering-formula reading "[upon] the offering-table for the *ka* of the treasurer Ahmose and (that of) his brother who causes to live his name, Hapu." Of the inner column on the west only part of the final word survives reading [*iḫ*]*mw-sk* "indestructible stars."

[43] On the titles *ḥsyt* and *šmʿyt,* their relationship to Hathor (and other deities), and the characteristic instruments, etc., see Onstine 2005, pp. 4–19, 27–29, 68–69, 75–77; on the sistrum and *menit*, see also Hartwig 2004, pp. 64–65, 83 n. 260, 96–97; Manniche 2010, pp. 14–15. Several "chantresses of Nekhbet," daughters of the tomb-owner, are figured in the nearby, later tomb of Setau (Elkab no. 4); see now Kruchten and Delvaux 2010, pp. 87, 195–96, 341, pl. 21, p. 343, pl. 23.

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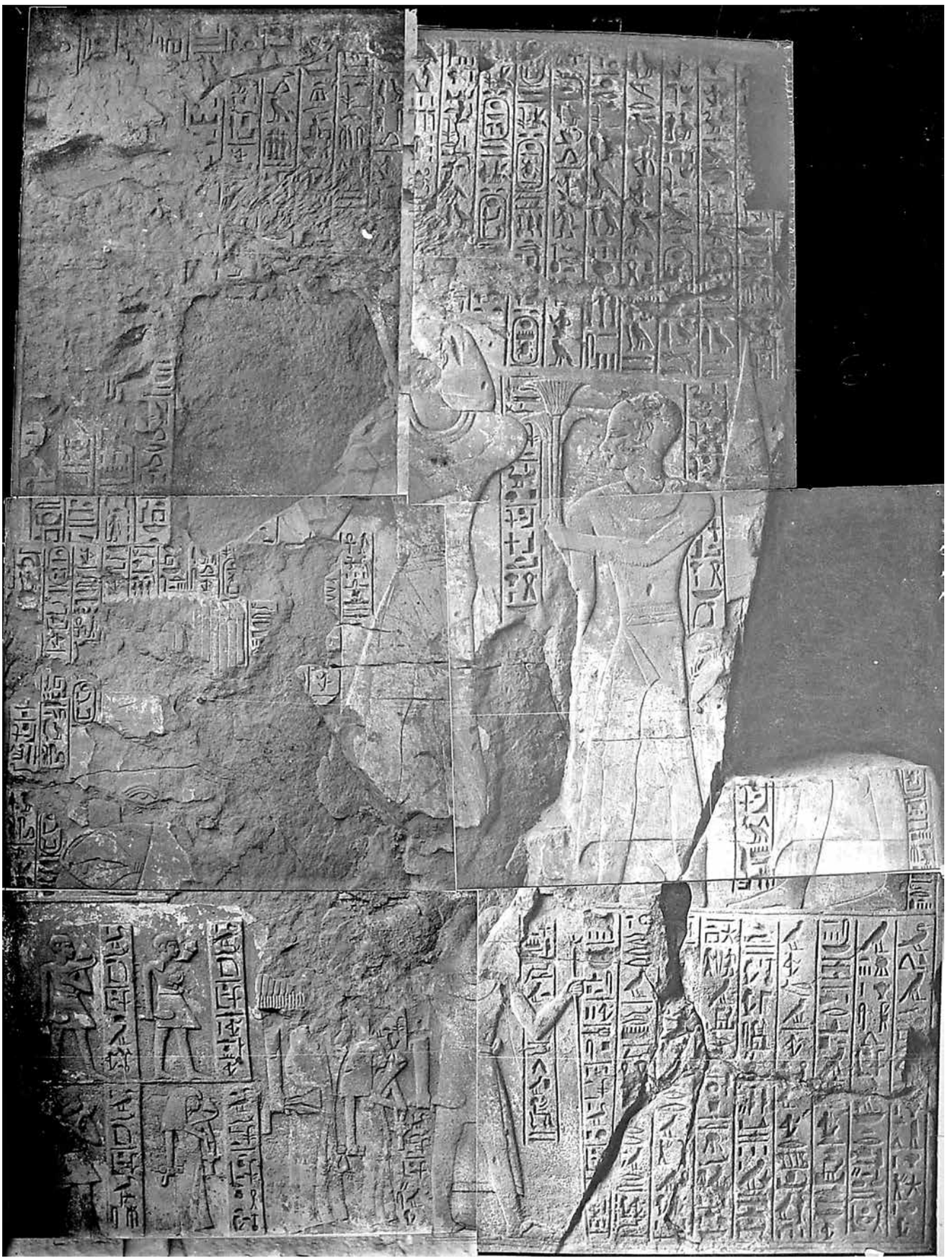

Figure 16.13. Tomb of Ahmose-Pennekhbet, doorway, west inner thickness, upper and lower scenes (photo by J. J. Tylor expedition)

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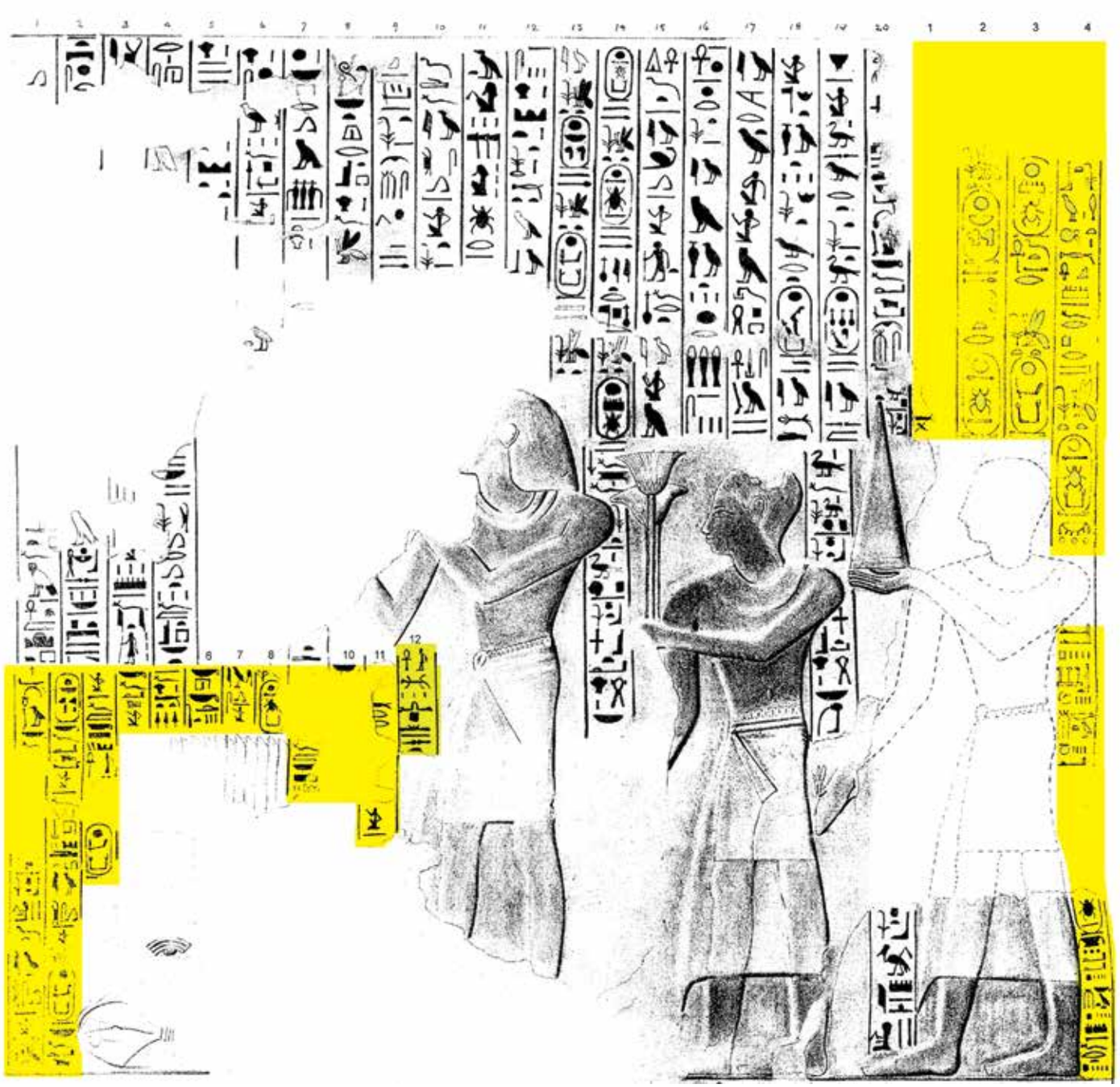

Figure 16.14. Tomb of Ahmose-Pennekhbet, doorway, west inner thickness, upper scene (drawing by J. J. Tylor)

before them, which also contains an explicit statement of ownership: "(1–3) Entering after going forth, on the occasion of returning from worshipping Re daily and following Nekhbet, and the Mistress of Ra-inty,[44] in all their festivals of heaven and earth, to rest in peace in my chapel of the necropolis (*ḥw*[*t*].*i nt ḫrt-nṯr*) ...."

To be noted here is the mode of representation of the female figures. The wife is shown wearing a complex dress draped at the front and back, with a shawl hanging down from the front shoulder, her bodily form notably wide at the waist, buttocks, and thighs.[45] Her wig (once well preserved in the east scene, fig. 16.18) is of a broad enveloping type with horizontal band, drooping flower at the forehead and tie at the back; the

[44] Cf. Vandekerckhove and Müller-Wollermann 2001, vol. 1, p. 12 n. 22; here probably a designation of Hathor (cf. Leitz 2002, 86).

[45] Cf. the form of her standing figure in the garden scene on the outer thickness, east (fig. 16.10).

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Figure 16.15. Tomb of Ahmose-Pennekhbet, doorway, west inner thickness, upper scene, detail

Figure 16.16. Tomb of Ahmose-Pennekhbet, doorway, east inner thickness, upper and lower scenes (photo by J. Rossiter)

mass of the wig comprises a series of thick individual tresses slightly triangular at the bottom with long narrow spirals hanging from the ends (shown on a larger scale in a representation on the interior west wall; fig. 16.20, left). She also wears a large round earring, half-concealed by the wig, and a broad collar, the lower border of which must have extended over the shoulder. The daughters, though they lack the detail of the larger figure of their mother, are shown with the same dress and distinctive figural shape,[46] a combination which serves as another significant dating criterion (see below).

No. 7. The main scene in the upper register of the west thickness (figs. 16.12–15), the doorway's pre-eminent scene, shows three large figures, most prominently Ahmose-Pennekhbet, accompanied by the famous set of autobiographical texts recounting his royal service (PM V, 176–77, no. 2 (3)). Note that the Tylor drawing

[46] Cf. Davies and O'Connell 2011b, pp. 3, 14, fig. 10. A wig of the type shown here was discovered in the Theban tomb of Kha and his wife Meryt (TT 8, time of Amenhotep III), and Meryt is shown wearing such a wig in a fine painted representation on their funerary papyrus, her coiffure, dress, and figural form closely recalling those of the Elkab images (Vassilka 2010, pp. 51–52 and 70–71). Cf. also the relief-representation of the same type of wig on Kha and Meryt's sandstone funerary stela (ibid., pp. 30–32), there undetailed (unless the detail was show in paint, now faded). For well published three-dimensional representations, see, for example, the statues Brooklyn 40.523, Louvre E 10655 and BM EA 51101 (Bryan 1992b, pp. 236, 255–58, nos. 47 and 49; and Russmann 2001, pp. 138–39, no. 56, respectively).

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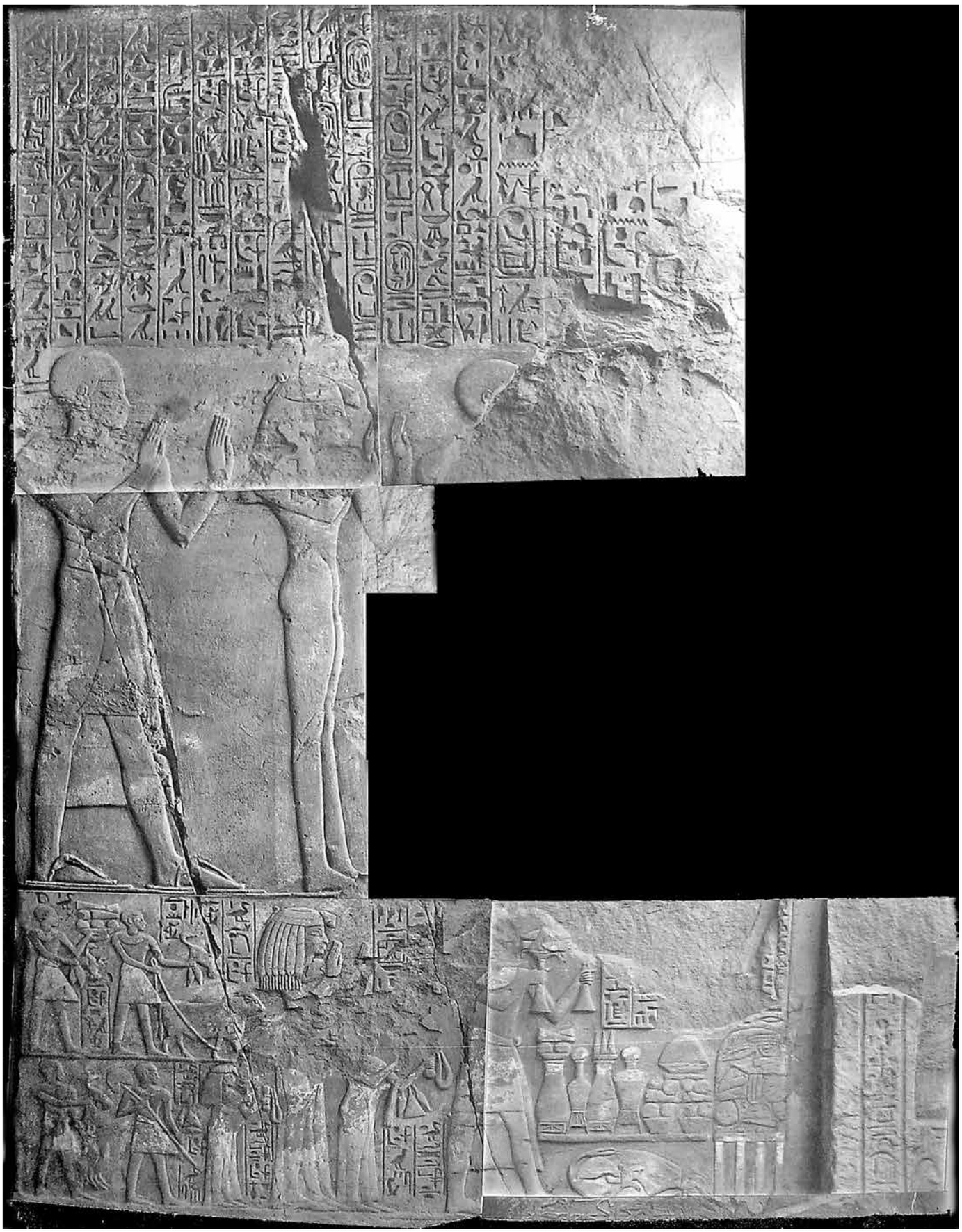

Figure 16.17. Tomb of Ahmose-Pennekhbet, doorway, east inner thickness, upper and lower scenes (photo by J. J. Tylor expedition)

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Figure 16.18. Tomb of Ahmose-Pennekhbet, doorway, east inner thickness, lower scene, detail (photo by J. J. Tylor expedition)

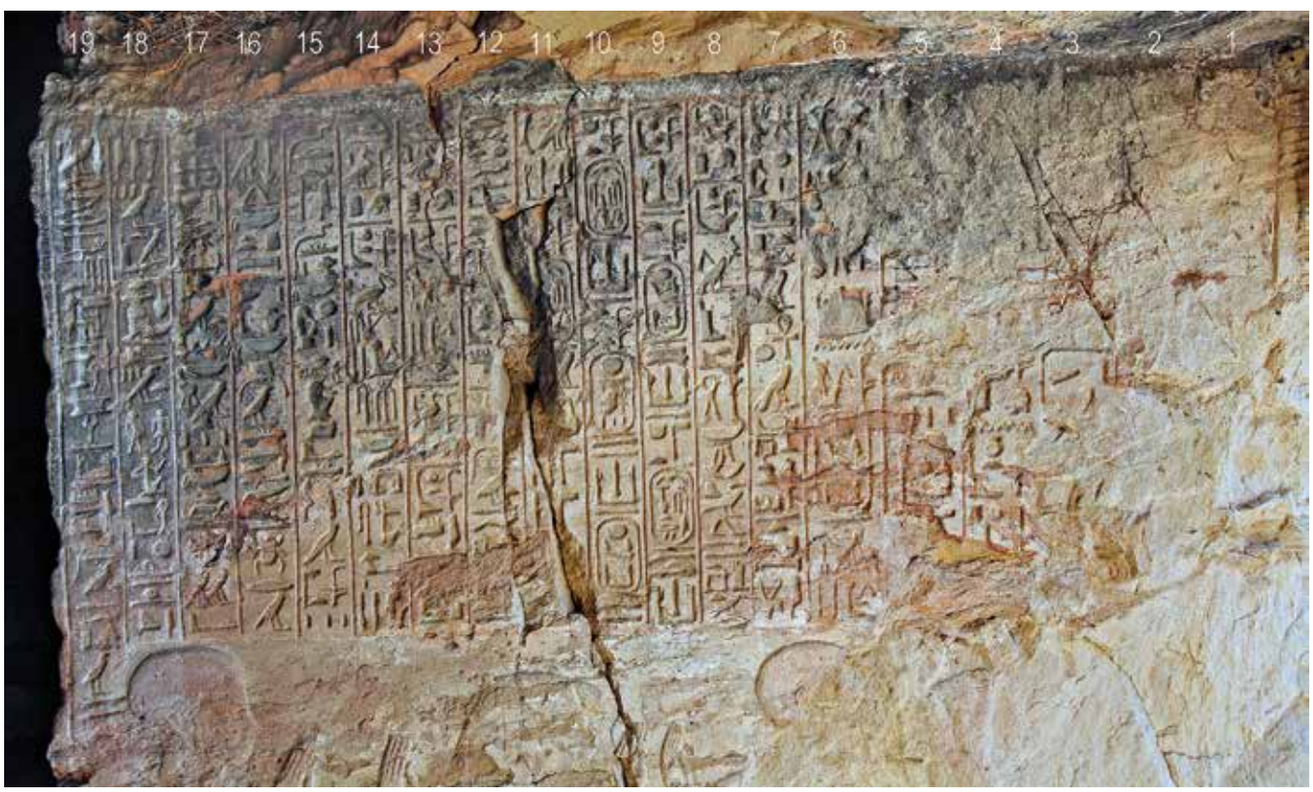

Figure 16.19. Tomb of Ahmose-Pennekhbet, doorway, east inner thickness, upper scene, inscription (photo by J. Rossiter)

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(fig. 16.14) incorporates and positions those parts of the long-missing rear columns as recorded by Champollion (see below).

The three figures are shown standing, facing outward, in front of a table and pile of offerings, the first and tallest identified in the main inscription above (col. 9) as "Ahmose, justified," the second in a column of inscription before him as "his brother, beloved of him, first king's son of Nekhbet, assistant for every phyle" (name lost, almost certainly "Amenhotep-Hapu" again), and the third (figure mostly gone) as "his son, first king's son of Nekhbet, assistant for every phyle, *wab*-priest of Nekhbet, Amenhotep, justified," this latter being the "son" (*sꜣ*) of Ahmose-Pennekhbet. Shown with the same wig, dress, and adornment as on the façade, Ahmose-Pennekhbet (his figure today totally destroyed) has his arms raised in adoration of the rising sun, while the other figures, more simply attired, hold offerings.[47] The second figure, the top half including the head and inscription also now gone, is shown as almost intact in the Tylor photograph (fig. 16.13), where the facial features can be seen to have been finely done in the same style as those of the figures of the tomb-owner on the façade.

In addition to the label-texts, the scene includes multiple columns of inscription, also much damaged, comprising three distinct narrative texts (fig. 16.14, the two shorter texts here blocked out in yellow for the sake of clarity). The main text,[48] starting with the first column at the top left and extending for twenty columns in all, first describes Ahmose-Pennekhbet's coming forth from the tomb to worship the sun god Re; follows with an avowal in standard phraseology (now very incomplete) of his loyal service to the king; continues with a listing of the kings under which he served on campaign from Ahmose down to Thutmose III, stating that he had reached old age while enjoying their favors; and concludes with a special tribute (occupying over two columns, 17–20) to the favor bestowed by Queen Maatkare (Hatshepsut) in appointing him to be guardian/tutor of her daughter, Princess Nefrure: "For me the god's wife repeated favors, the king's great wife *Mꜣʿ.t-kꜣ-Rʿ* (Hatshepsut), justified; I brought up her eldest <daughter>, the princess Neferura, justified, while she was (still) a child at the breast" (Dorman 2006, pp. 49–50).[49]

The second text,[50] arranged in twelve narrower columns with smaller hieroglyphs around the offerings to the lower left of Ahmose-Pennekhbet's figure, gives an account of his captures during military campaigns abroad under the same kings. The third text,[51] mostly now missing but much of it retrievable thanks to the copies of Champollion[52] and Wilkinson,[53] was arranged in four columns, located to the right of the main text, above and behind the rear male figure (fig. 16.15), where again the hieroglyphs are smaller. It enumerates the rewards given to Ahmose-Pennekhbet by the various kings. The physical disposition of the shorter texts, compressed somewhat awkwardly into the available space, supports the view that they are secondary to the context and transplanted from elsewhere (see below).

No. 9. (figs. 16.16–17 and 16.19) The equivalent scene on the east commemorates earlier generations of Amenhotep-Hapu's family. The scene shows three large figures (PM V, 176–77, no. 2 (4)) representing, from right to left, Amenhotep-Hapu's father, Khaemuaset (the figure almost entirely lost); his mother, "mistress of the house, Userhat"; and Amenhotep-Hapu himself, his face damaged but his eye shown as strikingly large and slanting. They stand facing outward, with arms raised in adoration (the arms are gone in the father's case but the angle of the rear shoulder and upper arm is indicative). The mother is shown with the figural shape and fashion of her generation (very different from those of her daughter-in-law and granddaughters),

[47] On the shoulder-length wig as a marker of senior status in such contexts, see Robins 1999a, pp. 58–60.

[48] Cf. *Urk.* IV 32–35, B.

[49] Cf. Helck 1958, p. 346; Vandersleyen 1971, p. 89; Ratié 1979, p. 279; Graefe 1981, vol. 1, p. 183; Roehrig 1990, pp. 50–51; Guksch 1994, p. 148 (027)24a, p. 52 (028)06, 189 (072)11, and (072)13; Vandersleyen 1995, p. 254 n. 2; Dziobek 1998, p. 135–36; Laboury 1998, p. 508; Gabolde 2005, pp. 35, 170; Bryan 2006, p. 98; Popko 2006, p. 211.

[50] Cf. *Urk.* IV 35–37, C (E).

[51] Cf. *Urk.* IV 37–39, D (E).

[52] Reproduced in Poitevin 1854, p. 70, pl. 233 (the signs forming the first and third items in the surviving section of the final column (originally *bꜣgsw* "dagger" and *mḥt* "feather") are slightly misconstrued in the copy). Champollion visited the tomb of Ahmose-Pennekhbet in late February/early March 1829; see Champollion 1833, p. 198.

[53] See PM V, 177 (3); Vandersleyen 1971, p. 43 n. 4. With the kind assistance of Jaromir Málek I have been able to check the unpublished Wilkinson record. It confirms and supplements that of Champollion. Note that these important early records are not taken into account in *Urk.* IV 37–39.

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a tight-fitting sheath-dress and a tripartite wig adorned with a headband and a floral embellishment drooping over the forehead.[54]

The inscription above the group (fig. 16.19), highly interesting for the light it sheds on the content and institutions of the temple of Nekhbet during the early New Kingdom, originally comprised nineteen columns, the first five of which are now lost or fragmentary. There are two distinct texts, contained in columns 1–6 and 7–19 respectively, each containing sun hymns and title sequences including titles relating to royal statue-cults,[55] the first referring to Khaemuaset, the second to Amenhotep-Hapu. The latter's text is of special concern to this paper in that it includes the prenomen of Amenhotep II (col. 10), which serves as a useful chronological anchor (*terminus post quem*) for the dating of the tomb, and contains a genealogical component (cols. 13–14) listing Amenhotep-Hapu's male forebears over three generations: "(7) Worshipping Re when he sets in life in the western horizon of the sky by (8) first king's son of Nekhbet, assistant for every phyle, lector-priest, one with right of entry, chief of the great seat (9) of Nekhbet, offering-priest (*ḥnky*)[56] of (the statue of) King Djeserkare, justified, offering-priest of (the statue of) the god's wife, Ahmose-Nefertiry, justified, offering-priest (10) of (the statue of) the king's wife Ahmose, offering-priest of (the statue of) King Aakheprure, justified, offering-priest of (the statue of) King Djeserkare, justified, (11) again, offering-priest of (the statue of) king's wife, Ahmose, again, scribe of the divine book, the god's servants of Nekhbet[57] (12) being under his authority, great one of the council of Nekhbet, Amenhotep called Hapu, justified, (13), engendered by first king's son of Nekhbet, Khaemuaset, justified, engendered by first king's son of Nekhbet, Amenhotep, (14) engendered by first king's son of Nekhbet, Djehutymose, justified, and born to mistress of the house, Userhat, justified."[58]

Interior

Decoration in the interior is confined to the northwest corner and in its present state consists mostly of a number of detached blocks. Previously unrecorded, even by the Tylor expedition, the material, much of which is difficult to access, remains to be fully documented and studied. The figures are in raised relief, the hieroglyphs are mostly sunk.

No. 10. Among the decoration identified so far are the remains of a finely worked but unfinished offering scene, the left end partly preserved on a large slab fallen from the west wall (fig. 16.20),[59] showing the figure (only the top half survives) of "first <king's son> of Nekhbet, Amenhotep" (probably the son of Ahmose-Pennekhbet already encountered in the upper register of the west inner thickness), facing inward, dressed in the garb of a *sem*-priest, the treatment of his well-preserved portrait recalling those of the other male images in the chapel. To the left are the remains of the figure of a seated woman facing outward, the end-figure of a separate scene. Only a part of her elaborate wig and the back of her chair survive, the wig being of the same distinctive type shown as worn by Mutnesut and her daughters in the doorway scenes (see above).

No. 11. Also preserved are fragments of a single major scene (figs. 16.21–22),[60] from the west façade of the niche, with figures and inscriptions, showing Ahmose-Pennekhbet with hands raised worshipping Osiris seated in a kiosk surmounted by a frieze of uraei, with a pile of offerings between them (fig. 16.21).[61] Osiris,

[54] Probably reflecting a fashion of the reign of Amenhotep II; see Haynes 1977, pp. 19–20; Cherpion 1987, pp. 31–35; Dziobek, Schneyer, and Semmelbauer 1992, pp. 33, 35, 40; Cherpion 1999, p. 85; Robins 1999a, p. 65. To judge from the Tylor photograph (fig. 16.17), there appears to have been a change of mind at some point over the form of dress, with drapery at the front and back added in white paint after the completion of the figure in relief.

[55] See above, n. 27.

[56] On the title here and elsewhere, see Kees 1960, p. 54; Helck 1961, pp. 193–94, nos. 3–4, pp. 227–28, no. 11; Graefe 1981, vol. 2, pp. 52–53; Nagy 1983, pp. 7–8; *LÄ* V, col. 1266 s.v. "Statuenkult"; Gabolde 1991, p. 170; W. V. Davies 2009b, pp. 33–34, fig. 10, 36, fig.12; idem 2013, pp. 52, 54, 71, fig. 12, p. 76, fig. 18.

[57] Reading *ḥmw-nṯr nw Nḫbt*, of which there are still clear traces despite the large crack at this point.

[58] The hymn to the setting sun which follows (cols. 15–19) is cited in Assmann 1969, p. 264, no. 18, and p. 268, n. 6, where an early Eighteenth Dynasty date was assumed.

[59] Cf. Davies and O'Connell 2011a, pp. 103, 118, fig. 14.

[60] Cf. ibid., pp. 103, 119, fig. 15.

[61] The scene is contained on a single block measuring about 68 cm in height. Owing to its current, slightly inaccessible location, it has not yet been possible to photograph it in full view from the front; the two figures are shown here in separate images, taken from different angles, and in approximate relationship to each other. On the "worshiping Osiris icon" in Theban tombs, see Hartwig 2004, pp. 112–17.

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Figure 16.20. Tomb of Ahmose-Pennekhbet, interior, rear, west wall, part of offering scene (photo by J. Rossiter)

Figure 16.21. Tomb of Ahmose-Pennekhbet, interior, rear, niche-façade, west, parts of worshipping-Osiris scene (photo by J. Rossiter)

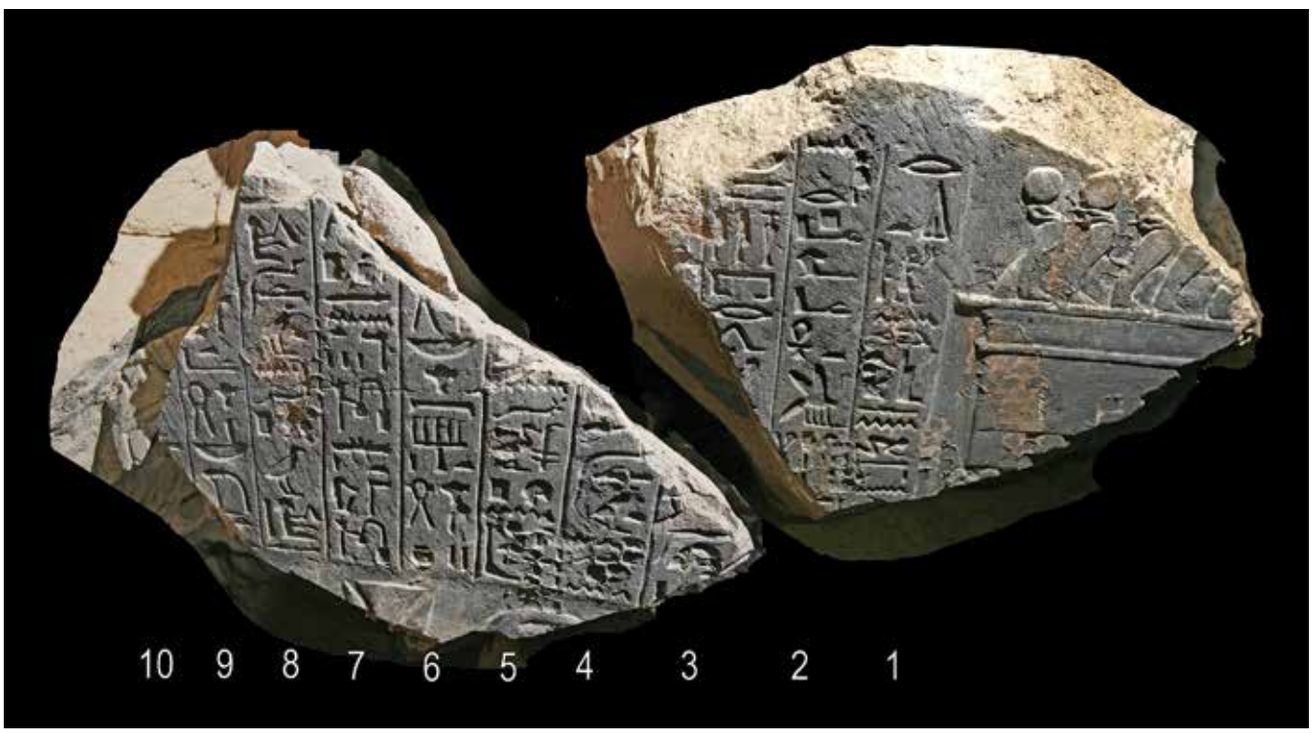

Figure 16.22. Tomb of Ahmose-Pennekhbet, interior, rear, niche-façade, west, parts of worshipping-Osiris scene (photo by J. Rossiter)

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his head missing, holds a flail, *was*-scepter, and crook. Before him are the ends of two columns of inscription, exceptionally done in raised relief, the first ending with the hieroglyph representing the fetish of Abydos, the second with two determinatives almost certainly of the word *tȝ* "land," remnants of a label-text which identified the god.[62] Ahmose, shown again with a large slanting eye, wears on his wrists the distinctive *msktw*-bracelets, part of the "gold of honor."[63] The main body of inscription, comprising the remains of ten columns contained on two blocks (fig. 16.22),[64] confirms that the scene once included another figure shown in procession directly behind Ahmose, namely Amenhotep-Hapu.

A provisional joining of the inscribed blocks suggests the reading: "(1) Giving praise to Osiris, doing obeisance to W[enennofer] (2) by the hereditary nobleman, governor, royal sealer, sole companion [...] [efficient confidant (?)][65] (3) of the lord of the Two Lands, praised one who came forth from [the womb a praised one],[66] [her]ald (?), treasurer ... (4) [top half of the column lost] [Ahmose], justified, called Pen(5)[nekhbet, justified, and his brother, who causes to live] his [na]me, first king's son of Nekhbet (6) [top third of the column lost] chief of every phyle, chief of the altar, chief of the second phyle, (7) [top lost], [chief] of the first phyle, great one of the council, scribe of the divine book, scribe (8) [top lost ... Amen]hotep called Hapu, justified, (9) [engendered by first king's son of Nekhbet, ...], assistant, chief of every phyle, pure of hands, (10) [Khaemuaset, justified, and born to] mistress of the house, Userhat, justified, possessor of reverence."[67]

Though never finished, the interior decoration, done in the same style as that of the façade and entrance and undoubtedly contemporary with it, adds importantly to the chapel's known repertoire of scenes and to the corpus of titles and epithets.[68]

Ownership and Date

The content of its decoration indicates conclusively that Elkab tomb no. 2 enjoyed dual ownership. It belonged not only to Ahmose-Pennekhbet, who is presented as the principal owner, but also to his "brother," Amenhotep-Hapu, who was responsible for the decoration. The exact relationship of Ahmose-Pennekhbet to Amenhotep-Hapu remains to be clarified but it is evident that they belonged to different branches of the family and that *sn* "brother" is here used in an extended sense.[69] Amenhotep-Hapu's side of the family, covering five generations, is well documented in the scenes and accompanying inscriptions on the thicknesses, especially the inner east thickness, of the doorway. It comprises his wife and five children, his mother, father, grandfather, and great-grandfather (see fig. 16.23). Note that the great-grandfather, "first king's son of Nekhbet, Djehutymose," is almost certainly to be identified as the owner of a limestone block statue inscribed by his son (name lost in this case), which is datable on stylistic grounds to the Thutmoside period (provisionally Thutmose III/Amenhotep II) and surely comes from the temple of Nekhbet at Elkab.[70]

Of Ahmose-Pennekhbet's side of the family, we have only the man himself and "first king's son of Nekhbet, assistant for every phyle, *wab*-priest of Nekhbet, Amenhotep," identified in the tomb-chapel as "his son,"

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[62] Cf. Säve-Söderbergh 1957, p. 35, pl. 69:A, stela of Amenemhat-Surer: "Osiris, lord of eternity, great god who dwells in Thinis, lord of the sacred land."

[63] Vandersleyen 1971, p. 44; Binder 2008, pp. 30–31, 215–16.

[64] The block on the left has a maximum height of 42 cm, that on the right 35 cm. Again the original images were taken from slightly different angles.

[65] Restoring tentatively *mḥ-ib mnḫ* (cf. façade, west jamb, col. 3; fig. 16.8).

[66] Restoring *ḥsy pr* [*m ḫt ḥsw*]; for the complete epithet, see, e.g., the neighboring funerary stela of Pahery (Tylor and Griffith 1894, pl. 9, line 35; *Urk.* IV 120.6; cf. Guksch 1994, pp. 39, 147 (027)21; Lichtheim 1997, p. 15, no. 4; J. A. Taylor 2001, p. 174, no. 1702).

[67] The bottom half of column 10 is preserved on two detached pieces, one of which is stuck fast, at an angle, between the west wall and the main block.

[68] See n. 29, above.

[69] On the meanings (familial and non-familial) of *sn*, see the references in W. V. Davies 2010b, p. 234, n. 57, to which add Toivari-Viitala 2001, pp. 29–30; Laboury 2007, pp. 43–45; Cherpion and Corteggiani 2010, p. 79; Marée 2010, p. 269 n. 194.

[70] Budapest 51.2165; see Nagy 1983; Schultz 1992, pp. 116–17 (043), pl. 18:c–d. The main text, on the front of the statue (Nagy 1983, p. 4), reads: "A gift that the king gives and Nekhbet, mistress of Elkab, that she may grant a coming and a going in her temple and joy of heart in her temple-precinct for the *ka* of the first king's son of Nekhbet, Djehutymose, justified, possessor of reverence." I am grateful to Éva Liptay, curator of the Egyptian Department of the Musée Hongrois des Beaux-Arts, Budapest, for providing me with excellent new images of the statue.

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a designation which, pending the emergence of evidence to the contrary, I take cautiously at face value as an expression of direct filiation, though clearly other, extended, meanings are possible for *s3* ("grandson," "descendent," "son-in-law," etc.).[71] Nowhere in the surviving decoration here or on the statues (see below) are parents or a wife identified. We know that Ahmose-Pennekhbet fought in King Ahmose's campaign in Djahy, from which it follows that he was born during or before the reign of King Ahmose and at the latest sometime during the early years of the reign.[72] He is documented in the main tomb-text (*Urk.* IV 34.10–16; fig. 16.14, cols. 14–20) as having attained old age by the reign of Thutmose III and as having survived at least to the inception of the coregency between Thutmose III and Hatshepsut.[73] If he was born in or around year 1 of Ahmose, he would have been about sixty years old in year 1 of Thutmose III and about eighty years old, if he was still alive, at the beginning of the latter's sole reign.[74] He was surely dead long before the end of the reign, and may very possibly have predeceased Hatshepsut and Nefrure.[75]

The decoration of the Elkab tomb includes the cartouche of Amenhotep II but this provides no more than a *terminus post quem* for the dating of the tomb.[76] On the basis of its style and iconography, it can with confidence be dated at the earliest to the transitional period straddling the reigns of Thutmose IV and Amenhotep III and more probably to within the latter's reign.[77] As already observed, especially diagnostic here are the portraits of the principal male figures (figs. 16.7–8, 16.13, 16.17, 16.20), shown with "snubbed nose and an enlarged, almond-shaped, slanted eye,"[78] as well as the mode of representation of the wife and daughters of Amenhotep-Hapu (figs. 16.13 and 16.18), their coiffure, dress, bodily shape, and proportions representing a combination of fashion and form characteristic of the female images of the reign of Amenhotep III.[79] If Amenhotep-Hapu lived into the reign of Amenhotep III, as these criteria suggest, and his three forebears (Khaemwaset, Amenhotep, and Djehutymose respectively) are all to be accommodated within the Eighteenth Dynasty, as supported by the Thutmoside date of Djehutymose's statue, it is a reasonable proposition that Djehutymose, the great-grandfather, was a close generational relative, possibly a brother, of Ahmose-Pennekhbet and that Amenhotep-Hapu was thus the latter's great-grandnephew[80] or similar (see the very tentative relational scheme in fig. 16.24).[81]

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[71] Cf. Robins 1979, pp. 201–02; Bierbrier 1980, pp. 101–04; Whale 1989, pp. 239–40; Laboury 2007, p. 45; Cherpion and Corteggiani 2010, pp. 78–79.

[72] See Helck 1958, p. 345; Helck 1971, p. 114; Vandersleyen 1971, pp. 101–02; Gabolde 1987b, p. 70; von Beckerath 1990, p. 68; Vandersleyen 1995, pp. 224–25; Mathieu 2000, p. 47.

[73] As indicated by the "peculiar combination of queen's titles and the royal prenomen *M3ʿ.t-k3-rʿ* in the text" (Dorman 2006, p. 64 n. 77; cf. Gabolde 2005, p. 170), a combination reflecting the point of change in Hatshepsut's status.

[74] These estimates are based on the reign lengths of the kings from Ahmose to Thutmose III as given in Hornung 2006, pp. 198–203 (and p. 492 in the same volume), including an estimate of no more than three years for the reign of Thutmose II (cf. Gabolde 2005, pp. 147–49, 175), recently contested again by Schneider (2010, pp. 389–93), who favors a reign of thirteen years for the king.

[75] As recently argued on the basis of the titles borne by the royal women as recorded in the main text; see Dorman 2006, p. 50, with n. 78: "It is difficult to believe that had Ahmose-Pennekhbet recorded his biography after the death of Hatshepsut and Neferura he would have gone to such pains to re-create titles that had pertinence for the two royal women only during a remote crux in their lifetimes."

[76] It is taken at face value by Kees 1960, p. 47 (C, no. 5); Helck 1961, pp. 193–94, nos. 3–4; Schmitz 1976, p. 276; Der Manuelian 1987, p. 104 (11.5); and Hartmann 1993, pp. 303–06.

[77] Cf. Vandersleyen 1971, p. 224, Doc. 68; Vandersleyen 1995, p. 231.

[78] Bryan 1992a, p. 81, describing the facial features of relief-images of Amenhotep III (one of two styles of image) in his desert shrine at Elkab (PM V, 188–89; Grallert 2001, vol. 1, pp. 205–06), which is "among the earlier monuments decorated for Amenhotep III" (Bryan 1992a, p. 82; cf. also Bryan 1990a, p. 66). The shrine's raised-relief decoration, which is broadly similar in style to that of tomb no. 2, is categorized as representative of the reign's second-decade style ("moderately high raised relief, well rounded but with low sharp edges") by Johnson (1998, pp. 78 and 81–82).

[79] See n. 46, above; for a convenient set of images, which illustrate the broad development of female form and dress over the period in question, see Dziobek, Schneyer, and Semmelbauer 1992, pls. 4–6 (from the tombs of Sennefer [TT 96, time of Amenhotep II], Djeserkasonb [TT 38, time of Thutmose IV/Amenhotep III], and Pairy [TT 139, time of Amenhotep III] respectively). For figural proportions as "the most reliable means of assigning tombs to Thutmose IV or Amenhotep III," see Bryan 1991, pp. 300–01, who notes that "Female standing figures in the reign of Amenhotep III are shorter between the bottom of the foot and the widest point of the hip (below the buttock); their necks are generally shorter, and the wigs are broader front to back. Waists, buttocks, and shoulders remain unmoved so that the overall appearance of the women is slightly shorter and broader (i.e., more voluptuous)."

[80] Cf. Vandersleyen 1971, p. 22 n. 6; Vandersleyen 1995, p. 231.

[81] Cf. the schemes in Helck 1958, p. 466, no. 3; Graefe 1981, vol. 1, pp. 39, 183; Nagy 1983, p. 7; Hartmann 1993, p. 307.

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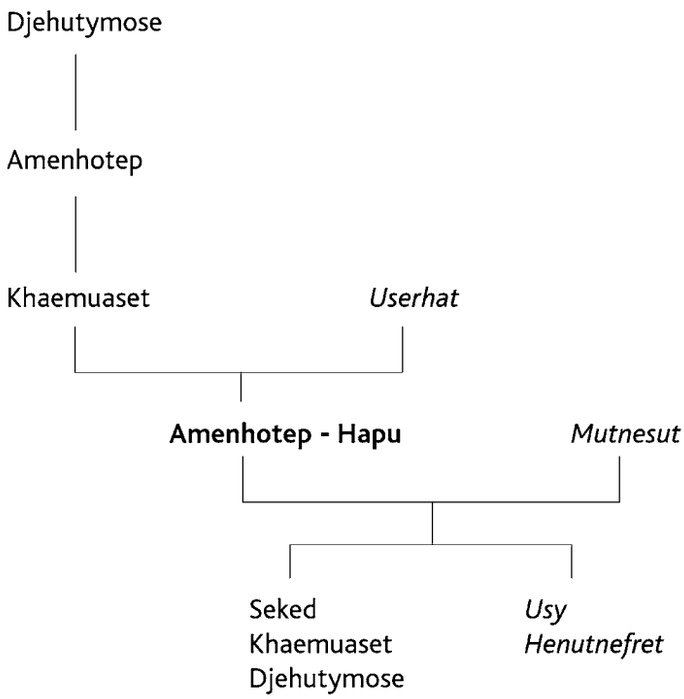

Figure 16.23. Genealogy of Amenhotep-Hapu's branch of the family

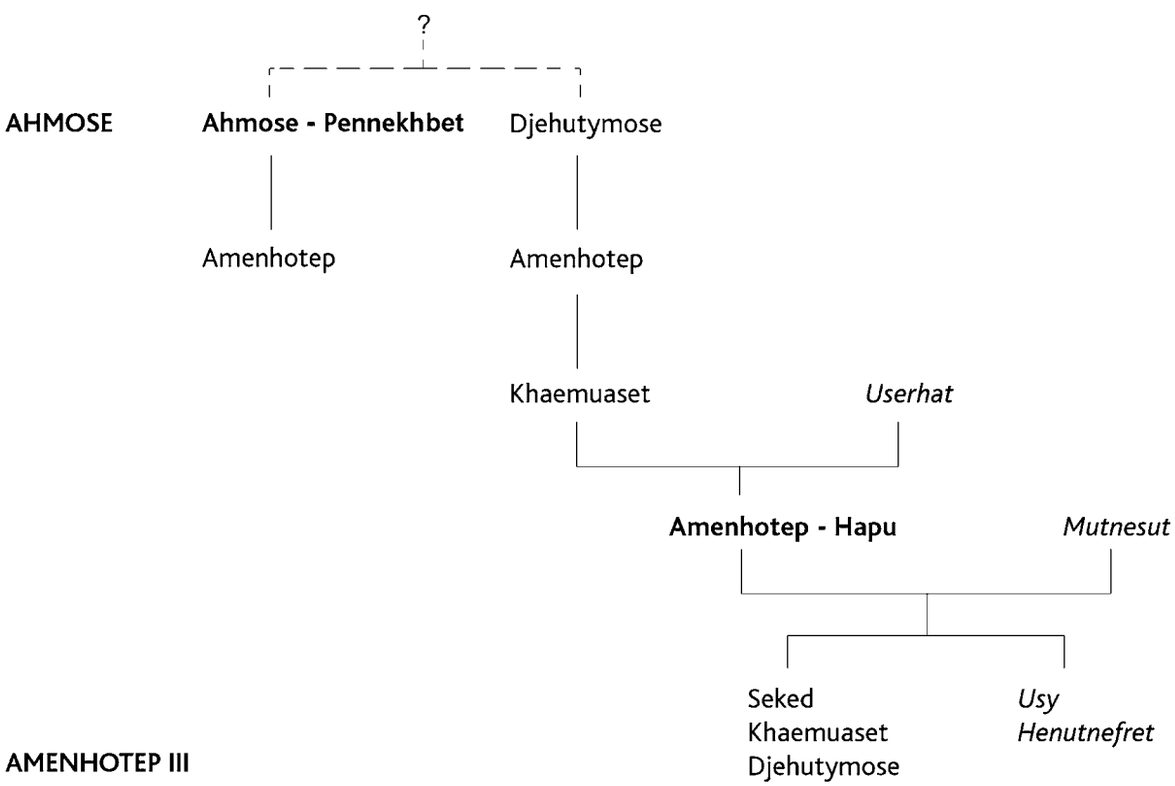

Figure 16.24. Suggested relationship of Ahmose-Pennekhbet to Amenhotep-Hapu

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Whatever the precise relationships, the later dating of the tomb confirms that a considerable period of time (probably more than fifty years) must have elapsed between Ahmose-Pennekhbet's death and the creation of the tomb's decoration, a conclusion consistent with the view, already noted above, that Ahmose-Pennekhbet's autobiographical texts, as represented in the tomb, are not original to the context but copied from earlier sources (Vandersleyen 1971, pp. 89–90 and 227; Popko 2006, pp. 50 and 219–20). The texts on the statues of Ahmose-Pennekhbet have long been identified as two of the possible sources (Vandersleyen 1971, p. 90 with n. 2, and p. 227), though the nature of their relationship to each other and to the tomb-texts has yet to be demonstrated in detail. An interim account is provided here with the statues published together in photograph for the first time.

The Statues

As already indicated, there are two known statues of Ahmose-Pennekhbet (PM V, 177 and 191), both fragmentary seated figures, one now in the Musée du Louvre (C.49), made of hard limestone (figs. 16.25–26),[82] the other in the National Museums of Scotland, Edinburgh (NMS 1948.486), made of granodiorite (figs. 16.27–35).[83] They probably once stood in the temple of Nekhbet at Elkab.[84] The two sets of text, hitherto best known and mostly accessed through *Urk.* IV 35–39, C (L and F),[85] are almost identical in content and are similar in style. There is no reason to doubt that the statues are contemporary and date, as indicated by the texts, to the reign of Thutmose III (more precisely to the period of coregency if we accept that Ahmose-Pennekhbet predeceased Hatshepsut).

Of the Louvre piece, only the right and left sides of the seat survive, apparently detached from the figure, which is missing together with the pedestal. The seat is slightly different from that of the Edinburgh piece in having a sloping top, inclining downward from back to front, and a rounded backrest. The sides bear hieroglyphic inscriptions organized into horizontal lines, ten on the right and eleven on the left (figs. 16.25–26); there are also single columns of inscription, located on the top and front of the seat on each side, now poorly preserved and missing their ends because of the loss of the pedestal.[86] The hieroglyphs are finely cut and elegantly formed. The sides, now stuck together as one piece, have a maximum height and width of about 50 × 30 centimeters.

The Edinburgh statue, the smaller of the two originally, is the better preserved figure, though its top half is lost, much of its left side is missing, and there are a number of cracks in its surface (figs. 16.27, 16.30, 16.32, 16.34).[87] It shows the owner seated on a flat-topped chair with rectangular pedestal, wearing a pleated kilt with central tab, the hands placed flat on the thighs, the lower legs and feet close together.[88] The figure is supported by a back pillar. The trunk, insofar as it survives, is unadorned. The statue bears hieroglyphic

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[82] Boreux 1932, p. 92 (C.49); Barbotin 2008, pp. 202–04, Doc. 15. I was first able to examine the Louvre piece several years ago through the kind offices of the late J.-L. de Cenival and of Christiane Ziegler, who provided the photographs included here. I am grateful to Guillemette Andreu, Directrice du Département des Antiquités égyptiennes, Musée du Louvre, for renewing the permission to publish, and to Christophe Barbotin for his help and co-operation during a recent visit. Dr. Barbotin will include new images of the piece and copies of the inscriptions in a forthcoming Louvre catalog.

[83] Goring 1997, pp. 5–6, 11, fig. 5. I am grateful to Henrietta Lidchi, Keeper of the Department of World Cultures, National Museums of Scotland, Edinburgh, for permission to examine, document, and publish the statue and to her colleague Lesley-Ann Liddiard for providing information and assistance. The excellent images published here are the work of Kevin Lovelock of the British Museum Photography and Imaging Department.

[84] The Edinburgh statue is reported to have been found by Mr. Alexander Finlay "dans les ruines d'El-Kab" (Maspero 1883, p. 77), which surely refers to the temple-ruins within the ancient town (on the statue's more recent history, see Goring 1997, pp. 5–6). The Louvre piece is unprovenanced but is attributable to the same site on inscriptional grounds (see below, n. 95) and by association. On present evidence, tomb-statues of the period and region were invariably rock-cut; see n. 10, above.

[85] For the most recent translations, see Guksch 1994, p. 186 (071)02; Popko 2006, pp. 210–17; Barbotin 2008, pp. 202–04, Doc. 15; Binder 2008, pp. 148–49.

[86] Cf. Lepsius 1842, pl. 14:A–B; Popko 2006, p. 219.

[87] Granodiorite is prone to cracking and disintegration when exposed to water and intermittent drying over a prolonged period; see Wilson-Yang, McFarlane, and Burns 1985; Bryan 1989–90, pp. 27–28.

[88] For a similar contemporary figure, cf. the intact seated statue of the official May (Berlin 19286), also a recipient of the gold of honor (Roehrig 2005, pp. 103–04, cat. no. 52; Binder 2008, pp. 156–57, 238–39, 309 [093], fig. 4.1).

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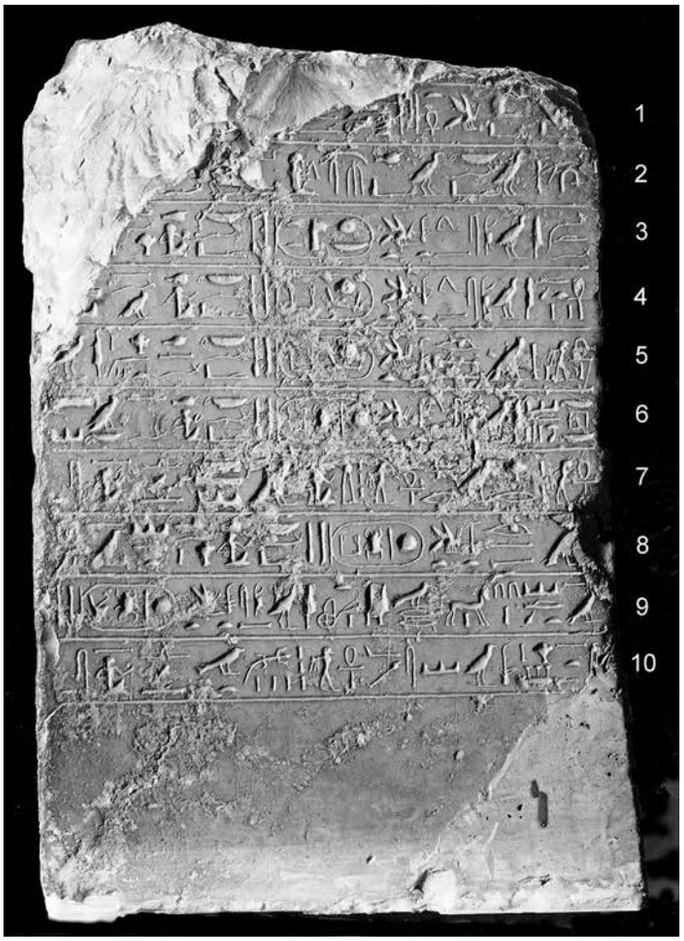

Figure 16.25. Statue Louvre C.49, right side (courtesy of the Musée du Louvre)

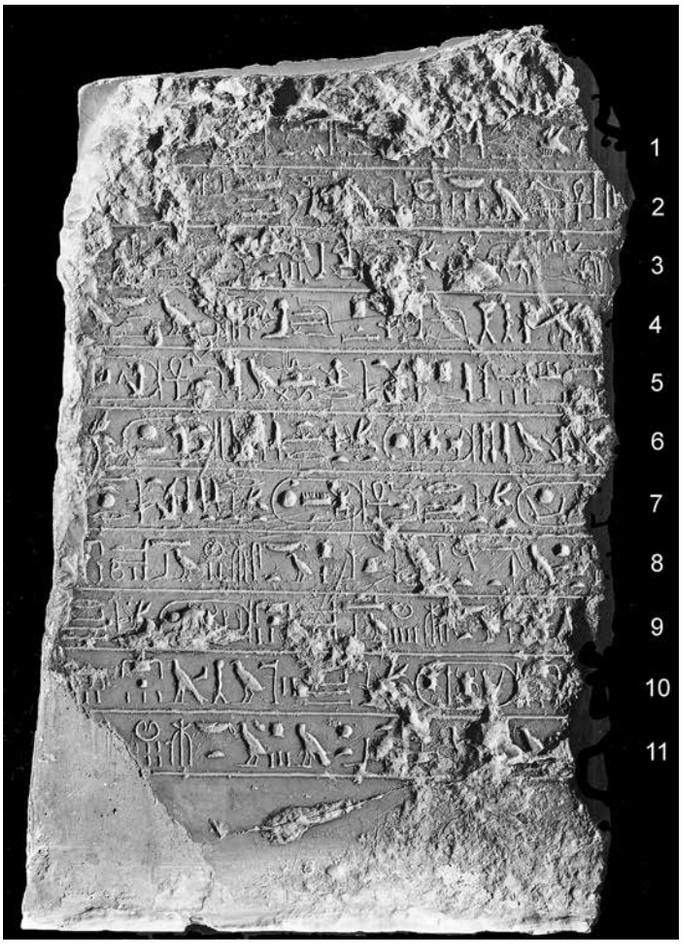

Figure 16.26. Statue Louvre C.49, left side (courtesy of the Musée du Louvre)

inscriptions to the right and left, arranged in nine horizontal lines respectively on the sides and three columns each on the back (figs. 16.31, 16.33–34). The inscription on the left side is now incomplete and eroded. As it is difficult to see in the photograph (fig. 16.34), a copy of it is reproduced here (fig. 16.35).[89] A single column of inscription is present on the outward side of the legs and feet, the one on the left mostly gone (figs. 16.27–29). The rear of the statue inclines slightly backward from bottom to top, an inclination reflected in the angle of the lines of hieroglyphs on the sides. The work is of good quality with close attention paid to details of anatomy and dress and with a fine polished finish, though the hieroglyphs are not so consistently well formed as those of the Louvre piece, to some extent, perhaps, owing to the less tractable nature of the stone. Including the remains of the figure, its surviving height is about 49, its depth 40, and maximum width about 22 centimeters. An even abraded band around the bottom of the base is probably the result of a modern mounting of the piece into a separate plinth.[90] The left corner and side have been made good with modern plaster, with a consolidant in the form of a yellow waxy substance applied to the exposed areas of damage.

The front inscriptions consisted in both cases of offering formulas. The best preserved is that on the right front of the Edinburgh piece (figs. 16.27–28), which invokes benefits from the god Horus of Nekhen "for

[89] Though badly damaged, the Edinburgh left side usefully preserves readings lost in the otherwise more complete Louvre version, namely: (1) *ḥst* "favor," fig. 16.35, line 5, end (compare with fig. 16.26, line 7, beginning); and (2) the determinative of the term, *mḫtbt* "bracelet," fig. 16.35, line 9 (compare with fig. 16.26, line 8, end).

[90] A line of pigment can be seen running along the top of the unpolished band, which recent scientific analysis has shown to be a paint of modern composition (I am grateful to Catherine Higget and Janet Ambers of the British Museum Department of Conservation and Science for carrying out the analysis).

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the *ka* of the treasurer, herald, Ahmose, justified." Of the equivalent on the left, which probably invoked the goddess Nekhbet,[91] only the lower section survives (fig. 16.29).[92] It records his two names, "Ahmose called Pennekhbet, [justified]," preceded by a title, rather poorly carved and now eroded and damaged, which I tentatively suggest may be read as *sꜣ-nswt* [*n*] *Nḫbt* "king's son of Nekhbet"[93] (an abbreviated variant of the title "first king's son of Nekhbet").[94] The corresponding Louvre inscriptions, not published here, are fragmentary, preserving parts of the formulae and the owner's honorary titles.[95]

The main inscriptions consist in each case of the two well-known autobiographical texts, each introduced by the owner's tutelary and name.[96] The first text, located to the natural right side of the statue (figs. 16.25, 16.31, 16.33, right), with the hieroglyphs orientated right, lists the kings, from Ahmose to Thutmose II, followed by Ahmose-Pennekhbet on military campaigns in the north and the south and his achievements in securing booty. The second text, located to the left side (figs. 16.26, 16.34–35, 16.33, left), with the hieroglyphs orientated left, reiterates briefly the chronological scope of his fighting career, from Ahmose to Thutmose II, states that he received royal favors down to the reign of Thutmose III, and ends with a detailed and uniquely long list of rewards received from Amenhotep I, Thutmose I, and Thutmose II, successively (Binder 2008, pp. 26–37 and 148–49).

In the case of the Louvre statue, the larger of the pair, the two texts, as already indicated, are accommodated entirely in horizontal lines on the right and left sides of the seat respectively (figs. 16.25–26). Worthy of note, and a fine example of the artistic creativity of the period, is the anaphoric arrangement of the signs, cartouches, and clauses in lines 3–6 on the right side (fig. 16.25), with the content of line 2 artfully organized so as to position the owner's first name, Ahmose, immediately above, in direct vertical alignment with, the column of cartouches, a remarkable visual conceit symbolizing Ahmose's close relationship to the several kings.[97] The effect was not replicated in the companion piece.[98] The sides of the Edinburgh seat (figs. 16.31, 16.34–35) are smaller (shorter and narrower),[99] offering a space clearly regarded by the scribes/artists as inadequate to accommodate the texts in full (the hieroglyphs would have needed to be very small); hence, presumably, the decision to utilize the back of the seat for the last sections of the texts. Here, they are arranged into two sets of three columns each, one to the right and the other to the left, in balanced orientation (fig. 16.33).

The few major variations between the Edinburgh and Louvre texts are largely a function of these dispositions and the need to adapt content to space. Thus, for example, the Edinburgh set has much-abbreviated introductions (fig. 16.31, lines 1–2; fig. 16.35, line 1), omitting titles and epithets present in the Louvre set (fig. 16.25, lines 1–2; fig. 16.26, lines 1–4), as well as the owner's second name. In addition, on the rear (fig. 16.33, left, line 10), the Edinburgh text omits the item *šbw* "necklace," which is included between ꜥ(*w*) "ring" and *msktw* "bracelet" in the list of rewards in the Louvre equivalent (fig. 16.26, line 9). It has one markedly fuller writing, that of *ḥsb* "count" (fig. 16.33, right, line 12; compare with Louvre, fig. 16.25, line 10), clearly in this

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[91] See n. 95, below. For the antithetic positioning of Horus of Nekhen and Nekhbet in such parallel formulae, cf. the inscriptions on the jambs of the inner doorway in the tomb of Sobek nakht, Elkab no. 10 (W. V. Davies 2010b, p. 233, fig. 6).

[92] Miscopied by Maspero 1883, p. 77; cf. Popko 2006, p. 219 n. 249.

[93] The group located immediately above the name Ahmose consists of four hieroglyphs, two vertical signs on each side and two smaller signs placed between them, one above the other, their configuration and forms reasonably compatible with the reading *Nḫbt*. Above the group is an eroded area surmounted by two signs — awkwardly located at the angle between the seat-front and pedestal — a vertical sign on the left and a bird on the right, their forms consistent with the reading *nswt* and *sꜣ* respectively.

[94] See n. 28, above.

[95] Cf. Lepsius 1842, pl. 14:A, central column; Popko 2006, p. 219, with n. 250. The beginning of the formula on the right, as yet unpublished, invokes the goddess Nekhbet.

[96] Cf. *Urk.* IV 35–39, C (L and F).

[97] Cf. the famous section in the "Poetical Stela" of Thutmose III (CG 34010, lines 13–22), with its "visual rhyming running almost vertically through the lines" (Goldwasser 1995, p. 62, fig. 14; cf. Grapow 1936a, p. 47, pl. 1; Gnirs 1996, pp. 213–14, n. 112; Eyre 1996, p. 420; Klug 2002, p. 117), and the repetitive patterns in the Northampton stela of Djehuty and on the block statue, Louvre A.134, of Hapuseneb (Grapow 1936a, pl. 2; Delvaux 1988, pp. 61–62 n. ff, pls. 2, 4; Gnirs 1996, pp. 213–14, n. 112), both contemporaries of Hatshepsut and Ahmose-Pennekhbet.

[98] Though there is an exact visual correspondence, probably deliberate, between the sentence *iw šms. n.* (*i*) *nswt-bity Ḏsr-kꜣ-rꜥ kfꜥ.i n.f m Kš ꜥnh 1*, right side, fig. 16.31, lines 3–5, and the near-duplicate sentence in lines 6–8.

[99] The total height and width of the inscriptions on the sides of the Edinburgh piece are about 26 × 18 cm in each case. Those on the Louvre right are about 35 × 30 cm and on the left about 37 × 30 cm.

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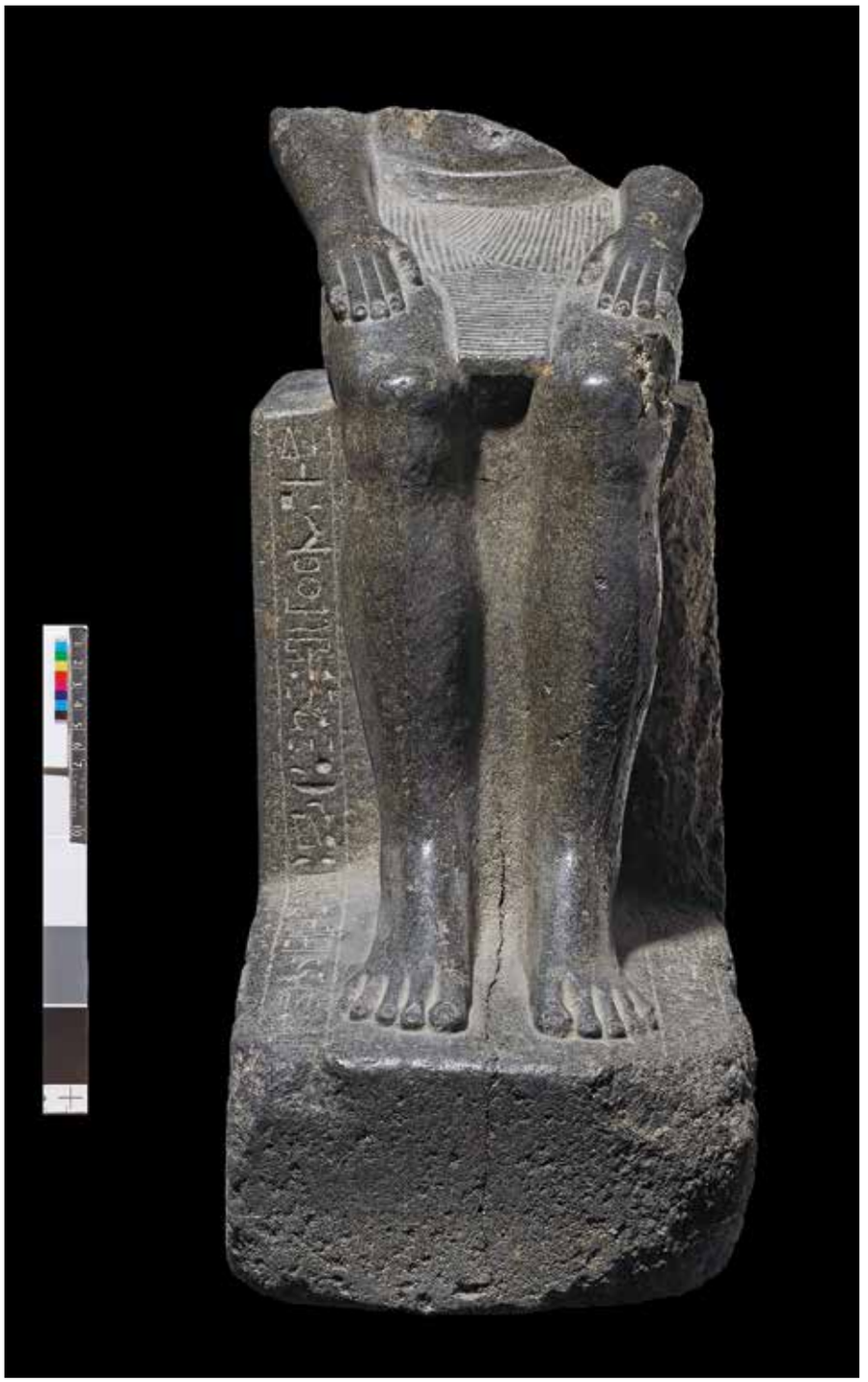

Figure 16.27. Statue NMS 1948.486, front (photo by K. Lovelock)

Figure 16.28. Statue NMS 1948.486, inscription on pedestal, right side (photo by K. Lovelock)

Figure 16.29. Statue NMS 1948.486, inscription on pedestal, left side (photo by K. Lovelock)

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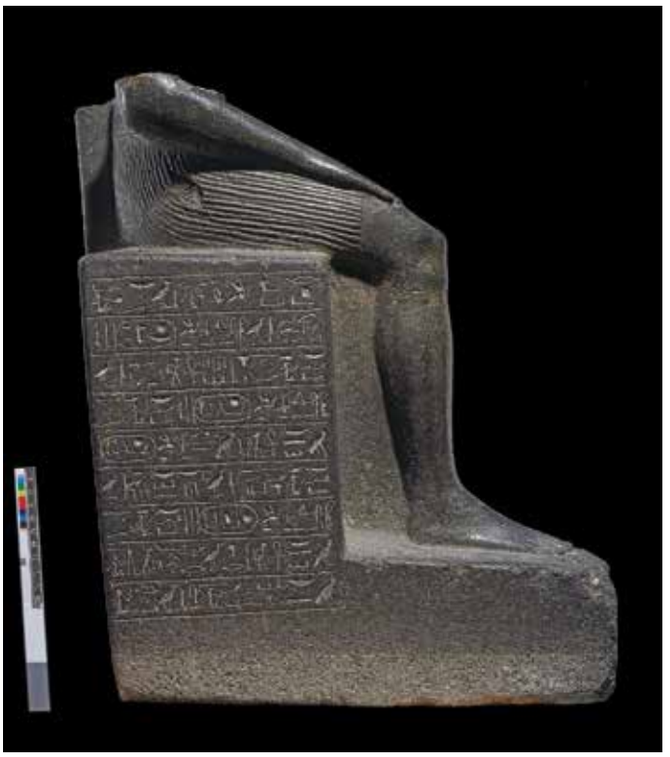

Figure 16.30. Statue NMS 1948.486, right side (photo by K. Lovelock)

Figure 16.31. Statue NMS 1948.486, right side, inscription (photo by K. Lovelock)

Figure 16.32. Statue NMS 1948.486, rear (photo by K. Lovelock)

Figure 16.33. Statue NMS 1948.486, rear, inscription (photo by K. Lovelock)

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Figure 16.34. Statue NMS 1948.486, left side, inscription (photo by K. Lovelock)

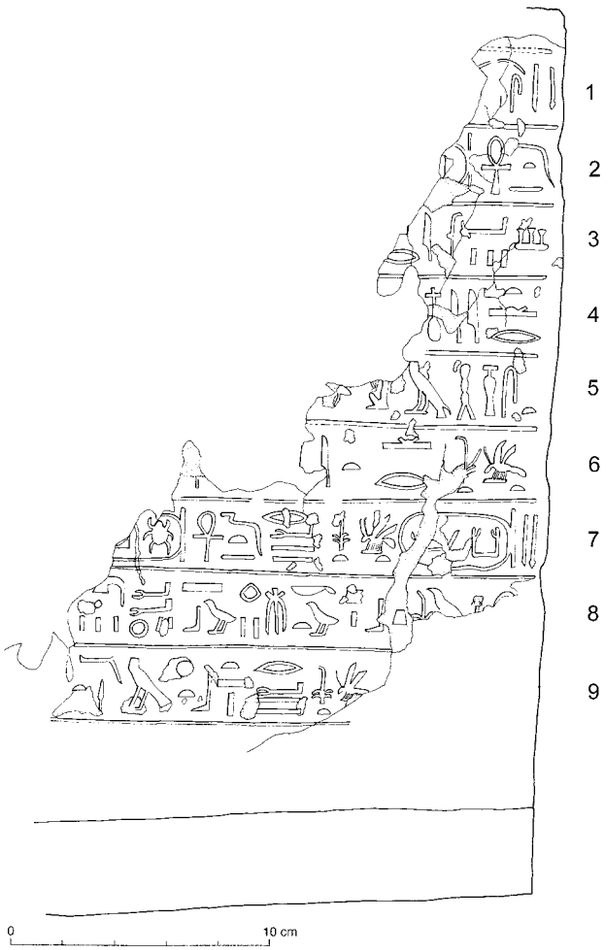

Figure 16.35. Statue NMS 1948.486, copy of inscription on left side

case for calligraphic reasons, to help fill the gap to the end of the column. There are a few spatial economies in the Louvre version, all relatively minor: for example, the omission of the determinative after *ʿnḫ* "living prisoner" (fig. 16.25, line 4); the writing of *ḫ3st* "foreign land" without the *t* and stroke determinative (fig. 16.25, line 8); and the omission of *m3ʿ-ḫrw* "justified" after the prenomen of Thutmose I (fig. 16.26, line 9).[100] Confirming its secondary status, the Edinburgh text contains two clear errors: the writing of *w* instead of *m* in *wḥm* "repeat" (fig. 16.31, line 9; compare with Louvre fig. 16.25, line 8), and *n* instead of *r* in the toponym *Nhrn* "Nahrin" (fig. 16.33, right, line 10; compare with Louvre, fig. 16.25, line 8–9).[101] Note also that the *w*-chick hieroglyph in *3*[*ḳ*]*ḥw* "battle ax" (fig. 16.33, left, line 11, top), was carved with only one leg and that a number of other signs are quite poorly formed, among them the determinative of *šbw* (fig. 16.35, line 8) and the red-crown hieroglyph writing *n* in the prenomen, *ꜣ-ḫpr-n-Rʿ*, of Thutmose II (fig. 16.33, right, line 11).[102]

[100] Probably not to be included among such economies is the missing town-determinative after the toponym *ʾIm3w* (Louvre, right, fig. 16.25, line 5, end; cf. *Urk.* IV 36.4, and 37 n. 10). The sign was surely once present but is now lost in the broken area to the left of *ʾIm3w*.

[101] Cf. *Urk.* IV 37.3–5, nn. 15, 17.

[102] Misunderstood as a *ka*-sign by Maspero (1883, p. 78). There are several other serious errors in the original publication of the Edinburgh texts (ibid., p. 78), among them: (1) Right side, line 8, end: read *in* (as in the Louvre equivalent, right side, line 7), not *di* (cf. *Urk.* IV 37.3, n. 14; Popko 2006, p. 212, middle). (2) Right rear, line 12, bottom: read the "pustule"-sign (Gardiner 1957, Aa2) as the first determinative of *ḥsb* (cf. *Urk.* IV 37.6, n. 20). (3) Left rear, line 10, top: read ꜥ(*w*) with a ring determinative, not the sign for a *shebyu*-necklace (cf. *Urk.* IV 39.4, n. 2). (4) Left rear, line 11: (a) read *ꜣ-ḫpr-n-Rʿ*, with bar-*n*, not *ꜣ-ḫpr-kꜣ-Rʿ* (cf. Popko 2006, p. 216, middle); (b) ꜥ(*w*) is written as in line 10 with two ordinary arms and a ring-determinative, not with two *ḥnk*-arms and a necklace-determinative (cf. *Urk.* IV 39.5, n. 3); (c) read the expected *šbw*, not *sbw* (cf. *Urk.* IV 39.5, n. 4).

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The comparison points to the conclusion that the larger statue probably bears the original monumental version of the texts, which may have been composed specifically for it (witness the carefully designed visual-poetic component),[103] and that the smaller companion-piece bears a necessarily abbreviated version.[104]

Comparison of the Tomb- and Statue-inscriptions

For the purposes of this initial comparison, I use the Tylor drawing (fig. 16.14) of the autobiographical inscriptions on the inner west thickness. It is not entirely accurate in terms of the detail of individual signs or of the larger figures, but it records more of the decoration than is preserved today, is clearer overall than the photographs, and is generally superior to other earlier versions.[105] As noted above, it also very helpfully includes and places in context the sections of the last three columns of the second smaller text, which were recorded by Champollion. Of these, only the bottom section of column 4 remains intact (fig. 16.15).

The Shorter Texts

Despite the damage and the gaps, it seems clear that the two shorter narrative texts, blocked out in yellow here, reproduce the substance of the texts on the sides of the earlier statues, which I assume were on view in the temple of Nekhbet at the time of the decoration of the tomb (perhaps part of a family series)[106] and take to be the most likely source of the tomb-texts.[107] The lower left text reproduces the text on the right sides of the statues, the upper right that on the statues' left. The variations between the statue- and tomb-versions are not necessarily diagnostic of their being derived from a different primary or intermediate source, otherwise unknown, as has recently been argued (Popko 2006, pp. 50, 219–20), but are explicable by their difference in date and context.

The tomb versions were understandably subject to a degree of modification to reflect contemporary forms and scribal preferences.[108] Most obvious here is the changed form of the prenomen of King Ahmose, *Nb-pḥty-Rᶜ* (left, col. 2, and right, col. 2; cf. also the main text, col. 13), where the element *pḥty* is written with two leopard-head signs and no following *t*'s, rather than with the single leopard-head and two *t*'s as on the statues (Vandersleyen 1971, p. 227). Note also that *Kš* "Kush" is written *Kšy* (left, cols. 3 and 9),[109] *šbw* "necklace" takes the form *šꜣbw*, the generic *mnfrt* "arm/leg-ornament" is twice substituted for *mtḫbt* "bracelet,"[110] and the determinative of ᶜ(*w*), normally a ring, is shown as rectangular in shape, perhaps representing a side view (all right, col. 4).[111]

Other modifications were driven by the constraints on space and by calligraphic concerns (as in the case of the differences between the two statue-texts). For example, omitted to save space or because of lack

[103] I allow here for the possibility that there may have been other such statues (now lost) bearing the same text; cf. the several coherent groups of statues (two or three in each group) belonging to Ahmose-Pennekhbet's contemporary Senenmut, the texts on which are near-identical to each other (Dorman 1988, pp. 122–28, and see n. 104, below). If the possibility of a wider repertoire be admitted, the latter might also have included a statue of Ahmose-Pennekhbet with Princess Nefrure, as in the case of his fellow-tutors Senimen and Senenmut (see Roehrig 2005, pp. 112–16; on this statue-type in general, see now Bernhauer 2010, pp. 39–48).

[104] Cf. the two (sistrophorous) statues of Senenmut, one large, one small, CG 579 and MMA 48.149.7 respectively, the latter "a miniature version of the larger statue… too small to contain all the biographical details" (Dorman 1988, p. 126; cf. Roehrig 2005, pp. 124–26, cat. nos. 66–67).

[105] I have made a number of small corrections to the Tylor drawing based on my own examination of what survives of the inscriptions. A new, comprehensive version, drawing on all the sources, is in preparation.

[106] It is probable that, in addition to Ahmose-Pennekhbet and Djehutymose, all the other "first king's sons of Nekhbet" were honored with statues placed somewhere within Nekhbet's temple-complex, possibility in the vicinity of her bark-shrine or along the processional way.

[107] With Vandersleyen 1971, p. 227.

[108] A phenomenon well exemplified in some of the modifications, both inscriptional and iconographic, effected by the artist of the late Ramesside tomb-chapel of Setau (Elkab no. 4) in his copying of the decoration in the Eighteenth Dynasty tomb-chapel of Pahery (Elkab no. 3); see Kruchten and Delvaux 2010, pp. 23–30, and 31–32.

[109] Cf. Zibelius 1972, p. 25 (V B b 20), and 165–66; Vinogradov 2003–08, pp. 227–28 and 237–39, table 2.

[110] Possibly because the group of signs writing *mnfrt* is more economical of space than that of *mtḫbt*.

[111] On the forms and meanings of the terms for the various items, see Vandersleyen 1971, pp. 42–45; Binder 2008, pp. 26–37, 148–49.

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of it, are: the two *t*'s usually placed under the "sedge" and "bee" in the royal title *nswt-bity*, which precedes the cartouches (left, cols. 1 and 8); the epithet *mꜣʿ-ḫrw* "justified" after a number of the cartouches (left and right); *ʿnḫ 1* "living prisoner, one" (before *ḏrt* "hand," left, col. 2); the flesh-determinative after *ḏrt* "hand" (left, col. 6); *wrt* "very" after *ʿšꜣw* "many" (left, col. 12); and *šbw* "necklace" together with *ḥḏ ꜣḳḥw* "silver, battle axes" in the list of rewards following the cartouche of Thutmose II (right, col. 4, end). Individual signs are also replaced by more economical equivalents: the narrow horizontal sign, Gardiner Aa15, twice replaces the tall owl-sign, G17, to write *m* (left, cols. 3 and 9); and the narrow "stick" (T14) replaces the broader foreign-land determinative (N25) after the toponym *Khk* (left, col. 6). Another change is the standardization of the numerals attached to the various items in the lower half of the final column, right. There are four strokes in each case, neatly filling the available space in uniform fashion, while also inflating the overall total of objects. Similar inflation is to be seen in the substitution of the numeral "10" for the original "1" (left, col. 2): "I captured for him in Djahy: 'hands, ten,'"[112] perhaps in this case compensating for the omission of "living prisoner, one" in the same list. Interestingly, despite the acute pressure on space, there is a determined preference to write out the first person singular suffix-pronoun (left, cols. 1, 2, 3, 4, 7 and 11; cf. also the main text above). Often omitted in the corresponding statue-texts, in the left tomb-text as it survives it is absent only once (col. 12, *n ḥsb.n* (*.i*)), where the column is curtailed by the sloping front of the adjacent figure's skirt.

The Main Text

The larger and longer main inscription (fig. 16.14, cols. 1–20) is also a copy of an earlier text as is clear from its listing of the kings under which Ahmose-Pennekhbet served (cols. 10–15): from Nebpehtyre (Ahmose) through Djeserkare (Amenhotep I), Aakheperkare (Thutmose I), Aakheperenre (Thutmose II), "down to this (= present) perfect god, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre (Thutmose III), given life eternally." Here too the writing of *Nb-pḥty-Rʿ* (col. 13) takes the later form, as does the *ꜣʿḥ*-sign in the name *ꜣʿḥ-ms* (cols. 9 and 20).[113] Whether constraints on space led to omissions, as in the shorter texts, it is impossible to determine certainly, as in this case we lack the prototype, although it is evident that in the double-name formula at the bottom of the final column (col. 20) the expression *ḏd.tw<n.f>* "called" intervening between Ahmose-Pennekhbet's two names, has lost the *n.f* so as to allow space for the tip of the offering-loaf, which intrudes into the column at this point.[114] It is also clear, as long recognized, that in column 19 the writing of *sꜣ*, with a stroke-determinative, must be an error for an original *sꜣt* "daughter."[115] However, the overall nature and content of the text as it stands (including the citing of Thutmose III as the reigning king and the unique combination of Hatshepsut's prenomen and queen's tutelary, so appropriate to the very early coregency period and hardly likely to be the invention of a later copyist) suggest that it reproduces quite accurately an original tomb-inscription of Ahmose-Pennekhbet,[116] as very probably do parts, if not most, of the façade inscriptions.

If this is the case, where, one might ask, is the original tomb? There appear to be two possibilities. The first is that the original tomb lies elsewhere in the Elkab necropolis, perhaps wholly usurped or destroyed or yet to be uncovered. The second, much more likely possibility is that Elkab no. 2 *is* the original tomb but in a

[112] Cf. Vandersleyen 1971, p. 45 n. 1.

[113] So also in the façade jamb- and lintel-inscriptions, figs. 16.8 and 16.9, x + 8, the doorway, east outer thickness, inner framing column (fig. 16.11), and several times in the east inner thickness, upper register, main inscription, cols. 9–11 (fig. 16.19); on the sign-form, see Vandersleyen 1971, pp. 223–24, type 5, Doc. 68, and p. 227.

[114] The original would almost certainly have read *ḏdw n.f*, as in the earlier statue-texts (figs. 16.26, line 4, and 16.29). On the preference for the form *ḏd.tw n.f* (as opposed to *ḏdw n.f*) in the double-name formula, see n. 22.

[115] Cf. *Urk.* IV 34.16; on Nefrure as the *sꜣt wrt* "senior daughter," see Gabolde 2005, p. 35.

[116] Also worthy of remark is the placement of the two cartouches, exactly aligned (here horizontally), in columns 18–19, with the name Ahmose located just to their right, emphasizing in graphic form the close relationship between Queen Maatkare (Hatshepsut), Princess Nefrure, and the tomb-owner (an echo of the Louvre statue device; see above). It is tempting to view this alignment as reproducing the arrangement of the original text, though we cannot, of course, be sure. Caution is also advisable in weighing the historical value both of the presence after these cartouches of the epithet, *mꜣʿ*(*t*) *ḫrw* "justified"/"deceased" and of the unerased state of Hatshepsut's name here; see, variously, Dziobek 1995, p. 133; Obsomer 1995, pp. 429, 432, no. 1, pp. 433–34; Dziobek 1998, pp. 134, 135–36, 144–45; Laboury 1998, p. 507; Gabolde 2005, p. 170 n. 126; Dorman 2006, p. 50 with n. 75.

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transformed state, that is, adapted and redecorated by Amenhotep-Hapu to function as a place of extended family burial and commemoration, incorporating his own branch of the family, while maintaining due respect for the first and principal owner, the great ancestor Ahmose-Pennekhbet, the latter's distinguished record celebrated in a remarkable replication of his "collected works," prominently displayed, for family and visitors to see, on the entrance-doorway. In the chapel's original decorative scheme Ahmose-Pennekhbet's son, Amenhotep, may well have served as the one "who causes to live his name," a function now appropriately performed by Amenhotep-Hapu.[117]

The chapel was never completed, but the scale and quality of the finished decoration suggest an aspiration on the part of the second owner to equal or surpass in grandeur the decorated chapels in the neighboring terrace, especially perhaps those of the earlier family complex (tomb nos. 3 and 5) of the governor Pahery and his grandfather, Ahmose Son-of-Ibana,[118] the latter a contemporary of Ahmose-Pennekhbet and like him a much honored soldier.

Conclusion

The new investigation of the tomb of Ahmose-Pennekhbet has brought, it is hoped, a degree of clarity to the issues of its ownership and date and of its relationship to his other monuments. The nature and style of the decoration make clear that Elkab no. 2 is not in its present form the original tomb-chapel of Ahmose-Pennekhbet, who died during the reign of Thutmose III (perhaps already during the period of coregency with Hatshepsut), but dates probably to the reign of Amenhotep III, having been appropriated and redecorated by one of his descendants, possibly a great-grandnephew, named Amenhotep-Hapu. It follows that Ahmose-Pennekhbet's autobiographical inscriptions, as inscribed on the tomb walls, are copies (with modifications) of earlier Eighteenth Dynasty texts dating to the reign of Thutmose III. The source of the main autobiographical text is almost certainly Ahmose-Pennekhbet's original tomb decoration, now gone. On current evidence, the source of the two shorter texts is the set of texts inscribed on Ahmose-Pennekhbet's two known statues (both probably temple-statues), of which the Louvre version is the primary exemplar.

To reach as complete a view as possible of the evidence from Elkab, more work is required, most immediately in further recording the decoration and examining the accumulated debris within the tomb. In the future, if possible, investigation should take place of the substructure, likely to be a large and difficult task but potentially rich in information on the nature of the tomb's original and secondary uses. During the last season of work, a new metal gate was placed over the façade to protect the chapel's remaining decoration and to help prevent unauthorized access.[119] With the context reasonably secured, it is hoped that the momentum of research, including further detailed work on the various statues, may continue over the coming seasons. Progress has been made, but in many respects the study of this intriguing group of monuments and of their local and wider meaning has only just begun.

[117] Cf. Dorman 2003, p. 41: "... it is necessary to regard Theban private tombs as family memorials, as much as they are monuments to a single individual, adapted as necessary to the needs of close relatives when and as necessity required." On tomb-sharing and the authorized reuse of tombs by later family, see also Polz 1990; Bavay 2007, pp. 14–15; Ockinga 2007, pp. 142–46; Strudwick 2009–10, pp. 244–51, 254–55; Shirley 2010a, pp. 271–72, 290–91.

[118] On Elkab tomb nos. 3 and 5 and nos. 9 and 10 respectively functioning as complementary family units, see W. V. Davies 2009a, p. 154, and idem 2010b, pp. 223–25. On the possibility that tomb no. 4 of the late Ramesside high priest Setau of Elkab might also have been connected to the Pahery family, see Kruchten and Delvaux 2010, pp. 255–57. On a cluster of tombs at Thebes forming a "family complex," see, most recently, Shirley 2010b, pp. 105–07.

[119] See Davies and O'Connell 2011b, pp. 2–3, 8–10, figs. 1–5.

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Overseers of Southern Foreign Lands and Thebes in the Reign of Hatshepsut

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Introduction

Administration, above all, is a reflection of the aims embodied in the institutionalization of government. An institution-centered approach to the study of administration, therefore, under normal circumstances, would facilitate a close study of the key institutions of state and government, as well as the existing links between them. Advantageous as this may be, its application, for example, for the administration of Nubia in the early to mid-Eighteenth Dynasty suffers from a range of deficiencies, among which the lack of a sufficient number of administrative documents that would be illuminative in very concrete terms is the most significant. As a consequence, scholarly disagreement remains on such a general level as debate on the basic structure of colonial government or the economic system. And, as these remain at the center of contention, it means that historically specific processes of change do not emerge clearly, but necessarily remain in the sphere of conjecture and impression.

But setting aside a study of institutions that concentrates on status, procedures, and rules is not exclusively dictated by the fact that such an approach necessarily exceeds the limits of any one reign. To a large degree, how administrative systems function is defined by who their members are, and what their values and interests are. To personalize the major office holders of a period, therefore, means attempting to develop, where possible, an understanding of the political, economic, social, and cultural background of these individuals that would have circumscribed their patterns of social action.[1] Given the quantity and quality of the data available on, for example, the occupants of the viceregal office, this task is no less ambitious of course than a study of institutions, but even with its shortcomings it may further better understanding. In a way not to be underestimated, it may also highlight more emphatically the glaring gaps and biases in the material even for relatively better documented reigns of a period and caution against undue generalization.

In 1959, Labib Habachi (1981, pp. 65–66)[2] introducing his study of the first two viceroys generally remarked that:

> Strange to say, in places outside their fields of work, very few objects were found inscribed with their (*viz.* the viceroys') names. Even in Thebes, whence some of them originally came and where some chose to erect their tombs, only a few objects were left by them. This may be the reason why very little is known about their lives and those of the members of their families.

Surprisingly or not, intensive archaeological and epigraphic work in the past four decades either in Egypt or Nubia has managed to achieve little in allowing us to change the validity of this statement. Undeniable advances should not mask the fact that we are indeed still grappling with inherited questions and uncertainties dating back to times even before the above quote. Thus, ambiguity still surrounds the origins of the viceregal office and its first occupants, or to focus on the joint reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III here, the number and identity of the individuals having occupied the office during this period or the

[1] In this vein for the period in question, see now Shirley 2010b.

[2] Reprinted from Habachi 1959.

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possible length of their tenures.[3] Nor can their mentioned Theban burial arrangements be confirmed with more confidence, although some cases are clearly stronger than others.[4] These uncertainties in the more mechanical categories of prosopographical studies have inevitably translated into two divergent and potentially competing historical reconstructions as regards the political stability or, on the contrary, a lack of it in the viceregal establishment under Hatshepsut's rule.[5]

The mutual exclusiveness of these reconstructions may seem fairly obvious, but until recently it has proved easier to doubt one or the other than to replace them with viable alternatives. Bringing this intellectual stalemate to an end, or at least moving forward toward such an acceptable alternative, has recently been made possible, however, by a reassessment of long-known and crucial epigraphic evidence, on the one hand, and the emergence of new data, both epigraphic and archaeological, on the other. Of the latter, one was, as if by a curious act of fate, the concurrent appearance of archaeological material at Thebes and at Dukki Gel both related to a previously unrecognized "overseer of southern foreign lands," Penre. How this impacts upon our understanding of the viceregal succession during the joint reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III I attempt to illustrate here by considering three themes, two briefly and one in somewhat more detail. They are of course closely related and revolve around the aforementioned Penre.

Early Viceroys

The reasonable place to start is with a review of what can now be known about the succession of viceroys from the early Eighteenth Dynasty up until Nehy's term in office under the sole rule of Thutmose III. Unfortunately, of the first three occupants of the office of viceroy — Teti, Djehuty, and Ahmose-Satayt — any meaningful discussion has to be suspended until relevant new data emerge pending which they remain hardly more than mere names. The first of whom we possess a fair amount of information is Ahmose-Turo whose first dated mention is from year 7 of Amenhotep I in a Semna graffito (Reisner 1920, p. 29; see also Habachi 1981, pp. 82–83). How far this postdates his promotion to the office, however, remains unknown[6] much like the terminal date of his tenure that, in turn, has to postdate year 3 of Thutmose I, when he commemorated the king's victorious return from Kush at Sehel in a rock inscription.[7] Ahmose-Turo was the son of his predecessor, Ahmose-Satayt, and as such apparently provides the only case where this can be demonstrated in the history of the institution. That he was a member of the inner elite of his time is also underlined among others by his having family ties to the later vizier Ahmose-Aametju.[8] That recruitment to the viceregal post was as much by achievement as by ascription, however, is hinted at by his serving as commander of Buhen before his promotion.[9] His successor Seni was probably a younger contemporary of his, considering that like Turo he also began his long official career under Ahmose that may have perhaps included a term of unknown length as mayor of Thebes.[10] More recently, a crucial point in assessing his career and tenure as viceroy has been provided by W. V. Davies through a re-examination of the often referred year 2 inscription at Semna temple (exterior east wall) that records a royal command addressed by Thutmose III to his viceroy, whose name has mostly disappeared due to the weathering of the stone surface. In this he has convincingly argued for the reading of Seni's name here, thus finally laying to rest much speculation based on alternative ones (W. V. Davies 2008). Not only is Seni's tenure therefore confirmed till at least the said year 2 of Thutmose III, but allows for a more definitive attribution of the well-known autobiographical text also at Semna (exterior south wall) to him. All the more so, as now the inscription need not be regarded as a late commemoration if,

[3] See, in general, Bács 2002; Gasse and Rondot 2003; W. V. Davies in Roehrig 2005, pp. 49–59; and Spalinger 2006.

[4] Summarized in Bács 2002.

[5] Compare the arguments put forward in Dziobek 1993 with Pamminger 1992.

[6] Shirley would place his promotion back into the reign of Ahmose after this ruler's year 18 (Shirley 2010b, pp. 79–81).

[7] See Gasse and Rondot 2003, p. 41, pl. 3; now SEH 233 in Gasse and Rondot 2007, pp. 128–29, 478.

[8] Shirley now proposes to see Ahmose-Turo as the uncle of Ahmose-Aametju, the latter's mother being Iahhotep, the sister of the former (Shirley 2010b, pp. 85–89).

[9] Both he and his father seem to have priestly backgrounds from where they earned their promotion (Shirley 2010b, pp. 80–82, with earlier literature).

[10] For the equation Seni/Senires, see Helck 1958, pp. 419–20; Habachi 1981, p. 157; Dziobek 1992, p. 125; more cautiously, Valbelle 2007b, p. 168 n. 22.

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as has also been suggested recently by Valbelle, the construction of the temple itself already started under Thutmose II.[11]

The identity of the viceroy or viceroys following Seni has been argued chiefly through the evidence of a handful of inscriptions, the most crucial of which is the controversial Tombos inscription of Thutmose III from his year 20. The fact that the viceroy's name that occurs twice in the text was effaced in both places, coupled with the limited usefulness of the published reproductions of it, gave ground to a host of different reconstructions as well as various interpretations based on these. Fortunately enough, a discussion of these has now been made redundant by a re-study and definitive publication of the inscription by W. V. Davies (2008). What emerges from this as a conclusion is that instead of two or three viceroys, thus an Inebny and/or as a variant Iny, and an Amenemnekhu, we are indeed left with only one individual, Inebny/Amenemnekhu, who possessed two names. The neatness of the solution also lies in how it facilitates the satisfactory and conclusive attribution of contemporary objects and inscriptions to one person rather than having to distribute them among several individuals. In chronological terms, Inebny/Amenemnekhu's tenure on known dates would then fit into a chronological frame bracketed by the Shalfak inscription of year 18 and Nehy's promotion date in year 23.[12]

Assuming an uninterrupted sequence of Seni – Amenemnekhu – Nehy gives an impression of orderliness if somewhat schematic and is not unworkable, but requires resigning ourselves to accepting a sixteen-year period between year 2 and 18 from which we possess no dated references. The story line, however, has been interrupted by the aforementioned appearance of archaeological material related to a Penre, who may also qualify as a viceroy of the period. The use of the conditional tense in his case is made necessary by ambiguities in the said material that seen through a positivistic lens may even allow for distinguishing two separate individuals called Penre. To sum up the difficulties involved, it centers on whether Penre actually qualifies for being considered a viceroy, since the string of titles "king's son, overseer of southern foreign lands" that would define him as such is only attested in this form on his canopic jars found at Thebes. On the statue fragment discovered recently at Pnubs (Dukki Gel) belonging to an "overseer of southern foreign lands" Penre and preserving an autobiographical text, on the other hand, damage has affected the exact area where the title "king's son" could have possibly stood (Valbelle 2006, 2007b). This, however, only leaves arguments about their identification inconclusive. A potentially more incendiary problem is supplied by the variant form of Penre's main titles as given by his funerary cones that were also recovered from Thebes. These, displaying the same stamp, consistently present the title as "first king's son, overseer of southern foreign lands," adding thus the element "first" and by it seemingly defining the title as a cultic one. As such it would be the abbreviated form of "first king's son of Amun" (*sꜣ-nsw tpy n ʾImn*) or the like. Without repeating the arguments set forth elsewhere (Bács 2009), suffice it to say here that accepting the cone version as the more accurate one or indeed as an abridged form would unnecessarily privilege it over the canopic jar text, something we may not be justified in doing.

When turning to the inscriptions of the canopic jar texts published recently, two points should be highlighted. One is that Penre's father, "the dignitary Sekheru" (*sꜣb Sḫrw*), as also named on the funerary cones, is here given the further title of "king's son." Unfortunately enough, however, the title's appearance is more intriguing than revealing, as standing alone, it merely opens the way to a variety of interpretations. The other point of interest is the orthographic variability displayed by the writing of Penre's names on the different jars, namely as Paenre (*P(ꜣ)-n-rᶜ*) and Payre (*Pꜣy-rᶜ*) respectively. Beyond its linguistic interest, the use of variant writings for the name has had the benefit of creating the possibility of assigning a further piece to the object corpus of Penre. The piece in question is a statue fragment found by Quibell during his excavation in the Ramesseum preserving the right proper side of a seated statue (OIM 1568; Quibell 1898, no. 40, pl. 27:1; see now Bács 2009, pp. 35–36, fig. 4). The surviving inscriptions identify the owner as a yet again unknown "overseer of the southern foreign lands" Pare, with the name form recognizably a variant spelling of Payre (*Pꜣy-rᶜ* > *Pꜣ-rᶜ*), that is, Penre. Besides the "overseer of the southern foreign lands" title the

[11] As Caminos 1998, vol. 1, p. 31; now Valbelle 2007b, p. 162 n. 11.

[12] As attested by his name occurring at Hagr el-Merwa, he was still in office at least until year 33 of Thutmose III (W. V. Davies 2003b, p. 56, fig. 4).

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fragment provides a string of honorific and laudatory titles, as "hereditary prince" (*r-pˁt*), "count" (*ḥ3ty-ˁ*), "follower of the king since his childhood" (*šmsw nsw ḏr ḫrdw=f*), and "confidant of the lord of the Two Lands" (*mḥ-ib n nb t3wy*) for Pare (Penre/Payre), but not that of "king's son." This absence, though disconcerting, need not be accepted as real, nevertheless, since, considering the layout of the extant inscriptions, it would have appeared on the other side, in the text column beside the left leg.

The evidence gathered so far on Penre (Payre/Pare), though admittedly not definitive, nevertheless supports an interpretation that would consider him as an actual viceroy of Kush, who, besides possessing a burial place in Thebes, set up two votive statues in two different temples. As this of course brings with it an identification with the donor of the Dukki Gel statue, it also sets his viceregal tenure firmly within the period of the regency of Hatshepsut and her joint reign with Thutmose III; more narrowly, between the period sometime after year 2 and before year 18 recorded in the Shalfak inscription, the earliest dated attestation of Inebny/Amenemnekhu.

Before attempting to further narrow this time span, I now want to consider what we might infer archaeologically from the burial arrangement of Penre. At the outset it must be stressed that, if the material related to the viceroys of the early to mid-Eighteenth Dynasty is severely limited in general, then it is more so in relation to their burials. Of the eight viceroys from Teti to Nehy in the current state of research, only funerary cones represent the burial apartments of Ahmose-Turo and Seni, while for Teti, Djehuty, Satayt, and Inebny/Amenemnekhu not even these are available.[13] The latter's well-known block statue (BM EA 1131), so far his only object, while originating from Thebes, preferably came from a temple context rather than his tomb.[14] The only viceroy from whose funerary assemblage there are known items of any significance is Nehy, a collection comprising four shabtis of various materials and his limestone sarcophagus (today in Berlin).[15] From architectural carvings once belonging to Nehy's tomb complex, his pyramidion has long been known, to which now two recently published sandstone doorjamb fragments from the Ramesseum can be added (Leblanc 2008, pp. 103–08, pls. 12–15). To date, the tomb complex itself (TT D 1), however, has not been conclusively identified on the ground, although Kampp's TT -274- at the foot of Qurnet Murei still remains the most likely candidate, despite its not having gained universal acceptance.[16]

Context of the Burial

The cited items of Penre's tomb assemblage, his funerary cones and canopic jars, were found in association with a shaft and its related burial chamber on Sheikh Abd el-Gurna at Thebes ("Shaft 3"). If the precise content of the burial place has been lost irrecoverably, its context and remaining content may still be informative. The spatial zone involved, namely the northeastern slope of the hill, despite being one of the most extensively explored and intermittently excavated parts of the entire necropolis, surprising as this may seem, is still inadequately understood in many respects. Thus, although its development in chronological terms as one of the central cemetery areas of the Thutmoside period can be set into a diachronic picture of change, how the topography was recast within the framework of a more sophisticated time line remains indeed unclear.[17] Once beyond a basic point problems quickly arise, largely due to uncertainties surrounding a tighter chronological attribution of individual mortuary monuments.

[13] See the relevant material assembled and discussed in Bács 2002. A more recent development in this field pertains to the re-evaluation of the hitherto unattributed TT 116 by Hartwig (2010). In her analysis she now convincingly suggests that it should be in fact identified as the long unknown tomb-chapel of the viceroy Usersatet, Nehy's presumed successor.

[14] See the more recent, albeit brief, art-historical study in Russmann 2001, pp. 121–22, no. 45.

[15] See the updated list now in Leblanc 2008.

[16] Valbelle 2007b, pp. 167–68 with reference to Gabolde 1995, but see Kampp 1996 and Leblanc 2008, pp. 111–12.

[17] More recently Shirley (2010b, pp. 98–107) has advanced the argument countering an earlier one of Dorman (Dorman 2003, p. 39 with n. 56) for regarding Sheik Abd el-Qurna as the site of the "family complex" of one extended family during the early Eighteenth Dynasty. In her understanding, TT 81 (Ineni), TT 83 (Ahmose-Aametju), TT 131+61 (Useramun), TT 122 (Neferhotep and Amenemhat), TT 228 (Amenmose), and TT 100 (Rekhmira) formed a network of tomb-chapels occupying the most advantageous sites on the hill and were connected by natural paths.

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Setting aside and not considering the Middle Kingdom tombs situated here,[18] the earliest safely attributable tomb-chapel in the wider area belongs to Amenemhat, a "noble at the head of the people" and self-styled inventor of the clepsydra (TT-C2-Amenemhat = TT-20-),[19] whose autobiographical text mentions year 10 of Ahmose and year 21 of Amenhotep I.[20] Cut at the top of the hill beside TT 61 the tomb is inaccessible at present rendering therefore any observation on its burial arrangement tentative at best (fig. 17.1). What is important to note in this context, nevertheless, and what I wish to return to in connection with Penre's shaft, is the unusual spatial relationship between chapel and burial shaft. If the suggestion of Kampp that the burial shaft belonging to the chapel is in fact the one situated to the north and actually above it is correct (Kampp 1996, pp. 632–34), then it supplies yet another example of why the generally held assumption that primary shafts had to be located by definition somewhere in a tomb-chapel's forecourt[21] has to be revised.

Penre's shaft in comparison is situated mid-slope among such tomb complexes, to name only those that predate the reign of Amenhotep II, as TT 21 (User), TT 251 (Amenmose), TT 65 (Nebamun), TT-NN-24-, and TT 67 (Hapuseneb) (fig. 17.2). The social matrix formed by these is quite varied and displays differential status and wealth including accordingly members of the high to mid-status elite such as the "high priest

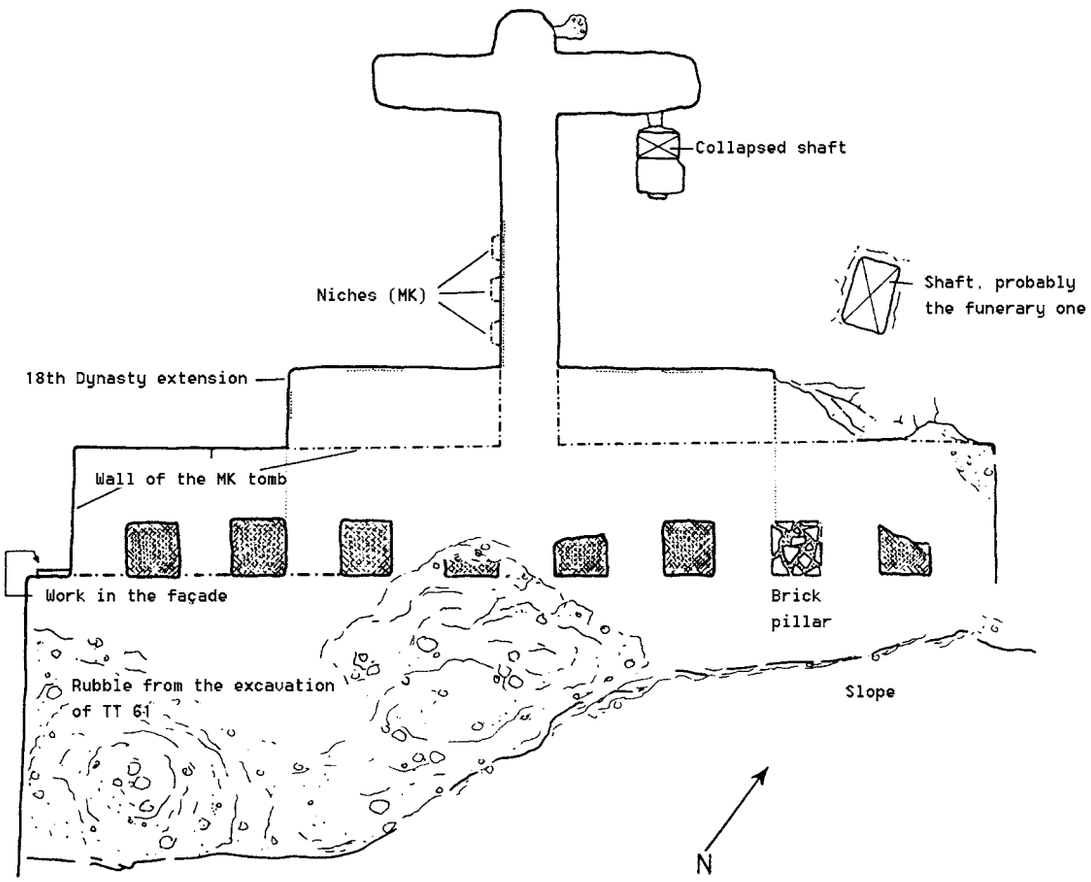

Figure 17.1. TT-C2-Amenemhat = TT-20- (modified from Kampp 1996, p. 633, fig. 529)

[18] For these, see the summary in Roehrig 1995, esp. p. 258 with the map fig. 2; see also Kampp 1996, p. 18, where she lists twenty-five corridor tombs of the Middle Kingdom on Sheik Abd el-Gurna.

[19] For the tomb-chapel, see PM I², 457; Kampp 1996, pp. 632–34, fig. 529.

[20] Based on Schiaparelli 1893. For the autobiographical text, see also Borchardt 1920, pp. 60–63, pl. 18; and more recently Helck 1983, pp. 110–12, no. 125.

[21] Or within the chapels. In a similar vein, Polz (2007, pp. 285–86) has argued more recently for considering such a spatial separation of Ineni's chapel (TT 81) and his burial apartment (identified as a shaft near TT 85 and cutting its sloping passage).

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Figure 17.2. The mid-slope of Sheikh Abd el-Gurna on its northeastern side (map by Marcell Nagy and Ferenc Pfeffer)

of Amun" Hapuseneb, an "overseer of the granary" and "scribe of the royal accounts in the presence" (i.e., royal secretary)[22] Nebamun, a "royal scribe, overseer of the cattle of Amun, overseer of the workshop of Amun" Amenmose, and User, a steward of the memorial temple of Thutmose I. That a more complex burial patterning is to be assumed, however, is demonstrated by a newly discovered shaft tomb ("Shaft 4" — Reniseneb), an equally only just uncovered *saff*-tomb ("*Saff*-tomb 1"), and a mid-size T-shaped tomb-chapel ("Mond-tomb" – Udja[...]).

While this is not the place for a comprehensive review of all the mortuary monuments situated here, a few points must be noted, not least chronological ones. The earliest of the listed tombs appears to be that of User, which based on the style of its painted decoration may date to the reign of Thutmose II, and which is incidentally one of the earliest in the necropolis to display the T-shaped chapel layout (Engelmann-von Carnap 1999, p. 86). Here again the only just rediscovered "Mond-tomb" may contribute crucial new information. A rare and more concrete, if insufficient chronological pointer is provided by the most monumental tomb-chapel situated here, that of the high priest Hapuseneb (fig. 17.3). Despite its importance, but obviously due to its badly damaged state, the tomb-chapel still lacks an adequate publication.[23] It was in his words "found" by Newberry in 1895[24] with its court subsequently cleared in the 1904–05 and 1905–06 seasons by the Mond expedition without, however, locating a shaft within it that would have accommodated Hapuseneb's burial.[25] But even by then its paintings had almost entirely gone, and of the scene fragments only two of any significant size could be published by Nina Davies.[26] Significantly enough, one of these preserved a small detail of a Punt scene and thereby indicates that the tomb-chapel, ultimately unfinished, was still a work in progress in and after year 9 of the joint reign.

[22] He bore a title encountered mostly in Middle Kingdom contexts, reading: *sš {r} ᶜn nsw ḫft-ḥr*, a variant of the well-attested title of royal secretary (*sš ᶜn nsw n ḫft-ḥr*); see *Wb.* I 158 and Helck 1958, pp. 277–78; Grajetzki 2000, pp. 169–77; Quirke 2004, p. 43.

[23] See PM I², 133.

[24] See Newberry 1900, p. 36

[25] The architectural history of the tomb is discussed briefly in Dziobek 1987, pp. 78–79; Kampp 1996, pp. 289–92; Engelmann-von Carnap 1999, p. 71; and Polz 2007, p. 290.

[26] With others only briefly described or noted by her; Ni. Davies 1961; see also Engelmann-von Carnap 1999, pp. 423–41. Texts of Hapuseneb including the visible fragments from TT 67 are to be found in *Urk.* IV 469–89.

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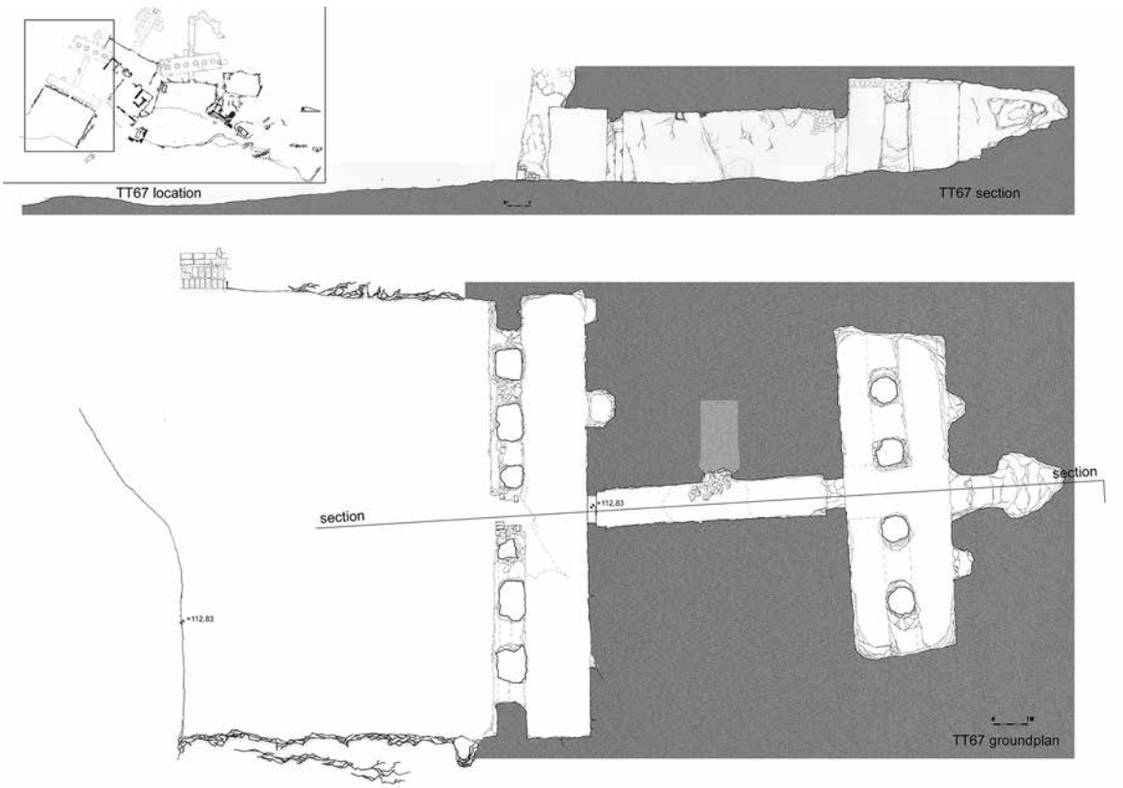

Figure 17.3. Plan and section of TT 67 (drawing by Marcell Nagy and Ferenc Pfeffer)

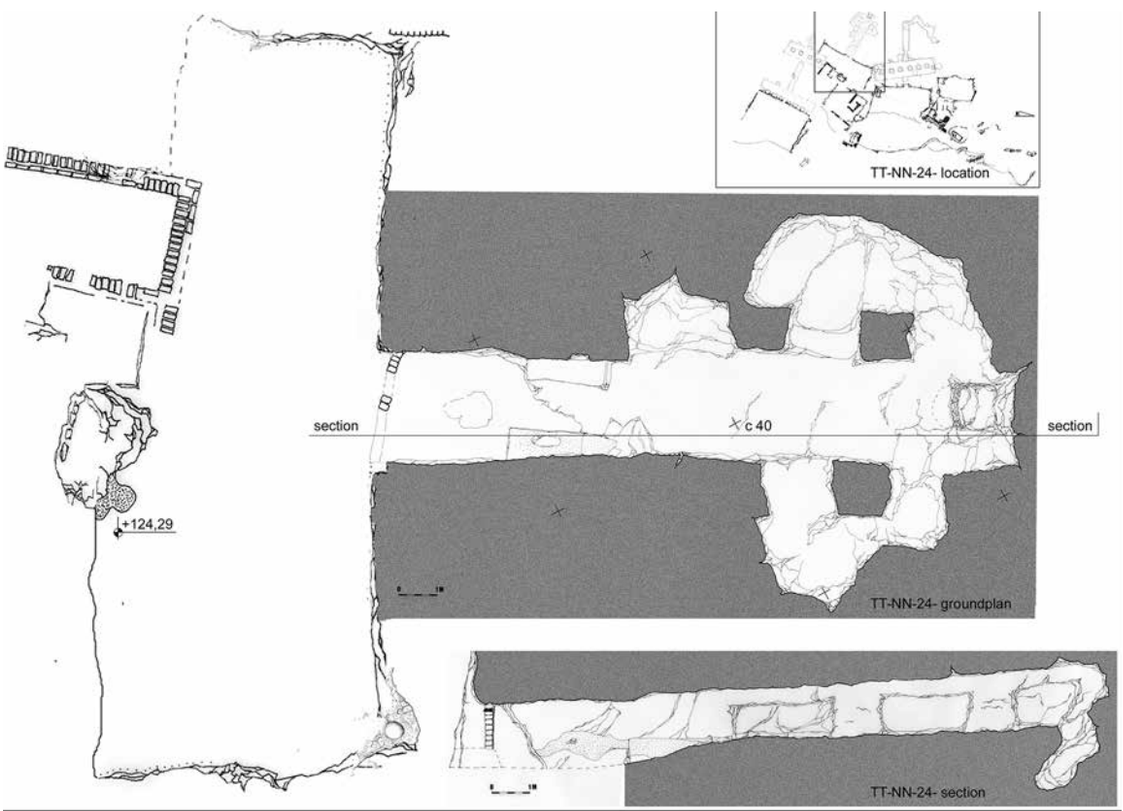

Figure 17.4. Plan and section of TT-NN-24- (drawing by Marcell Nagy and Ferenc Pfeffer)

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Lying north of Hapuseneb's chapel and on a slightly higher part of the slope is TT 65, which belongs to the same class as TT 67 in respect of its size.[27] Its date remains unknown, but the reign of Hatshepsut still appears to be the most plausible. To date only one shaft (Shaft 1) has been located in the forecourt, the position, dimensions, and style of which is consistent with its belonging to the original burial arrangement of the tomb (unfortunately, its clearance did not uncover material related to its Eighteenth Dynasty owner, Nebamun). The tomb reveals a close dependence on the design of Senenmut's chapel TT 71, as well as a clear affiliation to that of the "chief steward" and "overseer of works" responsible for the year 16 obelisks, Amenhotep (TT 73), both architecturally and in its decoration program.[28] This latter trait and that its architecture and decoration were left unfinished in a relatively early stage in which the planned axial corridor was barely started, for example, favor placing TT 65 late in the queen's reign, somewhere close in time to TT 73.

Abandoned at an even earlier stage of work than TT 65 is TT-NN-24-, the tomb-chapel situated immediately south of it (fig. 17.4). The unfinished tomb consists of an entrance corridor followed by a pillared hall, the cutting of which was just about started when work in it permanently stopped. Excavation has revealed, however, that the originally intended court was to be considerably larger than previously thought — the height of the façade is 6.07 meters at the one point where it was cut down completely to its planned floor level — and when finished would have rivaled its neighbor in monumentality.[29] What appears to be a visitor's graffito inscribed on a rock surface that would have been cut away had work continued in the tomb carries a date naming both Thutmose III and Hatshepsut. Dated year 14, 1 *shemu*, 10, the true significance of the text remains obscure for the present, but may actually aid in dating the abandonment of work. That it was indeed worked on during the said period otherwise is evidenced by the large number of discarded beer jars dating to the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty present in the original excavation debris.

While the monumental rock-cut tombs document the prominence of the location and the fact that there were obviously constraints on exactly who could be buried here, the rules governing access to it are far from clear. The various non-elite burials around Senenmut's chapel higher up on the hill show practices and burial types that exemplify the degree to which elite segregation was controlled on the level of the individual.[30] However, inadequate chronology and the ever changing mortuary landscape tend to obscure in most cases the relationship between high elite and mid- to lower-status burials. An example of one such burial comes from the forecourt of TT 65, the position and associations of which as yet cannot be explained adequately. For the area and time period a relatively shallow 4.50-meter shaft (Shaft 4) with a trapezoid burial chamber was sunk into the hillside approximately on the axis line of TT 65, to be later sealed by the debris from TT 65 (fig. 17.5). The layout and finds recovered from its burial chamber indicate that it once held the burial of probably one individual dating to the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Preliminary artifact analysis of the finds point toward the chamber being robbed probably only once, but in such a systematic way that it suggests a date for this some time in the late nineteenth to early twentieth century A.D. rather than any time in antiquity.[31] Thus, only the mummy (badly cut open), textiles (clothing, rolled-up linen, and bed covers), undecorated pottery vessels, a cut-up basket, and remains of different types of foodstuffs (a variety of animal bones, bread and cake pieces, and an assortment of dried fruits and nuts) were left behind. Splinters of wood with black resin coating, on the one hand, and tiny flakes of gesso, some with gilding, some with paint remains, on the other, were the only surviving indication of the presence of a set of coffins.[32] The most

[27] Bács 1998; for the classification of these tomb-chapels according to their dimensions, see Engelmann-von Carnap 1999.

[28] For the tomb, see Säve-Söderbergh 1957, pp. 1–10, pls. 1–9; for the similarity of the decoration of the two tomb-chapels, see also Engelmann-von Carnap 1999, p. 313 n. 1.

[29] Implied by the dimensions of the uncompleted aperture of the entrance, and its relation to the planned size of the court, in all likelihood the tomb was originally designed as a corridor tomb of Arnold's type IIb (Kampp's type IIIa) and as such must therefore date to the Middle Kingdom (Di. Arnold 1974, pp. 46–48; Kampp 1996, p. 18).

[30] The burials here of course include besides those of Senenmut's family and other humans that of a baboon and the famous horse (Lansing and Hayes 1937).

[31] The chamber was not reused in later times, as no intrusive material was found, and it was not disturbed by later excavators either.

[32] Interestingly enough, the former fragments represent a "black" coffin, while the latter, including examples of gilded text reliefs, appear to belong to a "white" one. Besides gesso fragments with gilded texts as well as striped ones representative of the wig, plain white ones were also recovered; for a chronological discussion, see Dodson 1998.

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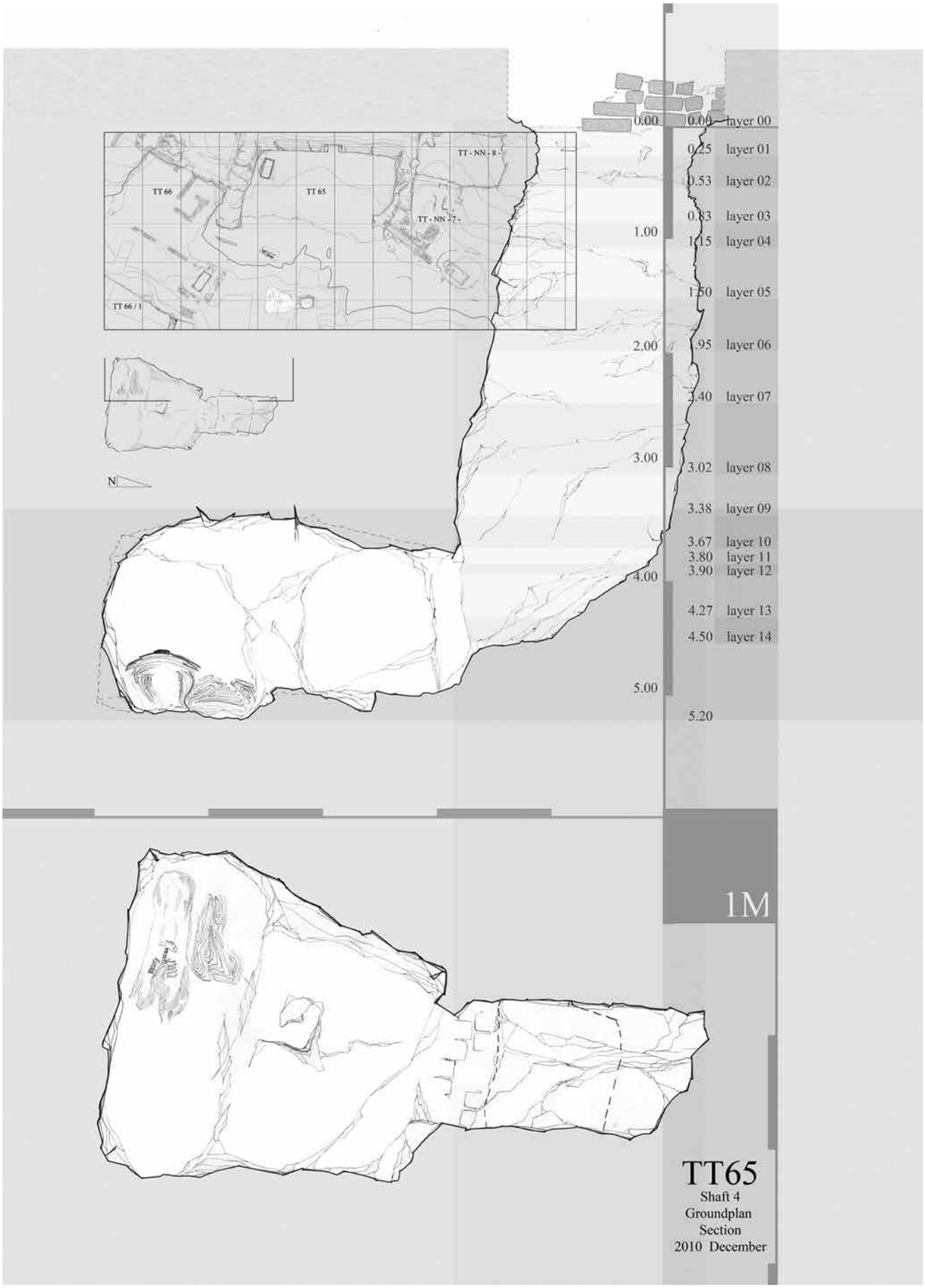

Figure 17.5. Plan and section of "Shaft 4" (drawing by Marcell Nagy and Ferenc Pfeffer)

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symptomatic find, that incidentally also confirms the attribution and dating of the burial to the Thutmosid period, is the large fragment of a mummy shroud (of as yet unknown length) containing spells of the Book of the Dead in cursive hieroglyphs.[33] The owner's name appears as the (otherwise unknown) "scribe" Reniseneb[34] (mother Satdjehuty, father Iafib or Iafibi [*i*ᶜ*=f-ib*[*=i*]]).[35]

Turning now to the burial place of Penre, it consists of a rectangular shaft with a depth of 11.65 meters and a burial chamber opening to the west.[36] The shaft has a mudbrick encasing that is far too elaborate for the mere purpose of protecting its mouth and suggests that it rather formed the base of some kind of a superstructure, perhaps a vaulted single-room chapel (fig. 17.6). It may have been this structure that incorporated the aforementioned funerary cones. While the shaft and superstructure can be interpreted as a self-standing tomb complex, recent work in the area has raised the possibility of another option, namely, defining it as an outlying subterranean burial apartment of a nearby rock-cut tomb.

The area immediately east of the forecourt of TT 66 (Hapu - Thutmose IV), including Shaft 3, has been covered by a large spoil heap largely deposited here during the clearance of said tomb-chapel. To clarify the contextual situation of Shaft 3, two units to its south were opened recently to remove as much of the spoil heap as possible. In the course of removal, the edge of a façade below Shaft 3 to the east running roughly north–south appeared with traces of the lowest course of a mudbrick retaining wall still preserved on it in some places. Further exposure of the façade revealed mud plastering on the battered face and at one point the top of an entrance.[37] Additional clearing has also established its width (14.5 m) with its southern

Figure 17.6. Remains of the mudbrick superstructure of "Shaft 3"

[33] On mummy shrouds in general, see now Müller-Roth 2008b; Gabolde 2008. On similar shroud fragments belonging to an otherwise unidentified Sennefer from Shaft 3; see Bács et al. 2009, pp. 92–93, no. 36.

[34] It remains an intriguing possibility that a chair belonging to a certain scribe Reniseneb, today in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA 68.58) may have originally belonged to this assemblage (Fischer 1996, pp. 141–76; Roehrig 2005, p. 259, cat. no. 192).

[35] For the name of the father, see Ranke 1935, vol. 1, p. 12, no. 8.

[36] See Bács 2009, p. 32, fig. 3.

[37] This later proved to be an intercolumniation that was recut to serve as a secondary entrance.

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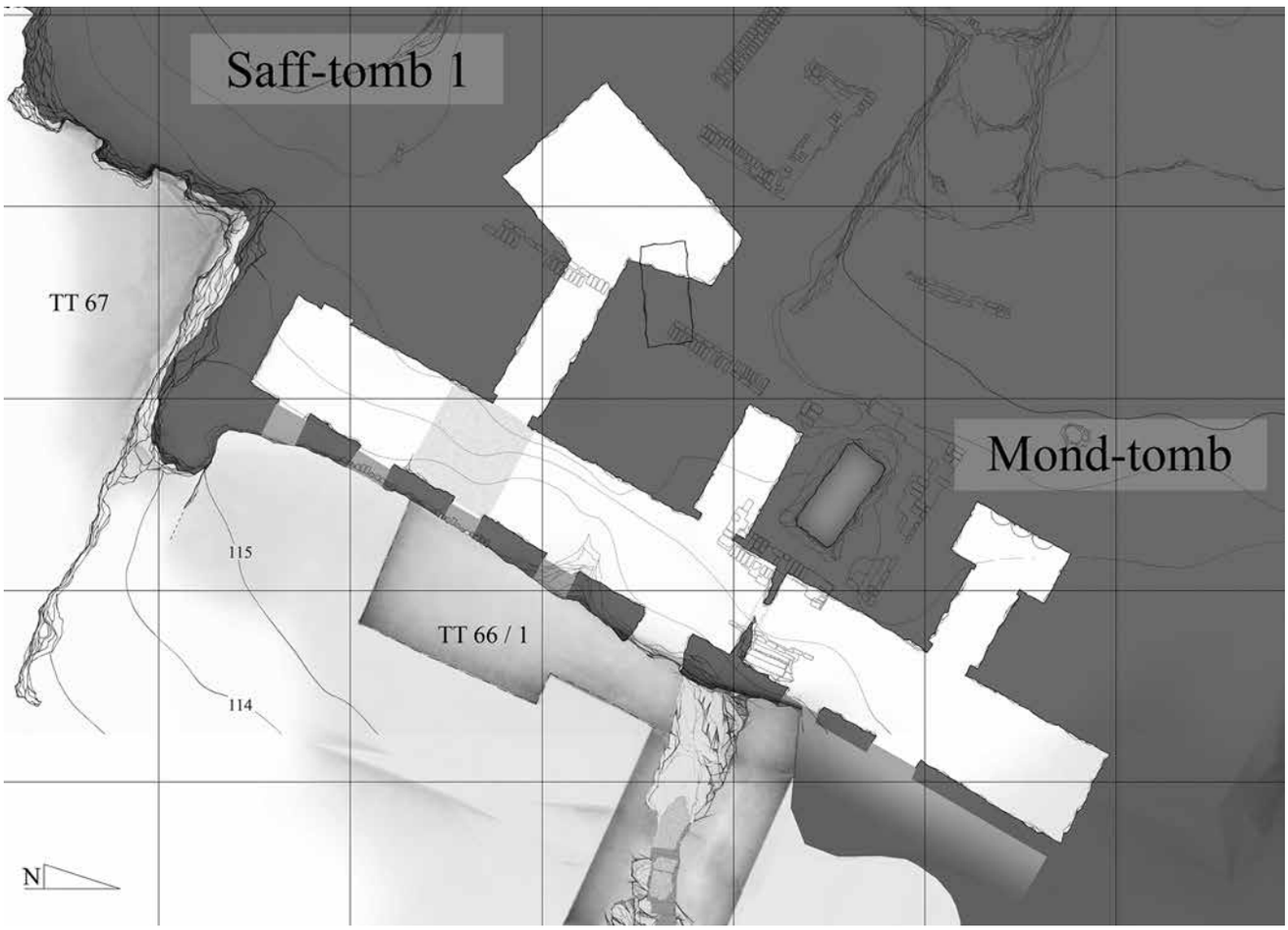

Figure 17.7. Sketch plan of "*Saff*-tomb 1" and the "Mond-tomb" (drawing by Marcell Nagy)

boundary defined by the northern court wall of TT 67 and a newly uncovered bedrock side-wall — its northern one.[38] It is clear now that this façade belongs to a hitherto unknown *saff*-tomb (*Saff*-tomb "1") with five of its intercolumniations visible as yet only from the inside. It has also become clear that the *saff*-tomb itself[39] was subsequently reused, when it was compartmentalized into at least two smaller T-shaped tomb-chapels (fig. 17.7).

Given then the location of *Saff*-tomb 1 and its particular spatial relationship with Shaft 3 recalling the topographical situation encountered at TT-C2-Amenemhat, the question inevitably rises now if the two (or any part of the *saff*-tomb) were not in fact more meaningfully associated.

[38] This northern side-wall in turn forms the southern boundary of another tomb-chapel, designated as "Mond-tomb." A survey of this northern tomb (at present only accessible from the *saff*-tomb through an ancient breach) confirmed that it is identical to the tomb reported by R. Mond to have been found by him in 1905–06, but then lost sight of (Collins 1976, p. 36). Comprising a transverse hall, an axial corridor, and a statue chapel containing "3 defaced statues," it probably dates to the first third of the Eighteenth Dynasty based mainly on the few remaining decorative elements (i.e., remains of wall painting).

[39] Determining the date of the *saff*-tomb itself depends on future research.

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Contents of the Burial

When turning now to the contents of the burial it is with full awareness of the many pitfalls involved in attempting to circumscribe status and rank through burial assemblages. Instead of embarking on a lengthy and here superfluous theoretical discussion of these, I turn instead to the recovered assemblage itself with the aim of seeing how far the evidence may take us in gaining at least an impression of where the remains of Penre's burial goods may locate him.

Bearing in mind the site's history it is evident that the assemblage structure and content of Shaft 3 was conditioned by a number of record-creating processes. Having a complex filling indicating an intricate depositional history, the result is that the recovered mummified human remains[40] and artifacts belonging to the grave furniture have all lost any detailed context. The observably lesser amount of post-depositional disturbance in the lowest layers of the shaft and the fill of the burial chamber, however, lends the finds from here a certain degree of integrity. These, as will be seen, despite suffering intermittent disturbances nevertheless proved to be a mixture of grave goods the chronological range of which extends from the joint reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III to that of Amenhotep II.[41]

When introducing the recovered fragments, the use of the classification scheme originally developed by S. T. Smith here is more out of convenience than from a firm conviction in its superiority over others.[42] Based on the interpretation of the funerary evidence from Thebes created during the late Seventeenth and the Eighteenth Dynasties, however, as an analytical tool its value lies in its providing a wide comparative base against which the artifactual data from Shaft 3 can be best set. In this context it should also be added as a side note that although there does exist a pictorial tradition of representing grave goods in elite tombs of the period (collected and classified according to presentational context by Wohlfarth),[43] its relevance for the study of actual funerary assemblages is regrettably far more limited than expected or even desired.

And again, to lend proper perspective, a further aspect should be mentioned that demands due caution when dealing with the number and variability of items. At Deir el-Medina the intact tomb of Madja (tomb 1370) contained 341 items representing sixty-five separate types of goods, that of Kha (tomb 8) contained 506 types, while the tomb of Sennefer (tomb 1159A) contained 121 artifacts of twenty-nine distinct types (Meskell 1999, p. 184).

The classification system, then, consists of four major categories: (1) specific items prepared for the tomb, (2) objects of daily life, (3) professional equipment, and (4) provisions and their containers. In table 17.1, the objects attested from Penre's tomb — even if represented by only a single fragment — are summarized by category.

[40] These are currently under study by J. Cybulski (Canadian Museum of Civilization) and R. Stark (McMaster University). Reflective of the degree of disturbances is that they have succeeded in already sorting the skeletal remains and mummy parts of at least seventeen individuals found in the lower layers and burial chamber. Most are undoubtedly intrusive, but the number of individuals originally, if not at the same time interred here may have been only six.

[41] For finds associated by name with other individuals without known connections to Penre, see Bács 2009, pp. 31–32; also Bács et al. 2009, pp. 82–85, 92–93, nos. 25–28 and 36.

[42] See the remarks on the utility of Smith's system in Meskell 1999, pp. 183–85.

[43] Wohlfarth (2002) identifies thirteen categories of grave goods based on the pictorial evidence provided by Eighteenth Dynasty elite tombs (first category — 17 tombs, late Seventeenth Dynasty/early Eighteenth Dynasty to Thutmose IV/Amenhotep III; second category — 23 tombs, Thutmose III/Amenhotep II to Thutmose IV/Amenhotep III to until the end of the New Kingdom). In the first category the objects are displayed on trunks, while in the second category they are mostly carried in hand. The presentational contexts of grave goods are: (1) transported in the funeral procession, (2) presented in list form, and (3) shown on ships.

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Table 17.1. Assemblage attributable to Penre's burial

Specific Items Prepared for the Tomb	*Objects of Daily Life*	*Professional Equipment*	*Provisions and Their Containers*
Coffin/s Mask Canopic vessels Game box and astragals Bouquets and garlands	Furniture (*chair/s*) Boxes and baskets	Tools of trade (*quivers [2?], arrows [75 fragments], dagger sheath [1]*) Personal items (*staffs, sandals, clothes, linen*) Wheels and models Small sealing Stone vessel	Foodstuffs (*bread, dom, pomegranate, victuals*) Amphorae (*Canaanite [1], Local [1]* Horn Container Painted storage vessels Storage vessels Other ceramics (*flowerpot, bowl, plate, cup*)

Specific Items Prepared for the Tomb

Coffin Fragments

Among the specific items prepared for the tomb, only small splinters of wood and a false beard attest to the former presence of anthropoid coffin(s). That these must have been of a high quality, is plainly shown by both the material used (ebony) and the workmanship of the beard.[44] Specks of gilding still adhering to the surface around the false beards' tenon also indicate that the coffin originally had a gilded face. Confirming the owner as Penre is a small fragment of the relief-cut central text column of one of the coffins reading: [... ...] *ḥ3.t n.t nṯr ʿ3 n k3 n s3-nswt* [... ...] "[... ...] altar of the great god, for the *ka* of the King's Son [... ...]" (fig. 17.8).

Mask

Only a battered and completely indistinctive fragment attests to the presence of a mask, indicating that at least one individual was provided with a mask. On the other hand, there was no identifiable piece or fragment that would indicate the same for a shabti or shabtis, which in any case would not have been obligatory at this time.[45]

Canopics

Originally painted to imitate alabaster, pottery sherds from all four of Penre's canopic jars were recovered from the burial chamber of Shaft 3 together with two matching lids in the shape of human heads.[46] In contrast, although less surprisingly in view of the circumstances of discovery, no remains or pieces belonging to a canopic chest were identified.

Game Box

According to S. T. Smith's categorization the inclusion of game boxes in the funerary assemblage starts at the level of individuals of "high-mid-status" (S. T. Smith 1992, pp. 204, 218–19). The presence of a game box in the tomb of Penre is therefore not unexpected and is confirmed by ebony squares and ivory strips serving as spacers once belonging to a game box of *senet* and/or "twenty squares." While none of the gaming pieces were found, both of the two regular "knucklebones" or astragals have been recovered.[47]

[44] A close analogy is offered by the false beard of Maiherperi's inner coffin (CG 24004); see Daressy 1902, p. 7, pl. 2.

[45] It is also missing from the assemblage of Maiherperi, for example, as also pointed out in S. T. Smith 1992, p. 200 with n. 10.

[46] For two of the jars and the two lids, see Bács et al. 2009, pp. 80–81, nos. 23–24; for the inscriptions, see Bács 2009, pp. 32–34.

[47] See in general, see Pusch 1979, Kendall 1978, Needler 1983, and Piccione 1984; on the astragal, see also Boston Museum of Fine Arts 1982, p. 270.

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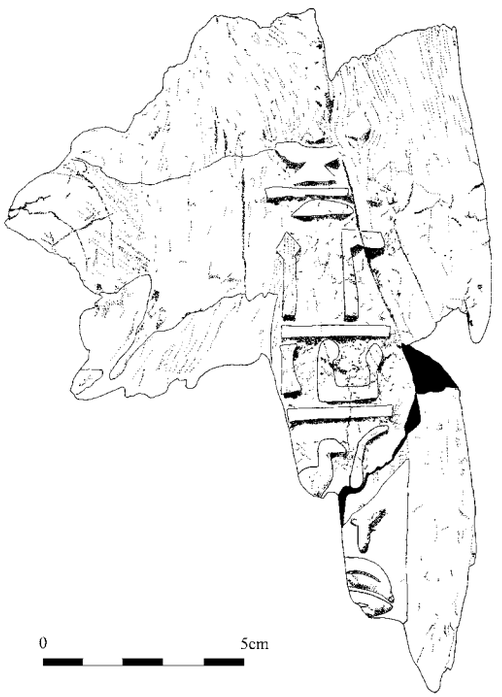

Figure 17.8. Coffin fragment from Shaft 3 (drawing by Kata Jasper)

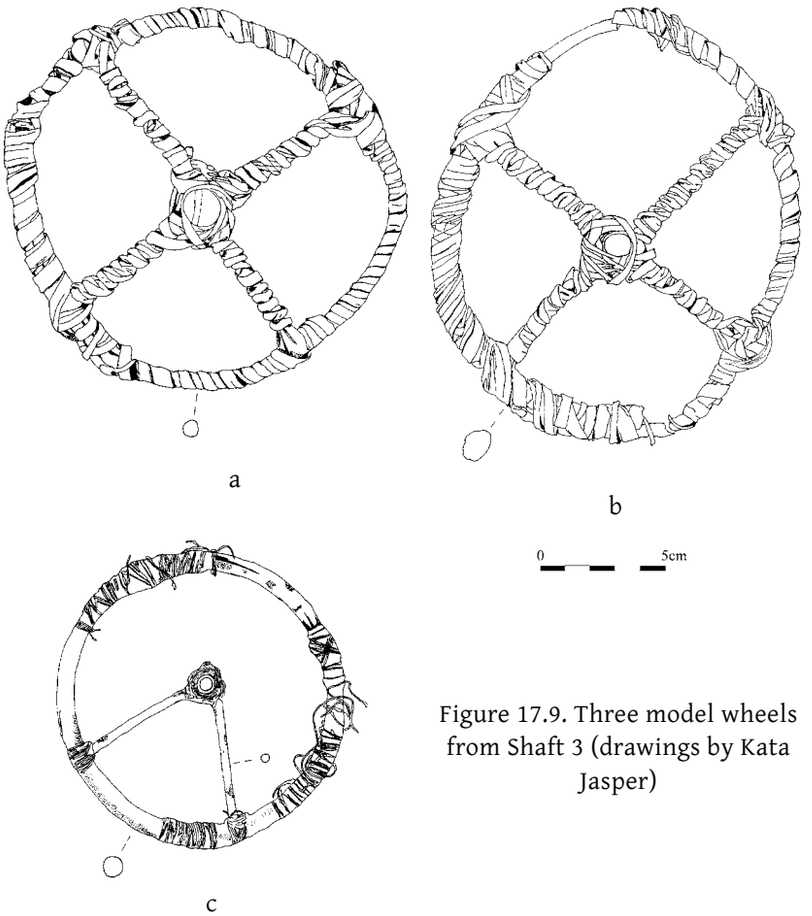

Figure 17.9. Three model wheels from Shaft 3 (drawings by Kata Jasper)

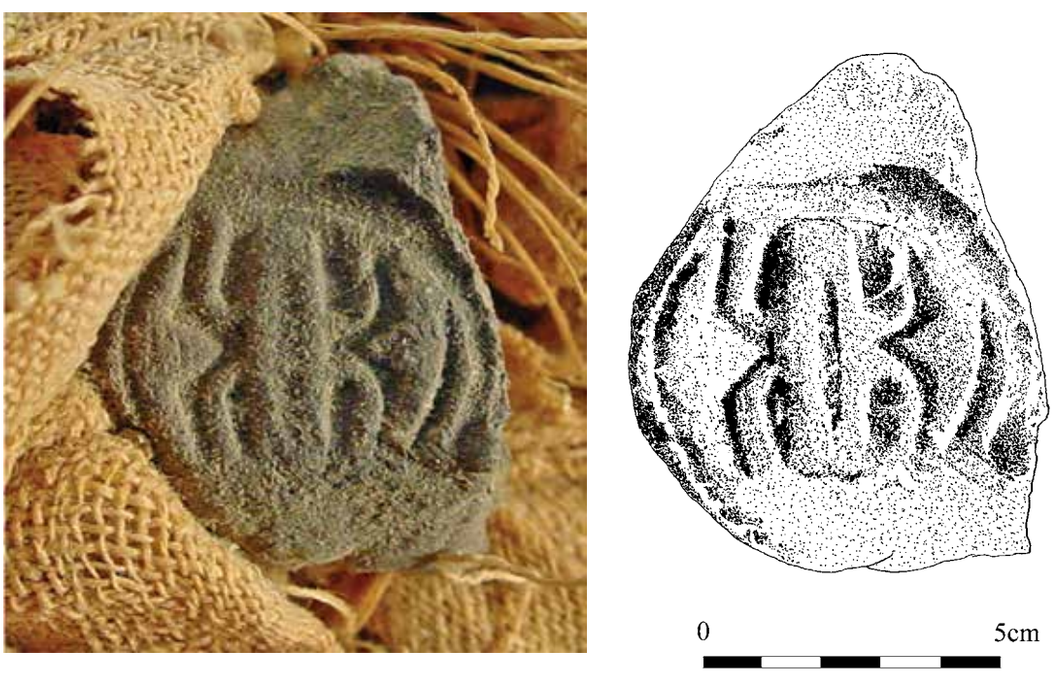

Figure 17.10. Clay seal impression from Shaft 3 (drawing by Kata Jasper)

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Bouquets and Garlands

Finally, although as noted by S. T. Smith (1992, p. 204), bouquets and garlands were optional components of assemblages, insignificant floral fragments and scraps of leaves once making up such wreaths or garlands do indeed prove their presence here.

Objects of Daily Life

Chair(s)

The inclusion of furniture in the assemblage is again an indication of wealth with quality a further mark of status (S. T. Smith 1992, pp. 205–06). Worked wood fragments that were recovered include various fragments that recognizably belonged to chairs.[48] Interestingly enough, a group of these fragments, namely a border strip of two different woods (boxwood and ebony), originally decorating the back panel of a straight-backed chair, some right-angle braces, and bits of turned leg ends once belonged to a chair virtually identical to that of Senenmut's mother's, Hatnefer.[49]

Professional Equipment

Tools of Trade — Weapons

All together, seventy-five fragments of reed mainshafts and wooden foreshafts of arrows[50] and pieces of decorated leather quivers represent items of archery equipment, while a leather sheath indicates the one-time presence of a narrow-bladed dagger.[51] Definitely more unusual for the context both in a chronological and a social sense is the occurrence of fragments that clearly belonged to models, explicitly ship or boat models.[52] Even more unusual were model wheels of two sizes and types of manufacture, two made of wood and bound with strands of dom-palm (?) leaves (fig. 17.9a–b), the other also of wood, but fastened with string (fig. 17.9c). Without clear analogies, their function remains perplexingly unknown.

Personal Items

Less surprisingly, surviving fragments confirm that staffs, sandals, clothing (e.g., an undergarment), and extra linen (represented by one roll) had also been included with the burial. Their inclusion in the inventory is noteworthy, but their use as meaningful indicators of status is limited by the fact that for this specific object group quantity besides quality was also significant.

Seal Impression

Still attached to a bundle of linen, a single seal impression was found among the tomb remains. It shows a winged scarab, a motif attested from the reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III (fig. 17.10).[53]

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[48] A number of right-angle braces (apparently both angle braces and knee braces), some painted white, point to several items of furniture (these may include beds as well, since these types of braces were used in both cases). For the constituent parts of chairs and the related terminology, see Fischer 1996, pp. 141–45.

[49] The materials and techniques used are so close as to suggest their being manufactured in the same workshop; see with literature Roehrig 2005, p. 95, cat. no. 47.

[50] Technically the fragments show the same details as those from the tomb of Maiherperi; for the materials and techniques employed by ancient fletchers; see Western and McLeod 1995, McLeod 1982, pp. 4–5.

[51] The comparable archery set of Maiherperi included two quivers, forty-eight arrows with different tips, two braces, but no bows (Daressy 1902, CG 24071/72 [quivers], pp. 32–33, pl. 10; CG 24073–74 [braces], p. 33, pl. 10; CG 24077–88 [arrows], pp. 34–37, pl. 12. For the two deposits of bows and arrows and hunting gear below Senenmut's tomb-chapel, see Lansing and Hayes 1937, p. 12). While arrows or arrowheads have been recovered from several other burials, bows are more rare from non-royal contexts; see that of Neferkhewet in Hayes 1935b, p. 32; also that of Ahmose in Hayes 1990, p. 211; for unprovenanced ones, see, for example, Cartwright and Taylor 2008, p. 79.

[52] The fact that all the fragments belonging to this object class (painted mast fragments, a small sail made from leather (!), canopy fragments) were found exclusively in the debris of the burial chamber argues against regarding these as intrusive to the assemblage.

[53] The impression may be of a seal like, e.g., CG 37243 (or with a slightly different wing form, CG 36356); Newberry 1907, p. 312, pl. 7.

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Stone Vessels

Stone vessels were indicative of wealth and generally used as containers for ointments, oils, or medicines. Only a single neck-and-rim fragment of a travertine ointment jar has been recovered. Unfortunately, however, the fragment is not diagnostic enough to allow defining the exact vessel type it belonged to.[54]

Provisions and Their Containers

Although the full range of provisions included in the assemblage cannot be reconstructed, it was found to contain among the represented foodstuffs not only bread, *dom*-palm nuts, and pomegranates, but more significantly several mummified food remains heavily coated with resin.[55]

Horn Container

Of a so-called horn container, only its stopper — a wooden compass-decorated plug that once sealed its large end — was recovered. Known from both male and female burials from Thebes and elsewhere, its use apparently varied from case to case.[56]

Pottery

The ceramic assemblage from the fill of the lower section and burial chamber of Shaft 3 shows the presence of a rich variety of decorated and undecorated vessels that are all from the ceramic horizon of the early to mid-Eighteenth Dynasty. Despite the apparent richness, however, it may still not reflect the full range of types originally interred. These include characteristic tablewares and an assortment of storage vessels, for example, a black burnished juglet, a jug decorated in red and black, wavy-necked jars (both with and without linear decoration), a squat jar, a slender round-based necked jar, a round-based broad-necked jar, a round-based ovoid jar, a painted jar, and — distinctly foreign — a red lustrous spindle bottle.[57] These are further augmented by large silt ware jars, silt ware dishes, at least one broad-necked globular jar, and a so-called "flower pot."

Finally, together with a local ordinary one, a reconstructible Canaanite amphora was also recovered from the burial chamber.[58] Probably originating in the southern Levant, the amphora bears a hieratic docket on its neck above one of the handles. Although only the beginning of its two lines can be still seen, this nevertheless reveals the first signs of a date: [1]Year 10, third month [... ...]; [2][... ...]. The significance of the date hardly needs emphasizing. In this context it not only indicates the date of the sealing of Penre's burial, but in all likelihood also his last year in office. And as a conclusion or instead of a lengthier or repetitious one, needlessly duplicating, among others, arguments for the apparent elite nature of the burial assemblage, it allows placing Penre into a time slot bridging the regency and early coregency period, between Seni and Inebny/Amenemnekhu giving him a relatively short, maximum eight-year tenure in office.

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[54] It could have belonged to several vessel types ranging from amphorae (e.g., Lilyquist 1995, p. 121, fig. 156) to long-necked flasks with or without different handles (e.g., Lilyquist 2003, p. 212, fig. 135a–g; p. 257, fig. 201; also Aston 1994, pp. 151–52).

[55] The examination and study of the animal remains is being done by S. Ikram, who has noted the highly unusual character of these packages, altogether six of which have come to light. For one of these "victual mummies," see her entry in Bács et al. 2009, p. 91, no. 35.

[56] See Roehrig 2005, pp. 17–18, cat. no. 2; for an earlier view regarding these as mainly associated with female burials and linked to gynecology, see Boston Museum of Fine Arts 1982, p. 292, no. 402; for the Deir el-Medina examples, see Bruyère 1937, pp. 84–86, fig. 42.

[57] For a selection of these, see Bács et al. 2009, p. 86, no. 29 (painted jar); p. 87, no. 30 (black burnished juglet); p. 88, no. 31 (jug decorated in red and black); p. 90, nos. 33–34 (wavy-necked jars).

[58] The amphora belongs to Hope's category 1a (Hope 1989, pp. 92–94). For the description of the Canaanite amphora, see Bács et al. 2009, p. 89, no. 32.

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18

An Unusual Architecture of Hatshepsut in Nubia

*Charles Bonnet, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, Paris**

To understand the architectural works of Queen Hatshepsut at Dukki Gel/Kerma (Sudan), one must refer to the town founded by her father Thutmose I: in the aftermath of his conquest of the kingdom of Kerma, this king built three temples protected by a powerful precinct consisting of bastions placed side by side (fig. 18.1). If the sanctuaries pertain to the Egyptian architectural tradition of the New Kingdom, the precinct is clearly different from those of other sites, which always have an orthogonal plan with rectangular bastions placed at regular intervals. So one must consider the participation of a local workforce in the construction of the religious center, which develops over a quadrangular surface with a side of nearly 100 meters and strongly rounded corners.

Figure 18.1. The precinct of Thutmose I, restored under Hatshepsut

* Translated by Pierre Meyrat.

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There is good evidence that when the foundation of the town occurred, two Nubian temples were situated to the east of the location chosen by the Egyptians, who apparently took them into account in their planning (fig. 18.2). Indeed, the transverse axis in the continuation of the eastern gate of the pharaonic town arrives less than 10 meters in front of a monumental entrance formed by two towers, between which a narrow passage leads to a first sanctuary of oval shape. The axis then goes on toward a second sanctuary, and then reaches the eastern gate of the Nubian complex. The latter is distinguished by an architecture rooted in the ancient town of Kerma, just 1 kilometer away, which was abandoned during the first military campaigns of the early Eighteenth Dynasty.

The systematic excavations carried out in the central and western temples of the Egyptian town enabled us to prove the existence of a peripteral four-sided area with a side of 26 meters, surrounded by a 4-meter-thick temenos (fig. 18.3). A very thick wall, probably pertaining to a pylon, was built farther north, leaving enough space for two courtyards with porticoes. A thick wall would separate these courtyards from the four-sided peripteral structure, for which traces of thirty-six column bases were found. Their supports were made of mudbrick and their foundations were deeply embedded, certainly to prevent any static disorder. The lower layer, showing traces of cleaning, was built on a bed of sifted sand. The columns, placed rather close to the wall, were not meant to support heavy architraves; the probably 7- or 8-meter-high roofing must have been made of wood or palm fibers.

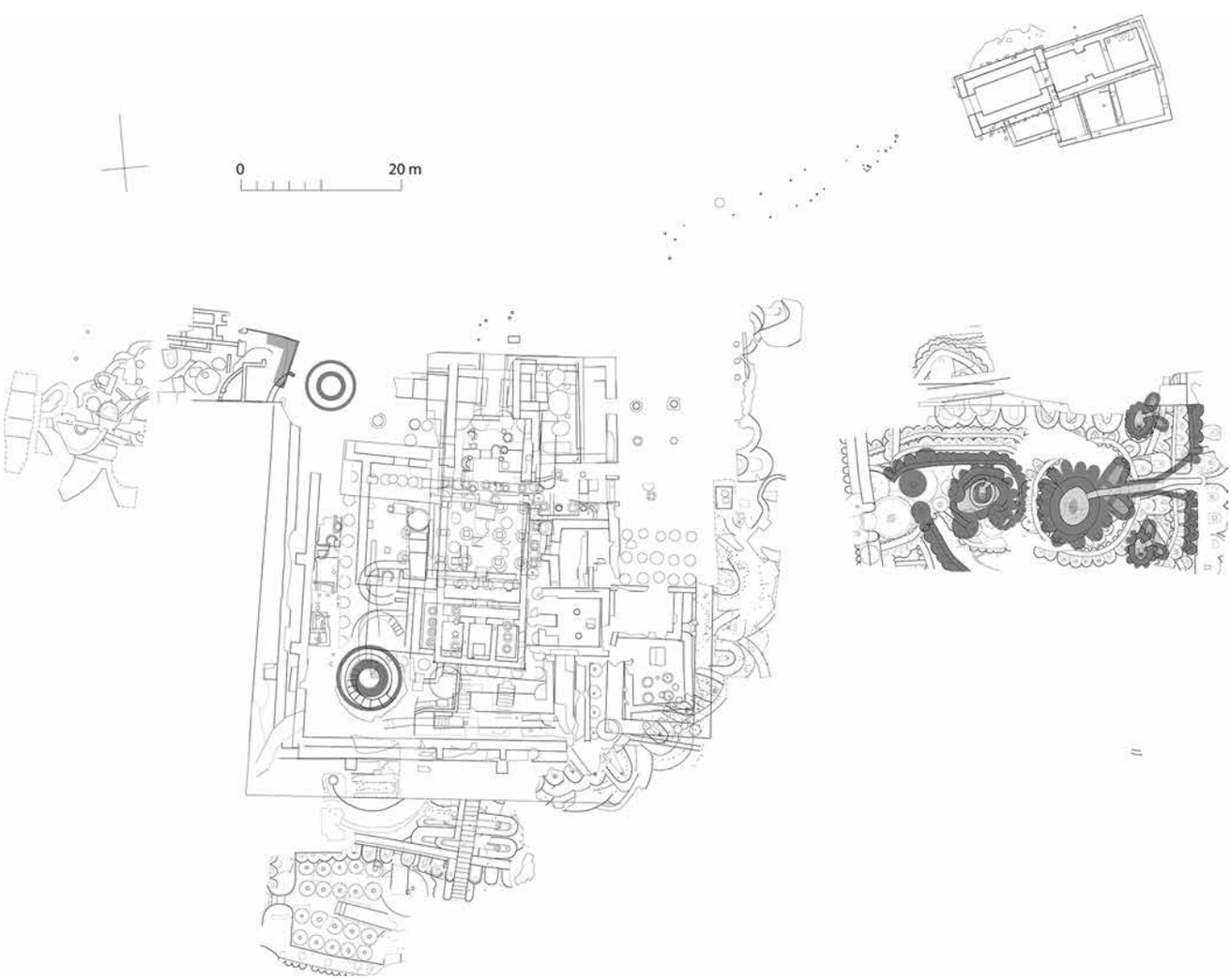

Figure 18.2. Schematic plan of Dukki Gel/Kerma at the end of the Classic Kerma period

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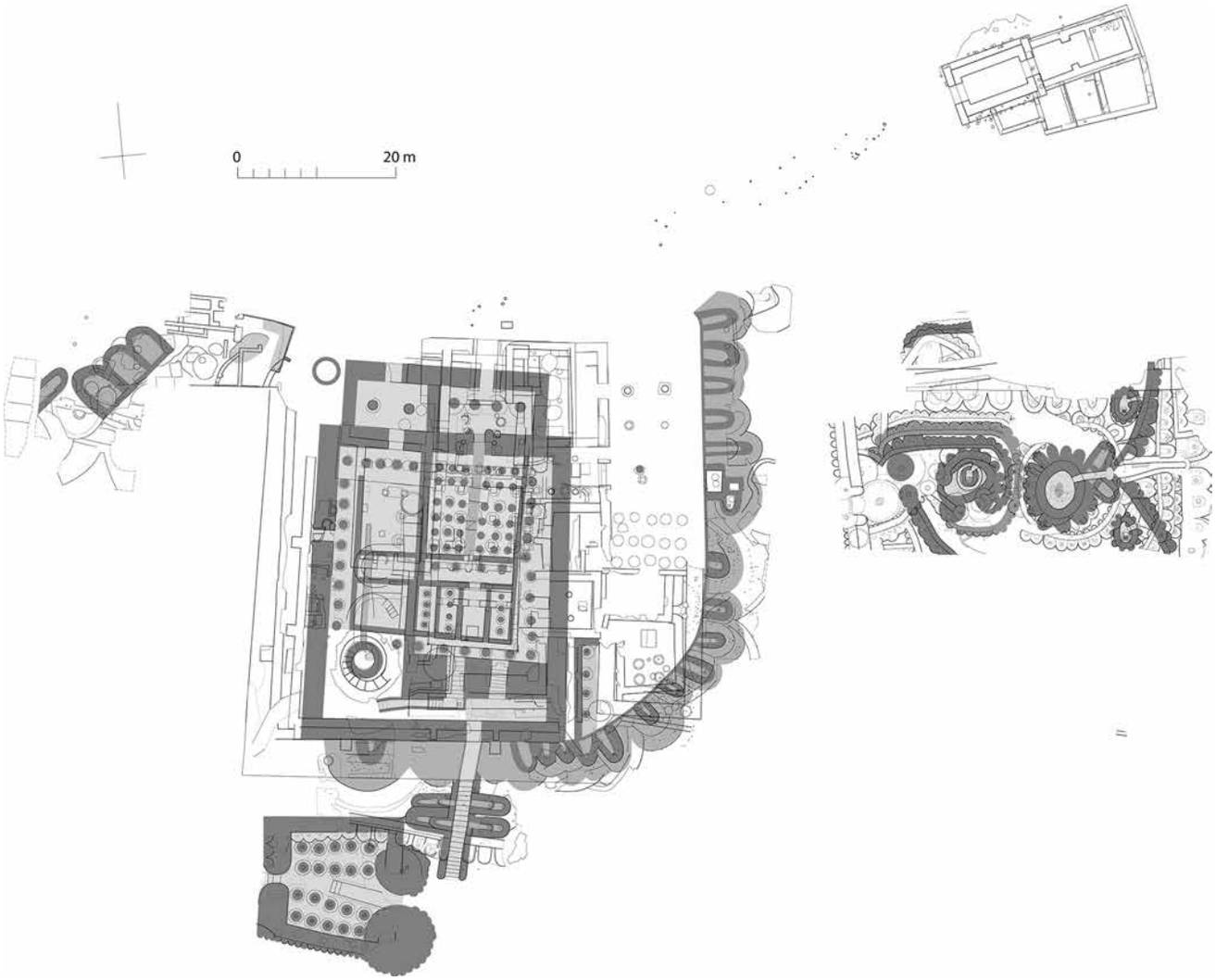

Figure 18.3. Schematic plan of Dukki Gel/Kerma under Thutmose I

Such external colonnades are attested around the temples of Buhen (fig. 18.4a) and Elephantine (fig. 18.4b) during the reign of Hatshepsut, and this architectural innovation has been linked with this queen for a long time. But the excavations of the Treasury of Thutmose I at Karnak (fig. 18.4c) have shown that the sanctuary was surrounded by a stone peripteral system, revealing an interest for this architectural choice already under the reign of this king. So it is not surprising that the religious ensemble founded by Thutmose I at Dukki Gel includes this element. Of course, it had to fit into the mudbrick architecture, which remains poorly understood. The peripteral portico plays an important part in the overall plan, as it determines the layout of the monuments and underlines the main axes. The northern portico, which apparently went on toward the city gate and probably also bordered the eastern temple, is yet to be discovered.

It seems that the central temple was entirely made of mudbrick. Its plan is impressive: one would pass through a pylon and a courtyard with four columns, then through a door in a 2-meter-thick wall, before reaching the peripteral portico (fig. 18.5). Its six columns show an intercolumniation which differs from that observed on the other sides, as they were built in line with those of the hypostyle hall. The peripteral portico, associated with the hypostyle hall from the outset, gave direct access to it, without a separation wall. The thirty-six columns of the large hall are built at very close intervals. Again, we are surprised by their powerful foundations, preserved in depth under the form of marker mounds between the trenches of the later works. These retaining structures allowed to reach an elevation which was probably of the same height as that of the portico.

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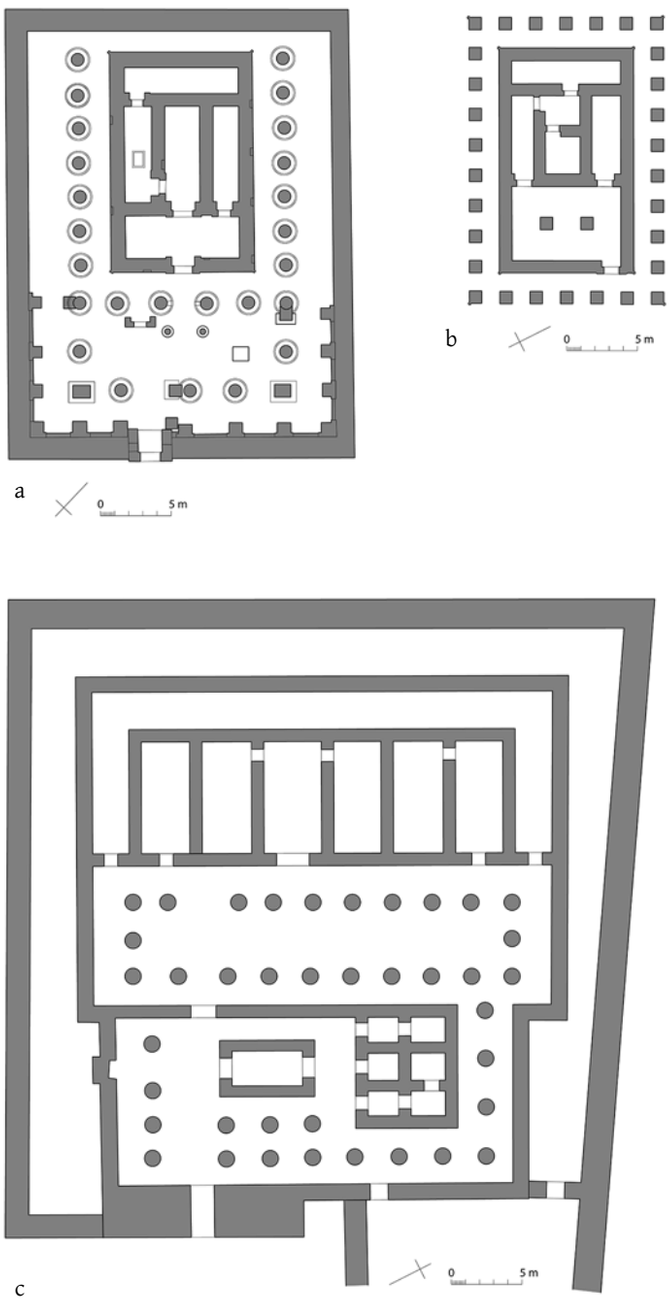

Figure 18.4. Plans of (*a*) the temple of Hatshepsut at Buhen (after Emery 1965), (*b*) Elephantine (after Kaiser 1998a), and (*c*) of the Treasury of Thutmose I at Karnak (after Jacquet 1983)

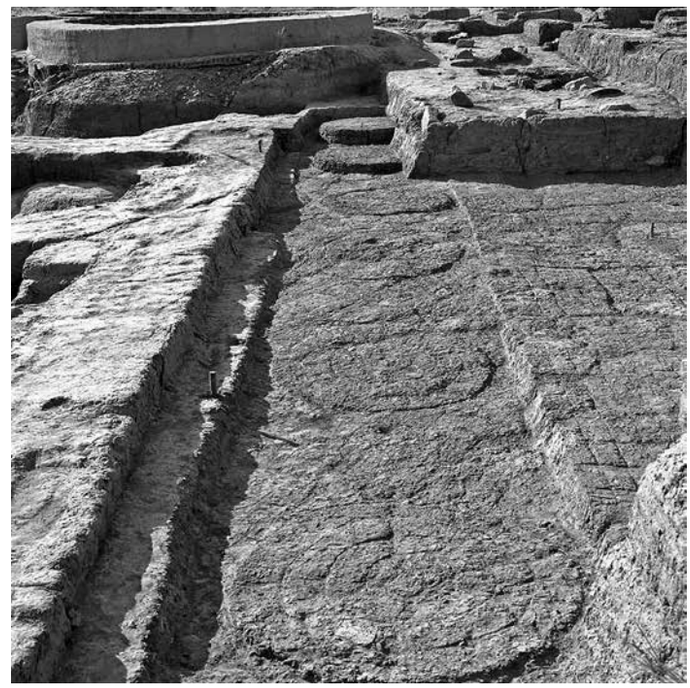

Figure 18.5. Western side of the peripteral portico

The central aisle would lead to the pronaos, whose roofing was supported by four columns. The circulation axis leading to the sanctuary is slightly askew in relation to the alignment. The holy of holies was flanked to the east by a room with four columns and, to the west, by two rooms, also with four columns, which could be reached from the pronaos. Beyond the sanctuary, remains of the peripteral portico and of the temenos are still preserved. Going through the latter are two staircases: the first one, made of mudbrick, led out of the town; with a length of 20 meters, it was included in a complex fortification system. After a right-angle bend, the second staircase would join an underground passage with stone and mudbrick steps following a steep slope down to a well. These two passages were linked to the peripteral portico.

In the present state of our research, the plan of the western temple attributed to Thutmose I is not entirely known, as the hypostyle hall has not yet been cleared, but several transverse walls link it to the central building. Moreover, the peripteral portico as well as the temenos surround the two places of worship. The courtyard comprised two columns only. Then one would reach the peripteral four-sided area, which was certainly also associated with the hypostyle hall. In the southwestern corner of the latter, a staircase would lead to an underground passage which, as in the case of the central temple, would reach the well situated 4 or 5 meters below. The next field seasons should allow us to complete the plan of the pronaos and of the sanctuary.

A deep sounding carried out in a pit of the late Meroitic period, situated to the east of the temples just described, has revealed a relatively clear stratigraphy. In the deep strata, the negative imprints of stone

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columns suggest that early Eighteenth Dynasty levels have kept the remains of the eastern temple, for which the states attributable to Thutmose III and Akhenaten are known, as well as the Napatan and Meroitic periods. In all likelihood, this location was used by Thutmose I, as it is bordered by the fortifications dating back to his reign. This hypothesis will certainly be confirmed, as the presence of a sanctuary of Hatshepsut is virtually proved by the level of the stone column traces, and the overlapping of the structures belonging to the two reigns is attested all over the site.

The envoys of Queen Hatshepsut modify the architecture of the temples to a great extent, replacing their mudbrick columns by stone pillars resting on circular bases. We could note that the foundations of the new supports systematically alternate with those of the demolished mudbrick columns (fig. 18.6). The greatest effort was apparently concentrated on the hypostyle hall. The clearings so far carried out in the central temple suggest that the two adjoining sides of the peripteral portico are integrated into the hypostyle hall, the dimensions of which are impressive. One can even wonder if it would expand to the east. As to the hypostyle hall of the western temple, it is entirely modified according to the same principle, by incorporating the peripteral portico to the north (fig. 18.7).

The sanctuary of the central temple, however, does not seem to have gone through important modifications, except for the second annex to the west, which is leveled down to allow the circulation between the hypostyle hall and the underground passage leading to the well. In the western temple, the access to the well is maintained. The plan of the southern peripteral portico was apparently left intact during these works; its columns are restored, giving them a slightly larger diameter. The height of the mudbrick paving is raised, and the thickness of the temenos is reduced. At the same time, the developments around the well are also modified. In every place where the floor was in place, we could observe that it was covered by a layer of white coating, just like the walls.

This architectural ensemble was destroyed after the reign of Queen Hatshepsut, and this in a most violent manner, as attested by the deep layers of sandstone fragments identified under the reconstructions of

Figure 18.6. Location of the stone pillars between the previous mudbrick columns

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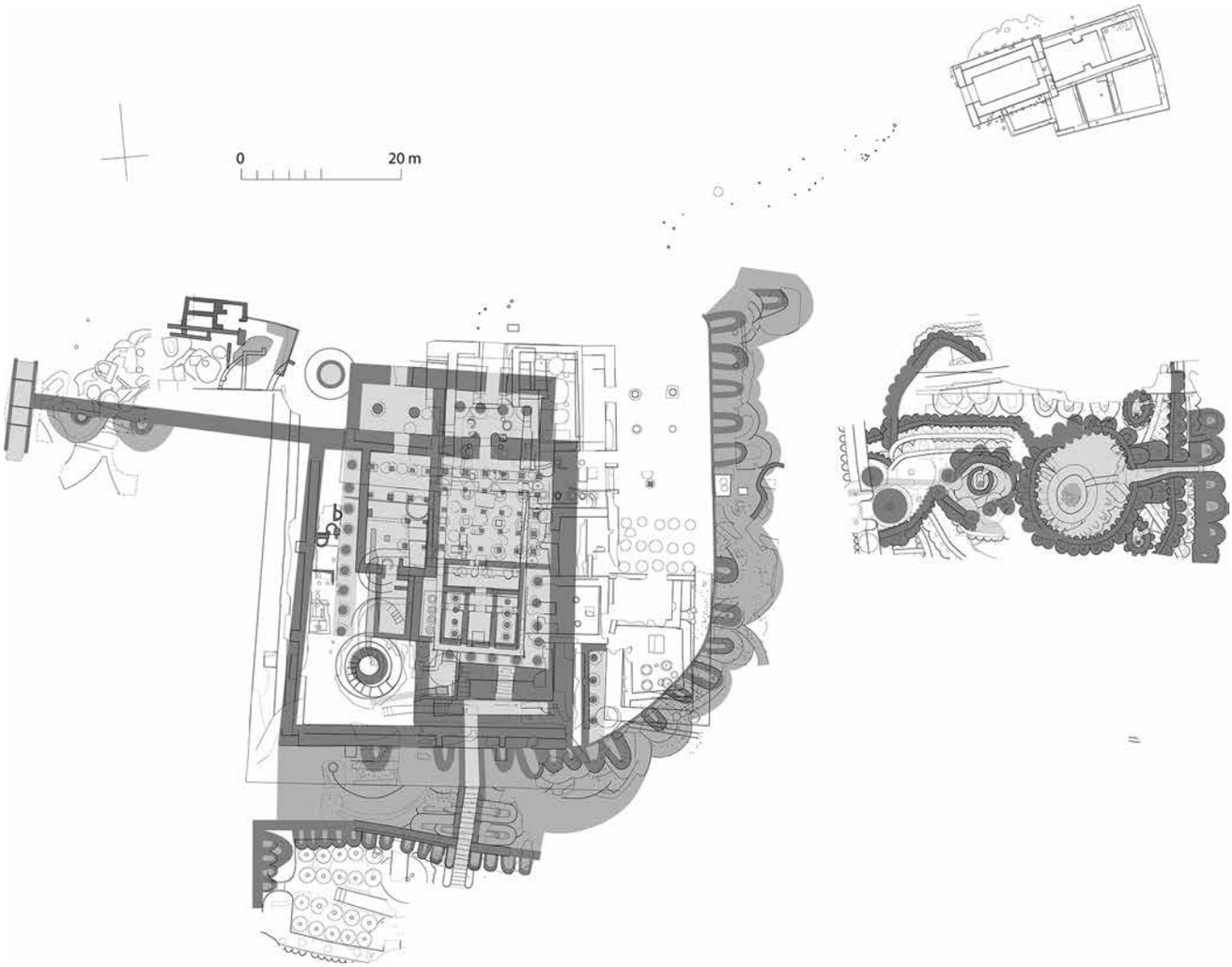

Figure 18.7. Schematic plan of Dukki Gel/Kerma under the reign of Hatshepsut

Thutmose III. As a result, virtually nothing remains of her low-relief decoration, but for a few fragments from the pillars of the hypostyle halls. Almost all stone bases are destroyed up to their foundations. The western temple has suffered a little less. The virulence of the destructions could be verified by the stratigraphy in the eastern temple: at a depth of 3 meters, only the negative imprints of the columns are still noticeable, whereas large rubble piles up, reaching a thickness of 1 meter.

The analysis of these remains revealed that the main elements of the buildings and fortifications and the foundation of the town are contemporaneous. The peripteral portico is part of the architectural project, and the hypostyle halls are linked to it. The two wells are also taken into account from the beginning, as underground passages enable to bring the water directly in the hypostyle halls (fig. 18.8). A temenos protects the built ensemble, whereas the access courtyards are relatively minor. Moreover, one also notes a progressive shift in the architecture, from the use of mudbrick to that of stone, an increasing trend during the reigns of Thutmose III, Thutmose IV, and Akhenaten. Little by little, Nubian construction techniques are abandoned in favor of works more in accordance with Egyptian patterns.

Without mentioning here all the aspects of the Nubian religious complex, one should point out its peculiar proximity to the town that represents the power of Egypt. Is it out of deference to the local gods that their two oval temples are spared? Out of pragmatic political considerations? In addition to the ambiguity of this neighborhood, the precincts that surrounded the Nubian complex were reshaped several times, as well as the gates, as if to enlarge the protected space (fig. 18.9). Moreover, this confrontation is also shown on the architectural level, as the proliferation of rounded bastions and the circular or oval plan of the buildings

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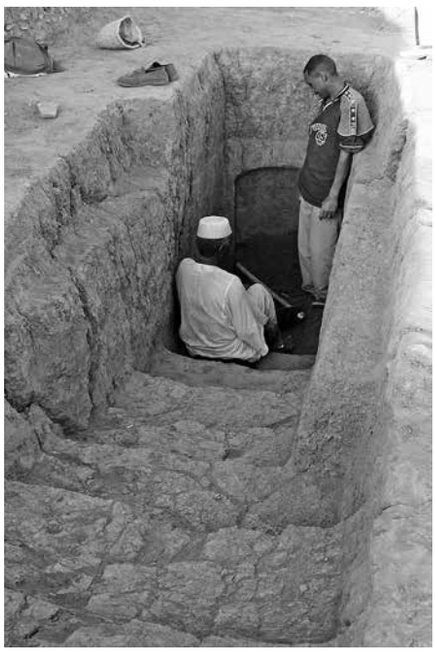

Figure 18.8. The southern underground passage which enables water to be brought into the hypostyle hall

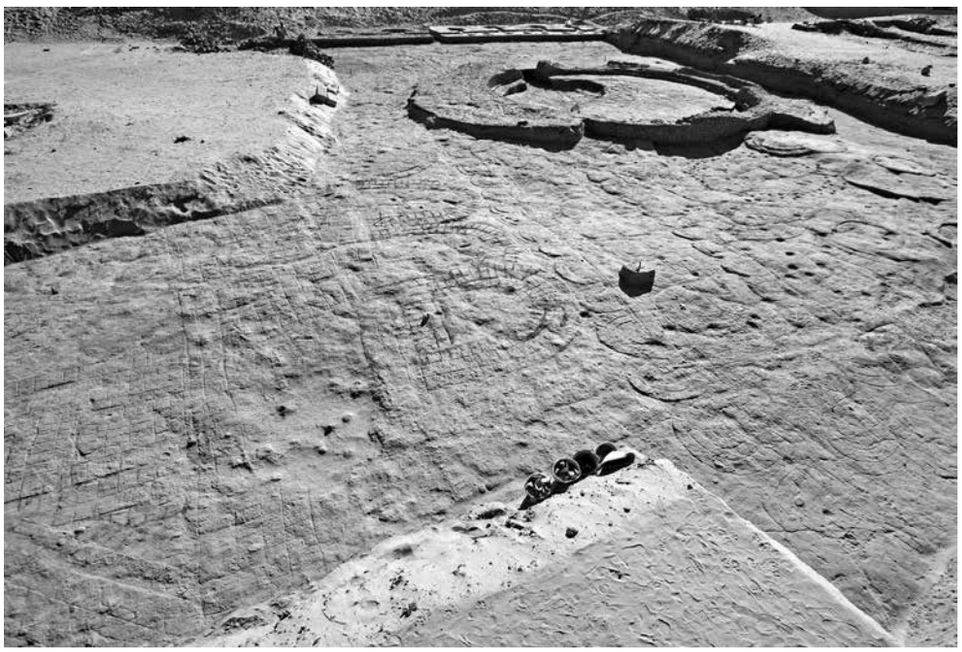

Figure 18.9. General view of the two Nubian temples

must have provided a startling contrast to the Egyptian town. A change appears under the reign of Thutmose III, as the development of the religious complex is restricted, but the main temples are preserved.

I should also mention here the huge building erected to the southwest of the southern gate of the town. Excavations are still underway, but one can already say that the edifice was oriented east–west and was directly linked to the central temple of Thutmose I. Two towers, with a diameter of 6 meters, flanked the entrance situated at the bottom of a staircase, on a perpendicular axis. The first room, with a total length of 16 meters, had a trapezoid plan (14 × 12 m). Four rows of five columns were erected on each side of a central passage (fig. 18.10). Their alignment narrows progressively, with the effect that the beholder's attention is focused on the door giving access to the next room, all the more since the floor level is slightly raised. This effect was even emphasized by the presence of a staircase in the middle of the hypostyle hall. A series of small buttresses would strengthen its lateral wall.

The architecture of this building (fig. 18.11), like that of the precinct wall, shows the participation of the local populations in the construction program of the town. The collaboration apparently established is surprising, as it gives rise to mixed achievements which are very far from the Egyptian standards. During the temporary period when Nubians came back into power, the building was burned and destroyed up to the foundations, probably because it represented the foreign power: perhaps a palace or warehouse for the precious tributes accumulated. Future research in this area will certainly yield clues.

When the region is pacified by Thutmose II and then by Hatshepsut, restoration campaigns of the defense systems are organized, and the southwestern building is entirely concealed by new fortifications. The town precinct is reinforced by surprisingly developed bastions, which still pertain to the Nubian tradition. Only with the more traditional military approach of Thutmose III does the former Nubian influence disappear (fig. 18.12). The rounded temples, however, with their buttresses regularly placed along the wall, are kept in place and could remain places of worship for many centuries. The agreement reached with the Nubians at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty will prevail until the military campaigns of Psammetichus II, around 590 B.C., when the Nubian temple is destroyed by fire, to be restored shortly afterward and remain in use until the Meroitic period.

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Figure 18.10. Hypostyle hall of the building erected by Thutmose I to the southwest of the town

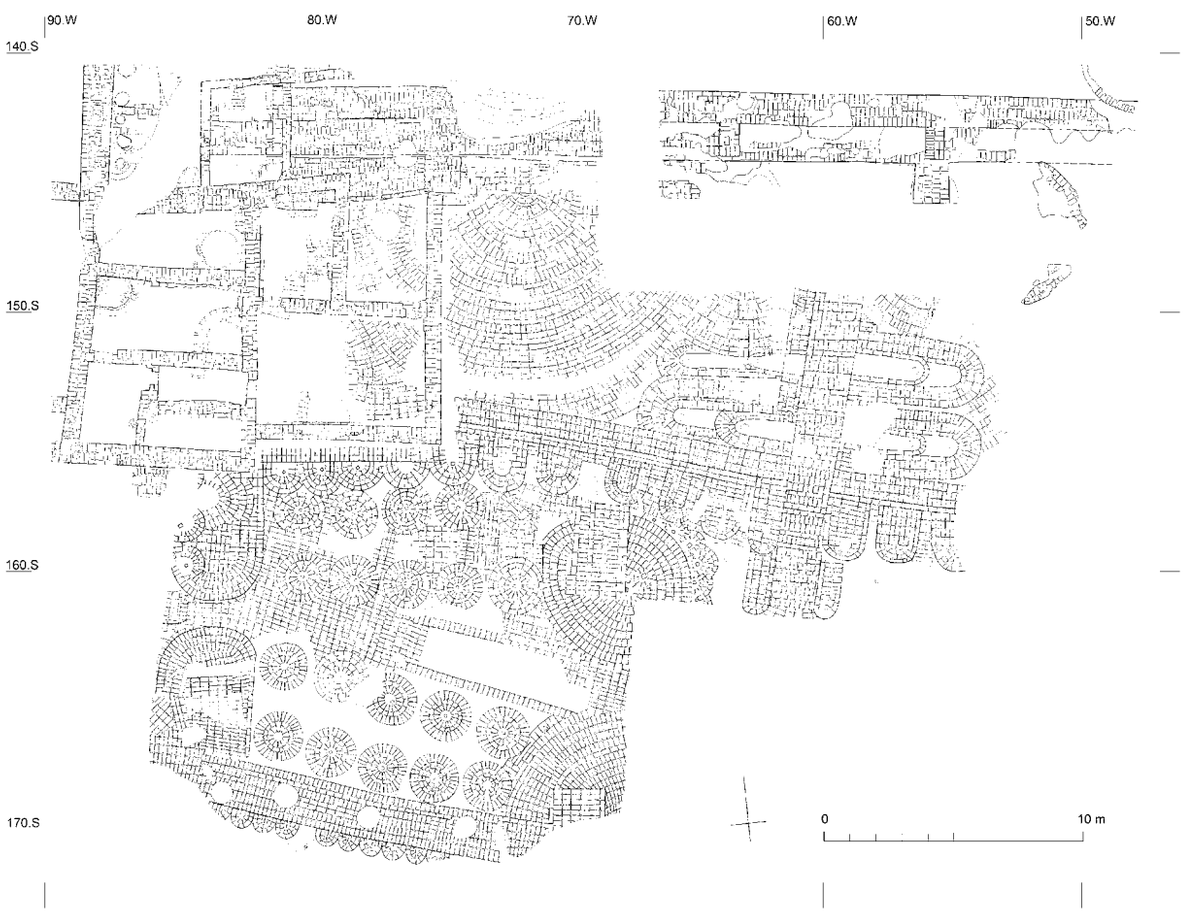

Figure 18.11. Detailed plan of the hypostyle hall

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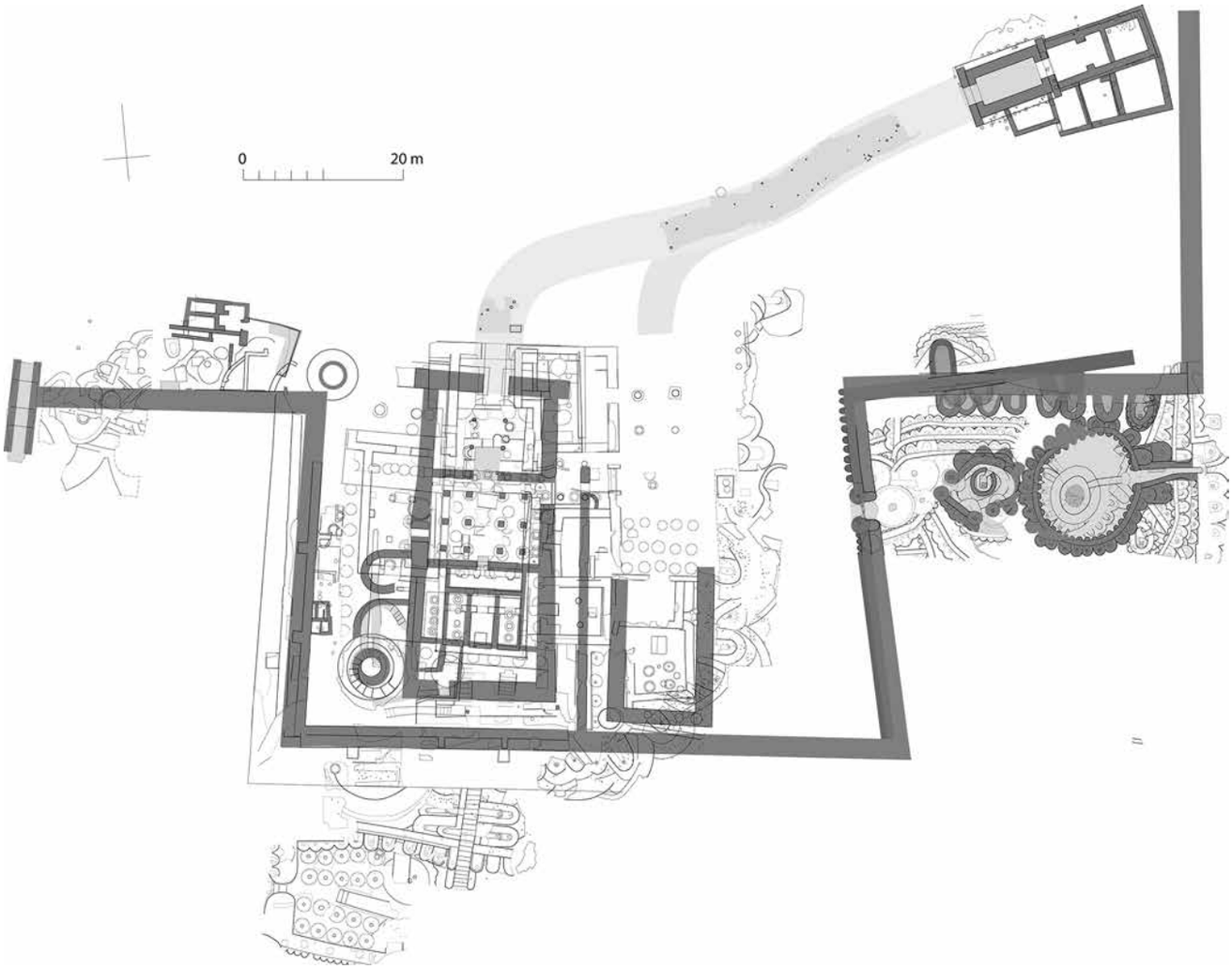

Figure 18.12. Schematic plan of Dukki Gel/Kerma under the reign of Thutmose III

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The Part of Hatshepsut in Some Architectural Programs of the Early Eighteenth Dynasty

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The architectural programs of Thutmose III have greatly contributed to hide or to rub out those of Hatshepsut, in Egypt and in Nubia. Since year 22 of his reign, he presented a distorted image of the work of the architects of his hated aunt and mother-in-law. But the successive architectural and decorative programs of the queen, completing those of her father or her husband, or taking place in his name after his death, contributed also to shuffle the cards.

In Dukki Gel (Pnubs), no epigraphic remains can be presently assigned to the first level of construction of the New Kingdom town dated by C. Bonnet to the reign of Thutmose I (Bonnet 2009, pp. 96–98; see also his article in this volume). In a level of sandstone chips, two fragments of Hatshepsut's cartouches were found (figs. 19.1–2; Valbelle 2006, pp. 39–40, figs. 5–6; 2008, p. 85, figs. 2–3) in connection with the second great architectural program of the site with which the queen may be credited without any possible mistake. The limestone remains of the decoration connected with that level, today reduced to hundreds of fragments of various sizes, have been collected in the area of the western temple. In its sanctuary, many private stelae and cult objects devoted to Amun of Pnubs were lying on a whitewashed floor (Valbelle 2003a, pp. 201–02; 2005, pp. 251–52, figs. 3–4; Valbelle and Bonnet 2003; Bonnet 2008, p. 78).

On two fragments, a cartouche of Thutmose I — *ꜣ-ḫpr-kꜣ-rᶜ* — may be identified. One (fig. 19.3) was found in the same level as the Hatshepsut fragments and can therefore be also assigned to the decoration of the western temple of Hatshepsut in Dukki Gel (Valbelle 2005, p. 251, fig. 2; 2008, p. 85, fig. 1). It apparently originates from the decoration of a pillar of the hypostyle hall of that temple. A second cartouche of Thutmose I

Figure 19.1. Fragment of a cartouche of Hatshepsut from the western temple. © Swiss Archaeological Mission in Dukki Gel/Kerma (Sudan)

Figure 19.2. Fragment of a cartouche of Maatkara from the western temple. © Swiss Archaeological Mission in Dukki Gel/Kerma (Sudan)

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(Valbelle 2003b, p. 292, fig. 2) was discovered in a disturbed level, in the surroundings of the central temple's sanctuary (fig. 19.4). Its style is completely different from the first fragment, and it might have been re-engraved. It is consequently difficult to assign it to a precise monument.

Additionally, on two fragments of a lintel (fig. 19.5), a part of the red crown, the last sign of the [ꜣ-ḫpr].*n*-[*r*ᶜ] (Valbelle 2007a, p. 214, fig. 1),[1] the coronation name of Thutmose II (von Beckerath 1999, p. 135) probably attest to reconstructions ordered by this king after the repressive expedition of year 1, the chronicle of which is recorded on the Assuan stela (Posener 1955; Lorton 1990; Klug 2002, pp. 83–89; Beylage 2002, pp. 21–27; Gabolde 2004; Valbelle 2012, pp. 457–459):

Figure 19.3. Fragment of a cartouche of Aakheperkara from the western temple of Hatshepsut. © Swiss Archaeological Mission in Dukki Gel/Kerma (Sudan)

Figure 19.4. Fragment of a cartouche of Aakheperkara found in the central temple. © Swiss Archaeological Mission in Dukki Gel/Kerma (Sudan)

Figure 19.5. Two fragments of a lintel of Aakheperenra. © Swiss Archaeological Mission in Dukki Gel/Kerma (Sudan)

[1] L. Gabolde proposes an alternative interpretation of the traces as the sign *mi* which may be part of an epithet of Thumose I (*ḫ*ᶜ *mi rᶜ*), acknowledging, however, that it is impossible for him to choose between these two lectures (Gabolde 2011, p. 136, n. 81).

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> Kush-the-wretched had begun to rebel, those who were vassals of the lord of the Two Lands have weaved a plot and they came to plunder Egyptian people in order to take hold on the cattle (penned) in the back of the *menenu* which your father, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt ʿAakheperkara — may he live forever! —, erected at the time of his victories to hold the rebellious foreign countries: the Nubian tribesmen of Khenthennefer. Thus there was a leader in the north of Kush-the-wretched, and he has entered in a time of revolt together with two Nubian tribesmen from among the children of the leader of Kush-the-wretched … this foreign country was divided into three regions, each one being as their proper possession …. His Majesty sent a great army against Nubia on his first occasion of victory to overthrow all the rebels to his Majesty, the enemies of the lord of the Two Lands. This army of his Majesty reached Kush-the-wretched, the (magic) power of his Majesty leading it, and the terror of him protecting their steps. This army of his Majesty defeated those foreigners and did not indeed let their males live, as his Majesty had ordered, except one of the children of the leader of Kush-the-wretched, brought alive as a prisoner with his family to the place where stayed his Majesty, and of course placed at the feet of the Perfect God.

It is, however, not easy to trace back the initial location of the gate in Dukki Gel from which this lintel originates, based on the dispersion of the two fragments. The small one was found near the hypostyle hall of the central temple, in a destruction level from the Meroitic period; the other had been used in the strengthening of a bastion dating to the reign of Hatshepsut, south of the same temple.

The destruction of that gate may have occurred either before the expedition of Thutmose II's year 1, during his reign after the pacification of the region, or even during the regency of Hatshepsut or her coregency with the young Thutmose III. The general analysis of the remains by Bonnet suggests, however, that the gate could have been destroyed, as were the temples of Thutmose I and Hatshepsut (fig. 19.6), when Thutmose III carried out his new architectural program (Bonnet 2005, p. 233, fig. 12). But the inadequacy of our data to determine the precise moments of the construction and the demolition of that gate induce us to turn toward other sites, where comparison with contemporaneous projects may be useful.

The remains of the New Kingdom found in Semna (Dunham and Janssen 1960, p. 8, pls. 9:c–d) tell a story similar to the one we can guess through the available traces at Dukki Gel. In the southern part of the fortress, Thutmose I orders the erection of a small mudbrick chapel measuring 12.5 × 10.5 meters; it is the same location that the future temple of Taharqa would occupy. Its gate was built in stone and George Reisner could read the name of Thutmose I on a few blocks lying around. Nevertheless, the king's name had disappeared when Dows Dunham visited the site and he thought that those blocks were part of a second stone sanctuary located south of the eastern portico of Thutmose III, traces of which were still visible at that time. In addition, he points out the presence of a broken lintel with the representation of Thutmose II offering water and wine to Dedun, supposing that the lintel was part of a restoration of the first temple.

Figure 19.6. Column bases of the hypostyle hall of Hatshepsut's western temple, cut when Thutmose III ordered the erection of a door leading to his hypostyle hall. © Swiss Archaeological Mission in Dukki Gel/Kerma (Sudan)

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Concerning the temple of Semna, now reconstructed in the garden of the National Museum of Sudan, Khartoum, we know that it was decorated under the reign of Hatshepsut (Caminos 1998, vol. 1, p. 14), whose image and names were erased under the reign of Thutmose III, like the temple of Buhen, where they have been replaced in several spots by the names of Thutmose I and of Thutmose II (Caminos 1974, p. 4). Meanwhile, on the façade of Semna temple, the biographical inscription of a king's son of Kush whose name is lost quotes the names of Ahmose, Amenhotep I, Thutmose I, and Thutmose II, under whose reigns he was active (Caminos 1998, vol. 1, pp. 27–31, pls. 18–19); while the king's son of Thutmose II Turi is represented on the lower part of the gate of Kumma temple, where we can read the names of Thutmose II (Caminos 1998, vol. 2, pp. 22–25, pls. 20–21).

Therefore, the precise role of Thutmose I, Thutmose II, and Hatshepsut in the building and decoration of those various sanctuaries remains partly undetermined. Each of them unquestionably ordered one or several monuments on those sites, as at many others in Nubia where there is no lack of the testimonies of the interest shared by those monarchs of the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty. These begin with the decree sent by Thutmose I to Turi, the king's son of Kush, which is preserved on the Wadi Halfa, Kuban, and Buhen stelae (*Urk.* IV 79–81; Klug 2002, pp. 65–70; Beylage 2002, pp. 413–15), the remains of Tehkhet region (Simpson 1963), and the Tombos stelae (*Urk.* IV 82–88; Klug 2002, pp. 71–78; Beylage 2002, pp. 209–19), and include the graffiti of Hagr el-Merwa (Klug 2002, pp. 79–81; Beylage 2002, pp. 485–86; W. V. Davies 2003 and 2004), to cite only some of the most famous examples.

But, up to now, the site of Dukki Gel is the only one in Upper Nubia to show evidence of an architectural and religious investment of those kings in the region. The Gebel Barkal stela of Thutmose III (Reisner and Reisner 1933, pp. 24–39; *Urk.* IV 1227–43; Klug 2002, pp. 193–208; Beylage 2002, pp. 171–207) being very short on his Nubian policy:

> The year 47, the 3rd month of *akhet* season, the 10th day, under the Majesty of the Horus "Victorious bull arising in Thebes".... He made it as his monument for his father Amun-Ra, master of the thrones of the Two Lands, inside his *menenu* called "Slaughter-of-the desert-dwellers," doing for him a resting place for eternity because he increased the victories of my Majesty more than that of any king before me.

This inscription testifies to the existence of a *menenu* in Gebel Barkal. But until now, aside this stela, only a headless statue of the king was found there (Dunham 1970, p. 17).

In Elephantine, the Hatshepsut temples of Satet (Kaiser 1980; 1993, pp. 104–06) and Khnum (Kaiser 1995; Bommas 2005) present traces of re-engraving under the reign of Thutmose III similar to the Nubian ones. The discovery in Elephantine of a statue of Thutmose II due to Hashepsut (Kaiser 1998b, p. 62) shows that the king was associated with the local cults there too.

But it is obviously in the Theban region that we find the most beautiful collection of works involving Thutmose I, Thutmose II, and Hatshepsut in every possible combination. The substitution of the names of Thutmose II for those of the queen is especially apparent in the Solar Complex of her Deir el-Bahari temple (Karkowski 2003).

In Karnak, Hatshepsut acted either by completing monuments of her father Thutmose I — after his death — and of her husband Thutmose II — during his reign or after his death — by building temples contemporaneous of her regency or even of the coregency, together with Thutmose III.

Among the monuments in the name of Thutmose II in Karnak, Luc Gabolde considers that only the resting chapel made in Tura limestone and the festival courtyard are contemporaneous with the reign of Thutmose II, while the *Netjery-menu* would have been built later, after the death of the king, at the time of the regency, and the monument with niches could be dated between years 1 and 7 of the regency (Gabolde 2005).

Even in the monuments contemporaneous to the reign of Thutmose II, for example, the resting chapel in Tura limestone, Hatshepsut is present, either in the same scenes on the king's side, or alone in symmetrical scenes. In the festival courtyard nevertheless the names and representations of Thutmose II seem to have been always alone (Gabolde 1993, pp. 61–62). The preserved portraits of the king are still rare on the whole blocks and the recovered fragments.

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Concerning the "memorial" temple of Thutmose II (Gabolde and Gabolde 1989), first attributed by Luc and Marc Gabolde to Thutmose III, it may have been, as a matter of fact, done by Hatshepsut, according to the last proposal of Luc Gabolde after his access to the Deir el-Medina magazine, where he found a frieze with the name of Maatkara erased (Gabolde 2005, pp. 175–76).

At the end of this evocation of some monuments in the name of Thutmose II, built with or without the intervention of Hatshepsut, let us leave the Theban region to the eastern delta, in order to discover some particularly interesting architectural elements coming from a limestone monument of Thutmose II, unearthed in 2008–09 by a Supreme Council of Antiquities team directed by Mohamed Abd el-Maksoud on the site of Hebua II, on the northeastern border of Egypt. They are composed of the two central doorjambs and of several large slabs of a tripartite naos dedicated to Horus and Hathor, once erected in the lower levels of the mudbrick monuments of Tjaru (Abd el-Maksoud and Valbelle 2011). Until now neither the names of Hatshepsut nor those of Thutmose III appear on the numerous monuments and objects collected at this site during the three seasons of excavations.[2] We discover there, in a lonesome fortified complex of the eastern border of Egypt, some of the finest portraits of Thutmose II so far preserved (fig. 19.7).

Figure 19.7. Detail of the decoration of a slab from a temple of Thutmose II in Hebua II (Tjaru): portrait of the king. © CSA Mission of Hebua II

[2] A slab showing [Hatshepsut] in front of Horus, lord of Tjaru, and Thutmose III in front of Horus, lord of Mesen, was found at Hebua I in October 2010 (Abd el-Maksoud, Valbelle, and Carrez-Maratray 2013, pp. 700–03).