

THE OSTRACON

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IN THIS SPECIAL ISSUE ON THUTMOSIS III ...

TUTHMOSIS III: FAMILY MAN Aidan Dodson	3
THE STATUARY OF TUTHMOSIS III Bonnie M. Sampsell	8
THE ALABASTER MEMPHIS SPHINX: TUTHMOSIS III OR HATSHEPSUT? Mohammed A. Shata	14
THE THEBAN TEMPLES OF TUTHMOSIS III Bonnie M. Sampsell	16
THE IMPORTANCE OF BEING TUTHMOSIS William D. Petty.	25

Thutmosis III: Family Man

by Aidan Dodson

Thutmosis III's image is essentially that of a warrior; if one thinks of him in a family context, it is probably to consider the nature of his relationship with his step-mother and aunt, Hatshepsut. However, the surviving data allows us to learn more about his immediate family than is known about that of many of his predecessors. Indeed, it is during his reign, and that of his son, Amenhotep II, that the royal family begins to emerge from the shadows which had enveloped it since the Old Kingdom.

During the 4th Dynasty, royal sons had occupied the heights of the administration as Viziers, essentially the pharaonic Prime Ministers. However, by the beginning of the 5th Dynasty, they disappear from such offices, never to return. From then until the New Kingdom, royal sons are all but invisible, except in their tombs, which are themselves few and far between. Royal daughters are a little more visible, but often only as adjuncts to their fathers or husbands. Even the wives of the king are irregular in their appearances on the monuments, and generally best known from their graves.

However, late in the 17th Dynasty, and then after the reunification of Egypt, the royal wives come to prominence starting with Ahhotep I, wife of Seqenenre Tao, and her daughter, Ahmose Nefertari, Great Wife of Ahmose I. In particular, the queen took a place in the priestly hierarchy of Amun-Re via the office of God's Wife of Amun. This remained largely a queenly office until the 20th Dynasty, when it was transformed into a kind of "vestal virgin"; ultimately its holders became the supreme heads of the Amun cult during the 26th Dynasty.

THE EGYPTIAN ROYAL FAMILY

By the 18th Dynasty, five basic titles had come to define the categories of royal relationships: "King's Wife", "King's Mother", "King's Son", "King's Daughter", and "King's Sister".

KING'S WIFE

It is clear that it was usual for a number of women to be the bed-partners of a king. It is also clear that these individuals ranged in status, although it is difficult to classify these states in modern relationship terms. At one end were those women who carried out official roles and would thus be what we would recognize as "wives", but as for the rest the designations of "mistress" or "concubine" carry implications that may or may not reflect the reality of an ancient royal household. Any rationalization is made difficult by the fact that there is no consistency as to the designation of such females, who are generally only known from the memorials of their offspring. One of the very few "sub-wives", to coin a phrase, known in her own right is Kiya, who held the unique title of "Great beloved wife of the Dual King". However, in view of the novelty of many of the circumstances surrounding her husband, Akhenaten, her singular status is perhaps not surprising.

For most of Egyptian history, however, "proper" wives were designated by the title *hmt-nsw*.¹ This translates directly as "Wife of the King", and thus does not carry the secondary meaning of "ruling woman" that our word "queen" does. For Egyptian female rulers, the usual titles of a male ruler were used, generally with the female, grammatical ending, "t", added.

Very clearly set above "King's Wife" was the "King's Great Wife" (*hmt-nsw-wrt*), a title that goes back to the time of Senusret III. The implications of the "Great Wife" title are fairly clear, in that it designated the first lady of the land, a status made particularly likely in view of the fact that the first "Great Wife", Mertseger, was also the first royal wife to use a cartouche. She was the one who acted as the female counterpoint of the pharaoh. The latter role may actually have transcended her biological role, since there are instances where a king's daughter holds the title without a clear indication (i.e. unequivocal children) that she was also acting as her husband's sexual partner.

Although initially there was only one Great Wife at a time, from the latter part of the 18th Dynasty there are occasions when multiple holders of the title are to be found simultaneously, the best known example being Nefertari A and Istnofret A under Ramesses II. After their deaths, the latter elevated two daughters of Nefertari and one of Istnofret to the rank, as well as bestowing it on the daughter of the King of the Hittites whom he married.

KING'S MOTHER

The title *mwt-nsw* first appears at the very beginning of the Old Kingdom and continues to be found until the end of the Late Period. Its use is generally straightforward, denoting a king's mother during his reign. However, there are occasional instances where it appears to be used prior to any offspring's accession, in which case a co-regency between that king and his predecessor should probably be assumed.² The term may on occasion refer to the marriage of a lady's daughter to a king, although in this case it should be only part of a longer string, *mwt-nsw n hmt-nsw(-wrt)*.

The title of King's Mother often appears alongside the principal wifely titles where these were held prior to her son's accession. There are also situations where it is suspected that the woman in question may not have actually held them under the king's father, but were only granted by her son. This applies in particular to the status of King's Great Wife, given by Tuthmosis III to his mother Isis A, who may not even have been a *hmt-nsw* during Tuthmosis II's lifetime, when Hatshepsut seems to have been undisputed Great Wife.

"King's Mother" can also be found alone. In some cases, this may be where space is limited or for reasons of emphasis: an example of the latter is to be found in the tomb of Isis C in the Valley of the Queens, which was provided for her by her son, Ramesses VI. It was presumably to emphasize his role that he had omitted the wifely titles that linked her to Ramesses III, then long dead.

The other instance where the title is used on its own, of course, is where a king was not the son of a king: examples are Kemi, mother of Sobekhotep III and Neferhotep I, and Senisonbe, mother of Tuthmosis I.

An area of uncertainty is whether or not “King’s Mother” alone could ever have the extended meaning of “king’s mother-in-law”. This has been claimed for certain individuals during the 21st Dynasty, but the evidence is equivocal at best, since there are reconstructions that would make the ladies in question the physical mothers of kings.

A further area for query concerns the title “God’s Mother” (*mwt-ntr*), which is found primarily during the New Kingdom. Since the king was a god, it might appear likely that “God’s

both during the Old Kingdom and very occasionally later, kings’ grandsons also called themselves *s3-nsw*. During the 13th Dynasty, we also have the example of the brothers of Sobekhotep III holding the title. Although there were certainly still a few titular King’s Sons in the Middle Kingdom, and even in the very early years of the 18th Dynasty, the phenomenon seems to have died out by Tuthmoside times, although a few “non-genealogical” uses of the term “King’s Son” for unrelated people are known.

The title of “Eldest King’s Son” (*s3-nsw smsw*) is found as far back as the Old Kingdom, and although it may on occasion have designated the heir, there are many cases where it did not. However, by the New Kingdom it indeed seems to have become a “political” appellation of the heir to the throne. As such, it was supplemented by “First

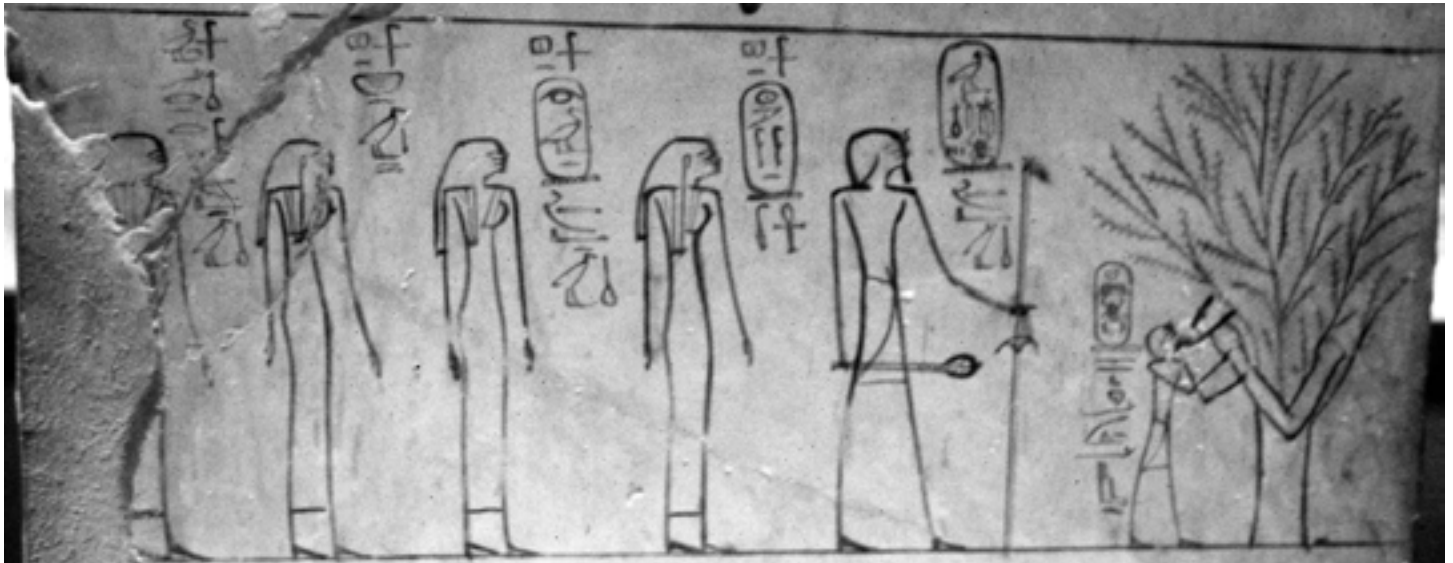


Fig. 1. Left to Right: Nefertari B, daughter of Tuthmosis III; Nebtu (wife of Tuthmosis III); Sitiah (Great Wife of Tuthmosis III); Meryetre-Hatshepsut here referred to only as Meryetre, (Great Wife of Tuthmosis III); and Tuthmosis III himself, holding his staff. At the far right, Tuthmosis III suckles at the breast of Isis who is in the form of a tree.

Mother” and “King’s Mother” could be equivalent. However, a number of God’s Mothers did not have a king amongst their offspring, and indeed died before their royal husbands. The significance of the *mwt-ntr* title thus remains obscure.

KING’S SON

The first known *s3-nsw*, “Son of the King”, appears at the beginning of the 2nd Dynasty. For much of that time, it simply designates the male offspring of the king, but there are exceptions. At the very beginning of the New Kingdom, a (non-royal) viceregal post was established for the purpose of ruling the newly reconquered lands of Nubia. From the middle of the 18th Dynasty onward, the viceroy was designated *s3-nsw n Kš*—“King’s Son of Kush”—and since the “*n Kš*” was from then on an invariable adjunct, there is little room for confusion with “real” princes. However, prior to this time, the earliest viceroys were simply called *s3-nsw*, with the termination merely implied, leaving room for possible confusion.

The other exception is (mainly) during the Old Kingdom, when “King’s Son” could be bestowed upon a person wholly unrelated to the king, as is shown by mentions of such an individual’s real parents. It seems fairly clear that where the title is followed by “of his body” (*n ht.f*), a “real” royal son is often meant, but there are exceptions and examples of uncertainty even in this case. In addition,

King’s Son” (*s3-nsw tpy*), apparently indicating the eldest son by a particular wife. While on occasion a person could be entitled to both, *s3-nsw tpy* seems normally to have been reserved for the head of a cadet branch, or a deceased elder brother of the Crown Prince.³

KING’S DAUGHTER

Like its male equivalent, the title *s3t-nsw* goes back to the earliest times. In contrast with other royal family titles, there are few complications with the use of it, the only extension regularly used being *n ht.f*, “of his body”, although a few ladies were “Eldest” or “First” royal daughters.⁴ There is little evidence of its widespread bestowal in an honorary fashion, except for occasional use by grandchildren of the king. Although it is difficult to quantify the latter, unequivocal examples are fairly rare. The earliest one is Meresankh III, granddaughter of Khufu. No clear instances are known from the Middle Kingdom; the clearest New Kingdom example is Nebetia, daughter of Prince Siatum A.⁵

As already noted, a number of King’s Daughters also acted as King’s Great Wife for their fathers, but the details of their role remains unclear. Such “marriages” were, nevertheless, uncommon.

KING’S SISTER

The title of “King’s Brother” is unknown, with the exception of the wholly anomalous “King’s Brother and Father” appellation

THE FAMILY OF TUTHMOSIS III

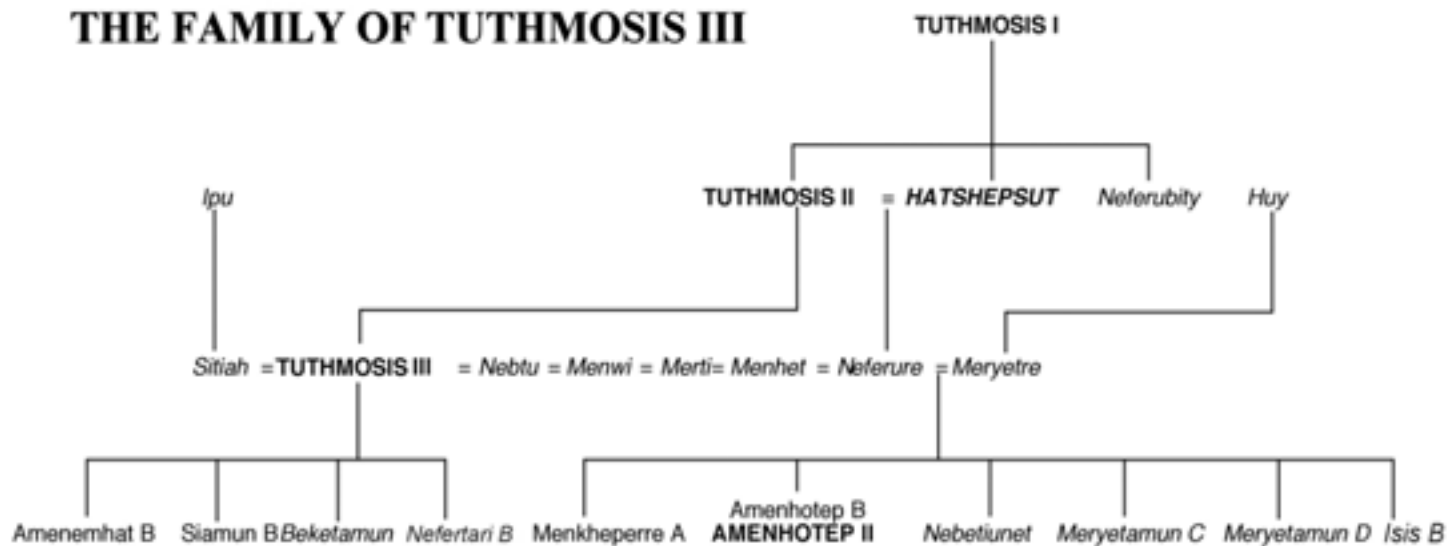


Table 1. The family tree of Tuthmosis III. See “Brief Lives” text for descriptions.

given to Tjahepimu, father of Nectanebo II in the 30th Dynasty. However, “King’s Sister” (*snt-nsw*) is found occasionally during the Middle Kingdom, and more frequently during the New Kingdom and later. It is most commonly found in the titularies of kings’ sister-wives, but also in those of a princesses who married outside the royal family. However, it does not seem to be universal for such individuals to employ the title, some preferring to stick to “King’s Daughter” alone.

One issue surrounding the sisterly title is whether it necessarily applied to the contemporary king or whether a predecessor can be implied. On the basis of the apparent New Kingdom practice with royal sons, it is likely that the former was the case, but no unequivocal data is available to rule out the second option as a possibility.

THE ROYAL FAMILY OF TUTHMOSIS III

Tuthmosis III’s father was Tuthmosis II. The latter had his half-sister, Hatshepsut, as his Great Wife, by whom he had one daughter, Neferure, and probably another, Neferubity. The second Tuthmosis also had another wife, Isis A, who was to become Tuthmosis III’s mother, as stated on the shroud of the king’s mummy, as well as on a statuette dedicated by him.

It remains unclear whether Tuthmosis III married his half-sister, Neferure. She has often been assumed to have died young and unmarried, but in two inscriptions the names respectively of the mother and a wife (Sitiah) of Tuthmosis III appear to be written over the cartouche of Neferure. The first text gives Neferure the title of King’s Great Wife and Mistress of Upper and Lower Egypt, while the second, datable to the early years of Tuthmosis III’s sole reign, gives Neferure the title of God’s Wife of Amun. The implication would thus seem to be that Tuthmosis married Neferure, but that her memory later suffered the same opprobrium heaped on her mother, Hatshepsut.⁶

It has also been suggested that Neferure might have been the mother of Prince Amenemhat B, but given his installation as Overseer of Cattle in Year 24 Tuthmosis III’s reign, the marriage of Neferure and Tuthmosis would probably have been at least a decade earlier. If so, one would expect more mentions of Neferure as

a King’s Wife, and that more than simply her title of God’s Wife would have been used on a stela dating as late as the period just before her putative son’s installation. It would therefore seem more likely that Tuthmosis III married Neferure only in the mid-20s of his reign, after which the lady disappeared from view. Amenemhat B’s mother thus remains uncertain.

Three definite wives of Tuthmosis III, Merytre-Hatshepsut, Sitiah (both Great Wives) and Nebtu, are shown on a pillar in the king’s tomb, a scene which also includes a daughter, Nefertari B (Fig. 1). It is possible that Sitiah, the earlier of the Great Wives, may have been Amenemhat B’s mother.

All of these wives were of non-royal birth, in contrast with almost all of the wives of earlier kings of the dynasty, who had been siblings of their husbands. Indeed, brother-sister marriages were henceforth uncommon within the royal family, refuting the long-popular idea that the right to the throne descended through the female line.

A statue in the British Museum belongs to a mother-in-law of Tuthmosis III named Huy. Her daughter, who is simply called a “Great Wife”, was almost certainly Merytre-Hatshepsut, as Sitiah is known to have had a different mother, and no other Great Wife is known—with the questionable exception of Hatshepsut’s daughter, Neferure. Three lesser wives, apparently of Syrian extraction, named Menwi, Merti, and Menhet, are known from their joint tomb in which the name of Tuthmosis appears on a number of items.

Images of Prince Menkheperre A and Princesses Nebetiuwet, Isis B, Merytamun C, and Merytamun D appear on the statue of Huy, making it almost certain that they were all offspring of Merytre-Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III. The fact that Isis was shown smaller than her siblings indicates that she was the youngest. Another child of the couple was the Crown Prince, Amenhotep B (who ultimately became Amenhotep II); Merytre-Hatshepsut is mentioned on a number of monuments after his accession. A further son, Siamun, is depicted on the statue of an official which is datable to the reign of Tuthmosis III, but there is no indication of the identity of his mother. Another daughter, Baketamun, is named on a fragment of a faience votive object from Deir el-Bahri, which also bears the cartouche of Tuthmosis III.

BRIEF LIVES

(See Table 1, previous page.)

Amenemhat B (Eldest King's Son; Overseer of Cattle)

Son and heir of Tuthmosis III, he seems to have died before his father. He is named on the south side of Tuthmosis's Festival Hall at Karnak temple in Year 24 of his father's reign.

Amenhotep B (King's Son)

Son of Tuthmosis III, he later succeeded his father as **Ahmenhotep II**. He is depicted in the tomb of Min, Mayor of Thinis (TT 109), and perhaps in the anonymous TT 143. On a stela from the sphinx at Giza, he states that he came to the throne at the age of eighteen.

Baketamun (King's Daughter)

Daughter of Tuthmosis III. She is named on a fragment of a faience votive object from Deir el-Bahri, now in Boston; on a wooden staff of her servant, Amenmose, now in Brooklyn; and probably on a scarab in the British Museum. She may be represented in the Hathor Chapel of her father's temple at Deir el-Bahri, where the figure of a princess behind Merytamun C has lost her name.

Hatshepsut D (God's Wife; King's Great Wife; King's Daughter; King's Sister)

Daughter of Tuthmosis I, wife of Tuthmosis II and later Tuthmosis III's co-regent. A range of monuments date to her period as queen, and also as regent for Tuthmosis III. These include inscriptions from Karnak, Nubia and Sinai, and an (unused) tomb and sarcophagus in the Wadi Siqqat Taqa el-Zeide at Thebes.

Huy (Adorer of the God)

Mother of Meryetre-Hatshepsut. She is represented on a statue in the British Museum and played an important role in the cults of Amun, Re and Atum.

Ipu (Nurse of the God)

Mother of Sitiah. She is named on an offering table of her daughter that was found in Abydos and now is now in Cairo.

Isis A (God's Wife; King's Mother; King's Wife; King's Great Wife)

Mother of Tuthmosis III. She was given the title of King's Great Wife during his reign, as well as God's Wife after her death. Depicted in a statue from Karnak, and mentioned a number of times on her son's funerary monuments and equipment.

Isis B (King's Daughter)

Daughter of Tuthmosis III and Meryetre-Hatshepsut. She is represented on the statue of her grandmother, Huy, in the British Museum.

Menhet (King's Wife)

Wife of Tuthmosis III, probably of Syrian extraction. She was buried in a joint tomb in Wadi Gabbanet el-Qurud with Menwi and Merti; much of the funerary equipment is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Menkheperre A (King's Son)

Son of Tuthmosis III and Meryetre-Hatshepsut. He is depicted on a statue of his grandmother, Huy, now in the British Mu-

seum. Canopic jar fragments from the Valley of the Queens, in Strasbourg and Cairo, are probably his.

Menwi (King's Wife)

Wife of Tuthmosis III, probably of Syrian extraction. She was buried in a joint tomb in Wadi Gabbanet el-Qurud with Menhet and Merti; much of the funerary equipment is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Merti (King's Wife)

Wife of Tuthmosis III, probably of Syrian extraction. She was buried in a joint tomb in Wadi Gabbanet el-Qurud with Menhet and Menwi; much of the funerary equipment is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Merytamun C (King's Daughter; King's Sister; God's Wife)

Daughter of Tuthmosis III and Meryetre-Hatshepsut. She is represented on the statue of her grandmother, Huy, now in the British Museum, and on the wall of the Hathor shrine of Tuthmosis III at Deir el-Bahri. She (or her sister, Merytamun D) was also shown on the lap of the Overseer of Works, Benermerut, from Karnak.

Merytamun D (King's Daughter)

Daughter of Tuthmosis III and Meryetre-Hatshepsut. She is represented on the statue of her grandmother, Huy, now in the British Museum.

Meryetre-Hatshepsut (King's Great Wife; God's Wife; King's Mother)

Wife of Tuthmosis III; daughter of the Adoratrix Huy; and mother of Amenhotep II. She is known from a number of monuments, including the Edifice of Amenhotep II at Karnak. Many of her representations were usurped by Tiaa A (the wife of Amenhotep II and the mother of Tuthmosis IV) during the reign of Tuthmosis IV, into whose reign she seems to have survived. Her disgrace under her grandson is also suggested by her apparent non-use of KV 42 in the Valley of the Kings, which had been taken over for her burial.

Nebetiuinet (King's Daughter)

Daughter of Tuthmosis III and Meryetre-Hatshepsut. She is represented on the lap of her grandmother, Huy, on a statue in the British Museum.

Nebtu (King's Wife)

Wife of Tuthmosis III. She is represented in her husband's tomb and had an estate whose steward, Nebamun, was buried in TT 24.

Nefertari B (King's Daughter)

Daughter of Tuthmosis III by an unknown wife. She is depicted on pillar in the king's tomb (KV 34).

Neferubiti (King's Daughter)

Daughter of Tuthmosis I and Ahmose B. She is depicted on the walls of the sanctuary of the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri.

Neferure (King's Daughter; God's Wife; King's Great Wife)

Daughter of Hatshepsut, and possibly wife of Tuthmosis III. She is depicted on a number of statues of her tutor, Senenmut, on the walls of the Deir el-Bahri temple, and on stelae from

Sinai and Karnak. A tomb that may be hers is in the Wadi Qubbet el-Qurud at Thebes.

Siamun B (King's Son)

Son of Tuthmosis III. He is named upon the statuette of the Chancellor, Sennefer, now in the Cairo Museum.

Sitiah (God's Wife; King's Wife; King's Great Wife)

Wife of Tuthmosis III; perhaps the mother of Amenemhat B; and daughter of the nurse Ipu. A number of items were dedicated to her by her husband after her death.

NOTES

1. For a comprehensive listing of royal ladies' titles, see Troy 1986: 151–97.
2. For example, Ahmose Nefertari is given the title of King's Mother at least three years before her husband's death.
3. Kitchen 1972; 1982.
4. Found only in the Old Kingdom and the 18th Dynasty.
5. Dodson and Janssen 1989. Siatum A appears to have been a son of either Tuthmosis IV or Amenhotep III.
6. Dorman 1988: 78–9.

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Dr. Aidan Dodson is a Teaching Fellow in the Department of Archaeology, University of Bristol, where he is Unit Director for Egyptology. He has lectured widely, is a Contributing Editor of the Egyptological magazine, Kmt, and in 2003, was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London, England's oldest Archaeological institution. This article was very kindly abridged for the ESS from The Complete Royal Families of Ancient Egypt (with Dyan Hilton), due for publication by Thames and Hudson in the fall, 2004.



Menkheperre Tuthmosis

(after Hathor Chapel inscription now in Cairo Museum)

The Statuary of Tuthmosis III

by Bonnie M. Sampsell

One of my favorite Egyptian sculptures is a statue of Tuthmosis III in the Luxor Museum (Fig. 1). The figure is carved from a fine-grained greywacke and polished to a smooth luster. The king, whose face is miraculously intact, appears as a handsome and noble monarch. I think this must be one of the greatest artistic achievements of ancient Egypt. And yet my admiring reaction may not have been what the ancient sculptor was striving for, and a museum was definitely not the setting for which this statue was intended.



Figure 1. Greywacke statue of Tuthmosis III in Luxor Museum. Found in Karnak Cachette.

THE PURPOSE OF ANCIENT EGYPTIAN SCULPTURE

Although some Egyptian art may have been purely decorative, most was utilitarian but with a noble purpose. In fact most of what survives today had either a religious or a funerary function. This did not prevent the ancient craftsmen from producing what we consider artistic masterpieces; in fact, it may even have inspired their efforts.

Statues of Egyptian kings were placed in various settings including public places, their own mortuary temples, and cult temples dedicated to various gods or goddesses. In general, a statue served as a stand-in for the real person or served as a body in which a god or a human's *ka* could reside. In public places, a king's statue had a propaganda role conveying his power and authority. In his own mortuary temple, a king's statues served as the objects of the cult practices. After death, the king's spirit would inhabit the statues.

Cult temples were founded and maintained by royal decree. The king placed his statues outside the temple as well as in courtyards to which the public might have access to demonstrate his support and his role in maintaining harmony with the gods. Inside the temple, the king served as chief priest, and his statues portrayed him worshipping or making an offering to the god.

Badawy described a trend during the New Kingdom to "exteriorize" royal statuary.¹ By this he meant that more statues were placed on the exterior of the temple on the façade, or in courts to which the public was admitted. Some of these statues were "architectural" such as the Osiride figures and sphinxes. Others represented the king seated or standing and served to emphasize his role as an intermediary between the god and ordinary Egyptians. As the expanding empire provided more resources, the architecture of temples became more imposing and the statues became increasingly colossal.

THE TUTHMOSIDE STYLE IN STATUARY

Tuthmosis used the resources from his foreign conquests to build temples at more than fifty locations in Egypt, Nubia, and Palestine.² A large body of his statuary has been recovered from these sites. In the early 20th century, a cache of hundreds of statues and statue fragments was found under the floor of the so-called Cachette Court north of Pylon VII at Karnak. This cache represented an accumulation of objects, dating from the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period, which had been installed in various parts of Karnak Temple. In about 300 BCE, during a burst of temple restoration by Ptolemy I, these unwanted statues and other items were buried—their sacred status preserving them from being destroyed outright. Nineteen statues of Tuthmosis III were discovered in this cache. Still other statues have been found *in situ* in this temple—a fact that has greatly aided scholars in understanding the role of such religious statuary.

All of these statues have been the subjects of intense study by experts. Edna Russmann, a noted authority, said, "Their style is characteristic of what we may call the Tuthmoside style, which first appeared under ... Tuthmosis I, reached its peak under Tuthmosis III, and remained dominant until some point in the reign of ... Tuthmosis IV. The deliberately simplified idealism of Tuthmoside style may strike us as bland or artificial, but it is a remarkably strong and consistent style and very distinctive. For the Egyptians, it was perhaps the most satisfactory and successful form of idealism ever created, the most perfect expression of what they considered essential and immortal in the human image."³ While an idealized figure may seem natural or life-like, it was not necessarily intended to be realistic. Instead, it attempted to present a king who was fulfilling his role in every respect.

Despite the overall continuity of the Tuthmoside style, detailed analysis has revealed some evolution of artistic conventions within Tuthmosis III's reign.⁴ Like many long-ruling monarchs, Tuthmosis III at first continued the conventions of his predecessors, but then he showed signs of increasing independence. In fact, Laboury has

identified four stages of development: (1) Early—showing Tuthmosis I and II influences; (2) Coregency with Hatshepsut—during which time statues of Tuthmosis III and Hatshepsut were nearly indistinguishable; (3) Post-Hatshepsut—showing increasing independence; and (4) End of Reign—with a return to Tuthmosis II styles.

The similarity between the statuary of Tuthmosis III and Hatshepsut during their joint reigns is not surprising. There may have been some family resemblance between the two rulers, but we should not expect that statues were faithful portraits of the king. Of greater relevance is the fact that the same teams of artists were involved in the production of statues for both monarchs and employed similar conventions. Unfortunately the similarities make identification of uninscribed works very difficult. The reuse of statues is another factor that may lead to confusion over which ruler is portrayed. For example, a statue, long attributed to Tuthmosis III on the basis of his cartouche on the belt buckle, may have been carved originally for Hatshepsut. Careful examination provides evidence that the cartouche was recut.⁵ This statue is Item #4 in the exhibition, *The Quest for Immortality*, so readers of *The Ostrakon* will have an opportunity to study this for themselves. Some experts believe they have found ways to distinguish reliably between statues of Hatshepsut and her stepson/nephew using various facial elements and body proportions.⁶ Hatshepsut is supposed to have a more heart-shaped face and slender torso. But the differences between the two royal faces are subtle and can be hard to detect in individual cases.

KINDS OF ROYAL SCULPTURES AND TUTHMOSIS III EXAMPLES

Statue sizes. Three-dimensional representations of Egyptian kings ranged in size from the miniature to the truly colossal. Statues intended for public display in temples tended to be life-sized and larger. Colossal seated statues often fronted temples and there was a trend to increased size in the late 18th and early 19th Dynasties. Examples include the 57-foot Colossi of Memnon, which once fronted the mortuary temple of Amenhotep III, and the 67-foot tall statues of Ramesses II at Abu Simbel. Badawy suggested that such colossi not only symbolized the power of the king, but also served as a focus for the people's appeals for his intercession with the gods.⁷

Approximately life-sized statues probably served as stand-ins for the king inside temples. Smaller statues, dedicated to mark a special occasion, would have occupied special niches or pedestals within a temple. The tiny ivory statuette of Khufu, the only known representation of this monarch, may have been someone's treasured amulet.⁸

Royal statue poses and their symbolism. Statues of kings were created in a variety of poses, each of which had a particular symbolism.⁹ The king's garb and his unique royal insignia (crown, uraeus, scepter, and beard) also conveyed a specific message especially to a non-literate public. Many of the poses used by Tuthmoside artists are seen on statues dating back to the Old Kingdom and even earlier. Additional poses were introduced in later periods of innovation. Once these conventions of pose and dress had been adopted, however, they continued to be used throughout the pharaonic period—a factor that contributes to our perception of the conserva-

tism of ancient Egyptian art. At the same time, this traditionalism offers hope to the modern viewer that he or she can grasp this set of conventions.

Seated statues. Kings seated on a throne are a common form seen from the Predynastic Period onwards. The throne most often took the form of a cube with the union of Upper and Lower Egypt depicted on its sides. The king's feet frequently rested on a carved base with the nine bows (symbols of the enemies of the state) under his soles. The symbolism of supreme power and national authority was unmistakable. Seated statues of this type might have been commissioned for a king's coronation, since it shows him in the role of unifier and protector of the two lands. Pairs were placed on each side of temple gates to show the king's support of the establishment. These statues show the king wearing a pleated kilt and one of the royal crowns or the nemes head-dress. A cartouche on his belt buckle and inscriptions on the front of the throne usually identified the king.

Within a temple, a life-sized seated statue of the king probably served as the recipient of offerings. Many statues of Tuthmosis III in a seated pose have been recovered in temple ruins. A striking example found in his ruined temple at Deir el-Bahri is now on display in the new Luxor Museum extension (Fig. 2).

Another seated pose presents the king in a very different garb; he wears the traditional, short *heb sed* cloak and either a white or red crown. Typically he holds a scepter and flail. Such statues were probably commissioned for and placed in the monuments associated with the *heb sed* ceremonies. They may have been stand-ins for the king during certain rituals. Tuthmosis III celebrated three renewal festivals. Several statues of this type were found at Karnak, but none of them was *in situ*. Statues of this type were also discovered in temples north and south of Luxor where they were dedicated to commemorate this important national event.

Standing statues. Throughout Egyptian history, both kings and commoners were portrayed standing, with their left leg advanced. This three-dimensional representation may have been derived from conventions used in two-dimensional scenes.¹⁰ Since the dominant figure in an inscribed wall scene faces

to the right, his left leg is shown slightly advanced to make it visible. On this type of statue, the arms may hang straight at the sides with the hands either open or holding objects such as scepters or staffs that indicate a person's rank. A standing (or striding) king gives a more vigorous impression than a seated figure. Such statues were commonly placed flanking doorways, and a restored pair of Tuthmosis's statues (subsequently usurped by Ramesses IV) can be seen on the north side of Pylon VII at Karnak (Fig. 3, next page). This statue is 13 feet high, but on the south side of Pylon VII are the remains (only the lower legs survive) of two statues that would have towered 30 feet above their massive bases.

Another standing pose, first seen on a Middle Kingdom statue of Senusret III, represents the king in an attitude of prayer. His arms are extended slightly forward with his hands resting flat on his projecting kilt (Fig. 4, next page). Such a statue would have been placed inside a cult temple along with offering statues.



Figure 2. Granodiorite statue of Tuthmosis III in Luxor Museum. Found at Deir el-Bahri.



Fig. 3. (above) Colossal granite statue of Tuthmosis III by Pylon VII, Karnak Temple.



Fig. 4. (above) Granite statue of Amenhotep II in a worshipping pose. Karnak Temple.

Fig. 5. (above, right) Granodiorite statue of Tuthmosis III with an offering table, Karnak Temple. The inscription mentions an offering of bread, onions, and grapes, so maybe these and other real food items were placed on the tray.



Fig. 6. (above) Granodiorite statue of Tuthmosis III offering *nu* jars. Cairo Museum.



Offering statues. The king was the only human who could serve as an intermediary between the gods and mortals. As a result, he was the nominal chief priest, or officiant, in every cult temple in the land. Clearly he could not fulfill this obligation in person and thus delegated it to a professional priest or other official. However, the king could always be present in the form of a statue.

In a cult temple, the god was represented by a statue housed in a shrine in the inner sanctuary. The daily temple rituals involved opening the shrine; awakening the god; and then washing, dressing, adorning, anointing, censuring, feeding, and worshipping him or her. Some of these activities occurred more than once a day. Hundreds of inscriptions on the walls of temples illustrate the king himself involved in many of these actions. Statues could also show the king performing these rites and especially making offerings.

Sometimes the king's statue is standing and presenting a tray or other container. An unusual fragmentary statue of Tuthmosis III in the Cairo Museum shows him with a tray from which is suspended a cluster of ducks. In other statues he is kneeling to present his offering (Fig. 5). Kneeling is a very submissive pose that a king would only have assumed in the presence of a god. Many of Tuthmosis III's offering statues show him kneeling and

offering two globular *nu* jars (Fig. 6). These jars would have contained water or wine.

Osiride statues. The earliest Osiride statues were found at the Middle Kingdom funerary temple of Mentuhotep II at Deir el-Bahri where they were aligned on both sides of the causeway leading up to the temple. During the early New Kingdom, Osiride figures were a common element appearing engaged to square columns on temple façades and around courtyards. The king was shown wrapped in the cloak commonly seen on two-dimensional representations of the god Osiris. He wore one of the royal crowns. His arms were crossed, and he held a scepter and a flail, or alternatively a pair of *ankhs*. These statues symbolized the king's assimilation with the god Osiris in death. They were generally of colossal proportions in keeping with their architectural role (Fig. 7). Statues of Tuthmosis III in an Osiride pose have been discovered at several locations at Thebes: at his mortuary temple, at his Festival Hall at Karnak, and at the Chapel of the Hearing Ear east of the Karnak Temple.¹¹ Most of these Tuthmosis statues are badly damaged, but one can get a good impression of the impact of a row of such statues from the restored third terrace of Hatshepsut's mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahri.

Sphinxes. Statues of kings in the shape of a sphinx date back to at least the Old Kingdom. In contrast to the anthropomorphic representation of deities with animal heads and human bodies, the sphinx carries a human head on a lion's muscular body. The symbolism of this figure was immediately obvious to even the simplest subject: the majesty of the king combined with the power of the lion. The king is almost always shown wearing the nemes head-dress which framed his face like a mane and provided extra volume to give the proper proportions between the human face and lion's body.¹²

Pairs of large sphinx statues were usually located on either side of a doorway or gateway. Rows of sphinxes were also used to line processional ways leading to temples. Among the surviving Tuthmosis III statues, there are several pairs—or putative pairs—of sphinxes. One of these pairs can be seen today in front of the Cairo Museum. Originally this pair stood in the "Botanical Garden" within the king's Festival Hall at Karnak Temple where they were discovered *in situ* in 1861.¹³ Curiously, these sphinxes did not flank a door, but were tucked between the pairs of papyrus columns.

A small granite sphinx, only 24 inches in length, appears in the exhibition, *The Quest for Immortality*, as Item #3. It, too, prob-

ably came from the Festival Hall since it was found in the Karnak cachette. On it one can see the familiar, but idealized, features of Tuthmosis III, with his “almond eyes and formless but faintly smiling mouth.”¹⁴ Another statue that seems to share the Tuthmoside style is the large alabaster sphinx at Memphis. The face of the Memphis Sphinx is similar to the Tuthmosis III statues discovered at Deir el-Bahri and dating to the last decade of his reign: it is round with a square chin. (See article by Mohammed Shata in this issue. –Ed.)

Group statues. Statues in which a king is shown with other figures, either members of his family or deities, have a long history in Egyptian art. No statues of Tuthmosis III with a wife, child, or parent have turned up so far, but there are several that portray him with one or more gods and goddesses. The deities involved generally reflect the geographic origin of the statue; thus statues from several sites around Luxor show the king with the local god Montu or with Amun, the chief Theban god. In these group statues, as is often the case in similar two-dimensional scenes, the king is shown at the same scale as the deity to emphasize his divine status.¹⁵ Sometimes the king and deity embrace each other.

Rock-cut chapels in several Nubian temples contained triads that show Tuthmosis III with two local deities: Horus of Miam and Satis of Elephantine. Another chapel at Qasr Ibrim even had four figures: Hatshepsut is shown along with Tuthmosis, Horus, and Satis.

An unusual group statue was found by Napoleon’s expedition in the Festival Hall at Karnak; it was obtained by the British Museum in 1823 (Fig. 8). It has six figures occupying all four sides of a 6-foot high granite block: a triad consisting of Tuthmosis, Montu, and Hathor is depicted twice.

In addition to the surviving statues and statue fragments, additional information regarding the statuary of Tuthmosis III can be found in the Theban tomb (TT 100) of his Vizier, Rekhmire.¹⁶ Rekhmire was the “the administrator of all works at Karnak” and held other titles involving temple establishments throughout Thebes. Scenes in his tomb depict temple artists carving a series of statues of Tuthmosis III. These include statues in poses that are not found in the corpus of surviving statues. For example, we see a pair-statue of Tuthmosis and a queen (Fig. 9). Another form of statue is shown in which a nearly prostrate king is presenting an offering. Royal statues in such a pose are known for several other monarchs, but none for Tuthmosis III. An unusual sphinx that seems to show a queen in a Middle Kingdom-style wig appears in the lower right corner of this same scene. Statues of this type can be seen in the Cairo Museum.

Another wall painting in Rekhmire’s tomb shows artists finishing colossal statues in a variety of poses (Fig. 10). From this we learn the stages of production since several sequential steps are shown as contemporaneous on each statue. The magnitude of the statue is conveyed by the smaller size of the workmen who use light scaffolding to reach the top of the statues.



Fig. 7. (right) Colossal granite statue of Tuthmosis III in Osiride pose. Pylon VII, Karnak Temple. Height: 14.6 feet.

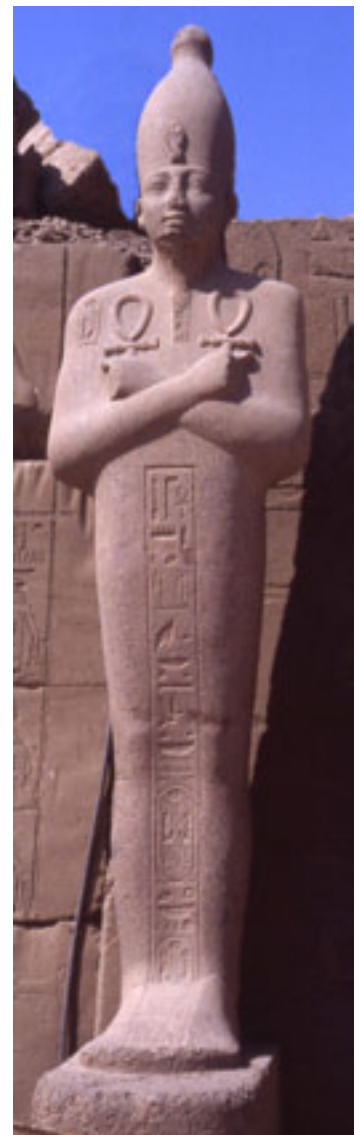


Fig. 8. (above) Granite block statue with two triads of Montu, Tuthmosis III, and Hathor. Found in Festival Hall, Karnak. Now in the British Museum. Photo by Jon Bodsworth.

folding to reach the top of the statues.

Materials. The surviving statues of Tuthmosis III were carved from several different kinds of stone. Those used most frequently were granite, granodiorite (often just described as “diorite”), sandstone, and greywacke. Limestone, “Egyptian alabaster” or travertine, quartzite, and marble were each used in a small number of works.

Originally, most of the statues were painted and would have looked very different than they do today when all or nearly all of the paint is missing as a result of exposure. On some figures of quartzite, the skin may have been left unpainted because the natural, reddish color of the stone was similar to the tone used to represent male skin. The exposed body regions on some darker stone figures were also left unpainted so that the black or greenish tone could symbolize rebirth of the deceased king.

Red granite and grayish granodiorite were always the preserve of kings for both building and statuary. These stones had to be transported from quarries at Aswan and were very difficult to carve. Yet 40% of the known statues of Tuthmosis III, particularly the colossal ones, were fashioned from these two stones.¹⁷

Sandstone became the predominant building material for Theban temples in the 18th Dynasty. Sandstone was seldom used

for sculpture, however. The fact that 25% of Tuthmosis's statues are in this material reflects the presence of a large number of Osiride statues in the corpus. When an Osiride statue was engaged to a sandstone column, the figure was also carved of sandstone. The only known pair of freestanding, Tuthmosis III Osiride statues is made of granite (see Fig. 7). Other examples in sandstone include four group statues carved from the natural sandstone bedrock in the rock-cut chapels in three Nubian temples. Two pairs of sandstone sphinxes (one at the Temple of Montu in Tod and one at Serabit el-Khadim in Sinai) were likewise carved in local sandstone.

Greywacke is a hard, dense, and fine-grained sedimentary rock. It was quarried in the Wadi Hammamat, 65 miles east of Qena. Greywacke was used in six (or 5%) of statues definitely attributable to Tuthmosis III, but several other uninscribed statue fragments in this material have been plausibly attributed to him.¹⁸ By contrast, only a few examples certainly identified as other 18th Dynasty kings have been found, and

duced, they have not survived the ravages of time. A dozen wooden figures were discovered in Tuthmosis's tomb (KV 34), however. Although the tomb was thoroughly ransacked in antiquity, modern excavators found these figures among the debris in 1898. Most were mummiform, but two show the king in a striding pose. One of these statues is included in the exhibition, *The Quest for Immortality* (Item #28), along with a wooden leopard from the same tomb (Item #29).

THE TUTHMOSIDE PERIOD IN EGYPTIAN ART

Where does the statuary of Tuthmosis III fit within the history of Egyptian art? And does our modern perception provide the right standard for judging its quality? Edna Russmann emphasizes that although Egyptian art was created for specific religious functions, it is not wrong of us to also consider its aesthetic properties. One of the justifications for doing so is the close relationship she observes between the strength of the central government and the vitality of

the art. During the periods of stability we recognize as the Old, Middle, and New Kingdoms (in particular during the 4th, 12th, and 18th Dynasties), the king's patronage encouraged the highest standards of art. Artists were trained in royal workshops, royal commissions challenged them to display their skills, and a wide range of working materials was provided for them. During periods when the central authority waned, as in the First and Second Intermediate Periods, standards in all areas of artistic endeavor declined, and centralized standards diverged into regional variants. Russmann argues that these qualitative differences are not just a modern perception, but that this opinion was clearly

shared by the ancient Egyptians who were the consumers of this art. In other words, she believes it is not a coincidence that works we would judge the "best" come from royal tombs or temples, while the art of commoners and provincials seems relatively crude.²¹

In the Middle Kingdom, when royal power was reestablished after the First Intermediate Period, royal artists went to the best Old Kingdom examples for their models—a phenomenon that scholars refer to as "archaism." Similarly, when the 18th Dynasty kings drove out the Hyksos invaders and reestablished central authority over Upper and Lower Egypt, their artists drew on the pre-existing Middle Kingdom models, many of which must have still

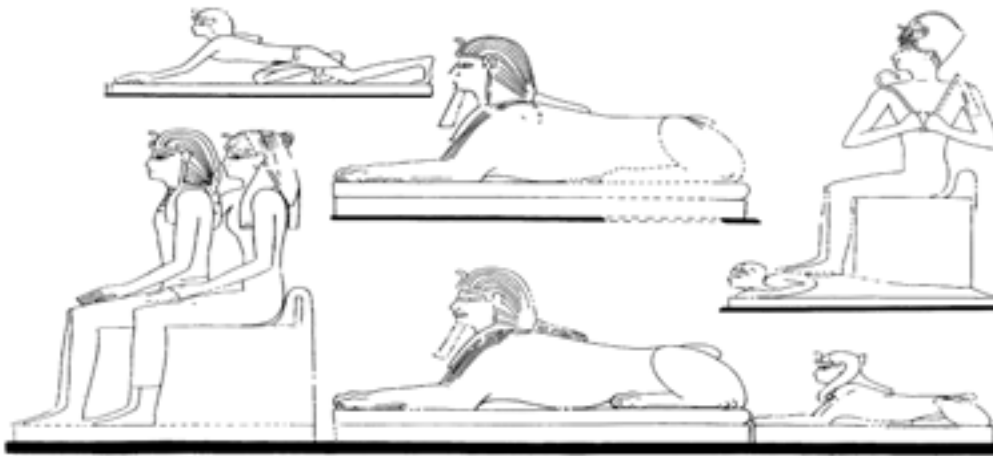


Fig. 9. Statues of Tuthmosis III in scene from tomb of Vizier Rekhmire, Luxor. (Based on Davies 1943.)

all of these post-date Tuthmosis III.¹⁹ Most of Tuthmosis's greywacke statues seem to have been part of the sculpture program commissioned for the Festival Hall at Karnak.²⁰ The greenish color of the stone, a symbol of rebirth, made it an appropriate choice for the king's festival of renewal.

Fewer than five statues of Tuthmosis III have been discovered in each of the following stones: limestone, travertine, quartzite, and marble. Most of these are much smaller than life-sized. There does not seem to be any correlation between material and poses. It is interesting that quartzite was seldom used by Tuthmosis. Most of his statues in this stone were small, but an important exception is the 13-foot high triad of the king between Mut and Amun found *in situ* in the Festival Hall. It has been restored and is still displayed in a chapel northwest of the Columned Hall. By contrast, Amenhotep III used quartzite for many statues including the Colossi of Memnon. The solar symbolism of the red stone probably appealed to this monarch.

It is not surprising that wooden statues of Tuthmosis III have not been found in any temple ruins. If any were pro-



Fig. 10. Craftsmen finishing colossal statues of Tuthmosis III. Scene from tomb of Vizier Rekhmire, Luxor. (Based on Davies 1943.)

been visible in monuments around Thebes. Gradually, however, a distinct Tuthmoside style emerged. According to Russmann, “Egypt through the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty seems a very stable society. From our distant perspective, it looks almost as if the Egyptians had achieved the timeless harmonious certainty they had always sought. The idealized forms of their sculpture in this period, changing so little from one generation to the next, seem an expression of perfection – or at least of perfect self-satisfaction, the successful denial of change.”²²

The artistic style was gradually altered during the reigns of Tuthmosis IV and Amenhotep III. The latter’s features were deliberately manipulated in later life to show a more youthful appearance in conjunction with his program of rejuvenation and self-deification. And, of course, the Amarna Period saw radical changes in artistic conventions. But following that brief upheaval, it was to the Tuthmoside style of the early 18th Dynasty that the restorers looked for their models. This now-classic style remained an important influence during the Ramesside era and the Third Intermediate Period. Even in the 26th Dynasty, the art of the Saite kings continued to reflect the idealism of Tuthmosis III.²³

NOTES

1. Badawy 1968, 475.
2. Laboury 1998, 7–10.
3. Russmann 1989, 89.
4. Laboury 1998.
5. Freed 2002, 83
6. Tefnin 1979; Fay 1995 and 2001; Laboury 1998; Bryan 2002, 62–63; Freed 2002, 83.
7. Badawy 1968, 478.
8. Zahi Hawass (1985) suggested that this statuette, found in Abydos, dates to Dynasty XXVI, rather than being contemporaneous with Khufu.
9. Mysliwiec 2001.
10. Russmann 1989, 5
11. LeBlanc 1980.
12. Russmann 1989, 82
13. Porter and Moss 1972, 121.
14. Russmann 1989, 93
15. Wilkinson 1994, 46.
16. Davies 1943.
17. This and the following statistics are based on 125 statues of Tuthmosis III studied by Laboury 1998.
18. Fay 1995, 2001.
19. Fay 1995, 14; 2001, 119.
20. Fay 1995, 18; 2001, 118.
21. Russmann 1989, 3.
22. Russmann 1989, 96.
23. Russmann 1989, 89.

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Dr. Bonnie M. Sampsell is a long-time member of the ESS and a frequent contributor to The Ostrakon. Her book, A Traveler’s Guide to the Geology of Egypt, was published by the American University in Cairo Press in 2003. A retired professor and frequent traveler to Egypt, Dr. Sampsell lives in North Carolina.

The Alabaster Memphis Sphinx: Tuthmosis III or Hatshepsut?

by Mohammed A. Shata

For 25 years, I worked as an Egyptologist guiding tourists to different sites. One of these sites was Memphis, the old capital of ancient Egypt. Whenever we found a cartouche on a statue or inscription, we discussed the names. But one of the most important monuments at Memphis, the colossal alabaster sphinx, has no inscription. To me, the face of the sphinx looks like many of the statues of Hatshepsut found in the Cairo Museum and the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, so I told people I thought Hatshepsut had commissioned this figure when she assumed the role of Pharaoh. Betsy Bryan has also suggested that the statue represents Hatshepsut, while other authors have proposed Tuthmosis III or Amenhotep II.¹ How can we decide which king it is?



Fig. 1. Colossal Sphinx at Memphis.

The location of the statue provides no solution to this mystery. Petrie found the statue in 1912, very close to its present location. The statue probably sat originally just inside the enclosure wall of the Ptah Temple. Several kings are known to have built temples to Ptah, the Memphite deity, and any king could have dedicated a statue in an existing temple. Since sphinxes were usually arranged in pairs, there may have been another matching sphinx at one time. Perhaps if we could find it, it would have an inscription—either on its chest or on its base. The existing sphinx may have had an inscription on a separate base. We can see that its base has been badly damaged (Fig. 1). Perhaps someone tried to hack off an inscription.

Many kings chose to have themselves shown as a sphinx. The combination of the king's head with his royal beard, crown, and

uraeus on a lion's muscular body was a clear symbol of royal power. The Giza Sphinx may be the oldest such representation; other examples from the Old Kingdom are rare. Sphinxes were popular in the Middle Kingdom, but most of these had severe faces like the other royal statues of that period. The Memphis Sphinx looks more like the statues carved during the New Kingdom. Late Period kings also commissioned sphinxes, but some were content to merely usurp statues from earlier rulers. This borrowing is sometimes recorded in the series of cartouches found on them or in recut cartouches. Since the Memphis Sphinx has *no* inscriptions, we must use other methods to learn its identity.

Egyptologists and art historians have studied the statues of different kings and tried to determine each one's distinguishing features. They have attributed some uninscribed statues to a particular dynasty or reign by comparison of facial features or by styles of clothing, wigs, jewelry, titles or names that are known to have changed over time. Even minor elements can provide important clues. For example, Biri Fay reported that the shape of the uraeus assumed a distinctive shape in the period beginning with the Hatshepsut/Tuthmosis III reign and continuing until the reign of Amenhotep III.² During this period the body of the snake was carved with a wide double loop rather than narrow multiple loops (Fig. 2). The uraeus on the Memphis Sphinx, although hard to see from the ground, has two wide loops. This detail places the Memphis Sphinx firmly in this time frame and narrows the range of candidates to only five rulers.

However, Tuthmosis IV and Amenhotep III can be easily eliminated from further consideration. The eyes and lips on the many known statues of Amenhotep III are quite different from the alabaster sphinx of Memphis. His eyes are narrow and almond-shaped, with a pronounced upward tilt at the outside corners. His lips are fuller and have a distinct rim. His father, Tuthmosis IV, was also portrayed with narrow, almond-shaped eyes. By contrast, the eyes on the Memphis Sphinx have a "wide awake" appearance, and the lower lid is nearly horizontal, not slanted. This eye shape is especially characteristic of Hatshepsut, but is also seen on the faces of Tuthmosis III and his son, Amenhotep II.

Although the possibility cannot be ruled out, it seems unlikely that the Memphis Sphinx represents Amenhotep II. There are few extant examples of Amenhotep II as a sphinx, whereas there are many that depict either Hatshepsut or Tuthmosis III. In addition, the statues of Amenhotep II usually have fuller faces and squarer chins than that of the Memphis Sphinx.

Many writers have remarked on the difficulty of distinguish-



Fig. 2. Left: Middle Kingdom and earlier (uraeus with several narrow loops). Center: 18th Dynasty (uraeus with two wide loops). Right: Amenhotep III and later (two loops behind the hood).



Fig. 3. Left. Hatshepsut Sphinx in Cairo Museum. Center. Memphis Sphinx. Right. Tuthmosis III Sphinx at Cairo Museum. Photos by Mahmoud Khodair.

ing between uninscribed statues of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III. Particularly during the co-regency period, the same artists used the same artistic conventions for both rulers. Once Tuthmosis III became sole ruler, the conventions changed and his later statues look different to the trained eye.³ A comparison of the face of the Memphis Sphinx to granite sphinxes—one inscribed for Hatshepsut and one for Tuthmosis III—shows the great similarities among them (Fig. 3).

However, it is this writer's opinion that Hatshepsut commissioned the Memphis Sphinx. Most of her statues portray her in male garb with the pharaonic attributes. The sphinx must have appealed to her as a way of showing the people that she was as strong as a lion and capable of ruling Egypt. We know she had many other sphinxes in her mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahri. Excavators from the Metropolitan Museum of Art found fragments of three pairs of red granite sphinxes and many pieces from sandstone sphinxes that probably formed rows along the road to the temple.⁴ These statues may have been destroyed by order of Tuthmosis III after Hatshepsut's death.

Some of the damage we see today on the sphinx may be natural erosion, since the statue was buried in the wet soil at Memphis for thousands of years. Or its inscriptions may have been recarved like many at Deir el-Bahri where Hatshepsut's cartouches were replaced by those of Tuthmosis I or II. Therefore, it may never be possible to answer the question posed in the title of this article definitively, and each visitor can choose his or her favorite candidate.

NOTES

1. Bryan 1998, Fig 2.2, Verner 2002, 3.
2. Fay 1995, 12.
3. Laboury, 1968.
4. Winlock 1942.

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Mohammed Shata is an Egyptologist living in Cairo. He has spent many years doing field work at archaeological sites in Egypt, and is well known to many ESS members who have had the pleasure of traveling with him.

The Theban Temples of Tuthmosis III

by Bonnie M. Sampsell

Temple ruins are among the most familiar and inspiring remains of the ancient Egyptian civilization. While houses and even palaces were built of mud brick, much of which has decayed, temples were built of stone and intended to last for “millions of years.” Because religion played such a central role in Egyptian culture, hundreds of temples were constructed, remodeled, and extended during the three millennia of dynastic history. Subsequently, many of them were demolished by stone robbers or were deliberately destroyed by adherents of later religions. But some were converted into Christian churches or otherwise reused, and this contributed to their preservation.

It is common to classify a temple as either a cult temple dedicated to a deity or a royal mortuary temple designed for a deceased king. But, in fact, many cult temples provided places to make offerings to the reigning king and his royal ancestors (who became gods at death), while many mortuary temples included chapels dedicated to one or more deities. This practice was especially common in the early 18th Dynasty. The essential elements of any Egyptian temple were the sanctuary housing a shrine containing a statue of the god or king, offering rooms, courts, and an enclosure wall with a gateway. These elements were aligned along an axis that proceeded from the more open, public areas to the more enclosed, private areas, which could be entered only by the king, priests, and others who were ritually pure.

TUTHMOSIS III'S TEMPLE BUILDING PROGRAM

It was an Egyptian king's duty to build cult temples and provide endowments for their support. In this way he upheld his end of the bargain with the gods who chose him as king and ensured his victories over his enemies. The first kings of the 18th Dynasty fought to expel the foreign Hyksos and secure the traditional borders of Egypt. Later kings of this dynasty carried their campaigns beyond those borders and created an empire to the south and northeast. Tuthmosis III personally led several expeditions into Nubia and seventeen trips to Syria and beyond, where he subjugated vast areas. These conquests provided both the resources and the rationale for his elaborate temple building programs.

Valuable items seized during the military operations were followed by ongoing tribute from the conquered areas. Tuthmosis left

a record of his campaigns and the spoils he obtained on the walls at Karnak Temple. Scenes in the Theban tombs of several high officials provide an even better idea of the quantity and variety of these tributes.¹ Items shown in these scenes include precious metals, gemstones, exotic woods, horses, cattle, exotic animals, vases, incense, ivories, ostrich feathers and slaves. Tuthmosis used this wealth to build, adorn, and endow temples at more than fifty locations ranging the length of the Nile Valley and extending into Nubia, the Sudan, and Palestine. The sites of Memphis and

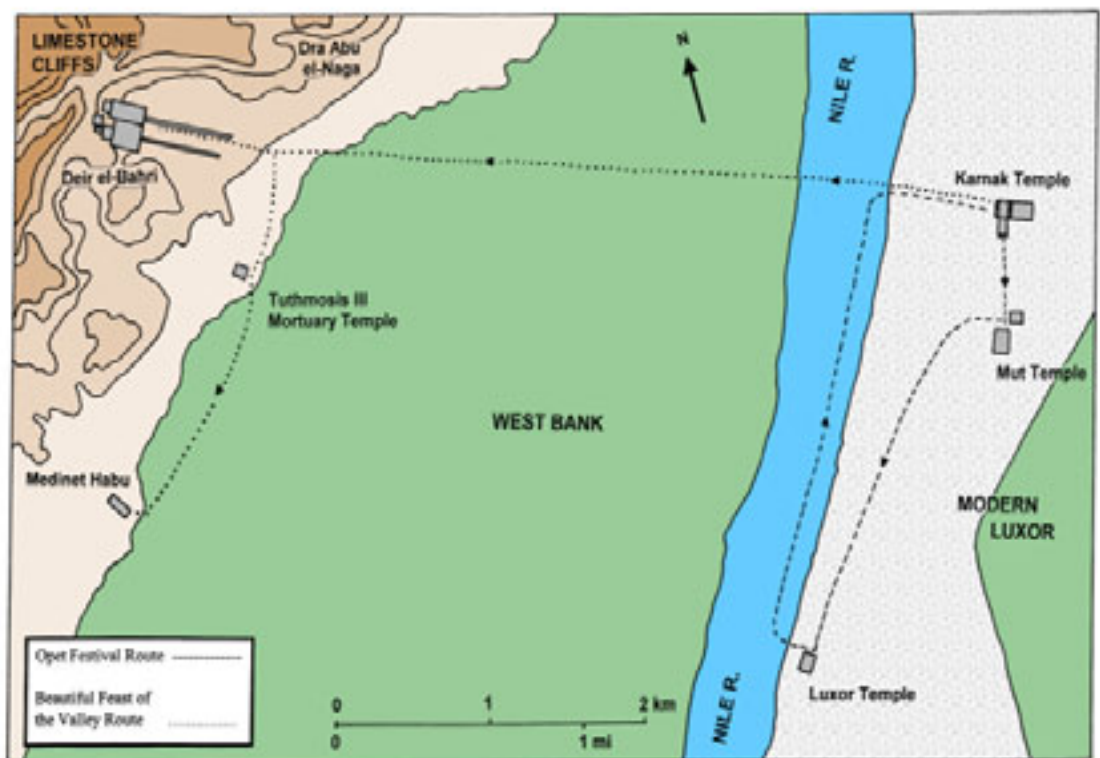


Fig. 1. Map of the Luxor area with monuments present in the reign of Tuthmosis III and routes of main festivals. Green area is cultivated land; tan is desert. (Based on Wilkinson 2000.)

Heliopolis received attention commensurate with their positions as the capital and the center of the god Re's cult, respectively. But the majority of Tuthmosis's building efforts were concentrated at Thebes (modern Luxor) where a large number of his buildings have survived in whole or part.

Thebes rose to prominence as a national religious center after the First Intermediate Period when Theban princes reunited Upper and Lower Egypt and established the 11th Dynasty. Ahmose, the founder of the 18th Dynasty, also came from Thebes, so the city regained its position as the religious center of the country after the expulsion of the Hyksos and throughout the New Kingdom. During this time, Amun rose in importance and became the dominant national god.

Four areas at Thebes seemed to be primary sites for building religious monuments and cult temples (Fig. 1). On the east bank of the Nile these were Karnak, where the chief temple dedicated to

Amun was established, and Luxor, where another form of Amun was worshipped. Directly across the Nile from these two places, beyond the cultivation on the west bank, were the royal necropoli at Deir el-Bahri and Dra' Abu el-Naga, and the site of Medinet Habu which seemed to have been associated with Amun as "Father of the Fathers of the Eight Primeval Gods"² from an early date. At each of these locations, temples were built to house the cult activities.

Twice each year, the enshrined Amun was taken in a procession from his own temple to visit the other sites. The shrine was transported in a barque (or model boat), carried on the shoulders of priests. The annual Opet Festival occurred in the second month of the inundation, and lasted for eleven days during the reign of Tuthmosis III. During this festival, the Amun shrine was carried from Karnak Temple to the Temple of Mut and on to Luxor. The shrine was placed on a barge for the return journey, down river to Karnak. The trip south to Luxor Temple took six days. The barque had to be placed in a suitable way station each night, so it was necessary to construct several barque chapels along the route. The exact rituals performed for the visiting deity during this pilgrimage have been debated, but it is clear that the festival involved acts designed to renew the power that Amun bequeathed to his son, the ruling king. Tuthmosis made a point of returning from his military expeditions in time to participate in this festival.

During the annual Beautiful Feast of the Valley, the Amun shrine was carried from Karnak across the Nile to visit a series of mortuary temples.³ Barque stations were strategically placed along this route. This festival was also the occasion for Egyptians to pay visits to the tombs of their dead ancestors.

The kind of building that Tuthmosis commissioned at any particular location depended on a number of different factors. In some places, a new temple entirely replaced an earlier structure on the same site. The king usually reported that he had found the old temple in ruins and, by his action, reenacted the original creation myth.⁴ Alternatively, the new construction might only restore and embellish an existing temple. This was judged an especially pious act because it allowed the name of a predecessor to live on.⁵ Kings were expected to surpass the achievements of former kings, however, and thus temple additions were very common.⁶ Components such as hypostyle halls, courtyards, pylons, and processional ways could be built on the pre-existing core thereby enlarging a temple by a process known as "accretion."⁷ The Amun Temple at Karnak is probably the most dramatic example of this mode of growth.

Tuthmosis's temple building program was significant, not only for its scope and magnificence, but because it occupied an important position in Egyptian architectural advancement. During the early New Kingdom, designs were copied from surviving Old and Middle Kingdom monuments. At the same time new styles, techniques, and materials were adopted that were to influence temple construction in Egypt and elsewhere for the next 3,500 years.

TEMPLE CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS AND DECORATION

As a general rule, stone temples in northern Egypt were built primarily of limestone, while those in the south were built of sandstone. This is the natural result of the distribution of these rock types in the country; north of Esna, the bedrock outcrops and cliffs are limestone, while south of Esna Nubian sandstone flanks the Nile Valley.⁸ In the region between Abydos and Luxor, both limestone and sandstone were employed, and sometimes both kinds of stone were used in a single building.⁹ Sometimes the two stones were used in different areas of a temple, but some walls contained

blocks of both kinds. This mixture would have been hidden, however, since the walls were originally plastered and painted.

In the 11th Dynasty temple of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep II at Deir el-Bahri, monolithic pillars were carved from sandstone but were painted to resemble the limestone of the inscribed walls.¹⁰ Geologists have proposed that the limestone, which is of fairly good quality, came from a small quarry at Gebelein about nineteen miles south of Luxor.¹¹ Temple building in the Luxor area expanded during the Middle Kingdom and became absolutely rampant in the New Kingdom. This expansion saw an evolution in temple design and an apparent switch from limestone to sandstone as a preferred building material.¹²

The bedrock and prominent cliffs on the West Bank at Luxor are limestone. At least one quarry was located in the cliffs north of the entrance to the Valley of the Kings, and stone from this quarry was used in Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahri. The quality of this limestone is not the best for building, however. In June 2003, I talked with a stonemason shaping blocks for a ramp being rebuilt at Deir el-Bahri. The limestone block he was working on was very fine-grained and compact. When I asked if it came from the local "Hatshepsut quarry," he replied that they had tried to use that stone but had found it contained too much salt and did not hold up well. Instead, his block had come from Tura, near Cairo.

The Tura/el-Ma'sara quarries contain a very high quality limestone, and it was used at all periods of Egyptian history for the finest applications such as inscribed walls.¹³ Two stelae at Tura recorded that Ahmose (first king of the 18th Dynasty) re-opened this quarry to supply stones for his "houses of millions of years."¹⁴ Inscriptions at Thebes indicate that his successors, up to and including Tuthmosis III, also employed limestone from this source in a number of structures.¹⁵ Because of the labor of transporting the blocks upriver to Luxor, however, it was probably used very selectively. It is hard to confirm just how much limestone may have been used originally by directly examining temple ruins since so much of the ancient limestone has been removed from buildings and converted into quicklime for cement. Sandstone did not have this recycling value and hence tended to remain *in situ*.

Nubian sandstone was quarried at many sites in Upper Egypt. At Gebel Silsila, 88 miles south of Luxor, the Nile cut through an outcrop or hill of sandstone and created a perfect site for a vast quarry. Blocks of stone could be easily slid down to the river and loaded on barges for a trip downriver to Luxor. Most of the New Kingdom temples in Luxor, and even as far north as Dendara, employed this stone extensively. Several reasons have been proposed for the increased use of sandstone versus limestone in New Kingdom temples, including those of Tuthmosis III. The most likely explanation was provided by Lucas, who wrote, "When building stone was required in large quantities, [as at Thebes in the 18th and 19th Dynasties], the choice was between transporting limestone from a distance or employing a [more readily available] substitute."¹⁶ They clearly chose the substitute: sandstone.

Although we tend to think of a temple as primarily a building, to the Egyptians a temple was not complete without a program of decoration on its walls and a set of appropriate statues. The pylons and exterior walls of a temple served as giant billboards on which a king recorded his exploits. In courtyards, to which the public had access, the scenes showed the king "in various historical or religious activities, leading military expeditions for the benefit of the deity, worshipping the gods, and playing his part in festivals or in foundation ceremonies."¹⁷

Inside the temple, where access was limited, wall scenes recorded the actual temple activities. These scenes have provided modern scholars with a great deal of information about the nature of the religious rituals and festivals. They also offer clues as to the particular function of individual chambers. Like the stone temples that were intended to last for eternity, the inscriptions ensured that the rituals would also continue forever.

Statues performed some of the same mystical functions as the inscribed scenes. A large number of statues were installed when the temple was dedicated, and later kings added their own statues to these. (See the article “The Statuary of Tuthmosis III” in this issue.)

TUTHMOSIS III’S THEBAN LEGACY

The Middle Kingdom structures present in the Theban area at the beginning of the New Kingdom certainly included the 11th Dynasty temple of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep II at Deir el-Bahri. This temple served as a mortuary temple, as well as the actual burial site for this king, his queens, and some relatives. The architecture of this complex was to be enormously influential throughout the rest of the Middle Kingdom and the early New Kingdom. Excavations of the Mentuhotep ruins have provided evidence for several plausible reconstructions on paper, but the best idea of its general



Fig. 3. White Chapel of Senusret I. A 12th Dynasty limestone barque station that has been rebuilt in the Open Air Museum, Karnak.

appearance probably comes from the stunning restoration of the Hatshepsut mortuary temple, which clearly drew its inspiration from the adjacent, older structure (Fig. 2). Both of these temples featured rising terraces linked by ramps, east-facing porticos with both square and polygonal pillars, and Osiride statues.

THE GREAT TEMPLE OF AMUN AT KARNAK

The Amun Temple at Karnak has been described as the largest religious structure in the world. It was built and rebuilt during at least 1500 years. Successive kings remodeled old spaces and added new colonnades, courts, and pylons. The temple’s main axis is oriented east to west with the sanctuary to the east; thus, later additions generally extended the temple toward the west. Karnak Temple is unusual in also having a cross axis with some elements oriented southward toward the Temple of Luxor. The courts, gates, and way stations along this north-south axis formed the route for part of the procession during the annual Opet Festival.

When we visit Karnak today, we must rely on our imaginations to envision many structures that are now in ruins. Excavations and some restorations aid us in this. But to imagine the scene in the time of Tuthmosis III, we would also have to erase many of the most familiar sections, which were built after his time. Amenhotep III and Ramesses II were particularly prolific builders, and other kings made additions and changes through the Roman period.



Fig. 2. Deir el-Bahri on the West Bank at Luxor. The restored mortuary temple of Hatshepsut is at the right. A - Ruins of Montuhotep II temple. B - Ruins of Tuthmosis III temple. Photo by Chip Dawes.

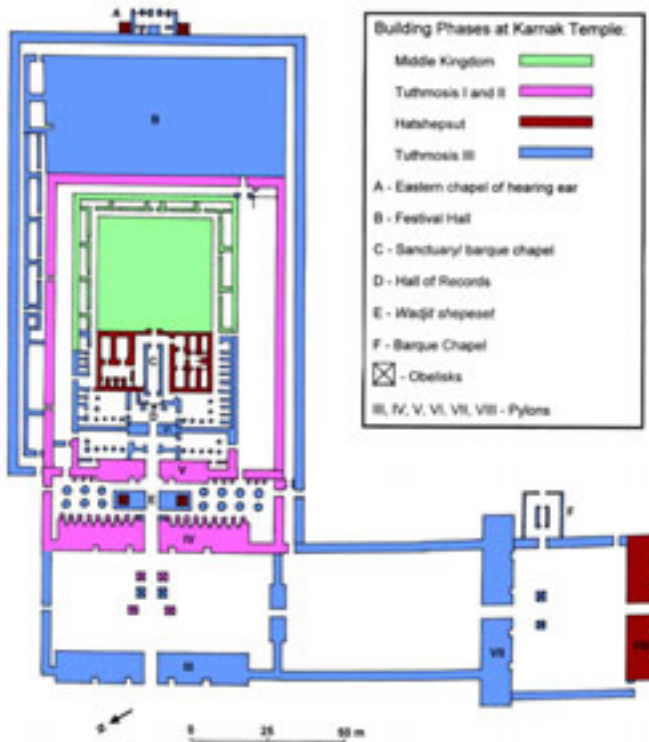


Fig. 4. Plan of Temple of Amun at Karnak at the end of Tuthmosis III's reign. (Based on Laboury 1998 and Silotti 2002.)

Middle Kingdom rulers doubtless built intensively at the Amun Temple, but little remains from this era today. One tiny monument that had been consigned to oblivion has been recovered—the White Chapel of Senusret I (Fig. 3). This barque chapel was originally situated somewhere in the Karnak precinct. Amenhotep III dismantled it and placed the blocks inside his huge Pylon III where it was discovered in 1927. It has been rebuilt in the Karnak Open Air Museum and provides another good example of the architectural style that was popular in the Middle Kingdom and was revived at the beginning of the New Kingdom.



Fig. 5. Representations of Asiatic cities captured by Tuthmosis III on Pylon VII, Karnak Temple.

Some notion of the Middle Kingdom structures still in existence in the Amun Temple at the beginning of the 18th Dynasty can be gained from the plan of the New Kingdom additions, which were designed to enclose the older temple core (Fig. 4). Tuthmosis I built two pylons (numbered IV and V on most plans of the temple) on the west side of the Middle Kingdom temple and added an enclosure wall. According to his architect, Ineni, the pylons were built

of sandstone, but were cased with the “fine limestone of Ayan”.¹⁸ Between Pylons IV and V, there was a small hypostyle hall called the *Wadjet shepset* or the “Splendid Hall of the Papyriform Columns.”¹⁹ This hall had a single row of pillars down the center that supported a wooden roof.

Tuthmosis I and his son, Tuthmosis II, each placed a pair of obelisks east of Pylon IV, but little else is attributable to Tuthmosis II who died after only a short reign. His Great Wife, Hatshepsut, became regent for her nephew, Tuthmosis III, and continued her father's building program as well as beginning several new projects.

Only a few structures at Karnak Temple clearly date to Hatshepsut's regency. One of these is a set of chambers north and

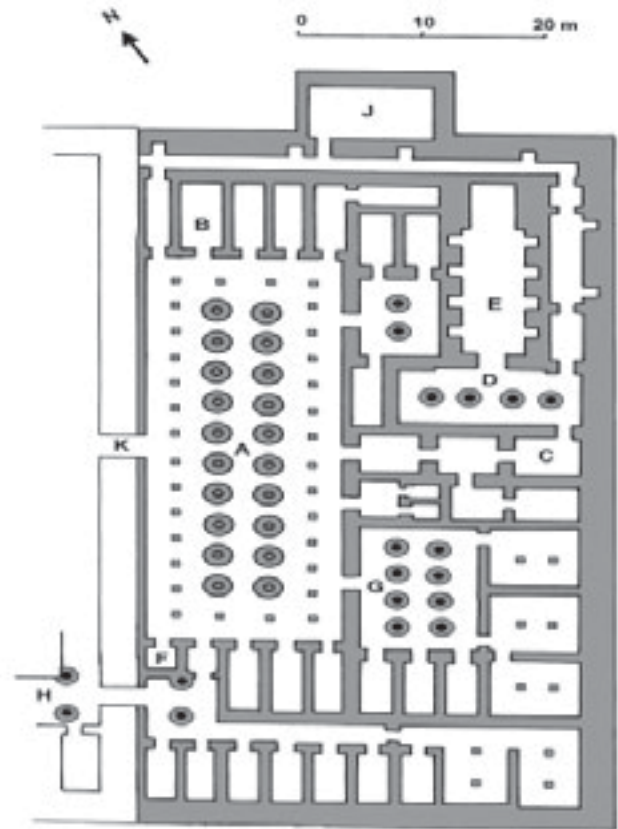


Fig. 6. Plan of Tuthmosis III's Festival Hall, Karnak Temple. A – Columned Hall; B – Chapel with triad statue of Amun, Tuthmosis, and Mut; C – Tuthmosis III chapel; D – Botanical Garden, E – Amun Chapel; F – Hall of Ancestors; G – Sokar Chapel Suite; H – Entrance from Karnak Temple, J – Solar Court with double triad statue of Montu, Tuthmosis, and Hathor; K – Doorway from Central (Middle Kingdom) court on East-west axis of main Karnak Temple. (Based on Porter and Moss 1972 and Laboury 1998.)

south of the granite barque chapel that was later remodeled in about 320 BCE for Philip Arrhidaeus, the brother of Alexander the Great (Fig. 4, C). It has been suggested that Hatshepsut's famous Red Chapel may have originally been located in this central position.²⁰ Hatshepsut also commissioned a pair of enormous red granite obelisks that were erected in the *Wadjet shepset* to commemorate the *heb sed* she celebrated in her regnal year 16.²¹ She built a pylon (VIII) that established a new processional way leading south to Luxor Temple. After her death, Tuthmosis III had many of her inscriptions altered and replaced her cartouches with either those of Tuthmosis I or Tuthmosis II.



Fig. 7. View of Columned Hall in Festival Hall, Karnak Temple. Note the “tent pole” columns and clerestory window. Photo by Chip Dawes.

Tuthmosis III reported that he felt a special obligation to Amun for choosing him to be king. As a result, he began an ambitious building program at Karnak, along with the dedication to the god of land, endowments and sumptuous offerings. He probably built a pylon close to the site now occupied by Pylon III, but Amenhotep III replaced it with his own large Pylon III. Inside this later pylon, modern excavators discovered blocks from barque chapels built by Senusret I, Amenhotep I, Hatshepsut (the Red Chapel), Amenhotep II, and Tuthmosis IV—which suggests that these older structures originally stood in that vicinity.²² Today, these dismantled chapels have been rebuilt in the Open Air Museum.

Tuthmosis III ordered modifications to the *Wadjet shepset*, the main ceremonial hall within Karnak and the place where his own coronation had taken place. He replaced the old pillars with a double row that could support a stone roof.²³ In this process, he also had stone walls built around the base of Hatshepsut’s obelisks—perhaps to conceal them or maybe just to provide support for the stone roof blocks. Deeper inside the temple, he erected the small Pylon VI, and to the east of this he built a Hall of Records on which a year-by-year account of his reign was inscribed.

He may have originally planned to re-use the Red Chapel and simply complete and replace some of Hatshepsut’s reliefs. But the hard quartzite of the chapel probably impeded this process and caused him to replace it entirely with one of granite. It was this granite structure that was rebuilt by Philip Arrhidaios. Inscriptions on the walls surrounding the present chapel still record Tuthmosis III’s military exploits and his dedication texts.

Following the course set by Hatshepsut, Tuthmosis built another pylon (VII) along the south processional axis and recorded his victories on it (Fig. 5). Beyond the east wall of the courtyard between Pylons VII and VIII, he built a small barque chapel that was probably used during the Opet Festival. During a recent trip to Luxor, I visited this way station, along with several others built by

Tuthmosis III, and was struck by the uniformity of their design. They all bear a strong resemblance to the White Chapel of Senusret I, showing that this slightly archaic design was still the model for this kind of structure.

TUTHMOSIS III’S FESTIVAL HALL AT KARNAK

In his regnal year 24 (two years after Hatshepsut’s disappearance), Tuthmosis III commissioned a major monument, the so-called Festival Hall or the *Akhet-Menou*. Breasted suggested that he needed to build a large hall to replace the *Wadjet* Hall, which Hatshepsut’s obelisks had rendered unfit for major ceremonies.²⁴ Curiously, the new temple was built on the east end of the Karnak site, at right angles to the predominant east-west axis of the main temple. The temple’s plan is complex, with a large columned hall and a number of other chambers that served as chapels and storerooms (Fig. 6). It is likely

that this temple was used originally for Tuthmosis’s *heb sed* ceremonies; it then continued to be used in various rituals such as annual festivals.

The main entrance to the Festival Hall is located in its southeast corner. Archaeologists had long wondered if there were any other entrances. Recent excavations of the pavement in the Central or Middle Kingdom Courtyard have now uncovered evidence for an entrance in the west wall.²⁵ This doorway lay on the central axis of the main Karnak temple and would have provided direct access to the Amun Chapel on the east side of the Columned Hall. The existence of such a doorway was suspected because the spacing between the square pillars is slightly greater at this point and



Fig. 8. Egyptian alabaster naos in Chapel of the Hearing Ear, east of Karnak Temple. Pair statue of Tuthmosis III on the right and Amun or a goddess on the left.

the hieroglyphic inscriptions on the architraves run north and south from this axis.

The Columned Hall is the most striking space within this temple (Fig. 7). Many authors have described the unusual pairs of “tent pole” columns placed along the central aisle of this hall. While these are unique among stone columns, their antecedents in wooden

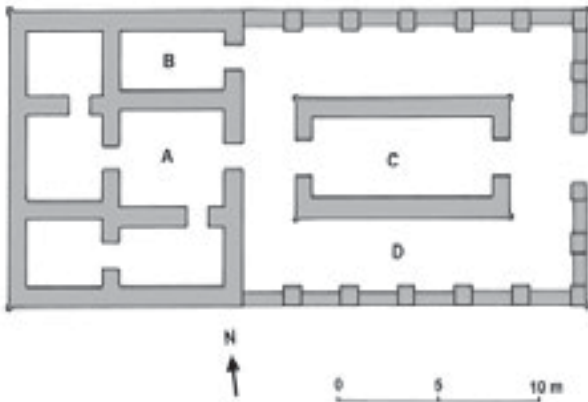


Fig. 9. Plan of Small Temple at Medinet Habu. A – Sanctuary with pair-statue of Amun and Tuthmosis III; B – Chapel for Tuthmosis III; C – Barque station; D – Ambulatory. (Based on Hölscher 1939.)

supports for lightweight tents or canopies are amply documented: for example, in the bed canopy of Hetepheres I and the wooden canopy on Khufu’s solar boat. Carlotti suggests that the hall can be interpreted as a combination of two structures.²⁶ The first is an open peristyle court, a common form in earlier temples. In the center of the court, the tent pole columns and higher roof represent a tent or canopy, usually a temporary structure erected for a religious ceremony, but here rendered in eternal stone. A similar explanation has been offered for the design of the *heb sed* court at Djoser’s Step Pyramid at Sakkara, namely that the stone buildings imitate ceremonial venues made previously of perishable plant materials.

Whatever the origin of the design of the Festival Hall, it was to provide a pattern for the hypostyle halls in many later Egyptian temples. It is also the oldest known example of the architectural form known as a basilica that would characterize Roman as well as Christian architecture. A basilica has a central nave with a high roof supported on columns and is flanked by two or more side aisles with lower roofs. The Festival Hall also seems to have originated the use of clerestory windows in the upper walls of the nave to illuminate the hall. Prior to this invention, enclosed interior spaces could only receive natural light through slits in the ceiling.

The inscriptions surviving in the Festival Hall have several predominant motifs: scenes of the *heb sed*, scenes of Tuthmosis making offerings to a wide variety of gods and goddesses, the king being embraced by a deity, and the king receiving the gift of life from a deity. The theme of the reciprocity between deity and king is unmistakable. A number of interesting royal statues were found during the excavation of the Festival Hall, some still *in situ*.

Chapels were dedicated to several gods including Amun and Sokar. The latter god was celebrated in an annual festival in the Memphis region as early as the Old Kingdom. By the New Kingdom, Sokar had become syncretized with Ptah and Osiris, and his festival commemorated the ongoing cycle of creation, metamor-

phosis, and rebirth that characterized the institution of kingship.

The chapel for Amun in the Festival Hall included a columned vestibule now referred to as the “Botanical Garden.” Its walls were inscribed with scenes of exotic plants and animals. The inscriptions also recorded the events of the third Syrian campaign undertaken in regnal year 25. The dedication text said, “I have [engraved] the excellent [deeds]... My majesty has done this from desire to put them before my father Amon, in this great temple of Amon, (as) a memorial forever and ever.”²⁷

Today, the chambers of the Amun suite are roofless. Carlotti proposed that the Amun Chapel (Fig. 6, E) had a barrel vault, rather than a flat roof like all other chambers of this temple.²⁸ He based this suggestion on several facts: the absence of horizontal architraves which survive in most other places in at least rudimentary form, the extra width of the chamber, and its similarity in size and purpose to the Amun Sanctuary on the third level of Hatshepsut’s temple at Deir el-Bahri, which has a vaulted roof. At Deir el-Bahri, the ceiling was formed by building a corbelled roof and cutting a false vault in its lower surface.

CHAPEL OF THE HEARING EAR

East of the Festival Hall, but outside the Karnak enclosure wall and unconnected to the main temple structure, is a small chapel known as a chapel of the “hearing ear.”²⁹ This chapel illustrates very well the enormous range in size of ancient religious structures and the variation in their function. Whereas the massive temple of Amun at Karnak was the site of the most important national festivals, this tiny eastern chapel was designed for the public who were excluded from the main temple. Today the eastern chapel is in ruins and the portion built by Tuthmosis III is almost buried by the restorations of Seti I and Ramesses II, not to mention the additions of Nectanebo. The chief feature of the Tuthmosis monument is a large “Egyptian alabaster” naos with a pair-statue of the king with a deity, perhaps Amun (Fig. 8).³⁰ There are two small side chambers and a forecourt. The front of the temple consisted of six Osiride pillars linked by low parapets. Tuthmosis III may have usurped the building from Hatshepsut, since she had already erected two obelisks on either side, and another pair-statue of her with Amun was discovered in a side chamber. In this accessible

location, the king offered himself as an intermediary between the common Egyptians and the state god.

PTAH TEMPLE AT KARNAK

Tuthmosis III used some of the wealth obtained from the capture of Megiddo on his first Syrian campaign to rebuild a tiny stone temple dedicated to Ptah on the north side of the main Karnak temple. His dedication states that on the site he found an older temple made of brick, with columns and doorways of wood, that was falling into ruins.³¹ The small, rebuilt temple has three sanctuaries, with the northern one dedicated to Ptah and the southern one dedicated to Hathor (although it currently contains a statue of



Fig. 10. Proposed reconstruction of pair-statue of Amun and Tuthmosis III in Small Temple at Medinet

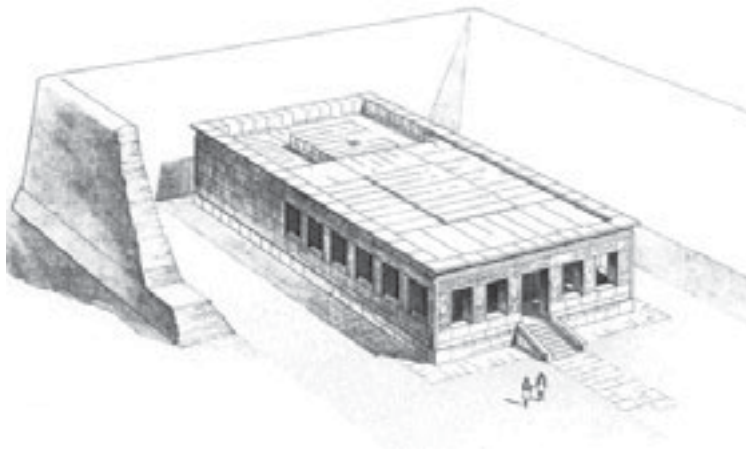


Fig. 11. Appearance of Small Temple at Medinet Habu in reign of Tuthmosis III. (After Hölscher 1939.)

the goddess Sekhmet). In the central chapel, both of these deities are shown along with Amun, whose barque visited this temple on all festival occasions. Shafts of light entering through slits in the ceiling illuminated these small chambers. The five monumental gateways that now precede the temple were built by several of the Ptolemies.

TEMPLE OF KAMUTEF

As mentioned above, during the annual Opet Festival the enshrined statue of Amun was carried on a barque from the Karnak Temple along a processional route southward to the temple of Mut,

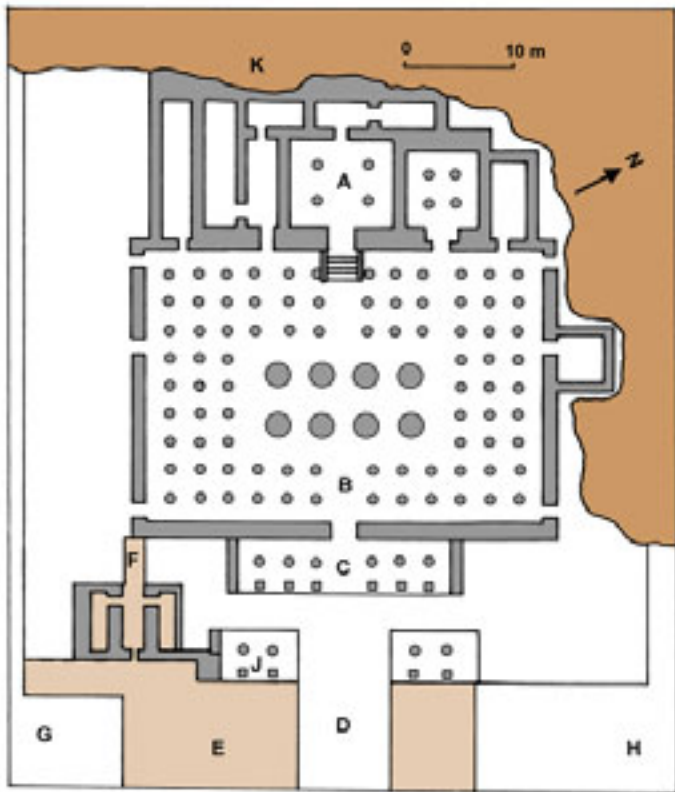


Fig.12. Plan of the Tuthmosis III Temple at Deir el-Bahri. A – Amun Chapel; B – Columned Hall; C – Portico; D – Ramp; E – Middle Terrace; F – Hathor Chapel; G – Montuhotep II Temple; H – Hatshepsut Mortuary Temple; J – Portico overlooking Middle Terrace; K – Natural cliff face. Small circles – 16-sided columns; large circles – 32-sided columns. (Based on Lipinska 1977.)

Amun’s consort. There is some evidence that a significant temple was built during Hatshepsut/Tuthmosis III’s joint reign to honor this important goddess. In 1896, a statue of Senenmut—a royal gift from Hatshepsut—was discovered in the ruins of the Mut Temple. Senenmut’s many titles were inscribed on the base and included steward of all works at the temple of Mut and in the southern Opet of Amun (i.e. Luxor).³² This shows that work occurred at both of these locations during this era. Recent excavations at the temple of Mut by the Johns Hopkins University expedition, under the direction of Betsy Bryan, exposed blocks inscribed for Tuthmosis III in the foundation of the large temple built by Amenhotep III.³³ Future work may reveal even more.

Outside the northern gate of the Mut temple (on the east side of the processional way), Tuthmosis built a temple dedicated to a form of Amun as Kamutef. *Kamutef* means “bull of his mother,” an incestuous symbolism meant to describe the regeneration of gods and monarchs. Opposite the Kamutef temple, on the west side of the processional route, there was a small barque station of the typical design, in which the god’s barque could rest temporarily.



Fig. 13. Reconstructed marble bust of Tuthmosis III, discovered at Deir el-Bahri.

LUXOR TEMPLE

The main destination of the Opet Festival procession was the Temple of Luxor. Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III probably built a magnificent temple here, but today only four of their delicate papyrus bud columns remain in the first courtyard of the imposing structure constructed by Amenhotep III, Ramesses II and later kings.

THE SMALL AMUN TEMPLE AT MEDINET HABU

Within the rambling complex at Medinet Habu (see Fig. 1) is a structure referred to as the “small temple” to distinguish it from the massive temple built there by Ramesses III. This smaller temple was dedicated to Amun and served as a barque chapel during the Beautiful Feast of the Valley. It was initiated by Hatshepsut on a site that may have already been occupied by a Middle Kingdom temple. Archaeologists from the Oriental Institute excavated the temple in the late 1920s and early 1930s and revealed its structure and history (Fig. 9,).³⁴

The sanctuary and cult rooms at the west end of the temple were built of sandstone and limestone blocks during Hatshepsut’s reign. The exterior walls were initially unadorned and only deco-

rated during the reign of Ramesses III. The interior wall scenes were partially completed during Hatshepsut's reign and featured her cartouche. These paintings were completed during Tuthmosis's sole rule and include his cartouche, while Hatshepsut's cartouches were replaced by those of Tuthmosis I, II, or III. The theme of the scenes in all the rooms is the king making offerings to Amun. An exception to this is a single room north of the sanctuary, which Hölscher thought might have been a sanctuary for the king himself, since the wall scenes there show a god called Inmutef, in the guise of a *sem* priest, worshipping the king.³⁵ The head of a large granodiorite statue of a king was discovered near the temple and may have come from this chapel.

The Amun sanctuary was the only room with natural lighting, which emanated from a hole in the roof. It contained an eleven-foot granodiorite pair-statue of Tuthmosis III and Amun. This statue was viciously destroyed sometime in the past and its fragments buried in this room. Figure 10 shows a possible restoration of the statue dramatically lighted by sunlight shining through the roof.

Tuthmosis III completed the barque room and ambulatory east of the sanctuary. Originally, only three sides of the square pillars of the ambulatory were inscribed with scenes of the king and a deity; the outer surfaces were decorated during the Ramesside period. The front pillars were originally decorated on all four sides, but they too were targets of later inscriptions that contrast with the delicate Tuthmoside work. The external appearance of this temple with its square pillars and low parapet is also very similar to that of the White Chapel (Fig. 11).

This simple temple was subsequently altered by the addition of a gallery and pylon on the east face during the 25th Dynasty. A lotus-columned portico was added in the next dynasty. The Ptolemies remodeled the barque chapel as well as the gallery and added another stone pylon and portico on the east. In the second century CE, Roman additions were begun but not completed. Modern archaeologists found a large, red granite stele of Tuthmosis III reused as a doorsill in the Ptolemaic pylon.³⁶ This stele probably came from Tuthmosis III's Mortuary Temple, which was located about one mile north of Medinet Habu. Today the stele is displayed on the east side of the Ptolemaic pylon.

This small temple, which has survived the millennia relatively well, is getting a new lease on life. A team from the Oriental Institute's Epigraphic Survey is conducting an intensive epigraphic and conservation effort.³⁷ The temple walls are being cleaned to reveal the delicate, colored reliefs. New sandstone roofing blocks have been installed to prevent rainwater from destroying the interior walls. Fragments of the pair statue of Amun and Tuthmosis III have been reassembled in their original position. A plastic skylight again admits light into this chamber. Parts of the temple are closed to the public, but eventually visitors will be able to admire this important Tuthmoside monument.

THE MORTUARY TEMPLE AT EL-GURNA

The exact location of Tuthmosis III's mortuary temple was long debated until excavations supervised by Arthur Weigall in 1906 revealed that it was a ruin slightly north of the Ramesseum, with remains of a large mud brick pylon and enclosure wall.³⁸ Weigall found huge quantities of fragments of inscribed walls and stelae as well as of statues that had been deliberately destroyed. Only one headless statue, showing the king in a *heb sed* cloak, was fairly intact. The site was studied in greater detail from 1934-37 by Herbert

Ricke who offered a tentative plan of what obviously had been a magnificent structure.³⁹ It was similar to Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahri in its use of multiple terraces, ramps, porticos, and Osiride pillars.

Ricke's plan shows a large mud brick pylon on the east face of the enclosure wall. Inside the first court, a ramp led up to the gateway through another wall. Beyond the gate, another ramp led to the upper terrace on which the temple sat. A line of ten Osiride pillars stretched across the front of the main temple. Weigall noted that both sandstone and limestone had been employed in the temple, with limestone being the choice for fine reliefs. A small temple to Hathor, fronted by pillars with Hathor-head capitals, was set on the south side of the second terrace. During the New Kingdom, Hathor was regarded as the "patron deity of the Theban necropolis."⁴⁰ This explains the inclusion of Hathor chapels in many royal mortuary temples and at other sites on the West Bank. It is probable that there was also a chapel for Amun, which served as a way station for his barque when the deity visited the temple during the Beautiful Feast of the Valley.

DEIR EL-BAHRI

The temples of Mentuhotep II and Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri have long been known. But until 1962 no one knew that Tuthmosis III had also built a temple on this site. Excavations, directed by Jadwiga Lipinska, provided evidence that this temple was constructed during the last decade of Tuthmosis's 54-year reign.⁴¹

Tuthmosis chose a site between those of Mentuhotep and Hatshepsut on a higher platform of rock (See Fig. 2, B). Part of the platform for his temple was cut from the natural bedrock, which at this location is the stratum of Esna Shale that underlies the massive limestone cliffs of the Deir el-Bahri embayment.⁴² The southeastern part of the platform was made by building a retaining wall from rectangular stone blocks and filling it with fallen rocks and rubble. When these wall blocks were stolen, this section of the temple was undermined. In fact, the temple's decline probably began with a fall of rock from the unstable cliffs during the 20th Dynasty. Thereafter the temple was used as a quarry and was demolished almost completely before further rockfalls covered it. From the 26th Dynasty on, the site was used as a cemetery. Later, a Christian monastery, built on the upper terrace of Hatshepsut's temple, dumped its wastes onto the rubble.

Only the north half of the temple remains *in situ*, but Lipinska was able to exploit the original symmetry to develop a plan of the entire temple (Fig. 12).⁴³ It was similar in design to the Hatshepsut temple, which was in turn derived from that of the nearby Mentuhotep temple. The multi-terraced temple faced east with access from one level to the next via ramps. Porticos and colonnades featured both square and polygonal columns. Lipinska proposed that the temple contained a hypostyle hall, flanked by chapels and a sanctuary at its west side. The discovery of some fragments of stone window gratings and column drums significantly larger than the others led her to suggest that a chamber with a higher roof and clerestory windows occupied the center of the hall resulting in a basilica design reminiscent of that in the Festival Hall at Karnak.

The three-temple complex at Deir el-Bahri must have produced a very harmonious impression. But Tuthmosis III was not content to simply complement the monuments of his predecessors. In fact, only a desire to dominate the complex could have justified his choice of such a challenging site.⁴⁴ At the same time he commissioned his

own temple, he ordered the cartouches in Hatshepsut's temple replaced with those of Tuthmosis I or II. He also usurped the role her temple had played in the annual Beautiful Feast of the Valley. Hatshepsut's mortuary temple contained a sanctuary for Amun and had been the destination for the traveling barque of Amun for many years. Tuthmosis's temple was also dedicated to Amun and provided a new way station for the barque.

Tuthmosis's temple probably also contained a sanctuary for the king himself since Lipinska found a beautiful seated statue of Tuthmosis III in a small chapel.⁴⁵ This granodiorite statue still retains traces of paint that produce a very life-like appearance. The statue has finally been conserved and is on display in the new wing of the Luxor Museum. Another find in the Tuthmosis III temple was the face of a painted marble statue. This piece matched a torso discovered by Naville in 1906 while excavating at Mentuhotep's temple. The torso is in New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art, but the face and a copy of the torso are now displayed in the Cairo Museum (Fig. 13). The fact that the two fragments of this statue turned up at some distance from one another emphasizes the dispersed and mingled nature of the three temple ruins. Lipinska thinks this shows the extent of the quarrying activities on this site. Her team found thousands of inscribed fragments that quarryers chipped off the temple blocks and left behind. They hope to reassemble many scenes from this gigantic jigsaw puzzle.⁴⁶

Excavation of the Tuthmosis site has also revealed the true origin of the barrel-vaulted chapel dedicated to Hathor that Naville discovered at the extreme northwest corner of the Mentuhotep temple. This chapel, which is now located in the Cairo Museum, contains a statue of Hathor as a cow suckling a king. When the upper terrace of Tuthmosis's temple was cleared, it became obvious that the Hathor chapel was part of this final building phase rather than dating to Mentuhotep's reign.

It is entirely likely that future discoveries will add to our knowledge about Tuthmosis III, sometimes called the "Napoleon of Egypt" for his conquests. During his reign, the religious landscape of Thebes was enriched by many temples and other structures. Later kings inundated the valley with their own gigantic mortuary temples and made many additions to Karnak and Luxor Temples, but with a little effort we can still observe and appreciate the Tuthmoside accomplishments.

NOTES

1. Davies 1973.
2. Hölscher 1939, 43.
3. Wilkinson 2000, 95, 171.
4. Björkman 1971, 33.
5. Björkman 1971, 45 ff.
6. Björkman 1971, 29.
7. Badawy 1968, 176.
8. Lucas and Harris 1989, 55; Aston et al. 2001; Sampsell 2003. Exotic stones—such as granite, alabaster, and basalt, which have a more limited distribution—had to be imported to individual building sites.
9. At Medinet Habu - Hölscher 1939, 17; at Tuthmosis III Mortuary Temple - Weigall 1906, 124; at Deir el- Bahri - Lipinska 1977, 13, at Tuthmosis III Festival Hall - Carlotti 2001, 28-30, 165-6; at Tuthmosis I treasury at Karnak - see Jacquet 1983, 107.

10. Phillips 2002, 66.
11. Lucas and Harris 1989, 54.
12. Lucas and Harris 1989, 52, 55.
13. Tura and el-Ma'sara are both limestone quarries southeast of Cairo. Ancient records do not seem to distinguish between these two sites, referring to both of them as *Ainu*, *Iunu* (or *Ayan* in Breasted), the ancient name of Heliopolis. See Lucas and Harris 1989, 52.
14. Breasted 2001, 12-13.
15. See Breasted 2001: for Amenhotep I, page 19-20; for Tuthmosis I, page 42; for Hatshepsut, pages 124, 142, 159, 162; for Tuthmosis III, page 240. Jacquet (1983, 123) reported that a sample of limestone from the Tuthmosis I Treasury contains fossils found only in stone from the Tura/el-Ma'sara quarries.
16. Lucas and Harris 1989, 54.
17. Badawy 1968, 179.
18. Breasted 2001, 42.
19. Badawy 1968, 246
20. Larché 2004. Also see Nims 1966.
21. Kings usually celebrated a *heb sed* after 30 years on the throne. Hatshepsut counted her "accession" from a date 30 years earlier when she claimed her father designated her as his heir.
22. Björkman (citing Varille, 1943) suggests that such recycling was not a case of destroying a predecessor's work but actually preserving it. Björkman 1971, 113.
23. This reduced the span of the stone roofing blocks.
24. Breasted 2001, 238-9.
25. Carlotti 2001, 22 and Larché 2004.
26. Carlotti 2001, 54, 63.
27. Breasted 2001, 193.
28. Carlotti 2001, 230-1 and Fig. 129.
29. Wilkinson 2000, 71.
30. The statues are battered and survive only from waist to knees. The identification of one on a viewer's right as the king seems clear from regalia and his cartouche on the belt. According to some authors (see Varille 1950, 142-144; Laboury 1998, 201) and our personal observation, the other figure seems to be that of a woman; perhaps it represents a goddess such as Mut or Hathor.
31. Breasted 2001, 245.
32. Breasted 2001, 146.
33. Bryan 2004.
34. Hölscher 1939.
35. Hölscher 1939, 9-10.
36. Hölscher 1939, 30.
37. Johnson, 2003.
38. Weigall 1906. The temple site is not open to the public. The modern road cuts through it with part of the main pylon to the east of the road, while the temple ruins are on the west.

39. Ricke 1939.
40. Wilkinson 2003, 143.
41. Lipinska 1977. From the way in which the Tuthmosis III temple was “squeezed” in between the two earlier monuments at Deir el-Bahri, and the absence of obviously reused blocks in it, it would appear that both Mentuhotep and Hatshepsut’s temples were substantially intact when Tuthmosis commissioned his temple. Lipinska suggested that dismantling began in the 21st Dynasty at both the Mentuhotep and Tuthmosis sites (Lipinska 1977, 11). Wysocki found some re-used material in Hatshepsut’s temple, but does not believe it came from Montuhotep’s temple (Wysocki 1984, 334).
42. Sampsell 2003, 78, 82.
43. Lipinska 1977.
44. Lipinska 1969, 87.
45. Lipinska 1977, 1984.
46. Dolinska 1994.

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Dr. Bonnie M. Sampsell is a long-time member of the ESS and a frequent contributor to The Ostrakon. Her book, A Traveler’s Guide to the Geology of Egypt, was published by the American University in Cairo Press in 2003. A retired professor and frequent traveler to Egypt, Dr. Sampsell lives in North Carolina.

The Importance of Being Tuthmosis

by William D. Petty

Names are important. They mean things. A king in pharaonic Egypt had five names of which two were commonly used; the prenomen and the nomen. The prenomen was a name the king assumed for himself upon ascending the throne. The nomen, sometimes referred to as the king's given—or birth—name, is generally assumed to be the name given the king when he was born. But this is not always the case.

For example, in the 19th Dynasty it seems clear that the nomen was actually the birth name of the king. Ramesses II is depicted as the crown prince Ramesses in Seti I's temple at Abydos. Years later, after he was king, Ramesses depicted his own sons on the temple walls of several of his temples, including his mortuary temple, the Ramesseum. In this depiction, a line of twenty-three princes is

shown, each with his name. The first is crown prince Amenhirkhopshef; the second is Ramesses (sometimes called Ramesses Jr.). The thirteenth son in the line is Merenptah. This is the same Merenptah who succeeded Ramesses to the throne and ruled as King Merenptah (see Table 1).

While wholesale name changes did not occur in the 19th dynasty, they did occur to at least some extent. Ramesses II changed his nomen to Ramessu around the twentieth year of his reign. The prince, Amenhirkhopshef, was originally named Amenhirwonmef, but his name was apparently changed when he became crown prince.¹

It is just as clear that in the 20th Dynasty the king's nomen was generally not his actual, given name. With the exception of Sethnakhte, the first king of the 20th Dynasty, all the kings from Ramesses III through Ramesses XI used Ramesses for their nomens (see Table 2)². Because these kings were a series of sons, grandsons and great grandsons of Ramesses III (in an order which is still not well established), it is rather certain that not all, if any, of their given names were actually Ramesses. In other words, upon assuming the throne, the new king not only took on a prenomen appropriate for his new status but also chose a nomen suitable for his position. Possibly to claim a spiritual tie to the great pharaoh, or perhaps because of some actual distant relationship, Ramesses became this chosen name.

It has been generally assumed that in the 18th Dynasty the king's nomen was, in fact, his given name. But this may not always have been the case. Obviously, Akhenaten and Tutankhaten had no hesitation in assuming a new nomen that was politically and religiously more acceptable. Akhenaten assumed the throne as Amenhotep IV but changed his nomen to Akhenaten in his regnal year 5.³ Tutankhamun assumed the throne as Tutankhaten, but changed his nomen to Tutankhamun fairly early in his reign. There is monumental evidence for both of these nomen changes. But what of the other kings of the Tuthmoside line?

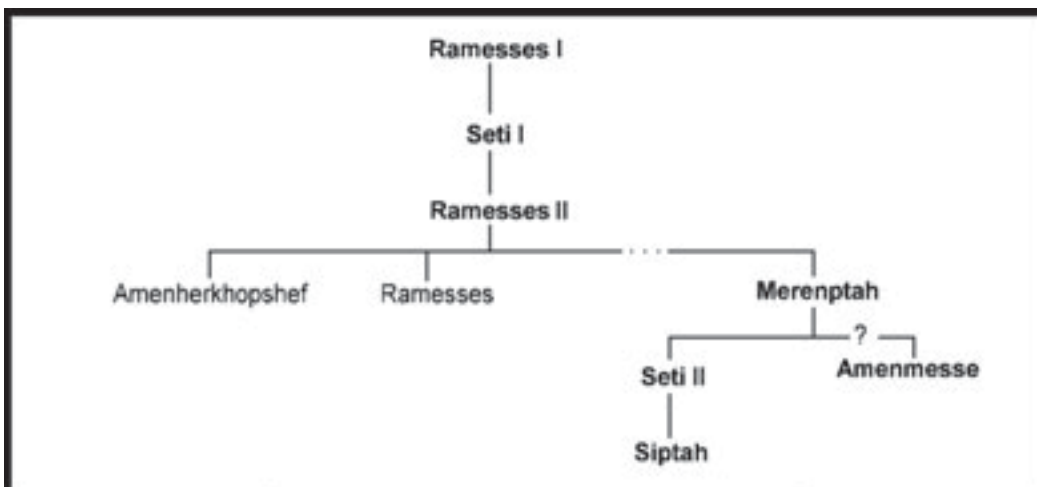


Table 1 - Partial Family tree of the 19th Dynasty
(bold faced names = king)

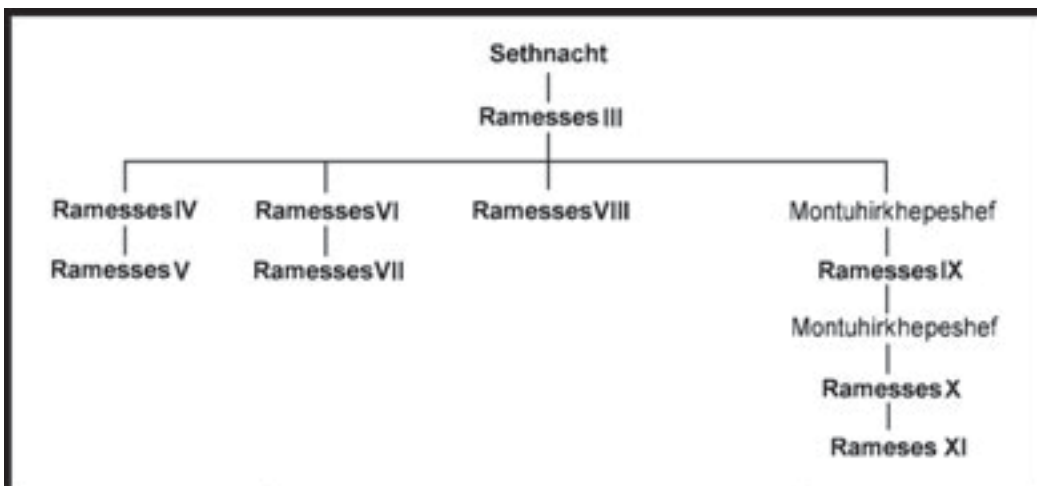


Table 2 - Partial Family tree of the 20th Dynasty ²
(bold faced names = king)

Several observations can be made concerning the males of the 18th Dynasty's Tuthmoside line:

1) EVERY MALE KING OF THE TUTHMOSIDE LINE, UNTIL THE AKHENATEN HERESY, HAD THE NOMEN TUTHMOSIS OR AMENHOTEP (SEE TABLE 3).

A similar situation occurred only three other times in Egyptian history. In the 11th Dynasty, there were three kings in succession with the nomen Intef, followed by three Mentuhoteps. In the 12th Dynasty, all the kings had nomens of either Amenemhet or Senusret. And in the 20th Dynasty, all the kings after Sethnakhte had the nomen Ramesses. As we have already seen, at least most of the nomens in the 20th dynasty were probably adopted upon succession to the throne.

The reigns of the 11th Dynasty kings are somewhat confused. While it does seem rather clear that Mentuhotep II was the eldest son and successor of Mentuhotep I, the origin and reigns of the other kings are less certain.

The kings of the 12th Dynasty were all descendants of one Senusret, who was given the title "God's Father", indicating that he was the non-royal father of a king. His son, Amenemhet I, was the first king of the 12th dynasty. It appears that the first two sons of all subsequent kings of this dynasty were named Senusret and Amenemhet (not necessarily in that order). In this way, the oldest surviving son always bore one of those two names.

Unlike the situation in the 12th Dynasty, not one attested 18th Dynasty crown prince attained the throne and reigned under his own nomen. Eldest sons in this period were rarely named either Tuthmosis or Amenhotep at birth; yet the new king always bore one of those two names. As can be seen in Table 3, four Tuthmoside kings (Tuthmosis I, Tuthmosis III, Amenhotep II, and Amenhotep III) had attested heirs. Based on their names, it would seem that none of these heirs succeeded to the throne. While granting that the sample is small and that the mortality rate in ancient Egypt was significantly higher than today, we still have to conclude either that during this period not a single attested crown prince survived to gain the throne, or that the crown prince, upon ascending the throne, adopted a new name as his nomen.

2) AT LEAST HALF OF THE KINGS OF THE TUTHMOSIDE LINE ARE NOT EVEN ATTESTED AS SONS BY THEIR FATHERS.

Most of the kings of the Tuthmoside line are not attested as their own father's son until sometime after the death of their father and they had ascended the throne. Specifically, prior to their accessions to the throne:

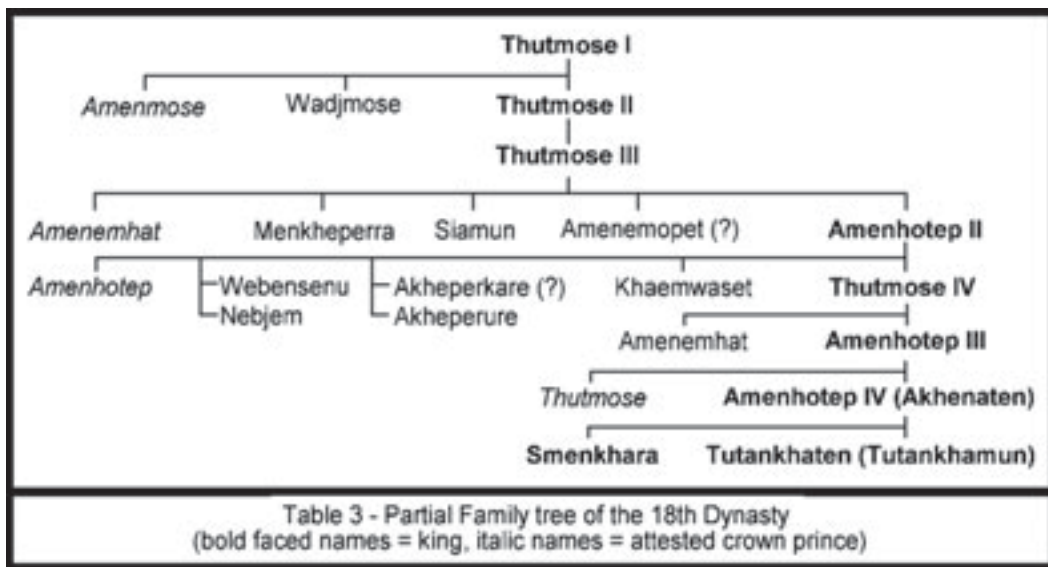
- Tuthmosis II is nowhere attested as a son of Tuthmosis I
- Tuthmosis III is nowhere attested as a son of Tuthmosis II,
- Amenhotep IV (Akhenaten) is nowhere attested as a son of Amenhotep III

On the other hand, some future kings are attested by their fathers, but not as crown princes:

- Amenhotep II is attested as a son of, and likely co-regent with, Tuthmosis III prior to his sole rule, but nowhere as a crown prince.
- Tuthmosis IV is attested as a son (but not as a crown prince) of Amenhotep II prior to his accession to the throne.
- Amenhotep III is attested as a son (but not as a crown prince) of Tuthmosis IV prior to his accession to the throne.

It must be granted that attestation of any sons during this time (as opposed to the 19th Dynasty) was not very common. Yet the lack of attestation of sons who were of sufficient importance to eventually succeed to the throne does seem unusual, especially considering the number of non-crown prince sons who are attested.

The purpose of this paper is not to draw any conclusions. Based on the available information, it is likely that no firm conclusions can be drawn in most cases. However, it does seem likely that at least in some instances the kings of the Tuthmoside line assumed a new name as their nomen upon gaining the throne. It is possible that we have already gained some knowledge of these princes, but by a different name, prior to their accession. Likewise, it is possible that a prince with a name of which we are unaware—but a name of no particular political value—simply assumed the nomen of Tuthmosis or Amenhotep upon his accession to improve his royal status.



NOTES

1. Kitchen, KA., *Pharaoh Triumphant: The Life and Times of Ramesses II* (Cairo: Dr. William D. Petty is President of Museum Tours, Inc. He is also President of The Amarna Research Foundation, a past president of the Egyptian Study Society, and a frequent contributor of articles to Kmt: A Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt. The American University in Cairo Press, 1982), 102.
2. Dodson, Aidan, *Monarchs of the Nile*, (London: Rubican Press, 1995), 152.
3. Dodson, *Monarchs of the Nile*, 98.

Dr. William D. Petty is President of Museum Tours, Inc. He is also President of The Amarna Research Foundation, a past president of the Egyptian Study Society, and a frequent contributor of articles to Kmt: A Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt.

