



<http://researchspace.auckland.ac.nz>

ResearchSpace@Auckland

Copyright Statement

The digital copy of this thesis is protected by the Copyright Act 1994 (New Zealand).

This thesis may be consulted by you, provided you comply with the provisions of the Act and the following conditions of use:

- Any use you make of these documents or images must be for research or private study purposes only, and you may not make them available to any other person.
- Authors control the copyright of their thesis. You will recognise the author's right to be identified as the author of this thesis, and due acknowledgement will be made to the author where appropriate.
- You will obtain the author's permission before publishing any material from their thesis.

To request permissions please use the Feedback form on our webpage.

<http://researchspace.auckland.ac.nz/feedback>

General copyright and disclaimer

In addition to the above conditions, authors give their consent for the digital copy of their work to be used subject to the conditions specified on the [Library Thesis Consent Form](#) and [Deposit Licence](#).

Note : Masters Theses

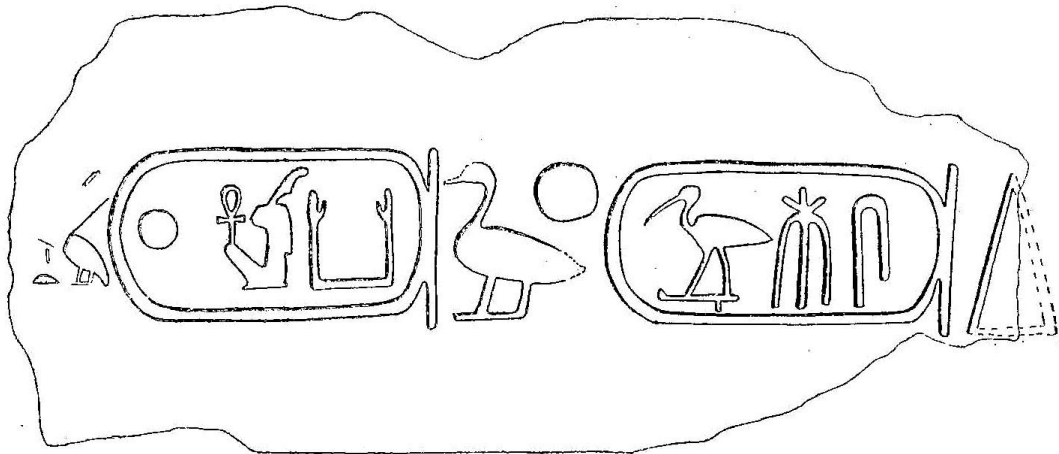
The digital copy of a masters thesis is as submitted for examination and contains no corrections. The print copy, usually available in the University Library, may contain corrections made by hand, which have been requested by the supervisor.

Hatshepsut

Four Investigations

By

Aaron Shackell-Smith



186

THESIS SUBMITTED AS FULL COMPLETION OF A
DOCTORATE OF PHILOSOPHY,
UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND

2012

Contents

Acknowledgements	7
Opening Sentiments	9
List of Figures	15
List of Tables	16
List of Abbreviations	17
Chapter One: Literature Review	29
1.1 Introduction and General Comments	29
1.2 Dating Hatshepsut's reign	30
1.3 Thutmose III	39
1.4 Art, Statuary and Portraiture	42
1.4.1 <i>Historiography of Early Eighteenth Dynasty Art and Statuary</i>	42
1.4.2 <i>Uniformity, considerations and 'periods' or 'phases' in the statuary and portraiture of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III</i>	45
1.5 'Innovations' and the office of God's Wife of Amun	50
1.5.1 <i>Innovations</i>	50
1.5.2 <i>God's Wife of Amun – brief history and summary</i>	51
1.5.3 <i>God's Wife of Amun – relevance to the present study</i>	54
1.6 Senenmut, his statuary and other officials	59
1.7 Defacement of Epigraphy and Iconography	61
Chapter Two: Methodologies	63
2.1 Introduction	63
2.2 Datasets, appendices, tables and figures	65
2.2.1 <i>Assembling the Evidence – The Catalogue</i>	65
2.2.2 <i>Selection criteria for each research question</i>	67
2.2.3 <i>The Tabular and Figurative Information</i>	71
2.2.4 <i>Bibliography and Plates</i>	71
2.3 Statuary, portraiture and temple iconography	72
2.3.1 <i>Statuary</i>	72
2.3.2 <i>Differing architectural mediums</i>	73
2.4 Narrative Methodology	76
2.4.1 <i>Background</i>	76
2.4.2 <i>The Genre of Narrative</i>	77
2.4.3 <i>Comments on Epigraphic Elements</i>	79
a. Time	79
b. Event	81
c. Character	82
d. Place / Location	85
Chapter Three: Investigation 1 – Is the terminology used during Hatshepsut's formative years adequate?	87
3.1 Introduction	87
3.2 Hatshepsut's Queenship and 'governance' period	90
3.2.1 <i>Wadi Sikkat Sarcophagus (Cat. 3.3)</i>	90
3.2.2 <i>Berlin Stela 15699 (Cat. 5.3)</i>	93
3.2.3 <i>Cairo Vase 18486 (Cat. 4.9)</i>	94
3.2.4 <i>Red Granite Statue – Thutmose II (Cat. 1.21)</i>	94
3.2.5 <i>Karnak Chapel dedicated to Thutmose II (Cat. 2.4)</i>	95
3.2.6 <i>Vase Fragments #8, KV20 (Cat. 4.7)</i>	97
3.2.7 <i>Vase 18.8.15, Wadi Gabbanat (Cat. 4.8)</i>	98

3.2.8	<i>Blocks from the Eastern Karnak Chapel (Cat. 2.6)</i>	100
3.2.9	<i>Step Pyramid Graffito of Ptah-hotep (Cat. 4.1)</i>	103
3.2.10	<i>Biography of Ineni (Cat. 3.1)</i>	104
3.2.11	<i>Summary</i>	111
3.3	The successional claim for kingship – early years	112
3.3.1	<i>Vase 26.8.8, Wadi Gabbanat (Cat. 4.8)</i>	112
3.3.2	<i>Vase Fragments #6, KV20 (Cat. 4.7)</i>	113
3.3.3	<i>Semnah temple (Cat. 2.1)</i>	114
3.3.3a	Scenes of Thutmose III	115
3.3.3b	Scenes of Hatshepsut	116
3.3.3c	'Episodic' and 'Culminative' Considerations	118
3.3.3d	Extrinsic Inscriptions of Hatshepsut	121
3.3.3e	Summary for the temple of Semnah	125
3.3.4	<i>Upper Court and Colonnade, DEB (Cat. 2.9)</i>	126
3.3.5	<i>Chapel dedicated to Thutmose I, DEB (Cat. 2.8)</i>	129
3.3.6	<i>Block 287 from the Chapelle Rouge (Cat. 2.2)</i>	130
3.3.7	<i>Summary</i>	139
3.4	The successional claim for kingship – Statuary	141
3.4.1	<i>Hatshepsut's statuary from temple locations</i>	141
3.4.1a	MMA 31.3.155: Bust of Osirid statue (Cat. 1.1)	143
3.4.1b	MMA 30.3.3: Seated 'khat headdress' statue (Cat. 1.2)	145
3.4.1c	MMA 29.3.3: Seated 'red granite' statue (Cat. 1.3)	145
3.4.1d	MMA 29.3.2: Seated 'limestone' statue (Cat. 1.4)	148
3.4.1e	MMA 31.3.168: Seated 'diorite' statue (Cat. 1.5)	150
3.4.1f	MMA 27.3.163: Seated 'oversized' statue (Cat. 1.6)	151
3.4.2	<i>BM 1513 (Cat. 1.18)</i>	154
3.4.3	<i>BM 174 (Cat. 1.12)</i>	155
3.5	The successional claim for kingship: mid-years	155
3.5.1	<i>The el-Mahatta Inscription of Senenmut at Aswan (Cat. 4.2)</i>	156
3.5.2	<i>North Karnak stela (Cat. 5.2)</i>	163
3.5.3	<i>Year 5 User-amun appointment (Cat. 4.10)</i>	171
3.5.4	<i>Two year five Sinai stelae (Cat. 5.1)</i>	175
3.5.5	<i>Year 6 graffito-stela of Tjemhy (Cat. 4.17)</i>	177
3.6	Evidence for accession / transition	178
3.6.1	<i>Karnak Door Lintel (Cat. 4.13)</i>	178
3.6.2	<i>The oil-jars and year seven (Cat. 4.4)</i>	182
3.6.3	<i>Sheikh Labib Statue (Cat. 1.16)</i>	188
3.6.4	<i>Crowning Scenes, Chapelle Rouge (Cat. 2.3)</i>	190
3.6.5	<i>Northern Middle Colonnade (La Texte de la Jeunesse, Cat. 2.9)</i>	198
A.	Plate LVI: Prophecy and scenes from the 'Youth of Hatshepsut'	200
B.	Plate LVII: Text of the 'Youth of Hatshepsut' and Governance	204
C.	Plate LVIII: Successional bid for the throne	208
D.	Plate LIX: 'Transition'	210
E.	Plates LX - LXII: 'Irregular Coronation' I – presentation and epigraphy	211
F.	Plates LXIII-LXIV: 'Irregular Coronation' II - Rites and Libation	215
G.	Final Comments – the 'Other' Sed-Festival of Hatshepsut	217
H.	Summary of Findings	222
3.7	Addendum – other considerations	225
3.7.1	<i>The 'other' sarcophagi of Hatshepsut (Cat. 3.4, 3.6)</i>	225
3.7.2	<i>Biography of Ahmose Pen-Nekhet (Cat. 3.2)</i>	228
3.7.3	<i>The temple of Horus at Buhen (Cat. 2.11)</i>	233
3.7.4	<i>Re-constructed North Karnak Chapel (Cat. 2.5)</i>	238
3.8	Chapter Three Summation	241

Chapter Four: Investigation 2 – Are the Offices of God's Wife of Amun and Kingship mutually exclusive?	248
4.1 Introduction.....	248
4.2 Evidence from the temples	248
4.2.1 <i>Comments on the Hmt-nTr title from Semnah temple (Cat. 2.1) ..</i>	<i>248</i>
4.2.2 <i>Blocks from the Eastern Karnak Temple (Cat. 2.6).....</i>	<i>249</i>
4.3 The Berlin Stela 15699 (Cat. 5.3)	250
4.4 Funerary objects bearing the title Hmt nTr	250
4.4.1 <i>The Wadi Sikkat Sarcophagus (Cat. 3.3).....</i>	<i>250</i>
4.4.2 <i>The Tomb of Ahmose Pen-Nekhet at el-Kab (Cat. 3.2)</i>	<i>251</i>
4.5 Vases from the reign of Hatshepsut	252
4.5.1 <i>The Cairo Vase CG18486 (Cat. 4.9).....</i>	<i>252</i>
4.5.2 <i>Vase fragments from KV20 (Cat. 4.7).....</i>	<i>254</i>
4.5.3 <i>Two Vases from the Wadi Gabbanat el-Qurud region (Cat. 4.8) .</i>	<i>254</i>
4.6 Documents of Senenmut.....	255
4.6.1 <i>el-Mahatta Inscription of Senenmut at Aswan (Cat. 4.2).....</i>	<i>255</i>
4.6.2 <i>North Karnak Stela of Senenmut (Cat. 5.2)</i>	<i>255</i>
4.6.3 <i>BM 174 (Cat. 1.12) and BM 1513 (Cat. 1.18)</i>	<i>256</i>
4.7 Final items demonstrating the Hmt-nTr title.....	259
4.7.1 <i>Oil-Jars from the tomb of Ramose and Hatnofer (Cat. 4.4).....</i>	<i>259</i>
4.7.2 <i>Scarabs and related materials with the 'God's Wife' title (no Cat.)</i>	<i>.....</i>
.....	<i>260</i>
4.7.3 <i>The year 11 Sinai stela of Neferure and Senenmut (Cat. 5.6)</i>	<i>263</i>
4.8 Summary of Findings for Hatshepsut and the office of Hmt-nTr.....	264
Chapter Five: Investigation 3 – Neferure, Senenmut and Hatshepsut, relations of Political Intent, Personal Agenda or Sexuality?	266
5.1 Introduction.....	266
5.2 Dating the life and death of Senenmut and Neferure	267
5.3 Neferure and the 'God's Wife (of Amun)'	268
5.3.1 <i>Striding Statue 173800 (Cat. 1.14)</i>	<i>269</i>
5.3.2 <i>Berlin Statue 2296 (Cat. 1.8)</i>	<i>270</i>
5.3.3 <i>Cairo Stela CG 34013 (Cat. 5.10).....</i>	<i>271</i>
5.3.4 <i>The year 11 'Sinai Stela' (Cat. 5.6)</i>	<i>271</i>
5.4 Senenmut and Neferure: the Statuary of Senenmut.....	275
5.4.1 <i>Block Statue of Senenmut - EA/BM 174 (Cat. 1.12)</i>	<i>276</i>
5.4.2 <i>'Kneeling' Statue of Senenmut CG 42116 (Cat. 1.11)</i>	<i>277</i>
5.5 Graffito at Deir el-Bahri (Cat. 4.12).....	278
5.6 Concluding Remarks to Chapter Five.....	280
Chapter Six: Investigation 4 - The Sinai Material, titular testing ground?	282
6.1 Introduction.....	282
6.2 The dated material	283
6.2.1 <i>The two year five Sinai stelae (Cat. 5.1)</i>	<i>283</i>
6.2.2 <i>Year 11 stela of Senenmut and Neferure (Cat. 5.6).....</i>	<i>283</i>
6.2.3 <i>Year 13 stela (Cat. 5.7).....</i>	<i>283</i>
6.2.4 <i>Year 16 Wadi Maghara stela (Cat. 5.8).....</i>	<i>286</i>
6.2.5 <i>Year 20 Nakht stela (Cat. 5.9)</i>	<i>287</i>
6.3 The undated material	289
6.3.1 <i>Undated stela erected at the temple of Hathor, Serabit el-Khadim</i>	<i>.....</i>

<i>(GPC, Sinai, no. 177; Cat. 5.4)</i>	289
6.3.2 <i>Inscribed block (GPC, Sinai, no. 178; Cat. 5.5)</i>	290
6.3.3 <i>Inscription from the North Wall of the Hall of Soped, temple of Hathor (GPC, Sinai, no. 182; Cat. 5.5)</i>	291
6.3.4 <i>Inscription from the sanctuary of Soped, west wall (GPC, Sinai, no. 183; Cat. 5.5)</i>	291
6.3.5 <i>Pillar Inscriptions, Hall of Soped (GPC, Sinai, no. 184; Cat. 5.5)</i>	292
6.3.6 <i>Joint-title Lintel (GPC, Sinai, no. 186; Cat. 5.5)</i>	294
6.3.7 <i>Block Inscription (GPC, Sinai, no. 187; Cat. 5.5)</i>	296
6.4 Chapter Six Summary	296
Chapter Seven: Synthesis of Findings	298
7.1 General Summary	298
7.2 Hatshepsut and Thutmose as a 'cooperative kingship'	304
7.3 Final thoughts.....	306
Bibliography	340

Acknowledgements

To thank the many and varied people that have assisted me with this undertaking is an onerous task, for so many have helped along the way. First and foremost, to my supervisor, mentor and friend Dr. Jennifer Hellum, whose insight, expertise and wisdom in the field of Egyptology has been of immeasurable help. Also, for her resolute belief in my ability to simply “get the job done”, may I sincerely say thank you. To Dr. Marcus Wilson and Professor Anthony Spalinger for their coaching and training over the many years it has taken to prepare this research.

To the many others who have lent their expertise, technical or otherwise, I also extend my thanks. To Professor Gay Robins at Emory University for riveting discussions on females of the early New Kingdom; so too Associate Professor Anne Mackay and Dr. Paul McKechnie for their valuable insights into Greek and Roman art. To Professor Antonio Loprieno of the University of Basel for challenging discourses on some of the methodologies employed in this work, and their application. I would also like to thank Dr. Stephen Wimmer from the University of Munich for access to pertinent materials pre-publication. To Associate Professor Chikako Watanabe of Osaka Gakuin University for thought-provoking communications on artistic methodologies across multiple old world civilisations; as well as Martin Worthington, Associate Professor Boyo Ockinga from Macquarie University, Dr Martin Bommas of Basel University, and Professor Olaf E. Kaper of Leiden University - to each I offer my thanks for valuable comments and critiques on portions of the research.

To the University of Auckland Library staff, especially those in the Interloans Department and Mr. William Hamill of the ‘Special Collection’ Department I extend heart-felt thanks for assistance with international materials and the myriad of plates I had to consult in the preparation of this work. I dutifully acknowledge the research grants received from the University of Auckland, Graduate Research Centre which permitted me to travel to Egypt and Europe in 2002 and Europe and the United Kingdom in 2003. For curatorial

assistance, especially with regard to photographs, my thanks go out to museums around the world. Foremost, however, I must thank Dr. Richard Parkinson and Marcel Marée at the British Museum for access to documents and resources of the British Museum and Dr. Catharine Roehrig at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. To others that have helped along the way, my thanks go to Dr. John J. Johnston, Dr. Timothy Kendall, Dr. Caroline Rocheleau, Dr. Christian Knoblauch, Associate Professor Robert K. Ritner, Professor John Baines, Professor Alan B. Lloyd, Dr. Joachim Quack and Dr. Willeke Wendrich.

To my Egyptologist friends, and budding doctoral students I have met along the way; your input and intellectual discourses have always been warmly welcomed. You are too numerous to list here, but might I offer a special thanks to the following: Emil Buzov of New Bulgarian University of Sofia, Angélique Corthals of Oxford University, Aline Gallasch-Hall of Lisbon University, Rita Lucarelli of Leiden University, Mladen Tomorad of Zagreb University, Dr. Renata Tatomir of the University of Bucharest and Renata Landgráfová at the Czech National Centre for Egyptology. Lastly, to Mr. Caleb Hamilton, who dutifully proofed the work in its' final form before submission.

Finally, to my dearest family and friends... what can I say? For your support and backing over all these years, I can only offer the warmest and sincerest "thank you". I especially want to acknowledge my parents, who have encouraged me throughout my life, and have never flinched from that conviction. Finally, but by no means least, to my wife and daughter. You are my *raison d'être*. Your unflinching love and belief in me has, at times, been the only reason I kept going. To my wife, who is my partner, my inspiration and my friend; I love you with every fibre of my body. And for my daughter, who is the twinkle in my eye when all other light has faded. It is with the greatest adoration and admiration that I dedicate this work to you both.

Opening Sentiments

It has been over thirty years since the last full assessment of Hatshepsut's reign was carried out. This is not to deny the superb re-evaluation of Hatshepsut's statuary by Dimitri Laboury¹, the current museum-catalogue compendium², nor the immeasurable contribution in recent years by Christiane Meyer³ and Peter Dorman⁴. However, the prodigious publications of Suzanne Ratie⁵ and Roland Tefnin⁶; both excellent examples of scholarly research, were the last full evaluations of this period or components thereof⁷. It is certainly past due for the era of Hatshepsut to be visited once again.

So where then, should the investigative focus lie? First, there is the possibility of re-exploring statuary and portraiture, as others have done before. For even with a heavily examined corpus as the statuary of Hatshepsut, analytical components such as the terms used to refer to the shape of the face and its structure often remain contentious. Second, as a result of methodological advances, many artefactual items which are often obscure in nature, need reinvestigation⁸. Third, there exist a number of items that, to this date, have still not been fully explored⁹. These are included in the appendices, along with all other considerations from the archaeological record dating to the time of Hatshepsut. Finally, there are the collections in the region of Sinai Peninsula

¹ 1998, pp. 591-621. Note also Laboury, 2006, pp. 260-291.

² Roehrig, Keller & Dreyfus, 2005 (based upon collections from the Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco, the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Kimbell Art Museum).

³ 1982 (albeit focused around Senenmut)

⁴ especially his 1988 and 1991 works. See also his contributions in Roehrig, *Hatshepsut* (2005a, 2005b, 2005c) as well as Cline & O'Connor, *T3* (2006).

⁵ 1979 (a full examination of her reign)

⁶ 1979 (focusing on the statuary of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri)

⁷ The contribution of Desroches-Noblecourt (2002) is noted, but is mostly a summary of past efforts.

⁸ Such as the western exterior wall reliefs along the Semnah temple (Cat. 2.1), the cenotaph of Senenmut at Gebel el-Silsila (Cat. 2.23), the sanctuary of the Buhen temple (Cat. 2.11), the el-Mahatta inscription of Senenmut at Aswan (Cat. 4.2), and the ever-challenging north Karnak 'donation stela' of Senenmut (Cat. 5.2).

⁹ For example: the foundation deposits at Hieraconopolis (included in the Catalogue as no. 2.20, the year 6 graffito-stela of Tjemhy (Catalogue 4.17), the year 12 Tangûr graffito (Catalogue 4.18), the year 16 Abka graffito (Catalogue 4.19), the year 18 Shelfak-Dudora graffito (Catalogue 4.3), various vase fragments from KV20 and Wadi Gabbanat el-Qurud (Catalogue 4.7 and 4.8), the Cairo vase CG 18486 of Hatshepsut and Queen Ahmes (Catalogue 4.9), the Berlin stela 15699 (Catalogue 5.3), Vatican stela 130 (Catalogue 5.11), and BM stela 370 (Catalogue 5.12).

which are often over-looked in detailed investigations¹⁰, as well as other pieces which must necessarily be examined collectively and often are not¹¹.

However, all of this must be set against two undercurrents of great importance. First is the matter of chronology - not only in how the events of Hatshepsut's time played out, but also in terms of the interplay between pieces from the archaeological record. There is an entire reign under review, and consequently, the ordering of each artefact must be constantly borne in mind. Second, is the question of orthodoxy. The purported irregularity of her reign, one that sought to incorporate the named heir, is rife throughout the literature. Words such as "atypical", "peculiar", and "fabrication" can be found in virtually any work describing the time of Hatshepsut¹². While research conducted in the past twenty years especially has aided thinking in the academic community over the role royal women played in ancient Egypt¹³, most would still contend that Hatshepsut's epoch was anomalous.

The challenge lies in how best to contribute to the overall picture of the reign of Hatshepsut, especially given the limitations of space. While at first a complete overhaul seems appealing, it is fraught with difficulty when it comes to detail and depth. Moreover, while value could be added to research areas such as statuary and portraiture for example, this particular field has been relatively well-examined (also recently investigated) for the Hatshepsut period¹⁴. Rather, it seems the best way to add to the intellectual property of the Hatshepsut debate is to devise select research questions that tick a multitude of boxes. These include informing our understanding of chronology, accession, and the seemingly unorthodox reign of Maatkare. Additionally, if the questions can place checks into areas that have not received a great deal of (recent) attention, then this increases their value.

¹⁰ Excepting the oft-cited year 11 stela of Neferure and Senenmut (Cat. 5.6); but noting that many other pieces exist which seldom receive detailed examination (cf. Cat. 5.1, 5.4, 5.5, 5.7, 5.8, 5.9).

¹¹ With reference to dating the moment of Hatshepsut's transition into the kingship, note the year 7 jar labels (Cat. 4.4), the year 2 block 287 from the Chapelle Rouge (Cat. 2.2) and the scenes of coronation at Deir el-Bahri and Karnak respectively (Cat. 2.9 and 2.3)

¹² For example O'Connor, 2001, pp. 281-219; Grimal, 2000, pp. 207-209.

¹³ Most notably Robins, 1993a; Bryan, 1996.

¹⁴ Tefnin, 1979 and Laboury, 1998, 2006.

Perusing the secondary literature, these research questions start to bear out. Reviewed in chapter one, matters of dating, accession/coronation, statuary/portraiture, regency vs. coregency, and personnel such as Thutmose III and Senenmut, all enter the equation. Moreover, institutions such as the God's Wife of Amun, and the later defacement of Hatshepsut's monuments, need consideration. Investigating the primary material, it is immediately apparent how an understanding of the Sinai material as a collective whole is lacking. Furthermore, new ways to examine the primary material, both in terms of approach and methodology, are excellent reasons to conduct a reinvestigation.

After careful consideration, a total of four research questions are posed and answered in this work. The intent is to lead the reader through a series of substantiated arguments, the purpose of which is to determine if anything further can be said than has previously been possible. The narrative is intentionally aided by the chronological ordering of items as per the contents page, a fact only possible once all research had been completed. This differs from the ordering of the Catalogue, where pieces are grouped categorically. In doing so, it is hoped the manuscript will lead logically to conclusions that add to, or strengthen, existing narratives and potentially introduce new lines of enquiry. For simplicity, each research question is listed below.

1. The language used to describe Hatshepsut's reign

There seems to be a debate, perhaps only semantic in nature, occurring with respect to describing Hatshepsut's reign. The point developed in subsequent sections (1.2, 1.3, and 3.1), the question seems straightforward enough. Should Hatshepsut's reign, or portions thereof, be viewed as a regency, coregency or something else? However, is it really that simple?

First off, there is the rather unique matter of how scholars reconcile the heir apparent 'sharing' a kingship with his step-aunt. This point has been bantered about ad-nauseum, and is re-summarised in chapter one. More intriguing, and less well-presented, is the plethora of material that lies firmly between years one and seven, and the apparent to-and-fro of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III

via the archaeological record during this time. Often a few select pieces - primarily block 287 from the Chapelle Rouge and the Ramose/Hatnofer oil-jars - are the focus of the literature, with others being secondarily considered. The evolution that seems to have gone on during these half-dozen years appears beyond any 'ordinary' regency or even co-regency.

Contextualising the point being made, there seem to be noticeable groupings, phases if you will, that can be observed between these years. These are:

- Hatshepsut's transformation of appearance in iconography, especially via statuary and portraiture
- evolution of her gender, as evident by her 'toying' with titulary and epithets
- the repositioning of herself from queen to 'governor' and eventually monarch
- varying evidence in the archaeological record that seems to sometimes divide and at other times unite Hatshepsut and Thutmose (e.g. a split between Hatshepsut and Thutmose in years 1-3, favouring Menkheperre in years 4-6, and switching focus to Hatshepsut across years 7-10)

The question, in short, is whether or not these observed phenomena are actually correct in the picture they paint. Certainly earlier academics appear to have wrestled with how to describe both the post- and pre-accession periods, and that alone seems sufficient reason to tackle it anew. Do the terms regency and co-regency best describe Hatshepsut's reign, given the irregular nature of it noted above, as well as all the developments that preceded her entering the kingship? Moreover, if neither term is found to be adequate, can a new one be introduced which encapsulates all that transpired at this time? Finally, this question has the added bonus of speaking directly to the age-old matter of Hatshepsut's transition into the kingship and its timing.

2. The offices of God's Wife of Amun and Kingship

The next question is one that, to the author's knowledge, has never been tackled. Assumptions, likely drawn from analogies with Ahmose-Nefertari, place the office of God's Wife on one side of her accession, and that of kingship on the other. But, given the dearth of material around the time of Hatshepsut's succession, and the often contradictory appearance of 'queenly' and 'kingly' epithets, how accurate is this assumption? Without doubt, the

Sinai stela dated to year 11 illustrates Neferure had been deputised as Hmt-nTr (n Imn) by this time. Yet, it is hardly compelling evidence that the post was rescinded by Hatshepsut the moment she entered the kingship.

Via this question, all material in and around Hatshepsut's succession containing the phrase Hmt-nTr will be re-examined, to see if greater insight can be provided. Obviously, this investigation dovetails nicely with the first.

3. The relations between Neferure, Senenmut and Hatshepsut

The third research question seeks to take a slightly different approach to the relations between three key protagonists of this period. It will review a variety of evidence to see if alternative ways of viewing this triadic relation can be deduced.

4. The perception of the Sinai material

The final question is one that is by now perhaps apparent. An appraisal of artefactual material from the Sinai Peninsula under Hatshepsut's governance and reign will be conducted. Curiosities such as fused titularies and almost invisible inclusions of Hatshepsut will be critically examined, with a singular question in mind – was this region a 'testing ground' for the titular protocols of Hatshepsut?

List of Figures

Figure 1: Theorised Chronological Connections between Monumental and Artefactual Materials Reviewed.....	70
Figure 2: Relationships of some key officials in the Reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III.....	172
Figure 3: Cursory grouping of the youth and 'Process of Succession' of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri.....	200
Figure 4: The interpreted flow of the 'Scenes of Succession' of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri.....	223
Figure 5: Reconstructed Plan: scenes from the Inner Sanctuary, Temple of Hatshepsut at Buhen	234
Figure 6: Alternative flow of Hatshepsut's reign with newly introduced terms	246

List of Tables

Table 1: Summary of the proposed 'Phases' or 'Periods' of the Statuary of Hatshepsut & Thutmose III	50
Table 2: Royalty-based Females of the late 17 th and Early 18 th Dynasties and their Titles	55
Table 3. The term Hnwt up until Hatshepsut's accession	93
Table 4: The term snt up until Hatshepsut's accession.....	99
Table 5: Surmised chronology for Semnah temple	121
Table 6: The Seated Statues of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri – form/style summary	154
Table 7: Summary of instances containing reference to 'tools' of kingship (or queenship)	181
Table 8: Oil-jars from the tomb of Ramose and Hatnofer.....	184
Table 9: Early Sed-festival and Corroborating Evidence.....	219
Table 10: The term nb irt xt under Hatshepsut and Thutmose III	285
Table 11: The use of the terms xr Hm (n) nsw-bity X, xr Hm nTr-nfr Y, and related	305
Table 12: Tabular Summary of Key Aspects for Hatshepsut, Part I	307
Table 13: Tabular Summary of Key Aspects for Hatshepsut, Part II	316
Table 14: The Statuary of Senenmut and Neferure	329
Table 15: Officials from the Reign of Hatshepsut.....	332

List of Abbreviations

Bibliographical Abbreviations

<i>AEL</i>	Lichtheim, Miriam. <i>Ancient Egyptian Literature</i> . 3 vols. Los Angeles, 1973-1980.
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i> . Boston
<i>AJSLL</i>	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures</i> . Chicago.
<i>ANET</i>	Pritchard, J. B. (ed.), <i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts</i> , Princeton University Press, Princeton.
<i>ARE</i>	Breasted, James Henry. <i>Ancient Records of Egypt</i> . 5 vols. Chicago, 1906-1907.
<i>ASAE</i>	<i>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte</i> , Cairo.
<i>ASE</i>	Archaeological Survey of Egypt, London.
<i>BÄBA</i>	Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde. 11 vols. Cairo, Zurich & Wiesbaden, 1938-1997.
<i>Barguet, Temple</i>	Barguet, Paul. <i>Le Temple d'Amon-rê à Karnak: Essai d'exégèse</i> , Recherches d'archéologie, de philologie et d'histoire. IFAO 21 Cairo, 1962
<i>BACE</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology</i> . Sydney.
<i>BAR</i>	Breasted, James Henry. <i>Ancient Records of Egypt: Historical Documents from the earliest times to the Persian Conquest</i> , 4 vols., 1988 (reprinted).
<i>BASOR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Society of Oriental Research</i> . New Haven.
<i>Beit el-Wali</i>	Ricke, H., Hughes, G. R., and Wente, E. F. <i>The Beit-el-Wali Temple of Ramesses II</i> . Chicago, 1967
<i>BES</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar</i> . New York

- BIE* *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte*. Cairo
- BIFAO* *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*.
Cairo
- BiOr* *Bibliotheca Orientalis*. Leiden
- BM Dictionary* Shaw, I. & Nicholson, P. *The British Museum Dictionary of Ancient Egypt*. The British Museum Press. London, 1995
- BMA* *Brooklyn Museum Annual*. Brooklyn
- BMMA* *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*. New York
- BMHT* *British Museum: Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae &c. in the British Museum*. 12 vols. London, 1911-1993
- BSEG* *Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie de Genève*. Geneva
- BSFE* *Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie*. Paris
- CAH²* *The Cambridge Ancient History*. Vol. II. Cambridge, 1973
- Cahiers de Karnak* Centre Franco-égyptien d'études des temples de Karnak. *Cahiers de Karnak*. 12 vols. Paris, 1980-present
- Catalogue général* *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*. Cairo
- CdÉ* *Chronique d'Égypte*. Brussels
- CEDAE* Centre d'Etude et de Documentation sur l'Ancienne Egypte. Cairo
- CGC* *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du musée du Caire*.
- Cline & O'Connor, T3* Cline, E. H. & O'Connor, D. (eds.). *Thutmose III: a New Biography*. Ann Arbor, 2006

- CRIPEL* *Cahiers de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille*. Lille
- Dazzling Sun* Kozloff, A. P. and Bryan, B. M. (eds.). *Egypt's Dazzling Sun: Amenhotep III and his World*. Cleveland, 1992
- DeB* Naville, E. *The Temple of Deir el Bahari*. 6 vols. 1895-1908
- Dorman, Senenmut* Dorman, P. F. *The Monuments of Senenmut: problems in historical methodology*. London & New York, 1988
- EA* *Egyptian Archaeology*. The Bulletin of the Egypt Exploration Society. London.
- EEF/EES* Egypt Exploration Fund/Society. London
- Études et Travaux (ET)* *Études et Travaux du Centre d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences*. Warsaw
- FIFAO* Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire. Cairo
- Gauthier, LDR2* Gauthier, H., *Le Livre des Rois d'Égypte*, vol. 2, MIFAO 18, Cairo, 1912.
- GM* *Göttinger Miszellen: Beiträge zur ägyptologische Diskussion*. Göttingen
- GPC, Sinai* Gardiner, A. H., Peet, T. E. and Černý, J. *The Inscriptions of Sinai*. 2 vols. EES Memoir 55. London, 1952-5
- H&W, Mummies* Harris, J. E. & Wente, E. F. (eds.). *An X-ray Atlas of the Royal Mummies*. Chicago & London, 1980
- HÄB* Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge. Hildesheim
- Hayes, Scepter* Hayes, W. C. *The Scepter of Egypt*. 2 vols. New York, 1990
- IFAO* Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (du Caire)

- JAOS* *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. New Haven
- JARCE* *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*. Boston and New York
- JACF* *Journal of the Ancient Chronology Forum*. Kent
- JEA* *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*. London
- JEOL* *Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux*. Leiden
- JNES* *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*. Chicago
- JSSEA* *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities*. Toronto
- KEMI* *Kemi: Revue de Philologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes et Coptes*. Paris
- KMT* *KMT. A Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt*. San Francisco
- KRI* Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical*. 7 vols. Oxford, 1969-1990
- KUSH* *Kush: Journal of the Sudan Antiquities Service*. Khartoum
- L&C, Chapelle* Lacau, P. & Chevrier, H. *Une Chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak*, 2 vols. Cairo, 1977-79
- LÄ* Helck, W. et al. *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*. 7 vols. Wiesbaden, 1972-1992
- Laboury, Statues* Laboury, D. *La statuaire de Thoutmosis III: Essai d'interprétation d'un portrait royal dans son contexte historique*, Aegyptiaca Loediensia 5. Liège, 1998
- Lacau, Stèles* Lacau, P. *Stèles du Nouvel Empire*. 2 vols. Cairo CG 34087-34189. Cairo, 1909-1926
- LD* Lepsius, C. R. *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien*. Abt. I-VI in 12 vols. Berlin & Geneva, 1849-1859
- LDR 2* Gauthier, H. *Le Livre des Rois d'Égypte*, Vol. 2, MIFAO 18, Cairo.

- LDT* Lepsius, C. R. *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien*. Texte I-V. Berlin & Leipzig, 1897-1913
- Legrain, *Karnak* Legrain, G. *Les Temples de Karnak*. Paris, 1929
- Legrain, *S&S* Legrain, G. *Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers*. 3 vols. CG 42001-42250. Cairo, 1906-1925
- Lesko, *LED* Lesko, L. H. & Lesko, B. S. (eds.). *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian*, 5 vols., Berkeley, California, 1982-1990
- MÄS Münchener Ägyptologische Studien. Berlin & Munich
- MDIK / MDAIK* *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo*. Cairo
- Mélanges, Mokhtar* Posener-Kriéger, P. (ed.). *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*. 2 vols. Cairo, 1985
- Meyer, *Senenmut* Meyer, Ch. *Senenmut. Eine prosopographische Untersuchung*. Hamburger ägyptologische Studien 2. Hamburg, 1982
- MIFAO Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire. Cairo
- MMA Metropolitan Museum of Art. New York
- MMJ* *Metropolitan Museum Journal*. New York
- Murnane, *Coregencies* Murnane, W. J. *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies*. SAOC 40. Chicago, 1977
- Myśliwiec, *Portrait* Myśliwiec, K. *Le portrait royal dans le bas-relief du Nouvel Empire*. Warsaw, 1976
- NARCE* *Newsletter of the American Research Center in Egypt*. New York
- NAWG* Nachrichten von der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Göttingen
- OBO Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis. Fribourg
- OEAE* Redford, D. B. (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopaedia of*

- Ancient Egypt*, 3 vols., Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2001.
- OIP Oriental Institute Publications. Chicago
- Shaw, *History* Shaw, I. (ed.). *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*. Oxford University Press, 2000.
- PDA Probleme der Ägyptologie. Leiden
- PEQ *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*. London
- Pharaoh Triumphant* Kitchen, K. A. *Pharaoh Triumphant: The Life and Times of Ramesses II*. Warminster, 1982
- PM¹ Porter, B. and Moss, R. L. B. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings*. 7 vols. Oxford, 1927-1952
- PM² Porter, B., Moss, R. L. B., Burney, E. and Malek, J. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings*. Second Edition. Oxford, 1960-present
- PMMA Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition. New York
- Ratié, *Hatshepsut* Ratié, S. *La Reine Hatchepsout. Sources et Problemes*. Leiden, 1979
- RdE *Revue d'Égyptologie*. Paris
- RITANC Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions, Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments*. 2 vols. Oxford, 1993-1999
- RITA Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions, Translated and Annotated: Translations*. 2 vols. Oxford, 1993-1994
- Roehrig, *Hatshepsut* Roehrig, C. H. (ed.), with Keller, C. A. and Dreyfus, R., *Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. New Haven & London, 2005.

- SAK *Studien zur Altägyptische Kultur.* Hamburg
- SAOC Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization. Chicago
- SSEA *Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities.* Toronto
- TdE *Trabajos de Egiptologia.* Spain
- Tefnin, *Statues* Tefnin, R. *La statuaire d'Hatshepsout: Portrait royal et politique sous la 18e Dynastie.* Monumenta Aegyptiaca 4. Brussels, 1979
- Troy, *Queenship* Troy, L. *Patterns of Queenship in Ancient Egyptian Myth and History.* Uppsala, 1986
- UGAÄ Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens
- Urk. IV Sethe, K. & Helck, W. *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums IV. Urkunden der 18. Dynastie.* Hefte 1-22. Leipzig, 1908-1909 & 1927-1930 and Berlin, 1955-1958.
- Urk. V Grapow, H. *Religiöse Urkunden,* 3 volumes, Leipzig, 1915-1917.
- Urk. VII Sethe, K. *Historische-Biographische Urkunden des Mittleren Reiches I,* Urkunden der Aegyptischen Altertums, Siebente Abteilung, Leipzig, 1935.
- VÄ *Varia Aegyptiaca.* San Antonio
- Vandier, *Manuel* Vandier, J. *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne.* 5 vols. Paris, 1959-1969
- Winlock, *DeB* Winlock, H. E. *Excavations at Deir el-Bahari 1911-1931.* New York, 1942
- Wb. Erman, A. & Grapow, H. *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache.* 6 vols. Berlin, 1926-1963
- Wreszinski, *Atlas* Wreszinski, W. *Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte.* 3 vols. Leipzig, n.d.
- ZÄS *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und*

Altertumskunde. Leipzig & Berlin

ZDPV

Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins. Leipzig

Other Abbreviations

//(s)	Parallel(s)
217	when used in reference to scarabs (sctn. 4.7.2), refers to scarab recorded in Paneque, 2003
alt.	alternative, alternate [name, listing]
APN	Ahmoose Pen-Nekhbet
assoc.	associate, associated, association
Berlin	prefix for registration number of object in the Berlin Museum
BM	prefix for registration number of object in the British Museum
Brooklyn	prefix for registration number of object in the Brooklyn Museum
b/t	between
Cairo	prefix for registration number of object in the Cairo Museum
Cat.	Catalogue entry number for this manuscript
caus	causative (-sDm.f)
cf.	<i>confer</i>
chpt(s).	chapter(s)
CG	prefix for registration number of object in the Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Cairo.
cm	centimetres
col(s).	column(s)
d.	daughter

D:	Date
DeB	Deir el-Bahri
Dec.	December
E	when used in reference to scarabs (sctn. 4.7.2), refers to scarab recorded in Roehrig, 2005b
e.g.	<i>exempli gratia</i> , for example
ed(s).	editor(s)
Ed.	Edition
esp.	especially
est.	estimated
<i>et al.</i>	<i>et alii</i> , and others
F/D	Foundation Deposit
fasc.	fascicle
Feb.	February
fem.	feminine, femininity
ff.	and following pages
fig(s).	figure(s)
Frag.	Fragment
Fs	Festschrift
GeS	Gebel el/es-Silsila(h)
GH	Golden Horus (name)
Gr.	Graffito
GWOA	God's Wife of Amun (Hmt-nTr n Imn)
H:	Height
Hieracon.	Hieraconopolis
HP	High Priest (of a god; usually Amun)
HT	the KV20 sarcophagus of Hatshepsut (cf. Cat. 3.6)
<i>ibid.</i>	<i>i-bi-dem</i> , in the same place / the same as before
icon.	iconography, iconographically

i.e.	<i>id est</i> , that is (to say)
Inscr.	Inscription
IFAO	l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale
JE	prefix for registration number of object in the Journal d'Entrées du Musée du Caire, Cairo.
KV	Kings Valley (Valley of the Kings number)
KPW	King's Principal Wife (Hmt-nsw wrt)
KULE	King of Upper and Lower Egypt (nsw-bity)
L:	Length
Leiden	prefix for registration number of object in the Niederländischen Reichsmuseums der Altertümer, Leiden
LH	when used in reference to scarabs (sctn. 4.7.2), refers to scarab recorded in Lansing & Hayes, 1937
LHS	Left Hand Side
Louvre	prefix for registration number of object in the Louvre Museum
l.p.h	life, prosperity, health (from the epithet anx wdA snb)
masc.	masculine, masculinity
MMA	prefix for registration number of object in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
N/A	Not Applicable
n.d.	no date
NM	Nomen
no(s).	number(s)
O.	Ostraca number
OI	prefix for registration number of object in the Oriental Institute Museum, University of Chicago, Chicago

<i>op. cit.</i>	<i>opus citatum / opera citato</i> , referring to a work previously cited
P.	Papyrus number
p. / pp.	page(s)
Petrie	when used in reference to scarabs (sctn. 4.7.2), refers to scarab recorded in Petrie, 1906
PN	Prenomen
poss.	possible, possibility, possibly
pl(s).	plate(s)
Q.	Queen [name]
QV	Queens Valley (Valley of the Queens)
recon.	reconstructed, reconstruction
Ref.	Reference
RHS	Right Hand Side
Sarc.	Sarcophagus
Sc.	Scene
sctn. / sctns.	section(s)
SeK	Serabit el-Khadim
ST	Statue
St	Stela
T1	Thutmose I (king); alternatively the sarcophagus carved for Thutmose I by Hatshepsut (Cat. 3.4)
T2	Thutmose II (king)
T3	Thutmose III (king)
TOK	'tools' of Kingship
TT	Theban Tomb
Trans. / trans.	translated by
Turin	prefix for registration number of object in the Turin Museum

Vol(s). / vol(s).	Volume(s) / volume(s)
w/	with
W:	Width
WM	Wadi Maghara
WS	Wadi Sikkat Sarcophagus (refer Cat. 3.3)
Yr/Y	Year

Chapter One: Literature Review

1.1 Introduction and General Comments

The following chapter serves three purposes. First, to illustrate to the reader that the candidate has read, reviewed and suitably grasped the wide array of secondary material already published on the reign in question. Second, to explore the assumptions, approaches and procedures of earlier scholars in light of how they have influenced the development of this work, and third to provide a backdrop for the discourse of subsequent chapters.

The chapter begins with a review of general works. It then proceeds to review specific features of the reign of Hatshepsut; in order – the chronology and her accession, Thutmose III and his 'position' throughout the period, statuary and portraiture during her reign, her innovations and the office of God's Wife of Amun under Hatshepsut, Senenmut, and finally the 'vilification' of her reign. By the end, the reader ought to have a good appreciation of the contributions of earlier research, and the 'launching-pad' it provides the present investigation.

When first exploring this incredible period, the enthusiast is almost immediately struck by the vast amount of research carried out in French¹⁵. Notable authorities such as Luc Gabolde¹⁶, Jean-Luc Chappaz¹⁷, Jean-François Carlotti¹⁸, Christiane Desroches-Noblecourt¹⁹, Suzanne Ratie²⁰, Roland Tefnin²¹, Vincent Rondot²², Dimitri Laboury²³, Edouard Naville²⁴, and

¹⁵ For example Lacau & Chevrier, 1977-79.

¹⁶ Especially 2005 and 2007, although his earlier works (1987a, 1987b, 1989, 2003) on Thutmose II are also of considerable importance.

¹⁷ 1993 - also Bickel & Chappaz (1988) on the Speos Artemidos.

¹⁸ 1995a, b, c – on the works of Hatshepsut in the temple of Amun at Karnak

¹⁹ 2002 – a nice summary of research pertaining to Hatshepsut, up until that date

²⁰ 1979 – at present the most complete single work on Hatshepsut save perhaps the edited museum catalogue of Roehrig et al.

²¹ 1979, but not forgetting the critically important study of 1973 around which arguments for the much later accession of Hatshepsut have been based for almost forty years.

²² Gabolde & Rondot, 1996

Marcelle Werbrouck²⁵ all litter the landscape with their superb studies.

Digging a little deeper, it becomes even more apparent how far this trend reaches, with publications on related content often produced in that *Vulgar Latin* descendant²⁶. This is not to deny the part that other languages play. For German²⁷ and English²⁸ speaking scholars alike have their tupence-worth in the Hatshepsut-period. Even the Italians chime in with pertinent content²⁹. Notwithstanding, there does seem to be a disproportionate number of works in the English language, which explore this period either in the form of 'academic novel'³⁰ or in the capacity of 'general works on women in ancient Egypt'³¹ and 'edited compilation'³². Assuredly, there are many English-oriented articles published in academic journals to tantalise the aficionado³³, but it does appear as though a lacuna exists, in the English-speaking world, for a complete volume on the reign of Hatshepsut³⁴.

1.2 Dating Hatshepsut's reign

The question of the chronology of Hatshepsut's governance and rule, and her purported accession and/or coronation, are intimately linked. Understanding the precise moment Hatshepsut officially entered the office of kingship, as well as the scholarly debate that has waged around this very point, orients the

²³ His already cited excellent works on the statuary of Hatshepsut (1998, 2006).

²⁴ The superb reference collection of the images contained in Hatshepsut's mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahri (1894-1908), but also publications with Carter and Davis on her tomb (1906, reprinted in 2004) and with Legrain (1902) on more general matters.

²⁵ 1949, again on the mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahri.

²⁶ For example, Leblanc (1980, 1982) on the Osirid pillars, Lecuyot & Loyrette (1995, 1996) on the Chapelle of Wadjmose at Deir el-Bahri, and again Loyrette (1992) on the fraternal sibling of Hatshepsut. See too Dominique Valbelle (1981, 1984) on goddesses such as Satet, for whom Hatshepsut clearly placed great import (more detail can be found in chapter three, especially under the temple at Semnah (3.3.3)).

²⁷ Foremost Meyer (1982), but also Gunter Dreyer (1984), Dziobek on Ineni (1992) and User-Amun (1994), Graefe (1981, pp. 97-169), Grimm (1983), Helck (1955) and Reinecke (1977).

²⁸ Most notably Roehrig, Keller & Dreyfus (2005), Dorman (1988, 1991, 2001, 2005a-c, 2006).

²⁹ Refer Curto (1975) and Rosellini (1833, pp. 190-195) with respect to Semnah temple.

³⁰ e.g. Tyldesley, 1996

³¹ e.g. Robins, 1993a

³² e.g. Cameron & Kuhrt (eds.), 1993

³³ for example Callender, 1995-6, 2002; Dorman, 2001; el-Sabbahy 1992; Gillen, 2005a, 2005b; Ockinga, 1995; Paneque, 2003; Robins, 1999; Uphill, 1961, Wysocki 1980, 1986, 1992.

³⁴ Reiterated yet again in *Les Dossiers d'archeologie 187*, whereby no fewer than 13 Egyptologists come together to produce an outstanding volume on recent developments (1993) under the rubric 'Hatchepsout: Femme Pharaon'.

researcher in terms of their approach to Hatshepsut's reign³⁵. Therefore, these two points will be dealt with collectively in this sub-section. Additionally, when picking up any modern work that lists the approximate date of each king's accession, two features are notable for Hatshepsut. First, her reign and that of Thutmose III are overlain (with the dates of Menkheperre (1479BCE – 1425BCE) beginning before, and ending after hers), and second that the date given for Hatshepsut is usually always 1473BCE – 1458BCE³⁶.

On the former point, while at the death of Thutmose II, the position of Thutmose III as 'heir apparent' and Hatshepsut as 'queen regent' are indisputable³⁷, the overlaying dates provide the impression of inequality between the two individuals, in favour of the young monarch. Being the succeeding king, Thutmose III ensured the king lists would illustrate the whole period as his own³⁸. However, in seeking to explain how these two *shared* the office of kingship, earlier research has often sought to incorporate the system of 'double-dating'³⁹. The scholarly literature undoubtedly deriving its standpoint from the Middle Kingdom phenomenon of co-regencies, it is a contestable argument. As Ian Shaw states, "in the New Kingdom, there are no certain instances of double-dates, therefore a different system had to be used"⁴⁰. Furthermore, Gae Callender goes so far as to question the validity of co-regencies in the Middle Kingdom; ultimately undermining the basis for New Kingdom double dates⁴¹.

A related point is made by Chappaz, and subsequently Dorman. It pertains to the phrase *xr Hm n* being preceded by a regnal year date and followed by

³⁵ Noted by many scholars. See for example Callender (1995-6, p. 16) who says "The former problem [Hatshepsut's accession] centers on the issue of her right to govern, the latter [accession date] vacillates over the prospective dates for her accession. Neither of these questions has been settled to the satisfaction of scholars of the period".

³⁶ *BM Dictionary*, p. 311. See also Roth, 2005a, fn. 1.

³⁷ Evident from primary material such as the biography of Ineni (Urk. IV: 59-60); full discussion in section 3.2.10.

³⁸ Redford, 1986, pp. 168-184.

³⁹ This discourse is borne out more fully in the section on Thutmose III below, in reference to co-regency.

⁴⁰ Shaw, 2000, p. 12

⁴¹ Callender, 2000, pp. 148-194

Hatshepsut's name alone, a formula all-but absent from her reign⁴². As Dorman comments,

"The curious lack of regnal years attributed solely to Hatshepsut may be due to the vagaries of preservation; alternatively, dating to the older coregent was perhaps intentionally avoided. In any case, the known dates that can be associated with Hatshepsut alone are contained in just three texts: regnal year 9 occurs in the Punt reliefs ... years 15 and 16 are mentioned in a passage that describes the length of time required to quarry a pair of obelisks for Hatshepsut at Aswan; and year 17 appears in a fragmentary inscription at Karnak..."⁴³

Notwithstanding, and potentially strengthening the case for double-dating the kingship of Hatshepsut and Thutmose, several instances of *xr Hm n X Y* (where X = Hatshepsut and Y = Thutmose) have been recorded. Three are presented here. First is a graffito from Tangûr, published by Walter-Friedrich Reineke, which records the following passage:

rnpt 12 Abd 3 prt sw 12 xr Hm.n nTr-nfr MAat-kA-Ra di anx
xr Hm.n nTr-nfr Mn-xpr-ra di anx⁴⁴

Year 12, 3rd month of Peret, day 12, under the majesty of the good god Maatkare, given life (and) under the majesty of the good god Menkheperre, given life.

Added to this would be the likes of Sir Alan Gardiner, Thomas Peet and Jaromir Černý who, in their publication on materials recovered from the Sinai Peninsula, note a stela from the Wadi Maghara region that reads,

"Regnal year 16, under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Maatkare, beloved of Soped, lord of the east, and (under the majesty of) the good god, Lord of the Two Lands, Menkheperkare,

⁴² Chappaz, 1993, pp. 95-96 (Chappaz notes that there are four dated documents referring only to Hatshepsut, but that, "par ailleurs, celles qui se réfèrent uniquement à Hatshepsout sont rares, et limitées aux années 9 à 17"); Dorman, 2006, pp. 53-54.

⁴³ Dorman, 2006, p. 54.

⁴⁴ Reineke, 1977, p. 370

given life, stability and dominion eternally, beloved of Hathor, mistress of the turquoise”⁴⁵

Third, and finally, there is the less definite, but no less important year 20 Step Pyramid inscription that purportedly contained the passage,

“Regnal-year 20, Month 3 of Prōyet, Day 2 , under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ma^cetkarē^c, may he live for ever, Son of Rē^c Khnemetamūn-Hatshepsut, may he live for ever and ever! under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre^c, Son of Rē^c Tuthmosis (III), may he live for ever and ever!”⁴⁶

Turning to the latter point – the dates provided for Hatshepsut in most modern literature - her succession to the office of kingship is usually presumed to have occurred in the seventh year following the death of her husband, Aakheperenre Thutmose II. Peter Dorman, in his 1988 work on the official Senenmut, spends no less than a full chapter on this matter. He systematically works his way through the following sources:

- The year 2 Semnah temple inscription
- Block 287 from the Red Chapel, also dated to year 2
- The year 4 'donation' stela of Senenmut
- Year 5 Turin papyrus 1878, describing by User-Amun's appointment as Vizier
- The year 7 material, including a jar label, limestone ostrakon and four oil-jars
- The variations in Prenomen of Thutmose III
- Construction of Dsr-Dsrw (the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut located at Deir el-Bahri) and the temple of Amun-Kamutef
- The biographies of Ahmose Pen-Nekhbet and Ineni
- Various royal titles and art-historical criteria as it pertains to statuary (especially as detailed by Tefnin, 1979)
- The statues of Senenmut and Thutmose II (in brief)

⁴⁵ GPC, *Sinai*, Vol. I, pl. XIV (no. 44), Vol. II, p. 74. Also commented on by Murnane, 1977, p. 38 (I); and Chappaz, 1993, p. 95, fn. 55

⁴⁶ Firth and Quibell, 1935, p. 80 (F)

An impressive resume to be sure, it is perhaps disappointing that the summary presented reads as follows,

“The body of evidence discussed ... does not lead inescapably to the conclusion that Hatshepsut ascended to the throne of Egypt toward the end of year 7; nevertheless, the burden of proof would seem to lie with those who would favour an accession in year 2. In fact it would be more difficult to argue against a proposed coronation in year 4 or 5 ... but there is no evidence that would make such a suggestion worthy of consideration. The current assessment of available data must be that the accession of Hatshepsut occurred after a rather protracted regency period, probably toward the end of regnal year 7 of Tuthmosis III”⁴⁷

Dorman drew upon a great many resources for his examination, many of which will be reviewed forthwith. Moreover, for the past twenty years his arguments have generally been accepted as the date of Hatshepsut's accession⁴⁸. However, in conducting his investigation, meticulous examination of other pieces which might have further substantiated, or otherwise altered his position, were omitted. These include:

- Scenes at Deir el-Bahri (especially along the northern middle colonnade)
- The 'crowning scenes' from the Chapelle Rouge⁴⁹ & Karnak door lintel
- The year 6 graffito-stela of Tjemhy⁵⁰
- The sarcophagi of Hatshepsut, and vase fragments from KV20⁵¹
- The seated statuary of Hatshepsut, which provides a 'baseline' of sorts for Hatshepsut's (gradual) evolution into the office of kingship

The presumption that Hatshepsut assumed office in year seven is of such critical importance in understanding this period, that it needs to rest on the most solid of foundations. Unquestionably, Dorman's focus was the career of

⁴⁷ 1988, p. 45 (full summary from pp. 43-45, with the entire review encompassing pp. 18-45)

⁴⁸ e.g. Shaw, *History*, p. 481

⁴⁹ This and the DeB middle colonnade scenes *are* commented on under his section on Block 287 (1988, pp. 22-28 and see below), but are not re-examined in any depth.

⁵⁰ Cf. Goedicke and Wente, 1962

⁵¹ Sarcophagi: Roehrig, 2005c, pp. 184-189 (full references in Cat. 3.3, 3.4, 3.6); Vase Fragments: P-M 1², 547

Senenmut, and this placed limitations on available space with respect to Hatshepsut. However, as one sifts through the twenty-odd pages, other omissions are noted.

During his evaluation of the construction of *Dsr-Dsrw*, Dorman focused on the efforts of Schott (1955), Meyer (1982) and Winlock (1928a), but excluded the labours of Wysocki (1980, 1986). As per his summary, he argued that temple construction began in year seven, once Hatshepsut had been crowned king⁵². Given that Wysocki's studies were in publication during the formation of Dorman's own research, it is an oversight of considerable note; especially when one realises that Wysocki challenges this standpoint. He concludes:

"The Temple of Queen Hatshepsut was raised in two phases according to different architectural conceptions... the founder of the first phase was probably Tuthmosis II. After his death, Queen Hatshepsut rearranged the original conception and extending it according to her plans"⁵³

Labouring this point slightly further, the ramifications are far-reaching. The conclusions, whichever scholar is eventually proved correct, have direct bearing on the content and dating of the 'year 4' Donation Stela of Senenmut at Karnak; an item Dorman discusses in many places⁵⁴. The construction timeline also ties in to the sarcophagi and burials of Hatshepsut. Discussed in various places in chapter three (sections 3.2.1, 3.7.1), it is worth noting from the outset that most scholars believe the Wadi Sikkat burial and associated sarcophagus were crafted when Aakheperenre was still alive, whilst the

⁵² See also Dorman, 1991, pp. 161ff where he furthers this point.

⁵³ Wysocki, 1986, pp. 226-228. These points, in their infancy in 1986, are fully borne out in the latter 1992 work (pp. 235-253), where all the phases and supporting evidence are presented. Equally interesting, is his noting of the fact that no foundation deposits have yet been found on the Upper Terrace at Deir el-Bahri (p. 234). This is in stark contrast to the Lower Terrace, where they are in abundance, and clearly refer to Hatshepsut's 'stretching the cord' (Winlock, 1924b, p. 18. See more recently Roehrig (2005b, p. 141), who seems to support Wysocki's 1992 assessment, provides a sketch of where the fourteen deposits within Hatshepsut's temple were actually located, and presents many of the pieces as part of that catalogue.

⁵⁴ 1988, pp. 29-31; 1991, *op. cit.*; 2006, pp. 44-45 (where he re-presents his original 18-year-old findings, this time acknowledging Wysocki's (1986) research, but stating "*Wysocki's suggestion that Thutmose II was the founder of *Dsr-Dsrw* must be treated as tentative until more definitive evidence is found*". The 1992 article is not mentioned.

latterly KV20 and its associated sarcophagi may well have been carried out following his death⁵⁵. The point to be made is simple. Even at this early juncture in the thesis, it is hopefully apparent that such basic regnal milestones as the accession of the monarch and construction of their mortuary temple are, in the case of Hatshepsut, uncertain.

Stepping back farther in time, Dorman's arguments rested upon two, diametrically opposed, scholarly camps - those who favour a late, year seven, accession, and those who oppose it⁵⁶. The former group consists primarily of Roland Tefnin, Suzanne Ratié and the late Jean Yoyotte⁵⁷. The latter is advocated by Siegfried Schott and upheld almost thirty years later by Christine Meyer⁵⁸. In 1955, Schott published for the first time, Block 287 from the Chapelle Rouge⁵⁹. Combining this singular block with others from the same chapel, which illustrate a ruler being crowned king, he argued that collectively this was evidence of Hatshepsut entering into the office of kingship in year two. Since then, Yoyotte first and later Peter Dorman have refuted the argument⁶⁰. Briefly repeating the case already made, there are five key points of contention:

1. the orientation of the reliefs on Block 287 face left while those describing her coronation on the Chapelle Rouge face right and are thus do not run along the same section of wall⁶¹
2. the Block 287 scenes are situated at Luxor, whilst the scenes of crowning occur at Karnak
3. the Karnak coronation is recounted in the third person, whilst the text on

⁵⁵ In addition to fn. 51, see also Carlotti, 1995c, pp. 151ff.

⁵⁶ There are also those who have advocated for a year three accession (Vandersleyen, 1995, p. 295), and Hayes (1957, p. 80), in noting that one of the oil-jars had been used earlier in regnal year five, inadvertently throws this date into the mix (although note the contra arguments of Dorman quoted above).

⁵⁷ Tefnin (1973, pp. 232-242), Ratié (1979, pp. 83-84) who states, "c'est donc en l'an VII que la reine prend définitivement le titre de roi" (directly citing Tefnin's earlier work), and Yoyotte (1968, pp. 85-91). To this, the likes of William Murnane could also be added (1977, p. 133).

⁵⁸ Schott (1955, pp. 212-213), Meyer (1982, pp. 21-27 especially). More recently, one can add Kendall (2002, 2007) to this party. The author thanks the organisers of the First Australasian Conference of Young Egyptologists held in Melbourne in 2009 for the two articles written by Dr. Timothy Kendall. While innovative, upon review, one must remain unconvinced of that scholars arguments. The location of Gebel Barkal is never referred to as *Ipt rsy*t, the references to *Ipt rsy*t pre-date Hatshepsut, and some of the epigraphy cited as concrete evidence is difficult to read.

⁵⁹ pp. 212-213

⁶⁰ Yoyotte, 1968, pp. 85-91 (with the text re-presented on p. 86); Dorman, 1988, pp. 22-28

⁶¹ For the reappraisal of Block 287 in this work refer section 3.3.6 and for the reassessment of the coronation scene on the Chapelle Rouge, see section 3.6.4.

Block 287 is written primarily in the first-person⁶²

4. the inclusion of a king on Block 287 (Luxor), the Karnak coronation being bereft of one
5. the question of a 'here-and-now' tone for the coronation scenes on the Chapelle Rouge, versus a more prophetic style on Block 287.

In the mid-twentieth century, the scholarly literature lacked a precise accession date for Hatshepsut. Schott's arguments for Block 287, when combined with the supposedly 'queenly stance' of the Semnah temple⁶³, seemed to provide the missing link. Subsequent scholars, like Hayes, were hard-pressed to contest Schott. Even though the material presented in his late 1950's publication is now known to be critical in arguing for a year seven accession, Hayes concluded, "...Dr. Siegfried Schott cites two important inscriptions at Karnak which prove beyond a doubt that this event took place late in Thutmose III's second regnal year".⁶⁴

Since that time, advances in understanding the Chapelle Rouge have aided our knowledge considerably. Lacau and Chevrier have confirmed Yoyotte's original claims that the orientation of the block sequences not only means they cannot have flowed on from one another, but actually came from different sides of the chapel⁶⁵. Notwithstanding, Meyer preferred to see validity in Schott's earlier assessment. Primarily arguing against Yoyotte's claim that the named king in block 287 was Thutmose I, she raised up questions pertaining to the locations of Luxor and Karnak, and the (differing) roles they played in the coronation of the king. She also proposed the possibility that Thutmose III was, in fact, the unnamed king⁶⁶. Not wanting to steal too much away from the discussion of following chapters, two quick points can be made here. First,

⁶² Critically reviewed in section 3.3.6.

⁶³ Argued against in section 3.3.3.

⁶⁴ Hayes, 1957, p. 78. The full discussion runs from pp. 78-80, with the artefactual material presented on p. 81 included in the Appendices. The oil-jars, were first presented in Lansing and Hayes (1937), and are fully discussed in section 3.6.2. Note also that Hayes is one of the first to advocate for Hatshepsut's mortuary temple being begun in year seven (p. 80).

⁶⁵ 1977-79, plate 1. Block 287 is located in the second-lowest band on the north side, whilst the crowning scenes (blocks 172, 261, 23, 114, 145, 95, 71, 154) are situated on the second-highest band on the south side.

⁶⁶ Meyer, 1982, pp. 22-23 (with her review of Hatshepsut's coronation date running from pp. 14-27, and the Block 287 content commencing on page 21)

while the debate of the precise utilisation of the temples Ipt-swt and Ipt-rsy still wages today, research by Dr. Lanny Bell has shed new light on this old problem⁶⁷. Second, the deliberation over which king is meant on Block 287 draws in reliefs from Deir el-Bahri; specifically from the upper and middle colonnades. Yoyotte tries to draw parallels between Block 287 and the *Texte de la Jeunesse* on the northern half of the middle colonnade⁶⁸, whilst Dorman and Meyer are actually in agreement that no such connection can be made⁶⁹. Rather, they prefer to see either Thutmose II or III respectively, as the king represented on Block 287. Owing to their importance, both colonnades feature in chapter three.

While the review in this sub-section could easily continue for some pages yet, and in fact does evolve via the sections in chapter three, several questions seem to be becoming clear. First, ever since Schott reviewed Block 287 as a potential candidate for the accession date of Hatshepsut, scholars have continued to revolve their analysis around that supposition – either by siding with, or refuting, Schott's original theories. Perhaps, however, there is a more rudimentary question to be posed? Namely, let us not assume from the outset that Block 287 refers to Hatshepsut's accession and/or coronation, but instead ask *what is it that Block 287 has to tell us?* For, as it could be a direct marker of, or precursor to, Hatshepsut's accession, it could equally symbolise something else. Assuredly, given the nature of the scenes, it is related to her "bid for the throne" - but how, and in what way?⁷⁰

Second, and at first glance a minor point, there is the question of 'alignment' between the scenes on the Chapelle Rouge and Dsr-Dsrw. Peter Dorman agreed with Meyer and Lacau that the upper colonnade is the place where one would "expect (had it been preserved) the date of year 2, 2 prt 29, rather

⁶⁷ Bell, 1985 & 1997. This point is dealt with further in section 3.3.6, encapsulating the earlier sentiments of Dorman (1988, pp. 25-26) and Meyer (pp. 22-27), as well as drawing in Gardiner (1953).

⁶⁸ 1968, p. 91

⁶⁹ cf. Naville, 1908, *DeB*, Pt. 6, pls. CLXVI & CLXVII (noted by Dorman, 1988, p. 24 – who incorrectly cites the plates - and also Lacau and Chevrier, 1977-79, pp. 92-96)

⁷⁰ See too Redford (1967, p. 76) who subscribes to Schott's hypothesis of a year 2 accession.

than in the mythic 'Legende de la jeunesse' carved on the northern half of the middle colonnade"⁷¹. However, in considering the efforts of all scholars to date, it seems that their focus lay in finding direct parallels to support arguments being made. This is a natural recourse of most studies; that being to prove a hypothesis. However, perhaps a better way, again resulting in the reduction of bias, is to take yet another step back. Conceivably the question to be asked could be *how did each structure evolve, pictorially and architecturally*, and consequently, *how might the narratives carved on each overlay, if at all?* The question of Deir el-Bahri's architectural evolution already undertaken by others⁷², and outside the parameters of the present investigation, the current research will content itself with revisiting the parallels, correlates and overlays of different structures in an epigraphic and iconographic fashion.

1.3 Thutmose III

Menkheperre Thutmose III factors heavily in Hatshepsut's era. One of the longest reigning, military able and prolific builders of the Egyptian New Kingdom, his epoch has recently been presented anew⁷³. Yet, even within that masterly volume, Hatshepsut makes an appearance in many of the chapters⁷⁴. The first, and most obvious question that has hounded scholars for decades, is *what was the precise relationship between Hatshepsut and Thutmose III following the death of Thutmose II?* Of almost equal import, is *how did the two 'share' the period up until Hatshepsut's disappearance?*

Examinations of these questions have yielded conclusions in one of three ways. More common among traditional scholars is the belief that Hatshepsut 'usurped' Menkheperre's rulership⁷⁵. Next, and perhaps the most widely

⁷¹ Dorman, 1988, p. 25. This is the date preserved on Block 287, but not found at Deir el-Bahri.

⁷² In addition to references above, see Winlock (1942) and more recently Arnold (2005).

⁷³ Cline & O'Connor, T3.

⁷⁴ Most notably, that by Dorman (2006), which covers the formative years of Thutmose's 'rulership' (if this period can be called such); Bryan (2006), who presents the myriad of officials occurring within, and straddling the kingships of both individuals; and Laboury (2006), who necessarily covers the statuary of Hatshepsut during a review of Thutmose's.

⁷⁵ Gardiner, 1961, pp. 183ff. On the *xat-nswt* (accession) of Thutmose III, recorded on the seventh pylon at Karnak, refer Urk. IV: 180-191 (esp. 180.15 – 17 where not only is the date

accepted notion, is the concept of the period following Thutmose II's death being seen as a 'regency', with the period subsequent to Hatshepsut's accession viewed as a co-regency⁷⁶. This latter point is borne out in the literature in many ways. Habachi, for example, says "[the graffito must have been engraved] during the beginning of the reign of the queen when she was still considered to be regent of King Thutmosis III"⁷⁷. Six pages later he states, "...but Hatshepsut, who reigned as coregent of the king for some time before he reigned alone..."⁷⁸. Other scholars chime in with similar sentiments⁷⁹, but it is perhaps William Murnane who stimulates this debate most⁸⁰. In the process of advocating the period post-succession as a co-regency, he draws in various artefactual materials from the pre-accession period. He does employ the phrase 'queen regnant' to discuss the period pre-accession⁸¹, but also comments that Hatshepsut's reign was "not a typical coregency"⁸². More recently other academics have been re-examining the policies of legitimation between Hatshepsut and her younger counterpart, and thusly utilising the term co-regency in a broader context⁸³. The question arising, and partial stimulus for the first research question is, who is correct?

Two other points are also apparent when examining the Hatshepsut-Thutmose 'partnership'. First, there is an on-going discussion about the number of prenomen's Thutmose had, and their precise usage. Meyer attempts to argue that the evolution and utilisation of Thutmose's three different prenomen's may have had specific agenda's attached to them. For instance, they may have been connected at differing times to his grandfather, father and even Hatshepsut herself⁸⁴. Of the three variants, those accepted as

provided, but it is explicitly stated as 'the appearance of the king'). The date is also cited in an offering list in the temple of Amun at Karnak (Urk. IV: 177), where the event is labelled as Hb nswt [xa]w n nsw-bity. The date is given as rnpt-sw 1 tpy Smw sw 4.

⁷⁶ Laboury, 2006 pp. 272-280; Bryan, 2000, pp. 234-238.

⁷⁷ Habachi, 1957, p. 95

⁷⁸ Habachi, 1957, p. 101

⁷⁹ e.g. Dorman (2001, p. 1-2) who says "[Hatshepsut stepped] into the role of senior coregent while Thutmose himself was too young too protest". See too Ryholt (1997, p. 212, fn. 728), citing Franke's earlier work.

⁸⁰ Murnane, 1977, pp. 32-44

⁸¹ Murnane, 1977, p.33

⁸² Murnane, 1977, p. 43

⁸³ V. Davies, 2004

⁸⁴ Meyer, 1982, p. 24.

definite are Menkheperre and Menkheperkare⁸⁵. The most contestable is the form Menkheperenre. Tefnin records this form during his examination of Hatshepsut's year seven, noting:

"La première de ces conclusions reposait sur la forme Mn-xpr-n-ra du nom de Thoutmosis III, portée sur la moitié environ de ses scarabées".⁸⁶

Fifteen years later, Dorman returns to the matter, citing the original excavations at Deir el-Bahri of Winlock, but noting that in Winlock's presentation of Menkheperenre, the latter author incorrectly cites Sethe to make his argument⁸⁷. It is important to note that throughout this brief section, at no time does Dorman discount Menkheperenre as a viable alternative form of Thutmose III's prenomen. In fact, he states, "it may well be that the two variants of Thutmose III's prenomen, Mn-xpr-n-ra and Mn-xpr-kA-ra, are merely honorific references to his two immediate male predecessors..." – a point first noted by Sethe⁸⁸. However, by far the most compelling evidence for the existence of this prenomen derives from Winlock's summative presentation of the 1911-1931 seasons of excavation at Deir el-Bahri. In that volume, scarabs for the 1926-7 seasons - the period covered in BMMA 23 (February) – are presented. Ignoring the top front-side row for the purposes of articulation, the first scarab on the left in the fourth row down clearly illustrates the prenomen Mn-hpr-n-ra⁸⁹. Thus, all three prenomens of Thutmose III are definitively attested in the literature. Further examples are as follows:

Mn-xpr-n-Ra - Year 12, Tangûr graffito (Reineke, 1977)

Mn-xpr-kA-Ra, but also with Mn-xpr-Ra - Year 13, Sinai Stela (GPC, *Sinai*)

Mn-xpr-kA-Ra - Year 16, Wadi Maghara Stela (GPC, *Sinai*)

Mn-xpr-kA-Ra and Mn-xpr-Ra - Deir el-Bahri, sed-festival scenes (Uphill, 1961)

⁸⁵ Von Beckerath, 1984, pp. 84-85, 226

⁸⁶ Tefnin, 1973, p. 233

⁸⁷ Dorman, 1988, pp. 35-36. For the Winlock reference, cf. 1928a, pp. 27-28. As for Urk. IV: 191.15, one can clearly see that the rippled water is placed between the biliteral mn and the determinative 'scroll', thus only forming the prenomen Men-kheper-re based on the n being a phonetic complement of mn.

⁸⁸ Dorman, 1988, p. 36; Sethe, 1932, pp. 86-87

⁸⁹ Winlock, 1942, plate 43. On the scarabs of Thutmose III in general see Jaegar (1982).

The second of two noteworthy points is again advocated by Meyer. In her examination of Senenmut, she attempted to argue for Thutmose III as being the primary holder of the title 'good God' under the reign of Hatshepsut. Dorman counters the argument that any stock can be placed in Thutmose III as nTr-nfr for Hatshepsut, noting that Thutmose I holds the same title at Deir el-Bahri and Thutmose III is described as nsw-bity in the same location⁹⁰.

1.4 Art, Statuary and Portraiture

1.4.1 Historiography of Early Eighteenth Dynasty Art and Statuary

Reviewing the literature of this period as it pertains to art-history, a bias is often noted. Namely, that the inception of an "Imperial Age" of ancient Egypt *necessitated* canonical reforms in all aspects; from art and architecture to the 'Office of Kingship' itself. As Cathleen Keller remarks,

“During the early New Kingdom, the era’s artistic norms had not yet been codified, and there was considerable latitude in the means allowed for the expression of royal power (by kings) and the use of quasi-royal symbolism (by private officials)⁹¹. And no king had greater reason to probe the boundaries of kingly symbolism more intently than Hatshepsut”⁹²

But how accurate is this assessment? Studies pertaining to statuary and portraiture have received much attention⁹³. However, painted relief, owing to its fragile nature, has received far fewer detailed discourses⁹⁴. Further, present understanding of the nature and development of monumental architecture is still very much in its infancy⁹⁵. This is not to deny the good

⁹⁰ Dorman, 1988, p.27.

⁹¹ See for example the overview of New Kingdom artistic 'innovations' provided by Robins, 1997, pp. 122-147.

⁹² Keller, 2005a, p. 117

⁹³ e.g. Russmann, 2001.

⁹⁴ Notwithstanding, good research has been conducted in the areas of: palette, colourings, proportions and employment of space (Robins, 1994; Schäfer, 1986); the 'draftsman-like' approach to painted wall scenes (at Deir el-Bahri, see for example the reproductions presented by Robins, 1997, p. 127 (figs. 140, 141)); and analytical studies of later periods that could be applied to this earlier phase (e.g. Kozloff & Bryan, 1992, pp. 261-304)

⁹⁵ The studies of Wysocki (1986, 1992) illustrate such a point.

comprehension modern scholars have with respect to the evolution of mortuary/funerary architecture - the Valley of the Kings being one such example⁹⁶. But, as an example of the point being made, the debate around the two supposed trends evident in 'Thutmosid Statuary'; the one being an *idealized official form* and the other being a *naturalized personal form*, illustrates the uncertainty that exists in the field of ancient Egyptian art-history⁹⁷. Ideally, it is perhaps prudent when examining the art-history of this period, to take a more holistic approach to the research; appraising multiple mediums (painted relief, statuary, portraiture and architecture) in a collective manner. An example of this is the work of Fay, where the author discusses five statues of Thutmose III, not only in relation to one another, but also in comparison with reliefs from the tomb of Kheruef⁹⁸.

That in mind, three words can be fairly safely used to describe the art of the early New Kingdom – innovation, adaptation (from Middle Kingdom models), and homogeneity (especially with respect to statuary and portraiture)⁹⁹. Seemingly contradictory, the thought to be borne in mind when exploring Hatshepsut's statuary, portraiture, temple reliefs or even architecture is *how far did she stray from the norms?*

Delving deeper into the secondary literature, Ingegerd Lindblad's thesis on the statues and portraits of Ahmose I, Amenhotep I, Thutmose I and Thutmose II is thought-provoking¹⁰⁰. She competently illustrates some codified norms or trends across the statues of these four early Eighteenth Dynasty rulers; specifically between Ahmose I, Thutmose I and Thutmose II, with Amenhotep I often as the exception. She notes that large eyes, long straight broad noses, smiling mouths and athletic bodies were relative constants in rulers at this time¹⁰¹. She further notes that specific rulers seem to have aligned

⁹⁶ Reeves and Wilkinson, 1996.

⁹⁷ See in particular, Aldred, 1951, pp. 7-13 (esp. p. 9); questioned by Lipinska, 1966; and critically assessed most recently by Laboury (1998, with a summative presentation in 2006)

⁹⁸ B. Fay, 1995, pp. 11-22

⁹⁹ Stevenson-Smith, 1958, pp. 128-144; Aldred, 1980, pp. 147-58; Robins, 1997, pp. 146-7; Malek, 1999, pp. 211-58.

¹⁰⁰ Lindblad, 1984.

¹⁰¹ Explained throughout her publication, and well summarised from pp. 67-70.

themselves with particular individuals earlier in time; perhaps as per ideological and/or political policy aspirations¹⁰².

She reinforces sentiments of homogeneity, but notably only across Thutmose I and Thutmose II, where she articulates how difficult it is to distinguish between these two rulers in terms of their statuary and portraiture¹⁰³. Finally, as aforementioned, her study seems to indicate that this homogenous 'Thutmosid style' has both its forebears in the reign of Ahmose I, and lends itself to the reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III. She states,

"As regards the relationship and development within the Eighteenth Dynasty, the embryo of features typical of later periods is already evident in Ahmose. [These features] are typical of later phases of Hatshepsut"¹⁰⁴

It thus seems, as though the 'rogue' of the early Eighteenth dynasty, in-so-far as statuary and portraiture can determine, was Amenhotep I. His statues seem to yield a far more stern or sombre expression, much more reminiscent of the imagery of a Sesostris II or III¹⁰⁵. Indeed, Romano even goes so far as to state that,

"...it is difficult to see the faces of these [Amenhotep I's] statues as anticipating by perhaps one or two generations the sculptural achievements of Hatshepsut's artists"¹⁰⁶.

¹⁰² *ibid.* Ahmose I with rulers from the Thirteenth and Seventeenth Dynasties; Amenhotep I drawing motivation from the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties; Thutmose I and II inspired by Sesostris I.

¹⁰³ Lindblad, 1984, p. 69. In addition to the ambiguities between items of Thutmose I and II, note for example the debate between Dreyer (1984) and Lindblad (1988) over a statue originally assigned to Ahmose I, but which may well belong to Thutmose II (cf. Cat. 1.21, where preference is given to the argument by Dreyer, 1984). Also comments in Curto, 1975, pp. 93-101 and Muller, 1979, pp. 27-32

¹⁰⁴ Lindblad, 1984, pp. 22-3, 69 (said of the Pushkin Museum 5317 Sphinx Statue of Ahmose I?). Also comments in Tefnin, 1979, pp. 145-7 (Chapter III: *Les Visages d'Hatshepsout*). Lindblad describes the similarities in facial plan/plane, with respect to the "horizontal structure". Lastly, Russmann, (1989, pp. 89-95) for general comments on Thutmosid style and pp. 80-95 for imagery from the reigns of Amenhotep I through to Thutmose III.

¹⁰⁵ The formative studies of the statues and portraits of Amenhotep I still remain Tefnin, 1968-1972, pp. 433-7; which was critically reviewed by Romano, 1976, pp. 97-111.

¹⁰⁶ Romano, 1976, p. 100

Before moving on to describe and 'unpack' Thutmosid statuary further, it is worth mentioning that at least one author has examined the flow of painted artistry between rulers of this period. Myśliwiec believes the portraits of the kings painted on various wall mediums retains iconographic elements both from their predecessors, and seemingly carries some of them into the work of their successors¹⁰⁷.

1.4.2 Uniformity, considerations and 'periods' or 'phases' in the statuary and portraiture of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III

Both Hatshepsut and Thutmose III seem to have commenced their 'joint-rule' employing the tenets of their Thutmosid forebears, itself drawn upon Middle Kingdom antecedents. Notwithstanding, they quickly developed their own personalized style (particularly with reference to statuary and portraiture). This tailored style intersected, at varying times, their joint and sole rules respectively, with the more formal Thutmosid style reverted back to on occasion. Consequently, the belief held by many is that stylistic modal changes can make the determination of statuary between these two rulers highly challenging¹⁰⁸.

Other factors also complicate this seemingly difficult situation. One of these is the question of how the statuary was supposed to be engaged with. A recently developed term, *Frontality*, suggests that virtually all portraiture and three-dimensional imagery was designed to face forward¹⁰⁹. Its back would be placed either in a niche recess along a wall or between two columns/pillars¹¹⁰, else it would be placed in front of a wall and not sunken¹¹¹. Such was not done for any aesthetic purpose, but rather because of the role that the statue

¹⁰⁷ Myśliwiec, 1976, pp. 140-1

¹⁰⁸ E.g. Russmann, 2001, p. 118-119.

¹⁰⁹ Robins, 1997, 19-20.

¹¹⁰ An example of these for Hatshepsut are the 10 Osirid statues that line the rear/western wall of the Upper Colonnade of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri. These belong to Tefnin's Phase 2 (1979, pp. 41-43, 49-70, 139-146, pls. 10-11; **Table 1**).

¹¹¹ See for example the reliefs depicting the colossal statues of Hatshepsut that supposedly flanked the Barque chapel of Hatshepsut in the Chapelle Rouge (LeBlanc, 1982, pp. 299-306, pls. LIIIA & B).

played in the cult of the deceased¹¹². The statues and portraits must face forward so that they might ‘interact’ with their designated audience. Thus, the context that the statuary (and two-dimensional reliefs) were placed within was of great importance.

Furthering the above sentiment, several scholars have discussed the usefulness of the ‘architectural context’¹¹³. That is to say, that by using temples, tombs and other monumental architecture as a baseline of sorts, approximate dates can be assigned to statuary based upon their placement within the complex itself. This, however, presumes all manner of factors remain constant, or at least in check. Such considerations, as noted by Laboury are:

- that the statues/reliefs were carved at the time of the building of the monument
- they were not moved in antiquity
- the determination of possible palimpsests and re-carving
- that if palimpsests and/or re-carving occurred, the alteration(s) to the monument did not have adverse effects on the ‘artwork(s)’¹¹⁴

Laboury provides examples of where the architectural context simply cannot be known and concludes,

“The original location of each sculpture must be critically analysed [in order to demonstrate] that the statuary program of a monument was conceived together with its architecture and two-dimensional decoration”¹¹⁵.

Furthermore, such inquiries can only afford ‘relative dates’¹¹⁶. Absolute dates can only be obtained via a specific inscription. Therefore, the best one can

¹¹² Such can be seen from the earliest of times, in the form of the Serdab (Robins, 1997, p. 44 (citing Firth & Quibell 1935 and Lauer 1936); Reisner, 1936, pp. 267-9; Spencer, 1982, pp. 60-1)

¹¹³ For Hatshepsut and Thutmose III see Laboury, 2006, p. 261. For examples in the reigns of other Eighteenth Dynasty pharaohs note: Johnson, 1990, pp. 26-46 (where Johnson discussed the three phases of artistic development of Amenhotep III at Luxor, and attempts to correlate these to periods in time); Kozloff and B. Bryan (eds.), 1992, pp. 73-192 (esp. the latter ‘Chapter V: Royal and Divine Statuary’, pp. 125-192).

¹¹⁴ Laboury, 2006, pp. 261-263.

¹¹⁵ *ibid.*

¹¹⁶ See also sctn. 2.4.3a-b where the application of relative dates is discussed in relation to narratological assessments of temples.

hope for with respect to the ‘architectural context’ is to place two- and three-dimensional works within a ‘space of time’ inside the rule of a monarch.

In the case of Thutmose III, three broad periods of statuary and relief have been described – those images carved under Hatshepsut, those created in the midst of Thutmose III’s sole rule, and those created at the end of reign – all probably based around the political agenda of this pharaoh. Commencing from the commonplace of his forebears, Laboury describes the first period as running from years 1-20¹¹⁷. Following the three phases of Tefnin for the statuary of Hatshepsut, Laboury further sub-divides the statuary of Thutmose III during this period, suggesting that it evolved within each phase of Hatshepsut¹¹⁸. In the earliest phase, the time from the death of Aakheperenre to the accession of Hatshepsut, both the images of Thutmose III and Hatshepsut appear as virtual replicas of Thutmose I and II¹¹⁹.

The second and third phases - the period of Hatshepsut’s ‘sole reign’ - saw three periods of development according to Laboury. In the first, Tefnin’s Phase II (part one), exemplified by statues such as MMA 29.3.2¹²⁰, Thutmose III was purposefully differentiated (and eventually removed) from his aunt. Features included,

“a rather triangular face, a little chin, a small pursed mouth... and a prominent hooked nose [the eyes being] ... drawn in the style inherited from the regency period and the reigns of Thutmose I and II, wide open under almost straight, horizontal eyebrows”¹²¹.

All characteristics, excepting the eyes of the statues of Thutmose III at this time, were the same as those of Hatshepsut. The eyes were in fact stylistically the same as the previous phase, being a nostalgic reminder of the earlier

¹¹⁷ Laboury, 2006, pp. 272-280. To the opening comments, add Mysliwiec, 1976 (pp. 141-4, figs. 51-60, 66-71, 73-75) and Schoske, 1990a.

¹¹⁸ Laboury believes that while much of the statuary of Thutmose III was heavily influenced by Hatshepsut, concessions were granted to the young inpw (2006, pp. 275-278).

¹¹⁹ Laboury, 2006, p. 273; Tefnin, 1979, pp. 37-70, 121-128, 139-145 and pls. 8-9, 14-16, 30-31a.

¹²⁰ Laboury, 2006, 275-6. For a discussion of the statue, see 3.4.1d. Statues MMA 29.3.3 and MMA 31.3.168, could perhaps also be added into this classification.

¹²¹ *ibid.*

Thutmosid rulers. This has led to the theory that the two ‘co-rulers’ might be viewed as complimentary parts or sides of the Office of Kingship¹²². One scholar has even argued that “[Thutmose III] could have had an effect on the evolution of the queen’s iconography and on her political self-definition”¹²³ - a contestable point given the doctrine of kingship¹²⁴. Thutmose III was omitted from all forms of artwork immediately prior to Hatshepsut's accession, up until at least year 12 of her reign¹²⁵.

Part two of the second phase, following Thutmose's apocrypha of sorts, sees the re-introduction by Hatshepsut of her younger counterpart. Notwithstanding, Thutmose is now carefully differentiated¹²⁶. Finally then, much later in her reign (phase three), the images of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III return to a more orthodox style of iconography, replete with masculine garb and earlier Thutmosid imagery¹²⁷. Therefore, it does appear as if the two monarchs were portrayed in *similar style* throughout the pre-accession period and for some years of Hatshepsut's rulership. However, minor differences seem to permit a level of differentiation between the two.

Thutmose's second period of artistic evolution, from years 21-42, sees both “imitation and inspiration” of his imagery and portraiture¹²⁸. The homogeneity of his portraiture is most evident in the temple that Thutmose III erected in the eastern part of the Precinct of Amun, replacing a previous chapel of Hatshepsut¹²⁹. For this period, Thutmose III seems mostly to have preferred to

¹²² Chappaz, 1993, pp. 87-110.

¹²³ Laboury, 2006, p. 278.

¹²⁴ Murnane, 1995, pp. 189-191 where specific reference to the reigns of Hatshepsut and Horemheb is provided, in the context of preserving the integrity of the office of kingship in the later New Kingdom.

¹²⁵ See for example Gabolde & Rondot, 1996, 177-227, where they state “Le décor de la Chapelle ... est encore remarquable dans la mesure où Thoutmosis III n'y est nulle part figuré ni même mentionné”. Note, however, that possible reference to the ‘Youth of the Text of Thutmose III’ might be evident in Scene VIII, (n). On Hatshepsut's masculine appearance in reliefs, see the dated but still useful study of Lacau, 1953.

¹²⁶ Laboury, 2006, pp. 278-280.

¹²⁷ Laboury's Phase III (2006, pp. 278-280), akin to Tefnin's Phase III (1979, pp. 44-48) in the first period of Thutmose III's statuary. Statues MMA 27.3.163 and 28.3.18 are placed within this bracket, but again, pre-empting later discussions and akin with **Fig. 1**, the range offered in this research is far broader than either Laboury or Tefnin would allow.

¹²⁸ Laboury, 2006, p.272.

¹²⁹ For the text & decree of the Akh Menu temple see Urk. IV: 833-838 and 1251-1275 respectively. Note also von Beckerath, 1981 (especially pp. 42-3 for the inscription) and scfn.

remain true to the forms adopted late in the sole rule of Hatshepsut¹³⁰. That said, subtle variations in the cheekbones, eyes, chin and profile view of Thutmose III, do creep into his portraiture from early in the reign¹³¹. This echoes the modifications made during the sole rule of Hatshepsut when her junior counterpart was re-introduced. Finally, the third period (years 42-54), saw a return to the ‘true Thutmosid’ style of Hatshepsut’s forebears. This Laboury ascribes to his policy of *damnatio memoriae* when Thutmose III was most concerned with his succession and the continuation of the bloodline¹³². In sum, six chronologically defined groups seem to loosely define the statuary that runs through the reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III.

Possible Years ¹³³	Summary of Forms and other pertinent information ¹³⁴	Corresponding Phases
2 – 6 (Reign of Hatshepsut)	Thutmosid forms for both rulers. Thutmose II paid homage	Tefnin Phase I Laboury Period I, Phase 1
6 - 12 (Reign of Hatshepsut)	Hatshepsut exercises political license in terms of imagery. Feminine and masculine forms interchange. Thutmose III wholly removed from depictions Thutmose II replaced by Thutmose I	Tefnin Phase II Laboury Period I, Phase 2 (omission of Thutmose III)
13 – 17 (Reign of Hatshepsut)	Thutmose III reintroduced. Hatshepsut and Thutmose III differentiated stylistically	Tefnin Phase II Laboury Period I, Phase 2 (inclusion again of Thutmose)
18 – 21 (Reign of Hatshepsut)	Return to pseudo-orthodox Thutmosid forms. Final phases for Hatshepsut. Similarity in the depictions of both rulers returns, but with identification of both rulers possible on the grounds of portraiture	Tefnin Phase III Laboury Period I, Phase 3
21 – 42	Early (yrs 21-22) Thutmose III retains the	Laboury Period II

3.2.8 in this document for discussions of that earlier construction.

¹³⁰ Tefnin, 1979, 14-16. Also Russmann, 1989, pp. 89-91; Bryan, 1987 (esp. p. 4 where Bryan states that the sculpture of Thutmose III owed much to Hatshepsut in her/their early years).

¹³¹ Laboury, 2006, 267-272. Note that Laboury believes such changes came into effect almost at the outset of the reign – year 22 – even though the construction of Akh Menu did not occur until year 24. This he bases on the decoration of Pylon VI at Karnak, dated to year 22 on various grounds (Laboury, 1998, pp. 32-34).

¹³² Laboury, 2006, pp. 266-7.

¹³³ These are estimates only. For an overview of the possible temporal association of artefactual and monumental pieces to one another, see **Fig. 1**.

¹³⁴ See also the table provided by Laboury, 2006, p. 281.

Possible Years ¹³³	Summary of Forms and other pertinent information ¹³⁴	Corresponding Phases
(Reign of Thutmose)	depictions of the late sole rule of Hatshepsut From year 22 onwards subtle variations to the 'Hatshepsut Late Model' are introduced. Yet, the model is still recognisable	
42 – 54 (Reign of Thutmose)	Thutmose III wholly abandons the 'Hatshepsut Late Model' and returns to the Thutmosid style that commenced the 'joint' reign; as per the formative period	Laboury Period III

Table 1: Summary of the proposed 'Phases' or 'Periods' of the Statuary of Hatshepsut & Thutmose III

1.5 'Innovations' and the office of God's Wife of Amun

1.5.1 Innovations

Many scholars have commented on the numerous 'inventions' of Hatshepsut's epoch. From divine birth propaganda and a 'constitutionally' altered state of the office of kingship, to the form of her statuary and epic voyages to fabled lands, "her attitudes toward change and innovation allowed these innovations to flourish"¹³⁵. However, many of these introductions actually have precedents in earlier periods, and thus it is difficult to determine how many actually belonged to Hatshepsut¹³⁶. Her mortuary temple, for example, has connections with an "international style" that seems to have been spreading through the Mediterranean about this time. It is also stylistically connected to the platform-based sun temple of Niuserre (c. 2420-2389BCE) at Abu Sir, the Eighteenth dynasty palace at Deir el-Ballas and the *saff*-tombs dominant throughout the Second Intermediate Period¹³⁷.

Her most trusted official, Senenmut, also seems to have adopted many of the features introduced by Hatshepsut; even managing to craft some of his own. Two stand out - the development of the Middle Kingdom 'block-statues' to

¹³⁵ Callender, 2002, p. 29, whose article provides a nice, and fairly recent, summary (cf. pp. 29-32 where she comments on the matters pertaining to Hatshepsut's kingship, pp. 33-37 where the statuary is presented, and pp. 37-42 where secular and other ecclesiastical introductions are outlined). For the Punt expedition scenes, refer Naville, 1898, *DeB*, Pt. 3, plates LXIX-LXXXII. For the texts, Urk. IV: 315-354. Also, Martinez, 1993b.

¹³⁶ Callender, 2002, p. 29.

¹³⁷ Arnold, 2005, pp. 135-136.

include the young princess Neferure¹³⁸, and the incorporation of several cryptograms or rebus symbols. Foremost among the latter was the ability to write the name of Hatshepsut as a rebus in statuary – both with her nomen (Khenemet Amun Hatshepsut) and prenomen (Maatkare)¹³⁹. Notwithstanding, he also managed to manufacture the uraeus rebus. This could host her two foremost names, as well as the Horus name of her titulary¹⁴⁰. The literature also throws up one other interesting phenomenon. Via block statue CG 42114, Senenmut seems to have been given a permission of sorts, to carve the inscriptions with his own hand, "unlike anything that had come before him"¹⁴¹. However, by far the most heavily commented upon advancement of Hatshepsut in the literature, is the institution known as the God's Wife of Amun (Hmt-nTr n Imn).

1.5.2 God's Wife of Amun – brief history and summary

The first occurrence of the God's Wife of Amun as a 'royal institution' happens in the New Kingdom. However, as Gitton notes, earlier non-royal depictions are known of¹⁴². Under Ahhotep I, three artefactual items record the office in its infancy¹⁴³, but it was during the reign of Ahmose I, that the post seems to have gained real momentum. This was commemorated by the erection of a stela in the temple of Amun at Karnak, which included Ahmose-Nefertari and their son Ahmose Sapair¹⁴⁴. Following the precedent set by Ahmose-Nefertari, numerous royalty-based females held the post in the first half of the

¹³⁸ For a general definition of 'block-statues', refer Keller, 2005a, pp. 117-118. For their precedents in the Middle Kingdom and the term 'cuboid' - Schulz, 1992.

¹³⁹ Callender, 2002, p. 35, figs. 3 & 4; Roehrig, *Hatshepsut*, fig. 51. For an up-to-date discussion of cryptography in the New Kingdom see Darnell, 2004.

¹⁴⁰ Robins (1999, pp. 108-110), who provides an excellent summary complete with references. For other examples of this benefaction, note statue CG 579 (Dorman, 1988, pp. 126-7, 190; Roehrig, *Hatshepsut*, cat. no. 66 and references cited within) where in the inscription (Urk. IV: 407-415) the first few lines read di.w m Hswt nt xr nswt n rp-a HAty-a imy-r n Imn sn-n-mwt mAa-xrw.

¹⁴¹ Legrain, 1906, pp. 62-64 for the inscriptions and plate LXVI (Cat. 1.9).

¹⁴² Gitton, 1976a, pp. 31-46 - it is from these earlier appearances that the 'sheath-type' dress and associated garb derive.

¹⁴³ **1.** A stela located at Edfu – Cairo 34009. PM V¹, 203; Urk. IV: 29-31 (esp. 29.13); Lacau, 1909. **2.** A tomb scene of Ahhotep I – TT A18. PM I², 1, 453; Champollion, 1845, pp. 153 (3-4) & 230 (1). **3.** Coffin-set recovered from the Deir el-Bahri cachette – Cairo 6137-8, 6156-7. PM I², 2, 632ff. *LDR* 2, p. 209 (9).

¹⁴⁴ Harari, 1959, pp. 139-201; Gitton, 1975, pp. 7-11; Graefe, 1981, pp. 101-104.

Eighteenth dynasty¹⁴⁵. These seem to fade into obscurity in the latter half¹⁴⁶.

In the Nineteenth¹⁴⁷ and Twentieth¹⁴⁸ dynasties the position became more formalised. The ecclesiastical importance of the position seems to have lessened considerably, with the office becoming ultimately political in nature¹⁴⁹. Under the reigns of Ramesses III (Isis III) and Ramesses IV (Tenopet) respectively, the wife of the king held both the title Hmt-nTr and that of 'Divine Adoratrice' (dwAt nTr)¹⁵⁰. From the time of Ramesses VI, we find an instance where the full title of Hmt-nTr n Imn is used in tandem with dwAt nTr (as in the case of Isis IV). Thus, the pharaoh gained a level of 'control' over the office by fusing it with that of 'Adoratrice of the God', for which he was already in charge¹⁵¹.

This political control continued throughout the Third Intermediate and Late Periods. From the outset of the Twenty-First Dynasty, all but one case (Henut-tawy) utilised the titles 'God's Wife' and 'Divine Adoratrice'. In the other 7 instances, from Maatkare-Mutemhat I (Dynasty 21), down to Ankhesenferibre (Dynasty 26), not only do the titles holders employ the 'dual-titulary', but each is the virgin daughter of a king. As Robins states,

¹⁴⁵ cf. Gitton, 1984, Paris. In order: **Ahmoese-Nefertari** (wife of Ahmoese I); Sat-amun (d. of Ahmoese I and Ahmoese-Nefertari, sister of Amenhotep I); Merytamun (d. of Ahmoese I and Ahmoese-Nefertari, sister and wife of Amenhotep I); Sat-kamose (probable d. of Ahmoese I and Ahmoese-Nefertari, sister and wife of Amenhotep I); **Hatshepsut; Neferure** (d. of Thutmose II and Hatshepsut); Isis (wife of Thutmose I, mother of Thutmose III); Sit-yoh (wife of Thutmose III); Merytre-Hatshepsut II (wife of Thutmose III, mother of Amenhotep II); Merytamun II (d. of Thutmose III and Merytre-Hatshepsut II, sister of Amenhotep II); Tia (wife of Amenhotep II, mother of Thutmose IV). See **Table 2** for summary.

Note that only four royalty-based females actually held the office of Hmt-nTr n Imn. Namely, Ahhotep I, Ahmoese-Nefertari, Isis IV, and Maatkare Mutemhat I (Troy, 1986, p. 188). The balance were simply cited as Hmt-nTr, with a few given highly specialised variants of the title.

¹⁴⁶ Robins, 1993a, p. 152.

¹⁴⁷ In order: Sat-re (wife of Ramesses I, mother of Seti I); Tuya (wife of Seti I, mother of Ramesses II); Nefertari-Merytmot (wife of Ramesses II); Tawosre (wife of Seti II, regent and possible wife of Siptah).

¹⁴⁸ In order: Habadilat (possible wife of Setnakht); Isis III (d. of Habadilat, wife of Ramesses III, mother of Ramesses IV, VI, Amunhirkhopshef, and Ramses); Isis IV (d. of Ramesses VI and Nubkhesdeb); Titi (related in various ways to an unnamed king).

¹⁴⁹ Troy, 1986, pp. 97-99

¹⁵⁰ This title first appeared with non-royal woman in the Eighteenth Dynasty. In particular, the daughter of a Chief Priest of Amun under Hatshepsut (cf. Caminos & James, 1963, plate 38). Later, it was held by the mother of Thutmose III's principal wife (cf. BM 1280).

¹⁵¹ Troy, 1986, pp. 94-97

“...the God’s Wife would be the celibate daughter of a king, who thus could not establish her own dynasty, so that when she died, the reigning king’s daughter could succeed. Supposedly she would be loyal to her father and look after his interests”¹⁵².

It is from this stand-point that the ‘heiress theory’ debate regarding the handing down of the office of ‘God’s Wife (of Amun)’ in the New Kingdom seems to have evolved¹⁵³. While the literature convincingly demonstrates the office being transferred from king’s daughter to king’s daughter in the Third Intermediate and Late Periods, this has been disproved for the New Kingdom¹⁵⁴.

Turning finally to summarise the key duties/obligations of the office, these consisted of:

- participating in the daily liturgies with the members of the priesthood
- entering the Naos or ‘Holy of Holies’ with the High Priest (for the purposes of ritual endowment)
- presenting the deity with his Htpw-nsw (and calling him to such a meal whilst reciting appropriate canonical phrases¹⁵⁵)
- burning wax effigies of the enemies of the God for the purposes of maintaining Maat¹⁵⁶.

Furthermore, it is now well-documented that the office of God’s Wife was its own economic entity, having both an estate (pr Hmt nTr or pr dwAt) and

¹⁵² Robins, 1993a, p. 154.

¹⁵³ The primary advocates for the antiquated ‘Heiress Theory’ were Aldred (1988, pp. 134-141) and Redford (1967, pp. 71-74, with comments on the coronation and the ‘Youth of Hatshepsut’ following (pp. 75-87) and ‘matriarchal tendencies’ before (pp. 65-6)).

¹⁵⁴ In particular see Robins, 1983, pp. 67-77. Also Troy, 1986, pp. 102-114; Robins, 1993b, pp. 65-78.

¹⁵⁵ Robins, 1993a, pp. 149-156 and Gitton, 1976a.

¹⁵⁶ Bryan, 2002, p.2; Gitton, 1975, pp. 80-83. Note also the God’s Wife was expected to bath in the Sacred Lake or S nTry (cf. Montet, 1966 & Gessler-Lohr, 1983) for purifying reasons before engaging in ritual worship/acts. Finally, owing to her feminine qualities, the God’s Wife was also supposed to use the sistrum or sSt (cf. Daumas, 1970, pp. 63-78; Ziegler, 1979, pp. 31-40, Ziegler, 1984, 2002) in order to propitiate the God and, theoretically at least, as the ‘Hand of the God’, she could physically perform the ‘self-creative’ act of masturbation.

retinue of servants¹⁵⁷. The former consisted of land holdings, palaces and personal equity¹⁵⁸. The latter was headed by the 'Chief Steward' – in the time of Hatshepsut, Senenmut.

1.5.3 God's Wife of Amun – relevance to the present study

For many years scholars have presumed that the institution inaugurated by Ahmose-Nefertari, and intimately linked to the queen, must have naturally fallen into disuse by the time Hatshepsut was crowned king. As Gay Robins states,

"At some point in Thutmose's reign, not later than year 7, Hatshepsut ceased to appear with the titles and insignia of a queen, and instead used the five-fold titulary of a king..."¹⁵⁹

This is echoed by Callendar who remarks,

"...between year 2 and year 7, Hatshepsut transferred her title of 'God's Wife of Amen' to Princess Neferure ... adopting in its place the full titulary of a reigning monarch"¹⁶⁰.

Likewise, other scholars have presumed that where the title Hmt-nTr exists, the timeframe indicated must be prior to Hatshepsut's accession¹⁶¹. The challenge, as per chapter four, lies in empirically evaluating this assumption to determine if the above conclusions are actually correct.

¹⁵⁷ Graefe, 1981, pp. 97-169; Grimm, 1983, pp. 33-38.

¹⁵⁸ In general see Gitton and Leclant, 1976.

¹⁵⁹ 1993b, p. 74. On Ahmose-Nefertari, see Gitton, 1975, 1976b, pp. 65-89, plate XIV; 1979a, 1984 (pp. 27-42); Menu, 1977; Schmitz, 1978; Spalinger, 1996, pp. 218-223; Manley, 2002; Stasser, 2002, pp. 24-32

¹⁶⁰ 1995-6, p. 24

¹⁶¹ Paneque, 2003, pp. 83-85; Dorman, 1988, pp. 18-35

Table 2: Royalty-based Females of the late 17th and Early 18th Dynasties and their Titles

Name of Queen	Hmt-nTr	Hmt-nsw wrt	sAt-nsw	snt-nsw	mwt nsw
<i>Tetisheri (Tao 1)</i> ¹⁶²	No	Yes	No	No	Yes ¹⁶³
<i>Ahhotep-Naga (I) - (Tao I or Tao II?)</i> ¹⁶⁴	Yes ¹⁶⁵	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes ¹⁶⁶
<i>Ahhotep-Cache (II) – (Tao II, Ka or A1?)</i>	?	Yes? ¹⁶⁷	?	?	?
<i>Ahmes-Merytamun (N/A)</i>	No	No	Yes	Yes ¹⁶⁸	No

¹⁶² The abbreviation in brackets following the royal female's name belong to the king that female was (likely) married to. Tao 1 = Senakhtenre Tao I; Tao 2 = Sekenenre Tao II; Ka = Kamose; Ah = Ahmose; A1 = Amenhotep I; T1 = Thutmose I; T2 = Thutmose II; T3 = Thutmose III.

¹⁶³ Troy, 1986, p. 161

¹⁶⁴ The most commonly accepted order of the two Ahhotep's is that Ahhotep I was the daughter of Tao I and Tetisheri; wife of Tao II (Dodson & Hilton, 2004, pp. 126-129; Troy, 1986, p. 161). Ahhotep II then becomes either the wife of Kamose (Dodson & Hilton, 2004, pp. 126-128), or even Amenhotep I (Eaton-Krauss, 1990). However, another possibility arises if one accepts arguments that each of the Ahhotep's is moved back one generation. Ahhotep I then becomes the daughter of Nubkheperre Intef and Sobekemsaf; wife of Tao I and Ahhotep II fills the role of daughter of Tao I and Tetisheri; wife of Tao II. For a full treatment over the years, see Maspero, 1889, pp. 545ff; Winlock, 1924, esp. pp. 250-251; Redford, 1967, pp. 28ff; Roth, 1977-78; Schmitz, 1978; Troy, 1979; Thomas, 1979; Vandersleyen, 1980; Robins, 1982; Blankenberg van Delden, 1982; Gitton, 1984, pp. 9ff; Eaton-Krauss, 1990; Jánosi, 1992; Bennett, 1995a, 1995b, 1995c, 2002; Stasser, 2002.

¹⁶⁵ Occurring on stela CG 34009 (PM¹, V, p. 203); TT A18 (PM¹, I, p. 453); and the Deir el-Bahri priests cache coffin-set (Troy, 1986, p. 161). This and the instance under Ahmose-Nefertari were the only two examples of the full title Hmt-nTr n Imn outside the Twentieth Dynasty. However, note the discussion in chapter five pertaining to the Sinai Stela

¹⁶⁶ Troy, 1986, *op. cit.*; Dodson & Hilton, 2004, p. 128.

¹⁶⁷ The difficulties here arise from the reconciliation of the two part-coffins CG 28501 & CG 61006.

¹⁶⁸ Name recorded as Merytamun or Ahmes Merytamun; Dodson & Hilton (2004, p. 129) cite her as being likely a daughter of Tao II. Troy (1986, p. 162-3) combines her with Meryt-Amun, who was married to Amenhotep I (see also under Merit-Amun).

Name of Queen	Hmt-nTr	Hmt-nsw wrt	sAt-nsw	snt-nsw	mwt nsw
<i>Ahmoose-Nefertari (Ah)</i> ¹⁶⁹	Yes ¹⁷⁰	Yes	Yes ¹⁷¹	Yes	Yes
<i>Merit-Amun (A1)</i> ¹⁷²	Yes ¹⁷³	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
<i>Ahmes (T1)</i> ¹⁷⁴	No	Yes ¹⁷⁵	No	Yes	Yes
<i>Mutnofret (T1)</i>	No	Yes ¹⁷⁶	Yes	Yes	Yes ¹⁷⁷
<i>Isis (T2)</i> ¹⁷⁸	Yes ¹⁷⁹	Yes	No	No	Yes

¹⁶⁹ For her titles in general see Gitton, 1975, pp. 69ff; Troy, 1986, pp. 161-162; Robins 1993a, p. 44

¹⁷⁰ Aldred 1988, p. 135.

¹⁷¹ Recorded along with snt-nsw on numerous documents including her 'Donation Stela' (Harari, 1959), Theban Tomb 15 (PM¹, I, p. 27), and Dra Abu el-Naga vase fragments (MMA 21.7.1 – 21.7.8). Her coffin CG 61003 records only the title snt-nsw, omitting sAt-nsw.

¹⁷² As noted above, this royal female is sometimes confused/combined with the earlier Ahmes-Merytamun. For general comments, cf. Robins 1993a, p. 44

¹⁷³ Recorded in various locations such as her coffins (TT 65/338, Cairo JE 53140; PM¹, 2, p.629) and a Karnak statue of Sit-amun (BM 601).

¹⁷⁴ On the mother of Hatshepsut, see comments in Cat. 4.9, 5.3.

¹⁷⁵ Referred to in numerous places as Hmt-nsw wrt (e.g. a group statue now located in the Cairo Museum – CG 42052, PM¹, II, p. 137; the Kohl-vase CG 18486; and Theban Tomb 125 of Dua-neheh - Urk. IV: 452.12 - 454.13), more interesting is the once-only recorded instance of the epithet Hmt-ity (located on the northern-most colonnade along the Middle Terrace, see Naville, *D&B*, 1896, pls. 47-49 for the scenes containing Ahmes; and Urk. IV: 219 for the specialised epigraphy). This parallels the only recorded instance of a similar epithet, snt-ity, held by Ahhotep. Hatshepsut does not seem to have held any title containing the word "sovereign", but parallels in this research are drawn with the term snt.f (noted in the biography of Ineni; sctn. 3.2.10). For a general summary of Hatshepsut's known titles one can also consult Troy, 1986, pp. 163-164).

¹⁷⁶ Only recorded as a Hmt-nsw, not Hmt-nsw wrt (Troy, 1986, p. 164; Dodson & Hilton, 2004, p. 139).

¹⁷⁷ The titles sAt-nsw and snt-nsw can both be seen on a statue recovered from the eighth pylon at Karnak and dedicated to her son Thutmose II (PM¹, II, pp. 176ff; Urk. IV: 154.12), with mwt-nsw written on a Theban statue from the temple of Wadjmes (PM¹, II, p. 444).

¹⁷⁸ For confirmation of this queens titles, see Troy, 1986, p. 164. Note that in addition to Hmt-nsw wrt, she is also recorded simply as Hmt-nsw.

¹⁷⁹ Title supposedly bestowed posthumously – refer Dodson & Hilton, 2004, p. 138. It is recorded on a relief fragment from the Qurna temple of Thutmose III (PM¹, II, p. 428). The title rt-pat was also recorded for Isis on this temple.

Name of Queen	Hmt-nTr	Hmt-nsw wrt	sAt-nsw	snt-nsw	mwt nsw
<i>Hatshepsut (T2)</i> ¹⁸⁰	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
<i>Sit-yōh (T3)</i>	Yes ¹⁸¹	Yes ¹⁸²	No	No	No
<i>Neferure (T3?)</i>	Yes ¹⁸³	Yes ¹⁸⁴	Yes	No	No

¹⁸⁰ For a list of Hatshepsut's titles by artefactual item, see **Tables 12, 13**.

¹⁸¹ Dodson & Hilton, 2004, pp. 132-133, 140.

¹⁸² Recorded as both Hmt-nsw and Hmt-nsw wrt (see Troy, 1986, p. 164).

¹⁸³ For a review of Neferure as Hmt-nTr (n Imn) see section 4.7.3. While Troy (1986, p. 164) omitted to include Berlin statue 2296 from the repertoire of items demonstrating Neferure as God's Wife, she does attempt to add one further. Scenes from the top of the northern and southern walls in the sanctuary at Deir el-Bahri mortuary temple of Hatshepsut contain reference to Neferure (Naville, *DeB*, 1906, pls. 141, 143).

¹⁸⁴ For Neferure's possible union with Thutmose III, see Redford, 1965, p. 108. Additionally, the only possible instance of Neferure as "Kings Great Wife" is recorded as Hmt-nsw wrt mrt.f on a stela fragment from Thutmose's Qurna temple (PM¹, II, p. 428).

1.6 Senenmut, his statuary and other officials

Senenmut is often described as the foremost of Hatshepsut's officials¹⁸⁵. His statuary, much like that of Hatshepsut, features strongly throughout this research and equally deserves mention in the literature review. His pivotal role during her reign seems reinforced by the plethora of posts he held throughout her rule¹⁸⁶, as well as the sizeable collection of 25 statues, which rivals Hatshepsut's Deir el-Bahri collection¹⁸⁷.

Many authors subscribe to the fact that Senenmut's large body of statuary was a result of his inability to secure a funerary cult, possibly owing to his lack of progeny¹⁸⁸. Consequently, they believe he attempted to protect his cultic remembrance via 'funerary statuary'¹⁸⁹. However, such a conclusion seems based upon two key aspects. First, that the statues of Senenmut are all determined to be 'votive' statues, functioning in a temple context fashion¹⁹⁰. Second, the importance of Senenmut's monumental constructions seems to be heavily under-valued in this type of categorisation¹⁹¹. The literature also

¹⁸⁵ Redford, 1967, p. 77

¹⁸⁶ See for example the 22 titles listed for Senenmut as per his recovered and restored sarcophagus (Hayes, 1950, p. 22). For a more up-to-date compilation, refer Dorman, 1988, Appendix 3, pp. 203-211.

¹⁸⁷ A comprehensive list, complete with references can be found in Dorman, 1988, Appendix 2, pp. 188-197. Other 'listings' can be found in Jacquet Gordon, 1972, pp. 142-3 (where 22 items are provided); Berlandini-Grenier, 1976, pp. 111-112, fn. 3 (summary list with determinatives) and 114-117 (brief discussion of 6 block statues – called "cube-statues"); Hari, 1984, pp. 142-3 (where all are summarily commented upon); B. Lesko, 1967, p. 188 (where she lists 14 statues in tabular form, commenting upon their state of preservation with reference to the demise of Senenmut); Schulman, 1969-70, pp. 36-43 (where 16 statues or statue-fragments are discussed more fully, again with reference to the demise of Senenmut).

¹⁸⁸ Keller, 2005a, p. 117-119.

¹⁸⁹ *ibid.* Additionally, Keller divides Senenmut's 25 statues into four main categories - Block, Seated, Standing and Kneeling. In sum, these are: 8 Block/Cuboid statues (of which the seven with Neferure are presented in **Table 14**, mostly discussed in chapter five. BM 1513 – Cat. 1.18), 4 Seated Statues of Senenmut (BM 174, CG 42116 – which is here called the 'Senimen-style kneeling statue', Deir Rumi statue (Dewachter, 1972), *in situ* statue in the shrine at Gebel el-Silsila (Dorman, 1988, p. 196), 1 standing statue (Field Museum 173800 - cf. Allen, 1927), 2 'kneeling in adoration' (the 'Navelle Fragment' statue (B. Lesko, 1967, pp. 115-118 and letter G), and Geneva 23438 (Hari, 1984, pp. 141-44), 1 'kneeling offering a Naos' (CG 42117), 1 'kneeling offering a surveyors cord' (Louvre E 11057 – Barguet, 1953, pp. 23-27), 4 'kneeling with sistrum' (sistrophores – CG 579, MMA 48.149.7, Munich AS 6265, Djoser-Akhet statue), 3 'kneeling with uraeus Cryptogram' (Brooklyn 67.68, Fort Worth AP 85.2, JdE 34582), and 1 uncertain statue type from Edfu (Dorman, 1988, p. 196)

¹⁹⁰ Keller (2005a, pp. 117-119) follows on from such earlier works as B. Lesko (1967, p. 118) where the latter defines all such statues as either *votive* or *with Neferure*.

¹⁹¹ In particular his Theban Tomb 71 at Sheikh abd el-Qurna, TT353 in the forecourt of Deir el-Bahri (Dorman, 1991) and his Theban Shrine No. 16 at Gebel el-Silsila (Caminos & James, 1963, pp. 53-56 and plates 33-34 and 40-44).

bears out an overt focus on the question of what happened to Senenmut towards the end of the reign of Hatshepsut¹⁹², without divorcing that standpoint from a more critical analysis of the monument under consideration¹⁹³. The determination that Senenmut did not construct an 'opulent tomb' also seems to overlook the two tombs he did construct, as well as the importance of his three cultic centres – one at North Karnak¹⁹⁴, another at Armant¹⁹⁵ and a third in the Aswan region of his Gebel el-Silsila shrine¹⁹⁶.

Another curious matter is that Senenmut seems to have broken with artistic tradition on numerous occasions. Roehrig states,

“[Senenmut] abrogates a number of seemingly inviolate rules of Egyptian art. These include the general conventions that a royal person, even a child, is represented in a larger scale than non-royalty; that a royal individual is never touched except by another royal person or deity; and that a royal person never interacts in an obvious way (let alone touches) a person of lower rank”¹⁹⁷.

He seems to have achieved this in two key fashions - by ingratiating himself into the artistic programme of his monarch, and by introducing new and unprecedented ways of portraying 'artworks'¹⁹⁸. The two primary areas Senenmut is presumed to have *invaded* the space of Hatshepsut are through his many and varied inclusions within the chapels at Deir el-Bahri¹⁹⁹, and his construction of TT353 in the forecourt of Djoser Djoseru²⁰⁰. At least one

¹⁹² See for example Schulman, 1969-70, pp. 43-45 where nos. 21, 22, 23 discuss the above structures but are only interested in the destruction or incompleteness of the monuments, rather than the contribution to Senenmut's funerary cult.

¹⁹³ Dorman, 1988, pp. 141-164

¹⁹⁴ Note in particular the Donation Stela erected at North Karnak (Dorman, 1988, pp. 29-31, 133-4, 198 and references cited within)

¹⁹⁵ Three statues in total: 1. Munich ÄS 6265 (Roehrig, *Hatshepsut*, cat. no. 68; Dorman, 1988, p. 151; Schulman, 1987/8, pp. 67-70); 2. Brooklyn 67.68 (Roehrig, *Hatshepsut*, cat. no. 70; Dorman, pp. 146-7; Schulman, 1987/8, pp. 63-65); 3. Fort Worth AP 85.2 (Roehrig, *Hatshepsut*, cat. no. 71; Dorman, 1988, pp. 150-1; Schulman, 1987/8, pp. 65-7). Also, Dorman, 1988, pp. 127-8.

¹⁹⁶ Dorman, 1988, pp. 157-58; Schulman, 1969-70, pp. 43-44; PM V¹, 215; Meyer, 1982, pp. 107-111

¹⁹⁷ 2005a, p. 113

¹⁹⁸ *ibid.*

¹⁹⁹ First commented on by Winlock, 1942, pp. 104-6.

²⁰⁰ Dorman, 1991 and 1988, pp. 80-84

scholar has argued that a reconstructed text from the doorways leading to the northwest offering hall within Deir el-Bahri illustrates the ‘permission’ given to Senenmut by Hatshepsut²⁰¹. Subsequently, the erasure of Hatshepsut’s name has caused other scholars to ponder over whether this ‘permission’ was actually gifted by Hatshepsut or more so *taken* by Senenmut²⁰². In sum then, while his two-dozen or so statues seem to have linked Senenmut to all that was eternal in ‘temple-focused’ worship, from the ‘Divine Birth’ to the reciprocity of re-birth and everlasting life, they were but one of many original ideas stemming from the reign of Hatshepsut into the later Eighteenth Dynasty, and beyond²⁰³.

1.7 Defacement of Epigraphy and Iconography

One will very quickly note that virtually no effort has been made throughout this research to discuss or tackle the question(s) pertaining to the ‘vilification of Hatshepsut’²⁰⁴. There are two reasons for this. First, that the undertaking of a review or examination of this topic could easily constitute an entire work all its own. Second, the key focus of *this* research is to examine (in many cases re-examine) the material that falls squarely between the time of the death of Thutmose II, and the assumption of full powers of the Thutmose III. What happened pre- and post- this time has largely been omitted²⁰⁵.

²⁰¹ Hayes, 1957, pp. 80-84 and figs. 2-3

²⁰² See the debate between B. Lesko (1967, pp. 113-114) and Schulman (1969-70, pp. 29-33)

²⁰³ Others not mentioned here include the Isis-Horus model clearly evident in both statuary of Hatshepsut with Sitre (Roehrig, 1990a, pp. 31-39) and Senenmut with Neferure (general comments in Roehrig, 2005a, pp. 112-113). Also, her policy of Divine Birth, followed throughout remainder of Egyptian antiquity down into the Ptolemaic period (Daumas, 1958)

²⁰⁴ Grimal, 2000, pp. 216-217

²⁰⁵ Excepting where such is necessary to the understanding of this period (e.g. investigations and comments around the reign of Thutmose I throughout this work, as they relate to Hatshepsut’s governance or rulership).

Chapter Two: Methodologies

2.1 Introduction

The challenge when determining what material to review comes down to a matter of research question alignment, scope and space. Interestingly, the scope and precise research questions are often only known after a thorough examination of the secondary, and primary, material. Space is generally understood, at least in a broad sense, from the outset (e.g. research and/or publication conventions). Inevitably, this means that the researcher has to undertake a lot of ‘reading around’ the topic(s), before firm decisions can be made. Often multiple iterations are required, not just during the phases of writing, but the planning stages as well.

The current research began in its infancy approximately a decade ago. At that time, thoughts of an all-encompassing thesis which sought to answer questions of ancient Egyptian sovereignty were entertained. Quickly realising the subject matter was far too broad, a reduction in sample set down to sovereignty amongst only those females who occupied the royal household, was adopted. This in turn was further reduced to the period of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth dynasties – a fact that can still be seen via **Table 2**. Over the years that followed, the range, detail and type of material available, as well as the candidates own interests in areas such as art-historical methodologies, began to factor in. As the content grew, it was once again realised another contraction would be required. This one was far easier to determine, as comments over the years from undergraduate students had focused the research even further. The diminutive shift to concentrate solely on Hatshepsut was the second-last stage in the evolution of this work.

An examination of Hatshepsut’s reign is complicated by four difficulties.

1. A lack of material containing regnal year dates²⁰⁶

²⁰⁶ The Catalogue contains 84 separate entries. Of these, only 22 have actual dates recorded on them (= 26% overall). The areas of greatest dearth are sections 1 (Statuary) and 3 (Tomb), where no items exhibit regnal year dates. The largest categories with dates are section 4 (Graffito and Artefactual = 12/19 items), and 5 (Stelae and Obelisks = 7/13 items).

2. Paucity of material, especially around critical times such as year seven
3. Much of the material being generic in its epigraphy, thereby limiting its usefulness
4. A sizeable proportion of the available material having been recarved
5. Many items being difficult to obtain, often with the initial research having been conducted only once or twice, and/or a long time ago²⁰⁷.

Beyond this, other factors played into the re-appraisal of Hatshepsut's reign. Foremost, is the almost paramount necessity to collectively and holistically view pieces in the archaeological record. Akin to the studies of Seti I by Dr. Peter Brand, the idea is one of creating a more multi-disciplined approach to Egyptological studies. As he states,

“...the tendency to focus too closely on a small sample of the available material ... is a common pitfall of much Egyptological analysis”²⁰⁸.

The bringing to bear of various sub-disciplines upon multiple items from the archaeological record has merit over the sometimes more narrowly focused singular disciplinary studies (e.g. philological, narratological, art-historical, epigraphic, architectural). The present research attempts to emulate this worthy undertaking - the purpose being to ‘synthesize’ the available material rather than exclude any specific item (and/or discipline). Ultimately, it is the ability to arrive at the same conclusions, via differing artefactual, epigraphic and art historical methods that adds even greater credence to the deductions reached²⁰⁹.

As a consequence of these factors, two inter-related methodological phenomena arose. In order to gain the best possible assessment of Hatshepsut's reign, it was determined that as much material as humanly

²⁰⁷ E.g. Year 12 Tangûr Graffito (Reineke, 1977; Morkot 1987), Wadi Halfa temple (Edgerton, 1933; Murnane, 1977), Hieraconopolis foundation deposits (Wienstein, 1971-2, Murnane, 1977), Wadi Gabbanat el-Qurud vases (Winlock, 1948), Cairo vase CG18486 (von Bissing, 1907), year 6 graffito-stela of Tjemhy (Chappaz, 1993; Goedicke and Wente, 1962), Vatican Stela no. 130 (Murnane, 1977)

²⁰⁸ Brand, 2000, pp. 1-2

²⁰⁹ Note for example the excellent efforts of Gabolde and Rondot (1996), whereby architectural, artefactual, philological and art historical methods are all employed to piece together the northern chapel of Hatshepsut.

possible needed to be brought together for analysis. It did not matter the range, type or detail of evidence; only that it be included for consideration. It was quickly decided that a catalogue was the best way to both record and present the information. Moreover, the production of a contemporary repository that future researchers could use as a starting point for their own investigation(s) seemed a worthwhile venture in its own right.

However, as this process unravelled, the final redaction in the history of this thesis occurred. It became evermore apparent that a complete overhaul of Hatshepsut's reign would not be possible. The sheer mass of material, even with all the lacunae, became unwieldy. Moreover, when trying to holistically appraise subsets of material (especially with respect to chronological reassessment), the full suite of interdisciplinary methodologies could not easily be brought to bear on each group. In short, the decision to answer four specific research questions was finally arrived at.

2.2 Datasets, appendices, tables and figures

The following sub-section sets out to present commentaries on four areas:

1. How was the evidence assembled and presented (for example, chronological versus categorical, the range/detail of each item, the types of evidence, and ultimately the decision-making procedures)
2. How was the material selected for each research question and what was the criteria for each piece?
3. What considerations went in to the choice of tabular and figurative information
4. General information about the appendices not already covered (bibliography and plates)

2.2.1 Assembling the Evidence – The Catalogue

As aforementioned, the initial selection criteria for the primary evidence simply consisted of amassing as much material as possible for consideration. The end result was the Catalogue. That said, there were a few limitations, even with such a broad starting mentality. For example, it was simply not possible to record every piece of archaeological evidence from the officials who held

office during her reign. Nor was it possible to reflect each official in the appendices. A few (Nakht, Djehuty, Senemiah, Pen-iaty) do feature in the Catalogue; and of course the inimitable Senenmut appears in many of the sections therein. When accumulating evidence on Hatshepsut, it was simply not possible to check first-hand the record of every single official. Rather, decisions around whether or not to include evidence from the 'body of officials' happened only after the secondary evidence had provided good reason to do so. Notwithstanding, **Table 15** has been added in an attempt to 'plug' this gap; the notes from the background investigations into the officials who held office during Hatshepsut's time being compiled into a tabular reference of sorts.

The other lacuna, if it can be called as such, is the suite of temples upon which Hatshepsut features. To the author's knowledge, virtually every known temple or temple complex does appear in the Catalogue²¹⁰. However, in some cases (e.g. Qasr Ibrim) the material is slight. This owes to the fact that in many cases, the temple evidence could not be verified first-hand. Again, every effort has been made to ensure the information compiled is as sound as the constraints of financial aid would permit.

Turning to the structure of the Catalogue, the first section details the statuary examined in this thesis, discussed heavily in chapters one, three and five. The first part of the sub-section focuses on items of Hatshepsut, while the latter focuses on Senenmut and his charge Neferure²¹¹. Next we turn to temple inscriptions and reliefs, where chapels and cenotaphs have also been included. The rationale behind separating the latter two from section three – focusing on tomb reliefs – is that all the chapels and cenotaphs are cultic in nature, rather than mortuary. Thus, their inclusion better fits the cultic temples reviewed, rather than subterranean tomb scenes and texts. Section four presents graffiti and ostrakon-type items, whilst section five focuses on stelae.

²¹⁰ The only one that is omitted, which is listed in the decree at Beni Hasan, but for which no evidence has been forthcoming (hence its omission), is Antinoe.

²¹¹ A full list of all items is contained at the front of the Catalogue.

With respect to the layout, a four-fold division is adopted. The top right has either an image of the presented piece, or a reference to the plates at the rear of the appendix. In the bottom right, key references are presented. These are either the most common, or the most pertinent to the research. In the bottom left, a brief description of the item is given. The focus here is to outline key elements/attributes of the piece, without getting drawn into any lengthy discussions. Lastly, the top left of the four-fold division contains referential and classificatory information as follows:

Alternative Name refers to another name, usually commonly known and sometimes colloquial, aside from its title or Identification.

Identification is in most cases a museum or field reference number.

Provenance refers to where the item currently resides (in the case of monumental architecture), or original location (in the case of artefactual materials).

Source refers to the citation for the image here-presented. If presented in our plates section, this is recorded in Table 10, immediately preceding the plates.

Date refers to the definite or approximate timeframe of piece, as it relates to the reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III. In most cases, this has been entered retrospectively, following from our examinations.

Finally, it is worth noting that in compiling this reference set, several items proved challenging to acquire (e.g. 4.9). Combined with other items that are seldom commented on by scholars (e.g. 4.17, 4.18), the hope is that this up-to-date compendium will be of service to future Hatshepsut researchers.

2.2.2 Selection criteria for each research question

Repeating the comments above, in order to carry out (and answer) the investigation of each research question, all material had to be examined first. Notes were made and then transposed into various formats. One of these, **Fig. 1**, is a surmised visual approximation of how different items in the archaeological record might have overlain with one another. It was drawn from the date reference in the top left box of each catalogue item. This was instrumental in determining which pieces to examine in chapter three, where

the items all had to fall within a range of dates between year one and seven. Further, as a note on how the approximate date or range of dates was determined, each was based upon the content and style of the item (i.e. the iconography and epigraphy), unless an actual date of composition was otherwise known²¹². Moreover, even after considering all of the textual and pictorial evidence, some items were simply indeterminable²¹³. These, quite simply, have not been included. Furthermore, while it is conceded that any such text/imagery must be carved after the fact (at best very close to the time of the actual events), and thus one wonders how useful an exercise such as this is, there does seem to be substantive reason to at least attempt this task. For instance, in terms of statuary, trends in carving and the application of epigraphy and iconography to the statue can be further studied. Additionally, the overlapping construction/carving of monumental structures can potentially be examined in differing ways. And, even if the associations are subsequently proven to be incorrect, the ability to study the interplay of different mediums (monumental, artefactual, art-historical) seems to have merit.

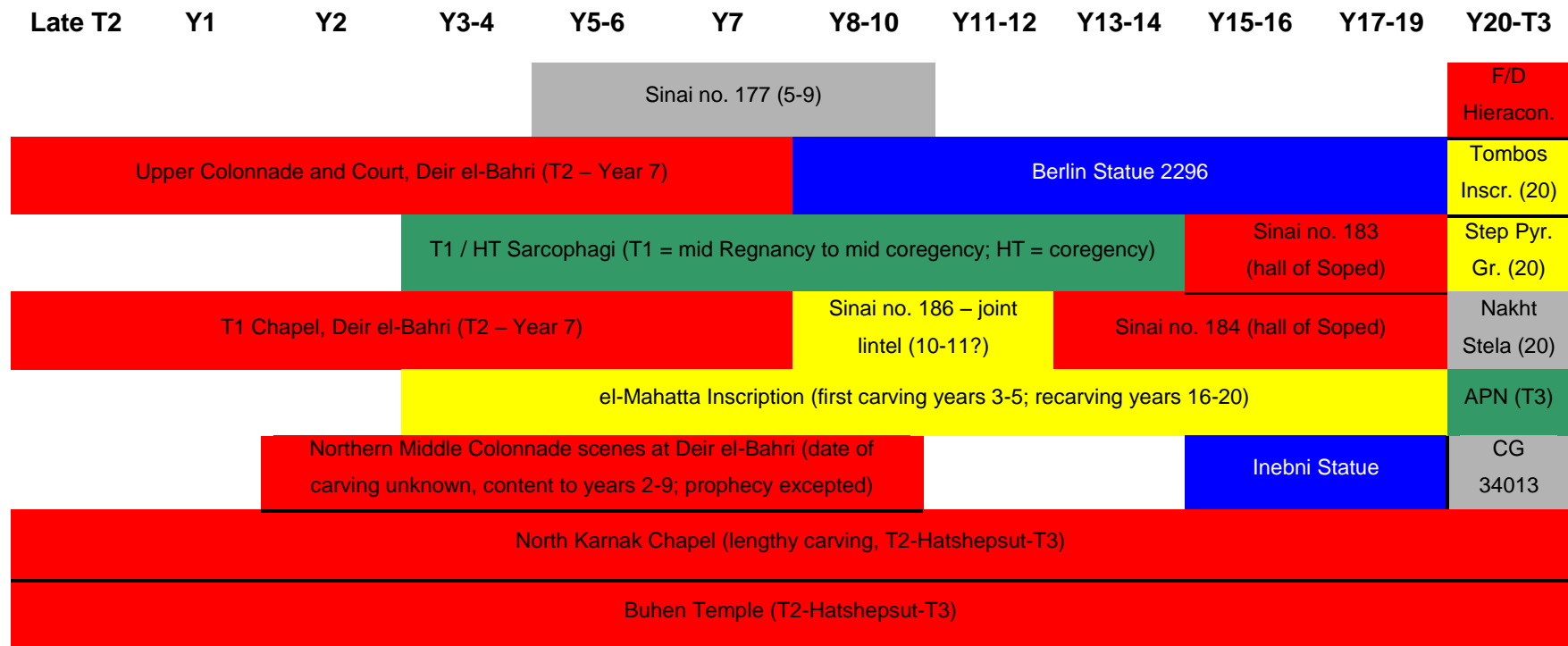
As for the selection process for chapters four and six, these were far simpler to ascertain. For the chapter on the God's Wife, an item was ruled in or out simply by the inclusion/omission of the title Hmt nTr. No other criteria were applied. Chapter six was derived from the GPC, *Sinai* publication, re-recorded in the Catalogue as numbers 5.1, 5.4-5, 5.6-9. Finally, chapter five demanded a more detailed scrutiny of the evidence. The research began with an examination of the statuary of Senenmut and Neferure (**Table 14**). As the nature of the investigation unfolded, pieces that were either unique to the pair (e.g. year 11 Sinai stela), or Senenmut and Hatshepsut (cave graffito) were incorporated. Finally, items which had chronological bearing on the relations of Neferure and/or Senenmut were consulted. The end result is perhaps slightly radical, but hopefully worthy of inclusion.

²¹² For example, the tomb inscription of Ahmose Pen-Nekhbet (Cat. 3.2), where a composition under the reign of Thutmose III has been demonstrated; the text carved in retrospect. Also, the temple of Semnah (Cat. 2.1), the absolute date of year two referring to the temple restoration, but the actual content may stretch beyond this timeframe - in both directions.

²¹³ These include: GPC *Sinai*, nos. 182 & 187, ST CG 42115, CG 42116, the Karakol statue, Sistrum 48.14.97, the 'Crest' Block statue of Senenmut and Neferure, the numerous scarabs discussed, and the Cave Graffito referred to in chapter five.

Years (in brackets if unclear)

	Late T2	Y1	Y2	Y3-4	Y5-6	Y7	Y8-10	Y11-12	Y13-14	Y15-16	Y17-19	Y20-T3	
Items	MMA 31.3.155 & 30.3.3			MMA 29.3.3 (4-6?)		Field Museum 173800							
	Vase 18486	Ineni		MMA 29.3.2 (4-9?) MMA 31.3.168 (4-9?)				Vatican Stela 130 (13-17)					
	KV20 Frag. 8		KV20 Frag. 6		User-Amun (5)	MMA 27.3.163 MMA 28.3.18							
	WS Sarc.	Step Pyr. Gr.	Block 287	North Karnak Stela (year 4 likely, but years 3, 11, 12 possible)									
	Berlin 15699	MMA 26.8.8 (Wadi Gabbanat)			'Crowning Scenes', Chapelle Rouge (6-7)		Sinai no. 178						
	MMA 18.8.15 (Wadi Gabbanat)			SeK Stela (5)		Punt (9)	Sinai Stela (11)	SeK Stela (13)	WM Stela (16)				
	T2 Chapel			Tomb – R&H (5-7 via oil-jars)		Ostraca (10)	CG 42114 (11-13?)		Abka Gr. (16)				
	Aswan 1086	BM 174		Sheikh Labib Statue			Tangûr Gr. (12)		TT353 Gr. (16)	Karnak Inscr. (17)			
	Semnah (T3 actual date - y2; Hatshepsut content - T2 - y4; re-carving date unknown)				Tjemhy (6)		Gebel el-Silsila Cenotaph				S/Dudora Inscr. (18)		
	Chapel, Amun Precinct: east (incl. Chevrier blocks 1955, 1934)					BM Stela 370 (coregency)							
	BM 1513				Karnak Door Lintel (6-7)		JdE 47278 (7-13?)			Obelisks (15-16)			



- Key:**
- Statues
 - Monuments / Monumental Architecture (Temples, Chapels, Cenotaphs)
 - Mortuary (Tomb Inscriptions, Sarcophagi)
 - Artefactual items (Rock Inscriptions, Errant Blocks, Ostraca, Scarabs, F/D, Graffito, Vases)
 - Stelae and Obelisks

Figure 1: Theorised Chronological Connections between Monumental and Artefactual Materials Reviewed

2.2.3 The Tabular and Figurative Information

The tables, because of their sheer volume, are summarised here. The figures are hopefully self-explanatory. Tables 1 and 6 focus on the statuary of Hatshepsut, as they relate to either the literature review, or the analysis itself. Table 14 continues the theme of statuary, but as it pertains to Senenmut and Neferure. As aforementioned, Table 2 on the titles of the late seventeenth and early-mid eighteenth dynasty royal females is historic, but hopefully adds value to the research. Tables 5 and 9 are similar in-so-far as they present information from two temples – Semnah and Deir el-Bahri. The key difference is that the one focuses on temple date reconstruction (Semnah), whereas the other presents a specific event (the sed-festival). Table 8 re-packages the oil jar information so admirably published by Hayes many years ago, and tables 12-13 are an annotated version of the all various titles, epithets, iconography and other nuances found across all of Hatshepsut's reviewed items (and including Thutmose III where relevant). Tables 3, 4, 7, 10, 11 all offer collective information on specific phrases and/or terminology, and table 15 is a compilation of the vast majority of the officials who held office under Hatshepsut, including select titles and references for them. All tables and figures in the research are typed in **bold-face**.

2.2.4 Bibliography and Plates

The bibliography has been alphabetically ordered by author's surname and formatted in accordance with the University of Auckland doctoral guidelines. All items included have direct bearing on either the primary research and/or the wider Catalogue (noting that in some cases certain items in the latter do not feature in the former). The plates are not arranged in any specific order. They have been added as they were encountered. Perhaps an area for improvement, they too are listed in tabular form in the appendix, immediately preceding the four-dozen images. The source from which each was drawn is dutifully noted; the left-most column containing the numbering as per this research, the right-most column listing the source citations, a brief description and the original numbering as per the source the plate is derived from. Finally, both the Catalogue and the Plates (Appendix) have been placed upon a companion DVD, for convenience sake.

2.3 Statuary, portraiture and temple iconography

This section singles out two bodies of information (statuary and temples) in an attempt to address four methodological questions.

- First, what were the selection criteria behind including statuary in chapter three?
- Second, why does statuary feature so prominently in chapter five, and recur throughout most chapters with a dedicated section in the literature review?
- Third, given the art-historical methodology presented in section 2.4, and temples in particular factor heavily in this re-appraisal, what constraints might exist?
- Fourth, how unilaterally can the art-historical narrative methodology be applied to tombs and other mediums, as well as temples?

2.3.1 Statuary

Stating the obvious, the seated statuary included in chapter three (section 3.4) by-and-large fits within the necessary timeframe for that research question. Moreover, in building the argument in that chapter, the seated statuary in particular operates as a baseline of sorts, against which Hatshepsut's 'evolution' into the kingship can be seen (perhaps even measured, although such fell outside the empirical constraints of this work). This corpus also presents a good opportunity to review the long-held theories about Thutmosid statue uniformity, as outlined in the literature review.

However, this does not answer why the odd section on statuary from locations other than Deir el-Bahri (e.g. Sheikh Labib), occur, or why **Table 6** runs well beyond the accession date. The answer here is simple. The original research had a far broader scope, and some of this earlier work has remained in the final draft. However, that alone is not enough of a reason to retain said research. In matter of fact, when deciding whether to cull or keep sections, a simple question was asked – *do they add value to the overall argument, that being to determine if the language used to describe Hatshepsut's reign in the formative years is adequate?* Those sections retained positively answer this question. As for statuary appearing in many of the other chapters, this came

down to the particular slant adopted for each research question and, may possibly, represent a bias of the author based upon earlier research efforts.

2.3.2 *Differing architectural mediums*

From the outset of the study, great consideration was given to exploring some, or all, of Hatshepsut's temple decoration programme from a more purely artistic viewpoint. However, it was quickly realised that the depth of meticulous analysis required in this field would not be permissible when considering all the other research objectives. To achieve such results would have required a far more scrupulous examination of specific temples than the present study allowed for. Notwithstanding, the author had already worked for many years on narratological methodologies with reference to Ramesses II. It was felt that such methods could be applied to monumental structures commissioned by Hatshepsut, to see if the same or similar results were yielded. At least in the case of Semnah temple, the output is quite remarkable. However, in trying to stretch this methodology to other mediums, limitations apply. These are noted below, with the methodology itself being re-presented in full in the next section²¹⁴.

First, it is important to preface the application of the narrative methodology across differing temple categories – specifically 'divine' and 'mortuary' temples. Some, assuredly, would contend that the application of the narrative methodology cannot be equally applied between the structures of Ramesses II (upon which the investigation was first conducted), which themselves are 'mortuary' in nature, and that at Semnah, which is 'divine'. However, as Shafer notes, "the category 'divine' temple can be as misleading as 'mortuary' ... what happened in and through [divine temples] had much to do with kingship, the state, the economy and themes of death".²¹⁵ These sentiments are reinforced from the reverse angle later in that same volume by Gerhard Haeny who states:

"The term 'mortuary temple' as currently used in Egyptology is too much influenced by modern Western attitudes ... however, the

²¹⁴ For its publication, cf. Smith, 2010.

²¹⁵ Shafer, 1997, p. 3.

term's prevalent use conceals a widespread disagreement among scholars about the meaning of the word, the criteria for assigning it to particular structures, the ritual functions of buildings so designated, and the types of cultus performed there ... [moreover] 'mortuary temple' corresponds to no ancient Egyptian word or phrase"²¹⁶.

Thus, the application of the narrative methodology must be carefully borne in mind when being applied to different contexts. In addition, what is deemed most critical in testing the parameters of this methodology is an up-front acknowledgement of potential limitations, itself balanced against the fact that it is as yet unknown just how far differing mediums employed the same or similar (artistic) techniques²¹⁷. Finally, there is also the question of how to render objects within the space available, particularly interesting in the case of anthropomorphoid figures such as the Egyptian gods²¹⁸.

Beyond temples, the two corpi most readily available in terms of painted wall and architectural relief are those tombs of the New Kingdom nobility found in the western Theban valleys, and those subterranean structures situated at Hatshepsut's primary temple locations; foremost Deir el-Bahri²¹⁹. However, one of the primary difficulties with examining painted wall-reliefs is the poor state of preservation. This is a direct result of the fragility of the lacquer and its often unstable nature when applied to the wall surface²²⁰. Notwithstanding the above sentiments, consideration was also given to how such a methodology might be applied to the tombs of several officials in this work (e.g. Ineni, Cat. 3.1 and Ahmose Pen-nekhet, Cat. 3.2)²²¹, and how they too might benefit from the application of relief-style methodologies²²². Finally, could this even

²¹⁶ Haeny, 1997, pp. 86-87, with the entire chapter (pp. 86-106) proving useful as regards the point being made.

²¹⁷ Robins, 1997, pp. 12-14

²¹⁸ Russmann, 2001, pp. 158-9 (no. 70: figure of Khnum)

²¹⁹ One could also add to this corpus, the private cenotaphs of key individuals under the reign of Hatshepsut, the most prolific collection being at Gebel el-Silsila (Cat. 2.23). For general comments on the reliefs of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri - Robins, 1997, pp. 124-130.

²²⁰ In general - James, 1985.

²²¹ Possibly also Cat. 3.7 and 3.8 as well.

²²² As an example of the thinking here, the dancers and musicians in the tomb of Wah

extend to the plethora of smaller artefactual materials, all of which could be reviewed in a number of artistic ways? For example, when considering foundation deposits, a deeper understanding of the textural colourations, stylisation and spatial placement of figures might go so far as to advance our understanding of temple formation and construction²²³. Ultimately, the bottom line rests with how far can a given methodology be stretched before its integrity either breaks, or the results are either poor and/or inconsistent, necessitating a re-formation or abandonment of the method?

(Aldred, 1951, plate 29) not only have characters positioned in alternating directions – thus achieving a pseudo-Episodic effect of drawing the viewers attention in a particular direction, whilst all the time being placed within a Culminative scene – but employ dark colours for the headdresses, which stand out markedly from the lighter palettes on the bodies (for the terminology 'Episodic' and 'Culminative', see the discourse in the following section).

²²³ For foundation deposits as they pertain to Hatshepsut, refer Cat. 2.20 and references within. See also Roehrig, 2005b.

2.4 Narrative Methodology

2.4.1 Background

Some years ago now, a paper titled 'The Undated Inscriptions of Ramesses II' was written²²⁴. In it the Nubian temples of Ramesses II were analyzed, with the aim of clarifying (and offering a possible range of dates for) some of the undated reliefs as published by Kenneth Kitchen. To achieve this numerous 'Markers of Relative Dating', were utilized - primarily textual²²⁵. However, that paper made a fundamental assumption – that the reliefs were in fact historical.

In an attempt to remedy that most glaring of concerns, the classical world was turned to. There, devices existed that, if modified, might help to solve this conundrum. The subsequent research then became focused around the question of whether or not 'narrative' could indeed be used to authenticate reliefs. Where before the markers served as potential identifiers of 'dating', now they must be called upon to identify the reliefs as either historical or ahistorical. Thus, the terminology changed to reflect this new focus: 'markers' became 'elements'.

However, these newly coined 'elements' would only form the latter two divisions discussed below – namely the 'element of character' and the 'element of place/location'. To anticipate the discourse, while they would indeed play an important role in the identification of 'specificity' in the reliefs, with regard to the question of narrative, these 'elements' alone would not be enough. Therefore, to the elements of Character and Location were added the 'element of relative time' and the 'element of event'.

Now, while some scholars have *implicitly* argued for the employment of such 'elements', and their usage as markers of actuality for temple reliefs and scenes²²⁶, until recent times modern Egyptologist's have not adopted so

²²⁴ Smith, 2000; see also Smith, 2010.

²²⁵ These 'Markers of Relative Dating' consisted of elements such as the inclusion of sons, daughters, animals (particularly the primary steeds of Ramesses), viceroys and Viziers, the titulary of Ramesses, and the deification of Ramesses.

²²⁶ For Ramesses II see in particular Kitchen, 1964, pp. 47-70; Gaballa, 1976, pp. 106-19; Darnell & Jasnow, 1993, pp. 263-274. See also the comments made by Kantor, 1957, pp. 47-54 regarding scenes from the 18th dynasty, particularly during the post-Amarna period, but

defined an empirical approach as is presented here²²⁷. Indeed, while other non-classical disciplines seem to have readily taken up this 'art-historical' mantle²²⁸, Egyptology it seems has been somewhat lacking.

2.4.2 *The Genre of Narrative*

The term narrative is both fundamentally simple to explain and at the same time difficult to delineate. In its basic form narrative can be defined by simply replacing it with another, bi-syllabic word – story. Thus, any depiction, relief or set thereof must tell a story to those reading or viewing it²²⁹. This story can be mythological, legendary, historical or purely fictional²³⁰. It is at this point that the definition of narrative becomes problematic. How does one deduce the meaning behind the story that they are reading or viewing? Furthermore, in order to understand the genre of narrative, one must understand what it is that the Egyptians themselves thought of narrative (and indeed genres in general). Finally, what constitutes a story and how does one ascertain whether a story is based on fact or fiction?

To begin, on the question of what the Egyptians thought of the term 'genre', the reader is referred to the excellent paper presented by Parkinson²³¹. The primary reason for doing so is that a debate on genres in general would stray too far from the question at hand, which is to define one genre – that of narrative. On the question of 'what constitutes a story' and 'how does one deduce its' meaning', the opinions are varied. Quirke²³² states that narrative is 'the account of an event and its consequences'. He continues to elucidate that narrative cannot be comprised of a single episode or a 'string of declarations

also under the reigns of Thutmose III, Amenhotep II and Hatshepsut.

²²⁷ Although note most recently Bietak & Schwarz, 2002, pp. 11-18. Here the authors do indeed attempt to tackle the onerous question of empiricism in narratology.

²²⁸ cf. Watanabe, 2004, pp. 103-114.

²²⁹ Kantor, 1957, p. 44

²³⁰ Gaballa, 1976, pp. 5-6

²³¹ Parkinson, 1996, especially pp. 303-305, where he comments on the idiosyncrasies of Middle Kingdom narrative and states that "narrative is formally the most open-ended genre (including complex sequences of tales, and incorporating other genres) and may well be the least well represented by surviving texts". Add also the comments by Moers 1999, p. 45.

²³² Quirke, 1996, p. 263. Note that we will use the words story and narrative interchangeably, as one is implicit in the other. In other words, to define one is to define the other.

without change²³³. Therefore, narrative must *string together* multiple events that transpire over time. What Quirke has inadvertently alluded to is that narrative consists of at least two elements – the event itself, and time.

Kantor²³⁴ would add to this the fact that the event must be specific, both in time and in the activities that transpire. However, she also states that works fulfilling this condition are surprisingly few. Resulting from this, a distinction is made between reliefs that depict the ‘normal and repeated activities of daily life’ – in other words those traditional scenes of a standard and/or ideological nature – and those of a specific occasion. The advocacy of specificity allows a different standpoint to be promoted with regard to the analysis of pictorial narrative. Hanfmann²³⁵ advocates that there are three elements necessary for narrative to exist – ‘men (characters), time and space (location/place)’. He does not explicitly state that the *event* is an element of narrative. He does state that the artist must portray each of the three elements in order to tell the story, and hence implies that the event is necessary. However, he makes no mention of specificity, as Kantor does.

In the realm of literary inscriptions, scholars have utilized a number of devices to elucidate narrative. Again, the opinions vary greatly in both the devices to be used and the resulting classifications. One only has to review the arguments of Lichtheim and Foster²³⁶ with regard to the ‘Tale of Sinuhe’ to realize how difficult narrative is to ascertain in ancient Egyptian epigraphs²³⁷. Moers exemplifies the problems in Egyptology with regard to literary studies in his late twentieth century publication. He comments on the ineffective usage

²³³ *ibid.* Quirke states that ‘single episodes’ are nothing more than administrative records and statements of activity, while ‘declarations devoid of change’ are best seen in ‘idealistic autobiographies and royal encomium’. However, note the counter-arguments made by Perkins (1957) regarding the ‘Episodic’ and ‘Culmination’ methods – see below under the ‘element of event’.

²³⁴ Kantor, 1957, pp. 44 & 49-50

²³⁵ Hanfmann, 1957, p. 71

²³⁶ Lichtheim, 1975, pp. 10-11; Foster, 1980, pp. 89 & 102-4.

²³⁷ Lichtheim (1975, pp. 10-11) classifies the Tale of Sinuhe as ‘prose fiction’. Furthermore, she utilises the term ‘symmetrically structured speech’ to replace the term ‘verse’. Foster, conversely, classifies Sinuhe as ‘narrative verse’ and comments on the pseudo-symmetrical composition of the work. He utilises devices such as the ‘Thought Couplet’ to substantiate his research. Note also the discussion in Kitchen (1996) where he demonstrates how the literary format of Sinuhe is based on autobiographical tomb-inscriptions, thus firmly countering Lichtheim’s arguments.

of the numerical device – *Metrik* – and stresses how it has only been recently that scholars have begun to offer criteria for solving the problems of ascribing inscriptions (and scenes) to particular genres²³⁸. Thus, the analysis of the historical merit of reliefs and the classification of those reliefs as narrative (ultimately the ability to ascertain the nature/meaning of those reliefs), is fraught with difficulty. Notwithstanding, the aforementioned elements of time, event, character and place can be utilized to classify pictorial reliefs as narrative. Indeed, Gaballa²³⁹ reiterates these sentiments by stating that the elements of pictorial narrative *must* be defined so that reliefs can be empirically tested against a set of values to determine whether or not narrative is present.

In addition, it is the opinion of this author that where reliefs cite *specific* individuals and/or places and/or events (confirmed by other sources), one can safely classify the reliefs as factual. While not all elements need be specific in nature, at least one *must* be. The more specificity offered by the reliefs, the more likely they are to be classified as historical. Indeed, it has been the approach of scholars thus far to accept as factual reliefs that contain regnal year dates²⁴⁰. Therefore, if the element of time (in its specific or exact form, as opposed to its ‘Relative Form’) can be utilized as a ‘marker’ of narrative and historical fact, why also can the other ‘markers’ of narrative (event, character, place) not be used in the same fashion?

2.4.3 Comments on Epigraphic Elements

a. Time

Beginning with the element of time, one realizes that it consists of two components. First, there is the question of actual time (i.e. is an exact date provided?). In general, reliefs that have a date inscribed in the textual

²³⁸ Moers, 1999, p. 45. Citing criteria such as fictionality, intertextuality and reception as being of use to define Egyptian literature, he follows the pioneering work of Assmann (1974) and Loprieno (1988). Note also that Moers’ objections to the use of *Metrik* also apply to the use of ‘Thought Couplets’ utilised by Foster (1994).

²³⁹ Gaballa, 1976, pp. 5-6

²⁴⁰ No one would question the authenticity of the Battle Kadesh, dated firmly to year 5 of Ramesses II. While no scholar would place absolute faith in the historical accuracy of the reliefs and inscriptions, none would doubt that the battle actually took place.

component of the scene(s) - the surrounding or accompanying inscription²⁴¹ - have been treated as factual. In other words, the inclusion of a date authenticates the reliefs. However, this does not mean that the reliefs are narrative. Rather, it is the second component of time that is used to classify the scene as narrative or non-narrative.

The second component of the time element then, is the ability of the reliefs to traverse time – which is here termed ‘Relative Time’. That is to say, the reliefs must begin at one point and end at another²⁴². A static temporal depiction cannot be defined as narrative. Rather, it is classified as ideological, conceptual or, as it pertains to Egyptian art – traditional²⁴³. This reiterates the point made by Quirke and Kantor that narrative must consist of a sequence of actions. However, this sequence can be depicted by either multiple scenes adjoining one another, or a single scene that illustrates time has passed while the actions and event took place²⁴⁴. This differs from Quirke’s original statement that a single episode cannot depict narrative. One must remember, though, that the methodology employed to convey *textual narrative* differs from those used to convey *pictorial narrative*.

Gaballa adds to this that often the ‘Relative Temporal’ element was conveyed to the viewer via the use of an ‘extrinsic inscription’. This was added "to signify

²⁴¹ The best illustration of this accompanying text in the New Kingdom is the ‘Bulletin’, which surrounds the reliefs that depict the Battle of Kadesh. Most authors state that the ‘Poem’ is the actual textual account of the battle, with the ‘Bulletin’ (or record) supplementing the pictorial reliefs (see Lichtheim, 1976, pp. 57-60). However, Gardiner (1960, pp. 2-4) has attempted to reclassify the military account using a bipartite nomenclature, grouping the Bulletin and Poem together as the ‘Written Record’, whilst classifying the reliefs as the ‘Pictorial Record’.

²⁴² Hanfmann, 1957, p. 71.

²⁴³ For a discussion on traditional Egyptian Art see Aldred, 1980, pp. 11-18. Aldred makes two important distinctions in the art that *precedes* the Amarna period (see fns. 248-249 for comments on post-Amarna conventions). Firstly, the artist was interested in presenting an ideological image of the scenes as they had always existed and as they would always exist. Hence, the artist was interested in the eternal qualities of the depictions and not in promoting a scene from ‘a certain standpoint at a certain time’. The artist would never engage in personal impressions of their surrounding world or cosmos. Secondly, the artist adopted conventions to ‘frame’ their artwork. These ‘Ground Lines’ and borders were utilised to reflect the order that existed in the Cosmos. Each entity was separated from another by these vertical and horizontal lines. On Ground Lines and their use see Kemp, 1989, pp. 83-89. On the question of canons in ancient Egypt, note the excellent work by Shupak, 2001, pp. 535-547 (esp. p. 535 & fns. 2-3). Finally, Smith 2002, for further comments on the canons of ancient Egyptian art.

²⁴⁴ See below for a fuller discussion of this point.

the time of a depicted event"²⁴⁵. It has already been noted above how an accompanying inscription can offer a precise date. What is now realized is that Egyptian artists also used accompanying inscriptions to convey Relative Time to their audience. Furthermore, this 'extrinsic inscription' could be used to add realism to the event. Therefore, while static depictions can be factual, they do not tell a story. Such examples are edicts, decrees, administrative accounts, festivals and the like. Conversely, reliefs that are determined to be narrative may not necessarily be factual (as stated, they can be mythological, legendary, purely fictional, or even ritualistic). However, if Relative Time is present in the reliefs being examined, other elements of narrative are also present, *and* these elements are 'specific' in the information that they convey, then it can be concluded that not only is narrative present, but the reliefs are authentic.

b. Event

The second element is the actual event being depicted. Much like the time element, it too must be present in the reliefs for them to be classified as narrative²⁴⁶. As cited above, the event must not be repetitive or standard in nature. It must be realistic, not ideological and, at the very least, allude to actions that actually occurred in past time²⁴⁷. While much of the art prior to the Amarna period was ideological, during the Post-Amarna period scenes are depicted in a more realistic fashion²⁴⁸. The stoic conventions that had defined Egyptian art for centuries were comprehensively dismantled under the 'Renaissance' of Akhenaton's regime. In the Post-Amarna period the art that emerges is starkly different, and a 'poetic license' with regard to 'traditionalism' is afforded - at least until the time of Ramesses III²⁴⁹.

²⁴⁵ Gaballa, 1976, p. 5

²⁴⁶ Kantor, 1957, pp. 44-45

²⁴⁷ See especially Perkins, 1957, p. 56. Add also Hanfmann 1957, p. 72 for comments on the 'generalized' character of narrative – particularly 'Geometric' narrative.

²⁴⁸ Robins, 1997, pp. 149-165

²⁴⁹ See the comments by Baines (1996, pp. 165-166 & fn. 57) where he comments on the 'Amarna Divide' with reference to 'literary innovations'. Note also the useful summary by Gaballa (1976, pp. 99-129) with respect to military scenes of the nineteenth and twentieth dynasties. Finally, on the reliefs of Ramesses III see Cifola 1988 and Cifola 1991 (esp. pp. 50-51 where she comments on both the 'ideological backgrounds' evident in the work, and also the minor deviations that occur – a residue of the artistic freedom previously enjoyed).

As aforementioned, a surrounding caption was added to many of the scenes in the pictorial record. In addition to its' temporal function, this inscription was also used to individualise the event. In particular, military scenes in the New Kingdom change radically from their predecessors. Rather than mere topographical lists and traditional smiting scenes, the like of which were still carved during the New Kingdom (even under the reign of Thutmose III), the king is now actually depicted 'winning the battle' for Egypt:

“...it is true that the result of any one of his depicted wars was a foregone conclusion, i.e. victory, nevertheless it was important to show him [the king] actually working for this victory.”²⁵⁰

This new 'realistic' event could be depicted in one of two ways. The event could be portrayed via a single scene that encapsulated the pinnacle or climax of the event. Alternatively, the reliefs could consist of a series of scenes that illustrate the most important episodes of the event. Perkins classifies the former as the 'Culminative Method', whilst the latter is defined as the 'Episodic Method'. She also states that the 'Episodic Method' has a more concrete realism as the reliefs better develop the event²⁵¹. A possible example of the 'Culminative Method' could be the moment Ramesses II invades the Hittite Camp in the infamous Battle of Kadesh, although counter-arguments could be made for this being but one of several 'episodes'. The minor war scenes of Ramesses II at Karnak and Luxor are most likely to be classified as Episodic.

c. Character

The third element is that of the characters conducting the event. Each story usually has a protagonist or hero. In the case of Egyptian military depictions this will almost always be the king, although in some exceptional cases the son of the king as 'Heir Apparent', is depicted²⁵². The primary difficulty with this element of narrative is that the poses and/or guises of the pharaoh are

²⁵⁰ Gaballa, 1976, p. 100. So too the comments by Redford, 1995, pp. 160-4.

²⁵¹ Perkins, 1957, pp. 55-6 & 61-2. Note also comments in Smith, 2010.

²⁵² E.g. Officials recorded at Beit el-Wali or Abu Simbel (cf. Spalinger, 1980a).

often conceptual and traditional. Such scenes include the pharaoh smiting an enemy, charging a foe either on foot or in a chariot, wielding various weapons of war, binding enemies, presenting tribute to the respective gods (usually Amun) and the like. However, as aforementioned, the artwork gradually moved from depicting traditional military scenes to displaying the prowess of the monarch on the battlefield; a point that should be kept at the forefront of any empirical analysis involving the late Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties.

In addition to the protagonist, other characters could be included in the scenes. Chieftains, princes, fort/garrison commanders and other worthy adversaries are sometimes depicted in Egyptian military art. The Prince of Aleppo being turned upside-down in the Kadesh scenes on the first Pylon of the Ramesseum is one such example²⁵³. Other examples are the depictions of the enlarged fort commanders on reliefs at Beit el-Wali, carved on the north and south walls of the Entrance Hall²⁵⁴. Thus, the antagonist or villain may be depicted. Officials or members of the royal entourage could also be depicted. Such inclusions appear as early as the Proto-Dynastic period with ‘sandal-bearers’ standing behind the king²⁵⁵.

At Beit el-Wali the viceroy Amenemope is depicted with the young Ramesses waging war against the Nubians. These reliefs have been dated to the latter stages of the reign of Seti I, when the current monarch was too aged to conduct his own campaigns. The appearance of the viceroy clearly stands out as a marker for the authenticity of the scenes²⁵⁶. Often the male children of Ramesses were depicted in the field with him. At Beit el-Wali and Abu Simbel many of his sons are seen charging in chariots behind their father. At Luxor his sons are depicted at his feet in the tribute scenes²⁵⁷. Finally, even the *named* mounts of Ramesses can be depicted²⁵⁸.

²⁵³ Kitchen, 1982, p. 61

²⁵⁴ Wreszinski, 1988, pls. 163-8; Muller, 1995, pls. 23-26

²⁵⁵ Gaballa, 1976, pp. 16-18; Aldred, 1980, pp. 33-36. Under Hatshepsut, note similar comments; albeit pertaining to fan-bearers (year 11 Sinai stela – sctns. 4.7.3, 5.3.4; GPC, *Sinai* no. 184). Add also, Mai-herperi (**Table 15**).

²⁵⁶ Spalinger, 1980a, pp. 88-90. Add also Murnane 1976, pp. 161-162; Kitchen 1977, pp. 220-221. On the speos itself see Ricke et al., 1967.

²⁵⁷ Fisher, 2001.

²⁵⁸ The primary steed of Ramesses was ‘Victory in Thebes’. This horse is often mentioned,

With respect to authenticity, one final group of characters could be added to the scene or scenes. These have been classified as 'spectators'. They are particularly evident in Greek and Roman art, while being a seldom occurrence in Egyptian art²⁵⁹. Such devices are not unheard of in Egyptian reliefs, though. In the temple of Abydos, the reliefs carved by Seti I showing himself and his son Ramesses II adoring the cartouches of previous kings is one such example. While being propagandistic rather than narrative, its inclusion does illustrate the ability of the Egyptian artist to utilize such devices²⁶⁰. Another possibility consists of the participants involved in the 'adoration at the window' reliefs under the reign of Akhenaton²⁶¹. Even the mourners and followers, who trail behind the coffin in funerary reliefs, could be classified under this rubric. As for their purpose or function, spectators were included in the artwork for two reasons. They added realism to the event, and they sought to involve the viewer, evoking 'viewer participation'²⁶².

Therefore, many characters could be portrayed in Egyptian reliefs. Furthermore, the number, poses and specificity of the characters often determines how the reliefs are classified. However, with respect to narrative, the element of character is optional. The only mandatory elements are those of the event and time (albeit in its secondary component of 'Relative Time'). Thus, the element of character is best utilized for determining whether or not the reliefs are factual. Indeed, its omission from reliefs would lend most scholars to argue the reliefs as ahistorical, while not in the slightest

not only at the battle of Kadesh, but also on smaller reliefs such as those on the southern exterior wall of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak. See Gaballa, 1969, p. 83.

²⁵⁹ The most notable instance in the Classical World is the riot at Pompeii between the peoples of Pompeii and Nuceria. It is depicted on a wall painting at Pompeii and recorded by Tacitus (*Annals* 14.17; for a pictorial representation see Gabucci, 2001, pp. 81 & 91). The scene shows several spectators watching on as the Pompeians and Nucerians turn from hurling abusive language to throwing stones and fighting with weapons. On the 'decorum' of spectators in the Roman world and their Stadium arrangements see Roueché, 1993, pp. 83-85.

²⁶⁰ It also demonstrates a cognitive awareness of one's own history, and thus such devices were perhaps not entirely propagandistic. Nonetheless, at least a part of their function was to ensure the place of Seti I and Ramesses II in the line of pharaohs, whilst also potentially paying homage to their ancestors. Thus, while cultic aspects were also likely part of the reasoning behind the execution of these types of reliefs, so too political propaganda must have featured.

²⁶¹ Aldred, 1988, pp. 90-92 and fig. 12

²⁶² Hanfmann, 1957, p. 74

compromising the reliefs as being narrative (so long as the primary elements are evident).

d. Place / Location

Finally, we come to the last element, the actual place or location of the event. As alluded to above, this element is also optional. However, much like its counterpart element – character – it is the specificity of places and locations that lends itself to the reliefs being classified as both narrative and fact. With respect to narrative, Hanfmann states,

"...[it is] what he (the author) does about the place of action [that determines] the solutions for the task of telling a story..."²⁶³

In the scenes where specific forts, towns and localities are cited (albeit via the accompanying epigraph), one receives an 'air of realism' about the scene. This occurs because the artist has taken the time to add specificity to his illustrations. Were the reliefs ahistorical, standard depictions of forts, towns, and locales would have sufficed to convey the setting of the scene to the viewer.

²⁶³ 1957, p. 71

Chapter Three: Investigation 1 – Is the terminology used during Hatshepsut's formative years adequate?

3.1 Introduction

Repeating the points already made, the focus of this chapter is simple. Should Hatshepsut's reign, or parts thereof, be viewed as a regency, coregency, or something different? Reducing this further, the current chapter is only interested in the period from the death of Thutmose II up until the moment Hatshepsut assumed the kingship. It is not interested in anything that occurred post-succession, except where that material might otherwise have bearing on the interpretation of this earlier period. Taking this a step further, if the most commonly accepted notion of this period as a regency is adopted (the period post-accession being a coregency), the research question morphs into: *does the term regency adequately reflect Hatshepsut's pre-accession period?*²⁶⁴ Implicit from the outset is the assumption, based on the "weight of evidence" from past research, that the accession-of-sorts took place in (or around) year seven²⁶⁵. However, as alluded to in the 'Opening Sentiments', a re-appraisal of this period also permits a re-evaluation of the timing of the accession, and the period as a whole.

Turning to look at the terms in question, we begin with regency. The *Oxford Dictionary* states that a regent is one who was,

"...appointed to administer a state because the monarch is a minor or is absent or incapacitated"²⁶⁶.

This certainly seems true for the time immediately following the death of

²⁶⁴ As per the brief discourse in section 1.3 (on the nature of regency and coregency in the literature as it pertains to Hatshepsut), while the term regency will be the focus of examination here - based primarily upon the temporal parameters - one eye will be given to the possible application of coregency for this period.

²⁶⁵ In particular, note the efforts of Dorman (1988, pp. 18-45) with respect to the year seven accession argument. On the matter of whether Hatshepsut actually celebrated an accession, see Dorman, 2006, pp. 55-57.

²⁶⁶ Thompson, 1996, p. 852.

Thutmose when he was apparently very young²⁶⁷. However, those favouring a late date for accession must necessarily concede that up to seven years can be added to Menkheperre's age from the moment his father died, thus altering the picture of regency somewhat. Gabolde tries to argue against this very point²⁶⁸, but it is well-attested that kings such as Tutankhamun were elevated to the throne from a similarly young age²⁶⁹.

Expanding upon the other point made in the Introduction, in determining whether or not this formative period is/was a regency, the following needs to also be considered in light of the plethora of iconographic, epigraphic and artefactual alterations which occurred during this period²⁷⁰. In brief:

1. The seated statuary of Hatshepsut underwent a metamorphosis; altering her depiction from feminine to masculine, whilst still leaving her portraiture recognisable. This is a traceable and quantifiable phenomenon.
2. The difficulty, based on the evidence, that Thutmose III was ever the senior partner. In the early years, where Thutmose is dominant, he appears alone²⁷¹. Around the time Hatshepsut succeeded to the throne, and into the early years of the coregency, she all but removed Thutmose from the picture²⁷². And, while not directly relevant here, in the later years of her/their reign, Thutmose seems under-represented²⁷³. Moreover, the placement, quantity and quality of epigraphic relief of the two monarchs are almost never equal.
3. Evidence within the first 6-7 years seems to shift from Hatshepsut being in power (Ineni Biography, Block 287 from the Chapelle Rouge, Dsr-Dsrw colonnades(?)), to Thutmose III having a level of authority (step-pyramid graffito, appointment of User-Amun in year 5, year 6 graffito-stela of Tjemhy), and finally to both monarchs with a level of 'joint'-level of authority (Semnah temple, year 4 north Karnak stela, year 5 Sinai stelae (?)). This observation of the primary material is critically examined here.

²⁶⁷ On the age of Thutmose III at the death of his father Thutmose II see Harris & Wente, 1980, pp. 246-248; Wente & Harris, 1992, p. 11; von Beckerath, 1994, p. 112.

²⁶⁸ Gabolde, 2005, pp. 33-34, 44, 59-60

²⁶⁹ Harris & Wente, 1980, p. 258; Desroches-Noblecourt, 1963, p. 110.

²⁷⁰ A summary of this is presented in Dorman, 2006, pp. 49ff

²⁷¹ Step pyramid (Firth and Quibell, 1935), User-Amun appointment (Dziobek, 1994), graffito-stela of Tjemhy (Goedicke & Wente, 1962, plate XLI)

²⁷² See for example the Punt scenes at Deir el-Bahri (Cat. 2.9 for references).

²⁷³ Note Laboury (2006, p. 278) where he states that in the latter stages of her sole reign "Thutmose is represented five times less frequently than his aunt, always behind her or in a secondary function, and he is excluded from politically essential scenes such as those depicting coronation rites".

4. Material from the Sinai Peninsula illustrates a level of blending or fusing of titular²⁷⁴. Three questions arise. *When did this occur? Was it experimental and a precursor to Hatshepsut's final choice of titular upon entering the kingship? How complicit was Thutmose III in this process?*

As for the term coregency, Murnane notes the following must be true.

1. There must be a junior and a senior partner
2. The junior partner was the executive force, at least within Egypt
3. There were two separate courts, administrations and sets of officials in support of each person. Upon the death of the elder, the primary officials usually lapsed in office²⁷⁵.

The difficulty in applying the above criteria to Hatshepsut and Thutmose III rests in a few areas.

1. There are actually three individuals involved – Aakheperenre, Menkheperre, Maatkare.
2. No coregency has ever been noted for Thutmose II – Thutmose III²⁷⁶
3. In a supposed co-regency between Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, who is to be viewed as junior/senior? Earlier scholars would place Menkheperre as senior to Hatshepsut; later academics would presumably invert this²⁷⁷

Ultimately, it is the appraisal of the greater 'terminological' context, and how each individual piece helps to inform that, that is the objective of this research question. Each piece will be (briefly) presented, bearing in mind that base information is included in the Catalogue. If something new can be adduced about each piece, this will be articulated within that piece's section. In some cases, nothing further may be added. The item will then be appraised in terms of its contribution to the research question as a whole. Consistency in terms of the review being conducted is critical to the summary made, which is presented in section 3.8.

²⁷⁴ As an advance reference to chapter six, see especially GPC, *Sinai*, Vol. II, p. 155; Appnedix, Plate XXXa. Also Mathieu, 2000, pp. 6-7.

²⁷⁵ Murnane, 1977, pp. 239-240 (with the entire appraisal of the dynamics of co-regency running from pp. 239-265).

²⁷⁶ Again, cf. Murnane, *Coregencies*, Chapter 2.

²⁷⁷ For references see under section 1.3.

3.2 Hatshepsut's Queenship and 'governance' period

3.2.1 Wadi Sikkat Sarcophagus (Cat. 3.3)

Hatshepsut produced no fewer than three sarcophagi. Two of these, tentatively dated to somewhere between years three and fourteen (**Fig. 1**), are discussed later in this chapter. This sarcophagus, fairly convincingly dated to her queenship, is included here because of the value it adds to the discussion around the terms *snt* and *Hnwt* in particular²⁷⁸. Arguments surrounding Hatshepsut's death are largely not of interest; these having been debated *ad infinitum* by others²⁷⁹. Rather, the focus here is to conduct an examination of the texts, presenting epigraphy that demonstrate pertinent philological phenomena, and/or further discourses elsewhere in this research²⁸⁰. Owing to the repetitive nature of the texts, not every line will be transliterated, but brief annotations are provided where relevant.

Lids, Exterior (Hayes, 1935, Nos. 1-11)²⁸¹

L1 - referred to as: *sAt-nsw Hmt-nTr Hmt-nsw wrt nbt tAwy HAt-Spswt*

L2 – The texts record the 'honouring' (*imAxy*) of the deceased as *Hmt-nsw*. More interesting is that *xr ir st* evolves in later sarcophagi (refer sctn. 3.7.1)

L4 – 'honouring' but this time on behalf of Anubis (*inpw*). WS records Hatshepsut as *xnt sH-nTr Hmt-nTr* ("before the divine booth, the God's Wife")²⁸²

L5 – Hatshepsut as *nbt tAwy*, an epithet that occurs on later sarcophagi; the most important fact here is that the title/epithet actually alters (differs) on the later sarcophagi

L7 - Hatshepsut again as *Hmt-nTr*

L8/9 – passages of honouring both with reference to *ir st-nTr*

²⁷⁸ Carter, 1916a, 1917; Thomas, 1966; Romer, 1976 with a non-committal temporal summary by Roehrig (2005c, p. 184), who states the sarcophagus was prepared "sometime between her husband's accession to the throne and her own adoption of kingly titles". For comments about the region, refer to the Catalogue. On the precedent and preparation of the Wadi Sikkat region as it pertains to queens before Hatshepsut (specifically Ahmose-Nefertari) see Reeves, 2003, pp. 69-73.

²⁷⁹ Sethe, 1932, p. 29; Ratié, 1979, pp. 296-8; Vandersleyen, 1995, pp. 277-78; Bierbrier, 1995; Dorman, 2006, pp. 57-8. Ultimately, unless a document surfaces with more concrete evidence for the death/demise of Hatshepsut, such a fact seems destined to remain obscure.

²⁸⁰ As per the 'Text Sheets' of Hayes (1935, pp. 183-204). Note that the term WS is used throughout, referring to the sarcophagus from Wadi Sikkat, JE 47032.

²⁸¹ Each sub-heading or category is laid out in numerical fashion (i.e. line-by-line). The numbers and ordering of categories follows Hayes (1935).

²⁸² A standard epithet of Anubis (Doxey, 2002), the role of God's Wife is illustrated as playing a part in the cult of Anubis.

L10 – Hatshepsut referred to as **snt-nsw**

Head Ends, Sarcophagus Body Exterior (Hayes, 1935, Nos. 12-18)

L13 – a return to the texts on the exterior of the lids. Text – Dd[.in] Hmt-nTr Hmt-nsw wrt HAt-Spswt. The remainder of the text employs the independent pronoun **ink** to describe how each 'belonged to' Isis and Nephthys.

L14 – lines pertaining to the raising of the rulers/queens "living heart". WS contains epithets (sAt-nsw) and the name of the individual.

L17 – similar to L14, except that the epithet on WS is **snt-nsw**

Foot Ends, Sarcophagus Body Exterior (Hayes, 1935, Nos. 19-24)

L20 – a short first-person Dd.in formula, WS uses the epithets 'king's daughter, **king's sister**, God's Wife, king's great wife'

L21 – similar to L20, the deceased are simply referred to as Hmt-nTr

L23 – as lines 20, 21 (WS – **snt-nsw**)

Right Hand Sides, Sarcophagus Body (Hayes, 1935, Nos. 25-34)

L25 – A lengthy prayer relating to Gb and his consort Nwt, it provides the earlier nomen of Hatshepsut (without Xnmt Imn) in three places²⁸³, the title Hmt-nTr twice and the epithets Hmt nsw wrt and snt-nsw once each.

L32 – a recitation seemingly to be spoken in the morning (dwAt), it is similar to L13 in that **ink** is repetitively employed to place stress on the belonging of the deceased to various deities.

Left Hand Sides, Sarcophagus Body (Hayes, 1935, Nos. 35-43)

L35 – Another lengthy eulogy akin to L25. The Dd.in formula belongs to Nwt, but immediately following her name runs the longest series of epithets anywhere on the WS sarcophagus. It reads, **rt-pat wrt Hst iAm(t) Hnwt tAw nb(w)**²⁸⁴ **sAt-nsw snt-nsw Hmt-nTr Hmt-nsw wrt HAt-Spswt anx.ti**. The matter of the 'hereditary noble' and the

²⁸³ At some point in her life, Hatshepsut must have added the epithet Xnm(t) Imn to the cartouche containing her nomen, to judge from the fact that her nomen could simply be written as HAt-Spswt. A general comment to this effect can be found in Robins (1999, p. 107). However, the author knows of no study to date that has empirically evaluated the precise moment she incorporated this epithet. Such would be interesting to determine especially as, judging by this line from the Wadi Sikkat sarcophagus, she spent a period of her queenship not "united with Amun".

²⁸⁴ Also with a Twelfth Dynasty precedent, the wife of Amenemhet III, aAt (canopic Jar from Dashur – PM III², 887)

question of 'favours and charms' are discussed primarily in section 3.5.1, and also under the temple of Semnah (3.3.3)²⁸⁵.

Lids, Interior (Hayes, 1935, Nos. 44-49) / Walls, Interior Sarcophagus Body (Hayes, 1935, Nos. 50-53) / Floor, Interior Sarcophagus Body (Hayes, 1935, Nos. 54-57)

Nothing for WS

In line with Berlin Stela 15699 and Cairo Vase 18486 (below), the Wadi Sikkat sarcophagus is largely unremarkable, save three things. First, in all five instances of *snt-nsw*, the final *t* on the *nsw* is missing. Perhaps nothing, this orthographic variance is noted in parallel to stela 15699 where the same phenomenon occurs, and in contrast to other examples of the writing *snt-nswt* (e.g. vase 18.8.15), where the full form of the word is written. The question to be posed is does this orthographic alteration represent a subtle change based upon period/time? This point is borne out more fully in section 3.2.7. Second, line 35 on the Wadi Sikkat sarcophagus and the passage on stela 15699 are identical. Again, not surprising in the least (titles and epithets of queens being 'stock-standard'), it does help us to confirm the dating of the piece within Hatshepsut's queenship, as opposed to straddling the time immediately post-death of Thutmose II²⁸⁶. Third, in studying the term *Hnwt*, there seems to be an evolution across Hatshepsut's queenship and up to her accession that took place for that term. This is summarised in **Table 3**.

The text from the Chapelle Rouge may be misleading, as it actually refers to the goddess *wrt-HkAw*. However, it could equally be argued that the phrase *Hnwt-tAwy* was being validated by Hatshepsut during her coronation via association with the goddess who personified the actual crown. More is made of this point in that later section (3.6.4). It should also be openly stated that the sample set here is small, and one should perhaps not read too much into the

²⁸⁵ Also, comments in **Table 12** under relevant headings.

²⁸⁶ Note the pioneering efforts of Carter (1916a, esp. pp. 181-2), where he specifically discusses L35.

above data. It would be interesting, however, if the shift from tAw nbw to tAwy occurred as part of Hatshepsut's progression towards the kingship; the prerogative of 'Two Lands' being reserved for kings, or those aspiring to be so. Finally, the el-Mahatta occurrence is different again – the inclusion of tm discussed in section 3.5.1. Ultimately, however, the Wadi Sikkat sarcophagus conforms with all we would expect of an item dated to Hatshepsut's queenship.

Item	Section	Passage	Date estimate (as per Fig. 1)
Wadi Sikkat Sarcophagus	3.2.1	Hnwt tAw nbw	Thutmose II
Fragment 8, KV20	3.2.6	Hnwt nt tAw nbw	Thutmose II (~yr. 1?)
MMA 26.8.8, Wadi Gabbanat	3.3.1	Hnwt tAwy	Years 1-3 (?)
El-Mahatta graffito	3.5.1	Hnwt tAwy tm ²⁸⁷	Years 3-5
Chapelle Rouge crowning scenes	3.6.4	Dd.in wrt-HkAw nbt pt Hnwt tAwy	Years 6-7 ²⁸⁸

Table 3. The term Hnwt up until Hatshepsut's accession

3.2.2 Berlin Stela 15699 (Cat. 5.3)

As per the Catalogue entry, this item was commissioned while Thutmose II was still alive. It adds little to the present chapter, save noting the one line of text describing Hatshepsut. It reads:

sAt-nsw snt-nsw Hmt-nTr Hmt-nsw wrt HAt-Spswt anx.ti²⁸⁹.

King's Daughter, king's sister, great king's wife, Hatshepsut, may she live

The importance of this passage is developed in subsequent sections; other points of interest are discussed in chapter four.

²⁸⁷ Hnwt tAwy tm is only used by four Eighteenth Dynasty queens (Troy, 1986, p. 195) – Ahmose-Nefertari, Merit-Amun (wife of Amenhotep I), Hatshepsut and Tiaa (wife of Amenhotep II and mother of Thutmose IV). In total, it is so far only attested in the reigns of 7 queens – the other three being the founder Khenemet-Nefer-Hedjet I (wife of Sesostri II and mother of Sesostri III), Neferet II (daughter of Amenemhet I, wife of Sesostri II and possible mother of Hatshepsut A), and Senebhenas (mother of Sobekhotep III).

²⁸⁸ Chronological arguments are presented under each section, summarised in the Catalogue, and graphically presented in **Fig. 1**. It is acknowledged that this necessitates a level of to-and-fro'ing on the part of the reader. However, this table adds support to arguments made in this section, and others that closely follow, and thus has been included early in the discourse.

²⁸⁹ Urk. IV: 144.3.

3.2.3 Cairo Vase 18486 (Cat. 4.9)

In line with its Catalogue entry and comments in chapter four, this item seems to have been carved sometime around the death of Hatshepsut's mother, queen Ahmes. Like Berlin Stela 15699, it adds nothing to the present chapter, save noting this fact.

3.2.4 Red Granite Statue – Thutmose II (Cat. 1.21)

Aswan statue 1086 was the subject of some debate in the mid-eighties. The primary segments of bust, torso and legs eventually pieced together, it was Gunter Dreyer who convincingly proposed that the statue actually belongs to Hatshepsut, who dedicated it to Thutmose II²⁹⁰. Argued against by Lindblad owing to stylistic similarities²⁹¹, the point made in that latter article is actually moot for the purposes of this investigation. For, as Lindblad surmises, there is the possibility it was usurped at an earlier time by Hatshepsut for her deceased husband²⁹², along with the certainty the statue was appropriated in the Ramesside Period²⁹³. What this means for the present investigation is that, in spite of whether the statue originally belonged to Ahmose I, it seems highly likely it was used in the Thutmose II – Hatshepsut period²⁹⁴.

Of interest, however, is the determination that the statue is posthumous. Dreyer, followed by Dorman, argues that the statue depicts Thutmose II in preparation to celebrate his sed-festival; one that he never quite achieved²⁹⁵. More intriguing is the notion that Hatshepsut actually commemorated her husband-brother's reign, and his passing. Assuredly, other scholars have noted that at least one other such example exists on the upper court (north wall nearest the sanctuary) at Deir el-Bahri²⁹⁶. Aakheperenre is identified by the image of his kA behind him, which carries the Horus name of the king on his head (kA-nxt wsr-pHty). Accordingly, if Hatshepsut had a level of affinity for her husband early after his death – not the case once she had succeeded

²⁹⁰ Dreyer, 1984, pp. 491-492; Dorman, 1988, pp. 42-43. See also Lindblad, 1984.

²⁹¹ 1988, pp. 197-201 (stating her belief that it actually belongs to Ahmose I)

²⁹² Lindblad, 1988, p. 201

²⁹³ Dorman, 2006, p. 46

²⁹⁴ The only contentions remain the correct assignment of the base to the torso (Lindblad, 1988, *op. cit.*), and the accurate reading of the (poorly) carved inscription naming Thutmose II (Dreyer, 1984, p. 491)

²⁹⁵ Dreyer, 1984, p. 492; Dorman, 2006, pp. 46-47 and fn. 59.

²⁹⁶ Naville, 1906, *DeB*, pt. 5, pl. 144

to the kingship – then it is difficult to reconcile a short lead in to the kingship as advocates of a year two accession would argue²⁹⁷. Such sympathies are in keeping with a widowed queen-regent.

3.2.5 Karnak Chapel dedicated to Thutmose II (Cat. 2.4)

A few years ago now, Laboury published the following statement,

"At least four royal monuments can surely be dated to this phase of the reign [years 1-7 of Hatshepsut] ... a chapel from Karnak dedicated to the memory of the late Thutmose II by his widow, still a queen but already facing the gods like a king..."²⁹⁸

Given that the available information, at this stage, is very poor, the discourse is confined to a few meagre pieces²⁹⁹. Nonetheless, it is hoped this will add to the discussion and debate surrounding this chapel. The second of Callender's photographs illustrates Thutmose II (named in cartouche to the right of his head) wearing the Red-Crown, false beard, uraeus and royal collar. He appears to be in receipt of some type of offering or anointment, to judge from the figure on the right. He also appears to be in the embrace of a figure on the left, owing to the placement of a hand around his back and on his left shoulder. The nature of his eye and eyebrow in particular are indicative of typical Thutmosid portraiture – wide and spacious³⁰⁰.


The front cover of the 1995-96 winter edition of *KMT* also contains an image of Hatshepsut from this chapel. Carved in raised relief, she conforms to the canons encountered in chapter one, including not only the wide-eyed gaze and straight nose, but a broad mouth and 'elliptical face'. She wears a three-part composite wig, donned by the uraeus. The most interesting of the three pieces, however, is the rather large limestone block depicting Hatshepsut

²⁹⁷ This point is more-or-less made by Dorman, 1988, p. 43

²⁹⁸ 2006, p. 273. Note the slightly contradictory reference to Hatshepsut as "still a queen", in respect that Hatshepsut must, at the very least, have been a queen-regent. He also refers in the footnote (no. 113) to the fact that Luc Gabolde is presently preparing a manuscript on this topic. This publication is looked forward to with great anticipation.

²⁹⁹ As noted in Cat. 2.4, there are only two publications from which to draw material at the present – Callender, 1995-6, p. 19 (two photographs - plates VIIa & VIIb in the Appendices, and front cover of the journal - 1 photograph); Forbes, 1994, p. 11.

³⁰⁰ cf. **Table 1** and comments in section 1.4.1. The nose too is straight, as is to be expected.

before Seth³⁰¹. It is surmounted along the top with the traditional vulture-wings holding the sA-symbol. Beneath these the words Hmt-nTr can clearly be read. The precise nature of the scene is difficult to determine, as the lower portion of the block is entirely lost (from the shoulders/midriff of Hatshepsut, and only including the head of Seth and Isis). Hatshepsut again wears a composite wig; the vulture-headaddress wings radiating down the side of her head and the uraeus visible on her forehead. The figure behind her is labelled as , identifying her as Isis. Most interesting, however, is that Seth, and not Horus is performing an offering ceremony of sorts. He extends his arm/hand to Hatshepsut, presenting her with life and dominion (wAs); the two symbols abutting one another³⁰². Moreover, Hatshepsut stands at the same height as both Isis and Seth, to judge by the relative position of the three heads. The overall impression is one of Hatshepsut in a position of power, even if that power derived from the office of God's Wife at a time prior to her succession into the kingship. It is easy to see why Laboury, even with such a small sample-set of evidence, commented that Hatshepsut seems to be positioning herself in pseudo-kingly stance. However, his assumption that the establishment and carving of the chapel dates as far as year seven is yet to be proved. Moreover, the iconographic/epigraphic illustration of Hatshepsut, when combined with the inclusion of Aakheperenre, and considered in light of dedicatory pieces such as Aswan statue 1086, is more convincingly in support of Hatshepsut as queen(-regent). It is hard to reconcile Hatshepsut as portraying her preparation for the kingship alongside images of her (deceased) husband. It is for these reasons, when attempting to place the dedicatory Karnak chapel within the current chronological framework (**Fig. 1**) that it has been assigned to a date late in the reign of Thutmose II, perhaps straddling the first year following his death. At best, this adds another item to the corpus of material lying within the 'governance' period of Hatshepsut's reign.

³⁰¹ Callendar, 1995-6, p. 19, top (plate VIIa)

³⁰² The anx and wAs symbols actually touch the nose of the queen, cementing the ideology around the 'breath of life' – cf. Hornung, 1996, pp. 111, 199.

3.2.6 Vase Fragments #8, KV20 (Cat. 4.7)

Published over a hundred years ago, the remains of two bowls from the king's tomb of Hatshepsut in western Thebes (KV20) record details about her. The elements specific to the office of God's Wife discussed in chapter four, and vase fragments number six detailed later in this chapter (3.3.2), only fragments number eight will be described here. Recorded by Theodore Davis, a total of eight fragments of an alabaster vessel, reveal a little more about Hatshepsut³⁰³. The oil/unguent container has four portions of text. That along the top records its capacity. Below this, underneath a *pt*-symbol are three vertical columns, reading:

sAt-nswt [snt]-nswt Hmt-nTr mr(y)t-nTr Hmt-nsw wrt [lost portion]

Hnwt nt tAw nbw nbt tAwy HAt-Spswt anx.ti Dt.

King's daughter, king's [sister], God's Wife who was loved, Great King's Wife [lost portion], Mistress of all the Lands, Lady of the Two Lands, Hatshepsut, may she live forever

On the right is a short passage that states, [Hmt-nsw] wrt HAt-Spswt anx.ti Dt. Finally, there is a brief text on the left that says anx r-pa wrt Hstt³⁰⁴. As noted under the Wadi Sikkat sarcophagus, phrases wrt Hstt (and derivatives) and r(t)-pa(t) receive due attention in the el-Mahatta and Semnah temple sections. More pertinent here are the words that surround Hmt-nTr. At first glance, dating this vase is fairly straight forward. The extensive use of all of Hatshepsut's Queenship epithets, very similar to Berlin stela 15699 and her first sarcophagus, suggest a date in the time of her husband³⁰⁵.

³⁰³ Davis, 2004, p. 110 (figure/number 8); Lucas and Rowe, 1940, pp. 79, 88-9; Appendix plate L, bottom. For projected imagery and comments on size, note Davis, 2004, p. 105 & their plate XIV.

³⁰⁴ All texts and possible translation(s) are presented by Lucas and Rowe, 1940, pp. 88-9. Note they also present another complete alabaster vessel of Hatshepsut from el-Amarna (their no. VI, pp. 78, 86-7), and two from Thutmose III (their numbers III and VII, pp. 76-79, 84-5, 87-8). The el-Amarna vessel of Hatshepsut dates post-accession, to judge from the passage nTr nfr nb tAwy MAat-kA-Ra (p. 87). Those of Thutmose III may date to his sole reign, to judge from the use of his shorter prenomen (Mn-xpr-Ra), however he is nowhere cited as nsw-bity, only as nTr nfr.

³⁰⁵ Also vase MMA 18.8.15 below and reinforced by the Hnwt comparison above.

However, the reference Hmt-nTr mryt nTr is noteworthy. Usually translated as "the beloved God's Wife", mryt is a perfective passive participle, and thus a slightly better translation seems to be "the God's Wife who was loved". Similar to the well-known, male, non-royal title³⁰⁶ the interest derives from the apparent conundrum that we have a piece, for all intents and purpose, connected to prerogatives of queenship, but also utilising what appear to be male entitlements. This fact is not a new phenomenon for Hatshepsut, to be sure; but the timing is difficult to reconcile. Again, perhaps little more than Hatshepsut extending her God's Wife powerbase that little bit farther, Troy notes this as the only occurrence of this title³⁰⁷. Moreover, in her lengthy compendium on the office of queenship, she notes no other instance of this title for any female³⁰⁸. Acknowledging the sketchy evidence at hand, but also that there seems to be some credence in the rarity of this title, the best recourse is to extend the date of these vase fragments into year one – a time of governance without her husband around to contest any subtle changes to official titulary.

3.2.7 Vase 18.8.15, Wadi Gabbanat (Cat. 4.8)

Sticking with the theme of vases, two more jars are known from the Wadi Gabbanat region, west of Wadi Sikkat. One (MMA 26.8.8) will be dealt with later in this chapter, the other (MMA 18.8.15) here³⁰⁹. MMA 18.8.15 is a short, circular vase made of alabaster and was supposedly used to hold "cleansing cream", presumably as part of the corpus of grave goods employed by the deceased post-death³¹⁰. The text reads:

sAt-nswt snt-nswt Hmt-nTr Hmt-nsw wrt HAt-Spswt anx.ti Dd.ti mi Ra Dt

³⁰⁶ it nTr mry (nTr) – *Wb.* p. 142.

³⁰⁷ Troy, 1986, p. 163. Fragments #6 below (section 3.3.2) records and all-but identical title.

³⁰⁸ Troy, 1986, pp. 187-188 where all the Hmt-nTr variants are listed.

³⁰⁹ PM I², 591; Winlock, 1948, pp. 49-57 and plates 32A, 32B (a general discussion of the "Toilet Articles" is given in these pages by Winlock, with the specific vases mentioned on p. 55 and their dimensions recorded on p. 57); Troy, 1986, p. 163 (where she incorrectly records them as *Winlock's* 23A, 23B). Finally, the more recent treatment of these three 'princesses' by Lilyquist, 2004 - recorded in this work as plates LVa, LVb.

³¹⁰ The description of these two jars as per Winlock (1948, plate XXXII) has been taken at face value and not directly verified. Their recovery from the tomb of three queens (Hmt-nsw) of Thutmose III is discussed by Winlock (1948, pp. 3-12) where he prefers to call them 'princesses' owing to the word wrt being omitted from the title Hmt-nsw wrt. For a map of the Wadi Gabbanat el-Qurud region, see the Appendix, Plates XLIX and LII-LIII.

King's daughter, king's sister, God's Wife, Great King's Wife, Hatshepsut, may you live, may you be stable like Re, forever

The full inclusion of Hatshepsut's titles is again reminiscent of the Wadi Sikkat sarcophagus, Berlin stela 15699 and KV20 vase fragments number eight. Based on this alone, the vessel can be dated in the same timeframe; that being the time of Thutmose II³¹¹. Notwithstanding, one slight errata might also complicate this calculation. To evaluate it, another tabular assessment, this time on the title *snt*, is required.

Item	Section	Passage/Phrase	Date estimate (as per Fig. 1)
Wadi Sikkat Sarcophagus	3.2.1	<i>snt-nsw</i>	Thutmose II
Berlin Stela 15699	3.2.2	<i>snt-nsw</i>	Thutmose II
Fragment 8, KV20	3.2.6	<i>snt-nswt</i> (partially restored)	Thutmose II (~yr. 1?)
MMA 18.8.15	3.2.7	<i>snt-nswt</i>	Thutmose II (~yr. 1?)
Eastern Karnak block, Chevrier 1955 top	3.2.8	<i>snt-nswt</i>	Thutmose II (~yr. 1?)
Ineni biography	3.2.10	<i>snt.f</i>	Year 1
El-Mahatta graffito	3.5.1	<i>snt-nswt</i>	Years 3-5

Table 4: The term *snt* up until Hatshepsut's accession

Studying the orthography of each closely, the omission of the final *t* for Berlin stela 15699 and the Wadi Sikkat sarcophagus (where this point was first noted), is intriguing. Again, perhaps merely a scribal oddity, its firm inclusion on the el-Mahatta graffito and the east Karnak chapel blocks, inclines one to push the date for the vase out to year one at least. In short, both this vase and the KV20 vase number eight seem to date to the same period; that being a time (late) in the reign of Thutmose II and perhaps into the governance phase of Hatshepsut.

³¹¹ When the vase was actually commissioned, when Thutmose wed his three queens, when they died, and when the funerary items were interred are of little interest. Winlock (1948, pp. 4-5) attempts to reconcile at least some of these matters. However, of greatest importance is the language employed on the vessel and what it can tell us about Hatshepsut at that time.

3.2.8 Blocks from the Eastern Karnak Chapel (Cat. 2.6)

It is by now well-attested that Hatshepsut constructed a chapel in more-or-less the same place Thutmose III later erected his Akh Menu temple or Festival Hall³¹², the latter being well-recorded³¹³. The key purpose in this section is to critically review the blocks long ago published by Chevrier³¹⁴. The analysis commences with the block on the right of Chevrier's plate (Appendix, plate XLIII, top), containing a reference to the God's Wife. It then turns to the latter block (Appendix, plate XLIII, bottom), comparing the scenes of Hatshepsut offering *nw*-pots to the 'Legrain Block', as well as the door lintel later in the chapter³¹⁵.

The right hand 'Chevrier Block' is entirely comprised of text, save the few remaining traces of the head of Hatshepsut (presumably) at the base of the block. The uraeus on her brow can be clearly seen, and the head-pieces consist of the vulture-headdress and platform-crown, as is also evident in the left-hand block on the same plate³¹⁶. At the top of the block, the outstretched legs of a vulture hold a sA-sign of protection. The wing of the vulture is visible to the right. Between these two iconographic representations are four incomplete lines of hieroglyphics. Much can be made of the text, even though the passage is incomplete. It reads:

[lost portion] n.f ir.s³¹⁷ n.f xt wab m st³¹⁸.f [see below] Dsrt sAt-nswt
snt-nswt Hmt-nTr Hmt-nswt wrt HAt-Spswt [see below] anx.[ti]³¹⁹

³¹² See for example Laboury, 1988, pp. 552-561 for a healthy review of the subject matter. Note also the comments of Laboury, 2006, fn. 115 where he indicates that a forthcoming work by Luc Gabolde will fully present this temple. Also, the superb reconstruction offered by Golvin, 1993, pp. 34-5.

³¹³ Urk. IV: 1251-1275. Add also general comments about the genre or treatment of such inscriptions under the category of *Königsnovelle* – Dziobek, 1995, p. 138

³¹⁴ 1955, p. 40 and plate XXII (Chevrier); PM II², 135; Appendix, Plate XLIII.

³¹⁵ Section 3.6.1. Also included in the discussions is the block re-examined by Grimm (1983, pp. 34-37), as first recorded by Georges Legrain in 1903. This is referred to as the 'Legrain Block'.

³¹⁶ On Platform-crowns in general, their connection to Wadjet and possibly the kingship - Troy, 1986, pp. 121-2. On the typical garb of queens, refer **Table 6** and section 3.4 below

³¹⁷ A very faint bolt of cloth can be seen under the verb *iri*.

³¹⁸ While only the hardest edges of the sign following the owl are clear, it seems logical that the sign is Gardiner's (2001, p. 500) 'seat' sign, associated with the name of Isis.

³¹⁹ Only the base of the .ti sign can be seen and, its restoration is actually largely unconvincing - the sign above is much thicker in the base than the .ti-symbol directly below. However, the connotation is clearly the same as that articulated on the door lintel (below).

Dd.ti Awt-ib.s mi Ra Dt

[lost portion] to/for him. She made pure things for his divine throne; king's daughter, king's sister, God's Wife, Great King's Wife, Hatshepsut, may she live, may she be stable and prosperous like Re, forever

It is evident that lines one and four are not contiguous with lines two and three. The representation of the vulture in the case of the former lines, and the fact that the block clearly was part of a greater scene (with text above) for the latter lines, illustrates this. However, lines two and three naturally run onto one another, as they are both positioned underneath the vulture wing, legs and sA-symbol; and above the head of Hatshepsut. The text itself seems to imply two things. First, the notion that Hatshepsut made "pure things for the divine throne" of Amun³²⁰. Second, that in receipt of this cultic presentation, Hatshepsut is seemingly associated with the 'tools' of kingship. These points demand further investigation, particularly because the majority of the inscription (sAt-nswt snt-nswt Hmt-nTr Hmt-nswt wrt) is very similar to queenship textual structures described above³²¹. Comparing the texts of all, this particular block actually appears most aligned with the two vases from Wadi Gabbanat (18.8.15) and Biban el-Moluk (number 8). As for the 'tools' of kingship, these have been described in another publication by the author. They can also be received by queens³²², and ultimately it is the greater context that determines how the qualities are bestowed³²³.

³²⁰ Amun is presumed, owing to the context of the block within the Karnak temple. However, Horus too is a possibility, owing to the numerous references to the st Hr. It would be interesting to know if the st.f Dsrt referred generally to the inner sanctum at Karnak, or specifically to the temple from which this block must have once been a part.

³²¹ Berlin stela 15699, Wadi Sikkat sarcophagus, Wadi Gabbanat vase 18.8.15, vase fragment #8 from KV20.

³²² Already demonstrated in section 3.2.5 via the dedicatory chapel erected for Thutmose II. In that case, the 'tools' were also presented to the God's Wife Hatshepsut, by Seth.

³²³ Smith, 2005. There are actually four in all – Dd, anx, Awt-ib, wAs - but they are everywhere encountered in groups of three; the artisans presumably selecting those most appropriate for the occasion. For these 'tools' at Deir el-Bahri, refer the northern middle colonnade – Naville, 1898, *DeB*, Pt. 3, pls. 56, 58-9 (discussed in section 3.6.5). The tools (at least Awt-ib) can also be connected to the 'appearance' of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri (Urk. IV: 252.16-18). For more concretely dated examples, note the years 15/16 obelisks - Urk. IV: 357.15. For scenes presumably pre-succession, and with a focus on the 'ritualistic baptism/purification' of Hatshepsut as king at Karnak (specifically the Chapelle Rouge), see el-Hegasy and Martinez, 1993, pp. 54-63 and especially the image on p.58 where Horus and

With respect to the date of the block being stretched beyond Aakheperenre's death, possibly into year one (as per **Table 4** and **Fig. 1**), the arguments surrounding snt-nswt speak to this (they have already been presented across sections 3.2.1 and 3.2.7 respectively). Another contributing factor, is the already hinted at connection to its counterpart block, and the Karnak door lintel. Without leaping too far ahead, Laboury believes that all three blocks published by Chevrier (1934, 1955) derive from the pre-Akh Menu temple of Hatshepsut³²⁴. If true, then this temple would have been akin to those of the Chapelle Rouge and Deir el-Bahri at least, where early reign content is matched with coronation and later reign scenes, on the same temple³²⁵. As a consequence, while this particular block is better dealt with in the 'governance' section, its link to the other eastern temple blocks is of critical importance³²⁶. Returning to the sentiment ir.s n.f xt wab m st.f then, while it is tantalising to wonder if the making of these purifications was effected as part of her succession into the kingship, this is unlikely. The purificatory roles of the God's Wife stretch back to at least Ahmose-Nefertari³²⁷ and, combined with the queenship epigraphy, seems the most logical explanation for their inclusion.

The left-hand 'Chevrier Block' offers little more than its counterpart. It again names Hatshepsut by her nomen, not prenomen, and the title Hmt-nswt wrt can be clearly made out to the right of the cartouche. On the opposing side of the headdress of Hatshepsut, mryt Imn can be read, thus confirming suspicions about which god was in receipt of Hatshepsut's offerings. The figure of Hatshepsut is more complete, and while the vulture-headdress,

Thoth stream a libation of anx-symbols over a much-erased Hatshepsut (her prenomen visible in several places). The imagery is virtually identical to that at Deir el-Bahri mentioned above, right down to the standard Hs-vases used in the ceremony. For a summary, refer **Table 7**.

³²⁴ Laboury, 2006, p. 273, fn. 115.

³²⁵ The scenes on the exterior west wall in the Semnah temple (section 3.3.3) might also be added to the mix.

³²⁶ The same separation has occurred with the vases from Wadi Gabbanat and KV20, and the Chapelle Rouge sections (Block 287 and the 'Crowning Scenes').

³²⁷ Gitton, 1975, p. 80 where he provides the epithet wab n nbt tAwy as a role of the god's wife (commented on briefly in 5.1.2 above)

platform-crown and uraeus can be seen again, one can now also see the Swty that adorned the top of the crown, as well as the amulet-necklace she wore. By iconographic connection to statues MMA 30.3.3 and 29.3.3, this would place the left-hand (bottom) Chevrier block in either the later part of Aakheperenre's reign, or the early part of Hatshepsut's³²⁸. Finally, the central figure of Hatshepsut is presenting nw-pots (again, presumably to a figure of Amun that is now lost), as she does in the Karnak door lintel below³²⁹. The key difference between the two blocks is that the connection to kingship 'tools' cannot be made for the Chevrier block, whereas it can for the Karnak door lintel. In sum, the two 1955 Chevrier blocks seem to date to a period from late Thutmose II through until perhaps year one. They do not advance the research question directly but, indirectly, their incorporation into a temple that seems to have been like other, multi-faceted, successional-oriented, structures, is noteworthy.

3.2.9 Step Pyramid Graffito of Ptah-hotep (Cat. 4.1)

The earliest firmly dated document, a shift away from artefacts that potentially spanned the time of Thutmose II and III, is achieved. In doing so, Hatshepsut is now wholly omitted from the equation. Assuredly, Ptah-hotep was merely using the reference to Thutmose III to indicate the specific regnal years attributed to that ruler, confirming that he was king in name. It is frustrating, however, that the original plates were not presented by Firth and Quibell in their publication. As a result, one must wholly rely on the accuracy of earlier scholars, which they themselves admit was lacking at times³³⁰. The translation of Gunn, copied by Firth and Quibell is presented here.

Regnal-year 1, Month 4 of Akhet, Day 5, under the Majesty of the

³²⁸ One can also add the scene published by Grimm (1983, with plate 1), where the same figure of Hatshepsut can be made out as the left-hand Chevrier Block. Furthermore, the titles evident on the 'Legrain Block' seem to be in keeping with the right-hand Chevrier Block, strengthening the connection between these two blocks.

³²⁹ There is also a second figure of Hatshepsut (most probably) under the textual reference to Amun, presumably in the preceding scene. It seems here as though we may have an Episodic occurrence, whereby preparations pre-offering are immediately (visually) followed by the offering itself.

³³⁰ Note the comments pertaining to the transcriptions and translations of Černý, as compared to Gunn (Firth and Quibell, 1935, p. 78)

King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre^c, Son of Rē^c Tuthmosis (III), may he live for ever! Now his Majesty was in the Southern City (Thebes), making memorials to his Father Amenrē^c, and marvels for Harakhte, and. . . . his city; Atūm who created [him]. Lord of [Heliopolis] . . . his Father who begot him, the divine God, self-generated; the Mighty Bull, Lord of the Two Lands, Son of Atūm. . . . the Gods. By. . . . Ptahhotpe³³¹.

The content is wholly to be expected at such an early stage in the reign of Thutmose III. Given that Thutmose II had only recently departed the land of the living, it is hardly likely that Hatshepsut had even conceived of taking the throne at this time³³². Further, when one compares the language of the Biography of Ineni to this graffito, references to Thutmose III being 'begotten' are identical. Finally, that Thutmose III would be in Thebes carrying out ecclesiastical duties (presumably not in person owing to his age) is perhaps to be expected³³³. The only other point of relevance is that an argument for Hatshepsut's omission based on a geographical location that falls outside of Egypt - as is sometimes the case with monuments and inscriptions in the Sinai - is not tenable here³³⁴. More logically, it is unlikely that the issue of 'geographical removal' was even a factor, the inscription simply pre-dating any noteworthy mention of Hatshepsut.

3.2.10 Biography of Ineni (Cat. 3.1)

Finally then, we come to that inscription which is usually heralded as the evidence *par excellence* for Hatshepsut governing the country. Steward of the Granaries from Amenhotep I down to Thutmose III, the transference of Kingship from Thutmose II to his son (Thutmose III) by his second wife Isis, is summarised in the following passage³³⁵.

³³¹ *Op. cit.* p. 80 (D)

³³² The Step Pyramid Graffito post-dates this event by precisely seven months and one day, a fact also commented on by Dorman (2006, p. 42).

³³³ Compare for example the movements of Ramesses II at Luxor, following on from the death of Seti I (el-Razik, 1967; Kitchen, 1982, pp. 43-4).

³³⁴ Dorman, 2006, p. 46 (and discussion of the year 5 Sinai stela - section 3.5.4)

³³⁵ Urk. IV: 53-62 (esp. 59.11 - 60.14). The Speos of Ineni is located at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (TT 81). See also Dziobek, 1992, pl. 34c.

(11) iw nd.tw xrt.i m snb anx (12) m-Dd Hm.f Ds.f n mrt.i (13) pr r
 pt (14) Xnm.n.f m nTrw (16) sA.f aHa m st.f m nswt tAwy (17)
 HqA.n.f Hr nst nt wtt(w) sw (1) snt.f Hmt-nTr HAt-Spswt Hr irt
 mXrw tA (2) tAwy Hr sxrw.s (3) bAk.tw n.s (4) Kmt m wAH tp (5)
 prt-nTr Axt prt xnt.f (6) HAtt nt SmAw (7) mnit rsyw (8) pHwyt pw
 mnxt nt tA-mHw (9) nbt wD(w) mdw (10) mnxt sxrw.s (11) hrnt
 idbwy xft mdw.s (12) Hs.n wi Hmt.s (13) mr.n.s wi (14) rx(w) n.s
 iqrw.i m stp-sA

“(11) One enquired after my health and life (12) saying, his majesty [Thutmose II], himself who³³⁶ loved me, (13) went {prt} to heaven (14) and he was united with the gods (16) [while] his son [Thutmose III] stood in³³⁷ his place as the king of the Two Lands. (17) He ruled over the throne of the one who begat³³⁸ him, (1) [while] his sister, the God’s Wife Hatshepsut, was conducting the affairs of the country (tA); (2) the Two Lands under her councils (sxrw). (4) Egypt in submission (wAH tp), (3) is worked for her. (5) The beneficent seed of the god³³⁹ coming forth before him, (6) the prow rope of Upper Egypt (7) [and] mooring post of the southerners. (8) She³⁴⁰ is the excellent stern-rope of Lower Egypt. (9) A lady who commands words (10), her counsels/plans are excellent. (11) The Two [river-]banks content before her words³⁴¹. (12) Her majesty praised me (13) she loved me, (14) my excellence in the palace was known to her...”

The tomb biography of Ineni is a datable document, not via a fixed date per

³³⁶ Lit: "of my love", although the connotation is akin to a Relative Form, even if placed in the predicate.

³³⁷ While the usage here could simply refer to an existential form (to be 'standing in office'), the Egyptians may have wanted the full impression of the noun. This would have portrayed an 'aesthetically pleasing' image of a powerful pharaoh 'standing over' all of Egypt.

³³⁸ The choice here of wtt over msi is an important one. The latter has several different meanings, including 'to bear, give birth, be born, create make, fashion' (Wb. II: 137; Faulkner, 1999, p. 116). This is to be clearly distinguished from the verb used above – wtt (Wb. I: 381-2; Faulkner, 1999, p. 72) – which has the stronger inference of 'offspring'; thereby seeming to strengthen the connection between Aakheperenre and Menkheperre.

³³⁹ While some (BAR II, 340-343) have preferred a translation "the beneficent divine seed", this simply is not tenable here. The Nisbe adjective nTry would not be honorifically transposed, therefore it must be the noun "god".

³⁴⁰ The word pw could equally be translated as 'he' or 'it'. The choice of 'she' is in fitting with the context of the passage at this point.

³⁴¹ Given that the root verb is hrw, that this is a Relative Form is beyond doubt. However, the passage reads easier if one adopts a sDm.f approach.

se, but by the period which it discusses. While not absolutely dated, the content clearly places the biography at a time close to the death of Thutmose II, when Menkheperre had been elevated to the throne, but Hatshepsut was governing the country on his behalf. The date of composition is less clear-cut, but the epigraphy suggests a time close to the events described. This is perhaps most evident via the choice of the word *wtt*. It provides a link, even if only tenuous, to the year one Saqqara graffito discussed immediately above; helping to validate the date of the biographical inscription³⁴².

The overall impression conveyed by the passage is the transference of the office of Kingship from one male ruler to another. Irrespective of the fact that Thutmose III is not clearly named³⁴³, the use of masculine pronouns, the specific choice of words in the early part of the text, and the preceding text not here-presented³⁴⁴ identify the intended persons. Dorman believes the document should be dated sometime between the accession and coronation of Thutmose III, a time post-death of Aakheperenre, and before Menkheperre had taken his prenomen³⁴⁵. Notwithstanding, and in apparent antithesis, Thutmose III is already seen as 'the one who stands in place of Thutmose II', 'King of the Two Lands', and the 'ruler of the throne'³⁴⁶. This could be particularly important in arguing the precise date of the document, depending

³⁴² Dates can either refer to the content, the time of composition, or both. In some instances, the composition occurs well after the events presented (e.g. the tomb inscription of Ahmose Pen-Nekhet – cf. Dorman, 2006, pp. 49-50, discussed later in this chapter (3.7.2). Notable for other kings such as Ramesses II, is the temple at Abu Simbel where construction and carving there is presumed to have commenced either late in the time of Seti I, or in year 1 of Ramesses, and finished by the year 34 Marriage Stela at latest – a total time of three-and-a-half decades. See Redford, 1971, pp. 110-112; Abd el-Razik, 1967, p. 69; Christophe, 1965; Spalinger, 1980a, pp. 83-4). Other inscriptions, such as this text, seem to have been commissioned relatively close to the matters at hand. Most important, with respect to obtaining a philological reference point, is that the epigraphical record be datable in terms of its content. The composition is less important because, when viewing different texts, one wants to be as sure as possible that the orthography, syntax and phraseology actually can be compared. Moreover, such would have validated the reliefs as 'living records' of that time (Aldred, 1980, pp. 15ff). Other difficulties, such as the *Topos* of the text, also abound, but are of little interest in this study (see in general, Assmann, 1999).

³⁴³ Dorman, 2001, pp. 3-4.

³⁴⁴ See Urk. IV: 58.15 where *aA-xpr-n-Ra* (Thutmose II) is clearly named, and the lines following (down to Urk. IV: 59.11), where the rulership of Thutmose II over Egypt is discussed.

³⁴⁵ Dorman, 2006, p. 41 & fn.18. A further point made is that it appears as if the verbal forms used with Thutmose III are Stative in nature, while those of Hatshepsut are always *Hr* + Infinitive (Dorman, 2006, p. 42 and fn. 23). Thus, it seems that while Thutmose III may have been seen as the actual king, in the here-and-now - as attested by the Pseudo-Verbal Construction - it was Hatshepsut who 'ran' the country (see also Murnane, 1977, pp. 32-44).

³⁴⁶ On the oracular selection of Thutmose III as king by Amun, as recounted in his retroactive coronation inscription on Pylon 7 at Karnak, see Urk. IV: 180-191 (noted in section 1.3 also).

whether or not sA.f aHa m st.f m nswt tAwy and HqA.n.f Hr nst actually contradict the notion of Thutmose III not having been formally crowned, and thusly having taken his prenomen (and for reasons unknown, not included it). Furthermore, if the nt wtt(w) sw can be interpreted as a reinforcement of Menkheperre's royal lineage, stronger than the use of msi might permit, the logical conclusion is one of the young monarch needing to assert his place as the rightful heir³⁴⁷.

Conversely, beginning in the very next clause, and continuing for a dozen lines thereafter, is Hatshepsut's involvement in the office of kingship. First we must ask ourselves, what exactly is meant by the phrase Hr irt mXrw tA? Is this to be interpreted in the same light as say, the duties of a vizier?³⁴⁸ Or, given her royal status, might the phrase be better connected to one used in various other locations, throughout her reign, and sometimes by Thutmose III – nb(t) irt xt?³⁴⁹ Perhaps more intriguing than what the phrase means, is where it is placed. Only two titles qualify Hatshepsut's nomen – snt.f and Hmt-nTr. Treating them in reverse order, the force behind Hatshepsut's involvement in the political affairs seems to derive from the fact she was the 'God's Wife'. Nowhere are her queenly titles of sAt-nsw, Hmt-nsw wrt or equivalent evident. This is perhaps not surprising, given she had recently been widowed³⁵⁰. However, if Dorman is correct and the time was such that Thutmose III had not even yet been crowned, it does seem odd that she would so quickly abandon her queenly titles. Perhaps the strength afforded by the Hmt-nTr title provided some solace at a time of insecurity.

Second, is the term snt.f. Naturally, this refers to her deceased husband

³⁴⁷ Note that Hatshepsut would later use the same 'standardised' phraseology as her male forebears, but in reference to Amun (her divine father) - cf. Urk. IV: 362.4 "wtt n Ra r irt n.f prt Axt tp-tA"

³⁴⁸ Cf. van den Boorn, pp. 315-331.

³⁴⁹ See **Table 10** and the discussions in chapter six over this epithet.

³⁵⁰ On the demise of Thutmose II and the length of his reign see Gabolde, 1987b, pp. 61-81 (note that modern theories extend his reign to c.13 years, while those based around Manetho and New Kingdom Jubilees temper it to only 3 years). Also, Chappaz, 1993, pp. 88-93.

Thutmose II, whom she was the half-sister of via her parents Thutmose I and Queen Ahmes³⁵¹. The real question here becomes, why stress the sisterly relation to Aakheperenre over that of queenship? Surely, if validation was needed for her to be "conducting the affairs of the country", better to use royal titles, including her heritage back to Thutmose I, over simple filial ties. Was the office of Hmt-nTr alone not strong enough to provide Hatshepsut with the support she needed to govern Egypt? Did she *require* familial endowment and/or association? Perhaps snt.f was simply that, a 'statement of fact' or descriptor, explaining who Hatshepsut was. Whatever the case, its inclusion proves two points. First, that Hatshepsut had not yet distanced herself from her recently deceased husband. In the eyes of her sub-ordinates, she 'governed' or 'managed' Egypt as a queen regnant and widower. Second, it reinforces the early date of the text.

The management of the country is discussed for a further two lines, where reference to Hatshepsut's 'plans' or 'councils' (sXrw)³⁵², and governance over Egypt is made. The reference to Egypt being in submission (wAH tp) may harken back to the still recent expulsion of the Hyksos, although it is more likely this simply relates to the calming influence required at a time of potential chaos³⁵³. More interesting is the notion that all of the 'Black Land' was diligently working for Hatshepsut. The 'Two Lands' are referred to as being "under her counsels", but there does seem to be an immediate concern over the welfare of the Nile Valley proper. Following the 3-4 lines that allude to Hatshepsut's political practice and 'office', is the attestation, via nautical terminology, that each part of Egypt is/was stable; ultimately being 'well-anchored', with a competent leader 'at the helm'³⁵⁴. Such propagandistic

³⁵¹ On the 'Thutmosid Succession', note the dated but still useful summary of Hayes, 1973, pp. 315-19. Also, comments in Harris & Wente, 1980, pp. 130-131. More recently, Bryan, 2000, pp. 230-248.

³⁵² Note that many authors translate this passage as '...the Two Lands being in her care'. See for instance Dorman, 2001, p. 4. However, sXr clearly has nothing to do with wAH, nwi or associated words.

³⁵³ On the former, see Baines and Malek, 2000, p. 128; Gardiner, 1946, p. 45; and Ryholt, 1997 (in general). On the latter, O'Connor and Silverman, 1995, XVIII-XIX.

³⁵⁴ Specifically Urk. IV: 60.6 SmAw - the area between Assiut and the First Cataract (Gardiner, 2001, p. 594); Urk. IV: 60.8 tA mHw - the Delta (Gardiner, 2001, pp. 569-70);

statements seem designed to either reiterate the aforementioned ‘submission of Egypt’ and/or unequivocally enforce the point that, even though an untimely royal death had occurred, all would be well – albeit at the hands of a woman.

Lines 6-8 are yet again introduced by a qualifying clause. In this case, reference to the ‘Divine Birth’ (prt-nTr Axt), appears to be made. While some might prefer to see this as alluding to Thutmose III – the lack of articles being problematic – that the passage is buried in the midst of comments relating to Hatshepsut (and the well-known fact that Hatshepsut often utilised masculine endings and words to describe herself), the most coherent conclusion is that Hatshepsut was the intended recipient³⁵⁵. Furthermore, if we assume the final ‘t’ on the verb Ax is actually a marker of femininity, Hatshepsut is obviously meant. A logical conclusion then, is to enquire if this the earliest evidence for the policy of legitimisation (via the Divine Birth) that Hatshepsut embarked upon? Given that the reliefs were carved in the private tomb of an official, and lack any noticeable re-carving or palimpsest³⁵⁶, it is unlikely that Hatshepsut (herself) had these reliefs modified. Therefore, is it possible, even at this early stage, that officials were aware of Hatshepsut’s pharaonic intentions?

The remainder of the passage refers either to Hatshepsut’s commands and words, or to the benefactions bestowed on Ineni by Hatshepsut. Noticeably, there is also another reference to the sxrw of Hatshepsut³⁵⁷. The overt stress here seems to be on the virtues and ability of the ruler (via her wDw and

and Urk.IV: 60.7 rsyw – generically meaning ‘the southerners’, and referring to either the entire area below the apex of the delta (hence including Middle Egypt, whilst re-iterating dominion over SmAw), and perhaps even meant to include Nubia (*Wb.* II: 452-53 where *der Süden*, could also be meant)

³⁵⁵ The inference seems to be one of stressing Hatshepsut’s relationship to the god (presumably Amun), and not simply her divine nature. Similar confusion is evident with regard to the prt xnt.f (end of the same line – Urk. IV: 60.5). Notwithstanding, other like examples for Hatshepsut can be found in her Karnak obelisks of years 15-16 (Urk. IV: 361.6 – 362.1 where in line 361.14 Hatshepsut is called swHt wabt prt Axt; the references to Amun given in 361.6 above [sAt-Imn ra] and 361.16 below – sxa tn Imn Ds.f Hr nst.f m Iwnw).

³⁵⁶ Dziobek, 1992, p. 102 and plate 34c. No recognisable re-carving being evident, nor commented on by this scholar.

³⁵⁷ Urk. IV: 60.10

mdw), rather than on the actual 'feats of governance' as earlier. Moreover, whereas before the country seemed to need a level of pacification and subjugation, Egypt now appears to be 'content' with the administration it is receiving. This is echoed via the clause *hr̄rt idbwy xft mdw.s*. In fact, one can almost see a tripartite structure emerging from the passage; a progression from the possibility of 'orderly breakdown' and a need for 'excellent management', to 'absolute geographical control' and finally to 'appeasement and relief'. Again, Hatshepsut's femininity is stressed (*nbt*) and, not for the first time, it is the Nile Valley proper (the Two Banks in this case) specifically mentioned as needing attention.

In sum, a number of words and phrases such as, *Hr irt mXrw tA*, *sxrw*, *wAH tp* appear to be employed with specific intent and purpose. The case of *sxrw* seems to be especially notable as, while it is a fairly common and generic word, it is used in two highly specialised manners – one pertaining to the management of Egypt, the other almost a treatise on what it means to be a good 'governor'. Only two terms are used to qualify Hatshepsut, and this document is a good example of the fact that such occurrences need to be carefully examined³⁵⁸. Finally, the biography seems to be divisible into five sections - each with its own agenda.

- 1) 59.12 to 59.17 refer to the deceased monarch (Thutmose II) and confirmation of the newly appointed 'rightful' heir (Thutmose III)
- 2) 60.1 to 60.4 discusses Hatshepsut's governance and sub-ordination of Egypt, introduced by *snt.f Hmt-nTr*. Interestingly, why the governance was needed is not made explicit³⁵⁹.
- 3) 60.5 to 60.8 - Hatshepsut's control over all of Egypt, introduced by *p̄rt-nTr Axt*.
- 4) 60.9 to 60.11 contains reference to the 'commands/words' of Hatshepsut, reiterating the sentiments in sections (2) and (3), but with a focus on the reverence and respect of the person, rather than their deeds. Also, a sense of

³⁵⁸ On the one, note **Table 4**, on the other refer chapter four.

³⁵⁹ i.e. the youth of Thutmose III is not offered by way of explanation for Hatshepsut's inclusion into pharaonic affairs. This is also noted in the temple at Semnah (section 3.3.3)

relief and satisfaction, via the administration of Hatshepsut, completes the tripartite structure of 'concern – control – comfort'.

- 5) 60.12 to 60.14 offers sentiments pertaining to Hatshepsut's relationship and endorsement/endowments for Ineni.

3.2.11 Summary

First off, there seem to be four temporal groupings observed so far in terms of items that lie in-and-around the death of Thutmose II. There are those that fell into Hatshepsut's late queenship (Wadi Sikkat sarcophagus, Berlin stela 15699, Cairo vase 18486), those that straddle Aakheperenre's death and the first year thereafter (Aswan statue 1086, Karnak chapel dedicated to Thutmose II, KV20 vase fragment #8, Wadi Gabbanat vase 18.8.15, Chevrier Blocks), those that lie firmly within year one of Hatshepsut's reign (Step Pyramid graffito, biography of Ineni), and those which run for some years beyond Hatshepsut's first year and may have been commenced under her husband³⁶⁰.

In the section on the Wadi Sikkat sarcophagus, the notion was introduced that the term *Hnwt tAwy* may have actually evolved from earlier artefactual pieces. In like fashion, and detailed under the Wadi Gabbanat vase, is the idea that there could be a difference between *snt nsw* and *snt nswt* as it

³⁶⁰ The temple at Semnah, the North Karnak chapel, and the temple at Buhen. Each of these is covered later in chapter three. The only other items that are placed within this period as per **Fig. 1** are statues MMA 31.3.155, 30.3.3 and BM 1513; addressed in the section on statuary.

occurs earlier and later in this formative part of Hatshepsut's reign. The curious matter of Hmt-nTr mryt nTr was also briefly discussed, whereby male entitlements seem to be connected to Hatshepsut's queenship at a time very early after Aakheperenre's demise. Finally, the year one Step Pyramid graffito seems to be (tenuously) connected to Ineni's biography via the concept of 'being begotten', perhaps aiding in the dating of the tomb inscription. Several elements were commented upon in the section on the biography (a pre-coronation date versus nswt tAwy and similar, snt.f and Hmt-nTr favoured over Hmt-nsw wrt and sAt-nswt), and it is plausible that prt-nTr Axt represents the ideology of Divine Birth in its infancy. All told, however, the corpus of evidence presented in this first section supports the belief that a regency was in effect following Aakheperenre's death. The real question is whether the period following Ineni's biography can also be classified as a regency.

3.3 The successional claim for kingship – early years

3.3.1 Vase 26.8.8, Wadi Gabbanat (Cat. 4.8)

Following on from section 3.2.7, the second vase from the far west region of Thebes is the more conical of the two. It is again made from alabaster, with the same purported function. The inscription on this vessel reads:

Hmt-nTr Hmt-nsw wrt mrt.f Hnwt tAwy HAt-Spswt anx.ti

The God's Wife, Great King's Wife whom he loved, Mistress of the Two Lands,
Hatshepsut, may she live³⁶¹

The epithet 'mistress of the Two Lands' is reminiscent of several items of Hatshepsut, as outlined in the Wadi Sikkat sarcophagus section (3.2.1 and **Table 3**). The title largely stands on its own, sAt-nsw and snt-nsw wholly omitted. Hatshepsut is referred to by her nomen and title "great king's wife", which means any date estimation cannot be extended too far. However, when

³⁶¹ PM I², 591 – further references in section 3.2.7

considering the conciseness of the inscription here against its counterpart vase (MMA 18.8.15), and in comparison with vases number six (below) and eight (above), MMA 26.8.8 does seem to demonstrate a possible evolution in its epigraphy. Perhaps unconvincing, it is for these meagre reasons that a slightly later date is assigned to vase 26.8.8 (somewhere between years one-to-three). It does little, however, to make or break the research question posed in this chapter.

3.3.2 Vase Fragments #6, KV20 (Cat. 4.7)

The second of two series of fragments from KV20 that record her title of Hmt-nTr, this partial vase consists of only two pieces³⁶². The lines read:

Left-to-right

Wsir nb AbDw mry.

Osiris, beloved lord of Abydos

Right-to-left

Hmt-nTr mryt sAt-nsw mrt.f HAt-Spswt³⁶³ ir.n.s it.s nsw?³⁶⁴ [lost portion]

The God's Wife, who was loved, the king's daughter, whom he loved, Hatshepsut. She made the kingship (?) for her father [lost portion]

The matter of Hmt-nTr mryt also having been discussed in an earlier section (3.2.6), the only other point to be made is that in this example only one nTr-sign is evident, as opposed to the two on vase fragment number eight³⁶⁵. In trying to assign a date to this medium-sized alabaster vase, the natural recourse is to align it with its 'partner' vase. However, aside from the

³⁶² PM 1², 547; Davis, 2004, p. 109 (figure/number 6); Appendix plate L, top. For projected imagery and comments on size, refer Davis, 2004, p. 105 & their plate XIV.

³⁶³ The latter part of the nomen of Hatshepsut has been erased.

³⁶⁴ Winlock (1929b, p. 60, fn. 3) believed the lost portion here pertained to Thutmose I. While he is most likely correct, owing not only to the nsw-sign visible, but also the known genealogy of Thutmose I as the father of Hatshepsut, and the to-and-fro of funerary equipment of Thutmose I during his re-interment (cf. Cat. 3.4 & 3.6 for more on this point), one cannot rule out that Amun was meant (the nsw pertaining to his role as "king of the gods" or similar).

³⁶⁵ Again, cf. *Wb.* p. 142 where both variants are noted for the male version of this title.

orthographic reduction in nTr-symbols, there is an entirely shorter feel to the epigraphy as a whole. While one could argue the paucity of the remains to rationalise away this sensation, one cannot ignore that, relative to Berlin stela 15699, KV20 fragments number eight, the Wadi Sikkat sarcophagus and vase 18.8.15, only two epithets precede Hatshepsut's nomen on fragment #6, which then leads straight into the body of the text. This possible familiarity with the titles (including the redaction in nTr-signs), could be seen in the light of a passing of time. Perhaps too much to read into such scant evidence, the remaining lost portion of the text possibly alludes to Hatshepsut "making" something for Thutmose I (or Amun?). Such notations are in line with later dated pieces³⁶⁶. It is for these reasons that, and with a great deal of caution, vase fragments number six have also been dated to somewhere between years two-to-four.

3.3.3 Semnah temple (Cat. 2.1)

The earliest definitively dated document, after the coronation of Thutmose III, is carved in the Nubian temple of Semnah, a short way south of the second cataract³⁶⁷. It is dated to year 2 and records the ordering of a renewal of the dedicatory offerings for Dedwen (a local Nubian God), the deified Sesostris III and his queen Meretseger³⁶⁸. It is this very temple inscription that is used by most Egyptologists to propose the *terminus post quem* for the accession of Hatshepsut³⁶⁹. This derives from the belief that the content illustrates

³⁶⁶ See 'Semnah temple' below.

³⁶⁷ Catalogue 2.1 and Appendix, Plates I-VI. Urk. IV:193-197 (the date recorded on the eastern exterior wall is given as rnp̄t 2, Abd 2 Smw, sw 7/8 – a mere 13 months and 3 or 4 days following the accession of Thutmose III. Note that Sethe records the day as having 8 strokes, whereas de Wit and Mertens, 1962, pp. 143ff only record 7. De Wit and Mertens are followed by Caminos, 1998, where in pl. 25, col. 1, only 7 strokes are illustrated. See also PM VII¹, 148; LD III, p. 53.

³⁶⁸ On Dedwen in general see Hart, 2005, p. 52. Also note the scene in Naville, 1908, *DeB*, Pt. 6, p. 2 & pl. 152. As for the logical choice of Sesostris III as 'pharaoh-exemplar' at Semnah, see Kemp, 1989, pp. 174ff & fn. 33-34. Kemp discusses the sandstone temple itself, and the tribute paid to Sesostris III by Thutmose III for the former's defence of the frontier.

³⁶⁹ cf. Dorman, 1988, pp. 19-22. Although note the comments below, which contravene the arguments of Seipel, 1977, col. 1049 (and also Meyer, 1982, p. 22)

Hatshepsut to be either a queen regent and/or mother, but not king. Based on this assumption (and Block 287 below), scholars for over 40 years have presumed Hatshepsut ascended to the mantle of kingship, sometime between the second, and seventh year of her 'regency'³⁷⁰.

3.3.3a Scenes of Thutmose III

The decree of Thutmose III is located on the eastern exterior wall, and the text primarily records the instructions given to Nehy, the vizier and King's Son of Kush, regarding the reinstatement of offerings for Dedwen³⁷¹. However, another relief is depicted on the exterior western wall, consisting of at least three scenes. This relief is noteworthy for several reasons. To begin, in the centre of the relief (Caminos scene 22) the king kneels in front of Dedwen, who places the HDt (White Crown of Upper Egypt) on his head³⁷². Thutmose III receives life (anx), stability (Dd) and dominion (wAs), all of which radiate from an HH-figure, suggesting that these 'tools' of kingship will exist, and/or have existed, for millions of years. The primary inscription runs in either direction from the pseudo-Nut form of Nekhbet³⁷³, and is terminated at either end by two female figures, wearing the vulture headdress and holding a staff in the form of the rnpt-sign³⁷⁴. The scene is completed by the presence of a Iwn-mwt.f priest and a Htp-di-nsw formula in the name of Geb³⁷⁵.

³⁷⁰ e.g. Dunham and Janssen, 1960, esp. 11ff and plate 26B; Säve-Söderbergh, 1941, pp. 202ff.

³⁷¹ The pertinent lines read "...nsw-bity Mn-xpr-ra sA Ra DHwty-ms di anx Dddt m Hm n stp-sA anx wDA snb n xtm-bity smr waty nsw sA imy-r xAswt rsyt [lost portion] imm xt.tw pA Htp-nsw" (Urk. IV: 193.17 – 194.3). Also Caminos, 1998, pl. 25, cols. 2-3 and pp. 43ff. On whether the Vizier/viceroy is Nehy or Seni see esp. Dorman, 2006, p. 61, fn. 26.

³⁷² Caminos, 1998, pl. 39 = Appendix, Plate II.

³⁷³ Caminos, 1998, pl. 39 (cols. 17-20) & pl. 40 (cols. 11-13, with the top of 11 and the word Fag being entirely lost). The pertinent inscription labels her as Nxbt HDt Nxn nbt Fag. While the final 'g' is also lost in column 17/18, the reconstruction appears obvious – cf. Wb. I, 576 where the translation "Herrin der Stadt" or "Mistress of the Town" is offered.

³⁷⁴ Urk. IV: 199.13 – 201.4; Caminos, 1998, pls. 39-40 = Appendix, Plates II & III (cols. 9-13 and 14-21). Note that only the one on the left-hand side – named as Wadjet – is still visible. That on the right-hand side is almost completely illegible, save the actual year-sign and the fingers curled around it. Each tutelary goddess offers her own protections, recorded on pl. 38 (cols. 5-8, Wadjet) and pl. 40 (cols. 1-4, Nekhbet).

³⁷⁵ The youthful age of Thutmose III is clearly suggested by the priest who officiated the ceremony. While Iwn-mwt.f priests often officiate 're-birth' ceremonies, the stark portrayal of the 'sidelock of youth' and the omission of any other clergy save the one who represents a

3.3.3b Scenes of Hatshepsut

While Thutmose III occupies the entire of the exterior eastern wall, and most of the exterior western wall, on either side of the ‘conferment ceremony’ of Thutmose III, traces of Hatshepsut seem to remain. As Dorman has already pointed out, on the far right or southern end, a previously carved figure has been all but completely erased³⁷⁶. This section of the wall has suffered numerous defacings, resulting in a logistical ‘minefield’ in terms of chronological reconstruction. Nonetheless, the most judicious explanation for the order (and reasons) in which the scenes were carved is as follows.

In the first instance, the original scene contained Sesostris III, as attested by his Horus name *xa-kAw-ra*. However, his figure was completely abolished with the advent of a later side-access door³⁷⁷. The goddess Satet was originally carved standing behind the figure of Sesostris III. While the exact reasons for Satet being juxtaposed next to Sesostris III are unclear, perhaps associations can be drawn with Thutmose III. As aforementioned, the latter is depicted in a ‘conferment-type’ ceremony, where the White Crown of Upper Egypt is being placed and/or adjusted on his head by Dedwen. One of the most common iconographic representations of Satet depicts her wearing the White Crown of Upper Egypt³⁷⁸. Perhaps similar connections were sought for Sesostris III, albeit in a more subtle way.

Following the carving of the coronation/conferment scenes of Thutmose III, Hatshepsut changed the scene; exactly when this occurred is unknown. She

young Horus, is indeed telling. On the role of *Iwn-mwt.f* priests see Haeny, 1997, pp. 107-8, 120; and in general – Sauneron, 2000.

³⁷⁶ Dorman, 2006, pp. 43-4. Cf. Caminos, 1998, pp. 79-84 and pl. 42 (Scene 23) = Appendix, Plate IV.

³⁷⁷ Note that Dorman (2006) does not offer an explanation for the reconstruction, and his earlier publication (Dorman, 1988, pp. 20-22) follows Caminos (1998, pp. 79ff), which in itself has unresolved aspects. Notwithstanding, both authors concur that the figure and reference to Sesostris III was carved *in situ*, having not been altered or tampered with. This corrects the rather spurious reconstruction of Sethe, 1898, pp. 58-59 and pls. VI-X.

³⁷⁸ The remnants of the top of a White Crown (presumably originally donning the head of Sesostris III) can still be seen covering the epithets under the cartouche of Sesostris III (Caminos, 1998, pp. 80-1). On the utilisation of Satet see for example Valbelle, 1981 pp. 108ff; Valbelle, 1984.

inverted the direction of Satet, to face her own figure, now inserted in the far right-hand side, under what remains of her extrinsic inscription. Hatshepsut then appears to have modified the arms of Satet so that, in pseudo-kingly fashion, she now received the same 'tools' (life – anḫ and dominion – wAs) of kingship as Thutmose III, only from Satet, not Dedwen³⁷⁹. The correlations here are two-fold. Firstly, as mentioned above, Satet 'connected' Hatshepsut to the White Crown – again paralleling the scene with Dedwen and Thutmose III³⁸⁰. Secondly, Hatshepsut received the 'tools' of kingship from a female divinity, while Thutmose III received them from a male god, echoing the gender/sex division³⁸¹. Such iconographic representations were clearly intentional. Whether commissioned by Hatshepsut or Thutmose III, it was the accepted norm that a royalty-based female should be associated with a female divinity³⁸².

Finally, as correctly pointed out by Caminos, the image of Hatshepsut was utterly obliterated, and the above inscription vilified, although not to the same extent as the character of Hatshepsut³⁸³. The agents of Thutmose III then modified the image of Satet one final time, so that her right arm now hung by her side, rather than offering 'life' to an empty space. Perhaps the only vexing question left is who originally occupied the space that Hatshepsut later filled? It is unlikely that it was empty. Not only did the canons of Egyptian art forbid such a void, but considering how 'crammed' the rest of the wall is, this is simply not tenable. One could argue for Khnum, the consort of Satet. But given the affinity that Hatshepsut had for this god, not to mention that Satet would have been placed behind him, and not the other way round, this too is unlikely³⁸⁴. Perhaps the two most probable candidates are the aforementioned

³⁷⁹ Note that Hatshepsut does not iconographically receive stability (Ddt) from Satet, although she does receive it via the extrinsic inscription (discussed below). For a discussion on the 'tools' of kingship cf. Smith (2005, pp. 330-331), following Blackman, 1918, pp. 475-482.

³⁸⁰ Note also the added parallelism with the pseudo-Nun figures of Nekhbet, further tying Hatshepsut to the White Crown – cf. Troy, 1986, pp. 116-119.

³⁸¹ cf. Marcus, 2001, pp. 309-317 where the ancient Egyptian pantheon, royal house and social order are expounded as 'gender male'. This is in marked contrast to the Lovedu of South Africa, where they are defined as 'gender female' (pp. 306-309), and even the Mesoamerican polities, where females could ascend to 'kingship' as a preference over non-royal blood if no heirs were available (pp. 317-334). See also Bryan, 1996, pp. 25-46.

³⁸² Troy, 1986, pp. 46-48.

³⁸³ Caminos, 1998, 81ff. cf. comments in Gabolde, 2005, pp. 15-16 & 153

³⁸⁴ Note for example the comments by O'Rourke, 2002, pp. 185-6 where he states "In the

Queen Meretseger or Anukis - another consort of Khnum. Given both were feminine in form, modifying such reliefs would have been relatively easy³⁸⁵.

3.3.3c 'Episodic' and 'Culminative' Considerations

Before considering the epigraphic evidence per se, let us continue the examination of the graphical material, but from an art-historical perspective. First off, as per the discussion in chapter two, the application of this methodology to the temple at Semnah must be carefully considered. We do not here have a cultic military scene such as has been successfully examined with this particular method³⁸⁶. Rather, we have the inner sanctum of a state temple, containing kingly scenes of crowning that are high in protocol. Notwithstanding, given the nature of the different types of temples is debated, and that this study only seeks to determine if certain visual devices are present, the application of the analysis seems justified³⁸⁷.

Turning to the methodology, the element of location is implied by the temple within which the scenes are carved; this is ratified by the choice of local divinities incorporated into the scene. There might even enough evidence to suggest Semnah had a level of importance relative to the crowning scenes in the north – perhaps standing as a southern parallel³⁸⁸. The Element of Event in the middle of the exterior western wall is made explicit by the conferment and placement of the crown on the head of Thutmose III by Dedwen. The character of the *Iwn-mwt.f* priest adds factuality to this scene, illustrating the realistically youthful age of the crowned monarch³⁸⁹. However, based upon

New Kingdom reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, [Khnum is portrayed for the first time] as a fashioner of gods, men and animals, enacting creation on a potter's wheel...". Also the temples to Khnum and Satet as discussed by Kaiser 1993 and von Pilgrim 2002.

³⁸⁵ Caminos (1998, pl. 42) comments on the remains of fingers and a hand on the right-hand shoulder (left-side facing) of Satet. However, he is at a loss to postulate who they belong to, and is not even sure if they belong to the figure of Hatshepsut or the one pre-dating her.

³⁸⁶ Smith 2010.

³⁸⁷ The dialogue over the nature of state and cultic temples is outlined in section 2.3.2

³⁸⁸ On the affinity Thutmose had with the south especially at the latter end of Hatshepsut's reign, see also the Abka (West) graffito - Hintze, 1964, pp. 40-2 & plate 8b; Helck, 1995, p. 133, no. 141; Cat. 4.19; Appendix, Plate XXXIV. Additionally, while this is not to state that Thutmose III was re-crowned in the south, one does wonder if the temple illustrations actually reflect a re-enactment of sorts. Impossible to verify, it is interesting to ruminate over.

³⁸⁹ The date on the eastern exterior wall would lend support to this also (Caminos, 1998, pls. 24-25). It most likely refers to the time when the temple reliefs were renewed by

observations of the flow of scenes along the exterior west wall, there may actually be another, (secondary) 'event'. This broader event seems to be focused around Hatshepsut and her 'transition' through the offices of queenship, regency and kingship succession. In order to work, the Element of Relative Time must be brought into play.

As noted, Hatshepsut stands before Satet in receipt of her own 'accoutrements of kingship'. An examination of the epigraphy, presented below, illustrates how pseudo-kingly titles mix with the divine birth, with even the HDT making a subtle appearance. Consequently, one might prefer to see the southern end scene (no. 23), which Hatshepsut later altered, as Culminative³⁹⁰. Doing so, however, would actually be to misinterpret what it seems she was trying to achieve. This scene actually appears to be the final in a series of three. The mid scene, naturally, is the crowning of Thutmose. So where then, has the initial scene gone? This is where the mediums of text and imagery illustrate their fusion best. Nestled into the first two columns of scene 22, on the far left or north of the exterior western wall, Hatshepsut's titles and notations depict her as a queen. However, in terms of spatial flow, this epigraphy visually precedes the (Nubian) coronation of Thutmose III. In short, the aesthetics of this scene date it, relatively-speaking, prior to the crowning of Thutmose III. And this is to be expected - Hatshepsut was a queen before her young stepson succeeded to the throne. As one moves along the wall, progressing from left to right (north to south), the time of Thutmose III's crowning actually occurs³⁹¹. At the conclusion of what can now be seen to be Episodic reliefs, Hatshepsut pictorially receives the 'tools' of kingship from Satet, all the while being (textually) alluded to as a king.

A lot to digest, counter-arguments are noted in the literature. Peter Dorman describes the position of Hatshepsut relative to Thutmose III as one of a

Menkheperre, and thus the temple restoration happened, (not including later alterations). As noted above, this was but a year after he was crowned at Karnak (on the age of Thutmose III, refer section 3.1). On the matter of whether dates within reliefs correlate to content, composition, or both, note the discussion under the biography of Ineni (section 3.2.10).

³⁹⁰ On Episodic versus Culminative see section 2.4.3b.

³⁹¹ Interestingly the death of Thutmose II is not noted.

'deferent' queen, not a usurping monarch³⁹². Hatshepsut was placed close enough to the image of Thutmose III to be included in the procession (and have her receipt of kingship protocols-by-association noted), but far enough away to keep with queenship etiquette³⁹³. However, this subordinate status of Queen Hatshepsut, is noted on the grounds of the symmetry of the scenes (placing Dedwen and Thutmose III as the central figures) and on the quantitative appearances of Thutmose III. While this is not disputed³⁹⁴, a point of clarification is here-needed. *Deference* is offered via 'spatial proximity', as opposed to a *lower status*, which is afforded by 'numerical inferiority'.

Thus, in similar fashion to the exemplar military reliefs of Ramesses II³⁹⁵, it appears as though comparable techniques of Episodic visualisation are evident on the exterior western wall at the temple of Semnah. From left, to middle, to right do we move chronologically from Hatshepsut as queen to Thutmose III as king, and finally to Hatshepsut in kingly 'mode'. The real challenge is how to temporally accept this evaluation (both in date of composition and content). The palimpsest that occurs on the far right side must, necessarily, have been added post-year two. The only other alternative is that Hatshepsut modified the scenes of the king concurrent with them being carved, a difficult position to reconcile. The scenes could have been altered post-accession, but do not seem so strong in their content as one finds at Karnak, Deir el-Bahri, and even the Sinai³⁹⁶. At Semnah, Hatshepsut seems to be stressing the evolution that occurred following Menkheperre's crowning, not their joint-rulership. Thus, while the queenly epigraphy on the far left could, technically, have been carved when she was queen, that on the right doesn't seem to post-date her own coronation. It would seem as though she was 'signalling' her intent to be king, rather than actually stating she was. For this reason, date range of years three-to-five, in terms of content at least (composition being impossible to reconcile based on the available evidence), seems most likely. The arguments are summarised as follows:

³⁹² 2006, pp. 42-44.

³⁹³ Dorman, 1988, pp. 20-22.

³⁹⁴ Despite the comments of Ratié, 1979, pp. 74-5.

³⁹⁵ Smith, 2010, pp. 278-282.

³⁹⁶ For example, Cat. 4.18, 5.4 and 5.8 – all of which demonstrate a level of equality between the two pharaohs.

Sequence of event	Date (theorised or actual)
LHS epigraphy of Hatshepsut as queen	Content = reign of Thutmose II. Carving same date or later?
Coronation of Thutmose III – mid exterior west wall, with Dedwen instead of Amun	Year 1, first month of Shemu, day 4 (this is the actual date of the event as per the Karnak pylon; the date of carving is presumably the same as the east wall)
Semnah temple restored (east wall date)	Year 2, 2 nd month of Shemu, day 7/8
Hatshepsut alters scene (RHS), inserts self, resulting in visual flow from queen to T3 as king, to Hatshepsut in 'king-mode'	Post-year 2, 2 nd month of Shemu, day 7/8 (Content surmised around years 3-5, date of carving unknown, but perhaps within the same timeframe)
Thutmose III alters scenes, leaving LHS queenship scenes more intact than RHS	Post-Hatshepsut

Table 5: Surmised chronology for Semnah temple

Finally, one last note surrounding the kingship connotations on the right-hand (southern) scene can be made. Of the two occurrences of Hatshepsut's nomen, only that on the right-hand side was actually erased. That on the left-hand (northern) side, whilst being difficult to make out, has not been debased like the block of inscription above Hatshepsut's vilified form. It would seem as though the northern side was allowed to remain intact as it conformed to the expected 'norms' of Egyptian kingship and queenship, but the southern side demanded erasure owing to its departure from these.

3.3.3d Extrinsic Inscriptions of Hatshepsut

Examining the textual components, Hatshepsut is cited in two physically different locations. As aforementioned, to the extreme left of the main scene (no. 22), two columns have been partially erased. However, some of the former, and much of the latter is still visible. The reconstruction reads:

Col. 26 - [r(t)-pa(t)?] wrt Hst iAmt wrt [lost portion]

Col. 27 - Hmt nTr Hmt nsw wrt HAt-Spswt ir.n.s m mnw n it.s ddwn
xnt(y) tA-sty ir.s anx.ti Dt

Col. 26 - [the hereditary noble?] Great of Favour, Great of Charm³⁹⁷, great [lost

³⁹⁷ The question of how to interpret this phraseology has been the subject of much debate. Troy (1986, pp. 83-89) convincingly argues for the 'sycamore-fig' as an extension of the Hts-sceptre. While the interposing of the imAt symbol for the Hts-sceptre seems perfectly

portion]

Col. 27 - ...the God's Wife, the King's Great Wife, Hatshepsut, she made (as) monuments for her father, Dedwen, foremost of Nubia, so that she might live forever³⁹⁸

Second, on the far right of the exterior western wall, the inscription above her vilified form reads,

Col. 1 - Dd-mdw sAt.k mrt.k [HAt-Spswt] iwat.k

Col. 2 – mnx Hmt-nTr Hmt-nsw wrt [sAt] prt m [Ha].k

Col. 3 - rnn.n.k s(t) m ib [lost portion] sAt.k pw nt Xt.k

Col. 4 - ir.s n.k mnw [mntwt].s pw xr.k snb nb Ddt nb [lost portion]

(1) Words spoken: "Your daughter, whom you loved [Hatshepsut]. Your beneficent heiress, (2) the God's Wife, King's Great Wife, [the daughter] coming forth from your flesh. (3) You reared her in/with [lost portion] heart. She is your daughter of your body and (4) she made/makes monuments for you. It is her [reward] with you, all health and all stability [lost portion]"³⁹⁹

The first noteworthy aspect is the inclusion, on both the left and right hand sides of the scene of Thutmose III, of the titles Hmt nTr and Hmt nsw wrt. This appears to be in perfect accord with the biography of Ahmose Pen-Nekhet⁴⁰⁰, and one of the key reasons that the Semnah inscriptions have been cited as the "limit after which" the accession of Hatshepsut could have

acceptable, surely the symbolism is meant to reflect the qualities of the queen, rather than merely an implement of royal iconography. To translate the passage as "great of favour, great of the imAt/Hts-sceptre", would be like viewing the crucifix and calling it "two pieces of wood perpendicularly attached to one another" - ignoring its symbolic value(s) as an icon of Christianity. Hence, unless the context specifically requires a translation of "imAt/Hts-sceptre", preference will be given to the adjectival quality "charm". For further discussion of the phraseology 'wrt Hs(w)t, wrt iAmt' see the el-Mahatta inscription (section 3.5.1)

³⁹⁸ Caminos, 1998, p. 78 & pl. 38 (scene 22). By in large, the proposed reconstruction has been accepted, with minor alterations to the translation (Urk. IV: 198.12-16). xnt(y) tA-sty could equally be translated "at the front (north) of Nubia" – referring to the geographical placement of the temple. Also, ir.s anx.ti Dt might have a slightly different connotation along the lines of "causing that she lived forever" – a semantic difference between prospective and participial, or even gerund-like, sentiments.

³⁹⁹ Urk. IV: 201, 5 – 202, 2; Caminos, 1998, pl. 42 and pp. 82ff (esp. fig. 3)

⁴⁰⁰ Specifically Urk. IV: 34.15, although note that the prenomen of Hatshepsut there immediately follows her 'queenly' titles. For more see section 3.7.2.

feasibly occurred⁴⁰¹. On the left-hand side of the exterior western wall, there is the dubiously restored *r(t)-pa(t)*⁴⁰². While hinting at the possibility of Hatshepsut as an heir of the throne, with so much obliterated, and space at a premium, its inclusion is unlikely. Next, we come to the phrase *wrt Hst iAmt* (great of favours, great of charms). Again, this seems to reinforce the titles and duties of a God's Wife and queen⁴⁰³. Indeed, the only statement on the left-hand side that would give pause to the sentiment that Hatshepsut was anything other than a queen is the line "she made monuments for her father"⁴⁰⁴. However, even this may be rationalised by the fact that Hatshepsut as God's Wife would have administrated numerous affairs of state under that role⁴⁰⁵.

Nonetheless, when we turn to examine the hieroglyphics on the right-hand side (scene 23), Hatshepsut is again 'making monuments' for Dedwen⁴⁰⁶. Whether she actually had the edifices constructed, or was about to, is a moot point⁴⁰⁷. The fact that she recorded this feat in two separate places, within the same temple, might just lead one to suspect that Hatshepsut believed she had the power and rights to make such a claim her own. Allusion is also made on the right-hand side of the exterior western wall to the 'Divine Birth' of Hatshepsut. In no fewer than four places are sentiments such as *prt m [Ha].k*⁴⁰⁸, *sAt.k pw nt Xt.k*⁴⁰⁹, and *rnn.n.k s(t) m ib*⁴¹⁰ expressed. It is

⁴⁰¹ Schott, 1955. However, as discussed in 3.7.2, the biography of Ahmose Pen-Nekhbet seems to have been carved retrospectively, limiting the usefulness of this comparison.

⁴⁰² The restoration derives courtesy of Caminos (1998, p.78), himself citing Gauthier, *LDR2*, 240 (xii). While there clearly does not appear to be space for the inclusion of the full title 'hereditary noble' (with final 't's) above or before the phrase *wrt Hst iAmt*, a correlate is clearly evident in the el-Mahatta graffito of Senenmut (cf. Urk. IV: 396.3; Habachi, 1957, fig. 3 top left-hand column).

⁴⁰³ Troy, *loc. cit.*

⁴⁰⁴ Caminos, 1998, scene 22 (LHS), column 27.

⁴⁰⁵ On the role, duties and political capacity of the office of God's Wife in the early New Kingdom, see chapter one (esp. section 1.5.2).

⁴⁰⁶ Caminos, 1998, scene 23 (RHS), column 4. Both instances of temple building clearly offer the monuments to Dedwen. However, this does not preclude the possibility that references to her 'coming forth' and the like pertained to Amun, and not Dedwen.

⁴⁰⁷ Note the comments under the tomb of Ineni (section 3.2.10) where Hatshepsut employs *Hr* + infinitive (Pseudo-Verbal Construction), illustrating activities in progress. The same cannot be said for this inscription; hence any such works are likely placed in the *absolute* past.

⁴⁰⁸ Urk. IV: 201.15

not yet laced with the standard inclusions and omissions that would eventually typify her policy of legitimisation⁴¹¹, although Hatshepsut *is* referred to as an heiress (*iwat.k mnx*)⁴¹². At the very least, it illustrates her links with the gods - principally Amun.

What is more, in almost polar opposition to the inscriptions on the left-hand side of the exterior western wall, the 'queenly' titles of Great King's Wife and God's Wife are now surrounded by statements that would all but define Hatshepsut's office of kingship. While on the left-hand side, one is hard pressed to characterize Hatshepsut as anything more than a queen, on the right-hand side, the inscriptions almost speak of her as a king. Admittedly, neither inscription (left or right) refers to Hatshepsut's administration of the country (save the building references), as they do in Ineni's tomb. But then the art-historical genre is different. For here we have an instance of royal edict, not private decree. Rather than an account of how the bureaucracy saw Hatshepsut, we have an account of how she saw herself (or perhaps more correctly, how she wanted to be seen). Yet, the reliefs on the southern (right-hand) side of the exterior western wall do share one thing in common with the Biography of Ahmose Pen-Nekhbet at least. For very different reasons, they appear to place the title *Hmt-nTr*, in direct association to 'kingly' epithets (or at the very least, non-queenship ones).

Lastly then, there does appear to be one final piece of weak textual evidence that hints at Hatshepsut's kingship intentions. In the fourth column of the southern inscription, Hatshepsut appears to receive the 'stability' (*Dd*) that she did not receive via the pictorial record⁴¹³. A tantalizing thought is that the

⁴⁰⁹ Urk. IV: 201.17

⁴¹⁰ Urk. IV: 201.16

⁴¹¹ The 'Divine Birth' of Hatshepsut is not directly addressed in this work, the subject having been admirably dealt with in the past. For summary, see Graindorge, 1993a. For a detailed analysis refer Daumas, 1958; Brunner, 1964.

⁴¹² Urk. IV: 201.14. Note that while Dorman, 2006, p. 43 translates *iwat* as 'heir', the chiselled out *t* is still clearly evident. Given the lengthy efforts Hatshepsut went to with respect to her 'gender'-transition, the preference here is to err on the side of translating this as 'heiress', and not simply 'heir'.

⁴¹³ Caminos, 1998, pl. 42 (column 4); Urk. IV: 202.2 (note comments above).

appended *t* is actually feminine. This is highly unlikely, however; most probably being either a nominalising of the verb (i.e. 'stability'), or the stative ending *.ti*. Additional counter-arguments would also state that the following *nb* should itself be qualified with an agreeing feminine *t*. Nonetheless, if feminised, the inference would be that stability was provided to Egypt at this time, not by a 'governing' male, but by a 'governing' female⁴¹⁴. This would echo the sentiments already noted in the biography of Ineni.

3.3.3e Summary for the temple of Semnah

In conclusion, both the textual and iconographic representations on the right-hand side suggest that Hatshepsut had begun to stake her claim on the kingship. It does not seem to reflect the fact that Hatshepsut had actually entered the kingship. Nor, when contrasted to Block 287 below, does she even seem to be making firm in-roads per se. Rather she seems to have, retrospectively, tried to illustrate this (successional) process as a part of the normal order of things. Altering canonical scenes such as the crowning of Menkheperre, within a sanctuary like Semnah, would have been a bold statement; one she must have commissioned at a time when she felt safe enough to do so.

Other points of note are that the female-male distinction was echoed via the choice of deity who connected the individual to the office of kingship. Whether the power was forthcoming by the virtue of God's Wife is less clear-cut than in the biography of Ineni. Nonetheless, Hatshepsut's connection to the HDT, as well as the tools of *anx*, *wAs* and *Dd(t)* - in addition to the likely supervision of Thutmose III's affairs and duties - add yet another dimension to an already complicated scenario. Via clauses such as *prt m Ha.k* and *sAt.k pw nt Xt.k*, we seem to be presented with some of the earliest evidence of Hatshepsut's intended policies of legitimisation and, it seems at this juncture, she moves beyond the realm of mere regent and into an as yet undefined space.

⁴¹⁴ This would also compliment *iwat* above.

3.3.4 Upper Court and Colonnade, DEB (Cat. 2.9)

The upper court, adjoining chambers, upper colonnade and sanctuary at Deir el-Bahri are a minefield of carved and re-carved iconography and epigraphy. Most of the cartouches containing the name Thutmose II are re-carved⁴¹⁵. Those of Thutmose III are a mix of palimpsest and *in situ* carving⁴¹⁶. As for Hatshepsut, she appears primarily with her Horus name – *w*srt-*k*A*w*⁴¹⁷. In some instances, the *k*A of Thutmose II (re-carved) is present⁴¹⁸. In yet other instances, one of the alternate forms of Thutmose III – Menkheperkare – is visible⁴¹⁹. Thutmose II litters the western wall niches with his re-carved prenomen (Aakheperenre) and, in plate CXXXII, the *k*A of Thutmose II (including re-carved Horus name) stands before an ithyphallic Amun. The table itself seems to have been re-carved over a king, to judge by the Swty-crown jutting out from above the table (and the Nekhbet-wings with *s*A-symbol protecting the crown). The two cartouches above have either been re-carved (Thutmose II prenomen, likely replacing Maatkare) or erased (likely Hatshepsut's nomen, only the *Imn* still being visible)⁴²⁰. What this means for the present investigation, is that the upper court at Deir el-Bahri is likely to be very taxing in its analysis as regards either providing strength for, or against, the current research question.

Delving deeper into the epigraphy and imagery, plate CXXXVII is of great interest. Here, parallel inscriptions run along either side of the granite doorway (external face) of the sanctuary. While Menkheperre Thutmose has been re-carved on both sides, the preceding inscriptions read:

Wsrt kAw nbt xat di.t(w) anx.ti nsw-bity nbt tAwy nbt irt xt Mn-xpr-ra mi Ra

⁴¹⁵ Naville, *DeB*, 1906, pls. CXXXIV and CXXXVI

⁴¹⁶ For an example of an untouched cartouche, note Naville, *DeB*, 1906, pl. CXX (upper right).

⁴¹⁷ Usually with her *k*A – e.g. Naville, *DeB*, 1906, pl. CXXXI

⁴¹⁸ Naville, *DeB*, 1906, pl. CXXXII

⁴¹⁹ Naville, *DeB*, 1906, pl. CXXX (the location here being the south-west vestibule, and this particular occurrence seems to be untouched. This location also seems to have the greatest number of re-carved Thutmose II cartouches – see also Cat. 2.8, brief comments in section 3.3.5 below and Roth, 2005, pp. 156-157).

⁴²⁰ An example of both Thutmose II and III together, in the same scene, is Naville, *DeB*, 1906, pl. CXXXIII. Here, we have two opposing images – Menkheperre on the right, Aakheperenre on the left.

sAt Ra n Xt.f mr.f nb xps DHwty-ms Dt

Powerful of Souls, Lady of Diadems, one caused that you live, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lady of the Two Lands, Lady of Doing Things, Menkheperre (sic.), like Re. Daughter of Re, of his flesh (and) whom he loved, Lord (sic. Lady) of Strength, Thutmose (sic.), forever

Not only is Hatshepsut clearly referred to as 'Lady of the Two Lands, Lady of Diadems, Lady of Doing Things, Daughter of Re', but she is stated as being the King of Upper and Lower Egypt – in all likelihood referred to by her prenomen. Moreover, the architrave above the granite doorway has a restored MAat-kA-Ra on the left-hand-side (as well as a poorly erased wsrt-kAw with standard behind a kneeling Hatshepsut, who is herself before Amun)⁴²¹. Thus, within the context of the sanctuary, Hatshepsut seems to have already been crowned king, and adorns the regal protocols befitting a monarch of ancient Egypt. This reminds us of the discourse in chapter one, where the arguments of Dorman and Wysocki seemed at odds around a potential date of carving for Deir el-Bahri⁴²². Taken at face value, irrespective of whether one favours a year two or seven accession date, it would seem as though Hatshepsut commenced the construction of Dsr Dsrw after she had been crowned king. Further substantiating Dorman's original arguments are the northern and southern pillar scenes which seem to depict Horus and Thoth officiating the entrance into the kingship⁴²³. The erased name is given as Maatkare in two fragmentary instances, 'purifying' is mentioned on both plates, and Hatshepsut – with an overly feminine facial representation – is noted holding a Hs-jar in plate CXXXIX.

Hatshepsut's parents are evident, as is her young daughter, whose broken cartouche is visible in the lower right corner of the plate⁴²⁴. These are most

⁴²¹ Naville, *DeB*, 1906, pl. CXXXVIII

⁴²² Dorman, 1988, pp. 36-37; Wysocki, 1986, pp. 226-228.

⁴²³ Naville, *DeB*, 1906, pls. CXXXIX (Thoth) and CXL (Horus). With respect to Horus and Thoth (deputising as Seth) as kings who not only ritualistically officiated the future office holder entering the kingship, but also performed the ritual libation, utilising 'tools' of kingship, refer Smith, 2005.

⁴²⁴ Naville, *DeB*, 1906, pl. CXLV. Neferure wears the sidelock of youth, identifying her age.

easily explained as part of the coronation ceremony (albeit honorary in spirit and long-since deceased), as opposed to any other plausible explanation. Even Thutmose III offering milk to Amun (plate CXXI) and Hatshepsut presenting to her deified self (plate CXLVI) can be rationalised as a part of the greater overall process of accession and coronation⁴²⁵. Moreover, this latter plate has already been the subject of past scholarly debate in-so-far as it perhaps ought to contain the actual date of accession, and does not⁴²⁶.

Notwithstanding, there are two slightly perplexing scenes in amidst all the imagery of supposed coronation. First, is plate CXLVII where Queen Ahmes sits, cartouche above her head, in receipt of funerary offerings. The parents have already been noted in an earlier plate/scene⁴²⁷, and it is perhaps not overly surprising that Hatshepsut chose to honour her mother; both in the most holy of locations to her, and within scenes of her penultimate act. However, that she chose not to do likewise for her father seems telling. More convincing as a counter argument, is the imagery at the end of the north wall in the sanctuary. Thutmose II, his kA, and what appears to be an *in situ* version of his Horus name (kA-nxt wsr-pHty) can clearly be seen⁴²⁸. Were the iconography re-carved – particularly the Horus name – this scene would be easy to discard. Yet, the fact it does not seem to have suffered the same debasement as many other instances, and its location within the sanctuary, begs the question about why it was included in a plethora of depictions of Hatshepsut either as king, deified ruler or undergoing kingship transformation. Parallels to Semnah temple do not seem to be immediately apparent, and it remains to be seen whether connections between the upper court and Block 287 can be made. At this stage, it does seem as though the weight of evidence for construction favours Peter Dorman's assessment, at least as far as the process of relief painting and carving goes (i.e. the architecture stages could have been begun/completed well in advance of the artwork being

⁴²⁵ On the matter of kings deifying themselves, and offering to their deified form, note the study on Ramesses II by Habachi (1969).

⁴²⁶ Dorman, 1988, pp. 24-25 (and references within). This matter was discussed in chapter one, when reviewing the past academic literature.

⁴²⁷ Naville, *DeB*, 1906, pl. CXLV

⁴²⁸ Naville, *DeB*, 1906, pl. CXLIV

added). But the upper court reliefs do also seem to add to the argument built here, in that the examples of *in situ* epigraphy and iconography demonstrate a picture that is far from obvious, and certainly not as clear-cut as the biography of Ineni with respect to notions of regency, or even co-regency.

3.3.5 Chapel dedicated to Thutmose I, DEB (Cat. 2.8)

Plates CXXX through CXLVII of Naville have been covered in the section above⁴²⁹. Those on the eastern upper court – plates CLXVI and CLXVII⁴³⁰ – are first introduced in the section on Block 287 from the Chapelle Rouge, and are detailed further in the coronation scenes from that same Karnak chapel. Of primary interest here, are the few scenes from Naville that depict Hatshepsut's offerings to her father. The false door (plate CXXX) will not be discussed any further, as it is standard in its formula and contributes nothing beyond what has already been said, to the present investigation. Equally, plates CXXVII and CXXVIII are of little service⁴³¹. Ultimately then, only one further plate will be commented upon here.

Plate CXXIX has but two, minor, points of interest. The content on the left broken, and that on the right representing typical funerary offerings for Aakheperkare (his cartouche is visible in the middle of the plate), it is the mid-portion of the scene that commands attention. Thutmose (presumably) seated on the throne, his humanoid *kA* behind him, it is the *smA*-symbol that is most glaring. Completely normal for any ruler of Egypt, its inclusion under the throne of her father, was clearly intentional – the concept of protecting and supporting Egypt quite literally being played out in the iconography. More than this, that Hatshepsut sought to portray it in the upper colonnade, and then again in the northern middle colonnade as part of her accession date epigraphy, does make one wonder about whether she was trying to set a visual precedent via her father, to substantiate its later usage in her ritual of

⁴²⁹ DeB, 1906, pt. 5

⁴³⁰ Naville, DeB, 1908, pt. 6

⁴³¹ The former consists of "funeral genii", and the latter has each of the nomes, represented in human-form with name above their head, bringing gifts to Thutmose I (Naville, DeB, 1906)

coronation⁴³².

3.3.6 Block 287 from the Chapelle Rouge (Cat. 2.2)

With the review of this artefactual piece, one of the single hardest undertakings in terms of (re-)examining the reign of Hatshepsut is begun; that being to investigate her purported ‘accession’ and/or coronation⁴³³. Before commencing properly, two caveats need to be set down. First, this section cannot be viewed in isolation. It must, necessarily, be viewed alongside at least three other corpi of material evidence:

1. The *Texte de la Jeunesse* – here referred to only as plates 56 and 57 of Naville (section 3.6.5)⁴³⁴
2. The year 7 ostraca from the tomb of Ramose and Hatnofer (section 3.6.2), which have been used by many to place a terminus for the assumption of kingly powers by Hatshepsut⁴³⁵.
3. Supposed ‘coronation’ scenes from the upper court at Deir el-Bahri⁴³⁶

The second caveat, is that it must not be assumed that Hatshepsut actually observed, and/or celebrated a coronation. This is not to deny, for example, the reliefs depicted on the northern side of the middle colonnade at Deir el-Bahri (section 3.6.5), but rather to draw attention to the fact that, given the irregularity of so many of Hatshepsut’s scenes (and her reign in general), it is equally likely her accession and coronation were also atypical⁴³⁷.

⁴³² For the smA-symbol on the northern middle colonnade, refer section 3.6.5f (Urk. IV: 262.8; Naville, *DeB*, 1898, pt. 3, plate LXIII). For its use in the Punt scenes, cf. Naville, *DeB*, 1898, pt. 3, plate LXXVI, where Hatshepsut herself takes the form of the smA-symbol, while the wrw n Pwnt present her with tributes (Urk. IV: 330.10-17 and 331.1-332.2 for adjacent texts). Finally, note the epigraphy again employed in Scarab 217 (chapter four, section 4.7.2). One also wonders if this particular iconography evolved, given the examples above. It is not beyond the realm of plausibility that it was first introduced into her reign via the image of her father, cemented as a device during her fictitious coronation, personified by her post-coronation and then adopted ad-nauseum on artefactual items such as scarabs later.

⁴³³ The intention here is not to review the age-old question of whether or not accession and coronation were the same thing. For general comments on the matter, see Redford, 1967, pp. 3-27 (esp. pp. 3-4 where he openly states that “Krönungstag has been used where Regierungsantritt would have been more correct). To this one could add Barta (1980, pp. 33-53) with respect to the subject of kingly regalia being adorned after the actual accession.

⁴³⁴ Naville, 1898, *DeB*, Pt. 3.

⁴³⁵ E.g. Dorman, 1988, pp. 34, 43-5

⁴³⁶ Purportedly Naville, 1908, *DeB*, Pt. 6, pls. CLXVI & CLXVII (refer sections 3.3.5, 3.6.4)

⁴³⁷ Dorman (2006, pp. 55-56 & fn.121) himself acknowledges “there is no direct evidence that Hatshepsut arranged a coronation for herself, on New Years Day or any other”. Further, that any pictorial or textual evidence of such an event was “patently nonhistorical and was understood as such by Hatshepsut’s contemporaries”. While this latter comment - said of the

Turning to the block in question, the process of re-examination begins with a contextualisation of the extant remains and a re-translation of the text. As per the excellent reconstruction of Lacau and Chevrier, we can now be fairly certain that Block 287 was originally located on the northern side of the Chapelle Rouge, probably in the second register from the base, and closer to the western, than eastern, end⁴³⁸. However, its precise placement within the temple complex is still obscure, being described by the authors as “position incertaine”⁴³⁹. There are no blocks that directly abut number 287, nor are there direct correlations to this block from other material recovered to date associated with the Chapelle Rouge. Contextually, it stands alone⁴⁴⁰. With regard to the text, from Appendix Plate XLa, one can see that Block 287 contains seven lines of text. However, for ease of translation and comparison, the format employed by Lacau and Chevrier is followed – that being to translate the passage over nine lines⁴⁴¹.

Line 1 – aAt wrt m-bAH-a nTr pn nfr

... [subject lost] greatly, in the presence of this good god⁴⁴²

Line 2 – Hr sr n.i nsyt tAwy rsy mHy Xr snDw.i

‘coronation’ scenes at Deir el-Bahri - must be taken with a pinch of salt (we being unable to deduce what the ancient Egyptians themselves felt), the former comment is accurate in-so-far as no archaeological evidence, aside from the scenes aforementioned, proves she had a coronation.

⁴³⁸ Lacau and Chevrier, 1977-79, vol. 2, plate 1 where an entire cross section of the temple and placement of all blocks is presented (partially reproduced as Appendix, Plate XLb). They review the northern and southern registers from pp. 92-263 (registers 2-8), with the “Geographique” discussed from pp. 69-92. The “Texte Historique” runs from pp. 129-153.

⁴³⁹ Lacau and Chevrier, p. 133. The next nearest blocks are nos. 161 and 72; their placement being determined on grounds of similarities and comparisons with scenes and texts from Hatshepsut’s mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahri (*op. cit.*, pp. 92-6). See also Appendix, Plate XLc.

⁴⁴⁰ Despite the best efforts of Lacau and Chevrier (1977-79, pp. 92-96) and the iterations of Dorman (1988, p. 22) that its content fits within the “historical text”, one cannot deny that contextually it stands alone. See also the discussion by Gillen, 2005a & 2005b; el-Sayed & Martinez, 1993, pp. 56-8. Add also the more recent work of Burgos and Larché, 2006-8 (esp. vol. 1, pp. 40, 96-97 where they place the block slightly differently – hopping it over blocks 63, 19, and 161 and situating it between blocks 63 and 21). Their recent re-assessment does not change the fact that Block 287 rests by itself.

⁴⁴¹ Comments here will be reserved to comparisons with the translation of Lacau and Chevrier (1977-79, p. 134-5) and Dorman (1988, p. 22), who largely follows the earlier scholars (note that Dorman, 2005, p. 56 also presents a portion of his earlier work in this later publication). Comments drawing in other scholars (e.g. Schott, 1955; Meyer, 1982; Yoyotte, 1968) will be left for the discussion that follows. Note also the revision by Helck, 1995, pp. 25-6 and the more recent translation offered by Gillen, 2005b, pp. 15-28 (with Block 287 on p. 22)

⁴⁴² Lacau and Chevrier (1977-79, p. 134) and Dorman (1988, p.22) both prefer the translation “très grand [oracle]” for the former part of the sentence.

(concerning) the foretelling (of) the Kingship of the Two Lands for me; the southerners and northerners under my fear⁴⁴³

Line 3 – Hr dit n.i xAswt nbt Hr sHDt nxwt Hmt.i

(concerning) the giving of all foreign lands to me; illuminating the victories of my majesty⁴⁴⁴

Line 4 – rnpt 2 Abd 2 prt sw 29 3-nw n(y) Hb Imn xft nn wdnw sxmt 2-nw

Year 2, 2nd month of Peret, day 29, the 3rd day of the festival of Amun; at the time of these offerings of Sakhmet on day 2⁴⁴⁵

Line 5 – m sr n(.i) tAwy m wsxt nt Ipt rsy

(there was)⁴⁴⁶ a foretelling of the Two Lands for me, in the 'broad hall' of Luxor Temple (southern Opet)⁴⁴⁷

Line 6 – ist Hm.f Hr biAyt m-bAH-a nTr pn nfr⁴⁴⁸

Indeed⁴⁴⁹, his majesty 'marvelled' in the presence of this good god⁴⁵⁰

Line 7 – xat it(.i)? m Hb.f nfr Imn Hr(y)-tp nTrw

The appearance⁴⁵¹ of the (my?) father in his beautiful festival; Amun, chief of the gods

⁴⁴³ Dorman (1988, p. 122) prefers "proclaiming for me the kingship of the two lands". Note the discussions below over the nature of the term sr

⁴⁴⁴ Introduced under the biography of Ineni is the largely Pseudo-Verbal (i.e. Hr+Infinitive) usage of the verbal forms. Both Hr sr and Hr dit are the predicate of a Pseudo-Verbal Construction, thereby echoing this gerund-like grammatical structure from that earlier document and lending support to the argument of Hatshepsut performing actions in the 'here-and-now'.

⁴⁴⁵ cf. Lacau and Chevrier, 1977-79, p. 135, note (h) for comments on this festival occasion and the events of these days. Of interest is that the date is very precise.

⁴⁴⁶ While m sr is also the predicate of the PVC, it seems to have a narrative style and lends to a translation of 'il y a....' (there is/was such and such)

⁴⁴⁷ Lacau and Chevrier (1977-79, p.134) = "qui fut (celui me) me promettre les Deux-Terres"

Dorman (1988, p.22) prefers the translation here of 'ordination' for the verb sr. For comments on Luxor being the venue and not Karnak, see below.

⁴⁴⁸ While in some locations (e.g. year 5 Sinai stela; cf. **Table 11**), it is Thutmose III named as nTr nfr, here it may well refer to Hatshepsut (see discussion below), and not Amun.

⁴⁴⁹ Note the inversion here of the 's' and the 't' (cf. Gardiner, 2001, p. 177)

⁴⁵⁰ It is at this point a divergence from both Lacau and Chevrier as well as Dorman, occurs. An alternative translation to this and line 9 around the translation of the word biAyt; and indeed the perception of the text as a whole, is offered. Lacau and Chevrier (1977-79, p. 134-5, notes k, l) = "voici que Sa Majeste (le dieu Amon) rendit un oracle en presence de ce dieu bon"; Dorman (1988, p. 22) translates in an identical fashion, and makes the same assumption – namely that the Hm.f here refers to the god Amun. The real question is who is standing is who's presence, and who is being referred to as the 'good god'?

⁴⁵¹ Both a sDm.tw.f and sDm.f do not work in this case – the former because the verb cannot be passive (one must actually perform the appearing), the latter because the t is clear and apparent. Nor can this be assumed to be Stative, as the final .ti would render the subject it(.i) redundant. Indeed, when compared with the rest of the document, the word here must naturally be an infinitive, finalised in gerund-fashion with the standard t. Thus, there are essentially two nouns juxtaposed (Lacau and Chevrier, 1977-79, p. 135, note (m) more or less conclude the same thing. It is only Dorman (1988, p. 22) who prefers a different translation). As for the final .i that may or may not have been appended to the word 'father'; such is a minor point, and not worth deliberating over.

Line 8 – wn.in.f Hr itt Hmt(.i) [lost portion] n nswt mnx

Then he seized my majesty [lost portion] of the beneficial (-ient) king⁴⁵²

Line 9 – saSA.n.f biAyt Hr.i xft-Hr-n tA r-Dr.f

After he multiplied the wonders/marvels of my face in the presence of the entire land⁴⁵³

The text now presented, the discussions will focus on the following:

1. What was the purpose/function of the passage (specifically the purpose of the word 'sr' and the exact meaning of biAyt)
2. Who is discussed within the document (e.g. the nature of the word Hm, the possible inclusion of Thutmose III, and the 'imperfective' style)
3. The location of the text (Luxor versus Karnak temples)⁴⁵⁴
4. Any other correlations⁴⁵⁵

The style of the block is such that there were two halves to the passage. Lines 1-3 constitute a formulaic notation whereby a particular king is indeed foretold with respect to the kingship. It drips hyperbole and essentially could have related to any king that ruled Egypt. Lines 4-9, however, take the concept of 'foretelling' and place specific parameters around it; that being a very precise date, not only in terms of year/month/day but also within the context of a specified festival occasion. Further, the events which transpired at that occasion seem to have been recounted for our benefit. Each of these

⁴⁵² Lacau and Chevrier (1977-79, p. 134-5, note (o)) restore this as "dans la suite", which Dorman (1988, p. 22) again literally adopts.

⁴⁵³ This is the other very contentious line, again containing the word biAyt. Lacau and Chevrier (1977-79, p. 134) = "et il multiplia les oracles me concernant à la face de la terre entière". They acknowledge the sDm.n.f form and its pronoun, whereas Dorman (1988, p. 22) does not (he translates it as "multiplying", in a more infinitive style). Both scholars believe that the Hr.i is prepositional in nature and, given the orthography, one is want to agree with their argument. The greatest issue here being, if it is, then the nominal direct object (biAyt) actually preceded the pronominal Hr.i, highly irregular at best. Notwithstanding, if one accepts their translation of the passage in this way, then the translation of xft-Hr-n must be literal, with respect to the Hr.i. Either way, it does not alter the debate below about the precise usage of the word biAyt. Further, if one pauses for a moment to consider the context of the king in the Luxor temple, Amun before him performing all manner of wondrous act, then the 'marvelling' of and before the face of the king is not outside the realms of probability.

⁴⁵⁴ On a side note, Hatshepsut's vast number of Karnak temples/chapels has caused past scholars some confusion over the years. For example, Nims (1955, pp. 113-115) where, while offering ultimately useful comments, he refers to Hatshepsut's plethora of chapels under the rubric of the 'Hatshepsut sanctuary' (excepting the Chapelle Rouge).

⁴⁵⁵ E.g. *La Texte de la Jeunesse*, the temple of Semnah, and sed-festival connections.

passages is introduced with the word *sr*, meaning 'to predict', 'to pre-tell', or 'to foretell'⁴⁵⁶. Thus, in spite of the best efforts of Schott and Meyer to argue for this text as heralding the commencement of Hatshepsut's kingship, the prophetic nature of the document appears to be utilised in its very structure⁴⁵⁷. However, that the block is prophetic in nature does not mean it cannot change tone and syntax throughout to illustrate events that actually did eventuate, post-prophecy. Moreover, prophetic does not equal 'oracular'; that is to say, to describe events that were (and probably did) eventuate, does not necessarily mean that these events were 'foretold by a specific individual or deity'.

The word *biAyt* has been employed by earlier scholars to denote the idea of the king in question receiving an oracle from Amun⁴⁵⁸. Its accepted use as 'oracle' derives largely from an article published by Posener, with respect to the sage Amenemopet⁴⁵⁹. However, both Lesko and Erman/Grapow struggle with this evaluation⁴⁶⁰. Gillen, in a recent publication, has offered the consideration of *biAyt* as merely a part of the oracle, and not its entirety. He concludes, more along the lines of the present enquiry, that the word should be translated as 'wonder'⁴⁶¹. He also deduces that the process of "divine oracle" required three components - an action, a consequence and a divine 'favour'. The *biAyt*, in Gillen's belief, constituted only the latter of these three⁴⁶². When compared with words such as *nDwt-r* and *xrtw*, *biAyt* does

⁴⁵⁶ Wb. IV: 189-190 where the words *vorhersagen* and *vorkunden* are preferred over *voraussagen*, in spite of the latter being a synonym of the former. However, the connotation is clear, as is well-attested in such Middle Kingdom documents as the "Shipwrecked Sailor" (Blackman, 1932, pp. 41-48, line 13 on the first page for example where the foretelling of a 'stormwind' is discussed. For translation see Simpson, Faulkner & Wente, 1973, pp. 50-56). Finally, note the (unconvincing) arguments of Cannuyer, 1990 who prefers to see *sr* as "to announce, to proclaim".

⁴⁵⁷ Meyer (1982, p. 25) attempts to counter the interpretation of this document as 'prophetic' by employing examples of Ramesses II to demonstrate that *sr* can be used of inscriptions already past in relative time (one naturally presumes they were already past in absolute time, in order for the prophecy to be true). However, the weight of evidence for this is against Meyer, as Dorman (1988, p. 27) has already argued.

⁴⁵⁸ In this text, lines 6 and 9 (and accompanying footnotes).

⁴⁵⁹ Posener, 1963, pp. 98-102

⁴⁶⁰ Lesko *LED*, Vol. I, p. 151; Wb. I, pp. 440-1 where it is nowhere translated as *orakel*, but rather as *ein Wunder*. See also Kákosy, 1982, p. 602; Kruchten, 2001, pp. 609-612 (this author prefers to think of *biAyt* as an 'omen', a curious interpretation).

⁴⁶¹ Gillen, 2005a, pp. 7-14

⁴⁶² 2005a, p. 12 for summative comments. While his discussion throughout does incorporate

appear somewhat different in terms of orthography. The former seems to employ a quasi-religious symbol of possible secular origin⁴⁶³; the latter contains in most instances the Horus-Standard, more clearly presenting itself as a word associated with kingship or its prophesizing⁴⁶⁴. While not definitive, it does beg the question as to whether or not scholars should read this 'foretelling' as an actual 'oracle of Amun'. Notwithstanding, there does appear to be a direct parallel between Block 287 and the foretelling by Amun of Thutmose III as king⁴⁶⁵. In this instance, both prophecy and foretelling seem to be implied within the one word - *sr*. Such does not counter the arguments above with regard to the term *biAyt*, but does strengthen the argument for Block 287 as prophetic⁴⁶⁶.

Moving to the question of royal protagonist, a return to the original notion (this time in support of Schott and Meyer), is advocated. Specifically, that the primary person described was indeed Hatshepsut. The key reason for doing so is that in two instances the word 'majesty' is feminised (*Hmt*)⁴⁶⁷. It is surprising that so many have reviewed this document, and not one has commented on this fact. Now the immediate counter-argument to this is that in line six there is a third employment of 'majesty', this time without final *t*.

several blocks from Lacau and Chevrier's 'Historical Inscription' (1977-79, plate 6 and pp. 92-153), he himself notes that "there are many occurrences of *biA.yt* in the *Chapelle Rouge* inscription unconnected to an oracle that may serve to modify and further our understanding of the term" (Gillen, 2005a, p. 11). Finally, his translation of Block 287 (Gillen, 2005b, p. 22) is very traditional, following Dorman (1988) and Lacau & Chevrier (1977-79) in most cases.

⁴⁶³ Its dubious classification is noted by Gardiner (2001, p. 563). However, it has been afforded the translation of 'oracle' by both compendiums cited thus far (*Wb*. II, p. 372; Lesko, *LED*, vol. II, p. 42). Further, it has been discussed in this manner under the reign of Thutmose III by Parker & Černý, 1962, pp. 35-36. Gillen (2005a, p. 8) considers that it might be a "divine consultation ... concerning matters of [the] state". Indeed, when compared to the Punt expedition for example (*Urk*. IV: 342. 9-12), one can see that this version is placed within the context of a petition (*spr*) in the palace; the *nDwt-r* appended at the end of the request.

⁴⁶⁴ Lesko, *LED*, vol. II, p. 191, 193. Note also its employment in I. E. S. Edwards *Appendix* to Gunn, 1955, where on p. 100, line 12 it is used in oracular fashion (Cairo 46891 for the 'Board of Neskmons'). Also the comments in Gardiner, 1956, where on pp. 16-17 he discusses a curious variant of *xrtw*.

⁴⁶⁵ Noted by Dorman (1988, p. 28), the precise passage being contained in *Urk*. IV: 180.10-12. It is followed three lines later with the actual date of Thutmose III's coronation and, while this might appear to strengthen the case of Schott and Meyer, the content is radically different; the text of Thutmose III describing the office of kingship and gods involved in the transference of kingship.

⁴⁶⁶ That Hatshepsut had 'foretellings' is a point also argued by other scholars. For example, Hornung, 1996, p. 142; Brunner, 1964, pp. 35-58 and plate 4.

⁴⁶⁷ Lines 3 and 8.

Further, this occurrence illustrates a change in pronoun, from first to third person⁴⁶⁸. It seems largely for this reason, and the translation of biAyt as 'oracle', that both Dorman and Lacau/Chevrier argued for this phrase referring to Amun. But what if it actually referred to Thutmose III? What if, the young monarch, hardly a few years old, was present at this ritualistic occasion? Let us assume for a moment that he was. The reconstruction of the passage would then run as follows:

Lines 1-3: Hyperbole setting the scene for the foretelling of a (new) monarch – that king being Hatshepsut.

Lines 4-5: The precise placement of events, both in time and space (the latter within the Luxor temple). The change in tone here seems to suggest that, while the passage was prophetic, the actual events described did take place in the location, time and year set down. This strengthens the argument for a recording of the prophecy post-event, countering the sentiments of Meyer.

Line 6: Thutmose III 'marvels' at the form of the 'good god', most likely Hatshepsut in regalia within Luxor temple⁴⁶⁹

Line 7: Amun appears (hence the 'good god' being Hatshepsut, not Amun)⁴⁷⁰

Lines 8-9: the commencement of the bestowing of 'kingly powers' and magnificence to Hatshepsut

So what then, can be offered in support of this radical supposition? This is where the investigation must necessarily turn to the location of Luxor, the sed-festival and the comparison with later documents to complete the picture. Recently, at least one scholar has tackled the onerous question of both the structure and function of Luxor temple, as well as the precise nature of the

⁴⁶⁸ The point that Block 287 utilised first person, and the coronation scenes of Hatshepsut on the Chapelle Rouge employed third person pronouns respectively, is one of the contentions Yoyotte (1968) has with Schott's (1955) evaluation of Block 287 referring to the coronation of Hatshepsut. While this point largely remains true, a point put forward here is that the style of Block 287 is more of a 'staggered first person' - often employing the dative construction to achieve its effect. Additionally, it can alternate between first and third person, as here-demonstrated. Lastly, that both of these facts combined with the two-fold structure and largely imperfective nature of the inscription make Yoyotte's original point a little less solid than it might first appear (both points being argued above).

⁴⁶⁹ Note also supporting comments as per statue BM 1513 in sub-section 4.6.3.

⁴⁷⁰ The structural change in line 4 from hyperbole into 'actual event' (fully effected in line 5), the narrative-style of line 5 carrying this forward, and the choice of verb (xat) in line 7 to introduce Amun are all arguments in support of the fact that it was at this stage Amun entered the scene. To be sure, Amun either actually or figuratively 'appeared' at this later time (line 7), and it is for this very reason it is difficult to accept the notion of Amun appearing earlier in line six. Finally, note that while Schott (1955) seems to have been tempted to view this passage in light of the xay-nsu, there is no precedence of the phrase "appearance of the/my father" being used in reference to the coronation of the king.

Opet festival held annually within it⁴⁷¹. Lanny Bell, describes Luxor temple as:

“Two temples in one, serving two different manifestations of the god. The small *Opet* Temple proper was the dwelling place of the mysterious Amenemopet of Luxor, and the much larger *Opet*-festival Annex – all of Luxor Temple north of the Hidden Sanctuary – was, in essence, an elaborate barque shrine for accommodating Amun-Re of Karnak and his full entourage during his annual visit to Luxor”⁴⁷².

Nowhere within his examination or discussion does Luxor temple appear as a place for the formal coronation and ‘handing-over’ of the kingship⁴⁷³. While Meyer tried to argue that the coronation of Horemheb illustrated Luxor could be used as a venue of coronation, this is also not proven by the evidence⁴⁷⁴. Even Gardiner believed the actual moment of Horemheb’s coronation most likely occurred at Luxor, and not Karnak⁴⁷⁵. But then this too contradicts the very nature of the inscription of Horemheb, which states in line 13:

DAi.n hr m Haawt r WAsT niwt nb nHH sA.f m qni.f r Ipt-swt r bs.f
m-bAH Imn r swAD n.f iAt.f n nswt⁴⁷⁶

Then Horus proceeded, amid rejoicing to Thebes, the city of the Lord of Eternity, his son in his embrace, to Karnak, in order to induct him in the presence of Amun, and in order to hand over to him his office of kingship.

Assuredly, Amen-of-Opet is attested in the inscription, as is the festival of Opet itself. However, the god of kingship – Horus – is specifically cited as proceeding to Karnak with the king in his embrace, in order to induct him into the kingship⁴⁷⁷. This is not to deny the importance of Luxor temple with

⁴⁷¹ Bell, 1997, pp. 127-184

⁴⁷² 1997, p. 179

⁴⁷³ As for example Schott (1955, p. 213) tries to argue. He states that there was one coronation ceremony at Karnak (perhaps represented by the scenes at Deir el-Bahri?), and another at Luxor, attested by Block 287 on the Chapelle Rouge. However, this is not tenable based upon our current understanding of Luxor temple, to say the least.

⁴⁷⁴ 1982, pp. 23-24

⁴⁷⁵ Gardiner, 1953, p. 25

⁴⁷⁶ Gardiner, 1953, plate II and p. 15

⁴⁷⁷ Dorman (1988, pp. 25-26) argues the same point, albeit from a different direction. He

regard to the 'rejuvenation' of the king and his royal *kA*, but rather to draw a distinction between the act of coronation, and the related acts of jubilee and incarnation. Indeed, Luxor must have played a pivotal role during the ceremony of coronation, as it was at this time the divine aspect of a mortal king was fused and/or rebirthed anew⁴⁷⁸. However, it does not appear to have been the 'place of coronation' *par excellence*. Notwithstanding, it does appear as if many kings, Horemheb included, attempted to time their 'moment of coronation' with the Opet festival - the time when the god-king of Egypt was worshipped in his pure divine form of "living royal *ka*"⁴⁷⁹.

Comparisons with Deir el-Bahri yield a possible answer. In over half-a-dozen scenes at Dsr-Dsrw she and/or Thutmose III appear in 'joint' scenes, many of which discuss the sed-festival. Moreover, within the northern portion of the middle colonnade, in the precise location where the *Texte de la Jeunesse* and successional scenes of Hatshepsut are displayed, there are textual and pictorial representations of, what appears to be, an early joint sed-festival⁴⁸⁰. While not definitively linked to Luxor – scholars debating the merits of Karnak and Luxor as the temple of the sed-festival *par excellence*⁴⁸¹ – the essence of what the festival stood for (the rebirth and rejuvenation of the divine *kA* of the king), is a feature directly attributable to Luxor temple. Pausing momentarily to recall the comments of previous scholars that the middle colonnade is not the right portion of Deir el-Bahri to be comparing with the Chapelle Rouge (already outlined in the Literature Review - section 1.2)⁴⁸², a key difference

(correctly) argues that the conferment of the 'tools' of kingship occurred within the palace, itself situated within Karnak. There is no reference to the terms *sr* or *biAyt* in the coronation inscription of Horemheb, further illustrating the fundamental differences between Block 287 and accepted coronation inscriptions (the former also noted by Dorman, 1988, pp. 26-28)

⁴⁷⁸ Bell, 1997, pp. 137-144. Add in general his earlier work – Bell, 1985 and see comments in sub-section 3.4.1c

⁴⁷⁹ Bell, 1997, pp. 179-180; Dorman, 1988, p. 26. This is also a fundamental proponent of the arguments made by Barta (1980).

⁴⁸⁰ Naville, 1898, *DeB*, Vol. III, pls. 65-66. These pillar scenes immediately preface the coronation of Hatshepsut (plates 60-62, with the date in plate 63). A more detailed examination of this evidence is presented later in the chapter (3.6.5g)

⁴⁸¹ In general, Shafer, 1997, pp. 26-27; Murnane, 1981, pp. 369-376; Hornung and Staehelin, 1974; Uphill, 1961, pp. 365-383. On the sed-festival of Thutmose III depicted on his Akh-Menu temple at Karnak, see Haeny, 1997, p. 99 and fn. 71.

⁴⁸² Dorman, 1988, pp. 24-25; Meyer, 1982, pp. 22-27; Yoyotte, 1968; Lacau and Chevrier, 1977-79, pp. 92ff.

exists between that former argument, and the present one. Meyer, Dorman, Yoyotte and Lacau were all attempting to prove/disprove the date of coronation for Hatshepsut and its recording (or lack thereof) across the two temples. This is not being done here. While it is agreed that, if the Block 287 date were to appear at Deir el-Bahri, as a coronation date, one would definitely expect to find it on the upper colonnade/court, if Block 287 actually does not depict the (prophetic) crowning of Hatshepsut, then the question becomes how else might it be viewed?⁴⁸³

Returning to the comparison with the sed-jubilee, Thutmose had barely been crowned king, so the festival cannot have been his. As for Hatshepsut, she had yet to observe a coronation herself, irrespective of which camp (year two or seven) one subscribes to. And if Luxor is argued as a place where rejuvenation occurred, but not coronation, then what does Block 287 demonstrate? The answer seems to be that, at Luxor, the kingship was rejuvenated (in sed-festival style) to incorporate Hatshepsut's divine essence – fundamentally altering the kingship of Thutmose III. In short, it is at this point Hatshepsut embarked upon her campaign to enter the kingship. The ceremony depicted seems to usher in a period of some years through which Hatshepsut sought to define herself within the office of kingship, effectively casting aside the yoke of governance (regency)⁴⁸⁴. Thutmose III was naturally party to this, as the crowned king, and if the assessment of lines six-seven is accurate, he may well have borne witness to the ritual itself. In sum, Block 287 seems to illustrate (prophetically at least) the commencement of a process that incorporated the rebirth of Hatshepsut into the kingship, with Luxor temple as paramount to that process⁴⁸⁵.

3.3.7 Summary

⁴⁸³ Note also that Naville, *DeB*, 1908, pls. CLXVI-CLXVII contain little in common with Block 287. Those parallels that do exist are briefly mentioned under the Chapelle Rouge crowning scenes (section 3.6.4).

⁴⁸⁴ The chronological picture is only completed after an assessment of the year 7 ostracon (section 3.6.2) and those items, especially dated, that lie between Block 287 and the year seven material.

⁴⁸⁵ This point is more fully borne out in the sections on the temple at Semnah (3.3.3) and the northern middle colonnade at Deir el-Bahri (3.6.5).

Over the past six sub-sections, the research has moved beyond the first year of Hatshepsut. Examinations of vase 26.8.8 (Wadi Gabbanat) and vase fragment #6 (KV20) have alas done little to advance the picture of regency, suffice to say that they may date slightly later than their respective counterpart vases. Turning to Semnah temple, however, Episodic scenes on the exterior western wall, carved and re-carved after the coronation imagery of Thutmose III, illustrate Hatshepsut in 'kingship mode'. Supporting this are connections to the 'tools' of kingship, Satet linking Hatshepsut to the White Crown, a plethora of queenship prerogatives on the left-hand-side and a dearth of such titles on the right-hand-side. Connected to what are perhaps the earliest examples of the Divine Birth and her eventual policy of legitimisation, Hatshepsut's intended bid for the throne is intimately tied in to pre-existing, accepted reliefs of kingship. It appears she tried to imbed herself into the canonical scenes of her forebears, and this is summarised in **Table 5**.

At Deir el-Bahri, the upper court and colonnade contrasts Hatshepsut's prenomen with *in situ* and palimpsest forms of the names of Thutmose II and III. Overall the weight of evidence for relief carving (but perhaps not architectural development) does seem to favour Dorman's original hypothesis of a later date. Unfortunately, within the earliest formed portion of Deir el-Bahri, the picture of regency is far from transparent. Sticking with the theme of Dsr-Dsrw, the chapel dedicated to her father Thutmose I, yields almost nothing of interest. The only eye-catching feature is the smA-symbol, and a possible prefacing, very early on, of the uniting-nature Hatshepsut's reign was purported to bring to Egypt. Finally then, we arrive at the Chapelle Rouge in Karnak. Prophetic, but not oracular, Block 287 is viewed slightly differently than all previous scholarly efforts. The orthographic nature of Hmt, when combined with an understanding of the roles of Karnak and Luxor temple, seems to yield a picture of Hatshepsut as the recipient of a rejuvenating ceremony. Considered alongside reliefs from the northern middle colonnade at Deir el-Bahri pertaining to the sed-festival (full discussion later in the chapter), it seems plausible that Block 287 represents the formal commencement of the process of her succession. In other words, if Semnah

temple signalled intent, then Block 287 was the execution of that intent to claim the kingship for herself. As a result, from this moment, if not before, the notion of a traditional regency must be dismissed. For once the governing matriarch sets about holding the throne for herself, the very concept of regency – that being to look after the throne on behalf of another – is dispensed with. Moreover, for the remainder of this chapter, the time up until the date on Block 287 will be described as a regency or governance period, that following referred to as a 'period of succession', to Egypt's throne.

3.4 The successional claim for kingship – Statuary

3.4.1 Hatshepsut's statuary from temple locations

As other scholars have noted⁴⁸⁶, the statuary present at Deir el Bahri

⁴⁸⁶ Most notably Tefnin, 1979.

represents the largest collection of such items depicting the imagery of Hatshepsut. Upon examining the statuary, two logical corpi emerge; those that Roland Tefnin analyzed in 1979 – the Osirid forms⁴⁸⁷ – and the seated imagery of Hatshepsut. The former consists of the best available imagery of Hatshepsut as ‘idealised king’, holding various icons of kingship. Here we see how the artistic portions of her rule upheld the inscriptional aspects, such as the ‘Text of the Youth of Hatshepsut’⁴⁸⁸. The latter corpus provides us with a succinct and unique view into the transformation of Hatshepsut from queen to king. As outlined in chapter two (2.3.1), while changes in physiognomy may prove difficult to delineate at times, the methodological rationale behind selecting this particular group of statues to focus on is simple. In addition to the statuary conforming to the required research question timeframe, it seems to offer the best opportunity at observing the ‘evolution’ from the reign of Thutmose II through until at least Hatshepsut’s early reign⁴⁸⁹. Moreover, an additional benefit is that a re-evaluation of long-held theories about Thutmosid statue conformity, as delineated in sections 1.4.1 and 1.4.2, can be conducted (see also **Table 1**). It is for these reasons that Hatshepsut’s seated statuary at Deir el-Bahri has been chosen.

Before undertaking the reappraisal of this latter material, two other considerations need to be briefly noted. First, while “regional variation” might not necessarily be an issue for this dataset⁴⁹⁰, the homogeneity of site might

⁴⁸⁷ In brief, Tefnin ascribed three series or phases to the Deir el Bahri Osirid statues, believing that the statuary radiated outward from the sanctuary (west-to-east). This was due to the assumption that the Inner Sanctuary formed the most important part of the precinct in terms of cultic value, and the importance lessened the further one moved from the Inner Sanctum. This has been refuted by Dorman (1985, esp. pp. 299-300; 1988, pp. 40-41) and Lettelier (1981). However, support for this can be found via Laboury (1998, pp. 591-621).

Tefnin’s phases are: **Phase I / Series A** – four statues in the Inner Sanctuary (1979, pp. 38-40); **Phase II / Series B** – ten statues along the Upper Terrace west wall, placed within niches (1979, pp. 41-43); **Phase III / Series C** – twenty six statues that originally fronted the portico of the Upper Terrace (1979, pp. 44-48). Keller (2005b, 163, fn. 5) would add two further series to this. **Phase 4 / Series D** – the small Osirid statues situated on the north and south sides of the Hathor capitols in the Hathoric Shrine on the Middle Terrace; and **Phase 5 / Series E** – the colossal Osirid’s lining the north and south ends of the Lower Colonnade.

⁴⁸⁸ An appraisal of the *Texte de la Jeunesse* and its application and interpretation relative to the reliefs on the northern middle colonnade at Deir el-Bahri is offered in sectn. 3.6.5.

⁴⁸⁹ For a detailed study of the development of relief sculpture and statuary throughout the ‘Hatshepsut-epoch’, see Laboury, 1998, pp. 585-621.

⁴⁹⁰ Keller, 2005b, p. 158. This does assume that all such images were carved in close proximity to the site, and were not imported from any distance. This point is made already in

inadvertently offer up other biases with respect to the construction of the works. The cultic purpose or 'function' of the site of Deir el-Bahri might otherwise alter iconographic (and epigraphic) imagery erected there. Thus, the placement of images and inscription – both within the temple complex as a whole as well as their specific arrangement – needs to be borne in mind when being assessed⁴⁹¹. Second, that a group such as the "seated statues of Hatshepsut" must be set against a baseline of sorts if it is to be useful as a source of relative dating. This baseline must necessarily be the statues of Hatshepsut definitively assigned to the reign of Thutmose II, and so the discourse begins with a brief discussion of a select image from Tefnin's Phase I, reviewing subsequent statuary against this marker.

3.4.1a MMA 31.3.155: Bust of Osirid statue (Cat. 1.1)

The assignment of this statue to the reign of Thutmose II is certain for two reasons. First, the early Eighteenth Dynasty often utilised Middle Kingdom precedents in defining its style⁴⁹². Second, stylistic parallels between Thutmose II and Hatshepsut have been clearly identified for this statue, as well as the other three counterparts in the inner sanctuary. Thus, the original determination of features by Tefnin is as robust as present evidence will permit⁴⁹³. This includes large eyes that are widely spaced and not the slightest bit slanted, high and full eyebrows, a broad mouth with sometimes sombre and sometimes benign smile⁴⁹⁴, and a large, straight nose.

With regard to the overall shape of the face, however, one is given cause to pause. While many scholars have commented on the fact that statuary from the period of queenship is rounded⁴⁹⁵, this is very much open to interpretation. While the face may have elongated in later statuary – to the extent that it became more triangular, as perhaps is the case in MMA 27.3.163 below –

section 1.4.1 (cf. Laboury, 2006, p. 261).

⁴⁹¹ Note also that the functionality of seated statues differs from other statue types. Seated statues were designed to receive offerings, as opposed to kneeling statues, for example, that were designed to present offerings (usually to the gods). Robins, 1997, pp. 19-21.

⁴⁹² In general Malek, 1999, pp. 211-58; full discussion and references in sectn. 1.4.1.

⁴⁹³ Tefnin, 1979, pp. 38-40.

⁴⁹⁴ For summary refer **Table 6**.

⁴⁹⁵ Keller, 2005b, p. 159 and references within

often supposed later pieces (e.g. MMA 29.3.3 and MMA 29.3.2) appear far more rounded than portraits from the reign of Thutmose II. This leaves one with two possibilities: either the stylistically ascribed Thutmose II pieces are incorrectly assigned, or one must remain sceptical when using the feature of 'facial shape' to relatively date the statuary of Hatshepsut⁴⁹⁶. Given the stylistic similarity of the eyes, nose, mouth and general appearance of MMA 31.3.155 to the reign of Thutmose II, one would be foolish to date this piece to any other period. But, as many of the statues have the face either partly or wholly removed, the employment of facial features as a means by which to trace the phases of development is fraught with difficulty. Rather, it must be the determination of all facets of the statuary in a 'collective whole' that afford the relative date. That said, and acknowledging that the comparisons here are purely observational, three terms will be broadly used to refer to the shape of the bust or face of intact statues of Hatshepsut:

Rounded or 'Apple-shaped' – when such is apparent. To pre-empt subsequent discussions, such a geometric form appears to occur in the early years of Hatshepsut.

*Triangular or 'Heart-shaped'*⁴⁹⁷ – reserved for statues that are clearly dated to the reign of Hatshepsut, most seemingly late in her rule.

*Elliptical*⁴⁹⁸ – utilised when pieces are ambiguous in their shape or appearance. While such may be ratified via a more acute examination of canons and proportions, this illustrates one of the limitations of this research. Namely that, with such a large corpus of material, in the case of Hatshepsut's seated statuary, meticulous examination of the evidence was conceded in favour other considerations (e.g. time spent gathering together the assemblage, time dedicated to other research investigations). Notwithstanding, other elements

⁴⁹⁶ There actually appears to be an interchanging in the literature between comments around the actual facial shape, as opposed to the 'facial plan' (cf. the following footnotes).

⁴⁹⁷ Keller, 2005b, 158-9. To illustrate this point, and the resulting confusion further, one only has to note the description of Laboury (2006, p. 267) on the face of Hatshepsut. Here he describes her as having a "rounded face with triangular facial plan". Such features are supposed to describe Hatshepsut late in her reign (Tefnin Phase III and Laboury Period I, Phase III); being that Thutmose III was striving to differentiate himself from his aunt. What many seem to be referring to as the 'facial shape' may indeed be the 'facial plan' or even 'facial plane'. Here, the phrase preferred is the "observed facial shape".

⁴⁹⁸ As an "observed facial shape" were one to complete the circumference of her face from the cheekbones upward, in a 360-degree rotation.

within the statuary will be drawn upon to determine the relative date, and reasonable confidence of such dating can be assured owing to 'breadth of approach', rather than to 'depth of approach'.

3.4.1b MMA 30.3.3: Seated 'khat headdress' statue (Cat. 1.2)

There are five statues that comprise the body of seated Hatshepsut statues. The first is a badly damaged diorite statue of Hatshepsut⁴⁹⁹. Here Hatshepsut wears the *khat*-headdress⁵⁰⁰, full-length sheath dress, amulet necklace and jewellery of a queen. Unfortunately, owing to its poor state of preservation, the facial features for this statue are indeterminable. Hatshepsut's breasts are full and obvious, as too are the contours of her abdomen. Rather than the 'Adonis-like' flat abdomen of many male kings⁵⁰¹, Hatshepsut's natural womanly form is clearly evident. As with most of her statues, and those of Senenmut⁵⁰², her toes are open – perhaps to create a more personal effect. Based on the dress listed above, the fact that the statue is inscribed with the standard titulary of queenship, and utilises feminine endings throughout, it is in all likelihood to be dated to the later reign of Thutmose II⁵⁰³. This then disagrees with Tefnin in the dating of the statue to around year 7, the moment when that author believes Hatshepsut succeeded to the throne⁵⁰⁴. Slight disagreement is also had with Laboury in that it is believed MMA 30.3.3 precedes MMA 29.3.3, the real question being the exact length of time between each statue⁵⁰⁵.

3.4.1c MMA 29.3.3: Seated 'red granite' statue (Cat. 1.3)

The second seated statue is the one-and-a-half metre tall granite statue of Hatshepsut located in the Metropolitan Museum of Art⁵⁰⁶. Recovered from the

⁴⁹⁹ Keller, 2005b, p. 159, fig. 65; Tefnin, 1979, pp. 2-6, 19-31, plate 1a.

⁵⁰⁰ Worn by nobility as well as royalty, the khat headdress dates from as early as the reign of king Den in the First Dynasty - owing to an ivory label found at Abydos. It is a simple headdress, consisting neither of pleats nor stripes (unlike the *nemes* headdress), and hung down open at the back, rather than being open (Eaton-Krauss, 1977).

⁵⁰¹ For example, the like of a Thutmose III (Russmann, 1989, p. 91), Amenhotep III (Kozloff & Bryan, 1992, pp. 9, 141, 145, 147), or Ramesses II (Hawass, 2000, p. 10)

⁵⁰² For example, statue BM 174 (Cat. 1.12), with comments later in this chapter but more specifically on this point in chapter five (section 5.4.1)

⁵⁰³ It is acknowledged that the feminine endings in the epigraphy could simply represent Hatshepsut's feminine self. However, it is not these endings and/or pronouns alone that directs one to this conclusion; it is the combination of all evidence.

⁵⁰⁴ 1979, p. 139

⁵⁰⁵ 1998, p. 608

⁵⁰⁶ Tefnin, 1979, pp. 6-11, 19-31, 139-146, pls. 1b-3a. Add also Grimm & Schoske, 1999, p.

Senenmut Quarry at Deir el-Bahri in western Thebes, the dress and textual components of the statue are largely feminine. Hatshepsut wears a sleeveless full-length dress, anklets and bracelets that are striated, and a broad collar – all typically symbolic of a queen⁵⁰⁷. Furthermore, while the inscriptions are poorly preserved, having not only been erased during her *vilification* but also suffering as a result of the dismantling of the statue⁵⁰⁸, those that remain are largely queenship-oriented, and are littered with feminine pronouns and endings. However, in spite of such overtly feminine iconography, Hatshepsut wears the *nemes* headdress, replete with the uraeus on her brow. This is not only a symbol of male attire, but specifically that of the ‘male’ office of kingship⁵⁰⁹. Her form again consists of small, but necessarily obvious breasts, although the lower abdominal ‘pouch’ evident in MMA 30.3.3 is no longer apparent; replaced by a much flatter torso. The toes remain open, and the hands and visage face front, as is to be expected of a cultic statue. The most intact statue of its type (save the defaced inscriptions), it is the face of Queen/King Hatshepsut that captures the viewer. Cathleen Keller describes the facial features as follows:

“Large, compelling eyes, set below dramatically arched brows, fix the viewer with an unwavering gaze. The nose is rather short, thin at the top and broad at the tip, with a slight aquiline curve. The mouth appears a bit larger than those in other images of Hatshepsut, with a full lower lip. The chin is, as usual, narrow and slightly receding.”⁵¹⁰

However, she conversely states that

“... [MMA 29.3.3] does not exhibit the heart-shaped face, pointed chin, and aquiline profile seen on most statuary from Deir el

37, figs 32, 36, 40; Keller, 2005b, 170-171, Catalogue No. 95.

⁵⁰⁷ On the ‘broad collar’ or uraeus circlet, cf. Troy, 1986, pp. 121-2

⁵⁰⁸ Winlock, 1928b, pp. 15-16 (head only, figs. 17 & 18); Winlock, 1942, pp. 171-172, plate 57 (right).

⁵⁰⁹ The only other evidence for a female ‘ruler’ wearing a combination of the full-length sheath and *nemes* headdress derives from the reign of Sobeknefru towards the end of Dynasty 12 (Musée du Louvre, Paris, E27135 – provenance unknown, most likely from the Delta). For references see Delange, 1987, pp. 30-1; Grimm and Schoske, 1999, p. 38, fig. 33; Callender, 2002, p. 34.

⁵¹⁰ Keller, 2005b, p. 170.

Bahri”⁵¹¹.

This then is an example of the ambiguities that abound the delineation of facial shape description. Further, the viewers own biases can also augment (sometimes mistaken) identification of such anatomical features, further validating the need to view the *whole* item in question. This is especially true when seeking to find more miniscule variations within and between various artefactual pieces. In the case of the ‘red granite seated statue’, the overall impression is of a more rounded or ‘apple-shaped’ face, possibly even described as ‘puffy’. This is clearly distinct from much later forms of Hatshepsut, where the face elongated and took on a more triangular or ‘heart-shaped’ form⁵¹². The nose is indeed smaller and more pointed. However, when one compares the eyes to those of the baseline statue, MMA 31.3.155, the same bulbous appearance is clearly lacking. Rather, the eyes appear smaller and more slanted, not “large and compelling”. They have purposeful eyebrows contoured around the steely gaze. Lastly, one has to again partially disagree with Keller in terms of the mouth⁵¹³. Relative to many statues, including MMA 29.3.2, the lower lip is indeed quite full. Again, when compared to MMA 31.3.155, the mouth is smaller in form. Proportionately both appear to follow the traces of the nose in terms of the edge of the mouth. However, given that the nose in MMA 31.3.155 is much larger overall, the mouth must follow suit. Finally then, the lips themselves are fuller at the time of Thutmose II, with the notable exception of the full bottom lip aforementioned.

A final comment can be made with regard to the choice of divinity on the statue. The reverse of the image contains depictions of the goddess Taweret. Given that this deity is associated with the protection of women during

⁵¹¹ Keller, 2005b, p. 159. Note that Laboury (2006, pp. 274-5), who considers the chin to be “considerably lessened” on this statue, concurs with the shape of the nose, and agrees with the author that the “mouth is small and narrow at the corners of the lips”. However, Laboury does believe that the “[facial shape has] a distinctive triangular shape ... [but has] an extremely flat facial plan”. This serves, yet again, to highlight the difficulties around facial plans, facial planes and facial shapes.

⁵¹² An excellent comparison can be seen in Laboury (1998, p. 605, fig. 302). Here the statues MMA 29.3.3 and MMA 29.3.2 are set side-by-side. While there may appear to be subtle variations between these two in terms of facial plan, when compared to MMA 28.3.18 (e.g. Keller, 2005, p. 170, cat. 94), the difference between ‘harsh triangular lines’ - as in the latter statue - and ‘softer puffy curves around the cheekbones’ is immediately obvious. For more on the later ‘triangular’ faces of Hatshepsut, see under MMA 27.3.163 below.

⁵¹³ Keller, 2005b, 170-1; also Roehrig, 1990b.

childbirth⁵¹⁴, the focus of the statue leans more towards female traits than male, in spite of the masculine/kingly attributes cited above. It is for this reason that MMA 29.3.3 has been placed slightly prior to MMA 29.3.2 and MMA 31.3.168 (section 3.4.1e below); a temporal range that abuts the kingship proper⁵¹⁵.

3.4.1d MMA 29.3.2: Seated 'limestone' statue (Cat. 1.4)

The third seated statue is a crystalline limestone portrait where Hatshepsut now appears more masculine in both features and guise⁵¹⁶. Turning to the facial characteristics first, the eyes are again smaller and slanted, with defining brows. The nose too is small and pointed, as is the mouth - notably without the full lower lip as in MMA 29.3.3 above⁵¹⁷. Hatshepsut again wears the *nemes* headdress, replete with uraeus. Keller would add to this ensemble that "the chin is slightly raised so that the eyes look beyond the viewer rather than directly ahead"⁵¹⁸; a point not debated. The shape of the face is again not triangular per se, but rather rounded, not at all like the later statues such as MMA 28.3.18⁵¹⁹.

While this may appear akin to MMA 29.3.3 above, it is the features of Hatshepsut's torso and lower body that relatively date this statue to the early period of her reign. She has substituted the full-length sheath dress for the typical *shendyt*-kilt of male rulers, and added a beaded belt as well as bull's tail pendant⁵²⁰; removing the previously seen female adornments. Her breasts have clearly reduced in size and shape and, while still visible, more resemble the pectorals of a male physique. This trait was to continue throughout her reign, and later statues of King Hatshepsut all but remove any indication of

⁵¹⁴ Andrews, 1994, pp. 40-41; Quirke, 1992, p. 107.

⁵¹⁵ This assumes a later date of accession – the debate on this point in the scholarly literature well-made in chapter one (section 1.2)

⁵¹⁶ Tefnin, 1979, pp. 11-16, 19-31, 139-146 and plates IIIb, IIIc, IV, V; Winlock, 1929, pp. 4-12 & figs. 4-6.

⁵¹⁷ As aforementioned, there are subtle variations between MMA 29.3.3 and MMA 29.3.2. While the aspects of facial plan might be debated 'to-and-fro', it is the loss of features such as the full lower lip that seem to authenticate this, and similar statues, post-accession.

⁵¹⁸ Keller, 2005b, p. 172. Add also Vandier, 1958, pl. XCVII (n. 6) for a full frontal view.

⁵¹⁹ Fns. 524-526 and Laboury, 1998, pp. 605-612.

⁵²⁰ A measure of the procreative power of the king, these pendants were worn exclusively by pharaohs. See in general Helck, 1986; Behrens, 1986; Wilkinson, 1992, pp. 56-7.

femininity via her upper body. Furthermore, a curious feature becomes noticeable the more one examines the statuary of Hatshepsut. With statues MMA 30.3.3 and MMA 29.3.3 the lapels of whatever headdress was adorned do not cover the breast of Hatshepsut. This is especially noticeable in MMA 29.3.3 where the *nemes* headdress is adopted. However, when examining subsequent statues, where the attempt was clearly to reduce the attention (and size) given to her breasts, the lapels of the *nemes* head-cloth in particular always drape over at least two-thirds of her breasts. This is true of MMA 29.3.2, MMA 28.3.18, MMA 29.3.1, MMA 27.3.163 and many more of her statues. While reduced in size, this obviously assisted in her transformation to male form, and one wonders whether or not such was adopted in her actual 'public attire'.

With regard to the inscriptions on the statue, these still employ a plethora of feminine endings. However, the adoption of her prenomen Maatkare, her full nomen Khenemet-Amun-Hatshepsut and numerous other epithets such as "the bodily daughter of Re" and "beloved of Amun-Re" clearly date the statue to her reign, and not regency or 'successive period'⁵²¹. However, when taken as a whole, the combination of facial features akin to MMA 29.3.3, the feminine orthography, the more masculine torso, and iconography and accoutrements, as already stated, one cannot place this statue later than the earliest part of Hatshepsut's reign. While many of the features epitomise later statuary developments, so much still connects this statue to its 'pre-accession' counterparts.

Finally, two other features at the bottom and top respectively deserve mention. In commissioning this statue, Hatshepsut has had her feet placed

⁵²¹ Laboury (2006, p. 275) would assign this to Tefnin's Phase II also. Both **Tables 1 & 6** allow for this possibility. Perhaps the only mild concern is that the colossi along the upper terrace rear wall at Deir el-Bahri seem to have been painted orange in colour (Tefnin, 1979, plates 10-11). While not yellow and thus indicative perhaps of a transitory phase or period outside of the realms of queenship, such colourings cannot be placed too far into the reign of Hatshepsut, as red would have been the preferred colour of choice later in her kingship. As Callender (2002, p. 31) notes, research is continuing to reveal that the Osirid statues were once painted with a "creamy orange hue, a stage half-way between the standard male and female flesh tones". Add also Winlock, 1930, pp. 5-10, figs. 3, 4; Laboury, 1998, p. 608.

upon an incised depiction of the Nine Bows⁵²². This was clearly an attempt early in her reign to demonstrate her dominion over Egypt's perpetual enemies and exercise her protective and/or military capabilities⁵²³. Lastly, it does appear as if her shoulders are proportionately broader than most other typically 'feminine' statues - especially MMA 29.3.3⁵²⁴. While this fits with the adoption of the *shendyt* kilt, male accoutrements of kingship and the diminishing of her chest region, the statue itself is overall broader than its counterpart granite statue. Thus, a word of caution is again here-offered with respect to the determination of this feature as an attempt to promote more of a male physique.

3.4.1e MMA 31.3.168: Seated 'diorite' statue (Cat. 1.5)

The fourth seated statue is the poorly preserved diorite statue of Hatshepsut, recorded in the Metropolitan Museum of Art as 31.3.168. While Keller believes this statue "represents the completion of Hatshepsut's metamorphosis", such a conclusion is tenuous⁵²⁵. Putting aside the fact that it may not even belong to the corpus of statuary from her reign – various erasures testifying to the probability that it does - those features that remain call into question such a determination.

Hatshepsut does indeed wear the *shendyt* kilt as opposed to full-length dress. This then, all-but precludes a date within the governance or succession periods, placing it within the early part of her reign at least. However, the most notable feminine aspect is the stomach, which is again slightly pouched. While not quite like her earlier images under Thutmose II, it is also not like statue MMA 29.3.3 above. Rather, it does appear more closely aligned to her crystalline statue MMA 29.3.2. This seems to be confirmed by the appearance

⁵²² Winlock, 1942, pl. 58. On the Nine Bows as the traditional enemy of Egypt and male kingship, see Valbelle, 1990; Wilkinson, 1992, pp. 184-5.

⁵²³ Cf. Redford, pp. 57-63. Also, comments in the inscription of Ineni (3.2.10) pertaining to Hatshepsut's governing ability; illustrating this policy had very early antecedents. One might even consider the year nine Punt reliefs in this fashion (Navelle, 1898, *DeB*, Pt. 3, plates LXIX-LXXXII). The time is close to the accession, and the Punt reliefs promote Hatshepsut's military prowess in an equality 'after-thought-like' fashion (e.g. Navelle, *op. cit*, plate LXIX = Urk. IV: 323.14 - 324.5 (esp. 324.4); Navelle, *op. cit*, plates LXXII, LXXIII, LXXV, which all mention the transportation of the army.

⁵²⁴ Malek, 1999, fig. 137; Keller, 2005b, p. 172.

⁵²⁵ Keller, 2005b, pp. 159-160 and fig. 67.

again of 'broad shoulders'. However, as aforementioned, this feature is difficult to fully make out, given the top half of the torso is badly destroyed.

As for facial features, nothing here can be deduced, the face having been entirely removed in antiquity. As with all her seated statues, her hands are placed on her lap and her feet are open-toed, offering little more in the way of delineating the relative date of this statue. Notwithstanding, if one was to speculate, it does seem as though this statue should be assigned to a time rough on par with MMA 29.3.2; that is to say, sometime in her bid for the throne, or early in rule. The overall appearance of both statues is strikingly similar, even if more detailed aspects differ.

3.4.1f MMA 27.3.163: Seated 'oversized' statue (Cat. 1.6)

The fifth and final seated statue is a granite statue of the male ruler Hatshepsut⁵²⁶. Commencing with the body, the *shendyt* kilt and male adornments of kingship are clearly apparent. Her breasts have taken their 'final form', all but assumed in MMA 29.3.2. That is, they are pectoral in fashion, wholly diminished in size, and almost completely covered by the lappet of the *nemes* headdress adorning her head⁵²⁷. The inscriptions written on the statue contain both female and male endings and epithets – a trademark through the remainder of Hatshepsut's reign. The abdomen is flat, although the shoulders do not seem so broad as in some earlier images. This may owe itself to the fact that the *nemes* headdress dwarfs the torso in terms of its width. As for the facial features, these have been wholly hacked out, again creating analytical issues. Nevertheless, given the close resemblance to one of her standing statues, one can perhaps classify this statue by analogy.

Statue MMA 28.3.18 is a granite 'striding statue' of Hatshepsut, recovered from Deir el-Bahri. It is one of only two *paired* striding statues of Hatshepsut,

⁵²⁶ Tefnin, 1979, pp. 47-70, plates 12-13.

⁵²⁷ The transformation from female breast to male pectoral is perhaps refined slightly in some of the 'standing statues' of Hatshepsut, such as MMA 28.3.18. Such images are so closely aligned to those of Thutmose III, it is often hard to tell them apart; supporting the comments of earlier scholars outlined in chapter one (section 1.4.2).

and as such offers further insight into her architectural statuary program⁵²⁸. There are a number of inscriptions, and in each case both male and female writing forms are evident – as with the oversized seated granite statue above⁵²⁹. Hatshepsut wears the male *shendyt* kilt, has her hands placed in a downwards-fashion on the kilt, and has her left leg extended forward. The torso is masculine, with the now regimented pectorals covered by *nemes* headdress lappet. Moreover, the slightly large headdress illustrated on MMA 27.3.163, is again apparent here⁵³⁰.

Returning to comments about the face, the aforementioned triangular or 'heart-shaped' face is now obvious⁵³¹. Such a feature is probably exacerbated by the hard lines of the *nemes* head-cloth that moves away from the sides of her face/head before falling down towards her shoulders. However, the puffiness of the cheeks as evident in MMA 29.3.3 and MMA 29.3.2 is utterly gone⁵³². The eyes seem to have the same appearance as earlier seated statues – that is they are smaller than the bulbous eyes of her queenship - with a slight slant and contoured brows. The nose and mouth, conversely, seem to have increased in size, although not to the same extent as much earlier pieces. One is want to say that the 'button-shaped' nose and 'dainty' mouth of her pre-accession statues has been de-feminised, replaced instead with more masculine facial features⁵³³.

In conclusion, the seated statuary of Hatshepsut does seem to exhibit an

⁵²⁸ Grimm and Schoske, 1999, p. 34, fig. 27; Keller, 2005b, p. 170, their cat. no. 94. For its counterpart 'paired' statue, cf. Cairo JE 52458 (Tefnin, 1979, pp. 99-101 and figs. 2a, 5)

⁵²⁹ Hayes, 1990, pp. 94-95 and fig. 52. The titles, as noted by Hayes are "the good Goddess, Mistress of the Two Lands, Maatkare, given life forever" (belt clasp) and "The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of Rites, Maatkare [son of Re], Khnemet-Amun-Hatshepsut, beloved of Amun-Re who is in the midst of Djoser-Djeseru" (back pilaster).

⁵³⁰ Winlock, 1928b, p. 11, fig. 11 & 12; Tefnin, 1979, esp. pp. 99-101, 171-174, figs. 2a, 5, 7 and plate XXIV.

⁵³¹ Tefnin (1979, pp. 168-9) would even go so far as to state that the facial features of Hatshepsut in Phase III were an amalgamation or synthesis of her previous two phases.

⁵³² Similar stylistic features were adopted under the reign of Thutmose IV, when the policy of iconoclasm had abated - cf. Bryan, 1987, pp. 8-20 and fig. 6 where the eyes of Thutmose IV are compared with other New Kingdom monarchs. Also see Bryan, 1991, p. 15; Grimal & Larché, 1995, vii-xxxii & plate 28.

⁵³³ On the 'pursed mouth' of Hatshepsut note Laboury, 2006, p. 275 and comments within. On the 'pointed/hooked' nose of Hatshepsut add Lacau & Chevrier, 1977-79, p. 17; Eggebrecht, 1987, p. 245 (middle figure is block 206 from the Chapelle Rouge); Mysliwiec, 1976, fig. 78 (being Louvre B64 from the temple of Satet at Elephantine).

evolution of form – both in terms of her physiognomy and transition from queenly to kingly iconography – as well as illustrating a level of portraiture⁵³⁴. Summarised in **Table 6**, certain features seem to be more reliable than others with respect to relative chronological ordering and comparative assessment of statues. While there does appear to be progression in terms of the overall shape of the face, such is perhaps not the best feature by which to trace the statuary development. Aspects such as her nose, mouth and eyes, in addition to regalia seem best. Moreover, and as stated before, it is the holistic sum of the imagery (in this case the entire body), combined with its epigraphic elements, that permits one to draw conclusions about ‘relative dates’⁵³⁵.

However, the real genius throughout this artistic evolution seems to be the inversion of seated statuary protocols. That is to say, her facial features became more womanly, unlike the male-dominated Thutmosid forms of earlier, whilst her torso and lower body (specifically her breasts and garb) gradually shifted into the masculine realm. Thus, while the individual features of her visage altered in differing ways, the overall diminution in facial physiognomy had one thing in common, it made Hatshepsut appear more effeminate. What she created for the most-part of her reign was a torso that befitted the male ideology of Egyptian kingship, topped with a strong feminine head on its shoulders. In doing so she managed to retain both her feminine self, as well as a recognisable likeness. As regards the research question at hand, this body of evidence supports the notion of a protracted succession to the kingship. While statues 31.3.155 and 30.3.3 are wholly feminine in nature, and conform to the canons of queenship, 29.3.3, 29.3.2, and 31.3.168 demonstrate a departure from both queenship, and regency, but are not themselves wholly kingly. They are different from 27.3.163 and 28.3.18, and give credence to the hypothesis that the present language of regency and co-regency are inadequate to describe this interim (successional) period.

⁵³⁴ In general, Smith, 2002 and references within.

⁵³⁵ Tefnin (1979, pp. 66-67) believes that the entire evolution of all three phases occurred during a relatively short period of time, owing to the fact that approximately two-thirds of Hatshepsut’s statuary at Deir el-Bahri contains her latest portrait. However, a caution is offered here, in that the same conclusions could be reached when quantitatively arguing for a protracted governance/succession period.

Period	Observed Form - Face	Observed Form – Body / Other
Queen under Thutmose II (and regency)	elliptical face ⁵³⁶ straight nose large, widely spaced eyes, not slanted broad mouth ⁵³⁷ full, wide eyebrows	full-length sheath dress full and obvious breasts 'pouched' abdominal region jewellery befitting a queen
Early-to-mid succession period	round face smaller, pointed nose smaller eyes, closer together and slanted smaller mouth defining, contoured brows	full-length sheath dress full and obvious breasts jewellery befitting a queen inscriptions still with feminine endings <i>nemes</i> headdress, usually with uraeus, appears
Late succession period to early reign	round face smaller, pointed nose smaller eyes, closer together and slanted smaller mouth defining, contoured brows	male <i>shendyt</i> kilt lesser/smaller breasts, almost pectoral in shape male accoutrements / adornments inscriptions with feminine endings, but introduction of nomen, prenomen and kingly epithets <i>nemes</i> headdress with uraeus
Late reign	triangular face (no puffiness) ⁵³⁸ small, slanted eyes contoured brows slight increase in mouth and nose size; both now more masculine ⁵³⁹	male <i>shendyt</i> kilt <i>nemes</i> headdress with uraeus male accoutrements / adornments Breasts – final form. Fully pectoral and covered with <i>nemes</i> lappet flat abdominal region inscriptions not only employing royal titulary and epithets, but using male and female endings and forms

Table 6: The Seated Statues of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri – form/style summary

3.4.2 BM 1513 (Cat. 1.18)

⁵³⁶ Definition under MMA 31.3.155 above.

⁵³⁷ As aforementioned, the smile is often sombre or benign, demonstrating its Middle Kingdom precedents (cf. Russman, 2001, pp. 101-107 and cat. 29, 30 (Sesostris III), with cat. 31 (Amenemhet III)). For Hatshepsut see Myśliwiec, 1976, p. 42, pl. XIX, fig. 39. Also, Keller, 2005b, pp. 158-9, fig. 64; and Laboury, 1998, pp. 585-621.

⁵³⁸ As noted above Keller (2005b, pp. 158-9) prefers the term 'heart-shaped'.

⁵³⁹ In essence, one can see three approximate nose and mouth sizes. Large – during her queenship with Thutmose II, medium – reign/co-regency, small – during her governance and succession periods. Each was modified either to reflect earlier Middle Kingdom precedents (large nose/mouth), to conform to masculine kingship ideologies (medium nose/mouth), or as part of a programme of experimentation in terms of feminising and de-feminising portraiture (small nose/mouth).

Both Dorman and Meyer agree this statue dates to the early portion of Hatshepsut's reign⁵⁴⁰. It lacks any mention of the prenomen of either ruler, but does refer to a male king, situated alongside feminine pronominal endings and the nomen of Hatshepsut at the base⁵⁴¹. It seems to connect tomb inscriptions like the 'Appointment of User-Amun'⁵⁴², to judge from the various official titles mentioned, but an even earlier date, around the time of the biography of Ineni, cannot be discounted⁵⁴³. For these reasons, it has been afforded a range of dates from late Thutmose II through until year three (**Fig. 1**). The statue is described in greater detail towards the end of chapter four, as it adds some light on the matter of the God's Wife of Amun. Beyond the chronological note now covered, it does not aid the present research question further.

3.4.3 BM 174 (Cat. 1.12)

EA 174, also known as BM 174, is perhaps the best preserved statue of Senenmut and Neferure⁵⁴⁴. Carved from black granite, and a little under a metre tall, his young charge sits atop his lap staring outwards. Both individuals face forwards, with Senenmut using his left arm to hold Neferure in place, and his right to draw his garb/cloak around them both. In typical fashion, Neferure wears the 'sidelock of youth', and has the index finger of her right hand placed to her chin/mouth⁵⁴⁵. It is introduced here simply to carry out the necessary description of the piece, and because it is believed to date early in Hatshepsut's reign⁵⁴⁶. The argument for a year two-to-four date is made in chapter four (sctn. 4.6.3), with stylistic merits noted in chapter five.

3.5 The successional claim for kingship: mid-years

⁵⁴⁰ Dorman, 1988, pp. 116-118; Meyer, 1982, pp. 112-120

⁵⁴¹ Readily identifiable and noted originally by Meyer, 1982, p. 113, fn. 1 and 303.

⁵⁴² See later in this chapter (section 3.5.3). The primary titles given by Dorman (1988, pp. 116-118) are r-Hry and wDa-ryt. Regarding the usage of these titles, see van den Boorn (1985, p. 18), and also his later work - van den Boorn (1988, pp. 78-81, 94).

⁵⁴³ In addition to the above references, add Schulman (1969-70, pp.39-40), who offers thoughts on the defacement, correlation to other statues and provenance of BM 1513.

⁵⁴⁴ Russmann 2001, pp. 120-1; Meyer, 1982, pp. 120-5. On the provenance as being in the precinct of Amun at Karnak, specifically north Karnak, see Eaton-Krauss, 1998, pp. 205-210; Eaton-Krauss, 1999, pp. 117-120.

⁵⁴⁵ For clarification of how this relates to Harpocrates, see the discussion under statue CG 42116 (section 5.4.2) in chapter five. As an advance reference - Quirke, 1992, pp. 61-67. For comments on the titles of Senenmut as being virtually identical to BM 1513, cf. Dorman, 1988, pp. 116-118; Meyer, 1982, pp. 112-120.

⁵⁴⁶ Dorman, 1988, pp. 118-119, 145.

3.5.1 *The el-Mahatta Inscription of Senenmut at Aswan (Cat. 4.2)*

A supposedly early document from Aswan, in the region of el-Mahatta, this rock-cut graffito was carved by Senenmut in commemoration of his charge/commission to obtain a pair of obelisks from the granite quarries at Aswan⁵⁴⁷. The inscription is as follows,

(3) r(t)-pa(t) wrt Hst iAmt aAt mrt⁵⁴⁸ (4) di.n n.s it.s Ra nsyt (5) mAa Hr(y)-ib n pSDt (6) sAt-nswt snt-nswt Hmt-nTr Hmt-nsw wrt [nsw-bity?]⁵⁴⁹ HAt-Spswt anx.ti (7) sTtt nb(t) Abw mryt (8) Xnm nb qbH mryt (9) **Heading** (10) **Heading** (11) sart.Tw [sn]⁵⁵⁰ n Hmt-nTr Hnwt tAwy tm (12) in sDAwty-bity smr aA n mrt imy-r pr wr sn-mwt mAa-xrw (13) **Heading** (14) iit r-pa HAty-a mH-ib aA n Hmt-nTr (15) hrr(w) nbt tAwy Hr tpt-r.f (16) sDAwty-bity imy-r pr wr n sAt-nswt Nfrw-ra anx.ti sn-mwt (1) r-s(tt) kA(t) Hr txnwy wrwy nw HH (2) xpr in mi wDdt r xt-nb (3) xpr.n(.s)⁵⁵¹ n bAw Hmt.s

⁵⁴⁷ Habachi, 1957, pp. 92-96 and Fig. 3; Urk. IV: 396.1-397.11; PM V¹, 248; *LD III*, 25. See also Meyer, 1982, pp. 129-131; Dorman, 1988, pp. 115-116 & 198-9, where he erroneously calls it the 'Sehel Graffito'; and Schulman, 1969-70, p. 45; Appendix, Plate XI.

⁵⁴⁸ It is interesting to note the final t appended to aA, clearly feminising the noun, as the bi-consonantal 'great' does not require a nominalising t, even for direct genitival construction. Furthermore, the use of aAt mrt is rarely attested. According to Troy (1986, p. 182), it is only known of in three other instances – Ahmes (mother of Hatshepsut and wife of Thutmose I), Nofretari Merytm (principal wife of Ramesses II), and Amenirdis I (aka: Kha-Neferu-mut; daughter of Kashta and Pebtama). Given the only prior instance of this title occurred in the time of her mother, one wonders at the agenda behind the incorporation of this term.

⁵⁴⁹ cf. Habachi (1957, p. 92 and n.20) for comments about the fact that the initial passage may have read Xnmt nfr HDt and the possible later alteration to nsw bity (noting that only the 'nsw' sign actually can be seen at the top of column four on the graffito). Almost exclusively reserved for the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period, Xnmt nfr HDt is employed by only four 18th dynasty queens (namely Ahhotep, Merit-amun, Ahmose-Nefertari, and Hatshepsut – cf. Troy, 1986, p. 197). As the final queen to employ the term, one is want to dismiss Habachi's tenuous reconstruction, especially considering a first-hand examination of the Chevrier Blocks (1955, plate 22) – the singular reference to the title by Troy (1986, p. 163) - does not actually seem to yield this particular title (note the discussion in section 3.2.8 and Appendix, Plate XLIII).

⁵⁵⁰ This confusing passage was interpreted by Habachi (1957, p. 92, n. 21) as 'siart kAt Tn' or "reporting this work". While likely, if we assume, as Habachi did, that certain parts of this graffito were altered by Hatshepsut at a later date, then the orthography and syntax may have been closer to Late Egyptian. In this case, the initial verb could be sar (*Wb.* IV, pp. 32-3), meaning 'to send up' or 'to make rise'. While it is acknowledged that the orthography differs slightly, such a translation does fit better with the erecting of obelisks – explicitly mentioned later on. Yet another possibility is offered by Paneque (2003, p. 85).

⁵⁵¹ Note that while not actually identified as erased on the transcription, there is ample room to fit an 's' in the form of a 'bolt', and clearly a suffix pronoun has been omitted here. The only other possibility is that the lacuna should have held plural strokes, thus turning the former 'n' into a plural suffix pronoun. The translation would have read, "we exist for/because of the power of her majesty". However, the preferred translation seems to tie in better with the

The Hereditary Noble, Great of Favour, Great of Praise, Great of Love. Her father Re gave to her, the real/true Kingship in the midst of the Ennead. King's Daughter, King's Sister, God's Wife, King's Great Wife, [K.U.L.E], Hatshepsut, may she live. Beloved of Satet, Lady of Elephantine. Beloved of Khnum, Lord of the Cataract Region. You raised [it/them] up for the God's Wife, Mistress of the whole/entire Two Lands, by the Treasurer (seal-bearer) of the King of Lower Egypt, the beloved great friend⁵⁵², the Great Steward⁵⁵³ Sen-mut, justified. The coming of the Hereditary Noble, the Foreman⁵⁵⁴, the great confidant⁵⁵⁵ of the God's Wife. The one who pleases/pacifies the Lady of the Two Lands with/concerning his utterance. The treasurer (seal-bearer) of the King of Lower Egypt, the Great Steward of the King's Daughter Neferure, may she live, Sen-mut – in order to inspect work of/concerning the two great/big obelisks of (the Feast of) Millions⁵⁵⁶. Happening, like the command for/of everything. It occurred because of the might of her majesty⁵⁵⁷

To begin with the dating of the graffito, the arguments of Winlock and Habachi must be briefly summarised. The former believed the obelisks referred to were the pair erected between Pylons IV and V at Karnak⁵⁵⁸. Commissioned much later in her reign, they were dedicated to her legitimising fathers, Thutmose I and Amun, as part of her strategy to justify her unorthodox assumption of kingly titles. They were also probably a testament to her 'womanly' rise to power, following the death of her elder brothers⁵⁵⁹. Habachi fairly convincingly argued that they actually represented the obelisks erected farther to the east, originally situated in the later festival court of Thutmose III, and were consequently incorporated into its temenos walls⁵⁶⁰. Habachi also believed

theme of the inscription.

⁵⁵² Lit. "the great friend of love"

⁵⁵³ Lit. "the overseer of the house"

⁵⁵⁴ While Habachi (1957, p. 95) translates this as 'governor', the head of construction works is usually known as a foreman.

⁵⁵⁵ Lit. "the one who greatly fills the heart" – Faulkner, 1999, p. 113.

⁵⁵⁶ See discussion below

⁵⁵⁷ For additional comments cf. Dorman, 2001, p. 5 and Desroches-Noblecourt, 2002, pp. 85-87.

⁵⁵⁸ Winlock, 1942, pp. 134-58. On Hatshepsut's obelisks at Karnak refer Cat. 5.13.

⁵⁵⁹ On the question of Hatshepsut's elder brothers, and potential claimants to the throne had they not died young – Wadjmose and Amenmose – see Lecuyot & Loyrette, 1996, pp. 111-122 (which discusses the Theban mortuary chapel of Wadjmose) and Zivie, 1976, pp. 52-55 & pl. 4 (which discusses the name of Amenmose dated to year 4 of the reign of Thutmose I).

⁵⁶⁰ Habachi, 1957, p. 95-99. His arguments admirably tie together the Graffito of Senenmut at Aswan, with a block from the Chapelle Rouge (cf. Legrain and Naville, 1902, pls. I & XIIa) and reliefs at Deir el-Bahri, published by Naville (see below). Add Habachi, 1977, pp. 57-72 and pl.16 (Pylon IV-V obelisks), Fig. 24 (Graffito of Senenmut), Fig. 25 (Graffito of Amenhotep –

they were the same obelisks depicted by Naville, in the temple at Deir el-Bahri⁵⁶¹. Following the sacrificial offering of a bull, a ritualistic offering to the 'Lord of the Gods' (presumably Amun), is made on behalf of the health of Hatshepsut. The festival occasion is cited as "the (Feast of) Millions/Myriads of Years".

Re-examining the epigraphic evidence, the following seems apparent. First, queenly titles and protocols (i.e. King's Daughter, King's Sister, and King's Great Wife) seem to sit alongside kingly ones. Second, the term God's Wife is employed⁵⁶². Third, nowhere is her prenomen or any other part of her five-fold titulary evident; she is simply referred to by her nomen – Hatshepsut. When compared with the inscriptions from the year 15/16 obelisks, this is certainly suggestive of an early date, as Habachi would subscribe to. Conversely, the inclusion of the phrase *anx.ti* - following both the names of Hatshepsut and Neferure – is interesting⁵⁶³. While not necessarily a marker of being deceased at the time of carving (this term is often employed for the living king), the use of the Stative, as opposed to a regular *sdm.f* (for example *di anx* as attested for Thutmose III at Semnah) may suggest a composition 'after-the-fact'. More convincing, is the employment of *mAa-xrw* after the name of Senenmut⁵⁶⁴. This term strongly suggests that Senenmut was indeed deceased at the time this portion of the passage was composed⁵⁶⁵.

Turning our attention to iconographic aspects, Hatshepsut dons queenly regalia – namely the Swty-crown worn by chief queens, the piriform mace

TT73), Fig. 26 (Block from the Chapelle Rouge). On the Akh Menu temple of Thutmose III, see Cat. 2.6 and section 3.2.8.

⁵⁶¹ Naville, 1908, *DeB*, Pt. VI, pp. 2-5 & pls. 153 & 154. Confirmation that the blocks on the boats were to be used in the construction of obelisks is afforded in the second register (below the *pt* – sky symbol), 14 columns in from the left, where *txnwꜣ* is immediately preceded by *HH* (the inscription above and below mostly lost). This matches the comments in Urk. IV: 397.1

⁵⁶² Commented upon further in section 4.6.1.

⁵⁶³ Urk. IV: 396.6 and 396.16 respectively

⁵⁶⁴ Urk. IV: 396.12

⁵⁶⁵ On the timing of Senenmut's demise and disappearance from the record, see sctn. 5.2. Given that the last record for Senenmut occurs in year 16, it is easy to see how Winlock believed the el-Mahatta inscription dated to the year 15/16 obelisks. On the term *mAa-xrw* and its use as a measure of being alive or dead, refer Anthes, 1954.

held by God's Wives, and a long-flowing dress with feet together⁵⁶⁶. Thus the iconography also concurs with an early timeframe, one presumably prior to the assumption of pharaonic powers. On a side, but related tangent, while the images of Senenmut and Hatshepsut seem traditional or ideological, the gesture Senenmut makes with his right hand towards Hatshepsut actually makes one feel that this 'snapshot' represented the moment he presented the obelisks to his queen. Stretching the art-historical methodology to its limits, the immediate impression one receives is of a Culminative piece.

Returning to the inscription, a more meticulous examination swings us back again to an early date of composition. Firstly, nowhere in the text is Hatshepsut directly referred to as the king⁵⁶⁷. Senenmut's title of 'Treasurer of the King of Lower Egypt' is non-specific in terms of who the present king actually was. It could, in all likelihood, have referred to the youthful Thutmose III. There is even the utilisation of the epithets Hnwt tAwy tm⁵⁶⁸ and nbt tAwy⁵⁶⁹ – further indicators of queenly status. The only parts of the graffito that directly indicate Hatshepsut was either currently, or 'intended' to be king, are the passage that reads di.n n.s it.s Ra nsyt mAa Hr(y)-ib n pSDt⁵⁷⁰ ("her father Re gave to her the true kingship in the midst of the Ennead") and a single mention of 'her majesty'⁵⁷¹. Notwithstanding, the current weight of evidence is certainly suggestive of an early date.

Finally on the matter of dating, the tone of the inscription and choice of deities for a royal building project were important. To be sure, the commissioning of

⁵⁶⁶ Refer sections 1.4.2 and 3.4.1, as well as **Table 6**. In addition to earlier references on the 'traditional dress' of queens, add in general Troy, pp. 121-131. Also, B. Lesko (1978, pp. 4-10) and the accompanying plates of Nefertari-Merymut from her tomb in the Valley of the Queens, as well as that of the 'woman chantress' in the tomb of Sennefer (no. 96).

⁵⁶⁷ Excepting the aforementioned tenuous occurrence of nsw-bity, itself not certain as only scant remnants remain (fn. 549 above).

⁵⁶⁸ Urk. IV: 396.11. See also **Table 3**.

⁵⁶⁹ Urk. IV: 396.15. This term has a lengthy history, stretching as far as the Ptolemaic period. However, it only commences with Ahhotep, a fact interesting in its own right (Troy, 1986, p. 196; PM I², 741 – the Theban coffin of Ahhotep, Turin 2236-7)

⁵⁷⁰ Urk. IV: 396.4-5.

⁵⁷¹ Urk. IV: 397.3. The orthographic construction includes the addition of a final t. Whether this ubiquitous word/phrase actually illustrated Hatshepsut was king, or simply a female superior of the royal house, that she chose to yet again stress her femininity seems telling.

the construction of obelisks required a sizeable powerbase – the like of which either a ‘God’s Wife’, or king could boast – with the foreman dutifully reporting to his superior⁵⁷². Not surprisingly, following Re, the divinities chosen to honour Hatshepsut and the construction were Satet and Khnum⁵⁷³. However, the writing of Satet in this instance is curious, for it is written with no less than three t’s – sTtt. While the folded cloth was employed in the Old Kingdom with the name of Satet, its use radically diminished in the New Kingdom⁵⁷⁴. Although scribal error could be argued, it seems more reasonable to place this occurrence with the previous occurrences of feminine t’s, such as iwat, Ddt, at Semnah and aAt and Hmt.s on the current graffito. The focus then, seems to have again been around stressing female prerogatives, not only for herself, but also for patron deities.

In sum, the burden of proof does support Habachi’s original belief that the el-Mahatta graffito dates early to the reign of Hatshepsut, and depicts the pair of obelisks erected in the eastern portion of the inner Karnak temple of Amun; later subsumed by the temenos wall of Thutmose III’s Akh Menu temple⁵⁷⁵. Notwithstanding, Winlock can rest easy, as a certain level of alteration seems to have occurred, particularly around the inclusion of Senenmut and his ‘state’ at the time. This may even have extended to Hatshepsut’s titles as, if not currently king at the time of first carving, certainly she would have been at the time of subsequent alterations⁵⁷⁶.

⁵⁷² On the ‘estates’ and presumed power the office of God’s Wife had, see section 1.5.2.

⁵⁷³ Comments under Semnah temple (section 3.3.3b).

⁵⁷⁴ On the orthography here - Urk. IV: 396.7. For the practice in the Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts, where it was standard use T, instead of t, thus transliterating as sTt note Gardiner, 2001, p. 464. However, in the New Kingdom, the orthography was standardised such that the pierced cow-skin had two t’s below and the T was omitted (Faulkner, 1999, p. 257). There is even the possibility of one T and one t in the New Kingdom (Wb. IV, p. 348). However, there is no precedent for three t’s / T’s, or a combination thereof. Assoc.-Prof. Ockinga (pers. comm.) believes this is an example of historic writing. While possible, it does seem highly unusual for the New Kingdom. Moreover, one must necessarily ask why Hatshepsut felt the need to use such an historic writing in this instance.

⁵⁷⁵ A final corroborating fact, now well-attested, is that Senenmut held the post “overseer of obelisks” early in the reign of Hatshepsut, before being succeeded by Amenhotep – Bryan (2006, p. 111) and **Table 15**.

⁵⁷⁶ A date of years 3-5 is suggested for the first/initial carving, with re-carvings or alterations between years 16-20.

The initial date now established, the question becomes how does this graffito aid the current research question? This seems to lie in two passages - r(t)-pa(t) wrt Hst iAmt ("The Hereditary Noble, Great of Favours, Great of Charms")⁵⁷⁷ and the clause xpr.n(.s) n bAw Hmt.s ("it happened because of the might of her majesty"). Commencing with the former, both the inscriptions in the temple of Semnah, and the el-Mahatta graffito, employ its construction⁵⁷⁸. This passage is also employed at an even earlier time, during her queenship⁵⁷⁹. Curiously however, at both Semnah and el-Mahatta, the term lacks the feminine t's that are abundant on the Wadi Sikkat sarcophagus. Likewise, in the same document under scrutiny, Senenmut also classifies himself as 'Hereditary Noble' and 'Foreman' for the God's Wife, utilising the exact same construction as Hatshepsut⁵⁸⁰. Given that Hatshepsut seems to have strived to promote her femininity via words such as *iwat* and *Ddt* at Semnah, as well as via the evolution of her seated statuary (through portraiture), the obvious conundrum is why she would have omitted the final t's from the term r-pa?

The answer may lie in the history of the term r(t)-pa(t). Since the Middle Kingdom in particular, it could be used interchangeably by male and female members of the royal household⁵⁸¹. Further, since the Old Kingdom it has been connected with titles such as *smr* (companion), *smr waty* (sole companion) and *TAty* (Vizier); associating royal women with the officials of the court⁵⁸². A quick perusal of related documents illustrates this point. A

⁵⁷⁷ One should also note the alternate spelling - wrt imAt (Wb. I, p. 80).

⁵⁷⁸ For Semnah cf. Caminos, 1998, pl. 38, col. 26 (top). For el-Mahatta, cf. Urk. IV: 396.3, with Hatshepsut also referred to as "Great of Love". This may or may not have been the case at Semnah, given the paucity of the remaining inscription. For comments on the founder of the phrase 'wrt iAmt' – namely xa.s-nbw - see Spalinger, 1980b, pp. 95-116.

⁵⁷⁹ As attested on the Wadi Sikkat sarcophagus - section 3.2.1

⁵⁸⁰ Urk. IV: 396. 14

⁵⁸¹ Troy, 1986, pp. 133-5 where she notes "the mother of Khnumhotep is described as becoming rt-pat and HAty-a as daughter of the ruler of the gazelle Nome and [she is also the] wife of an r-pat and HAty-a" (cf. Urk. VII: 28).

⁵⁸² Troy, 1986, p. 196. Note that Troy follows Gardiner (2001, p. 578) in translating rt-pat as 'noblewoman'. However, other translations are possible, such as 'hereditary noble' (rpat - Faulkner, 1999, p. 148) and even 'heir' (*ibid.*). See too Wb. II, (pp. 415-6) where the secular

graffito recovered from Sehel Island describing the Overseer and Treasurer Ty, uses the same terminology (r-pat), albeit in a masculine or nominal form⁵⁸³. In short, and presuming a date of somewhere between years 3-5 for the graffito, it seems possible that Hatshepsut, now underway with her succession for the kingship, was trialling male phraseology as part of her royal epigraphy.

Paradoxically, the very next series of words - wrt Hst iAmt⁵⁸⁴ - is almost innately feminine. Also emerging in the Middle Kingdom, wrt Hst was extensively used by royal females from the outset of the New Kingdom down into Ptolemaic times⁵⁸⁵. Interestingly, of the Eighteenth Dynasty queens who employed the term, only Ahmose-Nefertari and Ahmes precede Hatshepsut⁵⁸⁶. Troy has commented at great length on the musical trait that endeared women to cultic practices in ancient Egypt⁵⁸⁷, and combined with the efforts of other scholars, it is easy to see how Hsi was used as a recitation⁵⁸⁸. She notes:

phrases rpat HAty-a and rpat r ... wsxt are found alongside rpat sA-nsw and even rpat nTrw.

⁵⁸³ cf. Habachi, 1957, 99-104. The pertinent inscription begins: r-pat HAty-a sDAwty bity smr waty imy-r sDAwty xfat ty – “The hereditary noble/prince, governor and treasurer of the King of Lower Egypt, sole friend and Overseer of the Treasury (chief treasurer), the one concerned with the booty, Ty”.

⁵⁸⁴ While only the inscription at Aswan can be absolutely confirmed (Urk. IV: 396.3), the remaining visible portions at Semnah are written in exactly the same fashion as their northern counterpart. There is ample room in the erased space to fit another t, and even the top of the ‘sycamore-fig’ is still evident.

⁵⁸⁵ The first queen to employ the term was Neferu IV – daughter of Amenemhet I, wife of Sesostri I and mother of Amenemhet II (Troy, 1986, 88-9 & 191). Neferu IV also adopted at least one other phrase used by Hatshepsut (rt-pat), and a few that were not: Hnwt Hmwt nbwt (a term employed by several queens, including Ahmes, but not Hatshepsut), Hnwt tA ntt m aH.f (the only recorded case), Hmt nsw [s n Wsrt] n Xnmt-swt, sAt nsw [Imn m HAt] m kA-nfrw (both of these latter epithets were standardised in the Old Kingdom, where one is named as a queen/daughter in connection with their reigning monarch). Further, while circa 40 royalty-based females adopted the term wrt Hst (Hswt, Hstt), they do not always employ it with its counterpart wrt iAmt. The reverse is not true, however. For every royalty-based female that used wrt iAmt, also used its partner wrt Hs(w)t.

⁵⁸⁶ The same is true for wrt iAmt, suggesting Hatshepsut followed the protocols of her mother’s reign and that of Ahmose-Nefertari closely (refer **Table 2**).

⁵⁸⁷ Troy, 1986, pp. 83-7. For general comments on the word ‘favour/praise’ see Wb. III, pp. 154-158; Gardiner, 2001, p. 529; Faulkner, 1999, pp. 176-177; Allen, 2000, p. 464. Also in Late Egyptian, cf. Lesko, *LED II*, pp. 136-139.

⁵⁸⁸ Hickmann, 1958, p. 127.

“...the words of the royal women are directed towards the God [because] one is pleased because of that which comes forth from her mouth. [There is] efficacy of the words of the royal woman”⁵⁸⁹

Thus, like her forebears, Hatshepsut ‘tapped into’ the accepted cultic female norms via the phrase *wrt Hst iAmt*, and literally ‘sang’ her message to the Gods. But then this seems odd; to juxtapose masculine and feminine phraseology in such a contrasting way – or is it? Taking a step back to view the document in its entirety the following picture emerges. The text opens with a masculine form of the term ‘Hereditary Noble’. It then proceeds with a feminine series of words before having the Sun God present Hatshepsut with the kingship. The titles that follow are heavily queenship based, reinforcing both an early date and one that suggests she had not actually received the kingship, but was likely preparing to. There is the obligatory reference to the gods of the Aswan region, before the body of the text focuses on the protagonist – Senenmut. Finally, and coming full circle, the text closes with the passage, “it happened because of the might of her majesty” – the sentiment here being one of kingship, but written with feminine *t* and suffix pronoun. In short, and discussed further in chapter six, it seems that Hatshepsut was intent upon weaving masculine and feminine components, both in art-history (statuary), as well as epigraphy and iconography together in symbiotic fashion. As Loprieno has admirably commented, the intertextuality of inscription and iconography was such that the two worked in unison⁵⁹⁰. Ultimately, the primary assistance this document provides the current research question is to continue illustrating that the notion of regency had been abandoned, and another, more intriguing period was underway.

3.5.2 North Karnak stela (Cat. 5.2)

One of the most irreconcilable pieces from the ‘dated’ corpus of materials attested to the era of Hatshepsut, the north Karnak stela has been

⁵⁸⁹ Troy, 1986, pp. 88-89.

⁵⁹⁰ Loprieno, 2010. Note also comments pertaining to Intertextuality and Reception, which surely the artist must have taken into consideration when carving these reliefs – Loprieno, 1996, pp. 43ff; Loprieno, 1988.

summarised most recently by Peter Dorman⁵⁹¹. The frustration derives from the fact that virtually all efforts to confirm its supposed date are countermanded at every turn. As a result, the efforts here focus on four things:

1. A very brief recap of the debates surrounding this stela over the past fifty years⁵⁹².
2. A fresh look at the layout of the stela in comparison with material from the Sinai Peninsula, as well as that from Semnah and the Deir el-Bahri Punt reliefs.
3. A few summative comments concerning the possible context within which this piece 'fits', especially around the mid-portion of Hatshepsut's reign.
4. Epigraphic comments pertaining to the choice of certain words and phrases.

The summary of past discussions is as follows:

1. DATING

- Line 1 contains the regnal year date, recorded as *rnpt 4 1 Smw sw 16*. That this cannot be relied upon as has been discussed at length⁵⁹³.
- Consequently, several possible dates have been proposed. Years three⁵⁹⁴, four⁵⁹⁵ and twelve⁵⁹⁶ have all been tendered as possibilities.

2. COMPOSITION

- The stela appears to be divided into three parts (based upon the comments of earlier scholars along with first-hand observations)
 - Front side, lines 1-18/19: a grant from Thutmose III to Senenmut with regard to lands (aurora's) in the regions/districts of Hwt-sxm and sA-

⁵⁹¹ 2006, pp. 44-45

⁵⁹² First recorded in detail by Christophe, 1951, pp. 86-89 and plates VI, XV; P-M II, 17

⁵⁹³ The stela has suffered heavy salt erosion and human degradation (Dorman, 2006, p. 44; Murnane, 1977, p. 35). Subsequently, it appears as if the first thirteen lines were recarved in antiquity. Christophe (1951, pp. 86-7) believed the stela was recarved during the Kushite period of dynasties 25-26. However, Helck (1960, pp. 23-24) argued convincingly for its defacement under the Amarna Period, with restorations occurring in the Ramesside Period under Seti I (see also Helck, 1995, pp. 122-126). This has been upheld by other scholars (e.g. Dorman, 1988, pp. 29-31).

⁵⁹⁴ Brovarski, 1976, pp. 67-68

⁵⁹⁵ Note especially the comments by Murnane (1977, p. 35, fn. 12) whereby he remarks that "[the stela] shows no sign of re-cutting".

⁵⁹⁶ Tefnin (1973, p. 236 and fn. 8), where he cites other instances of supposed wear.

- kA⁵⁹⁷. This also includes the endowments that Senenmut was to set-up, which could be viewed as a separate, fourth, section.
- Front side, lines 19/20-25: standardised ‘auto-biographical’ comments on the nature and personality of Senenmut. This is to be expected given this stela represents a personal grant from the king to an official
 - Front side, line 26; right side, 3 lines; left side, 3 lines: inclusion of Hatshepsut within the stela, albeit relegated to the last line of the front side and the edges of the stela.
- Thutmose III, in primary position, is named as *nsw-bity*. However, so too is Hatshepsut⁵⁹⁸.
 - While the last line of the text, which begins the involvement of Hatshepsut in the stela, appears joined to the “Encomium of Senenmut” above, others have noted that it is most unusual to break the passage of two rulers with the personal ‘eulogy’ of an official⁵⁹⁹.

3. EPIGRAPHIC/TEXTUAL ASPECTS

- As noted, Hatshepsut’s inclusion names her as *nsw-bity*. However, it also omits any reference to her as Hmt-nTr⁶⁰⁰. Further, she is addressed via her prenomen, suggestive of a later date for the Hatshepsut-portion of the stela.
- Comments throughout the stela mention the pr-Imn. Senenmut is also

⁵⁹⁷ The districts are named in lines four and five respectively. Murnane (1977, p. 35) summarises the decree best by saying, “the text describes a grant of property by Tuthmosis III to the chief steward Senenmut, from which Senenmut was to set up certain endowments”. Dorman (1988, p. 29) calls these property grants “institutions within the estate of Amun”, which is perhaps a little over-zealous considering the poor understanding of the stela.

⁵⁹⁸ Thutmose III – front side, lines 1, 3, 10; Hatshepsut – line 1, left-hand-side only.

⁵⁹⁹ Dorman, 2006, p. 45. He suggests that “the organization of the text, with the appearance of the cliché biographical phrases between two donation passages, suggests rather that the provisions for the Hatshepsut corvée were appended as a codicil to the pre-existing composition and were intentionally not integrated with the opening passage”. Further, Murnane (1977, pp. 35-36) makes a valid point that the ‘down-time’ between the making (and granting) of the petition and the actual establishment of the stela at Karnak could have straddled the time within which Hatshepsut became crowned as king. The first part of the stela could have actually been carved in year 4, with the Hatshepsut-portion appended at a later date once the transfer was completed. Alternatively, the entire stela could have been carved as a whole, with the first portion back-dated to reflect the time of the actual petition. Ultimately, Murnane’s interest was in rationalising both rulers being described as *nsw-bity* in year 4 (in his eyes before Hatshepsut’s accession); which may have biased his opinion.

⁶⁰⁰ This particular point is discussed more fully in chapter four (section 4.6.2)

referred to as the *imy-r pr n Imn*⁶⁰¹. While this title is often viewed as datable only to the post-accession part of Hatshepsut's reign⁶⁰², note the caution offered by other scholars⁶⁰³.

- Comments within the biographical portion of the text mention the burial (*qrs.kwi m Hswt nt nswt*) and old age (*pH.n.i iAw*) of Senenmut. While Meyer was perplexed by this, Dorman believes this dates the latter portion of the stela to a time no earlier than years 7/8⁶⁰⁴.
- There are two separate references to the temple at Deir el-Bahri (*Dsr-Dsrw*) in the latter half of the document⁶⁰⁵.

In brief, the following issues exist. Was the stela carved all at the same time, or in segments? If in segments, how best should we chronologically attribute each segment? Finally, are years 3, 4 and 12 the only possibilities? Re-examining the merits of the stela, we begin with the layout. While virtually all previous scholars agree that the Hatshepsut-portion was a later addition, they also presume that *all* the Senenmut-content (petition, endorsements and eulogy/encomium) was carved with the Thutmose-content. However, closer inspection of the stela suggests that only the first nineteen (perhaps twenty) lines follow the same contours. Breaking this down further, lines 1-12 are complete and clearly detail the 'donation' between Thutmose III and Senenmut. Lines 13-17 are largely lost, but if the reconstruction in line 18 with regard to the *pr-Imn* is correct, then the 'donation' portion can be extended as far as this line; perhaps to include line 19. The eulogy has definitely

⁶⁰¹ In all, front side, line 1 (where the *Hwt-nTr n Imn* is attested), front side, line 2 (title of Senenmut), front side, line 18 (restored name of temple). Interestingly, while the god Amun is mentioned in relation to Hatshepsut, such is done only with reference to Deir el-Bahri, and not to the temple or 'estate' of Amun, or the title of Senenmut.

⁶⁰² Meyer, 1982, pp. 154, 277; Helck, 1958, p. 362

⁶⁰³ Dorman, 1988, pp. 119-120 over statue CG42116

⁶⁰⁴ Meyer, 1982, 150-156; Dorman, 1988, p. 31. Note also his comments about the construction of TT353 of Senenmut at a time that post-dates the artefactual materials fronting the tomb of Ramose and Hatnofer (Dorman, 1988, pp. 66-79); also comments in section 3.6.2

⁶⁰⁵ Line 26 on the front side and line 1 on the left-hand-side. Dorman (1991, p. 161ff) notes that construction at Deir el-Bahri with regard to the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut did not begin until the time of her coronation (in his opinion, year 7 – also Dorman, 2006, p. 45). However, note the arguments of Wysocki (1986, and 1992, esp. pp. 234-241) that Thutmose II might have laid the foundations of the upper court at a time before year seven. Such would render this point moot.

commenced by lines 21/22, and possibly also in line 20 owing to the first person stative pronouns and subtle content shift⁶⁰⁶. Thus the point of divergence (for both the construction and dating of the portions of the stela), appears to lie in lines 20-21, not with Hatshepsut, but with the change in tone by Senenmut. A subtle shift from earlier scholarly thought, it actually makes more sense. Both Senenmut's mortuary developments, and Hatshepsut's succession, can be collectively viewed with a later date⁶⁰⁷. This has the added advantage of not requiring any additional rationale in terms of separating out Senenmut's earlier endowments, and later mortuary efforts.

Now the only question remains, does the former portion of the stela date to year 3, 4, or 12? To compound matters further, one other chronological possibility does exist. If the arguments of Tefnin and Brovarski are combined, both in changing the nature of the strokes apparent, and reducing their number, then I ∩ or 11 is arrived at⁶⁰⁸. This would place the top portion of the stela at least, in the time and context of the year 11 Sinai stela of Senenmut and Neferure, a situation that is perhaps plausible⁶⁰⁹. However, no matter which date one prefers for the former portion, it is virtually undeniable that the latter portion, commencing from lines 19-20, be dated post-accession (and likely quite late). The reconciliation of the "old age" and tomb preparations of Senenmut, the establishment of the temple estate of Dsr Dsrw, and Hatshepsut's epithets and titles as king, can all be easily explained at this time. As for the former, currently an exact date is indeterminable⁶¹⁰.

⁶⁰⁶ In Meyer's (1982) reconstruction, this line commences with the pronominal *nty*. See Appendix, Plate XXXVII.

⁶⁰⁷ The second decade of Hatshepsut's rule seems logical, perhaps even as late as year 16, when Senenmut disappears from the record (Hayes, 1960, pp. 39-43; refer section 5.2). Only those arguing for an early accession (e.g. Meyer, 1982, pp. 14-28) would dispute this.

⁶⁰⁸ Brovarski (1976, p. 67, fn. 12), in collaboration with Professor Charles F. Nims, agreed that the "spacing of the signs ... better read as year 3". A close examination does illustrate that the stroke on the far left does seem to be spaced slightly farther apart from the other three – and presumably this was the argument made by these scholars.

⁶⁰⁹ This stela depicts Senenmut and Neferure in a semi-regal fashion, and might have parity with the Karnak donation stela in-so-far-as Senenmut seems to have a level of importance, alongside Neferure, in that stela (Dorman, 2005c, pp. 107-109). See also Cat. 5.6 and comments in sections 4.7.3 and 5.3.4.

⁶¹⁰ Note, however, comments pertaining to Thutmose III as a *inpw* in the stela - Dorman, 2005, p. 44-45; Harris & Wente, 1980, pp. 246-247; Helck, 1960, pp. 24-25. On the matter of *inpw* meaning a 'young king', see Feucht, 1995, pp. 503-512. For this reason, a date of years 3-4 is preferred for the formative portion of the stela in this research.

So what then can the stela offer us in terms of the current research question? Looking at the content, Thutmose III is clearly in the dominant position. Interestingly, the Karnak stela epigraphy somewhat seems to parallel the imagery and inscriptions along the exterior western wall at Semnah⁶¹¹. Here, as with Semnah, even in such a subordinate role, Hatshepsut's agenda seems to have shone through. To be sure, the nature of the agenda in each was different. At Semnah, Hatshepsut's motivating factor seems to have been to 'stake her claim on the kingship'. At north Karnak, the focus was more rudimentary – she wanted to secure the endowment for herself, and to attach the benefactions described in the stela to her mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahri⁶¹². Moreover, both inscriptions were modified 'after-the-fact'. At Karnak, some scholars have stated that there might have even been two separate endowments⁶¹³. This seems unlikely though, Hatshepsut probably usurping the singular occurrence for her own office of kingship.

Another commented upon fact is the positioning of Hatshepsut on the sides (and base) of the stela⁶¹⁴. While Murnane sought comparisons for this practice in the reigns of other monarchs, one does not actually have to look beyond the reign of Hatshepsut to find an analogy. In the Sinai Peninsula, a stela was erected at the temple of Hathor in year 13. Thutmose III is placed in primary position and, on the west face, he is named as *nsw-bity*⁶¹⁵. However, Hatshepsut appears, both iconographically on the east face, and textually on the north edge of the stela⁶¹⁶. Thus, two facts are evident here. First, the practice of carving Hatshepsut on the lower and side portions of a stela was

⁶¹¹ Specifically section 3.3.3

⁶¹² The two sections of the respective lines read as follows:- LHS, Line 1 ... Htr n wnwt HAty-a pr wAH nswt-bity mAat-kA-Ra di anX n it.s Imn m Dsr Dsrw. Front Side, Line 10 ... Htr n wnwt HAty-a pr wAH nswt-bity Mn-Xpr-Ra n it.f Imn n sn-mwt. The only areas of divergence are over the prenomens of the king involved, and the connection of the provisions (Htr) to either Senenmut or Djeser Djeseru respectively.

⁶¹³ E.g. Murnane, 1977, p. 35 where he says "...there is mentioned another endowment made by Hatshepsut as king."

⁶¹⁴ Again, Murnane, 1977, p. 35, fn. 12 where he draws comparisons with the Second Stela of Kamose and the Abydos Decree at Nauri of Seti I. Also, Dorman, 2006, p. 45

⁶¹⁵ Appendix, Plate XXV; Cat. 5.7.

⁶¹⁶ Note the comments in section 6.2.3 around the ambiguity of the representations on the east face of the stela.

not an isolated case. True, the genre of stela are different – donation versus monumental. While some may want to see this as a contradictory fact, it could equally be viewed as an exemplar that compositional phenomena such as we have here were capable of straddling architectural and artefactual genre. Second, in spite of a seemingly relegated position, Hatshepsut actually managed (yet again) to inculcate herself into the epigraphy and iconography of Thutmose III. At Semnah and north Karnak Hatshepsut altered earlier epigraphy to promote her agenda. As an 'operational force' behind the throne, one that eventually sought to claim it, virtually no medium seems to have been safe from the artistic programme of Hatshepsut. This, above all else, seems to be the real value inherent in the north Karnak stela of Senenmut. Notwithstanding, one final point, in contrast to both the Senenmut 'Donation Stela' and the year 13 Sinai stela is noteworthy at this juncture. The reliefs at Deir el-Bahri depicting Hatshepsut's year 9 Punt expedition illustrate Thutmose III relegated to one side, whilst Hatshepsut takes primary position⁶¹⁷. While not artefactual stelae per se, the juxtaposition of both monarchs does seem to have occurred for some years; in the case of the Punt reliefs, placing Hatshepsut as the dominant figure⁶¹⁸.

Additionally, the north Karnak Donation Stela does seem to suggest that Senenmut was more interested in appealing to Thutmose III than Hatshepsut. The contractual negotiations take place between the former parties only⁶¹⁹. While one could argue that this was a necessary recourse – Senenmut being forced to deal directly with Thutmose III at this time if he wanted his petition upheld – in the Hatshepsut-portion, Senenmut is wholly missing⁶²⁰. In short,

⁶¹⁷ Naville, 1898, *DeB*, pl. LXXXII.

⁶¹⁸ One must of course note the context and location of the three scenes and inscriptions. For those with Thutmose III in tantamount position were located at Karnak and Sinai; that of Hatshepsut being contained within her mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahri. Notwithstanding, Thutmose III is given prominence within the walls of Djoser-Djeseru (e.g. Naville, 1895, *DeB*, Vol. I, pls. 20-23), and Hatshepsut, for example, is depicted on her obelisks within Karnak carved during years 15-16 with the total omission of Thutmose III (Urk. IV: 357-371)

⁶¹⁹ For the passage in question, note line 2 on the front side that reads, *ir.tw spr nt imy-pr n Imn sn-mwt xft spr nsw Ds.f*. See also Helck, 1995, p. 122; Dorman, 2006, p. 44.

⁶²⁰ There does appear to be some evidence of the signs comprising his name on the left-hand-side, line 2. However, the restoration of Meyer (1982, p. 311) has generic symbols for men and women, suggesting that the correct translation is "brothers and sisters", not Senenmut. The portion immediately prior is lost.

and at a time that Hatshepsut appears to have been making her bid for the throne, one wonders if this stela hints at the political machinations occurring. To be sure, all that is certain is Hatshepsut managed to adjust this stela to reflect her political agenda.

Concluding this section, the focus again shifts to the term *Hs* (favour/praise)⁶²¹. It is mentioned once in relation to the “praise and love” of the *Hwt-nTr n Imn*⁶²². Of greater note, are the two occurrences of it in reference to the ‘hall of offerings’. These occur on the front side, line 6 (the Thutmose-portion) and again in line 26 (the Hatshepsut-portion). The passages are virtually identical, reading:

Thutmose III – Hr irt Hss m pA xA n xt Hr(y)-tp anx wDA snb
 Making favours in the foremost offering hall, life, prosperity, health

Hatshepsut – Hr [irt Hs]s m xA n xt [m] Dsr Dsrw
 Making favours in the Hall of Offerings [in] Dsr Dsrw

What is interesting is the verb *Hsi* is placed in such a context as to imply that the deed of ‘performing favours’ actually constituted a physical act, to be carried out, rather than being just hyperbole. True, situated in context the technical meaning of the clause is one of performing the religious cult in any event⁶²³. However, given the choice of word for ‘hall’ is *xA*, having alternative meanings of office or bureau⁶²⁴, one nevertheless gains the impression that such ‘acts’ could have even been quasi-bureaucratic as opposed to solely ecclesiastical. The question posed here is that, in addition to a probable royal aspect to this phraseology, and a non-royal transference that could follow, was there an administrative or temple-based economic function to this word

⁶²¹ Discussed in the preceding section.

⁶²² Front side, lines 1-2; Appendix, Plate XXXVII

⁶²³ *Wb.* III, p. 155, 15-21.

⁶²⁴ Faulkner, 1999, p. 183

(Hsi) and/or associated phrases?

3.5.3 Year 5 User-amun appointment (Cat. 4.10)

Three items round out this sub-section, of which the elevation of User-Amun from the title of sS-*nsw xtm* to TAty under the reigns of Thutmose I and Thutmose III respectively, constitutes the first⁶²⁵. Collectively, the three items have one thing in common – they omit any mention of Hatshepsut. While at first this might be reason enough to disregard them in light of the current research question, such would be foolhardy and potentially distort the picture being painted⁶²⁶. The primary argument being developed in this chapter is that, at some point, Hatshepsut embarked upon her campaign for the kingship. Doing so necessitated a departure from what scholars traditionally call a regency, and began a period of succession. The challenge is whether the series of events that followed is adequately reflected by the current terminology. Notwithstanding, embodied within that process, a young king slowly came of age. Albeit overshadowed by his step-mother, it must never be forgotten that he was Horus *par excellence*. These three records shed light on how affairs of state were being conducted (by him?)⁶²⁷, as Hatshepsut forged the kingship for herself.

Three points will form the heart of our discussions here. The first will be brief

⁶²⁵ Dziobek, 1994, pl. 81, column 24 where the name aA-xpr-kA-ra is legible towards the bottom (the titles and name of the official recorded higher in the column).

⁶²⁶ Such a glaring omission is noticeable, for example, from Meyer (1982). While one can forgive the scholar in part, as the focus of the earlier study was around the official Senenmut – especially his plethora of statues – not less than fourteen pages are dedicated to the subject of Hatshepsut's accession in Meyer's publication (pp. 14-27, and specifically headed "Das Thronbesteigungsdatum der Hatshepsut"). Such omissions would have strengthened Meyer's favouring an early date for Hatshepsut's accession (cf. Dorman, 1988, pp. 43-45).

⁶²⁷ A debated point, the crux of the matter comes down to, just because a person is named doing a thing, does that necessarily mean they actually did the thing? For general comments on the state and its assumption of the power see de Jouvenel, 1993, pp. 41ff. With respect to ancient Egypt refer O'Connor, 2001, pp. 190ff.

Second, the line of Viziers down to Rekhmire, are from the same family⁶³². Third, that Ineni may well have influenced both Aa-methu and User-Amun in their uptake and administration of the office, being a brother-in-law and uncle to each respectively⁶³³. Last, that the official Senenmut was also a contemporary of these three men (Aa-methu, User-Amun, Ineni) and, as such, may likewise have influenced, and been influenced by, these individuals⁶³⁴.

The second point is that, unlike the year 5 Sinai stela of Thutmose III below, there is absolutely no ambiguity around the fact that Thutmose III is named as *nsw-bity* at this stage. Such is evident in both the Theban account⁶³⁵, and also the Ramesside(?) papyrus⁶³⁶. While one might try to rationalise away the occurrence of the date based upon grounds that both accounts of the 'Appointment' seem to have been carved after Hatshepsut's demise, such does not overshadow the fact that, in terms of 'relative' content and context, a very precise date is recorded on the papyrus⁶³⁷. Thus, we must acknowledge that, at a time when Hatshepsut must have been close to ascending to the

⁶³² On the installation of Rekhmire into the office refer Faulkner, 1955. For the 'Dedicatory Inscription' of Rekhmire - Urk. IV: 1071-1085; for his 'Installation, Duties and Appointment', Urk. IV: 1085ff.

⁶³³ Dziobek, 1987, p. 70.

⁶³⁴ Such has been commented on many years ago by Redford (1967, pp. 77-78, who cites at least Senenmut and Ineni as members of the 'party' of Hatshepsut). More recently this is noted by Dziobek (1995, pp. 132-139) who believes that User-Amun pushed traditional boundaries both via, and during, his appointment. Lastly, Bryan (2006) who is perhaps the most circumspect, merely stating the evidence as it appears, without attempting to read too much into it.

⁶³⁵ Dziobek, 1994, Plate 81, Column 2; add in general plates 17a, 19, 42, 43 and 72, which record the photographic evidence of the tomb as opposed to the transcribed. This inscription is labelled as the 'Appointment of the New Vizier (Berufung des Vezirs)', and recorded as scene 5 (TT131) by Dziobek. It is this passage that has been the subject of much discussion and debate over the past 50+ years (along with that of Rekhmire – fn. 632 above), in terms of the office of the Vizier. See also Helck, 1955, pp. 108-111; Urk. IV: 1380-1383.

⁶³⁶ Helck, 1955, pp. 111-112; Urk. IV: 1384. The specific reference and connection of Thutmose III to the title *nsw-bity* is recorded (along with the exact date) in the first line.

⁶³⁷ The original discussions of the account in TT131 as being 'retrospective' were posited by Helck, 1955, pp. 116-117. These were largely adopted by later scholars such as Murnane (1977, p. 36c), although he appears to have been somewhat unaware of Papyrus 1878. To some extent a posthumous carving of User-Amun's tomb is supported by his longevity in office – 28 years (Helck, 1958, Part III, pp. 290-296, 436-437; Urk. IV: 1043) or even 33 years (Dziobek, 1994, p. 100). However, a late carving of scenes is not conclusive by any means. As regards the Ramesside date of the papyrus account, Dorman (1988, pp. 33-34) suggests that the palaeography of various signs, in addition to comparisons with another fragment of the same parchment, are indicative of a later dated text. Notwithstanding, he does suggest that the original text from which the copy of P1878 was drawn, was written at the time as the 'Appointment'.

throne (see section 3.6), Menkheperre is expressly stated as *nsw-bity*⁶³⁸.

The final matter to be discussed here is a small, but perhaps significant one. While the 'Appointment' of the new vizier User-Amun within Theban Tomb 131 is fairly standard in its use of syntax, orthography, style and structure, there is a noticeable introduction in the papyrus-version. Namely, that the Horus-Standard has been employed throughout the passage on no less than eleven instances⁶³⁹. In eight of the occurrences it is directly associated with the king, either via his titles Hm or *nsw*, his generic title as nb, or his epithets⁶⁴⁰. In one instance it follows pr-Imn, in another pr-aA and in the last it is appended to aH.

Given the Horus-Standard is a fairly common hieroglyph, its inclusion may be little more than royal hyperbole. However, it does raise two points. First, given it was often used in an archaistic fashion with reference to gods and kings, such would add further support to Dorman's arguments for the late writing of the papyri⁶⁴¹. That subsequent writers wished to extol the virtues of this particular appointment is in fitting with a later date of writing. Second, one does have to wonder as to whether or not this addition of a 'more royal tone' was a partial effort to promote the kingship of Thutmose III? In three-quarters of the occurrences, it is the king who is the recipient of the Horus-Standard. While the overall document is focused around User-Amun and his appointment, the target of the Horus-kingship link was Thutmose III. Given the accession of Hatshepsut was to follow, a fact well-known in the Ramesside period, perhaps later writers sought to reassure their audiences that the mid-

⁶³⁸ Some scholars have noted that Thutmose may even have held a level of independence from his step-mother (e.g. Vandersleyen, 1995, pp. 274-5). Counter-arguments have been put forward by Dorman (2006, fn. 53). Notwithstanding, given Thutmose was still very young, Hatshepsut may well (most likely was) still directing the affairs of state.

⁶³⁹ If one assumes Helck's reconstructions are correct (1955, p. 112). On the Horus-Standard - Gardiner, 2001, revised, p. 468 (sign G7).

⁶⁴⁰ In line 4 there is even a duplication of the sign, after both nb and nfr. In line 9 it follows the word for 'palace', whilst being omitted from the *nsw* preceding it (Helck, *op.cit*).

⁶⁴¹ Footnote 637 above. On archaism see Russmann, 2001, pp. 40-44 (noting that her comments pertain to iconographic representations, but that the essence of the comments most certainly carries over to the hieroglyphic language). Also, Smith, 2002, pp. 269-270.

Eighteenth Dynasty was anything but normal⁶⁴². In short, did the policy of iconoclasm against Hatshepsut by later rulers delve so deep as to reinforce the kingship of Thutmose III in such a specific epigraphic fashion?

3.5.4 Two year five Sinai stelae (Cat. 5.1)

The northernmost stela of the pair has the following elements worthy of note. Iconographically, Thutmose III stands before Hathor as king. The scene was originally a 'mirror-image', occurring on both the left and right sides of the stela. Little remains intact, likely as a result of erosion. The most complete parts of the northern Sinai stela are the image of Hathor on the right, and a titulary note that reads,

"Thutmosis, son of Re, the good God, Menkheperre, beloved of Hathor, lady of turquoise"⁶⁴³.

The southernmost stela is slightly more intact, and while Hatshepsut is again wholly missing, some have suggested the possibility that she might have originally existed on the stela⁶⁴⁴. The stela effectively has three registers below the lunette⁶⁴⁵. In the uppermost, Thutmose III again stands before Hathor as king on the right-hand-side, but this time is offering to her⁶⁴⁶. On the left, the goddess might have been Hathor, although the figure(s) have been entirely lost⁶⁴⁷. In the mid-section, there appears to have been nine lines of text, but all has again been lost. All that remains is a repeating of the year date and the full titulary of Thutmose III at the beginning, with his nomen at the end. The lowest register contains a number of vertical lines of text, which

⁶⁴² On the emulation of this period by Nineteenth Dynasty rulers, and specifically the emulation of Thutmose III by Seti I (and probably Ramesses II), see for example Kitchen, 1982, pp. 20-25.

⁶⁴³ GPC, *Sinai*, Vol. I, pl. LVI and Vol. II, pp. 150-151 (no. 175)

⁶⁴⁴ Tefnin (1973, pp. 239-240) proposed that Hatshepsut was subsequently removed from this stela.

⁶⁴⁵ PM VII¹, 351

⁶⁴⁶ The prowess of Hathor is well documented (e.g. Quirke, 1992, pp. 126-130), especially at the Sinai (Pinch, 1993, pp. 49-53) and Deir el-Bahri (Naville, 1901, *DeB*, Pt. 4, plates 87-106; Ratié, 1979, pp. 171-2). For Hathor under the reign of Hatshepsut see Troy, 1986, pp. 53-68.

⁶⁴⁷ GPC, *Sinai* (Vol. II, p. 151, no. 176) note that "there is enough room for four figures of the size of that of Hathor".

mention a "*treasurer of the king of Lower Egypt and the overseer of the great... (remainder lost)*". The exact individual is not named, and thus it is impossible to determine if such belonged to the retinue in support of Thutmose III or Hatshepsut⁶⁴⁸.

Badly damaged, the primary aspect taken from the stelae is that Hatshepsut had not yet become king, to judge by the kingly references to Menkheperre. However, there are some obvious facts not often commented upon by scholars. First, in each of the lunettes, the name of the king does not appear alongside the year-date. One could simply try to rationalise this with comments about 'poor preservation', but then such would be incredibly 'unlucky' from a modern historical perspective – to have the names of Thutmose III everywhere present *except* in the dated lunette of *both* stelae.

Second, in each instance where Thutmose III is cited, he is not actually named as *nsw-bity*. He is referred to as the "son of Re", and the "good God", and the title *nsw-bity* does appear in line 4⁶⁴⁹. Recalling the biography of Ineni, Thutmose III is often mentioned in connection to his 'godly birth' and associated 'divine qualities' early on⁶⁵⁰. Moreover, in the latter lines of the southern Sinai stela, reference is made to the "King of Lower Egypt" in connection with an official, but again, without the name of the precise pharaoh. Thus, in the case of these two stelae, Thutmose's name is not mentioned alongside the title "King of Upper and Lower Egypt" – a curious, but nonetheless apparent fact⁶⁵¹. Assuredly many will want to argue that inclusion of his prenomen and kingship epithets, as well as the fact that his name and the title *nsw-bity* do appear, independently, upon the stelae, is evidence enough of his role at this early stage. Notwithstanding, it is

⁶⁴⁸ See for example the comments in Redford (1967, pp. 77-78).

⁶⁴⁹ GPC, *Sinai*, Vol. I, pl. LVI

⁶⁵⁰ Refer section 3.2.10. The same can also be found on the year 1 Saqqara graffito (Firth and Quibell, 1935, p. 80 (D); Cat. 4.1)

⁶⁵¹ Note that Thutmose III *is* mentioned in this manner in the year 5 'User-Amun Installation', as well as the year 6 stela of Tjemhy. This would seem then, to be a point of difference between this text and the other two. Note also comments in chapter six over the titulary combinations that occur for Thutmose III and Hatshepsut (e.g. named as *nsw* in a Htp-dī-nsw formula on the pillars of the hall of Soped in the temple of Hathor - GPC, *Sinai*, no. 184).

interesting that in all cases where clarity could have been afforded, there is instead ambiguity. And it is this point that is being made⁶⁵².

3.5.5 Year 6 graffito-stela of Tjemhy (Cat. 4.17)

This rock-cut stela, written for (and most likely by) the scribe Tjemhy, seems to illustrate that in year six of the reign of Thutmose III, the young ruler was still king in name. The inscription reads as follows:

rnpt-sw 6 Abd 3 Smw sw 16 xr Hm nsw-bity Mn-xpr-ra sA Ra
DHwty-ms di anx Dd wAs mi Ra anx Dt⁶⁵³

Regnal year 6, 3rd month of Shemu, day 16, under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre, son of Re, Thutmose, given life, stability, dominion, like Re who lives forever

Little more is offered than the date, the full nomen and prenomen of Thutmose III (excepting epithets), and the standard encomium extolling best wishes and good health upon him. At the base of the stela, the postscript contains what appears to be the signature of the owner of the stela; in all probably also the hand that carved this artefact. It simply reads:

sS TmHy

Three comments can be made with respect to the reign of Hatshepsut. First, keeping with the appointment of the vizier User-Amun in particular, this stela suggests Thutmose III was still king in regnal year six. Second, this stela was carved early in the sixth year of Thutmose III/Hatshepsut⁶⁵⁴. Third, no deviation from a very traditional representation of the name of the Thutmose III is made. The formula is simply: *date – under the majesty of – nsw-bity – prenomen – son of Re – nomen – epithets of goodwill and longevity*. In short, events in early year six were fairly standard, without any apparent unorthodox

⁶⁵² As per the previous footnote, the curiosities of the Sinai Peninsula inscriptions are more fully covered in the final chapter.

⁶⁵³ Goedicke and Wente, 1962, p. 16 and plate XLI (no. 59). Also, Chappaz, 1993, p. 94, fn. 45.

⁶⁵⁴ His accession date is cited in section 1.3 as the first month of Shemu, day 4.

practice. Given the accession of Hatshepsut to come, as per the oil jars detailed in the next section, this is actually quite an interesting state of affairs. Moreover, with all that has been detailed in terms of Hatshepsut's governance and/or kingship-bound efforts (Ineni biography, Semnah, Block 287, seated statuary at Deir el-Bahri, el-Mahatta graffito, north Karnak stela), one would be justified in feeling somewhat astounded by this graffito-stela. However, perhaps the primary fact to be taken from this small piece of officialdom (more so than the two year 5 items), is that it may suggest much of Hatshepsut's inscriptional efforts as regards the kingship, were carried out retrospectively.

3.6 Evidence for accession / transition

3.6.1 Karnak Door Lintel (*Cat. 4.13*)

This fragmentary limestone block, recovered some seventy years ago, is interesting, both for the content it contains and the fact that recently attempts have been made to assign it to a known temple structure⁶⁵⁵. The block is effectively split into two halves via the wAs-sceptre that Amun-Re holds, the vertical register line above and the termination of the Nwt-symbol wings (itself only partially present). The right of the scene contains the figure of Amun-Re, determined by the caption Imn-Ra nswt-nTrw positioned above the dual-plumed headdress he dons. Preceding his title is a small phrase illustrating that he is presenting Hatshepsut with "all life, dominion and stability". On the far right of the scene is a column of hieroglyphs. Alas, much like the figure of Amun-Re, they are mostly lost. What remains seems to read:

di.n n.T irt kA [large portion lost] mi Ra Dt

The (divine) kA was made for you, like Re forever

Most fascinating is the thought that Amun-Re might have been physically making Hatshepsut's (divine) kA. In the section on Block 287 from the Red Chapel, the connection of the royal kA to the temple of Luxor was noted⁶⁵⁶. The question is does this block illustrate a level of importance for the royal

⁶⁵⁵ Laboury, 2006, p. 273, fn. 115, who assigns it to the eastern Karnak chapel (noted above in section 3.2.8). The lintel was first published by Chevrier, 1934 (Appendix, Plate XLII).

⁶⁵⁶ Sctn. 3.3.6

kA, as bequeathed by Amun-Re (and not Amen-em-opet) to Hatshepsut in the midst of the Karnak temple? While this question, and indeed the nature of the structure in the eastern inner sanctum, remains unclear at present, the late-dated fragmentary inscription from inner Karnak might illustrate that, irrespective of the structure which originally housed this door lintel, there was a clear focus on the establishment of the royal kA of Hatshepsut within the innermost part of Karnak temple⁶⁵⁷.

The band of hieroglyphics radiating along the top from the out-stretched arm of Nwt reads as follows,

BHdti nTr aA sAb Swt⁶⁵⁸ nb pt

The Behdetite, great god, variegated of feathers, lord of heaven

While not focused under the temple of Semnah above, the top border of several scenes along the exterior faces of both the east and west walls of that temple contain similar copies of this passage⁶⁵⁹. This god also appears in the cenotaph of Senenmut⁶⁶⁰, and it would be interesting to know if such was present in the inner sanctuary of the temple of Buhen, adjacent the scenes of Hatshepsut (to be able to better connect the different forms of Hatshepsut's royal kA that exist at both Karnak and Buhen). Earlier studies fairly convincingly demonstrated that this form of Horus served two key purposes - first, as a symbol of unity (the two halves of Egypt), and second, as a

⁶⁵⁷ Cat. 4.11. The year 17 fragmentary inscription rests "behind the southern jamb of the doorway between Chapel 5 and Court VI" (Dorman, 1988, p. 47, fn. 4). Here, the text may well illustrate that, late in the reign of Hatshepsut, she sought to begin preparations to move her semi-divine self into the realm of fully divine (Murnane, 1977, pp. 38-9 (n); Chappaz, 1993, p. 95, fn. 57; Dorman, 2006, p. 54 and fn. 103). For the text itself - Urk. IV: 376.9-14, with the date recorded at 376.13. On a related angle, note scenes at the temple of Buhen where a personified form of the royal kA is evident (Caminos, 1974, plate 77; see also the 'Addendum' section).

⁶⁵⁸ Note that the sign evident on the block appears at first to be a reed-leaf and one has to look carefully at the crack running through the lintel to see the 'hook' of the Swt-feather

⁶⁵⁹ Caminos, 1998, plate 26 (where both sides of the Nwt-symbol read the same, excepting that they omit the epithet nb pt); plate 27 (where the entire phrase is contained, but also lengthened by the clause di.f anx Dd wAs); and plate 42 (containing the reference to Hatshepsut, but only containing the name of the god – Behdetite – adjacent to the Nwt-wing) – refer Appendix, Plates IV and VI.

⁶⁶⁰ For tomb 16 at Gebel el-Silsila, cf. Cat. 2.23 and references therein. Horus the Behdetite occurs on the west wall (Caminos and James, 1963, p. 55, plate 44; Appendix, Plate XLVII) and outer/doorjamb areas (Caminos and James, 1963, plate 40; Appendix, Plate XLV).

representation of the king's person, albeit as immanent in the visible sun⁶⁶¹. When comparing the Semnah and Karnak occurrences, that with Thutmose III is employed during his coronation, that with Hatshepsut is placed, *not* at the northern (queenly) end, but at the southern (kingly) end of the exterior west wall. It is at this end that the Episodic scenes seem to culminate in Hatshepsut's overt expression and potential move towards the kingship⁶⁶². This is in perfect fitting with the usage of Horus the Behdetite.

Turning to Hatshepsut herself, and the left side of the lintel, there is a mix of garb and epithets. Hatshepsut dons a long-sheathed dress, stretching to her ankles, and typical of that seen in statues MMA 30.3.3 and 29.3.3⁶⁶³. She wears a short-curved wig, which Dorman believes is the same/similar to the khat-headdress worn by royal females⁶⁶⁴. One should also note the nipples of Hatshepsut can be clearly seen, even in profile, thus placing the style of the attire within the 'queenly' realm⁶⁶⁵. Atop this feminine attire, however, rests a dual-plumed crown, itself containing ram's horns and a sun's disk. Hatshepsut sports a small uraeus upon her brow, and the extrinsic inscription stamped before the headdress further confirms this mix of dress and titulary, reading:

nswt-bity nbt irt? MAat-kA-Ra anx.ti

King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of Making Things, Maatkare, may she live

Dorman believes this lintel represents an "evolved stage of female kingship", paralleling it with a number of other extant pieces in that publication⁶⁶⁶. The question, however, is which way round should this lintel to be read? Are we to infer that Hatshepsut had been crowned king, as per her title and prenomen, and the queenship garb was a throw-back to earlier years; yet to be phased out? Or rather, should the reader presume she was just about to enter the kingship, ultimately to discard the queenship protocols still connected to her? Before making a determination, let us consider the final piece of the puzzle.

⁶⁶¹ Gardiner (1944, pp. 46-52), who summarises decades of debate between himself and the scholars Sethe, Kees and Schäfer.

⁶⁶² Arguments already made in section 3.3.3.

⁶⁶³ Cat. 1.2 and 1.3.

⁶⁶⁴ Dorman, 2006, p. 51, fn. 82. Comparing MMA statue 30.3.3 to the door lintel, the wigs look identical; the conclusion appears sound.

⁶⁶⁵ **Table 6** and associated sections.

⁶⁶⁶ 2006, *op. cit.*

Between the legs of Hatshepsut and Amun-Re, the presenting of wine (irp) to Amun-Re by Hatshepsut, is discussed (confirmed by the gesture Hatshepsut makes with her outstretched arms, whereby she is offering a liquid – named in the text – in nw-pots to Amun-Re). Finally then, there is the acknowledgement of that which she receives from Amun-Re, recorded on the far left. It states,

di.f⁶⁶⁷ anx nb Dd wAs nb snb nb Awt-ib nb xr.f [lost portion]⁶⁶⁸

May he give all life, stability, all dominion, all health and all prosperity; then he [lost portion]
This passage, then, confirms the acknowledgment of the 'tools' of kingship as a result of the tribute offered to Amun-Re. These have been discussed in several sections before now, and a summary here seems fitting⁶⁶⁹.

Item	Section (or Cat.)	Notes	Date estimate (as per Fig. 1)
Chevrier block (top)	3.2.8	all tools offered, including Awt-ib	T2 – year 1
Semnah temple	3.3.3	Both Hatshepsut and T3, from Satet and Dedwen respectively	Date = year 2 (content: Thutmose II – year 4/5 Hatshepsut/T3)
El-Mahatta inscription	3.5.1	Only in the broadest sense	Years 3-5 (1 st carving)
Karnak door lintel	3.6.1	all tools offered, including Awt-ib	This section
Chapelle Rouge block 145	3.6.4	From Wadjet to Hatshepsut	Content years 6-7
Northern middle colonnade, DeB	3.6.5	Stoic representations for Hatshepsut	Spans first and early second decades
Re-used North Karnak chapel	3.7.4	Hatshepsut receiving sA, Dd, Anx	Entire of Hatshepsut's reign
Obelisk Inscriptions	Cat. 5.13	Urk. IV: 357.15 (all tools offered, including Awt-ib)	Years 15-16
Nakht Inscription	6.2.5	T3 offering nw-pots to Hathor for the 'tools' of kingship	Year 20

Table 7: Summary of instances containing reference to 'tools' of kingship (or queenship)

⁶⁶⁷ The placement of the horned viper here is such that one could read the beginning of the passage as di anx.f. However, the "giving" as it would read at the start of the passage is without a final 't' (for infinitive) or other letters should it be stative or participial in nature. Not denying that Hatshepsut might have wanted to stress that it was *Amun's life* being received, the rendered verbal form is likely prospective, hence the transliteration preferred here.

⁶⁶⁸ The remains of a loaf of bread (t) appear visible under the final horned viper. Alas, little can be deduced from it.

⁶⁶⁹ Another example has recently been brought to the author's attention, this time for Thutmose II (XLIa), with Hatshepsut as Hmt-nTr (XLIc) - Gabolde, 2005, pp. 136-138 & pls. XLI-XLI

The Chevrier Block contextually depicting the receipt of these 'tools' as part of Hatshepsut's queenship (specifically in her office of God's Wife), and with Semnah and Deir el-Bahri being somewhat prophetic in nature, the Karnak door lintel seems to fit best alongside block 145 from the Red Chapel (detailed later in this section). While the alignment with the Chapelle Rouge does not directly aid the choice of date in terms of whether the Karnak lintel depicts a time immediately pre- or post- accession, the data here nevertheless seems to suggest a moment as close as possible to her actual coronation⁶⁷⁰. Hatshepsut is offering to Amun-Re with *nw*-pots, Horus the Behdetite is present and, most importantly, her divine *kA* appears to be undergoing a transformation. However, no matter how hard one tries, Hatshepsut's wearing of queenly regalia cannot be dismissed. And this is perhaps the most compelling chronological argument for, at no time following her accession, did she revert back to her queenship attire. Therefore, this lintel is believed to demonstrate, alongside the prophetic northern middle colonnade at Deir el-Bahri, and the presumably concurrent Red Chapel crowning scenes, the moment Hatshepsut stepped into the kingship. Ultimately, her years of succession were drawing to a close; with those of kingship about to begin.

3.6.2 *The oil-jars and year seven (Cat. 4.4)*

Like year 16, year seven of Hatshepsut is well-represented in the archaeological record⁶⁷¹. The intention here is to outline these items, highlight some caveats around past comments made, and briefly discuss them in light of Block 287 as well as earlier dated documents. The items consist of:

1. A jar-label from the forecourt of MMA Tomb 110, within the causeway of the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri. It contains a year-date only⁶⁷²
2. A limestone ostrakon found in 1920 by Norman de Garis Davies in the forecourt of

⁶⁷⁰ Combined with the much earlier date for the two Chevrier Blocks, the eastern Precinct chapel has been awarded a date range from Thutmose II – year 7 in **Fig. 1**. This particular lintel, in tandem with the coronation blocks from the Chapelle Rouge, has been dated to years 6-7 (if part of the eastern Karnak chapel, it is believed its date would lie at the outer edge of that structure – based upon current evidence).

⁶⁷¹ See for example the Wadi Maghara stela (Cat. 5.8), the Abka graffito (Cat. 4.19), the TT353 graffito (Cat. 4.6) and the Karnak obelisks between the 4th and 5th pylons (Cat. 5.13).

⁶⁷² Winlock, 1928a, p. 26; Hayes, 1957, pp. 78-9, 81; Appendix, Plate XLIIa

Senenmut's Theban Tomb 71⁶⁷³

3. Four sealed pottery oil-jars from the tomb of Senenmut's parents, Ramose and Hatnofer. These contain various inscriptions, outlined below⁶⁷⁴

On the first item, the reader is referred to the discussion by Dorman whereby he outlines all of the concerns that are obvious with this artefact⁶⁷⁵. The only point to be added is that one of the statements made in his publication, does not allow for the possibility that Hatshepsut could have commenced work on her mortuary temple at an earlier stage; possibly during her claim to the kingship. It reads:

“[construction on] Hatshepsut's mortuary temple must have followed her accession to the throne, [and consequently] an unequivocal date for the start of construction would help approximate the beginning of her kingship”⁶⁷⁶

With regard to TT71, the ostracon contains six lines of text that describe masons, measurements and work gangs involved in the construction of Senenmut's Qurna tomb. There are four lines that read right to left, and a further two above that also read right to left, but are written upside-down in relation to the first four. The most pertinent line is the first as recorded by Hayes, namely - *rnpt-sw 7 Abd 4 prt sw 2 SAa bAkW*⁶⁷⁷. Indeed, such a line forms the core of any discussions, as former scholars have well and truly noted⁶⁷⁸. Little remains to be done other than echoing the earlier sentiments that this block describes the commencement of works on the Qurna tomb of Senenmut, with the fill from this tomb being deposited into the entrance of the tomb of his parents (situated a mere 3-metres below), in all likelihood⁶⁷⁹. Turning to the third and most noteworthy corpus, the interior of the tomb of

⁶⁷³ Hayes, 1942 – the ostracon photograph is listed as (Hayes) Plate XIII, no. 62 and a translation with notes is provided on p. 21.

⁶⁷⁴ Lansing and Hayes, 1937, pp. 3-39; Hayes, 1957, pp. 79-81; Dorman, 1988, p. 34; Appendix, Plate XLIIb

⁶⁷⁵ Dorman, 1988, pp. 34-5

⁶⁷⁶ *ibid.* Refer the recent research by Wysocki (1992), especially pages 235-246 where he details the first phase of construction, noting that this stage of building may have been carried out by Thutmose II. Add Arnold 2005 in general.

⁶⁷⁷ Hayes, 1942, Plate XIII, no. 62, line 1

⁶⁷⁸ Hayes, 1957, p. 79; Dorman, 1988, p. 34

⁶⁷⁹ Originally noted by Lansing and Hayes, 1937, pp. 38-9

Ramose and Hatnofer contained four sealed oil-jars⁶⁸⁰. Three of these had their mud-stoppers stamped with the names of Hatshepsut, while all four contained hieratic labels, at least two of which were dated⁶⁸¹. **Table 8** below summarises the evidence, from which Hayes concluded the following:

1. *Between [Year 7, 2nd month of Peret, day 8, being the date on Amphora #5 within the tomb of Senenmut's parents] and [Year 7, 4th month of Peret, day 2, being the date on the ostrakon from the forecourt of TT71]: Burial of Senenmut's parents*
2. *[Year 7, 4th month of Peret, day 2]: Commencement of work on Senenmut's first tomb (No. 71)*
3. *After [Year 7, 3rd month of Peret, day 25]: Commencement of work on Hatshepsut's terraced temple⁶⁸²*

Lansing & Hayes, 1937 Plan ⁶⁸³	Hayes 1957 Label ⁶⁸⁴	Museum Label	Seal Reference and Notes ⁶⁸⁵
Amphora #3	Oil-Jar #2	MMA 36.3.84	Plate XLlb Fig. C – this seal occurs nine times in all, across the stoppers of both Amphora #3 and #6, “nTr-nfr MAat-kA-ra” Plate XLlb Fig. F – single inscription on the shoulder that describes the oil originally contained. Hayes (1957, p. 80) notes a date of year 5 on the reverse ⁶⁸⁶
Amphora #4	Oil-Jar #1	MMA 36.3.83	Plate XLlb Fig. 1B – the seal impression occurs 4 times on the stopper, “HAt-Spswt Hmt-nTr snw nb” Plate XLlb Fig. 1D – single occurrence on the shoulder, “rnpt-sw 7 stwynA” ⁶⁸⁷
Amphora #5	Oil-Jar #4	Unknown	Plate XLlb Fig. 1E – three lines of text recorded on the shoulder of this jar, “rnpt-sw 7 Abd 2 prt sw 8 mrHt nt hrw-tpy nkt”
Amphora #6	Oil-Jar #3	Cairo Museum	Stoppers discussed with Oil-Jar #2 above. No other seals/labels discernable on the body

Table 8: Oil-jars from the tomb of Ramose and Hatnofer

⁶⁸⁰ For the most recent summary, again see Dorman, 2005b, pp. 91-92

⁶⁸¹ Hayes, 1957, pp. 79-81 (from which Appendix, Plate XLlb is drawn)

⁶⁸² 1957, p. 80

⁶⁸³ Lansing and Hayes, 1937, p. 24, fig. 27 contains the plan of the tomb as it was originally found. The mummies of the parents can be identified on the right-hand-side, various boxes and furniture on the left-hand-side, and the four amphorae at the rear of the tomb

⁶⁸⁴ The numbering here represents the order in which Hayes (1957, pp. 79-80) discusses the jars, as matched against their original numbering within the tomb

⁶⁸⁵ The ‘figure’ reference is directly imported from Hayes (1957, p. 81)

⁶⁸⁶ He does not associate this with the prenomen of Hatshepsut, however, as the faded nature of the inscription “tells us that it had seen earlier use in ‘Regnal Year 5’” (*ibid.*)

⁶⁸⁷ On stwynA being an Indo-Aryan name recorded in the mid-fifteenth century from Alalakh, see Hayes, 1957, p. 80, fn. 1

The first of his summary points is highly likely, the second indisputable, while the third is unproven on current evidence. Hayes also raised the question, while ‘subscribing’ to Hatshepsut’s coronation in year 2, of why her title Hmt-nTr was still in employment in year 7. So let’s empirically assess what we have here. First, within an associated context dated no later than year 7, 2nd month of Peret day 8, we find the prenomen, nomen and God’s Wife title for Hatshepsut. This date can possibly be pushed out until year 7, 4th month of Peret day 2, if we presume (as earlier scholars did), that the fill from the commencement of Senenmut’s Theban Tomb 71 landed on the already completed (and sealed) tomb of his parents. However, it must be noted that only the year itself can be precisely attributed to the nomen and ‘God’s Wife’ title (as per Amphora #4); the precise month and day being inferred by artefactual association with Amphora #5⁶⁸⁸. Further, we have the unlikely (owing to depositional observations) but possible association of a year 5 date on the same vessel as the prenomen of Hatshepsut. Such is scant evidence for attributing Hatshepsut’s assumption of powers to an earlier date, but does draw into question Dorman’s comments pertaining to the consideration of material from years 4-5⁶⁸⁹. With regards to the seal stamps containing the prenomen of Hatshepsut (Plate XLIb, Fig. 1C), it should be noted that a uraeus too is evident; situated in a position preceding the nTr-symbol. Given the prevalence of this symbol, in conjunction with nine occurrences of the prenomen of Hatshepsut across two oil-jar stoppers, it seems highly likely that this oil-jar was inscribed at a time when Hatshepsut was the undisputed ruler of Egypt⁶⁹⁰.

⁶⁸⁸ While secondary or re-deposition seems unlikely (the undisturbed nature of the tomb attested by Lansing and Hayes, 1937, pp. 12-14), such is not out of the realms of possibility. See for example the staggered building phases of the tomb (Dorman, 1988, p. 84).

⁶⁸⁹ Particularity, "In fact it would be more difficult to argue against a proposed coronation in year 4 or 5 ... but there is no evidence that would make such a suggestion worthy of consideration" (Dorman, 1988, p. 45). Likewise, note the arguments of Vandersleyen (1995, p. 275) in opting for a year 3 date.

⁶⁹⁰ To find evidence of any king on monumental architecture is one thing. To find them covering small, portable artefactual items in such quantity suggests not only an established rulership, but also a period of time has passed since they assumed their office. For development of this point, see below.

Returning momentarily to the seals dated to year 7 and containing the nomen and ecclesiastical epithet, Schott tried to argue that these related to the 'estate of Amun', which he believed existed after Hatshepsut's accession/coronation⁶⁹¹. While the latter point may have been true, nowhere on any of the seals or inscriptions is the phrase *pr Imn* or the like attested. His need to rationalise how queenship-based titles of Hatshepsut could exist in year 7, drew from his arguments that Hatshepsut succeeded to the kingship in year 2⁶⁹². Equally, Hayes' concerns that the God's Wife of Amun title existed for Hatshepsut in year 7, at a time long after she was supposed to have taken the mantle of kingship, presumes that she did indeed relinquish this title upon her assumption of that higher office. Indeed, while some may be wont to agree with Schott, the evidence here does not support the conclusions he made. Nor, however, does it support a later date of accession/coronation; by itself it is largely inconclusive.

In order to better understand the material at hand, two vital facts must be considered - the greater context as per material in the archaeological period leading up to year seven, and the nature of royal propaganda as disseminated through the artefactual record. On the latter, scholars have noted that a 'lag-time' often exists between the actual succession to rulership and the effective production and dispersion of propagandistic goods⁶⁹³. This derives primarily from the fact that the crafting and distribution of utilitarian vessels, complete with the seal of the king, would have taken time; placing a reasonable gap between the actual accession/coronation and distribution of mercantile goods. Moreover, we can probably assume that the further removed the individual was from the king, the longer it took for the propaganda to reach him/her. Finally, that the smaller and/or more utilitarian the piece (as opposed to monumental epigraphy for example), the longer again it might take for the

⁶⁹¹ 1955, p. 215

⁶⁹² See comments in sub-section 3.3.6 on this matter. As noted in that earlier section, Schott (1955) was later supported by Meyer (1982, pp. 14-27), albeit pertaining to accession, not coronation.

⁶⁹³ See for example the discussions around the development of Nubian material culture in the eighteenth dynasty; analogous to the suppositions made here (O'Connor, 2001, pp. 263-71). Also Kemp, 1989, pp. 184, 232-260.

mechanisms of state production to operate effectively⁶⁹⁴. In the case at hand, we have small, possibly utilitarian (e.g. wear on Amphorae #3) grave goods belonging to the parents of a high official. While Senenmut himself was close to the king, we can nonetheless infer at least a short lag-time for small funerary/utilitarian goods acquired by his parents.

With regard to the greater context, it has already been noted that Block 287 (section 3.3.6) likely represents the commencement of the process of succession to the kingship. In the years following, several examples bearing the name of Thutmose alone fairly convincingly demonstrate the fact that Hatshepsut had not yet succeeded to the kingship⁶⁹⁵. Had she done so, one would expect – even with lag-times – to see her more convincingly reflected as king in the archaeological record. Then, in the year following the graffito-stela of Tjemhy, we have an abundance of oil-jars in the tomb of Senenmut's parents; the vast-majority of which seem epigraphically to illustrate Hatshepsut as king. However, based on the nature of material found within the tomb of Senenmut's parents, it is believed the accession was actually completed sometime before year 7, between the dates of *rnpt-sw 6 Abd 3 Smw* (the graffito-stela of Tjemhy) and *rnpt-sw 7 Abd 2 prt sw 8* (the earliest associated date from the tomb at Qurna). While the date of succession cannot be precisely determined (the term favoured here is the moment of 'transition'), based on the argument thusly made, a date late in year six is preferred for Hatshepsut's accession/transition. This would have allowed suitable time for the production and dissemination of materials containing the prenomen of Hatshepsut, as one finds on the stoppers of the Ramose/Hatnofer amphorae. Finally, as discussed above (Semnah) and below (Deir el-Bahri)⁶⁹⁶, this seems in perfect fitting on all fronts with her art-historical portrayals, each of them illustrating a progressive move towards the kingship.

⁶⁹⁴ Comments in Aston, Harrell and Shaw, 2006; Bourriau, Nicholson and Rose, 2006.

⁶⁹⁵ In particular the graffito-stela of Tjemhy (Cat. 4.17). Further, if as discussed above, Hatshepsut's prenomen was carved over an earlier usage of Amphora #3 (the earlier faded inscriptions dating to year 5), then this validates the conclusion that kingly titles were not assumed prior to at least year 5.

⁶⁹⁶ Sections 3.3.3 and 3.6.5 respectively.

3.6.3 *Sheikh Labib Statue (Cat. 1.16)*

This is the only statue not included in section 3.4. It potentially contains insight into two aspects related to the 'transition' of Hatshepsut; that of the ceremony involved, and the potential role of at least one of the officials (Senenmut)⁶⁹⁷. Specifically, this statue might be evidence for the actual occurrence of a 'coronation' ceremony⁶⁹⁸. In brief the statue contains the following textual structure. There are nine lines of text on the front 'body', with two lines along the base and a further line on the dorsal pillar⁶⁹⁹. The primary lines, seeming to be titles of Senenmut, are as follows:

Hr(y) sStA m pr-dwAt DbA WADty m ins⁷⁰⁰

The foremost of the mysteries in the 'House of Morning', who adorns the Two
Serpent-goddesses of Upper and Lower Egypt⁷⁰¹ in bright red linen⁷⁰²

Berlandini-Grenier provides a thorough evaluation of this passage, citing Old and Middle Kingdom precedents with regard to the two terms or titles Hr(y) sStA and DbA WADty⁷⁰³. She notes,

"...l'epithète DbA WADty m ins ... révélerait un geste rituel
accompli, à l'intérieur de la sacristie, par l'officiant"⁷⁰⁴.

In essence, while she confesses to problems of interpretation, owing to the

⁶⁹⁷ Berlandini-Grenier, 1976, pp. 119-124 (including full transliteration, translation, notes and epigraphic reproduction (Fig. 1, p. 121)).

⁶⁹⁸ On the matter of whether Hatshepsut actually held a coronation ceremony, cf. Dorman, 2006, p. 55, and the discussion in section 3.6.5 below.

⁶⁹⁹ Berlandini-Grenier, 1976, pp. 124-5.

⁷⁰⁰ Berlandini-Grenier, 1976, p. 119, beginning half-way along line 5 and running into the early part of line 6.

⁷⁰¹ As per Faulkner, 1999, p. 56

⁷⁰² Precedence for the precise orthography of *ins*, as employed on the Sheikh Labib statue, can be found in Urk. V: 40.17.

⁷⁰³ Berlandini-Grenier, 1976, pp. 125-130. In this translation, "foremost" rather than "superior" is preferred, and the same is true of "mysteries" as opposed to "secret". Note also the summary comments in Dorman, (1988, pp. 129-130) and his desire to incorporate another phrase into this fold – *r-pat iry HD n Gb* (contained on the Berlin statue 2296 (Cat. 1.8) and Field Museum 173800 (Cat. 1.14)).

⁷⁰⁴ Berlandini-Grenier, *op. cit.*

scarcity of the phrase⁷⁰⁵, one must concur with Berlandini-Grenier's findings that we do indeed seem to have a curious ritual here involving Senenmut and perhaps some sort of 'coronation' or related event. The difficulties arise via the precise meaning of the two clauses or titles. First, what was the exact nature of the *pr-dwAt*, and how did this connect to the royal household (and ceremonies such as coronation that might have been enacted)? Second, what precisely is meant by 'adorning the Two Serpent Goddesses'? Assuredly, the word *DbA* must relate to clothing or similar connotations, to judge by the determinative appended to *ins* in the subsequent line. While Berlandini-Grenier makes a strong argument for this phrase being connected to the coronation, the usage of *Wadjet* in this position must be carefully considered⁷⁰⁶. Moreover, what did the act of 'clothing' the goddesses have to do with any kind of coronation-style ceremony (or derivative thereof)?

Additionally, one other piece of corroborating evidence needs to be added to the mix. Extant traces recorded by Champollion at the *Speos Artemidos* not only record the 'Two Serpents of Upper and Lower Egypt', but also record the curious sentence *di.n. n.T WADty Hr(y)-tp.T*⁷⁰⁷. This reference is collectively grouped together under the rubric "Reden der Göttin *wrt-HkAw*", by Sethe⁷⁰⁸. A cursory perusal of the passages suggests that each of the references must necessarily be connected with the goddess *wrt-HkAw* and her associated crown. Plate LVI of Naville at Deir el-Bahri includes *wrt-HkAw* in the 'reply of the gods' to Hatshepsut⁷⁰⁹. This portion of the northern middle colonnade was prophetic or pre-birth in nature, suggesting a time

⁷⁰⁵ 1976, p. 126, fn. 5

⁷⁰⁶ *Wadjet* is cited in several occasions throughout this research. Foremost, on the crowning scenes of the *Chapelle Rouge* (sctn. 3.6.4 below), as well as the iconographic representations at *Semnah* (sctn. 3.3.3) and finally within the 'Inscription of the *Texte de la Jeunesse* proper' and the 'pre-coronation' scenes of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri (section 3.6.5). The combination of these strands, alongside the Sheikh Labib statue, lends support to a place of some importance for *Wadjet* in Hatshepsut's kingship. The 'careful consideration' derives from *Wadjet*'s connection, from Predynastic times, to the Red Crown of Lower Egypt, her connection to the city of *Pe* (which in itself means 'seat' or 'throne'), and her obvious link to the *uraeus* (which, along with the Red Crown explains her regular occurrence in coronation scenes) – Watterson, 1996, pp. 129-131.

⁷⁰⁷ Urk. IV: 287.6

⁷⁰⁸ Urk. IV: 285-288

⁷⁰⁹ Naville, 1898, *DeB*, Pt. 3 - again, section 3.6.5 below.

when Hatshepsut would receive the wrt-HkAw for the administrative work she had carried out. If such is the case, then we might begin to understand that not only do we here have a description post-coronation, with the duties/titles of the official described (albeit in a poorly understood fashion), but that Wadjet and wrt-HkAw were to be connected in a more direct fashion to Hatshepsut's 'transition'⁷¹⁰. Notwithstanding, this still does not conclusively confirm or deny whether Hatshepsut actually celebrated a coronation ceremony; but does strengthen the case for one (based on the detail provided; the same argument being made for the ceremony in Block 287), and advances our understanding of what that ceremony might have looked like.

3.6.4 *Crowning Scenes, Chapelle Rouge (Cat. 2.3)*

The coronation of Hatshepsut, fictitious or real, has been covered now on several occasions⁷¹¹. Further, plates CLXVI and CLXVII have also been the subject of some discussion, specifically in the related Red Chapel section that discusses Block 287⁷¹². These scenes do little for the present investigation, as the inscriptions from the east wall of the upper colonnade are very fragmentary, and the palimpsest of Thutmose I (placed there by Thutmose III), is very difficult to make out. There are some possible parallels on the latter plate, where reference is made to begetting or creating (qmA), the presumed fear of the king (r snDw) and the kingship (nsyt), but such are too general to be convincing⁷¹³.

A full review of the Chapelle Rouge is neither warranted, nor possible, owing

⁷¹⁰ Note that Wadjet and wrt-HkAw were themselves interconnected owing to both/either being able to be represented as the royal serpent (Wilkinson, 2003, pp. 226-228). Moreover, scholars to-and-fro between wrt-HkAw as merely an attribute or quality of the royal uraeus (*BM Dictionary*, p. 167), versus an actually goddess (Wilkinson, 2003, p. 228).

⁷¹¹ Most recently in the previous section on the Sheikh Labib statue (3.6.3), also in the literature review (1.2) and alluded to in the two sections on the upper court of Deir el-Bahri (3.3.4, 3.3.5). It is covered off, once and for all, in the following section (3.6.5).

⁷¹² For the plates themselves - Naville, 1908, *DeB*, Pt. 6. For the discussion about where coronation scenes of Hatshepsut 'ought' to be placed, again note Dorman, 1988, pp. 24-25; Lacau and Chevrier, 1977-79, pp. 92-96; and Yoyotte, 1968.

⁷¹³ The only real parallel to the present scenes are the comments of 'fear/dread' as are epigraphically evident in Scene 8 below, for example. Again, these are too general to be useful. They certainly have no connection to Block 287 from the Red Chapel.

to excellent publications that already exist, and a lack of space within this research⁷¹⁴. However, to round out the picture of Hatshepsut's coronation, a few thoughts are offered on the extant blocks from the north and south faces of the Chapelle Rouge. These illustrate the 'crowning of Hatshepsut', and are compared to the Deir el-Bahri corpus⁷¹⁵. The format employed here includes the scene number, block number(s) and pages as per Lacau and Chevrier in **bold** face. The brief descriptions and comments which follow each mini-heading are the authors. To begin, Lacau and Chevrier categorised these into eight scenes as follows⁷¹⁶:

SCENE 1 (BLOCK 172 SOUTH; L&C 235-236) – Hatshepsut is lead by Amun into scenes of crowning. Amun looks and gestures behind with his left hand, whilst moving towards the right; not dissimilar to Episodic scenes of Ramesses II at Luxor⁷¹⁷. A series of four vertical columns of hieroglyphs separate the 'leading scene' from the 'crowning scenes'⁷¹⁸. The far right column of the block has a string of hieroglyphs that state, Dd mdw m Hb-sd Hr st Hr nt anxw mi Ra Dt⁷¹⁹ ("Words spoken during the sed-festival concerning the throne of Horus of the living, like Re, forever"). While this is a fairly standard piece of propaganda that draws parallels between Hatshepsut's 'coronation' and the first sed-festival of the god Horus, one again wonders about Hatshepsut's emphasis on the jubilee during scenes depicting the coronation⁷²⁰.

⁷¹⁴ Lacau and Chevrier, 1977-79; Burgos and Larché, 2006-8. For related studies, see Gillen, 2005, pp. 7-14 & 15-28; Graindorge, 1993b, pp. 42-53; el-Hegasy & Martinez, 1993, pp. 54-63; Carlotti, 1995c; Larché, 1999-2000, pp. 56-65. Also, the much dated but still useful Barguet, 1962, pp. 141-153.

⁷¹⁵ L&C, *Chapelle*, plates 1 & 11.

⁷¹⁶ L&C, *Chapelle*, pp. 235-256.

⁷¹⁷ Smith, 2010 and section 2.4 in general.

⁷¹⁸ Lacau and Chevrier do not actually provide a title for this scene, as they do with all the others. In the other seven cases, they offer a nomenclature that focuses on the primary image of the scene – that being the placement of the crown on Hatshepsut's head – and the precise crown being placed.

⁷¹⁹ Burgos and Larche, 2006-8, vol. 1, pp. 78-79. This fact is not actually highlighted by Lacau and Chevrier (L&C, *Chapelle*, p. 236), although they do note a festival recorded in the fourth column of hieroglyphs between the 'leading of Hatshepsut' and the standing Horus further to the right.

⁷²⁰ For a full discussion of the 'two' sed-festivals of Hatshepsut, see section 3.6.5 (g) and earlier comments under Block 287 (3.3.6). Note that Scene 2 below contains a standard reference to the sed-festival, notably different from this sentence. Also, the reference in Scene 6 to the "first coronation/appearance of Re", employing the similar term tpy-sw.

SCENE 2 (BLOCK 261 SOUTH; BLOCK 186 NORTH; L&C 237-240) – Hatshepsut receives the *nemes* headdress via the outstretched arms of a standing Sakhmet (front) and a seated Amun-Re (behind). Both plates record a passage, which describes Hatshepsut as the "foremost daughter who appears" (sxa.k m HAt sAt.k nsw-bity MAat-kA-Ra)⁷²¹. However, much like the above block, there is an even more interesting passage in the seventh of eight columns (block 186). While it records "a great many sed-festivals", and this is not unusual, it is the entrance to these that is interesting. In full it reads:

m irt HHw m Hb-sd [aSA wrt]
making millions of sed-festivals, [a great many]⁷²²

SCENE 3 (BLOCK 23 SOUTH; L&C 240-242) – References to the Ennead and the nTrw being in attendance at this ritual are combined with further reference to Hatshepsut's appearance (smn xa.T m xprS), and the iconography of Hatshepsut having the Khefresh-crown affixed to her head⁷²³. As with all five scenes along this seventh register, Hatshepsut kneels before her patrons⁷²⁴. The lady standing before Hatshepsut is recorded as Imnt nbt pt - "Amunet, lady of the sky".

SCENE 4 (BLOCK 114 SOUTH; BLOCK 117 NORTH; L&C 242-243) – This pair of scenes illustrates the placement of the *ībs*-wig upon the head of Hatshepsut, positioned by Mwt. The fifth column of hieroglyphs reads,

iw n.T anx wAs wADt rnpwt xa.T m nsw-bity Hr st Hr HqA ipt-swt n Dt⁷²⁵
Life, dominion and enduring years are yours⁷²⁶, when you appear as King of Upper and Lower

⁷²¹ L&C, *Chapelle*, p. 238; Burgos and Larché, 2006-8, vol. I, p. 127.

⁷²² L&C, *Chapelle*, p. 239. The former portion derives from the southern block 261, whereas that in [] comes from the northern block 186, as it is lost from the southern one.

⁷²³ L&C, *Chapelle*, p. 240

⁷²⁴ Southern blocks 172, 261, 23, 114 and 145 are all connected according to Lacau and Chevrier (cf. plate 1 of the scholars). Those of 95, 71 and 154 are likewise, but the two groups are removed from one another.

⁷²⁵ L&C, *Chapelle*, p. 243. This final column of text only occurs on the northern block.

⁷²⁶ Note the non-verbal construction actually employs the dative. See also Burgos and Larché,

Egypt upon the throne of Horus, ruler of Karnak forever

The throne of Horus is noted along the northern middle colonnade at Deir el-Bahri (for example)⁷²⁷, but more interesting is the focus here on Karnak being the place of the ruler. While this is not unexpected - owing to the placement of the Chapelle Rouge within Karnak - that all the scenes here demonstrate the placement of different crowns on the head of Hatshepsut, and the location associated with the ritual of placing these kingly accoutrements is Karnak, such appears to be further evidence that Karnak was the location for the actual crowning of the king⁷²⁸.

SCENE 5 (BLOCK 145 SOUTH; L&C 243-246) – A largely uninteresting block that depicts Hatshepsut in receipt of the Red-Crown. The most informative aspect is the officiant of the ceremony - Wadjet (she is discussed later in the section).

SCENE 6 (BLOCK 95 SOUTH; L&C 246-247) – As with scene five, we seemingly here have another standardised scene, this time with Hatshepsut receiving the Atf-Crown. As per block 145, the importance here is more with the officiant, and the accompanying inscription⁷²⁹.

SCENE 7 (BLOCK 71 SOUTH; BLOCK 141 NORTH; L&C 247-248) – "Hathor, lady of Denderah (Iwnt)" affixes a unique crown. At first glance it looks like the Atef-crown. However, there are a number of distinct differences. First, the crown – which shall be called the 'Iwnt-Crown' - has two plumes, much like the crown of Sobek⁷³⁰. Ram horns and serpents run along the base, as with the Atef-crown. However, on either side of the dual plumes are solar-uraei, facing outwards. The rest of the scene is fairly standard, with the northern block being more intact/complete than the southern.

2006-8, p. 126.

⁷²⁷ E.g. Naville, 1898, *DeB*, Pt. 3, plates 56, 59.

⁷²⁸ This point has already been made in the section on Block 287 (3.3.6), and the imagery on this portion of the Chapelle Rouge, at least, seems to lend further support.

⁷²⁹ The goddesses awarding the crown is none other than "Hathor, foremost (Hry-tp) of Thebes" (L&C, *Chapelle*, p. 246).

⁷³⁰ The Atef-crown consists of a single, cylindrical centre (most probably the same as the White Crown) surrounded by two ostrich plume feathers, one on either side. See in general, Leahy, 1992, pp. 223-240.

SCENE 8 (BLOCK 154 SOUTH; BLOCK 178 NORTH; L&C 249-251) – The final scene in our line-up, another unique crown is attached to Hatshepsut's head. This is a combination of both the *Atf*- and *Iwnt*-crowns. In the centre we have the White-crown cylinder, surrounded both by plumes and solar uraei. The Khnum-horns radiate along the brow, but serpents do not hang down from the horns in this headdress. Neither block appears to have a legend naming the primary officiant⁷³¹, however, the northern block begins its extrinsic inscription as follows:

Dd.in wrt-HkAw nbt pt Hnwt tAwy⁷³²

Words spoken by wrt-HkAw, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of the Two Lands

Thus, it appears as though the crown may belong to the goddess 'Great of Magic'.

The overall impression and purpose of the eight scenes is clear; following an entry scene where Hatshepsut is led to the palanquin containing a seated Amun, different gods and goddesses appear to affix various headdresses and crowns to the head of Hatshepsut⁷³³. This is quite different to the scenes on the northern middle colonnade at Deir el-Bahri⁷³⁴. The narrative there is more prophetic, and visually stimulating in nature (i.e. there is a focus on Hatshepsut's presentation to the gods/people). Even in the scenes post-coronation, the focus at Deir el-Bahri is not on the actual placement of crowns. In fact, the emphasis at that western temple is much more on ritual libation, and transformation, rather than the stoic adornment of ritual objects⁷³⁵. While

⁷³¹ The southern block may contain the following legend – wrt-HkAw – with only the wr-sign being visible. Note also that Hatshepsut has been utterly hacked out of block 154 as well as the preceding southern block, 71.

⁷³² L&C, *Chapelle*, p. 250

⁷³³ It should be noted that the argument of block 172 directly abutting block 261 is not entirely compelling. As noted, the 'leading scene' is bordered on the right by several columns of hieroglyphs. The balance of the block seems to contain Horus (to judge by his headdress – but possibly Thoth), standing by himself. The final column of hieroglyphs, further to his right, precludes another figure being present (there is simply not enough space), and thus one wonders who the intended target/audience/recipient of Horus was. It is unusual to have a god placed alone, without another god/person present.

⁷³⁴ Naville, 1898, *DeB*, Pt. 3, plates LX-LXII; section 3.6.5 following

⁷³⁵ The only possible exception could be a singular plate in the Deir el-Bahri coronation sequence (Naville, *DeB*, 1898, pt. 3, plate LXI), but this does not alter the fact that the overall theme of each series of plates/scenes is different between the Red Chapel and northern

the entire of the Chapelle Rouge, specifically the 'Historical Inscription', is not considered here (and actually does contain some references similar to those at Deir el-Bahri)⁷³⁶, the question tantalising the mind is whether the omission of crowning scenes from the Deir el-Bahri northern middle colonnade signals a functional shift for parts, or all, of that temple?

Moving on, the next point of interest is one pertaining to the divine protagonists. In the previous section, the aspect of coronation was seen to extend to the goddesses Wadjet and wrt-HkAw. Incorporating the ubiquitous Hathor, let us briefly reinforce these sentiments by presenting and commenting on the epigraphy of three of the above scenes⁷³⁷.

Wadjet text (Scene 5): Dd mdw sAt mrt HAt-Spswt Xnm-Imn Ssp.n.t
 xa.T m nt mn XAbt.s m tp.s dm.n mr.s n.T Hrt iw nbit r HA nbw
 xa.ti m nbt p(A) dp iw n.t anx wAs wsrt kAw

Speech of the beloved daughter, Hatshepsut, United with Amun, when you received the Red Crown⁷³⁸; establishing its curl⁷³⁹ upon her head. Its weave⁷⁴⁰ pierced the upper part of you⁷⁴¹. Flames are behind and everywhere⁷⁴², when you appear as the lady of Pa and Dep. Life, dominion and wsrt-kAw are yours.

Hathor text (Scene 6): Dd.in mdw Hwt-Hr Hrt-tp WAst sAt HAt-Spswt
 Xnm-Imn Ssp.n.T xaw pn nfr xr it.T nb nTrw nb SfSft sxm xprw
 xaw Ra n tpy-sp di.f nr.T m ibw pat anxt mi Ra

Words spoken by Hathor, foremost of Thebes, daughter of Hatshepsut, United with Amun. You received this beautiful crown of your father, Lord of the Gods,

middle colonnade. For general comments on kingship rituals, refer Fairman, 1958, pp. 74-104. On the king as chief officiator at all rituals see Baines, 1991, pp. 123-200.

⁷³⁶ L&C, *Chapelle*, pp. 92-153.

⁷³⁷ Block 145-south, 95-south, 154-south and 178-north.

⁷³⁸ Lit: "your crown in red"

⁷³⁹ The 'curl' (or *crochet* as per the L&C, *Chapelle* translation – p. 244) provides an interesting insight into the attachment of the red-crown onto the head and shoulders of the individual.

⁷⁴⁰ *mr* here is intriguing. It seems to relate to the fabric or composition of the red-crown (Faulkner, 1999, p.111)

⁷⁴¹ While this line seems to tell us more about the attachment of the crown to the head of Hatshepsut, note that *dm* could equally translate as 'proclaim'. The most likely translation follows that which Lacau and Chevrier have adopted, but alternatives do exist.

⁷⁴² A curious reference to "flames shooting from the head of Hatshepsut", such is usually noted of the uraeus, not the red-crown (Faulkner, 1999, p. 130)

Lord of Majesty, Powerful of Occurrences; (it is) the crown of Re of the first time⁷⁴³. He placed your protection in the hearts of the living humankind like Re

'Great of Magic' text (Scene 8): Dd.in mdw wrt-HkAw nbt pt Hnwt tAwy
DA.w r.k nb nTrw Imn nb nswt tAwy snDm(w) Ds.k sxa.k wi m
HAt sAt.k nsw-bity MAat-kA-Ra di.i Hrt.s m tAw nb sd n.s Snt.n
iTn di.i nr.s m Hnmmt dwAt.s pat rxyt

Words spoken by wrt-HkAw, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of the Two Lands. One revealed to you the Lord of the Gods, Amun, Lord of the thrones of the Two Lands. (You), yourself are pleased when you elevate me⁷⁴⁴ as your foremost daughter, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Maatkare. I place its dread throughout all the lands, and that which the Aten encircles trembles for her. I place its protection in humanity; its worship (with) humankind and the commonfolk⁷⁴⁵.

To begin, Hathor, Wadjet and wrt-HkAw represent over half of the crowning scenes (numbers 5-8). Moreover, not one crowning scene is carried out by a male god. Surely, Amun is present as the officiating deity, but in addition to the three goddesses named above, Sakhmet, Imunet and Mut appear in the other three scenes. Next, the placement of wrt-HkAw seems to have been one of confirming both the 'transition', as well as acknowledging Hatshepsut's

⁷⁴³ Lacau and Chevrier have preferred the translation "*c'est la couronne de Re, celle du commencement*" (L&C, *Chapelle*, p. 247). While the connotation here could be of Hatshepsut's 'coronation' being like that of the first coronation (that being the Sun God's), it could equally be that Re 'appeared' for the first time (in the ceremony?) or like his 'first time'. One must be careful with a word as powerful as xa(w), that one does not misread the true intent of the translation. For comments on Re's role in the kingship, cf. Assmann, 1995, pp. 39-46. For comments pertaining to Hatshepsut's 'coronation' being paralleled to the sed-festival of Horus, note Scene 1 above (this section) and references within.

⁷⁴⁴ As the scholars themselves noted (L&C, *Chapelle*, p. 250), the translation here must be caus-sDm.f with direct object pronoun and not Stative, as the Stative would demand a direct object and none is forthcoming.

⁷⁴⁵ di.i nr.s m Hnmmt dwAt.s pat rxyt is an interesting sentence. L&C, *Chapelle* (p. 250) again opted for 'fear' as the primary verb, believing that nr(w) should be translated as "terreur". While this might fit with the sentiments of Hrt in the line previous, the people under fear are Egyptians, not foreigners (specifically the Hnmmt – humanity, humankind or even the 'Sun-Folk of Heliopolis' - cf. Urk. IV: 17.7; Faulkner, 1999, p. 172). Additionally, the final sentiment in the sentence has both the upper (pat) and lower (rxyt) classes of humankind in adoration/worship of Hatshepsut. This seems unusual if, in the clause before, Hatshepsut was causing fear in the people of Heliopolis; the cult centre of Re no less. Therefore, that other translation of nr(i), "to protect", is preferred. Ultimately, from Hatshepsut's protection of the Heliopolitan Sun Folk, does the population of Egypt draw its adoration.

past efforts (wrt-HkAw being included in the 'reply of the gods' for instance)⁷⁴⁶. On the Chapelle Rouge scenes wrt-HkAw not only concludes the crowning, being the last of the officiants to crown Hatshepsut, but her coronet is one that encompasses qualities of the White, Dual, Atef- and even Sobek crown. Via the text presented, one can see that this goddess adopts a title Hatshepsut herself used – Hnwt tAwy⁷⁴⁷. Finally, the speech between Hatshepsut and wrt-HkAw is very direct and of great import⁷⁴⁸. The goddess clearly had a strong connection to Amun, to judge from the second and third columns of hieroglyphs, and may well have been instrumental in the preparation of the 'coronation', to judge from column four. Indeed, the impression one gets of wrt-HkAw from the temples at Deir el-Bahri, Karnak and even Beni Hasan⁷⁴⁹ is that this goddesses played a vital role in Hatshepsut's acceptance as king.

The text related to Hathor is perhaps less surprising, save two key elements. First, that Re's "appearance/coronation of the first-time" is mentioned under a text of Hathor that includes the Atef-Crown. With the visual imagery invoking creation via the horns of Khnum, the symbolism is powerful; cosmology and human creation in the hands of a female god. This is further reinforced by the second key element, which reads "he places your protection in the hearts of the living humankind, like Re"⁷⁵⁰. Thus, through Hathor did Hatshepsut not only gain access to Re (to be expected), but also to the first coronation, the 'caring/protecting' of humankind, and various elements of creation⁷⁵¹. Finally,

⁷⁴⁶ This seems true at Deir el-Bahri also (Navelle, 1898, *DeB*, pt. 3, plate LVI-LVII).

⁷⁴⁷ Troy, 1986, pp. 133-8, 195. Refer **Table 3**, associated footnotes and comments under the Wadi Sikkat sarcophagus section (3.2.1).

⁷⁴⁸ In addition to comments above, note for example that Hatshepsut is not only the daughter of Amun, but the "foremost daughter" of wrt-HkAw

⁷⁴⁹ Not reviewed in this dissertation, but see Urk. IV: 285-8 where Speos Artemidos (Urk. IV: 287.4-9) and even el-Kab (Urk. IV: 287.10-288.2) are presented alongside Karnak and Deir el-Bahri, with respect to the goddess wrt-HkAw.

⁷⁵⁰ Equally, "he causes that you protect..." although the m is less of an issue in the former translation.

⁷⁵¹ The same sentiments are also reiterated on Scene 7, this time with respect to Hathor's connection to the temple at Denderah. To research that temple in detail, and to determine the extent of Hathor's role in that locale, has alas fallen outside of the present research capabilities. On the temple of Hathor at Denderah that stands today, see Fischer, 1968; Daumas, 1969.

this is not the first time we have encountered the sentiment of Hatshepsut 'caring for Egypt'. Appearing as early as the Biography of Ineni (3.2.10), the logical question is was this a policy of her campaign for the kingship and, if so, how far did it carry through into her kingship?

Finally, with respect to Wadjet, aside from some unique phraseology in terms of "flame-throwing Uraei", the most interesting clause is the final one. Here, Wadjet not only bequeaths *anx* and *wAs* to Hatshepsut, but also the "power/strength of the souls". She is not the only goddess to do so. In scene four, Mut does likewise on more than one occasion⁷⁵². However, we can now add to Gay Robins excellent publication a few years ago and state that the Horus name of Hatshepsut (*wsrt kAw*), was not only proclaimed on the walls of the Chapelle Rouge, but that the goddesses Wadjet and Mut seem to have been instrumental in its transference⁷⁵³. In fact, given both these females share 'motherly protective' qualities, and combined with the protective sentiments associated with Hathor, perhaps a step further can be taken? It seems plausible that Hatshepsut's Horus name was not just designed to connect her with the lineage of Thutmosids, nor to merely illustrate a level of 'nourishing Egypt' (by playing on the word *kAw*)⁷⁵⁴, but that she truly sought to embrace her womanly side in mothering the living souls of Egypt. Thus, the iconography and epigraphy on the north and south sides of the Chapelle Rouge, as they pertain to the crowning of Hatshepsut, are not only different in *modus operandi* to that of Deir el-Bahri, but speak to her political agenda as king. Foremost, however, was the promotion of her femininity through the pantheon of female goddesses available to her, across the width and breadth of her country, populace and reign.

3.6.5 Northern Middle Colonnade (*La Texte de la Jeunesse, Cat. 2.9*)

⁷⁵² L&C, *Chapelle*, pp. 242-3

⁷⁵³ Robins, 1999. Most recently (Fazzini 2001; additional references in Bryan, 2005), the notion that Mut stood as more than just the wife of Amun and Mother goddess has been advocated as a result of excavations of the foundations of her temple precinct at Karnak. She may well have been a primary figure in the Festival of Drunkenness (cf. Spalinger, 1993), in addition to her standard roles.

⁷⁵⁴ As per Robins, 1999, pp. 103-4. Note also the obelisks of Hatshepsut (Urk. IV: 357.2).

The following section finalises research begun in three earlier sub-sections (3.3.3, 3.3.6, and 3.6.2). Its primary focus is to illustrate the misnomer which the scenes from the northern (right-hand-side if looking from first court) portion of the middle colonnade at Deir el-Bahri have sometimes caused. In particular, these scenes are often referred to under various rubrics, such as *La Texte de la Jeunesse, L'enfance et 'Intronisation, Die Legende von der Jugendzeit der Königin Hatschepsowet* and the like⁷⁵⁵. Further, most scholars have preferred to focus on the epigraphic record, rather than the iconographic, and when they engage the latter, they do so with little contextual consideration to the wall in its entirety. This is not to state that each of the headings above is not valid, or represented in some way along this wall at Deir el-Bahri - rather, that the current examination takes a different angle/approach, before synthesizing the content of Block 287, Semnah temple and the year 7 artefactual materials, to reach its findings.

Let us begin then, by drawing a diagrammatical representation of how the scenes at first appear. This will mostly consist of a 'traditional' view, borrowing from the work of past researchers. However, even at this point, a divergence is evident; some of the plates being grouped in a slightly different fashion. The process of more meticulously working through the individual sub-groups, in order to gain a greater appreciation of what these scenes might actually have meant, can then be undertaken⁷⁵⁶.

SCENES DEPICTING THE 'SUCCESSION OF HATSHEPSUT'

⁷⁵⁵ For the entirety of the scenes, Naville, 1898, *DeB*, Pt. 3, plates LVI-LXIV. For the title as used in Sethe's 'Urkunden', and the text as reproduced, *Urk. IV*: 241-265. Ratie's (1979, pp. 108-121) original discussion and review in her tome on Hatshepsut, whilst being fundamentally sound, neither probed deep enough into the artistic nature of the scenes (as is done here) – preferring to focus more on the epigraphy – and in places is quite different to the present view (e.g. she includes scene LVIII in the 'Youth of Hatshepsut' – here it is not; she believed that scene LIX was to be included in the 'Enthronement', while here it is seen as related, but separate). For spurious uses of some of these terms, cf. Chappaz, 1993, p. 94.

⁷⁵⁶ It would also be interesting to compare the *Texte de la Jeunesse* of Thutmose III (*Urk. IV*: 155-176), to determine the precise similarities and differences between these two rulers; with respect to their 'Youthful Texts'. Also, how they might have viewed themselves in the lead-up to their respective coronations. For instance, a notable difference seems to be the instances and descriptions of Thutmose's youthful nature pre-coronation (e.g. *Urk. IV*: 157.7-8), where he is recorded as a *inpw* and *wDH*. Alas, this too falls outside the scope of the current research, but the reader is directed to general comments in Dziobek, 1995, p. 138.

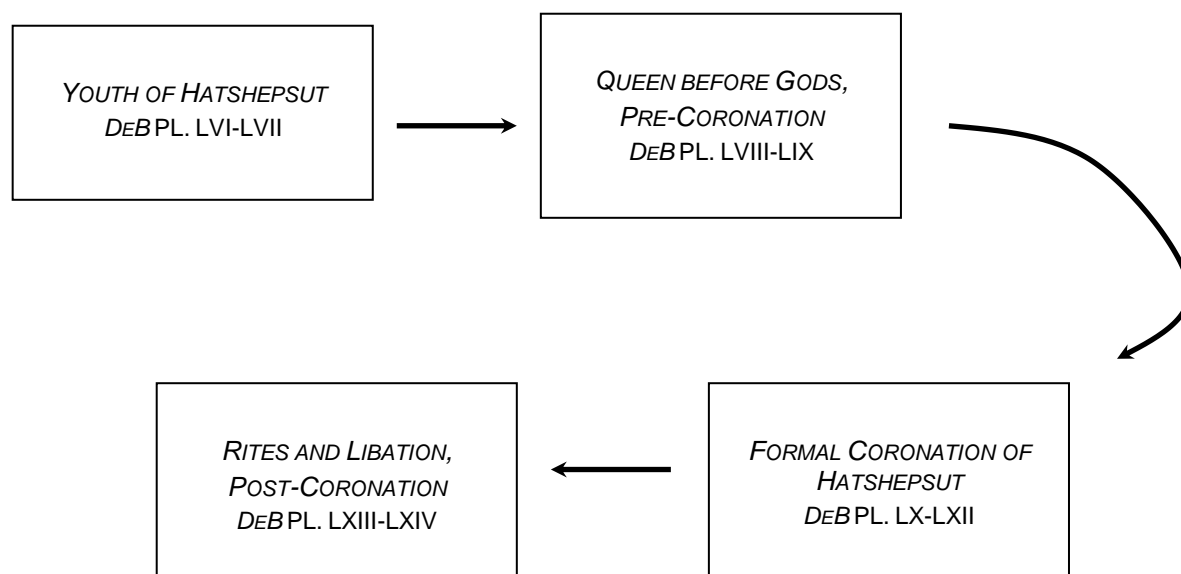


Figure 3: Cursory grouping of the youth and 'Process of Succession' of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri⁷⁵⁷

A. Plate LVI: Prophecy and scenes from the 'Youth of Hatshepsut'

This plate actually comprises two scenes. They are linked together by the frieze along the top, which consists of Wadjet/Uraei serpents wearing the sun's disk and Hathoric horns, and 'holding' the sA-symbol of protection out from their breast. Before each protection symbol, the signs for life (anx) and dominion (Dd) can be seen, alternating from serpent to serpent⁷⁵⁸. The far left of the plate has the gods Re-Horakhty and Amun pouring a libation of life and

⁷⁵⁷ The above figure utilises terms long-wrestled with. The formal 'coronation' scenes of Hatshepsut could indeed be referred to as a coronation per se (e.g. plate LXI probably illustrates the affixing of crown to the head of Hatshepsut, possibly to be paralleled with the scenes from the Chapelle Rouge). However, they also seem to illustrate the culmination of a lengthy period of 'succession', which is why the heading preferred for these scenes is the 'Succession of Hatshepsut'. Again, refer to Redford (1967, pp. 3-4), a point first made in section 3.3.6.

⁷⁵⁸ The same frieze can be seen atop plate LXIV (Naville, 1898, *DeB*, Pt. 3) and this may be significant. Given the nature of the frieze selected, in that it depicts the symbols of kingship and the 'protection of the office of kingship', it is believed this frieze demarcates the beginning and end of the journey portrayed along this colonnade; one that prophetically begins and then culminates in the kingship. In essence, its purpose is to group all these scenes together, both actually and visually. As for the feminine duality inherent in the dual-cobra-frieze, this has been commented on by Troy (1986, pp. 122-4).

water over a lost figure that was positioned between them⁷⁵⁹. Effectively, the 'tools' of kingship flow from Hs-vases, a standard item often used for this purpose⁷⁶⁰. The figure is named in the block text above as Hatshepsut (specifically her nomen, not her prenomen)⁷⁶¹. It is also noteworthy that in the same block of text is the passage [di.f] Dd wAs Aw-ib.s Hr st Hr Dt ("he placed stability, dominion and its prosperity upon the throne of Horus forever")⁷⁶². Combined with the ritual being performed, the gods present, and the nature of the libation, it is highly suggestive of Hatshepsut as king.

The image of Hatshepsut, conversely, is wholly lost. As such, her size can only be deduced relative to the gods adjacent. Owing to her head being no higher than their midribs, this suggests a 'lesser' or 'queenly' (at least not full kingly) status. Via analogy with the adjacent scene where she is depicted as a small child on the lap of Amun this naturally suggests a time either earlier in her life, or perhaps when she was a teenager. Given that the scenes run from south to north, the left of plate LVI must logically represent her actual creation (by the gods). The fact that it drips kingly iconography is perfectly in keeping with the propagandistic concept of Hatshepsut's divine birth⁷⁶³. The other possibility is that she is kneeling, but the space provided, and correlation with other scenes, suggest this is not the case⁷⁶⁴. The text behind the body of Amun reads:

Dd.in [Imn] di.n n.T irt HHw m Hb-sd aSA wrt m nswt tAwy nb anxw

Said by [Amun]: the making of a great many million sed-festivals are given to you
as king of the Two Lands, Lord of the Living⁷⁶⁵

⁷⁵⁹ The libation of Amun is lost, only the Hs-vase is visible.

⁷⁶⁰ For its use in the 'baptism of kingship' and ritualistic ablution ceremonies; albeit usually with Horus and Seth (Thoth), see Smith, 2005, pp. 329-336.

⁷⁶¹ She is referred to as the "daughter of his body", and this presumably refers to Amun, owing to the legend in front of the god with the same phrase (notably not so with Re-Horakhty)

⁷⁶² The text for this plate, including all legends before the gods, but noticeably not including the 'block text' referred to, can be found in Urk. IV: 242. Note also that above the text are Nwt-wings, with the legend on the right-hand-side reading BHdti nTr aA di.f anx (the left being lost). This has been commented upon elsewhere (refer section 3.6.1).

⁷⁶³ For the location of the 'Divine Birth' at Deir el-Bahri, and scholarly review, see Cat. 2.9 and references within.

⁷⁶⁴ The vertical 'channel' is all-together too narrow to permit the width necessary to effect a kneeling pose.

⁷⁶⁵ Urk. IV: 242.10-11. Note also that the sign for festival is repeated. Unable to be a plural as

In addition to illustrating a shift towards the male prerogatives of kingship, in the very first scene along this colonnade wall, there is reference to the sed-festival. A not uncommon accolade for kings to bestow upon themselves at a time of accession/coronation, it does seem to be a recurrent theme in Hatshepsut's claim to the office of kingship⁷⁶⁶.

In brief, while we may appear to have Hatshepsut here in receipt of libation befitting a ruler of Egypt, there is a distinct lack of 'kingly attributes' in the epigraphic record. The promise of sed-festivals is mentioned, as is the throne of Horus. However, her titulary is nowhere present, and the name she employs is her birth name. Thus, the scene as it pertains to the kingship is prophetic in nature; pre-birth to judge from the size of Hatshepsut in the picture (her actual birth is recorded elsewhere at Deir el-Bahri). We would next expect to see Hatshepsut as a child, which we indeed have in the adjacent portion of the plate. Lastly, the sentiment here is in accordance with Block 287 in that both are prophetic. That is to say, the Chapelle Rouge block both records an actual event at the outset of her time, and so temporally should be placed in the midst of plate LVII (see below), but also prophesizes Hatshepsut to be king, aligning itself with this scene at Deir el-Bahri.

The mid-section of plate LVI is as follows. Continuing with the aforementioned frieze, the structure and synergy of the two scenes is striking. Above the two figures of Amun (one in the left scene, one in the right), a portion along the top has been since lost. Below this, however, is the pt-determinative representing the sky/heavens (Nwt). It straddles both images of Amun, who have their back to one another. They are further separated by the band of hieroglyphs behind the Amun on the left, and the throne of the Amun on the right. Ultimately, Nwt joins the two scenes together – the images of Amun on the left and on the right - essentially being a device for connecting Hatshepsut's

there are only two signs repeated, this dual does seem to be suggestive of Hatshepsut having had two jubilees – a point first raised when examining Block 287 of the Chapelle Rouge. This matter is once and for all expounded in section 3.6.5 (g).

⁷⁶⁶ Adding to the footnote above, refer **Table 9** for a summary.

prophetic left-hand scene and her youthful right-hand scene⁷⁶⁷. However, the vertical grounding line (the register of hieroglyphs) and the back of the throne clearly demarcate the representations of each scene, and the occurrence of Amun within each scene.

The imagery on the right-hand-side has often been described, and it is this that scholars ought to refer to as the first half of *La Texte de la Jeunesse* proper⁷⁶⁸. To the far right we have two registers with a total of six figures. The legend above each describes them as nTr nbw, and they bear witness to the youthful Hatshepsut who stands on the lap of Amun to the left⁷⁶⁹. Hatshepsut's youth is clearly visible via the 'sidelock of youth' she dons. More curious, is the (male) penis that hangs between her legs. Between these two scenes is a large portion of text, which has a few noteworthy aspects. Structurally, there are two or three divisions. The first division is represented by the four columns closest to Amun, and describe his presentation of Hatshepsut to the pantheon of the gods. This can be broken down (effecting the second division), to the passage which describes her creation⁷⁷⁰, and the passage which describes her presentation⁷⁷¹. The most noteworthy clause here reads mAA sAt Imn [Xnmt HAt-Spswt], illustrating a preference of nomen over prenomen, and also that Hatshepsut was actually being 'witnessed' by the gods at this stage⁷⁷². The reply of the gods, comprising the third partition, runs for a full six columns and contains the following pertinent passages⁷⁷³.

rdi.n.k n.s bA.k sxm.k wAS.k wrt-HkAw.k⁷⁷⁴

You gave to her your soul, your power, your honour and your 'great of magic'

iw.s m Xt n mswt.s⁷⁷⁵

⁷⁶⁷ Recollect parallels with the Karnak door lintel (section 3.6.1)

⁷⁶⁸ Ratié, 1979, pp. 108-111.

⁷⁶⁹ The inscription of the registers of gods can be found at Urk. IV: 243.14-15

⁷⁷⁰ Urk. IV: 243.6-7. Sethe records these two registers in reverse fashion (relative to the flow of hieroglyphics), which he himself notes in the heading.

⁷⁷¹ Urk. IV: 243.9-12

⁷⁷² Urk. IV: 243.10

⁷⁷³ Urk. IV: 244.2-245.6

⁷⁷⁴ Urk. IV: 244.7-8 – yet again drawing in wrt-HkAw to the equation.

... while she was in the womb of the one who bore her

wnn.s xnt kAw anxw nb Hna kA.s m nswt-bity Hr st Hr mi Ra Dt⁷⁷⁶

She will be at the forefront of all the living souls, together with her (divine) soul, as King of Upper and Lower Egypt, upon the throne of Horus, like Re, forever.

The first passage illustrates that accoutrements of kingship were (to be) bequeathed to Hatshepsut by Amun. Of particular note is the crown wrt-HkAw⁷⁷⁷. The second may have connotations reaching back into her past, as well as having reference to her body as a part of the god Amun-Re. The final passage highlights Hatshepsut as destined to occupy the 'Throne of Horus' (as noted in the scene on the left), but also her divine nature in the kingship. This is achieved in three ways. First, by suggesting that she would stand before 'all souls', second by stressing her own (immortal) soul – promoting the divinity of the individual kA⁷⁷⁸ – and third by connecting all these to the office of kingship (nsw-bity).

B. Plate LVII: Text of the 'Youth of Hatshepsut' and Governance

As with number LVI, this plate can be broken into two portions; although in this case the differentiation derives from the epigraphic record, not the iconographic one. The former portion of the lengthy narrative represents the balance of *La Texte de la Jeunesse*. This begins the inscription-proper, but quickly shifts into the latter portion, that being the commencement of Hatshepsut's governance of Egypt. The inscription is presented more fully below, but to preface the ensuing discussions, the latter portion of plate LVII

⁷⁷⁵ Urk. IV: 244.9 – offering further evidence of the early nature of this plate.

⁷⁷⁶ Urk. IV: 245.5-6. Note the sign for Hatshepsut's kA includes the Horus-standard (Gardiner, 2001, p. 453 (sign D29)), hence the preferred translation of 'divine soul'.

⁷⁷⁷ The crown-determinative is clearly obvious in the register. To the comments already made in the previous section on the Chapelle Rouge crowning scenes (3.6.4), add Hornung, 1996, pp. 85, 284; Ritner, 2002, pp. 192-4.

⁷⁷⁸ The like is similarly noted at Buhen (sctn. 3.7.3) and at Deir el-Bahri, in the Punt scenes especially (references in Cat. 2.9). Recall also the quantitatively curious instance of this standard in the Ramesside version of the 'Appointment of User-Amun' (section 3.5.3). Finally, again attention is drawn to the connection with the Karnak door lintel (3.6.1), where the kA of Hatshepsut is 'made'.

seems linked with plate LVIII in terms of Hatshepsut's governance (cf. **Fig. 4**). Iconography was evident in the lower right-hand portion of the plate, but has been almost utterly erased. All that remains is a female figure on the far right, wearing an Hathoric headdress, and perhaps holding the hand of another (Hatshepsut?) as she moves to the right. Further, an Episodic technique encountered at Semnah and the Chapelle Rouge, is evident here⁷⁷⁹. The hand of the 'Hathoric-figure' is out-stretched, and linked, to a figure in the next plate⁷⁸⁰. While this subsequent figure has been hacked out, the removal was surface-based only and is still clearly visible. The figure dons the blue war-crown, the male *shendyt*-kilt, uraeus and bulls-tail. Above the head of the figure, in the legend, the erased person is named as none other than Hatshepsut (full title presented in the next section). Consequently, this demands a few further comments, which will necessarily straddle with the following section.

First that the figures behind the 'Hathoric-female' (plate LVII), and in front (plate LVIII), were both Hatshepsut is not improbable; in matter of fact, it is highly likely. Ratié believed these two plates, in addition to the first in this series (plate LVI), were all part of the *Texte de la Jeunesse*⁷⁸¹. This largely derived from the iconographic scenes in the former being linked to the imagery in the latter scene/plate⁷⁸². However, as already discussed, such devices need not always stress 'temporal sameness' (i.e. the exact same time/event) with regard to dating, but instead can be used to 'Episodically' link the scenes⁷⁸³. This permits the viewer the opportunity to follow the progression of one part of the protagonist's life logically into the next. The gaze, body or part thereof any number of characters can be used to direct the viewers gaze into adjacent scenes. Indeed, upon review, it would seem that Ratié's grouping was perhaps not detailed enough in its assessment. It does not seem to have encapsulated the nuances of the scenes along the northern middle colonnade. Separating plate LVI into prophetic, then *Texte de la*

⁷⁷⁹ For the latter, refer block 172 (south) – Lacau and Chevrier, 1977-79, pp. 235-236.

⁷⁸⁰ Naville, 1898, *DeB*, Pt. 3, plate LVIII.

⁷⁸¹ Ratié, *op. cit.*

⁷⁸² Along with at least one textual passage – see below.

⁷⁸³ In particular refer the discourse in sections 2.4.3 (a) and (b), and also 2.3.2.

Jeunesse and equally plate LVII into *Texte de la Jeunesse* and then governance/succession, seems to better fit the overall flow of the imagery. Notwithstanding, there does also seem to be a subtle difference between the few extant traces of Hatshepsut on plate LVII and plate LVIII, likely demonstrating a distinction between even these two plates/scenes. The size of Hatshepsut in plate LVII is much smaller than her image in plate LVIII. While the latter portion of the inscription in plate LVII should be connected to plate LVIII in terms of the governance and succession, plate LVIII appears to show a stronger shift towards the kingship than plate LVII (latter half). But then this is logical, for temporally-speaking, plate LVIII is further along in time than plate LVII. The ultimate question, is whether or not Hatshepsut's 'stepping' from plate LVII into plate LVIII (being lead by Hathor?) illustrates that point at which Hatshepsut moved from governance to succession-mode?⁷⁸⁴

The text then, covers an entire fifteen registers⁷⁸⁵. An overview of the structure of the passage, with pertinent comments contained in the footnoting, is all that is presented here. The texts of the gods, located above the iconography on the right-hand side, are not presented. It is suffice to note simply that each short register employs the format of Dd.in di.n n.T, with an offering of attributes or kingly characteristics following. The lines as recorded by Sethe are parenthesized.

STANDARD INTRODUCTION AND ENCOMIUM (245.13-246.5)

- Coming/Appearance of Hatshepsut (245.13)
- What her 'coming' did/does for the people (245.14-17)
- Comments on her beauty (246.1)
- What Hatshepsut did/does alongside the god⁷⁸⁶ (246.2-5)

THE INSCRIPTION OF *LA TEXTE DE LA JEUNESSE* PROPER (246.6-247.10)⁷⁸⁷

⁷⁸⁴ It would almost be easier to utterly dismiss the plate allocations of Naville, and completely re-record this portion of the Deir el-Bahri temple - in particular note **Fig. 4**.

⁷⁸⁵ The text, excluding the extolling of the gods, is recorded in Urk. IV: 245.13-249.5.

⁷⁸⁶ Presumably Amun, but simply recorded as nTr with god determinative.

- Description as a 'young maiden' (Hnwt nfrt rnpī) and several lines extolling her virtues, including one with Wadjet (246.6-11)⁷⁸⁸
- Hatshepsut begins her journey northward, in the steps of her biological father Thutmose I (246.12-13)⁷⁸⁹
- List of the gods and goddesses which she (intended to) visit (246.14-247.4)⁷⁹⁰
- What the gods do/did for Hatshepsut (247.5-10)⁷⁹¹

THE SPEECH OF THE GODS (TO HATSHEPSUT, 247.10-249.4)

- Second-person, extolling what Hatshepsut has done; references to Libya, Syria, her statuary and governance (247.12-248.12)
 - mAA nt tp-rd.T m tA⁷⁹²
 - ir.T mnw.T m Hwt.Tn⁷⁹³
 - xns tAw and aH.T xAstw aSAtw⁷⁹⁴
- Third-person, being that which the gods endow Hatshepsut with (248.13-249.5)
 - Reference to her being provided (Htm) with "life and dominion"⁷⁹⁵
 - Mention of the 'seed' (prt) of Hatshepsut⁷⁹⁶
 - Reference to the kA-mwt.f⁷⁹⁷

⁷⁸⁷ Again, note the misnomer in terms of the classification.

⁷⁸⁸ She is described as the "one who is strong-armed" (TmAt) and "the lady of doing things" (nbt irt xt). This latter description is particularly interesting in reference to her early portrayal in the biography of Ineni as one who 'governs/cares for' Egypt (section 3.2.10). Also **Table 10**.

⁷⁸⁹ Leading some scholars to make the suggestion that Thutmose I foretold of his daughter becoming king when he was still alive (e.g. Murnane, 1977, p. 242).

⁷⁹⁰ In all: "Wadjet, lady of Dep", Amun, Atum, Montu, Khnum and a collective in two lines for nTrw nbw. While this may suggest a more direct link between plates LVII and LVIII, the iconography is clearly suggestive of a progression from one scene to the next. Hence, as already mentioned, they are connected, but not necessarily temporally (i.e. one can plan a journey many years before actually undertaking it). By only considering the epigraphic record, as others have largely done, one is want to directly link these scenes. By considering all evidence, a different impression is arrived at. Also note that Hatshepsut describes her mother here as Hathor (Urk. IV: 246.14).

⁷⁹¹ The first line reads as Hs.s im.s (Urk. IV: 246.5). The 'favours' of Hatshepsut, have been described elsewhere (specifically el-Mahatta, 3.5.1 - but note also Semnah, 3.3.3). This particular line, succinct as it is, sticks out in the context and flow of the passage/document.

⁷⁹² Urk. IV: 247.13 specifically describing her 'governance'.

⁷⁹³ Urk. IV: 247.16 with reference not only to her building of temples, but endowing them in subsequent lines.

⁷⁹⁴ Urk. IV: 248.1-2 describing the ways in which she dealt with foreigners and their lands. Half a dozen lines following continue this trend, with Libya and Syria mentioned in lines Urk.IV: 248.3 & 248.6 respectively.

⁷⁹⁵ Urk. IV: 248.13

⁷⁹⁶ Urk. IV: 249.2. This is very reminiscent of the comments made in the biography of Ineni (sub-section 3.2.10)

⁷⁹⁷ Urk. IV: 249.4

In brief summary then, while there is a clear reference to Hatshepsut's youth (and prophecy into the kingship) in the early part of this colonnade, it very quickly moves into the realm of 'pseudo-kingly' discourse. Moreover, once the inscriptions move past the 'Youth of Hatshepsut' they focus not so much on her becoming king, but rather all that she has already achieved in this role. Indeed, her fivefold titulary is nowhere present. Moreover, it is not until we reach the following plate (LVIII) that we even have her prenomen. Iconographically this is matched on two fronts. In plates LVI and LVII she is depicted either as a youth or female. In plate LVIII, she is mature in terms of her bid for the kingship, and male. This then continues to support the theory that the first two plates illustrate the kingship being foretold for Hatshepsut, her youth, and her governance at the death of her husband. Interestingly, this latter event does not appear on this colonnade.

C. Plate LVIII: Successional bid for the throne

With plate LVIII contextually discussed above, only brief comments are offered here. Hatshepsut stands in male military regalia, holding the hand of Hathor on the far left of the plate. The text above reads,

Hr [Horus name lost] di anx nsw-bity nb tAwy MAat-kA-Ra Ddt wAs
mrt.f sAt HAt-Spswt Xnm-Imn snbt Aw-ib.s sSm(w) anxw nb mi Ra
Dt⁷⁹⁸.

Horus name: [wsrt-kAw], given life. King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lady (sic.) of the Two Lands, Maatkare - stability and dominion - the daughter whom he loved, Hatshepsut, United with Amun – health and prosperity – one who leads all the living, like Re, forever.

That the Horus name is lost, but recorded, is significant. It illustrates for the first time in these scenes Hatshepsut was confirming her fivefold titulary, corroborated by the first inclusion of her prenomen. The rest of the text is largely to be expected, as befits a kingly titular introduction and encomium. However, the choice of phrase sSm anxw nb is noticeable, and could

⁷⁹⁸ Sethe does not record this portion of text, located in Naville, 1898, *DeB*, Pt. 3, plate LVIII, top left corner. What he does record for plate LVIII can be found in Urk. IV: 249.11-250.8. There is a fifth column of hieroglyphs running in the opposite direction from those translated here (see below).

varyingly be interpreted as 'guidance, leadership, or rulership'⁷⁹⁹. The terms *Ddt*, *wAs*, *snbt*, and *Aw-ib* are also noticeable, not so much for their use as 'tools' of kingship or queenship, but rather because they seem to be employed in a direct genitival relationship, much as the preceding encomium for kings of Egypt was. They are paired, but follow the prenomen and nomen of Hatshepsut respectively, almost imbedding these 'tools' into Hatshepsut's rubric⁸⁰⁰. As a device, this is quite tantalising, as it perhaps demonstrates a level of need on Hatshepsut's part to entrench such terms into the fabric of her titulary.

Before Hatshepsut, the figure of a god (presumably) once stood, holding a *wAs*-sceptre⁸⁰¹. It is unclear who this god was, and it is unlikely it was Amun. However, an indication might be forthcoming in the legend above. A column of hieroglyphs adjacent to those just translated begins with the uraeus-serpent, holding the protection symbol and wearing at least the red crown of Lower Egypt⁸⁰². This is very similar to the frieze of earlier plates, and one wonders if perhaps Wadjet was meant (particularly as a result of the red-crown being visible). Owing to her mention earlier (plate LVII), and the fact that Hathor presumably holds the hand of Hatshepsut, this seems logical⁸⁰³. The remainder of plate LVIII consists of Amun wearing the dual-crown, holding a *wAs*-sceptre and standing facing the scene of Hatshepsut and Wadjet. He is, however, separated from the scene by a vertical band of hieroglyphs. Above his head are "words spoken" by him and the gods, as we have seen before⁸⁰⁴. Most noteworthy in the column of hieroglyphs before Amun is the mention again of sed-festivals. However, this occurrence records the plural of the

⁷⁹⁹ For the possible translations of *sSm* and its derivatives - Faulkner, 1999, pp. 247-248. The word lacks any determinatives, with only the folded cloth and sharpened knife on legs (Gardiner, 2001, p. 515, sign T32) present.

⁸⁰⁰ For summary, refer **Table 7**

⁸⁰¹ All that now remains are the foot of the god, their hand and the sceptre – the base of the *wAs*-hieroglyph just visible.

⁸⁰² Possibly the dual-crown, but too much is lost.

⁸⁰³ The alternative is that these two goddesses are inverted. It is well-attested that Hathor and Wadjet had interchangeable elements (Watterson, 1996, pp. 115-127). However, the weight of evidence suggests the initial interpretation is correct. Note also the supporting comments in the previous section (3.6.4).

⁸⁰⁴ Naville, 1898, *DeB*, Pt. 3, plate LVII; cf. Urk. IV: 250.5-8

phrase, as is standard in such texts⁸⁰⁵.

D. Plate LIX: 'Transition'

With regard to plate LIX, the majority of the visible scene consists of Hatshepsut standing before a seated Amun. Not only does she continue to wear (and stand) in full male regalia/pose, but she also now holds the crook and flail. She is recorded via her prenomen, and references to the now oft-mentioned 'Throne of Horus', as well as sentiments such as *wnn.s xnt kAw anxw nbw* ("she will be at the forefront of the souls of all the living") are recorded in the register behind her⁸⁰⁶. In the top left corner of the scene/plate we have the figure of Seshat seated and recording the events transpiring. She wears her normal flower/horn headdress, and is named elsewhere in the scene⁸⁰⁷. The choice of Seshat as the scribe to record Hatshepsut's progression into the office of kingship is logical, given the gender difference, but a key point must be noted⁸⁰⁸. Given the orientation of Seshat (and presumably the lower figure), in addition to the vertical band of hieroglyphs at their back (as well as the opposing throne of Amun), these figures must be connected with the scene in plate LVIII. Thus, they are not recording Hatshepsut before Amun on the throne, but rather the earlier scene of Amun, and perhaps Wadjet, before a pre-succession Hatshepsut. Finally then, the texts between Amun and Hatshepsut read as follows.

⁸⁰⁵ Gardiner, 1953, plate II, line 18 (the inscription of Horemheb, which can be used as a correlate here).

⁸⁰⁶ For all the texts of this plate - Urk. IV: 250.10-252.7. The extant remains overlapping the adjacent plate are recorded collectively from Urk. IV: 252.15-254.13.

⁸⁰⁷ For the symbol, Gardiner, 2001, p. 503 (sign R20). Her name also appears recorded two columns further along to the left; however, the sign below the folded cloth is recorded by Naville as an inverted *pt*-symbol. She is also named in the mostly lost scene below (bottom left, Naville, 1898, *DeB*, Pt. 3, plate LIX).

⁸⁰⁸ In general, Helck, 1984b, cols. 884-888. For a parallel, refer Hatshepsut's year 15/16 Obelisks (Urk. IV: 358.14; see also **Table 13** under the same heading). The reference to the Ished-tree serves three purposes. As the tree had connections to the sun-god, so Hatshepsut is linked to Re. Also, given the function of the tree was to record the lengths of the reigns of kings (usually performed by Thoth and Seshat), Hatshepsut seems to have been striving to ensure her place in annals of history. Last, by association to the *rnp*t date-palm branch (the Ished-tree being the Persea tree), there are associations to the *sed*-festival – as the date-palm branch was often depicted in jubilee scenes. This latter point is a recurring theme in Hatshepsut's reign. In general see Gamer-Wallert, 1975, cols. 655-660; Wilkinson, 1992, pp. 116-119. For other instances of Seshat, see for example the Punt reliefs in the same temple (Naville, 1898, *DeB*, pt.3, plate LXXIX), and the year 20 step pyramid inscription (Cat. 4.15).

Speech of Amun

xa.ti Hr st Hr sSmt anxw nbw Aw-ib.T anx.ti Hna kA.T mi Ra Dt⁸⁰⁹

You appeared upon the throne of Horus; guiding all the living⁸¹⁰; your prosperity and life together with your soul, like Re, forever

Words of Hatshepsut

nswt nTr-nfr nbt irt xt MAat-kA-Ra dit anxt nb Aw-ib.s mi Ra.

The king and good god, Lady of Doing Things, Maatkare, giving all life; her prosperity like Re⁸¹¹

All the elements commented on previously are present: the throne of Horus, Hatshepsut's leadership over 'all the living', the receipt and imbedded nature of kingly attributes, her epithet as 'lady of doing things', her prenomen, and her kA as represented on the royal standard. However, we now have two other elements. First, she expressly names herself as nswt. The symbol is very neatly tucked next to the outstretched wing of Nekhbet, and is not accompanied by its counterpart, bity. Second, between this and her nbt irt xt epithet, is the additional epithet of nTr-nfr. The statement here seems clear. She is advising all who may bear witness to this portion of the wall, that it was at this moment she took up (or succeeded to) the office of kingship. In essence, this was her 'accession', to use the traditionally accepted term; or her 'transition', as is preferred in this work. What was to follow was the formal ceremony of this event – the ritualised coronation.

E. Plates LX - LXII: 'Irregular Coronation' I – presentation and epigraphy

The climax then, of what seems to have been years in the making, is depicted across three of Naville's plates. However, two contextual points must be drawn. First, the middle and far left of plate LX actually belongs to the former scene (plate LIX). It depicts Seshat (top, middle) and Thoth (bottom, middle),

⁸⁰⁹ Urk. IV: 252.16-18

⁸¹⁰ Equally, 'leading' or 'ruling', as noted under plate LVIII.

⁸¹¹ Naville, 1898, *DeB*, pt. 3, plate LIX

their backs to the beginning of the coronation inscription - Hatshepsut before Amun on the throne⁸¹². Before them (far left) are three registers, again described as *nTrw nbw*. Each register depicts three gods – representative of all the gods – each with a different anthropomorphic head⁸¹³.

The 'coronation' begins properly at the mid-point of plate LX, where a lengthy text commences. It runs for the remainder of plate LX, through the middle portion of plate LXI and encompasses the entire of plate LXII. The imagery that borders the seven registers on plate LXI sees officials of Egypt in three registers on the right-hand-side bearing witness to the event, and Thutmose I 'presenting' Hatshepsut on the left-hand-side⁸¹⁴. In essence, what we have here is a Culminative scene straddling three of Naville's plates. It epitomises all that previous scenes have worked towards. Further, as one moves from the preliminary scene (plate LVI) into this Culminative scene, there is the distinct impression that time is speeding up. That is to say, plates LVI-LVIII seem to illustrate a lengthy period of time - from Hatshepsut's kingship prophecies and youth, through to her bid for the throne, up to the point of coronation (not forgetting the 'transition' evident in plate LIX). Comparatively, these three plates (technically two-and-a-half), almost the same quantitative amount, illustrate a very compact period of time, and a single event. Thus, much like a narrative discourse, the viewer has been (hastily) provided with the background, before being rushed into the real focus of the story; where we (the viewer) shall spend roughly the same amount of time.

One final comment, before examining some of the textual components, pertains to the 'affixing of the crown on the head of Hatshepsut'. Unlike the scene of Thutmose III at Semnah⁸¹⁵, Thutmose I's hands are not so much placed atop Hatshepsut's head, but rather behind her body. In a fashion,

⁸¹² In essence, the figure of Seshat in plate LIX actually records the succession and bid for kingship as per plate LVIII; the Seshat on the left of plate LX connected to the 'transition' of plate LIX.

⁸¹³ Anubis-headed on top, Horus-headed in the middle, and human-headed along the bottom

⁸¹⁴ The full text, broken into two segments by Sethe, is recorded in Urk. IV: 255.4-258.5 (they being plates LX and LXI) and Urk. IV: 259.1-262.1 (that being plate LXII). Numerous scholars have discussed these plates, at least epigraphically:- Ratié, 1979, pp. 112-121; Vandersleyen, 1995, p. 250; Redford, 1967, pp. 54-56; Dorman, 2006, pp. 55-56. In general, add Dorman, 1988, pp. 40-45; Tefnin, 1979, pp. 135-144.

⁸¹⁵ Refer section 3.3.3a for Thutmose III (Caminos, 1998, plate 39); Appendix, Plate II.

much as in two earlier plates, it actually seems as though Hatshepsut is being 'presented' or 'shown' to the people (and the gods before), rather than undergoing a standard coronation *per se*⁸¹⁶. The audience, and indeed the viewer, are perhaps not so much witnessing a ritualistic crowning, but the promotion and publicity of Hatshepsut in her guise as male king. One almost gets the impression that both audience and viewer must give their approval, before we can move forward from this point⁸¹⁷.

Turning to the epigraphy, this will not here be presented in as full a fashion as has been done elsewhere. The rationale is three-fold. First, the space necessary to achieve this is considerable. Second, upon fully reviewing the text, most is hyperbole in the sense that it conveys fairly standard notions pertaining to kingship, gods and their interactions. Third, as referenced elsewhere, others have presented much of the material in translated fashion already. Thus, to present an exhaustive discussion on this inscription would yield diminishing returns based on the space required. Rather, comments will be kept to a few extant passages that serve to strengthen the case to date, or illustrate key points.

HATSHEPSUT BEING 'SEEN' BY (APPEARING BEFORE) THE GODS/PEOPLE & NEW YEARS DAY

Several scenes/plates illustrate Hatshepsut being presented anew (as if seen for the first time in this role) to the gods and people of Egypt. This is reinforced by several occurrences of her "appearing", either in the royal palace or before the throne of the gods⁸¹⁸. There is also a correlation to the time Hatshepsut

⁸¹⁶ Refer plates LVI (Urk. IV: 243.10) and LVII (Urk. IV: 247.13). On the comparison of plate LXI in particular, to other scenes illustrating Hatshepsut's being crowned, note the discourse towards the end of the previous section (Chapelle Rouge, section 3.6.4).

⁸¹⁷ Digressing momentarily, it is noted with some interest that Mr. Kenneth Griffin's post-graduate work at the Centre for Egyptology and Mediterranean Archaeology at Swansea University, Wales (supervised by Dr. Kasia Szpakowska), is titled "The Social and Mythological Role of the Rekhyt in Ancient Egypt". In this work he advocates that Hatshepsut appears to make more use of the word 'rekhyt' than any other ruler (*National Geographic*, April 2009, pp. 102-104). With relation to ancient audiences, this is an intriguing phenomenon.

⁸¹⁸ Urk. IV: 256.3 (xa.T m Ha) and 256.8 (di.w n.T xaw in xnt stw nTrw). The latter sentence is particularly interesting, as the appearance before the "thrones of the gods" is bestowed upon Hatshepsut (presumably by Amun); the verbal form being past, passive. Note that while the first line of the inscription (255.4) might appear to reflect the same notion, the reference to "seeing" pertains to Hatshepsut witnessing Amun (described as "the majesty of her father, this Horus"), and not the reverse.

appeared - that being *rh.f nfr n xaw n wpt rnpt*⁸¹⁹. While the reference to New Years Day here and in plate LXIII (discussed below) might seem improbable, and designed only to accord Hatshepsut's monumental record with all the necessary components to make this transition 'true and correct', perhaps a parallel in support of an actual event can be found. Block 287 seems to illustrate not only a very specific ritual occasion but, given the precise date, that it actually occurred. If this 'lesser' ritual was celebrated by a physical event, then could the same not be true for Hatshepsut's moment of entering the kingship?⁸²⁰

HATSHEPSUT'S TITULARY, JUBILEES AND DIVINE KA

As part of any 'standard coronation', Hatshepsut is officially presented with her fivefold titulary⁸²¹. However, in line with the fact that this does not seem to be a regular coronation, one of the titular names is actually missing – specifically her *sA Ra* name. This does seem in fitting with her agenda, however. Throughout her queenship and entire successional period, Hatshepsut was defined by her nomen. Given she is now attempting to establish those names that would define her kingship, it does not seem illogical that she would intentionally omit her nomen. There is again reference to *sed*-festivals⁸²², as well as the *kA* of Hatshepsut being (divinely) forged; a fact noted in the first plate (LVI) and seemingly reinforced during her kingship ceremony⁸²³.

HER EPITHET *sA.f*

Another variant in her choice of epithets is noted when examining the

⁸¹⁹ Urk. IV: 261.8. Other scholars have commented on this matter (Redford, 1967, p. 55; Ratié, pp. 112-119; Dorman, 2006, p. 55) - more specifically with reference to the precise date being provided in the subsequent plates (Urk. IV: 262.7-8), and the fact that Hatshepsut's timing of this event on New Years Day is probably ahistorical.

⁸²⁰ There is no debate that these two ritual events are different. Nor is it contested that the date of New Years Day is very canonical in terms of its selection. The point made is simply that if the weight of evidence for Hatshepsut stepping into the kingship succession suggests she actually celebrated a jubilee, then surely the transition into the office of kingship – a far more noteworthy occasion – warranted a physical celebration? See also section 3.6.3.

⁸²¹ Urk. IV: 261.14-17

⁸²² Urk. IV: 261.10; albeit mentioned in a very standard fashion, as attested in plate LVIII.

⁸²³ Urk. IV: 255.9 and 255.14. The first reference again employs the Horus standard beneath her *kA*, as she does in the earlier scene (Naville, 1898, *DeB*, Pt. 3, plate LVI). Moreover, it could be interpreted as a prospective relative form (*iri.t(i) kA.s*) = "that which the *kA* will do. However, orthographically the *t* is the loaf of bread and not the pestle. The second instance cannot be interpreted differently.

occasions where she employs her nomen or prenomen. In two of the four instances, she describes herself as "his/this daughter"⁸²⁴. By itself uninteresting, the noteworthiness arises when one realises that Hatshepsut is actually substituting sAt.f or sAt pn with either sA Ra or nsw-bity. Each is placed within narrative text, not royal titulary, and the only one that does conform (the final example), is the only one placed within the titulary of Hatshepsut⁸²⁵. Further, if it is to be presumed that the 'daughter' reference here pertains to Thutmose I and not Amun (logical owing to the presentation of Hatshepsut to the people/gods by her biological father on the left-hand side of plate LXI), then one might suppose the epigraphic shift here was aligned with Aakheperkare's involvement in the ceremony.

F. Plates LXIII-LXIV: 'Irregular Coronation' II - Rites and Libation

The final two plates are a composition of four, five or six scenes, depending upon how they are interpreted. Before turning to them, a few general points will be covered. First off, the significance of the frieze along the top has been commented upon⁸²⁶. Additionally, the date offered for the 'irregular coronation' of Hatshepsut, has been discussed⁸²⁷. To that notation, a minor point needs to be added - specifically that there is not one, but two uses of the verb 'to appear', each written under the words nswt and bity respectively. Whether physically or ideologically, it appears Hatshepsut wanted to stress that she 'appeared' in the north and south, simultaneously. Finally, is the writing of the smA-symbol, which has the plants of the north and south woven around it; again stressing duality in her rulership⁸²⁸. The remainder of the scenes are as follows:

⁸²⁴ Urk. IV: 257.6 (sAt pn HAt-Spswt Xnmt Imn anx.T); 259.3 (sAt.f nswt-bity MAat-kA-Ra anx Dt); 260.5 (sAt.f MAat-kA-Ra anx Dt); 261.17 (nswt-bity MAat-kA-Ra di anx)

⁸²⁵ Noting the aforementioned omission of the sA Ra name in this titulary; yet another formulaic irregularity.

⁸²⁶ Discourse under plate LVI above.

⁸²⁷ Far left scene on Naville, 1898, *DeB*, Pt. 3, plate LXIII (Urk. IV: 262.7-8). In full it reads, tpy Axt wpt-rnpt tp(y) rnpwt Htpt n Ha-nswt Ha-bity smA pXr tA-mHw inb Hb Sdi.

⁸²⁸ This may well be an archaizing attempt, and can be paralleled with the seated statues and associated imagery of Sesostris I recovered from the Faiyum region by Gautier and Jequier (1902) – cf. Gardiner, 1944, pp. 24-33 and plate III, scenes 1-2.

- *Far left, Plate LXIII* – Hatshepsut in full male garb (erased), led by an official into the adjacent scene. Both figures face right. The text above Hatshepsut's head contains the aforementioned date of coronation, and also her nomen and prenomen, prefaced by standard encomium. The scene is bordered (behind Hatshepsut) by a full length *rnpt*-symbol. This divides the beginning of the new scene from the coronation inscription prior⁸²⁹.
- *Middle, Plate LXIII* – Hatshepsut is anointed with an *anx*-symbol that looks remarkably like an orthodox Christian cross. The same official conducts the ceremony, with Hatshepsut named solely by her prenomen. Again, reference is given to *irt Hb-sd aSA wrt mi Ra Dt* ("making a great many sed-festivals like Re forever")
- *Far Right, Plate LXIII* – Hatshepsut is now escorted by Horus into the next scene. Two iconographic aspects are remarkable here. First, this scene, while continuing the ritual of the two former, is divided both by a vertical line, but more importantly, the vulture-wings in the top left of the scene. These hang down and right, protecting and prefacing the next phase of the ritual. The other aspect is the positioning of Horus; the head of Horus looks back at his charge (and the scenes prior), while his body moves steadily right, into the next scene. Thus, plate LXIII is Episodically connected to plate LXIV by the god Horus. The text above includes Horus the Behdetite⁸³⁰.
- *Plate LXIV, all* – much of this plate is lost, having been more thoroughly hacked out than any previous part of this wall. The far left places Hatshepsut and Horus within a walled room or place, which has the *kheker*-frieze along the top⁸³¹. This might be the inner sanctum of Karnak or Luxor, or the palace itself. The remainder of the plate (middle and right), seems to be a replica of the far right of plate LXIII and the far left of plate LXIV combined. Another pair of vulture-wings prefacing the scene in the top left. Presumably the scene has progressed, but it is too erased to confirm this theory.

Coming full circle, the difficulty then in determining if there are four, five or six scenes, derives from the fact that the middle and right of plate LXIV may consist of one or two scenes (i.e. before and after stepping into the *kheker*-

⁸²⁹ Note that the "Great Names" of Hatshepsut (her full titulary), which complete the inscription (Urk. IV: 261.14-17) are actually located in the top left corner of plate LXIII.

⁸³⁰ For the key texts of Naville, (1898, *DeB*, Pt. 3, plates LXIII-LXIV), see Urk. IV: 262.5-265.5. On the Episodic gesturing of Horus, note the similarity to Amun on block 172 in the Chapelle Rouge (section 3.6.4) and references within. For Horus the Behdetite see section 3.6.1.

⁸³¹ The *kheker*-frieze is known from the third dynasty at least, and its occurrence in both shrines and temples is well-documented. For a recent discussion of the *kheker*-frieze and its associated artistic aspects (albeit from a late Middle Kingdom stela), see Leprohon, 1996, pp. 523-531 and references within.

frieze) room, with the far right of plate LXIII and far left of plate LXIV being viewed in the same fashion. There is, however, a stronger argument for the division of the latter two, as they appear to be physically separated. Suffice to say, the elements of event, characters, and location, as well as the form of the characters, lend themselves to an Episodic interpretation of both these plates. Lastly, it was noted that the beginning and end scenes seem bordered by the uraei-frieze. Combined with the Episodic effects and devices commented upon, one gets the very distinct impression that plates LXIII-LXIV represent the 'end of the journey'.

G. Final Comments – the 'Other' Sed-Festival of Hatshepsut

The purpose of this penultimate section is to illustrate the belief that Hatshepsut not only celebrated a traditional sed-festival in year 16⁸³², but possibly also one in her pre-coronation years⁸³³. The *primary reason* for thinking Hatshepsut shared an earlier sed-festival, stems from the scenes on the pillars that front the northern middle colonnade⁸³⁴. Those on the left (plate LXV) depict Thutmose III wearing either the double- or lower-crowns of Egypt. He stands before Amun, and is recorded by many titles and epithets⁸³⁵. His prenomen is recorded as Mn-xpr-kA-Ra, a fact also noted by Uphill⁸³⁶. One of these (the right-hand pillar on plate LXV) contains the sentence, Hs-Ra Hb-sd ir.f di anx ("may Re be praised, the sed-festival, which he makes that gives life"). The three pillars further right (plate LXVI) depict Thutmose III on two of them, and Hatshepsut on the third⁸³⁷. The far left of the right-most pillars contains a generic reference to the sed-festival at a time of coronation (di.n n.k ir HHw m Hb-sd aSA wrt)⁸³⁸, and the middle of the right-most contains the precise phrase seen above on the left-most pillars (plate LXV).

⁸³² Urk. IV: 358.17 – 359.2 (Hatshepsut's year 15/16 obelisks at Karnak). See also Golvin, 1993, pp. 34-41 and Habachi, 1977, pp. 60-66.

⁸³³ Refer to the discussion already engaged in with Block 287 from the Chapelle Rouge (section 3.3.6).

⁸³⁴ Naville, 1898, *DeB*, Pt. 3, plates LXV-LXVI; noted originally by Uphill, 1961, pp. 248-9.

⁸³⁵ His Horus name, nsw-bity, nb irt xt and the like.

⁸³⁶ 1961, p. 248. See the opening discussions on this name of Thutmose in chapter one (1.3).

⁸³⁷ The left, where Thutmose III wears the Atef-crown and stands in the embrace of Amun, his hand on the shoulder of the god, and the middle, where he wears the red-crown and is clasped firmly by the god.

⁸³⁸ Translation – "a great many million sed-festivals were caused to be made for you"

It is the right-hand pillar on the right-most side that interests us most. Here, Hatshepsut seems to have been in the embrace of Amun in the precise manner that Thutmose III was before her. Amun has since been altered to occupy most of the pillar, and his right arm and staff have been carved over her original body. Nonetheless, one can still make out that Hatshepsut wore the red-crown; and it appears as if she was in male garb⁸³⁹. Both her nomen and prenomen exist in the extrinsic inscription above, along with her Horus name, a legend to Horus the Behdetite at the top, and epithets such as nTr nfrt nbt tAwy⁸⁴⁰. These are all in accordance with that which we have now become accustomed to with Hatshepsut as king. Moreover, the passage pertaining to the sed-festival in the legend below is identical to the two previous passages relating to Thutmose III. The logical conclusion, given the joint nature of the protagonists, the context within the 'successional scenes'⁸⁴¹, and the male/kingly nature of both individuals is largely as Uphill would suggest – that Hatshepsut and Thutmose III shared a joint sed-festival. But when, and what other evidence can corroborate this?⁸⁴²

It has already been discussed that the el-Mahatta graffito of Senenmut is most likely to be dated early (probably with a level of later re-carving)⁸⁴³. It discusses the transportation of obelisks, specifically the earlier eastern pair, later removed via the construction of Thutmose's Akh Menu temple. If the assessment of the el-Mahatta graffito is correct, can we begin to assume that those earlier obelisks were erected, in similar fashion as Hatshepsut later did for herself alone, to commemorate a joint sed-festival? It has also been remarked upon that Hatshepsut's kingship campaign, as per Block 287⁸⁴⁴,

⁸³⁹ The bull's tail is still evident.

⁸⁴⁰ Clearly referring to Hatshepsut and not Thutmose III, owing to the feminine endings.

⁸⁴¹ Actually fronting the scenes, and this itself may have been significant.

⁸⁴² Uphill (1961, pp. 250-1) believed these pillars were related to the year 15/16 sed-festival, owing to their connection to the year 13 Sinai stela. This he deduced from the prenomen of Thutmose III. However, one rather glaring fact seems to have been overlooked by Uphill when he assigned the sed-festival to the year 15/16 obelisks – these monuments are devoid of any mention of Thutmose III (and not forgetting Dorman's (1988) robust refutation of Meyer's (1982) position that the variant prenomen's of Thutmose III could be used for chronological assessments – cf. section 1.3).

⁸⁴³ Section 3.5.1.

⁸⁴⁴ Section 3.3.6

seems to suggest rejuvenation was a paramount part of beginning the succession process. The sum total of that earlier Chapelle Rouge section was the determination that, on the 29th day of the second month of Peret, year 2, Hatshepsut's divine form was reborn and forever altered the kingship of Thutmose III. Moreover, that Block 287 represents this ritualistic event taking place. The difficult question is whether or not that festival of Amun is the same as the *sd*-festival referred to here?

WHERE RECORDED	REFERENCE	NOTES
North-west hall of Offerings	Navigle, 1895, <i>DeB</i> , Pt. 1, plates 20-23	Uphill, p. 248
Anubis Shrine	Navigle, 1896, <i>DeB</i> , Pt. 2, plates 36, 37, 40	Uphill, p. 248
Northern portion of middle colonnade – Pillars	Navigle, 1898, <i>DeB</i> , Pt. 3, plates 65-66	Uphill, pp. 248-9
Hathor Shrine	Navigle, 1901, <i>DeB</i> , Pt. 4, plates 92-5	Uphill, pp. 249-250
unknown – joint scene with Thutmose III offering incense to Amun	Werbrouck, 1949, pl .17	Not a <i>sd</i> -festival, but corroborating evidence
West Wall, Deir el-Bahri, Sanctuary	Winlock, 1942, p. 216	Not a <i>sd</i> -festival, but corroborating evidence
Year 2 Historical Text from the Chapelle Rouge: Block 287	Section 3.3.6	Does not mention a <i>sd</i> -festival. Does cite a festival of Amun. Discussions around the location of Luxor, Opet and aspects of rejuvenation
el-Mahatta inscription of Senenmut at Aswan	Section 3.5.1	Does not mention a <i>sd</i> -festival, but discusses the transportation of obelisks. Which pair? The eastern obelisks, erected early and dismantled by Thutmose III's Akh-Menu temple, or the year 15/16 obelisks?
Southern portion of the lower colonnade	Navigle, 1908, <i>DeB</i> , Pt. 6, plate 154	
Northern portion of middle colonnade	Navigle, 1898, <i>DeB</i> , Pt. 3, plates 56, 58, 63	Plates 58, 63 are standard. However, plate 56 has an irregular usage of the term

Table 9: Early Sed-festival and Corroborating Evidence

Further evidence can perhaps be found in another series of reliefs that illustrate joint scenes of the rulers, possibly carved earlier in the history of the Deir el-Bahri temple. These are located within the north-west Hall of

Offerings⁸⁴⁵. Here, we have a fairly standard recitation of the awarding of sed-festivals but again, both Hatshepsut and Thutmose III are represented in an interchangeable – dual – fashion. Then there are those scenes from adjacent rooms; the Anubis and Hathoric shrines⁸⁴⁶. If we suppose that physical proximity equated to temporal sameness with regard to the time the reliefs were carved (but, of course, not necessarily temporal sameness in terms of the events depicted), then those of the Anubis Shrine are especially interesting. There is a scene depicting Hatshepsut (erased) before Anubis, and the vertical column of hieroglyphics notes the conferring of "millions of sed-festivals"⁸⁴⁷. The other primary scene with regard to sd-festivals in this shrine has Thutmose III offering nw-pots to the god Horus. It is a much truncated scene relative to those of Hatshepsut, but his prenomen is the regular, shortened version; and Thutmose III appears to be in receipt of kingly attributes much as Hatshepsut is further to the south (along the northern middle colonnade)⁸⁴⁸. Alas, this chamber does not provide any further clarity to the question at hand⁸⁴⁹.

Other scenes within the temple, in very sacrosanct environs, also reinforce the notion that Hatshepsut shared much with Thutmose III – perhaps as much as a joint sed-festival. The most compelling of these is a scene on the west wall of the sanctuary itself⁸⁵⁰. At the top of the false door scene, the following legends for Thutmose III (right) and Hatshepsut (left) can be read:

Right – nTr nfr nb irt xt Mn-xpr-Ra di anx mi Ra Dt

The good god, Lord of Doing Things, Menkheperre, given life like Re, forever

⁸⁴⁵ Naville, 1895, *DeB*, Pt. 1, plates XX-XXIII; Uphill, 1961, p. 248. The wording is almost identical to that along the pillars of the northern middle colonnade, as is much of the iconographical record (e.g. Thutmose III wearing the Atf-crown, standing before Amun).

⁸⁴⁶ Naville, 1896, *DeB*, Pt. II, plates XXXVI-XXXVII, XL and 1901, Pt. IV, plates XCII-XCV respectively.

⁸⁴⁷ Naville, 1896, *DeB*, Pt. II, plate XXXVII.

⁸⁴⁸ Naville, 1896, *DeB*, Pt. II, plate 40.

⁸⁴⁹ It actually has to be said that, despite the sameness of the plates XXXVI and XXXVII, the former plate (which has Hatshepsut offering tribute before Amun) does not actually seem to illustrate the bequeathing of sed-festivals in the fashion Uphill presumed (1961, p. 248). Where we would expect to see mention of this – in the text behind Amun – there is in fact no mention. However, that the scenes are almost identical in layout, and that it is Anubis, not Amun, that conveys the sed-festivals is noteworthy (even in a chapel dedicated to Anubis).

⁸⁵⁰ Winlock, 1942, p. 216

Left – nsw-bity nb irt xt MAat-kA-Ra anx.ti mi Ra Dt
 King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lady of Doing Things, Maatkare,
 may she live like Re, forever

The two figures are identical, save the texts that define them. Moreover, the distinction of Hatshepsut as king and Thutmose III as “good god” is interesting⁸⁵¹. While further down the false door stela Thutmose III is named as king, it is Hatshepsut whose name(s) appear in abundance (some eleven times in all), compared to three for the young male king⁸⁵².

Finally, then, the last notable piece of evidence actually derives from the northern middle colonnade itself⁸⁵³. While noted above that the sed-festival is mentioned in fairly generic terms along this colonnade⁸⁵⁴, the foremost occurrence of it contains not one, not three, but two 'festival' determinatives⁸⁵⁵. This very specific content, not prefaced by plural strokes to convey the notion of "many sed-festivals"⁸⁵⁶, is very suggestive of Hatshepsut having partaken of two sed-festivals. Corroboration with the evidence above would suggest Thutmose III played some part in it; perhaps even a joint-role. Perhaps the only difficulty with the placement of this epigraphy in the left of plate LVI, is that it falls on the outer parameter (right-hand-side column) of the 'prophetic' scene; drawing into question whether the earlier sed-festival was real, or propagandistic. In sum, there does seem to be enough evidence to suggest Hatshepsut celebrated both an early, and late, jubilee. Whether the early sed-festival was the same as the Luxor rejuvenation ritual depicted on the Chapelle Rouge, is presently indeterminable. Evidence might suggest so, but chronologically the alignment of the Block 287 date with the obelisks

⁸⁵¹ The choice of *di anx* for Thutmose III, and *anx.ti* for Hatshepsut is probably related to the sex/gender division.

⁸⁵² To be expected in Hatshepsut's mortuary temple. Moreover, one could list numerous other examples of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III in 'unison' – for example, Werbrouck, 1949, pl. 17.

⁸⁵³ There is actually one other scene from the southern portion of the lower colonnade (Naville, *DeB*, 1908, Pt. VI, plate CLIV), which cites a sed-festival. It does little to advance the case being made here, but does mention both Thutmose III (left, lower register) and Hatshepsut (erased cartouche on the top left-side, with Horus name still visible on the top right side).

⁸⁵⁴ Naville, 1898, *DeB*, Pt. 3, plates LVIII and LXIII

⁸⁵⁵ Naville, 1898, *DeB*, Pt. 3, plate LVI. For the sign, Gardiner, 2001, p. 528, (sign W4).

⁸⁵⁶ While there is insufficient room to carve three 'festival signs', there is more than enough room for a single 'festival sign' and plural strokes. That this was not done seems telling.

mentioned in the el-Mahatta inscription would be problematic at best. As per the red granite statue of her husband, the earlier sed-festival could have been the posthumous observation of Aakheperenre's jubilee⁸⁵⁷. Such would most certainly have involved Thutmose III, his son. Whatever the case, it does seem as though there could have been as many as three jubilees, two early and one late; each with a specific purpose and none, seemingly, the same.

H. Summary of Findings

Many points have been made over the past twenty or so pages. However, the primary aim of this section was to re-evaluate the idea that the entire of the northern middle colonnade depicted *La Texte de la Jeunesse*. Assessment complete, the results are visually summarised below in **Fig. 4**. All other summative points for section 3.6 are reserved for the final section in this chapter, following the addendum.

⁸⁵⁷ Section 3.2.4 – again Dreyer, 1984, p. 492; Dorman, 2006, pp. 46-47 and fn. 59.

SCENES FROM THE NORTHERN MIDDLE COLONNADE DEPICTING THE PROPHECY, YOUTH, SUCCESSION, 'TRANSITION' AND IRREGULAR CORONATION OF HATSHEPSUT (AS PER E. NAVILLE, 1898, *DEB*, PLATES LVI-LXIV)

Plate LVI		Plate LVII		Plate LVIII	Plates LIX, LX LHS	Plates LX RHS, LXI, LXII	Plates LXIII, LXIV
Left Side	Right Side	Former	Latter	All			
<p>PROPHETIC SCENES; POSSIBLY PRE-BIRTH</p> <p>INCLUDES LIBATION OF HATSHEPSUT</p> <p>FRIEZE SIGNIFIES BEGINNING OF 'KINGSHIP JOURNEY'</p>	<p><u>TEXTE DE LA JEUNESSE</u></p> <p>ICONOGRAPHY AND EXTRINSIC INSCRIPTION</p>	<p><u>TEXTE DE LA JEUNESSE</u></p> <p>BEGINNING OF LENGTHY INSCRIPTION RECORDS</p> <p>THE YOUTH OF HATSHEPSUT</p>	<p><u>Governance of Egypt</u></p> <p>RECORDS HATSHEPSUT'S EFFORTS AS 'GOVERNOR OF EGYPT'.</p> <p>Episodic iconography flows into plate LVIII</p> <p>It is estimated that the stepping between plates LVII and LVIII demarcates the point at which Hatshepsut's succession properly began</p>	<p><u>Succession Concludes</u></p> <p>More overt shift towards the kingship</p>	<p><u>'transition'</u></p> <p>kA, nswt, attributes of kingship, prenomen, throne of Horus, nbt irt xt and nTr nfr epithets all evident</p>	<p><u>'Coronation Ceremony'</u></p> <p>FOCUS ON 'SEEING' HATSHEPSUT</p> <p>CROWN NOT AFFIXED, MORESO PRESENTED</p> <p>PROPAGANDISTIC CONNECTION TO NEW YEARS DAY, BUT ALSO SYMBOLIC – A NEW BEGINNING</p> <p>EMPHASIS ON KA BEING DIVINE – CONNECTION TO LUXOR?</p> <p>FOCUS ON FILIAL CONNECTION TO HER FATHER</p>	<p><u>'Coronation Ceremony'</u></p> <p>RITEs OF PASSAGE AND ENTERING THE KINGSHIP</p> <p>TRANSITION INTO KINGSHIP COMPLETE</p> <p>FORMAL CONCLUSION OF 'IRREGULAR CORONATION'</p> <p>IN TANDEM WITH PLATE LVI, FRIEZE COMPLETES THE JOURNEY TO THE KINGSHIP</p>

Figure 4: The interpreted flow of the 'Scenes of Succession' of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri

3.7 Addendum – other considerations

3.7.1 The 'other' sarcophagi of Hatshepsut (Cat. 3.4, 3.6)

The primary focus of this section is to present select texts from the remaining two sarcophagi of Hatshepsut, and to draw from this comparison any suppositions which might further our understanding of the regency and/or succession of Hatshepsut⁸⁵⁸. The format, structure and style of this section remain the same as the earlier one which detailed the Wadi Sikkat sarcophagus. Debates surrounding the (re-)location of Thutmose I between KV20 and KV38, and related matters, are not of interest⁸⁵⁹. Notwithstanding, any information pertaining to the date of construction/carving for the KV20 sarcophagi (as well as the tomb itself), *is* of interest, but to date it does appear that all such information is speculative at best⁸⁶⁰.

Lids, Exterior (Hayes, 1935, Nos. 1-11)⁸⁶¹

L1 - referred to as: sAt-nsw Hmt-nTr Hmt-nsw wrt nbt tAwy HAt-Spswt (WS); nsw-bity aA-xpr-kA-Ra (T1); nsw-bity MAat-kA-Ra (HT)⁸⁶². T1 and HT have the epithet mAa-Xrw (that of HT being written in full)

L2 – The texts record the 'honouring' (imAxy) of the deceased as either Hmt-nsw (WS), sA Ra n Xt.f (T1) or sA Ra mrt.f (HT). More interesting is that xr ir st (WS) becomes xr ir st-nTr HqA imnt (T1) and xr ir st-nTr xnt imnt (HT) in relation to the (god's) throne of Egypt.

⁸⁵⁸ A fairly thorough examination of the texts of MFA 04.278 was carried out recently by Manuelian and Loeben (1993, esp. pp. 138-150). While they provide some excellent conclusions pertaining to the development and re-carving of MFA 04.278 (including a thought-provoking appendix by R. Newman (p. 152-5) on the analysis of the application of the 'red paint') they do not corroborate their epigraphic findings with the other sarcophagi.

⁸⁵⁹ See for example Romer, 1974 and 1976.

⁸⁶⁰ See for example Carter, 1916a, 1917; Reeves, 1990, pp. 13-18; Roehrig, 2006, pp. 246-48, 251-2. Also the comments of Reeves and Wilkinson (1996, pp. 91-4), who note that all walls of KV20 were unsuitable for decoration and thus "funerary texts were applied to limestone blocks which were probably intended to line the room". Throughout this section the abbreviation T1 refers to the sarcophagus of Thutmose I at KV20, MFA 04.278; that of HT refers to the sarcophagus Hatshepsut intended for herself at KV20, JE 37678. Finally, see plates XLIX, LII-LIII, LVII, LVIIIa, LVIIIb, & LIX in the appendices.

⁸⁶¹ Each sub-heading or category is laid out in numerical fashion (i.e. line-by-line), with the notations and phrases referred back to each sarcophagus by placement of the sarcophagus reference () following the notation. The numbers and ordering of categories follows Hayes (1935).

⁸⁶² Hayes, 1935, pp. 67-8 provides a suitable translation of the text here, noting also that the prayer employed by Hatshepsut is rare until later in the dynasty (p. 184 by way of comparison). Note also that pSS ("to stretch, spread out") is written differently for each of the three lines (psS, pSn, pSsn).

L4 – 'honouring' but this time on behalf of Anubis (inpw). Most notable, WS records Hatshepsut as xnt sH-nTr Hmt-nTr (before the divine booth, the God's Wife). The others record the epithets nb irt xt (T1) and nb tAwy (HT).

L5 – Hatshepsut as nbt tAwy (WS), changed to nb tAwy (T1) and finally just mrt.f (HT)

Head Ends, Sarcophagus Body Exterior (Hayes, 1935, Nos. 12-18)

L13 – a return to the texts on the exterior of the lids. WS – Dd[.in] Hmt-nTr Hmt-nsw wrt HA-t-Spswt; T1 – Dd[.in] nsw-bity nb tAwy nb irt xt; HT – Dd[.in] nTr-nfr nb tAwy nb irt xt nsw-bity. The remainder of the text on each sarcophagus employs the independent pronoun ink to describe how each 'belonged to' Isis and Nephthys. It is interesting to note that HT is the most elaborate of these, employing the additional term nTrt for each goddess, and overtly stressing the feminine aspects.

Foot Ends, Sarcophagus Body Exterior (Hayes, 1935, Nos. 19-24)

L20 – a short first-person Dd.in formula, WS uses the epithets 'king's daughter, king's sister, God's Wife, king's great wife'. T1 prefers nswt-bity nb tAwy nb ir xt (as with lines 4, 13). HT is simply nsw-bity. The short reference at the end, which reads ink snt.T Ast nTrt ("I am your sister, the goddess Isis") has notably not had its noun changed in T1, although the pronoun has altered (from T to k).

L21 – similar to L20, the deceased are simply referred to as Hmt-nTr (WS) and nswt (T1, HT) respectively.

L23 – as lines 20, 21 excepting the epithets: WS – snt-nswt, T1 – sA Ra, HT – nswt. There is, however, a notable curiosity here and with L21, between T1 and HT. When T1 employs the term nswt in L21 it chooses the prenomen of the king (aA-xpr-kA-Ra); when it employs the 'son of Re' epithet, it uses his nomen (DHwty-ms xa mi Ra). Now while this is entirely normal/regular, the same cannot be said of HT across these two lines. Here Hatshepsut employs the same generic epithet, but alternates between her prenomen (L21) and nomen (L23). While the epithet is not nsw-bity, and thus does not have to conform in a purely formulaic sense, it is interesting to note that the same generic utilisation for the T1 sarcophagus does stick to regimented protocols even with this more general term⁸⁶³.

Right Hand Sides, Sarcophagus Body (Hayes, 1935, Nos. 25-34)

Nothing of note

⁸⁶³ This 'toying' with accepted titulary protocols is the primary focus of chapter six.

Left Hand Sides, Sarcophagus Body (Hayes, 1935, Nos. 35-43)

L36 – another lengthy Dd.in formula as with L26, it seems the formula of repeating the first two lines on the right and left-hand sides was a trend Hatshepsut partook in⁸⁶⁴. This recitation, again only recorded on T1 and HT, is under the guidance of Nwt. The same title nb ir xt is present on both sarcophagi, but only T1 contains the phrase nb tAwy.

Lids, Interior (Hayes, 1935, Nos. 44-49)

Nothing of note

Walls, Interior Sarcophagus Body (Hayes, 1935, Nos. 50-53)

L51 – Similar to L1 and L44, the Dd.in formula here is carried out in the name of the king. The key difference being that T1 only refers to Thutmose I as nswt, whereas HT prefers nsw-bity in addition to the epithet nbt tAwy⁸⁶⁵.

L52 – This line and the one below are both recitations by Horus for the deceased. They only occur on T1 and HT and, as expected, are lengthy. However, there is a noticeable difference between the HT passage and the T1 passage; the latter being much shorter in the preceding encomium. The HT passage reads: Hr⁸⁶⁶ Dd.in nTr-nfr nb Awt sA mr.f n nb nHH nswt-bity nbt tAwy nb irt xt MAat-kA-Ra sA Ra nt Xt.f mrt.f HAt-Spswt Xnm Inn. Following this, the remainder of both recitations is identical.

Floor, Interior Sarcophagus Body (Hayes, 1935, Nos. 54-57)

Nothing of note

A brief summary of the key points is as follows. First up, the key purpose of each sarcophagus can be clearly seen in line one. Wadi Sikkat illustrates

⁸⁶⁴ See comments in Hayes, 1935, pp. 104-6 and 138-150 pertaining to the trends that Hatshepsut appears to have followed (and endorsed) from the Middle Kingdom, for the rest of the Eighteenth Dynasty. In support of Hayes, add Romer, 1976, esp. pp. 201-206.

⁸⁶⁵ One gets the impression that Thutmose I receives more accolades along the lines of nb tAwy, than does Hatshepsut in the two sarcophagi (e.g. L20, L36 in favour of T1, whereas L5, L13 are equal, and L4 has it just for Hatshepsut). It is interesting to note then, that the interior walls – closer to the actual body of the deceased – overly extol Hatshepsut.

⁸⁶⁶ This is one of very few lines to commence with anything other than Dd.in and the only one under Hatshepsut to commence with a god. That the god is Horus, that the location is the inner sarcophagus walls, and that it is greater in length on the HT sarcophagus than the T1 sarcophagus seems indicative of the stress Hatshepsut wanted placed upon her herself as king in the Hereafter (to be expected, but nonetheless a nice phenomena to observe).

Hatshepsut as queen, MFA 04.278 marks her father as king and JE 37678 heralds Hatshepsut as king. Next, subtle evolutions in terminology can be seen in lines two and five in particular. The latter line especially, is interesting in its paralleling of Hatshepsut and Thutmose I as 'Lady' and 'Lord' of the Two Lands respectively, as well as the shift by Hatshepsut to simply 'whom he loved', in her final sarcophagus. Similar types of shifts or evolutions have been noted for the terms *snt* and *Hnwt*⁸⁶⁷, and the noteworthy point here is that these epigraphic variations seem to have had a lengthy life to them; one stretching beyond Hatshepsut's entering the kingship. Line 13 appears to be yet another case of stressing Hatshepsut's connections to female deities, as has been demonstrated in the crowning scenes on the Chapelle Rouge (section 3.6.4). Lines 20 and 21 continue the expected trends laid out from line one, but line 23, in addition to its interchanging of titles and epithets on the HT sarcophagus, may epigraphically demonstrate its time of composition. If, and it is a big *if*, Hatshepsut became more settled in her kingship as time went on (for arguments sake, from the second decade following her husband's death), then one wonders if this continual toying with protocols illustrates a time earlier in her kingship; one close to the 'transition'? Finally, strong emphasis is placed on Hatshepsut as king, Horus visually wrapping Hatshepsut in his folds via the inner sarcophagus epigraphy. In all, the epigraphy evident on the T1 and HT sarcophagi not only reinforces Hatshepsut's kingship, and philological trends already seen, but gives a fairly clear impression that Hatshepsut's kingship evolution was anything but short.

3.7.2 *Biography of Ahmose Pen-Nekhbet (Cat. 3.2)*

The tomb biography of Ahmose Pen-Nekhbet presents a unique view of the titulary employed by Hatshepsut early in the reign of Thutmose III. In short, both kingly and queenly titles of Hatshepsut are employed collectively, not simply within the space of one document, but within the same lines. Dorman has commented on the passage on several occasions believing, "this unusual combination may indicate that this text was composed at a time very close to

⁸⁶⁷ Refer **Tables 3 and 4** respectively

her [Hatshepsut's] coronation"⁸⁶⁸. The relevant lines are as follows:

(15) wHm.n n.i Hmt-nTr Hswt Hmt-nswt wrt MAat-kA-Ra mAa-xrw
 (16) iw Sd.n.i sA.s wrt sAt-nswt nfrw-ra mAa-xrw (17) iw.s m xrd
 imy mnD.

(15) The God's Wife repeated favours for me, the great king's wife, Maat-ka-re, justified. (16) I reared/educated⁸⁶⁹ her great/eldest daughter, the king's daughter Neferure, justified, (17) when she was a child (there)in the breast⁸⁷⁰.

Firstly, to begin addressing the question of dating the document to the time of Hatshepsut's coronation, Dorman's only reason for doing so is the inclusion of Hatshepsut's prenomen⁸⁷¹. However, as he also notes, there is a rather glaring issue with the composition of the document – namely, that both Hatshepsut and Neferure are referred to as mAa-xrw, indicating that Ahmose Pen-Nekhbet commissioned the document after the deaths of both females⁸⁷². Given the rather large range of dates traditionally assigned to Hatshepsut's 'accession' – varying from year 2, 2nd month of Peret⁸⁷³, day 29 to year 7, 4th month of Peret, day 2⁸⁷⁴ – and the difficulties in pinpointing whether or not the crowning actually happened; let alone at the same point in time⁸⁷⁵, attention seems to yield greater returns if directed at the overall context in addition to specific epigraphic elements.

To place the passage in context, the entire *Biographische Erzählung*, as coined by Sethe, runs for 14 lines⁸⁷⁶. The tone of the inscription is one of summarising the recognition that Ahmose Pen-Nekhbet received, either from

⁸⁶⁸ Dorman, 1988, pp. 37-8.

⁸⁶⁹ For the different translations of Sd(i) see Faulkner, 1999, pp. 273-4

⁸⁷⁰ Urk. IV: 32-39 (esp. 34.15-34.17); PM V¹, 176-177

⁸⁷¹ Dorman, 2006, p. 50.

⁸⁷² *ibid.* Also comments in Gabolde, 1987b, p. 70; and note von Beckerath, 1990, pp. 70-1.

⁸⁷³ E.g. Schott, 1955, pp. 212-3

⁸⁷⁴ All matters are discussed in chapter one (1.2) and three (3.3.6, 3.6.2 especially).

⁸⁷⁵ Discussions in 3.6.3 (Sheikh Labib statue), 3.6.4 (Red Chapel), 3.6.5 (Deir el-Bahri).

⁸⁷⁶ Urk. IV: 34.5 – 35.1

the gods, or from the six rulers through whose reigns he lived⁸⁷⁷. The first three lines seem to summarise the extent of Ahmose Pen-Nekhbet's 'labours/travels', whilst the next three list the five male king's he served under. There are a following four lines describing how he was viewed, and then 3-4 lines dedicated to Hatshepsut and Neferure. Now while Dorman would prefer to see Hatshepsut's omission/exclusion from the list of male kings as an "ambivalent attitude"⁸⁷⁸ towards her by Ahmose Pen-Nekhbet, the fact that quantitatively three lines were used for all five male kings, and yet the same number were used for Hatshepsut and Neferure alone, seems to speak more of an endearing affection for the two females, rather than the reverse⁸⁷⁹. Moreover, the 'favours' bestowed by all five male rulers are discussed collectively in one line (Hswt xr Hmwt.sn)⁸⁸⁰, whilst an entire line is reserved for Hatshepsut alone⁸⁸¹. The only reference of servitude to the male kings is one of Ahmose Pen-Nekhbet as a soldier (anxw), whereas much is made of the pseudo-filial relationship he had with Neferure⁸⁸². There are also references to how Ahmose Pen-Nekhbet was viewed in the royal palace (stp-sA), reminiscent of the comments made in the biography of Ineni⁸⁸³. Finally, there are the paradoxically juxtaposed titles of Hatshepsut (Hmt-nTr, Hmt-nswt wrt) with her prenomen. Unlike Ineni's inscription, each title does not precede some comments about Hatshepsut's administration of the country. Nor do they attest to Hatshepsut's competency to rule. Notwithstanding, however, it *is* in the guise of 'God's Wife' that Hatshepsut bestows 'favours' upon Ahmose Pen-Nekhbet. This again would suggest that her ability to confer rewards upon her subordinates derived from her ecclesiastical

⁸⁷⁷ Namely, Nebpehtyre Ahmose I, Djoserkare Amenhotep I, Aakheperkare Thutmose I, Aakheperenre Thutmose II, Maatkare Hatshepsut, Menkheperre Thutmose III.

⁸⁷⁸ Dorman, 1988, p. 38.

⁸⁷⁹ The first line belongs to Hatshepsut, with the following two for Neferure. While one might argue that Hatshepsut has only a single line, this is twice that of the first four kings (who each have approximately half a line/column) and the same measure as Thutmose III (placing her at least on par with her counterpart, and not subordinate). As for Neferure, that she received a greater proportion than all others is understandable given the father-like feelings Ahmose Pen-Nekhbet probably had for his charge (akin to Senenmut) – references in **Table 14**.

⁸⁸⁰ Urk. IV: 34.13

⁸⁸¹ Urk. IV: 34.15

⁸⁸² Lines 34.12 and 34.16-17 respectively

⁸⁸³ For Ahmose Pen-Nekhbet: 34.14; for Ineni: 60.14. Noted by Dorman, 2006, p. 64, fn. 78.

powerbase, and not her secular or political one⁸⁸⁴.

In terms of trying to utilise these three terms to demarcate a clear distinction between the succession period and kingship for this epigraph, such is simply not possible. Unlike the biography of Ineni, where the office of God's Wife could definitively be placed in the regency period (based primarily on the nature of that document as recording the passing of Thutmose II, as well as omission of any other kingly epithets, including her prenomen), in this instance, Hmt nsw wrt qualifies MAat-kA-Ra! Further, the inclusion of "great king's wife" offers a sense of remembrance to her deceased husband, much as "his sister" did in Ineni's biography. Coming full circle, while the employment of these two contradictory terms does indeed seem to vindicate Dorman's sentiments of a date close to the actual crowning of Hatshepsut as king, how does one then rationalise the addition of mAa-xrw? Either the term 'justified' does not necessarily connote that a person or ruler is deceased⁸⁸⁵, or Ahmose Pen-Nekhet was confused over exactly which title to bestow upon Hatshepsut. Even more absurd, is the notion that he held a dual view of Hatshepsut as both 'Queen' and 'King' for her entire reign?! To try to make sense of this quandary, it is perhaps best to now conclude the enigma of dating this document, and its composition, with three final points.

1. It does appear as though the document was composed by Ahmose Pen-Nekhet during the sole reign of Thutmose III, after the death of Hatshepsut and Neferure. Not only is Thutmose III referred to as nsw-bity, alongside his prenomen, and with the epithet di anx Dt⁸⁸⁶, but the line immediately following discusses the 'old age' and demise of Ahmose Pen-Nekhet⁸⁸⁷. The inference here is that Ahmose Pen-Nekhet reached his old age under the reign of Thutmose III, while the latter was king.
2. As aforementioned, the treatment of the females in this passage is different

⁸⁸⁴ Such is certainly true for the governance of Egypt as recorded by Ineni (Urk. IV: 60.1-4).

⁸⁸⁵ As Dorman indeed supposed (2006, p. 64 and fn. 75).

⁸⁸⁶ Urk. IV: 34.10 – it is the only instance where any of the seven individuals named (six rulers and Neferure), are cited in this fashion. All of the others are referred to as 'justified'.

⁸⁸⁷ Specifically, iw pH.n.i iAwt nfrt (Urk. IV: 34.11).

from that of the males. It is not sufficient to single out Hatshepsut, simply based on her exclusion from the list of male kings, as Neferure was treated in the same manner. Further, the affection Ahmose Pen-Nekhbet had for Neferure was clearly one of adoration, not animosity. A more acceptable explanation for Hatshepsut's removal from the list of male kings (rather than ambivalence), would be to appease aesthetically the sex-gender division evident in ancient Egypt. As hieroglyphics themselves form an inseparable medium with pictorial art⁸⁸⁸, to write about Hatshepsut and Neferure in the same lines as their male counterparts, would presumably have been offensive to the Egyptian concept of male-female social positioning⁸⁸⁹. Thus, Hatshepsut and Neferure were spatially separated from the male pharaohs, allowing Ahmose Pen-Nekhbet to treat them in whatever manner he wished, without offending the social canons of ancient Egypt. This would have been far easier to achieve if Hatshepsut was deceased.

3. The use of Hatshepsut's prenomen, as opposed to her nomen, may be a result of temporal closeness – relative to Ahmose Pen-nekhbet. HAt-Spswt was used for the entire of her queenship (some 13+ years to judge by the length of Aakheperenre's reign)⁸⁹⁰, as well as her regency and succession period (according to the assessment through chapter three, some 6-7 years). This is a chronologically longer time than her prenomen was used; some 14-odd years if she assumed office in year six and was no longer king in Menkheperre's 21st year⁸⁹¹. Logically, one would expect the former to be the preferred term, unless writing from a perspective where Hatshepsut's kingship is more firmly embedded in the memory. Were the text composed posthumously, this would certainly have been the case; not so if it were written around the time of her transition into the office of kingship.

Thus, while many peculiarities may seem to surround the tomb biography of Ahmose Pen-Nekhbet, perhaps they are not as perplexing as at first they appear. By employing a broad-spectrum approach, the treatment of

⁸⁸⁸ Robins, 1997, pp. 21-24; Fischer, 1986; Loprieno, 2010; Assmann, 1974.

⁸⁸⁹ On the view of royal females in New Kingdom Egypt see Robins, 1993a, pp. 42-55. For a unique perspective on the sex-gender divide see Marcus, 2001, pp. 305-340. Note also the discussions under the temple of Semnah (section 3.3.3) in terms of spatial proximity, deference and status as per iconography and epigraphy. See in general Baines, 1991.

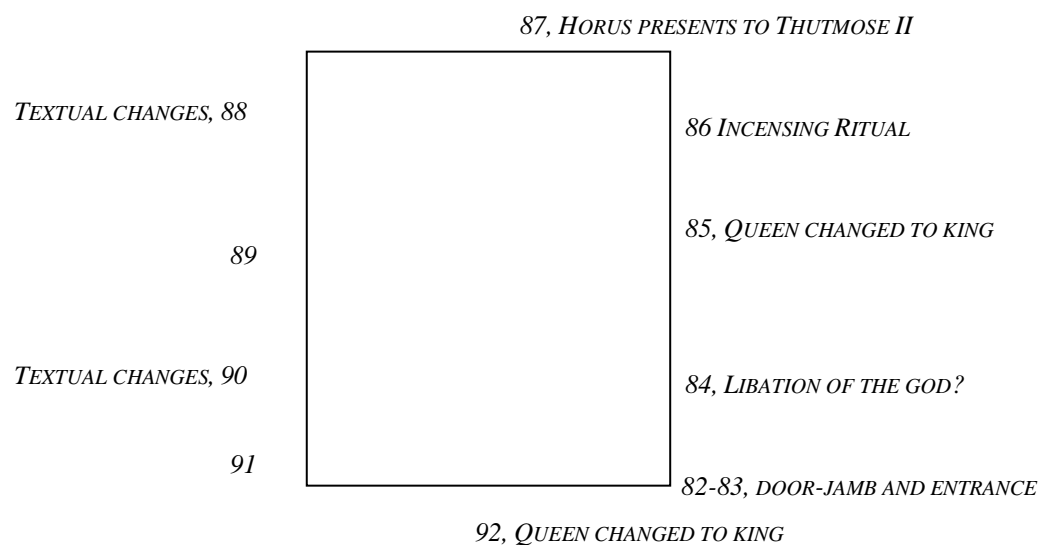
⁸⁹⁰ *BM Dictionary*, p. 311; Harris and Wente, 1980, pp. 248-249.

⁸⁹¹ The first clear evidence of Thutmose III as king is provided by the stela of Senimes (Cairo stela 27815; Urk. IV: 1065-1070).

Hatshepsut and Neferure - separate from the male pharaohs of early dynasty 18 - can be better understood. While Ahmose Pen-Nekhbet living into the sole reign of Thutmose III may be difficult for some to accept, it appears to be the lesser of evils with regard to interpreting the composition of the biography; the greater being to 'compromise' the integrity of the hieroglyphics, merely to satiate questions surrounding Ahmose Pen-Nekhbet's venerability.

3.7.3 *The temple of Horus at Buhen (Cat. 2.11)*

In close proximity to Semnah temple is the temple of Buhen, a little way north of the second cataract. While there is good reason to comment on the entirety of the temple⁸⁹², the confines of space necessarily dictate that the efforts be more focused. Erected in both the names of Thutmose III and Hatshepsut, it is the inner sanctum of the temple, situated at the far west end of the temple complex, that is of greatest interest⁸⁹³. To assist, a plan has been sketched, to outline the structure of the scenes, as recorded by Caminos⁸⁹⁴.



⁸⁹² For example, the curious parallel between Nehy (Kings Son of Kush, who was carved around doorways - in the reveals - at Buhen (Caminos, 1974, Vol. I, pp. 76-78, pls. 89-92, 'Pilaster 36'; for references on the 'Kings Son of Kush' title, see under Cat. 1.20)) and Senenmut, the latter who appears to have been "[hidden] from view [in] the rebated surfaces of its reveals at Deir el-Bahri" (Hayes, 1957, pp. 80-84, who notes that such occurs for almost all of the 60 doorways). For aspects of Buhen temple not here covered, as well as temples in relatively close proximity (e.g. Sai, Ibrim, Uronarti, and Kumma), see Ratie, 1979, pp. 74-77.

⁸⁹³ In general, Bryan, 2000, p. 238

⁸⁹⁴ Caminos, 1974. Vol. II, pp. 82-99, plates 72-82, scenes 82-92. The numbers here relate to the 'scene' numbers of Caminos. A later study published by Emery et al. (1979) is not reviewed here. This owes to that volumes ad-hoc nature and its focus; that being the fortress at Buhen, as opposed to the temple.

Figure 5: Reconstructed Plan: scenes from the Inner Sanctuary, Temple of Hatshepsut at Buhen

When Caminos carried out and published his work, he noted that alterations to some of the feminine endings or pronouns had been made, and the dress of the monarch appeared to have been changed. He felt that all such changes were in some way related to the posthumous defacement of Hatshepsut, and was thus at a quandary to explain them. He noted,

“We incline to think that the <<damnatio memoriae>> to which Hatshepsut fell a prey lies at the bottom of these changes, but our searches for positive and indisputable evidence would either prove or disprove our suspicions have been to no avail”⁸⁹⁵.

Let us quickly review the scenes in question, before drawing any conclusions.

Scene 92, Plates 81-82, Hatshepsut(?) presenting to Horus

The king offers an item with both hands to the god Horus (likely the case based upon corroboration with other scenes around the walls and the nature of the temple itself). No texts present. Moreover, the figure of the king situated on the left (west) of the scene, has been altered. Originally he/she stood wearing a long dress with feet together. He/she has been altered to now don the *shendyt*-kilt and have feet apart⁸⁹⁶.

Scenes 82-83, Plate 72, Door Lintel at Entrance:

Both lintels have the feminine phrase *anx.ti* and use the final *t* in the word *mryt*, which is in situ and unaltered. The same cannot be said for the name of Hatshepsut on one of the doorjamb, however. It now contains the prenomen of Thutmose II, altered in antiquity from the original *MAat-kA-ra*⁸⁹⁷.

Scene 84, Plate 73, SE Corner of Sanctuary:

Almost completely lost, save a few extant traces of two figures with the remains of ‘bulls tails’ hanging from their midriffs (presumably)⁸⁹⁸.

⁸⁹⁵ Caminos, 1974, Vol. II, p. 85, fn. 1

⁸⁹⁶ Caminos, 1974, Vol. II, pp. 98-99

⁸⁹⁷ Caminos, 1974, Vol. II, pp. 83-4. The plate clearly illustrates how the prenomen was altered, as the author describes. Refer Appendix, Plate IX.

⁸⁹⁸ Caminos, 1974, Vol. II, p. 84. By corroboration with the following plate, it is logical to assign the figure on the right as that of the king, with that on the left as the god Horus (of Buhen). Water can be seen on the far left, presumably having been poured over the god. On

Scene 85, Plate 74, Mid-east wall:

The scene here seems to illustrate a daily purification ritual. Using the technique of Episodic examination, it is not difficult to see that the scenes are progressing from south to north along the wall. The accompanying text describes salt that was used in the ritual, following on from the god's initial cleansing in the scene before. More importantly, much like scene 92 above, the legs and garb of the ruler – located on the right-hand-side (south) - have again been altered⁸⁹⁹. From long sheath and feet together, they have been shortened and widened respectively. On the far left (north) is the phrase *anx.ti*⁹⁰⁰.

Scene 86, Plate 75, NE Corner of Sanctuary:

The ritual scene from the middle of the eastern wall is repeated. However, the connotation as per the inscriptions are different, and the king prefers a “loincloth with a triangular apron-piece” to the *shendyt-kilt*⁹⁰¹.

Scene 87, Plate 76, North Wall:

One of the most interesting portions of this part of the temple, it appears as though Thutmose II, who is evident on other parts of the inner sanctuary via posthumous alterations, is actually carved *in situ* on this wall. He appears to be performing an Htp-di-nsw formula for Horus of Buhen. The scene is incredibly well-preserved considering the rest of the inner sanctuary. The prenomen of Thutmose II can not only be seen partially intact along the top remaining register, but also carved onto his belt buckle, thereby definitively identifying him. No alterations to iconography or epigraphy were noted by Caminos⁹⁰².

the 'libation' of Hatshepsut, note similar scenes at Deir el-Bahri, along the northern middle colonnade (sctn. 3.6.5a); also at Karnak, within the 'Palace de Maat' (el-Hegazy & Martinez, 1993, p. 58) and comments in an earlier work of this author as they pertain to the participants, the libation itself, and the vessels (Smith, 2005).

⁸⁹⁹ This and scene 88 are also discussed by Karkowski (1978, pp. 77-81). Note also that Dorman (2006, fn. 88) makes two referencing errors with respect to Buhen temple. First, his 'plate' numbers are actually 'scene' numbers; and second, he does not differentiate between volume I and II of Caminos.

⁹⁰⁰ Caminos, 1974, Vol. II, pp. 84-6; Appendix, Plate Xa.

⁹⁰¹ Caminos, 1974, Vol. II, pp. 86-7

⁹⁰² 1974, Vol. II, pp. 88-91

Scene 88, Plate 77, NW Corner:

The next four scenes all place the king on the left-hand-side (north) and have the ruler dressed in the 'triangular linen cloth' as noted in scene 86 above. This particular scene is note-worthy for two further reasons. First, feminine suffixes in the speech of the god have been re-cut to masculine⁹⁰³. Second, behind the figure of the king is another shape, identified by its headdress as a personification of the royal *kA*. It also holds a long *mAat*-feather outstretched in one hand, and a staff with top end lost in the other⁹⁰⁴.

Scene 89, Plate 78, Top West Side:

Nothing of additional note save the fact that this and the scenes either side of it (nos. 88, 90) repeat the ritual noted in scenes 85-86 above⁹⁰⁵.

Scene 90, Plate 79, Bottom West Side:

As with scenes 88 and 89, the king is on the left (north) dressed in the 'triangular linen cloth', and again performing a cleansing/purification ritual on or for Horus of Buhen. As with scene 88 though, the speech of the god has been re-cut from feminine to masculine prerogatives in the epigraphic record⁹⁰⁶.

Scene 91, Plate 80, SW Corner:

This final scene on the west wall contains a fairly standard passage, but one that nonetheless gives the sense that the king was rejuvenated at Buhen. The text reads:

ir.f di(.w) anx mi Ra Dt

⁹⁰³ Specifically, a .T and .ti have been re-cut to .k

⁹⁰⁴ Caminos, 1974, Vol II, pp. 91-4. On the royal *kA* and its use in temple settings (specifically Luxor), note the comments under Block 287 (section 3.3.6). For the possibility that the top of the staff may have contained the head of Hatshepsut, and the presence her royal *kA* note the Punt scenes at Deir el-Bahri (Naville, 1898, *DeB*, Pt. 3, Plate LXXVII). Finally, on the possible 'making of Hatshepsut's *kA*' by Amun, refer section 3.6.1 (Karnak door lintel).

⁹⁰⁵ Caminos, 1974, Vol. II, pp. 94-5

⁹⁰⁶ *rn.T pw* has been recut to *rn.k pw*. Also, *irt anx.ti* has been recut to *ir.k anx.ti*. Caminos, 1974, Vol. II, pp. 95-7. Appendix, Plate Xb.

that he may act as one who has been given life, like Re, eternally⁹⁰⁷

This ability to operate (act) in kingly capacity fits well with personification of the royal *kA* noted on scene 88, as well as the varying scenes of libation and general transformation.

Considering all that has been briefly reviewed, a slightly different view of Buhen is posed than previously attested. First, as per the intact instance of Thutmose II on the north wall of the sanctuary, and the alterations from female to male on the western wall, it is believed that the temple illustrates a lengthy period of carving and re-carving; dating at its earliest to the reign of Thutmose II⁹⁰⁸, and at its latest the latter years of Thutmose III when he was conducting his 'iconoclasm' against Hatshepsut⁹⁰⁹. Next, while the sanctuary architecture was in all likelihood constructed by Hatshepsut, she appears to have transformed pictorial aspects of the sanctuary, as her own position changed from queen to king. It appears that scenes on the south and south-east walls were initially begun while Hatshepsut was queen (regent at most), and that the carving may well have overlaid the time of her husband's death, up until the point Hatshepsut began her successional claim for the kingship⁹¹⁰. While the death of Thutmose II may have stalled the execution of the reliefs (assuming they were carved during this time), once Hatshepsut commenced her bid for the throne, she had the images altered to a masculine form. That singular scene in the north-east corner, and all the images along the western wall, were carved at a time where Hatshepsut was either seeking the office of kingship, or perhaps had already secured it. Finally, at a much later date – post year 42 of Thutmose III – the door lintels and certain phrases on the west wall that pertained to rituals involving Horus, were again altered (this time by her successor).

⁹⁰⁷ Caminos, 1974, Vol. II, pp. 97-8.

⁹⁰⁸ An early commencement for the work Hatshepsut carried out in the temple of Buhen is a view generally accepted (see for example, Grimal, 2000, p. 217).

⁹⁰⁹ A lengthy period of carving for temples, especially in Nubia is not unheard of – in matter of fact, one might say such was fairly common. See for example the Great Temple of Ramesses II at Abu Simbel which was supposedly planned in the co-regency with Seti I, visited in year 1, commenced prior to year 5 and possibly carved up until the Marriage Stela of year 34 (Spalinger, 1980a; Kitchen, 1982, pp. 64-67, 99-100; Smith, 2000).

⁹¹⁰ Ultimately, the carving here runs to the end of the regency, at its latest.

As for the order, the carving of the north wall was not followed by the west or east, but by the south and south-east; at least in its altered state. The supporting evidence here derives from the similarity between scenes 87 and 92. Both are offering ceremonies, involving the king (Aakheperenre and Maatkare respectively), and Horus of Buhen. Ultimately, it is the iconographic mimicry that leads to this conclusion; that and the art-historical appraisal that these Episodic scenes, once altered, would have portrayed the kingship under Aakheperenre moving, seamlessly, to Hatshepsut. Moreover, if one tracks the scenes round in an anti-clockwise fashion, skipping over scene 87 as noted, Hatshepsut moves steadily through the stages of having her *kA* personified, her ritual cleansing effected, and then 'acting' in the capacity of king under Horus' supervision. While the possibility cannot be eliminated that some of these scenes were carved post-accession (especially those on the west), the impression one receives is akin to the temple at Semnah, as well as along the northern middle colonnade at Deir el-Bahri – namely of a protracted run into the office of kingship. A summary of the scenes is as follows:

1. Scene 87: carved *in situ* before the death of Thutmose II
2. Scenes 82-85, 92: originally carved a time late in the reign of Thutmose II up to the beginning of Hatshepsut's succession (as per Block 287 from the Chapelle Rouge, no earlier than *rnpt 2 Abd 2 prt sw 29*)
3. Scenes 82-85, 92: subsequently altered once the successional process had begun
4. Scenes 86, 88-91: carved *in situ* at a time post-dating the commencement of Hatshepsut's successional bid for the throne
5. Scenes 82-3, 88, 90: altered by Thutmose III during the 'Iconoclasm'

3.7.4 Re-constructed North Karnak Chapel (Cat. 2.5)

This final structure examined is so included for completeness sake, primarily because the length of its carving is believed to span Thutmose II, Hatshepsut and Thutmose III. However, the numerous erasures and few extant blocks that iconographically represent Hatshepsut, limit its usefulness, and will not

delay us for long⁹¹¹. Several scholars have commented on one of the blocks as illustrating that there were not one, but two series of re-carving⁹¹². While the alteration of the Swty-crown of females to the Atf-crown of males is evident (as are the modifications to the fan adjacent the left of the crown), the comments of previous scholars that the "[male] titles above her [Hatshepsut] are original to the scene, however, and prove that her royal protocol was fully developed and employed during the period of her feminine portrayals", must be carefully considered⁹¹³.

First, the hieroglyphics on the left of the figure of Hatshepsut are generic. They suggest that protection, stability and life were to be offered to Hatshepsut. Those directly above her head on the right of block 2 describe the anxw – as well as seemingly containing the remnants of the signs for the phrase mAa-xrw – but the titulary preferred is HAt-Spswt [Xnm] Imn, not MAat-kA-Ra⁹¹⁴. In block 1 above, terms such as nsw-bity and sAt nt [Xt] are evident⁹¹⁵. However, while the efforts of the scholars is to be commended in terms of the reconstruction, these two blocks are not one-in-the-same, and attempts to reconcile them as such must be undertaken with caution – at least until such time as the entirety of scene 1 has been restored. This is not to deny that Hatshepsut did seem to blend both her female iconography with male epigraphy, but rather to suggest caution when reviewing such poorly preserved monuments⁹¹⁶.

⁹¹¹ These consist of the following photo's and page reference numbers as per the publication of Gabolde and Rondot, 1996: Block 2, Scene 1 photo 6, p. 183; Block 16, Door Decorations, photo 25, p. 207; Blocks 14-15, Door Decorations, photos 18-19, p. 207; Block 12, Door Decorations, photo 17, p. 207

⁹¹² Gabolde and Rondot, 1996, pp. 182-4; Dorman, p. 51, fn. 84. The first being a re-working by Hatshepsut herself, the second being the debasement by agents of Thutmose III or Amenhotep II (presumably).

⁹¹³ Dorman, 2006, p. 51. For the photo, no. 6 – Gabolde & Rondot, 1996, p. 183 & 218.

⁹¹⁴ The signs comprising the name of Hatshepsut, and the name of the god, are visible. The Xnm is tucked into the formative part of her name; small, but evident.

⁹¹⁵ Gabolde and Rondot, 1996, photo 4, pp. 183 & 217. The indirect genitive here referring to 'the body' is adopted from the interpretations of the scholars (p. 184), but is also inferred from other blocks of this structure (e.g. Scene II, no. 4, photo 8, pp. 185 & 219)

⁹¹⁶ See for example the discussions in section 3.6.1 (Karnak door lintel), whereby Hatshepsut adopted precisely this form of mixed dress/titulary and, in that case, a date immediately preceding her entering the kingship has been argued for. Also, that while Dorman (2006, p. 51) would link these scenes to those at Gebel el-Silsila, upon reviewing that cenotaph, the view adopted by the author differs to Dorman (unable to be presented here owing to spatial

A few other passing comments, as per the north Karnak chapel blocks, can be offered. Scene 3, block 6 contains reference to the prenomen of Hatshepsut, although the portions of her name not related to the god have been poorly erased (and are still visible)⁹¹⁷. While only the figure of Amun is present, that he was offering 'tools' of kingship via a *wAs*-sceptre can be seen⁹¹⁸. Blocks 3 and 4 from scene VIII contain several noteworthy phenomena: a lengthy passage, which details matters such as the construction of monuments "for him" (presumably Amun), a passage that reads *rdit.n n.s Ra nsyt mAa Hry-ib n psDt* ("Re placed the true kingship in the midst of the Ennead for her"), and an 'appearance' of this great [god] in accordance with other like passages at Karnak⁹¹⁹. While Hatshepsut is nowhere referred to by either her nomen or prenomen, nor seen iconographically, the use of feminine datives as per line 11, and the use of her titulary in line 9, makes no mistake about who is meant⁹²⁰.

Finally, the variety of scenes surrounding the *porte de l'enceinte* illustrate various carvings and recarvings; from Hatshepsut (most probably) to Thutmose II, and vice versa, as well as some possible originals of Thutmose III⁹²¹. The top block is particularly interesting as, if Hatshepsut replaced Thutmose II, she did nothing to alter a very masculine image on both sides of Amun, whereby the king has a very full stride⁹²². In sum, the scenes at the restored north Karnak chapel seem to illustrate a protracted length of carving. Their spanning the reigns of Aakheperenre, Maatkare and Menkheperre, as

and research limitations).

⁹¹⁷ Gabolde and Rondot, 1996, p. 185

⁹¹⁸ Refer **Table 7**

⁹¹⁹ Gabolde and Rondot, 1996, photo 9 and pp. 191-2, 219. The lines referred to are numbers 12, 11 and 3 respectively. With regard to comparisons, note especially the language used in the Obelisk Inscriptions of Hatshepsut at Karnak, particularly on the south-side of the inscription (Urk. IV: 357.10-17).

⁹²⁰ Her Horus name, *wsrt kAw* is followed by the phrase, "beautiful goddess, lady of the Two Lands, mistress of Upper and Lower Egypt". All is feminised, but the combination of full titulary with terms such as 'mistress' and 'good/beautiful goddess' is curious. Note also that most of her titulary is present on other blocks from the same wall; that being scene IX, blocks 5a & 5b (Gabolde and Rondot, 1996, photos 10 & 11, pp. 192-7, 220).

⁹²¹ Gabolde and Rondot, 1996, pp. 206-8

⁹²² Gabolde and Rondot, 1996, 'Door Scene', block 16, photo 25, pp. 206-8, 227

well as the many iterations that seem to have transpired over that time, make interpreting them a logistical nightmare. Notwithstanding, the images and terminology does seem to straddle Hatshepsut's reign, succession and perhaps even regency. Alas, given the plethora of ways the paucity of evidence could be interpreted, it is difficult to convincingly place them on one side or the other of Hatshepsut's transition into the kingship.

3.8 Chapter Three Summation

The evidence for the first research question now mustered and presented, the conclusion here will be tripartite. First, a brief summary of each section will be offered. Second, general comments will be made, and third, alternative nomenclature – some already utilised – will be formally tendered for consideration. Section 3.2 then, including items such as the Wadi Sikkat sarcophagus, varying vase fragments, blocks from the eastern Karnak chapel and the biography of Ineni are collectively upheld as representing Hatshepsut either in her queenship, or in the position of regent; in governance of Egypt. In section 3.3, the first departure from the regency begins. Fully effected via block 287 from the Chapelle Rouge, this shift is hinted at (even if retrospectively carved), in scenes at the temple of Semnah. Even though Hatshepsut appears deferent, she is nonetheless inculcated in kingship scenes of Menkheperre that, visually-speaking, extend beyond the crowning of Thutmose by Dedwen. Effectively, Semnah is the first instance that illustrates progression towards the kingship, the event likely marked with a formal ceremony such as is witnessed on block 287.

The seated statuary of Hatshepsut is perhaps the best evidence of a successional evolution. Weaving masculine and feminine traits together for the purposes of defining a female-led kingship, section 3.4 illustrates how different seated statues can be assigned to varying times within Hatshepsut's queenship, regency, succession and kingship. As for section 3.5, two items (el-Mahatta graffito and north Karnak stela) have parallels with the seated

statuary and Semnah temple, respectively. The other three artefactual items - year 5 Sinai stela, appointment of User-Amun and graffito-stela of Tjemhy - collectively show a degree of separation from Hatshepsut; all the while depicting Thutmose as king (remembering that the pair of Sinai stelae were slightly less convincing in achieving this than the other two pieces). In short, the temple at Semnah, Block 287 from the Chapelle Rouge, the seated statuary at Deir el-Bahri, the el-Mahatta graffito, and the north Karnak stela all demonstrate a succession to kingship, and events beyond the normal classification of regency.

Section 3.6 epitomizes three phenomena – Hatshepsut's transition into the kingship, the irregular coronation that went with it (physically observed or otherwise), and the date the event occurred. The final piece of the puzzle, the re-appraisal of the northern middle colonnade illustrates a close art-historical marriage with the temple of Semnah. Both are Episodic in nature, and at Deir el-Bahri, the space dedicated to prophetic aspects, Hatshepsut's youth and her succession are on par with her formal 'coronation' scene. Visually, one gets the impression of being hastily moved through the formative parts, in order to arrive at the true focus of the wall scenes – that being the moment (and ceremony) of her 'transition'. As for the question of whether or not Hatshepsut hosted a coronation ceremony per se, the Sheikh Labib statue may actually herald a positive answer to that curly question. In addition, the scenes along the northern middle colonnade seem to go so far as to suggest that the nature of Hatshepsut's transition was rejuvenating, which in turn connects these images with block 287 (especially with regard to the sed-festival). The matter of Hatshepsut having two jubilees finally laid to rest, it is perhaps a little frustrating that the earlier sed-festival and the commencement of Hatshepsut's succession cannot be more convincingly linked together. At present, the two events must necessarily remain separate. Notwithstanding, whether during sed-festival, festival of Amun, or other ecclesiastical event, Thutmose III seems to have been incorporated into her bid for the throne (perhaps even playing a part in the official ceremony itself).

As for the crowning scenes along the Chapelle Rouge, they play host to a

bevy of female divinities, and in content, are quite unlike anything else encountered for Hatshepsut thus far. The Karnak door lintel shares some interesting features such as the making of Hatshepsut's *kA*, the 'tools' of kingship, and Horus the Behdetite; marking a time very close to her entering the office of kingship. However, it was the archaeological examination of the oil jars from the tomb of Ramose and Hatnofer that perhaps provided the most startling revelation – namely the proposal that Hatshepsut may have become king in year six (at the very least, a date between *rnpt-sw 6 Abd 3 Smw* and *rnpt-sw 7 Abd 2 prt sw 8*). Finally, section 3.7 supported the notion of a protracted successional period (via the inner sanctum scenes at the temple of Buhen and Hatshepsut's remaining sarcophagi), and yielded an intriguing epigraphic treatment of both Hatshepsut and Neferure in the biography of Ahmose Pen-Nekhet.

Overall, the evidence presented in sections 3.3 through to 3.7 not only builds a picture of Hatshepsut's successional bid for the throne, but supports earlier scholars such as Peter Dorman in that her claim spanned some years. Differingly, however, is the presumed date of transition (likely late year six), and the fact that this period ought to be referred to as a regency. Wrapping some further framework around these two critical points, if the period from the death of Thutmose II (*rnpt-sw 1 tpy Smw sw 4*) up until the date recorded on block 287 (*rnpt 2 Abd 2 prt sw 29*), retains its classification of regency, then the period from *rnpt 2 Abd 2 prt sw 29* (the moment Hatshepsut demarcated her intent to be king) to *rnpt-sw 6 Abd 3 Smw* (the last definitive date of Menkheperre as king prior to the appearance of Hatshepsut's prenomen, equalling her becoming king) is the period of succession. Ultimately, block 287 inaugurates a new period for Hatshepsut – one to be differentiated both from her kingship (co-regency) and her governance (regency). The only item of note that predates block 287 are scenes at the temple of Semnah (the upper court scenes at Deir el-Bahri not offering anything of real substance). These signal her intent to be king, and are in perfect accord with the mental machinations sure to have occupied her

mind before committing to her course of action.

Coming full circle, the question posed at the outset was "is the terminology used during (to describe) Hatshepsut's formative years, adequate?" The answer, given all that has been presented, must be no. The terms regency and co-regency do not seem to effectively explain or define all that occurred between years two and six; at least not in their current, traditional, forms. The only question remaining then, is what term(s) could be used instead? Already there is the possibility of simply coining this time as a 'successional period' or similar. However, perhaps in keeping with the fashion of the words regency and co-regency, a different term could be introduced. The word in mind derives from the old French for 'sovereign' and the Latin present participle of *rēgnāre* – namely *regnant* - both of which have the meaning of 'to reign' or 'to rule'. Noting, though, that the period identified (years two-to-six) is not one of rulership, but only *intent to rule*, the new term cannot be mistaken to mean Hatshepsut as king (i.e. co-regent). Equally, the above derivatives can also be used in combination with a queen who has temporarily assumed the mantle of power. Such may be the case owing to abdication of the throne, death of a ruler (as we have here with Thutmose II), successional issues or even in times of war. Given that the intent here is to differentiate this period from that of regency also, the introduction of this term, especially as it is alike to others already in popular usage, must be carefully articulated. The new word proposed then, encapsulating the essence of *rēgnāre*, is *Regnancy*. This word, wherever it is employed, would be used to refer to the period where Hatshepsut had openly set about her successional bid for the throne of Egypt. It would be used to give credence to the lengthy time taken to achieve this, as well as the interplay and evolution of masculine and feminine epigraphy, iconography, and art-history. It would consider all that she must have executed to break with the centuries-old kingship conventions, in order to present herself as the legitimate (female) ruler of Egypt. From representations of 'mixed' titulary and fused or blended garb, to the inculcation of Hatshepsut into images of Thutmose as king - from her physiological evolution and manifestation as a royal female queen, into what sometimes appears to be a trans-gender ruler of Egypt. And, last but certainly not least, it also would

acknowledge that she still governed Egypt on behalf of Menkheperre, all the while he being king, and she technically not actually being a queen, regent, queen mother, or king. Thus, the newly proposed flow of Hatshepsut's reign is as follows, incorporating both this new term and one other (transition), which in itself seems to better fit the moment Hatshepsut entered the kingship.

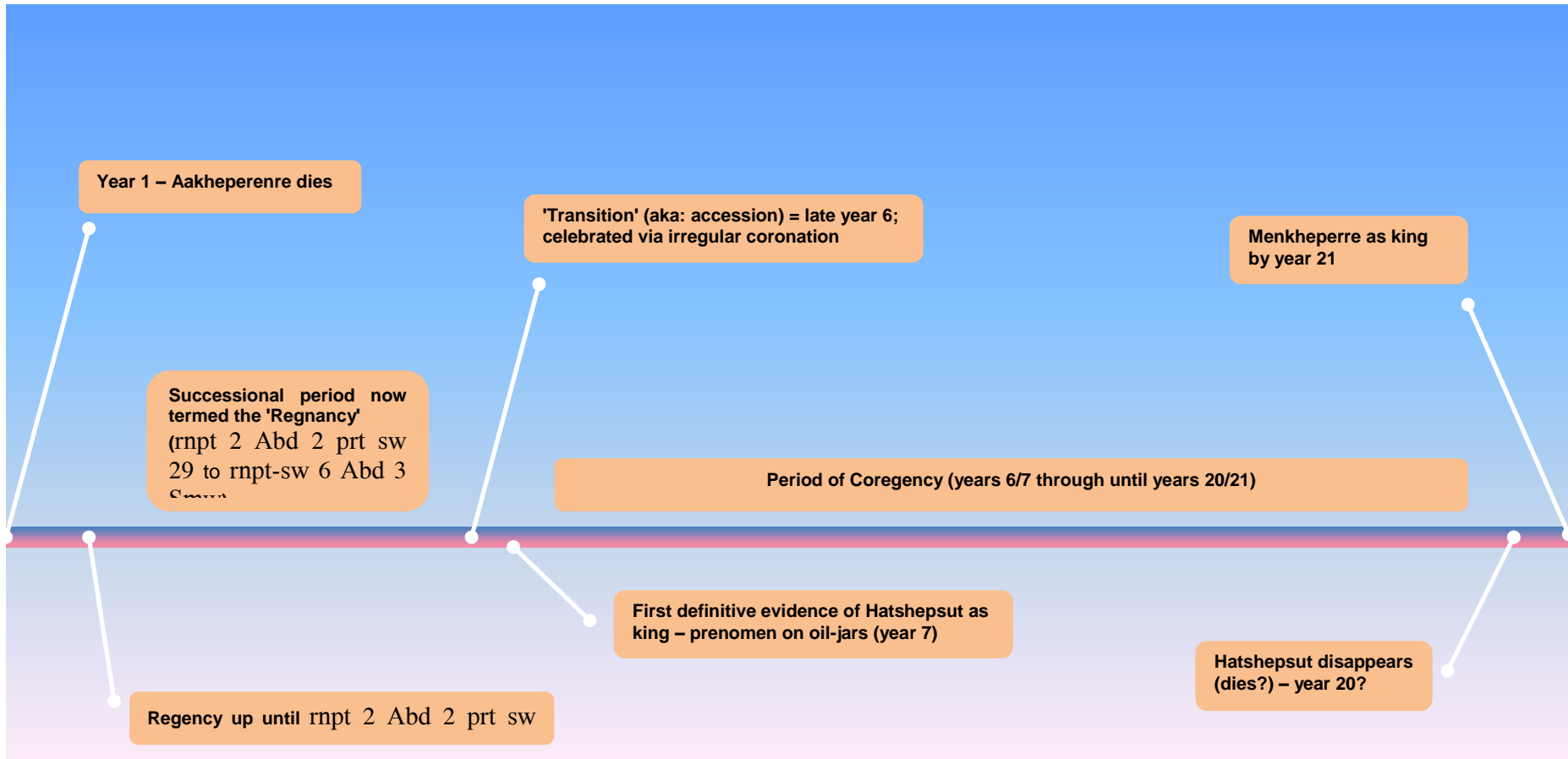


Figure 6: Alternative flow of Hatshepsut's reign with newly introduced terms

Chapter Four: Investigation 2 – Are the Offices of God's Wife of Amun and Kingship mutually exclusive?

4.1 Introduction

As outlined in the Introduction, this chapter will examine all material in and around Hatshepsut's succession containing the phrase *Hmt-nTr*, to see if greater insight can be provided into the question of when the office of God's Wife was abandoned / rescinded relative to the office of kingship being taken up. The two catalysts for this chapter were the scarabs examined towards the end of the chapter, and the relative empirical silence of the literature. There seems to be a general assumption (in the literature) that the offices of *Hmt-nTr* and *nsw-bity* could not occupy the same space and time under the reign of Hatshepsut, and therefore must necessarily sit on opposing sides of the 'transition'. However, to the author's knowledge, no study has ever proven or disproven this fact, and it is to that end we now turn.

4.2 Evidence from the temples

4.2.1 Comments on the *Hmt-nTr* title from Semnah temple (Cat. 2.1)

Along the exterior western wall at the temple of Semnah, Hatshepsut is recorded as *Hmt-nTr* in two places⁹²³. The first is in two columns to the extreme left of the coronation scene of Thutmose III and Dedwen. It is preceded by the phrase *r(t)-pa(t) wrt Hst iAmt wrt*⁹²⁴, and is directly followed by the words *Hmt nTr Hmt nsw wrt*. To the far right of the crowning, a further four columns contain exactly the same reference to Hatshepsut as God's Wife (*Hmt nTr Hmt nsw wrt*), but this time it is preceded by the phrase *iwat.k mnx*, and followed by *prt m Ha.k*. As discussed at length in section 3.3.3, it is believed that the 'flow' of scenes along the western exterior wall at Semnah illustrates Hatshepsut as queen *par excellence* to the left of Thutmose III, and signalling her claim to the throne on

⁹²³ Detailed discussion in section 3.3.3d

⁹²⁴ Caminos, 1998, scene 22, plate 38 – heavily restored.

the far right⁹²⁵. However, correct as this assessment may be, neither instance overlays with Hatshepsut's co-regency (actually falling within her queenship and *Regnancy* respectively), and thus they do not have a direct bearing on the research question at hand.

Notwithstanding, that the choice of language prefacing each instance of Hmt-nTr varies, is in itself, interesting. In sub-section 3.5.1 the terms wrt Hst and wrt iAmt were discussed, both in their presumed use and intent, as well as their feminine connections to the divine. That these terms are employed alongside Hmt nTr only on the extreme left of the exterior western wall at Semnah, may be telling. On the extreme right, she associates Hmt nTr with her 'inheritance', and the more generic phrase "coming forth from your flesh". It could be that the usage of Hmt-nTr on the left and right differentiated Hatshepsut as God's Wife beyond the obvious distinction of queenship versus kingship-claim. It may have demonstrated a perception Hatshepsut had of herself as the God's Wife, at a time during her rise to the office of kingship. The question, if the above has any credence, is did this supposed perceptive shift correlate in any way to a change in the duties of the God's Wife throughout the successional period of Hatshepsut?

4.2.2 Blocks from the Eastern Karnak Temple (Cat. 2.6)

In chapter three, several blocks from the eastern temple of Hatshepsut at Karnak were discussed. The the top (right) of the 1955 'Chevrier Blocks' contained reference to the Hmt-nTr alongside the filial terms sAt-nswt, snt-nswt, Hmt nsw wrt. Combined with the few extant remains of Hatshepsut in female headdress, it is hard to move past the conclusion that this instance of God's Wife also occurs either when she was queen during the life of her husband, or at a time very early after his death. Therefore, as with the Semnah occurrences of Hmt-nTr, this artefactual remnant does not aid in the quest to determine if that title existed post-'transition'.

⁹²⁵ Refer **Table 5** and section 3.3.3e in particular.

4.3 The Berlin Stela 15699 (Cat. 5.3)

This stela dates to the reign of Thutmose II and names both him and Queen Ahmes⁹²⁶. The inscription runs for seven lines, and largely recounts the full titulary of Thutmose II with a brief generic reference to Re-Horakhty⁹²⁷. A single line relates to Hatshepsut; reading sAt-nsw snt-nsw Hmt-nTr Hmt-nsw wrt HAt-Spswt anx.ti⁹²⁸. Given the date of the stela, all that can be concluded is the office of God's Wife was bequeathed to Hatshepsut during the lifetime of Queen Ahmes⁹²⁹.

4.4 Funerary objects bearing the title Hmt nTr

4.4.1 The Wadi Sikkat Sarcophagus (Cat. 3.3)

During the examinations of the Wadi Sikkat sarcophagus, the inclusion of Hmt-nTr was noted on seven occasions⁹³⁰. Most of the lines include the office of God's Wife with one or more of the following epithets and filial associations – sAt-nsw, snt-nsw, Hmt-nsw wrt, nbt tAwy⁹³¹. Further, one of the lines contained the passage rt-pat wrt Hst iAm(t)⁹³²; the phrase having already received a good amount of attention via the Semnah temple examinations (3.3.3) and the el-Mahatta analysis (3.5.1). Although not advancing our understanding of when the title Hmt-nTr was employed, it might be suggestive that the phrase rt-pat wrt Hst iAm(t) was almost exclusively used during Hatshepsut's queenship and succession, and seldom (if at all) thereafter⁹³³.

⁹²⁶ Urk. IV: 143-145; Wildung, 1974, plates 34a, b.

⁹²⁷ Urk. IV: 144.12-145.2

⁹²⁸ Urk. IV: 144.3. Note that in addition to the title of king's mother and king's sister for Queen Ahmes, she too is referred to as Hmt-nsw wrt. Refer **Table 2** for full titles.

⁹²⁹ One might also comment on the fact that Ahmes wears a vulture headdress with dual plumes, whilst Hatshepsut wears a vulture headdress with platform-crown (such is noted in section 3.2.8 for example). Could such a visual distinction differentiate between a queen and queen mother as God's Wife?

⁹³⁰ Hayes, 1935, lines 1, 4, 7, 13, 21, 25, 35

⁹³¹ Lines 7 & 21 had no associations with them.

⁹³² L35 - Hayes, 1935, p. 198

⁹³³ No dated document post-year seven contains the phrase – refer **Table 12** - suggesting it was an epithet designed for those as queens (perhaps God's Wives exclusively, given the continual correlation). Note also the instance recorded on BM Stela 370 (Cat. 5.12), but this occurrence seems to relate to an official, and not Hatshepsut.

4.4.2 *The Tomb of Ahmose Pen-Nekhet at el-Kab (Cat. 3.2)*

Unlike the sections above, this document actually does provide a blending of kingship and queenship terms with regard to the office of Hmt-nTr. In section 3.7.2 the male-female context of the inscription as per the quantitative measure of lines for each of the rulers, was discussed. It was also advocated that the epigraph was likely carved early in the reign of Thutmose III. The point of departure was that enigma whereby Hmt-nTr, Hmt-nsw wrt and MAat-kA-Ra are all juxtaposed. It is to this we now return. For completeness sake, the curious passage is reiterated:

wHm.n n.i Hmt-nTr Hswt Hmt-nswt wrt MAat-kA-Ra mAa-xrw⁹³⁴

The God's Wife repeated favours for me, the great king's wife, Maat-ka-re, justified.

Recapping the main point of the text as it relates to the office of God's Wife, it is in the capacity of Hmt-nTr that Hatshepsut bestows the favours upon Ahmose Pen-Nekhet. The real question lies in how to explain the juxtaposition of the three quasi-political terms. An immediate answer, with relation to Hmt-nTr, could take the form of Hatshepsut wanting to maintain a firm hold on her former ecclesiastical powerbase, until she was solidly entrenched in her new office of kingship. However, there is one other possible explanation. Given the confines of space Ahmose Pen-Nekhet had to convey his lengthy service to each of the royals within his tomb at el-Kab, perhaps he chose the foremost of their titles and epithets to honour them?⁹³⁵ This again might have a level of value for Hatshepsut in that she receives three titles, Thutmose III has two, and all other kings only have one. Alternatively, it may simply be that the rulers of the more distant past necessitated less attention (and were perhaps more forgotten).

The ordering of the terms is also interesting. At first appearance one might believe it runs chronologically. However, evidence of the Hmt-nTr title

⁹³⁴ Urk. IV: 34.15

⁹³⁵ Each of Ahmose I, Amenhotep I, Thutmose I and Thutmose II are simply referred to as nsw-bity, [prenomen] mAa-xrw. Only Thutmose III gains the additional nTr nfr pn alongside his nsw-bity (Urk. IV: 34.8-10).

surpassing or outliving that of Hmt nsw wrt is testified in dated inscriptions such as Semnah. What this does not convey, and the essence of the examination here, is what (if any) overlap was there? It is interesting that Ahmose Pen-Nekhet chose not to refer to Hatshepsut as nsw-bity, but rather by her clerical and queenly titles. Notwithstanding, as discussed in section 3.7.2, this could possibly be explained away as part of the required male-female etiquette. Moreover, Hatshepsut's kingship *is* conveyed via her prenomen, which strongly suggests she was a nsw-bity (not forgetting the retrospective nature of the text, and assuming she did not take her prenomen before effecting her 'transition' into the kingship; a distinct possibility).

Perhaps the only strand of tentative evidence that can be drawn from the biography is that, at a time much later than the Regnancy, her queenship before, and the subsequent 'transition' into the office of kingship, Ahmose Pen-Nekhet still sought to honour Hatshepsut via the title Hmt-nTr. The placement alongside MAat-kA-Ra could have connotations for the overlap of Hmt-nTr into the kingship, or it might simply reflect periods of service pre- and post-'transition'; reinforced by their epigraphic ordering.

4.5 Vases from the reign of Hatshepsut

4.5.1 *The Cairo Vase CG18486 (Cat. 4.9)*

A kohl-vase dedicated to Queen Ahmes by her daughter Hatshepsut⁹³⁶. As with much kohl-ware, it is made from black stone, has a climbing monkey as its primary handle, and a four-columned inscription on its lower front (opposing handle) side⁹³⁷. The inscription reads:

(1) Hmt-nTr Hmt-nsw wrt (2) HAt-Spswt rmi.s

⁹³⁶ Kohl is a black powder-like substance that derives from *galena*, an ore used in the making of lead. Several sources are known, the most prolific in ancient times being near Aswan. When mixed with water it could be employed as a facial cosmetic, and its reference in art-historical contexts pertain to the application of kohl around the eyes portrayed on vessels (the most famous being the 'eyes' of Re and Horus respectively). It is also known to have had medicinal qualities, and seems to have deterred insects when applied to the body/face. For more, see Patch, 2005b; Schoske, 1990b, pp. 53-55; Lucas and Harris, 1989, pp. 80-4.

⁹³⁷ PM I², 840; von Bissing, 1904, plate IX; Troy, 1986, p. 163. Appendix, Plate LVI.

(3) n mwt.s Hmt-nsw wrt (4) IaH-ms mAa-xrw⁹³⁸

God's Wife, Great King's Wife, Hatshepsut.

She wept for her mother, the Great King's Wife, Ahmes, justified

While this indeed provides us with another inscription describing Hatshepsut in the role/office of God's Wife, it helps little in the pursuit of the current research question. Given that Hatshepsut is described as "weeping" (rmi) for her mother – who herself is noted as mAa-hrw and thus deceased⁹³⁹ – this would suggest a time of carving very close to the death of Queen Ahmes; although this date is presently unknown. Given the vase does not have the same volume of titles as one sees on the Wadi Sikkat sarcophagus for example (cf. section 3.2.1), and that Hatshepsut refers to herself by her primary titles of God's Wife and 'Great King's Wife', suggests a time under the reign of Thutmose II. On a side note, this would accord the possibility of Queen Ahmes living into the reign of Thutmose II (much as Ahmose-Nefertari did with Amenhotep I⁹⁴⁰), without expecting Queen Ahmes to live into the time of Hatshepsut's reign. In any event, it does not aid in the current pursuit.

Before moving on though, it is worth briefly noting another kohl-item recently published in a more accessible manner. MMA 26.7.1437 is an Egyptian alabaster kohl-jar dating to the reign of Hatshepsut⁹⁴¹. Carved from a single piece of alabaster, six cylinders circle a seventh in the fashion of reed bundles. It has a single line of text which reads, Hmt-nTr HAt-Spswt Xnm Imn anx.ti mi Ra Dt⁹⁴². The final epithet indicates Hatshepsut was alive at the time of carving; moreover that this was probably carried out under the

⁹³⁸ von Bissing, 1904, p. 96 where the text and a description of the vase is provided.

⁹³⁹ Note comments in sections 3.5.1 and 3.7.2 on the use of terms such as mAa-xrw with respect to the 'state' of the individuals.

⁹⁴⁰ Robins, 1993a, pp. 43-5.

⁹⁴¹ Described by Dorothea Arnold in Roehrig, *Hatshepsut*, pp. 216-7 (their catalogue reference no. 140). Arnold provides a brief summary of the piece (an imitation 'reed-bundle'), states that it was probably a utilitarian item rather than funerary, and offers a few thoughts pertaining to its situation within the reign of Hatshepsut. Dimensions:- H: 6.3cm, Diameter: 4.5cm. Further examples of kohl-ware, without the title Hmt-nTr, are given in the same volume (pp. 217-220).

⁹⁴² Easily visible in Roehrig, *Hatshepsut*, p. 217

reign of Thutmose II⁹⁴³. The piece is reminiscent of Berlin 15699, and illustrates the ubiquitous nature of the term Hmt-nTr under Hatshepsut, to judge by the artefactual medium.

4.5.2 Vase fragments from KV20 (Cat. 4.7)

The most noteworthy aspect of vase fragment no. 6 is the opening of the text, which records a sentiment pertaining to the office of God's Wife that is unique to Hatshepsut⁹⁴⁴. As for fragment no. 8, the four portions of text recorded on this alabaster vessel are once again produced here, for ease of access:

sAt-nswt [snt]-nswt Hmt-nTr mr(y)t-nTr Hmt-nsw wrt [lost portion]
Hnwt nt tAw nbw nbt tAwy HAt-Spswt anx.ti Dt.

King's daughter, king's [sister], God's Wife who was loved, Great King's Wife [lost portion], Mistress of all the Lands, Lady of the Two Lands, Hatshepsut, may she live forever

As discussed in the two sections in chapter three, it has been promoted that fragment 8 preceded fragment 6 temporally, and may have followed the Wadi Sikkat sarcophagus and Berlin stela 15699 in its construction, perhaps being chronologically aligned to vase MMA 18.8.15 and one of Chevrier's eastern Karnak blocks⁹⁴⁵. In similar fashion to Semnah just noted (4.2.1), the varying use of terms such as snt, Hnwt and mr(y)t may illustrate a level of 'protocol evolution', but the time frame assigned to these two vases does not aid the current research question⁹⁴⁶.

4.5.3 Two Vases from the Wadi Gabbanat el-Qurud region (Cat. 4.8)

The two vases from the area surrounding the primary burial of Hatshepsut as

⁹⁴³ While speculative, it is hardly likely that Hatshepsut was commissioning utilitarian-ware of this calibre during her succession or co-regency. One would expect epigraphy and iconography more befitting a king, or at least, a king-to-be.

⁹⁴⁴ Refer section 3.2.6 for the discourse about Hmt-nTr mr(y)t-nTr, and section 3.3.2 for further details and translations of this vase fragment.

⁹⁴⁵ Cf. **Table 4**

⁹⁴⁶ On the terms, to the table cited above, add also **Table 3**. In short, there may have been a level of 'deconstruction' or even 'reconstruction' of the phraseology surrounding the term Hmt-nTr. The challenge, aside from more convincingly proving this supposition, is linking any such changes to the time Hatshepsut moved from regency to succession; a matter neither possible, nor attempted here.

queen - MMA nos. 18.8.15 and 26.8.8 - can be dispensed with utterly⁹⁴⁷. The inscriptions clearly date them (at least their content, if carved later and back-dated) to the time of Hatshepsut's queenship, or regency at latest. Thus, for the present investigation, these two vases offer little.

4.6 Documents of Senenmut

4.6.1 *el-Mahatta Inscription of Senenmut at Aswan (Cat. 4.2)*

This and the following two sub-sections discuss the utilisation of the term Hmt-nTr as it occurred on the documents of Senenmut. It has already been noted (section 3.5.1) that the term Hmt-nTr is included twice at el-Mahatta. The second reference to the Hmt-nTr is mostly standard, its only noteworthy feature being the fairly unique phrase Hnwt tAwy tm⁹⁴⁸. As for the first instance of Hmt-nTr, this is surrounded by the filial relationships sAt-nsw, snt-nsw and Hmt-nsw wrt, much as was seen on the Karnak Chevrier blocks (3.2.8) and KV20 vase fragment 8 for example (3.2.6). The only oddity is that the sentence di.n n.s it.s nsyt mAa Hr(y)-ib n pSdt, comes between the opening phrase and the series of filial epithets. It would seem that we have moved on somewhat from the mention of the Hmt-nTr on the left of the exterior western wall at Semnah, in that the 'handing' of the kingship seems to accompany the events here⁹⁴⁹. It was concluded in chapter three that the inscription probably dates to somewhere within years three-to-five, and that recarvings are post year sixteen⁹⁵⁰. While the most likely explanation of kingly protocols being blended with the Hmt-nTr is one of recarving merging with *in situ* epigraphy, it does tantalise the mind to wonder if this is the only possibility.

4.6.2 *North Karnak Stela of Senenmut (Cat. 5.2)*

⁹⁴⁷ PM I², 591; Winlock, 1948, pp. 49-57 and plates 32A, 32B; Lilyquist, 2004; Appendix, Plates LVa, LVb.

⁹⁴⁸ Again, refer **Table 3**

⁹⁴⁹ That is to say that the opening sentiments at Semnah and el-Mahatta, as they pertain to the rt-pat wrt Hst iAmt and the Hmt-nTr, seem to place the el-Mahatta epigraph slightly later than the Semnah one.

⁹⁵⁰ Arguments throughout section 3.5.1

Most scholars would not include this stela under a discussion of the office of God's Wife. Simply put that is because the north Karnak stela does not name Hatshepsut anywhere in its 32 lines as Hmt-nTr. However, it does refer to the pr Imn, the Hwt-nTr n Imn and Senenmut as the imy-r pr n Imn on three occasions⁹⁵¹. The primary reason for including the stela in this discussion is to illustrate the fragile nature of the term Hmt-nTr and the institutions that surrounded it. As discussed at some length in section 3.5.2, the north Karnak stela seems to have been carved and re-carved on at least two separate occasions. The lower section appears to date well into the reign of Hatshepsut, and this alone seems reason enough not to include the office of God's Wife in the latter portion of the inscription⁹⁵². However, it is the upper portion that contains all references to the “house” or “mansion” of Amun, with or without Senenmut's title as its overseer.

Hatshepsut's omission from the upper section could be rationalised away as a result of the relations that perhaps existed between Thutmose III and Senenmut. Moreover, it could further be dismissed from thought by simply preferring a late date for both the upper (perhaps year 11) and lower portions. Nonetheless, one cannot exclude from possibility an early date of years 3-4 for the upper portion. Most importantly, and the *raison d'être* for including the north Karnak stela of Senenmut in this chapter, is that not only do we have the question of how long Hatshepsut held on to or maintained the office of God's Wife, but we must consider what other factors might have existed that either wrested the office from her, or prompted her to retain her grip on it.

4.6.3 BM 174 (Cat. 1.12) and BM 1513 (Cat. 1.18)

Both of these early statues contain the briefest reference to the office of God's Wife⁹⁵³. Turning first to BM 174, this front-facing statue of Senenmut and

⁹⁵¹ Christophe, 1951, pls. VI, XV; Meyer, 1982, p. 204 - lines 1, 2 and 18 respectively (front side).

⁹⁵² From line 19/20 on – the point where Senenmut's 'Eulogy' commences, and on into the left and right sides where Hatshepsut is cited as nsw bity MAat-kA-Ra

⁹⁵³ On the early date of both BM 174 and BM 1513 (noted in sections 3.4.2 and 3.4.3 respectively), see Dorman, 1988, pp. 118-119 & 188-9; PM, II², p. 278; Schulman, 1969-70, p. 38; Meyer, 1982, pp. 30 and 120-25; Ratié, 1979, pp. 247, 258, 263; Aldred, 1951, pl. 32;

Neferure is epigraphically laid out as follows:

Front, between legs: an inscription that reads, r-pa HAty-a imy-r pr wr n sAt-nsw⁹⁵⁴
Nfrw-Ra sn-n-mwt mAa-xrw (Hereditary Noble, Overseer, Steward of the Great House
of the king's daughter, Neferure; Senenmut, justified).

Base, front left-hand-side: Htp-di nsw formula of Amun-Re for Senenmut

Base, front right-hand-side: As the front left-hand-side, with slightly different terminology

Back of statue: various titles of Senenmut, including imy-r pr-wy HD-wy, imy-r pr-wy
nbw, imy-r kAt nbt, imy-r pr n sAt-nsw⁹⁵⁵

Base, left proper side: seven varying epithets of Amun

Base, right proper side: seven columns of text, including the reference to the Hmt-nTr

The first two columns of the right proper side of the base read as follows:

ir m Hswt nt xr Hmt-nTr nbt tAwy HAt-Spswt anx.ti Dt

n r-pa HAty-a smr aA n mrt mn(w) Hswt m stp-sA⁹⁵⁶

Making (as) favours from the God's Wife, Lady of the Two Lands, Hatshepsut,
may she live, forever. For the Hereditary Noble, the Overseer and sole friend of
love, who is established of favours in the palace.

The first point of note is the 'making of favours', again granted via the office of the God's Wife⁹⁵⁷. Moreover, that the "hereditary noble, overseer and great friend of love" (Senenmut) seems to be established with these favours in the palace by Hatshepsut. A discourse on the nature of Hswt has been presented under the el-Mahatta inscription (3.5.1), and this statuary epigraph would seem to reinforce points already made⁹⁵⁸. With regard to the Hmt-nTr, given that the only phrases surrounding it are the nomen of Hatshepsut, the epithet nbt tAwy and the citation of 'making favours', little more can be added.

Helck, 1958, pp. 359 & 474f; B. Lesko, 1967, p. 118A; and Hari, 1984, p. 142. Also, **Table 14** for comparisons between BM 174 and other statuary depicting Senenmut and Neferure.

⁹⁵⁴ Meyer, 1982, p. 121

⁹⁵⁵ Refer Dorman, 1988, pp. 203-212 for the titles of Senenmut

⁹⁵⁶ *BMHT V*, pl. 30; Meyer, 1982, p. 304

⁹⁵⁷ The idiomatic phrase Hswt nt xr nsw is actually used in reference to the king (Gardiner, 2001, p. 121), an interesting point to be added to the comments pertaining to Hswt raised in section 3.5.1. Here, however, it is most definitely the Hmt-nTr who grants the favours.

⁹⁵⁸ The same phenomena can be seen on the north Karnak stela (3.5.2), and again for Nakht as recorded on the year 20 Sinai stela (Cat. 5.9 and also section 6.2.5 later in the thesis).

BM 1513 contains the following passage on the top edge/side of the base:

[r-pa HAty-a sDAwt(y)-bity]⁹⁵⁹ imy-r pr wr n sAt-nsw sn-n-mwt Dd.f
wHm.n n.i Hnwt.i Hswt Hmt-nTr HAt-Spswt anx.ti

[The Hereditary Noble, Overseer, Treasurer of the King of Lower Egypt], Steward of the Great House of the king's daughter, Senenmut. He said: my mistress repeated favours for me; the God's Wife, Hatshepsut, may she live.

The connotations are virtually identical to BM 174, excepting that *nbt tAwy* has here been replaced by “mistress”. There is also a subtle change in that “making favours” has been changed to “repeating favours”. If this statue is the earliest from Senenmut's repertoire, as Dorman and Meyer have surmised⁹⁶⁰, one wonders how early it might date. In particular, could it predate the death of Thutmose II, thereby drawing a distinction between the 'making' (BM 174) and 'repeating' (BM 1513) of favours?⁹⁶¹ As for columns four and five on the front shawl/face of BM 1513, these seem to refer to Thutmose III. The key element in this determination is not so much the masculine pronouns (although these clearly differ from the text on the top of the base), but the reference to *rnpi* in column four⁹⁶².

Turning to the base of the statue, the circumnavigating inscription reads as an address by Senenmut to those who would look upon the image. The second portion of the inscription begins in a very poetic style,

Dd.f i it-nTrw wabw Hbw nw Imn

he said, O' father of the gods, wab-priests and lector-priests of Amun

It continues, thusly:

Hsy.Tn nTr.tn Sps swAD.Tn iAwt n Xrdw⁹⁶³.Tn n mi Dd.Tn Htp di

⁹⁵⁹ Easily restored by comparison with the back and front of BM 174; the top of most of the signs visible on BM 1513.

⁹⁶⁰ Meyer, 1982, pp. 119-120; Dorman, 1988, pp. 116-118.

⁹⁶¹ The challenge here would be identifying these terms as occurring on either side of the death of Thutmose II. Note that the same 'repeating' terminology is employed with Ahmose Pen-Nekhet (esp. 34.15-34.17; sections 3.7.2, 4.4.2); carved retrospectively. Finally, refer also Cat. 1.20 - the statue of Inebni - where favours are also "made" (Urk. IV: 464.7).

⁹⁶² Dorman, 1988, p. 116 (where a translation of the two lines is provided). The word is simply represented by the determinative of child with hand to mouth (Gardiner, 2001, p. 443, sign A17), and could equally translate as *Sri*.

⁹⁶³ The usage here is the same as that employed in line four of the main body text. What is interesting orthographically is the one on the body clearly refers to Thutmose III (it even has a

nsw Imn-Ra n kA n sn-n-mwt

Your august god will favour you. You will bequeath your offices to your children,
(if) in-as-much-as you would say an offering, which the king gives of Amun-Re,
for the kA of Senenmut⁹⁶⁴

It would seem, via engagement with the statue, that those placing an offering would receive a great official boon for their family. The question that rolls through the mind, given all the favours bestowed upon Senenmut by Hatshepsut, is whether a level of transference occurred, not just through his high station, but the epigraphy itself? Finally, it is interesting to note the ordering of the text on the statue. Commencing at the top, there is reference to Senenmut as the 'overseer' under Thutmose III. Then as one moves downward, to the text atop the base, this has Hatshepsut in her 'dutiful' role as Hmt-nTr. Finally, the lowest register of text reiterates Senenmut's titles and roles, before concluding with the portion just discussed. In art-historical order the viewer moves from Thutmose III as king, to Hatshepsut in her role as God's Wife, and lastly to Senenmut's address to passers-by; a proper hierarchical order for the regency.

4.7 Final items demonstrating the Hmt-nTr title

4.7.1 Oil-Jars from the tomb of Ramose and Hatnofer (Cat. 4.4)

As discussed at length in chapter three, on four occasions the title Hmt-nTr occurs alongside the nomen of Hatshepsut, with an associated date of year seven. In the same fashion, the prenomen, nTr-nfr epithet and uraeus are also connected to the same period; possibly to the more specific dates of 2 prt 8, or 4 prt 2 in the same year. The real question is how accurately the extant titles and epithets can be matched to their purported dates. In other words, how confidently can we place Hmt-nTr alongside MAat-kA-Ra based on the current archaeological evidence? Moreover, given the

masculine suffix pronoun complementing it), and yet it uses the plural form (*Wb.* II, pp. 434-5).
⁹⁶⁴ Meyer, 1982, p. 303, the second line of text under her heading *um die Basis herumlaufend*.

conclusions reached in chapter three of a transition date straddling years six-to-seven (late year six being favoured), this would certainly support the notion that the office of God's Wife carried over into the kingship, even if only briefly. Assuredly, the case for Hatshepsut's transition in year six must be accepted in order for the argument to be strengthened thus. However, even those advocating for a year seven transition (as per the oil-jar dates), must concede that the title Hmt-nTr does about the prenomen of Hatshepsut.

4.7.2 Scarabs and related materials with the 'God's Wife' title (no Cat.)

A few years ago the author's attention was drawn to an article by Gil Paneque⁹⁶⁵. In that article she proposed an alternative view with regard to the adoption of kingly protocols by Hatshepsut; namely that they were part of a programme instigated by Thutmose I to confirm his coronation. While the arguments made in that article are not wholly convincing, some of the pieces examined are intriguing⁹⁶⁶. Combining these with a quick perusal of older studies focused around the foundation deposits of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri⁹⁶⁷, and also of more recent works⁹⁶⁸, was in part the catalyst for the current chapter. It illustrated that the supposition of Hatshepsut retaining the title Hmt-nTr post-'transition' may indeed be proved correct. In total, four items are of interest. They are:

1. Scarab no. 217⁹⁶⁹
2. The 'Petrie Scarab'⁹⁷⁰
3. Scarab 'E'⁹⁷¹
4. Scarab 'Lansing and Hayes' (abbreviated to 'LH')⁹⁷²

⁹⁶⁵ Paneque, 2003, pp. 83-98.

⁹⁶⁶ Paneque (2003, pp. 83-4) rests her study on a number of suppositions, none of which seem proven. Foremost, that Thutmose I "usurped" the throne. Second that even if his questionable lineage is testament to a level of usurpation, that this then required validation through the office of God's Wife. Third that Ahmose-Nefertari 'gave away' the office via the famous 'Donation Stela' (cf. Gitton, 1975, pp. 7-11; general comments in section 1.5.2) – a point still heavily debated – in order for Thutmose I's kingship to require it back.

⁹⁶⁷ Hayes, *Scepter*, pp. 82-106 (esp. p. 87).

⁹⁶⁸ Roehrig, 2005b

⁹⁶⁹ Hornung & Staehelin, 1968, p. 234, no. 271; Paneque, 2003, pp. 85-6. Appendix, Plate LXIa

⁹⁷⁰ Petrie, 1906, pl. 30; Panque, 2003, pp. 86-7. Appendix, Plate LXIb

⁹⁷¹ Roehrig, 2005b, p. 143. Appendix, Plate LXIc

Scarab 217 contains the phrase Hmt-nTr anx.ti within a winged (Nwt) cartouche, and has the wsx-necklace underneath. While Paneque, following Hornung and Staehelin, believed this to represent Hatshepsut, their arguments for removing Neferure from consideration are less than convincing⁹⁷³. It could easily represent either, perhaps the only slight factor in favour of Hatshepsut is the utilisation of the Nwt-symbolism; a regularly represented element at temples such as Deir el-Bahri and Semnah. However, this alone is not enough to eliminate Neferure, especially when one considers Senenmut's cenotaph at Gebel el-Silsila (Cat. 2.23) and the year 11 Sinai stela (see next section, Cat. 5.6). What it does tell us is that the institution of God's Wife was endorsed using traditional kingship iconography some time in the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty. Whether this was politically engineered as Paneque would believe⁹⁷⁴, or more simply an attempt to utilise the protective qualities of the cartouche with relation to the office of God's Wife, seems largely a matter of opinion at present - the evidence largely unsubstantiating either claim. Notwithstanding, if the contention that it represents an association of the protective qualities of the cartouche with the office of God's Wife is correct, such would illustrate a fundamental shift in traditional kingship iconography.

The Petrie scarab sheds no direct light on the question posed here of overlap between kingship and God's Wife, but perhaps sheds some indirect light. Here we have the title of God's Wife alongside Hatshepsut's nomen, both positioned above a smA-symbol that radiates out from the plants of Upper and Lower Egypt respectively. Noted in the Punt and 'Succession' reliefs at Deir el-Bahri⁹⁷⁵, it definitely appears as though Hatshepsut's ability to unite the Two Lands not only derived from her position as God's Wife, but such was widely known and accepted to judge by the nature of this piece; a small

⁹⁷² Lansing & Hayes, 1937, pp. 22, 29 and fig. 35; Paneque, 2003, p. 87. Appendix, Plate LXId

⁹⁷³ Hornung and Staehelin, *op. cit.*; Paneque, 2003, p. 86

⁹⁷⁴ Paneque, 2003, p. 87

⁹⁷⁵ See section 3.3.5 where references are given in the footnotes.

artefact mass produced to judge by the manufacture of foundation deposits⁹⁷⁶.

Scarab E is the single most compelling piece of evidence for the continuation of Hatshepsut's office of God's Wife into her kingship. It contains an inscription reading, Hmt-nTr MAat-kA-Ra nb tAwy⁹⁷⁷. As Roehrig herself notes,

"this inscription suggests that Hatshepsut adopted a throne name (Maatkare) before she passed the queenly title God's Wife to her daughter, Neferure"⁹⁷⁸.

An alternative interpretation of the evidence might be that Hatshepsut adopted her prenomen before her formal 'transition', thereby retaining both titles towards the end of her succession period. This may also lend itself to an understanding of the confusion apparent in reliefs such as those of Ahmose Pen-Nekhet (sctn. 3.7.2). While the preference is to see the continuation of the office of God's Wife into the early kingship, thereby affording a greater level of stability for Hatshepsut's early years of rulership⁹⁷⁹, the most important factor evidenced by Scarab E is that both Hatshepsut's prenomen and Hmt-nTr title co-exist.

Finally, Scarab LH again does not advance the hypothesis here. However, it does potentially contribute to our understanding of the smA-sign symbolism we have already seen on an earlier scarab, and in other locations⁹⁸⁰. In sum, two of the above four scarabs illustrate fusion of the titles Hmt-nTr and nsw-bity (at least iconographically). While these pieces are very small, both quantitatively and in actual size (i.e. we do not here have Hatshepsut carved in the monuments proclaiming her holding the two offices simultaneously), the same argument can actually be made of the year seven oil-jars; items which for forty years⁹⁸¹ have been argued as the basis for Hatshepsut's accession.

⁹⁷⁶ In general, Weinstein, 1973, pp. 151-164. See also Cat. 2.20 for the foundation deposit of Hatshepsut at Hierakonpolis, and Roehrig, 2005b.

⁹⁷⁷ Roehrig, 2005b, p. 143 (top right).

⁹⁷⁸ Roehrig, 2005b, p. 142

⁹⁷⁹ One could perhaps go so far as to argue that by year 9, this stability had been arrived at to judge by her representation in the Punt reliefs as a smA-symbol (again - Naville, *DeB*, 1898, pt. 3, plate LXXVI).

⁹⁸⁰ A fact commented on by Paneque, 2003, p. 87

⁹⁸¹ E.g. Tefnin, 1973

The singular question is was Hatshepsut's prenomen and kingship iconography defined during her succession, ahead of the transition, or did the office of God's Wife straddle into the kingship?

4.7.3 *The year 11 Sinai stela of Neferure and Senenmut (Cat. 5.6)*

The final document to contain the God's Wife title is the year 11 Sinai stela⁹⁸². The importance of this document cannot be understated, as it is the only dated evidence of Neferure as God's Wife (of Amun). Carved into the bedrock at Sinai, Donald Redford incorrectly believed the stela depicted Senenmut, Neferure and Hatshepsut - the stela in fact depicts Senenmut, Neferure and Hathor⁹⁸³, easily identifiable via the hieroglyphic name carved above each. He stated that:

“Hatshepsut's successor would be her eldest offspring, and that was her daughter Neferure”⁹⁸⁴

Redford continued to surmise how the true motivator of such plans was not Hatshepsut herself, but the inimitable Senenmut, a point explored in the next chapter. With regard to the dating of the stela, Dorman has recently summarised the debate that has waged for over half-a-century⁹⁸⁵. While some scholars – namely Sethe, Helck and Meyer⁹⁸⁶ - have advocated regnal year 8 as the actual date for the stela, others such as Redford, GPC, *Sinai* and Schulman⁹⁸⁷ have remained adamant in their view that the stela does indeed date to regnal year 11. When one examines the stela ‘first-hand’, eleven year-strokes are clearly identifiable (five along the top adjacent the sp-sign, and six along the bottom adjacent the t-symbol), leaving little possibility that the document could be dated any earlier.

With relevance to the present research question, the stela confirms that by

⁹⁸² GPC, *Sinai*, Vol. I, pl. LVIII and Vol. II, 151-2 (no. 179); Helck, 1958, 474B; PM VII¹, 361.

⁹⁸³ The divine mother/fertility goddess Hathor is to be expected on any artefactual material, stela or otherwise, with a provenance of the region of Serabit el-Khadim.

⁹⁸⁴ Redford, 1967, pp. 84-5

⁹⁸⁵ Dorman, 2005c, p. 108 and fig. 46. Also comments in Dorman, 1988, pp. 12-13.

⁹⁸⁶ References as follows: Sethe, 1932, p. 16, fn. 5; Helck, 1984a; Meyer, 1982, p. 117, n. 4

⁹⁸⁷ References as follows: Redford, 1967, *op. cit.*, p. 85; GPC, *Sinai*, Vol. I, pl. LVIII and Vol. II, 151-2 (no. 179); Schulman, 1969-70, pp. 43-4.

year 11, Hatshepsut had handed over the office to her daughter Neferure⁹⁸⁸. It is intriguing that, considering how many instances of the Hmt-nTr appear under Hatshepsut's regency and succession, from years seven (oil-jars) until year eleven there is not a single occurrence except this one, and then nothing thereafter⁹⁸⁹. Additionally, one other aspect seems to tantalise us. Unlike her mother, the title contains no traces of any other filial labels or epithets, the like of which we see at Semnah and el-Mahatta. Does this mean that the transfer was new, having only recently occurred⁹⁹⁰?

4.8 Summary of Findings for Hatshepsut and the office of Hmt-nTr

In this chapter a singular question was asked – are the offices of nsw-bity and Hmt-nTr mutually exclusive. By reviewing all the known items that contain the title Hmt-nTr under the reign of Hatshepsut, and empirically evaluating what seems to have been a long held assumption, the following has been determined. First, as other scholars have noted, by year 11 the office of God's Wife was borne by Neferure. In addition, quantitatively the balance of evidence does seem to support the argument of earlier scholars that the term Hmt-nTr was primarily/exclusively employed under Hatshepsut's queenship and/or succession. However, a few items do challenge this belief. Via an associated burial context, the oil-jars of Ramose and Hatnofer connect year seven, Hmt-nTr, and Maatkare together. Those arguing for an early accession are hard pressed to illustrate that Hmt-nTr did not run into the period of kingship. Those favouring a year seven transition have somewhat more breathing space, although, if the year six archaeological argument is correct, then at least a short overlap would have existed.

Furthermore, two scarabs illustrate a combination of God's Wife and kingship iconography and epigraphy. Scarab E combines the title Hmt-nTr and the prenomen of Hatshepsut, whilst scarab 217 wraps the Hmt-nTr in a

⁹⁸⁸ Noted by others - e.g. Robins, 1993a, p. 150.

⁹⁸⁹ The scarabs do not exhibit an absolute date, but it is interesting to postulate, based solely on content, that they might lie in this timeframe.

⁹⁹⁰ Were it not for the fact that the possibility of year eight for the Sinai stela has already been so heavily discounted, it would be 'nice' to date it so.

cartouche. The greatest challenge here is linking a date to the scarabs. Notwithstanding, the retrospectively carved biography of Ahmose Pen-Nekhet actually seems to lend support to the scarabs, in-so-far-as it too demonstrates a level of blending kingship and Hmt-nTr prerogatives. If such terms were utilised, at a posthumous time by Ahmose Pen-Nekhet, is this suggestive of a blurred distinction between the two offices? In short, given the limited (and challenging) corpus of material one has to work with under the reign of Hatshepsut, there does seem to be a small amount of evidence that is perhaps sufficient enough to cast doubt over the long held theory that Hatshepsut immediately abandoned the office of God's Wife upon entering the kingship. True, the scarab evidence and that of Ahmose Pen-Nekhet, may be viewed as occurring immediately prior to Hatshepsut entering the kingship. Yet, it is interesting that the title all but disappears from years seven to eleven; reappearing anew with Neferure. What transpired during this time with respect to the office of God's Wife? Additionally, given the powerbase that seems to have existed with this office, and the constant connection of 'favours' and like prerogatives with the office (e.g. Wadi Sikkat sarcophagus, BM 174), perhaps it is actually more logical to conclude that Hatshepsut did not immediately abandon an institution as powerful as the Hmt-nTr, but rather continued it, for at least a short time, into her rulership.

Chapter Five: Investigation 3 – Neferure, Senenmut and Hatshepsut, relations of Political Intent, Personal Agenda or Sexuality?

5.1 Introduction

Previous chapters, and the Catalogue, have sought to re-visit much of the material from the reign of Hatshepsut. Tackling questions overtly focused around the lady of the moment, it is perhaps time that attention was turned to others within her reign. The chapter at hand focuses primarily on the latter years of Hatshepsut and seeks to explore, in a rather unique way, the relations she had with her daughter and closest advisor. With only one 'legitimate' successor, born to Aakheperenre Thutmose, Neferure was presumably considered for the throne. However, the difficulties of raising yet another female to the highest office in the land cannot have gone unnoticed. Assuming for a moment Hatshepsut did intend to elevate her daughter to the office of kingship, how might she have planned to do so? Further, how might she have continued to deny the rightful heir – Menkheperre Thutmose – his place in history? Finally, what ingenious 'story' might Hatshepsut (or Neferure) concoct in order to legitimise yet another female claimant to the male-dominated throne of Egypt? The ideology of ancient Egyptian kingship had

undergone somewhat of a debasement during Hatshepsut's rulership; could it suffer another?

The following chapter intends to assess the possibility of Neferure's elevation to kingship, alongside the tripartite relationship, which included Senenmut. By holistically (re-)examining several artefactual items - in particular pictorial wall reliefs and statuary - one plausible theory for her intended future, and the role of the characters around her, will be offered. Specifically, aspects of the 'Divine Birth' and filial statues of Senenmut and Neferure will be compared and contrasted to a series of graffiti located above the bay at Deir el-Bahri. Furthermore, the art historical methodologies outlined in chapter one will again be applied, for additional empiricism.

5.2 Dating the life and death of Senenmut and Neferure

To begin, let us examine briefly the key evidence offering a terminus for the lives of Senenmut and Neferure. As is well attested, the last known dated document to mention Senenmut is an ostrakon of labouring work dated to year 16⁹⁹¹. The ostrakon seems to refer to works carried out at Deir el-Bahri – in particular TT353 – leading Hayes to the conclusion that,

“[the ostrakon] would seem to belong to an early stage in the preparation of Tomb 353, since the division of the 'servitors' into gangs or shifts, was still taking place...”⁹⁹²

Neferure is nowhere depicted in TT353, and yet appears in the earlier tomb of Senenmut (TT71), located atop Sheikh Abd el-Qurna. Here she can be seen both in the unfinished statue on the crest of the outcrop⁹⁹³, and carved within his funerary cones. Earlier scholars naturally concluded that, as a result of the TT353 omission, Neferure must have disappeared prior to regnal year 16, and the commencement (of at least the carving of the reliefs) of TT353⁹⁹⁴. However, Dorman has fairly convincingly refuted this tenuous evidence, suggesting that at least three documents may contain evidence of Neferure's existence into the reign of Thutmose III – somewhere around regnal year

⁹⁹¹ 1st month of Akhet, day 8 - Hayes, 1960, pp. 39-43 and pl. XI. In addition, see most recently, comments in Dorman, 2005c, pp. 107-109. Note also comments in sctn. 3.5.1.

⁹⁹² Hayes, 1960, pp. 40-1. Also Murnane, 1977, p. 38.

⁹⁹³ Cat. 1.17

⁹⁹⁴ cf. Winlock, 1928a, pp. 29-31.

23⁹⁹⁵. These documents are:

1. Cairo Stela CG34013 - found in the temple of Ptah at Karnak
2. CG34015 - a fragmentary artefact from the mortuary temple of Thutmose III and
3. The inscriptions of the exterior wall of the Festival Hall of Thutmose III at Karnak⁹⁹⁶.

Assuming for a moment Dorman's arguments are correct, the continuation of Neferure into the reign of Thutmose III offers up other contiguous aspects. Firstly, the most logical genealogy for Thutmose III's eldest son, Amenemhet, is that he was the result of a union between Thutmose III and Neferure⁹⁹⁷. The sA-nsw smsw Amenemhet is noted on an inscription from the Festival Hall of Thutmose III at Karnak in year 24, where he is being awarded administrative responsibilities in the temple of Amun⁹⁹⁸. As Redford correctly articulated, the mother of Amenhotep II, namely Merýt-re Hatshepsut II, did not appear until later in the reign of Thutmose III. Furthermore, Sit-yōh is also only attested late in the reign – specifically the third decade⁹⁹⁹.

5.3 Neferure and the 'God's Wife (of Amun)'

The second pertinent aspect afforded via Neferure living beyond regnal year 16 is that, if she had intentions for the throne, these could have been developed. Given Hatshepsut spent at most seven years securing her elevation¹⁰⁰⁰, and Neferure presumably would have faced similar issues, albeit

⁹⁹⁵ Dorman, 1988, pp. 77-79. See also comments in Robins, 1993a, pp. 49-50.

⁹⁹⁶ One might be so bold as to add a fourth item here. Neferure's incorporation at Deir el-Bahri, alongside Thutmose III who is offering to the boat of Amun, and within the sanctuary itself, was recorded by Naville (1906, *DeB*, Pt. 5, pls. 141, 143). Along the top of the north and south walls of the sanctuary stands a largely erased female figure wearing all the normal garb of a queen. She is positioned on her own register behind Thutmose III; her entire height that of the kneeling Thutmose. Above the erased head are titles such as king's daughter, lady of the Two Lands, and mistress (of Upper and Lower Egypt?), and on the southern wall the remains of Neferure's name in cartouche can be identified. The name is lost on the northern wall, but the scenes are almost identical; simply being carved in reverse direction. Expecting, in the heart of her mortuary temple, to find Hatshepsut (moreover that she should precede Thutmose and not stand behind), and instead we have Neferure, raises questions both about the potential date of (re-)carving, and the relations of Menkheperre and Neferure at a time (to judge from the positioning), when he was king (?). See also Urk. IV: 391.

⁹⁹⁷ Dorman, 1988, pp. 78-79. Add Redford, 1965, pp. 108ff

⁹⁹⁸ Urk. IV: 1262. The line reads, iw grt wD.n Hm rdit sA-nswt smsw [Imn]-m-HAt r imy-r kAw n tA iryt. Translation: "Now the majesty commanded placing the eldest king's son, Amenemhet, as the overseer of the cattle of the milch-cow" (or possibly even cattle-tax – irw - as the latter portion has been restored).

⁹⁹⁹ Redford, 1965, p. 108. Note in general **Table 2**

¹⁰⁰⁰ Summary of arguments in section 3.8.

on a lesser scale; longevity would have provided Neferure a chance to play out her plans. Logically, any claim to the throne of Egypt for Neferure was likely derived from her position as God's Wife (of Amun)¹⁰⁰¹. As illustrated by Hatshepsut's royal court and official entourage, the office seems to have provided a 'power-base' via which to secure (and maintain) succession¹⁰⁰². Indeed, the point of transference from Hatshepsut to Neferure may possibly be seen on blocks from the Chapelle Rouge¹⁰⁰³. If Neferure had lived on well into the later stages of Hatshepsut's reign, as evidence reviewed by Dorman seems to suggest, there would not only have been suitable time for Hatshepsut to 'succeed' to the throne, settle into the kingship, and then deputise an heir to the office of God's Wife, but also for Neferure to cement her own plans.

5.3.1 Striding Statue 173800 (Cat. 1.14)

As for the artefactual remains illustrating Neferure as the God's Wife (of Amun), no fewer than four documents attest this fact - although at least one of these appears to have been usurped by a later queen. The first is a diorite/black granite 'striding' statue of Senenmut, most likely from Karnak¹⁰⁰⁴. With Neferure clasped firmly in his arms, Senenmut extols his position as "manager of the estate (r-Hry n pr.f) and supreme judge (wDa-rwt) in the whole land", in addition to being the 'tutor/guardian' of Neferure. Moreover, in the sixth line of text on the body/legs of Senenmut, he refers to himself as it nTrt, the 'father of the goddess'¹⁰⁰⁵. Neferure, herself, wears the standard 'sidelock of youth', but also holds the Hts-sceptre, symbolising the consecration of ritual buildings and tying the youthful heiress to the goddess

¹⁰⁰¹ Robins, 1993a, pp. 151-2, with the documents illustrating that Neferure held this title discussed below. On the rites depicted, specifically the purification in the 'Great Lake' at Karnak and the ritual smiting of enemies, see Gitton, 1976a.

¹⁰⁰² Bryan, 2002; Redford, 1967, pp. 71ff (where the office itself is discussed) and pp. 77-78 (where Hatshepsut's exact supporters are listed). Also, introductory comments in section 1.5.2.

¹⁰⁰³ Forbes, 1994-5, pp. 41-42

¹⁰⁰⁴ The Field Museum, no. 173800 (Cat. 1.14). Note that the number recorded by Allen (1927, pp. 49-55) differs – specifically, no. 173988. See esp. Roehrig, 2005a, 115-116, no. 61; Capel and Markoe, 1996, pp. 109-110, no. 43. See also **Table 14**

¹⁰⁰⁵ Allen, 1927, p. 53, line 6. For a list of the main titles of Senenmut, especially as recorded on his sarcophagus, see Hayes, 1950, p. 22 (also Dorman, 1988, pp. 203-212 in general).

Hathor, via the *imAt*-tree¹⁰⁰⁶. The familiarity between the two is clear, as not only does Senenmut refer to himself as the one who reared (*mH*) Neferure, but she has her right hand placed firmly on Senenmut's left arm and shoulder, in a show of affection virtually unheard of before the time of Akhenaton¹⁰⁰⁷.

5.3.2 Berlin Statue 2296 (Cat. 1.8)

The second instance also derives from a statue of Senenmut, currently held in the Berlin Museum¹⁰⁰⁸. Like many of Senenmut's statues, Neferure is completely enveloped in a long cloak/shroud, protecting her from the enmities beyond. This iconography is further reinforced as, in this statue, Neferure wears the uraeus. While the first part of the inscription is almost identical to the 'striding statue (173800)'¹⁰⁰⁹ above, there are a number of curious variants. In particular, the upper surface of this statue is inscribed with Senenmut's titles, and reads as follows:

it mna¹⁰¹⁰ wr n sAt-nswt Hnwt tAwy Hmt-nTr Nfrw-ra sn-n-mwt
mAa-xrw

The father(?) and great male nurse of the king's daughter, mistress of the Two Lands, God's Wife, Neferure – Senenmut, justified¹⁰¹¹

In addition to references of Neferure as the God's Wife and Mistress of the Two Lands, the sentence commences with two titles of Senenmut – one illustrating the care-giving role he played, and the other suggesting a bond closer than simple 'male nanny'. While it is well-attested Neferure was the

¹⁰⁰⁶ For a full treatment of this sceptre, see Troy, 1986, pp. 84-5 (noting comments in scfn. 3.3.3d). For reliefs depicting Neferure wielding other sceptres, refer the painted portrait as described by Kitchen, 1963, pp. 38-40.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Allen, 1927, pp. 52-3; Dorman, 1988, pp. 123-4; Meyer, 1982, pp. 172-175. Note, however, that Senenmut is not the only one to claim that he 'reared' Neferure. The military official and administrative officer Ahmose Pen-nekhet also makes the same claim (cf. Urk. IV: 34ff). See also sections 3.7.2 and 4.4.2.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Cat. 1.8. PM I², 1; Dorman, 1988, pp. 123-6; Roehrig, 2005a, pp. 112-113, fig. 48.

¹⁰⁰⁹ In addition to comparing the text of this statue to Field Museum 173800, Dorman (1988, 124-126), has admirably demonstrated the textual and physical similarities between Berlin 2296, JdE 47278 and CG 42114. Stylistically similar, JdE 47278 and Berlin 2296 both also contain passages directly appropriated from the 'Book of Coming Forth by Day' (the Book of the Dead) - spells 56 and 106 (see also Meyer, 1982, pp. 156-171). All of these similarities, and others, are represented in **Table 14**.

¹⁰¹⁰ On the terms *mna* (nurse), *mnat-nswt* (royal nurse), *mna-nswt* (royal tutor) and related words see especially Roehrig, 1990a.

¹⁰¹¹ Urk. IV: 406.8

progeny of Hatshepsut and Thutmose II¹⁰¹², we now have at least two instances where the word *it* (father), has been employed by Senenmut in context with Neferure. While in the 'striding statue (no. 173800)', the word is qualified by another noun – namely goddess - does one dare to presume that Senenmut might have considered himself Neferure's adopted guardian, possibly even surrogate father? Given that two other statues also contain exactly the same references (Cairo JdE 47278, Cat. 1.13; and Cairo CG 42114, Cat. 1.9), the notion was certainly not whimsical. More likely, it seems to have become a regimented part of Senenmut's titulary.

5.3.3 Cairo Stela CG 34013 (Cat. 5.10)

The third document containing reference to Neferure as holder of the office of God's Wife, is the afore-mentioned Cairo stela CG 34013 from the temple of Ptah at Karnak¹⁰¹³. Given the inscription describes the battle of Megiddo in regnal year 22-23, such would not only be convincing evidence for Neferure outliving her mother as Dorman argued, but also holding an important political role in the reign of Thutmose III via the office of God's Wife. Alas, her name has all but been completely erased, with only scant remains left. In her place, the later king's wife/consort Sit-yōh, has been inserted.

5.3.4 The year 11 'Sinai Stela' (Cat. 5.6)

This item already introduced in the preceding chapter, attention is immediately turned to the translation, where several points are noteworthy. While the first line clearly provides the year-date, Neferure is referred to as "the majesty". Additionally, the epithets that follow her name are kingly in nature; specifically *Dd wAs mi Ra* ("stability and dominion like Re"). Thirdly, her name is written in a cartouche; a right almost exclusively reserved for kings. This latter point is even more unusual when one considers that Hatshepsut herself must have still been alive at this time. Was Neferure (or Hatshepsut) attempting to further complicate an already difficult position, by expanding upon the concept

¹⁰¹² For Neferure depicted with Hatshepsut and Thutmose II at Karnak: *LDR* 2, 250-2; Ratie, 1979, pp. 63-4 (with other general references); Bryan, 2000, p. 237.

¹⁰¹³ PM II², 198; Lacau, 1909, pp. 27ff and pl. IX. See under sctn. 5.2 above and add Troy, 1986, p. 164.

of coregency (or even Regnancy) not long after Hatshepsut's 'transition'? Or was there yet another usurpation in the making?¹⁰¹⁴ Finally, there is what appears to be a highly uncommon occurrence of the title God's Wife. To the author's knowledge, every scholar who has translated this stela has done so as follows:

rnpwt-sp 11 xr Hm n Hmt-nTr Nfrw-ra anx.ti¹⁰¹⁵

Regnal year 11, under the majesty of the God's Wife, Neferure, may she live

However, under the protective arm of the pseudo-Nekhbet and Wadjet figures (the latter is clearly identified by the uraeus that is itself attached to the sun-disk), are the hieroglyphics for the creator god Amun. Given the orientation of the signs, they cannot belong to Hathor, on the right-hand side. Furthermore, were it not for the protective arm, the reliefs would have been placed in immediate juxtaposition to the title God's Wife. Lastly, they are positioned directly above the figure of Neferure, most likely their intended recipient. It seems that we have here the *only instance* of the full title of God's Wife of Amun in the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty; albeit graphically transposed. It is well-known that the full title should, and originally did, include the name of the god. However, it is only attested in its full form under the reign of two former queen-regents, namely Ahmose-Nefertari¹⁰¹⁶ and Ahhotep¹⁰¹⁷. In this case, the title is seemingly accentuated by the pictorial elements of Re, Wadjet/uraeus and Nekhbet. It also appears as if the 'arm' of Nekhbet actually links the title and personage of "God's Wife of Amun, Neferure" to the goddess Hathor.

Turning to the figure of Senenmut, the size ratio with Neferure is noteworthy. With the exception of the Swty-headress, they are equivalent in dimension.

¹⁰¹⁴ This point was briefly outlined in section 4.7.3; the notion of Neferure as Hatshepsut's intended successor originally introduced by Donald Redford (1967, p. 85).

¹⁰¹⁵ For the latest version of the stela reprinted, and hieroglyphs, see Dorman, 2005b, p. 108 (fig. 46).

¹⁰¹⁶ Troy, 1986, pp. 161-2 and p.188 for comments. Note also that a few later queens also adopted the full title – specifically Isis IV (daughter of Ramesses VI and Nubkhesdeb) and Maatkare Mutemhat I (daughter of Pinudjem I and Henuttawy III). Additionally, Ahmose-Nefertari adopted a number of variants of the title. These include: Hm-nTr n pr Imn, Hmt-nTr n Imn m Ipt-swt, and Xnmt st m pr Imn.

¹⁰¹⁷ In particular, the Edfu Stela (CG 34009) of this queen – PM V¹, 203; Urk. IV: 29-31 with the title in 29.13. Note also a scene from TT18 (PM I², 1) and the coffin-set recovered from the Deir el-Bahri cache (CG 6137, 6138, 6156, 6157 – PM I², 632).

Moreover, both Neferure and Senenmut are on par with Hathor¹⁰¹⁸. Senenmut's role and function also seem to have shifted. Well-attested as the steward, nurse and tutor of Neferure¹⁰¹⁹, he now stands behind her with fan in hand. The transition from royal nurse or even royal butler to positions of 'companion to the king' were not unheard of, and indeed seem to be fairly common for those known as "Children of the Kap"¹⁰²⁰. As Bryan states, these persons seem to have been raised within the palace grounds from an early age and groomed to serve the king, although not in the highest bureaucratic positions¹⁰²¹. Of those that Bryan lists, three names leap out. Senimen, tutor of the princess Neferure; Maiherperi, fan-bearer of King Hatshepsut; and Amenemheb (called Mahu), who owned Theban Tomb 85. The former two illustrate that a person such as Senenmut could at one point hold the post of tutor and then, within the parameters of the title 'Child of Kap', potentially become a fan-bearer of the king. Notably, however, these two positions were held by two different people under the reign of Hatshepsut. Further, Senenmut's non-royal ancestry and early life outside of the court technically complicate his classification as a 'Child of Kap'¹⁰²². On the latter – Amenemheb – it is interesting to note that in the few extant remains of the inscription of the stela, an individual of this name might exist¹⁰²³. However, such a conclusion is very circumspect and, given his primary titles connected him to the military, probably unlikely¹⁰²⁴.

Finally, we turn to the dress adopted by the pair. Neferure wears a long-sheathed dress, of the exact type worn by Hatshepsut (and indeed any queen) early in her reign¹⁰²⁵. Her form is clearly that of a lithe woman, but her breasts are not prominent, and she dons the *nemes* headdress in addition to the aforementioned dual-plumed headdress and uraeus. More remarkable is

¹⁰¹⁸ GPC, *Sinai*, Vol. I, pl. LVIII (no. 179)

¹⁰¹⁹ See **Table 15** for titles and key references. Note especially Dorman, 1988, pp. 118-122 (stewardship) and pp. 170-171 (tutor).

¹⁰²⁰ Bryan, 2006, pp. 96-7.

¹⁰²¹ *ibid.* See also Feucht, 1985, pp. 38-47; Feucht, 1995, pp. 272-308.

¹⁰²² For Senenmut's 'humble' beginnings, see Dorman, 1988, pp. 165-169. Also note general comments in sections 5.4.1 and 5.4.2 below.

¹⁰²³ GPC, *Sinai*, Vol. II, p. 152 offer this as a possible reconstruction. GPC, *Sinai*, Vol. I, plate LVIII certainly contains the Hb-elements, with possibly the back of the owl (m).

¹⁰²⁴ Bryan, 2006, p. 96

¹⁰²⁵ **Table 6**, with comments and references throughout section 3.4.

that the remains of the Senenmut figure appear to have worn a long-sheathed dress also. However, in this instance, the feet are 'striding' and thus spaced apart as befitting a man. The left foot, though, is clearly visible through the dress and one wonders if the dress was part of an earlier (original) carving? Further evidence to suggest that the dress and 'striding leg' were added later are the name and title of Senenmut, and the lower of the two hands. The former is unlike the hieroglyphics carved for Neferure in that they appear squashed between the epithet *Dd wAs mi Ra* and the head of Senenmut. They are also narrower in shape/form. As for the lower arm, while the difficulties of three-dimensional representation on two-dimensional surfaces are well-documented¹⁰²⁶, this extremity seems to protrude from the body in a most unusual manner – almost originating from the abdomen. Finally, there is the rather random placement of the word *Dt*, ("forever"). It belongs to the *anx.ti* above, but has been placed much further down the stela and out-of-line with the original text. This would be easily explained if the fan were added at a later time, possibly along with the name/title of Senenmut, and the 'striding leg'. The obvious questions that stem from this are:

- if the scene was altered, why was it changed and,
- if not originally Senenmut, then who?

Given the long flowing dress that seems to have originally existed, the figure must have been a woman – or at least womanly. Neferure had no sisters to speak of, and a goddess placed behind Neferure would be unheard of. Does one dare to consider the possibility that the initial form of this stela included Hatshepsut, possibly presenting Neferure to Hathor as the next king? Given the mixed-dress of Neferure, very much in the style of her mother, one muses over the possibility¹⁰²⁷.

¹⁰²⁶ cf. Russmann, 2001, pp. 28-32; general comments in section 1.4.

¹⁰²⁷ There does exist the possibility that the original woman, carved over by Senenmut, was Neferubity. Sister to Hatshepsut, and depicted on the walls of the sanctuary at Djeser-Djeseru (Neville, *DeB*, 1906, part 5, plate CXLV for example) her initial inclusion is possible, but unlikely. First, there is no corroborating evidence that she was ever connected to Neferure; certainly not in a bid for the kingship. In addition, we would expect the female associated with Neferure to be her mother, not her aunt. Lastly, and most importantly, it does not appear as if Neferubity lived very long to judge by the scenes from the Deir el-Bahri sanctuary. In each case she is portrayed as a girl or young woman at best. She is half the height of Thutmose I

In sum, it is again reinforced that Neferure held the office of God's Wife; itself potentially providing the necessary support for a political future. Additionally, she appears to have harkened back to the halcyon days of the office, more correctly citing herself under the full title of God's Wife of Amun. Current theories certainly support the prospect of a lengthy life, with the distinct possibility she may have sired at least one male heir under the reign of Thutmose III. During her infancy and youth she was doted over by her royal nurse and tutor, Senenmut. Their symbiotic and caring relationship seems apparent, perhaps extending further as witnessed in the year 11 Sinai stela. Furthermore, his protective and loving embrace appears to have been reciprocated by attentive gestures of her own, possibly reaching into the realm of surrogate father/adopted daughter?

5.4 Senenmut and Neferure: the Statuary of Senenmut

Turning more fully to assess the relationship of Neferure and Senenmut, we must take further stock of the repertoire of statues 'commissioned' by Senenmut. The focus must be to scrutinize this curious bond more rigorously, and attempt to determine the exact nature of the support offered by Senenmut to Neferure, especially if she was attempting to secure the kingship for herself in the future. With some 25 statues, virtually all of which are free-standing (save one in his cenotaph at Gebel el-Silsila and the aforementioned statue on the crest of TT71¹⁰²⁸), the realism apparent in Senenmut's statues is striking. Amazingly, almost half of these statues depict Senenmut together with his young charge, some of which have already been introduced above¹⁰²⁹. While we shall never know whether the imagery is truly representative of Senenmut's physiological characteristics – as there is no 'benchmark' by which to test such a theory - one can feel reasonably secure

and Queen Ahmes – her parents. She dons the 'sidelock of youth' and has her finger placed to her mouth, much as the young Neferure does in some of her statues (e.g. BM174 and CG42116).

¹⁰²⁸ Cat. 1.17 (noted in section 5.2 above).

¹⁰²⁹ There are ten statues in all, consisting of three anomalous statues (EA174, Field Museum 173800, CG42116) and seven 'block-statues' (Berlin 2296, CG 42114, CG 42115, JdE 47278, the 'Sheikh Labib' statue, the 'Karakol' statue, and the 'crest' statue *in situ* atop TT71) – for a recent summary see Keller, 2005a & Roehrig, *Hatshepsut*, pp. 121-31 (noting also the summary in this work in section 1.6). For a tabular representation see **Table 14**.

in concluding that the warmth and persona conveyed through the statues is a guarantor of physical likeness¹⁰³⁰.

5.4.1 Block Statue of Senenmut - EA/BM 174 (Cat. 1.12)

This statue was introduced in chapter three, and discussed in more detail in chapter four. The focus for this chapter relates to art-historical perspectives and the light that it may shed on the relationship of Senenmut and Neferure. To begin, while the statue may appear stagnant or traditional in some respects, at least two features suggest a Culminative piece¹⁰³¹. First, the feet of Senenmut are open-toed and fully carved. Given that many artisans chose to ignore the feet entirely, a distinct measure of 'realism' is conveyed, perhaps even reminiscent of Senenmut's humble origins. It is almost as if the artisan asked the pair to pose for their portrait, whilst still in the midst of their daily affairs¹⁰³². Second, the manner by which Senenmut 'draws up' the ankle-length shawl conveys not only a sense of protective caring, but also imparts upon the viewer the element of 'Relative Time'. Coupled with the positioning of Neferure, this suggests a sense of comfort and familiarity about the piece.

With regard to *specificity*, it is the combination of Neferure's delicate placement, the 'drawing of the shawl', and inclusion of 'open-toed' feet that convey this. The element of event is clearly implied by the nature of their relationship; that of protector and protected. As a single scene, this snapshot captures the very essence of what it meant to safeguard the well-being of one in their formative years. However, to suspend the viewer's perception of actual time by illustrating the exact moment when Senenmut shrugged off the cold and enmities beyond the folds of the cloak - drawing up the shawl - is a testament to the artisan's utilisation of 'Relative Time'. Furthermore, it continues to emphasize the relationship between Senenmut and Neferure –

¹⁰³⁰ On portraiture see Smith 2002 (and references within), and the discourse in section 1.4.

¹⁰³¹ Again, for definitions and methodology, refer section 2.4.

¹⁰³² This feature is reflected on two other statues of Senenmut and Neferure – Field Museum 173800, and in part, on CG 42116. It is also noticeable on other statues of Senenmut that do not contain Neferure, giving a 'rustic' feel to the statuary (see for example Musée de Louvre, Paris E 11057; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 48.149.7; Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst, Munich ÄS 6265. On the latter statue from Munich, note comments in Schulman, 1987-8, pp. 67-8).

possibly something more than mere male nurse.

5.4.2 'Kneeling' Statue of Senenmut CG 42116 (Cat. 1.11)

The other key statue in our group is CG 42116. Much like EA/BM 174 and Field Museum 173800, the statue is irregular in that it is not of the standard block formation. Senenmut kneels in pseudo-block stance, but with his left leg raised and bent up. Neferure again dons the 'sidelock of youth', has her forefinger raised to her chin/mouth, and bears the uraeus. This time, however, she appears cloaked in her own shawl, and is nestled into the lap of Senenmut. Much like Field Museum 173800, she is positioned at right-angles to her guardian¹⁰³³. Parallels have been noted between this statue and that of Senimen, carved on a limestone boulder above the latter's Theban tomb (252)¹⁰³⁴. Senimen's wife is placed alongside him, the only differentiating feature between CG 42116 and the Senimen statue.

Employing the elements of historicity again, the element of 'Relative Time' seems again to be inferred by the statue. While in the case of EA/BM 174, three features were of note, here it is the movement of Senenmut's left arm that conveys the illusion. Wrapped around the back of his young trustee, he gathers Neferure in close, protecting her from the chaos beyond. His right arm and hand are lovingly draped across her knees, in a moment of sublime intimacy. As Roehrig has already noted¹⁰³⁵, this statue, more than any other to date, brings to mind the iconographic representation of Horus (specifically Harpocrates, a derivation of Hr-pA-Xrd or Horus the Child) suckled by his mother Isis¹⁰³⁶. Appearing as early as the Pyramid Texts, the standard representation of the god shows him standing/squatting atop either reed-leaves or Nile creatures (as Isis gave birth to Horus within the papyrus marshes at Chemmis in the north Delta), suckling his thumb or forefinger and wearing the 'sidelock of youth'¹⁰³⁷.

¹⁰³³ All the block-statues, as well as EA/BM 174, have Neferure and Senenmut staring straight ahead. For references, see Cat. 1.11.

¹⁰³⁴ Roehrig, 1990a, pp. 52-64.

¹⁰³⁵ Roehrig, 2005a, pp. 112-113

¹⁰³⁶ Quirke, 1992, pp. 61-67

¹⁰³⁷ Eventually Horus was given amuletic-status, depicted on cippi guarding against denizens and noxious creatures of the Nile River.

Therefore, on at least two statues of Neferure and Senenmut (EA/BM 174 and CG 42116), Neferure is depicted in a similarly amorous fashion¹⁰³⁸. When combined with the kingship insinuations on the year 11 Sinai stela, could one go so far as to suggest that Neferure was being represented as a young 'Horus'; cared for by her protector. It is a rather extraordinary hypothesis, and yet, given the argument amassed thus far, to not arrive at this conclusion seems illogical. More concerning is Senenmut's role in all of this. A commoner, born of humble origins, are we now to believe that Neferure's wet-nurse and tutor was to be elevated into a position of quasi-divine status? For surely, while Senenmut cannot have been imagined as Isis, the sex-gender interchange suffering enough of an ignominy under Hatshepsut's artistic and building programme, he must at the very least have been imagined as being intimately involved in the family relations. It is from this thought, we examine our final piece.

5.5 Graffito at Deir el-Bahri (Cat. 4.12)

Located on the east wall of a grotto in the cliff-face north of the upper terrace of Hatshepsut's mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahri, depictions of a semi-pornographic nature are evident¹⁰³⁹. In brief, a man and a woman are involved in sexual relations, the man being positioned behind the woman, who is herself bent over¹⁰⁴⁰. The dating and personages contained within the graffito are ambiguous. Notwithstanding, Wente has tackled the situation as best one can¹⁰⁴¹. In sum, the dating of the scene to the reign of Hatshepsut is achieved via the identification of Neferhotep in the stela; the official being carved on the left-hand side of the wall, directly above the two entwined figures. It is well documented that Neferhotep was the son of the mayor of el-Kab named Renni, and an accounting scribe under the reign of Hatshepsut¹⁰⁴².

Furthermore, Wente's assignment of the characters seems logical. On the left-

¹⁰³⁸ Not forgetting the numerous comments above surrounding the textual and pictorial similarities between all ten of the joint Senenmut-Neferure statues, especially EA/BM174, CG 42116, Field Museum 173800, Berlin 2296, JDE 47278 and Cairo CG 42114.

¹⁰³⁹ Wente, 1984, pp. 47-54.

¹⁰⁴⁰ For discussion see Romer, 1982, pp. 157-163 (with a photo of the grotto on p. 156 and the east wall containing the graffiti on p. 159).

¹⁰⁴¹ Wente, 1984, pp. 52-4.

¹⁰⁴² Tyler, 1900, pp. 3ff and pl. 11. Also note comments by Fischer, 1980, pp. 157-160.

hand-side the two figures engaged in sexual activity are none other than Senenmut (to the rear) and Hatshepsut (bent over and wearing what appears to be the *nemes* headdress)¹⁰⁴³. On the far right-hand-side is a smaller man, with erect phallus. This figure seems to be moving in on a more central figure, albeit still on the right-hand-side of the eastern wall. While Romer believed the larger figure to be Senenmut¹⁰⁴⁴, given the proportions of the figure, it seems more likely that it is actually Hatshepsut¹⁰⁴⁵. The only puzzling aspect is that the right-central figure stands with feet apart, and wears the blue 'war' crown. Notwithstanding, this is perfectly in keeping with the cross-gendered iconography so common during the reign of Hatshepsut.

What is perhaps more astounding is that if we assume, as Wente did, the man on the right-hand-side with the erect phallus is moving towards Hatshepsut in order to engage in sexual activity, two other factors come into play. First, this would suggest the two interconnected scenes are actually Episodic¹⁰⁴⁶. On the right-hand-side we have the moment immediately prior to sexual activity. On the left-hand-side we have the relative-future to the scene on the right. Second, there is a sense of duality inherent in the representations, a fact that cannot have gone unnoticed by the ancient Egyptians. In this case it is not so much the activities engaged in, but the role, or more specifically the sexes, of those involved. For with Hatshepsut represented as male and female on the respective sides, both aspects of homosexuality and heterosexuality are symbolized¹⁰⁴⁷. Senenmut then, becomes the object not only of Hatshepsut's affection, but a tool in the (royal) propaganda of Hatshepsut's reign – a point even easier to digest when one considers the Isis-oriented representations of Senenmut earlier (i.e. that Hatshepsut could appear as the dominant male in a sexual relation, with her supporter and 'effeminate' counterpart as

¹⁰⁴³ For a better visual representation of the 'sexual scene', cf. Manniche, 1977, pp. 21-3 and fig. 4. For general comments, Manniche, 1997.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Romer, 1982, p. 158.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Wente, 1984, pp. 52-3.

¹⁰⁴⁶ While this might presuppose something of the date of carving, even if one scene was carved after the other, the fact still remains that the artisan of the second relief would have been faced with the former relief and necessarily had to include it (even if only spatially), in their planning of the later scene. The only other concern is whether or not one can have confidence assigning this nomenclature to this medium of relief painting – a fact addressed in chapter two (section 2.3.2).

¹⁰⁴⁷ A fact also noted by Wente (1984, p. 53).

subordinate).

Such figures were clearly not ‘royally-commissioned’ pieces of work, though. Indeed, at first they strike one as crude and childlike in form; possibly even ‘caricature-like’ in nature. However, such does not detract from their worth; conversely, it may enhance it. That these reliefs could be carved, presumably outside of royal prerogative, speaks to several points:

1. The uptake of Hatshepsut’s programme to legitimise herself and justify her rule reached beyond the royal household. One case does not equate to ‘general acceptance by the masses’ (nor does it even equal ‘acceptance by the few’), but it *does* mean the propaganda was reaching at least some of its (intended) audience.
2. Knowledge of Hatshepsut’s ‘dual genders’ existed among the ancient Egyptians. So much so that they themselves could partake in a “pun of sorts”¹⁰⁴⁸.
3. Whatever the ‘relations’ between Hatshepsut and Senenmut, some sort of relationship either actually existed between the pair, or was rumoured to exist.
4. Whatever the actual or surmised relationship, it extended beyond mere courtesan and into the sexual realm.
5. Senenmut could be both the ‘butt’ of a joke involving (royal) propaganda - articulated at the very least by his diminished size relative to Hatshepsut on the right-hand-side - and at the same time potentially be one of the most influential men of the time.

5.6 Concluding Remarks to Chapter Five

When one attempts to now draw together all of these seemingly disparate strands, a picture seems to emerge. These strands include:

- Neferure as holder of the office of God’s Wife (full titulary in at least one instance),
- the usage of it (father) by Senenmut in at least four cases,
- Senenmut as protector and guardian of Neferure,
- Neferure as a form of Harpocrates,
- the sexual scenes of Hatshepsut and Senenmut,
- the creation by Hatshepsut of the concept of ‘Divine Birth’ – a point not outlined in this chapter owing to spatial limitations, but nonetheless well-known¹⁰⁴⁹

The sum of this seems to have amounted to the instillation of Senenmut, not as some cross-gendered form of Isis suckling his/her progeny or charge, but as the progenitor *par excellence*. In essence, the multi-varied evidence

¹⁰⁴⁸ Silverman, 1982, pp. 278-80, where he too alludes to the possible parody of the scenes.

¹⁰⁴⁹ See especially Daumas, 1958, pp. 61ff

appears to signal a time, somewhere in the reign of Hatshepsut, where Senenmut more fully took on the role of 'father of the goddess' and 'father of the heir'. This would not only have eased Neferure's passage towards any intended successional claims of her own, but minimised the problems inherent in yet another coup d'état. Furthermore, with the reference to the office of God's Wife, the concept of the Divine Birth and the imagery of Harpocrates, one wonders whether Senenmut actually attempted to straddle the mortal-divine world in taking on a role as an Amun or Horus?¹⁰⁵⁰ While such an idea may seem far-fetched, precedents for the development of just such an ideology (and surrounding the office of kingship) had been laid much earlier in the Eighteenth Dynasty¹⁰⁵¹. Manley notes that the cultural context of the queen, as active counterpart of the king, naturally resulted in political opportunities¹⁰⁵². During this irregular period, the progression of Senenmut from royal tutor and nurse, to guardian and surrogate father, and on to an ideological representation of Amun (or Horus), may not have been a ludicrous suggestion. This is especially so when one considers that the core religious symbolism and ideology for the institution of God's Wife of Amun had already been canonized¹⁰⁵³. The developments here then, may simply have been the beginnings, or experimentation of, a gender-reversal of that now established institution; and presumably also an extension of the 'Divine Birth'. With Thutmose II well-removed from the royal iconography, one can but wonder how far Hatshepsut's (or possibly Senenmut's and Neferure's) programme of propaganda would have gone?

Finally, we return to complete the thoughts evoked when considering the 'Kneeling Statue' CG42116. The natural recourse perhaps, is to view CG42116 either as a truncated form of the Senimen statue, or conversely, the latter as an extension/expansion upon the form of the former. However, what

¹⁰⁵⁰ Note that one other possibility does leap to mind here, via the employment of the phrase 'it nTrt'. Namely that Senenmut might have been viewed (or groomed to be viewed) as the 'father' of the office-holder of the title/post 'God's Wife of Amun'. The fact that Neferure actually held the title then becomes a convenience of timing, but not the focus, which was to develop the ideology surrounding the office of God's Wife. Notwithstanding, the images of statuary and painted relief heretofore discussed support the former conclusions made.

¹⁰⁵¹ Manley, 2002, pp. 35-44.

¹⁰⁵² Manley, 2002, p. 44.

¹⁰⁵³ Discourse in section 1.5 and chapter four.

if neither is true? What if CG42116 was intended to be the same form as the Senimen statue, but owing to constraints from the royal office, such was not permissible. The omission of the 'third party' (Hatshepsut) would then speak almost as loudly as her inclusion. Alas, a lack of quantifiable data, to attempt to resolve if the Senimen-style statue was the norm, is not presently available. All that is left is for us to ponder the enigma that might have been the order of events. If Hatshepsut and Senenmut were (sexual) lovers, did this come before or after, the incorporation of Senenmut into the quasi-divine and father-like iconography with Neferure? If before, did it result in what appears to be an intriguing form of the cross-gender division for Senenmut (or was it exclusively tied to Neferure, as the statuary indicates)? Did the relationship of Hatshepsut and Senenmut, whatever the form, have bearing on Neferure's status? Finally, as the evidence suggests, did Neferure actually have intentions to claim the office of kingship for herself, as her mother did before her? Alas, without further evidence, the points are presently indeterminable.

Chapter Six: Investigation 4 - The Sinai

Material, titular testing ground?

6.1 Introduction

The final chapter is similar to chapter four in that the question asked here is one that seems, in the literature, to be somewhat presumed. However, to the author's knowledge, no such publication exists that has appraised the known items of Hatshepsut from the Sinai region and asked the question of whether or not this area was a testing ground for Hatshepsut's kingship protocols? Additionally, Thutmose III features on several of the items, and in a few cases, the 'titular trialling' seems to have included him. Many of the pieces are undated, and thus, there are questions to be asked of how this experimentation might connect with her Regnancy, as well as the period post-transition? Equally, almost all of the dated pieces (four out of five) post-date her transition into the office of kingship. These too must be considered, alongside the undated corpus and, in-matter-of-fact, are our starting point.

6.2 The dated material

6.2.1 *The two year five Sinai stelae (Cat. 5.1)*

Discussed in chapter three, this pair of stelae has no bearing on the current research question. Most likely they do not include Hatshepsut, and the representations of Thutmose III are fairly standard (aside from the apparent omission of his name alongside the title *nsw-bity*). Menkheperre before Hathor is completely in fitting with this region.

6.2.2 *Year 11 stela of Senenmut and Neferure (Cat. 5.6)*

This stela too is of no worth in the present investigation. Wholly omitting both Hatshepsut and Thutmose, the noteworthy aspects of the stela have been detailed in two preceding sections (4.7.3 and 5.3.4).

6.2.3 *Year 13 stela (Cat. 5.7)*

As noted in the Catalogue, this stela is carved on virtually every face. It mostly details Thutmose III, but Hatshepsut does appear to be present, in both textual and (possibly) iconographic form. Each side/face will be briefly presented and reviewed here.

East Face – the date of year 13 is here recorded. Dorman believes that this is the earliest concrete evidence of Hatshepsut as ruler in the Sinai region¹⁰⁵⁴.

The inscription (lunette and body) is as follows:

Year 13 under the majesty of ... the good God Menkheperkare¹⁰⁵⁵, endowed with life, stability and dominion, like Re eternally, beloved of Amun-Re, lord of the throne of the Two Lands. The presenting of a white bread that he may make "given-life"

¹⁰⁵⁴ 2005, p. 46, fn. 55. Also Dorman, 1988, p. 32 and fn. 73 where he states "only one other stela of 'king' Hatshepsut at Sinai bears a date" (referring to the year 20 Nakht Stela – no. 6.2.5 below). However, Dorman was obviously unaware of the year 16 rock-face inscription of Thutmose III and Hatshepsut at Wadi Maghara (sctn. 6.2.4).

¹⁰⁵⁵ An early form of the prenomen of Thutmose III (section 1.3); the *kA* is clearly evident at the base of the cartouche (GPC, *Sinai*, plate LXI), itself in front of the image of Thutmose III who is offering to Amun-Re. For a convenient summary of the references pertaining to the prenomen Menkheperkare see von Beckerath, 1984, p. 226; Jaeger, 1982, p. 129; Meyer, 1982, pp. 25-26; Dorman, 1988, pp. 35-36.

The only noteworthy aspects are that Thutmose III prefers 'good God' over any other title, and Hatshepsut appears to have been present in the lower part of the stela in a similar act of 'offering' to Hathor as Thutmose III was performing to/for Amun-Re¹⁰⁵⁶. If position is relevant, then Thutmose III being placed above Hatshepsut may be pertinent.

West Face – the date is repeated, and most of the seven lines of text expound the five-fold titulary of Thutmose III. The restored sentences read,

Year 13 under the majesty of the Horus, Strong Bull rising in Thebes, the Two Goddesses, Abiding of Kingdom [lost portion] his might brings [lost portion] he who is over the hearts of the land [restored and lost] to the might of the king Re [lost portion] King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the Two Lands, lord of initiative, Menkheperre¹⁰⁵⁷ [lost portion] on the throne [restored] of Horus of all the living, like Re eternally forever [restored]

Of greatest interest here is that Thutmose III is actually named as *nsw-bity*. As discussed below, very few instances of this title seem to occur in the Sinai region for Thutmose. Menkheperre is usually referred to in a divine or progenitor fashion, but not in a ruling one. Additionally, the sentence "he who is over the hearts of the land" seems to resonate the sentiments in the biography of Ineni where Hatshepsut held the "Two River banks content before her". Finally, Thutmose III is referred to as the 'Lord of Doing Things' (*nb irt xt*), an epithet which he seems to dominate in the Sinai. A summary of known occurrences is as follows:

Item	Section / Cat.	For Whom
Year 13 Sinai stela, west face	6.2.3	Thutmose III
Southern Pillar, Hall of Soped, Hathor temple, Sinai	6.3.5	Thutmose III
T1/HT sarcophagi – at least four instances	3.7.1	Hatshepsut
West wall of sanctuary at Deir el-Bahri	3.6.5g	Thutmose III and Hatshepsut
Statue MMA 28.3.18	3.4.1f	Hatshepsut
Statue of Inebni	Cat. 1.20	Thutmose III

¹⁰⁵⁶ Also commented on by GPC, *Sinai*, Vol. II, p. 152. Refer Appendix, Plate XXV.

¹⁰⁵⁷ This may also be an alternate form of Thutmose's prenomen – Menkheperkare – but the final part of the cartouche is lost, and thus it is impossible to determine.

Table 10: The term nb irt xt under Hatshepsut and Thutmose III

North Side/Edge – physically smaller than either of the east and west face, Hatshepsut seems on this document to be relegated to a lesser position¹⁰⁵⁸. Other than the possible inclusion of her figure on the eastern face, her inclusion on this stela is only noted on this one edge¹⁰⁵⁹. It reads:

An offering which the king gives, the beloved of Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, Maatkare [lost portion]. An offering which the king gives, beloved of Hathor, the lady of turquoise, and Hathor [lost portion]. An offering which the king gives, the beloved of Wadjet, lady of [restored] turquoise [lost portion]

As a series of Htp-di-nsw formula, presented in order to Amun-Re, Hathor and Wadjet, such seems fairly standard. The key point of interest is that it is Hatshepsut who is presenting the offering rituals. Given Thutmose positionally dominates the eastern face and northern edge, and that he is the one named as 'Lord of Doing Things', it is almost paradoxical that Hatshepsut should be performing the Htp-di-nsw. Moreover, the commencement of the eastern face of the stela with Thutmose III iconographically presenting to Amun-Re, has been inverted along this side. Parallels to this 'sideline relegation' have been noted on the north Karnak stela of Senenmut (section 3.5.2). Two possible points can be taken from this. First, even in the Sinai, Hatshepsut was 'relegated' to the edges of certain artefacts. Second, that even with her relegated position, she was still illustrated in an administrative capacity; an even more interesting point when the date of year 13 is taken into consideration.

South Side/Edge – almost nothing remains save a single sentence that reads, "...who followed his lord in his steps in the country..."

¹⁰⁵⁸ Similar comments have been discussed under the temple at Semnah (section 3.3.3) and along the east face of the same stela. So too the north Karnak stela (section 3.5.2).

¹⁰⁵⁹ As Chappaz, 1993 (p. 94, fn. 51) notes "La stèle est datée du règne de Thoutmosis III, mais le nom de Maât-ka-Rê figure sur le côté de ce monument, qui pourrait être commun aux deux souverains".

6.2.4 Year 16 Wadi Maghara stela (Cat. 5.8)

The iconography is briefly discussed in the Catalogue, and the matter of this stela illustrating double-dates has been introduced in chapter one (sectn. 1.2). Of note is that the choice of deities has changed slightly from other Sinai representations. Unlike the year 13 Serabit el-Khadim stela where Thutmose III stands before Amun-Re – the figure of Hatshepsut probably before Hathor – here the young monarch stands before Hathor. Hatshepsut is instead before Soped, a fairly common position for her in this region¹⁰⁶⁰. Turning to the inscription, it reads:

Regnal year 16, under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Maatkare, beloved of Soped, lord of the east, and (under the majesty of) the good god, Lord of the Two Lands, Menkheperkare, given life, stability and dominion eternally, beloved of Hathor, mistress of the turquoise.

There is also a single line of text referring to the "protection of life ... like Re". The signs face Hatshepsut and, as others have noted, the priority in this inscriptions seems to favour Hatshepsut¹⁰⁶¹. Hatshepsut is expressly named as *nsw-bity*, while Thutmose III is referred to as *nb tAwy*. Such is significant for three reasons:

- Both individuals are cited as having a level of rulership over Egypt.
- It is one of four documents from the Sinai region explicitly naming Hatshepsut as *nsw-bity*¹⁰⁶²
- It is one of two instances where the titulary of both rulers is 'fused' together¹⁰⁶³. In this case, the fusion is not as glaring as the undated example below (no. 186), primarily because there is a string of kingly and godly epithets hung between the two prenomen's. Further, unlike the 'joint-lintel', both rulers employ their coronation name, rather than the formula of >>*nsw-bity prenomen X, sA Ra, nomen Y*<< as is found in the 'joint lintel'.

As a result of these points, and at a time when Senenmut at least had all but

¹⁰⁶⁰ See for example GPC, *Sinai*, nos. 182, 183.

¹⁰⁶¹ GPC, *Sinai*, Vol. I, no. 44, Vol. II, p. 74 – Appendix, Plate XXI; Murnane (1977, p. 38), who also commented on the 'double-dating' of the stela.

¹⁰⁶² The others being GPC, *Sinai*, nos. 177, 178, 186.

¹⁰⁶³ The other being GPC, *Sinai*, no. 186 (see section 6.3.6 below).

disappeared from the archaeological record¹⁰⁶⁴, one wonders at the textual content of this stela. Did this illustrate the first movement of Thutmose III towards the office of kingship? Moreover, given the pairing of gods evident on both the year 13 and 16 stelae, and now a somewhat combined titular epigraphy, it almost seems as though Hatshepsut and Thutmose collectively represented the kingship (at least in the Sinai region).

6.2.5 Year 20 *Nakht* stela (Cat. 5.9)

The final item in a trifecta of pieces that date to year twenty of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, derives from the Sinai Peninsula¹⁰⁶⁵. It is a reasonably lengthy private document regaling the deeds of *Nakht*¹⁰⁶⁶. Beginning with the iconography at the top of the stela, it has been noted in the Catalogue that Hatshepsut and Thutmose III stand before Anhur-Show and Hathor respectively. There are a number of curiosities beyond the simple matching of kings to gods, however. Both rulers wear the male *shendyt*-kilt, with Hatshepsut's being more pointed. Further, on the kilt of Hatshepsut only, two uraei cobras hang down. With respect to offerings, Thutmose III presents two *nw*-pots to Hathor, while Hatshepsut extends a conical object to Anhur-Show. Noted elsewhere, these represent wine and bread respectively¹⁰⁶⁷. The figure of Anhur-Show is masculine in form, but wears a full-length dress and has feet apart. One remembers the figure of Senenmut on the year 11 Sinai stela but here, differing, the leg of Anhur-Show is not visible through the dress. Regards the headdress and the 'tools' of kingship that each monarch receives, these are perfectly in fitting for Thutmose III at this time. Hathor

¹⁰⁶⁴ On the year 16 ostrakon of Senenmut, and the question of Neferure's longevity, see the discourse in the previous chapter (section 5.2).

¹⁰⁶⁵ The other two are a graffito from Saqqara (Cat. 4.15) and a rock inscription from Tombos (Cat. 4.14). Collectively, these three illustrate that both rulers were active up and down the length of Egypt and its immediate neighbours, right up until Thutmose became king.

¹⁰⁶⁶ For the text, see Urk. IV: 1377-79; GPC, *Sinai*, Vol. II, pp. 152-3 (no. 181); Appendix, Plates XXVI and XXVII

¹⁰⁶⁷ There are three instances of wine and bread being presented in the Sinai region. 1) The year 13 Serabit el-Khadim stela (sctn. 6.2.3), where Thutmose offers the conically-shaped bread and an erased Hatshepsut presumably offered *nw*-pots; 2) the year 20 'Nakht' Stela (this section), where the offerings presented by each are reversed; 3) the year 11 Sinai stela (sections 4.7.3, 5.3.4, 6.2.2), where Neferure offers conical objects but no *nw*-pots are evident. On *irp* as "wine" in *nw*-pots refer *Wb.* I, p. 115; Faulkner, 1999, p. 28. For the conical bread symbol as a "provision" of bread see Gardiner, 2001, p. 533 (sign X8).

presents him with the *wAs*-sceptre, and he dons the red-crown of Lower Egypt; his status of 'soon-to-be' king all but confirmed. Hatshepsut also receives *wAs*, with the added element of 'life'. Her epithet is slightly altered too, such that she is afforded *di anx Dt*, as opposed to just *di anx* for Thutmose III. This seems to be another sign that she was not yet deceased, but had reached a respectable age and was viewed accordingly¹⁰⁶⁸.

Next is the choice of headdress for Hatshepsut. Here she wears the blue war-crown, not only epigraphically deferring the kingship in terms of 'rulership', to Thutmose III, but placing herself in the guise of military commander. This is not the first instance of Hatshepsut as generalissimo; in fact there are at least four occurrences to this end¹⁰⁶⁹. Clearly there was a question to be posed, as Thutmose III took the throne, of how Hatshepsut was to be viewed post-reign (and what her role might become, should she outlive his kingship transition)? The year 20 Nakht Stela seems to suggest that she might actually have sought to strengthen her military position at the close of her reign.

Finally, the extrinsic inscriptions that 'label' the monarchs are almost identical – excepting the choice of god. As commented in the Wadi Maghara section, they exhibit a level of parallelism that seems symbolic of the Sinai region in particular. From left to right, they read:

Thutmose III (left, head of the king) – *The good god, Menkheperre, given life (di anx)*.

Thutmose III (left, torso of the king) – *Giving libation, that he may make given-life*¹⁰⁷⁰

Thutmose III (before Hathor) – *beloved of Hathor, lady of Turquoise*

¹⁰⁶⁸ Note the additional "may he live forever" Hatshepsut receives in year 20 Step Pyramid graffito (Firth and Quibell, 1935, p. 80 (F)); symptomatic of her venerability. For general comments on the age of Hatshepsut at her death see Bierbrier, 1995.

¹⁰⁶⁹ There is one representation of Hatshepsut with the blue war crown on the northern middle colonnade at Deir el-Bahri (sctn. 3.6.5b-c). Another exists in the cave graffito at Deir el-Bahri just mentioned (sctn. 5.5). Textual descriptions of the *mSA* during the Punt expedition can be seen at Deir el-Bahri (Naville, 1898, *DeB*, Pt. 3, plates 69, 72-3, 75; Urk. IV: 315-354; Martinez, 1993b), and a figure that is possibly *Mn-xpr-kA-Ra* wears military regalia along the same colonnade (Naville, 1898, *DeB*, Pt. 3, plate 82). Furthermore, given that the Nakht stela is the only one located outside of Deir el-Bahri, the question of 'audience' - in terms of Hatshepsut's military iconography – is raised.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Mostly restored – the translation of GPC, *Sinai*, (p. 153) being accepted.

Hatshepsut (right, before Anhur-Show) – *beloved of Anhur-Show, son of Re*

Hatshepsut (right, head of king) – *the good god, Maatkare, given life (di anx) forever*

As for the eleven lines of inscription that follow the lunette and iconographic depictions, these are fairly generic. Throughout the inscription Nakht notes he was directly in the favour of Hathor, and everything he did, he conducted for her. In line three he notes *hAb.n wi Hr Ds.f*, demonstrating that not only were his acts carried out for Hathor, but he was commissioned by Horus to do this. Finally, he does not make explicit reference to either Thutmose III or Hatshepsut as king, speaking of them only in general terms. For example, in line one Nakht says,

"I followed the good god, for the Lord of the Two Lands knew that I was excellent".

The 'good God' is unspecified, and the balance of the stela is of no interest.

6.3 The undated material

In addition to the five dated pieces from the Sinai depicting Hatshepsut (and/or Thutmose III), a further seven undated documents have been recorded. The vast majority derive from the vicinity of Serabit el-Khadim, in particular from the temple dedicated to Hathor.

6.3.1 Undated stela erected at the temple of Hathor, Serabit el-Khadim (GPC, *Sinai*, no. 177; Cat. 5.4)

This stela depicts Hatshepsut flanked by two officials. She stands before the goddess, and both extend accoutrements of worship and kingship respectively, to one another¹⁰⁷¹. Several curiosities abound with this stela. First is the fact that Hatshepsut is dressed in a fashion befitting a queen (long

¹⁰⁷¹ GPC, *Sinai*, pl. LVI, no. 177 – Appendix, Plate XXIVa. The two individuals are named as Simut and Wernefnes, both commented on in GPC, *Sinai*. The 'wAs-sceptre' touches the nose of Hatshepsut, offering this 'tool' of kingship in the same way as the 'breath of life' – see discussions under the temple of Semnah (sectn. 3.3.3) for similar depictions with Satet in place of Hathor.

dress, vulture headdress and a platform crown supporting two Swty or plumes), and yet has several pharaonic epithets, titles and even her prenomen evident¹⁰⁷². As per the Catalogue entry and **Fig. 1**, this gender-blending of garb and epigraphy suggests a timeframe within the succession, but perhaps spanning into the early kingship (years 5-9?).

Next, is the remarkable inversion of her titulary. The complete sentence reads, "*King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Hatshepsut, living [son of Re], Maat-ka-re, the living, beloved of Hathor, lady of turquoise*". This then, places her nomen before her prenomen, and unusually connects the nomen with the *nsw-bity* title; the prenomen with the *sA Ra* epithet¹⁰⁷³. Was Hatshepsut trying to devise a new protocol with regard to the arrangement of prenomen and nomen? Surely no scribe can be accused of 'accidentally' inverting the order of titles and epithets. Such canons must have been second nature to the scribal elite. What is salient, is that the first element in the sentence is the title "King of Upper and Lower Egypt", followed immediately by the name Hatshepsut. Perhaps there was ambiguity around who this figure of MAat-kA-Ra was and, moreover, that he/she was the current pharaoh. A reversal of titulary would certainly have helped to reduce confusion in this matter. Further, when contrasted with the year five Sinai stelae, the fact that one cannot find any trace of the title *nsw-bity* across two stelae solely dedicated to Thutmose III, and yet on this stela, almost all that remains is this particular title, one cannot help but pause to contemplate the significance of the placement (or omission) of this title.

6.3.2 Inscribed block (GPC, Sinai, no. 178; Cat. 5.5)

An inscribed block measuring 20cm by 50cm, little remains intact in terms of textual evidence, save the titular sentence, *...[flourishing in] years, Golden Horus, Divine of Appearance, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the*

¹⁰⁷² For the 'normal garb' of a queen see the discussion in section 3.4 and **Table 6**. Add also the comments in Aldred, 1983, pp. 7-14.

¹⁰⁷³ A fact noted by others, including Dorman, 1988, p. 32, fn. 76; Gabolde & Rondot, 1996, p.214, fn. 90.

*Two Lands [Maatkare]...*¹⁰⁷⁴. Honing in on the Nebty name for a moment, several documents in the Sinai refer to Wadjet (e.g. the year 13 Sinai stela), suggesting the prominence of Wadjet in the region might have been a reason to leave the name intact. More likely, is that this name was afforded a level of importance beyond its association with Hatshepsut, as it is a feminine version of an alternative Golden Horus name of Thutmose I (wADt-rnpwt)¹⁰⁷⁵. This also represents the second occurrence of the term *nsw-bity* in connection with Hatshepsut at Serabit el-Khadim. This time, however, orthodoxy has returned and her prenomen follows from the *nsw-bity* title.

6.3.3 *Inscription from the North Wall of the Hall of Soped, temple of Hathor (GPC, Sinai, no. 182; Cat. 5.5)*

An inscription from the north wall of the hall of the falcon god Soped¹⁰⁷⁶, it measures some 181cm * 40cm¹⁰⁷⁷. It describes what presumably many of the expeditions to the Sinai sought to do; quarry and return the precious stones and minerals naturally occurring in this region. The inscription runs eight lines in all, and is perhaps ambiguous in its attestation to Hatshepsut as she is nowhere specifically named. Notwithstanding, several instances exist of a royal figure being referred to with feminine pronouns¹⁰⁷⁸. The deity set to receive the benefactions of the 'expedition' is none other than Imn n Ipt-swt and there is little doubt that, of the many structures Hatshepsut erected at Karnak, this journey contributed to her building programme there. Other than the reference to Hatshepsut being 'begotten' by Amun at the end of the inscription, there is little else of interest. There is a reference in line eight to an individual being on the "throne of Horus", and one presumes this refers to Hatshepsut. However, the first-half of the sentence is lost.

6.3.4 *Inscription from the sanctuary of Soped, west wall (GPC, Sinai, no. 183;*

¹⁰⁷⁴ GPC, *Sinai*, Vol. I, pl. LVIII and Vol. II, p. 151, no. 178 – Appendix, Plate XXIVb

¹⁰⁷⁵ cf. Robins, 1999, p. 104.

¹⁰⁷⁶ On Soped, the hawk/falcon god whose cult centre revolved around the modern site of Saft el-Hinna in Lower Egypt (Nome 20), and who later became associated with Horus via the triad of Sopdet (parallel Isis), Sah (parallel Osiris), see Schumacher, 1988.

¹⁰⁷⁷ GPC, *Sinai*, Vol. I, pl. LVI and Vol. II, pp. 153-4, no. 182 – Appendix, Plate XXVIIIa

¹⁰⁷⁸ e.g. line 1 – Hmt.s, line 3 – Hmt.s, line 7 – Hmt.s, line 8 – "she rules this land like him who made her".

Cat. 5.5)

A poorly preserved wall inscription within the sanctuary of Soped, little remains save a few traces (in red) of officials – presumably from the reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III. The only textual part that remains reads, "the scribe who holds the fan of his majesty, Nakht"¹⁰⁷⁹. This official is discussed, elsewhere¹⁰⁸⁰.

6.3.5 Pillar Inscriptions, Hall of Soped (GPC, Sinai, no. 184; Cat. 5.5)

Inscriptions from two pillars in the Hall of Soped, most of the northern pillar has been lost, while the southern is fairly intact. The northern pillar has legible text only on the north and south side. The former contains part of the titulary of Hatshepsut, the remaining portion reading:

HAt-Spswt Xnmt-Imn di anx wAs Dd mi Re Dt

Hatshepsut, United with Amun, given life, dominion and stability like Re, forever

The southern side depicts the figure of Nakht (most-likely), and has the remains of an inscription relating to offerings of foodstuffs¹⁰⁸¹. The southern pillar has imagery and text on all four sides, with Hatshepsut most probably represented on the east side embracing Hathor. The west side contains a broken passage of some original seven lines (plus extrinsic inscription), akin to the year 20 Nakht Stela. Most noteworthy is that Gardiner and Černý reconstructed the second line to read, "[the scribe who holds] the fan of his majesty, Nakht, of Tjiny"¹⁰⁸². Remembering back to the year 11 Sinai stela, it seems that the title 'fan-bearer of the king' was of some note in the Sinai region¹⁰⁸³.

The north and south sides of the southern pillar are perhaps the most useful,

¹⁰⁷⁹ GPC, *Sinai*, Vol. I, pl. LVIII, Vol. II, p. 154. See also Appendix, Plate XXVIIIb.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Specifically section 6.2.5 in this chapter.

¹⁰⁸¹ GPC, *Sinai*, Vol. I, plate LVIII (no.184) and Vol. II, p. 154. For further information on Nakht, refer **Table 15**.

¹⁰⁸² GPC, *Sinai*, Vol. II, p. 155; Appendix, Plate XXIX

¹⁰⁸³ Moreover, if we take this and the year 11 Sinai stela at face value, then three persons at least held this title – Maiherperi, Senenmut and Nakht (again, cf. **Table 15**). On the north side of the southern pillar – following the *Htp-di-nsw* formula of Thutmose III (see below), Nakht also seems to be referred to as "the royal envoy at the head of the armies" (GPC, *Sinai*, Vol. I, plate LVIII, no. 184, line/column 2). Given that he seems to have been referred to as a fan-bearer for the king (southern pillar, west side), this is in perfect accordance with that title.

however, at least in terms of a possible date and the role/inclusion of Thutmose III. Much like the north side of the northern pillar, the south side of the southern pillar contains the titulary of Thutmose III. It reads:

nTr-nfr nb tAwy nb irt xt Mn-xpr-Ra sA Ra n Xt.f mr.f DHwty-ms Dt
 The good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Doing Things, Menkheperre, son
 of Re, of his flesh (and) whom he loved, Thutmose, forever

Yet again, Thutmose III is not explicitly named as *nsw-bity*. However, he is named as 'Lord of the Two Lands', and 'Lord of Doing-Things'¹⁰⁸⁴. Furthermore, on the north side of the southern pillar the first line reads,

Htp-di-nsw Hwt-Hr nbt mfkAt ...

An offering which the king gives to Hathor, Lady of Turquoise...

Now, while the king is not named anywhere on this side of the pillar, given that the titulary of Thutmose III is carved on the reverse side of the pillar, one could be forgiven for presuming that the king referred to is indeed Thutmose III. For it must not be forgotten that the figure of Hatshepsut (with Hathor) is most likely included on the eastern side. Notwithstanding, the textual components do suggest Thutmose III was meant¹⁰⁸⁵.

If so, then one would like to place the dating of the inscriptions on the south pillar (and by proxy, the north pillar and room within which they lie in general) to some point between the year 13 Sinai stela and the year 20 Nakht stela. The overt connections to the individual Nakht (himself carved on three of the eight sides of the two pillars) places the decoration later in the reign of Hatshepsut. A time post-year 13 is suggested by the fact that in the year 13 Sinai stela, Hatshepsut is expressly named as carrying out the *Htp-di-nsw* formulae. This not only tackles the question of which king actually officiated the ritual in that instance but, given Thutmose III is heavily represented on that document and does not carry out the ritual, is suggestive of his (still)

¹⁰⁸⁴ GPC, *Sinai* (p. 154) prefer the epithet "Lord of Initiative", as indeed they do throughout their work. See **Table 10** above for tabular summary of the title.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Although again note that, as so often is the case in the Sinai, where clarity could have been afforded by simply including the name of the king in the actual inscription, we instead have ambiguity (cf. sctn. 3.5.4)

junior/lesser role at that time. One might even go so far as to suggest a date of between years 16-20, given the name Mn-xpr-kA-Ra is employed on items and monuments until that time, and then not again¹⁰⁸⁶. Such an assessment, borne solely on the grounds of employing Thutmose III's variant prenomen alone, is treated with great caution (cf. section 1.3). Finally, a date later than year 20 must be argued against, owing to the omission yet again of the *nsw-bity* title for Thutmose¹⁰⁸⁷.

6.3.6 Joint-title Lintel (GPC, Sinai, no. 186; Cat. 5.5)

This fragment is only 30cm by 70cm, and Gardiner and Černý presumed that it was once part of a door lintel or doorjamb¹⁰⁸⁸. This fragment is most intriguing, as it provides a joint-title for the two rulers. The text reads,

[nsw]-bity MAat-kA-Ra sA Ra DHwty-ms di [anx]

"...[King of Upper] and Lower Egypt, Maat-ka-re,
son of Re, Thutmose, given [life]..."

Similar to GPC, Sinai no. 177 (section 6.3.1) in that it stresses the fact Hatshepsut was *nsw-bity*, it differs in-so-far-as it provides an orthodox arrangement of the prenomen's, nomen's and their epithets. If we accept the hypothesis that the undated stela from Serabit el-Khadim was commissioned to allay possible confusion around the name MAat-kA-Ra and its association to the kingship, here no such confusion seems to exist (i.e. Hatshepsut's prenomen immediately follows the *nsw-bity* title). A natural question arising from this deduction is whether one can then presume the joint-lintel post-dates the undated stela – the argument being that the confusion over the title must have passed for orthodoxy around the *nsw-bity* title to have been restored.

With regard to the apparent 'fusion' of the names of the two rulers, one has to

¹⁰⁸⁶ At Deir el-Bahri (sctn. 3.6.5g), on the year 13 Stela (sctn. 6.2.3), and again at Wadi Maghara (sctn. 6.2.4); with the name Mn-xpr-n-Ra at Tangûr (Cat. 4.18).

¹⁰⁸⁷ Notwithstanding his other two 'lordly' titles, which serve to strengthen the argument of a time late in the reign of Hatshepsut.

¹⁰⁸⁸ GPC, Sinai, Vol. II, p. 155 – Appendix, Plate XXXa.

wonder at the reconciliation of the 'divine kA' that each ruler inherited from Horus¹⁰⁸⁹. Gardiner and Černý made no attempt to explain this unusual situation, content merely to record it. It is perhaps past time then, that such a miniscule artefact was afforded a level of discussion. Examining the piece at face value, it is Hatshepsut who is named king. Taking this one step further, the *nsw-bity* title stresses her governance over all of Egypt as administrator, ruler and pharaoh. But then this is nothing new. What is captivating is that rather than stress the rulership of Thutmose III, his divine link to Re is emphasized instead. Now perhaps on such a small piece, too much is read into what are by now very stoic and traditional titles. But consider the alternative - for had the names been inverted, Hatshepsut would not have been portrayed as the dominant figure in the kingship.

The real quandary here is whether or not the joint-lintel was symptomatic of their kingship and, if so, why more artefactual items of this nature have not been recovered. If, as believed, and like the Wadi Maghara and undated stela, the joint-lintel represents a trialled titulary, then when might the doorjamb date to (i.e. where does it fit in the reign)? Comparing it first to the year 16 Wadi Maghara stela - the only other instance from the Sinai where titles, epithets and titulary are blended together in a single context (i.e. they are contained within the same textual structure and not spread across the lines or document) - the question is which came first? As aforementioned, at Wadi Maghara, Hatshepsut is clearly identified as the *nsw-bity*, with Thutmose afforded a level of rulership via the term *nb tAwy*¹⁰⁹⁰. With its precise date, the Wadi Maghara stela seems not so much to be speaking of 'fused-rulership', but of two rulers managing the country in defined ways; the two individuals more like joint-rulers, each with their *own unique role to play*¹⁰⁹¹. The joint-lintel, conversely, suggests the two were a singular being; sharing

¹⁰⁸⁹ cf. Bell, 1985

¹⁰⁹⁰ Section 6.2.4.

¹⁰⁹¹ Resonated, for example, via the scenes along the northern middle colonnade (pillars) where Hatshepsut and Thutmose III seem to share an early sed-festival (section 3.6.5g), and also the imagery within the sanctuary at Deir el-Bahri (again, refer Winlock, 1942, p. 216).

the kingship and its divine *kA* symbiotically¹⁰⁹². Given that year 16 is, relatively speaking, close to the time when Thutmose assumed the kingship for himself, it seems less likely that the period chosen to fuse their divine *kA*'s together would have been a moment late in Hatshepsut's reign. More logical is this was a measure undertaken earlier in the piece – perhaps around the time of transition? Additionally, when viewed within the context of the year 13 Sinai stela (where Thutmose is cited as king), and the year 5 Sinai stelae (where Hatshepsut is wholly omitted), perhaps a bracket of time can be placed around the joint-lintel between these particular stelae.

6.3.7 Block Inscription (GPC, Sinai, no. 187; Cat. 5.5)

This block, some 19cm by 51cm has little remaining on it, save the words "*Horus, strong of ka's*". Given that this was the Horus name of Hatshepsut, the scholars presumed it was related to many of the pieces mentioned above¹⁰⁹³. While such is probably true, it unfortunately offers nothing new in terms of insight into the reign of Hatshepsut.

6.4 Chapter Six Summary

In summary, in the region of Serabit el-Khadim, five instances occur from the reign of Hatshepsut where either Thutmose III or Hatshepsut are named as *nsw-bity*¹⁰⁹⁴. Of these, two are what we might call 'regular' and three are not. The two 'regular' utilisations of this term describe either the standard titulary of Hatshepsut (section 6.3.2 – containing the Nepty and Golden Horus names also) or have Thutmose III and Hatshepsut occurring in what was probably equal terms, with Thutmose III being named as the *nsw-bity* (section 6.2.3). The three 'irregular' instances either have Hatshepsut reversing the accepted

¹⁰⁹² A more divine role for Thutmose may be suggested by his name being connected to the *sA Ra* title. Furthermore, was Hatshepsut trying to infer more than we can see here; perhaps that her divine right to rule required a 'meta-physical' link to Thutmose III?

¹⁰⁹³ GPC, *Sinai*, Vol. I, pl. LVII, Vol. II, p. 155; Appendix, Plate XXXb.

¹⁰⁹⁴ GPC, *Sinai*, nos. 177 and 178 – Hatshepsut; no. 180 – Thutmose III (year 13); nos. 44 (year 16) and 186 – both Hatshepsut and Thutmose III.

protocols with regard to prenomen and nomen (section 6.3.1) or 'fusing together' both individuals under a single titulary (sections 6.2.4, 6.3.6). Further, the only case where Thutmose III is named as "King of Upper and Lower Egypt" is the earliest concretely dated example¹⁰⁹⁵. The Soped inscriptions unfortunately yield next to nothing, but the year 20 Nakht stela does offer up a level of joint iconography in that both wear *shendyt*-kilts (Hatshepsut is the only one who has uraei though). Moreover, in the year 13 and 20 items, both rulers present bread and wine to the gods.

In short, and without a fuller comparison of all epigraphic material within Egypt especially, it does appear as though a level of trialling occurred in the region of the Sinai Peninsula. The most profound example is the fusion of the two rulers into some sort of symbiotic-*kA* on the joint-lintel, but Hatshepsut's experimentation with protocols on the undated stela (no. 177), as well as the blending of epigraphy at Wadi Maghara, seems to be different from anything encountered elsewhere. That said, the Sinai region consequently seems to throw clearer light on matters of kingship that were likely the norm for Hatshepsut and Thutmose – namely that they collectively represented the kingship. Alongside aforementioned instances depicting both individuals carrying out ceremonial tasks together (cf. section 3.6.5g)¹⁰⁹⁶, and remembering block 287 from the Chapelle Rouge where Thutmose may well have borne witness to Hatshepsut's transformation into the successional process, one further piece of evidence for this dual role can perhaps be added from the Sinai. In no fewer than three instances, both monarchs are illustrated cooperatively presenting to deities. At Wadi Maghara they are Hathor and Soped, in year 13 at Serabit el-Khadim they are Amun-Re and Hathor, and in year 20 we have Hathor and Anhur-Show. To be sure, there are cases where one or the other present to a god by themselves – Thutmose before Hathor in year five, Hatshepsut before Hathor on the undated pillar inscriptions (no. 184). However, the balance of evidence at Deir el-Bahri, Karnak and in the

¹⁰⁹⁵ Leading Dorman (1988) to make the comments he did pertaining to the year 13 Sinai stela being the earliest evidence of Hatshepsut as ruler in the Sinai (cf. fn. 1054 above). See also **Fig. 1** for a summary of the postulated dates for individual items in the Catalogue.

¹⁰⁹⁶ E.g. Naville, 1895, *DeB*, Pt. 1, plates 20-23; Naville, 1896, *DeB*, Pt. 2, plates 36, 37, 40; Naville, 1898, *DeB*, Pt. 3, plates 65-66; Naville, 1901, *DeB*, Pt. 4, plates 92-5 – refer **Table 9** for a complete list.

Sinai quite convincingly suggests that the two individuals were as one with respect to managing the affairs of state; at least once Hatshepsut had entered the kingship proper. Notwithstanding, and possibly in order to reach this point, matters of titulary seemingly had to be trialled in the Sinai before presumably either being adopted, or abandoned, for the kingship.

Chapter Seven: Synthesis of Findings

7.1 General Summary

For almost three hundred pages now, examinations into Hatshepsut's reign have been conducted. Four key research questions have been posed, researched, and presented; in at least two instances (chapters four and six), these have sought to address long-held assumptions in the scholarly literature. The most narrative of the chapters was number five, largely as a result of what some are sure to perceive as a 'tangential argument'. Conversely, the most systematic approach was that encountered in the first research question. Dogmatically it trawled through every single item known to

exist between Hatshepsut's queenship and her accession (now referred to as her transition). In all likelihood it yielded the most important findings – that being an adjustment to the terminology of Hatshepsut's reign and the possible date she assumed the kingship. In its summation, chapter three noted the following key points:

- The regency is to be defined as the period from the death of Thutmose II (rnpt-sw 1 tpy Smw sw 4) up until the date recorded on block 287 (rnpt 2 Abd 2 prt sw 29)
- The period from rnpt 2 Abd 2 prt sw 29 (block 287) to rnpt-sw 6 Abd 3 Smw (graffito-stela of Tjemhy) is the period of succession. This is given a new term – Regnancy – based upon all that transpired at that time (evident in the archaeological record), and the current nomenclature being insufficient to describe this time.
- Block 287 inaugurates a new period for Hatshepsut – one to be differentiated both from her kingship (co-regency) and governance (regency).
- The temple of Semnah signals her intent to be king
- Hatshepsut entered the kingship between the dates of rnpt-sw 6 Abd 3 Smw (the last definitive date of Menkheperre as king prior to the appearance of Hatshepsut's prenomen, equalling her becoming king) and rnpt-sw 7 Abd 2 prt sw 8 (the earliest associated date from the oil-jars in the tomb at Qurna)
- By reference to techniques pertaining to the time it took material culture to fully manifest itself in society, labelled as a 'lag-time' by some scholars, the preferred date of transition for Hatshepsut is late year six. This would have permitted enough time for the manufacture and distribution of small funerary goods such as are found in the tomb of Senenmut's parents
- The period post-transition retains its classification as a co-regency

Other interesting points that came out of the chapter three analyses are as follows. First, the phrase *snt-nsw* may have evolved from Hatshepsut's queenship into the period of succession (cf. **Table 4**). This is notable in pieces such as the Wadi Sikkat sarcophagus, vase MMA 18.8.15, KV vase fragment number 8, the Chevrier blocks and the el-Mahatta graffito. Equally, so too the title *Hnwt-tAwy* may have developed. As per **Table 3**, items like the Wadi Sikkat sarcophagus and KV vase fragment number 8 can be contrasted to MMA 26.8.8 and the el-Mahatta inscription.

Via the study of artefacts in section 3.2 in particular, it seems that four different temporal groupings can be determined – items pertaining to the (late)

queenship, those immediately straddling the death of Aakheperenre, those firmly dated to year one and those that seem to have run well into the Regnancy, but may have been commenced under her husband. This may aid future investigations of this period. At Semnah, the sequence of events was found to be slightly altered than previously thought, and combined with the sanctuary at Buhen, both seemed to yield positive results in terms of the art-historical methodology (both series of scenes were Episodic). Carrying the examination of monumental architecture forward, at Deir el-Bahri, along the northern middle colonnade, a new flow of scenes has been proposed; including a reappraisal of the *Texte de la Jeunesse*. Moreover, in addition to a varied reconstruction of the block 287 passage from the Chapelle Rouge, both Dsr-Dsrw and block 287 demonstrate rejuvenative festivals Hatshepsut seems to have undergone. While a second, earlier, jubilee has been determined, it is a shame that the Luxor ritual described on the Chapelle Rouge cannot more convincingly be connected to the early sed-festival. Finally for Deir el-Bahri, Hatshepsut seems to have placed a level of emphasis on her 'being seen' by the gods and people.

Hatshepsut's seated statuary demonstrated its usefulness as perhaps the single best medium by which to see the evolution of her move from queen to king-to-be and finally ruler. As for the crowning itself, while likely fictional, and at best irregular, the Sheikh Labib statue provides at least one example that suggests the event may actually have occurred. Moreover, both across the crowning scenes carved on the Chapelle Rouge, as well as through terminology that pertains to the 'Two Serpents' – and especially so of Wadjet and wrt-HkAw – certain goddesses may have held special significance for both her reign, and her ability to enter into the office of kingship. As for Hatshepsut's divine kA, the Karnak door lintel seems to discuss its being made, and the scenes at Buhen also allude to the nature of its manifestation (noting again that the rebirth ritual depicted on block 287 has a connection here, linking Luxor temple into the equation).

The el-Mahatta inscription, in addition to offering a brief discourse about terms

such as *rt-pat* and *wrt Hst iAmt*, also notes an inter-epigraphic structure that shifts from masculine to feminine, and ends with a female orthographic representation of the kingship. This gender mixing, whilst being evident on many pieces that span the Regnancy, is perhaps best illustrated in the biography of Ahmose Pen-Nekhet via his treatment of both Hatshepsut and Neferure. This point is also commented upon at Semnah, with regard to Satet and the bestowing of the 'tools' of kingship. As for these 'tools', all instances are summarised in **Table 7**. Finally, and in contrast to Hatshepsut in a dominant position as king, several items have demonstrated a structural composition which sees Hatshepsut 'relegated' to the sides or edges of certain stela. These include the north Karnak stela and the year 13 Sinai stela in particular – both artefacts heavily favouring Menkheperre.

Turning to chapter four, the essence of the research question here was to determine if the office of *Hmt-nTr* overlaid the office of *nsw-bity* at all. Presumed in the literature to be mutually exclusive, the majority of evidence did in fact support this conclusion. However, a few pieces – two scarabs, the biography of Ahmose Pen-Nekhet, and the year 11 Sinai stela – lend support to the notion that Hatshepsut did not immediately abandon that most powerful of posts. Moreover, a lacuna of the title between years seven and eleven may speak to us in terms of its *absentia*.

Chapter five ultimately explored two questions. The foremost was the exact nature of relations between the triumvirate that was Neferure, Senenmut and Hatshepsut. Intimately linked to this, and stemming from the late 1960 suggestion of Donald Redford, was the notion of Neferure staking her own claim to the kingship. That Hatshepsut's daughter eventually held the *Hmt-nTr* title is nothing new. More thought-provoking is the concept of Senenmut as the "father of the goddess" (*it nTrt*), surrogate father to Neferure and perhaps even an ideological form of Amun or Horus. The imagery of Neferure and her majordomo powerful in its contrast to Horus and Isis, there certainly is a question to be asked of whether Neferure ever considered herself as Horus of Chemmis? Assuredly this would have required stretching the masculine-

feminine base to its limits; but Bill Manley notes that precedent in the early Eighteenth Dynasty may well have been laid. Combined with the sexual scenes in a cave at Deir el-Bahri, one can presently only imagine how far this gender-role evolution may have gone, in an experimental fashion or otherwise.

Finally, chapter six concluded that the Sinai Peninsula was indeed a 'trial-location' in terms of kingly etiquette. On at least three occasions a 'blending' or 'fusion' of titles and epithets for Hatshepsut (and Thutmose) has been noted. In order we have:

GPC, *Sinai*, no. 177: inversion of nomen and prenomen with regard to epithets¹⁰⁹⁷

GPC, *Sinai*, no. 186: full fusion of the names and epithets of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III (nsw-bity MAat-kA-Ra sA Ra DHwty-ms)¹⁰⁹⁸

Wadi Maghara Stela: blending of titles; Thutmose III as nTr-nfr and Hatshepsut as xr Hm nsw-bity¹⁰⁹⁹

In section 3.1 the Sinai material was offered up as a possible consideration in the re-determination of the period as a regency/coregency. The corpus of material was *not* included in chapter three owing to its heavily undated nature – which could have seen it equally argued for or against the conclusion of that chapter¹¹⁰⁰. Notwithstanding, if Sinai numbers 186 and 177 pre-date the 'transition', they would add further support to the concept of a successional period that is quite unlike a conventional regency.

A final question stemming from the conclusion of chapter six is did these conventions hold true for Egypt proper? Since preparing the bulk of this work, another example has been made known to the author. In a recent edition of the *National Geographic*, a relief from the Chapelle Rouge portrays the two

¹⁰⁹⁷ A date of late Regnancy to early reign (years 5-9?) is conjectured owing to the blend of feminine iconography combined with male epigraphy (section 6.3.1).

¹⁰⁹⁸ As noted in that section (6.3.6), a date somewhere around the transition into the kingship, but perhaps as late as years 10-11, is suggested.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Firmly dated to year 16.

¹¹⁰⁰ I.e. there was no clear-cut value to be either added or subtracted from including items such as the joint-lintel in the chapter three arguments. The year 5 stela were included; all other dated pieces follow year seven.

rulers (Hatshepsut first, Thutmose second) in a symbiotic fashion¹¹⁰¹. Moving towards a festival barque, the epigraph above their heads reads:

nsw-bity nb irt xt MAat-kA-Ra sA Ra n Xt.f DHwty-ms nTr (?) nfr di anx Dt.

King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of Doing Things, Maatkare, son of Re
of his body, Thutmose, the good God, may he life forever

Thutmose III as the 'good god' is not a new phenomenon¹¹⁰². However, that the epithet here has been incorporated into the cartouche of Thutmose is interesting. It suggests a stronger alignment of Thutmose with the divine element of kingship than previously noted. Most important, though, is that we now have another example of the fusion of kingly protocols akin to that noted in the joint-lintel at the Sinai (sctn. 6.3.6). This new addition to our corpus, notably, derives from Karnak.

Finally, the point was made, substantiated by the divinities Hatshepsut and Thutmose jointly stood before in the Sinai, as well as various scenes from Deir el-Bahri showing them carrying out rituals together, that collectively they represented the kingship. Before signing off on this topic, one other piece is drawn into the argument here. The year 12 Tangûr graffito (briefly presented in section 1.2) has Hatshepsut and Thutmose III referred to in an identical manner; albeit with Thutmose III named as Mn-xpr-n-Ra. It reads,

Line 1 – rnpt-sw 12 Abd 3 prt sw 12

Regnal year 12, 3rd month of Peret, day 12

Line 2 – xr Hm n nTr-nfr MAat-kA-ra di anx

Under the Majesty of the good God Maatkare, given life

Line 3 – xr Hm n nTr-nfr Mn-xpr-n-ra di anx

(and) under the Majesty of the good God Menkheperenre, given life

Line 4 – iw.f xnt [lost portion]

He was in front of [lost portion]

¹¹⁰¹ *National Geographic*, April, 2009, p. 98

¹¹⁰² For example, noted on the year 5 Sinai stelae (section 3.5.4), the year 12 Tangûr graffito (Cat. 4.18) and see below, and the year 16 Wadi Maghara stela (section 6.2.4). For summary see **Tables 11 and 13**.

Line 5 – xnti Hr [lost portion]
 Sailing upstream upon [lost portion]
 Line 6 – sb(i) k(A)S Xst sxr [lost]
 The vile Kush of Seqer rebelling [lost portion]¹¹⁰³

The 'flow' of the titular arrangement is reminiscent of the later Wadi Maghara inscription noting, as was done in chapter six, that the Nubian graffito spreads the dualism of rulership across two distinct sentences rather than fusing it together as per the Sinai material. The real question, given the similarities, is whether this is evidence of the titular testing in the south? Notwithstanding, this graffito certainly strengthens the argument for Hatshepsut and Thutmose sharing the kingship, with Maatkare in pole position once she had been crowned king, if not before.

7.2 Hatshepsut and Thutmose as a 'cooperative kingship'

Picking up where the last section left off, one final piece of tabular evidence is offered up for discussion. Throughout this research the phraseology xr Hm (n) nsw-bity X, xr Hm nTr-nfr Y, and related terminology has been commented upon. Not an explicit research question per se, in both the literature review (section 1.2) and chapter six, attention was drawn to this matter. As the thesis draws to a close, it now seems worthwhile to spend but a few pages offering summary comments about the possible nature of the kingly relationship between Hatshepsut and Thutmose III. It is difficult to pick trends solely based upon the royal phraseology, but a few do seem apparent. First, in documents post year 13, through until year 18, Thutmose III is always referred to as nTr-nfr, whilst Hatshepsut firmly remains nsw-bity. The statue of Inebni does not dampen this fact – in matter of fact it seems to add to the overall picture of a dual-kingship - but does seem similar to the Tangûr Graffito, and one wonders if its later date should be re-visited?

Year	Item	Passage(s)
Year 1	Step Pyramid (Ptah-hotep)	xr Hm nsw-bity Mn-xpr-Ra

¹¹⁰³ Reineke, 1977, esp. pp. 370-372. See also comments in Cat. 4.18 and add PM, VII¹, p. 157; Hintze, 1965, pp. 13-14 & fn. 11 who recorded the graffito as Tangûr West: 21-D-2.

Year 2	Block 287, Chapelle Rouge	Hatshepsut as nTr-nfr?
Year 4	North Karnak	Thutmose III as nsw-bity
Year 5	Sinai Stela	sA Ra nTr-nfr Mn-xpr-Ra
Year 6	Stela of Tjemhy	xr Hm nsw-bity Mn-xpr-Ra
Year 7	Tomb of Ramose & Hatnofer	nTr-nfr MAat-kA-Ra
Years 7-20?	Statue MMA 28.3.18	nTr nfr Hnwt tAwy MAat-kA-Ra and nsw-bity nb irt xt MAat-kA-Ra
Year 9	Punt Expedition	Hatshepsut as nsw-bity
Year 11	Sinai Stela	xr Hm n Hmt-nTr Nrfw-Ra
Year 12	Tangûr Graffito	xr Hm n nTr-nfr MAat-kA-Ra & xr Hm n nTr-nfr Mn-xpr-n-Ra
Year 13	Sinai Stela (T3)	xr Hm nTr-nfr Mn-xpr-kA-Ra (east face); also xr Hm ... nsw-bity nb irt xt Mn-xpr-Ra (west face)
Yrs. 13-20?	GPC, <i>Sinai</i> , no. 184	nTr-nfr nb tAwy nb irt xt Mn-xpr-Ra
Yrs. 15-20?	Statue of Inebni	nTr-nfr MAat-kA-Ra, nTr-nfr nb irt xt Mn-xpr-Ra
Year 16	Wadi Maghara	xr Hm n nsw-bity MAat-kA-Ra, [xr Hm] nTr-nfr nb tAwy Mn-xpr-kA-Ra
Year 16	Abka West	xr Hm n nTr-nfr Mn-xpr-Ra
Year 18	Shelfak-Dudora	xr Hm nsw-bity Mn-xpr-Ra
Year 20	Tombos	generic reference (non-specific) to ntr-nfr and nsw
Year 20	Step Pyramid Graffito	xr Hm n nsw-bity MAat-kA-Ra ... xr Hm nsw-bity Mn-xpr-Ra
Year 20	Nakht Stela	nTr-nfr Mn-xpr-Ra (LHS), nTr-nfr MAat-kA-Ra (RHS)
Year 20?	Hieraconopolis Deposit	nTr-nfr nb tAwy MAat-kA-Ra ... nsw-bity Mn-xpr-Ra
Year 21	Stela of Senimes	xr Hm nsw-bity [Mn-xpr-Ra]

Table 11: The use of the terms xr Hm (n) nsw-bity X, xr Hm nTr-nfr Y, and related

Second, there is the question of the consistency of the duality in the rulership, and ultimately, the ordering of the protagonists. Certain years, sixteen in particular, seem strongly independent for Hatshepsut¹¹⁰⁴. Thutmose, conversely, is dominant in two of the inscriptions in the Sinai (nos. 180 and 183), as well as having a level of presence in year 16 (at Abka West), and also in year 18 at Shelfak Dudora. From year 18 onwards, in every instance,

¹¹⁰⁴ Noting also the Karnak obelisks not listed here (Cat. 5.13).

Thutmose is either recorded as *xr Hm nsw-bity*, or in an egalitarian fashion as *nTr-nfr* with Hatshepsut. In the year 20 Step Pyramid inscription both rulers are referred to as *xr Hm nsw-bity* and, by the time of the Hierakonopolis Foundation Deposit, Thutmose III has overtaken Hatshepsut as the king; confirmed from year 21 by the Stela of Senimes. In sum, and hopefully adding to the picture of Hatshepsut's reign and kingship, while a cooperative kingship seems to have been the case for several reasons attested in chapter six and at Deir el-Bahri (in chapter three), it also seems to be the case that, at certain times, the kingship ebbed and flowed between the rulers.

7.3 Final thoughts

Coming full circle, the final word on Hatshepsut is far from having been penned. New artefacts discovered in the archaeological record, new methodologies carefully crafted and applied to the existing corpus of material, and alternative hypotheses that seek to test the fabric of the database of items attributed to Hatshepsut's time are sure to further unravel the enigma of her reign. It is hoped that the four investigations offered here go some way to achieving that end. If, in the most meagre of fashions, they might add to the overall picture of Hatshepsut's reign, then the objective of this research has been achieved. Moreover, and in large part the reason for their compilation, if the Catalogue, nigh on two-dozen tables and figures, and repository of plates that has been compiled during this study, aids future researchers, then the aim of this thesis truly has been served. For the intent has always been to revisit this fascinating early-mid Eighteenth Dynasty period in such a way as had not been done since the time of Suzanne Ratié and Roland Tefnin, and ultimately, to produce an updated version of those excellent works, in English.

Table 12: Tabular Summary of Key Aspects for Hatshepsut, Part I

Document Name (Cat. / Sctn.)	Year	Gods	wrt Hst / wrt iAmt	r(t)-pa(t) / iwA(t)	Hmt nTr	Hmt nsw wrt	sAt-nswt / snt-nswt / mwt-nswt
Tomb Inscription of Ineni (3.1 / 3.2.10)	Yr 1 – dated by content, not absolute date	Amun	-	-	1 (cited with snt. f)	-	1 – snt. f
Year 1 Step Pyramid Graffito of Thutmose III (4.1 / 3.2.9)	Yr1, 4 Axt 5	Atum, Amun-Re, Horakhty	-	-	N/A	N/A	N/A
Block 287, Chapelle Rouge (2.2 / 3.3.6)	Yr 2, 2 prt 29 (3 rd day of the feast of Amun)	Amun, Sakhmet	possible instance of both (line 1)	-	-	-	-
Temple at Semnah (2.1 / 3.3.3, 4.2.1)	Yr 2, 2 Smw 7/8 (content from T2 to mid-Regnancy)	Dedwen, Amun (implied), Horus the Behdetite (borders)	1 of each	1 – iwAt (w/ final 't' and mnx) r(t)-pa(t) via reconstruction?	2 instances ¹¹⁰⁵	2	-
'Year 4' north Karnak stela of Senenmut (5.2 / 3.5.2, 4.6.2)	Yr 4, 1 Smw 16 (with poss. year dates of 3, 4, 11, 12)	Amun (pr n Imn)	2 'Hswt' for Senenmut (1 from T3, 1 from Hatshepsut) ¹¹⁰⁶	-	- (pr n Imn included, however)	-	-
Year 5 Stelae of Thutmose III at Serabit el-Khadim (5.1 / 3.5.4)	Yr 5	Hathor	-	-	-	-	-

¹¹⁰⁵ One with her KPW title and 'great of favours, great of charms' epithet (LHS, west wall) and the other with the terms of divine legitimisation (RHS, west wall). Iconographically, the GWOA title on the RHS is also connected with the 'tools' of kingship and white crown via Satet.

¹¹⁰⁶ In addition to the noting of wrt Hst, wrt iAmt for Hatshepsut, note also the conveying of 'favours' from either gods to kings, or kings to officials

Document Name (Cat. / Sctn.)	Year	Gods	wrt Hst / wrt iAmt	r(t)-pa(t) / iwA(t)	Hmt nTr	Hmt nsw wrt	sAt-nswt / snt-nswt / mwt-nswt
Year 5 Appointment of User-Amun, Tomb and Papyrus (4.10 / 3.5.3)	Yr 5	N/A	-	-	-	-	-
Year 6 Graffito-Stela of Tjemhy (4.17 / 3.5.5)	Yr 6 3 Smw 16	only mi Ra	-	-	-	-	-
Year 7 – Tomb of Ramose and Hatnofer and associated ostraca (3.5 / 4.4 / 3.6.2, 4.7.1)	Yr 5? Yr 7 (alone) Yr 7, 2 prt 8 (jars) Yr 7, 4 prt 2 (TT71 ostrakon)	-	-	-	4 instances with nomen on jar stopper (see table 1)	-	-
Year 9 Punt Expedition (2.9 / -)	Yr 9	Various (e.g. Thoth, Seshat, Horus in tribute/recording scenes, Amun in tribute scenes, divine bark of Imn)	-	-	-	-	-
Year 10 Ostraca (4.5 / -)	Yr 10, 1 Smw 20 (flake CN33)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Year 11 Sinai Stela of Neferure and Senenmut (5.6 / 4.7.3, 5.3.4)	Yr 11	Hathor (person, text) Nekhet, Wadjet (icon.), Re (text)	-	-	1 instance (Neferure, with full Amun title)	-	-
Year 12 Tangûr Graffito (4.18 / 1.2, 7.1)	Yr 12, 3 prt 12 (contested)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Year 13 Serabit el-Khadim stela	Yr 13	Amun-Re (before T3) Hathor (before	-	-	-	-	-

Document Name (Cat. / Sctn.)	Year	Gods	wrt Hst / wrt iAmt	r(t)-pa(t) / iwA(t)	Hmt nTr	Hmt nsw wrt	sAt-nswt / snt-nswt / mwt-nswt
(5.7 / 6.2.3)		Hatshepsut)					
The Obelisk Inscriptions of Hatshepsut (5.13 / -)	Begin: Yr 15, 2 prt 1 End: Yr 16, 4 Smw 30	Aten, Amun, Khepri, Horakhty	-	-	-	-	-
Year 16 Wadi Maghara Stela (5.8 / 6.2.4)	Yr 16	Soped (Hatshepsut) Hathor (Thutmose)	-	-	-	-	-
Graffito at Abka(-west) (4.19 / -)	Yr 16	Amun	-	-	-	-	-
Year 16 Graffito of Senenmut from TT353 (4.6 / 5.2)	Yr 16, 1 Axt 8-9	-	-	-	-	-	-
Year 17 Inscription (4.11 / -)	Yr 17, 1 Axt 30	Amun?	-	-	-	-	-
Graffito of Shelfak- Dudora (4.3 / -)	Yr 18, 4 Smw 6	-	-	-	-	-	-
Year 20 Kush/Tombos Inscription (4.14 / -)	Yr 20	-	-	-	-	-	-
Year 20 Step Pyramid Inscription (4.15 / -)	Yr 20, 3 prt 2	Deified Djoser, Seshat, Horus, Sakhmet, the Ennead	-	-	-	-	-
Year 20 Nakht Stela (5.9 / 6.2.5)	Yr 20	Soped, Anhur-Show ¹¹⁰⁷ (before Hatshepsut), Hathor (before T3)	'Favours' given to Nakht by Hathor	-	-	-	-

¹¹⁰⁷ The imagery of a long-dress for Anhur-Show is reminiscent of Senenmut in the year 11 Sinai stela (sctn. 4.7.3)

Document Name (Cat. / Sctn.)	Year	Gods	wrt Hst / wrt iAmt	r(t)-pa(t) / iwA(t)	Hmt nTr	Hmt nsw wrt	sAt-nswt / snt-nswt / mwt-nswt
Chapelle Rouge 'Crowning Scenes' (2.3 / 3.6.4)	n.d. (content suggests time of 'transition')	Amun, Horus, the Ennead, Amunet, Wadjet, Mwt, Hathor, wrt- HkAw ¹¹⁰⁸	-	-	-	-	-
Chapel dedicated to Thutmose II at Karnak (2.4 / 3.2.4)	n.d. T2 - regency	Seth, Isis (block 3)	-	-	Yes (block 3)	-	-
Re-used north Karnak chapel of Hatshepsut (2.5 / 3.7.4)	n.d. Regnancy to reign of Hatshepsut (with likely overlap into the reigns of T2 and T3)	Amun	-	-	-	-	-
Chapel in the Precinct of Amun, pre-Akh Menu (2.6 / 3.2.8, 4.2.2)	n.d. Chevrier blocks and lintel (below) suggest temple date from T2 through to 'transition'	Amun	-	-	Yes: 1 instance on each of the top and bottom blocks	-	snt-nswt (top) sAt-nswt (top)
Karnak Door Lintel	n.d.	Amun-Re,	-	-	-	-	-

¹¹⁰⁸ As noted in sctn. 3.6.4, the goddesses have the following crowns associated with them: Amunet (xprS), Wadjet (nt), Mwt (ibs), Hathor (Atf, Iwnt-crown), wrt-HkAw (composite Atf-Iwnt crown)

Document Name (Cat. / Sctn.)	Year	Gods	wrt Hst / wrt iAmt	r(t)-pa(t) / iwA(t)	Hmt nTr	Hmt nsw wrt	sAt-nswt / snt-nswt / mwt-nswt
(4.13 / 3.6.1)	See above (Chevrier blocks) ¹¹⁰⁹	Horus the Behdetite					
GPC, <i>Sinai</i> , stela no. 177 (5.4 / 6.3.1)	n.d. mid-late Regnancy by assoc. with 'door lintel' to early coregency via use of PN (yrs 5-9?)	Hathor	-	-	-	-	-
GPC, <i>Sinai</i> , Inscribed Block # 178 (5.5 / 6.3.2)	n.d. coregency likely via full kingly titulary	-	-	-	-	-	-
GPC, <i>Sinai</i> , Inscription from the north wall of the temple of Soped, no. 182 (5.5 / 6.3.3)	n.d.	Hathor (by assoc.) Soped (by assoc.) Amun of Karnak Horus (throne)	-	-	-	-	-
GPC, <i>Sinai</i> , Inscription from the Soped temple sanctuary, no. 183 (5.5 / 6.3.4)	n.d. late via connection to Nahkt?	Soped	-	-	-	-	-
GPC, <i>Sinai</i> , Pillar Inscriptions, temple of	n.d. Years 13-20? ¹¹¹⁰	Soped (T3, text) Hathor (T3, text;	-	-	-	-	-

¹¹⁰⁹ There seems to be an ordering with this and the Chevrier Blocks, in a similar fashion to that of the temple at Semnah (given that all three of these fragments probably belong to the same building). The Chevrier blocks seem to date to late Thutmose II, or early Regnancy; with 'door lintel' as mid-late Regnancy. This indicates a protracted period of carving, and/or re-carving. For the overlay of these artefacts, see fig. 6.

¹¹¹⁰ This is a tenuous date, given that several factors could place the Pillar Inscriptions early. The key factor which tips the balance in favour of a late date is the inclusion of the official Nakht.

Document Name (Cat. / Sctn.)	Year	Gods	wrt Hst / wrt iAmt	r(t)-pa(t) / iwA(t)	Hmt nTr	Hmt nsw wrt	sAt-nswt / snt-nswt / mwt-nswt
Soped, no. 184 (5.5 / 6.3.5)		Hatshepsut icon.)					
GPC, <i>Sinai</i> , Joint Lintel, no. 186 (5.5 / 6.3.6)	n.d. ¹¹¹¹	-	-	-	-	-	-
GPC, <i>Sinai</i> , Block Inscription, no. 187 (5.5 / 6.3.7)	n.d.	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tomb Biography of Ahmose Pen-Nekhbet (3.2 / 3.7.2, 4.4.2)	n.d. carved late (poss. early T3 sole rule) via epigraphic evidence. Retrospective in content	-	Yes, Hswt bestowed by Hatshepsut on Ahmose Pen- Nekhbet	-	Yes (Hswt bestowed via this title)	Yes	-
el-Mahatta Graffito of Senenmut (4.2 / 3.5.1, 4.6.1)	n.d. Protracted carving ¹¹¹²	Re, Satet, Khnum	1 of each for Hatshepsut, plus aAt mrt ¹¹¹³	r(t)-pa(t) for Hatshepsut, and r-pa HAty-a for Senenmut	4 in total (1 icon., 3 text)	Yes	sAt-nswt snt-nswt
Chapel of Senenmut at Gebel el-Silsila (2.23 / -)	n.d. Coregency of Hatshepsut (years 11-16?)	Horus the Behdetite Amun-Re Sobek & Nephthys (for Neferure)	-	Senenmut as r-pa HAty-a	Senenmut: imy-r pr wr n Hmt-nTr (office of Neferure)	-	Senenmut: imy- r pr wr n sAt- nsw. Neferure: sAt -nsw tpy

¹¹¹¹ Noted in section 6.3.6 as having a range of years 5-13, with a high likelihood of dating somewhere around the transition, perhaps as late as years 10-11.

¹¹¹² Early initial composition (probably mid-late Regnancy; years 3-5) to judge by the lack of titulary but fusion of GWOA with kingly aspects. Subsequent re-carving, possibly post-year 16 owing to demise of Senenmut?

¹¹¹³ While not recorded *per se* for Senenmut at el-Mahatta, there are sentiments such hrr(w) nbt tAwy that are suggestive of a 'favour'-like occurrence here.

Document Name (Cat. / Sctn.)	Year	Gods	wrt Hst / wrt iAmt	r(t)-pa(t) / iwA(t)	Hmt nTr	Hmt nsw wrt	sAt-nswt / snt-nswt / mwt-nswt
The three Sarcophagi of Hatshepsut (3.3, 3.4, 3.6 / 3.2.1, 3.7.1, 4.4.1)	n.d. WS – T2 T1 / HT – Regnancy through to coregency	Anubis, Horus, Re	Yes, both on the WS sarcophagus	WS = r(t)-pa(t) for Hatshepsut	Yes, WS sarcophagus	Yes, WS sarcophagus	sAt-nswt snt-nsw (both on WS sarcophagus) ¹¹¹⁴
Temple of Buhen (2.11 / 3.7.3)	n.d. Lengthy period of carving, T2-T3	Horus of Buhen	-	-	-	-	-
Foundation Deposits at Hieraconopolis (2.20 / -)	n.d. Late coregency (year 20?)	Horus the Avenger (Hatshepsut) Horus of Nekhen (T3) ¹¹¹⁵	-	-	-	-	-
Vatican Stela 130 (5.11 / -)	n.d. Years 13-17?	-	-	-	-	-	-
BM Stela 370 (5.12 / -)	n.d. Coregency	-	-	r-pat HAty-a sDAwty bity	-	-	-
The <i>Texte de la Jeunesse</i> and 'Scenes of Succession' (2.9 / 3.6.5)	<i>Refer Section</i>	<i>Refer Section</i>	<i>Refer Section</i>	<i>Refer Section</i>	<i>Refer Section</i>	<i>Refer Section</i>	-

¹¹¹⁴ It is worth repeating L35 again here: rt-pat wrt Hst iAmt Hnwt tAw nb sAt-nsw snt-nsw Hmt-nTr Hmt-nsw wrt

¹¹¹⁵ As noted, Horus the Avenger aligns Hatshepsut with Osiris; Horus of Nekhen aligns T3 with governance and rulership; expected by the late second decade

Document Name (Cat. / Sctn.)	Year	Gods	wrt Hst / wrt iAmt	r(t)-pa(t) / iwA(t)	Hmt nTr	Hmt nsw wrt	sAt-nswt / snt-nswt / mwt-nswt
Block Statue of Senenmut BM1513 (1.18 / 3.4.2, 4.6.3)	n.d. Late T2 through to early succession period	N/A	Senenmut: wHm.n n.i Hnwt.i Hswt Hmt-nTr (with reference to Hatshepsut)	Senenmut: r-pa HAty-a sDAwty bity imy-r pr wr n sAt-nsw	Yes, base (and the title by which Hswt are bestowed)	-	-
Statue CG 42114 (1.9 / -)	n.d. (poss. years 11-13?)	-	-	-	Neferure as Hmt-nTr Reference to pr n Imn and Senenmut as imy-r pr n Imn	-	-
Statue CG 42116 (1.11 / 5.4.2)	n.d.	-	-	-	first evidence of Senenmut in position of imy-r pr n Imn?	-	-
Sheikh Labib Statue (1.16 / 3.6.3)	n.d.	-	-	-	-	-	-
Berlin Stela 15699 (5.3 / 3.2.2, 4.3)	n.d. (reign of Thutmose II)	Re-Horakhty	-	-	Hatshepsut: Hmt-nTr	Yes	sAt-nsw, snt-nsw

Document Name (Cat. / Sctn.)	Year	Gods	wrt Hst / wrt iAmt	r(t)-pa(t) / iwA(t)	Hmt nTr	Hmt nsw wrt	sAt-nswt / snt-nswt / mwt-nswt
Cairo Vase 18486 (4.9 / 3.2.3, 4.5.1)	n.d. (reign of Thutmose II)	-	-	-	Yes	Yes, for both Hatshepsut & Queen Ahmes	-
KV20 Fragments (4.7 / 3.2.6, 3.3.2, 4.5.2)	n.d. Frag. 6 – early Regnancy? Frag. 8 – late T2 to regency? ¹¹¹⁶	-	Hatshepsut as: anx r-pa wrt Hstt	As over	Frag. 6 Hmt- nTr mryt Frag. 8 Hmt- nTr mr(y)t- nTr Stylistic //s with Yr 7 jars	Yes, only Fragment 8	sAt-nsw mrt.f (Frag. 6) sAt-nsw, snt-nsw (Frag. 8)
Two Vases from Wadi Qubanet el-Qirud (4.8 / 3.2.7, 3.3.1, 4.5.3)	n.d. (T2 – early Regnancy)	-	-	-	Yes (both)	Yes (both)	sAt-nswt, snt- nswt (18.8.15 only)
Scarabs (- / 4.7.2)	n.d. (Various)	-	-	-	Yes	-	-
Seated Statue of Senenmut BM 174 (1.12 / 3.4.3, 4.6.3, 5.4.1)	n.d. Regnancy, most likely later than BM1513	Amun-Re (via Htp-di-nsw formula for Senenmut)	Senenmut: Hswt bestowed (see BM 1513)	Senenmut: r-pa HAty-a imy-r pr wr n sAt- nsw Nfrw-Ra	Yes, base	-	sAt-nswt (for Neferure, not Hatshepsut)
Berlin Statue 2296	n.d.	-	-	-	Neferure as	-	Neferure as

¹¹¹⁶ Dating based upon lengthy queenship epithets in Frag. 8 and the transition of the title Hmt-nTr mr(y)t-nTr to Hmt-nTr mryt

Document Name (Cat. / Sctn.)	Year	Gods	wrt Hst / wrt iAmt	r(t)-pa(t) / iwA(t)	Hmt nTr	Hmt nsw wrt	sAt-nswt / snt-nswt / mwt-nswt
(1.8 / 5.3.2)	Post-'transition'?				Hmt-nTr		sAt-nswt
Cairo CG 34013 (5.10 / 5.3.3)	n.d. Yrs. 22-23 T3	-	-	-	Neferure as Hmt-nTr	-	-
DeB Cave Graffito (4.12 / 5.5)	n.d.	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 13: Tabular Summary of Key Aspects for Hatshepsut, Part II

Document Name (Cat. / Sctn.)	Titulary	Divine Birth and Legitimation	Tools and 'Roles' of Kingship	Other terms and titles	Iconography / Contextuality	Other
Tomb Inscription of Ineni (3.1 / 3.2.10)	HAt-Spswt	nTr-prt Axt prt xnt.f	-	Hr irt m Xrw tA tAwy Hr sxrw.s bAk.tw n.s Kmt m wAH tp nbt wD(w) mdw mnxt sxrw.s	-	T2 – pr r prt T3 – aHa m st.f
Year 1 Step Pyramid Graffito of Thutmose III (4.1 / 3.2.9)	Only Thutmose III Mn-xpr-Ra DHwty-ms	-	T3 – xr Hm n nsw- bity sA Ra	-	-	Atum is the one who begets/bears T3
Block 287, Chapelle Rouge (2.2 / 3.3.6)	No PN or NM 2* Hmt (Hatshepsut)	-	Kingship connotations L8-9	sr and biAyt – foretelling, not	T3 marvelling at Hatshepsut (L6)	sed-festival & Luxor Temple links

Document Name (Cat. / Sctn.)	Titulary	Divine Birth and Legitimation	Tools and 'Roles' of Kingship	Other terms and titles	Iconography / Contextuality	Other
	1* Hm (T3)		Hatshepsut as nTr-nfr?	oracular		Hatshepsut given all foreign lands (Ineni //s)
Temple at Semnah (2.1 / 3.3.3, 4.2.1)	HAt-Spswt	prt m [Ha].k sAt.k pw nt Xt.k	anx – reliefs (Satet) wAs – reliefs (Satet) Ddt – text	-	Wholly erased save indicators from Satet. HDt from Satet, which //s placement on head of T3 by Dedwen Possible deference (Hatshepsut) by distance Episodic flow: Queen- T3-intended king	Building project for Dedwen
'Year 4' north Karnak stela of Senenmut (5.2 / 3.5.2, 4.6.2)	MAat-kA-Ra	offered nsyt mAa by Re before Ennead	T3: nsw-bity (early date?) Hatshepsut: nsw- bity (later date?)	Mention of Dsr- Dsrw (twice)	Tripartite Structure: Senenmut endowments, Senenmut biography, Hatshepsut incorporation Carving and re- carving results in dating issues	Document dated in part via Senenmut's titles Mention of old age and burial of Senenmut //s to el-Mahatta inscription?
Year 5 Stelae of Thutmose III at Serabit el-Khadim (5.1 / 3.5.4)	Only Thutmose III Mn-xpr-Ra	-	T3 as nTr-nfr and sA Ra nsw-bity used with an official, but without	-	T3 before Hathor as king?	-

Document Name (Cat. / Sctn.)	Titulary	Divine Birth and Legitimation	Tools and 'Roles' of Kingship	Other terms and titles	Iconography / Contextuality	Other
			connection to a king (never expressly connected to T3)			
Year 5 Appointment of User-Amun, Tomb and Papyrus (4.10 / 3.5.3)	Only Thutmose III Mn-xpr-Ra	-	Numerous instances of T3 as object of the Horus-standard T3 explicitly as nsw- bity	-	-	Nervous tone (?!), reassured by later rulers (late composition of Papyrus)
Year 6 Graffito-Stela of Tjemhy (4.17 / 3.5.5)	Only Thutmose III Mn-xpr-Ra DHwty-ms	-	T3: xr Hm nsw- bity	-	-	Author – scribe Tjemhy
Year 7 – Tomb of Ramosé and Hatnofer and associated ostraca (3.5 / 4.4 / 3.6.2, 4.7.1)	MAat-kA-Ra	-	Hatshepsut: nTr-nfr precedes PN	Hatshepsut as Hmt-nTr on other ostraca	Uraeus connected with nTr-nfr PN	Past assumptions that GWOA precedes PN and sole rule – untrue? ¹¹¹⁷ 'Transition' before production of ostraca and post stela of Tjemhy?
Year 9 Punt Expedition (2.9 / -)	Numerous instances of MAat-kA-Ra	-	Hatshepsut as nb nswt tAwy Hatshepsut represented	Military legitimation and prowess throughout (e.g. mSa n nb tAwy)	Culminative Scenes with Episodic devices incorporated (pl. 69)	Ramesside re-carving wpwty nswt mentioned

¹¹¹⁷ Only yr 7 dates (no months/days) directly connected to title of Hmt-nTr. Prenomen and nTr-nfr epithet only dated by association; not definitive. MMA Tomb 110 jar label largely redundant.

Document Name (Cat. / Sctn.)	Titulary	Divine Birth and Legitimation	Tools and 'Roles' of Kingship	Other terms and titles	Iconography / Contextuality	Other
			symbolically as smA- symbol Note esp. Naville, <i>DeB</i> , pls. 77 & 82			
Year 10 Ostraca (4.5 / -)	None	-	-	-	-	portion reads pr Hmt- nsw mAa-xrw, probably relating to Q. Ahmes and possibly illustrating chapel of T1 at DeB continued developing into 2 nd decade
Year 11 Sinai Stela of Neferure and Senenmut (5.6 / 4.7.3, 5.3.4)	Neferure: xr Hm, Hmt-nTr Imn	-	Neferure: wears <i>nemes</i> , Swty and uraeus	Neferure: Dd wAs mi Ra	Neferure presenting to Hathor; Senenmut behind ¹¹¹⁸	Neferure in queen's dress, but w/ kingly cartouche, epithets and effects
Year 12 Tangûr Graffito (4.18 / 1.2, 7.1)	MAat-kA-Ra Mn-xpr-n-Ra	-	Hatshepsut: xr Hm n nTr-nfr PN T3: xr Hm n nTr- nfr PN	-	Hatshepsut textually precedes T3	//s with yr 16 Wadi Maghara Stela? Choice of T3 PN for special purpose?
Year 13 Serabit el- Khadim stela	T3 east:	-		T3: nb irt xt	T3 offers white bread to Amun-Re (east)	T3 as nsw-bity

¹¹¹⁸ Note Senenmut as the 'fan-bearer' of the king; possibly connecting him to the title 'child of the Kap'. Also, his re-carved long dress and legs together.

Document Name (Cat. / Sctn.)	Titulary	Divine Birth and Legitimation	Tools and 'Roles' of Kingship	Other terms and titles	Iconography / Contextuality	Other
(5.7 / 6.2.3)	Mn-xpr-kA-Ra T3 west: full titulary Hatshepsut north edge: MAat-kA-Ra		Hatshepsut as nswt (north edge)? T3: xr Hm & titulary, nsw-bity, nb tAwy (west) T3 as nTr-nfr and related to 'Horus of all the Living' (east)		Hatshepsut (erased) probably offering to Hathor (east)	T3 above Hatshepsut T3 dominant, but Hatshepsut with a role ¹¹¹⁹
The Obelisk Inscriptions of Hatshepsut (5.13 / -)	Full titulary of Hatshepsut in numerous places	Ennead endorses Hatshepsut Thutmose I paid homage 'Annals' (gnwt) of Hatshepsut ¹¹²⁰	Reference to st Hr Appearance (sxat) as king Hatshepsut bestowed TOK (anx, Dd, Awt-ib) Name on Ished-tree	Chosen (stp) of Amun Shining image (tit axt) of Amun Governance by Hatshepsut ¹¹²¹	Homage paid to Ipt-swt Structural flow: 'concern and gender'	Description of obelisk building Heliopolis as location of divine powers
Year 16 Wadi Maghara Stela (5.8 / 6.2.4)	MAat-kA-Ra Mn-xpr-kA-Ra blending of titles and	-	T3: nTr-nfr Hatshepsut: xr Hm and nsw bity ¹¹²²		T3 offers white bread to Hathor, Hatshepsut presents wine to Soped. //s to yr 13,	Similar to GPC, <i>Sinai</i> , nos. 177 and 186?

¹¹¹⁹ Possible //s with yr 4 north Karnak stela (noting comments regards a yr 11 date), in terms of stela structure and relegation of Hatshepsut. Also //s with Ineni in terms of Hatshepsut still 'managing' affairs of state.

¹¹²⁰ Procreation by Re: wtt.n Ra r irt n.f prt axt

¹¹²¹ stp.n.f r sAw Kmt r nryt pawt tyw

¹¹²² Full titular blend: xr Hm n nsw-bity MAat-kA-Ra nTr-nfr nb tAwy Mn-xpr-kA-Ra

Document Name (Cat. / Sctn.)	Titulary	Divine Birth and Legitimation	Tools and 'Roles' of Kingship	Other terms and titles	Iconography / Contextuality	Other
	epithets				but gods changed ¹¹²³ Hatshepsut before T3	
Graffito at Abka(-west) (4.19 / -)	Hatshepsut not named T3: Mn-xpr-Ra	-	T3: xr Hm nTr-nfr PN	-	Stylistically similar to yr 16 stela?	Author: Amenhotep Htp-di-nsw of Amun for Amenhotep localised artefact or funerary stela?
Year 16 Graffito of Senenmut from TT353 (4.6 / 5.2)	N/A	-	-	-	Interesting time for Senenmut to build a 2 nd tomb, given all that was occurring	A record of enlisting men for work on TT353 Believed to be the last recorded instance of Senenmut
Year 17 Inscription (4.11 / -)	Hatshepsut: Horus, Nebty, GH and MAat-kA-Ra (twice)	Hatshepsut sought to deify herself?	-	anxt – possible feminine stress late in the reign	-	Possible festival occasion Early part of the 'hand- over' period to T3?
Graffito of Shelfak- Dudora (4.3 / -)	Hatshepsut not named T3: Mn-xpr-Ra	-	T3: xr Hm nsw- bity PN	-	Location and layout same as Abka	Author: Amenhotep Genealogy of the family of Amenhotep
Year 20 Kush/Tombos Inscription (4.14 / -)	Hatshepsut not named T3: Mn-xpr-Ra ¹¹²⁴	-	generic reference to nTr-nfr and nsw (non-specific)	-	-	Southern location – same as Abka and Dudora sA-nsw n kS – Inebni?
Year 20 Step Pyramid Inscription (4.15 / -)	MAat-kA-Ra Mn-xpr-Ra	-	Both T3 and Hatshepsut: xr Hm	Hatshepsut gets an extra 'may he live forever'	Hatshepsut still precedes T3	Author: Nakht

¹¹²³ Refer discussion in summary chapter also.

¹¹²⁴ Possible prenomen of Mn-xprw-Ra, leading some to believe the document refers to Thutmose IV.

Document Name (Cat. / Sctn.)	Titulary	Divine Birth and Legitimation	Tools and 'Roles' of Kingship	Other terms and titles	Iconography / Contextuality	Other
			nsw-bity	(venerated status) Pronouns fully masculine for both		
Year 20 Nakht Stela (5.9 / 6.2.5)	MAat-kA-Ra Mn-xpr-Ra	-	Both Hatshepsut and T3 as nTr-nfr PN (T3 LHS, Hatshepsut RHS) Legends run in // emphasizing equality T3: gets wAs- sceptre Hatshepsut: receives wAs, anx	Nakht received 'favours' from Hathor T3: di anx Hatshepsut: di anx Dt (venerated?)	Hatshepsut presents white bread to Anhur- Shu; T3 wine to Hathor T3: red-crown, kilt Hatshepsut: blue- crown, kilt (more pointed) and with 2 cobra Uraei	11 lines recording Nakht's position and tribute
Chapelle Rouge 'Crowning Scenes' (2.3 / 3.6.4)	MAat-kA-Ra HAt-Spswt	Hatshepsut as vehicle to Re via first coronation and creation (Khnum) See adjacent columns	Hatshepsut: nsw- bity PN xa.T m nsw-bity, sxa.k m HAt sAt.k, smn xa.T m xprS (of the 'appearance' of Hatshepsut) TOK (anx, wAs) given to Hatshepsut Horus name (wsrt kAw) connected to and transferred by Wadjet and Mwt	Connection of epithet Hnwt tAwy b/t Hatshepsut and wrt-HkAw	Feminine deity focus for the Crowning of Hatshepsut	Crowning of Hatshepsut // to first sed-festival and xaw of Horus Crowning takes place at Karnak Connections b/t Wadjet, Hathor and wrt-HkAw Caring/protection of humankind (pat) //s Ineni

Document Name (Cat. / Sctn.)	Titulary	Divine Birth and Legitimation	Tools and 'Roles' of Kingship	Other terms and titles	Iconography / Contextuality	Other
			(motherly connotations)			
Chapel dedicated to Thutmose II at Karnak (2.4 / 3.2.4)	HAt-Spswt (top of block 3)	-	Hatshepsut: Seth offers anx and wAs	-	Block 2: relief portrait of Hatshepsut as queen Block 3: Hatshepsut with vulture headdress	-
Re-used north Karnak chapel of Hatshepsut (2.5 / 3.7.4)	HAt-Spswt	Re offers nsyt mAa to Hatshepsut	Hatshepsut: nsw- bity (uncertain) sA, Dd, anx offered (?) by Amun via wAs-sceptre	-	Masculine imagery; Swty 'queen' crown re-carved to Atf- crown	-
Chapel in the Precinct of Amun, pre-Akh Menu (2.6 / 3.2.8, 4.2.2)	HAt-Spswt (top & bottom)	-	Hatshepsut offered 'tools' of kingship (?) Xnmt nfr HDt?	Hatshepsut makes 'pure things' for the st Hr	Top and bottom blocks: queen iconography nw-pots connected with queen?	Top block //s Semnah east wall and LHS west wall? Hnwt tAwy (Winlock, 1929b?)
Karnak Door Lintel (4.13 / 3.6.1)	MAat-kA-Ra	Possible evidence of Amun making the divine kA of Hatshepsut at Karnak during TOK	Hatshepsut: presented anx, wAs, Awt-ib by Amun (RHS) – given via wAs-sceptre	-	Feminine garb combined with uraeus, male crown atop and male epigraphy	Connections to yr 17 fragment? ¹¹²⁵

¹¹²⁵ Yr 17 – Hatshepsut deifying self? Door Lintel has establishment of kA, necessary for the rule of Hatshepsut. Both on structures within inner Karnak.

Document Name (Cat. / Sctn.)	Titulary	Divine Birth and Legitimation	Tools and 'Roles' of Kingship	Other terms and titles	Iconography / Contextuality	Other
		bequeathing	Hatshepsut: nsw- bity and nbt irt PN			
GPC, <i>Sinai</i> , stela no. 177 (5.4 / 6.3.1)	MAat-kA-Ra HAt-Spswt NM and PN inverted in terms of their respective epithets	-	Hathor extends a wAs-sceptre to Hatshepsut, while Hatshepsut extends a censor to Hathor Hatshepsut: nsw- bity and sA Ra	-	Hatshepsut in garb of queen (long dress, vulture headdress, Swty)	Compare with GPC, <i>Sinai</i> , no. 186 and yr 16 Wadi Maghara stela
GPC, <i>Sinai</i> , Inscribed Block # 178 (5.5 / 6.3.2)	Remnants of Nebty and GH name MAat-kA-Ra	-	Hatshepsut: nsw- bity	-	Poor preservation	Orthodox titulary
GPC, <i>Sinai</i> , Inscription from the north wall of the temple of Soped, no. 182 (5.5 / 6.3.3)	Hatshepsut nowhere explicitly named (feminine pronouns only, e.g. Hmt.s)	-	Mention of st Hr	-	-	-
GPC, <i>Sinai</i> , Inscription from the Soped temple sanctuary, no. 183 (5.5 / 6.3.4)	None	-	-	-	-	Associated to reigns of Hatshepsut and T3 by the official Nakht
GPC, <i>Sinai</i> , Pillar Inscriptions, temple of Soped, no. 184 (5.5 / 6.3.5)	HAt-Spswt Mn-xpr-Ra	-	T3: nTr-nfr, nb tAwy, nb irt xt (south pillar) Hatshepsut: Xnmt-	T3 offers Htp-di- nsw to Hathor and Soped (differs from yr 13 stela)	Hatshepsut and Hathor seem to be evident on the east side of the T3 (south) pillar	Author: Nakht (fan-bearer)

Document Name (Cat. / Sctn.)	Titulary	Divine Birth and Legitimation	Tools and 'Roles' of Kingship	Other terms and titles	Iconography / Contextuality	Other
			Imn after NM (north pillar)		Hatshepsut pillar (south) only on the north side; T3 on all sides	
GPC, <i>Sinai</i> , Joint Lintel, no. 186 (5.5 / 6.3.6)	MAat-kA-Ra DHwty-ms PN of Hatshepsut fused with NM of T3 ¹¹²⁶	-	Hatshepsut: nsw- bity T3: sA Ra	-	Hatshepsut precedes T3	Compare with no. 177 and yr 16 Wadi Maghara stela
GPC, <i>Sinai</i> , Block Inscription, no. 187 (5.5 / 6.3.7)	Horus name (wsrt kAw) of Hatshepsut only	-	-	-	-	-
Tomb Biography of Ahmose Pen-Nekhbet (3.2 / 3.7.2, 4.4.2)	MAat-kA-Ra	-	-	Hatshepsut as Hmt-nTr and Hmt-nsw wrt Hatshepsut and Neferure as mAa-xrw	Contextually 3 lines define 5 male kings; 3 lines for Hatshepsut and Neferure	Ahmose Pen-Nekhbet describes his rearing (Sd) of Neferure; Neferure described as young
el-Mahatta Graffito of Senenmut (4.2 / 3.5.1, 4.6.1)	HAt-Spswt No titulary or PN Also Hmt.s	offered nsyt mAa by Re before Ennead	Xnmt nfr HDt? See Table 6, both under el-Mahatta and Semnah	Hatshepsut: nbt tAwy, Hnwt tAwy tm (with Hmt-nTr)	Queens/God's Wife garb (long flowing dress, feet together, piriform mace, Swty- crown)	//s to north Karnak Stela? strong //s with Semnah Obelisk building project – eastern pair, not yrs. 15/16

¹¹²⁶ Full text: nsw-bity MAat-kA-Ra sA Ra DHwty-ms.

Document Name (Cat. / Sctn.)	Titulary	Divine Birth and Legitimation	Tools and 'Roles' of Kingship	Other terms and titles	Iconography / Contextuality	Other
					sTtt – anomalous writing of Satet	
Chapel of Senenmut at Gebel el-Silsila (2.23 / -)	HAt-Spswt (outer wall; uncertain as poorly preserved) Neferure – west wall & outer door lintels?	-	Senenmut: north and south wall in offering scenes with Gods; offered anx, wAs, Dd	Senenmut: mAa-xrw (mortuary context)	West wall – mixed male/female garb	//s with yr 11 Sinai stela? Range to yr 16 by assoc. with TT353 ostrakon?
The three Sarcophagi of Hatshepsut (3.3, 3.4, 3.6 / 3.2.1, 3.7.1, 4.4.1)	MAat-kA-Ra – HT sarcophagus	L26 of the sarcophagi (Hatshepsut born by Osiris and Isis)	Hatshepsut: nsw- bity on HT sarcophagus L13/20/29/31/52/53 – stress on divine right of Hatshepsut (orthographically)	WS: Hnwt tAw nb, nbt tAwy WS: Hmt-nTr title includes divine booth (sH-nTr) and Horus in command of the gods for the GWOA T1/HT: nb irt xt	-	Transition from WS to HT in terms of nbt tAwy term L15/23 – shifting titular protocols of Hatshepsut as at Sinai and Wadi Maghara L13/15 – stress on femininity (nTrt - //s Chapelle Rouge)
Temple of Buhen (2.11 / 3.7.3)	MAat-kA-Ra (Sc. 82-3) but altered by T3 to that of T2	-	T2 <i>in situ</i> (Sc. 87) officiating Htp-di- nsw kA of Hatshepsut stands behind king (Sc. 88)	-	Episodic Scenes King icon. altered (fem. to masc.; Sc. 85, 92) Epigraphy recut (fem. to masc.; Sc. 88,90) Male garb – both <i>shendyt</i> & loincloth (Sc. 86, 88, 89, 90-1)	Various purification rituals (Sc. 85, 86, 89, 90)
Foundation Deposits at Hieraconopolis	MAat-kA-Ra	-	Hatshepsut: nTr-nfr nb tAwy PN	-	T3: White Crown Hatshepsut: none	

Document Name (Cat. / Sctn.)	Titulary	Divine Birth and Legitimation	Tools and 'Roles' of Kingship	Other terms and titles	Iconography / Contextuality	Other
(2.20 / -)	Mn-xpr-Ra		T3: nsw-bity PN		Hatshepsut on front; still dominant?	
Vatican Stela 130 (5.11 / -)	MAat-kA-Ra Mn-xpr-Ra	-	Hatshepsut: full titulary	Hatshepsut as "ruler of North and South"	-	Hatshepsut engaged in building program; possibly in Nubia (epigraphy)
BM Stela 370 (5.12 / -)	Mn-xpr-Ra MAat-kA-Ra (recon.)	-	both rulers wear the Atf-crown above their cartouche	-	Size and imagery depictions indicative of equality	Epigraphy and titles (imy- r xAswt, imy-r tA- nsw) suggest the stela was erected in a foreign land
The <i>Texte de la Jeunesse</i> and 'Scenes of Succession' (2.9 / 3.6.5)	<i>Refer Section</i>	<i>Refer Section</i>	<i>Refer Section</i>	<i>Refer Section</i>	<i>Refer Section</i>	The detail here is too vast to summarise in this table
Block Statue of Senenmut BM1513 (1.18 / 3.4.2, 4.6.3)	HAt-Spswt (base)	-	-	Hatshepsut as Hnwt.i	-	Titles of Senenmut = date b/t Ineni's biography and User-Amun's appointment
Statue CG 42114 (1.9 / -)	No Hatshepsut T3 – Mn-xpr-Ra Neferure	-	T3: nsw-bity	Senenmut: it mna wr n sAt-nsw (for Neferure)	Textual //s to Berlin 2296 & JdE 47278	T3 seems to officiate the Htp-di-nsw formula for Senenmut Senenmut seems to request permission to erect statues – from T3, not Hatshepsut?

Document Name (Cat. / Sctn.)	Titulary	Divine Birth and Legitimation	Tools and 'Roles' of Kingship	Other terms and titles	Iconography / Contextuality	Other
Statue CG 42116 (1.11 / 5.4.2)	Neither Hatshepsut nor Neferure named	-	-	Hatshepsut? as nbt tAwy	Kneeling statue of Senenmut and Neferure, who is at right-angles	Imagery reminiscent of Harpocrates and Isis
Sheikh Labib Statue (1.16 / 3.6.3)			Information on the ritual ceremony of Hatshepsut into the Kingship?		As over, location of ritual (pr dwAt), 2 goddesses (WADty) and red linen all described	Senenmut involved in 'transition ritual'? //s with WADty at Speos Artemidos Connections to wrt- HkAw and also Chapelle Rouge
Berlin Stela 15699 (5.3 / 3.2.2, 4.3)	Names T2 & Queen Ahmes	-	-	-	-	-
Cairo Vase 18486 (4.9 / 3.2.3, 4.5.1)	Nomen of Hatshepsut Queen Ahmes named	-	-	Ahmes is recorded as mAa-xrw	-	Kohl-vase dedicated by Hatshepsut to her mother; possibly close to the time of Ahmes death
KV20 Fragments (4.7 / 3.2.6, 3.3.2, 4.5.2)	HAt-Spswt (Frag. 6 & Frag. 8)	-	-	Hatshepsut: Hnwt nt tAw nbw, nbt tAwy (Frag. 8)	-	Frag. 8 //s WS sarcophagus Frag. 6 Affection b/t T1 & Hatshepsut as Hmt-nTr
Two Vases from Wadi Qubanet el-Qirud (4.8 / 3.2.7, 3.3.1, 4.5.3)	HAt-Spswt (both)	-	-	Hnwt tAwy (only MMA 26.8.8)	-	-
Scarabs (- / 4.7.2)	HAt-Spswt	-	smA-symbol (Petrie)	nbt tAwy (E)	wsx-necklace, Nwt-	Pseudo smA-symbol on

Document Name (Cat. / Sctn.)	Titulary	Divine Birth and Legitimation	Tools and 'Roles' of Kingship	Other terms and titles	Iconography / Contextuality	Other
	(Petrie & LH) MAat-kA-Ra (E)				wings (217)	LH
Seated Statue of Senenmut BM 174 (1.12 / 3.4.3, 4.6.3, 5.4.1)	None	-	Hatshepsut: nbt tAwy	-	-	Various titles of Senenmut
Berlin Statue 2296 (1.8 / 5.3.2)	Neferure	-	Neferure wears uraeus	Senenmut: it mna wr sAt-nswt Hnwt tAwy Hmt-nTr	TT71 block statue of Senenmut and Neferure	//s to Field Museum 173800 and CG 42114
Cairo CG 34013 (5.10 / 5.3.3)	Neferure	-	-	-	-	Possible evidence of Neferure outliving Hatshepsut Battle of Megiddo (T3)
DeB Cave Graffito (4.12 / 5.5)	None	-	-	-	Figures in sexual tryst Hatshepsut = cross gender dressing Episodic reliefs	official Neferhotep on LHS; dates graffito

Table 14: The Statuary of Senenmut and Neferure

Statue No. / Reference	Reference/Section ¹¹²⁷ (in this thesis)	Block / Seated Y/N	Shroud/Wrap for Neferure	Neferure as 'God's Wife', sidelock of youth, finger to mouth	Other notable features
Berlin 2296 ¹¹²⁸	Cat. 1.8, sctn. 5.3.2	YES	Yes, Neferure enveloped by Senenmut and long cloak/shroud	God's Wife Sidelock of Youth Finger to Mouth (most likely)	Both figures face forward Neferure = uraeus; Mistress of the Two Lands Senenmut as it and 'great male nurse' mna nswt does not appear (implicit?)
CG42114 ¹¹²⁹	Cat. 1.9	YES	Yes, Neferure enveloped by Senenmut and long cloak/shroud	Sidelock of Youth Finger to Mouth (most likely)	Both figures face forward; Neferure wears uraeus mna nswt does not appear Noses broken in antiquity (intentional?!) ¹¹³⁰ Thutmose III cartouche replaces Hatshepsut
CG42115 ¹¹³¹	Cat. 1.10	YES	Yes. Neferure completely immersed in cloak to her chin	Sidelock of Youth only	Both figures face forward Neferure wears uraeus Senenmut's chin rests on the head of Neferure Noses broken in antiquity (intentional?!) ¹¹³² Neferure appears quite small in this statue relative to Senenmut, possibly signifying a younger age
CG42116 Senimen-style		NO	Neferure with her own cloak/shawl	Sidelock of Youth	Neferure wears uraeus

¹¹²⁷ For a fuller description, with full bibliographical references, see also Dorman, 1988, pp. 188-197 (Appendix 2A. Statues) - where all 25 statues are listed.

¹¹²⁸ Additional references in section 5.3.2

¹¹²⁹ Legrain, 1906, pp. 62-4, plates LXVI-LXVIII. Other references as per Cat. 1.9.

¹¹³⁰ Schulman, 1969-70, p. 38

¹¹³¹ PM II², 144

¹¹³² Schulman, 1969-70, p. 38. Berlandini-Grenier (1976, p. 116) believes this to have naturally occurred via salt erosion, and Dorman (1988, p. 148) and Meyer (1982, p. 175) concur.

Statue No. / Reference	Reference/Section ¹¹²⁷ (in this thesis)	Block / Seated Y/N	Shroud/Wrap for Neferure	Neferure as 'God's Wife', sidelock of youth, finger to mouth	Other notable features
'Kneeling' statue ¹¹³³	Cat. 1.11, sctns. 5.4.2		Senenmut – left arm around her back, right hand across her knees	Index finger to mouth	Neferure nestled into the lap & left leg of Senenmut ¹¹³⁴ Neferure positioned at RIGHT ANGLES to Senenmut Stylistic similarities to Statue of Senimen (TT252). Partly open-toed feet (realism)
EA/BM 174 'Chair' Statue	Cat. 1.12, sctns. 3.4.3, 4.6.3, 5.4.1	NO	Senenmut uses right hand to draw cloak around Neferure; left hand holds her	Sidelock of Youth RH index finger to mouth	NO URAEUS – only one; Neferure sits on lap Both figures face forward Open-toed feet of Senenmut (realism) <i>mna nswt</i> does not appear (implicit?)
JdE 47278	Cat. 1.13	YES	Statue too fragmentary to determine – only the base remains intact ¹¹³⁵	Statue too fragmentary to determine – only the base remains intact	Statue too fragmentary to determine – only the base remains intact
Field Museum 173800 'Striding' Statue	Cat. 1.14, sctn. 5.3.1	NO	Neferure's right arm on shoulder of Senenmut Senenmut wears cloak, but Neferure NOT enveloped	God's Wife ¹¹³⁶ Sidelock of Youth Neferure holds hetes-sceptre (links to Hathor)	Neferure wears uraeus Open-toed feet of Senenmut (realism) Neferure positioned at RIGHT ANGLES to Senenmut Senenmut as 'manager of the estate' and 'supreme judge' Senenmut as <i>it nTrt</i> ¹¹³⁷

¹¹³³ In addition to references in Cat. 1.11, add Aldred et al., 1979, pp. 148-150, 277-8 (with fig. 135).

¹¹³⁴ CG42116 reminiscent of Isis and Horus as Harpocrates (sctn. 5.4.2); BM 174 also similar (sctn. 5.4.1).

¹¹³⁵ cf. comments in Jacquet-Gordon, 1972.

¹¹³⁶ See comments under Berlin 2296 above.

¹¹³⁷ In addition to the translation of Allen (1927), note also Roehrig (2005a, p. 116).

Statue No. / Reference	Reference/Section ¹¹²⁷ (in this thesis)	Block / Seated Y/N	Shroud/Wrap for Neferure	Neferure as 'God's Wife', sidelock of youth, finger to mouth	Other notable features
Karakol	Cat. 1.15	YES	Statues fragmentary. Similar to Berlin 2296 & CG42115	Sidelock of Youth seems apparent from front view. Face of Neferure too broken otherwise	Both figures face forward Neferure presumably wears uraeus (head broken)
Sheikh Labib	Cat. 1.16, sctn. 3.6.3	YES	Yes. Similar to Berlin 2296, CG42115 & TT71 Crest	Sidelock of Youth visible (lower half)	Both figures face forward Neferure presumably wears uraeus (head broken) Head of Senenmut almost completely lost, save the left-hand side of the <i>nemes</i> headdress lappet. Top half of Neferure's head lost
TT71 'Crest' Statue	Cat. 1.17	YES	Yes, Neferure enveloped by Senenmut in long cloak/shroud	Sidelock of Youth Finger to mouth (?)	Neferure wears uraeus Both figures face forward

Table 15: Officials from the Reign of Hatshepsut

Name of Official	Primary Titles	References and Notes	Mentioned in Research (Cat. / Sctn.)
Aa-methu (TT83) ¹¹³⁸	Vizier (southern) ¹¹³⁹	Urk. IV: 489-494; Bryan, 2006, p. 72; Whale, 1986, pp. 52-5; Ratie, 1979, pp. 280-1	As User-Amun
Ahmose	First King's son of Amun; Overseer of Hm-priests of Min and Coptos	Bryan, 2006, pp. 110-1; Sauneron, 1968, pp. 45-50; Dewachter, 1984, pp. 83-94	-
Ahmose (TT241)	Child of the Kap; Chief of Secrets in the House of the Morning ¹¹⁴⁰	Bryan, 2006, p. 96; Whale, 1986, pp. 111-2	-
Ahmose Pen-Nekhbet	Steward (Royal Nurse) to Neferure (after Senenmut); Soldier; Royal Herald; Overseer of the Seal (Chief Treasurer - Regnancy?) ¹¹⁴¹	Bryan, 2006, pp. 78, 98; Urk. IV: 32-39; Ratie, 1979, p. 279	3.2, 3.8 / 3.7.2, 4.4.2
Amenemhet (TT82)	Scribe of the Vizier (User-Amun)	Urk. IV: 1043-53; Bryan, 2006, p. 73	-
Amenemhet (TT123)	Accountant of the Grain of Upper and Lower Egypt	Bryan, 2006, p. 85; PM I ² , 236-7	-
Amenemhet	Child of the Kap	Bryan, 2006, p. 96	-

¹¹³⁸ This table is intended only as a complimentary resource to the above work. Overt focus has not been placed on the officials from the reign of Hatshepsut, except where such directly advances the research. Much of the information is drawn from four key sources (Bryan, 2006; Whale, 1986; Ratie, 1979; the Theban Mapping Project - http://www.tmpbibliography.com/resources/individual_tombs_number.html), with additional resources and notes added during the course of the investigations. It is not definitive; the labyrinth of officials that served Hatshepsut and Thutmose III being far too complex to fully detail here (e.g. other minor officials for which we do not include can be found in Ratie, 1979, pp. 282-9). Hopefully it augments the current research, however.

¹¹³⁹ The Southern Vizier managed the lands from Aswan to Assiut. For details on the office: Van den Boorn, 1988; Bryan, 2006, pp. 70-2. Redford, 1967, p. 77, fn.101 (who refers to this individual only as Ahmose; a name by which he could also be known).

¹¹⁴⁰ Unclear whether he held these posts under Thutmose III and Hatshepsut.

¹¹⁴¹ Bryan (2006, pp. 77-81) notes that as with the title TAty, the title 'Overseer of the Seal (Chief Treasurer) was held in both the north and south. She postulates the following order/chronology: Ahmose Pen-Nekhbet (from Thutmose II into early Regnancy), Senenmut (Regnancy, but not beyond year 9), Nehesy (from at least year 9 and into the second decade of Hatshepsut's sole rule), Ty (probably years 12-18 to judge from the Nubian war), Sen-nefer (post-year 25 of Thutmose III to circa year 33). There was also a sixth person that held this post, named Min (Urk. IV: 1027-9). It is unclear if he is the same as Min, local mayor of Thisis or Min-nahkt below, or perhaps a different person altogether.

Name of Official	Primary Titles	References and Notes	Mentioned in Research (Cat. / Sctn.)
Amen-em-nekhu	King's Son of Kush	See adjacent section for references (noting the debate around the ordering of persons)	1.20 / -
Amenhotep (TT73)	Chief Steward of the king; Overseer of the Cattle of Amun; Overseer of the Obelisks at Karnak	Säve-Söderbergh, 1957, pp. 1-10 and pls. I-IX; Helck, 1958, p. 479; PM I ² , 143-4; Bryan, 2006, p. 111; Whale, 1986, pp. 50-1; Ratie, 1979, pp. 266-8	3.8, 4.3, 4.19 / 3.5.1
Amenhotep	Scribe	-	See under Amenhotep (TT73)
Amenhotep	Overseer of the Lands, Granaries and Serfs of Amun	Habachi, 1968, pp. 51-6; Bryan, 2006, p. 111	-
Benya (TT343)	Engineer (non-Egyptian)	Redford, 1967, p. 77; P-M I ¹ , 410-12; Whale, 1986, pp. 64-5; Ratie, 1979, p. 285	-
Djehuty (no tomb)	General (Overseer of the army); Overseer of the Northern Countries; Overseer of the Garrison; Overseer of Foreign Countries; Royal Scribe	Bryan, 2006, pp. 103-5; Urk. IV: 999-1002; Eggebrecht and Eggebrecht, 1987, pp. 338-344; Lilyquist, 1988, pp. 5-68; Wentz, 1973, pp. 81-4; Murnane, 1997, pp. 251-8	3.8 / -
Djehuty (TT11)	Overseer of the Gold and Silver Houses	Bryan, 2006, pp. 85-6, 107; Urk. IV: 419-452; PM I ¹ , 21-24; Whale, 1986, pp. 47-9; Ratie, 1979, pp. 271-2	3.8 / -
Djehuty (TT45)	Steward of the HP of Imn-mry	PM I ¹ , 85-86	3.8 / -
Djehuty (TT110)	Cupbearer of the king, Royal Herald	PM I ¹ , 227-8; Davies, 1932, pp. 279-290 and pls. 35-44; Whale, 1986, pp. 56-7	3.8 / -
Djehuty-hetep ¹¹⁴²	Deputy of the King's Son of Kush	Säve-Söderbergh, 1960, pp. 25-4; Säve-	3.8 / -

¹¹⁴² His son, Amenemhet, also held this post (Bryan, 2006, p. 102).

Name of Official	Primary Titles	References and Notes	Mentioned in Research (Cat. / Sctn.)
(tomb at Debeira East)		Söderbergh, 1991, pp. 186-94; Morkot, 1991, p. 199	
Dua-neheh / Dua-wy-neheh (TT125)	First Herald; Overseer of the Granary of Upper and Lower Egypt (T3); Overseer of the Workshops of Amun	Bryan, 2006, p. 72, 111; P-M I ² , pp. 237-241; Urk. IV: 1379-80 and 453-4 (noting the orthography of the name differs); Whale, 1986, pp. 38-45; Ratie, 1979, p. 278	3.8 / -
Hapu-seneb (TT67) ¹¹⁴³	HP of Amun; Overseer of the Hm-priests of Upper and Lower Egypt ¹¹⁴⁴ ; Overseer of the Works at Deir el-Bahri(?)	Urk. IV: 471-489; Bryan, 2006, pp. 70, 107-8; Bierbrier, 1977, pp. 1241-49; Eichler, 2000, p. 306; Dziobek, 1995, p. 133; Whale, 1986, pp. 31-3; Ratie, 1979, 273-6	3.7, 3.8 / -
Hatit	Corn measurer for the Overseer of Granaries Min-nakht	Bryan, 2006, p. 85; Urk. IV: 1206	-
Iam-nedjeh (TT84)	Overseer of Works (from year 15); Great Royal Herald; Overseer of the Granary of Upper and Lower Egypt (T3); Overseer of the Rwy (T3) ¹¹⁴⁵	Urk. IV: 937-962; Bryan, 2006, p. 84, 87-8; Gnirs, Grothe and Guksch, 1997, pp. 57-83; D. Polz, 1991, pp. 281-91; Pardey, 1997, pp. 377-97	-
Inebni	King's Son of Kush(?)	See adjacent section for references (noting the debate around the ordering of persons, and whether Inebni belongs to this list) ¹¹⁴⁶	1.20, 4.14 / -
Ineni (TT81)	Chief Advisor (Thutmose I)	Urk. IV: 59ff; Whale, 1986, pp. 24-8; Ratie, 1979, pp. 268-70	3.1, 3.8 / 3.2.10

¹¹⁴³ On Menkheperre-seneb and his same-named son (TT86 and 112) as holders of the office of HP of Amun at a point sometime after Hapu-seneb, note Dorman, 1995, pp. 141-154.

¹¹⁴⁴ Described as a Vizier by Redford (1967, p. 77, fn. 101), and while he might have overlapped with User-Amun in this role, it is difficult to reconcile this as an actual post (cf. comments in Bryan, 2006, p. 107 and Helck, 1958, p. 434).

¹¹⁴⁵ Other members of this office under the reign of Thutmose III can be found in Bryan, 2006, pp. 87-9

¹¹⁴⁶ Nehi, King's Son of Kush under Thutmose III is mentioned briefly in section 3.14.1. For summary, Bryan, 2006, p. 102.

Name of Official	Primary Titles	References and Notes	Mentioned in Research (Cat. / Sctn.)
Intef (TT155)	Great Royal Herald	Bryan, 2006, pp. 90-1; PM I ¹ , 263-5; Urk. IV: 963-975; Kampp, 1966, pp. 441-3; Wasmuth, 2003, p. 118; Säve-Söderbergh, 1957, pp. 11-21; Whale, 1986, pp. 90-2; Ratie, 1979, pp. 288-9	-
Mai-herperi	Child of the Kap; Fan-bearer on the right of the king	Bryan, 2006, p. 96	-
Min (TT109)	Local Mayor of Thinis (This); Royal Nurse to Amenhotep II (T3); Overseer of the priests of Osiris; Overseer of the priests of Onuris; Overseer of the army of the Western River; Chief and Overseer of the South ¹¹⁴⁷	Bryan, 2006, p. 74, 98, 100, 104; Urk. IV: 976-981	-
Min-nakht (TT87)	Overseer of the granaries of Upper and Lower Egypt; Overseer of the Seal (Chief Treasurer?); Overseer of the Granaries, Serfs and Storehouses of Amun	Bryan, 2006, pp. 82-3; Urk. IV: 1176-1190; Guksch, 1995; Ratie, 1979, p. 285 (with reference to Gebel el-Silsila tomb 23; for which see Caminos and James, 1963, pp. 74-7 and plates 56-9)	-
Montuhir-khepeshef (TT20)	Local mayor of Qan el-Kebir	Bryan, 2006, p. 74; Whale, 1986, pp. 105-7	-
Nakht (TT397?)	Royal Messenger ¹¹⁴⁸ ; fan-bearer?; envoy at the head of the armies	Bryan, 2006, pp. 92-3; see adjacent sections	4.15, 5.5, 5.9 / 6.2.5, 6.3.4, 6.3.5

¹¹⁴⁷ A third Overseer of the Army – Tjanuny (Schulman, 1964, pp. 41-44) – is known under the reign of Thutmose III. For the various and assorted military officials under the reign of Thutmose III, see Bryan, 2006, pp. 105-7 and references therein.

¹¹⁴⁸ Another Royal Messenger is known from the Punt reliefs at Deir el-Bahri (Urk. IV: 325-6). Also, the Royal Messenger Dedi (TT200; Bryan, 2006, pp. 92-3) held this post, but it seems he occupied the office entirely under the reign of Thutmose III.

Name of Official	Primary Titles	References and Notes	Mentioned in Research (Cat. / Sctn.)
Nefer-weben	Vizier (northern) ¹¹⁴⁹	Certainly so under the reign of Thutmose III, postulated as the Southern Vizier under Hatshepsut (Bryan, 2006, p. 77); Gessler-Lohr, 1995, pp. 133-157; PM VIII ¹ , 517	-
Nehesy (alt. Nehsi, Nehsy)	Overseer of the Seal (Chief Treasurer); official in charge of the year 9 Punt expedition	Urk. IV: 315-354; Urk. IV: 419 (cenotaph at Gebel el-Silsila); Zivie, 1984, pp. 245-252 (Northern Tomb); Bryan, 2006, p. 79; Ratie, 1979, pp. 278-9	2.9, 3.8 / -
Pa-hery (el-Kab 3)	Royal Nurse; Governor of el-Kab	Bryan, 2006, pp. 97-8; Loyrette, 1992, pp. 131-140; Whale, 1986, pp. 93-9	-
Pen-iaty	Overseer of the Works of Amun	See adjacent sctns. Add Ratie, 1979, pp. 270-1	4.16 / -
Puyemre ¹¹⁵⁰ (alt. Ipuyemre, TT39)	2P of Amun ¹¹⁵¹	Urk. IV: 520-7; Redford, 1967, p. 77; Bryan, 2006, pp. 109-110; Whale, 1986, pp. 66-72; Ratie, 1979, p. 276	3.8 / -
Satep-ihu	Local Mayor of Thisis ¹¹⁵²	Bryan, 2006, p. 74, 98, 100. See also Ratie, 1979, p. 284 where an individual named <i>Satepkaou</i> is named as the "Prince de This"	-
Senem-iah (TT127)	Accountant of the Grain of Upper and Lower Egypt; Overseer of the Houses of Gold and Silver	Urk. IV: 494-516; P-M I ² , 241-243; Bryan, 2006, p. 85-6; Whale, 1986, pp. 58-63; Ratie, 1979, p. 277	3.7, 5.13 / -

¹¹⁴⁹ The Northern Vizier managed the lands from Assiut to the Mediterranean. The other known Northern Vizier from the time of Thutmose III was Ptah-mose (PM III², 773-4; Urk. IV: 1376).

¹¹⁵⁰ On Seni-seneb, daughter of the HP of Amun Hapu-seneb, for whom Puyemre married, see Caminos and James, 1963, pl. 38.

¹¹⁵¹ Others known to have held this post were a son of User-amun (Meri-maat), Neferhotep (T3) and Amun Mahu (T3) – references in Bryan, 2006, p. 110.

¹¹⁵² Only Satep-ihu and Min (TT109) are noted among the many local mayors known at the times of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III (Bryan, 2006, pp. 100-101). Min is known to have held varying posts under both rulers, and Satep-ihu was involved in the construction of the obelisks (Cat. 5.13) at Karnak; thereby illustrating his importance.

Name of Official	Primary Titles	References and Notes	Mentioned in Research (Cat. / Sctn.)
Senenmut (TT71, 353)	Overseer of Works at DeB; Steward; Chief Steward of the king; Chief Steward to Amun ¹¹⁵³ ; Steward of the God's Wife Hatshepsut; Steward (Royal Nurse) to Neferure; Overseer of the Seal (Chief Treasurer); Overseer of the Gold and Silver Houses	Bryan, 2006, pp. 78-9, 86, 93-4, 98, 111; Dorman, 1988, 1991; Helck, 1958, pp. 473ff; statue BM 174 (sctns. 2.1.12, 5.5.4, 6.4.1); Whale, 1986, pp. 34-8; Ratie, 1979, pp. 211-4, 243-64; Meyer, 1982.	Throughout entire research
Senimen (TT252)	Child of the Kap; Royal Nurse to Neferure	P-M I ² , 337; Bryan, 2006, pp. 96-8; Dorman, 1988, pp. 124-6	3.8 / -
Seni-mose	Royal Nurse (to Wadjmose, for the brothers of Hatshepsut)	Bryan, 2006, p. 98; Urk. IV: 1065-70; Spalinger, 1984, pp. 631-51	-
Sen-nefer (TT99) (alt. Sennefri, Sen-nu-nefri)	Overseer of the Seal (Chief Treasurer); Royal Herald; Mayor of Thebes (Thutmose III); Overseer of priests for Sobek and Anubis; possibly (but unlikely) Overseer of the Granary of Upper and Lower Egypt ¹¹⁵⁴ ; possibly Steward of Amun	Official of Thutmose III; included for completeness sake - Urk. IV: 528-548; Bryan, 2006, pp. 77-81, 111-2; Megally, 1977, pp. 274-5; Helck, 1981, pp. 39-41; F. Polz, 1990, pp. 43-60; Whale, 1986, pp. 123-5; Ratie, 1979, pp. 286-7	3.8 / -
Sitre	Royal Nurse to Hatshepsut ¹¹⁵⁵	Bryan, 2006, p. 98; JE 56264; PM II ² , 371	-
Tinet-iunet	Wife of the Local Mayor of Thinis; Royal	Bryan, 2006, p. 98, 100; CG 34080	-

¹¹⁵³ Senenmut was followed in the office of 'Steward of Amun' by Roua (Dorman, 1988, pp. 178-9) and Sen-Djehuty (PM II², 202); both in the reign of Thutmose III.

¹¹⁵⁴ Overview in Bryan, 2006, pp. 83-4 (see also comments on the official Tjenuna, who may have held a post in the administration of pr n Imn).

¹¹⁵⁵ Sitre and Satep-ihu are included among the females that held the title 'Royal Nurse'. For more see Bryan, 2006, pp. 98-9 and Roehrig, 1990a

Name of Official	Primary Titles	References and Notes	Mentioned in Research (Cat. / Sctn.)
	Nurse to Hatshepsut		
Tjemhy	Scribe	See adjacent sections	4.17 / 3.5.5
Ty	Overseer of the Seal (Chief Treasurer) ¹¹⁵⁶	Bryan, 2006, p. 79; Urk. IV: 886-9; Habachi, 1957, pp. 88-104; Peet, 1926, pp. 70-2	3.2 / -
User-Amun (TT61, 131)	Vizier (southern)	Bryan, 2006, pp. 72-6; Urk. IV: 1380-4; Dziobek, 1994, pp. 80-3; Giddy, 1980, pp. 119-125; Whale, 1989, pp. 55-8; Whale, 1986, pp. 73-6; Ratie, 1979, p. 281	3.8, 4.10 / 3.5.3
Wadjet-renput	Chief Steward of the king	Bryan, 2006, pp. 94-5; Urk. IV: 394-5	-
Yamu-nefru	Local Mayor?	Bryan, 2006, p. 74; Urk. IV: 1453ff	-

¹¹⁵⁶ Probably held this post during the second decade of Hatshepsut's sole rule, and possibly into Thutmose III's reign. He also witnessed the Nubian revolt as per the el-Mahatta graffito. Note also Louvre 3230b, which is a letter from Ahmose to Ty.

Bibliography

- Adams, W. Y.
1984 *Nubia: corridor to Africa*. London and Princeton.
- Aldred, C.
1951 *New Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt during the Eighteenth Dynasty, 1570 to 1320 B.C.* 1st Ed. London: Tiranti.
1980 *Egyptian Art in the Days of the Pharaohs 3100-320BC*. London: Thames and Hudson.
1983 'Ahmose-Nofretari Again.' In *Artibus Aegypti: Studia in Honorem Bernardi V. Bothmer*. H. de Meulenaere & L. Limme (eds.). Brussels: Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire, pp. 7-14.
1988 *Akhenaton: King of Egypt*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Aldred, C. et al.
1979 Cyril Aldred, Paul Barguet, Christiane Desroches-Noblecourt, Jean Leclant, and Hans Wolfgang Müller. *L'empire des conquérants: L'Égypte au Nouvel Empire (1560-1070)*. Le monde égyptien: Les pharaons 2. L'univers des formes 27. Paris: Gallimard.
- Allen, J. P.
2000 *Middle Egyptian: an introduction to the language and culture of hieroglyphics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Allen, S. J.
2005 'Pottery and Stone Vessels in the Reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III.' In *Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh*. C. H. Roehrig (ed.), pp. 223-4 (other related ceramics from pp. 224-33). New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Allen, T.G.
1927 'A Unique Statue of Senmut.' *AJSL* 44, pp. 49-55.
- Altenmüller, H.
1975 *Synkretismus in den Sargtexten*. Vol. 7. Göttinger Orientforschung IV. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
1977 'Feste.' In *LÄ*, vol. 2, cols. 171-191. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
1983 'Bemerkungen zu den Königsgräbern des Neuen Reiches.' *SAK* 10, pp. 25-28.
- Andrews, C.
1994 *Amulets of Ancient Egypt*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Arkell, A. J.
1950 'Varia Sudanica.' *JEA* 36, pp. 28-40.
- Arnold, D.
2005 'The Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri.' In *Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh*. C. H. Roehrig (ed.), pp. 135-140. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.

- Assmann, J.
- 1974 'Der literarische Text im Alten Ägypten. Versuch einer Begriffsbestimmung.' *Orientalische Literaturzeitung* 69, pp. 117-126.
- 1992 'Inscriptional Violence and the Art of Cursing: a Study of Performative Writing.' *Stanford Review Literature* 9, pp. 43-65.
- 1995 *Egyptian Solar Religion in the New Kingdom: Re, Amun and the Crisis of Polytheism*. Studies in Egyptology. London & New York: Kegan Paul International.
- 1999 'Cultural and Literary Texts.' In *Definitely: Egyptian Literature; Proceedings of the symposium "Ancient Egyptian literature: history and forms", Los Angeles, March 24-26, 1995*. G. Moers (ed.), pp. 1-15. Studia monographia 2. Göttingen: Lingua Aegyptia.
- 2001 'Pictures versus Letters: William Warburton's Theory of Grammatological Iconoclasm.' In *Representation in Religion: Studies in Honor of Moshe Barash*. J. Assmann, & A. I. Baumgarten (eds.), pp. 297-311. Leiden.
- Aston, B. G., Harrell, J. A. & Shaw, I.
- 2006 'Stone.' In *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*. P. T. Nicholson & I. Shaw (eds.), pp. 5-77. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ayrton, E. R., Currelly, C. T. & Weigall, A. E. P.
- 1904 *Abydos 3*. London: Egyptian Exploration Fund.
- Bács, T. A.
- 2002 'A New Viceroy of Nubia.' In *A Tribute to Excellence: Studies offered in Honor of Ernő Gaál, Ulrich Luft and László Török*. T. A. Bács (ed.), pp. 53-67. Studia Aegyptiaca 17, Budapest: ELTE.
- Baines, J.
- 1985 'Color Terminology and Color Classification: Ancient Egyptian Color Terminology and Polychromy.' *American Anthropologist* 87(2), pp. 282-97.
- 1991 'Society, Morality and Religious Practice.' In *Religion in Ancient Egypt: Gods, Myths and Personal Practice*. B. E. Shafer (ed.), pp. 123-200. Ithaca: Cornell.
- 1996 'Classicism and Modernism in the Literature of the New Kingdom.' In *Ancient Egyptian Literature: history and forms*. A. Loprieno (ed.), pp. 157-174. Leiden & New York: E. J. Brill.
- Baines, J. & Malek, J.
- 2000 *Cultural Atlas of Ancient Egypt*. Revised Edition. New York: Checkmark.
- Barguet, P.
- 1953 'Une statuette de Senenmout au Musée du Louvre.' *CdE* 28, pp. 23-7.
- 1962 *Le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak: Essai d'exégèse*. Recherches

- d'archéologie, de philology et d'histoire, IFAO 21. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire.
- Barta, W.
1980 'Thronbesteigung und Krönungsfeier als Unterschiedliche Zeugnisse Königlicher Herrschaftsübernahme.' *SAK* 8, pp. 33-53.
- Behrens, P.
1986 'Stierkampf.' In *LÄ*, vol. 6, cols. 16-17. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Bell, L.
1985 'Luxor Temple and the Cult of the Royal Ka.' *JNES* 44(4), pp. 251-294.
1997 'The New Kingdom <<Divine>> Temple: The Example of Luxor.' In *Temples of Ancient Egypt*. B. E. Shafer (ed.), pp. 127-184. New York: Cornell University Press.
- Bennett, C.
1995a 'King Senakhtenre.' *GM* 145, pp. 37-44.
1995b 'The Date of Nubkeperre Inyotef.' *GM* 147, pp. 19-27.
1995c 'The Structure of the Seventeenth Dynasty.' *GM* 149, pp. 25-32.
2002 'A Genealogical Chronology of the Seventeenth Dynasty.' *JARCE* 39, pp. 123-55.
- Berlandini-Grenier, J.
1976 'Senenmout, Stoliste Royal, sur une Statue-Cube avec Neferouré.' *BIFAO* 76, pp. 111-132.
- Bierbrier, M. L.
1977 'Hoherpriester des Amun.' In *LÄ*, vol. 2, cols. 1241-49. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
1995 'How Old was Hatshepsut?' *GM* 144, pp. 15-18.
- Bietak, M.
1996 *Avaris: the Capital of the Hyksos: recent excavations at Tell el-Dab'a*. London: British Museum Press.
- Bietak, M. & Schwarz, M.
2002 'Einführung zu den narrativen Schlachtenbildern.' In *Krieg und Sieg: Narrative Wanddarstellungen von Altägypten bis ins Mittelalter. Internationales Kolloquium 29.-30. Juli 1997 im Schloss Haindorf, Langenlois*. M. Bietak & M. Schwarz (eds.), pp. 11-18. Vienna: Verl. der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Bickel, S. & Chappaz, J.-L.
1988 'Missions épigraphiques du Fonds de l'Égyptologie de Genève au Spéos Artémidos.' *BSEG* 12, pp. 9-24.
1993 'Le Spéos Artémidos: Une temple de Pakhet en Moyenne-Égypte.' In *Hatchepsout: Femme Pharaon*. Les Dossiers

- d'Archéologie 187 S, pp. 94-101. Dijon: Editions Faton.
- Blackman, A. M.
 1914-1953 *The Rock Tombs of Meir*. 6 volumes. London.
 1918 'Purification, Purity (Egyptian).' In *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*. Vol. X. J. Hastings (ed.), pp. 475-482. Edinburgh.
 1932 *Middle Egyptian Stories*. Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca II. Brussels: Éditions de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth.
- Blankenberg van Delden, C.
 1982 'A Genealogical Reconstruction of the Kings and Queens of the Late 17th and early 18th Dynasties.' *GM* 54, pp. 31-46.
- Bleiberg, E. & Freed, R. (eds.)
 1991 *Fragments of a Shattered Visage: the proceedings of the International Symposium of Ramesses the Great*. Monographs of the Institute of Egyptian Art and Archaeology 1. Memphis: Memphis State University.
- Boreux, C.
 1932 *Musée du Louvre, Antiquités Égyptiennes, Catalogue Guide*. Paris: Musées Nationale
- Bothmer, B. V.
 1969-70 'More Statues of Senenmut.' *BMA* 11(2), pp. 125-43.
- Bourriau, J. D.
 1981 *Umm el-Ga`ab: Pottery from the Nile Valley before the Arab Conquest*. Exhibition Catalogue. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
 1987 'Pottery Figure Vases of the New Kingdom.' *Cahiers de la céramique égyptienne I*, pp. 81-96.
- Bourriau, J. D., Nicholson, P. T. & Rose, P. J.
 2006 'Pottery.' In *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*. P. T. Nicholson & I. Shaw (eds.), pp. 121-147. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brand, P.
 2000 *The Monuments of Seti I. Epigraphic, Historical and Art Historical Analysis*. Leiden & New York: E. J. Brill.
- Breasted, J. H.
 1908 'Second Preliminary Report of the Egyptian Expedition.' *AJSL* 25, pp. 47-8.
- Brovarski, E.
 1976 'Senenu, High Priest of Amun at Deir el-Bahri.' *JEA* 62, pp. 57-73.
- Brunner, H.
 1964 *Die Geburt des Gottkönigs: Studien zur Überlieferung eines Altägyptischen Mythos*. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 10, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

- Bryan, B. M.
- 1987 'Portrait Sculpture of Thutmose IV.' *JARCE* 24, pp. 3-20
- 1991 *The Reign of Thutmose IV*. Baltimore & London: John Hopkins University Press.
- 1996 'In women good and bad fortune are on earth: Status and roles of women in Egyptian culture.' In *Mistress of the House, Mistress of Heaven: Women in Ancient Egypt*. A. K. Capel & G. E. Markoe (eds.), pp. 25-46. New York: Hudson Hills Press.
- 2000 'The 18th Dynasty before the Amarna Period (c.1550-1352BC).' In *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*. I. Shaw (ed.), pp. 218-271. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- 2002 'Property and the God's Wife of Amun.' Paper presented at the "Women and Property" Conference 2002. D. Lyons & R. Westbrook (organisers), pp. 1-15. Harvard University: Center for Hellenic Studies.
- 2005 'The Temple of Mut: New Evidence on Hatshepsut's Building Activity.' In *Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh*. C. H. Roehrig (ed.), pp. 181-183. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- 2006 'The Administration in the Reign of Thutmose III.' In *Thutmose III: A New Biography*. E. Cline & D. O'Connor (eds.), pp. 69-121. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Burgos, F. and Larché, F.
- 2006-8 *La Chapelle Rouge: Le sanctuaire de barque d'Hatshepsout*. 2 vols. Centre Franco-Égyptien d'Étude des Temples de Karnak. Paris: CulturesFrance, Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations.
- Callender, G.
- 1995-6 'Problems in the Reign of Hatshepsut.' *KMT* 6(4), pp. 16-27, 79-80.
- 2000 'The Middle Kingdom Renaissance (c.2055-1650BC).' In *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*. I. Shaw (ed.), pp. 148-184. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- 2002 'The Innovations of Hatshepsut's Reign.' *BACE* 13, pp. 29-46.
- Cameron, A. & Kuhrt, A. (eds.)
- 1993 *Images of Women in Antiquity*. London: Routledge.
- Camino, R. A.
- 1974 *The New Kingdom Temples of Buhen*. 2 vols. ASE 33 & 34. London: Egyptian Exploration Society.
- 1998 *Semna-Kumma*. Vol. 1, *The Temple of Semna* and Vol. 2, *The Temple of Kumma*. ASE 37. London: Egyptian Exploration Society.
- Camino, R. A. & James, T. G. H.
- 1963 *Gebel es-Silsilah*. Vol. 1, *The Shrines*. ASE 31. London: Egyptian Exploration Society.
- Capel, A. K. and G. E. Markoe (eds.)
- 1996 *Mistress of the House, Mistress of Heaven: Women in Ancient Egypt*, New York: Hudson Hills Press.

- Cannuyer, C.
1990 'Brélans de "Pharaons" Ramses XI, Thoutmosis III et Hatshepsout.' In *Studies in Egyptology presented to Miriam Lichtheim I*. S. Israelit-Groll (ed.), pp. 105-109. Jerusalem: Hebrew University.
- Carlotti, J.-F.
1995a 'Contribution à l'étude métrologique de quelques monuments du temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak.' In *Cahiers de Karnak*, vol. X, pp. 65-126.
1995b 'Annexe, Quelques réflexions sur les unités de mesure utilisées en architecture à l'époque pharaonique.' In *Cahiers de Karnak*, vol. X, pp. 127-140.
1995c 'Mise au point sur les dimensions et la localisation de la chapelle d'Hatchepsout à Karnak.' In *Cahiers de Karnak*, vol. X, pp. 141-166.
- Carter, H.
1916a 'A tomb prepared for Queen Hatshepsut discovered by the Earl of Carnarvon (October 1916).' *ASAE 16*, pp. 179-182.
1916b 'Report on the tomb of Zeser-ka-Ra Amenhotep I discovered by the Earl of Carnarvon in 1914.' *JEA 3*, pp. 147-154.
1917 'A tomb prepared for Queen Hatshepsut and other recent discoveries at Thebes.' *JEA 4*, pp. 107-118.
- Champollion, J.-F.
1845 *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*. Editions de Belles-Lettres. Paris: Firmin Didot Frères.
- Chappaz, J.-L.
1993 'Un cas particulier de corégence: Hatshepsout et Thoutmosis III.' In *Individu, société et spiritualité dans l'Égypte pharaonique et copte: Mélanges égyptologiques offerts au Professeur Aristide Théodoridès*. C. Cannuyer & J.-M. Kruchten (eds.), pp. 87-110. Ath: Illustra.
- Chevrier, H.
1934 'Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak (1933-1934).' *ASAE 34*, pp. 159-176.
1955 'Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak (1953-1954).' *ASAE 53*, pp. 21-42.
- Christophe, L.
1951 *Karnak-Nord III (1945-49)*. FIFAO 23. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire.
1965 'Les Temples d'Abou Simbel et la famille de Ramsès II.' *BIE 38(2)*, pp. 107-130.
- Cifola, B.
1988 'Ramses III and the Sea Peoples: A Structural Analysis of the Medinet Habu Inscriptions.' *Orientalia 57*, pp. 275-306.
1991 'The Terminology of Ramses III's Historical Records with a

- Formal Analysis of the War Scenes.' *Orientalia* 60, pp. 9-57.
- Cooney, J. D.
1976 *Glass. Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum: IV.* London
- Curto, S.
1975 'Museo Egizio di Torino: Una scheda di Restauro.' *RdE* 27, 93-101.
- Darnell, J. C.
2004 *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity: cryptographic compositions in the tombs of Tutankhamun, Ramesses IV and Ramesses IX.* Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 198. Göttingen: Academic Press Fribourg.
- Darnell, J. C. & Jasnow, R.
1993 'On the Moabite Inscriptions of Ramesses II at Luxor Temple.' *JNES* 52, pp. 263-274.
- Daumas, F.
1958 *Les Mammisis des Temples Égyptiens.* Annales de l'Université de Lyon 32. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
1969 *Dendera et le temple d'Hathor.* Recherches d'archéologie, de philologie et d'histoire 29. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
1970 'Les Objects sacrés de la déesse Hathor à Dendara.' *RdE* 22, pp. 63-78.
- Davies, N. de G.
1932 'Tehuty, Owner of Tomb 110 at Thebes.' In *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, pp. 279-290 and pls. 35-44. London: Egyptian Exploration Society.
- Davies, V.
2004 'Hatshepsut's use of Thutmose III in her program of legitimation'. *JARCE* 41, pp. 55-66.
- Davies, W. V.
2005 'Egypt and Nubia: Conflict with the Kingdom of Kush.' In *Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh.* C. H. Roehrig (ed.), pp. 49-59. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Davis, T. M., Naville, E., Carter, H.
2004 *The Tomb of Hâtshopsîtû.* Reprinted from 1906. London: Duckworth Publishing.
- de Jouvenel, B.
1993 *On Power: The Natural History of Its Growth.* Revised Edition. Trans. J. F. Huntington. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund.
- de Wit, C. & Mertens' P.
1962 'The Epigraphic Mission to Kumma and Semna (1961) Report and Results.' *Kush* 10, pp. 118-149.
- Decker, W.
1980 'Keule, Keulenkopf.' In *LÄ*, vol. III, cols. 414-415. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

- Delange, E.
 1987 *Catalogue des statues égyptiennes du Moyen Empire, 2060-1560 avant J.-C.* Musée du Louvre. Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux.
- Desroches-Noblecourt, Ch.
 1963 *Tutankhamen: life and death of a pharaoh.* London: The Connoisseur and Michael Joseph Ltd.
 2002 *La reine mystérieuse: Hatshepsout.* Paris: Éditions Pygmalion.
- Dewachter, M.
 1972 'La Base d'une Nouvelle Statue de Senenmout.' *BIFAO* 71, pp. 87-96.
 1984 'Les "premiers fils royaux d'Amon": Compléments et Remarques.' *RdE* 35, pp. 83-94.
- Dodson, A. & Hilton, D.
 2004 *The Complete Royal Families of Ancient Egypt.* London: Thames and Hudson.
- Dorman, P. F.
 1985 'Review of Meyer 1982.' *BiOr* 42, cols. 295-302.
 1988 *The Monuments of Senenmut: problems in historical methodology.* London & New York: Kegan Paul International.
 1991 *The Tombs of Senenmut: the Architecture and Decoration of Theban Tombs 71 and 353.* PMMA 24. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
 1993 'Senmout, un homme d'état hors du commun.' In *Hatchepsout: Femme Pharaon.* Les Dossiers d'Archéologie 187 S, pp. 110-15. Dijon: Editions Faton.
 1995 'Two Tombs and One Owner.' In *Thebanische Beamtennekropolen: Neuen Perspektiven archäologischer Forschung; Internationales Symposium Heidelberg 9-13.6.1993.* J. Assmann, E. Dziobek, H. Guksch, F. Kampp (eds.), pp. 141-54. Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens 12. Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag.
 2001 'Hatshepsut: Wicked Stepmother or Joan of Arc?' *The Oriental Institute News and Notes* no. 168, pp. 1-10.
 2005a 'Hatshepsut: Princess to Queen to Co-Ruler.' In *Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh.* C. H. Roehrig (ed.), pp. 87-89. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
 2005b 'The Tomb of Ramose and Hatnofer.' In *Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh.* C. H. Roehrig (ed.), pp. 91-95. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
 2005c 'The Career of Senenmut.' In *Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh.* C. H. Roehrig (ed.), pp. 107-111. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
 2006 'The Early Reign of Thutmose III: An Unorthodox Mantle of Coregency.' In *Thutmose III: A New Biography.* E. H. Cline & D. O'Connor (eds.), pp. 39-68. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

- Doxey, D. M.
2002 'Anubis.' In *The Ancient Gods Speak: a guide to Egyptian Religion*. D. B. Redford (ed.), pp. 21-22. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dreyer, G.
1984 'Eine Statue Thutmosis II aus Elephantine.' *SAK 11*, pp. 489-99, pls. 19-22.
- Dunham, D. & Janssen' J.
1960 *Second Cataract Forts. Vol. I, Semna, Kumma*. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts
- Dziobek, E.
1987 'The Architectural Development of Theban Tombs in the Early Eighteenth Dynasty.' In *Problems and Priorities in Egyptian Archaeology*. J. Assmann, G. Burkard, W. V. Davies (eds.), pp. 69-80. London: KPI.
1992 *Das Grab des Ineni: Theben Nr. 81*, Archäologische Veröffentlichungen (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo) 68. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
1993 'Some Kings' Sons Revisited.' *GM 132*, pp. 29-32.
1994 *Die Gräber des Vezirs User-Amun: Theban Nr. 61 und 131*. Archäologische Veröffentlichungen (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo) 84. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
1995 'Theban Tombs as a Source for Historical and Biographical Evaluation: The Case of User-Amun.' In *Thebanische Beamtennekropolen: Neuen Perspektiven archäologischer Forschung; Internationales Symposium Heidelberg 9-13.6.1993*. J. Assmann, E. Dziobek, H. Guksch, F. Kampp (eds.), pp. 129-140. Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens 12. Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag.
- Eaton-Krauss, M.
1976 'Two Representations of Black-Skinned Statues in Ancient Egyptian Painting.' *JARCE 13*, pp. 21-4.
1977 'The *khat* headdress to the end of the Amarna Period.' *SAK 5*, pp. 21-39.
1990 'The Coffins of Queen Ahhotep, Consort of Seqeni-en-re and Mother of Ahmose.' *CdE 65*, pp. 195-205.
1998 'Four Notes on the Early Eighteenth Dynasty.' *JEA 84*, pp. 205-210.
1999 'The Fate of Sennefer and Senetnay at Karnak Temple and in the Valley of the Kings.' *JEA 85*, pp. 113-129.
- Edgerton, W. F.
1933 *The Thutmosid Succession*. SAOC 8. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Eggebrecht, A.
1987 *L'Égypte ancienne: 3000 ans d'histoire et de civilisation au*

- royaume des pharaons*. Paris: Bordas.
- 1996 'Headquarters of thy Chariotry: Egyptians and Hittites in the Delta Residence of the Ramessides.' *Pelizaeus Museum, Hildesheim*, pp. 126-145.
- Eggebrecht, E. and Eggebrecht, A. (eds.)
1987 *Ägyptens Aufstieg zur Weltmacht*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Eichler, S.
2000 *Die Verwaltung des "Houses des Amun" in 18^e Dynastie*. Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag.
- Eisenlohr, A.
1881 'An Historical Monument.' In *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, Eleventh Session, Seventh Meeting, 3rd May, 1881*, pp. 97-102. London.
- el-Hegasy, S. & Martinez, P.
1993 'Le "Palais de Maat" et la Place Favorite d'Amon'. In *Hatchepsout: Femme Pharaon*. Les Dossiers d'Archéologie 187 S, pp. 54-63. Dijon: Editions Faton.
- el-Razik, M. abd
1967 'Some Remarks on the Great Pylon of the Luxor Temple.' *MDAIK* 22, pp. 68-70.
- el-Sabbahy, A.-F.
1992 'Kings' Sons of Kush under Hatshepsut.' *GM* 129, pp. 99-102.
- Emery, W. B., Smith, H. S. & Millard, A.
1979 *The Fortress of Buhen: The Archaeological Report*. London: Egypt Exploration Society.
- Fairman, H. W.
1958 'The Kingship Rituals of Egypt.' In *Myth, Ritual and Kingship: Essays on the Theory and Practice of Kingship in the Ancient Near East and Israel*. S. H. Hooke (ed.), pp. 74-104. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Fairman, H. W. & Grdseloff, B.
1947 'Texts of Hatchepsut and Sethos I inside Speos Artemidos.' *JEA* 33, p. 12-33.
- Fakhry, A.
1939 'A New Speos from the Reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmosis III at Beni-Hasan.' *ASAE* 39, pp. 709-723.
- Fattovich, R.
1991 'The problem of Punt in the light of recent fieldwork in the Eastern Sudan.' In *Akten des vierten internationalen Ägyptologen Kongresses, München 1985*. Vol. 4 of 4. S. Schoske (ed.), pp. 257-272. Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag.
- Faulkner, R. O.
1942 'The Battle of Megiddo.' *JEA* 28, pp. 2-15.
1955 'The Installation of the Vizier.' *JEA* 41, pp. 18-29.
1974 *The triumph of Horus: an Egyptian sacred drama*. Berkeley:

- University of California Press
 1999 *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*. Reprinted. Griffith Institute. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Fay, B.
 1995 'Thutmoside Studies.' *MDAIK 51*, pp. 11-22.
- Fazzini, R. A.
 1984-5 'Report on the 1983 Season of Excavation at the Precinct of the Goddess of Mut.' *ASAE 70*, pp. 287-307.
 2001 'Mut Precinct.' In *OEAE*, vol. 2, pp. 455-457.
- Fazzini, R. A. And Peck, W. H. Jr.
 1982 'The 1982 Season at Mut.' *Newsletter* (American Research Center in Egypt), no. 120 (Winter), pp. 37-58.
 1983 'Excavating the Temple of Mut.' *Archaeology 36 (2)*, pp. 16-23.
- Feucht, E.
 1985 'The Xrdw n kAp Reconsidered.' In *Pharaonic Egypt: The Bible and Christianity*. S. Israelit-Groll (ed.), pp. 38-47. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Hebrew University.
 1995 *Das Kind im alten Ägypten: Die Stellung des Kindes in Familie und Gesellschaft nach altägyptischen Texten und Darstellungen*. Frankfurt & New York: Campus.
- Firth, C. & Quibell, J.
 1935 *Excavations at Saqqara: The Step Pyramid*. 2 vols. Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte. Cairo: IFAO.
- Fischer, H. G.
 1968 *Dendera in the 3rd Millennium B.C. down to the Theban Dominion of Upper Egypt*. New York: J. J. Augustin.
 1980 'An Important Lacuna in Ranke's *Personennamen*: The Tomb of Rnni.' *JEA 66*, pp. 157-160.
 1986 *L'écriture et l'art de l'Égypte ancienne: Quatre leçons sur la paléographie et l'épigraphie pharaonique*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Fisher, M. M.
 2001 *The Sons of Ramesses II*. 2 vols. Ägypten und Altes Testament: Studien zu Geschichte, Kultur und Religion Ägyptens und des Alten Testaments 53. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Forbes, D.C.
 1990 'Chapelle Rouge: Hatshepsut's other Great Masterpiece. A KMT Photo Essay.' *KMT 1 (Spring 1990)*, pp. 20-27.
 1994 'Editor's Report.' *KMT 5(2)*, pp. 8-13.
 1994-5 'Princess Neferure: Hatshepsut's Intended Successor?' *KMT 5(4)*, pp. 36-45.
- Foster, J.
 1980 'Sinuhe: the ancient Egyptian genre of Narrative Verse.' *JNES 39(2)*, pp. 89-117.
 1994 'Thought Couplets and the Standard Theory.' *Lingua Aegyptia 4*, pp. 139-163.

- Frerichs, E. S. Lesko, L. H. (eds.)
 1997 *Exodus: the Egyptian Evidence*. Indiana: Eisenbrauns.
- Gaballa, G. A.
 1969 'Minor War Scenes of Ramesses II at Karnak.' *JEA* 55, pp. 82-88.
 1976 *Narrative in Egyptian Art*. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
- Gabolde, L.
 1987a 'A Propos de deux obélisques de Thoutmosis II, dédiés à son père Thoutmosis I et érigés sous le règne d'Hatshepsout-pharaon à l'ouest du IV^e pylône.' In *Cahiers de Karnak*, vol. VIII, (1982-1985; pub. 1987), pp. 143-158.
 1987b 'La Chronologie du Règne de Thoutmosis II, ses conséquences sur la datation des momies royales et leurs répercussions sur l'histoire du développement de la Vallée des Rois.' *SAK* 14, pp. 61-81.
 1989 'Les temples "mémoires" de Thoutmosis II et Toutânkhamon (un rituel destiné à des statues sur barque).' *BIFAO* 89, pp. 127-178 and plates 12-24.
 2003 'Compléments sur les obélisques et la 'Cour de Fêtes' de Thoutmosis II à Karnak.' In *Cahiers de Karnak*, vol. XI, pp. 417-468.
 2005 *Monuments décorés en bas relief aux noms de Thoutmosis II et Hatchepsout à Karnak*. MIFAO 123/1. Cairo: IFAO.
 2007 'An Atlas of the Obelisks of Karnak in Preparation.' *EA* 31, pp. 33-35.
- Gabolde, L. & Rondot, V.
 1996 'Une Chapelle d'Hatchepsout Remployée à Karnak-Nord.' *BIFAO* 96, pp. 177-227.
- Gabucci, A. et al. (eds.)
 2001 *The Colosseum*. Trans. M. Becker. Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum.
- Gamer-Wallert, I.
 1975 'Baum, heiliger.' In *LÄ*, vol. I, cols. 655-660. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Gardiner, A. H.
 1944 'Horus the BeHdetite.' *JEA* 30, pp. 23-60.
 1946 'Davies Copy of the Great Speos Artemidos Inscription.' *JEA* 32, pp. 43-56.
 1947 *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*. 2 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
 1953 'The Coronation of King Haremhab.' *JEA* 39, pp. 13-31.
 1956 'A Pharaonic Encomium (II).' *JEA* 42, pp. 8-20.
 1960 *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II*. Griffith Institute. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
 1961 *Egypt of the Pharaohs*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- 2001 *Egyptian Grammar: being an introduction to the study of hieroglyphs*. 3rd Ed. Revised. Griffith Institute. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gardiner, Sir A. H., Peet, T. E., & Černý, J.
1952-5 *The Inscriptions of Sinai*. 2 vols. 2nd Ed. Memoir of the EES 45. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gessler-Lohr, B.
1983 *Die heiligen Seen in ägyptischer Tempel*. HÄB 21. Hildesheim: Gerstenberg.
1995 'Bemerkungen zur Nekropole des Neuen Reiches von Saqqara vor der Amarna-Zeit, I: Gräber der Wesire von Unterägypten.' In *Gedenkschrift für Winfried Barta htp dj hzj*. D. Kessler & R. Schulz (eds.), pp. 133-157. Münchener ägyptologische Untersuchungen 4. Frankfurt and Mainz: Peter Lang.
- Giddy, L. L.
1980 'Some Exports from the Oases of the Libyan Desert into the Nile Valley: Tomb 131 at Thebes.' In *Livre du centenaire, 1880-1980*, pp. 119-125. Cairo: IFAO.
- Gillen, T.
2005a 'The Historical Inscription of Queen Hatshepsut's Chapelle Rouge. Part I: biA.yt ("wonder") and the Divine Oracle.' *BACE 16*, pp. 7-14.
2005b 'The Historical Inscription of Queen Hatshepsut's Chapelle Rouge. Part II: Translation.' *BACE 16*, pp. 15-28.
- Gitton, M.
1975 *L'Épouse du Dieu Ahmes Néfertary: documents sur sa vie et son culte posthume*. Centre de Recherches d'Histoire ancienne 15. Annales Littéraires de l'université de Besançon 172. Paris: Belles Lettres.
1976a 'Le Rôle des Femmes dans le Clergé d'Amon à la XVIIIe Dynastie.' *BSFE 75*, pp. 31-46.
1976b 'La Résiliation d'une Fonction Religieuse: Nouvelle Interprétation la Stèle de Donation d'Ahmès Néfertary.' *BIFAO 76*, pp. 65-89.
1978 'Variation sur le thème des titulatures de reine.' *BIFAO 78*, pp. 389-403.
1979a 'Nouvelles Remarques sur la Stèle de Donation d'Ahmes Néfertary.' *BIFAO 79*, pp. 327-31.
1979b 'Le Clergé Féminin au Nouvel Empire.' In *First International Congress of Egyptology Acts. Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des alten Orients*. W. F. Reineke (ed.), pp. 225-228. Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR Zentral Institut für alte Geschichte und Archäologie. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
1984 *Les Divines Épouses de la 18^e Dynastie*. Publié avec le concours du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. Annales Littéraires de l'Université de Besançon 306. Paris: Belles Lettres.

- Gitton, M. & Leclant, J.
1976 'Gottesgemahlin.' In *LÄ*, vol. II, pp. 792-812. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Gnirs, A. M., Grothe, E. and Guksch, H.
1997 'Zweiter Vorbericht über die Aufnahme und Publikation von Gräbern der 18. Dynastie der thebanischen Beamtennekropole.' *MDAIK* 53, pp. 57-83.
- Goedicke, H. (ed.)
1985 *Perspectives on the Battle of Kadesh*. Baltimore: Halgo.
- Goedicke, H. & Wente, E. F.
1962 *Ostraka Michaelides*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Golvin, J.-C.
1993 'Hatchepsout et les obélisques de Karnak'. In *Hatchepsout: Femme Pharaon*. Les Dossiers d'Archéologie 187 S, pp. 34-41. Dijon: Editions Faton.
- Graefe, E.
1981 *Untersuchungen zur Verwaltung und Geschichte der Institution der Gottesgemahlin des Amun vom Beginn des Neuen Reiches bis zur Spätzeit*. 2 vols. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 37. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Graindorge, C.
1993a 'La naissance divine de la reine Hatchepsout'. In *Hatchepsout: Femme Pharaon*. Les Dossiers d'Archéologie 187 S, pp. 26-33. Dijon: Editions Faton.
1993b 'Naissance d'une chapelle reposoir de barque'. In *Hatchepsout: Femme Pharaon*. Les Dossiers d'Archéologie 187 S, pp. 42-53. Dijon: Editions Faton.
1993c 'Deir El Bahari, le Temple <<de millions d'années>>'. In *Hatchepsout: Femme Pharaon*. Les Dossiers d'Archéologie 187 S, pp. 72-79. Dijon: Editions Faton.
- Griffith, F. Ll.
1921 'Oxford Excavations in Nubia.' *AAA* 8, pp. 1-18, 65-124.
- Grimal, N.
2000 *A History of Ancient Egypt*. Oxford & Cambridge: Blackwell.
- Grimal, N. & Larché, F.
1995 'Karnak, 1992-1994.' In *Cahiers de Karnak*, vol. X, pp. vii-xxxii.
- Grimm, A.
1983 'Ein Porträt der Hatshepsut als Gottesfrau und Königin.' *GM* 65, pp. 33-37.
- Grimm, A. & Schoske, S. (eds.)
1999 *Hatshepsut: Königin Ägyptens*. Exhibition Catalogue. Schriften aus der Ägyptischen Sammlung 8. Munich: Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst.

- Guksch, H.
1995 *Die Gräber des Nacht-Min und des Men-cheper-Ra-seneb: Theban Nr. 87 und 79.* Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Gunn, B.
1955 'The Decree of Amonrasonthēr for Neskhons.' *JEA* 41, pp. 83-99.
- Habachi, L.
1957 'Two Graffiti at Sehel from the Reign of Hatshepsut.' *JNES* 16, pp. 88-104.
1961 'Four Objects Belonging to Viceroys of Kush and Officials Associated with Them.' *KUSH* 9, pp. 210-225.
1968 'Nahkt, propriétaire de la tombe No 397 de la nécropole thébaine et sa famille.' *KEMI* 18, pp. 51-6.
1969 *Features of the Deification of Ramesses II.* Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin.
1977 *The Obelisks of Egypt: Skyscrapers of the Past.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Haeny, G.
1997 'New Kingdom <<Mortuary Temples>> and <<Mansions of Millions of Years>>.' In *Temples of Ancient Egypt.* B. E. Shafer (ed.), pp. 86-126. New York: Cornell University Press.
- Hall, H. R.
1928 'The Statues of Senenmout and Menkheperreseneb.' *JEA* 14, pp. 1-2.
- Hanfmann, G.
1957 'Narration in Greek Art.' *AJA* 61, pp. 71-78.
- Harari, I.
1959 'Nature de la Stèle de Donation de Fonction du Roi Ahmôsis a la Reine Ahmès-Nefertari.' *ASAE* 56, pp. 139-201.
- Hari, R.
1984 'La vingt-cinquième statue de Senmout.' *JEA* 70, pp. 141-4.
- Harris, J. E. & Wente, E. F. (eds.)
1980 *An X-ray Atlas of the Royal Mummies.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Hart, G.
2005 *The Routledge Dictionary of Egyptian Gods and Goddesses.* 2nd Ed. London: Routledge.
- Harvey, S. P.
1998 *The Cults of King Ahmose at Abydos.* PhD Dissertation. Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania.
- Hawass, Z.
2000 *The Mysteries of Abu Simbel: Ramesses II and the Temples of the Rising Sun.* Cairo & New York: The American University in Cairo Press.
- Hawkins, M.
1980 *Politics and Administration of Tudor and Stuart England.* London: Harvester P Microform Publishing.

Hayes, W. C.

- 1935 *Royal Sarcophagi of the XVIII Dynasty*. Princeton Monographs in Art and Archaeology: Quarto Series XIX. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- 1942 *Ostraka and Name Stones from the Tomb of Sen-Mut (No. 71) at Thebes*. Egyptian Expedition Publications 15. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- 1950 'The Sarcophagus of Senenmut.' *JEA* 36, pp. 19-23.
- 1957 'Varia from the Time of Hatshepsut.' *MDAIK* 15, pp. 78-90.
- 1960 'A Selection of Tuthmoside Ostraca from Dēr el-Bahri.' *JEA* 46, pp. 29-52.
- 1973 'Chapter IX. Egypt: Internal Affairs from Tuthmosis I to the Death of Amenophis III.' In *CAH²: Part I. History of the Middle East and the Aegean Region c. 1800-1380BC*. I. E. S. Edwards, C. J. Gadd, N. G. L. Hammond, & E. Sollberger (eds.), pp. 313-416. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 1990 *The Scepter of Egypt: A background for the Study of the Egyptian Antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Vol. II: The Hyksos Period and the New Kingdom (1675-1080B.C.)*. Revised Edition. New York: MMA publications.

Heerma van Voss, M.

- 1982 'Nechbet.' In *LÄ*, vol. IV, col. 366-7. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

Helck, W.

- 1955 'Die Berufung des Vezirs Wsr.' In *Ägyptologische Studien (Fs H. Grapow)*. O. Firchow (ed.), pp. 107-116. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
- 1955-1961 *Urkunden des Ägyptischen Altertums: Urkunden der 18 Dynastie and Übersetzung zu den Heften 17-22* (= continuation of Sethe 1906-9, cited as Urk. IV). Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
- 1958 *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reiches*. Probleme der Ägyptologie 3. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- 1960 'Die Opferstiftung des Sn-mwt.' *ZAS* 85, pp. 23-34.
- 1981 'Die Datierung des Schatzmeisters Sennefer.' *GM* 43, pp. 39-41.
- 1984a 'Review of S. Ratié, 1979, "La Reine Hatchepsout: Sources et problèmes." *Orientalia Monspeliensia* I.' *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 79, pp. 24-26.
- 1984 'Seschat.' In *LÄ*, vol. V, cols. 884-888. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- 1986 'Stiergötter.' In *LÄ*, vol. VI, cols. 14-16. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- 1995 *Historisch-Biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit und Neue Texte der 18. Dynastie: Nachträge*. 3rd Ed. Kleine ägyptische Texte. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

- Hendrickx, S. & Vermeersch, P.
 2000 'Prehistory: From the Palaeolithic to the Badarian Culture (c.700,000-4000BC).' In *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*. I. Shaw (ed.), pp. 17-43. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hickmann, H.
 1958 'La Chironomie dans l'Égypte Pharaonique.' *ZAS* 83, pp. 96-127.
- Hintze, F.
 1964 'Preliminary Note on the Epigraphic Expedition to Sudanese Nubia, 1963.' *Kush* 12, pp. 40-42.
 1965 'Preliminary Note on the Epigraphic Expedition to Sudanese Nubia, 1963.' *Kush* 13, pp. 13-16.
- Hornung, E.
 1990 *The Valley of the Kings: Horizons of Eternity*. Trans. David Warburton. New York: Timken.
 1996 *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt: the One and the Many*. Revised Edition. Trans. John Baines. New York: Cornell University Press.
- Hornung, E. & Staehelin, E.
 1968 *Skarabäen und andere Siegelamulette aus Basler Sammlungen*. Ägyptische Denkmäler in der Schweiz I. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
 1974 *Studien zum Sedfest*. Aegyptiaca Helvetica I. Geneva: Belles Lettres.
- Iversen, E.
 1987 'Some Remarks on the HAw-nbw.t.' *ZAS* 114, pp. 54-59.
- Jacquet-Gordon, H.
 1972 'Concerning a Statue of Senenmut.' *BIFAO* 71, pp. 139-150.
- Jaeger, B.
 1982 *Essai de classification et datation des scarabées Menkhéperrê*. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis. Series Archaeologia 2. Fribourg: Éditions Universitaires. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Jakobielski, S.
 1972 *Faras III*. Warsaw.
- James, T. G. H.
 1976 'Le prétendu "sanctuaire de Karnak" selon Budge.' *BSFE* 75, pp. 7-30.
 1985 *Egyptian Painting*. London: British Museum Publications.
- James, T. G. H. & Davies, W. V.
 1983 *Egyptian Sculpture*. London: British Museum Publications.
- Jánosi, P.
 1992 'The Queens Ahhotep I and II and Egypt's Foreign Relations.' *JACF* 5, pp. 99-105.

- Johnson, W. R.
1990 'Images of Amenhotep III in Thebes: Styles and Intentions.' In *The Art of Amenhotep III: Art Historical Analysis*. L. M. Berman (ed.), pp. 26-46. Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art.
- Kaiser, W.
1975 'Satetempel: Gesamtbereich.' In W. Kaiser, G. Dreyer, G. Grimm, G. Haeny, H. Jaritz & C. Müller. "Stadt und Tempel von Elephantine: Fünfter Grabungsbericht." *MDAIK 31*, pp. 40-51.
1977 'Satetempel: Gesamtbefund und geplante Dokumentation ausgewählter Entwicklungsphasen.' In W. Kaiser, G. Dreyer, R. Gempeler, P. Grossmann & H. Jaritz. "Stadt und Tempel von Elephantine: Siebter Grabungsbericht." *MDAIK 33*, pp. 64-8.
1980 'Satetempel: Architektur und Wanddekor des Heiligtums der 18. Dynastie.' In W. Kaiser, G. Dreyer, P. Grossmann, W. Mayer & S. Seidlmayer. "Stadt und Tempel von Elephantine: Achter Grabungsbericht." *MDAIK 36*, pp. 254-64.
1993 'Hatchepsout à Eléphantine.' In *Hatchepsout: Femme Pharaon*. Les Dossiers d'Archéologie 187 S, pp. 102-9. Dijon: Editions Faton.
- Kaiser, W. et al.
1972 Werner Kaiser, Dino Bidoli, Peter Grossmann, Gerhard Haeny, Horst Jaritz, & Rainer Stadelmann. 'Stadt und Tempel von Elephantine: Dritte Grabungsbericht.' *MDAIK 28*, pp. 157-200.
- Kákosy, L.
1982 'Orakel.' In *LÄ, vol. IV*, col. 602. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Kampp, F.
1966 *Die thebanischen Nekropole: Zum Wandel des Grabgedankens von der XVIII. bis zur XX. Dynastie*. 2 vols. Mainz: Phillip von Zabern.
- Kantor, H.
1957 'Narration in Egyptian Art.' *AJA 61*, pp. 44-54.
- Karkowski, J.
1972 'The Problem of the Origin of the Tuthmoside Blocks found at Faras.' *ET 6*, pp. 83-92.
1975 'A note on the Hathor Rock at Faras.' *ET 8*, pp. 117-124.
1978 'Quelques remarques sur les temples de Buhen.' *Études et travaux 10*, pp. 69-81.
1981 *Faras V: The Pharaonic Inscriptions from Faras*. Warsaw.
- Kemp, B.
1989 *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization*. London: Routledge.
2001 'Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period.' In *Ancient Egypt: a Social History*. B. G. Trigger, B. Kemp, D. O'Connor & A. B. Lloyd (eds.), pp. 149-174. Reprinted. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Keller, C. A.
 2005a 'The Statuary of Senenmut.' In *Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh*. C. H. Roehrig (ed.), pp. 117-19 (with plates from 119-131). New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
 2005b 'The Statuary of Hatshepsut.' In *Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh*. C. H. Roehrig (ed.), pp. 158-64 (with plates from 165-73). New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Kendall, T.
 2002 'Napatan Temples: A Case Study from Gebel Barkal. The Mythological Nubian Origin of Egyptian Kingship and the Formation of the Napatan State.' In *Acta Nubica: Proceedings of the X International Conference of Nubian Studies, Rome 9-14 September 2002*. I. Caneva & A. Roccati (eds.). Rome: Instituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, Libreria dello Stato. Article withdrawn prior to printing, but available at: <http://wysinger.homestead.com/kendall.doc>
 2007 'Hatshepsut in Kush?' *SSEA Newsletter(Winter)*, pp. 1-5.
- Kitchen, K.A.
 1963 'A Long-Lost Portrait of Princess Neferurē from Deir el-Bahri.' *JEA* 49, pp. 38-40.
 1964 'Some New Light on the Asiatic Wars of Ramesses II.' *JEA* 50, pp. 47-70.
 1971 'Punt and how to get there.' *Orientalia* 40, pp. 184-207.
 1977 'Historical Observations on Ramesside Nubia.' In *Ägypten und Kusch*. E. Endesfelder et al. (eds.), pp. 213-225. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
 1982 *Pharaoh Triumphant. The Life and Times of Ramesses II, King of Egypt*. Warminster: Aris and Phillips Ltd.
 1993 'The Land of Punt.' In *The Archaeology of Africa: Food, Metals and Towns*. T. Shaw, P. Sinclair, B. Andah & A. Okpoko (eds.), pp. 587-608. London: Routledge.
 1996 'Sinuhe: Scholarly Method versus Trendy Fashion.' *BACE* 7, pp. 55-63.
 2004 'The Elusive Land of Punt Revisited.' In *Trade and Travel in the Red Sea Region: Proceedings of Red Sea Project I, Held in the British Museum, October 2002*. P. Lunde & A. Porter, pp. 25-31. Society for Arabian Studies Monographs 2. BAR International Series 1269. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Kozloff, A. P. & Bryan, B. (eds.)
 1992 With L. M. Berman. *Egypt's Dazzling Sun: Amenhotep III and His World*. Exhibition Catalogue. Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art.
- Kruchten, J.-M.
 2001 'Oracles.' In *OEA*, vol. II, pp. 609-612. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kubinska, J.
 1974 *Faras IV*. Warsaw.

- Kuentz, Ch.
1928-1934 *La Bataille de Qadech*. MIFAO 55. Cairo: IFAO.
- Laboury, D.
1998 *La statuaire de Thoutmosis III: Essai d'interprétation d'un portrait royal dans son contexte historique*. Aegyptiaca Loediensia 5. Liège: Centre Informatique de Philosophie et Lettres.
2006 'Royal Portrait and Ideology: Evolution and Signification of the Statuary of Thutmose III.' In *Thutmose III: a New Biography*. E. H. Cline & D. O'Connor (eds.), pp. 260-291. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Lacau, P.
1909 *Stèles du Nouvel Empire*. Tome I. CGC nos. 34001-34064. Cairo: IFAO.
1953 'Sur la reine Hatshepséwe.' *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 143 (1), Paris, pp. 1-7.
- Lacau, P. & Chevrier, H.
1977-79 *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak*. 2 vols. Cairo: Services des Antiquités de l'Égypte & IFAO.
- Lansing, A. & Hayes, W.
1937 'The Egyptian Expedition, 1935-36.' *BMMA* 32 (2), pp. 3-39.
- Larché, F.
1999-2000 'The Reconstruction of the so-called "Red Chapel" of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III in the Open Air Museum at Karnak.' *KMT* 10(4), pp. 56-65.
- Laskowski, P.
2006 'Monumental Architecture and the Royal Building Program of Thutmose III.' In *Thutmose III: a new biography*. E. H. Cline & D. O'Connor (eds.), pp. 183-237. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Lasky, K.
1999 *Elizabeth I: Red Rose of the House of Tudor, England, 1544, (The Royal Diaries)*. London: Scholastic.
- Leahy, A.
1992 'Royal Iconography and Dynastic Change, 750-525BC: the blue and cap crowns.' *JEA* 78, pp. 223-240.
- Leblanc, C.
1980 'Piliers et colosses de type "osirique" dans le contexte des temples de culte royal.' *BIFAO* 80, pp. 69-89.
1982 'Le culte rendu aux colosses "osiriaques" durant le Nouvel Empire.' *BIFAO* 82, pp. 299-306 and plates LIII, A & B.
- Leblanc, C. & el-Sayed, I.
1988 *Le Ramesseum IX/2: Les piliers osiriaques des deux cour du temple: Dessins et Graffiti*. Collection scientifique du CEDAE 34. Cairo: CEDAE.

- Lecuyot, G., & Loyrette, A.-M.
 1995 'La Chapelle de Ouadjmès: Rapport préliminaire I.' *Memnonia* 6, pp. 85-93.
 1996 'La Chapelle de Ouadjmès: Rapport préliminaire II.' *Memnonia* 7, pp. 111-122.
- Legrain, G.
 1903 'Second Rapport sur les travaux exécutés à Karnak du 31 Octobre 1931 au 15 Mai 1902.' *ASAE* 4, Cairo, pp. 1-40.
 1906 *Statues et Statuettes des rois et de particuliers*. Volume I. *CGC* 42001 – 42138. Cairo: IFAO.
- Legrain, G. and Naville, E.
 1902 'L'Aile nord du pylône d'Amenophis III à Karnak.' *Annales du Musée Guimet* 30. Paris.
- Lehner, M.
 1997 *The Complete Pyramids: Solving the Ancient Mysteries*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Leprohon, R. J.
 1996 'A Late Middle Kingdom Stela in a Private Collection.' In *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*. P. der Manuelian, pp. 523-531. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts.
- Lepsius, C. R.
 1849-1859 *Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*. 12 vols. Berlin: Nicolai. Reprinted, Geneva: Belle-Lettres, 1972-1973.
- Lesko, B.
 1967 'The Senmut Problem.' *JARCE* 6, pp. 113-8.
 1978 *The Remarkable Women of Ancient Egypt*. Berkeley: B. C. Scribe Publications.
- Lettelier, B.
 1981 'Review of Tefnin 1979.' *BiOr* 38, cols. 305-8.
- Lichtheim, M.
 1975 *Ancient Egyptian Literature*. Vol. I: *The Old and Middle Kingdoms*. Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press.
 1976 *Ancient Egyptian Literature*. Vol. II: *The New Kingdom*. Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Lilyquist, C.
 1988 'The Gold Bowl Naming General Djehuty: A Study of Objects and Early Egyptology.' *MMJ* 23, pp. 5-68.
 2004 *The Tomb of Three Foreign Wives of Tuthmosis III*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New Haven & London: Yale University Press.
- Lindblad, I.
 1984 *Royal Sculpture of the Early Eighteenth Dynasty in Egypt*. The Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities 'Medelhavsmuseet', Memoir 5. Stockholm: University of Uppsala.

- 1988 'An Unidentified Statue of Ahmose.' *SAK 15*, pp. 197-201 & pls. 5-9.
- Lipinska, J.
1966 'The Portraits of Thutmosis III Newly Discovered at Deir el-Bahari.' In *Mélanges offerts à Kazimierz Michalowski*. M. L. Bernhard (ed.), pp. 129-138. Warsaw: Pantswowe Wydawnictowa Naukowe.
- 1993 'La succession d'Hatchepsout'. In *Hatchepsout: Femme Pharaon*. Les Dossiers d'Archéologie 187 S, pp. 118-23. Dijon: Editions Faton.
- Loprieno, A.
1988 *Topos und Mimesis. Zum Auslander in der agyptischen Literatur*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- 1996 'Defining Egyptian Literature: Ancient Texts and Modern Theories.' In *Ancient Egyptian Literature: history and forms*. A. Loprieno (ed.), pp. 39-58. PDA 10. Leiden & New York: E. J. Brill.
- 2010 'The Grammar of Egyptian Narrative: a problem of linguistics or of linguistic theory.' In *Narratives of Egypt and the Ancient Near East: Literary and Linguistic Approaches*. F. Hagen, J. Johnston, W. Monkhouse, K. Piquette, J. Tait, & M. Worthington (eds.), *in press*. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 189. Leuven: Peeters.
- Lorton, D.
1986 'Terms of coregency in the Middle Kingdom.' *VÄ 2*, pp. 113-120.
- Loyrette, A.-M.
1992 'Les monuments du prince Oudjmès.' *Memnonia 3*, pp. 131-40.
- Lucas, A. & Harris, J. R.
1989 *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*. 4th Ed. London: Histories and Mysteries of Man.
- Lucas, A. & Rowe, A.
1940 'Ancient Egyptian Measures of Capacity.' *ASAE 40*, pp. 69-92.
- Malek, J.
1999 *Egyptian Art*. London: Phaidon.
- Manley, B.
2002 'Some Images of the King and Queen Together in Stele of Ahmose I.' *TdE 1*, pp. 35-44.
- Manniche, L.
1977 'Some Aspects of Ancient Egyptian Sexual Life.' *Acta Orientalia* 38, pp. 11-23.
- 1997 *Sexual Life in Ancient Egypt*. London & New York: Kegan Paul International.

- Manuelian, P. der & Loeben, C. E.
 1993 'New Light on the Recarved Sarcophagus of Hatshepsut and Thutmose I in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.' *JEA* 79, pp. 121-155.
- Marcus, J.
 2001 'Breaking the Glass Ceiling: the Strategies of Royal Women in Ancient States.' In *Gender in Pre-Hispanic America*. C. F. Klein (ed.), pp. 305-340. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks.
- Marin, L.
 1981 *Le portrait du roi*. Paris: Editions de Minuit.
- Martinez, P.
 1993a 'Le VIII^e pylône et l'axe royal du domaine d'Amon.' In *Hatchepsout: Femme Pharaon*. Les Dossiers d'Archéologie 187 S, pp. 64-71. Dijon: Editions Faton.
 1993b 'Une expédition pacifique au lointain pays de Pount.' In *Hatchepsout: Femme Pharaon*. Les Dossiers d'Archéologie 187 S, pp. 84-93. Dijon: Editions Faton.
- Maspero, G.
 1889 *Les Momies royales de Deir el-Bahari*. Mémoires présentés par les membres de la Mission permanente, vol. I. Paris: E. Leroux
- Mathieu, B.
 2000 'L'Enigmatique Hatchepsout.' *Egypte: Afrique et Orient* 17, pp. 3-12.
- Megally, M.
 1977 *Recherches sur l'économie, l'administration et le comptabilité Égyptiennes à la XVIIIe Dynastie*. Cairo: IFAO.
- Menu, B.
 'La <stele> d'Ahmès Nefertary dans son Contexte Historique et Juridique.' *BIFAO* 77, pp. 89-100.
- Meyer, Ch.
 1980 'Neferure.' In *LÄ*, vol. 4, cols. 382-383. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
 1982 *Senenmut. Eine prosopographische Untersuchung*. Hamburger ägyptologische Studien 2. Hamburg: Borg.
- Michalowski, K.
 1962-5 *Faras I-II*. Warsaw.
 1966 *Faras: Centre artistique de la Nubie chrétienne*. Leiden.
- Moers, G.
 1999 'Travel as Narrative in Egyptian Literature.' In *Definitely: Egyptian Literature; Proceedings of the symposium "Ancient Egyptian literature: history and forms"*, Los Angeles, March 24-26, 1995. G. Moers (ed.), pp. 43-61. *Studia monographia* 2. Göttingen: Lingua Aegyptia.
- Morgan, de J. et al.
 1909 *Kom Ombo*. 2 volumes. Vienna.

- Morkot, R. G.
 1987 'Studies in New Kingdom Nubia, Politics, Economics and Ideology: Egyptian Imperialism in Nubia.' *Wepwawet* 3, pp. 29-49.
 1991 'Nubia in the New Kingdom: the Limits of Egyptian Control.' In *Egypt and Africa: Nubia from Prehistory to Islam*. W. V. Davies, pp. 294-301. London: British Museum Press.
- Mond, R. and Myers, O. H.
 1937 *Cemeteries of Armant*. London: EES.
 1940 *Temples of Armant: a preliminary survey*. London: EES.
- Montet, P.
 1966 *Le Lac Sacré de Tanis*. Paris: C. Klincksieck.
- Muller, M.
 1979 'Zum Bildnistypus Thutmosis I.' *GM* 32, pp. 27-32.
 1995 Die Thematik der Schlachtenreliefs. MA Thesis. Tübingen. Unpublished (used by kind permission of the author).
- Murnane, W. J.
 1976 'The Earlier Reign of Ramesses II and his Coregency with Seti I.' *JNES* 34/3, pp. 153-190.
 1977 *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies*. SAOC 40. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
 1981 'The sed festival: a problem in historical method.' *MDAIK* 37, pp. 369-376.
 1995 'The Kingship of the Nineteenth Dynasty: a study in the resilience of an institution.' In *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*. D. O'Connor and D. P. Silverman (eds.), pp. 185-217. Leiden, New York & Koln: E. J. Brill.
 1997 'Overseer of the Northern Foreign Countries: Reflections on the Upper Administration of Egypt's Empire in Western Asia.' In *Essays on Ancient Egypt in Honour of Herman te Velde*. J. van Dijk (ed.), pp. 251-258. Egyptological Memoirs I. Groningen: Styx.
- Myśliwiec, K.
 1976 *Le Portrait royal dans le bas-relief du Nouvel Empire*. Travaux du Centre d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences 19. Warsaw: Éditions Scientifiques de Pologne.
- Na'aman, N.
 2006 'Did Ramesses II Wage a Campaign against the Land of Moab?' *GM* 209, pp. 63-69.
- Naville, É.
 1894-1908 *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari*. 7 vols. Egyptian Exploration Fund, [Mémorial] 12-14, 16, 19, 27, 29. London: Egypt Exploration Fund.

- Negroni, S. & Yoyotte, J.
 1969 'La Chapelle Rouge: quelques instruments de travail.' *KEMI* 19, pp. 296-303.
- Nelson, H. H.
 1913 *The Battle of Megiddo*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Nims, C. F.
 1955 'Places about Thebes.' *JNES* 14, pp. 110-123.
 1966 'The Date of the Dishonoring of Hatshepsut.' *ZAS* 93, pp. 97-100.
 1971 'The Eastern Temple at Karnak.' In *Aufsätze zum 70. Geburtstag von Herbert Ricke*, pp. 107-111. Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde 12. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner in Komm.
- O'Connor, D.
 2001 'New Kingdom and the Third Intermediate Period: 1552-664BC.' In *Ancient Egypt: a Social History*. B. G. Trigger, B. J. Kemp, D. O'Connor & A. B. Lloyd (eds.), pp. 183-278. Reprinted. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- O'Connor, D. and Silverman, D. P.
 1995 'Introduction.' In *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*. D. O'Connor and D. P. Silverman (eds.), XVII-XXVII. Leiden, New York & Koln: E. J. Brill.
- O'Rourke, P. F.
 2002 'Khnum.' In *The Ancient Gods Speak: a guide to Egyptian Religion*. D. B. Redford (ed.), pp. 185-186. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ockinga, B.
 1995 'Hatshepsut's Election to Kingship: the Ba and Ka in Egyptian Royal Ideology.' *BACE* 6, pp. 89-102.
- Pamminger, P.
 1992 'Nochmals zum Problem der Vizekönige von Kusch unter Hatschepsut.' *GM* 131, pp. 97-100.
- Paneque, C. G.
 2003 'The Official Image of Hatshepsut during the Regency. A Political Approximation to the Office of God's Wife.' *TdE* 2, pp. 83-98.
- Pardey, E.
 1997 'Der sog: Sprecher des Königs in der I. Hälfte der 18. Dynastie.' In *Essays in Honour of Prof. Jadwiga Lipinska*, pp. 377-97. Warsaw Egyptological Studies I. Warsaw: National Museum.
- Parker, R. A. & Černý, J.
 1962 *A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes in the Brooklyn Museum [Papyrus Brooklyn 47.218.3]*. Providence: Brown University Press.

- Parkinson, R. B.
 1991 *Voices From Ancient Egypt: an anthology of Middle Kingdom writings*. London: British Museum Press.
 1996 'Types of Literature in the Middle Kingdom.' In *Ancient Egyptian Literature: history and forms*. A. Loprieno (ed.), pp. 297-312. PDA 10. Leiden & New York: E. J. Brill.
- Patch, D. C.
 2005a 'The Shrines to Hathor at Deir el-Bahri.' In *Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh*. C. H. Roehrig (ed.), pp. 173-176. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
 2005b 'Cosmetic Equipment.' In *Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh*. C. H. Roehrig (ed.), p. 215. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Pawlicki, F.
 2000 *The Temple of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari*. Trans. I. Zych. Cairo: The Supreme Council of Antiquities Press.
- Peet, T. E.
 1926 'Two Eighteenth Dynasty Letters: Papyrus Louvre 3230.' *JEA* 12, pp. 70-4.
- Perkins, A.
 1957 'Narration in Babylonian Art.' *AJA* 61, pp. 54-62.
- Petrie, W. M. F.
 1906 *Researches in Sinai*. London: E. P. Dutton.
- Pinch, G.
 1993 *Votive Offerings to Hathor*. Oxford: Griffith Institute.
- Polz, D.
 1991 'Jamuedjedjeh, Meri und Userhat.' *MDAIK* 47, pp. 281-91.
- Polz, F.
 1990 'Die Sna-Vorsteher des Neuen Reiches.' *ZÄS* 117, pp. 43-60.
- Porter, B. & Moss, R. L. B.
 1934-1952 *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings*. 7 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press (abbreviated as PM¹).
- Porter, B., Moss, R. L. B., Burney, E. and Malek, J.
 1960- *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings*. 2nd Ed. Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum (abbreviated as PM²).
- Posener, G.
 1963 'Amenemope 21, 13 et biAi.t au sens d'oracle.' *ZÄS* 90, pp. 98-102.
- Quirke, S.
 1992 *Ancient Egyptian Religion*. London: British Museum Press.
 1996 'Narrative Literature.' In *Ancient Egyptian Literature: history and forms*. A. Loprieno (ed.), pp. 263-275. PDA 10, Leiden & New York: E. J. Brill.

- Ratié, S.
1979 *La Reine Hatchepsout: Sources et problèmes.* Orientalia Monspeliensia 1. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Redford, D. B.
1965 'The Coregency of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II.' *JEA* 51, pp. 107-122.
1967 *History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt: Seven Studies.* Near and Middle East Series 3. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
1971 'The Earliest Years of Ramesses II and the Building of the Ramesside Court at Luxor.' *JEA* 57, pp. 110-119.
1986 *Pharaonic King-Lists, Annals and Day-Books: a contribution to the study of the Egyptian sense of history.* Ontario: Benben Publications.
1992 *Egypt, Canaan and Israel in Ancient Times.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.
1995 'The Concept of Kingship during the Eighteenth Dynasty.' In *Ancient Egyptian Kingship.* D. O'Connor and D. P. Silverman (eds.), pp. 157-184. Leiden, New York & Koln: E. J. Brill.
2006 'The Northern Wars of Thutmose III.' In *Thutmose III: A New Biography.* E. H. Cline & D. O'Connor (eds.), pp. 325-343. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Reeves, N.
1990 *Valley of the Kings: The Decline of a Royal Necropolis.* Studies in Egyptology. London & New York: Kegan Paul International.
2003 'On Some Queens' Tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty.' In *The Theban Necropolis: Past, Present and Future.* N. Strudwick & J. H. Taylor (eds.), pp. 69-73. London: British Museum Press.
- Reeves, N., & Wilkinson, R. H.
1996 *The Complete Valley of the Kings: Tombs and Treasures of Egypt's Greatest Pharaohs.* London: Thames and Hudson.
- Reineke, W. F.
1977 'Ein Nubienfeldzug unter Königin Hatshepsut.' In *Ägypten und Kusch (Fritz Hintze zum 60. Geburtstag).* E. Endesfelder et al. (eds), pp. 369-376. Berlin.
- Reisner, G. A.
1936 *The Development of the Egyptian Tomb down to the Accession of Cheops.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Ricke, H.
1954 *Das Kamutef-Heiligtum Hatschepsuts und Thutmoses' III. in Karnak.* Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin.
- Ricke, H., Hughes, G. and Wentz, E. F.
1967 *The Beit el-Wali Temple of Ramesses II.* Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition Memoirs I. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Ritner, R. K.
2002 'Magic.' In *The Ancient Gods Speak: a guide to Egyptian Religion*. D. B. Redford (ed.), pp. 191-214. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Robins, G.
1982 'Ahhotpe I, II, and III.' *GM* 56, pp. 71-77.
1983 'A Critical Examination of the Theory that the Right to the Throne of Egypt Passed Through the Female Line in the 18th Dynasty.' *GM* 62, pp. 67-77.
1993a *Women in Ancient Egypt*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
1993b 'The God's Wife of Amun in the 18th Dynasty in Egypt.' In *Images of Women in Antiquity*. Revised. A. Cameron & A. Kuhrt (eds.), pp. 65-78. London: Routledge.
1994 *Proportion and Style in Ancient Egyptian Art*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
1997 *The Art of Ancient Egypt*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
1999 'The Names of Hatshepsut as King.' *JEA* 85, pp. 103-12.
- Roehrig, C. H.
1990a The Eighteenth Dynasty Titles Royal Nurse (mnat-nswt), Royal Tutor (mna-nswt) and Foster Brother/Sister of the Lord of the Two Lands (sn/snt mna n nb tAwy). PhD Dissertation. Berkeley: University of California.
1990b 'Hatshepsut and the Metropolitan Museum of Art.' *KMT* 1 (Spring 1990), pp. 28-33.
2005a 'Senenmut, Royal Tutor to Princess Neferure.' In *Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh*. C. H. Roehrig (ed.), pp. 112-116. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
2005b 'Foundation Deposits for the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri.' In *Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh*. C. H. Roehrig (ed.), pp. 141-146. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
2005c 'The Two Tombs of Hatshepsut.' In *Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh*. C. H. Roehrig (ed.), pp. 184-189. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
2005d 'Figure Vases.' In *Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh*. C. H. Roehrig (ed.), pp. 233-234. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
2006 'The Building Projects of Thutmose III in the Valley of the Kings.' In *Thutmose III: a New Biography*. E. H. Cline & D. O'Connor (eds.), pp. 238-259. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Roehrig, C. H. (ed.) with Keller, C. A. & Dreyfus, R.
2005 *Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh*. Exhibition Catalogue, Fine Art Museums of San Francisco/de Young; the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; and the Kimbell Museum of Art, Fort Worth. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.

- Romano, J. F.
1976 'Observations on Early Eighteenth Dynasty Royal Sculpture.' *JARCE* 13, pp. 97-111.
- Romer, J.
1974 'Tuthmosis I and the Bibân el-Molûk: Some Problems of Attribution.' *JEA* 60, pp. 119-133.
1976 'Royal Tombs of the Early Eighteenth Dynasty.' *MDAIK* 32, pp. 191-206.
1982 *Romer's Egypt: a new light on the Civilization of Ancient Egypt*. London: Michael Joseph.
- Rosellini, I.
1833 *I Monumenti dell'Egitto e della Nubia Vol. I, Part II*. Monumenti Storici. Pisa.
- Roth, A.M.
1977-78 'Ahhotep I and Ahhotep II.' *Serapis* 4, pp. 31-40.
1992 'The psS-kf and the "opening of the mouth" ceremony: a ritual of birth and rebirth.' *JEA* 78, pp. 113-147.
2005a 'Models of Authority: Hatshepsut's Predecessors in Power.' In *Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh*. C. H. Roehrig (ed.), pp. 9-15. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
2005b 'Hatshepsut's Mortuary Temple at Deir el-Bahri: architecture as political statement.' In *Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh*. C. H. Roehrig (ed.), pp. 147-157. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Roueché, C.
1993 *Performers and Partisans at Aphrodisias in the Roman and Late Roman Periods*. Journal of Roman Studies, Monograph 6. London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies.
- Russmann, E. R.
1989 *Egyptian Sculpture: Cairo and Luxor*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
2001 *Eternal Egypt: Masterworks of Ancient Art from the British Museum*. Exhibition Catalogue, Toledo Museum of Art; Wonders (Memphis International Cultural Series, Memphis; Brooklyn Museum; and other institutions. Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press; New York: American Federation of Arts.
- Ryholt, K. S. B.
1997 *The Political Situation in Egypt During the Second Intermediate Period c.1800-1550BC*. Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications 20. Copenhagen: Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Near Eastern Studies, University of Copenhagen & Museum Tusulanum Press.
- Sauneron, S.
1968 'La statue d'Ahmosé, dit Rourou au Musée de Brooklyn.' *Kêmi* 18, pp. 45-50.

- 2000 *The Priests of Ancient Egypt*. Revised. Trans. D. Lorton. Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press.
- Säve-Söderbergh, T.
- 1941 *Ägypten und Nubien: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte altägyptischer Aussenpolitik*. Lund: Håkan Ohlssons Boktryckeri.
- 1946 *The Navy of the Eighteenth Egyptian Dynasty*. Uppsala: Lundequistska Bokhandeln.
- 1957 *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs: Private Tombs at Thebes I*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- 1960 'The Paintings in the Tomb of Djehuty-Hetep at Debeira.' *Kush* 8, pp. 25-44.
- 1991 'Teh-khet: The Cultural and Sociopolitical Structure of a Nubian Princedom in Tuthmoside Times.' In *Egypt and Africa: Nubia from Prehistory to Islam*. W. V. Davies (ed.), pp. 186-194. London: British Museum Press & Egypt Exploration Society.
- Schäfer, H.
- 1986 *Principles of Egyptian Art*. Revised & Trans. J. Baines, with an epilogue by E. Brunner-Traut. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Schmitz, B.
- 1978 'Untersuchungen zu Zwei Königinnen der Frühen 18. Dynastie, Ahhotep und Ahmose.' *CdE* 53, pp. 207-21.
- Schoske, S.
- 1990a 'Kunst-Geschichte: Bemerkungen zu einem neuerworbenen Königskopf im Ägyptischen Museum (SMPK) Berlin.' In *Studien zur ägyptischen Kunstgeschichte*. M. Eaton-Krauss and E. Graefe (eds.), pp. 81-93 & pls. 15-23. HÄB 29. Hildesheim: Gerstenberg.
- 1990b *Schönheit – Abglanz der Göttlichkeit: Kosmetik im alten Ägypten*. Schriften aus der Ägyptischen Sammlung 5. Munich: Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst.
- Schott, S.
- 1955 *Zum Krönungstag der Königin Hatschepsût*. NAWG I. Philologisch-historische Klasse, Nachrichten, Jahre 1955, no. 6. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Schulman, A. R.
- 1964 *Military Rank, Title and Organization in the Egyptian New Kingdom*. Berlin: B. Hessling.
- 1969-70 'Some Remarks on the Alleged "Fall" of Senmüt.' *JARCE* 8, pp. 29-48.
- 1987-8 'The Ubiquitous Senenmut.' *BES* 9, pp. 61-81.
- Schulz, R.
- 1992 *Die Entwicklung und Bedeutung des kuboiden Statuentypus: Eine Untersuchung zu den sogenannten "Würfelhockern"*. 2 vols. HÄB 33 & 34. Hildesheim: Gerstenberg.

- Schumacher, I. W.
1988 *Der Gott Sopdu, der Herr der Fremdländer*. OBO 79. Freiburg, Schweiz: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Seipel, W.
1977 'Hatshepsut I.' In *LÄ*, vol. II, cols. 1045-1051. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Sethe, K.
1898 'Altes und Neues zur Geschichte der Thronstreitigkeiten unter den Nachfolgern Thutmosis I.' *ZÄS* 36, pp. 24-81.
1906-9 *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums IV: Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*. 4 vols. Leipzig: Akademie Verlag (cited as *Urk. IV*).
1932 *Das Hatshepsut-Problem noch einmal untersucht*. Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse 1932, no. 4, Berlin.
- Shaw, I.
2000 'Introduction: Chronologies and Cultural Change in Egypt' In *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*. I. Shaw (ed.), pp. 1-16. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Shupak, N.
2001 'Canon and Canonization in Ancient Egypt.' *BiOr* 58 (5/6), pp. 535-547.
- Silverman, D.
1982 *Egypt's Golden Age: The Art of Living in the New Kingdom 1558-1085BC*. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts.
1995 'The Nature of Egyptian Kingship.' In *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*. D. O'Connor and D. P. Silverman (eds.), pp. 49-92. Leiden, New York & Koln: E. J. Brill.
- Simpson, W. K.
1956 'The single-dated monuments of Sesostri I: an aspect of the institution of coregency in the Twelfth Dynasty.' *JNES* 15, pp. 214-219.
- Simpson, W. K. (ed.)
1973 *The Literature of Ancient Egypt: an anthology of stories, instructions and poetry*. With R. O. Faulkner & E. F. Wente. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Shafer, B. E.
1997 'Temples, Priests and Rituals: an Overview.' In *Temples of Ancient Egypt*. B. E. Shafer (ed.), pp. 1-30. New York: Cornell University Press.
- Smith, A.
2000 'The Undated Inscriptions of Ramesses II: a review of Ramesses' military campaigns as depicted in his Nubian temples.' Unpublished.
2002 'Review of E. R. Russmann (ed.), 2001 "Eternal Egypt: masterworks of ancient art from the British Museum",

- University of California Press, Berkeley, California.' *Prudentia* 34/2, pp. 266-271.
- 2005 'Kingship, Water and Ritual: the Ablution Rite in the Coronation Ritual of the Pharaoh.' In *L'Acqua Nell' Antico Egitto: Proceedings of the First International Conference for Young Egyptologists, Italy, October 15-18, 2003*. A. Amenta, M. M. Luiselli & M. N. Sordi (eds.), pp. 329-336. Rome: L'erma di Bretschneider.
- 2011 'Narrative Methodologies in Ancient Egyptian Art History: the Military Reliefs of Ramesses II at Luxor.' In *Narratives of Egypt and the Ancient Near East: Literary and Linguistic Approaches*. F. Hagen, J. Johnston, W. Monkhouse, K. Piquette, J. Tait, & M. Worthington (eds.), pp. 269-285. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 189. Leuven: Peeters.
- Spalinger, A.
- 1979 'Traces of the Early Career of Ramesses II.' *JNES* 38, pp. 271-286.
- 1980a 'Historical Observations on the Military Relief's at Abu Simbel.' *JEA* 66, pp. 83-99.
- 1980b 'Remarks on the Family of Queen xa.s-nbw and the Problem of Kingship in Dynasty XIII.' *RdE* 32, pp. 95-116.
- 1984 'The Will of Senimose.' In *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens, Zu Ehren von Wolfhart Westendorf überreicht von seinen Freuden und Schülern*, pp. 631-651. Göttingen.
- 1993 'A Religious Calendar Year in the Mut Temple at Karnak.' *RdE* 44, pp. 161-184.
- 1996 'Sovereignty and Theology in New Kingdom Egypt: Some Cases of Tradition.' *Saeculum* 47, pp. 218-223.
- 2001 'Festivals.' In *OEAE*, vol. I, pp. 521-525. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- 2005 *War in Ancient Egypt: The New Kingdom*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Spencer, A. J.
- 1982 *Death in Ancient Egypt*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- 1987 'Ashmunein 1980-1985: a practical approach to townsite excavation'. In *Problems and Priorities in Egyptian Archaeology*. J. Assmann, G. Burkard, W. V. Davies (eds.), pp. 255-260. London: KPI.
- Spencer, A. J. and Bailey, D. M.
- 1983-1993 *Excavations at el-Ashmunein*. 4 volumes. London.
- Stasser, T.
- 2002 'La Famille d'Amosis.' *CdE* 77, pp. 23-46.
- Steindorff, G. & Wolf, W.
- 1936 *Die thebanische Gräberwelt*. Leipziger ägyptologische Studien 4, Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin.
- Stevenson-Smith
- 1958 *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt*. The Pelican History of Art. Middlesex: Penguin.

- 1962 'The land of Punt.' *JARCE I*, pp. 59-60.
- Strudwick, N. & Strudwick, H.
1999 *Thebes in Egypt: A Guide to the Tombs and Temples of Ancient Luxor*. London: British Museum Press.
- Szafranski, Z. E.
2007 'Deir el-Bahari – Temple of Hatshepsut.' In *Seventy Years of Polish Archaeology in Egypt*. E. Laskowska-Kusztal (ed.), pp. 91-104. Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology. Warsaw: University of Warsaw.
- Tefnin, R.
1968-1972 'Contribution à l'iconographie d'Aménophis I: La statuette 42.099 du Musée du Caire.' *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire orientales et Slaves 20*, pp. 433-7.
1973 'L'an 7 de Touthmosis III et d'Hatshepsout.' *CdE 48*, pp. 232-242.
1979 *La Statuaire d'Hatshepsout: portrait royal et politique sous la 18^e Dynastie*. Monumenta Aegyptiaca IV. Bruxelles: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth.
- Thomas, E.
1966 *The Royal Necropoleis of Thebes*. Princeton: Privately printed.
1979 'The qA_y of Queen Imhapy.' *JARCE 16*, pp. 85-92.
- Thompson, D. (ed.)
1996 *The Oxford Compact English Dictionary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Troy, L.
1979 'Ahhotep – a source evaluation.' *GM 35*, pp. 81-91.
1986 *Patterns of Queenship in Ancient Egyptian Myth and History*. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Boreas 14. Uppsala: Universitetet; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International.
2006 'Religion and Cult during the Time of Thutmose III.' In *Thutmose III: A New Biography*. E. H. Cline & D. O'Connor (eds.), pp. 123-182. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Tyldesley, J.
1996 *Hatchepsut, the Female Pharaoh*. London & New York: Viking.
- Tyler, J. J.
1900 *The Tomb of Renni*. London.
- Uphill, E.
1961 'A Joint Sed-Festival of Thutmose III and Queen Hatshepsut.' *JNES 20 (4)*, pp. 248-251.
1964 'The Egyptian sed-festival rites.' *JNES 24 (4)*, pp. 365-383.
1967 'The Nine Bows.' *JEOL 19*, pp. 410-420.
- Valbelle, D.
1981 *Satis et Anoukis*. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
1984 'Satet.' In *LÄ*, vol. V, cols. 487-488. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
1990 *Les neufs arcs: l'égyptien et les étrangers de la Préhistoire à la*

- conquête romaine*. Paris: Armand Colin.
- Valloggia, M.
1969 'Amenemhat IV at sa Corégence avec Amenemhat III.' *RdE* 21, pp. 107-133.
- van den Boorn, G. P. F.
1985 'WDa-ryt and the Justice at the Gate. *JNES* 44, pp. 1-25.
1988 *The Duties of the Vizier: Civil Administration in the Early New Kingdom*. London & New York: Kegan Paul International.
- Van Seters, J.
1966 *The Hyksos, a new investigation*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press.
- Vandersleyen, C.
1971 *Les Geurres d'Amosis: Fondateur de la XVIIIe Dynastie*. Bruxelles: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth.
1980 'Les Deux Ahhotep.' *SAK* 8, pp. 237-241.
1995 *L'Égypte et la vallée du Nil, Vol. 2, De la fin de l'Ancien Empire à la fin du Nouvel Empire: Nouvelle Clio*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France.
- Vandier, J.
1958 *Manual d'archéologie égyptienne, Vol. 3. Les grandes époques: La statuaire*. Paris: A. et J. Picard.
- Varille, A.
1943 *Karnak I*. FIFAO 19. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire.
- Vassilika, E.
1995 *Egyptian Art*. With J. Bourriau. Fitzwilliam Museum Handbooks. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Vercoutter, J.
1947 'Les Haou-Nebout.' *BIFAO* 46, pp. 125-158.
1956 'L'Égypte et le monde égéen pré-hellénique.' *BdE* 22, pp. 15-32.
- von Beckerath, J.
1981 'Ein Wunder des Amun bei der Tempelgründung in Karnak.' *MDAIK* 37, pp. 41-49.
1984 *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*. MÄS 20. Munich & Berlin: Philipp von Zabern.
1990 'Noch einmals zur Regierung Tuthmosis' II.' *SAK* 17, 1990, pp. 68-71.
1994 *Chronologie des Ägyptischen Neuen Reiches*. HÄB 39. Hildesheim: Gerstenberg.
- von Bissing, W.
1907 *Steingefässe, CGC nos. 18065-18793*. Vienna.
- von Pilgrim, C.
2001 'Stratigraphie d'un temple: le temple de Khnoum à Éléphantine du Nouvel Empire à la Periode Ptolémaïque.' *BSFE* 151, pp. 35-53.

- 2002 'Der Chnumtempel des Neuen Reiches.' In <<Stadt und Tempel von Elephantine: 28./29./30. Grabungsbericht, *MDAIK 58*. G. Dreyer, H-W. Fischer-Elfert, C. Heitz, A. Klammt, M. Krutzsch, C. Von Pilgrim, D. Raue, S. Schönenberger, C. Ubertini (eds), pp. 184-192.
- Ward, W. A.
1997 'Summary and Conclusions.' In *Exodus: the Egyptian Evidence*. E. S. Frerichs & L. H. Lesko, pp. 105-112. Indiana: Eisenbrauns.
- Wasmuth, M.
2003 *Innovation und Exztravaganzen: Ein Beitrag zur Architektur des thebanischen Beamtengraber der 18. Dynastie*. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.
- Watanabe, C. E.
2004 'The "Continuous Style" in the Narrative Scheme of Assurbanipal's Reliefs.' *Iraq 66*, pp. 103 – 114.
- Watterson, B.
1996 *Gods of Ancient Egypt*. London: Sutton.
- Weinstein, J.
1971-2 'A Foundation Deposit Tablet from Hierakonopolis.' *JARCE 9*, pp. 133-5.
1973 *Foundation Deposits in Ancient Egypt*. PhD Dissertation. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.
1997 'Exodus and Archaeological Reality.' In *Exodus: the Egyptian Evidence*. E. S. Frerichs & L. H. Lesko, pp. 87-104. Indiana: Eisenbrauns.
- Wente, E. F.
1973 'The Capture of Joppa.' In *The Literature of Ancient Egypt: an anthology of stories, instructions and poetry*. W. K. Simpson (ed.), with R. O. Faulkner & E. F. Wente, pp. 81-4. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
1984 'Some Graffiti from the Reign of Hatshepsut.' *JNES 43(1)*, pp. 47-54.
1990 *Letters from Ancient Egypt*. With E. S. Meltzer. Atlanta: Scholars.
- Wente, E. F & Harris, J. E.
1992 'Royal Mummies of the Eighteenth Dynasty: A Biologic and Egyptological Approach.' In *After Tutankh'amon: Research and Excavation in the Royal Necropolis at Thebes*. C. N. Reeves (ed.), pp. 2-20. London: Kegan Paul International.
- Werbrouck, M.
1949 *Le Temple d'Hatshepsut á Deir el Bahari*. Bruxelles: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth.
- Whale, S.
1986 *The Family as Represented in the Private Tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt to the End of the Reign of Thutmosis IV*. PhD Dissertation. Auckland: University of

- Auckland.
- 1989 *The Family in the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt*. Sydney: Australian Centre for Egyptology.
- Wildung, D.
1974 'Zwei Stelen aus Hatschepsuts Frühzeit.' In *Festschrift zum 150 jährigen bestehen des Berliner Ägyptischen Museum*, pp. 255-268. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Mitteilungen aus der Ägyptischen Sammlung 8. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Wilkinson, R. H.
1992 *Reading Egyptian Art: A Hieroglyphic Guide to Ancient Egyptian Painting and Sculpture*. London: Thames & Hudson.
2000 *The Complete Temples of Ancient Egypt*. London: Thames & Hudson.
2003 *The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Wilson, J. A.
1969 'The Asiatic Campaigns of Thut-mose III.' In *ANET*, pp. 234-41. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Wimmer, S. J.
2002 'A New Stela of Ramesses II in Jordan in the Context of Egyptian Royal Stelae in the Levant.' Paper presented at the Third International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East (ICAANE). Unpublished.
- Winlock, H. E.
1924a 'The Tombs of the Kings of the Seventeenth Dynasty at Thebes.' *JEA* 10, pp. 217-277.
1924b 'The Museum's Excavations at Thebes.' In *The Egyptian Expedition, 1923-1924*, pp. ???. *BMMA* ?? (Dec.), sctn. 2
1928a 'The Museum's Excavations at Thebes.' In *The Egyptian Expedition, 1925-1927*, pp. 3-58. *BMMA* 23 (February), sctn. 2.
1928b 'The Museum's Excavations at Thebes.' In *The Egyptian Expedition, 1927-1928*, pp. 3-28. *BMMA* 23 (Dec.), sctn. 2.
1929a 'The Museum's Excavations at Thebes.' In *The Egyptian Expedition, 1928-1929*, pp. 3-34. *BMMA* 24 (Feb.), sctn. 2.
1929b 'Notes on the reburial of Tuthmosis I.' *JEA* 15, pp. 56-67.
1930 'The Museum's Excavations at Thebes.' In *The Egyptian Expedition, 1929-1930*, pp. 3-28. *BMMA* 25 (Feb.), sctn. 2.
1942 *Excavations at Deir el-Bahari 1911-1931*, New York.
1948 *The Treasure of Three Egyptian Princesses*. Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Department of Egyptian Art 10. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Witkowski, M.
1993 'Deir El Bahari et l'énigme des chapelles redoublées.' In *Hatchepsout: Femme Pharaon*. Les Dossiers d'Archéologie 187 S, pp. 80-83. Dijon: Editions Faton.

- Wreszinski, W.
1988 *Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte*. 2 Vols. Slatkine Reprints. Geneva.
- Wysocki, Z.
1980 'The Upper Court Colonnade of Hatshepsut's Temple at Deir el-Bahri.' *JEA* 66, pp. 54-69 and plates VIII-IX.
1986 'The Temple of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari: its original form.' *MDAIK* 42, pp. 213-228.
1992 'The Temple of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari: the raising of the structure in view of architectural studies.' *MDAIK* 48, pp. 233-254.
- Yoyotte, J.
1968 'La date supposée du couronnement d'Hatshepsout.' *KEMI* 18, pp. 85-91.
- Ziegler, C.
1979 *Catalogue des instruments de musique égyptiens au Musée de Louvre département des Antiquités égyptiennes*. Réunion des Musées Nationaux. Paris.
1984 'Sistrum.' In *LÄ*, vol. 5, cols. 959-63. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
2002 'The Queens of the New Kingdom.' In *The Pharaohs*. C. Ziegler (ed.), pp. 237-267. Exhibition Catalogue. Palazzo Grassi, Venice. Milan: Bompiani Arte.
- Zivie, C.
1976 *Giza au la deuxième millénaire*. Bibliothèque d'étude 70. Paris: IFAO.
1984 'Un chancelier nommé Nehesy.' In *Mélanges Adolphe Gutbub*, pp. 245-52. Montpellier: Université de Montpellier.