

The official image of Hatshepsut during the regency. A political approximation to the office of god's wife

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In this essay we will approach the strategic use that is made of the image of Hatshepsut in official spheres during her regency period, through an integrated vision of her leaderships -as "great royal wife" and "god's wife of Amun". From the study of certain documents we will prove the political use of the religious office of *hmt ntr* by Hatshepsut illustrating the regent's first steps towards the kingship.

En este trabajo abordaremos el uso estratégico que desde las esferas oficiales se hace de la imagen de Hatshepsut durante el periodo de regencia, en una visión integradora de los dos ámbitos que ella lideraba -como "gran esposa real" y "esposa del dios Amón"-. Desde el estudio de determinados documentos se demostrará el uso político que Hatshepsut hace de la institución religiosa ilustrando así los primeros pasos de la regente hacia la definitiva toma de las insignias reales.

In the repertoire of documentation that has survived Hatshepsut's regency period we can observe the attempt to reconcile and adapt the two roles that define her official personality up till her final taking of the royal insignias together with Thutmose III some years later: the religious rank as priestess "*hmt ntr n(y) Tmn*" and the political rank derived from her positions of regent and "*hmt nsw wrt*".

The symbiosis between these two roles attained a special interest at the end of the regency. The study and analysis of particular documentation where this coexistence of functions is clearly evident, permit on the one hand to illustrate the strategic use of the priestly office made by Hatshepsut as a political platform in her process of assumption of kingship *status*, and on the other hand to contribute more information about the role of the figure of the god's wife at this moment of the 18th Dynasty.

The assessment of the god's wife office done by Hatshepsut would have been closely bound to the political interest of the monarchy, as it had been happening since Ahmose I. During the reign of Thutmose II the association of the queen with such an office was constant whereas there is a lack of information before it. In an attempt to explain the reasons of the rise of Hatshepsut to the head of this institution we propose here to understand it as a political tactic carried out by her father Thutmose I. In an effort to create elements that would link him to tradition, in order to legitimise his usurpation of the throne, Thutmose I used the office of god's wife as one of the resources taken to relate him with Ahmose's dynastic line counting, as well, with the approval of the tutelary god of the monarchy, Amun¹.

Only after the disappearance of the ideological reference personified by the queen Ahmose Nefertari -whom we must recall gave

1. Gil Paneque (in press).

her approval to the new royal couple made by Thutmose I and queen Ahmose on the "*Coronation stela*" from his first regnal year² (fig. 1)- the link with the line inaugurated by Ahmose I is established now through the figure of her daughter Merytamun³, and specifically through her religious office of *hmt ntr*. Merytamun, the last owner in the female line of heiress inaugurated by Ahmose Nefertari, disappears from the official scene in an unknown moment and the next *hmt ntr* documented is Hatshepsut. Even when Merytamun can not be dead -likewise the transfer in the charge from Ahmose Nefertari to Merytamun was made during the life of Ahmose Nefertari- Thutmose I incorporated Hatshepsut into this matrilineal line of heiress to the charge, basing it on the obligatory requirement of her royal condition of "*s3t nsw*" -in opposition to the candidature of her mother, the *hmt nsw wrt* Ahmose-. In this way the transmission is carried out as a type of "adoption" whose relation mother-daughter- is created and recognized essentially from a mythic-religious discourse.

From this point of view, the institution of the god's wife was once more in the service of the monarchy as in a similar situation that happened in early times of the 18th Dynasty. King Ahmose I profited from the priestly office exercised by his great royal wife Ahmose Nefertari, understanding it as an instrument with which he could hinder the increasing influence of the priesthood of Amun. So he linked the function and patrimony of the institution of the *hmt ntr* inside the new royal dynastic family establishing the transmission of the charge as "daughter to daughter"⁴. Thutmose I made a legitimate reading of this model of succession. When Hatshepsut acquired the charge of god's wife this institution had beca-



Figure 1. Wadi Halfa stela. Stèles, CGC 34.006

me an eminent religious and economic organ, at least in the area of Thebes, after all the repercussions derived from the *Donation stela*. We can suppose that Thutmose I must have been interested in recovering for his recently founded royal line the visible head of the female clergy of Amun. Afterwards, with her marriage to Thutmose II, the condition of god's wife fell again on the figure of the *hmt nsw wrt* as it happened with Ahmose Nefertari and Merytamun.

Hatshepsut kept the title of *hmt ntr* as an essential part of her protocol and it is shown as inseparable from her other political titles granted to her as queen. From the point of view of this coexistence of functions, the religious role can be understood as a means of access to the religious power of the priesthood of Amun with whose complicity the regent is elaborating her ideological program in order to justify her future political behaviour⁵. But also

2. *Wadi Halfa stela*. CGC 34006, Cairo, Egyptian Museum. *Stèles*, 11-13. *Urk.* IV, 79-81. Ahmose Nefertari must be dead at the beginning of Thutmose I reign.
3. Merytamun was *hmt nsw wrt* of Amenhotep I and *hmt ntr n(y) Imn*. There is no testimony of her descendant. Unfortunately we have no information about the last years in her exercise as "*hmt ntr*".
4. "... Exclusivement l'Épouse du Dieu Néfertari: c'est à elle qu'il appartient de fils en fils, à perpétuité et pour toujours, au même titre que sa fonction d'Épouse du Dieu ..." (line 24). Gitton, 1976, 72, pl. XIV; 1979, 225-226.
5. A programme based on the effort to present a personal link with the god Amun and her participation in the constructive programme of Karnak temple.

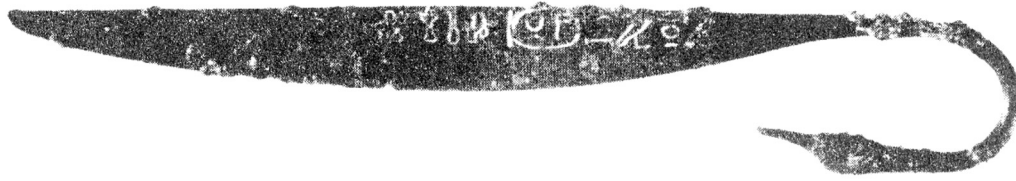


Figure 2. Neferkhewet's knife. Hayes, 1935, fig. 19

by analysing the documentation dated before her coronation, where she is qualified explicitly as *hmt ntr*, we can observe that Hatshepsut is significantly associated to a series of manners and attributes particular to the royal masculine institution.

There are various forms in which the connection of these two atmospheres is made.

1. On a textual level, some scholars -particularly P.F. Dorman-, have remarked the combination of political and religious titles as a conscious strategy present in important documents dated in a moment of the regency close to her coronation. Her condition of *hmt ntr* is combined with the political epithet *nbt t3wy*. In the rock-cut graffito of *Senenmut in Aswan* we can read that it is "making erect this work for the god's wife, mistress of the Two Lands, by ... *Senenmut*"⁶. The seated statue of *Senenmut BM 174* is presented as being "made by a favour of the god's wife, mistress of the Two Lands, *Hatshepsut*"⁷. In the "historical text" displayed in the Red Chapel, we find that this "duality" of both functions seems to be necessary in order to carry out the political proclamation of Hatshepsut after her giving up the insignias of the office of god's wife⁸.

2. A more elaborated epigraphical resource appears on two minor pieces -*Neferkhewet's knife* (fig. 2) and the *Wedjat-eye of Horus* no.

217 (fig. 3)- where we find the title of god's wife written inside the royal cartouche. This combination expresses a conscious association of a role of religious nature with a royal emblem of obvious political value⁹.



Figure 3. Wedjat-eye of Horus n° 217. Hornung & Stehelin, 1968, 234 [217]

The bronze knife property of Neferkhewet¹⁰ was found in the interior of the tomb of this scribe who was also "archiver, chief of the Treasury and keeper of the documents in the house of the god's wife *Hatshepsut*". It consists of a stylised blade, narrow and curved, a hilt in the shape of the neck and the head of a duck, analogous to the scribe knives. On the line of inscription in gold it is possible to distinguish clearly the presence of a cartouche in whose interior is only written the title of *hmt ntr*. The identification of this *hmt ntr* with Hatshepsut

6. el-Mahatta graffito. *Urk.* IV, 395-397. Habachi, 1957, 92-95, fig. 3. Desroches Noblecourt, 2002, 85.
7. Dorman, 1988, 118-119. The conclusion of this statue is contemporary to the first sculptures of Hatshepsut-king, so it would have been ordered by the "god's wife" just when she took the royal power and finished at the beginning of the coregency; while the style was just actualised her protocol was not. Laboury, 1998, 616.
8. Section I from "historical text". It corresponds with Deir el-Bahari version 11, 6-12. Lacau & Chevrier, 1977, 100-104.
9. The practice of associating the royal cartouche to a priestly title will be used again by the High Priests of Amun in the Third Intermediate Period -Herihor and Menkhepera- in their titulary, placing before his personal name the title of "priest of Amun" inside a cartouche. Bonhême, 1987, 31-32.
10. W.C. Hayes is the only author we know that reproduces this piece in: Hayes, 1935, 33, fig. 19. Lansing & Hayes, 1937, 33-34.



Figure 4. Scarab from the list published by H.E. Winlock and C.W. Hayes. Hayes, 1959, fig. 48

seems evident because of the context of the tomb's content and the condition of the owner. The possibility that it could refer to the princess Neferura, also god's wife, and whose name is sometimes written inside a cartouche, does not seem probable neither does the possibility that it refers to an anonymous substitute. Thus, what could be possible is that we are before a scribe's knife donated by the then "*god's wife Hatshepsut*" for whom Neferkhewet worked.

On the *Wedjat-eye* scaraboid no. 217¹¹ the epigraphical resource used on the Neferkhawet's knife is applied in a more elaborated way. On the oval of its base the legend "*god's wife, may she live*" (*hmt ntr 'nh.ti*) appears written inside a winged cartouche under which a *wsh*-necklace is represented. The anonymity of this *hmt ntr* is maintained once again, though on this occasion it is qualified with the epithet "*may she live*" which is normally placed as a colophon in the queenly protocol immediately after the cartouche. The identification of this god's wife with Hatshepsut suggested by E. Hornung and E. Staehelin seems to us to be correct, one again rejecting the possibility that it makes reference to Neferura due to the ostentation of the composition. Likewise the selection of the winged cartouche is remarkable since it became quite frequent for the kings

of the beginning of the 18th Dynasty. The foundation deposits of Hatshepsut's temple in Deir el-Bahari yield examples with a similar design to the one studied here, being the case of two scarabs that also bear the *wsh*-necklace holding a royal cartouche -one belonging to Maatkara and the other to Thutmose III-¹². It seems that our winged cartouche is yet one more version of these iconographic models associated to the kings.

This unusual way of presenting Hatshepsut has several different interpretations:

1. If the name enclosed in the cartouche actually does allude to the queen -knowing that the cartouche also enclosed the names of royal wives- we find ourselves before a daring form that expresses clearly a perfect "symbiosis" between the two spheres of power led by Hatshepsut and, by sense of the borrowing of the kingship imagery present in the *Wedjat-eye* no. 217, invites us to place this practice in an advanced moment of the regency.



Figure 5. Scarab from Petrie's list. HS, pl. 30

2. More risky would be to interpret that, being the cartouche an emblem eminently linked to kingship, Hatshepsut-king had synthesised her new royal condition by choosing the elements that identified her more. This hypothesis necessarily implies that Hatshepsut stayed in front of the institution of the god's

11. Fraser collection no. 208. Hornung & Staehelin, 1968, 234 [217].

12. Scarabs list given by H.E. Winlock and W.C. Hayes. Maatkara's scarab [row 1 (3°)] has the royal name enclosed in a cartouche that is flanked by two *maat*-feathers, with a winged sun above and a *wsh*-necklace below. Thutmose III's scarab [row 4 (7°)] bears the name inside a cartouche being flanked by the *ntr* and *nfr* signs, with an open winged falcon and a *wsh*-necklace. Winlock, 1928, 27, fig. 28. Hayes, 1959, 87, fig. 48.



Figure 6. Scarab from Hatnofer's tomb. Lansing & Hayes, 1937, fig. 35

wife after her coronation¹³ or, that both pieces -Neferkhewet's knife and Wedjat-eye no. 217- date from a moment immediately after her rise to royal power during which it maybe was not very clear for the artisans which way to treat the new monarch, and she was called even when she had abandoned this role, circumstance that seems to occur in the biography inscription in Ahmose-Pennekhet's tomb at El Kab¹⁴.

There is no doubt that, apart from the moment in which we can situate these two documents, the fact is that the introduction of a religious title inside a cartouche invests it with a particularly political character, fusing the two natures that define the owner and that were shown necessarily inseparable.

Hatshepsut is presented in the decoration of some scarabs identified only with her religious role and linked in an explicit way to elements borrowed from the kingship's sphere. The base

of the scarabs and similar was an ideal surface to write royal names and epithets developing a varied imagery that probably had a greater freedom from official rigidity. On one of the scarabs from the foundation deposits of Deir el-Bahari¹⁵ (fig. 4), the inscription reads: "*hmt ntr H3t-špswt di ʿnh dt*", standing out the use of the *di ʿnh* epithet common to the kingship protocol instead of the *ʿnh.ti* epithet usual in queenly protocol and with which Hatshepsut has been qualified following the title of god's wife. In one of the scarabs registered by W.M.F. Petrie¹⁶ (fig. 5) it appears written on top of the oval the legend of "*hmt ntr H3t-špswt*" and on the bottom is represented the political emblem "*sm3 t3wy*" in a schematic form symbolising the royal prerogative to maintain the union of the Two Lands. One of the scarabs found inside Hatnofer's mummy¹⁷ (fig. 6) should also be mentioned, as it bears the legend "*hmt ntr H3t-špswt*" and is decorated on its lower part with an ambiguous scene -two identical kneeling figures, male or female, with their hands raised before a plant upon a *nb*-sign- that reminds us suspiciously to the *sm3 t3wy*-symbol.

3. On an iconographic level, the *Karnak relief 87 CL 195*¹⁸ (fig. 7) joins in one image her condition of regent and priestess. From the beginning of the 18th Dynasty we have seen the figure of *hmt nsw wrt* accompanying the king in the carrying out of certain rites, implying the need of her participation to fulfil the king's obligations¹⁹. But the iconography of this relief

13. The irregular presence of two figures as *hmt ntr* together on this relief permits to raise the hypothesis of two women sharing the office of god's wife at the same time. Gabolde, 1990, col. 640-641. It would be linked with the testimonies displaying more of one holder of the charge from the reigns of Ahmose I and Amenhotep I (Ahmose Nefertari, Satamun and Merytamun -Hannover stela, Qasr Ibrim stela, Amenhotep's statue of Mut from the temple of Mut at Karnak and seated statue of a royal lady from VIII pylon in Karnak temple-).
14. Tomb no. 2 at El Kab. *Urk.* IV, 34-39. Cozi, 1999, 19, n. 32. Gitton, 1984, 65, 67-68.
15. Scarabs list from H.E. Winlock and W.C. Hayes: row 3 (3°). Winlock, 1928, 27, fig. 28. Hayes, 1959, 87, fig. 48.
16. *HS*, pl. 30 [926, B. 1904].
17. Tomb of Hatnofer and Ramose, Senenmut's parents. Lansing & Hayes, 1937, 22 and 29, fig. 35. Hayes, 1959, 105. This iconography is present on several scarabs found in Tell el-'Ajjul.
18. It is also catalogued as A XV 5 from P. Lacau photographic archive. Chevrier, 1956, 40, pl. XXIIa. Schott, 1955, fig. 2. Grimm, 1983. Troy, 1986, 108, fig. 72, Robins, 1993, 25, fig. 2. Laboury, 1998, 587, n. 1736. Desroches Noblecourt, 2002, 68. There is a companion block: Chevrier, 1956, 1956, pl. XXIIb.
19. Hatshepsut accompanies Tutmosis II during the rite of driving the four calves. *Block J771*, Luxor Museum of Ancient Egyptian Arts. Egberts, 1995, 209 (B.a-XVIII.4-Ka.1).

shows the novelty of presenting a queen actively participating and taking the chief role that is indeed exclusive to the king. According to the documentation we have studied, it constitutes the first example in a queen's repertoire. On this occasion, Hatshepsut -[...] [*hm*]*t* [*ntr*]*drt* [*ntr*] *hmt nsw wrt*- takes the place traditionally occupied by the king and officiates the cult of the offering of the *nw*-pots to a divinity, probably Amun. Hatshepsut wears the long dress and the wide necklace with the *šwty*-feathers placed on the tripart-wig resting on the *modius* and the vulture headdress; an *uraeus* raised on her forehead.

In fulfilling this rite, Hatshepsut is accompanied by another female figure represented behind her, meaningfully on the same scale, whom we know is her daughter Neferura -[*s3t nsw w*]*rt mryt.f* [*hmt ntr*] *n(y)t Imn*-²⁰. She wears the long dress with wide necklace, tripart-wig and as headdress the *modius* and the *uraeus*. In her left hand -with her arm folded- she holds the *hts*-sceptre.

A priori this document testifies that the greatest privilege that gave the priestly role of "god's wife of Amun" to Hatshepsut was indeed the ability to officiate to a divinity without losing her condition of "*hmt nsw wrt*". On the other hand, the selection of the *nw*-pots offering is meaningful. The rite of the presentation of two globular *nw*-vases signifies in itself a generic gesture that symbolises the eternal action of offering (*hmk*) to a divinity on behalf of the king as a gesture of preservation of *maat* whose guarantor is in essence the king²¹. But it is not the first time that Hatshepsut is linked to the task of maintaining order. In the eulogy that Ineni dedicates to Hatshep-



Figure 7. Karnak block 87 CL 195. Robins, 1993, fig. 2

sut-regent in his autobiography²², she is clearly presented as the only source of authority given that "*the Two Lands were upon her advices*" (*t3wy hr šhrw.s*); she is in charge of the management of the country's internal affairs (*hr irt mhrw t3*) and she is who takes decisions and from whom comes all orders as the "*mistress of the government*" (*nbt wd-mdw*)²³. Pharaoh's exclusive obligation of the practice of *maat* seems to fall entirely on her shoulders, that is the wellbeing of the country and the maintenance of pre-established order, when Ineni says that she is "*who satisfies to the Two Banks according her word*" (*hr rt idbwy hft mdw.s*). This "satisfaction" is, in itself, reciprocal because according to Egyptian belief, the people must obey and work for pharaoh so as to help him keep order in the face of chaos²⁴; so it is significant that Ineni mentions the sentence "*it works for her*" (*b3k.tw n.s*) relating to the regent Hatshepsut and not to Thutmose III. The

20. Adjacent to another block which ensures the identity of Neferura. Gabolde, 1990, col. 640-641.

21. Tefnin, 1979, 234-237. Wilkinson, 1994, 141 (91). Laboury, 1996, 430-433. Englund, 2001, 564-569.

22. Autobiographic text of the official Ineni located inside his tomb TT 81. *Urk.* IV 59-61 (4). Note here the use of the verbal form "*hr* + infinitive" that stresses the development of the verbal action.

23. Ineni makes a conscious distinction: Hatshepsut is associated with "*wd-mdw*" (*order through the word*) and Thutmose III -a few lines above- with the term "*h3k3*" essentially linked to the power of govern, innate to the kingly condition, and whose material translation would be the royal sceptre of the same name.

24. Teeter, 2001, 319.

government of Hatshepsut is exercised all over the country, whose acceptance and "obedience" is obvious when Ineni says that "*Kmt m w3h-tp*" before her. The significance of the iconography of *nw*-pots related to *maat* and the royal duty is evident when Hatshepsut repeats this posture in a new type of sculpture after her coronation, being as well of particular interest for our study a well-known broken limestone block from a dismantled shrine of Karnak where the still female figure of Maatkara offers them to Amun-Ra²⁵ (fig. 8).

Therefore the offering of *nw*-pots by Hatshepsut on the *Karnak block 87 CL 195* summarises two possible translations: on one hand a religious one that makes her participate in the maintenance of *maat* sharing this custodian role with the king himself; on the other hand there is a political translation, because in hands of Hatshepsut, who as regent has managed to acquire an important political influence, it allows her to ensure the legitimacy of her political actions, showing the gods approval. This capacity takes aptitudes away from Thutmose III himself because Hatshepsut is overwhelmingly incorporated to the role of guarantor and keeper of social order -by being presented as whom directs government affairs- and cosmic -by acting as intermediary between the gods and the people. So, knowing that the political outcome will be her change of *status* (from regent to king) it seems that in a certain moment of the regency it was deemed necessary to present the future Maatkara in an united image of the two roles that she led, expressing it with that conscious ambiguity in the separation of the two functions that is reflected on other textual as epigraphic sources and more clearly on an iconographical level.

The image of Hatshepsut exhibited on the *block 87 CL 195* is considered by us the image that illustrates best the degree of symbiosis



Figure 8. Maatkara offers *nw*-pots. Pécoil, 1993, 21

between her two roles; it also defines excellently her strategy for legitimisation just before her change of *status*. Hatshepsut bases her strategy on two fields: on the promotion of political and religious *status* of female royalty from the beginnings of the 18th Dynasty²⁶, and also on the high level of participation of the figure of the god's wife in cultal contexts specially taking part of offerings ceremonial.

The fragmented scene shown in the *block 87 CL 195* can be completed from a comparative study of the rest of documentation of the *hmt ntr* figure that has survived from Ahmose I down through Thutmose III's solitary reign. In these documents there are examples that confirm her participation in ritual offerings as celebrant accompanying the king before a god; exceptionally she appears in solitary. We have divided this documentation here into four types of iconographic compositions.

1. A first type shows the god's wife also invested with the rank of "*hmt nsw wrt*",

25. She wears the long dress, *ibs*-headdress, *uraeus* and "*atef*" crown. She is qualified as "*nsw-bity n[bt] i[rt] M3^cr-k3-R^c, ʕh.ti*". Chevrier, 1934, 172, pl. IV, Pécoil, 1993, 21. Callender, 1995-1996, 20. Desroches Noblecourt, 2002, 63.
26. Manley, 2002, 35-44.

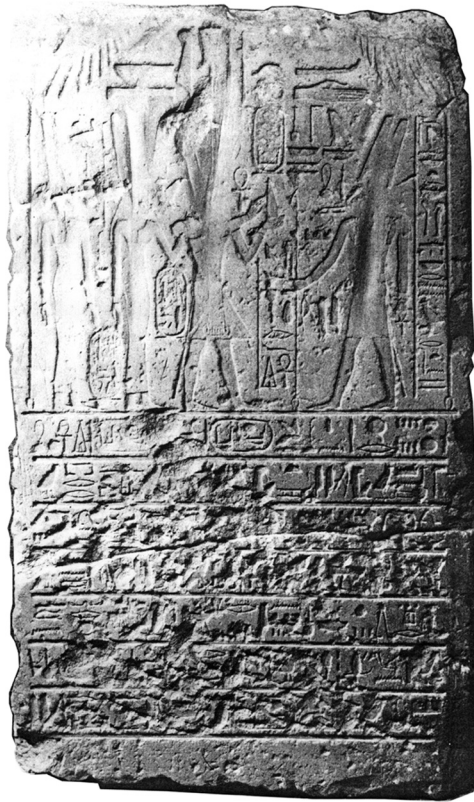


Figure 9. *Qasr Ibrim stela*. Gitton, 1984, pl. III

assisting the monarch in the presentation of "white bread" (*t-hd*) before a divinity. There are various documents with this scheme. The *Donation stela*, where the changes in the god's wife institution are registered, shows Ahmose Nefertari -*hmt ntr*, *hmt nsw wrt*- accompanying king Ahmose I and the prince during the offering of "white bread" to Amun. On his year 8 *stela of Qasr Ibrim*²⁷ (fig. 9) Amenhotep I is depicted followed by Ahmose Nefertari -*mwt nsw*- and Merytamun -*hmt ntr*, *hmt nsw*- whilst giving "white bread" to Horus of Miam. The *Berlin stela 15699*²⁸ (fig. 10) displays Thutmose II before Ra-Horakhty making an offering -*hnp m hnw*- accompanied by Ahmes -*hmt nsw wrt*, *mwt nsw*- and Hatshepsut -*hmt ntr*, *hmt nsw wrt*-.

In all of these examples, the political background that gives sense to these stelae is evidently, being translated in an iconographical way in a sort of "royal family portrait": in the *Donation stela* king Ahmose I manifests the continuation of his recently inaugurated dynastic line with the presence of his heir; in the *Qasr Ibrim* and *Berlin 15699* stelae it believed necessary the presence of two generations of queens²⁹. These images combine as the prominence of the figure of the god's wife as the fundamental role played by female royalty whose representation is significantly on the same scale as the king.

2. A second composition type presents the holder of god's wife title identified exclusively as "*hmt ntr*" assisting the king in the "white bread" offering.

On the *Hannover stela*³⁰ from the 18th year of Ahmose (fig. 11), Satamon -*s3t nsw*, *hmt ntr*- accompanies the king in the "white bread" offering before Amun-Ra. Satamon is repre-



Figure 10. *Berlin stela 15699*. Robins, 1993, fig. 8

27. BM 1835. Robins, 1982, 79-80. Desroches Noblecourt, 2002, 37.

28. Troy, 1986, 110. Robins, 1993, 43, fig. 8.

29. A third example of this type of compositions is the "*Coronation stela*" from the 1st year of Thutmose I where he is accompanied by his "*hmt nsw wrt*" Ahmose and the "*hmt nsw wrt*" Ahmose Nefertari. Gitton, 1975, 20-21.

30. Museum of Kestner, Hannover, inv. 1935.200.209. Vandersleyen, 1977, 223-243.



Figure 11. Hannover stela. Vandersleyen, 1977, 226

sented on a smaller scale, without insignia, only wearing a long dress and with the right arm crossed over the chest.

3. In a third type, the god's wife accompanies the king in the presentation of *nw*-pots in presence of the god's statue during the rites of libation and offerings.

On the black granite *Cairo stela CG 34013* of Thutmose III³¹ (fig. 12), a symmetric scene

shows a female figure -qualified exclusively with the *hmt ntr* title- assisting Thutmose III in the presentation of *nw*-pots before the statue of the god Ptah in the act of offering wine (*irp*) and fresh water (*kbhw*). Significantly represented on a minor scale than the king, she appears in long dress, with the *modius* and tripart-wig, offering at the same time two *b3s*-recipients with *mdt*-unguent³². This stela was found in the temple of Ptah in Karnak raised in occasion of its foundation and it has been dated approximately as belonging to the year 24 of his reign. The identification of the female figure as a member of the royal family comes

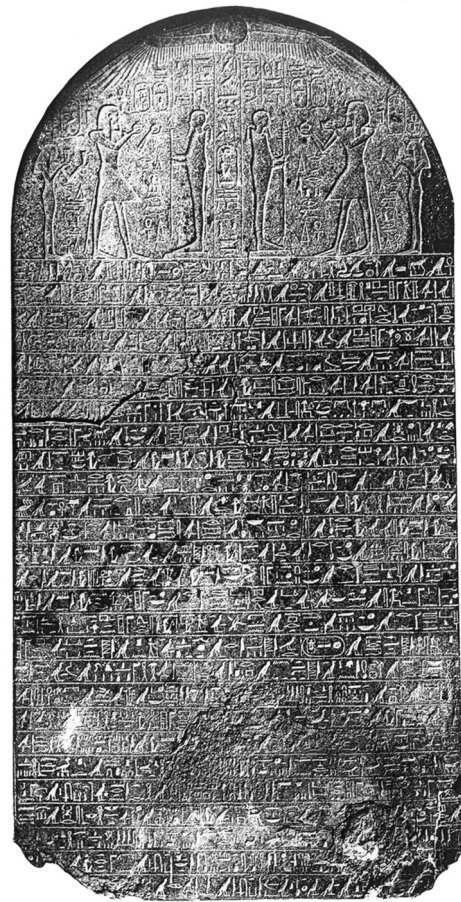


Figure 12. Stela CG 34013. *Stèles*, pl. 9

31. *Stèles*, CG 34013, 27-30, pl. 9. Vandersleyen, 1971, 219-222. Gitton, 1979, 226, n. 11. Dorman, 1988, 78. Cozi, 1999, 19, n. 7. The headdress conserves rests of the vulture's wings.
32. The *mdt*-unguent takes part in the ritual of the "opening the mouth" and, given that it was assimilated to Horus's Eye, was spread on the statue's eyes contributing to the corporal integrity of the god. The daily care of the divinity statue practiced inside the temple finished with this act. Laboury, 1996, 432-433 y n. 1139.

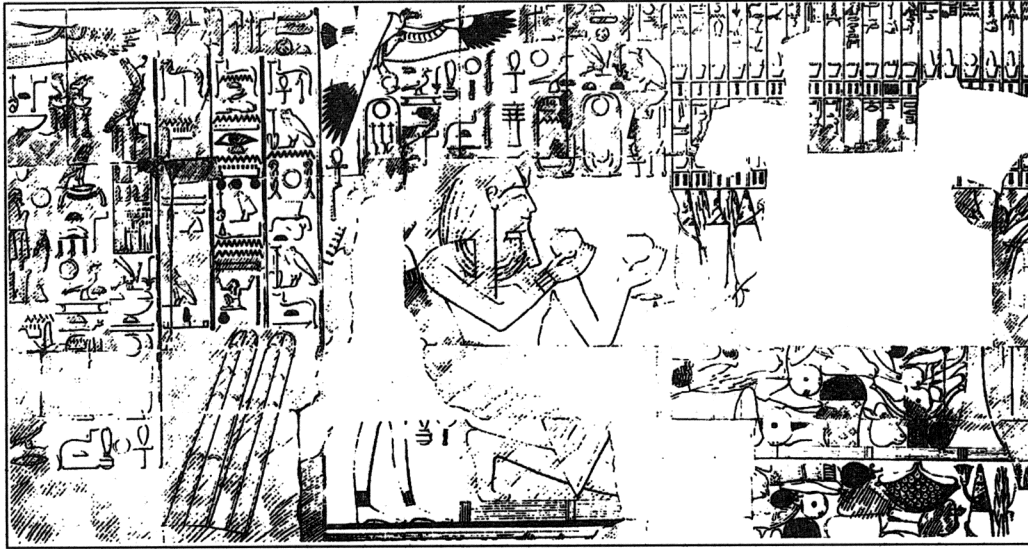


Figure 13. Neferura assists Maatkara (Thutmose III). Hatshepsut's temple, Deir el-Bahari. Desroches Noblecourt, 2002, 156



Figure 14. Neferura assists Maatkara (Thutmose III). Hatshepsut's temple, Deir el-Bahari. Desroches Noblecourt, 2002, 244

from having her name inside a cartouche, even though the original name, probably Neferura, was substituted by that of Satiah, first *hmt nsw wrt* of Thutmose III, who on the contrary does not seem to have ever exercised the role of god's wife³³.

This evidence seems to confirm the required presence of the *hmt ntr* figure assisting the king during the daily temple cult.

We can include two representations of the princess Neferura depicted as *hmt ntr* assisting the monarch in the offering ceremonials, exhibited on the walls of the first room in the Sanctuary of Amun in Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahari. On the southern wall, Neferura is standing behind the kneeling figure of a king -originally Maatkara whose name was replaced by Thutmose's (fig. 13 and 14)- who are presenting the *nw*-pots before an offering table to the sacred bark of Amun³⁴. She is depicted nude wearing only bracelets, the wide necklace and two fine belts on the waist with

33. The author of this change of names was probably Thutmose III maybe after Neferura's death. Vandersleyen, 1971, 219 (65), 220. Robins, 1993, 49-50. Cozi, 1999, 26.

34. Bryan, 1991, 112, n. 115. Desroches Noblecourt, 2002, 156, 244. A fragment of Neferura's figure is now in Dundee Museum. Kitchen, 1963, 38-40, pl. VII, 1; Troy, 1986, 84, fig. 55. Cozi, 1999, 19, n. 28.

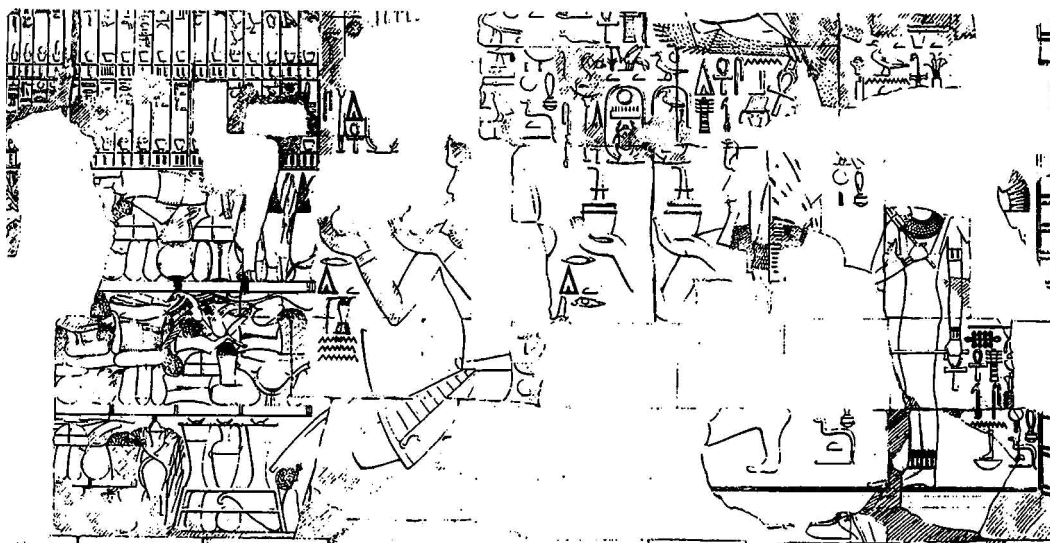


Figure 15. Neferura assists Maatkara and Thutmose III. Hatshepsut's temple, Deir el-Bahari. Desroches Noblecourt, 2002, 157.

the cross belt over the chest; as headdress she wears the *modius* on the short wig, the side plait and the "lybian bands". She holds in one hand the mace and a sistrum and in the other wielded the *hst*-scepter with her arm folded. On the northern wall scene Neferura (fig. 15) is shown behind both monarchs who are together and kneeling whilst she presents the *nw*-pots (*rdt kbhw*) and he offers milk (*rdt ir[tt]*) before the same offering table³⁵. On this occasion we can only observe that Neferura wears the long dress and necklace and wields again the mace, the *hst*-scepter and the *ʿnh* sign.

4. In one unique case we find a god's wife offering in solitary before a divinity. On the *Serabit el-Khadim stela*³⁶ from the 11th year of Thutmose III (fig. 16), Neferura is depicted before the goddess Hathor qualified exclusively with the *hmt ntr* title to offer her "white bread". This kind of stela forms part of the iconographic repertoire typical of this area of Sinai with the motive of offerings to the "Turquoise Mistress". Nevertheless Neferura

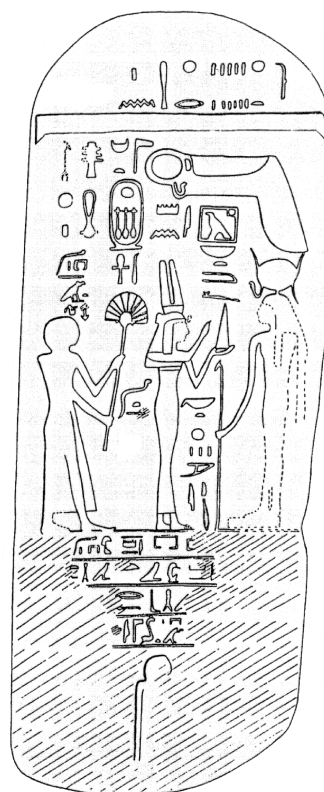


Figure 16. Neferura's stela from Serabit el-Khadim. Gardiner, Peet & Cerny, 1952-1955, pl. LVIII

35. Desroches Noblecourt, 2002, 157. Cozi, 1999, 19.

36. *Stela JdE 38456*. Cairo, Egyptian Museum. Gardiner, Peet & Cerny, 1952-1955, 152 (n° 179), pl. LVIII. Petrie, 1906, fig. 123. Cozi, 1999, 20. Desroches Noblecourt, 2002, 243.



Figure 17. Block stored in the Open Air Museum at Karnak. Forbes, 1994-1995, 30-31

does not break away from her role of royal daughter for which she wears the tripart-wig with the *šwt*-feathers and the vulture head-dress (maybe the *uraeus* as well) protecting her. Surprisingly she is also protected by the *šwt*-fan in the hands of her Steward Senenmut³⁷; the daring of the scene insists on the important role of Neferura exercised during the regency.

Alongside these images that confirm the participation of the god's wife figure accompanying the king in the offering rite, we include another document that corresponds to the third

type of composition: a lintel consisting on a big limestone block showing a scene separated into two parts from an unidentified construction in the temple of Karnak, stored now in the Open Air Museum at Karnak³⁸ (fig. 17).

It bears a bas-relief with a symmetric scene and it shows an identical king offering *nw*-pots followed by a female figure to make an offering of fresh water (*kbhw*) libation and wine (*irp*) before the statue of a divinity, probably Amun. The god's statue -seated on his throne which is upon a plinth- is repeated back to back and is only separated by a column of hieroglyphic of which has only survived "[...⁵ⁿ]h w3s nb snb nb hri(.i) mi R^c dt", [...] *all life and dominion and all health that I have like Ra forever*. Sadly, the archaeological isolation of this block and the lack of names and titles make the establishment of identities of the main characters quite difficult. It has been suggested that the king shown here is Thutmose II followed by Hatshepsut or maybe Hatshepsut-king accompanied by princess Neferura. We propose in this essay two more possibilities:

a) given the symmetry and duplicity of the scenes, they could correspond to each one of the coregents: one of the scenes would show Hatshepsut-king with Neferura and the other Thutmose III also followed by Neferura. This scheme occurs in Neferura's scene in Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahari mentioned above;

b) this type of composition is also present on the Cairo stela CG 34013: Thutmose III offers *nw*-pots before the statues of the god Ptah which are also represented back to back raised upon a plinth and separated by a column containing an inscription. Given the parallelism with our *Open Air Museum block* we don't reject the possibility that the king represented in both scenes was just Thutmose III.

37. This emblem was associated with the kingship. This is the first example recorded by us where the *šwt*-fan is associated to a female member of the royal family. It will reappear in Tiye's iconography. Morkot, 1986, 2.

38. Forbes, 1994-1995, 30-31. Bryan, 2001, 45 and fig. 2.6.

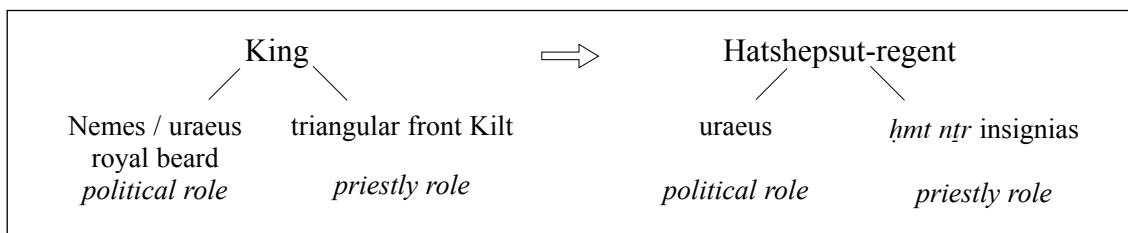


Figure 18. Table of the assimilation of the two roles executed by the king and Hatshepsut-regent through the insignias present on the Karnak block 87 CL 195

The female figure showed on the *Open Air Museum block* bears no name. She is portrayed with the long dress and the wide necklace, the short wig with *modius* and *uraeus*, holding in a hand the mace and the *ꜥh*-symbol and in the other the *hst*-sceptre³⁹. If we apply here the third type of composition, we could interpret that the anonymous female figure is acting necessarily as a god's wife in spite of the lack of protocol. Given that she plays a priestly role, her identification with Hatshepsut or Neferura determines the more adequate identification of the identity of the king argued above.

The analysis of all this documentation leads us to establish a parallelism between the scene represented on the *block 87 CL 195* (fig. 7) and those exhibited on the *Open Air Museum block* (fig. 17) and the *stela CG 34013* (fig. 12) of Thutmose III. In these three cases we find the same iconographic composition, where a god's wife assists a king in the rite of the offering, with the proviso that on the *block 87 CL 195* Neferura assists her mother, occupying the queen the place reserved to the monarch in the worship and exercising the royal prerogative of offering under the generic gesture of presenting *nw*-pots. With this attitude, the *hmt nsw wrt* and *hmt ntr* Hatshepsut seems to take to the limit the competences acquired as regent and priestess.

The image of Hatshepsut-regent showed on the *block 87 CL 195* combines the necessary insignias that made recognizable her authority during the celebration of the rite in an evident parallelism with the image of the ritualistic king. So when the king is presented in his function of "giver of offerings" -*stela CG 34013* (fig. 12), *Open Air Museum block* (fig. 17) and Neferura's scenes in the temple at Deir el-Bahari (fig. 13-15)- he appears represented with the necessary emblems, wearing the royal beard, the striped nemes-headcloth⁴⁰ and the *uraeus*, in order to express his political condition of "alive" king, and wearing the short kilt with triangular front⁴¹ that serves to express his priestly facet in the cult activity before a divinity. The legitimacy claimed by Hatshepsut on the *block 87 CL 195* is based on the repetition of the same attitude model presented by the kingship, in a correspondence of roles just like the ones suggested in the table of figure 18.

Even if it is not possible to ascertain if the *block 87 CL 195* corresponds to the second or third type of composition -before a god or before a statue or similar-, given that the presence of the god's wife was necessary in this kind of rites accompanying the king, the presence of Neferura can be explained in her role of *hmt ntr*. In fact she is taking the place and function that, in theory, must be occupied by the then

39. Neferura appears holding this *hst*-sceptre on *block 87 CL 195* and in two scenes in Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahari mentioned above.

40. Collier, 1996, 69-94. Goebs, 1995, 154-181. Desroches Noblecourt, 2002, 156-157, 244-245.

41. The short kilt with triangular front is associated with the ritualistic function of the king. Laboury, 1996, 414-416, 429-433.

"god's wife Hatshepsut" following a monarch - Thutmose II or Thutmose III- in practice of the offering, whilst Hatshepsut-regent is taking the place and function of the king. Indeed we have seen Neferure exercising the same role assisting either the king (Maatkara or Thutmose III) (fig. 13-14) or both kings together (fig. 15) during their joint reign.

This behaviour of the queen regent insists in the location of the *block 87 CL 195* in a late moment of the regency when the Hatshepsut's image is understood as a visual language that registers the advances achieved by the regent⁴² inside her gradual process of political and religious formulation that ends with her definitive claim of the complete kingly insignias⁴³.

The conduct of Hatshepsut during the period of her regency was legitimated through all the

channels of propaganda -visual and textual- in a progressive process based always in a politic of continuity. In this sense, the documents confirm that the regent was imposing an unique image of herself that reunited the two roles of action -as regent and god's wife- which both allow her to present herself before gods and people as the "active" participant in the function of preservation of *maat* in clear parallel with the figure of the monarch. At the same time that Hatshepsut profits from the *status* achieved by the first queens in the 18th Dynasty, she builds her own authority model on the basis of a political use of the priestly prerogatives awarded by the office of god's wife. This official image of Hatshepsut at the end of the regency express is the best expression of the definite step that will be her royal proclamation.

42. It should be mentioned here another block also stored in the Open Air Museum at Karnak (no. 344 a) from Karnak temple where on one side we can see Seth offering to Hatshepsut-regent (mentioned as *hmt ntr*) the *ꜥnh* and *wꜥs* signs. Forbes, 1997, 19. Laboury, 1998, 587, fig. 301.

43. Dorman, 2001, 4-6.

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Abbreviations

- Stèles*: P. Lacau (1909-1957), *Stèles du Nouvel Empire*. Le Caire.
- HS*: W.M.F. Petrie (1956), *Historical Scarabs. A series of drawings from the principal collections*. Chicago.
- Urk.* IV: K. Sethe and W. Helck (1905-1958), *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums IV*. Leipzig-Berlin.

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Contenido

Juan Antonio Belmonte Avilés <i>Some open questions on the Egyptian calendar: an astronomer's view</i>	7
Francisco L. Borrego Gallardo <i>L'image d'Amon à la Chapelle Blanche</i>	57
Cristina Gil Paneque <i>The official image of Hatshepsut during the regency A political approximation to the office of god's wife</i>	83
Miguel Jaramago Canora <i>The stela of Seankhptah in Madrid. An epigraphical analysis</i>	99
Herman de Meulenaere <i>Observations sur les anthroponymes de Basse Époque terminés par l'hiéroglyphe de l'enfant assis</i>	113
Cristina Pino Fernández <i>British Museum stela BM 360</i>	117
Autores	123

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