

THE OSTRACON

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Who was Nefertari?

Susan Cottman

Nefertari. Some know this queen, the most favored wife of Ramses the Great, from her celebrated tomb in the Valley of the Queens. For others, her colossal temple, hewn from the living rock at Abu Simbel, is the monument that immediately comes to mind.

Her place in the court and administration – not to mention the heart – of Ramses II is well-documented at major cult centers such as Western Thebes, Karnak and Luxor.

Yet Nefertari, favorite Great Royal Wife, Beloved of Mut, eludes us. Her birthplace and family remain nameless. The tombs of her family have never been found, although Geoffrey Martin once suggested to this writer that some likely could be waiting in the sands of Saqqara, a favorite cemetery of 19th Dynasty nobility. Martin uncovered the tomb of Ramses' sister Tia and her husband, also called Tia, near the private, pre-royal tomb of Horemheb. Nor is the sprawling necropolis at Thebes exhausted.

We can thank her husband for what we do know. Ramses fashioned Nefertari's image in a glory which paralleled his own. She was a goddess on earth, deified in her lifetime, the earthly manifestation of Hathor and Mut. Ramses called himself the husband of Egypt (Desroches-Noblecourt 1985:8) and his favorite consort's titles bear out her role as wife and mother of Egypt.

Many scholars believe Ramses looked to Amenhotep III's exceptional honoring of his Great Royal Wife, Tiye, for shaping Nefertari's divine and secular roles. For example, Amenhotep honored Tiye with a temple at Sedeinga in Nubia where she was worshipped as a form of Hathor. When Ramses built the small temple at Abu Simbel, he did the same thing, albeit on a grander scale. (Kozloff and Bryan 1992:43)

Ramses advertised his chief consort in restricted temple precincts and on facades visible to the public. He made a rare – in some cases unique – use of scale, titulary, and frequency of appearances to emphasize Nefertari's unusual role in his kingdom. Nefertari's name even appears in his tomb near the doorway between the third and fourth corridors. (LeBlanc 1998:para. 6)

One of Ramses' innovations was to grant Nefertari a unique role among ancient Egyptian queens – he appointed her chief ritualist, or “who appeases the gods.” She shared her husband's responsibility for observing religious rituals, such as making offerings to the gods. No queens before or after her had this title. Traditionally, chief ritualist was the king's exclusive

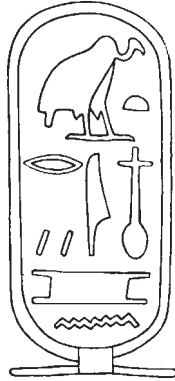
prerogative. (McDonald 1996:17)

Her husband wasted no time in publicizing this radical departure from standard religious practice. In Regnal Year 1, he ordered the title carved on a stela at Gebel Silsileh, where he and Nefertari were shown worshipping the gods. (Schmidt 1973:23)

Nefertari is especially prominent in Thebes in her role as female chief ritualist. She is shown in the Ramesseum participating with Ramses at the Festival of Min, a major religious observance. In one scene, she dances with the white bull, which represented Min. Nefertari – as chief priestess – made offerings to the gods and officiated alongside her husband at religious ceremonies. (Maher-Taha 1987:23) Ramses built a side chapel in the middle of the north wall of the Ramesseum for Nefertari and his mother, Mut-Tuya.

Across the river, on the south face of the eastern pylon at Luxor, a scene from early in Ramses' reign shows the royal couple worshipping Amun-Re. Nefertari plays two sistra for the god as he rests in his barque. She is often depicted playing music for the gods.

Downriver at Abydos, in Regnal Year 1, she stood with Ramses in the window of appearances as he appointed Nebwenenef as First Prophet of Amun. The high priest recorded the event in his tomb (TT 157). (Kitchen 1982:47) Lisa Manniche has written (1987:65) that reigning kings are shown less frequently in 19th Dynasty tombs than 18th



Titles and Epithets

- Beloved of Mut
- God's Mother
- God's Wife
- Great of Favors
- Hereditary Noblewoman
- King's Great Royal Wife
- Lady of Charm
- Lady of the Two Lands
- Mistress of the Two Lands
- Mother of the King
- Pleasant in the Twin Plumes
- Rich of Praise
- Who Appeases the Gods

(McDonald 1996:17)

The Making of a Great Royal Wife

Dynasty tombs, making Nebwenenef's commemoration all the more noteworthy. Depictions of Great Royal Wives and King's Mothers are even rarer in nonroyal monuments and are best known from 18th Dynasty private tombs. That a private citizen would include a royal woman on the walls of his tomb indicates the esteem in which the latter was held. The author knows of no other attested depictions of a royal woman in 19th Dynasty private tombs.

Given this titulary and graphic evidence, a statue of a standard-bearing queen from the Harer Family Trust Collection might also be attributed to Nefertari. The base is missing and with it probably the queen's name. There is no other known instance of a female statue of this type. Experts have dated it on stylistic and epigraphic grounds to the reign of Ramses II. Given records of Nefertari's participation in important religious rituals with Ramses, this statue could represent her, as suggested by some scholars. The statue's right hand encloses an unidentified object, while the left arm supports a standard surmounted with the head of Mut. The standard's shaft reads, "The good god, the son of Amun, born of Mut in order to rule all that the sun's disc encircles, the lord of the Two Lands, User-Maat-Ra Setep-en-Ra ...". Another theory is that it depicts Mut-Tuya, Ramses' mother, because of the phrase "born of Mut," although no active religious role is attested for her. (Capel and Markoe 1996:115)

Nefertari was also one of those rare chief consorts for whom we have evidence of participating in diplomacy. In keeping with her role as Mistress of the Two Lands, she assisted in the normalization of relations with the Hittite empire. Her best known diplomatic gesture is recorded in a copy of a letter dated to Year 21, to her Hittite counterpart Queen Puduhepa. It was found in the ruins of Hattusa, the Hittite capital.

"Thus says Naptera, Great Queen of Egypt:
Say to Puduhepa, Great Queen of Hatti, my sister:

I, your sister, am well. My land is well.

May you, my sister, be well! May your land be well!
I have now heard that you, my sister, wrote to inquire about my health, and that you are writing me in regard to the relationship of good peace and the relationship of good brotherhood which exists between the Great King, the King of Egypt, and the Great King, the King of Hatti, his brother.

The Sun-god and the Storm-god will exalt you, and the Sun-god will cause peace to thrive and will provide good brotherhood forever between the Great King, the King of Egypt and the Great King, the King of Hatti, his brother. And I am likewise in a condition of peace and brotherhood with you, my sister."

Nefertari goes on to list gifts she is sending to the Hittite queen. (Beckman 1996:123)

Abu Simbel

Nowhere is Nefertari's prominence more evident – and colossal – than at her temple at Abu Simbel. An inscription over the entrance to Nefertari's rock-cut temple at Abu Simbel gives no doubt as to Ramses' intention to create for Nefertari the glory he fashioned for himself:

"Ramses II, he has made (it) as his monument for the Great King's Wife, Nefertari, beloved of Mut, a house hewn in the pure mountain of Nubia, of fine, white and enduring sandstone, as an eternal work, Nefertari for whose sake the very sun does shine." (Breasted 2001:214)

Nefertari's temple at Abu Simbel, built on the west bank of the Nile, is dedicated to Hathor of Abshek and lies about 390 feet to the north of the Great Temple. The temple's uniqueness is not limited to its dedication to Nefertari. Six 38-foot statues – two of the queen flanked by her husband – materialize from the mountainside. While tradition demanded that the king have prominence, surprises await the visitor. Inside the hypostyle hall are the only known instances where a queen is shown alongside the king in a smiting scene. In another relief in the vestibule she is shown equal in size to Ramses; in fact, her twin-plumed solar crown towers above his khepresh, or blue military crown.

The monument, although west of the Nile, is not a mortuary temple, although a rock-cut stela at the neighboring Great Temple suggests that Nefertari was ill or already dead when the temple was dedicated about 1255 BCE. The viceroy Hekanakht commissioned the stela. The top register shows Ramses and Merytamun, Nefertari's oldest daughter, worshipping the gods of the Great Temple. The lower register shows the viceroy making offerings to a seated Nefertari, a depiction which may have been used to convey that she was dead.

Her background

The discovery of an enamel knob bearing King Ay's name in her tomb has been offered as evidence that she was his daughter. (Silotti 1997:8) However, the archaeological record does not support this theory. She is never referred to as *sat-nesu* (King's daughter) or *senet-nesu* (King's sister). Her title of hereditary noblewoman, *iret-pat*, indicates that her parents were nobility and perhaps even members of Seti I's court. (Gaballa 1987:14)

Some scholars believe Nefertari hailed from Thebes because of her epithet, Meryt-n-Mut (beloved of Mut). (Goedicke 1971:33) She is the first one to bear this epithet, which the later god's wives of Amun adopted. Others point

to the name Nefertari. Hans Goedicke suggests that the name Nefertari Meryt-n-Mut was an attempt to associate the queen with Ahmose Nefertari, the revered and deified Theban royal matriarch, and Thebes' most prominent goddess, Mut, consort of Amun. (Goedicke 1971:33) Since the king and the great royal wife were the earthly manifestations of the divine couple, this made sense theologically and politically – in Egypt the two spheres were inseparable. Translations of the name Nefertari vary: two recently published ones are “the most beautiful (Silotti 1997:80) and “the one to whom beauty pertains”. (McDonald 1996:17)

Seti I had every reason to marry his son to the daughter of an important Theban family to secure the royal family's legitimacy in a nation recovering from the disruption wrought by Akhenaten's heresy. Ramses' family came from the Delta, which at the dawn of the 19th Dynasty was crucial to military strategy but a political backwater. Thebes, with its sprawling temples and palaces, was the center of the Egyptian world. The early Ramessides had but a brief history there and no royal blood.

Family and home

What is certain is that Nefertari married Ramses while he was still a prince. Both were probably adolescents. Their first child, and the first heir to the throne, Amenhirkopshef, was born shortly thereafter. He did not survive his father, nor did any of his full brothers. Merneptah, the thirteenth in line to the throne and son of Isetnofret, another queen, succeeded the long-lived Ramses. Nefertari had at least six children. Her eldest daughter, Merytamun, succeeded her as Great Royal Wife. Princes Mery-Atum, Sethirkhopshef and Prehirwonmef (Kitchen 1982:102) and Princess Nefertari II (Maher-Taha 2001:113) are also attested.

As befitted her station, Nefertari had her own estates and staff. She accompanied Ramses up and down the Nile and even to the battlefield (Desroches-Noblecourt 1985:7).

Nefertari resided in the uncommon splendor of Pi-Ramses, the city Seti I founded in the Delta at modern Quantir. Pi-Ramses was called the “turquoise city,” a reference to the glazed blue tiles Seti I used to decorate the facades of his palaces. (Desroches-Noblecourt 1985:3) Ramses enlarged the city and, like his father, decorated it lavishly with colorful tiles. Fragments of paintings similar to those found at the Malqata and Amarna royal palaces hint at the elegant decoration of the royal apartments. (Hayes 1990:334)

Biblical scholar Eric Uphill describes the monumentality of the 2,500-acre Delta capital, as quoted in *Israel in Egypt*: “(It) was probably the vastest and most costly royal residence ever erected by the hand of man. As can now be seen its

known palace and official centre covered an area of at least four square miles, and its temples were in scale with this, a colossal assemblage forming perhaps the largest collection of chapels built in the pre-classical world by a single ruler at one time.” (Hoffmeier 1996:119) The sprawling capital also boasted gardens, orchards, vineyards, private homes, and a military base. (Hayes 1990:339)

Nefertari's House of Eternity

We probably will never know exactly when Nefertari became Osiris. Besides the evidence at Abu Simbel for dating her death, she is not shown in scenes of her husband's jubilees (nor are any of the other great royal wives). This further strengthens the theory that she died before his 30th year (and that no other queen was worthy of being included in the jubilee reliefs).

What no one disputes is that her tomb (QV 66) in the Valley of the Queens is one of the most beautiful monuments in Egypt, if not the world. Discovered by Ernesto Schiaparelli in 1904, it is considered to be so important to the world's heritage that the Getty Conservation Institute – from 1988 to 1992 – spent millions of dollars painstakingly conserving the damaged paintings. The paintings cover more than 500 square meters. (Silotti 1997:80) (Alberto Silotti erroneously assigns the tomb to the 20th Dynasty and gives her name as Meryamun. Words such as beloved in feminine names always had the suffix “t”, hence Nefertari Meryt-n-Amun.) The finest artists in the kingdom covered the walls with spells and vignettes from Book of the Dead chapters 17, 94, 144, 146, and 148 to guarantee her a safe passage to the afterlife. (McDonald 1996:57) The tomb re-opened to the public in 1995; only 100 visitors are permitted each day for 10 minutes each.

Zahi Hawass sums up what several Egyptologists have observed about the exceptional nature of her tomb. In describing the Valley of the Queens, he writes, “(Nefertari) was granted a tomb, which, in size and in much of the decoration, was a deliberate echo of a king's tomb. Without using the royal mortuary texts [a decorative program was] selected which was similar to those found in kings' tombs.” (Hawass 1998:198)

Hawass cites the scene of the ram-headed mummy, crowned with a sun disc and flanked by Isis and Nephthys, as an example of this parallel. This scene symbolizes the union of Re and Osiris. It implies the sun's successful completion of its perilous journey through the night, which culminates in the two gods being united. With this union, Nefertari is reborn. The vignette of the sun's dangerous trek is restricted to kings' tombs, and Hawass believes that this scene gives the

same message in Nefertari's tomb. (Hawass 1998:198)

He goes on to say that, "Other images are very close to the royal texts. The stars painted on the ceiling are suggestive of the Book of Night, and the depiction of Hathor as a cow emerging from the western mountain corresponds to the Book of the Celestial Cow, both exclusive to the tombs of kings." (Hawass 1998:198)

For now, depictions of Nefertari are limited to reliefs and statues, because her mummy has never been found. Schiaparelli found fragments of her rose granite sarcophagus, the aforementioned enamel knob, vases, 34 ushabtis, and a pair of sandals. In 1904, the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, bought what was probably funerary equipment in Luxor – four ushabtis, a gilded silver plaque, an embossed sheet gold plaque, and a gilded bronze lily pendant. In 1988 one of the Getty conservators found a fragment of an embossed gold foil bracelet with Nefertari's name and the epithet "true of voice," which suggests it was made for her tomb (McDonald 1996:39). The phrase refers to the deceased.

Nefertari probably lived into her early forties, a long life by ancient Egyptian standards. Several great royal wives would succeed her, but none figured as prominently during Ramses' reign. While it is often noted that Ramses went to extreme lengths to guarantee he would not be forgotten, he also took unprecedented measures to ensure his favorite wife's memory would survive alongside his for "millions of years."

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Redating the Reign of Hatshepsut

William D. Petty

Translations by John Sarr

It is generally accepted that upon Hatshepsut's assumption of full titulary, sometime between Year 2 and Year 7 of the reign of Tuthmosis III, she backdated her reign so that her Regnal Year 1 coincided with the accession of her stepson. However there are certain well-documented facts which seem to be at odds with this theory.

At both Karnak and Deir el-Bahri, Hatshepsut claims that it was her father, Tuthmosis I, who declared that she was to succeed him to the throne. Secondly, and consistent with this, she also publicly claimed to have had a coregency with Tuthmosis II and to have ruled alongside him. After his death, she recarved reliefs to document her claim, changing her image from a queen to a king.

It is clear that Hatshepsut publicly presented herself, in all respects, as the successor of her father Tuthmosis I. She never claimed that her right to rule was in any way derived from her relationship with her husband, Tuthmosis II, or from her stepson, Tuthmosis III. For her to then date her reign from the death of Tuthmosis II and the accession of Tuthmosis III makes no particular sense from the perspective of this claim. In fact, such a dating might even seem to diminish the validity of her claim to the throne.

So where did the idea of such a dating scheme come from? It appears to be derived from the claim that the reigns of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III were synchronized. And indeed an examination of the monumental records reveals that at some point the reigns of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III had become artificially synchronized.

The first unambiguous appearance of joint dating of the two kings appears to be a stela at Serabit el-Khadim, dated to Year 16 of Maatkare (Hatshepsut) and Menkheperkare (a variation of the prenomen of Tuthmosis III, Menkheperre) (see #16 below). But there is no evidence of such a synchronization of their reigns prior to year 13. The assumption that their reigns were synchronized prior to this is simply an extrapolation from year 13 all the way back to year 1. But such an extrapolation, though not unreasonable by itself, is not supported by the monumental evidence and in at least one case appears actually inconsistent with it. It should, therefore, be viewed with much greater skepticism than is currently in evidence.

This article examines a somewhat different hypothesis (which will be referred to as the new hypothesis) concerning the first 16 regnal years of Hatshepsut's reign. That is:

After the death of Tuthmosis II, his young son Tuthmosis III was named king. The great wife of Tuthmosis II, Hatshepsut, was appointed as the young king's regent. After about two years of ruling in his name, and for reasons that are by no means clear, Hatshepsut had amassed a sufficient power base to claim kingship for herself. From this time on she ruled as the greater of two equals alongside her stepson-nephew, Tuthmosis III.

Maatkare Hatshepsut claimed, and dated, her rule from the death of her father, Tuthmosis I, which had occurred several years earlier. For the next few years Tuthmosis III and Hatshepsut ruled as co-regents, each with separate regnal years being associated with their respective reigns. However, from the very beginning of Hatshepsut's rule, Tuthmosis took on an ever decreasing role behind his co-regent and within a few years his regnal dating was dropped entirely and only the dating of Maatkare, the "senior" pharaoh, was observed. As Tuthmosis grew older, he gained more prominence and his responsibilities increased, so that in due time it became appropriate to again date certain events to his reign. However, his original regnal dating scheme, which had been out of use for several years, was not readopted. Rather Hatshepsut's regnal years were simply applied to the rule of Tuthmosis III, so that her regnal dates were used throughout the kingdom when referring to both Hatshepsut and/or Tuthmosis III. When Menkheperre regained sole rule, he opted to keep the system which had been in place for over 10 years.

In this way it can be seen that Hatshepsut's reign was not artificially synchronized with the reign of Tuthmosis III but rather that the reign of Tuthmosis III was artificially synchronized with the reign of Hatshepsut.

This new hypothesis is certainly as reasonable as the theory which holds that Hatshepsut backdated her reign to the accession of Tuthmosis III, and that their regnal dating remained in an artificial lock-step until her departure from the scene around Regnal Year 21.

An examination of the monumental record will show that there is some actual support for, and no contradiction to, the new hypothesis. The author has been able to locate 16 dated inscriptions of both Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III covering the first 16 years of their reigns. While the list is intended to be as exhaustive as possible, it must be admitted that some dated inscriptions relating to this time period may exist which

have not come to the author's attention. Clear retrospectives are generally not included, as possible historical revisionism makes them suspect relative to the current discussion.

An examination of these inscriptions sheds light on the early years of Hatshepsut's reign and their relation to those of Tuthmosis III.

1. The dedication inscription at the Temple at Semna seems rather straightforward if we take it at face value. On one wall it bears a Year 2 date followed by the titulary of Tuthmosis III. Therefore the date must clearly refer to Year 2 of the reign of Tuthmosis III.

On another wall of the temple reference is made to an unnamed queen, who really cannot be anyone else but Hatshepsut. Thus it can be stated with a great deal of confidence that in Year 2 of the reign of Tuthmosis III, Hatshepsut was still a queen. This gives an "earliest possible" date for the accession of Hatshepsut.

2. There is an inscription on block 287 of Hatshepsut's Red Chapel at Karnak in which she claims that an oracle proclaimed "for me the kingship of the two lands" in "Year 2". The king is not named so it would be dangerous to assign the reign to anyone in particular. In any event this is a justification text, is certainly not contemporary, is open to interpretation in several different ways and its historical accuracy is highly suspect.
3. The donation stela of Senenmut (Fig. 1) is the most problematic of all the inscriptions. At first glance it appears to contain an internal contradiction. The stela is dated to Year 4 (or possibly Year 3) of the reign of Tuthmosis III. However, inscribed on the left side of the stela one finds the phrase "King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Maatkare". "Djeser-djeseru" (Hatshepsut's mortuary temple) and Senenmut's tomb are referenced on both the face and the side.

The obvious implication is that Hatshepsut must have been king by Year 4 of Tuthmosis III. The problem lies in the fact that it is well accepted that neither Djeser-djeseru nor Senenmut's tomb was begun until around the seventh year of

Hatshepsut's reign. This apparent contradiction has caused some to claim that the date was changed. In fact, the inscription had undergone substantial erasure and recarving, either in the 18th or 19th dynasty. But there is no evidence of the date having been changed. Except for the fact that the assumption of a changed date provides a better fit with the currently accepted chronological theory, no reason exists to assume that the original date was not correctly recarved and is in fact Year 4 of the reign of Tuthmosis III. However, if one accepts that the stela is historically accurate, then Year 4 of Tuthmosis III must have been concurrent with, or even postdated, Year 7 of Hatshepsut.

If it were not for doubts concerning the accuracy of the recarving, this stela alone would at least partially prove the new hypothesis. However, the strength of this evidence depends upon one's acceptance of the accuracy of the stela.

4. There are two stelae of Tuthmosis III at Serabit el-Khadim, in the Sinai, which are dated to Year 5 of Tuthmosis III's reign. Hatshepsut is not mentioned on them at all so it is not safe to draw any conclusions from either of these stelae. They neither confirm nor deny the existence of a coregency or a dual regnal dating system during Year 5 of Tuthmosis III.
5. The Turin Papyrus, which is dated to Year 5 of Tuthmosis III, is almost certainly not a contemporary document and so is not considered here.
6. An ostrakon found in tomb 71, the hillside tomb of Senenmut, relates to the commencement of work on the tomb in Year 7 of an unnamed king. The Year 7 date is important because the commencement of work on Senenmut's tomb buried the entrance to the tomb of Senenmut's parents, Ramose and Hatnofer, which is located just below it. Thus, this Year 7 marks the latest possible date that items could have been introduced into the tomb of Ramose and Hatnofer.
7. Several amphorae were discovered in the tomb of Ramose and Hatnofer. One amphora is dated to

Year 7 of an unnamed king. Another is inscribed “the god’s wife, Hatshepsut” and is also dated to Year 7. Two others have no date but are inscribed “the good goddess, Maatkare”. Because the tomb was sealed in Year 7, for the reason given above, one can safely state that these two amphorae must have a date no later than Year 7. It is worth noting that both queenly and kingly titles are used in referring to Hatshepsut. This was not uncommon during the early years of her kingship. Perhaps it is a reflection of the difficulty in adjusting to a female king or perhaps she simply did not see the need to discard her queenly titles just because she had also adopted kingly ones.

It is relatively certain that all the Year 7 dates refer to Hatshepsut (there is no reason to believe that they refer to anyone else), and that she had already proclaimed herself as king by the time the tomb of Ramose and Hatnofer was sealed. Considering this, we can say that Regnal Year 7 is the first actual date that can be attributed to the reign of Hatshepsut.

This gives us a possible gap of 6 years at the beginning of her reign. The new hypothesis requires a gap at the beginning of Hatshepsut’s dated record sufficient to cover the reign of Tuthmosis II and the early, sole reign of Tuthmosis III. Unfortunately, there seems to be a fairly equal division of opinion regarding the lengths of both Tuthmosis II’s reign and the sole rule of Tuthmosis III.

The latest dated record for Tuthmosis II is Year 3, but that record is not contemporary. There are stories of a lost inscription dated to Year 14, but these must be discounted for lack of documented evidence. Based on his accomplishments (or lack thereof), a reign of 3 to 5 years seems likely, although some scholars suggest a reign as long as 18 years.

There is also a lack of clear evidence indicating in which year of the reign of Tuthmosis III Hatshepsut assumed full titulary. We have seen that it can be placed no earlier than Year 2 (see #1). The donation stela of Senenmut clearly indicates that it cannot have been later than Year 4, subject to the uncertainties mentioned above. Disregarding the donation stela, some suggest a sole rule for Tuthmosis III (with Hatshepsut as regent) as long as 7 years.

An assumed reign for Tuthmosis II of 3 to 5 years, and sole rule for Tuthmosis III of about 2 to 4 years, appears reasonable and is sufficient to be covered by a gap of 6 years at the beginning of Hatshepsut’s record.

8. During the excavation of the causeway and ramps at Deir el-Bahri, a jar label was uncovered in the forecourt of tomb 110 which was dated to Year 7. This was taken as evidence that the construction of Hatshepsut’s mortuary temple must have begun sometime very near Regnal Year 7 of the reign of Hatshepsut (as stated in #3). Whether or not that year also corresponded with Regnal Year 7 of Tuthmosis III is not clear.
9. The inscription at Deir el-Bahri describing the Punt expedition dates to Year 9 of an unnamed king who, by context, must be Hatshepsut (Fig. 2).
10. There were two ostraca found at Deir el-Bahri dated to Year 10 of an unnamed king. One of them contains a cartouche of Tuthmosis III, but the lack of context denies us a conclusion.
11. There is a stela at Serabit el-Khadim with an inscription featuring Neferure (Hatshepsut’s daughter and the presumed, intended wife of Tuthmosis III) making an offering to Hathor. It is dated to Year 11 of an unnamed king.
12. The first stela at Serabit el-Khadim that mentions Hatshepsut as king is dated to Year 13 of Tuthmosis III. Maatkare is mentioned on the edge.

The Regnal Year 13 inscription marks the first specific dating to the reign of Tuthmosis III after his Regnal Year 5. This produces a gap in the record of Tuthmosis III’s dating of 7 years. The new hypothesis requires a gap in the dated record of Tuthmosis III at least equal to the reign of Tuthmosis II (to accommodate the artificial, early years of Hatshepsut’s reign). Again assuming a shorter reign for Tuthmosis II of 3 to 5 years, this 7-year gap is not only completely consistent with, but is actually anticipated by, the new hypothesis.
13. In Yamunedjem’s tomb, he dates his service from the 15th year of Tuthmosis III. However this is not a contemporary document and appears to have no bearing on the current discussion.
14. A foundation at Karnak is dated Year 16 but insufficient context exists to make it meaningful.

15. The standing obelisk of Hatshepsut at Karnak is inscribed on its north base (Fig 3). Work was begun in Year 15 and was completed in Year 16, obviously dated to her own reign.
16. Finally, we find the first unambiguous appearance of joint dating of the two kings on a stela at Serabit el-Khadim dated to Regnal Year 16 of both Maatkare and Menkheperkare (Fig. 4).

In reviewing the above information, it can be seen that nothing in the record refutes the new hypothesis and in fact all of the known inscriptions are consistent with it. At least one monument, the donation stela of Senenmut, is inconsistent with the currently accepted dating system, and actually supports the new hypothesis, implying that there were two different regnal dating systems in effect during the early years of the joint reign of Tuthmosis III and Hatshepsut. The only assumptions made are the reasonable ones of a rather short, 3-to 5-year reign for Tuthmosis II and a sole rule of 2 to 4 years for Tuthmosis III prior to the assumption of full, kingly titulary by Hatshepsut.

Perhaps even more importantly, there does not appear to be any monumental evidence that actually supports the conclusion that Hatshepsut dated her reign from the accession of Tuthmosis III. Furthermore, there is no direct evidence for joint dating of their reigns prior to year 16, and there is not even any indirect evidence prior to year 13.

The chronology in Table 1 on page 10 is one of several which could be constructed and is consistent with all the dated records of the time.

This new hypothesis concerning the regnal dating of the reigns of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III is consistent with the available facts which, in at least one case, provide more support to it than to the current theory. It is time to re-examine the reigns of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III in light of this new interpretation.

Acknowledgements

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Figure 1: Senenmut's donation stela (after Christophe, 1951)



(1) Year 9 — There occurred a sitting in the audience hall, the king in an atef crown upon a great throne of fine gold within the sacred splendors of his palace. The great ones and the royal companions were ushered in to hear the contents of a decree.

Queen's Declaration

(2) King's decree to his nobles, god's fathers, and royal companions: "I will shine forever in your faces."

Figure 2: Expedition to Punt. Reliefs at Deir el-Bahri (after Sethe, 1906-1909)

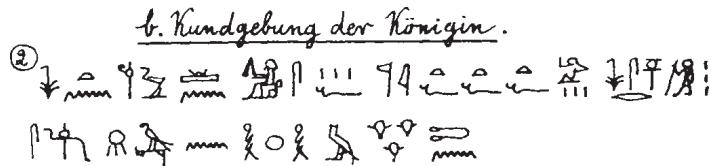
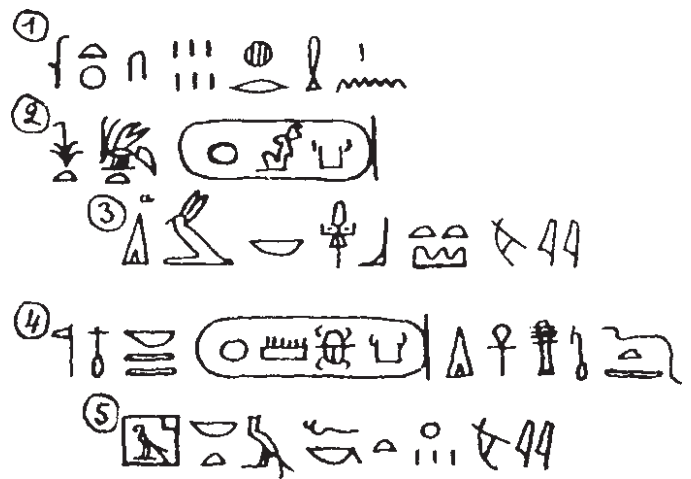


Figure 3: Obelisk inscription. "Year 15" appears in the first line and "Year 16" in the second. (after Sethe, 1906-1909)



Year 16 detail:

(1) Year 16 under the majesty of (2) the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Maatkare (Hatshepsut), (3) beloved of Sopedu, lord of the East, (4) (and) the good god, lord of the two lands Menkheperkare (Thutmose III) given life, stability and power forever, (5) beloved of Hathor, mistress of turquoise.

Figure 4: Stela from Serabit el-Khadim. (after Sethe, 1906-1909)

Table 1: One of several chronologies which can be constructed and is consistent with the dated records of the time.

Years from death of Tuthmosis I	Regnal Year of Tuthmosis II	Regnal Year of Hatshepsut	Regnal Year of Tuthmosis III	Significant Events
1	1			Tuthmosis II assumes the throne
2	2			
3	3			Mortuary temple inscription
4	4			
5	5		1	Tuthmosis II dies, Tuthmosis III assumes the throne
6			2	Dedication inscription at Semna
7		7	3	Hatshepsut assumes throne, Deir el-Bahri, Senenmut's tomb
8		8	4	Donation stela of Senenmut
9		9	5	Punt expedition, Sinai Stela, Useramun appointed vizier
10		10		Counting from the accession of Tuthmosis III ceases temporarily
11		11		
12		12		
13		13	13	Menkheperre and Maatkare depicted together
14		14		
15		15	15	Hatshepsut's obelisk begun, Yamunedjem begins service
16		16	16	First actual joint dating

Behind the Scenes of an Egyptian Expedition – Part I

Richard Harwood

We all read with great interest about the results of various Egyptological field seasons, especially when an important discovery is made or when the expedition is able to shed new light on a specific aspect of Egyptian history. Few of us, however, stop to think about what goes on behind the scenes of those expeditions, starting long before the team actually arrives at the work site.

Part I of this article will discuss the formal preparations and approval procedures for putting together an American archaeological expedition in Egypt. Part II, which will be published in the next issue of *The Ostrakon*, will deal with the experience of preparing for a field season once the project team has arrived in Egypt.

The governing body that oversees all archaeological work in Egypt is the Supreme Council of Antiquities (SCA), a major department under the auspices of the Ministry of Culture. The official decisions as to which expeditions are approved and which are denied are made by the Permanent Committee of the SCA, whose current Secretary General is Dr. Gaballa Ali Gaballa and whose members include influential Directors of Antiquities throughout Egypt.

Egypt is a “sexy” place to work on the archaeological scale. Everyone from serious scientists to New Agers with theories about aliens would like the opportunity to work there. If the SCA had to consider every request, the task would be overwhelming and would bring the work of the SCA to a standstill.

As a result, all applications for projects must be submitted through the Egyptological association of the Project Director’s home country. For the United States, that association is the American Research Center in Egypt (ARCE) which has its main headquarters in the Garden City district of Cairo and its American office at Emory University in Atlanta, GA. Even for an ongoing project that may require several years of work, a separate application must be submitted and approved each year.

For an American expedition, the Project Director submits a preliminary application for the proposed project to ARCE several months before the date on which the on-site project will begin. The application contains a summary of the purpose of the project, the names of the individual team members and a curriculum vitae of the Project Director. An evaluation committee at the ARCE headquarters in Cairo reviews each application and rejects the vast majority of

requests as insubstantial, not well thought out, or not having serious Egyptological validity. If the evaluation committee determines that the proposed project has substantial merit, it sends a formal letter to the Project Director informing him or her of its approval and advising the Project Director that an official application can be submitted to the SCA.

The formal application is an expanded version of the summary application made to ARCE and has four primary components:

1. A full description of the project: its purpose and intended results; a detailed description of the exact sites at which the work will be conducted, including maps of the area to be investigated which the Project Director must sign in red ink; and the dates within which the work will be conducted that season.

2. A curriculum vitae of the Project Director including his or her Egyptological training, professional credentials and affiliations, previous work experience in Egypt, and professional publications. For the past several years, it has been nearly impossible to receive SCA approval for a project whose director does not have (a) a doctorate degree in Egyptology or a closely related field, (b) significant scientific publication credits, (c) a meaningful affiliation with a recognized university or a museum with a major Egyptian collection, and (d) previous work experience in Egypt.

In addition, if any team member has not worked in Egypt at least once during the previous two years, he or she is considered “new” and their participation on the expedition has a high likelihood of being denied. Fieldwork in Egypt is rapidly becoming a “closed shop” and current expeditions are finding it increasingly important to work in Egypt on a continuing, periodic basis in order to receive future approvals of their applications. With the dramatic increase in highly trained and professional Egyptian Egyptologists within the past few decades, the SCA also may be reluctant to approve a project aimed at a major discovery that is led by a non-Egyptian Project Director.

3. A short curriculum vitae of each member of the proposed team including training, prior work experience in Egypt, and the specific skills that he or she will bring to the expedition. The SCA requires a photocopy of the front page of each team member’s passport and eight passport-size photographs of each team member. These photographs are distributed to the general office of the SCA, the Permanent

Committee, the Mukabarrat (the Egyptian equivalent of the American FBI), the Director General of Antiquities for the area of Egypt where the project will be conducted, etc.

4. A summary of the projected funding available for the project. In recent years, it has been imperative that the project neither has nor will receive any funding from a private or institutional source within Egypt.

The formal application, along with a cover letter addressed to the Secretary General and the members of the Permanent Committee, is sent to the SCA in care of the ARCE headquarters in Cairo. ARCE personnel translate the application and letter into Arabic and forward the originals and a copy of the translations to the SCA.

The Permanent Committee of the SCA meets only sporadically. Because of the number of applications it receives from all over the world, it generally will not rule on an application for a project beginning more than six months beyond the date the application is received.

If approved by the Permanent Committee, the SCA informs the ARCE office in Cairo, which relays the information to the Project Director. At that point, the first of two major hurdles has been cleared; the project has received preliminary approval.

The next hurdle is just as crucial and is independent of the first one: the SCA must approve each individual member of the project team. The SCA sends the approved project file to the office of the Antiquities Security Police. The Security Police run checks on all of the proposed team members to make sure they have not violated any Egyptian laws and, in particular, have not tried to take any antiquities out of the country (including common rocks and even desert sand which, by their very definitions, are deemed to be “ancient” under Egypt’s antiquity laws). In some cases, the Mukabarrat will also conduct its own investigations of team members.

Once the Security Police have cleared all of the team members, they notify ARCE that security clearances will be issued. ARCE then relays this information to the Project Director and the last major hurdle has been cleared. Now all that remains is the signing of the official papers once the project team arrives in Cairo. That should, but does not always, follow smoothly.

As the approval procedures progress, another factor takes on an ever-increasing priority: *money*. Can the expedition afford to conduct its proposed season’s work? It is not unusual for a project to receive SCA approval, only to be canceled at the last minute due to a lack of funding.

The governments of many foreign countries provide substantial funds to their Egyptian expeditions, either directly or indirectly. Such expeditions can afford to conduct long

field seasons and many of these foreign missions even have their own dig houses where team members live, complete with cooks and caretakers. In the United States, a few major museums fund their own expeditions, although to a lesser extent. That is not the case with expeditions associated with American universities. Regardless of the publicity and prestige that an expedition might bring to a university, most American Project Directors must raise all of the funds needed to conduct their field seasons. Members of the project team are usually invited volunteers and generally must pay their own travel, food and lodging expenses with little or no financial help from the expedition itself.

Grants from charitable foundations, when available, are usually awarded on the “political correctness” of the project. In recent years, for example, race and gender issues in ancient Egypt have become “in” topics and grants are sometimes made for such projects. However, it is becoming increasingly difficult for more traditional research and excavations to obtain such funding. Consequently, most American Egyptological expeditions must rely almost entirely on the generosity of individuals and the fundraising abilities of the Project Director.

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Anen: ‘chief of sightings in the great house’ and ‘the sole companion’*

DeeAnn Hoff

One October afternoon in 1994, this writer attended the exhibit *Egypt’s Dazzling Sun: Amenhotep III and His World* at the Kimbell Art Museum in Ft. Worth, TX. Rounding a corner, the author suddenly encountered the nearly life-sized “Statue of Anen, Second Prophet of Amun” (exhibition no. 43) standing aloof and frozen in time. Even today, “The sealbearer of the king of Lower Egypt, the sole companion, the second prophet of Amun, Anen” (Kozloff & Bryan 1992:250) enchants this writer. This article will examine the statue (see Fig. 1) as well as the highly connected man it portrays.

‘Pure of hands, the lector priest who knows the procession of the sky, chief of sightings’

This sculpture is part of the wonderful collection of the Egyptian Museum in Turin, Italy (no. 5484; see the Autumn 1999 issue of *The Ostrakon*). The priest’s highly polished form, in dark granodiorite, strides with left foot forward, the “pure hands” positioned firmly at his sides. The figure wears a bipartite wig and, although damaged, the widely opened eyes emphasize the artistic style of the period. The prenomen of Amenhotep III, within a cartouche, appears on his left shoulder and inscribed utterances on the apron and back pillar of the statue present Anen’s multiple titles and insignia of office. Anen wears a detailed panther skin covered with prominent five-pointed stars. These symbols, along with the statuary epithets, assert his “knowledge of things both solar and stellar.” (Kozloff & Bryan 1992:250)

Of interest is a comparison between the star-covered panther skin of priesthood on the Turin statue and another statue of Amun and Tutankhamun in the Louvre Museum, Paris (no. 11609) that may have been seen by readers at the recent *Pharaohs of the Sun* exhibition. This piece is described as depicting Amun embracing Tutankhamun, the pharaoh who restored the god to prominence following the Amarna period. A panther skin, similar but not identical to that on the statue of Anen, is worn by the youthful figure of the king who stands before the seated, double-plumed form

of Amun. In the Louvre sculpture the standard five-pointed stars on the panther skin alternate with five-pointed stars within circles, an even stronger iconographic declaration of a knowledge of things both solar and stellar.

An astronomical ornament present on the Turin statue is absent on the Louvre statue. This distinctive accessory hangs from Anen’s belt just to the right of the iconic panther’s head. The ornament, a pair of plaques attached to the belt by three short chains, was possibly utilized by astronomers of that period. The smaller, upper plaque bearing the king’s nomen, Amenhotep, encircled in a cartouche is inscribed horizontally and is coupled to the lower plaque by what appear to be representations of stylized papyrus stalks. The lower plaque consists of a larger square with Neb-Maat-Re, the pharaoh’s prenomen, boldly inscribed in raised relief.

‘The hereditary noble and mayor’

While Anen’s actual place of birth is not known with any certainty, it is accepted that his parents came from Akhmim on the east bank of the Nile. A notable center of linen production, Akhmim also functioned during the pharaonic period as capital of the ninth nome of Upper Egypt. Substantive data comes from KV 46, the joint tomb of his parents Yuya and Tuya. Its very location in the primarily royal Valley of the Kings alludes to the esteem in which they were held as well as the exalted positions they achieved. While he is generally accepted as the brother of Ay (who ultimately succeeded Tutankhamun as pharaoh) and of Queen Tiye, the Great Royal Wife of Amenhotep III, Anen’s statuary text, as well as the decoration in his tomb are devoid of any mention of such familial relationship or royal prerogative. This is particularly interesting, considering Anen’s close connection to the royal family.

Inscriptions on Tuya’s sarcophagus and coffin offer two references to her son as “... the second prophet of Amun, the favorite of the god, Aanenou”. (Davis 2000:XVIII) Tuya’s additional titles include: “King’s mother of the great royal wife, Priestess of Amun, Singer of Hathor, Chief of the entertainers of Min” (allied to the 9th nome, Panopolis, as center of the priesthood and administration of the god Min), and “Chief of the entertainers of Amun”. Anen’s mother also held the position “Chantress of Amun” as did many of the ladies serving as court attendants. His father, Yuya, held a plethora of significant titles which included “Master of the Horse, His Majesty’s lieutenant commander of chariotry, Priest of Min, Overseer of cattle of Min, Lord of Akhmim”. (O’Connor & Cline 2001:5) As with many senior officials, viziers, and generals of the New Kingdom, Yuya also held the title “God’s Father,” indicating one who was “like a father” to the king. Royal tutors were also known to bear this title, although conferring it on a royal father-in-law – Yuya – seems to be unique. These plaudits would appear to be consistent

with Anen's testimonial on the Turin statue that he was one "who may approach his lord" as most certainly his father appeared to be a respected confidant of the king. (Kozloff & Bryan 1992:250)

'Sem priest in Southern Heliopolis'

Historically, Anen is also referred to as Onen, presenting an interesting juxtaposition with the biblical designation of Heliopolis as On. This ancient center of the solar cult and of the creator god Atum has interesting and varying associations with the emergence of Atenism. In a pre-Aten hymn from the time of Amenhotep II, references to Atum include "Lord of the sunbeams who createst light ...", and "It is he who gives breath to him in the egg ...". (Aldred 1988: 243) Both phrases clearly conjure up iconographic elements of the Aten disc with its spreading rays and hands holding out the breath of life in the form of an ankh.

Inscriptions on his statue declare Anen to be "... chief of sightings in the great house, sem priest in Southern Heliopolis, who gives offerings at their proper stations, who propitiates the gods with his voice, the second prophet of Amun, Anen". (Kozloff & Bryan 1992:250) Indeed Anen emerges as one of the continuum of Amun priests allied with the sun god in the north. The designation "chief of sightings in Southern Heliopolis" is generally associated with the Theban area. D.B. Redford does not support a connection between Anen's role as a high priest of the sun god at Heliopolis itself, or with the subsequent emergence of the cult of the Aten, but rather would have Anen associated with the lesser cult of Re at Karnak. (Redford 1984:59)

Curiously, considering the sculpture's possible Theban provenance, the statue's texts make no reference to Amun in his manifestation as "lord of the thrones of the two lands", and chief god of Karnak. (Kozloff & Bryan 1992:250) Consequently, considering the priest's inscriptional bonds with the center of the solar-cult and his familial ties to The Living Horus and the Great Royal Wife, it seems possible that Anen played at least a tutorial role in the shift toward Atenism.

'Seal-bearer of the king of Lower Egypt'

The marriage of Anen's sister Tiye to Amenhotep III was proclaimed throughout the empire by means of the "Lake" group of scarabs commemorating the excavation of an artificial lake in honor of Queen Tiye. Sometimes referred to as the "Marriage Scarabs", they comprise a finely crafted series of scarabs on which "Aten-tjehen" (the dazzling sun disc), the pharaoh's favorite epithet, first appears. (Kozloff & Bryan 1992:72) Following the marriage, Anen saw his father, already a trusted courtier, become the recipient of an elevated level of favor and titles. It may have been at this juncture that Amenhotep III conferred upon Yuya the designation "divine father of the lord of both lands".

Anen refrained from identifying himself as brother-in-law of the king, or indeed offering any claims of familial ties to the reigning Pharaoh. This would seem to reflect the inscriptional tenor of his father. Text from Yuya's tomb proclaims him the "... divine father of the lord of both lands", a title that might be interpreted as father-in-law of the king. For the most part, Yuya and Tuya seem not to have had any part in state affairs. Instead, "They remained the private parents of a queen, and were never otherwise". (Davis 2000:XVII-XVIII)

Guardian of the Palanquin

The position of Second Prophet, within the hierarchy of the cult of Amun, was placed under the authority of the "god's wife of Amun" by the founder of the Eighteenth Dynasty, Ahmose. The manifestation of this ancient right of royal females, during the reign of Amenhotep III, may have impelled the installation of Anen, as the brother of the reigning queen, as "Second Prophet of Amun".

That Anen was able to forego the military career path established by his father Yuya may have been due, in part, to his brother, the powerful Ay. Almost certainly Ay's subsequent holding of many of the offices and perhaps hereditary titles held by Yuya – which included "Master of the Horse," "Father of the God" and "Fanbearer" – allowed Anen to pursue a priestly rather than a military career. (Aldred 1988:220)

Another honorific, "Guardian of the Palanquin," has been found on a shabti bearing Anen's name. This artifact (Rijksmuseum, The Hague no. 82/196) is of unknown provenance but presents a high quality of both wood and workmanship. The figure of the shabti wears the same finely rendered bipartite wig as the Turin statue, representational of style in the New Kingdom. A ba bird spreads its wings over the chest and the shabti's broad collar is overlaid with sheet gold. It is possible that this is the object to which Lyla Pinch Brock refers – in her preliminary report on the tomb of Anen – as an elaborate wooden shabti being the only article of Anen's burial equipment to surface. She qualifies this with the statement that it may not have been associated with his burial at all. (Brock 1999:85) The solitary title *šwt qnyt* (Guardian of the Palanquin) is not present on the Turin statue, or in the priest's Theban tomb.

'Enduring of favors in the palace'

In his office as the second of the four Prophets of Amun, as well as his position as brother of the queen, Anen surely attended and officiated at a myriad of ceremonies throughout most of the long reign of Amenhotep III. He did not, however, serve in his official capacity at the King's jubilee in Year 30 and had presumably died by that time.

On the walls of his own tomb in the Theban necropolis,



Figure 1: Statue of Anen clad in a star-spangled panther skin. Egyptian Museum, Turin, Italy

Anen's successor, Simut, identifies his son, Userhet, as the new Second Prophet. No such inscriptions defining a successor appear in the tomb of Anen, although damaged paintings do include family groupings that may portray his wife or mother. It might be assumed that Anen died either childless, or certainly without a viable heir to continue his priestly legacy in the service of his king and god.

There seems little doubt that Amenhotep III provided Anen with the tomb located in a remote northern terminus of Sheikh Abd el-Gurna in Western Thebes. In fact some thirty tombs were prepared there during his reign. Theban Tomb (TT) 120 is a small, T-shaped sepulcher inscribed for Anen. The tomb remained safely camouflaged by debris until it was uncovered by a Metropolitan Museum of Art expedition in

1907. (Brock 1999:73)

Examining the colorful images remaining within the pillared hall of TT 120, its publisher Norman de Garis Davies, wrote "... a tomb which had seemed little more than a hopeless ruin yielded up a jewel ...". (Brock 1999:74) A splendid painted mural depicting Amenhotep III and Tiye enthroned emphasizes Anen's exalted position. Reporting on work undertaken in 1996, Lyla Pinch Brock stated that three square columns of the Hall were plastered and painted and reported by Davies to have been decorated on all sides with portions of figures appearing to have been deliberately hacked out. On one column, there was a painting of Anen, wearing a leopard skin, once again calling to mind the five-pointed stars on the hide of the Turin statue. No details of the priestly garment in the tomb painting were given. (Brock 2001:2)

The pillared hall contains a harvest scene that features Amenhotep III's name and titles. Sadly, the figure of the pharaoh has not survived. The color scheme is commensurate with the harvest, with grains rendered in browns on a yellow background. Arielle Kozloff suspects that such harvest festival scenes emerged at or about the same time, and may actually depict a specific granary structure once located behind Karnak temple. (Kozloff 1990: 63-64) The "harvest festival" theme is a subject associated with tombs decorated late in the reign of Amenhotep III. Anen is not named in association with excavations at Malqata and the

king's jubilee there. These findings may aid in placing the priest's death at about the third decade of the reign, even though there are no dated references in his own tomb.

'O you who die not . . .'

The refinement of Anen's Turin statue offers a dramatic contrast to the massive Colossi of Memnon guarding the site of Amenhotep III's mortuary temple in western Thebes, where the pharaoh was to be worshiped everlastingly. It is thought that this statue of Anen may have been part of a grouping of similarly carved "divine" sculptures honoring those favored in the service of the pharaoh. The enigmatic details of his professional life in the priesthood as well as his interaction and influence on his royal relations may well remain hidden, much like the god he served.

**All section headings with the exception of "Guardian of the Palanquin" are quoted from inscriptions on the back pillar and kilt front of the Turin statue of Anen. (Kozloff & Bryan 1992:250)*

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Trials and Tribulations: The Mounting of the Tutankhamun Exhibit At the British Museum

1 May 2001

Summarized by Dena Newkirk

Since his first visit to Denver in 1992, T.G.H. "Harry" James has become one of ESS's favorite speakers. No matter what topic he has chosen to present, he has never failed to inform and entertain his audience. The program on 1 May 2001 was no exception.

Mr. James graduated from Oxford University in England and spent more than 30 years as the Keeper of Egyptian Antiquities at the British Museum in London. Retirement from the museum has not found him slowing down. Mr. James continues to teach, lecture, travel and consult on many projects. His much anticipated book, *Howard Carter – The Path of Tutankhamun*, has been published recently. He also has another book coming out soon on Ramses II.

Mr. James described the 1972 Tutankhamun exhibit at the British Museum (BM) as "both dramatic and traumatic for all involved". His predecessor at the BM, Dr. I.E.S. Edwards, had wanted to bring a large-scale exhibit of artifacts from the tomb of Tutankhamun to London in the mid-1960s. However, the French had just completed negotiations for a similar exhibit in Paris and asked Dr. Edwards to postpone his endeavor for a while lest it would take away from their show. The only other time artifacts from this well-known tomb had been displayed outside Egypt was in the early 1960s when a small number of artifacts were shown in Washington D.C. and in Japan.

The BM began serious negotiations in 1968 to bring such an exhibit to London. A few problems developed immediately. Even though Dr. Edwards was on good terms with the Ministry of Culture in Egypt, the Ministry requested that the Royal Ballet and the Old Vic Theatre Company visit Egypt in exchange. Compliance with his request was impossible to promise as the ballet and the theater company were not under the control of the BM or the British government.

There were also many problems with several people associated with the BM who began to get involved. Sir Dennis Hamilton, the managing editor of *The London Times* newspaper, was a good friend of the prestigious editor of an Egyptian newspaper. Sir Dennis believed that this editor had a direct line to President Nasser and could negotiate directly with him. Unfortunately, the Egyptian editor had no such ties. There was also a former British Ambassador to Egypt. This gentleman was the unfortunate appointee during the time of the Suez Canal conflict in the mid-1950s. As Mr.

James recounted, this poor man wasn't even aware at that time that there was a problem concerning the canal. This ex-ambassador thought he was still on good terms with the Egyptian government because of his previous diplomatic connections and got involved in negotiating with his Egyptian contacts. Through these two gentlemen, and a few others, different and mixed messages were being passed along to the Egyptian government on various levels and nothing was being accomplished.

Once the lines of contact were centralized and the communications were untangled, Dr. Edwards and the Egyptian government scheduled the Tutankhamun exhibit for 1972. This was to correspond with the 50th anniversary of Howard Carter's discovery of the tomb. Sir Dennis Hamilton arranged for *The London Times* to sponsor the exhibit and in an unprecedented act, the British government issued its indemnity to the Egyptian government. This was to cover any loss or damage to the artifacts in lieu of the BM purchasing insurance.

In November, 1971, Mr. James and his colleagues went to Egypt to supervise the packing of the objects. Dr. Edwards had visited earlier and selected what items he wanted in the exhibit. Each artifact underwent the same process. The item was examined and a detailed, written report was prepared. This report not only gave a description of the object but also discussed any damage that had been sustained prior to packing. Mr. James and his Egyptian counterpart not only had to agree to its content, they both needed to sign off on the report. The item was then photographed. Mr. James indicated that this would have been a good way to document the condition of each object, but since flash photography was not allowed, the details would be obscured. The written report would be their main record. Some items, such as those with gilded plaster that was separating from the wooden base, were turned over to a special conservator to make the necessary repairs in preparation for shipment.

Members of the company chosen for the packing assignment accompanied Mr. James from England. Even though they had never dealt with antiquities before, the company did such a remarkable job that the Egyptian government specified that they be used to pack all the artifacts for the American tour in the late 1970s.

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Islamic Architecture of Cairo

A lecture presented to the ESS by Mohamed Anwar
29 August 2001

Summarized by Chuck Toth

On 29 August 2001 Egyptian Study Society members and guests were treated to a lecture and slide program presented at the Denver Public Library on the Islamic Architecture of Cairo. The speaker was Mohammed Anwar, a Cairo resident, a tourist guide of pharaonic Egypt and a good friend of many ESS members.

Mr. Anwar opened his lecture with a short history of Islamic religion beginning with the life of the prophet Mohamed in the 7th century CE. After the death of Mohamed, four Islamic rulers were elected by the people of the Arabian Peninsula. These caliphs were Abu-bakr, Omar, Ottoman and Ali. Between 639 and 641 the conquest of Egypt was completed by the Omar caliphate under its general, Amr ibn al-As. When Egypt became a province of the caliphate in 641, the foundations of al-Fustat, the first Islamic capital of Egypt, were built in an area now encompassed by the modern city of Cairo. Today, the only remaining structure from that period is the Mosque of Amr.

The second Islamic capital in Egypt was founded by the Abbaside caliphate of Baghdad after they overthrew the Ummayyad caliphate of Damascus in 750. This new capital, called al-Askar, was constructed immediately north of the old capital but nothing remains of it today.

In 868, Ahmed ibn Tulun was appointed as the Abbaside governor of Egypt and soon established the third Islamic capital of Egypt, called al-Qatai, in an area now also absorbed by modern Cairo. The mosque built by Ahmed ibn Tulun is the oldest mosque in Egypt that has survived in its original form. Contemporary slides of this mosque show the very unusual, outer stone staircase winding around the northern minaret that is still in use today.

The fourth and last Islamic capital to be established in Egypt was al-Qahira, located less than a mile from the original capitals of al-Fustat, al-Askar and al-Qatai, at the apex of the Nile delta. This city was created by the Fatimids, a Shiite dynasty from North Africa which ruled Egypt from 969 to 1171. Like the ancient Egyptians, the early Moslems were very knowledgeable about astronomy. The new capital of al-Qahira (meaning "the victorious" or "the vanquishing") was named for al-Qahir (Arabic for Mars) because the planet was in the ascendant when the city was first being built.

Immediately after the enclosure walls of the new capital were completed, the Fatimids began construction of the great al-Azhar Mosque which housed the first Islamic theology school in the world. Since being built in 970 CE, this mosque

has undergone many enlargements and restorations, and so reflects all the architectural styles of Cairo's history. Today, al-Azhar is the oldest, continually operating university in the world.

Mr. Anwar then detailed the history of Cairo under the Fatimids and the eventual overthrow of the Fatimids by the Syrian Moslem, Salah al-Din, who is credited with saving Egypt during the Crusades in the 12th century. In 1250 the slaves of Salah al-Din's Ayyubid dynasty, called the Mamluks, overthrew their masters and founded the Mamluk dynasty. One of the best examples of Islamic architecture built during the Mamluk Period is the Mosque of Sultan Hasan, still standing at the base of the Citadel.

Throughout his presentation, Mr. Anwar reinforced his history of Cairo with slides of current Islamic monuments, and slides of monuments and scenes of Cairo painted by artists like David Roberts. Mr. Anwar also explained the functions of architectural elements in Islamic monuments such as the prayer niche (the *mihrab*) toward which Moslems pray in the direction of Mecca, and the pulpit (or high, stepped chair called the *minbar*) from which the Friday sermons are read.

In 1517 Egypt was conquered by the Ottoman Empire and became a province without a sultan. The Ottomans controlled Egypt until Napoleon conquered the country in 1798. Although the effects of Ottoman rule can be seen in Cairene architecture today, the Ottomans did not make radical, architectural changes.

However, in 1805 Mohamed Ali, an Albanian commander who was brought to Egypt to fight the French occupation, seized power in Egypt. Under his leadership, dramatically new Turkish and European architectural designs were introduced. The most famous of these new monuments is the Mosque of Mohamed Ali that sits atop the Citadel, overlooking Cairo.

The last major effect on Cairo's architectural style was during the seventy years of French and English occupation during the late-19th to mid-20th centuries. These years, coinciding with a huge population and building boom within Egypt, brought in more modern, contemporary European influences. Mosques and other buildings constructed during the past century offer very few of the rich architectural features of earlier Islamic periods.

UNESCO has justifiably listed Cairo as one of the "Cities of Human Heritage", for few cities in the world contain such a concentration of historic, architectural treasures.

Chuck Toth retired from the Materials Engineering Department of the Lockheed Martin Corporation as a senior staff engineer in 1991 and is a past financial officer of the Egyptian Study Society.

House of Scrolls

Egypt and the Egyptians

by Douglas J. Brewer and Emily Teeter 1999,

Cambridge University Press 218 pp;

\$21.95 softcover; ISBN 0-521-44984-7

Reviewed by Jane M.H. Bigelow

In the preface to this extremely useful book, the authors write that it is intended for those who know little or nothing about ancient Egypt. It would certainly be a good introduction to the subject, but it is also valuable for the reader who has read only randomly since freshman-level civilization courses. Its well-organized structure helps stitch together isolated facts that the casual reader may have acquired. The authors have chosen not to give citations of their sources within the text in order not to interrupt the flow, but there is a complete bibliography at the end as well as suggestions for further reading at the end of each chapter.

Each author brings particular expertise to the book. Douglas Brewer is Professor of Anthropology at the University of Illinois, Urbana, and has worked on numerous field projects in Egypt; Emily Teeter is Associate Curator at the Oriental Institute Museum, University of Chicago, and has excavated in Giza, Luxor and Alexandria.

Each chapter covers some aspect of ancient Egypt's culture or history, including the interest that some ancient Egyptians showed in the history of still more ancient Egyptians. Chapters on geology and chronology provide background for the rest of the book. The chapter on art explains both the how and the why of ancient Egypt's distinctive art. Numerous diagrams, illustrations, and tables, as well as a glossary, help make things clear (Fig. 1). Each chapter ends with a summary which will probably be useful to many students. Condensing over 3,000 years of history, art, culture and religion into little more than 200 pages does make the pace brisk at times, but good interpretive material throughout keeps the book from being simply a list of facts.

Jane Bigelow is a reference librarian, fantasy writer, and contributor to The Ostrakon. She lives in Denver with her husband and a very talkative calico cat, Miss Motley.



Figure 1. Workers prepare mud bricks in an illustration from *Egypt and the Egyptians*.



Guide to the Pyramids of Egypt and
Guide to the Valley of the Kings by Alberto Siliotti 1997,
Barnes & Noble Books, New York 168 pp.;
each \$14.98 hardcover; ISBN 0-7607-0763-4
and ISBN 0-7607-0483-X

Reviewed by Graeme Davis

Not the least attractive thing about this pair of coffee-table books is the price. Yet both of them are impressively thorough.

The *Guide to the Pyramids of Egypt* includes not only all of the temples, the Sphinx and many of the mastabas on the Giza plateau, it also covers sites from Abu Rawash, Zawyet el-Aryan, Saqqara, and Dahshur to el-Lisht, Meidum and the Faiyum, ranging from the 3rd-12th Dynasties. The preface and a number of essays on the monuments of Giza are written by Zahi Hawass. The book opens with a brief history of pyramid exploration and a generalized anatomy of pyramid complexes and mastabas, followed by a brief but non-controversial essay on pyramid construction. The real meat of the book, however, is in the site descriptions. Each site is presented in maps and isometric reconstructions, with

a particularly impressive array of interior photographs of both pyramids and mastabas.

Even more impressive is the *Guide to the Valley of the Kings*. The title is a misnomer as the book covers a large part of the western Theban area including the Valley of the Queens, temples from Deir el-Bahri to Medinet Habu and a number of private tombs. A brief history of exploration in the area is accompanied by contemporary photographs and engravings, followed by essays on the architecture and decoration of the tombs. As in the *Guide to the Pyramids of Egypt*, there are maps, plans and photographs, but the isometric plans really stand out, conveying the three-dimensional layout of the tombs with great clarity. In many descriptions (most notably the tomb of Nefertari) the isometric plans are paired with numerous interior photographs showing paintings and other features.

This is a superior pair of coffee-table books at unbeatable prices, and well worth many hours of enjoyable reading and research.

Graeme Davis is a game designer, a recovering archaeologist, and a former editor of The Ostrakon.

Akhenaten: Egypt's False Prophet

by C.N. Reeves 2001,

Thames & Hudson, London 208 pp.;

\$29.95 hardcover; ISBN 050005106

Reviewed by Ellen LeBlanc

Nicholas Reeves' book examines much more than simply the reign of the controversial pharaoh Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten. It is a lucidly written, well-illustrated examination of the whole fabric upon which this pharaoh's reign was woven. He begins with a thorough description of the archaeological history of the site of el-Amarna, beginning with its first mention in modern times by Claude Sicard in 1714 and continuing through to the present. This chapter includes a number of early maps, drawings, and photographs of the site, together with a number of quotations from the archaeologists involved in these early explorations. Interestingly, he includes some tales of the personal foibles and adventures of these figures, many of whom are traditionally portrayed in a rather staid manner.

He then sets the stage for the reign of Akhenaten by examining the major figures of the 18th Dynasty who preceded the rebel pharaoh. In this, he gives particular weight to the role of the priests of Amun and to Hatshepsut, whom he frankly describes as a usurper supported by the great weight of the cult of Amun. He believes that Tuthmosis III was forced to step gently early in his reign so as not to bring down the forces of Amun upon himself, and therefore delayed his attack on "his hated stepmother's memory" until the last years of his reign. His successor, Amenhotep II, is also described as being somewhat fearful of the power of Amun and "determined to prevent Karnak's rich and ambitious god from ever again straying into the political arena".

During the reigns of Tuthmosis IV and Amenhotep III, Reeves finds that there was increasing tension building between the priests of Amun at Thebes and the priests at Heliopolis, the ancient worship center for the sun god Re, with the pharaohs attempting to curb the power of Amun by enhancing the power of the gods of the sun. A number of key figures seemed to believe that by returning to a greater focus on the sun god Re, the country was returning to "a sounder theological footing" and "to the values of this purer past". At this time he finds that emphasis was beginning to be placed on a "new and highly honored solar manifestation – the Aten". By the reign of Amenhotep III, the pharaoh seemed to feel confident enough in having curbed the ambitions of the priests of Amun to include a relief of his own conception by a union between Amun and Mutemwiya.

In the reign of Amenhotep III, however, Reeves finds another factor coming into play as a neutralizer of the power of the priesthood. He sees this in the increasing favor paid to

the military, especially a key figure named Yuya. Yuya and Tuya, as royal in-laws and parents of the powerful queen Tiye, were able, together with their daughter the Great Royal Wife, to exercise tremendous influence and to install many family members in positions of power.

Reeves discusses the arguments in favor of a long and a short co-regency between Amenhotep III and his son, the future Akhenaten, and comes down firmly on the side of a short co-regency. He begins his discussion of the reign of Amenhotep IV by setting forth the case that an unidentified, highly damaged mummy found in KV 55 by Theodore Davis is indeed the body of the missing pharaoh Akhenaten and suggesting that its age is "in excess of 35 years", implying that he ascended the throne as a teenager. As to the character of Akhenaten, Reeves finds him to be arrogant and egocentric, though intelligent and well versed in the theology of his time. He began his reign with a clear idea of his mission and a determination to share it with Egypt. His first temples at Karnak have been reconstructed by the Akhenaten Temple Project from blocks buried or reused in other structures. They show a clear dedication to the Aten from the beginning of his reign. By Regnal Year 5 he had changed his name to Akhenaten, "He who is effective on the Aten's behalf", and had declared himself to be the Aten's sole representative on earth.

Shortly after this, he began the establishment of a new capital city at Amarna. Reeves presents several reasons why he may have done this. He may have been seeking to escape court intrigue and politics, which were rife both at Thebes and at Memphis. An earlier Middle Kingdom pharaoh, Amenemhet I, had also built a new capital, presumably for similar reasons. Strong words on one of the boundary stelae at Amarna indicate that there may have even been an abortive attempt on Akhenaten's life. He may have wanted a place where he could establish his own divine triad: the Aten, Akhenaten and Nefertiti.

There follows a detailed description of the city of Akhetaten and its environs. Reeves describes with photos, maps, and drawings the districts, boundaries, tombs, main structures, and the general layout of the whole city, as well as the reasons for locating different structures in the places where they are built. The new capital city was carefully laid out in a geometric pattern with a view to perhaps building a "new" Thebes, with its "new" religious associations.

As for the inspiration of the new religion, Reeves believes that it was a mix of the religious, intellectual and political. He finds that the famous "Hymn to the Aten" borrows freely from a variety of sources and that, in the final analysis, it says that no one can know or contact the Aten except for Akhenaten. This proved to be a very cold sort of comfort for the people of Egypt, as it distanced them from all of the

comfort provided by the earlier pantheon of gods and goddesses. Reeves believes that Akhenaten was very likely akin to our modern concept of a dictator, and that the cozy domestic scenes shown everywhere are “as far from the reality of dictator as possible. Many modern parallels could be cited: Hitler patting his dog, Stalin with his reassuring pipe, the beatific Mao Tse-Tung.”

Many Egyptologists have speculated about the physical appearance of the pharaoh, and wondered if he were perhaps affected by some disease that caused him to represent himself in such a strikingly odd way. Reeves discusses the major theories, and concludes that there is strong evidence that the pharaoh and his family suffered from Marfan's Syndrome.

Some other conclusions he reaches about the family are that Kia, the presumed mother of Tutankhamun, was a particularly manipulative, cruel and self-seeking woman, and was eventually dismissed and disgraced. Reeves finds ample support for Akhenaten's incestuous relations with his daughters, resulting in several children. He dismisses the theory that Akhenaten had a homosexual relationship with Smenkare in favor of identifying Nefertiti and Smenkare as being the same person. Far from being sent to the North Palace in disgrace, she was elevated to the status of co-ruler, with a series of name changes as evidence. He also concludes, after presenting evidence, that the queen who wrote to Suppiluliuma asking for one of his sons to marry was indeed Nefertiti, not her daughter Ankhnesenamun.

Reeves concludes with a discussion of the proposed murder of Tutankhamun and the evidence that has surfaced for this. He believes that it should at least be considered that Ay was involved in the death of the young king, not only for personal profit but to spare the country from another descent into near anarchy under the rule of a young man brought up in the Atenist tradition, who was attempting to reintroduce the disastrous regime.

While some readers may find fault with some or all of Reeves' more controversial conclusions, the book is well worth reading. He explains the reasons for these conclusions clearly, and the copious illustrations are very helpful.

Ellen LeBlanc (BA Classical History, LSU), is an active Egyptophile, traveling frequently to Egypt. She is Membership Chairman of The Amarna Research Foundation and Secretary for the Denver Egyptian Study Society. She will speak to the ESS this year on The Prehistory of Egypt and The Role and Significance of Birds in Ancient Egypt.

Trials and Tribulations

Continued from page 16.

Each artifact was wrapped in a transparent foil. This allowed the item to be examined for any breakage prior to being totally unwrapped at its final destination. The next step involved wrapping the object in a type of gauze over the transparent foil. Special attention was given to areas that had protruding or delicate features. Lastly, the item was wrapped in foam rubber and placed into a box especially designed for that particular object. The first set of shipping crates had been pre-made and sported fluted columns in the corners. Decorative as they were, they were not practical for shipping. In many cases there was less than an inch provided for play between the shipping box and the wrapped artifact. It was determined that the shipping boxes should not be made until the item was ready for final packing.

Once everything had been packed and was ready to go, the crates were fitted on pallets and secured in an airplane cargo hold for the trip to London. British Airways provided the transportation for many of the pieces, with the more important artifacts being carried by the British Royal Air Force. When they arrived in London, the road from Heathrow Airport to the BM was shut down. The entourage and artifacts were treated to a motorcycle escort. Mr. James remarked that that was the first time he had been able to go from the airport to the museum in 20 minutes!

The installation of the artifacts at the BM provided as much anxiety as the initial packing. The curator of the exhibit regarded it more as a showpiece for her work than highlighting the artifacts. She had not gone to Egypt to see any of the objects and worked strictly from photographs. One cow-headed object was not able to fit into the display case designed for it. The best solution ended up having the floor of the display case lowered a couple of inches to accommodate the piece. Black felt had been put on the wall behind where the jewelry was being displayed. Before the exhibit closed, almost all the felt had been picked off the walls near the entrance by the waiting crowds.

Despite these minor problems, the exhibit was a great success. Originally scheduled to run from February to August of 1972, the exhibit was extended for an additional 3 months. It was estimated that over 750,000 people visited the exhibit.

The Museum had another success with the exhibit catalogue. Instead of producing an expensive show compendium, the BM decided that they would produce an inexpensive catalogue that would be more appealing to the average visitor.